

MISZELLEN

Eve Borsook : DECOR IN FLORENCE FOR THE ENTRY OF CHARLES VIII OF FRANCE*

In ancient Rome festival decoration was a favorite vehicle for political propaganda. Through the quattrocento, Florence had often decked itself out to celebrate visiting dignitaries or to honor the return of a victorious commander.¹ All these festivities hailed happy occasions. But with the entry of Charles VIII of France on November 17th 1494 Florence, cast into political chaos, put on a brave and splendid show for an event which was greeted with widespread apprehension.² In order to impress and flatter the menacing King, the authorities mustered some of the best artistic talents then available in Florence. A number of unpublished accounts and documents tell us how these decorations looked and who was engaged to make them.³

The King's peaceable entry was the final episode in a humiliating policy of appeasement which both Piero de' Medici and the Signoria were compelled to follow. The price for sparing Florence was the cession to the French of the coastal fortresses of Sarzana, Sarzanello, Ripafratta, and Pietrasanta until the ultimate goal of Charles' drive through Italy could be reached: the conquest of the kingdom of Naples.⁴ Although the capture by the French of three of the four fortresses was a *fait accompli* by the time Piero began his negotiations with the King, the Signoria held him personally responsible for their loss.⁵ For once Piero had completed a mission successfully, but the Signoria used the occasion as a convenient pretext for banishing him on November 9th the day after his return from Pisa.

Partly responsible for Piero's unpopularity was his stubbornly held alliance with Naples — the result perhaps of his marriage with Alfonsina Orsini, the daughter of the Neapolitan Grand Constable.⁶ Then there was Alfonsina herself, the stronger personality of the pair, who disdained Florentine republicanism and devoted herself then and thereafter to restoring Medici authority in Florence.⁷ In any case, Piero's

* This festival study is part of a series sponsored by a fund organized by my friend and fellow "festa" enthusiast, *Dr. Georg Kauffmann* of the Art Historical Institute of Bonn University to which I am indebted for the procurement of the necessary photographs.

¹ See, for instance, the description of the honours paid by the Signoria to Federigo da Montefeltro after his conquest of Volterra for the Florentines; *Vespasiano da Bisticci*, *Vite di Uomini Illustri*, ed. *P. D'Ancona* and *E. Aeschlimann*, Milan, 1951, p. 202; *Baldi, B.*, *Vita e Fatti di Federigo di Montefeltro Duca di Urbino*; *Cruttwell, Maud*, *Antonio Pollaiuolo*, London, 1907, pp. 150, 272-3.

² *Landucci, Luca*, *Diario Fiorentino dal 1450 al 1516*, ed. *del Badia, Iodoco* Florence, 1883, pp. 70-1; *Young, G. F.*, *The Medici*, vol. I, London, 1911, p. 335; *Villari, Pasquale*, *La Storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, vol. I, p. 230.

³ For the documents see the appendix; the contemporary descriptions are in the well known but still unpublished manuscripts by *P. Parenti* and *Bartolomeo Cerretani* cited in the notes.

⁴ In his drive down the Italian peninsula, aside from the reconquest of Naples from the Aragonese, Charles dreamt of receiving the crown of Charlemagne in Rome on Christmas and then to put the Turks to flight in Greece thus reclaiming the ancient diadem of Constantine in Hagia Sophia; Cf. *Delaborde, H. F.*, *L'Expedition de Charles VIII, en Italie*, Paris, 1888, p. 214; cf. *Pastor, Ludwig von*, *The History of the Popes*, ed. Antrobus, London, 1923, vol. V, p. 437.

⁵ On the matter of Piero's consignment of the fortresses, the Signoria had not been consulted and therefore it could absolve itself of any responsibility for their loss. Cf. *Rubinstein, Nicolai*, "Politics and Constitution in Florence", *Italian Renaissance Studies*, London, 1960, p. 148.

⁶ *Maguire, Yvonne*, *The Women of the Medici*, London, 1927, pp. 186-195. Piero's Franco-phobia was not the only reason for his unpopularity. What exactly made him so disliked seems to have been unclear even in his own time; see *Landucci's* comment, op. cit., p. 82: "... e qui si mostrò avere partorito un grande odio fra' cittadini e questo Piero de' Medici; donde si nasca lo sa el Signore".

⁷ *Maguire*, loc. cit. Despite her well known opposition to the Republic, she was allowed to remain in Florence although her husband was banished (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Panciatichi MS. 116, *Memorie della città di Firenze*, „Accordi e Capitoli della Repubblica Fiorentina Con il Re di Francia“, p. 207: „... che madonna Alfonsina possa abitare in casa de Medici essi — non di manco al Giudizio de Creditori“); Cf. *Nardi, Jacopo*, *Istorie della Città di Firenze*, ed. Arbib, Florence, 1842, vol. I, p. 55.

removal from power was expedient to both the causes of the French King and the Signoria.⁸ But having rid herself of the Medici, and with them oligarchical rule, there was no guarantee that the French would respect the republican aspirations of the commune or that they would spare Florence from sack.⁹ The city was deeply apprehensive at the prospect of the French within their walls as the King advanced with the largest standing army until then ever seen in Europe.¹⁰

As early as October 4th the King asked for permission to enter Florence with his troops.¹¹ The Signoria withheld a definite answer. But after threats of sack and worse the Signoria by the end of the month had already resigned itself to the inevitable. On November 5th, when Piero was still in Pisa, the Signoria elected new ambassadors to the King. The populace was in tumult. Savonarola urged them to remain peaceful during the bloodless revolution.¹² While Piero, followed shortly after by Savonarola and other Florentine emissaries¹³, bargained with the King, plans were well underway for the monarch's arrival. As French agents went about the city requisitioning quarters for the great army, the communal office of the "Camera dell'Arme" undertook to organize the festivities.¹⁴ Officials were chosen from each of the city wards to supervise the preparations.¹⁵ The route of the King's projected march through Florence was from the point of entry at Porta San Frediano to the Medici palace via the Ponte Vecchio, Piazza Signoria, and the Cathedral. Ornament was concentrated at key points.

On November 6th payments were made to two painters, Antonio di Jacopo and Andrea di Salvi¹⁶, for ornament at Porta San Frediano.¹⁷ The decoration here included two grandstands, one outside and one within the gate, which were hung with tapestries, painted cloths, and sheltered by baldachins.¹⁸ The gate itself was hung with garlands and painted with coats of arms.¹⁹ A silken baldachino was prepared for the King by Filippo di Giuliano. He also painted blue banners which bore the King's crest of three lilies surmounted by a crown.²⁰

⁸ Villari, op. cit., vol. I, p. 214 f.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 239, 243; Landucci, op. cit., pp. 70, 82-3.

¹⁰ Villari, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 217-227; Young, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 335-7.

¹¹ Landucci, op. cit., p. 70.

¹² Villari, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 230-1.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 72-3; Young, op. cit., vol. I, p. 335.

¹⁴ A volume in the Florentine Archivio di Stato, Camera del Comune, (Libro II Rosso, Libro degl'Onoranze, 1495, No. 1868) is entitled: "Questo libro e degli ufficiali dell'onoranza deputati per la Maesta del Christianissimo Re di Francia".

