Naturalism and the Madonna della Misericordia: The Dissolution of a Gothic Emblem

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Leon Battista Alberti's treatise *On Painting* has long been recognized as having exerted a critical influence on the art of the Quattrocento. Written first in Latin in Florence in 1435, and followed by a translation of the text into the vernacular in 1446, Alberti's ideas on perspective, compositional arrangement, figure proportion, and *istoria* spread quickly in Florence, and shortly thereafter were disseminated throughout other cultural centers in Italy. Fra Angelico's *San Marco Altarpiece,* 1439, demonstrates the rapidity with which Alberti's theories were given practical application.[1] As in the case of Fra Angelico's painting, much ecclesiastical art was adapted to these new visual standards. Some of the traditional subjects and symbols, especially those inherited from the Middle Ages, underwent significant formal changes when adjusted to the visual principles proposed by Alberti; of particular note is the theorist's emphasis on naturalism.[2] One example of the effect of naturalism may be traced through the iconography of the Madonna della Misericordia, the Madonna of Mercy, an adored emblem of many Italian lay-confraternities. By the advent of the High Renaissance, the motif was so altered by the new visual aesthetic that it barely resembled the Gothic model from which it originated.

The Madonna della Misericordia enjoyed great popularity during the early Renaissance. Her image appeared on processional banners, tympana, stained glass works, donor portraits and numerous altarpieces painted by some of Italy's most renowned artists. A Sienese masterpiece by Lippo Memmi offers one of the earliest representations of this iconography in Italian painting (Figure 1). Memmi's composition of 1350 derives from the earlier designs of the Madonna of Mercy found on Cistercian seals and the processional banners of an elite brotherhood in Rome, the *Racommandati.*[3] A specific configuration makes the Madonna della Misericordia an immediately recognizable type: the Virgin appears as a towering central figure whose copious mantle shelters small, kneeling suppliants seeking her compassion and grace. The Virgin and her mantle, pictured as a shield from danger, came to symbolize Mary's virtue of *pietas.*

Memmi's presentation of the Madonna as majestic and munificent embodies the divine power associated with this medieval Marian imagery. Furthermore, his depiction of Mary is part of a broadly based Trecento conception of the Virgin found in both the visual and literary arts. In the final canti of the *Paradiso,* 1321, for example, St. Bernard appears to Dante and offers to pray on behalf of the poet so that he may be granted grace and his ultimate vision of God. Bernard must first appeal directly to the Virgin. As he speaks for Dante, she appears at a great distance, situated at the crest of the aureole of Paradise. Surrounded by circular tiers of angels and blessed sacred figures, Mary is illuminated by the light of highest heaven, the eternal light of God at the Empyrean.[4] In Memmi's composition, one finds

a visual parallel of Dante's description of Mary. Displayed on a gold ground suggesting the dazzling light of Paradise, the majestic Virgin is flanked by rising registers of angels and the pious brothers of the *Racommandati,* who kneel in prayer and seek the Virgin's grace.[5]

The Misericordia image, almost ubiquitous in the fifteenth century, was abruptly discarded in Italian painting by the middle of the Cinquecento, never to be revived.[6] In rare late sixteenth century examples, the last vestiges of the motif can be found only in works that conflate the Madonna of Mercy with other iconographical traditions of Mary. The swift disappearance of the image in the Renaissance generally is thought to have been affected by the heated Reformist disputes concerning the sanctity of the Virgin.[7] Nevertheless, the demise of the standardized Madonna della Misericordia may be explained, in part, by the popularity of Alberti's treatise, *On Painting.*

