

THE LITIGATION CONCERNING LUCA DELLA ROBBIA'S FEDERIGHI TOMB*

by *Hannelore Glasser*

NEW DOCUMENTS

by *Gino Corti*

*For Professor Ulrich Middeldorf,
in appreciation of the international cooperation among scholars
which has prevailed at the Institut under his Directorship.*

When a famous fifteenth-century work of art becomes the subject of a lawsuit and when the litigation records are preserved¹, they afford a rare insight into the relations between artist and patron during the early Renaissance. They also reveal the contemporary attitude toward the nascent work of art itself. Monuments which have long since been removed from their sites and which have lost some of their original components or their original polychromy and gilding, may sometimes be reconstructed in the mind's eye with the help of such documents. This is the case with the litigation records connected with Luca della Robbia's tomb of Benozzo Federighi, Bishop of Fiesole, commissioned on May 2, 1454, by the Bishop's nephew, Federigo di Jacopo Federighi, for the Church of San Pancrazio in Florence (Fig. 1).²

The Federighi, a distinguished Florentine family, had contributed numerous officials to the city government since the early fourteenth century. When the Florentine Republic sent

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¹ See Appendix.

² The original location of the Federighi tomb in San Pancrazio was on the North transept wall between the chapel of the Ridolfi (which was adjacent to the choir chapel) and the Federighi altar on its left. According to the contract, the tomb was to be set into the wall *allato a una capella di Federighi* (doc. II). When the tomb was moved to the corridor of the side door of San Pancrazio, the record of transfer dated January 27, 1753, gives the original location as *situato tra la Capella del Santissimo Sacramento dei Signori Ridolfi e l'altare dei medesimi Federighi* (doc. XI). Some authors have given the incorrect impression that the monument was inside a chapel: "The tomb was located first in the Federighi chapel near the side entrance in S. Pancrazio." (*Allan Marquand, Luca della Robbia, Princeton, 1914, p. 122*). In 1808 San Pancrazio was secularized and the tomb was moved to the small suburban church of San Francesco di Paola where it remained until the end of the nineteenth century (*W. and E. Paatz, Die Kirchen von Florenz, vol. IV, Frankfurt, 1952, p. 574*). Apparently in response to complaints that so fine a religious monument ought to be more readily accessible, preferably in a centrally located Florentine church rather than in the Bargello, it was moved once again in 1896, to Santa Trinita where it may be seen today (*Paatz, op. cit., vol. V, p. 299; Emilio Marcucci, Sul monumento funebre di Benozzo Federighi, vescovo di Fiesole, in: Arte e Storia, ii, 1883, p. 315*).

ambassadors to Egypt in 1422 to negotiate trading rights with the Sultan, it was Carlo di Francesco Federighi³ who was chosen to go, together with Felice Brancacci, the future patron of Masolino and Masaccio.⁴ Carlo's brother, Benozzo di Francesco Federighi (one of several eminent churchmen in the family), was elected Bishop of Fiesole on December 15, 1421, and he served in that capacity until his death in 1450.⁵ Four years later, Benozzo's nephew, Federigo, commissioned his uncle's tomb from Luca della Robbia. A second nephew, Federigo's younger brother Domenico⁶, acted on behalf of Federigo when legal difficulties subsequently arose over non-fulfilment of contract.

When Bishop Benozzo Federighi died on July 27, 1450, the final funeral service was delayed for seven months until February 11, 1451 (st.c.), because of a plague which prevented his two nephews and other citizens from being present. By that date, his body had been transferred for burial to San Pancrazio, and the church and coffin were draped with banners for the commemorative ceremony as is noted in the records of San Pancrazio.⁷ Three years later with the contract of May 2, 1454, the Bishop's tomb was begun by Luca della Robbia.

The known documents relating to the tomb now number eleven, including three recently discovered by Dottor Gino Corti, which are published here for the first time.⁸ The original contract of May 2, 1454, has not been found, but most of its important stipulations were quoted in the subsequent records of the lawsuit, which began four years later when Federigo brought the case before the court of the Mercanzia.⁹ In the first record of the case, dated February 6,

³ Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Carte Passerini, n. 187, inserto 51, f. 2r-2v. This reference was kindly brought to my attention by Professor Ulrich Middeldorf.

⁴ Masaccio may have painted Bishop Benozzo Federighi's portrait among the many he represented in his painting commemorating the consecration of the Carmine Church, a ceremony which took place on April 19, 1422, Bishop Benozzo being among those present (see *Ugo Procacci, L'incendio della Chiesa del Carmine del 1771*, in: *Rivista d'Arte*, xix, 1932, p. 204.

⁵ Passerini, op. cit., f. 4r-4v. Passerini indicates that the notices about this eminent member of the Federighi family were many and that he was much beloved by the Florentines. When the ambassadors from the Signoria went to congratulate Eugenius IV on his ascending the papal throne, they took the occasion to recommend to the Pope, Bishop Benozzo. In 1445, when the archbishop of Florence died, the ambassadors from the Signoria again took the occasion to recommend Bishop Benozzo in the hope that, after three foreign archbishops, a native Florentine might be appointed to that office. Bishop Benozzo, however, continued on in his capacity as Bishop of Fiesole until his death in 1450.

⁶ Passerini, op. cit., f. 3r and 4r., where the elective offices held by the two brothers, Federigo and Domenico, are mentioned. Federigo was born on August 18, 1405, and Domenico on Sept. 13, 1409 (*Archivio di Stato, Florence* [hereafter given as ASF], *Ètà, Libro 2*, n. 443 bis, f. 130, 127, a reference kindly called to my attention by Mr. Edward Sanchez).

⁷ ASF: *Conventi soppressi*, n. 88 (San Pancrazio), vol. 23, f. 15v. under date, February 11, 1450 (st.f.), or February 11, 1451 (st.c.).

Adi 11 si fece qui in chiesa lonoranza di messer Benozo Federighi per lo adietro veschovo di Fiesole il quale passo di questa vita adi — di luglio 1450, e allora condussono il corpo suo qui i suoi parenti perche si giudico qui nella cappella sua che a fatto fare di suo, et anno indugiato decta honoranza perche non ci sono stati i nipoti ne gli altri cittadini per cagione della moria. Feciono uno palio o vero gonfalone d'apicchare in chiesa e una filza di drappelloni in sul archa. Apichorono in tutta circa di libre quaranta di cera e avemmo duo torchi e uno mezo barile di vino e uno staio di pane e non altro.

In the left margin is written *Mortorio di Messer Benozo, Vescovo di Fiesole*. Whoever recorded this notice did not know the exact day the Bishop died, so a blank space was left before the month and year.

⁸ The documents are listed, and insofar as they have not previously been published, they are printed in the Appendix. Documents IV, VI and X are those discovered by Dr. Gino Corti. Documents II and III were found by the author on clues (but no archive references) given by Herbert P. Horne in *Notes on Luca della Robbia*, in: *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xxviii, 1915-1916, p. 7. These two documents have already been used in the author's unpublished dissertation (*H. Glasser, Artists' Contracts of the Early Renaissance*, Columbia University, New York, 1965, pp. 291-300). Document XI and the documentary material in the text were found by the author. I am most grateful to Dr. Corti for having checked all the transcriptions.

⁹ For the problem of arbitration and settlement in fifteenth-century lawsuits, see *Glasser*, op. cit., pp. 191-201.



1 Tomb of Bishop Benozzo Federighi by Luca della Robbia. Florence, Santa Trinita.

1458 (st.c.), the contract itself was described as *una sc(ri)pta e caution(e) p(ri)vata, sosc(ri)pta di mano delle p(ar)t(i)*.¹⁰ The clauses of the contract which were quoted, stipulate that the

¹⁰ See doc. II. *Horne*, op. cit., reads “*di noptario*,” instead of *delle p(ar)t(i)*, but this cannot be correct since the notary who drafts an agreement does not usually sign it other than mentioning himself as the author of the document (see *Glasser*, op. cit., pp. 12-13). On a notary’s document no other signatures were necessary, but if a contract were drafted by someone else, the parties to the contract did affix their signatures to it. On the basis of this document (and doc. III) *Horne* had made the necessary correction of the date of the lost contract. The date had been incorrectly given as March 2, 1454 (st.f.) or March 2, 1455 (st.c.) on the basis of the document of July 21, 1459 (see doc. VIII) in which the notary seems to have made an error in that he gives a date ten months too late, which is, in fact, the deadline for finishing the work. Recent writers have adopted *Horne’s* corrected date (*John Pope-Hennessy*, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, London, 1958, p. 295).

tomb was to be carved in marble, with foliage of gold and glazed terra-cotta of various colors in a square frame measuring about four and one-half *braccia*¹¹, within which there was to be the tomb and on it the sculptured figure of a bishop in marble as well as other figures and ornaments according to the design made by the hand of *Io(hanni) di Ser Paolo*.¹² It was to be finished and set into the wall at the side of the Federighi Chapel (i.e. altar) within ten months.¹³ The sculptor promised that the monument would be equivalent to two hundred florins in value, the final appraisal to be made by two "common friends." If the value were appraised as being less, Luca would receive that much less, but if it were more, he would not receive more than two hundred florins. In case the tomb was not finished on time, the artist would have to return the equivalent value of the marble to Federigo (who apparently furnished it) as well as a fine of 25 *fiorini larghi*, to be paid one month after the deadline had elapsed. It was agreed that Luca was to have 8 florins a month for the 10 months he was working on the commission, or 80 florins in all, which he was also obliged to return should the tomb not be completed on time.

Other clauses of the original contract were quoted ten days later when Luca appeared in court on February 16 to refute the charges. One clause, for instance, stipulated that neither party was to bring legal action for non-fulfilment of contractual obligations against the other party, without first fulfilling his own obligations.¹⁴ There must have been a clause in the contract about the artist's furnishing surety for the money and materials he had received because this is mentioned in the records of the subsequent hearings of February 21 and March 2 of the same year¹⁵, although it was not brought up in the course of the first two hearings of February 6 and 16 just discussed. There was also the common, in fact the standard, clause about the workmanship being of the requisite quality, a stipulation scarcely mentioned in the first hearing of February 6.¹⁶ Thus, in their dispute, both patron and artist referred back to different clauses of the original contract. Having established as far as possible most of the stipulations of the initial allocation, it remains to be ascertained how far the work had progressed on the commission before it came to the attention of the Mercanzia Court.

¹¹ The Florentine *braccio* equals about 58 cm. so that 4½ *braccia* would equal 2.61 m. The length and height of the square frame (minus the crowning cornice) measure 2.575 m. resulting in the small difference of 3½ cm. between the measurements stipulated and those of the finished tomb. The height of the sarcophagus (minus its upper and lower moldings) equals one *braccio*, as was pointed out to me by Mr. *Howard Burns*, who kindly made the following measurements: Frame: height without cornice, 2.575 m.; length, 2.575 m.; width, varies between 30.7-30.9 cm., crowning cornice, 14 cm. Niche (interior): height and width: 1.96 m., depth of niche above effigy (left side) 41.9 cm., (right) 43.2 cm. Sarcophagus: width (minus moldings) 178.5 cm., height (with moldings) 82.2 cm., height (minus moldings) 58.5 cm. (i.e. one *braccio*). Effigy: length of figure with miter, 185 cm.; length of figure without miter, 175 cm.; distance from back of head to wall, 10 cm.; distance from tip of miter to right niche-wall, 4 cm., distance from forehead to outer edge of sarcophagus, 18.5 cm. Relief panels: width with moldings, 51-51.2 cm.; distance between the panels 10.7 cm.; distance between left panel and wall, 11 cm.; distance between right panel and wall, 11.1 cm.

¹² Doc. II, lines 3-7.

¹³ Ten months is a much shorter period than previous authors have calculated the stipulated time limit to be. The terminus within which the work was to be completed is mentioned in the record of Feb. 6 where the *Corti* transcription reads, *per da ivi a mesi diece*. *Horne* read "2 anni" instead of *da ivi*, and considering the fact that the letters are run together (*daivi*) and the *d* separated from the other letters, this is entirely understandable. That it must be a *d* and not a *2* becomes clear when it is compared with the *2* of the 200 (fiorini) a few lines below. Reference to the ten months occurs again in the same document (*sopradecti diece mesi*) as well as in docs. III and VI.

¹⁴ Doc. III, lines 25-28.

¹⁵ Doc. IV, lines 21-25 and doc. VI, lines 11-12.

¹⁶ The only mention of quality in the record of February 6, 1458 (st.c.) is the standard stipulation with regard to the artist finishing the work properly (doc. II, lines 36-37).

When Federigo first brought the matter to court on February 6, Luca had done no work on the tomb for over a year. It had been finished but not set into the wall. Federigo, through his brother, Domenico, who had been given the power of attorney, alleged that Luca had not fulfilled his contractual obligations because the tomb had not been finished and built into the wall as agreed. Indeed the deadline had been passed three years before.¹⁷ A summons was served on the artist, who appeared in court ten days later.

On February 16, in stating his case, Luca referred to the clause mentioned above, to the effect that a summons was not to be served by either party if that party had not fulfilled his own obligations. He emphasized the fact that obligations were reciprocal and asserted that Federigo had not kept to the agreement because he had failed to pay the artist the 8 florins a month for the period of 10 months as he had promised to do and that he, a poor man, had thus to cover expenses out of his own pocket.¹⁸ Last of all, Luca declared that he had not installed the tomb nor did he intend to do so until an appraisal had been made. The artist claimed that the evidence would be hidden once the tomb were installed because it would no longer be possible to take the necessary measurements.¹⁹ Since an appraisal had not yet been made, Luca elected Andrea di Lazzaro Cavalcanti (Buggiano)²⁰ to appraise the work, and petitioned Domenico or Federigo to elect another arbiter of their choice. Luca then declared himself ready and willing to install the tomb once it had been appraised. He said he expected to receive proper recompense minus the cost of the marble which he estimated would come to forty florins. Luca's protest was duly registered and forwarded to the Federighi.

