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Donatello's *putti*: Their genesis, importance, and influence on quattrocento sculpture and painting. (Volumes I and II)

Struthers, Sally A., Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1992

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DONATELLO'S PUTTI: THEIR GENESIS, IMPORTANCE, AND INFLUENCE ON QUATTROCENTO SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

VOLUME I

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University

By

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* * * * *

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1992

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1992
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"Et levis est et habet geminas, quibus avolet, alas;

difficile est illis impouisse modum."

Ovid, Ars Amatoria, II, 19 - 20
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CHAPTER I

Introduction: The Putto and Donatello

The Italian word putto (from the Latin putus, "boy") refers to the visual motif (or, indeed, the actual phenomenon) of an infant or very young male child.

In the context of Renaissance art, putto is customarily defined as the visual motif of a chubby, usually winged male infant, or young child, frequently nude. The motif of the putto can represent, depending on its context, Eros, the ancient pagan Greek love god, or the Roman equivalent, Cupid, or a cherub - in Christian iconography, one of the second order of angels. Used as a decorative motif, the putto sometimes becomes a generic, classicizing decoration. Although putti are usually winged, there are many wingless putti close in general type who may function as amorini, cherubs, or simply classically inspired male children.

The ancient sources of the Renaissance putto are numerous, including the Greek Eros, or Roman Amor/Cupid,
the boy-god of love and sometimes a companion of Aphrodite or Venus; the Roman *genius*, a type of guardian spirit; or sometimes the Greek *daemon*, a type of messenger spirit, a being halfway between the realms of the human and the divine.

This paper deals with Donatello's innovative uses of *putti* and his role in the popularization of the Renaissance *putto* and in its establishment as a major motif in Renaissance art. In a book titled *The Transformation of Eros*, Josef Kunstmann wrote about Donatello's role *vis à vis* the *putto* in this way: The year 1433 may be called the birth date of the *putto* in modern times...¹ (referring to Donatello's use of *putti* in the *Cantoria*). The issue of Donatello's role as "originator" of the Renaissance *putto* has been stated as fact by some authors, such as Kunstmann, and Muntz, who called Donatello the originator of the *putto* in 1889.²

Wilhelm von Bode wrote that:³

the only true 'genre' figure of that period (the quattrocento) is the (Christ) Child, and more particularly the *putto*.

The Italian *putto* is not at all synonymous with the word "child," nor would boy, angel, or cupid be any more accurate...

...the *putto* owes his origin to the study of the antique, for medieval art has no knowledge of him; or if by chance he does occur, in imitation of some classic model, he is lifeless and unmeaning ... it was Donatello who first endowed the *putto* with flesh and blood, and raised him to his true calling.
These writers all credited Donatello with the reinvention of the putto in the Renaissance.

In fact, the birth date of the Renaissance putto is not 1433 - putti were used by Donatello and other sculptors of the Renaissance before that date. Donatello did not invent the putto form, nor was he the first Renaissance artist to utilize it. However, Donatello made a distinct contribution to art in restoring the classical Eros/Cupid form to a level of respectability which it had lost over the centuries intervening between the classical age and the time of the Renaissance by using it in a positive fashion, and often as a primary motif. He achieved this in some cases by infusing the form with Christian meaning and using it in new contexts - such as musician angels, attendants at the Incarnation of Christ and at his death, and as onlookers to sacred scenes and commentators on historical stories. In other cases he made the putto a more visible motif by using it as a major protagonist in sculpture. Putti abound in Donatello's works, finding their way into about half of his large oeuvre. Many of his uses of the putto were new and influential inventions.

Bennett and Wilkins state that "putti are so common in Donatello's art that it is rare to find a work
without them... They might even have been a kind of signature for the Donatellan style."

Donatello's **putti** dance and play musical instruments on the Baptistery Font in Siena, a new fusion of Christian music-making angels with ancient putti forms. They cling to each other on the upper story of the Cavalcanti Annunciation in Florence, witnessing the solemn scene. They comment on the sacred stories of David and Goliath and Judith and Holofernes. Putti take up a new task of holding Christ's cloth of honor in the Lamentation, and give soothing balm to the viewer's eye in the borders of the tragic story of Christ's passion. In some works such as Donatello's workshop's la piagnona the putti are a merely decorative motif. In other cases, such as the Amor Atys, Prato Pulpit and Cantoria the putto is the primary subject of Donatello's work.

Donatello was able to include putti in so many of his works by creating new uses for them, and by making the putto a respectable and continuing actor in religious drama.

Donatello also used the putto in pagan contexts, as in the allegorical Amor-Atys, whose attributes derive from pagan literature.

Donatello was the artistic renovator and popularizer of the putto. Although others began to use
putti prior to Donatello, their works are rare examples. No artist used putti in so many different contexts and for so many different purposes as did Donatello. Though in some cases Donatello used the putto in a decorative fashion, in most cases the putto is meaningful.

Following Donatello the putto became a significant motif in art. Donatello's works, located throughout Italy influenced generations of artists. We find descendants of Donatello's putti in the raffish cherubs of Raphael's Sistine Madonna, the sensuous putti of Titian and in the rapturous, teeming masses of putti in Baroque ceiling frescoes.

Concerning the existing literature on Donatello, H.W. Janson's Sculpture of Donatello is the basic source for summaries of the scholarship on and interpretations of certain works up until 1963, including the Amor-Atys and the putti included in the David, Gattamelata, and Judith. In "Donatello and the Antique" Janson speculated on the sources of the Cantoria's putti, and of those in the Siena Feast of Herod relief. Michael Greenhalgh ambitiously traced the antique sources of several of Donatello's works which include putti, such as the Cantoria, the Prato Pulpit and others in his 1982 publication Donatello and his
Sources. Bennett and Wilkins addressed certain trends in Donatello's art such as his perspectival innovations in *Donatello*. The 1985 Donatello show in Detroit spawned the useful catalog *Italian Renaissance Sculpture in the Time of Donatello*, which re-examines many of the smaller pieces attributed to Donatello and his school. An article on the antique sources of a specific piece is Christopher Lloyd's "A Bronze Cupid in Oxford and Donatello's Atys-Amorino." For information on the iconography and interpretation of certain of Donatello's *putti* one must also seek scattered sources. For example, Janson's *Sculpture of Donatello* does a good job of summarizing interpretations of the *putti* involved in major works by Donatello up to 1962, at least. Laurie Schneider has published Neo-Platonic interpretations of the *David*, *Judith*, and *Gattamelata*. Patricia Ann Leach's dissertation on the *David* offers a new interpretation of that piece. The *Amor-Atys* has been the subject of several iconographical studies, including important ones by Maurice Shapiro and Panofsky. Certain of Donatello's *putti* are touched upon in studies of *putti*, for instance in Edgar Wind's "Amor as a God of Death." Some interpretations of individual works by Donatello including *putti* are found in the 1966 collection of essays, *Donatello e il Suo Tempo*, and in
the 1989 Donatello Studien. For information on the influence of Donatello's sculpture on quattrocento painting an important source is Martha Levine Dunkelman's 1976 Ph.D. dissertation, which includes a small chapter on the influence of Donatello's putti on Italian painting. Other treatments of the influence of Donatello's putti on contemporary and later Italian painting and sculpture are scattered in various monographs of artists, and in catalogs and surveys - for instance John Pope-Hennessy's Victoria and Albert Museum catalogs and his 1972/85 Early Italian Renaissance Sculpture. Although putti form such a large and important component of Donatello's oeuvre, a study dealing with Donatello's putti in toto has never been undertaken. This dissertation is intended to fill the gap.

This thesis will begin by briefly discussing the ancient prototypes of the Renaissance putto, and how the putto, like many other pagan motifs, became unpopular during the Middle Ages. It will then discuss the sporadic uses of the putto in the Renaissance before Donatello, and demonstrate that Donatello was the major force in the reintegration of the putto form into art, and in making it a positive motif. The middle chapters
of the dissertation will discuss the works by Donatello which incorporate putti, noting Donatello’s innovations both visually and iconographically. It will demonstrate how Donatello’s use of the putto is significant in its various new contexts; by using the ancient motif Donatello often enriched the meanings of his sculptures through the ancient meanings carried with the motif. The latter chapters will trace the influence of Donatello’s putti in painting and sculpture of the quattrocento.

For the purposes of this study the term putto will be used to refer to male infants with wings, nude or semi-nude, inspired by ancient art. An exception will be made in the cases of the Lille and Siena Feasts of Herod which will be included even though their putti are unwinged because they are clearly derived from ancient putti, and are not mere narrative representations of children. While discussing ancient art the more specific terms of genius, Eros, Cupid, erotes, amorini, or genii will be favored.

The term "classicizing," for the purposes of this study will refer in general to Renaissance works that attempt to recreate or emulate the style of the Greeks and Romans, primarily the Hellenistic style found in Greek and Roman art. Works that I classify as "classicizing" are those that greatly resemble ancient
prototypes. Classicizing putti are idealized infant forms with a distinctively round "baby face" (not the face of a miniature adult as often found in the young angels of Medieval art). The classicizing putti of Donatello's are usually based on Roman forms.
CHAPTER ONE

NOTES


3Bode, Wilhelm von, Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance, trans. Jesse Haynes, originally published 1908, New York, 1969, 164ff. The Christ Child is not a "genre" figure - Bode meant that the Christ Child in Renaissance paintings was often the result of real observations of children.


7Greenhalgh, Michael, Donatello and his Sources, London: 1982.

8Bennett, Bonnie and Wilkins, David, Donatello, Mount Kisco, N.Y.: 1985.


CHAPTER II

Donatello's Knowledge and Use of Ancient Sources;
The Antecedents of the Putto in Antiquity
Eros, Amor, Cupid and Genius

Identifying the antique sources of Donatello's works has been a major problem for Donatello scholars. Unlike Ghiberti, whose drawings document his sources, Donatello left few drawings,¹ and no writings, to attest to his archaeological interests.

Roger Stuveras' work, Le putto dans l'art romain,² discusses the use of putti in ancient Roman art. Many of the works discussed were, in Donatello's time, however, under ground. Phyllis Pray Bober's work, Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture,³ deals only with antique works documented by artists' drawings which prove their existence during the Renaissance. Unfortunately only a small quantity of drawings of antiquities survive from Donatello's lifetime, and there are no drawings securely by Donatello's hand.⁴
At the Convegno internazionale di studi sul Rinascimento in Florence in 1968 Janson addressed the problem of "Donatello and the Antique." Donatello's sources are not strictly classical (i.e. Greek and Roman) but Etruscan, Early Christian and Byzantine. Also, specific models for Donatello's borrowings are hard to pinpoint due to the manner in which Donatello changed motifs. Janson used the example of how the exuberantly dancing putti of the Florentine Cantoria appear to stem not from dancing putti, but from the source of a Roman sarcophagus in the Vatican decorated with boxing putti. The wreaths and trumpets of the Cantoria also appear to derive from this athletic theme. Another example of Donatello changing the context and meaning of motifs is found in the motif of the dancing Salome in the Lille and Siena Feasts of Herod. The two Salomes would seem at first examination to be based on ancient nymphs, muses or graces. Janson, however, found a possible source for the Lille Salome in a sculptural type of a bacchante, in this particular case he found a sculptural source of a bacchante with a stool next to her on which rests a theatrical mask. Donatello translated this form into Salome with St. John the Baptist's head. Janson believes that the majority of Donatello's sources are in stereotyped products such
as sarcophagi and vases which are of little individuality, rather than major sculptural monuments.\textsuperscript{9} Very few ancient statues, per se, were known in Donatello’s time, but Etruscan tombs were opened from at least the mid-fifteenth century. The Etruscan works from the Fifth century B.C. onward had so many borrowings from Greek art, as to further muddy Donatello’s influence.\textsuperscript{10}

Michael Greenhalgh ambitiously listed all of the possible antique and medieval sources for a number of Donatello’s works. Greenhalgh wrote of Donatello’s borrowings:\textsuperscript{11}

If the wide range of Donatello’s sources is evident from study of his works, their exact nature is often a matter of doubt. When we find him using a putto, can we ever know whether he took it from a statue, a relief, a bronze or a terracotta statuette - not to mention paintings, vases or coins? Indeed, so varied must have been the exemplars at his disposal that we need not think in terms of full-size three-dimensional statues at all: small-scale works, in whatever material, were probably always more comprehensively imitated than their large-scale brothers which were, after all, likewise descendants from the same long-lost original...what matters to us is that we are frequently able to identify the generic antique type imitated by Donatello, but that the nature of his imitation usually prevents our dating the period of the actual work he used...Many of Donatello’s most prestigious works depend on the study of the antique for their fundamental form, and, sometimes, for the new and exciting impact with which he endows traditional themes.
Italian soil was rich with antiquities: amphorae, coins, lamps, terracotta, bronzes, sarcophagi. Only major finds seem to have been recorded historically. Farming often unearthed smaller finds. Sarcophagi and cippi were well known in the quattrocento. Sarcophagi, as Bober notes, in ancient times were not carved by famous artists, but were, in a sense, mass-produced. They were reused in the Middle Ages as holy water fonts, tombs and fountains. Almost every major church had a collection of sarcophagi - in Florence the Baptistery, in Pisa the Campo Santo, in Rome Ss. Cosmo and Damiano and S. Maria in Aracoeli. It is known that Donatello admired sarcophagi, for instance a Dionysiac Sarcophagus which Erika Simon demonstrated to have influenced Donatello, and a Bacchic one which Vasari wrote that Donatello admired. In Padua and Lucca sarcophagi were reused in the Tomb of Rolando da Piazzola in the Piazza del Santo, Padua and in S. Frediano, Lucca (noted in Chapter 4). Ghiberti knew sarcophagi, and Donatello was associated with Ghiberti early in his career. Ancient sarcophagi were often decorated with genii; genii holding the image of the deceased in a shield or wreath, garland bearing genii, or with amorini, the story of Cupid and
Psyche, for instance, or Dionysiac/Bacchic amorini; or with non-winged children such as Medea's. Boxing putti are found on sarcophagi, and musical putti on cinerary urns. In the Camposanto in Pisa was a sarcophagus with putti treading grapes.

A major question is that of whether Donatello knew the difference between eros and genius in its different ancient contexts? Wind thinks not, that Love and Death were the same gods to some Renaissance humanists such as Ficino. Most of Donatello's inspiration for putti in fact, came from funerary contexts. The genius, who is associated with the soul in ancient Rome made a nice parallel visually and thematically for Donatello's putto-angels, who are messengers, intermediaries as it were, between the earthly and celestial worlds. Donatello was keenly interested in the study of antiquities - he was a Renaissance classicist in a manner of speaking. To my eyes, Donatello, through his use of putti, at times seems to have distinguished the difference between the different winged infants in some of their various contexts. For instance, Donatello seems to have distinguished between funerary genii, which he borrowed for tombs, and erotes, engaging in human tasks, as sometimes found in subsidiary parts of his work commenting on the narrative.
The different aspects of the classical "putto" will be discussed briefly for background.

In order to understand the Italian Renaissance putto, one must canvass its antecedents. The putto was visually and intellectually related to and derived from the deities/beings that were represented as winged, nude male infants in classical antiquity: Eros, Amor/Cupid, Genius, and others.

**Eros and Amor: The Literary Tradition**

The Greek god Eros is first mentioned in the eighth century B.C. Theogony of Hesiod, one of the earliest surviving examples of Greek literature, and was also mentioned in the literature of Aristophanes. In early literature the physical form of Eros is vague, at best.

Euripides (484-406 B.C.) introduced for the first time in surviving literature Eros with his bow and arrow in his tragedy Medea, and called him "Love of shafts unerring." Hesiod and Aristophanes both depict Eros, the god of love as a creative force, a powerful procreative agent, and as such he was worshipped at Thespiae in Boeotia and Parion in Mysia from very early times.
Visually, the only description that Hesiod and Aristophanes provide us of Eros is that he was male, "the fairest," "shining," and had "wings of gold." Euripides provided the bow and arrows in the fifth century before Christ, which become important and lasting attributes for Eros. The romance of Eros and Psyche, based on Hellenistic poetry but found much later in Apuleius' (125 - 180) second century Golden Ass, described the notion of Eros as a beautiful winged young man, yet in Hellenistic and Latin literature the popularity of baby erotes would dominate.

Eros lived on in Latin literature as Amor or Cupid, the foolishly playful son of Venus, and baby-god of love who inspired love (and lust) in men's souls. Amor's attributes remained the bow, arrows, quiver, but sometimes with the substitution of or addition of the torch, originally a wedding symbol. Ovid, the Augustan poet, wrote much about Amor in his Amores, Ars Amatoria and Remedia Amoris. Amor also figures in the Metamorphoses. Ovid describes Amor as a playful young boy sporting wings and armed with a bow and arrow, who generously inflicts love on both the willing.27

Ovid's description was long-lived in influence, since his works were some of the few to survive the
Middle Ages intact and still be popular in the Renaissance, and probably known by Donatello due to the proliferation of copies of "moralized Ovids" during the fifteenth century. 28

In literature, Eros/Amor evolved from a natural force to a young beautiful man and became popular as a frivolous winged boy, as found in Ovid. Eros/Amor's depiction in art progressed along the same lines.

Eros/Amor: the Artistic Tradition

During the Archaic and Classical periods Eros was generally depicted in art as a winged youth (Fig. 1), frequently the companion of Aphrodite, the goddess of love. 30

In Hellenistic and Roman art the depiction of Eros/Amor as a young winged boy, as he is described by Ovid, became popular, but did not displace the older version (the youth) completely. 31 However, Eros at this time is shown as a tiny infant or toddler in the majority of cases. Before Hellenistic Greek art children were usually depicted as miniature adults, and there was not much interest in the depiction of children. 32 Hellenistic artists, however, accurately
captured the playful qualities and the chubby build of the child. Along with representations of human children such as the famous Boy Wrestling with a Goose (Fig. 2) in the Capitoline Museum, Rome, which was mentioned by Pliny in his *Natural History* 34.84 (and known in the Renaissance), the representation of the divine Eros as a child proliferated. This was the time of the birth of the antique putto form later taken over by Donatello.

The bronze *Sleeping Eros* (Fig. 3) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, probably dating to the second century B.C. shows us the type of form that was the inspiration for the Renaissance putto. The child is a toddler with a chubby body, having small feathered wings and tousled curly hair. This type of figure was known in the Renaissance.

In the art of Rome the Hellenistic form of Eros continued. In some cases in Roman art Cupid multiplied into a swarm of tiny winged babies, amorini, perhaps under the NeoPlatonic philosophy of the multiplicity of forms, to show the many types of love. Amorini can be seen in frescoes at Pompeii and Herculaneum and in all manner of architectural reliefs, gems and seals.
Other Greek and Roman Figures Sometimes Represented as Winged Boys

The personification of love, Eros, was joined early on by the personifications of longing, Pothos, and desire, Himeros (Fig. 4). At some early time a brother for Eros was created, and named Anteros, the god of mutual love. When we encounter artistic representations of Pothos, Himeros, and Anteros they often look similar to Eros, depicted as winged boys, because they are all aspects of love.

Sleep, Hypnos, was considered by the Greeks to be a transitional time that linked Love, Eros, and Death, Thanatos. A sleeping or sad Eros came to symbolize death in Hellenistic and Roman funerary art. Emily Vermeule in Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry illustrates a fourth century B.C. bronze ring portraying Eros as a sphinx (Fig. 5), and writes:

Eros is a changeable power with daimonic transformations; as hunter, as raptor, as a winged companion of lions and a song-maker, as a form of Thanatos, he fuses well with the Sphinx.

Another being associated with the Eros type is the genius, an ancient Italian concept of a type of
fertility/guardian spirit.\textsuperscript{41} Until the third century B.C. the \textit{genius} was in Italic belief a household god, a protector of the family.\textsuperscript{42}

By the third century B.C. the \textit{genius} had evolved into an individual god accompanying each man.\textsuperscript{43} The genius was conceived of as a type of guardian angel, born with each man, and accompanying him throughout his life,\textsuperscript{44} and leading him to the afterlife. A woman’s guardian spirit was called a \textit{juno}. On Roman sarcophagi \textit{genii}, usually shown as nude, chubby winged infants often hold a \textit{clipeus} or shield bearing a portrait of the deceased.\textsuperscript{45}

The specific identification of nude male winged infants in art is confusing, compounded by the fact that \textit{Eros} sometimes had look-alike companions, \textit{Pothos, Himeros} and \textit{Anteros},\textsuperscript{46} and that \textit{erotes} gained the same type of function as the Italian guardian spirit, the \textit{genius}, becoming indistinguishable in art. The \textit{erotes’} torch, originally a wedding symbol, now also served to lead the soul to the underworld.\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Genii} and \textit{erotes} became related to the concept of the Greek \textit{daemon} (Fig. 6), a kind of intermediary between gods and men. The assimilation of the form of the Cupid and the \textit{daemon} may have originated in the writings of Plato, who in the
The Symposium speaks of love through the character Socrates. Socrates describes Love as a great spirit, an intermediary between gods and men, a bond between the two worlds. This Platonic idea of love may be the link between the "cupid" form and the Christian angel, also a messenger, who becomes portrayed as a chubby, winged boy during the Renaissance.

Donatello must have been fascinated by the forms of ancient winged beings and the many different contexts in which they were found, for example, on gems and vases as Eros, on sarcophagi, genii bearing the images of the dead. Being brought up in a heavily Christian society he must have formed a link in his mind between the Christian winged angels and the winged beings of Antiquity, allowing him to fuse the pagan form with Christian meaning. Both genii and angels are intermediaries between the human and divine worlds, and accompany the soul to the afterlife. The changeability of the meaning of the ancient visual form inspired him to use the putto in many new ways as shall be illustrated.
CHAPTER TWO

NOTES

1 See Italian Renaissance Sculpture in the Time of Donatello (hereafter referred to as "Detroit"), Detroit, 1985, 141f. Dunkelman discusses a drawing of a Massacre of the Innocents, Tabernacle with Angel and David Triumphant in Rennes, Musee des Beaux-Arts, which is the only sheet of drawings which has won wide approval as an attribution to Donatello.


7 Ibid., 254 - 257.

8 Ibid., 257ff. Janson notes that the silver dish from the Mildenhall Treasure in the British Museum that he cited as an example for the bacchante could not have been known by Donatello, but often antique motifs were stereotypes widely used by artists.

9 Ibid., 260.

10 Ibid., 261f.

11 Greenhalgh, 1982, viif.

12 Ibid., 4f.
25


15Bober illustrates the sarcophagus, 1986, ill. 1, and discusses it on 31f. It is *The Battle of Bacchus and Retinue with Indians and Amazon*, a Roman Sarcophagus from c. 160 A.D. in Cortona, Museo Diosceano.


18Sarcophagi are numerous and types are repeated over and over again. For a couple of examples of that type see L.I.M.C. entries 113 and 202.

19One such sarcophagus with garland bearing genii known in the Renaissance is discussed in Bober and Rubenstein, 1986, 91f. Other examples of this popular type can be seen in the L.I.M.C. entry numbers 182, 187, 194, 195, 418, 469.

20One such sarcophagus known by the end of the fourteenth century, and a similar one located in the Campo Santo, Pisa, is cited by Bober and Rubenstein, 1986, 91.

21A Medea Sarcophagus was located in front of Ss. Cosma and Damiano in the fifteenth century and was recorded there in the mid-sixteenth century by Pirro Ligorio. See Bober and Rubenstein, 1986, 141.

22See examples of music-making putti on sarcophagi in L.I.M.C., 1986, numbers 583 and 584, 710.

23Greenhalgh, 1982, 192; Louvre #1570; also there is an urn in L.I.M.C. 511.


For a survey of the visual image of Eros in antiquity see the LIMC entry by Hermary, Cassimatis and Volkommern in LIMC, 1986, 932 - 942, and on ancient putti in general see Stuveras, 1969.

"Fickle is he, and he has two wings, wherewith to fly..." Ovid, Ars Amatoria, II 1 - 20, from Ovid: The Art of Love, and other poems, translated by J.H. Mozley, The Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, M.A., Harvard University Press, 1962 (first printed 1929), pp. 66 - 67. Other visual descriptions of Cupid by Ovid follow: "though he wound my breast with his bow, and whirl aloft his brandished torch," Ars Amatoria I, 21 - 22; "Often has bright-hued Love with soft arms drawn to him and embraced the horns of Bacchus as he there reclined: and when wine has sprinkled Cupid's thirsty wings, he abides and stands o'erburdened, where he has taken his place. He indeed quickly shakes out his dripping plumes..." Ars Amatoria I, 231 - 238; "'Tis after such prelude young Cupid, abandoning the foils, draws the sharp arrows from his quiver," Ars Amatoria III, 515 - 516.

As seen on the Ionic frieze of the Parthenon, typically Eros was depicted on many vases and in sculpture as an older youth, close to adulthood, as for example in the vase painting of Eros With Flower in Front of an Altar by the Telephos Painter, c. 460 B.C. located in the Museum of Antiquities in Munich.

The adolescent Eros is seen in the group of Cupid and Psyche in the Capitoline Palazzo dei Conservato, Rome, which is a Roman adaptation of a Hellenistic Greek original. (J.J. Pollitt, Art in the Hellenistic Age, Cambridge, M.A., 1986, 127.), and in the Eros Stringing a Bow in the Castello di Guido, near Rome, another Roman copy after a Lysippian original (Martin Robertson, A Shorter History of Greek Art, Cambridge and New York: 1981, 166). Examples of the infant Eros can be seen in figures 2 and 3.

Pollitt, 1986, 128.

Ibid., the work is a Roman copy of original of disputed date, probably mid-second century B.C. One of this type was known in the Renaissance by the late fifteenth century as drawings attest. See Bober and Rubenstein, 1986, 233f.

LIMC, 1986, 937.

An Amor Sleeping, a Greek marble statue in the Uffizi was known in the Renaissance. It was the property of Lorenzo de’ Medici. Bober and Rubenstein, 1986, 89.

Himeros was first mentioned in Hesiod’s Theogony. Himeros is shown in a vase painting of the sixth century B.C. with his name incised above, as a twin of Eros, with Aphrodite. Himeros is first mentioned in Hesiod’s Theogony, 64.

An altar for Anteros was set up near the Acropolis in Athens. The altar to Anteros is mentioned in Pausanias I, 30.1. Anteros personified is also mentioned in a story by Ovid, Metamorphoses VII, 371 ff.

Pausanias I.43.6 mentions a group of Eros, Himeros, and Pothis at Megara. The twin sons of Night (Nox), Sleep (Hypnos), and Death (Thanatos), were also portrayed as male with wings, sometimes similar to Eros and his companions. They also were mentioned in the Theogony (744f.), and were depicted on a chest of
Kypselos at Olympia c. 570 B.C.


40 Vermeule, 1979, 173.

41 The term genius is derived from the Latin verb gignere, to engender.

42 Originally the genius was sometimes depicted as a snake. Ibid., 8. Also See Onians, *The Origins of European Thought About the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time and Fate*, Cambridge University Press, 1954, 136, n. 6 about the genius. See Onians 206f. on the relation of the snake to the soul, or the genius. See Cicero, *De Div.*, 1, 36, 79 for the tale about the child, Roscius, sleeping with a snake coiled around him. The auspices foretold that the child would be distinguished and famous. The serpent was his genius. A belief as early as Homer's time was that a dead man's psyche turned into a snake at death. In that distant time the soul was believed to reside in the spinal column, and probably because a spinal cord resembles a snake the connection was made. Regarding stories about heroes becoming snakes, Onians directs us to Pausanias 6, 20, 4f. on Sosipolus, Pausanius I, 24, 7 on Erechthonius, and Plutarch's "Life of Kleomenes, 39.

43 J. Nitzsche, *The Genius Figure in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, New York: 1975, 10. Examples in literature of the genius as an individual god can be found in Plautus, *Persa*, 108; Stichus, 622; Captivi, 879; *Aulularia*, 724 -725; in Terence, *Phormio*, 43 - 44; and in Martial, Epigrams I, 476.

44 Nitzsche, 1975, 15.


46 See LIMC, 1986, 933f.

47 Ibid., 12f.

CHAPTER III

The Degradation of the Putto in the Middle Ages

During the Middle Ages there was a shift in the meaning of the Eros and genius. Eros/Amor's appearance also changed after the Roman period and before the Renaissance. The altered, medieval meanings and appearance would have been commonly known by the first generations of the quattrocento. An explanation of the meaning of Eros/Amor and his form in the Middle Ages follows.

With the advent of Christianity there was a new philosophy of life along with a monotheistic belief, but many of the pagan Hellenistic/Roman motifs carried over into Early Christian art. Early Christian art differed from Roman art not in the style, which was a continuation, but in iconography. The Greek philosopher figure and the offering bearer became, respectively, Christ the teacher and the Good Shepherd, as we see, for example in the Vatican Museum's Sarcophagi 181 (Fig. 7) and 191a (Fig. 8). Endymion, the mortal lover of the
goddess Artemis became Jonah sleeping under a gourd vine after having been expectorated by the whale, as we see in comparing the Vatican Museum Sarcophagus 119 (Fig. 9) and the Santa Maria Antiqua sarcophagus (Fig. 10—which also includes Christ as the Good Shepherd, and Christ as a philosopher figure). Likewise, although the Christians despised what the images of the pagan gods represented, they adopted the idea of tutelary spirits assigned to each man and woman at birth, transforming it into belief in guardian angels. Baby "cupids" not accompanied by Venus or Bacchus (both condemned as immoral by Early Christians) are found on the walls of Early Christian catacombs, in mosaics, and on Christian sarcophagi engaged in the harvest of vines and making wine as a Eucharistic symbol (Fig. 11). Moreover, Bacchic viticulture, being an integral component of the mystery cult of Bacchus, was symbolic of immortality. Perhaps the symbol, separated from the pagan god, may have maintained the association. Grape-harvesting putti also came to personify the New Testament verse "I am the vine, ye are the branches," again exemplified in the Vatican Museum's Sarcophagus 191a.

Although the Early Christians adopted the motif of the winged infant of love in the art produced in early phases of the Church, what it originally represented had
fallen into philosophical disrepute. The concept of the Greek daemon, a messenger for the gods whose function was to conduct good and bad news to man, had become philosophically fused with the concept of the genius in the late classical period as we can see in the writings of Menander (late fourth century B.C.) who defines a daemon in the same manner as a genius, as one who accompanies a man throughout his lifetime, and in the writings of Apuleius (A.D. second century) who wrote in his treatise De Deo Socratis that the human soul was called a daemon. Apuleius expanded on this by explaining that the daemon, while still in the body was called (in Latin) the person's genius, but after leaving the body was called lemures (a spirit). Apuleius makes this fusion in De Deo Socratis, and so did Tertullian (A.D. 150-230) make the fusion when he wrote of a genius-daemon as the "soul within the body" and who also wrote "so to all men genii are assigned, which is the name for daemones." The concept of a good and evil daemon or genius had come about in pagan times. The Agathos Daimon, or good daemon was visualized early on in the same manner as the early depictions of the genius (not as a youthful boy but), as a house snake. At dinner parties, and at the close of a meal a libation was drunk
to him. Conversely, there was also the notion of an evil daemon which manifests itself in literature around New Testament times.

In the Christian period the pagan genii (who were represented as winged boys), and daemones were regarded as evil spirits; in Christian terminology they were considered to be pagan entities perpetrating evil and havoc. The daemon evolved into the medieval concept of the demon, a spirit knowledgeable in the magical arts, necromancy, astrology, and other pursuits condemned by the Christian Church. For these reasons the Christian apologists Lactantius, Justin (100? - 165) and others condemned daemons. Thus the form of the putto, representing a pagan love god or genius was tinged with the stigma of being associated with demons who performed black arts.

The winged baby love god largely disappeared from the visual arts in the fifth century with the fall of the Western Roman Empire, and the decline of classical art. In the prospering Eastern Roman Empire the motif of the winged, chubby infant was not a popular one, and was not used as a Christian emblem. It was, however, rarely adopted from the repertoire of Hellenistic art in times of revival as a decorative motif on such small items as ivory caskets. The formal, aristocratic style of
Byzantine art shunned the frivolous babies, rather, the more elegant winged Nike/Victory was adopted as a prototype for the dignified courtier angels of the Byzantine Empire.\textsuperscript{13}

The Augustan poet Ovid, author of the \textit{Amores} and the \textit{Art of Love}, was one of the lucky few classical writers whose writing survived entirely through the Middle Ages, although his works were interpreted in different lights in the Middle Ages than he intended. Ovid was moralized in the Middle Ages. Churchmen used Ovid's writings to show the "hidden prophesies of Incarnation or examples of disgraceful ways." The \textit{Art of Love}, meant by Ovid to be titillating and amusing was even stretched to describe the "soul's journey to God."\textsuperscript{14} As late as the early fifteenth century, some Italian churchmen, such as the Dominican Giovanni Dominici (1356? - 1420?) were still hostile toward Ovid's writing,\textsuperscript{15} but the Humanists read him, and later in the century Ovid's \textit{Metamorphoses} became the source for many artistic representations. Ovid describes Cupid for us in the form that would become known as the \textit{putto} in the Renaissance, as a mischievous boy with wings, often shooting arrows or carrying a torch.\textsuperscript{16}

In Western Medieval art, \textit{Eros}/Cupid lost his
classical form, which is symptomatic of stylistic developments of the Middle Ages. The motif took a diminished role, because there was a diminished need for it. Christian literature and art flourished, and was by this time less iconographically indebted to Hellenistic mystery religions than had been the case in Early Christian times. Lack of familiarity with the classical depictions of Eros led illustrators to new depictions of the god. The general philosophy of hellfire and damnation in Christian thought of the Middle Ages as well as the disdain for things earthly and "erotic" during this period contributed toward giving Eros a more sinister aspect.

No longer a baby boy, Eros could be depicted as a medieval courtier. For example, in an illustration for a text of Ovide moralisé the Blind Cupid, Venus and Three Graces in Paris (Fig. 12)(Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Fr. 373, fol. 207) dating to around 1380, Cupid is depicted as a young adult dressed in long, voluminous robes and wearing a diadem. He has the traditional attributes of the wings, bow and arrow. Cupid is similarly represented in the slightly later Ovide moralisé in Geneva (Bibliothèque Universitaire, ms. 182, fol. 198) in the scene of La Danse aux Aveugles (Fig. 13). In the Copenhagen Ovid (Royal Library, ms. Thott
399, fol. 9 v., c. 1480) in the illustration of Venus with the Flower-adorned Slate Cupid strays even further from his classical origins. He wears tights, and a short outfit appropriate for a page of the day.

Eros/Cupid's long literary history, starting with Hesiod, continued through the Middle Ages and Renaissance Eros survived as a mythological god in manuscripts of Ovid's Metamorphoses and as a personified passion, in moralizing texts. Medieval commentaries on the classical writers tried to make the ancient texts palatable to the Christian reader, one way was through euhemerism. Euhemerus was a philosopher of religion in pagan antiquity, famous as an atheist. His theory was that the gods were ordinary human beings who had become famous, and subsequently had their deeds exaggerated after their deaths. Christian intellectuals seized the theory of Euhemerus as a powerful weapon against paganism. Lactantius quoted Euhemerus' stories and gives his argument in the Divine Institutes. Others who promoted this line of reasoning were Firmicus Maternus,20 Athanasius,21 and later, Gregory Nazianzus.22 Athanasius lamented;23 others have extended their impiety to the point of deifying and worshipping the excuse for their inventions and wickedness -
pleasure and desire, such are their Eros and Aphrodite...

Allegories in the Middle Ages often assigned negative meanings to the gods and to their attributes.24

Worse, for Cupid, the "demonic" label stuck, and the pagan gods were "degraded to the rank of evil spirits," and their forms inspired superstitious fears.25 Some medieval representations of Cupid even depict the love god as a hybrid monster as, for example at San Francesco in Assisi, where in an allegorical fresco believed to date to 1320/25 Amor, who is being chased away from the Tower of Chastity runs not on human feet, but on griffin's claws. On his quiver are threaded the hearts of his victims (Fig. 14).26 Other examples of griffin-taloned Cupids are found in a mural in the castle of Sabbionara di Avio, c. 1370 (Fig. 15), and in illustrations of the early fourteenth treatise, Documenti d'Amore, by Francesco Barberino (Fig. 16).27

As a personified passion, Eros/Cupid did not fare much better. The Church created a hierarchy of love ranging from God's love to animal sexual drive. Cupid ranked near the bottom of the ladder as "patron and sign of 'carnal concupiscence.'"28 Another gauge of love adhered to by Church writers was based on the Platonic idea of two loves, one sacred and one profane. The
Church distinguished between one in bono, and one in mal, one good and one evil, as we read in the twelfth century Third Vatican Mythographer (3.11.18). Likewise there are two Loves - one chaste and by whom wisdom and virtues are loved, the other unchaste and evil by whom we are inclined to vice.

By about 1100, although Eros/Cupid could be read as good, he could also be interpreted as evil, "a demon of fornication or sign of fleshly lust." In the visual arts the latter was often represented by Cupid, sometimes blindfolded.

The issue of "Blind Cupid" is discussed at length by Panofsky in his book Studies in Iconology, first published in 1929. Panofsky makes the point that Cupid, as found in Roman literature (i.e. Seneca's Octavia, 1.557ss, Apuleius Golden Ass and Ovid, Metamorphoses, etc.) is never described as blindfolded, but that the blindfold was added in the Middle Ages as a sign of evil, as it was also found in personifications of Death, Infidelity and the Synagogue. Cupid had a mischievous, but never an evil reputation in Classical Antiquity.

On the west facade of Modena Cathedral are a pair of "medievalized" putti carved by Master Wiligelmus around 1170 (Fig. 17). They are young, winged boys, but they have lost their classical form in that their
anatomy is not realistic-looking, and they have oddly-shaped, disproportionate heads. Both cupids on the facade stand with legs crossed, and hold a wreath in one hand, while leaning on an inverted torch. One cupid is accompanied by an ibis. In ancient times, as already noted, the torch was originally a wedding symbol, and was later shown as a source of illumination for the genius to accompany a man's soul to the underworld. Prudentius, in his Psychomachia wrote that the torch was an attribute of Cupid's mistress, Libido. Panofsky interprets the two putti with the inverted torches of Modena Cathedral as representing Sleep and Death. These two have an unfavorable interpretation, especially since one is accompanied by the ibis, a repulsive bird representative of the homo carnalis in the Medieval Bestiary. Another example of "sinful" Cupid in art comes from the west facade of Auxerre Cathedral, where there is a relief of Amor Carnalis by an anonymous sculptor, c. 1280. Cupid is again represented as a winged, young boy, but lying in an unclassical, awkward pose with a bowed leg as he sleeps on his torch. Cupid is at the foot of the doorpost displaying representations of the Wise Virgins, thus the idea of carnal love is appropriate, showing Cupid, as described
by Panofsky, "reduced to impotence" at the feet of the virgins who "went in with (Christ) to marriage."\(^{34}\)

In Medieval literature Amor's classical form was also lost. In Troubadour poetry he was not a winged, naked infant, and Cupid was not described visually in the literature of courtly love. For example Cretien de Troyes' lovers are hit by Love's arrows, but they never see him. He is more a figure of speech. In the early fourteenth century in European literature the concept of love, "amor," began to be shown as a positive force. Dante writes of love for his Beatrice, and Petrarch of his Laura. However, Dante gives a confusing treatment of Love, the god. In the *Vita Nuova* 25.1 Dante tells us that Love is not a god, but a passion of the mind. Conversely, in Chapter 9.1-7 Dante does personify Love in human form, but not a chubby love god. Amore is a meanly dressed man with downcast eyes who looks like a pilgrim.\(^{35}\)

In the visual realm also during the fourteenth century, the paintings of Giotto and of the brothers Lorenzetti express a greater sense of concern for individual psychology than earlier generations' works had done and show an affinity for earthy, sturdy forms more akin to the ideals of ancient Rome than to the Gothic period. However, in paintings by Giotto, and his
colleagues in Siena, Cupid's original positive meaning is not implied, and his form is awkward, lacking classical grace.

Giotto obviously studied ancient sculpture. In the Birth of the Virgin in the Arena Chapel Giotto shows two putti holding a medallion of Christ (Fig. 18). The putti are in the pose common to funerary genii on Roman sarcophagi. Their pose is classical, but the putti are rather spindly-looking, and lack their ancient vigor. Giotto seems to have copied the motif visually, while remaining ignorant of its pagan meaning.

