MONOGRAPHS

ON ARTISTS

DONATELLO

BY

ALFRED GOTTHOLD MEYER

TRANSLATED BY P. G. KONODY

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EDITED, AND WRITTEN IN COLLABORATION WITH OTHER AUTHORS,

BY

H. KNACKFUSS

VIII.

DONATELLO

BIELEFELD AND LEIPZIG
VELHAGEN & KLASING

LONDON
H. GREVEL & CO.
33, KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, W.C.
1904

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WITH 140 ILLUSTRATIONS FROM PICTURES ETCHINGS AND DRAWINGS

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DONATELLO.
Woodcut in the second edition of Vasari, 1568.

PREFACE.

A description of Donatello's life and work within the restricted space of these monographs is a particularly fascinating, but also a particularly difficult, task. Numerous problems force themselves upon the author. They concern the date of some of the master's most important original works and the authenticity of others passing under his name. These questions can only be lightly touched upon. The chief aim of this book is to extract the most fruitful information about Donatello's art from those works whose authenticity has been established beyond doubt. The works themselves are to be placed in the foreground, for they are immortal possessions. Their sequence will be determined not so much by reasons of probability of traditional dating, as by their inner connection. "A biography is not a chronological table."

ALFRED GOTTHOLD MEYER.

Fig. 1. St. George and the Dragoon. Socle-relief on the niche of the St. George. Florence. Or San Michele. (To pages 14 and 50.)

DONATELLO.

THE first-born among the great masters of Italy was a sculptor: Niccolò Pisano lived a generation before Giotto.

In the 15th century, too, Italian art again first attains to its full development in sculpture. In painting it commences with Masaccio's frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel in Florence, but *Donatello* was the creator of the new race that now appears in Florentine art.

His statue of St. George stands at the gates of the early renaissance. This youthful hero is such an advance towards artistic freedom, that the entire world of form of Florentine art at that period is suddenly relegated to the past. With freshness and strength he materializes the most absolute balance of forces: a first act of deliverance.

Heroical, like this St. George, Donatello himself enters the arena of art. He breaks the fetters of mediævalism; he opens a new era.

But he does not linger on the threshold. The victor becomes conqueror. He measures the whole domain of his art, taking in and harmonising the most contradictory ideas. With equal right Donatello is referred to by those who try to find in the early renaissance a triumph of Northern realism, and by those who understand it as the first manifestation of the regenerated antique. A Prometheus of his time, he forms human beings of every type. He reflects physical life, exuberant with muscular strength and hot blood, and tottering to the grave in its decrepitude. He listens to the most subtle emotions of the soul, and follows the wildest burst of passion. He promotes the individual in its quiet "existence" to a characteristic type,

and dissects the meteor-like "occurrence" into personally effective forces. His fancy gives an entirely new value to every task. Sometimes he borders on absurdity in his one-sidedness, sometimes he employs simultaneously all the means of artistic effect. The harmony of his work melts as in a fiery glow, and his personality — clearly outlined at first — grows demon-like into gigantic proportions out of the sturdy workshop-tradition of the middle ages.

One can understand that criticism followed him but with a painful gait. The late renaissance still admired Donatello. Raphael paid him the greatest homage with which a master can honour his precursor: he learnt from him, he took from him figures and groups and breathed a higher life into them. Michelangelo, through his own work, professed himself his follower. Surely

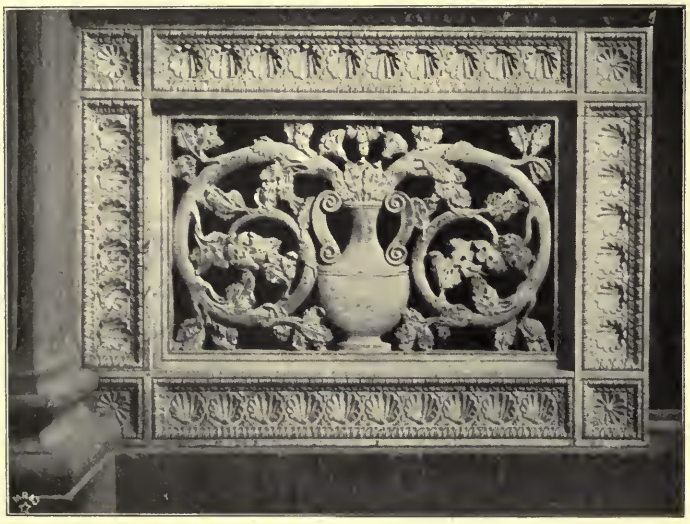

Fig. 2. Marble screen. Sacristy of S. Lorenzo. Florence. (Andrea Buggiano.)

Vasari spoke the mind of these two, when he praised Donatello as the first sculptor since the days of antiquity. But then his image begins to fade. In the 17th century we hear but little about him, in the 18th almost nothing. Cicognara, the first historian of Italian sculpture, resents, that Donatello is not nearly as highly esteemed as he deserves. He has reinstated him in his right place, but he sees only an aberration in his realism, and excuses it in these terms: "If Donatello had already achieved every thing, what would have remained — for Canova?" Not much later Ruhmor wrote that Donatello's "spirit" is "as poor as it is crude".

At that period "spirit" stood for the "spiritual"; — a generation later a new art taught, that it is the individually conceived element of "life": *that* force which seizes nature in a powerful grasp and places it before us in full freedom. Thus Manet became the leader of modern painting, and

Rembrandt and Velasquez were placed at the head of the great masters of the past.

It was then, that Donatello came into his own again. The celebration of his 5th centenary became his red letter day in the history of art. The work of his life, which Florence then saw in rare completeness, came as a revelation. The impression was, that Donatello had not been properly recognized before. For the future the largest hall of the Museo Nazionale

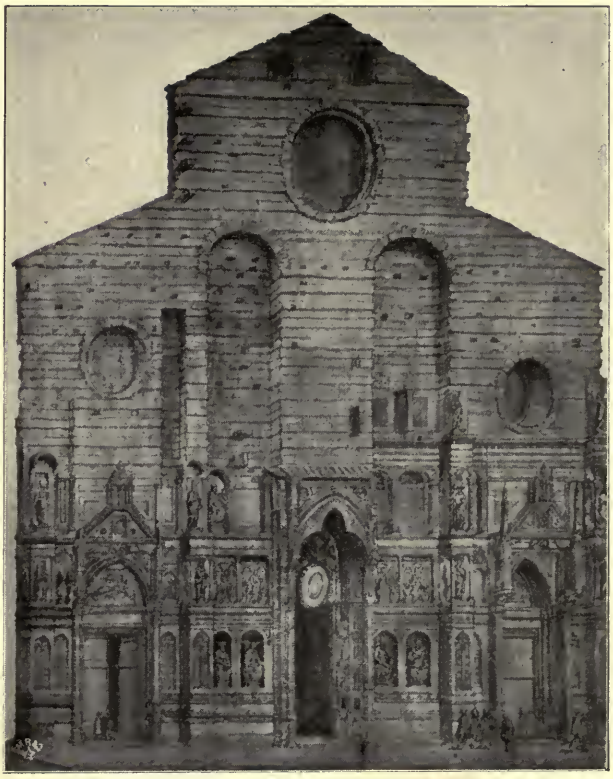

Fig. 3. Original decoration of the façade of the Duomo in Florence.
Old drawing at the Museum of the Opera del Duomo. (To pages 13 and 29.)

in Florence was to be consecrated to him, — a greater homage than has hitherto been paid to anyone among the masters of the renaissance in Italy.

This enthusiasm is still alive to-day, and international effort has endeavoured to give it a scientific basis. His latest biographer calls Donatello *"il maestro di chi sanno"*, the master of those who know.

But it seems as though Donatello's posthumous fame had again reached — perhaps even passed through — its zenith. A few years after the jubilee a clever pamphlet on him concludes with the statement: "Donatello is not to be looked for among the artists of purest nobility." The voices that warn against over-estimating him, are on the increase.

This can only be beneficial to art-historical truth, which Donatello need not fear. The *power* of his art is independent of any transitory taste: immortal and altogether personal. But for this very reason it demands its own art-psychology. It can no more be reduced to a simple formula, than Michelangelo's and Rembrandt's.

Donatello was born in Florence, probably in 1386. His Christian name is Donato. His father Niccolò di Betto Bardi was domiciled near the present Porta Romana in the quarter of S. Pietro in Gattolino. We know no more about his life, than about the youth of his famous son. A member of the guild of wool-combers, Niccolò became dangerously involved in the Florentine party feuds. During his banishment he slew in Pisa a political opponent, escaped to Lucca and returned to Florence, where he was wrongfully accused of treason, sentenced to death, then acquitted and finally made the recipient of special honours. This happened in 1380. The first documentary reference to his son Donatello occurs in 1406, when he receives payment as independent sculptor. Accounts of his earlier life can only be gathered from

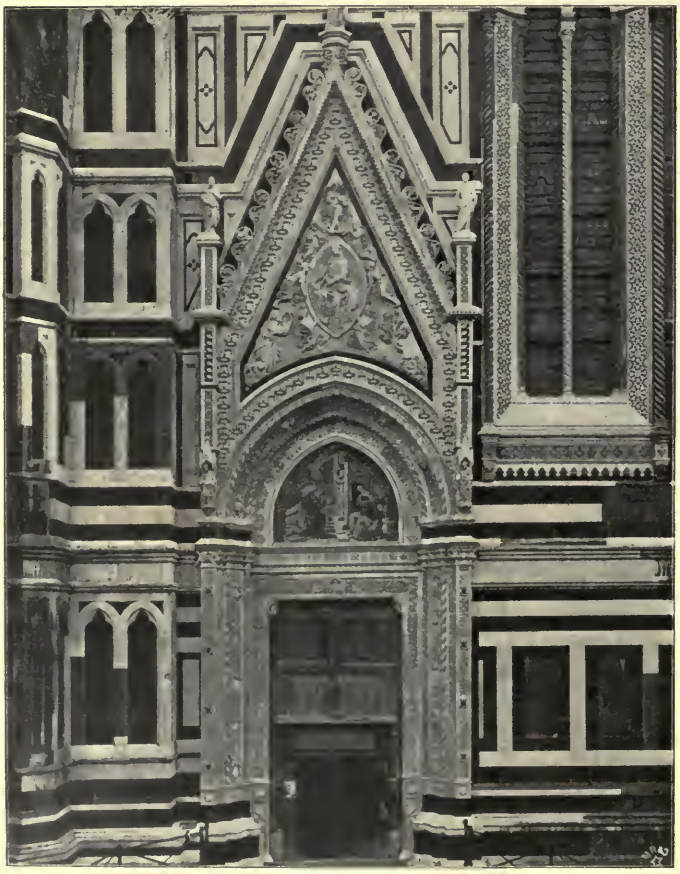

Fig. 4. Florence. North Door of the Cathedral. (To pages 12 and 29.)

Fig. 5. Florence. Or San Mibhele. Corner view. (To page 13.)

indirect and not always reliable sources. Some doubt is already attached to Vasari's statement, that Donatello was educated in the house of the Martelli, since this family belonged to the faction against which his father had fought, and his relations with them are only proved at a far later period. In accordance with the custom of the time, he received his first instruction in the goldsmith's workshop, which does not by any means prove that Donatello was intended to become a goldsmith. It was the training-school for the *"Arte del disegno"*, the fine arts in all their forms and techniques.

If Donatello's earliest works really belonged to the goldsmith's craft — on which he relied even later, in Rome, for a livelihood — he did not, during the first chief period of his independent work, utilise his knowledge of metal work, which he had acquired in chasing silver and casting little bronze figures. He shows himself at once as a sculptor of great style. Without Vasari's tale and the authenticated report, that Donatello worked for a short while in Ghiberti's studio, one would already feel inclined to search for the youth only among the marble blocks of the *Opera*

del Duomo; among the stone-masons and sculptors who were chiselling ornaments and figures for the façade and the side-doors of the Duomo, for the Campanile, and for the niches of Or San Michele. At any rate his first works come nearest the manner of these masters, not only as regards material, but also in style. The most prominent among them were, after the death of Pietro Giovanni Tedesco, creator of the Southern Cathedral porch: Niccolò d'Arezzo and Nanni di Banco, the one still half Gothic, the other already half classicist.

Donatello is, however, supposed to have become acquainted with classic art already early in life, and on its very own soil. Manetti, Brunelleschi's biographer, and after him Vasari, relate that he had first gone to Rome with his friend Brunelleschi, and this cannot be disputed on any irrefutable ground. Niccolò d'Arezzo had only just returned from home, whither he had been called about 1400. Perhaps it was he who encouraged the two companions to take the same road towards the end of 1402. — One would like to regard this journey as a first Roman tour of two young artists in the pursuit of their studies, and such it was indeed, in a certain sense. Donatello had not entered the competition for the second Baptistery door, which brought no success to Brunelleschi and therefore caused him to turn his back upon Florence; but he, too, must surely have felt the desire "to see where good sculptures could be found". Only, they remained unfortunately hidden as yet in Rome, more so even than in Florence! It is quite conceivable that the Romans of that time completely misunderstood the intentions of the young Florentines, and took them for "treasure-seekers". The greatest real treasure that Donatello could find in Rome, stood openly exposed to all eyes: it was the general impression of ancient Roman greatness, the monumental character, powerful even in ruins.

Fig. 6. David. Marble. Florence. Museo Nazionale (Bargello). (To pages 13 and 17.)

At that time Florence could not offer that gauge of greatness. Her plastic art leaned towards grace

and delicacy, like her symbol, the radiant, multi-coloured campanile. She was still talkative, like Orcagna's tabernacle at Or San Michele and the framing of the Cathedral porches. She already looked around with clear eyes and was about to refine the beauty of the human body and of drapery after classic examples; yet she adhered to Gothic feeling for form and line. She was led by a generally applied ideal of beauty. She dared not as yet, to be *only* true: in the competition for the Baptistery door Ghiberti had triumphed over Brunelleschi!—The liberating word was uttered by young Donatello, but he spoke it on the strength of his innate talent,—ancient Roman art scarcely participates in it.

The artistic activity of Florence itself has more to do with it.

Fig. 7. St. John the Evangelist. Florence. Duomo.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence.
(To pages 13 and 18.)

This activity rested still on the soil, which had been prepared for it by the middle-ages. It was ruled in the first place by the need of decorating the buildings. The positions are given: façades that have to be animated, niches that have to be filled, buttresses and gables that have to be crowned. Donatello's "Zuccone" and "Jeremiah" stand in the niches of the campanile, exposed to the harshness of the weather, between the multi-coloured sections of the marble facings, at a considerable height, tiny and insignificant to those who know nothing of their importance. To-day this may almost appear as a misuse of artistic power. But as a matter of fact such work war far healthier than that of the present time. To every work was assigned its definite task, the settled district in which it was to "act". And in this the decorative object in the literal sense of the word was the main point; artistic form was far more important, than idea. Thus the records are as a rule contented with the general designation of "marble figure", without

even mentioning the subject represented. These works were fairly often placed by contract, and there are numerous cases, where one master used the design of another, or only just continued, finished, or worked over what the first had commenced.

But this professional trading became an art through the individual artistic spirit. This is already shown by the works of Niccolò d'Arezzo and Nanni di Banco; with Donatello the task imposed upon him by these accidental conditions almost attains to the value of a training for a definite object. He commences as sculptor in stone; — bronze only enters into the final setting of his artistic ideas, after they have matured in the severer language of the marble block. At first he has to supply single figures only: his groups and his narrative reliefs are already to benefit by his practice in statuesque representation. These early works are moreover nearly all above life-size; they are to be effective at a distance, they are to appeal to the public, "in the street". — "Small" art, which permits a lesser degree of clearness in the single parts, and the intimate requirements of artistic or religious private devotion, occupy him only at a later period. An admirable discipline, indeed, for a young sculptor! These tasks were furthered even more substantially by the general development of Italian sculpture. They produced in Donatello's hands a new statuesque and physiognomic art.

* * *

I.

STATUESQUE CHARACTER-FIGURES.

In spite of exhaustive research, Donatello's activity still presents many unanswered questions, especially in its first decades. If one adheres entirely to the written tradition, there still remain a number of statements that seem to have no reference to any particular work for the Opera del Duomo, or — and this is equally useless — may apply to several known works. On the other hand some of those sculptures whose style proclaims him as their author, are not referred to by existing records. This difficulty, which is more or less noticeable in the case of every renaissance artist, is almost insuperable with Donatello, owing to the division of labour and later changes in the positions of his works. The object of this book will be best served, if authenticated results are placed in the immediate foreground, whilst anything that is doubtful, should be mentioned parenthetically, if at all.

STATUES FOR THE DUOMO AND OR SAN MICHELE. 1406 — 1416.

Donatello's earliest authenticated works (1406—1408) are two statuettes for the "second" Northern Cathedral door. Their position by the side of its gable, richly decorated with sculpture and in colours (Fig. 4), did not

hold out the promise of higher estimation, than was the share of the countless figures destined by the *trecento* for the decoration of porches, windows and roofs. The originally intended position of the first larger statue commissioned from him in 1408 by the *Opera del Duomo,* would hardly have been more favourable. It was a "David", that was to have crowned a buttress of the cathedral choir. But it seems, that the Florentines became conscious of this: in 1416 the *Opera del Duomo* were ordered by the masters of the guilds and the gonfaloniere to deliver a *marble David* in the palace of the Signory, and Donatello received payment for its execution and erection. Probably this statue (Fig. 6), which is now in the Bargello Museum, is identical with the one commenced for the buttress of the choir. It is true, that it presents a youthful shepherd-boy that cannot very well be reconciled with the "prophet" David, ordered in 1408; but *"profeta"* meant in those days any person from the old testament, and Donatello's statuettes on the North door, which are also called "profetae" in the records of payment, are likewise very young lads. Such references in the account-books were evidently only meant for catch-words. — Already at the end of 1408 the young sculptor received the commission for one of the four seated colossal figures of the cathedral front (Fig. 3). It was now no longer a work subordinated by dimensions and position, but a monumental statue, with which he had to enter into competition with his elder fellow artists, Niccolò d'Arezzo, Bernardo Ciuffagni and Nanni di Banco. When his work, *St. John the Evangelist* (Fig. 7), was placed in a tabernacle by the side of the porch, it must have shown his superiority even more strikingly than now, when — after the destruction of the old cathedral front in 1588 — it stands, scarcely recognizable, like its former neighbours, in one of the dark choir-chapels — the first on the left.

Fig. 8. St. Peter. Florence.
Or San Michele. (Nanni di Banco?)
(To pages 14 and 25.)

But it was, doubtless, his statues for *Or San Michele,* that made Donatello's name popular. The plan of decorating each outer pilaster of this building with one of the patron saints of the Florentine guilds (Fig. 5), a plan that

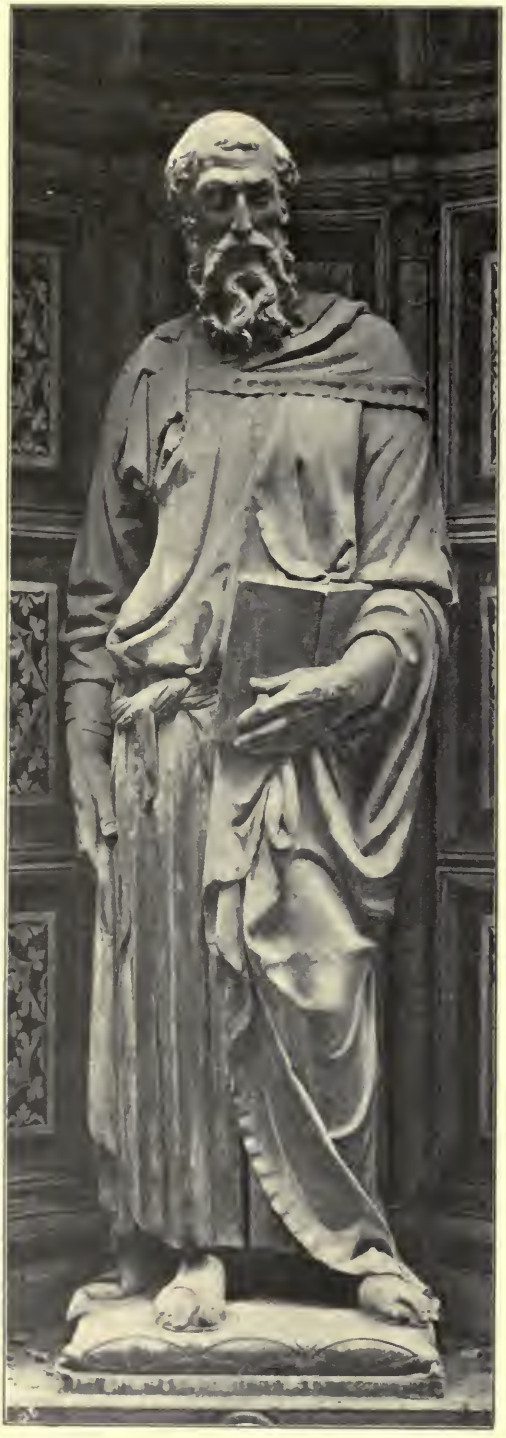

Fig. 9. St. Mark. Florence. Or San Michele.
(To pages 14 and 18.)

was of the greatest importance for the history of Florentine plastic art, had at first been but slowly realized. Within nearly 70 years (1339—1406) only four marble statues had been erected, when the Signory issued an urgent warning to the backward guilds, and now the niches filled rapidly. Perhaps Donatello participated already as assistant in the "St. Phillip" (1408) and the "Four Saints" by Nanni di Banco. The *St. Peter* statue of the butchers' guild (Fig. 8) is considered his own first work for Or San Michele, but the entirely independent impress of his art first appears in his "St. Mark" (Fig. 9), completed in 1412. In the following years already (about 1415) he created for the armourers *(corazzai)* his first famous masterpiece — the *St. George* (Fig. 10), and probably at the same time the *predella* for its niche — the relief of *The Fight with the Dragon* (Fig. 1). For the sake of better protection the St. George was, in 1886, removed to the National Museum, a copy being placed in the niche of Or San Michele.

The statuettes of *Prophets* for the cathedral porch, the *David* at the Bargello, the *St. John* in the Duomo, the *St. Mark* and the *St. George* for Or San Michele represent the first group of Donatello's authenticated works of known date.

All of them are single figures. They placed the young sculptor immediately face to face with the problems of statuesque art.

The *trecento* treated the forms of the body only summarily. It was not often called upon to mould the naked human body; in the clothed body it only beheld heavy, or "gothically" broken masses of folds. The artistic perception of the functions of the limbs remained dim, more especially in plastic art. *Trecento* sculpture, in contrast to Hellenic art, proceeded from the relief, not from the statuesque single figure which retained longest of all the fetters of mediævalism. Even the Pisani lacked the feeling for correct proportions: their statues show mighty heads placed upon dwarfish, short bodies. And when this disproportion gradually disappeared, the statues still retained the lack of organic connection in the whole construction of the body, partly caused by the concern about static stability. Nobody dared freely to detach the limbs of a marble figure, and again the drapery had to serve as a

Fig. 10. St. George. Florence. Museo Nazionale (Bargello). Formerly at Or San Michele. (To pages 14 and 20.)

Fig. 11. Head of the Marble David. Cf. Fig. 6.
(To page 23.)

makeshift. The folds touch the ground in broad masses; the figures certainly appear firm in the static sense, but they do not "stand" like living people. Even at the very end of the *trecento,* when Andrea Pisano's reliefs had already adorned the Florence Baptistery for a generation, the Gothic folds of the statues flow over the body so completely that its chief structural forms do not tell. It is true, when Donatello commenced to work, Florentine sculpture had already embarked in a new direction.

This direction was pointed out by the antique, and its first decided follower was Nanni di Banco. His four statues in the niche of the stonecutters and carpenters at Or San Michele have the deportment of, and stand like, good ancient Roman — draped figures. But only just like *draped figures!* Drapery is as yet more important than the body.

Vasari relates, that these statues of saints by Nanni would not fit into their niche, and that they had to be cut into shape by Donatello. This sounds very improbable, for Nanni di Banco was certainly at that time a more experienced sculptor, than young Donatello. But this anecdote points already to a talent which above all procured Donatello his first successes as a maker of statues: his consideration of the position.

His own statue of St. Mark pleased so little in his workshop, that it was only reluctantly accepted, but in its niche at Or San Michele it immediately produced an insurpassable effect. This side of Donatello's art has been laid stress upon again and again, and with good reason, for this pleasing quality covers a main secret of his whole power: the great master's gift of seeing his work at any moment in its entirety, as a complete whole. But in the case of a single figure, this signifies at the same time the correct perception and expression of the plastic function of the limbs, within this entirety. This is the great discovery which already makes the

Fig. 12. Head of the Goliath on the Marble David. Cf. Fig. 6.
(To page 24.)

young Donatello of Or San Michele superior as statuarist to all his fellow-workers.

It is true that in the figures of the cathedral porch it is foreboded rather, then an accomplished fact. The boy's figure to the left retains the whole awkwardness of the Gothic style. Its position, with the weight thrown on one leg, is too intentional and yet ineffective under the flat folds of the cloak; the pose of the arms and of the strikingly round head which protrudes from a thick neck, is clumsy. The whole thing is still under the sway of Gothic line and is essentially a careful study of drapery. Not so the companion-piece to the right. The young lad, who has evidently posed as model in the workshop, is rendered with life-like animation. There is now no awkwardness in the pose of the arms. The left, easily yet firmly pressed against the hip, lends natural support to the cloak which falls over the left leg, down to the foot, leaving exposed the naked leg which has to bear the weight. Only a short, girdled smock covers the body. His broad chest is thrown forward in full front-view; the head, too, on its strong neck, is turned full-face. Thus the axis is accentuated, and the limbs form a plastically effective contrast to it.

Fig. 13. Head of the St. Mark. Cf. Fig. 9.
(To page 24.)

The second step in the same direction is marked by the *David* in ihe Bargello (ill. 6). The model was probably twice as old as that for the statuette just described. The pose might be described in the same words almost, but the apparently slight deviations cause a different general effect. By the side of this David — which is over life-size — the statuette of the prophet seems almost clumsy. The lower part of his body remains stiff, but the hips appear to be gently swaying; the cloak is tied over the shoulder in an easy knot. The chief movements are varied: the left arm is slightly bent, and the right whose hand originally held the bronze sling, is gracefully curved. This mixture of awkwardness and grace, this incongruity, has even a certain psychological charm, although the head has absolutely no expression.

Of course, a long distance still divides this "David" from the statues of St. John, St. Mark and St. George. Only the giant strides of genius could traverse it quickly.

The *St. John* (Fig. 7) was to be presented sitting; to get the right "rhythm" was therefore more difficult, than with the upright figures. The restriction of the movement might have been fatal for Donatello whose art, as it was, aimed at weightiness. But it only increased the monumental character. Such was the calm grandeur of the gods throning in Hellenic temples! Everywhere the limbs are supported. The left hand rests on a folio, the right is embedded in his lap; the head is motionless. It has a power of its own: the eyes are flashing, the flowing beard seems to tremble, and yet the body by itself has wonderful, plastic life. And this is caused above all by the drapery. Masses of folds, as splendid as those which flow round the lower part of the body, had not been chiselled since the days of antiquity. But above the almost horizontal girdle the cloth is kept in a quiet, smooth surface. The importance of this contrast in conjunction with the low position of the girdle, is best demonstrated by Bernardo Ciuffagni's statue of St. Matthew. In the original position, for which the strong inclination of the knees was calculated, the effect must have been more monumental even, than now. Only the abruptly sloping shoulder retains a flavour of archaism.

Notwithstanding all differences, the St. John is intimately related to the *"St. Mark"* (Fig. 9), especially as a character figure. One would feel inclined to put into his mouth the words of Luther: "Here I stand. I can do nought else!" — Michelangelo must have been similarly impressed by this figure, when he said, that it is impossible to contradict this strong prophet of the Lord. Such types were no longer new in the 15th century, but Donatello was the first to give them plastic weight. In the St. Mark, as in the St. John, this is based on the compactness of the general appearance. The girdled costume and the cloak leave only the extremities exposed; the arms, and even the open hands, are pressed against the body. But here, more than in his St. John, the inner power of mind and soul is centralized by this material compactness, and this is a reflection of the *attitude,* the statuesque value of which is thrown into strongest light by comparison with the "David".

The vertical axis is again accentuated more strongly. Below the girdle the garment hangs in almost straight folds which remind one of fluted columns — a contrast to the irregular folds of the cloak over the left leg. Through the whole bulk the **S**-line can still be traced, — in very slight curves, of course, but yet sufficiently pronounced to give the appearance of a balance altogether different from that which was favoured by classic antiquity in similar motives. Compare it, say with the Sophocles of the Lateran! The "Gothic" lies between these two statuesque types. —

As regards the actual drapery, there was nothing Gothic left in it. With Niccolò d'Arezzo it is still a decorative device, and sometimes a static trick. It becomes natural in Donatello's St. John and St. Mark. The model was not furnished by some ancient toga-statue, as was the case with Nanni di Banco. The cloak of St. Mark still shows even the "frilled

border of the tissue, as Donatello had taken it from his father, the cloth-stretcher, straight off the frame into the studio" (Schmarsow). And yet there is grandeur in these folds which intensify the power of the general effect.

Fig. 14. Head of the St. George. Cf. Fig. 9. (To page 25.)

It is true, in the case of St. John and St. Mark the plastic beauty of the human body operates only in the "echo" of the garment. It becomes more pronounced in the David, where the shepherd's smock clings to chest and arms and one of the legs is exposed.

In its very theme the next statue — the *St. George* — points in the same direction, but here Donatello could at the same time benefit by the experience gained from his St. John, the knowledge of the value of compactness and of a massive silhouette (Fig. 10).

The war-like patron saint of the armourers could not be enveloped in flowing folds, but in a suit of armour which should cling to the forms as protectingly and yet as pliantly, as their customers might expect from a masterpiece of the craft. They felt proud of their work, if the movable steelplates clung firmly to the body and if the greaves fitted "like a glove". A well worked coat of mail, with its practical division between the parts which have only to act as support, and those which can be freely moved, is in itself a work of plastic art. The sculptors in all the great periods of plastic art, from Aristokles, the ancient Greek stone-cutter and master of the Aristion stelé, down to the creators of the Colleoni monument in Venice and the Great Elector in Berlin, — they all knew how to utilise its power of hardening and steeling the limbs.