¹⁵ Ibid., folio 1 recto, lists the officials according to wards; for Santo Spirito: Tomaso di Jacopo Guidotti, Nicholo d'Alessandro Machiavelli, Pier Francesco di Giorgio Ridolfi; for Santa Croce: Giovanni di Jacopo Chorsi, Antonio di Giovanni Guigni, Zanobi di Bartolomeo del Zacharia; for Santa Maria Novella: Giuliano di Jacopo Massinghi, Salvestro di Domenico Federighi, Alessandro D'Andrea di Marietto; for San Giovanni: Gismondo di Francesco Charnesecchi; Proveditore: Nicholaio di Bernardo Cianpelli; Chancelliere: Ser Giuliano di Ser Domenico da Ripa; Charnarlingo: Alessandro di Nicholo Machiavelli.

¹⁶ See documents 1 and 8. Very little is known of Antonio di Jacopo; *D. E. Colnaghi*, *A Dictionary of Florentine Painters*, London, 1928, p. 124. Scarcely more is known of Andrea di Salvi Barili who was born in 1468 and was registered in the Guild of St. Luke in 1525. His father was a master stone cutter and was foreman of the works of the new church of Santo Spirito; *Vasari G.*, *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. *Milanesi*, Florence, 1906, vol. V, p. 7, note 2; *Thieme-Becker*, *Allgemeines Lexicon der Bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, 1907, Vol. I, p. 463.

¹⁷ See documents 1 through 8.

¹⁸ See documents 3, 7, and note 19.

¹⁹ See document 21; and *Sanudo, Marin*, "La Spedizione di Carlo VIII in Italia", *Archivio Veneto*, supplement to vol. III (1873), 133:

"Ivi gionse la Signoria di Fiorenza, et posesi a sedere in su uno balcone, con le sedie come sono in piazza, su la ringhiera molto ornata, con uno sopra-cielo de panno azzurro, con 6 arme dil Comun di Fiorenza, et con certi scudi di qua et di là per la porta, et per l'andito di la porta medesimamente, con le armi dil Re. Et sedendo la Signoria in sul balchetto, se era ordinata una bella processione con ornatissime pianete, come si usa per san Joanni, etc."

²⁰ See documents 2, 4, 5. Filippo di Giuliano was a painter of whom little is known. In 1480 he shared a workshop with Jacopo del Sellaio and in 1491, along with Domenico Ghirlandaio, Baldovinetti, and Neri di Bicci he was called upon to estimate the value of a picture painted for the Pieve at Empoli; see *G. Milanesi*, *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Toscana*, Rome, 1893, p. 161; *H. Mackowsky*, "Jacopo del Sellaio", *Jahrbuch der königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XX (1899), 193.

Following Piero's banishment on the 9th, the Medici coat of arms was torn down from family palaces and public buildings and replaced by the arms of the King. Even Castagno's murals on the facade of the Dogana were destroyed because they commemorated pro-Medici sentiments.²¹

On the 11th, the Signoria declared that the citizenry dressed in its best should be ready to assemble at the Porta San Frediano to cheer the King's arrival.²² Again, four days later, the Signoria urged the Florentines "di fare un grande onore al Re".²³ At last, in the afternoon²⁴ of the 17th the King entered Florence. Small, ugly, only twenty-four years old, he rode in on a white horse, an unsheathed sword resting upon his thigh in the manner of a conqueror.²⁵ With him and his magnificently uniformed troops came the King's *eminence grise*, the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli — the future Julius II.²⁶ In spite of the rainy weather, the entry was remembered as "a beautiful and admirable spectacle" as the King rode by with the silken baldachino held over him by the officials of the commune who led him through the city.²⁷

Proceeding along the south bank of the Arno, the procession reached the Piazza Frescobaldi where there was a "float (*un carro con uno edificio*) with many tapestries showing the Annunciation".²⁸ Apparently more than one wagon made up this display, for Cerretani refers to "*Trionfi sui Carri*" with many music-makers who sang the praises of the King.²⁹ The cavalcade passed on down the Borgo San Jacopo and over

²¹ *Villari*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 238; *Parenti*, *Istorie*, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS. II, II, 129, 69 recto.

²² *Landucci*, op. cit., p. 79.

²³ *Loc. cit.*

²⁴ *Parenti*, loc. cit.: "A di XVII, a hore circa xxiii, La maesta del Re di Francia, entro nella nostra citta...". Calculating from sundown around 5 PM on November 16th, this would put the time of the King's arrival around four in the afternoon.

²⁵ *Villari*, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 244-5.

²⁶ A pictorial commemoration of Julius II's association with Charles VIII is perhaps preserved in the "Bibbia dos Jeronymos" which the then cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli is said to have sent as a gift to the King of Portugal (Lisbon, Archivio Nacional da Torre do Tombo; illustrated in *P. D'Ancona*, *La Miniatura Fiorentina*, vol. I, p. 798, Item 1579, Plate LXXXIX; vol. II, pp. 798-99). The Bible was ordered on April 23rd 1494 and Attavante degli Attavanti was commissioned for the illuminations; the order being made by Chimenti di Cipriano di Ser Nigi. This miniature is the frontispiece of the sixth volume and is probably the work of two brothers — Gherardo and Monte del Fora. The frontispiece displays a fantastic architecture set against a prospect of a city wall; in the foreground are St. Paul and a portrait of a seated cleric and of King Charles VIII who points to the title. The cleric on the left is a cardinal and may be an allusion to the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli. Cf.: *P. D'Ancona*, "Nuove Ricerche, etc.", *La Bibliofilia*, XV (1913), 205-12; who suggests that the Bible may have been commissioned by the Portuguese King using Chimenti merely as an agent. Charles VIII appears in another Florentine manuscript by the same illuminators which was kindly brought to my attention by *Dr. Sandra Vagaggini-Galigani*. This manuscript is in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. 15. 17, carta 3; cf. *D'Ancona*, *La Miniatura Fiorentina*, op. cit., plate LXXXI and *A. De Hevesy*, *La Bibliothéque du Roi Matthias Corvin*, Paris, XX 1923, p. 30. Charles appears here merely because of a treaty made in 1487 between himself and Mattheus Corvinus, the King of Hungary, who commissioned the manuscript from the same Florentine shop.

²⁷ The "Priorista" of Agnolo and Francesco Gaddi cited by *Giuseppe Aiazzi* in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vol. IV, Part II (1853), 46-47:

"...fu bello et ammirando spettacolo... Et così entrato sotto il baldacchino di seta con l'arme sua, per ciò ordinato e portato da collegi, la Sua Maestà per le strade disegnate e parate fu condotto a Casa i Medici preparata per la Sua habitatione".

Cf. also *Samudo*, op. cit., pp. 134-35; and *Parenti*, loc. cit.:

"La Sua persona appresso venne sotto lo stendardo da nostri Collegi bianca intesta con certe penne nere in esso vergate d'oro... Era rosso di pelo, con la barba alquanto Longhetta piccolo di statura ma lieta faccia mostrava il naso havea aquilino, a ochi buona misura...".

²⁸ *Cerretani*, *Bartolomeo*, *Sommario... delle cose di Firenze, dall'anno 1494 al 1519*, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS. Panciatichi 96, unnumbered pages: "E venuti per Borgo S. Fred[ian]o per il Fondaccio al Ponte a S. Trinita, etc.". See also *Samudo*, loc. cit.: "... uno carro con uno edificio con molti razi [arazzi] quando fo annunciata Nostra Donna..."; Cf. *Parenti*, loc. cit.: "Alla piazza de Frescobaldi la nuvola della nuntiata parata li era...".

²⁹ *Cerretani*, loc. cit.: "...un Trionfo sui Carri molto magnifico con ottimi musici i quali Laudi di esso Rè con inaudita armonia dolcemente cantavano...".