Pietro Lorenzetti and his assistants incorporated putti into two of their paintings, The Flagellation of Christ and the Last Supper, both from the lower church of San Francesco, Assisi, dating to about 1320 - 1330. Playful putti are perched above the column tops in the Flagellation (Fig. 19). Two are accompanied by dogs, while another plays with a horn. The putti are spindly and awkward, and rather sinister looking. They resemble monkeys playing on the rooftops. Their non-decorous nature is compounded by their location - in Herod's palace. Four putti are perched on the tops of the columns visible in the strange hexagonal gazebo/temple of the Last Supper (Fig. 20). One holds a rabbit,
another a fish, and the two others cornucopias. The putti, besides personifying abundance, since this is a meal scene, serve to remind the viewer that the events portrayed happened in the pre-Christian, pagan era, as also was the case in the two previous scenes.\textsuperscript{38}

In the \textit{Martyrdom of Franciscans in Morocco} from San Francesco in Siena, c. 1330,\textsuperscript{39} Ambrogio Lorenzetti shows us Minerva, Mars and Venus atop pedestals with their attributes (Fig. 21). Minerva holds the head of Medusa, Mars has a shield and horse, and Venus is shown with a bow and arrow and Cupid. Cupid is standing next to Venus holding onto her right knee and looking up to her. Cupid is nude and winged, very cute but fragile looking. Here the Roman gods represent the evils of the non-Christian world. Cupid is used negatively, to identify the inimical pagan context of the narrative.

In Pisa at the Camposanto is a fresco, \textit{The Triumph of Death} (Fig. 22), dating probably to before about 1348.\textsuperscript{40} An artist painting at the Camposanto would have been surrounded by the ancient sarcophagi and other relics of antiquity housed there.\textsuperscript{41} In \textit{The Triumph of Death} are two pairs of \textit{genii} copied from a sarcophagus located in the Campo Santo, whose inscription tells us was reused by one Gallo Agnello (Fig. 23).\textsuperscript{42} The \textit{genii} on the left in the \textit{Triumph of Death} hold a scroll, those
on the right, more sinister, hold inverted torches and point to a man and woman, soon to be Death's victims. Once again the genii are derivative, stiff, and lifeless. They are sinister in that they are instruments of Death.

To sum up, Cupid/Amor began to reappear sporadically in both literature and painting during the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries after a hibernation of several hundred years. The examples cited above illustrate that during the Middle Ages the baby god of love was frequently distorted in form to the point of being nearly unrecognizable, or else did not retain his original positive meaning as a creative force or a playful god of love. Cupid/Amor was often demeaned, portrayed as an emblem or instrument of evil, or used as an emblem of the pre-Christian world. During the early fifteenth century, with the beginnings of a general classical revival in Italy, the ancient Eros/Cupid/genius regained his classical form within the circle of Nanni di Banco, Jacopo della Quercia and others. Following their lead, in the early 1420's Donatello took the new Renaissance putto into a new phase of expanded usage and greater influence.
CHAPTER THREE
NOTES


2 Ibid.

3 Menander, Fragment 551, published in Menander: The Principal Fragments, trans. Francis G. Allison, Westport CT., 1970, first published, 1921, 493. Allison translates "A 'spirit guide beneficent' to lead us through life's mysteries. For we are not to think of this as evil Genius to harm our mortal life...," my quotes around "spirit guide benificent." Menander actually wrote, "kakon gar daimon," which translates literally to "good daemon."


5 Nitzsche, Jane Chance, The Genius Figure in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, NY: 1975, 36. Tertullian wrote "sic et omnibus deputantur, quod daemonum est" in Apology 31, see also Tertullian Apology 23, 4-7 for another example.

6 See Nitzsche 31 - 32 for citations.

7 E. Ferguson, Demonology of the Early Christian World, 1984, 37; Aristophanes, Wasps, 525; Plutarch, Table Talk, III.7.1; Diodorus Siculus IV.3.4.

8 See Plutarch, "Dinner of the Seven Wise Men," in Moralia, 15) and Roman Questions, 51.

9 Nitzsche, 1975, 38; Ferguson, 1984, 111 - 112 cites dozens of examples.
Nitzsche, 1975, 40; See The Works Now Extant of S. Justin the Martyr, trans. by members of the English Church, Oxford, MDCCCLXI, p. 4 for Justin Martyr Apology I, 5 where he calls evil daemons devils, and p. 19 for Apology I, 25 where he condemns the ancient gods.


See, for example, Panofsky, Studies in Iconology, Stockholm: 1972, fig. 69. Erotes are found in the Abduction of Europa, a Byzantine ivory casket dating to c. 1000, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

See the angels above the Transfiguration of Christ in the apse of the church of the Monastery of St. Catherine, in Mt. Sinai, Egypt; the victory-angels above The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes in the north side of the sanctuary of S. Vitale, Ravenna.


See Chapter 2, footnote # 28.

T. Hyde, The Poetic Theology of Love: Cupid in Renaissance Literature, Newark, N.J.: 1986, 13. Plotinus (Enneade 3.5) asks "What is Love? ... a god, a demon or a passion of the mind?"

Lactantius gives the Euhemerist argument in *Div. Inst.* 1.8 8. He repeats his stories in 1.11, 1.13, 1.17, and 1.22.


An example written by the Carolingian Bishop Theodulph of Orleans interprets Amor's attributes in a sinister manner:

Your depraved mind is depicted in your quiver,
Your treachery in your bow. Your arrows,
Child are your poison: your torch is
Your ardor, O Love.


Seznec, 1972, 48.


Ibid., 116f. and note #68, referring to Vat. Barb. 4077.


*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini tres*, ed. G. Bode, Celle, 1334, p. 329. "Itemque Amores duo; alter bonus et pudicus, quo sapientia et virtutes amantur; alter impudicus et malus, quo ad vitia inclinamur."

Panofsky, 1972, 97, 109. As one example, Panofsky cites Petrus Berchorius, Bibl. 27, "by the blind man we generally understand the sinner."


Panofsky, 1960, 94.

Ibid.

See Hyde, 1986, chapters two and three for analyses of Cupid in Dante and other Medieval Literature. Hyde, 50, Amor is mealy dressed as a pilgrim with downcast eyes to mirror Dante's internal state.


See Smart, 1978, 100.

I do not have real evidence for this interpretation except that the putti occur in pre-Christian scenes, and I related it to Nativity scenes where the older style of architecture in the background symbolizes the old order (Old Testament).

See Smart, 1978, 103.

42 See Papini, 1932, cat. entry 35, p. 23f. for information on the sarcophagus of Gallo Agnelli.
"Moral" Putti Before Donatello:

The Porta della Mandorla,

Jacopo della Quercia's works,

Nanni di Banco's predella of the Quattro Santi Coronati

and Piero di Niccolo Lamberti's Tomb for Onofrio Strozzi

There are a few significant instances of the use of classicizing "putti" in Italy from the 1390's until Donatello began to use them in the 1420's. These comprise the Porta della Mandorla of the Florentine Cathedral, Santa Maria del Fiore; the Monument of Ilaria del Carretto by Jacopo della Quercia in the Cathedral of Lucca, and other works by Jacopo della Quercia; the predella of the Quattro Santi Coronati by Nanni di Banco; and the Tomb of Onofrio Strozzi in Sta. Trinita in Florence by Piero di Niccolo Lamberti. In each of these works classical influence is extremely evident. The putto, however, is a secondary motif in the first three cases.

48
The Porta della Mandorla

The earliest classical-looking revival of the "cupid type" occurs in the youthful nudes of the Porta della Mandorla, of the Duomo, Florence. The Porta della Mandorla was completed in three phases, the earliest from 1391 - 1397, the second from 1404 - 1409, and the third from 1414 - 1422. The finest sculptors of Tuscany were involved in this vast project. Many documents survive pertaining to the execution of this project. Unfortunately they are vague in many cases, not specifying what parts of the doorway were executed by whom.

The youthful nudes date to the first and second phases of construction and are decorative motifs located in the reveals between half-length adult, clothed, winged angels; these are Gothic in style and hold scrolls. The nudes are framed by curling acanthus leaves. They are full-length but diminutive in scale. One of these nudes is a muscular Hercules (Fig. 24) copied almost verbatim from a male nude in a similar decorative relief dating to the Roman Imperial period, early third century, now in the Grotte Vaticane, Rome (Fig. 25) In the Roman original, chubby erotes frame the
athlete, and these were possibly part of the inspiration for the "putto" reliefs on the Florentine portal.

The Porta della Mandorla Hercules has been variously attributed to Giovanni d'Ambrogio\textsuperscript{3} and to Niccolo di Pietro Lamberti.\textsuperscript{4} These two artists, along with Piero di Giovanni Tedesco and Jacopo di Piero Guidi, were involved in the first phase of sculpture.

There are several youthful nudes among the reliefs in the reveals of the Porta della Mandorla, figures ranging in age from toddlers to adolescents. One of these figures is a youth playing a stringed instrument (Fig. 26), probably modeled after an Apollo or Orpheus figure. Also in the reveals are nude, chubby, unwinged babies, one playing pipes (fig. 27), one waving a banner (Fig. 28), one playing a viol (Fig. 29). One older youth (the "Abuntia") has his back to us, and holds a whip (Fig. 30); another adolescent, winged boy stands facing us (Fig. 31). The older boys are much more graceful than the small boys who have curious anatomy, being oddly shaped and rather clumsily carved. The figures described above all impinge upon the general category of putti as we have defined it for the purpose of this study, but do not, strictly speaking, belong to it, in that the younger boys are unwinged, and the one winged boy is
older than that which we have defined as a putto, a baby-like figure or very young boy.

Attributing these figures to one or another of the artists mentioned above is an onerous task. The lower areas of the Porta della Mandorla are now fragmentary, and the surface quality of the works has deteriorated over the centuries.

In the arch reveals dating to the second Porta della Mandorla campaign of 1404 - 1409 is a nude, unwinged amoretto cleaning out a large snail (Fig. 32). His debt to classical art is obvious in the style. This is the type of motif which the quattrocento viewer may have confused with a Roman original, were it not on the Porta della Mandorla, due to its all'antica style. The putto with a snail may have been a direct quote from the antique, although I know of no original exactly like this. Seymour attributes the figures of this side of the portal to Antonio and Nanni di Banco. The figure does bear a strong resemblance to the nude boy depicted in the predella of the niche of the not much later Quattro Santi Coronati (c.1411 - 1413) by Nanni (Fig. 33, see p. 61f.) Goldner, however, attributes this figure to Niccolo Lamberti. Goldner believes that the arch reveals were decorated by Nanni, Niccolo Lamberti and possibly Donatello, who carved a prophet for the portal during
this phase, and may have done more. Prophets and a sibyl on the Porta della Mandorla have variously been attributed to Donatello. With Donatello at work on this same portal, this curious "outcropping" of nude youths becomes important for this thesis. Here on the Porta della Mandorla in a highly visible location putti were used by artists for decorative motifs very early. None of the other artists involved in the portal, except Nanni di Banco, pursued this antique motif further. Nanni's later essays in it will be described in their appropriate chronological position, below.

The Tomb of Ilaria del Carretto

and related works by Jacopo della Quercia

After the Porta della Mandorla, the next known instance of putti, - this time in the strictest sense - is given us by Jacopo della Quercia. Della Quercia used archaeologically correct and iconographically significant classicizing putti in what may be his earliest surviving work, the Tomb of Ilaria del Carretto (Fig. 34). This monument commemorates the beautiful young wife of the Lord of Lucca, Paolo Guinigi, who died in childbirth in December, 1405. Jacopo probably
executed this tomb in 1406 with the help of Francesco da Valdambrino. This tomb, in the Duomo in Lucca, consists of a sarcophagus-like base decorated with classicizing, winged *putti* bearing thick garlands of vegetation and fruit. These *putti*, the first monumental *putti* of the Renaissance, are all in different, dance-like poses. John Pope-Hennessy writes of this monument,\(^{12}\)

The sarcophagus is surrounded by winged putti bearing garlands imitated (like the little reliefs of Apollo and other classical figures which had found their way a decade earlier on the Porta della Mandorla in Florence) from Roman prototypes. Not for one moment could we mistake these dancing figures for classical originals, yet in them Quercia appears as the precursor of a style which was to come to full fruition two decades or more later in Donatello’s Florentine cantoria and in the Prato pulpit.

The lid of the sarcophagus serves as a bed for the marble effigy of the beautiful and youthful Ilaria, her head propped up by stone pillows, her eyes closed in the eternal sleep of death. According to Vasari this is the earliest known work by Jacopo della Quercia, although he was recorded as one of the participants in the competition for the Florentine Baptistery doors of 1401. The monument is disturbingly beautiful, and it is also somewhat disturbing that Jacopo would have a base
seemingly so classicizing, and a tomb slab that is so traditionally Medieval, with a somewhat abstracted Ilaria in a voluminous Gothic gown, arms crossed across her belly symmetrically in a sleep of death.

Bacci saw close analogies between the Tomb of Ilaria del Carretto and fragmentary Roman sarcophagi in Pisa in that the latter too were decorated with swag-bearing genii. Most closely analogous to the putti of Ilaria’s sarcophagus, according to Hanson, is a Phaedra sarcophagus in the Campo Santo, Pisa apparently known before Jacopo’s time (fig. 35), which included putti. She asserts that the poses of the putti on the Phaedra sarcophagus are echoed by Jacopo della Quercia’s gracefully posed putti. I do not see this. The poses of the putti on the sarcophagus identified as a Phaedra one is not very similar to the garland-bearing putti of Ilaria’s tomb. The poses of the putti on the other sarcophagi noted by Bacci - the sarcophagi with swag-bearing putti are. Jacopo faithfully followed the details of the garlands and the poses of the ancient putti, though altering the proportions slightly. The genius is meaningful in this funereal context, indicating that Jacopo was perhaps aware of the ancient
significance, or perhaps just aware that this motif was used on ancient tombs.

As such, the monument for Ilaria del Carretto by Jacopo della Quercia stands alone as a precursor to Donatello’s monumental classicizing putti.

Despite the beauty of Ilaria’s monument, the artist did not use the nude, winged putto as a major motif in his sculpture again. Whatever his reason for choosing the putto motif for Ilaria’s tomb, it is very appropriate, the putto as Cupid being associated with love and the genius in Roman times having been the one to lead the soul to the underworld. This seems to be the only major monument, prior to Donatello’s adoption of the putto where the artist uses putti in a way that is meaningful to its context. (If genii are implied, though, their context is uncanonical in relation to Ilaria. The female juno was the protectress of females, and found, as such, on the sarcophagi of Roman women. Genii were employed on the sarcophagi of men. Perhaps Jacopo did not know precisely the Antique meaning of the winged infant, only that it was on Roman funerary monuments, and thus was a funereal motif.)

A second work by Jacopo in Lucca, the Trenta Chapel Altar in San Frediano (Fig. 38) reuses a Roman sarcophagus decorated with amorini (Fig. 39). Jacopo
began the Trenta Chapel by 1413, and it was near completion by 1416. As it stands today, the Trenta Altar consists of a pala with a Madonna and Child in the center, surrounded by saints: Ursula, Jerome, Richard the King and Catherine, within Gothic trefoil niches. In the predella are a pieta and relief scenes of the miracles and martyrdoms of Saints Ursula and Lawrence. Beneath the altar table is the small sarcophagus of Saint Richard the King, and in front of it the tomb slabs of Trenta and his wife. The Roman sarcophagus beneath the altar has a medieval inscription dating to the twelfth century which states its purpose as a reliquary for the earthly remains of St. Richard the King. The sarcophagus itself is marble, and dates from the Roman Imperial period. The sarcophagus is carved in relief with two winged victories holding a medallion in the center. Below are a cornucopia and baskets of fruit. At the corners are two amorini (one on each corner) holding torches. They are winged and are posed with one leg bent and one straight, each with his face facing the direction of the straight leg.

The sarcophagus was not chosen by Jacopo, but was pre-existing, a piece around which he had to design the rest of the chapel. Jacopo's carvings are suitably
classicizing to work with the style of the Roman sarcophagus. In the predella of the Trenta Altar are narrative scenes portraying the miracles of St. Richard the King. One has a young boy as a participant in the narrative whose pose is borrowed from one of the funerary genii of the sarcophagus. Jacopo carved no actual putti in the chapel, however.

Jacopo’s most famous commission, the Sienese Fonte Gaia\(^{21}\) (Fig. 40), was commissioned on December 15, 1408, begun c. 1414/15, and was probably finished in 1418, the last year in which a contract on it was written. It replaced an older fountain in Siena’s central piazza. The Fonte Gaia consists of a rectangular double basin with water spouts, carved marble figures of Acca Larentia, Rhea Silvia, the Virtues of Hope, Charity, Fortitude, Temperance, Prudence, Justice; the Virgin and two angels and reliefs of the Birth of Adam and the Expulsion.\(^{22}\) Acca Larentia and Rhea Silvia link the foundation of Siena to Roman history and the foundation of Rome.

By the 1850’s the Fonte Gaia was in sad shape. Many parts were missing, and the sculptures in general were broken and eroding. Jacopo della Quercia’s original fountain was removed from the Piazza del Campo in 1858 to make way for a new, pristine, white marble copy by
Tito Sarrocci. The original carvings, therefore, are no longer in situ, located instead in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.23

The original fountain was U-shaped, with the longest side being the bottom of the U (as is the copy in its original location). On the interior face of the fountain were virtues and large vertical-format figures in the upper course, and smaller, horizontal-format decorative reliefs in the lower course, or predella. One of these decorative panels from the inside of the fountain includes a putto "blooming" in the acanthus vegetation in the ornament of the fountain (Fig. 41). This putto is very classicizing and could easily be mistaken for one of its ancient prototypes. It is a clear revival of classical form simply for a decorative purpose, analogous to the unwinged putto with a snail on the Porta della Mandorla.

Other relief panels around the putto panel recreate ancient motifs of sea serpents, peacocks, etc. Nothing points to any significance intended for the putto except to be aesthetically pleasing, and to fit in with the "Roman" scheme of the fountain. In 1416 the Siena Council voted to change the Fonte Gaia waterspouts to she-wolves ridden by little boys.24 This was never
acted upon by Jacopo. There are, however, standing putti in relief, holding a swag above the angel flanking the Virgin to the right. Although this section of the fountain is highly damaged, the body of the right putto remains fairly intact. These putti are similar to those of the Ilaria del Carretto tomb. Little boys, similar to putti in age and demeanor, but wingless, accompany Rhea Silvia as her twins, and Acca Larentia as hers (Fig. 42). Hanson cites a Nereid sarcophagus in the Museo del Duomo, Siena as a possible source for the twins Romulus and Remus.

In the Porta Magna of S. Petronio, Bologna (Fig. 43), for which Jacopo della Quercia signed a contract in March, 1425, and which was left incomplete at his death in 1438, we find one last instance of Jacopo's use of putti, and of the influence of classical putti on his renderings of small children.

The Porta Magna consists of a doorway decorated with carvings of the Madonna flanked by Saints Ambrose and Petronius in the tympanum, scenes from the early life of Christ on the lintel, scenes of Adam and Eve on the left jamb and of the Expulsion, Cain and Abel, Noah, and Abraham and Isaac on the right. Prophets are found at the corners. Jacopo included two small, sleeping winged putti in the consoles in the inner
corners above the door (Fig. 44). Also, in the relief of The Labors of Adam and Eve there are two small "putto-like" children, Cain and Abel no doubt, holding onto Eve (Fig. 45). They are reminiscent of representations of Jason’s sons on a Medea Sarcophagus in Rome (now Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme) whose general type Janson considered a source for Donatello’s fleeing children in the Feast of Herod. They are also similar to amorini on a Nereid sarcophagus in the Museo del Duomo, Siena that Hanson cites as a possible source for the twins Romulus and Remus on the Fonte Gaia.

Jacopo used the putto as a major motif on the tomb of Ilaria and as a decorative motif on two other occasions, on the Fonte Gaia which dates from 1408 - 1418, and on the Porta Magna in Bologna which dates from 1425 - 38. While working in Bologna on the Porta Magna, Jacopo della Quercia was also working concurrently on, and generally in charge of, the Siena Baptistery Font, on which Donatello also worked. As capomaestro Jacopo may have encouraged Donatello’s further exploration of the child-like form, which we see in Donatello’s winged dancing musical angels of the font, and in his unwinged children of the Feast of Herod relief thereon (see Chapter 5).
The Predella of the Quattro Santi Coronati

by Nanni di Banco

Nanni di Banco sculpted a classicizing nude male child, which in body type fits the *putto* classification but which lacks wings, on the predella of the Quattro Santi Coronati (Fig. 33) which he carved for one of the niches of Or San Michele, c. 1411-13. Here Nanni di Banco shows the the four crowned martyrs in the act of their profession, which was sculpting, the same trade as was practiced by the guild of the wood and stone workers who commissioned the niche statues and predella. The four saints portrayed were pagan Romans who converted to Christianity during the persecution era of the Early Christian Period, and who were put to death by the emperor Diocletian for refusing to carve a statue of the pagan god, Aesculapius. In the predella are four sculptors, one building a column, the second measuring a capital, the third and fourth finishing a statue of an over-life-sized nude youth. Two things about this predella are interesting, and ironic. First of all, below four saints put to death for not carving a statue of a pagan god we find a representation of sculptors carving what appears to be a pagan figure, possibly...
Cupid. Is this a depiction of the saints before conversion, or of the goals of a "modern day" sculptor in the Renaissance? If the latter, Nanni di Banco is showing sculptors carving a large, nude, in the round statue years before an Italian sculptor actually tried this. The daring concept of a life-sized nude sculpture shown in the predella was not acted upon until c. 1440 when Donatello cast the revolutionary David and Amor-Atys. However, Donatello's works are cast in bronze, not carved in stone. Life-sized nudes in stone were not carved until much later, for example, Tullio Lombardo's Adam, and Michelangelo's Bacchus. Predellas were often the test place for radical innovations in Early Renaissance art.

Piero di Niccolo Lamberti's
Tomb of Onofrio Strozzi

The Tomb of Onofrio Strozzi is located in the sacristy of Santa Trinita in Florence (Fig. 46). It can be viewed from two different sides under an arch decorated with schiacciato reliefs of putti in a style very much like the style of Donatello. The sarcophagus under the lunette is decorated with a pair of genii bearing the Strozzi coat of arms. These putti are copied, albeit clumsily, almost verbatim from a common
type of Roman sarcophagus, exemplified in that one in the Camposanto, Pisa, reused for Gallo Agnelli.

Onofrio Strozzi died on April 3, 1418. The document relating to his death dates to 1418, and specifies that Piero di Niccolo Lamberti was to make a tomb. Bode and Reymond rejected the validity of this document because of the schiacciato angels on the arch which look very Donatellesque. They felt that there was no way that Lamberti could have originated the schiacciato. Fabriczy and Poggi, however, insisted on the validity of the document. Not believing that Donatello could have been influenced by Piero di Niccolo Lamberti, Lisner disallowed the 1418 document and attributed the design of the monument to Donatello, dividing the execution between Donatello, Piero Lamberti, and Donatello's workshop.

The low relief putti of the arch are different in style from those of the sarcophagus, and not paralleled in the undisputed work of Piero di Niccolo Lamberti, who never employed rilievo schiacciato. Goldner points out that the document of 1418 refers only to the sarcophagus. Goldner's theory about the execution seems most plausible: that the sarcophagus was carved by Piero in or soon after 1418, and that the framing lunette, which is related in style to Donatello's
Cantoria is much later, probably dating to c. 1440, and possibly executed by the workshop of Donatello.\textsuperscript{37}

The sarcophagus is decorated with two winged\textit{genii} heraldically arranged, who hold an escutcheon. The\textit{genii}'s heads face out and away from each other stiffly. The relief carving of the sarcophagus is dry and rigid with the heads turned artificially. The\textit{genii} of the sarcophagus were possibly copied from a Roman sarcophagus in the Camposanto in Pisa, perhaps from the previously mentioned Sarcophagus of Gallo Agnelli or another very similar one carved with the reuse date of 1356\textsuperscript{38} Nothing in Piero di Niccolo Lamberti's later work shows direct interest in the antique.\textsuperscript{39} It is true that the Fulgosio monument of 1429-30 in the Santo, Padua, has clumsy\textit{putti} unrolling a scroll, but these seem to be adaptations of a motif from Donatello and Michelozzo's Coscia tomb.\textsuperscript{40} Goldner conjecturally attributes the design of the sarcophagus of Onofrio Strozzi to Ghiberti who worked in Sta. Trinita in 1420, and who had notebooks of sketches after the antique.\textsuperscript{41} This was Piero Lamberti's first major commission, so he may have borrowed sketches from the generous Ghiberti.

Although the design of the Tomb of Onofrio Strozzi as executed by Piero is so dry as to seem uninspiring,
Donatello seems to have been sparked by it, using a nearly identical composition for his *genii* in the predella of the niche of St. Louis of Toulouse on Or San Michele a few years later.

**Nanni di Banco's Porta della Mandorla**

Crowning the *Porta della Mandorla* of Santa Maria del Fiore is Nanni di Banco's *Assumption* (Fig. 47), on which he worked from the time of the commission in 1415 until his death in 1421. In this large-scale relief, the Virgin is enclosed in a mandorla lifted aloft by six adolescent or young adult angels, the upper two of whom are musicians, and one of whom is semi-nude. A seventh adolescent angel, also semi-nude and music-making, is located above the mandorla. The Virgin is depicted elegantly dropping her girdle to the apostle Thomas, who kneels at the viewer's lower left.

Within the Virgin's mandorla are two semi-nude child angels with double sets of wings. Although they represent cherubim, their young age, wings, and semi-nudity classify them as *putti*. Here Nanni di Banco uses *putti* in a new context, in a sacred scene. These *putti* show some influence of the Antique in their curly hairstyles and nudity, but their heads and bodies are
more elongated and slender — more in keeping with the Gothic style. Beneath the Virgin's feet is a seraph — a child angel, but bodiless, with six wings. Here again Nanni is using the child in a revolutionary manner, as he classicizes the seraph's face, and makes it quite baby-like.

The *Porta della Mandorla* appears to have been an inspiration for the young Donatello, who would later travel to Rome where antique *amoretti/genii* could be studied. Donatello became the first artist to fuse the visual motifs of the music-making angel with the music-making *erote* to create a new entity, the musical, winged *putto*. In the *Porta della Mandorla* Donatello would have seen in a single architectural/sculptural whole all the raw materials: nude boys, some playing musical instruments; baby angels; and adolescent angels playing music. Donatello must have kept these in mind, eventually realizing the possibilities of their combination.

Donatello cannot claim the honor of being the first Renaissance artist to use *putti*. That honor belongs to one of a small group of artists of the late fourteenth, and early fifteenth centuries. However, those artists used the *putto* motif sporadically, mainly as one of many
classical ancillary motifs as on the Porta della Mandorla and the Fonte Gaia.

Jacopo della Quercia’s putti all look like direct quotations from the antique, and he did not use them in any innovative ways vis-à-vis their Antique prototypes and contexts. He was briefly interested in the putto form between the years 1406 -16, then again used putti as a minor motif on the portal of S. Petronio, Bologna sometime during 1425 - 38. During this latter time the putto starts to become a major motif for Donatello in the dancing musical angels of the Siena Font, of which Jacopo was in charge. At this later date the putti seem likely to have been Donatello’s idea, since he had already experimented with the notion of free-standing putti in the crozier of St. Louis of Toulouse on Or San Michele.

Donatello while still very young worked on the Porta della Mandorla and with Ghiberti on his bronze doors, and he worked later with Jacopo della Quercia on the Baptistery font. He and Nanni di Banco both worked on Or San Michele. Being involved in the execution of some of these earlier projects, Donatello doubtless benefited from the sporadic use of the putto in these works. These uses inspired him to give the motif new life and use it in innovative ways. The putto was a
motif adopted as part of a general classical revival by those involved in the development of a new "renaissance" style in sculpture in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, including Nanni di Banco, Jacopo della Quercia and Donatello. From about 1425 on, however, Donatello took the forefront in the use of the putto, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Muntz referred to the pre-Donatellan putti as "germs." In his words, "these scattered germs were brought to maturity by the genius of Donatello:...no artist has honored childhood with such enthusiasm, and in so many varied ways."43
CHAPTER FOUR

NOTES


5 Pope-Hennessy, John, Early Italian Renaissance Sculpture, 1985 (Pope-Hennessy, 1985b), 97 states that Giovanni d'Ambrogio was known to have carved a "putto" during the first phase of sculpture, but we do not know which one, or if he carved more than one. I could not find any such mention in Poggi's documents. In the documents in Carl Frey's, Die Loggia dei Lanzi, Berlin, 1885, 33 - 39, 113 the closest that I could find was that Giovanni di Ambrogio and Jacopo Pieri carved "angeli" - not the same, necessarily, as putti, and not the same sculptural program.
For documents see Poggi, 1909, 66f; Trachtenberg, 1966, 361 - 367. Poggi Document 362 of 11/23/1406 shows that Donatello received 10 florins in partial payment for two 1 1/2 braccia tall marble prophets to be placed on the Porta della Mandorla. Poggi doc. 366 of 2/1408 shows that Donatello was paid 15 florins for a marble figure. Two marble figures on the Porta della Mandorla, one 128 cm. high and the other 131 cm. high were attributed by Semper to Donatello (Semper, Hans, Donatello, Sein Zeit und Schule, Vienna: 1875, 53f.). Planiscig (Nanni di Banco, 1946 10f. and Donatello, Florence: 1947, 15) attributed one of these sculptures to Donatello and the other to Nanni di Banco. Janson rejected both prophets (Janson, The Sculpture of Donatello, 1973, 219 - 222). Janson noted that the documents said that the prophets were 1 1/2 braccia tall, while these are over 2. Trachtenberg ("Donatello's first Work," 1966) chooses a different statue over the second window from the Porta della Mandorla as Donatello's by comparing it to Donatello's St. Mark of 1411 (365f.). Seymour, 1966, 33 attributes a prophet and a sibyl to Donatello.


Ilaria was married to Paolo Guinigi in February, 1403, and died in December, 1405. Paolo Guinigi remarried in April of 1407. The tomb was most likely made in 1406, Pope-Hennessy, 1985a, 212.

Bacci believes the putti of the north side of the sarcophagus were carved by the Sienese Francesco da Valdambrino who was in Lucca in 1406. (Bacci, Francesco di Valdambrino, Siena, 1936, 103f.) Pope-Hennessy notes that the putti on the north side of the tomb are distinctly different from those of the others, "less childlike," and are thus not by the hand of Jacopo, although there is no evidence to clarify their authorship. Pope-Hennessy, 1985a, p. 212. Seymour, Charles, Sculpture in Italy, 1400 - 1500, 1966f., 48f. also believes only the one side to be by Jacopo, one by Valdambrino, and says nothing of the other two sides.
12 Pope-Hennessy, 1985a, 38.

13 Pope-Hennessy, 1985a, 212. To see Roman prototypes for this type of sarcophagus see Papini, Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichita' d' Italia, ii, 1932, nos. 84 - 86. Also see Seymour, 1966, p. 49, fig. 5 for a drawing of a funerary genius, a corner figure from the Roman Imperial period in the Campo Santo, Pisa. This is a very close analogy.

14 Anne Coffin Hanson (Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia, 1965, p. 100, fig. #58,) sees analogies to a Phaedra sarcophagus in the Camposanto, Pisa. I do not see as close an analogy as with the garland-bearing funerary genii.

15 Hanson, 1965, 39.


17 Seymour, 1973, 38, 38n, 73.

18 Ibid., 39.

19 Ibid., 41.

20 Ibid., 46.

21 On the Fonte Gaia see Hanson, 1965; Seymour, 1973, 44 - 54, Pope-Hennessy, 1985a, 213.

22 Seymour, 1973, 44f.

23 Hanson, 1965, 2f.

24 Ibid., 46. Also see Hanson, 1965, 100 note # 58 and 60. Although Pope-Hennessy and Hanson mention that the original plan included "putti," the documents use the term puer, boy. See either Bargagli-Petrucci, F., Le fonte di Siena a i loro acquedotti, Siena, 1906, V. 2, p. 326 - 7, or Milanesi, G. Documenti per la storia dell'arte Senese, Siena, 1854-6, repr. Holland, 1969 v. 2 p. 79, no 51 - "puer qui sedeat super udaquaque dictarum luparum... et de salario dictorum luparum et puerorum factorum - libere remiset - in operarios dicte fontis..."

25 Hanson, 1965, 105 note # 81.
26 Hanson, 1965, 70.
30 Janson, 1973, 259.
31 Hanson, 1965, 70.
32 Pope-Hennessy, 1985a, 218f.
34 Goldner, 1978, 96 - 97.
35 Ibid., 96.
36 Ibid., 97.
37 Ibid., 100
38 Papini, 1932, catalog entry 38, pp. 25f.
40 Ibid., 203.
41 Ibid., 102.
43 Muntz, Eugene, Les Artistes Celebres, Donatello," Paris, 1889, 43 "le genie de Donatello les porta d'un coup a leur maturite...nul artiste n'a celebre l'enfance avec autant d'enthousiasme ni sous des formes aussi variees."
CHAPTER V
Donatello’s Early Putti: The 1420’s

During the 1420’s and 1430’s in Italy there was a revival in interest in classicizing, nude, winged infants, stemming partly from new interest in ancient sculptural relics and partly from a renewed interest in Neo-platonic philosophy in learned circles. Genii and amorini, like other ancient sculptural motifs were imitated by Italian sculptors, as we have already seen in the work of Niccolo di Pietro Lamberti, Nanni di Banco and Jacopo Della Quercia beginning in the 1390’s and continuing into the 1420’s. (These contributions are summarized in Chapter Four.)

This chapter is the first of four dealing with the immense contribution of Donatello to the use and proliferation of putti in Italian art. Beginning in the 1420’s Donatello started to incorporate putti into his sculptures. In most cases Donatello does not directly quote the Antique, but instead creates new poses and uses for the classical winged boy. Furthermore,
Donatello fully "Christianized" the motif, using the putto in a wide variety of sacred subjects, a notion first acted upon by Nanni di Banco in his Assumption. Donatello reintegrates the form of the putto with its positive meaning, and gives it new life in the Renaissance by removing the putto from the realm of the demons or of essentially meaningless decoration, and elevating it, in many cases, to the sphere of the angels. Nanni di Banco's putto in the predella of the Quattro Santi Coronati was a prophecy of the importance generally of the Antique and specifically of the putto in the quattrocento, for whom Donatello became the popularizer.

Donatello played a role of major importance in this revival, establishing the putto as a major motif in Renaissance art. Donatello was the first Renaissance sculptor to create freestanding putti, such as the Musical Dancing Putti of the Siena Font of the 1420's (Fig. 48), and the enigmatic Amor-Atys (Figs. 49, 50), and the first to use putti as the major motif of several of his sculptural programs,¹ including the Cantoria (Fig. 51), and the Prato Pulpit (Fig. 52). Further, he inserted the putto into many types of scenes previously alien to it. For instance, before Donatello,
Christian angels were usually visualized as youthful adults in heavy gowns. Donatello substituted the classical nude, winged child for the prior image of the Christian angel in many cases,\(^2\) and in doing so popularized the Christianized putto, the nude or semi-nude winged, male infant with the Christian function of an angel. The ancient form gains new roles as a "Christianized" being, and performs a wide range of applications under the creative genius of Donatello.

Donatello seems in all areas of his art to have chosen his classical borrowings or references carefully in order to meld the original meaning with the new. For example, Donatello chose the form of the dancing maenad/bacchante, a character from Greek and Roman myth to represent Salome dancing, sealing the death warrant of St. John the Baptist. A bacchante with a mask evoked an image of Salome with with the head of John the Baptist in the Feast of Herod.\(^3\) The borrowings are more than formal. Maenads (bacchantes) brought on the death of Orpheus, who was later resurrected; Salome brought on the doom of John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ. Donatello's classical borrowings are more than mere quotations or decorative devices, they are forced " into an active role in the istoria, which is always central to Donatello's thinking."\(^4\)
Donatello began experimenting with the putto motif in the early 1420's, and continued to use the motif as a major element in his work until his death in 1466. In the works of the 1420's, already Donatello was using the ancient putto motif in innovative ways which were influential for other Italian sculptors.

The works using putti which Donatello executed during the 1420's were the: 5

St. Louis of Toulouse, 1422 or 1423 - 25, Museo dell'Opera di S. Croce
Madonna of the Clouds, c. 1425 - 28, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
Ascension and Delivery of the Keys to St. Peter, c. 1425 - 27, London, Victoria and Albert Museum
Feast of Herod, c. 1425 - 27, Siena, Baptistery Font
Dancing Musical Angels, c. 1425, Siena, Baptistery Font
Coscia Tomb, with Michelozzo, 1421, 1425 - 27, Florence, Baptistery
Brancacci Tomb, (with Michelozzo) 1427 - 9, Naples, S. Angelo a Nilo
Assumption of the Virgin, 1427 - 28, Naples, S. Angelo a Nilo (part of the Brancacci tomb)
Tomb Slab of Giovanni Pecci, Siena Cathedral, c. 1428 - 29

These works of the 1420's show Donatello experimenting with the putto form in various formal and iconographic ways. In one of the earlier works, in the
predella of St. Louis of Toulouse Donatello copies a putto motif verbatim from ancient artifacts in typical revival fashion, as did Jacopo della Quercia before him. However, in the crozier of the St. Louis statue Donatello creates a new, significant use of the putto in three-dimensional form. As the decade progresses, Donatello makes freer use of the putto using it in different iconographic settings than ever before, and in different, new forms.

**ST. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE**

The gilt bronze St. Louis of Toulouse (Fig. 53) stands 260 cm. high, and is now housed in the Museo dell' Opera di S. Croce. This, Donatello's first free-standing sculpture in bronze, was originally housed in an outside niche of Or San Michele belonging to the Parte Guelfa. Two documents date the statue's construction to between 1423 and 1425. In the first document, of May 14 and 19, 1423 the Council of the Parte Guelfa authorized a payment of 300 florins so that an image of St. Louis, which was to be placed in a niche at Or San Michele, might be completed. The second document, of November 24 and 28, 1425 tells of the
Council of the Parte Guelfa’s decision to present an offering to St. Louis at Or San Michele.\textsuperscript{6}

Although the dating of the statue of St. Louis of Toulouse seems fairly firm, there has been quite a bit of controversy over whether Donatello designed the niche and relief sculpture associated with it including two \textit{genii} in the predella along with the sculpture of St. Louis, or just the sculpture.\textsuperscript{7} The niche was relinquished to the Mercanzia in the late fifteenth century and a new statue was installed, raising the question of whether the niche now visible on Or San Michele is the original designed in the 1420’s for Donatello’s statue or whether a new niche was designed for the second sculptural group installed there, the \textit{Doubting St. Thomas} by Verrocchio. To summarize Janson, the date of the niche is the primary bone of contention. Janson states that the sculptural decor of the niche is consistent with Donatello’s work of c. 1422. The niche appears to be in Donatello’s style. The two angels in the spandrels (Fig. 54) approach \textit{schiacciato} in execution, and look like precursors of the \textit{Cantoria} dancers. Earlier views, however, placed the \textit{St. Louis} and his niche much later. Hans Semper in 1875 placed both the statue and niche toward the end of Donatello’s career, in the 1460’s. Later in 1887, Semper dated them
earlier, in the 1440's, agreeing with the dating of August Schmarsow (Donatello, 1886) and Max Semrau (Donatello's Kanzeln in S. Lorenzo, 1891). Hugo von Tschudi first placed the statue before 1425 in "Donatello e la critica moderna," in Revista storica italiana, iv, fasc. 2, 1887, on the basis of style. He had no opinion on the niche. Fabriczy felt the tabernacle was also a product of the 1420's on the basis of stylistic analysis of the formal qualities. Fabriczy related the tabernacle to the architectural framework of Masaccio's Holy Trinity fresco. Schottmuller and Kauffman agreed. Planiscig (Donatello, 1947) felt that the statue and tabernacle were created in two stages, the 1420's and 1440's respectively. Janson published the documents dealing with St. Louis, which show the statue, and probably the niche, to be executed in the 1420's. In 1460 the Parte Guelfa decided to sell the tabernacle which formerly held the statue of St. Louis. Janson's plausible theory is that Donatello was commissioned by the Parte Guelfa to design and execute both the niche and the statue of St. Louis of Toulouse, that he may have consulted Brunelleschi, with whom he had worked on the dome a few years earlier, for advice with the architecture, and possibly contracted Michelozzo for the
carving of parts of the niche. This would explain the early use of putti in the niche (Donatello's design), and their dry execution (Michelozzo's carving). Janson believed that Donatello designed both the statue of the saint and the niche (including the predella on which the two genii are located), but that Michelozzo assisted with the execution of the niche. If we believe the date of the 1420's this theory is entirely plausible since that was within the time in which Donatello and Michelozzo were collaborating. The style of the niche is related to Donatello's other works of the 1420's, the execution, however is less "lively" than Donatello's, but similar to that of Michelozzo's classicizing works. This may have been yet another collaboration between the two.