So did Donatello. It is true, even here he would not entirely abandon the cloak over the shoulder, but he only uses it as a welcome contrast to the armour. His precursors, following the example of the Pisani, beheld in armour but a basis for rich ornamentation. To Donatello it serves as another means for stiffening and strengthening the forms and organically shaping the silhouettes.

But the question was not alone that of producing an armed warrior, but a youthful hero; not a boy, like David whose strength is only due to divine help, but a full-blown youth, muscular and sinewy like the champion of the Greek *palaestra.* For the sculptor who was about to discover the most effective statuesque aspect of the human body, this must have been a similar task, as Polycleitus in the past found in his athletes. He was now free to materialize his ideal of plastic beauty. And his living model was splendid indeed: strong, elastic, and pleasing to behold, if one excepts the excessively large, "heavy" hands. Compare the shoulder, neck and head, with the obtrusive weightiness of the Doryphoros, and then again with the sinewy slenderness of the Apoxyomenos. But models thus favoured are not rare — whilst the St. George is unique! Once more the artistic power which achieved this result rests upon the solving of the statuesque problem: the most masterly feature of this masterpiece is still the *attitude.*

If in the David and St. Mark the bulk of the weight rests sideways on one leg, it is now distributed equally on the two parted legs: an isosceles instead of a rectangular triangle. In this symmetrical distribution of weight the St. George is, in a way, related to the St. John. But the question is here again one of a standing figure, of a motive, possibly, that had been naturalized by soldierly discipline. Both feet stand flat on the ground, firmly, as though they wanted to take root in the ground. The shield planted between them intensifies deliciously the impression of a living wall. This simile also extends to the torso with its broadly arched chest, but here the

muscular life is more agitated. Without girdle, under a leather jerkin, the natural waistline, accentuated by a busk-shaped metal strap, appears much freer and clearer than under the shepherd's smock of David; and the whole spacing is further differenciated, the left foot and shoulder being slightly moved forward corresponding to the direction of the eye. The attitude of the arms recalls most that of St. Mark, but the position of the hands

Fig. 15. Crucifix. Florence. S. Croce.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 26.)

shows the stronger contrasts of the two other statues. And how inimitably the general impression is heightened by the attitude of the head towering free and bold over the sinewy neck: the crown of the perpendicular accentuated by the stem of the cross on the shield! — This youth is surrounded by dangers, but he fears them not. Vasari, better than Francesco Bocchi in his long-winded panegyric, has described the magic spell of this figure: "His attitude gives evidence of a proud and terrible impetuosity . . . and

life seems to move within that stone." The historically trained eye of the present day may indeed find another reading. It beholds this youthful champion at the parting of two ages. The mediæval ideal of chivalry radiates as yet from him — something of that noblest inner strength that sometimes flashed forth in the crusades. But this hero watches at the same time at the threshold of a new era with unknown joys and perils. —

But in this case, as with every great work of art, the appreciation of its purely formal value is alone sufficient. How much the creator of this statue had learnt since his first attempts at statuary, — the little figures of the cathedral-door! It may well be said, that this St. George avoids all the faults of his precursors, uniting all their separate qualities: the compactness and weightiness of St. Mark and St. John and the varied

Fig. 16. Florence. CAMPANILE. West-front. (To page 28.)

movement of David; the greatest wealth of form, tempered by admirable restraint; fascinating charm, natural freshness, and a simplicity that is most surprising of all. The whole conception touches the borderland, where the "pose" commences. Remember, how puffed-up and obtrusive such an attitude with parted legs appears in Andrea del Castagno's portrait of Pippo Spano! No trace of it with the St. George! He carries the dignity of genuine art that only works for its own satisfaction, and this is just what makes this statue a masterpiece which has never been surpassed, — not even by its own creator! Donatello's *statuesque* art has here reached its zenith. With the completion of this first series of figures, he achieves a revolutionary deed which places his art on a new foundation: *the plastic renascence of man in his completeness.*

The fine arts of the Greeks considered body and head of equal importance. That was in keeping with their civilisation and disappeared

with it. In Hellenist, and even more so in Roman art, this balance became shaky; the christian middle-ages had destroyed it completely, and neither the Pisani, nor the later trecentists were able to recover it. Even Ghiberti had only approached it now and then, as it were by chance; Quercia had done so with far more energy, without however mastering it as completely, as Donatello did in his St. George. Since classic days no human image had been created so entirely "in one piece"!

Was Donatello himself conscious of the fact that, by doing so, he was almost directly continuing the work of antique plastics? — To strive after this was certainly in accordance with the spirit of the time, and the ardent desire of becoming once again the peer of the classics could only take one shape in the case of a great sculptor of sure aim: the conception

Fig. 17. Florence. CAMPANILE. East-front. (To page 28.)

of organic life in the completeness of its appearance. That such inner connection really exists between these early works of Donatello's and the ideal of antique plastic art, is most clearly evinced by the *heads* of these statues. For they prove, that Donatello, notwithstanding his enthusiasm for the "animation" of the accidental model, was, in its selection and rendering, always concerned with the *beauty of youth and manhood;* and through it all gleams, sometimes more and sometimes less, an antique type of ideal. This applies already to the soft features of the "prophet" on the left of the cathedral door — less so to his very individual counter-part on the right — but quite unmistakably to the wreathed head of the marble David in the Bargello (Fig. 11). In this case the following of the antique has proved even harmful. The eyes which stand widely apart and have no pupils; the round, smooth shape of the face, and the pointed mouth with its thick upper lip, give the whole physiognomy a dull-witted air. The

wreath hangs over a forehead empty of thought. The very carefully elaborated head of the "Goliath" at the feet of this David (Fig. 12) has nobler features, notwithstanding the rigidity of death.

This first type of Donatello's heads fully appears on the one hand in his St. John and St. Mark, on the other in his St. George. In both cases their iconographic prototypes had existed long before. It was thus supplied for "St. John the Evangelist" by the statue which can now be found in the court of the Bargello, and which was probably chiselled by Giovanni Tedesco for Or San Michele, about 1370. But here it is a man of about 50, with parted beard and long hair falling over the shoulders in separated locks, with broad forehead and mild eye, but with very harsh forms: far protruding cheek-bones and receding lower part of his face — a decidedly genuine "Gothic" type, influenced by the North. Donatello has adopted the main features, but has given them psychologic depth. Very dense, wavy hair frames the energetic forehead. The heavy eyebrows are frowning, and the deep, visionary eye roves over the far distance. The beard flows down broadly. But in this St. John, too, the memory of the antique is still alive: antiquity lent similar features, say to the "Indian" Bacchus. In the "St. Mark" (Fig. 13) a kindred type is transposed into more Christian language. It is a genuine apostle's head, such as was later given by Masaccio to Christ's disciples. At any rate the ideal of characteristic manly beauty was here more active, than considerations of faithful portraiture. Similar to this are the youthful heads of St. George and St. John the Baptist, but in these the typical forms of the David are already

Fig. 18. St. Louis of Toulouse. Florence. S. Croce. Originally at Or San Michele.
(To pages 30 and 38.)

replaced by far more individual forms — *vide* the small chin of St. George! — and, above all, the almost stupid dumbness gives place to speaking life. The "glance" of the St. George has become famous (Fig. 14). The pupils are now wide and sharply outlined, the brows horizontally contracted, but at the same time raised, so that deep furrows appear on the forehead, and a slight bump over the root of the nose. "Full of expectant boldness," Hermann Grimm characterizes the frame of mind; "full of life" is the general praise with which Donatello would probably have contented himself. But his greatest reward would have been the fame which is really his due for this heroic head, that, as Vasari naively says, it resembles "the admirable works of the ancient Greeks and Romans more closely than those of any other master had ever done".

Fig. 19. St. John the Baptist. Berlin. Royal Museum. (To pages 32 and 37.)

* * *

The succession of figures, "David — St. John — St. Mark — St. George", is so important, that it overshadows all the other kindred works, which are generally added to this group without equally reliable evidence. The statue of a "prophet" in the right aisle of the Duomo, near the entrance, which is sometimes described as "Joshua", but more frequently as a portrait of the humanist Gianozzo Manetti, has many points of contact, as regards style, with the statuettes of the cathedral door, but the attitude is still so uncertain and so far removed from Donatello's conception of statuesque art, that it is better here to ignore this figure altogether. Not so the "St. Peter" at Or San Michele (Fig. 8), which is mentioned as a work originally commissioned from Donatello and Brunelleschi together. The record of this statue, though not authenticated, is not altogether untrustworthy and mentions the "St. Peter" together with the "St. Mark". But the "St. Peter" supplies no new information about Donatello as a limner of statues. At the best it takes a position in the above-described developement as a precursor of the St. Mark, still considerably fettered by tradition. Especially the head and drapery are pettily elaborated, in a style that corresponds with Nanni di Banco's to an extent that amounts to a surrender of personal style. Since it is moreover probable, that this master exercised the greatest possible influence on Donatello's first manner and that he

Fig. 20. St. John the Baptist. Florence. Campanile. West-front.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 33.)

actually employed him as assistant for his four Saints of Or San Michele, the "St. Peter" should only be mentioned in this connection. The insipid treatment of the hands speaks already against the possibility of an entirely personal work of Donatello's.

The wooden figure of the *Crucifix* in *S. Croce* (Fig. 15), which should certainly be included in the works of this early period, is more important. This was already recognized by Vasari's contemporaries, who make this "Christ" the subject of the first among the numerous Donatello anecdotes. In doing so, they contrast this work with the art of Brunelleschi who, they say, has worthily represented the Saviour in the Crucifix of the Gondi Chapel at S. Maria Novella — whereas Donatello's work is merely a study of the nude from a naked peasant. But in the competition for the door of the Baptistery, it was just his realism that made Brunelleschi dangerous to Ghiberti — and now he was to surpass Donatello by the idealism of his conception! Yet there is no doubt about the fact. The crucified Saviour in S. Maria Novella is a work of great beauty: the head with its noble features is delicately framed by the hanging locks; the delicately modelled body is conceived in an attitude which shows that the master was mainly concerned with a harmonious general effect, and not with unrestrained realism. Donatello, on the other hand, was not so fastidious in the choice of his model. It is really a *"crocifisso contadino"*, square-built, with a broad but flat chest, and coursely shaped limbs. A broad piece of cloth is placed around the loins, without the slightest regard for an effective contrast to the nude, or, even less, for beautiful folds. From the point of view of form, it is the

Fig. 21. Abraham and Isaac. Florence. Campanile. East-front. (To page 34.)

first sudy of the nude by Donatello, the realist; his first nude figure. But this figure casts a curious spell. There is something touching about its simplicity. The reflection of suffering bestows nobility of soul upon the features, and the strong peasant's body intensifies twofold the feeling of helplessness. The sharp, angular contrasts and interruptions of the principal lines are as far removed from harmony, as they are in old Dutch paintings, and yet the general effect is plastically compact. Even here the limner of statues affirms himself, although we are probably dealing with an early work. The detail, too, points towards relationship with the marble David of the Bargello rather, than with any other work.

* * *

STATUES FOR THE CAMPANILE. 1416—1433. KINDRED SINGLE FIGURES AND PORTRAITS.

Statuesquely conceived single figures continue to remain Donatello's principal tasks during the next decade, and far into that which follows. In 1416 commences his activity for the third building which, together with the cathedral front and Or San Michele, made special claims upon the powers of the Florentine sculptors: the *Campanile.* The *trecento* had already added two rows of reliefs to the lower part of the coloured marble facings, and commenced filling the Gothic arched niches of the first floor with statues of saints. Four marble figures in Donatello's workshop in 1422 are intended for this position; others are mentioned down to 1425; and as late as 1435 one of his marble statues is placed on the Campanile. Unfortunately it is no longer possible to identify with absolute certainty all of Donatello's Campanile figures. The only one which is unmistakably referred to by the records, the "Abraham", is the very work which he did not execute alone, but in conjunction with another master, Giovanni di Bartolo, called "il Rosso". It is placed on the East-front of the tower, in the third niche from the left. The references to the remaining statues are contradictory already in the Donatello biographies of the 16th century. This can hardly be wondered at, since their positions have evidently been changed, especially in 1588, when, after the destruction of the old cathedral front, positions had to be found for its statues in the Duomo and on the Campanile. To-day the very inscriptions on the pedestals are misleading. On the West-front (Fig. 16) "David Rex" and "Salomon Rex" is inscribed under the central figures, but these names refer to the statues which formerly occupied these places. The present figures are (counting from left to right): *St. John the Baptist,* the so-called *Zuccone* — possibly Jonah —, the so-called *Jeremiah* and the *Abdias.* The latter has the name of its master *Rosso* on a scroll, the other three show Donatello's name on the socles. But on the East-front (Fig. 17) commence the points of controversy, which concern the subjects as well as the artists. From left to right can be seen the following: an elderly, beardless prophet, unrolling a scroll; a younger, bearded prophet, in a shorter coat, looking upwards; then the above-mentioned *Abraham* about to sacrifice his son;

Fig. 22. Head of the Abraham. Cf. Fig. 21.
(To page 35.)

and finally another bearded prophet with his head leaning on his hand (Fig. 23). The latter is probably the Joshua which was commenced by Ciuffagni in 1415, abandoned by him just before its completion, and finished by the united efforts of Rosso and Donatello. Others have preferred to name this statue "Moses", but, how ever this may be, Donatello did not have an important share in it. Long before that time — in 1412 — he had himself produced another (?) "Joshua" for the series of statues for the adornment of the Duomo, but this work cannot be identified with certainty. — The conception of the prophet to the left of the Abraham on the Campanile is far removed again from the manner of Donatello, but the neighbour of this statue, the first figure of the whole row, is his work beyond doubt (Fig. 28). It has, not without good reason, been identified as the *"Habakuk"*, which was commenced in 1433—1434, and placed in position in 1436. Closely akin to it is the statue of an old man (Fig. 29), which stands now in the interior of the Duomo, near the entrance to the left aisle. Like all its companions it is now enclosed in a heavy niche of the late renaissance. In its original position, a corner of the old front, it was known as the "Old man with the pumpkin head". The drawing of the old façade (Fig. 3) actually shows, on the pilaster in the left corner, a statue of similar outline. This statue was considered to represent *"Poggio Bracciolini"*, the famous humanist, who died in 1459 as chancellor of the state of Florence.

Fig. 23. Prophet (Jonah? or Moses?). Florence. Campanile. East-front.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence.
(To pages 29 and 35.)

Exactly to define Donatello's greater or lesser share in these marble figures, would not be possible, even if all doubt were raised about their names and dates. But this does not jeopardize their correct estimation, since their place in the master's development is already assured by the three authenticated statues: the *St. John*, the *Zuccone* and the *Jeremiah*.

Fig. 24. Prophet (Jeremiah?) Florence. Campanile. West-front. (To page 36.)

All these marble figures for Or San Michele, the Duomo and the Campanile have their own laws. As stone images they stand in wall-niches at a certain distance from the beholder. The master's first bronze-statue was subject to the same conditions of space, but these have long since been changed as unfavourably, as in the case of the statue of the Evangelist. It is the statue of *St. Louis of Toulouse* (Fig. 18), which, in its present position in the interior of S. Croce, high above the main porch, is placed beyond the possibility of examination. Presented by the *Parte Guelfa*, it was erected in 1425 in the central marble niche of Or San Michele — the same which is filled to-day by Verrocchio's splendid group of St. Thomas (cf. Fig. 49). This replacement contains a piece of Florentine history: the suppression of the Guelf partisans by the popular party of the Medici, by whom they were forced to remove their saint from his favoured position in that central niche of Or San Michele, which they had to cede in 1463 to the *"Sei della Mercanzia"*. Some considerable time before, the statue of St. Louis had already been placed on the front of the Franciscan church of S. Croce. Since 1860 it has occupied its present position in the interior.

The receipts for this first work of Donatello's in bronze make here especial mention of an assistant *("chi ha tenuto con lui")*, who helped him probably with the casting. For large figures Donatello's own technical training may have been insufficient, in spite of his work with Ghiberti. It seems to have failed him already in the first commission the young sculptor received from abroad. In February 1423 — the very year when the St. Louis was completed — the *opera del duomo* of *Orvieto* ordered from him the bronze statuette of *St. John the Baptist* for their baptismal font. Donatello set about making the wax-model in the following month already, but the bronze figure cast from it does not appear to have been delivered, since the present statuette on the front is a sixteenth century work. Donatello's work was recognized by Bode in the bronze statuette which he acquired for the Berlin

Fig. 25. Prophet (Jonah?), called "Zuccone". Florence. Campanile. West-front. (To pages 36 and 37.)

Fig. 26. Head of the so-called Jeremiah. Cf. Fig. 24. (To pages 36 and 44.)

Museum from the Strozzi palace in Florence (Fig. 19). The cracks and holes in the bronze may explain, why the work did not get to Orvieto.

Whilst the dating of these two bronze figures can be proved by documentary evidence, that of the master's remaining statues of single figures, which have to be mentioned here, depends entirely upon the decision arrived at from consideration of style, and this is the more uncertain, since the majority of these very works had to serve another purpose, than those hitherto mentioned. This is already indicated by their dimensions. They are confined to life-size, and can therefore hardly have been intended for the adornment of a monumental building. This possibility is quite excluded in the case of the marble statue of *St. John the Baptist,* which is to this day in the palace of the Martelli family for whom it was made by Donatello (Fig. 30). Its first owner, Roberto Martelli, had in his will expressly forbidden, that this work should ever be given away, sold or pledged. It is no "decorative" statue; it is a masterpiece personally finished to the smallest detail, and destined to indicate the artist's hand even upon the closest examination. Nor is it intended for a niche, but for a free space — to be seen from every point. In both respects it stands distinctly apart from the work with which it is usually associated by reason of the sameness of the subject — from the larger statue of the *Baptist* in the Bargello (Fig. 31),

Fig. 27. Head of the so-called "Zuccone". Cf. Fig. 25. (To pages 36 and 44.)

for the latter, when seen from the side, shows such lack of linear beauty, that it can only be supposed to have been intended for a niche. Some of its detail is furthermore treated in so coursely conventional a manner, that it is probably the handiwork of assistants. The conception of this figure of the Baptist in the Bargello corresponds — as will be discussed hereafter — in many respects with the *later* statues for the Campanile. The Baptist of the Casa Martelli, which comes nearer the early works as regards chaste naturalness of conception, is so masterly in execution, that it cannot very well date further back than 1425.

* * *

With the statues of Or San Michele Donatello had mastered the statuesque effectiveness of the human body. In this direction the St. George marks the highest aim that could be achieved. And, indeed, his presumably earliest statue for the Campanile, the *Baptist* (Fig. 20), is from this point of view essentially a variation of its precursors. If the "David" suggests the stem of a flexible, young willow, and if the "St. George" grows straight from the ground, like a fir, this St. John keeps the middle path between the two. The legs are parted, like those of the St. George, but the weight of the body is not so evenly distributed, one foot being put forward; but,

above all, the upper part of the body is leaning further back, and the head more forward. This causes the dominating line of the whole figure to resemble a spiral, but — to use Ruhmor's words — "the forces meet in quiet harmony in the given centre of gravity". The model was well-made, and there is something endearing about the whole figure.

In conception, type and style this statue of the Baptist is closely akin to its pendant in the other corner of the same front, the Abdias who carries on his scroll the name of his creator: *"Johannes Rossus"*. This Giovanni di Bartolo, called "il Rosso", together with Donatello, receives, in 1421, payment of a balance due for the figure of *Abraham* with *Isaac* (Fig. 21). This is another testimony to the curious exploitation of art, which unites two artists in a work of not unusually large dimensions! It is a group. The naked Isaac kneels in chains at Abraham's feet. The action is dramatically conceived. The patriarch has already seized the boy's hair and holds his knife in readiness. But at this very moment he hears the rescuing message, for he turns his head sharply aside, as though he were listening. — Never before had Donatello presented such a momentary conception, whereas Brunelleschi had already utilized it for the same subject in the competition for the Baptistery. But his was a narrative relief, whilst on the Campanile the whole composition had to be applied to the essential requirements of a statue for a niche. This is just, what the artist has skilfully achieved. Tall and erect, the mighty figure of the patriarch dominates the general effect sufficiently to give a statuesque impression, and yet the contrast of the two figures is fully accentuated.

Fig. 28. Prophet (Habakuk?). Florence. Campanile. East-front.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To pages 29 and 38.)

It will never be possible to decide, whether this composition was invented by Donatello or by Rosso, but the effectiveness of it, which borders on mannerism, is not in keeping with Donatello's art at that time. It is all the more important to lay stress upon the inner connection between this Abraham-group and some of Donatello's later works. The motive of the propped-up foot, which, by the way, Donatello had already used for one of his little prophets on the cathedral porch, becomes henceforth one of his favourite devices, and the whole composition is echoed by his "Judith", and continues to live in varied form in the plastic art of the late renaissance. The head of Abraham is already conceived in its sense: in this old man's head is already something of Michelangelo's *"terribilità"* (Fig. 22). There is much in the execution, for which no analogy can be found in the works of Donatello, which have hitherto been mentioned. This applies to the drapery as well, as to the nude, but above all to the general treatment which accentuates the decorative character more, than his preceding works.

Fig. 29. Prophet (called "Poggio Bracciolini"). Florence. Duomo. Interior.
(To pages 29 and 38.)

The same may be said of Abraham's neighbour, who has been christened sometimes as "Joshua", sometimes as "Moses" (Fig. 23). Bode therefore concludes, that this work as well represents the united efforts of Rosso and Donatello. Among the whole series this figure surprises by the spirituality of its motif. Life does not radiate from it as actively, as hitherto. In deep thought the prophet rests his bearded head upon his right hand and gathers up the wide cloak, as though he wanted to shut himself off from the outer world. This is directly reminiscent of antique statues of philosophers.

Fig. 30. St. John the Baptist. Florence. Casa Martelli.
(To pages 32 and 38.)

Did Donatello also think of such, when he worked at the two most famous of the statues on the Campanile — the *"Jeremiah"* (Figs. 24 and 26) and the *"Zuccone"* (Figs. 25 and 27).

In the case of the Zuccone the costume — the smock, open at the sides, like a *chiton* — speaks in favour of this theory, in the case of the Jeremiah the attitude, all the motives of which are already known from the preceding statues: the right arm hanging down straight, the left bent, the ponderosity similar to the St. Mark. But in the silhouette a quasi "convulsive movement" leads to purely accidental contrasts. The naked right shoulder slopes abruptly; the left is considerably broadened by the attitude of the arm and by the cloak, its preponderance being still further increased by the turn of the head. The "cloak" itself is a piece of cloth thrown over the shoulder, and its creased folds are rendered with astonishing accuracy and without any regard for homogeneity. Its effect is restless and gives the whole work an air of

carelessness. On the other hand the separate action of the naked right arm is of exaggerated energy. The hand presses against the body with unexplained, almost convulsive, muscular tension.

The statuesque balance of the earlier figures is thus destroyed for the sake of a drastic, instantaneous impression. But in this Jeremiah the separation of the free and of the weight-bearing leg is, at least, clearly accentuated. Not so in its neighbour, the Zuccone, where the whole mass of drapery rests upon the forms and hides their capability of movement. One muscular arm with its hand placed in a sling is the only limb that is brought out effectively. The chest is almost sunken. With unexampled boldness Donatello has based the statuesque effect of the whole figure on the drapery alone — on the heavy cloak whose masses of folds broadly fall from the shoulder to the ground in a single sweep. Of course, in this case, as in all others, it is a question of quasi instinctive selection. Donatello had nothing to do with meditations on the solution of theoretical problems. He was ruled by the observation of reality, and, in trying the effects of drapery, was evidently fascinated by the power of these masses of folds. It was an effect, as spontaneous as that of the striking features, which, however, gained such hold on the sculptor, that it now determines the whole effect of his work and has, for esthetic judgement, the value of an objective art principle. —

Fig. 31. St. John the Baptist.
Florence. Museo Nazionale (Bargello).
(To pages 32 and 38.)

Not as though it were irreconcilably at variance with the earlier statues! In each case the artist's sole aim was to get as "natural" an effect as possible. But he now employs different means and neglects, what he was most preoccupied with before.

In this sense the two Campanile statues are characteristic for a whole series of figures which prove, that we have here to deal with a question concerning an important phase of his statuesque art. The bronze statuette of the

Berlin *Baptist* (ill. 19), modelled in 1423 and composed for an open position, belongs more to the earlier group as regards representative conception and attitude, whilst the treatment of the forms and the type connect it with the Jeremiah as well as with the Bargello Baptist. But with the *St. Louis* (Fig. 18) commences already that neglect of the "statuesque" motives; the body is here already completely hidden in heavy folds. The cloak, which is slightly raised by the left hand, drags on the ground; whilst the connection of the raised right hand with the body is not clear, the arm being covered by the cloak which completely hides its shape. The static qualities of the bronze medium have not been taken advantage of. The silhouette is more compact, the composition more massive even than in his stone figures, and yet the general appearance is remarkably lacking in power.

Fig. 32. Head of St. John the Baptist. Cf. Fig. 31.
(To pages 39 and 42.)

This is even more so in the so-called "Habakuk" and in the "Poggio" (Figs. 28 and 29). Here Donatello — if he alone is responsible for these figures — seems to have set himself the task of carrying to the extreme the contrast to the St. George. No counterbalance of organic forces, but a weary compiling of forms which only follow the law of gravity! Both figures are again hung with drapery, almost as in the gothicising transitory style. But this is now no longer the result of a decided feeling for style, but of a thoroughly realistic art which only materializes no matter what aspect of nature.

Finally this realism dominates the two marble statues of *St. John* in the *Casa Martelli* and in the *Bargello* (Figs. 30 and 31). They have to be bracketed, because they both treat a new statuesque problem: they do not *stand,* but are in the act of *walking*. This was certainly already suggested in the St. Mark and the Jeremiah, but only as a capacity of movement; whilst now it is actual movement, though again only in the shape of an accidental "snap-shot", and not of a motif carefully chosen for its statuesque possibilities. In the figure of the Casa Martelli it still retains a certain freshness, but in the Bargello Baptist it becomes mere slinking. The eye does not notice the way; it rests on the scroll and reads the words of the psalms. The lips are moving in song. Thus a penitent walks in the procession. He is an emaciated, sickly man. His knees are pointed, his back drawn in, his stomach thrown forward: the side-view thus becomes

Fig. 33. Head of the so-called "Habakuk". Cf. Fig. 28. (To page 44.)

almost unendurable. To this limpness the right arm forms a contrast of almost convulsive muscular tension, similar to the Jeremiah. Again the fingers are pressed against the thigh — an attitude of the arms well known in the barracks-yard. It is the way recruits have of holding the butt of the rifle. But what has it to do with the penitent? It is certainly not justified by the reed-cross. In this figure, too, the statuesque effect has suffered. But it is aglow with an almost uncanny life.

Thus this very figure proclaims perhaps most clearly, that Donatello left the soil of his former statuesque art. In his David, St. Mark and St. George he had seen the human body in its healthy strength, dignity and beauty. He had almost rediscovered and re-created Nature's tectonic work of art in the sense of antique sculpture. But now he chooses, poses and drapes his models, unconcerned with the linear beauty of their frame; nay, more than that, he seems to avoid it intentionally. His only aim is drastic truth. To achieve it he introduces to a higher degree another force: *physiognomic* art.

* * *

In a certain sense this meant a return to the aims of the middle-ages. Even in Italy the revival of plastic art proceeded in the first place from the imitation of antique Roman *heads*. They are the most powerful feature in the Pisani's work; and soon after came an invasion from the North of the clearly cut character-profiles of the transalpine Gothic. They gained the favour of the Florentines for German masters of the type of Piero di Giovanni Tedesco, or perhaps of that Cologne master who became a hermit in the Florentine hills, after having been an honoured sculptor and goldsmith, but whose advice and example nevertheless exercised considerable influence upon his former fellow-guildmen. But neighter Ghiberti, nor Nanni di Banco, were influenced by this new physiognomic art. Both lacked the talent for pictorial individualising. They have left us no portrait-busts.

Donatello, on the other hand, was a born portraitist. This is already proclaimed by the heads of his first series of statues — from the "prophets" of the cathedral door to the St. George; but in these — and even in the head of Goliath at David's feet — the art of

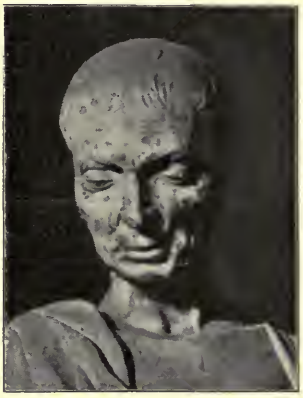

Fig. 34. Head of the so-called "Poggio". Cf. Fig. 29. (To page 44.)

portraiture is balanced by an ideal of beauty derived from the antique, an ideal which he did not altogether deny even at the time of the Campanile statues. To what extent he was under the spell of antique physiognomies, is proved by the fact, that he chose them with partiality for the single heads

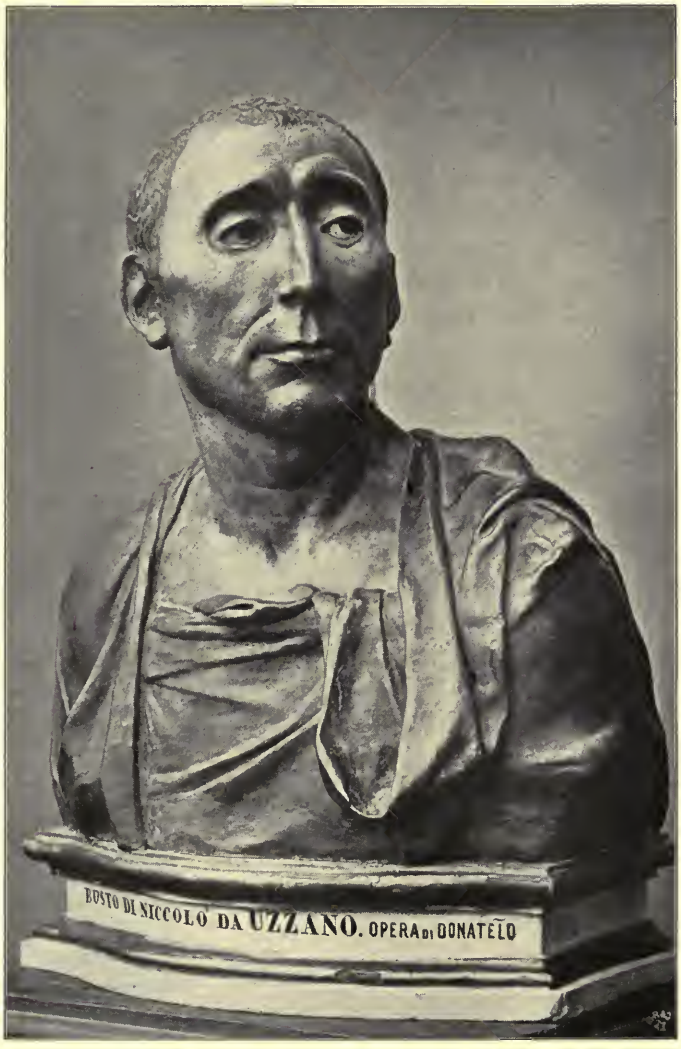

Fig. 35. Terracotta-bust (called Niccolò da Uzzano). Florence. Museo Nazionale (Bargello).
(To page 44.)

which had to serve purely decorative purposes. Thus, in 1422, he fitted into the Northern porch of the Duomo, in a rather unfortunate position between corner pilaster and pediment, the frameless busts of a bearded man and of a youth, whose sharp profiles appear like re-animated Roman heads by the Pisani. But in his character figures of this period the influence

of the antique wanes gradually. Their heads altogether lose their typical character. On the Campanile it only appears in the melancholy St. John. The head of the St. Louis of Or San Michele has also a somewhat generalized, youthful softness and regularity, which becomes almost expressionless. But in this case it is probably due to special intention. The lack of mental tension in these features is so striking, that, in Vasari's days, it gave rise to the anecdote, that Donatello wanted to indicate, that a man who like

Fig. 36. Terracotta-bust (called Niccolò da Uzzano). Florence. Museo Nazionale (Bargello). After a photograph from the original by Giacomo Brogi, Florence. (To page 44.)

