

COOPERATION AND CONFLICT: STAINED GLASS IN THE BARDI CHAPELS OF SANTA CROCE

Nancy M. Thompson

When the Franciscan friars of Santa Croce in Florence began rebuilding their church in the late thirteenth century, they included a program of stained glass windows in the new basilica. The Santa Croce friars were most likely following the model of the mother Franciscan church in Assisi, where narrative stained glass appeared in Italy for the first time in the mid-thirteenth century.¹ While the Santa Croce friars likely planned and paid for the glass that remains in the high altar chapel from the 1320s, the private patrons of Santa Croce financed the windows in the transept chapels of the church (see plan, Fig. 1). In fact, soon after the transept was completed in 1310, private Florentine citizens, spurred on by the promise of papal indulgences, began to purchase entire chapels and finance their decoration with stained glass, fresco and panel paintings.² While only about half

¹ While there was certainly glass production in Italy before the mid thirteenth century, the Assisi windows are probably the earliest example of large-scale, narrative stained glass in the Italian peninsula. For an overview of glass production in medieval Italy, see Daniela Stiaffani, *Il vetro nel medioevo* (Rome, 1999). In 1952, Hans Wentzel first made detailed connections between the apse glass in Assisi and German glazing of the thirteenth century. See Hans Wentzel, 'Die ältesten Farbfenster in der Oberkirche von S. Francesco zu Assisi und die deutsche Glasmalerei des XIII. Jahrhunderts,' *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* XIV (1952), 45–72. Frank Martin makes further more detailed connections in his article, 'Le vetrate gotiche di San Francesco in Assisi. Contribuiti renani alla decorazione iniziale della Chiesa Superiore,' in *Il gotico europeo in Italia*, ed. Valentino Pace and Martina Bagnoli (Naples, 1994), pp. 181–193, esp. page 182. See also Martin's published dissertation, *Die Apsisverglasung der Oberkirche von S. Francesco in Assisi: Ihre Entstehung und Stellung innerhalb der Oberkirchenausstattung* (Worms, 1993) and his book, co-authored with P. Gerhard Ruf, *Die Glasmalereien von San Francesco in Assisi: Entstehung und Entwicklung einer Gattung in Italien* (Regensburg, 1997). For an overview of the stained glass in the basilica of San Francesco, see Giuseppe Marchini *Le vetrate dell'Umbria*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Italia I (Rome, 1973).

² See Robert Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz* 4 (Berlin, 1908), p. 487; Walter and Elisabeth Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz* I (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1940), pp. 497–99; and F. Moisè, *Santa Croce di Firenze: illustrazione storico-artistico con note copiosi documenti inediti* (Florence, 1845), pp. 68–70, for discussions of the early donations to the church. Saturnino Mencherini in *Santa Croce di Firenze: Memorie e documenti*

of the fourteenth-century windows survive, each of the transept chapels was probably equipped with a stained glass window by its original patron. The various branches of the Bardi family were great patrons of the friars; they purchased the chapel dedicated to St Francis just to the right of the high altar; and they built a new, larger chapel at the end of the left transept dedicated to Louis of Toulouse (1274–1297), a Franciscan saint important to the friars and to the Bardi themselves.³ This essay explores the ways in which the stained glass windows functioned within the decorative programs of these two Bardi chapels. Through their depiction of Franciscan and Angevin saints, Bardi coats-of-arms and papal figures, the windows encapsulate the complex relationships between the most important political and religious powers in early fourteenth-century Italy.

The Bardi chapel dedicated to St Francis was founded by Ridolfo de' Bardi sometime around 1310, the year his father died and left him with a large inheritance and in charge of the Bardi company.⁴ The general scholarly consensus on the date of the chapel decoration, based on the place of the frescoes in Giotto's stylistic development and on the fact that Louis of Toulouse, canonized in 1317, appears on the chapel wall and in the stained glass window above the chapel, places the campaign anywhere from 1317 into the mid 1320s.⁵ Giotto depicted seven scenes from the life of St Francis in

(Florence, 1929), pp. 61–64 transcribes the bull of Matthew of Aquasparta that grants the indulgences. Moisé, p. 468, also transcribes a section of this bull.

³ Although both chapels were commissioned by the Bardi, the St Francis chapel was commissioned by Ridolfo de' Bardi and the St Louis chapel by Gualterotto de' Bardi, two different branches of the family. There is extensive literature on the Bardi and their patronage. For the history and genealogy of the family, see Luigi Passerini, "Genealogia e storia della famiglia dei Bardi" (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Passerini 45). For Bardi patronage see Irene Hueck, "Stifter und Patronatsrecht: Dokumente zu zwei Kapellen der Bardi," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Instituts in Florenz* 20 (1976), 263–70; Rona Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict: Giotto's Bardi Chapel* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1988); Jane C. Long, "Bardi Patronage at Santa Croce in Florence, c. 1320–1343" (Dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1988), pp. 80–109; and Ena Giurescu, "Trecento Family Chapels in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce: Architecture, Patronage, and Competition" (Dissertation, New York University, 1997), pp. 46–48, 64–68 and 123–29.

⁴ Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, p. 57.

⁵ William Cook, in his essay in the *Cambridge Companion to Giotto*, eds. Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona (Cambridge, 2003), gives the date of c.1325 and notes the great variety of dates assigned to the Bardi cycle. Bruce Cole, *Giotto and Florentine Painting 1280–1375* (New York, 1976), pp. 118–19, dates the Bardi chapel to the mid 1320s. Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, pp. 57–59, argues instead that Giotto painted the Bardi

the chapel program and images of four Franciscan saints on the window wall.⁶ As Ena Giurescu notes in her dissertation on chapel patronage in the Trecento, the privilege of owning such a prominent chapel dedicated to the founder of the order and located beside the high altar chapel must have come with the rights over the wall *above* the chapel, where Giotto depicted the *Stigmatization of Francis* (Fig. 2).⁷ The *Stigmatization* is surmounted by the stained glass window depicting St Francis, St Anthony of Padua and St Louis of Toulouse, each under the hand of a blessing pontiff, with the Bardi coat-of-arms in a roundel at the top (Figs. 3 and 4). The window was designed and carried out by Giovanni di Bonino, a painter and stained glass artist contemporary with Giotto; the Bardi coat-of-arms indicates that it was part of the original program in the chapel below and therefore dates to c. 1317 to 1325.⁸ Because the chapel fresco

chapel between 1310 and 1316, after the painter had seen the fresco cycle of Francis' life in Assisi and after Ridolfo came into his money. See also Julian Gardner, "The Early Decoration of Santa Croce in Florence," *Burlington Magazine* 113 (1971), 391–92; Hayden Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto: A Historical Reevaluation* (University Park, PA, 1997), pp. 92–94; and Creighton Gilbert, "L'ordine cronologico degli affreschi Bardi e Peruzzi," *Bollettino d'arte* 53 (1968), 92–97.

