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PRINCETON MONOGRAPHS IN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY III

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

BY

ALLAN MARQUAND

PROFESSOR OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
PRINCETON
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1914

5132

R63 ml

Oct. 11, 1919
FOGG ART MUSEUM
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Searle fund
1824

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Printed by Princeton University Press
Princeton, N. J., U. S. A.

Published October, 1914



4980
17

TO E. M.

PREFACE

The object of this volume is to present a Catalogue Raisonné of the works of Luca della Robbia. The monuments are arranged in chronological sequence together with their related documents and bibliography. Some of the monuments and some of the documents are now published for the first time. It has not been deemed advisable to record here all the works which others have attributed to Luca della Robbia. However, in the last chapter I have enumerated some monuments, which, while not the work of Luca's hand, more or less directly reflect his style. Other volumes will follow on Andrea della Robbia, Giovanni della Robbia, and the Robbia School.

I here acknowledge many favours from Dr. William Bode and from Mr. Rufus G. Mather. The documents have been revised with care by Professor Dr. Eugenia Levi.

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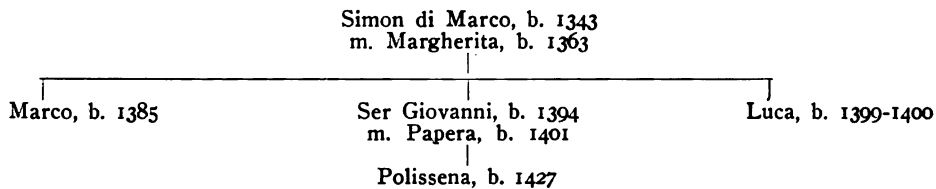
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INTRODUCTION

In the year 1427 a law was passed requiring every Florentine citizen to make a declaration of his property as a basis for levying an income tax. It is from these declarations, preserved in the archives of Florence, that we gather the few facts that are known concerning the family life of Luca della Robbia. They preserve not merely a record of the property of each householder, but also give the names and ages of each member of the family. Thus from the declaration of Luca's father, Simone di Marco della Robbia, we learn that his family in the year of 1427 consisted of Simone himself, aged 84; his wife Margherita, 64; Marco di Simone, 42; Ser Giovanni di Simone, 33; his wife Papera, 26, and their infant daughter Polissena; and Luca di Simone, 27. From this and other records we make the following table:



Simone and Margherita may have had other children (Milanesi enters on their genealogical tree the name of another son Domenico), but they could hardly have been living in 1427, as Simone's property remained for some four years undivided, and their names are not mentioned in the tax returns.

It seems likely that Simone had been a farmer and once lived upon his *podere* in the village of S. Maria in Tartagliese, on the road to Arezzo between S. Giovanni in Valdarno and Figlini. This farm appears not only in Simone's declaration of 1427, but also in Luca's declarations of 1451 and 1457. Besides the farm buildings it comprised nineteen pieces of land, which, however, returned only sixty bushels of grain and ten of barley. Simone, perhaps when he married, or perhaps later, moved to Florence and lived in a rented house in the Via Sangiglio (S. Egidio). This was

in the district of S. Piero Maggiore, for whose church Luca designed his most beautiful Madonna, and where he was buried. Simone also owned, in the immediate vicinity of Florence, at S. Tommaso a Baroncelli, a *podere*, with villa, farm house, and lands producing olives, grapes, and fruit trees. Here possibly Luca and Andrea learned to be close observers of fruit, which they introduced so frequently in their works of art. Soon after 1427 the aged Simone died. In 1429 his death was followed by that of Ser Giovanni, the promising young notary and councillor of the Signoria, whose wife Papera and daughter Polissena could not have long survived. Ser Giovanni's share in the inheritance passed to Marco.

Marco married about 1434 and had five children, whose names and ages in 1457 are thus given. Andrea was 22; Simone, 20; Paolo, 17; Francesco, 14; and Margherita, 13. From which we have the following table:

Marco di Simone, b. 1385 m. before 1435 d. between 1446-1451				
Andrea, b. 1435	Simone, b. 1437	Paolo, b. 1440	Francesco, b. 1443	Margherita, b. 1444

The house on the Via S. Egidio was doubtless too small for this increasing family, so on August 31, 1446, Marco and Luca purchased a house on the corner of the Via Guelfa and of the present Via Nazionale from Lippo di Biagio da Portolo for 220 florins. This house was near the church of S. Barnaba, but could hardly have been, as Vasari states, the home of Luca's ancestors or the house in which he was born. In 1451 besides the half interest in this house Luca declared his ownership of a third interest in the farm at S. Maria in Tartagliese. The farm at S. Tommaso a Baroncelli is no longer mentioned, but Carocci (*Dintorni*, II, 86-87) tells us that Luca had a half interest in it until his death, when it passed into the hands of Marco di Domenico Mellini, who in 1486 purchased the remaining half from Andrea della Robbia. This villa is now known as the Poggio Baronti or Villa Candrion. At some time between 1446 and 1451 Marco died. In 1457 Luca, who never married, lived with this three nephews and two nieces in the house in the Via Guelfa. By this time he had accumulated 1203 florins, 6 soldi, 9 denari, deposited in the bank in the quartiere S. Giovanni.

Andrea, who at an early age became associated with his uncle in his work, in 1465 married Giovanna, daughter of Piero di Ser Lorenzo di Paolo, from whom he received a dowry of 266 florins. By 1470 Andrea and Giovanna had three sons, Antonio, b. 1467; Marco, b. 1468; and Giovanni, b. 1469, all living with their uncle in the house in the Via Guelfa. Four more sons soon followed: Paolo, in 1470; Luca, in 1475; Francesco, in —; and Girolamo, in 1488. Though rich in sons, Andrea claimed in 1470 that he had little to declare which was not counterbalanced by his indebtedness to Luca, but in 1471 Luca considered him exceedingly prosperous.

Luca's will, dated February 19, 1471 (Old Style, 1470) shows his gratitude to his principal patron. He leaves nine florins to the Opera del Duomo and nine to the Fabbrica del Duomo; to Andrea, the good will and bills payable of his business; to Paolo and Margherita nothing (they were probably dead); to Francesco, now a widow, 100 florins; and the residue of his property to Simone.

Luca's best efforts were given to his profession, but he was not without honours. He served on the Commission which allotted to Ghiberti the Cassa di S. Zanobi. In the Guild of Physicians and Apothecaries, of which he was a member, he was several times Consul, thirty times a member of the Council, three times a Syndic, and twice Treasurer. He also devoted much time to religious and philanthropic work, as he was an active member of the Compagnia della Misericordia from 1435 to 1449. In 1471 he was elected Consul of the Guild of Stone Masons and Woodcarvers, but on account of his advancing years and infirmities declined the honour. In 1482 he died and was buried in the Church of S. Piero Maggiore.

What the influences were which turned Luca's attention to sculpture, or who were his earliest masters we can only guess. Vasari states that his father, after having given him at home an elementary education, set him to learn the goldsmith's art under Leonardo di Ser Giovanni, who taught him drawing, modelling in wax, carving in marble, and bronze casting. But the silver altars made in part by Leonardo di Ser Giovanni for the Cathedrals of Florence and of Pistoia between the years 1355 and 1371 have little in common with the documented early works of Luca della Robbia, and it is improbable that Leonardo was still alive and teaching in the early years of the fifteenth century. Pomponius Gauricus calls Luca

della Robbia "florentinus ex aurifice plastes," but this statement was doubtless based on Vasari. It is possible that Luca received his early training in a goldsmith's atelier, but we have no certain proof of it. The two silver statuettes of S. Giovanni Battista and S. Francesco in the Museo Civico at Città di Castello attributed to him by Schmarsow are by Venturi more properly assigned to Ghiberti. Antonio Billi, the Anonimo Magliabecchiano, and Vasari all speak of Luca as *scultore*, and in the tax declarations, and other documents, he is called *scarpellatore*, and *maestro d'intagli* or *intagliatore*. As an artist who worked in stone, marble, bronze, and terra-cotta he was enrolled in the Guild of the Doctors and Apothecaries and in that of the Stone Masons and Woodcarvers; he was not enrolled in the Guild of the Silk Merchants which included the goldsmiths. It is as a marble sculptor that Luca is first made known to us through documents, and it is to the marble reliefs of the Cantoria (1431-1438), the Campanile (1437-1439), and the altar of S. Peter (1438) that we must turn for evidences of his early training.

Some writers have pointed to the dancing *putti* of the Cantoria, to the spirited discussion of the Philosophers on the Campanile, and to the receding planes of the relief of S. Peter released from prison as evidence of Donatello's influence over the youthful Luca. But Luca's Cantoria reliefs were begun several years before Donatello's dancing children at Prato and at Florence; the motive of the dance was furnished to Luca by the 150th Psalm, and his serious spirit is in the strongest possible contrast to Donatello's religious indifference. Luca's Philosophers of the Campanile also antedate Donatello's disputants on the bronze sacristy doors of S. Lorenzo. The relief of the S. Peter altar does exhibit Donatello's preference for receding planes, and was probably designed in consultation with Donatello, who was commissioned to make an altar of like character for an adjoining chapel. Receding planes had, however, no permanent attraction for Luca and do not occur in his subsequent work. It is probable that these commissions for the Cathedral came to Luca through the influence of Brunelleschi rather than Donatello. Brunelleschi also without doubt selected him to decorate the Pazzi Chapel, and Michelozzo, the pupil of Brunelleschi, chose him as an associate in several important works. But Brunelleschi's direct influence could hardly have extended much beyond architectural details.

The strictly sculptural portions of Luca's works show a dependence on Lorenzo Ghiberti. Subjects like his Evangelists and Church Fathers, compositions like his Resurrection, the types of his angels and the clouds on which they rest, the lines of his draperies, his garland frames with their branches of flowers and fruit all have much in common with Ghiberti's. He never followed him into the complete development of pictorial relief, but remained satisfied with the simpler and more truly sculptural types of beauty created by Andrea Pisano and his school.

Luca's chief patron was the Opera del Duomo, by whom he was employed for many years. He also worked for other churches: for S. Piero Maggiore and S. Pierino, Florence; for S. Giovanni fuorcivitas, Pistoia; for S. Jacopo near Pescia; and for S. Domenico, Urbino. He was employed by the principal guilds: the Mercanzia, the Silk Merchants, the Physicians and Apothecaries, the Stone Masons and Woodcarvers; and by various hospitals. Representatives of the principal families of Florence appreciated his work, among whom were Cosimo and Piero dei Medici, Andrea and Jacopo dei Pazzi, the Buondelmonti, and the Capponi. In honour of a Cardinal he decorated a chapel and for a Bishop he made a noteworthy tomb.

His works were varied in character, comprising a choir gallery, bronze doors, lunettes, ceilings, pavements, decorative and commemorative medallions, altarpieces, shrines, statues, groups, and a sculptural monument. They were executed in marble, bronze, or terra-cotta. He was in thorough sympathy with the best architects, especially with Brunelleschi and Michelozzo; his mouldings deserve careful study. On the other hand his reliefs exhibit little interest in the problems of perspective and anatomy, which attracted so much attention in his day. Even as a composer we shall have frequent occasion to marvel at his indifference. He seldom thinks of the interrelation of one relief with another, his mind being content to do each separate task to the best of his ability. He does not, like Ghiberti, crowd as many figures as possible into a single picture, nor like Donatello suggest the indefinite expansion of space. He is content with few figures, simple themes, restricted space. Composition was reduced to an almost classic symmetry and balance. His strength lay in his love of nature and in his religious reverence. In his garlands we see his fondness for wild roses and lilies and for all manner of fruit. He has less interest in animals,

but men, women, and children rivet his attention. His Apostles, Evangelists, and Fathers of the Church are carefully individualized; his Madonnas, now timid, now haughty, now sad, show a deep reverence for woman; and his children are naïve and charming.

Almost the only innovation which may be credited to Luca della Robbia was the application of white and coloured enamels to terra-cotta figures and reliefs. The glaze can hardly have been a secret, as glazes of similar character had been employed by Egyptians and Persians in ancient times, and to a limited degree by the Greeks and Romans. Throughout the Middle Ages maiolica, or glazed faience, was still made in Italy, and many towns began to be celebrated for the manufacture of maiolica before Luca was born. Vasari informs us that the glaze used by Luca della Robbia consisted of a mixture of tin, litharge, antimony and other minerals and mixtures. A more definite account of the materials used by potters in producing glazes is given in a manuscript of the fifteenth century published by Mrs. Merrifield, *Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting*, II, 536-545. An accurate account of Robbia glazes would imply a chemical analysis of the glazes made at different periods during the existence of the Robbia school. This has not yet been systematically attempted. The Ginori establishment of Florence, however, made at La Doccia analyses of Robbia glazes before attempting their well known reproductions. Miss Cruttwell, *Luca and Andrea della Robbia*, 65-66, gives some account of the process used by them. The first documented use of glazed terra-cotta by Luca della Robbia is to be found in the tabernacle now in the church of S. Maria at Peretola (1442). Here it occurs in three forms: (1) as a background for marble reliefs, somewhat like the blue tiles used as backgrounds for the sculptures of the Campanile; (2) as reliefs applied to a marble background; and (3) as a mosaic combined with marble, like Cosmati work. There is nothing experimental in the use of glazed terra-cotta in this monument. The glaze is hard and fine, the polychromy successful, and the various combinations of marble and terra-cotta thoroughly understood. Long before this Luca must have made his experiments, and scored his successes and his failures. I am inclined to think that the mirror frame in the Figdor Collection, Vienna, and the group of the Visitation in the Church of S. Giovanni fuorcivitas, Pistoia, were made by Luca della Robbia in the early thirties. Both are artistically charming works, but covered with

heavy and insufficiently fused glazes. So manifest is the coarseness of this glaze that both monuments are sometimes described as school work of a later period. But later glazes were thin, often thin enough to flake or be rubbed away, whereas these are like early Japanese glazes, thick and heavy, manifestly early experiments before the discovery of more economical methods.

Glazed terra-cotta was used by Luca della Robbia as a substitute for marble. Hence his figures were chiefly white; but inasmuch as marble sculpture in his day was superficially painted, it is natural that Luca should have attempted coloured glazes at an early date. In fact Luca's earliest documented glazes, those of 1442, 1443 and 1446 included blue, violet, green, and brown as well as white. He continued to use gold superficially for a long time for aureoles, nimbuses, borders of garments, and for the hair. When, as in the Madonna of Or S. Michele, he used a yellow glaze for the hair this was probably as a more permanent substitute for the less durable gilding. In his terra-cotta mosaics he sometimes applied a thin transparent glaze over gold leaf or gold paint so as to produce an effect similar to that of Byzantine gold mosaics.

Luca's colour sense was remarkably fine when compared with that of other members of the school. A red glaze has ever been the despair of the potter. It mattered little that Luca and his family bore the name of Robbia, which means red madder. Whenever they wished to produce a red glaze they had to be satisfied with a very inadequate result, varying in shade from a red-violet, to a purple or plum, or even brown. Later they gave up the attempt, and preferred a garish red applied without glazing. In comparison with those of his followers Luca's red-violets have a special charm. Blues also interested him. His dark blues, light blues, gray-blues, green-blues offer a pleasing variety. His greens were either dark or bright, and sometimes, for the sake of transparency, streaked with yellow or brown. His grays and browns were successful, his yellows less so. In indicating the eyes he always distinguishes the pupil and iris, never combining them in a single black mass. The iris is almost invariably gray-blue for the Madonna and for the Child, but yellow for Virtues and for men. The eyebrows he coloured by irregular dots or hatchings of violet or dark blue. Of the same colour are the eyelashes, the iris boundary and the pupil.

Andrea's and Giovanni's method of colouring the eyes are quite different and readily to be distinguished.

In spirit Luca was simple and direct, loyal to his family, his employers and to his city. His productions were eminently appropriate to their purpose. His sense of beauty was based on nature, but not carried to realistic extremes. Although endowed with a profound reverence for woman and a keen delight in children, he never married. For a few years he essayed the life of a monk, but gave it up to make a home for his nephews and nieces. At the time of his death, in 1482, his nephew Andrea della Robbia had already done much to transform the art of glazing terra-cotta sculpture into a great ceramic industry.

DOCUMENTS

[Documents Nos. 1, 4-11, published by Cruttwell, 285-286, 300-306, have been revised by Signorina Levi. Nos. 2 and 3 are here published for the first time.]

I. *Portata al Catasto*. 1427. A dì 10 di luglio.

"Questa è la rechata di Simone di Marco della robbia e de figliuoli prestanziati in decto gonfalone in fiorini quattro soldi quattordici et denari cinque a oro. F. 4 s. 14 d. 5.

"In prima una chasa dallavoratore con palchi sala camera e terreno posta nel popolo di santa maria dal tartigliese in valdarno di sopra contado di firenze nel borgho del tartigliese nella strada publica confinata da 1° decta strada, a 2° via, a 3° nicholo di giovanni del bellaccio, a 4° marchio del bello del bellaccio.

.

"Item uno podere con chasa da signore e dallavoratore con terre lavoratie ulivate, arboriate, vignate, e con pergole e con alberi fructiferi e non fructiferi, posto nel contado di firenze nel popolo di Santomme (San Tommaso) a Baroncelli loco decto a baroncelli, confinato a 1° l'erede di Francesco di Duccio Mellini, via in mezzo, a 2° filippo di Simone e il fratello, fossatello in mezzo, a 3° maso davizi, a 4° via.

.

Simone di marchio sopradecto deta d'anni.....	84
M ^a margherita dona dello decto Simone d'anni.....	64
Marchio di Simone d'anni.....	42
Ser Giovanni di Simone d'anni.....	33
Lucha di Simone d'anni.....	27
M ^a Papera donna del decto Ser Giovanni d'anni.....	26
Pulisena figliuola di Ser Giovanni nacque a dì primo di Settembre, 1427."	

“Abbiamo a pigione una chasa con sale, palchi, camere, terreno, corte e pozzo nella quale noi abitiamo, dentrovi nostre masseritie posta nel popolo di S. piero maggiore nella via di sangilio (S. Egidio) confinata a 1° via decta, a 2° Christofano di Salvi, a 3° Simone di Salvi, a 4° l'erede di Giovanni di Salvi.

.

Archivio di Stato di Firenze. Quartiere Sancti Giovanni-Chiavi
No. 59. Anno 1427, c. 974-976.

2. *Portata al Catasto.* 1442. “Dinanzi davoì signiori uficiali della chon-servazione e aumentazione della nuova graveza della città di Firenze si raporta le sustanze e benni di lucha di Simone di marchò della Robia a prestanziao nella presente istribuzione della cinquina nel chonfalone delle chiavi soldi 19 den. 1. oro.

In prima la terza parte per non diviso chom marchò e ser Giovanni mie frategli di tre chase poste nel borcho e nel popolo di Santa Maria al tortigliese in Valdarno di sopra chon più e più pezi di tera e più chonfini chom apare nella scritta del primo chatasto che dicieva in Simone di Marchò mio padre, lavoralo a mezo Piero di Lucha, rende in parte.

Grano istaia sesanta.....	ist.	60
Vino barili dieci.....	bar.	10
Orzo istaia dieci.....	st.	10
Saggina istaia dodici.....	ist.	12
Miglo istaia cinque.....	ist.	5
Panicho istaia sei.....	ist.	6
Charne libre dugentocinquanta.....	lib.	250
Lini libre dodici.....	lib.	12
Chaponi paia due.....	bib(sic)	2
Uova serque dieci.....	serque	10
E di tutta questa rendita mi tocha il terzo $\frac{1}{3}$.		

La terza parte parte di una chasetta posta nel popolo di san Piero magiore nella via deglialberti nelli tiella a pigione Michele Zoppo chalzolaro e danno lanno di pigione fiorini tre doro tochamene fiorini uno d'oro lanno.

Danari di monte

La terza parte di fiorini cinquantuno di monte di 5 interi ischritti in Simone di Marchò mio padre assine avere le paghe di magio passato in qua.

La terza parte di fiorini 40 soldi 13 denari 8 a oro di prestanzoni d'otto per cento cholla retenzione di Simo (sic) detto ischritti.

La terza parte di fiorini 117 di monte chomune in Simone detto assine avere le paghe di magio pasato in qua.

La terza parte di fiorini 25 soldi 13 denari 9 a oro di cinque achatti di fiorini sesantamila de chontadini ischritti in Simone detto chome veranno le tratte.

E più fiorini iiij doro paghai del balzello ischritti in Lucha detto, quali paghai fuori del termine. E piulla $\frac{1}{3}$ parte della 48 ventina.

E più a fiorini trecento di monte di prestanzone, dotto per cento dicono in Lucha proprio.

E più fiorini quattrocento ventitre, cioè fiorini 423 di monte chomune che dichono in Lucha detto.

Ed io Lucha torno in chasa cho marchio di Simone mio fratello.

Lucha sopradetto detà danni 43.

Archivio di Stato di Firenze. Quartiere S. Giovanni, Gonfalone delle Chiavi, filza 627, c. 233.

3. *Portata al Catasto, 1446.* "Lucha di Simone di Marcho della Robia a di dicina (sic) fior. uno.

E di dispiacente fiorini uno.

E di chatasto 1427 fior. uno per chonpositione dicco a in Simone di Marcho della Robbia, me figliuolo fior. uno.

Una chasa dallavoratore posta nel popolo di santa Maria al tartagliese di valdarno di sopra nel borgho del tartagliese (sic) chonfinata a 1° istrada a 2° via a 3° Nicholo diovanni Bellacci 4° Marcho del Bello Bellacci.

Una chasetta posta di retro a detta chasa, fassene istalla da bestie in detto popolo a 1° via, a 2° Filippo di Firenze del Pomero, 3° Nanni e a 4° rede di Piero Toci.

E uno pezzo di terra chon dette chase el primo confina a via e 2° Marcho del Bello Belacci e 3° Filippo del Pomero 4° loro medesimi, l'utimo chonfinata a 1° via e a 2° e a 3° e a 4° Piero di Biagio del Tartagliese chome appare pella ischritta suo lavoratore Marcho di Berto del Tartigliese.

Rende l'anno in parte

Grano	staia	60
Orzo	staia	10
Saggina	staia	12
Miglo	staia	6
Panicho	staia	6
Vino	barili	10
Lino grosso	libre	10
Capponi	paia	1
Uova	serque	5
Carne	libre	250

Della sopradetta rendita tocca amme la terza parte perchè nostro padre mori ellascio tre figliuoli e siano divisi.

El sopradetto podere e oggi in buona parte nel fiume d'Arno ede istatato (sic) già e più tempo el perchè nel 1444 l'afittamo a Piero di Chimento per staia 60 di grano lanno delle quale ne toccha in mia parte staia 20.

Danari di monte

Fiorini 910 o circha di monte chomune in mio nome.

Fiorini 103 o circha di monte chomune in nome di Simone di marchio della robbia mio padre.

Boche

Lucha detto danni 46.

Archivio di Stato di Firenze. Quartiere S. Giovanni-Chiavi, filza 681, c. 403.

4. *Portata al Catasto*, 1451. "Lucha di Simone di marchio della robbia intagliatore disse el primo chatasto in Simone di marchio mio padre—

Ebbene	fior. 1, bol. —	—	—
Ebbi di decima del 1447.....	fior. 1, bol. 13, den. 10, a oro.		
Fu ridotto per gli sgravi.....	fior. 1	—	—

Sustanze:

Una meza chasa per non divisa cho figliuoli di marchio della robbia mie nipoti la quale tegnamo per nostro abitare; posta nel popolo di san lorenzo, nel chonfalone del liono adoro, nella via chuelfa chonfinata da primo, via; da secondo, mona antonia, donna che fu di cristofano da Schopeto; da $\frac{1}{3}$ ser antonio da quarto prete, da $\frac{1}{4}$ el chapitolo de chanonici di Santa maria del fiore paghasene a detti chanonici pellivello lire dieci, bolognini otto l'anno; detta chasa chomperamo da lippo di biagio da peretola a di 31 d'aghosto 1446, per pregio di fiorini dugento venti: charta per mano di ser Jachopo daromena.

Una chasa da lavoratore posta nel popolo di Santa maria a tartagliese di valdarno di sopra, chonfinata daprimo, strada; da secondo, via; da $\frac{1}{3}$ nicholo di Giovanni bellacci; da $\frac{1}{4}$ marchio del bello bellacci.

Una chasetta posta dietro a detta chasa, chessene faceva stalla e oggi è rovinata.

1 pezi di terra chon detta chasa; el primo chonfina da primo, via; da secondo, marchio del bello bellacci; da $\frac{1}{3}$ Filippo delpomero; da $\frac{1}{4}$ loro medesimi: l'ultimo chonfina da prima, via; da secondo $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ piero di biagio da tartagliese lavoravali nel primo chatasto marchio di berto da tartagliese; rendevano in parte—

Grano	staia 60
Orzo	staia 10."

Archivio di Stato di Firenze. Quartiere Santi Giovanni, Gonfalone delle Chiavi. Fol. 717, c. 223.

5. *Portata al Catasto*, 1457. "Lucha di Simone di marchio della robbia, primo chatasto disse in Simone di marchio, mio padre,
- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| ebbe | fior. 1 |
| di valsente | fior. 1, b. 7, d. 9 |
| di cinquina | b. 14 |

Sustanze:

Una meza chasa per non divisa cho figliuoli di marchio mio fratello per mio abitare, posta nel popolo di Sanlorenzo, ghtonfalone di lion doro in via chuelfa, chonfinata da 1° via, da 2° monantonìa, donna fu di Jachopo da Schopeto, da $\frac{1}{3}$ piero sassetti, da $\frac{1}{4}$ el chapitolo di Santa maria del fiore; la quale chomperamo marchio di Simone mio fratello, ed io Lucha, da lippo di biagio da peretola adi 31 dagosto 1446 per pregio di fior. 220, charta per mano di ser Jachopo da romena; pagasene l'anno d'avillare a chapitolo di Santa maria del fiore, lir. 10, s. 8.

La terza parte d'un podere posto nel popolo di Santa maria al Tartagliese di Valdarno di sopra, etc. sicchè di detta rendita mi toccha la $\frac{1}{3}$ parte, e $\frac{2}{3}$ a figliuoli di Marchio di Simone, mio fratello, e rede di ser Giovanni; chome pelloro iscritta vedrete.

Grano istaia 20 Lir. 29, b. 3, d. 8

Truovomi sul monte nel quartiere di S. Giovanni iscritti in me Lucha di Simone di marchio fior. 1203, s. 6, d. 9, e io ne piglio le paghe —fior. 240, b. 13, ò pagate tutto le mia graveze in sino al $\frac{1}{2}$ quinto —Truovomi di paghe guadagnate d'aghosto in qua fior. 20—fior. 12.

E più ò una sepoltura di marmo, la quale ò fatto, già è più d'un anno, a Federigho di Jachopo Federighi; della quale siano appiato alla merchatantia; none posso ragionare alchuna cosa insino a tanto non è terminato; quando sarà chiarita saro dinanzi del vostro officio.

Bocche:

Lucha sopra detto d'età danni 58.

Incharichi:

O addare ogni anno al chapitolo di Santa Maria de Fiore pella metà dell' avillaro della chasa, dove io abito Lir. 5, s. 4. A fiorini 7 per cento monte fior. 18, soldi 11, den. 6.

Creditori:

E più resto addare a detto chapitolo per detto avillare chome apare al libro loro Lir. 15. E più ò a dare a tadeo di Lucha di taddeo, saponaiò, per dati chontanti prestatomi più tempo fa in più volte e più tempi, . . . Fior. 75."

Archivio di Stato di Firenze. Quartiere S. Giovanni-Chiavi, filza 829, c. 115.

6. *Portata al Catasto, 1457.* Degli eredi di marco della robbia.

"Figiuoli eredi di marchio di Simone di marchio della robbia.

Eredi della sudita giacente di ser giovanni di simone della robbia nostro zio disse 1° catasto in simone di marchio nostro avo.

.

Sustanze:

Una meza chasa per non divisa chon lucha di simone nostro zio per nostro abitare posto nel popolo di san lorenzo, chonfina, etc., etc.

(The document is but a repetition of the above. After follows

a list of Debitori and Creditori, and lastly, what is of importance to us—the names and ages of the heirs aforesaid.)

.

Bocche:

Andrea danni	22
Simone danni	20
pagolo danni	17
Franciescho	14
margerita	13."

Archivio di Stato di Firenze. Quartiere S. Giovanni-Chiavi, filza 829, c. 113. Quoted from Cruttwell, 302.

7. *Document of 1465*. "Andrea figlio del fu marco, popolo di S. Lorenzo, intagliatore, riceve nel 1465 in dote della sua moglie giovanna, figlia di piero di ser lorenzo di paolo, fiorini 266." Quoted by Cruttwell, 304, from Gaye I, 186, from Spogli dello Strozzi.

8. *Portata al Catasto, 1470*. di Andrea della Robbia.

"Andrea di marco di Simone della robbia chio nel primo chatasto dissi in Simone di marchio e nel valsente del 51 in figlioli di marchio, nel 58 in figlioli di marchio detto . . .

Sustanze:

D'una chasa per non divisa chon Lucha mio zio e Simone, mio fratello, nella quale abito, posta a san Barnaba in via Ghuelfa, da 1° via, da 2° berto di rondone, da 3° beni di Santa Maria del fiore, del 4° piero sassetti, e la detta chasa chonpramo da lippo di biagio da Peretola. . . .

Lucha di Simone della robbia, mio zio, mi domanda buona somma di danari, della quale io ne fusse debitore, chome lui dicie; mi rimarebbe piccola chosa et però mi vi rachomando.

E trovomi chon bocche:

Andrea detto d'età d'anni	33	.....	f 200
Nanna mia donna d'età danni	21	.....	f 200
Antonio mio figliolo	3	.....	f 200
Marcho mio figliolo	2	.....	f 200
Giovanni mio figliolo	1	.....	f 200"

Archivio di Stato di Firenze. Quartiere S. Giovanni-Chiavi, filza, 927, c. 52. Quoted by Cruttwell, 304, from Gaye, I, 186-187.

9. *Testament of Luca della Robbia, 1471 (Old Style, 1470)*.

"In Dei nomine amen, Anno Domini, etc., 1470, indictione iv. et die 19 februarii, presentibus-septem fratribus S. Marci.

Lucas olim Simonis marci della Robbia, scultor, civis florentinus, de populo S. Laurentii de Florentia, sanus mente, sensu, corpore, visu et intellectu, nolens intestatus decedere, etc. . . ."

Imprimis quidem animam suam omnipotenti Deo ejusque gloriose Matri humiliter et devote recommandavit—et sepulturam corporis sui elegit eo loco et cum illis funeris expensis, prout videbitur suo heredi.

Item reliquit et legavit opere Scē Maria flor. 9 et novem floren. fabrice dicte opere.

Item legavit—domine Checche ejus nipote et filie olim marci Simonis della Robbia, vedue, flor. aur. centum, quos solvi voluit per ejus heredem.

Item dicens—qualiter ipse habet duos nepotes ex fratre, videlicet Andream et Simonem fratres, et filios Marci Simonis della Robbia, et qualiter ipse Lucas tempore vite sue docuit artem suam sculpture dictam Andream, et adeo quod ipse Andreas per se ut magister potest exercere artem dicti Luce, et eidem Andree in vita ipsius Luce reliquit omnem creditum dicti Luce, et adeo quod ipse Andreas mediante industria dicti Luce et ejus documentis habet artem lucrativam adeo, quod usque in hodiernum diem satis superlucratus est, et hodie superlucratur, et in futurum actus est superlucrari, cum ipsa arte et ejus exercitio potest facillime et honorifice familiam suam nutrire, et dictum Simonem nihil docuit in vita sua; et considerans quod omnia bona non sunt sufficientia nec tanta, quanta industria dicti Andree, quam ipse habet Andreas mediante donatione dicti Luce, et volens ut dictus Simon habeat aliquid ex bonis dicti Luce, et ne posset tam a dicto Simone quam ab hominibus intelligentibus de ingratitude reprehendi, in omnibus ejus bonis heredem instituit dictum Simonem, ejus nepotem predictum, etc.”

Archivio Generale di Firenze, Rogiti di Ser Agnolo di Cinozzo. Quoted by Cruttwell, 304-305, from Gaye I, 184-185.

10. *Luca declines office of Consul of Guild of Masons and Woodcarvers.* 1471, Aug. 4. “Lucas olim Simonis della Robbia, civis florent. extractus ut ipse asserit, in consulem artis magistrorum de florentia, dicens et asserens se esse et etate et infirmitate adeo gravatus, quod sine periculo sue persone dictum officium commode exercere non posset, etc. . . .”

Archivio Generale di Firenze, Rogiti di Ser Agnolo di Cinozzo. Quoted by Cruttwell, 305-306 from Gaye I, 185-186, note 1.

11. *Portata al Catasto, 1480, di Luca della Robbia.*

“Gonfalone Chiave:

Lucha di Simone della robbia ebbe di catasto 1469 in Lucha detto e in detto ghonfalone.

Sustanze:

Una meza casa per non divisa con andrea e simone di marchio miei nipotti posta nel popolo di san lorenzo, ghonfalone liondoro da 1° via, 2° piero sassetti 3° l'erede di bertto di rondone legnaiolo per 4° capitolo di santa maria del fiore comperai io lucha e marchio mio fratello e padre di detti andrea e simone da lippo di biaggio da peretola

a dì 21 d'agosto 1446 per pregio di fiorini 220. Carta per Ser Jachopo daromena la quale abittiamo.

.

[The omitted parts are almost a repetition of the former Declarations.]

Bocche:

Lucha, eta danni..... 82."

Archivio di Stato di Firenze. Quartiere S. Giovanni-Chiavi.
No. 1021, c. 420.

12. *Date of death.* 1482, Feb. 20.

The Libro dei Morti of the Guild of Physicians and Apothecaries, to which Luca della Robbia belonged, gives the date of his death as February 20, 1482 (old style, 1481). He was buried in the church of S. Piero Maggiore. Baldinucci, V. 224.

CHAPTER I

1430-1440

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

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1430-1440

- 1 THE MARBLE CANTORIA. Florence, Museo dell' Opera del Duomo. 1431-1438. H., 3.28 m.; W., 5.60 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 2545-2546; Brogi, No. 9703, 13301; Burton & Co.

The earliest work by Luca della Robbia of which we know the date, is the Cantoria or Choir Gallery, made for the Cathedral of Florence, and now in the Cathedral Museum. The documents relating to this work are given in full by Giovanni Poggi in the second volume of *Italienische Forschungen*, published by the German Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence. From these documents we derive some data of interest. The first reference to the contract with Luca della Robbia bears the date October 4, 1431, and the first payment to this "maestro d'intaglio" is dated April 9, 1432. The documents record many payments, amounting altogether to 872 florins, 8 soldi. Of this sum, 600 fl. were for the reliefs, and the remainder for the architectural part of the gallery. On August 28, 1438, the "perghamo" is said to have been "posto e murato nella chiesa maggiore sopra l'uscio della sagrestia di verso i Servi." This determines for us the site as over the entry to the north sacristy, the bronze doors of which are also by Luca della Robbia. The documents tell us by whom, and through whom, the marble was ordered from the Carrara quarries. Some of it was ordered according to the measurements of Filippo Brunelleschi and of the capomaestro Battista d'Antonio from a certain Francesco d'Andrea Fraschetta. The rest was purchased of Nanni di Piero Ticcii. The architectural part of the gallery reflects Brunelleschi's style, but can hardly have been designed by him. Brunelleschi also supplied the measurements for Donatello's Choir Gallery, which is in quite a different style. Luca doubtless designed the architecture, as well as the reliefs, of his Cantoria, but was assisted in the execution of the framework by Nanni da Miniato, known also as Fora.



FIG. 1. THE MARBLE CANTORIA.

The history of Luca's Cantoria is known in detail. It remained in its high and dimly lighted position in the Cathedral until 1688. Even in the sixteenth century Antonio Billi and the Anonimo del Codice Magliabecchiano complained that on account of its high position the perfection of its workmanship was lost to view. Vasari recognized its beauty even at the height of sixteen *bracchia*, but asserts that it suffered more from its high position than did Donatello's Cantoria—a criticism repeated without due thought by many later writers. In 1688 both cantorie were removed, and replaced by wooden galleries of larger size. This was done to provide a larger



FIG. 2. CANTORIA. DETAIL.

choir on the occasion of the wedding of Prince Ferdinando, son of the third Cosimo, to Violante Beatrice of Bavaria.

According to Vasari, it was at the instance of Messer Vieri de' Medici, a citizen of great popularity, that Luca della Robbia was given the contract for the choir gallery. It was for the convenience of a later Medici that the gallery was removed. Fortunately the strong consoles, which supported the balcony were left in place, together with the frieze immediately above it. All of the reliefs were utilized for decorative purposes nearer the ground, where, according to Senator Alessandro Segni, their beauty could be better appreciated. They were, however, soon removed to an unimpor-

tant room of the Opera del Duomo, where they remained until 1822, when they were placed in the Galleria degli Uffizi, and later in the Museo Nazionale. In 1841 the consoles were removed from the Cathedral, and new stone cantorie were erected in 1845 by the architect Beccani. It was not until 1883 that a serious attempt was made to bring together into a harmonious whole the reliefs and the architectural parts of the Cantoria. This restoration was made by Professor Luigi del Moro, who also restored the similarly dismantled Cantoria of Donatello. The two were placed in



FIG. 3. CANTORIA. DETAIL.

a new room in the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo, where they are now displayed under conditions of light quite different from those for which they were designed, but near enough to the eye of the spectator to be studied in detail.

Del Moro had at his disposal the ten reliefs, the lower base, the consoles, and the lower frieze of the balcony. He was also acquainted with the document of March 20, 1438 (Poggi, No. 1281), in which reference was made to channelled members (pilasters) with bases and capitals, to a large cornice with inscriptions and dentils, to a cornice without dentils

adorned with the leaf or tongue ornament (*alinguazata*), and to other cornice mouldings. His restoration (Fig. 1) of the pilasters and of the upper entablature is in stucco, and has been set upon the original consoles, which are of marble. As the spaces to be filled by pilasters were short and broad he conceived pilasters of the Ionic order, producing a sturdy and elegant effect. The effect was, however, not precisely that which might be expected of an architectural design of the early fifteenth century. Professor Marcel Reymond, in 1898, pointed out that Del Moro should have employed coupled pilasters, such as Brunelleschi had used in the façade of the Pazzi Chapel, and Donatello and Michelozzo in the exterior pulpit at Prato. About the time when Marcel Reymond made this criticism Cav. Giuseppe Castellucci was engaged in restoring the lantern of the Baptistery, where he found several fragments (Fig. 4) now in the Opera del Duomo, which probably formed a part of the missing architecture of Luca's Cantoria. His restoration, first published by Marrai, has therefore replaced that of Del Moro and embodies almost all of the details as designed by Luca della Robbia. The general effect gains in lightness and delicacy without loss of elegance. The dentils, egg and dart, leaf and dart, bead and reel and other classical motives were not new discoveries in the fifteenth century. Luca could have seen them all in the thirteenth century choir screen and pulpit at S. Miniato, and in the pulpit now in S. Leonardo in Arcetri, at Florence.



FIG. 4. CANTORIA. DETAIL.

Before taking leave of the architecture of this Cantoria let me draw attention to the beautiful floral designs that decorate the sides of the consoles (Figs. 2, 3), and to those of the panels in the soffit of the balcony (Fig. 5), charming decorations of historic importance which have escaped the attention of those who have hitherto described this monument.

The Cantoria was designed for a quartette, hence the sculptured reliefs visible in front are distributed into two series of four each. Other reliefs, which decorated the sides of the balcony, are now exhibited on the wall of the museum, their places on the Cantoria being filled by plaster reproductions. The subject of the reliefs, a heavenly choir of vocal and instrumental musicians, is a plastic translation of Psalm 150, which was sung at the end of Holy Mass. The heavenly character of the musicians is evident from

the fact that two of them are winged and all are standing on clouds. The series begins with the relief of the singers on the left end of the balcony, reads across the upper tier from left to right, then across the lower tier in the same direction, and terminates with the relief of the singers on the right. The order was determined, not as Schubring suggests by distributing the wind implements and the strings as in an orchestra, but by a literal following of the order given by the Psalmist, the words of which are as follows:



FIG. 5. CANTORIA. DETAIL.

Alleluia. Laudate Dominum in Sanctis ejus. Laudate eum in firmamento virtutis ejus. Laudate eum in virtutibus ejus. Laudate eum secundum multitudinem magnitudinis ejus. Laudate eum in *sono tubae*. Laudate eum in *psalterio et cithara*. Laudate eum in *timpano et choro*. Laudate eum in *cordis et organo*. Laudate eum in *cymbalis benesonantibus*. Laudate eum in *cymbalis jubilationis*. Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum. *Alleluia.*

The ten panels are, like Greek metopes, executed in high relief, and composed with similar attention to isocephalism and symmetry.

- (1). ALLELUIA RELIEF OR BOYS SINGING FROM A CHORALE. Photos., Alinari, No. 2551; Brogi, Nos. 3249, 9255, 13300.

Seven boys are represented, so arranged that our eye is naturally directed from left to right (Fig. 6). Two boys hold the chorale, from which they and three older boys are singing. One beats time with his hand, another with his foot. Their curly locks, sketchily indicated, were once marked with colour, as were the eyes, which have incised pupils, and irises bounded by an incised circle. Their faces are intensely serious, and their throats show the strain to which they are subjected. They wear tunics over which are cloaks fastened by buttons or brooches on the shoulders. One only is barefooted.



FIG. 6. CANTORIA. ALLELUIA RELIEF.



FIG. 7. CANTORIA. TRUMPETERS.

- (2). THE TRUMPETERS. Photos., Alinari, No. 2552; Brogi, Nos. 3251, 9537.

Three boys to the left are blowing long trumpets, one with a curved tube (Fig. 7). Two wear garlands of laurel about their heads, as if they had taken prizes in music. A corresponding group in lower relief to the

right carry shorter trumpets resembling flutes. These six figures are not arranged in true perspective, the heads in the background being too high and



FIG. 8. CANTORIA. DETAIL.

too large, possibly that they might be seen to greater advantage when the balcony was set in its lofty position. The boy to the extreme left (Fig. 8) is a strong terminal figure, from which the spectator's eye is gently led toward the right. Four younger children in front are dancing and playing with the musicians. In the double curves of the hanging draperies and in the S-shaped terminations of the folds we are reminded of Ghiberti's stylistic peculiarities.

An early stucco reproduction of this relief (Fig. 148) may be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

(3). PLAYERS ON THE PSALTERY. Photos., Alinari, No. 2550; Brogi, Nos. 3254, 9520, 9536.

In the foreground are three boys playing the psaltery and singing; in the background five others, only one of whom is singing (Fig. 10). Two *putti* below with psalteries echo the music of the choir (Fig. 9). The mantle of the central figure is knotted, instead of being fastened with a brooch. The sleeves of the players are buttoned along the lower arm. All the feet represented are bare. The background seems to have been coloured, possibly blue. The composition is reposeful, with a slight tendency to carry the eye from left to right.



FIG. 9. CANTORIA. DETAIL.



FIG. 10. CANTORIA. PLAYERS ON PSALTERY.

(4). PLAYERS ON THE CITHARA. Photos., Alinari, No. 2549; Brogi, No. 3552.

Here are six maidens, a boy, and two *putti* (Fig. 11). Two of the maidens play the cithara and are singing. The musical instruments have five strings each and are terminated with human heads. The first maiden to the left wears a scarf twice bound around her head like a turban. A mantle is thrown over her long tunic, which is girdled just below the breast. Next to her, in the background, is a maiden whose hair is bound by a narrow ribbon. The central figure with oval face has her hair braided around her head like a crown. There is an ornamental neckband to her tunic which falls in long converging Gothic folds to the ground. Next is a maiden with braided hair, then two more maidens and, in the background, a boy. The natural folds of the draperies of the second cithara player are quite classic in character. Two *putti* seated in the foreground point upward to the players.



FIG. 11. CANTORIA. CITHARA PLAYERS.

(5). THE DRUMMERS. Photos., Alinari, No. 2547; Brogi, Nos, 3248. 9519, 9538.

Here are three drummers: two beating their drums; the third, with drum suspended from his neck, is playing a pipe. Two youths stand in the background and four nude children are dancing or hiding (Fig. 13). We may observe the roses on the turban of the first drummer, the flower or fruit garland on the second drummer (Fig. 12), and the rose in the hand of one of the dancing children—a possible allusion to S. Maria del Fiore.

The drummers have fringed garments, with fringed shoulder-pieces, and sleeves with buttons. Their footwear is varied. The composition is well balanced, the piping drummer forming a terminal figure to balance the first trumpeter at the extreme left end of the balcony. Ghiberti-like curves appear in the draperies, but the mischievous, hiding children are more suggestive of the influence of Donatello.



FIG. 12. CANTORIA. DETAIL.

We call attention again to the flower and fruit garland of the central figure—a motive destined to play an important part in subsequent Robbia work. The composition of the garland is not schematic, the fruit and flowers being asymmetrically arranged.



FIG. 13. CANTORIA. DRUMMERS.

- (6). THE CHORAL DANCERS. Photos., Alinari, No. 2554; Brogi, Nos. 3256, 9521.

The document for August 26, 1434, distinguishes between the major and minor reliefs. The lower series were doubtless reckoned as the minor, since in general they contain fewer figures, and being in shadow it was not necessary that they should be carried to the same degree of finish. They were somewhat nearer the spectator, hence the clouds on which the children are standing are more clearly represented. As in the upper series the two terminal reliefs have strongly accented terminal figures, while in the two central reliefs the central figures are more emphasized.

The Choral Dancers (Fig. 14) are represented by six boys and a girl in a circle with hands joined, the circular composition reminding us of Masaccio's famous Tribute Money group in the Carmine. The figures in the background are in lower relief, but there is no attempt to depart from



FIG. 14. CANTORIA. CHORAL DANCERS.

the old tradition of isocephalism. The children are singing as well as dancing. Five of the seven wear garlands asymmetrically composed of flowers or of laurel leaves and berries (Fig. 15). As a rule they are lightly draped as compared with the children of the upper series. The frames of the lower series are also simpler, consisting of plain unornamented ovolo mouldings.



FIG. 15. CANTORIA. DETAIL.

- (7). THE PLAYERS ON THE ORGAN AND HARP. Photos, Alinari, No. 2555; Brogi, No. 3255.

The central figure in a group of nine children, seated on an ornamented bench, plays a primitive organ: his left hand working the bellows, his right playing the keys (Fig. 16). We wonder if this may not be a diminutive representation of the old cathedral organ or of the newer one made by Matteo da Prato (1433-1439). The stringed instruments consist of a small harp or lyre, and a cithara or mandolin. The cithara is less elaborate than

those represented in the upper series. All the children in this relief—in fact in the entire lower series—are barefooted. All are lightly draped. Two wear twisted fillets.



FIG. 16. CANTORIA. ORGAN AND HARP.

(8). THE TAMBOURINE PLAYERS. Photos., Alinari, No. 2556; Brogi, No. 3253, 9539.

This is another centralized composition, consisting of an emphasized central figure with three receding figures on either side (Fig. 17). The *cymbala benesonantia* are here expressed by tambourines, which are held by five of the seven children. In contrast with Donatello's dancing children, who are represented in impossible attitudes, these children and the tambourines are successfully posed at various angles to the spectator. The central figure carries a taenia over his right arm and a long laurel garland about his neck. Another laurel wreath is carried by the boy at the extreme right. The two terminal figures have wings, an indication that the entire throng is to be considered a heavenly choir. Where draperies are used, they show long, swinging curves and S-shaped fold endings. The faces exhibit great variety of expression.



FIG. 17. CANTORIA. TAMBOURINE PLAYERS.

(9). THE CYMBAL PLAYERS. Photos., Alinari, No. 2553; Brogi, No. 3257.

The *cymbala jubilationis* are here represented in the hands of five of the six children (Fig. 18): This relief is the last of the two frontal series, and balances the relief of the trumpeters. It is full of movement, from right to left, and has a strong terminal figure to the right. The children are full of animation and enjoy their high-sounding cymbals. Two wear floral wreaths, and two wear fillets, of which one is studded with gems. The cymbals are provided with cords and tassels, by means of which they are firmly held.