Undoubtedly, Alberti's ideas affected the dissolution of the emblematic Madonna della Misericordia. He divided his tract into three books, each dealing with the major elements of composition: perspective, modeling and color, and *istoria.* Throughout *On Painting* one finds the author's pervasive concern with naturalism. Alberti exhorts the artist to defy the two-dimensionality of the panel, creating a lifelike image through the manipulation of his materials. Thus, perspective should be utilized to create the illusion of space, modeling to impart a sense of volumetric presence to objects and figures, and composition should be arranged in a manner to suggest *istoria,* or the continuous unfolding of events. The technical procedures concerning space and volume, according to Alberti, are in service to the ultimate lifelike quality of a picture, *istoria.* That is, the figures within the composition will relate to one another in scale and, by action and gesture, in such a manner as to convey a convincing narrative. While the fruition of these Albertian prescriptives clearly is evident in images of the Madonna della Misericordia during the Renaissance, the study of them is not merely a series of formal analyses that demonstrate the pictorial dissolution of the Gothic motif. Rather, this particular iconographical study contains an underlying revelation about the cultural force of naturalism. The trend toward greater naturalism not only dissolved the medieval emblem, but also transmuted the identity of the Virgin by emphasizing her human character. In so doing, the High Renaissance imagery foreshadows the reduction of the Virgin's divine power by Reformist doctrine later in the Cinquecento.

The sublime, empyreal vision of the Madonna della Misericordia established by Lippo Memmi still prevailed in early Renaissance painting. One of the last examples in the Gothic legacy, and perhaps the most famous, is the altarpiece by Piero della Francesca of 1445-1462 (Figure 2). In progress at the time of the Italian edition of *On Painting,* Piero's image is restricted by a rigorous commission

contract that required him to repeat the Gothic elements of an earlier panel that he was ordered to replace. The hierarchical arrangement of figures, ornamentation, sumptuous colors, and gilt seen in Piero's work are specified in the contractual agreement;[8] yet they comprise many of the visual elements that Alberti found unacceptable for the new aesthetic.

The most glaring problem of the Gothic format is the exaggerated scale of the Madonna in relationship to her kneeling suppliants. Such disproportionate size resulted in visual disunity according to Alberti's concept of the harmoniously organized painting. In his definition of composition, one of the three elements in painting, Alberti suggests that ". . . all bodies should conform in size and function to the subject of the action."[9] Additionally, the luminous gold background, which lends an empyreal aura to Piero's altarpiece, conflicts sharply with Alberti's emphatic advocacy of natural colors. Concerning the excessive use of gold in painting, he protests, "Even if I were to paint Virgil's Dido, with her quivers of gold . . . I would try to represent with colours rather than gold."[10]

With closer scrutiny, however, it is apparent that Piero's representation is bound only superficially to the Gothic tradition. Wherever possible, he incorporates the new aesthetic. As if to neutralize the opulent plane of gold in the background, Piero emphasizes the *contrapposto* of the Virgin's free leg, giving it a luminosity so brilliant in value that it visually supplants the field of gold. Similarly, he allows the drab gray lining of her cloak to overpower the lapis lazuli blue of the outer folds, diluting the otherworldly majesty of a medieval Madonna. Finally, with scientific precision, he articulates and grounds his figures in three-dimensional space. He systematically designs the mantle, the suppliants, the Virgin, and her crown as a series of elliptical concentric cylinders in a manner deriving from the procedures of perspective proposed by Alberti. Most significantly, the spatial extension in this picture, the precise clarity of the line circumscribing each form, and the careful gradation of light transform an ethereal figure like Lippo Memmi's Madonna into one that is solid, tangible, and decidedly earthbound. With this image, the viewer at once begins to relate to the Virgin in terms of himself. The introduction of naturalism, even in work dictated by medieval tradition, initiates a substantial pictorial and contextual alteration of the Madonna della Misericordia by humanizing the Virgin.

Freed of the Gothic restraints due to the pervasive influence of naturalism,[11] subsequent works of the Madonna della Misericordia exhibit an increasingly earthly portrayal of the Virgin. Representations of this image by masters in the evolving High Renaissance style are rare, consisting of only six.[12] Four of these, which will be discussed in chronological order, illustrate the gradual implementation and, finally, the ultimate perfection of Albertian devices.[13] Early paintings of this type by Fra Filippo Lippi, 1450, and Domenico Ghirlandaio, 1472 (Figures 3 and 4), present the application of the technical aspects of *On Painting*. They demonstrate the artists' familiarity with Alberti's basic dictates. In subsequent paintings by Mantegna, 1497, and Fra Bartolomeo, 1515 (Figures 5 and 6), the artists incorporated both Alberti's concepts on *istoria* and *invenzione,* described in the third and final book of his treatise. A beautiful *istoria,* that is, a sense of drama made eloquent through the artist's critical judgment and technical mastery, is brought to each composition. As a result, the iconography becomes radically redefined.