⁶ The seven episodes are Francis' renunciation of his father's bourgeois ways and his embrace by the church, the approval of the Franciscan rule by Innocent III, Francis' trial by fire in front of the Sultan of Egypt, the apparition of Francis to a friar while Anthony of Padua preached at Arles, the reception of the stigmata at La Verna, Francis' death and his soul's ascent, and the visions that friar Augustine and Bishop Guido had of the departed Francis. Only three of the figures on the window wall, Elizabeth of Hungary, Francis and Louis of Toulouse are extant. The fourth may have been Louis IX of France, as Bianchi hypothesized when he restored the chapel in the nineteenth century. See Nina Olsson, "Gaetano Bianchi: Restauratore e decoratore 'Giottesco,'" *Antichità viva* 36 (1997), 44–55.

⁷ Giurescu, "Trecento Family Chapels," pp. 69–70.

⁸ Giuseppe Marchini attributes the design of this window to the Master of Figline, a follower of Giotto, in his chapters on stained glass in *Il Primo Rinascimento in Santa Croce* (Florence, 1968), pp. 55–78, and in *Complesso monumentale di Sta. Croce*, eds. U. Baldini and B. Nardini (Florence, 1983), pp. 307–17. Marchini believes that the Master of Figline is Giovanni di Bonino, the glazier of the Cathedral of Orvieto who also worked extensively in Assisi. See Marchini, "Il Giottesco Giovanni di Bonino," in *Giotto e Il suo tempo* (Rome, 1967), pp. 67–77. I agree with Giuseppe Marchini's attribution of the window to Giovanni di Bonino. Richard Offner and Miklós Boskovits, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting 3/4* (Florence, 1984), pp. 327–28, date the window to soon after 1317, the date of Louis of Toulouse's canonization. This is consistent with the dating of 1317–1325 I propose here. The window currently *inside* the Bardi chapel was originally located in the Velluti chapel dedicated to the Angels at the end of the right transept. It was moved into the Bardi chapel after World War II. See my dissertation, "The Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass of Santa Croce in Florence," (Indiana University, Bloomington, 1999), pp. 241–43.

program closely follows the narrative of Francis' life written by St Bonaventure, the Franciscans likely dictated the overall programs of the chapel decoration. However, the Bardi included their coat-of-arms in the window (and in other parts of the chapel) in order to fulfill what Giurescu has called the patron's "socio-cultural needs."⁹

Giotto's fresco cycle was apparently informed by his presence in the Basilica of San. Francesco in Assisi, where 28 scenes from the life of Francis are depicted on the walls of the Upper Church.¹⁰ All seven of the Santa Croce scenes are also in the Assisi cycle, and there are formal similarities between the Assisi and Santa Croce images of the same narratives. For example, in both the Assisi and Santa Croce scenes of the *Approval of the Franciscan Rule*, Francis kneels before the pope, and Innocent III blesses a scroll as Francis' followers and the papal retinue observe (Figs. 5 and 6). The Santa Croce composition is reversed, and is also simpler than the Assisi image in its architectural setting; however, the iconography and compositions are similar enough to suggest that the Santa Croce image was informed by its counterpart in Assisi.¹¹ In the *Renunciation of Worldly Goods* in the Bardi chapel (Fig. 7), Giotto also used compositional elements found in the corresponding Assisi fresco. While Giotto simplified the architectural composition in the Assisi fresco, he followed the figural composition. In both images, members of the group behind Francis restrain the hulking figure of his father, while Bishop Guido of Assisi embraces the nude Francis who gestures upward with his left hand.¹²

⁹ Giurescu, "Trecento Family Chapels," 260–63. Giurescu maintains that while the patron of a chapel had relatively little say in the overall iconography of a chapel, the patron could display his ownership in other ways, most notably the inclusion of coats-of-arms in glass, paint and stone.

¹⁰ Giotto apparently had worked in Assisi before 1309; a document dated January 4, 1309 attests that a loan was made to Giotto and an artist in Assisi for a joint project. See Vincenzo Martinelli, "Un documento per Giotto ad Assisi," *Storia dell'arte* 19 (1973), 193–208.

¹¹ The relationship between the Assisi frescoes and Giotto's Bardi chapel frescoes is a matter of huge debate. Many scholars believe that the Assisi frescoes are an early work by Giotto, making the Bardi frescoes a later example of Giotto's treatment of the life of Francis. The literature on this question is extensive. In his book *The Basilica of St Francis in Assisi* (Florence, 1996), pp. 62–67, Elvio Lunghi argues through formal analysis that Giotto created the Assisi frescoes in the late thirteenth century. Lunghi also provides a bibliography of the recent literature on the subject. For background on the question, see also James Stubblebine, ed., *Giotto: the Arena Chapel Frescoes* (New York and London, 1969).

¹² For an illustration of the Assisi *Renunciation*, see Lunghi, *The Basilica of St Francis*, p. 70.

Just as Giotto looked to past examples of the narrative of Francis' life for compositional inspiration, so Giovanni di Bonino looked to the tradition of Italian painting and stained glass to compose his window. Single, standing saints framed by tabernacles are familiar elements in Italian fourteenth-century paintings and stained glass windows, and many examples can be found in Santa Croce itself. The four saints painted in fresco on either side of the window inside the Bardi chapel stand in trefoiled arches comparable to those in the window above. In the St Martin chapel in the Lower Church in Assisi, Simone Martini painted rows of saints framed within similar trilobed arches.¹³ The trilobed tabernacle composition is also common in stained glass windows in Italy, and the roots of the composition are found in French medieval stained glass.¹⁴ The Tolosini window, located on the other side of the high altar from the Bardi St Francis window, consists of six figures couched in trilobed arches identical to those framing the Bardi saints and popes (Fig. 2). This type of composition can also be found in the *Glorification of St Francis* window in the Upper Church in Assisi, the first window on the left as one enters the basilica, in which Christ, the Virgin and six angels stand under tabernacles with trilobed arches.¹⁵

The iconography of Giotto's frescoes is based on textual sources. According to Goffen, Giotto's cycle was intended to follow Bonaventure's *Legenda Minor*: the frescoes refer to episodes from six of the seven chapters of the *Legenda*, which were read for "the office during the octave of the feast of Saint Francis."¹⁶ Although the Bardi frescoes were chosen to accompany the liturgy based on the *Legenda*

¹³ For an illustration of these figures, see Lunghi, *The Basilica of St Francis*, pp. 160–63.

¹⁴ See Nancy Thompson, "The Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass of Santa Croce in Florence," (Dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1999), pp. 52–56. The Bardi and Tolosini windows are close in style to the hemicycle windows of St Père in Chartres. See Meredith Lillich, *The Stained Glass of St Père of Chartres* (Middletown, CT, 1978), pp. 46–53.

¹⁵ Marchini, *Le vetrate dell'Umbria*, pp. 84–87. This window is Marchini's number XIII.

¹⁶ Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, pp. 63–64. For Bonaventure's *Legenda Minor*, see Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* 8, *Opuscula varia ad theologiam mysticam et ad res Ordinis Fratrum Minorum spectantia* (Quaracchi, 1898), pp. 565–79. For a new translation of the *Legenda Minor*, see *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* 2 (New York, 2000), pp. 684–730 (hereafter referred to as *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* 2). Goffen notes that there is no narrative from chapter five of the *Legenda Minor*, "The Obedience of Creatures and the Divine Condescendence," represented in the Bardi frescoes.

