

1 Florence, SS. Annunziata, Cappella di San Luca. General View.

THE SCULPTURAL PROGRAM OF THE CAPPELLA DI SAN LUCA IN THE SANTISSIMA ANNUNZIATA *

by David Summers

I.

In 1565 the members of the Accademia del Disegno contracted to complete the decoration of the Cappella di San Luca in the church of the Santissima Annunziata in Florence, utilizing figures placed in the chapel around 1535 by Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli and continuing a campaign begun by him after his return to Florence in 1560 and curtailed by his death in

* *This paper represents part of the research for a doctoral dissertation to be presented to Yale University on the sculpture and writings of Vincenzo Danti. An article in preparation by Dr. Curtis Shell will discuss the history and program of the Cappella di San Luca in detail. I am grateful to Yale University for the support during the academic year 1966-67 which made my research possible. I am also grateful to Dr. Ulrich Middeldorf of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence for numerous consultations and to Professor Charles Seymour, Jr. of Yale University for his advice and direction.*

1563.¹ The Cappella di San Luca (Fig. 1), which was seriously damaged in the flood of November 4, 1966², was the second major utterance of the Accademia after its founding in 1563, following the exequies honoring its '*capo e maestro*', Michelangelo, observed in 1564, and his monument in Santa Croce begun in the same year.³ More important, it was the first visual elaboration of the tenets which lay at the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno, and is thus a central document in the formulation of academic theory and symbolism.

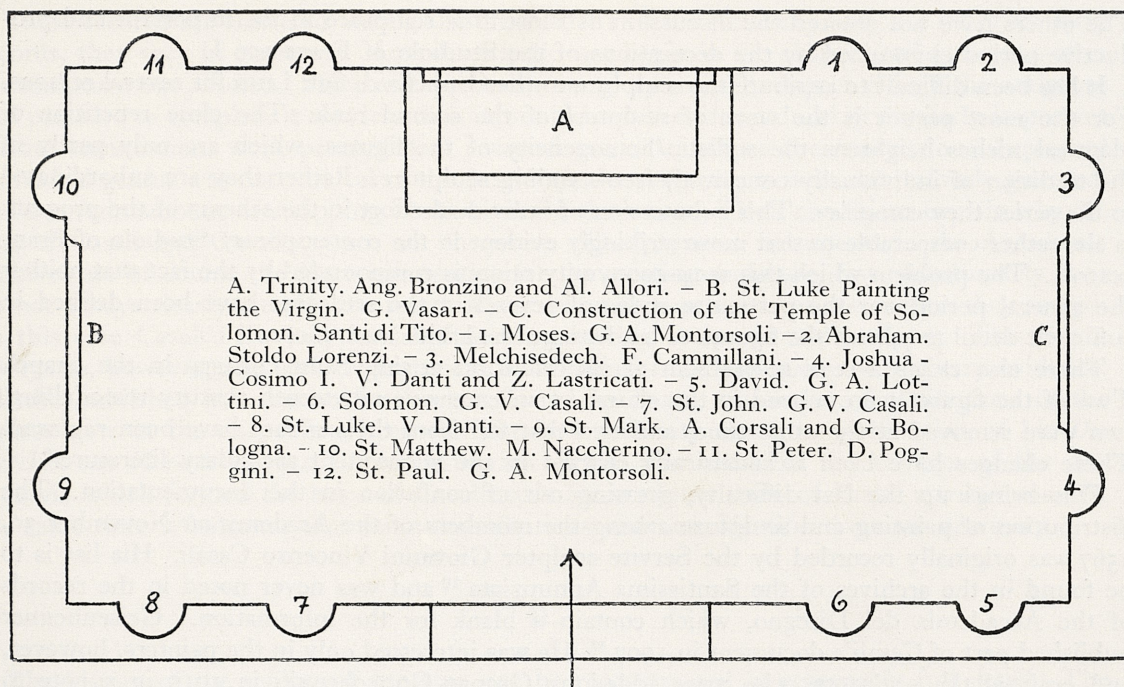
In its original state (Fig. 2), the chapel was dedicated to the Trinity, which in analogy to the triad of the arts of design, provided its conceptual framework.⁴ On the side walls are two

¹ The history of the chapel and a description of its present state are given by *Walter and Elisabeth Paatz*, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, I, Frankfurt am Main, 1940, pp. 117-119, 131-132, 179-182, 193. The agreement between the brotherhood of the Santissima Annunziata and the Accademia del Disegno, dated June 25, 1565, is published by *Hans Geisenheimer*, *Di alcune pitture fiorentine eseguite intorno al 1570*. II. Gli affreschi nella Cappella dei Pittori (Vasari, Santi di Tito, Al. Allori), in: *Arte e Storia*, xxvi, 1907, pp. 19-21: ... detto Collegio abbia a fare l'ornamento ovvero ripieno di detto Capitolo di Statue di Stucco in dieci nicchie, e tre storie in tre quadri... It should be noted that the figures are not stucco, but painted clay, "*terra da Montelupo*" as it is called in the documents. For the dating and attribution of Montorsoli's Moses and St. Paul, see chapter III, nos. 1-2. The circumstances surrounding the cession of the chapel to Montorsoli, leading to the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno, are recounted by Vasari (*Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, pp. 655-660). The record of the cession, dated September 10, 1560, was included in the "Mostra Documentaria e Iconografica dell'Accademia del Disegno", Florence, Archivio di Stato, 3 Febbraio - 13 Marzo, 1963. The signature of the document (ASF, Conv. 119, f. 53, c. 4 v.) is given in the catalogue of the exhibition by *Armando Nocentini*, but the document itself is not published. Montorsoli probably was not in Florence continually after his return, since his high altar for S. Maria dei Servi in Bologna was not finished until 1562. See *Eugenio Battista*, *Disegni inediti del Montorsoli*, in: *Arte Lombarda*, x, 1965, Studi in onore di Giusta Nicco Fasola, pp. 143-148 (see p. 148, n. 3 for the document establishing this date). Montorsoli was probably substantially responsible for the design of the chapel. See note 14 below.

² The restoration of the chapel by the Council for the Rescue of Italian Art (CRIA) is briefly described by *Millard Meiss*, *Important Discoveries of Renaissance Art in Florence*, in: *Art News*, Summer, 1967, pp. 26-27. Photographs of the immediate post-flood condition of the chapel are to be found in: *Paragone*, 203, January, 1967, figs. 48-51.

³ The funeral of Michelangelo is fully treated by *Rudolf and Margot Wittkower*, *The Divine Michelangelo, The Florentine Academy's Homage on his Death in 1564*, London, 1964. The progress of the tomb in Santa Croce is summarized by *John Pope-Hennessy*, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, London, 1963, Catalogue, pp. 66-69, and more recently, *Two Models for the Tomb of Michelangelo*, in: *Studien zur toskanischen Kunst. Festschrift für Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich*, Munich, 1964, pp. 237-243.

⁴ The original state of the chapel can be simply reconstructed by reference to *Paatz's* identifications of the small histories and attributes above and below the niches. See note 1 above. The academicians were required to meet in the chapel at least once a year, on the feast of the Trinity, for solemn mass (*Nikolaus Pevsner*, *Academies of Art Past and Present*, Cambridge, 1940, p. 300, C. XVI). The Academy also celebrated the feast of St. Luke. The association with the Trinity is by far the more important. St. Luke was a reminder of the old guild of St. Luke, and Vasari (*Vasari-Milanesi*, VI, pp. 658-659) tells of a movement afoot to do away with him altogether. The Trinity on the other hand was a symbol of the newly exalted status of the arts. Vasari in a well known passage (*Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 168) calls Disegno "the father of our three arts". At almost the same time Vincenzo Borghini, the luogotenente of the Accademia, compared the three arts to the three graces: ... *il padre disegno... ha tenuto sempre queste sue figliuole come le tre gratie insieme Unitissime et concordissime...* (*Antonio Lorenzoni*, *Carteggio artistico inedito di D. Vinc. Borghini*, Florence, 1912, p. 13). The arts were depicted as the three graces in the decorations for the wedding of Francesco I and Giovanna of Austria in 1565 (*Vasari-Milanesi*, VIII, p. 530). The identification of the graces and the Trinity was a neo-Platonic commonplace, and the arts were thus made the forms of Divine Love. Federico Zuccaro, closely associated with both Vasari and Borghini, made frequent use of the Trinity in expounding the unity of the arts, and in his ceiling fresco in the Sala del Disegno in the Palazzo Zuccaro in Rome the figure of Disegno merged with the representation of God the Father. See *Werner Körte*, *Der Palazzo Zuccari in Rom, sein Freskenschmuck und seine Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1935, pp. 35-47. *Körte* finds the closest parallel to the figure of Disegno in Raphael's Vision of Ezekiel now in the Palazzo Pitti. The fresco bears the inscription VNA LVX IN TRIBUS REFULGENS. The theological tone of the parallel is also clear in the motto of the Accademia del Disegno, which together with three interlaced wreaths (considered a personal emblem of Michelangelo — *sua antica impresa*, see *Vasari-Milanesi*, VIII, p. 528) appears among the grotteschi decoration between the niches of the chapel: LEVAN / DI TERRA AL CIEL / NOSTRO INTELLETTO.