FIG. 18. CANTORIA. CYMBAL PLAYERS.

- (10). ALLELUIA RELIEF OF BOYS SINGING FROM A SCROLL. Photos., Alinari, No. 2548; Brogi, Nos. 3250, 9524.

The 150th Psalm begins and ends with an Alleluia. So on the narrow right end of the balcony there is a second relief of singing boys (Fig. 19). They are reading from a scroll. The two foremost have their arms over each other's shoulders, and one beats time with his finger. Two in the background are also singing, while one resting his head on his hand is listening only. They wear leggings, which leave the toes exposed—a more elaborate footwear than that represented in the first Alleluia relief. The draperies have simple, naturalistic folds.



FIG. 19. CANTORIA. ALLELUIA RELIEF.

DOCUMENTS

[Quoted from Poggi, *Ital. Forsch.*, II, 249-256.]

1. (Poggi, No. 1240.) 1431, Ottobre 4.

Item confirmaverunt quamdam emptionem factam per provisorem opere cuidam Luce Simonis marci della robbia, pro pretio librarum decem et soldorum . . . de quodam marmore albo. [*Delib.*, 1425-1436, c. 149^t.]

2. (P. 1241.) 1432, Aprile 9.

Lucha di Simone di marchio della robia, maestro d'intaglio, de'avere f. VI d'oro allui prestati nel lavoro del perghamo degli orghani debe fare all' opera, in tuto chome apare a libro segnato C a c. 108. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 30.]

3. (P. 1242.) 1432, Aprile 29.

Item conduxerunt in magistrum opere ad laborandum cornices perghami locati ad faciendum Luce Simonis marci della Robbia, pro eo salario quod declarabitur per caputmagistrum opere, Caprinum Dominici Justi de Settignano. [*Delib.*, 1425-1436, c. 158^t.]

4. (P. 1243.)

1432, Luglio 11.

Item deliberaverunt quod capudmagister opere, expensis opere, fieri faciat locum inceptum per caputmagistrum in quo stare debeat ad laborandum laborerium perghami locatum per dictos operarios lucas marci simonis dellarobbia eidem luce. [*Delib.*, 1425-1436, c. 165.]

5. (P. 1244.)

1432, Ottobre 22.

A Lucha di Simone di marchio della Robia che fa el perghamo del marmo, f. XII d'oro, e' quali gli stanziato per parte di danari de' avere per lavorio à fatto per lo detto perghamo. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 42^t.]

6. (P. 1245.)

1432, Novembre 29.

Item deliberaverunt quod dictus capudmagister dare teneatur Luce marci della Robbia medietatem cuiusdam lapidis recise pro faciendo tabulas perghami eidem per eorum offitium locati, et quod de dicto marmore scribatur dictus lucas debitor opere. [*Delib.*, 1425-1436, c. 191.]

7. (P. 1246.)

1432, Dicembre 9.

Item deliberaverunt quod provisor opere prefate reducere teneatur sub nomine Nicolai Ughonis de Alexandris, Mattei de Strozis et Johannis lapi de niccolinis, provisorum opere, ad faciendum fieri sepulturam sancti Zenobii locatam laurentio bartaluccii et altare prefati sancti locatum filippo ser brunelleschi et unum par orghanorum locatum Matteo de Prato et perghamum orghanorum locatum luce marci della robbia, stantiamenta alias facta et missa ad exitum sub nomine Bernardi amerigi de Donatis et Nardi Segantis alias Sacchardi. [*Delib.*, 1425-1436, c. 192.]

8. (P. 1247.)

1433, Gennaio 23.

A Nicholaio de Allesandri e Matteo di Simone Strozi, uficiali della sepoltura di sancto Zanobi e del fare i perghami, fior. XV d'oro, disono per dare a Lucha di Simone della robia fa el perghamo. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 47.]

9. (P. 1248.)

1433, Marzo 31.

A Lucha di Simone della Robia, scharpellatore, deputato a fare il perghamo, fior. XXVII d'oro per parte di sua fatigha. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 51.]

10. (P. 1249.)

1433, Maggio 19.

Item deliberaverunt quod conductores marmoris albi opere teneantur et debeant ad instantiam luce simonis dellarobbia, magistri perghami orghanorum, conducere pro perghamo opere illam quantitatem marmoris qua dictus lucas indigeret pro dicto perghamo, expensis opere. [*Delib.*, 1425-1436, c. 198^t.]

11. (P. 1250.)

1433, Novembre 12.

A Lucha di Simone della Robia che lavora in sul perghamo del marmo, per parte di quello debe avere, fior. XV a libro C . . . [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 63^t.]

12. (P. 1251.) 1433, Dicembre 23.

A Nanni di Miniato detto Fora, scharpellatore, l. XL p., e' qua' danari a lui si dano per sua fatigha innavere fatto braccia 10 di chornice del perghamo che fa al presente lucha di Simone dellarobia, a libro C c. 135. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 66.]

A Lucha di Simone della Robia, scharpellatore, fior. X d'oro, e' qua' danari a lui si dano per parte del perghamo ch' al presente per lui si fa per l'opera, cho[n] questo che in prima e' faci che Matteo di Simone Strozi venga ad achonciare la ragione del perghamo e orghani e sepoltura di sancto Zanobi, e altrimenti no[n] gli abi; a libro segnato C c. 233. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 66.]

A Francesco d'Andrea Fraschetta, scharpellatore e chondottore del marmo bianco, l. LX p., e' qua' danari a lui si danno e presta[no] sopra 1^a lapida di braccia 5 che lavora Donatello per lo perghamo, e due altri pezi, di braccia 2 l' uno, per Lucha della Robia che fa el perghamo, a libro C c. 89. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 66.]

13. (P. 1252.) 1433, Dicembre 30.

Prefati operarii deliberaverunt atque partito locaverunt Checho Andree Fraschetta de Septignano ad cavandum et conducendum a cava Carrarie ad operam unam lapidem maiorem lapidibus sepulturarum et eo modo et forma prout dabitur eidem per mensuram et modonum per Filippum ser Brunelleschi et Batistam Antonii, capudmagistrum opere, pro perghamo quem actualiter facit Donatus Niccolai, magister intagli alias Donatello, et duos petios marmoris mensuris per prefatos Filippum et Batistam eidem exhibendis pro perghamo quem facit Lucas Simonis della Robbia. [*Delib.*, 1425-1436, c. 208^t.]

14. (P. 1253.) 1434, Gennaio 15.

A Lucha di Simone della Robia, fior. X d'oro, e' qua' danari allui si dano e prestano sopra el perghamo ch' al presente fa, a libro segn. D c. 36. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 67^t.]

15. (P. 1254.) 1434, Febbraio 13.

A Lucha di Simone della Robia, maestro d'intaglio, fior. V d'oro, e' quali danari gli si danno sopra e' perghami fa a stanza dell' opera, chom' apare a libro D c. 42. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 69^t.]

16. (P. 1255.) 1434, Marzo 18.

A Lucha di Simone della Robia, che lavora in sul perghamo, per parte di danari de' avere per detto lavorio, posto debi dare a libro segn. D c. 42, fior. X. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 71.]

17. (P. 1256.) 1434, Giugno 2.

A Nicholaio d'Ugho Alesandri e Mateo degli Strozi fior. XXV d'oro, sono per dare a Lucha di Simone della Robia per parte di pagamento del perghamo fa a stanza degli operai, a libro segn. D c. 90. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 75.]

18. (P. 1257.) 1434, Giugno 9.

Nicholaio Alesandri e Mateo Strozzi . . . fior. L d'oro per dare et pagha[re] a Lucha di Simone di marchio della Robbia, per lavorare uno perghamo di marmo storiato gli fu aloghato pegli operai a quello tenpo e con que' patti e modi che parrà a detti uficiali. [*Stanz., CC, c. 75¹.*]

19. (P. 1258.) 1434, Agosto 26.

Item similis modum et forma extimaverunt et extimationem fecerunt quatuor petia seu quatuor petiis storiarum cuiusdam perghami locati luce simonis marci dellarobbia, videlicet duo maiora et duo minora videlicet quodlibet petium maius fl. sexaginta et quodlibet petium minus fl. XXXV, in totum in ipsa quattuor petia fl. au CLXXXX et ad dictam rationem camera-rius opere solvere teneatur et ad aliam extimationem per eorum offitium non possit dictum pretium stantiari, et hoc visis et examinatis quampluribus extimationibus a quampluribus intelligentibus habitis super predictis. [*Dclib., 1425-1436, c. 221.*]

20. (P. 1259.) 1434, Dicembre 17.

Nicholaio di Ugho Alesandri e Giovanni Nicholini ufiziali sopra i perghami et altri lavori fior. XXX, per dare a Lucha di Simone della Robbia che fa uno perghamo a libro segn. D c. 90. [*Stanz., CC, c. 84¹.—IXXX fiorini gli furono pagati il 15 Gennaio del 1435, come risulta dalla seguente partita dal Quaderno di Cassa di Niccolò di Giovannozzo Biliotti, a c. 87: Lucha di Simone, intagliatore, de' avere a dì 15 di Genaio fior. XXX d'oro, per lui da Nicholaio d'Ugho degli Alesandri . . . , uficiali deputati sopra i perghami del marmo, messi a loro a uscita c. 55 per parte di lavorio fatto detto Lucha in su detti perghami.*]

21. (P. 1260.) 1435, Gennaio 24.

Item deliberaverunt quod provisor opere, cum consilio Chimentis Cipriani ser Nigi et Juntini Guidonis Juntini, dirigere teneatur rationes Luce della Robbia et Laurentii Bartoluccii et aliorum qui laborant pro factis opere in pergamis et alias, quorum rationes sunt sub nomine Mattei de Strozis et sotiorum . . . et annullaverunt commissionem datam dictis Macteo et sociis. [*Delib., 1425-1436, c. 226.*]

22. (P. 1261.) 1435, Aprile 1.

Lucha di Simone di marchio della Robbia, fior. X d'oro, sono per parte di 1° perghamo che fa a stanza de l'opera, di marmo, a libro segn. D c. 126. [*Stanz., CC, c. 93.*]

23. (P. 1262.) 1435, Aprile 22.

Prefati operarii . . . considerantes quasdam storias marmoris factas ad instantiam opere per lucam simonis marci dellarobbia, pro uno perghamo sibi per operarios dicte opere locato, et advertentes ad quoddam pretium alias factum per eorum antecessores quibusdam storiis dicti perghami per eum factis et considerantes dictum Lucam fecisse certas alias storias dicti perghami que nondum fuerunt extimate et in quibus maiorem laborem et

longius tempus misit, et quod, in magisterio, dicte storie quas facit ad presens sunt pulciores ac meliores, idcirco . . . deliberaverunt quod dicta opera teneatur et obligata eidem luce dare et solvere pro qualibet storia facta et nondum extimata, et etiam pro qualibet storia fienda totius perghami, fl. septuaginta, et pro qualibet storia minori illud minus quod tangeret pro rata cuiuslibet storie, et ad dictam rationem dicti operarii teneantur eidem facere stantiamenta de tempore in tempus, prout dictus lucas fecerit omnes historias dicti perghami. [*Delib.*, 1425-1436, c. 230^t.]

24. (P. 1263.) 1435, Aprile 26.

A Luca di Simone della Robia, maestro d'intaglio, fior. LV per parte di pagamento di 1° perghamo fa a stanza dell' opera, a libro segn. D c. 126. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 95^t.]

25. (P. 1264.) 1435, Aprile 29.

Item similis modum et forma declaraverunt Nannem Pieri Ticcii debere recipere et habere ab opera, de marmore quod facit pro perghamo luce simonis marci della robbia, illud pretium quod declarabitur per eorum offitium ultra pretium quod est consuetum dari de alio marmore conducto et conducendo pro cupola, . . . habito respectu quod maius tempus consumatur in charichando et scharichando marmore dicti perghami quam aliud marmor. [*Delib.*, 1425-1436, c. 232^t.]

26. (P. 1265.) 1435, Maggio 6.

Item eligerunt Niccolaum Ughonis de Alexandris, Salvi neronis dietisalvi et Johannem Lapi niccolini in sollicitatores et offitiales ad providendum perghamum locatum luce simonis della robbia et fenestras locatas bernardo francisci, magistro fenestrarum vitrei, et capsam sepulture beati s. Zenobii et organa que fiunt de novo . . . [*Delib.*, 1425-1436, c. 233.]

27. (P. 1266.) 1435, Giugno 30

A Lucha di Simone della Robia, maestro d'intaglio di figure di marmo, fior. XX d'oro, sono per parte di pagamento di 1° perghamo di marmo fa a stanza dell' opera, a libro segn. D c. 126. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 101^t.]

28. (P. 1267.) 1435, Agosto 26.

A Lucha di Simone della Ropia, maestro d'intaglio, fior. XL d'oro, sono per parte di pagamento di 1° perghamo di marmo fa a stanza dell' opera, a libro segn. D c. 126. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 103.]

29. (P. 1268.) 1435, Dicembre 7.

A Lucha di Simone della Robbia fior. XL d'oro, sono per parte di pagamento di 1° perghamo che fa a stanza de l'opera, a libro segn. D c. 179. [*Stanz.*, CC, c. 110.]

30. (P. 1269.) 1435, Dicembre 14.

Deliberaverunt quod caputmagister opere actari faciat unum locum in opera ubi lucas simonis marci dellarobbia laborare debeat perghamum de marmore sibi locatum. [*Delib.*, 1425-1436, c. 245^t.]

31. (P. 1270.) 1436, Aprile 24.

A Lucha di Simone della Robbia, maestro d'intaglio, fior. XX d'oro, sono per parte di pagamento di 1° perghamo di marmo che fa a stanza de l'opera, a libro segn. D c. 181. [*Stanz., CC, c. 124.*]

32. (P. 1271.) 1436, Giugno 20.

A Lucha di Simone di marchio de la Robia, fior. XXX d'oro, sono per parte di pagamento di 1° perghamo che fa a stanza de l'opera, di marmo, a libro segn. D c. 179. [*Stanz., CC, c. 128.*]

33. (P. 1272.) 1436, Ottobre 10.

A Luca di Simone della Robia fior. XL d'oro, per parte di pagamento di 1° perghamo di marmo che fa a stanza de l'opera, a libro segn. D c. 179. [*Stanz., CC, c. 137^t.*]

34. (P. 1273.) 1437, Marzo 7.

Item deliberaverunt quod caputmagister et provisor destrui faciant domum ubi stat Lucas della Robbia ad laborandum, et de novo statuatur sibi unus alius locus in dicta opera ubi dictus Lucas comode stare possit ad laborandum. [*Delib., 1436-1442, c. 13^t.*]

35. (P. 1274.) 1437, Aprile 9.

A Lucha di Simone della Robia, maestro d'intaglio, fior. L d'oro, sono per parte di pagamento di 1° perghamo che fa a stanza de l'opera di marmo, a libro segn. D c. 179. [*Stanz., DD, c. 8^t.*]

36. (P. 1275.) 1437, Aprile 18.

Item commiserunt Niccolao Johannotii de Biliottis, uni ex offitio dictorum operariorum, et Gualterotto Jacobi de Riccialbanis provisorii dicte opere, revidendi et saldandi rationes locationis facte . . . Luce Simonis della Robbia de perghamo marmoreo figurato facit ad instantiam dicti offitii . . . [*Delib., 1436-1442, c. 17.*]

37. (P. 1276.) 1437, Aprile 30.

Item deliberaverunt quod Batista caputmagister poliri faciat omnes figuras que sunt miste cum marmore opere in laborerio dicte opere in terra per Lucam Simonis della robbia, et postea reponi faciat in loco preheminenti ut non devastentur. [*Delib., 1436-1442, c. 18.*]

38. (P. 1277.) 1437, Agosto 30.

Luce Simonis marci della Robbia, magistro intagli, fl. au. triginta, pro parte solutionis perghami de marmore figurato facit ad instantiam opere. [*Stanz., E, c. 7^t.*]

39. (P. 1278.) 1437, Ottobre 30.

A Lucha di Simone della robbia fior. XL do'ro, per parte di pagamento dun perghamo di marmo figurato e storiato fa a stanza dell' opera per la chiesa maggiore. [*Stanz., DD, c. 23.—Cfr. Stanz., E, c. 14^t.*]

40. (P. 1279.) 1437, Dicembre 19.

A Lucha di Simone della robbia, maestro d'intalglio, fior. CL d'oro per parte di pagamento d'uno perghamo di marmo con figure fa a stanza dell' opera per una delle due sagrestie della chiesa maggiore di Firenze com' appare a libro del proveditore seg. D a c. . . . [*Stanz.*, *DD*, c. 26^t.—*Cfr. Stanz.*, *E*, c. 22.]

41. (P. 1280.) 1438, Marzo 14.

Prefati operarii deliberaverunt quod Filippus ser Brunelleschi et caputmagister dicte opere teneantur rumpi facere certam partem pilastri sacristie in qua stare [*debeant*] becchatelli perghami marmoris facti per Lucam Simonis marci della Robbia in quo poni [*debent*] orghana ecclesie prefate. [*Delib.*, 1436-1442, c. 33.]

42. (P. 1281.) 1438, Marzo 20.

Item simili modo deliberaverunt quod provisor opere scribat ad librum opere in creditorem dicte opere Lucam Simonis marci della Robbia pro infrascriptis quantitibus pecunie, videlicet: pro quinque becchatellis cum cimasiis perghami de marmore facti in ecclesia maiori, ad rationem fl. au. XVII s. IV et d. II ad aurum pro quolibet bechatello cum sua cimasia; et ad rationem fl. XLV s. XIV et d. III ad aurum, pro otto venbris acchanalatis et basis et capitellis, in totum . . . , et ad rationem fl. au. IV s. III et d. IV pro una cornice grossa cum litteris et cum denetellis, in totum brachiorum 14 et unius sexti alterius brachii, pro quolibet brachio . . . : et ad rationem fl. au. IV pro una alia cornice grossa sine dentellis alinguazata, brachiorum 14 et quattuor quintonum brachii, pro quolibet brachio . . . : et ad rationem libr. IV unius fregi cum litteris brachiorum 9 et unius tertii [*alterius*] brachii pro quolibet brachio . . . : et ad rationem libr. III et s. X pro una cornice que vadit . . . , in totum brachiorum 6 et unius quarti alterius brachii, pro quolibet brachio . . . : et ad rationem soldorum XVII pro una correggina marmoris albi brachiorum 12, pro quolibet brachio . . . : in totum . . . : in totum fl. CCLXVI et s. VIII ad aurum. [*Delib.*, 1436-1442, c. 33.]

43. (P. 1282.) 1438, Aprile 30.

A Lucha di Simone della Robbia fior. L d'oro per parte del perghamo à intagliato. [*Stanz.*, *DD*, c. 32.—*Cfr. Stanz.*, *E*, c. 33^t.]

44. (P. 1283.) 1438, Maggio 26.

A Lucha di Simone di marchio della Robbia, maestro d'intalglio, fior. XL p. per parte di pagamento del perghamo à fatto nella chiesa maggiore. [*Stanz.*, *DD*, c. 34^t.—*Cfr. Stanz.*, *E*, c. 39.]

45. (P. 1284.) 1438, Giugno 5.

A Nanni di Piero del Ticcio, chonduttore di marmo bianco, f. XXX p. per ristoro di più quantità di marmo bianco per lui chondotto all' opera dalla chava di Charara per 1° perghamo che à fatto Lucha di Simone della Robbia nella chiesa maggiore di Firenze perchè detto marmo è stato di

magiore peso e maggiori prezzi che non è l'altro della sua condotta e però è di più spesa. [*Stanz., DD, c. 35^t.*]

Nanni Pieri Ticci, conductori marmoris albi opere, f. XXX pro restorationem marmoris pro eum conducti ad operam pro perghamo facto per Lucam Simonis marci della robbia in ecclesia maiori florentina, considerato quod maioris expense fuit dictum marmor in conducendo eum quia erat maioris ponderis et magis ineptum in charichando et scharichando dictum marmor et pro omni eo quod petere posset dictus Nannes pro dicto marmore et hoc vigore declarationis facte per Filippum ser Brunelleschi et Batistam Antonii, capudmagistrum opere. [*Stanz., E, c. 40^t.*]

46. (P. 1285.) 1438, Agosto 28.

A Luca di Simone di marchio della Robbia, intagliatore, fior. XLII s. VIII a oro, i quali danari gli si danno pe' resto d'intagliatura e maestero del perghamo del marmo ch'è posto e murato nella chiesa maggiore sopra l'uscio della sagrestia di verso i Servi. [*Stanz., DD, c. 39^t.—Cfr. Stanz., E, c. 54^t.*]

Item stantiaverunt Luce della Robbia fl. XLII s. VIII pro resto pergami. [*B. scr N., I, c. 11.*]

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 552, Figs. 363-369; Waters, 188.

2 TWO NUDE BRONZE ANGELS. Florence, Duomo. Now Lost.

Vasari tells us that on the cornice of the cantoria Luca set two figures of gilded metal, described as *angeli nudi, condotto molto pulitamente*. These are mentioned in the following century by Bocchi and by Del Migliore as in the same position. Bocchi and Del Migliore define the metal as bronze. As these figures are no longer known to exist, and even the cornice on which they were placed has been destroyed, we may assume that the angels were removed in 1688 when the Cantoria was taken down. It is not known what became of them. Nor do we know their character. Schubring assumes that they were candelabrum-bearing angels, but Luca and his followers never represented candelabrum-bearing angels as nude. Poggi publishes documents (Nos. 1426-1428, 1438-1443) to the effect that two trumpeting angels of gilded wood were ordered of Bertoldo, sculptor, in 1485, and that the same or a similar order was given to Bartolomeo d'Agnolo, wood carver, in 1508. Poggi believes that these were the angels referred to by Vasari. However, the documents show that these wooden angels stood not on the cornice of the cantoria, but on the organ itself (*super organo; sopra l'orghano*), also that they were too large to be placed on the cornices of the cantoria (*altitudinis brachiorum duorum cum dimidio alterius brachii; grandi quanto naturale*).

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3 THE FIGDOR MIRROR. Vienna, Collection of Herr A. Figdor. Glazed terra-cotta. Total diameter, 0.63 m. Diameter of central mirror, 0.17 m. Photo., Bruckmann.

From the Boy Collection, Versailles, passed into the hands of Herr Figdor, Vienna, a very charming mirror of glazed terra-cotta (Fig. 20).

The glazing is coarse and heavy, lacking the purity and smoothness, which characterizes almost all of Luca's glazes. The Visitation at Pistoia is perhaps the only other work of Luca's in which such coarse glazing occurs. If one studies the design of this mirror, there can be little doubt that it is not the work of a copyist, but a sketch dashed off by the artist himself at a



FIG. 20. THE FIGDOR MIRROR.

time when the faces of the boys and girls of the Cantoria were still fresh in mind. We may in fact recognize faces from the reliefs of the Choral Dancers, the Players on the Organ, the Tambourine Players, and the Cymbal Players. Luca shows here the same serious-minded but happy

children, treated with the same variety of expression exhibited in the Cantoria. The comparison may be carried to details: to the laurel wreaths, the floral crowns, the varied fillets, the wavy hair.

The mirror was designed to be hung on the wall. Hence this circle of heads has a top and a base, where the heads are accentuated. But the remaining sixteen heads are not schematically arranged. The composition is asymmetric, as in Luca's fruit and floral frames. We also note the freedom with which the heads are related to the frame. Faces, hands, garlands infringe upon the outer mouldings or against the inner laurel wreath. This peculiarity may also be observed in the lower series of the Cantoria reliefs.

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Bode, *Denkm.*, 177, Taf. 548 A; *Fl. Bildh.*, 164; Doering-Dachau, 22, Abb., 32.

- 4 THE VISITATION. Pistoia, S. Giovanni fuorcivitas. H., 1.55 m.; W., 1.50 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 10207-10208; Brogi, No. 4524-4525. Burton & Co.

This group (Fig. 21) is known to have been in the church of S. Giovanni fuorcivitas, Pistoia, as early as October 11, 1445, when Monna Bice, widow of Jacopo di Neri de' Fioravanti, provided a foundation for the purchase of oil so that a lamp could be kept burning before it night and day. The document relating this provision for the group, as well as others from the archives of the Compagnia di S. Elisabetta for the years 1507, 1512, 1514, 1515, 1546, and 1561 concerning the care and decoration of its tabernacle, have been published by Dr. Pèleo Bacci.

As one of the earliest groups of the fifteenth century and one of the few examples of Robbia statues in the round it deserves careful study. It stands in distinct contrast to the sixteenth century representations of the same subject on the Ceppo Hospital at Pistoia (1525), in S. Stefano at Lamporrecchio (1524), and at S. Ansano near Fiesole, in being more closely related to marble sculpture. The two figures are set upon separate pedestals. The upper and lower parts of their bodies are cast separately. Together they form a compact, pyramidal group, a compositional type common in the works of Luca della Robbia.

Unlike the sixteenth century Robbia Visitations, there is no polychromy. Here only the eyes are coloured beneath the glaze. There are traces of gilding, crudely renewed and then removed in modern times, on the hair and borders of the garments. When I first saw this group in 1892 I was



FIG. 21. THE VISITATION.

impressed by the colouring of the eyes, with their gray-blue irises bounded by a line of purple-violet and surrounding a purple-violet pupil. I soon learned that in his representations of the eyes of the Madonna, Luca gave to them almost without exception gray-blue irises. It may be noted that on the Cantoria, Luca almost invariably carved the pupils and irises, occasionally also the eyebrows, but not the eyelashes; also that in

1443 in the Resurrection relief the eyebrows and lashes are not marked in colour, as they were in 1446-1451 in the Ascension relief, in 1448 in the candelabrum-bearing angels, and later almost invariably. Andrea della Robbia preferred to give the Madonna hazel eyes. We need recall only the yellow irises with the dark pupils, eyebrows, and eyelashes over the Cathedral portal at Pistoia (1505) and the copper-coloured irises over the Cathedral portal at Prato (1489). The followers of Andrea were not so careful; they were either content with a black spot to indicate both pupil and iris, or left the iris white.

The glaze is not of the vitreous, milky-white character described by Bacci, nor of the fine quality described by Dr. Bode and Miss Cruttwell. It is coarse and thickly applied like that of the Figdor mirror frame in Vienna, and spotty, like that of S. Taddeo in the Pazzi Chapel, not like the thin glazes of the early sixteenth century so well represented at Pistoia.

If we examine the group in detail we shall find many striking relationships to Luca's early work. The Virgin wears a kerchief wound about her head, similar in fashion to that of one of the cithara players and two of the drummers of the Cantoria (1431-1438), and to a female head on the bronze doors of the Sacristy, not unlike the turbans which Ghiberti exhibits so frequently, but quite different from the veils and shawls used by Andrea della Robbia and his sons to cover the head of the Virgin. The waving hair, the little ringlets on the cheek, and the large lobe of the ear are seen also in the cithara players. The shape of the head, whether seen in profile or in full face (Fig. 22) would lead us to believe that Luca had before him the same model as he had when he carved the Cantoria. The heavy drapery with its long sweeping folds finds its closest analogies in early and middle fifteenth century sculpture—in Luca's Cantoria, his Ascen-



FIG. 22. THE VISITATION.

sion relief and his candelabrum-bearing angels. Even the ruffle about the Virgin's neck is a detail of costume to be found in several of Luca's early Madonnas: in the lunette from S. Pierino, in the recently acquired lunette in the Berlin Museum, and in the Madonna from S. Maria Nuova, now in the Museo Nazionale. Such a ruffle seems to have been no longer worn in the latter half of the century, as it does not occur, except as a diminutive band, in the works of Andrea della Robbia and his followers.

S. Elisabetta is on her knees, as she was represented by Taddeo Gaddi, but less frequently in later Visitations. Both she and the Virgin are here conceived in simpler terms than are the praying woman and the Virgin in Andrea's beautiful altarpiece in the Osservanza near Siena. Pèleo Bacci, blind to the expressive character of the group as a whole, calls attention to the left arm of S. Elisabetta as an example of the crude modelling indicative of the decadence, when Benedetto Buglioni was the leading spirit of the Robbia school. I do not recall any parallel to this in the works which may be attributed to Benedetto or Santi Buglioni. But Luca himself in the Logic and in the Tubalcain reliefs of the Campanile (1437-1439) has portrayed thick arms and very broad sleeves. This arm of S. Elisabetta may certainly be cited as a defect in modelling, but like the defects in the Campanile reliefs, it sinks into insignificance before the impressive beauty of the group. We forget the arm of S. Elisabetta, and think only of her adoring spirit about to break forth into the song, "Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb," and of the suppressed joy of the Virgin, about to sing in response, "My soul doth magnify the Lord and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour" (St. Luke I. 46-55).

DOCUMENTS

[Document No. 1, copied by Signorina Eugenia Levi, is here published in full for the first time; the remaining documents are quoted from Dr. Pèleo Bacci, *Il Gruppo Pistoiese della Visitazione, già attribuito a Luca della Robbia*. Florence, 1906.]

1. MCCCCXLV. Die 11 mensis octobris.

DOM. BICIE Dña bicie olim uxor Jacobi Nerij de floravantibus
DE FIORAVANTE. vidua de pistorio volens providere saluti anime sue,
 amore dej et inrevocabiler donavit atque dedit et ottulit
sotietati visitationis virginis marie ad Sanctam elisabectam sitam in ecclesia
S. Johanni forcivitas et domino laurentjo christoforj priorj ecclesie S. Joh.

forcivitas et dignissimo chanonicho chattedralis ecclesie pistoriensis et rectori sotietatis visitationis virginis Marie ad sanctam elisabectam sitam in dicta ecclesia S. Johannis et predicta sotietate recipere omni anno in perpetuum de mense Januarij in anno domini MCCCCXLVJ proximo veniente unam quartinam et dimidiam alie quartine olej dulcis et clarij de quo voluit in perpetuum die noctuque ardere debet unam lampadem ad onorem dei virginis marie coram figura virginis Marie Sancte Elisabet visitationis earum in ecclesia S. Johanni forcivitas predictae. Cum hoc expresso et declarato per ipsa domina bicie et eius heredes possit et possint ad earum voluntatem a dicta sotietate visitationis redimere at pretium ab ea vel suis heredibus depraedicta recipiendum pro dicta sotietate spendi debeat in alio affictu olei ad sufficiente ad dictam lampadem ardendum ut supra et dittus d. laurentius convenit etc. Que omnia etc. promisit et sub poena librarum C etc. obligavit et ren. etc. Rog. etc. Actum pistori in ecclesia S. Johannis predictae presentibus presbitero Nardo Perfecti et presbitero piero bartholomei Gherardi omnibus de pistorio feliciter.

Archivio del Patrim. eccl. di Pistoia. *Compagnia di S. Elisabetta* Testamenti, cod. C, n. 160, c. 5^t.

2. A dì 22 Settembre, 1507.

Alla Chompagnia soprascritta a dì 22 dito [Settembre, 1507] per contanti lire tre per bracia sei di velo per metere alla figura di santa Lissabetta l. 3. s.—.

Archivio del Patrim., etc. Giornale 1503-1509, Cod. C, n. 1, c. 31^t.

3. A dì 22 di Luglio, 1512.

A uscita generale a dì soprascritto per braccia XII di tela cilestra per fare una tenda a santa Elisabetta e den. 8 per refe in tutto l. 4, s. 12, 8.

Archivio del Patrim., etc. Giornale, etc., c. 79.

4. A dì 9 di Maggio, 1513.

Item, considerato e auta buona relatione che qualche divota persona vuole fare uno tabernaculo et ornamento alla nostra santa Helisabetta et perchè tale spesa è pure di buona soma, servatis, etc., per loro partito ottenuto per fave 43 n[ere] per sì et fave 3 bianche per non, deliberorno, e deliberando auctorità dettono et concesseno a Vincentio di ser Nic.° Politi et a Bartolomeo di m.° Jacopo Zeloni, due delli huomini di detta Compagnia, di potere circa a questo spendere per insino alla somma e quantità di fior. tre larghi d'oro e tanti debba pagare alloro poliza el camarlingo di detta Compagnia e tanti li sia admessi da suoi ragioneri.

Archivio del Patrim., etc. Atti 1511-1530, cod. C, n. 145, c. 2^t.

5. A dì 24 di detto [aprile, 1514].

A uscita generale a dì soprascritto lib. XIIIJ° a Schalabrino di P.°[iero] di Stefano dipintore posto lui per parte di dipintura del tabernaculo dell' altare l. 14, s.—.

A libro a c. 151.

Archivio del Patrim., etc. Giornale 1503-1519, cod. C, No. 1, c. 95.

6. A di primo d'ottobre [1514].

A uscita di denari generale a di soprascritto lib. 17 sol. 10 dati a Giovabattista dipintore per xonto del tavernacholo di santa Lisabetta. L. 17, s. 10. Libro c. 155.

Archivio del Patrim., etc. Giornale, etc., c. 100.

7. A di 5 di Febbraio, 1525.

Di poi detto di, doppo le soprascritte cose e congregati come di sopra, Nicolao di Giuliano Godemini, uno del numero di detta Compagnia e si levo in pie', e al luogo solito e consueto in detta Compagnia, in luogo di ringhiera, disse expuose e narrò che essendo lui consueto ogni anno fare e celebrare fare la festa di sancto Niccolò addi 6 di dicembre ogni anno nella chiesa di sancto Giovanni forcivita allo altare intitolato di Sancta Anna al lato alla porta di detta chiesa che mette ine chrosti e essendo anco devoto della nostra sancta Lisabetta e havendo affettione alla nostra Compagnia, detto Niccolò dava e si offerisce di dare e pagare a detta Compagnia di sancta Lisabetta lib. dugento di denari spiccioli delle quali se ne debbe spendere lib. 50 den. in ornamento della cappella overo tabernaculo di sancta Lisabetta per detta e in detta Compagnia, e oltra dette lib. 50 spendere in ornamento e aconcime predetto in buona forma quella quantità di sua denari ch' a llei parrà, etc.

Archivio del Patrim., etc. Atti, etc.

8. A di 14 di Maggio, 1525.

E soprascritti ufficiali didetta Compagnia di sancta Lisabetta, congregati insieme in botteggha della mia solita residentia, absente Cosimo Fabroni loro compagno, servatis, etc., per loro partito ottenuto per fave tre nere per sì deliberorono e feceno che el camarlingo di sancta Lisabetta predetta, dia e paghi a Giuliano di m°. Bartolomeo scarpellino da Firenze lib. 50 den. de' denari di detta Compagnia per conto dello ornamento di detta cappella di sancta Lisabetta e tanto li sia ammesso da' suoi ragionieri.

Item, per loro partito detteno autorità a Michele Fioravanti loro compagno, quanto hanno tutti e' compagni, di mandare ad effetto detto ornamento e di far fare pagamento e tutto quello bisogni circha le predette cose.

Archivio del Patrim., etc. Atti, etc.

9. In 1546 it was ordered that the sacristan, "sia anchor tenuto e obligato tener coperta la figura della Nostra Donna a maggior divotione di quella, salvo che nelli di solenni e paschali, sotto il gravamento della sua conscientia."

Archivio del Patrim., etc. Atti, cod. C, n. 152, c. 10¹.

10. The same provision was repeated in 1561: "Sia anc' obligato a tener coperta l' altare et la figura della Nostra Donna et santa Lisabetta, a maggior devotione di quella, eccetto che ne' giorni solenni e pascali."

Archivio del Patrim., etc. Atti, cod. C, n. 158, c. 45.

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- 11-12, Pl. 4; Milanesi, II, 197; Murray, *Central Italy*, 1892, 125; Raymond, *D. R.*, 180-181, *Sc. Fl.*, III, 164-165.
- XX cent., Bacci, *Il Gruppo pistoiese della Visitazione*, 1-20, *Frontisp.*; Balcarres, 159, Fig. 77; Bode, *J. k. p. K.*, XXI (1900), 32; *Denkm.*, 80, Taf. 232; *Fl. Bildh.*, 150-152; Abb. 83; *Fl. Sc.* 112, Pl. 52; *Kunstchr.*, XVIII (1907), No. 31; Cruttwell, *Frontisp.*, 96-97, 324; Fabriczy, *Rep. f. K.*, XXIX (1906), 47; Fabriczy, *Rep. f. K.*, XXX (1907), 285-286; de Foville, 104, 105; Doering-Dachau, 27, Abb. 43; Giglioli, 81-85; Gronau, *Monatsh. d. Kunstw. Lit.*, III (1907), 2-3; Marquand, *A. J. A.*, XI (1907), 36-41, Pl. 6; *A. a. P.*, V (1914), 79-85; *A. a. A.*, I (1914), 21-26; Michel, IV, 125 Fig. 92; Rabizzani, *B. S. P.*, X (1908), No. 1; Schubring, 87-89, Abb. 97-98; Venturi, VI, 593-594, Fig. 398; *L'Arte*, 1905, 151; Waters, 190.

5 COLOSSAL HEAD. Florence, for the cupola of the Duomo. 1434.
Probably never executed.

In 1434 when Luca della Robbia and Donatello were engaged upon the two cantorie, each was commissioned to model for the Cathedral a head, the one selected as the best and most beautiful to be executed and placed in the *gula* of the dome. During this year the dome was nearing completion although the surmounting lantern was not finished until some years later. The *gula* is apparently defined as the *clausura*, the closing section or inner summit of the dome. A decorative head at this point must have been of colossal proportions to be seen from below. It may have been the intent of the commission to have it executed in stone or marble, as Milanesi and Bode believe. Schubring suggests that a mask of bronze would have been more practical. He also supposes that a gigantic tondo at this point of the dome could only have contained a head of God the Father. Whatever the intended material or subject, this head seems never to have been executed.

DOCUMENT

[Quoted from Cruttwell, 291, Doc. III.]

1434. "Nobiles viri . . . operarii . . . deliberaverunt quod Donatus Nicolai aurifex intagli et Lucas Simonis Marci della Robbia quilibet eorum facere teneatur unam testam . . . in formam modelli prout eis et cuilibet eorum videbitur melius et pulchrius predicta opera pro fieri faciendo postea in gula clausura cupola magne in lapidibus dicte gule unam testam sue formam modelli capiendi per eorum officium ex pulcrioribus quas facient pro dicto modello et hoc quantum melius fieri potuerit et expensis ipsius opere."
—(Deliberazione dei Consoli e Operaj.)

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6 THE CAMPANILE MARBLE RELIEFS. Florence, Campanile del Duomo. 1437-1439. Marble. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 2019-2023; Brogi, Nos. 4179-4183.

The Campanile, or Bell Tower, adjoining the Cathedral of Florence was designed by Giotto in 1334. After his death in 1336 the building was continued by Andrea Pisano, and completed by Francesco Talenti. It is divided into a series of horizontal zones, two of which are decorated by sculptured reliefs. The lower series, in hexagonal frames, is the finer in execution, and is attributed to Giotto and Andrea Pisano. Five of these hexagonal spaces on the north side of the Campanile, facing the Cathedral, were left unfilled until on May 30, 1437, the order was given to Luca della Robbia to make for them *storias marmoris*, for which he received final payment on March 10, 1439, at the rate of 20 florins each.

The Campanile reliefs as a whole set forth the arts and sciences: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Pottery, Weaving, Metallurgy, Agriculture, Commerce, Law, Music, Astronomy, Geometry, etc. The scheme seems to have been more or less casual, and so far as the documents show Luca della Robbia was not compelled to complete a definite scheme, but was free to select his own subjects. It is not easy to correlate the subjects of these reliefs with those already represented. Luca evidently designed these reliefs in harmony with those already in place, but he had before his mind no definite scheme such as that of representing the Trivium and Quadrivium. Music, Astronomy, and Geometry were represented already, and there remained Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, and Arithmetic, not enough to fill five hexagons. Even if we suppose that he represented all seven of the Liberal Arts, combining Logic with Rhetoric, and Geometry with Arithmetic, it is still difficult to interpret the final relief as Astronomy. The mind of the early fifteenth century was not rigid and schematic, but was struggling to move in new channels.

(1). Grammar. Photos., Alinari, No. 2019; Brogi, No. 4179.

In this relief a serious-minded teacher—by Vasari called Donatus—is at his desk explaining some rules to two boys (Fig. 23). In the background is an open portal, probably to suggest that Grammar is the door of knowledge. One of the boys holds a book on his lap; the other

is absorbed in taking notes. These boys are not unlike those of the Cantoria. We may note that the floor of the schoolroom slopes downward, so that the feet of the figures are visible to a spectator standing below the reliefs. This downward sloping base Luca used in many other reliefs. In



FIG. 23. GRAMMAR.

the triangular exergue, made by this base with the lower angle of the hexagon, is a fluted disk, a motive often repeated by Luca. The simple mouldings which surround the Campanile reliefs resemble those on the lower series of the Cantoria.

(2). Logic. Photos., Alinari, No. 2020; Brogi, No. 4180.

Here two men in classic costume—by Vasari called Plato and Aristotle—are engaged in active dispute (Fig. 24). The younger points to the text of an open book while the older man argues against him with energy. The mantles are heavy, but exhibit peculiarities similar to those in the Cantoria reliefs. These tunics have broad sleeves. The older man is awkwardly

posed, with the extraordinary defect of having a left foot attached to his right leg. The exergue is ornamented with a rosette and trefoils.



FIG. 24. LOGIC.

(3). MUSIC. Photos., Alinari, No. 2021; Brogi, No. 4181.

A musician, Orpheus, is seated in a grove charming birds and beasts by his song (Fig. 25). Vasari characterizes this as a lute-player representing Music. This seems an obvious interpretation and has many advocates. On the other hand, von Schlosser, d'Ancona, and Poggi, finding Music represented in Luca's final relief, interpret this one as Rhetoric or Poetry. This accords with the theory that Luca was systematically attempting to represent the Liberal Arts. It is difficult, however, to find here a symbol of Rhetoric or even of Poetry. Lyric-Song, as Miss Cruttwell puts it, is a happier designation. Instrumental music had already been represented in one of the older reliefs of this series, by a figure of Jubal, the inventor of musical instruments. This for Luca della Robbia told but half the story. He seems to have felt that human song has greater charm. Orpheus, pro-

vided with a large cithara or lute, holds the rapt attention of an eagle, a hawk, a duck, a goose, two herons, two doves, and also of a boar, a lion and lioness, a dog or wolf howling, and two indeterminate animals. Orange, palm, and olive trees furnish a picturesque background. At the base of



FIG. 25. MUSIC.

the relief is a large flower, and not far away a plant, breaking the uniformity of the rocks on which Orpheus is seated.

(4). ARITHMETIC. Photos., Alinari, No. 2022; Brogi, No. 4182.

Here are represented two Orientals, bearded, turbaned, clad in embroidered robes, and wearing scarfs (Fig. 26). Both appear to be counting, one with the assistance of a slate, the other aided only by his fingers. They form a simple composition, in contrast with the more energetic pair representing Logic. Possibly these reliefs suggested to Donatello the variety of expression to be drawn from two figures,—a theme which he played with many variations on the sacristy doors of San Lorenzo. We note in the ornamented robes Luca's fondness for rosettes—in some cases repre-

sending them as seen *a tergo*, as in the decoration of the Cantoria. The ground on which the Orientals stand has a distinct downward slope, and



FIG. 26. ARITHMETIC.

the exergue is filled with a floral scroll, which recalls those on the consoles of the Cantoria.

- (5). TUBALCAIN OR HARMONY. Photos., Alinari, No. 2023; Brogi No. 4183.

The interpretation of this relief is not self-evident. If we assume that the preceding relief is the one Vasari calls Euclid or Geometry, then this is his Ptolemy or Astrology, or if he follows the order of the reliefs as they are placed on the Campanile, the preceding one is for him Ptolemy and this one Euclid. It is difficult, however, to see in this old man with his anvil and hammers either Ptolemy or Euclid (Fig. 27). Modern writers are almost unanimous in calling him Tubalcain. It is not as the father of Metallurgy that he is here represented. He has struck his anvil with one

hammer, then with another, and is attentively listening to the resultant harmony. If this be Music, it is the theory of Music or of Harmony that is indicated. Perhaps as Miss Cruttwell suggests, it expresses a wider or Universal Harmony.



FIG. 27. TUBALCAIN.

Several writers speak of this relief as more archaic than the rest, and von Schlosser and d'Ancona reject its attribution to Luca. There can be no question that this is one of the five reliefs ordered of Luca della Robbia. In conception it is the subtlest of the series and in treatment it is characteristic of Luca. The heavy sleeves, the simple folds resemble those of the Pistoia Visitation; the bench with its mouldings is like the benches on which Luca's Madonnas are seated; the mouldings recall the frames of the lower series of the Cantoria, and the wreath of laurel and roses in the exergue reminds us of the wreath about the neck of the central tambourine player—one of the latest of the Cantoria reliefs. It is indeed strange that Luca should have made the left hand of this figure so disproportionately large. He seems to have been intentionally archaic in order to accommodate his reliefs to those of earlier date.

DOCUMENTS

[Quoted from Poggi, *Ital. Forsch.*, II, 58.]

1. (Poggi, No. 325.) 1437, 30 di Maggio.

Item locaverunt Luce Simonis della Robbia ad faciendum storias marmoris que deficiunt in campanili maioris ecclesie florentine pro eo pretio quod declarabitur per eorum offitium. [*Delib.*, 1436-1442, c. 18.]

2. (No. 326.) 1438, 2 di Dicembre.

A Lucha di Simone dellarobbia, intagliatore, f. XXX doro per parte di paghamento di certti chonpassi che fa di marmo a stanza dell' opera che s'anno a metere nel chanpanile, libro s. D c. 345. [*Stanz.*, DD, c. 44.—Cfr. *Stanz.*, E. c. 66^t e B. scr N., I^o, c. 27.]

3. (No. 327.) 1439, 10 di Marzo.

A Lucha di Simo della Robbia, intagliatore, f. LXX doro sono per resto di f. C. doro e' quali danari allui si danno per resto di paghamento di cinque storie di marmo per lui fatte e intagliate a stanza della opera, le quali s'anno a metere nel chanpanile dalla parte di verso la chiesa, per pregio di f. XX dell' una, a libro s. D c. 345. [*Stanz.*, DD, c. 51.—Cfr. *Stanz.*, E, c. 79^t.]

4. (No. 328.) 1439, adi 27 di Giugno.

Item quod medium compassum campanilis actetur prout videbitur Joanni Minerbetti. [*B. scr N.*, I, c. 54^t.]

Marrai, *Cantorie*, 7-8, note 7, gives a Latin version of Poggi's No. 326 in which Luca is said to have been paid 30 florins "pro parte sui magisterii compassum, quos facit pro metendo in nolario maioris ecclesie Sancte Marie del Fiore" (*Stanz.*, E, c. 66^t); also a Latin version of Poggi's No. 327, that the 70 florins "sunt pro pretio fl. centum, quos den. debet habere pro pretio solutionis quinque storiarum marmoris factar. et intagliatar. per eum . . . pro ponendis Campanili . . . partibus proxime Sante Reparate" (*Stanz.*, E, c. 79^t).

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 XIX cent., Baldinucci, V, 218; Bode, *Kf.*, 7; *A. S. A.*, II (1889), 3; Cavallucci II, 136 (Doc.); Cavallucci et Molinier, 23-27; Perkins, T. S., I, 192-193; H. H., 139; Reymond, *D. R.*, 24-26, *Sc. Flor.*, II, 187;
 XX cent., d'Ancona, *L'Arte*, V (1902), 223-227, 271; Bode, *J. k. p. K.*, XXI (1900), 3, *Denkm.*, 58, Taf. 201-202, *Fl. Bldh.*, 109, *Fl. Sc.*, 76; Burlamacchi, 17-18; Cruttwell, 19, 56-61, 291 (Doc.), 323; de Foville, 21, 37; Doering-Dachau, 9, Abb. 8-12; Michel, IV, 75; Poggi, LX, 58 (Doc.); Ruskin XXIII, 430-435; von Schlosser, 62-63, 72-73; Schubring, 20-27, Abb. 18-23; Venturi, VI, 557, Fig. 373; Waters, 189.

- 7 THE MARBLE ALTAR OF S. PIETRO. Two marble reliefs. (1) Deliverance of S. Pietro. (2) Crucifixion of S. Pietro. Florence, Museo Nazionale, Nos. 219, 201. 1439. (1) H., 0.69 m.; B., 0.78 m. (2) H., 0.69 m.; B., 0.68 m.