Minor, much of the detail in the individual scenes was adapted from Bonaventure's *Legenda Maior*, commissioned by the order in 1260.¹⁷ In the Bardi *Approval of the Franciscan Rule* (Fig. 6), for example, Francis kneels, as Bonaventure describes "with his band of simple men before the presence of the Apostolic See."¹⁸ In the image, Innocent III blesses and orally approves the rule Francis has written for himself and his twelve followers grouped behind him.¹⁹ Innocent III is flanked by two cardinals, one of whom is most likely John of St Paul, the Bishop of Sabina, who convinced Innocent that he should not hesitate to bless Francis' way of life, "for if anyone says that there is something novel or irrational or impossible to observe this man's desire to live according to the perfection of the Gospel, he would be guilty of blasphemy against Christ, the author of the Gospel."²⁰

The Bardi St Francis window is apparently *not* based on the writings of Bonaventure or other textual sources. However, the pairing of saints and blessing popes in the stained glass window is reminiscent of Innocent III blessing Francis in the fresco of the *Approval of the Franciscan Rule* (Fig. 6). The *Approval of the Rule* highlights Francis' allegiance to the papacy, something Francis outlines clearly in his 1223 version of the Rule that was officially approved by Honorius III. In the opening paragraph Francis states, "The Rule and Life of the Lesser Brothers is this: to observe the Holy Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ by living in obedience, without anything of one's own, and in chastity. Brother Francis promises obedience and reverence to our Lord Pope Honorius and his successors canonically elected and to the Roman Church."²¹ While the images in Giotto's cycle

¹⁷ The text was approved in 1263, and in 1266 it officially replaced the earlier lives of the saint written by Thomas of Celano upon which early cycles of St Francis were based.

¹⁸ Bonaventure, *Legenda Sancti Francisci* 3.8, Quaracchi, *Opera Omnia* 8, p. 511. (This text is hereafter referred to as the *Legenda Maior*.) For an English translation, see *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* 2, p. 547.

¹⁹ Bonaventure changed the number of Francis' early companions from the eleven described by Celano to a symbolic twelve in the *Legenda Maior*, 3.7, Quaracchi, *Opera Omnia* 8, p. 511. "Illis quoque diebus quator sibi adhaerentibus viris honestis, ad duodenarium numerum excreverunt." For the earlier account, see Thomas of Celano, *Vita Prima S. Francisci Assisiensis*, *Analecta Franciscana* 10 (1926), 35–36, and *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* 1 (New York, 1999), pp. 180–297 (hereafter referred to as *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* 1).

²⁰ Bonaventure, *Legenda Maior*, 3.9, Quaracchi, *Opera Omnia* 8, p. 512. *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* 2.

²¹ *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* 1, p. 100. The introduction to the Rule of

encompass many other important Franciscan ideas, such as Francis as *alter Christus*, the window above the chapel speaks directly to the Franciscan relationship with the mother church.²² In the window, Francis, Anthony of Padua and Louis of Toulouse, the three male Franciscans who had been canonized when the window was put in place, stand under the hands of three blessing pontiffs (Figs. 3 and 4).²³ It is difficult to say exactly which popes are represented in the window, but the question is almost irrelevant: they are iconic figures, symbolic of the power of the church and the office of the pope, who give their blessings to the most important members of the order. This image, just to the right of the high altar, was also quite visible in the church: it could have been seen above the rood screen that separated the choir from the lay area of the church, and, because of the brightness of the medium, it could be read from a much greater distance than the frescoes below.²⁴ While the fresco cycle gives narrative evidence of Franciscan obedience to Rome in a relatively secluded and private space, the window declares this obedience in a direct and iconic manner.

What does this image of popes and Franciscans suggest about the relationship between the Order and the papacy at this time? The window declares the relatively recent sanctity of these three Franciscans; Francis was canonized in 1228, Anthony in 1232 and Louis in 1317.

1221, a revision of the 1209 rule that is no longer extant, is similar to this passage. It reads, "This is the life of the Gospel of Jesus Christ that Brother Francis petitioned the Lord Pope to grant and confirm for him; and he did and confirm it for him and his brothers present and to come. Brother Francis—and whoever is head of this religion—promises obedience and reverence to the Lord Pope Innocent and his successors." *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* 1, 63.

²² Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, p. 67. According to Goffen, p. 60, the central theme of the chapel program is the role of Francis as the *alter Christus*. William Cook, in his essay in the *Cambridge Companion to Giotto* (see note 5 above), describes a great number of important themes addressed in the frescoes. In general, the cycle establishes the most salient moments in Francis' spiritual journey, according to his patrons at Santa Croce, and the many layers of the mission of the Franciscan order.

²³ Two female Franciscans had also been canonized at this point, Elizabeth of Hungary in 1235 and Clare of Assisi in 1255.

²⁴ For a reconstruction of the rood screen, see Marcia Hall, "The Tramezzo in Santa Croce, Florence Reconstructed," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), 325–41, and *Renovation and Counter Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce 1565–1577* (Oxford, 1979). See also the article by Jacqueline Jung "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches," *Art Bulletin* 82 (Dec. 2000), 622–57 for a more general discussion of the rood screen in Gothic architecture.

Because the window was put in place between 1317 and the mid 1320s (as part of Giotto's decoration of the chapel below), it also celebrated Louis' canonization by John XXII. Before Louis' canonization, Francis appeared with Anthony in many altarpieces and mosaics; in the Bardi window, Louis ceremoniously joins the ranks of Franciscan male saints.²⁵ Louis was also depicted in the polyptych for the high altar of Santa Croce painted by Ugolino da Siena in the 1320s. In the central register of the polyptych, Ugolino included Francis, Anthony and Louis along with Peter, Paul and John the Baptist in the panels flanking the Virgin and Child.²⁶ This type of altarpiece with multiple saints framing a central panel was quite popular in Franciscan and Dominican houses in the early 1300s, and the flowering of the cult of Louis of Toulouse corresponds with the development of the polyptych.²⁷ The iconography of the Bardi window, on the other hand, is apparently quite innovative. I have not found another painting or stained glass window from this period in northern Italy that pairs Franciscan saints with popes in such a way. In fact, a few years before the window was put in place, a great controversy between the papacy and the Order had come to a head.

²⁵ The book by William R. Cook, *Images of St Francis of Assisi* (Florence, 1999), contains several paintings that pair Francis and Anthony. They appear, for example, at the feet of the crucified Christ in a Perugian painted cross from c. 1290 (Cook, pp. 160–61), on the outer shutters of a polyptych from c. 1275 from Lucca or Spoleto (Cook, p. 176) and in Torriti's apse mosaic in the Lateran in Rome from 1291 (The mosaic was reconstructed after a fire in the nineteenth century. See Cook pp. 184–86).

²⁶ The Santa Croce altarpiece was removed when Vasari renovated the church in 1569 to make way for his new ciborium, and the polyptych was later taken apart. For more on the original state of the altarpiece, its iconography and detailed technical analyses, see Gertrude Coor-Achenbach, "Contributions to the Study of Ugolino di Nerio's Art: The composition and iconography of Ugolino's high altarpiece for Santa Croce," *Art Bulletin* XXXVII/3 (1955), 153–65; Henri Loyrette, "Une source pour la Reconstruction du Polyptyque d'Ugolino da Siena à Santa Croce," *Paragone* 343 (1978), 15–23; and Norman E. Muller, "Reflections on Ugolino di Nerio's Santa Croce Polyptych," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 57 (1994), 45–74.