Five days later on February 21²¹ Federigo's brother reappeared in court and restated his case, saying that Federigo was not obliged to pay and that furthermore, Luca had not furnished surety as he was required to do, nor had he furnished work of the requisite quality.²² Neither had the artist installed the tomb, *after* which an appraisal could be made. This protest was registered and forwarded to the sculptor, who reappeared in court on March 2 and repeated his complaint of non-payment and reiterated the necessity of an immediate appraisal by a knowledgeable and experienced appraiser.

Both artist and patron had made tax declarations during the year of the lawsuit, Luca on February 28, 1458 (st.c.): *E più ò una sepoltura di marmo, il quale ò fatto già è più d'un anno, a Federigo di Iachopo Federighi; delle quali siano appiatio alla merchatantia; non ne posso ra-*

¹⁷ The date of the (lost) contract, May 2, 1454, plus ten months given for the execution of the commission, would give March 2, 1455 (st.c.) as the deadline for the completion of the work.

¹⁸ Luca was not at all a poor man. His *sostanze* in the 1458 income tax declaration totalled 433 florins 7 soldi and 17 denari, a sizable amount according to Professor *David Herlihy* to whom I am most grateful for assistance in interpreting the tax returns. Luca's deductions totalled about 215 fl., 1s. (not entirely legible) including the one deductible "bocca" — his own, aged 58. Federigo, on the other hand, was a much wealthier man whose *sostanze* totalled 2756 fl. 19s. 10d., but whose deductions were larger, especially the 1600 fl. for himself, aged 53, for his wife and six children. He paid a total income tax of 2 fl. 19s. 8d., about twice amount Luca paid of 1 fl. 7s. 7d. See the respective income tax declarations of 1458 for which the archive references are listed under docs. V and VII. *Martin Wackernagel* had already commented on the fact that Luca was one of the Florentine artists who was well off and owned property (*M. Wackernagel, Der Lebensraum des Künstlers in der florentinischen Renaissance: Aufgaben und Auftraggeber, Werkstatt und Kunstmarkt, Leipzig, 1938, p. 353 f.*). From another volume connected with the 1457 tax in which the notary entered only the name and the amount paid (ASF, Catasto 836) Federigo's amount is listed as 2 fl. 18s. 8d., and Domenico's as 11s. 11d. A very large tax was paid by their neighbor, Giovanni di Pagholo di Ser Paolo Rucellai: 97 fl. 12s. 8d.

¹⁹ Doc. III, lines 47-49.

²⁰ Andrea di Lazzaro Cavalcanti, called Buggiano, sculptor and architect, the adopted son of Brunelleschi, was born in 1412 in Borgo a Buggiano and died in 1462 in Florence (*Thieme-Becker, vol. VI, p. 213-215 [Walter R. Biehl]*).

²¹ Doc. IV.

²² The issue of quality has now become more important (doc. IV, lines 26-27). See above n. 16.

*gionare alchuna chosa insino a tanto non è terminato.*²³ Federigo's tax declaration, submitted about seven months later and dated September 14, 1458, contained as the fifth item under "creditori," *Lucca di Simone della Robbia . . . fl. 125 o ca.*²⁴

Since Federigo owed Luca about 200 florins in addition to the 80 florins (i.e. 8 florins a month for ten months), minus the cost of the marble (which the sculptor had estimated to be about 40 florins), or a total of about 240 florins, it is clear that the patron had paid about one half of the amount he owed, in spite of the fact that the tomb was finished although not installed. Neither party had fulfilled its obligations: Federigo because he had not paid the artist for the work that he had completed, and Luca because he was about three years late with the installation of the work. It must be emphasized, however, that Quattrocento contract commissions were rarely ever finished on time, and furthermore that the major function of the time-limit seems to have been to discourage procrastination.²⁵ On the other hand, according to the then prevalent work contract, the patron did not have to pay the total sum if he were not entirely satisfied, although this in fact rarely happened.²⁶ But when difficulties did arise, they usually led to procrastination on the part of the artist and parsimony on the part of the patron.

One major issue seems to have been the question whether or not the tomb should be appraised *before* it was installed as Luca wished, or *afterwards*, as Federigo expected and as he had every right to expect according to the contract stipulation. As noted above, Luca claimed that an appraisal could not be made afterwards because the dimensions could not be judged once the tomb were installed. This argument suggests that the thickness of the marble slabs must in some way have been involved, since the other dimensions would, in any case, have been visible to an appraiser. The artist's estimate of 40 florins for the cost of the marble (which was to be deducted from his total recompense) seems low, considering the fact that the tomb contains one life-size figure almost completely in the round, three half-figures in relief, the sarcophagus panel with two relief figures, and the three small soffit reliefs. In fifteenth-century Florence, marble for *one* life-size figure in the round normally cost between 28 and 74 florins.²⁷ This suggests that Luca may have skilfully and economically utilized the stone in relatively thin slabs, with a view to optical effect, thus conserving the marble supplied to him and consequently lessening the deduction from his final recompense.²⁸ This factor could not easily be gauged even by an experienced appraiser unless he could examine the pieces of the tomb before they were set into the wall. This explanation seems to be the most plausible one for the artist's reluctance to install the finished tomb. Such practical considerations involving the metier of the stonemason were probably not of much interest to the Federighi brothers who were doubtless anxious to see the monument dedicated to their eminent uncle, who had died eight years earlier, finally installed in San Pancrazio.

There seems to have been another factor, however, which entered into the dispute, but this only emerges in the three arbitration reports.²⁹ First of all, on July 21, 1459, Andrea di

²³ See under doc. V.

²⁴ Doc. VII.

²⁵ On time-limits and procrastination in the execution of fifteenth-century contracts, see *Glasser*, op. cit., pp. 80-82, and for the same period in Northern Europe, *Hans Huth*, *Künstler und Werkstatt der Spätgotik*, Augsburg, 1923, p. 28.

²⁶ On artists' and patrons' obligations, see *Glasser*, op. cit., pp. 72 ff. and 92 ff.

²⁷ *Hanna Lerner-Lehmkuhl*, *Zur Struktur und Geschichte des Florentinischen Kunstmarktes im 15. Jahrhundert*, Wattenscheid, 1936, pp. 42-43.

²⁸ The effigy and bier-cloth are carved in one piece but the bier does not extend back under the figure for more than a few inches, or so it seems when one slips one's hand into the crevice between the bier and frame on the side near the bishop's head. The void must be filled with cement.

²⁹ Docs. VIII, IX, X.

Lazzaro Cavalcanti (Buggiano), elected initially by Luca alone, was officially appointed arbiter. Federigo, although it was his right to do so, did not appoint another “*amico comune*”. Buggiano, as sole arbiter, was to look at the work done and to declare if it were in any way defective, and if so, to declare what this defect was before the tomb was installed. He was to submit a report before September 28 of that year. In fact, Buggiano submitted two reports.

In the first one of August 6, 1459³⁰, Buggiano reported to the Mercanzia's notary and chancellor, that in his capacity as arbiter, he had found nothing defective in the work, and that Luca had executed everything according to the contract. Nevertheless, he declared, Luca was to gild (*dorare a mordente*) the work in such areas and in such a manner as he, Andrea, would indicate, and this was to be done at the joint expense of both parties.³¹ It is the latter decision about the gilding which suggests that there may have been a difference of opinion between artist and patron about which areas were to receive gold-leaf. Gilding costs are usually borne by one party alone, more often by the artist, who does the work at his own expense. This is usually stated in the contract with the understanding that the total price covers the cost of such materials.³² The fact that the arbiter himself stepped in to determine the areas to be gilded, strongly suggests a compromise.

In the last report of September 21³³, Buggiano makes a final appraisal and he also gives exact directions as to which areas of the tomb were to be gilded. Buggiano recommends that Luca is to have the maximum recompense allowed by the initial contract of 200 florins. From this amount, however, Luca's share of the gilding cost was to be deducted, 3 *lire di piccioli*.³⁴ Federigo is to contribute an equal amount. The 200 florins do not include the work done *outside* the stipulated contract, work which was finished afterwards, namely: the three panels of red marble, the four pilasters with other ornaments and the cornice crowning the work, for which Luca was to receive an additional 40 florins:

*E de' sopradetti fiorini dugento non s'intende dentrovi l'agiunte le quali se feciono dipoi fatto detto lavoro, le quali sono fuori della scritta, cioè per tre tavole di marmo rosso e quatro cholonne quadre chon altri ornamenti e una cornice di sopra detto lavoro: del quale lavoro sono d'accordo tra loro del pregio di fiorini quaranta e chosà insieme àmo detto a mme.*³⁵

³⁰ See under doc. IX.

³¹ Buggiano as arbiter, *declaravit et iudicavit nichil deficere seu defecisse in laborerio facto per dictum Lucam ... sed omnia fecisse et adimplevisse prout tenebatur et debeat secundum conventionem existentem inter eos et quod nichilominus dictus Luca teneatur et debeat dorare a mordente sepulchrum seu laborerium... ubi et quomodo videbitur eidem Andree ad communes expensas utriusque partis*. Quoted from Giov. Poggi, *Documenti sulla tomba Federighi di Luca della Robbia*, in: *Rivista d'Arte*, iv, 1906, doc. 2, p. 157, and reprinted in *Marquand*, op. cit., p. 129, doc. 4 (see under doc. IX).

³² See *Glasser*, op. cit., p. 45. As an example of a contract for a tomb in which the areas to be gilded are specified, and in which directions are given for the installation of the tomb and the stipulation that the artist is to pay for the gold-leaf, the following two excerpts from the Contract of July 12, 1451 for the tomb of Beata Villana by the Rossellino workshop are given: *El detto drappo sia frangiato intorno isbrizzato d'oro. E poi dentro nel campo del padiglione di drieto broccato d'oro e d'altro colore nero e broccato di fuori variato da quello di dentro* (Gilding and polychromy specification). *Bernardo abbia ataglare e smurare e murare, e a mandare via i calcinacci, e affare tutto il detto lavoro netto a ogni sua spesa d'oro...* (Installation stipulation and clause covering the cost of the gold-leaf). See *Maryla Tyszkiewiczowa*, *Bernardo Rossellino*, Florence, 1928, pp. 111-113.

³³ Doc. X.

³⁴ The value of the *lira di piccioli* (petty lira, a money of account) varied from 4-7 lire per gold florin during the course of the fifteenth century. See *Florence Edler*, *Glossary of Medieval Terms of Business*, Italian Series, 1200-1600, Cambridge (Mass.), 1934, p. 164.

³⁵ Luca might have expected to receive 40 florins in any case: the 80 florins (i.e. 8 florins each month for 10 months) minus the estimated cost of the marble used (Luca's estimate of 40 florins) would equal 40 florins. This clause covering the monthly “salary” in addition to the total recompense (200 florins) is relatively unusual, and it suggests that it was meant to cover the carving of the architectural elements of the tomb, which perhaps had to be suballocated to other craftsmen.

How were these architectural elements, now lost, related to the extant tomb as we know it today?

A drawing recently discovered by Professor Alessandro Parronchi (Fig. 2) shows the Federighi tomb as it was reinstalled in the corridor of the side door of San Pancrazio in 1753.³⁶ The tomb-niche is shown supported by a simple unadorned cornice carried by four coupled Corinthian pilasters, two at either end, which stood on a base apparently decorated with small tondi. Above the niche was a richly carved cornice with dentil, egg-and-dart, and cyma patterns. With the possible exception of the undecorated cornice which today crowns the niche (and which originally may have supported it), none of the architectural elements visible in the drawing has survived. However, several elements mentioned in Buggiano's second report can be recognized in the drawing: the four pilasters and the cornice crowning the tomb. This suggests that the drawing, even though it shows the tomb as it was reinstalled about 300 years after it was made, and in spite of the fact that the proportions represented are not accurate, does reflect its appearance as it was originally assembled next to the Federighi altar on the transept wall of San Pancrazio.³⁷

Buggiano's report mentions three panels of red marble. These are not identifiable in the drawing, perhaps because the draughtsman chose the area between the pilasters to record the funerary inscription on the sarcophagus. Certainly it was in the area between the coupled pilasters that the red marble panels were to be found, either as one solid area of red, or more probably, as three single slabs of red framed by white marble moldings repeating the approximate proportions of the tripartite arrangement of the panels above the effigy.³⁸ It is also possible, of course, that there was only one Corinthian pilaster at either end, and that the other two were used to separate the marble panels from one another. However, it seems to me preferable to use the drawing from the *Sepoluario Baldovinetti* as a basis for the reconstruction of the tomb, that is, showing coupled pilasters supporting the niche.

The latter portion of Buggiano's report is extremely interesting because it gives exact directions for gilding specified areas of the sculpture. The bishop's miter, the border of the chasuble, the pillow and bier-cloth below the effigy were all to be gilded. The hair and the wings of the two angels holding the wreath were to be gilded and the seraphim heads on the three soffit panels were also to be ornamented with gold-leaf. Golden halos were to frame the faces of Christ, the Virgin Mary and Saint John.

³⁶ See *Alessandro Parronchi*, *L'aspetto primitivo del sepolcro Federighi*, in: *Paragone*, xv, 1964, pp. 49-52, ill. 62. The drawing may be found in the *Sepoluario* by Giovanni di Poggio Baldovinetti (eighteenth century), f. 134 (Biblioteca Riccardiana, Fondo Moreni 339). Other than the inscription, it has the following information relevant to the tomb written on it, *Deposito di marmo nella Chiesa di S. Pancrazio di Firenze... Questo deposito stava allato la Cappella de' Federighi, et il dì 2 Gennaio 1753 ne fu levato e trasferito nell'andito della Porta di Fianco dove era quello di D. Vincenzio Conci... Nota che in questo deposito non vi furon ritrovate le ossa del Vescovo, il quale ebbe sepoltura nella Cattedrale di Fiesole...* The record of transfer is dated two weeks later, January 27, 1753 (doc. XI) and it indicates that the monument was a tomb since the earthly remains of the bishop were found in a small casket of chestnut wood.

³⁷ In comparing the drawing of the tomb of Orlando de' Medici in the *Sepoluario Baldovinetti*, op. cit., f. 56, with the extant tomb in SS. Annunziata, it becomes clear how inaccurate the draughtsman was in the matter of proportions. The lower architectural section of the tomb has been lengthened by approximately one-third in the drawing with respect to the actual proportions of the tomb. Some architectural details, such as the capitals of the pilasters have been enlarged out of all proportion to the shafts of the pilasters. The same is probably true of the drawing of the Federighi tomb.

