



The Sources of Donatello's Pulpits in San Lorenzo: Revival and Freedom of Choice in the Early Renaissance

Author(s): Irving Lavin

Source: *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Mar., 1959), pp. 19-38

Published by: College Art Association

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3047811>

Accessed: 10/09/2008 14:10

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=caa>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

---

JSTOR is a not-for-profit organization founded in 1995 to build trusted digital archives for scholarship. We work with the scholarly community to preserve their work and the materials they rely upon, and to build a common research platform that promotes the discovery and use of these resources. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# THE SOURCES OF DONATELLO'S PULPITS IN SAN LORENZO

## REVIVAL AND FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE\*

IRVING LAVIN

THE bronze pulpits executed by Donatello for the church of San Lorenzo in Florence confront the investigator with something of a paradox.<sup>1</sup> They stand today on either side of Brunelleschi's nave in the last bay toward the crossing.<sup>2</sup> The one on the left side (facing the altar, see text fig.) contains six scenes of Christ's earthly Passion, from the Agony in the Garden through the Entombment (Fig. 1); that on the right contains five of the post-Passion miracles, from the Marys at the Tomb through the Pentecost, and in addition the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence (Fig. 2).

The pulpits have been recognized almost universally as key monuments of the master's final years; and yet possibly less is known about them than about any other of his major works. To begin with, not a single document relating to their commission or execution has survived. Vasari and others relate that, ordered by Cosimo de' Medici, they were left unfinished when Donatello died (1466), and had to be completed by workshop assistants.<sup>3</sup> The pulpits do in fact present a number of stylistic anomalies that create delicate problems of attribution—problems which, owing to insufficient evidence, may never be fully resolved.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, agreement is by now fairly general that Donatello was responsible for the basic conception.<sup>5</sup> But if so, he brought together such a bewildering variety of elements, formal as well as iconographical, that it becomes essential to determine whether some reasonable principle might have governed his selections. This question is perhaps capable of solution, and the present paper is intended as a preliminary step in that direction. The procedure will be to define systematically, at least in general terms, the kinds of material that Donatello utilized in designing both

\*The author wishes to record his gratitude to Professors Karl Lehmann and H. W. Janson, who guided the initial stages of this investigation at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Professors Erwin Panofsky, Martin Weinberger, and Ulrich Middeldorf were kind enough to read various drafts of the manuscript, offering important criticisms and suggestions. Several improvements accrued from stimulating conversations with Messrs. Clarence Kennedy, James Hodgson, and Albert Meisel. Without the support and encouragement of Dr. W. W. S. Cook the research would never have been undertaken.

1. For a complete summary of information concerning the Pulpits, see now the definitive catalogue of Donatello's oeuvre by H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton, 1957, II, pp. 209ff. (hereinafter referred to as Janson); also H. Kauffmann, *Donatello*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 177ff.; M. Semrau, *Donatello's Kanzeln in San Lorenzo* (Italienische Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte II), Breslau, 1891. The pulpits are most commonly dated ca. 1460-1466 (see Janson, pp. 214-215, but also note 4 below).

2. This, however, was not their original position; see below, p. 23 and note 29.

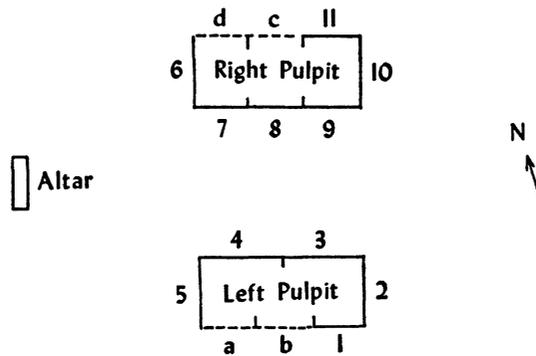
3. Vasari, *Le vite* . . . , ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878-1885, II, pp. 416, 425; VII, pp. 141-142; Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Life of Cosimo de' Medici*, ed. A. Mai, *Spicilegium romanum*, Rome, 1839-1844, I, p. 341 (Milanesi, *ed.cit.*, II, p. 421 n. 1);

Baccio Bandinelli, Letter to Duke Cosimo of Florence, December 7, 1547, in G. Bottari and S. Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere* . . . , Milan, 1822-1825, I, pp. 71f. All the references are quoted in translation by Janson.

4. Vespasiano da Bisticci (*loc.cit.*) speaks of four assistants, only two of whom (Bellano and Bertoldo) are known from Vasari; see also U. Middeldorf, review of Kauffmann, *ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, p. 579 n. 14. There is evidence, however, to support the hypothesis that some of the stylistic discrepancies may have a chronological explanation. The pulpits are usually dated to the period between Donatello's final return to Florence from Siena about 1460 and his death in 1466. But for several reasons (relationships to Mantegna in the left pulpit, the generally more rationalistic organization of certain of its scenes compared with most of those on the right), it seems possible that in part the pulpits may have been conceived earlier, after Donatello's return from Venice and before he went to Siena, i.e. 1453-1457. See the arguments for this possibility in the writer's M.A. thesis, "The Sources of Donatello's Bronze Pulpits in San Lorenzo," New York University, 1951, pp. 69ff.; now also the review of Janson in *The Times Literary Supplement*, September 5, 1958, p. 490, col. 5, and J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, New York, 1958, pp. 286ff., esp. p. 288.

5. Cf. Janson, p. 217.

the over-all form of the pulpits and the individual scenes. We shall find that several important observations can be made on the basis of information thus obtained. Of no less interest, however, is the material that Donatello rejected. And from the combination of evidence, direct as well as indirect, it will appear that Donatello's reaction to tradition was indeed consistent, and of perhaps unsuspected significance.



PULPITS IN SAN LORENZO

## LEFT PULPIT

- a. *Flagellation of Christ*
- b. *St. John the Evangelist*
1. *Christ on the Mount of Olives*
2. *Christ before Pilate and Caiphaz*
3. *Crucifixion*
4. *Lamentation*
5. *Entombment*

## RIGHT PULPIT

6. *Three Marys at the Tomb*
7. *Christ in Limbo*
8. *Resurrection*
9. *Ascension*
10. *Pentecost*
11. *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*
- c. *Evangelist Luke*
- d. *Mocking of Christ*

(Numbered scenes are original; lettered scenes are later additions.)

From the earliest Christian times the recitation of extracts from the Bible had formed an integral part of the liturgy of the mass.<sup>6</sup> The recitations are generally two in number: the Epistle, which is read first and consists usually of selections from the letters or the Acts of the Apostles, and the lesson from the Gospel. In some churches, two pulpits or *ambos* were employed for the readings,<sup>7</sup> and it became a universal rule, replete with symbolism, that in an oriented church the Gospel be read from the north side, the Epistle from the south.<sup>8</sup>

Compared to single pulpits, which are among the most ancient of church furnishings, the use of paired pulpits in this fashion seems to have been neither a very early nor a very widespread custom.<sup>9</sup> Preserved examples, at any rate, are relatively rare, most notable being those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Roman basilicas such as San Clemente and Santa Maria

6. For an account of the evolution of the liturgical lessons, see J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, English ed., *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, New York, 1, 1951, pp. 391ff.

7. For *ambos* and pulpits generally, cf. C. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, Paris, 1883-1889, III, pp. 1ff.; F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1907-1953, I, cols. 133off., *Enciclopedia italiana*, Rome-Milan, 1909-1948, II, pp. 793ff., XXVIII, pp. 532ff.

8. According to mediaeval directional symbolism the north is the seat of evil; hence the women were restricted to that side of the church, and hence the Gospel is to be read there in order to combat evil the more effectively; e.g., Honorius of Autun (first half of the 12th century):

. . . secundum solitum morem se ad aquilonem vertit (i.e., Diaconus) ubi feminae stant, quae carnales significant, quia Evangelium carnalis ad spiritualia vocat. Per aquilonem quoque diabolus designatur, qui per Evangelium impugnatur. Per aquilonem enim infidelis populus denotatur, cui Evangelium praedicatur, ut ad Christum convertatur.

*Gemma animae* 1, 22 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 172, col. 551)

The development of this tradition and its relation to paired pulpits is discussed by J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, Freiburg i. B., 1924, pp. 87ff., and Jungmann, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 412ff.

The church of San Lorenzo is "wested" (i.e., the altar is in the west); but the liturgical directions take precedence, and for purposes of symbolism left facing the altar (the "Gospel side") is equivalent to north. The earliest mention of Donatello's pulpits (Albertini, *Memoriale di molte statue e pitture della città di Firenze*, 1510, ed. Milanese, Florence, 1863, p. 11) speaks of "Pergami di bronzo per Evangelio et Epistola." See below, and Janson's remarks (pp. 211ff.) refuting Kauffmann's hypothesis (*op.cit.*, pp. 178f.) that they were intended as singer tribunes.

9. Cabrol, *op.cit.*, col. 1339; the earliest instance of which I am aware is on the St. Gall plan (820).

in Cosmedin.<sup>10</sup> Whether single or double these early pulpits had no fixed shape, but might be round, rectangular, or polygonal; and while their decoration might be very rich, it was nearly always entirely abstract or symbolical.

In contrast to this fluid situation, a relatively fixed tradition emerged with a monumental series of single pulpits produced in Tuscany during the Romanesque period.<sup>11</sup> Beginning in 1162 with the pulpit (now in Cagliari) executed by Guglielmo "of Innsbruck" for the Duomo of Pisa,<sup>12</sup> the series includes examples in San Michele at Groppoli, the Cathedral of Volterra, San Leonardo in Arcetri (Fig. 3), Florence, the Cathedral of Barga, and ends in 1250 with the pulpit signed by Guido da Como in San Bartolommeo in Pantano, Pistoia. Among Tuscan Romanesque pulpits these form a coherent group, with two main traits: they are all rectangular, and they are all supplied with a rich sculptural decoration of scenes from the life of Christ. Thereafter, the decoration of pulpits with narrative reliefs remained one of the focal points for the development of Italian sculpture. The oblong format, on the other hand, became obsolete when Nicola Pisano adopted the regular polygon for his Pisa and Siena pulpits. The central plan then became the norm through the whole Gothic period, setting the standard until Donatello created his pair in San Lorenzo.<sup>13</sup>

It is clear even from this brief sketch that certain basic features of the San Lorenzo pulpits are revivals of traditions that were distinctly antiquated by the middle of the fifteenth century. In the first place they are two in number and, as we have seen, paired pulpits were not produced after the thirteenth century. It is even possible that the revival in this respect was of a specifically Roman usage.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, the oblong shape indicates that Donatello chose to disregard the centralized arrangement in vogue up to then and return to the simpler type favored in Tuscany during the Romanesque. He may also have referred to the early Tuscan group in the bipartite division of the front of his left pulpit, for which a precedent had occurred, for example, in the pulpit of San Leonardo in Arcetri (Fig. 3). This juxtaposition makes it clear, moreover, that the Tuscan tradition paved the way for Donatello's classicizing framework, including the projecting cornice and decorated molding.<sup>15</sup>

But the same point of comparison also reveals the huge gulf that, in the last analysis, separates Donatello's pulpits from their mediaeval forerunners, in both the quantity and quality of influences from classical antiquity.<sup>16</sup> In fact, despite the precedents in pulpit tradition for an oblong shape, the size, proportions, and general impression of Donatello's works have much more the flavor of ancient sarcophagi than of mediaeval pulpits. The idea of a frieze of putti at the top of the composition finds no parallel in mediaeval examples;<sup>17</sup> rather, it derives from Roman

10. Also Santa Maria in Aracoeli, San Lorenzo fuori le Mura; Rohault de Fleury, *op.cit.*, III, pp. 39ff., 51ff.

11. Cf. F. P. Zauner, "Die Kanzeln Toskanas aus der romanischen Stilperiode," Diss., Munich, 1915; W. Biehl, *Toskanische Plastik des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (Kunst-historisches Institut Florenz, Italienische Forschungen, N.F. 2), Leipzig, 1926.

12. Presently set up as two separate pulpits. Biehl (*op.cit.*, p. 110 n. 66) advances persuasive arguments for considering that they originally formed a single pulpit with two lecterns, for the Gospel and the Epistle. *Sed contra*, R. Zech, "Meister Wilhelm von Innsbruck und die Pisaner Kanzel im Dome zu Cagliari," Diss., Königsberg, 1935, pp. 138f. In any event, the work was sent from Pisa to Cagliari in the early 14th century so that a direct influence on Donatello (as Janson, p. 213, points out) is improbable.

13. Notable exceptions are Guglielmo d'Agnello's pulpit in San Giovanni Fuoricivitas, Pistoia (Fig. 4, 1270) and the presumably rectangular outdoor pulpit at Prato Cathedral (1357-1360) replaced by that of Donatello and Michelozzo (Janson, pp. 112f.); the pulpit in Santa Chiara, Naples,

with 14th century reliefs of the life of St. Catherine (A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1901-1940, IV, fig. 224, p. 313) is an 18th century reconstruction. The Brunelleschi-Buggiano pulpit in Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1443-1452) is round; other Florentine centralized pulpits close in date to the San Lorenzo pair are cited below, note 96; see also Semrau, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

14. Perhaps considered in the 15th century to be "ancient," or Early Christian; see below, note 30. It should also be noted that two pulpits are found in the cathedrals of Ravello and Salerno (Rohault de Fleury, *op.cit.*, III, pp. 41, 42, 54).

