

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ITALIAN
SCHOOLS OF PAINTING



*THE "MADONNA DELLA
CANDELETTA"*

*By Carlo Crivelli, in the Brera Gallery,
Milan.*

THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
**Italian Schools
of Painting**

BY

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N.B. The terms “right” and “left” are used from the standpoint of the spectator unless the contrary be stated.

CHAPTER I

CARLO (1) AND VITTORIO CRIVELLI

With Carlo Crivelli we approach quite a different group of painters from that school which culminated in the art of Giovanni Bellini and his immediate followers. Among the artists I intend to include in this volume there are several who reveal more or less strongly the influence of Giambellino, but on the whole the chief source of inspiration is a different one and as Carlo Crivelli is the most important exponent of this tendency we shall start this volume with him.

Giovanni Bellini, as we know, was dominated in his early years

(1) *B. Berenson*, Venetian Painting in America, p. 18. *G. Cantalamessa*, Un dipinto di C.C. nella Pinacoteca Vaticana, *Rassegna d'Arte*, I, April 1901, p. 49. *The Same*, C.C., frammenti di uno studio circa gli artisti veneti nelle Marche, *Studii Marchigiani*, I-II, 1905, 1906 (1907), pp. 101-118. *The Same*, Conferenze d'Arte, Rome, 1926, p. 209. *C. Cesare*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, I, 1901, p. 178. *A. Colasanti*, Italian Painting of the Quattrocento in The Marches, Florence-Paris, 1932, p. 63. *F. Drey*, C.C. und seine Schule, Munich, 1927. *The Same*, Neu entdeckte werke C.C. und seines Kreises, Pantheon, 1929, p. 529. *Frizzoni*, Una rettifica in proposito di C.C., *Arte e Storia*, X, 1891, No. 2. *R. Fry*, Burlington Magazine, XXI, 1912, p. 47. *The Same*, Madonna and Child by C.C., Burlington Magazine, 1912-13. *B. Geiger*, C.C., Thieme Becker, Künstlerlexikon, VIII, p. 128. *C. Grigioni*, A proposito di alcuni dipinti crivelleschi etc., *Rassegna bibliografica dell' arte italiana*, IV, 1901, p. 173. *Lee of Fareham*, C.C. and "P. Petri", *Apollo*, Aug. 1928, p. 79. *C. Mariotti*, A proposito di un dipinto di C.C., *Rassegna bibliografica dell' arte italiana*, IV, 1901, p. 107. *F. Jewett Mather*, A Madonna by C.C., *Art in America*, 1913, p. 48. *Morelli*, *Critical Studies*, I, p. 275. *L. Pelandi*, C.C., Bergamo. *F. M. Perkins*, Un dipinto del C., *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1911, p. 207. *The Same*, A Painting by C.C., *Art in America*, April 1923, p. 3. *D. F. Platt*, Una Pietà del C., *Rassegna d'Arte*, Feby. 1906, p. 30. *A. Ricci*, Di C.C. e de' suoi seguaci nella Marca, *Memorie storiche delle arti etc. della Marca d'Ancona*, I, Macerata, 1834. *Rushforth*, C.C., London, 1900. *L. Serra*, L'arte nelle Marche, II, Rome, 1934, p. 387. *L. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, July 1930. See also bibliography on Venetian painting in general at the beginning of the previous volume.

by Andrea Mantegna, and as much that is characteristic in the group of painters we are about to deal with is due to the influence of Padua, a certain connexion must always exist; as a matter of fact it is only Bellini's ulterior development which, stylistically speaking, separates him definitely from such painters as the Crivelli and Bartolommeo Vivarini, whose artistic standing, however, he at all times considerably surpassed.

The earliest mention of Carlo Crivelli ⁽¹⁾ is that of 1457 when he is condemned to six months imprisonment and fined two hundred lire for having raped and sequestrated the wife of a sailor. After this event we never again find Carlo in Venice and it has been supposed that he fled the town because he feared the husband's vengeance. If he had been banished from Venice, as some writers have suggested might have been the case, this would surely have been mentioned in the sentence.

All the rest of his life he seems to have passed in The Marches, where he was domiciled in Ascoli from 1476 till 1487 and perhaps even after 1490, in Camerino in 1488 and possibly also in Fermo. We know hardly anything about him outside his artistic activity, of which we have abundant evidence in the extant signed and dated pictures executed between 1468 and 1493.

To these should be added still a polyptych of 1487 which is now lost but which Orsini describes as existing in his day in the church of the Sma. Annunziata at Ascoli ⁽²⁾. In 1490 Ferdinando of Capua, later King Ferdinand I of Naples, knighted the painter ⁽³⁾.

We do not know how old Carlo was when he raped the sailor's wife. On the whole the story suggests youthful inexperience, but such acts have no age-limit. Anyhow, in the document of 1457 he is mentioned as "painter" and it has been suggested that he might have been born between 1430 and 1435, which is not impossible, and that his father might have been called Jacopo, because a Crivelli of that name figures in several Venetian docu-

⁽¹⁾ *Ludwig*, Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXVI, 1905, Beiheft, p. 3.

⁽²⁾ *B. Orsini*, Descrizione della pittura etc. della città di Ascoli, Perugia, 1790, p. 182.

⁽³⁾ Regarding this knighthood v. *Testi*, Storia della Pittura Veneziana, II, p. 563.



Fig. 1. Carlo Crivelli, Madonna. Gallery, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

ments of about this time ⁽¹⁾. Much has been written about his early education and many suppositions made as to who could have been his first master. It could certainly not have been Jacobello del Fiore because Ridolfo affirms that this painter died in 1439. However, as we shall see presently, it is highly probable that Carlo Crivelli received his early instruction from another painter of the same group and generation as Jacobello, namely Giambono.

The earliest dated work we have by Carlo Crivelli is of the year 1468, that is to say eleven years after the first mention of him as painter and probably after eleven years of activity in The Marches but in all likelihood some of his other paintings are of earlier date. This is obviously the case for the little Madonna signed: "*Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti*" in the gallery of Verona (fig. 1). It is of rather a mystical composition; the Virgin in half-length figure, her hands clasped in prayer, holds the Child standing within her arms. To either side angels hold instruments of the Passion, while to the right a small picture in the background portrays the incident of St. Peter cutting off Malchus' ear at the Betrayal of Christ. A brick wall, a curtain, some architectural elements, a garland of fruit and a segment of sky, against which we see two angelic musicians, fill up the rather overcharged background.

If we consider this little Madonna to be the earliest certain work by Carlo Crivelli, we have to try and find in it the source of his art and I think this picture is not without elements which set us on the right way. As I said before, Giambono may have had some influence on him and on his earliest artistic formation, and the type of the Madonna, although more evolved, seems to point in this direction, but much more so does the very rare iconographical detail of the angels holding the instruments of the Passion, a detail which we find in Giambono's Coronation of the Virgin, now in the gallery of Venice. It is true that the same element appears in the copy which Antonio Vivarini made of Giambono's picture but not only do certain features, as for instance the angel holding the column, point to the fact that Crivelli was more familiar with Giambono's painting, but also the magnificent cut velvet corresponds more closely to Giam-

⁽¹⁾ *Ludwig* loc. cit. In 1444, 1447, 1448 and 1449: "Jacobus di Crivei pictor de confinio Sancti Moysi".

bono's taste for similar tissues; in fact the pattern of the robe of Crivelli's Madonna in Verona shows a particular resemblance to one we find in a picture of Giambono's school in the gallery of Venice ⁽¹⁾ and to another in a painting from Giambono's own hand in the Ca d'Oro ⁽²⁾.

Combined with these elements, which connect Carlo Crivelli's art with that of this Venetian painter of a previous generation, we find other motifs which are just as obviously borrowed from the Paduan school. The wreath of fruit is Mantegnesque — in fact Squarcione also employs this motif — and so too is the group of the Lord's Arrest, with the wintry tree with which we meet as well in some of the productions Giovanni Bellini executed while under Mantegna's influence; the architecture too is very similar to that in Mantegna's Prayer in the Garden of Olives in the National Gallery. Further, the rare detail of the Child standing on a cushion might be of Paduan origin; it appears in a detached fresco, once in the von Auspitz collection, Vienna, which was attributed to Squarcione and is certainly a production of his immediate circle ⁽³⁾, whence also originate the strangely ugly but fascinating types of the Child Jesus and the angels, which we know best from Schiavone's repetitions of Squarcione's putti.

Quite an early work, perhaps even prior to the Madonna in Verona, is a picture, showing the same signature, which was formerly in the Huldshinsky collection, Berlin, but is now in the Harding collection, New York ⁽⁴⁾. It depicts the half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child standing against a background adorned with a piece of cut velvet with a few apples above, and is still more Paduan in appearance (Drey 9).

Mantegnesque garlands of fruit, a Squarcionesque Child Jesus and a but slightly more evolved type of the Virgin are met with

⁽¹⁾ Reprod in Vol. VII, fig. 252.

⁽²⁾ Idem, fig. 249.

⁽³⁾ I know of only a few other examples but none of them is by any definite master. Among them is the Madonna in the Santuario del Tresto, near Este, which *Fiocco*, *L'Arte di Mantegna*, Bologna, 1927, p. 157, doubtfully ascribes to Mantegna's assistant Ansuino da Forlì.

⁽⁴⁾ *Bovenius*, *Apollo*, May 1928, p. 213; August, 1928, p. 79. *L. Venturi*, *Pitture italiane in America*, Milan, 1931, pl. 271.

in the monumental picture of the enthroned Madonna, with a crown, the Child standing on her knee and a minute adorer at her feet, which forms part of the Cook collection, Richmond (fig. 2) ⁽¹⁾, and in which the niche-shaped throne is heavily ornamented.

Very similar to the Madonna in the Cook collection is the central panel of a polyptych of 1468 in the town hall of Massa Fermana (Drey, 3-5) ⁽²⁾; but in every way it is more simple and might even be prior to the painting at Richmond. The throne is placed on a plain platform and has a straight back, part of which is covered by a curtain and is adorned with two apples. The four lateral panels show SS. John the Baptist, Lawrence, Sylvester and Francis, the second and third of whom are magnificently attired. On the four divisions of the predella we see the Prayer in the Garden of Olives, the Crucifixion, the Flagellation and the Resurrection.

Crivelli's choice of subjects here corresponds to that of Mantegna for the predella of his altar-piece in S. Zeno, Verona, but as there are only three panels here the Flagellation has been omitted. On the whole, however, the compositions are somewhat different. In the terminals Crivelli has depicted the Saviour half arisen from His tomb and the Madonna and angel of the Annunciation.

Another dated work of two years later — 1470 — reveals to us that as far as the figure of the Virgin is concerned Crivelli still portrays quite a normal type and has not as yet affected those nervous images which characterize his later productions and make his works so easily recognized. The picture in question is an oval panel in the gallery of Macerata, in which the Madonna is seen in half-length figure with the Child Jesus snuggling affectionately against her (Drey, 8) ⁽³⁾. The normal placid features of the Virgin in this painting are much more reminiscent of those in the altar-piece of 1473 at Ascoli than they are of the uncanny

⁽¹⁾ L'Arte, 1902, p. 115. Burlington Club Exhibition of Venetian Pictures, 1912, p. 6. *Balviel and K. Clark*, A commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition of Italian Art held etc. in London, 1930, London, 1931, No. 193.