On the sixth of April 1439 Donatello was commissioned to make marble altars for two of the fifteen apsidal chapels of the Cathedral, but did not undertake them. Presumably this order was transferred to Luca della Robbia as we find him receiving a similar commission on April 12, 1439. Both artists, however, seem to have furnished models, for on April 20 Luca was directed to make a marble altar for the chapel of S. Pietro, according to a wooden model, which presumably he himself had made, and another for the chapel of S. Paolo, according to a wax model furnished by Donatello. With the exception of two reliefs, neither altar appears to have been executed, but we gather that they were to have been alike in form, for one of the S. Pietro reliefs which remains to us shows two heavy columns, leaving us to infer the existence of a second pair of columns, and Donatello's model was for an altar *super quatuor colonnis*. The suggestion made by Signor Castellucci and Dr. Marrai (Cruttwell, 56, note 1) that these two altars still exist—one in the chapel on the north side of the High Altar and the other in the Cappella della Concezione—is improbable, since these altars are set not on columns, but on coupled pilasters and are known to have been made in 1447.

In 1823 C. F. von Rumohr discovered in a storeroom of the Opera del Duomo two marble reliefs of the Deliverance and Crucifixion of S. Pietro. He recognized them as by Luca della Robbia, and was much gratified a few weeks later to find his attention substantiated by the discovery of the documents of 1439. The reliefs were placed on exhibition in the Uffizi, where they remained until transferred to the Museo Nazionale.

- (1). DELIVERANCE OF S. PIETRO. Photos., Alinari, No. 2707; Brogi, No. 9418.

Here is represented S. Pietro in prison and his deliverance by the Angel, described in Acts, XII, 1-11 (Fig. 28). Two Corinthian columns roughly blocked out form part of the architecture of the altar. The contract called for three reliefs, one in each exposed face of the altar. This one, in which the movement is from left to right, evidently decorated the

left short side. A long relief was required on the anterior face of the altar and the Crucifixion terminated the series on the right short end. That Donatello's relief representing the Giving of the Keys to S. Pietro, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, may have been designed for this



FIG. 28. DELIVERANCE OF S. PIETRO.

altar, as suggested by Schubring, is most improbable. It is only 0.40 m. in height, whereas Luca's are 0.69 m.

The general composition of this relief, familiar to the Florentine painters of the day, was, as Schubring has shown, based on earlier prototypes. In detailed execution it is closely related to Luca's own work. The angel in the prison recalls types seen on the Cantoria; the sleeping soldiers, the ornaments of the armour, and the bench on which they are seated may be paralleled on the Campanile reliefs. The angel leading S. Pietro out of prison recurs a few years later on the marble tabernacle now at Peretola.

- (2). THE CRUCIFIXION OF S. PIETRO. Photos, Alinari, No. 2708; Brogi, No. 9419.

According to tradition S. Pietro was crucified with his head downward. In this unfinished relief (Fig. 29) S. Pietro is represented in the archaic method, unrelaxed, as if not subject to the law of gravity. Two executioners are energetically nailing him to the cross. As compared with Masaccio's

predella painting of the same subject in 1427 (see Seubring, *op cit.*, Abb. 31) Luca gives less depth to the background. The two executioners are represented in profile. The cross is planted towards the left, leading the eye toward the anterior side of the altar. The three soldiers to the right



FIG. 29. CRUCIFIXION OF S. PIETRO.

form a strong terminal group and are arranged much in the same way as Luca had grouped the boys in the Cantoria.

We may also note that the ground on which the figures stand slopes downward toward the front.

DOCUMENTS

[Quoted from Poggi, *Ital. Forsch.*, II, 216-218.]

1. (Poggi, No. 1078.) 1439, Aprile 6.

E piu gli [*a Donato intagliatore*] fu allogghato per insino a dì 6 d' Aprile 1439 a fare 2 altari di marmo nella tribuna di santo Zanobi in certo modo e disegno: non n' à avuti danari alchuno e non gli à cominciati. [*Stanz., EE, c. 73.*]

2. (P. 1079.) 1439, Aprile 12.

A Lucha di Simone della Robbia per insino a dì 12 d' Aprile 1439

fu alloghato a fare 2 altari di marmo nella tribuna di santo Zanobi secondo cierto disegno, à avuto in presto f. XX d' oro. [*Stanz., EE, c. 13^t.*]

3. (P. 1080.)

1439, Aprile 20.

Item postea, dictis anno et indictione, die vigesima mensis Aprilis, presentibus testibus ad infrascripta omnia vocatis habitis et rogatis, Filippo ser Brunnelleschi Lippi et Gualterotto Jacobi de Riccialbanis, Bernardus Marci de Salviatis et Franciscus Canbi de Orlandis, duo ex numero operariorum sante Marie del Fiore, vigore auctoritatis eis concesse per offitium operariorum predictorum ad infrascripta facienda, ut de commissione constat manu ser Pieri Tolomei, notarii florentini, omni modo etc. lochaverunt etc. Luce olim Simonis Marci della Robbia, intagliatori et civi florentino, presenti et conducenti, ad faciendum et construendum duo altaria pro duobus capellis s. Marie del Fiore infrascripto modo et cum infrascripto designo, videlicet: in capella titulata et sub titulo santi Petri apostoli, in dicta ecclesia, unum altare marmoris longitudinis et largitudinis secundum modellum lignaminis, videlicet in largitudine brachiorum trium cum septem octavis alterius brachii vel circha et cum illis mensuris sibi dandis et cum compassis in facie anteriori, uno videlicet in qualibet testa, in quibus sint storie santi Petri predicti. prout dabuntur et designabuntur ei et a parte posteriori prout alias deliberabitur. Secundum vero altare sit capella titolata sub vocabulo santi Pauli apostoli, illius longitudinis et largitudinis prout supra dicitur de alio superiori, et secundum modellum eis dandum, quod factum fuit de cera per Donatum Nicholai Betti Bardi, quod est in dicta opera, videlicet super quatuor colonnis et in parte intus cum forma ovale cum storiis et figuris circum circha santi Pauli predicti. Que altaria facere debeat ad usum boni magistri ita et taliter quod sint prout requiritur in dicta ecclesia et debeat habere pro sua mercede pro dictis laboreriis pro pretio alias declarando et ordinando per operarios predictos et debeat et obligatus sit primum altare dare perfectum hinc ad quindecim menses, et alium post alios quindecim menses, et pro predictis obligavit dictis operariis recipientibus pro dicta opera, bona sua presentia et futura. [*Allog., c. 5^t.*]

4. (P. 1085.)

1439, Novembre 23

A Lucha di Simone di Marcho della Robbia, maestro di schultura, fior. XX per parte di suo maestero di due altari di marmo con figure fa per la chiesa maggiore. [*Stanz., DD, c. 69.—Cfr. Stanz., E, c. 112^t. c B. ser N., I, c. 78^t.*]

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- 8 THE LUNETTE FROM S. PIERINO. Florence, Museo Nazionale, No. 29. H., 1.20 m.; W., 2.40 m. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 2773-2774; Brogi, No. 4656.

In a little street, the Via dei Ferravecchi, by the Mercato Vecchio, now replaced by the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, was a small, old church known as S. Piero di Buonconsiglio, popularly called S. Pierino to distinguish it from S. Piero Maggiore. For the lunette above the door Vasari tells us Luca della Robbia made a *Nostra Donna con alcuni angeli intorno molto vivaci*. In the seventeenth century Del Migliore remarks that some persons objected



FIG. 30. LUNETTE FROM S. PIERINO.

to this relief as inappropriate and thought an image of S. Piero would be more fitting. The church was completely changed in style in 1736 and was suppressed in 1785, but not destroyed for almost a century. Dr. Bode in 1878 had the lunette photographed for the first time. In 1884 it was still over the door of S. Pierino, it then lay boxed up for several years before it was transferred to the Museo Nazionale where it is now preserved.

When Alinari's photograph, No. 2773, was taken (Fig. 30), this lunette appears already to have suffered from ill usage and unskilful restoration. It was set directly above a projecting cornice, and crudely raised upon this base so that it could be seen from below, and sunken into a plastered wall with no architectural frame except its own. Evidently this lunette was never designed for this site.

A comparison of this lunette with that from the Via dell' Agnolo will also show how unintelligently it had been put in place. Evidently the moulding showing the leaf and dart and that showing the egg and dart



FIG. 31. S. PIERINO LUNETTE IN MUSEO NAZIONALE.

should have been above the floral frieze; only the lower leaf moulding and the cord moulding are correctly placed. The floral wreath, moreover, is abominably put together, with no regard for direction, and is crudely patched. Possibly the frame once followed the form of a pointed arch, transformed later into a round arch. As it stands to-day in the Museo Nazionale (Fig. 31) the floral wreath is more intelligently composed and restored, but is still out of place. It rises from the imposts of the arch and meets in the centre above the Virgin's head. Like the floral framework of Ghiberti's first baptistery gates it consists of a series of almost continuous, slightly detached bouquets, here bound with blue ribbons.

White lilies, wild roses, and dark olives are irregularly distributed against the foliage, which varies in colour from a robin's egg to a rich green. Ruskin praised its naturalism.

The relief sculptures are glazed white and set against a blue background. No other colour is used except in the indication of the eyes, where we find gray-blue irises, and dark blue or violet pupils, iris boundaries, lashes, and eyebrows. The eyebrows are indicated by a series of short diagonal strokes and the lower eyelashes are not invariably represented. The general composition shows the Virgin in half figure in the clouds with an adoring angel on either side. The angels, though intently religious, are clad in calligraphic drapery, which betray Luca's rigorous training under a goldsmith and show how strongly he was influenced by Ghiberti. The triangular coronals are such as we find on the angels of Orcagna's famous tabernacle in Or San Michele, and in the sculptured Porta della Mandorla of the Cathedral. Luca uses the same type of coronal in other early works: in the marble altar of S. Pietro (1439), and in the tabernacle at Peretola (1442), but these marble angels are designed in a more advanced and independent style.

In the Madonna and Child Luca was probably dependent on some other master. The Child, who in Luca's groups is usually quiet and restful, is here eagerly pressing forward to bestow his blessings on the world. He is also held to our left, whereas in Luca's other works he is almost invariably held to the right. In the construction of both Virgin and Child Luca also falls short of his usual perfection. The Virgin's hair is very scantily modelled, her head bands roughly indicated, her shoulders too narrow, her brooch too large. The Child's head is so large and round as to make us feel that it might too easily be severed from the body. And yet may we not see in this representation of the Child the same hand, but less inspired, of him who wrought in marble the seated psaltery players in the Cantoria?

Various writers who have described this relief differ greatly as to the period to which it should be assigned. Bode dates it earlier than 1443, Venturi somewhat earlier than 1450, Marcel Reymond and Schubring between 1450 and 1460, and de Foville at about 1465. In my opinion it is an inexperienced work, in which Luca shows a tender sentiment for a youthful, bashful Virgin, but his individual artistic style is as yet but slightly developed. It may even be earlier than the Cantoria.

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- 9 THE ANDRÉ MADONNA. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, No. 778. H., 0.74 m.; W., 0.48 m. Photos., Bruckmann, Munich; Bulloz, Paris.

This free-standing relief (Fig. 32) in white enamel, which figured in the Pourtalès sale of 1865, was purchased in the Piot sale 1890, and on the death of Madame André in 1912 became the property of the French nation under the supervision of the Institut de France. The



FIG. 32. THE JACQUEMART-ANDRÉ MADONNA.

composition is very similar to that of the Madonna on the S. Pierino lunette, but the style more advanced. The Virgin's hair shows Luca's favorite waving lines, and the mantle, headdress and fillet are more accurately modelled. The ruffle about the neck is omitted and the oft repeated girdle makes its appearance. Her eyes have very light blue irises, dark blue pupils, and violet lashes. The Child is less eager; he hesitates to bestow his blessing and tightly grasps the symbolic apple. He is covered only with his mother's mantle, is held to our left, and his legs are posed as in the S. Pierino lunette. It may be noticed, however, that his head is smaller. In fact the proportions of both figures have improved and the treatment of the drapery is distinctly more successful. The type of Virgin is the same as in the S. Pierino lunette, and but slightly different from that of the cithara players of the Cantoria. Miss Cruttwell, without having seen the relief, judged it to be a "successful imitation." Nor have I seen it, but am nevertheless inclined to pronounce it a genuine early work by Luca himself and of the period 1430-1440.

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- 10 THE WELLINGTON ADORATION.** Wellington, Somerset, Nynehead Church. H., 0.70 m.; W., 0.60 m. Photo., A. C. French & Co., Wellington.

This relief was presented to Nynehead Church by its vicar, Rev. John Sanford in 1833. It represents the Madonna del Fiore or more particularly the Madonna of the lilies' adoring the Child (Fig. 33). It seems to have been cast in one piece and covered with a fine hard enamel, white for the Madonna and Child, blue for the background, blue-green and yellow for



FIG. 33. THE WELLINGTON ADORATION.

the hay, dark green for the lily stalks and a bluish gray for the sloping base. The Madonna's eyes have light blue irises and violet eyebrows, lashes, and pupils. Her hair was superficially gilded. As a composition this is unique, suggesting none of the many adorations of Andrea della Robbia, but having the quality and characteristics of the works of Luca. This Wellington example is apparently much earlier, and more experimental than the charming Adoration in the Foulc collection, Paris. The Child is here placed to the left, not, as we might expect, in a work by Luca, to the right. He is nude, pensively touching his chin with his left forefinger, a prototype of the Child in Andrea della Robbia's beautiful Adoration at La Verna. He reclines on his mother's mantle and is thus protected from contact with the coarse hay—a most unusual and thoughtful motive. His hair shows little or no modelling, but was gilded. This Madonna is firmly posed on her knees; she wears a fillet and light headdress; her hair is drawn in a heavy roll over her ear, like that of the angel in the S. Matteo medallion on the Pazzi Chapel wall; her head is not unlike that of the Virtues in the Portogallo Chapel; her hands are clasped in prayer, the right hand and arm being barely indicated in the very flattened relief; her mantle is caught up beneath her left elbow and falls over her left side in folds not unlike those in the S. Elisabetta at Pistoia, and from her right shoulder in sweeping mass to envelope the Child.

On either side the lily plants show buds and flowers, the latter with their pistils and stamens, which are displayed also in the lilies of the S. Pierino lunette and in those of the Madonna of the Physicians, Or San Michele, but are omitted in the lilies of the Via dell'Agnolo and in the Urbino lunettes, as well as on the borders of the Federighi Tomb. As a whole this relief forms an interesting parallel to Fra Filippo Lippi's adorations of the decade 1430 to 1440.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Marquand, *A. J. A.*, XVI (1912), 166-169, Fig. 2.

- 11 THE WELLINGTON MADONNA.** Wellington, Somerset. Nynehead Church. H., 0.75 m.; W., 0.45 m. Photo., A. C. French & Co., Wellington.

This relief, originally rectangular in shape, has been cut away so as to fit into a niche of late Gothic form arranged to receive it when presented in 1833 by the vicar Rev. John Sanford (Fig. 34). The figures are covered with a thick, hard, white glaze, and are set against a fine blue background. The relief is not to be classed as polychromatic, though there are traces of gold on the hair, the eyes have gray-blue irises, dark blue or violet eyebrows and lashes, and the sloping base on which the Child stands is



FIG. 34. THE WELLINGTON MADONNA.

gray-blue. The small piece of blue background below the right knee of the Child is splashed with white, but this appears to be accidental.

The relief, when analyzed in detail, should be readily recognized as the work of Luca della Robbia. In the lunette from S. Pierino Luca had represented the Madonna and angels as emerging from or floating above clouds. In the Cantoria for the cathedral of Florence he represented singing boys and maidens standing upon clouds. Here we have, as it were, the central portion of a lunette composition from which the lateral angels and basal clouds are omitted. The composition, although on a rectangular plaque, retains somewhat a triangular or pyramidal character.

It may be further noticed that the Child is here posed to the right of the Madonna. In the S. Pierino lunette, and in the André Madonna, Luca had placed the Child toward the left; but the composition was not particularly successful, and almost invariably afterward he set the Child to the right. In this group, as in many others by Luca della Robbia, neither the Madonna nor the Child wears a halo, but inasmuch as Luca made use of haloes as early as 1442 (Peretola tabernacle) and again in 1455 (Federighi Tomb) it is not easy to determine whether the presence or absence of the halo has, in Luca's works, any chronological significance. As a rule, however, Luca made little use of haloes, while his more conventional nephew, Andrea, employed them with great frequency.

If we regard the structural forms, we find in the Madonna's oval face, her long neck and flat breasts, her slender arms with hands ending in long tapering fingers, characteristics which may be paralleled in many of Luca's Madonnas. Add to this the waving hair, almost obliterating the ear, the blue eyes with the stippled eyebrows, the long, straight nose, the timid, open mouth, and the sharp-pointed chin, and the attribution approximates certainty. The drapery also is most characteristic of Luca's handiwork. We note especially the ruffle and flat neck band, the simple folds of the tunic, the plain girdle without even a bow knot, the tight buttoned sleeves, and the mantle drawn across the front. All of these peculiarities are many times repeated in Luca's Madonnas. Like the André Madonna this relief exhibits more advanced types of both Virgin and Child than those of the S. Pierino lunette, but nevertheless should be dated before the year 1440.

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Marquand, *A. J. A.*, XVI (1912), 163-166, Fig. 1.

- 12 THE S. DONATO MADONNA.** Florence. Formerly in Palazzo di S. Donato. Prince Demidoff Collection. H., 0.73 m.; W., 0.48 m. Photo., Alinari, No. 30470.

This Madonna (Fig. 35) was owned by some member of the Della Robbia family, until sold by the Marchese Viviani della Robbia in February, 1879. It then figured in Prince Demidoff's collection and was sold in the Palazzo di San Donato sale at Florence, March 15, 1880. Its present whereabouts is unknown. This is unfortunate, since it tempts a critic like



FIG. 35. THE S. DONATO MADONNA.

Marcel Reymond, without seeing it to speak of it as the only Madonna by Luca in a private collection, while Miss Cruttwell positively rejects it as a work by Luca and even ventures to attribute it to Giovanni della Robbia. Nor have I seen it, but the very excellent photograph clearly indicates

its high quality and its many affiliations with other works by Luca della Robbia.

As in the S. Pierino lunette the scene is laid above the clouds against the blue sky, and the Madonna wears still the broad neckband and high ruffle. As compared with the S. Pierino Madonna she is somewhat older, less timid, and her features more perfectly formed. The child, entirely nude now stands to the right, grasping with his right hand his mother's veil and in his left holding the symbolic apple. The type of child and the general composition recall the Wellington Madonna, from which it cannot be far removed in date. More advanced in style than the S. Pierino Madonna and less so than the Madonna in the lunette of S. Domenico at Urbino this Madonna may be assigned to the late thirties or early forties.

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- 13 THE ALTMAN MADONNA.** New York, Metropolitan Museum.
H., 0.80 m.; W., 0.56 m. Photo., A. E. Sproul, New York; Metropolitan Museum.

This fine Madonna (Fig. 36) was formerly in the collection of Count Leonello di Nobili, Florence, and was on sale for several years in London and Paris before it found a home in the Altman Collection and then in



FIG. 36. THE ALTMAN MADONNA.

the Metropolitan Museum in New York. It resembles the André Madonna in having no background, and was probably designed to be set in a lunette over a door. The base is a rich blue and has its corners cut away. The figures are covered by a hard white glaze, the Madonna's head having been cast separately.

As a composition it is more quiet and restful than the S. Pierino lunette. The Child is placed to the right, is scantily covered with his mother's mantle, blesses with his right hand, and holds in his left a scroll inscribed EGO SVM LVX MVNDI. This Virgin may be described as the S. Pierino Madonna grown somewhat older. She has the same broad forehead, oval face, half-opened mouth, and pointed chin. Her kerchief and drapery are charming in their simplicity. Her shoulders have broadened and the Child's head has decreased in size, indicating that Luca's feeling for proportion is much better than it was when he made the S. Pierino lunette.

Some details merit attention. The eyes are indicated as before but with a slight change of colour. The irises are no longer gray-blue, but gray-green. Gray-green irises occur only once again in Luca's Madonnas, so far as I have observed—in the Frescobaldi Madonna in the Berlin Museum. The method of fastening the Madonna's mantle by two cords, each with two tassels, is noticeable, as Luca has elsewhere attempted somewhat similar fastenings. On other occasions also Luca placed a scroll in the hands of the Child: in the lunette from the Via dell'Agnolo, in that of S. Domenico at Urbino, in the Madonna of the Innocenti Hospital, and upon the bronze doors of the Cathedral; but nowhere does it follow so graceful a curve as in the Altman Madonna. In modelling this Madonna Luca is no longer experimental, nor is he wearied by repetition; he has reached a high stage of accomplishment.

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CHAPTER II

1440-1450

CHAPTER II

1440-1450

- 14 THE PERETOLA MARBLE TABERNACLE.** Peretola, S. Maria.
1441-1443. H., 2.60 m.; W., 1.22 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 3724;
Brogi, Nos. 5841, 5841a.

The marble tabernacle in the church of S. Maria at Peretola (Fig. 37) was made for the Cappella di S. Luca in the church of the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova, Florence. The documents show that it was ordered in 1441, that Luca assisted by Antonio di Cristofano, was paid 107 fl., 1 lira, 16 soldi for the completed work in 1443. Sometime in the eighteenth century it was transferred from S. Maria Nuova to its dependency at Peretola.

This monument is of interest for its architecture, as well as for its unusual technique. Architecturally the Peretola tabernacle shows an advance in style upon the forms of the Cantoria. The acanthus leaves of the capitals are more accurately delineated, the central spirals are still as emphatic as the lateral ones, but, as in Roman examples, have protruding *oculi*. This latter character was exhibited in Brunelleschi's capitals for the columns and pilasters of the Pazzi chapel, and in Michelozzo's Porta del Noviziato at S. Croce. The latter door was certainly made as early as 1445 (Fabriczy, *Michelozzo*, 38), but whether before or after the Peretola tabernacle is not known. Marcel Reymond assumes that it was made about 1440 (*Brunelleschi*, 35) and that this tabernacle, especially in the decoration of the frieze, is derived from it. This is not clearly proved. Michelozzo was very busy at other works about 1440, and the Peretola tabernacle, if a derivative monument, is far finer than its model.

According to Schubring, the tabernacle was built up as a framework for the two bronze reliefs, the *sportello*, or small bronze door on which is represented Christ shedding his blood into a chalice, and the *spiritello*, with the Holy Dove. The *sportello* he attributes to Donatello, and suggests it might have been the one designed for the Font in the Baptistery at Siena (1428). This, however, is extremely improbable. This *sportello* with its

anatomical Christ is of later date, and was evidently inserted as an after thought, breaking obtrusively into the composition and actually injuring the background, with nothing in the environment to make it welcome. Luca was



FIG. 37. THE PERETOLA TABERNACLE.

commissioned to make a Corpus Christi tabernacle. His thought for the decoration was conceived in a direct and religious spirit. Here is represented God the Father, the Son who died for us, and the Spirit who makes the sacrifice effectual. This was sufficient, even though we are obliged to

assume a small door, probably without figured decoration, in this position. After Desiderio's famous tabernacle for S. Lorenzo it became customary to introduce the chalice into the decoration of the tabernacle; so some priest, perhaps when the tabernacle was moved to Peretola, may have thought it necessary to introduce here a reference to the *blood* of Christ. If we substitute a plain door for this *sportello*, the whole design becomes simpler and more beautiful.

The bronze Dove is evidently part of the original design and by Luca himself. It is framed in a marble laurel wreath upheld by two angels. Laurel wreaths are familiar to us in Luca's Cantoria and Campanile reliefs, and the angels with their triangular coronals are sisters to the angel of the S. Pietro relief made by Luca in 1439. The draperies show Luca's fondness for long sweeping folds, with a tendency to simplification. The feathers of the wings are brought out by gilding. The brocaded curtain in the background is bordered with rosettes and conventionalized foliage, similar to those which Luca had used in the relief of the Tambourine Players.

Above the angels and Dove is a lunette in which is represented a Pietà. Here is a half figure of the lifeless Christ supported by a weeping angel and attended by S. Maria and S. Giovanni Evangelista. All wear haloes, once gilded. The background is of blue glazed terra-cotta, more permanent than paint. This Pietà was not altogether a congenial task for Luca. The suave S. Maria, drawn perhaps from his own mother, or a sister superior in the Hospital, shows little emotion. The angel and S. Giovanni have tragic expressions but calm attitudes. The relaxed Christ is more successfully rendered. We note that this lunette does not rest upon a secondary order of columns, but upon rectangular piers, also that the spandrels of the arch contain fluted disks more skilfully treated than on the Campanile Grammar relief. Each disk contains a crutch, the emblem of the hospital of S. Maria Nuova.

The triply stepped architrave is decorated with a roundel, a twisted cord, and a bead and reel. The crowning moulding, a *cyma reversa*, exhibits an unusual decoration, the scale ornament. The mouldings of the cornice and pediment are decorated with the egg and dart, dentils, channellings, and leaf and dart. The pediment contains a half figure of God the Father blessing. He wears a halo and holds an open book inscribed in excellent lettering A Ω.

Not satisfied with the white marble and gilded details, the blue

background of the lunette, and the bronze *spiritello*, Luca further decorated this tabernacle with glazed terra-cotta mosaics and relief sculptures. The predella, or base, is beautifully decorated with marble *guilloches* having large and smaller openings. In the central opening is the crutch of the Hospital, and in the other large openings are twelve-petalled rosettes coloured by concentric bands of blue, dark in the centre and lighter towards the outer edge. Similar rosettes Luca had represented on the Campanile and S. Pietro relief, and the concentric circles of blue occur again on several of his medallions in the Pazzi Chapel. Between the *guilloche* and its surrounding frame are insets of purple-violet decorated with green ferns. Similar green fern leaves against the purple-violet occur in the spandrels of the lunette above. This is practically a new technique. Glazed terra-cotta had been used occasionally in mediaeval times to give spots of colour to dull stone buildings, but here it is used for insets as in polychromatic marble pavements, in Cosmati work, or in *champlevé* enamel. The decoration is so charming and the glaze and firing so excellent—every piece fits perfectly in its place—that we must suppose Luca to have had much experience in glazing terra-cotta before the years 1441-1443.

Even more unusual is the decoration of the frieze—terra-cotta sculpture applied to marble. The winged cherub heads with garlands are likely to have been suggested by Donatello's frieze for the base of the John XXIII Tomb in the Baptistery, but cherub heads and garlands were rapidly becoming the common property of sculptors and painters. It is interesting to note that the mediaeval colouring, red seraphim near the throne and blue cherubim farther away, is adhered to by Luca. The central cherub here might properly be called a seraph. It is actually purple-violet, the nearest approach to red that could be attained by the potters of the fifteenth century. The two exterior cherubs are blue, face and wings being uniformly coloured. These cherub heads are the prototypes for the *bambini* of the Innocenti Hospital, and for the cherub heads which decorate so many of the works of Andrea della Robbia. The green garland with its roses and morning-glories was foreshadowed in the wreaths of the Cantoria, but in this tabernacle is more highly developed in composition and in the permanency of its colouring.

This experiment of applying glazed terra-cotta reliefs to a marble ground ended with this monument. Luca della Robbia did not attempt it again, and only once did Andrea della Robbia make a somewhat similar combination: at S. Maria delle Grazie near Arezzo.

DOCUMENTS

[Copied by Signorina Eugenia Levi.]

1. 1441. Lucha di Simone della Robbia, maestro d'intaglio, de dare adì 4 d'aghosto fior. venti, porto contanti, sono per parte d'un tabernacolo di marmo per tenere il chorpo di Christo nella cappella di Santolucha; a uscita segnato p. p. a c. 66...Fior. 20 — —
- E adì 20 di giennaio fior. sei, porto contanti a uscita, segnato p. p. a c. 95.....Fior. 6 — —
- E adì 15 di febbraio fior. dodici, porto contanti a uscita segnato p. p. a c. 101.....Fior. 12 — —
- E adì 17 di marzo fior. dieci porto di detto a uscita segnato p. p. a c. 104.....Fior. 10 — —
- E de dare adì 7 d'aprile 1442 fiorini dieci larghi d'oro porto contanti a uscita a c. 107.....Fior. 10 — —
- E adì 16 maggio fiorini trenta doro larghi porto contanti a uscita c. 114 anzi li paghamo per lui a Domenicho di Cristofano che lavoro colluiFior. 30 — —
- E adì 2 giugno fior. dieci porto contanti a uscita a c. 116Fior. 10 — —
- E adì detto lire quaranta, soldi 10 posto che l'opera di Santa Maria del fiore de avere in questo a c. 103, sono per 7 pezi di marmo di lib. 5400 per soldi 15 per libbra e erano auti della detta opera che se n'havessi a far debitore detto LuchaFior.

[Archivio del R. Arcispedale di S. Maria Nuova in Firenze. Libro Debitori e Creditori 1441-1446, Segn. C., a c. 69.]

2. 1442. Lucha di Simone della Robbia de dare fior. cientosette, lib. 1, soldi 16, posto de avere in questo a c. 69 sono chagione del tabernacholo dove sta el Chorpo di Christo nella chappella di Santo Lucha, il quale fecie detto Lucha.....Fior. 107 1 16

[Libro Debitori e Creditori, 1441-1446, Segn. C., a c. 154.]

3. 1443. Lucha di Simone della Robbia, maestro d'intaglio, de dare fior. 107 1 16; i quali X auti contanti levati dal libro vecchio de' debitori segnato b., c. 255.....Fior. 107 1 16

I detti danari sono per chagione del tabernacholo del marmo dove si tiene il corpo di Christo nella chappella di Santo Lucha, che n'ha a esser paghato.

[Libro Debitori e Creditori 1443-1490, a c. 15.]

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- 15** THE VIA DELL' AGNOLO LUNETTE. Florence, Museo Nazionale. H., 1.60 m.; W., 2.22 m. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 2511-2512; Brogi, No. 4655.

This very beautiful lunette (Fig. 38) was removed in 1904 to the Museo Nazionale from above the door of the house of Avvocato Tantini in



FIG. 38. THE VIA DELL' AGNOLO LUNETTE.

Via dell' Agnolo, No. 93, where it was uncared for and subject to damage. In Baldinucci's day the building from which it was taken served as a *scuola de' cherici* for S. Piero Maggiore. In the fifteenth century this building was a *Monastero delle Monache* of S. Giovanni Laterano, and a dependency of the monastery of S. Piero Maggiore. Vasari describes it as a *chiesina vicina a S. Piero Maggiore*, and mentions the lunette above its entrance as containing a Madonna and Angels "bellissimi."

The frame exhibits a succession of bouquets of roses and lilies, which rise from the impostes and meet at the centre of the arch. Robin's-egg blue

and yellow, as well as green, are used in the colouring of the leaves against which the flowers are set as rhythmic spots of white. The bunches of flowers are not tied by ribbons, but are separated from each other rather more distinctly than in the similar frieze in the lunette from S. Pierino. It is constructed in like fashion with a flat fillet on the upper edge and none on the lower. The remaining mouldings are precisely like those of the S. Pierino lunette, but properly arranged.

The construction of the frame does not exhibit the perfect joints seen in some of Luca's later works, as the separate blocks are not of equal size and the successive bands have neither alternating nor coincident joints, but are somewhat irregularly blocked out and put together. The central relief is composed of several segments, the Madonna and Child having been cast as a separate group and their heads apart from their bodies. Each angel, however, was cast as a whole.

As compared with the S. Pierino lunette in composition this is the more freely conceived. There the angels' wings are confined within the limits of the frame, here they exceed its inner boundary. There the angels with calligraphic draperies are piously occupied with the sacred Child, here more freely draped they gaze down on the passing crowd. The angels still wear triangular coronals, but more consciously. They are more lovely than the candelabrum-bearing angels in the sacristy of the cathedral of Florence.

The Madonna (Fig. 39) is physically better developed, less timid, more thoroughly human than the S. Pierino Madonna. She no longer wears a ruffle about her neck, but like the other figures in this relief, and many others of the same period, has a simple girdle about her waist. The Child, like his queenly mother, is well proportioned, and is quietly conscious of his power, as he extends one hand in blessing and in the other holds the scroll inscribed *EGO SVM LVX MVNDI*. He is fully draped, possibly because he stood at the entrance of a nunnery where young girls went to school. The eyes, which in some lights look almost black, all have gray-blue irises, and violet brows, pupils and lashes.

As to its date, I believe that it is more reasonable with Dr. Bode to assign it to about 1440, rather than with Venturi to about 1450, or with Marcel Raymond and de Foville to about 1460.



FIG. 39. DETAIL OF VIA DELL' AGNOLO LUNETTE.

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 XIX cent., Baldinucci, V, 220; Bigazzi, 175; Bode, *Kf.* 12, 24; *A. S. A.*, II (1889), 4; *J. k. p. K.*, VI (1885), 179; *It. Bild. R.*, 78; Cavallucci et Molinier, 51, 53, 213; Marquand, *Sc. Mag.*, 1893, 684, 693; *A. J. A.*, IX (1894), 12-13, Pl. 5; Reymond, *D. R.*, 104-105, 140; *Sc. Fl.*, II, 222-223;
 XX cent., Bode, *J. k. p. K.*, XXI (1900), 7; *Denkm.* 62, Taf. 208; *Fl. Bildh.*, 118-119, Abb. 67; *Fl. Sc.*, 81, Pl. 39; *Z. f. b. K.*, XXI (1910), 305; Burckhardt, 428; Burlamacchi, 36-38; Cruttwell, 125-127, 324; de Foville, 56-59; Doering-Dachau, 23; Gerspach, *R. A. Chr.*, XV (1904), 405-407; Michel, IV, 83, Fig. 58; Schubring, 73, 76, Abb. 71; Venturi, VI, 566, Fig. 380; Waters, 192.

16 THE MUGELLO LUNETTE. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, No. 74 (Old No., 115 C). H., 0.83 m.; W., 1.54 m. Photo., Berlin Museum.

This imposing lunette (Fig. 40) was purchased from an English



FIG. 40. LUNETTE FROM THE MUGELLO.

dealer by the Berlin Museum in 1905. It formerly stood over the door of a private chapel in the region of the Mugello. In subject it recalls the S. Pierino and Via dell' Agnolo lunettes.

The resemblance of this Madonna to that in the Via dell' Agnolo lunette is most striking, as also are the features of the Child. Evidently

the same stately woman was in Luca's mind. If there be any difference in date, the Berlin lunette is the more advanced. Miss Cruttwell and de Foville have written in terms of high praise of the hands of the Madonna from the Via dell' Agnolo. Here the structure of the hand is better understood, and the disposition of the figures more expressive. The hands of the angels also are noteworthy.

As in the S. Pierino lunette, the Virgin has a ruffle about her neck, and her veil and mantle serve as a light drapery for the Child; her eyes also are similarly indicated, but at this point the resemblance ceases. The S. Pierino type of Madonna has been abandoned, and a new type, that of the Via dell' Agnolo, has taken its place. But what of the angels? These are not like the angels in either of the above-mentioned lunettes. They are much closer in type to the adoring angels on either side of the Madonna and S. Giovanni Battista on the uppermost panels of the bronze sacristy doors (1446-1469). These comparisons make it difficult to assign an exact date to this lunette, especially if we give a late date to the bronze panels. However I am inclined to set this relief in the decade 1440-1450. It seems to be earlier than the lunette over the door of S. Domenico, Urbino (1449).

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- 17** THE CAPPUCCINI TONDO. Florence, Museo Nazionale, No. 27.
Diam., 1 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 2767; Brogi, No. 4746.

This tondo (Fig. 41) came from the monastery of the Cappuccini, Florence, and has been the subject of much discussion. Dr. Bode believes the central relief to be by Luca, but the frame a misfit and a later product of the school. Miss Cruttwell and Marcel Reymond attribute, apparently, both the relief and the frame to Andrea della Robbia.



FIG. 41. THE CAPPUCCINI TONDO.

That there is a disparity between the relief and the frame is evident, but in neither do I detect the handiwork of Andrea della Robbia. The frame consists of a wreath of flowers, arranged in closely united bunches bound together by a spiral ribbon. There is little variety in the composition of the frame, the same three bunches of flowers being repeated six times about the circle. The bunches are composed in accord with Luca's love of irregularity and show nothing of Andrea's elegant but monotonous composition.

The frame not only lacks variety in design, but is crudely modelled and coloured. It is the work of some assistant.

The Madonna is a woman of stately loveliness of the Via dell' Agnolo type. She holds herself erect in the clouds and looks, like many of Luca's Madonnas, directly out upon the world. The details of her features, hair, eyes (colouring included), nose, mouth, chin, and of the drapery are precisely as Luca would have made them. Nor do we have to look to Andrea's works for analogies for the Child. Almost a duplicate of the upper part of the Child may be seen in Luca's Madonna and Child with an Apple, in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, and the lower part of Luca's Madonna and Child in a Niche, represented in the Bliss and Shaw collections in New York and Boston. Andrea borrowed this motive, but expressed it in a different composition and with another type of child. The adoring angels are not so fine as those in Luca's lunettes, and the yellow haloes coloured by some assistant do not add to their beauty. However, in attitude, in type, in relative size, they are Luca's, not Andrea's. These angels are somewhat disturbing elements in the composition, as if transferred arbitrarily from a lunette to a circle before the laws of circular composition were thoroughly understood. If we could eliminate these angels, with their yellow haloes and the crudely executed frame, critics would find little difficulty in admitting this charming Madonna to be the handiwork of Luca himself.

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- 18 THE RESURRECTION LUNETTE.** Florence. Duomo. S. Maria del Fiore, 1442-1445. H., 2.00 m.; W., 2.60 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 1974; Brogi, No. 4920.

Above Luca's bronze doors of the north sacristy and below the original location of his marble Cantoria is in a pointed arch a glazed terracotta lunette of the Resurrection (Fig 42). The documents, here published



FIG. 42. THE RESURRECTION LUNETTE.

for the first time, show that Luca received the commission for this relief in 1442, and did not finish it before the early months of 1445. At this time Paolo Uccello was designing for one of the windows of the drum of the dome a Resurrection of a very similar character (*A. J. A.*, IV (1900); 198, Fig. 2; Poggi LXXXVIII, 143, Doc. 750). Both designs

are more or less dependent on Ghiberti's Resurrection on the first Baptistery doors. In this relief, four adoring angels, with folded hands or hands crossed upon the breast, emerging from clouds in Giottesque fashion, give to the composition a stiff, symmetrical character. The calm, dignified Christ, already risen and standing on a cloud, holds over his left shoulder the Crusaders' banner and with his right hand is blessing the world that crucified him. He wears a cruciferous halo and shows the stigmata upon his left hand. The sarcophagus is of the utmost simplicity. We see into it a short distance, the design having been executed for the eye of a spectator standing on the studio floor. The ground upon which the figures are reclining slopes downward, so that the lower parts of the design became visible when the relief was elevated to its position over the sacristy door. The palm and olive trees in the background are executed in the conventional style of the goldsmiths. Luca's skill as a sculptor is seen best in the sleeping soldiers. Neither Ghiberti nor Paolo Uccello had been so successful in portraying relaxed limbs in the various stages of sleep. In the types of the sleeping soldiers, and in the ornaments of their armour, it is not difficult to recognize the same hand that designed the Peretola tabernacle and the S. Pietro reliefs exhibiting here greater freedom in plastic form and composition, and more charm in the details of decoration. The Christ type is a new inspiration and one the impress of which may be traced in the bronze doors, in the Pazzi medallions, and in the Impruneta tabernacles.

This relief shows more fully than the Peretola tabernacle that glazed terra-cotta could be effectively substituted for marble in relief sculpture. The figures, trees, sarcophagus, and even the ground on which the soldiers are sleeping are glazed in white against a sky of blue. The cloud on which Christ is standing is not white, but a lighter blue than the background. Other than this, no colour is used, except to mark the eyes. The eyes of the Christ have dark pupils and yellow irises, but no colour marks the eyebrows or lashes. The angels have gray-blue irises. Other details, such as the hair and wings of the angels, the cross on the nimbus of the Christ, his stigmata, the glory that radiates from his body, the ornaments of the soldiers' armour, are brought out by superficial gilding.

DOCUMENTS

[Published here for the first time. Copied by Signorina Eugenia Levi.]

1. 1442, luglio 21. Item locaverunt Luce Simonis della Robbia, scultori, ad faciendum in archo supra sacrestiam sui perghami Resurrexionem Domini in terra cotta invetriata prout videntur alia laboreria fieri et secundum designum factum et melius si melius fieri potest et promisit dare perfectam hinc ad unum annum et operarii promiserunt dare illud pretium fiendum per homines eligendos per consules et operarios qui tunc temporis erunt cum hoc quod possit dare duos suspectos; que omnia etc. promixit attendere etc. sub pena lib. C. Presentibus Filippo Brunelleschi, Ridolfo (Lotti), Andrea Lazeri, Simone Laurentii et aliis.

[Bastardelli, Serie No. III, c. 32.]

2. 1444, Gennaio 18. (New style, 1445.) Luce Simonis della Robbia conductori ad faciendum unam storiā di terra conductam *supra* (cancelled and corrected) *in* archum prima sacrestie, l. L fp. pro parte dicti laborerii facti et positi in dicto archu. [Stanziamenti, G, c. 31.]

3. 1444, Febr. 26. (New style, 1445.) Luce Simonis della Robbia intagliatori l. CCCXL sunt pro resto et integra solutione unius laborerii invetriati (in margine: in quo est Resurrexio Domini nostri) facti et positi in archo prima sacrestie, videlicet l. CXL pro sua industria et inventionē ad inveniendum dictum laborerium et residuam pro suo magisterio dicti laborerii alias libras C quas iam habuit super dicto laborerio in quo est Resurrexio domini nostri Jesu Christo (the last words after laborerio are cancelled and the word laborerio is corrected into conducta). [Stanz., G, c. 38.]

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- 19** THE ASCENSION LUNETTE. Florence, Duomo. S. Maria del Fiore. 1446-1451. H., 2.00 m.; W., 2.60 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 1973; Brogi, No. 4908.

The Cathedral archives show that Luca della Robbia received on October 11, 1446, a commission for a terra-cotta relief to be placed above the second sacristy door. It was to represent the Ascension; to contain figures of the twelve apostles and of the Virgin; the mountains and trees were to be in natural colours; the work was to be done in a few months and, if possible, to be even better than the small model presented.

The order seems to have been filled according to contract, with the exception that eleven instead of twelve apostles are represented (Fig. 43). It may not have been executed as quickly as the commissioners desired, since we find as late as December 23, 1450, and again on June 30, 1451, that Luca received 150 lire for this relief. These payments seem to have been insufficient, as on August 5, 1451, we find Bernardo Gamberelli and Pagno di Lapo Portigiani appraised the work at 500 lire.

As in the Resurrection relief the figures are white against a background of blue. Unlike it the accessories are in natural colours. The mountain is a grayish green, and the trees and shrubs a darker green. The details of the eyes show also some progress. In addition to the yellow irises the eyes of the Christ have stippled blue eyebrows and blue eyelashes. The Apostles' eyes have greenish-yellow irises, and in some cases the lower as well as the upper eyelashes are coloured.

The composition shows an acquaintance with the biblical narrative. The event takes place on the Mount of Olives (Acts, I, 12); in the presence of the Eleven (S. Mark, XVI, 14-20); Christ lifts up his hand to bless them (S. Luke, XXIV, 50-51); a cloud receives him out of their sight (Acts, I, 9). The simplicity of the representation stands in contrast with the complexity of Giottesque representations of the same subject. Here the Virgin holds no distinctive position; she wears no halo and is treated as one of the Apostolic circle. With the others she is "gazing up into heaven" (Acts, I, 11). All the members of this group show, in the simplicity of their adoration, a spirit like that which Luca had already given to the S. Elisabetta at Pistoia. They are arranged in studio perspective so as to form an ellipse or circle, like the choral dancers on the Cantoria, but here the circle is broken to give greater emphasis to the ascending Christ. The Apostles are

somewhat individualized. We may recognize S. Pietro in the front of the group to the left, S. Tommaso in one of the beardless young men in the group to the right, and near to him the long-bearded SS. Andrea and Bartolommeo. As kneeling figures they are somewhat more advanced in type than the S. Elisabetta. Their draperies are arranged so as to reveal more clearly the structure of the kneeling body.

The Christ, as in the Resurrection relief, wears a cruciferous nimbus, and is surrounded by golden rays which emerge from his body in successive groups, but he is somewhat slenderer in proportion and a few years older.



FIG. 43. THE ASCENSION LUNETTE.

DOCUMENTS

[Quoted from v. Rumohr, II, 364-365, and from Cruttwell, 294.]

1. 1446. Die XI mensis Octobris. Operarii antedicti . . . locaverunt et concesserunt etc. Luce Simonis della robbia scultori presenti et conducendi ad faciendum: Unam storiā terre cocte Invetriate illius materie qua est illa posita in arcu sacristie que storia debet esse vid. Ascensio dñi nr̃i Yhu XRI, cum duodecim figuris apostolorum et matris ejus virginis marie et quod mons sit sui coloris arbores etiam sui coloris et secundum designum factum in quodam modello parvo, qui stare debet in opera usque ad perfectionem dicti laborerii et melius, si melius fieri potest. Quam storiā debet perfecisse hinc a decto menses proximos futuros et posuisse super archum secunde sacristie et pro qua storia et Magisterio debet abere et pro suo magisterio labore et industria illud quod declaratum erit per offitium operariorum venturorum in uffitio existentium etc.

[Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Firenze. Libro Alloghagioni. Registro segnato I, c. 54^t.]

2. 1450. 23 Dicembre. Luca Simonis della Robbia lib. 150 pro parte locationis sibi facte de calmo suprasecundam sacrestiam.

[Delib. dei Consoli e Operai, c. 17^t.]

3. 1451. 30 Giugno. Luce Simonis della Robbia libras centum 50 pro parte solutionis unius storie per eum facte super archetto secunde sacristie. [Delib. cit., c. 47.]

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 XIX cent., Baldinucci, V, 219; Barbet de Jouy, 29, 35, 56; Bode, *Kf.*, 12, 23; *A. S. A.* II (1889), 3; Cavallucci, *S. M. d. F.*, II, 137 (Doc.); Cavallucci and Molinier, 45, 53-54 (Doc.), 209, No. 23; Labarte, IV, 434; Marquand, *A. J. A.*, IX (1894), 16; Perkins, *T. S.*, 196; *H. H.*, 142; Reymond, *D. R.*, 32; *Sc. Fl.*, II, 189-191; v. Rumohr, II, 364-365 (Doc.);
 XX cent., Bode, *J. k. p. K.*, XXI (1900), 5-7; *Denkm.*, 61, Taf. 211; *Fl. Bildh.*, 113-114, Abb., 64; *Fl. Sc.*, 79-80; Burlamacchi, 26, 98 (Doc.), 108; Cruttwell, 71-72, 293-294 (Doc.), 323; de Foville, 43-44; Doering-Dachau, 12, Abb. 14; Michel, IV, 78, Fig. 54; Venturi, VI, 562, Fig. 376; Waters, 190.

- 20 HEADS OF PROPHETS FOR THE BRONZE DOORS.** Florence, Duomo, S. Maria del Fiore. 1445-1452. The quatrefoils measure, H., 0.15 m.; W., 0.12 m. Photos., R. H. Rose & Son, Princeton, from casts by Lelli, Florence.

The general consideration of the bronze doors of the north sacristy of the Cathedral of Florence will be deferred to a subsequent chapter. The documents there published appear to indicate that the framework of the doors was executed between December 24, 1445, and January, 1452, and the panels after August 10, 1464. This is our justification for treating the heads in this chapter. For the sake of convenience they are reproduced from plaster casts (Figs. 44-47), and are arranged as they occur on the doors. The series begins at the top of Fig. 44 to the left and ends at the base of Fig. 47 to the right.