²⁷ Cannon argues that the Dominicans were responsible for popularizing the polyptych among mendicant orders, and that Ugolino's polyptych for Santa Maria Novella predated the one he created for Santa Croce. See Joanna Cannon, "The Creation, Meaning and Audience of the Early Siennese Polyptych: Evidence from the Friars," in *Italian Altarpieces 1250–1550: Function and Design*, eds. Eve Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi (Oxford, 1994), 41–62, and "Simone Martini, the Dominicans and the Early Siennese Polyptych," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982), 69–93. See Julian Gardner, "The Iconography of Louis of Toulouse," in *I francescani nel Trecento* (Perugia, 1988), pp. 172–73 for a brief discussion of Louis' place in the high altar polyptych.

In his recent book, David Burr discusses the roots of this controversy in his larger study of the genesis and proliferation of the spiritual Franciscans, several groups of Franciscans who objected to the wealth that their order had continued to accumulate due to a series of papal bulls decreed in the decades following Francis' death in 1226.²⁸ One such bull, *Quo elongati*, issued in 1230 by Gregory IX, allowed the Franciscans to use property whose legal ownership resided with the papacy.²⁹ This concept, the *usus pauper*, was not greatly troubling in itself to the spirituals; however, they maintained that the use of *expensive* property and the construction of lavish churches like Santa Croce and the Basilica in Assisi contradicted Francis' original ideas concerning apostolic poverty. In the Rule of 1221, Francis had demanded explicitly that the friars own no property, accept no money and live according to the ideals of apostolic poverty.³⁰ The majority of the order, the Conventual Franciscans, held that large churches as well as books and church embellishments were necessary to carry out the Order's mission to preach. According to Burr, John XXII was instrumental in making the Spirituals into heretics: in the 1310s the pope had become increasingly disturbed by the pervasiveness of the Spirituals' message and of their continued disobedience of papal mandates.³¹ In 1317, John XXII ordered that these radical friars either obey their superiors or face the consequences. John's bull reads: "Poverty is great, but unity is greater; obedience is the greatest good of all if it is preserved intact."³² When a group of rigorists

²⁸ David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans* (University Park, PA, 2001).

²⁹ John Moorman, *The History of the Franciscan Order: From Its Origins to the Year 1517* (1968; rept. Chicago, 1988), p. 90. See also Decima Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester, 1932), p. 2. *Quo elongati* also declared that Francis' *Testament*, in which Francis stated that the Rule could not be interpreted, was non-binding. Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, p. 15, writes that *Quo elongati* was not an attempt to quell the Spiritual Franciscans because at this time, 1230, there was not such a movement in any concrete sense. Instead, according to Burr, Gregory was attempting to find a way to help the rapidly expanding order grow in a manageable way.

³⁰ See *Saint Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* 1, pp. 63–86. The Rule of 1223 (*Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* 1, pp. 99–106), which was approved by Honorius III with an official, papal seal, restates the Franciscan dedication to apostolic poverty but in a simpler form. In general, the 1223 Rule is an abridgement of the 1221 Rule, which was never in effect.

³¹ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, pp. 191–212, documents John XXII's "Censure and Condemnation" (the title of the chapter) of the Spirituals as heretics.

³² David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty: the Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy* (Philadelphia, 1989), p. ix, quotes this bull and discusses its effects on the order.

in southern France was asked to concede to papal authority, four of these men refused. In 1318, by the orders of Pope John XXII, they were burned at the stake in the marketplace of Marseilles.

The Bardi St Francis window pointedly declares the obedience of the Conventuals at Santa Croce to the mother church. The position of Anthony of Padua in the window (Figs. 3 and 4) just below Francis highlights the importance the friars at Santa Croce placed on the “active Conventual life of preaching and teaching.”³³ Francis himself gave Anthony permission to continue his mission through teaching and preaching. In a letter dated c. 1223–24, Francis states that, “it is agreeable to me that you should teach the friars theology, so long as they do not extinguish the spirit of prayer and devotedness over this study, as it is contained in the Rule.”³⁴ Anthony was a lector in philosophy at Bologna, Montpellier and Toulouse, and in the Bardi window he holds a book that is symbolic of his active life as a rhetorician and preacher. This active life is blessed by the figure of a pope, who might in this case represent Gregory IX, the pope who canonized Anthony and issued *Quo elongati*, thereby allowing the Franciscans to accumulate property so that they could learn and preach on Anthony’s model.

In the bottom register of the window, Louis of Toulouse stands under the blessing hand of a pope with his Franciscan habit peeking from beneath his bishop’s garb, a feature that would become common in Louis’ iconography (Fig. 4).³⁵ Louis was born in 1274,

³³ Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict* (see above, n. 3), p. 71.

³⁴ The original text reads, “*Placet mihi, quod sacram theologiam leges fratribus, dummodo propter huiusmodi studium sanctae orationis et devotionis spiritum non extinguant, sicut in regula continetur.*” The translation can be found in *Saint Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* 1, p. 107, and the original text in *Analecta Franciscana* 3, *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Fratrum Minoru*, (Quaracchi, 1897), p. 132. Scholars have doubted the authenticity of the text, but most agree that Francis did write Anthony a letter that gave him permission to preach. See *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* 1, p. 107, for brief discussions of the letter and the literature that treats the issue.

³⁵ Simone Martini, in his 1317 image of Louis of Toulouse crowning his brother Robert, also depicts Louis’ simple Franciscan habit and knotted rope belt underneath a lavish bishop’s robe. See Julian Gardner, “Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976), 12–13 and Adrian Hoch, “The Franciscan Provenance of Simone Martini’s Angevin St Louis in Naples,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (1995), 22–34. For broader studies of images of Louis, see Beda Kleinschmidt, “St Ludwig von Toulouse in der Kunst,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (1909), 197–215 and Emile Berteaux, “Les saints Louis dans l’art italien,” *Revue des deux mondes* 158 (1900), 616–44. In her book, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester,

the second son of Charles II of Anjou. After his older brother died, leaving Louis the next in line for succession, Louis gave up his right to the throne; and his younger brother Robert succeeded him. In 1296 Louis joined the Franciscan order in a secret ceremony with the approval of Boniface VIII.³⁶ There was an attempt to keep the ceremony secret from Louis' father King Charles, who would not have wished such a humble life for his royal son. Indeed, due to his father's request, Louis was appointed as the Bishop of Toulouse; however, Louis restated his Franciscan vows publicly in 1297 and wore his brown habit underneath his vestments until he died later that year.