⁽²⁾ Gallerie Naz. Ital., II, 1896, p. 213.

⁽³⁾ Gallerie Naz. Ital., II, 1896, p. 227 note.

traits of the Virgin of 1472, at one time in the Benson collection, so that we cannot very well base our chronology on any increase in the strangeness of the morphological type.

An early work and in style very near to the Madonna in Verona is, I think, the mystic vision of the Saviour standing holding the Cross to which the instruments of the Passion are attached, with St. Francis, a chalice in his hand, kneeling below, which is preserved in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan (Drey 10) ⁽¹⁾; the background is formed by a wall, a piece of velvet and an archway through which a landscape is visible, and here we see a column and further allusions to the Passion.

The same applies to a panel of the Resurrection — no doubt a fragment of a polyptych — which at one time belonged to the Earl of Northbrook, London (Drey, 12). It is a very fine painting with

⁽¹⁾ *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1912, p. 120.



Fig. 2. Carlo Crivelli, Madonna. Cook Collection, Richmond. Photo Anderson.

a beautiful landscape and an abundance of decorative detail which is not absent from the armour of the three sleeping soldiers.

On account of the very evident Paduan elements, we cannot place much later the charming little signed Madonna in the gallery of Ancona (fig. 3) ⁽¹⁾. The Virgin looks affectionately at the Child in her arms and holds the tips of His toes; a piece of drapery occupies the centre of the background, to either side of which the landscape is visible; some enormous fruits hang above her head.

A similar but still more beautiful picture belongs to Mr Jules Bache, New York; it too was at one time in the collection of the Earl of Northbrook (Drey, 25) ⁽²⁾. The setting, including the decoration of fruit, is much alike. The Child here is seated on a cushion on a low wall; He grasps a little bird in His hand and looks at a fly. In this work more attention is given to the ornamental detail.

Mention is made of the remains of a ruined polyptych of the Madonna and saints dated 1471, which once upon a time existed in the house of a certain Signor Clementi in Amandola. I know nothing more about this picture ⁽³⁾. The Madonna, once in the Benson collection, London, now in that of Mr Ericson, New York (fig. 4) ⁽⁴⁾, is stylistically speaking very approximate to the two paintings mentioned above. Here the Virgin has a rather enigmatic expression which is absent in the panels in Ancona and in the Bache collection, but the type of face, the long out-stretched fingers and the beautiful velvet are similar. The decoration of fruit is in this case reduced to a small pear and a turnip on the floor. Again the throne is of a simple form and the back is partly

⁽¹⁾ Gallerie Naz. Ital., II, 1896, p. 267.

⁽²⁾ Catalogue of the Burlington Club Exhibition of Venetian Paintings, 1912, pl. 7. *G. Gronau*, Gazette des Beaux Arts, March 1895, p. 165. Burlington Magazine, LI, 1927, p. 298; LVI, 1930, p. 55. Catalogue of Paintings in the Collection of Jules S. Bache, privately printed, New York, 1929. Apollo, May 1930, pl. at p. 354. *Balviel and Clark*, op. cit., No. 197. *L. Venturi*, op. cit., pl. 273.

⁽³⁾ *G. Cantalamessa*, Nuova Antologia, Series III, XLI, p. 420; quoted by *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 671.

⁽⁴⁾ Catalogue of the Burlington Club Exhibition, 1912, pl. 8. Catalogue of Ital. Pictures etc. collected by R. and E. Benson, privately printed, London, 1914, p. 137. International Studio, Aug. 1928, p. 62.



Fig. 3. Carlo Crivelli, Madonna. Gallery, Ancona.

Photo Anderson.

covered by a piece of drapery. The Child Jesus, Who stands on His Mother's knee, makes a gesture towards the person who must have been next to Him when this panel was still the centre of a polyptych.

Chronologically near to the Madonna of 1472 are, I think, two other paintings of the Virgin, which are both likewise in American collections. One of them, which now belongs to Mr Philip Lehman, New York (Drey 34) ⁽¹⁾, must have been painted after the Madonna of 1470 at Macerata but is, I imagine, prior to the big polyptych of 1473 at Ascoli. It is one of Crivelli's most fascinating creations; it is not without a touch of that affectation which a few years later developed into a confirmed mannerism. The hands are of a more normal shape than in the pictures at Ancona and in the Bache collection. The ornate throne with a niche-shaped back decorated with bunches of fruit has a pedestal adorned with a chess-board pattern. We see here for the first time the Madonna wearing a crown, a feature which from now on becomes the rule. The graceful forms are rendered with a fairly pronounced and detailed technique and although already somewhat unreal in spirit we are carried away by this fairylike vision rather than struck by any artificiality. The other Madonna, which is the property of Mr Arthur Lehman, New York, more closely resembles that of the ex-Benson collection; here however the Child, almost nude and holding an apple, stands on His Mother's right knee ⁽²⁾. Judging from the reproduction, this picture seems somewhat weak but this impression may be due in part to the state of preservation.

In the cathedral of Ascoli Piceno, we find a large polyptych which, under the feet of the Madonna, is signed and dated: "*Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti 1473*" (fig. 5) ⁽³⁾. The Virgin is seated on an elaborately decorated throne on which we see two dolphins as lateral ornaments. The same motifs are shown in the picture in the Cook collection where, however, they are still more evident. A richly embroidered piece of silk of an apparently Chinese design drapes the back and the usual display of fruit is not absent. The Virgin, who is crowned, wears a dress of rich material woven in gold. On the lateral panels we see SS. Peter, John the Baptist, Emidius and Paul, while in the central panel

⁽¹⁾ *Mather*, op. cit., Art in America, 1913. *R. Fry*, Burlington Magazine, XXII, 1913, p. 308. *R. Lehman*, The Philip Lehman Collection, privately printed, Paris, 1928, No. 75. *L. Venturi*, op. cit., pl. 272.

⁽²⁾ *Perkins*, op. cit., Art in America, 1923.

⁽³⁾ Gallerie Naz. Ital., II, 1896, p. 205.



Fig. 4. Carlo Crivelli, Madonna. Ericson Collection, New York. Photo Courtesy Duveen Brothers.



Fig. 5. Carlo Crivelli, Polyptych. Cathedral, Ascoli Piceno.

Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.

above is depicted the Pietà with three figures near the dead Saviour and to the sides the half-length figures of SS. Catherine, Jerome, George, who is attired in an elegant contemporary costume, and Ursula. The predella shows the half-length figures of Christ and ten Apostles. The drapery, more especially of the larger figures, is somewhat hard and heavy and the decorative element, particularly in the robes of the holy bishop, is overcharged. The hands, such a significant feature in the evolution of Carlo's art, are rather elongated but not yet exaggeratedly so, while the faces are not too abnormal. Although not so charming a picture as that in the Philip Lehman collection, the Madonna herself shows considerable stylistic connexion.

During the same period, that is to say probably around the years 1472-1473, Carlo Crivelli executed an altar polyptych for the "Conventuali Riformati" of Montefiore dell'Aso, near Fermo, the different panels of which are now scattered among various public and private collections. In the gallery of Brussels we find the Madonna and St. Francis (figs. 6, 7) ⁽¹⁾ and in the National Gallery, London, the Pietà, while of the eleven panels of the Saviour and saints, two are in the Museo Civico, Milan, one in the Robert Lehman collection, New York, one in the Pröhl collection, Amsterdam ⁽²⁾, two in the museum of Detroit and five, including that of the Saviour, were in the hands of Messrs Colnaghi, London (Drey 15-19) ⁽³⁾. One of them is now in the museum of Detroit, two others form part of a private collection in Rome ⁽⁴⁾, and two are, I believe, owned by Lord Bearsted in London. The late Mr Charles Loeser, Florence,



⁽¹⁾ *Balviel and Clark*, op. cit., Nos. 195, 196.

⁽²⁾ *Drey*, op. cit., p. 53.

⁽³⁾ No. 100 of the Catal. of the Exhibition of Old Italian Art in Dutch possession held in Amsterdam in 1934.

⁽⁴⁾ *Suida*, *Apollo*, 1934, p. 122.

Fig. 6. Carlo Crivelli, St. Francis. Gallery, Brussels. Mus. Photo.



Fig. 7. Carlo Crivelli, Madonna.
Gallery, Brussels. Mus. Photo.

possessed a drawing for the figure of St. Peter (1).

The panels in the gallery of Brussels on which are depicted the Madonna, seated on a simple throne with the back draped, holding the somewhat agitated Child standing on her knee, and the figure of St. Francis, as well as the bust of the dead Saviour supported by two angels, in the National Gallery (602) are slightly Paduan in their linear design but the morphological types are of quite a normal appearance. On the other hand, the half-length figures of the predella are more elaborate and more studied and the human images, as well as the drawing, are in every way more typical of Crivelli's art. The young saint, holding a book pressed against his body and placing a finger on his mouth, offers us an example of that mild form of aesthetic madness which Crivelli affects from time to time.

In the church of S. Agostino at Pausola there is a painting of the Madonna who in type considerably resembles the previous figure (Drey 24); only here the Child, seated on her knee with His head bent backwards, looks at the spectator.

(1) *D. von Hadeln*, *Venezianische Zeichnungen des Quattrocento*, Berlin, 1925, pl. 3.

Since the repaint has been removed, the simple throne and a garland of cherubs have become visible (1).

There are three other Pietàs which do not seem to be far removed from that of the Montefiore altar-piece. One of them, which is very elaborate and occupies an entire lunette, was acquired by the Fine Arts Museum, Detroit, from the Brocklebank collection (fig. 8), (2). The central figure varies only in the position of the arms; the Virgin, St. Mary Magdalene and two other faithful followers with oriental turbans are grouped around Him. Different in spirit but not in style is the Pietà in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (fig. 9) (3) in which two



Fig. 8. Carlo Crivelli, Pietà. Gallery, Detroit.
Mus. Photo.

(1) *Astolfi*, *L'Arte*, V, 1902, p. 192.

(2) Catalogue of the Burlington Club Exhibition, 1912, pl. 9. *Fry*, *Burlington Magazine*, XXI, p. 48. *Balviel and Clark*, op. cit., No. 194.

(3) *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, V, 1905, p. 130.



Fig. 9. Carlo Crivelli, Pietà. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.

Photo Courtesy of the Johnson coll.



Fig. 10. Carlo Crivelli, SS. Peter and Paul. National Gallery, London. Photo Nat. Gal.

weeping angels hold the badly mutilated body of the Saviour whose features are those of death after intense suffering. Fairly similar to the Christ of the Pietà of Montefiore was in all probability that which forms the central figure of a Pietà — the Lord between the Virgin and St. John — in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.; previously it belonged to the Nevin collection, Rome ⁽¹⁾; however, after the repaint was removed little else than the preparatory drawing remained of the central figure; of the two lateral figures much of the colour has been preserved.

Not much later than 1473 Crivelli must have executed the altar-piece which A. Ricci (p. 209) describes as being composed of the Madonna with SS. Peter and Paul to one side and St. George slaying the dragon to the other and the Entombment — more likely the Pietà — above, which existed in the church of Porto Fermo. Two of the panels have been preserved; they are that of SS. Peter and Paul, now in the National Gallery (3923), (fig. 10) who in style, particularly noticeable in the drapery, are very reminiscent of the saints of the polyptych of 1473, and the charming St. George who, on a prancing steed, slays with a formidable sword thrust the dragon already pierced by his spear; some weird looking hills are topped by a Gothic town and much of the decoration is executed in relief. This panel is now in the Gardner Museum, Boston (fig. 11).

