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"SO ANCIENT YET SO NEW":
ALBERTI'S CREATION OF A FINAL RESTING PLACE
FOR GIOVANNI RUCCELLAI IN FLORENCE

BY

NANCY DOERR CARNEY

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF ARTS

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May, 1997
ABSTRACT

"So Ancient Yet So New": Alberti's Creation of a Final Resting Place for Giovanni Rucellai in Florence

by

Nancy Doerr Carney

At some time around the first half of the fifteenth century the Florentine merchant Giovanni Rucellai commissioned the architect Leon Battista Alberti to design a shrine which could serve both as Rucellai's tomb and as a reflection of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In so doing Alberti created a work that could function not only as a family and religious shrine but could also refer to the history of the city of Florence.

The Florentines at this time saw their city as the center of commerce, the arts, humanistic studies, and religion. All these activities converged in the idea of Florence as a "New Jerusalem."
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Walter Widrig, my professor, mentor, and thesis advisor, I offer my deepest thanks for your wealth of experience, thoughtful advise, and criticism. I am deeply indebted to my other mentor Joseph Manca for my knowledge and appreciation of Italian Renaissance art, and to Linda Neagley who was an endless source of bibliographic material. I hope this thesis is everything you hoped it could be.

I owe more than can be possibly expressed to my husband Robert J. Carney for inspiring me to pursue this field, and for his infinite patience and moral support.

There were many people in this country and Italy who helped realize this project. Here at Rice University I thank Gaylon Denney in the Department of Art and Art History, Jet Prendeville, as well as the staff at the Alice Pratt Brown Art and Architecture Library, and the Fondren Library Inter-Library Loan Department.

In Italy I thank Count Niccolò Rucellai for sharing information about his illustrious ancestor Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai. Count Rucellai was extremely generous in sharing his family photographs of the Holy Sepulchre replica, and for making the family archives and archivist Tina Pangrazio available for consultation. Also, I thank my many friends at Villa I Tatti, the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence. As for individuals here and abroad, I thank David Reading, Walter Kaiser, Fiorella Superbi, William Kent, Susan McKillop, Anthony Molho, Eve Borsook, Brenda Preyer,
Adrienne Atwell, Gabriella Battista, Grazia Visintainer, Luisetta Chomel, Luigi Artini, Donato Pineider, TornesMock, Patrizia Carella, and countless others for their generosity and ideas.

Lastly, I thank my family and friends.
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INTRODUCTION

Sometimes a tomb is not just a final resting place. Besides honoring the memory of the deceased it can also symbolize the destiny of a city. Such is the case with the Holy Sepulchre tomb monument that Leon Battista Alberti designed for the rich merchant prince Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai in Quattrocento Florence. The shrine was placed in Rucellai’s parish church of San Pancrazio a short distance from his palace in the heart of Florence’s leone rosso district (figs.1-6). The shrine in San Pancrazio’s Rucellai Chapel is dedicated to its sacred prototype—the aedicula that contains Christ’s tomb in Jerusalem. It also honors the memory of Giovanni Rucellai and expresses his hope of salvation. Construction of the chapel began at least by 1458, and probably was completed between 1461 and 1467.\(^1\) Access to the tomb and its rectangular chapel was through a wide columnar screen in the nave wall of the church. In the middle of the barrel-vaulted chapel, the basilica-shaped shrine has delicate marble intarsia decoration articulated by pilasters. Carved marble lilies run along the top of the structure, that includes the rampant lion emblem of the Rucellai family. The aedicula is crowned with a lantern and onion-shaped cone. The shrine, too, has a barrel vault and is entered through a low door.

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A white marble altar, or sepulchre, is to the right of the door (figs. 7-8). The tomb was created during another phase of the "Myth of Florence." D. Weinstein traces the myth from the Middle Ages to the fifteenth century examining Florence's past as the daughter of Rome, and her independence as a center of spiritual renewal. At the end of the fourteenth century the latter part of the myth strengthened when some citizens regarded Florence as the "New Jerusalem." This part of the myth accelerated during the Council of Florence in 1439 that sought to re-unite the Western and Eastern Churches. The goal of this paper will be to investigate Alberti's

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3 Ibid. 30. The "New Jerusalem" idea was metaphorical. For an overview of Jerusalem the city and its celestial counterpart in the Old and New Testaments, see Johan Chydenius, The Typological Problem in Dante. A Study in the History of Medieval Ideas, XXV, 1, Societas Scientiarum Fennica Commentationes humanarum litterarum, (Helsingfors, 1958), 1-159. During the Old Covenant the prophets predicted that the Jerusalem that was to come was not the old Jerusalem, but its heavenly counterpart, see ibid., 54. In the New Testament Christian writers also believed "The earthly city of the Jews held a promise which was to be fulfilled by the arrival of the heavenly City of God." This idea was first advanced by St. Paul to the Galatians, see ibid., 56. For more on the conflation of Florence and Jerusalem, see Braun, "Immortality," 12.

sources of inspiration, and the intention of Giovanni Rucellai. I propose that the tomb's decoration contains subtle and complex symbolism relating to the city, and the Rucellai family, and reflects the spirit of Florence as the "New Jerusalem."

The fourth-century Constantinian church of the Holy Sepulchre changed the old Jewish Jerusalem into a new Christian city. Giovanni Rucellai's Holy Sepulchre monument, too, enhanced Florence's metamorphosis into the "New Jerusalem" because it was also dedicated to the Resurrection (figs. 9-10). In the Old Testament the lion is associated with life through death and rebirth, and in the New with Christ's Resurrection.5 Besides being a symbol of the Rucellai, the lion also symbolizes the leone rosso, David, an important civic symbol in Florence, the city itself, and Alberti (figs. 11-15). Towards the mid-Quattrocento, after finishing his architectural treatise De re aedificatoria, and before embarking on his own architectural career, Alberti changed his birth name. The change, from Baptista to Leon Battista, means Lion and Baptist, as

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John the Baptist was the patron saint of the city. This change could signify that Alberti was merging his own destiny with Florence's. Alberti's personal appropriation of the lion may have broader implications too, as he was referring to Hebraic antiquity. This is also what Alberti did in the design of Giovanni Rucellai's Holy Sepulchre monument.

During the Middle Ages in Europe and Italy a variety of structures were built commemorating Christ's Holy Sepulchre tomb and or the circular structure—the Anastasis—that surrounds it in Jerusalem (fig. 17). The shrine aedicula, rather than the circular Rotunda, was favored in Germany, whereas in England round churches are often found. In

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6 Joseph Rykwert, and Robert Tavernor, Leon Battista Alberti: On the Art of Building in Ten Books, 2nd printing, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, Robert Tavernor, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989), xvi. For the significance Alberti gives to the lion and its winged eye, his appropriation of the name Leone, and his literary references to the lion, see Renée Watkins, "L. B. Alberti's Emblem, The Winged Eye and his Name Leo," Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, (November, 1960), 256-58. esp. 257. The Florentine lion is called the Marzocco. See Laurie Schneider, "Leon Battista Alberti: Some Biographical Implications of the Winged Eye," The Art Bulletin, LXXII, n. 2, (1990), 61-70. This author suggests Alberti's identification with the lion insured his connection to the city that exiled his family. Leo, who symbolizes the sun, guaranteed Alberti's own immortality, see ibid., 262. For the winged eye emblem as a reference to the sun, king, God, and Christ, see ibid., 264. See ibid., 266 for Alberti’s emblem as a reference to the lion. Alberti depicted a sun with a human face on the facade of Santa Maria Novella (fig. 16). This was the typical representation of Leo the zodiacal lion, see ibid., 267. See Dezzio Bardeschi," Sole," 52-57 for Alberti's astrological and Christian symbolism on the facade of Santa Maria Novella as an exemplar of antique solar cults, the Eighteenth Psalm of David in sole posuit tabernaculum suum, Christian doctrine, and Dante. For Alberti’s interest in astrology, see James Beck, Leon Battista Alberti and the “Night Sky” at San Lorenzo, Artibus et Historiae: an art anthology, 19, X, (1989), 9-35. Beck argues Alberti painted the “Night Sky” in the Old Sacristy scarsella sometime between 1435-1439 with a collaborator, see ibid., 13. Just the presence of the lion in the family chapel indicates the extent to which the Medici and Florentines revered it, see ibid., 29. Like Dezzio Bardeschi, Beck stresses that Alberti was an astrologer as well as a painter, see ibid., 15. There are different interpretations of what the scene symbolizes but critics generally agree that the it represents July, see ibid., 13-14. July is when the sun is in Leo, and the Florentines believed their city was founded in Leo. See also Howel Wills, Florentine Heraldry, (London: Dean, 1904), 170-1, for the history of the Rucellai and the lion as their family symbol. Also for the lion as king who is born rampant, see ibid., 36 and 85.

fifteenth-century Italy there were commissions that either alluded to certain features of the Holy Sepulchre in churches and chapels, or like Giovanni Rucellai’s shrine, were Renaissance interpretations of Christ’s tomb aedicula. Generally, the Italian Renaissance structures copied the *sacellum*, or aedicula, of Christ’s tomb rather than the circular Anastasis that contains it.  

The unity achieved during the 1439 Council was only temporary, but it accelerated Florence’s mythical identity as a center of spiritual renewal. In fact, M. Dezzi Bardeschi asserts that Quattrocento Florence was “...*terreno fertile...*” for a replica of the Holy Sepulchre and her role as the “...*nuova Gerusalemme celeste...*” because of the intense twenty-year preparation for the Council. The Council’s presence increased Florence’s stature as a major religious center. Political conflicts with Rome well before 1439 contributed to this transfer of power:

Thus developments both inside and outside Florence in the middle years of the fourteenth century were working to undermine the traditional Guelf ideology of republican pluralism and papal leadership. It was not until 1375, when Florence went to war with Pope Gregory XI, that this ideology received its death blow; but even before that, a new view was forming, one in which Florence no longer defined

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10 Ibid., 36.

11 Ibid., 36.
her Roman inheritance in terms of papal leadership but claimed the leadership for herself.\textsuperscript{12}

The Ciompi revolt of 1378, the threat of Milanese aggression, and constant fear of the plague also shaped Florence's destiny. This collective stress nourished radical apocalyptic ideas, religious prophecy,\textsuperscript{13} and the intense desire for spiritual and political renewal. These developments and the reunification effort encouraged the myth of Florence as the "New Jerusalem." The myth endured until Savonarola's fall at the end of the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{14} In this atmosphere at mid-century Alberti's task—to design a Holy Sepulchre shrine for a rich merchant prince—was a perfect opportunity to exercise his "archeological outlook,"\textsuperscript{15} and design a tomb "so ancient yet so new."\textsuperscript{16}

Scholars often ignore the Rucellai monument, although it has received critical favor. L. Heydenreich called it a "Humanistic concetto which bears the true Albertian stamp...," that is "...the most perfect expression of the spirit and style of Albertian architecture."\textsuperscript{17} Giovanni


\textsuperscript{13} Weinstein, "Myth," 26.

\textsuperscript{14} For how the Medici, and the artists in their circle, and Savonarola (until he was burned at the stake in 1498), used the myth, see Weinstein, ibid., 18, 19, 40, 42,44. I am grateful to Susan R. McKillop for pointing out that the Medici saw themselves as the descendants of the Davidic house in Florence as the "New Jerusalem," as a way to insure their domination of the city. See \textit{L'ampliamento dello stemma mediceo e il suo contesto politico}, Studi su Lorenzo dei Medici e il secolo XV, n. 553, (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1992), esp. 647-648 and n. 15.

\textsuperscript{15} Wittkower, \textit{Principles}, 56. See also Christine Smith, \textit{Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism: Ethics, Aesthetics, and Eloquence 1400-1470}, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), esp. 77. Both these authors note Alberti's eclecticism and ability to incorporate the best from antiquity into the new Renaissance style.

\textsuperscript{16} Rykwert, \textit{Ten Books}, xi.
Rucellai’s shrine departs dramatically from other Holy Sepulchre replicas and all tombs in Quattrocento Florence. Typically, these tombs feature effigies of the deceased and narrative relief. One example is the tomb that Alberti’s friend Bernardo Rossellino designed for the humanist Leonardo Bruni around 1444 in Santa Croce (fig. 18).18 In the fifteenth century, portraits and death masks of Florence’s most prominent citizens were common in private and public contexts (fig. 19).19 The omission of these elements in Giovanni Rucellai’s tomb, and the austerity of the overall design, led E. Braun to call it “...an architectural enigma...” and an “...anomaly...”20

No documents exist about the construction of the chapel and tomb or their designer. Alberti, however, has been considered their author since


18 Braun, "Immortality," 15 n. 4. Rightfully, Braun considers Giovanni’s chapel and shrine equal in stature to Florentines who were distinguished in civic and ecclesiastical matters such as Bruni or the Chapel and tomb created for the Cardinal of Portugal in San Miniato al Monte (ca.1460-62). The usual tomb for merchant princes like Giovanni Rucellai was a smaller arcosolium or sarcophagus placed in a wall with narrative relief or a portrait medallion. For more on the Cardinal’s tomb, see Anne Markham Schultz, The Sculpture of Bernardo Rossellino and His Workshop, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977). See also Sharon T. Strocchia, Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance, no. 10, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).


20 Braun, 9.
the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{21} It is impossible now for visitors to experience the chapel and tomb in their original state because of nineteenth-century alterations. Eighteenth-century engravings by Seroux D’Agincourt show Alberti’s original design that made the Holy Sepulchre tomb the chapel’s centerpiece (figs. 21-22). Alberti demolished one long wall of the rectangular-shaped Trecento chapel and replaced it with an architrave, columns, and pilasters. The \textit{tempietto} was in the center of the chapel. Lengthwise the chapel runs along the Via della Spada next to the northwest corner of San Pancrazio. Both the church and chapel face the piazzetta of San Pancrazio and the chapel’s entrance was from the narthex in front of the church. Alberti’s design was a feat praised by Vasari:

For the same Rucellai Leon Batista made a chapel in the same manner in S. Pancrazio, which rests on great architraves placed on two columns and two pilasters, piercing the wall of the church below; which is a difficult thing, but safe; wherefore this work is one of the best that this architect ever made.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 9.

Alberti’s Architectural Treatise and Holy Sepulchre
Shrine in Florence as the "New Jerusalem"

Unfortunately, an early nineteenth-century alteration of San Pancrazio in the Neo-Classical style radically altered the way the chapel was used. The open wall was closed making it impossible to view the tomb from a distance. The two columns and architrave from the open wall were added to San Pancrazio’s facade, along with two lions and a rose window (figs. 23-33).

Despite the changes, however, the chapel and tomb still reflect Albertian ideals in De re aedificatoria.: “...you should situate the temple in a busy, well known, and as it were proud place, free of any profane contamination...”23 In this case, the tomb’s location in the chapel protects it from the busy streets of the leone rosso. Alberti argues that the perfect form for chapel sepulchres is a small temple24 because it is graceful and “delights the mind” and “...will greatly encourage piety.”25 The circle, wrote Alberti, is of primary importance as a structure because “Nature delights in the circle. Need I mention the earth, the stars, the animals, their nests and so on, all of which she has made circular?”26 The circular form, however, would not imitate the Holy Sepulchre tomb. So Alberti came up with a compromise in Giovanni’s tomb:

24 Ibid., 249.
25 Ibid., 194.
26 Ibid., 196.
Our people, however, have used the basilican form for all our sacrifices, both because people originally used to meet and congregate in private basilicas, and because in them is a dignified position for the altar in front of the tribunal, and round the altar a perfect place for the choir.\textsuperscript{27}

The basilica is important to Alberti because: "...within the mortal world there is nothing to be found, or even imagined that is more noble or holy than the sacrifice."\textsuperscript{28} The tomb’s basilica shape housed in its rectangular chapel, then, commemorates Christ’s Sacrifice, and Giovanni’s financial sacrifice and piety. Alberti also believed that since “...the basilica has similar qualities as the temple, it should adopt much of the ornament that is appropriate to it...”\textsuperscript{29} His rationale is that splendid decoration will make the gods hear our prayers.