From the time of his death in 1297, Louis' father Charles and his brother Robert lobbied intensely for his canonization.³⁷ The delay in his canonization until 1317 was likely due to objections from the powerful Conventuals in the order because of Louis' association with Peter John Olivi, a friar born in southern France in 1248. Olivi became a Franciscan at Béziers at the age of twelve, was educated in Paris and wrote several works that were highly critical of the wealth of his order.³⁸ Olivi maintained that the friars must accept the concept of *usus pauper*; however, Olivi emphasized that the use of *expensive* property, even if it was owned by the papacy, was contrary to the vow of poverty.³⁹ While Olivi was able to escape punishment by the papacy and the Order, many of his followers in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were persecuted, tortured and even killed for their "radical" views on Franciscan poverty.⁴⁰

1929), pp. 212–32, Margaret R. Toynbee discusses images related to the cult of St Louis. Diane F. Zervas discusses Donatello's sculpture of St Louis of Toulouse and the importance of the saint to Florentine society in *The Parte Guelfa, Brunelleschi and Donatello* (Villa i Tatti: The Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies) 8 (Locust Valley, NY, 1987).

³⁶ Boniface VIII could be the pope who blesses Louis in the window. For a discussion of Louis' entry into the Franciscan order, see Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, pp. 78–87.

³⁷ Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, pp. 146–64. In these pages, Toynbee discusses the process of the canonization of St Louis.

³⁸ Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, p. 189.

³⁹ Olivi's arguments concerning Franciscan poverty are summed up well by Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty*, pp. 57–66.

⁴⁰ Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty*, pp. 88–105, discusses Olivi's 1283 censure by the minister general. Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, pp. 193–97, discusses Olivi's trials and the subsequent persecution of his followers. Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, pp. 179–212, discusses many incidents involving the censure of Olivi's followers and other spirituals.

While Louis of Toulouse was in captivity in Aragon, where he was sent in 1288 as a hostage for his father Charles who had lost a naval battle, he came under the influence of Franciscan friars who were dedicated to the mission of Franciscan poverty. Louis and his two brothers wrote to Olivi and asked him to come and visit them in captivity.⁴¹ Olivi wrote back in 1295 and gave myriad reasons why he could not visit the friars, including fears about his own personal safety.⁴² This invitation is important to our understanding of Louis' connections with the Spiritual Franciscans. While he did not actively associate with any of the Spiritual groups within the order, the invitation itself indicates that Louis was at least interested in the kind of Franciscanism Olivi espoused. Louis' personal asceticism also suggests that he did have some sympathy with the spiritual cause. Perhaps because of his powerful, royal family that was connected politically and financially to the papacy, Louis did not feel it prudent to associate actively with the spiritual movements.

Louis was canonized in 1317 in the midst of the controversy between the Spiritual Franciscans and John XXII described above. Given Louis' associations with the Spirituels and with Olivi, it is not surprising that the Pope was hesitant to canonize Louis. In the Bull of Canonization approved by John XXII in 1317, Louis' charity and piety are emphasized; however, the saint's dedication to apostolic poverty is not.⁴³ The same could be said of the depiction of Louis in the Bardi St Francis window: Louis' cope glistens with the *fleurs-de-lys*, a symbol of the Capetian and Angevins dynasties, while his miter and crosier figure prominently in the image. His habit is also shown, but this version of Louis is rather clean and official: there is no indication of the asceticism that Louis espoused. Instead, the Conventuals of Santa Croce have stressed Louis' royal connections and his place within the Church hierarchy. This image of Louis corresponds in many ways with Simone Martini's 1317 altarpiece of

⁴¹ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, p. 74. Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, pp. 55–72, discusses Louis' captivity in Aragon where he was educated by Franciscan friars, including Ponzius Carbonelli, Peter of Falgar, and Richard of Middleton.

⁴² Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, p. 74.

⁴³ In 1323 John XXII went so far as to declare that it was heretical to believe in the doctrine of the absolute poverty of Christ and the Apostles. See Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order 1226–1538* (Rome, 1987), p. 240. Nimmo also discusses John's persecution of the Fraticelli, the later Spiritual sects of the Franciscans.

Louis crowning his brother Robert. In the Naples altarpiece, Louis' saintly visage is encased in royal robes decorated with heraldry; he wears the symbols of the Angevin-Capetian line, the family of his father and his great uncle St Louis IX, in addition to those of the Kingdom of Hungary, which he inherited from his mother Mary of Hungary, and of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.⁴⁴ The friars of Santa Croce kept within the iconographic tradition begun by Simone only a few years before; the Louis in the Bardi window is a royal bishop saint, an image that also corresponds with the official saint described in the bull of canonization.⁴⁵ The Louis in the Bardi window, displayed so prominently in the church, is the "Conventual Louis," blessed by the papacy and appropriately placed in the Conventual church of Santa Croce.

For friars who may have been sympathetic to the ideas of the Spirituals, this window was a potent reminder of the allegiance of Santa Croce to the papacy in the controversy with the Spirituals. In 1287, when the rebuilding of Santa Croce was in the planning stage, the minister general of the Franciscans, Matthew of Aquasparta, sent Olivi to Florence to be a lector to the friars of Santa Croce. While he remained there for only two years, his presence was inspiring for the Spiritual party of Franciscans at Santa Croce. One such friar, Ubertino da Casale, who had come to Santa Croce in 1284, was greatly influenced by Olivi's call for apostolic poverty.⁴⁶ Significantly, Ubertino was opposed to the new rebuilding of the church

⁴⁴ See Andrew Martindale, *Simone Martini* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 18 and 192–94 on the heraldry in Simone's altarpiece. Adrian Hoch, "The Franciscan Provenance," pp. 25–26, writes that Robert's dalmatic shows only the arms of the Angevins and the Kingdom of Jerusalem because Charles II intended the Kingdom of Hungary for Charles Robert, the son of Louis and Robert's deceased older brother.

⁴⁵ While there were likely images of Louis that pre-date Simone's altarpiece, Julian Gardner writes that, "There is a certain appropriateness in the fact the iconography of Saint Louis of Toulouse may be said to begin with Simone Martini." Gardner, "The Cult of a Fourteenth-Century Saint," p. 169. Note that in the Bardi St Louis window Louis does not wear the symbols of the Hungarian throne or of the Kingdom of Jerusalem that also adorn him in Simone's altarpiece. This is due to the fact that the Naples altarpiece was intended specifically to display the legitimacy of Robert in taking the throne, and the fact that Robert did not inherit the Hungarian throne.

⁴⁶ Douie, *Nature and Effect*, pp. 120–52, discusses Ubertino's life and writings. Ubertino's writings are discussed in detail by G.L. Potestà, *Storia ed escatologia in Ubertino da Casale* (Milan, 1980). See also Malcolm Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty* (1961; rpt. St Bonaventure, NY, 1998) and Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, pp. 261–77.

of Santa Croce. He “denounced the luxurious new building as a sign of the Anti-Christ and blamed the two guardians of the convent, Giovanni degli Agli and friar Caponsacchi.”⁴⁷ Ubertino stood on solid ground: the elaborate use of images in stone, paint and glass was contrary to Franciscan regulations concerning church decoration. According to the constitutions issued by St Bonaventure at the 1260 Chapter meeting in Narbonne, adornment in glass and stone vaulting in Franciscan churches was only permissible behind the high altar of the church.⁴⁸ While Santa Croce’s wooden roof is in keeping with the Chapter constitutions, the extensive use of stained glass throughout the transept is a flagrant violation.⁴⁹ Neither Ubertino’s protests nor the Narbonne statutes stopped the construction of the church, and Ubertino and many of his followers left Santa Croce in 1289. Most likely friars who were sympathetic to Ubertino’s views remained at the friary, but their views were evidently suppressed, and the building of the new church proceeded unimpeded.⁵⁰ For Franciscan Spirituals, the depiction of Francis, Anthony and in particular Louis of Toulouse next to symbols of papal authority did not represent the cooperation between the two institutions, but rather the violent suppression of the Spirituals’ cause.