Below St. Louis' niche (which still houses the Doubting St. Thomas) are two winged putti in relief (Fig. 55), hovering and holding a wreath between them, as though they were genii on a sarcophagus. These putti, which Janson thought were probably executed by Donatello's workshop or by Michelozzo and called "hard and dry in execution," are in a pose nearly identical to that pose copied by Giotto, and the Master of the Triumph of Death the century before. Donatello may have used the same prototype, the Sarcophagus of Gallo
Agnelli (Fig. 23) or a similar Roman one. The particular pose of the genii was stereotypical, found on dozens of Roman sarcophagi.

The laurel wreath, to the ancient Greeks, was the trophy of victory. In early Christian times St. Paul used the analogy of the laurel wreath to the imperishable wreath with which the Christian is crowned. With the statue portraying a bishop who gave up a kingdom and a crown for the holy life, the wreath may represent victorious Christianity.

Above St. Louis's niche in the frieze area are putto heads with swags. In the area around the top of the niche are two nude putti in schiacciato relief holding ribbons and framing St. Louis. On the staff of the figure of St. Louis are small, less than 15 cm. high, shield-bearing putti, which are akin to statuettes within small niches (Fig. 56). The putti are beautifully modeled, and look ahead to the free-standing bronze statuettes popular in Italy in the later quattrocento. I speculate that Donatello found inspiration for them in ancient "martial amorini " such as those on the Temple of Venus Genetrix (Fig. 57) which Donatello could possibly have seen in Rome. The ancient martial putti may have suggested to Donatello the line in St. Paul's
Letter to the Ephesians\textsuperscript{14} about "taking the shield of faith." The putti work well with the architecture of the crozier, two of them appearing quite comfortable as they lean against the buttresses. Although housed within an architectural framework, the putti were modeled as three-dimensional, freestanding statuettes, the first bronze statuettes of the Quattrocento.

Donatello was imaginative in his design of the crozier, as this was a type not seen before. The Saint Louis was not a well-received statue in the fifteenth century for many reasons.\textsuperscript{15} One wonders if the presence of two figures with pagan antecedents and no obvious Christian reference or function in the bishop's staff of a very visible public statue at this early date may have added to the dislike among the general public.

**MADONNA OF THE CLOUDS**

The *Madonna of the Clouds* (*The Shaw Madonna*) (Fig. 58) seems to date to c. 1425 - 28,\textsuperscript{16} and is housed in The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The *Shaw Madonna* was acquired in 1917 through the bequest of Quincy Adams Shaw, who purchased it in Europe. It was said to come from a church in Rome.\textsuperscript{17} It is 13 1/4 inches high, and
12 3/4 inches wide, small in size, yet big in its daring, unprecedented style.\textsuperscript{18}

The Madonna and Child are seated on clouds in this unusual composition. Around them are nine putti angels in rilievo schiacciato. Swarzenski points out the daring foreshortening of the cherub’s head to the left of the Virgin’s shoulder which shows great mastery of perspective and the schiacciato technique. This is a forerunner to High Renaissance and Baroque celestial madonnas.\textsuperscript{19}

In this relief we see what may be the first instance where classicizing, winged infant males, the pagan love god form, were totally substituted for angels. Previously, angels were frequently quite young, but before Donatello, heavily clothed, and not classicizing. Even in Nanni di Banco’s Assumption the majority of the angels are adult and heavily draped; only two of his angels were small children, and only one of them nude. Donatello’s putti wear form-revealing, classicizing "wet drapery" like the drapery popular in the late fifth century B.C. as found in statuary associated with the Athenian acropolis, and copied in later ancient sculpture. It is appropriate that putti would be used to represent angels due to the fact that in classical antiquity a winged infant form represented
a celestial being, whether it was Eros or genius, since in Christian belief angels are celestial beings, intermediaries or messengers between God and man.

Kauffmann found a stucco replica (1907 sale) of the Madonna of the Clouds, and a drawing after The Shaw Madonna in the Uffizi dating to c. 1600, attesting to its popularity in the Renaissance. There is also a copy of the Madonna of the Clouds (Fig. 59), possibly dating to the seventeenth century, in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Kauffman explored the iconography of the Madonna in terms of the Madonna of Humility tradition in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Traditionally a Madonna seated on the ground denotes the virtue of humility. However, this is a celestial Madonna of humility with the Madonna seated on the clouds. The Madonna seated on a cloud bank originated in the late fourteenth century in Italy in the circle of Nardo di Cione according to Kauffman, "apparently combining the original Madonna of Humility with the legend of the Virgin in the sun revealed to Augustus by the Tiburtine sibyl." The sibyls were prophetesses in ancient Greek legend, the most famous of them being the Delphic Sibyl at the sanctuary of Apollo. During the Hellenistic age
Jewish apologists invented sibylline "prophecies" proving the validity of Judaism. Starting about the time of the reign of the emperor Hadrian early Christian apologists adopted this scheme for the promotion of their newer religion. The story of the Tiburtine sibyl tells of the prophetess interpreting the dream of one hundred senators to Augustus. The senators, who had decreed apotheosis for the Emperor Augustus, dreamed of nine suns. Augustus, according to legend, consulted the Tiburtine Sibyl as to whether he should accept. The sibyl replied that a child would be born who would be greater than all of the Roman gods. Then the clouds opened up, revealing the Virgin Mary in the sun, standing on an altar, holding the infant Christ. This story is Early Christian, but was believed in the Middle Ages to be one from ancient Rome. Donatello frequently combined established Christian elements with pagan, so he would have appreciated the fusion of these motifs, of the classical sibyl with a pre-Christian prophet in the apologists' stories, although he was probably not aware of the fabricated origin of the story of the Madonna in the sun.

The composition of the Madonna of the Clouds, in fact bears little resemblance to the Madonna in the story of the Virgin in the Sun. It is a more intimate
scene than the celestial Madonnas of the circle of Nardo da Cione,\textsuperscript{25} which are very symmetrical, frontal and aristocratic. Donatello's Madonna is seated, not standing, nor is there an altar, as related in the story of the Virgin in the sun. Only the clouds and the fact that the Madonna holds the infant Christ, could relate this particular work to the story of the Augustan vision. The inspiration for the \textit{Madonna of the Clouds} seems to come loosely from the iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin, who is seated, in a heavenly setting, and as we have here, attended by angels, although Donatello's Madonna is seated sideways on the clouds, not frontally on a throne, as is common. Donatello would have been familiar with all of these same elements (Virgin, celestial setting, \textit{putti}) also from Nanni di Banco's \textit{Assumption} of the Porta della Mandorla. However, Donatello's relief is unique. It includes elements used in previous works, but combines them in a new way, and gives greater emphasis to the \textit{putti}.

John Coolidge observed that the back of the \textit{Madonna of the Clouds} is not in its original state: and he calls the work "an elegant fragment, hacked out of some larger block."\textsuperscript{26} Noting that the \textit{Ascension and Delivery of the
Keys and the Assumption of the Virgin (both discussed later in this chapter) originally belonged to larger complexes of work, Coolidge suggests that this plaque did, too. The square shape is unusual. As most plaques are rectangular, Coolidge suggests that this was intended for the altar of the Old Sacristy designed by Brunelleschi during the 1420's. After a falling-out between Donatello and Brunelleschi Coolidge speculates that Buggiano replaced the composition with his own. There is, however, no real evidence for this.

Swarzenski believes that the Madonna of the Clouds was the work that Vasari saw in the guardaroba of Cosimo I de Medici as the center of a triptych with painted frames on either side by Fra Bartolommeo (as mentioned in Vasari's Life of Fra Bartolommeo), and makes the case for its influence on the painter. I concur with Swarzenski that this work was probably the center of a small private altar for the Medici. Since the work was a small, non-public commission, there likely would be no mention of it in the documents.

Both Swarzenski's and Coolidge's theories about the Madonna of the Clouds could be correct since the painted wings were made some seventy-five years later than the relief.
Donatello repeated the *putti*-for-angels substitution in two other near-contemporary reliefs, the Ascension and Delivery of the Keys to St. Peter, and the Assumption of the Virgin.

**Ascension and Delivery of the Keys to St. Peter**

This marble relief (Fig. 60) is located in London at the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is 16 1/8" high and 45" wide. A work with no documents surviving regarding its commission or date, it is dated by Janson and others to c. 1425 -27 on the basis of the similarity of its style to the Naples Assumption of 1428,\textsuperscript{30} which is documented.

Besides Christ in the sky and his Apostles on the ground there are also winged *putti*-cherubs in both realms, in the sky, and standing on the ground. They are tiny, chubby, and though clothed, wear filmy, form-revealing wisps of cloth. The *putto* hovering to the right of Christ resembles, in pose, *genii* on ancient sarcophagi, a pose which Donatello borrowed earlier in the predella of the *St. Louis of Toulouse*. The celestial *putti* are almost nude and classicizing, resembling the antique. Those on the ground are older and more reserved.
and "angel-like." The putti in the sky glide in and out of the clouds like those in the Naples Assumption.

This work is first documented in a 1492 inventory of the collection of Lorenzo de'Medici, where it is attributed to Donatello. It is also in the 1591 inventory by Bocchi of Salviati's possessions. It was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1860. Kauffmann pointed out that the iconography of the Delivery of the Keys is derived from Florentine trecento works such as Orcagna's Strozzi Altar in Santa Maria Novella which portrays Christ in a mandorla surrounded by saints, including the Madonna on His right. Kauffman also discovered a local Florentine tradition related to the feast of the Ascension, a discovery upon which John Pope-Hennessy expanded. In his Itinerario Abraham Bishop of Souzdal related a description of a play that he saw performed in S. Maria del Carmine on a visit to Florence 1439. In this annual performance of the Ascension the final scene sounds very similar to the scene carved by Donatello. Jerusalem is in the background, the scene occurs at the Mount of Olives. Jesus is in the center, the Virgin on his right,
Peter on his left, the Apostles on either side. Christ handed the keys to St. Peter, then by mechanical means was hoisted above the congregation on a cloud. As to the original location of this piece, Pope-Hennessy pointed out analogies to Masaccio's style in the Brancacci chapel. He suggested that the Ascension may have been executed as the predella of an altar or tabernacle for the Brancacci chapel in S. Maria del Carmine, the church in which the annual Ascension play was performed in the quattrocento. Janson suggests that if the Brancacci Chapel were the original location, that would explain why the scene of the Delivery of the Keys, so important in St. Peter's life was omitted from the St. Peter cycle of Masaccio and Masolino in that chapel. This missing scene of the delivery of the keys would have completed the iconographic cycle.

Sculptures of the Siena Baptistery Font

The Dancing Musical Angels (Figs. 61 - 63) and the bronze Feast of Herod (Fig. 64) are part of the Sienese Baptistery font (Fig. 48), a collaborative sculptural programme executed by several Italian Renaissance artists: Ghiberti, Jacopo della Quercia, Turino di Sano,
Giovanni Turini and Donatello. The font was made between 1416 and 1427. In 1416 Ghiberti was called to Siena, in 1417 he prepared a model for a novel font introducing six bronze, rather than marble reliefs on a hexagonal font, the subject of the reliefs was to be the life of John the Baptist, appropriate for a baptismal font. Two reliefs were assigned to Ghiberti, the Baptism of Christ and The Baptist before Herod, two to Quercia, Zachariah in the Temple and The Feast of Herod, and two to Turino di Sano and his son Giovanni Turini, the Birth of the Baptist and The Preaching of the Baptist. In 1423, one of Quercia's subjects, not yet begun, The Feast of Herod, was taken from him and given to Donatello, who was also given two statuettes of Virtues and two putti. In 1427 Donatello and Ghiberti delivered their reliefs and Quercia began his. In 1428 Quercia was put in charge of the finishing of the whole ensemble.

The Feast of Herod, Siena

The Feast of Herod (Fig. 64) in Siena is worth extensive discussion because it shows how Donatello appropriated a motif used in classical art and used it in a new context, while still recalling the drama and meaning of the original. The infant form, though not
strictly speaking the putto form, invaded the relief scene which Donatello designed and cast for the Siena font between the years 1423 and 27. Two small, classicizing children, resembling putti but wingless, participate in the narrative of the Feast of Herod. The two flee in horror from the grisly sight of St. John the Baptist's severed head, but stop at the left edge of the scene to look back in terrified fascination. One of the children has fallen, his left leg outstretched to the right, his right leg bent. He raises himself up with his arms as he looks to the right at Salome's gory prize. The other child is standing, his left leg outstretched toward the right, echoing that of the his fallen companion.

All of the figures in the Feast of Herod composition are classicizing. Janson pointed out that Salome is reminiscent of a dancing muse or maenad and Herod of a Satyr or Silenus. Roman coins may have been the source for the background profiles. About the two terror-stricken children Janson wrote that "the poses and costume of the two are so classical in flavor that one suspects Donatello of having borrowed them directly from ancient art; and there certainly is no precedent for them in the iconography of the Feast of Herod."
Janson traced the pose of the children to the fleeing youth in Niccolo di Pietro Gerini's *Martyrdom of St. Matthew* in Prato (Fig. 65) and farther back to a figure from Roman wall painting of a woman fleeing while Hercules strangles serpents (Fig. 66). The example cited, however, is one which Donatello could not have seen, having been discovered in Pompeii which was buried under volcanic ash in the year 79, and not excavated until the eighteenth century and later. Examples of the fleeing figure looking back with one arm cut off by the picture plane prove to be survivals of an antique motif which survived through Medieval art (as in Gerini's work). Janson noted, however, that they are not children in these examples, but that a classical motif of fleeing children, such as the one on a Medea sarcophagus (Fig. 67) has intervened. Donatello's later knowledge of a Medea sarcophagus can be seen in the Paduan *Miracle of the Miser's Heart*, in S. Antonio. Thus Janson attributed the pose of Donatello's fleeing children to a fusion of the adult figures fleeing and that of Medea's toddlers in flight.

The fusion of these two motifs could account for the type of standing, fleeing child in the *Feast of Herod*, but neither shows the fallen child with one leg outstretched. This motif must come from elsewhere, one
ancient source being the Contest Between Greeks and Amazons (Fig. 68), a frieze from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassas. In Etruscan funerary monuments on which one finds a reclining figure of the deceased on the lid, a battle scene of this general type is sometimes found on the large rectangular front for the sepulcher. One figural type that is common on the front relief is that of a warrior who has fallen with one leg kneeling, and the other one outstretched, as seen in an urn from Chiusi (Fig. 69) in the Museo Archeologico, Florence. Such Etruscan reliefs were often mass-produced in terracotta, with the same mold used for many generations. The pose of the fallen warrior is very similar to that of Donatello's fallen child. The pose of the triumphant man leaning over him recalls the running child, also.

These warrior figures, which are sometimes identified as Etocles and Polynikes are adult, like Gerini's figure and the Pompeian one. Donatello may have initially chosen the fallen warrior motif due to the successful way in which it suits the corner of the relief, but transformed the warrior figure into a puttoesque boy, terrified by the horrific event which he witnesses. Perhaps, as Janson suggested, the figures
of Medea's children intervened to make a new hybrid motif inspired by ancient art.

Dancing Musical Angels

There were originally six putti on the ciborium, three by Donatello, who received a payment for "certain nude infants" on April 16, 1429 and three by Turini, ordered in 1431. Records show a payment to Turini for "three nude little angels" on September 26, 1431. Of the original six, one by Donatello played a horn (Fig. 62), and one played the tambourine and danced (Fig. 61), the other four played no instruments, only danced (Fig. 63).

The tambourine-playing putto was removed from the font before 1687 when Don Cosimo Damiano Livi, the pastor of San Giovanni, made an inventory that recorded only four putti remaining on the font. One of the removed putti, the one playing the tambourine, now resides in the Berlin-Staatliche Museen. The Berlin putto differs slightly from Donatello's other two. His hair is smoother and his wings more feathery. Paoletti thinks that the differences are due to the chasing process, probably carried out by a Sienese goldsmith, Tomasso di Paolo.
Another putto which matches the others in size and style, and is in a higher quality of modelling, closer to Donatello than to Turini, resides in the Bargello (Fig. 70), Florence. Paoletti feels that the Bargello putto is not the missing putto by Turini, but that it was a replacement made by Vecchietta in 1478, at the same time that he repaired another damaged putto from the font by Turini. Vecchietta, in creating a replacement putto, his theory goes, would not have made an exact replica of the damaged Turini putto, but would have created one similar in pose and style to that of the higher quality putti by Donatello.49

There are four free-standing putti in situ on the Siena Baptistery font, two by Donatello and two by Giovanni Turini. Their conception probably dates to 1427, the time of the initiation of second design for the Siena font, while the execution of Donatello’s dates to 1429, and Turini’s to 1431. They are gilded bronze and stand 14 1/8 inches (36 cm.) high. The decision to decorate the font with putti may either have come from Jacopo della Quercia, the capomaestro, or Donatello, the designer and sculptor of three of the original six. Jacopo had used the genius form on the sides of Ilaria del Carretto’s sarcophagus and two amorini in a niche of
the *Fonte Gaia* twenty years earlier. Paoletti, in his dissertation, however, pointed out that Jacopo had never created a free-standing *putto*; his examples are relief, whereas Donatello created the first free-standing *putti* of the fifteenth century in the little figures of St. Louis' staff, just a short time prior to his work on the Baptistery font. During the 1420's Donatello was working with the *putto* motif in the *Virgin of the Clouds*, the *Assumption* and the *Ascension* and with three-dimensional *putti* in the *St. Louis*. I would speculate that Donatello wanted to experiment further in free-standing bronze *putti*, that the Siena Baptistery Font was a good opportunity for that, and that Jacopo della Quercia was receptive to the idea, having earlier in his career experimented with the *putto* motif himself.

Of the two *putti* on the Siena font by Donatello, one dances with one leg bent and ahead of the other with an arm thrown upwards in an elegantly spiraling form (Fig. 63). The other *putto* stands with legs together, playing a horn (Fig. 62). Janson described these as "the earliest harbingers of the *figura serpentinata*" in the Quattrocento. Both *putti* are nude and have open wings. Both stand on a seashell encircled by a wreath.

The two *putti* by Turini are awkward looking: stiff and frontal, lacking the graceful contrapposto and
balance of Donatello's putti. Both balance on one foot with the free leg behind. One gesticulates with both hands, snapping the fingers of his left hand seemingly in time with the music of his comrades (Fig. 71). The other putto holds up a ball. Both stand on a seashell without a wreath, and their wings are closed (Fig. 72).

Each of the six existing putti is precariously balanced on a seashell, all six are nude, winged and exuberant. Donatello's three putti are the first dancing winged male infants since antiquity. Donatello conflated the miniature bronze erote musicians of Antiquity with the adult, Christian musician angels of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. His hybrid invention, musical putti, combines pagan sensuality with Christian meaning. They are the ancestors of the winged revelers of the Cantoria and the Prato Pulpit executed in the 1430's. They are reminiscent of the form of certain ancient Roman lamp stands, but copy no known statuettes. Here Donatello starts to make the putto an important part of his work by making these relatively large figures, and freestanding. As evidenced by the presence of the Berlin tambourine-playing putto in the 1986 Detroit exhibit, these putti stand on their own merits as statuettes when detached from the font. They look ahead to Renaissance
free-standing bronze statuettes, as did the earlier putti of St. Louis of Toulouse’s crozier. These are also, importantly the earliest in-the-round nude figures of the Renaissance, and lead the way to the revolutionary nearly life-sized David.

Paoletti suggested that the dancing putti illustrated Psalm 150 (See chapter six p. 134 for text of psalm) which exhorts the reader to praise God with trumpet sound, lute, harp, cymbals and dance; or that the putti represent the musicians of King David, writer of the psalms. The recent Detroit catalog disputes these ideas and attributes the putti’s exuberance to the joy of the promise of Baptism, as this is a baptismal font and the scenes decorating it relate to St. John the Baptist, not King David. The location of the baptistery is by the church of S. Giovanni, also. This is a baptismal font, so the figures must relate iconographically to the joy of baptism, or rebirth in Christ - what vehicle better to express that joy than in music-making infants, reborn and creating heavenly music.

Donatello’s putti stand on shells surrounded by wreaths. shells are sometimes a birth symbol (as with Venus); wreaths symbolize victory. Donatello’s putti are
The Tomb of Baldassare Coscia (Pope John XXIII), in the Baptistry of Florence (Fig. 73) was executed by Donatello and Michelozzo between 1424 and 1427, the first joint commission accepted by the two artists. The majority of scholars (Bode, Kauffman, Morisani, Janson) believe that Donatello designed the huge gilded bronze and marble ensemble which includes an extremely realistic, life-sized bronze effigy reclining in an architectural setting; however some believe Michelozzo designed the architectural elements. The effigy is the only element of the ensemble generally accepted as being by sculpted by Donatello’s hand. The rest is believed to have been sculpted by Michelozzo and Pagno di Lapo.

The ambitious Baldassare Coscia became Pope John XXIII in 1410, was deposed in 1415 at the Council of Constance and died in December of 1419. Coscia’s will requested a tomb in a church in Florence and bequeathed several holy relics to the Baptistry. Pala Strozzi, speaking for church officers, denied a chapel to Coscia and decided that a wall tomb must be a "breve and
honestissima" monument for this anti-pope of the Great Schism.\textsuperscript{60} The tomb, however, ended up being anything but "breve," it is, instead, grandiose.

The tomb of Baldassare Coscia is located in the Baptistery in Florence. This wall tomb was an object of civic pride to the Florentines, who mainly supported their Pope John XXIII.\textsuperscript{61} The vertical-format tomb is situated between two monumental Corinthian columns. The marble simulates a curtain drawn aside to reveal the lifelike effigy of the anti-pope by Donatello. Above the resting dead is a lunette with the Virgin and Child in relief. The bier rests on a sarcophagus on which two nude, seated putti hold a scroll bearing Coscia's respectful inscription. The humanists of the 1420's would have understood the funerary significance of the genii bearing the soul to the afterlife. Instead of bearing the pope's soul, though, these genii bear the pope's epitaph for posterity. Below are the three Virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity in niches, and a sarcophagus-like base decorated with three putto-heads supporting swags of garlands.

The two nude seated putti, carved in low but not schiacciato relief, who face one another at either end of the front surface of the Pope's sarcophagus holding a
scroll have caused some scholarly debate. Bode was the only scholar of this century who attributed the execution of these putti to Donatello, although the motif is a typically Donatellian one. Janson believed that Donatello sketched the design, but was not involved in the actual execution due to the lower quality of carving. Due to the amount of design and labor involved in the execution of Coscia's effigy, this is plausible. Donatello would have been able, in the time that the tomb took, to design the overall plan and concentrate on the modeling and casting only of the bronze effigy.

At the bottom of the tomb ensemble is another sarcophagus-like element which serves as the base for the three virtues in shell niches. This contains three winged putto heads with fruit swags suspended between them.

The use of the putti on this sarcophagus is significant; the use of a pagan motif on an ex-Pope's tomb is revolutionary. Despite the fact that the motif had already been Christianized through its association with the Madonna (as for instance in Donatello's Madonna of the Clouds), it had not yet been used on a monument honoring a pope. This use of the putto on the tomb of a former pope shows the total acceptance of the putto in
Christian contexts. The classical pagan motif is brought into harmony with the respect shown for one who had at one time held the highest office in the Catholic Church.

The types of putti on the tomb are borrowed from ancient genii, also appropriate to a tomb. The use of the putto on a highly visible tomb consequently became very influential, almost immediately. This tomb and the Brancacci Tomb were significant because they started a sculptural trend, with putti becoming a common element on tombs after this - particularly on humanist tombs. They are found, soon afterwards, on the Bruni and Marsuppini tombs, for instance (see chapter nine).

Assumption of the Virgin

This marble relief (Fig. 74) dates to 1427 - 28, is located in S. Angelo a Nilo in Naples as part of the tomb ensemble of Cardinal Rainaldo Brancacci (Fig. 75), and is 21" high by 30 1/4". The date for this work is established by Michelozzo’s castato declaration of 1427, which states that he and Donatello had completed about a quarter of the work on this tomb. The Assumption of the Virgin is located on the sarcophagus of the Cardinal who crowned Baldassare Coscia as Pope John XXIII in
1410, and is the only part of the tomb accepted as being carved by Donatello's hand. The remainder of the tomb — consisting of a triumphal arch under which is a relief of the Madonna and Child, Roman youths looking at the effigy, whose sarcophagus is decorated with Donatello's **Assumption of the Virgin**, and three virtues below — appears to have been carved by Michelozzo. On the top of the entablature of the ensemble are two free-standing, nude trumpet-blowing putti, reminding one of the musical putti with which Donatello was decorating the Siena font at this time. These putti, however blow trumpets of fame, alluding perhaps to the Virgin's triumph over death, and her immortal fame. These "upper story putti" inspired the ones on the later Bruni, Marsuppini and Piero da Noceto tombs, among others. Besides representing triumph over death, the lively putti in Donatello's work (as in the later tombs by his followers) act as genii did in antiquity. They are intermediaries between our realm and the realm of the dead. The effigy of the cardinal shows us one state, a state to which we do not belong. The putti, who seem so lifelike, visually and psychologically bridge the gap between the viewer and the dead.

Janson pointed out that the subject of the Virgin's
Assumption into heaven is unprecedented in earlier Italian tombs. In the area where the Assumption is located there were usually scenes of the passion of Christ.66

The seated Virgin, old, humble, and heavily draped, ascends to heaven in a chair surrounded by seven adolescent angels who glide buoyantly and gracefully through the sky like water sprites playing in a stream and four cherub-putti peeking playfully out from the clouds. Of the angels, Janson notes that "their interwoven movements of plunging and soaring, are joined together into a living wreath of celestial beings." He wrote, "here, for the first time, ecstatic joy has found complete physical expression. It is surely not by chance that this work, so prophetic of the dancing angels of the Cantoria frieze should have been completed at the very time when Donatello and Michelozzo received the commission for the Prato Pulpit."67 The ecstatic movements of these angels, in fact, do not look back to ancient winged beings, but to maenads, which Donatello also looked to as the source for the dancing Salome in his two Feasts of Herod.68 The putti show wild abandon—an almost inspired looking ecstatic state. Their swooping movements recall the sinuously swoopings of the dance of the maenads as seen in ancient Arretine vases,
for example. (Fig. 76) And their pagan spirit, as Janson noted, looks ahead to that of the riotously jubilant putti of the Cantoria and Prato Pulpit of the 1430's.

The four putti of the Assumption peek out from under clouds. The one in the lower right of the composition is highly foreshortened, much like the one in the upper left corner of the Madonna of the Clouds, and the ones on the Pecci Slab.

Tomb Slab of Giovanni Pecci

The tomb slab of Giovanni Pecci, the Bishop of Grosseto is located in the pavement of the Siena Cathedral. Pecci died in March of 1426 according to his funerary inscription, thus his slab would date to 1426 or later. Janson dates this work to c. 1428 - 30 due to the affinities with Donatello's style of the late 1420's as seen in the schiacciato relief of the Ascension, and to the premise that Donatello would have been too busy with other important projects, such as the Siena font and the tomb of Rainaldo Brancacci, to immediately get to work on this one.

The slab of Giovanni Pecci (Fig. 77) is much worn today due to its placement in the pavement, but still
shows remarkable _stiacciato_ illusionism. The bishop's feet, for instance are dramatically foreshortened, giving this nearly two dimensional work a very three-dimensional appearance.

At the bottom of the slab are two _putti_ unrolling a scroll including the inscription identifying the bishop and his death date with escutcheons on either side. The _putti_ are remarkable in their dramatic foreshortening. It is as though the viewer is looking down at the _putti_ and they are looking back up from beneath the pavement. These _putti_ perform a function similar to those on the Coscia tomb but are explored more dramatically. Donatello daringly takes relief _genii_ into the third dimension.

The fore-shortening is akin to that of the angel in the upper corner of the _Madonna of the Clouds_ in Boston, making the two works relatively close in date.

After Donatello's lead the "Cupid-type," the chubby winged infant, became a standard form for the representation of cherubim and seraphim. Donatello successfully integrated pagan form and Christian meaning in his _putti_. Throughout the rest of the Renaissance and beyond the integration was so complete that in art "cupids" became visually interchangeable with angels.
To sum up, during the 1420's Donatello was experimenting with many new and original uses for the putto. During the 1420's Donatello created the first putto statuettes of the century (in the St. Louis of Toulouse crozier), and the first free-standing putti (on the Siena font) - which blazed the trail for later makers of statuettes, and he fused the ancient motif of musical cupids with the Christian tradition of music-making angels, thus creating the highly influential and much imitated motif of the musical putto. Some of Donatello's putti creations had an immediate influence on other artists, initiating the use, for instance of free-standing putti statuettes on tombs, a tradition continuing into the twentieth century. Beginning in the 1420's Donatello incorporated putti into more than one-third, of his works, almost one-half of his large oeuvre of sculptures. In most cases Donatello does not directly quote the Antique, but instead creates new poses and uses for the classical winged boy. Most importantly, Donatello seems to have chosen putti for uses which were significant iconographically, in most, if not all, cases. For instance, the use of genii on funerary pieces, and the use of the attributes of the putti to enhance their meaning. Furthermore, Donatello fully "Christianized" the motif, using the putto in a wide
variety of sacred subjects, a notion first acted upon by Nanni di Banco in his Assumption (see chapter four). Donatello unites the form of the putto with its positive meaning, and gives it new life in the Renaissance by removing the putto from the realm of the demons or of essentially meaningless decoration, and elevating it, in many cases, to the sphere of the angels. Nanni di Banco's putto in the predella of the Quattro Santi Coronati was a prophecy of the importance generally of the Antique and specifically of the putto in the quattrocento, for whom Donatello became the prime inventor.
CHAPTER FIVE

NOTES


2 Only once before was the Christian angel portrayed as a nude child – by Nanni di Banco in his *Assumption* (discussed in Chapter 4). The child angel to the left of the Virgin is nude, the one to the right is clothed. Nanni’s other angels are adult.


5 The dating of the following pieces is documented: *St. Louis* is documented, see Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, 1963, 45 - 8; *Dancing Musical angels on the Siena Font*, Janson, 1963, 65-6; *Coscia tomb*, R.W. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo: An Artistic Partnership and its Patrons in the Early Renaissance*, London: 1980, 24 - 51; *Brancacci Tomb*, mentioned in Michelozzo’s castato declaration of 1427, Janson, 1963, 88, Lightbown 83 -127. The Pecci Slab is dated by the bishop’s death date. The *Assumption of the Virgin* is not mentioned until the 1550 edition of Vasari-Ricci, however it is part of the documented tomb of Rainaldo Brancacci. See Janson, 1963, 88 - 89. There is no documentation for the *Shaw Madonna* in Boston. Its date is conjectural, related to the *schicciato* relief style of the *Assumption*.

6 Janson, 1963, 46.

7 See Janson, 1963, 51 - 6 for a thorough discussion of the controversy.

9Janson, 1963, 46.

10Ibid., 56.

11Ibid., 53. I find it hard to judge them as "hard and dry" since they have been outdoors, exposed to the elements, and fine details are lost.

12I Corinthians, 9:24 - 27.

13Michael Greenhalgh (Donatello and his Sources, London: 1982, 101) thinks that Donatello may have had access to fragments of the putto frieze of the Temple of Venus Genetrix.

14Ephesians, 6:16.

15Giorgio Vasari (The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects, Vol I, 1970, 309f.) tells us that Donatello was accused of making St. Louis "clumsily," and that it was "perhaps the worst thing he ever did." Janson attributes the dislike to its associations with the Parte Guelfa (Janson, 1963, 49).

16There are no documents to confirm the date. Hans Kauffman dated the work to c. 1427 (Donatello: Eine Einführung in sein Bilden und Denken, Berlin: 1935, 69), and Janson (1963, 88) to c. 1425 - 8 due to the closeness of the style to that of the 1428 Assumption. Bode dated it to 1432-3 (Janson, 1963, 88), Frida Schottmuller (Donatello, Munich: 1904, 124) to 1430. The 1985 Detroit catalog (Italian Renaissance Sculpture in the Time of Donatello) gives the date wide berth with a c. 1425 - 35 (pp. 116f.). The dispute about the dating is basically stylistic, whether this piece preceded or followed the dated Assumption of 1428. The style and execution is very close.

17Janson, 1963, 86.


19 Swarzenski, 1942, 67.

20 Kauffman, 1935, 69, 218f.


22 Janson, 1963, 87.

23 Ibid., See also Millard Miess Art Bulletin 1936, 447f. on the Madonna of Humility by Nardo.


25 See Miess, The Black Death Style, 1951, 14 - 16 on the style of Nardo da Cione.

26 Coolidge, 1973, 130.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Swarzenski speculates that this piece later became the center of a triptych, with the wings painted by Fra Bartolommeo around 1498. Swarzenski, 1942, 60 - 73. From "Life of Donatello" - 1970, I, 310

in the wardrobe of Duke Cosimo, where many other things of Donato in bronze and marble are preserved, among others a Madonna and Child in marble, in shallow relief, of matchless beauty, especially as it is surrounded with scenes in miniature by FraBernardo.

Swarzenski goes on to point out the influence of Donatello’s work, and in particular The Madonna of the
Clouds, on Fra Bartolommeo.

Janson, 1963, 94. This work has been generally accepted as by Donatello by all scholars except Pastor, 1892, 66 - 77, and Leo Planiscig, Donatello, Florence: 1947, 54 both of whom felt that this was by a later imitator of Donatello. Hugo von Tschudi ("Donatello e la critica moderna," in Rivista storica italiana, iv, fasc 2, 1887, 17) thought, based on the style and iconography, that this piece was carved in Rome in the 1430's. V. Martinelli, ("Donatello e Michelozzo a Roma - I," Commentarii, viii, 1957, 188 - 94) thought that this was designed as the predella of Donatello's Vatican Tabernacle of the Sacrament. Pope-Hennessy, in the 1964 Victoria and Albert catalog suggests a date slightly before 1430 (V. 1, Catalog entry #61, pp. 70 - 73). See also Pope-Hennessy, "Donatello's Relief of the Ascension with Christ Giving the Keys to Peter," London, 1949.

Pope-Hennessy, 1964, V.I, 70.

One hypothesis on the unusual subject matter came from Alfred Gotthold Meyer (Donatello, Liepzig: 1903, p. 59) who felt that the presence of the Virgin was a reference to or a portrait of Donatello's mother, Orsa, who died between 1427 - , and who was in the parish of S. Pier Gattolini. Meyer suggested that the relief was possibly designed for Orsa's tomb. There is no evidence that Donatello included family members in other works. The date is the only basis for Meyer's hypothesis.


Ibid.

Janson, 1963, 94.

A Medea Sarcophagus was recorded in the sixteenth century by Pirro Ligorio as a sarcophagus "di Medea et Iasone," it was probably in front of SS. Cosma and Damiano in the Roman Forum in the fifteenth century. After 1560 it was in the Vatican Belvedere; in the early nineteenth century in the courtyard of the Lateran; sent to Ancona in the twentieth century. Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, Oxford, 1986, 144.

No. 1006, British Museum, London. See Richter, fig. 720, p. 596. At the left of this frieze is an amazon, fallen, with leg outstretched, looking up toward the Greek wielding a sword.

Barbara Haeger has pointed out that the *Dying Gaul* may be a closer source for the position of the legs and the arms which both point downward. This is an intriguing comparison, but Donatello may not have known of the *Dying Gaul* sculpture, and the *Dying Gaul* looks down, not to the right as Donatello's fallen child does.

Attributed by Janson, 1963, 75; Herzner, Detroit, 1985, 123; Paoletti, 1967, 133.

Paoletti, 1967, 113f.

In the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance young adult or older adolescent musical angels often attend
the Virgin, as we see for instance in Masaccio's 1426
Pisa Polyptych in the National Gallery, London.

53 See Simon, Erika, "Der sogennante Atys-Amorino
des Donatello," in Donatello e il Suo Tempo, 1966, 335,
figures 3 & 4. One is a putto in the Museo Antichita in
Turin, another is an infant Bacchus at Chatillon-sur-
Seine. Also see Lloyd, Christopher, "A Bronze Cupid in
Oxford and Donatello's Atys-Amorino," Marsyas 1970-82,
p. 217. The figure cited as a prototype for the Amor-
Atys may have been a lamp stand. This figure is located
in the Ashmoleon Museum, Oxford.

54 Detroit, 1985, 123. See also Pope-Hennessy,
1985b, 81. He does not consider these to be bronze
statuettes as they are not meant to be free-standing,
but calls Donatello the father of Renaissance bronze
statuettes. He led the way for statuette makers such as
Vecchietta, Riccio and Antico.

55 See Paoletti, 1979, 151 - 155. The tambourine-
playing putto was displayed in the 1985 Detroit exhibit.

56 Pope-Hennessey believes that Donatello modelled
the Pugilist, a statuette in the Museo Nazionale,
Florence. See "Donatello and the Bronze Statuette,"
Apollo ns 105:30-3, January, 1977. Bronze statuettes
were not considered, in the past, to be made this early
in the Renaissance.

57 Janson, 1963, 61. Janson's date is supported by
Semper, Donatello, 1887, 43; Bode, Denkmaler der
Renaissance Skulptur Toscanas, Berlin: 1892 - 1905, 18;
Schottmüller, 1904, 120; Maud Cruttwell, Donatello,
1911, 55. Documents from Michelozzo's castato
declaration support the date (Janson, 1963, 59.)

58 Arduino Colasanti, Donatello, 1927, 53;
Planiscig, 1947, 48 support Donatello as architect.

59 Janson, 1963, 64.

60 Ibid., 61.

61 Pope-Hennessey, 1985b, 278 - 279.

62 Bode, 1892 - 1905, 18.

63 Janson, 1963, 65. Vasari ("Life of Michelozzo"),
1970, I, 315 states that Michelozzo carried out most of the tomb but attributes Hope and Charity to Donatello

64 Janson, 1963, 88. see also Pope-Hennessy, 1985b, 259f.

65 Janson, 1963, 90.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid., 92.

68 Ibid., 91.

69 Ibid.

70 On the Pecci Slab see Janson, 1963, 75f.

71 Janson, 1963, 76.
CHAPTER VI
Donatello's Putti in the 1430's

It was during the 1430's that Donatello created the two works that most non-specialists associate with his use of putti: the Cantoria and the Prato Pulpit (with Michelozzo). In these programs, by making the putto the major motif Donatello elevated the status of the putto from supporting player to leading role. Besides these two works, though, Donatello included putti in all of his known commissions of the 1430's. He found a way to include putti in every sculpture, no matter what the subject matter. It was in the 1430's that the putto became a sort of "trademark" for the master, and that he continued to use putti in new contexts, incorporating them into more sacred scenes where they previously had not been seen, for example in the Annunciation. During the 1430's Donatello exhibited a greater regard for the putto by making it the principal subject matter of two major works, the Cantoria and the Prato pulpit. He also experimented with the various roles that a putto could
play: as angel, for example in the Tabernacle of the Sacrament, The Assumption, and Madonna of the Clouds; as child and commentator in the Feast of Herod, and as classical funereal motif in the Tomb Slab of Giovanni Crivelli.

The works discussed in this chapter will be examined in roughly chronological order, although the execution of several pieces overlap, and some pieces' dates are conjectural. The works of the 1430's that will be examined are:

The Lille Feast of Herod, c. early 1430's (?), Lille, Musee Wicar, marble, 50 cm. high x 71.5 cm. wide

The Tomb Slab of Giovanni Crivelli, 1432 - 33, Rome, S. Maria in Arcoli, marble, L. 92 1/2" x W. 34 5/8"

The Cavalcanti Annunciation, c. 1433 - 35 (?), Florence, S. Croce, gray sandstone and terra-cotta, H. 13' 9 3/8" x W. 8' 1 5/8"

The Tabernacle of the Sacrament, 1432 - 33 (?), Rome, S. Pietro in Vaticano, marble, H. 88 5/8" x W. 47 1/4"

The Cantoria for the Cathedral of Florence, 1433 - 39, Florence, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, white marble with gold and colored marble, H. 11' 5" x L. 18' 8 3/4"
Prato Cathedral Pulpit, 1434 - 1438, marble with gold mosaic, H. 29" x W. 31 1/8"

The Feast of Herod, Lille

This Feast of Herod (Fig. 78), like the one which Donatello created in the 1420's does not include winged putti, but a child of the putto-type, chubby, male, nude and inspired by ancient prototypes.