³⁸ For a comparison of the architectural arrangement of the Federighi tomb with that of the tomb of Orlando de' Medici, see below, p. 18-20.



2 Drawing of the Federighi Tomb from the Sepoltuario Baldovinetti. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana.

The total effect must have been sumptuous. Many of the areas to be gilded have simple geometric contours and they are symmetrically disposed within the frame: the circular halos of the three relief figures above the effigy, the slender strip of bier-cloth below the entire length of the recumbent figure, and on the sarcophagus, the flat curves of the angels' wings and the halo-like form of the hair framing their faces (Fig. 1). One other area in which the gilding was concentrated was that around the bishop's face, the main focus of the monument. Here, quite clearly, the surfaces were to be gilded on the raised areas of the varied floral designs covering the bishop's miter, the pillow on which the head rests and the border of the stole around his neck and chest (Fig. 3). The most sculptural and naturalistic floral designs are found on the miter in the band which descends from the tip of the headdress to join the border encircling his forehead. These strongly projecting forms when gilded must have created sparkling highlights around the brow of the sensitively carved face.

The pillow was carved with a more stylized design of three-petalled flowers in circles, linked together with smaller round flowers. The low relief, when gilded, must have suggested gold brocade. The theme of linked circles containing a floral motif echoes that of the frame where the bouquets are enclosed in linked ovals. The pattern of the chasuble is even more stylized, and must have been barely visible from the original viewpoint of the spectator unless he were standing at some distance from the tomb where he might catch a glimpse of the delicate web of gilding on the border of the garment. The narrow piece of bier-cloth which is visible has a design of linked "fern" leaves enclosing other smaller leaf and flower forms. The only portion of this design readily visible is a single row of obliquely arranged "fern" leaves, similar in size but alternating in direction, giving the effect of an austere frieze under the entire length of the effigy. Today the exuberant design of the frame, its glazed colors and gold background intact, seems foreign to the pale marble interior of the tomb, so much so that some critics have suggested that Luca della Robbia was not responsible for its design at all.³⁹ But it becomes apparent that the floral motifs on the miter, chasuble, pillow and drapery are in harmony with the flower and leaf motifs found in the frame and that when these were gilded they must have contributed to the unity of the whole design.

It is as unusual for an arbiter to declare which areas of a work of art are to be gilded as it is for both artist and patron to share the gilding costs. Certainly the raised floral patterns were carved by Luca with eventual gilding in mind. Yet in none of the documents is there any reference to clauses in the original contract which covered the gilding, so probably there were no such written stipulations.⁴⁰ Perhaps Buggiano's declaration was meant to reassure the patron that, once the tomb was installed, it would also be gilded to Federigo's entire satisfaction. The fact that Federigo had to contribute toward the gilding costs (which he normally would not be required to do) suggests that, either he might have insisted on more gilding than the

³⁹ See *Ruth Wedgwood Kennedy*, Alesso Baldovinetti, New Haven, 1938, pp. 81 ff. and *Mario Salmi*, *L'Arte Italiana*, II, Florence, 1942, p. 221. *Cruttwell* did not doubt that Luca made the frame, but she thought it inappropriate in its design: "The introduction, however, of a framework thus detailed and light, in a work so stately and solemn, is — to my mind at least — an artistic error. Daintiness and bright color, such as in this ornament, seem out of place, enclosing so tragic a figure. Besides detracting from the unity of the general effect, these elaborately painted tiles, however exquisite in themselves, seriously interfere with the breadth and massive dignity of the sculpture." (*Maud Cruttwell*, *Luca and Andrea della Robbia*, London, 1902, p. 95). Vasari, who may have seen it with its gilding (and polychromy) intact, devotes an enthusiastic paragraph to the tomb, concentrating mainly on the frame: *Fece ancora per messer Benozzo Federighi, vescovo di Fiesole, nella chiesa di San Brancazio, una sepoltura di marmo, e sopra quella esso Federigo a giacere ritratto di naturale, e tre altre mezze figure. E nell'ornamento dei pilastri di quell'opera dipinse nel piano certi festoni a mazzi di frutti e foglie sì vive e naturali, che col pennello in tavola non si farebbe altrimenti a olio: ed in vero questa opera è maravigliosa e rarissima, avendo in essa Luca fatto i lumi e l'ombra tanto bene, che non pare quasi che a fuoco ciò sia possibile* (*Vasari-Milanesi*, vol. II, Florence, 1878, p. 176).

⁴⁰ See above, n. 32.



3 Effigy of Bishop Benozzo Federighi (detail).

artist deemed wise for the aesthetic appearance of the monument or that he might have insisted on more gilding than was initially intended. Shall we imagine that the patron wished the wreath around the inscription gilded as well, and that the artist and arbiter dissuaded him from having this done, perhaps in favor of dark green polychromy? Shall we imagine that Luca was not enthusiastic about gilding the angels' hair and wings and had to give in to the patron? In short, if the source of conflict were really an aesthetic one (and not economic) we would like to know if Luca della Robbia anticipated the more austere taste of the Cinquecento in desiring less gold than did the patron. However, it must be borne in mind that even in the sixteenth century, gilding was looked upon with greater favor than we often suspect. Apparently even Michelangelo's David did not escape a touch of gold-leaf.⁴¹

⁴¹ Among the payments connected with Michelangelo's David published by *Karl Frey*, there were several which were dated October 31, 1504, which were scattered among the entries for the Sala di Gran Consiglio (all the documents were published in chronological order). Hence they seem to have escaped attention, especially since *Frey* published them without comment. The first is a payment to Francesco di Bernardo *battiloro*, for the remaining sum due him for 5200 pieces of gold-leaf, *per dorare la cigna e'l bronchone e la ghirlanda al gighante*. Another payment was made to Francesco di Piero dell'Orto, a painter, *per havere messo doro el broncone del gigante et la cigna et la ghirlanda*. The goldsmith, Bastiano di Domenico Cennini, was paid for *uno filo d'ottone con ventotto foglie di rame et per saldatura di decti foglie in su decto filo, saldato con lariento per el gighante*. (*K. Frey*, *Studien zu Michelangelo Buonarroti und zur Kunst seiner Zeit*, in: *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. xxx, 1909,

If the source of conflict between artist and patron must remain conjectural, evidence indicates that Buggiano's decisions were carried out. In 1902 there were still traces of gilding on the tomb, although they were not regarded kindly by a generation conditioned by unadorned white marble Neoclassical sculpture. Maude Cruttwell writes, "almost we must regret the elaborate ornament of cope and miter, of pillow and bier-cloth, which disturb the rigid simplicity of the figure. These decorations must have originally appeared even more elaborate than now, for there are traces of gold still to be seen which accented the embroidered patterns but which is now happily almost worn away."⁴² Perhaps such a reaction was not only a matter of the prevalent taste, but also justified by the cheaper gilding substitutes which often replaced the original gold-leaf worn away by time. As late as 1940 Marquand noticed remains of gilding on the halos of the three figures in relief, as well as some traces of color on the eyeballs and eyebrows.⁴³ Today there are no traces of gilding or polychromy left.

Besides the charges specifically stated in the course of the hearings before the Mercanzia, there seems to have been a source of conflict which was not explicitly stated. Since it was customary to pay an artist in installments as the work progressed, it is difficult to understand why Federigo had only paid Luca little more than half of what he owed the artist when the sculptor had already completed the carving of the tomb. It is also not clear why Federigo did not appoint an appraiser sooner to expedite the installation of the tomb, but chose instead to allow his brother to bring the matter before the court of the Mercanzia. It sounds as if the patron were in some way dissatisfied with the tomb, a dissatisfaction which does not seem to be stated clearly in his charges against the sculptor except in the implied complaint of inferior quality, a charge stated only during the patron's second appearance in court on Feb. 21, 1458. Perhaps the patron feared that the tomb might not be set into the wall with proper care and craftsmanship, what with the many glazed terra-cotta insets for the frame and the many marble pieces to be assembled and installed. However, I think the main reason for concern on the part of Federigo may best be understood by imagining the disparate parts of the tomb as they may have appeared lying around in the bottega of Luca della Robbia.

However stately and artistically satisfying the effigy may appear in its niche, it must have looked very unprepossessing in the artist's workshop. Any spectator can ascertain this for himself by taking a vantage point close to, and slightly above, the effigy. The artist was faced with the problem of accommodating a figure into a niche which was wide enough but not of sufficient depth to accommodate a life-size figure carved in the round. Perhaps the shallowness of the niche was determined by the fact that it was cut into the transept wall of San Pancrazio. Luca's solution to the problem was twofold: first of all, he flattened some of the forms without depriving them of the illusion of being carved fully in the round⁴⁴, and secondly, he cut away

Beiheft, p. 132, n. 189, 190 and 192). These payments seem to indicate that once the figure of David wore a gilded wreath about his head (28 gilded copper leaves would not have made a suitable wreath for any other purpose). The tree trunk was gilded, as was the sling-strap across the back of the figure. It seemed strange to me that there were no references to these payments in the recent literature. Professor *Middeldorf* called my attention to their publication fifty years ago by *Giacomo De Nicola*, *La Giuditta di Donatello e la Madonna Panciatichi di Desiderio*, in: *Rassegna d'Arte*, iv, 1917, p. 157. This author was also surprised to find that the payments had escaped general attention, even that of *Frey* — or so he thought: "sono sfuggiti, non so come, a tutti, anche al minuzioso *Frey*." *De Nicola* apparently missed their publication in the article by *Frey* which caught my attention. However, my reading of these entries coincides exactly with the interpretation of *De Nicola*.

⁴² *Cruttwell*, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

⁴³ *Marquand*, op. cit., p. 124.

⁴⁴ The procedure in flattening the forms is related to the treatment of the effigy in the tomb of Beata Villana, where a similar optical principle is utilized, except that the whole figure is in much flatter relief because the niche is only about 15 cm. wide.



4 Effigy of Bishop Benozzo Federighi (detail).

portions of the body which would not have been visible to the spectator standing in the transept of San Pancrazio looking up at the tomb. The bishop's left arm does not project into space as would the normal arm, but instead, it is slightly flattened, bent and shortened, making it appear boneless from a close, oblique viewpoint at the level of the shoulder (Fig. 4).⁴⁵ By skillful manipulation of the drapery the projection and the full form of the arm is suggested to the distant viewer. Since, in the shallow niche which is at most about 43.2 cm. wide⁴⁶, there was no room for either the far arm or shoulder, these limbs were cut off, leaving only the right hand, the wrist and a small portion of the sleeve. The near view gives a strange impression of a floating right hand, but from a distance it seems to be resting naturally on top of the left hand below it. The effigy appears to lie comfortably within its shallow limits without betraying the narrowness of its confines, nor is the spectator aware of the missing shoulder and arm.⁴⁷ But the effigy in the workshop of Luca della Robbia must have looked very strange indeed with its amputated right arm and shoulder, its rubbery flattened left arm, and a neck

⁴⁵ It is difficult to photograph this effect because the exaggerated foreshortening recorded by a camera counteracts the shortening and flattening of the form which is visible to the eye. I am very grateful to S. *Nadir Tronci* for the two fine close-up photographs (Figs. 3, 4).

⁴⁶ For measurements, see above n. 11.

⁴⁷ As already noted by *Crittwell*, op. cit., p. 94, and *Marquand*, op. cit., p. 123.

strangely out of joint when viewed from above. In many areas the workmanship is rough, especially where the forms would normally be hidden in shadow, such as in the underpart of the folded hands or the side of the bishop's temple (Figs. 3, 4). How these might have appeared in the brighter light of a workshop is left to one's imagination. Two things become clear: first of all, as concerns the artist; Luca, in creating this sculpture was certainly aware of the spectator's viewpoint to a degree that he was not twenty years earlier when he carved the figures for his *Cantoria* between 1431 and 1438. To me it seems probable that Luca observed the carrying power of the rougher forms of Donatello's figures in his *Cantoria*. Vasari's famous comparison of the two works, written in the mid-sixteenth century may very well have corresponded to the critique of the mid-fifteenth century as well:

*Donatello... fece il suo con molto più giudizio e pratica che non aveva fatto Luca... per avere egli quell'opera condotta quasi tutta in bozze e non finita pulitamente, acciocchè apparisse di lontano assai meglio, come fa, che quella di Luca: la quale, sebbene è fatta con buon disegno e diligenza, ella fa nondimeno con la sua pulitezza e finimento, che l'occhio per la lontananza la perde e non la scorge bene come si fa quella di Donato quasi solamente abbozzata.*⁴⁸

Secondly, it becomes clear why Federigo may have been hesitant to commit more funds for the tomb until he could see it in place, installed properly in the spot for which it was designed. Luca, on the other hand, who had long experience designing sculptural ensembles for places both high up and far distant, certainly knew his metier and could visualize the final effect of the disparate pieces including the slender effigy, which may have looked singularly unimpressive to a layman like Federigo. Luca doubtless resented the delay in payment with its implied lack of confidence on the part of the patron toward an artist who had one of the busiest and most flourishing workshops in Florence. Understandably, Luca would be increasingly hesitant to install a tomb for so parsimonious a patron, especially without the support of an experienced arbiter who could judge both the skill with which he had conserved the marble supplied to him, and who could also visualize to what end the distortions in form and the roughness in finish were created.

It is necessary to speculate on the reasons for the impasse between artist and patron because the charges presented in court were of necessity couched in terms of non-fulfilment of contract with reference only to specific stipulations violated. That Federigo was within his right to insist that the tomb be installed is clear, but the reasonable request of Luca that the appraisal be made first seems to have obliged Federigo to put stronger emphasis on the contention that the workmanship was not of sufficient quality. Buggiano, as arbiter, specifically declared in his first report that the work was of the proper quality, not being in any way deficient, and indeed Luca did receive the maximum recompense allowed in the contract.

