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ART AND SAVONAROLAN REFORM AT SAN SILVESTRO
A MONTE CAVALLO IN ROME (1507-1540)

BY
ALESSIO ASSONITIS

"Tu, va a casa di Michelangelo e digli che Messer Lattanzio ed io siamo qui, in questa cappella così bene inaffiata, in questa chiesa così ben chiusa e piacevole, domandagli se vuol perdere un po' della giornata con noi, acciocché noi la guadagniamo con lui. Ma non dirgli che Francisco d'Olanda, lo spagnuolo, è qui."

FRANCISCO DE HOLLANDA, *I dialoghi michelangioteschi*,
(Rome, 1926), p. 51.

Abbreviations

AASGF	Archivio dell'Arciconfraternita di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, Roma
AGT	Archivio Generale Teatino, Sant'Andrea della Valle, Roma
ASMSM	Archivio del Convento di Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Roma
ASMQ	Archivio del Convento di Santa Maria della Quercia, Viterbo
ASSQ	Archivio della Casa di San Silvestro al Quirinale, Roma
ASC	Archivio Storico Capitolino, Roma
ASF	Archivio di Stato, Firenze
ASI	<i>Archivio storico italiano</i>
ASR	Archivio di Stato, Roma
BA	Biblioteca Angelica, Roma
BC	Biblioteca Corsiniana, Roma
BCR	Biblioteca Casanatense, Roma
BMF	Biblioteca Marucelliana, Firenze
BMLF	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze
BNCF	Biblioteca Centrale Nazionale, Firenze
BRF	Biblioteca Riccardiana, Firenze
MAP	Mediceo Avanti il Principato
Magl.	Magliabechiano
NA	Notarile Antecosimiano

Introduction: A Lost History

Scholars of Michelangelo are well acquainted with the church and convent of San Silvestro a Monte Cavallo in Rome.¹ [Fig. 1] In "*questa chiesa così ben chiusa e piacevole*", situated a mere stone's throw away from the Quirinal Palace, Francisco de Hollanda recorded the pious and erudite conversations between Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna and Lattanzio Tolomei in autumn of 1538. The spiritual leader of this elite and of the small religious community at San Silvestro was then Fra Ambrogio Caterino Politi. This Dominican friar, who received the habit at San Marco in 1517, published in 1548 a treatise that vigorously attempted to demolish once and for all the over half-a-century-old doctrines and prophecies of Fra Girolamo Savonarola², to whom—and not so long before—he had professed profound devotion.³ His vitriolic and fanatic *Discorso* was immediately rebuked by the octogenarian Piagnone Fra

¹ After 1555, this church became known as San Silvestro al Quirinale. For Michelangelo's projects at San Silvestro, see: R. DE MAIO, "Michelangelo e Paolo IV", in *Reformata Reformanda: Festgabe für Hubert Jedin*, 2 vols. (Münster, 1965), I, pp. 635-56; C. VALONE, "Paul IV, Guglielmo della Porta and the Rebuilding of San Silvestro al Quirinale", in *Master Drawings*, XV 3 (1977), pp. 243-55. On San Silvestro, see: A. ZUCCHI, "San Silvestro a Montecavallo", in *Roma domenicana*, II (1940), pp. 197-210; E. IEZZI, *San Silvestro al Quirinale*, (Rome, 1975); A. NEGRO, "San Silvestro al Quirinale", in *Guide rionali di Roma: Rione II - Trevi*, II (1985), pp. 14-50; S. CIOPETTA, "San Silvestro al Quirinale", in *Roma sacra*, 16 (June 1999), pp. 25-32.

² A. C. POLITI, *Discorso del Reverendo P. Frate Ambrosio Catharino Polito, Vescovo di Minori, contra la dottrina et le profetie di Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, (Venice, 1548). For Politi's biography, see: J. SCHWEIZER, *Ambrosius Catharinus Politus*, (Münster, 1910); V. CRISCUOLO, *Ambrogio Catarino Politi (1484-1553) teologo e padre del Concilio di Trento*, (Rome, 1985); for a more extensive treatment of the subject see Criscuolo's doctoral thesis at the Università Pontificia Gregoriana; D. SCARAMUZZI, *Le idee scotiste del grande teologo domenicano: Ambrogio Catarino* (Florence, 1933); P. SIMONCELLI, *Evangelismo italiano nel Cinquecento*, (Rome, 1979), pp. 19-24. For Politi's involvement with the Piagnoni movement see: L. POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation: The Savonarolan Movement in Florence 1494-1545*, (Oxford, 1994), pp. 440-44; L. FALDI, "Una conversione savonaroliana. Ambrogio Caterino Politi: Il suo ingresso e i primi anni nell'Ordine domenicano", in *Vivens Homo*, 5 (1994), pp. 553-74. See also M. FIRPO, *Gli affreschi di Pontormo a San Lorenzo*, (Turin, 1997), pp. 343-7.

³ S. M. LODDI, "Notizie de' soggetti, e cose più memorabili del Convento di San Marco di Firenze", AGOP, XIV, Z, fo. 129v. See also P. GINORI CONTI and R. RIDOLFI, *La vita del beato Ieronimo Savonarola, scritta da un anonimo del sec. XVI e già attribuita a Fra Pacifico Burlamacchi* (Florence, 1937); p. 180 (hereafter referred to as Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI). For Politi's alleged deathbed conversion to Savonarolism, see S. RAZZI, "Cronica della Provincia Romana dell'Ordine de' frati predicatori", BMLF, San Marco, 873, fo. 140v.

Benedetto Luschino, whose 1518-23 *Vulnera diligentis* has induced modern historians and historians of art alike to draw some precipitous conclusions regarding the existence of a concrete link between Michelangelo and the Piagnone movement.⁴

Champion of post-Tridentine orthodoxy and early censor of Michelangelo's nudes, Politi left San Silvestro in 1539, after residing there for less than year, to accompany Cardinal Niccolò Gaddi to France.⁵ He was the last among a line of prominent Dominicans that sojourned in this complex since it had been bestowed to the Order in 1507.⁶ In 1540, when the few surviving friars moved to

⁴ The accusations that Politi directed towards Savonarola and his prophecies were rebutted by Fra Benedetto Luschino in his *Risposta... contra al mendace libello di Ambrosio Catherino*, BAV, Patetta, 1845. Apart from Condivi's account, on Michelangelo and the Piagnoni, see: H. THODE, *Michelangelo und das Ende der Renaissance*, (Berlin, 1903); K. FREY, *Michelangiolo Buonarroti: Quellen und Forschungen zu seiner Geschichte und Kunst*, (Berlin, 1907); G. POGGI, "Note michelangelolesche: Michelangelo e il Savonarola", in *Michelangiolo Buonarroti nel IV Centenario del "Giudizio Universale" (1541-1941)*, (Florence, 1942), pp. 113-32; E. WIND, "Sante Pagnini and Michelangelo: A Study of the Succession of Savonarola", in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXVI (1947), pp. 211-46; U. PANCANI, "Lo spirito savonaroliano in Michelangelo", in MD, 81 (1964), pp. 163-180; S. ORLANDI, "Michelangelo Buonarroti e i domenicani", in MD, 81 (1964), 195-122; M. CALI, "La Madonna della Scala di Michelangelo, il Savonarola e la crisi dell'Umanesimo", in *Bollettino d'Arte*, LII (1967), pp. 152-66; *Ibid.*, *Da Michelangelo all'Escorial: Momenti del dibattito religioso nell'arte del Cinquecento*, (Turin, 1975); R. DE MAIO, *Michelangelo e la Controriforma*, (Bari, 1978); A. GUERRA, "La Madonna della Scala - Un episodio del savonarolismo di Michelangelo", in MD, n.s. 30 (1999), pp. 471-8. A recent interpretation of Michelangelo and Luschino is in J. BECK, *The Three Worlds of Michelangelo*, (New York, 1999). More thorough analyses of Luschino and Savonarola are in F. PATETTA, "Fra Benedetto da Firenze compagno apologista del Savonarola, al secolo Bettuccio Luschino", in *Atti della reale Accademia di Scienze di Torino*, LX (1925), pp. 623-659; S. DALL'AGLIO, "Riflessioni sulla figura di Benedetto di Paolo Luschino", in MD, n.s. 29 (1998), pp. 453-83; B. LUSCHINO, *Vulnera diligentis*, ed. S. Dall'Aglio, (Florence, 2002).

⁵ After attacking Savonarola, Politi censured Michelangelo's nudes in 1551. A. C. POLITI, *Commentaria in omnes divi Pauli et alias septem canonicas epistolas*, (Venice, 1551), p. 645; DE MAIO, *Michelangelo e la Controriforma*, p. 48 n. 15; FIRPO, *Gli affreschi di Pontormo*, pp. 347-9. For Politi's trip to France and his vicariate at the Dominican convent at Lyon see documents in the "Regestum actorum regiminis Rmi. P. Fr. Augustini Recuperati (1538-9)...deinde 43 Mag. Ord. Annis 1538-40", AGOP, IV, 25, (02/10/1540). From the existing records, it is not clear when exactly Politi arrived at San Silvestro or whether he simply resided there or even acted as vicar.

⁶ Known since the middle ages as *in caballo* due to its proximity to the Dioscuri, San Silvestro was erected no earlier than the ninth century. The church seems to rest upon the temple of Semo Sancus, an Umbrian-Sabine divinity. In 1580

Santa Maria sopra Minerva⁷, both church and complex were given *in commenda* to Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal of Santa Fiora.⁸ Fifteen years later, the Theatine Paul IV bequeathed it to the members of his Order, under whose control it remained until the early nineteenth century.⁹

a votive inscription was found associating this site with the *Decuria Sacerdotum Bidentalium*, a college of priests linked to the cult of Semo Sancus, whose task was to look after the *bidentalia*, objects struck by lightning. NEGRO, "San Silvestro al Quirinale", p. 14. The church was also known as *de Biberatica* in the twelfth century and *de Archione* at the beginning of the fourteenth, after the Arcioni family, who owned land and buildings in the area. C. HUELSEN, *Le chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo*, (Florence, 1927), p. 465. Drawing from the records in the *Liber pontificalis*, Poggio Bracciolini, and later Flavio Biondo, suggested that the church was located next to the still visible remains of the Baths of Constantine (which both authors attribute to Domitian): C. D'ONOFRIO, *Visitiamo Roma nel Quattrocento: La città degli Umanisti*, (Rome, 1989), p. 75, 169. Before the Dominicans took possession of the premises in 1507, San Silvestro's parochial rights belonged to the Basilica of the SS. Apostoli. Very little is known of its patronage and decoration prior to then. It housed relics of Saint Peter and Saint Paul—F. G. CANCELLIERI, *Memorie storiche delle Sacre Teste dei SS. Apostoli Pietro & Paolo*, (Rome, 1806), p. 70—and the thirteenth-century icon later known as the *Madonna della Catena*, which I shall discuss later.

⁷ Serafino Razzi addressed this matter in his chronicle of the Tusco-Roman Congregation: RAZZI, "Cronica", fo. 9v. The Dominicans of San Marco left San Silvestro once Santa Maria sopra Minerva was aggregated to the same congregation. Theatine historians contend that after leaving this convent, the Dominicans went to San Nicola de' Prefetti instead of the Minerva: see, G. SILOS, *Historiarum clericorum regularium. A Congregatione condita*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1650), I, p. 71. See also, F. ANDREU, "La relazione del P.D. Giovanni Antonio Prato su S. Gaetano Thiene", in *Regnum Dei*, 1 (1945), pp. 116-132. This claim is factually incorrect: the church was only given to the Dominicans in 1567 by Pius V. See, *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, eds. T. Ripoll and A. Brémond, 8 vols. (Rome, 1729-40), V, pp. 163; hereafter referred to as BOP; A. ZUCCHI, "San Niccola dei Prefetti", in *Roma domenicana*, II (1940), pp. 157-66.

⁸ G. B. DEL TUFO, *Historia della religione de' Padri Chierici Regolari*, (Rome, 1609), p. 50: "Il luogo, e Chiesa, anchorchè fosse Parocchiale, e d'Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal di Santa Fiore, primo Diacono; nondimeno col suo consentimento, e autorità del Pontefice, fu alla Religione liberamente donata, e la Cura dell'anime trasferita, facendone unione alla Parocchiale de' Santi Apostoli, de' Frati Minori di San Francesco Conventuali, come ell' è rimasta infino al dì d'hoggi unita." On Guido Ascanio Sforza, see N. RATTI, *Della famiglia Sforza*, (Rome, 1794).

⁹ There is reason to believe that Cardinal Sforza did not willingly give up San Silvestro to Paul IV. RATTI, *Della famiglia Sforza*, p. 234: "Non così favorevole, anzi dichiarato nemico mostrossi a Guidascanio Paolo IV. L'antica inimicizia nata fin dal conclave, in cui il Cardinale eragli stato apertamente contrario; gli opposti interessi Sforzeschi a quelli del Papa, essendo i primi addetti spaciatamente al partito Spagnuolo, e l'altro a quello del Re di Francia; e per ultimo il fatto delle galere di Carlo Sforza fratello del Cardinale tolte dal servizio del Re di Francia per opera principalmente di Guida-scanio, e con qualche abuso, e lesione dell'autorità Pontificia, determinarono il Papa a prendere sopra di lui le più forti risoluzioni ordinandone l'arresto in Castel S. Angelo.



Fig. 1. San Silvestro al Quirinale.



Fig. 2. Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Stories from the Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, (Rome, San Silvestro al Quirinale).

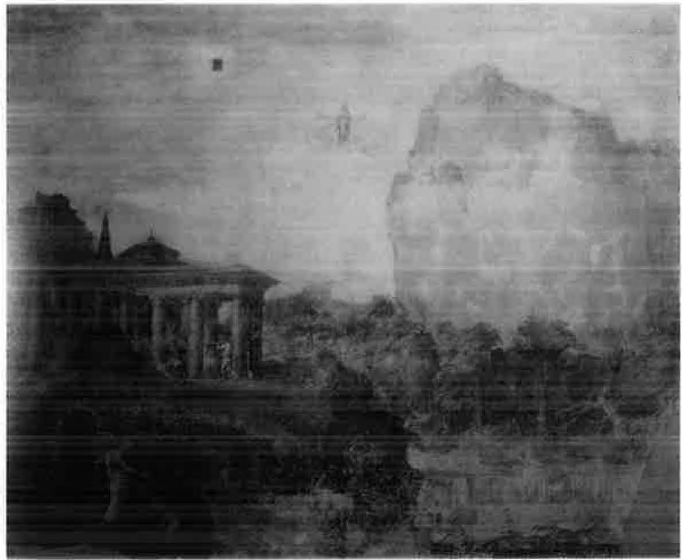


Fig. 3. Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Stories from the Life of Mary Magdalen*, (Rome, San Silvestro al Quirinale).

During its Dominican occupancy, San Silvestro functioned primarily as an urban hospice for the friars of San Marco.¹⁰ Specifici-

La commissione fu data al Cardinal Carafa, che portatosi a far visita al Santa Fiora in aria di amicizia, ed invitatolo ad uscir seco a diporto proditoriamente lo condusse in Castello. Ma oh quanto sono tremendi i Divini giudizj! Questo stesso Cardinale pochi anni dopo ebbe la disgrazia di essere strozzato nel Castello medesimo, dove forse avea avuto la compiacenza di condurre il collega suo rivale. La prigionia del Cardinal Guidascanio durò 22 giorni, cioè dai 31 Agosto del 1555 sino a 22 del seguente Settembre, nel qual giorno venne liberato essendosi antecedentemente date al Papa le dovute e richieste soddisfazioni." This is partly confirmed by SILOS, *Historiarum clericorum regularium*: "Cum Guido Ascanius Sfortia, Cardinalis Sanctae Florea, atque Ecclesiae Camerarius, uti ea gratificandi Pontificis occasione commodum statuit. Rector is Ecclesiae Sancti Sylvestri in Clivio Quirinalis tunc erat; qui sane locus & aeris benignitate, & situ opportunissimus, si spontanea liberalitate Theatinae disciplinae cederet, fore, non exiguum putavit Sfortia, initurum a Paulo gratiam; quem suboffensum Sfortiano nomini, ac sibi maxime, cum persuasum haberet, propitiatum pervellet. Itaque illum convenit, ac se, inquit inaudisse, peroptarem Sanctitatem suam Clericis suis domicilium. Putare, nullum Sancti Sylvestri Aedibus commodum magis Patribus, eorumque vivendi rationibus fore: cessurum se illis quam libentissime quicquid iuris, ac rei in eo sacerdotio esset, si iuberet ipse; placeretque loci opportunitas, ac facies. Visus Pontifex & Cardinalis munificentiam & Quirinales eas Aedes statim probasse; ratisque, optimum factu, moram omnium abrumpere, transfigendam evestigio rem curavit. Quapropter abdicate rite a Sfortia sacerdotii possessione, Clericis Regularibus id loci attribuit, datis publicis litteris ad diem tertiam decimam mensis Novembris." Furthermore, a document in the Theatine archives at Sant'Andrea della Valle dating 11 May 1545 indicates that Giovanni Pietro Carafa was involved with San Silvestro before it was given to his Order. AGT, "La donazione de Gio. Pietro Carafa frate Teatino...", 661-662, Cassetta San Silvestro al Quirinale, single sheet. On Sforza and his involvement with the Theatines, see also the circa 1600 AGT, "Descrizione & storia delle proprietà di San Silvestro dal 1555 al 1598", vols. 661-662, Cassetta San Silvestro al Quirinale. On November 13, 1555, San Silvestro was given to the Theatines, who fashioned it to its present splendor. The church was reconsecrated in 1566 (DEL TUFO, *Historia*, p. 50) by Cardinal Thomas Goldwell. By 1649, the Theatines had considerably expanded and embellished both convent and church. The Cappella Bandini was added onto the main structure and adjacent buildings were incorporated or demolished in favor of a new and larger house. The Theatines remained at San Silvestro until their expulsion in 1798-99. In 1801 they repossessed the church only to transfer it shortly after to Archduchess Marianne of Austria. She in turn passed it on to Niccolò Paccanari and his congregation of the Compagnia della Fede. In 1814, Pius VII finally gave San Silvestro to the Lazarist fathers under whose control it remains today.

¹⁰ San Silvestro's relation to San Marco should be likened to that of the hermitages of Santa Maria Maddalena in Pian di Mugnone and Santa Maria di Lecceto. Much like these two rural hospices, residents at San Silvestro took advantage of its peaceful location on the Quirinal, isolated from the urgent distractions of the city. Many have noted its pastoral and cloistered setting. In 1514 the Camaldolese General Pietro Delfin thanked Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli for having transferred the moribund Pietro Quirini to this "hospitio a Quirinalibus" (P. DELFIN, *Delphini epistolae*, (Venice,

cally, it served as the Roman outpost for all those friars who, during the pontificates of Julius II, Leo X, Adrian VI and Clement VII, sojourned in the city to advance their careers, to serve the pope, to study and to teach, to make pilgrimages and to visit famous antiquities, to participate at the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517), or to promote the canonization of Antonino Pierozzi (1516-1523).

As an extension of San Marco, San Silvestro inevitably became a point of convergence for Piagnoni in Rome. Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli, Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani, Fra Bartolomeo della Porta, Fra Tommaso Strozzi, Fra Niccolò Schömborg, and Fra Roberto Ubal dini all resided and worked at San Silvestro for prolonged periods of time. Furthermore, the presence and patronage of Savonarola's lay followers, including members of the Gaddi, Valori, Guiducci, Rucellai, and Pandolfini families, have also been recorded.

However, San Silvestro was not exclusively a center of Piagnonism. During Leo X's pontificate, for example, Cardinals Galeotto Franciotti della Rovere and Pietro Bembo, Federico Gonzaga, Alfonsina Orsini, the Greek scholars Janus Lascaris and Marcus Musurus, and the Camaldolese reformers Paolo Giustiniani and Pietro Quirini were in very close contact with San Silvestro and its cultural and religious sphere. This church also became a favorite site of Leo X, who granted indulgences in 1518 to whomever visited the Icon of the Virgin, and Clement VII, who restored the church completely in 1524 and granted indulgences to visitors of the Chapel of Saint Catherine of Siena in 1530.

The reconstruction of San Silvestro's Dominican history would be substantially incomplete without a thorough reevaluation of the career and vicissitudes of its most celebrated resident: Fra Mariano Fetti.¹¹ Pigeonholed by his long-standing reputation as buffoon of

1524), XI, 16). Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli thanked Leo X for letting him work in such a quiet and peaceful place (BAV, Ottob. Lat., 1404, fo. 2r). For the study of San Marco and its hospices see, A. ZUCCHI, "Gli ospizi domenicani in Toscana", in MD, 63 (1946), pp. 3-26; 64 (1947), pp. 49-89; F. FALLETTI, "Le origini del convento di S. Maria Maddalena in Pian di Mugnone: Indagine storica-documentaria", in *Rivista d'Arte*, 40 (1988), pp. 63-124.

¹¹ Studies on Fra Mariano and his career are fragmented and altogether patchy. The following is a selected bibliography; more specific works will be mentioned throughout this study. D. GNOLI, "La cappella di Fra Mariano del Piombo in Roma", in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, IV (1891), pp. 117-126; *Ibid.*, *La Roma di Leone X*, (Milan, 1938); A. GRAF, *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, (Turin, 1888), pp. 367-94; A. LUZIO, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio alla corte di Giulio II", in *Archivio della R. Società romana di storia patria*, IX (1886), pp. 509-82; G. TAORMINA, *Un frate alla corte di*

the Medici (whom he served first in Florence under Lorenzo il Magnifico, then in Rome under his son Giovanni, the future Leo X), Fra Mariano has been too hastily dismissed by modern historians as a consummate operator and practiced opportunist.¹² Famous for having devoured twenty chickens and forty eggs during the course of one dinner, this eccentric and even controversial figure was indeed a man of many hats. His various roles included barber of the Medici household, lay brother at San Marco ordained by Savonarola, vicar of San Silvestro, diplomat and spy, Apostolic *Plumbator* (and thus, *de iure*, like all Keepers of Papal Seals, Cistercian monk), poet, wine connoisseur, and mastermind of elaborate carnivals and Rabelaisian gags. Though Baldassarre Castiglione, Pietro Aretino, and several anonymous authors of sixteenth-century *pasquinate* depict him as the corrupt master of games at Leo X's court¹³, his name recurs always in complimentary terms in the learned correspondence of Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli and Fra Vincenzo Mainardi and in two milestone texts of Piagnone literature: the *Trattato de' Miracoli* and Fra Zaccaria di Lunigiana's *Pulcherrima Questio*.

This apparently conflicting position—torn between devotion to Savonarola and obligation to the Medici—was not uncommon among certain Piagnoni, especially those affiliated with San Silvestro's intellectual sphere.¹⁴ Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli, Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani, and Girolamo Benivieni, panegyricized Leo X and his newborn pontificate; the latter went so far as to consider him the much-

Leon X, (Palermo, 1890). More recent studies include: C. STOLLHANS, "Fra Mariano, Peruzzi and Polidoro da Caravaggio: A New Look at Religious Landscapes in Rome", in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXIII (Fall, 1992), pp. 506-25 and G. ROMELI, "Fetti (Felti), Mariano", in DBI, 47 (1997), pp. 313-6.

¹² V. MARCHESE, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori, scultori e architetti domenicani*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1869), II, pp. 121-2; L. VON PASTOR, *Storia dei papi*, 17 vols. (Rome, 1908-63), IV, i, pp. 381-3; J. SCHNITZER, *Savonarola*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1931), II, p. 439.

¹³ B. CASTIGLIONE, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, ed. G. Carnazzi, (Milan, 1994), pp. 63, 159. On Pietro Aretino and his *pasquinate*, see V. ROSSI, *Pasquinate di P. Aretino ed anonime per il conclave di Adriano VI*, (Palermo-Turin, 1891), pp. 15, 49, 84-9, 154-8, 164, 167; G. A. CESAREO, *Pasquino e pasquinate nella Roma di Leone X*, (Rome, 1938); V. MARUCCI, A. MARZIO, and A. ROMANO, *Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1983); "Confessione di mastro Pasquino a Fra Mariano martire e confessore", in A. MARZIO, *Pasquino e dintorni - Testi pasquineschi del Cinquecento*, (Rome, 1990); M. APOLLONIO, *Storia del teatro italiano*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1940), II, pp. 18, 35-9, 75-8, 256-69; see also, T. LANDONI, *Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino*, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1873-5), *sub voce*.

¹⁴ POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 248ff.

anticipated Angelic Pope.¹⁵ It is unclear to what extent such tributes were calculated moves to reinforce personal positions in Medicean courts or manifest faith and friendship. However, it was Giovanni de' Medici himself who, during his cardinalate, attempted to purchase the favor of tepid and even inimical Florentines, particularly those residing in Rome.¹⁶ In fact, such Piagnoni (as well as others, including Fra Niccolò Schömborg, Fra Sante Pagnini, Fra Vincenzo Mainardi, and Fra Cosimo Tornabuoni) duly benefited in different but profitable ways from Medicean papal patronage, often exacting criticism from Piagnoni and Mediceans alike.¹⁷

¹⁵ Z. ACCIAIUOLI, "Ode Zenobii Acciaiuoli, qua Leo X lumine Majus Ecclesiae, Soli seu Apollini Comparatur, Invitaturque ad collis Quirinalis ornatum; exemplo Leonis illius qui patrem urbis Transtyberinam dici a se Leoninam voluit", BMF, MS A. 82, fos. 237r-240r, published in W. ROSCOE, *Vita e pontificato di Leone X*, 10 vols. (Milan, 1817), X, pp. 252ff. G. M. CANIGIANI, *Poema in laudem Leonis Papae X (eidem nuncupatum anno 1514)*; see, E. LOCCATELLI, *Vita del glorioso padre San Giovanguarberto fondatore dell'Ordine di Vallombrosa insieme con le vite di tutti i Generali, Beati e Beate che ha di tempo in tempo havuto la sua religione*, (Florence, 1583) p. 309; AMBROSIUS DE ALTAMURA, *Bibliotheca Domenicana*, (Rome, 1677), p. 530; D. MORENI, *Bibliografia storico ragionata della Toscana*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1805), I, p. 206; G. NEGRI, *Istoria degli scrittori Fiorentini*, (Ferrara, 1722), p. 256; T. SALA and F. TARANI, *Dizionario biografico di scrittori letterati e artisti dell'Ordine di Vallombrosa*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1929), I, p. 112-3. G. BENIVIENI, *Frottola pro Papa Leone in renovatio ecclesiae*, in *Opere novissimamente rivedute et da molti errori espurgate con una canzone dello amore celeste et divino...*, (Venice, 1522), pp. 199-201.

¹⁶ F. GUICCIARDINI, *Storie fiorentine*, ed. A. Montecchi, (Milan, 1998), pp. 473-5.

¹⁷ Giulio de' Medici expressed genuine reservations to his friend Girolamo Benivieni regarding his simultaneous loyalty to Savonarola and the Medici: "*Girolamo voi fate professione di credere al frate... come può stare l'essere intieramente amico et affezionato nostro?*" See, A. BENIVIENI, "Vita di Girolamo Benivieni", BNCF, II.I.91, fo. 258. Girolamo's response implied that his devotion to Savonarola was in no way in jeopardy: "*V.S. Illustrissima non tema già mai delli amici e devoti del frate, essi aspettando il miracolo e che Dio operi, quieti se ne stanno.*" See POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 248-9, for this exchange and for Jacopo Pitti's similar report of Benivieni's reply. J. PITTI, *Dell'istoria fiorentina*, ed. A. Giorgetti, in ASI, I Serie, 1 (1842), p. 123. Guicciardini claimed that the friars of San Marco had lost their reason and repudiated their leader as did Pandolfo de' Conti on November 1512: see, POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 249-50. Politi (*Discorso*, fos. 76r-77v.) categorically asserted that Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli and Fra Sante Pagnini had forsaken Savonarola altogether. Notably, it was Zanobi himself who, in light of Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani's elevation to General of the Vallombrosan Order in 1514, indicated to Fra Vincenzo Mainardi that he was both proud and content to remain among his brothers. Canigiani's eagerness to accept this important and ambitious post pointed to a rejection of the tenets of *simplicitas* advocated by Savonarola. See, A. VERDE and E. GIACONI, "Epistolario di Fra Vincenzo Mainardi da San Gimignano domenicano 1481-1527", in MD, n.s. 23 (1992), pp. 121, 345 n. 358.

In this context, special attention will be also paid to Fra Mariano's role as artistic patron. Both the 1524 restoration of the church and the decoration of his private chapel, later dedicated to Saint Catherine of Siena, will be discussed in light of the above-mentioned politico-religious ambiguity. Despite the drastic renovations commissioned at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Cardinal Giacomo Sannesio¹⁸ and the 1730 restorations by the Marquis de' Cavalieri¹⁹, Fra Mariano's chapel still features unmistakable signs of Medicean and Piagnone iconographic syzygy. Mariotto Albertinelli's *Mystical Marriage of Saint Catherine of Siena* (lost) and Polidoro da Caravaggio's landscapes with stories of Mary Magdalen and Saint Catherine of Siena (1524-7) [Figs. 2 & 3] share the same space with Piagnone Luca della Robbia's remnant tiles from the Vatican Loggia (ca. 1518), some of which were distinctively marked by Medicean insignia. [Fig. 4] Some years before, Fra Mariano had also commissioned Fra Bartolomeo to paint a *Saint Peter* and a *Saint Paul* (Pinacoteca Vaticana), which once flanked the main altar at San Silvestro. [Figs. 5 & 6] These panels represent the artist's—or patron's—attempt to monumentalize the stylistic tenets of simplicity and piety so rampant in San Marco's *pittoria* before its dissolution in early 1513. Vasari's characterization of the Fra Bartolomeo's Roman experience, though seemingly romanticized, incarnated that very sentiment of inadequateness expressed stylistically in these panels. Even the typically Leonine iconography of the patron saints of Rome, which is almost unprecedented in the Frate's oeuvre, points to a deliberate intervention on the part of the patron.

This study will reconstruct and reassess the Dominican history of San Silvestro in light of the most recent studies on Piagnonism spearheaded by Armando Verde and Lorenzo Polizzotto. Furthermore, new archival documents will shed further light on the activ-

¹⁸ For the documents concerning Cardinal Sannesio and the concession of Fra Mariano's chapel, see ASR, Camerale III, Chiese e Monasteri (Roma), busta 1917, n. 2. See also, F. TITI, *Studio di pittura scultura ed architettura nelle chiese di Roma*, (Rome, 1674), p. 299; G. A. BRUZIO, "Theatrum Romae urbis", BAV, Vat. Lat., 11876, cap. LIII, vol. XIX, fo. 580v.

¹⁹ ASR, Teatini di S. Andrea della Valle, 2143, "Notizie di tutte le Cappelle della Chiesa di San Silvestro [a Monte Cavallo] e dell'obliqui di messe perpetue e loro fondi" [n. 113], fo. 2r: "...la ristorò di pittura e stucchi indorati circa l'anno 1730 il d.mo Sig.r March. de Cavalieri, con aver anche fatto il Paliotto di marmo l'anno 1738, benchè vi abbia per metà contribuito la nostra Sagrestia..."

ity of Fra Mariano and other Piagnoni in Rome and thus redefine their role within the Medicean and/or Papist milieu. It must be noted, however, that this study did not benefit from either a proper church chronicle or a homogeneous corpus of documents.²⁰ Despite Giovanni Maria Mazzucchelli's notice from 1753 of an *in situ* archive containing Dominican material²¹, all that remains today is the *Libro del Prefetto della Sacristia di San Silvestro* based on "notizie...raccolte e trascritte fedelmente da un libro antico" and a thin compilation of unimportant facts entitled *Memorie della Chiesa e Casa di San Silvestro*.²² Both manuscripts, written at the time when the complex was inhabited by the Lazarists Fathers of Vincent de Paul, are vexingly laconic on the Dominican period of the church's history. Equally terse with regards to things Dominican is the *Libro di tutte le Cappelle della Chiesa di S. Silvestro* kept by the Theatines in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²³ It is reasonable to assume then that their apparently lost source, the above mentioned "libro antico", was not a Dominican but a Theatine chronicle which, despite my extensive research in Theatine and state archives in Rome, is also lost.²⁴ Indeed, the great pains taken by the Theatine Order to restore and embellish both the church and convent shortly after taking possession of the premises in 1555 are the focus of the later church memoirs redacted and transcribed by the Lazarist priorist Carlo Casoni.

²⁰ My search for this chronicle or other records dating to the Dominican period at San Silvestro was extended to the following Roman archives: ASSQ, AGT, AGOP, ASMSM, ASV, ASC, ASR.

²¹ G. M. MAZZUCHELLI, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, 6 vols. (Brescia, 1753), I, pp. 52-3. He claimed, in fact, that two letters written by the General of the Camaldolese Order Pietro Delfin to Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli were still to be found in a manuscript at San Silvestro, at that time still a Theatine church. A *cronica* of sorts existed and was begun in 1507. See, R. CREYTENS, "Les Actes capitulaires de la Congregation Toscano-Romaine O.P. (1496-1530)", in AFP, 40 (1970), pp. 156.

²² ASSQ, "Libro del Prefetto della Sacristia Istruito di San Silvestro al Quirinale", fos. 1v-76v; ASSQ, "Memorie della Chiesa e Casa di San Silvestro al Quirinale", fos. 2ff. Both manuscripts were begun around 1869. These texts do not implement the material from the *cronica* mentioned in the Capitular Acts of the Tusco-Roman Congregation in 1507. CREYTENS, "Les Actes capitulaires", pp. 156.

²³ ASR, "Notizie di tutte le Cappelle della Chiesa di San Silvestro" [n. 113].

²⁴ The Theatine archive at Sant'Andrea della Valle and the San Silvestro files at the Archivio di Stato di Roma provide scanty material on the Dominican history of San Silvestro.

