

Verrocchio's Christ and St Thomas: chronology, iconography and political context*

In memory of Peter von Blanckenhagen

ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO's, *Christ and St Thomas* from the Mercanzia niche at Orsanmichele, Florence (currently under restoration) is widely acclaimed as one of the masterpieces of Florentine renaissance sculpture (Figs.8 and 9). But, despite the praise it has elicited since the day of its unveiling,¹ it has received little serious scholarly investigation.² As a result, the aesthetic character of the monument has been imprecisely analysed and its iconography, patronage and political context have gone wholly uninvestigated. Indeed, even the summary of the archival documentation now widely repeated in print is incomplete and misleading. It is the purpose of this article to publish some recently discovered documents for the *Christ and St Thomas*, and to explicate their significance for the sculpture's history and iconography.

Present knowledge of the archival record is due primarily to Giovanni Gaye, who in 1839 published a highly summary account of the chronology of work on the sculpture.³ Gaye cited few of his sources, squeezed much of his findings into one phrase,⁴ published only short extracts from the original registers, and did not analyse their contents. Although a handful of documents have come to light since then, it is still essentially Gaye's summary – slightly amplified – that is repeated today.⁵

In fact the *Christ and St Thomas* is among the best documented sculptures of fifteenth-century Florence. The account books of the Università della Mercanzia, the sculpture's patron, survive from 1479 onwards and include nearly all the payments to Verrocchio, beginning in that year; these have been largely ignored as a source of information on the sculpture.⁶ For documentation before 1479,

it is necessary to turn to the records of the Mercanzia's chief executive body, the Sei della Mercanzia. The Mercanzia was the most important tribunal for commercial law in Florence,⁷ and the Deliberazioni dei Sei consist largely of legal decisions; only when the Sei had to order or approve payments to be made by the treasurer of the Mercanzia are they mentioned in the Deliberazioni. Thus the Deliberazioni record the decision to make a payment or to initiate a series of payments; normally, they do not record the actual disbursements.

The history of the commission begins on 26th March 1463 when the Parte Guelfa sold all rights to its niche at Orsanmichele to the Università della Mercanzia for 150 florins.⁸ Three days later the Sei della Mercanzia appointed a board of five *operai* to plan and direct work on a '*statua et seu figura digna et venerabilis*' to fill the niche.⁹ However, on 14th May 1466, in a *deliberazione* to replace a deceased *operaio*, it is stated that the statue had not yet been commissioned.¹⁰ The next reference to the sculpture is in a newly discovered document of 19th December 1466 (Appendix, document 1),¹¹ which states, for the first time, that the sculpture will be of bronze. The contract with Verrocchio appears not to survive. But, as the document of December does not mention an artist by name, Verrocchio may have received the commission between that date and 15th January 1467 (modern style) when the Sei della Mercanzia authorised a payment to him of 300 florins for the sculpture.¹² The next document is from 24th April 1468 when the Sei and the *operai* agreed to pay Verrocchio a fee of 25 *lire* a month for his work on the sculpture.¹³ This document speaks of '*figuras haeneas*' and is thus the first record we have of the intention to fill the niche with more than one figure. One of the monthly instalments of

*Research for this article was funded by a Samuel H. Kress Dissertation Fellowship. I would like to thank the Kress Foundation for its generous support. For help during the preparation of this article, I would like to thank Rolfé Bagemihl, Alison Brown, Gino Corti, Michael Locke and Nicolai Rubenstein.

¹L. LANDUCCI (*Diario fiorentino dal 1450 al 1516*, ed. I. DEL BADIA, Florence [1883], entry for 21st June 1483) called the sculpture '*la più bella cosa che si truovi, e la più bella testa del Salvatore ch'ancora si sia fatta*'.

²In the bibliography on Verrocchio there are only two separate titles dedicated to the *Christ and St Thomas*: C. SACHS: *Das Tabernakel mit Andreas del Verrocchio Thomasgruppe an Or San Michele zu Florenz*, Strassburg [1904] and D. GOVI: 'The Date of the Commission of Verrocchio's "Christ and St Thomas"', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, C [1968], p.37. Now see also the forthcoming article, K. VAN AUSSDALL: 'The *Corpus Verum*: Orsanmichele, Tabernacles and Verrocchio's *Incredulity of Thomas*', in S. BULE, A. DARR and F. SUPERBI GIOFFREDI, eds.: *Andrea del Verrocchio and Late Quattrocento Italian Sculpture*, in press.

³G. GAYE: *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, Florence [1839], Vol. I, pp.370-72.

⁴*Ibid.*, p.370: '*i pagamenti che seguono poi, diventano frequenti nel 1476 [e] nel 1480*'. All subsequent analyses of the chronology of work on the sculpture have relied on this phrase, rather than on the documents themselves.

⁵For the most recent summaries of the documents see G. PASSAVANT: *Andrea del Verrocchio*, London [1969], pp.176-77; C. SEYMOUR: *The Sculpture of Verrocchio*, Greenwich, Conn. [1971], pp.163-64; and J. POPE-HENNESSY: *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, 3rd ed., New York [1985], pp.296-97.

⁶One document from the account book was cited by Milanese in G. VASARI: *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, ed. G. MILANESE, Florence [1878-85], Vol. III, p.363, note, and later checked by PASSAVANT, *op.cit.* at note 5 above, p.177. For further information see note 18 below.

⁷In addition to commercial law, the Mercanzia was responsible for a broad range of issues in the promotion and protection of Florentine business and

trade. See G. BONOLIS: *La giurisdizione della Mercanzia in Firenze nel secolo XIV*, Florence [1901]. Moreover, according to J. NAJEMY (*Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics, 1280-1400*, Chapel Hill, N.C. [1982], p.11): '[The] sense of belonging to an interguild elite was, in fact, institutionalised in the Mercanzia. . . . Although the Mercanzia was itself a corporation, it was never integrated into the guild federation. In fact, it was later used by the oligarchs as an instrument for imposing electoral and political controls over the guilds themselves'. The Mercanzia in the fifteenth century is largely unstudied. See, however, L. MARTINES: *Lawyers and Stacraft in Renaissance Florence*, Princeton [1968], pp.133-35, 361-62, 465; and A. ZORZI: *L'amministrazione della giustizia nella repubblica fiorentina*, Florence [1988].

⁸Archivio di Stato, Florence (hereafter ASF), Mercanzia, 295, fols.117v-18r. This document was discovered and published by C. VON FABRICZY: 'Donatello's Hl. Ludwig und sein Tabernakel an Or San Michele', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXI [1900], pp.254-55. Negotiations for the sale had begun in December 1459, but had not gone through because of the Mercanzia's lack of adequate funds. For the history of the tabernacle before the *Christ and St Thomas*, see D. ZERVAS: *The Parte Guelfa, Brunelleschi and Donatello*, Locust Valley, N.Y. [1987], pp.99-151.

⁹ASF, Mercanzia, 295, fols.120r-20v. First discovered and published by FABRICZY, *loc.cit.* above, pp.255-56.