2 Cappella di San Luca. Scheme of Original State (not to scale).

large frescoes, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, and the *Construction of the Temple of Solomon*, symbolizing painting and architecture respectively. The art of sculpture was embodied in two series of six larger than life size biblical figures. To the left of the altarpiece were the apostles Paul and Peter and the four Evangelists. To the right were Moses, Abraham, Melchisedech, Joshua, David, and Solomon.⁵ What resulted from the efforts of the members of the Accademia has recently been called the most beautiful late Renaissance chapel.⁶

The ten larger than life size figures, what remains of the original sculptural program of the Cappella di San Luca, have continued to present a problem in attribution. Unlike the frescoes in the chapel, these figures have not received close documentary study.⁷ Moreover, of these ten figures, most of them modelled between 1570 and 1575, only one has been published.⁸

⁵ The series of Old Testament figures is especially interesting in comparison with medieval series. In a tenth century coronation *ordo* cited by *Adolf Katzenellenbogen* (*The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, Baltimore, 1961, pp. 28-29) the king is characterized as strengthened by the faith of Abraham, possessed of the clemency of Moses, fortified by the strength of Joshua, exalted by the humility of David, and adorned with the wisdom of Solomon. This list exactly parallels the series in the chapel, omitting only Melchisedech, who was both priest and king. That this coincidental parallel may throw light on a similar intention is suggested by the presence in the series of Granduke Cosimo I de' Medici, patron of the Accademia del Disegno, as Joshua. See chapter III, no. 8.

⁶ *M. Meiss*, loc. cit., p. 26. His exact words are "most beautiful late Renaissance (or Mannerist) chapel."

⁷ The documentation of the frescoes is considered in detail by *Geisenheimer*, loc. cit. (see note 1). The small frescoes above the niches are identified by *Patz*, loc. cit., pp. 117-119.

⁸ Domenico Poggini's St. Peter (chapter III, no. 4) was published by *Ulrich Middeldorf* (*Giovanni Bandini, detto Giovanni dell'Opera*, in: *Rivista d'Arte*, xi, 1929, pp. 481-518) as the work of Bandini (p. 496). Following this attribution the figure was also published by *Adolfo Venturi*, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, X, 2, Milan, 1936, fig. 229.

The others have not entered the discussion of Florentine sculpture in the important and productive period epitomized by the decorations of the Studiolo of Francesco I.

It has been difficult to attribute the sculpture in the Cappella di San Luca for several reasons. For the most part it is the work of sculptors of the second rank. The close repetition of identical niches heightens the stylistic homogeneity of the figures, which are only partly in the tradition of individually conceived, free-standing sculpture. Rather they are subordinated to the series they comprise. This submersion of individual effort in the schema of the program is altogether comparable to that more strikingly evident in the contemporary Studiolo of Francesco I. The problem which this semi-anonymity raises is compounded by the fact that neither the general period nor the particular styles of several of the sculptors have been defined in sufficient detail to permit the figures to be distinguished with assurance.

There also exists a serious problem of identification arising from changes in the chapel. Two of the figures were moved in the course of an extensive nineteenth century remodelling, two were removed at the same time, and two that fell from their niches have been replaced. These changes have been lackadaisically charted in the subsequent secondary literature.⁹

This brings up the last difficulty, growing out of confusion in the documentation. The distribution of painting and sculpture among the members of the Academy on November 30, 1567 was originally recorded by the Servite sculptor Giovanni Vincenzo Casali. His list is to be found in the archives of the Santissima Annunziata¹⁰ and was never noted in the records of the Accademia del Disegno, which contain a blank for the information. Geisenheimer published part of Casali's document in 1907.¹¹ He was interested only in the painters, however, and omitted the sculptors, who were added by Gronau-Gottschewski in 1910 in a note to Vasari's biography of Montorsoli.¹² A second and different list of artists and figures had before been published by Cavallucci in his brief history of the Accademia del Disegno of 1873.¹³ He did not know Casali's record of the commissions and gathered his list from the archives of the Accademia covering the years 1569 to 1575. It is based on piecemeal and sometimes contradictory records of payments for materials, for the painting and transportation of the figures and for the preparation of their niches.¹⁴

⁹ The principal secondary sources for the sculpture are *Pellegrino Tonini*, *Il Santuario della Santissima Annunziata di Firenze*, Florence, 1876, pp. 237-242, and *Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci*, *Notizie storiche intorno alla R. Accademia delle Arti del Disegno in Firenze*, Florence, 1873, pp. 105-106. *Cavallucci's* material is treated at greater length, although nothing is added, by *Girolamo Ticiati*, *Storia dell'Accademia del Disegno*, in *Pietro Fanfani*, *Spigolatura michelangiolesca*, Pistoia, 1876, pp. 193-307, esp. pp. 283-288.

¹⁰ See "Mostra Documentaria" (see note 1). The signature given is ASF, Conv. 119, no. 122. The Conventi Soppressi were made unavailable by the flood, and I was not able to consult the document.

¹¹ *Geisenheimer*, loc. cit.

¹² *G. Vasari*, *Die Lebensbeschreibungen der berühmtesten Architekten, Bildhauer und Maler*, trans. by *Adolf Gottschewski and Georg Gronau*, Strasbourg, 1910, Vol. VII, p. 402, n. 19.

¹³ *Cavallucci*, loc. cit., p. 106.

¹⁴ The documents yield little information about the niches, whether they had already been completed by Montorsoli when the Academy assumed responsibility for the chapel, or whether they were done as the figures were done. Whatever the case, Montorsoli was probably substantially responsible for the present design of the chapel and for the design of the niches. The simple bead and reel mouldings are much the same as those by Montorsoli in S. Maria del Parto in Naples (see *Venturi*, *Storia*, X, 2, fig. 92) and the general format of figures with identifying histories over each of them appeared earlier in his work in the Duomo at Messina (*Corrado Ricci*, *L'Architettura del Cinquecento in Italia*, Turin, 1923, pl. 204). Also, the *capitoli* of the Accademia drawn up in 1563 specify that Montorsoli's design should be followed by anyone wishing to add painting or sculpture to the chapel. See *Pevsner*, loc. cit. (note 4), p. 300: *C. XVII. Dettono licentia anchora a chi vi volessi fare pitture o sculture o altre memorie di suo, che possa farle in detto capitolo osservando quello che aveva cominciato Fra Giovanni' Angelo nel suo disegno*. The most outstanding parallel to such a series of seated figures is the Santa Casa at Loreto, a monument which the older generation of Florentine sculptors had reason to know well.

These records are scattered among the other affairs of the Academy and, like all of its early records, they vary in exactness. Actual work did not begin in the chapel until two years after the sculpture was allotted. Since neither wealth nor glory could be expected from the sculpture and pressure to complete it was less than it would have been for a ducal or similarly important private commission, work proceeded at a casual rate. And since the conspicuous display of individual genius was not an ideal of the Academy, the assignments were not jealously guarded, and a certain amount of swapping went on among the artists. These conditions explain why the lists of Casali and Cavallucci are not the same. The payment documents in the Accademia archives are of course the more informative for the existing sculpture, but unfortunately they do not always clearly identify the figure whose beginning, progress or completion they record. In this case Casali's list may be helpful in connecting sculpture and sculptor. This is not always so, however, and stylistic argument must therefore be added to documentary evidence. All the published information has been collected by Paatz, whose list of attributions of the figures now in the chapel has been the standard authority since the publication of his *Die Kirchen von Florenz* in 1940. A recent review of the documents in the archives of the Accademia which formed the basis of Cavallucci's list confirms some of Paatz' attributions. At the same time it indicates that some reattributions and new identifications are necessary.

II.

The history of the sculptural program can be reconstructed in reasonably full detail. The members of the Academy met to discuss the fulfillment of its contract to complete the decoration of the Cappella di San Luca on February 1, 1566. It was decided then that five *riformatori* and four *aroti* should dispense the tasks as they decided among themselves. All of the *riformatori* were painters with the exception of Francesco da Sangallo.¹⁵ The *aroti* were sculptors, Benvenuto Cellini, Vincenzo de' Rossi, Bartolommeo Ammannati and Vincenzo Danti. Of these four sculptors appointed to oversee the project only Vincenzo Danti was assigned and executed a figure. None of the rest participated. On November 30, 1567, as Casali recorded, the ten figures were allocated as follows:

Antonio di Gino and Stoldo Lorenzi	David
Vincenzo Danti	St. Luke
Giovanni Bologna	St. Mark
Giovanni Vincenzo Casali	Solomon
Battista Lorenzi	Abraham
Francesco Cammillani	Melchisedech
Zanobi Lastricati	Joshua
Domenico Poggini	St. Peter
Giovanni Balducci	St. Matthew
Valerio Cioli	St. John

Two years later work began on the chapel. In the meantime, Giorgio Vasari, who had been assigned the *Temple of Solomon* fresco, and Santi di Tito, who had been assigned *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, exchanged paintings, setting the example for further exchanges by the sculptors.

¹⁵ ASF, Arti. Accademia del Disegno, *Libro del Provveditore*, 'E', f. 15 r. The *riformatori* were Francesco da Sangallo, Angelo Bronzino, Giorgio Vasari, Pierfrancesco di Jacopo (di Sandro Foschi; see *Wittkower*, op. cit. [see note 3], p. 102, n. 83), and Michele di Jacopo di Ridolfo Tosini, called Michele di Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. Bartolommeo Ammannati appears as M. Bastiano Amonini. The order to distribute the paintings and sculpture dates October 18, 1567. (*Libro del Provveditore*, 'E', f. 21 r.).