John XXII proceeded with the canonization of Louis of Toulouse in part to maintain advantageous political relations with the Angevins, who had pursued Louis’ canonization fervently since his death.⁵¹ The alliance between the Papacy and the house of Anjou was by this time quite strong. In the thirteenth century, the Angevins had been

⁴⁷ Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, p. 91 n. 49.

⁴⁸ Michael Bihl, “Statuta Generalia Ordinis edita in Capitulis Generalibus Celebratis Narbonae an. 1260, Assisii an. 1279 atque Paris an. 1292,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 34 (1941), 48. The text reads, “Item fenestrae vitreae historiatae vel picturatae de cetero nusquam fiant, excepto quod in principali vitrea post maius altare chori. . . .” For a discussion of Bonaventure and the statutes of 1260, see Rosalind B. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 247–85.

⁴⁹ The Mother basilica at Assisi also violated these regulations. The glass in the apse (the oldest glass in the basilica and in Italy) was probably carried out between 1253 and 1260 before the Chapter meeting at Narbonne. The glazing of the church was most likely continued after St Bonaventure’s death in 1274. See Marchini, *Le vetrate dell’Umbria* (see above, n. 1).

⁵⁰ Ubertino continued to have problems with the ministers of the order and the papacy throughout his life and eventually left the Franciscans to become a Benedictine monk. See Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty*, pp. 184 and 197–206, Douie, *The Nature and Effect*, pp. 128–29 and Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, pp. 261–77.

⁵¹ Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, pp. 81–83.

instrumental in helping the Papacy regain lands that had been lost to imperial forces.⁵² The Florentine papal supporters, or the Florentine Guelfs, had joined in this struggle and as a result of their assistance, they enjoyed the full support of the Papacy and the Angevins. Through the Florentine Guelf party, the Angevins and the Papacy had maintained a strong political and economic hold over Florence throughout the last third of the thirteenth century. Although the Guelfs lost direct political control of Florence in the fourteenth century, wealthy Florentine families like the Bardi closely guarded papal and Angevin military and economic interests in Florence.⁵³ These families were not only important in the political structure of the city, but they were also the bankers to the Angevins and the papacy. The Angevin kingdom in the early fourteenth century was in fact a major source of wealth for companies like the Bardi, which “held a monopoly on commerce” in the area and collected tithes for the kingdom.⁵⁴ The city of Florence, according to Peter Partner, had by 1313 taken its place within the European political and economic stage as “that of an auxiliary in an international struggle in which the papacy, the French monarchy and the Angevin kingdom played decisive roles in shaping and executing policy.”⁵⁵ Florentine companies, in particular the Bardi, greatly profited from this position; and during the period from 1313 into the 1330s, they expanded their banking and trade market into Angevin territories.⁵⁶ Thus, when the Bardi commissioned their chapels in Santa Croce, their political and financial interests were intimately linked with those of the Pope and those of King Robert of Naples, the brother of Louis of Toulouse.

Payments from an account book of the Bardi company between 1332 and 1335 indicate that Gualterotto de’Bardi was most likely the patron of the exceptional chapel (distinct from the smaller, standard chapels along the transept) dedicated to Louis of Toulouse at

⁵² See Zervas, *The Parte Guelfa* (see above, n. 35), pp. 13–23 and 133–35, for discussions of the Guelf party in Florence and of the Angevin political involvement in Florence.

⁵³ Zervas, *The Parte Guelfa*, p. 18, Gene Brucker, *Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1969), pp. 53–54.

⁵⁴ Long, “Bardi Patronage,” p. 83.

⁵⁵ Peter Partner, “Florence and the Papacy 1300–1375,” in *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. J.R. Hale, J.R.L. Highfield and B. Smalley (Evanston, 1965), pp. 83–84. In 1313, Clement V pronounced against the Emperor Henry VII.

⁵⁶ Partner, “Florence and the Papacy,” p. 84.

the north end of the transept in Santa Croce.⁵⁷ (Figs. 1 and 8) The total sum of the payments, 1200 gold florins, is quite high, indicating that the money most likely paid for the construction of the exceptional chapel, as well as for all of the decoration, including the fresco cycle (no longer extant), the tomb monument, the *cancello* (dated 1335), the stained glass windows, and possibly also an altarpiece.⁵⁸ Andrew Ladis has attributed the tiny bit of extant fresco and the chapel window designs to Taddeo Gaddi, a pupil of Giotto.⁵⁹ The small fragment of fresco surviving in the chapel vault probably represents St Louis of Toulouse being crowned by Christ in heaven.⁶⁰ In her reconstruction of the Bardi St Louis frescoes, Jane Collins Long argues that most narrative cycles of the life of the saint, including the frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti at San Francesco in Siena, emphasize Louis' renunciation of the crown and his dedication to Franciscanism.⁶¹ In the scene of *Boniface VIII Receiving St Louis as a Franciscan Novice* from San Francesco in Siena (Fig. 9), the only extant scene of the original cycle, Louis' humility and obedience to the Pope are emphasized through his posture of supplication, which is comparable to Giotto's depiction of the Francis kneeling before Innocent III in the *Approval of the Rule* in the Bardi St Francis chapel (Fig. 6).

⁵⁷ According to Giurescu, "Trecento Family Chapels," (see above, n. 3), p. 126, Gualterotto died in 1315. Giurescu takes the information on Gualterotto's biography from Passerini, "Genealogia e storia della famiglia dei Bardi," tav. 25 and 359–64. The phrase "exceptional chapel" was coined by Marvin Trachtenberg in his article, "On Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy as Model for Early Renaissance Church Architecture," *L'Église dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris, 1996), 9–39. Giurescu further defines the concept in her dissertation.

⁵⁸ Giurescu, "Trecento Family Chapels," p. 127.

⁵⁹ Andrew Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi: Critical Reappraisal and Catalogue Raisonné* (Columbia, MO, 1982), pp. 132–35. The chapel had previously been attributed to Agnolo Gaddi until Irene Hueck discovered documents in the Archivio Ginori Lisci (cod. 183, fol. 9) for the chapel identifying the date as 1332–25 and the patron as Gualterotto di Jacopo de' Bardi. Both Hueck, "Stifter und Patronatsrecht," (see above, n.3) and Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi*, transcribe the document.

⁶⁰ Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi*, p. 132, identifies the scene as Louis of France receiving the crown of sainthood from Christ. As Long, "Bardi Patronage," (see above, n. 3), p. 211, points out, this identification is based on the idea stated by Ladis that the chapel was dedicated to both Louis of France and Louis of Toulouse. I agree with Long that as in other Franciscan churches the chapel in Santa Croce was dedicated solely to Louis of Toulouse.

⁶¹ Long, "Bardi Patronage," pp. 208–18. Long contrasts these frescoes with the more dynastically minded altarpiece of St Louis handing the crown to his brother Robert by Simone Martini.