These heads, according to the contract awarded to Michelozzo, Luca della Robbia, and Maso di Bartolommeo, are designated as heads of prophets. There is, however, little effort at individual characterization. Of the twenty-four heads six are female; if names are wanted, let us call them Deborah, Miriam, Judith, Esther, Rachael, Huldah. Two heads are helmeted, possibly Saul and David; the rest are young, middle aged, and older men. They seem to have no direct relation to the subjects of the adjoining panels. Some of the heads are so realistic in character that we are tempted to find in them portraits of Michelozzo, Maso, and Luca della Robbia. I am strongly inclined to consider head No. 1 of Fig. 46 as a portrait of Luca himself.

In composition these heads show an advance upon those of Ghiberti's first Baptistery doors. Here the uppermost look downward, the lowest upward, the outermost inward. Like Ghiberti's they are set in quatrefoils. In style they are not far removed from Ghiberti's. Possibly the Anonimo del codice Magliabechiano was right in declaring (Frey's edition, p. 73) that Luca della Robbia assisted in the completion of Ghiberti's second pair of doors for the Baptistery.

There is still some uncertainty in regard to the attribution of these heads. Marcel Reymond attributes to Michelozzo all the heads that surround the four Doctors of the Church (Figs. 45, 47) while Miss Cruttwell assigns to him the four heads above the panels of S. Luca and S. Marco (lowest heads in Figs. 44, 46). In my judgment none of the heads are by



FIG. 44. HEADS OF PROPHETS. UPPER LEFT VALVE.



FIG. 45. HEADS OF PROPHETS. LOWER LEFT VALVE.



FIG. 46. HEADS OF PROPHETS. UPPER RIGHT VALVE.



FIG. 47. HEADS OF PROPHETS. LOWER RIGHT VALVE.

Michelozzo but all show the fostering care of Luca della Robbia. In spite of documentary evidence to the contrary, two of the heads—the lowest in Fig. 45—seem never to have received the final finishing touches.

As a whole these heads show Luca's preference for young men and young women. Some of the male heads resemble those of his candelabrum-bearing angels, while some of the female heads may well be compared with those of the Visitation group at Pistoia.

[For DOCUMENTS and BIBLIOGRAPHY see Chapter IV, under No. 54.]

21 CEILING AND ROOF OF THE CAPPELLA DEL SACRAMENTO O DEL CROCIFISSO. Florence, S. Miniato. 1448. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 3365-3365A; Brogi, No. 4993.

On June 27, 1447, the Arte di Calimala granted permission to "a citizen of importance" to erect a costly marble tabernacle in S. Miniato al Monte (Fig. 48). In it was to be preserved the miraculous crucifix of S. Giovanni Gualberto, which was removed in 1671 to S. Trinità. Hence the name Cappella del Crocifisso. Its decoration was to consist of emblems of the Arte di Calimala. On June 10, 1448, Piero di Cosimo de' Medici was permitted to substitute his own emblem in place of that of the Arte di Calimala. The Calimala interest however was represented by the two bronze eagles clutching bales of cloth, set as acroteria on the exterior of the Tabernacle. These were made by Maso di Bartolommeo from January 28, 1448, to April 22, 1449. The Medici interest was represented by the seven balls on the lateral acroteria; the three feathers, the diamond ring, and the scroll inscribed with the motto *SEMPER*, carved in white marble and set against a Verde di Prato background, constituting the frieze of the tabernacle; and by a marble medallion carved with an eagle or falcon holding the diamond ring and motto *SEMPER*, on the lunette above the rear wall of the tabernacle.

This tabernacle is attributed by Vasari to Michelozzo. Vasari also states that the vault is by Luca della Robbia. What would be more natural than that Piero de' Medici, who employed Luca della Robbia to make a ceiling for his study in the Medici palace designed by Michelozzo, should also ask both these artists to construct and decorate for him this little chapel?

It is sometimes asserted that Luca della Robbia designed the feathers and diamond frieze, it being presumed that this is constructed of terracotta, whereas it is of marble and was doubtless designed by the architect. Miss Cruttwell is tempted also to attribute the marble eagle or falcon to Luca, though Vasari expressly attributed it to Michelozzo. It may be as fine as the eagle on the Bronze Doors, but it is inferior to the eagle in the S. Giovanni medallion in the Pazzi Chapel. To Luca may certainly be attributed the execution if not the design of the glazed terra-cotta vault, and the roof tiles.

The covering of the roof forms a scale pattern in which every alternate



FIG. 48. CAPPELLA DEL CROCIFISSO.

horizontal row is glazed white, the intervening rows being composed of alternating green and lavender tiles. Luca employed the scale pattern again in the ceiling of the Portogallo Chapel in this same church. The coffered ceiling (Fig. 49) is divided into rows of octagons and small squares. Both are adorned with leaf and dart, and egg and dart, mouldings. The octagons contain central rosettes, composed of leaves which radiate directly or spirally, surrounded by gilded rays painted against a blue background. The squares contain bronze stars, the most accessible of which have disappeared. The plat band which forms the contour of octagons and squares is decorated

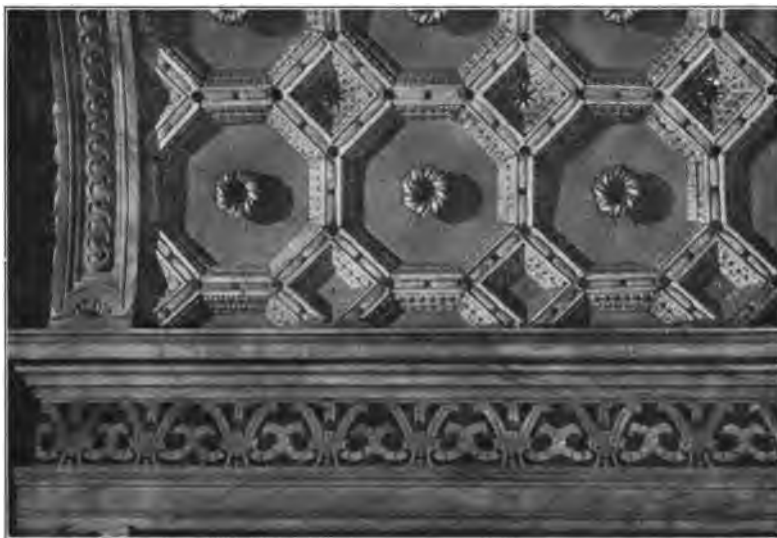


FIG. 49. CEILING OF CAPPELLA DEL CROCIFISSO.

with a sunken laurel leaf pattern with rosettes at every angle. Luca had used the same motive in decorating the frames of the tambourines of the Cantoria reliefs. Besides the white and blue, the bronze and the gold, various details such as the rosettes, are marked with colour.

DOCUMENTS

[Quoted from Berti, *Cenni Stor. di S. Miniato*, 151, and from the Libro di Ricordi di Maso di Bartolommeo da Firenze, kept in the Biblioteca Roncioniana, Prato. Copied by Signorina Eugenia Levi.]

1. 1447. Adì 27 di Giugno. Altare del Crocifisso possa essere ornato da un Cittadino grande che si offerirà fare un tabernacolo di grande apparenza e spesa; e questo se li concede con che non vi possa mettere altra arme che quella dell' Arte. [From Ms. in Strozzi Collection.]

2. 1448. Adì 10 di Giugno. Piero di Cosimo dei Medici nell'ornamento di marmo che fa alla cappella del Crocifisso possa farvi scolpire la sua arme, purchè nel luogo più conveniente vi metta quella dell' Arte, non ostante che altra volta fosse stato deliberato il contrario. [From Ms. in Strozzi Collection.]

3. 1448. Qui da pie farò richordo di tutte le spese che io farò in fare due Aquile d'ottone per mettere in su la chappella de marmo fata per Piero di Coximo ne la Chiexa di sanmyniato al monte et le dette aquile sono d'alteza di b. 1. Incominciale a dì 28 di giennaioio.

E prima a dì 30 di giennaioio per libre 16 di ciera
per sol. 9, d. 6 la lib.L. 7, sol. 16, —
A dì detto per lib. 6 di pecie per d. 20 la libra,
in tutto soldi 10.....L. —, sol. 10, —
A dì detto per lib. 6 di sevo per sol. 2, d. 6 la libra
e libre 3 di nero per sol. 1, la lib. monta.....L. —, sol. 18, —
A dì 6 di febbraio per lib. 5 di piastra di ferro
bombarda per fare lalie di dette aquile per sol.
6 la libra da papi ferravechio.....L. 1, sol. 16, —
A dì 17 di febbraio per lib. 17 di ciera nera tolsi
da Lorenzo di . . . horafo per sol. 5, d. 6 la
libra monta in tutto.....L. 4, sol. 13, —
A dì 11 di marzo per 2 pezi di legnio dalbero per
fare 2 balle sotto 2 altre Aquile che Piero me
fece fare minori et altre rimasone.....L. —, sol. 4, —
A dì 14 di marzo per cimature per le forme sol.
4, d. 8.....L. —, sol. 4, d. 8
A dì detto per 2 some di legnie grosse per sechare
le formeL. —, sol. 19, —
A dì detto per pecie e nero.....L. —, sol. 4, —
A dì 21 d'Aprile lib. 300 di bronzo che fu un
lione che mi dette per gittare l'aquile dette.
Ebbilo da Lionardo Bartolini per L. . . . el
centoL. 65, —, —
A dì 21 d'Aprile per some 4 di legne grosse
L. 2, sol.L. 2, sol. —, —
A dì detto per some 2 di charboni pesarono libr.
1092 montaL. 6, sol. 19, —
A dì detto per libr. 150 d'ottone fine da Antonio
ChalandriL. 37, sol. 10, —
[Libro di Ricordi, c. 1^t.]

4. Giovanni di Ser Vincenzo dee dare a dì 26 d'aprile L. tre quando mi partì per andare a Urbino; disse di lavorare in sul Aquile tantoche gli schonterebbe.

[Libro di Ricordi, c. 42^t.]

5. E insu laquile che vano a saminiato (in monte) . . . Giovedì a dì 27 (marzo) interrai laquile dette.

[Libro di Ricordi, c. 45^t.]

6. A dì 22 di aprile 1449 . . . gettamo laquile.

[Libro di Ricordi, c. 45^t.]

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 XX cent., Bode, *Fl. Bildh.*, 120; *Fl. Sc.*, 82; *Denkm.*; Burlamacchi, 28-29, 117; Cruttwell, 90-91, 323; Schubring, 49; Venturi, VI, 572; Waters, 191.

22 VAULT AND PAVEMENT FOR PIERO DE' MEDICI'S STUDY. Florence, Palazzo Medici, now Riccardi.

Filarete, in Book XXV of his *Trattato*, where he treats of the buildings of Cosimo, Piero and Giovanni de' Medici, after mentioning the *camera di Piero* in the Palazzo Medici, Florence, remarks: *Dopo questa è uno studietto hornatissimo; il pavimento, e così il cielo, di vetriamenti fatti a figure degnissime; in modo che a chi v' entra, da grandissima admiratione. El maestro di questi invetriamenti si fu Luca della Robbia; così per nome si chiama; il quale è degnissimo maestro di questi invetriati; et anche in iscultura si dimostra.* Vasari, in his life of Luca della Robbia, mentions this room in the following words: *Onde, il magnifico Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, fra i primi che facessero lavorare a Luca cose di terra colorita, gli fece fare tutta la volta in mezzo tondo d'uno scrittoio nel palazzo edificato, come si dirà, da Cosimo suo padre, con varie fantasie, ed il pavimento similmente; che fu cosa singulare, e molto utile per la state. Ed è certo una miraviglia, che, essendo la cosa allora molto difficile, e bisognando avere molti avvertimenti nel cuocere la terra, che Luca conducesse questi lavori a tanta perfezione, che così la volta come il pavimento paiono non di molti, ma d'un pezzo solo.*

The order in which the various rooms of the palace are described by Filarete, and in the inventory of the collections of Lorenzo de' Medici, published by Müntz, makes it probable that Piero's study was located in the site of the present grand staircase. It is well known that Michelozzo was the architect of the Medici, now Riccardi, palace, which according to Fabriczy was begun in 1444. It is interesting to note that Luca della Robbia and Maso di Bartolommeo took part in the decoration of this palace. Maso's share, the decoration of the courtyard, took place in 1452. Inasmuch as Michelozzo, Luca della Robbia, and Maso were associated

together in 1445 in the contract for the bronze doors for the sacristy, and in 1448 all three took part in executing for Piero de' Medici the Cappella del Crocifisso for S. Miniato, it is probable that Luca's work for Piero's study dates between 1445 and 1450.

When in 1659 the Medici palace passed into the hands of the Riccardi family it was doubled in size and Piero's study was destroyed to make room for the grand staircase. The ceiling must have been still in good



FIG. 50. MONTH OF MAY.

condition and being decorated "a figure degnissime" or "con varie fantasie" it is probable that parts of it at least were preserved.

The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, has possessed since 1861 a series of roundels (Nos. 7632-7643) in glazed terra-cotta, on which are painted impersonations of the twelve months (Figs. 50-51). Prior to 1861 they belonged to the Marchese Campana, and earlier still are said to have long decorated a fountain in a garden near Florence, "supposed to have belonged" to the Riccardi family. The historic evidence conveyed in these statements is far from convincing, hence we must consider chiefly the plaques themselves. Sir J. C. Robinson, and Mr. Lethaby have observed that they are not flat, but delicately curved, the axis of curvature in the case of May, June, July, and August lying *across* the figures, and

in the remaining months being *vertical* with the design. Mr. Lethaby's diagram reproduced here (Fig. 52) shows how these twelve roundels, each 0.57 m. in diameter, might have decorated the barrel vault of a room nine or ten feet wide. The palace of Duke Federigo at Urbino still contains a *scrittoio* or study of about these dimensions. Between the roundels Luca would have introduced a mosaic-like background consisting, as Vasari states, of many small pieces but presenting a united and solid effect.



FIG. 51. MONTH OF NOVEMBER.

The attribution of the roundels to Luca della Robbia cannot be so readily admitted. The water leaf and dart moulding was indeed a favourite with Luca, and in this case closely resembles the similar mouldings about the panels which form the background of the Federighi tomb; also the very charming blue and creamy white is altogether worthy of Luca. But it is impossible to recognize in the figures and trees the design of Luca himself. These flat-headed, long-limbed, stiffly draped figures are not like Luca's, nor do the compositions suggest his methods. I see no reason, however, why Luca may not have furnished the enamel and supervised the baking of these delicately constructed, architectural medallions.

The pavement in all probability when worn out was cast aside. But the influence of Luca's design may be recognized in other pavements, at

Empoli, San Gemignano, S. Fiora, and at Montevarchi. Of these perhaps the earliest is at Empoli. It stood some years ago in the Cappella S. Lorenzo of the Collegiata, but has recently been transferred to the Galleria. It measures 2.40 m. by 1.53 m. A portion of it is here reproduced (Fig. 53). The general design represents a fringed carpet covered with leafy hexagons enclosing rosettes. The rosettes and radiating fern leaves remind us of Luca's designs at Peretola and elsewhere. The network of

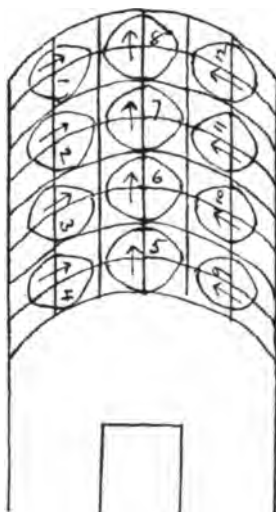


FIG. 52. DIAGRAM OF VAULT.

cubes with green, yellow, and violet faces show the same pattern and colours which Luca used in the ceiling of the Portogallo Chapel, but here is employed with a strange disregard of fitness. Similarly the other border with its reversed palmettes, though beautiful in itself, is somewhat out of place. It would decorate better the frieze of one of Andrea della Robbia's charming altarpieces. This makes it probable that this pavement was not designed for this locality, but earlier or later was placed here not by the original designer—but by one of his successors. In the other pavements mentioned above this design remains unchanged, as if the sacred invention of the master. Luca's pavement for the study of Piero de' Medici may have passed away, but its soul seems to have survived almost intact in this beautiful pavement at Empoli—made in all probability by Luca's nephew Andrea della Robbia.

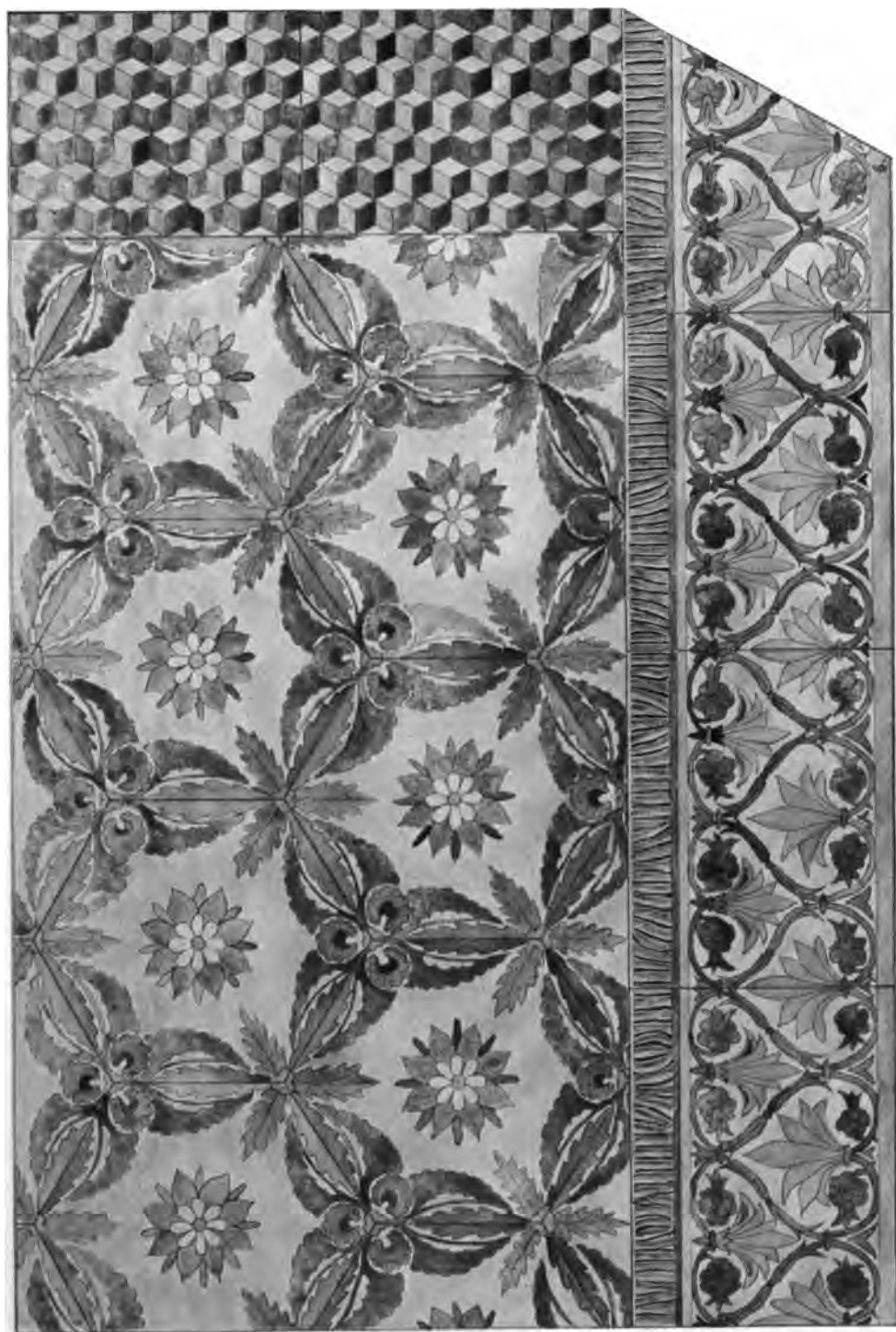


FIG. 53. PAVEMENT AT EMPOLI.

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 XX cent., Bode, *J. k. p. K.*, XXI (1900), 11-12; *Fl. Bildh.*, 125-126; *Fl. Sc.*, 86-87; Burlamacchi, 79-80, 119; Cruttwell, 129-130; Fabriczy, *J. k. p. K.*, XXV (1904), Beih., 38; de Foville, 61; Lethaby, *Burl. Mag.*, IX (1906), 404-407; Marquand, *Brickbuilder*, 1902, 55-56; Schubring, 92, Abb. 102; Wallis, O. L. J., XXX.

23 CANDELABRUM-BEARING ANGELS. Florence, Duomo, S. Maria del Fiore. 1448-1451. H., 0.84 m.; W., 0.57 m. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 3508-3509; Brogi, Nos. 4910-4911^a.

On June 28, 1448, Luca della Robbia was authorized to receive forty lire on account of two terra-cotta angels for the Cappella Corporis Christi and on the same day to Domenico di Francesco, painter, was voted twenty-three lire for painting the wings of the same. The wings were to be of wood, for we find on February 1, 1449, that Giovanni di Domenico di Gaiole, woodcarver, was credited with three lire on account of the wings for said angels. Luca evidently considered himself underpaid, for on August 5, 1451, on the basis of an appraisal made by Bernardo Gamberelli and Pagno di Lapo Portigiani he was authorized to receive ninety lire for the terra-cotta angels which adorned the Cappella Corporis Christi.

The marble tabernacle which stood between the two angels was made in 1443 by Buggiano (Andrea di Lazzaro Cavalcanti) and completed with the assistance of others in 1447 (see Poggi, *op. cit.*, CXVI-CXVII, and Docs. 1089-1101).

These two angels still exist, but have been transferred to the south sacristy of the Cathedral. Designed to be placed one on either side of a ciborium they now decorate nothing. The glaze, like that of the Pistoia Visitation, is imperfect. They stand on octagonal plinths which are set into wooden bases. Both angels have blue eyebrows and upper lashes, and gray-blue irises.

I. CANDELABRUM-BEARING ANGEL TURNED TO RIGHT. Photos., Alinari, No. 3508; Brogi, Nos. 4910-4910^a.

The angel gracefully kneeling holds on his left knee a candelabrum

decorated with a twisted strap ornament, spiral channellings, upright leaves and radiating ribs, copied doubtless from the wooden candlesticks in use upon the altar. Brogi's photograph (Fig. 54) shows faint traces of a painted border of the mantle over the left leg, also the damaged fingers and candelabrum, now repaired. De Foville notes the similarity between this angel's right hand and that of Luca's Madonna of the Roses in the Museo Nazionale. The resemblance is in fact close enough, even though the angel's index finger is a modern restoration. Attention may be called to the waving hair, the finely modelled eyes, nose, and mouth; to the rosette used as a brooch; and to the simple lines of the drapery, recalling those in the Ascension relief.



FIG. 54. CANDELABRUM-BEARING ANGEL.

2. CANDELABRUM-BEARING ANGEL TURNED TO LEFT. Photos., Alinari, No. 3509; Brogi, Nos. 4911, 4911^a.

This statue seems to have cracked in the baking; the glazing is spotty and in some places finely cracked. Brogi's early photograph (Fig. 55)

preserves some trace of superficial painting on the left sleeve and on the border of the mantle. The candelabrum is decorated like the preceding, but it may be noticed that the rib decoration is not mechanically accurate. As contrasted with the preceding angel this one has his hair in flatter meshes, he has a more open countenance; his rosette brooch holds together his mantle, not the tunic. Like his brother he is not wholly absorbed in his function, but looks out, boy-like, to the congregation gathered before the altar.



FIG. 55. CANDELABRUM-BEARING ANGEL.

DOCUMENTS

[Quoted from Poggi, *Ital. Forsch.*, II, 222.]

1. (Poggi, No. 1104.) 1448, adi 28 di giugno.

Luce Simonis della Robbia, intagliatori, l. XL fp., pro parte denariorum abere debet pro duobus angelis di terra factis pro tenendo in capella corporis Christi. [*Delib.*, 1447-1449, c. 51^t.]

Dominico Francisci, pictori, l. XXIII fp., pro suo magisterio ad

pingendum duos angelos qui retinentur in capella corporis Christi. [*Delib.*, 1447-1449 c. 52.]

2. (P. 1106.) 1449, adì 1 di febbraio.

Item declaraverunt quod Johannes Dominici de Gaiole legnaiuolus, ponatur creditor l. III pro duobus pariis alarum factarum angelectis in capella corporis Christi. [*Delib.*, 1447-1449, c. 65^t.]

3. (P. 1113.) 1451, adì 5 di agosto.

Et etiam viso raporto de duobus angelis per eum [*Lucam Simonis della Robbia*] factis sunt in capella corporis Christi, [*deliberaverunt*] ipsum pro suo magistero et labore debere abere libras XC de dictis duobus angelis terre chotte sine aliquo colore qui retinentur in dicto loco, pro ornamento corporis Christi. [*Delib.*, 1450-1454, c. 54.]

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24 A SPIRITELLO. Florence. Palazzo dei Priori. 1449. Missing.

In September, or October, 1449, we are told in an official document, the copy of which is preserved by the Strozzi family, Luca della Robbia made a *spiritello* to be placed above the door of the Cancelleria of the Palazzo dei Priori.

This no longer exists and its form is now a matter for conjecture. Milanese defines it as a *puttino*, which is sufficiently vague. It is likely to have signified or suggested the divine approval which should cover the proceedings of the Cancelleria. Was it an angel inspired by the candelabrum-bearers of the Cathedral, or a cherub head, like those of the Federighi Tomb, or an emblem of the Holy Spirit, like that in the Peretola Tabernacle, or a figure of Justice? This question must remain unanswered.

DOCUMENT

[Quoted from Gaye, *Carteggio*, I, 559.]

1449, Sept.-Oct. "Luca della Robbia fa un spiritello sopra la porta della cancelleria de' Signori Priori." [From Ms. in Strozzi Collection.]

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Burlamacchi, 30; Cavallucci et Molinier, 25; Cruttwell, 128, 276; Gaye I, 559 (Doc.); Milanese, II, 201.

25 MEDALLIONS OF S. ANDREA AND OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. Florence, S. Croce, Capitolo e Cappella di S. Andrea (Pazzi Chapel). Diam., 1.34 m. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 3542-3543, 3549-3551; Brogi, Nos. 5859, 5843-5854.

Fabriczy in his noteworthy volume on Brunelleschi, shows that the Pazzi Chapterhouse or Chapel was begun in 1429 or 1430; that payments were made for it by Andrea dei Pazzi as late as 1442; it was so far finished in 1443 that Pope Eugenius IV was entertained in a room above the chapel; that in 1451, six years after the death of Andrea dei Pazzi, his son Antonio made a will agreeing to pay one third, if his brothers Jacopo and Piero would each contribute a third of the expense for the completion, perfection, and ornamentation of the chapel; that in 1457 the three branches of the family were still taxed for this purpose; that in 1469 they were no longer so taxed, although in 1478, just before the fatal termination of the Pazzi conspiracy, Giuliano da Maiano entered a claim for work done for the chapel. The documents cited do not specify Luca della Robbia as the sculptor employed. The earliest witnesses for his authorship are Albertini and Vasari. Vasari states that all the glazed *terra-cotta* figures outside and inside the chapel are by him.

It would seem natural that the medallion over the entrance would be designed first, and that the medallions for which Brunelleschi had left open spaces within the chapel would soon follow.

I. S. ANDREA. Photo., Brogi, No. 5859.

The figure over the entrance door is referred to as God the Father, as Christ, and as S. Andrea (Fig. 56). There can be little doubt that Andrea dei Pazzi intended to place here the image of his patron saint, who moreover is represented with the same symbols in one of the medallions of the Apostles in the interior of the chapel. The head and shoulders with their background appear to have been cast in one piece, the right arm and the cross in another, the rest of the body in a third, with additional sections for the remaining background. The figure is glazed in white, the eyes having gray-blue irises and dark pupils. The eyebrows and upper lashes are marked with dark blue, but the irises lack the usual dark boundary circles. The cross is of a light sea green colour. The blue background is subdivided by a series of concentric bands, darker toward the periphery,

possibly to indicate the seven heavens. Golden rays emanate from the figure and radiate in all directions.

S. Andrea, here represented without a halo, has a strong face, recalling, according to Miss Cruttwell, some antique statue of Zeus. According to Schubring, this is a possible portrait of Andrea dei Pazzi himself. As the



FIG. 56. S. ANDREA.

light breaks through the central arch of the colonnade and passes across the portico, it throws into view this patron saint as the presiding genius of the building—not a Greek divinity, not a Florentine lord, but a glorified peasant fisherman from the Sea of Galilee.

II. THE TWELVE APOSTLES. The interior decorations consist of twelve wall medallions, with white figures on blue, representing the Apostles, and four polychrome medallions of Evangelists in the pendentives of the dome. We are here concerned only with the twelve Apostles, leaving the Evangelists for subsequent consideration.

Each of the twelve medallions contains a single figure seated upon clouds. These are glazed in white, their eyes being indicated by yellow irises, with dark blue boundary-circles, pupils, lashes, and brows. Each wears a gilded nimbus, a robe and mantle, has bare feet, and carries his appropriate symbol. There is a studied variety in the character of the heads, the posture, the fall of the drapery, even the mode of tying the girdle. Their hands and especially the feet exhibit careful anatomical study. The blue backgrounds are slightly concave, like the mediaeval *bacini*, which decorated the walls of churches. Streaks of gold, superficially applied, radiate from the figures in all directions. These are arranged in groups only the central rays of which reach the periphery. The clouds upon which the Apostles are seated, and those upon which their feet rest, are somewhat free translations in black and white of the stiff clouds of the goldsmiths.



FIG. 57. S. MATTEO.

The medallions are arranged in the following order. On the East side, toward the altar, reading from the left are S. Matteo, S. Pietro, S. Giovanni Evangelista, S. Jacopo Maggiore; next on the South are S. Andrea, S. Jacopo Minore; on the West, S. Simone, S. Taddeo, S. Tommaso, S. Filippo; and on the North, S. Mattia and S. Bartolommeo. There is no artistic interrelation of the figures. Each is turned to the right or to

the left without regard to the pose of his neighbour. There is, however, this much selection. The major Apostles, S. Matteo, S. Pietro, S. Giovanni Evangelista, and S. Jacopo Maggiore are not only given the position of honour, on the wall near the altar, but they are set against backgrounds on which are indicated the seven circles of heaven.

(1). S. MATTEO. Photo., Brogi, No. 5844.

S. Matteo in the seven circles of heaven, has a pen in his right hand and intently gazes upon the recently written text (Fig. 57). His attendant angel to the right holds an inkstand and a book. As compared with the later representation of the same evangelistic apostle on the bronze sacristy gates this figure is modelled with more effort and care. The drapery of the angel reflects the rigid art of the goldsmith.



FIG. 58. S. PIETRO.

(2). S. PIETRO. Photo., Brogi, No. 5843.

S. Pietro, whom we have encountered before in the marble reliefs in the Museo Nazionale and in the Ascension relief of the Cathedral, is here more richly represented in his papal character (Fig. 58). He wears a fluted halo, two fillets on his head, a large pluvial button to fasten his mantle, a stole decorated with crosses, while his right hand is raised in blessing and his left holds a book and the papal keys. The concentric circles

of heaven are more sharply distinguished than in the other neighboring medallions.

(3). S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA. Photo., Brogi, No. 5854.

This is one of the most successful of all the medallions (Fig. 59). S. Giovanni Evangelista arrests his pen and scans intently the written word, which in this case consists of mere letters and signs without significance. He has a bald head and long beard, in strong contrast to S. Pietro. His pose is carefully studied, that of the right hand being especially noteworthy,



FIG. 59. S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA.

while the legs are without the awkwardness of those in several of the other medallions. The folds of the drapery are arranged with studied regularity. The eagle is no dead symbol, but a splendid living creature, nobler far than the eagle in the polychromatic medallion of S. Giovanni in this chapel or the eagle on the bronze sacristy doors.

(4). S. JACOPO MAGGIORE. Photo., Brogi, No. 5853.

S. Jacopo, as special patron of Jacopo dei Pazzi, is here given a post of honour with SS. Matteo, Pietro and Giovanni. As the protector of pilgrims, he carries the walking staff at the top of which is attached a shell (Fig. 60). We may note the long swinging lines of the drapery, still

somewhat Ghiberti-like in its folds; also the sinewy hands and feet. Once again did Luca represent S. Jacopo Maggiore,—on the altarpiece at Pescia,—but with less vigour and nobility than here.



FIG. 60. S. JACOPO MAGGIORE.

(5). S. ANDREA. Photo., Brogi, No. 5852.

As in the more imposing medallion over the entrance S. Andrea is here represented holding a cross as well as a book (Fig. 61). The cross



FIG. 61. S. ANDREA.

has the form of the Latin cross, not the X-shape usually associated with S. Andrea. Possibly the Latin form was more suitable in medallion composition. S. Andrea's mantle is somewhat too complicated, and the instep of his left foot, seen beneath the drapery, extraordinarily high. The head, with the adjoining background, was cast separately.

(6). S. JACOPO MINORE. Photo., Brogi, No. 5851.

S. Jacopo Minore, carrying a club and a book, is a figure of much dignity (Fig. 62). Noticeable details are the unusual collar, the cord and tassel



FIG. 62. S. JACOPO MINORE.

which fastens the mantle, and the firm cross-knot of the girdle. The glaze at the outer edges of the relief has suffered somewhat.

(7). S. SIMONE. Photos., Alinari, No. 3551; Brogi, No. 5850.

S. Simone is posed with his head nearly in profile (Fig. 63). His robe falls in simple folds, is fastened by four buttons and firmly girdled; his mantle is drawn back over the cloud on which he is seated. He reads from a volume with simulated text. His right foot, fully exposed, has been carefully modelled. He carries no distinguishing attribute.



FIG. 63. S. SIMONE.



FIG. 64. S. TADDEO.

(8). S. TADDEO. Photos., Alinari, No. 3550; Brogi, No. 5849.

This figure is known incorrectly as S. Paolo, but S. Paolo is elsewhere (Impruneta) represented by Luca della Robbia with a long beard and a sword. He would be obviously out of place on the western wall in the midst of minor Apostles. If the other Apostles are correctly named, this can be no other than the remaining Apostle, S. Taddeo (Fig. 64).

He carries a short sword and a book. His left foot is perhaps faithfully studied from a model, but is nevertheless too abnormal to be pleasing. The glazing of the drapery is less successful than is usual with Luca della Robbia.

(9). S. TOMMASO. Photos., Alinari, No. 3549; Brogi, No. 5848.

S. Tommaso, one of the younger of the Apostles, is curiously unraveling the text of a scroll, leaving in an unbalanced position the sacred volume on his knee (Fig. 65). His halo is bent; his hair is modelled like that of



FIG. 65. S. TOMMASO.

the candelabrum-bearers in the sacristy of the Cathedral; his mantle and gown form interesting contours about his neck and his girdle is gracefully tied about his waist. The form of his feet may be discerned behind the drapery. Altogether this is one of the most pleasing of the medallions.

(10). S. FILIPPO. Photo., Brogi, No. 5847.

This figure has been named S. Filippo (Fig. 66). He carries no specific emblem except the book. His head, pensive and strong, and his right hand are well modelled.



FIG. 66. S. FILIPPO.

(11). S. MATTIA. Photo., Brogi, No. 5846.

This figure, without other emblem than the book, supports his tilted head with his left hand (Fig. 67). He seems to be reflecting upon the recent tragedy of the cross and upon the perfidy of his predecessor in the Apostolate.



FIG. 67. S. MATTIA.

(12). S. BARTOLOMMEO. Photo., Brogi, No. 5845.

S. Bartolommeo carries a knife as well as the book (Fig. 68). He resembles S. Andrea in appearance.

In dating these medallions I once assigned them to the decade 1430-1440; Miss Cruttwell sets them in the decade 1440-1450; Marcel Reymond, de Foville, and Schubring place them between 1450-1460; and Bode, Burckhardt and Fabriczy in the period 1470-1478. I cannot see in them any trace of Andrea della Robbia's hand, nor any stylistic characters which would prevent their being assigned to the decade 1440-1450. The medallion



FIG. 68. S. BARTOLOMMEO.

of S. Andrea over the front door was probably executed before the death of Andrea dei Pazzi in 1445. The other medallions probably followed soon after; possibly, however, not until after Antonio dei Pazzi made his will in 1451.

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26 THE FRESCOBALDI MADONNA. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. H., 0.70 m.; W., 0.46 m. Photo., Berlin Museum.

This relief (Fig. 69), formerly in the collection of the Marchese Frescobaldi, was purchased through Bardini for the Berlin Museum in 1893. Its authenticity has been called in question by Marcel Reymond, but his arguments are unconvincing. To the minutest detail the characteristics of this relief are those of Luca della Robbia. The background is an uncom-



FIG. 69. THE FRESCOBALDI MADONNA.

monly beautiful shade of blue. The Madonna has a throne and footstool of clouds, modelled and coloured like those of the Apostles on the side walls of the Pazzi Chapel. Her pose is very similar to that of S. Pietro in that chapel. Her head is of a type which recurs in the Virtues in the Portogallo Chapel at S. Miniato and in the angels on the predella of the

Tabernacle of the Holy Cross at Impruneta. Her eyes, with violet brows and upper lashes and pupils and gray-green irises, recall those of the Altman Madonna. Her robe and mantle and the treatment of the folds are thoroughly characteristic of Luca, as is the gilding for the hair and the gold ornamentation which has not wholly disappeared from the neckband of her robe and the borders of her mantle. Her feet, exposed or traceable through the drapery, are precisely similar to those of the Pazzi Chapel Apostles. A Christ child of this type we shall see again in the Madonna del Fiore of the Museo Nazionale and in the bronze sacristy doors.

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CHAPTER III

1450-1460

CHAPTER III

1450-1460

- 27 THE URBINO LUNETTE.** Urbino, S. Domenico. 1449-1450.
H., 0.93 m.; W., 2.34 m. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 15364; 17508.

On the first of August 1449 Maso di Bartolommeo began to receive from the syndics and procurators of the Frati di S. Domenico d'Urbino payments for the entrance doorway. His *Ricordi* give us a detailed account of succeeding payments and the names of his assistants. We are here concerned only with the entry of 1450, June 19th, when Luca della Robbia was paid forty florins, eighteen lire, and eight bolognini for certain figures to be placed in the doorway, viz. a Nostra Donna, a S. Pietro



FIG. 70. THE URBINO LUNETTE.

Martire, and S. Domenico, also a God the Father in a medallion in the gable above the door.

Above the doorway of S. Domenico at Urbino may be seen today a terra-cotta lunette (Fig. 70), and above it in a gable a marble God the Father between two angels. The latter figures are not, as the document

requires, in a medallion, and their inferior style indicates, in spite of the document, that they are not by Luca della Robbia. The terra-cotta lunette, however, is Luca's, and contains more figures than are specified in the document. As was the case with the Resurrection and Ascension reliefs in the Cathedral of Florence, the architect provided the framework, leaving to the sculptor merely the decoration of the lunette. Occupying as it does an elevated position it was properly adorned with relatively large, half figures in high relief. It was constructed in at least three parts and put together with apparently no concealment of the joints. The Madonna's face has been injured so much that we have no certainty concerning the form of her eyes, nose, or mouth. This Child's face is also much damaged. All the figures, recently restored, are glazed in white and set against a blue background; green is used for the lily stalk and for the palm branch; violet for the inscriptions; a dark blue for the eyebrows, upper eyelashes and pupils, and a lighter blue for the irises.

The first figure to the left is S. Domenico, carrying his emblem, the lily, and a book. Next to him is the learned S. Tommaso d'Aquino, clean shaven, holding an open book inscribed *DE FRUCTU OPERVM TVORVM SATIABITVR TERRA* (Ps., 104, 13).

The Child carries a scroll inscribed *EGO SVM LVX MVNDI*. To the right may be recognized Beato Alberto, known as Albertus Magnus, and S. Pietro Martire, holding a palm branch, emblem of martyrdom. None of the figures wear haloes, and the knife plunged in his skull, by which S. Pietro Martire was frequently distinguished, is here omitted.

These four Dominican Saints are very human, but not highly individualized. S. Domenico and S. Pietro Martire are much alike, as are also S. Tommaso and Beato Alberto. Luca's artistic efforts are more marked in the realistic representation of the ears, which he frequently avoided, and of the hands, which here as elsewhere he has made varied and expressive. The Madonna is more mature than those of the S. Pierino and Via dell' Agnolo lunettes and constitutes a new type, which we may expect to find repeated in the Madonnas of this decade.

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[Copied by Signorina Eugenia Levi from the *Libro di Conti di Maso di Bartolomeo di Firenze dell' anno 1449. Scarpellatore*, c. 1, 25^t. Ms. cart. del sec. XV nella Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Palazzo Baldovinetti No. 70.]

1. 1449, 1 di Agosto. Qui da pie faro richordo di tutti e danari . . . io Maso di Bartolomeo ricevero do sindachi e prochoratori de Frati di san domenicho d'Urbino o do altri per loro per cagione della porta. E deono avere a di primo d'agosto fior. sette contanti a bolognini 40 per fior. che furono denari che s'ebbono dal'arte.

Fior. 7, bolog. 14.

2. 1450, 19 di Giugno. Lucha di Simone della' robbia de dare adì 29 di gugno f. quattro doro valsono L 18 b. 8 et p. me da Frate bartolomeo daurbino. E questi furō p. parte di pagameto dicerte Figure che detto lucha mi debba fare p. mettere nella porta durbino cioe una nostra dona sã piero martire e sandomenicho. E di sopra in uno frõtone uno idio padre in uno tondo p. prezzo di f. quarante cioe f. XL . . . L 18 b. 8.

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28 THE INNOCENTI MADONNA. Florence, Ospedale degl' Innocenti. H., 0.81 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 3181; Brogi, No. 9918.

The Innocenti Madonna (Fig. 71), like those in the Altman and André collections, has no background, but was intended to be set in a niche or against a wall. The base, cut away at the angles is covered with a fine blue glaze, and an inscription in white letters from the Magnificat, QVIA RESPEXIT DOMINVS HVMILITATEM ANCILLE SVE (S. Luke, I, 48). At each corner, also in white, is a rose with four fronds of ferns. The scroll held by the Child is inscribed in violet black EGO SVM LVX MVNDI. The colouring of the eyes show blue or light lilac irises and violet lashes, pupil and iris boundary. The gilding on the hair, borders of mantle, scroll, and brooch appears to be modern.

The type of the Madonna and of the Child are those of the Urbino lunette, and the Child carries a similar scroll in the same position. The

Virgin's mantle, which serves also to cover her head, is fastened by a brooch in the form of a rose, like those of the candelabrum-bearing angels in the Cathedral sacristy.



FIG. 71. THE INNOCENTI MADONNA.

Dr. Bode, Marcel Reymond, de Foville and Miss Cruttwell agree that this is the earliest or one of the earliest of Luca's Madonnas. In my view this Madonna should be dated about 1450, on account of the close resemblance to the Urbino Madonna.

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29 THE MADONNA OF THE APPLE. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, No. 70 (Old No. 116 R). H., 0.58 m.; W., 0.48 m. Photo., Mertens.

This relief (Fig. 72) like that in the Innocenti Gallery, has no background and is also set on a base with chamfered angles. It was purchased

in 1869 from Sir Francis Cook, Richmond, and presented by Herr Michaelis to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum-Verein.



FIG. 72. MADONNA OF THE APPLE, BERLIN.

Traces of gilding remain on the Virgin's fillet, girdle, wristband, and on the border of her mantle. The eyes of both Virgin and Child have pale-blue irises and violet pupils.

The general composition is not far removed from that of the Innocenti Madonna, the Virgin being somewhat hieratic, although the Child is here roguish and playful. He has the symbolic apple in his left hand, and puts the forefinger of his right hand in his mouth, as if, in sympathy with mankind, he too would enjoy a taste of the forbidden fruit. Luca had used the same motive for a Madonna in the medallion in the Museo Nazionale, No. 27. How different is this motive in the hands of Andrea della Robbia,

who omits the apple, thus suffering even Luca's composition to be misunderstood by Marcel Reymond, who likens the gesture to that of a little child with a toothache!

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FIG. 73. MADONNA OF THE APPLE, FLORENCE.

- 30** THE MADONNA OF THE APPLE. Florence, Museo Nazionale, No. 28. H., 0.70; W., 0.52 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 2765; Brogi, No. 9491

This Madonna (Fig. 73) is said by Umberto Rossi to have belonged to the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, from the end of the sixteenth century. From the Palazzo Vecchio it passed in 1836 to the Uffizi, and in 1869 to the Museo Nazionale. The modulation of hues from the light blue of the base to the richer blue of the background is an expression of Luca's charming colour sense. The eyes are more summarily treated than usual. The

brows and eyelashes are uncoloured. The irises show Luca's favourite gray-blue, and the pupils the usual violet. The form of the base resembles that of the two preceding Madonnas.

The composition has strong analogies with that on the Impruneta frieze. It is, however, in type somewhat more hieratic. The Madonna is nearly erect with a very slight tilt to the head. She is anxiously foreboding the sorrow which the future has in store for her. The Child, entirely nude, clings with both hands to the symbolic apple. His face does not share his mother's sorrow. He is a large Child, like that of the Berlin Madonna of the Apple. The relation of mother and Son is not quite so intimate as that of the Madonna on the Impruneta frieze.

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31 THE MADONNA FROM S. MARIA NUOVA. Florence, Museo Nazionale. H., 0.63 m.; W., 0.50 m. Photo., Alinari, No. 2445, C.

This relief was removed in 1900 from the Gallery of the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova to the Uffizi, where it remained until about 1903, when it was transferred to the Museo Nazionale (Fig. 74). The figures are white against a blue ground and set upon a white base. The blue background is ornamented with a gold diapered pattern showing rosettes within circles and conventional floral patterns, recalling the pattern on the bases of the candelabrum-bearing angels, and that of the Madonna of the Physicians on Or San Michele.

The type of the Madonna is transitional between the Madonna of the Apple and the Genoese Madonna, now in the Benda collection, Vienna. The eyes have gray-blue irises and violet pupils, with no colour indications for eyebrows or lashes. Her robe has a neck ruffle, almost no folds and no girdle, but an ornamental wristband on her right sleeve. She carries

in her left arm the Child, who plays with her thumb and little finger. The Child has a large head and is fully draped. His shirt opens like that of S. Simone in the Pazzi Chapel, and his shoulder capes recall those of the Cluny Temperance and the Heilbronner Prudence. His right foot is turned so that the sole is visible. Both Virgin and Child wear haloes, and gaze out upon the spectator.



FIG. 74. MADONNA FROM S. MARIA NUOVA.

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- 32 THE MADONNA OF THE ROSE GARDEN.** Florence, Museo Nazionale, No. 31. H., 0.83 m.; W., 0.63 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 2766; Brogi, No. 9475.

This beautiful relief, once considered a forgery, was relegated to the storeroom of the Museo Nazionale until about 1885 it was discovered by Dr. Bode. It is now universally accepted as a very characteristic work of Luca della Robbia (Fig. 75). It belongs to a period when Luca was



FIG. 75. MADONNA OF THE ROSE GARDEN.

experimenting with colour harmonies. The background is an unusual grayish-blue, the leaves of the rose bushes show several shades of green, the bench is a charming violet, and the inclined base a grayish-green. There is nothing crude or garish about this colour harmony. The Madonna's eyes have the characteristic gray-blue irises, while eyebrows, upper lashes, and pupils are indicated with dark blue. It may be designated as the Madonna of the Rose Garden, or S. Maria del Fiore, the titular Madonna of the Florence Cathedral.

The composition and the mode of holding the Child remind us of the Frescobaldi Madonna, but the scene has changed. The Madonna is no longer in heaven, but seated on a bench in a rose garden. The type of the Virgin is not that of the S. Pierino or of the Via dell' Agnolo lunette, but more advanced, nearer to that of the Madonna of the Apple, not quite so aged or so wearied as our Lady of the bronze sacristy doors. The type of the Child is transitional between that of the Frescobaldi and of the bronze door reliefs. If we should compare the roses and the rose leaves with those of the S. Pierino and Via dell' Agnolo lunettes, these are less carefully detailed in modelling. The smooth centres of the flowers and the summary character of the leaves find their closest analogues in the floral frieze of the Federighi Tomb. Hence this relief may be assigned to the decade 1450-1460.

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33 THE FEDERIGHI TOMB. Florence, S. Trinità. 1455-1456. H., 2.70 m.; W., 2.57 m. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 3396-3399; Brogi, Nos. 4664-4667; Burton & Co.