Fra Mariano Fetti: From Florence to Rome (1460-1506)

Facts regarding his youth and background are extremely scanty. Son of Piero Fetti, Mariotto—this was his name before taking the habit—was born in Florence in 1460.²⁵ Pietro Aretino reported that he was raised in Lorenzo il Magnifico's household and worked there as a barber²⁶, and recorded a remarkable incident in which Fra Mariano was the only witness to an intimate and jovial exchange between Giovanni and Giuliano de' Medici and their respective illustrious fathers, occurred during the summer of 1476.²⁷ Until the time of his master's death, he must have relent-

²⁵ His year and place of birth can be inferred from a letter written on 9 June 1515 to Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici in which he states his age (55). This letter is published in V. CIAN, "Un buffone del secolo XVI", in *La Cultura*, I/20 (1891), pp 650-5; see also, A. GIORGETTI, "Lorenzo de' Medici capitano generale della Repubblica fiorentina", in ASI, serie IV, XI (1883), p. 194 n. 1. His secular name is noted in the *Annalia* of San Marco compiled by Fra Roberto Ubaldini (BMLF, San Marco, 370, fo. 97r): "Vest: 15-II-1495 [1496] — Prof. 23-II-1496 [1497]—Ob.: 25-IV-1530 [1531] *Hic creatus est plumbator in Curia a Leone decimo et habitum cistercensium conversorum assumpsit; obiit... die Octobris 1531*". See, A. VERDE, "La congregazione di S. Marco dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori: Il "reale" della predicazione savonaroliana", in MD, n.s. 14 (1983), p. 185. His father's name is listed in a document in the Biblioteca e Archivio del comune di San Gimignano, "Memorie e ricordi del convento dell'Annunziata", MS 82, fo. 160: "f. Mariano di Piero barbiere". See VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 659.

²⁶ P. ARETINO, *Ragionamento delle Corti, Pietro Aretino*, ed. C. Serafini and L. Zampolli (Rome, 2002), p. 259: "Egli, che fu barbiere di Lorenzo, padre di papa Leone, e tra i divini suoi costumi allevato..."

²⁷ P. ARETINO, *Il quinto libro delle lettere di M. Pietro Aretino*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1609), V, p. 211: "Lorenzo e Giuliano quello padre di Leone e questo di Clemente, standosi trapassando il tempo del caldo al Poggio, accadde un giorno poco dopo desinare, ch'eglino per fuggire il sonno, essendosi rirtirati in camera dove, merce' dello aperto delle finestre il vento faceva godergli con il respiragli del suo fiato nel volto, venutogli alle mani due canne, se ne fecero cavalli e salendo l'uno sopra l'una e l'altro sopra l'altra, volse Giuliano che gli montasse in groppa Giulio, e Lorenzo che il simile facesse Giovanni, e così speronando ciascuno senza isproni, parevano proprio isperonanargli, talchè i bambini tutti ridenti quel piacere in la loro innocenza provavano, che prova in la sua tenerezza ogni genitore, che la di lui prole trastulla. Videgli in cotale atto quel Mariano, che poi ebbe il titolo di frate del piombo, et ridendosene da senno fu chiamato dentro dai personaggi si grandi, quali di ciò si accorsero e chiusa da loro istessi la porta pregarono il faceto et leale uomo che non prima facesse motto dell'aver i due fratelli (quali poi furono padri di cotale coppia di pontefici) trovati in tal materia di scherzo, ch'egli avesse figliuoli, inferendo in si prudente voce parola, che la minore dimostrazione di semplicità, che ci faccino coloro, che ne hanno, è lo impazzirgli drieto."

lessly worked his way up within the Laurentian milieu. In a letter to Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici (9 June 1515), Fra Mariano proudly asserted that he was "...*il primo Cristiano che vi vedessi quando voi nascesti*".²⁸ Although not as celebrated as the pranks he orchestrated during his years in Rome, there is evidence that he was a buffoon (and acted as such) in Lorenzo's eminent court. Such was his joy after Lorenzo di Piero's birth that he began "...*a rallegrare il populo di Firenze che mandai sottosopra tucta la città*." Years later, in a letter to Federico Gonzaga, he reminisced about "...*tutti li capricci facti in questo palazzo [Medici] et in questa magna città [Florence]*".²⁹

Much like other Medicean *familiars*, including Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli and Sandro Botticelli, Fra Mariano espoused the Frate's cause soon after Piero's expulsion in November 1494.³⁰ On February 15 1496, he took the habit from Savonarola himself and about a year later on February 23 1497 was professed lay brother at San Marco.³¹ The manual labor of such friars was crucial for the economy of a convent since it enabled Regular clerics to properly attend to their studies and preaching.³² Furthermore, Savonarola expressly wanted these *conversi* to be of good background and proficient in some art or calling like painting, sculpture, building, or writing.³³ Fra Mariano was once again in charge of cutting hair and beards.³⁴

²⁸ CIAN, "Un buffone del secolo XVI", pp. 650-5.

²⁹ Letter written on 29 January 1513 to Federico Gonzaga and published in CIAN, "Un buffone del secolo XVI".

³⁰ D. WEINSTEIN, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance*, (Princeton, NJ, 1970), ch. 4, *passim*; POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, p. 19; On Botticelli's Savonarolism see, G. CORNINI, "Il savonarolismo nell'ultimo periodo di Botticelli tra ipotesi e realtà", in *Storia dell'arte*, 52 (1984), pp. 171-185; N. PONS, *Botticelli: catalogo completo*, (Milan, 1989), pp. 37-42; R. HATFIELD, "Botticelli's *Mystic Nativity*, Savonarola and the Millennium", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 58 (1995), pp. 89-114.

³¹ VERDE, "La congregazione di S. Marco", p. 185.

³² D. J. OSHEIM, "Conversion, *Conversi*, and the Christian Life in Late Medieval Tuscany", in *Speculum*, 58 (1983), pp. 368-90. Of all the various published Constitutions, the *Regula beati Augustini episcopis... Constitutiones fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Venice, 1507) seems most pertinent to this study.

³³ Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, p. 51.

³⁴ VERDE, "La congregazione di S. Marco", p. 185; VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 659.

His observance of Savonarolan tenets is alluded to in a letter written some twenty years after Fra Girolamo's death, at the time when he stormed Leo X's court earning a handsome salary for his services: "*non son più li tempi quando acchatavo infino al pane*".³⁵ This loyalty and fervor are also confirmed by an incident described in Pseudo-Burlamacchi's *Vita* written some decades after the Savonarola's death.³⁶ He and another friar were sent begging for food for the first time since the executions of 23 May 1498. Moving door-to-door, they purposely avoided the home of the Valori since this family had already suffered greatly as a result of their Savonarolan partisanship (*...per conto di questa opera di Dio hebbono a casa il fuoco et il sacco et la morte di più persone*). Francesco Valori, Gonfaloniere in 1497, had been murdered with his wife little more than a month before (8 April 1498).³⁷ The surviving Valori nevertheless filled their bags with food and prompted them to return whenever in need. Given the circumstances, this act of piety caused sincere commotion on the part of the two friars:

*"...cominciorno a piangere per gran dolcezza et con grande allegrezza et molte lachrime lo raccontorno alli frati, e' quali furono fra Cornelio, che se n'andò di poi a Vallombrosa, et fra Mariano, che poi fu posto al Piombo. Si che consideriate di che qualità erano i ferventi di Fra Girolamo."*³⁸

³⁵ LUZIO, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio", p. 574.

³⁶ Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, p. 239-40. For more recent developments on this topic, see: J. BENAVENT, "Le biografie antiche di Girolamo Savonarola", in *Savonarola e la Toscana: Atti e documenti. Studi savonaroliani. Verso il V centenario*, ed. G.C. Garfagnini (Florence, 1996), pp. 15-21. For the *Trattato dei miracoli* and its many manuscript versions: see: *Ibid.*, "El tratado de milagros de Fra Girolamo Savonarola: el codice de Valencia y la tradición manuscrita", in MD, n.s. 28 (1997), pp. 5-146; *Ibid.*, *Las biografías antiguas de fra Girolamo Savonarola. El codice de Valencia*, in MD, n.s. 32 (2001), pp. 217-50.

³⁷ On Francesco Valori and the Valori family, see: P. VILLARI, *La storia di Girolamo Savonarola e de' suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1887), *ad indicem*; R. RIDOLFI, *Vita di Girolamo Savonarola*, (Rome, 1952; 1997), *ad indicem*; POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, *ad indicem*.

³⁸ Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, pp. 239-40: "Di uno notabile atto, degno di memoria, della casa de' Valori". In a manuscript at BNCF, Fra Mariano is made the narrator of the story "*...questo fatto narrò Fra Mariano del Piombo, huomo a tutti notissimo, a laude di Dio.*" (BNCF, Conv. Sopp., G.V. 1208, fo. 182r). See BENAVENT, "El tratado de milagros", *passim*, for an exhaustive list of manuscripts of both the *Vita* and the *Trattato*.

Shortly after, on June 10 1498, Fra Mariano was sent along with twenty other friars to the convent of the Annunziata at San Gimignano.³⁹

This is the last documented notice of his whereabouts until he resurfaced in Rome some eight years later. During this lengthy interim Fra Mariano rekindled, if these were ever truly rescinded, his Medicean alliances. It is probable that he joined Giovanni de' Medici, soon after the son of Lorenzo and future Leo X had settled in Rome in May of 1500, or that he even accompanied him to Germany, Flanders, and France in summer of 1499.⁴⁰

³⁹ This convent is also known as San Domenico. VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 659. For the reasons why some friars of San Marco took over the Annunziata at San Gimignano, see: RAZZI, "Cronica", fo. 89v. "*Del convento di San Gimignano detto L'Annunziata... L'anno poi 1498 essendo morto il padre Savonarola, il B.mo Generale, con autorità datagli dal papa uni la Congregazione di San Marco riformata, che quattro soli conventi comprendeva, cioè San Marco, Fiesole, Prato et il Sasso, con la Congregazione di Toscana, parimente riformata, ma non in tanta strettela, la quale comprendeva sette conventi, cioè Lucca, Pistoia, Cortona, Siena, la Quercia, Montepulciano, e San Gimignano, nei quali sette conventi non erano più che settanta frati in circa. E così unite queste due congregazioni in una, ne fu Vicario il padre fra Jacopo di Sicilia. Il quale prudentissimo padre considerando da una lauda la santimonia de i quasi trecento frati tutti nobili, e giovani de primi quattro conventi, e gli incolpatisimi loro costumi. E dall'altra la debole et imperfetta riforma di quei pochi della riforma Toscana, con ottimo, e sanissimo giudicio non volle mescolare gli uni con gli altri, ma rimanendo vicario di tutti e undici, e separò due particolari da i sette e gli aggiunse ai quattro mandandovi frati di San Marco e questi furono Lucca e San Gimignano. E per tal maniera questo convento venne sotto la perfetta riforma l'anno 1498 nella quale fino al di' d'oggi persevera.*"

⁴⁰ Very little is known of Giovanni de' Medici's European tour. Accompanied by his cousin Giulio and ten members of his close entourage (including Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena), this self-imposed exile camouflaged as a literary trip was mostly triggered by Piero de' Medici's repeated failure to recapture Florence in the period following Savonarola's death. See especially A. BACELLI, *Porpore, allori, e camicie rosse*, (Milan, 1939), pp. 40-1; ROSCOE, *Vita e pontificato di Leone X*, I, pp. 168ff; J.-M.-V. AUDIN, *Storia di Leone X*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1846), I, pp. 257-60; von PASTOR, *Storia dei papi*, IV, i, pp. 1-2. For the period shortly preceding his trip, see: G. B. PICOTTI, *La giovinezza di Leone X*, (Milan, 1927). An event worthy of notice can be found in Johannes Burchard's diaries. He reported that a certain "...*Frater Marianus fecit orationem...*" at Santa Maria sopra Minerva for Pietro Bertrandi Bishop of Tuy in August of 1504. I. BURCHARD, *Liber notarum*, ed. E. Celani, in *RIS*, XXXIII, i, II, p. 457: "*Martis, VI augusti (1504), bo. me. Petrus Bertrandi, episcopus tudensis qui nocte preterita, dies clausit extremum, fuit sepultus in ecclesia Minerve; familie pape et plurium cardinalium interfuerunt. Frater Marianus fecit orationem.*" This should be identified with Fra Mariano Ughi, who preached at Santa Maria a Monte on 27 April 1503 (VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 593) and was listed as subprior at San Marco on 16 August 1505 (VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 553). It should be noted however that Celani though

The Cum Nuper Bull (1507) and Savonarolan Architectural Pauperism

With a Papal Brief dated 27 June 1506, Julius II granted Fra Mariano permission to take possession, along with two or three other Dominican friars, of any parochial church agreed to by his superiors, outside the jurisdictional confines of the houses of his Order.⁴¹ Remarkably, it was a lay brother who personally advanced this request and not a Regular friar or more prominent member of Tusco-Roman Congregation, of which San Marco was the mother convent.⁴²

This document, aside from registering Fra Mariano's extraordinary success in Rome, also establishes him to be among the first members of San Marco residing in this city after Savonarola's death.⁴³ Importantly, he became the precursor of all those members and affiliates of San Marco who would soon after seek fortune in the Babylonian city their martyred leader so vehemently condemned. Savonarola, who had never been to Rome and expressed no desire to establish a convent there in the initial stages of his reform, forthrightly admonished friars not to visit the city lest they breathe the pestilential air it emanated. According to him, Rome was the epicenter of sin.⁴⁴ A woodcut in Domenico Benivieni's *Trattato... in defensione et probatione della doctrina et prophetie predicate da frate Hieronimo da Ferrara*, illustrating verbatim the apocalyptic vision that Savonarola had on Maudy Thursday (29 March) of 1496, underscored this notion.⁴⁵ [Fig. 7] The few friars who traveled to

listing Fra Mariano Ughi elsewhere in the index does not consider this 'Frater Marianus' to be Ughi.

⁴¹ This Brief is published in CREYTENS, "Les Actes capitulaires", p. 223.

⁴² The document explicitly states: "*Cum sicut nobis nuper exponi fecisti*".

⁴³ After Savonarola's death, Luschino may have traveled to Rome in 1501 or 1502: DALL'AGLIO, "Riflessioni", p. 472. Fra Niccolò Schömberg, Prior of San Marco at the time of the Brief, was soon offered an important post in Rome on 2 August 1507. See, VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 244 n. 85. In the formal protest that the friars of San Marco drafted against Bernardo del Bianco in regards to payments for Fra Bartolomeo's picture (19 June 1507), Schömberg is already reported to be in Rome. MARCHESE, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori*, II, pp. 540-1.

⁴⁴ Anti-Roman vituperations and censures of Renaissance papacies in Savonarola's tracts and sermons are extremely frequent and are succinctly summarized in SCHNITZER, *Savonarola*, II, pp. 271-317.

⁴⁵ D. BENIVIENI, *Trattato di Maestro Domenico Benivieni Prete Fiorentino in defensione et probatione della doctrina et prophetie predicate da frate Hieronimo da Ferrara* (Florence, 1496), fo. IIIv. Rome, recognizable by the Pantheon's dome, is being chastised by the elements, unlike Florence and Jerusalem, which are depicted at each

Rome during the Frate's apostolate did so briefly and solely for diplomatic purposes.⁴⁶ Savonarola was constantly updated on the state of corruption under the Borgia papacy by Piagnoni bankers and merchants who carried out business with his court.⁴⁷ These loyal expatriates were officially reprimanded by the Signoria when they expressed concern for the Frate's situation during the heated months before his arrest.⁴⁸ So powerful was their attachment to Savonarola and so widespread was this Florentine lobby in Rome that in March 1498 Alexander VI threatened to confiscate all their goods and arrest all Florentine residents in the Papal state if Savonarola continued preaching against the Pope's order.⁴⁹

side of the Crucifix. This vision was expounded by Savonarola in a sermon delivered the following day. See, SAVONAROLA, *Amos e Zaccaria*, III, pp. 370-409. On this image, see: G. GRUYER, *Les Illustrations des écrits de Jérôme Savonarole au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle et paroles de Savonarole sur l'art*, (Paris, 1879), pp. 127-31. Donald Beebe, in his recent dissertation, provides a more convincing and updated reading of this woodcut. D. BEEBE, *Savonarolan Aesthetics and Their Implementation in the Graphic Arts*, Diss. Yale University, May 1998, pp. 171-3.

⁴⁶ In May of 1493, Fra Alessandro Rinuccini and Fra Domenico da Pescia were sent to Rome to plea for San Marco's separation from the lax Lombard Congregation. See, A. GHERARDI, *Nuovi documenti e studi intorno a Girolamo Savonarola* (Florence, 1887), p. 63; VILLARI, *La storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, I, pp. 172-3. About a year later, Fra Francesco Salviati and Fra Giovanni Sinibaldi went to perorate the cause of the aggregation of San Domenico in Fiesole and Santa Caterina in Pisa in the newly founded Congregation of San Marco. Both Pseudo-Burlamacchi and Simone Filipepi's accounts have stressed the discomfort that Fra Alessandro Rinuccini and Fra Domenico da Pescia suffered in the Papal milieu.

⁴⁷ A number bankers and merchants known as *Mercatores Florentini Romanam Curiam Sequentes*, listed in documents published by Melissa M. Bullard, also appear in the 1497 petition to Alexander VI. These are Taddeo, Girolamo, Zanobi Gaddi, Antonio Bonsi, Giuliano Panciatichi, Benedetto Tornaquinci, and Giovanni Schiattesi. For the 1494 list of bankers, see: M. M. BULLARD, "Mercatores Florentini Romanam Curiam Sequentes in the early sixteenth century", in *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 6 (1976), pp. 51-71. Compare this to the petition in S. FILIPEPI, *Estratto della cronaca di Simone Filipepi*, in *Scelta di prediche e scritti di Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, eds. P. Villari and E. Casanova (Florence, 1898), pp. 514-18 and POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 446-61. Roman Piagnoni, whose names do not appear in Bullard, because they did not conduct business with the papacy, are listed as members of the Arciconfraternita dei Fiorentini. This confraternity will be discussed in the section on Zanobi Gaddi and will be subject to future study on Piagnonism in Rome during the papacies of Alexander VI and Julius II.

⁴⁸ S. BERTELLI, "La politica estera fiorentina e quella veneziana nella crisi rinascimentale", in *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations*, eds. S. Bertelli, N. Rubinstein and C.H. Smyth, 2 vols. (Florence, 1979), I, p. 141.

⁴⁹ GHERARDI, *Nuovi documenti*, p. 198.

The Papal Bull known as *Cum Nuper* issued on June 23 1507 sheds more light on the nature of Fra Mariano's success.⁵⁰ An elaborate ratification of the 1506 Brief, this document introduced not only the key figures involved in this operation but also the very site the friars were to occupy: San Silvestro a Monte Cavallo. This small medieval church, whose parochial rights belonged to the Conventual Franciscans of the nearby SS. Apostoli, was obtained through Cardinal Galeotto Franciotti della Rovere, nephew of Julius II, who immediately waived it in favor of Fra Matteo di Marco del Sasso, General-Vicar of the Congregation of San Marco.⁵¹ The Bull stated that this cardinal was to remain *protector* of San Silvestro until his death and that no coat of arms other than his own could be displayed in the church without special license.⁵² Cardinal Franciotti, at the time in charge of the Apostolic Chancellery⁵³, had been a childhood friend of Giovanni de' Medici and was close to members of his entourage such as Pietro Bembo and Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, to whom he frequently dispensed favors.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, a note

⁵⁰ BOP, IV, pp. 246-7. This decision was ratified on 27 June 1508, upon Pagnini's request. See, CREYTENS, "Les Actes capitulaires", p. 156.

⁵¹ This was confirmed by the 1508 General Chapter: "*Acceptamus locum s. Sylvestri in Exquilis de Urbe, quem reverendissimus dominus cardinalis s. Petri ad vincula vicecancellarius dedit congregationi s. Marci.*" B. M. REICHERT, "*Actum Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum 1508*", in MOPH, IX (1901), p. 87. In truth, Fra Matteo di Marco del Sasso was the General-Vicar of the Tusco-Roman Congregation and not of the then defunct Congregation of San Marco, even though San Marco remained the mother convent of this cluster of Dominican residences.

⁵² BOP, IV, p. 246. "...*et in Domo costruenda, et Ecclesia S. Sylvestri huiusmodi, et illarum aedificiis praeter arma praefati Galeoti Cardinalis per aliquem cujuscumque dignitatis, seu absque ipsius Galeoti Cardinalis speciali licentia apponi nullatenus possint, ipseque Galeotus Cardinalis quod vixerit, eiusdem Domus costruendae Protector existat, praefata auctoritate earundem praesentium tenore statuimus, et ordinamus.*" Savonarola was severely opposed to the presence of family escutcheons in sacred spaces.

⁵³ N. DEL RE, *La Curia romana: lineamenti storico-giuridici*, (Vatican City, 1998), p. 445.

⁵⁴ Between the 1506 Brief and the *Cum nuper* Bull, Giovanni de' Medici and Galeotto Franciotti della Rovere were following Julius II along with twenty-two other cardinals on his Bolognese campaign, see: C. CASTIGLIONI, *Storie dei Papi*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1936), II, p. 209. For an excellent bibliography of published texts as well as unpublished documents, see: P. CHERUBINI, "Franciotti della Rovere, Galeotto", in DBI, 50 (1998), pp. 165-7. See also, G. L. MONCALLERO, *Il cardinale Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena umanista e diplomatico (1470-1520)*, (Florence, 1953), pp. 206-7; P. BEMBO, *Dalle lettere di M. Pietro Bembo, a sommi pontefici...*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1575), I, pp. 17-22.

in Baldassarre Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano* indicates that he knew Fra Mariano as well.⁵⁵

The donation of San Silvestro was a sort of marriage of convenience between Piagnoni and Medicean factions. Fra Mariano's brothers at San Marco acknowledged his fundamental role in obtaining this church in the 1520 Capitular Acts of the Tusco-Roman Congregation.⁵⁶ By pressuring Giovanni de' Medici to intercede with Cardinal Franciotti, he secured this urban retreat for San Marco and its constellation of allied convents. Already in late 1507, Fra Apollinare da Viterbo, an early resident of the convent, observed how the number of friars yearning to establish themselves in Rome was increasing considerably.⁵⁷ More than a mere hospice, this eventually became San Marco's first embassy to the Holy See.⁵⁸ From here, friars were able to follow the vicissitudes of Savonarola's cause with great attention both at the Curia and at the Order's headquarters.⁵⁹

It is clear that Giovanni de' Medici had a personal interest in San Silvestro as well. By ingratiating himself with San Marco's

⁵⁵ CASTIGLIONE, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, p. 159: "Allor messer Federico disse: Signora, non so ciò che più mi avanzi; ma io, a guisa di viandante già stanco della fatica del lungo camminare a mezzo giorno, riposerommi nel ragionare di messer Bernardo al suon delle sue parole, come sotto qualche amenissimo ed ombroso albero al mormorar suave d'un vivo fonte; poi forse, un poco ristorato, potro dir qualche altra cosa. Rispose, ridendo, messer Bernardo: S'io vi mostro il capo, vederete che ombra si po aspettar dalle foglie del mio albero. Di sentire il mormorio di quel fonte vivo, forse vi verrà fatto, perch'io fui già converso in un fonte, non d'alcuno degli antichi Dei, ma dal nostro Fra Mariano, e da indi in qua mai non m'è mancata l'acqua. Allor ognun cominciò a ridere, perché questa piacevolezza, di che messer Bernardo intendeva, essendo intervenuta in Roma alla presenza di Galeotto cardinale di San Pietro ad Vincula, a tutti era notissima."

⁵⁶ CREYTENS, "Les Actes capitulaires", pp. 171-2. In this document he is distinctly referred to as he "*quo mediante locus* [i.e. San Silvestro] *nobis ottigerat*." Such was the popularity of San Silvestro and Fra Mariano during the pontificate of Leo X that Fra Serafino Razzi thought that it was bequeathed to the friars of San Marco by the Medicean Pope and by not Julius II. RAZZI, "Cronica", fo. 9r.

⁵⁷ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 132.

⁵⁸ V. M. FONTANA, *De romana provincia Ordinis Praedicatorum*, (Rome, 1670): "*Habuimus et Romae locum S. Silvestri in monte Quirinali, a Leone Papa X [sic] datum Fratribus Congregationis s. Marci, ut Urbe Conventum haberent pro suis negotiis occurrentibus apud Apostolicam Sedem, quem incoluerunt Patres nostri sub vicariatus, non vero Prioratus titulo usque ad Pauli IV tempora, qui illum sibi concedi a Romana Provincia et Ordine voluit, a Patribus Theatinis suis incolendum, in quo loco permanebat confessarius Tertiariarum nostranum S. Mariae ad Nives, quae in eodem loco, ubi nunc est Monasterium SS. Sixti et Dominici permanebant.*"

⁵⁹ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. xlviij.



Fig. 4. Luca della Robbia the Younger, *Tiles with Medici Emblems*,
(Rome, San Silvestro al Quirinale).



Fig. 5. Fra Bartolomeo and Raphael, *Saint Peter* (Pinacoteca Vaticana).



Fig. 6. Fra Bartolomeo, *Saint Paul*,
(Pinacoteca Vaticana).

community—still loyal to Piero Soderini's Gonfaloniership but nevertheless conscious of the special tie that linked them with the Medici⁶⁰—the cardinal began to pave the way for his family's return to Florence.⁶¹ With this very purpose, about a year later, he would also purchase for an exorbitant price the remains of his father's library housed at San Marco⁶² and mastermind the diplomatic marriage between Clarice de' Medici and Filippo Strozzi, member of the renown philo-Piagnoni family.⁶³ Giovanni's strategy was to disassociate himself completely from Piero's errors and, in turn, to systematically reconstruct his family's political status.⁶⁴ Rome turned out to be the ideal forum for this delicate endeavor. Despite the Republic's ban prohibiting Florentines from entertaining any kind of rapport with the exiled family, many—including opponents of the Medici and more moderate followers of Savonarola—demanded and received favors from the sons of Lorenzo il Magnifico residing in Rome.⁶⁵ The donation of San Silvestro to the

⁶⁰ For the history of San Marco and the Medici, see *La chiesa e il convento di San Marco*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1989-90). See also, WEINSTEIN, *Savonarola and Florence*, p. 107. Loddi, like other historians before him, claimed that young Giovanni de' Medici helped San Marco secede from the lax Lombard Congregation: "Nell'anno 1493 [1494] il Con.to di S. Marco si separò dalla Conge. di Lombardia, in cui lo spirito era molto raffreddato. A effetto di ottenere una tal separazione andarono due Patri di S. Marco a Roma con premurose raccomandazioni della Signoria Fiorentina, e del Cardinale Giovanni de' Medici, che poi fu Papa col nome di Leone X al sommo Pontefice Ales.o 6 e al Cardinale Olivieri Caraffa, Protettore del Ord. De Pred...". LODDI, "Notizie", fo. 63r. On 26 November 1512, Giovanni de' Medici prevented the *popolaccio* from attacking San Marco. POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 246-7. See also VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 161-5, 380 n. 431-388 n. 449.

⁶¹ L. POLIZZOTTO, "The Medici and the Savonarolans, 1512-1527: the Limitation of Personal Government and of the Medicean Patronage System", in *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, eds. F.W. Kent and P. Simmons, (Oxford, 1987), pp. 135-50; POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, ch. 6.

⁶² E. PICCOLOMINI, "Delle condizioni e delle vicende della Libreria medicea privata", in ASI, XIX, (1874), pp. 100-29, 254-281; B. L. ULLMANN and P. A. STADTER, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco*, (Padua, 1972); E. GARIN, "La Biblioteca di San Marco", in *La chiesa e il convento di San Marco*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1990), I, pp. 79-148.

⁶³ M. M. BULLARD, "Marriage Politics and the Family in Florence: The Strozzi-Medici Alliance of 1508", in *American Historical Review*, 84 (1979), pp. 668-87.

⁶⁴ GUICCIARDINI, *Storie fiorentine*, pp. 471, 474.

⁶⁵ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 381 n. 435. Verde explicitly points out that "...nella Congregazione di San Marco, dopo l'espulsione dal convento seguita dall'uccisione del Savonarola, si era formata nei frati la coscienza dei perseguitati che hanno bisogno di difesa e di protezione e che devono essere sempre sulla trincea: vigilianti per non perdere posizioni faticosamente conquistate. Una coscienza che nel tempo

Piagnoni was certainly part of this political strategy. As a symbolic token of their gratitude, the friars of San Marco gave Giovanni de' Medici a *Nativity* by Fra Bartolomeo before his election to the papal throne on 11 March 1513.⁶⁶

The *Cum Nuper* Bull stipulated that Fra Mariano was in charge of both the administrative matters and the architectural renovation of the damaged complex.⁶⁷ In this document, it is clearly indicated that the church and other adjacent edifices should be restored or rebuilt to resemble the other Houses of the Congregation.⁶⁸ This clause set the precise aesthetic parameters within which Fra Mariano, as appointed *praefectus operum*, had to conform.⁶⁹ Directives on this matter were generally issued by the mother-convent and dictated by the degree of monastic rigor the congregation chose to adopt. Since San Silvestro was a vicariate and not a prioral convent with distinct territorial jurisdiction, the logical models for its reconstruction and restoration should have been San Marco's rural satellite hospices of Santa Maria Maddalena in Pian di Mugnone and Santa Maria di Lecceto.⁷⁰ Both hospices functioned primarily as hermitages, as well as summer asylums for old or convalescing brothers and temporary hostels for traveling friars. The assiduous presence of close followers of Savonarola had invested these two

si andava consolidando per le persecuzioni che in certe congiunture si ripetevano. In questa lettera il Mainardi ricorda quelle persecuzioni che si andavano profilando nel momento in cui si stava componendo questo testo."

⁶⁶ MARCHESI, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori*, II, p. 199. This *Nativity* is perhaps the one in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in Madrid.

⁶⁷ BOP, IV, pp. 246-7: "...dilectus filius Marianus conversus dictae Congregationis cui alias ut asseritur ut de licentia sui Superioris duxerit eligendos, commorari, et inibj Divina officia facere celebrare, et cura, animarum exercere, et Ecclesiastica Sacramenta ministrare, necnon eleemosinas a Christi fidelibus praefati pia largitione pro tempore factas, recipere, et in eorum victum convertere valeret, praefata Apostolica fuit auctoritate concessum, quique in dicta Ecclesia Sancti Silvestri..."

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 247. "... unam Domum cum claustro, refectorio, dormitorio, hortis, hortaliitiis, et aliis necessariis officinis, ad instar aliarum Domorum dictae Congregationis construi, et aedificari faciendi, ipsamque Parochialem Ecclesiam, et illius Domum reparandi..."

⁶⁹ The *praefectus operum* was the friar (cleric or lay brother) chosen by the prior to supervise the construction or restoration of a church or convent. His main function was to see the progress of architects and laborers as well purchase material and do bookkeeping. See, HUBERTUS DE ROMANIS, *De officio praefecti operum*, in *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J.J. Berthier, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888), II, pp. 331-3.

⁷⁰ ZUCCHI, "Gli ospizi domenicani in Toscana", pp. 52-56; FALLETTI, "Le origini del convento di S. Maria Maddalena", pp. 63-124.

houses with a distinct Piagnone identity.⁷¹ Likewise, Fra Mariano's restoration of the dilapidated convent on the Quirinal should have been in accordance with the very tenets of aesthetic sobriety purported by Savonarola and embraced by all those friars still adhering to the Frate's conventual reforms.

The headquarters of Savonarola's congregation certainly did not provide an adequate aesthetic model for San Silvestro.⁷² Already during the early years of his priorship, the Frate had expressed discontent with Antonino Pierozzi's convent, deeming the structure incompatible with the progress of his reforms. Fra Serafino Razzi would later recall how the decorations at San Marco were hardly appropriate for an austere and modest life: "...peroché il convento predetto di San Marco appariva loro più magnifico e più sontuoso di quello che eglino desideravano."⁷³ Among the many problems, the physical marks of Medicean patronage were in utter contrast with the stringent pauperistic measures Savonarola had wished to implement. He had openly denounced the display of coats-of-arms rather than crucifixes in convents and churches; he saw these as ostensible signs of external subjugation and secular propaganda, often masked under the apparent aegis of artistic patronage.⁷⁴ Cosimo Pater Patriae's private cells and Michelozzo's classicizing architecture at San Marco (and at Pian di Mugnone, for that matter) were notable cases.⁷⁵

Savonarola never drafted a clear pandect of conventual aesthetics. Nevertheless, snippets of architectural remarks frequently appeared in his sermons and writings dealing with monastic

⁷¹ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 249 n. 91.

⁷² The discussion of Savonarola's conventual architecture, extensively treated in my doctoral thesis, will be subject of a future study.

⁷³ RAZZI, "Cronica", fo. 6v.

⁷⁴ SAVONAROLA, *Amos e Zaccaria*, II, p. 26: "Guarda per tutti i luoghi de' conventi: tutti gli troverai pieni d'arme di chi gli ha murati. Io alzo il capo là sopra quello uscio; io credo che vi sia un crocefisso, el v'è una arme; va' più là, alza il capo: el v'è un'altra arme. Ogni cosa è pieno d'arme." For coat-of-arms at San Marco see, A. BENFANTE and P. PERRETTI, "I chiostrì e il museo di San Marco", in *La chiesa e il convento di San Marco*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1989-90), I, p. 334, ill. 71.

