

THE RUCELLAI LOGGIA *

by Brenda Preyer

I

The Rucellai Palace and the loggia across the via della Vigna constitute the only private two-building complex which survives from the fifteenth century in Florence. Following the lead of Vasari, many scholars have attributed both buildings to Alberti.¹ However, in style they are so different, and their relationship to each other and to the piazza is so loosely coordinated that it has always been difficult to understand them as a unified project. The stylistic problem can be eliminated, for the attribution of the loggia to Alberti should be rejected (see below); the position of the loggia, on the other hand, was largely dictated by the constraints of the site. The loggia is an arcade one bay deep and three bays wide, and it extends from the via della Vigna to the via del Purgatorio (Fig. 4). It forms one side of a triangular piazza but appears to have been wedged into the site and conceived without formal regard to the palace. The only significant relationship between the two buildings is the placement of their facades at right angles to each other; the loggia does not line up with the palace's eastern edge (present or with the eighth bay completed), nor are the entablatures on the same level. The original plan for the loggia was, however, altered while the palace was still under construction, and some aspects of the change can be documented by means of the notarial documents, tax reports, and personal records presented in the following digest.

Document 1. 7 May 1453

Will of Ugolino di Francesco Rucellai

Ugolino leaves to his wife Nanna all his goods for her life; names as his universal heirs after her death Piero di Cardinale, Vanni and Niccolo di Paolo di Vanni, and Albizzo di Ugolino di Messer Albizzo Rucellai.²

Document 2a. 29 April 1456

Giovanni Rucellai's account of Ugolino's donation of his shop for the loggia

Ugolino di Francesco d'Ugolino di Nardo Rucellai, nominato di sopra, sendo vecchio d'età d'anni ottanta, per mio conforto e d'altri di casa nostra, fece donazione *inter vivos* a me Giovanni di Pagolo di messere Pagolo Rucellai, ricevente per tutta la famiglia de' Rucellai, d'una bottega sotto la casa sua, dove al presente sta a pigione Domenico Channacci legnaiuolo, per mano di ser Antonio di Salomone notaio fiorentino, sotto dì 29 d'aprile 1456, perchè vi si facci una loggia per honore della nostra famiglia, per aoperarla per le letitie et per le tristitie, et che ciascuno de' Rucellai possa murarla et adornarla, quando tutti non volessino concorrere alla spesa.³



1 Rucellai Loggia.

Document 2b. 29 April 1456

Description of the shop's confini; the provision for raising its ceiling

unam apotecham ... in loco detto in sul chanto che va in parione cui a 1 via della vigna 2 via a 3 via di parione detto a 4 domus et bona dicti Ugolini; ... et si pro construendo et fieri faciundo ut supra dictam Lodiam fuerit expediens capere voltam dicte et predicte Apotece et ipsam destruere et dictam voltam reficere et reducere magis altam quod dictus construi faciens possit illam reducere in altitudinem eo modo et prout sibi videtur esse conveniens et bene stare ...⁴

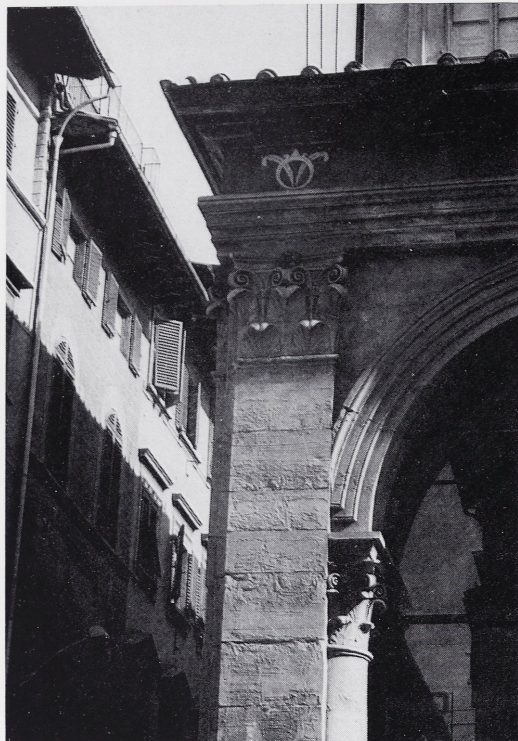
Document 3. 30 May 1456

Account by Giovanni Rucellai of festivities for his son Pandolfo's wedding

Ricordanza che adi 30 di maggio 1456 Pandolfo mio figlio menò la Caterina di Buonacorso Pitti à cavallo con Pifferi e Trombetti accompagnata da Gio [= Giovani] e fessi Le nozze à Quaracchi e nel di della ritornata si mangiò nella via tra La strada [*sic*] ...⁵

Document 4. February 1458 (s.c.)

Excerpt from tax report of Ugolino's widow, Nanna, describing the house and referring to the



2 Rucellai Loggia, northwest corner from west.



3 Rucellai Loggia, interior looking north.

donation of the shop

dal 27 da conto di francesco dugolino rucelai Lion Rosso 65

una chasa posta in firenze nella vigna ... da 1 2 3 via 4 Vanni di pagholo rucellai La quale tengho per mio abitare

Al 69 Lion [Rosso] 169 a chonto di Giovanni Rucellai che ne fe la loggia

Ugolino ... lascio la chasa di firenze dovio abito ... alle sue rede dopo la morte mia ...

va da chonto di Giovanni rucelai di fede auta di donazione fattagli sotto di 28 [sic] daprile 1456 roghato Ser antonio dSalamone

Beni alienati dal primo catasto in qua.