In the works of Fra Filippo Lippi and Ghirlandaio, noticeable changes occur in the Madonna della Misericordia by the application of natural color and the adjustment of the scale of the Virgin. First, the replacement of gold by blue hues dissolves the former reference to the Empyrean. The Heavens are now described by the coloration of landscape. Secondly, the reduction of the size of the Virgin places her within the realm of her mortal subjects. In both works, the effort to resolve the problematic hierarchical configuration of the medieval iconography is conspicuous and awkward. Lippi's device is a wide-stretched mantle that repeats the lateral shape of the panel (Figure 3). While the cloak allows adequate space for the laity, it is disproportionate to the scale of the Virgin, and thus, stretched to the limit of believability.[14]

Ghirlandaio's solution is similar. His fresco of the *Madonna della Misericordia* occupies the upper half of the panel in the Vespucci Chapel in the Church of the Ognissanti (Figure 4). The Virgin stands on a dais, elevated above the family group; even with fewer suppliants to shield than in Lippi's work, her cloak still exhibits an unnatural width, a feature that is exaggerated further by elongated arms. Ghirlandaio may have attempted to lend credibility to the oversized mantle by making the Virgin's arms reiterate its undulating, broad extension.

Although such manipulation of the pictorial elements constituted experiments, the adjustment of the Virgin's scale is a necessary achievement by Albertian standards. While her scale is of the proportions of the laity in these works, she maintains her superior and sovereign demeanor. Detached, as in the state of transmitting grace, she is not psychologically integrated into the earthly realm. Conformity of scale, then, was not sufficient to generate a figure that convincingly conveys lifelike characteristics. According to Alberti's idea of *istoria,* this achievement is only possible through the depiction of movement, the action of the subjects in the painting. Because the Madonna della Misericordia was conceived as a devotional image, it remained intrinsically void of narration until the High Renaissance.

Mantegna's *Madonna of the Victories,* 1497 (Figure 5), is the first image to embody superb animation. Like the Ghirlandaio fresco, this Madonna originally was conceived as a family donor portrait. It was to have shown Gian Francesco, Marquis of Mantua, his wife, and brothers seeking protection under the Virgin's mantle. However, during the process of painting, the composition was altered to commemorate a military victory of the Marquis. Mantegna's composition, while it does not narrate, immortalizes an actual historical event. Infusing the work with a subject or *istoria,* Mantegna improvised an unorthodox hybrid of the motif.

Contrasting with the previous images, Mantegna's painting is the most accomplished representation in terms of Albertian theory.[15] The Virgin's figure is brought to a new level of vitality through Mantegna's masterful portrayal of graceful motion which mirrors Alberti's idea that "a body is said to be alive when it performs some movement of its own free will."[16] As the Virgin inclines toward the Marquis, the movement of her body culminates in the descending, protective gesture of her hand. It is the dominant expressive gesture in the painting and an eloquently articulated device that integrates the enthroned Virgin with her surrounding company. Simultaneously, it is this tender gesture that dilutes her inherently divine identity. Though a divine administration, the motion is communicated by the

appearance of a specific, human sentiment, an attitude of choice. Now imbued with an unprecedented and innate humanity, Mantegna's Virgin of Mercy no longer dominates her mortal subjects.

The strong emphasis upon the Marquis also weakens the superiority of the Virgin, notwithstanding her central position in the painting. Indeed, it is the Marquis, not the Virgin, who is the focus of the scene. As John Pope-Hennesey comments, "To the Marquis the Virgin accords protection with her outstretched hand, to the Marquis the Child's gesture of benediction is addressed, and on the Marquis the gaze of the two military saints is addressed."[17] The Virgin's body movement, then, becomes a medium that directs the movement of the entire painting toward the Gonzaga, obviating the significance of the Virgin's traditional supreme importance.