S. Louis, renounced the advantages of royal descent in order to become a monk, must be an imbecile. Such frivolous sarcasm was, however, neither in the spirit of the times, nor in the character of young Donatello. He was rather led by the conviction of the blessedness of the poor in spirit. He often chose such types for his saints. In this sense even the Bargello David is already related to the St. Louis, though the link is closer in the case of the clay bust of S. Lorenzo at S. Lorenzo (Fig. 40), which will be referred to later. The psychological interpretation of such heads is certainly

Fig. 37. St. John the Baptist. Florence. Museo Nazionale (Bargello).
After a photograph from the original by Giacomo Brogi, Florence. (To page 44.)

not injustifiable, and least of all with Donatello. Without indulging in subtle speculations, he was yet careful to render the required picture of character in the physiognomies. The ascetic heads of his figures of *St. John* in Berlin and in the Bargello (Fig. 32) help to prove this. But this point of view must not be laid too much stress upon, because it leads in some respects to uncertain ground. The names of the Campanile statues are dubious. Perhaps they were not even required to represent any particular "prophet", but just *a* prophet *("profetae figura")*, and therefore just *a* characterhead. In choosing it the master consequently had a free hand, as with those purely decorative heads mentioned above. — It is the more important, that a new group of physiognomies commences with the Berlin statuette of St. John. They are soon left without the slightest suggestion of the "typical" and the "classical" elements which were to be found in

his first series. They are images that "exhaust to the very dregs the contents of a singular individuality" (Wölfflin). And these personages are the most genuine Florentines of the *quattrocento:* complex natures; men of quick action and, at the same time, shrewd and cunning; tenacious of will, impetuous in execution; beyond good and evil; of immoderate ambition, and immoderate in their pursuit of pleasure. Tradition connects Donatello's heads with certain names: the "Jeremiah" with Francesco Soderini, the "Zuccone" with Giovanni Cherichini, and then we have the "Poggio Bracciolini" in the Duomo. These names may be sacrificed, but the individuality of the heads holds the spectator even to-day with irresistible power.

Such features, deeply furrowed by life, have ever fascinated the true "image maker". It can be proved by countless instances from ancient Greek and Roman, and especially from mediæval art, and the present time does not think differently on the subject. The "moral" interpretation, according to which at least the Baptist, the Jeremiah and the Zuccone might pass as examples of evil traits of character, has no immutable value. Its verdict depends entirely in the situation in which such heads appear. But it remains a fact, that in the entire fourteenth century neither a painter, nor a sculptor, applied anything like equal *force* to the rendering of such heads

Fig. 38. Bronze-bust. Florence. Museo Nazionale (Bargello). (To page 46.)

on a monumental scale. When Donatello chiselled the *Zuccone,* this force became ecstasy. Like a new Pygmalion, he spoke to him, and spoke of him, as though he were alive. And this head appears alive even to-day (Fig. 27). It has never been surpassed as regards truth. But it is a *"veritas"* utterly different from that of a cast from life. The almost bewildering ugliness of this seventy year old "pumpkin head" with its thin, stubbly hair and beard, its blear-eyes, its overhanging nose, broad mouth and thick lips; then the head of *Jeremiah* (Fig. 26) with its protruding underlip, course, indented nose and bulging eyes, the pupils of which are covered far down by the heavy eyelids — they evidently resemble their originals, like camera pictures; but in being turned into stone they had to pass through the will of a mighty artist who exerted himself to the utmost in bold rivalry with creative Nature. And he would not suffer anything paltry. Every stroke of the chisel is guided by the total effect. Thus these criminal physiognomies support a monumental art — an art which refrains from any extrinsic "effect" and remains purely objective. No special tension lies in these features, as in those of St. John the Evangelist, nor any momentary increase of vital energy, as in those of the St. George. The Zuccone head in particular resembles an extinct crater. The power of action and enjoyment is extinct. It only shows "phlegmatic imperturbability". This also refers to the so-called *"Habakuk"* and the *Poggio,* but in these the apathy becomes altogether senile (Figs. 33 and 34). They cannot be better described, than by the words of Vasari, as "exhausted by time and labour". Fatigue speaks from the features as well, as from the trailing folds of the garment. The art of plastic rendering is here more alive, than the model himself! It draws from the stone its fullest capacity of physiognomic expression. Examine the so-called Poggio head more closely — especially the passages of the forehead and eyes!

The heads of the Zuccone, the Jeremiah, and the Poggio mark the high water level of Donatello's physiognomic art, just as the St. George marks that of his statuesque art. And it must not be forgotten, that the whole subtlety which he applied to reading the human face artistically, does not by any means attain to its full effect in these heads. All of them are more than life-size and do not bear being looked at too closely. Seen near, certain parts — especially of the Zuccone head — appear almost misshapen, like the length of the head, which in itself is quite unnatural, and which the so-called Poggio as well has to thank for the description of "an old man with a pumpkin head" *("un vecchio Zucchone"),* derived from an authoritative source.

What Donatello expected from a head that was to be seen in close proximity, is shown by the life-size *St. John* in the *Casa Martelli,* a work that may in this connection well be bracketed with the delightful sandstone relief of the youthful *Baptist* in the *Bargello* (Fig. 37).

Here should also be mentioned the *terracotta bust* at the Bargello (Figs. 35 and 36), known as "Niccolò da Uzzano" and now painted over quite realistically. Though it is not any more individual than Donatello's types

of Saints, it is probably a portrait intended for the niche of a tomb, and possibly executed with the help of a death-mask. This might be concluded from the extreme depth of the eyeballs and the hollowness of the cavities, although there is nothing Hippocratic about the rest of the forms. The name of the model is only vouched for by the tradition that the Capponi, from whose possession the bust came to the Bargello in 1881, are supposed to have inherited it from the Uzzano family. Donatello may well have been personally acquainted with the intelligent, noble-minded Niccolò da Uzzano, since Uzzano was one of the executors of the will of the dethroned Pope John XXIII., whose tomb Donatello commenced about 1425. Uzzano, who combined all the good and evil qualities of a master-mind, led Florence at one time, together with Palla Strozzi and the Albizzi, as one of the heads of the *popolani,* and delayed the rise of the Medici. He died in 1432. Whether the Bargello bust does or does not render his features, is at any rate of minor importance, than the doubts as to Donatello's authorship, which had already been pronounced in 1887 by Milanesi, and have been repeated lately by Reymond. Up to now they lack sufficient justification. *"Stilkritik"* is in this case certainly made very difficult by the realistic painting with thick oil-colour over the old layer of tempera; but the artistic value and character of the head are Donatello's. Who but he could have created such a masterpiece in Florence in the 15th century? The bold treatment of form is related to that of the Zuccone and Jeremiah heads, but refined with due consideration of scale and purpose. Donatello's physiognomic art gains here almost dramatic power. The head is sharply turned sideways; the eyebrows are raised higher even, than in the St. George, and heighten the energy of the keen glance. Unconsciously one cannot but add in thought a companion to this head. And yet it is well within the limits of monumental conception. To appreciate this fully, one has only to compare this portrait bust with one by, say Houdon.

Fig. 39. St. John the Baptist.
Berlin. Royal Museum. (To page 46.)

As regards the method of work, Donatello's own heads afford sufficient analogies. Whoever is not satisfied with the so-called Poggio head, may be referred to the head of the bronze St. Francis at the Santo in Padua. It is certainly a far later work, but if one sacrifices the name "Uzzano", nothing stands in the way of placing tne Bargello bust as well at a much later date. One may feel inclined to consider the splendidly effective, rectangular opening for the neck in the red drapery as a later addition,

but this cannot be technically proved. At least, a similar line occurs on the bronze bust of a youth in the Bargello, that has been erroneously christened "Gattamelata" (Fig. 38).

A recent acquisition of the Berlin Museum has at least the material and the later addition of colour in common with the supposed Uzzano (Fig. 39). It is a *bust* of a *Giovannino,* a boy's head of singular charm, a pendant as regards physiognomy to the heads of St. John of the Casa Martelli and the Bargello. Doubts have been expressed lately about this work as well: the oval of the face, the exaggerated slenderness of the nose, and the tufts of hair divided into separate locks, do not strike one at first sight as either Donatellesque, or even quattrocentesque. But here, too, this is caused chiefly by the new paint, which gives the head a curiously modern appearance of paleness. The treatment of form is, on the other hand, unmistakably related to an authentic work by Donatello, which directly belongs to this group: his *terracotta bust* of the youthful *S. Lorenzo* in the sacristy of the Florentine church which bears the same name (Fig. 40). In conception it is a pendant to the head of the St. Louis, and may indeed date back to an earlier period, than the other numerous decorative works by means of which Donatello, during the thirties, turned this edifice into a veritable museum of his art.

A bust of S. Lussorio in copper gilt and worked as a reliquary, which is now at S. Stefano in Pisa, has surly features similar to those of the prophets on the Campanile. — In the same connection as regards style, mention must finally be made here of the *terracotta bust* of a *female saint* at the *South Kensington Museum* (Fig. 41), since it shares with the Uzzano the hard, dry rendering of form. It cannot be denied, that these three busts — the "Uzzano", the Giovannino and the London Saint — are related through the very peculiarities which are now suspected. But that alone does not constitute a proof against their authenticity, and at any rate these problems are not yet ripe for definite judgement in the pages of this monograph. —

Even without the evidence of these busts, the Campanile statues teach that, until the middle of the thirties, Donatello exhausted the *statuesque* and *physiognomic* possibilities of the *character-figure,* like no other master of the *quattrocento;* and this supplied him with the means for his subsequent art which was frequently to continue creating single figures merely, though it did not introduce any essentially new motives in attitude or in expression. Even a figure of such beautiful form as the bronze David in the Bargello (Fig. 83), is only a particularly fine flower of the same plant, on which the David and the St. George had previously grown; and after the Bargello Baptist and the Zuccone even his Siena St. John and the Magdalen in the Florence Baptistery are not very surprising (Figs. 118 and 120).

The ardent force of his fancy in its striving for progress enters a new sphere. It is no longer satisfied with seizing the "facts of existence", but wants to represent "incidents". The "statues" become "groups". This

connection is most powerfully proclaimed by the pairs of prophets, which he modelled about 1440 for the bronze gates of the sacristy of S. Lorenzo (Figs. 89—95). They are descendants of the statues of Or San Michele, the Duomo, and the Campanile, but they now no longer address only the beholder, but each other as well: statuesque art enters the service of *narrative art.*

The form best suited for it, the relief, makes the sculptor independent of the static difficulties of the round figure. Donatello, too, benefited to a great extent by this advantage.

Survey these statuesque character-figures once more in their totality! Imagine them changed to the same scale and placed side by side — say

Fig. 40. S. Lorenzo. Florence. Sacristy of S. Lorenzo.
(To pages 41, 46 and 101.)

at the flanks of a church door! The whole of art could not offer another triumphal porch of this nature. In face of the middle-ages it opens a new world. As by a magic spell a series of human images have here been conjured up, that are in their universal truth to life akin to those of antique sculpture. And in the first series of figures, which culminate in the St. George, this kinship extends to the similarity of the very heads. But the "St. George" is faced by the "Zuccone", the slightly typical by the thoroughly personal. In the St. George both were harmoniously blended; in the Zuccone the centre of gravity is shifted, and Donatello sees nature without any medium and copies it with that almost fatalistic determination which Hegel expresses in the axiom: "Everything that is real, is reasonable." And yet the "Zuccone" is as much "cast in one form", as the

St. George. The monumental training which Donatello received in his first statues, perhaps under a slight influence of the antique, is not now denied either; but it enters the service of another aim, which, however, has already left the antique behind. This aim is altogether not connected with the antique, but with the middle-ages; it is not Italian, but Northern. If proof were needed, the reliefs of the prophets on the choir of St. George of Bamberg Cathedral and the male figures by Claus Sluters and the Van Eycks would suffice. And centuries after Donatello it was once more attained under entirely different conditions. Independant of country and period, Donatello's chiselled "Saints" on the Florence Campanile enter into an alliance with the painted Saints and street philosophers of a Rembrandt and of a Velasquez whose "Æsopus" and "Mœnippus" are, indeed, the nearest blood-relations of the "Jeremiah" and "Zuccone".—

Fig. 41. Terracotta-bust. London. South Kensington Museum.
(To page 46.)

But even the greatest of all remains, after all, in his work within the limits set to him by the joint knowledge of his time. The realism of Donatello's Campanile statues is unsurpassed in the history of art, but it is perhaps attained at the expense of the plastic problem in the more restricted sense of the word. That its upward developement ends with the St. George, can be most directly perceived, if all these statues are placed together in their proper order. The uniformity of the motives of movement is surprising. In each case the arms are joined close to the body, the one generally hanging straight down, the other-one bent. Between the legs folds of drapery are spread. Donatello as yet adheres too obviously to purely static considerations of massiveness. That the human body offers even under these conditions a whole world of possibilities of movement, was only to be discovered by the greatest sculptor of the late renaissance — by Michelangelo.

* * *

II.

FIRST STAGES OF NARRATIVE ART. MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE. RELIEF-PICTURES.

Donatello had rapidly passed from the crowd of unknown young stone-cutters and assistants into the ranks of the most highly esteemed masters. His name must have been in everybody's mouth after the completion of his St. Mark and St. George, and, in view of his popular fame, it is of little importance, that his name appears in 1418, six years after his admission into the guild of St. Luke, among the "magistri" of the Opera del Duomo. This official connection is, nevertheless, significant for the first two decades of his activity, for the bulk of his work remains within the outer and local sphere defined by this post.

This is changed in the early twenties. New tasks are put to him by new patrons and gradually give a wider scope to his art work.

SIENA.

The first impetus to this change which was to be so important in its consequences, was given by an order which in itself was neither important, nor very promising. A chief instance for the division of labour, which was customary in those days and often necessitated by the unreliability of the artists themselves, is the christening font of S. Giovanni in Siena (Fig. 42). Its hexangular basin was commenced in 1416 by three of Quercia's assistants. Of its pictorial bronze decoration, which still radiates golden flashes from its stone setting, "at least" two reliefs were entrusted to Quercia himself in 1417, another pair to the brothers Turini, and the last pair soon after to Ghiberti.

But the two older great masters fulfilled their obligations only partially — Quercia only half. In 1419 he had only just made the clay model of the scene of the "Annunciation of Zachariah"; the casting was not done until eleven years after. The second relief, "Salome's dance" he put into other hands altogether. In his stead it was furnished in August 1425 by Donatello who had already two years previously received a payment for Quercia. In addition Donatello modelled during the following years two of the statuettes, by which the reliefs are separated, and three of the *putti* crowning the central-piece of the fountain which was only finished in 1430 by Quercia's pupil Minello. All these pieces are therefore only portions of a complete scheme devised by somebody else, and are worked on a minute scale! The only work independently undertaken by Donatello for Siena, the tomb-stone of Bishop *Giovanni Pecci* (died 1426) in the Duomo, was also a comparatively unimportant commission.

And yet these Sienese works fill a special page in the story of Donatello's developement. For the first time they demanded subtle wax models for little bronze figures from the master of large marble statues, who was accustomed to wield the hammer powerfully, and in the Salome relief he first proves the whole greatness of his narrative art. It is preceded by only a single relief, the *panel* under the St. George (Fig. 1), which, in decorative significance and subject matter, was of entirely different character: a predella for a principal picture, a prelude to a triumphal song! It does

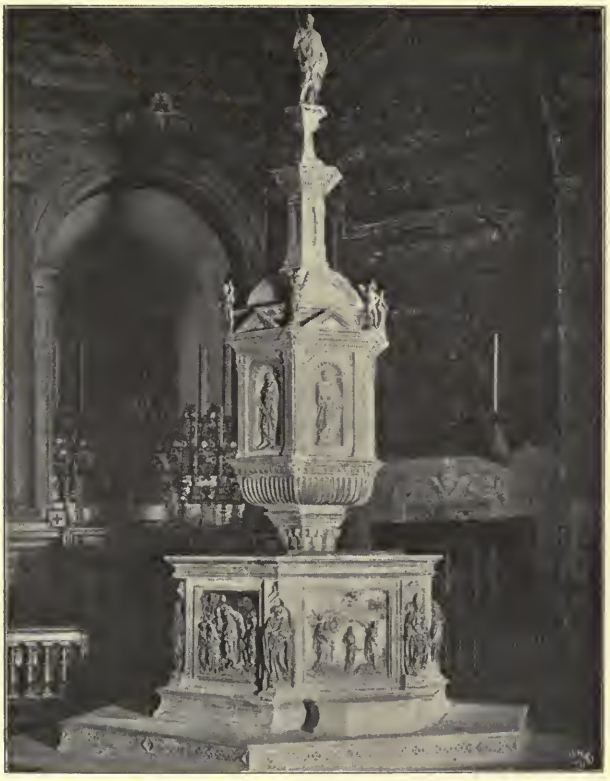

Fig. 42. CHRISTENING-FONT. Siena. S. Giovanni. (To page 49.)

not show, how St. George kills the dragon, but only how he fights him — the conqueror *after* the fight would have been a variation of the statue above. But at the same time the theme he chose presented the greatest dramatic possibilities, and already on this first occasion Donatello showed the clever narrator's art of stopping short at the moment of greatest tension. The hero gallops towards the dragon; the maiden whom he wishes to set free, stands by tremblingly. Most directly participating in the action, she also embodies the feelings of the spectator, like the chorus in the ancient drama. This advantage was not made use of by Raphael in his St. George picture at St. Petersburg, which is clearly influenced by Donatello's work.

This earliest of the master's reliefs is important, however, not only through its narrative art, but at least as much through its *art of spacing,*

Fig. 43. Salome relief. Christening-font. Siena. S. Giovanni. (To page 52.)

This, too, was new in Donatello's work, for until the time of the St. George relief, he had only been employed on single figures for a pre-arranged setting and background. He had been at most instructor of the actors.

With this relief he became for the first time stage-manager as well. To be sure, this stage is simple enough as yet: a landscape background, more suggested by side-wings than actually executed — a cave to the left, arcades to the right, and small trees on the horizon. But the fine perspective foreshortening in the flat *"stiacciato"* gives to this first marble relief-picture the effect of atmosphere and depth. And at the same time this setting intensifies the romantic sentiment of the whole scene. In this respect it is altogether unique among Donatello's works. His power of shaping figures was too resistless, and even his descriptive art availed itself henceforth almost exclusively of the human figure, making use of the scenery only for dividing the space.

The earliest example is the *Salome relief* in *Siena* (Fig. 43). Here Donatello is for the first time wholly dramatist.

Fig. 44. Statuette of "Spes" (Hope). Siena. Christening-font. Cf. Fig. 42. (To page 55.)

Whilst Salome is dancing, an armed man presents to Herod the head of the Baptist — a new course, as it were, of the banquet. The effect is like a flash of lightning Herod staggers back and raises both hands, as though warding off a ghost. One of his boon companions in the background screens his face with his right hand and wants to escape from the cruel scene, but Herodias (?) turns towards her husband. This contrary movement decides the general effect: one feels, how the carousers disperse panic-striken. But the head of St. John itself immediately occupies the spiritual centre. The eyes of all who figure on the relief are directed towards it. Salome stops short in her dance, spellbound against her will; the same applies to the two figures behind her. Then follows on the right, only have visible, a figure hurrying away, like the two children on the left, who, however, look back upon the head.

Fig. 45. Cappadocian King's Daughter of the St. George Relief. Cf. Fig. 1. (To pages 55 and 72.)

Never before had this scene been similarly represented; never has the suddenness of a gruesome event, impelling to flight and yet laming the will, been more drastically rendered. Such dramatic concentration of a subject is altogether exceedingly rare in the talkative quattrocento, since the days of Ghiotto who, by the way, fell strikingly flat in dealing with this very theme at S. Croce in Florence. Among the exceptions is Quercia's Zachariah relief which is in close proximity to the Salome. This inner relationship might already argue in favour of the theory, that Donatello made use of a first sketch by the great Sienese. This may, indeed, be true; in any case the neighbourhood of Quercia must have been momentous for Donatello, who had not up to that time met his compeer in Florence. The principal point in which they met was the power of artistic expression, that force which courses like a flame, not only through the head and extremities, but through the whole human body. It was active already in the princess of the St. George relief. If, on the other hand, a few faces on the Salome relief show the thickening of the root of the nose, which had been introduced by Quercia, this is the less important, as it is already perceptible in the St. George of Or San Michele. — But even supposing that Donatello *had* worked on a sketch by Quercia — the composition, as we see it now, bears the imprint of his personality. Quercia offers no analogy for the way in which Donatello has seized and accentuated the very wildness of the subject. Nay, Donatello is here again a long way ahead of his time. From this "narrative" it is only a short step to Raphael's "Death of Ananias". — And also as regards mere form, the relief-treatment, in its characteristic contrast to the stone picture of the fight with the dragon at Or San Michele, proves Donatello's astounding maturity. The relief recedes from almost complete roundness

to the flatness of a medallion. It seems, as though Donatello had intimate knowledge of the late classic relief style which prevails in the reliefs of the arches of Titus and Constantine in Rome. Yet the Salome relief still retains some archaic features. The greater part of the secondary figures in the background is covered by the breast-walls of the arcade-architecture which fills the entire upper half of the panel. Between these arcades, which extend in a parallel line to the frame, is a narrow passage, in which appears the first row of figures: two men from the *entourage* of Herodes, and the

Fig. 46. Statuette of "Fides" (Faith). Siena. Christening-font. Cf. Fig. 42.
(To page 56.)

violin-player. Only their heads and shoulders are visible. Less still can be seen of the figures that advance towards each other outside, beyond the arcades: a man-servant carrying the charger with the severed head, and three women who look at him with almost inexpressive features. Not that the archaism is to be found in the repetition of the man carrying the charger. The practise of representing successive events as happening simultaneously within the frame of one picture, prevailed in Italian art, as is generally known, until the very days of the late renaissance. But these two rows of figures, which are rigorously separated from the main action,

are at the same time pressed into an architectural framework which shows too clearly the intention of obtaining depth of space and of dividing the space into planes. The architecture of the background is nothing here but a methodical, artificial construction. In relief art this is a similar archaism, as the uniform compactness in statuesque art.

Is it possible, that Donatello should have taken this road quite independently — he, who used to carry realism to its very extreme as the rendering of an accidental, instantaneous scene? — Donatello was *Brunelleschi's* fellow-student and knew first hand the great and small means of perspective illusion which was then searched for, like a mistery, by all artists. The Salome relief is the earliest, and therefore the most incomplete, instance of the reaction of this union upon his art: the theoretical and practical sides of the mutual problems are here as yet in immediate proximity. It is true, that in his later relief pictures he still reserves a striking amount of space for the architecture which he continues to shape with the same concern for perspective depth; but he creates a different and freer relation between figures and scene, if only by avoiding the composition in rows of figures in the background, which he resorted to in the Salome relief. In the latter the meter is rigorously scanned, but later his rhythm flows with more ease and fulness.

Fig. 47. Statuette of an Angel. Siena. Christening-font. Cf. Fig. 48. (To pages 56 and 57.)

At the corners of the Siena font, between its relief panels, are gilt statuettes of the christian virtues. Two of these — "Hope" and "Faith" — are by Donatello. The most important one is the *"Spes"* (Fig. 44), if only for being one of the few female figures dating back to the time, when Donatello was essentially a sculptor of male figures! In the St. George relief he had represented woman in her weakness and need of assistance; in the Feast of Herod she appears as a firebrand, who for the moment is horrified at her own misdeed. The Cappadocian King's daughter (Fig. 45) with her full forms has certainly more charm, Salome's figure being magre and sinewy. The motifs of movement are strikingly complicated in both. The princess is standing, as though her knees were trembling, undecided as to whether

she is to remain or to escape. Salome, too, pulls up in the midst of some rapid movement. In neither case is the problem completely solved. As regards homogeneity of the physical and psychical motifs the statuette of "Spes" has the advantage. But it also has an indescribable charm! The figure seems to tremble with excitement; it is the personification of self-abandonment. It is strange, that the portrayer of mighty power of action and of apathic indifference could find such subtle notes for the deepest psychical life, tones as delicate as Filippino Lippi's. This "Spes" is the genuine, "feminine" pendant to the St. George, and at the same time a sister of the Bargello Baptist whom she resembles formally as well through the suggestion of an almost somnambulist walk. The *"Fides"* (Fig. 46), on the other hand, stands firm and calm. With a chalice in her raised left hand, her right stretched forward and her eyes lowered, she reminds one of a priest, distributing the host. In spite of the small scale, the figure is full of inner grandeur. And therefore the ample garments which flow around her body do not disturb the effect. The features of the head which is tied in a wide brow-band are of classic severity and serious, like those of a Sibyl. The *angels* on the top of the little Tabernacle of the font, which are likewise gilt, are no longer complete. Two of them are missing. The one turned up recently in London, was recognized by Bode, and acquired for the Berlin Museum. Another, whose attitude is only a slight variation for one of the figures which have remained on the font, is in the Museo Nazionale in Florence (Fig. 47). This statuettes of children on the Siena font deal already with the task of the later *putti*. They change the epic, dramatic, and lyrical mood of the remaining decoration into a more ornamental charm. Their companions can already be found on the Salome relief, where they make a hasty escape from the gruesome scene. But on the font they are for the first time

Fig. 48. Tomb-stone of Bishop Pecci. Siena. Duomo.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 57.)

entirely naked, winged children who have doubtlessly originated under antique influence. As Quercia favoured the *"putto"* in such naked fashion, it is most probable, that he had already provided for this decoration of the tabernacle in his principal sketch for the font. But he only supplied the idea. The setting is Donatello's own, and this master immediately leaves the Sienese behind, for all of Quercia's *putti* are of heavier make and movement. Donatello allows them to make music and balance themselves vivaciously. They stand on shells, raise their little arms and give a slight turn to their hips (Fig. 47).

Siena, the town which first occupied Donatello as dramatic *raconteur* and as portrayer of women and children, also gave him the opportunity for one of his earliest *tomb-figures*. The tomb-stone of Bishop Giovanni Pecci (died 1426) in the aisle of the Duomo, to the North of the high altar (Fig. 48), shows the defunct in traditional manner. The staffs at the side of the frame are even directly reminiscent of a litter. Below, two *putti* unfold the scroll with the inscription. What surprises again in this figure resting in eternal sleep, and particularly in its gently inclined head, is the delicacy of the conception with which the fineness of the *stiacciato* relief is in complete harmony. Later in his life Donatello has never fulfilled the same task again with so much delicacy.

CONNECTION WITH MICHELOZZO. TOMB MONUMENTS. SEPARATE RELIEFS.

Donatello's connection with Siena extended over a fairly long period. The Pecci tombstone was delivered by him in 1427, and a year later followed the gilded putti and a bronze door which was, strangely enough, rejected by the *Opera del Duomo*. The settlement for these works did not take place before August 1434.

Thus the work for the neighbouring art-centre overlaps the new phase of his activity in Florence, which is guided by his connection with another Florentine master — Michelozzo Michelozzi. Perhaps this alliance has its very origin in Siena, where Michelozzo worked for Ghiberti on one of the bronze reliefs of the font, undertaken by this master, just as he had helped Ghiberti in Florence already with the casting of the Baptistery door. He must have been known to Donatello in Florence already as a clever technical worker, since it was probably he, who had cast the St. Louis. The Sienese orders may have made it particularly desirable for Donatello, to secure the assistance of this efficient worker, which he finally obtained by entering into a partnership with equal rights and duties. This kind of partnership exists in modern art only in architectural work, and even there the work is usually divided according to natural gifts and training, so that one partner has to treat the technical, and the other the artistic side of the task, or that the one has to exert his inventive faculty, whilst the other devotes

his attention to the details. But frequently this principle of separating the two spheres does not exist at all, and both artists are jointly responsible, not only to the employer, but also to the history of art. The question, what shape these relations took between Donatello and Michelozzo, can, of course, to-day only be answered by reasons of probability. Michelozzo was Donatello's junior by ten years — (Vasari calls him his "creato") — and had distinguished himself first of all by his technique in casting bronze. But he gained his lasting importance as architect and designer of ornament, as scout of the early renaissance style. As such Michelozzo takes a place immediately by the side of Brunelleschi. It is true, that his independent architectural work only commences after his separation from Donatello, but this side of his talent was bound to assert itself at an earlier date already, and particularly in the *tomb monuments* which he had undertaken together with Donatello, and which confronted Donatello himself again with new problems. Before then Donatello was only a portrayer of humanity. For his Campanile statues as well, as for the majority of the statues for Or San Michele, the *niches* were provided. The one for the St. Mark was executed in 1411 by two otherwise unknown stone-cutters and is pure Gothic in style. The niche for the St. George is more simple, because its ornamental forms are devised on a larger scale, but this, too, is conceived in the Gothic manner, right up to the gablet-like ornamental pediments and the polygonal cupola with its crab decoration. Renaissance forms are first shown by the *Tabernacle of St. Louis,* which is now holding Verrocchio's group (Figs. 49—53). In this is not the slightest Gothic suggestion. Slender pillars enclose a shell-niche. The Jonic column with twisted shafts, the moulding with crossettes, the splendidly designed shell, and above it the beautifully detailed entablature and the pediment with a medaillon of the Holy Trinity — all

Fig. 49. Tabernacle of St. Louis of Toulouse. Florence. Or San Michele. (To page 58.)

this is so entirely in the spirit of the early renaissance, that one feels inclined to question the early date — 1423—1425. But this date is proved and points to the period, when Donatello's alliance with Michelozzo commenced. The language of classic form must have been known to him through Brunelleschi, and particularly in Rome, and it is not difficult to trace from Florentine monuments of about the same period the different motifs combined on this niche. But it was not before his alliance with Michelozzo, that Donatello found opportunity for the harmonious use of these renaissance forms, for only at that time was he required to produce works, in which the architectural frame and the decorative shaping of the figural parts had to be thoroughly well balanced.