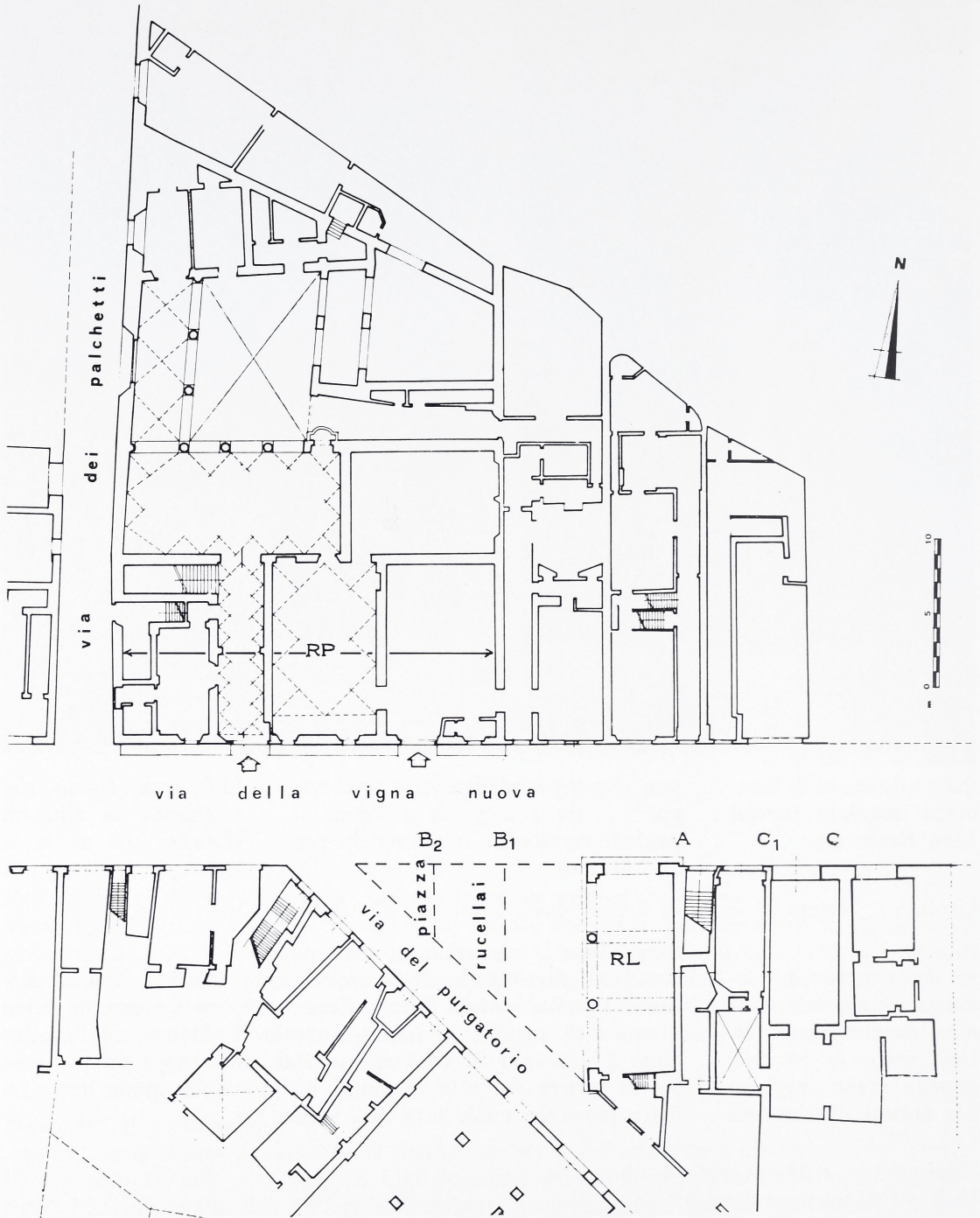
Una bottegha sotto la chasa dove abito posta nela vignia ... a uso di legnaiuolo stavi dentro Simone Chanacci e davane lanno 1. sedici di pigione la quale bottegha Ugholino mio marito dono a giovanni di pagholo rucellai lanno 1453 [sic] chome per la scritta di detto giovanni vedrete della quale bottegha detto giovanni vuole fare una loggia.⁶

Document 5. 5 March 1461 (s.c.)

Will of Nanna (not found)⁷

Document 6. 5 December 1463, 28 June 1464, 13 February 1465 (s.c.)

All Ugolino's heirs (except Niccolo di Paolo di Vanni?) sell their shares in a country house which was a part of the inheritance.⁸



4 Rucellai Loggia (R L), Palace (R P) and Piazza. Site plan from *Taddei* (see n. 18) with suggestions added by author for original boundaries of Ugolino property.

*Document 7. 1464**Ricordo of Giovanni Rucellai referring to the loggia as under construction*

... delle muraglie che io ò facte della chasa mia di Firenze, del luogo mio da Quarachi, della facciata della chiesa di Sancta Maria Novella e della loggia principiata nella Vigna dirinpetto alla chasa mia.⁹

*Document 8. 8 June 1466**Description by Giovanni Rucellai of the setting for his son Bernardo's wedding*

La quale festa si fece fuori di chasa, in sun un palchetto alto da terra braccia 1½, di grandezza di braccia 1600 quadre incircha, che teneva tucta la piazzuola, ch'è dirinpetto alla chasa nostra e la loggia e la via della Vigna insino alle mura della chasa nostra, ritratto a modo di trianghola ...¹⁰

*Document 9. August 1469**Excerpt from tax report of Niccolo di Paolo di Vanni Rucellai referring to Giovanni Rucellai's taking of the house to build the piazza and loggia*

anne fatto la loggia di Giovanni Rucellai Avevo la sesta parte della chasa di Firenze di Ugholino di Francesco Rucellai la quale mi tochava per testamento roghato per Ser Piero di Ser Andrea da Champi La quale chasa Giovanni di pagholo di Messer pagholo Rucellai la fe gittare per terra senza mia licenzia e anne fatto piazza e loggia chomune non so se Io potro mai trarne profitto alchuno Rimarrei chontento se della sua chasa avvenisse il simile.¹¹

*Document 10. August 1469**Excerpt from tax report of heirs of Albizzo d'Ugolino Rucellai referring to donation to Giovanni Rucellai of the house*

Beni alienati
Al 69 Lion Rosso 1/3 parte duna casa posta nella vigna nel popolo di San Pancrazio la quale decto Albizzo insieme con Bernardo di Piero di Cardinale e Vannj di pagolo Rucellai donarono a Giovanni di pagolo Rucellaj e lui la disfece per farvi la loggia come si vede.¹²