⁷⁵ In his treatise on government, written shortly before his death, he claimed that one way a tyrant was able to distract his people from his misconduct was by building and supporting churches. G. SAVONAROLA, *Prediche sopra Aggeo con il Trattato circa il reggimento e governo della città di Firenze*, ed. L. Firpo (Rome, 1965), pp. 46-71. "Similmente cerca [i.e. the tyrant] di apparere religioso e dedito al culto divino; ma solamente certe cose esteriori, come andare nelle chiese, fare elemosine, edificare templi e cappelle, o fare paramenti, e simile altre cose, per ostentazione."

immoderation.⁷⁶ In a letter written to the Prioress of San Domenico at Pisa (10 September 1493), Savonarola complained that Mendicant Orders no longer lived in "*celle povere, senza alcuna superfluità*", but erected "*palazzi con colonne di marmo*" and "*stanzie le quali sariano sufficiente a li signori*."⁷⁷ Exhorting contemporary clergy to forego possessions, he reminded them how the early Church Fathers lived frugally and soberly.⁷⁸ Within the sphere of his

⁷⁶ This passage in his *Della semplicità della vita cristiana* leaves little space for interpretation: "*Debbono adunque e' cristiani in tale modo edificare le loro case e avere tale veste e così le altre cose esteriore e usare cibi tanto semplici, che essi non perdano per questo el vero nome di cristiano, imperocché noi per esperienza proviamo chee s'egli è referito ad alcuno di qualche religioso monasterio di frati, e detto che e' sono uomini santi, subito questo tale si immagina che in loro sia una miabile semplicità e povertà. Ma se dipoi, andando al convento di quelli, vede e' chiostrii magnificamente edificati e le celle pulite ed ornate e ogni cosa dimostrare vanità di mondo, perde immediate la opinione buona che lui si aveva conceputa di quelli.*" G. SAVONAROLA, *De Semplicitate christianae vitae*, ed. P.G. Ricci (Rome, 1959), p. 204. (For clarity's purpose I shall use Girolamo Benivieni's 1496 Italian translation, which Savonarola did oversee, also included in the abovementioned volume.)

⁷⁷ G. SAVONAROLA, *Lettere e scritti apologetici*, ed. R. Ridolfi, V. Romano, and A. Verde (Rome, 1984), p. 44: "*Edificare conventi poveri e semplici, vestire di grosso panno e vecchio e ritoppato, mangiare e bere secondo la determinatione de li Santi, sobriamente; havere celle povere, senza alcuna superfluità; servare li silentii et darsi a la contemplatione e solitudine, lassando la familiarità del seculo, non è nuovo modo di vivere religioso; ma bene è nuovo modo alla religione de' mendicanti edificare; havere possessione contra la professione di tucto l'Ordine, non havendo fede in Christo, el quale dice: Primum quaerite regnum Dei, et haec omnia adicentur vobis; vestire non del panno più vile, ma del più vano; poco orare; vaghare in ogni loco; volere esser povero, ma che non manchi niente; e fare simili altre novità in scandolo de anime.*"

⁷⁸ Some years later, he compared the luxurious palaces of contemporary clergy with the modest living of the early Church Fathers: "*Va vedi le case loro, erano tutte semplici, non facevano palazzi d'oro e d'argento, ma era in loro se non semplicità.*" G. SAVONAROLA, *Prediche sopra Ruth e Michea*, ed. V. Romano, 2 vols. (Rome, 1962), I, p. 143. In the *Della semplicità della vita cristiana*, Savonarola's criticisms are even more acrimonious: "*De' clerici e de' sacerdoti della Chiesa, e' quali debbono vivere molto più modestamente e con maggiore semplicità che e' laici, e che sono obbligati a pascere e' poveri, penso che e' sia meglio piangere che alcuna cosa parlarne, avendo loro in questa nostra infelicissima età tante cose superflue, le quali elli spendono come a loro piace e come sa tutto el mondo. Con che faccia, adunque, potranno questi tali comparere dinanzi all'orrendo e in tanto terribile e pauroso tribunale di Cristo? Ma che diremo ancora de' religiosi, così monaci come mendicanti, in ogni luogo e' quali edificano non dico monasterii ma palazzi, e che usono veste preziose de' più fini panni e delle più sottile rascie che si possino trovare. La quale ostentazione e abuso eccede ogni altra vanità, oltre a che egli è in tutto alle loro regole contrario, secondo le quale essi debbono avere tutte le loro vestimenta, o sieno di panno o sieno di rascia, di vile e di pochissimo prezzo. Questi tali religiosi molto nelle loro solennità si rallegrano d'essere veduti dinanzi agli altari in veste d'oro d'argento e di seta. E benché egli abbino fatto*

own Order, Savonarola stood by the clear and indisputable diktat in the *Liber consuetudinorum* regarding the strict apostolic poverty of convents: "*Mediocrates domos et humiles fratres nostri habeant...*" It was Dominic himself who firmly asserted that friars should only live in "*parvas domos & vilissimas cellulas*"⁷⁹ and, given their function as preachers, "*ad studendum et dormiendum desuper satis aptas.*"⁸⁰

In the centuries following the founding of the Order, more lax congregations (particularly the Conventual branch of the Dominican Order) began to abuse of such liberties by approving constructions and decorations marked by luxury and pomp. The proliferation of *figure dishoneste* and rampant signs of private patronage inside churches and convents prompted Savonarola to take matters into his own hands. In early 1494, he received permission from Alexander VI to erect a new convent; land at Montecavo near Careggi had been already donated to San Marco by affluent Piagnoni.⁸¹

voto di povertà, la fuggono però, non altrimenti che loro farebbono una leonessa e una orsa, alle quali fussino suti tolti e' loro figliuoli. E vogliono essere poveri delicati; e così tutto el dì cercano e raunano elemosine de' miseri poverelli, e quelli espendono in pompe e superfluità. Se questi tali religiosi semplicemente vivessino, secondo quello modo che noi abbiamo detto sopra, quante cose superflue si troverrebbero per le case loro, le quale potrebbero dare a' poveri, e non sarebbero necessitati di cercare tante elemosine e con tanta avidità usurparsi quello che è d'essi poveri." SAVONAROLA, *Della semplicità della vita cristiana*, p. 225.

⁷⁹ *Acta Sanctorum*, (Venice, 1750), Aug. I, 640 n. 40 (See also, Aug. I, 590 n. 158): "*Item dixit, quod dictus F. Dominicus multum diligeat pauperitatem, & hortabatur Fratres ad pauperitatem. Et scit hoc, quia, quando dictus F. Dominicus venit Bononiam, dominus Hodoricus Galiciani volebat dare Fratribus quasdam possessiones suas, quae valebant bene ultra quingentas libras Bononienses, & facta erat inde charta coram domino episcopo Bononiensi; sed ipse F. Dominicus fecit rescindi contractum, & noluit quod haberent illas, vel quasdam alias possessiones; sed solummodo viverent de elemosynis & parce; quoniam si haberent in domo, unde possent vivere in die, nec mitterent pro elemosynis. Et volebat, quod haberent parvas domos, & viles vestes, & etiam in ecclesia nolebat, quod essent panni serici, sed essent indumenta de bucaranno, vel aliquo alio panno. Item dixit, quod nolebat, quod Fratres intromitterent se de temporalibus, nec de facto domus, nec de consiliis temporalium, exceptis illis, quibus fuerat commissa cura domus; sed volebat, quod alii semper essent intenti lectioni, orationi, & praedicationi: & si quem Fratrem sciebat utilem ad praedicandum, nolebat, quod injungeretur ei aliud officium.*"

⁸⁰ IORDANUS DE SAXONIA, *Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum*, in MOPH, XVI (Rome, 1935), p. 47. See also, G. G. MEERSSEMAN, "L'architecture domenicaine au XIIIe siècle: législation et pratique", in AFP, 16 (1946), p. 143.

⁸¹ Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, p. 51: "*Deliberò adunque di volere che la luce la quale Iddio haveva mandata in terra cominciassi a risplendere nello hedificare un altro convento nel modo et forma che gli antichi Santi Padri havevono hedificato, li quali, per avere celeste conversatione, prima la hedificavano in cielo, et poi in terra palazzi et conventi, li quali sono infiniti appresso il nostro Eterno Padre, et questo solo a necessità et non a pompa.*"

For several reasons, Savonarola's project never advanced beyond the embryonic stage. Various sources—particularly the exhaustive account given in Pseudo-Burlamacchi—document the kind of structure he had in mind.⁸² His plan for this new home reflected and, at the same time, sought to facilitate, the pursuit of a life of utter chastity, poverty, and obedience: a place which was far removed from the temptations of ephemeral and contemporary vagaries.⁸³

*"Et voleva che detto monasterio fusse famoso in ogni semplicità et non in pietre pretiose, perché e' non voleva che vi fussi marmi o macigni, o altre simile pietre dal mondo stimate, ma humile et basso a terra, acciochè non si estendessi molto in alto, et piccole celle, li tramezzi delle quali fussino o d'asse o di canne intessute et le camere intonicate; li stipiti cardinali et soglie degli usci et finestre voleva che fussino di legno con serrami di legno, senza ferramenti, o chiave, in modo che alli ladri fussino patenti; e' chiostri et chiesa semplici, senza volte; le colonne di legno, o mattoni cotti; in chiesa non figure curiose, ma semplice et devote, senza alcuna vanità. E paramenti, lani o lini, secondo il costume della parrocchia nostra di Santo Domenico, e' calici et ogn'altra cosa necessaria al culto divino senza superfluità, in modo che ogni cosa gittassi odore di devotione et semplicità."*⁸⁴

The description in Pseudo-Burlamacchi of his ideal convent at Montecavo was a patent admission, if such was ever necessary, of San Marco's inadequacy as a site for the conventual reforms that the Frate had envisioned. Precious stones, marbles, metals, unusual images, and vanities and superfluities of sorts were forbidden. It was imperative that the actual materials employed breathe poverty.⁸⁵

⁸² Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, p. 52: *"Trovandomi io presente quando, leggendo, dichiarava questo suo desiderio, mi ricordo questo che diceva: 'Quando sarà perfecta la fabrica di questo convento, verranno gli altri alla porta et domanderanno di parlare a tal frate et a tal padre; il portinaio risponderà: "Siate voi semplici? Se voi siate semplici entrate, et se non siate partitevi, perché qua non entra se non semplici." Et allora io, essendo giovanetto, dissi nel quor mio: Allora diventerò religioso et servo di Dio, et non nel tempo di questa tepidità; la qual diceva che era presente."*

⁸³ Savonarola, following Saint Dominic's precepts—see the testimonies of early Dominicans in the *Acta canonizationis S. Dominici*, in MOPH, XVI (Rome, 1935) pp. 137, 150, 157, 166—wanted a ground floor structure, where superiors, clerics, and lay brothers shared the same level.

⁸⁴ Pseudo -BURLAMACCHI, pp. 51-2.

⁸⁵ Savonarola was not categorically opposed to the use of gold and other sumptuous materials. There have been, in fact, notable exceptions, especially when it was clear that the gold glorifying Christianity was the patrimony of Christians and not of a single entity or donor. During the processions for the bonfires, Savonarola would

Savonarola was certainly referring to the circa 1255 *De officio praefecti operum*, the proviso written to limit architectural violations, whereby Humbert of Romans provided a list of permissible materials for convent construction. Savonarola insisted on thatch and wooden roofs, plastered walls, wooden hinges, frames and locks for both doors and windows (not made of metal, lest they should suggest to luxury), and wooden or brick columns.⁸⁶ The actual building should be low ("*humile et basso a terra*") and without vaults. This last point was an early-medieval recrudescence that stated that vaulted roofs should not cover the sacristy and the chorus, omitted in the Constitutions of the early fourteenth century.⁸⁷ The bell, fur-

make use of a golden *machina* to support Donatello's Christ child. See, Pseudo-BURLAMACCHI, p. 131: "*Questo era portato da quattro fanciulli di figura et ornamento angelico con uno altare portatile, d'oro et seta molto ornato, et questo portavono sopra alle loro spalle; et sopra di essi quattro portavano un baldacchino di seta di mirabile bellezza, di diverse varietà dipinto, il quale 12 fanciulli con l'haste elevate in alto li portavano. Innanzi a questo bambino Iesu piccolino erano fanciulli cantori che cantavano salmi et hymni spirituali.*" A similar concern was displayed by the Blessed Giovanni Dominici in respect to images, almost a century before. G. DOMINICI, *Regola del governo di cura familiare*, ed. D. Salvi (Florence, 1860), pp. 132-133: "*Avvisoti se dipinture facessi fare in casa a questo fine, ti guardi da ornamenti d'oro o d'ariento, per non fargli prima idolatri che fedeli; però che vedendo più candele s'accendono, e più capi si scuoprano, e pongonsi più ginocchioni in terra alle figure dorate e preziose pietre ornate, che alle vecchie figure affumate, solo si comprende farsi all'oro e pietre, e non alle figure o vero verità per quelle figure rappresentate.*" On a parenthetical note, it would prove valuable to compare Savonarola's fulminations against ecclesiastical opulence, both private and public, with his rather magnificent visions of heavenly wealth, often involving gold and jewels. See for instance, the vision described by Razzi in his biography of the Frate: S. RAZZI, "Vita di Fra Girolamo Savonarola Descritta dal P. Fra Serafino Razzi", BCR, MS 201, fos. 77-90. See also, the description of the Temple of Solomon in the psalm "*Quam bonus*", in *Scelta di prediche e scritti di Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, ed. P. Villari and E. Casanova (Florence, 1898), p. 84.

⁸⁶ HUMBERTUS DE ROMANIS, *De officio praefecti operum*, p. 332: "*Cum autem secundam modum praedictum instant aliqua opera facienda de nova, vel complenda, vel reparanda, ipsius est cogitare et providere de materia habenda, et ad domum portanda, ut sunt ligna, lapides, tegulae, arena, calx, et similia.*" MEERSSEMAN, "L'architecture d'origine", pp. 136-7: "*Ce passage aide à nous représenter le chantier qu'on trouvait alors à côté des habitations, provisoires ou partiellement achevées, où logeaient les frères: maçons, charpentiers, tailleurs de pierre; une foule d'artisans avec leurs aides grouillait parmi l'amoncellement des matériaux: briques, pierre de taille, chaux, sable, planches, poutres, tuiles, chaume.*"

⁸⁷ MEERSSEMAN, "L'architecture d'origine", pp. 149-50. See also, the rather similar, R. A. SUNDT, "*Mediocres domos et humiles habeant fratres nostri: Dominican Legislation on Architecture and Architectural Decoration in the 13th Century*", in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 46 (December 1987), pp. 349-407.

thermore, had to be small and modest; no more than one was permitted, unlike San Marco that featured, among many others, the elaborate Donatellesque *Piagnona*.⁸⁸

Fra Mariano's description of San Silvestro more than ten years after the *Cum Nuper* Bull indicates that the church was to some extent restored and that none of the aesthetic precepts advocated by Savonarola had been taken to heart. Having received this space from Julius II, Fra Mariano consolidated the adjacent houses with the church into a livable convent. This Roman extension of San Marco, even before it was completely restored in 1524 under Clement VII, seems to have been decorated with refined materials and sophisticated pomp. "*Non desiderarei altra gratia in questo mondo,*" he wrote to his friend Federico Gonzaga in 1519,

*"se non potervi convitare un dì all'orto qui di Monte Cavalli nel laberintho dove vedresti boschetti e ornamenti silvestri nel domestico cento, 100 varietà et 1000 chapricci: una chiesina poi di avorio, lavorata di straforo, et attorno profumata et abbellita con molte cose divote; una sagrestia con paramenti profumati papali di brocchato d'oro in oro dove in fra tanti paramenti è uno dossale con una pianeta di velluto rosso, le quali dicono furono già in palio."*⁸⁹

Furthermore, such was the fame and splendor of Fra Mariano's gardens—"à quo loco urbs tota Romae conspicitur et locus ipse etiam ab urbe tota conspici potest"⁹⁰—that Aretino singled them out, along with the Chigi gardens in Trastevere, as Rome's best.⁹¹ Ironically, the apparent lavishness and opulence of these gardens, which before

⁸⁸ For the complicated history and attribution of the *Piagnona*, see: VILLARI, *La storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, II, p. ccxcī-ccxcīī; GHERARDI, *Nuovi documenti*, p. 312-23; G. RASARIO, "La campana", in *Savonarola e le sue 'reliquie' a San Marco*, eds. M. Scudieri and G. Rasario (Florence, 1998), p. 103-7. See also, L. FERRETTI, "Per la *Piagnona* di San Marco", in MD, 25 (1908), pp. 375-8. For other bells at San Marco, see BENFANTE and FERRETTI, "I chiostri e il museo di San Marco", p. 332, ill. 64.

⁸⁹ LUZIO, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio", p. 574.

⁹⁰ R. UBALDINI, "*Cronaca del processo e della canonizzazione di Sant'Antonino*", BMLF, San Marco, 884, III, fo. 150v; see, S. ORLANDI, "La Canonizzazione di Sant'Antonino nella relazione di Fra Roberto Ubaldini da Gagliano", in MD, 81 (1964), p. 152.

⁹¹ P. ARETINO, *Sei giornate*, ed. G. Aquilecchia (Bari, 1969), p. 325. Aretino refers to it as "*il giardino... di fra Mariano a Monte Cavallo...*" In 1555, the Theatine Father Beato Giovanni Marinoni, upon taking possession of the church, described it as "*molto bellina... ha tre cappelle per banda assai accomodate... il giardino è grande e bello.*" See, F. ANDREU, "Lettere e scritti del B. Marinoni", in *Regnum Dei*, XVIII (1962), p. 75.

their refurbishing were described as "*spelonche d'edera*"⁹², did not prevent a certain Antonio Burlamacchi from having several visions of Savonarola there, which persuaded him to take the lay brother's habit at San Romano in Lucca!⁹³

Fra Mariano Fetti and Leo X

Various contemporary sources testify to Leo X's particular attachment to Fra Mariano and his convent. The papal diarist Paride de' Grassi referred to this eclectic friar as Leo X's "*familiaris ridicularius*"⁹⁴, while Paolo Giovio, in his 1551 biography of the son of Lorenzo il Magnifico, sympathetically described him as "*facetissim[u]s helluonibus et in omni genere popinalium delictiarum eruditissim[u]s*."⁹⁵ So intimate was their friendship that Francesco Gonzaga profusely congratulated Fra Mariano on 28 March 1513 for Leo X's election, well aware of his influence at court.⁹⁶ Leo X paid frequent visits to San Silvestro, especially after the long sessions of the Fifth Lateran Council, where Fra Mariano delighted his guests and "*...aperse tutta la sua scientia...*" in matters of madness and wit.⁹⁷ During one of these breaks (15 March 1518), the Pope granted a five hundred day indulgence to whomever visited the image of the Virgin at San Silvestro.⁹⁸ This event was com-

⁹² See the letter written by Giambattista Sanga to Giambattista Montebuona in D. ATANAGI, *Lettere facete et piacevoli di diversi huomini grandi...*, (Venice, 1601), p. 167.

⁹³ P. BURLAMACCHI, *Vita di P.F. Girolamo Savonarola*, (Lucca, 1746), p. cxiii; SCHNITZER, *Savonarola*, II, p. 524; I. TAURISANO, *I domenicani in Lucca*, (Lucca, 1914), p. 78.

⁹⁴ P. DE' GRASSI, "*Diarium Leonis X*", BA, 1457, fo. 154r. In this entry Leo X is reported to have paid visit to San Silvestro in March of 1518: "*Inde ad ecclesiam sancti Silvestri ubi frater Marianus familiaris ridicularis eius habitat et ibidem osculatus...*"

⁹⁵ P. GIOVIO, *Vita Leonis X*, (Florence, 1551), p. 98.

⁹⁶ A. LUZIO, *Isabella d'Este ne' primordi del papato di Leone X e il suo viaggio a Roma nel 1514-1515*, (Milan, 1907), p. 21: "*... Ce allegriamo con voi de la felice exaltatione de la S.tà di N.S. al pontificato, perché pensamo che mai dapoi che seti al mondo non haveste la maggior allegrezza...*"

⁹⁷ LUZIO, *Isabella d'Este*, p. 31. On 17 June 1513 the Arcidiacono di Gabbioneta reported how the Pope would take such breaks: "*...andò cum alcuni Carli in monte Cavallo al monasterio de frate Mariano, dove el p.to frate aperse tutta la sua scientia et li stete sin a le XX hore e meza.*"

⁹⁸ On the image of the Virgin at San Silvestro see ASR, "Notizie di tutte le Cappelle della Chiesa di San Silvestro" (113), fo. 3v., and the short document in AGT,

memorated with a plaque, which was later placed in Fra Mariano's private chapel.⁹⁹

Gluttonous *viveur* and expert in good food and wine¹⁰⁰, his pranks and burlesques greatly delighted the papal courts of Leo X and, to a lesser extent, of Clement VII. Such exploits were recorded in Baldassarre Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano*¹⁰¹, in Pietro

"Relatione della Santissima imagine della Madonna della Purità collocata nella Chiesa di San Silvestro di Monte Cavallo de PP. Teatini in Roma", 661-662, Cassetta San Silvestro, fos. 211-217. The Theatine father who redacted this document in the seventeenth century confused Fetti with Sebastiano del Piombo, who became Apostolic *Plumbator* immediately after Fra Mariano: "...et era parrocchia posseduta dal P. Fra Bastiano del Piombo Domenicano, famoso Pittore, amicissimo di Papa Clemente VII e la Santa Imagine ivi era collocata in una cappelletta con molta divotione..." (fo. 211).

⁹⁹ V. FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, 14 vols. (Rome, 1874), VI, p. 40: "AD POSTERI · MEMORIAM SEMPITERNAM / LEO X · PONT · MAX. CUM AEDEM · HANC COMITATUS / UNDE TRIGINTA CARDINAL · SUBISSET CUICUMQ / IMAGINEM HANC DEIPARAE VIRGINIS QUO / TIESCUMQ ETIAMSI EODEM DIE SAEPUS / ID FIAT VISITANTI QUINGENTO DIE / POENAM CONDONAVIT · ANNO SAL. M. / D.XVIII. MENSE MARTIO." "AD PERPETUAM / POSTERITATIS / MEMORIAM / LEO X° PONT. MAX TEMPLUM · HOC / CARDINALIB · XXXIX · COMITANTIB / ADIENS · CONCESSIT / UT · QUOTIES · ETIAM. EODEM. DIE / IMAGINEM · HANC · DEI PARAE / FIDELES. VISITAVERINT / IC · DIERUM · VENIAM / OBTINEANT MENSE · MARTIO. CICICXVIII."

¹⁰⁰ See Grossino's letter of 5 April 1514: "...Li era Frate Mariano che faceva un cantar (le lodi) di quel vino..." LUZIO, *Isabella d'Este*, p. 38. See also, J. SHEARMAN, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources: 1483-1602*, (New haven & London, 2003), pp. 248, 770. A similar reference can be found in a poem spuriously attributed to Leo X: "*Un frate sotto bianco e sopra nero.*" GRAF, *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, pp. 389-90. The ideal forum for his pranks was during dinner, which he frequently shared with Leo X: "...il mercore e il sabbato mangiava [i.e Leone X] cose quadragesimali, stando tuttavia presenti alla mensa fra Mariano e Bradino, ben conosciuto in questa terra..." L. GRADENIGO, *Relazioni venete*, published in GRAF, *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, p. 382.

¹⁰¹ Apart from the above-mentioned passage in *Il libro del Cortegiano* (p. 159), Castiglione makes reference to Fra Mariano in this work two more times. In book I, viii (p. 63), while the guests at the court of Urbino are in the process of selecting a game, Cesare Gonzaga elaborates his own one: "*Tengo io adunque per certo che in ciascun di noi sia qualche seme di pazzia, il qual risvegliato possa multiplicar quasi in infinito. Però vorrei che questa sera il gioco nostro fusse il disputar questa materia e che ciascun dicesse: avendo io ad impazzir pubblicamente, di che sorte di pazzia si crede ch'io impazzissi e sopra che cosa, giudicando questo esito per le scintille di pazzia che ogni di si veggono di me uscire; il medesimo si dica de tutti gli altri, servando l'ordine de' nostri giochi, ed ognuno cerchi di fondar la opinione sua sopra qualche vero segno ed argomento. E così di questo nostro gioco ritrarem fructo ciascun di noi di conoscere i nostri difetti, onde meglio ce ne potrem guardare; e se la vena di pazzia che scopriremo sarà tanto abundante che ci paia senza rimedio, l'aiuteremo e, secondo la dottrina di fra Mariano, avremo guadagnato un anima, che non fia poco guadagno. Di questo gioco si rise molto, né alcun era che si potesse tener parlare; chi diceva, — Io impazzirei nel*

Aretino's *Testamento dell'elefante*¹⁰², *Cortigiana*¹⁰³, *Sonetti lussuriosi*¹⁰⁴, *Sei giornate*¹⁰⁵, and *Ragionamento delle corti*¹⁰⁶, in Paolo Giovio's *De piscibus romanis*¹⁰⁷, in Marino Sanuto's diaries¹⁰⁸, in the Archdeacon Alessandro Gabbioneta's dispatches to Francesco Gonzaga¹⁰⁹, and in the correspondence of Giovanni Poppi to Lorenzo de' Medici¹¹⁰ and

pensare—; chi,—Nel guardare—; chi dicea,—Io già son impazzito in amare—; e tali cose." He is mentioned again in book II, lxxxix (p. 195), when the discussion moves to authors of *burle* and *facezie*: "*Molti altri sono ancora stati omini piacevoli di tal maniera come il Gonella, il Meliolo, in que' tempi, et ora il nostro frate Mariano e frate Serafino qui, e molti che tutti conoscete. Ed in vero questo modo è lodevole in omini che non facciano altra professione; ma le burle del cortegiano par che si debbano allontanar un poco più dalla scurrilità...*"

¹⁰² P. ARETINO, *Testamento dell'elefante*, in *La Cortigiana*, (Milan, 1989), p. 360. Annone, the white elephant given to Leo X by the King of Portugal on 12 March 1514, rousing popular excitement among Romans, was finally dying. Aretino drafted an imaginary list of heirs, including Leo X, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, Cardinal Bibbiena, and other famous prelates. "*Eriede mio, volgio che sia[no] esecutori de questo mio testamento l'abate de Bariabale de Gaieta, quel ben me ha trattato quando el tose el lauro de l'arte poetica, e de una e altra materia perito fra Marian, altre volte barbiere de la diocese fiorentina...*" On Annone and the poems and *pasquinate* produced in his honor, see: V. ROSSI, "Un elefante famoso", in *Intermezzo*, (Turin, 1890), p. 13; A. PELLIZZARI, "Strenne di Leon X", in *Studii dedicati a Francesco Torraca nel XXXVI anniversario della sua laurea*, (Naples, 1912); S. BEDINI, *The Pope's Elephant*, (Manchester, 1997).

¹⁰³ P. ARETINO, *Cortigiana*, (Milan, 1989), p. 71. Aretino makes reference to Fra Mariano's poetry: "...i Capricci de Fra Mariano in ottava rima."

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, *Sonetti sopra i XVI modi*, ed. G. Aquilecchia (Rome, 1992), p. 31. This sonnet in which Fra Mariano is singled out explicitly is particularly scurrilous: "*Ove il mettrete voi? Ditel' di grazia, / dietro o dinanzi?*"

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, *Sei giornate*, pp. 183, 325.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, *Ragionamento*, pp. 528-31.

¹⁰⁷ P. GIOVIO, *De romanis piscibus*, (Rome, 1524), XXXIV, "De Lampetra". The incident described by Giovio is a well-known story regarding Fra Mariano's voracious hunger and a cooked rope made to resemble an eel. Giovio's assessment of Leo X's buffoon ("*falsum et ridiculum hominem*"), unlike in his *Vita Leonis X*, is altogether negative.

¹⁰⁸ M. SANUTO, *Diarii*, eds. F. Stefani, G. Berchet, and N. Barozzi, 59 vols. (Venice, 1890), XXVII, pp. 73, 74-5; XXXIII, p. 284.

¹⁰⁹ LUZIO, *Isabella d'Este*, pp. 112-3. Letter dated 19 February 1515: "*Heri non se fece la festa in Testazo per el mal tempo che fu; hosi non è stato cusì cattivo et s'è facta... Le cavalle furno parecchie; M. Augustino Gisi gene haveva una turcha, la qual passato el salisende de mezo el curso fu urtata, et subito morite. Dopo se fece la caza de tori, della quale Madama Ill.ma ne ebbe grandissimo apiacere, benché la bizzaria del Scholarino la fece star tuta sopra de sé et mezo malcontenta, cusì fussemo tuti, ma le facette de fra Mariano ghe la fece spassare.*"

¹¹⁰ ASF, MAP, 115, n. 28. At the end of the letter (20 July 1514), Poppi, referring to the boisterous nature of Fra Mariano, wrote: "*Mando un bavaglio a fra Mariano, la S.V. li faccia fur la faccenda.*" It is not quite clear what this "faccenda" is all about.

of Grossino to Isabella d'Este.¹¹¹ So popular and entertaining were his *capricci*¹¹² that Raphael portrayed Fra Mariano being attacked by devils on the stage set of Ludovico Ariosto's *Suppositi* performed at Castel Sant'Angelo on 8 March 1519 before the Leo X and two thousand guests.¹¹³ His association with this Pope inevitably made him the target of many venomous satirical poems and pasquinades, mostly written after 1521. The majority of these works depicted Fra Mariano, other court buffoons and third-rate poets such as Baraballo da Gaeta, Camillo Querno, and Serapica as partners in crime of the Pope. Parading at Leo X's court were whores, ruffians, hogs, and sodomites. Both tone and language of these works are sarcastic counterparts of the more serious invectives Savonarola used to voice some twenty years before against Roman and papal luxury.¹¹⁴ In the most excoriating of these, Fra Mariano, after a long dialogue/confession with Pasquino, where he denounces the many sins of contemporary clergy, is labeled "*fra poltrone, eretico, leccabroda,*

¹¹¹ LUZIO, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio", p. 550. Grossino described to Isabella d'Este a rambunctious dinner with cardinals and prelates (10 January 1515). "*Frate Mariano capo in tavola fece de le pacie a suo modo in quantità; a mezo la zena a l'improvviso saltò in pede in su la tavola, corendo in fino di capo, menando di man a cardinali, a veschovi; non sparamiava niuno...*" These capricci also involved Cardinal Bibbiena: "*Frate Mariano, capo di mati, si portò per eccellenza con li soi capricci, e m. Bernardo da Bibiena li ajutava tagliardamente.*"

¹¹² Fra Mariano was a poet himself. The *Versi di Fra Mariano fiorentino al Marchese Francesco Gonzaga* are listed in the book inventory of Federico Gonzaga. CIAN, "Un buffone del secolo XVI", p. 650. I was not able to locate this manuscript nor is there any sign of its existence after this inventory was redacted in any of the libraries or archives in Mantua that I was able to consult. As noted above, even Aretino made reference to Fra Mariano's poetry—the famous "*capricci in ottava rima*"—in the *Cortigiana*.

¹¹³ This event is described in a well-known letter written by Alfonso Paolucci on 8 March 1519 to the Duke of Ferrara, published in L. ARIOSTO, *Lettere*, ed. A. Cappelli (Milan, 1887), p. 171: "... *Fra Mariano con alcuni diavoli, che giungevano con esso da ogni lato de la tella e poi mezo de la tella v'era un breve che diceva: Questi sono li capreci de Fra Mariano et sondandosi tutavia, et il Papa mirando con el suo occhiale la sena che era molto bela de mano de Rafaele, et representavasi bene per mia fe ferara de prospective, che molto forno ladate; et mirando anchora el Cielo che molto si representava belo et poi li candelieri, che erano formati in lettere, che ogni lettera subteneca cinque torcie, et diceano Leo X Pontifex Maximus.*" See also, VON PASTOR, *Storia dei papi*, IV, i, pp. 394-5; SANUTO, *Diarii*, XXVII, p. 73. A drawing by Raphael of the stage set is in Florence, Gabinetto degli Uffizi, n. A560.

¹¹⁴ For Savonarolan poems and poets, see M. FERRARA, *Contributo allo studio della poesia savonaroliana*, (Pisa, 1921); *Ibid.*, "Antiche poesie in memoria del Savonarola", in MD, 43 (1926), pp. 215-53; *Ibid.*, "L'influenza del Savonarola sulla letteratura e l'arte del Quattrocento", in *Prediche e scritti*, (Milan, 1930), pp. 361-480.

scannaminestra, e piantamandragore."¹¹⁵ In another, written by the philo-Piagnone poet Bernardo Giambullari around 1515, he is the butt of Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici's prank.¹¹⁶ Fra Mariano's well-known relation with a nun is lampooned by the Duke of Urbino who organized a ridiculous mock-procession in which his extravagant nuptial gifts to the "couple" are displayed one by one.¹¹⁷

As reward for his loyalty and friendship, Leo X made Fra Mariano Keeper of Papal Seals or *Plumbator Apostolicus* (hence the epithet *del Piombo*) on 6 May 1514, not long after Donato Bramante's death.¹¹⁸ The Pope himself made sure to personally dress Fra Mariano with the Cistercian *cocollo*.¹¹⁹ In fact, since the thirteenth century, the Office of Papal Seals had been given to lay brothers of the Order of Saint Bernard, also known as *fratres barbati*.¹²⁰ This title,

¹¹⁵ MARZIO, *Pasquino e dintorni*, pp. 36ff.

¹¹⁶ E. ORVIETO, "Un poemetto inedito di Bernardo Giambullari", in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 39 (1977), pp. 531-544; *Ibid.*, "La burla di Lorenzo de' Medici a Fra Mariano", in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 43 (1981), pp. 537-544.

¹¹⁷ Orvieto illustrates the symbolic nature of each gift. For a less satisfactory reading, see D.T. THOMSEN, "Lorenzo de' Medici's Puzzling Present for a Papal Buffoon", in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 42 (1980), pp. 157-165.

¹¹⁸ Bramante was made *Plumbator* by Julius II in 1505. See, A. BRUSCHI, *Bramante architetto*, (Bari, 1969), p. xxxvii. For the history of this post, see DEL RE, *La Curia romana*, pp. 435-445 and the less reliable M. TOSI, *Bullares e bullatores della Cancelleria Pontificia*, (Siena, 1917), *passim*; M. GIUSTI, *Studi sui registri di bolle papali*, (Vatican City, 1968); L. PASZTOR, "La Curia romana e i registri di bolle papali", in *Studi romani*, 17 (1969), pp. 319-323. For the history of papal seals, see C. SERAFINI, *Le monete e le bolle plumbee del Medagliere vaticano*, (Milan, 1910), *passim*.