¹⁰ASF, Mercanzia, 299, fols.104v-05r. Discovered and published by GOVI, *loc.cit.* at note 2 above.

¹¹I would like to thank Gino Corti for his help in the transcription of this document.

¹²ASF, Mercanzia, 300, fol.104r. The document was discovered by GAYE, *op.cit.* at note 3 above, p.370, but is unpublished.

¹³ASF, Mercanzia, 302, fols.101r-01v. Discovered by GAYE, *op.cit.* at note 3 above, p.370, but unpublished.



8. *Christ and St Thomas*, by Andrea del Verrocchio. Bronze, 200 cm. high. (Orsanmichele, Florence).

25 *lire* is referred to in a *deliberazione* of 21st December 1469.¹⁴ On 2nd August 1470 the Sei ordered that the bronze and other metals for one of the sculptures be reweighed in the presence of two of the Sei.¹⁵ The sculpture is next mentioned in a newly discovered *deliberazione* of 21st March 1476 in which Verrocchio is assigned 10 florins 'for part of the bronze figure to be placed in the tabernacle' (Appendix, document 2). Since the bronze for one figure is mentioned in 1470 and one figure of bronze is recorded in 1476 there can be no doubt that the figure was cast sometime between these two dates. Moreover, we know from a later document that this must have been the statue of Christ. The group is next documented in another newly discovered *deliberazione* of 22nd June 1476 when a series of

payments to Verrocchio was authorised for work on both figures;¹⁶ the dates and amounts of the payments are recorded in the margin of the document (Appendix, document 3). On 13th January 1477 (modern style), the Sei authorised that another 120 florins be paid Verrocchio in 10 florin instalments (Appendix, document 4).¹⁷ The margin records five payments between February and November 1477, four between January and September 1478, one in 1479, and two in July and August of 1480.

The first entry for the *Christ and St Thomas* in the *Libro di Debitori e Creditori della Mercanzia* dates from early 1479 (Appendix, document 5). This key document records a payment to Verrocchio of 148 florins and 317 *lire*, and states that the figure of Christ is almost finished and the

¹⁴ASF, Mercanzia, 305, fol.165v. First discovered and published by J. MESNIL: 'Les figures de Vertus de la Mercanzia', *Miscellanea d'arte*, I [1903], p.45. The relevance of this document for the *Christ and St Thomas* has not been previously noted.

¹⁵ASF, Mercanzia, 307, fol.30r. First discovered by GAYE, *op.cit.* at note 3 above, p.370, but unpublished.

¹⁶I would like to thank Michael Rocke for his help with this document.

¹⁷I would again like to thank Michael Rocke for his help in the transcription of this document.

statue of St Thomas ready to be cast.¹⁸ The entry specifies that the bronze for the St Thomas weighs 3981 Florentine pounds. The account book next records four payments to Verrocchio between May 1479 and August 1480, the dates and sums of which do not correspond with those for the same period listed in the *Deliberazione* (Appendix, document 4).

Some time between August 1480 and March 1481 a dispute arose over a payment to Verrocchio of 40 florins and 200 *lire*. There are no more payments to Verrocchio in this period and all work on the sculpture appears to have stopped. Concerned to see the sculpture finished, the Signoria intervened, and on 26th March 1481 a *provisione* was passed ordering the payment to be released to Verrocchio.¹⁹ In a *deliberazione* of 12th April 1481, the Sei stated their intention to make the payment,²⁰ and the disbursement was entered in the account on 2nd May (Appendix, document 5). According to the text of the *provisione*, the dispute was over the right of the *operai* to make the payment to Verrocchio '*senza la dispensatione de' consigli*'. In every other appearance of the word '*consigli*' in the documents for the *Christ and St Thomas*, it refers to the Three Major Councils of the Florentine government, and that must be the case here as well.

There is no clear evidence, however, as to why the *consigli* in 1480-81 could claim control over Mercanzia payments to Verrocchio, a right they had not previously held. Nor is it clear why consent had initially been refused for this payment. Most likely, the dispute was due in some fashion to the financial crisis of 1480-81, which had been brought on by the Pazzi War.²¹ Faced with the possible collapse of the Monte Comune, the Florentine funded debt, the government had in June 1480 granted the Three Major Councils, together with the new Council of Seventy, increased control over both the Monte and taxation. It is probable that the power of the *consigli* over Mercanzia payments to Verrocchio – temporary though it may have been – was due to their partial authority for either taxation or the Monte. This is all the more likely since it appears that on some occasions around 1480 the Mercanzia paid Verrocchio directly from the Monte.²² Unfortunately, we cannot know the answer to this problem until the finances of the Mercanzia are investigated in a systematic fashion.²³

Whatever the nature of the dispute, the *provisione* failed

to restart work on the sculpture. There are no more payments to Verrocchio until the Spring of 1483. We do not know if the long interruption was due to problems in the Mercanzia's finances, Verrocchio's involvement in other projects or a combination of both factors. On 22nd April 1483 the Florentine government made another *provisione* regarding the *Christ and St Thomas*.²⁴ More than once the document expresses concern about how little time is left for the completion of the sculpture. This suggests that the immediate cause for the Signoria's intervention may have been the imminence of Verrocchio's departure for Venice to work on the Colleoni Monument.²⁵ The *provisione* attempts to resolve all of the problems which might obstruct completion of the group. In brief, it states that the sculptor understands that financial difficulties prevent the Mercanzia from paying him what he rightfully should receive. Nevertheless, Verrocchio, who to date has already been paid 306 florins for his '*magistero*', agrees to finish the sculpture on condition that he is paid 94 florins by the time of its completion, and another 400 florins afterwards in four yearly instalments of 100 florins each. The document also reasserts the authority of the Sei and the *operai* to pay Verrocchio.

The *provisione* set the Feast of St John the Baptist (24th June) as the target date for the completion of the sculpture and Verrocchio appears to have returned to work immediately. There are eight payments to him and to his assistants, Giuliano d'Andrea and Pagolo, between 5th and 30th May 1483 for a total of 53 florins (Appendix, document 5).²⁶ In June Verrocchio and his co-workers were paid 5 florins at the end of each of the first two weeks of the month, and then 24 florins on 21st June 1483, the day of the unveiling of the sculpture (Appendix, document 5).

Once the sculpture was in place, the Mercanzia stopped paying Verrocchio altogether. Finally, at the end of 1487 Andrea petitioned the Signoria to intercede, and on 19th December 1487 a *provisione* ordered the Mercanzia to pay Verrocchio.²⁷ But instead of the 400 gold florins he had been promised in 1483, the Mercanzia now agreed only to deposit, on his behalf, 200 sealed florins over a two-year period in his nieces' accounts in the Monte di Dote, the dowry fund. At the same time, the Signoria ordered that certain minor additions and repairs be made to the niche.²⁸ On 2nd January 1488 the Mercanzia acknowledged its

¹⁸I am indebted to Rolfe Bagemihl for his help in the transcription of the documents from this page of the account book. The existence of the first entry, at the top of the page, was first noted by MILANESI, *op.cit.* at note 6 above. Milanesi, however, did not report most of the contents of the document and cited it with the incorrect date of 1476. PASSAVANT (*op.cit.* at note 6 above, p.177), corrected the date but also related only a portion of the information. Neither Milanesi nor Passavant noticed the other entries on the page concerning Verrocchio.