The tomb of Benozzo Federighi must have occupied a position not unlike the one it occupies in Santa Trinita today, except that instead of being inside the last chapel to the left (as the viewer faces the altar), it was immediately outside the Ridolfi chapel on the transept wall. Like the transept of the Trinita, that of San Pancrazio was raised a few steps above the nave.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, pp. 170-171. See also *Horst W. Janson, The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton, 1957, vol. II, p. 20 f., for the conflicting views as to whether or not Donatello was aware of optical principles. I am inclined to think that on an empirical basis, he and other early Quattrocento sculptors were well aware of the necessity for compensating distortion.

⁴⁹ Two sources are particularly useful for visualizing the interior of San Pancrazio in the fifteenth century prior to its mid-eighteenth-century rebuilding. The first is a recent study: *Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, Studio storico e proposte di restauro della chiesa e del convento di S. Pancrazio in Firenze*, in: *Boll. Ingegneri*, xi, 1963, pp. 1-26. From payments for a new roof constructed in 1438, and for steps made in 1444, it is clear that there were three chapels on the choir wall (a larger choir chapel with a smaller chapel on either side) and that these chapels and perhaps a portion of the transept were on a slightly higher level than the nave of the church (loc. cit., pp. 5-10; 25-26). This is confirmed by information

But in the smaller interior of San Pancrazio, with its three chapels instead of five, the tomb must have been more eminently visible to the spectator who walked down the aisle toward the altar. With its substructure intact, the tomb must also have been a more imposing architectural component of the interior than is the case now, for, in its present state, it is merely a wall-niche tomb. The red marble panels, enclosed by double Corinthian pilasters of white marble, must have made a fine contrast with the fresh greens of the leafy bouquets in the glazed terra-cotta frame. Certainly the tomb must have been created with the site in mind.

Before speculating further on the genesis of the design, it would be desirable to know who the man was who furnished the “*desegno*” according to which Luca della Robbia was supposed to make the monument. The probable identity of *Iohanni di Ser Paolo* — as he was called in the contract⁵⁰ — was suggested to me by Mr. Edward Sanchez, who called my attention to the fact that Domenico and Federigo Federighi had a third partner in their joint wool “*bottega*” whose name was Giovanni di Ser Paolo. He is mentioned in Domenico Federighi’s tax declaration of 1457⁵¹:

Trovianci in su una bottega d'arte di lana in Sa' Martino, che dice i' me e ne' chompagni, fiorini mille dugiento dov'è chonpagnio Federigho mio fratello e Giovanni di Ser Pagholo gonfalone lion rosso, cioè tra panni chompiuti, rovesci et altre cose appartenente al'arte nostra, et in debitori, sbattuto e creditori, chome vi si dà in questa detti debitori e creditori che di detti fiorini 1200 ne sono mia fiorini 750 e di Federigho detto fiorini 450.

Giovanni was the son of Ser Pagholo dell’Arte della Lana, the notary of the Wool Guild. Giovanni’s elder brother made their tax declaration in 1457 after their father’s death and in it he also referred to the partnership.⁵² Giovanni was matriculated in the Wool Guild on July 31,

from a second source: S. Rosselli, “Sepoluario Fiorentino, ovvero descrizione delle chiese, cappelle e sepolture,” 1657, ASF ms. 625, f. 951-975. This author’s descriptions are very specific: he starts with the choir chapel of San Pancrazio, then he turns left to describe the adjacent chapel on the North (Cappella de’ Ridolfi), and after that he turns his attention to the transept wall: *volgendo nel braccio di questa chiesa di verso tramontana, Deposito del Vescovo Federighi*. He continues to the left and mentions the Federighi altar: *Acanto a questo sepolcro, Capella della medesima famiglia Federighi, con Arme loro scolpite in pietra...* Next he apparently went down some steps (*entrando giù per il corpo della chiesa*) in order to contemplate the monuments near the side entrance (which lead to the Via della Spada). He entered the corridor of the side door, where he mentions the tomb of Abbot Don Vincenzo. (It was to this corridor that the Federighi tomb was eventually transferred on January 27, 1753, immediately opposite the tomb of Don Vincenzo Conci [see doc. XI]). Rosselli then returned to the church proper, mentioned a water-font on the other side of the door (with Federighi arms carved on it) and then he turned his attention to works found in the nave. Today the interior of the church bears no resemblance to the fifteenth-century interior. A complete rebuilding of the church took place between 1752 and 1755. In 1808 it was secularized (except for the Rucellai chapel) and from then on a steady deterioration has taken place. It was used as a lottery, then a tobacco factory, and later rebuilt once more after a fire had destroyed portions of the interior (see *Paatz*, op. cit., vol. IV, pp. 564-565). Plans for its restoration are discussed by *Dezzi Bardeschi*, op. cit. This reference was kindly called to my attention by Mr. *Howard Burns*.

⁵⁰ Since the man’s name is not preceded by the title “*maestro*” there is no reason to suppose that he is an artist, as I did at first, and as did *Horne* (loc. cit.), who suggested (as one alternative) he might be one Giovanni di Pagolo who either lived or had his *bottega* at the Canto alle Macine. “Was it then, an original design for the tomb, such as that which Prior Bolton made for the tomb of Henry VII, and which Torrigiano was under obligation to work from?” *Horne*’s question can now be answered in the affirmative.

⁵¹ ASF, Catasto, S. Maria Novella, 1457, Lion Rosso, 816, n. 48, f. 137v; 817, n. 48, f. 151v (Domenico di Jacopo Federighi).

⁵² ASF, Catasto (same volumes as in n. 51), 816, n. 75, f. 244r; 817, n. 75, f. 254r (Piero di Ser Pagholo dall’Arte della Lana). Federigho’s declaration stated simply that he had a *bottega* with Domenico, his brother, and “*comp(agni)*” without mentioning the names of other partners (same volumes as above, n. 360, f. 1014v; n. 360, f. 1025v). In the tax declaration made by Piero di Ser Pagholo in behalf of his brother, Giovanni, he stated: *Giovanni sopradetto s’esercita per chompagno in una bottega d’arte di lana in Sa’ Martino, che dice in Domenico Federighi e compagni. Apartenghonsi a me fiorini 200 di monte d’uno credito che dice Domenico Federighi e Giovanni di Ser Pagholo f. —, s. 40.*

1440⁵³, and he held important offices in the city government.⁵⁴ His house was on the Via degli Orafi where the Federighi had also owned a house since 1427. Why it should be Giovanni di Ser Paolo who made the design for Bishop Benozzo Federighi's tomb is not clear. We must suppose that it was either his inventiveness or imagination or perhaps his reverence for tradition which recommended him for the task. Perhaps he was well acquainted with the uncle of his two business partners.

The design was in part inspired by traditional Florentine tombs of the Trecento, as has often been noted.⁵⁵ The Pietà, carved in three separate panels containing the Virgin Mary, Christ and John the Evangelist, is a theme which appears on the Baroncelli tomb in Santa Croce (1327-1328) and on the tomb of Bishop Aliotti located in Santa Maria Novella (1336 f.).⁵⁶ In both of these tombs it appears on the sarcophagus whereas in the Federighi tomb it appears above the effigy on the back wall of the niche. The Aliotti tomb would be an appropriate prototype because Tedici Aliotti was also Bishop of Fiesole until his death in 1336 (Fig. 5).⁵⁷

The motif of flying angels bearing a wreath was revitalized by Lorenzo Ghiberti, following classical prototypes. It appears on the Three Martyrs Shrine, completed not long after July 9, 1427⁵⁸, and again on the "Sepultura"⁵⁹ of the fifth-century Bishop of Florence, Saint Zenobius, a bronze casket commissioned by the Wool Guild for the easternmost chapel of the Duomo in 1432 and completed about a decade later. Both works are described by their author with apparent pride and also with precision as to the foliage of the wreath. The casket of Saint Zenobius is described by Ghiberti as follows: *sei agnoletti tengono una grillanda di foglie d'olmo, evvi dentro uno epitapho intaglato di lettere antiche in honore del Sancto*.⁶⁰ The Three Martyrs Shrine, which is closer to the Federighi tomb in its design because there is only one

⁵³ See ASF, Arte della Lana, 21, f. 86v, under July 31, 1440: *Johannes olim filius ser Pauli ser Francisci magistri Pieri de Florentia, ex beneficio eius patris*. Giovanni's father died at the age of 63 in 1427, leaving behind six children of which Giovanni was the youngest, aged 8. In the same year Federigo's father died, aged 50, leaving eight children of which Federigo was the oldest, aged 24, and Domenico the second oldest, aged 23. Their house was on the Via degli Orafi (Catasto, S. Maria Novella, Lion Rosso, Campione, 76, f. 152v-154r; 112v). Three years later both households continue under the direction of the oldest sons, who make the tax declarations. In the Catasto of the parish for 1469 only Federigo's name still appears (aged 64), his wife, his two legitimate children, Tomaso, aged 24 and Filippo, aged 14, and his illegitimate son, Antonio, aged 4½ (Catasto, 1469, 919, f. 303).

⁵⁴ Priorista Mariami, vol. VI, f. 1419: *Joannes Ser Pauli de Artelana*. This reference and the ones of the three preceding notes I owe to Mr. Edward Sanchez.

⁵⁵ *Pope-Hennessy*, op. cit., p. 47 and p. 295; *Marquand*, op. cit., p. 125.

⁵⁶ For illustration and bibliography for the Baroncelli tomb, see *Margaret H. Longhurst*, Notes on Italian Monuments of the Twelfth through the Sixteenth Century, London, 1962, G 10; for the tomb of Bishop Tedici Aliotti, op. cit., G 9, and *Fritz Burger*, Geschichte des florentinischen Grabmals von den ältesten Zeiten bis Michelangelo, Strasbourg, 1904, pp. 65-66.

⁵⁷ Bishop Aliotti was present when the relics of St. Zenobius were transferred in 1330 (*Stefano Orlandi*, Necrologio di S. Maria Novella, I, Florence, 1955, p. 381). In 1439 the relics were moved once more to a new chapel in the Duomo, designed by Brunelleschi, amid great festivity attended by Pope Eugenius IV and members of the council, including Bishop Benozzo. The casket of Saint Zenobius, designed by Ghiberti, was supposed to have an epitaph on it composed by Leonardo Bruni, but in the end another was used instead (*Giov. Poggi*, Il Duomo di Firenze, Berlin, 1909, doc. 931 and 948). Since the tombs of Bishop Aliotti, St. Zenobius, Leonardo Bruni and Pope Eugenius IV may all have influenced the design of the Federighi tomb (see below, pp. 18, 20-23) it is interesting to note how the activities of their owners were interwoven. For the transfer of the relics in 1439, see *Leader Scott* (*Lucy E. Baxter*), Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, London, 1908, p. 95 f.

⁵⁸ Arca di Santi Proto, Giacinto e Nemesio, Bargello. See *Richard Krautheimer*, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Princeton, 1956, pl. 76, p. 138, pp. 146-148, fig. 138. The Three Martyrs Shrine as a prototype for the sarcophagus design of the Federighi tomb was mentioned by *Pope-Hennessy*, op. cit., p. 295.

⁵⁹ The shrine for the relics of St. Zenobius is referred to in the initial contract of March 18, 1432, as a "sepultura" and also as a "cassa" (*G. Poggi*, op. cit., doc. 906). See also *Krautheimer*, op. cit., pp. 141-142. Both Ghiberti works as possible prototypes were mentioned by *Crutwell*, op. cit., p. 25.

⁶⁰ *Julius von Schlosser*, Lorenzo Ghiberti's Denkwürdigkeiten, Berlin, 1912, pp. 47-48.



5 Tomb of Bishop Tedice Aliotti. Florence, Santa Maria Novella.

angel on either side of the wreath, is similarly described except that the antique letters were surrounded by an olive garland. Luca adapted the theme for the sarcophagus of the Federighi tomb, giving a somewhat terser interpretation to the lithe sway of the angels, but retaining the graceful curves of their bodies enveloped in windswept drapery and of their slightly bent arms which embrace and hold the laurel wreath.⁶¹ The wreath is a welcome sculptural complement to the foliage of the terra-cotta frame, and the rhythm animating the flying figures echoes that of the frame's floral elements.

The most important single source of inspiration is the tomb of Leonardo Bruni, begun after his death in 1444 by Bernardo Rossellino, and probably finished only a few years before the Federighi tomb was commissioned.⁶² The stately serenity of the effigy, lying flat on the bier with the face turned toward the spectator, is repeated in the effigy of Bishop Benozzo. The angels, holding in this case a large rectangular epitaph, do so with unbent arms, creating an angularity appropriate to the architectural character of the Bruni tomb. The more monumental character of the Bruni angels is reflected in Luca's treatment of the Ghibertian theme. Luca also adopts the pose of the left angel, whose glance is directed over his shoulder and slightly to the left, a welcome variation in what is otherwise a symmetrical, almost heraldic arrangement. The three red marble panels above and in back of the Bruni effigy are found in the Federighi tomb as part of its architectural substructure (Fig. 6).⁶³

A second tomb from the Rossellino workshop⁶⁴ is almost exactly contemporary with the Federighi monument, the tomb of Orlando de' Medici in the Church of the Santissima Annunziata, begun after his death on December 11, 1455, or about a year and a half after the Federighi tomb was commissioned. There is no effigy. The tomb consists of a casket in a semicircular niche framed by an oak-leaf garland. The niche is supported by coupled white marble Corinthian pilasters at either end which surround three red marble panels set off from one another by single Corinthian pilasters (Fig. 7). In contrast to the Federighi tomb where there were only four pilasters (as we know from Buggiano's report of September 24, 1459 and from the drawing of the Sepoltuario [Fig. 2]), the Medici tomb has six pilasters in all. Nonetheless, the concept of the architectural substructure is very similar.

In his study of the Florentine Quattrocento tomb, Fritz Burger accorded to the Medici tomb a place of honor in the development of the wall-niche tomb because for the first time the tomb niche was related to the wall below it and to the floor by means of classical architectural elements: "so hat dieses [Grabmonument] dem Typus des Arcosolienmonumentes durch die Einführung der reinen Formen der Frührenaissance die für das Quattrocento grundlegende Gestaltung verliehen."⁶⁵ It would be appropriate to remove the Federighi monument from the category of "letzten Ausläufer der 'Aveli'" to which Burger had relegated it⁶⁶,

⁶¹ Described as a laurel wreath by *Pope-Hennessy*, op. cit., p. 295, and as an olive wreath by *Marquand*, op. cit., p. 124. There are no olives visible, however, as in the wreath of Ghiberti's Three Martyrs Shrine.