The Feast of Herod is a schiacciato relief in marble, 50 cm high X 71.5 cm. high. It is located in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Musee Wicar, Lille. This is probably a relief mentioned in the inventory of the belongings of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492. There are no documents concerning this work prior to the inventory, and Donatello's authorship is disputed. It is dated to the early 1430's by Janson due to comparison with dated schiacciato reliefs such as the St. George of the fourteen teens and the Assumption of 1438, and the works marking the stages of technical refinement that intervened.

In the Feast of Herod we find the type of a "mourning putto" loosely based on an ancient type and metamorphosed, as were the small children in the Siena
Feast of Herod. The Lille composition, like the Siena one is very classicizing in general. It incorporates Roman soldiers, the maenad type again in the dancing Salome, Roman arches, and Corinthian capitals. In the bottom right corner, sitting on the steps, is a child. This child, chubby and cherubic, is seemingly napping, resting his head in the crook of his arm, on a bent knee. The pose is one of grief. His classical form is akin to a classical mourning figure. In fact, there are many ancient mourning figures of the same general type which may have inspired Donatello. Illustrated here are three ancient mourning figures, including a mourning satyr on an engraved gem (Fig. 79), a mourning Penelope figurine (Fig. 80) and a mourning amorino on the left side of a Greek grave stele (Fig. 81). The chubby infant rests his head on an arm supported by his knee. Donatello has drawn the boy's head closer to his knee and has unclothed the chubby body, but the remainder of the pose and the mood are the same. The cape, however, of Donatello's Lille child recalls a different ancient work. The cape fastened around his neck is very like the one on one of the fleeing children on the Medea sarcophagus in Rome, a type which Janson is convinced Donatello knew (Fig. 67). Donatello's toddler is so
similar in build and clothing that he could be a representation of one of Medea's children resting after his flight! Also, the cape reminds one of Cupid's wings which are attached at the shoulders. The putto could easily be mistaken for a winged putto at first look. Donatello, who is known to have taken liberty with his sources, as pointed out by Janson, was most likely inspired by a mourning eros, and transformed the motif into a caped boy. The mourning boy adds a note of the tragic import of The Feast of Herod; since the mourning erote was sometimes found on gravestones in antiquity. With Donatello's archaeological interests, he was likely to have run across a gravestone with a mourning eros, and classified it as a funerary motif (as it was) - he probably associated it with the genius, also a nude, chubby, winged boy found in funereal art. The putto comments on the mournful mood of the scene, which deals with the death of St. John the Baptist.

Tomb Slab of Giovanni Crivelli

Crivelli was a Milanese Archdeacon who died in July, 1432. His simple marble tomb slab dates to 1432 - 33, and is located in S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome (Fig. 82). It is 92 1/2" long and 34 5/8" wide. On this very
worn floor tomb slab are two winged putti in fluttering, classicizing drapery above Crivelli's head. The two hold a Roman clipeus (a round shield of Roman soldiers), and are in the traditional genii pose, hovering with bodies horizontal, in a heraldic arrangement, faces toward center, holding the clipeus between them. (This was a stereotypical pose found on Roman sarcophagi, like that for Gallo Agnelli in the Campo Santo, Pisa illustrated in figure 23). These putti are used in their traditional ancient context, as genii found on Roman sarcophagi, but for a Christian purpose. Donatello used similar genii motifs in his tombs of the 1420's, but not in this traditional a fashion. (Its closest precedent is in the predella of St. Louis of Toulouse.) This is one case where Donatello actually stuck fairly close to the original (funerary) purpose and pose of putti, but again he changed the meaning from pagan genii to the function of Christian angels. These are putti bearing the soul of Crivelli to his Christian afterlife, in heaven.

Cavalcanti Annunciation

The Cavalcanti Annunciation (Fig. 83) has been dated to the early 1430's on the basis of style.11 The
figures are related to Donatello's "lyrical" style exemplified by the Virtues of the Siena font in the 1420's, but show more subtlety. The architecture may show the influence of Donatello's Roman visit of 1432 - 3, in which case it might date shortly thereafter. The Annunciation, of gray sandstone and terra-cotta, is 13' 9 3/8" high by 8' 1 5/8" wide, and is located in S. Croce, Florence.\textsuperscript{12} The altarpiece is composed of two fluted pilasters resting on a base decorated with a wreath and shields. The pilasters support an entablature decorated with classical architectural patterns. Resting on the pediment is a curved entablature on which two putti recline, and beside which stand two pairs of putti each standing at each corner of the upper entablature and glancing down toward the Annunciation. The Virgin Mary stands on the right side of the architectural interior, looking toward the left at the kneeling angel Gabriel. Behind the figures is a highly ornate wall, composed of four decorative panels, and a throne is situated behind the Virgin. The figures and their framework were inspired by classical art and architecture, with a grand, classicizing Virgin, whose face resembles that of a Greek or Roman goddess.\textsuperscript{13}

The six putti are nude, winged, and modeled in the round in terra-cotta. The two reclining putti face one
another in a heraldic arrangement. The four putti standing on the outer edges are nude, winged, and arranged into two pairs, each with one putto standing out front, with the second putto, partially concealed, clinging to him with a facial expression of fear (of the height at which they stand, perhaps) or awe. These four putti have expressions of surprise, and in the case of the putti nearer to the viewer, happy surprise, as they view the miracle that is occurring in the room below them. Vasari mentions the six infants in particular, in his Life of Donatello, as though they were an extraordinary addition to such a scene, as indeed they are. In the Cavalcanti Annunciation Donatello uses putti for the first time as adjuncts to an Annunciation scene; and it is noteworthy that he does not include them within the scene proper, but perches them on the frame, mediating, as it were, between the spectators' world and the protagonists!

Putti have an associative appropriateness for this scene since they are babies, and the moment represented is that in which the Virgin conceived the Christ Child. They also fit in very well with the abundance of Roman architectural motifs incorporated into the Annunciation, for example the architectural guttae, and the egg and
dart motif. (It strikes me as being meaningful, that Donatello used the egg and dart motif so prominently in the entablature of this piece - a motif that he, in no other work, uses as visibly - for a scene of the Incarnation.) Primarily, however, Donatello's putti here act as intermediaries for us - witnessing the sacred scene, but showing the human emotions of awe and delight that the Christian viewer should feel while viewing the miracle of the Incarnation.

With few exceptions, only later did angels, normally clothed and adult, appear frequently as attendants or supernumeraries in Renaissance Annunciation scenes. Prior to Donatello's work, Annunciation scenes commonly included only Mary, the adult angel Gabriel and usually the dove of the Holy Spirit, not angel children. These earlier works include Giotto's Annunciation in the Arena Chapel, Simone Martini's 1433 Annunciation in the Uffizi, and Ghiberti's Annunciation on the North Doors of the Baptistery, Florence. Donatello, for the first time includes putti as adjuncts to an Annunciation scene in the Cavalcanti Annunciation.

Tabernacle of the Sacrament

The Tabernacle of the Sacrament in St. Peter's in
Rome (Fig. 84) is marble, H. 88 5/8" (225 cm.) x W. 47 1/4" (120 cm.). It has been dated by Janson to about 1432 - 33, a time in which Donatello was believed to be in Rome, by comparison to works such as the Assumption of 1438, and relying also on the observation that Donatello worked more often with marble in the first half of his career, than in the latter. The original purpose of the tabernacle was probably to contain or on occasion display the Eucharist, but at some date, probably before 1784 it became the frame of a painting of the Madonna del Febbre. No documents survive for this monument, although in his Life of Donatello Vasari tells us that Donatello made a tabernacle while on a trip to Rome and it is mentioned as a work by Donatello in Vasari’s Life of Pierino del Vaga.

Janson assumes that the tabernacle originally occupied a space near the main altar of Old St. Peter’s in the Western end, but was detached when that section of the church was demolished after 1506.

Planiscig denied attribution to Donatello on a basis of the what he considered to be poor execution of the decorative elements. However, Donatello in several cases designed his sculptures, then lost interest in the
finishing details, for example in the David and Gattamelata of the 1440’s.\textsuperscript{19} The fresh poses of the children and the schiacciato method of carving of the Deposition relief of the tabernacle reveal Donatello to be the designer of this piece, and carver of the Deposition, although members of his workshop may have carved some or all of the architectural details and decorative elements.\textsuperscript{20}

Putti abound in this large work. Near the top, two putti lift a curtain, theatrically displaying Christ’s Deposition, theologically tied to the Eucharist originally situated below. To the left of the left putto and the right of the right putto are two more putti (one on each side), who function as caryatids. Beneath the Deposition relief, reclining on a pediment are two more putti who are rendered almost in the round. To the left and the right of (currently) the painting of the Madonna and Child are three putti in very high relief, standing, looking reverently toward where the Eucharist would have been displayed, and whispering. Beneath the painting are four more putti in low relief holding the symbols of Christ’s Passion. The whispering children are very realistic in their childishness! The putti above reveal for our eyes Christ’s sacrifice, while the putti below join us in viewing the Eucharist, the mystical
equivalent of Christ’s sacrifice and the hope of Christian salvation. In the predella putti display a roundel, now blank, which, I would speculate, may have once either held a cross, the IHS monogram, or the chi rho symbol which was used on Early Christian sarcophagi and religious articles, and is commonly found on Eucharistic tabernacles to this day.  

The tabernacle shows great originality in the freshness, liveliness, and activity of the putti as is typical of Donatello, and the putti were influential for later artists such as Michelangelo.

Donatello gave a transfusion of new blood to the traditional form of the tabernacle by using putti where they were previously not found. To contemporary viewers the putti, nude babies might represent purity, the unstained soul, and the idea that Christ washed away the sins of Christians by his death. Donatello reminds us of Christ’s sacrifice, that Christians might be reborn. On the tabernacle, we see Christ’s death (his sacrifice) in the Entombment scene near the top. The putti, being in the form of babies, are associated with birth and purity. In the Tabernacle of the Sacrament, pagan cupids reborn as Christian angels proliferate in the sculpture. The use of putti in the Tabernacle of the Sacrament
shows antiquity as the foundation or forerunner of the Christian world, but does not condemn the former. In a true Renaissance spirit Donatello fuses pagan form with Christian meaning.

**Blood of the Redeemer**

The Blood of the Redeemer is a marble schiacciato relief about 26 inches long, located in the vestibule of the Ospedale Maestri, Torrita (Fig. 85). Nothing is known of its original location or the circumstances surrounding its commission. This piece is, in fact, a ghost of its original form, having been exposed to the weather for many years over the entrance to a chapel adjacent to the hospital, a location from which it was moved to its present protected spot in the nineteenth century. It was first published as a relief by Donatello in 1925 by Bode, who dated the work to between 1430 - 33 on a basis of its closeness in style to the Assumption of 1438. Janson rejected Donatello's authorship of this work, and it is ignored in most scholarly treatments of Donatello, perhaps due to the poor surface quality. Pope-Hennessy points out that this piece photographs poorly, but that the original is very
sensitively handled. He plausibly assigns this piece to the workshop of Donatello, believing that the extremely original design was attributable to Donatello, but not the execution. In this piece we find a very original conception of the suffering Christ in a mandorla, surrounded by seven nude infant angels, one of whom is holding a chalice in which to catch the blood of Christ, which is issuing from his side. This is another case where the putto takes over the activity of a traditional young angel in a religious context. To the right and left are two older, standing angels, and the Virgin and St. John, whose figures have been abruptly truncated. The drapery of the angels is connected in style and carving to that of the putti of the Prato Pulpit, part of the reason why Pope-Hennessy dates this piece to the 1430's. The agitated quality of the clouds and angels is also similar to the Assumption of c. 1438, though not as well choreographed.

Pope-Hennessy conjectures that given the assumed date of this lunette, its size, and its Eucharistic theme (representations of this type are usually associated with Eucharistic tabernacles), it may have been designed as the upper part of the Tabernacle of the Sacrament in St. Peter's (discussed on pages 125 - 128).
The tabernacle has an emphatic moulding on the top that appears to have been meant to support something, as was the top of the Cavalcanti Annunciation, which employs similar (and idiosyncratic) architectural forms, and supports sculpture on the top. Arthur Rosenaur disagrees with Pope-Hennessy's premise, noting that the iconography is suitable, but that the Tabernacle of the Sacrament is complete as it is - it does not need a sculpture on the top. Rosenaur also asserts that the color of the marble of the tabernacle is different from that of the Blood of the Redeemer relief. (Not having seen the Blood of the Redeemer in person or in color, I cannot comment.)

If this lunette were located high, atop a large tabernacle, its execution could well have been left to an assistant. The Blood of the Redeemer, placed above the Entombment with the actual Eucharist below would have made a profound visual statement to the Christian believer.

The Cantoria

The Cantoria, originally in the Cathedral of Florence, is presently in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (Fig. 51). It is a large marble work, nearly 11 1/2 by 19 feet. This work is very well documented, although the
specific purpose (organ loft? choir loft?) was never specified in the original documents pertaining to the commission. The "Cantoria" was referred to as a "perghamo" (pulpit) in the documents, whereas Luca della Robbia's Cantoria was called, more specifically, a "perghamo degli orghani" (organ loft). On July 10, 1433 the Opérai authorized the awarding of the commission to Donatello. The account was closed on December 16, 1439 with the final payment to Donatello.

The first mention of its purpose in the surviving documents is by Albertini, who in 1510 called the "cantorie" by Luca della Robbia and Donatello "organ lofts." The name, "Cantoria" was coined in modern times, but will be used here for convenience. Donatello's Cantoria was commissioned as a mate to Luca della Robbia's calm and classicizing Cantoria which was commissioned in 1431 (Fig. 86).

Luca della Robbia's Cantoria has the main upper panels separated from smaller lower panels by a moulding. The upper panels consist of relief sculptures of clothed, adolescent children singing angelically (Fig. 87), some panels having younger, nude children, also. The lower panels have younger children who are semi-nude, who could be called putti, although they are
unwinged. They sing more boisterously than the children above, and dance circle dances (Fig. 88).

Pope-Hennessy does not think that the two Cantorie were planned independently of each other, but that the careful deliberations of the Operai would have seen them as counterparts. Luca della Robbia used both boys and girls as his singers. Across the front of Luca’s cantoria run three incised bands with words from Psalm 150:

Praise the Lord! Praise God in his sanctuary; praise him in his mighty firmament! Praise him for his mighty deeds; praise him according to his exceeding greatness! Praise him with trumpet sound; praise him with lute and harp! Praise him with timbrel and dance; praise him with strings and pipe! Praise him with sounding cymbals; praise him with loud crashing cymbals! Let everything that breathes praise the Lord! Praise the Lord!

Donatello’s Cantoria, on the other hand, has no text, and all of his dancers and musicians are winged male putti: and not contemporary children, as Luca’s appear to be.

The front of Donatello’s Cantoria is composed of five pairs of mosaic columns beneath the entablature. More than two dozen putti run exuberantly behind the pillars of Donatello’s work, rather than being confined between the pillars as Luca’s musical children are. This was Donatello’s special brand of genius intervening,
experimenting with the illusion of layers of space, rather than accepting the limitations of the actual, single relief plane.

Putti run, dance, kick, blow horns, shake tambourines and play with wreaths in the main frieze. Their energetic dance movements are unlike those of the graceful dancing putti of antiquity. Janson found sources for their wildly agitated movements not in dancing, but boxing putti (Fig. 89). Besides the dancing and running putti, Donatello also included a frieze of garlands with putti masks at the bottom of the Cantoria, and two pairs of heraldic putti, unwinged, between these and the dancers. The left pair of putti are eating grapes (Fig. 90); the right pair stand on either side of a flame (Fig. 91). They appear to be borrowed from the antique, perhaps respectively from a Throne of Ceres (Fig. 92) in Ravenna and a Throne of Neptune in Milan (Fig. 93). Between these sets of putti are relief faces of two bearded men.

Donatello’s child dancers revel in a bacchanalian manner; a strong contrast to Luca’s "angelic" children. Pope-Hennessy believes that both Luca della Robbia’s and Donatello’s Cantorie represent Psalm 150. Luca’s Cantoria represents the musical lines of the psalm:
"Praise him with trumpet sound; praise him with lute and harp! Praise him with timbrel and dance; Praise him with sounding cymbals..." It would seem logical that Donatello’s Cantoria would represent the "Praise him with...dance" part, as the putti dance wildly back and forth. However, Pope-Hennessy believes that Donatello’s Cantoria represents the opening lines of Psalm 150, the heavenly part: "Praise God in his sanctuary, praise him in his mighty firmament." Pope-Hennessy sets up a sort of "sacred and profane" dichotomy between the two cantorie, noting the mimetic quality of Luca’s children making them appear to be earthly children, while the wings liken Donatello’s children to angels. Indeed, Luca’s musicians do appear to be an idealized children’s choir, and the children are wingless, making them simply human, as opposed to Donatello’s winged revelers who have their roots in the depictions of pagan celestial beings such as amorini. Janson believed that this was a program of Christianity triumphing over paganism, that the action of Donatello’s Cantoria was taking place in a "celestial sphere." He noted a juxtaposition between two types of representations, however, within Donatello’s piece, "Christian jubilation on the balustrade, supported by the pagan realm of classical antiquity below." The bottom architecture is more of a
classical quotation; above, with the mosaic columns the
architecture is more transcendent.\footnote{I do not see a
clear distinction between the motifs and architecture of
the upper and lower sections, however.}

On the right side of the main frieze the putti play
with wreaths (Fig. 94). Janson found an antecedent in
Byzantine ivory caskets, some of which still survive,
which show cupids or maenads playing with wreaths (Fig.
95). These were much treasured in Italy.\footnote{Wreaths, in
antiquity were symbols of victory. Ancient victors were
crowned with a wreath of laurel. Personifications of
victory, sometimes holding wreaths were common in the
spandrels of the triumphal arches of churches.} Donatello’s putti, it would seem, are praising the
victory of Christ’s salvation.

A scriptural passage may explain Donatello’s
motivation for transforming boxing putti into jubilantly
dancing putti with wreaths. Paul, whose letters are read
during the Christian Mass, in his first letter to the
Corinthians (I:9:24-27) wrote:\footnote{Do you not know that in a race all the runners
compete, but only one receives the prize? So
run that you may obtain it. Every athlete
exercises self-control in all things. They do
it to receive a perishable wreath, but we an
imperishable. Well I do not run aimlessly, I
do not box as one beating the air; but I
pommel my body and subdue it, lest after}
preaching to others I myself should be disqualified.

Paul, in this passage speaks of athletes, runners, boxers and wreathes - the same elements that Donatello might have seen on a Byzantine ivory casket. Additionally, in I Corinthians, 3: 2 St. Paul addresses his listeners as "babes in Christ." It is possible that Donatello had this passage in mind as he transformed pagan boxing putti into "babes in Christ" - angels on a church pulpit.

Unfortunately, Donatello's Cantoria is not in its original state. The balustrades on both Donatello's and Luca's cantorie were dismantled in 1688 and the reliefs stored away. Most of the architectural framework has disappeared. Columns, luckily, remained intact. Reconstruction started in 1883 when a small piece of the upper cornice was found. Donatello's Cantoria was redismantled during World War II. The reconstruction of the late nineteenth century had the design of the upper cornice as vases alternating with palms. Kauffman argued that it was, instead, composed of vases, palms, seashells and dolphins, based on the surviving physical evidence. I agree with Kauffman's reconstruction, as does Greenhalgh, who writes that it is more in keeping with the antique prototypes. If
Kauffman's theory is true, as it appears to be, Donatello has used a complex scheme of pagan motifs with compatible Christian symbolism. Donatello carefully chose these motifs - the dolphin, the palm, the seashell, the vases - to have Christian meaning, but to the learned Renaissance humanist, double meanings deriving from the pre-Christian symbolic associations. The architectural decorations utilized on the Cantoria all had specific symbolic meanings in pagan antiquity and in Christian dogma. Additionally, the themes that the motifs represent make relationships between the pagan and the Christian. The antique motifs are not mere decorations.

The dolphin (as well as the shell) was an attribute of Venus, the mother of Cupid. Between the architrave containing dolphins, and the base with seashells cavort putti based on the form of Eros/Cupid. Thematically, these motifs work well together in a pagan scheme. The combination of the elements of the dolphin, seashell and cupid is found in many an ancient sarcophagus decorated with a marine theasos. However, the dolphin also has a specific Christian reference to Jonah's "big fish" on Early Christian sarcophagi. (The "fish" did not often look like a whale. It was usually represented as dolphin-like or sea-monsterlike.) Jonah
was considered a precursor to Christ due to his "resurrection" from the fish. Jonah spent three days in the fish's belly before he was "resurrected."

The vases look like wine vessels, in ancient times, associated with Dionysus/Bacchus, who also had associations with life after death through his mystery religion, and in whose mystery cult was the aspect of a blood sacrifice. Wine also relates to Eucharistic wine and Christ's sacrifice. Shells, besides being associated with Venus, were in the Middle Ages associated with Christian pilgrims (to St. James Compostela in Santiago, Spain), who revered the relics of Christ and martyrs.

Palms represented victory in ancient times, and are also the attribute of martyrs. Donatello has chosen motifs which were commonly used architectural decoration, but which gained new meaning in Christian iconography - much like the putto who changed from a popular love god motif to a Christian cherub during this period. I do not see a "program," so to speak in the combination of the symbols, but symbols of resurrection and salvation, derived from pagan symbols with computable meanings.

Donatello's scheme for the Cantoria is a joyous one using traditional pagan symbolism to relate to deep Christian mysteries.
Donatello was working on the **Cantoria** and the **Prato Pulpit** simultaneously, and subsequently there are quite a few similarities between these two works.

**Prato Cathedral Pulpit**

The **Prato Pulpit** is marble, composed of seven panels with gold mosaic backgrounds arranged in a semi-circular fashion around the pulpit which is located on an exterior corner of the facade of Prato cathedral (Fig. 52). It was designed for the display of the relic of the Virgin’s girdle which legend tells us was dropped to St. Thomas during the Madonna’s Assumption into heaven. The girdle arrived in Prato in c. 1178, and in c. 1211 – 14 a wood and stone pulpit was constructed on the south front of the cathedral for the yearly exhibition of the holy relic to the people of Prato. In 1330 it was decided to replace the old wooden pulpit with a splendid marble pulpit carved with the history of the girdle and scenes from the life of St. Stephen, patron saint of Prato. However, nothing was done. In 1357 – 60, finally, the Sienese sculptors Niccolò di Cecco del Mercia and his pupil Sano, and the Florentine Giovanni di Francesco carved a new marble pulpit,
displaying scenes from the life of the Virgin. This pulpit was used only for a brief period, as the girdle was moved in 1395 to a new chapel at the opposite end of Prato Cathedral. Due to this move a new pulpit became necessary for the security of the holy relic. The move caused the girdle to be carried a long distance during solemn processions, virtually unprotected, from the chapel to the pulpit where it was displayed. On July 14, 1428 a contract was drawn up between the Operaio del Sacro Cingolo and the Commune of Prato and the team of Donatello and Michelozzo, for the commission of a new marble pulpit for the display of the Virgin’s girdle. Michelozzo signed the contract giving the commission jointly to himself and Donatello. The contract specified that Michelozzo was to execute the architecture, and Donatello the sculpture. The Operaio specified that the pulpit was to be made of white Carrara marble, and consist of six panels decorated with baby angels ("spiritelli"), but did not specify how they were to be portrayed. The original model showed putti in a heraldic arrangement holding escutcheons; however, Donatello changed these to dancing putti in the final product, and the existing work of art consists of seven relief panels rather than the commissioned six, each measuring 73.5 cm. high by 79 cm. wide. Although the contract dates to
1428, the carving of the pulpit dates to 1433 - 1438. The Cantoria reliefs were probably designed before those at Prato causing a new interest in dancing putti by Donatello, and influencing the change in the design of the Prato work.

The contracts specified that Donatello was to create the marble relief panels, although that does not preclude the use of assistants, who were undoubtedly employed. The design appears to be more related to Donatello's style than Michelozzo's, but the execution was possibly done to a certain degree by assistants.

Rejoicing putti functioning as angels dance exuberantly on the seven relief panels of the pulpit. Hartt cites the passage in Psalm 96 as its inspiration, "O sing unto the Lord a new song: sing unto the Lord; all the earth." However, although some of the putti are open-mouthed, some have their mouths closed, and none appear to be singing. The children, dancing and playing tambourines, have the same bacchanalian spirit as those on the Cantoria. The inspiration of Psalm 150 is still at work here, with children praising Him with dance and the tambourine. Stylistically, the influence of Byzantine caskets decorated with wildly dancing putti with round wreaths (Fig. 95) is evident in this piece,
also, and easily translated into wildly dancing putti with round tambourines.

Supporting the pulpit is a large bronze capital with a lovely curly-haired putto emerging from the body of the capital as from a box (Fig. 96). At the bottom of the capital are two beautiful, nude heraldic putti holding a swag between them. Tiny putti cling to the vegetal decoration of the capital like little insects. This bronze capital was modeled and cast in the second half of 1433, but not installed until 1438.59 As it survives now, it is a fragment, a little over half of the original whole which was probably damaged during casting.60 Scholars have argued back and forth on whether the bronze capital should be attributed to Donatello or Michelozzo. Janson attributed it to Michelozzo.61 Lightbown argues for the authorship by Donatello because one of the putti echoes the pose of the left putto on the Cossa tomb, and because Michelozzo’s sculpture was more stiff and austere at this time.62 Donatello may well have been the creator—as he made bronze putti in the decades preceding and following, and this putto has the relaxed, comfortable quality of a Donatello putto, and the elegence of handling and finishing that we will find in the Amor-Atys.
Donatello's work of the 1430's is dominated by the two huge programs of the Cantoria and the Prato Pulpit, both of which employ putti essentially as the subject: in itself a total departure from any previous iconography and a major innovation. Moreover the 1430's sees Donatello not merely borrowing Antique motifs (such as the putto) visually, but connecting their ancient meaning with their Christian meaning - allowing putti, then, newly meaningful functions in art. The Christian meanings are enhanced, enriched by the original pagan meanings - at least for learned humanists who looked for double meanings.
CHAPTER SIX

NOTES

1For the Lille Feast of Herod there are no documents. See H.W. Janson, The Sculpture of Donatello, 1963, 129f on the date. The Tomb Slab of Giovanni Crivelli has no documents: however, an inscription on the slab attributes it to Donatello, and gives the date of Crivelli's death as 1432. See Janson, 1963, 101 - 102. The earliest source relating to the Cavalcanti Annunciation dates to 1510. Its date is conjectured on a basis of style. See Janson, 1963, 103 - 104. Similarly dated is the Tabernacle of the Sacrament. See Janson, 119 - 120. The Cantoria and Prato Pulpit are documented by contracts and records of payments from their inception. See Janson 119 - 120 and 109 - 111, respectively.

2Janson, 1963, 129. The inventory lists a "panel of marble with many figures and other things in perspective, i.e.... of St. John, by Donatello."

3Janson accepted it. Pope-Hennessy in "Donatello sconosciuto," FMR, May, 1986, 65 rejected it due to his observation that the architecture did not have regard for the narrative content. On similar grounds it was rejected by Richard Cocke in a review of Donatello e i suoi, in the Oxford Art Journal, 10, 1987, 86f. Those (besides Janson) who accept it as a work by Donatello include Volker Herzner, Detroit, 1985, 116 - 119; B. Boucher, "A Hero of the Renaissance," Apollo 121, 1985, 67; Darr, Donatello Studien, 1989, 14f.; Isabella Hymen, Donatello Studien, 1989, p. 23, n. 26; Avery, "Donatello celebrations. a major exhibition at Detroit, Fort Worth and Florence," Apollo 123, 1986, 15f; and this author.

4Ibid; Detroit, 1985, 118f. agrees with Janson's date of the early 1430's. Bennett and Wilkins dated it to the 1420's to 30's, (Donatello, 1984, 140). Bode
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(Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, xxii, 1901, 31 dates it to c. 1433, as does Alfred Gotthold Meyer, Donatello, New York: 1904, 83; Frida Schottmuller, Donatello, Berlin: 1904, 125 dates it to the late '30's; Eugene Muntz, Les Artistes Celebres. Donatello, 1885, 92 dates it to the 1440's.

5 We cannot say, for sure, which ancient gems, coins, etc. that Donatello knew (see chapter 2), but his knowledge of ancient gems and coins is evident from the medallion on the Bust of a Youth, and of coins, in this work. The Medici, who patronized Donatello on several occasions, collected gems. Greenhalgh writes, "Although... we cannot prove that Donatello used gems, we can at least convince ourselves that he knew Luni, whence the Medici took so many antiquities in the fifteenth century." (Michael Greenhalgh, Donatello and his Sources, London: 1982, 15.) Luni was a very rich site in the fifteenth century from which several gems reached the collection of Lorenzo de' Medici." (Greenhalgh, 1982, 12.)

6 See Chapter 2 on Donatello's sources. Antique poses are often stereotypes that were used over and over in various media. Donatello may have seen this particular pose on a gem or vase. The satyr is discussed in John Boardman's Engraved Gems: The Ionides Collection, 1968, 58; the Penelope is discussed in Richter's Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, 80.

7 The amoretto is discussed in Richter's Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, 80.

8 "A directly revived classical motif, it seems, has intervened - the fleeing children from Medea sarcophagi... that our artist knew the Medea children is clear," H.W. Janson, "Donatello and the Antique," 16 Studies, 1973, 259. See chapter 5 n. 42 for a Medea sarcophagus in Ancona that Donatello could have known. Janson illustrates another one in Rome.

9 Ibid., 257 - 258. Janson cites many examples, from maenads transformed to Salomes to kickboxers becoming dancing putti. Also see Michael Greenhalgh, 1982, 4ff. on the range of Donatello's sources.


11 Janson dated it to c. 1428 - c. 1433/5 on a

12Janson, 1963, 103 - 108.

13 For possible ancient sources see Greenhalgh, 1982, 84 - 95.


15It is mentioned in Vasari, 1970, I, 309 - Vasari implies that it was done during Donatello’s second trip to Rome. See Janson, 1963, 98ff. for a discussion on its dating. It is known that the piece was created in Rome. The problem that arises is that the 1432 - 3 trip may not have been Donatello’s first to Rome.

16Janson, 1963, 97.

17Ibid., 95. The tabernacle seems to have entered the Sagrestia dei Beneficiati, which was not open to the public, soon after 1784. It was not rediscovered until the late nineteenth century (Janson, 1963, 97f). Early scholars based their descriptions on photographs, mistaking the precious marble for inexpensive travertine or plaster. Bode, "Donatello als Architekt" in Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen 22, 1901, 30 felt it was not entirely by Donatello’s hand. Planiscig, 1947, 53ff. discusses the weakness of the architectural framework and sculptural parts and thinks that it imitates the later Paduan phase of Donatello’s work. He attributes the entire work to a follower, possibly Isia di Pisa. phase of his work (Planiscig, 1947, 53 - 58.) Janson, 1963, 98f., debunks the idea that this is an imitation of a work by Donatello at a later date due to the originality of the conception of the work, its affinities to the Assumption of the
1430's, and the fact that Donatello worked in the *schiacciato* style primarily earlier in his career (Janson, 1963, 98) Seymour dates it to soon after 1431. (Seymour, Charles, *Sculpture in Italy, 1400 - 1600*, 1966, 90.) See Janson, 1963, 98f. for a summary of scholarly opinion.

18 Janson, 1963, 96.

19 See note #17 above.

20 The *David*, for instance exhibits a casting flaw in the neck which was patched, but never finished carefully, and the *Gattamelata* has several plugged casting flaws left unfinished, one being on Gattamelata's face.

21 The *chi rho* represents the first two letters of Christ's name. It has been used since early Christianity on Christian sarcophagi and religious articles. If the *chi rho* was not in the indicated space it could have held the monogram "IHS", an abbreviation of the name Jesus in Greek, which was venerated in the teachings of the contemporary of Donatello's, St. Bernardo of Siena (1380 - 1444), a Franciscan friar. (See George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, N.Y.:1979, 150) Crosses are also common on religious articles of this type.

22 The reclining *putti* of the top of the pediment of the tabernacle in pose prefigure the reclining adult *nudes* of Michelangelo's Medici tombs.

23 Pope-Hennessy, 1959, 57.


26 A young angel catching Christ's blood in a cup is found in Cimabue's *Crucifixion* of after 1279 in the Upper Church of S. Francesco, Assisi; and though the fresco is damaged also seems to appear in Giotto's Arena Chapel *Crucifixion*, c. 1305, in Padua.

27 Pope-Hennessy, 1959, 57.
28 Ibid.

29 Detroit, 1985, 121.

30 Pope-Hennessy, 1959, 57.


32 Ibid., document # 1241, April 9, 1432.

33 Janson, 1963, 119f.

34 Ibid., 121.


37 Janson, 1973, 254. Janson illustrates a Roman sarcophagus in a store room of the Vatican Museum that is decorated with boxing putti. Greenhalgh disagrees with the source and thinks that the source is more likely dancing putti with wreaths, of which there are examples. (Greenhalgh, 1982, 96.) Their energetic movements look more athletic than dance-like to me.

38 Janson, 1963, 125; Corwegh, Robert, *Donatello’s Sangerkanzel im Dom zu Florenz*, Berlin: 1909, 33, 38. Donatello may have known these through drawings. The Throne of Neptune was drawn by Gentile da Fabriano, for instance. (Greenhalgh, 1982, 96.) See also Bober and Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, Oxford: 1986, cat. entry # 16.

39 Janson, 1963, 122f.

40 Ibid., 125.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., 126.

43 As, for instance, in the church of San Vitale, Ravenna.
For instance, Giotto, in the Arena Chapel, pairs a decoration of Jonah and the Whale with Christ's Resurrection.

On Dionysus the best ancient source is Euripides' _Bacchae_. "Essential characteristics of Dionysiac religion are the possession of the god by his followers, the rending apart of a sacrificial animal..." (Morford and Lenardon, _Classical Mythology_, NY: 1977, 206.) "...basic religious concepts are accounted for: sin, immortality, resurrection, life after death, reward, punishment... He (Dionysus) is in his persona a resurrection god; the story is told that he went down into the realm of the dead and brought back his mother." (Ibid., 209.) "A medieval work, the _Christus Patiens_, that drew on Euripides is of some help - an interesting fact that rivets our attention to the parallels between Dionysus and Christ." (Ibid., 206.) The _Christus Patiens_ by Gregory Nazianzus (published in Paris, 1969 with a commentary by Andre Tuilier) was based on the tragedies of Euripides, particularly the _Bacchae_ - in style and partially in story line. The elements of the dualism of a man-god, the sorrow of a mother, and the sacrifice and resurrection are found in both, for instance.

work. The old pulpit was still in place at this time. Between August and October of 1433 payments were authorized for wax for a model. The documents indicate most of the activity on the pulpit to fall between 1434 and 1438. See Janson, 1963, 100f. for translations of the documents.

56Janson, 1963, 117.

57Maso di Bartolommeo's worked 37 days in the latter part of 1434 for instance, as the documents will attest. See Janson, 1963, 110.


59Janson, 1963, 114.

60Ibid., 114 - 115.

61Ibid., 116.

CHAPTER VII

Donatello’s *Putti* during the 1440’s: the Blossoming

During the 1440’s Donatello created some of his most influential work, most notably the bronze *David* in the Bargello, Florence; the equestrian monument of *Gattamelata* in Padua; and also in Padua the San Antonio high altar ensemble. He also continued to utilize the *putto* in most of his works in a meaningful (though often puzzling) fashion. From this period also seems to came the enigmatic *Amor-Atys*, a life-sized, nearly nude bronze *putto*. Donatello, in this work, elevated the status of the *putto* another notch by making it the subject of a large, in-the-round sculpture - the first of its kind since ancient Roman times. Also from the 1440’s, The San Antonio altar ensemble was extremely influential for Northern Italian artists, and the *putti* of its *Dead Christ Upheld by Angels* and reliefs of musician angels were emulated by generations of painters and sculptors (see chapter nine).

Not all of the works of the 1440’s are firmly documented or dated. The works discussed in this chapter are:1

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The bronze **David**, c. 1440, Bargello, Florence

**Bust of a Youth**, bronze, c. 1440, Museo Nazionale, Florence (authorship disputed)

**Amor-Atys**, bronze, c. 1440, Bargello, Florence

**Winged Infant**, bronze, c. 1440, Metropolitan Museum, NY (Donatello's authorship disputed)

**Two Angels**, bronze, c. 1440, Jacquemart-Andre Museum, Paris (Donatello’s authorship disputed)

**Gattamelata**, bronze, c. 1443 - 53, bronze, located outside S. Antonio, Padua

**Dead Christ Upheld by Angels**, marble, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

**Putti of the High Altar**, bronze, 1446 - 50, S. Antonio, Padua

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**David**

Donatello's bronze **David** (Fig. 97) has been plausibly dated to c. 1440 by Pope-Hennessy due to affinities with Donatello's Paduan bronzes of the mid 1440's, especially the Paduan **Crucifix**.² It is 5' 2 1/4" high, and is located in the Bargello in Florence. The date of this work has been disputed. It has been dated to as early as 1428, and as late as the 1460's. The
first mention of David was in 1469, when it was located in the courtyard of the Medici palace in Florence.

Donatello's bronze David in the Bargello in Florence is a critical monument for the Italian Renaissance. It is the first approaching-life-sized bronze, free-standing, sensuous nude since Antiquity. David is not completely unclothed, however, as he wears a feminine-looking hat and knee-high boots. David stands in a relaxed contrapposto stance. His left hand, held to his hip, holds a stone. His right hand is resting on an oversized sword, which points downward to the helmet of Goliath, between the feet of David. David's floppy, feminine-looking hat and knee high fancy boots accentuate his nakedness, as does the feather on Goliath's helmet which tickles the inside of David's thigh.

With reference to David's androgynous features and his apparent consciousness of his own sensual beauty, Janson recalls Donatello's reputation for being homosexual, as mentioned in a group of anecdotes compiled in the 1470's and published in 1548 in Florence.

The rare nudes previous to Donatello's David during the Proto-Renaissance and Early Renaissance were all small reliefs - i.e. the personifications of
Fortitude as Hercules by Nicola Pisano on the Pisa pulpit, 1260; by Giovanni Pisano on his Pistoia Pulpit of 1302 - 12; attributed to Giovanni D'Ambrogio of 1391 - 95 on the Porta della Mandorla of Florence Cathedral (Fig. 24); Nanni di Banco's nude in the predella of the Quattro Santi Coronati (Fig. 33).

Most authors feel that the David does not simply represent the Jewish boy who slew the Philistine giant, Goliath, and later became king of Israel. By the fifteenth century David had come to have an allegorical meaning relating to Florence. The Florentines considered themselves to be like David, in that brain triumphed over brawn in the match between David and Goliath and between the republic of Florence and her enemies. Florence resisted tyranny and fought for liberty during the fifteenth century, first against Giangaleazzo Visconti, who died in 1404, and later King Ladislas of Naples, who died in 1414. After his death the Florentine economy flourished. The Florentines had a new threat between 1423 - 28 from Filippoo Maria Visconti. David was an appropriate symbol for Florence, since he "slew an oppressor of the Chosen people," and was for Florence a symbol of freedom as the underdog shepherd boy, who triumphed over the giant, Goliath. Donatello's
earlier marble David (Fig. 98) of 1408-9 (Museo Nazionale, Florence), was in fact, changed in 1416 from the simple representation of a Biblical prophet holding a scroll to a more heroic representation of the giant-slayer holding a sling. Some of the interpretations of Donatello's David follow.

Doebler interprets the iconography of the David as portraying the victory of virtue over vice. David, in this interpretation, is a type of Christ wearing a boy's hat and the boots of a warrior, stripped for a contest of faith to prove his manhood.