Since changes did occur, it is necessary to compare Casali's list of commissions to Cavallucci's list of artists and the figures they executed before going on to a consideration of the sculpture itself. Cavallucci listed the David as the work of Montorsoli on the incorrect inference that the Fra Giovanni Angelo named in a payment of 1575 as having completed the David was Montorsoli, who had been dead for twelve years by that time. Rather, as Baldinucci informs us, this is Giovanni Angelo Lottini, a follower of Montorsoli.¹⁶ With this correction the list reads:

Domenico Poggini	St. Peter
Vincenzo Danti	St. Luke
Francesco Cammillani	Melchisedech
Michelangelo Schultore	St. Matthew
Giovanni Vincenzo Casali	Solomon
G. A. Lottini	David
Valerio Cioli	} unspecified figures
Andrea Corsali	
Stoldo Lorenzi	
Zanobi Lastricati	

Both lists consist of ten artists. Only four pairs of artists and figures are the same in each list. That is, only four sculptors can be shown on the strength of the payments to have executed the figures assigned them. These are Domenico Poggini, Vincenzo Danti, Francesco Cammillani and G. V. Casali.

The attribution of the rest of the figures is simplified because we know which artists worked in the chapel, even though we can not be sure who did what. At the same time stylistic analysis is hampered since no works are known to survive for some of the sculptors. This is true of Zanobi Lastricati and G. V. Casali. A few references in the records of the Accademia are all that certainly remains of Andrea Corsali.¹⁷ Of the ten artists assigned figures three are not mentioned in the later documents. Neither Battista Lorenzi nor Giovanni Balducci are mentioned again.¹⁸ Giovanni Bologna simply provided a design for the figure of St. Mark, leaving most of its execution to Andrea Corsali whose name appears in his place. Actual work in the chapel is first noted in October, 1569, when materials were issued to Valerio Cioli and Francesco Cammillani.¹⁹ After this it progressed at a more or less orderly rate until 1575, when the last figure was set in place. With the foregoing in mind, it is now possible to look at the problems of attribution *seriatim* and in detail.

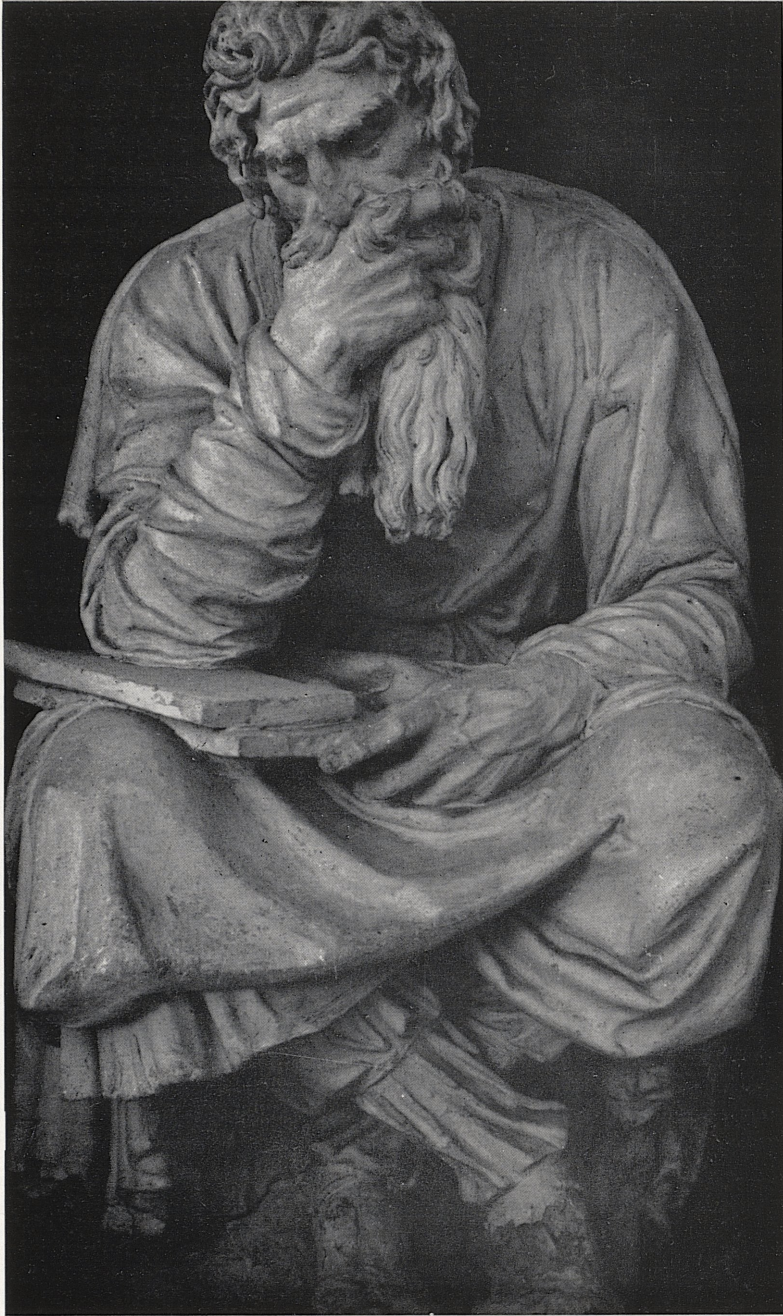
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¹⁶ *Filippo Baldinucci*, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, II, Florence, 1846, pp. 659-660. For the payment, see note 52 below.

¹⁷ On Andrea Corsali, see note 51 below.

¹⁸ Giovanni Balducci (c. 1550-1603) was active in Florence, Rome and Naples as a painter. Since he must have been closer to seventeen than to seven when he was assigned the St. Matthew, his birth date should probably be ten years earlier than c. 1560, the date given by *A. Venturi*, *Storia*, IX, 6, p. 133. In that case, the death date given by *Venturi* (c. 1658) must also be mistaken. See *Thieme-Becker*, II, Leipzig, 1908, p. 402.

¹⁹ ASF, Arti. Accademia del disegno. *Entrata e Uscita*, f. 114 r., October 18, 1569.



3 Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, Moses. Cappella di San Luca.

III.

1-2. MOSES AND ST. PAUL. Vasari describes two larger than life size figures, a Moses and St. Paul, which were modelled by Montorsoli and placed in niches in the chapel around 1535, shortly after he had carved the marble St. Cosmos for Michelangelo's Medici Chapel.²⁰ Paatz affirms the doubts expressed by earlier writers as to whether the present Moses and St. Paul (Figs. 3 and 4) are the figures mentioned by Vasari, and assigns them to an unknown late sixteenth century master.²¹ The figures flank what was originally the altar of the chapel. Since Vasari mentions both niches and figures, and since there is no reason to believe that the walls of the chapel were decorated in 1535, the figures were probably placed on either side of the altar, just as they are now, to form a unit with the altarpiece. It is difficult to imagine a more straightforward arrangement of two figures symbolizing the Old and New Laws. The small *istorie* over the niches and the attributes below firmly locate the original position of each figure in the chapel. By 1571 when these frescoes were finished there were twelve niches, since there are twelve frescoes. The positions of Moses and St. Paul are clearly identified, and as we have just seen, Montorsoli's figures probably occupied the same positions.²² Since only ten figures were assigned in 1567, none of which was a Moses or a St. Paul, it is most likely that the two figures as well as their niches existed at that time.

Since Montorsoli's figures were almost certainly included in the program of 1567, it is now necessary to consider whether or not the present Moses and St. Paul are those figures. If Paatz' hypothesis is correct, it would have been necessary for both sculptures flanking the altar to have been replaced for some reason late in the sixteenth century. The coincidence seems unlikely, but perhaps an argument could be made on the dissimilarity of the two figures. The erect St. Paul and the hunched, brooding Moses differ in conception, but there is no reason to conclude that they are the work of different artists. The St. Paul is Montorsoli's invention, and a drawing of the figure ascribed to him exists in the Gabinetto dei Disegni of the Uffizi.²³ The

²⁰ Vasari's biography of Montorsoli packs work in Rome, a trip to France, a touristic journey through northern Italy, and work around Florence between the departure of Michelangelo from Florence in late 1534 and the arrival of Charles V in May, 1536. During this time the statues in the SS. Annunziata were modelled: ... *nel suo convento de' Servi fece, similmente di terra, e le pose in due nicchie del capitolò, due figure maggiori del naturale, cioè Moisè e San Paulo, che gli furono molto lodate...* (Vasari-Milanesi, VI, p. 636). *Carla Manara* (Montorsoli e la sua opera genovese, Genoa, 1959, p. 18), includes the figures in the period of direct contact with Michelangelo, toward 1533. Such clay figures as the Moses and St. Paul could have been done in very little time, and Montorsoli was known for doing them quickly (*Manara*, p. 19). Since he probably did not return to Florence just to execute the figures, a date near one of the two terminal dates is most likely. Vasari's account at least indicates that Montorsoli modelled the figures after he had left Florence in 1534, and a date in late 1535 therefore seems most preferable. *J. Pope-Hennessy* (op. cit., see note 3) gives the date 1536-37 for the completion of Montorsoli's St. Cosmos (p. 33).