⁶² Dates given for the completion of the Bruni tomb vary: 1446-47 (*Pope-Hennessy*, op. cit., p. 297), "before 1450" (*Leo Planiscig*, Bernardo and Antonio Rossellino, Vienna, 1942, p. 49), 1451 (*Tyszkiewiczowa*, as cited in *Pope-Hennessy*, op. cit., p. 295).

⁶³ Other tombs in which red marble panels appear, include the tomb of Beata Villana in Santa Maria Novella (one large panel beneath the effigy) and the Marsuppini tomb in Santa Croce (four panels above the effigy). The color is a deep or dark red.

⁶⁴ The tomb is almost universally attributed to Bernardo Rossellino: see *Cornel v. Fabriczy*, Ein Jugendwerk Bernardo Rossellinos und spätere unbeachtete Schöpfungen seines Meissels, in: *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxi, 1900, pp. 48-51; *Burger*, op. cit., p. 186; *Tyszkiewiczowa*, op. cit., p. 24; *Longhurst*, op. cit., section P 4 for further bibliography.

⁶⁵ *Burger*, op. cit., p. 188. There are three close copies of the tomb of Orlando de' Medici: the tomb of Gianozzo Pandolfini (d. 1456) in the Badia, Florence (*Longhurst*, P 18); the tomb of Filippo Inghirami (d. 1460) in the Duomo of Prato (*Longhurst*, P 19) and the tomb of Francesco Castellani (d. 1505) and his wife in Santa Croce, Florence (*Longhurst*, Q 15).

⁶⁶ *Burger*, op. cit., p. 203.



6 Tomb of Leonardo Bruni by Bernardo Rossellino, Florence, Santa Croce.

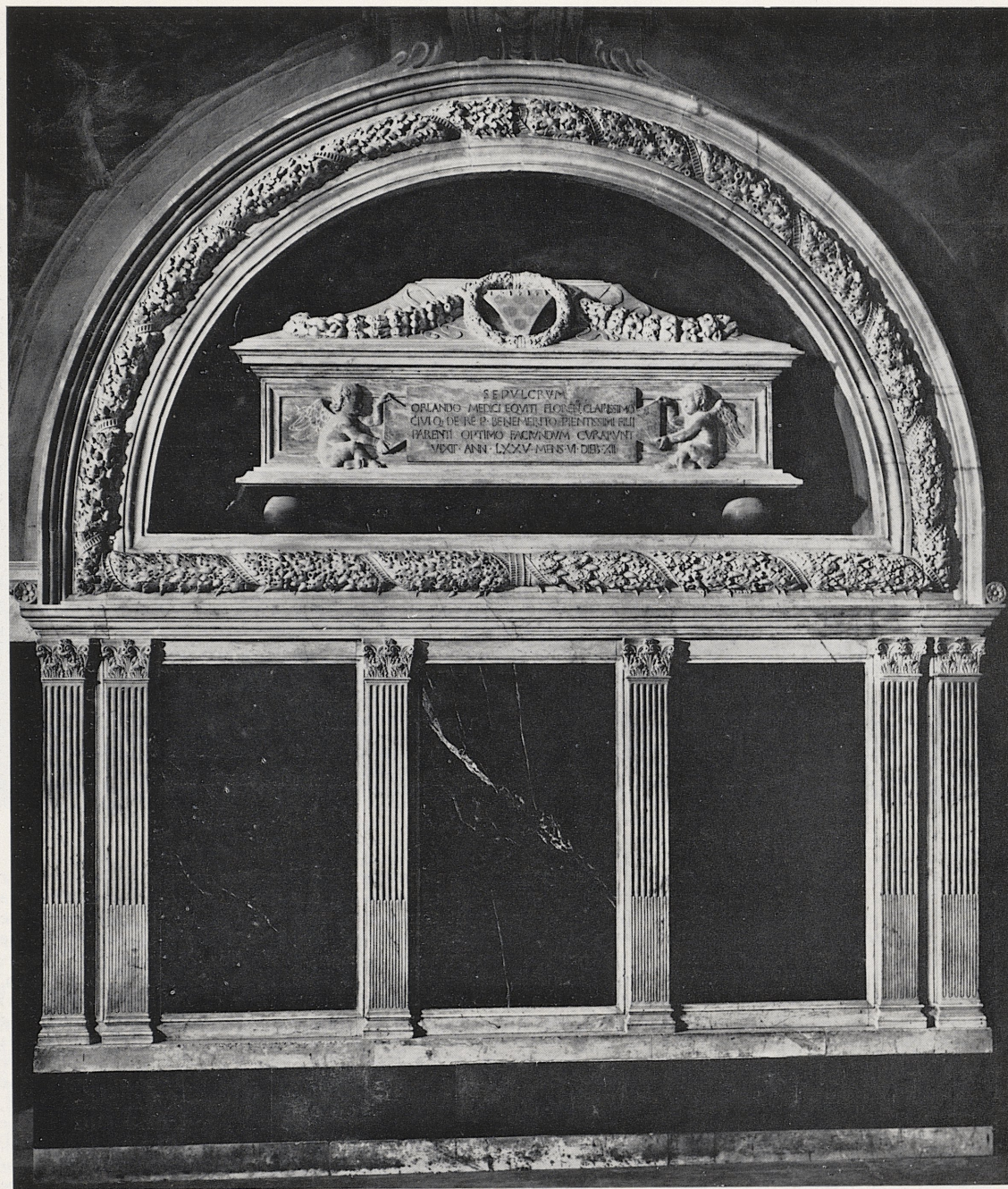
now that it is possible to visualize its architectural substructure, and to give it a place of honor along with that accorded the tomb of Orlando de' Medici. In fact, if it were granted that the architectural elements of the Federighi tomb (which were done outside the contract and which were completed after the other work) were *planned* (although not executed) at the time of the contract of 1454 (which the 80 florin special payment that *was* mentioned in the contract would suggest⁶⁷), then it might be claimed that it was Luca della Robbia who invented the first Early Renaissance niche-tomb with an architectural substructure. It is, however, even more difficult to determine which tomb was finished first.⁶⁸ For want of evidence it must be agreed that these innovations were, so to speak, "in the air," and that both Luca della Robbia and Bernardo Rossellino felt it necessary to support their respective tomb-niches with very similar architectural substructures in precisely the same years, 1455 to 1457.

Three elements of the Federighi tomb do not seem to be related to Florentine works but rather to fifteenth-century Roman tombs: the first, a preference for the rectangular niche; the second, the representation of a bier-cloth which is not draped but which descends as a narrow, even piece of cloth which barely touches the sarcophagus along its entire length; and thirdly, the use of sculpture relief immediately above the effigy arranged in three panels. The evidence is admittedly precarious because the Roman tombs which contain these elements are almost all dated after the Federighi tomb in the second half of the century with the possible exception of portions of the tomb of Pope Eugenius IV, who died in 1447.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ See above, n. 35. The usual practice in commissioning a work of art was to mention a total price, or to establish upper and/or lower limits within which the price was to fall. For instance, in the tomb of Filippo Lazzari, commissioned from Bernardo Rossellino on April 20, 1462, the cost was to be 220 florins and no more (*Tyszkiewiczowa*, op. cit., pp. 113-115). If it were not of the required quality, the artist was to receive less, according to the decision of the appraisers. There is no mention of any additional payment in this Rossellino contract as there is in the contract with Luca della Robbia. Sometimes changes or additions were made to the original contract as was the case with the tomb of Beata Villana in Santa Maria Novella where a second contract (January 27, 1452) was added to the first (July 12, 1451) because additional architectural elements were desired. These additions necessitated an additional expenditure of 100 lire, as an addition to the 250 lire initially allowed for the commission. It does not seem to me that the Federighi tomb was commissioned in different sections, i.e. first the niche, and then the architectural support. I think the 80 florins were to cover the architectural elements, which were not included in the design of Iohanni di Ser Paolo and which were designed by Luca and perhaps suballocated to other stone masons for execution.

⁶⁸ In Luca's tax declaration of February 28, 1458 (st.c.), the artist stated that he had finished the tomb over a year ago, that is by February 1457, or perhaps even in the last months of 1456. As for the tomb of Orlando de' Medici, it must also have been finished around the same time because the heirs of Orlando owed Bernardo Rossellino money, according to the sculptor's income tax declaration of 1457: *dalle redj di messer Orlando, Lire 141* (*Fabriczy*, op. cit., pp. 48-49).

⁶⁹ Roman tombs in which the following three motifs appear: A) a rectangular niche; B) a narrow, even, undraped bier-cloth, and C) relief sculpture in three panels above and behind the effigy, include the following tombs illustrated in *Longhurst*: (1) The tomb of Pietro Stefaneschi (d. 1417) in S. Maria in Trastevere, motifs A and B (the tomb was reassembled, however), *Longhurst*, F 13. — (2) The tomb of Cardinal d'Albret (d. 1465) in S. Maria in Aracoeli, attributed to Andrea Bregno, motifs A, B, C (except that there are two panels above the effigy and not three), *Longhurst*, X 1. — (3) The tomb of Cardinal Cristoforo della Rovere (d. 1477) in S. Maria del Popolo, motifs B, C (except that the relief sculpture is not of human figures), *Longhurst*, X 2. — (4) The tomb of Cardinal Coca (d. 1477) in S. Maria sopra Minerva, motifs A, B, *Longhurst*, X 3. — (5) The tomb of Cardinal Domenico Capranica (d. 1458) in S. Maria sopra Minerva, motifs A, B, *Longhurst*, X 4. — (6) The tomb of Cardinal Bartolommeo Rovarella (d. 1476), S. Clemente, Rome, motifs B and C, *Longhurst*, X 5. — (7) The tomb of Cardinal Pietro Riario (d. 1474) in SS. Apostoli (attributed to A. Bregno and Mino da Fiesole), motifs A, B, C, *Longhurst*, X 6. — (8) Tomb of Cardinal Savelli (d. 1498), S. Maria in Aracoeli, motifs A, B, C (with two relief panels), *Longhurst*, X 7. — (9) Tomb of Cardinal Juan de Mella (d. 1467) in S. Maria di Monserrato, motifs A, B and C, *Longhurst*, X 9. — (10) The tomb of Cardinal Ausia (del Monte) (d. 1483) in S. Sabina (school of A. Bregno), motifs A, B and C, *Longhurst*, X 14.



7 Tomb of Orlando de' Medici. Florence, Santissima Annunziata.

The tomb as it is now installed in San Salvatore in Lauro (Fig. 8) consists of a rectangular niche with the effigy of the Pope lying on a bier which rests on the sarcophagus. A narrow, even fringed bier-cloth is visible along the entire length of the bier. Immediately above the effigy are three panels containing relief sculpture, a Madonna and Child in the middle, two angels in either one of the side panels. Like many others, the tomb was dismantled from its original location in Old Saint Peter's and reassembled with fragments created by different artists, one of whom may have been Isaia da Pisa. Burger and some of the writers of his generation maintained that this tomb was the prototype for Roman tomb sculpture of the second half of the Quattrocento⁷⁰, and although this thesis can no longer be defended, the individual elements may possibly reflect the type current at mid-century, even if little tangible evidence remains to substantiate this hypothesis.⁷¹ It seems less likely that the Federighi tomb is a mutation which by coincidence prefigures Roman tomb-types of the second half of the Quattrocento than that it was patterned after a Roman type of which few examples remain completely intact.⁷² It might even be possible that it was patterned after the tomb of Pope Eugenius IV in its original state, whatever that may have been, especially since that pontiff, what with his long nine-year residence in Florence and his efforts in behalf of the Council of the Western Latin and Eastern Orthodox Churches, would have been well known to Bishop Federighi. The bishop's signature appears among the many others of both delegations on the document of 1439 proclaiming the union of the churches, *Ego Benotius episcopus Fesularum subscripsi*.⁷³

Considering the various sources for the Federighi tomb, one might entertain the speculation that Giovanni di Ser Paolo may have known the bishop well through his association with his nephews, Federigo and Domenico, and that he might have been selected by them to find suitable commemorative motifs related to the life, the profession and the ideals of the Bishop. Giovanni might have chosen the Pietà from the Aliotti tomb, not only because it was a pious theme but also because it came from the tomb of a previous bishop of Fiesole. He might have suggested the angels holding a wreath because they were found on the casket of the first bishop of Florence, Saint Zenobius (a post to which Bishop Benozzo had also aspired⁷⁴). The stately