Laurie Schneider who called the David's meaning "elusive," interpreted the David in a Freudian/political manner relating to contemporary Florentine events. She sees David as both a symbol of liberty and a personal statement of sexual preference by the sculptor. The two political events cited in Schneider's interpretation are the 1414 death of the enemy of Florence, King Ladislas of Naples, whose despotism they had resisted, and the Florentines' successful resistance to the Visconti threat in 1423. The effeminacy of David is explained by Schneider as a reference to a passage in Plato's Symposium about Eros inspiring "soldiers to bravery when they are lovers in the Platonic sense." Pausanias' subsequent speech
discusses Athens' laws involving lovers, that Athens was different from cities ruled by tyrants who discouraged relationships brought about by the "celestial Eros" - love between men. Schneider feels that the David makes a parallel between Athens and Florence - that Florence was like Athens, not ruled by a tyrant.\(^\text{10}\)

Another hypothesis is one that was first proposed by Jeno Lanyi, and later expounded upon by Patricia Ann Leach. That is that the David is actually a David/Mercury with Goliath's head also functioning as that of Argus.\(^\text{11}\) Leach sees physical resemblances between David and certain images of Mercury. She believes that David is a symbol of victory over the Visconti threat, and dates it accordingly to 1428 - 30.\(^\text{12}\) Her interpretation follows:\(^\text{13}\)

The David, with its allusions to Mercury, may be understood as a moral allegory portraying the triumph of Christian and Classical heroic virtue over vice. As an historical allegory, it may commemorate the end of a war waged by the Republic of Florence against the imperialist claims of Milan. In civic humanist terms, it may celebrate, through its allusion to Mercury their guardian, the triumph of the arts and letters permitted to flourish under the protection of a republican government and the triumph of republican liberty in the face of a tyrant that would enchain them.

Finally, a more unusual significance may be understood. Donatello's bronze figure suggests a triumph of Peace over the brutality
of War through its depiction of Victorious David, slayer of the tyrant Goliath with his imperial and martial helmet, and through its allusions to David's classical counterpart, Mercury the Argicide, Peacemaker and Divider of Serpents.

I personally do not see any real evidence to link Mercury and David. Leach presents no evidence of any document that would suggest this, nor is there any evidence of humanist interest in Mercury in 1430 or earlier. Also, I find the wing on Goliath's helmet/Mercury sandal wing fusion hypothesis tenuous at best. However, both Schneider and Leach, in their studies, take into consideration the putto relief on Goliath's helmet (Fig. 99), a significant part of the sculpture which has been overlooked in most interpretations of this statue. The fact that David is nude is so startling that, at first examination, the putti on Goliath's helmet are easily overlooked. However, David's sword points to the relief scene of putti riding a chariot, which would seem to indicate that they were of some importance to the iconography of the whole. The scene to which David points could be read as the "moral" of the story. The iconography of this relief is problematical. On Goliath's helmet is a chariot pulled by two nude, winged putti. One unwinged figure is enthroned on the chariot receiving gifts and attention from two putti.
Behind the enthroned male is another unwinged man who is fat and nude. Behind the fat man is a jug. The scene has been identified as a free variant on an antique carved gem, a sardonyx depicting a triumphal scene enacted by putti, or a triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, which eventually became part of the Medici collection.

The erotes would fit well into Schneider's Neo-Platonic interpretation of the David if they represent a triumph of love. Schneider relates the good looks of David to one of Plato's "beautiful boys," and sees the sculpture as consciously displaying David as a homosexual, one who was loved by Saul and Jonathan in the Bible. This Neo-platonic interpretation relates to Wittkower's article "A Symbol of Platonic Love," in which he interprets the medallion of a youth in a chariot of the Bust of a Youth as relating to Plato's notion of the celestial Eros as a "guardian of beautiful boys." Schneider concludes that David was "defending those (Athenian) laws which encourage 'Platonic Love,' and that the David was a statement of sexual preference to Donatello. However, considering the illegality of homosexuality and punishment for such acts in Florence at the time, the flaunting of homosexuality by a highly visible figure such as Donatello would be neither prudent nor plausible.
Concerning the putto relief, Leach identified the figure being pulled in the chariot by putti on Goliath's helmet as Bacchus (the Greek Dionysus) accompanied by Silenus, noting also that one of the putti offers a goblet to Bacchus, making this scene a triumph of Bacchus, rather than a triumph of Love. Upon close examination of photographic details of the relief on Goliath's helmet, I believe that Leach has accurately described and identified the scene. Leach sees the influence of bacchic sarcophagi (which frequently contained erotes) intervening to suggest to Donatello the change from an erote victory to a bacchic one. On her iconographic interpretation of the relief I must disagree with Leach who writes:

...one is tempted to believe that the "Triumph of Bacchus" was not meant to be seen as a symbol of Christian sacrifice and triumph alone but as a political emblem signifying the triumph of Liber and thus Florentine libertas as well.

However, the putto victory is on Goliath's helmet. David points to it with his sword as though it is the moral of the story. The Triumph of Bacchus, in my opinion, may represent the vice of incontinence or superbia (arrogant pride), vices to be associated with Goliath (and by
extension the enemies of Florence - tyrants), and show
the virtuous David (and the Florentine Republic)
triumphant. A similar iconographic program is found in
Donatello’s later Judith and Holofernes, which portrays
Judith triumphant over the drunken Holofernes. On the
base of this statue are revelling, bacchanalian putti.

**Bust of a Youth**

The **Bust of a Youth** may seem tangential to my
thesis, but I have chosen to include it because
Donatello used a gem as the source, as in the David; and
because the gem depicted on the **Bust of a Youth**
represents **erors**, though adolescent.

The **Bust of a Youth** (Fig. 101) is bronze, 42 cm.
high, and located in the Museo Nazionale, Florence. It
is undocumented, but frequently, and plausibly,
attributed to Donatello on stylistic grounds.²³
Prominently displayed on the boy’s chest is a large oval
medallion (Fig. 102). Depicted on the medallion is a
scene similar to that portrayed on the helmet of
Goliath, as previously discussed: in this case, a nude,
winged young man drives a **biga**, a two-horse chariot with
the nearer horse rearing up. Donatello’s representation
of the boy wearing the medallion is Roman in style and the boy's stoic face suggests the noble Roman ideals of gravitas (gravity) and severitas (severity). Donatello obviously chose the classical style of the medallion to accent the classicizing mood of the bust. The design on the medallion that Donatello depicted is copied from a type commonplace in painting and on ancient gems. The Medici owned a cameo which seems to have been the source (Fig. 100). In ancient painting and on vases the chariot with figures is often depicted as part of a race between playful erotes. The medallion of the Bust of a Youth shows Donatello using an ancient motif which often incorporated the putto type, but Donatello used it instead to represent an adolescent Cupid.

At least three representations of this general type of chariot-driving figure survive in the Ionides collection of cut gems, housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, a fact which shows their popularity. Two of these oval gems depict winged women who may be identified as Nike (Victory) due to their wings. Nike is associated with victory in races. One of the medallions is a cut gem in an archaizing style showing Nike driving a four horse chariot with a whip (Fig. 103). The other example is a carefully cut,
graceful cameo in the Classical style (Fig. 104). Here Victory drives a two horse chariot, like Donatello’s winged youth, holding the reins held in the same loose, graceful manner. The third medallion in the Ionides collection depicts a nude unwinged man driving a two horse chariot with a whip (Fig. 105). The man is not winged.

The medallion owned by the Medici was a large oval one of ancient origins of the type discussed above showing “a nude winged youth, with a staff in his left hand (apparently the stock of a whip), driving a biga, a chariot drawn by two horses.” Wittkower felt that Donatello may have had access to this particular medallion due to his patronage by the Medici. Concerning the relationship of the ancient cameo to Donatello’s Bust of a Youth, Rudolph Wittkower in a modern interpretation feels that the cameo represents Plato’s image of the soul in the Phaedrus. Plato’s long discourse on the nature of the soul begins with the lines “We will liken the soul to the composite nature of a pair of winged horses and a charioteer.” Janson points out that Wittkower failed to mention that in Donatello’s medallion one horse (the nearer) rears up wildly, while the other gallops forward. This is not the case in the Medici cameo, nor in any other classical
depiction of a *biga*, according to Janson.\(^32\) One horse rearing and one calmer corresponds to Plato's (through Socrates) metaphor of the horses of the divine soul moving in harmony, while those of the human soul are mixed, one being good and noble, and the other bad and ignoble.\(^33\) The bust of the youth may have been the product of the Platonic revival around 1440 by the humanist friends of Cosimo de' Medici, and Wittkower concludes that Cosimo himself commissioned this bust. According to Wittkower, Plato's heavenly Eros is functioning in his role as the "guardian of beautiful boys" (as Plato called Eros in the *Phaedrus*) in this bust, although it is not known who the sitter was in this case.\(^34\) The *Bust of a Youth* may, in fact, not represent an actual person, but rather Donatello's interpretation of the ideal "Platonic Youth"\(^35\) as commissioned by his patron.

**Amor-Atys**

The *Amor-Atys* (Figs. 49 - 50) is sometimes called *Genius*, *Genietto*, or *Baby Hercules* for lack of a definitively appropriate name. It has generally been dated to c. 1440 on the basis of its stylistic similarities to Donatello's Siena font *putti*, the *putti*
of the Cantoria, the David and the Bust of a Youth.\textsuperscript{36} The dates of the latter two, however, are also speculative, so they are not a good basis of comparison. Janson notes that the style of the Amor-Atys is also prophetic of the Paduan bronzes, placing this work slightly before 1443.\textsuperscript{37} This is a free-standing, large scale (41" or 104 cm. high) single figure of a putto. Kauffman believed that the arms were a Baroque restoration because they were attached in a clumsy fashion, but Janson disputes this, claiming them to be original, but attached awkwardly as the result of a casting accident.\textsuperscript{38} Here Donatello makes the putto not a motif or subsidiary figure, but the subject. For the first time in the Renaissance the putto is the subject of a large-scale, free-standing sculpture.

The so-called Amor-Atys is an enigmatic figure, what Cecchi called "a wonderful riddle."\textsuperscript{39} In general aspect he looks classically pagan, and was, in fact, even mistaken for an ancient work in the seventeenth century. The subject is uncertain. No traditional or conventional identity seems to fit this sculpture perfectly. Donatello appears to have created a new sort of creature.
The bizarre clothing and unusual pose of the Amor-Atys are what prompt speculation about the nature of this putto. The putto is standing in a relaxed contrapposto stance with both arms held up in the air. He gazes happily toward his left hand which has the thumb and middle finger touching as though he is snapping his fingers or holding something, now lost, up to be laughingly scrutinized. The putto wears a fillet around his shoulder-length, tousled hair, a wide leather belt around his waist, to which leggings are attached, but his private parts are exposed. On his feet are winged sandals, and he steps on a snake.

When one looks at the mystery putto from behind, he has a double set of lovely feathered wings, a belt decorated with a motif of what at first appeared to me to be vases (but which are actually poppy heads, as this thesis will later explain), and protruding from under it, a little furry tail.

Christopher Lloyd discovered a bronze Cupid statuette dating to c. A.D. 2nd century in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford which is similar in pose to the Amor-Atys. This was not excavated until 1733 but Donatello may have known statuettes of this type. This ancient Cupid was most likely a lamp stand. The top knot and curls of the hair are similar to those of Donatello’s
The basic pose, hairdo and material may have inspired Donatello, but the ancient Cupid has no winged sandals, no belt or leggings, no tail, and no snakes. These attributes obviously were chosen to transform the basic putto form into something with a very specific significance.

Conveniently, Janson compiled a list of the many names assigned to the enigmatic boy known as the Amor-Atys in inventories and in scholarly writings. In 1568 Vasari referred to it as a Mercury, undoubtedly due to the winged feet. Cinelli (who mistook the statue for an ancient bronze when he saw it in the Doni household in 1677) interpreted the Amor-Atys as a Mercury or Perseus using the same criterion as Vasari did. Semper, in 1887 called it an allegory of "carefree love." Tschudi, Schottmuller, Reymond, Goldscheider, and Bode called the figure Cupid, thinking that it originally held a bow and arrow. Confusingly, after identifying the figure as Cupid, Bode (unconvincingly) called the figure a possible misinterpretation of a Hippolytus figure (with no reasons to back up this opinion). Siegfried Weber, in 1898, called it Harpocrates, the god of silence, even though our putto does not hold his finger to his lips as
one would expect. Alfred Meyer in 1903 originated the notion that it derives from the Roman Atys figures, the trousers revealing the self-mutilation. Adolfo Venturi called the figure a "little satyr" due to the tail. Siren called it "Amor Hercules" in 1920. He believed that besides having the visible attribute of the snakes around the feet, that the putto originally held snakes in his hands. Goldscheider at another time postulated that it was Mercury, and originally held a golden apple. In 1947 Charles Picard called the "Amor-Atys" a "winged snake-killing Mithra."

Janson points out that all of these interpretations depend on one attribute - the wings, the snake, or the tail for instance, but that the statue has several attributes which all must be taken into consideration for interpretation. The statue's puzzling attributes are probably the creation of a fifteenth century Neo-Platonic humanist (which would account for their being so arcane), or else what the putto held (if anything) provided the clue to his identity. He also points out that the odd belt and leggings are medieval peasant garb. Janson suggests a broad interpretation of a genius of wine, showing the happy effects of inebriation. In this case the lost attribute of the left hand would be either a glass or a
cluster of grapes. The snake and the tail could be Bacchic attributes, and on the belt, (what I mistakenly at first mis-identified as vases) are poppy heads which would refer to another type of inebriation. Only the wings do not fit.59

Maurice Shapiro (1963) felt that the bent of Quattrocento humanism was too moralizing for an "Inebriatis." Shapiro identifies the figure as "Genius". For evidence, Shapiro cites Ripa's Nova Iconologia, Padua, 1618, p. 26f. In this article Ripa describes a piece of classical sculpture found in the mid sixteenth century near Rome. The sculpture was of a laughing boy crowned with poppies holding ears of wheat in his right hand, and bunches of grapes in his left. At his feet was an epigram which read:61

"Who are ye happy boy? I am the Genius-
Why do you hold corn in your right hand, grapes
in your left? And why is there a poppy on your
brow?
-These are the god's gifts: of Ceres, Bacchus
and the god Sleep. For by these things do you
mortals live, and by Genius."

About the attributes of the Amor-Atys Shapiro identifies the "vases" on his belt as poppy stems. Amor-Atys also has a poppy in the fillet in his hair. Shapiro explains the tail through a passage in the Georgics where Virgil speaks of Ceres, Bacchus and the Fauns as
"guardian spirits of the farm." By Shapiro's interpretation the Amor-Atys would be a place genius, having the attributes of a bucolic place. Shapiro thinks the Amor-Atys was a lamp, like the putto lamps of ancient Rome. These lamps and incense burners were fashioned in the shape of a boy or youth, and the disc for the placement of the wick or incense was located on its head. Shapiro interprets the snake as a symbol of eternity, and as an ancient symbol of the genius. Shapiro suggests that the putto may have held real first fruits of the season or wax fruit.

Simon (1968) called our putto Priapus with the characteristics of Superbia. Still, not all of the attributes are accounted for.

Wind in 1958 called the many attributes those of "Eros Pantheros," that the Amor-Atys is a Neo-Platonic polymorphous combination, with the "face and wings of a classical Eros, (who) wears the tail of Pan, the trousers of Attis, the belt of Hypnos, and the sandals of Mercury." There is no precedent for the visual portrayal of Eros in quite that manner, however.

The most recent suggestion concerning what was held by the Amor-Atys is swags of garlands. In Donatello-Studien in 1989 Parronchi suggested that the Amor-Atys
might have stood on Donatello's Cantoria in Florence and held swags. Vasari wrote that bronze angels sat on Luca's Cantoria, this may have been their counterpart. Stylistically, Donatello's bronze relief putti with swags modelled later in Padua were very influential for the Squarcionesque school. One drawing by Mantegna that Parronchi cites even looks eerily like the Amor Atys. However, the pagan attributes, to me, seem inappropriate for a swag-bearer on the Cantoria.

In 1960 Panofsky published a convincing interpretation of the "Amor-Atys" as "Time as a playful child throwing dice." This phrase is based on a Heracleitan fragment found in St. Hippolytus' Refutatio omnium haeresium, book IX, chapter 4, 3. In this, the daemon of time who determines the fate of the world is compared to a "frivolous child playing a game of chance." This phrase is alluded to in a poem by the Byzantine Gregory Nazianzus (Carmina LXXXV). Panofsky believes that the title of "Time as a Playful Child Throwing Dice" fits all of the figure's diverse attributes perfectly. The faun's tail is explained by Pan's association with the universe, whose fate Time holds. The wings on the ankles and shoulders and the snakes are all attributes of Time. Panofsky explains the barbaric trousers as appropriate for Aion, the daemon of
time, due to his Iranian origins. The poppies, emblems of sleep and death due to the opium which is derived from them, may represent Time's dual nature as creator and destroyer. Panofsky asserts that the missing attribute would probably have been a die or a backgammon piece between Time's fingers.\textsuperscript{72}

Time as a frivolous child playing dice, then takes on a profound meaning. The putto represents a profound truth about earthly existence and mortality - that time is a destroyer who toys with all of us. Our eventual fate at time's hands is inevitable. This hypothesis, however, is unproveable, and Shapiro notes that the boy would be holding the die in the unlucky left hand.\textsuperscript{73} The date of c. 1440 which Janson assigned on a stylistic basis corresponds to soon after the time when the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Paleologus visited Italy with his entourage for the Council of Florence (1439). As Panofsky points out, learned conversation may have brought the Heracleitan fragment to the attention of Florentine humanists,\textsuperscript{74} who were hungry for classical Greek literature, and whose own developing Neo-Platonism tended toward the obtuse and arcane. These discussions would have been long forgotten by 1568 and 1677 when Vasari and Cinelli were perplexed by the meaning of the
mysterious "Amor-Atys." For me, the Panofsky theory is still the most plausible - that this was a humanistic commission with a profound (though obscure) theme.

As the David was important for being the first of its kind since Antiquity, a sensuous nude bronze male, so is the Amor-Atys. The status of the putto is thus elevated to a level of real respectability.

Winged Infant

The Winged Infant (Fig. 106), originally a fountain figure, has been dated to c. 1440 by John David Draper on the basis of style and method of casting, and attributed by him to the "Circle of Donatello." This piece is gilt bronze, 61.5 cm. high, and is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which acquired it in 1983. There are no documents relating to this piece which was first mentioned in literature in 1875. Douglas Lewis stated that this piece is "clearly by the same hand" as the Jacquemart-Andre angels (Fig. 107) which the Detroit catalog attributes to Luca della Robbia, but which I believe came from the Donatello workshop. Based on the extremely high quality of modeling of this piece, the facial similarities to the Amor Atys and Baptistery font Musical Putti, and the
lively quality of this piece I am attributing it to Donatello. There are no documents to back up my attribution, but close visual examination bears out the extreme similarities between this piece and others by Donatello of the 1430's and 40's, particularly the Siena baptistery putti and the Amor-Atys.

Like the Amor-Atys, the Winged Infant has small wings that hinge high on the center of the back and sprout under the armpits as is also seen in the putti of the Cantoria. Also like the Amor-Atys, this putto has unusual, puzzling attributes: winged ankles and a small fluffy, faun-like tail. The iconography of this figure has not yet been deciphered. The Winged Infant is also possibly missing an important attribute, viz., what he originally held in his hand.

The anatomy of the putto is particularly Donatellesque, the paunchy round belly being very similar to that of the David for instance. Also, the putto has a figura serpentinata derived from the putti of the Baptistery font.

Originally this figure was in a fountain, and copper tubing was still present inside the piece when the Metropolitan Museum acquired it. The original effect would have been that Winged Infant was blowing the
water, possibly moving some object or toy upheld by the figure's left hand.  

The **Winged Infant** is of such high quality that if it was not made by Donatello, it must have been modelled by a member of his workshop very close to his style. It appears to be a very early free-standing *putto* made after Donatello's Baptistery figures, and more specifically around the time of the *Amor-Atys*. The modeling, attributes, hairstyle, body shape and general concept closely relate the two.  

It is very plausible that this piece could have been designed by Donatello and, if not cast by himself, by one of his students. It shows the early use of two of Donatello's innovations: the use of the free-standing *putto* as a piece in its own right, not as an auxiliary figure; and the continuation of the developing *figura serpentinata* originated in the *putti* of the Siena Baptistery font.  

If the date of c. 1440 is correct, as to my eye appears likely, this statuette would be the first example of a *putto* as a freestanding fountain figure, an important innovation, and the type to expect from Donatello. Not knowing its original location or patron limits my speculation about the meaning of this piece. Donatello would have been familiar with ancient *amorini*
in marine theasos scenes (common on sarcophagi). Perhaps the association of amorini with water in some cases inspired a "genius of the water" for the embellishment of the fountain of a learned humanist.

**Two Angels**

These are two bronze candlestick holders (Fig. 107) in the Jacquemart-Andre Museum in Paris which have been attributed back and forth between Donatello and Luca della Robbia since their discovery in 1860. They are dated, on the basis of style and in relation to the Cantoria, to c. 1440. The Two Angels are two putti in similar poses, almost but not quite mirror images of one another. The modeling of the surfaces is very fine and they still have traces of gilding. The putti have waving hair tied in a fillet, with a flower in the center on the forehead, with leaves toward the front and strands of hair pulled over it here and there, and beautifully feathered wings, having a soft cap of feathers on the shoulder, with small wings springing from near the center of the back. Both the wings and the hairstyle are very close in style to those of the Amor-Atys.

These may be the two bronze angels that Vasari mentioned in his life of Luca della Robbia as being by
 Luca, and located on his Cantoria. This attribution is supported by Banaffe, Lanyi, Planiscig, Janson and Pope-Hennessy. However, Schubring attributed them to Donatello in 1907, and the attribution to Donatello or his shop is supported by Bode, A. Venturi, Lisner, Rosenaur, Kauffman and Gavoty based on stylistic comparisons to Donatello’s putti of the Siena font, the Atys-Amorino and Winged Infant. Françoise Gavoty’s strongly states the case for an attribution to Donatello in his paper in Donatello e il Suo tempo through comparisons with the style of Donatello’s David and Cantoria. Gavoty concludes that Vasari, by attributing the Two Angels to Luca della Robbia, was confused because they were placed on Luca’s Cantoria, but were fashioned by Donatello. The putti are finely modeled and their expressions reflect the carefree joy of the Amor-Atys indicating their genesis in Donatello’s workshop.

Gattamelata

The Paduan Gattamelata (Fig. 108) of c. 1443 - 1453 located outside the basilica of Sant’Antonio, like the David, was strikingly new in its conception. The Gattamelata is an equestrian monument to Erasmo di
Narni, a condottiero who died in January of 1443. The Gattamelata is the first bronze, outdoor, free-standing equestrian monument to honor a non-sovereign person. In Roman times emperors were honored and commemorated by bronze equestrian monuments. The classical sources of the Gattamelata include the second century Marcus Aurelius in Rome, which stood near the Lateran in Donatello’s time, now the only surviving life-sized bronze equestrian monument of a Roman emperor, and the Regisole in Pavia, originally in Ravenna, which was destroyed during the French Revolution.

The elaborate armor is unique, as classical emperors mounted on horseback were not armored, but togated. There is in this work, a fusion of classical form with contemporary references, such as the saddle with stirrups, unknown in Antiquity, and an ancient type of statue portraying a contemporary (albeit recently deceased) man.88

Putti in relief are found on the general’s cuirass (Fig. 109), greaves (Fig. 110), belt (Fig. 111), and saddle (fig. 112) and on the base of the Gattamelata (Fig. 113). The putti of the bronze Gattamelata seem to fall into the same iconographic category as those on the David and the Bust of a Youth, in that they are secondary motifs which enhance the meaning of the
monument, and can be interpreted as pointing toward a neo-Platonic interpretation.

On the back of the saddle are two equestrian putti in low relief (Fig. 112), the one on the left holding a torch. Janson cites Edgar Wind's suggestion that they might be linked to a passage in the Republic where Plato describes a horse race "in which torches are passed between the participants to honor a goddess." Two nude putto-horsemen are on the back of the saddle, one carrying a torch, which may be linked to the horse race in the Republic Book I " in which the participants pass torches in honor of a goddess. The torch is also commonly held by the genius in Roman sarcophagi symbolizing death. Around the general's waist on the bottom of his breastplate, are music-making putti, which Schneider relates to Plato's references to political and spiritual harmony and on his greaves, putto heads in low relief forming the centers of flowers.

Laurie Schneider takes the Platonic interpretation further than Janson: "the putti suggest that Gattamelata is under the protection of Eros, for in the Symposium the god of love is described as inspiring bravery in soldiers." She interprets the Gattamelata as a "kind of a Platonic 'guardian' of the state" appropriate for
the memory of a general who was heroic in exploits against the Visconti. With the growing humanism of the Venetian Republic who Gattamelata represented, Donatello may have chosen to make this statue a Platonic guardian of the state.93

On the back of the saddle are four high relief **putti**. On the horse blanket are **putti** holding braids. On the base of the monument are two pairs of **putti**. One pair holds three rope braid wreaths, with a cat on top, Erasmo di Narni's coat of arms. Another holds a cuirass and trophies of war with two totemic cats perched on top referring to the general's nickname "Gattamelata," which translates to "honeyed cat."

Laurie Schneider concludes her interpretation of the **Gattamelata**'s **putti** with a similar "homosexual" interpretation as with the **David**. She states that according to Plato tyrants oppose homosexual love while the democracy of Athens approved or even encouraged it. "The defender of democracy against tyranny is also the defender of Platonic love."94 Schneider feels that Donatello identified with the "fight against tyranny and laws which were associated with restrictions on his notoriously overt homosexual behavior."95 Her conclusion would indicate that Donatello shows his approval of love between men by using **putti** in a platonic theme.
Homosexual iconography seems incompatible with a public martial statue, considering the unlawful status of homosexuality in Renaissance Italy. That homosexual freedom might be read into this work seems far-fetched, considering that Gattamelata himself provided for the commission of this statue in his will of June 30, 1441, leaving somewhat specific instructions about it. Instead, the putti enhance the classicism of the monument, relating the deeds of the Italian general to the great martial deeds of the ancient Romans, and showing the elevation in status that an ordinary man could achieve during the Renaissance, through ambition and action. The putti here, since this is a monument to a dead hero, relate back to Roman funerary genii. The flying putti on the saddlecloth resemble, in pose, victories, certainly appropriate for a general, and also genii associated with funerary art. Both victories and genii are found in this pose on Roman sarcophagi. The putti serve a twofold purpose, to personify victory by being shown in a chariot race context and through their heraldic arrangement on his armor a link to the pose of winged Victories, and possibly in addition to remind the viewer that this is a post-mortem tribute, winged genii being common on Roman sarcophagi.
Dead Christ Upheld by Angels

The Dead Christ Upheld by Angels (Fig. 114) is a marble relief, 31 3/4" high and 45 inches wide, located in the Victoria and Albert Museum. This is a piece with a short pedigree, whose attribution has swung back and forth over the decades. There is no mention of this relief before its appearance in the Gigli-Campana collection in 1868. In 1862 Robinson accepted it as an authentic piece by Donatello, followed by Bode. In 1904 Schottmüller disagreed, and assigned it to the oeuvre of Desiderio. In 1908 Lord Balcarres suggested that it was the result of a collaboration between Donatello and Michelozzo. In the 1930's it was again attributed to Donatello by McLagen and Longhurst, and Kauffman. A decade later Planiscig dismissed it. Martinelli went back to Lord Balcarres' attribution to Donatello and Michelozzo. Janson rejected it. Pope-Hennessy admits that "the gulf between the conception and execution is very great" in the Dead Christ Upheld by Angels, particularly in the background putti, and suggests that Donatello designed the piece, which was then executed by an assistant, and that
finally, Donatello touched up the beautiful face and arm of Christ. Although this work is undocumented in its time of creation, the concetto, also found in the Paduan Altar of S. Antonio, and the fine schiacciato carving (in my opinion) betray the design and hand of Donatello. Pope-Hennessy points out the similarities in the handling of the marble between the Dead Christ Upheld by Angels and the first and second panels of the Prato Pulpit, executed between 1434 - 36. However, the influence of the design of the Dead Christ Upheld by Angels was not found in Florence, where Donatello worked at that time, nor was it found that early. The influence of this type of scheme is found not in Florentine works, but in North Italy, starting in the 1440’s, in the works of Bellini. This piece was most likely created on Donatello’s Paduan sojourn, sometime in or after 1443, for a location in Venice or Padua. In Bellini’s Rimini Pieta we find direct echoes of its content. Donatello continued this new iconographic type in the Altar of S. Antonio, Padua.

This piece is very important along with the bronze Lamentation in the church of S. Antonio, Padua, because together they begin a tradition of Christ being upheld and mourned by putti. Before Donatello, adult angels might mourn the Savior, but never the classicizing child
angel. Donatello uses putti (in the ancient role of genii) to act as a link between our world and the next. Donatello took a funerary motif - the genius - that links the worlds and uses it to take Christ into the afterlife.

Putti of the High Altar, S. Antonio, Padua, 1446 - 50

Donatello spent the last four years of the 1440's on the massive complex of bronze sculpture designed for the High Altar of S. Antonio in Padua (Fig. 115). These are works which would influence the young Mantegna.

The altar complex includes life-sized three-dimensional bronze statues of the Madonna and Child and Saints Louis of Toulouse, Prosdocimus, Anthony of Padua, Daniel, and Justina, who were possibly originally arranged in a type of sacra conversazione arrangement with the Madonna and Child in the center and the saints (from different periods of time) flanking them on either side; bronze reliefs of the miracles of St. Anthony, and small reliefs of the dead Christ, twelve musical putto angels, and four Evangelists. Unfortunately the Santo officials decided to replace the altar in 1579 with a
larger one utilizing some (but not all) of the original sculpture by Donatello. The new altar was completed in 1582, and modified in 1691. During the remodellings much of the original architecture was lost along with the knowledge of how the original ensemble looked. Most scholarship about the high altar has focused on trying to reconstruct Donatello’s original altar through written sources and aesthetics. Eleven major attempts have been made so far at scholarly reconstruction of the altar, the first by Boitoin in 1895, and recent attempts include those by Seymour, Janson, and White. Several components of the High Altar of S. Antonio utilize putti, including the Virgin and Child (Fig. 116), St. Daniel (Fig. 117), and the Music-making and Singing Angels (Figs. 118 - 129).

By this date in Donatello’s career the putto had become the fifteenth-century equivalent of a trademark for Donatello. He incorporated the winged boy into the majority of his works, often in a totally new context. By this time Donatello became inseparable from the putto, and the putto was a fully Christianized motif in some of Donatello’s works, as in this altar, although in other works such as the Amor-Atys the putto can act as a bridge to Antiquity. In the case of the Santo high altar, the putti function as angels, but their classical
forms may remind the viewer that the saints depicted were of a time in the distant past.

The *Virgin and Child* was the centerpiece of a life-sized *sacra conversazione*. This piece is 62 5/8" high. The somber Virgin wears a crown composed of three haloed and winged seraphs bearing a swag. The Virgin also wears a seraph as a closure for her robe. These are solemn, holy *putti*. In this case Donatello has abandoned totally the bacchanalian, pagan aspects of the *putti*, making them into the holy babies that we call cherubs and seraphs. The idea of using *putto* heads as "jewelry" no doubt comes from the use of the *eros* head and wings on gems and medallions in ancient Rome, of which Donatello was obviously aware. One example an engraved carnelian from the second century, now in Munich (Fig. 130),\(^{113}\) and also there is a medallion of the same date, which is in the Louvre (Fig. 131),\(^{114}\) very close in appearance to the Madonna's cape clasp. Donatello must have seen one of this type in a humanist collection of gems. Donatello's appropriation of this motif lends archaeological credence to his statue of the Virgin, placing her historically in Roman times, when such jewelry was popular.
St. Daniel is one of the saints participating in the *sacra conversazione*. His statue is 60 1/4 inches tall. The Saint wears a medallion on his chest which is very similar to the Virgin’s robe clasp - a winged seraph. The border of Daniel’s gown is decorated with two nude, winged *putti* in low relief.

Of the seventeen small reliefs of the High Altar in Padua, *putti* are incorporated into thirteen: the *Dead Christ* (Fig. 132) and twelve panels of musical angels. Donatello worked on the Padua High Altar with several assistants, and not all panels were completely executed by his hand. Documents indicate that Donatello received full payment for six of the panels including the two pairs of singing angels, so they may have been primarily by his hand. Another relief was cast by Donatello and chased by A. Chellini, the remaining panels seem to have been modeled and chased by Donatello’s "disciples:" Giovanni di Pisa, Antonio Chellini, Urbano da Cortona, Francesco del Valente and Niccolo Pizzolo. However, there is uniform quality among the twelve, indicating the creative control of the master. In the relief of the *Dead Christ*, dated to 1446 - 7, Christ is in the center, eyes closed in death. Two lamenting angels of the *putto* type hold up Christ’s cloth of honor. Both angels are clothed in knee-length
tunics with a shoulder bared. The two, facing each other, are nearly identical, each with a hand on his face.

There are twelve beautiful small reliefs of musical and singing angels associated with the High Altar which are reminiscent of Donatello's *Cantoria* and *Prato Pulpit* of the 1430's in content and style, though of a different material, bronze. They also carry through the transition from Medieval adult musical angels to classically inspired musical putti.

The *Angel Playing a Flute* (Fig. 118) is nude, with his garment draped over his further shoulder. His eyes are closed, and his cheek is puffed out as he blows the horn. The *Second Angel Playing a Flute* (Fig. 119) stands in an exaggerated contrapposto pose, faces the left as he blows his horn. He wears a tunic which is draped to expose his chest. The *Angel Playing a Lute* (Fig. 121) stands coyly, facing the viewer with eyes downcast. He wears a short tunic belted below his round belly, and plays the lute. The *Angel Playing Double Flutes* (Fig. 128) faces right in strict profile and looks upward as he blows two horns. His peplos, belted, is open at the side, and he stands on his tip-toes. The *Angel Playing Cymbals* (Fig. 122) wears a knee-length gown, and is
beautifully modeled to reveal his rounded body beneath. He plays the cymbals, but his attention seems to be directed elsewhere, which could be a clue to his original placement. The second Angel Playing the Double Flutes (fig. 129) moves in an elegant serpentine twist reminiscent of the poses of Donatello’s early putti on the Siena Baptistery Font. His head is turned in profile to the left, with his hips turned to the right. His garment swirls in both directions, too, with the peplum of his garment swirling to the right, and long skirt moving in a graceful counter clockwise spiral ending just above the ankle. The dance step and swirling garment are reminiscent of Salome from Donatello’s Lille Feast of Herod. The Angel Playing a Harp (Fig. 120) stands in a contrapposto stance, facing the viewer, with his head turned to the right. He is nude except for a knee-length cape, and plays a small harp. The Angel Playing a Violin (Fig. 125) stands facing the viewer, but looks down to the right. He wears a very short tunic, and has curving wings which overlap the frame. The second Angel Playing a Tambourine (Fig. 126) is in a stiffly restrained pose. His head is smaller proportionately than in the other angels, and the garment is heavy, with rather stiff folds. The angel wears a sleeveless shirt with a peplum, and a knee-
length skirt. This figure is dryly classicizing. The Angel Dancing and Playing the Tambourine (Fig. 127) dances exuberantly, shaking his hips as he shakes his tambourine and sings. His garments swirl around his knees. His bacchanalian exuberance recalls that of the putti of the Cantoria. The two reliefs of angels which Schubring attributed to Donatello's hand are exceptionally beautiful and well-composed. Both feature a pair of singing angels rather than an individual musical angel. The Two Angels Holding a Book and Singing (Fig. 123) face to the right, hold a book, and sing. They wear fillets in their hair and knee-length gowns with very crinkly, active folds such as are found in the sculpture of the late fifth century B.C. Athens. Of the Two Angels Leaning on a Candelabra and Singing (Fig. 124) the larger angel wears a short tunic, the smaller one a knee-length one. The larger angel looks rather bored as the younger one points to the words and clings to him. Janson postulated that the singing pairs of angels flanked the relief of the Dead Christ, making a transition between the somber funereal scene and the more joyous musical angels who seem to participate rather in the joy of Christ's resurrection than in the sorrow of his death. The angels carry on the Cantoria
tradition, being a major element of a highly important ensemble of church decoration.

*Putti* which act as intermediaries between our human realm and the heavenly realm of saints multiplied in North Italian art hereafter due to the influence of this ensemble. The Paduan Altar became a catalyst for ideas for North Italian artists and spread the influence of Donatello's *putti*. The style of the altar of San Antonio is echoed in the work of Mantegna and his circle, and the *putti* become common from c. 1450 on in the art of North Italy due to Donatello's influence.

Donatello's style of the 1440's is his mature style. These works became the most influential to his followers. Throughout the 1440's the *putto* is a motif of great importance, stylistically and iconographically.

During the 1440's Donatello used *putti* as an important motif in several ways. First of all, Donatello started creating large, free-standing *putto* statues, such as the *Amor-Atys* in the Bargello, *The Winged Infant* in the Metropolitan Museum, and the *Two Angels* in the Jacquemart-Andre Museum. Donatello had been working toward free-standing *putti* in his earlier experiments with three-dimensional *putti*, such as the tiny *putti* of St. Louis' crozier in the 1420's, and the larger dancing *putti* of the baptismal font in Siena of the 1430's.
During the 1440's Donatello fully liberated the *putto* and let it stand on its own merits. The free-standing *putto* statuette became a popular item after Donatello. (Some of the finer examples can be seen in chapter nine.)

Secondly, Donatello employed *putti* in relief, as a subsidiary element which enhanced the meaning of his sculptures, for example in the *David* in the Bargello, the *Bust of a Youth* in the Museo Nazionale and the Gattamelata in Padua. The *putti* in all of these works show that Donatello was aware of the meaning of *putti* in ancient contexts as funerary or bacchic motifs. Neo-Platonic symbolism seems evident in at least the latter three of the above sculptures, probably suggested by humanistic patrons.

Thirdly, Donatello enhanced religious scenes with *putti*, who act as intermediaries between our human world and the realm of holy drama, as in the two *Pietas* and the dancing bronze relief *putti* of the high altar of S. Antonio, Padua. This last use of *putti* was most influential for Donatello's followers, particularly in North Italy (as will be shown in chapter nine.) The musical *putto* became a very popular form, as did *putto* angels attending the dead Christ.
During the 1440's Donatello was experimenting with a full range of uses for the putto, while remaining conscious of its original ancient meanings, whether they be funereal, bacchic or as intermediary.
CHAPTER SEVEN

NOTES


time, see text of this chapter. See also Janson, 1963, 151 - 161; Schneider, Laurie, "Some Neo-platonic elements in Donatello’s Gattamelata and Judith and Holofernes," in Gazette des Beaux Arts v. 87, Feb. 1976, 41 - 48.


The putti of the High Altar, San Antonio, Padua were well-documented in their time, created in 1446 - 50. See Janson, 1963, 162 - 186; Pope-Hennessy, 1985b, 259f.


3There are no known documents concerning the date of the creation of this statue. The first document dates to 1469 when an eye witness mentions seeing the bronze David on a column in the Medici courtyard during wedding festivities (Janson, 1963, 77.) The document that Janson cites is Delle nozze di Lorenzo de’Medici con Clarice Orsini nel 1469; informazione di Pieri Parenti fiorentino, Florence, 1870, which is based on an eye witness account by Cosimo Bartoli in ms II, iv, 324 in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.) The David has been assigned various dates, depending on writers’ opinions on where it fits in the progression of Donatello’s style. Tschudi, 1887, 13; Reymond, Marcel, La Sculpture Florentine, Florence: 1897, 119, Crutwell, Maud, Donatello, 1911, 83, and Janson, 1963, 77 all date the David to the early to mid 1430’s based on the stylistic affinities to the Siena baptistery putti of the late 1420’s. Milanesi, Gaetano, Catalogo delle opere di Donatello, Florence: 1887, 296f and Kauffman, Hans, Donatello, Berlin: 1935, 159ff see the David as falling into the late 1450’s, relating it thematically to the Judith as part of a Medicean scheme. John Paoletti dates the David even later, its conception to 1463 - 4. He feels that it was the model for a cathedral buttress figure which was never completed, and that Agostino di Duccio cast the existing figure after Donatello’s death. See Paoletti, John, "The Bargello David and Public Sculpture in fifteenth-century Florence," in Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art, 1978, 100 - 103. Leach, 1984 dates the David to about 1428 based
partly on the stylistic relationship to the Siena Baptistry putti, and partly to move it closer to the time of the Florentine triumph over the Visconti threat. Paoletti, 1978, 99 - 112 believes that the David was designed by Donatello but executed by Agostino di Duccio between 1463 - 1469. This writer dismisses this theory.