²¹ Vasari (ed. *Milanesi*, VI, p. 655) writes that the chapel ceded to Montorsoli after his return to Florence was the same as that in which he had placed the two figures modelled twenty five years before. These are assumed to be the two figures presently there by *Milanesi* (Vasari, VI, p. 636). *Gottschewski-Gronau* (*Lebensbeschreibungen*, VII, p. 402, n. 19) questioned the identification, followed by *Thieme-Becker* (XXV, p. 99) and *Paatz* (*Kirchen*, I, pp. 117-118) rejected it. *Paatz*' attributions are based on the opinions of *Friedrich Kriegbaum*. *Manara* (op. cit., p. 24) accepts the figures without comment.

²² The grotteschi were done by June, 1571, by Pietro Candido Fiammingo and perhaps Giovanni Fedini (*Geisenheimer*, loc. cit.). The frescoes above the figures are the Crossing of the Red Sea and the Conversion of St. Paul. In the panels below the figures are the Tables of the Law and a sword. Twelve figures are mentioned by *Francesco Bocchi and Giovanni Cinelli*, *Le bellezze della città di Firenze*, etc., Florence, 1677, p. 464 and *Ferdinando Leopoldo Del Migliore*, *Firenze, città nobilissima illustrata...*, Florence, 1684, p. 296.

²³ Uffizi no. 14367 F. Three drawings attributed to Montorsoli were included in the "Mostra di disegni dei fondatori dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno", Florence, 1963, catalogo a cura di *Paola Barocchi, Adelaide Bianchini, Anna Forlani and Mazzino Fossi*, cat. nos. 22-24. Attribution of Montorsoli's drawings has been given a firmer basis by *E. Battisti*, loc. cit. (see note 1).



4 Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, St. Paul. Cappella di San Luca.

difference of the Moses from the St. Paul may arise from the fact that the Moses is not Montorsoli's own, but a literal translation of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling Jeremiah. The two figures are smaller in scale and more frontal than the others in the chapel, suggesting an early rather than a later date. As for their relationship to Montorsoli's other sculpture, the figures, particularly the St. Paul, are comparable to the St. Cosmos in the New Sacristy in spite of the relative freedom of handling which the clay made possible. The laying of drapery over the forms of the body in heavy, fictile planes is the same in the St. Paul and the St. Cosmos, as is the 'wet' fabric clinging to the torsoes. In detail, the hands of the two saints share Montorsoli's characteristic aged veininess. There seems, in short, to be no stylistic reason to conclude that the figures are not by Montorsoli, in which case they must have formed the core of the later sculptural decoration.

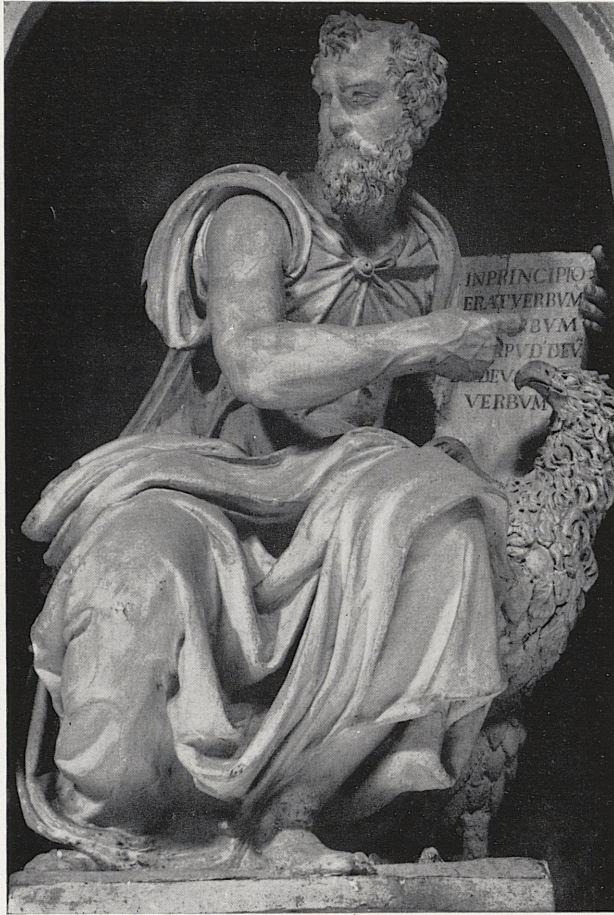


5 Domenico Poggini, St. Peter. Cappella di San Luca.

3. ST. PETER. Domenico Poggini was the first member of the Accademia to complete a figure in the major phase of the decoration of the chapel. The St. Peter (Fig. 5) had been assigned to him and payment for its transportation to the chapel was recorded on April 30, 1570.²⁴ Middeldorf has attributed the St. Peter to Giovanni Bandini, arguing on the basis of style, and discounting the documentary evidence because of the time taken to complete the project and the numerous exchanges of figures.²⁵ This attribution has been followed in all later discussions.

²⁴ *Entrata e Uscita* (see note 19), f. 114 v.: *giovedì . adj . 30 . daprile . 1570 a quatro fachinj che portonno la figura del sato. piero. ch. fece domenico pogginj... alla. noziata. lire tre soldj diecj & soldi venti per gesso per aconciare la detta figura nella nicia...* Also *Entrata e Uscita*, f. 114 v, another payment for gesso *per la statua del San Piero fatto per il capitolo della Nunziata*. This and the following document both bear the date October 19, 1570. *Al detto Dom.co y nove e mezo sono per tanta terra da montelupo per fare il p.mo san piero, la quale poi servi per fare la statua che ha fatto Fra Giovan Vincenzio per il capitolo della nunziata. "Il primo San Pietro"* no doubt means that it was the first figure done, not that Poggini did more than one of them, that is, that the first figure was a failure. The clay left over after the effort must have gone to Giovanni Vincenzo Casali.

²⁵ U. Middeldorf, loc. cit. (see note 8), pp. 502-503.



6 Giovanni Vincenzo Casali, St. John. Cappella di San Luca.

There can be little question about the complete documentation, however, and despite the affinities with Bandini which Middeldorf has demonstrated, there can be no stylistic contradiction in including the St. Peter among Poggini's few large sculptures.²⁶ Domenico Poggini was active principally as a medallist, and distinguished himself in the field of marble portraiture. His large marble figures are characterized by the same reserve which marks the St. Peter and favor a medium to small scale. Poggini prefers to leave simple form unadorned, avoiding strong line in favor of tidy folds and a craftsmanly refinement of detail. Like the other figures in the chapel, the St. Peter acknowledges a debt to Michelangelo's Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici. But the influence is general and distant and Poggini's careful, rather timid work stands apart from the later figures in the series. Rather than leaning into the space of the chapel the St. Peter is completely contained by its niche, in which it sits well back. Poggini has transformed the frontality of Montorsoli's adjacent St. Paul by the direct device of turning his figure

²⁶ Examined by *U. Middeldorf* and *F. Kriegbaum*, "Forgotten Sculpture by Domenico Poggini", in: *Burlington Magazine*, liii, 1928, pp. 9-17.

across the axis of its niche. The slight continuous torsion of the St. Peter, which is typical of Poggini's sculpture, found its finest expression in his bronze Pluto, done for the Studiolo of Francesco I three years later.²⁷

4. ST. JOHN. The St. John (Fig. 6) tentatively attributed to Giovanni Vincenzo Casali by Paatz, was probably complete by July 17, 1570.²⁸ The figure was originally assigned to Valerio Cioli, to whose style it bears little resemblance. Paatz' attribution to Casali is strengthened by the documentary evidence. A payment of October 19, 1570 states that *terra da Montelupo* not used by Domenico Poggini in making his St. Peter was used *per fare la statua che ha fatto Fra Giovan Vincenzo per il capitolo della nunziata*.²⁹ Casali therefore would seem to have finished a figure by October of 1570. He had been assigned the figure of Solomon, but this must have been finished just before December, 1574, when payments for materials and painting were recorded. Since there were ten artists and ten sculptures, and Casali is connected with two of these, he must have worked on the figure of another artist. There is no trace of Valerio Cioli's handiwork in any of the figures presently in the chapel and no reason to think that he might have done any of those which are lost, and so he did not simply change figures. Since both sculptors are mentioned in the documents at the same time, it seems probable that Casali finished the figure begun by Cioli. The unnamed figure of Valerio Cioli recorded as having been transported to the chapel on July 17, 1570, then, was not the figure executed by Cioli, but the figure assigned to him, that is, the St. John. It should probably be identified with *la statua che ha fatto Fra Giovan Vincenzo*.

Valerio Cioli was issued materials, however, and may well have begun the figure. His withdrawal from the project was perhaps due to pressure to complete his figure of *Sculpture* for the tomb of Michelangelo in Santa Croce. Of the three sculptors who worked on the monument, two of them, Cioli and Battista Lorenzi, were allotted figures in the chapel. Battista Lorenzi withdrew at once. It is possible that Valerio Cioli, the most delinquent of the three sculptors working on the tomb, was urged to follow suit in order to devote his time and undivided attention to carving marble.³⁰ The masses and surfaces of the St. John are too fragmented and the figure is too withered both in form and scale to have been the work of Valerio Cioli, who preferred turned forms of gigantistic proportions. The general composition is a reversal of his Santa Croce *Sculpture*, however, and perhaps the massive lower part of the figure retains something of his activity. But the importance given to wandering bands of heavy drapery and the dependence upon such linear stylizations as the large oval sleeves are typical of the late work of Montorsoli and his shop. If the St. John is compared to Montorsoli's St. Paul (see again Fig. 4) it seems evident that the sculptor was a literal but dry and mechanical imitator of Montorsoli, much as Giovanni Vincenzo Casali might be thought to have been.³¹

5. MELCHISEDECH. There has never been any disagreement about the authorship of Francesco Cammillani's Melchisedech (Fig. 7), placed in the chapel by October 29, 1570.³² It is no longer in its original position, but occupies the niche of the St. Mark, which was taken

²⁷ A. Venturi, *Storia*, X, 2, fig. 242.