¹¹⁹ Baldassarre Turini wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici on 12 April 1514 reporting Bramante's death and Fra Mariano's investiture: "*M^o Bramante morì hiermattina, et fra Mariano nostro ha avuto il loco suo, che pro li faccia: ed è tutto allegro, et si raccomanda ad V.^o S.^o. Et hiermattina N.^o S.^o, di sua mano, li misse una sua tonaca, o vogliamo dire veste bianca col mantello nero, et mandollo col Datario in Cancelleria ad pigliar la possessione. Il compagno di M.^o Bramante anchora lui è fra li pazzi; et se lui morisse, il nostro Matheo Strozziere si dice salterebbe su un compagno di fra Mariano.*" ASF, MAP, 107, n. 4. This document is partly published in GNOLI, *La Roma di Leone X*, pp. 352ff. An addendum to this letter, dated 30 October 1514, informed Lorenzo that "*Macteo Strozziere questa mattina è stato facto coadiutore di Fra Mariano et fra Bernardo al Piombo con provisione di X ducati doro il mese, per fino che ne muore uno; che adesso sono tutti dui malati.*" J. GAYE, *Carteggio inedito*, (Florence, 1839-40), p. 135. In an entry in the *Rotulus* of Leo X (17 September 1516), a certain Francesco Agostini from Arezzo took the place as one of the *custodes Cathenae* of this "*Frate Bernardo Plumbatore*" who presumably had just died. A. FERRAJOLI, *Il ruolo della corte di Leone X (1514-1516)*, ed. V. De Caprio (Rome, 1984), p. 31.

¹²⁰ DEL RE, *La Curia Romana*, p. 435ff.

the responsibilities of which were rather insubstantial, was later bestowed to artists¹²¹ and paid a handsome yearly salary of 800 ducats.¹²² Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dominican historians like Razzi, Fontana, and Loddi erroneously believed that Leo X had also bequeathed San Silvestro to the friars of San Marco on this same occasion.¹²³ In truth, Leo X passed a Brief (6 May 1514) that

¹²¹ Sebastiano Luciani would replace Fra Mariano in 1531. P. D'ACHIARDI, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, (Rome, 1908), p. 255. Guglielmo della Porta, who also was involved with San Silvestro, would in turn take the place of the Venetian painter after his death. A. BORZELLI, *Il capolavoro di Guglielmo della Porta*, (Naples, 1920), p. 20. On della Porta's involvement with San Silvestro, see: DE MAIO, "Michelangelo e Paolo IV"; VALONE, "Paul IV, Guglielmo della Porta and the Rebuilding of San Silvestro al Quirinale".

¹²² The phrase "...che in mia vecchiaia mi son posto all'archimistica. Questo è che del piombo ne fo oro..." has almost become Fra Mariano's personal motto. LUZIO, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio", p. 574. It has been suggested that this post should have been given to Leonardo, at that time living on the Belvedere, who came to Rome soon after Leo X's election to benefit from his magnanimity. GNOLI, *La Roma di Leone X*, pp. 354ff. There is no direct evidence that Fra Mariano and Leonardo met—though both of them were close to Giuliano de' Medici and to the Arciconfraternita dei Fiorentini and both lived next to each other at the Vatican—however a puzzling description (not previously noted) in Fra Mariano's letter to Lorenzo de' Medici (9 June 1515) seems to refer to one of Leonardo's "infinite... pazzie" mentioned by Vasari. CIAN, "Un buffone del secolo XVI", pp. 654-5: "A Belvedere è rimasto due zuche da notare piene di farfalle bianche et alcune gialle ed azzurre senza una provvisione del mondo. Holle aiutate in fino a hora quanto ho potuto con fiori di cavoli et borrhane et altri pasti; è una compassione a sentirle ronzare pensate se vedessi le zanzare senza cibo e senza numero cava gli occhi in chiocha e paperi sono morti nelle uova mancando al calore de covare. Et per questo si è partito di qua parendoli havere offeso i paperini et quando uno diventa grande lascia stare indietro le cose minime et e' pur male che sono anche loro creature et le pulce che ha in camera sua si nutriscono di polvere et vanno mendicando la vita sua per la fame."

¹²³ RAZZI, "Cronica", fos. 105r-v: "L'anno 1495 fu vestito dal padre fra Jeronimo Savonarola, Fra Mariano converso fiorentino: il quale poi fu buffone solenne e famoso di liono decimo e da sua santità gli fu dato l'ufficio della piombatura, et il luogo di san salvestro a' monte Cavallo in Roma, per la Congregazione di San Marco. Il qual luogo, come altrove habbiamo più lungamente scritto, fu da poi conceduto dal padre F. Angelo Diacceto, Vicario dell'ordine, alla buona memoria di Paolo terzo, quando già si era ottenuto da Clemente VII il convento della Minerva e finalmente venuto nelle mani dei nobilissimi e divotissimi padri Teatini: da i quali è stato di maniera ristaurato rinovato et abbellito nella chiesa e nelle muraglie che rassembra, come nel vero è, una habitazione di Angeli terrestri. Mori poi fra Mariano in Roma nel 1531 nel mese di ottobre, nell'habito cistercense, al quale per ordinario cotale ufficio della piombatura appartiene et il quale habito non è dissimile da quello dei nostri fratelli conversi: dal numero de i quali era il prefato fra Mariano." (See also fo. 9r). FONTANA, *De romana provincia: "Habuitimus et Romae locum S. Silvestri in monte Quirinali, a Leone Papa X datum Fratribus Congregationis s. Marci..."* LODDI, "Notizie", fo. 66r: "Fu altresì ricevuto

permitted Fra Mariano to continue to reside in San Silvestro or in any other convent of the Congregation even though he was now technically a Cistercian monk.¹²⁴ Fra Mariano, however, would only visit San Silvestro every so often (*"qualche volta me ne vo in monte Cavalli alli mia frati"*) since he permanently lived at the Vatican *"nelle stanze di Innocentio che si chiamano lo offitio del Piombo."*¹²⁵ In recognition of his appointment, he commissioned Baldassarre Peruzzi to paint *"un San Bernardo di terretta bellissimo"* in the gardens of San Silvestro.¹²⁶ Peruzzi's *Vision of Saint Bernard* has been destroyed (as were the works by Polidoro da Caravaggio and Maturino for this garden). A seventeenth-century engraving after this fresco [Fig. 8] confirms that he modeled his composition on Fra Bartolomeo's version for Bernardo del Bianco in 1504. [Fig. 9]

Leo X also displayed his munificence by donating money to the friars of San Silvestro¹²⁷, granting special privileges to the con-

all'Abito di Converso un tal F. Mariano, il quale per le sue molte facerie, divenne dopo molto familiare di Leone X, da cui ebbe l'ufficio della Piombatura, e il luogo di San Silvestro a Monte Cavallo di Roma per la Congregazione di San Marco."

¹²⁴ This event was recorded in Leo X's *Regesta* on 6 May 1514. J. HERGENROTHER, *Leonis X Pontificis Maximi Regesta*, 2 vols. (Freiburg, 1885), p. 535, n. 8545: *"Mariano Feto monacho monasterii Fossae Novae Cisterc. Ordinis Terracinen dioc. lit. apost. bullatori, licet a Congregatione S. Marci de Florentia Ordinis Praedicatorum ad Cisterc. Ord. sit translatus et officium bullatoris praed. ei sit commissum, concedit, ut ab ecclesia et domo S. Silvestri in Esquiliis de Urbe, praefetae Congregationi a Julio II. concessae, amoveri nequeat ac inibi et in aliis domibus ejusd. Congreg. commorari ejusque habitum deferre in eaque vocem activam et passivam habere valeat. Exigunt tuae devotionis merita."* A more elaborate version, which confirms many of the stipulations drawn in the *Cum nuper Bull*, is in ASV, Reg. Vat., 1193, fos. 115v-117r, published in CREYTENS, "Les Actes capitulaires", pp. 223-5.

¹²⁵ LUZIO, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio", p. 575.

¹²⁶ G. VASARI, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*, ed. M. Maurini (Rome, 2002), p. 692. Paul Brill, according to Baglione, restored the work in the early seventeenth century. G. BAGLIONE, *Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, Architetti, ed Intagliatori, dal Pontificato di Gregorio XII. del fino a' tempi di Papa Urbano Ottavo, nel 1642*, (Rome, 1642), p. 296: *"Dentro il Giardino de Padri Teatini di Monte Cavallo, alla man dirita in un canto rifece il paese nella storia di San Bernardo che richiedeva Maria di sapere in qual'hora fusse nata, da Baldasser Peruzzi da Siena, a fresco su 'l muro di chiaro, e scuro, perfettamente dipinta."* See also STOLLHANS, "Fra Mariano, Peruzzi and Polidoro da Caravaggio".

¹²⁷ A. MERCATI, *Le spese private di Leone X*, (Rome, 1928), p. 101. This entry was made on 11 May 1513: *"Et a di XI ducati 6 pagati per mandato del Thesoriero a li frati de San Silvestro per provisione conceduta loro N.S. per ogni mese."* Another donation was made to Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli on 9 June 1513 who was then living at the convent. *"E a di 9 ducati 18 di camera et carlini 5 pagati per mano del Thesoriere a Frate Zenobi Acciaiuoli per libri."*

vent¹²⁸, sponsoring Fra Mariano's visits to baths¹²⁹, and canceling or at least alleviating his debts to Leonardo Bonafé.¹³⁰ On more than one occasion, in fact, Fra Mariano was troubled by his poor health¹³¹ and his exorbitant living expenses: he reportedly pur-

¹²⁸ According to the 1520 Capitular Acts of the Tusco-Roman Congregation, Leo X passed a Bull that made San Silvestro and its friars "...*ab obedientia generalis exempti, sedi apostolicae immediate et vicario congregationis nostrae subditi sunt...*" and invested the vicar with the authority and privileges of a prioral convent. CREYTENS, "Les Actes capitulaires", pp. 171-2.

¹²⁹ This entry was made on 9 July 1513: "A di 9 ducati 25 di camera pagati per mano del Thesoriario ad Frate Mariano per andare a li bagni." MERCATI, *Le spese private di Leone X*, pp. 100-1.

¹³⁰ The edited transcription and summary of this document is in CIAN, "Un bufone del secolo XVI", p. 655. Unfortunately, the author does not give any further information regarding the whereabouts of this Bull (most likely a Brief), except that it is in the ASF. My search for this document extended to the Conv. Sopp. and Comp. Rel. Sopp. of ASF and to the Brev. Later. of the ASV as well as in BOP. However, given the scientific honesty and scholarly distinction of the author, I do not doubt its authenticity. The document is dated 30 July 1521, more than four months before Leo X's sudden death, and is addressed directly to "... *dilecto figlio Leonardo Bonafidei Rectori Hospitalis Sanctae Mariae Novae de Florentia... pro dilecto figlio Mariano de Fectis de Florentia...*". In it, the Pope demanded an extension on Fra Mariano's debt. Leonardo di Giovanni Bonafé, known to many Renaissance art historians as the patron of both Pontormo (the Passion Cycle at the Certosa, 1523-5 and *Supper at Emmaus*, Uffizi, 1525) and Rosso Fiorentino (*Ripoi* Altarpiece, Uffizi, 1518) as well as Albertinelli (*Crucifixion with Madonna, Mary Magdalen, and Saint John*, Certosa, Florence, 1506), Michele and Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (*Madonna with Saints and Leonardo Bonafé as Patron*, San Salvi, Florence, 1544), Giovanni della Robbia and his bottega (Baptismal font for the Pieve di San Giovanni Battista a Galabrone near Monterchi, before 1529, and busts of Old and New Testament figures, Certosa, before 1523), and Francesco da San Gallo (Leonardo Bonafé's funerary monument, Certosa, 1537-9) has had a notable career both as *spedalingo* of Santa Maria Nuova and as Prior of the Certosa del Galluzzo which culminated with Clement VII's elevation of him to Bishop of Vieste and later Cortona. For biography and bibliography, see B. PAOLOZZI STROZZI, "Leonardo di Giovanni Buonafé, priore della Certosa", in *da Pontormo & per Pontormo*, (Florence, 1996), pp. 35-47. Bonafé was especially close to and active in Piagnoni ambits; Santa Maria Nuova was, along with Santa Maria degli Innocenti, a beneficiary of many Piagnoni. See, L. POLIZZOTTO, "Dell'arte del ben morire: The Piagnone Way of Death, 1494-1545", in *I Tatti Studies*, 3 (1989), pp. 50-51 n. 56. See also, F. DOMESTICI, "Il mecenatismo di Leonardo Buonafede per l'arredo del Santuario delle Grazie in Casentino", in *Antichità viva*, XXVII 3-4 (July - Sept. 1988), pp. 35-40.

¹³¹ Fra Mariano was frequently complaining about his poor health. Baldassarre Turini mentioned this on 30 October 1514. GAYE, *Carteggio inedito*, p. 135. Less than a year before (29 January 1513), Fra Mariano wrote to the Marquis of Mantua complaining about his old age and maladies, wanting to visit the sanctuary of Santa Maria di Loreto "*che mi votai quando perdei mezza mano...*" and Mantua "...*a primavera se sarò vivo...*". LUZIO, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio", p. 552. More than ten

chased a shop near Corso Adimari in Florence and rented a house next to San Silvestro.¹³² He is listed in Leo X's *rotulus* in 1516 as "*custos bibliothecae*" and as having one servant, while in Clement VII's census, taken before 1527, he is reported as having five mouths to feed.¹³³ Furthermore, Fra Mariano also complained about his relatives who constantly demanded favors and money.¹³⁴ Apart from his father and mother¹³⁵, the only other member of the Fetti family that is known is a certain Simone. In a letter to Giovanni Poppi (29 November 1515), Fra Mariano reminded Lorenzo di Piero's secretary about "*la faccenda del mio parente...*" and "*di vedere di pigliare commissioni dal signore.*"¹³⁶ This unspecified relative should be identified with Simone Fetti who corresponded with both Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici regarding certain affairs with the ambassadors of Spain and Portugal in 1514.¹³⁷ In one of these

years later (24 December 1524) Fra Mariano wrote to an unidentified relative complaining that "*io non nosto mai dato avviso per essere sempre da poi in qua istato malato in fine di morte malato di male di la pietra.*" BNF, Magl. II.III.432, fo. 112r.

¹³² The extension of the Bonafé debt was in fact for a *bottega* that Fra Mariano purchased on Corso Adimari for 209 large gold ducats. The house near San Silvestro belonged to Cardinal Francesco Armellini whose yearly lease was 26 ducats payable in two installments. See, E. RODOCANACHI, *Rome au temps de Jules II et de Leon X*, (Paris, 1912), p. 74.

¹³³ D. GNOLI, "*Descriptio urbis* o Censimento della popolazione di Roma avanti il sacco borbonico", in *Archivio della Real Società Romana di Storia-Patria*, 17 (1894), p. 396. "*I. D. frater Marianus, Plumbator...*" The "I" refers to number of servants in his retinue. This man should be "*Henricus Paludig, Osnaburgensis dioc.*" listed in Leo X's *rotulus* is dated sometime between 14 May 1514 and 17 September 1516. See, FERRAJOLI, *Il ruolo della corte di Leone X*, p. 27. In Clement VII's pre-Sack census, there are ten friars living at San Silvestro. Under the heading *Regio de Monti*, Fra Mariano is listed separately, though his name appears immediately after the above-mentioned entry ("*Li Frati di San Silvestro a Monte Cavallo*"). This corroborates even more the fact that Fra Mariano had a residence nearby his convent, apart from his official residence at the Vatican designated to all *Plumbatores*.

¹³⁴ LUZIO, "*Federico Gonzaga ostaggio*", p. 574. He claimed to divide his lofty salary into three parts "*...una a Christo da cui viene ogni bene, l'altra alli parenti che ho tanta canaglia che non empirebbe loro la gola tucta l'acqua d'intorno a Mantova, la terza parte per me et mia famiglia, magnare et bere bestie e basti, in modo che ogni anno fo debito trecento ducati.*"

¹³⁵ For Fra Mariano's mother, see: BNF, Magl. II.III.432, fo. 112r. The father, instead, who was named Piero, is mentioned in a document in the archive San Gimignano published in VERDE and GIACONI, "*Epistolario*", p. 659.

¹³⁶ ASF, MAP, 115, n. 523: Fra Mariano to Giovanni Poppi, 29 November 1515.

¹³⁷ ASF, MAP, 111, n. 455: Simone Fetti to Lorenzo de' Medici, 19 July 1514. See also, ASF, MAP, 111, n. 357: Simone Fetti to Lorenzo de' Medici, 29 May 1514; ASF, MAP, 111, n. 368: Simone Fetti to Lorenzo de' Medici, 9 June 1514; ASF, MAP, 123, n. 506: Simone Fetti to Lorenzo de' Medici, no date.

letters, Simone—who signs himself as *'servitore del Papa'*—explicitly stated: "...mi bisogna che io sia raccomandato [da] frate mariano."¹³⁸

Despite his Medicean vassalage, documents certify that Fra Mariano's devotion to his friars was unwavering.¹³⁹ During his stay at San Marco in early 1513, he wrote to the Marquis of Mantua expressing his desire to return to San Silvestro.¹⁴⁰ His influence within Roman Medicean circles was such that his brothers at San Marco would turn to him in moments of crisis. Shortly before, in November of 1512, having heard that Julius II intended to suppress the Congregation once and for all and condemn Savonarola's doctrines at the Fifth Lateran Council, Fra Vincenzo Mainardi immediately wrote to Fra Niccolò Schömborg in Rome and pressured him to seek Fra Mariano's help.¹⁴¹ So critical was the situation that Fra Mariano was dramatically referred to as "*unicum post Deum referre possumus nostram libertatem.*"¹⁴² Perhaps related to this incident is

¹³⁸ ASF, MAP, 111, n. 455.

¹³⁹ Though this account is marred by some factual inaccuracies, he is described in Serafino Razzi's life of Savonarola as one of the most prominent Dominican friars professed by the Frate. RAZZI, "Vita di Fra Girolamo Savonarola", BCR, 201, fo. 100v: "*Similmente frutto delle sue prediche si possono dire molti Religiosi vestiti da lui del sacro abito, mentre accesi di zelo dal fervore di sue parole si donavano volentieri a Dio, il primo dei quali a cui egli diede l'abito fu fra Carlo di Marriotto Avanzati il dì 9 marzo dell'anno 1491. Che fu di poi Priore di S. Marco, ch'era nobile fiorentino, il secondo fu Fra Bartolomeo da Faenza Dottore di Legge, filosofo, e sacerdote secolare vestito al 4 di giugno 1492. L'anno poi 1495 diede l'abito a Fra Mariano Converso fiorentino che da Papa Leone X indi ebbe in Roma l'Offitio della Piombatura, e il luogo di S. Salvestro a Monte Cavallo per la Congregazione di Toscana [sic].*"

¹⁴⁰ Fra Mariano was not yet made *Plumbator* and therefore was not living at the Vatican. LUZIO, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio", p. 552: "*Se harò licentia doppo carnovale mi tornerò al mio convento et frati, li quali pregano per nostra signoria, li quali sono, non biasimando li altri, lo specchio di Roma in vita et doctrina.*"

¹⁴¹ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 161-5, 380 n. 431-388 n. 449. This letter, written from Siena to Fra Niccolò Schömborg, touched upon many aspects of the state of San Marco and Savonarolism following Soderini's exile and the return of the Medici to Florence. Mainardi sought help from the followers of Savonarola who had established themselves in Rome; soon after even Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli and Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani made their way to Rome joining Fra Mariano and the rest of the brothers. Mainardi himself expressed desire to join the congregation at San Silvestro.

¹⁴² VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 164: "*Destinati Romam propere Strozius et Corsinus qui prece, minis, amicorum dico, sedaverunt iam, sicuti putamus, omnia, favente fratre Mariano in quem unicum post Deum referre possumus nostram libertatem. Is ex Florentia, quo in loco mensem vixit circiter cum reverendissimo legato et magnifico Iuliano et Romae cum Farnesio atque aliis principibus, ita rem constituit*



Fig. 7. *Trattato di Maestro Domenico Benivieni Prete Fiorentino in defensione et probatione della doctrina et prophetie predicate da frate Hieronimo da Ferrara* (Florence, 1496), fo. IIIv.



Fig. 8. Baldassarre Peruzzi (copy), *Vision of Saint Bernard*, (Rome, Gabinetto delle Stampe).

SANCTVS BERNARDVS
 Ecce cibus ortus hancam nate opus. Ecce puctum cum Maria Matre eius Nure genas



Fig. 9. Fra Bartolomeo, *Vision of Saint Bernard*, (Florence, Uffizi).

Cardinal Bibbiena's letter to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, then Archbishop of Florence, written on 20 September 1512. When Giulio threatened to reintegrate San Marco into the much-abhorred Lombard Congregation, he warned him immediately of Fra Mariano's aggressive and vindictive intentions.¹⁴³ "Se ciò fate", Bibbiena wrote, "presupponete non havere al mondo il maggior inimico né la più mordente lingua che la sua."¹⁴⁴ However, what proved to be significant

ut respiremus tandem et pauxillum quiescamus." Though Schömburg had powerful ties at court, Mainardi singled out Fra Mariano's close ties with Giuliano de' Medici and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and was also implicitly alluding to his friendships with Cardinal Bibbiena, Lorenzo de' Medici, Alfonsina Orsini, and Cardinals Giulio and Giovanni de' Medici. Mainardi considered his intercession critical for San Marco's survival. Shortly after this letter, Fra Mariano would join Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici's retinue in Florence. Two rather remarkable accounts of Fra Mariano's aristocratic and ecclesiastical friendships should be noted. Stazio Gladio's letter to the Marquis of Mantua (11 January 1513) describes Fra Mariano's pranks at a dinner packed with Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops. ROMEI, "Fetti", p. 315. Another well-known incident involving Fra Mariano was the *cena macabra* described by Tommaso Lippomanni in a letter to Bartolomeo del Banco (13 March 1519). The friar buffoon participated at this lugubrious event, filled with skulls and bones, along with Cardinals Rossi, Cybo, Salviati and Ridolfi. SANUTO, *Diarii*, XXVII, pp. 74-5.

¹⁴³ PITTI, *Dell'istoria fiorentina*, pp. 123-4. Giulio de' Medici's intentions were quite belligerent. Among other things, he began to collect and confiscate Savonarolan relics upon returning to Florence.

¹⁴⁴ G. L. MONCALLERO, *Epistolario di Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1955-65), I, p. 512: "Mons. non mi ha mai scripto del riunir S. Marco alla Congregatione di Lombardia etc. Ohymè! Fra Mariano non teme altro. Se ciò fate, presupponete non havere al mondo il maggior inimico nè la più mordente lingua che la sua." Cardinal Bibbiena and Fra Mariano were particularly close. In fact, many were the instances in which they are teamed together or where one makes reference to other. In the *Libro del Cortegiano*, Fra Mariano is mentioned twice by Bibbiena, who addressed him as "il nostro fra Mariano". Frequently they appeared together derided by Pasquino. MARCUCCI, MARZIO, and ROMANO, *Pasquinate romane*, p. 99. Grossino went so far to consider Bibbiena Fra Mariano's partner in crime, "Frate Mariano, capo di mati, si portò per eccellenza con li soi capricci, e m. Bernardo da Bibbiena li aiutava gagliardamente." In the letter to the Federico Gonzaga, Fra Mariano proclaimed himself to be Bibbiena's master of games: "Harete inteso dal vostro fratello Mons. Rmo et dal vostro dolce figliolo Marchesino le magne cene et feste facte alli Sri Cardinali: sua venuta a' risuscitato et rinfrescato la magna città di Roma, et in bello del triumpho hanno perduto du elementi principali, messer Bernardo da Biena et Fra Mariano suo maestro." Bibbiena entertained friendly relationships with other Piagnoni as well. Fra Vincenzo Mainardi wrote to Bibbiena in order to congratulate him for his cardinalship on 29 September 1513. VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 37-8. Perhaps in recognition of this event, a *Virgin and Child* by Fra Bartolomeo was donated to him by the friars of San Marco: "Item un quadro circa due br. et ?, nel quale è una mezza Vergine col Bambino in collo, el quale donò el padre priore a ser Bernardino Cancelliere de' Medici. 16." MARCHESI, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori*, II,

for Savonarola's cause, especially during the hostile Council's proceedings, was Fra Mariano's insider information passed on to Fra Zaccaria di Lunigiana.¹⁴⁵ Written as a *defensio* in response to Leo X's 1515 Brief, which among other sanctions decreed that Savonarola, Don Teodoro di Giovanni, and Pietro Bernardino's doctrines were heretical¹⁴⁶, Fra Zaccaria's *Pulcherrima quaestio* argued that the Frate's excommunication, trial, and execution were improperly carried out according to Canon Law.¹⁴⁷ Further invalidating Savonarola's condemnation, he reported that Fra Mariano had witnessed Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici explicitly declare that "*Papa ille Alexander non habebat fidem.*"¹⁴⁸ Ironically, Leo X's confession

p. 200. Bibbiena was also part of the panel of cardinals—the other two were Bernardo Carvajal and Leonardo de' Grassis della Rovere—chosen by Leo X on 15 February 1516 to study and report on the process of canonization of Antonino Pierozzi to the pope himself and the other cardinals of the concistory. ORLANDI, "La Canonizzazione di Sant'Antonino", pp. 92-3. As a token of gratitude for his help, the local community placed a papier-mâché statue of Bibbiena in the Piagnone bastion of Santa Maria del Sasso, when it was reconsecrated in 1507. It stood there at least until the late seventeenth century. G. MARCUCCI, *Le glorie del Clusentino...*, (Florence, 1674), p. 103.

¹⁴⁵ This incident has generated interesting theories regarding Fra Mariano's role as a spy for San Marco in Leo X's household. POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, p. 297, n. 254. See also, POLIZZOTTO, "The Medici and the Savonarolans, 1512-1527", pp. 135-50. Zaccaria di Lunigiana, "*Pulcherrima questio fratris Zachariae de Lunigiana O.P. Utrum Fr. Hier. Savonarola sit hereticus*", BNCF, Conv. Sopp., J.1.46, fos. 1r-18v and BRF 2053. On Zaccaria di Lunigiana and his defense of Savonarola, see A. GIORGETTI, "Fra Luca Bettini e la difesa del Savonarola", in ASI, LXXVII (1919), pp. 217-231; C. VASOLI, "La difesa del Savonarola di Fra Zaccaria di Lunigiana", in *Studi in onore di A. d'Addario*, 3 vols. (Lecce, 1995), III, pp. 843-888; *Ibid.*, "Il tentativo di condanna del Savonarola come eretico e scismatico al Sinodo fiorentino del '16-'17 ed al V Concilio Lateranense", in *Savonarole: Enjeux, débats, questions*, (Actes du Colloque International—Paris, 25-26-27 janvier 1996), eds. A. Fontes, J-L Fournel and M. Plaisance (Paris, 1997), pp. 243-61.

¹⁴⁶ This document is entitled *De haeresis, de scismatis crimine a Sede Apotolica damnati fuerunt* and is published in D. MORENI, *Continuazione delle memorie istoriche dell'ambrosiana imperial Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Firenze*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1816), II, p. 511: "*Relatum nobis nuper fuit, quod toto zelo charitatis ac iusticiae accensi contra quendam Domin. Theodorum perditionis filium qui audens sedem ad Aquilonem ponere sibi 'Angeli Pastoris' nomen usurpabat et contra quaedam pernitiiosa dogmata fratris Hieronimi Savonarolae; et Petri Bernardi, qui, de heresis, de scismatis crimine a Sede Apostolica damnati fuerunt...*"

¹⁴⁷ GIORGETTI, "Fra Luca Bettini", pp. 162ff; POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 297.

¹⁴⁸ Fra Bonifacio Landino, San Marco's "*musicus harmoniosissimus*", was also witness to this statement. For his biography, see: VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 299 n. 206.

of Pope Borgia's apostasy as related by Fra Mariano served only to nullify the very decree that the Medicean Pope had issued against Savonarola.

Fra Mariano's Roman career does not seem to have been compromised by this apparent *volte-face*. Popular legend has it that he was the Pope's confessor at his final hour. As Leo X was drawing his last breath, Fra Mariano, the papal buffoon also known for having eaten pies filled with fully feathered and beaked ravens, exclaimed: "*Raccordatevi di Dio, Santo Padre!*"¹⁴⁹

Zanobi Gaddi and San Giovanni dei Fiorentini

The first lay benefactor of San Silvestro was Zanobi di Angelo Gaddi.¹⁵⁰ Born in 1447 into a family of rich Florentine wool merchants and bankers—and direct descendant of the Trecento painters Gaddo, Taddeo, and Agnolo—Zanobi worked mostly in the Roman branch of the Gaddi bank. He listed, along with his brothers Girolamo and Taddeo, in the 1494 register of Florentine merchants commonly known as "*Romanam Curiam Sequentes*".¹⁵¹ The family busi-

¹⁴⁹ SANUTO, *Diarii*, XXXIII, p. 289. This entry was made on 21 December 1521: "*Concludo a vostra signoria che non è mai morto Papa cum peggior fama da poi è la Chiesa de Dio, adeo che per tutta Roma si dice Intrasti ut vulpis, vixisti ut leo, obiisti ut canis, perché è proprio morto da cane senza confessione et comunione. Et Frate Mariano buffone li raccomandava l'anima, per quanto si dice. Praterea sono sta' stampate certe carte per Roma cum l'immagine de' suoi favoriti, quali expetavano bene da lui, con certi moti.*"

¹⁵⁰ Zanobi was the son of Angelo di Zanobi Gaddi and Maddalena Ridolfi. For more information on Angelo see the interesting (unpublished) document in BMLF, Laur. 90, fos. 63ff, entitled "*Liber mei Angeli Zenobiis de Gaddis de Florentia*". See also the very rare, J. GADDI, *Trattato storico della famiglia Gaddi*, (Padua, 1642). Man of letters and passionate book collector, he was born in Venice in 1398 and served as magistrate in Florence in 1437, 1442, 1451. His children were Francesco, Luigi, Niccolò, Taddeo, Lena, Zanobi, Giovanni, and Girolamo. A thorough treatment of certain members of the Gaddi, including the artists Gaddo, Taddeo, and Agnolo but excluding Zanobi di Angelo, can be found in V. ARRIGHI, "Gaddi", in *DBI*, 51 (1998), pp. 144-174. Less reliable on the Gaddi, since heavily based on Litta, but nevertheless crucial for the family's enterprise in Venice is R. C. MUELLER, *The Venetian Money Market: Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1200-1500*, (Baltimore and London, 1997), *ad indicem*.

¹⁵¹ ASV, Reg. Vat., 869, fo. 204r. These are the names of the bankers as they appear in the document which was redacted on 25 February 1494. Several studies have dealt with Florentine bankers in Rome. Though marred by notorious factual inaccuracies and misinterpretations, I consider D. MAFFEI, *Il giovane Machiavelli*

ness was originally founded in Venice by Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi, grandfather of Zanobi di Angelo. However, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Zanobi and his more famous brothers Francesco and Taddeo moved their business to Rome solely concentrating on banking.¹⁵² A document dating 5 December 1487 relates how he and other rich Florentine bankers posted in Rome were heavy gamblers.¹⁵³ Under the Pontificate of Innocent VIII, he had dealt directly with Tommaso D'Asti, Bishop of Forlì and the Pope's expert in financial matters¹⁵⁴ and was among the bankers placed in charge of the collection of spiritual revenues.¹⁵⁵ Like many Florentines in Rome, Zanobi was an active member of the Compagnia della Pietà at the Arciconfraternita di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini. He was present for

banchiere con Berto Berti a Roma, (Florence, 1973), to be a key work on this matter. The preceding document was originally cited in this work. Another important study is BULLARD, "Mercatores Florentini", pp. 51-71. See also, C. BELLONI, *Dizionario storico dei banchieri italiani*, (Florence, 1951); J. DELUMEAU, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1957). For relations between Savonarola and bankers see, M. CIARDINI, *I banchieri ebrei in Firenze nel secolo XV e il Monte di Pietà fondato da Girolamo Savonarola*, (Florence, 1907); C. BELLONI, *Un banchiere nel Rinascimento: Bindo Altoviti*, (Rome, 1935).

¹⁵² MUELLER, *The Venetian Money Market*, p. 270. Francesco was a noted banker and humanist, while Taddeo was the father of Sinibaldo (Roman senator), Luigi (banker of both Leo X and Clement VII, and Roman Baron), Niccolò (Cardinal), and Giovanni (prelate and patron of the arts). Zanobi continued to work in the garment or wool trade at least until 1495. See, BC, 44.E.10, fo. 79r: "Mariano Savelli una lettera a Zanobi Gaddi del 1495 per una commissione di certi velluti." Apparently, he had conducted business with the sons of the Veronese merchant Pasio Guarenti who used the Gaddi bank channels in Venice, Bologna, Rome, Geneva, and Barcellona for distributing their goods. E. DEMO, "Mercati e manifatture nel Veneto tardomedievale", *Reti medievali*, (1999), *passim*.

¹⁵³ M. M. BULLARD, *Lorenzo il Magnifico: Image and Anxiety, Politics and Finance*, (Florence, 1994), p. 157.

¹⁵⁴ BC, 44.E.10, fo. 82v: "Tommaso d'Aste Ves. di Forlì e Gov. di Benevento a Zanobi Gaddi... 779: Vescovo di Forlì e Governator di Benevento una lettera del 1491 a Zanobi Gaddi suo creditore perché il comporvi. Questo è Tommaso d'Aste sepolto in Roma nella Chiesa di San Tommaso in Parione, dove è il suo epitaffio." Tommaso D'Asti founded the Congregazione di Carità and died in Rome in 1512. For his long epitaph, see FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni delle chiese...*, xiii, p. 498; for a brief biography, see G. MORONI, *Dizionario dell'Erudizione Storica ed Ecclesiastica*, 103 vols. (Venice, 1841-60), XXV, pp. 296-7.