4Janson, 1963, 85.
6Bennett and Wilkins, 1985, 83.
8Ibid.
9Schneider, 1973, 213.
10Dixon, 1979, 9f. panned Schneider's Neo-Platonic interpretation, disputing its basis and balking at the "homosexual" interpretation.
11This idea was first formulated by Jeno Lanyi in a lecture in London at the Warburg Institute, cited by Janson, 1963, 83f. See Leach, 1984.
12Leach, 1984, 156f.
13Ibid., 161f.
14Dixon, 1979, 126f.
15Janson, 1963, 84; Dixon, 126f. notes that Furtwangler in 1900 identified the subject as Dionysus and a young satyr. In a recent catalog of Medici gems it is identified as a Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne.
16Schneider, 1973, 216.
17Rudolf Wittkower, 1938, 260f.
19Leach, 1984, 121-2.
20Ibid., 127.
Janson accepts it (1963, 141). It was accepted by Tschudi, 1887, 24; Semper, 1875, 84f.; Kauffmann, 1935, 52f; Wittkower, 1938. It was rejected by Milanesi, 1887, 26; Semrau, 1891, p. 95, n.; and Adolfo Venturi, 1898, 296. Bennett and Wilkins, 1984, do not mention it.


The figure is sometimes identified as Eos-Dawn. Boardman, John, Engraved Gems: The Ionides Collection, Evanston, IL: 1968, 37.

Boardman, 1968, Ionides catalog #10, p.92 "Cornelian scarab. 13.5 mm. . . . Victory driving her four-horse chariot, holding a whip." p. 17 "The chariot group on no. 10 is of a type that had a long and distinguished history on coins and in sculpture since the fifth century B.C. In this form with the fan-like spaying of the horses' forelegs and necks, we see the most stylized version which appears on coins by the end of the third century (B.C.)."

Ibid., 37: identified as a Roman cameo. "The cameo n. 56 showing Nike-Victory in her chariot (sometimes identified as Eos-Dawn). . . a layered onyx. . . the theme is commonplace in cameos."

Ibid., 16, Ionides #6 identified by Boardman as Archaizing Etruscan. (p. 92) "Cornelian scarab 14.5 mm. . . . Two-horse chariot driven by a naked man holding a branch."

Janson, 1963, 141.

Janson, 1963, 141.


Janson, 1963, 141, n. 1.
and Kauffman (1935, 143) both dated this work to c. 1440. The date is problematical, as the authors related it to the Cantoria, which is firmly dated, but also the the David and Bust of a Youth which are not.

Janson, 1963, 147.

Ibid., 143.

Emilio Cecchi, Donatello, 1940, 6.


Ibid., 216.

Janson, 1963, 144.

Vasari, 1970, 310, "there is a metal Mercury by Donatello 1 1/2 braccia high, in full relief, and clothed in a curious fashion which is really very fine."


Semper, 1887, 269.

Tschudi, 1887, 14.

Schottmuller, 1904, 51, n. 1.

Marcel Reymond, La sculpture Florentine, Florence: 1897, V.2, 119.

Goldscheider, 1941, 120f.

Bode, 1892 - 95, 20.

Janson, 1963, 144 cites Siegfried Weber, Die Entwicklung des Putto in der Plastik der Frührenaissance, Heidelberg: 1898. I could not verify
this source due to its rarity.

52 Meyer, 1903, 78.

53 Adolfo Venturi, Storia dell'arte italiana, vi, La scultura del quattrocento, Milan: 1908, 272f.


55 Goldscheider, 1941, 20f.


57 Janson, 1963, 144.

58 Ibid.

59 Janson, 1963, 145.

60 Shapiro, 1963, 137.

61 Ibid., 138.

62 Ibid

63 The nature of the genius in classical times is slippery. In early times it seems that a snake or a phallus represented the genius. See Jane Chance Nitzsche, The Genius Figure in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, NY: 1975, chapter one; H.J. Rose, "On the Original Significance of the Genius," Classical Quarterly II, Vol. 27, April 1923, 57 - 60. A genius loci is a "place genius." In early Italian religion, the snake represented the genius loci, the Genius of the house." Nitzsche, 8. Shapiro illustrates a painting from Herculaneum with an inscription below, "Genius Huius Loci Montis." In this, a snake is coiled around an altar. A young nude boy with leaves in his hair approaches. This may (or may not) represent the place genius as a boy. (Shapiro, 141.) Ripa's 1618 edition (and earlier ones ) tell us "Now sometimes the Genius was represented in the image of a snake, sometimes in the form of a boy or youth...." Ibid.

64 Shapiro, 1963, 139.

65 Ibid., 140.
Simon, 1966, 335. Simon relates it to a sarcophagus in Princeton which portrays the raising of a statue of baby Bacchus on a pedestal. She calls the Amor-Atys a "little despot" (p. 339), Cupid with the attributes of the god Priapus. Priapus in mythology is also a son of Venus - thus a brother of Cupid (p. 340). The bronze Amor-Atys has flowers in his hair, symbolic of Summer, and the tail of a faun, typical of Priapus. (p. 341) The snakes relate to the woodland dweller, too. Simon points out that Priapus was considered evil in the Middle Ages. His wings represent false hope as related to the attributes of Superbia in the Iconologia (346).

Wind, 1958, 164 n. 5.

Parronchi, 1989.

Vasari I, 1970, 225, "above the framework of (the Cantoria) Luca made two figures of gilt metal representing two nude angels, beautifully finished..."

St. Hippolytus (c. 170 - 235/6), from Refutation of all Heresies, Hippolytus, trans. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, Edinburgh, 1898, p. 332. "A sporting child, playing dice, is eternity; the kingdom is that of a child."

Panofsky, 1960, 169, n. 1.

Shapiro, 1963, 135.

Panofsky, 1960, 169, note #1.

Ibid., 169, note 31.

Detroit, 1985, 126f.

There is not much literature dealing with this piece. It was first mentioned in the Leeds, England, Yorkshire Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures: Official Catalogue of 1875 when it was in Muncaster Castle, Ravenglass, Cumbria. It was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1983 and published in its Notable Acquisitions 1983 - 84, 26f., by John David Draper, who also wrote the entry for the 1985 Detroit exhibition catalogue.

Detroit, 1985, 150.
For a summary of their attributions see Italian Renaissance Sculpture in the Time of Donatello, Detroit, 1985, 149f. or Pope-Hennessy, Luca della Robbia, Ithaca, N.Y.: 1980, 257f. The attributions swing back and forth between Luca della Robbia and Donatello. In 1866 the angels were attributed to Donatello, 1893 catalogued for the Piot sale (entry #13) by Bonaffe as by Luca, 1975 catalog of Jacquemart-Andre Museum assigns them to the "atelier of Donatello." Bode, "L'Esposition retrospective au Trocadero," in Revue Archeologique, 1879, 100; Margit Lisner, Luca della Robbia: Die Sangerkanzel, Stuttgart, 1960, 20; Schubring, 1907, xxxiii, 55; and A. Venturi, Storia dell'Arte italiana, Milan, 1901, 40; attribute them to Donatello or his shop. Lanyi, Planiscig, Luca della Robbia, Vienna 1940, 14f., 30f.; Janson, 1963, 118 and Pope-Hennessy, 1980, 257f. attribute them to Luca della Robbia.

Bode, 1879, 100; Lisner, 1960, 20; Schubring, 1907, 55; A. Venturi, 1901, 40 and Rosenaur (Gavoty, Catalog 40) all dated these works to c. 1433 - 40 due to the date of the Cantoria and to similarities to the Siena font putti. See Detroit, 1985, 150.

This is documented. See Gloria, 1985, 7.

Bennett and Wilkins, 1985, 129. For more sources for the Gattamelata see Greenhalgh, 1982, 132 - 137.
Janson, 1963, 156. Instructions included that if Gattamelata died in Padua his tomb was to be in the Santo, of stone, and honorable. The executors could determine the details, with expenses not to exceed 700 ducats.


Robinson, 1862, 14.

Bode, 1892 - 95, 21.

Schottmuller, 1904, 87.

Balcarres, *Donatello*, 1908, 165.

McLagen and Longhurst, 1932, 20.

Kauffman, 1935, 217.

Planiscig, 1947 - it is not mentioned in the book.


Janson, 1963.


Pope-Hennessy, 1959, 56, and 1964a, 75.

Pope-Hennessy, 1959, 53f.


Janson, 1963, 170.

White, John, *Studies in Renaissance Art*, 202

113 See *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (L.I.M.C.) III, Zurich and Munich: 1986, "Amor" #994.

114 Ibid., #995.

115 The documents can be found in A. Gloria, 1895, pp. 5 - 15. Janson translated them in 1963, 165f), they say as follows: (Gloria, p. 11) June 26, 1448, "Accounting of various sums due Donatello: for four bronze angels (agnoli) cast and finished by him, in accordance with an earlier contract, 12 ducats apiece; for his work on another angel (agnolo), 3 ducats; and on behalf of Antonio Chellini, as the final payment for yet another angel, 1 ducat." Gloria p 13, Janson, 167, June 23, 1449 - "Donatello is paid 136 lire 16 soldi for making two bronze angels; 113 lire for casting and "adorning" the *Pieta*, plus 50 lire for metal for the *Pieta*; 285 lire for "adorning" 4 evangelists and 12 angels."

116 Janson, 1963, 182, Janson wrote of the futility of attributing individual angels to Donatello's assistants. Donatello apparently designed the entire ensemble, and there are no documents to prove who may or may not have manually executed an individual angel. Janson dismisses Schubring's attributions, 1906, 122ff. (i.e. Urbano da Cortona being responsible for the *Angel Playing a Lute* and the *Angel Playing a Harp*; Antonio Chellino being responsible for the *Angel Blowing a Horn* and the second *Angel Blowing a Horn*; Giovanni da Pisa being responsible for the *Angel Playing a Violin*, the *Angel Playing Cymbals*, and the *Angel Playing a Violin*; Francesco Valente being responsible for the *Angel Dancing and Playing the Tambourine*; and Donatello executing in toto the *Two Angels Holding a Book and Singing*, and the *Two Angels Leaning on a Candelabra and Singing.*)

117 Janson, 1963, 178.
CHAPTER VIII
Donatello’s Late Putti: The 1450’s and ’60’s

Donatello was still a prolific sculptor, and perhaps more than ever an original one, when he reached his sixties and seventies. During the 1450’s and ’60’s Donatello worked incessantly; the works that resulted in which putti play a part include a plaque of the Madonna and Child and two monumental commissions, the Judith and Holofernes and the two pulpits for San Lorenzo, on which he was working at the time of his death. Putti function prominently in both of these ensembles, enriching their iconography. Of these four works only the Chellini Madonna is firmly, indisputably dated, although plausible dates are conjectured for the others. The works in this chapter will not be discussed chronologically, but the Chellini Madonna will be treated first, and then Judith and Holofernes and the twin pulpits of San Lorenzo, which are linked through their symbolic use of putti.
The Chellini Madonna (Fig. 133) shows Donatello returning to a theme - the Madonna and Child with putti - that he had first dealt with in the 1420's, and regularly revisited. Here putti joyfully attend the infant Christ, whom they will later mourn in the Pieta. The most distinctive aspect of the Chellini Madonna, however, involves its technical ramifications.

The Chellini Madonna dates to before August 27, 1456, it is now located in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. It is a bronze tondo, 28.5 cm. in diameter, and is the only firmly documented Madonna relief by Donatello.

The Chellini Madonna is classically beautiful and severe. The modeling of the surfaces, particularly those representing the cloth of the garments, is very similar to that of the presumably contemporary Judith and Holofernes. In fact, the Madonna's garment is similar to Judith's - both garments are composed of a heavy fabric such as linen, are high waisted, and fall into heavy folds. The regal Madonna, wearing a crown within her halo, has classically beautiful features. She holds the Christ Child to her breast with an elegant long hand, and has her face, in a three-quarters view, bent down
lovingly toward her Child. In the foreground of the scene is balustrade decorated with winged putto heads behind which the Virgin stands. To the left and right of the Virgin and Child are four putti functioning as angels. They are semi-nude, winged, and haloed, very similar in clothing and style to the musical putti decorating the high altar of S. Antonio, Padua.

This plaque differs from Donatello’s earlier reliefs (such as the Madonna of the Clouds, the Ascension and Delivery of the Keys and the Assumption of the Virgin) in the activity of the putti. In the earlier pieces the putti were swooping through the skies in a somewhat manic flurry of activity. In the Chellini Madonna the putti stand solemnly on either side of the Virgin, one holding out his hand as though to support her. The solemn participation of the putti is similar to that of the putti of Donatello’s Pieta of the Paduan ensemble of the 1440’s. The Virgin, with her tilted head and hair pulled back from a central part, wearing a pointed crown looks very similar to the statue of the Virgin of the high altar in S. Antonio. Likewise, the putti of the Chellini Madonna wear clothing similar in style to that of the putti attending Christ in the bronze Pieta relief. Rather than flying or merely
observing, the putti of the Chellini tondo seem emotionally involved in the tender scene. The two putti on the left hold out their arms as though to support the Virgin much as the putti supported the dead Christ in the bronze Pieta. The two putti on the right hold a bowl of what appears to be bread, perhaps demonstrating that the birth of Christ began his path to martyrdom - the bread being a Christian symbol of Christ's body and sacrifice. The grave seriousness of the putti attending the Virgin foreshadows the putti's role, later in time, in a lamentation scene. It should be noted that other artists did not give the putto this important a role in Madonna and Child reliefs at this time. Two examples of contemporary Madonna reliefs are Antonio Rossellino's Virgin and Child in the Metropolitan of c. 1460 - 65\(^3\) (Fig. 134) and Desiderio da Settignano's in the Philadelphia Museum (Fig. 135) of c. 1455 - 61.\(^4\) Both of these pieces are strongly influenced by Donatello's earlier Madonna and Child plaques, for instance the Pazzi Madonna and the Madonna of the Clouds in style, mood, and in the schiacciato rendering of the putto-cherubs of the backgrounds. These artists kept the putti in the background, however. They observe the holy scene but do not participate.
The Chellini Madonna relief was a gift to Donatello’s physician. It corresponds to the description of a plaque given by Donatello to his physician, Giovanni Chellini, in August of 1456. The entry in Chellini’s records of debits and credits reads:

I record that on August 27, 1456, while I was treating Donato, called Donatello, the singular and principal master in making figures of bronze and wood and terracotta, who made the big man which is on top of the chapel above the door of Santa Reparata towards the Servi, and had begun another one 9 braccia high, he of his kindness and in consideration of the medical treatment which I had given and was giving for his illness gave me a roundel the size of a trencher in which was sculpted the Virgin Mary with the Child at her neck and two angels on each side, all of bronze, and on the outer side hollowed out so that melted glass could be cast onto it, and it would make the same figures as those on the other side.

The Chellini Madonna not only shows Donatello’s continued interest in including putti in sacred scenes, which was very influential for painting, but also shows that his experimental nature was not diminished in his older age. The Chellini roundel is remarkable in that the reverse is an exact negative of the front, so it could act as a mold for multiple reproductions of this image. Chellini noted in his record book that melted glass could be cast from it to make a replica of the roundel, implying Donatello’s interest in the potential of glass sculpture at this time. No glass casts taken
from the Chellini Madonna in Donatello’s time have been found, but there are two stucco casts, probably contemporary, taken from the Chellini Madonna: one (badly damaged) in the Museo del Castelvecchio in Verona, and one near Florence in San Lorenzo at Vicchio di Rimaggio. A deformed bronze cast is in the National Gallery in Washington, D.C.6

On display in the Victoria and Albert Museum with the Chellini Madonna is a deep blue glass cast successfully taken from the roundel in 1976.

Judith and Holofernes

The bronze Judith and Holofernes7 is a life-sized work, 7' 8 7/8" tall with its pedestal (Fig. 136). It has generally been dated to around 1456, a dating based on the belief that it originally stood in the Medici Palace courtyard, which was finished in the 1450’s, and on a comparison to the Siena Cathedral’s St. John the Baptist which was documented as finished by Donatello in 1457.8 It is located in front of the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. This incredibly realistic statue illustrates the climactic moment of the Apocryphal Book of Judith, in which the Jewish heroine beheads the enemy general
Holofernes, thus saving her people. Judith, heavily draped, stands rigidly over Holofernes, with one foot on his groin and right arm held high with a sword, ready to strike the death blow to Holofernes' neck. Holofernes is naked, sprawling, limp in unconsciousness or drunkenness. He is seated on a pillow which billows over the triangular base of the statue.

On the cushion between the hands of Holofernes is an inscription which reads "OPVS - DONATELLI - FLO" ("the work of Donatello, Florentine" abbreviated), while around the top of the pedestal is another which reads "EXEMPLVM - SAL - PVB - CIVES - POS - MCCCCXCV" ("Placed by the citizens as an example of public welfare <or salvation> 1495" abbreviated) which was added to the statue when it was placed at the Ringhiera at the Palazzo Vecchio after Piero de' Medici's expulsion in 1495.9

Two more inscriptions are associated with Judith and Holofernes which are no longer in existence. By August, 1464, an inscription had been placed "below" the statue, then in the Palazzo Medici, which read:10

Regna cadunt luxu surgent virtutibus urbes caesa vides humili colla superba manu.

(Kingdoms fall by lust, rise through virtues; behold the neck of pride severed by the hand of humility)
Presumably between 1464 and 1469 Piero de' Medici added yet another inscription:

Regna Cadunt...Salus Publica...Petrus Medices Cos. Fi. libertati simul et fortitudini hanc mulieris statuam quo cives invicto constantique amino ad rem pub. redderunt dedicavit.

(Piero son of Cosimo Medici has dedicated the statue of this woman to that liberty and fortitude bestowed on the republic by the invincible and constant spirit of the citizens)

These inscriptions added after Donatello completed the statue do not necessarily tell us what Donatello's original intent was, but they do let us know what meaning was attached to the Judith and Holofernes in Donatello's own time. Allegorically, the story of Judith and Holofernes is well suited to the meaning of "the neck of pride severed by the hand of humility."

Scholars have advanced several theories regarding Donatello's intended meaning of this sculptural group. Hans Martin von Erffa proposed a strictly religious interpretation - that Judith represents a prefiguration of the Virgin, and that we are seeing an analogy between Judith conquering Holofernes and the Virgin triumphing over Satan. Von Erffa cites the Speculum Humanae Salvationis in which Judith appears as a type of Mary. In the Paris Bib. Lat. 9484 copy of the Speculum,
illustrated in the fourteenth century at the beginning of chapter thirty, are two captioned illustrations of the Virgin overcoming the devil and Judith killing Holofernes. This pairing is not accidental, but meaningful.

Janson interprets the meaning of the statue in the medieval psychomachia tradition, in which the triumph of virtue over vice is acted out by personifications. In this view, the heavily draped Judith, savior of her people, represents sanctimonia (piety) or continenta (continence) standing triumphantly over the vice luxuria (lust, or excess - who often has as an attribute a cushion such as that on which Holofernes is seated) or superbia (pride). Janson asserted that whether or not the Medici commissioned the piece, when they acquired it they could have adapted its meaning to their own by equating monarchy with luxuria and city republics, such as Florence, with virtue.

Schneider's interpretation of Judith and Holofernes relates the piece to the "opposition of monarchy and city-states." City states, such as Florence and Venice, were at this time in humanist discussions related to ancient Greece and Rome, and contrasted to tyrannical states such as Milan, which were threats to Florence.
Holofernes, in this case would be connected to monarchy, since he worked for a king. Judith, on the other hand, viewed as a savior of Israel’s liberty, could relate to Florentine resistance to the Visconti tyranny. In this case, Donatello would be showing city-states, such as Florence, to be superior. This meaning, however, seems to relate to Piero de' Medici’s later inscription—possibly referring to his triumph over the Pitti conspiracy—and possibly was not the artist’s intent.

On the triangular base of the Judith and Holofernes are three scenes involving putti. In the first scene, visible while one faces Judith, putti are gathering grapes and carrying them in baskets on their shoulders (Fig. 137). All the putti are winged, while some are nude, and others are semi-nude. In front of the putti reclines a drunken figure holding a jug and wearing a mask. The jug and mask positively identify these putti as bacchanalian. Early Greek theatre was associated with the worship of Dionysus, the wine god. Two major annual Dionysiac festivals took place, one in the Spring, and the other in the Winter. At these festivals contests of comedy and tragedy took place. Greek actors, who were male, wore masks and costumes to play the various roles. The relationship of the wine jug and mask to the Silenus figure, a follower of
Dionysus, is clear. The scene clearly relates to Dionysiac festivities, involving the drinking of wine. In the second scene, placed below Holofernes, two putti are stomping grapes in a huge krater, while others dance around them and eat grapes (fig. 138). Around the top of the krater is a frieze of garland-bearing putti. Two putti recline at the bottom of the scene, perhaps drunken, while at the right of the scene one putto lifts up his flimsy garment as though about to relieve himself. The focal point of the third scene is a putto sitting on the lap of (a statue of?) Dionysus, kissing him on the cheek (Fig. 139). To the right putti blow horns and dance. Another putto on the left appears to be dancing or running. The putti from the three scenes represent wine and its negative effects: drunkenness, sleep, and impolite behavior, the unleashing of the drinker's inhibitions. These scenes do not relate to Christian uses of wine (in the Eucharist), as scenes of wine-making could, but back to classical Dionysiac or Bacchanalian scenes of revelry. Janson asserts that the putti relate to Holofernes' drunkenness, with which I agree. Through classical imagery the putti explain Holofernes' downfall. In a moment of weakness, intensified by his drunken state, the powerful general
fell victim to a temperate woman. The putti do not grieve Holofernes' death, but rather imbibe, echoing Holofernes' state.

Schneider, however, does not think that the putti of the pedestal relate exclusively to Holofernes' drunken state. Instead, she relates them to Plato's discussion of the importance of sobriety to commanders in Laws Book I, 639 -40, in which he wrote that all social institutions, especially the military, are at their best under the direction of a good commander: sober and wise. In Laws I, 645 Plato wrote that when a man drinks excessively his soul returns to the same condition as that of the soul of a child with no self-control. Schneider also cites the Republic IX, 573 in which Plato writes that drunkenness makes a man tyrannical, and mentions the tyrant Eros. She says that the putti of the base relate to the state of the soul of the drunken Holofernes "regressed to childhood under the influence of alcohol and destroyed by the tyranny of his own libidinal "Eros." 21 She concludes that Donatello was applying a Neo-Platonic interpretation to the Judith and Holofernes; that he may have noticed parallels between "Plato's Laws and the free states of Italy." 22 In other words, Judith represents Florence and the free states of Italy, and Holofernes is associated with
tyrannies, such as Milan. In the absence of documentation about who commissioned this work and for what exact place, and no evidence from Schneider to prove that Donatello read Plato's *Laws*, her theory, to this writer at least, is unconvincing.

On the bodice of Judith's dress are two nude, winged *putti* holding a circle, much like Antique funerary *genii* in a heraldic arrangement around a clipeus (Fig. 140). In the band of ornament on her shoulders are more heraldic *putti* standing on either side of a vase (Fig. 141). There are more *putti* on the cuff of Judith's right (sword-bearing) arm (Fig. 142). More *putti* are on the back (collar area) of Judith's dress (Fig. 143) similar to those on the front.

Schneider writes that the *putti* on Judith's dress, like those of the Paduan Gattamelata's saddlecloth, are "Platonic variations on the traditional winged victories" showing Florence "triumphant over tyranny." Although they are winged boys, rather than winged women, the heraldic pose of the *putti* does resemble that of victories. Donatello, who often changed figures from their original form, based these *putti* on victories to emphasize the notion of Judith victorious.
Even within a work of art the meaning of Donatello's putti can differ depending on their placement, the people that they refer to, and their sources. Donatello chose to use putti on the base of the Judith to stress Holofernes' drunken state. The putti on Judith's costume served a different purpose, having the notion of victory attached to them. Donatello's putti and their activities were wisely chosen to enhance the message of the story of Judith and Holofernes.

Gospel and Epistle Pulpits
for San Lorenzo

Not a single document concerning the commission or execution of these pulpits, which appear to be Donatello's last project, has come down to us. The earliest reference to these pulpits comes from c.1485 in Vespasiano da Bicci's "Life" of Cosimo de'Medici in his Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV, in which he writes that Cosimo commissioned Donatello and four assistants to create the pulpits so that Donatello would not be idle.24

The two pulpits have not remained undisturbed in S. Lorenzo. Apparently some time before 1515 they were dismantled and stored away, as there is a document from
that time in the account books of S. Lorenzo listing the costs involved in bringing the pulpits back into the church, cleaning and reassembling them in anticipation of a visit from Pope Leo X.  

These "twin" bronze pulpits in S. Lorenzo are not identical twins. The North pulpit (Fig. 144) is 137 cm. high and 280 cm. long. The South pulpit is (Fig. 145) 123 cm. high and 292 cm. high. They have generally been dated to c. 1460 - 70. Vasari tells us that due to Donatello's age Bertoldo completed the pulpits and put on the finishing touches. Vasari, in his Life of Michelangelo, states that Bertoldo chased the casts of the bronze pulpits. Donatello died in 1466. Semrau credits Bellano and possibly two other masters with much of the execution and possibly the designs of parts left undone on Donatello's death. Scholars dispute the amount of work executed by Donatello as opposed to his followers. The south (Epistle) pulpit appears to be the first executed, and the finer of the two as far as the putto friezes are concerned. Janson believed the putto frieze of the north (Gospel) to postdate Donatello's death due to the static nature of the putto groups, the "tameness" of the putti, and his sense that they are too classicizing for the creative late Donatello. Although the hand of Bellano and perhaps Bertoldo has been
detected in the putto friezes, scholars in general have agreed that the underlying conception of the entire scheme of both pulpits is Donatello’s.\textsuperscript{31} What is most important is that the putto frieze is unprecedented in earlier indoor pulpits - it derives from Roman sarcophagi.\textsuperscript{32} Thus this shows a new use for putti. Iconographically the putti carry on a tradition begun by Donatello in the Cantoria of decorating a religious article with the classical motifs of putti and urns. In the case of the San Lorenzo pulpits, though, the putto frieze is secondary, with the putti commenting on the passion scenes. Rather than being primarily musical putti they are primarily bacchanalian putti\textsuperscript{33} - a few of the putti play pipes, but the majority of them perform activities such as gathering grapes.

The iconography of the Gospel pulpit shows Christ’s sacrifice, the Epistle pulpit shows the fulfillment of Christ’s promise - life after death and redemption. The scene of Christ’s last supper is conspicuously missing. Clearfield suggests that the altar, placed between the pulpits, completed the iconographic scheme.\textsuperscript{34}

The North pulpit is composed of seven scenes, scenes from Christ’s Passion, primarily: The
Flagellation, St. John the Evangelist, Christ on the Mount of Olives, Christ before Pilate and Caiphas, The Crucifixion, The Lamentation, The Entombment. The South Pulpit is primarily composed of scenes of five post-Passion miracles: The Three Marys at the Tomb, Christ in Limbo, The Resurrection, The Ascension, Pentecost, The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, St. Luke the Evangelist, and The Mocking of Christ. The scenes of The Flagellation, Sts. John and Luke the Evangelists, and The Mocking of Christ were not part of the original scheme, but were added later to complete the scheme in the seventeenth century. The places where the Flagellation and Mocking of Christ are now located were probably originally openings as entrances to the pulpits. Putti, participating in a variety of activities, mostly involving grapes, inhabit the horizontal band of decoration running around the top of all sides of the pulpits.

Besides questions of attribution on the twin pulpits there have also been questions about their original use in S. Lorenzo—were they pulpits or cantorie? Albertini, writing about 1510, called them twin pulpits for the reading of the Gospel and Epistles during mass. Albertini, being a cleric, would seem to be a reliable source. Irving Lavin in his Master's
thesis of 1951 showed the pulpits to be revivals of early medieval Gospel and Epistle pulpits, but also wrote of the resemblance of the pulpits to sarcophagi. Lavin demonstrated that the programme of the south pulpit was related to the iconography of Christian tombs, and hypothesized that these — and hence, the pulpit — were meant to call to the viewer's mind the ideal sepulcher, that of Christ. He points out that the North pulpit illustrates Christ's Passion and death, the right pulpit illustrates Christ's Resurrection and miracles. Between the two in the church would stand the altar at which the priest would celebrate the Mass with the bread and wine, symbolic of the sacrifice of body and blood of Christ on which Christians base their hope of salvation. The altar would tie together the themes of the pulpits: death and resurrection, sacrifice and salvation.37

Kauffman's theory, however, was that these "pulpits" were actually cantorie, due to the dancing and music-making putti of the friezes, which he felt related them to Donatello's Cantoria for the Duomo of the 1430's. Janson dismissed this theory on the basis that the music-making putti of the pulpits are incidental to the bacchanalian scenes.38 This is true. In fact, very
few of the putti on the pulpits are musical.

Bennett and Wilkins in their book on Donatello believe a less plausible theory proposed by Beccherucci, based on the research of Herzner⁴⁹ who suggests that Cosimo de' Medici's tomb was placed underneath (above his present tomb in the crypt) after several months of committee debate about where his tomb should be. Since the two pulpits are not exactly the same size, Beccherucci theorizes that they were not conceived of as a pair of pulpits. She believes that originally, the North pulpit decorated with the Passion scenes may have been a singular pulpit, while the scenes of the South pulpit formed part of a monumental tomb for Cosimo de' Medici, and that the large entablature with rampant horses was conceived as the cornice for a high altar of San Lorenzo.⁴⁰ This interpretation is partly based on a passage in Vasari which mentions a model made by Donatello for the high altar of San Lorenzo "with the Tomb of Cosimo de' Medici at its foot,"⁴¹ partly based on the fact that the two pulpits are of different sizes — one possibly assembled out of the remnants of a disassembled tomb.⁴² Bennett and Wilkins suggest that the pulpits be dismantled to look for physical evidence to possibly prove this hypothesis.⁴³ There is no hard evidence to back Beccherucci and Bennett and Wilkins'
theory. Without explanation, Bennett and Wilkins suggest that the scenes of Christ's Passion are not appropriate for Gospel and Epistle pulpits. The iconography of the two pulpits is, in my opinion, suited for pulpits.

The North Pulpit, the Gospel Pulpit is rich with putti. A frieze of putti and vases runs around the entablature. To my eyes, the activities of these putti relate to the Passion scenes below them. The putti with grapes and wine vases remind the viewer of classical Dionysiac putti like those of the Judith and Holofernes, but tamer. Their sources are found in Roman art with scenes of putti harvesting and vintaging, as found on sarcophagi such as the marble Roman sarcophagus from the third century illustrated (Fig. 146). The putti in this are bacchic in reference, but engaged in an "everyday" activity, not in scenes of drunken revelry. These putti modeled by Donatello, in the context of Christ's Passion, relate allegorically to the Eucharist. Due to Donatello's familiarity with Roman sarcophagi, and the greater awareness of Greek and Latin literature in the second half of the fifteenth century, Donatello would more than likely have been aware that in Antiquity, Dionysus' cult offered a promise of an afterlife, and his rites involved the drinking of
Dionysus prefigures Christ with His promise of salvation, given to the initiate through the participation in the Christian Mass with its offerings of bread and wine. There are parallels between lives of Dionysus/Bacchus and Christ: both had miraculous births, both performed "miracles" dealing with wine, both have grapes as attributes, both were the focus of a religion having aspects of suffering, death and afterlife. In fact, a Medieval work, the Christus Patiens, drew on Euripides's Bacchae, making a parallel between Christ and Dionysus.

That Donatello relates the activities of his putti in the twin pulpits to the holy narrative scenes below them, is a point not mentioned in previous literature on Donatello. Another example of the putti meaningfully mirroring the Passion scenes below is found above the scene of Christ on the Mount of Olives the putti at the right are embracing and kissing (Fig. 147), foreshadowing the fateful kiss of Judas by which he alerted the Roman soldiers to the person of Christ so He could be arrested.

In the main scene of Christ before Caiphas and Pilate there are two huge arches supported by three columns. Topping the columns are statues of winged cupids, indicating that the scene takes place in the
ancient pagan world. Above these cupids, on the left and right columns are what appear to be the capitals of engaged columns decorated with pairs of genii bearing garlands. Inhabiting the frieze above the scene are putti with vases in the center and sides, and in between putti gathering grapes and putting them into huge kraters (Fig. 148). Putti are preparing to make wine as Christ prepares to be sacrificed.

Above the Crucifixion putti are sailing in a boat on the left, on the right embracing as though consoling one another. Two putti lie on the ground while being brought grapes (Fig. 149). Sailing putti are found in ancient frescoes and mosaics, for example the grand mosaic in the Villa of the Nile at Leptis Magna. Sailing, from as far back as ancient Egypt, was a symbol used to show the passage from life to the afterlife. In Greek mythology Charon the ferryman carried the dead across the River Styx to Hades. In the Crucifixion we see Christ’s passage from life to death below the scene of putti sailing and consoling one another.

Above the Entombment putti play music, and gather and eat grapes. Two putti hold each other in an embrace (Fig. 150). In this piece, as in all the scenes of the pulpits, grapes are a Eucharistic motif relating to
Christ’s sacrifice and blood. In the Entombment scene itself, putti are found on breastplates and in the capitals. Above the scenes of the Crucifixion, Deposition and Lamentation there are pilasters topped with capitals that are decorated with genii bearing swags like those found on Roman sarcophagi. Genii, being the bearers of the soul to the afterlife are apropos for scenes of Christ’s death.

The South pulpit (Fig. 145), the Epistle pulpit, has like the Gospel pulpit a frieze featuring putti topping all four sides. There are also putti in the rooftops above the scene of the Three Maries at the Tomb (Fig. 151), and a putto riding a horse in the shield in front of the risen Christ. The putto, perhaps the victor of a horse race, relating to its use on Donatello’s Bust of a Youth and Gattamelata, I would speculate, represents Christ’s victory over sin and death.

The putti of the frieze, again, echo the activities of the main scenes below them. Above the Three Maries at the Tomb one putto is asleep, echoing the sleeping Roman soldiers below. Others play music and gather grapes between rampant horses. Above Christ in Limbo one putto sails a barge, again a passage symbol from one state of existence to another - echoing Christ’s journey into Limbo. There is a vase in the
center, two putti with bowls of grapes, and a putto on the left appears fearful of the scene being acted out below.

In the scene of the Ascension putti surround Christ as angels (Fig. 152). Above, in the auxiliary scene, putti are raising a herm that was down on the ground back upright. On the left other putti are raising a monument of a putto. Simon has found a Roman sarcophagus, now in Princeton, with similar motifs. In one scene adult men raise a herm (Fig. 153). In another scene, Silenus and other adults seem to be idolizing a statue of a putto. (Fig. 154) Simon suggests during the time of Donatello a person would associates the putto with the baby Priapus and the vice of superbia. Simon relates the vice of superbia to Lucifer, whom the crucified Christ overcame. I, instead, see the putto being raised up in Donatello’s work as a positive echo of Christ’s resurrection. It only makes sense this way, as all of the other scenes of putti appear to comment on Christ’s passion below. The Roman sarcophagus that Simon cites, by the way, is a rather sober one, without scenes of drunken reveling.
Above the Pentecost more putti gather grapes (Fig. 155), an activity found in most of the scenes of the Passion on both pulpits.

The use of the putti with grapes looks back to ancient dionysiac amorini in form. They possibly relate thematically since the mystery cult of Dionysus was an ancient pre-Christian one promising an afterlife, and one which had wine related to its rites. The pagan theme melds well with the Christian, and the wine of the Christian mass representing Christ’s blood. This correlation is possible because in the latter half of the fifteenth century humanistic scholars were becoming more and more interested in Classical literature, and Neo-Platonists were making connections between the pagan and Christian worlds.  

The putti on the cornice of the S. Lorenzo Pulpits are similar to those on the base of the Judith and Holofernes in that they allude allegorically to the main dramatic themes portrayed. Both works have their putti based on ancient pagan scenes. However the connotations of the putti in Judith and Holofernes and the pulpits of San Lorenzo are entirely different. Donatello has used the putti in different contexts to bring about different symbolic connotations. The former
are pagan in reference, and their sources are explicitly, and wildly, bacchanalian. On the pulpits, on the other hand, the grapes relate to the Eucharist and Christ's sacrifice, and the sources are, rather, calm genre type scenes of putti engaging in everyday activities such as harvesting grapes and sailing.

Right up until the end Donatello found new, meaningful uses for putti. Even though Donatello did not live to see the pulpits of San Lorenzo completed, and assistants such as Bertoldo and Bellano finished the pulpits, the original conception as all scholars believe must have been Donatello's. These pulpits became a training ground for Bertoldo and Bellano and probably for others whose names have been lost but who spread the sculptural style of Donatello.
CHAPTER EIGHT

NOTES

1 On the Chellini Madonna see Bonnie Bennett and David Wilkins, Donatello, Mount Kisco, NY: 1985, 49f., 112 - 125; Italian Sculpture in the Time of Donatello, Detroit: 1985, 131f. For other citations see note #2.


4 Ibid., 285.


6 Bennett and Wilkins, 1985, 125.

7 On Judith and Holofernes see H.W. Janson, The Sculpture of Donatello, Princeton, NJ: 1963, 198 - 205; Laurie Schneider, "Some Neo-platonic elements in Donatello's Gattamelata and Judith and Holofernes," in

8 Janson, 1963, 198. The first document relating to the Judith and Holofernes (a letter) dates to 1464, as recorded in Fontio's Zibaldone (Riccardiana Library, Fl. Cod. Ricc. 907, fols. 141 ff.). The statue is mentioned in a letter of condolence to Piero il Gottoso from one F. Franciscus on the death of Cosimo de' Medici. Older scholars (Semper, Schmarsow, Bode) generally believed the Judith to be Pre-Paduan. However, Aby Warburg proved that the Medici Palace was not begun until 1444, so if Judith originally stood in the courtyard of the Medici Palace she had to be commissioned after 1453. Janson also cites the decoration of Judith's gown which echoes that on the armor of Gattamelata and also recurrs in the late San Lorenzo pulpits pointing toward a date in the late '50's for Judith. (Janson, 1963, 201ff.)

9 Janson, 1963, 199. Janson quotes two entries in the state archives of Florence of October 9 and 14, 1495. This quotation is also found in Eugene Muntz, Les collections des Medicis, 1888, 103.

10 Janson, 1963, 198. This quotation was recorded by Luigi Passerini, in the second edition of Agostino Ademollo's Marietta de'Ricci..., 1845, I, 758, No. 39. Passerini states:

...a small fifteenth century codex in my possession gives the inscription that was below the statue when it stood in the Medici Gardens at S. Marco; on one side of the column was written Regina cadunt and on the other Salus Publica. Petrus Medices Cos. Fl. libertati simul et fortitudini hanc mulieris statuam quo cives invicto costantique animo ad rem pub. redderent dedicavit.

(Piero Son of Cosimo Medici has dedicated the statue of this woman to the liberty and fortitude bestowed on the republic by the invincible and constant spirit of the citizens.)
The codex has since disappeared.

Another inscription, "Regna cadunt luxu surgent virtutibus urbes caesa vides humili colla superba manu" (Kingdoms fall through luxury, cities rise through virtues; behold the neck of pride severed by the hand of humility), was copied by Fontio in the Zibaldone from a letter of condolence dating to August 5, 1464, from F. Francischus cognomento paduanus to Piero on the death of Cosimo de' Medici. In the margin opposite (Riccardiana Library, Florence, Cod. Ricc. 907, fols 141ff) Fontio noted that this inscription was below the Judith in the Medici Palace.


12Speculum Humanae Salvationis, prefaced by M.R. James with a discussion of the school and date by Bernhard Berenson, Oxford, 1926, 55.

13In the following chapter other pairs include Christ leading the souls out of Hades with Moses leading Israel out of Egypt, and Abraham escaping from the fire of Chaldee and Lot escaping Sodom.

14Janson, 1963, 203.
15Ibid.
16Schneider, 1976, 46.


18Ibid., 62 - 66.
19Ibid., 74.
20Janson, 1963, 203.
21Schneider, 1976, 47.
22Ibid., 47.
23Ibid.


Janson, 1963, 214f. The main dissenting scholar on the date is Lavin, who thinks that the pulps were conceived earlier, after Donatello's trip to Venice, but before his trip to Siena - c. 1453 - 7. Lavin, 1959, 19, note 4.

Vasari, Giorgio, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, Volume I, 1970, 309, Life of Donato, (Donatello) "also designed the bronze pulps, representing the Passion of Christ, which possess design, force, invention and an abundance of buildings. As he could not work it himself on account of his age, his pupil, Bertoldo completed them and put the finishing touches."