Today the slightly irregular rectangular chapel that contains Giovanni’s shrine is 41 feet long and 21 feet wide.\textsuperscript{30} Alberti’s barrel-vault in the chapel may be the first in Renaissance Florence.\textsuperscript{31} The height of the barrel vault and chapel is the same as the length, and the proportion in width is 1:2.\textsuperscript{32} Two pilasters with seven channels in \textit{pietra serena} gray are

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 195.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 229.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 230.


\textsuperscript{31} Heydenreich, \textit{Architecture}, 34.

on each side of the chapel walls, and their height equals the width of the room. Above the pilasters is a large decorated cornice, and bands placed across the barrel vault seem like a continuation of the pilasters. High windows decorated with oak leaf frames are between the pilasters and allow only a view of the sky above. The chapel’s subtle and serene setting makes Giovanni’s shrine the center of attention (figs. 34-38).\textsuperscript{33}

Vasari had little to say about the tomb itself except that it was an oblong oval shape.\textsuperscript{34} This is surprising because of the beauty of its polychrome marble decoration that is more festive than funereal.\textsuperscript{35} Yet, worshippers are always reminded of its Near Eastern prototype because of the onion-domed lantern with four slender columns that sits on its top like Christ’s own sepulchre,\textsuperscript{36} and the inscription around the frieze referring to Christ’s Resurrection. The tomb’s basilica shape (ratio 3:2) is twice its width, and the closed-apse faces the chapel’s altar.\textsuperscript{37} The sepulchre, about half the size of the original, is not replica of Christ’s in proportions or dimensions. In fact, M. Dezzi Bardeschi demonstrates the dimensions of Alberti’s aedicula match those of a Holy Sepulchre replica in Fiesole.\textsuperscript{38} Giovanni’s shrine aedicula indicates what fifteenth century architects knew

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 12.

\textsuperscript{34} See Vasari, Vite, II, Milanesi, 543, “Nel mezzo di questa cappella è un sepolcro di marmo molto ben fatto, in forma ovale e bislunfo, simile, come in esso si legge, al sepolcro di Gesù Cristo in Gerusalemme.”

\textsuperscript{35} On the exuberance of the tomb see, Dezzi Bardeschi, “Complesso,” 25.

\textsuperscript{36} Braun, “Immortality,” 10.

\textsuperscript{37} Grayson, “Alberti,” 12.

\textsuperscript{38} Dezzi Bardeschi, “Nuove ricerche,” 149-51. Brown, Tribuna, 193-4 and n. 64 agrees that Alberti based his Holy Sepulchre shrine on a Medieval version of the Holy Sepulchre aedicula in Fiesole. It is now part of a house near the church of San Francesco. Also, Renaissance architects knew that the Holy Sepulchre was not its original state, see ibid., 194 and n. 65. See Heydenreich, “Die Cappella,” 223 the shrine is roughly half the size of the original in Jerusalem 4,10 X 2,25, as compared to 8, 30 X 5,50 and has substantial differences in dimensions.
about Christ’s tomb. This was the original late-antique structure of the
tomb with a rectangular plan and semicircular apse surrounded by columns
and a blind arcade, a complicated entablature, and a onion-domed lantern
with double columns. The structural organization of the Rucellai tomb,
then, is similar to the original Holy Sepulchre. Some other similarities
Dezzi Bardeschi offers between Alberti’s replica and its prototype are
domes that converge in a point, false apses, and a rigid east-west
orientation. The inspiration behind Alberti’s design may have come from
the Vatican (fig. 39). Although the tomb has certain features that mirror
its prototype, Dezzi Bardeschi correctly assesses that Alberti’s version is an
independent, authentic invention in its own right. The marble intarsia
decoration covering the tomb walls is mainly black, white, green, and
brownish-rose. It is organized into thirty vertically-placed square boxes in
rows of three enclosing panels of white marble. Inside the panels are
circles with delicately carved designs (figs. 40-71). Thirteen pilasters with
seven channels and Corinthian capitals surround the tomb, creating three
divisions on the rectangular sides of the tomb. On the top of the pilasters
is a complicated entablature with a cornice. Running along with top of this

39 Braun, “Immortality,” 10. See Brown, Tribuna, 193 for Alberti’s copy of the Holy Sepulchre sacellum
that includes a semi-circular apse, articulating pilasters, and low door found on the Gothic Holy Sepulchre
in Jerusalem. The channeled pilasters, with their Corinthian capitals and marble surface, however, were
Alberti’s creation. Brown surmises correctly that the decoration of the Rucellai aedicula was borrowed from

40 Dezzi Bardeschi, “Nuove ricerche,” 149.

41 Paraphrase of author. Ibid., 149. "...il ricorso alla memoria di Gerusalemme anche qui perciò, anziché
gravare come scomodo e irritante vincolo, si traduce in originario pretesto per realizzare un’invenzione
autentica, indipendente, un’opera raggiunta che vive di vita propria."

42 Heydenreich, Architecture, 34. This author asks whether Alberti borrowed the seven-channeled pilasters
from the Pantheon which seems likely. In Hellenistic Hebraic antiquity seven represents the cosmic ascent
into the immaterial world through the seven planets that are symbolized by the seven-branched menorah. In
Christianity, seven stands for the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, see Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, X, 96-
97.
are marble encrustations that have been identified as lilies—one of the symbols of Florence. Alberti favored written inscriptions—which he calls epigraphs—on tombs and he included two here as they inspire "...piety, compassion and grace..." An inscription along the frieze is what the angel said at Christ’s tomb:

YHESUM QUERITIS NAZARENUM CRUCIFIXUM
SURREXIT NON EST HIC. ECCE LOCUS UBI
POSUERUNT EUM. You seek Jesus of Nazareth who was crucified. He is not here, he has risen. Behold the place where they laid him. (figs. 72-73)

Alberti’s use of classical Roman letters that fit perfectly into a circle within a square on this inscription and another the facade of Santa Maria Novella was an extremely important innovation that other Renaissance architects borrowed. The size of the letters in this inscription are the same as those

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43 Braun, “Immortality,” 11 and n. 25. Braun notes the unique lily frieze on Rucellai’s Holy Sepulchre is not included on its sacred prototype. Braun also observes the “fanciful texture” of these gigli or lilies. A column of green and white marble in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London was commissioned by either Giovanni Rucellai or his son Bernardo between 1448 and 1515. Three dowel holes on the top indicate it was designed to support a sculpture. Carved lilies decorate the top and base of this column as well, and more flowers bloom out the top of these lilies. See Patricia L. Crawford, “Lily,” Harper’s Bible Dictionary, with the Society of Biblical Literature, Paul J. Achtemeier, ed., et. al, (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1985), 561-62 for lilies that grow throughout the Holy Land in spring; they are also a decorative motif on King Solomon’s Temple (1 Kings 7: 19-26). See S. McKillop, “L’ ampliamento,” passim, esp. 641-48, on the Medici appropriation of the lily from the King of France, and the use of the lily by the French kings to symbolize their wisdom that was like Solomon’s. Perhaps Giovanni Rucellai’s use of the lilies was a subtle way to pay homage to Cosimo. See F. R. Webber, Church Symbolism: Explanation of the More Important Symbols of the Old and New Testament, the Primitive, the Medieval Church, and the Modern Church, 2d rev. ed., intro. by Ralph Adams Cram, (Cleveland: J. H. Jansen Publisher, 1938), 79, for the lily that blooms at Easter in the Holy Land as a symbol of Christ’s Resurrection. See Schiller, Iconography, I, 51, for the lily as the flower of paradise together with the rose, and both are symbols of light. See Borsi, Alberti, (1889), 106, for the special scaffolding that was built for the marble carvers around the tomb during its construction. See also G. Richa, Notizie istoriche delle Chiese fiorentine, 1. (Florence, 1755), 315. See Heydenreich, “Die Cappella,” 222, who suspects that the lilies were supposed to be covered with gold. Gold-covered lilies would fuse the Holy Land with the gold florin of Florence.

44 Rykwert, Ten Books, 256.

of the Caecilia Metella in Rome, and of the Porta dei Leoni in Verona.47

A second inscription is over the little door of the shrine:

Johannes Rucellarius pauli fil. ut inde salutem suam precaretur unde omnium cum christo facta est resurectio sacellum hoc ad instar iherosolimitanii sepulchri faciundum curavit MCCCCLXVII, or

Giovanni Rucellai, son of Paolo, in order to pray for his salvation from the risen Christ, from whence all comes, dedicates this shrine, which is made on the pattern of the Holy Sepulchre, 1467.48

A plenary indulgence for worshippers here was granted by Paul II in 1467.49 The Brunelleschi-inspired, onion-domed lantern, rests on top of the shrine above the entablature at its tiny entrance. Also, the middle panels on the sides of the tomb bear the family imprese of the Rucellai and Medici.50 This was Giovanni’s way of paying homage to the Medici, because of family ties.51

46 Grayson, Design, 13. See Robert Tavernor, “I caratteri dell’iscrizione del sepolcro Rucellai a Firenze,” Leon Battista Alberti, Città di Mantova Centro Internazionale d’Arte e di Cultura di Palazzo Te, a cura di Joseph Rykwert e Anne Engel, (Milan: Olivetti/Electa, 1994), 402-7. See Christine M. Sperling, “Leon Battista Alberti’s Inscriptions on the Holy Sepulchre in the Cappella Rucellai, San Pancrazio, Florence, The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 52, (1989), 221-28. Sperling offers technical analysis of the lettering on Rucellai’s shrine that imitates an ancient Roman model. Alberti’s architectural treatise does not address this issue. See ibid., 221 for Alberti’s use of the circle and square as the perfect geometrical method to construct and perfect antique Roman prototypes. This type of lettering was not common just after the first half of the Quattrocento, see ibid., 224. For the Renaissance architect’s view of the circle in the square based on Neoplatonic ideals as a mathematical expression of God, the universe, and man, as macrocosm and microcosm, see Wittkower, Principles, 14-16.


48 Ibid., 16 and n. 12.

49 Braun, “Immortality,” 16 and n. 12. On June 22, 1471, Pope Paul II granted indulgences for visitors who attended mass on Good Friday and Holy Sunday in the chapel. The indulgences were for “sete anni e alrettante quarantane delle iniunte penitenze misericordiosamente relasiamo.” See also Perosa, Zibaldone, I, 24-25.

50 For more on family imprese and emblems on building projects as signs of family power and alliances, see Braun, 13, and n. 43-46.
Braun notes that scholars analyze this Holy Sepulchre shrine from a formalist perspective, and compare its decoration with the marble intarsia found in the Baptistry and the church of San Miniato—two of several structures out of Florence’s Proto-Renaissance past (figs. 74-75).\textsuperscript{52} F. Borsi argues convincingly that the quality of marble work in the beautifully carved rosettes on the Holy Sepulchre tomb, and those found on the facade of Santa Maria Novella, indicates the artistry of Giovanni di Bertino.\textsuperscript{53} In the latter, the rosettes decorate the upper part of the facade and are contained in the volutes that depict scrolls (fig. 76). Decorative rosettes were commonly used since antiquity, however, on Giovanni’s tomb and Santa Maria Novella’s facade they are symbolic, not merely decorative.\textsuperscript{54}


\textsuperscript{52} Braun, 11-12. Also see Heydenreich, “Die Cappella,” 221 and Dezzi Bardeschi, “Il complesso,” 25.

\textsuperscript{53} Borsi, \textit{Alberti}, (1989), 106.

\textsuperscript{54} Rosettes have a long association with the lion and solar deities, see Goodenough, \textit{Jewish Symbols}, VII, 69-72. In the Old and New Testaments rosettes and the lion acquire religious significance, see ibid., 176-77. For the lion and Messiah and Resurrection see, ibid., 82. This explains Alberti’s subtle references to the lion and use of rosettes on Giovanni’s tomb. See Phyllis Williams Lehmann, “Alberti and Antiquity: Additional Observations,” \textit{The Art Bulletin}, LXX no. 3, (September, 1988), 388-40. Lehmann compares the rosettes in the scrolls on the facade of Santa Maria Novella to those in the volutes on the Florentine Cathedral’s lantern that Brunelleschi designed, see 394-96. No attempt, however, is made to interpret the symbolic importance of the rosettes and scrolls or their association with the lion.
Alberti and Rucellai: Collaborators
in Florence as the "New Jerusalem"

As collaborators, Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai (1403-1481) and Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) were perfectly cast. Both patron and architectural designer came from aristocratic Florentine families. Alberti's family was big and had been rich from commerce and banking since the fourteenth century, while Giovanni made his fortune from the same activities in the next century. Giovanni's prominence and wealth made him the kind of patron Alberti wanted:

I would also take care, whenever possible, to deal only with principal citizens who are generous patrons and enthusiasts of such matters: a work will be devalued by a client who does not have an honorable situation. How much, do you think, will the reputations of those outstanding men, to whom you would prefer to offer your services contribute to your fame?55

The Alberti were expelled from Florence for political reasons in 1387, and for the next forty years they lived all over Europe and the Near East. This breadth of experience was probably a strong influence on young Alberti who was very open-minded. Both families had a history of involvement in the Holy Land. Rucellai’s family claimed they were crusader Templar knights. Alberti’s grandfather Benedetto played a similar role as a cavaliere del Santo Sepolcro, and died on Rhodes in 1387 on his return trip from the Holy Land.56 Alberti’s father had the foresight to educate his genius progeny in Padua—a prominent center of humanistic

learning—where he learned Greek and Latin. Later, Alberti received a
doctorate in law at Bologna, and studied physics and mathematics.
Alberti’s mentor there was Tommasso Parentucelli, who later became Pope
Nicholas V (1447-1455). Alberti took priestly orders in Rome in 1428.
An agile *uomo letterato*, he was employed first by Pope Eugenius IV
(1431-1447) and later by Nicholas V. Both of these Popes were humanists
with interests in Hebraic and Christian antiquity. Moses was a *typus Christi*
to them and invoking his example in Judaic history was a way to augment
their own papal authority.\(^57\) Nicholas made Alberti papal inspector of
monuments from 1447-1455. This, and his numerous visits to Rome, gave
Alberti experience with early Christian churches there like Santa
Pudenziana and Santa Maria Maggiore, among others, with mosaics
depicting the celestial Jerusalem.\(^58\) Alberti presented *De re aedificatoria* to
Nicholas in 1452. The treatise demonstrates Alberti’s ability to understand
all of antiquity, including Hebraic, as well as his ideas about modern
experimentation. Giovanni Rucellai came to Rome for Nicholas’ 1450
Jubilee celebration so it is possible that he, Alberti, and Nicholas all had
contact at this time.\(^59\) Giovanni Rucellai left no doubt about his devotion to

\(^{57}\) To avert more schisms, the popes claimed that Moses was their precursor. This was an attempt to
establish a line of succession from the Old Testament paterfamilial kings and priests to the New Testament
Church Fathers. Direct succession from Moses was important to them because there was no scriptural proof
St. Peter was ever in Rome. See Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, (Bloomington: Indiana
University Press, 1985), 203, 211. For more on Dominic papalism, Moses and Eugenius IV, see Izbicki,

\(^{58}\) For Rome’s identification with Jerusalem in sacred art since early Christianity, see Agostino Colli, “La
tradizione figurativa della Gerusalemme celeste: linee di sviluppo dal sec. III al sec. XIV,” *La dimora di Dio
Gatti Perer, (Milan: Vita e Pensiero Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica, 1983), 119-44, esp. 123, 129,
130, 140, 141. For Roman early Christian sarcophagi representing the celestial Jerusalem in the fourth and
fifth centuries, see ibid., 123.