¹⁹ASF, Consiglieri della Repubblica, Registri delle Provvisioni (henceforth, Rep., Prov.), 172, fols.2r-3v. This document was first discovered and published by FABRICZY, *loc.cit.* at note 8 above, pp.256-57, who gave it the incorrect date of 26th March 1482, and, more importantly, misinterpreted it to be the authorisation for the Mercanzia to purchase from Verrocchio a terracotta model of St Thomas to be placed in the Palazzo della Mercanzia. For more information on this, see the penultimate paragraph of this article.

²⁰ASF, Mercanzia, 321, folio numbers missing.

²¹On the financial crisis of 1480-81, see L.F. MARKS: 'The Financial Oligarchy in Florence under Lorenzo', in E.F. JACOB, ed.: *Italian Renaissance Studies*, London [1960], pp.123-47.

²²ASF, Rep., Prov., 174, fols.7v-8v, 22nd April 1483, states that one cannot '*di nuovo gravare el monte*' or '*tornare al monte*' to fund work on the sculpture. Some form of direct payments from the Monte might also explain why the dates and sums of the payments for 1479 and 1480 in the *deliberazione* of 13th January 1477 (modern style) do not agree with those of the Libro di Creditori e Debitori for

the same period.

²³It is not clear whether the dispute was simply a disagreement about fiscal responsibility and the division of governmental authority or whether party politics were involved as well. The *provisione*, which was introduced with the approval of the Seventy by a hand-picked Signoria, passed in all three Councils by overwhelming majorities. The Councils were still capable of resisting Medici policies, and presumably would have fought against this *provisione* had they wanted to.

²⁴ASF, Rep., Prov., 174, fols.7v-8v. This document was previously published in a highly abbreviated form by GAYE, *op.cit.* at note 3 above, p.371.

²⁵Nevertheless, it appears that Verrocchio did not move permanently to Venice until May 1486. See D. COVI: 'Four New Documents Concerning Andrea del Verrocchio', *Art Bulletin*, XXXVIII [1966], p.99.

²⁶ASF, Mercanzia, 14103, fol.13L. See also the cross-indexed entries referred to on this page, especially ASF, Mercanzia, 14103, fol.108R. Giuliano was clearly the more important assistant since he was entrusted with greater legal and financial authority than Pagolo. Certainly Giuliano is the same man who was identified as '*Giuliano d'Andrea scharpellatore del popolo di San Piero Maggiore di Firenze*' in a suit against Lorenzo di Credi in 1490. For this document, see COVI, *loc.cit.* at note 25 above, p.102.

²⁷ASF, Rep., Prov., 179, fol.152v. First published by FABRICZY, *loc.cit.* at note 8 above, p.258.

²⁸ASF, Rep., Prov., 179, fol.140v. First published by FABRICZY, *loc.cit.* at note 8 above, p.259.

debt to Verrocchio and also asked his brother Tommaso and his pupil Lorenzo di Credi to *'fare le lettere da pie a dette figure a nostro oro'* (Appendix, document 5). While this might conceivably refer to the gilded inscriptions along the hems of the figures' robes, it is more likely that it refers to an inscription on the base of the statue of Christ. No payment records for any of this work survive, however, and it is possible that neither the inscription nor the other additions were executed.²⁹ In his testament of 25th June 1488 Andrea left the money owed him to his brother Tommaso.³⁰ The last recorded payment for the sculpture is on 26th November 1488 when Tommaso received half of the money due for his daughters' dowries (Appendix, document 6). A document in 1490 (Appendix, document 7) acknowledges the Mercanzia's debt of another 100 sealed florins, but there is no record of an actual disbursement.³¹ A final entry in 1490 states that the Mercanzia still owes the Arte di Calimala 400 sealed florins for bronze purchased for the casting of the *Christ and St Thomas* (Appendix, document 7).

To summarise, Verrocchio was commissioned to make a bronze statue in the fall or winter of 1466. By the spring of 1468 it had been decided that two figures, not just one, be made. Work continued through 1469 and 1470 and was sufficiently advanced by August 1470 for the figure of Christ to be ready for casting. This was done sometime between 1470 and 1476, and it was chased between 1476 and 1479. The model for the St Thomas, on the other hand, appears to have been worked up to a final state only between 1476 and 1479. It was cast in 1479 and chased between 1479 and the autumn or winter 1480, and then again between 22nd April 1483 and 21st June 1483.

The loss of the Mercanzia account books from before 1479 makes it impossible to determine accurately both how much Verrocchio was paid and what the total cost of the sculpture was. Moreover, it is impossible to tell from the wording of the *deliberazioni* which disbursements were for materials and expenses and which for Verrocchio's workmanship. In April 1483 Verrocchio stated he had been paid to date 306 florins for his *'magistero'*. After that date there are documented payments to Verrocchio and his heirs for 173 florins, making a total of 479 florins.³² Including this sum, the total documented expenses for the sculpture are just over 957 florins, 545 *lire*. The actual total must have been a good deal higher as one can see by comparison with Ghiberti's *St Matthew*, the most thoroughly

documented bronze for Orsanmichele, which cost a total of 1750 florins.³³

The documents help to establish more than just the basic chronology of the *Christ and St Thomas*. They also provide the foundation for reconstructing both the political context of the commission and the iconography of the sculpture. This is immediately apparent when considering the *operai*, the men who planned and directed the work. Like most executive and deliberative bodies of the Mercanzia, the initial board of *operai* in 1463 consisted of one member from each of five major guilds, the Calimala, the Cambio, the Lana, the Por S. Maria, and the Speziali. The men on the board in 1463 were Piero de' Medici, Leonardo di Bartolomeo Bartolini, Dictisalvi Neroni, Pandolfo Pandolfini and Matteo Palmieri.³⁴ In 1466, however, the board's composition changed: in May, Girolamo di Matteo Morelli replaced the deceased Pandolfini;³⁵ in September, Neroni was exiled for his part in the anti-Medicen conspiracy; and, finally, in December, Lorenzo de' Medici replaced his father, Piero, who, in the wake of the conspiracy, was too busy and too infirm to continue to serve on the board (Appendix, document 1). We do not hear again of *operai* by name until June 1483, when Bongiano Gianfigliuzzi and Antonio Pucci are mentioned (Appendix, document 5). Gianfigliuzzi replaced Morelli in his offices in the Mercanzia in August 1480,³⁶ presumably including that of *operaio*. Pucci, on the other hand, was a member of the Arte di Speziali,³⁷ and probably replaced Palmieri after the latter's death in 1475.