15. See note 17.

16. A few instances will be considered below; for a detailed discussion see Lavin, *op.cit.*, Chap. 1.

17. Janson (p. 215 nn. 6, 7) convincingly attributes the cornices and the putti friezes to assistants who completed the pulpits after Donatello's death. But there is good reason to suppose that something of the sort was originally intended. The pilasters on the left pulpit were cast, at least in part, together with the scenes themselves, so that an architectural setting must be assumed; fluted pilasters of course imply an

sarcophagi, which often have such friezes on their lids (Fig. 5).<sup>18</sup> Not only the over-all structure, but individual details throughout the narrative scenes reflect that careful study of ancient monuments which had been such a potent force in Donatello's art from the beginning; now it is making its contribution to the expressive vocabulary of his latest style.

One is tempted to conclude that Donatello's revival of earlier pulpit traditions was simply a by-product of his desire to recreate classical forms. And this might be a satisfactory view were it not for the fact that several noteworthy features in the San Lorenzo pulpits cannot be explained on the basis of earlier pulpits or the inspiration of antiquity. The right pulpit, for instance, is longer and lower than the other, and is divided into three sections.<sup>19</sup> A similar tripartite disposition had occurred in Guido da Como's pulpit in Pistoia,<sup>20</sup> but as part of an entirely different conception which separates the panel into two horizontal registers with a different scene in each. Furthermore, on both pulpits, and most consistently on the one on the left, Donatello has placed figures in front of the members that separate the scenes.<sup>21</sup> Generically they might be related to lectern figures such as those on Guglielmo's pulpit in Pistoia (Fig. 4), or with the statues between the panels on the various pulpits of the Pisani. But the similarity is only generic, since the earlier figures are completely out of scale with those in the narrative scenes, while in Donatello they are the same size; and because the earlier figures remain independent, while in Donatello they twist and turn and are intimately linked to the narrative.

There exists, however, one type of monument in which all these elements may be found together, namely, fourteenth century sarcophagi of the type produced by the Sienese pupil of Giovanni Pisano, Tino di Camaino. Two of Tino's tombs are well preserved, that of Cardinal Petroni (d. 1314) in the Duomo of Siena, and that of Gastone della Torre (d. 1318) in Santa Croce, Florence (Fig. 8).<sup>22</sup> In each case the sarcophagus is rather long and low, and is divided into three sections by figures (evangelists) in relaxed poses on virtually the same scale as those in the narratives. Each section, as well as each side, is devoted to a Christological subject.

But the relationship to these tombs (with which Donatello was certainly familiar, since he actually worked in both buildings at various points in his career) may be more than simply formal. The scenes represented on Tino's sarcophagi are constant: the *Doubting Thomas*, the *Resurrection*, and the *Noli me Tangere* on the front; the *Marys at the Tomb* and the *Meeting at Emmaus* on the sides. The significance of these subjects in their funereal context is plain; they represent the Christian promise to the deceased of eternal life and salvation, as witnessed by the miraculous resurrection and appearances of the Savior. Donatello uses much the same sort of program on his right pulpit, with what we shall find to be the same implications. Moreover, the two scenes that Donatello's pulpit actually has in common with the sarcophagi, the *Resurrection* and the *Marys at the Tomb*, are placed in analogous locations—the *Marys at the Tomb* on the side, the *Resurrection* in the center.<sup>23</sup>

The observations presented thus far make it apparent that Donatello's pulpits are a fusion of at least four main components; 1) the mediaeval custom of paired pulpits; 2) the oblong

architrave and cornice, and suggest a decorated frieze. Moreover, since Donatello, as Janson observes (p. 217), probably left wax models in varying stages of completion for each of the narrative scenes, it seems only natural that he provided some indication of the framework in which they were to be set. Most likely, however, the indication was less circumstantial than for the narrative panels, and the assistants had to work out the details on their own.

18. Now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, formerly Museo Capitolino; K. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-reliefs*, Berlin, 1890-1952, III, 2, no. 236, pp. 305ff.

19. Left pulpit 137 x 280 cm; right pulpit 123 x 292 cm.

20. Biehl, *op.cit.*, pls. 154ff.

21. Some of the figures are missing; the Entombment panel on the side (Fig. 18) gives the clearest impression of what they were to be like.

22. W. R. Valentiner, *Tino di Camaino*, Paris, 1935, pp. 47ff., 59ff., pls. 18ff., 21ff.

23. Exactly the same as on the Petroni Tomb; on the della Torre monument the *Marys at the Tomb* is at the right side. The general relationship of the pulpits to ancient sarcophagi and to the Tino tombs has also been noted by W. Braunsfels, *Die Auferstehung*, Düsseldorf, 1951, p. xx.

shape and sculptural narrative of the Tuscan Romanesque pulpit tradition; 3 and 4) the basic formal qualities of antique and Trecento sarcophagi.

The last two impart to the pulpits a strong sepulchral connotation which makes it possible, I think, to grasp the sense of Donatello's particular choice of sources. Surely he intended to call to mind a sepulcher; not a mediaeval one, nor a classical one, but the ideal sepulcher of Christ, through which the redemption of mankind as represented in the narrative panels was achieved. The allusion had a solid foundation in pulpit symbolism; as early as the thirteenth century, the great liturgist Sicardus had likened the bishop who mounts the pulpit to Him who bore the Cross and endured the Passion:

Transcendat etiam imitatione Dominicae passionis, se ipsum abnegando crucem bajulando, et in cruce Domini gloriando; quia Dominus regnavit a ligno; quia Dominus regnavit a ligno; transcendat autem in fidei soliditate, et se vicarium Christi ostendat, qui est lapis angularis inter utrumque medius, sicut et hic est inter clerum et populum collocatus.<sup>24</sup>

In this context may be further understood certain peculiarities in the choice and distribution of the subjects on the pulpits. Whereas earlier pulpits had included events from the whole Christological cycle, Donatello restricts himself to the Passion and the post-Passion. Moreover, the San Lorenzo pair is unparalleled to my knowledge in dividing the series, with the events of the Passion on the left pulpit, the post-Passion miracles on the right. Through the distribution of the narrative the pulpits illustrate, respectively, the fundamental Christian themes of Death and Resurrection, Sacrifice and Salvation. Hence the importance of the fact that there are *two* pulpits, flanking the altar; the altar comes between them theologically no less than topographically. For it is the sacrifice taking place at the altar that joins the two ideas represented on the pulpits and establishes the essential unity of the Christian mystery. And finally, an explanation may be found here for the extraordinary omission of one of the most important scenes in the Passion sequence, the Last Supper. Evidently the altar itself, between the two pulpits, takes the place of the Last Supper in consummating the mystery and supplying the miraculous link.<sup>25</sup>

A remarkable corollary for these observations is that the San Lorenzo pulpits to this day are employed only for the reading of the lessons, and only during Holy Week, the time of special reference to the Passion.<sup>26</sup> In the lessons for this period, moreover, no events prior to the Passion are included, the same restriction we have noted as peculiar to the pulpits.<sup>27</sup> It would seem that the Eucharistic symbolism they embody may have been inspired in the first instance by the service they actually performed. This in turn permits another valuable inference. One of the important facts of liturgical history is that during the later Middle Ages the lessons yielded to preaching their former pre-eminence as a means of communicating doctrine; they became, for the laity, "a mere symbol."<sup>28</sup> Thus, even from the purely functional point of view, Donatello's pulpits, being used for the lessons rather than the sermon, involve a return to antiquated practice. We can go yet a step further. As preaching became the primary form of indoctrination there developed a tendency to move the pulpit away from the altar and closer to the congregation.<sup>29</sup> Under these circumstances it is significant that the San Lorenzo pulpits, as has recently been proved, were originally meant to be attached to the crossing piers directly opposite the altar.<sup>30</sup>

24. *Mitræ*, I, 4 (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, vol. 213, col. 22).

25. At the same time the altar, signifying the Last Supper, takes its place in the proper narrative sequence, i.e., before the Agony in the Garden, with which Donatello's cycle begins.

26. I am indebted to Mons. Giuseppe Capretti, Prior of San Lorenzo for this and other information regarding the pulpits and the liturgy followed in the church. That the pulpits were always used in this way is *a priori* likely in view of the well-established "law" governing the survival of liturgical customs associated with especially holy times; cf. A. Baumstark, "Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch

hochwertiger Zeit," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, VII, 1927, pp. 1ff., a reference kindly brought to my attention by Dom Anselm Strittmatter.

27. *Missale Romanum*, New York, etc., 1944, pp. 139ff.

28. Jungmann, *op.cit.*, I, p. 412.

29. Cf. Zauner, *op.cit.*, pp. 12ff., 23f., where the development is associated with the preaching activities in Italy of Bernard of Clairvaux and his followers. See also Jungmann, *op.cit.*, I, p. 418.

30. Kauffmann, *op.cit.*, p. 177 n. 601; they are depicted thus in a print by Callot of 1610 (*ibid.*, pl. 34).

The very location of the pulpits also suggests that the revival of earlier visual types is matched, perhaps motivated by a revival of earlier liturgical usage.<sup>31</sup>

It would be misleading to imply by the foregoing that the San Lorenzo pulpits follow an elaborate program, since the rigidly systematic character of "iconographical programs" in the usual sense is wholly absent. But they do seem to embody a meaningfully organized set of ideas. And the meaning is sufficiently coherent to show that Donatello's models were not selected at random, but as they produced associations that are integrally related to the function of the pulpits within the liturgy of the mass.

The commission for the pulpits provided Donatello's first opportunity to exercise his narrative powers in a full-scale account of the Passion.<sup>32</sup> In so doing just after the middle of the fifteenth century, he encountered a rather curious situation. Christological cycles that illustrated the Passion and post-Passion events with anything like the detail of the San Lorenzo pulpits had become surprisingly rare.<sup>33</sup> Only two were really comparable in scope, Ghiberti's first pair of doors for the Florentine Baptistery, from the first quarter of the century, and Fra Angelico's series of frescoes in the cloister of San Marco, from the second. Even these were not completely analogous, since they had both depicted the entire life of Christ rather than just the Passion and post-Passion, and at least Ghiberti had omitted a number of scenes that Donatello was to include.

When considering the early fifteenth century background, however, representations of individual subjects, apart from whole cycles, must also be taken into account; this of course appreciably swells the body of pertinent material. No subject appears on the pulpits that had not been represented in Florentine early Renaissance art, several of them quite frequently. Moreover, these earlier representations tended, in the main, to continue fairly well-defined iconographical types, most of them carried over from the later years of the fourteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Thus, one may speak with complete justification of "early Renaissance traditions" for illustrating the Passion and post-Passion.

It should not be assumed, therefore, that the paucity of examples was a determining factor in the astonishing originality of Donatello's compositions. Coming when the artist was quite advanced in age, the commission for the pulpits could not but engender a kind of *summa* of his creative experience. He had already undergone a deep change which resulted in the development of his famous "late style." The rational and humanistic qualities of the early Renaissance, to the formulation of which he had himself made such a prodigious contribution, had been overshadowed by an anxious concern with religious expression. A critical evaluation of the traditions at hand was almost inevitable.

#### LEFT PULPIT

##### AGONY IN THE GARDEN (Fig. 6)

Florentine representations of this subject in the years preceding the execution of Donatello's

31. Janson (pp. 213f.) notes the contemporary interest in patristic literature (cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, St. Louis, Mo., II, 1898, pp. 206f.), and the Early Christian qualities in the architecture of San Lorenzo itself.

R. Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton, 1956, pp. 175ff., associates the program of Ghiberti's Gates of Paradise with the neopatric movement, in the person of Ambrogio Traversari. In general, see also P. O. Kristeller (*The Classics and Renaissance Thought*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, pp. 75ff.); *idem*, "Augustine and the Early Renaissance," *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, Rome, 1956, pp. 355ff., esp. pp. 364f.; E. Wind, "The Revival of Origen," in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, Princeton, 1954, pp. 412ff.; and A. L. Mayer ("Renaissance, Humanismus und Liturgie," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, XIV, 1934, pp. 123ff., esp. pp. 157ff.). An interesting case in point is that of Antonio

Agli (1400-1477), canon of San Lorenzo for a time and associate of Ficino, who, encouraged by Nicolas V, wrote a Lives of the Saints with the express purpose of purifying the traditions and returning to the best patristic sources (Pastor, II, *op.cit.*, pp. 206-207; Cianfogni-Moreni, *Memorie storiche . . . di S. Lorenzo, Continuazione*, II, Florence, 1817, pp. 131ff.).

32. He may have had some practice if, as seems possible, the Siena doors were to be a Christological cycle (cf. Janson, p. 208).

33. Cf. Kauffmann, *op.cit.*, p. 180.

34. The conclusions reached in the ensuing discussions of the religious iconography of the early Renaissance in Florence are based upon a by no means exhaustive study of preserved monuments. The objective has been merely to understand how Donatello reacted to the major currently prevalent types.

pulpits are remarkably homogeneous from the iconographical point of view. Ghiberti, Fra Angelico and others, adopted *in toto* a Trecento formula in which Christ is represented kneeling at the top of a rocky incline, facing the angel who appears with the chalice; three of the apostles are disposed in languorous positions on the lower slope.<sup>35</sup> The upper part of Donatello's relief corresponds to this design rather closely. But below, he introduces an important change—he adds the other eight apostles. The presence of all eleven apostles is, of course, based upon the Gospels (Matt. 26:36-37 and Mark 14:32-33) and had characterized one of the earliest mediaeval traditions for illustrating the episode; numerous examples occur in Tuscany during the fourteenth century (Fig. 7).<sup>36</sup> Donatello's inclusion of them acquires significance, however, in view of the fact that they had consistently been omitted by the "progressive" Florentine artists of the first half of the fifteenth century.