\(^{59}\) Kent, *Patrician*, 51-52. Kent suggests that perhaps Alberti was Giovanni Rucellai’s guide during his tour
of Roman monuments during the 1450 Jubilee. Nicholas V hired the Florentine Giannozzo Manetti (1396-
1459) as his secretary. Manetti was also Giovanni Rucellai’s business partner between 1442-45, and his
Christ and the Holy Land. He left many written documents that include letters written between 1437 and 1480, and a diary from 1457 to 1476 called the *Zibaldone quaresimale*. The diary mainly contained advice to his sons, and a potpourri of subjects dear to Giovanni such as the vicissitudes of fortune, divine grace, and many domestic details.60 In Giovanni Rucellai’s *ricordo* of 1464, *La grazia divina*, he expressed his gratitude for his good fortune and his building projects. The diary also contained descriptions of many churches he saw in Rome during the Jubilee, including San Giovanni Laterano, and his description of a chapel there indicates his deep reverence for Jerusalem’s holy sites.61

Both Giovanni Rucellai and Alberti were ardent admirers of Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446). Alberti acknowledged his debt to the older architect by dedicating his treatise on painting *Della pittura* to him in 1436. Giovanni Rucellai liked Brunelleschi so much that he named him—along with Leonardo Bruni, Cosimo de’ Medici, and Palla Strozzi—as one of *i quattro grandi di Firenze*.62 Giovanni Rucellai’s contacts, as well as his interests and immense wealth, guaranteed his exposure to artists and intellectuals of the first rank like Alberti and Brunelleschi. Yet the only architect he included in his diary was Brunelleschi. This was understandable as Brunelleschi was commissioned to do the Rucellai family pulpit in Santa Maria Novella, and a family member contributed to plans for Brunelleschi’s funeral in 1446.63 The omission of Alberti was strange

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60 Ibid., 10 and n. 3.

son married Giovanni’s daughter in 1452. Manetti was the most prominent Christian humanist Hebraist of the fifteenth century, and an excellent source for Alberti or Rucellai on the subject. For Manetti’s edition in Hebraic antiquity see Stinger, *Renaissance*, 211-13.
in light of the magnitude and expense of Giovanni’s building program that along with the Holy Sepulchre Chapel, included the facade of his palace and Santa Maria Novella, and the family loggia.64

Brunelleschi was clearly the inspiration for rich Florentines to build all’antica. Brunelleschi introduced new accuracy in fifteenth-century Holy Sepulchre reproductions in the Old Sacristy with the dome, lantern, and onion-shaped cupola that he placed on the top (fig. 77). They are a precise allusion to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and established a local precedent and source of inspiration for Alberti and Giovanni Rucellai. The dome refers to the Anastasis Rotunda, and the lantern and cupola refer to Christ’s Tomb.65 There is another possible source of inspiration in Castiglione Olona northwest of Milan.66 A church here was commissioned

63 Kent, Patrician, 41.

64 See Perosa, Zibaldone, I, 23-24. Giovanni names artists that the Rucellai family commissioned including Giovanni di Bertino. He does not, however, identify the artist or artists who did the frescoes in the family palazzo’s altana on the north wall. These frescoes depict Old Testament scenes from the life of Joseph, who was the son of Jacob. See Roberto Salvini, “The Frescoes in the Altana of the Rucellai Palace,” Patrician, 242-52. Salvini makes an interesting connection between Giovanni Rucellai’s concern with Fortuna and Joseph’s fate. Joseph is also considered a prototype of Christ, see ibid., 276. See also Alessandra Malquori, ‘Tempo d’averità: gli affreschi dell’altana di Palazzo Rucellai, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Quaderni di Rinascimento XIX, (Florence: Leo S. Olschki editore, 1993), passim for Rucellai’s use of Old Testament scenes in the altana and his identification with Joseph, see ibid., esp., 32. For Joseph as an Old Testament prototype of Christ in narrative cycles in Rome, Venice, and the Baptistry in Florence, see ibid., 16-17. For Giovanni Rucellai’s anxiety about his mercantile interests conflicting with church doctrine, see ibid., 43. For the interesting, but unprovable, theory that Alberti painted the altana frescoes, see Beck, “Night Sky,” 29-30.


66 I am grateful to Professor Joseph Manca for informing me that the small church of the Corpo di Gesù in Castiglione Olona was an important precedent for Giovanni Rucellai’s Holy Sepulchre shrine. See ibid., “Masolino architetto: una interpretazione della Sagrestia Vecchia di Brunelleschi a Castiglione Olona,” Bollettino d’arte, Serie VI, (March April 1983), 61-66. The chapel’s patron, Cardinal Branda Castiglione, was an important religious figure during the Council of Florence. See Brown, “Tribuna,” 194, n. 67, n. 68, who points to similarities between the Corpo di Gesù (ca. 1422 and 1443) and Giovanni Rucellai’s shrine. They both have an exterior with pilasters, a semi-circular apse, and a roof covered by a ciborium-type structure. For similarities between the Corpo di Gesù groundplan and the Old Sacristy’s in San Lorenzo, see ibid., 248 n. 68. Brown also offers sources of information about the Holy Sepulchre that were available to Alberti, Rucellai, and Castiglione in the fifteenth century. Pilgrim and crusader accounts made the Medieval
by Cardinal Branda Castiglione in the new Florentine Renaissance style. This little church, too, was created in the spirit of optimism due to possible reunification of the Western and Eastern Churches.\textsuperscript{67} It was dedicated to the Body of Christ, which implies it was Christ’s Holy Sepulchre.

Castiglione was in Florence with Pope Eugenius during and before the 1439 Council. So it is possible he knew Alberti and Giovanni Rucellai.\textsuperscript{68} R. Krautheimer explains how images and free copies of holy places—especially Holy Sepulchres—had been common during the Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{69} In fact, Holy Sepulchre monuments were built from the fifth to the seventeenth centuries:

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complex well-known. Ivories, coins, and manuscripts were also available but they usually depicted the tomb aedicula and ignored the Anastasis, see ibid., 189 and n. 45. Images of the Holy Sepulchre were all over Europe by the end of the fifteenth century. Two sixteenth-century woodcuts of the aedicula by Bernhard von Breydenbach indicate what fifteenth-century architects knew about it, see ibid., 189 n. 47. No plans of the Holy Sepulchre survived, nor was there mention of them in the fifteenth century, see ibid., 189. Andrea, an Italian pilgrim, wrote \textit{Viaggio a Gerusalemme} in 1457. Andrea’s report emphasized the low door of the aedicula, see ibid., 190. His account said the walls of the aedicula were white marble, and that it had a semi-circular apse with pairs of columns and a type of ciborium on the top. Andrea ignored the Anastasis Rotunda altogether, see ibid., 191. The \textit{Codice Rustici} was another source that included drawings of Florentine churches with a pilgrim’s report on the Holy Land, see ibid., 191 n. 54. Pilgrims to the Holy Land stressed their religious experiences without describing Christ’s tomb. Yet, if asked, they could still tell fifteenth-century architects like Alberti what they saw. Also, Renaissance architects knew that the Holy Sepulchre was not in its original Constantinian state, see ibid., 192 n. 57.

\textsuperscript{67} Manca, "Masolino," 61.

\textsuperscript{68} Carol Pulin, “Early Renaissance Sculpture and Architecture at Castiglione Olena in Northern Italy and the Patronage of a Humanist, Cardinal Branda Castiglione,” (Ph.D. diss. University of Texas at Austin, 1984). Castiglione was in Florence by August 15, 1435, to join Pope Eugenius after his flight from Rome, see ibid., 27 and n. 25. Castiglione was also in Ferrara in January 1438, until 1439 when he followed Eugenius and the Greek Emperor John VIII to Florence. He stayed there until October 1442, see ibid., 28. In 1450, Giovanni Rucellai visited Castiglione’s palace in Rome that was connected to the church of St. Apollinaire and described it in his diary. He was confused about the owner however, see ibid., 57 and n. 3, and Perosa, \textit{Zibaldone}, I, 76, for this account. A 1427 document shows that Castiglione spent a considerable sum to restore this palace, see Pulin, 57. Because of increased communication with the East, issues like death, rebirth, the Resurrection, and heresies about the Eucharist, and transubstantiation were paramount at the Council of Florence. These concerns influenced the subject matter of painters like Fra Angelico, and increased the demand for imitations of Christ’s tomb and the Anastasis in Jerusalem. As an allusion to Christ’s tomb, Pulin correctly sees Brunelleschi’s Old Sacristy as the inspiration for Castiglione’s church, see ibid., 118, 128-29. The Castiglione church and Giovanni Rucellai’s aedicula imitate the Holy Sepulchre tomb because they have single order pilasters that extend from the base of the exterior to the cornice, see ibid., 130-31.

\textsuperscript{69} Richard Krautheimer, “Iconography,” 2-3.
Yet although the intention of imitating the Holy Sepulchre is expressly stated in many instances, the buildings vary surprisingly from each other; they are also astonishingly different from the prototype they mean to follow.\textsuperscript{70}

The name and dedication of these copies is important, but they remain \textit{typice} and \textit{figuraliter}\textsuperscript{71} in that prototypes can be derived from single elements.\textsuperscript{72} These terms were used by a twelfth-century source to describe the complex of churches in Bologna that created a Jerusalem of sacred sites.\textsuperscript{73} Alberti was certainly aware of these sites during his university days in Bologna. The twelfth-century polygon copy of the Holy Sepulchre, Santo Stefano, has a fourteenth-century tomb of Christ, but the total group was called Jerusalem as early as 887.\textsuperscript{74} Information about the church of the Holy Sepulchre was easily found in Bologna where crusading and pilgrimage have a long history.\textsuperscript{75} Probably Arculf’s seventh-century circular plan was used here (fig. 78).\textsuperscript{76} The circle is a symbol of virtue and the early church and Dante gave it much emphasis in the Middle Ages in \textit{The Divine Comedy}.\textsuperscript{77} The circles in the thirty roundels in the Rucellai shrine show that this symbol was equally revered by Giovanni and Alberti.

Other allusions to the Holy Sepulchre appeared in Florence in the first half of the fifteenth century. U. Schlegel asserts that free copying

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., 3.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., 17.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., 14.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 17.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 17-18.
\textsuperscript{75} Ousterhout, “San Stefano,” 313.
\textsuperscript{77} Krautheimer, “Iconography,” 9.
changed to "...archeological accuracy..."\textsuperscript{78} in the Renaissance with Alberti's Holy Sepulchre monument and Michelozzo's work in SS. Annunziata. Schlegel argues that Masaccio's \textit{Trinity} (ca. 1427) fresco in Santa Maria Novella is a true Renaissance work with iconography from the Middle Ages, and asks if there is a parallel here to the Old Sacristy:

\begin{quote}
Is it, therefore, not possible that the puzzling interior occupied by the holy personages is an architectural copy intended to represent one of the holy places, just as Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy, in San Lorenzo represents the Anastasis?\textsuperscript{79}
\end{quote}

Schlegel argues that the Cross of Christ in this fresco is on the rock of Golgotha, and represents the Golgotha Chapel in Jerusalem (fig. 79).\textsuperscript{80} Schlegel views the \textit{Trinity} as an artistic watershed:

\begin{quote}
Masaccio's vision, by contrast, is no longer a unique experience granted only to saints but an experience available perpetually to any pious beholder.\textsuperscript{81}
\end{quote}

Schlegel defines Brunelleschi's and Masaccio's creations as "...free copies of sacred places in the mediaeval sense,"\textsuperscript{82} in that the space here is not identified. Unlike Brunelleschi's and Masaccio's works, Giovanni Rucellai's shrine clearly refers to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem because of its inscriptions. However, this structure is not just a replica or a way to


\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 26.

\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., 27.

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., 30.

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 31.
envision the real aedicula—unlike the Old Sacristy Chapel—it also functions as a tomb.

Better yet, C. de Tolnay argues that the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre is represented in the upper part of Masaccio's *Trinity*, and that Adam’s tomb is in the lower register. Tolnay observes that God the Father is on a tomb similar to Baldassare Coscia’s tomb in the Baptistry that represents the tomb of Christ. Tolnay calls the classical elements of the barrel vault, Corinthian pilasters, Ionic columns, architraves, and cornices in the *Trinity*, real innovations used by the first artists of the Renaissance.

The architecture here encloses the sacred figures in a reliquary setting. This accentuates the relief of the figures and recalls numerous vaulted tabernacles by Italian sculptors and painters in the Quattrocento, including Desiderio da Settignano (San Lorenzo), Nino da Fiesole (Santa Croce), and Piero della Francesca’s *Sacra Conversazione* in Milan.

In Masaccio’s *Trinity*, Tolnay points to antique Roman motifs like the rosette decoration in the barrel vault coffering. Coins of the Holy Sepulchre produced during Early Christianity also depicted it with a barrel vault. Masaccio’s *Trinity* was a local source for Alberti’s use of a barrel-vault to cover the Holy Sepulchre Chapel and the decorative motif of the

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84 Ibid., 39.

85 Ibid., 38-39. Translated and paraphrased by author. "Cette architecture, qui enferme les saints personnages comme une sorte de reliquaire, sert à Masaccio, comme nous l’avons dit, pour accentuer le relief des figures, et elle est ainsi à l’origine des nombreux tabernacles à voûtes en berceau des sculpteurs et peintres italiens du Quattrocento, de Desiderio da Settignano (S. Lorenzo) et de Nino da Fiesole (S. Croce) jusqu’à la *Sacra Conversazione* de Piero della Francesca à Milan."

86 Translation by author, ibid., 39, "D’autre part, selon les traditions paléochrétiennes, le Saint-Sépulcre possédait lui aussi un édicule avec façade à arc cintré cintre (monnaies de Aelia Capitolina et Byblos)."
rosettes. On Giovanni Rucellai’s tomb, Alberti emphasizes the circle and rosette within square boxes. This indicates not only his knowledge of their significance in pagan antiquity, but also in Hebraic and early Christian contexts. The rosette was often associated with Christ’s cross and the lion (fig. 80). The circle stood for the early church, and the square represents the celestial Jerusalem in the Middle Ages.