¹⁵⁵ ASV, Div. Cam., 1491-2, vol. 48 (2 July 1492). See also, P. ROMANO, *Ponte (V Rione)*, (Roma, 1941), p. 57. Here Zanobi Gaddi is reported to have accumulated 1590 Ducats for the Camera Apostolica. Other Florentine banks with branches in Rome are also represented, like the Medici, Strozzi, and Rucellai. For specific information on these accounts, see: ASV, Introitus et Exitus, 517-524, *passim*.

the celebrations of the feast of the Purification of the Virgin (2 February) in 1496 and from 1500 to 1504¹⁵⁶—where members used to receive candles in honor of Mary¹⁵⁷—and paid regular dues to this institution in the last years of his life.¹⁵⁸ Following his death in May of 1507, Girolamo and Taddeo, along with his sons Luigi and Niccolò, who later became cardinal, continued to support the Arciconfraternita, often holding important offices.¹⁵⁹ Their increasing hegemony within the Florentine circles in Rome (as reflected in the archival records of the Arciconfraternita) parallels the expansion of their financial empire which reached its peak under the Medicean pontificates.¹⁶⁰

The Gaddi family had been traditionally devoted to the Dominican Order. The Conventual Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella donated the chapel of San Martino to Zanobi's father Angelo, a banker and humanist close to Medicean circles.¹⁶¹ In 1488, before

¹⁵⁶ AASGF, *Libro del Provveditore*, 337, fo. 9v (11 February 1496); fo. 87v (21 February 1500); fo. 123v (28 February 1501); fo. 160v (9 February 1502); fo. 200v (22 January 1503); fo. 219r (31 January 1504).

¹⁵⁷ BULLARD, "Mercatores Florentini", pp. 51-60. On Florentine communities in Rome during the period 1490-1510, see: I. POLVERINI FOSI, "Il consolato fiorentino a Roma e il progetto per la chiesa nazionale", in *Studi romani*, XXXVII (1989), pp. 50-70; *Ibid.*, "Pietà, devozione e politiche: due confraternite fiorentine nella Roma nel Rinascimento", in ASI, 149 (1991), pp. 118-161; *Ibid.*, "I fiorentini a Roma nel Cinquecento: storia di una presenza", in *Roma capitale (1447-1527)*, ed. S. Gensini (Pisa, 1994), pp. 389-414.

¹⁵⁸ AASGF, *Libro delle Entrate & Uscite*, 365, fo. 14v (6 January 1505); fo. 19r (15 May 1505); fo. 23v (6 December 1506).

¹⁵⁹ A comparative study of Piagnoni and artists documented in the AASGF shall be the subject of my next study. The Gaddi family, for instance, was well represented and its members often acted as *camerlenghi* of the confraternity; see the *Libro del Provveditore* 337 and 338, *passim*. Even Pietro and Filippo Strozzi are frequently mentioned in the archive at San Giovanni de' Fiorentini; from them, the Gaddi purchased a palace in 1515 built by Sansovino on Via del Banco di Santo Spirito. For the history and intellectual ambit of Palazzo Gaddi, see P. PECCHIAI, *Roma nel Cinquecento*, (Bologna, 1948), p. 515; M. MORRESI, *Jacopo Sansovino*, (Milan, 2000), p. 50ff.

¹⁶⁰ The Gaddi as a whole were originally very close to the Medici, especially to Lorenzo il Magnifico and his son Piero. When the latter was expelled from Florence in 1494, the government instituted by Savonarola and his followers did not exile or ostracize the Gaddi and their financial institution. On the contrary, Luigi Gaddi, brother of Zanobi, was asked to remain in the Cancelleria. In fact, he served as *secondo cancelliere* and, shortly after, as secretary of the *Dieci di Balìa*. ARRIGHI, "Gaddi", p. 153.

¹⁶¹ The donation of this chapel is recorded in P. LITTA, *Famiglie celebri italiani*, 10 vols. (Milan, 1819-74), III, *sub voce*; ARRIGHI, "Gaddi", p. 149. Here, one of the

Savonarola's second apostolate in Florence, Taddeo had financed the restoration and enlargement of San Domenico in Fiesole and erected two new chapels in which he placed Fra Angelico's *Annunciation* and *Incoronation of the Virgin*.¹⁶² He later erected a chapel in San Marco as well.¹⁶³ Zanobi's contribution to the Order—though perhaps less grand than his father's and brother's—was such that the friars of San Marco conferred to him the title of *benemeritus ordinis Praedicatorum* as can still be read on his tombstone at San Silvestro.¹⁶⁴ [Fig. 10] Furthermore, in 1505 Fra Sante Pagnini donated to Zanobi "...*dua quadretti a uso libretto, ne quali era in un lato una Natività et nell'altro lato un Crocifixo colla Vergine e San Giovanni...*" by Fra Bartolomeo in recognition for his work for the Congregation.¹⁶⁵ What this work was and how this devotion was manifested is not altogether clear.¹⁶⁶ However, in June 1497 Zanobi, Girolamo, Taddeo and Giuliano—all sons of Angelo—signed in Florence the compromising petition to Alexander VI demanding the revocation of Savonarola's excommunication.¹⁶⁷ Given that Zanobi is

most prominent members of the Gaddi family in the sixteenth century, Giovanni di Taddeo, nephew of Zanobi and brother of Cardinal Niccolò, patron of Annibal Caro, Sansovino, Andrea del Sarto, and Giovanni Francesco Rustici, was buried.

¹⁶² For Taddeo's chapels and their attribution to Giuliano da Sangallo, see L. FERRETTI, *La chiesa e il convento di San Domenico di Fiesole*, (Florence, 1901), p. 34. Two other chapels, dedicated to the Annunciation and to Saint Antonino Pierozzi, were begun in 1507—year of Zanobi's death—but were finished only in 1527 once the plague was over.

¹⁶³ LITTA, *Famiglie celebri italiani*, III, "Gaddi".

¹⁶⁴ Zanobi Gaddi's tomb was removed from its original site after the nineteenth-century restorations and placed in the mezzanine area of the stairway of the new entrance to the church. It reads: D O M / ZENOBIO GADDIO FLOR. / DE PREDICAT. ORD. BENEMERITO / HEREDES THADDEI GADDI / NEPOTE PATRUO CHARISS. / POS / ON. MENS. MAIO A. M.D. VII. See also, ASSQ, "Memorie della Chiesa e Casa di San Silvestro al Quirinale", fo. 53v.

¹⁶⁵ These two small pictures by Fra Bartolomeo must have either been executed before joining San Domenico at Prato on 26 July 1500 or sometime in between late 1504 and late 1505, that is, after Fra Sante Pagnini convinced him to resume painting (around the time of the altar for Bernardo del Bianco, 18 November 1504) and the end of Fra Sante Pagnini's priorship (1505).

¹⁶⁶ Members of the Gaddi family were in close contact with Cardinal Oliviero Carafa. Francesco Gaddi assisted Carafa during San Marco's separation from the Lombard Congregation. R. DE MAIO, *Savonarola e la Curia Romana*, (Rome, 1969), p. 33. Furthermore, according to the official minutes of the third trial against Savonarola, an unspecified Gaddi member functioned as liaison between the Frate and Carafa. I. G. RAO, P. VITI, and R. M. ZACCARIA, *I processi di Girolamo Savonarola (1498)*, (Florence, 2001), p. 40-1.

¹⁶⁷ POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, p. 452.

not mentioned in either the *Libro del Provveditore* or the *Libro d'entrata & uscita* of the Compagnia della Pietà in Rome from 1496 to 1499, it is presumable that he resided in his native city during the most turbulent years of Savonarola's Florentine pastoral office. There are records of a substantial epistolary exchange with Fra Anton Domenico Borgianni of San Marco "per affari particolari [...] privati"¹⁶⁸, Bernardo di Giovanni da San Gimignano at Santa Maria Assunta at Cellole "per incarichi e cause della sua Pieve"¹⁶⁹, and with the Vallombrosan Mauro da Firenze "per procurare affari d'alcune Badie di quell'Ordine."¹⁷⁰ In 1502 he is at another Piagnone bastion, Santa Maria della Quercia in Viterbo, where he was paid for arranging the gilding of the orb and cross of the lantern, the colored glass and the purchase of two paintings, a Saint Dominic and a Saint Peter Martyr for the church.¹⁷¹

Thanks to Zanobi Gaddi's pivotal position, money was either loaned or given to Fra Mariano by the Arciconfraternita or the

¹⁶⁸ BC, 44.E.10, fo. 71v: "Frate Antondomenico di Giovanni domenicano una lettera di privato affare a Zanobi Gaddi del 1502." Fo. 84r: "Fra Antonio Domenico di Giovanni Borgianni da Dicomano [...] Domenicano di San Marco una lettera a Zanobi Gaddi del 1502 di affari particolari." Very little is known about this friar except in Verde, "La congregazione di S. Marco", p. 200: "Fr. Antoninus Dominicus Iohannis Simonis de Bongianis de Decomano: Vest: 27/XI/1500 - Prof: 27/XI/1501: "tacita professio"; 11/IV/1502: "...solemniter de more in manibus eiusdem prioris fratris Francisci in Oratorio Societatis Textorum propter interdictum." These "affari particolari" refer to a will redacted on 1 April 1502. VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 549.

¹⁶⁹ BC, 44.E.10, fo. 72r. "Bernardo [di Lorenzo] Pievano di San Gimignano a Lett.e 3 a Zanobi Gaddi a Roma del 1502. Incarichi e cause della sua Pieve." On Bernardo di Giovanni di San Gimignano, see VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 541-2, 694. He is present at San Marco in 1498 and at Santo Spirito in Siena on 29 April 1511.

¹⁷⁰ BC, 44.E.10, fo. 73r: "Mauro Abate di Vallombrosa Lettere 11 dal 1496 al 1503 a Zanobi Gaddi a Roma per procurare affari d'alcune Badie di quell'Ordine." Mauro da Firenze was abbot under the General Biagio Milanese who put him in charge of the conservation of the Order's monasteries. See, SALA and TARANI, *Dizionario biografico di scrittori letterati e artisti dell'Ordine di Vallombrosa*, I, p. 207.

¹⁷¹ ASMQ, Libro d'entrata & uscita, 1498-1514, n. 116. All documents refer to the year 1502. Fo. 43r: "Pagati charlini 36 a Zanobbi Ghaddi di Roma per pezzi 400 d'oro fine mandato per dorare la palla et la croce della lanterna." Fo. 44r: "Pagati charlini 78 fatti boni a Zanobi: egli spese in 900 occhi de vetro, et libr. 16 de vetro paghonazzo et rosso, mandatoci per mezzo di un gharzone di Nicchola Parrini, et per fare le finestre della lanterna sopra la chupola." Fo. 46r: "Pagati charlini 46 fatti boni a Zanobbi Ghaddi: egli pagò per noi per due figure, cioè una di San Domenico, et una di San Pietro Martire dipinte in tela che si sono messe nella chiesa." See, C. PINZI, "Memorie e documenti inediti sulla basilica di Santa Maria della Quercia di Viterbo. Monumento nazionale", in *Archivio storico dell'Arte* (Rome, 1890), pp. 132ff.

Gaddi bank for the initial refurbishing and restoration of San Silvestro. (This contribution was limited, since the complex was not completely restored until much later.) Moreover, it is not improbable that Zanobi, whose family institution was loaning money to Giovanni de' Medici, might have expedited (concurrently with Fra Mariano) the donation process by urging the son of Lorenzo's to intercede with Julius II.¹⁷² Another channel that funded and transferred money from San Marco to San Silvestro was the bank of Federico Strozzi, brother of Fra Tommaso Strozzi.¹⁷³ Like the Gaddi, the Strozzi had prominent members in the Arciconfraternita. There are quite a few Piagnoni listed in the annals of this institution, which, if studied in detail, would certainly shed more light on the proliferation of Roman Savonarolism during Alexander VI's pontificate as well as on Florentine artistic commissions in Rome.¹⁷⁴

Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani and the Vallombrosan Order

In Rome in various occasions during and after his priorships at San Marco (1509-11) and San Domenico at Pistoia (1513)¹⁷⁵, Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani served as vicar of San Silvestro from the end

¹⁷² Advancing money in favor of ecclesiastical favors was not uncommon primum among the Gaddi and the Medici. Zanobi's nephew, Niccolò, was made cardinal by Clement VII on 3 May 1527 in exchange of large amount of cash (40,000 scudi) given to the pope by his brother Luigi just before Charles V's Sack. ARRIGHI, "Gaddi", p. 162.

¹⁷³ The links between the Strozzi bankers and San Marco (which enlisted many members of this family) are numerous and yet to be studied in depth, in all of its extended ramifications. See, L. BORGO, "Fra Bartolomeo e Raffaello: l'incontro romano del 1513", in *Studi su Raffaello: atti del Congresso internazionale di studi, 6-14 aprile 1984*, (Urbino, 1987), pp. 502-4; See also, *Conto dell'entrata e dell'uscita nella causa di canonizzazione di Sant'Antonino*, BMLF, San Marco, 884, registro III, fo. 145r.

¹⁷⁴ The only study that has openly addressed the issue of Roman Piagnonism is P. SIMONCELLI, "Momenti e figure del savonarolismo romano", in *Critica storica*, 11 (1974), pp. 47-82. The author's focus, however, is mainly on the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century.

¹⁷⁵ From a traditionally affluent Florentine family with strong ties with the Medici but also close to Savonarolan circles, Giovanbattista di Eduardo Canigiani received the habit at fifteen from Savonarola himself on 16 June 1496 and took the name Fra Giovanni Maria. For the ambiguously colorless entries in the *Liber vestitionum S. Marci de Florentia* and in the *Cronicae conventus S. Marci de Florentia*, see respectively VERDE, "La congregazione di S. Marco", p. 189 and CREYTENS, "Les Actes capitulaires", p. 202. From his family, whose members were *Romanam Curiam*

of 1513 to May 1514, that is, until he was elected General Vicar of the Tusco-Roman Congregation.¹⁷⁶ Given the extraordinary career within his Congregation, this ambitious friar would not have regarded the position in the small Roman complex as a kind of demotion. Many affairs involving San Marco and the Piagnoni movement were now handled in Rome. Furthermore, with the consolidation of Medicean power in the papal city, San Silvestro became a stepping-stone and a forum for friars—including Canigiani—seeking favors.

His term as vicar began immediately in tragedy. Canigiani was present at the convent during the premature death of Fra Francesco Maria Gondi on 26 September 1512.¹⁷⁷ Captured outside of Rome

Sequentes, he must have acquired a keen expertise in business matters; following Savonarola's death he was generally employed as a conventual procurator and later as prior. As such, in fact, he served in three major Piagnoni bastions: San Domenico in Prato (1508), San Marco (1509-1511), and San Domenico at Pistoia (1513), before becoming General-Vicar of the Tusco-Roman Congregation in May of 1514. For the Capitular Acts confirming these posts, see Creytens, "Les Actes capitulaires", pp. 156 (Prato), 158, 159 (San Marco), 160 (Pistoia). A concise biography of Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani is in VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 209, n. 15. On other members of the Canigiani family, see: POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 20, 22, 216, 26, 232, 234, 379.

¹⁷⁶ The dates of Canigiani's vicarship at San Silvestro are established by two documents. In a letter published in VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 3, Fra Vincenzo Mainardi writing from Fiesole at the end of 1513 to Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli in Rome—recounting among other things the death of many members of his family including his uncle the painter Sebastiano Mainardi—demanded that his letter be read to Canigiani then resident at San Silvestro. Instead, the Capitular Acts of the Tusco-Roman Congregation of 7 May 1514 announced Canigiani's election as General-Vicar, the most important position within the Congregation: CREYTENS, "Les Actes capitulaires", p. 160.

¹⁷⁷ The life and unfortunate vicissitudes of Fra Francesco di Antonio Gondi—he took the new name Francesco Maria at San Marco in 1497—should be subject of a more elaborate study. Originally from a traditional banking family that made handsome donations to San Marco (R. GOLDTHWAITE, *Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence. A Study of Four Families*, (Princeton, 1968), pp. 157-186), Fra Francesco Maria was placed in charge of many financial aspects of the convents of the Congregation. Often he was involved in disputes and matters concerning the Medici—in 1509 he was procurator of Alfonsina Orsini, Piero de' Medici's widow; in 1511 he corresponded with Giulio de' Medici—and with Rome, whenever the Procurator Fra Niccolò Schömberg was away. For documents and biography, see VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 288-9 n. 169, 380-1 n. 433; see also, VERDE, "La congregazione di S. Marco", p. 193. His brother Pietro, who took the habit at San Marco in 1496 and the name Fra Marco, might also be known to have corresponded with Michelangelo, to whom the artist once wrote an apparently compromising letter: "...se io lasciassi senza giustificarmi, sarei pubblicato fra i piagnoni per il maggior traditore che fussi in questa terra." See, G. MILANESI, *Le lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti edite ed inedite*, (Florence, 1875), p. 433.

because it was thought that Piero Soderini was traveling with him, he died of fright at San Silvestro. This was among the Piagnoni's greatest crisis after the death of Savonarola. A letter written two months later by Fra Vincenzo Mainardi to Fra Niccolò Schömberg in Rome illustrated the somber atmosphere experienced by the friars at San Silvestro.¹⁷⁸ Gondi had been personally appointed by the then Prior of San Marco Canigiani to handle the Congregation's affairs with the Curia¹⁷⁹ and to supervise the necessary paperwork for the acquisition of San Silvestro.¹⁸⁰

On 8 January 1515, with the aid of Alfonsina Orsini de' Medici¹⁸¹, Canigiani was made Abbot-General of the Vallombrosan

¹⁷⁸ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 161-5. On 26 November 1512, Mainardi consoled the German Dominican of the death of Fra Francesco Maria Gondi reminding him of the many friends who are still living in Rome. Canigiani is mentioned along with Fra Bernardo del Nero, Fra Paolo di Antonio Guidi, and Fra Mariano, all residents at that time at San Silvestro. "*An possunt tui non meminisse inter alios Canisianus tuus, Nerius, Paulus et imprimis frater Marianus qui tanta sedulitate res tuas in urbe defensavit ut maiore nullo pacto posset Gondius?*" VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 381 n. 434. Fra Bernardo del Nero—member of a rich Florentine family, who received the habit from Savonarola in 1496—was the most assiduous correspondent of Fra Vincenzo Mainardi and had covered several important positions within the Congregation of San Marco and the Tusco-Roman Congregation, including Prior of San Domenico at Fiesole and Santa Caterina at Pisa. For his biography, see VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 195-7, n. 1. Fra Paolo di Antonio Guidi was member of a family traditionally loyal to Savonarola and filled many important positions within the Tusco-Roman Congregation.

¹⁷⁹ On 20 October 1509, Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani made Fra Francesco Maria his procurator in Rome. See VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 289 n. 169. For the entire document see ASF, NA, 5434, fo. 128v.

¹⁸⁰ This suggested in VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 288 n. 169. Bureaucratic matters such as these were Fra Francesco Maria Gondi's strength and his trips to Rome were quite frequent.

¹⁸¹ E. LOCCATELLI, *Vita del glorioso padre San Giovanguualberto fondatore dell'Ordine di Vallombrosa insieme con le vite di tutti i Generali, beati e Beate che ha di tempo in tempo hauto la sua religione*, (Florence, 1583), pp. 309-10. The sixteenth-century historian of the Vallombrosans claimed that Canigiani was Alfonsina's confessor. On Alfonsina Orsini and the Piagnoni, see VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 161, 380 n. 433. She was also in good terms with Fra Mariano as we can read in the friar's letter to her son Lorenzo de' Medici. CIAN, "Un buffone del secolo XVI", pp. 654-5. Two recent studies have shed more light on this instrumental figure of late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century Italian history: N. TOMAS, "Alfonsina Orsini de' Medici and the 'Problem' of a Female Ruler in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence", in *Renaissance Studies* 14 (2000), pp. 70-90; S. E. REISS, "Widow, Mother, Patron of Art: Alfonsina Orsini de' Medici", in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, ed. S. Reiss (Kirksville, MO, 2001), pp. 125-157.

Order.¹⁸² Leo X appointed him to enforce the Order's monastic rule; for this purpose twelve Regular friars and lay brothers from the Tusco-Roman Congregation went along with him.¹⁸³ However, contemporary documents and historians point to an altogether different story. The Medici had been inimical towards the former General of this Order, Don Biagio Milanese, since the times of Lorenzo il Magnifico.¹⁸⁴ Even Savonarola had not had the best of relations with Milanese given that the Frate urged the separation of San Salvi from the rest of the Vallombrosan Congregation.¹⁸⁵ Sources relate how Alfonsina had pushed for Milanese's deposition and exile in 1513 and how her nephew, the newly elected Pope, had charged this monk with falsity and simony soon after.¹⁸⁶ As expected, Leo X used Canigiani to exact personal revenge against this Order and, indirectly, curtail even more the power of the Piagnoni. Systematically, the patrimony of the Order of Saint Giovanni Gualberto began to be depleted through irresponsible sales.¹⁸⁷ For this reason Canigiani was greatly criticized for his moral conduct and was accused of

¹⁸² Either as Vicar of San Silvestro or as General Vicar of the Tusco-Roman Congregation, Canigiani dedicated a flattering poem to Leo X: *Poema in laudem Leonis Papae X* (1514). See, ALTAMURA, *Bibliotheca Domenicana*, p. 530; MORENI, *Bibliografia*, I, p. 206.

¹⁸³ LODDI, "Notizie", fo. 98: "E perché in virtù del detto Breve egli poteva condurre con esonero a quello Ordine Vallombrosano 12 religiosi, o dell'Ordine dei Predicatori o d'altra religione, purché egli avessero a ciò liberamente acconsentito, di quei di San Marco ve n'andarono i seguenti, cioè: P. Gio. Batta Romoli di Faenza, Il P. Lodovico Fiorentino che prima era stato eremitano di Sant'Agostino, Fra Cornelio di Firenze Converso, Fra Paolo da Colle parimenti Converso e Professo del Convento di San Gimignano... P. Antonio Scappella Fior., P. Timoteo Carneseccchi e consultino [?] di F. Gio. Canigiani, e F. Silvestro da Petriolo converso." See also E. LUCCHESI, *I monaci benedettini vallombrosani nella diocesi di Pistoia e Prato*, (Florence, 1941), p. 26; DE MAIO, *Savonarola e la Curia Romana*, p. 97; CREYTENS, "Les Actes capitulaires", p. 162 n. 113.

¹⁸⁴ The literature on this matter is plentiful but often inaccurate. The best account—strongly based on archival evidence—is N. VASATURO, *Vallombrosa nel IX centenario della morte del fondatore Giovanni Gualberto (12 luglio 1073)*, (Florence, 1973), pp. 117-23.

¹⁸⁵ DE MAIO, *Savonarola e la Curia Romana*, pp. 184-220.

¹⁸⁶ LOCCATELLI, *Vita del glorioso padre San Giovanguelberto*, pp. 309-10; LUCCHESI, *I monaci benedettini vallombrosani*, pp. 26-7; VASATURO, *Vallombrosa*, pp. 123-4.

¹⁸⁷ VASATURO, *Vallombrosa*, pp. 124-5: "Per concedere al Canigiani la possibilità di pagare le pensioni, assegnate dal pontefice al cardinale Grimano, al cardinale Silvio Passerini, a Filippo Tornabuoni e a Giuliano de' Medici, il 3 agosto 1515 Leone X dà facoltà all'abate di Vallombrosa di alienare i beni del monastero e della Congregazione inrequisita etiam Apostolica Sede." See also, Canigiani's letter admitting these very contentions: VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 524.

simony and embezzlement.¹⁸⁸ His choice to leave the Dominican Order for a less severe post was tepidly received by members of Savonarola's Congregation. Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli, who would soon after benefit from the Pope's generosity as well, though delighted by Canigiani's career move, wished only to remain faithful to his vows.¹⁸⁹

Regardless of his new appointment, Canigiani continued to patronize his old convent and friars and not the churches and convents of his new Order.¹⁹⁰ In 1515-1516, he purchased from Fra Girolamo de' Rossi, the then Prior of San Marco¹⁹¹, an unspecified painting by Fra Bartolomeo, who had worked at San Silvestro under his vicarship, and, several years later, Juan Torquemada's volumes from Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli.¹⁹² Canigiani was member of a subcommittee in charge of the supervision of the canonization trial of Saint Antonino Pierozzi and also entertained an epistolary exchange with the Piagnona Saint Catherine de' Ricci, proud owner of Savonarola's portrait and finger.¹⁹³ Most importantly, however, rather than living

¹⁸⁸ LOCCATELLI, *Vita del glorioso padre San Giovanguualberto*, pp. 309-12.

¹⁸⁹ Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli to Fra Vincenzo Mainardi, 10 January 1515. VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 124. Acciaiuoli was soon after made librarian of the BAV.

¹⁹⁰ R. P. CIARDI, *Vallombrosa: santo e meraviglioso luogo*, (Pisa, 1999): "Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani, durante il suo governo, diede vita alla più grama stagione di commissioni artistiche. L'unica eccezione di un certo rilievo è la pala Vallombrosana di Andrea del Sarto dipinta nel 1528." Quite the opposite was Biagio Milanese's tenure during which he commissioned works from Filippino Lippi, Raffaellino del Garbo, Perugino, and Andrea del Sarto.

¹⁹¹ MARCHESI, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori*, II, p. 198: "Item un quadro al Generale di Valombrosa in tela, dettene duc. XII al d° lib. 12." Canigiani had already redacted Fra Bartolomeo's contract for Jacopo Panciatichi's altarpiece at San Domenico at Pistoia in November 1512. In this case, both he and the painter were said to have had input on iconographical matters. See this contract in MARCHESI, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori*, II, pp. 550-1.

¹⁹² On Torquemada's volumes, purchased on 8 December 1518, see: M. BERTOLA, *I primi due registri di prestito della BAV: codici Vaticani Latini 3964, 3966*, (Vatican City, 1942), p. 40.

¹⁹³ ORLANDI, "La Canonizzazione di Sant'Antonino", p. 93 n. 214. On Canigiani and Saint Caterina de' Ricci, see: VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 209-10 n. 15. See also, A. COZZI, "L'epistolario di Caterina de' Ricci e l'eredità del Savonarola", in *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, XV (1966), pp. 91-103; S. RAZZI, *Vita di S. Caterina de' Ricci*, ed. G. Di Agresti (Florence, 1965); G. DI AGRESTI, *Santa Caterina dei Ricci... Bibliografia ragionata con appendice savonaroliana*, (Florence, 1973). On Saint Catherine de' Ricci and Savonarolan relics, see: "Il dito di Fra Girolamo Savonarola in San Vincenzo di Prato", in MD, 22 (1905), pp. 314-5.

at the Vallombrosan monastery at Santa Prassede, he reportedly built his own palace on Monte Cavallo and erected a chapel at San Silvestro.¹⁹⁴

Pietro Quirini and the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17)

An important chapter of the history of San Silvestro and of Piagnonism in general involves one of the foremost figures of the Italian *reformatio* of the early sixteenth century. Many of the concerns that Pietro Quirini (né Vincenzo, 1478-1514) had for the critical state of the Church were similar with the ones expressed by the most prominent Piagnoni. His moral and aesthetic affinity with Savonarolism would ultimately bring him to Rome, where he died within the walls of San Marco's satellite convent on the Quirinal.¹⁹⁵

Of patrician origins, Quirini's scholarly upbringing drew him immediately close to Venetan and Venetian humanist ambits, such as the "Murano Circle", where he cherished lifelong friendships with Pietro Bembo, Paolo (Tommaso) Giustiniani, Gasparo Contarini,

¹⁹⁴ LOCCATELLI, *Vita del glorioso padre San Giovanguualberto*, p. 311-2: "Di più per istare a Roma, non gli parendo che per lui fosse dicevole e comodo il nostro monasterio di Santa Prassede, edificò un palagio a Montecavallo, e nella chiesa quivi presso di San Silvestro fece una cappella, forse per esservi sotterrato quando fosse morto in Roma..." See, also: ASF, Corp. Sopp., 260, Santa Maria di Vallombrosa 102, "Ricordanze al tempo del Generale Canigiani, dal 1517 al 1523"; ASF, Corp. Sopp., 260, Santa Maria di Vallombrosa 144, "Libro del Generale Canigiano detto delle Ricordanze in materia di alienazioni, vendite et distrazioni di quelli et d'altri simili atti".

¹⁹⁵ The most recent study is S. BOWD, *Reform before the Reformation: Vincenzo Querini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy*, (Leiden, 2001), though as with his article on the Quirini and the Piagnoni (Ibid., "Vincenzo Querini and the Florentine Piagnoni, 1511-1514", in *The World of Savonarola: Italian Elites and Perception of Crisis*, eds. S. Fletcher and C. Shaw (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 112-118), the author did not implement the complex epistolary corpus of Fra Vincenzo Mainardi. See also, E. A. CICOGNA, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 vols. (Venice, 1824-53), V, pp. 63-75; J. SCHNITZER, *Peter Delfin, General des Camaldulenserordens (1444-1525): ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kirchenreform Alexanders VI. und Savonarolas*, (Munche, 1926), pp.149-174, 227ff; see also the introduction of P. GUSTINIANI and P. QUIRINI, *Lettera al Papa. Libellus ad Leonem X (1513)*, ed. G. Bianchini (Modena, 1995); H. JEDIN, "Vincenzo Quirini e Pietro Bembo", in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, IV, (Vatican City, 1946), pp. 407-24 and reprinted in *Chiesa della fede Chiesa della storia*, (Brescia, 1972), pp. 481-98; for Quirini and Giustiniani's letters, see: G. B. MITTARELLI and A. COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti quibus plura interserentur tum ceteras italico-monasticas res, tum historiam Ecclesiasticam remque diplomaticam illustrantia*, 9 vols. (Venice, 1755-1773), IX, cols. 447-612.

Niccolò Tiepolo, and Aldo Manuzio.¹⁹⁶ In the midst of a promising and successful diplomatic career, Quirini suffered a religious crisis, which forced his withdrawal from the world. This ascetic fervor was also shared by several of his friends, many of whom sought spiritual refuge at San Michele di Murano. In the fall of 1511, he joined Giustiniani, who was then living at the hermitage of Camaldoli. On 22 February 1512, Quirini was dressed with Saint Romuald's habit; on 8 August 1512 he was professed Camaldolese monk along with Giustiniani, taking the names Pietro and Paolo respectively.¹⁹⁷

On 8 September 1512, Quirini invited Fra Tommaso Strozzi, then Prior of Santa Maria del Sasso at Bibbiena¹⁹⁸, to join him at the nearby Camaldoli, in order to pursue a life of contemplation, study, and asceticism.¹⁹⁹ At the time, he and Giustiniani were in the process of reforming their Order. He admitted to Strozzi that Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani (*"in confessione"*, he claimed) had already agreed to join and asked him to bring the matter up with Fra Sante Pagnini, then Prior of San Marco.²⁰⁰ This plan to recruit conservative Piagnoni eventually fell through. The reasons are, I think, similar to concerns that had dissuaded Savonarola, almost twenty years before, from pursuing any further the construction of his rural home at Montecavo. For the Dominicans, Camaldoli meant embracing an eremitic life quite contrary to the coenobitic nature and *vita*

¹⁹⁶ On Venice and Savonarolism, see: M. TAFURI, *Venezia e il Rinascimento*, (Venice, 1985), pp. 90-101; P. SCAPECCHI, "Bartolomeo frate e pittore nella congregazione di San Marco", in *Letà di Savonarola: Fra Bartolomeo e la Scuola di San Marco*, ed. S. Padovani (Venice, 1996), pp. 19-27.

¹⁹⁷ S. TABACCHI, "Giustinian, Paolo", in *DBI*, 57 (Rome, 2001), p. 282.

¹⁹⁸ One of many the Strozzi brothers who had joined the Dominican order, Fra Tommaso was professed at San Marco on 25 March 1499 and was Prior at Santa Maria del Sasso from 1511 to 1513 Prior at Santa Maria sopra Minerva from 1523-25 (where he died some twenty years later). For his direct relations with San Silvestro, see the entry in the 1521 Capitular Acts of the Tusco-Roman Congregation, CREYTENS, "Les Actes capitulaires", pp. 174 n. 168. See also VERDE, "La congregazione di S. Marco", p. 197 and VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 225 and *ad indicem*. For the Strozzi and their profession at San Marco and San Domenico in Fiesole, see VERDE, "La congregazione di S. Marco", p. 181, 188, 190, 196, 209.

¹⁹⁹ This letter was written on 8 September 1512. See, MITTARELLI and COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses*, IX, cols. 571-3.

²⁰⁰ MITTARELLI and COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses*, IX, col. 572. Quirini and Giustiniani corresponded with Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, whose *De reformatandis moribus oratio*, presented at the Fifth Lateran Council, was in many ways on the same reformational wavelength with Camaldolese friars's *Libellus*. See VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 162-4; BOWD, *Reform before the Reformation*, p. 185.

activa of their rule—albeit one as severe and rigorous as that envisioned by Savonarola. Instead of preaching to pagans, tepids, and infidels, Quirini promised them a secluded, stricter existence: “*chiudersi fra que’ boschi, dove ei possa appieno seco raffrontarsi... fuggire le azioni e le frequenze mondane, le Confessioni ed altre opere di Marta, che non senza pericolo si sogliono ministrare.*” Quirini noticed these monastic inclinations in the more reclusive branches of the Piagnoni, particularly among those who resided in peripheral and rural convents.²⁰¹ This feeling, however, was not widespread among the Roman Piagnoni, the majority of whom were cultivating more ambitious agendas.

After failing to lure Piagnoni to Camaldoli, Quirini began instead to frequent San Silvestro and its friars. He and Giustiniani traveled to Rome in spring of 1513 to petition for their monastic reforms before Leo X, against which the General of the Camaldolese Order, Pietro Delfin, had raised strong objections.²⁰² With the support of the Pope, they proposed to implement a stricter rule for all congregations and give more autonomy to individual convents. Delfin had his authority seriously undermined by these two hermits.²⁰³ Soon after, Quirini and Giustiniani took the opportunity to present these reforms at the Fifth Lateran Council, which had resumed its works two months after Julius II’s death.²⁰⁴ From Gius-

²⁰¹ In a letter to Fra Luca da San Miniato of 12 August 1514; Fra Giovanfrancesco Benivieni explored the possibilities of a more eremitic life, distant from worldly preoccupations. VERDE and GIACONI, “Epistolario”, p. 129-30: “*Tunc felices erimus, amantissime Luca, fugientes mundi huius voluptates illecebrosas, controversias, rixas, contentiones et universa illectamenta occasionesque malorum; preactipuum gaudium erit caste, oboedienter, pauperrime vivere...*”

²⁰² These proved to be successful. Leo X gave his placet on 4 July 1513, forcing many lax Camaldolese convents to observe stricter constitutions. In turn, Delfin’s power was largely diminished. SCHNITZER, *Peter Delfin*, p. 166; BOWD, *Reform before the Reformation*, pp. 116-7.