This marble monument (Fig. 76), one of the most noteworthy and beautiful tombs in Italy, was erected in honour of Benozzo Federighi, a Florentine Canonico, Protonotario Apostolico, and Bishop of Fiesole, who died in 1450. The contract for the Tomb was signed by Federigo di Jacopo Federighi and Luca della Robbia on March 2, 1455, and the Tomb completed in the year 1456. A dispute concerning the payment for the Tomb having arisen, the matter was referred to Andrea Lazzari Cavalcanti, called Il Buggiano, who in 1459 ruled that Luca had faithfully fulfilled his side of the contract, that the monument should be gilded as Andrea thought best, and at the joint expense of the two contracting parties. The tomb was located first in the Federighi Chapel, near the side entrance in

S. Pancrazio, where it stood until that church was suppressed in 1809.¹ It was then removed across the Arno to Bellosguardo and set up in the Church of S. Francesco di Paolo, of which the Federighi family were patrons. Again, in 1896,² it crossed the Arno and found a resting place in one of the choir chapels of S. Trinità.

The general form of the tomb, a rectangular niche framed with polychromatic, glazed terra-cotta, is most unusual, but well adapted for its site,



FIG. 76. THE FEDERIGHI TOMB.

since the small dimensions of S. Pancrazio did not invite tombs raised aloft on brackets or covered with high canopies. The reclining Bishop must have been set above the eye of the spectator, otherwise the suppression of his right shoulder would be unpleasantly noticeable. In its general disposition with the head resting lightly on a pillow, the hands crossed, the feet

¹ According to Cocchi, 79. Miss Cruttwell and Gerspach gave the date 1783.

² Gerspach, *Chronique des Arts*, 1896, p. 156-157.

protruding, we find a type hallowed by long use in Italy. Not uncommon also is the rich decoration seen here in stole and mitre, pillow and pall. In the foliage and floral forms we recognize decorative elements which Luca della Robbia had used already in the Peretola tabernacle and elsewhere. Traces of colour still remain, on the eyebrows and eyes of the angels, and of gilding on the nimbus and other details. This gilding was specifically called for in the contract of August 6, 1459.



FIG. 77. FEDERIGHI TOMB. S. MARIA.



FIG. 78. FEDERIGHI TOMB. DEAD CHRIST.

The rectangular sarcophogus with its well distributed and decorated mouldings resembles the altar of the Cappella di Stefano. On the front are exhibited in relief two angels bearing an olive wreath enclosing the inscription: R(EVERENDI) P(ATRIS) BENOTII DE FEDERIGIS EPI(SCOPI) FESVLANI QVI VIR ITEGER(R)IMAE VITAE SVM(M)A CVM LAVDE VIXIT. ANNOQUE MCCCCL DEFVNCTVS EST. The angels and wreath motive was suggested to Luca not directly by a classic monument, but through

Ghiberti's reliquary of the Three Martyrs (1428) or that of S. Zanobi (1446). He may also have had in mind the similar motive on Bernardo Rossellino's tomb to Leonardo Bruni in S. Croce. Luca's angels are large for the space they occupy, and not so active as Ghiberti's; but they are more seriously concerned with their sombre task, their wings more securely attached to their bodies, their draperies more carefully modelled, and the wreath more naturalistic and beautiful.



FIG. 79. FEDERIGHI TOMB. S. GIOVANNI.

In the background are three panels (Figs. 77-79), not left vacant as in Donatello's tomb of Giovanni XXIII or in the tomb of Leonardo Bruni, but carved with figures of the Virgin Mary and S. Giovanni Evangelista worshipping the dead Christ. This group, one of several types known as a *Pietà*, was common on fourteenth century tombs. It was similarly distributed in three panels on the Baroncelli, Pazzi, and Alotti tombs in S. Croce and S. Maria Novella.

On the ceiling of the niche, also in three panels, are carved three

cherub heads (Figs. 80-82). Each has three pairs of wings. They have serious faces, as if mindful of the solemnity of death. Owing to their obscure position these panels have hitherto escaped attention. It is important to publish them, since cherub heads have a long rôle to fill in the history of the Robbia School. The lateral panels of the niche are undecorated.



FIG. 80. FEDERIGHI TOMB. DETAIL.



FIG. 81. FEDERIGHI TOMB. DETAIL.



FIG. 82. FEDERIGHI TOMB. DETAIL.

The polychromatic terra-cotta frame (Fig. 83) is a unique product, extraordinarily skilful in execution and of beautiful design. Within marble mouldings, carved with the leaf and dart, is set a mosaic of enameled terra-cotta, 0.22m. in width. It is not composed, as M. Gerspach asserts, of twenty-eight pieces, corresponding to the ovals or circles into which the design is distributed, but each of these twenty-eight sections is subdivided into many small pieces, in some cases as many as thirty-eight in number. Each separate piece is coloured and glazed, and is set in very hard cement. In other words, it is a mosaic, of the variety called *opus sectile*, the units of which are not marble but glazed terra-cotta. The ground against which the floral pattern is set is of gold, the technical character of which is noteworthy. Many years ago I made a note to the effect that this consisted of a gold enamel beneath a glaze. Since that time M. Gerspach has reiterated his statement that the gold was not protected by a glaze, but was exposed to the atmosphere without protection. That this is not the case is shown by careful observations made for me by Mr. Rufus G. Mather of Florence who writes as follows: "Upon the hard, dark-red terra-cotta was applied the gold, in the form of paint. Over this is a yellowish glaze. The various pieces so gilded present different appearances. In some cases the gold does not shine as such except where the glaze has been worn away, as for instance, near the edge. In such cases its effect only through the glaze is felt. In other cases the glaze has worn off in many places and so allows the sparkle of the gold to be seen. These places I have rubbed hard with my finger, but although the gold is fully exposed it will not rub off even under hard friction. I presume, therefore, it must have been burned in. Wherever the gold is seen it presents the same appearance as to colour. On the other hand the glaze varies considerably. While in general it is a dullish yellow, in many cases it is quite brownish and even greenish. To determine just the colour of the



FIG. 83. FEDERIGHI TOMB.
DETAIL.

glaze is very difficult. The tomb gets no direct sun on it, so one has to depend on artificial light. To show what a great difference there is in the gilding under natural and artificial light I will mention that without artificial light only the general effect of the gold is felt (little or no gold being seen as such), whereas when a candle is brought near the same pieces the sparkle of the gold itself becomes at once apparent." The other colours used are green of various shades, white, yellow, purple-violet and blue. The colours are applied in general in flat tones, with occasional shading. The prevailing tone is green against which the flowers form the high lights.

The design consists of bunches of flowers and fruit with their leaves set in oval *cloisons* knotted together to form a chain. At the corners the *cloisons* are circular. The two at the top contain a modification of the Federighi arms. These arms are *Azure*, eight plates, two, three, two, and one, *argent* (H. Wills, *Florentine Heraldry*, 139, and *Prioristà fiorentino*, Ms. Princeton copy, 406). On arranging the plates within a circle the lowermost plate was almost necessarily omitted. Possibly the branch of the family to which Benozzo belonged was content with seven plates. The remaining *cloisons*, twenty-six in number, are filled with seven different designs. These begin in the middle of the base and continue to right and left to the middle of the side frames. Then follow repetitions of the first three designs according to this scheme:

O	3.	2.	1.	1.	2.	3.	O
1.							1.
2.							2.
3.							3.
7.							7.
6.							6.
5.							5.
4.	3.	2.	1.	1.	2.	3.	4.

Considered as a whole, the chain of flowers and fruit may be said to begin at the middle of the base and end at the middle of the top, thus giving an ascending series for the two sides. Lilies, roses, morning glories, together with olive branches, pomegranates, and pine cones are here displayed as

nowhere else in Luca's work. As we examine it we exclaim with Vasari, "questa opera è maravigliosa e rarissima."

DOCUMENTS

1. 1455, 2 di Marzo. Date of contract. See Doc. 3.
2. 1457. E più ò una sepoltura di marmo, la quale ò fatto già è più d'un anno, a federigho diachopo federighi; delle quali siano appiato allo merchatantia; nonne posso ragionare alchuna chosa insino a tanto non è terminato. Quando sarà chiarita, sarò dinanzi del vostro officio.
[Quoted from Gaye, I, 183. Arch. di Stato di Firenze. Quartiere S. Giovanni, Gonfalone Chiave. No. 829, c. 115.]
3. 1459, 21 di Luglio. Federighus Iacobi de Federigis, civis florentinus, ex una parte et Lucas Simonis della Robbia, intagliator, ex alia, pro observantia executione et effectu scripture conventionis existentis inter eos facta sub die secunda Martii 1454 (1455 st. com.) continente in effectu inter cetera quod dictus Lucas deberet facere dicto Federigho certum sepulchrum marmoreum certo modo et forma prout in dicta scripta continetur et cum dicte partes de huiusmodi laborerio non sint in omnibus bene concordantes videlicet de infrascriptis elegerunt nominaverunt et deputaverunt Andream Lazari Cavalcantis, intagliatorem, civem florentinum, tanquam eorum arbitrum et arbitratorem spetialiter et nominatim ad videndum dictum opus jam factum si in aliquo est defectivum seu si quid in eo deficit et tale defectum declarandum antequam muretur et deinde, illo murato, ad existimandum et appretiandum ipsum laborerium et opus et talem estimationem referendum in scripta dictis domino officiali et sex hinc ad per totam diem XXVIII septembris proxime futuri etc. Presentibus testibus etc. Adamo et Piero domicellis.
[Quoted from Poggi, *Riv. d'Arte*, 1906, 157. Archiv. del Tribunale di Mercanzia, Deliberazioni, 1456-1459. c. 99-99¹.]
4. 1459, 6 di Agosto. Constitutus personaliter coram me Rigoglio notario et cancellerio infrascripto et testibus infrascriptis Andreas Lazari Cavalcantis intagliator arbiter et arbitrator ut supra patet sub die . . . [21] Iulii proxime preteriti inter Federighum de Federighis ex parte una et Lucam della Robbia ex alia vigore dicte commissionis et omni modo etc. declaravit et iudicavit nichil deficere seu defecisse in laborerio facto per dictum Lucam de quo ibidem fit mentio sed omnia fecisse et adimplevisse prout tenebatur et debebat secundum conventionem existentem inter eos et quod nichilominus dictus Lucas teneatur et debeat dorare a mordente sepulchrum seu laborerium de quo ibidem fit mentio ubi et quomodo videbitur eidem Andree ad communes expensas utriusque partis. Et hec presente et intelligente et acceptante dicto Federigo et presentibus testibus etc. ser Benedicto de Staggia et ser Guidone de Rignano.
[Quoted from Poggi, *Riv. d'Arte*, 1906, 157. Archiv. del Tribunale di Mercanzia, Deliberazioni, 1456-1459, c. 106.]

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 XX cent., Bode, *J. k. p. K.*, XXI (1900), 4; *Denkm.*, 59, Taf. 235; *F. B.*, 131; *Fl. Bildh.*, 110-111; *Fl. Sc.*, 77, Pl. 35; Burckhardt, 426; Burlamacchi, 39-40, 99 (Doc.), 108; Burger, 203-205, Taf. 15, 2; Carocci, *A. I. D. I.*, XIII (1904), 85-88; Cenni storici e artistici di S. Trinità; Cocchi, 182; Cruttwell, 93-96, 303 (Doc.), 324; Doering-Dachau, 17, Abb. 24; de Foville, 53, 59-61; de Mély, *G. B. A.*, XXXIV (1905), 282-283; Michel, IV, 78-80; Fig. 55; Poggi, *Riv. d'Arte*, IV (1906), 156-157 (Doc.); Schubring, 54-56, Abb. 53; Venturi, VI, 572-574, Fig. 384; Waters, 191.

34 STEMMMA OF THE PHYSICIANS AND APOTHECARIES.

Florence, Or San Michele. Diam., 1.80 m. Photo., Alinari, No. 4657.

Early in the twelfth century the Physicians and Apothecaries of Florence were incorporated as a guild known as the *Arte dei Medici e degli Speciali*. By the fourteenth century there were a hundred apothecary shops in Florence, and in the fifteenth century their shops, lined with jars of fine maiolica containing oriental spices and perfumery, were centres where the idle rich gathered for gossip. The apothecaries secured a good business through the doctors, and still further protected themselves by acting as undertakers and funeral directors! Men of letters, travellers, painters, engravers, printers and many minor craftsmen were associated in this flourishing guild. Luca della Robbia served several times as one of its Consuls, thirty times as a member of its council, three times as a Syndic, and twice as Treasurer. The special protector of the guild was the Madonna, whose statue once occupied a tabernacle on the South wall. Above this Luca della Robbia was commissioned to place a terra-cotta medallion containing the *stemma* or armorial device of the guild (Fig. 84). This consisted of *Azure*, a Madonna polychrome in a tabernacle surmounted by lilies.

As Luca has interpreted it, the Madonna is seated on a bench with a nude Child standing on her lap holding his right hand extended in blessing.

The Madonna is highly polychromatic. Her hair is yellow; her face imitates the colour of flesh; her half-closed eyes have gray-blue irises, dark blue brows, lashes, and pupils; her neck seems unusually long; her robe is violet with neckband of yellow and sleeves of green; her mantle, of rich blue with fine green lining, falls in easy swinging folds; she is seated on a bench similar to that of the Madonna of the Rose Garden and of the bronze sacristy doors. The bench is coloured bluish-green, lightly spotted with yellow, with no obvious intent to imitate serpentine or marble. The



FIG. 84. STEMMMA OF THE PHYSICIANS.

Child recalls earlier types than that of the bronze sacristy doors. Like his mother he has yellow, for golden, hair.

The immediate background, now covered with dust, shows an elaborate all-over pattern of white-centered yellow quatrefoils set against cruciform, green fern leaves enclosed in green and black frames, at each angle of which is a yellow-centered, four-petalled, blue flower. The elements of this pattern may be seen in the Peretola tabernacle, but its development recalls the background of the Madonna from the S. Maria Nuova Gallery now in the Museo Nazionale.

The tabernacle, with its unchannelled colonnettes and composite capitals, does not betoken a very early date, in spite of the fact that cornice

mouldings are here set directly upon the capitals. The mouldings resemble those of the medallions of the Portogallo Chapel. It may also be noted that the egg and dart moulding is not of the type followed by Luca in the forties, but resembles those of the Federighi tomb and of the Portogallo medallions. The lilies, with their lanceolate, green leaves and white flowers with yellow stamens, are charmingly naturalistic, as fine as any lilies that Luca ever modelled. The stone frame has lasted better than that of the other medallions, less than a quarter of it being a modern restoration. In assigning a date to this medallion the analogies cited indicate the period 1455-1465.

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35 STEMMA OF THE STONE-MASONS AND WOOD CARVERS.

Florence, Or San Michele. Diam., 1.80 m. Photo., Alinari, No. 3441.

The guild known as *L'Arte de' Maestri di Pietra e di Legname*, or master-workers in stone and wood, represented a combination of trades: the *Maestri dell' Ascia*, or carvers, the *Muratori e Scarpellini*, or masons and stone cutters, and the *Architetti*, or architects. To this guild, which included many of the most celebrated Italian architects and sculptors, belonged also gem-cutters, potters, and others in allied occupations. The patron saints of the guild, SS. Castro, Sinfuriano, Nicostrato, and Simplicio—the so-called Quattro Incoronati—are figured in a niche by Nanni di Banco on the exterior of Or S. Michele. The stemma or coat of arms in enamelled terracotta immediately above the four saints (Fig. 85) is by Luca della Robbia, himself a member of the guild. The arms consisted of an axe, *argent*, on a field, *gules*. Luca's medallion is no mere reproduction of a heraldic emblem, but a poem or song which glorifies the trades associated with the guild. The axe, with broad, white blade and yellow handle, is painted on a ground

of violet, over which is spread a charming arabesque in a lighter shade of violet. This as the principal emblem of the guild occupies the central position. It is framed by a *guilloche*, the strands of which are coloured in three shades of blue, the darkest in the centre. The *eyes* of the *guilloche* and the triangular spaces between it and the two fillet borders have incised outlines and are filled with glazed gold leaf or gold powder like that in the border of the Federighi tomb. This *guilloche* makes four loops at the extremities of the vertical and horizontal axes of the medallion, in which are set a blue trowel for the *muratori*, a blue hammer,



FIG. 85. STEMMMA OF THE STONE-MASONS.

pointing implement, and chisel for the *scarpellini*, and blue compasses and T-square for the *architetti*. The arrangement of the entire pattern is not unlike that of the four virtues about the Holy Spirit in the ceiling of the Portogallo Chapel. Each of these blue emblems is relieved against a field of green covered with delicately designed arabesques in a lighter shade of green. The trapezoidal spaces between the loops are framed with white fillets, and are decorated with green plants forming scrolls with opposing, double, five-petalled flowers of three shades of blue. The alternate pairs of flowers are of slightly different design. The outlines of the plants

and flowers are incised, and the interspaces filled with gold beneath the glaze. The entire medallion was baked in fourteen or more sections and set in a stone frame, which in recent years has in great part been renewed.

The date to be assigned to this medallion is a matter for conjecture. It has been set as early as 1440, and as late as 1470-1480. The use of gold mosaic, found nowhere else in Luca's work except in the border of the Federighi tomb seems to indicate a date about 1456. The delicate and graceful arabesques also suggest a date not far removed from that of the tabernacle of the Holy Cross at Impruneta. I accordingly assign it to the period 1455-1460.

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 XX cent., Bode, *J. k. p. K.*, XXI (1900), 11; *Denkm.*, 66; *Fl. Bildh.*, 124; *Fl. Sc.*, 85-86; Burckhardt, 428; Burlamacchi, 45-46, 108; Cruttwell, 106, 323; de Foville, 61; Schubring, 70, Abb. 67; Waters, 191.

36 STEMMA OF THE SILK MERCHANTS. Florence, Or San Michele. Diam., 1.80 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 3439; Brogi, No. 4658.

The Florentine guild of silk merchants and manufacturers, known as the *Arte della Seta*, was one of the wealthiest of the seven major guilds. The palace of its consuls was next door to the church of S. Maria sopra la Porta and close to the Porta S. Maria, one of the gates of the first wall of Florence; hence this guild was known also as the *Arte di Por Santa Maria*. It was established toward the end of the twelfth century, and by the fifteenth century this guild had in Florence eighty-four workshops in which more than sixteen thousand operatives were employed in the manufacture of silk. Florentine silks, brocades, and velvets were exported to many countries of Europe and even to the East, where this industry began. It embraced many craftsmen of varied importance, classified as *Setaiuoli Grossi* and *Setaiuoli Minuti*. Among the former were the workers in gold and silver, *orefici*, who assisted in the production of cloth of gold and gold lace. The reconstruction of Or San Michele, and its adornment, seems

primarily to have been entrusted to this guild. It was perhaps the first of the guilds to construct a tabernacle for its patron saint on the exterior of Or San Michele. The old statue of S. Giovanni Evangelista was replaced in 1515 by a new one executed by Baccio da Montelupo. Above its tabernacle is the glazed terra-cotta medallion (Fig. 86), showing the *stemma* of the guild, by Luca della Robbia. The armorial bearings of the guild show a white doorway with red stonework on a field of silver. Donatello, or one of his followers designed for the palace of the guild a *stemma* surrounded by an oak frame upheld by *putti*. Charming as it is, that by Luca della Robbia is more dignified and beautiful. Winged, blue-eyed *putti* here



FIG. 86. STEMMMA OF THE SILK MERCHANTS.

stand upon clouds against a blue sky and serve as supporters of a white shield on which is a fine white *porta* with violet nails, rings, bolt and surrounding bossage. The pannellings of the door are more happily proportioned than those of the Donatellesque *stemma*. The *putti* are vigorous and lifelike, nearer to Luca's angels on the *Cantoria* than to Andrea della Robbia's *bambini* on the Innocenti hospital or to the cherubs on his altar frames. The frame consists of outer mouldings of stone, half of which is a modern restoration, within which is a band of fruit:

quinces, grapes, pine cones, oranges, and pomegranates, and an inner egg and dart moulding. The composition of the fruit frieze is less skilful than that of the Pazzi and Serristori *stemma* or of the baldachino at Impruneta. It was baked in nine sections, and consequently shows a broken sequence in the alternation of the dark and light-coloured fruit. The dimensions of these sections seem not to have been accurately calculated; one of the sections carries only two instead of three bunches. The arrangement of the fruit and of the leaves is more monotonous than we are accustomed to expect from Luca, though not exhibiting Andrea's characteristic conventions. Was this Luca's first effort at fruit composition? Or did he entrust this frame to his nephew Andrea? Arguments could readily be found to support either hypothesis, according to the date assigned to the relief. If it was as early or earlier than 1450, then Andrea's assistance is out of the question, but if it be as late as 1460 Andrea's coöperation is quite possible.

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37 THE IMPRUNETA TABERNACLE. Impruneta, Pieve Collegiata di S. Maria. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 17003-17010; Brogi, Nos. 9889-9891; Burton & Co.

Only ten kilometres to the south of Florence is the town of Impruneta, the collegiate church of which contains very important works by Luca della Robbia. They were insufficiently described in a rare work by G. B. Casotti in 1714 and then forgotten. Cav. Guido Carocci, inspector of monuments for Tuscany, in his *I Dintorni di Firenze* in 1881 merely mentioned them as "stupende terrecotte di Luca della Robbia," but in 1892 in his *Il comune del Galluzzo* corrected the attribution as erroneous and says that they belong to a later period. Miss Cruttwell professes to see in them the mind and hand of Andrea della Robbia working in collaboration with

his uncle, but other writers are unanimous in classing them among the chef-d'oeuvres of Luca himself.

The town of Impruneta for centuries has been the centre of a terracotta industry. It could boast of many families engaged in that industry in the fifteenth century, some of which to this day continue to manufacture large garden vases and architectural ornaments. In the neighboring town of Calcina it is claimed that the remains of a ruined furnace, where now stands the Casa Soldi, mark the spot where Luca della Robbia made the terracotta decorations for the Pieve of S. Maria dell' Impruneta. This claim may possibly be true, although ordinarily Robbia terracottas were baked in Florence and transported to remote parts of Italy.

The Pieve of S. Maria was founded in 1054 by the Buondelmonti family, who continued for centuries to be its patrons. In the fifteenth century it received also great benefits from Antonio di Bellincione, a member of the Cari branch of the Agli family. He was a canon and first dean of this collegiate church—also a bishop of Fiesole, of Volterra, and archbishop of Ragusa. The old Pieve at Impruneta was very dear to his heart and from the year 1439 to the day of his death in 1477 he contributed large sums for its restoration and adornment.

The decorations in which Luca della Robbia shared were the two chapels to the right and left of the *tribuna*.

A. CAPPELLA DELLA MADONNA. Statues, ceiling, frieze, Madonnas.

This chapel (Fig. 87) shelters an ancient and much revered painting of the Madonna, the authorship of which was attributed to S. Luca, as was the case with many old paintings of the Byzantine period. The painting was thought to possess miraculous powers, and was transported to Florence in solemn procession for the benefit of the Florentines many times during the incumbency of Antonio degli Agli. It attracted pilgrims and was the central object in a great festival when annually exposed to the view of the faithful in the month of October. It stimulated legend, and was said to have been lost and recovered in the fields at a spot where ploughing oxen fell with bended knee and refused to proceed until the image was recovered. This story was figured in 1323 on the old bell of this church, and upon the new bell cast in 1683. It was reproduced in copperplate engraving by Stefano della Bella in 1633, from which the



FIG. 87. IMPRUNETA. CAPPELLA DELLA MADONNA.

frontispiece of Casotti's book was copied. It was also figured in marble on the predella of the tabernacle of this chapel. This tabernacle (Fig. 88) may be dated from the middle of the fifteenth century, as it bears a strong resemblance to the Porta del Noviziato at S. Croce (c. 1445) and the more beautiful tabernacle on the exterior of Or San Michele which enshrines Verrocchio's group of Christ and the doubting Thomas. The Impruneta tabernacle is generally attributed to Michelozzo. It is certainly not by Luca della Robbia, but by some pupil of Donatello, possibly Michelozzo or Pagno di Lapo Portigiani. On either side of it are glazed terracotta figures of S. Paolo and S. Luca set against dark blue tiles, which are arranged in courses to imitate stone work. The figures are evidently made by a different hand from that which made the tabernacle. They stand on dark greenish-brown bases, such as those on which Luca often posed his figures, but this ground is not flush with the predella of the tabernacle; it projects beyond it. The two designers evidently worked independently of each other. As these two figures are manifestly by the same hand, and as they seem to be contemporaneous with the figures at the sides of the tabernacle in the adjoining chapel, we may suppose that this tabernacle was already in place when Luca made his figures and could not easily be aligned with the bases of his statues. The tabernacle is closed today by a doorway of silver adorned with floral scrolls and a central medallion in no way suggestive of the Madonna. Here is represented the Archangel Raphael and Tobias with the fish, in memory of the *Compagnia dell' Angelo Raffaello* which presented the door in 1712. The original *sportelli* of wood with tempera paintings representing choirs of angels, the Annunciation with saints, etc., are still in the sacristy of the church. The *gradino* and *paliotto* of the altar, also of silver, represent the local story of the Madonna, as well as her Coronation and Assumption, but the central medallion displays the piety of the Granduca Cosimo III. It was designed by Giovanni Battista Foggini and executed in 1695.

(1). S. PAOLO. Photos., Alinari, No. 17006; Brogi, No. 9889.

S. Paolo, never repeated in the works of Luca, held in one hand a sword, of which the hilt only remains, and in the other a book (Fig. 88). I cannot with Miss Cruttwell see anything uncharacteristic of Luca in the structure of the figure or the cast of the drapery. It reminds me of his

two figures of S. Giovanni Evangelista, one in the Pazzi Chapel and still more of the one on the bronze sacristy doors. The eyes have copper-coloured irises and dark-blue brows, lashes and pupils.

(2). S. LUCA. Photos, Alinari, No. 17006; Brogi, No. 9889.

S. Luca, here represented because of his supposed authorship of the painting of the Madonna, and because of all the evangelists he gives the



FIG. 88. IMPRUNETA. TABERNACLE OF THE MADONNA.

fullest account of the Virgin, is represented with pen in one hand and book in the other (Fig. 88). The type is similar to that of the S. Luca of the bronze sacristy doors in such details as hair, beard, mode of holding

the pen, and cast of drapery; but is finer and to be assigned to a slightly earlier period.

(3). CEILING OF THE CAPPELLA DELLA MADONNA. Photo., Alinari, No. 17005.

The tabernacle and altar of the Madonna is sheltered beneath a special baldachino, thus forming at this corner of the church a *Cappella* or *Tempietto*. This baldachino, apart from the tawdry roccoco decoration on top, is a product of the fifteenth century. It resembles the Cappella dell' Annunziata in S. Maria dei Servi ordered by Piero de' Medici and attributed by Vasari to Michelozzo, but inscribed with the name of Donatello's pupil Pagno di Lapo Portigiani and dated 1448. The balustrade surrounding this baldachino, in the style of the fifteenth century, appears to have been the gift of some member of the Buondelmonti family, as their arms appear at the base. It dates from the year 1650.

The ceiling (Fig. 89) contains twelve cofferings separated by bands of violet or of green edged with white. Each panel, or coffer, contains a



FIG. 89. IMPRUNETA. CEILING DETAIL.

central yellow rosette, finely designed and set in a blue, concave, fluted disk. This again is set in a narrow white circular frame, inscribed in a narrow square frame, the angles being filled with pine cones and needles coloured naturalistically. The needles overlap irregularly the adjoining frames. The pine cones are an evident allusion to the locality, which abounded in pine groves and gave to the church its name S. Maria in Pineta, corrupted into Impruneta. The outer mouldings, with the serrated leaf and dart and the plain leaf and dart set in opposing directions on either side of a bead and reel, are the same as those in the cornice of the Tabernacle of the Holy

Cross. They constitute a richer combination than Luca had used in the ceiling of the Cappella dell Crocifisso at S. Miniato (1448), or on the Federighi Tomb (1455).

(4). FRIEZE. Photo., Alinari, No. 17004.

The baldachino does not stand in the open, but is set in a corner. Consequently only two sides of its entablature are exposed to view. These have highly ornate mouldings for architrave and cornice, between which is a glazed terra-cotta frieze showing a polychromatic fruit garland, inset with two representations of the Madonna. The fruit consists of grapes, citrons, and quinces, arranged in groups of four, alternately dark and light. These groups correspond to the sections in which the frieze was baked. Rib-



FIG. 90. IMPRUNETA. S. FRIEZE OF CAPPELLA DELLA MADONNA.

bons bind the groups together at the points of juncture. There is also a tendency to arrange the heavier fruit at the base and lighter fruit at the top of a bunch. The western frieze, or that position which faces the entrance of the church, is more accurately composed than the other. There are exactly three bunches on each side of the central Madonna; the bunches nearest the centre are golden in colour, thus contrasting well with the Madonna's blue background and are distinguished from the rest by flowers mingled with the fruit; the terminal bunches are designed so as to reach the end satisfactorily. The southern frieze (Figs. 90-91) is somewhat longer, and the extra length is made up by a half bunch of grapes on one side and by a vacant space near the wall. The extra half bunch of grapes was

actually set in the position of honour next to the Madonna, and one of the groups of quinces with flowers, which should have been placed next to the Madonna, was moved to the end of the frieze. This detracts from the beauty of the composition, as Luca designed it, and makes us believe that he was not properly advised as to the dimensions of the baldachino,

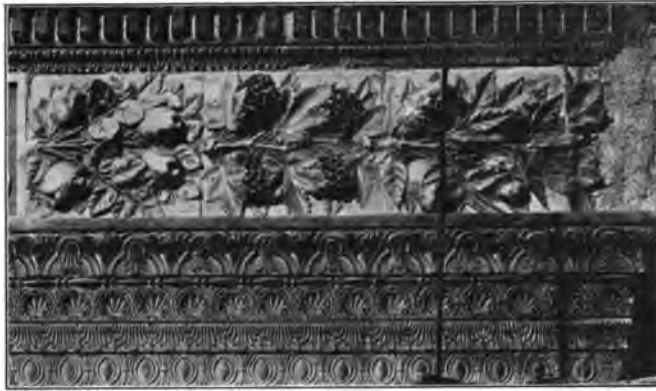


FIG. 91. IMPRUNETA. S. FRIEZE OF CAPPELLA DELLA MADONNA.

or that this side was set up in his absence. It may be even that it once decorated the western frieze of the other baldachino and was transferred to its present position in the seventeenth century. In style this frieze is similar to the frame with fruit about the Pazzi *stemma* in the Serristori palace, which we have assigned to this decade.

(5) and (6). THE MADONNAS. Photo., Alinari., No. 17004 a.

These two Madonnas are essentially identical in dimensions, in composition, in style. Slight differences may be noted. The Madonna which occupies the principal or western frieze (Fig. 92) wears a veil, her face is rather more oval, her ear less distinctly marked, her mouth larger, her expression sadder. Her drapery is cast in slightly different folds and the glazing is more successful. In comparison, the second Madonna (Fig. 93) may be described as a replica or copy, made in Luca's studio, under his supervision, in large measure the work of his own hand, to decorate the same, or the adjoining monument, in response to one and the same demand. In this Madonna Luca made no effort to portray a miracle-working, supernatural being. This Madonna wears no nimbus, but she looks



FIG. 92. IMPRUNETA. MADONNA OF THE W. FRIEZE.



FIG. 93. IMPRUNETA. MADONNA OF THE S. FRIEZE.

sadly into the future, as a human mother might, who anticipates sorrow. She is essentially a *Mater Dolorosa*. The Child, equally human, trustfully reclining on his mother's breast, carries no symbol of divinity and makes no sign of blessing.

This for Luca was the real S. Maria in Pineta, and its popularity is shown by the many copies which survive. It has a close affinity to one of Luca's best known Madonnas, the Madonna of the Apple in the Museo Nazionale, and was doubtless made at the same period.

B. CAPPELLA DELLA CROCE. Photo., Burton & Co.

The chapel to the right of the *Tribuna* is formed by a similar baldachino (Fig. 94), and also contains a tabernacle in which is enshrined a treasure of importance—a fragment of the true Cross presented by Filippo degli



FIG. 94. IMPRUNETA. CAPPELLA DELLA CROCE.

Scolari, known as Pippo Spano, who died in 1426. The silver reliquary in which this treasure is kept was made by Cosimo Merlini in 1636, and presented by Maria Maddalena of Austria, Grandduchess of Tuscany.

This reliquary is preserved in a very beautiful glazed terra-cotta tabernacle, which surpasses in beauty the tabernacle of the Madonna, is flanked by statues, and has a predella extending across the entire width of the chapel.

(1). CHRIST ON THE CROSS. Photos., Alinari, No. 17010; Brogi, No. 9891.

The centre of the tabernacle is now occupied by a bronze grille on which is represented a cross elaborately ornamented with emblems of the passion and surrounded by floral scrolls. This was not part of the original tabernacle but, like the reliquary, was made by Merlini in 1636. Originally



FIG. 95. IMPRUNETA. CHRIST ON THE CROSS.

this space was occupied by the relief of Christ on the Cross (Fig. 95) now in an adjoining chapel. This relief is 1.50 m. high and 0.65 m. wide. Above the cross is figured the pelican plucking her breast to feed her young with her own blood; at the head of the cross is affixed the inscription I · N · R · I ·; at the sides of the crucified one are weeping angels; at the base stand the sorrowing Mother and the Beloved Disciple; a skull, the emblem of Golgotha, is placed at the foot of the cross. The figures are white against a blue ground, but the pelican nest is green, the cross imitates the colour and grain of wood, and the ground is greenish-gray. The Christ may be recognized as the same Christ which Luca had represented in the Peretola tabernacle and on the Federighi tomb, but is older and shows more pathos. The anatomy of the torso and of the arms is more highly developed. The angels at his side recall those of the Resurrection relief in the Cathedral of Florence, but are here distraught with anguish. The Madonna is more deeply moved than in the Pietà of the Federighi tomb, but like her holds a bunch of drapery between her arms. S. Giovanni, who has just taken a long step toward the cross, is less restrained in the expression of his grief.

This is a remarkably emotional conception of the crucified one and shows that in Luca's eyes the relic within the tabernacle symbolized events of deep significance. The *Mater Dolorosa* of the Cappella della Madonna here beholds all her fears realized as she stands the *Stabat Mater* beneath the cross.

- (2). THE TABERNACLE OF THE HOLY CROSS. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 17007-17009; Brogi, No. 9890.

The architectural framework which formerly encircled the relief of the Holy Cross is the most elaborate and beautiful of all Robbia frames (Fig. 96). Together with the *predella* it is 3.36 m. high. The gable is much more massive than that of the tabernacle of the Madonna, reminding us of Luca's tabernacle at Peretola, without sculptured decoration apart from its rich mouldings. We may note the peculiar type of egg and dart moulding, used elsewhere only in the frame of the René d'Anjou medallion. Luca made a somewhat similar use of such mouldings on the Federighi tomb, the Portogallo chapel, and elsewhere, but nowhere are they so finely composed as here. The enamelled frieze with its small rosettes of yellow on larger rosettes of blue enclosed in a *guilloche* resembles but is

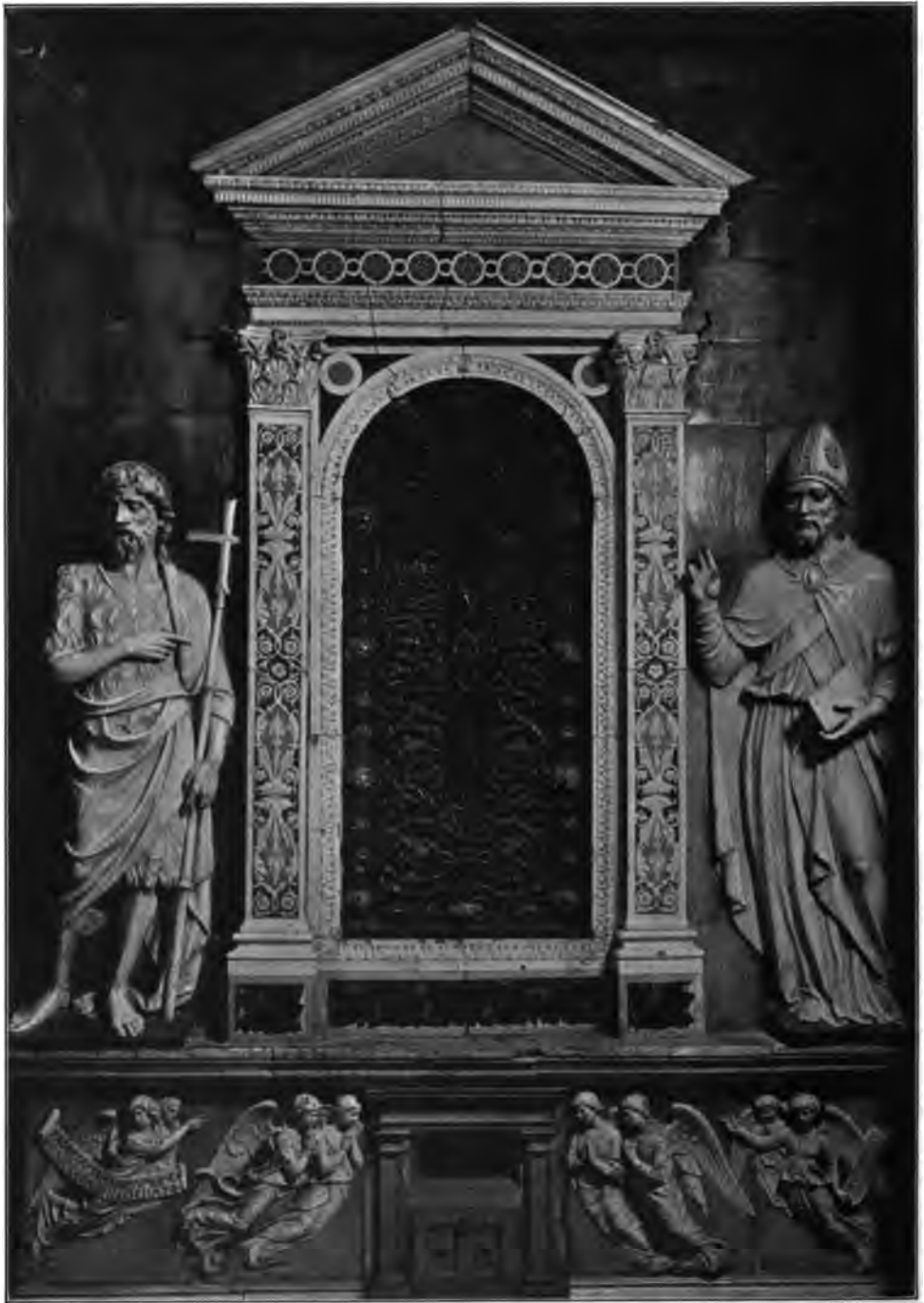


FIG. 96. IMPRUNETA. TABERNACLE OF THE HOLY CROSS.

more elaborate than the base of the tabernacle at Peretola. The architrave shows a more refined sense of proportion in the relative heights of the successive parts. The pilaster capitals are of similar Brunelleschian type, but the shafts are no longer fluted, they are filled with charming arabesques relieved against a background alternately violet, blue, and green, producing almost an iridescent effect. Between the pilasters the spandrels are filled with blue disks framed in white and set against a mottled green background, recalling the angles of the Federighi tomb and the frames of some of Luca's Madonnas. The base of the tabernacle is beautifully painted with pine cones, an evident allusion to the locality.

- (3). S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA. Photos., Alinari, No. 17007; Brogi, No. 9890.

The Baptist is here portrayed (Fig. 96) as the forerunner who points toward the Christ. He is clad in hair-cloth and carries a cross. He was a patron saint of Impruneta and had a chapel almost directly below this very Tabernacle. We naturally compare this representation of S. Giovanni with that on the bronze sacristy doors. This figure is milder and less haggard, and yet evidently by the same sculptor. He has the same facial type, the same swinging drapery over the garment of hair, the same strong shinbone and carefully modelled feet; the same cross *moline*, which is grasped in the same way. He stands upon brownish ground which slopes downward toward the spectator. His eyes have dark yellow or copper-coloured irises and blue brows, lashes, pupil and iris boundaries. This is one of Luca's finest figures, full of grace and charm.

- (4). S. AGOSTINO. Photos., Alinari, No. 17007; Brogi, No. 9890.

This figure of a bishop blessing has been called S. Romolo, S. Zanolbi, and S. Ambrogio, but is more properly designated S. Agostino, the greatest of the Doctors of the church (Fig. 96). He resembles in type the S. Agostino modelled by Luca della Robbia for the bronze sacristy doors, but his mitre and collar and pluvial button are more decorative. He is the symbol of the church as the body of Christ, dispensing its blessing and guarding its doctrines.

(5). THE PREDELLA. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 17008-17009.

The *predella* was baked in sections ingeniously divided. Between simple mouldings are represented eight angels, two pair on either side of



FIG. 97. IMPRUNETA. PREDELLA OF TABERNACLE OF THE HOLY CROSS.

a central door. The door is heavy, like the door of a tomb. The decoration of the predella indicates that the tabernacle was originally designed not as a reliquary, but as a *ciborium* or place of deposit for the Sacred Host. The two terminal angels are boy angels, each with an inscribed scroll, one taken from the Epistle (Fig. 97), the other from the Gospel (Fig. 98) read in the mass. That to the left reads:

PROBET AVTEM SEIPSVM HOMO
ET SIC DE PANE ILLO EDAT

taken from 1 Cor., XI, 28.

That to the right is inscribed:

HIC EST PANIS VIVVS
QVI DE CELO DESCENDIT

taken from S. John, VI, 58; but occurring in the ritual under the heading *Homilia Sancti Augustini Episcopi*. All the angels are conceived with

great simplicity and genuine devotion. As in other reliefs Luca adopts a well-balanced composition, involving repetition without monotony and unity with variety. The facial types, and the fluttering drapery revealing



FIG. 98. IMPRUNETA. PREDELLA OF TABERNACLE OF THE HOLY CROSS.

well constructed forms, link these angels with the virtues of the Portogallo Chapel, which were doubtless modelled about the same time.

(6). THE CEILING. Photo. Compare Alinari, No. 17005.

The ceiling of the baldachino is similar to that of the Cappella della Madonna, showing twelve cofferings with central rosettes and pine cones in the angles.

(7). THE FRIEZE. Photo., Burton & Co.

The frieze of this baldachino now contains a band of *putti* of stucco (Fig. 94). Miss Cruttwell believes that this frieze was executed at the time of the "restoration" of the church in the seventeenth century, and that originally this chapel was decorated with a fruit frieze similar to that of the Cappella della Madonna. She suggests that this frieze "is probably still in existence hidden away in some French château or the cellars of some museum." On the contrary it seems to have been transported across the aisle of the church and somewhat clumsily set as a side frieze for the Cappella della Madonna.

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38 THE GENOESE MADONNA. Vienna. Collection of Herr G. Benda. H., 0.51 m.; W., 0.37 m. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 15000-15001; Noack, No. 720.

This relief (Fig. 99) was purchased in 1904, after having stood for many years in a Gothic tabernacle in the courtyard of the Casa Serra, in



FIG. 99. THE GENOESE MADONNA, BENDA COLLECTION.

the Vico delle Mele, No. 20, Genoa. Hence it is frequently called the Genoese Madonna. Three replicas are known; one in the Berlin Museum, a second in the Simon collection, Berlin, and a third in the Museo Nazionale, Florence.

The type of Madonna is not that of the S. Pierino and Via dell' Agnolo and the Urbino lunettes, nor of the bronze sacristy doors, but approximates the type of the Madonnas which decorate the frieze of one of the baldachinos at Impruneta. It is a Madonna of the same intimate type, less hieratic, more human. The mother's head is tilted so as to touch that of the Child whom she presses to herself. Her eyes are said to have yellow irises, violet-black pupils, iris boundaries and lashes, and eyebrows without colour. It may be noted that the Madonna's sleeves are buttoned, as in earlier examples, but she now wears an ornamental wristband. The Child resembles the *putti* upholding the *stemma* of the Arte della Seta. He is not a little divinity. He raises no hand in blessing, he carries no inscribed scroll, nor even a symbolic apple. He is an affectionate, smiling infant clad in his everyday smock. Possibly Luca felt that he had overemphasized the human qualities of mother and child, and so added the haloes lest some one might fail to recognize the heavenly characters represented.

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39 THE GENOESE MADONNA, Eduard Simon Collection, Berlin.
H., 0.51 m.; W., 0.37 m. Photo., private.

This relief (Fig. 100) is a replica of the Genoese Madonna in the Benda Collection, Vienna. It shows gilding, both ancient and modern, on the halos, hair, borders of garment, wristbands and girdle. There are also slight differences in the modelling. The eyes of the Madonna are said to have gray-blue irises and violet pupils.

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See Bibliography under Nos. 38, 40, and 41; also Marquand, *D. R. A.*, Fig. 4.



FIG. 100. THE GENOESE MADONNA,
ED. SIMON COLLECTION.

- 40** THE GENOESE MADONNA, Berlin Museum. Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, No. 69 (Old No. 116 P). H., 0.52 m.; W., 0.37 m. Photo., Berlin Museum

This relief (Fig. 101), formerly in the collection of Lady Eastlake, was purchased in 1894 and presented to the Berlin Museum in 1900 by Herr von Friedländer-Fould. It has a fine blue background and like the Simon Madonna a base with chamfered edges. The eyebrows are left uncoloured, but pupils, iris boundaries, and upper lashes are dark copper colour. The general modelling is less crisp than that of the Benda Madonna, but some details, like the buttons on the Madonna's sleeves, are more clearly indicated.



FIG. 101. THE GENOESE MADONNA, BERLIN MUSEUM.

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- 41** THE GENOESE MADONNA, Museo Nazionale. Florence, Mus. Naz., No. 10. H., 0.51 m.; W., 0.37 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 3717; Brogi, No. 9495.

This relief (Fig. 102) was formerly in the Convent of S. Lucia; in 1884 it was in the *cortile* of the Accademia; later it was removed to the Museo Nazionale. It has suffered some damage. Some of the glaze is gone from the Virgin's face and the Child has lost the greater part of his halo. The eyes have gray-blue irises, violet pupils and upper lashes.

As a replica of the Benda, Simon, and Eastlake Madonnas, this is a duller reproduction. The ornament on the wristband, even the buttons

of the left sleeve are seen no more. I can see no sufficient reason, however, to attribute it, with Miss Cruttwell, to Andrea della Robbia.



FIG. 102. THE GENOESE MADONNA, MUSEO NAZIONALE.

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- 42** THE MADONNA OF THE NICHE, Bliss Collection. New York, Collection of Mrs. George T. Bliss. H., 0.465 m.; W., 0.38 m. Photos., Gavet, Paris; Cox, New York.

This charming relief (Fig. 103) prior to 1895 was in the collection of Émile Gavet, Paris. It was then in the collection of Henry G. Mar-

quand, New York, until 1903, when it was purchased by Mrs. George T. Bliss.

It is framed in a terra-cotta niche glazed in an unusual manner with a turquoise-blue enamel. Gold lines divide the conch and its dado vertically into a series of panels. On the outer borders of the frame are gilded scrolls and other ornaments. The unusual blue may be paralleled by the colour experiments made by Luca in the well known Madonna of the Apple in the Museo Nazionale and in other monuments. The use of circles enclosing the coats of arms in the spandrels remind us of the somewhat similar treatment



FIG. 103. MADONNA OF THE NICHE. BLISS COLLECTION.

in the upper angles of the frame of the Federighi tomb. The arms possibly record a union of some branch of the Bartorelli and Baldi families

This Madonna is to be classed with the Impruneta and the Genoese Madonnas. She wears a delicately constructed veil and her features show Luca's fondness for waving hair, gray-blue eyes, straight nose, partly opened mouth, and pointed chin. She wears also the plain linen girdle. Traces

of gilding remain on the hair and garment. The composition is of a more intimate character than that of the Madonnas in the lunettes of churches. Her head is tilted toward the Child, she fondles his uplifted foot, and supports his body, while with both arms about his mother's neck he places his head against her cheek. The bit of drapery across the loins of the Child is indeed somewhat unusual, but is apparently original. Our illustration is made from a photograph taken for M. Gavet before he had any thought of disposing of his collections. The drapery then cannot be regarded as Schubring suggests, as a concession to American standards of modesty. Marcel Reymond was as wrong in assigning this relief to the early years of the sixteenth century as in attributing it to Andrea della Robbia. Andrea's Madonnas of the years 1489, 1505, and 1509 are well known by documented examples still existing in the Opera del Duomo, Florence, over the entrance portal of the Duomo at Pistoia, and over the portal of Santa Maria della Quercia at Viterbo. These types are far removed from that of the Genoese Madonna. More recently M. Reymond has admitted that the Gavet-Bliss Madonna is the handiwork of Luca.