*Document 11. August 1469**Excerpt from tax report of Bernardo di Piero di Cardinale Rucellai referring to donation of the house*

... donolla [the house] Piero a Giovanni di Pagholo Rucellaj per fare la loggia.¹³

The first indication of a project for a loggia comes in 1456, at the same time that Giovanni Rucellai was building the palace facade (Docs. 2a, 2b).¹⁴ In April a distant relative, Ugolino di Francesco Rucellai, gave to Giovanni a shop beneath his house, in order that a loggia might be constructed for the entire *consorteria*. Since the document of the donation grants Giovanni permission to raise the vaulted ceiling of the shop if necessary, it is possible, though by no means certain, that Giovanni already had a preliminary design for the loggia. Such a structure would have — social and aesthetic enhancement aside — a ceremonial use, aspects of which have been investigated by F. W. Kent. In fact a month after the donation, celebrations attending the marriage of Pandolfo, Giovanni's eldest son, to Caterina Pitti were held „in the road between the street [!]“. This suggests that

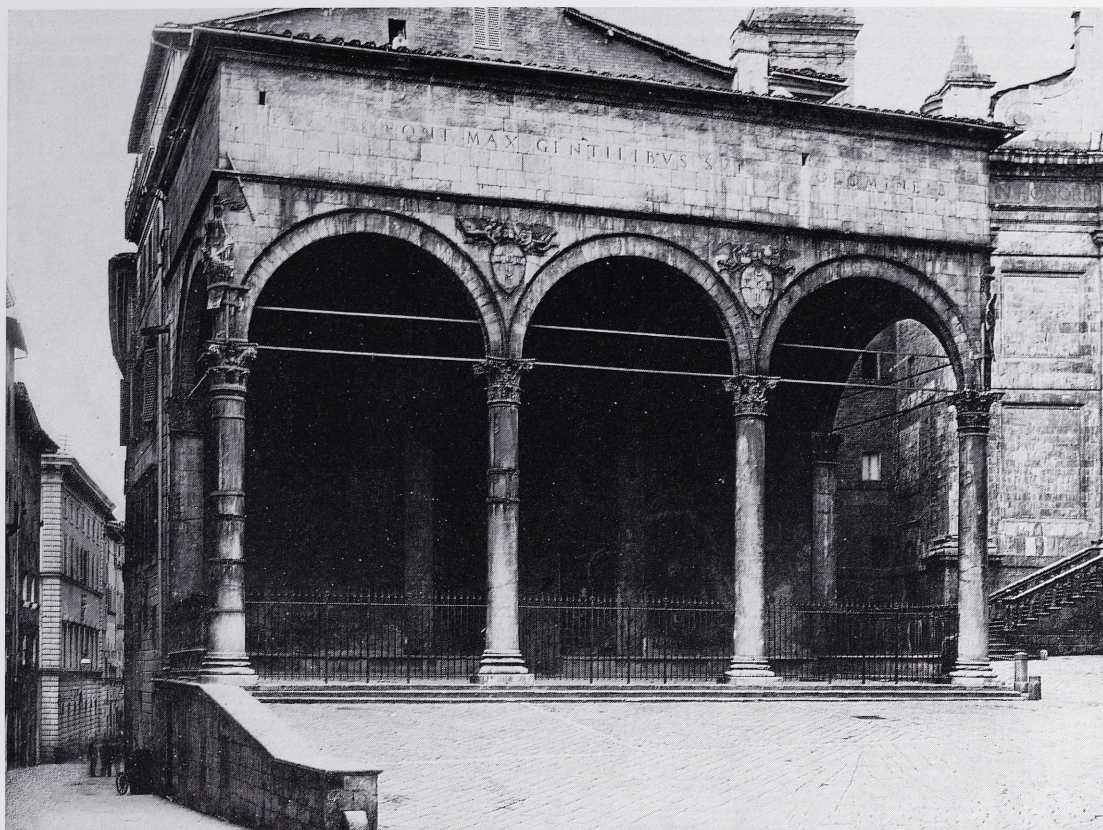
the idea of a loggia arose in the months before both donation and marriage during the course of planning those festivities (Doc. 3). Indeed, in 1466 the new piazza with the loggia were an ideal setting for the marriage of Giovanni's other son, Bernardo, to Nannina de' Medici (Doc. 8). We know from Giovanni's own statement of 1464 in the *Zibaldone* that the loggia had been started (*principiata*: Doc. 7); therefore its construction can be dated ca. 1463-1466.

Why, if the project existed as early as 1456, was the building not begun for seven years? After all, Giovanni may have had a design, and he could have merged the building operations with those at the palace across the street. The reason for the delayed start of the loggia lies in a factor that has been overlooked: the structure that we see today is built on a site different from the one provided by the donation in 1456.

The position of the shop for the 'first loggia' project is defined by the *confini* in the donation, from which we can deduce that it occupied the west side of the ground floor of Ugolino's house (Doc. 2b). In 1453 Ugolino had willed the house (including the shop) to his wife Nanna, and upon her death it was to pass to his universal heirs (Albizzo d'Ugolino di Messer Albizzo, Vanni and Niccolo di Paolo di Vanni, and Piero di Cardinale Rucellai) (Doc. 1). But we learn from tax returns of 1469 that the *entire house* had been used to build the existing loggia (Docs. 9-11). The shop, not mentioned in these returns because as of 1456 it was no longer part of the estate, had of course been destroyed as well. After the death of Nanna, all but one of Ugolino's heirs had given Giovanni Rucellai their parts of the house; the remaining heir, Niccolo di Paolo di Vanni, complained bitterly that the house had been taken without his agreement. Although the date of Nanna's death is not known and the notarial documents recording the donation of the house to Giovanni have not been found, documentary evidence does exist to establish a time bracket for the first event, which is a *terminus post quem* for the second. Nanna made a will in March 1461 (Doc. 5), and the tax report of Albizzo's heirs reveals that their part of the house was given to Giovanni before August 1462 (Doc. 10), so she must have died between those dates.¹⁵ The legal documents for the donation of the house may have been made over a period of more than 14 months, since the same tax report says that another part of the donation was made by Bernardo di Piero di Cardinale, presumably soon after the death of his father on 9 October 1463 (Doc. 10).¹⁶ A transaction did not normally move so slowly, but the case is not unique: it is mirrored in the sale, which lasted from 1463 to 1465, of a country house from Ugolino's estate (Doc. 6). However, since by Bernardo's own declaration it was Piero, his father, who ceded that family's portion of the house (Doc. 11), Giovanni Rucellai may have had control of it before October 1463. All that is certain, of course, is that the house adjoining Ugolino's shop could not have come into Giovanni's hands before Nanna died in 1461 or 1462; it is probable that the rather complicated procedure for the transfer of the house took place in 1462 and 1463.