²⁰³ SCHNITZER, *Peter Delfin*, pp. 366-99.

²⁰⁴ The sixth session resumed on 27 April 1513. For the Fifth Lateran Council, see G. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio...*, 55 vols. (Florence, Paris and Leipzig, 1758-1962), XXXII, cols. 649-1002; N. MINNICH (ed.), *The Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17): Studies on its Membership, Diplomacy, and Proposals of Reform*, (Aldershot, 1993), *passim*; M. REEVES (ed.), *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period: Essays*, (Oxford, 1992), *sub voce*. On Quirini’s involvement with the Council, see H. JEDIN, *History of the Council of Trent*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1957-61), I, pp. 127-130. A brilliant and succinct history of this Council is D. CANTIMORI, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento*, (Turin, 1992), pp. 22-30. On Savonarola and the Council, see VASOLI, “Il tentativo di condanna del Savonarola”, pp. 243-61.

tiniani and Delfin's letters we know that Quirini often used San Silvestro as his Roman residence, however, a note in Acciaiuoli's letter to Strozzi suggests that the Dominicans had originally provided the hermits with a temporary accommodation in a vacant house of the Vannulli family.²⁰⁵

Quirini was asked in March 1514 to verify the orthodoxy of the prophet Francesco da Meleto's *Convivio de' secreti della Scriptura Sancta, compilato per modo di dialogo* (1512-13).²⁰⁶ The work of this rather remote adherent of Savonarola attempted to set a precise date for the coming apocalyptic era, which was to arrive—according to his calculations—after the conversion of the Jews and the fall of Islam.²⁰⁷ The ideas expressed in the *Convivio* would have seemingly attracted the Piagnoni's attention, due to their prophetic and reformational impetus. However, the Joachimite nature of these speculations, coupled with the rather phony series of miracles that supported their validity, must have discouraged the Roman Piagnoni from endorsing them, especially in times when cantankerous and prejudiced ecclesiastics were pushing to suppress Savonarola and his work at the Lateran Council.²⁰⁸ In fact, an attempt to associate Francesco da Meleto with Savonarola was made by the Camaldolese friar and ex-Piagnone Paolo Orlandini with his *Expugnatio miletana* in 1516.²⁰⁹ When Quirini failed to convince Francesco da Meleto to

²⁰⁵ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 447.

²⁰⁶ Weinstein (*Savonarola and Florence*, pp. 355-6) claims that it was Leo X himself to call Quirini to Rome. Bowd ("Vincenzo Querini", pp. 118-20 and *Reform before the Reformation*, p. 197) instead, has uncovered Quirini's correspondence with the Florentine Canon Marco Favilla, which points at Francesco da Meleto's specific request that he be heard by Quirini before his writings were judged. For a contemporary account of the meeting between Quirini and Francesco da Meleto, see B. CERRETANI, *Storia in dialogo della mutazione di Firenze*, ed. R. Mordenti (Florence, 1990), pp. 102-03. Francesco da Meleto was immediately summoned to Rome. It is possible that Francesco da Meleto resided for his three-month Roman stay at San Silvestro. In fact, he was guest of Bembo who, according to Jedin, had a room at the convent. JEDIN, "Vincenzo Querini e Pietro Bembo", p. 493.

²⁰⁷ For Francesco da Meleto and his prophecies, see S. BONGI, "Francesco Meleto, un profeta fiorentino a' tempi del Machiavello", in ASI, ser. v, III (1889), pp. 62-70; C. VASOLI, "La profezia di Francesco da Meleto", in *Ermeneutica e tradizione (Archivio di Filosofia)*, (1963), pp. 27-80; WEINSTEIN, *Savonarola and Florence*, pp. 353-57; E. GARIN, "Paolo Orlandini e il profeta Francesco da Meleto", in *La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano*, (Florence, 1979), pp. 215-223; V. ARRIGHI, "Francesco da Meleto", in DBI, 49 (1997), pp. 804-7.

²⁰⁸ WEINSTEIN, *Savonarola and Florence*, pp. 355-7.

²⁰⁹ POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 292-3.



Fig. 10. Zanobi Gaddi's Tombstone
at San Silvestro al Quirinale.



Fig. 11. Fra Bartolomeo,
Mary and Child,
(Florence, San Marco).



Fig. 12. Fra Bartolomeo,
Mary and Child,
(Florence, San Marco).



Fig. 13. Raphael,
Madonna della Seggiola,
(Florence, Pitti).

withdraw the revelations in the *Convivio*, he asked Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli, who had just arrived at San Silvestro, to have Leo X ban the publication of this pseudo-prophet's new treatise.²¹⁰ It is during this period that Quirini came into more intimate contact with Savonarolans. His name appeared frequently in the correspondence between Fra Vincenzo Mainardi and Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli. Throughout January of 1514, Mainardi often met the hermit, who was visiting Florence at the same time as Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola.²¹¹ To Acciaiuoli he expressed delight at the prospect of working with Quirini, perhaps on Francesco da Meleto's works, which Mainardi was anxious to suppress.²¹² About eight months later, his sincere concern for the declining health of the hermit began to appear in his letters.²¹³

During the winter of 1512, Quirini and Giustiniani began mapping out the *Libellus ad Leonem X*, which was published the following year, not long after Giovanni de' Medici's election in March of 1513.²¹⁴ This succinct but carping treatise synthesized their pro-

²¹⁰ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 40; C. VASOLI, "Due documenti per la storia religiosa di Firenze dopo il Savonarola (1500-1517)", in *Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, (Florence, 1980), pp. 111-154.

²¹¹ Letter written by Fra Vincenzo Mainardi to Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli, from Fiesole, in January 1514. VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 49: "*Petrus heremita adhuc in urbe est; viso eum saepe et tuo semper nomine saluto. Princeps quoque Mirandulanus Florentiae est.*" Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli's reply came shortly after. VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 123: "*Gratulor vobis Petri Quirini adventum. Utinam et longiorem moram eius hominis apud vos gratulari vobis possim.*"

²¹² Letter written by Fra Vincenzo Mainardi to Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli, from Fiesole, in early 1514. VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 55: "*Verum, ne brevitates limites excedam, finem statuo, si tamen prius totum me Petro Quirino, ut insinuas, adiacero.*" On more than one occasion, Mainardi expressed his antipathy towards prophets that he thought imitated and took advantage of Savonarola's prophetic legacy. In a letter written on December 1513, he warned Acciaiuoli about the preponderance of renegade preachers in Florence. His fear was that their apocalyptic message—which was growing more and more unpopular among ecclesiastical authorities during the Fifth Lateran Council—was confused with Savonarola's apostolate. In this specific instance Mainardi is referring to Francesco da Montepulciano. VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 40, 210 n. 16 - 212 n. 22.

²¹³ Letter written by Fra Vincenzo Mainardi to Fra Bernardo del Nero, from Florence, on 25 August 1514 and 29 September 1514. VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 186, 191-2.

²¹⁴ The Latin text for the *Libellus* is in MITTARELLI and COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses*, IX, cols. 612-719. An Italian edition of this text was recently published: see, GUSTINIANI and QUIRINI, *Lettera al Papa*. For the dates of the *Libellus* see BOWD, *Reform before the Reformation*, pp. 136-7.

gram of spiritual, ethical, and cultural reform of church and clergy. Rather than heralding the coming of the Angelic Pope, the *Libellus* directly exhorted Leo X—chosen by God and already an agent of the Camaldolese reform—to single-handedly guide, purify, and restore the Church to its primeval excellence. The *Libellus* pinpointed and dissected the state of disarray and uncertainty of contemporary ecclesiastical life and mores, yet without antagonizing papal authority.²¹⁵ In other words, as “*expertissimus medicus*”, Leo X was called to cure his flock from its current diseases, namely ignorance, superstition, discord, ambition, avarice, and excessive opulence.²¹⁶ These maladies were not so different from the ones denounced by Savonarola twenty years before. Furthermore, contingent upon the success of this program was the conversion of the other two monotheistic religions, the unification of all Christian churches, and the frequent convocations of General Councils, Provincial Synods, and General Chapters of Orders.

By entrusting the Pontiff with plenipotentiary powers over the entire institution, Quirini and Giustiniani had established that Leo X abide by and rigorously enforce immaculate moral and spiritual standards.²¹⁷ His life and teachings were now to become the categorical *exemplum* to which the hierarchical pyramid (including the laity) underneath him was obliged to conform.²¹⁸ Contrary to Savonarola, who envisioned reform as something germinating first within his convents, the destiny of the Church was placed directly in the hands of Leo X. The first reform had to be a personal one. The arrogant and inflated lifestyles of previous pontiffs were to be

²¹⁵ The *Libellus* begins with an inevitable imperative directed at Leo X: “*Suscipe Beatissime Pater Leo X Decime Pontifex Maxime Libellum, quem Tibi humiles Sanctitatis Tuae Servi Petrus, & Paulus Eremitae offerunt.*” MITTARELLI and COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses*, IX, col. 612.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 675. The notion of Leo X as *medicus* is also present in other apologetic writings of moderate Savonarolans. See especially Acciaiuoli, “Ode Zenobii Acciaiuoli, qua Leo X luminare Majus Ecclesiae, Soli seu Apollini Comparatur”. See also, J. SHEARMAN, *Raphael Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*, (London, 1972), pp. 78-9; J. COX-REARICK, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X and the Two Cosimos*, (Princeton, 1984): on Pope Leo X as Apollo, pp. 28, 112, 140-2, 152, 153, 184, 185n, 197, 198, 204, 205, 216; as Christ, pp. 13, 34-5, 38, 39, 40; as *medicus*, pp. 30, 34, 39, 40, 141.

²¹⁷ Likewise, conciliar and consistorial authorities would check the conduct of the Pope every five years.

²¹⁸ MITTARELLI and COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses*, IX, cols. 691-2, 698-9 *et passim*.

immediately abandoned in favor of more harmonious and rigorous existences. Like Savonarola, Gregory the Great's example of perfect balance between interiorized beauty and exteriorized virtue was held as model.²¹⁹ Among his many tasks, Leo X needed also to eradicate the dangerous temptations of pagan literature, pretentious philosophy, and abstract theology and at the same time strengthen the cultural formation of his clergy, guilty of ambition, avarice, superstition, and ignorance.²²⁰ In eulogizing the life of a deceased friend, Giustiniani complained about his predilection for ancient letters over Scriptures, which the Camaldolese firmly condemned as *vanitas*.²²¹ In the *Libellus* they declared that pagan culture—not just poetry and rhetoric, but also the much-dreaded astrology—is antithetical to true Christian living.²²² With the same breath, they also lamented that the clergy did not know Latin, which, along with Greek and Hebrew, was indispensable for the correct reading, understanding, and interpretation of the Scriptures.²²³ Like Savonarola, Quirini and Giustiniani argued that ancient authors were to be studied solely for their philological and linguistic aspects.²²⁴ Unlike Giovanni Pico, Marsilio Ficino, and Pietro Pomponazzi, these former humanists ceased to pursue Greek wisdom for the sake of Christianity. Notably, even the monastic prose of the *Libellus* constitutes a net break with their past scholarly aspirations.

Quirini and Giustiniani also addressed the ignominious degradation of the pope's city. Once a regal and ecclesiastical city, Rome had become a disgraceful and contemptible lupanar.²²⁵ They claimed that what they saw with their own eyes far surpassed what multitude of critics had been denouncing. The condition of the city mirrored that of the Church; their Rome was surely not that of Flavio

²¹⁹ Ibid., col. 691.

²²⁰ The corruption of the clergy as denounced by Quirini and Giustiniani is discussed in BOWD, *Reform before the Reformation*, pp. 136-46, but especially in F. GILBERT, "Cristianesimo, Umanesimo e la Bolla *Apostolici regiminis* del 1513", in *Rivista storica italiana*, 79 (1967), pp. 976-990.

²²¹ Letter written by Paolo Giustiniani to Messer Egnazio, Niccolò Tiepolo, and Gasparo Contarini on 12 March 1512. MITTARELLI and COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses*, IX, pp. 550-560, cited in GILBERT, "Cristianesimo", p. 984.

²²² MITTARELLI and COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses*, IX, col. 677.

²²³ Quirini and Giustiniani claimed that only 2% of the clergy knew Latin. Ibid., col. 676. At the same time, he wanted the Scriptures in church to be read in the language spoken by the brethren. Ibid., col. 682.

²²⁴ Ibid., col. 679; GILBERT, "Cristianesimo", p. 986.

²²⁵ MITTARELLI and COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses*, IX, cols. 706-7.

Biondo or Raphael, but one of tangible turpitude. Specific topographical reference is made to the area around the Vatican, which had become a walking brothel. Leo X as bishop of Rome was called on to clear the Vatican area from such temptation which, among other things, was directly corrupting his clergy.²²⁶ This specific complaint was voiced by Savonarola less than two decades before but was by no means just his own. Furthermore, the city was becoming infested with Medicean *clientes* and *familiares* wanting favors from the new Pope; from Guicciardini and the papal *rotulus* we learn that these were constantly at his door.²²⁷ Quirini had requested that the Pope extirpate the dishonest members of his household and reduce his entourage to a third of its original size.²²⁸

Its reliance on a number of Savonarolan reformational convictions is notable but hardly absolute. Particular recrudescences, especially in matters pertaining to moral and religious sobriety, to the abuse of ancient models, and to fulminations against astrology derive from the aforementioned *Della semplicità della vita cristiana*, *Apologeticus de ratione poeticae artis*, and *Trattato contra li astrologi*. For more moderate Piagnoni, this document was both a propitious political shield and religious compromise. By informally espousing this small vehicle of *renovatio* and championing the hermits' cause, they were able to distance themselves from radical and conspicuously subversive figures like Pietro Bernardino²²⁹ and Don Teodoro²³⁰, both of whom had claimed close ties to Savonarola and

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 707.

²²⁷ FERRAJOLI, *Il ruolo della corte di Leo X*, pp. 8-33.

²²⁸ MITTARELLI and COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses*, IX, col. 707-8.

²²⁹ Pietro Bernadino, who had been in charge of Savonarola's youth force (the *fanciulli*) during his apostolate, was the founder and leader of the mystical sect of the Unti. His career best exemplified how the Frate's message was taken to radical and distorted levels. A former sculptor and goldsmith, he had no formal academic training but knew Scriptures well and published several inflammatory *epistolae*. He despised vanities and richness and did not approve of moderate and conservative Piagnoni. He was known to anoint his own adepts, deeming the existing clergy as corrupt. SCHNITZER, *Savonarola*, II, pp. 430, 457, 530, 533; von PASTOR, *Storia dei papi*, III, pp. 187-89; C. VASOLI, "L'attesa della nuova era in ambienti e gruppi fiorentini del Quattrocento", in *L'attesa dell'età nuova nella spiritualità della fine del medioevo* (Todi, 1970), pp. 370-432. POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation, ad indicem*. See also, MORENI, *Continuazione delle memorie storiche*, II, p. 511.

²³⁰ The Camaldolese monk, Teodoro di Giovanni known also as Don Teodoro il Greco, was one of many itinerant prophets who capitalized on the popularity of the Frate. Accused of promulgating false prophecies and pernicious doctrines, he was put on trial in Florence in 1515. Among other things, he claimed that Savonarola

been accused of heresy.²³¹ At the same time, however, they managed to advance the Frate's cause without infringing ecclesiastical bans.²³² In fact, Quirini and Giustiniani were critical of church corruption but—unlike Savonarola and the myriad pseudo-prophets who followed—they dwelled outside prophetic and apocalyptic frameworks, the genuine nature of which was being fiercely debated at the Fifth Lateran Council.

There was no reason for matters of art—especially theory, style, reception and process—to be discussed at a Council whose urgent agenda remained the eradication of maverick prophecy and the diagnosis of proper reform strategies. During the first decades of the sixteenth century, art had hardly constituted a problem in the eyes of papal and ecclesiastical establishment.²³³ On the contrary, it

himself personally disclosed prophecies to him. In many ways, this friar was a mere expedient to put away Savonarola and the Piagnoni once and for all. POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, p. 276-81, 285-7. See, A. PROSPERI, "Il monaco Teodoro: note su un processo fiorentino del 1515", in *Critica storica*, XII (1975), pp. 71-101; VASOLI, "Il tentativo di condanna del Savonarola", pp. 253-55.

²³¹ VASOLI, "Il tentativo di condanna del Savonarola", *passim*. Savonarola's association with Pietro Bernardino and Don Teodoro was legitimized by Leo X with a brief dated 7 April 1515.

²³² VASOLI, "Il tentativo di condanna del Savonarola", pp. 257-61.

²³³ Though we have no contemporary factual evidence or case studies, works of art directly related to unauthorized prophecy or prophets were banned by nature of association. For instance, the possession and veneration of sculptures by the heretic and schismatic Pietro Bernardino should be condemned along with their creator. Unfortunately, we know nothing of his artistic production once he became leader of the mystical sect of the *Unti*. As a preventive measure than a proper ban, ecclesiastical authorities had also prohibited the custody and circulation of all objects—images, clothes, and corporeal remains—related directly or indirectly with Savonarola. Subject to prohibition and penalties were also Fra Bartolomeo's portraits of the Frate; moreover, the artist was himself culpable as physical executor of the image. Botticelli's well-known *Mystical Crucifixion* and *Mystical Nativity* should also be examined in light of conciliarist decrees against all attempts to practice divination and prophecy in 1514 (*Supernae dispositionis arbitrio* Bull) and against unauthorized preaching in 1516 (*Supernae majestatis praesidio* Bull). On Botticelli's 'prophetic' pictures, see: R. HATFIELD, "Botticelli's 'Mystic Nativity', Savonarola and the Millennium", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 58 (1995), pp. 89-114. On prophecy and the Fifth Lateran Council, see: N. MINNICH, "Prophecy and the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517)", in *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period*, ed. M. Reeves (Oxford, 1992), pp. 63-90; GILBERT, "Cristianesimo", pp. 976-990. The *Supernae majestatis praesidio* Bull prohibited the clergy from delivering sermons, which in any way predicted the coming of the Apocalypse and future tribulations. Given the propensity and concentration of these seers and diviners in the Florentine hinterland, these precepts were confirmed and enforced by the Florentine Synod of 1516-17, which almost functioned as the executive body of the Council.

was deployed to construct and affirm papal *majestas*. This belief was hardly shared by Savonarola, according to whom art had been a matter of concern.²³⁴

Quirini found time to address artistic questions, several of which relating to ongoing conciliarist discourse. In a draft of a letter to Leo X, which succinctly delineated certain issues more soberly presented in the *Libellus*, Quirini demanded that he take the following recommendation to heart:

*"Che tutti drapi di oro et di setta che sono nelle sale, nelle stanze et per le letta di V. S. siano levati et dedicati al culto divino et in loro vece si ponghino panni di lana di quel colore più piacerà. Che niuno della famiglia di V. Beatitudine di qualunque grado et conditione si sia, possa portare drappi di se[ta] ne in piedi ne in capo ne in dosso ne collatene d'oro occulte o palese, ma siano nelli vestiti di panni pavonazzi o rosati non troppo..."*²³⁵

Needless to say, this was written before Raphael's tapestries for the Sistine Chapel.²³⁶ Quirini's intention was not merely to expropriate from the few in order to benefit of the many, but also to phys-

²³⁴ On Savonarola and aesthetics, see especially: R. STEINBERG, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola, Florentine Art, and Renaissance Historiography*, (Athens, OH, 1977); S. MELTZOFF, *Botticelli, Signorelli and Savonarola: 'Theologia Poetica' and Painting from Boccaccio to Poliziano*, (Firenze, 1987). See also, E. CARTIER, "Esthétique de Savonarole", in *Annales Archéologiques*, 7 (1847), pp. 255-266; MARCHESE, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori*; GRUYER, *Les Illustrations des écrits de Jerome Savonarole*; G. GNERCHI, "Frate Girolamo nelle lettere e per le arti", in *Rassegna Nazionale*, CXX (1901), pp. 44-70; M. CHITI, *L'estetica del Savonarola e l'azione di lui sulla cultura del Rinascimento*, (Livorno, 1912); G. NICODEMI, "Le idee di G. Savonarola sulle arti figurative", in *Rivista d'Italia*, 1925: pp. 1061ff; J. SCHNITZER, *Savonarola*, II, pp. 380-425; A. BRUSCHI, "La 'riforma artistica' di Girolamo Savonarola e la crisi dell'Umanesimo rinascimentale", in *Quaderni dell'istituto di storia dell'architettura*, (Rome, 1966); M. CALL, "Il Savonarola e la crisi dell'Umanesimo", in *Bollettino d'arte*, LII (1967), pp. 152-166; E. MARINO, "Estetica, fede e critica d'arte: *L'arte poetica* di Savonarola, *l'estetica* di Ficino e la *Primavera* di Botticelli", in MD, n.s. 27 (1996), pp. 293-543. For an ample treatment of Savonarolan artistic historiography, see: M.G. D'APUZZO, "Girolamo Savonarola e la politica dell'immagine nella storiografia artistica e nella critica d'arte", in *Sacra doctrina*, n.s. (1996), pp. 5-75.

²³⁵ JEDIN, "Vincenzo Quirini e Pietro Bembo", p. 497.

²³⁶ On Quirini, Giustiniani and the Raphael's tapestries, see: SHEARMAN, *Raphael*, pp. 63-4, 71-2, 75, 82-3. His impressive assessment, however, does not acknowledge the Savonarolan tradition which enabled the two Camaldolese monks to come up with similar conclusions. In fact, in his analysis of Roman culture during the papacy of Leo X, both Savonarola and the Piagnoni are not mentioned in relation to the humanist discourse surrounding the creation of these works.

ically "dress" the Pope's private halls with the rough wool of Mendicant orders. This pauperistic conversion meant renouncing the costly papal retinue as well. Quirini was also implicitly criticizing the selfish abuse of power of past spiritual leaders who had deprived works of their didactic, intercessory, functional, and even iconic nature by sequestering them from the brethren. He saw these tapestries—and other similar works—as being solely decorative apart from being outrageously lavish.

This enforcement of ecclesiastical *simplicitas* had constituted Savonarola's urgent reform. Among the laity, he claimed that possessions of material wealth should always be essential and serve only to reinforce the decorum of an individual's social status. He accused kings of indulging and flaunting their excesses while their subjects were starving.²³⁷ This cupidity and vanity was even more pervasive among the clergy. His condemnation of their immoderacy is ubiquitous in his tracts, letters, and sermons and has been discussed in previous chapters. Savonarola complained that monks and nuns were utterly captivated by luxurious and ostentatious religious items and were no longer sharing with the members of their convent, in the spirit of the precepts of their Rule. Religious wealth was for these monks a vehicle for the veneration God: "...dicono che fanno tutte queste tale cose a onore di Dio, perché, onorando e mangificando le chiese e e' paramenti, onorano Dio."²³⁸ In response, Savonarola appealed to the spiritual richness and material poverty of the fathers of early Christianity.²³⁹

Troubled by the excessive infiltration of superstition in ecclesiastical culture, Quirini and Giustiniani drew up a number of measures concerning the consistent abuse of images. Among the most urgent was the ban on the placement of ex-votos and statues in front of sacred icons. This practice still reeked of paganism and was considered essentially corrupt and mendacious.²⁴⁰ Likewise, they proposed to eliminate all religious and pagan representations in churches and false accounts of saints, and to condemn all those who created and disseminated things outside the Christian faith.²⁴¹ The

²³⁷ SAVONAROLA, *Della semplicità della vita cristiana*, pp. 211-28.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 226-8.

²⁴⁰ MITTARELLI and COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses*, IX, col. 687.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, col. 688. Another Camalodolese monk, Paolo Orlandini, confirmed these very ideas in his 1516 treatise against false prophets and prophecies. See, WEINSTEIN, *Savonarola and Florence*, pp. 368-9.

hermits also prohibited the use of apotropaic paraphernalia, including amulets, signs, potions, and even paintings.²⁴² Such measures were predicated on the successful extirpation of unlawful preachers, charlatans, magi, false doctors, interpreters of dreams, and all other inventors of similar sacrileges including painters. Most extraordinary, however, was their position against the use of *c.* Claiming that these led Christians astray from the true path, sacred images could not be carried processions seeking to stave off plagues or to stop floods and draughts. According to the Camaldolese, ceremonies such as these—most of which were founded upon superstition—were more revered than Holy Communion.²⁴³ Savonarola himself was not opposed to religious processions, especially if they were the means to reinforce moral and spiritual fervor and substituted for often violent and heathen carnivals.²⁴⁴ However, the Frate's recalcitrance towards superstition, idolatry, and mendaciousness certainly

²⁴² MITTARELLI and COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses*, IX, col. 687.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, col. 688.

²⁴⁴ On more than one occasion, Savonarola allowed the miraculous icon of the Madonna dell'Impruneta to be carried in procession throughout Florence. See, "De legatione, praedicatione, et supplicio fr. Hieronymi Savonarola Ordinis Praedicatorum", BA, 2102, fo. 223v, which is a copy of a manuscript at the BMF, Fior. 23, fo. 93r: "*E a di 5 detto [July 1495] feciono venire la tavola di nostra Donna di Santa Maria Impruneta e fecessegli un grande onore, e fra Girolamo ordinò che quella vendita dell'offerta che se gli faceva farsi de' poveri, e ordinò due tavole a San Felice in piazza e 2 in Santa Maria del Fiore, e quivi si offriva grande limosina di fiorini di grossi, fu grandissima limosina, e fu ordinata dal detto Frate ch'egli era ubbidito da chi non gli credeva; fece stare in Santa Maria del Fiore le donne da un lato, e gli uomini dall'altro che non ritrovava un uomo mescolato con donne, e con una professione tanto ordinata e divota che mai ne fu fatta un'altra tale.*" Compare this with, FILIPEPI, *Estratto della cronaca*, p. 465: "*L'anno 1496, mentre che l'Imperadore era allo assedio di Livorno, fu in Fiorenza grandissima carestia, et valeva il grano da cinque a sei lire lo stajo; onde per la magnifica Signoria si ordinò di ricorrere a Dio et alla sua santissima Madre, oltre le provisioni humane. Et si fece venire solennemente Santa Maria Impruneta la famosa Imagine di Nostra Donna, con bella, divota e solennissima procissione, che gli antichi non ricordavano haverne mai più vista una tale; et tutto fu fatto per esortatione del Padre fra Girolamo Savonarola. Et fu certo una cosa mirabile, che in quell'ora propria che la Madonna entrò nella città, venne aviso da Livorno che una buona parte dell'armata Venetiana era ita a traverso a quel porto, onde tutti quei grani et altre vettovaglie che portavano a Pisa vennero in mano de' Fiorentini in estremo bisogno. Dopo il qual naufragio, non andò molto che le navi de' Fiorentini in così estremo bisogno. Dopo il qual naufragio, non andò molto che le navi de' Fiorentini, cariche di grano, gionsero salve nel medesimo porto, aspettate con grandissimo desiderio dalla città et dal contado, per la somma penuria del vivere, per la quale, tra la città e 'l contado, mancar quell'anno di stento e di fame oltre a 20.000 persone, che è cosa grande e incredibile, et fu pur vera.*"

served as a model to the hermits. Both the *Della semplicità* and the *Trattato contra li astrologi* emphasized these very maladies and provided cures. In a lucid and essential language, not so dissimilar from Quirini and Giustiniani's monastic Latin, Savonarola urged late fifteenth-century clergy to yearn for "*culto interiore*" and not "*cerimonie esteriori*"²⁴⁵, to serve the poor and not worship idols dressed in gold, silver and pearls.²⁴⁶

Both Savonarola and the hermits considered the moral restoration of the clergy as the first obligatory step for the *renovatio ecclesiae*. However, according to the Camaldolese monks, guidance had to come from the Church's highest authority, while for the Frate, reform had to germinate from the convents of his congregation and only later be disseminated to the rest of humanity. Savonarola elected Florence as the new center of the Christian world; Quirini and Giustiniani were resolute about Rome as the only possible spiritual capital. The fundamental and insurmountable differences between the two parties rest precisely on their almost opposite politico-religious positions. Savonarola could not conceive of a centralized reform, at least not one sponsored by Alexander VI. The city and the papacy were simply too mundane and corrupt to embark in a self-chastising process. This immediately and inevitably provoked insinuation of schism among his detractors, which would later become actual accusations. The *Libellus*, on the other hand, was a work of restoration and regime. It intimated Leo X to enforce papal authority and to extirpate all religious dissent, the majority of which flourished in the Italian peripheries. Quirini and Giustiniani shared affinities with the friars at San Silvestro precisely because these Dominicans were conservative Piagnoni. Acciaiuoli, Canigiani, Mainardi, Schömborg, and Fetti were all convinced that Savonarolan reform could be accomplished through traditional channels, without being in open conflict with Rome.²⁴⁷ Furthermore,

²⁴⁵ SAVONAROLA, *Della semplicità della vita cristiana*, p. 179.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-6: "Perché non contente d'una sola tonaca, vogliono tutte le loro veste duplicate e triplicate. Amono di avere e' libriccini coperti d'oro e di seta; e e' loro bambini—cioè e' loro idoli, o sieno di gesso o sieno di legno—li vogliono vestiti di broccato, adorni d'oro e d'argento e di pietre preziose; e e' poverelli di Cristo non hanno del pane, e periscono di fame, e loro però con tutte queste superfluità no solo non li sovengono, ma neanche hanno loro compassione."

²⁴⁷ An exhaustive discussion of the different categories of Piagnoni in the wake of Savonarola's death is in POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 100-238. Here the author makes a distinction between mystical (pp. 100-38) conservative or moderate (pp. 139-67), and radical (168-238) Piagnoni.

they condemned religious radicalism—even if this originated, as in the case of Pietro Bernardino, in Savonarolan ambits—and refused to be involved with the 1511-3 schismatic Pisan *conciliabolo*, which forced Julius II to call for a new Lateran Council.²⁴⁸

The *Libellus* succeeded in promoting some decrees passed during the Council, but it hardly had the overwhelming impact that its authors had hoped for. Nine months into Leo X's pontificate (19 December 1513), the *Apostolici regiminis sollicitudo* Bull was passed. It banned any kind of philosophical exegeses on the immortality of the soul, the merit of which has been linked with the anti-Humanistic discourse carried on by the Venetian reformers. Another bull, issued shortly after, sought to reform the duties and mores of bishops and cardinals.²⁴⁹

These cries to Leo X went substantially unanswered. The proliferation of ancient philosophies and art as well as ecclesiastical excess was barely curtailed. His pontificate was anything but sober, Raphael's expensive tapestries being only the tip of the iceberg. The Council was too preoccupied with the extirpation of renegade prophets to bother codifying the pauperistic ideals purported by the Camaldolese monk.

This period of intense reformational fervor at San Silvestro was short-lived. By August of 1514, Quirini's health had seriously worsened, a vein having burst in his chest as a consequence of the extreme duress to which he subjected his body. He died on 23 September 1515 in the Roman convent of the Piagnoni. Soon after Bembo had called for Bibbiena's doctor²⁵⁰, Schömberg administered extreme unction to him.²⁵¹ The Camaldolese General Delfin

²⁴⁸ A. LANDI, "Prophecy at the Time of the Council of Pisa (1511-1513)", in *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period*, ed. M. Reeves (Oxford, 1992), pp. 53-62; N. MINNICH, "The Role of Prophecy in the Career of the Enigmatic Bernardino Lopez de Carvajal", *ibid.*, pp. 111-120. For the Pisan *conciliabolo* and Savonarola, see: SCHNITZER, *Savonarola*, II, p. 439; RIDOLFI, *Vita di Girolamo Savonarola*, pp. 238-9.

²⁴⁹ GILBERT, "Cristianesimo", pp. 976-990.

²⁵⁰ CICOGLA, *Iscrizioni veneziane*, V, p. 66.

²⁵¹ JEDIN, "Vincenzo Quirini e Pietro Bembo", p. 493. Quirini apparently died in Bembo's private cell at San Silvestro. He had been residing at the convent at least until June, where it was speculated that he was to be made cardinal. MITTARELLI and COSTADONI, *Annales camaldulenses*, IX, col. 580ff (15 June 1514). Giustiniani described Quirini's death as almost saintly: "La sua morte rifulse di tale santità che agli occhi dei presenti tutti—ed io ebbi la grazia di essere del numero—il suo trapasso fu uno spettacolo più stupendo di qualsiasi miracolo." On Fra Niccolò Schömberg and Quirini, see VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 192.

personally thanked Acciaiuoli for the help and care given to this hermit.²⁵²

Not long after, Giustiniani began to distance himself from San Silvestro and the Piagnoni—rumor had it that he poisoned Quirini.²⁵³ He would eventually turn his back on Savonarola and his followers. During the Florentine Synod of 1516-7, he accused Savonarola of being heretic and schismatic as well as a false prophet.²⁵⁴

Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli and the Oratio in Laudem urbis Romae

Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli moved to San Silvestro when Giovanni de' Medici became Leo X; this is confirmed by a payment for books made by the Pope's treasurer on 9 June 1513.²⁵⁵ Like Fra Mariano and Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani, he was close to the Medici before taking the habit at San Marco²⁵⁶; like them, he received many benefits once they regained power in Rome and Florence. His studies at the Roman convent were mostly financed by Leo X.²⁵⁷ Acciaiuoli manifested his gratitude on many occasions. Soon after 11 March 1513, Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli composed an ode in which he compared the newly elected Leo X to Apollo, asking him also to transform the Quirinal into a new "*Città Leonina*".²⁵⁸ Years later he dedicated an important oration to Giulio de' Medici²⁵⁹ and a trans-

²⁵² DELFIN, *Delphini epistolae*, XI, 16.

²⁵³ JEDIN, "Vincenzo Quirini e Pietro Bembo", p. 493-4.