Vasari, Giorgio, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 1980, Vol. 4, 111, Life of Michelangelo, "although old and unable to work, he was a master of skill and repute, having diligently finished Donato's pulps..."

Semrau, Max, *Donatello's Kanzeln in S. Lorenzo*, Breslau, 1891, 5f.


Janson, 1963, 216. The scholars who believe the conception to be by Donatello include: Janson, Bode, Meyer, Schottmuller, Schubring, Bertaux, Colasanti, Kauffman, and Planiscig. Bode felt that the conception was all by Donatello, but carried out ineptly in places by his assistants.
32Lavin, 1959, 21f.

33Janson, 1963, 213.


35Janson, 1963, 212f. Lavin provides a diagram explaining where the added panels are located -Lavin, 1959, 20.


37Lavin, 1959, 23.

38Janson, 1963, 213.


40Bennett and Wilkins, 1985, 13; Luisa Bercherucci, Donatello: i pergami di S. Lorenzo, 1979, 4ff; Volker Herzner, 1972, 153f.


43Bennett and Wilkins, 1985, 13.

44See the marble sarcophagus cited in the Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae (LIMC) III, Zurich and Munich: 1986, catalog entry 510, p. 1015.


One example of Roman sailing putti is found in the Grand Mosaic in the Villa du Nil, Leptis Magna, illustrated in Roger Stuveras Le putto dans l'art romain, Brussels: 1969, figure 111.

The sailing analogy goes as far back as 3500 B.C. in Egyptian art as evidenced by paintings of men, ans boats on a tomb wall at Hierakonpolis. In Greek and Roman mythology the idea of Charon the ferryman on the River Styx continued the idea.


See Fritz Saxl, "Pagan Sacrifice in the Italian Renaissance," in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 2, 1939, 346 - 367. The theme of this article is the parallel between pagan and Christian blood sacrifice in the Renaissance. Saxl notes Riccio's bronze candlestick of 1515 in the Santo, Padua (near Donatello's high altar). Riccio depicts a scene with five men: one holds a shepherd's pipe, the second a double flute, and the others hold sacred vessels and torches, yet "in the Paduan relief the godhead to whom the sacrifice is offered, in whose praise the pipes are played...(is) Christ." (Saxl, 1939, 352f.)
CHAPTER IX

The Influence of Donatello's Putti on Italian Sculpture and Painting of the Quattrocento

Winged children performing new roles: e.g., as musicians in religious paintings where previously there were adult, regal angels, or holding up the dead Christ in Lamentation scenes, were new motifs invented by Donatello which had a great influence on art. One important example is Donatello's utilization of putti for the first time in Lamentation scenes, for example the marble one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the bronze in the church of San Antonio in Padua, which were very influential to North Italian painting.

Martha Levine Dunkelman's 1976 Ph.D. dissertation (N.Y.U.) deals with Donatello's influence on Italian Renaissance painting, which was considerable. However, Dunkelman concluded that "a survey of putti in paintings...reveals, somewhat surprisingly, that most of Donatello's works of this genre did not leave a major
mark on the medium. His real influence in this area remains in the realm of sculpture.\footnote{1} Dunkelman cites a small number of examples of putti in paintings which are direct echoes of Donatello's. This chapter will prove that there actually was a great deal of influence from Donatello's putti on both sculpture and painting, although the influence was not always in the form of a direct quotation.

In sculpture the influence of Donatello's putti was more immediate and even more expansive than in painting. Donatello had a large studio, and his students continued to create putti in his style, as did artists who fell under his influence in the cities in which he had major commissions, especially Florence and Padua.

Donatello's influence on sculpture of the latter half of the quattrocento was monumental - as can be seen in the work of sculptors such as Benedetto da Maiano, Verrocchio, and the young Michelangelo. Through Donatello's influence the popularity and population of the putto increased, but as we approach the cinquecento the putto tends to become a more decorative and a less meaningful motif than in the hands of its master.
This chapter will deal with the influence of Donatello's putti on Italian painting and sculpture of the quattrocento. Not every example of influence will be documented, as the scope is monumental, but a sampling of pieces showing the direct influence of Donatello's putti will be passed in review. The first group of pieces, which originate from the workshop and immediate artistic circle of Donatello, are very close to the master's own style, so close that they are works in which he may even have had a hand. Following this, the influence of Donatello's freestanding putti, tombs including auxiliary putti, putto friezes, lamentations and musical putti will be briefly explored.

Putti from the Workshop of or Circle of Donatello

There is a large group of objects whose style is close to Donatello's which employ the putto motif. Some of these pieces are close to the style of the master but of a lesser quality, other pieces look of a high enough quality to be possibly from Donatello's hand but lack documentation. Some of these puzzling pieces will be discussed below. What they all have in common is first, a very Donatellesque conception and use of the putto which could only have been accomplished through close
study of Donatello’s original putti, and second, that they further spread the motif of the putto.

The Winged Putto with a Fantastic Fish (Fig. 156) in the Victoria and Albert Museum has been attributed to Donatello in the Detroit Catalog by Anthony F. Radcliffe, following the attributions of Schubring and Bertaux, and dated to c. 1435 - 40. Bode attributed this piece to the Donatello school, while Pope-Hennessy felt that it was designed by Donatello and worked up by a studio assistant. He considered its surface quality to be rather crude. Radcliffe made rather convincing arguments for an attribution of this piece to Donatello. Before cleaning, the surface of the Winged Putto with a Fantastic Fish was covered with a brown wax overlay 1/16 to 1/8 inch thick which made the surfaces look crude, not the quality of a sculpture by Donatello. However, since the Winged Putto with a Fantastic Fish has been cleaned the original surface has been revealed. That surface is subtly modeled, and the pose is remarkably sophisticated, using the same anatomical stresses as the David (Fig. 97) and Amor-Atys (Figs. 49 and 50).

The Putto with a Fantastic Fish is bronze, 40 cm. high, and extremely finely modeled and cast. The wavy
hair, and the manner in which it is worn in a fillet is similar to that of the Amor-Atys, as are the pose of the legs and the general bodily proportions. He is nude, and has draped around his neck a large fish, out of whose mouth water originally shot. When this piece was part of a fountain, water also shot upward from the putto’s penis, probably to turn some sort of a water wheel (now lost), held in the boy’s right hand.8

What is un-Donatellesque about this putto is the large pair of wings which dominate the figure. Donatello’s other putti, those of the Cantoria, the Prato Pulpit, the Baptistery Font, and the Amor-Atys all have a short wings consisting of two parts on each side, giving the appearance of a double set of wings, which barely extend beyond the body. They sprout from the middle of the back and feather out along the body near the armpits.

What is Donatellesque about this piece is the high quality of the modeling of the forms, similar to that of the Amor-Atys, the sense that the form had its inspiration in an antique model, and the innovative use of the putto with the fantastic fish draped over his shoulders in the context of a fountain. Only the large wings, which give this piece the shape of an inverted triangle do not fit the Donatello style. This piece was
most likely made by a close follower of Donatello's, probably from Donatello's design, but with the executing artist's changing the size and shape of the wings to fit his own notion of how "angel" wings should appear. This piece prefigures Verrocchio's Putto with a Dolphin (Fig. 161) in being an early putto fountain figure holding a marine animal. Donatello's pioneering uses of putti led the way for further exploration of the theme by other artists.

The Shell Surmounted by the Wings and Head of a Putto (Fig. 157), located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and dated to the mid-fifteenth century is designated by the Detroit catalog as the "Style of Donatello." This bronze piece is 39.4 cm. high and appears originally to have been part of an architectural ensemble.

James David Draper points out that the "eerie smile" with teeth showing derives from the animated faces of the putti of the Cantoria and that the facial proportions are close to that of the Amor-Atys.

The Shell Surmounted by the Wings and Head of a Putto fuses the form of the cherub with the Hellenistic motif of the shell, a typical Donatellan type of combination. This piece, whose style is close to
Donatello's, but a bit clumsy, is a prime example of the way that Donatello's putti became popularized by close followers and copyists of the master.

La Piagnona (Fig. 158), the "Bell of San Marco," is located in the Museo di San Marco in Florence. This bronze bell bears an inscription identifying the patron as Cosimo de' Medici, which dates it then to before 1464, the year of Cosimo's death. On the basis of the style of the putto frieze, the date, and the association with Cosimo de' Medici, a great patron of Donatello's, Bennett and Wilkins attribute La Piagnona to the "Workshop of Donatello?".

On La Piagnona is a band of chubby dancing putti beneath the inscription. Also, on the front of the bell is a relief of, and a dedication to the Madonna, who is portrayed as surrounded by four putti. As Bennett and Wilkins point out, "putti are so common in Donatello's art that it is rare to find a work without them... they might even have been a kind of signature of the Donatellian style."

La Piagnona, as a piece of sculpture, was not a major commission, as were most of Donatello's works discussed in the earlier chapters. This type of work, however would have been the bread and butter of a metal casting workshop. Unfortunately, minor pieces are poorly
documented. However, less expensive, utilitarian objects would probably have been created in greater numbers than major pieces. The more "artistic" pieces, would be more likely to have been collected, and thus survive, than "useful" objects. The workshop of Donatello spread the style of Donatello's putti even through more quotidian, less important objects executed by assistants.

There are other innumerable pieces from the quattrocento - fountains, basins, plaques, etc. - which borrow the motif of Donatello's robust, chubby putti. The putto quickly became a popular decoration which ran through a multitude of applications.

Freestanding Putti Influenced by the Art of Donatello

There are no examples of free-standing putti from Donatello's time, except those sculpted by Donatello - notably the Amor-Atys - or by his studio. (I am including Turini, who modeled three of the Siena font putti, loosely in the category of Donatello's studio.) Following Donatello's death however the free-standing putto became increasingly popular. Many of the early ones, such as those by Vecchietta and Verrocchio - had strong links to Donatello.
Vecchietta (Lorenzo di Pietro, 1410 -80) probably had contact with Donatello in his native Siena in 1457-9. Vecchietta is possibly the creator of the putto in the Bargello, Florence (fig. 159) which, it is speculated, replaced a lost fifteenth century putto by Turini on the Siena Baptistery Font. Although three putti were by Donatello and three by Turini originally, only four putti now remain on the font. Two putti that match in size and style are located in Berlin and Florence. The Berlin putto has been attributed to Donatello. The Bargello putto, seems to be of too high a quality to be by Turini. Paoletti points out that Vecchietta was paid in 1478 to repair one of Turini’s putti which was damaged, and speculates that he made the sixth putto for the Siena font at the same time to replace another damaged one by Turini. Vecchietta, rather than slavishly reproducing Turini’s damaged one would instead have looked to the superior style of Donatello’s putti for inspiration, hence the closeness in style to Donatello’s. Stylistic comparisons with other Vecchietta pieces from around the same time make this idea possible.

In Siena, Neroccio di Landi (1447 - 1500) who trained under Vecchietta, was aware of the Baptistery
Font containing the musical putti of Donatello. A couple of his works betray Donatello's influence, for instance the two fragments of *Putti in a Landscape* (Fig. 160). If the fragments are their original full height (not cut down), as Coor suggests, these would fall into the category of individual putti - rare in the quattrocento. The putti are wingless and simplified. Neroccio also painted wingless putti in the predella of the Madonna Tabernacle in the Oratorio delle Compagnia della Santissima Trinita, Siena. Coor writes that when this piece and the *Putti in a Landscape* were painted Neroccio was obviously under the influence of the bronze putti in the Baptistery. She also points out that the *Putti in a Landscape* hold scarves like those of the putti in Donatello's San Lorenzo pulpits in Florence.¹⁶

Neroccio also sculpted putti atop the Monument of Tommaso Testa Piccolomini, in the Cathedral of Siena, dating to 1485.¹⁷ They do not look particularly Donatellesque, but betray the influence of Donatello's pinnacle putti such as those on the Cavalcanti Annunciation.

The Florentine, Andrea di Cione, known as Andrea del Verrocchio (1435-1488), was called by Pomponius Gauricus the "aemulus" of Donatello - meaning his emulator and artistic heir.¹⁸ Like Donatello, Verrocchio
sculpted in marble, bronze and terracotta, had a large and prolific sculptural studio, and was patronized by the Medici. Verrocchio’s early style shows connections to the Rossellino studio, and he competed with Desiderio and Giuliano da Maiano in the 1460’s - all artists influenced by Donatello in many ways. Evidence of Andrea del Verrocchio’s competition with the older master Donatello is found between 1463 to 1467 when Verrocchio received the commission for the Doubting St. Thomas, the figural group which replaced Donatello’s St. Louis of Toulouse in the Parte Guelfa niche on Or San Michele. Several other works by Verrocchio show conscious competition with earlier works by Donatello. Verrocchio reintegrated the theme of the near-life-sized bronze David with his own in the 1470’s, and also created the next major bronze equestrian monument after Donatello’s Gattamelata in the Colleoni Monument which was finished after his death.

Verrocchio’s Putto with a Dolphin (Fig. 161) in the Palazzo della Signoria likewise takes a form that Donatello pioneered in the Renaissance: the free-standing bronze putto. Verrocchio, however takes the emerging figura serpentinata found in the Siena Baptistery figures (Figs. 61 - 64) and makes it still
more strenuous, as he also made his David and Colleoni figures more tense and muscular than Donatello's.

The Putto with a Dolphin has been variously dated by scholars to between 1465 and 1480.\(^{20}\) Vasari tells us in the 1568 edition of his Lives that the piece was formerly on a fountain in the cortile of the Palazzo della Signoria and was made for Lorenzo de' Medici.\(^{21}\) (In 1959 the original was removed and is exhibited in a room adjoining the Sala dei Gigli. It has been replaced by a bronze copy by Bruno Bearzi.)\(^{22}\) As a putto in a fountain it was also indebted to the precedent from the Donatello workshop which survives in the Winged Infant of c. 1440 in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 106). The idea of the putto with a fish is also prefigured in the Donatello school Putto with a Fantastic Fish in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 156). As with the David and the Colleoni Monument, Verrocchio here seems to be actuated by a conscious rivalry with Donatello, taking up forms and types specifically invented by and associated with the older artist.

In the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. is a terracotta putto which has been attributed both to the workshop of Verrocchio and to Benedetto da Maiano. This putto, nude, winged and fat, is in a running pose, yet balanced on a globe (Fig. 162). Its movement was
inspired by Verrocchio's *Putto with a Dolphin*. Passavant thinks that the treatment of forms and surfaces is close to that of Benedetto da Maiano. It is a little bit difficult for me to compare the surfaces of the Washington *putto* to other works by Donatello, as all of Donatello's free-standing *putti* that I have examined have been made of bronze, not terracotta. Consultation of photographs of Donatello's terracotta *putti* of the *Cavalcanti Annunciation* reveals a similar handling of surfaces, however. The pose of the Washington *putto* also relies somewhat on the *figura serpentinata* poses of Donatello's Siena baptistery *putti*, suggesting direct consultation of Donatello's works.

One late fifteenth century bronze statuette of a dancing *putto* is housed in the Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, acquired in 1985 (Fig. 163). This piece is 22 cm. (8 5/8") high, 25 cm. high with its shell base. This piece clearly shows the strong influence of Donatello on statuettes. It depends on Donatello's Siena Baptistery figures, as it stands on a shell and moves in a type of serpentine dancing step. The hair is pulled up in top, falling into loose curls behind, similar to the hairstyle of the *Amor-Atys*. Un-Donatellesque are the
corpulent build of the body, the crude facial features and the lack of wings.

Broken-off fingertips on the left hand and the remains of a pin suggest that the fingers were cast separately, hinged to move, and possibly held an object, such as a tambourine.²⁴

J.R. Bliss suggests that this piece was made not by an immediate follower of Donatello's, but by an artist, possibly a Florentine, or one exposed to Donatello's works as a youth, who fell into the orbit of Mantegna in North Italy. Bliss notes the stylistic relationship to pieces by Antico, and feels that this was created in the artistic milieu of Antico and Mantegna, probably in Mantua.²⁵

The strong influence of Donatello's forms can be traced through the sixteenth century. An example of putti so Donatellesque that they were once attributed to his circle are those of the Master of the Unruly Children.²⁶ Bode gave this name to an unnamed artist who made terracotta statuettes primarily of rambunctious children. Originally the artist was thought to have worked in the second half of the fifteenth century, and to have been a member of the circle of Donatello.²⁷ Now these works are thought to belong to the early sixteenth century.²⁸ Three of these pieces reside in the Victoria
and Albert Museum, London: Charity, Two Boys Quarreling (Fig. 164), and St. John the Baptist as a Child.

Donatello created the first large scale, individual sculpted putto with the Amor-Atys, and Verrocchio followed the lead in sculpture with the Putto with a Dolphin, but painters only very rarely chose to use the subject by itself much until the cinquecento. In fact, even Neroccio di Landi's Putti in a Landscape do not fully qualify, as they are wingless.

Dunkelman determined that the auxiliary putti such as those atop the Cavalcanti Annunciation or the tabernacle of St. Peter's found their way into a multitude of humanist tombs, but that their influence is rare in painting. She noted that the musical and dancing putti of the Siena Font did influence the Sienese painters Giovanni di Paolo in his Presentation in the Temple (Accademia, Siena c. 1447 - 49) and Matteo di Giovanni in his Marriage of the Virgin (Philadelphia, late fifteenth century). Both have the twisting forms of the putti by Donatello on the Siena font, Giovanni di Paolo's putti being influenced by the putto with a tambourine, and Matteo di Giovanni's by the trumpet-playing putto. Dunkelman makes the point, however, that these are rare cases. And, I might add,
the putti in these paintings are small subsidiary figures.

Quattrocento Tombs Utilizing Putti

A type of sculptural ensemble which exhibited the immediate influence of Donatello's putti was the sculptured tomb. We find the influence of Donatello's putti in tombs in Florence, Rome, Venice, Pistoia, Lucca and Naples as well as other centers.

In these tombs, some created for humanists such as Bruni and Bracciolini, others for religious leaders, the putto, sometimes in relief, more often as an auxiliary free-standing figure, performs various functions, often acting as an intermediary between the world of the living and that of the dead.

Donatello, together with his partner, Michelozzo, created the Brancacci monument (Fig. 75) in Naples, S. Angelo a Nilo and the Monument for the deposed Pope John XXIII (Fig. 73) in the Baptistery, Florence which have been discussed in a previous chapter. These two extremely influential tombs were among the first Renaissance tombs to incorporate the putto (the only notable precursor being Jacopo della Quercia's Tomb of Ilaria del Carretto discussed in chapter 4). In the
Brancacci monument, probably designed by Donatello, two free-standing putti, probably sculpted by Michelozzo, stand nude on the entablature blowing trumpets. They continue the tradition of musician putti begun by Donatello. These Brancacci putti inspired the ones on the later Bruni, Marsuppini, and Piero da Noceto monuments among others. The use of putti on tombs by Donatello (and Michelozzo) led to putti gaining more functions on tombs, including holding swags or a cloth of honor to honor the dead.

The tomb for Leonardo Bruni in Santa Croce (Fig. 165), Florence was created by the Florentine sculptor, Bernardo Rossellino (1407 or 9/10 – 1464).³¹ Rossellino was probably a member of Donatello and Michelozzo’s shop, which they ran jointly between 1425 and 1434, before establishing himself as an independent artist. Bernardo Rossellino thus may have been involved in some capacity with the Coscia and Brancacci tombs.³²

Bruni, historian and humanist, died on March 9, 1444. His tomb was probably commissioned in 1445, but it was not completed until 1454.³³ Bruni’s tomb is bounded by a monumental arch, presumably triumphal in its connotations, supported on Corinthian pilasters and Roman architectural motifs. Within this, the effigy of
Bruni lies on a bier above a sarcophagus decorated with winged victories holding his epitaph. In the lunette below the arch the Madonna and Child in a roundel are flanked by half-length, praying, youthful angels; all are in relief. Standing precariously atop the upper curve of the arch, in high relief, are two nude, winged putti holding a wreath, in which is enframed a lion in relief, an ancient guardian symbol\textsuperscript{34} and perhaps also a reference to Bruni's first name, Leonardo. The tomb follows in and substantially develops the tradition of wall tombs established by Donatello and Michelozzo, and shows the inspiration of Donatello's "upper-story putti." The two classicizing, nude winged putti hold up the wreath, seemingly conscious of their dangerous height, much like the terra-cotta putti atop Donatello's Cavalcanti Annunciation. They also look back to the trumpet-blowing putti of Donatello and Michelozzo's Brancacci Monument in their placement, proportions, and in the fact that they are used in a funereal context.

Forming a frieze at the bottom of the ensemble are tiny putti holding garlands which, in their lively, dance-like steps, again show the influence of Donatello's rambunctious putti of the Cantoria,\textsuperscript{35} and also look back to Michelozzo's base for the Aragazzi
tomb, a Donatello-Michelozzo collaboration of 1427 - 38 in the Duomo, Montepulciano.

Bernardo Rossellino was the most sought-after sculptor in Florence between 1445 and 1451, years that Donatello was in Padua. He was important for taking the type of tomb developed by Donatello and Michelozzo and, in the Bruni tomb, refining it to establish a canonical Renaissance form of tomb which, unlike the Coscia and Brancacci tombs, was self-enclosed within an arch and did not project too far from a wall. Matteo Civitali (1436 - 1501)’s Monument of Piero da Noceto (Fig. 166) in the Cathedral of Lucca, which has putti atop the entablature, was influenced by Rossellino’s Bruni Tomb. As in the Bruni Tomb, an effigy of the dead lies on a bier enclosed by a triumphal arch. A roundel of the Virgin and Child is found within the arch, above the entablature, and two standing, nude putti flank the arch standing on the cornice, with hands on their hips.

The Florentine sculptor Desiderio da Settignano (c. 1430 - 1464) was trained probably by Bernardo Rossellino, but was much influenced by Donatello. He brought the putti down closer to the viewer’s eye-level in his Marsuppini monument in Santa Croce (Fig. 167), from 1453. This wall tomb, like that for Bruni, is in the form of a triumphal arch with a roundel of the
Madonna and Child within the tympanum. On top of the arch is a vase from which hang two swags held by two young, transparently clothed boys - in essence, wingless putti - standing on the outer corners of the entablature that separates the lunette from the capitals. The effigy of Marsuppini lies on a classicizing sarcophagus decorated with curling foliage and a scallop shell. Two shield-bearing putti stand slightly in front of the two Corinthian pilasters framing the effigy, in the viewer's space but turning toward the space of the dead. They stand on a base decorated with swags of flowers, curling ribbons and sphinxes. The two shield-bearing putti in effect introduce us to the monument, directing our attention to what lies within the arch. In pose the putti remind the viewer of those in the crozier of Donatello's gilt bronze statue of St. Louis of Toulouse for Or San Michele.

Mino da Fiesole (1429 - 1484) worked in Rome and Florence where he made marble tombs and tabernacles. Mino used putti dependent on Desiderio's in his Monument of Count Hugo of Tuscany (Fig. 168) in the Badia, Florence, and in his tomb of the Cardinal Pietro Riario, a collaborative work with Andrea Bregno in Ss. Apostoli in Rome.
The Monument of Count Hugo of Tuscany is similar to those by Rossellino and Desiderio in its triumphal arch form enclosing the effigy resting on a sarcophagus. The two putti with shields stand in the same location on the tomb as Desiderio’s on the Marsuppini tomb, but are more slender, moving farther away from Donatello’s chubby prototypes.

Antonio di Pietro Averlino, called Filarete (c. 1400 - c. 1469), a Florentine active primarily in Rome and Milan seems to have created the Tomb of Pope Martin V (who died in 1431) in S. Giovanni in Laterano (Fig. 169). Schubring (1906) attributed the tomb to Donatello and dated it to 1433, the same year Donatello is thought to have been at work on the Tabernacle of the Sacrament for St. Peter’s. Pope-Hennessy also attributes this tomb slab to Donatello. Janson rejected the attribution to Donatello, and does not assign a possible artist. This bronze floor tomb does follow the same Florentine type established by Donatello as seen in the Pecci and Crivelli slabs, but seems to be cast and chased by Filarete - a hypothesis put forth by Seymour, with whom I agree. The pope, Simone Ghini, is portrayed in a relief effigy in papal garb. Above his head are two nude putti bearing a wreath enclosing the papal arms. The use of these putti on a tomb is derived
from Donatello, but these putti are more slender than those by Donatello and have long, slender wings. The pope's pose is very symmetrical, not typical of Donatello's work, and the image of the pope is modelled in very high relief, not in Donatello's usual mode of relievo schiacciato.

Antonio Rossellino (1427–1479), trained by his older brother, Bernardo, had his first recorded commission with the highly ambitious Tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal (Fig. 170) in San Miniato al Monte, Florence, made for the thirty-five year old Cardinal Jacopo, who died in 1459. The wall Tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal differs in form from those previously discussed. Rather than being enclosed in a triumphal arch, this wall tomb is set within a shallow barrel-vaulted and coffered chapel. The effigy lies on a sarcophagus seated on a base decorated with adult erotes, unicorns holding a swag, and a skull. Two adult angels kneel on either side of a table behind the effigy, and two playful, nude putti sit on the sarcophagus holding the Cardinal's cloth of honor. They thus take on a function performed on medieval tombs by grown-up angels, but in form are unmistakably putti, typically so in every respect and Donatellesque in their
canon of proportions as well as their (here surprisingly) sportive mood. On the wall above the tomb is a Madonna and Child in a wreath, supported by two hovering angels (another borrowing from Donatello who first used the motif in the predella beneath his statue of St. Louis of Toulouse), with putto heads at the top and bottom of the wreath.

Benedetto da Maiano (1442 - 1491) began his career as the assistant of Antonio Rossellino.\[49\] Benedetto da Maiano’s Tomb for Maria of Aragon (Fig. 171), still unfinished in 1479\[50\] in the Cappella Piccolomini in Monte Oliveto in Naples was modelled after Antonio Rossellino’s Tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal. Two putti sit in front of the effigy of the dead, acting as intermediaries between the realms of the living and the dead. In Benedetto da Maiano’s Tomb of Filippo Strozzi in S. Maria Novella, Florence, putti were also used; here, on the sarcophagus as genii holding the epitaph aloft.

Pietro Torrigiano, a pupil of Donatello’s student, Bertoldo, took Donatello’s putti North in his Monument of King Henry VII and Elisabeth of York (Fig. 172) in Westminster Abbey, London.\[51\] This is a free-standing tomb in which the effigies of King Henry and Elisabeth sleep in death with their hands folded in prayer. Lions
sit at their feet. Animated three-dimensional putti sit on the four corners of the tomb and provide a Renaissance accent for the Gothic abbey.

Antonio del Pollaiuolo (1431/2 – 1498), a Florentine, may have been a pupil of Ghiberti. Pollaiuolo was in Rome after 1483 sculpting tombs for Pope Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII. The Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV (Fig. 173) is bronze, dates to c. 1484 - 92/3 and is located in the Grotte Vaticane. This is a floor tomb in which the effigy of the pope is surrounded in relief by images of the liberal arts and virtues. Relief putti on the pope's pillow hold escutcheons.

The Tomb of Pope Innocent VIII (Fig. 174) by Antonio del Pollaiuolo is located in St. Peter's, Rome, and dates to 1492 - 98. It is influenced somewhat by Donatello and Michelozzo's Coscia Monument in format, however it has besides the recumbent effigy of the dead pope also a seated lifelike pope. Behind the seated image of Pope Innocent are putti holding swags.

In the Cathedral of Pistoia is a cenotaph for Cardinal Niccolo' Forteguerri (Fig. 175). Its present form dates from the middle of the eighteenth century. The original commission was given to Verrocchio (1435 - 1488) in 1478 following a competition held in 1476.
whose outcome was disputed. By 1483 Verrocchio was paid for having completed a "good part" of the design. The cenotaph was left unfinished at Verrocchio's death in 1488. At the time of his death the figures of Hope, Faith and Christ with four Angels were almost completed. Lorenzo di Credi, Verrocchio's artistic executor, then attempted to finish the cenotaph. In 1511 Lorenzetto Lotti supplied some missing statues, a third Virtue and the Cardinal. Lorenzetto was instructed to complete the monument in a quality befitting the model. The matter of whose model it was — Verrocchio's or Lotti's — is not clear in the documents. In the model, apparently, were boys each holding the cardinal's coat of arms, and on the framing two torch-bearing angels, similar in placement to the putti of Desiderio da Settignano's Marsuppini Tomb. Rustici possibly finished Lorenzetto's work. The angels mentioned in 1511 as shown in the "model" were never done by Lotti. Moreover, instead of putti holding a coat of arms, putti unrolling a scroll were substituted, possibly carved by Rustici. The monument was modified in the Baroque period. Due to all of the modifications made and the number of artists involved, the extent of Verrocchio's original design is in dispute. The Baroque sculptor who finally sculpted the putti of the
monument left unfinished at Verrocchio’s death in 1488 continues the Donatellian tradition. The earlier sculptor (Rustici?) looks back to Donatello’s novelty of the scroll-unrolling putti of the Pecci slab and the Monument for Pope John XXIII for the putti at the base of the Fonteguerri monument. These putti are charming and lively-looking — Donatellesque qualities. The in-the-round auxiliary putti holding inverted torches sit to the left and right of the bust of the deceased. The latter were a Baroque addition and attest to the continuing influence of Donatello’s putti, and putti’s use and proliferation during the Baroque period.

A walk through the ambulatory or crypt of nearly any European cathedral or abbey church will attest to the legacy of Donatello’s use of putti as auxiliary figures on tombs, a legacy that continues up into the twentieth century.

WORKS INFLUENCED BY DONATELLO’S PUTTO FRIEZES

Donatello utilized putto friezes in several of his works, including the San Lorenzo pulpits, and on a larger scale as the primary and only figural subject on the Cantoria and the Prato Pulpit. Before 1480 most
Putto friezes created were due to Donatello’s influence. For instance, Buggiano, Ghirlandaio and others display the influence of Donatello’s putto friezes in their work. Some putto friezes created after 1480 betray Donatello’s influence, while others were based on recent archaeological discoveries of Roman putto friezes, such as those located in Nero’s Domus Aurea (Golden House). The influence of classical motifs found in Nero’s Domus Aurea, discovered in 1480 is found in works by Filippino Lippi, Ghirlandaio, Raphael, Gaudenzio Ferrari and others.61 This section will survey putto friezes influenced by Donatello’s and figures influenced by putti in Donatello’s putto friezes.

Very early on we find the influence of Donatello’s putto friezes in the sculpture of "il Buggiano." Andrea di Lazzaro Cavalcanti (1412 – 1462), known as "il Buggiano" because he was born at Borgo a Buggiano went to live with Brunelleschi at the age of five, and was adopted as his son. He was trained by Brunelleschi and was also influenced by Donatello and Luca della Robbia. He was active in Florence.62 Buggiano used putti in many of his works. His putti have an odd, bloated look with squarish faces and flat noses with small nostrils. They frequently have an eerie, almost wicked-looking smile.
Schultz attributes Buggiano's *putti*’s odd looks to the influence of the appearance of "childish mirth" of Luca della Robbia’s children of his *Cantoria* and to the influence of Donatello’s *putti* of the Siena font, *Cantoria* and the *Atys Amor*. The slightly "wicked" look of Buggiano’s *putti* with their odd smiles and teeth sometimes exposed relates directly to Donatello’s *Cantoria putti*. Buggiano may have had extensive personal contact with Donatello, who was friends with Brunelleschi (Buggiano’s adoptive father).

Perhaps Buggiano’s best known work is the *Lavabo* (Fig. 176) in the North Sacristy of the Duomo, Florence. This work dates to the same time that Donatello and Luca della Robbia were working on their *Cantorie*. The *Lavabo* was designed in 1432 by Brunelleschi and carved by Buggiano. The *Lavabo* was completed by April 30, 1440.

The *Lavabo* consists of a strongly classicizing frame designed by Brunelleschi which consists of corinthian pilasters topped by an entablature and pediment with a youthful angel centered in it. Within the frame two *putti* with distinctive features, a mischievous look, and long, tall wings hold the spigots of the *Lavabo* as though assisting the worshipper in tapping the holy water.
Schultz plausibly recognizes Buggiano's hand in the two putti on the arch of the Bruni tomb (Fig. 177) by Bernardo Rossellino, and in one of the relief putti of the base, which probably date to around 1451.66

Other putti by Buggiano exhibiting the influence of Donatello's Cantoria putti in their general bodily proportions and "wicked" look are found in the pulpit he carved for Santa Maria Novella in Florence, and in the Tomb of Giovanni and Piccardo del Medici (Fig. 178) in the Old Sacristy, S. Lorenzo, Florence which Schubring attributed to Donatello.67

Another artist influenced by Donatello's putto friezes was Maso di Bartolommeo, born c. 1405 and active in Florence, who was probably trained by Ghiberti, but was strongly influenced by Donatello and Michelozzo, with whom he was documented as working on the Prato Pulpit from 1434.68 He also fashioned the Bronze Grille (fig. 179) for the Cappella della Cintola at the Prato Cathedral.69 Having worked alongside Donatello on the pulpit and on its installation, his style was strongly under the influence of Donatello as he crafted the grille. Antique motifs abound in the grille, including small putti entangled in vegetal motifs. Maso's grille brought into the cathedral the motif of the putto, found outside the cathedral in the Prato Pulpit.
In the Cathedral of Pistoia is a bronze candelabrum fashioned by Maso (Fig. 180), dating to c. 1440.70 From a classicizing vase-like base sprout the seven individual candle holders. Each of these has three nude putti acting as caryatids to support the candle. They decorate it architecturally as Donatello’s putti did the crozier of St. Louis of Toulouse.

Maso also made a reliquary for the Virgin’s girdle (the Santissima Cintola) in the Cathedral of Prato (Fig. 181), which is decorated with dancing, nude, winged putti inspired by Donatello’s Cantoria.71

Dunkelman notes that putto friezes, in general are hard to attribute with certainty to Donatello’s influence unless they include direct quotations from Donatello’s sculpture; otherwise, they might have been directly dependent on antique friezes. Dunkelman notes that there is evidence to support Castagno’s dependence on Donatello’s putto friezes as seen in the frescoes of the vault of the Cappella di S. Tarasio in San Zaccaria (Fig. 182), Venice, dated 1442, which reflect motifs from the Cantoria (Figs. 51, 94)72 in the strenuous dancing movements of their winged, sculpturesque putti. In the strictest sense it is hard to attribute other painted putto friezes to the direct influence of
Donatello by virtue of direct quotations of Donatello’s motifs; however the whole popularity and spread of the putto into new realms of Christian painting seems in large part to be the legacy of Donatello.

With the majority of Donatello’s life having been spent in Tuscany, with major projects in Florence, Siena and Prato, it follows that Donatello’s art should have been influential in Tuscany. However, that influence does not seem as powerful in Tuscan painting as it was in North Italy. For instance the motif of the Pieta was a Northern one, and Donatello’s incorporation in it of mourning putti was not taken up as heavily in Florence as in Venice and Northern Italy in general.

Musical and dancing putti were the primary legacy of Donatello’s putti in Tuscan painting. The putti friezes of the Cantoria in Florence and the pulpit in Prato were very influential for the revival of antique motifs.

The influence of Donatello’s putti can be seen in the works of any Italian artist in the fifteenth century using chubby baby angels. The antics of Fra Filippo Lippi (c. 1406 - 1469)’s mischievous-looking baby angels, for example, were heralded by Donatello’s putti of the Cantoria and Prato Pulpit, as was their stocky figure canon.
Fra Filippo Lippi was a pupil of Lorenzo Monaco, who was influenced by Masaccio, Donatello and Fra Angelico. Lippi was working in Florence at the time that Donatello carved and installed the Cantoria. The lively, bacchanalian, playful quality of Donatello’s putti was a major influence on the children portrayed by Lippi. In Lippi’s early triptych of the Madonna and Child with Four Angels (Fig. 183) in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the angels are starting to become younger, like Donatello’s, and have a less than angelic, real-child-like look. Lippi’s child angels, like Donatello’s, are extra chubby, and have genuine childlike expressions – of boredom, of, perhaps even wickedness as seen early on in the Barbadori Altarpiece (Fig. 184) of 1437 in the Louvre. Likewise, in the Madonna and Child with Saints, Angels and a Donor (Fig. 185) in the Cini Collection in Venice the angels around the Virgin are young, chubby, and have that slightly wicked look of Donatello’s Cantoria putti, and like them, the Christ Child wears a short belted tunic and has similar bodily proportions.

The energetic, athletic quality of Donatello’s putti also influenced the appearance of the Christ Child in Lippi’s Tarquinia Madonna, Rome, Galleria Nazionale
(Palazzo Barberini), dated to 1437; in the Barbadori Altarpiece of the same year (see above); and in the Madonna and Child in the Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence.77

The roguish angels of Lippi’s Madonna and Child with Angels (Fig. 186) of c. 1455 in the Uffizi78 are perhaps the best example of the influence of Donatello’s putti on Fra Filippo Lippi. By the time of this later work, Lippi would have been aware not only of Donatello’s Cantoria children, but also of Donatello’s Prato Pulpit, since Lippi worked in the Cathedral of Prato from 1452 - 1464, soaking up the influence of Donatello’s joyous dancing putti of the outdoor pulpit.

We see the influence of the energetic putti of the Prato Pulpit in Lippi’s fresco of the Birth and Substitution of St. Stephen in the Cathedral of Prato (Fig. 187), signed and dated 1460.79 The child, nude, sprawls in bacchanalian abandon. (Interestingly enough, in the same room we see the influence of Donatello’s maenad/Salome form in the figure of the protagonist in the Dance of Salome.)

Andrea del Castagno’s (1419 - 1457) dependence on Donatello’s putti has been noted in the frescoes of the chapel of S. Tarasio in the church of S. Zaccaria in Venice,80 where the artist portrays energetic, dancing
putti in the soffit above his paintings of the prophets.

Castagno’s frescoes in the Villa Carducci, Florence, of before 1451, which depict famous people from history also have Donatellesque sculpturesque putti in the entablature that surmounts the painted loggia in which they stand. Berenson attributes these to Castagno, however, Horster notes that these putti have a different color scheme and style from other sections of Castagno’s frescoes, and suggests that they may have been painted by another artist at a later date, after 1472, when the ownership of the villa changed hands. Whether by Castagno or a later artist, the putti show the strong influence of Donatello’s forms.

In the Museo di Castagno located in Sant’Apollonia in Florence is a fragment of a painted, garland-carrying putto by Castagno.

In Florence, Donatello’s influence is also seen in the putti of Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449 – 94), who includes a putto frieze in the Birth of the Virgin (Fig. 188) in Santa Maria Novella from 1486 – 90. Dunkelman notes of this that:

Although the children here are similar in proportion and in activity, and share the liveliness of the figures in Donatello’s reliefs, they are more spread out across the frieze and do not create the overlapping
layers of depth found in Donatello's sculptural programs. Ghirlandaio's frieze may derive from sources very like those upon which Donatello drew, but it is clear that it does not come directly from the sculptor.

Visual examination of Ghirlandaio's Birth of the Virgin proves otherwise. The boisterous nude, music-making and dancing putti of Ghirlandaio's fresco are spaced closely together and are arranged in overlapping layers of space as are those of Donatello's Cantoria. In fact, the frieze that Ghirlandaio depicts at the right of the fresco appears to represent a high-relief marble carving - like Donatello's. Although the interior decoration of the room portrayed in the Birth of the Virgin is strongly influenced by the recently discovered Roman grottesche the dancing, music-making putti of this frieze betray the influence of Donatello's Cantoria.

Another artist influenced by Donatello's Cantoria was Bartolommeo Bellano (c. 1440 - 1496/7), a Paduan, the son of a goldsmith, assumed to be a member of Donatello's Paduan studio, although this is not documented. It is thought that Bellano journeyed to Florence with Donatello in 1453. A document recording payments from October 14 to November 19, 1456, the first document referring to Bellano, records him as an
associate of Donatello’s. He collected two florins for work on a bronze project, perhaps Donatello’s Judith. By 1458 he had returned to Padua. He was sued in the 1470’s by a man who claimed that he had loaned Bellano money in 1463 to travel to Florence to find work. It is undocumented, but generally believed that Bellano assisted the aged Donatello in the 1460’s on the completion of the San Lorenzo pulpits. His hand has been detected therein in the Agony in the Garden, Crucifixon and Christ Before Pilate and Caiphas. Volker Krahn also attributes the putti above these scenes to Bellano and by comparison the Mainardi Relief in Lyon (Fig. 189), which is composed of stocky, fat putti in short, revealing tunics like those gathering grapes above the pulpit relief of Christ Before Pilate.