In comparison to the fresco narrative cycles of the life of St Louis of Toulouse reconstructed by Long, the stained glass windows in the chapel of St Louis at Santa Croce instead present Louis as a royal bishop saint. In the west window, Louis sits enthroned next to his great uncle and role model, St Louis IX of France (Figs. 10 and 11). The four saints below, though difficult to identify, likely represent sainted members of the Angevin and Arpád dynasty. Adrian Hoch identifies a similar cycle in Simone Martini's decoration of the St Elizabeth chapel on the north and east walls in the north transept of the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi.⁶² On the north wall, Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–31) appears with Francis; Louis of Toulouse, whose mother Mary of Hungary was grand-niece to Elizabeth; Blessed Margaret of Hungary, daughter of King Béla I; and Henry of Hungary, who died in a tragic hunting accident in 1031. On the east wall, Simone painted the Virgin and Child with saints Stephen of Hungary (975–1038), the first king Christian Arpád king and the father of Henry (Henry and Stephen were canonized together in 1083), and Ladislas, (1040–95, canonized in 1192), the heroic Hungarian king who was, like Margaret, the child of King Béla I.⁶³ Some of the same saints appear in the west window in the Bardi St Louis chapel. While the top two seated figures are clearly Louis IX of France on the left and Louis of Toulouse on the right (Fig. 10), the lower four have proved especially difficult to identify. The middle left figure is identified by an inscription as Sigismund, an early sixth-century Burgundian king and martyr, and the lower right half-length figure is identified as Minias, the early Christian Florentine martyr. These inscriptions are most likely from a later restoration of the windows, carried out in the post-Renaissance period,

⁶² Adrian Hoch, "Beata Stirps, Royal Patronage and the Identification of the Sainted Rulers in the St Elizabeth chapel at Assisi," *Art History* 15 (1992), 279–95.

⁶³ Hoch, in "Beata stirps," identifies Mary of Hungary as the patron of the chapel because she was dedicated to the Franciscans in general and particularly to Elizabeth and her cousin Agnes, whom Hoch identifies as the veiled female saint traditionally identified as Margaret of Hungary. Agnes was a poor Clare, and she received a head veil from Clare herself; because Simone's figure wears a white veil, Hoch argues she is Agnes and not Margaret. I am convinced that the saint is indeed Margaret because of the overarching Arpád dynastic theme in the frescoes. Hoch, "Beata stirps," p. 283, also argues that the beardless figure next to the Virgin is another image of Elizabeth. This seems unlikely to me as the figure holds an orb and scepter. The identifications I provide here come from Hoch, "Beata stirps," Lunghi, *The Basilica of St Francis*, pp. 156–57, and Martindale, *Simone Martini*, p. 173.

although in the case of Sigismund it might have been accurately copied from the original window.⁶⁴ The figure labeled as Minias is heavily restored; the face and considerable amounts of the drapery are new.⁶⁵ Thus, there is no reason to believe that these inscriptions are original to the windows. Although the identifications I provide here are tentative, the group of saints as a whole represents the royal, holy lineage of Louis of Toulouse. Louis' great uncle, Louis IX, the most recently canonized member of his family on his father's side is appropriately seated next to the young Angevin. The figure below Louis of France identified as Sigismund may indeed be the sixth-century martyred Burgundian king, a distant ancestor of the later medieval French monarchy. The figure to his right (underneath Louis of Toulouse), a middle-aged king holding an orb and scepter and surrounded by a heraldic border that includes the red-and-white striped arms of the Arpád dynasty, is most likely Stephen, the first Christian Arpád king.⁶⁶ The young saint with shoulder-length hair below Stephen resembles Simone's image of the young Henry, Stephen's devout son, in the St Elizabeth cycle. Because Henry died before he could take the throne, he holds his crown, symbolic of his lost reign.⁶⁷ The figure to his left is possibly St Ladislav, the "virile saint king" of Hungary.⁶⁸

At the top of the north window, the only section that retains traces of fourteenth-century glass, Christ and the Virgin sit enthroned above

⁶⁴ Thompson, "The Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass," p. 202.

⁶⁵ Thompson, "The Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass," pp. 202–03. It is possible that the restorers worked from traces of the original inscriptions; however, given that the popularity of the royal saint and of Louis of Toulouse dwindled by the end of the fourteenth century, later restorers were probably not familiar with the saints I identify in this essay.

⁶⁶ Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi*, p. 132, identifies this figure as Henry (the emperor of Germany from 1002–24, not the Arpád king Stephen's son Henry), but places a question mark next to the attribution. The Arpád heraldry makes the identification of this figure as a Hungarian saint relatively secure; however, at this point I have not been able to securely identify the other heraldic symbols in the borders of the window. The lion/leopard imagery is prevalent in a great deal of early Angevin, German and French heraldry. I have not found the crossing parrot motif in any fourteenth-century heraldry.

⁶⁷ Hoch suggests in "*Beata Stirps*," p. 282, that the light punch marks above the young Henry's head in Simone's Assisi fresco represent a "lost" crown and symbolize his curtailed reign.

⁶⁸ Hoch, "*Beata stirps*," p. 283. It is possible that the figure I identify as Stephen is also Ladislav; he resembles the image of Ladislav in the small altarpiece painted by Simone in the 1330s for the Altomonte family who were in service to the Angevin kings. See Martindale, "Simone Martini," pp. 169–71.

Louis of Toulouse, who holds the royal crown of Anjou and stands once again next to his great uncle, Louis IX (Fig. 12). The lower part of the window was covered by an altar in the sixteenth century, and there is no record of the original iconography.⁶⁹ A strong possibility is that female Arpád saints, who figure prominently in the Elizabeth cycle in the Lower Church in Assisi and are noticeably lacking from the west window, were depicted in the north window.

When the Bardi decided to build their exceptional chapel, there probably were standard chapels available along the transept. Perhaps in an attempt to “keep up with the Baroncelli,” who built their own private chapel at the other end of the transept just a few years before, the Bardi chose to construct their own private chapel that was twice the size of the standard chapels along the transept. According to Giurescu, the patrons of these exceptional chapels received no special treatment in the saying of masses by the friars at Santa Croce; instead, the exceptional chapels were built with the intent of displaying the wealth, prestige and piety of the patrons to the other families who owned chapels in the transept.⁷⁰ Because the dedications of the standard chapels were probably already decided by the time the transept was complete around 1310, seven years before Louis became a saint, it was not an option for the Bardi to purchase an already-built chapel that was or could be dedicated to Louis of Toulouse. The Bardi chose to construct their own exceptional chapel because of the social prestige that a larger chapel signified, but why would they promote the cult of Louis of Toulouse, both with the Bardi St Francis window, which features the Bardi coat-of-arms above the three Franciscan saints, and particularly with their patronage of the chapel dedicated to the Angevin saint?

Both Robert and his father Charles II actively sought Louis’ canonization. After Louis was canonized in 1317, King Robert and his wife Sancia, who were great patrons of the Franciscans in Naples, promoted Louis’ cult vigorously; they went to Marseille to witness the translation of his body; and the king requested relics, Louis’ brain

⁶⁹ The four figures below St Louis of Toulouse and St Louis of France were created by the De Matteis firm in an early twentieth-century restoration. On the restoration, see Walter Bombe, “Von florentiner Kunstdenkmalern,” *Der Cicerone* 2 (1910), 521–24, and Thompson, “The Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass of Santa Croce,” (see above, n. 14), pp. 187–89.