These conclusions are consistent with the dates of the loggia's construction as inferred from the *Zibaldone*. Knowing how the site was assembled, we may speculate on the motives of the principals involved. When he made the donation, it was obviously not Ugolino's intention that Giovanni use the land of both the house and the shop for the loggia, for in that case he might have changed his will and, while still providing for his widow by allowing her to use the house for the remainder of her life, he might have separated the house from the rest of his estate and designated it for the loggia upon Nanna's death. Giovanni, however, probably decided soon after the donation that the shop site was inadequate, or he would have begun to build.

The site plan (Fig. 4) shows that Ugolino's house was destroyed, for the loggia abuts the thick wall (labeled A on the plan), which formed the eastern edge of Ugolino's property.¹⁷



5 Piccolomini Loggia, Siena.

The loggia occupies only part of the site of the original house and shop; the rest, to the west, was used for the piazza. It is unclear precisely how far west Ugolino's property extended, and consequently, how much of the piazza was opened up when the loggia was built.¹⁸ On the one hand, Niccolo di Paolo di Vanni declared that Giovanni took the house and „made the piazza and loggia“ (Doc. 9); also, I have found no reference to a piazza here before Giovanni's *ricordo* of 1466. But probably there was some opening at the junction of the Vigna and the Purgatorio, not dignified with the name piazza, where Pandolfo's wedding feast was held „between the street“; and it is unlikely that Ugolino's property ended on the west in a point. Our plan shows two sample possibilities for the western wall (B_1 and B_2) with the probable boundaries of the site on the southwest and the north. Only an excavation along these latter lines (which could easily be undertaken the next time the piazza is repaved) would establish exactly where the western wall lay.

The question is of some importance for two reasons. First, we would of course like to know to what extent the piazza was Giovanni Rucellai's creation. Second, only if we knew the precise location of the shop could we be certain why Giovanni rejected the first site and waited seven years for the second. It may be observed that under Alternative B_1 the 'first loggia' would have opened onto the diminutive piazza; under Alternative B_2 the loggia might have been located either along that line or along the Vigna, if the shop extended far enough east beneath the house. In either case the site for the 'first loggia'



6 S. Spirito, nave arcade.

would not have been large, for some of the ground floor of Ugolino's property belonged to the house and thus was not available (Doc. 2b). Any loggia which could have been built on either of these spots would have been smaller than the existing one, and it would have been tucked under a house. The main advantage of the new site was its greater size. This permitted a larger loggia that could stand independent of surrounding buildings; it also allowed for creation of the impressive space between the loggia and palace.

Let us review the evidence touching the relationship of the loggia to the palace.¹⁹ In ca. 1455 construction was begun on the Rucellai Palace facade. The design by Alberti consisted of five bays and was meant to cover Giovanni's existing palace. The revetment of the ground floor was executed according to plan, but in January 1456, Jacopoantonio Rucellai, the owner of the next plot east on the via della Vigna, died; more than two years passed before his house went on the market. In April 1456, Ugolino donated his shop for

the loggia. At about the same time Giovanni began to make every effort to expand the palace beyond the first five bays; he even went to the length of having the facade revetment look unfinished at its eastern edge in order to suggest, at least to outsiders, that Jacopoantonio's house was necessary for proper completion of the facade. Although he succeeded in buying the house in 1458, Giovanni still did not extend the revetment over it for at least seven years; apparently he was waiting in the vain hope that the owner of the next house, Giovanni d'Antonio Rucellai, would also sell, and make it possible to finish off the facade in eight bays. After 1465, he proceeded anyway with the revetment across the house that he had bought from the heirs of Jacopoantonio, leaving the eighth bay at the edge of his property jagged, perhaps making a final attempt to persuade Giovanni d'Antonio to sell.