E. R. Goodenough demonstrates that “round objects,” rosettes, and wheels, used in Jewish and Christian antiquity are often associated with the lion.87 This connection began in pagan antiquity where the lion was a solar symbol in Egypt and the Near East.88 “Round objects” were many things in antiquity and

... most often used interchangeably for bread and sun, until in mystic representation it seems to have been a sacramental wafer embodying the outflowing power and life of God. As such it was used as the chalice in Christian symbolism, and so it will be interesting to see it in Jewish representation not only with the rosettes, or as the central source in the rosette, but with the chalice itself.89

87 Goodenough, VII, 175-201.

88 See ibid., 71. Goodenough posits that rosettes depicted on lions represent their power and the solar nature of the animal because their hair grew in a way that looked like the sun. Sometimes round objects were substituted for the rosettes, but both symbolized the lion’s hair whorls.

89 For a definition of “round objects,” see ibid., 200-01. See ibid., I, 118. “Round objects,” like Manna, are considered symbols of divine light. In the New Testament, Manna becomes the Eucharist that is also a “round object” and the living bread representing Christ’s flesh. The revelation of this was John’s in the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand. This New Testament story developed from the feeding of the multitude with the bread of First Fruits in the Old Testament, see ibid., V, 91. “Round objects” are associated with Christ’s Cross and Christ as the Logos or Light in Christianity, see ibid., 66 and n. 54. Early Christian art is full of scenes that depict “round objects” that refer to the Eucharist, and that emphasizes figures in groups of three (figs. 81-82). For Philo Judaeus (c. 30 B.C.-A.D. 45) and Hellenistic Judaism as a prototype for the Trinity and how the number three in the Old Testament is adopted in the New, see ibid., X, 94-96. See ibid., I, 3-32, esp. 24-32 for Christian borrowing of Hellenistic Jewish beliefs. See Stünzer, Renaissance, 212-13 for Italian humanist interest in Philo in the 1430s. Giannozzo Manetti owned Philo’s Greek Old Testament exegesis manuscript by 1448. Pope Nicholas V was extremely interested in Philo. In 1446, George of Trebizond translated Gregory of Nyssa’s earlier account of De vita Moysis based on Philo’s account. See Rykwert, Ten Books, xvi, for Alberti’s interest in Philo in connection with the lion.
There are many kinds of rosettes—whirl, floral, and geometrical (fig. 83). The most common rosette in Jewish antiquity had six points and along with "round objects"—with two or more circles—dominated the decoration of Hellenistic Jewish ossuaries from 150 B.C. to A.D. 150. (figs. 85-86) Perhaps, too, the rosette was the forerunner of the modern Star of David. Sometimes rosettes represent heavenly bodies, but on funerary monuments they are usually the sun and divinity. The lion as a solar deity, represented with a floral or whirling rosette, probably originated in Mesopotamia and was used in Palestine and Syria for funeral monuments (fig. 87). The simplest form of the rosette is a cross like x or +, and the motif was taken from the hair whorl on a lion's leg. The lion with a rosette—on its rear or as an eye—emerges as a Christian symbol in the Roman Near East, and is connected to Christ and salvation. The Christians preferred the four-rayed rosette that became the quatrefoil form (fig. 88). The rosette used in the Christian East, however, was not

90 Goodenough, VII, 177-85. See Piero Sanpaolesi, "Leon Battista Alberti: la vita e le opere," Scritti vari di storia, restauro e critica dell'architettura di Piero Sanpaolesi, a cura della facoltà di architettura, (Florence, 1978), 151-67. This critic notes that the Rucellai name is derived from oriceillo or papavero, a plant they introduced to Florence because of the purple dye it makes. The plant was a heraldic device of Giovanni Rucellai and is represented in the frieze of his palazzo, see ibid., 158-59. See also Fabrizio Cortesi, Enciclopedia Italiana: di scienze, lettere, ed arti, (Giovanni Treccani: Rome), 1935, 251. The papavero plant is in the Papaverae family. When seen transversely this plant becomes a whirl rosette and "round object" (fig. 84). For the history of the Rucellai and their dye, see Vittorio Spreti e collaboratori, Enciclopedia Storico-Nobiliare Italiana: famiglie nobili e titolate viventi riconosciute dal governo d'Italia, V, ristampa 1981 dell'edizione di Milano, 1928-36, 851-54.

91 My thanks to David Reading for proofreading this thesis and suggesting that the decoration found on Jewish ossuaries was similar to some of the decorative details on the Rucellai Holy Sepulchre monument. For a discussion of the small stone burial boxes called ossuaries, see Goodenough, I, 110-33.

92 Ibid., I, 116, 176. Six-pointed or "banal" rosettes were the most common on these ossuaries, but the points on these rosettes could be doubled or tripled, etc., see ibid., VII, 179-80.

93 Ibid., VII, 72.

94 Ibid., VII, 177.

95 Ibid., VII, 72.
common on funerary art in Rome. As the rosette on the lion marked its divine nature, it became associated with Christian divinity and the Cross like the halo of a saint. From early Christianity the rosette was revered as the most sacred symbol in the East; and slightly altered, it could become the Host recalling Christ and salvation (figs. 89-90). Later, all types of rosettes were used in the East and the West. One appeared in Rome on a grave in the catacomb of St. Sebastian. By the twelfth century, Eastern-style rosettes were mixed with symbols of the Agnes Dei, Evangelists and other Christian symbols. The most elaborate representations of rosettes, however, became the rose windows of Gothic churches. In Judaism, crossed lines represented the Taw of Ezekiel, that insures the safety of those who have it. It could also become a rosette, that was later depicted as a swastika or whirling cross. Rosettes were also connected with Moses in Jewish antiquity, on the seat of Moses at Chorazin, and the Ark of the Covenant at Dura Europos. All these marks in all cultures and religions, however, on ossuaries, animals, and humans all symbolized divinity, protection, and the hope of safe passage to the afterlife. Goodenough argues that symbols like the rosette on Jewish ossuaries connected to the lion were not just decorative, but had profound religious meaning.

96 Ibid., VII, 195.
97 Ibid., VII, 195.
98 Ibid., VII, 71-72.
99 Ibid., VII, 195.
100 Ibid., VII, 196.
101 Ibid., VII, 178.
102 Ibid., VII, 176.
103 Ibid., VII, 178.
104 Ibid., VII, 197-98.
significance is invoked by the frequency with which these symbols appeared.

Alberti's or Giovanni's choice of "round objects" and rosettes on a Holy Sepulchre replica is significant because they are much more typical of Jewish grave ornament than Christian, and are more frequent in the East than in the West. They:

...dominate a majority of the decorated ossuaries and a considerable number of Palestinian sarcophagi and tomb doors, and they appear in friezes and within wreaths as sacred objects in synagogues. Few rosettes appeared on Jewish remains of Greece and Rome, and the rosette therefore seems a phenomenon of Eastern Jewry.\textsuperscript{105}

Rosettes appeared in other cultures like Syria and Egypt, but not often or with enough consistency to draw conclusions about their symbolic significance.\textsuperscript{106} Sometimes a column with Ionic volutes, that may depict the column on steps, is placed on these ossuaries\textsuperscript{107} (fig. 91). The combination of the column, rosette, and steps gave the impression of entering a shrine.\textsuperscript{108} This was the case with Alberti's design for Giovanni's tomb as he placed it in a chapel that was entered on steps and surrounded it with pilasters, and numerous rosettes (figs. 6, 92). The frequency of this symbol in religious—either Jewish or Christian, or solar and Dionysiac contexts—indicates the divine nature of the lion. In Christianity, the lion tamed by love is baptized by Paul in an arena.\textsuperscript{109} The ferocious, devouring lion

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., VII, 177.
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., VII, 183.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., I, 121.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., I, 122.
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., I, 123.
tamed by love also becomes the companion of St. Jerome or the symbol of St. Mark. With the Evangelists, the lion represented the inspiration and presence of God. In the Jewish religion, too, the lion referred to devouring and death and life through death. The Old Testament is full of references to the lion. Solomon and Ahasuerus presided from thrones in the frescoes at the Dura Synagogue guarded by lions. Lions near the throne did not mean they were tame or scholarly, but meant the court was guided by a solar deity, and that the king who sat there also had the power of a deity. Lions and rosettes are also found with the Ark of the Law and the Ark of the Covenant. God was the lion in ancient Judaism, the tribe of Judah was the lion, and Daniel was the lion in the tribe of Judah. The first of four living creatures was a lion in the tribe of Judah, who became the Messiah in the Old Testament. In Christianity, the lion becomes the Lamb of God who is devoured and destroyed as the Host that is the means to salvation. The lion and lamb through Judaism and Christianity emerge as symbols of resurrection and deliverance. The lion represents the idea of life through death, and Christianity borrowed the lion from Judaism. One of the "round objects" on Giovanni’s tomb is his personal impresa of Fortuna that is represented by the sail and vine that recalls Dionysis. Dionysis is often symbolized by the lion, and so is David. David was

109 Ibid., VII, 76.

110 Ibid., VII, 78-79.


112 Ibid., VII, 84 and 86.

113 Ibid., VII, 82.

114 Ibid., VII, 81-82.
considered a precursor to Christ,\textsuperscript{115} so this motif was important to Giovanni: it appears on his Holy Sepulchre shrine, and across the facades of Santa Maria Novella, his family loggia, and palace (fig. 58).

\textsuperscript{115} Hall, \textit{Symbols}, 92 and 193. Aside from these connections, see Jane M. Cahill, \textit{Biblical Archaeology Review}, "Royal Rosettes: Fit for a King," Sept./Oct., 1997, 23, no. 5, 48-57, 68 and 69, for more recent evidence that the rosette was also a mark of royalty in ancient Judah for Kings like David.
Il Leone Rosso: The Lion and the Lamb in Florence as the "New Jerusalem"

This conflation of the lion and Lamb and the Old and New Testaments in Giovanni Rucellai’s shrine would be important to the people in trade or commerce who live in the leone rosso (one of sixteen districts in Florence that are called gonfaloni).116 By 1427, the Rucellai had twenty-two households here, and with the Strozzi, controlled this gonfalone.117 Giovanni and his family lived in their family palazzo on leone rosso’s most elegant street, the Via della Vigna Nuova. Yet the leone rosso was not just an enclave for the rich, as many workers were here performing all kinds of wool-industry related tasks. Other tradesmen too, worked within the confines of this cramped district.118 Wealthy aristocrats like Giovanni Rucellai rubbed shoulders with workers and artisans as well as “...parenti, amici and vicini...”119 Although social distinctions did not disappear, intimacy forced all the inhabitants of the leone rosso to look to each other for protection and assistance, and their common meeting ground was the parish church of San Pancrasio. The church was not just a place for worship, but served as the hub for the district’s commercial and administrative activities. The Holy Sepulchre shrine, as the centerpiece of


118 Kent, Lion, 109.

119 Ibid., 117.
San Pancrazio, preserved Giovanni Rucellai's memory in the *leone rosso*. This conceptual link between the *leone rosso* and the East, in a sacred space used for public and family rituals, gave worshippers a direct way to experience Florence as the "New Jerusalem." For instance, during Easter Week celebrations, visitors to the shrine were given papal indulgences, and on the feast of San Pancrazio it was a way for the *leone rosso* and the Rucellai to connect with the city's prestigious and powerful Money Lenders Guild. On this feast day the Guild, which helped with the financing of the tomb, and the Rucellai first gathered for prayers at Orsanmichele and then attended Mass in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel.120

Giovanni's architectural projects in the *leone rosso*, namely his tomb, the facade of his palace, and a nearby loggia for family ceremonies, ensured his own dominance in a family "theatre of power."121 It is unknown why Giovanni chose to place his Holy Sepulchre monument in his humble parish church as many of the Rucellai were buried in their family chapel in the more magnificent Santa Maria Novella.122 The idea of a "theatre of power" in the family neighborhood may have appealed to the rich merchant as a security measure. Cosimo de' Medici exiled Giovanni's father-in-law Palla Strozzi in 1434, which made Giovanni *sospetto allo stato*123 for over thirty years. So, as not to meet the same fate in Medici-

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122 Kent, *Patrician*, 58.

dominated Florence, Giovanni had to move cautiously. Overall, however, placing his building projects in the leone rosso kept them close at hand, especially for family ceremonies.

That Giovanni Rucellai in concert with Alberti would choose such a revered sepulchral model for his burial place indicates the extent to which some merchant princes were embracing humanism in Florence while advancing the identification with the "New Jerusalem." Such grandiose gestures among Mid-Quattrocento merchant princes were not so unusual. Despite traditional sumptuary laws, rich men considered liberal spending a civic virtue. Cosimo de' Medici set the standard for display—with pageantry and magnificent edifices—after he returned from exile in 1434, and until his death in 1464.\textsuperscript{124} In 1494, the Medici were ungratefully exiled a second time by ferociously jealous enemies. Until then, however, they created a new way to exhibit political power in which pomp and ceremony were tremendously important, especially in "...rites of death and devotion."\textsuperscript{125} Such was the case with Giovanni's friend Messer Mano Temperani whose last will in 1463 described funeral plans bordering on sheer pomposity. His body, in knightly dress, was to be on top of his bier and all his family and neighbors in the leone rosso were invited to the funeral ceremony, which featured: "...wax, flags, banners, lappets, shields, a sword and helmet, his coat of arms, plus every other ornament and honor befitting such a man."\textsuperscript{126} These rites and ornaments were not just limited to the dead; in Cosimo's case they were a shrewd way to show his political


\textsuperscript{125} Strocchia, 149.

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., 161.
power. Jousts and celebrations of feast days became the perfect vehicles to express such power. One of the most spectacular celebrations was the Medici-controlled Feast of the Magi. \(^{127}\) In this extravaganza, which lasted from 1446 to 1470, Florence’s streets and piazzas were converted into sacred sites in the Holy Land, so that scenes like the *Massacre of the Innocents* could be acted out. The Medici, who envisioned themselves as the Magi, were given starring roles. The figure of David loomed large in this drama\(^{128}\) thereby reinforcing Florence as the "New Jerusalem." The public relations potential of this magnificent display was a lesson not lost on Giovanni. Its meaning was equally invoked by the Rucellai for their own benefit.

These temporary displays of magnificence were important to families like the Medici and Rucellai until about 1450, when the need arose for more concrete expressions of financial power.\(^{129}\) This need occurred just as Alberti was leaving theory behind and embarking on his own architectural career. As Brunelleschi’s career was ending, Alberti and his architectural cohorts like Michelozzo di Bartolommeo (1396-1472) were in a position to give Florence a massive urban facelift. City palaces like the Medici, Rucellai, and Strozzi, and their villas, chapels, church facades and tombs were built or re-modeled in the more classical Renaissance style. All these projects were done in the name of liberal spending and civic pride, a concept promoted by Cicero and other ancient authors. In 1451 Giovanni was the third richest man in Florence after Cosimo and his bank


\(^{128}\) Ibid., 112.

\(^{129}\) Strocchia, *Death*, 149-50.
manager, and following the former's example he began his own building program that included the Holy Sepulchre tomb monument. The reasons behind the creation of these new edifices were complex, but they provided a dramatic and newly monumental backdrop from which aristocratic patrons could demonstrate political power and broadcast family glory. These patronage projects, rather than heroic deeds, gave these families immortality. Their architectural designers were given free reign to draw inspiration from earlier civic and religious edifices, and then transform them into the new Renaissance style. Alberti did this too with Rucellai's Holy Sepulchre monument in the leone rosso.