All these men were members of the inner circle of the Medici *stato*. (This is even true of Neroni until the conspiracy of 1465/66.) Of the original board, all, with the exception of Pandolfo, served as *Accoppiatori*,³⁸ the officials who determined which names were placed in the sortition bags for the Three Major Councils and often even selected the Signori *a mano* – in short, the primary agents of Medicean political control.³⁹ Moreover, the *operai* held year after year the most important offices of the Florentine government. For example, the Medici rewrote the constitution and restructured the government in a series of *Balie* in 1466, 1471, and 1480.⁴⁰ The names of the *operai* always figure among the leaders in these *Balie*. The ties between Piero and Lorenzo de' Medici and the other *operai* apart from Neroni were strong and lasting. Palmieri was a loyal lieutenant of the Medici throughout his life.⁴¹ Antonio Pucci stands immediately to Lorenzo de' Medici's right in

²⁹It is important to note that documents for Verrocchio in the Libro di Debitori e Creditori of fols.13L-13R change in nature in 1487. Up to that point, 13L serves as a cross-indexed, summary account of payments made to Verrocchio by the different treasurers of the Mercanzia. After 1487, 13L and 13R are a double-entry account of disbursements related to the sculpture. Hence, the fact that the entry for the inscription appears only on the left side implies that the payment was never actually made. The base of the figure of Christ appears not to have an inscription, but a final conclusion must be postponed until the base is cleaned.

³⁰For the text of the testament, see GAYE, *op.cit.* at note 3 above, pp.367-70.

³¹I would like to thank Gino Corti for his transcription of this document.

³²ASF, Mercanzia, 14104, fol.26L (Appendix, document 7) states that the Mercanzia has paid Verrocchio a total of 395 large florins, 520 *lire*, 18 *soldi*, and 8 *denari*. But this figure was derived merely by totalling all of the expenses listed in ASF, Mercanzia, 14103, fols.13L-13R (Appendix, documents 5 and 6), which is by no means a complete record of the expenses on the sculpture. Hence this sum has less authority than a figure based on Verrocchio's statement of how much he had received up to April 1483 plus the payments to him and his heirs

after that date.

³³R. KRAUTHEIMER: *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton [1956], p.73, states that the costs of the St Matthew of 1419-23 were 1,100 florins for materials and other expenses and 650 florins for Ghiberti's fee. For further information, see A. DOREN: *Das Aktenbuch für Ghiberti's Matthäusstatue an Or San Michele zu Florenz* (Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Italienische Forschungen I), Berlin [1906].

³⁴Again see ASF, Mercanzia, 295, fols.120r-20v, published in FABRICZY, *loc.cit.* at note 8 above, pp.255-56.

³⁵ASF, Mercanzia, 299, fols.104r-05v, published in COVI, *loc.cit.* at note 2 above, p.37.

³⁶ASF, Mercanzia, 321, fol.1r.

³⁷ASF, Mercanzia, 131, fol.24r.

³⁸The names of the *Accoppiatori* in 1463 appear in N. RUBINSTEIN: *The Government of Florence under the Medici (1434 to 1494)*, Oxford [1966], p.126, note 6.

³⁹*Ibid.*, esp.pp.30-52, on the importance of the *Accoppiatori*.

⁴⁰For the *Balie*, *ibid.*, pp.136-228.

⁴¹See A. MESSERI: 'Matteo Palmieri, cittadino di Firenze del secolo XV', *Archivio storico italiano* XIII [1894], pp.256-340.



9. Detail of Fig.8.

Ghirlandaio's fresco of the *Confirmation of the rule* in the Sassetti chapel, which was painted between c.1482 and 1486.⁴² His family had been allies of the Medici for several generations and owed their rise in social status to Cosimo's patronage. Indeed, the bonds between the two families were so strong that the *amici* of the Medici in the 1420s and 1430s were known as the *puccini*.⁴³ Girolamo Morelli lent money and men to Piero de' Medici during the crisis of 1466⁴⁴ and was described in the 1470s as one of Lorenzo's most trusted advisors '*circa le cose de' importantia*'.⁴⁵ And Bongiano Gianfigliuzzi was knighted by Lorenzo himself in 1470.⁴⁶ In other words, the men who planned and directed work on the sculpture were Lorenzo de' Medici and his closest political allies.

It is important to note, moreover, that Lorenzo was especially interested in the Mercanzia. Guicciardini stated that Lorenzo sought to control appointments to the Sei della Mercanzia.⁴⁷ Indeed, in 1471 Lorenzo de' Medici, assisted by Bongiano Gianfigliuzzi, Matteo Palmieri and two others, directed a new scrutiny for the Sei.⁴⁸ With the new lists for the Sei packed with Medici partisans, Lorenzo could use the court both to aid friends and to punish enemies, as he did, for instance, against Giuliano Gondi in 1472.⁴⁹ What is more, in the 1470s Lorenzo reorganised the judicial system of Florence. Reform was necessary because Florence had a multitude of courts whose areas of juridical competence both overlapped and changed, causing legal chaos. Lorenzo planned reforms for the Mercanzia

⁴²On Pucci's appearance in this fresco, see E. BORSOOK and J. OFFERHAUS: *Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinita, Florence*, Doornspijk, Holland [1981], pp.36-37.

⁴³On the ties between the Pucci and the Medici, see D. KENT: *The Rise of the Medici*, Oxford [1978], pp.122-23.

⁴⁴I. DI SAN LUIGI, ed.: *Croniche di Giovanni di Jacopo e Lionardo di Lorenzo Morelli*, in *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, Florence [1785], Vol. XIX, p.xviii.

⁴⁵C. SIMONETTA: *I diari di Cicco Simonetta*, ed. A.R. NATALE, Milan [1962], p.136. It should also be observed that Morelli was one of the three Commissari of Pistoia who reassigned the commission for the Forteguerri Monument to Verrocchio sometime between 23rd January and 11th March 1477. This can be determined by comparing Lorenzo di Credi's 1488 contract to finish the monument (pub-

lished by COVI, *loc.cit.* at note 25 above, p.101, document II) with a letter by the Pistoiese *operai* of the monument to Lorenzo de' Medici written 11th March 1477 and published by E. WILDER: *The Unfinished Monument by Andrea del Verrocchio to the Cardinal Niccolò Forteguerri at Pistoia*, Northampton, Mass. [1932], p.78.

⁴⁶A. BROWN: *Bartolomeo Scala*, Princeton [1979], p.155.

⁴⁷F. GUICCIARDINI: *Dialogo e discorsi del Reggimento di Firenze*, ed. R. PALMAROCCHI, Bari [1932], pp.26-27, 57. I am deeply indebted to Alison Brown for generously sharing with me her knowledge of the connexions between Lorenzo de' Medici and the Mercanzia.

⁴⁸ASF, Mercanzia, 309, fol.38v, 7th August 1471, is the first reference to this scrutiny.

⁴⁹See L. DE' MEDICI: *Le lettere*, Vol. I, ed. R. FUBINI, Florence [1977], pp.451-52.



10. *Christ and St Thomas*, by Giovanni Toscani. Panel, 240 by 112 cm. (Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence).