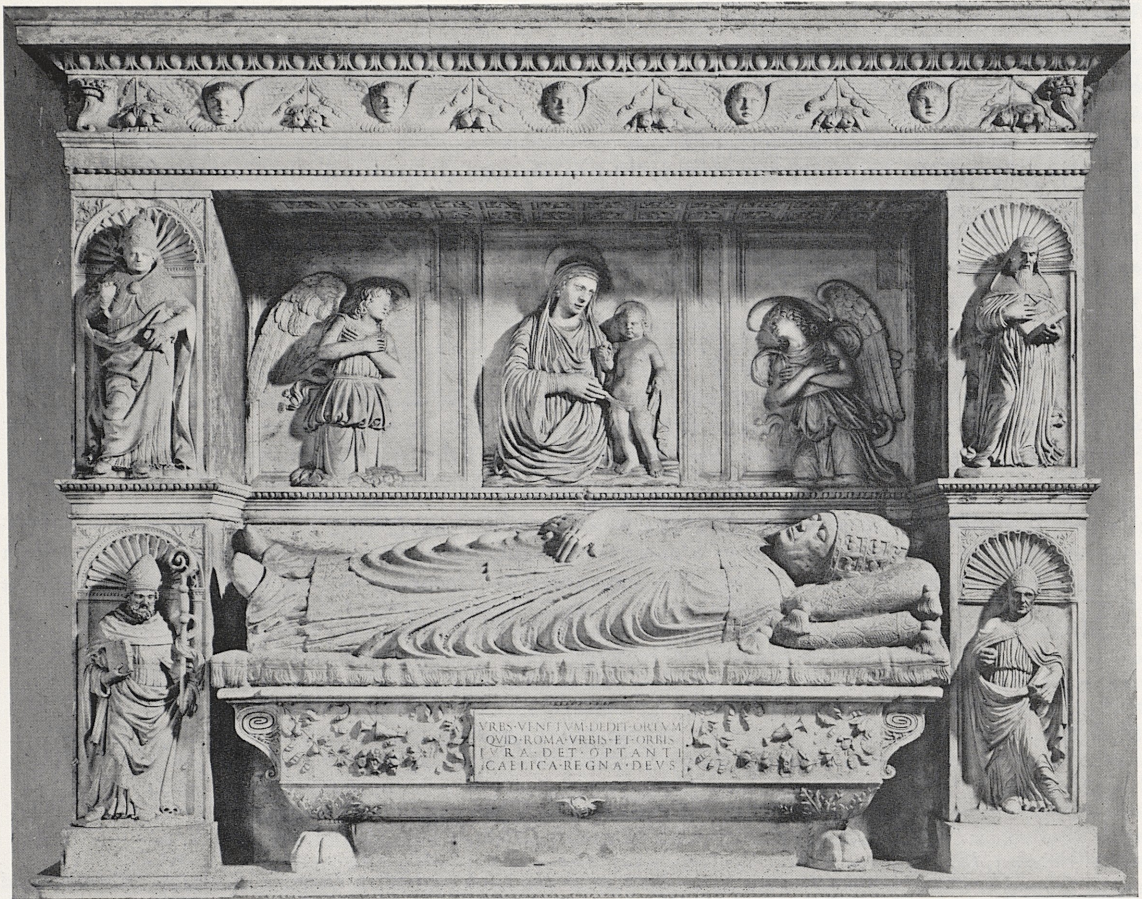
⁷⁰ Burger, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

⁷¹ The attribution to Isaia da Pisa rests on a poem written by Porcellio Pandone in which the sculptor is eulogized for his talents. A summary of the conflicting views on the dating and authorship of the tomb is given in Longhurst, *op. cit.*, W 1. The present tomb is of two dates (if not three) and there is no agreement on which pieces were done by Isaia. Burger had considered the whole tomb to be by Isaia (*F. Burger, Isaia da Pisas plastische Werke in Rom*, in: *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunst-sammlungen*, xxvii, 1906, pp. 228-244). Ciaccio thinks the effigy is probably by Pellegrino da Viterbo, and the rest of the tomb by Isaia and that the tomb was erected in the time of Paul II (1464-1471) (*Lisetta Ciaccio, Scultura romana del Rinascimento*, in: *L'Arte*, ix, 1906, p. 180 f.). The view of *Gerald S. Davies* is that only the effigy can be given to Isaia and that the rest is by at least two different hands and somewhat later in the Quattrocento than the effigy (Renaissance. *The Sculptures Tombs of the Fifteenth Century in Rome*, London, 1910, pp. 68-69). *Venturi* thinks that Isaia did the effigy and the Saints in niches on the left side of the tomb (*Ad. Venturi, Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. VI, Milan, 1908, p. 382). *Pope-Hennessy* seems to accept the traditional attribution of the effigy to Isaia and thinks he also did the Saints on the right side (*J. Pope-Hennessy, Italian Gothic Sculpture*, London, 1955, p. 334). *Paolucci* is inclined to think that, even if it cannot be considered the prototype for the Roman tomb-production of the second half of the Quattrocento, still it represents the average product of tomb sculpture around mid-century (*Alfredo Paolucci, Monumenti sepolcrali della seconda metà del Quattrocento in Roma*, in: *Roma*, x, 1932, pp. 530-531).

⁷² The other alternative, that the Federighi tomb influenced Roman tomb production (transmitted through Mino da Fiesole) does not seem likely.

⁷³ The original document proclaiming the union was signed by nearly all the delegates on July 5, 1439, and on the day after, July 6, it was read aloud in the Duomo. The document is in the Laurentiana and was published by *Gaetano Milanese, Osservazione intorno agli esemplari del decreto d'unione della Chiesa greca con la latina*, in: *Giornale storico degli archivi toscani*, i, 1857, pp. 196-225.

⁷⁴ See above note 5.



8 Tomb of Pope Eugenius IV. Rome, San Salvatore in Lauro.

image of Leonardo Bruni and the monumental aspect of his tomb would have evoked the ideals of the Florentine statesman. The choice of Roman tomb motifs perhaps from the monument of Eugenius IV might refer to the Bishop's relation with the Holy See during those years when important negotiations occurred in Florence. This does not exclude the possibility that Giovanni di Ser Paolo might have been sensitive to aesthetic considerations as well in his choice of models.

Some of these prototypes were of the highest artistic merit. It is hard to imagine how any artist working at mid-century could escape the impact of the Bruni tomb. It was Luca della Robbia's task to take the various elements of the "*desegno*" prepared by Giovanni di Ser Paolo and forge an artistically unified and "original" work of art, keeping in mind the location and illumination of the site in San Pancrazio.

The last of the recently discovered documents is a record of transfer of the Federighi tomb from its original site to the new one in the corridor of the side door of the same church.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Doc. XI.

The tomb was probably installed shortly after Buggiano's first report of August 6, 1459, more than five years after it was commissioned, and almost ten years after the Bishop's death. It was *in situ* for almost 300 years until it was dismantled during the mid-eighteenth-century redecoration of the church. Count Federighi was most unwilling to have the tomb of his illustrious ancestor moved, and only an official order to tear it down persuaded him to give his consent for its transfer. When the tomb was dismantled, a much decayed box of chestnut wood was found, 1 1/3 *braccia* long and 1/2 *braccia* wide and deep. In it were the earthly remains of Bishop Benozzo in great disarray. The author of the record remarked that there was no sign of the miter or pectoral cross, nor any commemorative inscription, only a few remnants of rose-colored silk. The remains were placed in another casket and reinterred in the tomb at the level of the inscription.

The stately solemnity and beauty of the tomb seem to belie the difficulties connected with its creation: the long struggle between artist and patron about its quality, its gilding, the delay in its installation and the reluctance of its patron to make payments when they were due. Nor would we suspect that a business partner of the patron furnished the initial design. Then too, it seems ironic that the eighteenth-century Count Federighi should be as reluctant to have the tomb dismantled as was his fifteenth-century ancestor to pay for it in the first place before it was installed. As for Luca della Robbia, fortunately the artist's imagination does not seem to have been stultified by the human vicissitudes he encountered, but in spite of them he seems to have been stimulated to create one of the finest tombs of the Early Renaissance.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS

I. May 2, 1454.

Contract (lost) with Luca della Robbia for the tomb of Bishop Benozzo Federighi, commissioned by his nephew, Federigo Federighi. Stipulations from the contract are quoted in documents II, III, IV and VI. Additional agreements not included in the contract must have existed because they are referred to by Buggiano in his final appraisal (doc. X).

II. Feb. 6, 1458 (st.c.).

Charges brought against Luca della Robbia for noncompliance with contractual obligations by Domenico Federighi on behalf of his brother, Federigo, before the court of the Mercanzia.

Archivio di Stato, Florence. Archivio del Tribunale di Mercanzia. Deliberazioni dell'Ufficiale e dei Sei in cause straordinarie ed esecutive, 4433 (Nov. 1457 - May 1458), f. 172r-173v. Quotations from this document were given in Herbert P. Horne, Notes on Luca della Robbia, in: Burlington Magazine, xxxviii, 1915-1916, p. 7, without archive references. The document was located by the author, transcribed by G. Corti, and given in Glasser, op. cit., pp. 291-295.

die 6 februarii (1458, st.c.)

Compari denanzi al decto messer offitiale e sua corte, Domenico di Iacopo Federighi procuratore e procuratorio nomine di Federigho di Iacopo Federighi, cittadino fiorentino, dixit e dice che gli è certa cosa che insino dell'anno 1454 e a di 2 di Maggio esso Federigo aluogò a Lucha di Simone della Robbia, maestro d'intaglio, a fare una sepultura a rilievo, di marmo, con fogliame messo a oro e diversi colori invitriati intorno a uno quadro di braccia 4 1/2 o circa, nel quale à essere decta sepultura, suvi il corpo d'un vescovo di rilievo, di marmo, con altre figure e adornamenti come appare per uno disegno di mano di Iohanni di ser Paulo. La quale sepultura debba dare compiuta e murata in San Brancatio, allato a una capella di Federighi per da ivi a mesi diece. Et promise decto Luca che lla sarebbe di valuta e stima

10 di fiorini 200; il qual valuta e stima quando compiuta¹ — a vedere per due amici comuni; e se da loro fussi stimata meno di decti fiorini 200 quel meno n'avesse avere decto Luca. Et se fusse stimata più di fiorini 200, furon d'acordo non avesse avere più che decti fiorini 200. Et più furon d'acordo per decto Federigho avea fatta decte¹ — bisognavano per decta sepultura e pagato di suo proprio, che compiuta decta sepultura, la moneta di decto marmo
 15 a sbattere della somma di decti fiorini 200 o di quel meno che sarà ovvero fusse stimata. Et più furon stimata (*sic*). Et più furon d'acordo che in caso che decto Luca non avesse dato compiuta e murata decta sepultura a decto tempo, che fusse obligato a rendere a decto Federigho la valuta e costo di decti marmi e intendesse essere caduto in pena di fiorini 25 larghi, e quali dovesse dare e pagare al decto Federigho passato decto tempo dal dì a un mese. Et
 20 più furon d'acordo che decto Luca dovesse avere per parte di decto lavorio fiorini 8 il mese i sopradecti diece mesi, cioè fiorini 80 in tutto per parte di loro manufactura, et esso dovesse promettere o securare di restituire in dietro in caso non osservasseno di dare murata decta sepultura in decto tempo, come tutti casi altrimenti in decto effecto si contiene e appare per una scripta / (*f. 172v.*) e cautione privata soscripta di mano delle parti e che in tutto e per
 25 tutto decto Domenico decto nome se referì di sotto la produsse. E dixè e dice decto Domenico decto nome che per decto Federigho e per la parte sua tutte le predeccte cose e ciascuna d'esse furon e sono state observate e adimpiute per la parte sua, e tutto quello e tanto quanto fu et era tenuto osservare al decto maestro Luca. Et per decto maestro Luca decto mercato e tutte le predeccte cose nè alcuna d'esse non furon nè sono state observate alcune
 30 cose ne quelle e tanto quanto era tenuto e doveva secondo la forma di decto obligo, e di tutte le predeccte cose e di qualunque d'esse, et sempre à cessato ciò fare, contra ogni debito di ragione. Et per tanto decto Domenico detti nomi protestò, notificò, intimò et ad memoria redusse et reduce al decto Maestro Luca et protestolli et protesta come esso è presto e parato ad quello osservare in quanto in alcuna cosa per lui o per parte sua fusse manchato che
 35 se'l nega, et che decto maestro Luca li debbe aver data e consegnata la decta sepultura in quindici di proxime futuri, in quello modo e forma e di quella qualità e bontà che e come di sopra esso maestro Luca li fu et è tenuto di dare e consegnare come di sopra, e in tutto e per tutto li abbi fatto e osservato decto obligo, come e in quello modo e forma che di fare e osservare fu et è tenuto, secondo la forma di decto obligo, altrimenti come esso Domenico
 40 decto nome li protesta d'ogni danni, spese et interessi d'esso Federigo. E questo tutto fa decto Domenico decto nome che delle predeccte cose nè d'ogniuna d'esse decto maestro Luca possi pretendere o allegare alcuna ignorantia. Et tutte le predeccte cose e ciascheduna d'esse e dice e fa decto Domenico decto nome insieme, giuntamente, disiunctamente et per ordine successivo et per ogni miglior modo, via, ragione et forma che più e meglio se può
 45 et a llui decti modi e nomi si confà, salvo e riservato al decto Domenico la ragione sua del poter adiungere, minuire, mutare, correggere e in meglio riformare la presente comparigione a suo loco e tempo bisognando.

Et produsse ad corroboratione di tutte le predeccte cose e qualunque d'esse, decto Domenico, la decta scripta privata, e quella depose apresso a ser Santi di Giorgio, notaio in decta Corte, e farne tanto quanto di ragione si richiede.

50 Item tutt(*i*) li statuti et ordinamenti etc. Item produsse ad legiptimatione della sua persona, lo instrumento del suo mandato e quello depose apresso a ser Santi di Giorgio notaio in decta Corte, ad fare tanto quanto si richiede. / (*f. 173r.*)

El quale messer offitiale sedens pro tribunali, seduto al suo e di decta Corte usato bancho
 55 della ragione posto dove e come di sopra, ad petitione di decto Domenico, vedute tutte le soprascritto cose e ciascuna d'esse, e veduta la forma della ragione e delli statuti e ciò che stato (*fusse*) da vedere, per ogni miglior modo etc. commise, impose e comandò a Antonio Bello, messo di decta Corte, e qualunque altro messo suo e di decta Corte e ciascheduno di loro in tutto, che vada e decto maestro Luca richiegia a vedere la decta comparigione e protesta e tutte le predeccte cose e di tutto torne copia, dire e opporre contra alios etc. Et più li protesta, notifica, intima et ad memoria reduce al decto maestro Luca in tutto e per tutto
 60 come di sopra si richiede e richiesello della observantia delle predeccte cose e in tutto e per tutto lo richiede e protesta come e in quel modo e forma come di sopra si contiene. E a ciò fare e avere fatto, al decto maestro Luca assegna e prefige uno termine di dì 15 proximi fu-

¹ Spaces are left in the text after the words, *compiuta*, and *decta*, indicating that words have been omitted.

65 turi, altrimenti li protesta d'ogni danno, spese e interesse: et questo acciò che esso maestro Luca delle predecete cose nè d'alcuna d'esse non possa pretendere o allegare alcuna ignoranzia mai per veruno tempo.