Fra Bartolomeo's elaborate *Madonna della Misericordia* of 1515 (Figure 6) dilutes the Virgin's supremacy even more directly than does Mantegna's depiction by interpolating the image of the transfigured Christ. The basis of his invention is the ninety-first Psalm, often quoted by the Dominican monk, Savanarola, when referring to the tribulations of Italy during the 1490s.[18]

He will cover you with his pinions, and under his wings you will find his refuge; his faithfulness is a shield and a buckler. You will fear not the terror of night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the pestilence that stalks in the darkness, nor the destruction that wastes at noonday.

As the passage suggests, Fra Bartolomeo depicts Christ with a second, wing-shaped mantle which usurps Mary's independent role as intercessor. In addition, the figure of Mary functions as a spiritual conductor to the figure of Christ. The physical representation of Christ, furthermore, is a radical change from the non-dimensional essence of God symbolized by the gold ground in the late Gothic altarpieces.

Alberti's concept of *invenzione,* that is, creativity informed by the diligent study of literature as well as mastery of visual theory, offers the means to achieve such a dramatic *istoria.* Indeed, Fra Bartolomeo exercises such creative expression that, in several aspects, the composition exceeds the noble restraint advocated by Alberti.[19] No longer huddled underneath the Virgin's mantle, some thirty-four figures of distinguished Dominican saints and parish members move within the composition demonstrating Fra Bartolomeo's impressive index of gestures. The friar's elaborate artistry also affirms Mary's subordinate role in the dispensation of grace. Like a mannered conflation whose beauty derives from line rather than nature, the Virgin's sinuous body is choreographed in svelte and light upward movement, which undermines her former authoritarian dominance. Without the figure of Christ, she is hardly convincing as a divine figure absorbed in the sober act of the dispensation of grace. The rhetoric of artistic theory has subsumed the traditional iconography and severed the motif from tradition.

Fra Bartolomeo's altarpiece, commissioned by a Dominican church, also reflects a burgeoning controversy regarding the Virgin's sanctity. After the death of the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV, heated debates waxed between the Franciscans and the Dominicans concerning the issue of the immaculate conception of Mary. Since the time of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Dominican Order believed that Mary was conceived by man and was cleansed of original sin in her mother's womb; that is, she was sanctified after her conception. In growing numbers, conventual Franciscans had adopted this view. Spiritual Franciscans, on the other hand, believed that Mary was conceived by God, as was Christ.[20] This latter position, though not promulgated until the nineteenth century, substantiates the late medieval and early Renaissance representations of Mary, in which she is pictured as an inherently divine, omniscient coredemptrix. The development of naturalism, which increasingly characterized Mary's earthly lineage, seems to anticipate the change in the Church's position which occurred as a result of these doctrinal disputes.

In 1517, two years after Fra Bartolomeo's work, the Thomistic explanation of the Virgin's sanctity was indirectly recognized by the Church which permitted the factionalized Franciscans to restructure their order according to their respective views on the issue. In the same year, Martin Luther fulminated his vehement objections to Catholic practices and indulgences, citing the Madonna of Mercy as an intolerable obstacle between man and God. "Why else," he reasoned, "would man seek her grace?"[21]

At the time of the early Reformation, the emblematic Madonna della Misericordia had all but vanished in Italian painting. Lingering references, however, occur in Giorgio Vasari's *Madonna of the Rosary,* 1569 (Figure 7). Commissioned for the *Capponi-Compagnia del Rosario Chapel* in the Dominican Church of Sta. Maria Novella, it provides an example of the continued dissolution of the image. Inspired by an exquisite drawing of the *Madonna della Misericordia* by Rosso Fiorentino (Figure 8), Vasari's painting is clearly a composite of the two iconographies.[22] St. Dominic kneels beside the Madonna, kissing her hand from which he has just received the rosary. Above the Virgin's head, a giant rosary is suspended by *putti* who also present to her roundels bearing the mysteries of the Rosary. Other *putti* are supporting the copious mantle of the Virgin which shelters the pious who kneel in prayer.