This had ever been the case with tomb monuments, where a simple tomb-stone had not been considered sufficient. A restriction of this kind was out of the question in the first commission of a sepulchral nature, which was entrusted to Donatello and Michelozzo: the man, to whose memory

Fig. 50. Relief from the Tabernacle of St. Louis. Cf. Fig. 49. (To page 58.)

the monument was to be erected, was a Pope — although a deposed Pope — and he who ordered it, was a Medici. *Baldassare Coscia,* known as Pope by the name of *John XXIII.,* ended his eventful life in 1419 in Florence, where it was his desire to be buried. Among his executors was, besides Niccolò da Uzzano and Vierio de' Guadagni, Giovanni de' Medici. The fulfilment of his last wish was delayed for nearly a decade. The monument was only commenced about 1425, and completed in the Florence Baptistery at the close of the twenties (Figs. 54 and 55). The twin-creation of this tomb monument — that of Cardinal Raynaldo *Brancacci,* a Florentine, in *S. Angelo a Nilo in Naples* (Fig. 56), was executed in 1427, the year of his death, in Pisa, whence the separate parts of the work were transported by sea to their final destination. The records also mention the name of one of the most important marble-workers, whose services were required by Donatello and Michelozzo in their joint workshop: *Pagno di Lapo Portigiani.*

The third monument that has to be mentioned in this context, that of Bartolommeo Aragazzi, secretary to Martin V. and known as poet and

humanist, in the Duomo of Montepulciano, fragments of which are only preserved, must be passed over here, since the contract for it was only concluded on Sept. 30. 1437 — eight years after Aragazzi's death — with Michelozzo alone, who executed it by himself in about six months. In this case the relations with Donatello are confined to his lingering influence.

Fig. 51. Corner-mask from thn Tabernacle of St. Louis. Cf. Fig. 49. (To pages 58 and 74.)

Not so with the other two monuments in Florence and Naples. They are variations of the same type, very cleverly grafted in one case on the Florentine, and in the other on the Neapolitan traditions. In both cases we have to deal with tombs on the largest scale, which are built up along, and into the wall and rise high up to the curvature of the ceiling. In the Florence Baptistery the pair of columns of one of the side niches offered the most suitable framing to the sides of the monument, which terminates

above in a marble canopy which is seemingly fixed to the columns, and hangs down from the moulding, spreading across the full width of the space between the columns. The monument proper which is built as a protruding part of the wall, is decorated with niches and figures. Above it, supported by consoles, is the sarcophagus, but instead of resting immediately on its lid, the recumbent figure is lying on a bier supported by

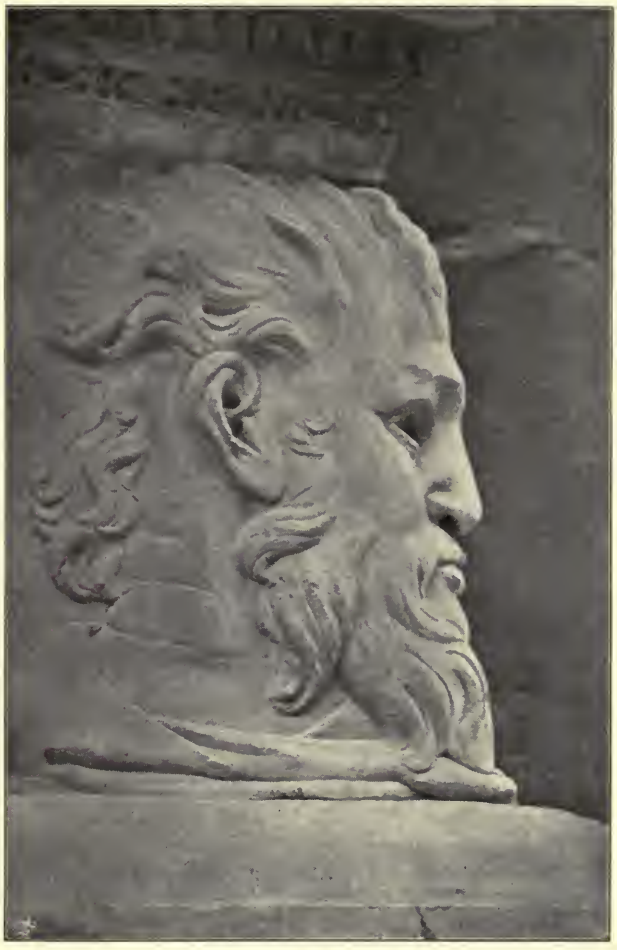

Fig. 52. Corner-mask from the Tabernacle of St. Louis. Cf. Fig. 49. (To pages 58 and 74.)

props which are partly shaped as lions. Through this device the portrait-statue is made the principal feature. On the Brancacci monument in Naples it rests, on the other hand, on the sarcophagus itself. The arrangement of the two angels by the head and feet of the figure, who are holding the curtain, and of the three caryatids carrying the sarcophagus, corresponds more with the mediæval, local tradition of the Anjou monuments. The three caryatids stand on the bare ground, without special socles. Altogether

Fig. 53. Medallion with the Holy Trinity from the Tabernacle of St. Louis. Cf. Fig. 49.
(To page 58.)

the figural parts of the Brancacci tomb are more loosely distributed and made to produce their effect more independently. The same applies to the architectural features: at the side two columns with entablatures, above them a round arch, and as termination a decorative pediment. Only the latter still follows in its outlines the Gothic tradition, in accordance with the pictorial taste so long prevailing in Naples, which finds its counterpart only in the Venice of that period. All the rest is, as in Florence, in the early renaissance style, and that of the type which is above all connected with Brunelleschi's name.

If Donatello and Michelozzo undertook conjointly the orders for both monuments, their collaboration cannot to a certain extent be controlled, for it took the shape of mutual exchange, so that the one would, perhaps, with a few strokes of the pen give a new shape to the sketchy suggestion of the other. Architectural and figural design could not in this case be separated. But Donatello's influence is certainly stronger in the Florentine papal tomb, than in the Brancacci memorial. In its plastic compactness already it approaches nearer to his art. In the architectural part of the Naples monument only a few details, like the double pilasters above the columns, point to his influence. Two of them show, in the place of the capital, the two-handled vases which the master was so devoted to in his later work. The pilaster-motif itself is used later by Brunelleschi on the upper story of the Pazzi Chapel, after he had, perhaps, planned it already for the hall of the Innocenti. The closest analogies to numerous details on the Brancacci tomb are, on the other hand, to be found on Michelozzo's tabernacle in S. Annunziata in Florence, where the columns with "pipes" on the lower part of the stem, and the elongated, egg-shaped grooves in the principal cornice make their re-appearance. The execution of the architectural and ornamental parts of both monuments by the stone-cutters of their joint workshop was probably in the first place superintended by Michelozzo who, to judge from all we know about him, took greater interest in it, than Donatello. Of more importance for the problem of the division of labour is the figural part. At the time of Vasari, the bronze figure of the deceased and the marble figures of "Spes" and "Caritas" were considered

to be Donatello's own handiwork on the Coscia tomb. On the Naples monument the three caryatids and the relief of the sarcophagus are praised in a way which forces one to believe, that Vasari considered at least these four pieces to be Donatello's work. In his Life of Michelozzo the Aretine states, that the greater part of the papal tomb, and particularly the Fides, had been executed by Michelozzo; but he does not mention the Naples monument, although Michelozzo's share in it is established by his own official account of 1427.

If the question is put, which figural parts of the monument agree entirely with the character of Donatello's art and style, the result is meagre in both cases. On the Florentine papal tomb there is above all the bronze recumbent figure which, entirely gilt, shines on the black hearse-cloth (Fig. 55). Its position already shows, that Donatello was here paramount. In spite of its high position, the whole figure can be seen, and the head, which is turned to the spectator, has a splendid effect: it is the image of a sleeper, modelled with great breadth, and kindred in style to the St. Louis. The draping of the cloak is, however, simple and almost classical. The same degree of sureness in the position and proportions of the tomb-figure is only shown by the charming pair of *putti* holding the scroll on the front of the sarcophagus; but it falls short in the three "virtues", and most of all in the figure of "Fides", which, in its whole attitude and in the disproportion between the short body and the head rising from very sloping shoulders, succombs to the very faults which Donatello's statuesque art had left behind. Still less in harmony with this art are the "Caritas" and the "Spes" figures which are archaically covered with heavy folds of drapery. Their type of face with its delicate cheeks reappears above in the Madonna of the lunette.

Fig. 54. Tomb Monument of Pope John XXIII. Florence. Baptistery.
(To page 59.)

The execution remains conventional. — And also on the Naples monument, the three life-size bearers of the sarcophagus do not present entirely harmonious creations. Their attitude is as yet in Gothic fetters, and their forms appear too flat. Most important of the three is the figure on the right, with her serious Sybil face. Her youthful companions originate from the same hand as the two angels above, who fix their expressive gaze, veiled as it were by tears, upon the dead whose head is almost as well modelled, as that of Pope John XXIII. in Florence. But the unmistakable impress of Donatello's personal art is borne by the most minute part of the whole monument: by the relief of *"The Ascension of the Virgin"*, which,

Fig. 55. Recumbent figure of Pope John XXIII. Cf. Fig. 54. (To pages 59 and 63.)

together with its two pilasters, is let into the front of the sarcophagus between two coloured coats of arms. It is altogether the only portion of the two tomb monuments that is of unimpeachable value for studying the character of Donatello's art: a new, grand proof of his narrative art and of his relief art. As with the Siena relief, one can safely maintain, that nobody, before or after Donatello, has treated the theme in this manner. And again his chief medium is contrast — contrast this time *only* between "rest and movement". In the centre, floating in the air, is the Virgin enthroned, praying, perfectly still, surrounded by little cloudlets. But this singular *mandorla* is supporded by a crowd of angels, circling around it in almost wild excitement, and suggestive of antique wind-gods.

Fig. 56. Tomb Monument of Raynaldo Brancacci. Naples. S. Angelo a Nilo.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 59.)

Their powerful wings are rushing, their bodies impelled through the air, their garments and hair fluttering. Between them, in the clouds, are more angels in lowest relief. Perhaps in no other work has the anthropomorphous trait in Donatello's character been given more striking expression, than in this. It is a personification of rushing storm, again entirely in the sense of the antique. But the means of expression are totally different. For

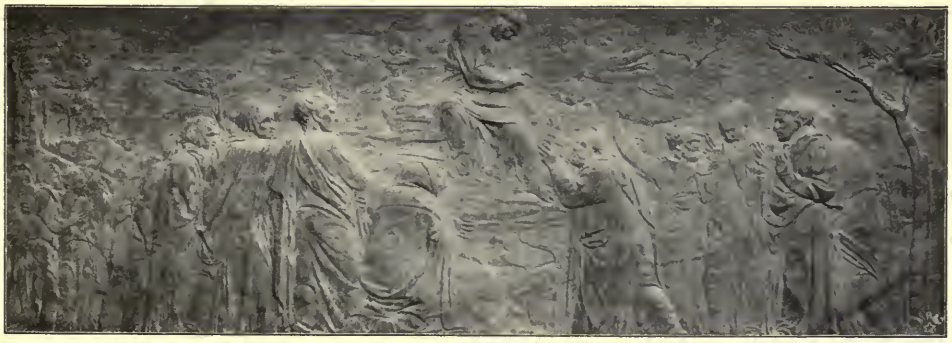

Fig. 57. Christ giving the Keys to St. Peter. London. South Kensington Museum. (To page 67.)

getting depth of space in the flattest relief Donatello resorts to similar devices, as contemporary painting. The cloud at Mary's feet is borne by an angel, who projects from the clouds, like a swimmer, with spread arms, in full front view and boldly foreshortened. But in addition there is, between the lines which are frequently only just scratched into the panel, a slight swelling and receding of the planes (originally heightened by gilding), distributed not unlike the gradations of colour in an impressionist painting. By this means the artist succeeds in introducing into the illusion produced by him, the atmosphere which permeates the space between the plastic forms — a problem which Ghiberti had never considered, and therefore certainly never solved! Donatello was led to it by the marble. He proceeds differently, when working in clay. The perspective of the arcades in the Salome relief is not to be compared with it.

On the other hand the principle of forms of the Naples relief is so immediately shared by some of his "marble pictures", that these should be mentioned here even apart from analogies of a different nature. They

Fig. 58. Madonna and Angels. Berlin. Property of Dr. Werner Weisbach.
(To pages 71 and 141.)

Fig. 59. Marble Relief from the Casa Pazzi in Florence. Berlin. Royal Museum.
(To pages 72 and 138.)

are headed by the marble relief of *"Christ handing the key to St. Peter"* (Fig. 57), which came to the South Kensington Museum from the Campana collection. As far back as 1591, Francesco Bocchi, the author of the bombastic panegyric on Donatello's St. George, praises this *"quadro di marmo"*, which then belonged to the Salviati family in Florence. On the first glance it will be recognized as the formal pendant to the Naples relief. This was, of course, only possible through Donatello departing from the traditional composition and raising the figure of Christ into the clouds. The result was a principal group which reminds most of Nanni di Banco's pediment over the *porta della mandorla* of the Duomo in Florence, where the floating Mary hands down her girdle to St. Thomas. But in Nanni's work it was a question of filling a mural triangle with almost round figures, whilst Donatello wished to produce another relief picture: an imposing row of figures in a landscape, under trees, with a view over the distant hills; and above it the clouds which serve the Saviour as throne and surround Him at the same time like the waves of the sea, enlivened by flying *putti*. And all this on a band-like, narrow panel! Imagine the solution of such a task by Ghiberti! He would have shaped the front figures almost in the round, and then gradually flattened the rows to the right and left in their dimension of depth until he had reached the "stiacciato". He would have raised the hills and trees in high relief, and shown the floating Saviour in

Fig. 60. Tabernacle of the Annunciation. Florence. S. Croce.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 72.)

bolder foreshortening; and through this he would have been obliged to separate St. Peter from the other disciples, perhaps to reduce by means of a hill the space between him and the Saviour, just as Moses is brought nearer Jehovah in the relief of "Moses receiving the Laws". Thus the perspective connection of the scene would have suffered. Donatello saw it from the very first as a complete whole and from so considerable a distance,

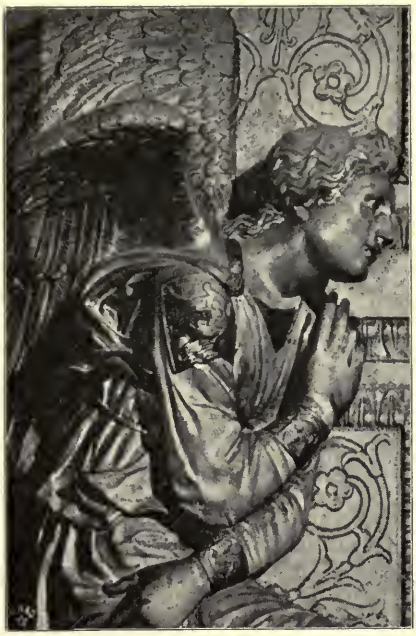

Fig. 61. The Angel Gabriel from the Tabernacle of the Annunciation. Florence. S. Croce. Cf. Fig. 60. (To pages 72 and 73.)

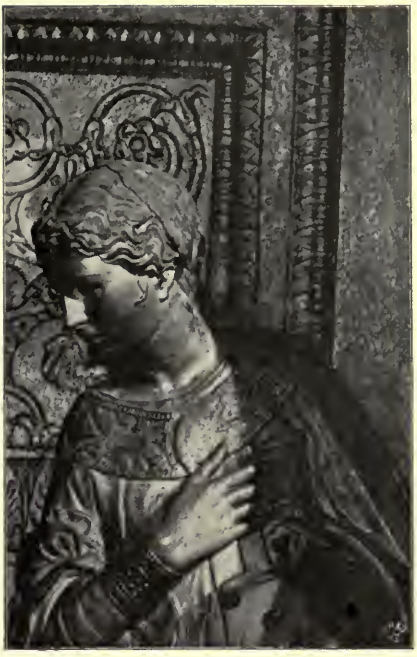

Fig. 62. The Virgin Mary from the Tabernacle of the Annunciation. Florence S. Croce. Cf. Fig. 60. (To pages 72 and 73.)

Fig. 63. Masks from the Tabernacle of the Annunciation. Florence. S. Croce. Cf. Fig. 60. (To pages 72 and 74.)

Fig. 64. Masks from the Tabernacle of the Annunciation. Florence. S. Croce. Cf. Fig. 60. (To pages 72 and 74.)

that the figures in the very foreground appear as a "distant vision". For the extension of depth there was consequently nothing left to him again — apart from linear perspective — but the most delicate variations in the movements of the planes. The swelling and receding in this relief only move between a few millimetres, and the outlines are logically only just suggested — breathed, as it were, on to the panel. The marble loses its hardness. Indeed, one may here already be permitted to speak of an impressionist treatment of the relief. In painting Piero della Francesca has made similar experiments. The composition is of inimitable assistance to this conception of space. The disciples stand to the right and left, as in a semi-circle, leaving almost free the centre, from which St. Peter turns towards the background, like the figure opposite to him — a woman almost seen in full back view. Whatever glimpse of landscape one can get between these figures, is foreshortened to such a degree, that it appears as a far distant scene, across which Christ is floating forward, like an evening cloud. To this must be added the power and grandeur of the figures and the decision of their movements. Some of the motifs of the Siena reliefs are still echoed. The language of gesture is identical. To the left two angels in close embrace watch the principal scene, like the two youths behind the Salome in Siena. — The kinship with the Naples relief has been explained by Paul Schubring's subtle hypothesis. The Virgin in Naples is an aged woman. Tremblingly, with folded hands, she floats heavenwards — the picture of a poor soul, delivered by death. Now, we know that Donatello's aged mother Orsa, who had lived with him, died between 1427 and 1433. That back-view of a woman in the centre of the London St. Peter relief resembles this Mary as regards fervour of feeling, and in her course wrap is not unlike what the Florentine women of Donatello's circle must have looked. The Virgin herself is not generally introduced

Fig. 65. Angels from the Tabernacle of the Annunciation in S. Croce. Cf. Fig. 60. (To pages 74 and 78.)

into representations of this scene. Is it not possible, that this figure, too, is connected with the death of his mother, and that the whole relief may, perhaps, have been conceived as decoration for her resting-place? Hitherto it has generally been connected with Donatello's later work for St. Peter's in Rome. But St. Peter also gave the name to the district, in which Donatello's parents had their home: S. Pietro in Gattolino. If the relief had been worked for the Roman church of St. Peter's, it could only represent part of an unknown, larger scheme, perhaps of an altar; but Bocchi already describes it as an independent piece of sculpture. — The relief for the Naples tomb monument, which was executed in Pisa about 1427, may also be dragged into the discussion of one of Donatello's earliest and most charming *Madonna reliefs*. Two oval plaster copies, in the *South Kensington Museum* and in the *Werner Weisbach* collection in *Berlin* (Fig. 58), represent slight variations of a scene that reminds one of Venetian altarpieces, not only in its harmony, but also in its whole composition. The principal figure, Mary, who is gazing upon her Child with motherly tenderness, is the outcome of the same conception of form, as the *Assunta* in Naples, and the angels surrounding her reverentially stand in brotherly relationship to the wind-gods of the same relief. Down below two of them play their violins on the steps of the arcade, similar to those on one of Masaccio's Madonna pictures, as described by Vasari. Above them two others incline in thoroughly childlike devotion towards the Mother of God. If their little profile heads did not bear the same features as the angels on the Naples relief, they could better be linked with the adoring angels of the tabernacle chiselled in Rome at a later period. —

Fig. 66. The Virgin between Cherubs. Berlin. Royal Museum.
(To pages 74 and 139.)

On the London copy these two angels are replaced by two male saints, one of whom is wearing a crown. Their identity is as doubtful as the reason for the change. The original of both reliefs — possibly a work in bronze — has gone astray. The Weisbach copy is certainly more harmonious in general feeling, the lyrical key of which is so rare in Donatello's work, even in his pictorial poems in honour of the Virgin! At an early period already they have an intensely serious sound. He is most solemn in the magnificent *marble relief* from the *Casa Pazzi,* now in the *Berlin Museum* (Fig. 59). This Mary does not know, that the eyes of others are fixed upon her. She presses her slumbering Child towards her, and a slight shiver passes, as it were, over her noble profile which is of almost Greek purity, although it shows the slight widening of the root of the nose, which originates from Quercia. The same expression of inaccessibility to all sensual feeling will be found on the *Madonna relief* which once belonged to the *Orlandini* family and is now the property of the Berlin Museum.

A small, delicate relief, belonging to *Quincy A. Shaw* in *Boston,* the Virgin and Child in clouds, surrounded by angels, is an echo of the Ascension relief of the Brancacci sarcophagus, but seems to belong to the Roman period. Here, too, Mary has an intensely serious gaze and presses the Child towards her, as though she would protect Him with her body against all that is to happen. The cloud composition alone establishes a kinship with Michelangelo's "Madonna of the staircase". —

Donatello had spent some time in Pisa, together with Michelozzo and Pagno di Lapo Portigiani. After that he remained in Florence until 1433. Already on the 14th of July 1428 Michelozzo had concluded in the name of his *"compagno"* an agreement with the *Opera del Duomo* of Prato for a new pulpit on the pilaster of the South-West corner of the cathedral, and the work was to be finished in 1429. As a matter of fact, Donatello did not commence the reliefs for the casement of this pulpit until six years later. What chiefly kept him employed in Florence at the beginning of the thirties, can only be conjectured. Was it the *Tabernacle* of the *Annunciation* (Figs. 60—65), placed by the Cavalcanti in their chapel in S. Croce, which was afterwards destroyed by fire? Vasari places it before all other works by Donatello as regards time. His reason for it was probably the impression of youthful grace, produced by this delicious work. The feeling of the principal scene is first met with in the St. George relief. The Cappadocian King's daughter (Fig. 45) is indeed a companion to this Mary. The attitude is very similar: the gentle twist of the axis, the turn of the head and the curvature of the body. Similar, too, is the materializing of an instantaneous state between lingering and escaping, of a psychical hesitation between hope and despondancy. But the very theme involves certain complications. She has risen at the angel's approach, in order to escape, but first she returns the salutation with the good breeding of a princess. Thus the attitude of the nobly inclined head is changed, and in this very change lies the greatest charm of this figure. This was already recognized by Vasari.

But he also lays stress on the artistic perfection — the drapery which clings so naturally to the forms of the body, and the sureness with which these forms are modelled: they "prove his determination to discover that beauty of ancient art which had been concealed for so many years". — This remark could not be justly applied to the king's daughter of the St. George relief, where the folds efface the clearness of the movement and the slanting leg appears neither sufficiently corporeal, nor able to bear the weight of the body. These are the very faults of an early work, of which the Virgin as well as the angel kneeling before her are entirely free. His manner of very gently raising his expressive head and of seizing with his left hand the trailing garment, shows already the same reflection of noble womanhood, that determines the attitude of the Magdalen of Correggio's picture "Day" in Parma! All this, and the way in which the angel bends his arm in humble salutation and yet at the same time gives the message, could not be represented by a young and inexperienced artist. Gabriel is at once divine messenger and adoring angel, Mary at once the handmaiden of the Lord and the Blessed Virgin.

Fig. 67. Virgin and Child.
Verona. Tabernacle near the Albergo di Londra. (To page 74.)

But is it permissible, on examining this picture inspired by the spirit of most exquisite Christian religious poetry, to turn one's thoughts again to the *antique?* — And why not? Apart from the multi-coloured ornamentation of the tabernacle, the scene has a chaste charm that cannot be better characterized, than by reference to Greek tomb monuments which are immediately suggested by the style of the relief: figures almost in the round, against a relief-like, animated background in an ædicula. Even the forms are not free from classicist suggestions. The softly-rounded oval of the face and the parted hair appear to have been created under the influence of antique female heads — an influence which henceforth frequently returns in Donatello's work (Figs. 61 and 62). Near akin, at least as regards type, is the Mary between four

cherubs on the large, coloured clay-relief of the Berlin Royal Museum (Fig. 66) and the half figure of Mary pressing the Infant towards her (Fig. 67; grouped on a replica in Verona with two adoring angels). The details of the frame are also antique in spirit, but our feeling for style is here as much at variance with them, as in the tabernacle of St. Louis. Again Donatello shows himself different to, and decades ahead of, all others. Where else could one find, about 1430, a frieze slightly curved in a concave line! where an arrangement as picturesque as that of the obliquely (!) placed escutcheons! Where else would the bases of the pilasters be formed as symmetrical volutes and tendrils, the capitals as double masks, and the shafts be provided with scales? And is not this wealth of ornament, which borders on overcharging and leaves no little corner unadorned, a sign rather of pictorial, than of tectonic training? Donatello has been most willing to succomb to the seduction of the easily worked, greenish sandstone for rich ornamentation. Vasari already was struck with the almost baroque character of the decoration of the tabernacle, and describes it as *"alla grottesca"*. But he also mentions and lauds that part of the decorative accessories which forms a direct link with Donatello's early creations — the three groups of *putti,* two of which are placed at the sides of the volutes of the pediment (Fig. 65), whilst the third, which was only rediscovered a few years ago, is resting on the flat ground which terminates the whole ædicula. The little boys are standing and carrying garlands; they are pressed close together and look down from their high position, somewhat timidly. They are individual portraits of children, and only their garments are reminiscent of antique *putti.* Classicism again breaks forth the more clearly in the two pairs of double masks that serve as capitals to the pilasters (Figs. 63 and 64). Their prototypes are found on ancient Roman sarcophagi and altars, such as are still to be seen at the Uffizi, but the heads themselves are new delightful witnesses to Donatello's physiognomic art. Thus may have looked the clay-models which Donatello supplied for that other tabernacle of St. Louis, in the centre of the façade of Or San Michele. The heads of the St. Louis tabernacle vary considerably as regards workmanship. The one to the left (Fig. 51), with a band round the hair, is quite mechanical; the other (Fig. 52), with the hair fluttering as it were in the wind, is excellent in its breadth and vigour. The firmly closed lips conceal surly defiance; and a gloomy glance darts from the empty cavities of the eyes. This broad corner-decoration, the motif of which is also borrowed from antique sarcophagi, lends the decoration of the St. Louis tabernacle an incomparably more distinguished and pure character, than is shown by the tabernacle of S. Croce with its profusion of ornamental detail. Yet the work in S. Croce is more characteristic for Donatello's personal taste. In the same church, in the *Medici Chapel,* is another, very similar *tabernacle frame,* on which the flat arch is repeated twice — on the pediment and, curved in a convex line, on a kind of canopy over the figures. The relief-picture enclosed in this frame is the work of an assistant and

represents a seated Madonna and Child among angels, but its forms are more haggard, and the types of the children point towards a later date (Fig. 68.)

* * *

The tabernacle of S. Croce reflects the classical direction of Donatello's art during the early thirties in an uncertain light only. It makes one believe, that its creator stands before a process of refining his entire

Fig. 68. Marble Tabernacle in the Medici Chapel at S. Croce. Florence.
(To pages 75 and 91.)

feeling for form, and this brings this work nearer the antique. But at the same time the sensuous life is intensified. Never before did Donatello find such soulful notes. This is a religious trait. This twofold character, so attractive in the work of art itself, would not here be very credible in the history of Donatello's developement, were it not supported by an analogy which is convincing in many respects. What can be distinguished in the Florentine tabernacle, does not remain an isolated, volatile sound. It resounds, on the contrary, with growing clearness, and that in a place which, in the nature of things, supplies the best resounding-board: in *Rome.*

III.

CLASSICISM.

ROME.

Donatello's second sojourn in the Eternal City (1432) is better attested than his first. Vasari relates, that the bronze-worker Simone di Giovanni Ghini had begged Donatello to criticise, and probably to value, the model of his tomb-stone of Martin V. in the Basilica of the Lateran. This bronze has such Donatellesque traits, especially in the decoration, that Bode has lately inferred it to be from the master's own design. Ghini was Filarete's fellow-worker on the bronze-doors of St. Peter's, a work that may straightways pass for a compendium of "classic" forms. Together with the *"compagno"*, Donatello superintended the festive arrangements for the entry of the emperor Sigismund in Rome on the 21st of May, 1433.

Fig. 69. TABERNACLE. Rome. St. Peter. Cappella della Sagristia dei Beneficiati. After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 77.)

Fig. 70. Tomb-stone of Giovanni Crivelli. Rome. Sa. Maria in Aracoeli. (To page 78.)