⁵⁰See BROWN, *op.cit.* at note 46 above, p.68.

⁵¹On the judicial reforms in 1477-78, see A. DOREN: *Le arti fiorentine*, Florence [1940], Vol.II, p.70; BROWN, *op.cit.* at note 46 above, pp.79, 290; and ZORZI, *op.cit.* at note 7 above, esp.pp.76-78. The legislation authorising the reform of the Mercanzia is preserved in ASF, Cento Deliberazioni, 2, fols.10r, 24v-27v, June-July 1477.

⁵²On this shift in law at Florence in the second half of the Quattrocento, see, G. ANTONELLI: 'La magistratura degli Otto di Guardia, Firenze', *Archivio storico italiano*, CXII [1954], pp.3-39; ZORZI, *op.cit.* at note 7 above; BROWN, *op.cit.* at note 46 above, esp.pp.335-39; and A. BROWN: 'Platonism in Fifteenth Century Florence and its Contribution to Early Modern Political Thought', *Journal of Modern History*, L [1986], pp.383-413.

⁵³As quoted by BROWN, *op.cit.* at note 46 above, p.291 from Bartolomeo Scala's 'On Laws and Legal Judgments'.

⁵⁴For the basic information on these works, see E. SOUTHARD: *The Frescoes in Siena Palazzo Pubblico, 1289-1539*, doctoral dissertation, University of Indiana (1978), Garland, New York [1979], pp.100-01, 460. It should be pointed out that the fresco in Certaldo was commissioned in 1490 by Tommaso Morelli, Girolamo di Matteo Morelli's first cousin.

⁵⁵A painting of the doubting of St Thomas above the door to the Sala dell'Udienza is mentioned in one of Franco Sacchetti's *Rime* written c.1385. I would like to thank Nicolai Rubinstein for calling my attention to this poem. For further information, see below, note 58.

⁵⁶Giovanni Toscani, Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, no.457. That the painting was made for the Mercanzia was first demonstrated by L. BELLOSI: 'Il Maestro della Crocifissione Griggs: Giovanni Toscani', *Paragone*, 17, no.193 [1966], n.22.

⁵⁷The clemency or charity of Jesus towards St Thomas is a *locus communis* of biblical commentaries on the doubting of St Thomas (John 20:26-30). For example, see C. CORNELIUS: *Commentarii in evangelia*, Rome [1638], Vol.II, p.540. The importance of clemency in medieval and renaissance definitions of justice is demonstrated by Q. SKINNER: 'Political Philosophy', in G. SCHMITT and Q. SKINNER: *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, Cambridge [1988], pp.387-452,

as early as 1471,⁵⁰ but did not carry any out until 1477.⁵¹ In that year, he delimited and defined the scope of the Mercanzia's competence, added to it some of the powers formerly held by the Captain of the People, and made it a court of appeal for the lesser guild courts. What is more, the Mercanzia was at the centre of a shift in the theoretical foundation of law. The reforms of 1477 and 1478 generally diminished the powers of the medieval, professionally trained judiciary and gave these powers instead to laymen whose judgments were founded on common sense, not law.⁵² In the words of Bartolomeo Scala, the Sei della Mercanzia were 'chosen not as experts in law but because they are naturally shrewd and good men'.⁵³ Laurentian judicial reform is characterised, therefore, by a shift from statutory law to executive law, from *ragione* to *arbitrio*.

Now that it is clear who the *operai* were and what their interest in the Mercanzia was, one can ask why these men chose the doubting of St Thomas as the subject of the sculpture. There are two main reasons. First, the doubting of Thomas was commonly associated with justice in fifteenth-century Tuscany. For instance, images of Christ and St Thomas appeared in courtrooms and *sala dell'udienza* in Siena, Certaldo, Scarperia and Pistoia.⁵⁴ What is more, there was a Trecento painting of the doubting of St Thomas over the entrance to the Sala dell'Udienza in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence itself.⁵⁵ The Mercanzia, moreover, commissioned a panel of the scene for decoration of its Palazzo around 1420 (Fig.10).⁵⁶ One key factor in the subject's appeal was that Christ and St Thomas were thought to personify two essential aspects of a just magistrate: clemency,⁵⁷ and the desire for truth.⁵⁸

Secondly, St Thomas was a favoured saint of the Medici. The Medici were the principal patrons of the church of S. Tommaso Apostolo in the Mercato Vecchio in Florence.⁵⁹ A member of the family (presumably Cosimo) commissioned from Uccello a fresco of the doubting of St Thomas for its façade, and in 1460 Cosimo ordered a new high altar and

esp.pp.415-16 and 425. In this context, it should be remembered that the commission for the Seven Virtues by Pollaiuolo and Botticelli grew from the Mercanzia's desire to replace a Trecento image of Charity in their Sala dell'Udienza. See ASF, Mercanzia, 305, fol.44, 18th August 1469, which was first published in MESNIL, *op.cit.* at note 14 above, p.43. The connexion between charity and justice is also emphasised by ST AUGUSTINE: *Confessions*, XII, xviii: 'Ad aedificationem autem bona est lex... quia frater eius est caritas'.

⁵⁸Thomas's second name, Didymus, was thought to connote doubt and scepticism. This etymology was popularised in the West by St Jerome in *Liber de nominibus hebraicis*. On this point, see U. PFLUGK: *Die Geschichte vom ungläubigen Thomas in der Auslegung der Kirche von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, doctoral dissertation, Hamburg University [1967], p.106 and *passim*. While in religious terms Thomas's doubt was considered deeply sinful, in the context of justice and government it could be glossed as the desire for truth. This is vividly illustrated by Franco Sacchetti's poem (see note 55 above), which reads: 'Toccate il vero com'io, e crederete|nella somma Iustitia in tre persone,|che sempre essalta ognun che fa ragione.||La mano al vero e gli occhi al sommo cielo,|la lingua intera, ed ogni vostro effetto|raguardi al ben comune senza difetto.||Cercate il vero, iustitia conseguendo;|al ben comune la mente intera e franca.||perch'ogni regno senza questo manca. See L. BATTAGLIA RICCI: *Palazzo Vecchio. Studio su Franco Sacchetti e le fabbriche di Firenze*, Rome [1990], pp.50-52, 54, 89, 92, and 136; and M. MONAGA DONATO: 'Un ciclo pittorico ad Asciano', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di lettere e filosofia*, ser.III, Vol.XVIII [1988], pp.1198-1200. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that the first terza of Sacchetti's poem appears as an inscription on two Quattrocento images of Christ and St Thomas, Giovanni Toscani's panel painted for the Mercanzia around 1420, and the fresco in Certaldo from 1490.

⁵⁹For further information about S. Tommaso Apostolo and the art works commissioned for the church, see F.L. DEL MIGLIORE: *Firenze, città nobilissima illustrata*, Florence [1684], pp.485-89; G. RICCIA: *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine*, Florence, Vol.V [1758], pp.227-34; and W. and E. PAATZ: *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, Frankfurt-am-Main, Vol.V [1953], pp.241-47.