1 "Bibbia dos Jeronymos", frontispiece of Vol. VI, probably by Gherardo and Monte del Fora; *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon.



2 Detail of Figure 1. Portrait of Charles VIII with a view behind him of Florence and an idealized equestrian representation of the King entering a Piazza.

the Ponte Vecchio upon which was set another float; neither eye-witnesses nor documents identify the theme.³⁰ The Via Por Santa Maria, the street of the silk merchants, was hung with cloth.³¹

The most elaborate decorations awaited the King in Piazza Signoria. Here festive giants, allegorical per-

³⁰ *Parenti*, loc. cit.: "...al Pontevecchio certo altro edifitio..."; *Cerretani*, loc. cit.: "seguirono il Loro cammino per Borgo S. Jacopo insino al Ponte Vecchio in sul qual Ponte era non piccolo ornamento et apparato...".

³¹ *Parenti*, loc. cit.



3 Detail of Figure 1. Frieze with “Tyranny” on the left and “Liberty Ruled by Justice” on the front.

sonages, fireworks, music, orators, and a “Triumph of Peace” proclaimed Charles the “liberator and restorer of freedom”.³² Over the entrance to the Palazzo Vecchio shone the royal arms “large and resplendent with many ornaments”³³ although the entrance itself remained barred.³⁴

³² *Cerretani*, loc. cit.:

“...in Piazza, dove era un altro Trionfo con canti eccellentissimi, e razzi e Scoppietti in gran copia alquanto spiritelli et il Gigante ed la Gigantessa con assai romorj Popolari per la Piazza...”.

Cf. *Parenti*, loc. cit.:

“In Piazza dei Signori spiritelli et Giganti passeggiavano, eravi — il trionfo della Pace con palme et olivo e giglio d’oro ornato tutte...”.

Cf. *Sanudo*, loc. cit.:

“...et zonzendo in piazza, li era un carro triumphale, con un grandissimo zio [giglio], et di sopra una corona di palme inarziante, con rami de olive; et eravi su giovani con diversi instrumenti, che sonavano et cantavano, et salutarono el Re dicendo: ben vegna el liberator et restaurator de la libertà; et molte altre cose in laude dil Re...”.

The phrase referring to Charles VIII as the “liberator et restaurator de la libertà” which was displayed both in the Piazza Signoria and in front of the Palazzo Medici (see note 65) was also used in reference to Caesar, Augustus, and Charlemagne who were regarded in a persistent Florentine legend as the founders of Florence. In this legend Charlemagne figures as the second founder of the city after its destruction by barbarian hordes. See *Villari*, *P.*, *I Primi Due Secoli della Storia di Firenze*, Florence 1893, vol. I, pp. 52-60, and *Hans Baron*, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, Princeton, 1952, vol. II, p. 478, note 13 — where the persistence of the legend on into the 16th century is described. Florence was authorized to adopt the French coat of arms with a band on which the motto *LIBERTAS* was inscribed in gold letters; cf. *Delaborde*, op. cit., pp. 476-77; and *Gino Capponi*, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Ser. I, vol. I (1842), 348-75.

³³ *Landucci*, op. cit., p. 79: “E feciono sopra la porta del Palagio de’ Signori la detta Arme del Re, grande e magna con tanti ornamenti”.

³⁴ *Masi*, *Bartolomeo*, *Ricordanze*, Florence, 1906, p. 25.



4a



4b

Medal (attributed to Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli) struck in honour of Charles VIII's Florentine visit; observe: portrait of the King; reverse: "Triumph of Peace". Ann and George Blumenthal Fund, 1950. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The frontispiece of a manuscript³⁵. (Figure 1) which may have been presented by the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli to the King of Portugal illustrates some of the ideas and some of the personages involved in the reception on the Piazza Signoria. To the left of a festive ornamental structure, Charles VIII stands behind a seated cardinal. Behind Charles is a view of the Cathedral cupola with an idealized portrait of the young King entering a city square (Figure 2). In the frieze of the arched construction bearing the title are reliefs (Figure 3) which on the left represent a bound figure watched by two armed guards suggestive of "Tyranny"; the central relief shows a similar seated figure, now unbound, holding sword and scales flanked by men and women in attitudes of repose — the entire group implicit of the state of "Liberty ruled by Justice". In the margins, are four roundels; on the left are Peace with a pair of olive branches and another figure which may be Faith; the lower pair are Temperance (who pours water from one jug to another) and Prudence (holding a snake and perhaps a mirror). In the upper margin are two antique heads rendered in the guise of gems; that in the left may be Augustus wearing his laurel crown to whom Charles was often compared at this time. The companion piece is difficult to identify; is it perhaps Alexander?

The "Triumph of Peace" in the Piazza Signoria was the work of Filippino Lippi and it is to this float that most of our documents refer. To do it he must have interrupted his work on the murals in the Strozzi chapel of Santa Maria Novella. At best, Filippino had hardly more than five weeks in which to produce this "Trionfo".³⁶ It was of a considerable size; for it was large enough to accommodate an orchestra of eighteen musicians and singers dressed in red and white taffeta (the King's colors) who sang out praise and welcome.³⁷ Descriptions refer to the "Trionfo" as a "carro", or large wagon, made of wood

³⁵ See note 26. Is it a coincidence that the *Annunciation*, the subject of the float in the Piazza Frescobaldi and the mystery play subsequently performed for the King at San Felice in Piazza, also appears in the margins of this same illumination?

³⁶ For Filippino's activity in the Strozzi chapel see the documents cited by Scharf, *Alfred*, Filippino Lippi, Vienna, 1935, p. 88.

³⁷ See documents 13, 15, 17, 30, 34-36. The trumpeters of the Comune also wore red and white uniforms; see *Sanudo*, loc. cit.: "vestiti a la devisa di Re, zoè bianco e vermiglio", etc.

and canvas, and at least partly covered with cloth of gold.³⁸ On it were nymphs, perhaps representing muses or allegorical figures, dressed in golden yellow.³⁹ There was also a large golden lily, an allusion to the King's crest, and a silvered crown of palms and olive boughs symbolic of peace.⁴⁰

Certainly Filippino was the ideal choice for this allegorical construction. He had but lately spent several years in Rome in the service of Cardinal Caraffa, and his recent work in the Strozzi chapel and the muraled fragment at Poggio a Caiano show his enthusiasm for fantastic ornament and architecture *all'antica*. On two other occasions during the nineties Filippino contributed plans for ornamental schemes in media other than painting: the project for the Duomo facade in January 1491 and his advice in June 1498 for the readjustment of the cupola lantern — again for the Cathedral.⁴¹ So far, I have been unable to connect any of Filippino's drawings with the "*trionfo*". One imagines that its style is echoed in the mural on the altar wall of the Strozzi chapel which is in its way a *trionfo* too, but of Faith.⁴² Here too are architectural conceits and allegorical figures sparkling with touches of gold and with palm boughs, crowns, and symbolic attributes.