The reception of a Prince in those days signified for the artist an antique triumphal procession, and the street-decoration had to consist of triumphal-arches "in antique taste". Thus Donatello had to occupy himself once more with those monumental plastics which commence with the Florentine papal tomb, but this time entirely under the auspices of antiquity and on classic soil. The decorations were transitory and ephemeral, but even to this day his efforts have left an echo in Rome, though only in a solitary little marble-piece that had evidently been hastily executed and has already been touched by the tooth of time. It is already mentioned in Vasari, but was not re-discovered until 1886 by Schmarsow. It is the small tabernacle in the *Cappella della Sagrestia dei Beneficiati* in St. Peter's, and encloses now a small Madonna (Fig. 69), in the place of the little bronze door. The inner frame, with its well designed pediment, is surrounded by somewhat heavy architectural motives. There is no trace yet of the dainty decorations applied to such pieces twenty years later by the Florentine marble-workers. Donatello adheres here again to the human figure; his favourite ornament is the *putto*. *Putti* are crouching below, in the *predella*-like frieze, where they are holding disks; others are resting on the pediment, as on the *ædicula* in S. Croce in Florence; others again, on the high attic, aided by two caryatide-like companions, lift the curtain over the relief of the Entombment. The latter are rejuvinated successors of the two angels on the Coscia monument, in the antique manner. But here the putti directly undertake the functions of angels as well. These lovely boys, inclined before the Holiest of all, with fluttering hair and with their little arms crossed over their chests, "peeping round the corner, inspired partly by devotion, partly by curiosity", are instinct with the same devotion which the Gabriel of the Florence tabernacle proclaims. But this time, with their buxom limbs dressed in a short *chiton*, they are quite in the antique spirit. Their compeers and congeners disport themselves on the second, dated work of this sojourn

in Rome: the tomb-stone of the papal *abbreviatore Giovanni Crivelli* of Milan (died July 28. 1428), which has unfortunately suffered so much from the touch of passing feet, that one can only surmise the original delicacy of the recumbant figure (Fig. 70). Here, too, the tondo with the coat of arms above the shell-roofed niche is held by two putti in energetic action.

Apart from their lineage and sentiment, the putti of the marble tabernacle of St. Peter's have another and additional significance which refers back to the scene of the annunciation at S. Croce. The youthful bodies

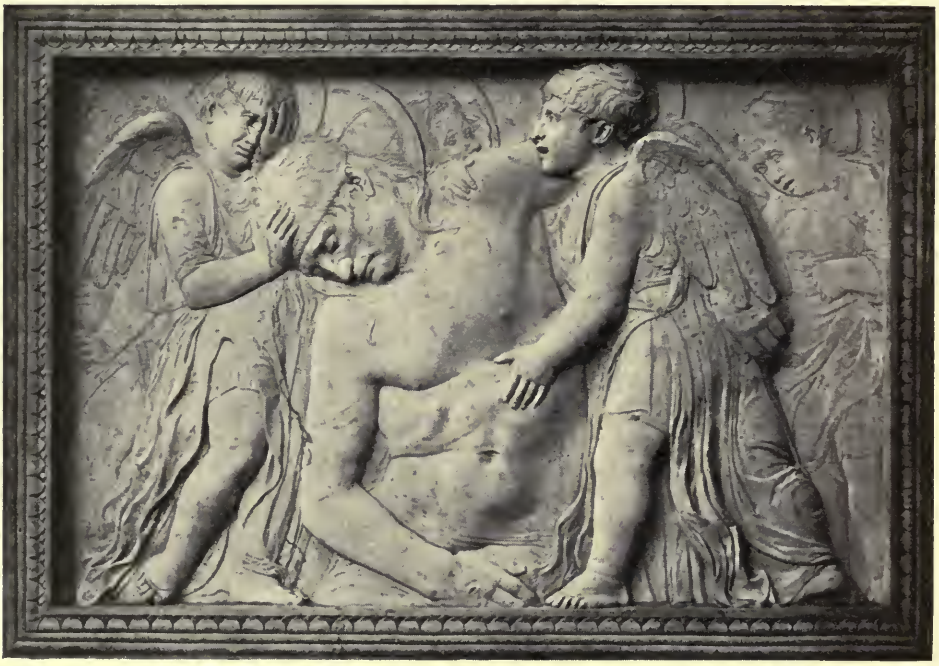

Fig. 71. Christ mourned by Angels. London. South Kensington Museum. (To page 81.)

cling to the pilasters in the full corporeity of agitated life, and their manner of crowding with their wings into and around the corners, heightens the plastic effect of the architectural setting. With all this, and inspite of the abundance of forms, the whole remains a genuine relief-picture with subtle gradations from almost full to entirely flat forms: an instance that should serve to show how far the sculptor may go, without overstepping the limitations of his art and losing himself in the triteness of "living pictures". The same principle holds good in the predella within the conditions of flat relief, for the putti squatting on sharply bent knees are here represented in full front-view — a motive also used for the sarcophagus in the sacristy of S. Lorenzo, which subsequently becomes tiresome through frequent repetition.

But now, in the principal "pictorial" part of this tabernacle — the

decoration of the panel of the attic —, this new illusion of depth re-enters also the service of narrative art, and thus originates a counter-part to the Ascension relief of the Brancacci sarcophagus. Under the curtain, which is held up by the angel-putti standing on the pilasters, is shown the scene of the *Entombment*. As regards mere dimensions, the relief is small, but its inner grandeur breaks through the measurable frame. Again it is con-

Fig. 72. Prato. Façade of the Cathedral with pulpit.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 84.)

ceived in a wholly christian spirit, yet all the preceding plastic art has created no work of such classic form. As in Naples, only the human figures tell, but here are only few figures, in clear outline against a vague background. Their language is all the more touching! In front is the action in purely objective simplicity: the two old people placing the body with extreme care into the narrow coffin. But around it is grief in all its gradations — the last farewell, bitter sobbing, tumultuous wailing, wildly fluttering hair. It is a contrast between calmness and stormy movement, similar to that of the Ascension relief. And again everything is "antique". St. John, who is covering his face, reminds one of the Agamemnon at the

sacrifice of Iphigenia, and the Marys of figures from the ancient Phædra sarcophagi. The kinship with the Naples relief almost amounts to a repetition of certain figures: the Magdalen rushing forward with spread arms is only a variation of the wind-god, who in Naples carries the cloud-throne of Mary. With the relief of St. Peter in London it has in common the *stiacciato* style, the thick-set build of the figures and their impetuous force. —

His sojourn in Rome and his constant companionship with antique works were bound to further above all the sculptor's pleasure in the *nude* figure which, even in flat treatment, makes for a more pronounced illusion of depth, for larger forms. The marble relief of the *"Pietà"* is the most characteristic example of the way in which Donatello applied this principle to his conception of biblical subject. Like the relief of St. Peter, this "Pietà" from the Gigli-Campana collection was bequeathed to the South Kensington Museum, where already its size makes it conspicuous among

Fig. 73. Pulpit. Duomo. Prato. (To page 84.)

Fig. 74. Casement of the Pulpit. Duomo. Prato. (To page 84.)

the examples of Donatellesque art (Fig. 71). Its *relievo* style corresponds with that of the Entombment of the Roman tabernacle, — but not the spirit in which the scene is conceived. The classic has here still further gained in power. It subdues the expression of grief and lament to an extent which already approaches Lessing's views upon the pathos of antique art. Further than that, the consideration of formal beauty leads here to a certain coldness. This is particularly noticeable on comparison with the Annunciation relief in S. Croce. The body of Christ, shown in front view — more especially the splendid right arm — and the buxom, round limbs of the angels, are as "antique" as the drapery. The head of the Saviour, which has fallen forward and from which long, thin locks of hair are hanging over the shoulders, still reminds one slightly of Donatello's earliest rendering of human heads in the rigidity of death, but it is so mature in its forms, and worked out with such profound knowledge of anatomy, that it might be a work of the late renaissance. Note the passages round the eyes. The exactness of the delineation which, even in the flattest *stiacciato* of the *putti*-heads, renders the rows of teeth and the pupils, is the more striking, as its clear outlines are inconsistent with the impressionist style of the reliefs of St. Peter and the Entombment. How infinitely greater is the delicacy, with which Donatello has rendered childlike forms and hair in the relief of St. John the Baptist in the Bargello!

He now seems to have altogether turned classicist as regards his feeling for form. This appears most clearly, where he gives a revised version of a subject already treated. A marble relief, now at the Lille Museum, presents the same scene as the bronze panel of the font in Siena — but this time in the spirit of antique Roman art, which is already indicated by the background. It is the result of the impression left upon the Florentine's mind by the ruins of ancient Rome. The simple colonnades are changed into varied court-architecture. On the right can be seen a high staircase, at the back imposing arcades shut off by folding-doors, on the left a gallery

Fig. 75. Casement of the Pulpit. Duomo. Prato. (To page 84.)

with a gabled roof supported by columns. Herod is carousing in front of this gallery, but Salome dances in the midst of the court, and in the foreground on the right, as well as before the doors of the background, silent men stand waiting. What in the Siena relief is crowded with almost Giottesque tightness into the narrowest space, is here freely spread over a wide, deep stage. The fetters, in which the Sienese relief is held through the stratiform receding of parallel walls, are now loosened. In the background of the Lille representation the influence of that old constraint is still slightly perceptible, but in the foreground it has entirely disappeared. Here Salome has room for her dance, and actually whirls round orgiastically.

A detailed comparison of these two reliefs is well worth the trouble: it shows, how the motives of movement of the earlier representation are transferred from figure to figure and yet in their completeness get an entirely new value. Fewer soloists, but a fuller orchestra; a less drastic method, but a more convincing illusion! And everywhere fuller and more liquid forms, without the sinewy tightness and sharpness which in Siena still leaves an archaic impression. It is this very treatment of form which connects the Lille relief with the Roman tabernacle! The group of closely crowded warriors in the foreground is modelled with the same feeling for space, as the putti of the tabernacle. As regards the putti, they are already decoratively distributed with the same liberality as in the Florentine works which will now follow. The whole parapet behind the carousers is decorated with them, and so is the wall under the woodwork of the roof, and the tympanum, where the two lying figures correspond with those above the pediment of the Roman tabernacle. The largest putto of the Lille relief squats asleep under the staircase, in a position which points back to the predella of the tabernacle at St. Peters on the one hand, and forward to the Medici sarcophagus at S. Lorenzo in Florence on the other. The relief belongs probably to the period between these two dates. It is the more interesting, as Michelangelo seems to have known it and remembered it in his "Madonna of the staircase". Finally, the marble relief of the *Flagellation* of the Berlin Museum should be mentioned in this connection, a work of splendid effect in the simplicity of its broad composition. Like the relief at Lille, it is akin to the Sienese relief, and shows the same advanced feeling for form. The tall, erect figure of the woman on the left, with the staring eye, has the same classic features as the Madonnas of the Casa Pazzi and the Casa Orlandini. Whenever these relief pictures may have been chiselled, they are certainly connected by an inner link, that makes them monuments of Donatello's classicist *narrative* art, just as the Florentine single figures collectively are monuments of his *statuesque* and *physiognomic* art.

Fig. 76. Dancing Putti from the Casement of the Pulpit. Duomo. Prato. (To page 84.)

* * * *

This whole period of Donatello's work is one of fermentation. His realism had to face new forms of expression in Rome. The *antique* had gained a hold on him and showed him two aims in a new light: the rendering of the *nude* and of *movement.* And again he was favoured by chance, which gave him the opportunity of expressing his new intentions in the very shape which had already appeared to antique art as ever ready *deus ex machina:* in the *putto.* In the London relief the antique putti are evidently not in their right element by the side of the body of the Saviour, and Donatello's fancy was probably, at that time already, filled by images, in which Christianity and the Church took no part. This was a reaction of his sojourn in Rome, but it was only reawakened to artistic life on his native soil, in Florence!

* * *

THE DANCING PUTTI.

In May 1433 Donatello had returned to Florence, and on May 27. 1434 he already made a new, detailed contract with the *Opera del Duomo* of Prato for a pulpit for the exterior of the cathedral (Figs. 72—76). This time he immediately set about his work which, however, was only finished four years later and with the help of many other hands that have made the master's design courser in places. But in trying to place this work in its right position among Donatello's creations, one must overlook the course execution of isolated parts. It is his first sectional, *cyclic composition.* The double pilasters, which divide the seven relief panels of the pulpit, are only the intervals between the strophes of a song — of a bacchante-song in orgiastic time. Only the life of Christ and of the Saints had so far been related by Italian art in serial form, but to treat a freely invented theme in this manner, needed the renaissance of the antique with its marvellous mixture of freedom and rhythm. And this was effected again by the help of the antique *putto.* He was to be seen, dancing and playing, on Roman sarcophagi, and long since he had entered into the art of the church. With the gay tune of flutes he accompanies the Ascension of the Virgin who presents St. Thomas with her girdle, on Nanni's pediment of the Northern door of the Florence Duomo. The *putto* was welcome, too, on the pulpit in Prato, where this relic was to be shown to the waiting crowd in the course of public festivities. A lasting echo of this frame of mind, a *"ballo di fanciulli",* a round dance of children — that was what Donatello wished to create for the people of Prato in the place of the originally planned legend of the *"Cintola".* But for himself he created far more! The troop of children on this relief resembles a mountain stream rushing over its boundaries. You feel, that in the creative artist's fancy a similar force, that has long been latent, has suddenly been set free. Donatello's own art has a new aim: *bacchantic joy of life in rushing, overpowering movement.* This was absent in his preceding work. Where he had

previously sounded orgiastic notes, it was only in describing grief. Now they proclaim with supercilious *joie de vivre:* "Long live Life!" It is quite

Fig. 77. Singing Gallery of the Duomo in Florence. Museum of the Opera del Duomo. (To page 88.)

earthly. The wings are only attached to the backs of these children. They might fall, and the tessellated gold background change into a laughing meadow: the charm of the whole would remain unaltered; there is something

Fig. 78. Dancing Putti on the Singing Gallery of the Duomo in Florence. Cf. Fig. 77. After a photograph from the original by Giacomo Brogi, Florence. (To page 88.)

eternal in it, for scenes like these repeat themselves at all times and in all places, where an unspoilt race of men grows up. And yet art has only recognized this in the antique and in the renaissance; and in the latter none like Donatello! Extrinsically, as far as their garment is concerned, these *putti* partly resemble those of the Roman tabernacle and of the London *pietà* relief. But even the costume is differenciated. A girdle, a little cloak and a veil-like wrap are added to the tunic. The object was evidently to increase and vary the animated, fluttering forms. The same end is served by the exposure of the plump limbs, which increases on the left side of the pulpit. Some of these boys are quite nude; but even these have neither graceful forms, nor liquid outlines, and among all these laughing, singing, jubilating faces not a single one shows the loveliness of a child's delicate physiognomy, like, say the boy St. John of the Bargello. The animal rises above the *anima*. The putto of antiquity is reawakened

Fig. 79. Dancing Putti on the Singing Gallery of the Duomo in Florence. Cf. Fig. 77. (To page 88.

in somewhat boorish, but thoroughly healthy force. And this force, with all its wildness suggestive of lion cubs, moves in the *smallest,* narrow, flat space. Consider, what the clear distribution of such an abundance of animated forms means under these conditions! The means for awakening the illusion of space are already known from earlier reliefs. They consist of the contrasts of movement between those figures which detach themselves from, and those which recede into the plane. But they have never before been as full of energy, as they are now. They dance and jump, storm

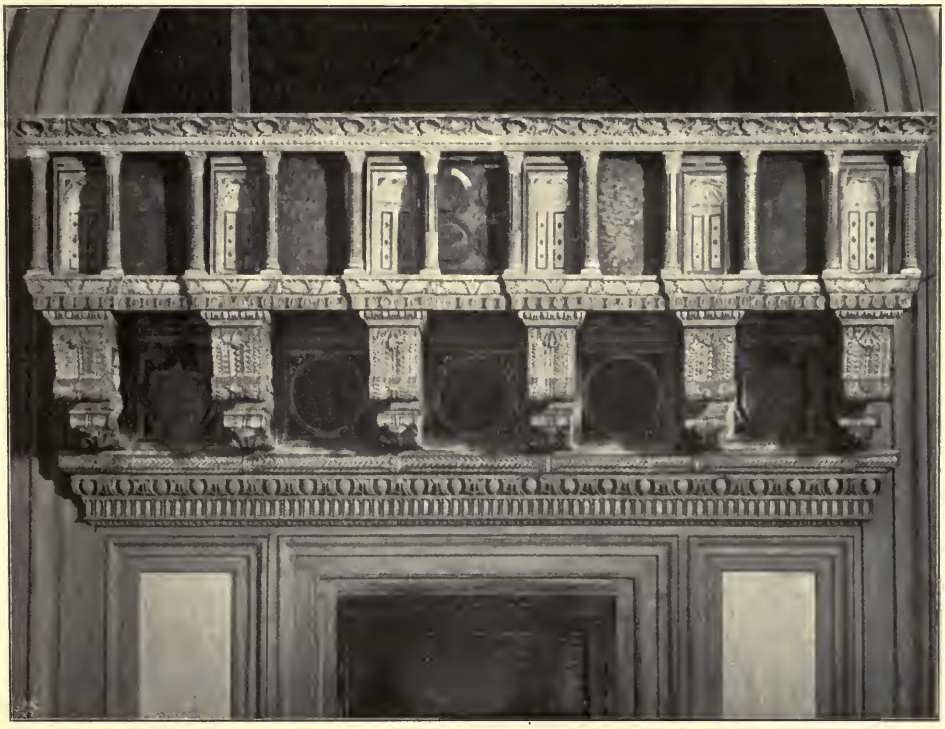

Fig. 80. Singing Gallery. Florence. S. Lorenzo.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 91.)

forward and pull back, bend and resist — and yet, by their entwined fingers they remain connected in a firmly linked, round dance; for every single relief panel — with the sole exception of one which is composed as a single row — represents an entirely independent, closed, *round dance.* This is a new triumph for Donatello's classicist relief-art which is here at its height again as regards pure form as well: the figures are worked in bold relief, but in their high position retain an appearance of delicacy and flatness. The same mastery reveals itself in the *bronze capital* which supports the whole pulpit. From its curved abacus a *putto* leans far forward; his curly head and spread wings give depth to the whole composition. One feels the hand of Donatello, how ever strongly the decoration of this capital may

Fig. 81. Cupid-Atys. Florence. Museo Nazionale.
(To page 92.)

in other ways have been influenced by Michelozzo, by whom it was cast in 1433, according to documentary evidence. The large *putti,* resting below, like antique river-gods, are far better educated and more amiable, than the young bacchants on the sides of the pulpit; but their heads "tell" with more vivacity than Michelozzo generally achieved unaided. The remainder of the minute figures, distributed "like butterflies" among the scrollwork of the capital, evince in every way the influence of antique Roman ornamental work; the scrollwork is of similar design to that on the tabernacle at S. Croce; the ornamentation is a pattern of delicary, but not as original, as Donatello liked it to be. The detail was no doubt executed by Michelozzo. — An ornamental work of this kind could only originate in Tuscany. Amongst the radiant jewels wrought by Tuscan art around the little country church in Prato, this pulpit is the most exquisite pearl.

* * *

"Everybody agrees, that this work is unexcelled", was written as far back as 1434, from Florence to Prato, about the first view of these pulpit-reliefs. But meanwhile a work was in progress in Donatello's *bottega,* that appears in every way as a twin-creation of the Prato pulpit which it even surpasses in excellence. The *Opera del Duomo* had, in 1431, commissioned from Luca della Robbia some panels for the casement of the singing gallery of the Cathedral, and gave a similar commission to Donatello in July 1433. Neither of these were delivered before 1440, although Donatello worked at his reliefs at least as far back as November 1433. Later these reliefs came from the Duomo into the Museo Nazionale; now they have been put together again, in the Opera del Duomo, as a gallery (Figs. 77—79). The theme is the same, as in Prato. Luca della Robbia's conception of it was more profound. With him it is an angels' concert, a hymn in praise of the Lord. Song, psaltery and harp, trumpet and cymbals, tambourine and organ sound together in a mighty *"Laudate Dominum"*. Is this also the text for the

song which Donatello's *putti* sing? Do the sing at all — or is it not rather the joyous shouting of playing children, who run, dance and jump about, waving and throwing wreaths and caring for nought but their game? Luca della Robbia has represented on his pulpit the enchanted listening to the sound of music, in such delightful manner and in so many variations, that it is quite inimitable. Donatello's children have no time for listening: their element is movement. Luca fills his relief panels almost completely, to the very edges, with his lovely girls and boys, so that little remains to be seen of the background, and he finishes each panel as an independent picture. The wild companions of Donatello have, on the other hand, altogether ceased to be held by the frame — as in Prato. They stamp upon earthly soil, but they are surrounded by perfectly open space. The background is filled with gold-mosaic and this radiant matter is also curved above into a vaulted ceiling; nay, more than that, it advances, contracted into the shape of columns at rhythmic intervals, between the marble figures and the beholder's eye. With unprecedented daring Donatello carries the capacity of expression in the marble relief to the border, where plastic art gives place to painting: he tries to represent the corporeal forms with at least a semblance of the surrounding atmosphere. He could not learn this either from Roman mosaics, or from Florentine marble-intarsia; — again he has to thank his own genius for it! The naked forms tell more freely here, than in Prato. They are for the most part more slender and pleasing, they whirl about even more quickly, but they are only just sufficiently elaborated, as was needful for effectiveness in a high and rather dark position. Vasari informs us already on this point. Investigation by *"Stilkritik"* identifies, apart from some bits of sheer artisan-work, the work of two assistants, the better-one of whom was busy on the right-hand side of the casement.

But as a whole the Florentine singing gallery is even more exclusively the property of Donatello, than the Prato pulpit, for the latter suggests

Fig. 82. Eros throwing the Ball. Florence. Uffizi. Cf. Fig. 81. (To page 93.)

Fig. 83. David. Florence. Museo Nazionale.
After a photograph from the original by Giacomo Brogi, Florence. (To pages 46 and 93.)

Michelozzo as author of the general composition and the architectonic part of the work, whilst no trace of this master is to be found in the Florentine work. And again Donatello's power reveals itself also as regards decoration in the wholly original way, in which he creates a very singular object of art from ornamental motives that are somewhat heavy in design, but improved

Fig. 84. Head of David. Cf. Fig. 83.
After a photograph from the original by Giacomo Brogi, Florence. (To page 93.)

by the use of coloured paste. Soon after, in the *singing gallery* of *S. Lorenzo* commissioned from him by Cosimo, he tried the same methods of decoration, without almost any addition of figures, and therefore still more clearly in the spirit of the marble and mosaic incrustation of the men employed by Cosimo (Fig. 80). This decoration appears again on the Madonna tabernacle of the Medici Chapel in S. Croce, which has already been referred to (Fig. 68). Here the beautiful vases — which on the singing gallery intersect

the frieze — are placed in pairs, one above the other, but symmetrically arranged, so that the two lower vases stand upside down (!).

Did Brunelleschi's friend see in such works too, overloaded as they are with almost baroque details and colours, a style based on the antique? We must believe it, since the classic world still lay in crepuscular light before Donatello. In Rome he had certainly gained a deeper insight into it, than most of his contemporaries. Every new find — like the Dionysus sarcophagus in Cortona — was an event for him. Cosimo was surely well advised, when he lent his ear to him in buying antiques and entrusted him with their restoration. Donatello liked to draw his inspiration from these treasures. The coins and gems in particular endowed his decorative sculpture with life. Later (not before the fifties) he had them fairly faithfully copied on an enlarged scale as marble medallions for the court of the Medici palace (Fig. 138). On the delightful mirror box at South Kensington, which came from the Casa Martelli, the half figure of a goddess is borrowed from an antique gem, that of the satyr from an antique relief, and the detail in the background from an antique silver vessel, as is also the mask over the words *"natura fovet quae necessitas urget"*. If the manner is here that of a relief picture, on an oval plaque at the Berlin Museum the antique profile heads of an old warrior — probably after a Diadochi-coin — and of a woman are placed facing each other in gem-like fashion. The powerful bronze head of a bearded man, which is now in the Donatello room at the Bargello, though its right to this place is by no means certain, is probably a rendering of an antique head of a "barbarian". Antique satyr-masks are used as cornerpieces and capitals. "Short-necked Roman profiles" make their appearance in Siena already by the side of the little model-heads. Finally, all Donatello's *putti* are based on classic prototypes, and in many cases the model can still be traced, as in the bronze plaque with playing Cupids (Berlin Museum). In subject and form his whole art, at least as far back as the thirties, is full of classic elements. But in each case the antique only throws out suggestions, the final stamp is given by Donatello himself. The mist that floats above the antique sources sometimes condenses before his eyes into peculiarly fantastic shapes. The most characteristic instance is the *bronze statue* which Vasari saw in the house of Giovanni Battista di Agnolo Doni, and which is now in the Museo Nazionale (Fig. 81). To the cinquecentists already the "costume" of this life-size, laughing boy appeared "somewhat quaint". For the modern archæologist it is a mongrel, half Cupid, half Atys. The latter was Cybele's lover, whom she fiercely mourned after his violent death; but the late Roman period saw in him an ambiguous personification of the ever changing life of nature, and devoted to him a mystic cult. A Paris statue shows him as dancing eunuch, in Asiatic pantaloons fluttering apart in front. To this motif may be traced the curious "costume", in which Donatello clothed his figure, and perhaps also the attitude of the raised arms. But the effeminate fellow of the antique prototype was turned by Donatello into a gaily laughing boy; a snake

wriggles around his winged and sandaled feet. The forms of the body are plump and beautifully worked, especially the chest. The head shows a striking resemblance to that of an antique marble statue of "Eros throwing a ball" at the Uffizi, which Maffei saw as late as 1704 in the Medici gardens (Fig. 82). The analogy extends to the attitude of the arms which have been restored on the antique marble — perhaps by Donatello himself. As regards the head, the courseness of the work speaks against such a theory, although its "corkscrew curls" are very similar to those of one of the angels of the Coscia sarcophagus.

What did Donatello feel in producing a work like this Cupid-Atys? Was it satisfaction, similar to Poliziano's when he composed the description of the palace of Venus in his "Giostra"? — But for us it fortunately remains only a grain of learning in the full measure of his living art!

* * *

THE DAVID.

The best that Donatello saw and searched for in the antique, was not subject, but form. The work which appeared most classical to the 16th century, and has remained so in our eyes, bears a name that is anything but antique: it is the *bronze David* in the *Bargello* (ill. 83 and 84). We have no date to work upon, since Vasari's account, which connects the removal of this statue from the court of the Casa Medici to that of the Palazzo Vecchio with the banishment of Cosimo in 1433, is based on error. The bronze David did not get into the Palazzo Vecchio before 1495. It is moreover more probable, that this statue was made for the court of the new Medici palace, which was erected by Michelozzo! A decision based entirely on *"Stilkritik"* is made very difficult, as this work is in many ways so singular, that it might just as well be fitted into any period of the master's developement, as in none. The artistic problem itself can already be found in the very beginning of his work, and happens to be treated in the same theme. To embody

Fig. 85. David. Bronze Model. Berlin. Royal Museum.
(To page 94.)

the youthful human body with its elastic capacity of movement in a "standing figure", was already Donatello's aim in the marble David of the Bargello (1408—1416), and continued to be his aim in his later representations of the biblical shepherd boy who was a particular favourite of the Florentines. In the unchased *bronze cast* of a small wax model the *Berlin Museum* (Fig. 85) possesses the most immediate preliminary study for the *marble statue of David* in the *Casa Martelli* in Florence (Fig. 86), which Donatello left unfinished, probably in the first place because his chisel had slipped in several parts, but also because he was no longer quite satisfied with the conception which is retained better and with infinitely more freshness in the little Berlin bronze figure. For the general attitude is a little awkward, in spite of the raised foot and the easy pose of the hand, the back of which is leaning against the hip. This awkwardness is undoubtedly a reflection of that anxiety with which Donatello set about breaking through the marble block, when working at large figures. The treatment of the motif with the greater static freedom of a bronze statue must have been all the more welcome to him. But a great distance remains to be covered from this increase in the material facility of his task to the manner in which it is solved in the bronze David of the Bargello. First of all, this David is for the first time conceived again as a figure in the round, in the sense of antique sculpture. From every side it presents favourable lines, though the habit of niche figures may still be perceptible. Furthermore, this David, as life-size statue, is the first youthful nude, that distinctly approaches again the antique ideal of beauty, though of course not in the meaning of Winckelmann! It has neither "perfect proportions", nor "soft forms". By the side of the "full, sinuated lines" of Praxitelesque youths, the hip-line of this David still appears hard, and his body too swelling. It is simply that Donatello's study of nature amounts here also to the study of the model, dependent on natural forms which, compared with Greek forms, have degenerated, if only through their conditions of life. Yet he proceeds here with more decision than anywhere else, to give harmony of form to the general appearance of his work, and simplifies the forms in the manner of classic sculpture. In addition to this, the whole plastic shape is loosened to

Fig. 86. David. Marble Statue. Florence. Casa Martelli. Cf. Fig. 85. (To page 94.)

Fig. 87. Sacristy of S. Lorenzo. Florence. (To page 97.)

such an extent, that it makes even the Spes statuette of the Siena font appear compact; and the movement is so free, that the figure may be considered artistically the opposite pole to the St. George. This refers not only to the general pose, but also to the attitude of the arms. With what natural ease the back of the left hand with the stone is pressed against the hip, and how gracefully the right is holding the sword! And finally the head, "classical" in its effect, but with unusually refined features, and with its wavy hair shaded by the laurel-wreathed helmet! — This youthful hero does not stand quite isolated in the *quattrocento*. Ghiberti has achieved a similar result with his Isaac on the competition relief of the Baptistery. And also the Isaac in the Abraham group, executed by Donatello in conjunction with Rosso for the Campanile, is a pendant to the David. But the latter has nobler blood in his veins — no doubt a reflection of the knowledge of antique statues of youths. The treatment of the nude carries on the style of the Annunciation group of S. Croce, just as the tendrils of that work are repeated on the helmet of Goliath and on David's greaves.

One can understand, that the cinquecentists praised this work of Donatello's with particular warmth! They saw him here on the same road, on which they had embarked themselves. Yea, even more, the "classicism" of the general conception went so far, that the second half of the fifteenth century did not follow it. Verrocchio's smiling boy in the Bargello, which is far more richly differenciated as a statuesque space-composition, is, as regards physical and psychical life, a creation of the quattrocento, one of the most delicious, vernal blossoms of the tree of modern humanity. By its side Donatello's David is not only somewhat archaical, but even a little impersonal: it has a slight touch of "classicist coldness". In his bronze David, Donatello is not as completely under the star of his innate, individual, creative power, as he was, when he worked the St. George.