⁷⁰ Giurescu, “Trecento Family Chapels,” pp. 141–55.

and one arm, for the marble shrine he commissioned.⁷¹ For the Angevins, the promotion of Louis' cult and of related Arpád and Capetian saints, was part of their drive to elevate the status of their dynasty; surely Robert and his father had the recent canonization and Capetian promotion of the cult of Louis IX in mind. Perhaps the Angevins recruited the Bardi to promote their newly canonized Louis; or perhaps the Bardi chose to promote Louis' cult because of their dedication to the saint and to his family. The Bardi as patrons of the chapel of St Louis brought public attention to their association with the powerful Angevin kingdom. Whatever the impetus for the Bardi was in commissioning the images of Louis of Toulouse, there was likely an agreement of exchange between the families. As Robert promoted the economic interests of the Bardi Company in Angevin territory in the 1320s and 30s, the Bardi promoted the cult of Louis of Toulouse and the Angevin dynasty in Florence by commissioning images of the saint and his dynasty in Santa Croce.⁷²

The cast of saintly and papal characters presented in the Bardi St Louis and St Francis chapel windows visualizes the complex web of political, economic and religious connections between the Franciscans, papacy, Angevins and the Bardi in the early fourteenth century. While similar themes (Franciscan devotion to the Roman church, for example) are also evident in the chapel frescoes in Santa Croce, the stained glass windows appear much more relevant to the politics of the period. One explanation for this difference is the fact that the narrative frescoes in Santa Croce were based primarily on textual sources; they told the "official" stories of the lives of the saints according to canonical literary sources. Because the practice of stained glass in Italy was so young in the early fourteenth century, there was relatively little established iconographic or stylistic tradition from which the artists and iconographers could draw. The stylistic variety in the glass in the Basilica in Assisi and in Santa Croce attests to the "eclecticism" of stained glass in the thirteenth and early four-

⁷¹ Adrian Hoch, "The Franciscan Provenance," p. 25.

⁷² A member of the Altomonte family, which was in service to the Angevins, likely commissioned a small altarpiece of St Ladislav from Simone Martini in the 1330s. Thus, dedication to the Angevin family saints was not unheard of among the political and economic allies of the Angevins. See Martindale, *Simone Martini*, pp. 169–71.

teenth centuries.⁷³ While the majority of stained glass windows created in Italy during this period depict standing saints rather than narrative scenes, there is no consistent way in which stained glass was used within iconographic programs. Within Santa Croce, certain chapel windows are more relevant to the theological message of the chapel program, while other windows, like those in the Bardi chapels, have both theological significance and decidedly political overtones.⁷⁴ It was most likely this lack of tradition that allowed the friars and the patrons a certain freedom in devising the iconography of the Bardi windows. The windows were a place not only for the patron to display his or her “socio-economic needs” and political allegiance, but they were also a place for the Franciscans of Santa Croce to image their allegiances. The Bardi, therefore, loudly decreed their allegiance to the Angevins and their old-fashioned Guelf politics to the other wealthy Florentines who owned chapels in the transept of Santa Croce. The Conventual Franciscans of Santa Croce imaged their loyalty to the Roman church in the midst of a violent controversy between the papacy and the Spirituals within the order.

⁷³ I develop this idea in chapter two of my dissertation. See Thompson, “Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass,” pp. 30–64. In the early fourteenth century in Santa Croce, glaziers employed a variety of glazing styles derived from the traditions of northern Europe used in the glazing of San Francesco of Assisi. By the later fourteenth century, Florentine glaziers created windows with relatively similar compositions.

⁷⁴ The Pulci chapel window in Santa Croce is a good example of a window whose significance is predominantly theological. In the window, the dedicatory saints of the chapel, Lawrence and Stephen, stand above a crowd of “lesser” martyrs composed of saints Maurice, John, Paul and the Florentine Minias. The two frescoes in the chapel depict the martyrdom of Lawrence and Stephen, and the window enlarges the program by placing these two early Christian martyrs in the broader context of martyrdom. See Thompson, “Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass,” pp. 134–42, for further discussion.

Commissioned by the Bardi family, the monuments were decorated with frescoes by Maso di Banco and Taddeo Gaddi. An analysis of the omnipresent heraldic symbols in the chapel and the discovery and the reconsideration of several documents, together with a careful reconstruction of the execution chronology of the work, lead the author to propose that the two monuments represent collective family cenotaphs, one reserved for the male, the other for the female members of the Bardi di Mangona, the commissioning branch. The re-interpretation of historical events surrounding the dispute between the Florentine municipality, the Bardi di Mangona and Maso di Banco, together with a clarification of the execution chronology of the chapel and its decoration (frescoes and sculpture) based Santa Croce is planned as an Egyptian cross, with an open timber roof; there are many tomb slabs set into the pavement. The nave is wide and well-lit, with massive widely-spaced piers supporting pointed arches. On entering the basilica, in the Florentine gothic style, our attention is immediately drawn to the east end, where the tall narrow stained glass windows pierce the walls beneath the vaulting. A fundamental feature of early Franciscan churches was the frescoed narration, in simple and clear terms, of the stories of Christ, of St. Francis and of other saints. Several of the great Florent Cooperation and Conflict has a tradition to publish on Nordic and European Affairs. The journal strictly adheres to a double-blind review policy. "Always strong, always distinctive, Cooperation and Conflict is now positioning itself to be 'the' journal of interdisciplinary international relations in Europe." Christine Sylvester, University of Connecticut, USA. Over many decades the journal has hosted many such cutting edge debates in the discipline whilst foregrounding its commitment to the exploration of peace, cooperation, and security. It has a long and proud history of innovation and creativity, and its volumes are studded with milestone contributions." Professor Oliver Richmond, University of Manchester, UK. Disclaimer: We have not yet been able to independent verify the claims you see below. We are merely reporting on what Dr. Pieczenik is saying, as these claims are newsworthy and incredibly important. We are in the process of investigating further. UPDATE: InfoWars host David Knight is now calling Steve Pieczenik a "CIA shill" and claims Pieczenik comes onto shows in order to "trap" hosts like Owen Shroyer in disinformation honey pots. In essence, Knight says Pieczenik is a liar who is fabricating this whole thing. The Santa Croce Chapels | The Bardi Chapel and the Peruzzi Chapel in Santa Croce, Florence. The Basilica di Santa Croce is the principal Franciscan church in Florence. It is situated on the Piazza di Santa Croce. According to Lorenzo Ghiberti, Giotto painted chapels for four different Florentine families in the church of Santa Croce, although he does not identify which chapels they were. It is only with Vasari that the four chapels are identified: the Bardi Chapel (Life of St. Francis), the Peruzzi Chapel (Life of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, perhaps including a polyptych of Madonna with Saints now in the Museum of Art of Raleigh, North Carolina) and the lost Giugni Chapel (Stories of the Apostles) and the. Tosinchi Spinelli Chapel (Stories of the Holy Virgin).