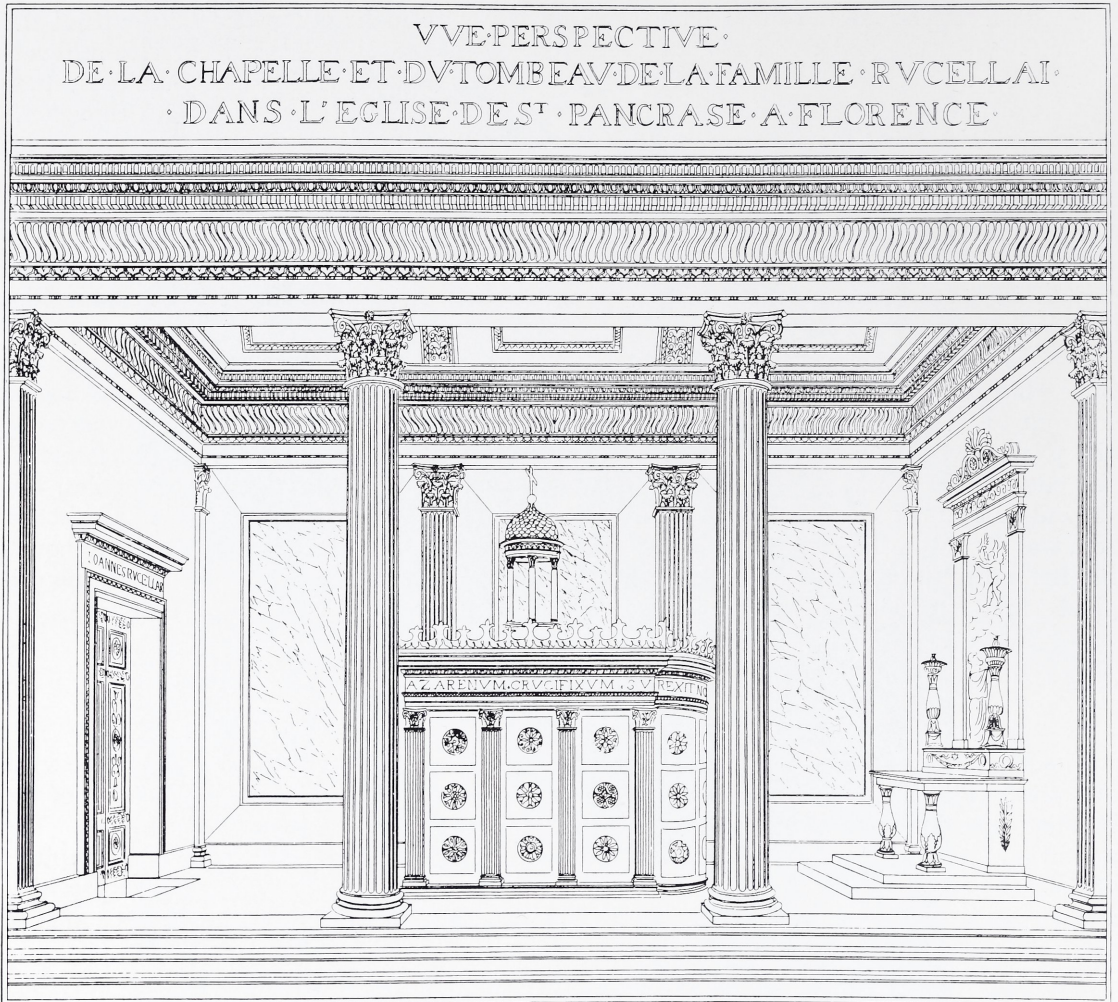
In this context it is not difficult to imagine that Giovanni's ambitions for a loggia may have changed radically during 1456; he must have envisioned a larger piazza and loggia in front of what he hoped would be his own larger house. And he must have welcomed the possibility of constructing a new building of large scale on the unencumbered site at the edge of the piazza. The loggia was to serve as a setting for family ceremonies, but the only major occasion of that type that Giovanni had in mind, the marriage of his second son, was far in the future. He could afford to wait for Nanna to die in the hope of acquiring the entire piece of land from her heirs; if his designs failed, he could return to the original 'first loggia' scheme.

II

The Rucellai Loggia is a rectangular building of three bays, with openings on the west and north (Figs. 1-2). Columns carry arches defining these bays, while at the corners of the building pilasters support an architrave to form a closed system framing the arches. The architrave and arches share the same pattern of deep, regularly-spaced *fasciae*; capitals of both the columns and the pilasters are also similar in type; all are carved with precision and elegance, but little verve. The decoration and the design in general are economical and straightforward.

The logic of the design is carried to an extreme in the articulation of the vaulting. Behind each of the three bays is a domical vault (Fig. 3). The arches of both facades are semicircular, and because on the north the arch springs from engaged columns, the depth of the loggia interior is equal to the span of one semicircular arch plus a distance on either side about equal to the radius of a column. A difficulty arose with the decision to throw more arches, separating and supporting the vaults, from the four western columns to two answering columns and two corbels set in the wall. These interior arches are barely higher than those on the exterior, but because of their greater span, they must be flattened, or segmental, arches. At both ends of the loggia semicircular and segmental arches are clearly, if clumsily, juxtaposed.²⁰

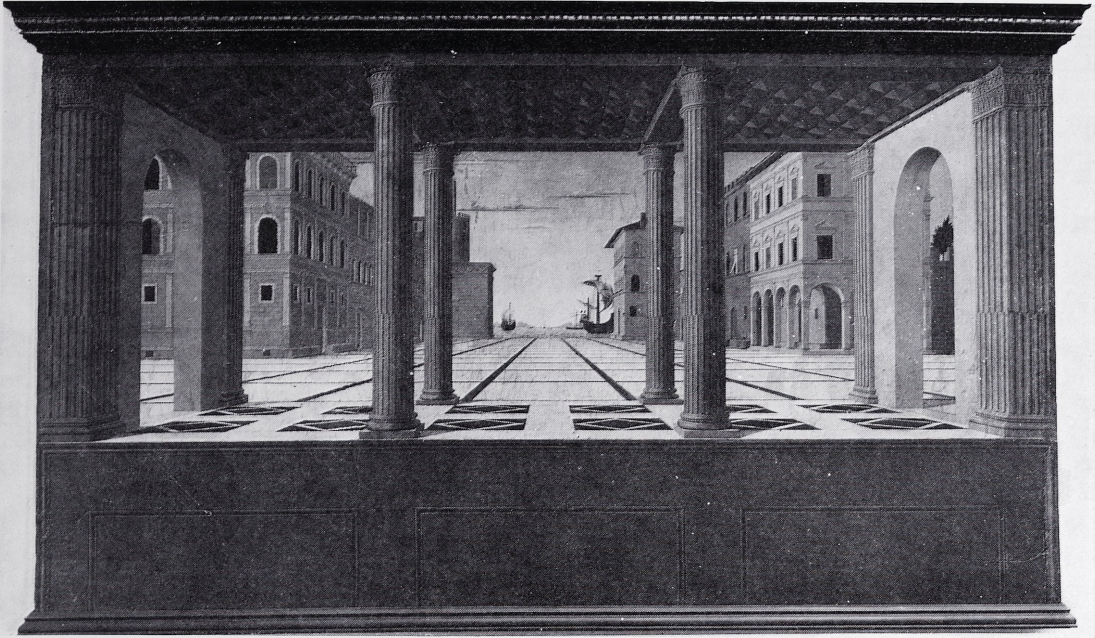
Although the loggia certainly postdates in construction, and probably in design, the completion of the five-bay palace facade, their styles are only superficially related. They have in common the system of pilasters supporting an architrave with frieze; but the swelling forms of the loggia contrast with the sharp and delicate detailing of the palace. The expansive arches generate an easy rhythm that is at variance with the palace's staccato interplay between completed forms and interrupted lines; and only partly because of its nature as an open building, the loggia lacks the interesting surface texture that so distinguishes the palace.