No less significant are the uses to which Donatello puts the additional figures. With utter abandon they sit and lean on the frame, overlapping it in a manner that completely negates the concept of the frame as an ideal separation between the real and represented worlds. Reality and illusion become opposite poles of a continuum, rather than two categorically distinct "levels of existence."

#### CHRIST BEFORE PILATE AND CAIPHAS (Fig. 9)

Similarly daring pictorial devices are to be seen, in even more complex form, in the relief illustrating Christ's hearings before Pilate and Caiphas. In some respects it is the most extraordinary panel on the pulpits, particularly with regard to established precedent. This is evident, for example, from a comparison of the Christ before Pilate scene with Ghiberti's version on the Baptistery doors (Fig. 10). In a fashion still mediaeval Ghiberti depicts the precise moment of Pilate washing his hands; Donatello preferred the more generalized Judgment of Pilate, displaying therein his profound assimilation of classical "judgment" scenes such as the Aurelian relief on the Arch of Constantine (Fig. 11).<sup>37</sup> He even adapts the ancient motif of the barbarian chieftain brought by his son before the Emperor to the incident, rare in Italian art, of Pilate's wife pleading with him on Christ's behalf.<sup>38</sup> One must consult Mantegna's *Trial of St. James* for an analogously rich classical atmosphere. (See Fig. 1 in article below by Knabenshue.)

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Donatello's relief, however, is the elaborate architectural setting in which the scenes are placed. It consists of a pair of barrel vaults resting on piers; attached to the faces of the lateral piers are two fluted pilasters that relate ambiguously both to the springings of groin vaults that seem to project over the foreground space, and to the entablature above. Spiral columns are placed before the pilasters, while a third column reflecting with its frieze of putti the Roman spiral reliefs, stands before the central pier. This, like most of Donatello's settings, is notable rather as scenographic fantasy than as functional architecture. It too is based on a classical prototype, although, as might be expected, not on an actual building. Essentially the same combination of details is found on Roman terra-cotta reliefs, such as one now in the Palazzo dei

35. Ghiberti, first doors, and the stained-glass window in Florence Cathedral; Fra Angelico and workshop, three times (San Marco fresco; San Marco, panel from SS. Annunziata; Forli, Pinacoteca; Fra Angelico's relationship to sculpture, particularly Ghiberti, has been discussed by U. Middeldorf, "L'Angelico e la scultura," *Rinascimento*, VI, 1955, pp. 179-194); Lorenzo Monaco, diptych, Louvre; also Piero della Francesca, Misericordia Altar, Borgo San Sepolcro, and twice by Mantegna (Tours Museum; London, National Gallery). For mediaeval instances, cf. E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana*, Verona, 1929, pp. 420ff.

36. Barna da Siena, fresco, San Gimignano; further examples, Florentine as well as Sieneese, in Sandberg-Vavalà,

*loc.cit.* It is characteristic that in the early Quattrocento Giovanni di Paolo should still have preferred this type (P. d'Achiardi, *I quadri primitivi della Pinacoteca Vaticana*, Rome, 1929, p. 16, pl. xciiia).

37. The differences from Ghiberti are the more pointed as he too had been inspired by ancient models (cf. R. Krautheimer, *op.cit.*, p. 340, no. 6).

Parallels for Donatello's Caiphas scene may also be found among classical monuments, e.g., the episodes on the Column of Trajan of the Emperor haranguing the troops (cf. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1926, pl. 9, scene x).

38. Concerning which, see below, note 113.

Conservatori, Rome (Fig. 12).<sup>39</sup> Besides the similarity of scale and proportions, there is a projecting cornice, a frieze, fluted pilasters, spiral columns, and a pair of semicircular arches.<sup>40</sup>

Donatello probably knew a relief of this sort, and adapted it for the framework of his panel, with a multitude of embellishments. The most prominent of these changes are, of course, the coffered barrel vaults that transform the flat, decorative system of the ancient terra cotta into a vast spatial ambience under which the figural compositions are placed.<sup>41</sup> The general organization that results is very like Mantegna's St. Christopher wall at Padua, and bears further witness to the experimental attitude toward space that the painter shared with Donatello. In both cases the frame is included within the represented world, so that figures may stand before it and straddle the boundary to "reality."

But the affinities to Mantegna cease after a point. Whereas Mantegna distributes his figures freely and consistently through the spatial recession, Donatello counterbalances, even contradicts the recession by crowding the figures into an arbitrarily delimited foreground plane. And whereas in Mantegna all is clear and rationally discernible, Donatello introduces strangely agitated figures emerging as from nowhere, or from ill-defined lower depths. Ultimately the differences in expressive purpose transcend the similarities.

#### CRUCIFIXION (Fig. 13)

In the *Crucifixion* the spatial recession is greatly reduced. The relief as a whole is more two-dimensional, with the figures spread almost uniformly across the surface and perspective indications entirely eliminated. The influence of classical prototypes is still evident, especially in the torsos of the crucified figures, in the details of costume, and in the wailing women at the foot of the cross.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, compared with the severe monumentality of a version such as Fra Angelico's in the chapter room of San Marco (Fig. 14), Donatello's populous composition is compressed, agitated, and distinctly recalls the great fourteenth century tradition of Crucifixions *mi Gedränge* (Fig. 15).

But Donatello's composition is related to the Trecento tradition in another, quite specific way. Its intensely iconic effect owes much to the fact that the arms of the crosses are in the same plane, parallel to the surface. This feature is common in the fourteenth century.<sup>43</sup> So far as I know, however, every major Florentine example in the early Quattrocento shows the crosses of the thieves flanking Christ set on an angle.<sup>44</sup> We can possibly approach still closer the source of Donatello's innovation. Ever since Duccio, the formula with all three crosses flat seems to have found greatest preference in Siena.<sup>45</sup>

39. H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld, *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin-Stuttgart, 1911, pl. 27. Terra-cotta reliefs of this type were produced en masse, in relatively standard forms. This one, especially well-preserved, was found in Rome in the nineteenth century, but its architectural composition is typical of the group with Nile scenes (*ibid.*, pp. 155ff.).

40. Von Rohden and Winnefeld (*ibid.*, p. 252) point out that the frieze of the terra cotta originally had a figural decoration also (as on a fragment in the Museo Kircheriano, fig. 289), which would make the analogy with Donatello's relief practically complete.

41. The treatment of space in this and other scenes on the pulpits is discussed by J. White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, London [1957], pp. 165ff.

42. Concerning the latter, cf. E. Wind and F. Antal, "The Maenad under the Cross," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1, 1937-1938, pp. 71ff.

43. Besides the panel attributed to Andrea di Bartolo illustrated in Fig. 15: Duccio, *Maestà*; Barna da Siena, fresco, San Gimignano; in sculpture, both the Pistoia and Pisa pulpits

of Giovanni Pisano.

44. Two other times by Fra Angelico in San Marco; the panel ascribed to Castagno, London, National Gallery; also Masolino, Rome, San Clemente (see the comments by van Marle, *Italian Schools . . .*, The Hague, IX, 1927, p. 300); in sculpture, the terra cotta relief from the shop of Ghiberti, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, and the relief by Giuliano Fiorentino in Valencia Cathedral (ca. 1418-1424; L. Goldscheider, *Ghiberti*, London, 1949, figs. 33, 34, p. 149); also Mantegna's panel of the San Zeno Altar in the Louvre, a characteristic parting of the ways with Donatello. The strength of this Florentine tradition is illustrated by the Medici *Crucifixion* in the Bargello, concerning which see below, note 96.

45. See the examples quoted in note 43 above. In Florence during the 14th century, as later, perspectivized crosses were the prevalent type, e.g., Jacopo di Cione, London, National Gallery; Andrea da Firenze, Santa Maria Novella; they were used by Siennese artists as well, e.g.: Andrea Vanni, Washington, D.C., Corcoran Gallery; Taddeo di Bartolo, Montepulciano; Pietro Lorenzetti, Assisi, San Francesco.

## LAMENTATION (Fig. 16)

Representations of this subject were rather infrequent in Florence during the first half of the fifteenth century. But comparison of the pulpit relief with the outstanding example, the painting by Fra Angelico and assistants in the Museo di San Marco, furnishes a striking measure of Donatello's departure from the progressive tradition of the early Renaissance. In San Marco a few figures evenly disposed in an extensive space display calm, nobly restrained emotions. Donatello's composition, on the other hand, is crowded, unclear, and the figures express an incredibly wide range of reactions, from ponderous mourning to paroxysmal anguish.

These differences in feeling are accompanied, moreover, by several specific differences in detail that shed light upon the origin of Donatello's formulation. To begin with, Fra Angelico shows only one cross, while Donatello includes all three, consistent with the three crosses of the Crucifixion relief. More important, Fra Angelico extends the scene upward to include the horizontal arm of the cross; in Donatello the crosses are cut off at a much lower point. The latter change is important formally because it eliminates the accessory space and concentrates attention on the figures; it also reveals that Donatello's composition is derived from another tradition than that of Fra Angelico. Whereas Lamentations that included the horizontal arm were abundant throughout the fourteenth century,<sup>46</sup> instances with just the lower portions of the crosses are correspondingly rare.<sup>47</sup> Only one real precedent for Donatello's design comes to mind, the panel associated with Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Siena Pinacoteca (Fig. 17).<sup>48</sup> Quite apart from the composition, the impassioned spirit of the San Lorenzo relief has far greater affinity to Lorenzetti's version than to Fra Angelico's.

But Donatello enhanced the intrinsic expressiveness of his model by introducing a number of devices entirely his own. Such is the view of the crosses askew and from below, establishing an eccentric tension with the figural composition that remains, on the contrary, parallel to the surface. Such also is the throng of extra figures that crams the narrative and raises its emotional pitch.<sup>49</sup>

## ENTOMBMENT (Fig. 18)

Again for the Entombment the first half of the fifteenth century in Florence offered a "classic" formulation, exemplified by Castagno's fresco in Sant' Apollonia (Fig. 19). Like Fra Angelico's *Lamentation*, it continues the tradition most prominent in Tuscany since the *Maestà* of Duccio,<sup>50</sup> reducing the quantity of figures and otherwise simplifying the design in conformity with the formal values of the new age. It would almost seem that Donatello had done his utmost to create the opposite effect. Not only does he re-introduce the figures that had been removed, but

46. See the numerous examples in the list of Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 460ff. In the 15th century, Giovanni di Paolo, Vatican, Pinacoteca (single cross).

47. Besides the Ambrogio Lorenzetti composition referred to immediately below, a related panel by Bartolo di Fredi, Siena, Pinacoteca, and a polyptych by a follower of Cola di Petruccioli, Trevi, Pinacoteca; examples that include only one of the crosses rather than all three represent another type. In general cf. G. Swarzenski, "Italienische Quellen der deutschen Pietà," *Festschrift Heinrich Wölfflin*, Munich, 1924, pp. 127ff.

48. The traditional attribution of the painting to Ambrogio has recently been rejected in favor of its being a school piece copying a lost composition by the master (G. Coor, "A new link in the reconstruction of an altarpiece by Andrea di Bartolo," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XIX-XX, 1956-1957, p. 20; G. Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, Princeton, 1958, pp. 41f.). The panel seems to have been cut (cf. C. Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, Rome, 1933, p. 131), but of four other works with the same figural composition three have

similar proportions (*ibid.*, figs. 32-34).

49. Most impressive, surely, are the wailing women, based upon ancient sarcophagi. As Janson (pp. 98f.) points out, they are a standard Trecento motif, which Donatello began revitalizing in the St. Peter's Tabernacle. Most intriguing, however, are the nude riders on unsaddled horses introduced in very low relief in the upper part of the composition. They are certainly interpolations, and awkwardnesses in draughtsmanship suggest the hand of an apprentice. Yet, they are surprisingly like the nude horsemen of the frieze of the Parthenon. The juxtaposition is perhaps not quite so farfetched as might at first appear since Ciriaco d'Ancona made drawings of the Parthenon (cf. E. Reisch, "Die Zeichnungen des Cyriacus im Codex Barberini des Giuliano di San Gallo," *Athenische Mitteilungen*, XIV, 1889, pp. 217ff.), and since Donatello was personally acquainted with him (Janson, *op.cit.*, p. 125).

50. For the type cf. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 297ff.; examples, pp. 456ff.

he adds many that even the Trecento convention did not require.<sup>51</sup> Two of them, however, do suggest a precedent: the women seated on the ground before the sarcophagus, in various attitudes of despair. They are quite rare in earlier Entombments, a fact that lends significance to the presence of comparable figures in a panel by Simone Martini in Berlin (Fig. 20).<sup>52</sup> Simone himself, moreover, had departed from Duccio's example in augmenting the number and expressive intensity of the participants. More than any specific detail, this attitude toward the problems of dramatic representation assigns to Simone's composition, in contrast to Castagno's, and important place in the spiritual ancestry of the pulpit relief.