11. *Christ and St Thomas*, by Mariano del Buono. Frontispiece of the illuminated statutes for the Otto di Guardia, Florence, 1479. (Archivio di Stato, Florence).

altar-piece. Furthermore, in January 1435 as Gonfaloniere di Giustizia Cosimo had the Feast of St Thomas declared a communal holiday.⁶⁰ (It should be noted that one of the *operai*, Leonardo Bartolini, was part of the same Signoria in January 1435.)⁶¹ Every year on the 21st December the Sei della Mercanzia and the Captains of the twenty-one

Guilds processed to S. Tommaso Apostolo and made a donation at the altar.

Given these associations, it would not be surprising to find that Lorenzo and his friends saw the *Christ and St Thomas* as the perfect emblem of Medicean justice (and of the justice of Medicean rule).⁶² Indeed, there is evidence that this

⁶⁰ASF, Rep., Prov., 125, fols.210v-11r. This document was first discovered and analyzed by U. DORINI: 'Il culto delle memorie patrie nella Repubblica di Firenze', *Rassegna Nazionale*, CLXXIX [1911], pp.3-25. I was led to this material by R. TREXLER: *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, New York [1980], pp.422-23. It is not known how long the saint's day was celebrated as a communal feast, but it certainly was not celebrated after 1460 when the festival calendar of Florence was reorganised (see DORINI).

⁶¹G. CAMBI: *Istorie di Giovanni Cambi*, in I. DI SAN LUIGI, ed.: *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, Florence [1789], Vol. XX, p.135. According to DEL MIGLIORE, *op.cit.* at note 59 above, p.485, it was Dietisalvi Neroni who persuaded Cosimo to suspend the communal celebration of the Feast of St Thomas.

⁶²In late medieval and renaissance Europe, the virtue of Justice was commonly defined as the habit of action directed towards the common good (CICERO: *De Officiis*, *passim*, esp. I.7.20, I.10.31, I.19.63; and ST THOMAS AQUINAS: *Summa*

Theologica, II-II, Q.58). One of the *operai* for the Orsanmichele group, MATTEO PALMIERI, gives the same definition of justice in his *Della Vita Civile* (ed., Florence [1982], pp.8-9, and 131-38, 199). It is this association of justice and the common good that lies behind Sacchetti's poem cited at note 58 above. Furthermore, it was widely believed, e.g. by Coluccio Salutati, that Justice, in the sense of action directed to the common weal, makes any government, whatever its constitutional form, good and legitimate (see SKINNER, *op.cit.* at note 57 above, p.419). As demonstrated by BROWN, *op.cit.* at note 52 above, throughout the 1470s and 1480s Scala, Landino, and others endeavoured to show that Lorenzo de' Medici was a wise philosopher-ruler who administered the state for the common good. The point was to demonstrate that Lorenzo's rule, despite its anti-republican tendencies, was still just and legitimate. Verrocchio's *Christ and St Thomas* would have served readily as a part of this campaign.

may have been their intention. In the spring of 1478 Lorenzo ordered the reform of another principal organ of the judicial system of Florence, the Otto di Guardia.⁶³ New statutes for this magistracy were written in 1478 and a presentation copy ordered the following year.⁶⁴ The front cover of this book makes clear the extent of Medici pretensions to identify themselves with the state, for it is decorated with the Medici *stemma*; the arms of the Comune are on the back of the book. More importantly, the illuminated frontispiece shows Christ and St Thomas, set in a tabernacle (Fig. 11). On the base of the tabernacle is the Medici *stemma*, surmounted by a crown.

Mercanzia documents cast light on the religious iconography of the sculpture as well. From Irenaeus on, the exegetical literature on the Doubting of St Thomas cited John 20:24-29 primarily as a proof text of the bodily resurrection of Christ and of all Christians.⁶⁵ In St Augustine's famous formulation, 'The scars of the wounds in His flesh healed the wounds of unbelief (in physical resurrection)'.⁶⁶ There can be little doubt that this tradition was fundamental to the iconography of Verrocchio's group. Both *provisioni* stress the usefulness of the sculpture in the promotion of Christian faith,⁶⁷ and the inscriptions on the hems of the figure's robes – DOMINUS MEUS ET DEUS MEUS ET SALVATOR GENTIUM on Thomas's mantle, and QUIA VIDISTI ME THOMA CREDIDISTI BEATI QUI NON VIDERUNT ET CREDIDERUNT ON Christ's – are taken from John 20:28-29 and constitute Thomas's declaration of faith and Christ's reproof.

But the documents suggest an additional aspect of the iconography. To judge from annual payments of up to 164 *lire* in the 1460s and 1470s,⁶⁸ the Mercanzia was a chief patron in Florence of Corpus Christi, a major eucharistic feast of the liturgical calendar.⁶⁹ A sacramental interpretation of Verrocchio's sculpture⁷⁰ is perhaps indicated as well by the appearance of Isaiah in the right spandrel of the Giovanni Toscano panel.⁷¹ His presence is most likely due to Isaiah 12, a passage which was associated with the Doubting of St Thomas because of its emphasis on the charity of God.⁷² The passage ends with the eucharistic imagine, 'Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus salvatoris' ('in joy you will draw water from the fountains of the saviour'). The illuminated frontispiece of the Statuti degli Otto di Guardia also alludes to the sacramental significance of

Christ and St Thomas: the frieze of the tabernacle which houses the figures is decorated with bunches of grapes in fictive porphyry. Interest in this iconography, which is unmentioned in homiletic and exegetical literature in the Latin West,⁷³ may have been stimulated in Florence by the study of the two Greek patristic authorities for the symbolism, St Cyril of Alexandria⁷⁴ and St John Chrysostom.⁷⁵

Finally, we must consider what the archival records do not say. It has often been claimed that the documents mention the existence of a large scale terracotta model of St Thomas which the Mercanzia purchased to place in the Palazzo della Mercanzia. This idea is due to Fabriczy's reading of the first sentence of the *provisione* of 26th March 1481, which states in part: '... per dar perfezione ad una figura di Sancto Thomaso in bella statua di bronzo per porla in Orto san Michele ... et per non lasciare guastarsi e perire la boza e principio di sì bella cosa'. Fabriczy's interpretation of the sentence was plausible: the use of *et*, of course, appeared to indicate that the *provisione* was authorising payment for two things, not one; *guastarsi* and *perire* seemed to imply something frangible, and one of the meanings of the word *boza* is 'model'. Nevertheless, this interpretation must be wrong. To begin with, as we have already seen, the main concern of the *provisione* was the contested legality of an unreleased payment. Moreover, the second half of the document, which specifies what the *provisione* actually authorises, makes no mention of a model, nor does the notarial description of the contents of *provisione* in the margin of the register. Three additional documents record the actual disbursement of this payment to Verrocchio and none of them mentions a model either. Finally, the primary meaning of *boza* is not 'model', but 'unfinished work'; this must be the meaning of the word in the *provisione*.