7 Former entrance to the Rucellai Chapel in S. Pancrazio in *Grandjean de Montigny* (see n. 33).

Elsewhere we will argue that Alberti designed and was intimately involved in the execution of the palace, but despite Vasari's attribution, the same cannot be said of the loggia. We will not bring the usual reasoning that Alberti condemned the use of arches on columns. Heinrich Klotz has shown that the *De Re Aedificatoria* does not present architectural dogma but merely preferences given particular situations.²¹ Klotz finds a place for the loggia in Alberti's theories by pointing to the statement in *De Re* that *wide* openings may be spanned by arches on columns.²² Klotz's other arguments are less cogent, for although he devises a rationale for the building based on adaptations to the Florentine context, he does not link the style of the loggia with any Albertian characteristics.

The difficulty of defining Alberti's style is a notorious problem, since his buildings show such great variety, but there are three reasons why the attribution is weak. First, the Rucellai Loggia is a fusion of Brunelleschian arcades and the traditional loggia type of two or three arches carried by columns or piers. Although no precedent may survive for



8 Architectural view. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie.

the adaptation of Renaissance columns and arches to this particular format, the transition is a small and logical one. It does not involve the re-thinking of the building type present in all three documented Alberti buildings as well as in the Rucellai Palace. Second, the simplified treatment of capitals, *fasciae*, and frieze is different in character from the fine detailing of Alberti's buildings; the architect would have given directions for these details even though he may not always have been present to oversee their execution. Third, we assume that Alberti would have given an effective stylistic unity to any pair of buildings he designed.

If the present loggia was conceived only after the full acquisition of its site in 1462-1463 (a point about which we cannot be certain, since it could be an enlargement of the 'first loggia'), the closest precedent is the Piccolomini Loggia in Siena, built between 1460 and 1462 by Antonio Federighi and thus *constructed* before the Rucellai Loggia (Fig. 5).²³ Very few family loggias were built in Tuscany during the fifteenth century and this fact reinforces the significance of the visual resemblance between two buildings that were conceived, after all, for precisely the same purpose. The Loggia dei Lanzi may also have influenced the planning of the Rucellai Loggia. A direct formal source for the style would seem to be the interior of the church of S. Spirito, where the crossing has the same square piers with engaged columns starting the arcades, and where the architraves and arches are articulated with thick *fasciae* (Fig. 6). Although many differences can be found between the articulation of S. Spirito and the Rucellai Loggia, the major point of our argument is that not one of Alberti's documented designs is so unoriginal, so heavily and unimaginatively dependent upon contemporary architectural practice. Conversely, a Florentine practitioner could without difficulty have adapted the example of S. Spirito to Giovanni Rucellai's requirements for a family loggia.

An alternative to Vasari's attribution is provided by the *Libro di Antonio Billi*, the earliest source for the authorship of the loggia, wherein Antonio di Migliorino Guidotti is stated to have made its model.²⁴ This name, which has always puzzled historians, is identifiable with a real person. The name is not common, but to be certain that we are dealing with only one individual, we will first mention documentary references to Antonio di Migliore (or Migliorino) di Tommaso Guidotti; the additional patronymic establishes beyond reasonable doubt that the documents all refer to the same man. He was one of the sixteen *Gonfalonieri* in 1451, and his tax return of 1458 reveals that he was then 52, was moderately wealthy, and had a son, Luigi, aged 17.²⁵ A significant link with Giovanni Rucellai is established by the fact that in 1473, Luigi married Giovanni's niece Maria di Filippo Rucellai, who had become Giovanni's ward after her father's death in 1462.²⁶ Even more interesting, in 1439-1440 Antonio was building an organ for the cathedral of Florence.²⁷ Guidotti thus seems to have been one of an unusual breed, patrician businessmen who were also at one time in life practicing artisans. He may have inherited this dual interest from his father, who was a member of both the bankers' and woodworkers' guilds.²⁸

With this background, based on documents mentioning Antonio's grandfather Tommaso, we may be certain that several other documents referring only to Antonio di Migliore Guidotti involve our man. He too was a *Cambio* member, and three times, twice with Luca Pitti, he arbitrated minor cases demanding judgements on buildings or walls.²⁹ Since he was called into these cases, he may have known enough about architecture to develop a design for the Rucellai Loggia. A final reference to Guidotti reveals a connection with the construction of S. Lorenzo and possibly also S. Spirito.³⁰ Although there is of course no visual evidence for the attribution, it is in a strictly documentary sense a possibility, and one wonders how, if Guidotti was not in some way involved with the loggia, Billi came upon the name.³¹

III

We can reconstruct so much of the story behind the Rucellai Loggia — the approximate location of the original site, several reasons for rejecting that site, and considerations affecting the executed project — that it seems justified to carry our inquiry one step further and speculate on the original project itself. If we accept the possibility that a design was formulated for the 'first loggia', the logical name to attach to it is that of Alberti, for there is a strong likelihood that he was in Florence and supervising construction of the palace facade in 1456, and we may expect that he would have conceived a loggia to harmonize with the palace going up across the street. In the *De Re Aedificatoria* Alberti expresses a strong preference for trabeated porticoes.³² Such a design would have broken with Florentine tradition for family loggie, although no more so than did the palace. But a loggia of three bays, separated by columns and surmounted by a flat entablature would have established that formal unity which is lacking today between the two Rucellai buildings.