The subject of the "Triumph of Peace" was in itself something of a novelty. The term *trionfo* originally referred to triumphal entry processions offered by the state in honor of its returning heroes — an ancient custom which had survived the Middle Ages.⁴³ During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, allegorical representations of Fame, Faith, Love, Death and other ideas as they were described by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio were called *trionfi* and these were set before the public in murals, manuscript illuminations, on wedding chests, and on floats displayed during carnival time or on the feast day of Florence's patron saint.⁴⁴ But I know of only two references to earlier Peace floats: the "*Templum pacis, con l'Edifizio della Natività*" which was made for St. John's day in 1454⁴⁵ and the personification of Peace borne on a wagon in a Siense procession on February 8th 1477.⁴⁶ As for Filippino's "*Trionfo della Pace*", none of the documents or contemporary accounts hint that it incorporated a religious theme; apparently it was a purely political allegory expressed, perhaps, *all'antica*.⁴⁷

With this possibility in mind, what antique examples might Filippino have known? The most famous example, Augustus' *Ara Pacis*, lay buried until 1568. Coins celebrating Peace were struck in honor of Augustus, Trajan, Titus, and others. On these, Peace, usually personified as a woman, burns the arms of war or carries a cornucopia, a palm or an olive branch.⁴⁸ A medal celebrating Peace was struck in honor of King René of Anjou in 1463 which displayed Peace holding a helmet and an olive branch.⁴⁹ It was King René's Neapolitan kingdom which Charles VIII was trying to reclaim by force in 1494-95. And when Charles reached Florence, another Peace medal was struck for him (Figs. 4a, b).⁵⁰ The ob-

³⁸ See note 32 and documents 14, 19, 20, 28.

³⁹ See document 23.

⁴⁰ See note 32.

⁴¹ *Vasari*, Vite, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 306.

⁴² It is interesting to note that the pseudo-antique architecture illustrated in the scenes shows many of the pagan buildings in a cracked or crumbling state while the classicizing architecture painted on the altar wall (before which the theological virtues and muses are set) is represented as completely intact.

⁴³ *Weisbach*, *Werner*, *Trionfi*, Berlin, 1919, pp. 2-13.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, passim.; *Dante*, *Paradiso*, VI, 112-17; *Petrarch*, *Trionfi*; *Boccaccio*, *Amorosa Visione*; *Fazio degli Uberti*, *Dittamondo*, Bk. II, chapter 3; *Guasti*, *Cesare*, *Le Feste di San Giovanni Batista in Firenze*, Florence, 1908.

⁴⁵ *Guasti*, op. cit., p. 22.

⁴⁶ *Allegretti*, *Allegretto*, "Diarij delle Cose Sanesi del Suo Tempo", *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XXIII, Milan, 1733, p. 783: "Si fece una Processione per la Terra, e'l di si bandi la lega fur un Carro, fuvi uno vestito d'una Pace, e sotto di lei una Corazza, & altre Armi, e quando fu in Pantaneto si ruppe una ruota del Carro, e ruppessi ben due volte, e per questo se ne preze gattivo augurio,."

⁴⁷ Although not an actual monument or a festival decoration honouring Peace, it is interesting that at just this time between 1492 and 1494, a triumphal arch *all'antica* with the inscription PACIS CVLTORI appears as a prop in Pinturicchio's mural of the "Dispute of St. Catherine" in the Appartamento Borgia of the Vatican Palace; see *R. van Marle*, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, Hague, 1933, vol. XIV, Fig. 149.

⁴⁸ See *Ripa*, *Cesare*, *Iconologia*, Rome, 1603, pp. 375-8.

⁴⁹ This medal associating Peace with a French King ruling in Italy was struck in 1463 by Francesco Laurana. The reverse, inscribed PAX AVGVSTI, shows the standing figure of Peace holding an olive branch and helmet; an olive tree grows on the right, and at the left is a discarded cuirass; *Hill*, *G. F.*, *The Gustave Dreyfus Collection: Renaissance Medals*, Oxford, 1931, Plate XI, no. 24.

⁵⁰ *Idem.*, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance Before Cellini*, London, 1930, vol. II, plate 153, no. 945; vol. I, pp. 251-52. *Dr. Ulrich Middeldorf* has kindly pointed out to me that a better casting, but only of the portrait side of the medal exists; *Idem.*, *The Gustave Dreyfus Collection*, op. cit., plate LXVI. *Hill* notes that the design on the reverse of our medal "is an adaption of that used for Caterina Sforza's medals, with the

verse shows a portrait of the King. The reverse illustrates not just the personification of Peace but a "Triumph of Peace": Victory bearing sword and palm branch rides a chariot drawn by a pair of horses preceded by Peace holding up an olive branch.⁵¹ As in Filippino's float Peace appeared in a "trionfo". It is hardly farfetched to suppose that both the medal and Filippino's float in the Piazza Signoria shared the same iconography, and that the nymphs cited in a payment for the float, as on the medal, represented Victory and Peace.

The inscription on the medal is a deliberate recollection of ancient Roman triumphs. VICTORIAM. PAX. SEQVETVR has a certain Augustan ring to it. The flattering comparison of Charles to Augustus recurs again in the inscriptions devised for the triumphal arches raised by the Sieneese to celebrate the King's visit there which took place about two weeks later.⁵² There too Charles is made out as a second Charlemagne... a comparison also made in a miniature now in Madrid.⁵³ In their treaty with Charles, the Florentines also compared him to Charlemagne who was popularly regarded as one of the city's founders.⁵⁴

The association of Peace with Charles VIII and the House of Anjou may also have been a tactful reminder of the title bestowed on Charles' father, Louis XI, ten years earlier by the Estates General of 1484 who saluted the King as "Louis the Peaceful".⁵⁵

Filippino's "trionfo" was not, it appears, dismantled immediately after the King's visit. The documents show that the estimate of what Filippino's fee for the work should be was not made until December or early January. The judges called in to make the estimate were the elder Antonio da Sangallo⁵⁶, who, with his brother Giuliano, was associated with Filippino on various projects⁵⁷, and a Florentine sculptor called Ciatto of whom little is known.⁵⁸

From the splendid reception in Piazza Signoria, Charles and his troops made their way up Via Proconsolo — past the Badia, around the back of the Cathedral and into Piazza San Giovanni which was

change of the word Fama to Pax, and the addition of the figure of the latter". For the photographs illustrated in Figure 4a and 4b I am indebted to the kindness of *Miss Olga Raggio* of the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 251-52, no. 945: the obverse is inscribed:

KAROLVS. OCTAVVS. FRANCORVM. IERUSALEN. ETCICILIE. REX;
the reverse has VICTORIAM. PAX. SEQVETVR.

⁵² *Sanudo*, op. cit., p. 145; the inscription read:

VENISTI TANDEM REX CHRISTIANISSIME, CUI NOSTRAE
ULTRO PATENT JANVAE /
ITALIAE, ECCLESIAEQVE ROMANAE LIBERATOR, CHRISTIANAEQVE
FIDEI AMPLIATOR SANCTISSIMUS /
CAROLUS OCTAVVS FRANCORVM REX, AD IDEM DIVINO MISSVS NUMINE /
SALVE. DIVE CAROLE, FRANCORUM GLORIA, ITALIAE PRAESIDIUM,
AFRICA TERROR /

The following verses were sung:

Inclite francorum rex, invictissime regum / unica christicolae
spes et fiducia gentis /, ingredere et felix subeas mea tecta,
secundis / Auspiciis, nam re ipsa libens vultuque sereno /
Urbe mea accipio, felicibus annue ceptis /, Committoque tibi
veteres mea moenia Senas /, Senas Gallorum Senonum de nomine
dictas /.

See also the similar sentiments expressed by *Ficino* in 1494 cited by *Villari*, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 380, note 1.

⁵³ Madrid, National Library — MS. number not given with text and illustration in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1893 — vol. I, illustrated on p. 45. The illustration shows Charlemagne as the guardian of Charles VIII who kneels before him.