That these panels, the measurements of which correspond, originate from the same altar-piece has already been pointed out by Mr Hendy ⁽²⁾ but Mr Berenson ⁽³⁾, who places the St. George towards 1490, fails to observe this correspondence. Drey (pl. 23) believes the St. George to date from soon after 1472 but gives the SS. Peter and Paul (p. 92) to a special follower of Carlo Crivelli: the Master of the Brera Predella.

A picture which is somewhat difficult to date but which I

The Connaissance, XXI, p. 5. *Berenson*, Catalogue of the Italian Pictures of the Johnson coll., No. 158. *L. Venturi*, op. cit., pl. 275.

⁽¹⁾ No. 232 of F. M. Perkin's catalogue of the Nevin sale which took place in Rome in April 1907. *Platt*, op. cit., Rassegna d'Arte, 1906.

⁽²⁾ *Ph. Hendy*, The I.S. Gardner Museum: Catalogue of the exhibited Paintings and Drawings, Boston, 1931, p. 111. *L. Venturi*, op. cit., pl. 274.

⁽³⁾ *Berenson*, Venetian Painting in America, p. 22.



Fig. 11. Carlo Crivelli, St. George and the Dragon.
Gardner Collection, Boston. Photo Marr.



Fig. 12. Carlo Crivelli, *Portrait of a Youth*. Private Collection.

imagine was executed around these years, certainly prior to the moment when Crivelli's drawing begins to show incisive hardness, is the only portrait we have from the master's hand. It belonged

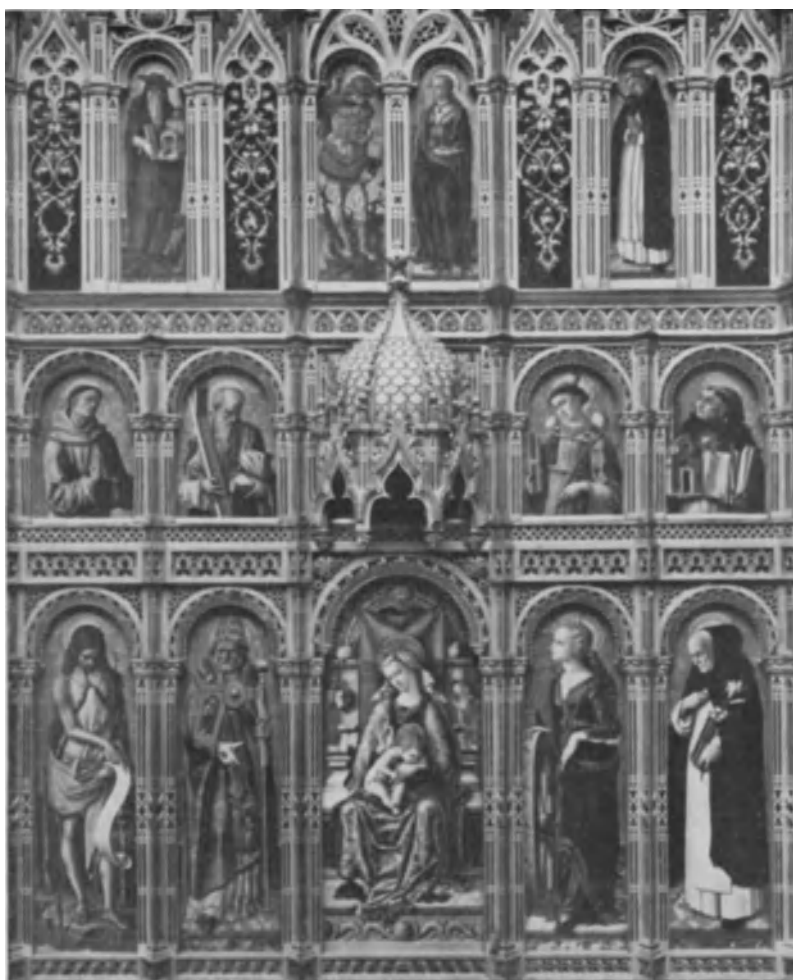


Fig. 13. Carlo Crivelli, Polyptych, 1476. National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.

to the Clarence Mackay collection, Long Island (New York) ⁽¹⁾, and represents a young man in a beautiful velvet suit wearing a high bonnet on his long fair hair; he is depicted against a brick wall the greater part of which is covered with a silk cloth (fig. 12). In a strange absent-minded manner he seems to gaze through the

⁽¹⁾ International Studio, Dec. 1929, p. 32. *L. Venturi, L'Arte*, XXXIII, 1930, p. 384. *The Same*, Pitture italiane in America, pl. 278.

window which frames a landscape; his jewelled hand rests on a parapet on which a small oriental rug is placed. With this picture Carlo Crivelli brings us once more into a world of unreality. The little fairy prince with his unearthly look is as charming as he is unhuman. It might easily be believed that the artist wished to convey the idea that the unhealthy looking youth is already dead, were it not for the fact that on other occasions he has revealed a similar taste for manifestations of unwholesome charm.

Between 1473 and 1476 Crivelli's art underwent a considerable change and in the panels which form the two lower rows of the so-called Demidoff altar-piece in the National Gallery (788) (figs. 13,14) we notice that, stylistically speaking, conventionality has become an intrinsic part of his art and he affects this conventionality with conviction and without hesitation. He employs sharply outlined artificial forms and shapes which however have the great quality of producing very graceful effects, so that Crivelli, whatever his shortcomings as a realist may have been, will always be recognized as a virtuoso of line such as few have existed in the history of Italian painting. His only equals in this particular form of art were Botticelli and some of the Siense masters of the 14th century.

This feature is perhaps most typically exemplified in the figure of St. Catherine whose gracefulness is unreal and charming. The painter has deliberately given up any attempt to reproduce a faithful image of the human being of which he shows sooner a conventionalized abstraction, more engraved than painted. The hard bronze-like manner in which St. John the Baptist has been treated forms an interesting comparison with this female saint. St. Peter in papal attire would have a similar appearance but is almost entirely hidden under the decoration. The St. Dominic to the right and the half-length figures of SS. Francis, Andrew, Lawrence and Thomas with a book and the model of a church, are of interest, more especially on account of the sharp plastic effects of the features but also partly because of the drapery, which does not seem to reproduce cloth but rather some Paduan bronze relief rendering of it. The Madonna, on a fairly elaborate throne decorated with a silk cloth and fruit, lifts with a very affected gesture a piece of gauze from the back of the sleeping Child Who rests His chin on her other hand. Below



Fig. 14. Detail of fig. 13.

Photo Nat. Gal.



Fig. 15. Carlo Crivelli, Beato Jacopo della Marca. Gallery, Città del Vaticano.

Photo Anderson.

her feet and above an ornamental frieze we read the signature: "*Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti 1476*". The Virgin, although also executed in a harder and more incisive technique than we have up to now found, is all the same less different from the previous examples.

In the upper part of the same work are the full-length figures of SS. Jerome, George slaying the dragon, Lucy and Peter the Martyr. They are executed in a somewhat softer technique and as the Demidoff polyptych has obviously been reconstructed from at least two different altar-pieces it can be taken for granted that these panels originate from another and slightly earlier work. In a manuscript which is now lost A. Ricci found mention of a picture of 1476 in the church of S. Domenico in Ascoli, and Orsini in his description of Ascoli (1790, p. 44) speaks of a polyptych by Crivelli in the sacristy of this church, but the only figures which correspond are those of SS. Dominic and Stephen. The latter also refers to a Marriage of St. Catherine which in all probability occupied the central panel. He describes it as a work of cold expression



Fig. 16. Carlo Crivelli, St. Bernard. Museum, Berlin.

Mus. Photo.

and mediocre conception. At one time Signor Grassi of Rome had in his possession a Madonna of 1476. It is quite possible that this polyptych was reconstructed by Cardinal Zelada in whose collection it formerly existed (1).

In the collection of the late Professor O. Lanz of Amsterdam there is a half-length figure of St. Augustine in rich episcopal attire (Drey, 41) (2) which must have been executed about the same time as the St. Peter of the Demidoff altar-piece.

Of the year 1477 are two identical panels, both signed and dated, of Beato Jacopo della Marca, the one in the Vatican Gallery (236) (fig. 15), the other in the Louvre (1268) (Drey 42). The former, on which the name of the saint is inscribed, is slightly more forceful and it has sometimes been supposed that the painting in the Louvre is but a studio replica, though this I think is hardly likely. The features of the holy old monk are of an almost exaggerated realism, due in part to Crivelli's playful treatment of the linear rendering of the traits; also the hand raised in a warning gesture is a piece of anatomical fancy-work. The two little adorers are finer in the panel in Paris than in that in Rome. Orsini (p. 184) describes one of them as existing in his day in the church of the Sma. Annunziata in Ascoli; it is supposed to be that now in the Louvre.

Similar in style is a beautiful panel of St. James, the pilgrim's hat hanging on his back, in the Babbot collection, Brooklyn (Drey, 33) (3) and I imagine that it was also about this time that Crivelli executed an altar-piece of which the only extant pieces are four small panels of saints: two, SS. Jerome and Bernard, from the Thiem collection, now in the museum of Berlin (1156 B. and C.) (fig. 16) and two, SS. Antony of Padua (fig. 17) and Benedict(?) in the Lanz collection, Amsterdam. I do not exclude the possibility that these panels might originate from the dismembered polyptychs formerly in the church of S. Domenico at Ascoli.

The unsigned but dated polyptych of 1481 in the Vatican Gallery (235) (fig. 18) is of inferior quality and frequently has

(1) *Drey*, op. cit., p. 62.

(2) No. 98 of the Catal. of the Exhibition of Ancient Italian Art in Dutch possession held in Amsterdam in 1934.

(3) *Perkins*. *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1911, p. 207.



Fig. 17. Carlo Crivelli, St. Antony of Padua. Lanz Collection, Amsterdam.



Fig. 18. Carlo Crivelli, Polyptych, 1481. Gallery, Città del Vaticano.

Photo Anderson.

been supposed to be but a workshop production. The beautiful drawing of the Madonna and Child, as well as that of the heads of the holy pope and the bearded old Evangelist to the left, certainly refutes this conjecture but the drapery of the two last



Fig. 19. Carlo Crivelli, four Saints. Guggenheim Collection, New York.

mentioned figures is heavy and coarse and might be the work of some assistant, as indeed also the entire figures of the two other saints, John the Baptist and an Evangelist.

More spirited are the figures of SS. Antony Abbot, Christopher, Sebastian and Thomas Aquinas, other polyptych fragments, in the collection of Mrs Guggenheim, New York (fig. 19) and those of SS. Roch, Sebastian, Emidius and Bernardine, once also belonging to some altar-piece, in the gallery of Venice (105) (1).

(1) *Drey*, op. cit., fig. 104, ascribes these paintings to an imitator of Crivelli.



Fig. 20. Carlo Crivelli, Madonna. Gallery, Città del Vaticano. Photo Anderson.



Fig. 21. Carlo Crivelli, Madonna. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Mus. Photo.

Of the year 1482 we have two important works from the hand of Carlo Crivelli: one a Madonna, no doubt the centre of a polyptych, which originates from Force in the province of Ascoli but is now in the Vatican Gallery (233) (fig. 20); the other a triptych

now in the Brera Gallery, Milan (201) but formerly in the church of S. Domenico, Camerino (1).