²⁵⁴ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 298-9; POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 298-9.

²⁵⁵ J. QUETIF and J. ECHARD, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1719-21), II, p. 45. The payment for nine ducats is recorded in MERCATI, *Le spese private di Leone X*, p. 101.

²⁵⁶ In April 1494, Acciaiuoli was living in Piero de' Medici household. Parenti, *Istorie*, p. 68. He had also been the private tutor of Pierfrancesco's son Lorenzino. A VERDE, *Lo studio fiorentino 1473-1503: Ricerche e documenti*, 4 vols. in 7; (Florence, 1973-85), III/2, p. 994; Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli received the habit from Savonarola in 1495 and was professed a year later. VERDE, "La congregazione di S. Marco", p. 183. On his relationship with Savonarola, see: S. DALL'AGLIO, "Un breve scritto savonaroliano ritrovato: i quesiti rivolti a Zanobi Acciaiuoli", in ASI, CLX (2002), pp. 113-128.

²⁵⁷ MAZZUCHELLI, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, I, i, pp. 50-3. See also, VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 446-7.

²⁵⁸ These themes are explored in his "Ode Zenobii Acciaiuoli, qua Leo X luminare Majus Ecclesiae, Soli seu Apollini Comparatur" published in ROSCOE, *Vita e pontificato di Leone X*, x, 252ff.

²⁵⁹ Z. ACCIAIUOLI, *Oratio in laudem urbis Romae*, [Rome, 1518].

lation of Theodoret of Cyrrihus's *Curatio graecorum affectionum* to Leo X.²⁶⁰ In the preface of this work, he thanked the Pope for having placed him "in Urbano S. Silvestri Oratorio ad honestatem studiorum quietem humanissime."²⁶¹ Less than a year before his death (27 July 1519), Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli was appointed head librarian at the Vatican, a position which he held at San Marco's library in the late 1490s.²⁶² During this last period, he would frequently take books back to San Silvestro against Leo X's caveats.²⁶³ Among these was Joachim of Fiore's text on the prophet Jeremiah, which he perhaps consulted in relation to his translation of Theodoret's *De providentia Dei*.²⁶⁴

Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli's career definitely took a more public turn once he moved to San Silvestro. His Florentine period had been marked by his humanistic and religious affinity with Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola as well as by reformational and millenarian preoccupations and proselytism.²⁶⁵ Thanks to his correspondence with Fra Vincenzo Mainardi, we know that Acciaiuoli's new Roman milieu only in part distracted him from the Savonarolan ideals he expressed during his residency at San Marco. In December 1513, Fra Vincenzo Mainardi wrote to Acciaiuoli at San Silve-

²⁶⁰ Z. ACCIAIUOLI, *Theodoretii Cyrensis Episcopi de Curatione Graecorum affectionum*, (Paris, 1519). I consulted the manuscript at BAV, Ottob. Lat., 1404, fos. 1r-153v, which also includes his unfinished *De providentia Dei*, fos. 155r-270r.

²⁶¹ BAV, Ottob. Lat., 1404, fos. 1r-2v: "...ad quae patris in me tui, majorumque tuorum beneficia tu id mihi seorsum Pater Beatissime contulisti, quod ad pedes tuos gratulandi causa provolutum in Urbano S. Silvestri Oratorio ad honestatem studiorum quietem humanissime collocasti, nostraeque aetati iam ad senectudem vergenti deesse nil pateris, quod ad Religiosi, studiosique hominis necessarios usus, commodaque pertineat."

²⁶² VERDE, "La congregazione di S. Marco", p. 129. Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli died at San Silvestro. For his work as librarian at San Marco, see: PICCOLOMINI, "Delle condizioni e delle vicende della Libreria medicea privata", pp. 106-8; ULLMANN and STADTER, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence*, pp. 35ff.

²⁶³ For proscriptions at the BAV issued by Leo X, see: PASTOR, *Storia dei papi*, IV, i, p. 454. See, BERTOLA, *I primi due registri di prestito della BAV*, p. 36, 40, 45, 68, 90, 108, 115, 116.

²⁶⁴ BERTOLA, *I primi due registri di prestito della BAV*, p. 40: "Die primo iunii 1519. Ego frater Zenobius Acciaiolus ordinis praedicatorum bibliothecarius palatinus habui commodato pro mea lectione librum abbatis Iohachim in membranis opertum corio rubeo cum catena, in quo est expositio eius in Hieremiam et Ezechielem—relatus est."

²⁶⁵ See, A. MORISI GUERRA, "Sulle orme del Savonarola. La riscoperta degli apologisti greci antipagani", in RSCI, XLV (1991), pp. 89-109; DALL'AGLIO, "Un breve scritto savonaroliano ritrovato". Payments for number of sermons delivered from 1506 to 1510 are recorded in San Marco's *Borsario*. VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 591-8.

stro expressing his concern regarding the confusion created by the many apocalyptic preachers who needed to be distinguished from Savonarola.²⁶⁶ Mainardi began the letter with an exasperated "*De Francisco satis iam multa*", explicitly alluding to the Amadeite Franciscan Francesco da Montepulciano, whose prophetic message Mainardi condemned and deemed false. He specifically warned Acciaiuoli about the proliferation of such apocalyptic preachers at a time when Acciaiuoli himself was actively involved in silencing Francesco da Meleto's *Quadrivium temporum prophetarum*.²⁶⁷ His position at San Silvestro served also to protect San Marco's interests and to defend Savonarola and his followers from their detractors.²⁶⁸ Accusations of sectarianism and unorthodoxy of the Frate's message were rather common.²⁶⁹ In a letter to Fra Bernardo del Nero (17 October 1513), Acciaiuoli updated the Prior of San Domenico at Fiesole on Luschino, who was still in jail.²⁷⁰ Luschino's radical condemnation of Roman mores and Leo X's papacy was well known and certainly placed Acciaiuoli and other Piagnoni at San Silvestro in an unpleasant position.²⁷¹

²⁶⁶ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 35-6. An interesting document on post-Savonarolan preachers in Florence is in G. TOGNETTI, "Un episodio di repressione della predicazione post-savonaroliana (Firenze 1509)", in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XXIV (1962), pp. 190-9.

²⁶⁷ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", pp. 60-1. This letter was written between 22 March 1514 and 14 June 1514. These preachers constituted a real problem for the moderate Piagnoni who were trying to maintain a low profile after years of persecutions.

²⁶⁸ See, Fra Vincenzo Mainardi's letter to Acciaiuoli (15-30 October 1513). VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 40.

²⁶⁹ Egidio da Viterbo, whose position regarding prophecy had been somewhat ambiguous (see his opening address to the Fifth Lateran Council), placed Savonarola and these minor prophets (which he termed *deceptores*) in the same category: "*Memor tamen esse debes quod nec ordo Predicatorum fratrem Hieronymum Ferrariensis, nec ordo Minorum fratrem Bonaventuram et alios deceptores potuit coercere, adeo potens est aura favorque popolorum.*" This letter was written on 14 June 1516. EGIDIO DA VITERBO, *Lettere familiari*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1990), II, p. 203. On Egidio's prophecy see: EGIDIO DA VITERBO, "Historia Viginti Saeculorum", BA, 351. See also, M. REEVES, "Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo: A Prophetic Interpretation of History", in *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period: Essays*, ed. M. Reeves (Oxford, 1992), pp. 91-110. See also, G. SIGNORELLI, *Egidio da Viterbo*, (Florence, 1929).

²⁷⁰ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 137. This letter written "...*Romae, in Sancto Silvestro, die XVII Octobris 1513...*" confirmed San Marco's awareness of this poor friar's vicissitudes.

²⁷¹ Luschino's vituperations against Leo X and Rome voiced from jail certainly did not help the Piagnoni's cause. See, DALL'AGLIO, "*Riflessioni*"; LUSCHINO, *Vulnera diligentis*; POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 242, 255, 259, 290-1, 295.

Among his scholarly accomplishments, the *Oratio in laudem urbis Romae* merits special consideration, especially in light of the early sixteenth-century antiquarian and humanist discourse on Rome.²⁷² This work was written at San Silvestro and was commissioned by Cardinal Tommaso de Vio for the 1518 General Chapter of the Order.²⁷³ Acciaiuoli was not new to such *orationes*. In 1515 he had composed one praising Naples which he personally delivered during the General Chapter held in that city.²⁷⁴ Eight years before, he had published a severe oration urging Julius II to implement reforms and changes before the imminent Second Coming.²⁷⁵

Unlike Savonarola who demonized the state of contemporary Rome, Acciaiuoli organized his Roman oration according to a basic formal and conceptual topos: the comparison between Pagan and Christian Rome. He saw the former as originating in sin (*civitas terrena*) as opposed to the latter which was a heavenly, almost Augustinian, city of God (*civitas Dei*). For this purpose, he forged its history based on a series of radical dichotomies: the city of Cain, Mars, Romulus, Caesar, and Augustus versus the city of Abel and Christ. Its pagan culture, though flourishing in error, managed to come closest to perfection. However, the ancient Romans veneration of idols was pernicious. The impressive ruins of the *urbs antiqua* presented a tangible testimony of the very evil that Christianity managed successfully to overcome. As such the *Oratio* should be read almost in response or at least in relation to Raphael's (and Castiglione's) famous letter on Roman ruins to Leo X.²⁷⁶ The antiquities

²⁷² The *Oratio in laudem urbis Romae* was published around 1518 by Giacomo Mazzocchi in Rome. As I mentioned above, it was dedicated to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici whose titular church was San Lorenzo in Damaso. Many are the works on the history of humanist antiquarianism in the fifteenth and sixteenth century; among the most recent, see: P. JACKS, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought*, (Cambridge, 1993); C. STINGER, "Roman Humanist Images of Rome", in *Roma capitale (1447-1527)*, ed. S. Gensini (Pisa, 1994), pp. 15-38; *Ibid.*, *The Renaissance in Rome*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1998).

²⁷³ MORISI GUERRA, "Sulle orme del Savonarola", p. 104.

²⁷⁴ This oration is included in T. VALLE, *Breve compendio de gli più illustri... Padri del regno di Napoli dell'Ordine dei Predicatori*, (Naples, 1651), pp. 214ff.

²⁷⁵ Z. ACCIAIUOLI, *Oratio fratris Zenobii Acciaiuoli Florentini Ordinis Pradicorum habita Romae coram Summo Pontifice dominica prima Adventus MDVII*, (Rome, 1507). See, POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 159-60. For its impact on Quirini, see: BOWD, *Reform before the Reformation*, pp. 183-4.

²⁷⁶ The dating of this letter has been subject to much dispute, though Raphael clearly mentions that he had been living in Rome for eleven years. On this and other related quandaries, see: RAFFAELLO (SANZIO), *Gli scritti*, ed. E. Camesaca (Milan, 1993),

Raphael wanted so eagerly to measure and preserve were, according to the Dominican, historical markers of immoral and ignorant self-indulgence.²⁷⁷

Acciaiuoli's correspondence reveals a sincere concern for his friars but mostly crystallizes his intellectual voracity. While Fra Mariano would draw to San Silvestro "*molti huomini da bene, Cardinali, Veschovi, Prothonotari*"²⁷⁸, Acciaiuoli invited scholars and humanists like Giustiniani, Quirini, Bembo, and Musurus. Fra Giovanni Maria Tolosani (alias Giovanni Lucido Samoteo) dedicated to Acciaiuoli his *Opusculum de correctione Calendarii*, which he wrote during his Roman residency in 1514.²⁷⁹ Furthermore, on 30 May 1513 Janus Lascaris, Lorenzo il Magnifico's librarian and Acciaiuoli's mentor, obtained from Leo X (thanks to Musurus's mediation²⁸⁰) permission to establish his Greek school, the *Gymnasium Caballini montis*, in Angelo Colocci's house near San Silvestro.²⁸¹ For several years teacher and student lived along side each

pp. 257-322; F. P. DI TEODORO, *Raffaello, Baldassar Castiglione, e la Lettera a Leone X*, (Bologna, 1994).

²⁷⁷ ACCIAIUOLI, *Oratio in laudem urbis Romae*, fos. Biv-Ci.

²⁷⁸ LUZIO, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio", p. 575.

²⁷⁹ G. M. TOLOSANI, "Ad R.P.F. Zenobium Acciaiuolum ... F. Johannis Mariae Tholosani... opusculum de correctione Calendarii pro vera celebratione paschatis", BNCF, Conv. Sopp., J. VIII. 9, fos. 256r-259v. Tolosani was professed at San Marco in 1489 and died at Santo Spirito at Siena in 1549. See QE, II, pp. 123-4; D. MARZI, "Giovanni Maria Tolosani e Giovanni Lucido Samoteo", in *Miscellanea storica*, IV (1896). S. CAMPOREALE, "Giovannimaria dei Tolosani, o.p.: 130-1546. Umanesimo, Riforma, e Teologia Controversista", in MD, n.s. 17 (1986), pp. 145-53. On his reform of the calendar; see: D. MARZI, *La questione della riforma del calendario nel V Concilio Lateranense: 1512-1517*, (Florence, 1896), pp. 130-49.

²⁸⁰ ASV, Arm. XLIV, t. 5, fo. 34. Bembo was also involved in this operation. He wrote to Musurus on 8 August 1513 demanding that twelve young Greek students be permitted to enroll at the *collegium*. E. LEGRAND, *Cént-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe publiées intégralement pour la première fois d'après le Codex Trivultianus 873*, (Paris, 1892), p. 321.

²⁸¹ The studies on Lascaris's *Gymnasium* are noteworthy, though seldom associated with the Piagnoni. V. FANELLI, "Il Ginnasio greco di Leone X a Roma", in *Studi romani*, IX (1961), pp. 379-93; F. BARBERI, "Le edizioni greche 'in gymnasio Mediceo ad Caballinum montem' (1517-9)", in *Tipografi romani del Cinquecento*, (Firenze, 1983), pp. 57-75; 61, 73-6. The exact location of this school has not been verified, however according to Colocci's will it was located "...sive Grottis antiquis positam in Monte Cavallo, et prope Ecclesiam Sancti Salvatoris de Corneliis". G. F. ANCELLOTTI, *Poesie italiane e latine di Angelo Colocci*, (Iesi, 1772); F. UBALDINI, *Vita di Mons. Angelo Colocci*, ed. V. Fanelli (Vatican City, 1969). See also, V. DE FEO, *La Piazza del Quirinale*, (Rome, 1973), p. 10 n. 7.

other on the Quirinal.²⁸² The Greek scholar, who was portrayed by Raphael in the cartoon for the tapestry *Saint Paul Preaching at Athens*²⁸³, died on 7 December 1534 and was buried in the nearby Sant'Agata dei Goti.²⁸⁴

This San Silvestro-Gymnasium axis, along with nearby convent of Santa Caterina da Siena a Magnanapoli²⁸⁵, gave birth to an important intellectual and religious node of Florentines in Rome.²⁸⁶ The surviving list of lay Florentines, both Piagnoni and not, who patronized and were buried at the convent corroborates this point.²⁸⁷ Furthermore, the last years of the 1510s marked an impressive convergence of San Marco friars holding important positions in Rome. Apart from *Plumbator apostolicus* Fra Mariano Fetti, the Vallombrosan General Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani, Prefect of the Vatican Library Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli, professor of theology at Rome and Archbishop of Capua Fra Niccolò Schömburg, even Fra Sante Pagnini had found success under Leo X's pontificate. Having served as Prior of Santa Maria sopra Minerva from 1517 to 1519, he remained in Rome in order to publish his translations of the Bible.²⁸⁸

²⁸² Gaetano Moroni claimed that Lascaris's *collegium* was located in the convent of San Silvestro. MORONI, *Dizionario dell'Erudizione Storica ed Ecclesiastica*, XIV, p. 70, and XLV, p. 236.

²⁸³ On Raphael's portrait of Lascaris, see: SHEARMAN, *Raphael*, p. 61. On Lascaris's epigram on Raphael's frescoes at Villa Farnesina, see: B. B. KNÖS, *Un ambassadeur de l'Hellénisme—Janus Lascaris—et la tradition greco-byzantine dans l'humanisme français*, (Paris, 1945), p. 143.

²⁸⁴ H. VAST, *De vita et operibus Jani Lascaris*, (Paris, 1878). The census redacted before the Sack of Rome listed Lascaris still living on the Quirinal and having two mouths to feed. GNOLI, "*Descriptio urbis*", p. 396.

²⁸⁵ On Santa Caterina da Siena a Magnanapoli and the Dominican Tertiaries, see: M. BEVILACQUA, *Santa Caterina da Siena a Magnanapoli. Arte e storia religiosa romana nell'età della Controriforma*, (Rome, 1993); C. VALONE, "Women on the Quirinal Hill: Patronage in Rome (1560-1630)", in *Art Bulletin*, 76 (1994), pp. 129-146. For documents, see: A. DE MEYER, *Registrum litterarum Fr. Thomae de Vio Caietani O.P. Magistri Ordinis 1508-1513*, in MOPH, XVII (Roma, 1935), p. 114 (10 March 1509), p. 139-40 (4 March 1511); p. 149 (3 April 1513). In 1513, the vicar at San Silvestro—at the time Fra Giovanni Maria Canigiani—became also vicar of this monastery.

²⁸⁶ The Rione Ponte remained the traditional social and economic center of Florentine culture. See, E. LEE, "Gli abitanti del rione Ponte", in *Roma capitale (1447-1527)*, ed. S. Gensini (Pisa, 1994), pp. 317-344 and ROMANO, *Ponte, passim*. San Silvestro continued to be the alternative center for Florentines even after the departure of Dominicans from the convent, especially with the patronage of Pierantonio Bandini.

²⁸⁷ See the section on San Silvestro and the 1522 plague.

²⁸⁸ On Fra Sante Pagnini, see the annotated chronicle of the convent of San Romano at Lucca: A. VERDE and D. CORSI, "La *cronaca* del convento domenicano di

Fig. 14. Fra Bartolomeo,
chalk portrait of Michelangelo,
(Rotterdam,
Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen).



Fig. 15. Fra Bartolomeo, *Pala Pitti*,
(Florence, Pitti).



Fig. 16. Fra Bartolomeo, *Pala della
Signoria*, (Florence, San Marco).



Fig. 17. Fra Bartolomeo, *Saint Mark*, (Florence, Pitti).



Fig. 18. Fra Bartolomeo, *Job and Isaiah*, (Florence, Accademia).

Fra Bartolomeo's Saint Peter and Saint Paul (1513-4)

Historians of Renaissance art have emphasized the severe impact that Roman antiquities and the Roman frescoes of Michelangelo and Raphael had on the art of Fra Bartolomeo.²⁸⁹ Unlike his Venetian sojourn, after which the Frate was able to integrate Giorgione's stylistic lexicon with sobriety, his production during (and following) his Roman experience has been mostly criticized for the violent and forced monumentalization of forms. According to Vasari, Fra Bartolomeo went to Rome attracted by the fame of Michelangelo and Raphael's accomplishments²⁹⁰ and left

*"perché non gli riuscì molto il far bene in quell'aria, come aveva fatto nella fiorentina; atteso che fra le antiche e moderne opere che vide, e in tanta copia, stordì di maniera, che grandemente scemò la virtù e la eccellenza che gli pareva avere."*²⁹¹

For the convent of San Marco's community in Rome he painted two panels—*Saint Peter* and a *Saint Paul*—which are now at the Vatican. [Figs. 5 & 6] This brief interval in Fra Bartolomeo's career, to a certain extent so pivotal for his later artistic development, is poorly documented. Apart from Vasari, references to the San Silvestro panels can be found in the *Sommario*, in his *Necrologium*, and, indirectly, in Dominican archival documents. In addition to these, I was able to uncover material from other sources including a chronicle of San Silvestro and several unpublished sixteenth- and seventeenth-century guides.

The exact dates of his stay still present a significant obstacle.²⁹² In July 1513, a money transfer was made to the artist in Rome

San Romano in Lucca", in MD, n.s. 22 (1990), pp. 1-636. See also: TAURISANO, *I domenicani in Lucca*, pp. 94-111; M. TRIGARI, "Momenti e aspetti del savonarolismo a Lucca", in *Critica Storica*, 6 (1967), pp. 590-624.

²⁸⁹ F. KNAPP, *Fra Bartolomeo*, (Halle, 1903), p. 310; C. FISCHER, *Fra Bartolomeo: Master Draughtsman of the High Renaissance*, (Rotterdam, 1990), pp. 292-3; J. BECK, *Italian Renaissance Painting*, (Köln, 1999), p. 335.

²⁹⁰ VASARI, p. 593: "...sentendo egli nominare l'opre egregie di Michelagnolo fatte a Roma, così quelle del grazioso Raffaello, e sforzato dal grido che di continuo udiva delle maraviglie fatte dai due divini artefici."

²⁹¹ Idem.

²⁹² Fra Bartolomeo's sojourn in Rome should be examined in light of recent documents. See, BORGIO, "Frà Bartolomeo e Raffaello", pp. 499-507; P. TURI, "Il viaggio verso Roma di Fra Bartolomeo nel 1513: L'affresco di Ponzano e la tavola di Viterbo", in MD, n.s. 25 (1994), pp. 293-98.

through the bank of Federico di Lorenzo Strozzi, brother of Fra Filippo Strozzi, then Prior of San Marco.²⁹³ This transaction does not prove conclusively that Fra Bartolomeo was in Rome at that specific moment. In fact, in a letter written to Fra Filippo Strozzi from San Silvestro dated 23 July 1513, Acciaiuoli mentions that he heard rumors about certain "*pictores nostri*"—presumably Fra Bartolomeo and his assistants—who were stationed in an unspecified convent near Monte Soratte.²⁹⁴ These artists were working here, and, with the arrival of summer, they were about to leave for the cooler Viterbo, most probably to Santa Maria della Quercia.²⁹⁵ It is most probable that Fra Bartolomeo along with his aids made several stops before arriving to Rome. Fra Bartolomeo's precise departure from Rome is also uncertain. A document from 10 July 1514 attested that he had just completed a fresco of Mary at Santa Maria in Pian di Mugnone; he would finish another one five days later.²⁹⁶ [Fig. 11 & 12] He was apparently convalescing at this hospice with two other disciples. His return from Rome is evident from the fact that both works pay distinctive homage to Raphael's *Madonna della Seggiola*.²⁹⁷ [Fig. 13] From these documents it can be deduced that he arrived in autumn of 1513 and left in early summer of the following year, sources say, afflicted with malaria.²⁹⁸

²⁹³ BORGIO, "Fra Bartolomeo e Raffaello", pp. 501-4. Strozzi was also in charge of money transfers executed during the canonization of Saint Antonino Pierozzi. See, ORLANDI, "La Canonizzazione di Sant'Antonino", p. 156.

²⁹⁴ VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 447: "*Pictores nostri adhuc sunt in oppidis abbatii quibusdam Sancti Benedicti iuxta Soracte. Ibi eis [eos] puto molliter in silvis opacissimis modo laudibus divinis, modo et tabellis pingendis operam dare. Factis caloribus, apud Viterbum subsidebunt. Ita enim rumor est.*"

²⁹⁵ Turi claims that Fra Bartolomeo and other friar-painters from San Marco went to Sant'Andrea in Flumine near Monte Soratte. A detached fresco now at Ponzano Romano was, according to the author, executed for this convent. TURI, "Il viaggio verso Roma di Fra Bartolomeo nel 1513", pp. 293-4.

²⁹⁶ MARCHESI, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori*, II, pp. 549-50. These records were taken from the "Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dell'Ospizio di S. Maria Maddalena in Pian di Mugnone": "*Ricordo come oggi X di luglio 1514 si finì di fare dipingere la Madonna della cappella del monte, et questa apie' della scala del Convento per Frate Bartholomeo nostro pittore, per suo spasso essendo qui recreatione et per sublevarsi dalla sua infermità, con dua sua discipuli, e quali dipinono quell'histoire de Sancti Padri: anno Domini 1514.*" "*E a dì 15 di decto depinse el sop. decto Frate Bartholomeo quella Madonna della infirmaria dove mangiano l'infermi, di sua p.p. mano; et essendo Priore di Sancto Marcho Frate Philippo Strozzi, et Vicario di S. M. Magdalena, Frate Antonio da Radda.*"

²⁹⁷ BORGIO, "Fra Bartolomeo e Raffaello", pp. 506-7.

²⁹⁸ V. ALCE, "Tre documenti su Fra Bartolomeo della Porta", in AFP, 56 (1986), pp. 70-1.

The vicissitudes relating to the San Silvestro pictures have been, for quite some time, shrouded in uncertainty. As in other intraconventual commissions, no formal contract was drafted. A brief entry in the *Sommario* recorded the size, price, and condition of these works.²⁹⁹ Some kind of arrangement was agreed upon during Fra Mariano's stay at San Marco in early 1513.³⁰⁰ Around the same time, Fra Bartolomeo had dissolved his partnership with Albertinelli.

The cultural and religious life that Fra Bartolomeo encountered at San Silvestro must have struck the artist with its familiarity. Canigiani and Acciaiuoli had just arrived at the convent or were just about to; Quirini, who had been at San Marco shortly before, was recovering in one of the cells; Francesco da Meleto, who had created spiritual havoc at Santa Croce, was being questioned in Rome; Fra Mariano, favorite of Leo X, was entertaining Bembo and Bibbiena. Most importantly, at some point during the year 1513, Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo—the latter of whom Fra Bartolomeo depicted in a splendid black and red chalk [Fig. 14]—all resided in Rome, working for the new Pope.

Fra Bartolomeo's *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul* originally stood at each side of the main altar of San Silvestro.³⁰¹ These pictures constituted a stylistic and iconographic caesura from the work produced at San Marco. Previous to his departure, his paintings were marked by a delicate classicism, uncontaminated either by recent antiquarian discoveries or by pictorial innovations of the Sistine and the Stanze. Works such as the *Pala Pitti* [Fig. 15], for instance, are still stylistically and compositionally fettered to Florentine artistic ambits of the last decade of the fifteenth century and the first

²⁹⁹ MARCHESI, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori*, II, p. 200: "...dua quadri di circa br. 4 alti, ne' quali è in uno San Piero, nell'altro San Paulo, di valuta di circa ducati xxx; ma perche' il San Piero è un pocho imperfetto, però non gli metto se non duc. xxv: furono donati a San Silvestro."

³⁰⁰ LUZIO, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio", p. 551.

³⁰¹ ASSQ, "Libro del Prefetto", fo. 6v; "Descrittione delle pitture più insigne che si trovano nelle chiese di Roma, come anco nelli Palazzi e Facciate di essi - Con li nomi dell'eccellentissimi pittori che l'hanno depinte - Compresovi il Palazzo Pontificio Vaticano con la dichiaratione di alcune statue e nomi d'Architetti", BAV, Ottob. Lat., 2975, fo. 48v; TITI, *Studio di pittura*, pp. 298-9. The pictures remained at San Silvestro until the eighteenth century, when they were brought first to the Quirinal Palace and then, in 1870, to the Vatican. On their sale and state in the eighteenth century, see: E. LOEVINSON, "Le vicende di due quadri di Fra Bartolomeo", in *L'Arte*, VII, fasc. III-V.

decade of the next. Even in his most important public commission, the *Pala della Signoria* [Fig. 16], which was retouched after his Roman trip, he was still elaborating Leonardo's *sfumato* and Raphael's Florentine compositions. Nevertheless, these pictures display a kind of clarity, piety, and balance much influenced by the Savonarolan tenets of *simplicitas*.³⁰²

During his Roman sojourn, Fra Bartolomeo's distinctive stylistic grace radically metamorphosed into a stocky and ordinary monumentalism. More than an attempt to experiment with new figural lexicons, this change expressed almost an engineered intent to enforce stylistic parameters of Leonine *gravitas* on the provincial and perhaps academic style of San Marco's most representative artist. The *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul* incarnate this transition since they capture a moment of equilibrium during the convergence of the Florentine and Roman pictorial schools of the early 1510s. The brutal effects of this process of *Romanization* are manifested more vehemently in works like the *Saint Mark* [Fig. 17] and the *Salvator Mundi* altarpiece with the *Isaiah* and *Job* side-panels. [Fig. 18] Each figure of the San Silvestro panels is burdened with a heavy *contrapposto* and placed in a niche. The statuary absence of emotion of the patron saints of Rome differs greatly from the composed pathos of Peter and Paul in the *Pitti Pietà* executed shortly before this trip.³⁰³ Most importantly, the San Silvestro panels underwent a further act of adulteration, which seems to validate this reading. Though Cavalcanti's *Sommario* just reported that the *Saint Peter* was left "*un poco imperfetto*", Vasari, the San Silvestro chronicle, and a number of later sources relate that this panel was retouched and finished by Raphael himself.³⁰⁴ This incident represented on of several Fra Bar-

³⁰² An elaborate discussion of Savonarola's concept of aesthetic *simplicitas* and Fra Bartolomeo's early training and development at San Marco is in my doctoral dissertation. See, A. ASSONITIS, *Art and Savonarolism in Florence and Rome*, Diss. Columbia University, October 2003, chs. 1-2.

³⁰³ On the recent restoration of this work along with the partial recovery of the figures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, see: C. FISCHER, *Fra Bartolommeo: la Pietà di Pitti restaurata*, (Florence, 1988).

³⁰⁴ ASSQ, "Libro del Prefetto", fo. 6v: "Da i lati dell'altare Maggiore infondo al coro ove sono tuttora i due depinti dei SS Apostoli Pietro & Paolo, vi erano altri due quadri rappresentanti i medesimi Apostoli (come si crede che i presenti sieno due cattive copie) coloriti ambidue da Fr. Bartolomeo da Savignano Domenicano, detto Della Porta, al quale mancato il tempo dei perfezionamenti affatto, lasciò il San Pietro non in tutto finito in mano del Gran Raffaele d'Urbino, acciò lo terminasse e ritocasse come fece, ed ora è opera da tenersi in gran preggio solo nel considerare, che sia tocco da

tolomeo's *non-finiti* finished by other hands.³⁰⁵ The circa 1650 *Descrittione delle pitture più insigni che si trovano nelle Chiese di Roma* assigns the *Saint Peter* exclusively to Raphael.³⁰⁶

This artistic exchange between Raphael and Fra Bartolomeo has been subject to a number of studies and it most certainly was not unilateral.³⁰⁷ In fact, during his Florentine period, Raphael borrowed a number of compositional and coloristic solutions from the friar.³⁰⁸ In turn, Fra Bartolomeo left Rome with the majestic figures of the *Scuola* and the imposing presence of his Madonnas. He also appropriated the unmistakable posture of the *Parnassus Apollo* and used it for his *Saint John the Baptist* as well as for other projects.

A number of Fra Bartolomeo's important pictures incarnated the process of normalization or reconciliation that San Marco as a whole sustained in an attempt to be reinstated in more moderate political and religious spectrums. For instance, the choice of including the figures of Saint Dominic and Saint Francis embracing each other in the Louvre's *Mystical Marriage of Saint Catherine of Siena*, originally meant for the church of San Marco, certainly pointed at a manifest effort to soothe the diplomatic relations between the Observant Dominicans of San Marco and the Franciscan Order.³⁰⁹

Pennelli di quel grand'uomo." VASARI, p. 593: "...lasciò a Raffaello da Urbino che finisse uno de' quadri, il quale non era finito, che fu il San Piero; il quale fu dato a Fra Mariano." See also, F. TITI, *Descrizioni delle Pitture, Sculture, e Architetture esposte al pubblico in Roma*, (Roma, 1763), p. 280.

³⁰⁵ Apart from Raphael, also Albertinelli and Fra Paolino completed works initially begun by Fra Bartolomeo.

³⁰⁶ BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2975, fo. 48v. Francesco Scannelli, who is almost contemporary to the anonymous author of the "Descrittione", was the only one who does not mention Raphael's addendum to the *Saint Peter* panel. See, F. SCANNELLI, *Il Microcosmo della Pittura, Ovvero Trattato diviso in due libri*, (Cesena, 1657), p. 138.

³⁰⁷ C. GAMBA, "Raffaello e Fra Bartolomeo", in *Rassegna marchigiana*, 12 (1934), pp. 169-173; G. FIOCCO, "Raffaello e Fra Bartolomeo", in *Rivista d'Arte*, 29 (1954), pp. 44ff.; BORGO, "Fra Bartolomeo e Raffaello", pp. 499-507.

³⁰⁸ GAMBA, "Raffaello e Fra Bartolomeo", pp. 171-3. Even Vasari acknowledged this debt: "... venne in questo tempo Raffaello da Urbino pittore ad imparare l'arte a Firenze, ed insegnò i termini buoni della prospettiva a Fra Bartolomeo; perché essendo Raffaello volenteroso di colore nella maniera del Frate e piacendogli il maneggiare i colori e lo unir suo, con lui di continuo stava..." Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* paid homage to Fra Bartolomeo's *Vision of Saint Bernard* and *God the Father with Saints Magdalen and Catherine of Siena*; likewise, the upper register of the *Last Judgement* reminds one of the upper row of the *Disputa*.

³⁰⁹ The analysis of the iconography of *Saint Dominic and Saint Francis Embracing* and its meaning and function in the Piagnoni ambit will be subject to a future article.

Likewise, the altarpiece for the Signoria commissioned by Soderini in many ways celebrated—both conceptually and iconographically—the *entendre* between the friars and the civic government, laboriously and excruciatingly achieved after the events of 23 May 1498. In turn, the presence of the patron saints of Rome in pictures like the aforementioned *Mystical Marriage* and the *Pitti Pietà* was aimed to mitigate the tension with the Church establishment. The presence of Peter and Paul's images in the San Marco's satellite convent in Rome, particularly in the wake of Leo X's election, constituted a *de facto* legitimization of the canonical authority of the Medicean papacy within all ecclesiastic circles including the Piagnone. The message to Leo X and later Clement VII, both of whom often visited this church, was clear: moderate Piagnoni were removed from the swarm of pseudo-Savonarolan prophets roaming the Italian peninsula, whom had nothing to do with Savonarola and his apostolate. In this light, the San Silvestro pictures were a further profession of orthodoxy. Acciaiuoli, Mainardi, and others at San Marco were sternly condemning radical prophets and envisioned their leader's reform occurring only through conventional institutional channels. At that very time, Quirini and Giustiniani were advocating the universal supremacy of the Pope. Fra Bartolomeo's pictures obliquely and implicitly confirmed that though Savonarola wanted to undercut the corrupt Borgia Pope, he never—unlike Luther—was inclined to undermine the unity and institution of the Church as a whole.