⁵⁴ See note 4. In the text of the treaty concluded between Charles and Florence, the King is compared to Charlemagne and given the title MAJOR ET MAXIMUS; cf. *Delaborde*, op. cit., p. 484. See also note 32.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁵⁶ See documents 20, 24, 27.

⁵⁷ Filippino and Giuliano had patrons in common: Lorenzo de' Medici and Filippo Strozzi. At Poggio ai Ciani the two artists worked in collaboration. The drawings by both masters of antique motives bespeak similar tastes and a fondness for arabesques and drolleries. Antonio da Sangallo with Baccio d'Agnolo carved the frame for Filippino's picture in the council hall over the Dogana dated ca. 1498 (*Vasari*, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 474, note 2).

⁵⁸ "Maestro Ciatto" worked in 1486 with Francesco di Guido da Settignano and Francesco di Lalora in the cloister of San Pietro in Perugia (*Thieme-Becker*, op. cit., vol. VI, p. 566).

hung with painted canopies in the style usually reserved for St. John's Day. The shouts of an immense crowd "Francia! Francia!", trumpet blasts and pealing bells hailed Charles as he dismounted at the entrance of the Cathedral.⁵⁹ The archbishop and the entire clergy were there to receive him. Inside, the Duomo was ablaze with light. Luca Di Frosino was responsible for the choir decorations. At every pier of the choir, boys dressed as angels held lighted torches.⁶⁰ Kneeling at the high altar Charles promised to guard Florentine liberty and eventually to return the lands he had appropriated.⁶¹

On leaving the Cathedral the great cavalcade proceeded up Via Martelli which, from Piazza San Giovanni to the Palazzo Medici, was covered with blue canopies on which were set yellow *fleur de lis* with a border formed by crests of the King and of the commune. This ornamental frieze, according to Sanudo, ran continuously from the street canopies into the palace interior: over the entrance, up the stairs and along the loggia.⁶² After Piero's banishment the week before, the Signoria had taken over the Palazzo Medici and transformed it into the King's residence.⁶³ Pietro Perugino was hired to carry out the decorations which although done in haste were greatly admired.⁶⁴ The triumphal arch erected at the entrance to the palace was the most important part of the decor. It was made of wood and adorned with columns, horns of plenty, garlands, French inscriptions, and the King's coat of arms.⁶⁵ Drawings by Perugino for this scheme are unknown to me. But the elements in the written accounts of these decorations are reminiscent of the style of the miniature (Figures 3). Like Filippino, Perugino was an experienced hand in devising architectural schemes. He too had submitted a plan for the facade of Florence Cathedral a few years before and he too gave advice for the Cathedral's lantern. Again, like Filippino, he had spent years in Rome. There he had worked for Popes and cardinals: providing the trimmings for two papal coronations (for Innocent VIII in 1484 and for Alexander VI in 1492)⁶⁶ and he had recently painted an

⁵⁹ See 18th century copy of *Cerretani* in Archivio di Stato, Florence, Archivio Bardi, Terza Serie, No. 1, 352 recto-verso: "Il cammino tra: Cartolai al Canto de Pazzi dietro à Santa Reparata, et in su la piazza di san giovanni, dove erono appiccate le tende, et ornato mirabilmente intorno, e quasi tutto il popolo fiorentino il quale visto, che ebbe il Rè, subito tra le Trombe, et Campane, et altri romorj non piccoli a una voce Francia, Francia à gridare cominciarono..."; *Parenti*, loc. cit.; "...per honorarlo le tende si poseno per porta santa maria, et altrove a uso del nostro San Giovanni..."; Cf. Masi, op. cit., p. 25. *Parenti*, loc. cit.: "...scavalcò sula piazza di san Giovanni, et entrò in santa maria del Fiore...".

⁶⁰ Loc. cit.: "...benissimo parata et con grandissima quantità di doppiieri alluminata dove ad ogni colonna del Coro stava un angelo col doppiere acceso..."; Cf. *Sanudo*, op. cit., p. 136. Luca di Frosino had in 1491 painted a curtain which was hung behind the canons at the back of the choir. Twenty-one years later he collaborated with Pontormo in preparing the painted decoration for the papal apartments of Santa Maria Novella celebrating the visit of Leo X. *Colnaghi*, op. cit., pp. 163-64. *Sanudo*, loc. cit., *Parenti*, loc. cit.

⁶¹ *Sanudo*, loc. cit.

⁶² *Cerretani*, op. cit.: "...poi Lui parti, e per la via de martelli La quale era con rovescio fregiati et Arazzi ricchissimi tutta coperta alla casa che fu Piero de' Medici si condusse, La porta della quale con Archi trionfali e Colonne di dovizia et altri ornamenti era mirabilmente piena, e parata". (Cf. MS. in Archivio di Stato, Florence, Bardi MS, op. cit., folio 351 ff.).

Cf. *Sanudo*, op. cit., p. 136: "Primamente era coperta tutta la via martegli de rovesci azzurri con zigli zali, et con uno cornisone, con le arme dil Comune et dil re, et cussi sopra lo usso [uscio] che usciva a la scala con festoni acconci ornatamente, et cussi sopra la loza [loggia] dentro, più degnamente che non si potrebbe contare, con tanti zigli e con tele zale".

⁶³ Documents 37-44. Cf. *Landucci*, op. cit., p. 79: "...fece grande apparato pe' Re, in casa Piero de' Medici, e massime alla porta del palagio de' Medici".

Cf. *Sanudo*, loc. cit.: "A la casa de Piero de Medici era apparato per Sua Maestà con tante zentilezze, che mai più si vide tale, dicono i Fiorentini...".

⁶⁴ Documents 38, 40-44. Perugino was already in Florence at the end of October when he bought a house on the Borgo Pinti for 400 florins; see U. Gnoli, *I Documenti su Pietro Perugino*, Perugia, 1923, p. 25.

⁶⁵ See notes 62 and 63; *Parenti*, op. cit., 69 verso-70 recto:

"In segno etian di gratitudine... sopra l'arme de Medici di fuori di casa Piero scudi si messono con l'arme del Re di Francia et sotto un breve in franzese il quale dicea come lui il conservatore et liberatore della nostra Liberta";

cf. *Landucci*, op. cit., p. 79:

"Feciono due grande colonne di fuori, che mettevano in mezzo la porta, con taniti adornamenti, e arme del Re di Francia, che non si potrebbe dire. Era veramente una cosa trionfale, tante erano grandi e ben fatte ogni cosa";

cf. *Sanudo*, loc. cit., note 56.

⁶⁶ *Pastor*, op. cit., vol. V, p. 243.

altarpiece for Charles VIII's companion in Florence — the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli.⁶⁷ Perugino and Filippino could well contribute designs for the same festive occasion. Their styles had much in common: dancing movement, a dainty courtly sentiment, and an increasing fondness for arabesques and curling scrolls. It hardly comes as a surprise that on various occasions both masters were involved in the same commissions. For the murals in the Audience Hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, Filippino succeeded Perugino to the job.⁶⁸ Perugino, on Filippino's death in 1505, was invited by the Servites of the Annunziata to complete the *Deposition* now in the Academy.⁶⁹ We have no direct evidence what Perugino's triumphal arch at the Palazzo Medici looked like. We get an inkling from later works of his: the murals in the Cambio at Perugia (ca. 1500), and the painted arches of the St. Sebastian altarpiece at Panicale.