The former is somewhat broader in proportion and of a more monumental appearance than we meet with in Crivelli's earlier works. The throne, simple in form, is adorned with fruit; the Infant Jesus holds an apple in His hand. The Madonna wears a beautiful velvet dress and a flowery design is engraved on the gold background.

The drawing is incisive, but not exaggeratedly so, while the fingers are already of a somewhat conventional shape and length but not so absurd as at a later stage.

In type, form and technique we can compare with this Madonna two others, both signed, which are of quite a different composition. One of them shows the Madonna in half-length figure with the almost nude Child, Who grasps an apple and looks at the spectator, seated in front of her; a silk curtain with fruit above and a piece of landscape visible to either side forms the background. This picture is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 21). In the other example, which is found in the gallery of Bergamo, the chief difference consists in the position of the Child Whom the Virgin holds in her arms, affectionately pressed against her (fig. 22). In this case there is a greater abundance of fruit which we see also on the low parapet, whereas in the previous instance we saw here only some flowers and a fly. In both pictures the gold brocade of the Madonna's dress is particularly rich.

That we have reached a moment of transition in Crivelli's career becomes obvious when we compare the Madonna of 1482 in the Vatican Gallery with that of the same year in the Brera triptych, in which the forms are more elongated and the design much harder and more angular (figs. 23, 24). That the painter was about to give a considerable preponderance to the linear element in his pictures is demonstrated clearly, not only in the incisive importance wherever it is possible, but also in the reduction of

(1) The strange way of writing the date, "M 4811", has caused Amico Ricci to interpret it as being 1411. Orsini in his description of Ascoli, p. 40, likewise speaks of an altar-piece with Madonna and saints by Carlo Crivelli, dated 1411, in the church of S. Gregorio Magno. No doubt the date was inscribed in the same manner.



Fig. 22. Carlo Crivelli, Madonna. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Anderson.

plasticity and all effects of the third dimension. This strikes us particularly in the face of the handsome St. Geminian in contemporary costume, who, holding a banner and the model of a town, is depicted with St. Peter the Martyr on the right lateral panel. There is hardly any shading in the face; in fact, in the

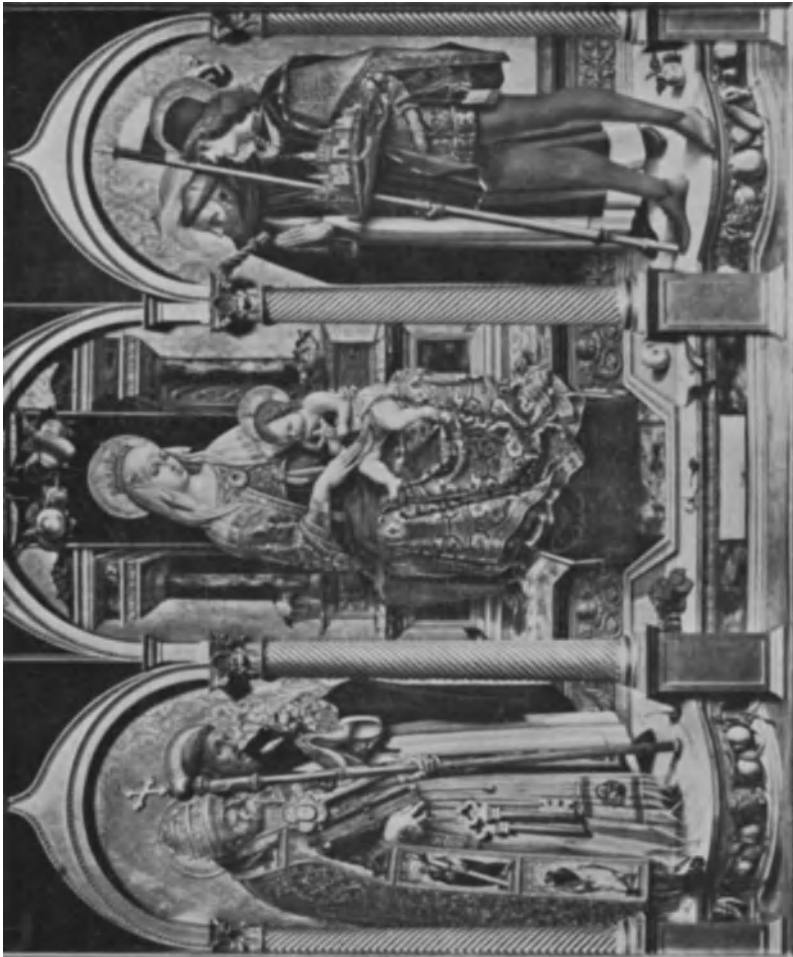


Fig. 23. Carlo Crivelli, Madonna and Saints. Brera Gallery, Milan.

Photo Anderson.

entire figure there is very little and this, combined with the strongly outlined design of every detail, adds to the atmosphere of unreality which characterizes Crivelli's later works, which often remind us of coloured engravings.

Further, there is a strange contrast between the smoothness of St. Geminian's face and the extremely detailed, almost cast-metal look of those of SS. Dominic and Peter in papal attire on the other lateral panel. The latter has the same aggressive threatening

features which the painter gave him in the Demidoff polyptych and in that of 1481 in the Vatican Gallery but here they verge on the ridiculous. His robes are so magnificent that the figures of saints embroidered on them form little pictures in themselves. Also the Madonna is dressed in rich velvet; the throne is of a fairly elaborate form and is covered with fruit and ornamental friezes.

Originally in the Esterhazy collection but now in the gallery of Budapest (98) we find a beautiful panel of the enthroned Madonna (fig. 25) who wears a rich cloak of gold brocade, the pattern of which is the same as that in the picture in the Victoria and Albert Museum; she offers an apple to the Child Who stands on her knee. It no doubt formed the centre of a polyptych which was



Fig. 24. Detail of fig. 23.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 25. Carlo Crivelli, Madonna, Gallery, Budapest.

Mus. Photo.



Fig. 26. Carlo Crivelli, Pietà. Gallery, Boston.

Mus. Photo.

painted about this period; the forms and execution are midway between the two Madonnas of 1482.

The Pietà of 1485 in the museum of Boston and the Annunciation of 1486 clearly demonstrate the enchanting linear follies and decorative absurdities which Carlo Crivelli's manner acquired during these years ⁽¹⁾.

The former of these paintings (fig. 26) shows, under a garland of fruit and against an engraved gold background the centre of which is hidden by a silk curtain with a cabbage-leaf pattern, the dead Saviour, supported by the Virgin, St. John and St. Mary Magdalene, being raised from His richly ornamented tomb. The hands which are visible have long tapering fingers; the face and neck of the weeping Madonna seen in profile are a minute anatomical study and so too are the features of St. John, the round shape of whose face as he looks heavenward with a wide open mouth is further accentuated by the frame of stiff regular curls. The Magdalene is of a charming girlish appearance and the design of her sleeve is so ornate that the painter found it necessary to finish it in gold relief. It is a restless and unbalanced but nevertheless highly aesthetic achievement.

In the Annunciation of 1486 which originates from the Sma. Annunziata convent of Ascoli, where Orsini saw it in 1790 but which is now in the National Gallery, London (fig. 27) ⁽²⁾, the artist has succeeded in combining such a multitude of elements that a detailed description would require many pages. Much of his attention has been given to architecture; indeed the entire left half of the picture is occupied by a street in which we see a few people walking and a sweet little child looking round the corner of a balustrade. Beyond we see an archway, the multiple decoration of which includes a medallion of a decidedly classical style; on the terrace above we see two figures, a rug, a bird in a cage and a potted shrub. The façade of the house in which the Virgin kneels is covered with decorative friezes. Above there is an open loggia with a peacock and other birds, one in a cage, flower-pots and an oriental rug. Through the open door we

⁽¹⁾ *L. Venturi*, op. cit., pl. 277.

⁽²⁾ At one time it was in the Brera Gallery, Milan. *Frizzoni*, Arch. Stor. dell' arte, V, 1892, p. 404. *E. Calzini*, Rassegna bibliografica dell' arte, V, 1902, p. 1. Burlington Magazine, Feb. 1930, p. 62.



Fig. 27. Carlo Crivelli, *Annunciation*. National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.

obtain a glimpse of the Virgin's bed-room with her bed and some objects on a shelf. The angel kneeling on the street is accompanied by the youthful Bishop Emidius who holds the model of a town

and looks with curiosity at the angel; he makes a gesture of surprise and evidently wonders what the celestial messenger is trying to do. There was little room for fruit in this over-crowded composition but Crivelli was unable to omit his favourite decorative motif and has placed in the foreground of the picture an apple and a gherkin. Below, the words "*Libertas Ecclesiastica*" are inscribed while to the extreme right and left are the coats of arms of Prospero Caffarelli, Bishop of Ascoli, and of the town, and in the centre that of Pope Innocent VIII. The rich colours, the ornamental details of architecture and dress, the marble of the street, and the brick and stone of the houses, united with the elements we have already enumerated, are rather overwhelming and demonstrate on the part of the artist a morbid tendency to overdo the decorative part of his picture in a manner which does not correspond to the good taste and harmony established to such perfection by the great geniuses of the Italian Renaissance.

In the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfort (33, 34), there is an Annunciation in two panels — no doubt the terminals of a polyptych — in which the angel kneels in front of an elaborately constructed house while the Madonna is depicted at her lectern on the threshold of her room (fig. 28). The execution of this work can certainly be placed in this phase of the master's career. The linear effect of the two graceful figures in their flowing drapery enchant us still more than those of the Annunciation in London.

Most marvellous draughtsmanship is displayed in the Pietà from the Crawshay collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 29) ⁽¹⁾. Against an ornate gold background the Saviour, seated almost in profile, rests one arm on the shoulder of the Madonna who embraces Him, while SS. John and Mary Magdalene support the body from the other side. Crivelli has not hesitated to express the most passionate grief in an almost too realistic manner. It is not difficult to believe that the tortured line of the faces disfigured by weeping was much more to the taste of the curious artificial mind of this painter than regular features would have been. However no one will deny that, looking at it from the standpoint of a graphic whim, we are here in the presence of a masterpiece. As Mr Berenson observes, this

⁽¹⁾ *L. Venturi*, op. cit., pl. 276.