Fra Bartolomeo's *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul* are to be ideally placed between the stylistic and formal model of the *School of Athens* and the dogmatic weight of papal *Majestas* incarnated by the tapestries for the Sistine Chapel. Towards the end of the friar's sojourn, in fact, Raphael had accepted the commission for the cartoons illustrating the histories of Peter and Paul, whose iconographical popularity was rapidly increasing.³¹⁰

³¹⁰ SHEARMAN, *Raphael*, chs. 2 and 3. In addition to Shearman's long list of Pauline and Petrine iconographies, there are also those relating to the Apostolic Seals. Coincidentally, at that very time, Fra Mariano was appointed *Plumbator*—a post whose seals depict the patron saints of Rome in postures identical to the San Silvestro saints. See, C. SERAFINI, *Le monete e le bolle plumbee del Medagliere vaticano*, (Milan, 1910), p. 177ff.

The Canonization of Antonino Pierozzi and the 1522 Plague

During Adrien Florensz Dedal's short pontificate, San Silvestro housed part of the festivities in honor of Antonino Pierozzi's canonization, the trial of which was painstakingly brought to an end on 31 May 1523. Leo X, during his visit to San Marco on 6 January 1516, informally agreed to begin the process, moved more by diplomatic and political motivations than true affection towards the former Bishop of Florence.³¹¹ During the six-year ordeal, many friars sojourned at San Silvestro in order to supervise the trial's progress, which by 1518 had already suffered two failed attempts.³¹² Even Fra Bartolomeo, in a limited manner, contributed to this endeavor by producing a series of small panels featuring some of Pierozzi's miracles.³¹³

The individual who almost single-handedly steered Antonino's cause toward success was Fra Roberto Ubaldini.³¹⁴ His reevaluation of Antonino's life, miracles, and reforms was conducted in a much more systematic and exhaustive manner than in the past. Furthermore, his argumentation was structured to reinforce the cause of Savonarola and the Piagnoni. Friars and civilians called to testify were ardent followers of the Frate like the Priors of San Marco and Santo Spirito in Siena, Fra Jacopo di Sicilia and Fra Bartolomeo da Faenza, and Girolamo Benivieni, Tommaso Soderini, Niccolò Val-

³¹¹ ORLANDI, "La Canonizzazione di Sant'Antonino", pp. 91-2; L. POLIZZOTTO, "The Making of a Saint: The Canonization of St. Antonino, 1516-1523", in *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 22 (1992), pp. 367.

³¹² These friars were Fra Giovanbattista Strozzi, Fra Tommaso Strozzi, Fra Cosimo Tornabuoni, Fra Girolamo Gini, Fra Lorenzo delle Colombe, and Fra Zanobi Acciaiuoli. See, "Conto dell'entrata e dell'uscita nella causa di canonizzazione di Sant'Antonino", BMLF, San Marco, 884, registro III del Processo di canonizzazione, fo. 145r. Documents on the *processo* are in ORLANDI, "La Canonizzazione di Sant'Antonino", pp. 106-15; 146-62.

³¹³ S. PADOVANI (ed.), *L'età di Savonarola: Fra Bartolomeo e la Scuola di San Marco*, (Venezia, 1996), pp. 131-7. These pictures are: *The Death and Apotheosis of Antonino Pierozzi*, (London, Private collection), *Antonino Pierozzi Distributing Alms* and *Antonino Pierozzi Resuscitating a Young Boy*, (Pistoia, Museo Civico). While the authorship of the London panel has been disputed, the Pistoia panels have been securely attributed to Fra Bartolomeo.

³¹⁴ POLIZZOTTO, "The Making of a Saint", p. 373. On Fra Roberto Ubaldini, see: VERDE and GIACONI, "Epistolario", p. 219 n. 34. This friar, who was related to Michelangelo through his sister's marriage to Lodovico Buonarroti, has had a number of important positions within the Congregation. An extensive discussion of the Ubaldini family is also in S. ORLANDI, "Michelangelo Buonarroti e i domenicani", in MD, 81 (1964), pp. 201-2.

ori, and Jacopo Salviati.³¹⁵ Their testimony emphasized both the moral and religious rectitude that the saint shared with the excommunicated: many were in fact the acknowledged ties between these two figures.³¹⁶ Soon after Antonino was canonized, Adrian VI granted indulgences to all those who visited either Santa Maria sopra Minerva or San Silvestro. The painted statue of the Saint was brought in procession from the Vatican to Santa Maria sopra Minerva, where it was placed in a new chapel. The following day the statue was brought to San Silvestro, and that same night, fireworks were lit from its gardens.³¹⁷

Around this time Rome suffered one of the most devastating epidemics since 1348. This plague did not spare residents and patrons of San Silvestro—most of whom were buried either in the church or in the cemetery next to the convent. An attentive epigraphic and archival scrutiny has shed more light on some of the members of this congregation. Among the friars of San Marco, only Fra Tommaso del Magrezza³¹⁸ and probably Fra Niccolò da San Casciano³¹⁹, who was in Rome during Pierozzi's canonization trial, were buried here. A monk named Benedetto da Reggio died in October 1522.³²⁰ Among the lay community, we find the names of several prominent Piagnoni families. The sixteen-year old Giovanbattista Valori died on 9 May 1522 while his father Niccolò was either serving as Florentine ambassador to the Papacy or traveling on private business.³²¹ Niccolò's uncle was Francesco Valori, the powerful political leader of the Piagnoni and first 'martyr' of their cause, who was killed almost a month before the

³¹⁵ POLIZZOTTO, "The Making of a Saint", pp. 374-5.

³¹⁶ A. VERDE, "Sant'Antonino e Girolamo Savonarola. Due riformatori a confronto", in *Rivista di ascetica e mistica*, 59 (1990), pp. 389-426.

³¹⁷ ORLANDI, "La Canonizzazione di Sant'Antonino", pp. 139-40, 152.

³¹⁸ VERDE, "La congregazione di S. Marco", p. 132.

³¹⁹ VERDE, "La congregazione di S. Marco", p. 211.

³²⁰ FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni delle chiese*, IV, p. 41: "BENEDICTI MONACHI RHEGII QUON. CARD. S. RUFINAE / PRAESIDENTIS DIGNISSI. IN HAC CAPPELLA SUI / IMPESIS EXTRUCTA HUI' DOM' PRES OSSA / DE SE B. M. P. OBIIT ANNO DOMINI / M. D. XXII. MENSE OCTOBRI"

³²¹ FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni delle chiese*, IV, p. 41: "JOHANNI BAPTISTE VALORIO FLORENTINO / FILIO DULCISSIMO ATQUE EGREGIE INDOLIS / ADOLESCENTI NICOLAUS PATER EIUS (or PIUS) / AC MOERENS POSUIT CONTRA VOTUM / VIXIT ANNIS XVI MENSE UNO / OBIIT DIE IX. MAII M.D.XXII". On the Valori, who had suffered seriously after Savonarola's death (as we have seen with the Fra Mariano incident described in Pseudo-Burlamacchi), see: POLIZZOTTO, *The Elect Nation*, pp. 20, 22, 207, 216, 218.

Frate.³²² Other members of families traditionally affiliated with Piagnoni factions buried at San Silvestro were Mario di Lodovico Guiducci³²³, Alessandra Rucellai³²⁴, and Giannozzo Pandolfini.³²⁵ Like the Gaddi, these were Florentine banking and mercantile clans who had enjoyed economic success during the Medicean pontificates.

1524 Restoration and the Cappella del Piombo

With the death of Leo X, Fra Mariano's influence at court understandably diminished but did not disappear completely.³²⁶ Enemies of the Medici immediately vented their contempt towards this pontiff who had "*peggior fama da poi è la Chiesa de Dio*" and of his buffoon "[che] *li raccomandava l'anima.*"³²⁷ The virulence of similar attacks coupled with Adrian VI's intention to carry out an austere papacy forced him to keep a low profile. With Clement VII's election, the friar continued to benefit from Medicean patronage although his poor health was now preventing him from romping

³²² Francesco is buried in the church of San Procolo in Florence. A 1532 monument celebrated him as "Honorandus Martyr".

³²³ FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni delle chiese*, IV, p. 40: "MARIO GUIDONIS DE GUIDUCIIS CIVITE / MERCATORI FLORENTINO SACRUM / LODOVICUS GUIDUCCIUS PATRUO B. M. / NON SINE LACRIMIS RESTAURAVIT / MORTUUS EST III. NON. OCTOB. A. SALUTIFERAE / INCARNATIONIS . M . D . XXII . VIX. / AN LX MEN. VIII".

³²⁴ FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni delle chiese*, IV, p. 41: "ALEXANDRAE ORIGELLARIAE FOEMINAE / PUDICISSIMAE BERNARDUS VERRAZANUS / FLOR. VIR UXORI CARISS. ET SIBI POSTERISQ / SUIS POSUIT AN. M.D.XXIII MESE OCTOBRI". The Rucellai family continued to be involved with San Silvestro even after it was relinquished by San Marco and the Dominican. See, AGT, "Ratificazione di Annibale Rucellai della vendita d'una casa et giardino. Che olim fu di Monsignore Giovanni della Casa alli Padri di San Silvestro però non è autentica, per esser senza notaio e senza giornata." ("Pro Rever. Congre. Theatinos Sti. Silvestri de Urbe. 1551."), 661-662, Cassetta San Silvestro, fos. 1v-2r.

³²⁵ FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni delle chiese*, IV, p. 41: "IANNOTII PANDOLPHINI FLORENTINI TROIANI / ANTISTITIS MOLIS / ADRIATICE A CLEMENTE VII / PRAEFECTI TEMPORARIUM DEPOSITUM / OBIIT VIII / IDUS DECEMBRIS M.D.XXV / AETATIS SVAE AN LXVIII"

³²⁶ BNCF, Magl., II. III. 432, fo. 112r. A letter written by Fra Mariano on 24 December 1524 illustrated how he was still active during Clement VII's pontificate and how close he was to the new Medici Pope.

³²⁷ SANUTO, *Diarii*, XXXIII, p. 289. (21 December 1521).

about and performing his customary pranks and jokes. He also continued to intercede for those requesting favors from the Pope.³²⁸ Most importantly, however, his gradual retirement from public life coincided with a rekindled interest in embellishing San Silvestro.

Contrary to Savonarola's aesthetics of *simplicitas*, we have seen how Fra Mariano was very proud of the lavish decorations housed the sacristy of San Silvestro as well as his manicured gardens.³²⁹ He had often asked his eminent friends to donate *palii* and liturgical vestments, which he revered as prized possessions more for their patrician provenance than for any artistic quality.³³⁰ From his 1519 letter to Federico Gonzaga, we also learn that Fra Mariano had repaired the church handed to him in a decrepit state some twelve years before.³³¹ However, the extent and magnitude of this restoration was very limited: for the most part, Fra Mariano refurbished its interior with ephemeral ornaments. Only a year before, another Fra Mariano, the erudite Franciscan author of the *Itinerarium urbis Romae*, had described it—deprecatoryly—as “*ecclesiuncula*”.³³²

The unfinished state of the complex prompted a thorough restoration in 1524 under Clement VII. Now lost, an inscription on the façade commemorated this event and the re-dedication of the church's titular saint. So apparently radical were these changes that

³²⁸ BNCF, Magl., II. III. 432, fo. 112r: “*Sua Santità mi rispose che era molto contento et commesse a M. Pietro Polo che scrivessi et una lettera al chardinale di chortona di fucho, che voi fussi servito. Ora M. Pietro polo vi scrisse et io non nosto mai dato avviso per essere sempre da poi in qua istato malato in fine di morte malato di male di la pietra. E poi intendo esser stato al cardinale di [di sosta] di chortona.*”

³²⁹ See the above-cited 1519 letter to Federico Gonzaga. LUZIO, “Federico Gonzaga ostaggio”, p. 572-5.

³³⁰ On 29 January 1513, he thanked Federico Gonzaga for the “...*pallio... del quale si fece un paliotto per lo altare et una magna pianeta, le quale gridano dalmetiche e peviale; per tanto se non havete promesso ad altri il pallio, fate vi sia raccomandato nostro Sancto Silvestro in curia romana...*” LUZIO, “Federico Gonzaga ostaggio”, pp. 552. Years later he asked Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, to ask Clarice de' Medici, sister of Lorenzo and wife of Filippo Strozzi, to knit “...*qualche camici o paliotti per San Silvestro...*” CIAN, “Un buffone del secolo XVI”, pp. 652-4.

³³¹ He described it as “...*una chiesina di avorio, lavorata di straforo et atorno profumata et abellita con molte cose divote...*” LUZIO, “Federico Gonzaga ostaggio”, pp. 574.

³³² MARIANO DA FIRENZE, *Itinerarium urbis Romae*, in *Studi di antichità cristiana: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana*, (Rome, 1931), p. 196: “*Ascenso colle, item in sinistra, ecclesiuncula est sancti Silvestri Montis Equorum nuncupata, in qua sunt fratres Praedicatores de Observantia Tusciae.*”

the Theatine historian Giovan Battista Del Tufo was convinced that Clement VII had rebuilt the whole site *ex novo*.³³³

Virtually no documentary evidence for this project has survived. Sixteenth-century architectural historians have speculated on the appearance of this restoration based on rather scanty data like the schematic and decontextualized façade in Pietro Martire Felini's 1610 *Trattato nuovo delle cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* and Giuseppe Vasi's mid-eighteenth-century print of the church.³³⁴ [Figs. 19 & 20] The original 1524 façade—restored many times before torn down by Andrea Busiri Vici in the 1870s along with the first two side-chapels³³⁵—has been attributed to the circle of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and seems modeled upon Michelangelo's elaborations for San Lorenzo.³³⁶ A substantial glimpse of how the entire complex looked before the Theatines' installation can be seen in Anton van der Wyngaerde's panoramic drawing of Rome, made from the Quirinal around 1550, at the time when San Silvestro was entrusted to Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza.³³⁷ [Fig. 21] Quite noticeable is the medieval tower that was demolished during the construction of the Bandini Chapel in 1580 and the low unassuming urban agglomerate on the right that functioned as a convent during the Dominican period.³³⁸ This too was completely demolished soon after the Theatines took over in favor of a much larger two-storied building.³³⁹ [Figs. 22 & 23] Judging

³³³ DEL TUFO, *Historia*, p. 50: "Percioché l'istess'anno 1524 che fu'l primo del Pontificato di Papa Clemente Settimo, quando fu istituita, e fondata questa Religione; l'istessa Chiesa fu similmente edificata, e dedicata a San Silvestro Pontefice Romano, come manifestamente apparisce nell'iscrizione di quella facciata, che insino al di' d'hoggi si vede. La quale, per soddisfation del curioso Lettore, ancorche lontano, sara' qui sotto copiata, ed è questa: D . SILVESTRO PONT. ROM. / QUI CONSTANTINO CAES . AD CHRISTI / CULTUM TRADUCTO MAIESTATEM / ECCLESIASTICAM FUNDAVIT, / SACRUM HOC IN QUIRINALI / SUB CLEMENTE VII . OPT . MAX . / SAPIENTISSIME ERECTUM M . D . XXIII".

³³⁴ B. TORRESI, "Un'architettura scomparsa del primo Cinquecento romano: la facciata di San Silvestro al Quirinale", in *Palladio*, 57 (1994), pp. 167-180; NEGRO, "San Silvestro al Quirinale", pp. 14-18.

³³⁵ G. VERZILLI, "Il nuovo prospetto della chiesa di San Silvestro al Quirinale", in *Il Buonarroti*, XII, (1877-8), pp. 329-30

³³⁶ TORRESI, "Un'architettura scomparsa...", p. 173.

³³⁷ This drawing is at Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Sutherland Collection, Large vol. IV, fos. 96 a-b. See, A. P. FRUTAZ, *Le piante di Roma*, 3 vols. (Roma, 1962), II, p. 182.

³³⁸ The tower can be still seen in the 1562 Pseudo-Dosio's map of Rome.

³³⁹ Upon taking possession of the premises in 1555, the Theatine Giovanni Marinoni described San Silvestro as "...molto bellina: Ha tre cappelle per banda assai

from van der Wyngaerde's drawing, it seems as if the tenets of poverty advocated by Savonarola were observed in the conventual area but not in the Clementine church. After all, ten years before the 1524 restoration Fra Mariano had confessed to his good friend the Marquis of Mantua that his friars were "*lo specchio di Roma in vita e dottrina.*"³⁴⁰

This apparent paradox between opulent church and poor convent is most evident in the case of Fra Mariano's private chapel.³⁴¹ Savonarola had sermonized at length against vanities in churches, especially regarding objects with aristocratic insignia. In many ways, he thought, this was the most tangible example of ecclesiastical corruption. Fra Mariano, towards the end of his life, had altogether renounced whatever conviction he had held for Savonarolan *simplicitas*. Like other Roman Piagnoni, he surely was not recalcitrant towards prelatric favoritism. In fact, nothing could have been more cherished by Fra Mariano than a gift from the Pope himself. Around 1518, Leo X gave to Fra Mariano spare tiles from Raphael's Logge at the Vatican.³⁴² [Fig. 4] This present was particularly significant for two reasons: first, the tiles were manufactured by Luca della Robbia the Younger who, along with his brothers Fra Mattia and Fra Ambrogio, was very attached to the Piagnone cause, and second, these featured the Medicean *palle*, the unequivocal emblem

accomodate. Il giardino è grande e bello. Le stancie s'andranno accomodando. C'è loco intorno da potersi allargare." ANDREU, "Lettere e scritti del B. Marinoni", p. 75. Ridolfino Venuti claimed that by the pontificate of Gregory XIII Boncompagni (1572-85) San Silvestro had a running novitiate, a good library, chapels, statues, marbles, a gilded coffered ceiling, and a pretty garden. R. VENUTI, *Descrizione topografica e storica di Roma moderna*, (Rome, 1766), p. 129: Already by the end of the sixteenth century, nearby houses were either purchased or donated: see, ASR, Teatini di S. Andrea della Valle, 2140, "Libro delle Ricevute dei Censi e Canonici Passivi di S. Andrea della Valle dal primo Maggio 1801", carta 11. By 1627, the new Theatine convent was expanded to house over thirty-five clergymen. M. CAMPANELLI, *I Teatini: l'inchiesta di Innocenzo X sui regolari d'Italia*, (Rome, 1987) p. 103. A clear assessment of the size and components of both church and convent at the beginning of the eighteenth century is in ASV, Visite Pastorali, 1726, fos. 1-2, including a large drawing published by NEGRO, "San Silvestro al Quirinale", p. 49.

³⁴⁰ LUZIO, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio", p. 552. The above-cited letter was written on 29 January 1513.

³⁴¹ A reliable description of San Silvestro's chapels (including the first two chapels destroyed during Busiri Vici's restoration) and of the masses celebrated therein during the Theatine occupancy can be found in ASR, "Notizie di tutte le Cappelle della Chiesa di San Silvestro" (113), fos. 1r-15r.

³⁴² F. QUINTERIO, "Il pavimento robbiano della cappella di Santa Caterina in San Silvestro al Quirinale", in *Faenza*, 74 (1988), p. 25 n. 14.

of the Florentine family.³⁴³ Fra Mariano used these tiles six years later for his chapel, which he afterwards dedicated to Saint Catherine of Siena.

The decoration of this chapel presents several problems.³⁴⁴ Vasari followed by Borghini (1584), Titi (1674), and Pio (1724) registered that Mariotto Albertinelli, around 1515, had executed for this chapel "*una tavola a olio con San Domenico, Santa Caterina da Siena che Cristo la sposa, con la Nostra Donna, con delicata maniera.*"³⁴⁵ Albertinelli's altarpiece, the whereabouts of which are unknown, was perhaps temporarily placed in the chapel before the church was completely restored by Clement VII in 1524. Shortly after this time, Polidoro da Caravaggio along with Maturino worked on the Cappella del Piombo.³⁴⁶ These two artists were recommended to Fra Mariano by Baldassarre Turini, who had commissioned them to fresco Villa Lante on the Janiculum in 1523-4.³⁴⁷ It is not altogether

³⁴³ G. GENTILINI, *I Della Robbia e l'arte nuova della scultura invetriata*, (Florence, 1992), p. 319; A. MARQUAND, *The Brothers of Giovanni della Robbia*, (Princeton, 1928), pp. 83-88.

³⁴⁴ Lodovico Borgo, who wrote the definitive monograph on Albertinelli, altogether dismissed the artist's Roman sojourn. L. BORGO, *The Works of Mariotto Albertinelli*, (New York, 1976), pp. 137ff.

³⁴⁵ VASARI, p. 599. See also, R. BORGHINI, *Il riposo*, (Reggio, 1826), p. 129: "*Fu poi condotto al convento della Quercia fuori Viterbo, e vi cominciò una tavola, ma avantichè la fornisse, gli venne voglia di andare a Roma, dove in San Silvestro di Monte Cavallo fece una tavola a olio entrovi Cristo che sposa Santa Caterina, con altre figure di bonissima maniera.*" TITI, *Studio di pittura*, p. 289: "*Mariotto Albertinelli Fiorentino lavorò, e finì a F. Mariano Fetti l'altra cappella contigua; e nella tavola dipinse con delicata maniera a' oglio San Domenico con Santa Caterina da Siena, che Cristo, essendo in braccio a Maria Vergine, la sposa.*" N. PIO, *Le vite di pittori, scultori et architetti [Cod. ms. Capponi 257]*, eds. C. Enggass and R. Enggass (Vatican City, 1977), p. 182: "*...se ne venne a Roma, dove finì la tavola in San Silvestro a Monte Cavallo a oglio che cominciò il frate Mariano Fetti, rappresentante San Domenico, Santa Caterina da Siena che Christo la sposa alla Beatissima Vergine, con delicata maniera.*" Bruzio considered the work standing today by Albertinelli. BRUZIO, "Theatrum Romae urbis", LIII, vol. 19 (tomo xviii), fo. 580v: "*Segue l'ottava cappella de ...Saneti dedicata a Maria Maddalena a Santa Caterina da Siena cha dai lati dell'altare pittura di Polidoro, il quadro che sul'altare rappresenta la Madonna a sedere col Bambino a piedi e' pittura di Mariotto fiorentino...*"

³⁴⁶ On Polidoro at San Silvestro, see: D. GNOLI, "La cappella di Fra Mariano del Piombo in Roma", in *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, IV (1891), pp. 117-26; C. PACCHIOTTI, "Nuove attribuzioni a Polidoro da Caravaggio in Roma", in *L'arte*, XXX (1927), pp. 189-221; L. RAVELLI, *Polidoro a San Silvestro al Quirinale*, (Bergamo, 1987); A. MARABOTTINI, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, (Rome, 1969). P. L. DE CASTRIS, *Polidoro da Caravaggio. L'opera completa*, (Naples, 2001), pp. 212-47.

³⁴⁷ MARABOTTINI, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, p. 63. A specific study on the artistic patronage of Baldassarre Turini is most overdue as is one on his ties with the

clear how (or even if) Albertinelli's picture was incorporated in the program devised by Polidoro, which included the Robbian tiles.³⁴⁸ Polidoro's frescoes, albeit later detached and rearranged by Cavalier d'Arpino, indicate how the original configuration of this space was symmetrically arranged to house full-length images on each side of the altar [Fig. 24] and scenes from the lives of Mary Magdalen and Saint Catherine of Siena. [Figs. 2 & 3] A late sixteenth century picture featuring Mary and Child with Saint Michael and Saint John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalen and Saint Catherine is now the altarpiece of this chapel. It has been suggested that this rather mediocre painting was substituted for Albertinelli's since the subject gave equal importance to both Dominican female saints. If and when this change occurred is not clear. It is unlikely that Polidoro would have repeated the same iconography of the altarpiece (*The Mystical Marriage of Saint Catherine*) in his fresco. At the same time, had Albertinelli's picture been originally intended for the chapel's altar, it is not quite clear why Polidoro did not work around it with an *ad hoc* program. The chapel itself was dedicated solely to the Saint Catherine of Siena as documented by two 1530 inscriptions: not only was this a site often visited by prelates but it also became a means to obtain indulgences.³⁴⁹

Final Years (1531-1540)

After suffering various ailments, Fra Mariano died in October 1531 at the age of 71.³⁵⁰ Of the first residents, Acciaiuoli died in

Piagnoni. He is known to have commissioned works from Leonardo, Raphael, and Giulio Romano as well as Polidoro. See, H. LILIUS, *Villa Lante al Gianicolo. L'architettura e la decorazione pittorica* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae X), (Rome, 1981).

³⁴⁸ Polidoro surely knew about these tiles since he was one of the artists working at the Vatican Loggia.

³⁴⁹ "CLEMENTIS · VII V P.M. · TEMPLUM HOC MAGNO · CARDINALIUM COMITATU SUBEUNTIS · CONCESSIONE SACELLUM · HOC · CATHARINAE QUOTIE · VISITAVERTINT CHRISTIFIDELES TOTIE I) · DIERUM · INDULGENTIAM CONSEQUENTUR DATO · DIPLOMATE · IX · OCT (I) I) · XXX AD PERPETUAM / POSTERITATIS / MEMORIAM" - "AD POSTERITATIS MEMORIAM SEMPITERNAM. CLEMENS VII . PONT. MAX. CUM HANC ECCLESIAM VISITARET MULTIS COMITAT' CARDINALIB' CCCC DIE R' PAENA OMNIB' HANC CAPPELLAM BEATAE CATHERINAE VISITANTIB' TOTIES QUOTIES GRATIOSE LARGITUS EST DIE IX OCTOB. M.D.XXX"

³⁵⁰ During the Sack, Fra Mariano perhaps retired with the pope and his entourage at Castel Sant'Angelo. GNOLI, *La Roma di Leone X*, p. 336. At that time, ascertain Valentino Cabrjan of Alcalá, captain of Charles V's army, contracted the

1519, Fra Bartolomeo in 1517, Canigiani became more involved with Vallombrosan issues though maintaining still ties with San Silvestro, Pagnini moved to France in order to find patrons for his Bible, Fra Filippo Strozzi became Archbishop of Sorrento, and Fra Tommaso Strozzi and Fra Niccolò Schömburg were made cardinals. Fra Mariano's death is briefly recorded in various Dominican sources and mentioned in Sebastiano del Piombo's letter to Michelangelo.³⁵¹ While an ample apology of sorts appears in Girolamo Schio's letter to Aretino and in Aretino's *Ragionamento delle corti*. Schio, who claimed to be the "*esecutore del suo* [i.e. Fra Mariano] *testamento*" and keeper of the "*secreto de li capricci suoi*", painted a commendable portrait of Fra Mariano: "*Lui morse da bono e Santo omo, con bona lingua e sentimento fino all'ultimo fiato; e iij ore avanti, ch'io lo lassai, mi chiese la benedizione e licenzia, dicendo che non si vedremo più se non di la.*"³⁵² Aretino's description of Fra Mariano is hardly that of someone who has observed the vow of poverty³⁵³, but is neither caustic nor spiteful like the many *pasquinate* that are attributed to him.³⁵⁴ Fra Mariano's burial place remains unknown: the more prominent residents at San Silvestro—Acciaiuoli, Schömburg, Bembo and Filippo Strozzi—were buried at the Minerva. His name, however, does not appear in the remnant

plague and took possession along with his soldiers of Fra Mariano's rooms at San Silvestro. At his deathbed, he called Fra Mariano to bless his soul, write his will and provide him with a proper burial in the monastery of San Gregorio Magno. See, CIAN, "Un buffone del secolo XVI", p. 655.

³⁵¹ VERDE, "La congregazione di S. Marco", p. 185: "...obiit... die Octobris 1531..."; Bottonio, "Annali", fo. 251v: "MDXXXI Fra Mariano dal Piombo morì questo anno in Roma, di ottobre, con abito di converso cistercense per conto di quell'ufficio." More interesting is Sebastiano del Piombo's letter to Michelangelo in D'ACHIARDI, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, p. 255: "...credo ormai abbiate inteso come nostro Signore papa Clemente mi ha fatto piombatore, et àmmi fatto frate in loco di Fra Mariano, di modo che se me vedesti frate, credo certo ve la rideresti. Io sono il più bel fratazo di Roma. Cossa invero non credo pensai mai. È venuto proprio motu proprio del papa: e Dio in sempiterno sia laudato; che pare proprio che Dio abbi voluto cussi. E cussi sia."

³⁵² LANDONI, *Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino*, I, pp. 102-3.

³⁵³ ARETINO, *Ragionamento*, p. 592: "Il suo animo, subietto de le piacevolezze, non finiva mai di trovar facezie astratte da le altre, per ispazzo de' cortegiani, i fastidi de' quali si consolano ne li intertenimenti di cotali..."

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, "...egli fu così dolce, così affabile, così onorevole, così utile e così buono quanto persona che fusse mai in Corte, e i virtuosi trassero gran piacere e gran bene dal suo favore.") Compare this with Fra Mariano's self-portrait in the 1519 letter to the Marquis of Mantua in LUZIO, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio", pp. 573-4: "Io mi trovo humano, mansueto, affabile, basso ad uso di tartufo, overo pisciacane che nasce terra terra, in modo che ognuno mi può calpestare et por piè..."

or reported tombstones of either churches. Even more noteworthy is the fact that there is no reference of this friar throughout the complex and in the chapel he erected, though heavily restored by Cavalier d'Arpino in the beginning of the seventeenth century.³⁵⁵ Most probably, Cardinal Sannesio ordered the removal of Fra Mariano's tomb in order to make space for his own tomb and those of his family members.³⁵⁶ In fact, on the whole, the Theatines went to great lengths to eradicate all records of San Silvestro's Dominican history whether of artistic, archival, or even epigraphic nature.³⁵⁷

With Fra Mariano's death and the consolidation of the Minerva in the Tusco-Roman Congregation, San Silvestro ceased to be a pivotal center in the Roman scene. Already before the Sack, the friars in residence were only ten.³⁵⁸ In 1534, the complex is listed among the debtors of San Marco, almost as if it were a separate institution and not a satellite convent.³⁵⁹ Perhaps related to this debt is the sale of certain vineyards in October of 1536, ones which produced wine that only a few years before Fra Mariano had decanted at length.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁵ In the documents relating to Cardinal Sannesio's acquisition of this chapel (3 October 1602), which predate Cavalier d'Arpino's works, no mention is made of Fra Mariano. See, ASR, Camerale III, Chiese e Monasteri (Roma), busta 1917, n. 2.

³⁵⁶ ASR, Camerale III, Chiese e Monasteri (Roma), busta 1917, n. 2: "...*Equitatem Clementem in premissis gratificari sponte sua Cappellam gloriosissima Virgini dictam intus dictam ecclesiam sancti Silvestri existentem secundam a manu Sinistra in introitu portae maioris ecclesiae et quae praecipue in medio duarum aliarum Cappellarum existit una cum sepultura subtus eam iacenti modo forma statu et termino in quibus ad praesens tam Cappella quam sepultura reperiunt ac omnia iura et nomine dictae Ecclesiae Capituli et congregationis aetis omni meliori modo et esserunt concesserunt et assignarent ... Ill. D. Equiti Clementi abseni et me et proedem eiusque parentibus fratribus filiis nepotibus pronepotibus et descendantibus tam masculis quam feminis usque et ultra centesimum gradum et in infinitum durante linea familiae Samnesiae Carlutiae...*"

³⁵⁷ Apart from Fra Mariano's chapel (albeit radically restored), there is only one tombstone left (Zanobi Gaddi's) dating to the Dominican period.

³⁵⁸ GNOLI, "Descriptio urbis", p. 396.

³⁵⁹ BMLF, San Marco, 930, fo. 285v: "*Rotula de numero debitori S. Marci conventus (1534)... oratorio di S. Silvestro in Cavagli a 68—B. 15.*"

³⁶⁰ AGT, 661-662, Cassetta San Silvestro, (25/10/1536): "*Fratres S.S. Apostolorum vendiderunt vineam novem... ecclesiae S. Silvestri in Monte Caballo, sub cuius proprietate dicitur esse dicta vinea.*"



Fig. 19. *San Silvestro al Quirinale*, in Pietro Martire Felini, *Trattato nuovo delle cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* (Rome, 1610).



Fig. 20. Giuseppe Vasi, *La chiesa di San Silvestro e la casa dei Teatini*, BNCR, B-IV-41.



Fig. 21. Anton van der Wyngaerde, *Panorama of Rome from the Quirinal Hill*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Sutherland Collection, Large vol. IV, fol. 96 a-b.



Fig. 21. Anton van der Wyngaerde, *Panorama of Rome from the Quirinal Hill*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Sutherland Collection, Large vol. IV, fol. 96 a-b.

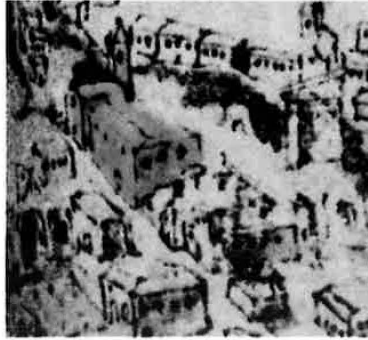


Fig. 22. Pseudo-Dosio,
Plan of Rome (1562).

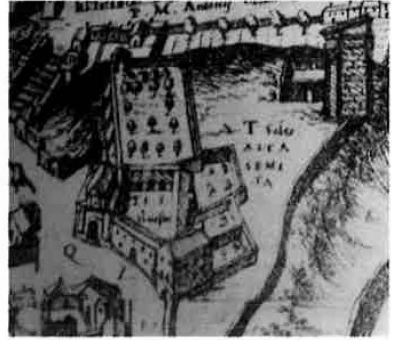


Fig. 23. Etienne Du Pérac,
Plan of Rome, (1577).



Fig. 24.
Polidoro da Caravaggio,
Saint Catherine of Siena
& *Mary Magdalen*,
(Rome, San Silvestro
al Quirinale).