To return to the Palazzo Medici and Charles VIII's visit there: the stairway was hung with tapestries and the principal rooms were lined with gold brocade.⁷⁰ As soon as he arrived, the King asked to see the medals, cameos and porcelain from the famed Medici collections. But most of these either had already been pilfered or hidden away in the monasteries.⁷¹

Nearby, the house of Pierfrancesco de' Medici was also decorated in the King's honour. For the sons of Pierfrancesco, Lorenzo and Giovanni, had high ambitions of replacing their distant cousin Piero as rulers of Florence. Over the entrance to their palace was set a gilded roundel with the King's crest flanked by garlands and surmounted by silvered plumes. At the very top of this ornament was a silvered vase from which rose a laurel tree — reminders of Cosimo and the magnificent Lorenzo.⁷² The rooms within were made ready to impress their powerful guests: the bedspreads were of cloth of gold and there was furniture of ivory.⁷³

Next day, the Signoria accompanied by 300 citizens came to pay their respects to the King at the former Palazzo Medici. Luca Corsini gave an address first in Latin and then in Italian proclaiming Charles the liberator of Florence and entire Italy, the bringer of peace and tranquility.⁷⁴ This thickly spread flattery was only a mask. According to Landucci almost every citizen had to share his dwelling with the French soldiery and the populace lived in fear of Charles' supposed promise to his men that they might loot the city.⁷⁵ Meanwhile, the King listened to Piero's Orsini kin, his mother and his wife, promising the banished Piero's cooperation if the King would recall him.⁷⁶ But on the 21st when Charles laid this proposition before the Signoria he met violent objections.⁷⁷ Authority was left in the hands of the Signoria and Piero's banishment was sustained. In return, Charles was allowed to keep the fortresses until the defeat of Naples and he was pledged a "loan" of 120,000 florins⁷⁸ to be paid in three installments.

⁶⁷ Cf. *van Marle*, op. cit., vol. XIV, p. 304.

⁶⁸ *Horne, H.*, Sandro Botticelli, London, 1908, Document XXIII.

⁶⁹ Academy, No. 8370.

⁷⁰ *Sanudo*, loc. cit.: "La camera tutta conzà di brocato d'oro".

⁷¹ *Sanudo*, loc. cit.: "Et subito zonto el Re, dimandò di le medaie, cammei et porzellane di Piero, che erano cose di grande estimatione, però che Lorenzo suo padre molti si deletava; ma perché erano sta strafurate da li soi et scose in li monasterii, non le poté haver, etc.". See *Enea Piccolomini*, "Delle Condizioni e delle Vicende della Libreria Medicea Privata dal 1494 al 1508", Archivio Storico Italiano, Ser. III, XIX-1874, 101-129; 254-81; vol. XX 1874, 51-94; kindly brought to my attention by *Dr. Andreas Grote*. On the medals in the Medici collection which Charles requested, see *A. Chastel*, Art et Humanisme au Temps de Laurent le Magnifique, Paris, 1953, p. 18.

⁷² The plumes were a device of Cosimo il Vecchio and the laurel, a pun on Lorenzo's name, was a symbol of "il Magnifico".

⁷³ *Sanudo*, loc. cit.: "Et il simel in caxa de Piero Francesco pur de Medici, con uno tondo in su lo usso [uscio], messo a oro con le arme dil Re, et con festoni pendenti da lati, con penne inarzentade conze degnamente, et di sopra uno vaso inarzentado et con uno lauro in ditto vaso, pur inarzentado, et in caxa benissimo aconzo, con panni d'oro per coperte di letto, cose bellissime d'ornamenti, et una lettiera de avolio con le casse de avolio...".

⁷⁴ *Parenti*, loc. cit.: "A di xviii. La nostra Signoria con circa trecento cittadini a casa l'andò avisitare. parlo messer Luca Corsini cominciando In latino di poi subvingendo in nostra Lingua lo effetto fu come a visitare andavano quella maesta la qual liberatrice era, o chiamar li potea non solo della nostra città di Firenze ma di tutta Italia da quella pace tranquillità, etc." cf. note 32.

⁷⁵ *Landucci*, op. cit., pp. 72, 82-3. For Florentine dislike of Charles VIII and suspicion of Alfonsina, see *Ricordi Storici di Filippo di Cino Rinuccini* dal 1282 al 1460 colla continuazione di *Alamanno e Neri Suoi Figli* fino al 1506, edited by *G. Aiazzi*, Florence 1840, pp. clii-clv.

⁷⁶ *Maguire*, loc. cit.; *Landucci*, op. cit., p. 81; *Villari*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 250.

⁷⁷ *Landucci*, loc. cit.; *Nardi*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 49.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52; *Landucci*, loc. cit.

On the 23rd, the celebrated mystery play of the Annunciation was performed for the King at San Felice in Piazza.⁷⁹ He enjoyed it so much that he requested that the play be given again privately. Three days later Charles and the Signoria renewed their promises in the Duomo before the high altar.⁸⁰ At last, on the 28th the King and his army marched out of Florence towards Rome taking along some of the portable furnishings from the Palazzo Medici.⁸¹ The worst fears of the Florentines had not materialized.⁸²

The city now passed under the rule of Savonarola. To the Florentines he had prophesied that the French occupation was to be a Heaven sent punishment.⁸³ To the French he gave welcome, greeting the King as a saviour.⁸⁴ But once the ends of political expediency had been served on this occasion, he suppressed festive decorations for the length of his three year rule of Florence. Rich trappings for public welcomes, feasts, and carnival were banished as vain glory. But Alfonsina Orsini, having witnessed the power of such decorations to arouse the sympathy of both the French and the Florentines, never forgot, and twenty-one years later she helped to finance the richest festive scheme the city had ever seen to celebrate the return of Medici authority.⁸⁵

Charles VIII had looked forward to entering Florence famous as the center of commerce, wealth, learning and art. The decorations wrought by Filippino, Perugino and the others must have lived up to the King's high expectations. As far as we know, Botticelli, Lorenzo di Credi, and Piero di Cosimo were also in Florence at this time, none of them contributed to the ornaments for the King's entry. Michelangelo had left for Bologna and Venice in October and Leonardo pursued various projects for the Duke of Milan.

The style of Filippino and Perugino was ideally suited to rich but ephemeral schemes; theirs was a premonition of Mannerist decoration. During the period from the Magnifico's death early in 1492 to Savonarola's martyrdom in 1498 no great pictorial schemes or public monuments were commissioned in the city. Indeed, there was neither the spirit nor the talent available to realize them. It was not until the turn of the century that the Signoria again commissioned such projects, and for these Leonardo and Michelangelo returned to Florence.⁸⁶ Both masters between 1504 and 1506 prepared cartoons for enormous murals for the commune's Sala del Maggior Consiglio. Such works, full of fresh inventions, gave another thirty years to the life and vigor of Florentine art. But Filippino, who on Leonardo's return had ceded to him the Annunziata's commission for the *St. Anne*, remained in the background. The rest of Perugino's career was spent in the provinces.

DOCUMENTS

Unless otherwise indicated all documents are from : Archivio di Stato, Florence, Camera del Comune, *Libri degli Ufficiali delle Onoranze*, Registro del Anno 1495, [vecchio No. 2348].

For the Decor at Porta San Frediano :

1) November 6th 1494 :

Antonio di Jacopo e Andrea di Salvi dipintori deono dare adi 6 di novembre fiorini tre larghi doro in oro per noi da lionardo cambini e avere in questo carta 5 sono per laparato dalla porta a san friano — lire 19 soldi 16/

22 left

⁷⁹ Landucci, loc. cit.: For the elaborate staging of the Annunciation play at San Felice in Piazza which was a tradition in Florence, see *Vasari*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 197. The Annunciation play was also performed in honour of Galeazzo Maria Visconti during his visit to Florence in 1471; see *D'Ancona, Alessandro*, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, Turin 1891, vol. I, pp. 272-73.