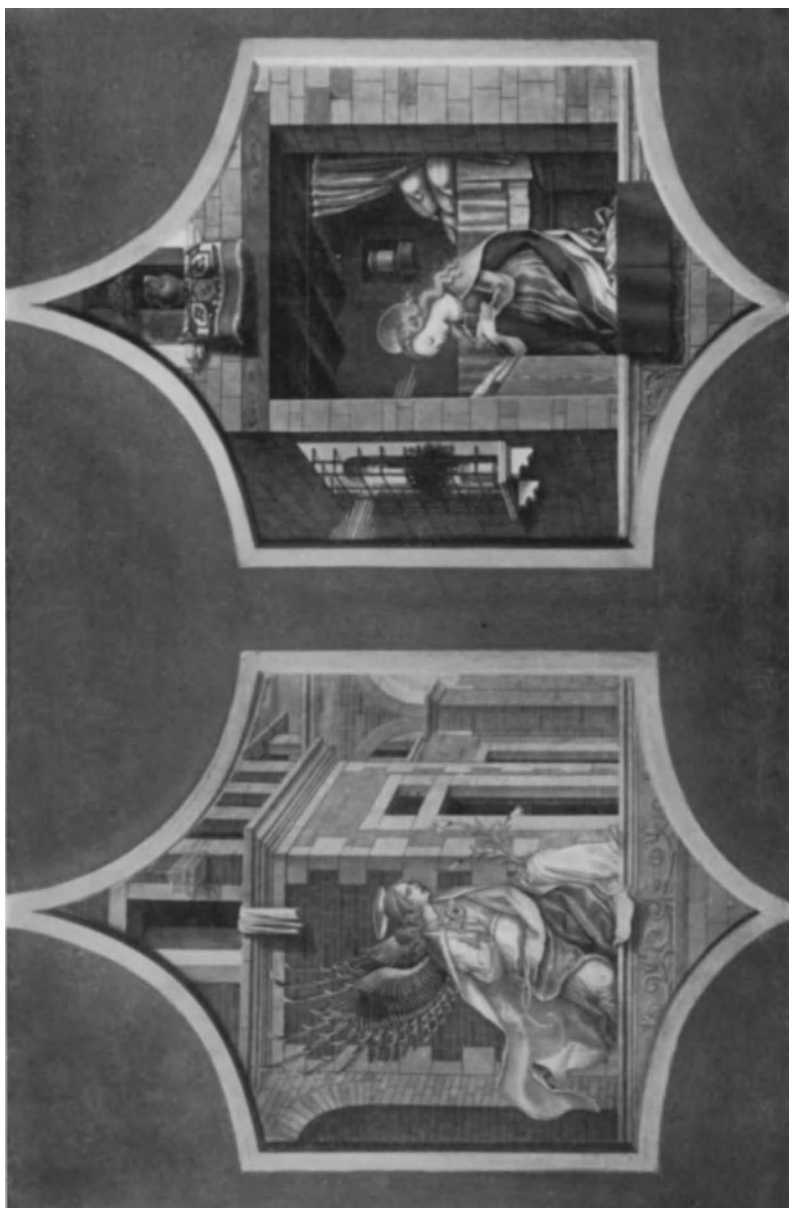


Fig. 28. Carlo Crivelli, Annunciation. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.
Mus. Photo.



Fig. 29. Carlo Crivelli, *Pietà*. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Mus. Photo.

picture — more especially the composition of the group of Mother and Son — leads us to believe that Crivelli had some knowledge of Giambellino's *Pietà* now in the Brera Gallery; however, the diversity of temperament gives us quite different conceptions of the same subject.

That we have now arrived at the period of Carlo Crivelli's most daring and refined though morbid linear aberration is proved by another picture which, on account of the mention of the title "Miles" in the signature, cannot have been executed before the year 1490.



Fig. 30. Carlo Crivelli, *Madonna and Saints*. National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.

The panel in question originates from the Odoni chapel in the church of S. Francesco, Matelica (The Marches) ⁽¹⁾ but is now in the National Gallery, London (724) (fig. 30). It shows the Ma-

⁽¹⁾ *Gallerie Naz. Ital.*, II, 1896, p. 325.

donna on a throne of simple form but in the midst of rich tissues, flower-pots and fruit, between SS. Jerome and Sebastian. The large figures of the principal panel are not as fantastic as those of the predella; still the little fairy prince in contemporary costume is about as quaint and unreal an apparition as we find in Italian art, while the natural appearance of St. Jerome, holding the model of a church and his little lion, is entirely hidden under Crivelli's set rules of conventionality.

The predella however reveals to us a strangeness of grouping and an exaggerated elegance in which the artist evidently had no fear of the ridiculous. We see a very affected St. Catherine with long wavy fingers, St. Jerome in penitence, an Adoration of the Child which takes place under a shed near a dilapidated building, and a martyrdom of St. Sebastian with frantic movements of the archers as well as of the victim; here Crivelli displays a marvellous calligraphic design which however culminates in the little picture of St. George slaying the dragon, which is full of passionate movement and in which lines have obtained a dramatic value.

The artificiality of these years reached on one occasion such a degree that the picture was considered a modern falsification by Loeser, a connoisseur of considerable repute ⁽¹⁾; Herr Drey pronounced it to be by a follower of Crivelli, to whom he ascribes also some other paintings. The panel in question is an Adoration of the Child in the gallery of Strasbourg (fig. 31). It indeed has a curious appearance, not only in the design and the colouring but even in the material and its consistency, so that it is only natural that some doubt about its authenticity should arise. I myself have entertained this doubt but after all I do not think there is reason for it. The composition shows a wintry landscape with the town of Bethlehem — a 15th century city with classical columns — in the distance; in front of a shelter which is placed near a dilapidated brick wall we see the Child Jesus lying on the ground adored by the Virgin and St. Joseph sitting in meditation near by; one shepherd is led by an angel towards this group while others, some of whom listen to the angelic message, are visible in the background. The painter's northern taste for detail of setting is revealed in the row of

(1) Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, II, 1896, p. 279.



Fig. 31. Carlo Crivelli, Adoration of the Child. Gallery, Strasburg.

Mus. Photo.

ustensils placed on a shelf, which were certainly not in the stable in which Our Lord was born. Many elements here correspond to the representation of this scene on the predella of the altarpiece in the National Gallery.



Fig. 32. Carlo Crivelli, *Madonna and Saints*. Museum, Berlin.

Mus. Photo.

A reason that leads us to believe that not all these quaint linear contortions were painted after 1490 is that on some of them there is no mention in the signature of the title of knight which he received this year. Take for example the *St. Mary Magdalene* in the museum of Berlin (1156) which, on account of the absurdly affected grace with which she holds a vase in one hand and a fold of her skirt in the other, is so characteristic of this manner (Plate). The linearity is here somewhat less hard and dry than that of the above mentioned picture and might indeed have been executed a few years earlier ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Drey's suggestion of around 1485 is, I think, slightly too early. As for the catalogue of the gallery of Berlin (1931) in which the year 1475 is given as the approximate date of execution, I should say that the comparison with the *Magdalene* of the Demidoff polyptych of 1476 suggested



ST. MARY MAGDALENE
By Carlo Crivelli in the Museum of
Berlin.

Museum Photo.

It is quite possible that the Madonna enthroned with the Child, Who presents the keys to the old kneeling St. Peter and is accompanied by SS. Emidius — the patron saint of Ascoli — Francis, John of Capestranus, Louis of Toulouse, Bonaventura and Giacomo della Marca, in the museum of Berlin (1156A) is, on account of the saints depicted, the altar-piece which Crivelli painted in 1488 for S. Pietro degli Osservanti, Camerino (fig. 32) (1). The faces are hard and metallic and the vestments particularly ornate, while the architectural columns which adorn the throne recall the decoration of the Annunciation of 1486.

The dry hardness of the predella of the London altar-piece and more especially of the Strasbourg Adoration is very manifest in a figure of St. Roch who, long, thin and stringy, carries a pilgrim's staff and, with one hand uplifted, looks with distress at the wound in his thigh from which he has pulled down his hose. This picture is in the Wallace collection, London (527) (fig. 33). Slightly earlier I should say is the St. Sebastian in the Poldi Pezzoli Gallery, Milan (621); the saint is depicted attached to a tree, his sinewy body pierced by many arrows while his wiry fingers seem to clench the air (Drey 11).

in the catalogue, forces us to admit that a good number of years separates the execution of the one from that of the other.

(1) *Santoni*, *Arte e Storia*, 1890, p. 244.



Fig. 33. Carlo Crivelli, St. Roch. Wallace Collection, London. Photo Gray.



Fig. 34. Carlo Crivelli, the Blessed Ferretti. National Gallery,
London. Photo Nat. Gal.



Fig. 35. Carlo Crivelli, *Madonna and Saints*, 1491. National Gallery,
London. Photo Nat. Gal.

Less rigid but still showing the virtuosity of drawing which in this phase was so typical of Crivelli's art, is a half-length figure of the Madonna of the Annunciation from the Thieme collection, Leipzig, which was recently for sale in Amsterdam; the panel has the peculiar shape of a polyptych terminal ⁽¹⁾. Probably also the picture of the Madonna in half-length figure holding the Child

⁽¹⁾ *Thieme-Becker*, *Künstlerlexikon*, VIII, p. 131. Catalogue of the Exhibition of old Italian Art in Dutch possession held in Amsterdam, 1934, No. 97 and reprod.

standing on a cushion on a parapet between SS. Francis and Bernardine of Siena with a small adoring monk in the Walters collection, Baltimore (Drey, 62) ⁽¹⁾ was made during these years, which must have been just before 1490, and I think the same can be said for the painting of the vision of the Blessed Gabriel Ferretti in the National Gallery, London (668, fig. 34) ⁽²⁾. Here, in a wintry landscape with a handsome Renaissance church in the background the monk kneels in adoration before the Virgin and Child who appear in the sky in a mandorla surrounded by cherubim; the apparition however has been given a less important place than the three bunches of fruit. The signature, which is strangely written, does not mention Carlo's knighthood.

Of the last years of the master's activity we possess three dated works of considerable importance: an altar-piece of 1491 and a Madonna in ecstasy of 1492, both in the National Gallery, London, and a Coronation of the Virgin of 1493 in the Brera Gallery, Milan.

In these last achievements we observe that Crivelli returned to more normal and traditional principles and, especially where the larger figures are concerned, did not indulge in his linear extravagances.

The first of these pictures (807) (fig. 35) ⁽³⁾, the provenance of which can be traced only to Rome in 1841, shows the Madonna, affectionately clasping the Child, seated on a throne of fairly simple lines but decorated with brocade, fruit and flowers in two vases, one of majolica, the other of glass. The St. Francis, with one hand on his chest, slightly inclines to express his devotion but does so in a manner which, were it not somewhat ridiculous, would convey hypocrisy. The St. Sebastian to the other side is attached to a pillar, his body pierced with arrows; the anatomy of his body is soft and rounded and almost normal but his features are perversely effeminate. Feet and hands on which Crivelli so willingly exercised his playful linear artificialities are again much more natural.

I find that the type of the Madonna of this painting has so much in common with that of a small picture showing the half-

⁽¹⁾ *Berenson*, *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 21.

⁽²⁾ *Bollettino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, March 1929, p. 403.

⁽³⁾ *Sassi*, *Rassegna Marchigiana*, V, 1927, p. 345.



Fig. 36. Carlo Crivelli, *Madonna*. Ex-Ten Cate Collection, Enschede.

Photo Courtesy of Duveen Brothers.

length figure of the Virgin holding the Child, Who blesses standing on a low parapet, from the Ten Cate collection, Enschede (Holland) and now belonging to Duveen Brothers, that instead of placing it as Herr Drey does at the beginning of Crivelli's career, I am more inclined to classify it as a production of his last years (fig. 36).

The panel of 1492 in the National Gallery, London (906), which originates from the Malatesta Chapel, Rimini, depicts the Madonna in ecstasy with hands clasped; she is attired in rich flowery velvet and her features are of regular beauty (fig. 37). There are no unusually strange elements in this handsome figure, which is placed in a sort of marble niche with a silk curtain as background; fruit, vases of flowers, and a sculptured frieze comprise the decoration. Far more conventional in design and not without stylistic abnormalities is the figure of God the Father Who, accompanied by cherubim, is seen above making a gesture with His long tapering fingers. Two very Gothic-looking angels hold an inscription which refers to the Immaculate Conception.