#### RIGHT PULPIT

##### MARYS AT THE TOMB (Fig. 21)

As with the Pilate and Caiphas panel on the left pulpit, particular interest attaches to the framework in which this scene is set. The figures as well as the tomb, which has the form of a classical strigilated sarcophagus, are placed within a low rectangular structure supported by square columns. The sleeping guards appear at the right, while two angels excitedly receive the Holy Women who enter by descending a flight of stairs at the left.<sup>53</sup>

The building alludes to the architectural setting of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, which had been included in representations of the subject since the early Middle Ages.<sup>54</sup> This motif, characteristically Eastern, was soon adopted in Italy, where it became almost universal through the twelfth century and into the thirteenth. Most often the figures were represented outside the sepulcher, and the architecture was restricted to a small, tabernacle-like edifice containing the actual sarcophagus.<sup>55</sup> But in certain instances the figures were brought into a closer connection with the building, which might also be enlarged to the extent of encompassing them along with the sarcophagus (Fig. 23).<sup>56</sup> While the relationship between figures and architecture usually remained more or less ambiguous, there are cases in which the artist has made it clear that the figures are to be thought of as being inside the building.<sup>57</sup>

In the North this "architectural type" was used into the fifteenth century (Fig. 22),<sup>58</sup> but generally it had already been replaced by one in which the structure was omitted, the scene being laid in an open landscape.<sup>59</sup> And in Italy by the fourteenth century the latter formula, having been adopted by Duccio and Giotto, assumed overwhelming predominance.<sup>60</sup> It continued to prevail during the first half of the fifteenth century in Florence.<sup>61</sup>

It seems clear that Donatello returned to an early type, perhaps Italian of the thirteenth

51. Nor were these supplementary figures present in Donatello's own two previous representations of the subject, on the St. Peter's Tabernacle and the altar of San Antonio in Padua.

52. Also the reliquary by Ugolino di Vieri in Orvieto Cathedral where, however, the figures kneel rather than sit (Alinari 25846). Here too, Roman sarcophagi may be the ultimate source (e.g. *Fall of Phaeton*, Uffizi, Florence, Robert, *op.cit.*, III, 3, no. 342, pp. 422ff., known at least since the second half of the 15th century).

An engraving by Mantegna (E. Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna*, London, 1955, fig. 46) where the ladies also appear before the sarcophagus, though in quite a different form, is further evidence of the relationship between the two artists. Unfortunately, the dates involved are not certain enough to establish a clear priority on either side.

53. Luke (24:4) and John (20:12) speak of two angels.

54. For the development of the iconography see Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 323ff., and the tables, pp. 476ff.

55. E.g., Sant' Angelo in Formis (*ibid.*, fig. 295).

56. Cross 15, Pisa, Museo Civico. The cross from Santa Maria dei Servi, Lucca, Museo Civico, and Cross 20, Pisa,

Museo Civico (*ibid.*, figs. 293, 296, respectively) illustrate the intermediate forms.

57. E.g., Missal D III 15, Mantua, Bibl. Civica (Venturi, *op.cit.*, III, fig. 420); Evangelistary, Padua, Cathedral Treasury, 12th century (*ibid.*, fig. 425).

58. Formerly Arenberg Coll. ms 76, Breviary, Cologne, first half of the 15th century (cf. *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Bibliothèque of . . . the Dukes d'Arenberg*, New York, Seligmann, 1952, p. 64, ill. p. 66). I am much indebted to Prof. Middeldorf for this example.

59. Cf. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, p. 333.

60. See the many examples listed by Sandberg-Vavalà, *ibid.*, pp. 480ff.

61. Cf. the right-hand panel of Lorenzo Monaco's diptych in the Louvre (O. Sirén, *Don Lorenzo Monaco*, Strasbourg, 1905, pl. xx), and his pinnacle of Fra Angelico's *Deposition* in the Florence Academy (*ibid.*, pl. xxxviii); niello engraving by Finiguerra (1452-1455, combined with the Resurrection, J. G. Phillips, *Early Florentine Engravers and Designers*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, pl. 7A); also Piero della Francesca's *Misericordia Altar*, Borgo San Sepolcro.



1. Donatello, Left Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



2. Donatello, Right Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



3. Pulpit. Florence, San Leonardo in Arcetri (photo: Alinari)



4. Guglielmo d'Agnello, Pulpit. Pistoia, San Giovanni Fuoricivitas (photo: Alinari)



5. Roman Sarcophagus, *Hunt of Meleager*. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori



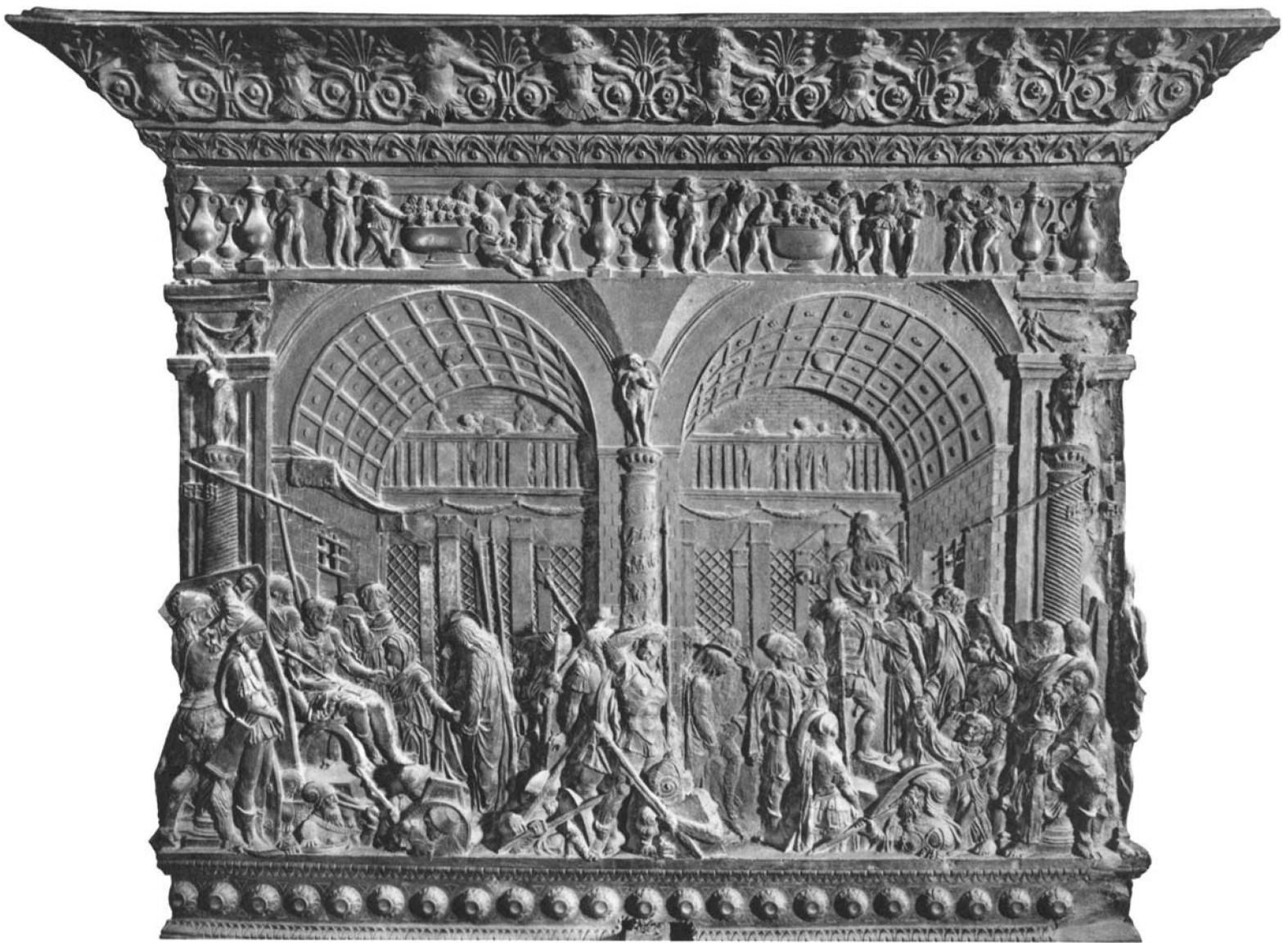
6. Donatello, *Agony in the Garden*, Left Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo  
(photo: Brogi)



7. Barna da Siena, *Agony in the Garden*. San Gimignano, Collegiata  
(photo: Brogi)



8. Tino di Camaino, *Tomb of Gastone della Torre*, detail  
Florence, Santa Croce (photo: Brogi)



9. Donatello, *Christ before Pilate and Caiaphas*, Left Pulpit  
Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Alinari)



10. Ghiberti, *Christ before Pilate*, North Doors  
Florence, Baptistery (photo: Brogi)



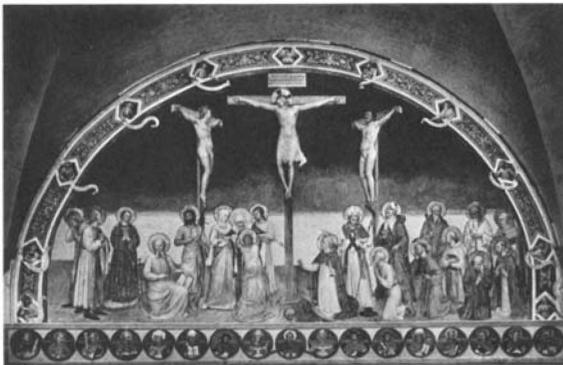
11. *Clementia Augusti*. Rome, Arch  
of Constantine  
(photo: Anderson)



12. Nile Scene, terra-cotta relief  
Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori



13. Donatello, *Crucifixion*, Left Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



14. Fra Angelico, *Crucifixion*. Florence, San Marco (photo: Alinari)



15. Attributed to Andrea di Bartolo, *Crucifixion*. New York Metropolitan Museum of Art



16. Donatello, *Lamentation*, Left Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



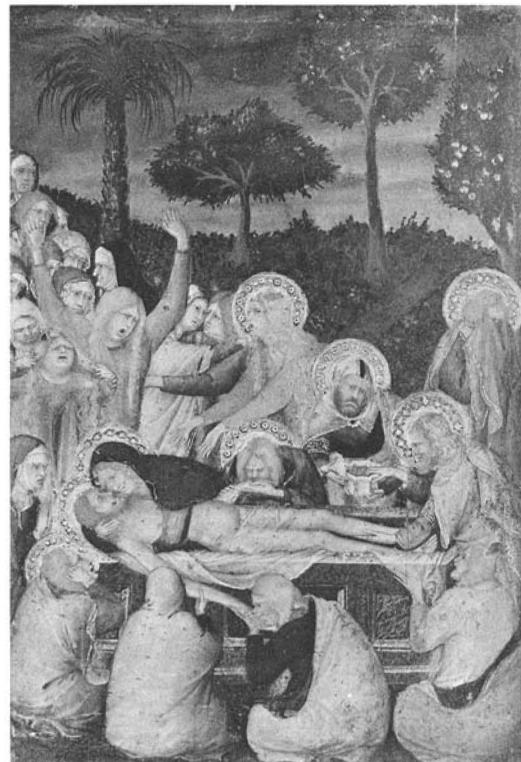
17. School of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Lamentation*. Siena, Pinacoteca (photo: Alinari)



18. Donatello, *Entombment*, Left Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



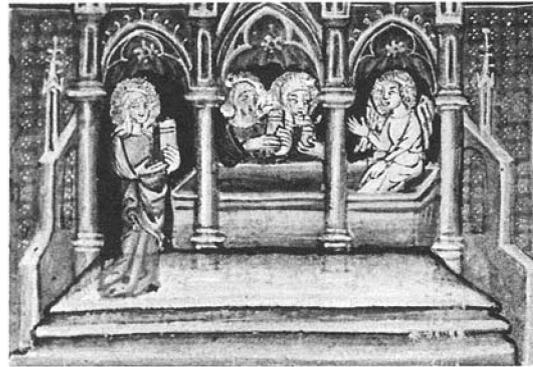
19. Castagno, *Entombment*. Florence, Sant'Apollonia (photo: Soprintendenza)



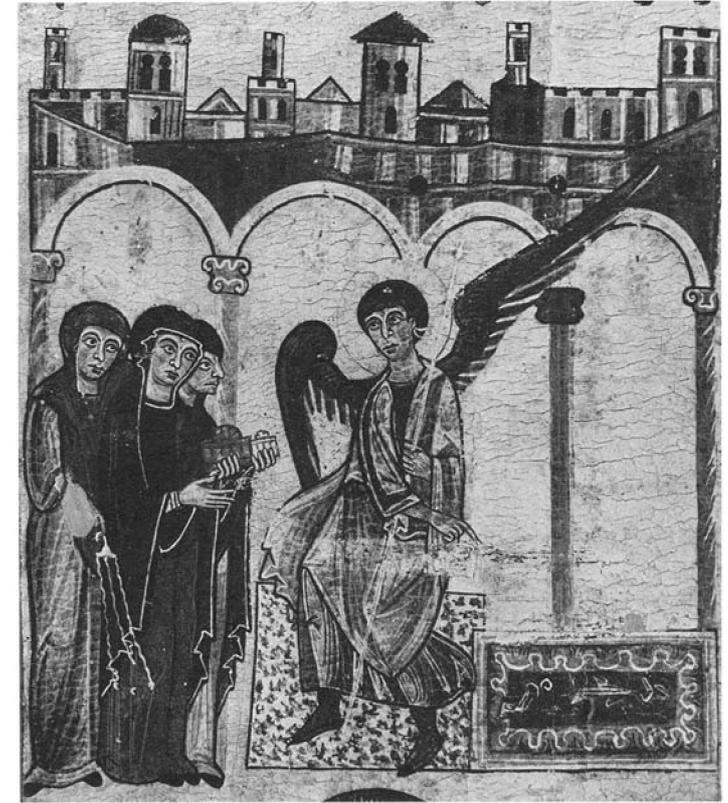
20. Simone Martini, *Entombment*. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum



21. Donatello, *Marys at the Tomb*, Right Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Alinari)



22. *Marys at the Tomb*, Breviary, formerly Arenberg Coll. Ms 76 (Courtesy J. Seligmann and Company)



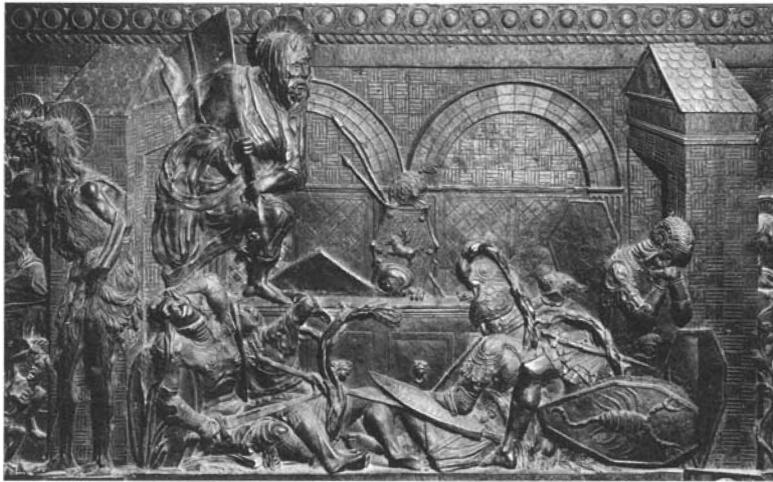
23. *Marys at the Tomb*, Cross 15. Pisa, Museo Civico (photo: Brogi)



24. Donatello, *Descent into Limbo*, Right Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Alinari)



25. Andrea da Firenze, *Descent into Limbo*. Florence, Santa Maria Novella (photo: Anderson)



26. Donatello, *Resurrection*, Right Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



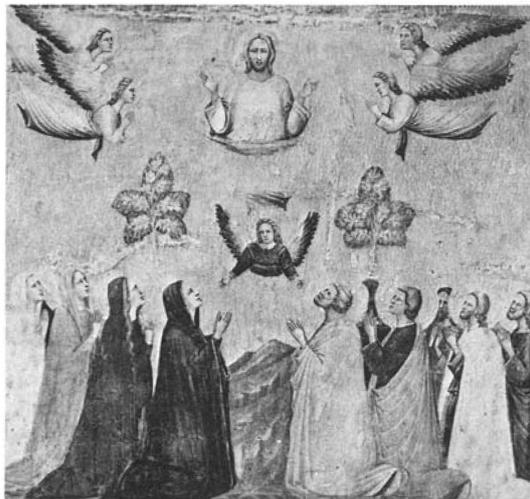
27. Donatello, *Ascension*, Right Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



28. Donatello, *Pentecost*, Right Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)



29. Andrea d'Ognabene, *Ascension*, Silver altar frontal Pistoia, Cathedral (photo: Alinari)



30. Riminese School, *Ascension*, XIV cent. Rome, Palazzo Venezia (photo: Alinari)



31. Meleager Sarcophagus, detail. Codex Coburgensis



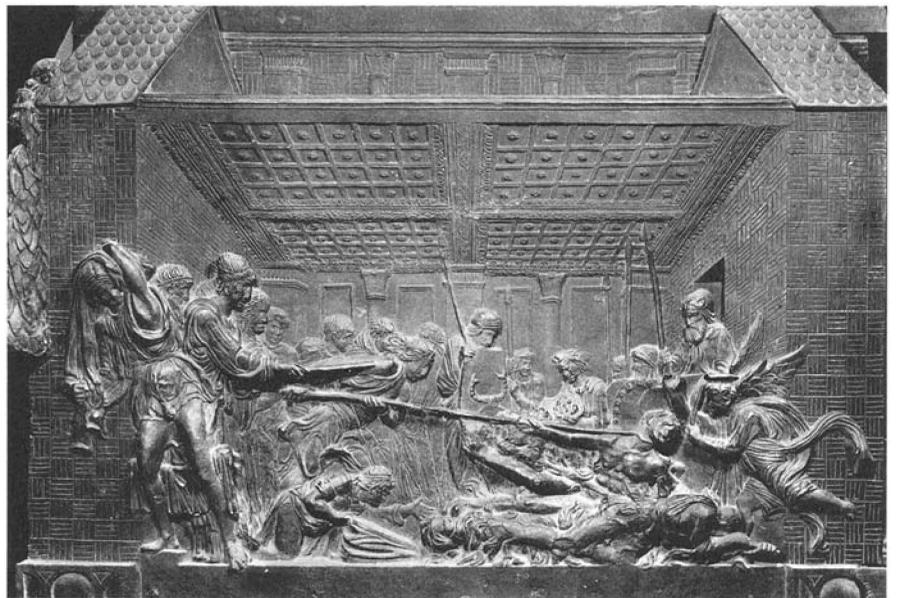
32. Jacopo di Cione, *Pentecost*  
London, National Gallery



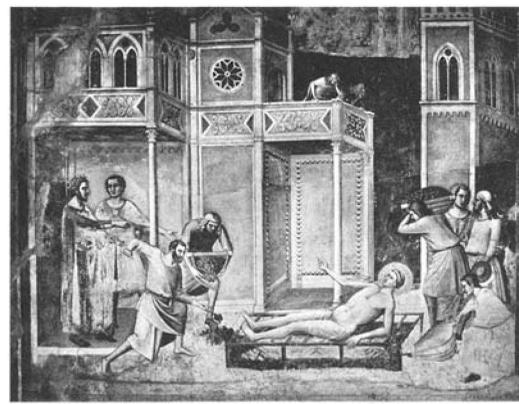
33. Bicci di Lorenzo, *Pentecost*. Bibbiena  
Casentino (photo: Soprintendenza)



34. Column of Marcus Aurelius,  
Detail of Scene XL. Rome



35. Donatello, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, Right Pulpit. Florence, San Lorenzo  
(photo: Brogi)



36. Bernardo Daddi, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*  
Florence, Santa Croce (photo: Alinari)



37. Donatello, *Christ before Pilate*, detail, Left Pulpit  
Florence, San Lorenzo (photo: Brogi)

century,<sup>62</sup> perhaps later and of northern Gothic inspiration. Yet I am aware of no true parallel for the fanciful Renaissance crypt Donatello has contrived. Actually projecting from the background, it constitutes, technically as well as spatially, one of his most audacious creations.

#### DESCENT INTO LIMBO (Fig. 24)

In general, the Tuscan artists of the fourteenth century adhered to a single scheme for the Descent into Limbo, a typical instance being Andrea da Firenze's fresco in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella (Fig. 25). The composition is strictly lateral, with Christ entering from one side as souls anticipating redemption rush toward him from the other.<sup>63</sup> In the early fifteenth century also, this formula was preferred by Fra Angelico and other artists of Florentine persuasion.<sup>64</sup>

Donatello's version, on the contrary, while it retains the lateral movement, is basically symmetrical. Christ is in the center, flanked on both sides by crowds of figures with outstretched arms. A specific model for the design, if one ever existed, remains to be discovered. But there can be little question as to its ultimate origin. The symmetrical, or "centralized" arrangement is a fundamental characteristic of the Byzantine *Anastasis*, in which Christ is flanked on one side by Adam and Eve and a group of prophets, on the other by St. John with a group of Old Testament kings.<sup>65</sup>

Approximations of this form occur in Italy frequently in the thirteenth century (e.g. Fig. 4, right panel, lower register); less often in the fourteenth.<sup>66</sup> But the possibility that in this case Donatello might actually have been inspired by a Byzantine source is suggested by the grim figure of St. John, who occupies a conspicuous position at the right of the panel. He is a further development of Donatello's "late Baptist type," represented especially by the bronze figure in the Duomo of Siena. It has recently been observed that the creation of this extraordinary type owed far more to Byzantine than to Italian precedents.<sup>67</sup>

#### RESURRECTION (Fig. 26)

In the second quarter of the fourteenth century there had been introduced into Tuscany, perhaps from the North, a scheme for the Resurrection in which Christ was represented standing inside the sarcophagus with one foot placed on its rim (cf. Fig. 8, center panel).<sup>68</sup> This scheme prevailed in Tuscany for fifty years or more,<sup>69</sup> until in the third quarter of the Trecento it was replaced by a new type showing Christ raised above the sarcophagus in the moment of levitation.<sup>70</sup>

During the early fifteenth century in Florence, the Resurrection seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity. Examples are preserved by a large proportion of the major Florentine artists

62. This may also be true of the strigilated sarcophagus (the only instance of its use on the pulpits); this form had appeared in many of the early examples (Sandberg-Valalà, *op.cit.*, figs. 292-295), but seems to have gone out of favor during the 13th century along with the architectural setting.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 309ff., considers this the Italian "national" type, and cites a host of examples, pp. 472ff.

64. Twice by Fra Angelico in San Marco, a fresco and one of the panels from SS. Annunziata; relief by Giuliano Fiorentino in the Cathedral of Valencia (A. Schmarsow, "Juliano Florentino ein Mitarbeiter Ghibertis in Valencia," *Abhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historischen Klasse*, vol. 29, no. 3, 1911, pl. 11); relief on the Tomb of Beato Pacifico, Venice, Frari, by a Florentine sculptor (1432-1437, J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, London, 1955, pp. 55, 218, fig. 45).

65. See Sandberg-Valalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 309ff., 468ff. In a number of cases, all prior to the 14th century, the two groups of figures have become real crowds, as in Donatello's relief, e.g., the mosaic at Monreale (O. Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949, p. 288, pl. 71b) and nos. 32, 33, 39, 50, in Sandberg-Valalà's table (*loc.cit.*).

66. Notably a group of 14th century Riminese panels (*ibid.*,

p. 472, nos. 60-4). A compromise solution, where Christ is placed centrally but the figures are not balanced, appears in Siena in the early 15th century in two frescoes by Vecchietta (Baptistery, 1450-1453, Ospedale della Scala, 1446-1449; cf. G. Vigni, *Lorenzo di Pietro, detto il Vecchietta*, Florence, 1937, pls. VIII, XII).

A *propos* of Donatello's composition, compare once again an engraving by Mantegna (Tietze-Conrat, *op.cit.*, fig. 48; also fig. 26).

67. Janson, p. 189.

68. For an account of the iconography of the Resurrection during the 14th century in Tuscany, see M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 38ff.; for the Resurrection in general, H. Schrade, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 1, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932.

69. See Meiss, *op.cit.*, p. 39; of the examples quoted in his note 107 and in Schrade, *op.cit.*, pp. 133-149, the great majority are Siense.

70. Examples in Meiss, *op.cit.*, p. 39 n. 109. According to Meiss, the turning point was probably the Resurrection by Andrea da Firenze in the Spanish Chapel at Santa Maria Novella (ca. 1366).

of the period, including Ghiberti, Castagno, and Luca della Robbia. And these representations, despite variations in detail, are regularly of the "levitated" type, which had been carried over from the end of the preceding century.<sup>71</sup> This typological unity makes it apparent that Donatello rejected the tradition most familiar since his youth. He returned Christ to the ground, and thus gave preference to an arrangement that was, in the middle of the fifteenth century, decidedly archaic.<sup>72</sup>

Donatello's panel is unorthodox in yet another way. Christ is depicted in strict profile, standing at the left end of the sarcophagus—a treatment of the Risen Savior that is apparently unique.<sup>73</sup> It seems to have had its origin in Roman sarcophagi illustrating the death of Meleager (Fig. 31).<sup>74</sup> They include the profile figure of an old man leaning on a staff, who faces to the right with one leg raised on Meleager's bier, in a position virtually identical with Donatello's Christ. The same group of sarcophagi has often been cited in connection with the wailing, hair-tearing women in Donatello's Lamentation scenes.<sup>75</sup> But here, superimposed upon the early Trecento "grounded" formula for the Resurrection, it bears witness to the unexampled variety of sources which Donatello assimilated in creating the pulpits.

#### ASCENSION (Fig. 27)

Among fourteenth century Italian representations of the Ascension, three main types may be defined.<sup>76</sup> By far the most popular, especially in Florence, depicted Christ rising far above the heads of the apostles and the Virgin, who gather kneeling on the ground below.<sup>77</sup> The second type, much less frequent than the first, showed just the feet of Christ, the rest of his person having disappeared into the heavens.<sup>78</sup> The third type, also relatively rare, was the anatomical opposite of the second, and represented only the upper part of Christ's body, usually borne aloft on a cloud (Fig. 30).<sup>79</sup>

Donatello was clearly influenced by the third of these traditions; he lowered the figure of Christ and obscured the greater part of his legs, so that slightly more than half the body appears above the heads of the apostles; and the cloud is transformed into an arc of angels. The choice is remarkable considering the fate that awaited the major schemes during the early Quattrocento

71. Examples in Meiss, *ibid.*, p. 40 n. 115; other Florentine instances preceding the San Lorenzo pulpits are: Lorenzo Monaco's pinnacle of Fra Angelico's *Deposition*, Florence, Academy (Sirèn, *op.cit.*, pl. xxxviii); the stained-glass window designed by Uccello for Florence Cathedral (J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Complete Work of Paolo Uccello*, London, 1950, pl. 26). A kind of intermediate type in which Christ is definitely suspended but lower, his feet level with the top of the sarcophagus, appears in Castagno's fresco in Sant' Apollonia, Florence; represented also in sculpture by Nanni di Bartolo, Brenzoni Monument, Verona, S. Fermo Maggiore (Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, p. 217, fig. 44), Giuliano Fiorentino, Cathedral of Valencia (Schmarsow, *op.cit.*, pl. 1); this type, of which there are several variants, also occurs earlier, cf. Meiss, *op.cit.*, pp. 38f. nn. 102, 105.