⁸⁰ Landucci, op. cit., p. 86; *Villari*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 253.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁸² Landucci, op. cit., p. 72.

⁸³ *Villari*, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 226-27, 239-40; *Young*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 309-30.

⁸⁴ *Villari*, loc. cit.

⁸⁵ *Maguire*, passim. For Alfonsina's political initiative in scheming for the return of Medici authority to Florence see "Festive Decor for Leo X" now in preparation by the present student.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Wilde, Johannes*, "Michelangelo and Leonardo", *The Burlington Magazine*, XCV (March 1953), pp. 65-77.

- 2) November 6th 1494 :
 Baldachini per la maesta del re deono dare adi 6 di novembre fiorini LXXIII soldi 9 denari 4 — sono per 10 braccie LXXVII 1/m di raso alexandro, etc./
 10 left
 (For further payments for the baldachini see 8 right, 142 left and right.).
- 3) November 19th 1494 :
 Apparato fatto alla porta a sanfriano dedare adi 19 di novembre fiorini dua larghi doro in oro pagati a tre maestri da menoro e andrea di buonaventura feravecchi porto baldassare di baldassare sono per portatura di due baldacchini cioe per lo inginocchiaio si fe fuor della porta per el re e per noi da lionardo cambini carta 32/
 85 left
- 4) November 20th 1494 :
 E adi detto fiorini XXVI doro in oro paghati a filippo [di Giuliano] dipintore sono per 24 drappelloni messi a oro a noi — al baldachino, etc./
 10 left
- 5) December 11th 1494 :
 Filippo di Giuliano dipintore deve avere adi 11 di dicembre fiorini XXVI doro in oro sono per 24 drapellonj per il cielo del baldachino messi a oro cosi dando con lui e per parte da nostry officialy fiorini 26 che per suo resto porto baldachino dare in questo carta 10/
 100 right
- 6) December 12th 1494 :
 Filippo di Giuliano dipintore dedare adi XII di dicembre fiorini dieci larghi doro in oro X per noi da lionardo cambini porto debbi avere in questo 27/
 100 left
- 7) December 20th 1494 :
 Niccolo di Francesco delle — deve avere adi xx di dicembre lire xlviii e sono per factura di 1^o palcho fatto fuor della porta a sanfriano e 1^o diento e per apichiare 11 panni darazzo e per 9 cerchi coperti di [illegibile] per mettere intorno — per achonciatura di 30 panche colle spalliere di dietro e per guardare sei notte detti palchi posto debbi dare in questo apparato della porta a sanfriano, etc./
 78 right
- 8) December 20th 1494 :
 E adi detto lire xxxv pagati fatti buoni Antonio di Jacopo e andrea di salvi dipintori per 19 schudi alla porta asanfriano, etc./
 85 left

For the Decor in Piazza Signoria :

- 9) November 11th 1494 :
 Filippo di fra filippo dedare adi 11 di novembre fiorini trenta larghi doro in oro porto contanti per noi da lionardo cambini avere in questo carta 30/
 47 left
- 10) November 12th 1494 :
 Bernardo di francesco adi 12 di novembre fiorino 1^o doro in oro per soldi per fare 1^o spiritello per noi da lionardo cambini avere in questo/
 56 left
- 11) November 12th 1494 :
 (To Filippino Lippi)
 E adi 12 di novembre fiorini xxx larghi doro porto contanti per noj da lionardo cambini avere in questo carta 51, etc./
 47 left

- 12) November 12th 1494 :
 Jacopo di filippo chiavaiuoli dedare adi 12 di novembre fiorini 1^o largo doro in oro porto contanti di spese per tre garzoni aiutare di filippo di fra filippo da lionardo cambini avere in questo carta 51/
 56 left
- 13) November 15th 1494 :
 Triompho fatto per mano di filippo di fra filippo dedare adi 15 di novembre fiorino 1^o largho doro in oro paghato a agnolo al fancullo porto contanti per dare arrigho cantore per fare il canto della canzone anche in sul triompho a per noi da lionardo cambini in questo carta 73 — lire 6 soldi 12/
 80 left
- 14) November 15th 1494 :
 Triompho fatto per mano di filippo di fra filippo deve avere lire xxx per chontanti ce ne fa buoni filippo di fra filippo per solo legnami e altro in conto del triompho dare in questo — carta 47/
 80 right
- 15) November 19th 1494 :
 E adi 19 detto novembre fiorini tre larghi doro in oro a agnolo al fancullo con dua compagni per andare in sul triompho per cantorj e per noi da lionardo cambini in questo carta 39/
 80 left
- 16) December 9th 1494 :
 E adi 9 di dicembre lire viiii soldi 10 a bartolomeo di beagio speciale porto contanti sono per 4 vestiti datj a queglj del triompho e per noj da lionardo cambini avere in questo — carta 97/
 80 left
- 17) December 9th 1494 :
 E adi detto lire xxxi soldi 10 a schiatta cavalcanti porto contanti per dare grossoni 5 a sonatorj e altri che erono in sul triompho e per noi da lionardo cambini avere in questo carta 101/
 80 left
- 18) December 10th 1494 :
 Jacopo di filippo chiavaioli deve avere adi 10 dizembre fiorino 1^o largho per sua faticha al triompho, etc./
 56 right
- 19) December 20th 1494 :
 E adi 20 dicembre fiorini quatro doro in oro sono per lui (filippo di fra filippo) a agnolo di pierozzo e compagni setaioli sono per rifacimento di once due doro drapii dieci braccia 3 oncie 5 di pigioramento per nimphe che per noi da lionardo cambini avere in questa carta 101/
 Valutati a fiorini 80 a lire 6 cioè sono lire 558 (cancelled)/
 47 left
- 20) December 20th 1494 :
 E deve dare lire xxx chontanti ci fa buonj per legname tele e altro gli concederono del triompho maestro ciatto e antonio da san gallo di licenzia degli uffciali posto avere detto triompho carta 80/
 Valutati a fiorini 80 a lire 6 — cioe lire 536/
 47 left