²⁸ *Entrata e Uscita*, f. 115 r. Paatz, *Kirchen*, I, p. 118.

²⁹ See note 24 above.

³⁰ Battista Lorenzi labored at the monument from 1564 to 1575. His *Pittura* was described as completely unacceptable in 1573, at which time Valerio Cioli had still not begun his *Sculptura* on the excuse of being in the Duke's service. See *Pope-Hennessy*, op. cit. (see note 3), pp. 66-69.

³¹ On Giovanni Vincenzo Casali and his relationship to Montorsoli, see *Battisti*, loc. cit. (see note 1), p. 148.

³² *Libro del Proveditore*, 'E', f. 59 v. 1: ... a sei facchinj che portorno la figura cioe il Melchisedech a fatto franc.o Cammillanj schultore... Cammillani had been given materials October 18, 1569 (note 17 above). See also *Libro del Proveditore*, 'E', f. 60 r.; *Entrata e Uscita*, f. 115 r, 116 r, 118 r.



7 Francesco Cammillani, Melchisedech. Cappella di San Luca.

out of the chapel at the same time that Melchisedech's niche was made into the present entrance.

Cammillani was a follower of Bandinelli, and the Melchisedech is one of the few sculptures by his hand. It continues in the vein of Montorsoli's two figures, although it is realised on a more generous scale and is of a greater spatial and linear complexity. It embodies the kind of monumental caricature which grew up among the followers of Bandinelli, perhaps absorbed something from Montorsoli, and is best known in the sculpture of Vincenzo de' Rossi. Of all the figures, the Melchisedech relates most freely to its niche and, with its expansive gesture and doleful good nature, is most involved with the space of the chapel. The contours and surfaces are richer and more assured in the clay Melchisedech than in Cammillani's marble sculpture, almost all of which woodenly adorns the fountain in the Piazza Pretoria in Palermo.³³

³³ See *A. Venturi*, *Storia*, X, 2, figs. 435-436, and *Lia Russo*, *La Fontana di Piazza Pretoria in Palermo*, Palermo, 1961.

6. ST. MATTHEW. The St. Matthew, which is lost, was removed from the chapel at the same time as the St. Mark, and its niche is now filled by Joshua, in the guise of Granduke Cosimo, to be discussed shortly below. The St. Matthew was assigned to Giovanni Balducci, but was executed by “*Michelangelo schultore*” and was finished before March 12, 1571.³⁴ “*Michelangelo Schultore*” is no doubt Michelangelo Naccherino, whose bronze St. Matthew in the Duomo at Salerno, done around 1600, may provide some clue as to the appearance of the lost figure. The bronze is strikingly similar in type to the figures in the chapel, especially the Melchisedech of Francesco Cammillani, with whom Naccherino worked on the figures of the Palermo fountain.³⁵

7. ST. LUKE. Vincenzo Danti was the most important sculptor to work in the chapel and was charged with the execution of the traditional patron saint of painters. His St. Luke (Fig. 8) was begun before December, 1570 and completed by June, 1571.³⁶ It is a departure from the previous figures both in quality and style. The bumptiousness of the St. John and the Melchisedech has given way to elegance and monumental composure. The complicated, heavy drapery of the earlier figures has been replaced by a clear contrast of mass and line. The torso is thus left free for the play of the abstract anatomy, strongly dependent upon Michelangelo’s Medici Chapel *Day*. The figure is also strongly dependent upon Giovanni Bologna. The St. Luke, like the sculpture executed just after it, bears the clear impression of Bologna’s river gods for the Fountain of Oceanus in the Boboli Gardens. The model for the fountain was completed in the same year, 1571, and its immediate echoes in these figures are a precise indication of the growing impetus of Giovanni Bologna’s style in Florence.³⁷

More than any figure in the chapel, Danti’s St. Luke was considered in a graphic relationship to its niche. Like his bronze figures for the Baptistery, cast at almost the same time, and the slightly earlier Madonna and Child now in Santa Croce, the St. Luke is defined by an ovoid contour, within which counterpoised forms are supported by the linear tension of curves of drapery. This play is governed by strong axes and united by the thin edges of drapery working around and through the shallow space of the sculpture itself. The result is an abstract monumentality in which sculptural mass is symbolized by parabolic contour. Danti works in de-

³⁴ *Libro del Provveditore*, ‘E’, f. 61 v.; *Entrata e Uscita*, f. 117 r. Both are payments to four porters *che condusono nel capitolo la fuira del San Mateo di mano di Micolagnuolo ischultore...* Most recently Michelangelo Naccherino has been connected with Vincenzo de’ Rossi, in contradiction to his own statement that he was a student of Giovanni Bologna before leaving Florence for Naples in 1573. See *Alessandro Parronchi*, *Resti del presepe di Santa Maria Novella*, in: *Antichità viva*, iv, 3, May-June, 1965, pp. 9-28.

³⁵ For the figure of St. Matthew see *A. Venturi*, *Storia*, X, 2, fig. 505.

³⁶ *Entrata e Uscita*, f. 116 r.:

E a di 20 di dicembre (1570) per libre octo di cimatura lire una e soldj sei e dj 8 la quale si mando a M.

Vincenzio danti da perugia per fare la fuira che va nel capitolo de frati de servj

E per libre dua di spajo per decta fuira soldj quatordecia a decto M. Vincenzio danti

E per libre 25 di fieno per decta fuira soldj undicj et dj 8 a decto M. Vincenzio

E per 12 some di terra che porto atalante renaiolo a M. Vincenzo per fare decta fuira lire una soldj sei dj 8.

Similar documents, of the same date are to be found in the *Libro del Provveditore*, ‘E’, f. 60 r. For the identification of the figure see *Entrata e Uscita*, f. 118 v.: *A di 9 di Giugno (1571) E a dua pintori che detono di bianco alla fuira di M. Vincenzio perugino cioe al san luca fatto nel capitolo della nunziata. Libro del Provveditore*, ‘E’, f. 63 v. is a similar document of the same date. The St. Luke was added to the list of Danti’s works by *Herbert Keutner*, *The Palazzo Pitti ‘Venus’ and Other Works by Vincenzo Danti*, in: *Burlington Magazine*, c, 1958, p. 427, n. 5. *Keutner*’s article is the most recent discussion of Danti’s late style. A bozzetto related to the figure is to be found in the Pinacoteca, Arezzo. See *Luciano Berti*, *Il Museo di Arezzo*, Rome, 1961, p. 36, ill. p. 48.

³⁷ For the history of the Fountain of Oceanus see *Elisabeth Dhanens*, *Jean Boulogne*, Brussels, 1956, pp. 167-173, and in less detail, *Pope-Hennessy*, op. cit., p. 82.



8 Vincenzo Danti, St. Luke. Cappella di San Luca.

grees between the extremes of mass and line. He draws out the central mass of his figure so that the contour formed by the drapery culminates in the apostles flat, sketched hand. The combination of generalized but carefully worked surface and drawing is typical of Danti's sculpture.

8. JOSHUA. The portrait of Cosimo I (Fig. 9) as Joshua has been attributed to Giovanni Bologna by Paatz. There is no record, however, that Giovanni Bologna participated in the program, although he was assigned the St. Mark in 1567, supplied a design for it and partially modelled it.³⁸ The figure is here ascribed to Vincenzo Danti and Zanobi Lastricati, the artist to whom the Joshua was originally allotted. Lastricati was paid for materials for an unnamed figure on June 20, 1570³⁹, but there is no record of its completion. If it was finished within a year, as was more or less usual, its completion would have coincided with the completion of Danti's St. Luke. Lastricati's part in the figure cannot be directly supported on stylistic grounds because no works by him are known to survive, although it is known that he did large scale sculpture in stucco.⁴⁰ Still, he cannot have been a sculptor of great consequence, and it is unlikely that the most important figure in the chapel would have been left to his unassisted execution.

The stylistic links of the Cosimo I to Vincenzo Danti's St. Luke (see again Fig. 8) are evident. Despite the fact that the St. Luke itself stands unmistakably in the debt of Giovanni Bologna, Danti's modifications are characteristic, and it is toward Danti rather than Bologna that the figure points. The heavy torsoes of the Cosimo and the St. Luke are virtually the same in their elaborate, herculean anatomy and the loose articulation of the arm at the shoulder. The decoration of the armor is close to Danti's Baptistery group Herodias. The juxtaposition of brittle line, underscaled with respect to the large, simplified masses, is the same in both figures. A minimum number of changes in the arrangement of the parts would be necessary to transform one figure into the other, and the parts themselves on close examination are quite similar. For instance, the left legs of the figures might be compared. Still the surfaces of the Cosimo I are more monotonous than those of the St. Luke, and such details as the solid extended hand indicate another hand than Danti's. The responsibility for the conception and general modelling of the figure would seem to lie with Danti, the finishing being left to Zanobi Lastricati.