72. Considering the predominance of the grounded, foot-on-the-rim version in Siena during the early 14th century (note 69 above), it seems likely that Donatello's inspiration was in this case specifically Siennese. Examples occur elsewhere, however, including Florence, and Meiss (*ibid.*, p. 40 n. 113) notes a revival of the type in Florence toward the end of the century by Agnolo Gaddi (altarpiece, San Miniato). Furthermore, an interesting question of precedence arises with respect to Mantegna's *Resurrection* from the San Zeno Altar, now in the museum of Tours (finished 1459), and that of Piero della Francesca in Borgo San Sepolcro (dated 1462-1464 by Kenneth Clark, *Piero della Francesca*, London, 1951, pp. 40,

207); in both these works, Christ is also "grounded."

73. Schrade (*op.cit.*, pp. 236f.) is also aware of no other examples, even after the pulpits. For a discussion of the formal reasons (preservation of the surface, lateral orientation of the composition) that may have prompted Donatello's adoption of the profile stance, see Kauffmann, *op.cit.*, p. 181.

74. Drawing in the Codex Coburgensis (1550-1554) of a Meleager Sarcophagus now in the Villa Albani (Robert, *op.cit.*, III, 2, no. 278, pp. 338ff.).

75. Janson, p. 187.

76. Sandberg-Valalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 171ff. 398ff.

77. Jacopo di Cione, London, National Gallery; numerous examples in *ibid.* Perhaps the earliest (e.g. Rabula Gospels) and most common form shows Christ *en face*; in the Arena Chapel Giotto, adopting another tradition, represents him in profile with a diagonal movement, and this variant achieved a certain currency thereafter (*ibid.*, pp. 183ff., 400ff.). In the course of the 14th century, however, Christ was returned to full-front, and this was the form that prevailed in Florentine examples.

78. Examples in Sandberg-Valalà, *ibid.*, pp. 406f.

79. Riminese, 14th century, Rome, Palazzo Venezia (*ibid.*, fig. 142, pp. 404f.), citing further instances, Florentine as well as Siennese. Yet another tradition (*ibid.*, pp. 398ff.) has Christ seated in a mandorla, e.g., Fra Guglielmo's Pistoia pulpit; in the 15th century, Verrocchio's Forteguerri Monument, also in Pistoia (see below, note 96).

in Florence. While the first retains its predominance,<sup>80</sup> and the second occurs sporadically,<sup>81</sup> the type that Donatello reflected seems to have disappeared entirely.

Certainly the most remarkable feature of the composition, however, is that Christ is still on the ground, his feet in contact with a rise in the landscape between the apostles. The emendation is analogous to Donatello's preference for the "grounded" over the "levitated" type in the Resurrection; besides saving space, it serves to rationalize the event, in contrast to the "unnatural" rendering of the miracle in the earlier versions. But the idea for a grounded Ascension must have come from some even more recondite source, for I have encountered only one Italian monument on which it occurs, the early Trecento silver altar frontal by Andrea d'Ognabene in the Cathedral of Pistoia (Fig. 29).<sup>82</sup> By combining this extraordinary variant with the third formula for the Ascension—itself *demodé* for more than half a century—Donatello achieved the startling effect in which Christ, though earth-bound in compliance with natural law, seems to emerge from the group with supernatural force.<sup>83</sup>

#### PENTECOST (Fig. 28)

For the Pentecost the Tuscan Trecento offered two possibilities. On the one hand, following the examples of Giotto and Duccio, the scene could be represented as taking place in an architectural setting, with the Virgin and apostles seated, often in a balcony, and the Holy Ghost appearing above (Fig. 32).<sup>84</sup> But there was also a tradition wherein the figures kneel in a circle or semicircle without any indication of environment (Fig. 33).<sup>85</sup> Of these two, the Florentine masters of the first half of the fifteenth century definitely preferred the architectural type.<sup>86</sup> And once more it is clear that Donatello rejected the taste of his early Renaissance predecessors, returning to the second arrangement, which had meanwhile fallen into disuse.

At the same time, he introduces to the subject an altogether new content. The symbolism associated with the event had hitherto fostered schematization and abstraction; now it becomes a vehicle for the expression of personal emotion. The conventionally pious gestures of the figures are transformed into compelling imprecations, which echo the dramatic vocabulary of classical antiquity (Fig. 34).<sup>87</sup>

#### MARTYRDOM OF ST. LAWRENCE (Fig. 35)

The *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* is no less extraordinary than the other panels on the pulpits, though in a very different way. It is the one scene in which Donatello seems to have been content to follow the tradition nearest at hand. The action is distributed laterally, parallel to the picture plane, and is located in a spacious architectural setting that represents the *Thermae*

80. Luca della Robbia, Florence, Cathedral; Ghiberti, stained-glass window, Florence, Cathedral (Goldscheider, *op.cit.*, pl. 132); Giuliano Fiorentino, relief, Valencia, Cathedral (Schmarsow, *op.cit.*, pl. 2); Fra Angelico, triptych, Rome, Corsini; also Mantegna, Triptych, Uffizi.

81. Fra Angelico, panel from SS. Annunziata, Florence, San Marco.

82. Signed and dated 1316, cf. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, fig. 141, p. 178, and p. 187; it occurs occasionally in the North (e.g., an early 14th century miniature of Cologne in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, cf. P. Clemen, *Die gotischen Monumentalmalereien der Rheinlande*, Düsseldorf, 1930, text vol., fig. 17, p. 15).

83. Because of this effect, and since the Ascension seems more appropriate as the major event between the Resurrection and Pentecost, I have retained the traditional identification; the relief has recently been interpreted as Christ appearing to the Apostles (Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*,

p. 288).

84. Jacopo di Cione, London, National Gallery; additional examples in Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 378ff., 492ff.

85. Bicci di Lorenzo, quatrefoil of a polyptych, Bibbiena Casentino, and further examples in *ibid.*; see Meiss, *op.cit.*, pp. 32ff., for the triptych in the Florence Badia by a follower of Orcagna, in which this type is used as the subject of an altarpiece.

86. Ghiberti, first doors (again preserving the continuity of tradition from the 14th century, see Meiss, *ibid.*, p. 33 n. 81); Giuliano Fiorentino, relief, Valencia Cathedral (Schmarsow, *op.cit.*, pl. 5); Fra Angelico, triptych, Rome, Corsini, and a panel from SS. Annunziata in San Marco.

87. Column of Marcus Aurelius, scene XL (M. Wegner, "Die Kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Markussäule," *Jdl*, XLVI, 1931, fig. 37, p. 141), a typical example of Donatello's inclination toward the more expressive phases of ancient art.

Olympiades, traditionally designated as the site of the atrocity. The scheme does not depart materially from that established in Tuscany for the last century and more (Fig. 36).<sup>88</sup>

We can only guess at what lay behind Donatello's conventionalism in this particular instance. It is perhaps relevant that, in contrast to the Passion scenes, the preceding age had not developed a number of different types for representing the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence. There was, so to speak, no iconographical alternative. But it may also be observed that the very "ordinariness" of the Martyrdom sets it apart from the other scenes, and is hence appropriate to its unique status as the only non-Christological subject on the pulpits.

As always, Donatello has embroidered the tradition by adding many figures, whose presence is often enigmatic,<sup>89</sup> and by adjusting the spatial organization in accordance with the formal principles of his late style. Instead of the usual view from above he lowers the vanishing point so that the eye is level with the floor. As a result, the coffered ceiling creates a dramatic recession, which is counteracted by the compressed mass of figures below, whose relationships to one another and to the room as a whole remain persistently obscure.

Consideration of the individual scenes has given evidence of an attitude toward the past analogous to that which determined the pulpits' over-all form. In almost every case, a coherent tradition had been established in Florence by the middle of the fifteenth century, and in almost every case Donatello rejected that tradition.

The force of the rejection and its bearing upon Donatello's earlier career, are poignantly illustrated by the change in his relationship to Ghiberti. The influence of Ghiberti, particularly the first doors, appears in a considerable number of Donatello's early and mature works, ranging in date from the Santa Croce *Crucifix* (ca. 1412) and the *St. George* (ca. 1417) to the decorations in the sacristy of San Lorenzo (1434-1443).<sup>90</sup> Thereafter the affinities diminish until in the pulpits, wherever a comparison with Ghiberti suggests itself (*Mount of Olives, Christ before Pilate, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Pentecost*), Donatello conspicuously disregarded his example in favor of models culled from a more or less remote past.

The pulpits, however, are by no means the first occasion on which Donatello returned to earlier types, even such as are associated particularly with the Trecento. The Pazzi *Madonna* (ca. 1422), the Shaw *Madonna* (ca. 1425-1428), the London *Ascension and Delivery of the Keys* (1428-1430), to cite only the more prominent instances, have all been referred to "late Gothic" formulae of the preceding century.<sup>91</sup> But the revival taking place in the pulpits is of an entirely different sort. In the earlier cases, the prototypes had functioned mainly as passive receptacles to be "re-classicized," as it has aptly been phrased, into Donatello's personal version of the early Renaissance formal idiom.<sup>92</sup> In the pulpits, on the contrary, the intrinsic "mediaeval" qualities of the model are retained, indeed emphasized, so that it becomes a fresh religious experience.<sup>93</sup>

The process is peculiar to Donatello's late style, and it had begun to operate immediately as the late style itself made its appearance. From the period of the Frari *St. John* (ca. 1452-1453) mediae-

88. Bernardo Daddi, Pucci Chapel, Florence, Santa Croce; other 14th century examples are a panel by the school of Lorenzo Monaco in the Vatican, and one attributed to the Maestro del Bambino Vispo, Rome, Palazzo Colonna; cf. A. Colasanti, "Quadri fiorentini inediti," *Bollettino d'Arte*, xxvii, 1933-1934, pp. 337ff.

In the 15th century: Fra Angelico, Chapel of Nicolas V, Vatican, and the fresco often attributed to Masolino at Castiglione Olona (M. Salmi, "Gli affreschi nella Collegiata di Castiglione Olona," *Dedalo*, ix, 1928-1929, fig. p. 10).

89. For example, a second figure appears on the pyre (cf. Janson, p. 217).

90. Cf. Janson, pp. 11, 29, 135 and *passim*.

91. Kauffmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 67, 69ff.; Janson, pp. 45, 87, 93.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

93. Ghiberti also, as Krautheimer observes (*op.cit.*, pp. 214ff.), showed a strong tendency in the second doors, to reject current Florentine tradition for models of the early Trecento, particularly Siense (see the next note). However, his interest in these works was largely determined by the elements from antiquity they contained ("crypto-antique" formulae; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 286, and 225). The contrast is highly instructive between Ghiberti adopting such models early in the century when moving toward a "classical" style and Donatello doing so after 1450 when moving away from one.

val types, revived in a truly anticlassical spirit, are much in evidence.<sup>94</sup> It might be said, therefore, that the pulpits simply carry forward to a climax tendencies that had already developed in the 1450's. Even so, the number of different prototypes and the variety of periods from which they stem are without real precedent. They bespeak a conscious effort to cast every major feature of the pulpits into a mold noteworthy for its obsolescence. The revival has acquired a deliberate, consistent aspect that was missing earlier. It has almost the quality of a creed, an artistic and spiritual manifesto; but it is typical of Donatello in being fundamentally intuitive and un-doctrinaire.

In this larger sense, the pulpits find their place in a distinctly conservative trend which runs through the fifteenth century, never wholly disappearing, and emerging occasionally, like a recessive gene, to predominance in the evolution of early Renaissance art.<sup>95</sup> Even within this context, however, the pulpits must have seemed anomalous to Donatello's contemporaries, since they remain, on the whole, rather isolated. Surprisingly few of Donatello's revivalistic innovations were taken up in the second half of the fifteenth century;<sup>96</sup> to be fully comprehended they were to await the kindred spirit of the "anti-classical" reaction to the High Renaissance.<sup>97</sup>

Nevertheless, the pulpits are not simply "mediaevalizing." On the contrary, they are remarkably modern, if only because the elements of mediaeval revival are saturated with a rich repertory of motifs from classical antiquity. Hence, they presuppose that historical perspective that distinguishes the Renaissance of the fifteenth century from earlier periods of renewed classicism. But now the perspective takes on a wider and deeper meaning. Along with the antique prototypes are others from Early Christian, Byzantine, Romanesque, and Trecento sources—sources that have one striking feature in common, they all represent traditions that were long since dead. The artist has achieved a new level of self-consciousness, whence he is free to choose from whatever material might serve his expressive ends. The very diversity of precedents upon which the pulpits depend involves an extension of the artistic horizon that places them at the forefront of their period.