Al petitione di decto Domenico Federighi, decti modi e nomi, Ludovico di Salvatore, messo di decta Corte, raportò al decto messer offitiale e sua corte e a me notaio infrascritto, 70 sè da parte di decto uffitiale e corte avere richiesto el decto maestro Luca per questo dì e hora a vedere la soprascritta comparigione, protesto, interpellatione, productione, deposito di ragione e ciò che in essa si contiene, e averla protestata, interpellata e notificata et ad memoria reducta al decto maestro Luca in tutto e per tutto quanto di sopra si contiene, e averlo richiesto della observantia di decto mercato e scriptura e di tutte le predecete cose e ciascheduna d'esse, e averli assegnato e prefissato uno termine di dì 15 proxime futuri ad ciò aver fatto et observato, altrimenti decto Domenico decto nome li protesta d'ogni suoi dampni, spese et interesse, et che come passato decto termine decto Domenico decto nome farà contra di lui civilmente et in tutto e per tutto ² come et quanto a llui li sarà permesso di ragione e secondo gli ordini. Et tutto raportò avere fatto alla casa della sua usata habitatione, con cedula alla persona d'una dompna. 80

III. Feb. 16, 1458 (st.c.).

Defense and counter-charges made by Luca della Robbia before the court of the Mercanzia.

Archivio di Stato, Florence. Same volume as doc. II, f. 194r-195v. Quotations from this document may also be found in Horne, op. cit., pp. 6-7, without archive references. The document was located by the author, transcribed by G. Corti and given in Glasser, op. cit., pp. 296-300.

die 16 februarii (1458, st.c.)

Compari denanzi al decto messer offitiale e sua corte il decto Luca di Simone dalla Robbia, maestro d'intaglio, per cagione d'una comparigione, notificatione, requisitione e protesto, dato e facto in decta Corte contra lui per decto Domenico di Iacopo Federighi, asserto procuratore et procuratorio asserto nomine di Federigho di Iacopo Federighi, per cagione di 5 certa conductione et allocatione d'una pietra d'intaglio d'una sepultura d'un vescovo, con fogliami et altre cose, di che et come se dice contenere per una scripta et calculatione privata facta adì 2 del mese di maggio anno 1454 o altro più vero tempo facta tra decto Luca / (f. 194v.) da una parte et decto Federigo di Iacopo Federighi dall'altra parte, et per cagione di tutto ciò che in essa si contiene et che seguito fussi intorno acciò, in favore di decto Domenico, decto (nome), contra decto Luca insino a qui. Et protestatione premissa prima e 10 inanzi a tutto per decto Luca, cioè che per la presente comparigione o actione alcuna facta o che se facessi per lui intorno acciò, che esso non intende confessare alcuna cosa della intentione di decto Federigho nè di decto Iacopo (sic) decto nome nè obligarsi a più nè in più che obligato se sia di ragione e con decto processo et non altrimenti, contradicendo dixit e 15 dice decto Luca che decta comparigione et asserta denumptiatione, notificatione et protestatione non vale et non tiene et debbas revocare, capsare et annullare e dichiarare quella non afrigere (sic) nè astringere decto Luca a più che obligato se sia, nè preparare o fare a decto Federigho alcuna ragione o executione contra decto Luca, et doversi et potersi tutto ricovare (sic: rivocare) et annullare, et condempnare decto Domenico decto nome nelle spese 20 facte et che farà decto Luca, le quali adomandi, et così si facci nè altrimenti si proceda domanda decto Luca per le ragioni et cagioni maxime infrascritte o alcuna d'esse, cioè:

Et prima, però che non fu e non è stata pagata alcuna dirittura, quale come et quanta si doveva secondo la forma delli statuti di decta Corte, continente in effecto decta comparigione, oltre la notificatione e protestatione, la requisitione di decto Luca, come contiene.

25 Anchora, perchè nelle obligationi conventionali, che contengono obligationi ultra citroque, non si può nè dee per alcuna delle parte domandare o tentare alcuna quantità o cosa contra l'altra parte, se prima lui non monstra avere facto et observato per la parte sua quello e quanto fusse tenuto, per modo che contra decta altra parte possa acquistare favore alcuno. Et essendo

² In the text this sentence is repeated by mistake.

decta allegatione et conductione di decto lavoro stata reciproca, come è, et dovendo decto
 50 Federigho fare ³ — per la sua parte a decto Luca essi fiorini octo il mese diece mesi e non
 gliele avendo dati non può fare o tentare decta conventione et accordo di concludere et al-
 legare, di che di sopra si fa mentione, per suo favore contra decto Luca, et intentandolo ciò
 non si può amettere di ragione.

Anchora, perochè per decto Luca decta sepultura già fa un anno o più fu facta e compiuta
 35 interamente, nè / (f. 195r.) per lui fu manchato e s'è manchato in tempo fussi stato che non
 si confessi ciò sarebbe stato per difecto e mancamento di decto Federigho, che non gli arebbe
 dato decti fiorini 80, cioè fiorini 8 il mese, come doveva, nè quella arebbe potuto nè dovuto
 fornire e compire di suo chè è povero homo, perchè arebbe avuto di bisogno di spenderli
 e in lavoranti e altro circa quella, come richiedeva la natura della cosa e lavorio, e non dimeno
 40 anche decto Federigho l'arebbe avuta per compiuta e fornita nel tempo debito avendola
 chiesta più volte doppo esso tempo a decto Luca, come è.

Anchora, però che decto Luca non è stato, sta nè starà di murare o fare murare decta se-
 pultura dove e come dovesse e fusse tenuto, imperò che innanzi a decto muramento decta
 sepultura dovendosi stimare come dice la scriptura e come di ragione si richiede, avendone
 45 richiesto più volte decto Federigho di ciò, et noviter con abundanti cautele lo richiede ciò
 fare à recusato non à facto decto Federigho e per la sua parte se el messo è mancato, e non
 per decto Luca, imperò che essendo murata non si potrebbe decta stima fare giustificata-
 mente per difecto di misura et evidentia e di quello è permesso nel muramento bisogna na-
 scondere di quella, come dovuto fu et è. Et acciò che quella si facci e non manchi per decto
 50 Luca, esso Luca per insino a ora elegie e nomina per decta stima fare uno Andrea di Lazaro
 maestro d'intaglio, popolo Santo Michele Berteldi di Firenze, e richiede con ogni 'stanza
 decto Federigho o Domenico suo procuratore, se de ciò mandato legitimo alcuno à, che per
 la sua parte si procedi et facta electione per decto Luca faccino et protestino a decto Do-
 menico decti nomi, perche per lui non è stato nè starà.

Ancora però che decto Luca s'offerà presto e parato, fatta detta stima, di fare il muramento
 di quella dove e come debba et è tenuto, ricevuto che arà da decto Federigo per insino in
 fiorini 200, diputata decta valuta di decti marmi che sono circa di fiorini 40 salvo il calcolo
 della ragione o veramente essendo securo bene, come si richiede, che facto decto muramento,
 decto pagamento di decto resto decto Luca arà, e se per lui se dovesse fare alcuno sodamento,
 60 quello s'offerà fare, e protestò e protesta che per lui non è stato, sta nè starà, e di tutti dampni,
 spese et interessi suoi a suo luogo e tempo da domandare, et per altra ragione e cagione.

Et produsse, usò et allegò denanzi al decto messer offitiale e corte, decta comparigione
 facta per decto Luca e tutto ciò che in esso si contiene, quella acceptando in tutto e in parte
 come gli atagliasse in parte e parti solamente che per lui e non più nè altrimenti, e diposella
 65 appresso a ser Guasparre di ser Lando etc. Item una copia di decta scripta di decta con-
 ductione e locatione di che di sopra si fa mentione, avuta da decto Federigho, in parte e
 parti faccenti per lui et non più nè altrimenti quella depose ut supra.

Ad petitione di decto maestro Luca di Simone, Donato di Mattheo messo di / (f. 195v.)
 decta corte raportò al decto messer offitiale et a me notaio infrascritto, sè di licentia di decto
 70 offitiale avere richiesto decto Domenico di Righi (*sic: Federighi*), asserto procuratore pre-
 decto, decto asserto nome, a vedere decta comparigione et exceptione et productione di ra-
 gione e ciò si contiene in essa, e contradire. E decta richiesta raportò avere facta in questo
 modo cioè in persona a decto Domenico, con cedula.

IV. Feb. 21, 1458 (st.c).

Domenico Federighi reaffirms his complaints against Luca della Robbia, making additional charges concerning surety and the quality of the work.

³ A space was left in the text after the word fare.

Archivio di Stato, Florence. Same volume as docs. II and III, f. 208v-209v. This document was found by G. Corti.

die 21 februarii (1458, st.c.)

Compari dinanzi al decto messer offitiale e corte il decto Domenico di Iacopo Federighi procuratore decto e procuratorio nomine di decto Federigo di Iacopo Federighi cittadino fiorentino, e ne' decti modi e nomi che nella decta / (f. 209r.) causa di decto protesto per lui, decto nome facta in decta corte al decto maestro Luca della Robbia, maestro d'intaglio, di
 5 che e come appare per l'acti di decta corte e per cagione maxime d'una esserta comparigione e asserta f-uoli(?) e non vera exceptione che data e fatta se dice in decta corte per decto maestro Luca infino adì 16 di febraio stante o in altro più vero tempo, come appare in e per l'acti di decta corte, et per cagione di tutto ciò che indi fu et è stato sequito e facto infino a qui per l'una parte per l'altra. Et insistendo decto Domenico decto nome a tutte e ciaschedune cose
 10 e ragioni per lui altra volta decte e narrate e da quelle nè d'alcuna d'esse non partendose d'esse, e date le cose decte e narrate in decta exceptione per decto Luca non anno a ostare nè ostare possono contra tale intentione di decto Domenico decto nome per le ragioni e cagioni infrascritte e qualunque d'esse, e decto Lucha in niente relevano nè giovano nè giovare nè relevare lo possono in alcuno modo.

15 Et prima, non obsta la prima però che in contrario fu et è la verità, perchè per le cose facte in decto protesto per decto Domenico decti nomi, non si richiede pagamento d'alcuno dritto nè secondo la forma delli statuti di decta corte per alcuna consuetudine intorno a ciò observata.

Anchora, non obstante la seconda, però che in contrario fu et è la verità perchè nella decta obligatione di decto per decto Domenico in decto protesto non fu nè è conditione alcuna da doversi osservare per decto Federigho, e maxime talle quale l'abbi avuto e potuto torre
 20 / (i.e. "togliere") et ostare che non habbi quello facto, e se conditione alcuna vi fusse, sarebbe stata e sarebbe dalla parte e per le parti di decto Luca in dovere sodare e prestare mallevadore secondo la forma di decta obligatione la quale cosa non avendo facto, che non l'ha facto e ad ungue⁴ per decto Federigho li fu et è stato observado ciò che per la parte di decto
 25 Federigho fusse richiesto.

Anchora, non obstante la terza, però che in contrario fu et è la verità perchè esso Luca non à facto nè fornito decta sepultura⁵ — e della qualità e bontà era tenuto di fare et osservare et avere facto, et in ciò et intorno a ciò quello doveva decto Domenico decto nome espressamente negò e nega et ad altro fare et osservare decto Federigo non era tenuto nè obligato
 30 al decto Luca se prima per esso Luca non si sodava e prestava e prestassesi bona securtà, come e quale per decto obligatione se richiedeva e richiede.

Anchora, non obsta la quarta, però che in contrario fu et è la verità niente overo cosa che in quello dica⁵ — decto Luca e prestò decto mallevadore come per decto obligo li fu et è tenuto e debba, e facto decto sodamento decto Federigho facto che arà decta sepultura e muratala / (f. 209v.) e datala compiuta e in quello modo e forma e nella qualità si richiede
 35 per decto obligo, decto Domenico decto nome elegerà li stimatori come e secondo che fare fusse tenuto e dovessisi per decto obligo e non vadi gallulando(?) decto Luca perchè per esso Luca decta sepultura à ddare e murata e fornita, e poi s'ha a fare stimare e di provvedere che e quando s'ha a stimare e allora osservare, e adempiuto per la parte sua potrà etiam Luca venire alla decta electione.
 40

Anchora non obsta la quinta, però che in contrario fu et è la verità faccia et observi decto obligo come e quanto fu et è tenuto d'elle e poi se verrà alla decta electione etc.

Et questo dixè e dice al presente, salvo l'altre etc. Ad petitione di decto Domenico Federighi decto nome, Mariotto messo raportò al decto messer offitiale e corte et a me notaio
 45 infrascritto, sè da parte di decto offitiale e corte avere richiesto⁶ el decto Luca per questo dì e hora, a vedere la soprascritta comparigione replicatione e tutte le predeccte cose, torne copia, dire e opporre contro alias etc. Et decta richiesta raportò avere facta alla casa della sua usata habitatione alla persona d'un garzone, con cedula.

⁴ From the Latin, "ad unguem," meaning "precisely, perfectly."

⁵ In the text there are spaces after the words sepultura, and dica.

⁶ The phrase, e corte... richiesto, is written in the left-hand margin.

V. Feb. 28, 1458 (st.c.).

Luca della Robbia's tax declaration.

Archivio di Stato, Florence. Archivio del Catasto, n. 829 (Quartiere San Giovanni. Gonfalone Chiave), f. 115r. Published in Gaye, Carteggio inedito, I, pp. 182-183; reprinted in Marquand, op. cit., p. 129; Cruttwell, op. cit., pp. 301-302; Horne, op. cit., pp. 6-7, made the necessary correction in the date, i.e. 1458 (st.c.) and not 1457.

VI. March 2, 1458 (st.c.).

Luca della Robbia's defense before the court of the Mercanzia, and his selection of Buggiano as appraiser.

Archivio di Stato, Florence. Same volume as docs. II, III, and IV, f. 227v-228r. This document was discovered by G. Corti.

die 2 Martii (1458, st.c.)