A remarkable production of these years is a mystical picture of the Crucifixion which belongs to Lord Rothermere and which might quite possibly have formed part of a representation of the Holy Trinity. The Saviour, surrounded by cherubim, stands upright nailed to the Cross; He wears the papal tiara and is dressed in a long garment, the lower part of which is spread out by two angels. The painter offers us a daring mixture of bright colours against a clear sky-blue background. As Herr Drey points out, it is quite possible that this panel originally formed part of the painting of the Holy Trinity and the Madonna in ecstasy which, according to A. Ricci, is mentioned in a 17th century manuscript as existing in the church of S. Francesco, Atri; it showed a signature which included the word "Miles" (1). It would be very tempting to suppose that the Madonna in ecstasy in the National Gallery might be the one which, according to the old description, formed part of the same altar-piece, were it not for the fact that we are informed that this panel originates from the Malatesta Chapel in Rimini.

Very similar in features and shown in full-face in the same manner as the Madonna of 1492 is the "Madonna della Candelletta" in the Brera Gallery, Milan (207) (Plate); the lateral panels of this altar-piece, which after the earthquake of 1799 were transferred from the cathedral to the church of S. Domenico

(1) *Drey*, op. cit., Pantheon, IV, 1929, p. 525. *P. G. Konody*, Works of Art in the Collection of Viscount Rothermere, privately printed, London, 1932, pl. 27.



Fig. 37. Carlo Crivelli, the Immaculate Conception.
National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.

in Camerino, are now in the gallery of Venice (103) (Drey, 70) ⁽¹⁾. The signature: "*Karolus Crivellus Venetus eques laureatus pinxit*" ⁽²⁾, anyhow specifies a date posterior to 1490 for these panels. The Virgin, who offers a pear to the Child on her knee, is seated on a throne adorned behind by a garland of fruit from which hangs a curtain; her magnificent robe of velvet falls on to a similar piece of material which drapes the base of the throne, at the foot of which we see a vase of lilies, a rose, and some cherries. The enamel-like colours are of an unnatural brilliance which suggests painting on metal rather than on wood. It is a delightful but a most extraordinary and striking picture. The features and hands are practically normal. This, however, is not the case for the lateral panels in Venice, which depict St. Augustine with St. Jerome and St. Paul with St. Peter, but of the last mentioned saint only a small part remains. The execution of these figures is again hard and incisive; the strange features seem to be cast in bronze; every hair of St. Jerome's beard is painted in detail; the hands make frantic gestures and the drapery simulates that of a stone carving. The little that remains visible of St. Peter depicts him looking over a pair of eye-glasses. We have here once more evident proof of to what extent Crivelli employed different manners of painting in the execution of one work.

Crivelli's last dated work, the Coronation of the Madonna showing the inscription "*Carolus Crivellus Venetus Miles pinxit MCCCCLXXXIII*", originates from the church of S. Francesco at Fabriano but is now in the Brera Gallery, Milan (202) (fig. 38) ⁽³⁾. The painter's marked taste for decoration has caused him to depict the lower part of the throne as one enormous ornament with fruit at either extremity. The pedestal is so high that the throne on which the Saviour and the Virgin, both richly attired, are seated, has much more the appearance of an altar; a curtain held by angels drapes the throne while another piece of velvet forms the background. God the Father emerging from a halo of light places a crown on each of the two heads, the Saviour adds a jewel to that of the Madonna. Cherubim and angels, some of whom play on musical instruments, hover above while below

⁽¹⁾ Gal. Naz. Ital., II, 1896, p. 30. *Balviel and Clark*, op. cit., p. 198.

⁽²⁾ v. *Testi*, loc. cit.

⁽³⁾ *Sassi*, *Rassegna Marchigiana*, V, 1927, p. 347.



Fig. 38. Carlo Crivelli, Coronation of the Virgin. Brera Gallery, Milan.

Photo Anderson.

to either side are three saints. They include to the extreme right and left SS. Geminian and Sebastian in the garb of young and elegant noblemen; nearer to the throne we see to the left SS. John the Baptist and Catherine (fig. 39) and to the right SS. Augustine and Francis, the latter in much the same artificial attitude of devotion as the corresponding figure in the painting of 1491 in London. It is a strange picture and one in which we again notice an intermingling of different phases in Crivelli's evolution but the linear effects are not exaggerated. The central figures, and more especially the smooth sweet face of the Virgin, remind us most of the period in which he created the Demidoff altar-piece, that is to say 1476; St. Catherine and the young aristocratic-looking saints are rather mysterious in appearance; the Baptist is an abstruse mystical vision while God the Father and the angels above are more Gothic than the rest of the picture.



Fig. 39. Detail of fig. 38.

Photo Anderson.

However, like the *Madonna della Candeletta* the general impression is a strange enchantment of colour and line with but few elements which approach the human realities of this world.

The simultaneous use of different manners in his later years makes it very difficult to draw up a chronological classification; however there are some works which were certainly executed after 1486 and probably not much earlier than 1490.



Fig. 40. Carlo Crivelli, Pietà. Brera Gallery, Milan.

Photo Anderson.

As such I shall cite the two predella panels in the Brera (204, 205) which originate from the church of S. Domenico, Camerino. I do not know on what authority Herr Drey affirms that they formed part of the triptych of 1482, likewise in the Brera and of the same provenance. They certainly appear to be of later date. On the one are depicted the half-length figures of SS. James, Bernardine and Pilgrim and on the other those of SS. Antony Abbot, Jerome and Andrew (Drey, 88). The morphological types here are as fantastic as the play of lines with which they are drawn. From the time of Amico Ricci onward, doubt has been expressed as to whether or not Carlo Crivelli is their true author and of late Herr Drey has propounded the theory that they are by a particular follower of Crivelli, whom he calls the "Master of the Brera Predella" and to whom he quite logically attributes other works, but I am of the opinion that they are sooner productions of Crivelli's own brush, executed probably at this moment, in any case in this particular manner. One of these works is again a predella; it shows six half-length figures of saints and is preserved in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris (1036, 1036bis); the figures are framed in heavy stone arches and separated one from the other by bunches of fruit. They represent: St. Bartholomew with an enormous sword, a holy bishop, St. Bernard(?), SS. Louis of Toulouse, Jerome and Peter (Drey, 89). Then there are two panels, once exhibited in the museum of Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome, formerly in the Menotti collection, in which the figures are framed in identical arches of masonry and which, although of inferior quality, are of similar execution and style (Drey, 90)⁽¹⁾. Their actual whereabouts is unknown to me.

An important achievement of this late period is the lunette with the Pietà in the Brera Gallery (203) (fig. 40); it was formerly in the Oggioni collection but its original provenance is unknown⁽²⁾. Behind a marble parapet and against a background

⁽¹⁾ *Rassegna Marchigiana*, 1920, p. 62, ascribes them to the school of Carlo Crivelli.

⁽²⁾ In the Brera Gallery it was once upon a time united to the Coronation of the Virgin also from the Oggioni bequest and consequently it was supposed that the Pietà, like the Coronation, also originated from the church of S. Francesco at Fabriano but there is really no connexion between these two works.



Fig. 41. Carlo Crivelli, Crucifixion. Art Institute, Chicago.

Photo Courtesy of Art Institute, Chicago.

of magnificent brocades the dead Saviour is gently supported by the Virgin, the young and handsome Magdalene and St. John. We notice here an abundance of rich materials, as for instance the beautiful dress of St. Mary Magdalene and the piece of stuff

draping the parapet, as well as a display of details of still-life which include an open book on a lectern, a burning candle, an inkstand with a pen, a towel and other objects, all of which are placed on the marble parapet. The design of the features and of the Lord's naked body is particularly hard and metallic and so too is that of the drapery. However, we cannot but admire the daring conventionality of the linear schema and the enchantment of colouring.

Among the other works which bear the hall-mark of this latest development in Crivelli's art I should like to mention two Crucifixions which represent the Lord on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John in distress against a landscape background; the one, now in the Brera (206, Drey, 64) but which A. Ricci (p. 210) saw still in the Dominican Monastery in Fabriano, is perhaps slightly earlier and, as is most noticeable in the two lateral figures, of a lower standard than the example which was acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago from the J. Spiridon collection, Paris (fig. 41); the latter is broader in style, more impressive in dramatic action and severe linearity which particularly suits the rendering of the gloomy rocky landscape ⁽¹⁾.

Of little charm are the lifeless figures of St. George in a very ornate coat of armour standing near the dragon and the rather plain St. Dominic in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (c 862-1 and 2, Drey, 61) and the weak replica of the spirited figure of St. Mary Magdalene in the museum of Berlin, which, with St. Catherine as pendant, is preserved in the National Gallery, London (Drey, 94) ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Van Marle*, Cicerone, 1929, p. 185. No. 15 of the J. Spiridon sale, Berlin, May 1929.

⁽²⁾ Other pictures attributed to Carlo Crivelli are: a head of Christ suffering and a figure of St. Bernardine (*Beeldende Kunst*, XIII, 57) in the Kröller collection, The Hague; SS. Bernardine and Clare in the collection of the late Mr Ellis, Worcester, U.S.A.; a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child seated on her knee, formerly in the Paolini collection which was sold in New York in December 1924; it was acquired later by the Hurd collection, New York; in manner it appeared to be very near to the Madonna of 1470 in the gallery of Macerata; after it was cleaned, however, only a wreck remained but this may have been due to injudicious cleaning. In the L. de Spiridon collection, Rome, there existed an important panel showing Crivelli's signature and representing

Then in the gallery of Berlin there is still a predella (1173, Drey, 1) which is of such poor quality that notwithstanding the apparently genuine signature: "*Opus Karoli Crivelli Veneti*" I cannot bring myself to believe that the defects of this work can be explained either by extreme old age or by youthful inexperience. It represents in three compartments framed by arches the dead Saviour, half out of His tomb, supported by the Virgin and St. John, St. Jerome before the crucifix, and a female saint holding a book and a lily. The St. Jerome, who is nearest to Crivelli's own manner, reflects the style of his last productions and it might quite well be that this predella was executed in the master's workshop towards the end of his career; it is certainly not an early work as Drey and the catalogue of the Berlin gallery assume ⁽¹⁾.

the Virgin nursing the Child in the midst of angels and adorers, No. 27 of the catalogue of the Spiridon sale, Amsterdam, June 1928; it was very much restored, if not altogether of more recent date. Drey, op. cit., pl. 109, reproduces it as a production of Crivelli's school. In the Archbishop's Gallery of Esztergom, Hungary, there are three figures of saints — Antony of Padua, Bernardine and a Dominican monk — which might be by Carlo Crivelli himself; they are attributed to Vittorio Crivelli, by Berenson, op. cit. Reprod in *T. Gerevich* A Krakói Czartoryski-Képtár Olazz Mesterei, Budapest, 1918, fig. 72.

⁽¹⁾ Mr Berenson attributes to Carlo Crivelli still the following pictures: **Poggio di Brella** (Ascoli), Parish Church, Madonna with the Child lying on a parapet, sooner a studio production. **Lille**, Museum, Nos. 970-971, SS. Nicholas and Augustine, Lucy and Margaret (partly) Drey, p. 157, is of opinion that they are not by Carlo Crivelli, v. *Testi*, op. cit., p. 685. **New York**, Metropolitan Museum, No. C 863-1, a Franciscan monk reading; Marshall Field coll., Madonna. **Zurich**, Abegg-Stockar coll., Resurrection, a pinnacle, probably the same as that at one time in the Northbrook coll.