#### DUPLICATAS ANIMAE

It may not be surprising that a master of the early Renaissance should exercise unprecedented breadth of vision in relation to the past. What is extraordinary, however, is for an artist to articulate the decidedly ambiguous position of the age, and its newly won freedom of choice, in the form of an image.

The scene of Christ before Pilate contains one of the oddest figures in all Quattrocento sculpture, a little man with two faces who carries the basin in which Pilate will wash his hands (Fig. 37). More often than not he is overlooked in the Donatello literature, while one of the more recent

94. Analysis of the pulpits has tended to confirm the importance for this development often attached to the Gothic art of Siena, especially Siense painting, with which Donatello was in close contact during his last years (above, notes 45, 69, 72).

95. F. Antal, "Studien zur Gotik im Quattrocento," *Jbh. d. preuss. Kunstsamm.*, XLVI, 1925, pp. 3ff.; *idem*, "Gedanken zur Entwicklung der Trecento-und Quattrocento malerei in Siena und Florenz," *Jbh. für Kunstwissenschaft*, 11, 1924-1925, pp. 207ff. Cf. G. Weise, "Donatello und das Problem der Spätgotik," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XVII, 1954, pp. 79ff.

96. Subsequent Florentine pulpits, e.g., that of Antonio Rossellino and Mino da Fiesole in Prato Cathedral 1473, and Benedetto da Majano's in Santa Croce ca. 1475, are single and centralized in plan; also the pulpit in the Ognissanti, Florence, by a follower of Benedetto da Rovezzano (Brogi photo 4683), and the Bencivenni pulpits in the Duomo of Arezzo (Alinari photos 9682, 9699).

The same is true of individual scenes. The *Resurrection* on

the right pulpit is unique; the terra cotta relief of this subject in the Bargello attributed to Verrocchio (L. Planiscig, *Andrea del Verrocchio*, Vienna, 1941, pl. 1, ca. 1465, considered later by Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, p. 311, who also notes the lack of immediate impact of the pulpits, pp. 24f.) even retains the levitated type, as does Vecchietta's relief in the Frick Collection, 1472. Verrocchio's *Ascension* on the Forteguerra Monument, Pistoia, 1476-1489, shows Christ seated in a mandorla. An instructive case is the Medici *Crucifixion* in the Bargello, often attributed to Donatello but shown by Janson (pp. 242ff.) to be a kind of pastiche of the 1460's or 1470's; while imitating Donatello in other respects, the artist reintroduced perspectivized crosses for the thieves; similarly Bertoldo's relief in the Bargello.

97. See I. Lavin, "An Observation on 'Medievalism' in early sixteenth century style," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, L, September, 1957, pp. 113ff., esp. p. 118 n. 9; the literary appreciation by Bocchi, *Le bellezze . . .*, Florence, 1591, pp. 250ff., is quoted in Janson, pp. 210f.

commentators has expressed his puzzlement with disarming frankness.<sup>98</sup> Certainly the physiological redundancy cannot be dismissed as a *pentimento*, since a mistake of this kind would hardly go unnoticed through the whole process of bronze casting, and then be chased along with the rest of the work.

In pagan antiquity two faces could be used to express any idea of alternation or opposition. Thus, Boreas, as a wind god, was represented *bifrons*;<sup>99</sup> likewise Janus, who also started as a wind deity and later became the god of Beginnings and Endings.<sup>100</sup> In the Middle Ages, typically, this antique tradition was subsumed within the Christian ethical system, and the ability to see in opposite directions became itself a virtue, Prudence, which might be represented by a figure with two faces.<sup>101</sup> One form in which the pagan type was transmitted intact, i.e. unmoralized, to the Middle Ages was as Janus, the symbol of the first month of the year.<sup>102</sup> And it has recently been shown that a January figure with two faces and carrying a jug, provided the visual inspiration for Pilate's servant in the pulpit relief.<sup>103</sup>

But what can the image mean in the context in which Donatello has used it? In the first place it is clear that the figure must refer to Pilate. The servant, though a very old tradition, is a pure figment of the imagination, having no basis whatever in scripture.<sup>104</sup> Since he was invented expressly to assist in the act of hand-washing, any meaning attached to him would automatically be associated with that act, and hence with Pilate.

What then is the implication for Pilate? This problem can best be approached simply by reflecting on the character of Pilate as he appears in the New Testament. He is the man who was called upon to judge Christ, but made every effort, including referral to Herod, to avoid handing down a verdict. He found no evil in Christ, but never took an unequivocal stand and in the end merely yielded to the impetations of the accusers. He is the very epitome of doubtful vacillation, by which he is driven even to ask the fatal question, "What is truth?" Yet, this interpretation of Pilate as the example *par excellence* of a man in the anguish of reaching a moral decision, an interpretation which to us seems not only the correct but the natural one, has by no means always been current.<sup>105</sup> Pilate's crucial position as the earthly judge of the Savior early gave rise to disparate opinions of his moral status. Those who wished to mitigate the responsibility of the Jews in Christ's death condemned Pilate as wholly evil.<sup>106</sup> To those who wished the opposite Pilate

98. Kauffmann, *op.cit.*, p. 253 n. 614a. But see below, note 114.

99. W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884-1937, I, cols. 808f. 100. *Ibid.*, II, cols. 15ff.

101. Sauer, *op.cit.*, pp. 417, 419; cf. Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padua, 1611, p. 441. A curious intrusion of this type into a representation of *Fides* (Ambrogio Lorenzetti, altarpiece at Massa Marittima) is discussed by H. Hibbard, "A Representation of *Fides* by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXIX, 1957, pp. 137f. For Prudence with three rather than two faces cf. E. Panofsky, "Titian's *Allegory of Prudence: A Postscript*," *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, New York, 1955, pp. 146ff., esp. pp. 149ff.

102. J. Carson Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art*, Princeton, 1938, pp. 62f.; F. Piper, *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst*, Weimar, 1851, II, pp. 383ff. Another unmoralized but unrelated mediaeval form of two-facedness is the exotic monstrosity, as in an English manuscript in the British Museum (Cotton Tiberius B.V., 11th century), which shows, on fol. 81a, a "Locothean" thus deformed, an example for which I am indebted to the Warburg Institute, London (cf. M. R. James, *Marvels of the East*, Oxford, 1929, p. 17, no. 12 and ill.; further R. Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V, 1942, p. 185 n. 1). Still another type is the *bifrons historié*, e.g., the angels with two heads, one of which

is often labeled with the name of a historic personage, appearing in manuscripts of Alexander's commentary on the Apocalypse, which explains the text in terms of church and world history (M. Huggler, "Der Bilderkreis in den Handschriften der Alexander-Apokalypse," *Antonianum*, IX, 1934, pp. 85-150, 269-308, esp. pp. 287ff., citing further examples). A *bifrons moralisé* occurs in the British Museum Beatus (Add. MS 11695, 11th century fol. 102v) from Santo Domingo de Silos, where the white horseman is followed by a personification of Hell with two faces, and the inscription, *et infernus sequebatur eum* (Apoc. 6:8; ref. Index of Christian Art).

103. See Janson, p. 218, citing the Romanesque January figures at the Pieve of Arezzo and the Duomo of Ferrara.

104. He is not mentioned in Matt. 27:24, the only reference to the hand-washing incident in the Gospels.

105. Surveys of the various Pilate traditions may be found in W. Creizenach, "Legenden und Sagen von Pilatus," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, I, 1874, pp. 89-107; R. von Stoephasius, *Die Gestalt des Pilatus in den mittelalterlichen Passionsspielen*, Diss., Berlin, 1938; A. Williams, *The Characterization of Pilate in the Towneley Plays*, East Lansing, Mich., 1950.

106. Jews of the Early Christian era such as Josephus (1st century A.D.; *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum*, XVIII, iii, 1) and especially Philo (died ca. A.D. 54; *Legatio ad Gaium*, ch. 38) were among the first to adopt this attitude.

became the innocent dupe of the nefarious Jews, essentially good and sympathetic toward Christianity.<sup>107</sup> More or less between are the Gospels themselves, as well as many of the early Church Fathers who blame the Jews without completely exonerating Pilate, and tend to emphasize his ambivalence.<sup>108</sup>

Subsequently, the middle ground disappeared. It has been observed that the mediaeval mind was curiously incapable of regarding Pilate as the waverer, the man in doubt pure and simple.<sup>109</sup> Particular morality was the issue of a contest between good and evil forces higher than the individual, so that doubt was automatically resolved into one category or the other. As a result, the opposing views of Pilate became extremes: we find him a saint in the Ethiopian church;<sup>110</sup> inspired by the devil in a relief of the eleventh century bronze doors of Hildesheim cathedral.<sup>111</sup>

Clearly there is no such moralization in Donatello's rendition, which is thus closer in spirit to the New Testament and early Fathers than to later mediaeval interpretations of the theme.<sup>112</sup> He has given an intensely dramatic but wholly objective description of a critical moment, a moment of choice.<sup>113</sup> This very absence of *parti pris* marks the *bifrons* servant unmistakably as a comment upon the spiritual conflict that is for us the dominant feature of Pilate's predicament.<sup>114</sup>

107. For example the *Acta Pilati* and other apocrypha with their reports of Pilate's letter to the Emperor and of his conversion to Christianity (M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 94ff.); this attitude appears in certain patristic writings as well (see the sources cited by Williams, *op.cit.*, p. 2).

108. Cf. Augustine (354-430; *Ennaratio in Psalmum LXIII*, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, vol. 36, col. 762):

Quod fecit Pilatus, in eo ipso quod fecit, aliquantum particeps fuit; sed in comparatione illorum multo ipse innocentior. Also Ambrose (d. 397; *De excidio urbis Hierosol.* II, 12, *ibid.*, vol. 15, col. 2156), John Chrysostomos (d. 407; *Homily LXXXVI* on Matt. 27:11, 12, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, vol. 58, cols. 763ff.) and Leo the Great (d. 461):

Denique nec in accusato eum reperisse culpam, nec in sententia sua tenuisse constantiam, docet ipsa cognitio: in qua iudex, quem innocentem pronuntiat, damnat. . . .

(*Sermo LIX*, ch. 2, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, vol. 54, col. 338)

109. E. Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 18), Leipzig, 1930, pp. 155ff.

110. His feast day is June 25; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, Cambridge, 1928, I, p. xlvi; IV, p. 1034. Cf. also *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1912-1914, XII, p. 84.

111. Panofsky, *loc.cit.* See also the Psalter of Henry of Blois, Brit. Mus. Cotton Nero C.IV, 12th century, fol. 21r (O. E. Saunders, *English Illumination*, Florence-Paris, 1928, I, pl. 38), and a French Gothic ivory, Paris, Coll. Granjean (R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français*, Paris, 1924, pl. CXXXVIII). The association with the devil was common on a popular level, e.g.,

Pylates dist et Belzébus:

"Raoul, bien soies-tu venuz!"

*Songe d'Enfer* of Raoul de Houdaing, A. Jubinal, *Mystères inédits du Quinzième Siècle*, Paris, 1837, II, pp. 395f.

Cf. E. Du Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1847, pp. 340ff. Ultimately Pilate became a symbol of unjust power in general, as when Chaucer used the phrase "Pilates voys" in the Miller's prologue (I. 16; R. E. Parker, *Speculum*, XXV, 1950, pp. 237ff.).

112. Compare also Mrs. Jameson's remarkable analysis of Pilate scenes on early Christian sarcophagi (*The History of Our Lord*, 2nd ed., London, 1865, II, pp. 66f.), which could be applied almost *verbatim* to Donatello's panel: "Instead of the mere act of washing the hands, they give us the cause that preceded and led to it. Pilate is obviously troubled in mind. The life of a 'just man' is demanded at his hands, and the end of his perplexity will be to wash those hands in token of his

non-participation in the deed. We therefore see Pilate seated in a position which, however varied, betokens the same mental disquietude. The expression of the whole figure is that of a man sorely troubled what to do. . . ."

113. The inherent dramatic possibilities of an equivocal situation had led to a rather similar attitude in certain passion plays, for example, the *Mystère de la Passion* of Jehan Michel (14th century) in which Pilate says,

Il me fait bien mal  
Qu'il fault la chose ainsi passer;  
mais pour rien ne vueil offenser  
Cesar, ne lui desobéyr;  
item se je me fais hayr  
A ces seigneurs, ilz trouveront  
moyen, qu'ilz me desposeront  
En me reprenant d'injustice,  
et feront perdre mon office;  
Parquoi j'ayme mieux tort ou droit  
le juger: car mal m'en vendroit  
Quelque jour, je voy bien que c'est.