The Madonna of the Rosary, a Dominican concept, became the predominantly popular votive imagery of the Virgin in the late Cinquecento. It was repeatedly endorsed by papal bulls after the victory of the Battle of Lepanto, 1572, a victory which was attributed to the Virgin of the Rosary. The popularity of the iconography was due to its inclusive democratic spirit,[23] since rather than intercede for man, Mary offers the rosary by which man can appeal to God directly through his own prayers.

Federico Barocci's altarpiece, the *Madonna del Popolo,* 1575-1579, which was commissioned by the Confraternity of the Misericordia in Arezzo, may be seen as the final demise of the Madonna della Misericordia (Figure 9). Identified with the anti-mannerist school, Barocci favored naturalism. His fanciful composition, completed in his studio in Urbino, incorporates a renewed interest in Alberti's theory, an interest that was most likely encouraged by the appearance of mid sixteenth-century editions of *On Painting.* Barocci's image, although commissioned by a confraternity, is disassociated from the traditional Misericordia emblem. The central figure of the Virgin has vanished, as has her all encompassing mantle. The floating, half-figure of the Virgin is here integrated into a powerful counter clockwise curve composed of many figures; her mantle drapes from her head, billowing behind her. The continuous curving motion is conducted by the gesture of the Virgin's arms and her gaze, rapt upon the figure of Christ. Barocci's

composition, like Fra Bartolomeo's altarpiece, confirms the ultimate redemptive power of Christ, displacing the Virgin's equivalent sanctity implicit in the Gothic iconography. In this late sixteenth century image, the Virgin's role as inter-cessor is so thoroughly redefined, in contrast to former confraternity emblems, that she has become unrecognizable as a Madonna della Misericordia.

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> ". . . Virgin Mother, Haile
> High in the love of Heav'n,
> yet from my Loins Thou shalt proceed . . ."

John Milton, *Paradise Lost* 12:379-381

1 I have used the dates given by Cecil Grayson for the written drafts of the treatises. Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and Sculpture: The Latin Texts of "De Pitura" and "De Statua,"* ed. and trans. Cecil Grayson (London: Phaidon Press, 1972) n. pag. Both John Spencer and Frederick Hartt discuss the *San Marco Altarpiece* as an early example of the application of Alberti's procedure for perspective. See Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting,* ed. and trans. John Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966) 11-12. See also Frederick Hartt, *The History of Italian Renaissance Art,* 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall; New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1981) 220.

2 For an extensive, insightful definition of Renaissance naturalism as distinguished from the nineteenth century concept of naturalism and realism, see David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 3.

3 Paul Perdrizet, *La Vierge de la Misericorde* (Paris: Proton Freres, 1908) 64-65. Perdrizet's text remains the standard work on the iconography of the Madonna of Mercy. For a deeper study of the antique sources of the iconography on the Cistercian seals see Susan Soloway, "A Numismatic Source for the Madonna of Mercy," *The Art Bulletin* 67 (1985): 359-371.

4 Dante Aligheiri, *The Paradiso,* trans. John Ciardi (New York: The New American Library, 1970) canti 30-33.

5 In *The Paradiso,* the blessed figures, who have already been redeemed by Christ, and angels whom Dante views in ascending tiers as he rises upward to Paradise, compose the first and second soldieries of the Mystic Rose, a circular configuration. It is not my intention to equate Memmi's composition as such. However, the kneeling suppliants, like the pilgrim, appeal to Mary for grace. The final canto may be taken as a summarization of the supreme place of Mary in the Catholic Church at that time.

6 Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957) 113. See also Aldolphe N. Didron, *Christian Iconography. The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages,* trans. E. J. Millington (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1965); Raymond Van Marle, *The Development of Painting in Italy* (New York: Hacker Books, 1970).

7 "Mary, Blessed Virgin, Devotion to," *The New Catholic Encyclopedia,* 1974 ed.