In the Kaufmann coll., Berlin, there is mention of an enthroned Madonna attributed to Carlo Crivelli, *Harck*, Arch. Stor. dell' arte, 1889, p. 206, thought it belonged rather to the school of Murano. Harck however discovered the hand of Crivelli in a picture in the same collection of a man adoring the crucifix, a saint, a standing male figure (a saint?) and an adorer. I do not know the Madonna attributed to Carlo Crivelli in the Brach coll., Berlin, v. *Testi*, op. cit., p. 684, nor that in Stonyhurst College, Lancashire v. *idem*, p. 672.

From Drey's list of works wrongly ascribed to Carlo Crivelli I eliminate those which he attributes to the Master of the Brera Predella and to the Master of the Strasbourg Adoration, all of which I consider to be by

More approximate to Carlo Crivelli's own manner but in all probability executed in his studio and not by his own hand are the polyptych panels which are preserved in the church of Sta. Lucia at Montefiore dell' Aso, near Ascoli; they show the full-length figures of St. Catherine, St. Peter and St. Mary Magdalene, who closely imitates the corresponding figure in Berlin, and above, the busts of SS. Francis, Clare and Louis of Toulouse. Notwithstanding the Franciscan character of the last three saints, these panels have certainly no connexion with the altar-piece from the monastery of the Frati Conventuali Riformati of the same place. The panels in the church of Sta. Lucia, though not without certain qualities, are only an imitation of Crivelli's peculiar grace; it is not impossible that they were painted after

Crivelli. On the other hand I contest Drey's attribution to Carlo Crivelli of the half-length figures of SS. Antony and Bernardine (pl. 43) belonging to the van Heek coll., 's Heerenberg, Holland, which I think are by Vittorio. These are the only cases in which I do not agree with Drey's attributions to the master. Regarding the attribution to Carlo Crivelli — no doubt erroneous — of an altar-piece at Monte San Pietrangeli v. *Testi*, op. cit., p. 687. Another wrong attribution made by *Testi*, op. cit., p. 669, is that of St. Veronica's handkerchief with the Lord's effigy in the Malaspina Museum, Padua, which is by Giambono (v. Vol. VII, p. 364); another made by *L. Venturi*, *La Pittura Veneziana*, p. 191, is that of a Madonna from the de Stuers coll., Paris, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, which is by Greg. Schiavone, v. *R. van Marle*, *Bollettino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, XXVII, 1934, p. 285. A portrait of a youth attributed to C. Crivelli in the Lazzaro coll., Madrid, looks, from the reproduction in the catalogue, I, Madrid, 1925, p. 364, like a falsification.

Besides the lost works enumerated by *Drey*, op. cit., p. 153, I find that *Orsini* in his description of Ascoli p. 171, speaks of "una tavola del Crivelli" in the hospital of Sta. Maria della Carità detto della Scopa; p. 182, an altar-piece signed and dated 1487 of the Madonna, SS. Sebastian, Roch, Nicholas of Bari and Francis in the convent of the Sma. Annunziata; p. 214, in S. Pietro in Castello, a Deposition with the swooning Virgin, the Maries, St. John and Nicodemus, which had greatly suffered but otherwise seemed to Orsini to be the best work by the artist. *H. W. Schulz*, *Denkmaeler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, II, Dresden, 1860, pp. 6 and 7, attributes to Carlo Crivelli a mystic wedding of St. Catherine with three saints in S. Domenico, Ascoli, and a picture of Christ on the Cross and St. Mary Magdalene which was brought from S. Pietro in Castello to the cathedral of the same town but his attributions are without value and he might easily have mistaken works by Alamanno for those of Crivelli.

cartoons by the master. The three half-length figures above however are rather insipid ⁽¹⁾.

* *
* *

The works of the school of Carlo Crivelli are found in great number in The Marches but we have already dealt with many of them in Volume XV. In this district Pietro Alamanno was the chief propagator of Crivelli's art; he even closely imitated the master's manner. Other faithful adherents were Nicola d'Ancona, Folchetti and Cola dell' Amatrice in his earliest phase. A number of Marchigian artists who did not actually belong to his school came under his influence at some moment of their career; as such might be cited Gerolamo di Giovanni, Francesco di Gentile and also, but to a less degree, Lorenzo di Alessandro, as well as such minor artists as Bontullo, Nardini, Matteo da Campli from the Abruzzi and Alunno from Foligno.

Apart from the works by these artists and those of his brother and principal pupil, Vittorio, there are still some productions by more or less close followers, which I shall enumerate in the following list.

Gubbio, Gallery, No. 37, Madonna enthroned between SS. Ubaldo and Francis, a detached fresco from Sta. Maria Nuova; according to *Gnoli*, *Pittori e miniatori nell' Umbria*, Spoleto, 1923, p. 226, it is by Orlando Merlini but this I think is somewhat doubtful v. Vol. XIV, p. 198 note 1.

Montegiorgio (prov. Ascoli), SS. Giovanni e Benedetto, St. Sebastian surrounded by kneeling devotees, *Gallerie nazionali italiane*, II, 1896, p. 232. *Serra*, *Rassegna Marchigiana*, III, 1925, p. 439.

Monteleone (prov. Ascoli), Town Hall, two panels of the Madonna and St. John, *Serra*, loc. cit., "maniera crivellesca alunnesco".

Montelparo (prov. Ascoli), Sta. Maria Novella, Madonna,

⁽¹⁾ Attributed to Crivelli by *G. Cantalamessa*, *Studii Marchigiani*, Macerata, 1907, p. 101 and by *Serra*, *Rassegna Marchigiana*, III, 1925, p. 78 and X, 1932, p. 94. *Berenson* judges it to be partly by Crivelli and partly by an assistant, *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 688 and *Geiger* have, on the other hand, exaggerated the distance which separates this work from Carlo Crivelli.

SS. John the Baptist, Prassede and a female donor, *Serra*, loc. cit., p. 440.

Munich, J. Rosenthal collection, under drawn curtains a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child, Who blesses and holds a globe, standing on a low parapet, a frieze of putti is depicted below, *Drey*, op. cit., pl. 95, ascribes it to his Master of the Strasbourg Adoration.

New York, E. Speyer collection, Madonna in half-length figure facing the spectator against a background of a landscape and a silk curtain; in an affected manner she holds the languid Child seated on a cushion on a parapet in front of her, *Drey*, op. cit., pl. 103.

Offida, Collegiata, the dead Saviour in His tomb, *Serra*, op. cit., p. 441.

Paris, Louvre (Depot 1269), the Lord half arisen from His tomb, supported by two angels, *Drey*, op. cit., pl. 106.

Ex-Dreyfus collection, standing figure of St. Mary Magdalene, *Reinach*, Tableaux inedits etc.

Poggio di Brella (near Ascoli), Parish Church, Madonna adoring the Child Who lies on a parapet, *Serra*, op. cit., p. 435. As I said before, Berenson ascribes it to Carlo Crivelli but I think it is rather a workshop production.

Rome, ex-Nevin collection, the dead Saviour supported by two angels; St. Mary Magdalene, Nos. 226 and 227 of the catalogue of the sale, Rome, April 1927.

Ex-L. de Spiridon collection, angelic musicians, No. 28 of the catalogue of the sale held in Amsterdam in June 1928.

Sant' Agata Feltrie, Congregazione di Carità, Pietà, Christ stands in His coffin supported by the Virgin and St. John; a skull and a wax candle are placed on the edge of the tomb, *Serra*, Rassegna Marchigiana, X, 1932, p. 107, describes it as "manner of Giambellino".

Serra Sanquirico (prov. Ancona), S. Sebastiano, the Child Jesus, SS. Lawrence and Romuald, *Serra*, Rassegna Marchigiana, III, 1925, p. 387.

Tolentino, S. Nicola, lunette, Pietà with four of the faithful supporting the Saviour, *Serra*, Rassegna Marchigiana, III, 1925, p. 426; X, 1932, p. 101; a half-length figure of God the Father blessing, *Serra*, op. cit., p. 99.

Toulouse, Gallery, Nos. 130 and 131, two small rather fine polyptych panels representing SS. John the Evangelist and Nicholas.

Urbino, Gallery, Beato Giovanni della Marca; *Berenson* thinks it is partly by Carlo Crivelli; *Drey*, op. cit., p. 159, says it is wrongly attributed to Carlo Crivelli; it is reproduced in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1917, p. 263.

Venice, Ca d'Oro, Room 5, half-length figure of the Madonna tenderly holding the Child against a landscape background; St. Onuphrius is depicted in adoration; the central figures are copied from Carlo Crivelli's picture in the Victoria and Albert Museum; *Drey*, op. cit., pl. 106, ascribes it to a follower of Carlo Crivelli; *Foggolari*, *Nebbia*, *Moschini*, Guida catalogo of the Ca d'Oro, 1929, p. 107, call it a "rozzo imitazione".

Vienna, Eisler collection, Madonna of similar composition to that in the Ca d'Oro but of much better quality; *Drey*, op. cit., pl. 91, ascribes it to the Master of the Brera Predella.

I find hardly anything which reminds us of Carlo Crivelli's school in two caricature-like profile drawings in the Brera which are called "maniera di Carlo Crivelli" by *F. Malaguzzi Valeri*, *I disegni della R. Pinacoteca di Brera*, Milan, 1912, pl. 1.

As I said at the beginning of this chapter it seems to me very likely that Carlo Crivelli's first teacher was the Venetian painter Giambono. In fact, if we consider the little Madonna with symbols of the Passion in the gallery of Verona as his earliest production, we cannot fail to notice his connexion with that generation of late Gothic painters which flourished in the first half of the same century and of which Giambono was the most talented exponent.

During his entire artistic career Carlo Crivelli never really loses this Gothic touch; this is evident not only in the linear design but also in his taste for detail, in the minutely painted elements from still life, as for instance the utensils on shelves and parapets, and in those representations of flowers and insects which are treated as if they had to serve as illustrations for a book on natural history and of which earlier examples are found among the works of such painters as Pisanello.

Did Carlo Crivelli ever receive instruction from the Paduan

masters? And if so when did he come in contact with them? As I remarked before, the small scene in the background of the same Madonna in Verona would lead us to believe that he was familiar with the art of Mantegna, from whom, moreover, he apparently borrowed the invariable wreath of fruit.

That Carlo Crivelli might have learned his linear and morphological peculiarities from Squarcione would really be the easiest hypothesis, because in Squarcione's polyptych in the gallery of Padua, which was executed between 1449 and 1452, we find as it were the introduction to both these characteristics of Crivelli's manner. Nor would this hypothesis offer any chronological difficulty because we know that Squarcione's career continued until 1474. Squarcione's principles might also have been transmitted to our painter through Schiavone. As a matter of fact, I think that many features of this special group of the Paduan school must have infiltrated into The Marches before Crivelli made it his particular field of activity.

As I have observed elsewhere (Vol. XV, p. 4), painters like Cristoforo da Sanseverino and Angelo da Camerino show a certain connexion with Carlo Crivelli, but as their activity is prior to that of the Venetian master, we are bound to admit a common influence, which must have been that of Squarcione, transmitted in all probability through Schiavone; the latter, as his name indicates, was a Slav and probably made many journeys to and from his own country; during these travels he must sometimes have taken the road through The Marches and it is highly likely that some productions from his brush remained in this province.