Possibly the medium and the partial work of another man's hand may have something to do with it. The excellent casting is probably due to Michelozzo, and the working out of the details may merely have been superintended by Donatello. It is certain, though, that he himself designed the accessories, and this is additional testimony to his intimacy with the

antique. The winged helmet of Goliath whose rigid features, by the way, are here far more impressive, than in the earlier marble head, is decorated all over with *putti.* A similar decoration appeared already on the pastoral staff of the St. Louis, but on Goliath's helmet this decoration is once more a genre scene, enlivened by a number of *putti,* a variation of an antique cameo in the possession of the Medici and representing Cupid and Psyche on a carriage pulled by playing amoretti.

* * *

IV.

MASS-PRODUCTION OF DECORATIVE SCULPTURE IN FLORENCE 1433—1435.

THE SACRISTY OF SAN LORENZO.

Donatello was not a copyist of the antique, but an inspired imitator. His innermost force moved in the broad stream of a freely created world of forms. The only scope it could find in the 15th century was in decorative work, in tasks of the kind as was presented by the niches of Or San Michele, the front of the Duomo and of the Campanile, and the Singing Gallery. But even in these cases Donatello had hitherto been restricted to single figures, or at the best, to a uniform series of figures. As yet this decoration, engendered by the sculptor's thoughts, lacked the space for varied and quantitatively rich plenitude.

Fig. 88. Head of St. John the Evangelist.
Medallion on the ceiling of the Sacristy of S. Lorenzo. Florence.
(To page 98.)

The road to *mass-production of decorative art* was opened to Donatello in Florence by the Medici. We have no accurate knowledge of the date, when the master first entered into closer relations with them. The sarcophagus of Giovanni de' Medici in the sacristy of S. Lorenzo, which passes as Donatello's first work for the Medici, is executed by Brunelleschi's foster-son Buggiano. When Giovanni died in 1429, only the shell was finished of the sacristy founded by him and com-

Fig. 89. St. Stephan and St. Laurence.
Sacristy of S. Lorenzo. Florence. (To page 100).

menced by Brunelleschi in 1421; the decoration had hardly been commenced yet and dragged on into the forties. It was during this time, and partly perhaps even later, that Donatello executed the works which to-day form the most beautiful ornament of this spot which breathes the very spirit of the Medici (Fig. 87). This decoration is of an exclusively plastic nature, more absolutely so to-day, than at the time of its unveiling, since it then shone in the splendour of colours. No doubt, frescoes had been planned for the wall-spaces. If this theme had been realized, the result would have been a similar harmonious whole of early renaissance decoration, as as is presented by the Portinari chapel of S. Eustorgio in Milan, which is decorated after the example of this sacristy. But the frescoes were not carried out, and the colours of Donatello's plaster and clay-reliefs were subsequently painted over in whitish and yellowish tints. Yet to this sacristy is due the fame of having for the first time followed the antique Roman example of a predominantly plastic decoration of the vaulting, such as was afterwards continued by the art of the Della Robbia, particularly in the chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal at S. Miniato in Florence. Donatello inserted eight large medallions with relief pictures into the ceiling. He was here satisfied with modest clay, which now altogether becomes his favourite medium, undoubtedly because it yielded most easily to his fiery impulse. Even now these medallions have the effect of inspired improvisations, in spite of the coat of whitewash. Half of the theme at least, was conventional: four of these *tondi* show the figures of evangelists sitting at

Fig. 90. St. Cosmus and St. Damian.
Sacristy of S. Lorenzo. Florence. (To pages 100 and 101.)

their desks. It must be stated though, that Donatello treated it for the first time, and again he fills the old skins with new wine. This is best shown by comparison, on the one hand with Ghiberti's Evangelists on his first bronze door of the Baptistery, and on the other with Luca della Robbia's on the bronze door of the sacristy of the Duomo. How original is the treatment of the Evangelists' animals, which now are no longer flying through the air, but support the books on the altar-like tables! The lion and the bull are as powerful and grand, as the cherubs of Old Testamental fancy. And how very different from Ghiberti's over-slender, carefully draped Saints are these four figures of men, who pursue their brain-work, heedless of the outer world and of their own appearance: thick-blooded men, ponderous in their movements, and obviously only accessible to few — the nearest relations to the prophets on the Campanile! (Fig. 88) From the youthful St. Luke to the aged St. John they reflect four different stages of life, but in all of them is a deep glow of the same force which gives itself up entirely, wherever it gains a hold. Even Burckhardt, who was not very favourably disposed towards Donatello calls these Evangelists "most important, and plastically of the best". This last remark applies to the style of the relief with its illusion of depth. The tables which are placed across the corners, and the seats which run obliquely into the plane of the panel, produce the illusion of an interior majestically filled by the figures, and the whole — excellently composed in the round — is carried upwards by cherubs with wide wings, like a floating picture. The decorative character is enhanced by the accessories which are again conceived in the antique spirit — from the richly ornamented marble furniture to the *putti* which are distributed all over the place. The straight lines happily counterbalance the exuberant wealth of forms. This harmony is, however, absent from the remaining four medallions with scenes from the life of the Evangelist St. John, in which the dominating single figure is replaced again by the representation of a "crowd", and the "interior" in antique taste by scenery with deep perspective. In one case this scenery is pure landscape. On a rocky seat in the foreground

Fig. 91. Head of St. Cosmus. Cf. Fig. 90. (To pages 100 and 101.)

Fig. 92. Bronze Door. Sacristy of S. Lorenzo. Florence.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 101.)

Fig. 93. Apostles from the Bronze Doors of the Sacristy of S. Lorenzo. Cf. Fig. 92. (To page 101.)

the anchorite is stretched out, two putti playing in front of him — the rest is only a wide field all around, a few sweet pine-trees and gently undulating lines of hills: "St. John at Patmos." It is the solitude of nature, conjuring up before the dreamy eye the strange visions on the sky like mere volatile clouds. The other three reliefs are, on the other hand, devoid of all sentiment. Donatello was here more concerned with creating, high on the vaulted ceiling, deep stages, on which the figures move in full liberty of action. He achieved this by means of a cleverly distributed architectural scaffolding. Most nearly related to the style known already from the Salome relief, is the "Resuscitation of Drusiana"; but the "Ascension" of the Evangelist, whose own figure is actually almost "vanishing" in this relief, shows again how materially Donatello has changed his aims and how he now places the problem of space even above the real theme. At the same time his composition has attained to playful freedom. Just observe, how much of the secondary figures is *not* represented on the Ascension relief and on the panel of the Martyrdom, in which St. John stands in an enourmous, glowing coop! How the border of the medallions cuts through these figures, leaving only a few limbs to be seen! Who else during the whole renaissance has dared to be as bold?

In the remaining decoration of the sacristy he confines himself again to the human figure, and more especially to the statuesque character-figure. But no longer is this figure left isolated. The characters are united in pairs — twice in the large plaster figures over the doors (Figs. 89—91), and

Fig. 94. Apostles from the Bronze Doors of the Sacristy of S. Lorenzo. Cf. Fig. 92. (To page 101.)

Fig. 95. Apostles from the Bronze Doors of the Sacristy of S. Lorenzo. Cf. Fig. 92. (To page 101.)

twenty times in the small relief panels on the bronze doors (Figs. 92—95). Everywhere they stand without scenic surroundings, free in open space, and yet it is perhaps here, that the master's narrative art scores its greatest triumph. For all these standing figures whose forms contain a hitherto unheard-of wealth of possibility of movement, are at the same time "actors". They meet, each pairs, like two chorus-leaders: their shields and arms are — books and pens. The four large plaster Saints also carry folios. The youthful, curly heads, though, of St. Stephan and St. Laurence suggest no trace of faith in the letter and of sceptic dispute. They look about as freely and amiably, as the larger head of St, Laurence — an earlier work probably — whose terracotta-bust is placed on the cabinet (Fig. 40). They count among the blessed poor in spirit. But with their partners already — with St. Cosmus and St. Damianus — commences another series which leads back again to the types of the Campanile statues: mature men, shaped by the hard hand of life and developed to defiant individuality. Never has Donatello approached the embodiment of ancient Roman character as nearly, as in these two (Figs. 90 and 91). Cassius and Brutus in Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar" may appear in this shape. And Shakespeare's spirit speaks even more forcibly from the pairs of Saints on the bronze doors (Figs. 92—95). In their very outward bearing they seem to follow Hamlet's advice: "Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor: suit the action to the word!" This is just what Donatello has embodied in these men, heedless of their decorative mission. Here they press towards each other, and here they move away to the very frame of the panel. Donatello does not know the *"horror vacui"*. But the sparkling physical and psychical life silences all objections. Panel by panel might be accompanied by the text of ever new dialogues, but this would require the art of a Shakespeare, and even *his* art would still leave room for other interpretations of this pictorial representation. It is wonderful, how the renaissance is here in touch with Northern mediævalism! The ancestors of these Saintly couples, unknown as they must have been to Donatello and to his whole time, stand on the choir of St. George at Bamberg Cathedral — creations of the 13th century!

Fig. 96. Head of the Saviour. Bronce Crucifix on the Altar of S. Antonio in Padua. After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 106.)

The contrast of the physiognomies is no greater in Florence, than it is in Bamberg. But the Italian, the connoisseur of antique Roman types, the greatest quattrocentist portrayer of humanity, who made the movements of the body serve his delineation of character, just as the composer makes use of sound, creates here nevertheless an entirely new race. If we had nothing left of Donatello's work but these bronze doors — he would still remain one of the greatest artists of all times! A straight road leads from here to the prophets in Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel. The *cinquecento* did not even shrink from directly borrowing from this overflowing source: it can be traced without difficulty in Bandinelli's marble screen in the Duomo in Florence.

If Brunelleschi actually blamed this achievement of his friend's, it only proves that his feeling for the fine arts had already become entirely dependent on the purely architectural point of view. It must be stated though, that unfavourable opinions were expressed by cinquecentists as well. They missed the *"grazia"*, the harmonious balance of masses, which they required in decoration. The order for the bronze-gates of the new sacristy of the Duomo, which Donatello had undertaken in 1436—1437, was withdrawn at the beginning of the forties, but probably only because he delayed the work too long.

V.

MASS PRODUCTION OF HISTORIC SCULPTURE IN PADUA 1443—1453.

A group of early renaissance artists have fitly been described as "sculptor-architects". They chisel and build. Like the stone-cutter people of the Comasques, they are *"magistri picantes lapides vivos"*, masters in working the living stone; but their stonecutter's atelier is sometimes also a "Board of Works", where plans and sections are drawn and portions of the architecture executed — and not only for small, decorative works, like tombs, altars, and tabernacles, but also for palaces and chapels! They also understand the technical and constructive part of the builder's art, and supply models for buildings. — May Donatello be counted among them? — The probability is ever growing. We know now that, as early as 1418, he and Nanni di Banco had a sufficiently important share in Brunelleschi's model for the cupola of the Duomo in Florence, to entitle them to the same pay as Brunelleschi himself received. He did not enter into partnership with the "architect" Michelozzo — Brunelleschi would have been nearer at hand — but with the "bronze-caster". That he knew his own mind in matters connected with architectural construction, and even more so in the decoration of architectural parts; that he was as independent in such work, as in the conception of figural sculpture, is proved by his tabernacles at Or San Michele, S. Croce, and St. Peter's in Rome. His plastic decoration

Fig. 97. Square of S. Antonio in Padua with Equestrian Monument of Gattamelata. (To page 107.)

Fig. 98. Equestrian Monument of Gattamelata. Padua.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 107.)

gave to the sacristy of S. Lorenzo what is to-day called the "finish of the interior", and his quarrel with Brunelleschi about the bronze-doors proves, that here the decorater interfered with the work of the architect, and that in a way which was displeasing to the latter.

Thus it is not in itself incredible, that the most important change in the scene of Donatello's activity — his removal from Florence to Padua —

Fig. 99. Equestrian Monument of Gattamelata. Padua.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 107.)

was caused in the first place by a task which, according to our ideas, was of an architectural nature.

In S. Antonio in Padua the choir-gallery was to be built, and for that purpose Donatello was summoned in 1443.

But, as in the Florence sacristy, this only became a field for the exercise of his sculptural power. The gallery became a shrine for his world

Fig. 100. Head of the Horse from the Equestrian Monument of Gattamelata. Cf. Figs. 98 and 99. (To page 107.)

of figures. It is the more welcome, that he was allowed to arrange a setting after his own taste!

He went to Padua, because he could rely upon employment and good pay in this town, but he remained there — a full decade! — because he found, perhaps quite unexpectedly, a soil, on which his boldest dreams as sculptor could be realized. It is true that at first Donatello only designed a crucifix for the high altar of the Santo, which was cast and erected in the following year already (Fig. 96). It is the noblest embodiment of the suffering Saviour, that Donatello has left us. Compared with the wooden image in S. Croce this work is delicately differenciated, in the forms as well as in sentiment. The frame of the body has become more slender, the legs and thighs almost round. There is something rigid and harsh about the head of Christ in S. Croce with its thin, regular and closely joined hair; in Padua it is ennobled: the thick hair falls beautifully in isolated locks over the forehead and far down to the chest; the refined features are alive in the pictorial play of light and shade. — When this crucifix stood on the high altar of the Santo in 1444, Donatello's activity in Padua seemed ended. But entirely new prospects were opened to him.

* * *

THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE.

To the memory of the condottiere Erasmo de' Narni, called Gattamelata, who died in 1443, was granted by the Republic of Venice the greatest monumental honour, which the Florentines conceded to John Hawkwood in 1436 only in the illusory shape of a fresco-painting: an equestrian statue in bronze. And about the same time, in 1446, a Paduan wool-merchant,

Francesco di Tergola, made over a considerable sum for a more sumptuous decoration of the high altar: for a "pala" or "ancona".

This double commission offered indeed more to Donatello, than Florence or Naples could afford: decorative art as mass production, but at the same time *historic* art — *vide the Equestrian Statue.* In many ways it marks the zenith of Donatello's capacity: as plastic subjugation of a colossal mass; as a figure in the round, full of life and movement; and as the monument of a personality. Donatello had thought, but not worked, ere now on such a grand scale. Not before now had he realized, what he first felt in Rome, and particularly when facing the classic solution of the problem with which he was now confronted. Did he see in Rome the Dioscuri, the *"colossea signa temporis vi deformata"* before the thermæ of Constantine? At any rate he admired the bronze equestrian statue of the pseudo-Constantine, of Marcus Aurelius. But the antique horses over the portico of St. Mark's in Venice exercised the chief influence on his type of horse. Gattamelata's charger has not only the pace in common with them, but also some of the proportions. These proportions which, it is true, are partly due to the contemporary Northern Italian breed of horses, are by no means elegant. Seen from afar, the body on the relatively short legs appears too heavy. And yet this horse alone signifies a new victory of Donatello's art. It is really conceived "in the round", raised high on a special socle, open to view from all sides, in the centre of a square (Figs. 97—100). But the greatest success in this first and only colossal work is scored by Donatello, the portrayer of men. The Italians call an equestrian statue *"il cavallo";* they think first of the horse, and thus suggest unconsciously that the horse, through its plastic mass, always has a weightier effect than the rider. This cannot be concealed by the greatest artist—that is, if he desires to retain the true proportions. But he can make us forget it, if he succeeds in plastically working out the same power which in reality masters the physically stronger horse: the intellectual power of man. And hardly ever has this been achieved more

Fig. 101. Head of Gattamelata from the Equestrian Monument in Padua. Cf. Figs. 98 and 99. (To page 108.)

successfully, than in the Gattamelata which is in this respect not only far above the straddle-legged, doll-like Marcus Aurelius, but also above most later equestrian statues, as far as they embody rider and horse in the same quiet conception. Gattamelata is represented as a captain overlooking his troops from a safe vantage-ground. He is sitting bolt upright in the saddle; he neither raises his body, nor turns round. He may just have given some order, and now accompanies its execution with his raised truncheon, looking towards his right. From top to toe he is strategist, and not hack-blade. The mighty two-handed sword is sheathed, The whole colossal work is ruled by the one helmless man's head. But what a portrait is this! (Fig. 101). The physiognomic art which in the case of the Zuccone and the Jeremiah had free choice of a model and then revelled in its plastic reading, was here forced to adhere to given features. But perhaps for this very reason its plastic force is at the highest tension, the selection of forms more severely restricted; and the result is a monumental statue which as such is absolutely insurpassable. The head is beardless; the thin, unusually long lips tightly pressed together; the eyes — which have no pupils! — seem to embrace an unlimited range under their shaggy brows. That again is entirely in the spirit of ancient Roman portraiture.

His chief means in this head and in the whole statue is simplification of the natural forms in the sense of monumental character. And yet he does no violence to the wealth of images of his decorative power. He only leads it into the tributaries of decorative ornamentation. The saddle is a truly splendid piece of decorative plastics, and can only be compared with the bronze-socle of the Prato pulpit. *Putti*-children everywhere! They support, like caryatids, the cantle; and they play over all planes in imitation of embroidery. At the back naked boys are represented on jumping horses, delightful figures, so finely chased that they may be examined from

Fig. 102. Putti Relief from the Marble Socle of the Gattamelata Monument. (Now in the Cloisters of S. Antonio.) Cf. Figs. 98 and 99. (To page 109.)

close proximity. The armour, too, which stiffens the whole figure as in the St. George, is covered with fine ornament. In front, on the neck, it shows a winged Gorgon's head which alone would suffice to mark out Donatello as one of the most brilliant interpreters of classic ideas on art. As a contrast to this wealth of ornamental detail, the socle is built up of simple, mighty stone-blocks. It is like a tower and unmistakably echoes the impression of Rome. The high, oval, main portion shows on each side a mock-door chiselled out of light marble. Above these two relief-panels with *putti* are let in (restored; Fig. 102). Then follows a heavy moulding. Thus the equestrian statue is raised high, like a consecrated offering, and produces in its green patina a lighter effect, than its actual shape would permit. Imagine this socle low, like that of Duke Cosimo I. in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence, — and the whole will be deprived of its value. Therein lies the "decorative" quality of Donatello's art: his ever lauded gift of seeing a work as a complete whole in its right position.

Fig. 103. Bronze Head of a Horse. Naples. Museo Nazionale.
(To page 110.)

The Gattamelata certainly does not present the only possible conception of an equestrian monument. Verrocchio has shown with his Colleoni, what may be obtained with more effective composition, and Lionardo with his designs for the Trivulzio and the Sforza monuments, how the statue may be elevated into the storm-tossed sphere of dramatic art. But Donatello was the first to take up the problem after a thousand years, and perhaps the only artist of the renaissance who solved it in the true spirit of the antique. In this equestrian statue he is altogether realist, and yet altogether classic: full of quiet grandeur!

The same problem occupied him repeatedly afterwards, without however finding another complete solution. First of all in Naples.

Alphonse I. of Aragon had entered this town on Feb. 26. 1443 amid all the pomp and pageantry of an ancient triumpher, which was not merely ephemeral, as on the occasion of Sigismund's reception in Rome, but is immortalized by the noble triumphal arch of Castel Nuovo. But the erection of this arch did not commence until a few months after the entry, and its sculptured decoration was not nearly completed, when Alphonse I. died in 1458, — not to speak of the equestrian statue, for which only the preparations were made and which was never executed. Donatello received the commission for it between 1443 and 1458, but all he ever did was the sketch and part of the working model. Perhaps the political conditions of the Aragonese in Naples prevented the continuation of the work. Had it advanced as far as the casting of the horse's head? Do we possess this head in the mighty bronze at the Museo Nazionale in Naples (Fig. 103), which excited already Goethe's admiration? He saw the head, under Tischbein's guidance, in the Palazzo Caraffa Colobrano (now Palazzo Santangelo) and writes about it on March 7. 1787: "This artistic fragment stands just opposite the gateway in the court in a niche above a fountain and causes astonishment; what must have been the effect produced by this head united with the other members to a complete whole! The horse in its entirety was much larger than those on the church of St. Mark's; and the head, seen closely and by itself, reveals character and power the more clearly and must be all the more admired. The splendid frontal bone, the snorting nose, the attentive ears, the stiff mane! a mightily excited, strong creature!"— Goethe, of course, believed the head to be antique. According to his cicerone, Volkmann's guide-book, it is supposed to be all that is left of an antique equestrian statue which once stood before the Duomo and was partly destroyed in 1322 as the work of the heathen magician Virgil. But Volkmann already, based on Vasari, is uncertain about the antique origin. And with good reason! In 1471 Count Mataloni of Naples thanks Lorenzo de' Medici for a *"testa del cavallo"* sent to him as a present. It is not far-fetched to connect this with the work commenced by Donatello, which in this case Lorenzo would have taken from his protégé. At any rate the

Fig. 104. Bronze Portrait of Lodovico I. Gonzaga. Paris. Mme. André's Collection. (The harness has been added.) (To page 111.)

whole type of the Naples bronze-head is more akin to that of the Gattamelata horse (and this notwithstanding the calmness of the latter), than to any other bronze we know. On the other hand, the enormous *wooden horse* in the *"Salone"* in Padua can only be indirectly connected with Donatello's name. It served as principal attraction, in 1466, in a splendid pageant arranged by Annibale Capolisti in Padua, and carried the colossal figure of Antenor, the mythical founder of the town. Donatello died in 1446, and since this wooden horse is — apart from its present head which is a far later addition — a replica of the Gattamelata horse on just the double scale, we can here only have to deal with a skilful copy of the bronze.

We are told of a project for yet a third equestrian statue by Donatello — for Borso d'Este in Modena, — and in Ferrara he had to give an opinion on two equestrian statues by other artists. The opinion has formerly been held, that the name of him to whose memory is consecrated Donatello's only finished equestrian portrait, was also to be found among the number of his busts; but this was an error. Two excellent bronze-busts of a beardless, laurel-crowned warrior — one in the Berlin Museum, the other in the collection of Mme. Edouard André in Paris (ill. 104) — which were formerly believed to represent the condottiere Gattamelata, are portraits of Lodovico I. Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, in which town Donatello stayed in 1450—1451. Nor does the above mentioned bronze bust in the Bargello of a young man, wearing a delicately chased cameo on his chest, render the features of Gattamelata's son (Fig. 38).

* * *

PERFECTION OF NARRATIVE ART.

Donatello's second "Mæcenas" in Padua was the wool-merchant Francesco di Tergola whose munificent gift for the high altar, in 1446, enabled the sculptor to place his pictorial talent at the service of a more extensive task, than he had ever had to deal with before: the new *decoration of the high altar.* It clashed with the work on the equestrian statue, and thus commences in Padua a mass production of sculpture, which has been aptly compared with Raphael's pictorial decoration of the *loggie* of the Vatican. In 1446 Donatello summons quite a number of assistants: Giovanni da Pisa, Urbano da Firenze, Antonio Celino da Pisa, Francesco del Valente da Firenze, and the "painter" Niccolo. Between 1447 and 1449 these are followed by six more *"garzoni",* and among them a "goldsmith". They put the details into his models, cast them in bronze, chase and gild them — but his name covers all their efforts, and this justifies the critic to judge the figural decoration of the new high altar in the Santo in the first place as Donatello's own work, in spite of the division of labour. The main part of the decorations for the new altar was executed with surprising rapidity: already at the feast of S. Antonio in June 1448, i. e. less than two years after the commencement of the work, the temporary wooden

altar showed ten relief-panels with music-making angels, four panels with the symbols of the Evangelists, seven fairly large statues, and four reliefs with the miracles of St. Anthony. During the next two years only the small *"Ecce homo"* relief and two *putti* were added to these, though it is only right to mention a large stone-relief of the *"Pietà"*, which was finished about the same time. The chief task at this period was the chasing

Fig. 105. Putti from the High Altar of S. Antonio. Padua.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 113.)

and gilding of the bronzes, and the erection of the altar itself, which shone for the first time in the splendour of candle-light on the day of the titular Saint in 1450. It remained for barely 130 years. Between 1579 and 1593 it underwent a change in the hands of Girolamo Campagna, which was to be by no means the last. As Donatello's sculptures were on this occasion placed in entirely different positions, and as it is impossible safely to reconstruct their original arrangement — (the present placing after Camillo Boito's design has the sole advantage of uniting the separated pieces) — it

is advisable to review the separate groups according to their sequence and subjects, without considering their former position.

Most closely connected with Donatello's earlier work is the theme of the twelve *putti*-reliefs: music-making children (Fig. 105). But this time only a few of them are dancing. They are no longer as unrestrained as in Prato. Here, on the altar, they become more mannerly. Singly, or at the most in pairs, with haloes and wreaths, in a light chlamys or in a little shirt, they handle their instruments in as well-bred a manner as their elder brothers and sisters on Luca della Robbia's singing gallery. And yet they remain Donatello's children: quite naive, quite natural, created by an art that wishes to render nothing but warmly pulsating life, without special care to please. Even the influence of the antique is regaled to a back-seat. The study of classic art is only revealed by the cut of the garments and by the way in which the thin coverings cling to the forms. As regards style Donatello's own manner is reflected by a particularly merry tambourine-player, and by a couple singing from the same text and turning to the right. The chief worker among those, to whom he entrusted the elaboration of the remaining figures, was Giovanni da Pisa who proved himself a clever pupil of the master by his clay-altar of the Eremitani chapel. The charm of these figures of children returns once more, and with particular loveliness, among the Evangelists' symbols. A girl is here chosen for St. Matthew's symbol: one of the most lovable figures ever produced by Donatello. The budding form, the delicate little head and especially the delightful hands have the same chaste grace, as the Annunciation figures in S. Croce. It is very different from the classicist angel of the St. Matthew medallion in the sacristy of S. Lorenzo. The animal shapes are less baroque than in the sacristy of S. Lorenzo, but broad and weighty throughout.

Fig. 106. Sa. Giustina from the High Altar of S. Antonio. Padua. (To page 114.)

Among the seven statues which were likewise finished as early as 1448, are two youthful women: Mary and Santa Giustina, but only the latter has

the full charm of womanhood (Fig. 106), It is Donatello's most beautiful female statue. The face, framed by abundant hair, seems to accompany with a slight incline the salute offered by the right hand. The natural grace of this Saint increases the strangeness of the effect of the Madonna (Fig. 107). There is something mysterious and unapproachable in Donatello's Madonnas — even in his reliefs, where they gaze into the Infant Saviour's eyes. In the case of the Paduan statue it lies in the total appearance. A slight suggestion of it could already be found in his only earlier seated figure: the St. John in the Duomo, where the solemn throning already suggested antique temple-statues. The Paduan Madonna is also reminiscent of the antique. Bolt-upright she holds with both hands the Infant in her

Fig. 107. Madonna between St. Francis and St. Anthony from the High Altar of S. Antonio. Padua. After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 114.)

lap, staring straight in front of her, motionless, almost stiff. The whole figure is entirely composed for a frontal effect. One might almost believe, that Donatello had seen some statue of the Ephesian Diana; a prototype of this kind is also suggested by the curious sphynx-decoration at the sides of the throne, similar in originality to the Evangelists' thrones at S. Lorenzo, and afterwards frequently repeated. But a conscious striving after archaism, a following of the monumental character of romanesque art seems more obvious. The naked Infant Saviour is strikingly small and helpless in His attitude; both figures seem to stand rather, than to sit. The whole conception would easiest explain itself, if this group were placed under the cupola-tabernacle *(chua-cupola?)*, which was at one time crowned by the stone-image of God the Father. That the statue of Mary was exposed to

view all round, is proved by the relief of Adam and Eve at the back of the throne, — two nude figures of mighty, almost Michelangelesque forms.

But the compactness, massiveness in the total appearance of this Madonna group, in which the statics of marble are transferred to bronze, is just as paramount in the remaining statues. Of the three monks' figures the youthful Daniel (Fig. 108) is related to the S. Lodovico and the S. Lorenzo in Florence as regards the simplicity of his type, and to the S. Giustina as regards amiability of conception and even attitude; the equally youthful St. Anthony is, on the other hand, as massive as a peasant, which makes his present pendant, the St. Francis, appear the more ascetic. The ideal type of a youthful, beardless idealist, into which the *quattrocento* had transformed St. Francis particularly in Northern Italy, did not agree with Donatello's conception. He may have been pleased to remember that contemporaries had described the mighty preacher as a man of striking ugliness: "Rather short than tall, weakly, with a thin face, narrow lips and projecting ears." Did Donatello search and find his model among the Brothers of S. Antonio? Or did he make free use of the features of the so-called "Uzzano"? At any rate this head of St. Francis is entitled to the same fame as that terracotta-bust at the Bargello, and is one of the chief examples of Donatello's portrait-art: its truthfulness touches the very limits of what art can achieve. — The last pair, St. Lodovico and St. Prosdocimo (Fig. 109), are less important — the one a somewhat more effective version of the type first embodied at Or San Michele in Florence, the other the figure of a Bishop of harsh severity.

Fig. 108. St. Daniel from the High Altar of S. Antonio. Padua.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 115.)

As figures in the round all these statues are essentially variations of earlier motifs, and their chief quality is their simplicity. Progress in power is only to be detected in the easier command over the means of expression employed: there are no new features.

Fig. 109. SS. Lodovico and Prosdocimo from the High Altar of S. Antonio. Padua.
(To page 115.)

This cannot be said of the small *reliefs* with their wealth of figures (Figs. 110—113). They had to deal with the representation of miracles that can be better related than depicted. Neither painter, nor sculptor can indicate, that a child testifies to its mother's innocence, that a miser has a stone instead of a heart in his breast, that it is just the host before which a mule is going on its knees, and that the wound which is only closing through a miracle, is the self imposed punishment for a misdeed. The knowledge of the event and the intention of knowing it, are presupposed. But let them be forgotten for the moment! Try to interpret what you see: crowds of people in an imposing setting, astounded, standing, kneeling, surging like waves of the sea, and in the centre in every case a striking occurrence, represented in quiet objectivity! This is the key of grand, historic art. It was first struck in the Salome relief in Siena, but is now given symphonic fulness. The concentric force is less apparent. The

occurrence is measured more in breadth, than in depth, but the animation of the whole is the same. "The fire and truth of the physical and psychical movement" flare up in bright flames, "and the abundance of visions" serves a sole, grand impression.