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130 Kent, Patrician, 33. See also Marvin Trachtenberg, "Scénographie urbaine et identité civique: réflexion sur la Florence du Trecento," Revue de l'art, Numéro 102, (1993), 11-31. This author examines Trecento civic and religious architectural building projects in Florence. A convincing argument is made that these projects, too, reflect the dual myth of Florence as the "Daughter of Rome," and the "New Jerusalem."
Chivalric Tradition and Interest in the East: Florence

as the "New Jerusalem"

The 1439 Council and political upheaval were not the only reasons for Florentine spiritual renewal as the "New Jerusalem," or why Giovanni Rucellai created a shrine modeled after the Holy Sepulchre.\textsuperscript{131} The popes, Florentine humanists, and the Medici were interested in Jerusalem and Old Testament antiquity, as a way to reinforce their political and religious authority. The popes and merchants had economic interests in the Levant. Giovanni Rucellai's and Alberti's patrician Florentine friends also promoted a new crusade against the Turks to protect the Holy Land. The result was an intense literary campaign based on strong appeals to protect the real Holy Sepulchre from destruction by the enemy.\textsuperscript{132}

Giovanni Rucellai's desire to build "...una cappella con uno sipolcro simile a quello di Gerusalem del nostro Signore..."\textsuperscript{133} was on his mind at least by 1448.\textsuperscript{134} Scholars question whether Giovanni actually sent a team

\textsuperscript{131} See Craig Wright, "Dufay's Nuper rosarum flores, King Solomon's Temple, and the Veneration of the Virgin," \textit{Journal of the American Musical Society}, XLVII, Number 3, Fall, 1994), 395-439, for interest in the East and Old Testament prototypes because of the completion of Florence's Cathedral dome in 1436 that was considered the "New Temple."

\textsuperscript{132} Robert Black, \textit{Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance}, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 224-85. Benedetto Accolti was the humanist chancellor of Florence from 1458 to 1464, see ibid., preface, xi. Accolti's history of the first crusade became the most authoritative account of the war by the sixteenth century. He was an ardent advocate of a crusade against the Turks, and the major force in expressing the views of the Florentine elite who favored the idea, see ibid., 270-76. For the large quantity of letters, orations, histories, and poems written before and after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 to inspire a Christian crusade against the Turks, see ibid., 226-27. For the Florentines with commercial interests in the Levant, see ibid., 273. Accolti was also a close colleague of Alberti's and both sought to promote the Italian vernacular. They held a poetry competition financed by Piero di Cosimo de' Medici in the Florence Cathedral on October 22, 1441, with Pope Eugenius IV and ten papal secretaries in attendance, see ibid., 51.

\textsuperscript{133} Kent, \textit{Patrician}, 57-58. For other references to the Holy Sepulchre, see Perosa, \textit{Zibaldone}, I, 24-5, 118.

\textsuperscript{134} Ibid., 57.
to Palestine to measure the real Holy Sepulchre shrine. Kent posits that the Rucellai family archives have been incomplete since the eighteenth century, and notes the costly expedition was not recorded in the Zibaldone diary that Giovanni Rucellai began in 1457—the year the trip was supposedly undertaken. The omission was odd because of the importance Rucellai gave his Holy Sepulchre Chapel project, and lends credence to Kent’s belief that the letter is spurious. A journey was not necessary, however, because there was no dearth of information about the Holy Land or lack of traffic between Jerusalem and Florence. Besides pilgrims reports and written accounts, there were other sources for Alberti’s knowledge of the Holy Sepulchre. One was his close friend, Meliaduso d’Este, who visited Jerusalem and the other was Biagio Molin, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, with whom Alberti worked in the papal Chancellery in 1432. Molin returned to Florence in 1444 to lay the foundation for the rebuilding of the Gothic SS. Annunziata in Florence begun by Michelozzo and later finished by Alberti. Interest in


136 Kent, “Spurious,” 348. See also Kent, *Patrician*, 10-11, for the disorganization of Rucellai’s paperwork as early as 1495.

137 See Brown, “Tribuna,” 189. See Lang, “SS. Annunziata,” 292. See also Vespasiano, *Vite*, I, 435-41 as in 1444 a pilgrim named Guzman came to Florence just after a trip to Jerusalem. Guzman visited Giannozzo Manetti in Florence during this trip. Besides Manetti, Guzman was another possible source for Giovanni Rucellai or Alberti for information about the Holy Sepulchre. Cosimo also had direct contact with some friars from Jerusalem, see Lang, 293, and Vespasiano, *Vite*, II, 180.


139 See Rykwert, *Ten Books*, xiii. Alberti was back in Rome by 1443. As Christ’s Tomb was the heart of Christian worship, however, it is not inconceivable that Molin or someone else brought back information to Rucellai or Alberti about the Holy Sepulchre aedicula.
the Holy Land was also fueled by the popularity of Jacopo Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, where the main theme was strife between the Christians and infidels. Variations of the theme appeared frequently in fifteenth-century art in Florence and Tuscany. This led to direct contact with the East and more pilgrimage reports:

...indeed, the considerable number of Italian and especially Florentine and Tuscan pilgrims' books which appear in this period, in contrast to their almost complete absence in previous centuries, not to mention the very wide circulation of these new Italian itineraries in manuscript, suggests that Italian and particularly Florentine pilgrimage to the holy lands was increasing during the late middle ages. Many, if not a majority of known Florentine pilgrims in this period were from patrician families, and this custom of pilgrimage to the Holy Land may have been nourished by the chivalric culture with which the Florentine aristocracy was imbued; indeed, it has recently been shown in this very period of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries one Florentine patrician family, the Pazzi, were provided with a legendary ancestor in the person of a crusading knight who, as the first to scale the walls of Jerusalem during the first crusade, was given a memento a piece of the holy sepulchre which, brought back to Florence, was used thereafter in the festival of the *Scoppio del Carro* on Easter Saturday.

Borsi also observes that sometimes interest in the Holy Sepulchre went to the extreme:

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140 For discussion of Alberti's involvement in this project and whether the tribuna was an allusion to the Holy Sepulchre, see Lang "SS. Annunziata," 288-300, and Brown, "Tribuna," op. cit. *passim*, 2, n. 4. The reconstruction of the church was under the patronage of Piero de' Medici and his father Cosimo. Giovanni Rucellai surely knew about the Medici's interest in the Holy Land and Christ's Tomb. See Lang, op. cit., fn. 4, 288.

141 Black, Accolti, 274.

142 Ibid., 274-75. See also Malquori, *Tempo*, 3-4, for competition between Giovanni Rucellai and the Pazzi family regarding devotion to the Holy Land and Christ's Tomb.
A considerable tradition had grown up around the Holy Sepulchre, nourished by the novelle written about the East, the more or less reliable accounts of travelers, and theological tracts. Numerous imitations of the Holy Sepulchre had been constructed throughout Europe. Ferdinand I even considered moving the original from Jerusalem and placing it in the Cappella dei Principi in Florence,..."\(^{143}\)

The Rucellai saw themselves as part of chivalric tradition. Since the crusades they claimed to be Templar knights—the defenders of pilgrims and holy places.\(^{144}\) A Holy Sepulchre monument would appeal to Giovanni as a wealthy Florentine patrician. His interest in the shrine was probably piqued earlier than 1448, and perhaps prior to the Council of Florence. In a 1434 entry in the Zibaldone, Giovanni Rucellai recounts Pope Eugenius’ flight from Rome in 1434, up to and after the union reached with the Greeks.\(^{145}\) Also, his German trading contacts in Venice might have been another source as Holy Sepulchre replicas were popular there. Another possibility was Stoldo Frescobaldi, Giovanni Rucellai’s cousin and banking partner. His family journeyed to the Holy Land and left written reports about what they saw, including the Sepulchre.\(^{146}\)


\(^{144}\) See Kent, Patrician, 59 and n. 6. Kent finds no documentary evidence that the Rucellai were Templar knights. See also Perosa, Zibaldone, I, 48.

\(^{145}\) Perosa, Zibaldone, I, 48. See Kent, Patrician, 59 and n. 3. For the Council of Florence as a way to find out about the Holy Sepulchre, see Lang, “SS. Annunziata,” 288-300.

\(^{146}\) Kent, Patrician, 59.
The Myth of Florence as the "New Jerusalem"

To understand Giovanni's choice of a tomb design in the context of Florence as the "New Jerusalem" it is necessary to examine the city's deeply rooted civic traditions. Like their counterparts in Jerusalem, the Florentines considered their city "holy,"
147 and as "... a living creature with a destiny shaped by God."148 Chroniclers and popular preachers promoted different aspects of the myth of Florence according to the spirit of the age. The thirteenth-century Chronica de origine civitatis states "...Florence was founded ex flore hominum Romanorum, from the flower of Roman manhood, and she was a parva Roma, a little Rome."149 Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) also confirmed the idea of Florence as the "Daughter of Rome," because Julius Caesar colonized the city. The Christian phase of the myth of Florence placed the re-founding of the city in the sixth century after being destroyed by Totila the King of the Ostrogoths known as flagellum Dei, or the "Scourge of God." Florence was re-built by the Romans and the churches were remodeled after their counterparts in Rome. In 1250, the Guelfs defeated the Ghibelline government but this was short-lived. In 1260, the Ghibelline came back to win the Battle of Montaperti; but victory was temporary. The Guelfs returned to power 1266 with the help of the papacy and its Angevin alliance. Besides the

147 Weinstein, 16.
148 Ibid., 20.
papacy and Rome, this new alliance intertwined Florentine Guelfism with the French. The prophecy of the Second Charlemagne coincided with the rise of Angevin power in Italy in the thirteenth-century. Here the account of defeat by Totila remained, but the Emperor Charlemagne took credit for restoring city with a new prophecy:

...that the Empire would come under the leadership of a French king, a new Charles, who would cleanse the Church, cross the sea to the East and conquering the Infidel, unite the world in one flock under a single shepherd, whereupon he would lay down his crown upon the Mount of Olives. Both the legends of the Carolingian restoration and the prophecy of the Second Charlemagne are found repeatedly in fourteenth century sources, although only toward the end of the century, as we shall see, were they linked in such a way that Florence shared in the ultimate triumph of the Carolingian line...

This new phase of Florentine myth of foundation by Rome and restoration under Charlemagne was first expressed by Giovanni Villani in 1300. Villani gave the restoration religious significance proclaiming it occurred on the Easter of Christ’s Resurrection and included the foundation of Florence’s church of the Holy Apostles. Villani was able to merge pagan with Christian Florence and cited the origin of the Baptistery once dedicated to Mars, and later dedicated to the Virgin (il duomo di santo Giovanni; the Baptistery served as the cathedral until the twelfth-century).


151 Weinstein, 23.

that would last until Judgment Day.\textsuperscript{153} Towards the end of the century after the plague, bank failures, tensions with the papacy, and the threat of aggression from Milan, Florentine liberty was at stake. The final stage was the War of the Eight Saints in 1375.\textsuperscript{154} In that year, Florence allied with Milan against the Pope. Three years later the Ciompi uprising lead to internal instability and another epoch of religious prophecy, and some regarded Florence then as the "New Jerusalem."\textsuperscript{155} The Ciompi revolt and growing anti-papalism led to the old apocalyptic dream of the King of France becoming the new emperor of Rome and the West who would mend the differences between the Guelfs and Ghibellines and conquer Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{156} The "New Jerusalem" theme in the fifteenth century was a stronger replay of the old Florentine myth of spiritual renewal under a second Charlemagne. This theme reached a climax before the end of the century with Savonarola, who preached about Florence as the "New Jerusalem," and continued through the invasion of French King Charles VIII in 1494.\textsuperscript{157} Fortunately, the myth was flexible and the Medici were able to manipulate it to strengthen their leadership.\textsuperscript{158}

S. McKillop posits that Florence’s identity as the "New Jerusalem" began even earlier during the Ottoman era of Count Hugo and Countess Matilda (979 and 1085).\textsuperscript{159} McKillop claims documents show the

\textsuperscript{153} Weinstein, 23.

\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., 28.

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid., 30.

\textsuperscript{156} Ibid., 31.

\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., 44.

\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., 44.

\textsuperscript{159} "Usurpation as a Political Practice in Renaissance Florence," lecture by Susan McKillop, Ninth Biennial New College Conference on Medieval-Renaissance Studies, Sarasota, Florida, March 11, 1994. 1-
Carolingian walls near the Badia fiorentina had openings described as *posterula Salomoni* and *porta aurea*, indicating that early on the city embraced its destiny as a type of Jerusalem, other than the daughter of Rome. The city walls that were completed in 1333 had fifteen gates. However, the Signoria in 1339 decided to reduce them to twelve, which St. John the Evangelist cites in Revelation 21:22 as the number found in the celestial Jerusalem. In 1352, when the city was under the protection of the Virgin, the Master of Bigallo presented a *Madonna della Misericordia* in which the city was protected by the Virgin's robe. The Baptistry in this painting resembled the Temple, and the walls appeared to be those of Jerusalem. The image of the city as the "New Jerusalem" was again

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10. For more information on cities that identify with Jerusalem, see Marco Rossi and Alessandro Rovetta, "Indagini sullo spazio ecclesiastico immagine della Gerusalemme celeste," in *Dimora*, 77-118. This essay traces the imagery of celestial Jerusalem in ecclesiastical space. It begins with the fourth-century church of the Anastasis and continues with the major Christian churches and monasteries up through the Middle Ages. For Gothic cathedrals and monasteries as the celestial Jerusalem, see ibid., 101-4 and 97-101 for monasteries in France. For the development of similar themes in Venice, Milan, and Rome through the reign of Pope Nicholas V, see ibid., 104-11. For Florence as the celestial Jerusalem from the Council and reunification of the Churches until Savonarola, see ibid., 111-14. Also, see ibid., 111-12 for the *Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* panel on the East Doors of the Baptistry. In this panel Solomon's Temple looks like the new Florentine Cathedral. For a current view of Florence as holy and a type of Jerusalem, see Timothy Verdon, *Brochure of the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore*, 1996. This document published by the Archdiocese of Florence examines edifices like the Baptistery, Bell Tower, and Cathedral in Florence's Piazza San Giovanni or Piazza del Duomo that have been the heart of Florentine religious life for 1600 years. The piazza is in the northeast part of the ancient Roman *Florentia*. According to this document, even today the "...space evokes 'the holy city...the new Jerusalem' where 'God lives among men,' as described in the Christian Scriptures (Rev. 21:1-3). The rich colors of the monuments, with bronze doors and statues, marble sculptures, mosaics and stained glass, offer a concrete vision of that promised future city whose walls are "built of jasper" and "faced with all kinds of precious stones." (Rev. 21:18-19). See Eloise M. Angiola, "*Gates of Paradise and the Florentine Baptistery*," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. LX, (June 2, 1978), 242-48. Angiola compares Ghiberti's East Doors or *Gates of Paradise* on the Baptistery to the "Golden Gate" or principal portal that opened into the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, see ibid., 242. The comparison is valid because the panels represent examples of the faith of Old Testament figures that allowed them to enter the Heavenly City, see ibid., 246, and n. 16. In the *Meeting of Solomon and Sheba* panel the Temple functions as a prototype for the Heavenly Jerusalem, see ibid., 247. The Temple of Solomon as an image of the celestial Jerusalem was also important to Pope Nicholas V. This was evident later with the Sistine Chapel's remodeling between 1473-1477 as the Temple of Solomon, see Rossi and Rovetta, *Dimora*, 111.