Bellano also made a putto frieze modelled after the putto friezes of the entablatures of the San Lorenzo pulpits and the Cantoria reliefs. Beneath the throne of the Virgin in the Roccabonella Monument (Fig. 190) in S. Francesco in Padua begun in 1495 and finished after Bellano’s death in 1496/7 by Riccio are a frieze of bacchanalian putti running, dancing and playing music. They have the riotous quality of Donatello’s influential Cantoria putti. The pose of the Christ Child in the Madonna and Child relief is borrowed from Donatello’s
Paduan putti, and the Child wears the typical short, belted tunic of Donatello's putti. Putti designed by Bellano are also found flanking the relief of St. Jerome also on the Roccabonella Monument.

Just as Donatello's influence is seen strongly in painting in Padua among the followers of Sguarcione, so too it is seen in the sculpture of the Ovetari Chapel.

On May 16, 1448 Niccolo' Pizzolo (born 1420 or 21 in Padua, died sometime after 1453) and Andrea Mantegna were commissioned to create a relief altarpiece for the Ovetari Chapel in the Church of the Eremitani, Padua.

Niccolo Pizzolo' was a Sguarcionesque painter who, from the Santo's account books appears that to have been a journeyman for Donatello from 1446 - 1448. He was commissioned to paint several of the paintings in the Ovetari Chapel, but due to his tragic death in or soon after 1453 Mantegna inherited the commissions.

The altarpiece of the Ovetari Chapel (Fig. 191) fronts Mantegna's Assumption. It is terracotta. The main scene is of the Madonna and Child enthroned, surrounded by six saints, including St. Christopher carrying the infant Christ. Above the main scene is a frieze of putti running and playing with hoops or
wreaths, reminiscent in their activity of the putti of Donatello’s Cantoria. Up on top of the altarpiece on a semicircular pediment are four additional putti, modelled in the round. Four play musical instruments (following Donatello’s invention) while two others play with ribbons below them. At the peak of the altarpiece two putti stand on the highest part, reminiscent of the putti atop the Cavalcanti Altarpiece (Fig. 83).^5

Giovanni Antonio Amadeo (1447 – 1522) was born in Pavia in 1447. From 1470 to 1476 he worked in Bergamo on the Monument of Medea Colleoni (Fig. 192) and on the construction of the Colleoni Chapel completed in 1476.®® In the Colleoni Chapel are nude playing children carved in relief of Istrian stone (Fig. 193). Rather flabby and clumsy, they tread on and eat grapes, and play, spinning a wheel. Amadeo’s putti are Donatellan in physical type. Many of Amadeo’s poses are borrowed directly from Donatello’s putti of the Cantoria and Prato Pulpit, for instance, the putto stomping grapes who has his garment lifted to expose his bare bottom and who has one leg lifted as though kicking is borrowed from the putto with his bottom exposed on the panel right of center of Donatello and Michelozzo’s Prato Pulpit. Amadeo also used putti as caryatids on the actual sarcophagus.
A signed marble doorway of the small cloister in the Certosa, Pavia (Fig. 194) is thought to have been carved by Amadeo between 1466 and 1470. In the small cloister putti abound. Nude winged putti decorate the spandrels entwined in vegetation, some holding bunches of grapes.

Carlo Crivelli’s Annunciation of c. 1486, in the National Gallery, London, includes a putto frieze on the balustrade of the second floor above the Virgin (Fig. 195). The putti are reminiscent of those on the San Lorenzo pulpits in Florence, the frieze being a trompe l’oeil representation of relief sculpture. Crivelli may not have seen the Florentine pulpits themselves, living most of his life in the Marches; however with students and assistants of Donatello present in Padua, sketches of Florentine works by Donatello could well have been available to Crivelli.

Works influenced by Donatello’s Paduan Pieta

In 1443 Donatello came to Padua to work on the high altar of San Antonio which included life-sized, freestanding saints apparently dispersed in a kind of sculptural sacra conversazione. Besides the saints, there are bronze reliefs of the miracles of Saint
Anthony, bronze relief music-making putto-angels, and for the first time (or second time if Donatello's marble Pieta precedes this), putti supporting the dead Christ. This ensemble had a far-reaching influence on painters of the region, especially the followers of Squarcione.

The major painters most directly and most strongly influenced by Donatello's putti (and specifically by musical putti and putti attending the Dead Christ in the Pieta) were Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini in the North of Italy - themselves highly influential teachers and models. We will see how Donatello's innovations filtered through them and were utilized by other artists. Through these artists Donatello's Pieta with putti arrangement spread geographically throughout Northern Italy via painting (and even found its way into central Italy in a few isolated cases).

Andrea Mantegna (1431 - 1506) was one giant under the influence of Donatello's sculpture who was a major influence on many subsequent artists. Mantegna was born in Isola di Carturo near Padua in 1431. At about age ten he was adopted by Francesco Squarcione who trained him and many others. Squarcione was a collector of antique statuary, and of copies after the antique. Mantegna had
a love of things antique, which dovetailed with his interest in the sculpture of the classicizing Donatello, who was still working in Padua at the time when Mantegna began his first major fresco cycle c. 1450 in the Ovetari Chapel of the Eremitani Church in Padua. Beginning with these frescoes, we see the impression of Donatello's bronzes of the High Altar at Padua, including the adoption of Donatello's favorite motif, the putto - in a multitude of Mantegna's paintings, including the ceiling and one of the walls of the Camera degli Sposi in Mantua; the walls of the Ovetari Chapel, Padua; and such late mythological paintings as the Parnassus in the Louvre.

Giovanni Bellini was one of the first artists to adopt Donatello's invention of the dead Christ supported by child angels, as Dunkelman pointed out. Bellini's earliest borrowing of the theme is found in the Dead Christ Upheld by Angels of c. 1460 in the Museo Correr, Venice (Fig. 196) which echoes the basic poses and sculpturesque style of Donatello's Paduan relief Pieta (Fig. 132). Bellini used this theme several times. In the Pinacoteca, Rimini is a painting of the seated dead Christ whose back and arms are supported by four winged putti angels dressed in short tunics (Fig. 197) like Donatello's San Antonio putti (Figs. 118 - 129). In
the National Gallery, London, is a half length Christ supported by two young, blonde and sorrowful putti angels (Fig. 198). In Berlin’s Staatliche Museen is a Bellini Pieta in which Christ is seated in front of a pink cloth of honor (Fig. 199). Two adolescent angels reach over the cloth to support Christ. As the angels grow older they grow further and further away from Donatello’s prototypes.

Antonello da Messina (c. 1430 - 79), born in Sicily, was originally influenced by the art of Neopolitan, Catalan and Flemish painters. He arrived in Venice in 1475, where, perhaps influenced by Bellini, he painted a Dead Christ upheld by three putti angels with long, pointy wings (Fig. 200), c. 1475, located in the Museo Correr in Venice, and also in the same year, one in now the Prado, Madrid, in which a single putto angel supports a seated dead Christ in front of a landscape.

Giovanni Martini da Udine (1453 -1535), a Friulian follower of Alvise Vivarini and Cima who painted in the Venetian School also adopted Donatello’s new schema for the Pieta as can be seen in the Dead Christ Upheld by Putti in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Fig. 201).
Pier Maria Pennacchi (1464 - 1515), born in Treviso who was a talented and independent follower of Giovanni Bellini, also uses Donatello's invention of child angels supporting the dead Christ in his Dead Christ Upheld by Angels formerly in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin, which was destroyed in 1945 (Fig. 202).

Another example of the Pieta with putti is located in the Ovetari Chapel, Padua, a fresco possibly painted by a follower of Mantegna, Jacopo de Montagnana, dating to c. 1481 (Fig. 203). Jacopo da Montagnana was another Mantegnesque painter who was born before 1450, perhaps around 1440-43, enrolled in the Paduan guild in 1469 and died around 1499. The artist, who worked in Padua, would have had direct knowledge of Donatello's bronze Pieta.

Another Dead Christ Upheld by Angels is located in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice, signed by Antonello da Saliba (Fig. 204), of the Siculo-Venetian School, who was active between 1480 and 1503. This follower of Antonello da Messina, who was influenced by Giovanni Bellini and Cima does not endow his angel children with the lively quality of Donatello's putti. In his case, the influence of Donatello's invention of the Pieta with putti was not direct, but through the paintings of Giovanni Bellini.
We also find the borrowing of the Pieta with putti influenced by Donatello in the work of Carlo Crivelli (c. 1440 - 1493), a Venetian whose style was heavily influenced by the Paduan school, in which he was possibly trained, his work having affinities with the work of Squarcione and his pupils. In the Pieta by Crivelli in the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia (Fig. 205), of c. 1470, we find two grotesquely sorrowful child angels holding the dead Christ, as we found for the first time in Donatello's bronze Paduan relief Pieta from the 1440's. Crivelli's Christ is similar to Donatello's in the linear articulation of the torso and in the facial features and style of hair and beard. Crivelli's putti, like Donatello's, have garments falling off of their shoulders and saucer-like, non-foreshortened haloes placed behind their heads. Their "tragic intensity" is cited by Hartt as particularly Donatellesque. There is another similar Dead Christ by Crivelli in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 206), in which the putti's tunics are fastened on the sides at intervals like those of the musical putti reliefs by Donatello in Padua. The influence of Donatello can be found in other works by Crivelli, such as the Madonna del Candeletta in the Brera Gallery whose stoic figure
is reminiscent of Donatello’s bronze Madonna of the Padua Altar. There are a number of paintings by Crivelli utilizing putti which betray the influence of Donatello.

An artist about whom there is not much documentation, but who seems to have been particularly influenced by Crivelli’s forms and brittle quality is Nicola de Maestro Antonio da Ancona. This artist was from the Marches, influenced by the Paduan School, who lived in the second half of the fifteenth century. His only dated work is in Ancona and dates to 1472. A work by Nicola that shows the influence of Donatello probably through Crivelli is the Pieta in Jesi, Pinacoteca Civica. In this painting the half length dead Christ is supported upright in the sepulcher by two grieving putti wearing Donatellesque short tunics.

The Bolognese, Marco Zoppo (c. 1433 - 1489) {probably was a pupil of Cosimo Tura?} worked for Squarcione in Padua from 1452 - 55, and like Mantegna was his adopted son. His work shows the influence of Donatello’s putti in his Madonna Suckling the Child and Angels at Ashby St. Legers, Wimbourne Collection, dating to 1453 - 55. This is one of Zoppo’s earliest surviving paintings. In it the Virgin stands behind a parapet suckling the Christ Child, surrounded by putti.
Four semi-clothed putti play musical instruments, two the horn, one a lyre, and one a lute, and two nude putti play with swags. The figures are very sculptural, typical of Squarcionesque painters.\textsuperscript{118}

Marco Zoppo also borrowed Donatello's Pieta-with-Angels scheme for his Pesaro Pieta in the Museo Oliveriano (Fig. 207), a tempera on wood painting which is 120 x 95 cm. This work may have functioned originally as the cimasa of Bellini's Pesaro Altarpiece.\textsuperscript{119} Although Zoppo's angels are older adolescents, not putti, the schema was borrowed from Donatello, and also appears in a drawing by Zoppo.

Zoppo's use of putti is more prevalent in his drawings than in his surviving paintings.\textsuperscript{120} The influence of both Donatello and Mantegna is evident in Zoppo's surviving drawings. The most notable drawing by Zoppo, insofar as showing Donatello's influence is the criterion, is the Dead Christ Surrounded by Angels in Launceston, Cornwall (Penheale Manor), in the Colville Collection (Fig. 208). This is an elaborate pen and ink drawing on parchment. The dead Christ is supported by two semi-nude putti similar to those in Donatello's Paduan bronze. Crying putti surround Christ and the supporting putti. Above the figures in the spandrels of
an arch, putti hold swags in true Squarcionesque fashion. On the reverse of this drawing is a scene of St. James Led to Execution heavily based on Mantegna’s Ovetari Chapel fresco. The two drawings are dated to 1455 - 57 on this basis.121

Giovanni Antonio Amadeo (1447 - 1522) (see pages 273f.), used Donatello’s Pieta with putti scheme in his Monument of Medea Colleoni (Fig. 192), 1470 - 76. The sarcophagus of Medea Colleoni is divided into three relief panels by four pilasters. In the central panel is a depiction of Christ as the Man of Sorrows with an adolescent angel on both sides. The conception is reminiscent of Donatello’s relief of Pieta with Angels in S. Antonio, Padua.

Pietro Lombardo (c. 1435 - 1515) originally from Lombardy, who became Venice’s leading sculptor in the third quarter of the fifteenth century and was also active in the 1460’s in Bologna and Padua, also took up the Pieta with putti schema. He may have made a visit to Tuscany before 1462 giving him the opportunity to see Donatello’s Tuscan sculptures. Sometime around 1457 he became a resident of Venice.122 Pietro Lombardo, and later his sons, Tullio and Antonio, were responsible for
a sizeable amount of the sculptural decoration of Venice in the late fifteenth century.

In the 1460's Pietro Lombardo created the Monument of Pasquale Malipiero, who died in 1462, in Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Fig. 209). The Malipiero Monument is a wall tomb consisting of an effigy of the deceased lying atop a sarcophagus which is resting on the backs of griffins. To either side of this are pilasters supporting an entablature. Above the entablature is a lunette in which the Dead Christ is supported by two putti angels, a motif originating in Donatello's Santo reliefs in Padua. Beneath the griffins and the sarcophagus are putti sprouting from vegetal motifs.

Bellano's relief Dead Christ Mourned by Angels in the National Gallery, Washington (Fig. 210) is a small (23.7 x 18.3 cm.) gilt bronze plaque which continues the iconographic scheme of the half-length dead Christ mourned by putti begun by Donatello, and popularized in North Italy by Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini. This is the sole treatment of this subject matter by Bellano according to James David Draper, but Sergio Bettini attributed three other Lamentation scenes to him in his 1931 article "Bartolomeo Bellano 'ineptus artifex'?" In the Washington Dead Christ Mourned by Angels a wasted figure of Christ stands in his sarcophagus,
displaying his wounds, with the backdrop of His cross. There are two young angels standing on the sarcophagus, one on either side of Christ, who are clothed in knee-length, long-sleeved garments, and reverently pray to him. This relief takes up Donatello's novel scheme, but uses it in a more dogmatic, reactionary manner. The angels, although young and round-faced lack the pagan spirit of Donatello's putti, the boisterousness and the sheer indulgence of nude flesh found in Donatello. The reverent, sweet, passive quality of Bellano's angels harks back to the adolescent angels commonly found in religious art before the popularity of the putto.

The three Lamentation scenes attributed to Bellano by Bettini are located in the Museo Civico (Fig. 211) and San Gaetano (Fig. 212), both in Padua, and in the Chiesa dei Gesuiti, Venice (Fig. 213). The Venetian piece does not seem to fit Bellano's style at all, but has affinities to Tullio Lombardo's classicizing style, to whom Krahn attributes it with a question mark. The other two pieces depend heavily on Donatello's Paduan bronze Lamentation, and do exhibit the slightly coarse style of Bellano. The angels of the Museo Civico in Padua's piece depend somewhat on the Santo angels by Donatello. The one on the right of Christ has a garment
open at the seams, but held together at intervals with one stitch like several of Donatello's Paduan music-making angels.

Just as the dead Christ supported by child angels, an invention of Donatello's, became influential for North Italian painters, so, too can its influence be seen in North Italian sculpture. In the Ovetari Chapel in Padua is a relief Pieta dating to c. 1495 attributed to Domenico Boccalaro (Fig. 214).127 Christ is supported by two grieving angels, dressed like those of Donatello's bronze in S. Antonio. This work depends directly on Donatello's Paduan bronze rather than on an intermediary Pieta such as those painted by Crivelli or Bellini. The modeling of the angels' forms and the classicizing style of their faces, though somewhat rough, is very Donatellesque, not seeming to have been filtered through a painted intermediary.

A substantially later example of a Donatello-inspired Pieta with Angels is located in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Fig. 215). This work of bronze, 21.3 cm high by 13.8 cm wide, has been attributed to a North Italian, possibly Paduan artist of the second half of the sixteenth century. It functioned as a tabernacle door.128 The dead Christ is supported by
six *putti* angels, reminiscent of those in Donatello’s bronze *Pieta* for the Santo in their forms.

Although the *Pieta* with *putti* scheme is found primarily in Northern Italy, at least one example exists in Tuscany - a work by the Sienese artist, Neroccio di Landi, (1447 - 1500) who trained under Vecchietta. Several of Neroccio’s works betray Donatello’s influence. The influence of Donatello’s *Pieta* specifically, is found in the *St. Benedict Receiving Totila* (Fig. 216), in the Uffizi, dated to the 1470’s by Coor, he shows knowledge of Donatello’s *Pieta* in Padua. Above the door in the painting is portrayed a relief of Christ supported by *putti* very similar to those of Donatello’s bronze. Dunkelman suggests that Neroccio must have known Donatello’s *Pieta* through an intermediary work. Although Neroccio may never have visited Padua, Donatello spent the years 1457 to 1461 in Siena, and may have left behind sketches of his Paduan works of the decade before, directly influencing Neroccio.

**MUSICAL PUTTI**

One of the most important innovations of Donatello’s that found its way into painting was that of the motif of child musicians. Dunkelman states:
By the end of the century such child musicians had become so commonplace that it is hard to remember that they were not a tradition of many centuries' duration, but rather an original contribution by Donatello who, in combining antique putti with such a traditional element, created a very welcome means by which painters could modernize their works.

The degree of influence that Donatello exerted over Mantegna is very evident, as Dunkelman points out, in the San Zeno Altarpiece of 1460 located in the choir of San Zeno, Verona (Fig. 217). First of all, the arrangement of the saints around the enthroned Virgin was probably influenced by Donatello's bronze saints of the Padua High Altar. Seated on the floor at the Virgin's feet are two musician putti playing lutes, while six putti stand on the base of the Madonna's throne singing, reminiscent of the music-making and singing putti in the reliefs of San Antonio. Behind the Virgin in the central panel and the saints in the wings there is an architectural entablature supported by piers. Running along this entablature is a frieze of sculptured putti in grisaille, who stand in dancelike poses while holding swags. These putti are dressed like Donatello's San Antonio ones. The base of the Madonna's
throne is partially covered by a red oriental carpet, yet mysteriously, the bottom halves of two sculptural relief putti are revealed underneath it.

Francesco Benaglio, a Veronese painter (c. 1432 - before 1492) signed and dated his Triptych of San Bernardino, of 1462, located in the Church of San Bernardino in Verona (Fig. 218). Benaglio was strongly influenced by Mantegna’s San Zeno Altarpiece. The Triptych of San Bernardino, like the San Zeno Altarpiece, includes music-making putti in front of the Madonna’s throne. Donatello’s innovations filtered to many artists such as Francesco Benaglio through Mantegna.

Mantegna’s brother-in-law, the Venetian Giovanni Bellini, was born around 1430 and died in 1516. He was trained by his father, Jacopo, and was strongly influenced in his earlier career by Mantegna, and perhaps also directly by Donatello through Donatello’s Paduan bronzes. Giovanni Bellini adopted Donatello’s innovation of the music-making putti in his first altarpiece of the Madonna and Child enthroned among saints in the St. Catherine Altarpiece of the mid 1470’s, formerly in Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Fig. 219). The altarpiece was destroyed by fire in 1867, but is known through an engraving in Crowe and Cavalcaselle.
and a reconstruction by Goffen.\textsuperscript{136} In front of the Madonna stood three putti wearing short tunics, loosely belted as in Donatello's Paduan bronzes. In pose, Bellini's putti resemble those by Donatello depicted on two bronze relief panels who sing from books. Bellini's three singing putti almost look like a compression of Donatello's two panels of two singing putti each into three putti.

In Giovanni Bellini's Enthroned Madonna and Child (the Frari Madonna) of 1488 in the sacristy of Sta. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice (Fig. 220),\textsuperscript{137} we see the influence of Donatello again in his child musician angels which remind the viewer of the angels of the Paduan relief sculptures by Donatello. Their poses do not exactly echo any of Donatello's musicians, though they wear similar skimpy garments and have fillets in their hair, as do some of Donatello's. Their poses, in fact, each with one foot stepping up onto the throne, facing each other, are more similar in the placement of the legs to the putti in Donatello's bronze Pieta. It appears that Bellini conflated the idea of the music-making putti with their skimpy classicizing garb with the heraldic arrangement and pose of the legs of the putti of the Pieta. Bellini also portrayed music-making
putti in his Allegory of Inconstancy and the Allegory of Prudence in the Accademia, Venice.

Alvise Vivarini (c. 1442/53 - 1503/5)\textsuperscript{138} shows the influence of Donatello’s music-making putti in his Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints George, Peter, Catherine of Alexandria, Lucy, Mark and Sebastian, formerly in Berlin, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, destroyed by fire in 1945 (Fig. 221). Vivarini’s music-making putti show the strong influence of Donatello’s Paduan putti. Alvise Vivarini worked in Padua in the Ovetari chapel, so the San Antonio bronzes would have been familiar to him. In this painting we find a sacra conversazione, an enthroned Madonna with three saints on either side, similar to how Donatello’s Paduan bronzes may have looked when originally installed, with the two music-making putti below the Madonna, probably in a similar location to Donatello’s putti reliefs in the Padua High Altar as originally constituted. This painting has been variously dated from 1485 - 1501.\textsuperscript{139}

Alvise Vivarini also used music-making putti in his painting of the Madonna Adoring the Child with Two Music-Making Angels formerly in the Koper Gallery, now, whereabouts unknown. This work is signed and dated 1489.\textsuperscript{140} Here the putti sit on a small step in front of the Virgin’s throne and play lutes while looking up
toward the Child. Similar putti sit in the Madonna and Child Enthroned with Two Music-Making Angel in Venice, Il Redentore. In this case the Virgin sits behind a ledge with the sleeping Christ Child on her lap. The two putti sit on the ledge, looking up at the Virgin and strumming their lutes. This painting is very Bellinesque - it was, in fact, at one time attributed to Giovanni Bellini. It has been dated close to Alvise's Koper Madonna of 1489.141

The influence of Donatello's musical putti can be seen in other paintings by artists of the Venetian School including: Andrea da Murano, Antonio da Negroponte, Niccolo Rondinelli, Paolo de Brescia, Bartolomeo Montagna, Giovanni Bonconsiglio, Cima da Coniglino, Giovani Mansueti; in paintings from artists of the Paduan School including: Giorgio Schiavone and Cosimo Tura; in Modenese painters including Francesco Bianchi Ferrari; in works by Emilian artists including Cristoforo Caselli da Parma; in Lombard artists including Foppa, Ludovico Brea, Bernardino Luini, Butinone, and Zenale; and in Ferrarese artists including Francesco del Cossa and Antonio Cicognara.

Donatello's Paduan music-making putti also influenced sculpture of North Italy. We find that
influence in the Tempio Malatestiano, and in the work of Bellano, of the so-called Master of San Trovaso, and of Pietro Lombardo.

In the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini (San Francesco) are fascinating low relief sculptures dating from the late 1440's and early 1450's which incorporate putti. Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, the lord of Rimini had unconventional tastes in chapel decoration in this neo-Pagan "temple." The genesis of the temple occurred in 1446 when Malatesta decided to dedicate a chapel to St. Sigismund, his patron saint, in thanksgiving. By 1450 the plan had expanded, to have the Gothic church of S. Francesco at Rimini encased in a Renaissance shell by Leon Battista Alberti. The interior was sculpted in rich sculptural decoration. Although the chapels were dedicated to traditional religious entities such as Guardian Angels, St. Jerome, Martyrs, etc. their pagan appearance gave the chapels the popular appellations of "the Chapel of the Planets," of "Infant Games" and of "Sibyls." In the Tempio Malatestiano the importance of Donatello's promotion of the putto is visible. By mid-century artists had picked up the motifs rediscovered and/or revised by Donatello, including both the classical putto type and the novel music-making putto, and were emboldened by his example to use them as a
subject for an artistic scheme, rather than as a subservient or purely decorative part.

In the Chapel of Isotta, Malatesta's mistress, the principal motif of the chapel is the music-making, winged putto, represented in reliefs attributed to Matteo de' Pasti of Verona (c. 1420 - 1467/8). These putti are graceful and linear, and wear the clinging, skimpy garments that Donatello's Paduan putti wear. Matteo de Pasti began to work in Rimini in 1449, and seems to have done most of the work in 1451-2. Unfortunately the surviving documents are not specific as to what he carved. However, he is considered to be the finest carver of the ensemble. Schubring attributed the reliefs of the "Chapel of the Planets" to him.143 Across from this chapel is the Chapel of the Guardian Angel, called the "Chapel of Infant Games," where the piers are decorated with low reliefs of chubby, semi-nude winged playing children (Fig. 222), somewhat reminiscent of Donatello's Cantoria putti, but with a more graceful, linear quality. These reliefs are attributed to Agostino di Duccio144 (1418 - 1481), a Florentine, who was trained in the cathedral work shops of Donatello and possibly Luca della Robbia. Agostino is first mentioned at work in the Temple at Rimini in
The figures by Agostino combine the childlikeness of Donatello's putti with Neo-Attic linear gracefulness.

Probably in 1469, Bartolommeo Bellano started carving decorations of the back wall of the sacristy of the Santo. On the lower course of this are four semi-nude music-making putti carved after the bronze music-making putti that Donatello created for the High Altar of the Santo. One of Bellano's putti plays a viol (Fig. 223), the second plays a tambourine (fig. 224), while the other pair sing from books (Fig. 225). In the entablature above the altar at the center sits a chubby, wingless putto with an open book on his lap (Fig. 226). In the relief frieze running left and right of him are decorations of winged putti blooming from acanthus plants, and in the capitals of the pilasters supporting this course are putti acting as caryatids. All of the putti have the same chubby proportions as Donatello's, though the most Donatellesque are the four large music-making putti.

The Master of San Trovaso was named for three reliefs in the church of S. Trovaso in Venice. A. Venturi tried to identify the Master of S. Trovaso with Agostino di Duccio, while P. Paoletti identified him with Antonio Rizzo, and Fiocco with Pietro
To my eyes, the style seems close to that of Agostino di Duccio.

In 1446 Agostino di Duccio arrived in Venice. In the 1450's low reliefs appear in Venice for the first time, probably due to the influence of Agostino, author of the reliefs in the Tempio Malatestiano. The reliefs in S. Trovaso attributed to the Master of S. Trovaso date to around c. 1470 and are possibly, according to Pope-Hennessy, by a Riminese artist. The paliotto of San Trovaso consists of Angels with Instruments of Passion flanked by two reliefs of Music-Making Angels (Fig. 227). The angels are quite young, winged putting them into the category of putti and wear the clinging, revealing garments that Donatello's music-making and lamenting putti wear in the Paduan bronzes.

Pietro Lombardo borrowed the general style of Donatello's Paduan putti for his wingless putti in the Cappella Maggiore of S. Giobbe, Venice of about 1475 (Fig. 228). These putti wear Donatellesque short-belted tunics, and have the same general proportions as Donatello's Paduan music-making putti, although Pietro's putti do not make music - rather, they stand in the
spandrels of the dome, seemingly supporting lunettes of the four evangelists.

Martha Dunkelman best speaks of the musical angels:

The musical putti of the Padua altar have a following which is more clearly definable than that of the putti which have been discussed so far. In this case, Donatello modified two older traditions and created a new phenomenon which was incorporated subsequently into painted altars. The presence of singing angels in altarpieces was not a new element in itself, since adoring musical accompanists occurred in countless earlier paintings, from Masaccio’s San Giovenale altar to Niccolo di Pietro’s Madonna in 1394 in the Accademia, Venice. Nor... are putti in themselves an element introduced by Donatello alone. Northern Italy’s participation in the revival of the phenomenon is seen, for example, in Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d’Alemagna’s Coronation in S. Pantaleone, dated 1444, which provides evidence of the growing popularity of such little people, in a situation totally independent of Donatello. Donatello’s Padua angels combine those two elements. His musicians differ from their immediate angelic predecessors in their classicizing garments and seminudity, and in their distinctly childlike proportions and features. These new characteristics come from antique putti, and the twelve Padua reliefs thus belong to the general revival of interest in this ancient motif. The innovation consists not in the interest in putti, or even in their insertion into an altar, but in the supplying of them with instruments and using them as the traditional musical angels which accompany Madonnas.
It should be pointed out, however, that Vivarini’s Coronation (Fig. 229) was almost certainly not "totally independent of Donatello." Donatello was already at work in nearby Padua at the Santo in 1444. The Renaissance quality of Vivarini’s putti stands out from his Byzantine and Gothic influences, pointing to the intervention of Donatello’s style and ideas. If the direct influence of Donatello were not the case (though I believe that it was), Donatello’s forms had already reached Venice in 1442 in the form of Andrea del Castagno’s frescoes in S. Zaccaria, signed and dated 1442, which include strenuously dancing putti influenced by the Cantoria (Fig. 182).

By the sixteenth century more archaeological discoveries from ancient Rome provided artists with more authentic examples of Cupid and genius to consult. The discovery of the grottesche in the ruins of Nero’s Golden House in Rome inspired a new generation of artists to continue in the creation of putti. Still, the legacy Donatello’s putti continued in the works of Raphael, Fra Bartolommeo, certain Mannerists, Baroque and Rococo artists and beyond. Due to the multiplicity of works continuing in the Donatellan tradition using putti in the ways he pioneered, only a few famous examples will follow.
Pairs of putti figure prominently in Michelangelo's scheme of the Sistine Chapel ceiling, standing above the prophets and sibyls.

We find music-making putti in paintings by Fra Bartolommeo, for instance in his 1512 Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine in Florence, the Accademia\textsuperscript{155} and nude winged putti in the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine of the previous year, in the Louvre.\textsuperscript{156} Raphael's putti sometimes exhibited similar real-childlike, raffish-looks of the putti pioneered by Donatello as we see in the Sistine Madonna of 1513 (?) in the Dresden Gallery.\textsuperscript{157} The facial expressions of these putti hark back to Donatello's Cantoria putti. Also, the use of a celestial Madonna of Humility with putti angels was begun by Donatello in the Madonna of the Clouds.

The tradition of the slightly wicked-looking putti continues in Andrea del Sarto's Madonna of the Harpies of 1517 in Florence, the Uffizi. Two wicked-looking putti cling to the Madonna's legs.\textsuperscript{158}

Titian's Virgin of the 1518 Assumption in Venice, S. Maria dei Frari\textsuperscript{159} is surrounded by a swarm of nude putti.

Dancing putti are placed at the top of Pontormo's Visitation of 1515-16 in Florence, SS. Annunziata.\textsuperscript{160}
Putti sing on the steps of the Virgin's throne in Il Rosso's *Madonna and Saints* of 1518 in Florence, the Uffizi. Other sixteenth century painters who used *putti* extensively in their paintings were Giulio Romano and Correggio.

Andrea Sansovino (c. 1467 - 1529) used *putti* extensively in his huge sculptural ensemble of the Holy House in the Duomo, Loreto of 1514 - 1529. Sculptured *putti* also figure prominently in the sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino and Baccio Bandinelli.

A Ferrarese *Mirror Frame* of c. 1505-30, is carved of walnut, is 48.2 cm. high and is owned by the Victoria and Albert Museum. It supposedly originally belonged to Lucretia Borgia. As exhibited in the 1985 Detroit Donatello show, this elaborate mirror frame shows the continuing influence of Donatello into the sixteenth century by the use of a playful, albeit worldly looking nude *putto* using the "Y" at the bottom of the frame as his easy chair (Fig. 230)!

By this time *putti* have gone full circle in art. Before Donatello they were purely classical motifs; they were given a new vitality by Donatello by being infused with Christian meaning and used in new ways: as music-making angels, as supporters of Christ in the lamentation, and as commentators on the passion of
Christ; and in other cases Donatello retained pagan meaning as a parallel to or comment on a narrative as in his *Judith* and *David*. From about 1500 on putti become increasingly mere generic decoration once again, infusing themselves into nearly every imaginable scene, even into pieces of furniture and mirror frames. This phenomenon was due partly to the study of Donatello by younger artists and the appropriating of motifs without regard for their underlying meaning, and partly to the popularity that the motif of the putto enjoyed due to Donatello’s adoption and adaptation of it.

The achievements of Donatello were many, and the rejuvenation of the putto was the most influential. At the end of the sixteenth century ushering in the Baroque era putti figure prominently in Annibale Carracci’s scheme of the frescoes of the Farnese Gallery, and are found at the end of the seventeenth century in Fra Andrea Pozzo’s *The Glorification of St. Ignatius* in S. Ignazio, Rome. In the eighteenth century putti become an integral part of Rococo Salon decorations by Fragonard and Boucher, and grace the delicate interior decoration of Bavarian churches such as Vierzehnheiligen near Staffelstein. In the nineteenth century putti were a major decorative motif in Victorian art and decoration.
The putto is still (not surprisingly) found in the Contemporary art of Carlo Maria Mariani, and continues to be a viable motif for the visual artist five hundred fifty years after Donatello popularized it.
Chapter Nine

Notes


2Italian Renaissance Sculpture in the Time of Donatello (referred to hereafter as "Detroit"), Detroit, 1985, 124f.


7Detroit, 1985, 124f.

8The mechanical aspect of the Putto with a Fantastic Fish is similar to that of the Winged Infant fountain figure in the Metropolitan Museum. The latter was designed to issue water through its mouth to turn some sort of a water wheel (now missing). See Detroit, 1985, 126f or Chapter 7 of this document, 167.

9Detroit, 1985, 130.

10Ibid.

12 Ibid., 175.


14 See Chapter Five, 92f. of this document.


17 Ibid.


19 Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 293.

20 See Passavant, 1969, 176 for a summary. Dussier and Middledorf dated it to the 1460's, Reymond after 1476, Planiscig to about 1480, and Pope-Hennessy to about 1470.

21 "For Lorenzo de' Medici he made a bronze boy hugging a fish... which has been set up by Duke Cosimo as the fountain in the court of his palace and is really a marvelous work." Vasari, Giorgio, The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects, Volume 2, ed. W. Gaunt, NY: 1970, 98.


23 Ibid., 41.


25 Ibid., 16f.


27 Ibid., 406. Wilhelm von Bode attributed them to the "circle of Donatello" in Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance, 1969, 176. Stites attributed them to


29 Dunkelman, 1976, 70.

30 See pp. 103 - 106 for the Brancacci Monument, and pp. 100 - 103 for the Coscia Tomb.

31 Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 286f.


33 Ibid., 34.

34 See Schultz, 1977, 34ff. for the classical and religious symbolism.

35 Schultz plausibly recognizes the hand of Buggiano in the execution of one of the putti. See Schultz, 1977, 49f.


37 Ibid.


40 Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 286f.

41 Seymour, 1966, 269.

42 Ibid., 288f.

43 This is Seymour's opinion, with which I concur. Seymour, 1966, 115.

44 Schubring, 1807, 308.

45 Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 43. Pope-Hennessy refers to it as Donatello's tomb slab for Pope Martin V in passing, without discussion of the attribution.

47 Seymour, 1966, 115.

48 Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 43.

49 Seymour, 1966, 259.

50 Ibid., 143.

51 Ibid., 305.

52 Ibid., 23.

53 Ibid., 182.

54 Passavant, 1969, 177.

55 Ibid., 178.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 297f.

59 Seymour, 1966, 175f.

60 Ibid., 297f.


63 Schultz, 1977, 49.

64 Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 28.

65 Ibid., 245.

66 Schultz, 1977, 49f.

67 Schubring, 1907, 41.
Seymour, 1968, 2268. Maso was paid for attaching the brackets, laying the floor and building the pilasters on the Prato Pulpit (Janson, 1963, 110f.) From the documents it would appear that Maso worked primarily in architectural details of the pulpit, and perhaps on the decorative panels between the brackets. On the basis of a comparison with Maso di Bartolommeo’s later candelabrum, Janson speculates that some of the smaller putti of the capital may by by Maso (Ibid., 116f.) Although the contracts stipulated that Donatello design and carve the putti of all seven panels of the pulpit, Marchini saw different hands at work on them due to an uneven quality which he perceived. Marchini identifies Maso’s hand in the panel of the Prato Pulpit which sits left of center. (Giuseppe Marchini, "Di Maso di Bartolommeo e d’altri," in Commentarii 3, 1952, 112 – 117.) Marchini, however, provides no real tangible evidence for this view, which Janson thus rejected. (Janson, 1963, 117.) In my view it is really not possible to attribute to different hands the various panels of the Prato Pulpit.

Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 82.


Ibid., 238.

Dunkelman, 1976, 71.


Ibid., 112.

Ibid., 113.

Ibid., 114.

Ibid.


80 Ibid., 71; Horster, Maria, Andrea del Castagno, Ithaca, NY: 1980, 18f.
81 Berenson, 1963 I, 46.
82 Horster, 1980, 29.
83 Berenson, 1963 I, 46.
84 Ibid., 74.
85 Dunkelman, 1976, 70f.
86 Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 331.
87 Detroit, 1985, 224.
88 Ibid.

90 Ibid., 183ff.
92 Ibid., 20, n. 2.
93 Ibid., 21.
94 Ibid., 19.
95 Although records indicate that Pizzolo' was given the commission for the Ovetari Chapel altarpiece (Lazzarini and Moschetti 15, 156) Crowe and Cavalcaselle did not think that the altar was modelled until after Pizzolo's death and attributed it to Giovanni de Pisa (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 1912, 20). Lionello Puppi attributes the altar to Pizzolo' (Bettini, Sergio and Puppi, Lionello, La Chiesa Eremitani di Padova, Padua: 1970, 112) due to the Squarcionesque style that matches frescoes in the Ovetari Chapel by Pizzolo, and given a lack of definitive evidence to the contrary, I will stick with the attribution to Pizzolo'.

97 Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 323.


100 For reconstruction diagrams see Janson, 1963, figs, 7, 168, 168a. For a history of reconstructions see pp. 169 - 181.


103 Berenson, 1957 I, 35; Dunkelman, 1976, 116f.

104 For a discussion of the Pieta and Bellini see Hans Belting, Giovanni Bellini, Pieta: Ikone und Bilderzählung in der Venezianischen Malerei, Frankfort: 1985.

105 Berenson, 1957 I, 6.

106 Belting, 1985, 63, 66.

107 Ibid., 111.

108 Ibid., 141.

109 Bettini, Sergio, "Bartolommeo Bellano 'ineptus artifex'?," in Rivista D'Arte 13, 1931, 95.

111 Ibid., 70.
112 Berenson, 1957 I, 7.
116 Ibid., 196.
119 Ibid., 379f.
120 Ibid., chapters 4 & 5.
121 Ibid., 148.
122 Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 228.
123 Ibid.
124 Detroit, 1985, 224.
125 Bettini, 1931, 45 - 108, figures 17, 19, 20.
126 Krahm, 1988, 94.
129 Coor, 1961, 92.
130 Dunkelman, 1976, 118.
Berenson, 1968 I, 242; Dunkelman, 1976, 39ff. sets forth in detail the influence of the Paduan altar on Mantegna's *San Zeno Altarpiece*.

Berenson, 1968 I, 38.

Paccagnini, 1961, 106.

Berenson, 1957 I, 29.


Ibid., 35.


Ibid., 135: Milanesi 1501; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1501; Morelli 1490; Berenson 1485; Pallucchini 1490.

Steer, 1982, 137.

Ibid., 155.

Seymour, 1966, 129.

Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 313f.

Ibid., 309 - 313.

Seymour, 1966, 130.

Krahn, 1988, 38.


Pope-Hennessy, 1985, 337 writes that P. Paoletti attributes the works to Antonio Rizzo in *L'architettura e la Scultura del Rinascimento a Venezia II*, Venice: 1893. I could not find the written attribution there, as the book is all plates, no text. It is illustrated in plate 49 without text.

150 Ibid., 92.

151 Ibid., 337.

152 Ibid.

153 Ibid., 339.

154 Dunkelman, 1976, 72f.

155 S. J. Freedberg, Painting in Italy 1500 - 1600, N.Y.: 1990, 85ff.

156 Ibid.

157 Ibid., 65.

158 Ibid., 95.

159 Ibid., 151f.

160 Ibid., 102ff.

161 Ibid., 194.


163 Detroit, 1985, 154f.
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DONATELLO'S PUTTI: THEIR GENESIS, IMPORTANCE, AND INFLUENCE ON QUATTROCENTO SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

VOLUME II

DISSERTATION

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By

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* * * * *

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