Compari dinanzi al decto messer officiale et sua corte il decto Luca di Simone della Robbia maestro di intaglio, in decta causa di denumptiatione, notificatione, requisitione, protesto, mossa (et) facta in decta corte per decto Domenico di Iacopo Federighi, procuratore et procuratorio nomine di Federigho di Iacopo Federighi, insino adì 6 del presente mese per cagione d'una comparigione (et) replica data e facta in decta corte per decto Domenico decto nome contra una exceptione di decto Luca e per lui opposta adì 16 del presente mese. Et insistendo decto Luca nelle sue exceptioni, difese et ragioni et non partendosi da quello de' fare sempre di dovere dupricando contra decta reparatione per monstrare quello ch'è opposto per lui, sè essere vero et che sempre fu et è stato in observantia / (f. 228r.) di decta conductione et non s'è manchato nè mancherà per decto Luca avendo da lui, cioè da decto Federighi, quello a lui se debba come è dovuto e ragione. Il fondarsi che fa decto Domenico decto nome nello asserto sodamento che se dice non facto per decto maestro Luca si dice che quello arà fondamento per la restitutione di danari che avesse avuto decto Luca etc. Il quale fundamento non fu e non è vero, sublato quello tutto che per quello se dicesse, cioè che se dice non facto per decto maestro Luca, si toglie e leva, inperò che per decto Federigho non fu osservato di dare decti fiorini octo il mese di decti dieci mesi, al decto maestro Luca, et di quello messe sodamento (e) ricorso, dicendo però che è facto la cosa e non bisogna sodare che si facci e che restituisca quello per ciò avesse dato. Item nè puote⁷ decto domandare alcuna cosa a decto maestro Luca per non avere facto e dato murata decta sepultura, di che più volte n'è stato richiesto⁸ — et non domanda che li facci stimare per ciò elegere uno stimatore pratico et intendente in ciò come à facto decto maestro Luca sichè negligentia e mora alcuna non si può imputare in decto Luca ma sì in decto Federigho.

Ad petitione di decto maestro Luca, Pittone messo di decta corte raportò al decto messer officiale et a me notaio infrascritto, sè di licentia di decto officiale avere richiesto decto Domenico Federighi per questo di a vedere la soprascritta comparigione et ciò si contiene in essa et contradire. Et decta richiesta avere facto alla casa della sua habitatione in persona d'un garzone con cedula.

VII. Sept. 14, 1458.

Federigho di Jacopo Federighi's tax declaration, the fifth item under "creditori."

Luccha di Simone della Robbia fl. 125 o ca.

Archivio di Stato, Florence. Archivio delle Decime. Quartiere S. Maria Novella, Gonfalone Lion Rosso, n. 816, f. 1457. Found by G. Corti and given in H. Glasser, op. cit., p. 195.

⁷ The word *puote* is an obsolete form of *può*. In the text, the notary seems to have written *puore* by mistake.

⁸ After the word *richiesto* a long blank space is left in the text.

VIII. July 21, 1459.

Record of the appointment of Buggiano as arbiter.

Archivio di Stato, Florence. Archivio del Tribunale di Mercanzia, Deliberazioni dell'Ufficiale e de' Sei (1458-1459), n. 291, f. 99r-99v. Published by Gaye, op. cit., p. 183, fn.; Giov. Poggi, Documenti sulla tomba Federighi di Luca della Robbia, in: Rivista d'Arte, iv, 1906, p. 157, doc. 1, with corrections of the earlier transcription by Gaye. The transcription by Poggi is reprinted in Marquand, op. cit., p. 129, doc. 3.

IX. August 6, 1459.

First report of Buggiano as arbiter.

Archivio di Stato, Florence. Same volume as doc. VIII, f. 106v. Published in Gaye, op. cit., p. 183; Poggi, op. cit., p. 157, doc. 2; reprinted in Marquand, op. cit., p. 129, doc. 4, where it is mistakenly called a contract (p. 124).

X. Sept. 24, 1459.

Buggiano's final report, including an appraisal and directions for gilding the tomb.

Archivio di Stato, Florence. Mercanzia, Rapporti, 1458-1464, 10785, under date. Discovered by G. Corti.

Adì 24 di settembre 1459

Dinanzi da vvoi spettabili signori sei della merchatantia della città di Firenze per la chommissione fatta a mme Andrea di Lazzero di Chavalchante chome appare appresso al vostro cancelliere.

5 Rapporto d'una sepultura murata in San Branchazio di Firenze fatta per la memoria di meser Benozzo de' Federighi per adrieto veschovo di Fiesole per mano di Lucha di Simone della Robbia intagliatore chome apare per una iscritta d'aloghagione tra Federigho Federighi e detto Lucha la quale sepultura è in uno quadro di braccia quatro e mezzo o circha per ogni faccia e dentrovi intagliato la figura del detto meser Benozzo chon altri ornamenti chome si vede in detto lavoro e chome appare per detta iscritta tra loro. Per la quale chosa io Andrea sopradetto veduto chon ogni diligenza la sopradetta sepultura, giudicho lodo e sentenzio per lo presente raporto che'l detto Lucha deba avere in tutto del detto lavoro fiorini dugento, de'quali fiorini dugento Federigho predetto li possa ritenere lire tre di piccioli per la metà della spesa del'ornamento dell'oro a mordente che va in detto lavoro, e l'altre lire tre paghi il detto Federigho, cioè per metà, chome ne feci rapporto al vostro cancelliere, e detti ornamenti sieno nella mitera e nel guanciaie e nel fregio della pianeta e nel drappo sotto detto veschovo e e chapelli di due agnoli che tenghono lo epitaffio e ornare l'alie di detti agnoli e più le diademe di tre figure, cioè nostro Signore e nostra Donna e san Giovanni, e ornare tre serafini che sono nel cielo del detto lavoro.

20 E de' sopradetti fiorini dugento non s'intende dentrovi l'agiunte le quali si feciono dipoi fatto detto lavoro, le quali sono fuori della scritta, cioè tre tavole di marmo rosso e quatro cholonne quadre chon altri ornamenti e una cornice di sopra detto lavoro: del quale lavoro sono d'acordo tra loro del pregio di fiorini quaranta e chosà insieme àno detto a mme.

E io Andrea soprascritto ho fatto il presente raporto di mia propria mano, anno e mese e dì detto di sopra.⁹

⁹ In the upper left hand corner of the page is noted, Registrata in actis officialis. In the lower left corner of the page is the following entry, Lata die 25 septembris 1459 absente Martino et declaraverunt depositum debere solvi secundum effectum supradictorum in dicto rapporto contentorum. Et quod ex ... solvam ... comuniter(?) presentibus Tingo et Adamo. The verso of the page is empty except for one entry in the lower right hand corner, which would have been visible when the document was folded (as it once was) and reads, Presentata die xxiiii septembris 1459 per Andream Lazzeri tutorem, Federighum de Federigis et Lucham della Robbia dicta die. Pittone nuntius (retulit) citasse dicta die dictum Federigum ad sententiam personaliter.

XI. January 27, 1753.

Record of the transfer of the tomb to its new location in the corridor of the side door of San Pancrazio.

Archivio di Stato, Florence. Conventi Soppressi, San Pancrazio: n. 88, Ricordo 73 (1729-1770), f. 92r,v.

Adi 27 Gennaio 1753

Traslazione del deposito di Benozzo Federighi (*note in left margin*).

Finalmente dopo moltissime, per non dire infinite convenienze fatte e fatte fare al Sig. Conte Federighi, affinché si contentasse che si trasferissi il Deposito di Benozzo Federighi già Vescovo di Fiesole, situato tra la Capella del SS.mo¹⁰ dei Sig.ri Ridolfi e l'altare dei medesimi Federighi, perchè guastava l'ordine dell'architettura, dovendoci andare una porta, che corrisponde a quella di Sagrestia, e alle altre poste negli angoli della Crociata, non essendosi egli mai volsuto¹¹ piegare; poste queste da parte, è convenuto far ricorso alla Reggenza, dalla quale è escito ordine e comando positivo di gettarlo giù. In sequela¹² di detto ordine si è rimosso, e si è posto nell'andito intermezzo tra la porta del fianco della strada e quella che va in chiesa a mano sinistra intransibus, muraglia appunto de' detti Sig.ri Federighi e luogho più esposto ad esser veduto da chiunque. Nell'occasione di disfarsi il detto Deposito, levata la statua che posa sopra la Cassa, e andati più sotto un palmo smurando, si trovò una cassetta di castagno tutta marcia, lunga braccio e terzo, larga e fonda circa mezzo braccio, entrovi l'ossa tutte in confuso del detto Vescovo Benozzo senza il minimo contrassegno nè di Croce Pettorale, nè di mitra, e nè pure alcuna iscrizione o memoria. Soltanto si trovò alcuni fragmenti di seta, colore di rosa secca, / (f. 92v.) quali, dal vedersi alcuni segni, come di croci stampatevi, si giudicarono fragmenti di stola. Le dette ossa collocato in altra cassetta quasi della stessa grandezza, e bene inchiodate, furono collocate nuovamente in detto deposito, come erano prima, cioè nella detta cassa di marmo di contro appunto all'iscrizione esteriore, che ivi incisa si legge; ed in questo giorno è restato ultimata l'opera di rimetterlo in piedi.¹³

¹⁰ *Santissimo Sacramento.*

¹¹ volsuto is the popular form for voluto.

¹² sequela, meaning "as a consequence, according to."

¹³ *The following entry in the record book refers to the tomb of D. Vincenzo Conci, which had been in the same corridor of the side door opposite the location to which the Federighi tomb was moved. The Conci tomb was also moved in order that a doorway might be made leading into the Rucellai Chapel.*

RIASSUNTO

Recentemente sono stati scoperti altri sei documenti concernenti la tomba del Vescovo Benozzo Federighi (S. Trinita, Firenze); il numero di quelli conosciuti sale così a 11. La maggior parte di essi riguarda la causa fra l'artista, Luca della Robbia, ed il committente, Federigo Federighi, nipote del vescovo defunto. Il contratto del 2 Maggio 1454 è andato perduto, ma ne conosciamo le clausole citate nel corso di quattro udienze tenutesi davanti alla Corte della Mercanzia. Il 6 Febbraio 1458 il committente accusò l'artista di non aver installato la tomba nella Chiesa di S. Pancrazio come prevedevano gli accordi. Il 16 Febbraio l'artista comparve di fronte alla corte ed a sua volta accusò il committente di non aver tenuto fede al contratto perché (fra l'altro) non gli aveva pagato le rate mensili che coprivano il periodo di 10 mesi durante i quali egli aveva lavorato alla tomba. L'artista dichiarò che non intendeva installare la tomba fino a che non fosse stata fatta una perizia, dato che dopo sarebbe stato difficile giudicare le dimensioni del blocco di marmo impiegato (che era stato fornito dal committente

con l'intesa che il suo costo venisse dedotto dal compenso finale dell'artista). Il 21 Febbraio il committente rinnovò le sue accuse, sostenendo che la perizia doveva essere fatta dopo l'installazione della tomba e facendo capire che il lavoro non era della qualità desiderata.

Il 2 Marzo queste accuse furono di nuovo confutate dall'artista, il quale propose di scegliere il Buggiano come uno dei periti. Il 21 Luglio 1459 il Buggiano fu nominato unico perito. Egli sottopose due rapporti. Nel primo del 6 Agosto dichiarava che il lavoro era della qualità richiesta e che l'artista l'aveva eseguito in conformità del contratto, comunque la doratura doveva essere fatta a spese di entrambe le parti ed egli (Buggiano) avrebbe indicato quali erano le superfici da dorare. La seconda perizia del 2 Settembre contiene precise istruzioni riguardo la doratura della mitria del Vescovo e del bordo della stola, del cuscino e del drappo del feretro, dei capelli e delle ali degli angeli, delle aureole del Cristo, di Maria, di S. Giovanni e del Serafino. Il Buggiano raccomandava che all'artista venisse versato il compenso massimo previsto dal contratto (200 fiorini) oltre a 40 fiorini come ricompensa per l'esecuzione di alcuni lavori non compresi negli accordi iniziali, e cioè tre pannelli di marmo rosso, quattro colonne ed il cornicione sovrastante.

I dati forniti da questo documento ci permettono di vedere la tomba così come si presentava allora nel transetto di S. Pancrazio. La struttura architettonica era probabilmente simile a quella della tomba di Orlando de' Medici nella SS. Annunziata, che era stata eseguita nella bottega del Rossellino proprio negli stessi anni. Risulta chiaro dalle udienze e dalle dichiarazioni delle imposte che né l'artista né il committente si erano attenuti al contratto: l'artista perché non aveva finito la tomba entro il termine pattuito ed il committente perché aveva pagato all'artista circa la metà soltanto del compenso, sebbene l'opera fosse stata completata (ma non installata). Oltre a queste ragioni di lite ce ne erano altre che non vennero mai esplicitamente menzionate e che probabilmente costituirono i motivi fondamentali del processo. Per esempio, la nicchia in cui doveva essere collocata la tomba non era abbastanza profonda per ospitare una figura a grandezza naturale, sebbene la sua larghezza fosse sufficiente. Quindi l'artista appiattì e distorse alcune parti della figura, come il braccio sinistro ed il collo e amputò il braccio e la spalla destra. Per quanto la statua potesse apparire splendida una volta collocata nella sua nicchia, certo questo effetto non poteva essere previsto dal committente che probabilmente vide la non attraente immagine giacere sotto la cruda luce dello studio dell'artista. Forse questa ipotesi spiega perché Federigo si sentisse autorizzato a sospendere i pagamenti, a dichiarare che il lavoro non era della qualità richiesta e ad insistere perché la tomba venisse collocata nella nicchia prima della perizia. Il disegno della tomba era stato fornito da una persona designata nel contratto iniziale come „Johanni di Ser Paolo“. Poiché i Federighi avevano un commercio di lane in società con un tale chiamato Giovanni di Ser Paolo dell'Arte della Lana, sembrerebbe che fosse stato questi a fornire il disegno della tomba. Il progetto può essere stato ispirato, oltre che dagli esempi fiorentini del 14^o e 15^o secolo, anche dalle tombe papali romane sue contemporanee. Da un documento del 27 Gennaio 1753 che descrive il trasferimento della tomba del Vescovo Federighi da una parte all'altra della stessa chiesa, si trae conferma della sua collocazione originale nel transetto nord fra la cappella Ridolfi (adiacente alla cappella del coro) a destra, ed un altare del Federighi nello stesso transetto a sinistra. Questa testimonianza prova che il monumento era proprio una tomba, dato che i resti terreni del vescovo furono trovati in una cassetta di legno dentro il sarcofago all'altezza dell'iscrizione.

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