The form of Alberti's loggia is perhaps reflected in the original entrance to Giovanni Rucellai's chapel of the Holy Sepulcher in S. Pancrazio (ca. 1463-1467); it can be envisioned with the aid of the Grandjean engraving (Fig. 7): the surviving elements, two columns and entablature, later moved to form the outer portico to the church itself, were spaced slightly wider than they are today, and they matched the pilasters still *in situ* on the north wall of the Rucellai Chapel.³³ Indeed, under our Alternative B₁ (Fig. 4), a loggia with about the same proportions as those of the Holy Sepulcher Chapel could have been built

on the first site. All measurements would be reduced by about one-sixth, resulting in an entablature terminating at nearly the same level as the one separating the ground floor and *piano nobile* of the palace. Moreover, the bays in the two buildings would be of similar widths. Of course the columns of the loggia would be set on the ground rather than on a podium and the entablature would be considerably heavier.

An important consideration for the 'first loggia' would have been to squeeze the greatest possible advantage from the small site. The columns of a trabeated portico, in reaching all the way up to the architrave, would increase the scale of the building relative to that possible with an arcade. But we have not yet considered the question of vaulting. The S. Pancrazio chapel has a huge barrel vault; only assuming a much-diminished scale could our hypothetical Rucellai Loggia too have had a barrel vault; for even though the document of donation permits the ceiling of the original shop to be raised, Giovanni Rucellai could hardly have appropriated the second floor above the shop. While we should not exclude the possibility of a barrel vault, the alternative of very low vaults seems more likely, even though without more evidence we cannot define precisely how they would have worked structurally. Or perhaps another reflection of the building exists in the architectural view in Berlin:³⁴ a trabeated portico with flat ceiling opens onto a cityscape in which one of the most prominent facades, by coincidence (?), resembles closely the Rucellai Palace (Fig. 8).

Alberti's 'first loggia' project, if it ever existed, was discarded with the acquisition of Ugolino's house and the consequent enlargement of the site. We cannot say why the design was not simply adjusted to the new conditions. But a different design was developed, probably based on the scheme of Pius' loggia, and all attempts towards coordination of loggia and palace were abandoned.

NOTES

- * This article derives from a section of my dissertation („Giovanni Rucellai and the Rucellai Palace“ [Harvard University, 1976]). I wish to thank James S. Ackerman for encouragement and criticism, and my sister Beatrix Smith for subjecting a preliminary draft to her editorial skills; Linda Najemy and Caroline Elam made many helpful suggestions.
- ¹ The bibliography on the Rucellai Loggia is conveniently summarized in *Christel und Gunther Thiem*, Toskanische Fassaden-Dekoration in Sgraffito und Fresko 14.-17. Jahrhundert, Munich 1964, pp. 69f. Certainly more doubts have been raised regarding Alberti's authorship of the loggia than of the palace. Recently *Heinrich Klotz* has argued in favor of the attribution of the loggia to Alberti: L. B. Alberti's 'De re aedificatoria' in Theorie und Praxis, in: Zs. für Kunstgeschichte, XXXII, 1969, pp. 93-103.
 - ² ASF, N(otarile) A(ntecosimiano), A. 434, cc. 402r-405v (referred to and summarized in *F. W. Kent*, The Rucellai Family and its Loggia, in: Warburg Journal, XXXV, 1972, p. 398 but with the date wrongly given as 1456; *Kent* has since kindly checked the document in Florence and wishes the error to be corrected).
 - ³ *Alessandro Perosa* (ed.), Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone. I. „Il Zibaldone equaresimale“, (Studies of the Warburg Institute, XXIV) London 1960, p. 20.
 - ⁴ ASF, NA S. 16, cc. 178r-178v; copy in ASF, Acquisiti e doni 274, no. 2 (both found by *Kent*, who gives a summary of the entire document; op. cit. [see n. 2], pp. 397f.). In the fifteenth century the present via del Purgatorio was sometimes called the via del Parione, but is not to be confused with the street one block to the south.
 - ⁵ Vatican Archives, Barb. Lat. 5004, c. 377. This and another book, 5002, from the same fondo were found by *Marco Dezzi Bardeschi* (Il complesso monumentale di S. Pancrazio a Firenze ed il suo restauro, in: Quaderni dell'Istituto di storia dell'architettura, XIII/73-78, 1966, pp. 16, 41 n. 54; both books were assembled in the seventeenth century and contain short sections with material alleged to come from the Rucellai Archives. While all the information does not seem to be authentic, I am sure that this passage faithfully reflects a note by Giovanni Rucellai. *Kent* is of the same opinion, calling the passage „a short and plausible account of Pandolfo di Giovanni's marriage“ (*F. W. Kent*, The Letters Genuine and Spurious of Giovanni Rucellai, in: Warburg Journal, XXXVII, 1974, p. 343 n. 12).
 - ⁶ ASF, Catasto 816, cc. 895r-896r; Giovanni's tax report does not mention the shop.
 - ⁷ ASF, Notarile Appendice 87, c. 9r; this is only a reference to the will, which does not appear in the books of the notary referred to, Ser Piero d'Andrea da Campi, nor in his father's books.
 - ⁸ ASF, NA S. 20 (1462-1470), cc. 194r-196v, 242r-v, 277r-v.
 - ⁹ *Perosa*, op. cit. (see n. 3), p. 118.
 - ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.
 - ¹¹ ASF, Catasto 920, c. 661v (found and published by *Kent*, op. cit. [see n. 2], p. 399). Niccolo was mistaken in identifying the notary of Ugolino's will, who was not Ser Piero but Ser Andrea da Campi; Ser Piero wrote a codicil for Ugolino on 30 December 1457, where no mention is made of the house: ASF, NA P. 339, no. 1.
 - ¹² ASF, Catasto 920, c. 798v (found and published by *Kent*, op. cit. [see n. 2], pp. 398f.).
 - ¹³ ASF, Catasto 919, c. 121v (found and published by *Kent*, op. cit. [see n. 2], p. 399).
 - ¹⁴ In my dissertation I concluded that the palace facade was built in two stages — the first five bays ca. 1455-1458 and the remainder ca. 1465-1470; extensive discussion and documentation of the palace will appear in a section of a book (with other authors) on Giovanni Rucellai to be published by the Warburg Institute.
 - ¹⁵ If the 1469 tax declaration of Albizzo's heirs records accurately that Albizzo, who died 4 August 1462, was one of the donors, then we have a *terminus ante quem* for Nanna's death. The date of Albizzo's death is taken from ASF, Grascia 190, c. 35r.
 - ¹⁶ Date of death from ASF, Conventi soppressi 88, 23, c. 56r.
 - ¹⁷ The next parcel of land has on its ground floor a wide vaulted hall, extending to Wall C; the vaults are substantially intact, although the space has been divided by a newer wall (C₁). Due to the survival of the bearing wall A and of the superstructure rising several stories, we may conclude that this property was not once part of Ugolino's house, which is documented as having been destroyed.
 - ¹⁸ No new evidence on this point is presented in *Domenico Taddei*, Piazza Rucellai in Firenze, in: Studi e documenti di architettura, III, 1973, pp. 11-48.
 - ¹⁹ See note 14.
 - ²⁰ The handling of these vaults was particularly criticized by Vasari (*Vasari-Milanesi*, vol. II, pp. 541f).
 - ²¹ *Klotz*, op. cit. (see n. 1), pp. 93-103.
 - ²² *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.
 - ²³ *Eugène Müntz*, Les arts à la cour des papes, vol. I, Paris 1878, pp. 305, 307.
 - ²⁴ *Billi's* text reads: „... et della loggia de Rucellai fecie il modello Antonio di Migliorino Guidotti“, *Carl Frey* [ed.], Il libro di Antonio Billi, Berlin 1892, p. 47. For the following discussion, I owe much