(Du Ménil, *op.cit.*, p. 341)

Donatello's objective dramatization is apparent also from his introduction of the figure of a woman who faces Pilate and extends one arm toward Christ. This is the wife of Pilate who, according to Matthew (27:19), "sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him." She is seen occasionally in Northern representations at this period (e.g. Salzburg woodcut, 1440-1450, G. Gugenbauer, *Inkunabeln der Graphik in den Klosterbibliotheken Ober-Oesterreichs und Salzburgs*; [Einblattdrucke des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts, vol. 34], Strasbourg, 1913, no. 14; see also P. Riedmatt, "Die Rätsselfigur auf dem Annasbild in Dürers Kleiner Passion," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, no. 4, 1931, pp. 49ff.), but is very rare in Italy where I know of none from the early 15th century (cf. Sandberg-Valalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 428-429, for instances of the 11th and 12th centuries). She was early given the name Procla and subjected to the same conflicting interpretations as was Pilate himself. On the one hand her dream might be considered divinely inspired (*Monebat uxor: lucebat nocte gratia: divinatas eminebat*, Ambrose, *Expositio in Evangelium secundum Lucam*, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, vol. 15, col. 1922; other citations in von Stoephasius, *op.cit.*, pp. 20ff.) and she is a saint in the Greek Church (feast day, October 27; cf. Origen, *In Matthaum*, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, vol. 13, cols. 1773f.). On the other hand, her dream might be looked upon as the work of the devil, an effort to prevent the death of Christ and the salvation it would bring (patristic instances in von Stoe-

Thus although the mode of symbolization, at once emblematic and literal, is profoundly mediaeval, the content of the symbol is not.<sup>115</sup> Indeed, for mediaeval writers the "man of two minds," *duplex animo*, was much more akin to our idea of the hypocrite. In the thirteenth century Hugo of St. Cher, for example, considered the man double in spirit to be like "one who genuflects, but disbelieves in his mind; one who would enjoy the world and God at the same time."<sup>116</sup>

On the other hand, the idea of double-mindedness as an independent though morally reprehensible mental state, having been introduced from Semitic sources, played an important role in Early Christian thought.<sup>117</sup> Accordingly early church writers, for whom uncertainty about the faith was a very real problem, often employ *duplex animo* in the sense of doubt, as distinguished from hypocrisy.<sup>118</sup> For example, Clement of Rome (first century A.D.) warns that "they which are double-minded and they which doubt concerning the power of God are set for a judgment and for a token unto all the generations."<sup>119</sup> Athanasius (d. 373) gives the currently understood definition when he speaks of double-minded men as "not having one opinion, but changing to and fro, and now recommending certain statements, but soon dishonoring them, and in turn recommending what they were just now blaming."<sup>120</sup> And this Early Christian meaning lent itself to illustration—Judas appears with two faces on a fourth century sarcophagus illustrating the life of Christ.<sup>121</sup> But there is an important difference from Donatello. On the sarcophagus, Judas is unquestionably represented as evil, just as double-mindedness in the Early Christian writers is looked upon in derogation. In Donatello, however, Pilate simply vacillates, and there is no hint of censure; on the contrary, one would almost say the artist depicted the situation with sympathy and understanding. While Donatello thus accepted, as it were, the early "independent" form of duplicity, he rejected the corresponding evaluation in ethical terms.

It appears that with respect both to the history of Pilate interpretation as well as the history of the concept of double-mindedness, Donatello's *bifrons* occupies a unique position. For that very reason we should wish to know its precise origin before accepting this account of its meaning. The

phasius, *loc.cit.*, culminating in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, ch. XXII, l. 21: *Hoc fecerat diabolus, cupiens impedire Christi passionem*, ed. Lutz and Perdrizet, Leipzig, 1907, p. 46, with a brief discussion of the iconography of Procla, p. 215; this interpretation was often visualized, as when Satan appears to the sleeping Procla (cf. G. F. Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, London, 1912, pl. 253; other examples in von Stoephasius, *op.cit.*, p. 98). In contrast to all the foregoing, Donatello transforms her into a moving image of supplication; as with Pilate himself abstract morality is submerged by the human drama.

114. H. Semper, *Donatello's Leben und Werke*, Innsbruck, 1887, p. 106, and Semrau, *op.cit.*, p. 120, also interpret the figure in this light.

115. I have encountered no mediaeval representations of Doubt, as such; the more remarkable considering the traditional derivation of *dubius* from *duo* and *via*, e.g., Isidore of Seville (d. 636), *Etymologiarum*, x, 77; cf. also Ripa, *op.cit.*, p. 129.

116. *Vir duplex animo* qualis qui genuflectit, sed mente diffidit, qui cum mundo simul vult gaudere et cum Domino, quod est impossibile.

(*Opera Omnia*, Venice, 1703, vol. 7, p. 312)

Compare Martinus Legionensis (d. 1203), *Expositio in Epistolam Beati Jacobi*, Migne, *Patr. lat.*, vol. 209, col. 204; also in Florence in Donatello's time, Archbishop Antoninus, *Summa Theologica*, Verona, 1740, vol. 2, col. 715.

117. See W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 3rd ed., Tübingen, 1926, pp. 418ff.

118. Aquinas (*Summa Theologica*, II, II, liii, 6, ad 2) makes the distinction explicit but for the purpose, significantly, of establishing the priority of a single concept, Lust. Classical

writers often use the term "duplex" to connote "craftiness," "wile," (e.g. Horace, I, 6, 7, in reference to Ulysses; Catullus, LXVIII, 51, in reference to Amathusia); it is used by Quintilian (9, 2, 69) to describe words of ambiguous meaning.

119. 1 *Ad Corinthios*, XI (Migne, *Patr. gr.*, vol. 1, col. 232, tr. J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, pt. 1, vol. II, London-New York, 1890, p. 277), *inter alia*; also Pastor Hermas, *Mandatum IX*: "Consider this doubting state of mind (*τὴν διψυχίαν*), for it is wicked and senseless, and turns many away entirely from the faith . . ." (Migne, *Patr. gr.*, vol. 2, col. 937, tr. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, II, Buffalo, 1885, p. 26, and *passim*). In general, see E. J. Goodspeed, *Index patristicus*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 55.

120. *De Decretis*, II, 4, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, vol. 25, col. 421; tr. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, IV, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1953, p. 152.

121. From Arles, cf. J. Wilpert, "Una perla della scultura cristiana antica di Arles," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, II, 1925, pp. 35ff. Similarly later, in Ripa, such concepts as *Fraude* and *Tradimento* are depicted *bifrons* (*op.cit.*, pp. 187, 518).

The evil Pilate was often associated with Judas; see the references in von Stoephasius, *op.cit.*, p. 25; also the manuscript of a middle-high-German poem (Dresden, Kgl. Bibl., MS M.60) in which Pilate and Judas are depicted committing suicide (R. Bruck, *Die Malerei in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen*, Dresden, 1906, p. 295, ch. 58-59), and the fragmentary fresco (attributed to Nardo di Cione) in the Badia of Florence where Judas commits suicide and Pilate is imprisoned (P. Bacci, "Gli affreschi di Buffalmacco scoperti nella Chiesa di Badia in Firenze," *Bollettino d'Arte*, v, 1911, pp. 1ff., figs. pp. 19, 23).

desired corroboration is supplied by two passages in the Epistle of James which were the occasion for all the comments cited above.<sup>122</sup> They are the only places in the entire New Testament where the term *duplex animo* (δύψυχος) occurs. The first (1:8) reads, "A double-minded man is inconstant in all his ways,"<sup>123</sup> which is just the sort of wavering Donatello has conveyed. He recaptured the original import of the passage,<sup>124</sup> after it had been transferred to hypocrisy in the later Middle Ages.<sup>125</sup>

We must further ask upon what basis Donatello applied the thought to Pilate; this is a decisive point since only in relation to Pilate does it become an insight into the deeper problems arising from judgment. The explanation is contained in the second passage in James' Epistle (4:8), which reads, "Cleanse your hands, ye sinners; and purify your hearts, ye double-minded."<sup>126</sup> Here is the link between double-mindedness and handwashing—the act for which Pilate, more than anyone in all history is famous, and the very act in which Donatello's *bifrons* participates.

I have deliberately taken a roundabout path to the textual basis of Donatello's image in order to emphasize less the text itself, about which there is nothing intrinsically out of the ordinary, than Donatello's interpretation of it. For as we have seen the association of this particular idea of double-mindedness with Pilate involved once again an historically oriented return to ancient sources, with a view to creating something new. Donatello used a mediaeval relic of a classical image to express a Christian-Semitic psychological condition. He could, and, as we have seen, did do so only after disassociating that condition from the moral content with which it had been imbued.<sup>127</sup> The something new, therefore, in this case was an attitude of mind to which doubt appears not as an alternation between good and evil, nor as a culpable hesitation, but as the natural counterpart of a free option among alternatives. Donatello has intimated, through Pilate, a characteristically modern dilemma,<sup>128</sup> namely, the possibility and the responsibility of choice.<sup>129</sup>

So far as I know, the verses in James to which Donatello referred had never before been illustrated. For this reason alone, one cannot avoid the feeling that they must have held some special meaning for Donatello; a personal interest of considerable strength if it led him to create such a monster in the first place and to introduce it into what is otherwise a perfectly normal composition. As a matter of fact, the first passage occurs in the liturgy, in the Epistle from the Common of the Saints read in the mass that is celebrated in honor of San Donato of Arezzo—Donatello's patron saint.<sup>130</sup> Apparently, Donatello identified himself with the attitude of mind expressed by the passage. The *bifrons* might thus be conceived as a kind of psychological autograph,

122. See J. H. Ropes, *A critical and exegetical commentary on the Epistle of St. James* (International critical commentary on the Holy Scriptures, 41), New York, 1916, pp. 142ff., 269.

123. Vulg.: *Vir duplex animo inconstans est in omnibus viis suis.*

124. Which it has also later (1509), when cited by the humanist Charles de Boville, *De Sapiente*, cap. LI (E. Cassirer, *Individuum und Cosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* [Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, x], Leipzig-Berlin, 1927, p. 409).

125. A parallel case is that of the related concept *Inconstantia*, which was also resolved during the Middle Ages and appears as a monk throwing off his habit (cf. A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, 10), London, 1939, pp. 76, 79, 80), but which during the Renaissance might be associated with bicephalism (G. P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1678, p. 382).

126. Vulg.: *Emundate manus, peccatores: et purificate corda, duplices animo.*

127. For the philosophical disassociation of abstract morality from social behavior, cf. C. Trinkaus, "The Problem of Free Will in the Renaissance and the Reformation," *Journal*

*of the History of Ideas*, x, 1949, pp. 51ff.

128. Compare the satirical poem of A. H. Clough (1819-1861) entitled *Dipsychus* (*The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough*, eds. Lowry, Norrington, Mulhauser, Oxford, 1951, pp. 221-303); it reflects problems not unlike those expressed by Donatello's *bifrons* (cf. K. Badger, "Arthur Hugh Clough as Dipsychus," *Modern Language Quarterly*, 12, 1951, pp. 39ff., and the remarks on Clough by E. K. Chambers in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, New York, 1911, vi, p. 561).

129. Complete realization would require merely a shift of emphasis from the negative aspect of choice, dilemma, to the positive aspect, self-determination. It is thus a nascent phase of the intellectual frame of reference that will give rise in the following decades to Pico della Mirandola's triumphant affirmation of man's indeterminacy in the famous passage on free will in *De hominis dignitate* (cf. E. Cassirer, P. O. Kristeller, J. H. Randall Jr., eds., *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, Chicago, 1948, p. 225).

130. *Missale Romanum*, ed. cit., p. 690; *Martyrologium Romanum*, Vatican, 1948, pp. 189f. (August 7). In Catholic countries, be it remembered, it is the custom to celebrate one's name-day, i.e. the feast of the saint after whom one is named, along with and often instead of one's own birthday.

far-reaching in its implications, but hinting also at the inner schism that must have provoked the hyperesthesia of Donatello's late style.<sup>131</sup>

Investigation of the sources thus reveals the remarkable unity of style, meaning, and function underlying the apparent diversity that characterizes the San Lorenzo pulpits. The unity is essentially one of intent, which may be defined as a concerted effort to resurrect the past and relate it to the present in a new and meaningful way. The past is therefore both an end in itself and the means to convey a more effective spiritual message. The message may have been entirely Donatello's invention; or it may have been a joint product of the humanist group surrounding Cosimo de' Medici, especially during his later years, of which a leading goal was to reconcile antiquity with Christianity by returning to the "early" phases of the Church.<sup>132</sup> One is even tempted to imagine San Lorenzo as the embodiment of a collective ideal to recreate, in architecture, furnishings, as well as liturgy, a pristine Christianity.

In any case, while analysis of the sources yields a number of useful conclusions, only in rare instances is it possible to cite the actual monument, visual or literary, upon which Donatello drew. It is of course likely that some of the sources have been overlooked, or that some of them have in the meantime disappeared. It is at least equally probable, I believe, that for many elements Donatello did consciously not draw upon specific models, but upon memories, recollections more or less vague of things he had seen, or read, or heard. The pulpits indeed may be regarded primarily as a purposeful fusion of disparate images accumulated by a profoundly receptive personality during a long and varied life. If so, we must ultimately face the paradox that the "governing principle" we set out to discover lay not in the sources, but in Donatello's attitude toward them.

#### DUMBARTON OAKS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

131. Actually, the auto-reference was a double one. Simply because there are two faces, an association in the observer's mind with the *Prudentia bifrons* tradition mentioned earlier was to be expected; it is the image of a "prudent servant." And in the same mass for San Donato the Communion is a quotation from the Gospel of St. Luke (12:42) that begins, *Fidelis servus et prudens . . .* (*Missale Romanum, ed. cit.*, p. 691. The mass seems especially concerned with the idea of servanthood: the Offertory is a passage from Psalm 88:21-22

concerning David that begins, *Inveni David servum meum . . .*). This may explain why Donatello adopted the servant as the vehicle for his comment.

132. The question cannot be resolved without more information than is available concerning the specific manner in which this goal may have affected liturgical practice. With regard to San Lorenzo, a study of the liturgical manuscripts in the possessions of the church, at present extremely difficult of access, might prove illuminating.