- 21) December 20th 1494 :
E adi detto lire xxxvii soldi xi fatti buoni a francescho per tre festone fatti 1^o alpalagio e 1^o a casa de medicj e 1^o alla porta a sanfriano, etc./
85 left
- 22) December 24th 1494 :
Bernardino di francesco deve avere adi 24 dicembre fiorini dua larghi doro lire 3 — sono per 1^o spiritello alla venuta pel maesta del re dato in questo onoranzi/
56 right
- 23) January 7th 1495 (1494, Florentine style) :
E adi 7 genaio fiorini quatro doro in oro paghati a agnolo di pierozzo e compagni setaiuoli sono per rifacimento di braccie 21 doro dei cipri e braccie 3.55 di pignoramento doro per nymphe filippo avere in questo carta 47/
80 left
- 24) January 7th 1485 (1494, Florentine style) :
E adi detto lire cccl xxviii soldi 13 paghati a filippo di fra filippo sono per resto di uno triumpho fatto quando venne lamaesta del re stimato per maestro ciatto e antonio da sangallo legnaiuoli — filippo avere in questo carta 47/
80 left
- 25) January 7th 1495 (1494, Florentine style) :
E adi detto lire cento piccioli chontanti si gli fanno buonj per partito degli ufficiali cioè a filippo di fra filippo per sua faticha daver fatto detto triumpho filippo deve avere — carta 47/
80 left
- 26) January 9th 1495 (1494, Florentine style) :
Filippo di fra filippo deve avere al 9 genaio fiorini quatro doro in oro posto debbi dare in questo triumpho — carta 80/
47 right
- 27) January 9th 1495 (1494, Florentine style) :
E adi detto lire ccclxxviii soldi 13 chontanti si gli fano buonj per partito degli officialj per uno triumpho fatto quando venne la Maesta del Re che concederono maestro ciatto e Antonio da sangallo triumpho dare in questo carta 30/
E adi detto lire cento 6 contanti si gli fano buoni per partito degli ufficiali per suo faticha deve fare detto triumpho dare in questo carta 80/
47 right
- 28) January 10th 1495 (1494, Florentine style) :
E adi 10 detto lire tre per chontanti se sono fatto buonj per partito a favore buona-corso per legno ebbe filippo di frafilippo avere in questo carta 39/
80 left
- 29) January 10th 1495 (1494, Florentine style) :
E adi detto fiorino 1^o largo doro in oro a Jacopo di filippo chiavaiolo per far banderuolo e altro a detto triumpho avere in questo carta 56/
80 left
- 30) January 10th 1495 (1494, Florentine style) :
E adi detto fiorini lxxxiii doro in oro e lire 40 soldi 9 piccioli sono per 18 veste sono per sonatorj cantori e altri andorno in sul triumpho della qual vene riavute 8 e uno schiatta cavalcanti veste deve avere in questo carta 67/
80 left

- 31) January 10th 1495 (1494, Florentine style):
 Veste per trombetti e altri deono dare fiorini 10 larghi doro in oro lire L — e sono per dieci veste, etc./
 69 right
- 32) January 10th 1495 (1494, Florentine style):
 A adi detto fiorini lxxxiii doro in oro lire xl soldi 6 chontanti per di 18 veste date per sonatori del triumpho/
 69 right
- 33) February 10th 1495 (1494, Florentine style):
 E adi 10 febraio lire lii soldi 10 sono per di 9 veste redete a paolo di tomaso di pagiolo rigatti a soldi 25 larghi pennone braccie 3.5.6 dare in questo carta 150/
 80 right
- 34) February 10th 1495 (1494, Florentine style):
 Pagholo di tomaso di pagolo rigatti de dare adi 10 di febraio lire lii soldi x e sono per 4 veste di taffetta di grano e taffetta biancho da noi comperato per pregio lire 25 luna e pesorono oncie 3.56 pro (hiatus in MS.) triumpho avere in questo carta 80/
 150 left
- 35) February 16th 1495 (1494, Florentine style):
 Girolamo di Giovanni rigatti adi 16 di febraio lire xiii. 6 sono per 1 vesta di taffetta biancho e rosso allui ne deve dare per detto pregio posta triumpho avere in questo carta 30/
 150 left
- 36) February 20th 1495 (1494, Florentine style):
 Alexandro di niccolo machiavellj dedare adi 20 di febraio fiorini dua larghi doro in oro sono per 1^o veste havuto da noj di taffetta triumpho avere in questo carta 80/
 155 left

Decor for Palazzo Medici:

- 37) November 11th 1494:
 Filippo dandrea legnaiolo detto grasso dedare adi 11 di novembre fiorini quattro larghi doro in oro porto contanti per far schomberare lacasa di piero de medicj per noi da lionardo cambini/
 49 left
- 38) November 13th 1494:
 Piero Perugino dipintore dedare adi 13 di novembre fiorini dieci larghi doro in oro porto contanti per achonciare larcho triumphale per all uscio di piero de medicj per noi da lionardo cambini — carta 63/
 70 left
- 39) November 20th 1494:
 E adi detto lire viii per arazi a benedetto de' buglonj porto contanti sono per detto opera per parare la schala di piero de medicj e per noi al lionardo cambini/
 9 right
- 40) January 1st 1495 (1494, Florentine style; to Perugino):
 E al primo di genaio fiorini dieci larghi doro in oro porto contanti per resto dell archo triumphale delluscio di piero de medicj e di 3 arme grande dell'arme del re di francia per noi da lionardo cambini/
 70 left

- 41) January 11th 1494 (1495, Florentine style):
Piero perugino deve avere adi 11 di genaio fiorini 30 larghi doro in oro se gli fano buonj per partito degli ufficiali per suo fatica e spese fatte per larcho triumphale adornamento/
70 right
- 42) January 11th 1495 (1494, Florentine style):
Adornamento fatto dinanzj alluscio di piero demedici e altre cose apartenente alla casa de dare adi 11 di genaio fiorini cinque larghi doro portati a zanobj di domenico per parte di 1^o adornamento fatto dinanzj a casa di piero demedici/
137 left
- 43) January 11th 1495 (1494, Florentine style):
E adi detto fiorini xxx larghi doro paghati a piero perugino sono per suo magistero e fatica di fare larcho triumphale dinanzi a casa piero demedici per partito degli ufficiali in questo carta 70/
137 left
- 44) Undated, probably January 1495:
Adornamento fatto dinanzj alluscio di piero demedici posto debbi dare in questo fiorini 35 lire 33/
137 right

Photographs: 1, 2, 3 Mario Novais, Lisbon; 4a, b Metropolitan Museum, New York.

RIASSUNTO

Durante la crisi a Firenze nel Novembre 1494, fra l'espulsione di Piero de' Medici e la fondazione della Repubblica sotto Savonarola, la città dovè necessariamente allestire un'accoglienza fastosa per l'ingresso del Re Carlo VIII di Francia e del suo "enorme" esercito. Vari documenti e racconti inediti descrivono le decorazioni. Carri e archi trionfali preparati fra l'altro da Filippino Lippi e da Pietro Perugino adornavano piazze e palazzi. Lo schema esteso di queste decorazioni, disposte attraverso la città, fu il primo di una serie che continuò con Leone X ed il ritorno dei Medici a Firenze nel 1513.

Klara Steimveg: REKONSTRUKTION EINER ORCAGNESKEN MARIENKRÖNUNG

Ausgangspunkt für die Rekonstruktion einer florentinischen Marienkrönung, die um 1345 entstanden ist, waren stilistische Beobachtungen, die durch nachträglich angefertigte Röntgenaufnahmen und durch die dankenswerterweise von Brigitte Klesse ausgeführte, masstäbliche Zeichnung bestätigt wurden.

In der Sammlung Heinz Kisters, Kreuzlingen, befindet sich eine sehr eindrucksvolle Tafel einer Marienkrönung¹ (Abb. 1). Das Bild, das in seinem oberen Abschluss nachträglich ergänzt wurde, ist nicht frei von Übermalungen, wie vor allem am Madonnenmantel² zu erkennen ist und an dem in dun-

¹ Zuerst publiziert von R. Offner, *Corpus of Florentine Painting*, New York, Sec. III, Vol. VIII, 1958, 150; Pl. XL: Close to the Assistant of Daddi.

² Nur einzelne Ornamente zeigen die ursprüngliche Schönheit, wie beispielsweise in dem Teil, der an den Mantel Christi heranreicht. Die bereits erwähnte Röntgenaufnahme beweist ausserdem, dass der Madonnenmantel in der unteren Partie ähnliche, grosszügige Faltenpartien zeigte wie der Christumantel. Diese sind angedeutet in der Rekonstruktionszeichnung (Abb. 3).