Cosimo I is now in St. Matthew's niche and was originally Joshua. The identification as Joshua may be argued on two grounds. First, all of the figures in the chapel can be accounted for except Michelangelo Naccherino's St. Matthew, the only figure taken intact from the chapel whose appearance is not definitely known. It was inevitable that a portrait of the patron of the Accademia should have been placed in the chapel, but it is unlikely that he would have been cast as an apostle. The portrait is an unlikely St. Matthew and an unlikely example of Naccherino's style. On the other hand there was precedent for Cosimo's role as an Old Testament leader, and the parallel to Joshua would have been particularly flattering and apt. Cosimo had received the long-awaited title of Granduke of Tuscany from Pius V in Rome, August 27, 1569, at almost the same time that the decoration of the chapel began. It was Joshua to whom the promise was made that "Every place that the sole of your foot shall touch, that have I

³⁸ See no. 10 below; Paatz, *Kirchen*, p. 118.

³⁹ *Entrata e Uscita*, f. 115 r. The document records a general payment for expenses *fatte nella sua figura che fa per il capitolo dall'accademia*.

⁴⁰ Lastricati executed figures for the wedding of Giovanna of Austria and Francesco I in 1565 (see *Giuseppe Palagi*, *Di Zanobi Lastricati, scultore e fonditore fiorentino del secolo XVI*, Florence, 1871) and the figure of *Fame* atop the catafalque of Michelangelo (see *Wittkower*, *op. cit.* [see note 3], pp. 105-106). A marble figure by his hand which may be identifiable is described in the 1691 inventory of Poggio Imperiale: ASF, Mediceo, Guardaroba 991, f. 58 r. *Una Figura di tutto rilievo di marmo bianco d'un Giovane tutto nudo con carcasso a armacollo, e cane in Guinzaglio posa su d'un piano tondo incavato in Base di marmo simile alta 1/4; e la figura alta 2 3/4. Scrittovj in d:a (di pietra scartocciata alta 2/5) Zanobi Lastrica, e posa sopra altra Base di Pietra scartocciata alta 2/5, con cartella scrittovj, cede l'Arco, e gli strali.* Lastricati is mistakenly credited with Cammillani's Melchisedech in *Thieme-Becker*, XXII, p. 414.



9 Vincenzo Danti and Zanobi Lastricati, Joshua — Cosimo I de' Medici. Cappella di San Luca.

given unto you..." (Josh. I, 3). Presumably as Joshua had won the Promised Land, with the laws of Moses behind him and in the full assurance of divine support, Cosimo had consolidated the land of Tuscany.⁴¹

⁴¹ Cosimo I was represented as David in the decorations for the marriage of Francesco I and Giovanna of Austria in 1565 (*Vasari-Milanesi*, VIII, p. 546) and as Solomon in his quarters in the Palazzo Vecchio (Lo Zibaldone di Giorgio Vasari, ed. *Alessandro Del Vita*, Rome, 1938, p. 11). He is shown with Moses at his back as patron of Pisa in Pierino da Vinci's marble relief in the Museo Vaticano. That Cosimo's patronage of the Accademia del Disegno occupied an important place in the minds of its members can be inferred from the following letters proposing new devices for the academy. Here is the proposal of Domenico Poggini. *E perchè tutte e tre (arts) si partono da un solo gambo e da una sola scienza, figuro ch'ella (Minerva) si riposi e regga sul Capricorno, come virtù di S. E. Ill.; e nello scudo, che Minerva tiene nel braccio sinistro, formo l'arme di S. E. Ill., col quale scudo ella si difende, e guarda da chi volesse offenderla, siccome questa compagnia si regge, si guarda e si difende con la virtù, forza e favore di S. E. Ill.* (*Giovanni Bottari and Stefano Ticozzi*, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura*, Milan, 1822, I, p. 265). Or the following letter, of Stefano Pieri to Baccio Valori (*ibid.*, p. 267) in which Cosimo's allegorization approaches the statue of Joshua. *In prima fingo un tempio, in memoria e stabilità dell'arti, di poi dentrovi la statua dell' Illustrissimo et eccellentissimo Duca di Fiorenza e di Siena, armato con bastone in mano, e dall'altra l'arme di S. E. Ill. ...*

9. ABRAHAM. Several payments for materials were made to Stoldo Lorenzi during May and June of 1571, but there is no record of when he completed his figure, although it must have been before late 1573, when he began work on the figures for the façade of Santa Maria presso San Celso in Milan.⁴² With Antonio di Gino Lorenzi, he had been assigned the figure of David, finally done by G. A. Lottini in 1575. Paatz attributes the figure of Abraham (Fig. 10) to Stoldo or Battista Lorenzi. It was originally given to Battista Lorenzi, and, with the slender arm brought across the chest of the seated figure, resembles Battista Lorenzi's *Pittura* for the tomb of Michelangelo. Like Danti's St. Luke the pattern for this figure is probably to be found in one of Giovanni Bologna's Oceanus Fountain river gods.⁴³ The simplified, rather delicate treatment of form and surface is also to be found in the sculpture of Stoldo Lorenzi, however, and the irregularly broken drapery of the Abraham bears little resemblance to the softer, more complex drapery favored by Battista Lorenzi. Rather it looks forward to Stoldo Lorenzi's Angel of the Annunciation for the façade of Santa Maria presso San Celso of around 1578.⁴⁴ The smooth articulation of the arm and torso, the gracefully drawn contours of the figure, and the easy flexing of the wrists is comparable to Stoldo Lorenzi's bronze Neptune in the Boboli Gardens, cast around 1568.⁴⁵ Only Stoldo Lorenzi is mentioned in the later documents, and there is no stylistic difficulty in the notion that he, rather than Battista Lorenzi, modelled the figure of Abraham.

10. SOLOMON - ST. MARK. The figure presently occupying Solomon's niche (Fig. 11) presents the most difficult problem of all the sculpture in the chapel. The original Solomon was modelled by Giovanni Vincenzo Casali between July and December, 1574.⁴⁶ Casali, it will be recalled, was responsible for the St. John (see again Fig. 6). This bears no relationship to the present figure, and the Solomon must be presumed to be lost.

Paatz has attributed the present figure to a nineteenth century sculptor.⁴⁷ The hard surface and sharp conjunction of muscles differs markedly from the modulated surfaces of the Cinquecento sculpture. Recollections of Giovanni Bologna in the crook of the large wrist and forefinger and the general musculature of the torso might be explained by the same archaeological bent that determined the head of the figure, a literal reference to Roman portraiture, rendered at once with an abstractness and pictorial sense not to be found in the pronounced constructions of hair, beard and linear features of the Cinquecento figures. The stylistic evidence, in short, would seem to demonstrate convincingly that the figure belongs to the nineteenth century.

This conclusion is complicated by two factors. The first is an engraving of the figure as

⁴² See *Ernst Kris*, *Materialien zur Biographie des Annibale Fontana und zur Kunsttopographie der Kirche S. Maria presso S. Celso in Mailand*, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, iii, 1930, pp. 201-253. The first payment to Stoldo Lorenzi dates December 6, 1573. The most recent analysis of Stoldo Lorenzi is *Hildegard Utz*, *Pierino da Vinci e Stoldo Lorenzi*, in: *Paragone*, 211, 1967, pp. 47-69.

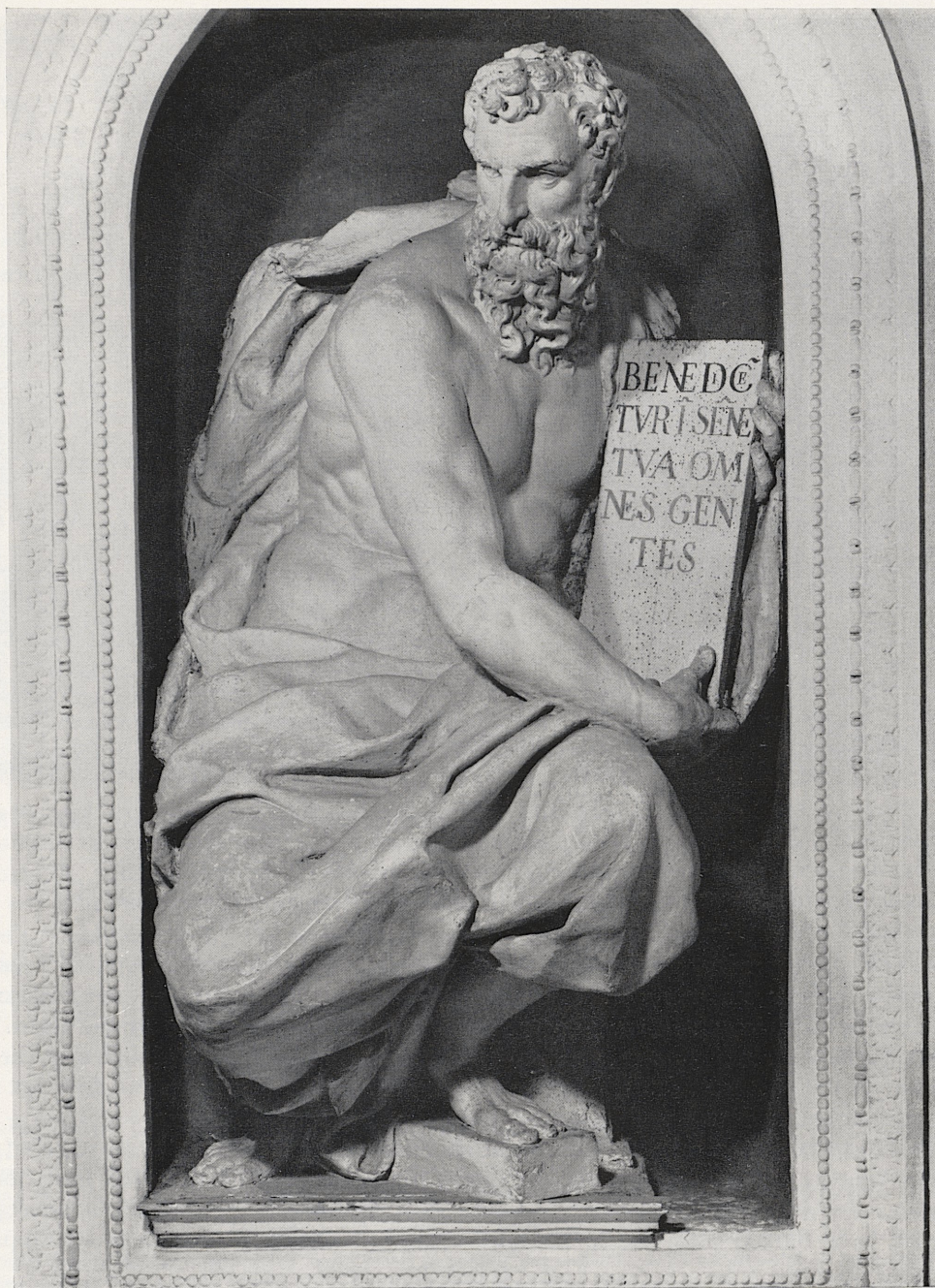
⁴³ It most resembles the oldest of the three. See *E. Dhanens*, *op. cit.*, fig. 73.