Although we now know a great deal more about the history, the context and the iconography of Verrocchio's *Christ and St Thomas*, much remains to be studied. Above all, one would like to determine Verrocchio's artistic intentions. The relationship of the figures to the niche, the classical dress and pose of St Thomas,⁷⁶ the planning of the sculpture in terms of light and shade, and many other aspects need to be examined. It is to be hoped that its present cleaning at the Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence will stimulate further investigation.

⁶³ See ANTONELLI, *loc. cit.* at note 52 above, esp. pp. 26-39.

⁶⁴ This book, with illuminations by Mariano del Buono, was commissioned on 27th February 1479. See M. LEVI D'ANCONA: *Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secolo*, Florence [1962], p. 180.

⁶⁵ See PFLUGK, *op. cit.* at note 58 above.

⁶⁶ ST AUGUSTINE: *Sermons on the Liturgical Seasons*, tr. M. MULDOWNY, New York [1959], p. 266.

⁶⁷ The *provisione* of 26th March 1481 says the sculpture will stimulate 'reverentia et dilecto negli animi de vedenti', while that of 21st April 1483, states that the *operai* desire 'chome zelosi della religione cristiana che tale degna opera non rimanga più ocula'.

⁶⁸ See ASF, Mercanzia, 308, not paginated, 22nd June 1471 for the authorisation of this sum for expenses for the Feast of Corpus Christi.

⁶⁹ For the feast of Corpus Christi in Florence, see E. BOROOK: 'Cults and Imagery at Sant' Ambrogio', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XXV [1981], pp. 147-202.

⁷⁰ VAN AUSDELL, *loc. cit.* at note 2 above, also discusses the eucharistic symbolism of Verrocchio's *Christ and St Thomas*.

⁷¹ The other spandrel houses Jeremiah, probably alluding to Lamentations 1:12, which was often used as an inscription on images of the Passion in renaissance Tuscany. See H. BELTING: *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages*, tr. M. BERTUSI and R. MEYER, New Rochelle, New York [1990], pp. 197-98.

⁷² F. BÜTTNER: *Imitatio Pietatis*, Berlin [1983], p. 182.

⁷³ PFLUGK, *op. cit.* at note 58 above. It should be noted, however, that eucharistic images of Christ and St Thomas before Verrocchio's do exist. The examples I

have found are: Netherlandish, late thirteenth century, Hannover, Landesgalerie; Circle of Dieric Bouts, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie; Circle of Konrad Witz, Basel, Kunstmuseum.

⁷⁴ On St Cyril's eucharistic interpretation of the doubting of St Thomas, see PFLUGK, *op. cit.* at note 58 above, pp. 54-56. St Cyril's writings were fundamental to the successful resolution of the Council of Florence; and his *In Joannis Evangelium*, which includes his commentary on the sacramental nature of the doubting of St Thomas, was translated into Latin in 1449 by order of Nicholas V. See J. GILL: *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge [1961], esp. pp. 219-21, 249-50; and C. STINGER: *Humanism and the Church Fathers*, Albany, New York [1977], pp. 223-34. For the text of *In Joannis*, see J.P. MIGNÉ: *Patrologiae Graecae*, Paris, Vol. VII [1863], pp. 725ff.

⁷⁵ See PFLUGK, *op. cit.* at note 58 above, pp. 45-46 for the sermon attributed to St John Chrysostom on the eucharistic significance of the Doubting of St Thomas. The sermon is reproduced in MIGNÉ, *PG*, LIX, pp. 681-88. St John Chrysostom was praised and studied in Florence by Poggio Bracciolini, Ambrogio Traversari and others. Moreover, the new humanist Latin translation of his *Homilies on St John the Evangelist*, which was considered to be a classic in the exegetical tradition of the Doubting of St Thomas, was dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici in 1459. See STINGER, *op. cit.* at note 74 above, esp. pp. 104 and 157.

⁷⁶ Seen from the side St Thomas's robe has the two distinguishing folds, the *sinus* and *ombr*, of a toga; Verrocchio also clearly modelled Thomas's sandals after examples in Greco-Roman statuary. The pose of Thomas is extremely close to that of a figure in the Arch of Trajan at Benevento.

Appendix. Some newly discovered documents for Verrocchio's 'Christ and St Thomas' in the Archivio di Stato, Florence (ASF).

Document 1 (ASF, Deliberazioni della Mercanzia, 300, fol.77v, 19th December 1466).

Superdicti sex insimul etc absentibus Carolo et Antonio advertentes quod Pierus Cosme de Medicis est unus ex operariis pilastri dicte universitatis pilastri et seu tabernaculi siti in facie et pariete S. Anne videlicet extra et similiter statue herce fiende et situande in dicto tabernaculo et quod ipse Pierus est adeo infirmitate gravatus et in negociis rei publice adeo versatus et occupatus quod comode sine scandolo tali officio vacare non potest. Et considerantes de virtute et probitate Laurentii filii eiusdem Pieri, omni modo etc., removerunt a dicto officio dictum Pierum et eius loco elegerunt, nominaverunt, et deputaverunt discretum et probum virum prefatum Laurentium filium Pieri Cosme de Medicis.

Document 2 (ASF, Deliberazioni della Mercanzia, 316, fol.52r, 21st March 1476).

Superdicti sex insimul etc servatis servandis deliberaverunt & stantiaverunt quod

Andree michaelis verocchi florenos decem largos pro parte figure bronzi ponende in tabernaculo orisanctimichaelis f.10

Document 3 (ASF, Deliberazioni della Mercanzia, 316, fol.110v, 22nd June 1476).

Item florenos quadraginta octo largos solvendos Andree michael del Verrocchio pro laborando et conducendo opus figurarum domini nostri et sancti Tomasii prout stantiaverunt per dominos sex pro tempore existenti non excedendo florenos decem largos quolibet mense f.48

[In margin:] 1476/17 augusti f.10/28 septembri f.10/8 novembr f.10/12 decembro f.10/10 jan 1476 f.8

Document 4 (ASF, Deliberazioni della Mercanzia, 317, fol.71r, 13th January 1466-67).

Item deliberaverunt et stantiaverunt quod camerarius predictusolvere debeat usque in Florenos centum viginti largos Andree michaelis del Verrocchio pro laborando et pro faciando figuras domini nostri et Sancti Tommasii secundum quod et prout stantiatum [?] fuit per dominos sex mercantie pro tempore existenti non excedendo florenos decem largos quolibet mense et de mense in mensem et non ante vel ultra et singulariter et de per se.

[In margin:] 11 Febr 1476 f.10/27 Martij 1477 f.10/24 maij 1477 f.10/16 Octobri 1477 f.10/20 Novembr 1477 f.10/14 Jan 1477 f.10/11 Aprilis 1478 f.10/29 Maij 1478 f.10/4 Septemb 1478 f.10/29 Maij 1479 f.10/2 Julj 1480 f.10/Primo Augusto 1480 f.10

Document 5 (ASF, Archivio della Mercanzia, Libro di Debitori e Creditori, filza 14103, Libro B rosso, fols.131-13r).