161 Ibid., 2.
stressed on the Baptistry doors in 1401-2 with its Old Testament scenes like the *Sacrifice of Isaac*.

The desire of Florence, or any city, to see itself as holy and like Jerusalem stems from the Old Testament when Jerusalem was considered the center and navel of the world (Jeremiah 5:5 and Ezechiel 38:12). According to Christian belief, the New Testament brought the need for the transformation of Jerusalem into a heavenly sphere. The prototype for this transition from an earthly to a heavenly realm was established by Christ’s own humiliation, death on the Cross, and Resurrection. The notion of Jerusalem as the navel of the world spread through cartography known as *mappamundi*.Maps in the Middle Ages included major historical and religious events, but were not known for their accuracy. The three most important Christian concepts these maps alluded to were the creation of the world, Christ’s salvation, and the Last Judgment. Because of the crusades, however, the maps were centered on Jerusalem through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. One example was the Ebstorf Map, a thirteenth-century *mappamundi* that was destroyed in World War II. It showed the world as a round Body of Christ, with the Savior’s head situated next to paradise, and Jerusalem was depicted as the navel. This crusading tradition of Jerusalem as the center of the world was also reinforced by *The Divine Comedy*, where Dante envisioned heaven as the celestial Jerusalem. The consistent theme through the *Inferno, Purgatorio*,

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163 Ibid., 342.

164 Ibid., 341-42.

165 Ibid., 310.
and Paradiso in The Divine Comedy was the necessity of penance before
death and the need for the living to pray for the souls still lingering in
purgatory. This idea became paramount in Tuscany after the devastating
1348 plague, especially in Florence, where it decimated the populace. By
the Quattrocento, the threat of the plague’s return was a constant fear, and
it came back several times striking with a vengeance. However, unlike
the poor, wealthy men like Cosimo de’ Medici and Giovanni Rucellai had
certain advantages. During the plague of 1450, Rucellai escaped illness by
fleeing to the Strozzi villa in Petraia. He also had a psychological
advantage because the construction of his own Holy Sepulchre monument
celebrating his memory and commemorating Christ’s Death and
Resurrection was probably underway. Rucellai knew that the dedication of
his tomb would reduce his stay in purgatory. It would also encourage piety

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166 John Freccero, Dante: The Politics of Conversion, ed. and intro., Rachel Jacoff, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 168-9. See also Robert Pinsky, The Inferno of Dante: A New Verse Translation, with notes by Nicole Pinsky, (New York: The Noonday Press, 1994), 354-55. Dante’s literary creation (finished in 1321) handles the aftermath of Christ’s Sacrifice from his Medieval point of view as a citizen of the Florentine commune. See Chydenius, “Dante,” 86-91, for Dante and Jerusalem. For Dante’s idea that the Christians should recapture Jerusalem because it symbolized celestial Jerusalem, see ibid., 88. See ibid., 107-9, for the confucence of Jerusalem and Paradiso in The Divine Comedy. For Dante’s Beatrice as Jerusalem, see ibid., 144-47. For promotion of the cult of Dante by Cosimo, the Medici, and other humanists in the fifteenth century, see S. McKillop, Lumen, 257-59. The Via del Purgatorio also leads directly to Giovanni Rucellai’s palazzo on Via della Vigna Nuova, see fig. 3.

167 Gene Brucker, Renaissance Florence, New Dimensions in History: Historical Cities, (New York: Wiley, 1969), 55. The 1348, plague killed 40,000 Florentines and was the worst disaster in European history. Afterwards, between 1350 and 1430, the plague hit Florence seven times. See also Ann G. Carmichael, Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence, Cambridge History of Medicine, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1986). For the need for commemorative masses and concern about salvation because of the plague, see Strocchia, Death, 58-59. I am grateful to Eve Borsook for pointing to Maso di Banco’s (active c. 1320-1350) tomb mural in the Bardi di Verno Chapel in Santa Croce as a dramatic Trecento expression of another banker’s hope of resurrection. See The Mural Painters of Tuscany, 2d ed. rev. and enlarged, (Oxford University Press: New York, 1980), 38-9. The niche, painted before 1341, is one of a few that survived from the first half of the fourteenth century. Families financed these chapels to pray for the salvation of their deceased. This niche is unique because there is no division between the world of the living and the dead. Instead of kneeling on his sarcophagus, Maso’s praying donor ascends without any help to the heavenly realm. Professor Borsook finds that usury was always an issue with bankers like the Bardi that could impede salvation. The same was true with fifteenth-century bankers, like the Medici and Giovanni Rucellai, whose sepulchral monuments insured their salvation.

168 Kent, Patrician, 24.
and prayer in the family's parish church and ensure the salvation of his neighbors and kinsmen.

Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, the father of Cosimo, was the first of the family early in the fifteenth-century to exercise power to promote the "New Jerusalem." Five years before Baldassare Coscia became Pope John XXIII in 1415 there were three claims to the papacy. Just after his election, however, John fled in fear from the Council of Constance in the same year and was accused of crime and ousted from the papacy in shame. He was put in jail in Germany for almost three years. The Florentines loved John and were angered by his disgrace. Giovanni di Bicci paid for his release through the Medici bank. John was personally and financially close to the Medici, as after his election as Pope he gave the Medici bank in Rome the papal account. This was the major foundation of the family's immense wealth. His successor Martin V was not loved by the Florentines, but was forced to live there because he was not strong enough to re-take Rome for the papacy. The Medici were able to use their support of John to anger Martin. By December 22, 1419, John died in Florence, but not in disgrace or in anonymity. Due to Medici largess, and Florentine regard for John, he was buried in the Florentine Baptistry in one of the most celebrated tombs of the Renaissance (fig. 93). The funeral ceremony lasted nine days. It emphasized John's own resurrection for his charitable deeds and effort to heal the schism within the church. John's tomb was Donatello's only tomb design executed in Florence, but it was very influential. It was extremely rare to be buried in the Baptistry and the


170 Ibid., 146.
tomb was rendered monumentally in the new Renaissance style. The
Pope's entire body in cardinal's dress was realistically depicted in gilded
bronze on top of a bier supported by two lions on a sarcophagus under a
huge baldachin. The lions symbolize the Old Testament and Imperial
Rome.171 John's tomb is only one of four in the Baptistry, and the others
are plain Medieval sarcophagi on the sides of the altar. The imagery on
John's tomb has been reduced, and there is no special plea for salvation.
Christ's death and Resurrection were not depicted either, and the
monument lacked a laudatory inscription.172 The placement of the tomb in
the revered Baptistry conflates John's salvation with Christ's.173 In fact,
baptism was associated with death and resurrection and baptismaries were
generally built on a circular plan alluding to the Holy Sepulchre.174 This
monument associates John with burial ad sanctos or near the tomb of a
martyr, and ad Christum, in the tomb of Christ.175 The impression is
reinforced with the Baptistry dome that points to the Dome of Heaven (or
the dome over Christ's tomb). The connection with the Holy Sepulchre,
the tailored-down sepulchral motifs, the brief inscription, and the isolated
half-length of the Madonna and Child (without the deceased praying before
them) on John's tomb mark distinct changes in Quattrocento Florentine
funerary art. The importance given to the deposed Pope also shows how
Florence was no longer blindly obedient to Rome, and indicates a veiled

171 Ibid., 159.
172 Ibid., 159.
173 Ibid., 162.
174 Ibid., 163.
175 Ibid., 163.
power play by the Medici.\textsuperscript{176} E. Panofsky observes that the Medici were also simplifying their tombs in the Old Sacristy.\textsuperscript{177} The tombs of Cosimo’s parents and his son’s tomb by Verrocchio indicate the appeal of classical references combined with beautiful decorative materials. These tombs have no effigies, or subject matter, except for marble representations of putti in the former (fig. 94).\textsuperscript{178} Despite simplification, however, the idea that the Medici tombs were in a chapel alluding to the Anastasis and Holy Sepulchre gave weight to the association between the Medici and the tomb of Christ, and the assumption that they will be resurrected. The reduction of narrative relief, lack of funeral effigies, and direct association with Christ’s Holy Sepulchre influenced Giovanni Rucellai. Although he was not a pope or a Medici, he could still show the power of money in a Holy Sepulchre monument in Florence as the "New Jerusalem."

Pope John XXIII’s entombment here indicates how Florence was ready to assume the mantle of spiritual leadership at the turn of the century. By 1434, the split with Rome became even more dramatic during riots that caused Eugenius IV and the papal Curia to flee to Florence, where Santa Maria Novella was temporarily the Holy See. Eugenius’s flight was propitious for Florentine rebirth as the "New Jerusalem," and a revival of interest in Hebraic antiquity. C. Wright shows that interest in Hebraic antiquity was apparent in Florence before the Council, the creation of Giovanni’s tomb, and the facade of Santa Maria Novella.\textsuperscript{179} In fact, the

\textsuperscript{176} Ibid., 156 and n. 27.


\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., 71.

\textsuperscript{179} Wright, op. cit., n.131.
completion and dedication of Filippo Brunelleschi’s dome by Pope Eugenius on March 25, 1436, provided another way for the Florentines to see their city as a center of spiritual rebirth. Guillaume Dufay’s motet *Nuper rosarum flores* was composed for the consecration of the Cathedral. The dedication of the Cathedral to the Virgin, or Santa Maria del Fiore, was momentous as the Signoria, Pope, Curia, humanists, architects, musicians, Brunelleschi, Dufay, and most of the Florentines came to celebrate the occasion.\(^{180}\) Scholars debate whether Dufay’s motet composition matches the architectural proportions of the Cathedral itself or Solomon’s Temple.\(^{181}\) The Temple was to David and the tribe of Judah (whose symbol was the lion) what the Church was to Christ and the religious faithful. Almost "...every sanctuary in Christendom drew upon the vision of the Temple of Jerusalem as the source of its spiritual authority and external form."\(^{182}\) Medieval theologians commonly invoked the Temple during church dedications.\(^{183}\) Wright offers a 1436 painting by Andrea di Giusto (?) of *Christ Curing the Demoniac* in the Temple as proof that the cathedral was envisioned as a New Testament successor to Solomon’s Temple\(^{184}\) (fig. 95). This scene demonstrates how the Florentines viewed the Cathedral as the new Temple because the miracle in the scene takes place in a temple, with the new Cathedral dome as a backdrop. The opening lines of Dufay’s motet seem to indicate this as well:

\(^{180}\) Ibid., 396.

\(^{181}\) Ibid., 401-2.

\(^{182}\) Ibid., 407.

\(^{183}\) Ibid., 411. For the Virgin and her association with the Temple in litanies, such as the *Templium Domini, Templum Sancti Spiritus, or Domus Aurea*, see Sinding-Larsen, "Iconographical, 220-21.

\(^{184}\) Wright, 416.
The harsh winter [of the Hebraic Law]
Having past, roses,
A recent papal gift,
Perpetually adorn
The Temple of the grandest structure
Piously and devoutly dedicated
To you, heavenly Virgin.\textsuperscript{185}

McKillop finds that the connection between the Cathedral and the Temple in Jerusalem is evident in the hymn sung three times in the daily Office: "I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband."\textsuperscript{186} McKillop, along with M. Rossi and P. Rovetta, point to the Baptistry as the locus for Florence's fusion with Jerusalem in Ghiberti's \textit{Gates of Paradise}. Here the panel that was to be called the \textit{Judgment of Solomon} was changed to the \textit{Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba}.\textsuperscript{187} The scene takes place in front of the

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid., 399.
\textsuperscript{186} See also André Chastel, \textit{Arte e umanesimo a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico: Études sur la Renaissance et l'Humanisme Platonicien}, 2nd ed. 1964 (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore S. A., 1964). Florence as an "ideal" city appears in another image from the second half of the Quattrocento. The manuscript of \textit{De civitate Dei} in the New York Public Library depicts St. Augustine contemplating Florence. Brunelleschi's dome dominates the city's towers indicating that Florence surpassed Rome as a celestial city, see ibid., 190 (fig. 96). Florence's Cathedral as a "New Temple," and destiny as a celestial city or "New Jerusalem," by then was a common notion.


\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., 4-5. See Richard Krausheimer, \textit{Lorenzo Ghiberti}, Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, No. 31, 1, 2d printing with new preface, collab. Trude Krausheimer-Hess, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 180-88, for a detailed analysis of this panel. Krausheimer believes the panel reflects Quattrocento humanist interest in the writings of the early Church Fathers, and the hope of reunification between the Eastern and Western Churches during the Council of Florence, see ibid., 184. Krausheimer suspects that Ambrogio Traversari, the learned Camaldolese neopatrastic theologian, was behind the program of the \textit{Gates of Paradise}, see 179. Traversari was fluent in Greek and highly influential during the Council. He knew some Hebrew and like other humanists probably learned it from one of the Jews who had recently gotten permission to enter Florence, see ibid., 178-9. For Jews being allowed to enter the city, see
Temple of Jerusalem that Ghiberti depicted like the Florentine Cathedral (fig. 97).\footnote{Mckillop, "Usurpation," 4.} Even the location of the Gates of Paradise in front of the Cathedral indicates the Florentines viewed their city as a "New Jerusalem" and center of spiritual renewal.

\textit{Nuper rosarum flores} is significant not simply because it refers to the Temple, but it also shows papal interest in the rose. One week before the dedication, Eugenius gave the Cathedral a golden rose for the high altar. Giannozzo Manetti (Giovanni Rucellai’s close friend who worked for Alberti’s mentor Pope Nicholas V) wrote an eyewitness account of the event.\footnote{Wright, “Dufay,” 430-31.} The importance of the rose in Florence comes from \textit{Paradiso} XXXI in The Divine Comedy in which the celestial Jerusalem is the Mystic Rose. In this canto, St. Bernard serves as Dante’s guide to the ultimate vision of God and the Church Triumphant. Hebrew women, who were ancestors of Mary, are part of the petals of the rose along with Adam and Moses. Like most Tuscans, Giovanni Rucellai and his ancestors were certainly familiar with Dante and the Mystic Rose because The Divine Comedy established the Italian vernacular.\footnote{For an examination of the Rucellai family’s lineage see Anthony Molho, et. al., "Genealogia e parentado. Memorie del potere nella Firenze tardo medievale. Il caso di Giovanni Rucellai," \textit{Quaderni storici}, 86, a. XXIX, n. 2., (August, 1994), 365-403. See op. cit., 44, n. 166, Mckillop, \textit{Lumen}, for the Medici’s promotion of the cult of Dante.} On a spiritual level this masterpiece is extremely important because Dante explored the process of salvation—morally, theologically and philosophically—from a Tuscan-

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Florentine perspective. Furthermore, Dante made his poetic journey through the *Inferno and Purgatorio* before reaching *Paradiso*—or the celestial Jerusalem. The significance of the rose partly explains why Alberti chose rosettes to decorate the scroll-volutes on Santa Maria Novella and Giovanni’s tomb. If the Cathedral was seen as the "New Temple," it suggests a possible source of inspiration for a Holy Sepulchre monument. A long tradition of literature exists that connects the symbolism of the Temple and Tabernacle with the Christian symbolism of the Holy Sepulchre and the Heavenly Tabernacle.\(^\text{191}\) This also began with one of Alberti’s sources in his architectural treatise—Eusebius.