⁴⁴ *E. Kris*, *loc. cit.*, p. 211, fig. 7.

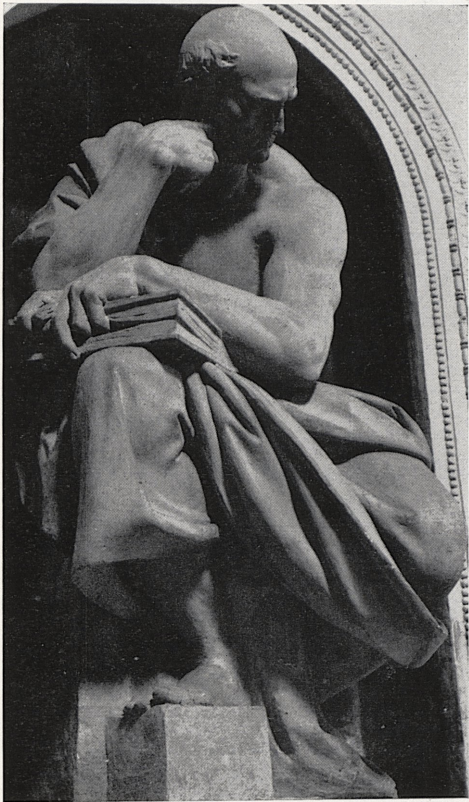
⁴⁵ *Mostra di disegni dei fondatori dell'Accademia del Disegno*, Florence, 1963, cat. no. 49, fig. 37.

⁴⁶ *Libro del Proveditore*, 'F', f. 56 r. July 11, 1574. *E adj detto Pagherese allo Sebastiano renaiuolo per 4 some di terra per la fiura di fra gio vinc.zio casalj*. Also see *Entrata e Uscita*, f. 115 r., 123 r., *Libro del Proveditore*, 'F', f. 56 v., 58 v., and 59 r. *xii Dicembre 1574 Mag.co m.o Valerio pagherese a Dom.co di Zanobi Landinj pittore lire tre e soldi dieci che tanti sdi fa buonj per avere dipinto la figura del Salomone di fra gio: Vinc.zio nel nostro capitolo*.

⁴⁷ *Paatz*, *Kirchen*, p. 118.



10 Stoldo Lorenzi, Abraham. Cappella di San Luca.



11 Andrea Corsali and Giovanni Bologna, St. Mark — Solomon. Cappella di San Luca.



12 Anonymous, Engraving of St. Mark. Madrid, Escorial.

St. Mark (Fig. 12), printed in Venice in 1574, shortly after its completion.⁴⁸ The engraver has identified the figure as the work of Giovanni Bologna. It differs in no important respect from the statue in Solomon's niche, except for the clarifying lion added at the right. Since it was associated with his name at such an early date, there can be little doubt that the figure is the result of the allotment of St. Mark to Giovanni Bologna. But his name does not appear in later documents, and presumably he did not execute it himself.

Cavallucci reported that one of the figures taken out when the chapel was modified in the nineteenth century was replaced when the figure to the left of Solomon fell from its niche about 1843. But the figure to the left of Solomon is the David, which there is no reason to believe had been moved since the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ Since the Solomon was apparently

⁴⁸ This engraving was pointed out to me by *Catherine Wilkinson* of Yale University, for whose help in the measurement, photographing and general deconfounding of the chapel I am extremely grateful. The engraving is published in *Juan Ainaud de Lasarte and A. Casanovas*, *Catalogo de la Biblioteca de el Escorial*, in: *Anales y Boletin de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, xvi, 1963-64, I, p. 357, lam. 68. It bears the inscriptions: *Z. Bologna inven., 1574, Apreso Nicolo Nelli. In Venetia con Privilegio, S. Marco*. The photograph was generously provided me by Sr. D. *José de Prado Herranz*.

⁴⁹ See no. 11 below.

the figure replaced in the nineteenth century, it must have been the figure which fell from its niche, and Cavallucci must simply have confused his information. The two figures previously taken out were Sts. Matthew and Mark. Cavallucci's statement that one of these figures was put back into place must then be correct, and the figure of St. Mark must have been reworked at that time before its reinstallation as Solomon.

The reworking of the surface was considerable, and evidence of Giovanni Bologna's hand has been smoothed away. Still, the composition is most certainly his and light may be shed upon the problem of the execution of the figure by a *bozzetto* in the Galleria dell'Accademia di San Luca in Rome. This *bozzetto* is catalogued as the work of an unknown Tuscan master of the second half of the Cinquecento, near Giovanni Bologna, although it is of too low a quality to be by his hand.⁵⁰

Andrea Corsali who, by elimination of the artists named in the documents, should have executed the figure, was probably a pupil of Battista Lorenzi; since no more is known of him, it can only be tentatively ascribed to him. Corsali received payments for an unnamed sculpture between November, 1573 and February, 1574.⁵¹ There is no record of its completion. In view of the mediocre quality of the *bozzetto* and Giovanni Bologna's responsibility for the invention, it seems most reasonable to suggest that Corsali modelled the *bozzetto* after the design of the master. The *bozzetto* might further imply that a figure of such size and competence could not have been left to a sculptor who has disappeared without a trace, and since the clay statues could be easily and quickly worked, Bologna's personal intervention should probably be assumed.

II. DAVID. The David was originally assigned to Antonio di Gino and Stoldo Lorenzi. It was the last figure in the chapel to be finished, by Giovanni Angelo Lottini in 1575.⁵² It was also the first to go. Baldinucci tells us that Lottini's David *ebbe sua fine a cagione di caduta*.⁵³ The statue now in David's niche (Fig. 13) is the late seventeenth century replacement. Although it was obviously envisioned as an imitation of such a figure as Francesco Cammillani's Melchisedech, and may well have been based on the destroyed figure, it is far from the discrete compositions of the Cinquecento sculpture. The pose is more open. The contours are broken. The surfaces, such as the surface of the left arm, are smeared around the forms or, like the beard, cut into slick metallic facets. The parts of the figure are lost in the confusion of light and dark which makes up the drapery. In a word, the style of the figure is consistent with the date of Baldinucci's writing, and the activity of the shop of G. B. Foggini in the Santissima Annunziata after 1690 might have provided a convenient opportunity for the replacement of

⁵⁰ *Vincenzo Golzio*, *La Galleria e la collezione della R. Accademia di San Luca in Roma*, Rome, 1939, p. 13, ill., p. 59. Also: *Le Terrecotte della R. Accademia di S. Luca*, in: *Atti e Memorie della R. Accademia di S. Luca*, 1933, p. 54.

⁵¹ Corsali is called Andrea di Bastiano Corsali, *Libro del Provveditore*, 'F', f. 11 r. Payments are first recorded to him November 23, 1573 for *i spese per la sua figura del Capitolo. Entrata e Uscita*, f. 123 r. See also *Libro del Provveditore*, 'F', f. 92 r. and 93 r., February 17, 1574, the last recorded payment, made to *Andrea di fabio per conto della fiura dandrea corsali del capitolo della nu(n)ziata*. I have been unable to consult a recent article which may have reached the same conclusion as to Giovanni Bologna's role in the execution of the figure. See *Eugenio Maria Casalini O.S.M.*, *Due opere del Giambologna all'Annunziata di Firenze*, in: *Studi Storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria*, xiv, 1964, pp. 261-276. Andrea Corsali is listed among the sculptors who took part in the decorations of 1565 as *Andrea Corsali con Battista Lorenzi*. See *Piero Ginori Conti*, *L'apparato per le nozze di Francesco de' Medici e di Giovanna d'Austria*, Florence, 1936, p. 146.