8 Piero's contract specifies that the painter use gold, ornamentation, and sumptuous color, especially ultramarine blue, and that he was to rebuild the panel in the same fashion as the one that was in the church at that time. The resulting shape of the altarpiece, as well as the hierarchical arrangement of figures, neither of which is described in the contract, must have been a result of the request to replicate the earlier work. See Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974) 20. That the Misericordia is rendered in an obligatory scale is also reinforced by the the knowledge that Piero's own treatise on visual art, *De Prospectiva Pingendi,* was inspired by Alberti's ideas.

9 Alberti, ed. and trans. C. Grayson 77.

10 Alberti, ed. and trans. C. Grayson 93.

11 Baxandall 41. Baxandall quotes a portion of a sermon, 1492, by the Dominican Fra Michele da Carcano to demonstrate the compatibility of the Quattrocento Cognitive style (optical naturalism) with the Church's view of the function of religious images. See also David Summers' discussion of naturalism as a pervasive cultural force which is, in part, a premise of my entire text. Summers 9.

12 Réau 113.

13 The works omitted from the discussion in this essay are the *Madonna della Misericordia* by Benozzo Gozzoli, in the Berlin Museum and the *Madonna della Misericordia* by Pordenone in the Venice Academy.

14 Alberti, ed. and trans. Spencer 30. Spencer comments that Fra Filippo Lippi's acceptance of Alberti's aesthetic is sporadic in the case of his Madonnas. Lippi is mentioned by Alberti in the dedication to the Italian text, *della Pittura.* Alberti, ed. and trans. Spencer 40.

15 It is possible that Mantegna became acquainted with the theories of Alberti in Padua while still in the workshop of Squarcioni. Donatello, who is also mentioned in the dedication of *della Pittura,* is known to have brought the Tuscan aesthetic to Padua during his ten year stay there in the 1440s and '50s, as well as Fra Filippo Lippi, who had painted in Padua sometime before Donatello's arrival. See Luciano Berti,. *Mantegna,* trans. Peter Cook (Milano: Arti Grafiche Ricordi, 1964) 11-14. Mantegna probably had access to the Latin text during his long tenure as court painter to the Gonzaga family. Alberti dedicated the 1435 Latin treatise to the Prince of Mantua.

16 Alberti, ed. and trans. C. Grayson 77.

17 John Pope-Hennesey, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966) 269.

18 Ronald Steinberg, *Fra Gerolama Savanarola. Florentine Art and Renaissance Historiography* (New York: Basic Books, 1974) 82-83.

19 Alberti, ed. and trans. C. Grayson 77, 79. Although Alberti favored upward movement, viewing it as especially pleasing, he was also concerned with restraint and eloquence. This preference is also demonstrated by his appropriation of Varro's dictum to limit the number of figures in a scene to nine or ten. Contained in the Latin, this passage, however, was omitted in later Italian editions. Spencer suggests that Alberti was not read during the early years of the sixteenth century as a result of the rise of Neo-Platonism in the late fifteenth century, but that Raphael's *School of Athens,* 1511, exhibits a revival of Albertian theory, regarding the space and solidity of the forms, expressing a synthesis of the two aesthetics. See Alberti, ed. and trans. Spencer 31.

20 Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986) 73-75.