B. Kühnel asserts the Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem transformed historical, Jewish Jerusalem into the New or Heavenly Jerusalem.\(^\text{192}\) Constantine erected the church on the site of Christ’s Resurrection. The earthly city and this site were essential in promoting its metaphorical counterpart. Eusebius (A.D. 263-340) began the Temple-Church connection at the dedication of the Martyrium in the mid-fourth century. The Martyrium commemorated the discovery of Christ’s Cross on September 14.\(^\text{193}\) This is also the date of King Solomon’s prayer during the dedication of the Temple, on the Feast of the Tabernacles.\(^\text{194}\) Kühnel

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\(^{191}\) See Ousterhout, “The Temple, the Sepulchre, and the Martyrion of the Savior,” *Gesta*, XXIX/1, (1990), 44-53, 44. See also Brown, “Tribuna,” 247 n. 65, and Lang, “SS. Annunziata,” 290-2 on what was available to the Renaissance humanists by Eusebius. Alberti made frequent references in his architectural treatise to Eusebius. See also Ousterhout, “Temple,” 47. If Alberti was not familiar with Eusebius’ dedication sermon at the church of the Holy Sepulchre when he called it the “New Temple,” from Early Christianity the conflation of the Temple and Holy Sepulchre was evident on pilgrim’s souvenirs, coins, and works of art.


\(^{193}\) Kühnel, “Jewish Symbolism,” 150.

\(^{194}\) Ibid., 150.
offers that Eusebius placed the Holy Sepulchre in the center of the city of Jewish kings to associate the new Christianity with the Temple of Jerusalem. The Temple's central location referred to the "...cosmic centrality..." of holy places. This fusion from the fourth century on of Golgotha with Jerusalem as the omphalos, or navel of the world, explains why other cities besides Florence adopted the identity of Jerusalem. The Florentines, however, only had to look to Rome for inspiration where celestial Jerusalem was common by the fifth century in church mosaics, and sarcophagi. The theme appears also in Ravenna's sixth-century S. Apollinare in Classe and S. Vitale. Kühnel demonstrates that celestial Jerusalem on Medieval manuscripts, and a fresco in San Pietro al Monte near Civate of the second half of the eleventh century represent heavenly Jerusalem as a square (fig. 98). This is one reason Alberti chose the circle-in-the-square to decorate Giovanni's tomb. The circle stands for the church in early Christianity and the square for the heavenly Jerusalem. For Cosimo and the Medici, the "New Jerusalem" theme was appealing on another level. Constantine modeled his Christian image and built up his myth in the same fashion as Old Testament rulers like King Solomon, just as Cosimo would in the fifteenth century.

195 Ibid., 150.

196 See Colli, Dimora, op. cit., 17, n. 58.

197 Kühnel, "Jewish Symbolism," 157. See also 153-60, for other Christian representations of Jerusalem as a square form and often with twelve gates to the city, as a symbol of the New Covenant.

198 Kühnel, Jewish Symbolism, 150. See also Moses A. Shulvass, The Jews in the World of the Renaissance, trans., Elvin I. Kose, (Leiden: E. J. Brill and Spertus College of Judica Press, 1973), 679. Cosimo's son Lorenzo the Magnificent continued his father's habit of linking the Medici to the Davidic line. Jewish scholars in Lorenzo's circle compared him to King Solomon—the perfect Jew. It is noteworthy that when Lorenzo's son Giovanni de' Medici became Pope on March 11, 1513, like Alberti, he took the name of Leo. There is no apparent explanation for this choice. McKillop, "Seed," 10, offers Revelation 5:5 as a possible inspiration: "Behold the Lion from the tribe of Judah, Scion of David."
McKillop demonstrates that Cosimo "...filtered his spiritual needs and ambitions through the image of Florence as Jerusalem,..."\textsuperscript{199} to strengthen his rule. By modeling himself after the Old Testament Patriarchs in the Davidic line, Cosimo and the Medici could benefit from God's promises. For Cosimo, David was not just an ancient leader, but symbol of dynastic power. McKillop posits that the altar Cosimo and his brother Lorenzo put in the Old Sacristy (c.1433) was just one example of the Medici used Hebraic antiquity.\textsuperscript{200} It depicts prophets with texts promising God's protection for the tribe of Judah and a new Law and Covenant for Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and their descendants. Here also was the promise that the tree of David would arise and branch out to uphold justice and law in the land. God's promises to the House of David were interpreted by Hugh of St. Cher, whose texts were already in four Florentine libraries. This allowed Cosimo or one of his scholars to access them.\textsuperscript{201} The connection between the Medici and the Davidic line was reinforced each time Mass was said at the new altar. Cosimo placed Brunelleschi's panel of the Sacrifice of Isaac on the front of the altar as a vivid reminder of the power of God's intervention.\textsuperscript{202} This panel was a potent civic lesson to the Florentines when it was commissioned in 1401-2 for the competition of the Baptistry Doors. It symbolized the hope of protection from the aggressive Duke of Milan, who died before taking the city. His sudden death, too, seemed like a miracle to the Florentines. These Old Testament scenes with the promise of civic and spiritual salvation were

\textsuperscript{199} McKillop, "Seed," 2.

\textsuperscript{200} Ibid., 1.

\textsuperscript{201} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{202} Ibid., 1-2.
powerful messages that matched Cosimo’s ambition. Cosimo and his family were expelled from Florence during the years 1433-34, and their return paralleled Jerusalem’s escape from tyranny, giving the impression of divine intervention on behalf of the Medici. Thus, Cosimo merged the Medici with the city, the line of David, and Isaac with the hope of maintaining absolute power and avoiding exile. Cosimo’s manipulation did not end after his death in 1464, as the placement of his tomb reinforced his position in Florence. I. Lavin observes that Cosimo had his tomb and marker placed at the base of the high altar in San Lorenzo to give him the status of a martyr (figs. 99-100). The high altar was versus populum so that the priest said the mass directly to the congregation over Cosimo’s tomb. Brunelleschi’s design for Cosimo’s tomb was unique. The choir was in the square apse instead of the crossing or nave before the high altar. Cosimo’s tomb marker, thought to be by Verrocchio, represents Solomon’s knot, that in the Old Testament is often associated with David. In early Christianity, the motif symbolized the Cross and it appeared in church decoration through the Middle Ages (fig.101). Lavin proposes, with justification, that the 1439 Church Council inspired the tomb marker as a symbol of the Middle Ages before the split between the Eastern and

203 See McKillop, “Seed,” 3, for Cosimo’s claim that the Medici descended from the Davidic line before their exile in 1432-33. McKillop argues that the Medici connection to the Old Testament kings also allowed Cosimo to identify with Christ. He did this by changing his birth date to April 11, 1389, the start of Easter Week and the Entry into Jerusalem. For the Medici’s return from exile in 1435, as a sign of their special status, see ibid., Lumen, 269. Cosimo’s claim that the palle of the family impressa represented the fruit of the covenant, also reinforced their association with Hebraic antiquity, ibid., 252.


205 Ibid., 17. A Solomon’s knot is also present on the pitcher that a servant holds in the Florentine Baptistry ceiling mosaic of Salome Dancing at Herod’s Banquet.
Western Churches. Cosimo’s tomb is below the marker in the crypt, and this arrangement recalls imperial Rome, and early Christianity. McKillop suggests the knot is a symbol of purgatory. The knot of Solomon in Hebraic antiquity became the knot of purgatory in *The Divine Comedy*. The knot motif associates Cosimo with Solomon and Christ. This knot, as a reference to Hebraic antiquity, surely influenced Giovanni Rucellai.

Another decoration on his Holy Sepulchre monument demonstrates Alberti’s intention to merge the Old Testament with the New. A decorative motif on the left wall of the tomb depicts a six-pointed star—formed by two equilateral triangles—called the Shield of David (fig. 70). The Shield of David also appeared on Jewish graves in the Hellenistic period, and is sometimes confused with the five-point Shield of Solomon. Both have an extremely complicated history. In the Middle Ages the Shield of David appeared in Christian and Muslim decoration. For example, two lions

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206 Lavin, 22. Cosimo met the Greek philosopher Gemistos Pletho during the 1439 Council and wanted to establish a Platonic academy that would reconcile Christianity with Neoplatonic philosophy. For the tomb marker as a sign of this idea, see also ibid., 22.

207 Ibid. 15-17.


209 Ibid., 284-86. See also ibid., 287, n. 195. McKillop asks whether Cosmatesque pavements in many Roman churches influenced Dante’s view of the end of time. Dante refers to the universal moment as a knot and circles that provide transit beyond the stars. Cosmatesque pavements, rose windows, and floor labyrinths, etc., are important images in *The Divine Comedy*. Cosmati-style pavement was rare in the fifteenth century until its revival in the 1460s in the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal. Alberti’s emphasis on circles and rosettes on Rucellai’s Holy Sepulchre replica also associates Giovanni with Christ, Dante and salvation.

210 For the difference between Solomon’s knot and the Shield of David, see Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, VII, 198-200. On people, buildings or objects these shields probably referred to being under the protection of Solomon or David. For the Templars use of the six-pointed star, see ibid., 199, n. 219. For representation of the Shield of David in Early Christian Churches, see (fig. 102) The Shield of David represented on Giovanni Rucellai’s shrine commemorates his family’s claim that they were Templar knights, and possibly their own connection to the Davidean line. See Tavernor, “Giovanni Rucellai, *Alberti*, 368-77. Tavernor calls the Shield of David on Rucellai’s tomb a Solomon’s knot, see ibid., 272. There is no Solomon’s knot on the Rucellai shrine. In Hellenistic Jewish decoration the star has six not five points see Goodenough, VII, 198.
guard the Episcopal throne in the Cathedral of Anagni that has a Shield of David. The Templar knights during crusades in the Holy Land adopted it as their symbol too.\textsuperscript{211} The multiple significance of the symbol from Hebraic antiquity through Medieval Christianity explains its inclusion on Rucellai’s Holy Sepulchre replica.

The Rucellai Holy Sepulchre monument also contains certain design elements that mirror the Hebraic Ark of the Law. This Ark is a chest containing the Torah scrolls that are the most sacred possession of the Jews. The Ark and scrolls are essential for public worship in synagogues. Christian theologians regarded these scrolls as pre-cursors of the Body of Christ. The Ark is always against a wall facing the direction of Jerusalem towards which worshippers turn during the most sacred moments of the liturgy. Stairs lead to the Torah shrine that is above the floor of the nave, which was the same approach to Rucellai’s Holy Sepulchre Chapel. Like the throne of Solomon, depictions of the Holy Ark usually have lions standing guard. For example, one of the first extant images of the Ark of the Law, now Rome, has two lions.\textsuperscript{212} This image of the Ark—like Rucellai’s tomb—has decoration emphasizing the circle in the square in rows of three with no human representation. Like Cosimo’s tomb, Giovanni’s tomb does not include his portrait, as Alberti’s respect for antiquity would prohibit violation of this custom.\textsuperscript{213}

\textsuperscript{211} Ibid., VII, 199.


Giovanni Rucellai's Holy Sepulchre Shrine:

The Influence of the 1439 Church Council, a Neoplatonic Revival, and a Failed Crusade in Florence as the "New Jerusalem."

In 1439, prior the construction of the shrine, political and religious events in Florence greatly influenced the new Renaissance style in art and architecture and its reference to the past. Alberti witnessed much of the change as Pope Eugenius IV led the effort to reunite the Eastern and Western Churches in the Council that year. This session instantly sparked intellectual, visual, and religious interest in the East that fit perfectly with Florence's emerging destiny as the "New Jerusalem." The procession of the Emperor John VIII Palaeologus and his entourage of hundreds of prelates into the city exposed the Florentines to the Near Eastern style. A special walkway between the Cathedral and Santa Croce allowed the Emperor and his court—Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Russians—to move swiftly and dramatically through the city center. Benozzo Gozzoli was in Florence around 1438, and this procession was probably the subject of his fresco in the Medici palace. In the procession are shepherds, Magi, Gentiles, and Jews. Cosimo rides a mule—a symbol of the Davidic House in the fresco (fig.103). The Eastern dress of the participants made a lasting


215 McKillop, "Usurpation," 9. See Francis Ames Lewis, "A Portrait of Leon Battista Alberti by Uccello." The Burlington Magazine, Vol. CXVI, 851, (February 1974), 103-4. Like Cosimo, maybe Alberti appeared in the context of biblical narrative in Paolo Uccello's fresco The Deluge in Santa Maria Novella's Green Cloister. Ames-Lewis makes a viable argument that the figure to the far right of The Deluge is a portrait of Alberti. The scene demonstrates Uccello's obsessive concern with perspective technique because of Alberti's Della pittura. The argument works because of the similarities between the face of this figure and Alberti's portrait on a coin in Washington, ibid., 104. (figs.104-105). See Colin Eisler, "A Portrait of L. B. Alberti," The Burlington Magazine, Vol. CXVI, 858, (September 1974), 529-30. Eisler agrees this is Alberti, whose family had extensive ties with Santa Maria Novella since the Trecento. The portrayal of contemporary Florentines in biblical narrative had a strong precedent in the Brancacci Chapel. As stated in Eisler from Allen and Wind, the pyramidal archs in Uccello's frescoes here and in Ghiberti's panel for the Baptistry Doors refer to the Florentine humanists' interest in Origen. Eisler quotes from Porphyry's praise
impression on painters like Piero della Francesca in his fresco cycle of the
*Legend of the True Cross* in Arezzo by the 1450s. The Council also gave
Alberti, Cosimo and other humanists in Florence, perhaps also Giovanni
Rucellai, exposure to Greek thought through contact with Easterners like
Gemistos Plethon\textsuperscript{216} and Bessarion of Nice. Although a westerner,
Alberti’s friend Ambrogio Traversari, the vicar general of the Camaldolite
Monks, was an important participant during the Council because of his
fluency in Greek, and his knowledge of some Hebrew.\textsuperscript{217} Alberti’s
participation in the Council allowed him to absorb new ideas about
Neoplatonic thought and Jewish antiquity in a Christian context. All
scholars from the East or West, however, had ample opportunity to show
their erudition at this gathering. Ultimately, true unification of the
churches failed.\textsuperscript{218} The 1439 session, however, provided an opportunity for
fresh debate and possible resolution of acrimonious theological issues such
as the concept of purgatory. This issue became paramount to laymen like
Giovanni Rucellai and Cosimo de’ Medici whose tomb monuments reflected
their own desire for a shorter stay in purgatory. Alberti returned to Rome
when the Council ended in 1443 with Pope Eugenius, who died four years

\textsuperscript{216} For an overview of Gemistos Plethon’s influence on the Florentine humanists, see C. M. Woodhouse,


\textsuperscript{218} Gill, *Council*, vii.
later. The Pope’s death, however, gave Alberti a chance to create his own architectural legacy, including the Rucellai Holy Sepulchre shrine.

The immediate impact of the Council was a new spirit of religious toleration in Florence promoted by Neoplatonists like Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499). Ficino gave credence to the notion that pagan beliefs were not at odds with Christianity, and argued that the Old Testament was a necessary prelude to the New. In this liberal environment Ficino, under the powerful patronage of the Medici, became influential in attracting later Neoplatonists like Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) to the Medici circle. Ficino and Pico professed that all philosophy and theology—pagan or Christian was valuable. They revered all literature known from antiquity such as Hermes Trismegistus, Pythagoras, Zoroaster, Orpheus and the Hebraic religious literature of Moses and the Cabala, as well as Egyptian, Chaldaic, and Arabic writers. Their attitudes greatly fostered the cult of antiquity and promoted the study of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew throughout the fifteenth century. This respect for the cult of antiquity, too, permeates Alberti’s architectural treatise.