+ yhs 1479 +

Andrea di Michele del verocchio de dare f. cento quattro cento [sic] otto larghi e lire trecento diciassette per lui posto debbi avere a libro verdi segnato A, a c. 22. Sono perchè attolto a fare due figure di bronzo l'una del Nostro Signore e l'altra di San Tommaso e quella del Nostro Signore è presso affornita e quella di san Tommaso che è a ordine digittarilla e a di nostro bronzo lire tremila novecento ottanta uno nette. f.148 l.317

Lire 3981 di bronzo

E a di xxviii di maggio 1479 f. v larghi ebbe da Lionardo di Bartolomeo Bartolini kamarlingo posto debbi avere al libro verde segnato A, c. 269. f.5 larghi

E dee dare a di 28 di Giugno 1480 f. x larghi per noi di Andrea Charnesecci kamarlingo posto debbi avere in questo c. 60. f.10 larghi

E dec dare a di 17 di aghosto f. x larghi per noi di Andrea Charnesecci kamarlingo posto debbi avere in questo c. 60, per parte delle figure f.10 larghi

E dec dare a di 2 di Maggio 1481 f. 40 larghi lire 200 per noi da Piero di messer Tomaso Soderinj kamarlingo posto debbi avere in questo c. 71; i quali aveva auti più di fa che se n'era obrighato Antonio Martegli quando gli ebbe detto Andrea vinsse detta provisione per gli opportuni chonsigli insino a di 12 di aprile 1481 e stanziati per sex chapitudini f.40 l.200

E a di 5 di Maggio 1483 f. quattro larghi d'oro in oro per noi da Francesco d'Alamanno degli Albini ghuardiano e per lui da Giuliano Chorsellini kamarlingo posto avere in questo c. 108, per tanti si paghoranno per lui al Monte e ala chamera del arme per tassa di petitione f.4

E a di 6 di Maggio 1483 f. trenta larghi in oro ebe per noi per istanziamiento di questo di da Giuliano Chorsellini kamarlingo posto avere in questo c. 108. f.30

E a di 9 f. tre larghi per lui a Giuliano d'Andrea e compagnia [or, compagni] sua gharzoni ebe gli per istanziamiento questo di da Giuliano Chorsellini kamarlingo posto avere in questo c. 108. f.3

E a di xvi di Maggio 1483 f. cinque per lui a Pagholo e Giuliano d'Andrea suo Lavorante per istanziamiento ebe gli da Giuliano Chorsellini kamarlingo c. 108. f.5

E a di xxiii di Mago 1483 f. cinque larghi in oro per lui a Giuliano sopradetto ebe per noi per istanziamiento da Giuliano Chorsellini kamarlingo in questo c. 108. f.5

E a di xxx di mago 1483 f. x larghi per noi da Giuliano Chorsellini kamarlingo posto avere in questo c. 109 per istanziamiento a llui proprio f.10

E a di detto f. cinque larghi da Giuliano Chorsellini kamarlingo per istanziamiento posto avere in questo c. 109, e per lui a Giuliano d'Andrea. f.5

E a di 7 di Giugno 1483 f. cinque larghi per lui a Giuliano d'Andrea detto ebe gli per noi da Benedetto di Tanai kamarlingo posto avere in questo c. 111. f.5

E a di xiii di Giugno 1483 f. cinque larghi per noi da Benedetto di Tanai de Nerlli kamarlingo per istanziamiento posto avere in questo c. 111. f.5

E a di xxi di Giugno 1483 f. ventiquattro larghi per noi da Benedetto di Tanai de Nerlli kamarlingo f.24

309.517.00

Rimasse gli d'achordo cho llui per partito de sci e di messere Bongiani e antonio Pucci questo di xxi di Giugno 1483 Roghato ser Giovanni Chalandrini che si gli dice per suo resto di fattura dele figure holtre ali di sopra f. 300 larghi e quel più che dirà messere Bongiani Gianfiliazzi e Antonio di Puccio non passando la somma d f. 400 larghi cioè si gli a dare in tutto f. . . . de quali n'a hauto quanto di sopra si vede che si ragionano f. . . . Resta avere f. . . . e quagli si gli anno a dare ogni anno f.

Non ebbe poi efetto.

di poi per istanziamiento de dicti cioè per partito de di 2 Genajo 1487 s'a a pagare per resto di maestero di sopradette figure f. 200 di suggello infra due anni / A Tomaxo suo fratello per fare dote ale figliuole e nipoti di detto Andrea per lege fatta questo di per gli opportuni consigli / e detto Tomaxo s'obrighano insieme chon Lorenzo di Credi fare le lettere da pie a dette figure a nostro oro. 221 larghi

Document 6 (ASF, Mercanzia, 14103, 13r).

E de dare detto Andrea a di 11 di Genajo 1487 di chomesione de mandato [?] sei f. tre larghi doro in oro e lire due piccoli per loro istanziamiento di questo di / A Tomaxo del Varochio ebe gli da Francesco Naxi kamarlingo in questo c. 175, per pagare la tazza di una petitione missa in chonsigli a questo di. f.3 l.2

E a di xxvi di novembre 1488 f.83 l.1/3 larghi di Suggello per f. cento d'oro in oro posto Giouanfrancesco Tornabuoni kamarlingo avere in questo c. 184 paghati per istanziamiento di questo di per la metà de f. 200 di suggello per lege chome dirinpetto si dice A Tomaxo di Michele Verocci suo fratello e per lui agli ufficiali del Monte per suo testamento per fare dote ale figliuole di detto Tomaxo e nipoti di detto Andrea. f.83 l. 18

86.3.18.8

Document 7 (ASF, Archivio della Mercanzia, Libro di Debitori e Creditori, filza 14104, fol.26L).

1490

Andrea di michele del Varochio schultore che fece le figure di bronzo di Christo e san tomaxo che sono a orzamichele de' dare per chonto di suo magistero a di primo di febraio 1490 f. 395 larghi e lire 520 soldi 18 denari 8 piccioli chonsegniato per debitore il libro rosso B, c. 13 posto detto libro d'avere in questo c. 7; vagliono f. 485. Sono per tanti datoli sino a questo di per parte di suo maestero de le figure di Christo e San Tomaxo / E ancora resta a avere f. 100 d'oro chom'apare nota a detto libro rosso, c. 13 al suo chonto, meno f. 3 d'oro e lire 2 piccioli ebbe tomaxo suo fratello per pagare la tassa della provisione. f.485

L'arte de' mercatanti e università di detta arte deono dare a di primo di febraio 1490 f. quattrocento di suggello, chonsegnòcele per debitore il libro rosso B c. 9, posto detto libro avere in questo, c. 7. f. 333 s. 6 d. 8. Sono per bronzo auto da loro per le figure di Cristo e San Tomaxo, ma dice nella partita a detto libro, c. 9, che lo tarò Andrea del Varochio e d'exc pagò più di f. 50 larghi. Volxi contare cho' loro.