- to *Margaret Haines*, who shared information she had collected about Guidotti and supplied the references in note 27 and the second part of note 28.
- ²⁵ ASF, Signori e collegi, Deliberazioni, speciale autorità 30, c. 125v; Catasto 825, cc. 572r-573v.
- ²⁶ ASF, NA B. 400, c. 57r.
- ²⁷ *Giovanni Poggi*, *Il Duomo di Firenze*, (Italienische Forschungen, II) Berlin 1909, pp. 271ff. Docs. 1366ff; only one of these documents regarding the organ, no. 1376, gives the name of Guidotti's grandfather, Tommaso.
- ²⁸ *Alfred Doren*, *Das Aktenbuch für Ghibertis Matthäus-Statue an Or San Michele zu Florenz*, in: *Italienische Forschungen*, I, Berlin 1906, p. 42; ASF, Miscellanea repubblicana 26, Insert 3, c. 64v.
- ²⁹ *Cambio* membership: ASF, NA B 1183, unpaginated [1453]; three arbitrations: ASF, Diplomatico, Biblioteca Nazionale, 13 July 1451; NA C. 526, cc. 283r-v [1463]; NA C. 525 (1463-1474), cc. 55r-57r [1465 s.c.].
- ³⁰ In 1457, Giovanni da Gaiole, who was to become *capomaestro* at S. Spirito in 1460, wrote to Giovanni de' Medici, in the context of disputes over how to complete S. Lorenzo: "... andai a sco. ispirito, che mi vi mandò antonio guidotti, et vidi uno modello, come aveva a essere questa" (*Giovanni Gaye*, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV. XV. XVI.*, vol. I, Florence 1839, p. 168).
- ³¹ Our tentative support of Billi does not extend to his statement that Bernardo Rossellino did the model for the Rucellai Palace.
- ³² *Leon Battista Alberti*, *L'architettura* (De re aedificatoria), trans. *Giovanni Orlandi*, notes by *Paolo Portoghesi*, Milan 1966, vol. II, pp. 560f.: Lib. VII, cap. V.
- ³³ *Dezsi Bardeschi*, op. cit. (see n. 5), p. 23; cf. *A. Grandjean de Montigny, E. Famin*, *Architecture toscane*, 3rd ed., Paris 1846 (reprint, Paris n.d.), *Recueil des plus beaux tombeaux exécutés en Italie dans les XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, pl. VII; see also the measured drawings in *Carl von Stegmann, Heinrich von Geymüller*, *Die Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana*, vol. III, Munich 1885-1907, L. B. Alberti, Bl. 6-7.
- ³⁴ Formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, now Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, no. 1615; for discussions of problems connected with this panel, see *Piero Sanpaolesi*, *Le prospettive architettoniche di Urbino, di Filadelfia e di Berlino*, in: *Boll. d'Arte*, XXXIV, 1949, pp. 322-337 and *Alessandro Parronchi*, *Due note*, in: *Rinascimento* ser. 2, VIII, 1968, pp. 351-363.

RIASSUNTO

Un'indagine approfondita dei documenti rivela che la costruzione dell'attuale loggia Rucellai ebbe inizio intorno al 1463, otto anni dopo quella della facciata del palazzo; l'attuale loggia non fu progettata con il palazzo come finora si è ritenuto. Inoltre essa fu costruita su un'area più grande di quella messa a disposizione di Giovanni Rucellai nel 1456. La decisione del Rucellai di procrastinare la costruzione della loggia fu spinta dalla speranza di ottenere un'area più ampia come l'odierna. Il suo desiderio di costruire una loggia grandiosa è forse da ricollegare all'ambizione di estendere la facciata del palazzo da cinque spazi originali, fra lesene e lesene, a otto.

Sebbene l'autore sia convinto che il palazzo Rucellai sia stato progettato dall'Alberti, adduce argomenti contrari ad una attribuzione della loggia allo stesso artista. Antonio Billi dichiarò che il modello per la loggia fu eseguito da Antonio di Migliorino Guidotti; alcuni documenti concernenti il Guidotti sembrano convalidare questa attribuzione.

L'autore espone alcune sue congetture sul ruolo avuto dall'Alberti nel progetto della loggia del 1456: il disegno (in seguito abbandonato a causa dell'ampliamento dell'area) forse era simile al portico trabeato che originariamente apriva la cappella del Santo Sepolcro di Giovanni Rucellai nella navata di San Pancrazio?

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Barsotti: Fig. 1. – Author: Fig. 2. – Prof. Piero Sanpaolesi: Fig. 3. – After D. Taddei (see n. 18): Fig. 4. – Alinari: Fig. 5. – Alinari (Brogi): Fig. 6. – After A. Grandjean de Montigny (see n. 33): Fig. 7. – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie: Fig. 8.