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- 43** THE MADONNA OF THE NICHE, Shaw Collection. Boston (Jamaica Plain), Collection of Mrs. Q. A. Shaw. H., 0.465 m.; W., 0.385 m. Photo., private.

This relief (Fig. 104) is a replica, with variations, of the Madonna in Mrs. George T. Bliss's collection, and is slightly inferior to it in modelling. It may be observed, for example, that the fingers of the Child's right hand, clearly visible in the Bliss Madonna, are here indistinctly indicated. It is probable that this example was a second cast from the same mould. Besides the difference in modelling, other variations may be noticed. The Child here is entirely nude, and the Virgin's mantle serves more completely

as a background for the lower part of his body. The niche has also been modified. It has fewer panellings. These are blue in colour, and are separated by ribs of turquoise-blue. In the spandrels on the face of the frame green is introduced, and the circular disks, which may have been



FIG. 104. MADONNA OF THE NICHE. SHAW COLLECTION.

ornamented with coats of arms, are now empty. Much of the ancient gilding has disappeared, but traces of it are found in the hair of both Virgin and Child, on the girdle and on the borders of the Virgin's mantle, and at various places on the niche and frame. On the whole, this is not quite so fine an example of Luca's handiwork as the Bliss Madonna. Miss

Cruttwell accordingly removes it from the works of the master and classes it as atelier work. In my judgment it is a replica made in Luca's atelier under his supervision, and if it had been customary to sign such works it would have borne Luca's signature.

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44 THE FRIEDRICHSTEIN MADONNA. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum. H., 0.475 m.; W., 0.38 m. Photo., Berlin Museum.

This relief, which we may call the Friedrichstein Madonna (Fig. 105), was presented to the Berlin Museum before 1889 by Count Dönhoff-Friedrichstein. The frame has a blue disk in each corner and light green



FIG. 105. THE FRIEDRICHSTEIN MADONNA.

stripes on its four faces, a type of ornament which recalls the Impruneta ceiling and the frames of the Bliss and Shaw Madonnas. The figures, somewhat damaged, are glazed white, but their eyes have gray-blue irises, violet upper lashes and pupils.

The composition shows the human quality of Luca's latest productions. Haloes and other symbols of divinity are lacking; only the blue sky re-

mains to indicate that the scene is in heaven. The lower contours suggest an acquaintance with composition for medallions. The types and details are those of Luca himself, not as Miss Cruttwell and Marcel Reymond suggest of Andrea working in imitation of his uncle. A much injured replica was formerly in the Somzée Collection, Brussels.

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45 STEMMA OF JACOPO DEI PAZZI. Florence, Palazzo Serristori. Diam., 1.80 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 17040; Brogi, No. 13279.

In the Palazzo Serristori may be seen today two fine large medallions on which are represented the *stemmi*, or coats of arms, of the Pazzi and Serristori families. These were removed in 1899 from the Palazzo Quaratesi, on the Via del Proconsolo, a building erected by Jacopo dei Pazzi shortly after the death of his father (1445) and enlarged after the purchase of an adjoining building in 1462. The two medallions evidently commemorate the marriage of Jacopo dei Pazzi and of Maddalena dei Serristori. The original document, which recorded the date of this marriage seems to have been lost. Litta, accordingly, in his *Famiglie celebri*, mentions the alliance, but gives no date. But my friend Rufus G. Mather has found in the Florentine Archivio an eighteenth century compilation known as the Ancisa CC, which contains a large number of entries concerning the Pazzi family. On page 685 he found that Jacopo dei Pazzi and Maddalena dei Serristori were married in the year 1446. This gives us the *terminus a quo* for these medallions. A still later date may be deduced from the introduction of the crescent beneath the Pazzi arms. The Order of the Crescent was established in Italy by René d'Anjou in 1448, and Jacopo dei Pazzi was made a member of it in 1453. For some years Jacopo had been contributing for the decoration of the Pazzi Chapel, in which Luca della Robbia had so large a share. Hence it is likely that not long after 1453 he would have commissioned Luca della Robbia to make these coats of arms. The *terminus ad quem* for the medallions is the year 1478, when after the

Pazzi conspiracy, Jacopo was put to death, his palace confiscated and sold, and his wife retired to a convent.

The Pazzi arms (Fig. 106) were defaced after 1478, and those of Cardinal Estouteville or of some other subsequent owner of the palace superposed upon the shield. The latter arms have now been almost entirely removed and traces of the Pazzi arms revealed. These show two dolphins hauriant, embowed, addorsed, *or*, on a field *azure* semé of five crosslets bottonny, fitched, *or*, set below the label of Anjou, which consists of four points *gules*, enclosing three fleurs-de-lys, *or*. The *gules* and the *or* have been scraped away, but could easily be restored. The shield is set in a fluted shell, glazed in spotted violet, perhaps Luca's first attempt to imitate por-



FIG. 106. STEMMMA OF JACOPO DEI PAZZI.

phyry. A similar imitation of porphyry occurs in the cupola of the porch of the Pazzi Chapel.

The frame exhibits a broad band of fruit and leaves set between egg and dart mouldings. Flowers are seen in one section only. It was baked in eight divisions, the joints of which are practically concealed by ribbons which cross the entire frame. These divisions are equal in size, and each contains one kind of fruit. Grapes, oranges, pine cones, apples, and then grapes, cucumbers, pine cones, apples succeed each other, moving in the direction of the hands of a clock. The darker fruits alternate with the

lighter ones in rhythmic sequence. In composition and modelling this garland may be classed with the fruit frieze at Impruneta rather than with the garlands of the Mercanzia or of the René d'Anjou coat of arms.

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- 46** STEMMA OF MADDALENA DEI SERRISTORI. Florence, Palazzo Serristori. Diam., 1.80 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 17041; Brogi, No. 13278.

This medallion (Fig. 107), containing the arms of the Serristori family was formerly in the Palazzo Quaratesi, a companion piece to the medallion containing the Pazzi arms. It served as a memorial of the



FIG. 107. STEMMA OF MADDALENA DEI SERRISTORI.

marriage in 1446 of Maddalena d'Antonio di Salvestro Serristori and Jacopo dei Pazzi. After the Pazzi conspiracy of 1478 Maddalena went to the Franciscan convent of Monticelli and died there in 1480. The Serristori arms are *azure*, a fess *argent* between three estoiles *or*. Here *argent* is

indicated by a white, and *or* by a yellow glaze. The label of Anjou, consisting of a label of four points, *gules*, enclosing three fleur-de-lys, *or*, was perhaps granted in 1383, when Ser Ristoro di Ser Jacopo di Ser Lippo Serristori, then Notary to the Signoria, drew up the articles of peace between the Republic and Charles III of Naples.

The escutcheon is set against a green fluted shell. The frame, like that of its companion, is divided into eight sections, marked not by ribbons but by leaves which overlap the egg and dart moulding. The polychromatic garland, consisting of grapes, citrons, pine cones, apples, *zucche* and oranges, is arranged in a direction the reverse of that of the Pazzi medallion. The fruit is composed in irregular bunches bound together at unequal intervals.

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- 47 THE HEILBRONNER FAITH.** Paris, Galeries Heilbronner.
Diam., 1.65 m. Photo., Heilbronner.

This medallion (Fig. 108) is one of a series which also included the Heilbronner Prudence and the Cluny Temperance. Its exact provenance is not stated, except that it came from Florence. It represents Faith holding a chalice and a cross, which in form is like that used by Andrea Pisano for the same virtue on the Baptistery Gates. It may be observed that this type of cross occurs also in the Pazzi coat of arms. The general form of the figure, and its individual features, are of the same high quality as those of its companion pieces, and the drapery with its simple folds follows more closely Luca's customary manner. The garland composed of grapes, lemons, pine cones and quinces, is arranged in quadrants alternately dark and light, and is subdivided into nineteen bunches by means of a fluted ribbon spirally binding the fruit together. The spiral fluted ribbon Luca may be said to have borrowed from Ghiberti, while differing from him in the free and unconventional composition of the garland. The frame is distinguished from those of the Heilbronner Prudence and Cluny Temperance in having a cord moulding as an inner boundary. Hence it may have belonged to an independent series representing the three theological virtues. In which case we may expect some day to recover the medallions representing Hope and Charity.

It is, however, equally probable that this medallion held a central position in some decorative scheme analogous to that of the ceiling of the Portogallo Chapel, that associated with it were the Heilbronner Prudence and the Cluny Temperance, and that the missing medallions of Fortitude and Justice may some day come to light. It may be noted that the Cluny Temperance is said to have come from a Pazzi chapel or palace near Florence also that



FIG. 108. THE HEILBRONNER FAITH.

the garlands about these three medallions resemble those about the Pazzi and Serristori coats of arms. I have elsewhere suggested that these medallions may have been originally intended for the Pazzi Chapel of S. Croce, and that either the series was never completed, or never put in place. The medallions are apparently of the proper size for the spandrels, and would harmonize with Luca's Apostles on the walls of the chapel better than the four garish Evangelists which now complete its decoration.

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48 THE HEILBRONNER PRUDENCE. Paris, Galeries Heilbronner.
Diam., 1.65 m. Photo., Heilbronner.

This Heilbronner Prudence (Fig. 109) evidently belongs to the same series as the Cluny Temperance. It is of the same size, has a similar frame with a broad fruit garland enclosed within mouldings of identical pattern, so far even as to present exactly the same number of eggs and darts. The figure has a fine head of similar type, eyes with light yellow irises and blue stippled brows, beautiful ears and hands, and a garment with similar



FIG. 109. THE HEILBRONNER PRUDENCE.

shoulder cape and complex folds. The light-blue background is similarly divided, was also covered with golden rays now almost obliterated and has white and dark blue clouds at the base. As compared with the Prudence of the Portogallo Chapel she has a similar bearded mask at the back of her head, carries a mirror of like form, also a green snake spotted with yellow

and black, but is posed in the reverse direction, is wingless, and more aristocratic.

The frame, like that of the Cluny Temperance, was baked in eight sections, marked by blue cross bands which unite the bunches of fruit together. The fruit here consists of grapes, quinces, citrons, pine cones, oranges and *zucche*, modelled and coloured with the same love of nature as Luca showed in his floral garlands.

Like the Cluny Temperance this medallion was probably designed to decorate some Pazzi chapel, and to proclaim the Pazzi virtues to the world.

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- 49 THE CLUNY TEMPERANCE.** Paris, Musée de Cluny. Diam., 1.65 m. Photos., J. Leroy, No. 968; Alinari, No. 25224.

The Cluny Temperance (Fig. 110) is said once to have decorated a Pazzi chapel, or palace, near Florence, possibly the Panciatichi Ximemes Villa near Fiesole. It is unfortunate that we have no more explicit information concerning its provenance. It belongs to a series of virtues without wings, of which Prudence and Faith are now in the Heilbronner Galleries, Paris.

As in the Portogallo Chapel, Temperance is represented as pouring, in this case from a pitcher into a goblet. Streams of golden light radiate in all directions against a pale blue sky as she emerges from white and black clouds. Here the sculptor has modelled with unusual care the details of her head, hands, and drapery. Her hair is less summary than that of the Portogallo maiden. Her downcast eyes have similar yellow irises, and dark brows and pupils. Her forehead, nose, mouth and chin are those of the refined lady, such as we look for in the more conventional work of Andrea della Robbia, Antonio Rossellino, or Mino da Fiesole. Her drapery reproduces details that Luca loved to represent, but nowhere with more elegance and grace. In this medallion, the product of his later years, Luca shows that in the development of the human figure and treatment of drapery he could abandon strict simplicity and achieve the refined complexity



FIG. 110. THE CLUNY TEMPERANCE.

demanded by the art patrons of the day. This medallion, or the woman who served as its model, seems to have inspired Mino da Fiesole in designing the Madonna for the Salutati altarpiece in the Cathedral at Fiesole.

The frame exhibits grapes, quinces, pine cones and oranges, subdivided by short cross bands to correspond with the eight actual joints of the frame.

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50 THE CLUNY JUSTICE. Paris, Musée de Cluny. Diam., 1.70 m. Photos., Leroy, No. 218; Alinari, No. 25223.

The Cluny Justice holds a sword in one hand, a globe in the other (Fig. 111). She is more stately and dignified than the Justice of the Portogallo Chapel, and as a composition for a medallion more satisfactory.

Some details, like the fillet and triangular coronal, the ruffle about the neck and the carefully knotted girdle, remind us of Luca's work of the decade 1440-1450. But the light-coloured background shading into a darker blue, and the clouds scattered over nearly the entire surface betray a later period. The broad frame of fruit and flowers divided into eight sections by transverse ribbons remind us of the frame of Jacopo dei Pazzi's coat of arms. The eyes of Justice have yellow irises and dark blue brows, lashes, and pupils. According to the catalogue of the Cluny Museum this



FIG. III. THE CLUNY JUSTICE.

medallion was made for the Pazzi Chapel, and later decorated a Pazzi palace near Florence. That it may once have decorated or have been designed for some Pazzi chapel seems likely enough, or it may have served as the presiding genius of some hall of justice—possibly the Cancelleria. It certainly did not belong to the same series as the Heilbronner medallions and the Cluny Temperance, but may have been in another series of medallions of greater diameter, of lighter backgrounds, filled with winged, not wingless, virtues.

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51 THE FOULC ADORATION. Paris, Collection Edmond Foulc.
Diam., 1.69 m. Photo., A. M.

The Foulc Adoration (Fig. 112), purchased from Bardini, is said to have come from the Palazzo Alberti, Florence; the frame which does not fit the relief, came, as M. Foulc told me many years ago, from another source, and had originally no connection with the relief. The frame is



FIG. 112. THE FOULC ADORATION.

composed in an unusual manner, having a variety of fruits in each bunch, and seems to be the handiwork of Andrea della Robbia, before he had entirely freed himself from the influence of his uncle. Guided chiefly by the frame Marcel Reymond classes the entire medallion as a late work

from Andrea's atelier, and thus fails to appreciate one of the most accomplished and beautiful of Luca's creations. The background of the relief is a blue, concave disk, such as Luca had employed in the wall medallions of the Pazzi, and in the ceiling medallions of the Portogallo chapels. The Madonna is turned to the right, in a very stately pose, with hands folded in adoration. She wears no nimbus, but is a beautiful, human mother reverentially regarding the sacred Child. The features of her face, her curling hair, her gray-blue eyes, her exquisite hands, and the simple folds of the drapery indicate the work of Luca himself. Her type is analogous to that of the Heilbronner Faith. From her body in every direction radiate streams of golden light. Her hair, the border of her mantle, and various other details are also gilded. Before her is the nude Child raising his right hand in blessing, reclining comfortably on a bed of sea-green hay. His proportions are no longer those of the large-headed Child in the S. Pierino lunette, or of the long-limbed Child of the bronze sacristy doors, but nearer to those of the Child on the Impruneta frieze.

The four angels in the background, in the midst of white and blue clouds, carry with them a scroll inscribed in Gothic letters *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, the anthem sung by the heavenly host after their annunciation to the shepherds (S. Luke, II, 14). Here the angels echo the Madonna's adoration of the Child. In type they recall the angel of S. Matteo on the wall of the Pazzi Chapel, and the group of angels on the Impruneta predella. In the general composition they are given much less space than is occupied by the angels in Luca's earlier works.

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CHAPTER IV

1460-1470

CHAPTER IV

1460-1470

- 52** CEILING OF THE PORTOGALLO CHAPEL. Florence, S. Miniato al Monte, Cappella di S. Jacopo. 1461-1466. Five Medallions, each 2 m. in diam. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 3378-3381; Brogi, Nos. 5390-5394.

The Cappella di S. Jacopo at S. Miniato was erected in 1461-1466 in honour of Jacopo da Portogallo, son of the Infante Pedro, and a grandson of Juan I of Portugal. His mother was Isabella, daughter of Count Urgel, and a descendant of the royal house of Aragon. He was made cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Porticu September 18, 1456, sent by Pope Pius II as legate to Germany, and died in Florence, August 27, 1459, in the twenty-sixth year of his age. He was noted for beauty and virtue. His epitaph reads:

Regia stirps, Jacobus nomen, Lusitania propago,
Insignis forma, summa pudicitia,
Cardineus titulus, morum nitor, optima vita,
Ista fuere mihi; mors juvenem rapuit.
Ne se pollueret maluit iste mori.
Vixit a. XXV. m. XI. d. X. obit an. Sal. MCCCCLIX.

This chapel was adorned with a beautiful pavement, a notable tomb by Antonio Rossellino, an altarpiece by Piero Pollaiuolo, frescoes by Baldovinetti, and a ceiling by Luca della Robbia. It was begun in 1461 and opened in 1466. The frescoes were added between 1466 and 1473.

It had been customary in Italy to decorate sepulchral monuments of important personages with figures of virtues, on the principle of *nihil nisi bonum de mortuis*. Rossellino abandoned this decoration in designing the marble tomb in a recess of the east wall, so Luca della Robbia was free to use it for the ceiling. These beautiful virtues are more than usually appropriate in the case of this young cardinal.

The ceiling is slightly domical, of the form known as *cul-de-four*. In the centre is the medallion of the Holy Spirit. Towards the four angles and tangent to it are medallions representing the four cardinal virtues

(Fig. 113). They are arranged apparently by mere chance, in pairs so that Prudence and Justice face each other, as do Fortitude and Temperance. The interspace is filled with tiles, rectangular for the most part, on which is painted a diapered pattern of cubes, the visible sides being green, yellow, and dark violet. The effect intended, that of a mosaic, would have been



FIG. 113. CEILING OF THE PORTOGALLO CHAPEL.

more successful had smaller units been employed, as the tiles, on some of which as many as a dozen cubes are represented, have separated and display but too clearly the economical method of construction. Each of the medallions has a frame, which between architectural mouldings displays a flat frieze adorned with concentric rows of blue scales. These rows of scales are darker in colour as they approach the periphery. The medallions are slightly concave.

- (1). MEDALLION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. Photos., Brogi, No. 5390; Burton & Co.

The background of this medallion consists of concentric bands of blue growing darker toward the periphery, recalling the medallions of the major Apostles in the Pazzi Chapel (Fig. 114). The candlesticks, the details of

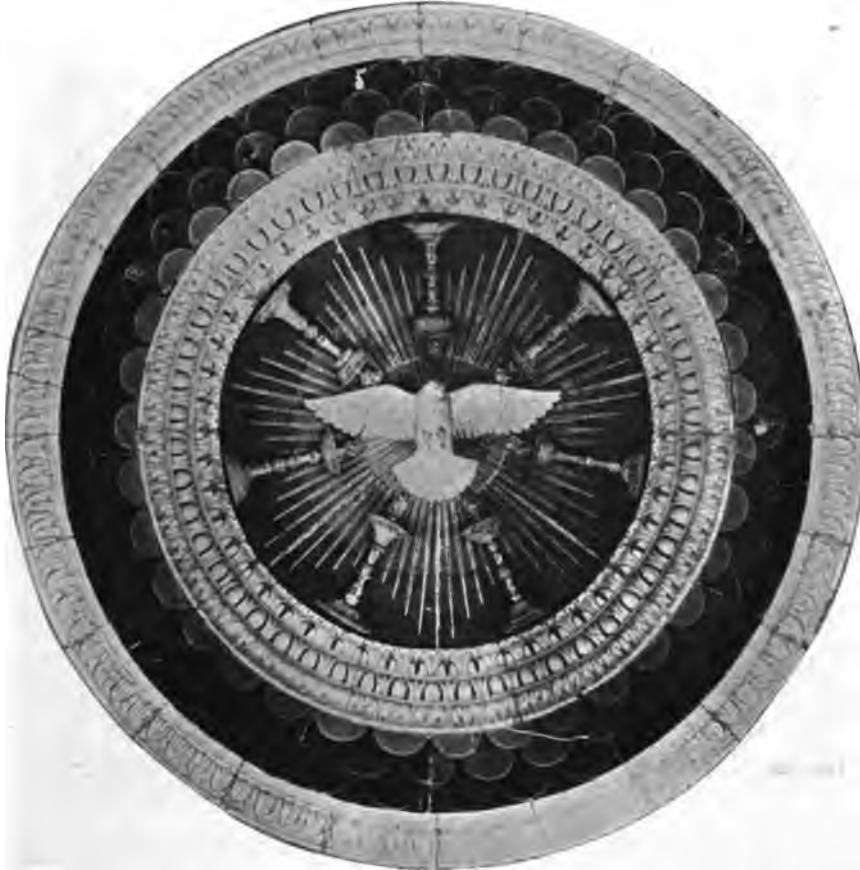


FIG. 114. THE PORTOGALLO HOLY SPIRIT.

which are interestingly varied, are glazed yellow for gold. The Dove is very sympathetically and charmingly designed. From him emanates unusual radiancy, with golden rays schematically arranged.

- (2). MEDALLION OF PRUDENCE. Photos., Alinari, No. 3378; Brogi, No. 5393.

Prudence exhibits, in accord with the mediaeval canons, a young female face looking forward, and an aged, bearded face looking backward

(Fig. 115). Her symbols are a mirror, emblem of reflection, and a serpent for wisdom. The serpent, designed with fine sinuous folds, is glazed green with violet spots upon his back and yellow ones below. The gilding on the hair, wings, and garment appears to have been restored. Another interesting Prudence by Luca della Robbia is in the Heilbronner Galleries, Paris (see No. 48).



FIG. 115. THE PORTOGALLO PRUDENCE.



FIG. 116. THE PORTOGALLO JUSTICE.

(3). MEDALLION OF JUSTICE. Photos., Alinari, No. 3379; Brogi, No. 5394.

Justice (Fig. 116) holds a sword and a globe. Her drapery, fluttering in the breeze, is somewhat elaborate in the modelling of its folds. The renovated gilding on hair, wings, and garment is disturbing. In type it seems slightly later than the Justice in the Cluny Museum.

(4). MEDALLION OF FORTITUDE. Photos., Alinari., No. 3381; Brogi, No. 5392.

Fortitude (Fig. 117) brandishes a mace and holds a shield bearing a coat of arms. Beneath a flowing mantle she wears a light, close-fitting decorated corselet. She has gray-blue irises, dark pupils, and blue eyebrows. This is noteworthy, as the other virtues in this chapel have yellow

irises and violet eyebrows. The coat of arms displays the Portuguese insignia of the young cardinal: a field *argent* (white) charged with a cross of five small shields *azure*, each charged with five plates *argent*, with an individual bordure charged with castles, *or*, and fleur-de-lys, *vert*. This is quartered with four pales *gules* (violet) on a field *or*, the arms of the house of Aragon. Other *stemmi*, twenty-six in all, painted on the frieze



FIG. 117. THE PORTOGALLO FORTITUDE.

of the Chapel, show the arms of Portugal, Aragon, Castile, Leon, etc., and indicate the lineage of the young Cardinal. His own coat of arms again appears over the entrance to the Chapel.

- (5). MEDALLION OF TEMPERANCE. Photos., Alinari, No. 3380; Brogi, No. 5391.

Temperance (Fig. 118) is represented as pouring with watchful care from a decanter into a goblet. The design and modelling resemble so closely those of the other virtues as to make it seem strange that Dr. Bode or Miss Cruttwell should have seen in this relief evidences of Andrea's handiwork. By this date Andrea may well have assisted his uncle, but it is clear that he had no controlling part in the formation of this beautiful figure, which resembles closely the angels on the predella of the Tabernacle of the Holy Cross at Impruneta or the most beautiful of the angels on the

bronze sacristy doors. At least once again did Luca represent the virtue of Temperance: in the stately medallion now in the Cluny Museum.

Before leaving these medallions attention may be called to the many small fragments which compose the frame, possibly so as to conform it



FIG. 118. THE PORTOGALLO TEMPERANCE.

more easily to the curved surface of the vault; to the lack of relation in the jointing of the various zones of the frames; and to the evident care to avoid the exhibition of joints in the immediate vicinity of the figures.

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53 STEMMA OF THE MERCANZIA. Florence, Or San Michele. 1463. Diam., 1.80. Photo., Alinari, No. 3443.

On the exterior of Or San Michele, facing the Via Calzaiuoli, above the tabernacle containing Verrocchio's group of Christ and the doubting

Thomas, is a very beautiful coat of arms, representing the Florentine lily above a bale of merchandize, set in an exquisite wreath of fruit and flowers. On this side of Or San Michele was formerly displayed the arms of the Parte Guelfa and, in a tabernacle, a statue of their patron S. Ludovico. In 1459 the Parte Guelfa was obliged to submit to the *popolani*, and their



FIG. 119. STEMMMA OF THE MERCANZIA.

rights at Or San Michele were ceded to the Mercanzia. The Mercanzia or Università was at once a Supreme Court and a Chamber of Commerce. It was composed of six senior judges from the Arte dei Giudici e Notai, presided over by a foreign jurisconsult or doctor of laws. In January or February, 1462 (modern reckoning, 1463) the six judges commissioned

Luca della Robbia to make for them a *stemma*, to be set on the front of the Oratorio di S. Anna, opposite the Oratorio di S. Michele in Orto. These names are now misleading, for the Oratorio di S. Anna has become a chapel or altar in the building known as Or San Michele, and the building then known as S. Michele in Orto has since 1616 borne the name S. Carlo. But the document puts the authorship of the medallion and its date beyond dispute.

The stone frame which surrounds the medallion appears to have been almost entirely renovated, and it may be noted that the terra-cotta does not touch the dentils of the frame, as in the other medallions which Luca made for Or San Michele.

The terra-cotta frame was made in eight sections, and is bounded by two narrow listels and, on its inner side, also by a leaf and dart moulding glazed white. On this is a finely modelled, polychromatic wreath of fruit and flowers, consisting of sixteen bouquets fastened by blue cords. On the upper half the motion is from left to right, on the lower half from right to left, like the motion of the hands of a clock. Beginning at the base toward the left we distinguish citrons, beans, pomegranates, chestnuts, followed by apples or quinces, thistles or artichokes, *zucche* or cucumbers, pine cones, quinces, plums, grapes, poppies, oranges, figs, pears, and olives. In most cases characteristic leaves are found with the fruit, and white and violet-red flowers are freely interspersed. In colouring the leaves Luca relieves their flatness by superposing different shades, light green or yellow on green of a darker hue. The colours are not always strictly naturalistic, but the general effect of the entire wreath is at once decorative and closely related to nature. It is a free translation in polychromatic, glazed terra-cotta of the more conventional fruit and foliage ornament with which Ghiberti had decorated his bronze gates.

Within this frame is a blue, fluted shell the arrises of which are grooved. Upon this as a background is a shield *argent*, on which is displayed a beautifully designed Florentine seeded fleur-de-lys *gules* (violet-red) above a corded bale *argent*, the arms of the Mercanzia. This coat of arms emphasizes the supremacy of the mercantile class in Florence, since it combines the Florentine fleur-de-lys not with the three stars of the Arte dei Giudici e Notai to which the supreme court judges belonged, but with the corded bale of the Arte e Università dei Mercanti di Calimala.

DOCUMENT

[Quoted from *A. J. A.*, VIII (1893), 154.]

28 di Sett. 1463. Luce Marci della Robia intagliatore F. 25 a sold. 88 et den. 5 per fiorino pro parte solutionis et mercedis operis per eum facte de signo et arma et circa signum et arma dicte Universitatis per eum applicandum in circulo posito in facie Oratorii S. Anne site in Platea Orti S. Michaelis civitatis Florentie supra pilastrum dicte Universitatis positum in dicta facie contra Oratorium S. Michaelis in orto secundum ordinationem et commissionem operariorum ordinatorum et deputatorum de mense Januarii seu Februarii 1462 (modern reckoning, 1463) per tunc officium sex Consiliariorum dicte Universitatis pro ornando et decorando dicto pilastro £110 sol. 10 d. 5 piccioli.

Archivio di Stato di Firenze. *Libro delle Deliberazioni. Stanziamenti dei Sei Consiglieri della Mercanzia*, c. 254.

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XVI cent., Vasari, II, 176;

XVIII cent., Richa, I, 15-23;

XIX cent., Baldinucci, 222; Barbet de Jouy, 59; Carocci, *A. J. D. I.*, V (1896), Tav. 20; Cavallucci et Molinier, 67; Franceschini, 89, note 2; Marquand, *A. J. A.*, VIII (1893), 154-156 (Doc.); Pl. IV; Reymond, *D. R.*, 55-57; *Sc. Fl.*, II, 201-202; Scaife, 162;

XX cent., Bode, *J. k. p. K.*, XXI (1900), 11; *Fl. Bildh.*, 124, fig. 69; *Fl. Sc.*, 85, Pl. 40; Burckhardt, 429; Burlamacchi, 44-45, 100 (Doc.), 108; Cocchi, 70-76, 225-244; Cruttwell, 104, 303 (Doc.), 323; Doering-Dachau, 20; Michel, IV, 87; Sachs, 28; Schubring, 68, Abb. 65; Staley, 32, 84-87; *Venturi*, VI, 575.

54 TEN PANELS FOR THE BRONZE DOORS. Florence, Duomo.

1464-1469. The doors measure 4.10 m. x 2 m., the panels, 0.53 m. x 0.53 m. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 1980, 3510-3519; Brogi, Nos. 4921-4931.

Many documents refer to the bronze doors of the north sacristy of the Cathedral of Florence. In 1437 the Operai decided to entrust first the doors for one sacristy, then for both sacristies to Donatello, and to pay him one thousand nine hundred florins for the two pairs of doors. After waiting nearly nine years for Donatello, on December 24, 1445, they engaged a committee of three, Michelozzo di Bartolommeo, Luca della Robbia, and Maso di Bartolommeo to make one pair of doors. On February 28, 1446, having received the model, they entered into contract that the work should be completed in three years, under penalty of one thousand florins. The three sculptors were to receive for the completed work one thousand one hundred florins.

This contract enters into specific details. The panels of the doors were to have double frames, separated by platbands decorated with gold or silver damascene ornament, and at the corners of the panels were to be heads of prophets, twelve on each wing. The ten panels were each to contain three figures and a tabernacle in relief decorated with damascene ornament. The tabernacles were to shelter figures of the Madonna and Child, S. Giovanni Battista, the four Evangelists, and the four Doctors of the Church. The backs of the doors were to exhibit a similar distribution of panels and cornices, but without figures or other ornament. One year later, that is by February 28, 1447, some part of the doors appears to have been cast, and Michelozzo was permitted to use the surplus bronze for a *graticola* for the altar of S. Stefano. At the end of 1451, and early in 1452, payments were still being made apparently for the framework of the doors. Maso died in the year 1457 (Yriarte, p. 10), but not until April 9, 1461, was his place filled. His brother, Giovanni di Bartolommeo, sculptor, was then commissioned to clean the framework of the two wings already cast, to put the wings together and to restore whatever was lacking in the frame. He was allowed sixteen to twenty months in which to complete this work and was paid for it two hundred florins. On the 17th of December, 1463, his work was accepted and pronounced well done.

Eighteen years had passed since the contract was signed; the framework was apparently complete and satisfactory, but was set aside containing nothing in its panels (*poste de lato et dentro non si fa nulla*). On the 16th of May, 1464, Michelozzo left Florence for Ragusa, and the Operai took advantage of his absence to make a new contract, this time with Luca alone, to finish the subjects to be portrayed (*finire et conpiere*, also *a fare conpiere et storiare*) upon the doors. On November 4, 1467, Verrocchio received a payment for having furnished to Luca and Michelozzo bronze for the last two panels of the sacristy doors. Michelozzo's name thus reappears, but the documents of June 30, 1468, and of July 27, 1469, and one cited by Milanesi as of July 27, 1474 (1469?) show payments made to Luca alone.

These doors today are standing before the north sacristy of the Cathedral (Fig. 120) having been executed very nearly according to the terms of the contract. The dull bronze, in the dim light of the Cathedral, produces together with the uniform compositions, an impression of monotony



FIG. 120. THE BRONZE DOORS.

—but this would have been greatly relieved had the principal figures been set in ornamental tabernacles, as the contract demanded. The damascened ornament upon the platbands of the framework would also have added charm. Unfortunately this also was never executed, or has all been cleaned away with the exception of a small section below the S. Marco panel. It is of inlaid silver, showing a series of squares set diagonally and containing quatrefoils (Fig. 121).

What share each sculptor had in the execution of the doors is not specified in the contract. Michelozzo was the oldest member of the three

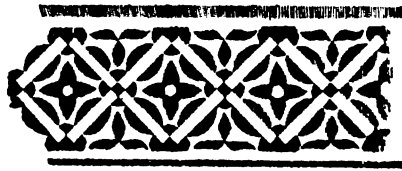


FIG. 121. ORNAMENTAL DETAIL.

sculptors to whom it was entrusted. He had been Donatello's associate, had worked with Ghiberti, was in high esteem with the Medici, had experience in bronze casting, and already had received various commissions from the authorities of the Cathedral. It is easy to assume that the general design was his, but this would be difficult to prove, as neither the composition nor the individual forms bear a strong impress of his style. Maso di Bartolommeo and his brother Giovanni had previously been assistants to Michelozzo and to Donatello, but Maso was also an independent sculptor, since L. B. Alberti apparently mentions him along with Brunelleschi, Donatello, Ghiberti, and Luca della Robbia as one of the revivers of Tuscan art. That Luca was responsible for the design of the doors, and for the execution of almost all the figured decoration, is the conclusion to be inferred from the documents as well as from a study of the work itself.

The doors are made up of two parts: the framework and the panels. The framework, as we have seen, was in part cast as early as 1447. The damascene ornament may have been executed by Giovanni di Bartolommeo in the sixteen to twenty months in which he was occupied with cleaning and restoring the frame. The heads of the prophets we have already classed with Luca's early work. The panels may possibly have been

designed at the same time, but were not executed until after 1464, when to Luca alone was entrusted the completion of the doors.

When we consider the composition of the doors the question may be raised: do the panels occupy the places for which they were designed? The Madonna and S. Giovanni Battista are properly placed according to contract in the top row. As in the Cantoria, the eye of the spectator is carried by the compositional lines from left to right. Below them is a group of the four Evangelists. These form a closed group, and we expect our eye to be led from left to right along the upper row first and then along the lower. S. Giovanni Evangelista was evidently designed for the position occupied, but the S. Matteo seems to have been designed as a terminal panel. In its present position it breaks the group of Evangelists in two, and leaves us no proper terminal panel. It should be placed in the position now occupied by S. Marco. The order S. Giovanni, S. Luca, S. Marco, S. Matteo would read more smoothly and form a distinct closed group, such as we might expect from the designer of the Cantoria. Similarly the Doctors are designed to form a closed group, but are placed so as to lead the eye in unregulated directions. S. Gregorio seems to have been designed for the first position, to be followed by S. Agostino; the third Doctor would then be S. Ambrogio and the last S. Girolamo. It may be observed, however, that the order of the Evangelists and Doctors as placed on the doors corresponds to that on Ghiberti's first doors. They may have been set up in their present order for some practical reason, or by mistake of the bronze caster, as Schmarsow assumes to have been the case with Ghiberti's doors (Schmarsow, *Ghiberti's Compositionsgestze*) or it may be that in spite of the composition the Operai may have insisted on the preservation of a traditional order.

Before examining the sculptures in detail, attention may be called to a startling footnote in v. Rumohr's *Italienische Forschungen*, II, 372, note*. He seems to have understood the contract of February 28, 1446, to call for figured sculpture on the reverse side or back of the doors, as well as on the front, that in 1461 Giovanni di Bartolommeo's task was to clean and repair the front side of the doors, including the sculptured panels, and that in 1464 Luca was commissioned to complete the reverse side of the doors by means of figured sculpture. The remarkable footnote reads: "Da der Guss der Vorseite beendet war, so wird die noch zu fördernde Arbeit noth-

wendig auf die Rückseite zu beziehen seyn, *welche in der that einige köstliche Figuren enthält, welche dem Geschmacke und der Kunst unseres Luca bey weitem mehr entsprechen, als Arbeiten an der Vorseite.*" Von Rumohr's book was published in 1827, and since his day we have no record of these sculptures. The reverse side of the doors today contain no sculptured panels and the contract distinctly states that those panels should contain no figures or other ornament, so we must assume v. Rumohr had no clear recollection of the facts when he came to write his book.

Document No. 11 informs us that as late as August 10, 1464, none of the panels had been executed. Luca contracted to complete them in three years: the same length of time required for the completion of the doors by the contract of 1446. The panels contain central figures seated on benches, with angels standing on either side. As the Ascension relief had given Luca an opportunity of designing kneeling figures, so here he presents to us ten seated and twenty standing figures. There is less variety than we might expect. All are designed in studio perspective, the ground of the highest panels and that of the lowest having the same downward slope. The benches are of equal height, adorned with the same mouldings and all except two placed almost directly *en face*. Most of the seated figures are posed with knees far apart, between which the draperies fall in hanging folds. The angels are varied in pose and action. Marcel Reymond attributes the four Doctors of the church to Michelozzo; Venturi believes that Michelozzo designed them, but that Luca modified them into harmony with the rest; de Foville attributes two of them (S. Gregorio and S. Girolamo) to Michelozzo. On the other hand Miss Cruttwell considers the four Doctors "the grandest and most characteristic (of Luca) of the whole series." I find all the panels sufficiently uniform in design and style to be attributed to Luca himself.

- (1). THE MADONNA AND CHILD AND TWO ANGELS. Photos., Alinari, No. 3510; Brogi, No. 4922.

Michelozzo's lunette over the entrance to the church of S. Agostino at Montepulciano contains figures of the Madonna and Child, of S. Giovanni Battista, and of S. Agostino. The coarseness with which they are conceived proves that he could not have modelled the panels of these doors. The Madonna of the bronze doors is seated upon a simple bench (Fig.

122), which reminds us of the bench on which Tubal Cain of the Campanile reliefs is seated, but with changed proportions and mouldings of finer profile. Similar benches occur in Luca's Madonna on Or San Michele, in the Madonna of the Roses in the Museo Nazionale, and in the altarpiece at Pescia. The Madonna wears neither halo, turban, nor fillet, and her hair, concealing the ears, is in waves, modelled with no uncertain touch. There is remarkable simplicity in the treatment of the tunic and of the mantle.



FIG. 122. THE MADONNA.

The drapery between the knees is more complicated, but quite free from Ghiberti's conventionalities. The Child has a smaller head than we find in Luca's early Madonna's. He is blessing, with one hand, and in the other carries a scroll, which was doubtless inscribed *EGO SVM LUX MVNDI*. The angels wear no coronals, as they do in the S. Pietro relief and at Peretola, and are of more normal proportions. I am inclined to date this relief from 1464, when the contract was made with Luca alone.

- (2). S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA AND TWO ANGELS. Photos., Alinari, No. 3511; Brogi, No. 4923.

Michelozzo's silver statuette of the Baptist made in 1452 for the altar of the Baptistry of Florence is awkward and complicated when compared with the noble simplicity of this panel. Here (Fig. 123) the Baptist clad in a raiment of camel's hair (Matth. III, 4), but with a cloth instead

of a "leather" girdle, is seated on a bench. The raised index finger of his right hand and the once beautiful cross are symbols of his character as a precursor. As compared with Luca's standing figure of the Baptist in the altar of the Holy Cross at Impruneta this one is sadder, as if he



FIG. 123. S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA.

realized more completely the tragedy of the crucifixion. The angels are more gracefully posed than in the preceding panel and have their hands crossed on their hearts in adoration. This probably dates also from 1464.

- (3). S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA AND TWO ANGELS. Photos., Alinari, No. 3513; Brogi, No. 4924.

S. Giovanni Evangelista (Fig. 124) is seated on a somewhat longer bench than those in the preceding reliefs. He is intently writing. The symbolic eagle may be supposed to furnish him inspiration, while attendant angels stand ready to serve him. If we compare this relief with the representation of the same Evangelist in the Apostle series of the Pazzi Chapel, we may observe a change in the direction of simplification. Here S. Giovanni wears no halo; he is not bald, but has hair enough to conceal his ear (possibly on account of the difficulty of casting); he wears a more haggard expression; his drapery is less complicated and the studied arrangement of the folds is not so obvious. The girdle which interested Luca so

much in the Pazzi Chapel medallions and which he retained on the preceding reliefs has practically disappeared. We see it at its vanishing point on these two angels. The books which the angels carry are barren of ornament. The eagle is somewhat commonplace. On the Pazzi Chapel medal-



FIG. 124. S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA.



FIG. 125. S. MATTEO.

lion it has a nobler quality, with its long neck feathers and splendid talons. The clouds on which the eagle stands we have already seen surrounding the Holy Dove on the Tabernacle at Peretola and imitated in colour on the Pazzi Chapel medallions.

(4). S. MATTEO AND TWO ANGELS. Photos., Alinari, No. 3512; Brogi. No. 4925.

In this relief (Fig. 125) for the sake of variety, the bench is set diagonally. On it S. Matteo is seated intently writing. The symbolic angel emerging from the clouds is not dictating, but pausing with arms crossed to read the inspired word. A similar curiosity is exhibited by one of the standing angels who peers over the Evangelist's shoulder. The other offers him the inkstand. As compared with the medallion of S. Matteo on the sidewall of the Pazzi Chapel we see here a simplification similar to that observed in the preceding relief. No one of the figures wears either a halo or a girdle.

- (5). S. LUCA AND TWO ANGELS. Photos., Alinari, No. 3514; Brogi, No. 4926.

S. Luca is seated on a long bench with pen and book awaiting an inspiration (Fig. 126). The symbolic ox does not give it and the angels are merely awaiting orders. For the sake of variety both angels here are female. We may notice that the clouds on which the ox rests are represented in less plastic fashion when compared with the preceding reliefs; also that there is less detail in the indication of feathers in all the wings. And



FIG. 126. S. LUCA.

yet this relief was to be set near the spectator's eye. Schubring draws attention to the elongation of the torso and explains it on the ground that the reliefs were to be seen from below. If this were the case we should expect to find a shortening of the torso in those panels which fall below the eye of the spectator, and those near the horizon line of the spectator should be normally proportioned. Luca appears to have had no notion of perspective *di sotto in su*, but designed all his panels as if they were to be set at the same height from the ground.

- (6). S. MARCO AND TWO ANGELS. Photos., Alinari, No. 3515; Brogi, No. 4927.

Again the bench appears diagonally and S. Marco (Fig. 127), with neither pen nor inkstand holds on his knee a heavy book, set on edge

towards the spectator. He has the air of a thinker. The symbolic lion holding a book rests on a cloud plastically indicated. Its wings and those of the angels show little detail. The anxious expression of S. Marco recalls that of the S. Pietro released from prison; the angels also with their



FIG. 127. S. MARCO.



FIG. 128. S. AMBROGIO.

fluttering stoles and the swinging lines of their draperies recall some of the angels of the Cantoria. Luca could never altogether forget the graceful curves which he had learned in his youth from Ghiberti.

- (7). S. AMBROGIO AND TWO ANGELS. Photos., Alinari, No. 3516; Brogi, No. 4928.

An extraordinary resemblance may be noted between the first and the last of the Doctors. Both wear a plain Bishop's mitre, a *dalmatica* fastened by a plain pluvial button, and a stole crossed upon the breast. Their features are the same. The sole difference is that this one (Fig. 128) is characterized as an exegete comparing two texts, the other as a writer guided by an angel. In all probability the exegete is S. Ambrogio, Archbishop of Milan, and the writer S. Agostino, Bishop of Hippo. Both resemble Luca's S. Agostino at Impruneta more closely than they do Michelozzo's S. Agostino at Montepulciano. Venturi follows Marcel Raymond in attributing the design of all the Doctors to Michelozzo, but believes that they were forcibly harmonized with the other panels by Luca

himself. He finds in them double motives not to be expected of the simple minded Luca. But we may ask: are duplex motives characteristic of Michelozzo, and how could Luca have presented a scholar comparing two texts more simply than is done in this panel? The angels, not faultless in proportion, are similar in style and construction to those in the preceding panels.

- (8). S. GIROLAMO AND TWO ANGELS. Photos., Alinari, No. 3517; Brogi, No. 4929.

S. Girolamo (Fig. 129) tonsured and in monastic costume, is translating the Scriptures which an angel holds before him. I cannot see in



FIG. 129. S. GIROLAMO.

this relief, with Venturi, a double motive foreign to Luca. The angels are variants of those in the preceding reliefs. One of them carries S. Girolamo's cardinal hat, symbolical of his rank.

- (9). S. GREGORIO AND TWO ANGELS. Photos., Alinari, No. 3518; Brogi, No. 4930.

S. Gregorio (Fig. 130), as a Doctor, holds a book, but his official dignity is not forgotten. As Pope he wears an early form of Papal tiara, and his stole makes a *tau cross*. A dove is whispering in his ear, while he

is blessing with his right hand. The angels, rather conspicuously exhibiting a book and an incense burner, are heavy in type and the folds of their garments are somewhat rigid. Heavy and unattractive as these angels are we may recognize in them the directing hand of Luca della Robbia rather than that of Michelozzo.



FIG. 130. S. GREGORIO.



FIG. 131. S. AGOSTINO.

(10). S. AGOSTINO AND TWO ANGELS. Photos., Alinari, No. 3519; Brogi, No. 4931.

S. Agostino (Fig. 131), perhaps the greatest of the four Latin Fathers or Doctors of the Church, is about to write while guided by the Scriptures shown to him by an angel. This angel of the index finger, in whose face Venturi discovers a vulgar expression, but which Miss Cruttwell finds exceedingly beautiful, has certainly more grace and charm than we could expect from Michelozzo. In all of its details it gives evidence of Luca's workmanship.

DOCUMENTS

Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 15 are quoted from Fabriczy, *J. k. p. K.*, XXV (1904), 51, 91, 90, 96, 92; Nos. 2, 7, 12, 14, are quoted from Cruttwell, 294, 297, 299, 300; Nos. 9, 10, 11, from v. Rumohr, II, 368, 370, 372; No. 8 is from Maso's *Libro di Conti*, c. 30^t.; and No. 13 from Cavallucci, *S. Maria del Fiore*, II, 137.

1. 1437, Feb. 14, [1436 O. S.]. *Provisor dce ope teneatur et debeat*

locare Donato nicolaj magistro intaglĳ unam ex duabus sacristijs novis maioris ecclesie florentine de bronzo cum illis pactis modis et conditionibus, tempore et pretio prout declarabitur per Nicolaum Johanotij de biliottis, Salvestrum Jacobj de risalitis dominos ex offitio ipsorum operariorum et quidquid circa predicta fuerit factum per dictum Gualterottum et dictos duos operarios intelligatur et sit ac si factum fuerit per eorum offitium.

Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo. *Libro delle Deliberazioni dal 1436 al 1444*, a. c. 13.

2. 1437, Feb. 21, [1436 O. S.]. Item commisserunt Nicolao Johanotti de Biliottis et Salito Jacobi di Risalitis duabus ex eorum offitio locandi Donato Niccolai Betti Bardi civi Florentino magistro intagli faciendo duas portas di bronzo duabus novis sacristiis cathedralis ecclesie florentine pro pretio in totum flor. 1900 pro eo tempore et cum illis pactis et storiis et modis prout eis videbitur fore utilius et honorabilius pro dicta opera et quidquid fecerint circa predictum intelligatur et sit ac si factum foret per totum eorum officium.

Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo. *Libro dei Delib.* etc. a. c. 21.

3. 1437, March 27. This is the date of the contract actually made with Donatello, according to Document No. 4.

4. 1445, Dec. 24. Die XXIIIJ [decembris 1445] Michelozo bartolomej, Luce simonis dellarobbia, Maso bartolomej presentibus et recipientibus pro faciendum unam portam pro una ex duobus sacrestiis in . . . flor. aurj vigintiquatuor libras septuaginta quatuor solidos quinque denarios decem.

Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo. *Stanziamenti dal 1442 al 1447*, a. c. 102^t.

5. 1446, Feb. 28 [1445 O. S.]. In Dei Nomine Amen. Anno domini ab eius incarnationem MCCCCXL quinta jndc. ottava die vigesima ottava mensis februarii Actum in audientia operariorum interiori presentibus testibus ad infrascripta omnia nominatis habitis et rogatis

Nobiles et prudentes viri

Anfejone [Amphion] Laurentii Pieri Lenzi et } opere

Matheus Antonii de Albertis } operarii

chathedralis ecclesie sancte Marie del Fiore civitatis florentie simul in audientia et locho eorum solite congregationis pro ipsorum offitio exercendo Intellecto qualiter Consules artis lane proxime preteriti [?] Intellecto locatione facte Donato Nicolai die XXVIJ martii MCCCCXXXVIJ [1437] de duabus portis produabus sacrestiis majoris Ecclesie florentine et intellecto qualiter dictus donatus dictas portas non fecit et justis de causis dicti dnj consules unam de dictis duabus portibus [sic] removerunt a dicto donato et concesserunt licentiam prefatis operariis dictam portam prime sacrestie locande eis et quibus et pro eo pretio prout sibi videbitur Quiquidem operarii visa dicta licentia omni modo ecc. locaverunt et concesserunt.

Ad faciendum unam portam bronzi pro prima sacrestia

Michelozio bartolomei populi sci marci

Luce simonis marci delarobia et

Maso bartolomej.

sociis intagliatoribus dictam portam modo et forma inferius descripta prout apparet per scriptum factum manu dicti Michelozzi cuius tenor de verbo ad verbum talis est vz.

Gli operai aluoghano et danno affare a
 Michelozo } una porta di bronzo perla prima sagrestia
 Luca et } disanta maria delfiore di quella alteza et
 Maso } largheza chessaspetta et richiede allaforma

gia data alladetta sagrestia E di quella forma modo et ornamentj che mostra uno Modello al presente e apresso aldetto michelozo et conpagnj di questa forma El quale modello debba stare nella udiencia didettj operaj.

La detta porta dj due pezzj Et in ciaschuno pezo cinque quadrij vz. ornatj dj Cornicj doppie Infrallequalj cornicj debbano idettj Maestrij fare fregj pianj lavoratj alladamaschina doro et dariento o dariento solo come parra adettj operaj Et Inciaschunchanto dedettj quadrij uno compassino entrovj una testa diprofeta dellequalj teste nera dodicj in ciaschun lato Et jnciaschuno dedettj quadrij tre fighure cioe nelmezo dj ciaschuno quadro uno tabernacolo dj mezo rilievo lavorato alla domaschina come idettj fregi Entrovj una fighura assedere djmezo rilievo nominata Chosi Chenne primj due quadrij disopra e nel primo da man ritta lafigura dinostra donna colfigluolo inbraccio Nellaltro lafighura di santo Giovannj batista Et Inciaschuno deglialtri quadrij cherestanto otto la fighura devangelistj edottorj dellachiesa Eciaschuno condue angiolettj rittj dallato fattj dimenzo rilievo E nerovescio djdetta porta imedesimj quadrij che daritto Ricintj djcornicj come djsopra ecome mostra detto modello senza alcuna fighura oaltrj ornamentj.

Et promettono dettj Michelozo Lucha et Maso tutte ledette chose fare et perfettamenteamente conduciare a uso dibuonj huominj infraltenpo et termine ditre annj

Et Idettj operaj debbano prestare aldetto Michelozo Lucha et Maso per suppljmento deldetto lavorio Inanzi fiordugento cinquanta

Et dipoj per aumento dessa ciaschuno mese fj. venticinque

Prout apparet in dicta scritta.

Et dictj operaj dare debeant predictis pro eorum magistario et labore floren. aurj Millectum

Et quia in dicto Modello sunt additj [sic] certa ornamenta alladamaschina seminatj circha compassus et intabernaculis dictarum fighurarum que res non sunt comprese in superius pro qua agiunta abere debent illud plus quod declarabitur per officiales operariorum pro tempore existentium

Et tenentur dictj Operarij dare dictis Michelozo Luche et Maso pro facienda predicta Materiam opportunam vz. bronzum Argentum et Aurum pertinentem dictas portas

Que omnia promittentes dictj Michelotius Lucas et Masus conductes et presentes actendere et observare sub pena flor. aurj. Mille

Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo. *Alloghagioni delopera di S. Maria del fiore al tempo di Ser Nicholaio di Diedi di Nicholaio, cominciato anno MCCCC° XXXVIII, a. c. 51.*

6. 1447, Feb. 28 [1446 O. S.]. The doors were, in part at least, cast by the beginning of the year 1447, as Michelozzo was directed to use the left over bronze for the *graticola* for the altar of S. Stefano.

“Et gli operai detti glidebbino dare tutta la materia et perinsino avra

sene glida libre cinquecento cinquantasej che avanzo del gietto delle porte della sagrestia"

Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo. *Alloghagioni*, etc. a. c. 57.

7. 1451, Dec. 31. "Quod provisor opere describat in delib. de opere in Libro giallo-Michelozium Bartolomei Lucam Simonis della Robbia et Tomasium Bartolomie, socios et conductores porte bronzi pro sacristia D. 63 con certo reparto fra loro."

Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo. *Alloghagioni*, etc. a. c. 71.

8. 1451, Dec. 31. L'opera di Santa Maria del Fiore de dare L. trenta bol 10 cioè L. 31 B. 10 piccioli per una promessa che mi feciono gli operai per la terza parte del tetto che noi faciamo in bottega dove noi faciamo e telai della porta della sagrestia di santa Maria del Fiore che faciamo el detto staglo dachordo Michelozo e Luca della Robbia e io a di . . . di dicembre monto tutto el tetto L. 35. L 31 bol. 10.

Bibl. Naz. Centr. di Firenze, Pal. Bald. No. 70. Cod. cart. del sec. XV. *Libro di Conti di Maso di Bartolomeo da Firenze dell' anno 1449. Scarpellatore di Pietre e fonditore di Metallo*, c. 30¹.

9. 1461, 9 Apr. In dei nomine Amen Anno domini ab ejus salutifera Incarnatione Millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo Ind. nona mensis Aprilis etc.

Egli é vera chosa chome	} intagliatori
Michelozo di Bartolomeo	
Lucha di Simone di Marcho della	
robbia	
	} avendo avvertenza

a una allogagione alloro facta pegli operai di S. Maria del Fiore insieme con Maso di bartolomeo ancora intagliatore oggi morto insino al anno 1445. et del mese di febrajo.

Una porta della prima sagrestia cioe di due lati con piu ornamenti et lavorii come nella allogagione rogata per mano di me notaio infrascritto chiaramente apparisce.

Onde oggi questo di detto.

Michelozo et Lucha sopradetti con protestatione nel principio mezo et fine del presente contracto apposto cheglino non intendono per questo atto et contracto essere piu o meno obligati che Erano Inanzi al presente contracto sono contenti et di consentimento et volonta et in presentia de nobili huomini.

Giovanni di Domenico Giugni	} operai di
Bartolomeo dagnolo Ciai	

a tutte le infrascripte cose consentienti aluoghano a

Giovanni di Bartolomeo Intagliatore presente et conducente per se et con quella compagnia allui piacesse a

Nettare detti Telai cioe detti due lati già gittati et commettere e battitoi di detta porta. Et ristorare se alcuno manchamento fusse a detti telai et que lavorare In tutte le loro parti dallato Ritto et dallato rovescio e da tutte le sue parti bene e diligentemente a uso di buono maestro. E tutte predette chose fare Intorno a detti telai che di Nicista sara Intorno a quelli si et in tal modo che niuna chosa manchi se non Rizarli alla detta sagrestia.

Et sono dacordo detto Giovanni abbia per sua fatica et Maestero et Intero pagamento dogni chosa delle sopradette fiorini dugento correnti. E

quali gloperai anno a pagare a detto Giovanni o a chi lui dicesse tempo per tempo chome lavorra (lavorera). E annosi a porre al conto della condotta tolta delle dette porte per detti Michelozzo et Lucha et Maso.

E piu sia addare per lopera a detto Giovanni à spesa dopera quella quantita di bronzo manchasse per avergli a ristorare in alcuna parte. E simile ara (avrà) se bisogno navesse.

E debbe in vece detto Giovanni per potere mettersi Inpunto di Masserizie a tale lavorio appartenenti et opportune fior. dieci.

E debbe detto Giovanni lavorare o fare lavorare dette porte nell' opera. E lopera adattarlo di luogho ydoneo.

E Detto Giovanni dar forniti detti telai come detto per di qui a Mesi sedici e quali sedici mesi cominciano adi primo di maggio futuro MCCCCLXI.

E decti operai parendo loro possino prolungare per insino a Mesi quattro in una volta oppiu.

Actum in opera dicta dicta die persentibus testibus Laurentio Lapi Johannis Nicholini, Johannis Francisci domini Johannis de Zatis, Bernardo Mathei del borra capudmagister cupole et Maso Jacobi Suchieli capudmagistro opere.

Archivio, etc. *Alloghagioni*, etc. a. c. 72.

10. 1463, Dec. 17. accettarono dette porte sotto di 17. dicembre 1463 per bene fatte.

Archivio, etc. *Alloghagioni*, etc. a. c. 72.

11. 1464, Aug. 10.—Anno—Millesimo quatringentesimo sexagesimo quarto . . . decimo Aghusti:

Nobiles etc. — — avere inteso che l'anno 1444. [error for 1445, O. S.] fu alloghato per loro Anticessori a Michelozzo di Bartholomeo Intagliatore et a Lucha di Simone della robbia et a Maso di Bartholomeo Intagliatore detto Masaccio una porta di due pezzi e con piu ornamenti et pacti et modi come nella alloghatione si contiene per pregio et nome di pregio di fiorini 1100 doro come apare al presente libro indietro a carta 51 Et inteso, che dette porte essere circha d'anni venti che niente non vi si lavoro Et dipoi inteso che nel anno 1461 . . . di 9. daprile di detto anno fu alloghato per gli operai con licentia et consentimento di detto Lucha a Giovanni di bartholomeo Intagliatore fratello di detto Maso a netare et raconciare detti telai et porte per pregio o nome di pregio di fiorini 200 doro come apare a detto libro alloghazione a carta 72 Et inteso detti telai et porte essere nette et bone et in perfetione raconci per conto l'Alloghagione allui fatta Et inteso che dipoi dopo la detta alloghagione dette porte sono poste dalato et dentro non vi si fare nulla Et inteso detto Maso di bartholomeo essere morto piu anni sono et inteso detto Michelozzo essere absentato et non essere in queste parti et non ci avere a essere di questo . . . ne a questi tempi et nonne essere a Firenze se nonne detto Lucha Et inteso che In quel tempo che detti telai e porte furono alloghate e detto Lucha miche-lozzo et maso loro avere auti anche di fiorini quatrocento o piu Et quelli glebbono Michelozzo et Maso et detto Lucha nonne avere avuto nulla come apare . . . libri di proveditori di detto opera et fior. 200 dati a detto Giovanni di Bartholomeo per detta nettatura Et volendo detti operai che dette porte et telai abbino qualche volta Effetto et conciateli a perfetione et

inteso la volonta di detto Lucha et vedendo detto Maso morto et detto Michelozzo absintato non veggendo alchuno modo che sia migliore piu beneficio della opera et volendo che dette porte et telai abbino efetto che lusingna uscire della alloghagione presente che altrimenti si potrebbe far nulla et starebbe senza alchuno efetto et in danno et verghongna della detta opera. Et vedendo et considerando quello che fu etc. — — —

Allogorono a detto Lucha presenti et conducenti et in suo nome proprio a finire et compiere dette porte che sieno In quella forma et modo come nella alloghagione prima apare. Et questo fecono (feciono) per pregio di fiorini septecento de quali si debba fare e paghamenti a detto Lucha . . . et in quel modo et forma parra agli operai che in tenpi saranno con questo che la materia che bisonera per netare . . . dette porte gli sia dato. Et ongni altra cosa di suo propio. Et il quale Lucha presente conducente et consentiente alla presente alloghagione Ratificho et obligosi sotto etc.

Archivio, etc. *Alloghagioni*, a. c. 73, repeated a. c. 79.

On carta 73 the text varies toward the end, reading:

"a fare compiere et storiare dette porte et ongni altra et qualunque cosa come nella prima alloghagione si contiene che labbino piena perfetione per pregio etc."

12. 1466, Oct. 30. "Luce Simonis della Robbia intagliatore florenos 50 sunt pro parte ianue pro sagrestia, etc. . . ."

Archivio, etc. *Alloghagioni*, a. c. . . .

13. 1467, Nov. 4. Andrea del Verrocchio dee avere per metallo prestato a Luca e a Michelozzo per gettare le due ultime storie della porta della Sagrestia Fior.

Archivio, etc.

Note, Fabriczy (*op. cit.*) could not find this Document.

14. 1468, June 30. "Luche Simonis della Robbia fior. 20 sunt pro parte ianue pro sagristia.

Archivio, etc. *Alloghagioni*, a. c. . . .

15. 1469, July 27. Lucha di Simone della robbia schultore de dare adj XXVIJ di luglio [1469] Ll. quattro ss. IIIJ porto cantanti per resto di questa ragione. Ll. 4. ss. 4.

Archivio, etc. *Libro di cassa, cominciato il pº di gennaio 1468*, a. c. 46.

16. 1474, June 27. This date is given by Milanesi, Vasari, II, 202 for the completion of the work.

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111-112, Abb. 62-63; *Fl. Sc.*, 77-78, Pl. 36; *It. Pl.*, 85; Burckhardt, 425; Burlamacchi, 26-28, 98 (Doc.), 208; Cruttwell, 80-88, 294-298 (Doc.), 323 Doering-Dachau, 15-16, Abb. 20; Fabriczy, *J. k. p. K.*, XXV (1904), Beih., 51, 90-91 (Doc.); de Foville, 41, 45, 47, 64-69; Michel, IV, 81-82, Fig. 56-57; Schubring, 49-54, Abb. 47-51; Venturi, VI, 366, 372, 567-572, Fig. 382;

55 THE INCREDULITY OF S. TOMMASO. Berlin, Collection of Herr Adolph von Beckerath. H., 0.48 m. Unglazed terra-cotta. Photo., private.

This relief (Fig. 132) was purchased from Bardini, Florence. The head and right hand of the Christ, shown in Schubring's illustration, are modern. Schubring offers the interesting hypothesis that this group may



FIG. 132. INCREDULITY OF S. TOMMASO.

have been designed for that tabernacle in Or San Michele which now contains Verrocchio's celebrated group of the doubting Thomas. The Mercanzia might naturally have first thought of entrusting the group to Luca della

Robbia, who in 1463 had completed for them the very beautiful medallion immediately above the tabernacle. They did not come into undisputed possession of the tabernacle until March 26, 1463, and payments to Verrocchio begin in 1465. This would define within the narrow limits a date for Luca's group.

Judged by its stylistic character it has been properly attributed. The head, hands, and drapery of S. Tommaso are strictly analogous to those of certain angels on the bronze sacristy doors, and to those in the lunette acquired by the Berlin Museum in 1906. The only hesitation one might feel in attributing this group to Luca himself is whether, after having created so individual a type for S. Tommaso as that in the Pazzi Chapel, Luca could have so far retrograded as to represent that saint here as an ordinary angel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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56 STEMMA OF RENÉ D'ANJOU. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 6740, '60. Diam., 3.24 m. Photo., Museum.

This large medallion (Fig. 133) was originally at Fiesole, where it decorated the Pazzi Villa known today as the Loggia dei Pazzi, and, from its later owners, as the Villa Panciatichi Ximenes. It represents the arms and insignia of the good King René of Anjou, pretender to the throne of Naples and Sicily. He visited Andrea dei Pazzi in 1442, stood as godfather to a son of Piero dei Pazzi, who bore his name Renato, made Andrea a knight, and in 1453 received Jacopo dei Pazzi into the Order of the Crescent, which he established in the year 1448.

The frame is composed of fourteen segments, and represents a garland of fruit between an outer egg and dart and flat leaf and dart moulding. The unusually round "eggs" and the complete arrowlike darts, are paralleled only in the tabernacle of the Holy Cross at Impruneta. The fruit garland is crisp and finely modelled, recalling that of the stemma of the Mercanzia on Or San Michele. The garland consists of seven kinds of fruit, pines, pears, lemons, plums, quinces, grapes and cucumbers, each variety of fruit being represented by four bunches differing from each other. There is a noticeable absence of conventionality or of symmetrical

arrangement. As our eye scans the garland, following its motion like the hands of a clock, we find in general an alternation from dark coloured to light coloured fruit; but even this rule is not and could not be strictly followed. In colouring the leaves the dull effect of flat tints is avoided, and a certain brilliancy given, by the superposition of different shades of green or of yellow on green.



FIG. 133. STEMMMA OF RENÉ D'ANJOU.

Between this frame and the medallion is a bordure *gules* (violet) raguly *argent* (white), possibly a sign of cadency, or merely a decoration.

The field of the medallion is green, against which appear the emblems and arms of René d'Anjou. Here are rustic letters IR for Isabelle and

René (or possibly Iacopo and René), violet flames rising from two braziers from the handles of which hangs a scroll inscribed *Dardant desir*, a motto indicative of René's passion for his wife. The braziers emitting flames were also a Pazzi emblem, in memory of Pazzo dei Pazzi who in 1099 brought from Jerusalem a stone from the Holy Sepulchre, still used to ignite the Colombina and the Carro dei Pazzi during the festival held before the Cathedral on the Saturday before Easter. Beneath the shield is a crescent, *argent*, above which is the Provençal motto *Los en croissant*, emblem of the order he had founded and to which he had elected Jacopo dei Pazzi. Above the shield the crest consists of a royal helmet, *or* (yellow), surmounted by a *fleur de lys* (both Florentine and French), and two Aragonese dragon wings, *or* and *gules*, and with a mantle embroidered with *fleur de lys*, *or*, and lined with ermine.

The shield displays five quarterings, surcharged with an inescutcheon. The chief or upper half of the shield displays René's royal claims, inherited after the death of his elder brother Louis III (d. Nov. 12, 1434), and of Giovanna of Naples (d. Feb. 2, 1435), to the kingdoms of Hungary, Sicily and Jerusalem. The arms of Hungary occupy the first place and is barry alternately *argent* and *gules*. Next are those of Sicily (ancien Anjou) *azure*, semé with *fleur de lys*, *or*, with a label of five points, *gules*. The third place is occupied by the arms of Jerusalem, *argent*, with a cross potent between four crosslets, *or*. The base presents first the arms of Anjou moderne (duché) *azure*, semé with *fleur de lys*, *or*, with a bordure, *gules*. Next are the arms of Bari, *azure*, semé with cross crosslets fitched, *or*, and two barbels, *or*. It may be observed that the two barbels are normally set back to back, and strongly resemble the arms of the Pazzi family. The arms of the Duchy of Anjou were inherited by René from his father, those of Bari from his maternal granduncle, Cardinal Louis, Duke of Bari. The inescutcheon, *or*, with four pales, *gules*, denotes the house of Aragon, the crown of which was offered to and accepted by René at the end of 1466. In an important contribution read before the Académie des Inscriptions, Feb. 28, 1908, M. Paul Durrieu traces the various arms used by good King René, and has proved that the arms as here displayed were used only during the period 1466 to 1480. It seems likely that Jacopo dei Pazzi had this stemma executed soon after his ill-fated friend and patron received the title to the crown of Aragon.

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57 MEDALLION WITH BUST OF A YOUTH. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum. Diam., 0.555 m. Photo., Berlin Museum.

This fine medallion (Fig. 134) from the Torrigiani collection came into the possession of the Berlin Museum in 1894. Dr. Bode considers it a portrait; Miss Cruttwell calls it S. Ansano or some other Boy-Saint. I



FIG. 134. BUST OF A YOUTH.

have suggested elsewhere that it may be a youthful David. In style it recalls Luca's candelabrum-bearing angels in the Cathedral of Florence, but is superior to them in modelling. The colour harmony shown in the robe or breastplate of pale blue, with a mantle of violet and its reverse of bright green is that of Luca's later years. The pale blue background is also an indication of a late date. The eyes have yellow irises; the eyebrows, lashes and pupils are violet. It is probable that no great interval of time elapsed

before the four variants of this medallion (Liechtenstein Collection, Metropolitan Museum, Spitzer Sale, Simonetti's) were made in the atelier of Andrea della Robbia (c. 1475).

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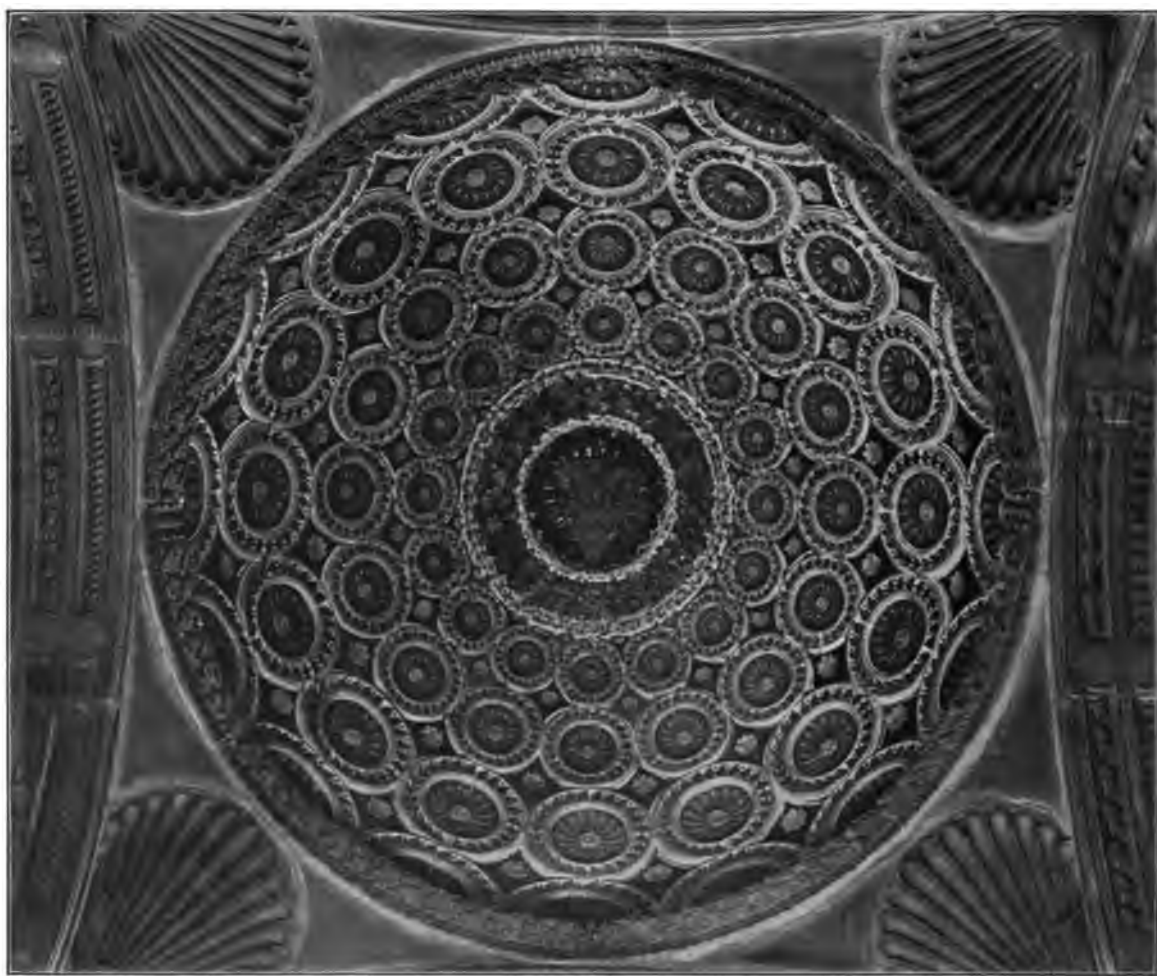


FIG. 135. CEILING OF CUPOLA. PAZZI CHAPEL PORCH.

58 CEILING OF THE CUPOLA OF THE PAZZI CHAPEL PORCH.

Florence, S. Croce, Capitolo e Cappella di S. Andrea (Pazzi Chapel).

Diam., 4.81 m. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 2177, 2182; Brogi, No. 9615.

The cupola of the porch of the Pazzi Chapel is ceiled with glazed terra-cotta decoration consisting of concentric circles of medallions (Fig. 135). Flat ceilings, like those of the two baldachinos at Impruneta, Luca decorated with square cofferings; the tunnel vault of the Cappella del Crocifisso at S. Miniato is adorned with octagons and squares; but the domical surfaces of the Portogallo Chapel and of the chapel at S. Giobbe, Venice, he

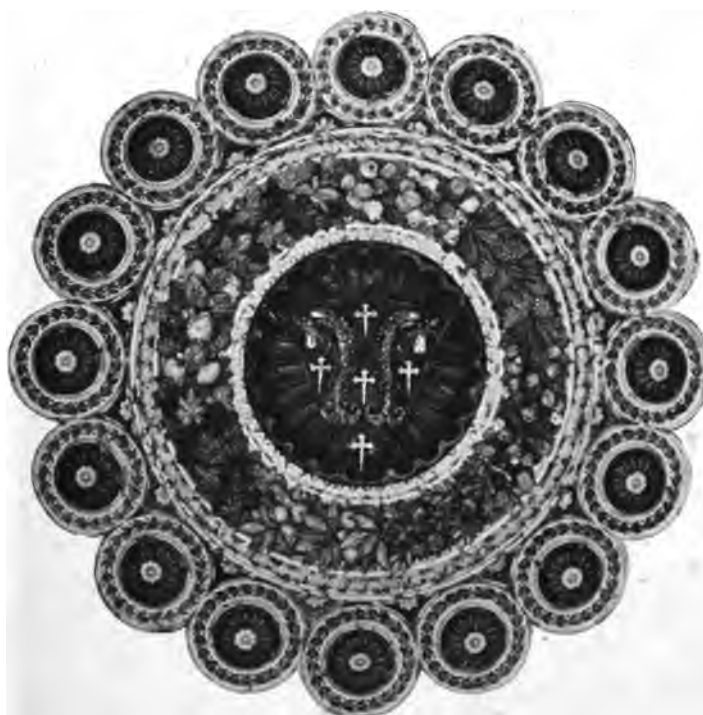


FIG. 136. DETAIL OF PAZZI CHAPEL CEILING.

decorated, as here, with medallions. The design is a simple one. In the centre is a violet, fluted disk containing a shield with the Pazzi arms, two dolphins hauriant, embowed, addorsed, *or*, on a field *azure* semé of five crosslets bottonny, fitched, *or*. This is surmounted by a wreath of fruit and flowers, of the continuous type, not broken up into obviously regular bunches (Fig. 136). Had this ceiling been made at as early a date as 1440-1450 the

wreath would have been composed of flowers only, or of fruit of less complex composition. Around the central medallion are arranged other medallions in concentric circles, sixteen medallions in each circle, expanding in size toward the periphery. They are alike in design, each consisting of a central yellow rosette on a blue, fluted, concave ground surrounded by a white frame decorated with wreaths of green laurel. Between these medallions the decoration is noteworthy. It consists of yellow flowers or rosettes set against backgrounds representing alternately a red porphyry and a green porphyry or serpentine. The imitation of porphyry occurs first on the fluted shell which bears the Pazzi arms in the Palazzo Serristori. Porphyry and serpentine were used by Verrocchio for the tomb of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici in S. Lorenzo. To imitate it caught the fancy of Luca della Robbia and his successors, and is found many times in the works of Andrea and of Giovanni della Robbia.

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CHAPTER V

1470-1480

CHAPTER V

1470-1480

59 THE PESCIA ALTARPIECE. Pescia, Palazzo Episcopale, Cappella. c. 1472. H., 1.27 m.; W., 1.63 m. Photo., Burton & Co.

This altarpiece (Fig. 137) is now in the private chapel of the Palazzo Episcopale at Pescia. It bears on its face evidence of having been broken and put together again. Below it is an inscription to the effect that these precious fragments of a notable work by Luca della Robbia, neglected for many years through the carelessness of the blind in art, were restored through the munificence of Pietro Forti, Bishop Elect of Pescia, and the zeal of Domenico Martini, Acting Treasurer. The inscription is dated April 3rd, 1847. The Marchesa Burlamacchi states that this altarpiece was formerly in the Church of S. Pietro and that in the year 1784 it was saved from a fire and transferred to the Palazzo Episcopale. It is not clear which of several S. Pietros is intended—possibly it was the Pieve di S. Pietro in Campo, the patronage of which was presented in 1472 by Pope Sixtus IV to the Marchese Capponi of Florence, who paid a rental for the support of the Bishopric of Pescia. But it is more likely that the altarpiece was originally made for a church dedicated to one of the saints represented on the altar—S. Jacopo Maggiore or S. Biagio—subject to the Madonna as patron of the Cathedral of Pescia. No church in the neighborhood fits in with this hypothesis so well as the church of S. Jacopo at Altopascio. This was the home of the Ospitalieri, an order of philanthropic knights spread throughout Italy and the rest of Europe. From 1446 to 1472 four members of the Florentine Capponi family were enrolled in its membership, and in 1472 Altopascio, as well as S. Pietro in Campo, was ceded by the Pope to the Marchese Capponi. The Marchese Capponi seems to have been the donor of the altarpiece, for it contains at one end of the predella a white Tau Cross, the emblem of the order of the Ospitalieri, and at the other end the Capponi arms: Per bend *sable* (black) and *argent* (white).

This monument is of special interest, as the only altarpiece, or *tavola*,

attributable to Luca della Robbia, whereas there are very many made by Andrea della Robbia and his school. We are at once struck with the general form which suggests a triptych with rectangular panels; also with the unusual character of the frame. The influence of the triptych survived in several of Andrea della Robbia's altarpieces, and it is not surprising that it should have been adopted by Luca who had a more conservative regard for ancient forms. The frame is not constructed with the usual pilasters and entablature with architrave, frieze and cornice, but



FIG. 137. THE PESCIA ALTARPIECE.

consists of a flat band of white enamel decorated with six-petalled rosettes, alternately blue and violet, encircled with white and set against a green ground. This decoration, though designed by Luca, was doubtless executed by an assistant. The cornice is so low and unimposing that we wonder if there may not formerly have been a frieze or other member between it and the rest of the frame. But in the tabernacle of the Or San Michele Madonna Luca had already made use of a cornice without architrave or frieze. The execution of this cornice was evidently not by Luca himself. The forms of the leaf and dart and egg and dart are not such as Luca employed in his early

works, but have a close resemblance to those employed in the ceiling of S. Giobbe, Venice. Around the three panels are cyma mouldings of a type which Luca frequently employed. The base of the altarpiece is decorated with a frieze of grapes, oranges, pine cones, apples or quinces, and citrons with a sprinkling of flowers, the design and execution of which indicates Luca's methods rather than his handiwork.

The figured panels stand in closer relation to the master's art. To the left, S. Jacopo Maggiore, holding a staff and a book, recalls the fine S. Jacopo on the east wall of the Pazzi Chapel and may well have been executed by Luca in his later years. The seated Madonna with the adoring angels reminds us of the compositions of the bronze sacristy doors, with the proportions, especially those of the Child, somewhat changed. The posing of the Christ Child on a cushion is a motive indicative of a late period for Luca, from whom it was borrowed by Andrea della Robbia. The complicated drapery of the angel to the left with shoulder cape and crossing folds recalls those of the Heilbronner and Cluny reliefs. S. Biagio, in bishop's robes carrying a book and the iron carding comb, was like S. Jacopo a favorite saint with the Ospitalieri. In type he is not far removed from the S. Agostino of the tabernacle of the Holy Cross at Impruneta.

This altarpiece, though not to be classed with Luca's masterpieces, bears every evidence of having come from his atelier. If we are right in assigning it to the period immediately succeeding 1472 we must remember on the one hand that Luca della Robbia was in his declining years, and on the other that by this time Andrea della Robbia had a style of his own, which is not represented in the Pescia altarpiece.

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60 CEILING OF THE CAPPELLA DI S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA IN S. GIOBBE, VENICE. c. 1475. Photos., Alinari; No. 12430; Burton & Co.

The Cappella di S. Giovanni Battista in S. Giobbe, Venice, was evidently decorated by some one who was enamoured of the Cappella di S.

Jacopo at S. Miniato. Both chapels contain altarpieces designed by Antonio Rossellino and have vaulted ceilings designed by Luca della Robbia. The ceilings in both cases are of the form known as *cul-du-four*, and contain a central medallion tangent to which are four medallions, one at each angle of the vault (Fig. 138). The frames of these medallions have almost identical mouldings, but at Venice fruit garlands are substituted for the scale pattern used at S. Miniato. Between the medallions in both



FIG. 138. CEILING AT S. GIOBBE.

cases are square tiles, similarly set and adorned with a diaper pattern of cubes the visible sides of which are green, yellow, and violet. In Florence the central medallion is set with reference to the axes of the vault, in Venice, somewhat unexpectedly, with reference to the diagonals of the vault. The remaining medallions in both cases are set with reference to the diagonals, with this difference: in Florence the four Virtues are arranged in pairs facing each other; in Venice of the four Evangelists two happen

to face each other, the other two are back to back. There is evidently no studied order in their arrangement.

The church of S. Giobbe was begun in 1462, but the decoration of the chapel of S. Giovanni is usually set in the following decade. The extreme limit may be fixed by the death of Antonio Rossellino in 1478 and of Luca della Robbia in 1482.

(1). GOD THE FATHER. Photo., Burton & Co.

The central medallion (Fig. 139) represents God the Father rising from the clouds in a heaven distinguished by concentric blue bands, which darken toward the periphery. He is blessing with his right hand and in



FIG. 139. MEDALLION OF GOD THE FATHER.

his left holds an open book inscribed Α Ω. He wears a cruciferous halo. About him are seven cherubs, which would be more charming if relieved from the daubs of gilt upon their heads and wings. Both Creator and cherubs are feebler productions than those of Luca della Robbia in the Peretola tabernacle, and betray the hand of an assistant.

The frame consists of an inner series of three mouldings, an intermediate fruit frieze, and exterior leaf and dart as well as a pearl moulding.

We have already noted the identity of the architectural mouldings with those of the medallions in the Portogallo Chapel at S. Miniato. The fruit frieze is divided into fourteen sections, consisting of three series of oranges, grapes, quinces, pine cones, and one of citrons and pine cones. Each section is connected with the next by a white band, and consists of three pieces of fruit, arranged two at the base and one above, or one at the base and two above—an arrangement which became conventional with Andrea della Robbia. The fruit and leaves are finely modelled and resemble those of the Pazzi and Serristori *stemmi*. The motion in all five medallions is the reverse of that of the hands of a clock.

(2). S. GIOVANNI. Photo., Burton & Co.

S. Giovanni and his symbolic eagle (Fig. 140) are in the clouds against a blue sky. He wears a nimbus with gilded border. His hair and the



FIG. 140. MEDALLION OF S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA.

borders of his robe are also gilded. He has not the nobility of the S. Giovanni on the wall of the Pazzi Chapel, nor the force of the S. Giovanni of the bronze sacristy doors. Either Luca has grown feeble, or has entrusted much to his assistant in the design of this group. The mouldings of the

frame and the composition of the fruit frieze are practically identical with that of the central medallion. As in the Serristori palace *stemmi*, and elsewhere, light and dark coloured fruits are set in rhythmic alternation. The lack of calculation of the dimensions of the fourteen sections necessary to complete the circle is rendered obvious by the placing directly above the Evangelist's head the section which had to be cut down to one pine cone.

(3). S. LUCA. Photo., Burton & Co.

As compared with the stately S. Luca of the bronze sacristy doors this S. Luca (Fig. 141) is somewhat sentimental, though well modelled, especially in the features of the head and the expressive hands. The symbolic ox, though somewhat mild, is more naturalistic than that on the bronze doors. The background in all five medallions is more markedly concave



FIG. 141 MEDALLION OF S. LUCA.

than in the medallions at S. Miniato. The clouds are in high relief. In the frame the series—quinces, pine cones, oranges and grapes—is repeated three times. Additional sections with three citrons and two pine cones are set directly above the head of the Evangelist.

(4). S. MATTEO. Photo., Burton & Co.

S. Matteo (Fig. 142) is the finest of the five medallions, not unworthy of the sculptor of the S. Matteo on the wall of the Pazzi Chapel or on the bronze door of the sacristy of the Cathedral. Although documentary evidence is lacking, it seems reasonable to believe that the order for this ceiling was given to Luca della Robbia at a time when he was well advanced in years and dependent in large measure upon his assistants.



FIG. 142. MEDALLION OF S. MATTEO.

There is more of Luca than of Andrea in this medallion. The frame resembles the other frames. A section with three citrons and another with two pine cones are immediately above the Evangelist's head, then follows the series, quinces, pine cones, oranges and grapes, repeated three times.

(5). S. MARCO. Photo., Burton & Co.

S. Marco (Fig. 143) resembles S. Luca in type. In fact in general we find less individuality in these four Evangelists than in those of the bronze sacristy doors. As compared with the bronze Evangelists, the hair is here more plastic, the eyebrows more prominent, and the eyelids are exhibited more fully. The lion is of a different type, less like the Marzocco.

The frame shows the fourteen sections of fruit fully developed. In no case was it necessary to diminish the size of a section in order to make it fit in the circle.



FIG. 143. MEDALLION OF S. MARCO.

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61 THE KREFELD ADORATION. Krefeld, Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum. H., 0.73 m.; W., 0.50 m. Photo., private.

This charming relief (Fig. 144) was purchased in Florence by Herr Adolph von Beckerath, who in 1898 sold it to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum in his native town. It is a very unusual presentation of a theme destined to become almost commonplace in later Robbia productions. The well proportioned Child, playing with his light drapery, reclines on a bed of light green hay set upon a solitary gray rock, as if on the top of a lofty mountain near the sky. Beside him kneels the Madonna, her beautiful hands folded

reverentially above him. Behind him stand two angels, their hands folded across their breasts, while in the heaven above are four more angels in the midst of clouds and absorbed in adoration.

Of the usual accompaniments of a Nativity few are represented here.



FIG. 144. THE KREFELD ADORATION.

There is no S. Giuseppe, no cave or stable, no ox or ass, no shepherds; even the angels sing no Gloria in Excelsis.

It may be noted that the Madonna's eyes have violet brows, upper lashes, and iris boundary, but no mark or colour for pupil or iris.

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62 THE KAHN NATIVITY. New York. Collection of Mr. Otto H. Kahn. H., 0.58 m.; W., 0.50 m. Photo., private.

This relief (Fig. 145) represents a moment subsequent to the Nativity, when S. Giuseppe and S. Maria, the ox and ass, and the angels of heaven unite in adoration of the Child. As a composition it is not well balanced.



FIG. 145. THE KAHN NATIVITY.

The large brown wicker basket of light green hay upon which the Child rests is set so far to the left as to leave scant room for so important a figure as S. Giuseppe. Nor are the ox and ass sufficiently differentiated. The four angels are grouped in pairs above somewhat splashy clouds. The Child, playing with his drapery and gazing out upon the world, is very similar to that in the Krefeld Adoration. The Madonna also and the angels resemble those of the Krefeld relief. Their eyes show blue irises and dark

brows, lashes and pupils. These two works may be classed together as equally representative of the spirit of Luca della Robbia, though possibly not entirely his own handiwork.

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Bode, *Denkm.*, 177, Taf. 548; *Z. f. b. K.*, XXI (1910), 306-307; Marquand, *D. R. A.*, 16. Fig. 7.

CHAPTER VI

MANNER OF LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

CHAPTER VI

MANNER OF LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

- 63** STUCCO RELIEF OF THE TRUMPETERS. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. No. 7609, '61. H., 0.53 m.; W., 0.53 m. Photo., private.

This relief (Fig. 146) was purchased by Signor Gigli at the Rinuccini sale in Florence, and became part of the Gigli-Campana Collection. According to Sir J. C. Robinson, who secured it for the South Kensington



FIG. 146. THE TRUMPETERS.

Museum in 1861, it is executed in a "species of stucco, or rather unbaked clay mixed with size and the cuttings or flock of cloth, a material commonly in use with the Florentine sculptors of Luca's time." The material is certainly to be designated as stucco, not as clay.

The importance of the relief consists in the claim made by Sir J. C. Robinson that this is Luca's original sketch for the relief of the Trumpeters for the Cantoria; a claim which is admitted by Cavallucci and Molinier, by Madame Burlamacchi, and enthusiastically by Miss Cruttwell. Venturi thinks the work a forgery. In my opinion it is not a modern forgery, nor the original clay sketch by Luca himself, but a stucco reproduction dating probably from the fifteenth century. It should be observed that the three heads to the left are later repairs. Hence the proportions of these figures may have been originally more like those of the marble relief. The student, or copyist, was chiefly interested in the four dancing children, which he has reproduced with some freedom as well as fidelity. The first trumpeter in the stucco lacks the Ghiberti-like curves of the mantle shown in the marble relief, and his position has changed. It is no longer the right leg which bears his weight, and his left leg does not well fulfill this function. The exposed leg of the second trumpeter is not well placed. The curved trumpet of the third trumpeter seems to return its sounds into the face of the performer. The copyist has sketched in the hand of a trumpeter to the right holding fast a small trumpet, but has not taken pains to introduce a body or head for this figure. The legs of the second trumpeter to the right, not altogether happily placed in the marble, are exaggeratedly out of place in the stucco.

These divergences do not seem to imply that the stucco was executed prior to the marble, but rather that it is the work of a copyist who observes details without having a firm grasp of the figures as a whole.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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64 THE COPENHAGEN MADONNA. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst. H., 0.395 m.; W., 0.29 m. Photo, Museum.

This Madonna (Fig. 147) was obtained from the Rumohr Collection, Dresden, 1847 (Cat. No. 4375). The figures are white on blue ground. The eyes have blue irises and dark pupils. The gold haloes may have been a later addition.

The style of this relief reflects the early manner of Luca della Robbia. A free copy, made probably toward the end of the fifteenth century, is in the Berlin Museum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bode, *Münch. Jahrb.*, I (1906), 28, note.



FIG. 147. THE COPENHAGEN MADONNA.

65 VARIANT OF COPENHAGEN MADONNA. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, No. 76 (Old No., 115 B). H., 0.41 m.; W., 0.32 m. Photo., Museum.

This relief was presented to the Museum in 1905 by the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum-Verein. The background, as well as the figures, was originally covered with a white glaze, which at a later period was superficially painted. It is very unlikely, as Fraülein Schottmüller suggests, that the white glaze was intended as a foundation for superficial colouring. Andrea della Robbia's white glazed statue of S. Francesco at Assisi and other Robbia works were similarly superficially painted at a later period. It is more likely that the original glaze was a failure, as Dr. Bode suggests, or that it became injured, or that some owner had a preference for polychromatic sculpture.

This Madonna is a variant of the Madonna in the Museum at Copenhagen. The Child here is draped and is more playfully posed. It may also be observed that both Mother and Child have gilded haloes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bode, *Münch. Jahrb.*, I (1906), 28, note; Schottmüller, 34-35, No. 76 (K. F. M. V.), Abb. 76; *J. k. p. K.*, XXVII (1906), 225, 227.

66 THE ALESSANDRI MADONNA. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, No. 79 (Old No., 113). H., 0.83 m.; W., 0.925 m. Photo., Museum.

This relief (Fig. 148) was purchased in 1883 from Conte Alessandri, Florence. It is unglazed and uncoloured, and was intended, apparently, to crown the entrance to a Gothic chapel. As in the lunette from S. Pierino,



FIG. 148. THE ALESSANDRI MADONNA.

the Child is posed to the left, the angels are on a smaller scale than the Madonna and Child, and their draperies are treated with a Ghiberti-like swing. When we recall that a Niccolò Alessandri was one of the deputies charged with the supervision of Luca's Cantoria from 1432-1435 we are tempted to classify this relief with the early works of Luca della Robbia, but its execution betrays the work of a more nervous and less sedate artist, who nevertheless was strongly inspired by Luca della Robbia, especially by the medallions of the Pazzi Chapel.

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67 THE MADONNA AND SIX ANGELS, Louvre. Paris, Louvre, No. 420. H., 0.38 m.; W., 0.37 m. Photo., Alinari, No. 22375.

This relief, from the Campana Collection, was evidently designed as a medallion and transformed into rectangular shape (Fig. 149). Other medallions of the same subject are found in the Courajod, and in the Gustave Dreyfus collections, Paris, the L. Mond Collection, London; the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin; the Museo Industriale, Rome; and in the J. P. Morgan Collection, New York.



FIG. 149. MADONNA AND SIX ANGELS, LOUVRE.

The Ghiberti-like character of the composition, and the general resemblance to Luca della Robbia's Cantoria reliefs, especially to that of the Trumpeters, has led to the attribution of this relief to Luca della Robbia. But it may be observed that the art of perspective is here more advanced than in the Trumpeter relief, the modelling is inferior to Luca's, and that all of the medallions are apparently cast from the same mould and do not show the variations of details characteristic of the replicas of Luca's work. This identity of details leads us to suspect that these plaques are modern.

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- 68** THE MADONNA AND SIX ANGELS, Courajod Collection. Paris, Collection of the late Professor L. C. J. Courajod. Diam., 0.34 m.

When I saw this medallion, some years ago, it was painted with bronze paint, to imitate bronze.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 67.

- 69** THE MADONNA AND SIX ANGELS, Dreyfus Collection. Paris, Collection of M. Gustave Dreyfus. Diam., 0.34 m.

This medallion, of unglazed terra-cotta, was formerly in the collection of Sir J. C. Robinson, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 67; also Paul Vitry, *Les Arts*, No. 72 (Dec., 1907), 2, 16.

- 70** THE MADONNA AND SIX ANGELS, Mond Collection. London, Collection of the late Dr. Ludwig Mond. Diam., 0.34 m.

This medallion, of unglazed terra-cotta was formerly in the collection of Lady Eastlake.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 67.

- 71** THE MADONNA AND SIX ANGELS, Berlin Museum. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum. Diam., 0.345 m.

This medallion, of unglazed terra-cotta gilded, was formerly in Florence, then in the collection of Herr Adolph von Beckerath, Berlin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 67; also Tschudi 82, Taf. 58; Schöttmüller, 38, No. 88 (I, 2957), Abb. 88.

- 72** THE MADONNA AND SIX ANGELS, Museo Industriale. Rome, Museo Industriale. Diam., 0.34 m.

A medallion, of unglazed terra-cotta similar to the preceding.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 67.

- 73** THE MADONNA AND SIX ANGELS, Lanz Collection. Amsterdam, Professor Dr. O. Lanz Collection. Diam., 0.34 m.

A medallion of unglazed terra-cotta, similar to the preceding, but with slight modifications of the facial types.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 67.

- 74** THE MADONNA AND SIX ANGELS, J. P. Morgan Collection. New York, J. P. Morgan Collection, in the Metropolitan Museum. Diam., 0.46 m.

This medallion, of unglazed terra-cotta, larger than the preceding, was purchased of C. and E. Canessa, Paris. It is the only one of the series which shows the figure of a Dove above the Virgin's head. It is also the only one of the series with traces of polychromy. The Madonna's mantle was blue, and the robes of the angels red. It may be the original from which the preceding six examples were copied.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 67; also Daniel, *Burl. Mag.*, XXI (1912), 283, Pl. 1.

- 75** BUST OF A BOY. Florence, Museo Nazionale, No. 75. H., 0.33 m. Photo., Brogi, No. 9467.