One can only reluctantly consent to dissect it. What surprises most in Donatello's work, is here the spatial relation of the figures to their surroundings. Their full height hardly occupies one half of the plane. Above them are lofty, airy halls, or vast buildings all around, to which alone the gilding is characteristically confined. The healing of the irascible happens in the midst of a rectangular amphitheatre with steps and parapets. The miser is laid out in an open place between arcades. The "Miracle of Rimini" takes place under mighty barrel-vaults that are pleasantly reminiscent of the remains of the Constantine Basilica on the Roman Forum. Only the architectural setting of the scene with the innocent mother is flat like the vaults of romanesque churches. The other edifices are not only important for suggesting the depth, but also the mood. Brunelleschi would vault his churches as high and free, as these buildings. Even the background does not confine the range of the eye. A sky with gilt sun and gilt cloudlets is spread over the arena. Through the lattice-work of the halls of Rimini one can recognize another equally broad arcade — scaffolded as yet — and in the other two reliefs the walls are pierced as it were by windows and medallions. But the architectural forms as such remain curiously hard — a succession of the simplest possible forms: large free-stone walls, pilasters, architraves, pediments, round arches, medallions, projecting galleries, ladders placed against the wall, and poles. These are merely perspective means for explaining the depth of the space. It has been said that the influence of Squarcione's Paduan school can here be detected. No doubt this influence does exist, but it is equally certain that it only

Fig. 110. "The Miracle of Rimini". Relief from the High Altar of S. Antonio, Padua. After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 116.)

helped to develop the original tendency of Donatello's relief-art, which appeared already in Siena and had grown in the medallions for the sacristy of S. Lorenzo. The first impulse was given by Brunelleschi. It has furthermore been laid stress upon, that in the relief with the innocent mother and in the "Miracle of Rimini" the perspective point of sight is placed near the ground-line, which is an Upper Italian usage. But this only applies to the architecture, the figures being modelled quite independently. And in the other two reliefs, in which the architectural "tricks of perspective" are at least as prominent, the point of sight is transferred in Florentine fashion to the centre of the plane. It is therefore not a question of a radical change of the whole relief-picture, but merely of new experiments to solve the problem of perspective as far as it concerns architectural and

Fig. 111. "The Stony Heart of the Miser". Relief from the High Altar of S. Antonio. Padua. After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 116.)

geometrical forms. All that determines the place of these reliefs in Donatello's art, is not of Upper Italian origin. It is a new triumph of Donatello as a limner of the human figure. Whatever touches this side of his art, is welcome to him, however inaccessible it may appear. He describes the miracle-worker above all by the miracle. Only once, in Rimini, St. Anthony occupies the material centre; in all the other reliefs he is pushed aside, formally of no more importance than the figures concerned in his actions. But yet he always remains the principal figure, the cynosure of all eyes, though he is not aware of it. His movements are sure and dignified, and even graceful. He has an air of nobility, intensified twofold by his surroundings which are mottled to the verge of the *baroque,* excited to the verge of ecstasy. They approch him on their knees — dandies and beggars, old and young. They crowd and push, seize his garment, kiss the ground on which his foot has trodden, but they also fly from him, as from something incomprehensible. In his immediate proximity they sway to and fro

Fig. 112. "The Mule before the Host". Relief from the High Altar of S. Antonio. Padua. After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 116.)

in a crowded pell-mell, expressing and exchanging that interest, that curiosity which mount on pedestals and socles" (Vœge). It is the first realistic representation of a popular crowd, a "psychology of the crowd". If *"Stilkritik"* in its excessive eagerness applies the dissecting knife and judges the little figures by themselves, it shows a complete misconception of this art. As though Donatello would have handed to his assistants parts of these reliefs measuring scarcely twenty inches in height! Only a master's hands could have managed the modelling-tool with such *verve*. The details are frequently left as mere suggestions, but how ever sketchy and bizarre they may be in places, the artist's wilful genius is ever victorious. And he revels here in a wealth of contrasts which are surprising even with

Fig. 113. "The Healing of the Irascible". Relief from the High Altar of S. Antonio. Padua. After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 116.)

Fig. 114. The Entombment. Relief from the High Altar of S. Antonio. Padua.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 123.)

Donatello! Splendid figures and heads, movements of perfect grace, attitudes of delightful *naiveté*—and close by common-looking figures of every day life, from the street, physiognomies of repulsive ugliness. Sometimes the antique forces itself boldly into prominence, as in the costumes. The *chiton* which leaves the arms free and, in rapid movement, bulges sail-like round the shoulders, recurs strikingly often. But then, in the "Miracle of Rimini", we find a perfect show-card of modish headgear! — On the relief of the "Healing of the irascible" an antique river-god is joined by his Naiad. She is resting on the ground in lying position — evidently copied direct from some antique work. Her budding figure is unique among Donatello's women. Not so the youthful woman who hurries excitedly to the right on the "Miser" relief. She is the *virago* he loves to represent, though rarely as beauteous in form and as elegant as here. And then on the Rimini relief again a figure from the street: the old woman with the ugly, contorted face, who is calling out the goods in her baskets! In addition there are all manner of exaggerations, convulsive stretching of the limbs, stiffness of movement, stretching of the whole figure to unnatural length. In some places the very power of composition seems to be lamed and the connection loosened; but in the result even these faults appear as happy contrasts to the principal groups. The even rows of heads of these

groups are overtowered by a few figures — spectators that have climbed a higher position and are generally leaning against each other in pairs. They are only the metrical breaks in a stormy rhythm. Whether they are modelled almost in the round, or only just outlined in silhouette — the harmony of form is nowhere broken. This trait alone completely divides these bronze panels from Ghiberti's panels for the doors of the Baptistery, which were at that time nearing completion and are totally different as regards aims and form: show-pieces in a public thoroughfare, square panels, in broad daylight, placed one on top of the other and treating different subjects. But the difference of style goes beyond these deviations of the task. Ghiberti fills his panels with figures and scenes that are exquisitely co- and subordinated, without regulated planes and without severe divisions. The movement is irregularly distributed over the ground, or it tends from the background to the front; whilst with Donatello it spreads as in the foreground of the stage, and the greatest possible number of heads are placed in the same height. The old, predella-like band-composition is still echoed. But not only the grouping is entirely different, but also the modelling. Ghiberti thinks like a goldsmith. He even attaches the figures in the immediate foreground after having shaped them in the round, and models the others in high relief, as though he were embossing a metal plaque. —

Fig. 115. Pietà. Bronze Relief. London. South Kensington Museum. (To page 124.)

Fig. 116. Pietà. Bronze Plaque. (To page 125.)

Donatello works into the depth; he treats the clay-model for the bronze-cast just as he would a marble slab. Both methods are justifiable, for both lead to the goal. But Ghiberti arrived only through his unusual skill, whilst Donatello follows an eternal artistic principle. Ghiberti shows to what extent the sculptor may enter into competition with the painter; Donatello shows how he can become his equal on his own ground. These are formal differences, based on a different habit of "seeing". In addition we have the contrasts of mood and of the manner of telling the story. Ghiberti presents delightful *genre*-pictures of historical subjects — Donatello historical pictures with *genre*-like incidents. Truly a golden age of art, that could produce such creations side by side! They mark the culmination-points of two lines of development that extend through centuries. But Ghiberti remains linked to his precursors, whilst Donatello rushes far ahead of his time. For these Paduan reliefs have also that charm of all great creations, that they presage something "higher" yet. They are a little harsh, like fruit that has not had time to ripen. Only two generations later these buds blossom forth in full splendour: with Raphael. He has been well acquainted with these reliefs and has probably worked in Padua "before 1508". A sketch in the Uffizi represents important parts from the story of the miracle of the heart, and in the frescoes at the Vatican are numerous figures and groups, that are inspired by these reliefs. Vœge has proved this irrefutably. In accordance with his task he confines himself to the single, borrowed figures and contents himself with merely touching upon the question of general kinship. Once recognized, this connection between Donatello and Raphael offers one of those gleams of light that illuminate, lightning-like, the obscurest depths of art-work. Donatello's "Miracle of St. Anthony" and Raphael's "Frescoes in the Camera della Signatura", as monuments of grand, historic art, are milestones of the same road. With Raphael they stand amidst flowering fields, in brightest sunshine — with Donatello they tower mightily on waste land in crepuscular light. The more powerful appears the force that planted them in such a place: this feeling grows upon one in Padua. In this town Giotto's narrative art makes its most powerful appeal from the walls of the *cappella dell' arena,* but after him monumental style is struck dumb, to be only reawakened by Donatello's minute reliefs — but only for short while!

The very scenes which inspired him to such effervescent representations, served, six decades later and at the same *Santo,* as a pretext to Tullio Lombardo and his clique, for showing their brilliant, classicist training.

The pathos of these bronze-reliefs has a gay key-note. It is the expression of curiosity, surprise, admiration, and ardent devotion. Can this manner of relating increase its power and fire in a tragic subject? The answer is given by the large stucco-relief of the "Entombment" which serves now — as it probably did originally — as *postpendium* for the back of the altar (Fig. 114). Two works serve as foils for judging this relief: Donatello's own panel of the Roman tabernacle, chiselled about ten years previously, and Giotto's fresco in the Arena chapel in Padua. Strangely enough the latter is nearer akin to Donatello's Roman, than to his Paduan relief. The classic restraint of the lamentation, which the small version at St. Peter's has in common with Giotto's fresco, has disappeared in the stucco-relief. As far as the figures are not immediately occupied with placing the body of the Lord in the sarcophagus, they abandon themselves to wildest grief. The sobbing has given way to raving, the covered faces to convulsively distorted features. In Giotto's work St. John throws himself with arms wide apart upon the Lord; in the Roman relief the most active figure hurries forward with raised arms — in the Paduan stone-picture two women throw up their arms wildly, the third tears her hair, and yet another is clutching her temples. These four mourners are, it is true, in the background and only partially visible. As in Rome, only the action takes place in the foreground. But this time eight strong arms are still holding the body in the air, *over* the sarcophagus, a high, rectangular stone-chest which occupies nearly the whole lower part of the panel. Its front is divided into compartments and decorated with mosaics of coloured paste, a style of decoration which is also used for the wall behind the figures, as far as

Fig. 117. St. John the Baptist. Venice. S. Maria dei Frari.
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 125.)

this wall is at all visible; for the relief is cut off immediately above the heads, so that it leaves hardly enough room for the raised hands. Shape and position explain this manner of composition. An intrinsic contrast to the bronze-panels with the miracles of St. Anthony does not exist. But the passion which in the figures of these panels takes the shape of joyful movement, is here expressed as a shrill, plaintive cry, and the harshness of types and forms is transferred, without mitigation, to the clearness of a life-size scale. It becomes repulsive. The relief has moreover suffered, and is covered with thick varnish. Some passages, like the figure at the foot-end of the bier, whose movements are perfectly lame, points towards a hurried completion of the work which has almost the effect of an improvisation. Donatello has treated a kindred culmination-point of the Passion in a similar spirit, but with a little more care. The small bronze-relief of the "Pietà" at the South Kensington Museum (Fig. 115) with silhouetted outlines, destined for being placed on a flat background, has more psychologic depth, and the composition is more subtly tuned. There is *nothing but* lamentation. The Sacred Body is resting in the lap of Mary. She is seated on the ground, and four mourners surround this low group, symmetrically disposed, but varied in masterly fashion. St. John on the right turns away, covering his face with his hand, as on the relief at St. Peter's; Magdalen on the left extends both arms towards the Saviour — one of those touching, fervent actions which cannot be described in words. This one figure would suffice to show Danatello's greatness, although her wildly lamenting companion in the background next to St. John is her compeer! Note how splendidly the forms of the body appear under the thin garments! In this respect this small, unchased rough cast completely makes up for the lack of freshness shown in some places by the Paduan stone-relief, but in connection with the Paduan sculptures it is only discussed here, because in its subject it forms a pendant to that stucco-relief. As regards style, it may as well belong to a later period. A bronze plaque of the same scene with nine figures,

Fig. 118. St. John the Baptist. Siena. Duomo. (To page 126.)

several copies of which have been preserved, is probably only inspired by Donatello (Fig. 116).

Donatello at the head of his large workshop in Padua may still have found time for many a work of secondary importance. Vasari refers to his extensive activity for a nunnery, and specially mentions, besides "a vast number of works in all parts of that city", a carved St. Sebastian, a marble Madonna, and numerous clay and plastic figures.

The altar in the Santo was finished in 1450, and the equestrian statue of Gattamelata was only erected in 1453. At this time Donatello appears to have entered into negotiations with other Upper Italian art-centres: in Modena he receives the commission for the Equestrian portrait of Borso d'Este, which has already been referred to; for Mantua he commences a tomb of S. Anselmo; in Ferrara he has to give expert opinion on two equestrian statues. Of all these enterprises we have no definite knowledge yet. In 1453 Donatello is urged about the most-important of them — the monument for Modena, but evidently in vain. The models for the S. Anselmo monument were not yet cast in 1458. Probably he also went to Venice during these years. Vasari reports that Donatello had carved in Venice the *wooden statue of the Baptist* for the Florentine chapel in S. Maria dei Frari. It is still there (Fig. 117). The conception resembles that of the St. John of Orvieto at the Berlin Museum. Both are to be imagined as addressing a crowd. The bronze-statue of St. Anthony in Padua shows the preliminary stage of the expressive action of the raised right hand. But the facial expression differs: a curious mixture of naive faith and persuasive power, added to a type that does not exactly suggest spiritual quickness. —

At that time Donatello's fame must have been as popular in Upper Italy, as in Florence. It penetrated even into Dalmatia, though it is quite likely that Michelozzo cleared the way for it. In 1453 the Archbishop of Zara applies to his colleague in Treviso to obtain designs for his palace from Donatello. But the aged master was longing to get back to Florence. He is supposed to have said that he did not find the homage of the Paduans profitable. Was the sexagenarian not accustomed to this from Florence? Did he feel that the future fate of his art could only be decided on his native soil? How ever this may be, Donatello was busy in Florence from 1456 to his end, except for a lengthy sojourn in Siena.

* * *

VI.

HIS LATE STYLE (1453 — 1466).

When does a great artist pass into old age? Is it when his eye gets dim and his hands begin to tremble? — But he is still quick with a world clamouring for expression! Is it when a younger generation has ceased to understand him? — But he has deeper roots than they and his eye roams

Fig. 119. Head of St. John the Baptist. Siena. Duomo. Cf. Fig. 118. (To page 126.)

from exalted heights across the far distance! Is it when his partiality becomes obstinacy? But he has to complete a legacy that would suffer from any concession! —

Donatello's last works show no waning in creative power, but a gradual relaxation of that concentrating tension which forces artistic thought into its clearest shape.

Only two statues of single figures, which have to be bracketed, though they may be divided by time — two penitents retain this tension: the bronze *St. John* in the Siena Duomo, and the carved wood Magdalen in the Florence Baptistery. The *Baptist* (Fig. 118) was delivered in 1457 — again only an instalment of an extensive commission which was followed by others during the next few years. As a matter of fact, Donatello subsequently returned repeatedly to Siena. — The bronze statue of his Baptist (Fig. 118) may be fruitfully compared with his numerous figures of the same Saint, especially with the bronze at Orvieto, the marble in the Bargello, and the Venetian statue. But it can also be placed with the Campanile figures. Above all, it is in feeling closely akin to the Zuccone. This St. John is also a philosopher of the street, but he is at the same time the preacher in the desert, demanding conversion and penitence. Not as gaunt, as the model for the bronze statue and the psalm-singer in the Bargello, it is yet a figure totally lacking in nobility of form: broad feet, ancles and legs goutishly swollen. (The right arm is restored.) Over this more than life-size body hangs a rude skin, scarcely girded, and open at the sides like the ancient *chiton*. There is something reliable about the strong, thick-set figure already. In the head it becomes a striving force (Fig. 119). The deep-set eyes seems to glow, the broad, open mouth to twitch, and the dense hair clusters wavelike over the massive forehead and flows down to the shoulders. The bronze head of Christ in the Santo at Padua is similar in character, but here the "bronze-style" retains still more of the pictorial character of the clay-sketch; the decision of the forms is even less. The tufts of the skin are put on, just as a master's hand places slight touches of colour on the canvas.

The consanguinity of the Magdalen (Fig. 120) in Florence with this Baptist appears less strikingly in the harder treatment of form necessitated by wood and carving tool. As regards breadth, the head at least is not inferior even to the Zuccone. Observe the passages of the eyes and mouth! In spite of the wicked, later addition of a coat of brown paint, the general impression remains powerful. In conception it is opposed to the St. John, who is penitent and preacher at the same time. The activeness of the man is more strongly accentuated. Magdalen is only penitent, only passive, physically and spiritually brimfull with the burden of past sins. Such a Magdalen has never been represented in art, either before or after Donatello: she is, indeed, not much more than a skeleton — almost the image of a dead woman. But she *lives;* she still stands erect on her shrunken feet, and the death's-head is mumbling prayers. It is this, that deeply affects the beholder in the figure, as though he heard already above her head Savonarola's words of thunder: *"Agite, poenitentiam!* Oh Florence, thou sittest by the waters of thy sins!" This the *young Donatello* would not have intended to picture — could not have pictured. But even at this late period of his work he did not always conceive thus the end of life. This is proved by the masterly *bronze bust* of an *old woman* in the *Bargello* (Fig. 121); which formerly passed as a work of Vecchietta's, but is now with good reason claimed by Bode for Donatello. It was originally in the *guardaroba* of the Medici, where Vasari saw Donatello's image of Cosimo's spouse. The bust is evidently worked from a death-mask, but intense and touching peacefulnes is spread over the features which are already a little pointed.

* * *

JUDITH.

The reliable dating of the Sienese Baptist, 1457, together with the style of this statue, enable the critic to ascribe to this post-Paduan period another bronze of far more importance, which has been puzzling to all Donatello's biographers: the *Judith group* (Figs. 122—126). Bode places it about 1440, Schmarsow earlier still, whilst Tschudi, Pastor, and recently Mackowski are in favour of the late period — rightly so, I believe.

Fig. 120. MAGDALEN. Florence. Baptistery. (To page 127.)

Like so many other works, the Judith group has changed its position and purpose. It was originally an ornament for the fountain in the court of the Casa Medici — and therefore of essentially decorative value, like, say the destroyed sandstone figure of "Wealth" ("Dovizia"), which stood on a column at the Mercato Vecchio since 1431. After the banishment of Piero de' Medici the "Judith" became a public national monument. In 1495 it was placed at the entrance of the government palace on the baluster-shaped basis which once supported the David and was now in-

Fig. 121. Bronze Bust. Florence. Museo Nazionale (Bargello). (To page 127.)

scribed: *"Exemplum Sal. Pub. Cives posuere MCCCCXCV."* — In 1504, when Michelangelo's David took its place, it was transferred to its present position under the side-arch of the Loggia de' Lanzi, which is the most unfavourable position that could be imagined. But even before it was impossible to hide the weak points of the composition. They have their roots partly in the task itself. Holofernes is killed, whilst resting intoxicated on his couch. This could really only be represented in a relief; a group in the round can only suggest the situation, and Donatello has not tried anything else. Judith stands erect over Holofernes who is sitting on a cushion. His legs are hanging to the right and left of a corner of the

triangular pedestal, but the body is pulled up by the heroine who, with her left is seizing the head by the hair, and tries at the same time to keep the body with her knees in an upright position, so as to enable her to give him the death-stroke. She steps across the man's shoulder on to his right hand which is hanging down stiffly, like his left. This is an intricate grouping, which was moreover not absolutely necessary, — not even if Donatello wanted to avoid the representation of the deed already *accomplished,* as it is presented by Cellini's Perseus. Imagine that Judith has pulled the

Fig. 122. Judith Group. Florence. Loggia de' Lanzi.
After a photograph from the original by Giacomo Brogi, Florence. (To page 127.)

drunken man from his bed and is dragging him along the ground, like, say the "Gaul" in the Museo Buoncompagni in Rome is dragging his dead wife! Or one might vary Donatello's own Campanile group of Abraham and Isaac, according to the difficult task which demands the same value for both figures, as regards space! This, too, is possible, as has been proved by the "triumphal groups" of Michelangelo, Giovanni da Bologna and Bandinelli. As "group in the round" the "Judith" is a failure. This was already blamed in 1504 by Messer Francesco, a public functionary. — But as a piece of sculptural daring it is a work of admirable boldness. With

a view to the requirements of statuesque art the result is similar to that of the second series of Campanile statues. In either case protest is silenced in face of the wealth of life radiated by the whole and by every single part. The legs and arms of Holofernes hang down as "unbeautifully" as possible, but they are modelled with inimitable truth to nature (Fig. 123). The outlines of the Judith are not happy — but who could ever forget this woman's figure, as she stands, dressed in heavy, flowing folds, raising the sword and yet hesitating before the final blow, as though a shiver were passing through her whole body. Thus sleep is murdered, and like Macbeth this silent Judith seems to speak unto herself:

"If it were done when 'tis done!" —

And again, as with the bronze David and the Gattamelata, there is an effective echo of the antique in this Old Testamental figure. Close by the Judith group in the Loggia de' Lanzi stands to this very day the antique Roman colossal statue, known as "Thusnelda", but representing a "Germania" whose features must have made an impression on Donatello's mind, when this statue was still in Rome. Eugène Müntz was first to recognize this, and in doing so he has explained one of the most classical of Donatello's types of women. This tendency towards the antique is more clearly shown by the ornamental accessories. On the drapery across the shoulders of Judith appear, embroidered as it were, two pairs of *putti,* and Holofernes wears a cameo on his neck. But this tendency becomes far more striking on the socle, the three sides of which are decorated with relief panels of *putti* (Figs .125 and 126). In front they are dancing round, embracing, and blowing their horns to, the image of a boy-Bacchus; on the two other sides the Erotes despoil the vines and splash about in a large, round vase, in front of which two of their playmates are lying as though they were drunk. The note of the two singing galleries is echoed here, but far more unrestrained, in an orgiastic ecstasy. As regards form these naked *putti* are akin to those of the plaster medallions on the sacristy ceiling of S. Lorenzo, and, as in this sacristy, not only every corner-pilaster on the Judith socle is decorated with minute putti, but also the very rim of the wine-presses.

Fig. 123. Detail from the Judith Group (Foot of Holofernes). Cf. Fig. 122.
(To pages 127 and 130.)

The dating cannot, of course, be based on these classic elements, since they recur persistently in all Donatello's work. In its entirety the Judith group is even further removed from classic antiquity, than any other creation

Fig. 124. Head of Judith. Cf. Fig. 122. (To page 127.)

of the master's. It no longer shows any heed of formal beauty and no such balancing of harmonious masses, as can be found in some of the work executed after his sojourn in Rome! There is, on the contrary, a want of consideration, which becomes almost bizarre, as in the figures and groups of the Paduan reliefs. In Padua can also be found the figures, that are immediately related to it in style. Compare the Judith with the Sa. Giustina: the drapery, sleeves, hands, and head! Examine the work on the ægis-like shoulder-cloak with its *putti* and fringes, and then observe the corresponding parts of Daniel's dalmatica in Padua! The head of Holofernes reminds one in his whole conception of the one on the Paduan crucifix and of the Christ between the angels on the small, square altar-panel. All this points aptly towards the Paduan period. The further question, whether the work was executed before or after 1453, is, on the other hand, decided by the later works, and above all by the bronze Baptist in Siena, which presents the most striking analogies in the treatment of the head and of the nude. As in the Sienese bronze, the almost decorative effect of distance of the earlier marble figures is here transferred to bronze. But also the general character of the Judith group on its socle is more decorative, than monumental. In the case of the decoration for the font this was justifiable. When the group rose in the lofty court of the Medici, and the masks of the socle-reliefs, as well as the cushion on the socle, spouted jets of water into a granite basin that had been decorated by Donatello himself, the effect was far better, if only because the socle appeared much wider. But even then the severe discipline of the sculptor must have been missed. A "snapshot" is capriciously and obstinately materialized. Donatello had worked like that before, but then he had a tighter grip of the reins. Here the whole plastic construction is loosened in the composition of the principal group and more so in the *putti*-reliefs. This is the final and strongest reason for placing this group later than the Gattamelata, and the reliefs on the socle later than the marvellous Paduan panels.

This is strikingly confirmed by the one work which undoubtedly belongs to the end of Donatello's career: the bronze decoration for

THE PULPITS OF S. LORENZO.

In this artist's life, so rich in problems, these last works are the most problematical. In the shape in which they now appear at the end of the nave of S. Lorenzo — as bronze casements of two pulpits supported by columns — they were not completed until about hundred years after Donatello's death. Some parts at the back are carved copies after Ghiberti and Giovanni da Bologna. The principal parts must have formed two pulpits already in 1510, since they are mentioned in Albertini's *"Memoriale"* of that year, as *"due Pergami di bronzo per Evangelio et Epistola"*. But they were then in another place, from which they were removed in 1515 and temporarily "trimmed" to serve as a principal piece of the decorations for the entry of Leo X. The order for the whole work was given to Donatello not later than 1460. He died before he could finish it, and his pupil Bertoldo continued the work. This is already related by Vasari. Only the pulpit on the right bears the words "Opus Donatelli Flo." on a small tablet held by centaurs; the corresponding plaque of the companion-piece remains empty. Of more importance than the reconstruction, is the question, how far the conception and execution are due to Donatello's

Fig. 125. Relief on the Socle of the Judith Group. Cupid between Putti. Cf. Fig. 122. After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To pages 127 and 130.)

Fig. 126. Relief on the Socle of the Judith Group. Cf. Fig. 122. (To pages 127 and 130.)

personal efforts. Semrau has tried to answer this question in one of the most thorough monographs that have as yet been devoted to the study of Donatello. He gives him only the three reliefs on the front of the pulpit on the right: the Descent to Hell, the Resurrection, and the Ascension; and the right front half of the pulpit on the left, together with the relief of the adjoining narrow side: the Lamentation and the Entombment; but these he considers to be worked over and executed after Donatellesque *motifs* respectively, just like the rich frieze of the pulpit on the right. All the rest is school-work in every sense of the word, the Paduan Bellano's being paramount. — Carefully though this "division of labour" be reasoned, it is yet improbable, because it bestows upon doubtful or not very tangible artistic personages of the second order, what can only be intelligible, bizarre though it may be, as the creation of a great master; and because pupils, if asked to complete the master's work *independently,* would no doubt have been more thoughtful in composition and more careful in detail. Thus modern investigation has rejected Semrau's hypotheses and has on the whole returned to the faith in the artist's modest signature. This does, however, not imply that Donatello in his full power would have handed the models to the caster in the shape, in which they have been perpetuated. His manner of sketching at this late period is best shown by the *clay-relief* of the *Flagellation* and the *Crucifixion* at the South Kensington Museum,

which has to be considered a sketch for the decoration of the altar ordered by the *Arte della Lana,* and which carries on its rich predella the escutcheon of the Forzori (Fig. 127). The relation of the numerous figures to the scene and the lofty double arcades of the architecture remind one on the one hand of the "Miracle of Rimini" in Padua, but on the other hand of the "Caiphas and Pilate" relief of the passion-scenes which now decorate the left, narrow side of the left pulpit in S. Lorenzo. Imagine now, that with growing age the creator of this clay-sketch lost the clearness of his sight and the sureness of his hand; that the consciousness of having but little time left to him on earth drove him to feverish haste; and finally that the pupils, inspired by a natural feeling of reverence left the sketches as far as possible unchanged and executed them at any rate as unchased, rough casts! The reliefs for the pulpits of S. Lorenzo will then contain nothing, that could not be explained as Donatellò's property. For a biographical sketch which is mainly concerned with describing in broad lines the connection of this gigantic life-work, they represent — in spite of all inequalities — the harmonious monument of Donatello's last art.

What were the aims of this art? —

Above all a freedom in the handling of plastic forms, that defies all fetters of convention.

He had to create reliefs for casements — the same task, therefore, which was put to him by the singing gallery in Florence, and similar to the one of the decoration of the altar in Padua. But now the tectonic frame is broken through. The rhythmic division of the figural scenes is only effected by means of architectural features which are part and parcel of the scenery represented on the panels. And the crowd of shapes strive out of this loose, tectonic structure, place themselves as single figures in front of the pilasters, try to find a place outside the frames which themselves only appear as parapets, press against the balustrades, spread in the background in boldest perspective over the whole plane, and float out of it, as it were into the air. This manner of composition is not quite new with Donatello. Even the relief of the "Marys at the tomb" (Fig. 128), where all the figures move between a row of pilasters and a background of trellis-work, has its prototype on the singing gallery of the Duomo in Florence. But nowhere before has this principle been developed with such boldness, nowhere has everything that shows the slightest restraint been so completely set aside.

And now, in addition, *his narrative art!* Donatello's mighty talent for story-telling is here once more centred in one focus. The eyes of his body — they were already tired — no longer see the actual scenes, but with the intuition of his inner eye he "pours out" — to use Dürer's words — what he has during the course of his life "collected from without": shapes that crowd together like the waves of a rushing stream. They rise, half visible, from the ground and protrude from the sides; sometimes they are phantom-like, flat, sometimes of exaggerated corporeality, as different as could be in their proportions, and of unequal pictorial value. The ruling

character is the impression of instantaneous *movement,* effervescent and convulsive to the verge of paroxysm — but next to it again perfectly quiet men who are only just present and a number of squatting, silently brooding

Fig. 127. Clay Relief. FLAGELLATION AND CRUCIFIXION. London. South Kensington Museum. (To page 134.)

figures: the quietness of the grave personified. These are no longer figures to which the measure of living models may be applied. Their limbs are frequently twisted out of shape, their gestures convulsive, their faces distorted under the abundance of flowing or bristling hair. They are images that

can only be understood as the expression of a soul and mind. At the end of his career Donatello's manner closely approaches that of Rembrandt, with which it shared many traits even at an earlier date. They also resemble each other in the impetuousity of their technique, in the *"furia del penello"*. But Donatello has grown a little senile and is more loquacious, than a good raconteur should be. Few among these reliefs have dominating figures. Such a one stands forth most powerfully on the reliefs of the front of the

Fig. 128. The Women at the empty Tomb.
Relief for the Pulpits of S. Lorenzo. Florence. (To page 134.)

pulpit on the right, representing in the shape of a trilogy the "Descended into hell, rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven". But already Christ Himself and his entourage are here represented in that strange manner which Ruskin would describe as "grotesque" — grotesque in the sense of terrific, spectral. And this grotesqueness appears everywhere. It mingles with the wailing for the crucified and the dead Saviour (Fig. 129), with the astonishment of the Marys at the empty tomb, and even with the ecstatic devotion, with which the disciples receive the Holy Ghost who descends lightning-like in the shape of a sheath of rays. "Grotesque" here signifies "exaggerated", and in this sense it can be applied to all the

single figures whose entirety suggests the feverish fancies of a soul in anguish. Something like horror of death passes through all these pictures.