21 Soloway 367.

22 Marcia Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) 116.

23 Walter Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974) 202.
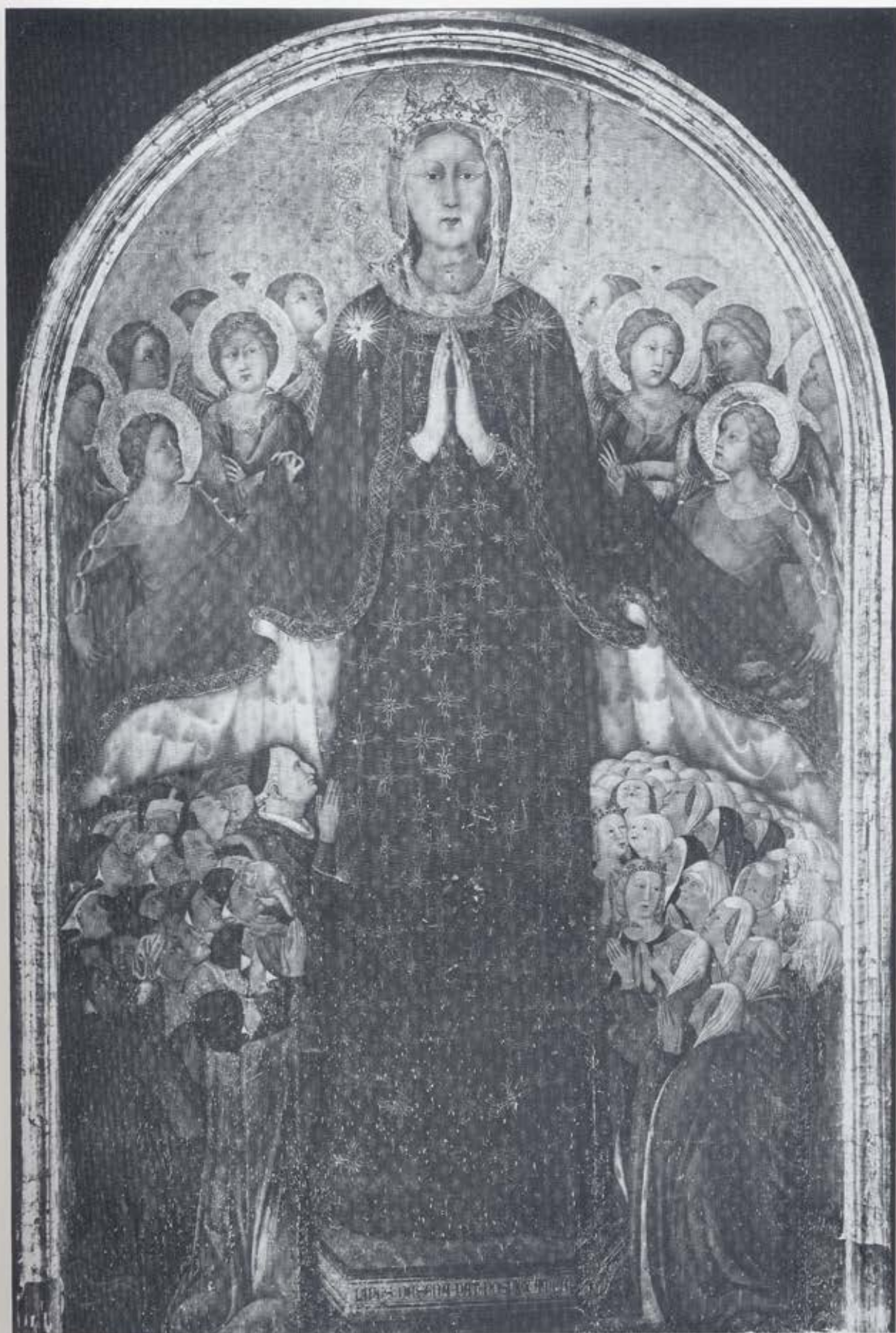
Figure 1. Lippo Memmi, *Madonna della Misericordia*, 1350. Cathedral of Orvieto. Courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 2. Piero della Francesca, *Madonna della Misericordia*, 1445-1462. Pinacoteca, San Sepolcro. Courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 3. Fra Filippo Lippi, *Madonna della Misericordia,* 1450. Berlin Museum, Courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 4. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Madonna della Misericordia*, 1472. Vespucci Chapel, Church of the Ognissanti, Florence. Courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.