⁵² *Libro del Provveditore*, 'F', f. 61 r.: *Addj 8 dj Maggio 1575 Mag.co m.o Valerio pagare a Piero di Santi bruschinj lire quattro... per dipintura della figura che a fatto fra Giovan agnolo nel nostro capitolo cioe il davide e dato di pagonazo alla nicchia...*

⁵³ *Baldinucci*, *Notizie*, II, p. 660.



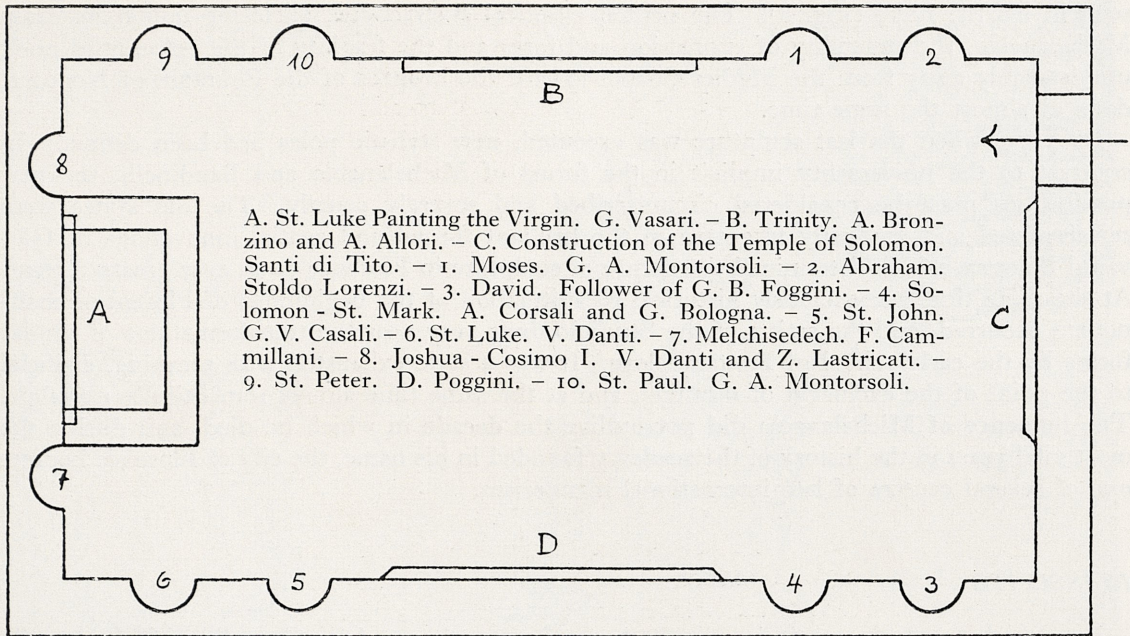
13 Workshop of Giovanni Battista Foggini, David. Cappella di San Luca.

the lost figure.⁵⁴ Since the David occupies its proper niche, it is unlikely that it was removed from the chapel, as Cavallucci stated, during the nineteenth century rearrangement.

IV.

CONCLUSION. The discussion has brought the history of the sculpture of the Cappella di San Luca up to its present state (Fig. 14). As can be seen by a comparison with Fig. 2, the geometry of the original *concelto* is no longer apparent. The nineteenth century relocation of the altar has made the three frescoes meaningless, not to mention the disruptive addition of a fourth fresco, Pontormo's Madonna and Saints from the church of San Rufillo. It is altogether unrelated to the others, and has been used simply to conceal the old entrance. The new

⁵⁴ See *Klaus Lankheit*, *Florentinische Barockplastik... 1670-1743*, Munich, 1962, Abb. 32 and 33 for the Feroni Chapel (1691-93) and Abb. 198 for the monument to Donato dell'Antella (1702), both in the Santissima Annunziata.



14 Cappella di San Luca. Scheme of Present State (not to scale).

entrance, through the former niche of Melchisedech, has destroyed the symmetry once governed by the Bronzino-Allori Trinity, and has resulted in the loss of two figures. Moreover, the Old and New Testament series have been interrupted and mingled, and there are prophets among the apostles. An emblematic order of painting, sculpture and architecture, much like that of the Studiolo of Francesco I, has been lost.

Nonetheless, the sculptural program forms an instructive example of mid-Cinquecento Florentine sculpture. The series began in the shadow of Michelangelo's work in San Lorenzo with Montorsoli's Moses and St. Paul. It was resumed shortly after his death, and the sequence of figures which follows plots the decline of Michelangelo's manner in Florence. Michelangelo left for Rome shortly before Montorsoli modelled his figures and never returned. The years intervening between his departure and the first figure in the new program, Domenico Poggini's St. Peter (Fig. 5) had seen the diminution of the influence of his difficultly personal manner. To a large extent the difference is between genius and the lack of it, and it is perhaps unfair to analyse style in general in the work of so unassuming a talent as Domenico Poggini. Still, his St. Peter is a pallid but stubborn memory of the pattern of Giuliano de' Medici in the New Sacristy, and may be taken as a sign of the already crystallized doctrine of the aesthetically excellent as canonical form. It is altogether apart from the inevitable and vital transformations which continual personal contact with an artist of genius might have produced. Sculptural form changed slowly by repetition and not by significant reinterpretation. This is less dramatically true of the sculptors working in the chapel who had formed their styles around the highly original Hellenism of Baccio Bandinelli, which represented the chief alternative to Michelangelo. Academic at its inception, it survived more tenaciously and merged more docilely with later styles. The crisis in the sculpture of such an avowed disciple of Michelangelo as Vincenzo Danti, who had championed his manner in Florence for over a decade, can be plainly

seen in his St. Luke (Fig. 8). The brittle, elliptical abstractions, enclosing quotations from Michelangelo, the generality of expression and form and the fragility of the extremities point unmistakably away from the Medici Chapel toward the bronzes of the Fountain of Neptune, done at almost the same time.

By 1575, when the last sculpture was executed, new stylistic poles had been defined. In contrast to the universality implicit in the forms of Michelangelo and Bandinelli, the new possibilities must be considered circumscribed and severely courtly. The old styles were reinterpreted and gradually forgotten in the brilliant formal and spatial innovations of Giovanni Bologna, which determined the nature of sculpture in Florence to an ever greater extent. At the same time a consciously historical recapitulation of the beginnings of Florentine mannerism occurred, and the artists of the Studiolo drew very near the transformations of similar forms by the early school of Fontainebleau. It was a style exhausted with meaning, artificial to the point of the exclusion of meaning, and at the same time almost romantically nostalgic. The influence of Michelangelo did not outlive the decade in which he died, and during the most vital years in the history of the academy founded in his name, the city of Florence became one of several centers of late international mannerism.

RIASSUNTO

La serie di figure che costituisce ora la decorazione scultorea della Cappella di S. Luca nella Santissima Annunziata è ciò che resta di un progetto il cui nucleo originale era rappresentato dai S. Paolo e Mosé, installati nella Cappella da G. A. Montorsoli intorno al 1535, epoca in cui egli lavorava alla Cappella dei Medici. Altre dieci figure, due delle quali furono perdute nel corso di un completo spostamento avvenuto nel 19° secolo, erano state commissionate a membri dell'Accademia del Disegno nel 1567 secondo i termini di un accordo per il completamento della decorazione della cappella disegnata nel 1565. Il programma così ampliato fu probabilmente progettato in gran parte dal Montorsoli, che lavorò di tanto in tanto nella cappella dopo il suo ritorno a Firenze nel 1561 e prima della sua morte avvenuta nel 1563.

Gli accademici ai quali erano state commissionate le sculture nel 1567 non sempre le eseguirono; esistono quindi discordanze fra la lista delle commissioni e quella dei nomi degli artisti che si può dedurre dai pagamenti annotati negli Archivi dell'Accademia. Questa confusione ha ostacolato la sicura attribuzione di alcune importanti figure come il S. Luca di Vincenzo Danti ed il S. Marco disegnato da Giovanni Bologna. Ha inoltre impedito di conoscere il nome di artisti con poche o nessuna opere a loro attribuite. La soluzione di questo rebus di documenti che circonda la cappella mette così in luce varie personalità artistiche e la ricostruzione del suo stato originale rivela uno schema iconografico di notevole interesse, nel quale il Granduca Cosimo I de' Medici veniva rappresentato come Giosuè ed alcuni importanti precetti dell'Accademia del Disegno erano illustrati emblematicamente.

Quanto alle sculture, la loro progressione traccia il diagramma della trasformazione e del declino dello stile di Michelangelo a Firenze. Nella stessa epoca lo stile di Giovanni Bologna era chiaramente in ascesa. Il riflesso dello stile del Bologna, unito a quello della scuola del Bandinelli evidente nella Cappella di S. Luca, presentano la scultura fiorentina sulla soglia di una nuova fase del tardo manierismo, chiaramente definita nello Studiolo di Francesco I e nei bronzi per la fontana del Nettuno.

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Alinari: Fig. 1. - Author: Figs. 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13. - Brogi: Figs. 4, 5, 10. - Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence: Fig. 9. - Courtesy of D. José de Prado Herranz: Fig. 12.