This charming bust of a boy (Fig. 150) has suffered for lack of a name and proper attribution. It is sometimes called a Giovannino, but there is no haircloth tunic to indicate the youthful S. John. Bode calls it a boy Christ, and Schubring thinks it requires as a pendant a Giovannino, like that which passed from the Beckerath Collection to the Krefeld Museum. ^{p 219 ?}
This designation is probably correct, but in the absence of the corresponding

pendant, and of all symbolic attributes, the name must remain somewhat uncertain. It has been attributed to Luca, to Andrea, and even to Giovanni. As in the entire range of Giovanni's productions there is nothing comparable to this bust, we may omit further consideration of this attribution. Between Luca and Andrea the solution is more difficult. A comparison, however, of this head with those of the armorial bearers of the *stemma* of the Arte della Seta on Or S. Michele will leave little doubt that the type was formed by Luca himself. Andrea's coöperation or interference is



FIG. 150. BUST OF A BOY, MUSEO NAZIONALE.

indicated by the unusual colouring of the eyes. The eyebrows seem originally to have been indicated by violet and then done over again in robin's-egg blue. The irises are yellow, as Luca might have painted them, but the pupils are copper coloured, a colour used only by Andrea. The green tunic with its raised border and heart ornament and the fine blue mantle recall those of the medallion of the head of a youth in the Berlin Museum (See above, No. 57).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bode, *J. k. p. K.*, XXI (1900), 32; Mus. II, 71, Taf. 137; *Denkm.*, 79, Taf. 228; *Fl. Bildh.*, 216, Abb. 118; *Fl. Sc.*, 147, Pl. 65; Burlamacchi, 111; Cavallucci et Molinier, 113, 219, No. 82, note; Cruttwell, 155, 325; Reymond, *D. R.*, 259, 276; *Sc. Fl.*, IV, 64; Schubring, 123, Abb. 136; Supino, 452, No. 75.

76 STEMMA OF THE GINORI FAMILY. New York, Thomas F. Ryan Collection. H., 0.72 m.; W., 0.52 m. Photo., from Bardac Catalogue.

This beautiful stemma (Fig. 151) was formerly in the Maurice Kann Collection, which was sold in 1910, and then in the Sigismond Bardac Collection recently dispersed. The arms, *azure*, a bend, *or*, charged with



FIG. 151. STEMMA OF THE GINORI FAMILY.

three eight-pointed estoiles, *azure*, are those of the Ginori family, many of whom held the office of Prior in Florence during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The *putto*, who alone supports the arms, is closely

related in type to the Bust of a Boy just described in the Museo Nazionale. His eyebrows, lashes, pupils and iris boundaries are marked in violet, no colour being used for the irises themselves. The heavy scroll with its seeded terminals suggests the ornament on the consoles of the Cantoria, and the imitation of porphyry which forms the background recalls the stemma of Jacopo dei Pazzi in the Palazzo Serristori and the decoration of the vault of the porch of the Pazzi Chapel.

This relief may well have been made under the eye of Luca himself, and in accordance with his design, but the softened forms suggest the handiwork of his nephew Andrea.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cat. Maurice Kann, No. 200; Cat. Sigismond Bardac, No. 30; Marquand, *Art in America*, 1914, 242-246.



FIG. 152. HEAD OF A LADY, MUSEO NAZIONALE.

77 MEDALLION HEAD OF A LADY. Florence, Museo Nazionale, No. 73. Diam., 0.45 m. Photo., Brogi, No. 9468.

This medallion (Fig. 152), in the Museo Nazionale, evidently portrays a lady from some aristocratic family in Florence. The double chaplet of pearls about her head, the stiff headdress with its large brooch, and the necklace of pearls with its pendant, as well as her delicate features, indicate her high station. A somewhat similar facial type is seen in the

Cluny Temperance and the Heilbronner Prudence, and may be traced in some of the Madonnas of Andrea della Robbia. Mino da Fiesole also seems to have been inspired by the same lady when he fashioned the Madonna of the Salutati altarpiece in the Cathedral at Fiesole. Her green robe and light blue mantle, as well as her eyes with their violet brows, lashes, and pupils, and their copper-coloured irises show this relief to be closely related to the Bust of a Boy in the Museo Nazionale and probably by the same hand.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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FIG. 153. HEAD OF A LADY, LOUVRE.

78 MEDALLION HEAD OF A LADY, Louvre. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Collection Thiers, No. 38. Diam., 0.56 m. Photo., Giraudon.

This medallion (Fig. 153) is a school copy of the Florentine medallion just described. It is to be found in the room containing the Thiers Collection. It was illustrated and described by Charles Blanc in the Catalogue of the Thiers Collection published in 1884, but has escaped the attention of

students of Italian sculpture. It was once framed with a fruit garland, of which only the pine cones now remain; the remainder of the frame showing a laurel wreath is a modern restoration. It may be noted that the copyist has given more emphasis to the fillet above the forehead, but has omitted the necklace. He has also varied the drapery, substituting a violet for the green robe, and showing a green lining to the gray-blue mantle. The character of the tunic and mantle has also been entirely changed. More reliance was placed on gilding for the ornaments of the drapery as well as for the hair. But the principal element of inferiority is the glaze, which is crude and irregular, and is now flaking away. The colours of the eyes are dark blue for the brows, lashes and pupils, and yellow for the irises, but they are not applied as Luca would have painted them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blanc, *Coll. Thiers*, 12-13, Pl. 4; See also under No. 77.



FIG. 154. MADONNA OF THE IMPRUNETA TYPE,
VON DIRKSEN COLLECTION.

- 79** MADONNA OF THE IMPRUNETA TYPE, von Dirksen. Berlin, Herr Minister W. von Dirksen Collection. H., 0.44 m.; W., 0.29 m. Photo., private.

This round-headed relief (Fig. 154) was purchased from Professor Grassi, Florence, who had purchased it from a private collector. The Madonna follows the Impruneta type. The glaze is said by Dr. Bode to be excellent and uniform; the figures are white, set against a blue ground. The eyes are described as having dark brown pupils surrounded by a narrow circle of yellow. From these details it would seem likely that this replica of the Impruneta Madonna was made by Andrea della Robbia. The composition, with cherub heads on either side, renders this attribution almost certain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 37, also Bode, *Fl. Bildh.*, 130; *Fl. Sc.*, 91; *Münch. Jahrb.*, I (1906), 32; Schottmüller, 38, No. 87.

- 80** MADONNA OF THE IMPRUNETA TYPE, Louvre. Paris, Musée du Louvre, No. 429 (Old No., G. 726). H., 0.70 m.; W., 0.50 m. Photo., Alinari, No. 22377.



FIG. 155. MADONNA OF THE IMPRUNETA TYPE, LOUVRE.

This relief (Fig. 155) came from the Campana Collection. Its damaged glaze has been repaired with white paint. In composition it resembles the von Dirksen relief, with the addition of the Dove above the head of the Madonna, but is executed on a larger scale. The eyes have blue brows and lashes and the copper-coloured irises common in Andrea's atelier, to which it may be attributed. It retains one additional feature common to Luca's Madonnas, the projecting shelf which serves as a base.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 37; also Bode, *Münch. Jahrb.*, I (1906), 32; *Fl. Bildh.*, 130; *Fl. Sc.*, 91; Burlamacchi, 85; Cavallucci et Molinier, 275, No. 433; Cruttwell, 350; Marquand, *A. J. A.*, IX (1894), 23.

- 81 MADONNA OF THE IMPRUNETA TYPE**, Berlin Museum.
 Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, No. 87 (Old No., 116 B).
 H., 0.55 m.; W., 0.47 m.

This is a late copy in carta pesta of the von Dirksen or the Louvre Madonnas of the Impruneta type (Fig. 156). It was purchased in Florence in 1888. The copyist has taken no pains to adapt the drapery at the base to the oval form. He has modified the veil and details of the drapery, and has removed the nimbus from the head of the Child. This is not so much a reversion to the Impruneta prototype as the removal of an awkward element in the composition. The wings of the cherubs are somewhat clumsily modelled. Dr. Bode rightly recognized this as a Luca type before the discovery of the Impruneta Madonnas.



FIG. 156. MADONNA OF THE IMPRUNETA TYPE, BERLIN MUSEUM.

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- 82** MADONNA OF THE IMPRUNETA TYPE, Gallicano. Principal Street of Gallicano, above a fountain. Diam., 0.40 m. Photo., private.

This medallion (Fig. 157) is based upon Luca della Robbia's Madonnas at Impruneta. The drapery has been slightly modified to adapt it better to the medallion form. The facial type resembles fairly closely that of the veil-less Madonna at Impruneta, but here she wears a large nimbus. There are no cherubs or Dove, as in the other reproductions. The figures are white, against a blue background framed with an egg and dart moulding. This medallion doubtless issued from the atelier of Andrea della Robbia, as did also the large altarpiece in the church of S. Jacopo at Gallicano.



FIG. 157. MADONNA OF THE IMPRUNETA TYPE, GALLICANO.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Burlamacchi, 67, 114; Cavallucci et Molinier, 235, No. 186; Cruttwell, 344; Marquand, *A. J. A.*, IX (1894), 23.

- 83** MADONNA OF THE IMPRUNETA TYPE, Mrs. Holman Hunt's Collection. London.

A Madonna and Child, without background, said to be more or less of the Impruneta type, is in the collection of Mrs. Holman Hunt, London.

- 84** MADONNA OF THE IMPRUNETA TYPE, Mrs. Holman Hunt's Collection. London.

Another Madonna and Child, in medallion form, glazed white on blue, said to resemble the Impruneta Madonnas, is in the collection of Mrs. Holman Hunt, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cruttwell, 347.

- 85** THE CORSINI MADONNA, Palazzo Corsini. Florence, Palazzo Corsini. Photo., Burton & Co.

This medallion (Fig. 158), the property of Prince Don Tommaso Corsini, may be classed in type with the Impruneta and with the Friedrich-

stein Madonnas. It is, however, highly polychromatic. The Virgin's robe is violet, her mantle blue lined with turquoise-blue; her veil a still lighter blue. The Child's robe is green, with the sleeve cuff a light blue. The hair of both Madonna and Child are a light yellowish brown. Their eyes have



FIG. 158. THE CORSINI MADONNA, CORSINI COLLECTION.

blue irises and dark pupils. Both wear haloes. Possibly this is an original by Luca himself, but probably a replica by another hand. We find repetitions of this composition in stone, terra-cotta, stucco, and carta pesta.

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Bode, *Fl. Bildh.*, 150; Reymond, *Riv. d'Arte*, II (1904), 93-100; Schubring, 81, Abb. 85.

86 MADONNA OF THE CORSINI
TYPE, Bardini's. Florence, Bardini's.
Diam., 0.33 m. Photo., Bardini.

This is a replica (Fig. 159) of the Corsini Madonna, with slight variations and with a plain white glaze against a blue background.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 85; also Bode, *J. k. p. K.*, XXI (1900), 18; *Denkm.*, 72 81, Taf. 221; *Fl. Bildh.*, 135-136; *Fl. Sc.*, 95.



FIG. 159. MADONNA OF THE CORSINI
TYPE. BARDINI'S

87 MADONNA OF THE CORSINI TYPE, Ospedale di S. Maria Nuova. On the lintel of a door in the Ospedale di S. Maria Nuova.

The Madonna carved in stone on the lintel of a doorway in the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova (Fig. 160) is in composition precisely



FIG. 160. TYPE OF THE CORSINI MADONNA. OSPEDALE DI S. MARIA NUOVA.

like the Corsini Madonna. The doorway is Brunelleschian in type, almost a copy of the entrance to the Pazzi Chapel. It was probably carved by some follower of Brunelleschi, like Michelozzo, Lapo di Portigiani, or Maso di Bartolommeo, who was associated also with Luca della Robbia. S. Maria naturally took the place of a coat of arms above the door of a hospital dedicated in her name.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bode, *J. k. p. K.*, XXI (1900), 18; *Denkm.*, 72-73; *Fl. Bildh.*, 136; *Fl. Sc.*, 95.

88 MADONNA OF THE CORSINI TYPE, Duveen Bros. New York, Duveen Bros. Diam., 0.28 m. Photo., private.

This reproduction in stucco (Fig. 161) was formerly in the Oscar Hainauer Collection. The Madonna's tunic is painted red, her mantle blue, edged with gold, her girdle white. Her hair was once gilded. The Child wears a red sleeved tunic, over which is a white smock. His halo is gold and red.



FIG. 161. MADONNA OF THE CORSINI TYPE, DUVEEN BROS.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bode, *Coll. of Oscar Hainauer*, p. 11.

- 89** MADONNA OF THE CORSINI TYPE, v. Beckerath Collection.
Berlin, Collection of Herr Adolph von Beckerath.

A tondo, glazed white on blue, reproducing the Corsini Madonna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 85.

- 90** MADONNA OF THE CORSINI TYPE, v. Beckerath. Berlin,
Collection of Herr Adolph von Beckerath.

An unglazed terra-cotta reproduction of the Corsini Madonna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 85.

- 91** MADONNA OF THE CORSINI TYPE, Berlin Museum, No. 93
(I 1722). Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum. H., 0.39 m.:
W., 0.29 m. Photo., Museum.

This reproduction in carta pesta of the Corsini Madonna may have been made for some Knight of the Order of the Crescent, since a crescent moon is set below the Madonna, as it was below the arms of Jacopo dei Pazzi and of René d'Anjou. The copyist in this case, while retaining Luca's composition has failed to reproduce his facial types.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Schottmüller, 40, Abb. 93; See also under No. 83.

- 92** MADONNA OF THE CORSINI TYPE, Berlin Museum. Diam.,
0.36 m.

Some years ago the Berlin Museum possessed an unglazed terra-cotta reproduction of the Corsini Madonna set in a frame resembling a diamond ring—as if made for some member of the Medici family. In recent catalogues this relief is omitted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bode, *A. S. A.*, II (1889), 7, 8, Fig. 3; See also under No. 85.

- 93** MADONNA OF THE CORSINI TYPE, Genoa. S. Maria in Castello, Genoa.

In one of the compartments of the vault of the cloister of S. Maria in Castello there is a stucco copy of the Corsini Madonna, surmounted by decorative paintings by Justus de Allemagna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bode, *Denkm.*, 81, note 1; *Fl. Bildh.*, 135; *Fl. Sc.*, 95; Schubring, 79.

- 94** MADONNA OF THE FRIEDRICHSTEIN TYPE, Brussels. Formerly in the Somzée Collection.

A much damaged reproduction of the Friedrichstein Madonna, purchased at S. Fiora, Italy, and in 1904 sold in the Somzée sale at Brussels, is said now to have left Belgium for some other country.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 44.

- 95** MADONNA AND STANDING CHILD, Berlin Museum. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, No. 77 (Old No., 116 E). H., 0.37.: W., 0.28 m. Photo., Museum.

This unglazed, once painted relief (Fig. 162) reflects Luca's mature style and doubtless represents one of his compositions. It was purchased in Florence in 1890.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Schottmüller, 35, Abb. 77.



FIG. 162. MADONNA, BERLIN MUSEUM.

- 96** MADONNA HOLDING NUDE CHILD, Bardini's. Florence, formerly at Bardini's. Photo., private.

This stucco reproduction (Fig. 163) may well have been a copy of a



FIG. 163. MADONNA, BARDINI'S.

Madonna by Luca della Robbia. Our Lady has the sad expression seen in Luca's later Madonnas, and the Child has his finger in his mouth, as in the Madonna and Child with an Apple in the Berlin Museum.



FIG. 164. DELLA STUFA ARMS.

- 97** STEMMA OF THE DELLA STUFA FAMILY, Palazzo Stufa.
Florence, Palazzo Stufa. Diam., 1.80 m. Photo., private.

This large medallion (Fig. 164) is set upon the staircase wall of the Palazzo Stufa, Florence. It displays the Della Stufa arms: *argent*, two lions combatant *or*, in chief a cross couped *gules*. Above the shield is a white Dove holding an inscribed scroll. The fluted disk which serves as a background is glazed blue. The broad frame, with its eight sections of polychromatic fruit bound by ribbons recalls the frame of the stemma of Jacopo dei Pazzi, but is less crisp and plastic. The frame shows also the elongated bead and reel seen in the frame of the Cluny Justice.

During the latter half of the fifteenth century the office of Prior was held fourteen times, and that of Gonfaloniere six times, by members of the Della Stufa family.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Burlamacchi, 59, 109; Ms. Prioristà, Princeton Museum Copy.



FIG. 165. STEMMMA OF RUBERTO LEONI.

- 98** STEMMA OF RUBERTO LEONI. S. Giovanni Valdarno, Palazzo Pretorio. Photo., Alinari, No. 9845.

On the exterior of the Palazzo Pretorio at S. Giovanni Valdarno there are twenty-one coats of arms in Robbia ware with tablets below giving the name of the Vicarius or Commissarius and the date when he held office. The earliest of these is that of Ruberto Leoni (Fig. 165) who held the office in 1463; the latest is that of Antonio di Guglielmo dei Pazzi dated 1521. In the garlands which surround several of these coats of arms the influence of Andrea or of Giovanni della Robbia can be plainly seen. The Leoni arms, consisting of a bend, two lions rampant, while necessarily heraldic in type are modelled with a keen sense of life—possibly in the atelier of Luca della Robbia.

- 99** STEMMA OF GIOVANNI DI FRANCESCO TORNABUONI. 1478-1479. S. Giovanni Valdarno, Palazzo Pretorio. Photo., Alinari, No. 9846.

The arms of the Tornabuoni family are described as *Per saltire or and vert*, a lion rampant counterchanged, over all an inescutcheon of the People of Florence. In the centre of the lion we may detect the point where the alternating green and gold meet and cross each other. The inescutcheon with the red cross in a silver field, the Croce di Popolo, is here raised above the centre of the shield (Fig. 166). The lion with snubbed nose may well be by the same hand that executed the stemma of Ruberto Leoni in 1463. Here the form of the shield is slenderer, less oval than was customary with Luca della Robbia, and the dates 1478, 1479 indicate a period when Luca, though still alive, had little or no share in the products of his workshop. Giovanni di Francesco Tornabuoni, uncle of Lorenzo de' Medici, was Vicarius and Commissarius at S. Giovanni Valdarno in 1478 and 1479. In 1482 he became Gonfaloniere of the Republic of Florence. He commissioned Ghirlandaio to make the well known frescoes in the choir of S. Maria Novella, opened to the public in 1490.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Litta, vol. IX; Wills, 178.



FIG. 166. STEMMA OF GIOVANNI DI FRANCESCO TORNABUONI.

100 STEMMA OF THE MARTELLI FAMILY. Amsterdam, Ryks Museum. H., 1.245 m.; W., 0.79 m. Photo., Museum.

The Martelli arms are described as *Gules*, a griffin segreant *or*. Here the background was superficially painted purple-violet for *gules*. The griffin is glazed yellow with blue beak (Fig. 167). This a tamer creature than Donatello had designed for the coat of arms of the same family and a little less lifelike than we might expect from the hand of



FIG. 167. STEMMMA OF THE MARTELLI FAMILY.

Luca della Robbia. But it may have issued from his workshop in the late seventies, as a comparison with the Tornabuoni arms would seem to indicate. Many of the Martelli family held office during the fifteenth century. Of these Braccio di Domenico, who was a friend of Lorenzo de' Medici and married Costanza de' Pazzi, may well have turned to Luca della Robbia to execute his coat of arms. He was a Prior of Florence in 1479, and Gonfaloniere in 1489.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Litta, vol. V; Prioristà, Princeton Museum copy, 452; Wills, 152.

101 S. GIROLAMO READING. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 73, '66. H., 0.42 m.; W., 0.35 m. Photo., private.

This unglazed terra-cotta relief (Fig. 168) was purchased in 1866 from the Gigli-Campana Collection. It was for a time covered with a brown wash to imitate bronze, but has been subsequently cleaned. It represents a monk seated at a desk, transcribing from a book set before



FIG. 168. S. GIROLAMO READING. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

him on a lectern. The motive is similar to that of the Fathers of the Church on the bronze sacristy doors. The type seems to indicate S. Girolamo, although the cardinal's hat and other emblems are lacking. Can this be an original by Luca della Robbia? As the modelling and flow of lines of the drapery are finer than those of the corresponding relief on the bronze doors, it can hardly be a preliminary sketch. As an after study, whether ancient or modern, it is certainly very thoroughly in the manner of Luca della Robbia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Burlamacchi, 78, 119; Cavallucci et Molinier, 34, 264, No. 371; Marquand, *D. R. A.*, 25, Fig. 10; Robinson, 54, No. 7610.

- 102** S. GIROLAMO READING, John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia. H., 0.42 m.; W., 0.35 m.

This is an exact replica of the relief representing S. Girolamo in the Victoria and Albert Museum, without such variations as we should expect in a replica of Luca's day. Mr. Johnson attributes his plaque to Bastianini, a nineteenth century sculptor who deceived the world by his creations in fifteenth century style. But Dr. Bode, who was personally acquainted with Bastianini and his work, assures me that this attribution is inadmissible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Marquand, *D. R. A.*, 25.

- 103** LUNETTE OF GOD THE FATHER BETWEEN TWO ANGELS. Florence, Museo dell' Opera del Duomo. H., 0.60 m.; W., 1.20 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 2576; Brogi, No. 9690.

This lunette in the Opera del Duomo (Fig. 169) is cited as an example of the paintings on flat surfaces which Vasari states were under-



FIG. 169. LUNETTE OF GOD THE FATHER AND ANGELS. OPERA DEL DUOMO.

taken by Luca della Robbia a short time prior to his death. Some critics attributed it to Alessio Baldovinetti. Such a work as this may well have been made in the atelier of Luca della Robbia during the last decade of his life. The figure of God the Father recalls Luca's representation on

the tympanum of the tabernacle at Peretola, but is more advanced in style, especially in the modelling of the eyes. The open book is more realistically designed, and the $A\Omega$ less beautiful than at Peretola. In fact these symbols are almost identical in form with those in the central medallion at S. Giobbe. The Father's face is painted a dark flesh colour like those of the polychrome Evangelists of the Pazzi Chapel. His eyes have yellow irises and violet lashes. He wears a robe of violet, and a mantle of blue lined green. The two angels have hard, metallic hair and simpering expressions. They wear above their robes short sleeveless jackets such as are found in late fifteenth and sixteenth century paintings and in Andrea's but not in Luca's works. Both have yellow hair and the face of one is darker than that of the other—a contrast to be found also in the faces of the polychrome Evangelists of the Pazzi Chapel. Colour contrast is seen also in their garments. One angel has a violet tunic beneath a blue jacket, the other has a green tunic and a violet jacket. The cuffs, and the reverses, are also varied in colour.

We may note that the background, like that of the Pazzi Chapel Evangelists, is a very light blue, and that the clouds high above the horizon are tinged with yellow, another indication of a late date for the lunette. The garland of the frame does not begin at the base, as in the S. Pierino and Via dell' Agnolo lunettes, but hangs from the top, as in the later Robbia works. It consists of painted bunches of fruit, arranged like a succession of triangles in accordance with the conventional compositions of Andrea della Robbia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bode, *Kf.*, 23; *Ital. Bildh. Ren.*, 84; *J. k. p. K.*, XXI (1900), 11; *Fl. Bildh.*, 125; *Fl. Sc.*, 86; Burlamacchi, 46-47, 108; Cat. Mus. d. Duomo, 21; Cavallucci et Molinier, 209, No. 26; Cruttwell, 232-233, 340; de Foville, 83-84; Raymond, *D. R.*, 93-94; *Sc. Fl.*, II, 216; Vasari, II, 176, note 3.

104 POLYCHROME MEDALLIONS OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS. Florence, S. Croce, Capitolo e Cappella di S. Andrea (Pazzi Chapel). Diam., 1.70 m. Photos., Alinari, Nos. 2186-2189; Brogi, Nos. 5855-5858.

In the four pendentives of the cupola are four large, highly polychromatic medallions set in the frames which Brunelleschi the architect

had arranged for them. The effect produced, according to Schubring, is that of four circular stained-glass windows. The figures are not cast in large masses, but before the baking were cut up into a comparatively large number of sections. They are coloured in vivid, almost garish hues, and the backgrounds of very light blue, or of white, are most unusual. These Evangelists have been described as if arranged in pairs, facing each other. This, however, is hardly the case. If we take our stand at the entrance and look toward the altar, we see to the left S. Giovanni, to the right S. Marco, back to back. If we reverse our position and look toward the entrance S. Matteo and S. Luca are also back to back. It is only when we look in the less significant north and south directions that the figures may be said to face each other. In the arrangement of the Evangelists on the bronze sacristy doors, and in the church of S. Giobbe, Venice, we see no fixed order of succession and no attempt to pose the figures in artistic groups. Each Evangelist, here as elsewhere, forms an independent, unrelated whole.

In style and execution these Evangelists are so different from the Apostles on the side walls of the same chapel as to suggest that they are by a different hand. K. E. von Liphart, some years ago, suggested that they may have been designed by Brunelleschi and glazed by Luca della Robbia. This hypothesis has found considerable favour, but breaks down when a careful comparison is made with the few sculptural remains left by Brunelleschi. Brunelleschi died in 1446, and these Evangelists in design and execution appear to have been made by another hand and at a later date. Moreover, the combination of colours and the colour scale are not those of Luca della Robbia. So we must abandon the Liphart hypothesis. Marcel Raymond offers a different solution, the medallions were made by Luca della Robbia toward the end of his life, between 1470 and 1480. This implies that at this period Luca completely changed his style. Such changes as the following would have to be explained. These medallions are broken up into sections on a different plan from Luca's; moreover, they are in flat planes, not concave as Luca would have designed them in decorating a vault; the facial types are Semitic, not Italian as are Luca's; the bodily structure is differently conceived and expressed; the drapery is conventionalized in a different manner; the ox and the lion exhibit more power than Luca would have given them; the

eagle is treated in a more heraldic and conventional, less naturalistic manner than Luca's; and the angel, flat and uninteresting, is Luca's neither in type nor in execution. The colouring, especially the white, or very light blue, backgrounds and the great masses of vivid green, is in striking contrast to the colour scheme which Luca had employed all his life, even in the medallions of 1463 and 1467. Hence we may conclude that these Evangelists are not by the hand of Luca, but were designed by some other sculptor of different tastes and trained in another school. It seems likely, however, that Luca, with his many commissions for the Pazzi family and his employment in the Pazzi Chapel, would have been asked to decorate these as well as the similar spaces on the side walls. I have already suggested that Luca may have originally intended to fill these spaces with figures of the four cardinal virtues; but either they were never put in place, or the setting of them was accompanied by some disaster. Certain it is that the medallions of the Evangelists are now held in place by iron clamps such as Luca della Robbia never found it necessary to employ. A detailed examination of these medallions will show them to be of a later date than the medallions of the side walls. They were, however, probably in place before the year 1469.



FIG. 170. S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA.

- (1). S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA. Photos., Alinari, No. 2187; Brogi, No. 5857.

The Evangelist (Fig. 170) is seated in the heavens as if on the ground, a pose which does not occur in sculpture before the middle of the quattrocento. He copies intently in a book from the Gospel displayed to him by the symbolic eagle as a divine messenger. His nimbus, bent out of its original plane to cover his head, was glazed yellow, and has recently received additional decoration. His hair is gray, his face, as in late Robbia works, a light flesh colour, his robe green, lined violet, his mantle blue, lined yellow. From his body golden rays spread in all directions, grouped as in those of the wall medallions. His face is that of an older man than the S. Giovanni represented in the medallion on the chapel wall, and his drapery is simpler, more like that on the bronze sacristy gates. The black eagle, standing in empty space, has not even a cloud on which to rest his feet. His plumage is more metallic and conventional than that in the wall medallion, more so than that of the less stately eagle of the bronze doors. The very light background, not a Robbia blue, has very light clouds scattered through it.



FIG. 171. S. MARCO.

(2). S. MARCO. Photos., Alinari, No. 2186; Brogi, No. 5855.

S. Marco (Fig. 171) seated on very light blue clouds against a white background resplendent with golden rays of light, is transcribing his Gospel, although it may be noticed that the open book held by the symbolic lion displays blank pages. His robe is white lined with green, his mantle green lined with violet. S. Marco has dark hair, permanently glazed, dark eyebrows, pupils, and lashes, and yellow irises. His complexion is more heavily tinted than that of S. Giovanni. The lion, recalling somewhat the Marzocco, a huge creature emerging from the clouds, is coloured a tawny brown. This is a quite different S. Marco from that of the bronze sacristy doors.



FIG. 172. S. MATTEO.

(3). S. MATTEO. Photos., Alinari, No. 2189; Brogi, No. 5856.

S. Matteo (Fig. 172) is seated upon the clouds with legs crossed, a motive which displays the top of one foot, the sole of another. He gazes intently upon what he has written, although the photograph enables us to see that the page is blank. His halo has been redecorated; his hair is not unlike that of the same Evangelist on the bronze sacristy doors; his robe is blue lined with violet; his mantle displays a large mass of

white and is lined with green. The angel compares most unfavorably with the angel of S. Matteo on the side wall, or with that of the bronze sacristy doors, being scantily modelled and having very flat and uninteresting wings. She has light yellow hair, a green robe, white sleeves, a blue mantle lined with yellow, and carries an ink pot similar in form to that in the corresponding relief on the side wall. It may be noticed that the sky is not a uniform blue, that the clouds are not confined below the two figures, but, as in the later reliefs of the school, are scattered throughout the sky. This is a sure index of a late date.



FIG. 173. S. LUCA.

(4). S. LUCA. Photos., Alinari, No. 2188; Brogi, No. 5858.

As compared with the same Evangelist on the bronze sacristy doors this S. Luca (Fig. 173) is more realistic and of a coarser type. This is not what we should expect of Luca della Robbia, whose creations in general increased steadily in refinement and grace. The symbolic ox far surpasses in dignity and naturalism the donkey-headed ox of the bronze sacristy doors. S. Luca has grayish hair; gray eyebrows, brown pupils, yellow irises. Like that of S. Marco his face is a rich flesh colour. He is posed against a white background with a robe blue lined with yellow and a mantle violet lined with green. The sole of his left foot is exposed,

showing an awkward great toe. The text of the Gospel is illegible, but composed of a mixture of letters and signs as in the S. Matteo medallion on the side walls. The ox is a greenish brown, with white horns lightly crossed with blue. Schubring suggests that in this figure we may have preserved to us a portrait of Luca della Robbia himself, a very unlikely supposition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 25.

- 105** THE FORTNUM MEDALLION, Oxford. Ashmolean Museum, Fortnum Collection, No. 10. Stucco. Diam., 0.40 m. Photo., C. T. Thompson.

This stucco medallion (Fig. 174) was purchased in 1859 from Mr. James Jackson Jarves by Mr. Drury C. Fortnum by whom it was pre-



FIG. 174. THE FORTNUM MEDALLION.

sented to the Ashmolean Museum. Originally it was highly polychromatic, later it was coated with bronze paint and has come to be regarded as a cast from an original bronze. The haloes are gilded. On the back is an exceedingly unusual type of inscription incised upon a roughly drawn crown, or basket, about which is scratched a circular frame. On the frame are the words *formatto adj 17 dj ginnaio 1428* (Fig. 175), on the crown

is written *form(atto) nel (gabin)etto dj Nicholo i(n) gesso*. The word given as *gabinetto* certainly ends in *tto*, the preceding letters are enigmatical. The inscription appears to date from 1428, possibly 1438 or 1458, and throws little or no light upon the authorship of the medallion. There were many sculptors named Niccolò in Florence in the fifteenth century, such as Niccolò d'Arezzo, and Niccolò di Piero de' Lamberti, engaged in the decoration of the Cathedral; Niccolò Baroncelli and Niccolò di Giovanni Cocari, pupils of Donatello; and Niccolò di Lorenzo and Niccolò di Baldovino, assistants of Ghiberti. But since Dr. Bode attributed this medallion to Luca della Robbia, it has become the centre of controversy. Schubring

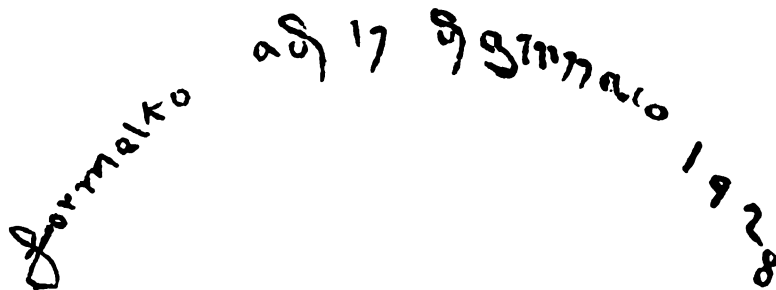


FIG. 175. FACSIMILE OF INSCRIPTION.

and Venturi accept his conclusions, while Marcel Reymond, Miss Cruttwell and de Foville reject them. Some years ago I accepted this as the earliest dated work of Luca della Robbia, but I hold to this view no longer. The type of the Madonna and her costume do indeed suggest Luca della Robbia, but not in his earliest period. The adoring angels, one in profile, the other nearly *en face*, are not what we should expect from him at any time. It may also be noted that they are set in a second plane behind the Madonna, whereas when Luca represented the Madonna and angels he set them in a single plane. Similarly the manner in which the Madonna is posed, seated cross-legged upon a platform of clouds, is not characteristic of Luca. The cherub heads peering through the clouds from various angles suggest Donatello or Pollaiuolo rather than Luca della Robbia. For such reasons it seems likely that some sculptor influenced by Luca, but not Luca himself, was the designer of this medallion. Several repetitions of this composition are known.

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FIG. 176. REPLICA OF THE FORTNUM MEDALLION.

- 106** REPLICA OF THE FORTNUM MEDALLION, von Bülow Collection. Berlin, Gräfin von Bülow Collection. Diam., 0.42 m. Photo., private.

This relief (Fig. 176) was presented to the Countess von Bülow by Senatore Baracco in 1880. The stucco medallion is set in wooden frame, on which are Umbrian or Sienese paintings of Christ in his sepulchre blessing, and four Franciscan saints. Unless retouched, this relief appears, at least in part, better preserved than the Fortnum Madonna at Oxford from which it differs slightly. Here light streams from the angels' heads, but they have no circular nimbus, and apparently no wings. The nimbus of Madonna and Child are highly decorated and their faces are more distinct than in the Fortnum Madonna. As S. Bernardino, who appears here with other Franciscan saints, was not canonized until 1450 this frame does not substantiate an earlier date for the relief.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 103; also Bode, *Riv. d'Arte*, III (1905), 1-3; *Fl. Bildh.*, 139.

- 107** MEDALLION OF THE FORTNUM TYPE, Berlin Museum. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, No. 89. H., 0.42 m.; W., 0.375 m.

This relief in pressed leather is a reproduction of the composition represented by the Fortnum and von Bülow medallions, but has been arranged as a rectangle, not a medallion. The angels as well as the Madonna and Child are provided with haloes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 103; also Schottmüller, 38, No. 89 (I, 2414), Abb. 89.

- 108** MEDALLION OF THE FORTNUM TYPE, Berlin Museum. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, No. 90. Diam., 0.185 m. (without frame).

This stucco medallion is a small and somewhat remote reproduction of the composition represented in the Fortnum medallion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 103; also Schottmüller, 39, No. 90 (I, 2303), Abb. 90.

109 MEDALLION OF THE FORTNUM TYPE, Florentine Dealer.

Fragments of a stucco medallion of the type of the Fortnum medallion are mentioned by Dr. Bode as once in the possession of a Florentine dealer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 103.

110 MEDALLION OF THE FORTNUM TYPE, Louvre. Paris Musée du Louvre, No. 424. Diam., 0.34 m. Photo., Alinari, No. 22373.

This unglazed, painted terra-cotta medallion is a reproduction with slight variations of the composition of the Fortnum medallion. The adoring angels here have no nimbuses and the Child has about his head a clumsy radiation. The Virgin's robe is red, with gilded neckband and girdle, her mantle is blue, edged with gold. One of the adoring angels is robed in red, the other in blue. Of the three cherubs the two lateral ones have blue wings, while those of the central cherub are red.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 103; also Cat. Spitzer Coll., No. 1287; Venturi, VI, 555, Fig. 372.



FIG. 177. THE ROVEZZANO MADONNA.

- 111** THE ROVEZZANO MADONNA. Rovezzano, S. Andrea, Sacristy. H., 0.455 m.; W., 0.38 m. Photo., Burton & Co.

In the Church of S. Andrea there is to be seen a Madonna seated on a cushion in a garden holding a nude Child who is plucking lilies (Fig. 177). It is said to have been taken out of the church and "for safety" placed in a small room reached through the sacristy. It may be classed with other seated figures which like the Pazzi Evangelists and the Fortnum Madonna reflect only approximately Luca's style. This particular composition was undoubtedly popular, as several replicas and variants exist in private collections. In modelling and in glaze this example is perhaps the worst, but being readily accessible it may be taken as the representative of its class.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cruttwell, 353.



FIG. 178. MADONNA OF THE ROVEZZANO TYPE, LIECHTENSTEIN COLLECTION.

- 112** MADONNA OF THE ROVEZZANO TYPE, Liechtenstein Collection. Vienna, Collection of Prince Liechtenstein. Photo., private. Photo., of cast, Alinari, No. 19300.

This relief (Fig. 178) is a charming work of art, far superior to its

namesake in the purity of its glaze and the crispness of its modelling. It differs also in details, notably in the turban-like headdress of the Madonna. It is also more highly finished with its painted as well as sculptured lilies, its decorated borders of the Madonna's robe and the flowers which cover the ground where she is seated. Her eyes have blue pupils (irises not distinguished), and blue brows and lashes, whereas the eyes of the Rovezzano Madonna are indicated by a black spot. Alinari's photograph (Fig. 179) is labelled *Chiesa di S. Andrea a Rovezzano, La Madonna del Giglio*, but evidently it was taken from a cast made from the Liechtenstein Madonna, or from a relief which resembled it very closely in detail.



FIG. 179. CAST OF THE LIECHTENSTEIN MADONNA.

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- 113** MADONNA OF THE ROVEZZANO TYPE, Eduard Simon Collection. Berlin, Collection of Eduard Simon. H., 0.44 m.; W., 0.37 m. Photo., private.

In this example (Fig 180) of the Rovezzano type a veil instead of a turban-like headdress covers the head of the Madonna. In this respect she approximates the Rovezzano rather than the Liechtenstein type. Traces of gilding remain on her halo. Her ear is half covered by her waving hair. Her eyes have gray-blue irises, dark blue brows, and copper-coloured pupils. The ground on which the Madonna is seated is covered with plants and flowers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 110.



FIG. 180. MADONNA OF THE ROVEZZANO TYPE. EDUARD SIMON COLLECTION.

- 114** MADONNA OF THE ROVEZZANO TYPE, Shaw Collection.
 Boston (Jamaica Plain), Mrs. Q. A. Shaw Collection. H., 0.48 m.;
 W., 0.38 m. Photo., private.

This relief (Fig. 181) exhibits a more elaborate composition than that of the Rovezzano Madonna. Three angels with folded hands in the midst of blue and black clouds adore the Mother and her Child. They have merely gilded haloes, while those of the Madonna and the Child are also moulded in relief. The Madonna's headdress differs from those of the Rovezzano, the Leichtenstein, and the Eduard Simon Madonnas. Her drapery in the fine quality of its folds is like that of the Liechtenstein

Madonna. The composition is disposed so as to leave the tasseled cushion plainly visible on the one side and the lily plant not cut by the edge of the relief on the other. The dainty yellow plants on the light green sward



FIG. 181. MADONNA OF THE ROVEZZANO TYPE. MRS. Q. A. SHAW COLLECTION.

are more naturalistically disposed than on the previous reliefs, making of the entire composition a veritable *Belle Jardinière*. This very picturesque composition, hardly the work of Luca himself but emanating from his atelier, may well have been the inspiration for all the other and less elaborate compositions of the Rovezzano type.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Marquand, *D. R. A.*, 22-23, Fig. 9.

- 115** MADONNA OF THE ROVEZZANO TYPE, Mrs. Holman Hunt Collection, London.

I am told that the Madonna of the Lilies in the collection of Mrs. Holman Hunt, London, is a repetition of the Rovezzano type, poorly glazed and with no flowers or plants on the sloping sward.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cruttwell, 135, note 1, 347.

- 116** MADONNA OF THE ROVEZZANO TYPE, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 477. Diam., 0.63 m. Photo., private.

This polychromatic medallion, acquired by the Museum in 1864, is a sixteenth century, or modern, variant of the Rovezzano Madonna. The Madonna's robe, which should have been red, is left unglazed, as are also her face, hair and hands. Her mantle is glazed blue with green lining; her veil is white; her halo yellow. The unglazed Child has a halo of yellow and brown. The Madonna is seated not on a cushion, but on a rock, bluish gray, resting on the green foreground. The background is a very light blue. The frame, a narrow continuous series of fruit and flowers, is polychromatic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See under No. 110, also Cavallucci et Molinier, 269, No. 398; Cruttwell, 135, note 1, 345.

- 117** THE VON BECKERATH SEATED MADONNA, Berlin Museum. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, No. 72. H., 0.455 m.; W., 0.40 m.

This relief was purchased in Florence by Herr Adolph von Beckerath and from his collection passed to that of the Berlin Museum. It is the finest existing example of a composition of which various replicas are known. The Madonna, facing to the left, is seated upon blue and black clouds, holding in her lap the nude Child who plays with her veil. The relief shows various points of contact with Luca's compositions, but can hardly be by the master himself. It is also related to a somewhat similar composition repeated several times in the works of Andrea della Robbia.

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- 118 SEATED MADONNA OF THE VON BECKERATH TYPE,**
Victoria and Albert Museum. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 4411, '58. H., 0.46 m.; W., 0.38 m. Photo., Museum

This relief acquired by the Museum in 1858 is an inferior replica of the von Beckerath Madonna in the Berlin Museum. The figures are white against a blue background. The Madonna's feet are covered by her drapery. The clouds and the eyes are crudely painted.

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- 119 SEATED MADONNA OF THE VON BECKERATH TYPE,**
Berlin Museum. Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, No. 73. H., 0.485 m.; W., 0.38 m. Photo., Museum.

This polychromatic Madonna of the von Beckerath type, reproduced in carta pesta presented to the Berlin Museum in 1889, has lost all resemblance to the works of Luca della Robbia, except in composition. The clouds have disappeared and instead the Madonna is seated upon a sward sprinkled with flowers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Schottmüller, 33, No. 73 (I, 1587), Abb. 73; also bibliography, under No. 115.

- 120 SEATED MADONNA OF THE VON BECKERATH TYPE,**
Thomas F. Ryan Collection. New York, Collection of Mr. Thomas F. Ryan. H., 0.47 m.; W., 0.38 m. Photo., private.

This is an exceedingly poor reproduction of the von Beckerath Madonna. The background, as well as the figures, is covered with a dull white glaze; there has been little or no modelling beyond the rough impression from the mould; and there is no means of telling whether the Madonna is seated upon clouds or on the ground.

121 STEMMMA OF THE CAPPONI FAMILY, Pescia. Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, No. 61. c. 1472.

I am informed that on the outside of house No. 61 in the Piazza Emanuele, Pescia, may be seen a glazed terra-cotta coat of arms of the Capponi family: Per bend, *sable* and *argent*, with a Tau cross, *argent*, in chief. These arms are set on a blue fluted shell. It is hazardous to attribute this stemma without even a photograph before us, but it seems not improbable that it was made at the same time as the altarpiece in the Palazzo Episcopale, on which the same coat of arms is displayed.



FIG. 182. THE SHAW NATIVITY.

- 122 THE SHAW NATIVITY.** Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, loaned by Mrs. Q. A. Shaw. H., 0.87 m.; W., 0.72 m. Photo., Baldwin Coolidge, No. 8822.

This relief does not, strictly speaking, represent the Nativity, but the Adoration of the Child by S. Maria, S. Giuseppe, the ox and ass, and the angels of heaven (Fig. 182). It is somewhat similar to the Nativity in the collection of Mr. Otto H. Kahn, New York, but as a composition it is better balanced, and the ox and ass are more thoroughly differentiated. The four angels recall those of the predella of the Tabernacle of the Holy Cross at Impruneta, and the clouds are treated in Luca's manner. But the poses of S. Maria and S. Giuseppe are unstable, the Christ Child reposing on coarse hay is devoid of charm, and the stiff wicker barrier cut off at the top looks strange when represented apart from the stable. We must accordingly assign this relief to some worker in Luca's atelier, not to the master himself. The same pupil's hand may be recognized in two reliefs in the Museo Nazionale, and in a third in the Palazzo Bianco, Genoa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cruttwell, 335; Marquand, *A. J. A.*, IX (1894), 25, note 1; *D. R. A.*, 15-16, Fig. 6.

- 123 THE MADONNA AND ANGELS ADORING THE CHILD.** Florence, Museo Nazionale, No. 21. H., 0.90 m.; W., 0.49 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 3718; Brogi, No. 12696

This Adoration (Fig. 183), from the Monastero of S. Caterina, is by the same imitator of Luca who made the Shaw Nativity, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and is probably somewhat later in date, for the type of the Virgin has departed further from that of the master, nimbuses are added to all the heads, and the Holy Dove appears in the composition. The clouds are indicated by heavy splashes of black and white, the hay on which the Child reclines is dark green covered with black strokes, and the Madonna's eyes have yellow irises, but brows, lashes, and pupils of blue.

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FIG. 183. MADONNA ADORING THE CHILD.

124 THE MADONNA AND ANGELS ADORING THE CHILD,
Newman School, Hackensack, N. J. H., 0.84 m.; W., 0.46 m.

In the Chapel of the Newman School at Hackensack, N. J., may be seen a Robbia School copy of the preceding relief, with the following modifications: the clouds are in low relief glazed white with a few strokes of light blue; the type of the Virgin is somewhat mollified, and her eyes are indicated roughly by single strokes for the eyebrows and upper lashes, while the irises and pupils are confused in a mass of light violet; the hay on which the Child rests is of a lighter green streaked with yellow. The blue sky is less pure than that of its prototype in the

Museo Nazionale. Otherwise the composition with the Holy Dove, the three angels singing the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Madonna adoring the Child remains the same.

125 THE MADONNA ADORING THE CHILD. Florence, Museo Nazionale, No. 48. H., 0.60 m.; W., 0.43 m. Photos., Alinari, No. 2769; Brogi, No. 9487.

This relief came from the Monastero dei Cappuccini, and originally may have been set in a private shrine or tabernacle (Fig. 184). It now occupies the centre of a tondo by Giovanni della Robbia, in which polychromatic angels hold above her head a jewelled crown, through which crude flames descend from the Sacred Dove.

The Madonna wears a headdress like that of the Liechtenstein Madonna, while her attitude and the folds of her drapery correspond to



FIG. 184. MADONNA ADORING THE CHILD.

those in the Shaw Nativity in the Boston Museum and to those in the Adoration from S. Caterina in the Museo Nazionale. The Child, similar in pose and modelling to the Child in the latter relief, reclines on similar dark green hay.

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Burlamacchi, 50, 110; Cavallucci et Molinier, 217, No. 73; Cruttwell, 339; Marquand, *A. J. A.*, IX (1894), 25, note 1; Supino 447, No. 48.

- 126** THE MADONNA ADORING THE CHILD. Genoa, Palazzo, Bianco, or Municipio, No. O. P. 1.475. H., 0.65 m.; W., 0.40 m. Photo., Alinari, No. 14953.

This relief (Fig. 185) was for a long time in the possession of the Brignole family, then in that of the Marchese Deferrari, and was pre-



FIG. 185. MADONNA ADORING THE CHILD.

sented to the Municipio by the English consul, Mr. Yeats Brown Montague. The lunette with God the Father between two cherubs may have always belonged with the Adoration relief, in which case the original frame or tabernacle has been destroyed. The background of blue was once decorated with crudely designed gilded stars. The Madonna's eyes show yellow irises, and violet upper lashes, pupils, and iris boundaries. The

Child rests upon green hay streaked with yellow and violet. The composition may be attributed to the author of the Shaw Nativity and of the Adorations just described, but in style and spirit this relief is not closely related to the work of Luca della Robbia.

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FIG. 186. FRAGMENT WITH ANGELS. VON BECKERATH COLLECTION.

127 FRAGMENT OF A RELIEF WITH TWO ADORING ANGELS. Berlin, Collection of Herr Adolph von Beckerath. Photo., private.

This relief (Fig. 186) may well have constituted part of a large altarpiece representing Christ in Glory or the Assumption of the Virgin.

At least the form of the fragment indicates not a lunette with horizontal base, but a large composition in which another pair of angels were set beneath this pair and separated from them by painted clouds. Such an altarpiece would hardly have been designed by Luca himself, but the types of the angels and the splashy clouds point to some pupil who had caught his spirit and worked in his manner.

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