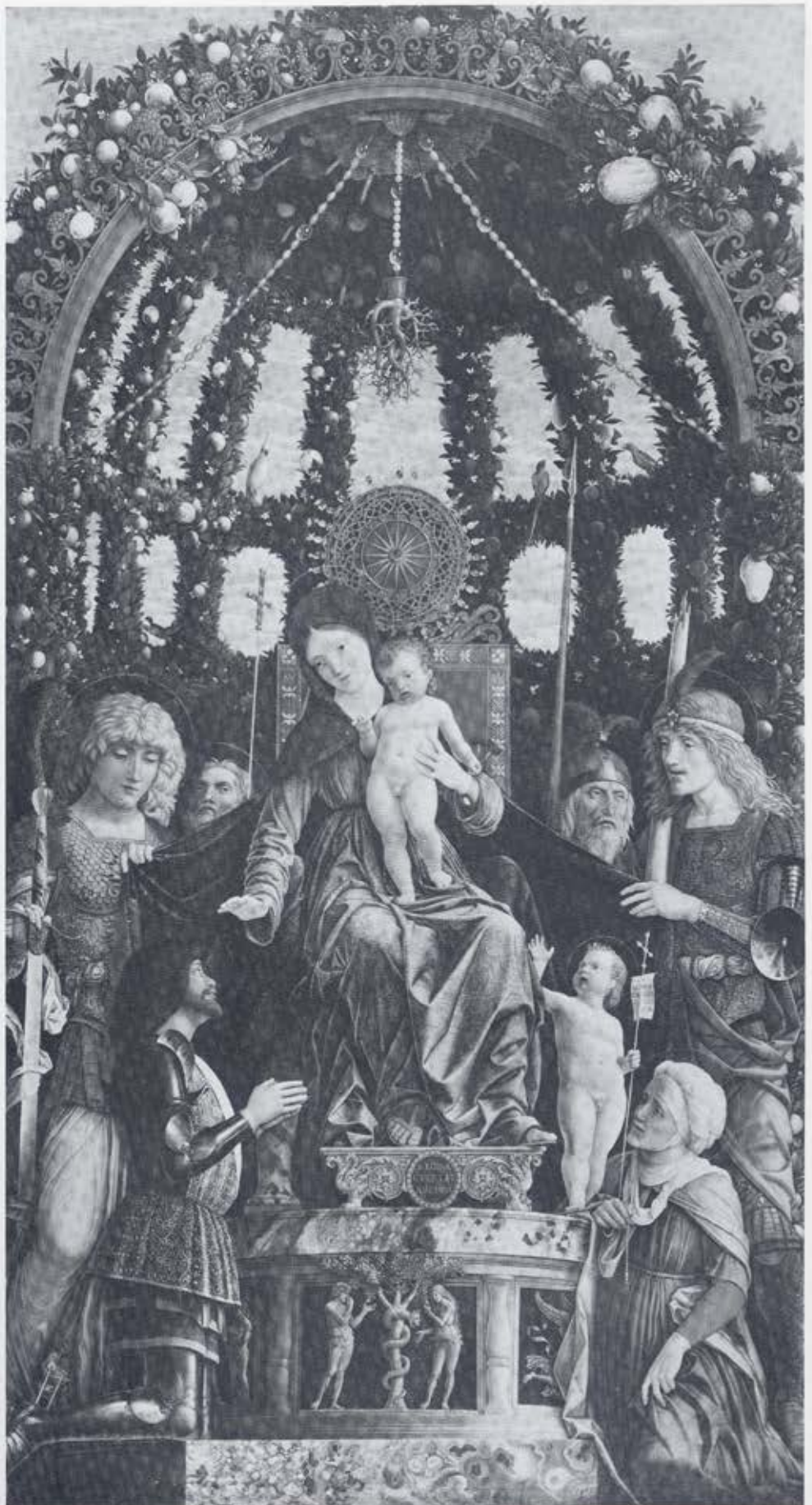
Figure 5. Andrea Mantegna, *Madonna of the Victories,* 1496. Louvre, Paris. Courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 6. Fra Bartolomeo, *Madonna della Misericordia,* 1515. Pinacoteca, Lucca. Courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 7. Giorgio Vasari, *Madonna of the Rosary*, 1569. Louvre, Paris. Courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 8. Rosso Fiorentino, *Madonna della Misericordia,* 1569. Louvre, Paris. Courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 9. Federico Barocci, *Madonna del Popolo,* 1575-1579. Uffizi, Florence. Courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.