And yet they are to *decorate* a place from which the word of God is proclaimed! As decoration, too, these works bear evidence to Donatello alone, no less than the *putti*-frieze above, which accompanies those gruesome scenes in a shrill dissonance, confining again at the same time this flood of moving forms in the narrowest frame. Horses scarcely subdued by their

Fig. 129. The Entombment.
Relief for the Bronze Pulpits of S. Lorenzo. Florence. (To page 136.)

leaders rush out of the corners, and even the *putti* on the capitals of the pilasters are in hurried movement.

This grotesque, demonic spirit lurches in the background of many of Donatello's works, but hitherto it had been artistically subdued: Only in his old age it gained power over him. Thus the pulpit of S. Lorenzo mark the last summit of his art, no longer resplendent in sunny brightness, but with wild. forms surrounded by flashes of lightning and lost in mist and clouds.

Donatello died on the 13th of December, 1466.

* * *

VII.

ATELIER-ART. MADONNAS. INDEPENDENT RELIEFS. DECORATIONS.

All mass-production is expressed in small amounts. In a sculptor's atelier this is caused by the leading master himself. Donatello expressed himself in form, as the musician does in notes, but the sculptor's improvisation took permanent shape in the wax or clay sketch, and occasionally tempted to more careful elaboration. Thus originated most of the *Madonnas* which pass to-day under Donatello's name: clay-reliefs realistically painted with water-colours or bronzed; plaster-casts in most cases likewise polychromatic; replicas of originals and models, and small plaques in bronze or lead. Many of these are the work of assistants. But Vasari already refers to marble reliefs of the Madonna by Donatello, works in most delicate *stiacciato,* which at his time were considered important works of greatest perfection: in the houses of the Medici, of Jacopo Capponi, Antonio de' Nobili, Bartolommeo Gondi, and Lelio Torelli. To these must be added the Pazzi and Orlandini Madonna's at the Berlin Museum, which have already been mentioned (Fig. 59). The large, and more decorative, marble high-reliefs on the tomb of John XXIII. and on the Brancacci monument were certainly approved by Donatello, even

Fig. 130. Madonna in the Architectural Background of the Bronze Relief of the "Adoration of the Infant". Padua. S. Antonio. High Altar. Cf. Fig. 110. (To page 139.)

Fig. 131. MADONNA. Stucco Relief. Berlin. Royal Museum.
(To pages 140 and 141.)

if Michelozzo is responsible for the designs, and in the same way the medallion in the tympanum of the Southern side-door of Siena Cathedral can be traced back to his invention. The same remark applies to the bronze-relief in silhouette at the Louvre — the Virgin pressing the Infant towards her: a work so mature in form, that it was formerly held to be of the sixteenth century.

But by far the major part are reliefs in clay, plaster, or *papier-maché,* effectively painted, like the imposing altarpiece with the praying Virgin at the Berlin Museum (Fig. 66), or altogether sketchy. Thanks to Wilhelm Bode the Berlin Museum owns the largest collection of these, but for further elucidation of the subject one also has to search the Louvre — which possesses a particularly delightful work in the painted clay-relief of two profile figures looking towards the left —, the South Kensington Museum, Florence, and a few private collections. Authentic in every sense is only the minute Madonna-picture in the background of the "Adoration" in Padua (Fig. 130). In the case of all others *"Stilkritik"* alone is decisive, and this criticism is faced by the most difficult problems. The whole problem of "Donatello's workshop and school" is here unfolded. To touch upon it in these pages is as impossible, as it is inadvisable. We must content ourselves with the general estimation — but this is indispensable, for Donatello's Madonnas are an essential contribution to his character-sketch. In looking at his mighty series of male figures sparkling with life and truth, one is apt to forget that Donatello has also described woman with delightful diversity. The figures in which he has expressed the wildest excitement are women, like the mourners by the corpse of the Saviour; and his realism attained to its boldest height in a woman: the Magdalen. But here the woman is only the embodiment of a style which rules over Donatello's entire art-work. Not so in the case his Madonnas, where his psychologic art takes the deepest root and finds the tenderest notes. The Mary of the

Annunciation in S. Croce is a hymn to virginal sentiment, full of grace, and at the same time full of sacred fire. As mother, too, she sometimes displays similar charm in Donatello's work. An instance of genre-like conception is afforded by the lovely clay-relief in the Beckerath collection in Berlin. In the majority of his Madonna-reliefs the "mother" theme sounds a more serious note than ever before, even if the Virgin apparently only adjusts the Infant's necklace. ("Clay-relief with the standing Child." Berlin, Royal Museum.) The type of his Madonna's face already is new: a profile of truly classic severity. There is a grandeur in its lines, that even Donatello himself only found on rare occasions. They retain something typical, an echo as it were of *trecento* art. Donatello likes to provide his earliest Madonna's with a large head-cloth and a heavy cloak, but later his decorative instinct asserts itself. Ribbons are tied fantastically round the hair, and the garment shows insertions and rich embroidery. But everywhere this charm of form is psychologically determined by the noblest sentiments of which woman is capable: motherly love and motherly care. Frequently his Madonnas gaze upon their Child, as though they were seeing Him for the last time. They hold Him tight, but a fleeting shadow passes over the happy feeling of being together. This is the case in the small plaster-relief of the Berlin collection (Fig. 131). As though she were seized by a fearful presentiment, Mary, with an altogether instantaneous movement, holds the Child before her, as if she wanted to make sure, that He is still actually breathing. How did the wifeless man learn such sentiment? — Donatello's art knows no smile, but whoever for that reason denies it the possession of "soul", as Rumohr has done, should be referred to these Madonna reliefs. And yet even here Donatello remains realist. His Infant Saviour is quite earthly — often a helpless, tightly swathed babe that generally remains an entirely "passive" object of maternal care, sometimes moves its little hands towards its mouth or grasps at its mother, but is not yet able to — pray. The only time when He shows excitement — on the plaque a replica of which is at the Berlin Museum — it is only, because He

Fig. 132. Madonna. Marble Relief. Berlin. Royal Museum.
To page 141.)

is disturbed in taking the mother's breast which is already bared! In most cases he nestles to her, and the heads too are close together. Donatello is here led to the same motifs which afterwards are to occupy Raphael. The small medallion of the Paduan relief is so completely the prototype of Raphaël's "Madonna of the Casa Tempi" in Munich, that one may conclude that the Urbinate knew it as well as the relief with the dead miser. The "Madonna with the squatting Child" (marble relief at the Berlin Museum, Fig. 132) is a characteristic example of his maturest relief-art. The foreshortened forms are here placed in front of each other and of the background in the style of gems. —

Fig. 133. Bronze Medallion.
At the Louvre in Paris and the Hainauer Collection in Berlin.
(To page 141.)

In this subject, too, his manner of relating gains in fulness and breadth, notwithstanding his being confined to the semi-figure. Frequently cherubs' heads are added to the principal group. In a spoilt replica which was in 1902 at Stefano Bardini's in Florence, the Berlin plaster-relief with the almost frightened looking Madonna (Fig. 131) receives the addition of a tabernacle-like frame and of two naked child-angels standing below and playing cymbal and guitar. It is the favourite motif of Venetian pictures, and recurs in the Madonnas at the South Kensington Museum and in Dr. Weisbach's collection in Berlin (cf. Fig. 58). Bode has lately given quite a list of Madonna-reliefs in which animated child-angels extend the scenes. They have mostly come down to us in school-copies, but in one case — an unchased bronze-cast at the Louvre and at Mrs. Hainauer's in Berlin (Fig. 133) — the sketch of the master himself appears to be preserved. In this relief the melancholy seriousness of Mary disappears in the crowd of merry children's heads. Donatello has also repeatedly depicted the Adoration of the Child in the manger.

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Fig. 134. Martelli Escutcheon. Florence. Casa Martelli. (To page 143.)

The number of Madonnas ascribed to Donatello has increased during the last few years, the busts of children, on the other hand, with which his name has been so often connected, have to be struck from the list of his works. The small, standing boy-Saviour, that was carried by children under a canopy through Florence in a procession during the carneval of 1497, and is specially described by a contemporary writer as the work of Donatello, cannot now be traced. —

The master's share is also doubtful in the case of the small *bronze-reliefs* with scenes from the *passion*. Two of these are mentioned by Vasari as works by Donatello in the *guardaroba* of the Medici. The *"Calvary"* relief in the Museo Nazionale in Florence, with its effective though overcharged gold ornamentation, has certain features in common with the Paduan reliefs and with those of the pulpits of S. Lorenzo. Not only the whole conception with its wealth of contrasts, but some of the single figures are unquestionably Donatello's property, but they seem to be executed by some pupil, probably on the basis of a mere drawing or sketch in clay. The nature of such models can approximately be judged from the plaster copy of a Crucifixion at the Berlin Museum or from the unchased, rough cast of the "Flagellation" panel at the same museum. From such improvisations to the miniature-like, delicate chasing of some reliefs is such a far cry, that *"Stilkritik"* proves ineffectual. A masterpiece thoroughly worthy of Donatello himself, even as regards the degree of finish, is the bronze-picture of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, belonging to Mme. André in Paris. The relief-panel of the *"Entombment"* in the Imperial Museum in Vienna, on the other hand, has already the fineness of goldsmiths' ornaments. This is not in contradiction with Donatello's views. What he himself created as goldsmith, seems to be irretrievably lost, but in spite of all his breadth he shared the pleasure of his period in dainty detail. This is proved by his tabernacle-frames, the helmet of the David, the saddle of the Gattamelata, and the garment of the Judith. He applies "small art", wherever it is permissible. The bust of a youth in the Bargello (Fig. 38) wears a cameo on the neck (Cupid on a chariot); the Gattamelata in Padua has a wonderful Medusa head on his chest. Even the small Madonna at the Louvre shows some *putti*-heads embroidered on the shoulders and over her breasts. And all

this is exquisitely worked. Whenever Cellini speaks in favour of careful chasing, of *"rinettare"* the bronzes, he refers expressly to Donatello. But it cannot be denied, that, in spite of its grandeur and beauty, the Vienna relief which is doubtless the most perfect work of this whole "small art", makes one miss Donatello's impetuous freshness even more than the small plaque of the "Pietà" in Bertoldo's style at the Bargello. "The language of gesture is already congealed, born of the habitual repetition of fixed attitudes of arms and hands." It is that Donatello, like no other master, showed the extent and range of quattrocentist atelier-art. His creations were taken from full life, so that even minute sprouts of the tree of his fancy became precious and took new roots. —

Besides his independent figures, groups, reliefs, and productions of most exquisite "small art", there are, from the beginning of his career to his late period, a number of purely decorative works (now mostly lost), which as regards subject appear to us unworthy of a celebrated sculptor. The marble statue covered with "gilt lead", which he created in 1415 together with Brunelleschi for the Duomo may have been no less important than his other stone-figures for the Duomo and Campanile. Although the two colossi which, according to Vasari, were placed in front of the Duomo at the corners of the chapels — probably *"giganti"* of the same kind as the similarly named coronation statues by the choir-pilasters of Milan Cathedral — were made of such ephemeral material as stucco and bricks, they were probably intended to be executed in stone. But we are also told of wholly decorative sculptures, of family-escutcheons for the fronts of houses and for fire-places. That even these could bear the complete imprint of his individuality, is proved by the large *escutcheon* on the staircase of the Casa Martelli (Figs. 134 and 135), which is not only a splendid piece of broad workmanship, but is also highly original in conception. The man seems to feel the weight of the escutcheon hanging round his neck, and opens his broad mouth, as though he were complaining. A pendant to it as regards freshness of workmanship is the *"Marzocco"*, the splendid lion that originally served as sentinel before the Palazzo della Signoria, placed on a heavy socle and holding the Florentine coat of arms (Figs. 136 and 137). It is now replaced by a bronze-copy, the original having been transferred to the Museo Nazionale for better protection. It is supposed to be a work

Fig. 135. Head of the Supporter of the Martelli Escutcheon. Cf. Fig. 134. (To page 143.)

of Donatello's, a theory which is justified at least by the breadth of the forms. The marble medallions in the court of the Medici palace (Fig. 138) will show the importance of Donatello's personal handiwork in works of this kind. These enlargements of antique gems were at the most devised by him in their broad lines, whilst the execution was left to his assistants. They lack his freshness of form.

Donatello's relations to many more works with which he was credited at Vasari's time may have been similar. For the Medici and the Pazzi he erected fountains with granite basins; for the Martelli, in the lower church of S. Lorenzo, a sarcophagus "in the form of a cradle of wicker-work", Verrocchio has surely had a greater share than Donatello, in the delightful font in the sacristy of S. Lorenzo, and Vasari's statement, that Donatello had furnished the designs for the coursely carved putti in the *Sagrestia nuova* of the Duomo, is as questionable, as a similar statement with regard to the seraphs' heads in the frieze of the portico of the Pazzi chapel. He is also supposed to have furnished the design for one of the stained-glass windows in the tambour of the Cathedral cupola. It is in the centre, opposite the entrance, and represents the "Coronation of the Virgin". Composition and colour are conventional and not particularly effective at a distance.

Vasari knows of many more works scattered about Florence and mostly of a decorative nature. At his time Donatello's name evidently seems to have almost become a collective term for good *quattrocento* sculpture, and the Aretine repeatedly lays stress on the fact, that Donatello, in his restlessness and with the true artist's enthusiasm, had "put his hand to every kind of work without considering whether it were of little importance or high value".

* * * *

VIII.

TECHNIQUE.

Goethe says somewhere: "Art is founded on handicraft." —

There are times, in which this teaching was forgotten, but the *quattrocento* affirms it by its whole art, and nowhere more emphatically than in Donatello's. He became one of the leaders in the history of art, but he never denies his training at the stone-mason's workshop. To shape clay and wax, to chisel the block of stone — therein lay his thinking and striving. *"Magister intagli et lapidum"* he called himself, but he exploited this "mastership" in the grandest style. Quantitatively already the sum total of his eighty years' life-work is unequalled in 15th century plastic art, but, above all, it embraces a far wider field than the activity of, say Quercia or Ghiberti. Of many things we know only by hearsay — as of his goldsmith work, his architectural designs and his *cassone* decorations in *stucco*. But all kinds of "decorative" sculpture in the highest sense of the word

have come down to us: stone figures above life-size, for mural decoration; grandly conceived stone-figures for architectonic tombs, monuments, tabernacles and screens; and equally important works in bronze: tomb figures and reliefs; statues and statuettes for fonts, altars, pulpits and fountains. Here already the object nearly always claims admiration *per se,* and not merely as integral part of the decorative scheme. Add to these the contract commissions for the sculptural decoration of entire interiors and courts, and also the absolutely independent, monumental works, beginning with tomb-stones and busts and rising to groups and to the equestrian monument; and finally the long series of works that have to serve entirely for the satisfaction of the collector's passion. And this profusion of principal works is generally surrounded by rich figural or ornamental additions which extend from the scale required for effect at a distance, down to the delicate art of the plaque! Even wholly ornamental work is not absent. But all this comprises only the work that passes under Donatello's own name, and not the almost incalculable small coinage, into which the gold of his invention was changed by the *bottega*-art: the copies from his models, the effects of which were hardly less fruitful for artistic creation in decorative and industrial art, than the copperplate engravings after Raphael's drawings were during the late renaissance.

Fig. 136. "Marzocco". Florence. Museo Nazionale. (Original.)
After a photograph from the original by Alinari Brothers, Florence. (To page 143.)

Donatello was indeed a "great master", already for the method and extent of his exploitation of art.

But this necessitated a far reaching division of labour, and, first of all, an absolute participation of others. In his long protracted relations with Michelozzo (1426—1435) it appears as a partnership in every sense of the word. Of a different nature is, of course, his occasional collaboration with masters like Giovanni di Bertolo il Rosso and Brunelleschi, and different again from these associations with equal rights and duties is his position towards the *"compagni"*, of whom no less than five are mentioned in Padua.

Such *"compagni"* were generally former apprentices and pupils, and the grand exploitation of art could, of course, not dispense with these *"garzoni"* and *"discepoli"*. If one counts the special craftsman — casters, gilders and painters — the result is, to take as an instance the years 1447—1449 in Padua, a very formidable *bottega* of from 15 to 20 men. This is also confirmed by Baccio Bandinelli, and even in his old age Donatello regularly employed in Florence at least four *garzoni*.

Of the better forces who afterwards developed independently, the very names have been handed down to us in a few cases only; thus for stone work, besides Rosso: Pagno di Lapo Portigiani, Andrea di Lazzaro Cavalcanti, called Buggiano, Agostino di Duccio, and Simone Ferrucci; for bronze work, besides Michelozzo: Bertoldo di Giovanni, Giovanni da Pisa and Bartolommeo Bellano. To these must be added, on sifting according to the methods of *"Stilkritik"*, such an abundance of artisan-like forces, that their employment causes astonishment. The question may in some cases be one of copies and variations that were produced without Donatello's consent and knowledge, a kind of piracy, like that which, in the sphere of engraving, has recently been proved with regard to Mantegna; but frequently this possibility is quite excluded, and yet the workmanship is strikingly course — as in some parts of the Prato pulpit and in the medallions of the Medici Palace (Fig. 138). Grand exploitation has its shadow side as well!

To judge correctly the extent of this division of labour in every single case, is one of the chief tasks of modern Donatello-research. Much has been done in this respect by Wilhelm Bode. But one might easily be led to go too far in drawing conclusions. Donatello has not only designed the works connected with his name by documentary evidence, but has also approved of their execution in the form, generally, in which we see them now. He was responsible for them, when they left his workshop under his name — he is therefore responsible for them to history, and, after all, it is the inventive, creative power that alone counts.

This power reveals itself, of course, in rays of very different refraction, and most immediately in the first sketch. What Vasari praises in the Donatello drawings belonging to him, is the sure, "resolute" stroke. They have not been preserved. What passes for them, are generally copies, like the pen-drawing in the collection of the Duc d'Aumale, from the central portion of the Entombment relief on the pulpit of S. Lorenzo. But we know Donatello's manner of sketching in clay and wax. Its delightful freshness can be observed in the bronze statuette of David (Fig. 85), acquired for the Berlin Museum from an English private collection, for it is an exact cast of the wax model, from which the marble David of the Casa Martelli was worked (cf. Fig. 86). There is infinitely more life in this sketch, than in the original. Being entirely unretouched, it also shows how little detail Donatello put into his models — only the most essential, and only suggestively, quite different from, say Verrocchio. And yet we never hear of Donatello

making use of "finished sketches". Like Michelangelo he transposed the minute figures directly into the right scale. Some light is thrown upon his manner of sketching reliefs by most of his bronzes and by such works in clay, as the relief of the Forzori altar in the South Kensington Museum in London (Fig. 129).

Vasari says of Donatello's finished works, that "he always performed more than he promised". But Donatello never performed too much. He

Fig. 137. "Marzocco". Bronze Copy before the Palazzo della Signoria. Florence. (To page 143.)

possessed the art of putting aside at the right moment his modelling-tool and chisel. For this reason his works are so often praised for being so splendidly fitted for their position. The secret was here, that Donatello always kept his eye on the whole. That is a fundamental feature of his work. But in addition to it came a masterly technique which disposed of all means with astonishing versatility and sureness — and, of course, of every material: marble, sandstone, bronze, terracotta, stucco and wood. However, these materials are of different value as bearers of Donatello's artistic ideas, quantitatively as well, as with regard to time. Most frequent

of all are the bronzes, rarest of all the wood-carvings. Notwithstanding his training in goldsmith work, Donatello made his way at first only as stone-sculptor. Marble dominates his art until 1430. From that time until his death he favours bronze, to which he took as already in 1423 with his St. Louis. This predilection for bronze is not accidental, but is in his case based on an altogether different reason, than with, say Ghiberti and Verrocchio. With them it was the delight in most exquisite execution, with Donatello the delight in quick work, which found its easiest expression in clay and wax, and afterwards retained its *furore* in the metal. Adagio never was his time. Many of his bronzes have the effect of improvisations. In his old age this sketchy treatment went, no doubt, too far. This was already blamed by Michelangelo.

The strict application of the theory of style to material can only be found in his reliefs, in which marble and bronze lead him to an entirely different conception of form. Not so in his statues. The bronze St. Louis might as well be imagined as model for a stone-figure, and in the bronze relief of the Sienese christening font one might almost demonstrate the removal of the marble strata by strata. But surprising diversity is shown in the technical treatment of the different materials, commencing with stone. The marble statues of Or San Michele and on the Campanile, which were sure to get the patina of wind and rain, are only worked over with rasps and files, but the figures placed high on the clock tower are treated in a bolder way than the ones intended for closer inspection. This is best proved by comparing them with the St. George, in which the very shine of the metalgreaves is rendered by polish. This statue is altogether inimitable in its perfect balance between decorative effect and finish. The developement of Donatello's language of forms in *marble* can best be followed in the heads of the large figures. The classicism of the marble David, which is most pronounced in his eyes and brows, is soon abandoned. With the St. Mark commences already the grand style. Possibly this broad treatment of form was first developed by his collaboration with Rosso, for it is also shown in the head of Abraham. Later, in Rome, Donatello was influenced by his study of antique decorative sculpture, but his own strength could have raised him to that incomparable power in the treatment of form, which reaches its climax in the heads of the Zuccone and Jeremiah. The rather more impressionist, soft treatment of the so-called Poggio head, with its pictorial play of light, in a way forms a contrast to this *bravura* of clear-cut, hard forms.

These figures are chiselled on a scale above life size; but Donatello gives an altogether different language to marble, if it is to be intimately examined from close proximity. Herein lies the greatness of his thoroughly personal execution of the St. John in the Casa Martelli. Compare it with the bearded St. John in the Bargello! You will see the full significance of the partial collaboration of assistants in such works of greater delicacy. The skin-garment which is exquisitely true to nature in the St. John of the

Casa Martelli, is coursened by the hand of artisans in the Bargello Baptist (Fig. 139). The same applies to the hair. The feet, on the other hand (Fig. 140), are splendidly modelled. Another characteristic instance of the work of assistants is afforded by the masks of the tabernacle which enshrined first Donatello's St. Louis, and subsequently Verrocchio's group. Whilst the mask on the left reveals the master's hand in the loose rendering of hair and beard, the one on the right shows quite a conventional treatment with parallel grooves (Fig. 51 and 52). Entirely impersonal is the execution of the

Fig. 138. Marble Medallion in the Court of the Medici Palace. Florence.
(To pages 92 and 144.)

marble David of the Casa Martelli, the only statue which has remained unfinished, owing to accidental slips of the chisel in several places. Its model has been preserved in the above mentioned Berlin statuette. Among the marble reliefs the Berlin Madonna from the Casa Pazzi is an example of the greatest delicacy of technique. But Donatello never is as "smooth" as Michelozzo. His stone technique for material of minor value is demonstrated in its two extremes by the relief of St. John in the Bargello and by the supporter of the Martelli arms: in the one case, miniature-like delicacy, in the other, everything expressed with breadth and vigour — as it were *al fresco*.

The *bronzes* show similar contrasts of equally well stated motives. The larger-ones were not cast by Donatello, but by Michelozzo or by special craftsmen. Only now and then Donatello himself undertook the casting, in which he had but little practice.• But the finishing, after removal of the casting-skin, was his own work, or at least superintended by him personally. And here again the scale extends from boldest dash to exquisite daintiness. The doors of S. Lorenzo are only worked over with the file, but the surface is not polished; bronzes, on the other hand, which should not be examined as parts of a complete architectural scheme, but looked at like pictures, from close proximity, like the Paduan reliefs, are elaborated with extreme neatness. They were in addition gilded all over; but it is just where the gilding is absent, that he attains to the greatest material truth: observe the texture of leather on the belt of the Cupid-Atys, which is entirely achieved by filing! Comparison of the heads teaches a similar lesson. — The views on the legitimacy of chasing differed greatly in the 16th century. Vasari accords the highest praise to the casters, the cleanness of whose work made it possible to dispense with chasing; but Cellini speaks in favour of retouching the bronzes, and in this very connection praises the careful procedure of Donatello. But whether the latter practically approved of such subtle, minute work, as is shown by the Vienna "Entombment" and by the Martelli box, remains a question. His chief interest was certainly bestowed upon the general effect, and not upon detail. He always had the whole in view. This is shown even by his most minute plaques and reliefs in clay. — The rapidity of his work found the most obedient tool in *clay*. He frequently contented himself with entrusting his ideas to this medium. Then the sketch was fired: a thoroughly genuine, though fragile, example of his art work. Colour was nearly always added, — not conventional, like the colouring of the Robbia ware, which was scarcely to Donatello's taste, but thoroughly realistic. The drapery of the Berlin Giovannino bust, which is tied in a knot in front, consists of a stuff that is saturated with size and died a deep red. The Madonnas, as far as they did not merely serve as sketches for casting in bronze, were richly painted and gilded. Stucco was treated just like the clay, either for large works, or for casts. The Evangelists in S. Lorenzo demonstrate, how sketchy Donatello could remain in his decorative clay sculpture. But here, too, colour contributed much towards the effect. The master has worked least of all in wood, which was, of course, likewise treated in polychromatic fashion.

Donatello's delight in colour is also reflected in his favourite decoration by means of coloured and gilt paste applied like mosaic.

Donatello also remains an heir of the *trecento* in the technique of all his works, but he endowed the traditional with an entirely new spirit.

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IX.

PERSONALIA.

Vasari draws a clear picture of Donatello's character: a simple man, living only for his art, modest, yet conscious of his own worth, ready to help, an excellent friend, unselfish, inexperienced in money matters, liberal, jovial, and at times sarcastic.

According to this Donatello's outer life in Florence was not a stormy one. The fact even, that he had to struggle, can only be read between the lines. His position among the artists is shown already by his intimate friendship with Brunelleschi and Paolo Uccello. He soon became popular. Cosimo de' Medici assisted him at first, and afterwards made him his confidant. The Marcelli, too, never gave him more, than they received from him. He was soon so overwhelmed with commissions, that he could only execute part of them. Unmarried, he lived in Florence with his mother Orsa who only died in her eighties, and he also took into his house his sister Tita and her son Giuliano, when she had become a needy widow. But he lived in very modest style. Better than by any anecdotal stories is this demonstrated by the letter, in which Matteo degli Organi begs the head of the *Opera del Duomo* of Prato in Donatello's own name, to send him *"per Dio"* a little money, to enable him to celebrate the feast of St. John in Florence with a little more comfort, adding on his own initiative: "I advise you urgently to do so. Donatello is a very modest man, and is satisfied with but little *("è huomo ch'ogni piccolo pasto é allui assai, e sta contento a ogni cosa")*.

Fig. 139. Details of the Baptist Statues at the Bargello and the Casa Martelli. (To page 149.)

That Donatello was not a good businessman, is sufficiently proved by his agreements. They were generally concluded by others who — like Pagno di Lapo in 1434, in Siena — also subsequently regulated his claims. He shares with all other renaissance artists she ease with which he cancelled obligations into which he had entered; but, on the other hand, he was

most exacting with regard to himself. But he was also well aware of what his art signified. Two anecdotes are too characteristic for his whole manner, to be passed over in silence. The shoemakers' guild had first commissioned Donatello with their statue of St. Phillip at Or San Michele, but afterwards, as they could not agree on the price, transferred the order to Nanni di Banco. But they fell from the frying-pan into the fire, for the latter in the end asked even more for his work, than Donatello, who was now to arbitrate and was, of course, expected to leave the favoured rival in the lurch. Instead of doing so, he valued Nanni's work higher still, than this artist had done himself, and higher than his own: "Because," he answered the perplexed master of the guild, "this good man is not the same in his art, as I am. He therefore has to expend more labour and time on his work. Thus it is only fair, that he should be better paid!" — The second anecdote is that about the Genuese wholesale merchant, who bargains with Donatello about a bronze head and argues, that not much time had been spent on the work. Donatello attacks him furiously, says that such views were suitable for the corn-market; that one minute was enough to destroy, what could not be replaced again; — he smashes the bronze head into pieces and even Cosimo's intercession cannot induce him, to start the work over again. —

Fig. 140. Foot of the Baptist Statue at the Bargello. Cf. Figs. 31 and 139. (To page 149.)

Donatello's culture was entirely humanistic, but it did not to any extent reach beyond the sphere of his art, in which he was, of course, a first rate connoisseur. His advice on the purchase of antique gems was looked for even from abroad.

Vasari is most detailed in his account of Donatello's last years. They passed, not without the ailings of old age, but without cares. Cosimo on his deathbed is said to have recommended his favourite master to his son Piero, who thought he could best comply with his father's wish, by presenting to Donatello a small estate at Caffigiuolo. But Donatello, who, by the way, owned a farm in Prato, which was looked after by a peasant, did not care for the trouble of landed property. At one time the wind carried away the roof of his dovecot, at another a storm ruined his fruit and wine, at another again his cattle was seized. "I would rather starve!" — he complained to his protector, who upon this replaced the revenue of the little estate by a weekly allowance, which was ample for Donatello and his *"garzoni"*. And now the old man lived contentedly in his little house in

the via del Cocomero, near the nunnery of S. Niccolò, until gout confined him to his bed. He is said to have drastically turned out some relations who had cared little for him in his earlier life, but now busied themselves about him for the sake of his heritage. His coffin was followed by the art world of Florence and by half the town. His last resting-place was by his own desire in S. Lorenzo, near his patron Cosimo de' Medici, in death as in life. —

Even at that time the Florentines may have felt, that they were burying one of the last witnesses of the "good, old time". In Vasari's description this sentiment is still more clearly pronounced. When he wrote, the Florentine artists had formed an "accademia" under the "protectorate" of Duke Cosimo. Cellini was then dictating his biography, and Francesco Bocchi was composing his long-winded treatise on the statue of St. George. Under these conditions the artisan's smock of the older generation appeared singularly fascinating and the figure of the man who wore it, clearly outlined. Yet Vasari also knew the witty epigram of the connoisseur Don Vincenzo Borghini who commented on the original drawings by Donatello and Buonarotti in Greek words: either Buonarotti is "Donatellizing", or Donatello is "Buonarottizing".

Was it not felt as far back as the 16th century, that — notwithstanding all differences — these two giants were connected by a psychologic link, and that a little of Michelangelo's *"terribilità"* was active also in Donatello? Michelangelo was often personally inaccessible. Nothing of the sort is reported about Donatello. Written tradition only describes the simple, harmonious side of his nature. Only his works throw light into the depths of his inner life.

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