220 Ibid.

While the Neoplatonists in Florence professed tolerance of all
religions in theory, in fact, some of the city’s most prominent citizens
opposed the influence of the infidels from the East. The brutal fall of
Constantinople in 1453 cast a pall over the Italian peninsula in the cities
most vulnerable to Islamic attack—Pisa, Genoa, and Venice. Fortunately,
the Florentines had the least susceptibility to these invaders. Since the
twelfth century, involvement in Palestine had a romantic cast and was not
something they shunned.222 Myths formed around mendicant orders like
the Dominicans and families like the Pazzi and Rucellai who fought to
protect the Holy Land. Not all journed to the Terra Santa with holy
intentions, but tales of heroic deeds—real or imagined—guaranteed
historical fame. Through the mid-1460s, more demands for an invasion by
the Florentine elite and the Popes such as Callixtus III and Pius II were met
with much enthusiasm. The effort was to be financed by levying taxes,
thereby causing the Pope’s bankers to temporarily retreat from the plan.
Eventually, promotional zeal for a papal holy cause cast all doubts aside
and the proposed invasion became a personal mission in the name of
God.223 By 1464, however, zeal for the mission faded away with the death
of its most prominent Papal advocate Pius II.

222 See Black, Accoli, 270. For the immortalization of Tuscan and Florentine crusading tradition by Dante
and later Petrarch in the fourteenth century, see ibid. 271, 238. For the deeds of Florentines as crusaders,
preachers, pilgrims, martyrs, and traders in Palestine since the twelfth century, see ibid., 270. The
Dominicans from Santa Maria Novella had a long involvement in the crusades, see ibid., 271-2.

223 Ibid., 244-5, esp. 275. The call for a crusade from 1453-64 coincided with Giovanni Rucellai’s plans for
a Holy Sepulchre replica, see ibid., 241-58. Enthusiasm for a crusade was the most intense during the
pontificates of Callixtus III (1455-8) and Pius II (1458-64), see ibid., 276-77. In October 1455, Giovanni di
Napoli came to Florence to preach for a crusade in the Florence Cathedral. The response was overwhelming
as crowds up to 6000 people dressed in white gowns with red crosses on their chests marched across the city
to show their support, see ibid., 245. San Bernadino of Siena preached fervently in Florence from 1455 to
1457 for a crusade. Giovanni Rucellai’s friend St. Antonine the Archbishop of Florence also preached
passionately for a crusade. Agnolo Acciaiuoli and his family were among the Florentine patricians who
supported a crusade. Their influence in the East came through personal and business relationships
established in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see ibid., 277-83. Giovanni Rucellai’s grandmother
Although hopes for an invasion of the Holy Land were dashed, the Florentines still yearned for spiritual rejuvenation. For the Florentines, invasion of the *Terra Santa* was a way to seek the "holy" and perhaps access the Divine. It is unknown whether Alberti or Giovanni Rucellai were among Florence’s prominent citizens who sought a holy war. However for these collaborators—especially Alberti—Jerusalem was not simply a physical place to conquer but was an idea, and a Biblical idea at that. The Holy Sepulchre shrine in San Pancrazio was a perfect venue to express this sentiment in the new Renaissance style he was so avidly fostering.

was an Acciaiuoli, see Molho, *Quaderni storici*, 374. Giovanni’s relative Donato di Neri Acciaiuoli was a close friend, see Kent, *Patrician*, 16. For Giovanni Rucellai’s Holy Sepulchre monument in a city gripped by crusading fervor, see Black, *Accolti*, 274.
Conclusion

In a true humanistic spirit the structure and symbolic content of Alberti’s Holy Sepulchre shrine unfolds before us like the Bible with various levels of meaning. Progressively, pagan classical elements in the tomb give way to Hebraic and Christian religious currents. These references to the Old Covenant and the New, recall the old Temple and the new Ecclesia. The lion, too, plays a crucial role in Alberti’s creation. As a symbol of resurrection and rebirth in the Old Testament and the New, it also stands for the city itself, the leone rosso, Rucellai and Alberti. Through this monument—which commemorates Christ and its patron—an earthly city becomes celestial. For Alberti, the Terra Santa is a sacred idea—not just a physical place. Florence as the "New Jerusalem" has a special meaning in this complex equation. And Giovanni Rucellai’s tomb is thus its perfect visualization. (fig. 106.)
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Appendix I

Roselli saw all the churches in Florence and described them in a two volume work more or less at the beginning of the seventeenth century. My thanks to Gabriella Battisti who found this document in the Florentine State Archives.

A. S. F., Manoscritti n° 625, Sepoltuario Rosselli

cc. 951r - 976r

San Pancrazio

[...]

c. 953r

Cappelle, sepulture, et altre memorie che sono nella chiesa di San Pancrazio, e sue appartenze.

n° 1 Cappella maggiore. Non so a chi n'appartenga il padronato. Nelle vetriate del coro è l'arme della famiglia de' Rucellai, la quale ha gran parte anco nel restante di questa chiesa. [...]

c. 955r

12 passato il pulpito segue la Cappella de' Rucellai che sfonda. E' in volta e molto magnifica. L'Arme loro è nell'altare, nella volta e nella sepoltura che è nel mezzo di essa con la seguente inscrizione: Filiorum Philippi Vannis de Oricellariis et eorum descendentium 1485.

13 Di là dalla sopradetta verso la porta grande altra cappella della medesima famiglia, entro un sepolcro fatto per l'appunto nella forma e nella misura ch'è il Santo Sepolcro sopra la porticella del quale si legge la seguente inscrizione: Johannes Rucellai Pauli f. ut inde salutem suam precaretur, unde omnium cum Christo facta est resurrectio. Sacellum hoc ad instar Hierosolimitani sepulcri faciun. cur. 1467. Appié dell'altare di questa cappella lastrone e chiusino di marmo con la seguente inscrizione: Joannes Pand. F. ab nepos fundatoris ex legato Philippi patris ormandum cur. 1593.
Figure 1. The Arno River. Florence towards the west. The *leone rosso* is off to the right on the northwest side of the city.
Figure 2. Map of Florence. The *leone rosso* borders extend from Via della Scala on the north and Borgo Ognissanti on the south and to the west from Via Caterina and east as far as Via de' Vecchietti.

Figure 4. The former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. Sketch of the facade by maestro Achille di Giovanni Pinamonti in 1585-86. (From F. W. and D. V. Kent, Neighbours and Neighbourhoods in Renaissance Florence: The District of the Red Lion in the Fifteenth Century. J.J. Augustin, Publisher, 1982.)
Figure 5. Holy Sepulchre shrine, Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (From Henry A. Millon and Vittori Magnago Lampugnani, eds., The Renaissance From Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: the Representation of Architecture. New York: Rizzoli, 1994. Reproduction courtesy of Thomas Mock and the Department of Art and Art History, Rice University.)
Figure 6. Eighteenth-century view of the Rucellai Chapel before nineteenth-century alterations. Former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (From Grandjean in Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, "Il complesso monumentale di San Pancrazio a Firenze ed il suo restauro." Quarant dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura, ser. 13, fasc. 73-78, XIII. 1966. Reproduction courtesy of Luigi Artini and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.)
Figure 7. Holy Sepulchre shrine. View of the cupola. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence.
Figure 8. Holy Sepulchre shrine. View of entrance and altar table. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Luigi Arini and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.)
Figure 9. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem. Reconstruction of the 4th-century plan. (From V. Corbo in Robert Ousterhout, "The Blessings of Pilgrimage." (University of Illinois-Urbana Press, 1990.)
Figure 11. The red lion from the *leone rosso* prestanze volume of 1394. (From D. V. and F. W. Kent, *Neighbours and Neighbourhoods in Renaissance Florence: The District of the Red Lion in the Fifteenth Century*. Locust Valley New York: J. J. Augustin Publisher, 1982.)
Figure 12. Donatello. *David*. 1408; reworked 1416. Marble, height 6'3" (including base). Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.
Figure 16. Santa Maria Novella, Florence. Facade pediment detail. 1310-1470. Sun refers to lion and the foundation of Florence in the sign of Leo. (From Franco Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti: L'opera completa. Milan: Electa, 1989.)
Figure 17. Holy Sepulchre replica. Minster, Constance. Late 13th century. (From Nikolaus Pevsner, John Fleming, and Hugh Honour, A Dictionary of Architecture. The Overlook Press, 1976.)
Figure 20. Portrait of Giovanni Rucellai. Sixteenth century. Author unknown. Private collection, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 23. The Rucellai Chapel. Former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. After 19th-century alterations. Alberti's columns, pilasters and architrave were removed from the left wall. (Courtesy of Luigi Arini and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.)
Figure 25. Former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. Facade detail. After 19th-century alterations.
Figure 28. Rucellai Palazzo and church of San Pancrazio complex with the Rucellai Chapel, Florence. After 19th-century alterations. (From Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, "Il complesso monumentale di San Pancrazio a Firenze ed il suo restauro." Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura, 1966.)
Figure 29. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. Groundplan with pavement decoration. After 19th-century alterations. (From Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, "Nuove ricerche sul S. Sepolcro nella Cappella Rucellai a Firenze." Marmo, 2. October 10, 1963.)
Figure 30. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. Detail of marble slab in pavement. (Courtesy of Luigi Artini and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.)
Figure 31. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. Detail of marble slab in pavement. (Courtesy of Luigi Artini and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.)
Figure 32. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. Detail of marble slab in pavement. (Courtesy of Luigi Artini and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.)
Figure 33. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. Detail of entrance. After 19th-century alterations. Rucellai emblem of the leone rampante is above the door. (Courtesy of Luigi Artini and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.)
Figure 34. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. Detail of barrel vault and windows. (Courtesy of Luigi Artini and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.)
Figure 35. Holy Sepulchre shrine, Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. View of the Chapel's barrel-vault and the shrine. (From Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, "Nuove ricerche sul S. Sepolcro nella Cappella Rucellai a Firenze." Marmo, 2, October 10, 1963.)
Figure 36. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. Decoration detail. (Courtesy of Luigi Artini and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.)
Figure 37. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. Decoration detail. (Courtesy of Luigi Artini and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.)
Figure 38. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. Decoration detail. (Courtesy of Luigi Artini and the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence.)
Figure 39. 14th-century manuscript of the Holy Sepulchre. Biblioteca Vatican (Vat. Ur. 1362), Rome. (From Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, "Nuove ricerche sul S. Sepolcro nella Cappella Rucellai a Firenze." Marmo, 2, October 10, 1963.)
Figure 40. Holy Sepulchre shrine. View from right side of the apse. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence.
Figure 41. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of the entrance. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence.
Figure 42. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel. To the right of the inscription at the entrance. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 43. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel. 2d panel down at the entrance. Rucellai Chapel, in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 44. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel. 3rd panel down at the entrance. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 45. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the apse. Top panel, far right. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 46. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the apse. 2d panel down, far right. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 47. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the apse. 3rd panel down, far right. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 48. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the apse. Top panel, middle row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 49. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the apse. 2d panel down, middle row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 50. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the apse. 3rd panel down, middle row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 51. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the apse. Top panel, last row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 52. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the apse. 2d panel down, last row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 53. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the apse. 3rd panel down, last row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 54. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the far left wall (from the apse). Top panel, 1st row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 55. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the far left wall (from the apse). 2d panel down, 1st row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 56. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the far left wall (from the apse). 3rd panel down, 1st row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 57. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the left wall (from the apse). Top panel, middle row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 58. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the left wall (from the apse). 2d panel down, middle row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 59. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the left wall (from the apse). 3rd panel down, middle row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 60. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the left wall (from the apse). Top panel, last row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 61. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the left wall (from the apse). 2d panel down, last row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 62. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the left wall (from the apse). 3rd panel down, last row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 63. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel (to the immediate right of the apse). Top panel, 1st row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 64. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel (to the immediate right of the apse), 2d panel down, 1st row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 65. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel (to the immediate right of the apse). 3rd panel down, 1st row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 66. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the right wall (from the apse). Top panel, middle row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 67. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the right wall (from the apse), 2d panel down, middle row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 68. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the right wall (from the apse). 3rd panel down, middle row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 69. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the right wall (from the apse). Top panel, last row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 70. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the right wall (from the apse), 2d panel down, last row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 71. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of marble panel on the right wall (from the apse). 3rd panel down, last row. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence. (Courtesy of Niccolò Rucellai. Photography by Paolo Mariani.)
Figure 72. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of inscription on the frieze. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence.

Figure 73. Holy Sepulchre shrine. Detail of inscription on the frieze. Rucellai Chapel in the former church of San Pancrazio, Florence.
Figure 76. Santa Maria Novella, Florence. c. 1246-1470. Detail of facade, volute, and rosettes. Upper story facade, central portal, large columns, and terminal piers by Leon Battista Alberti. Construction c. 1450-70.
Figure 78. Arculf. 7th c. Holy Sepulchre plan. (From Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to the Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 5, 1942.)
Figure 80. Early Christian Cross. Marble with decorative rosettes. 4th c. Vatican Museum, Rome.
Figure 81. Sarcophagus reliquary. 5/6th c. Syrian. Height 30.5 cm.; width 39.5 cm.; length 18 cm. Staatliche Museum, Berlin.
Figure 82. Abraham and Sarah and the Three Men at Mamre. Mosaic. Detail in the choir. Before 547. San Vitale, Ravenna. (From André Grabar, Byzantine Painting. New York: Rizzoli, 1979.)
Rosettes, and
"Round Objects"

Figure 84. *Papaver rhoes*. Enlarged detail. Transverse Section. Appears like a whirling rosette. (From *Enciclopedia Italiana: di scienze, lettere, ed arti*. Rome: Giovanni Treccani, 1935.)
Figure 85. Jewish ossuary. Rosettes and "round objects" decoration. No pictorial images appeared on these ossuaries until after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Figure 93. Donatello. *Tomb of Pope John XXIII.* c. 1425. San Giovanni
Baptistry, Florence. (From Glenn Andres, et. al., *The Art of Florence.* New
Figure 94. Andrea del Verrocchio. *Tomb of Piero il Goutoso de' Medici and his brother Giovanni*. Completed 1472. Serpentine, marble porphyry and bronze. Height 450 m. Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.
Figure 98. San Pietro al Monte near Civate. Fresco. 2d half of the 11th c. (From Bianca Kühnel, "Jewish Symbolism of the Temple and Tabernacle and Christian Symbolism of the Holy Sepulchre and the Heavenly Tabernacle: A Study of Their Relationship in Late Antique and Early Medieval Art and Thought," *Journal of Jewish Art*, Jerusalem: Center for Jewish Art of the Hebrew University, 12-13, 1986-87.)
Figure 102. Shield of David. Cosmatesque floor pavement detail. Marble and porphyry Opus Alexandrinum. 12th c. Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.
Figure 104. *The Deluge*. Detail of figure on the far right. Santa Maria Novella, Florence. (From Eugenio Marino, *Il 'Diluvio' di Paolo Uccello in Santa Maria Novella ed il Concilio di Firenze (1439-1443): saggio d'iconoteologia storica*. Pistoia: Centro riviste della provincia romana, 1992.)
Figure 106. View of the Arno River looking east.