However, the Mantegnesque features in Crivelli's Madonna in Verona reveal to us that it was not only in The Marches that he became acquainted with the Paduan school; on the other hand we should not forget that a close connexion existed between The Marches and the school of Padua and that the Marchigian painters Giovanni Francesco da Rimini and Gerolamo di Giovanni worked in that city in 1442 and 1450 respectively.

The strange and personal artistic temperament of Carlo Crivelli, however, gives to his art a very different direction which cannot be called either Paduan or Venetian. He belongs to a group of artists whose dominating interest is grace of line and

as such he can be classified with the Sienese masters of the 14th century, with Botticelli, with certain Ferrarese artists and in recent times with Beardsley.

What counts for them is not the incisive value of the line seen from the point of view of the engraver, as in the case of Mantegna, but rather the joy over a line as a calligraphic fancy, an arabesque, and as a thing of beauty in itself. All artists, who adhere to the belief that before everything a picture should be made out of beautiful lines, have of course a reduced interest in the real appearance of things and the rendering of their visions is anything but natural.

This preconceived idea was in Crivelli's case exaggerated to an extreme. His paintings are quaint, strange, fantastic and often the reverse of real, while the persons he depicts do not at all times lack a touch of caricature or of the ridiculous which he himself certainly did not see. The exaggerated affectation in the form and movements of the fingers, the curiously slit eyes, the pointed noses, the curled and curved feet, the toes, the hair, the anatomy and the disproportioned limbs all belong to a form of aberration which reached its climax years before the end of his career; his last works as we saw show a return to somewhat more normal conceptions.

We do not find, in his indifference to the natural aspect, that sense of abstraction which caused similar effects in the art of the Sienese primitives and that of Botticelli. Crivelli is neither mystical, soft nor tender; his figures at times seem to be made out of bronze; they are often angular and certainly never suave. In order to express his strange aesthetic sense he did not refrain from depicting ugly and grimacing faces. In fact, the only time he attempts to be realistic is when he paints features disfigured by grief and sorrow; in the same way he prefers to represent a tree in its winter garb with naked branches rather than one covered with green leaves.

His colours, too, are as strange and unrealistic as his linear schema; their glow and brilliance were much more precious to the artist than their natural effects which he never seems to have made any attempt to create.

That Crivelli's mind was normal does not seem to be likely; nor does his art reveal the mentality of a calm and happy person.

His figures look harassed and angry and are often convulsed with grief or passion. Although we notice different manners which sometimes he intermingles in one work, consequently making the chronological classification all the more difficult, his art on the whole is not devoid of a certain monotony, and notwithstanding his clever achievements, we cannot actually classify him among the really great figures of the Italian Renaissance. Moreover, like all those who adhered to a convention he has contributed nothing to the further evolution of painting.

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Carlo's most faithful follower was Vittorio Crivelli ⁽¹⁾, in all probability his brother, for not only had they the same family name but also the father of both of them was called Jacopo. There was perhaps still a third brother of the name of Ridolfo, also a painter. The approximate year of Carlo's birth, probably somewhere between 1430 and 1435, gives us but a vague indication of that of Vittorio of whom, however, we find no mention until the year 1481, when he signs an agreement for a panel painting for the church of the Madonna del Loreto at Montelparo, which he seems to have finished only in 1489. In 1481 he was living at Montegranaro; somewhat later he settled in Fermo where he is mentioned in 1487, 1490, 1491, 1493, 1501 and where he died prior to the 21st of April 1502, because on that date his son Jacopo, also a painter, passes on to Antonio Solari the task of finishing a polyptych which his father had begun for the church of S. Francesco at Osimo. Vittorio owned some property and was comfortably well-off.

Vittorio, like Carlo, remained all his life active in small centres in The Marches; consequently his connexion with Venice is quite distant. We might rank him among the provincial Marchigian painters were it not for the fact that his work reveals

(1) *B. Berenson*, Venetian Paintings in America, p. 24. *A. Colasanti*, loc. cit. and La tavola di V.C. in Tallerone, *Rassegna d'Arte*, V, 1905, p. 157. *F. Drey*, Carlo Crivelli, p. 97. *The Same*, op. cit., Pantheon, Nov. 1929, p. 525. *B. Geiger*, V.C., Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, VIII, p. 136. *C. Grigioni*, Notizie biografiche ed artistiche intorno a Vittorio e Giacomo Crivelli, *Rass. bibl. dell' arte ital.*, IX, 1906, p. 109. *F. Mason Perkins*, Due opere inedite di V.C., *Rassegna d'Arte*, VIII, 1908, p. 120. *Serra*, L'arte nelle Marche, II, p. 390.



Fig. 42. Vittorio Crivelli, Madonna and Saints. Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia. Mus. Photo.



Fig. 43. Vittorio Crivelli, Triptych, 1490. Gallery, Montesanmartino.

Photo Ministero Ed. Naz.

something more ambitious and of loftier origin. His decorative effects are almost as rich and elaborate as those of Carlo, and although far from Carlo's virtuosity, his design is handsome and not unrefined. His figures, however, are lifeless and the features of a monotonous similarity. His works lead us to believe that he was a painter of some skill but no temperament and, psychologically speaking, far removed from his imaginative brother; none

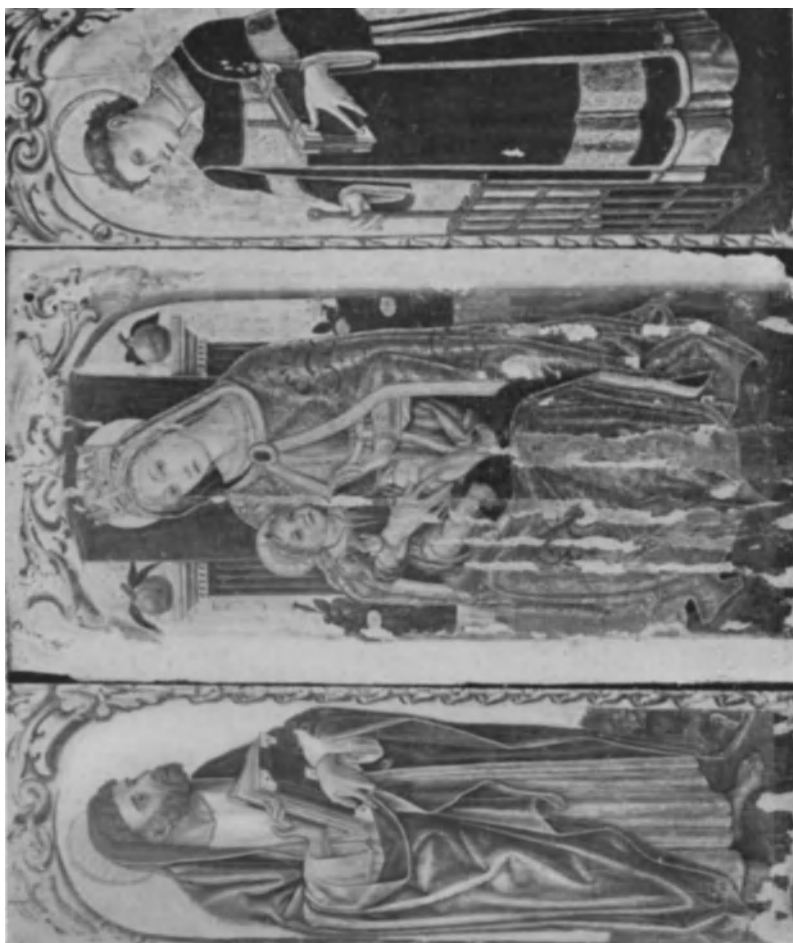


Fig. 44. Vittorio Crivelli, Triptych. Municipio, Ripatransone.

Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.

the less his best productions are quite pleasing. He did not hesitate before imposing enterprises and created quite a number of important polyptychs, among which we find his best works.

There can be no doubt that Vittorio was well on in years when he executed the altar-piece of 1489 which passed from the Wilstach collection, into the Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia (fig. 42) ⁽¹⁾. It is the earliest and at the same time one of the

⁽¹⁾ *Perkins*, op. cit., *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908. *Drey*, op. cit., *Pantheon*.

finest productions we have from his hand. The central group of the Madonna enthroned in the midst of four angels is of a particularly graceful line and indeed here he falls little short of Carlo when not quite at his best. Of the four lateral saints — Bernardine, John the Baptist, Louis of Toulouse and Francis — the two holy Franciscan bishops are finer than the two other saints who are rather clumsy in appearance.

We have, in all, four dated works by Vittorio and the next in order was executed the following year. It is preserved in the church of S. Martino at Montesanmartino ⁽¹⁾ and represents the Madonna enthroned between two angels with two holy bishops in the wings and the Crucifixion above. At the foot of the polyptych we read the signature "*Opus Victoris Crivelli Veneti M.CCCCLXXX*" (fig. 43). This painting is not nearly so charming as that in Philadelphia. The head of the Virgin is the most pleasing part but the other figures are heavy and without much expression and the drapery is wooden.

In the linear treatment of his finest works Vittorio shows some connexion with his more talented brother and teacher. Among these productions should be included in the first place a triptych of the Madonna with the Child enthroned between SS. Mark and Lawrence in the museum of Ripatransone (fig. 44) ⁽²⁾.

Very handsome too is the Madonna on a decorative throne with the Child on her knee, which forms the central part of Vittorio's most elaborate polyptych, that in the church of S. Giovanni at Torre di Palme (fig. 45) ⁽³⁾; four saints accompany the Virgin; four half-length figures of saints, the Saviour and two angels are seen above, while the busts of the Lord and the Twelve Apostles adorn the predella. Apart from the central panel the rest of the altar-piece is of but little artistic merit.

A beautiful work from the hand of Vittorio is a Madonna in half-length figure adoring the Child Who lies on a low wall in front of her, in the Liechtenstein Gallery, Vienna (860) (fig. 46), where it is catalogued as a work by Carlo. More predominant

⁽¹⁾ Gallerie Naz. Ital., II, p. 219. *Drey*, Crivelli, pl. 81.

⁽²⁾ Bollettino d'Arte, XXVI, 1933, p. 389.

⁽³⁾ *Perkins*, op. cit., Rassegna d'Arte, VI; Rassegna Marchigiana, III, pl. XXVIII. *Drey*, Crivelli, pl. 80, the Madonna alone.



Fig. 45. Vittorio Crivelli, Polyptych. S. Giovanni, Torre di Palme.

Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.

than the latter's influence is that of the schools of Padua and Ferrara, but this is the only case in Vittorio's career in which there is evidence of this influence.

Another very finely designed work is that of the Virgin with the Child, Who holds a little bird, seated in front of her between two adoring angels. This painting, which is signed "*Opus Victoris*



Fig. 46. Vittorio Crivelli, Madonna. Liechtenstein Collection, Vienna.



Fig. 47. Vittorio Crivelli, *Madonna and Angels*. Ex-Benson Collection, London.

Crivelliu Veneti”, was formerly in the Benson collection, London, and not long ago was for sale in New York (fig. 47) ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Reprod in *Venturi, Storia dell'arte italiana*, VII³, fig. 307. Bur-



Fig. 48. Vittorio Crivelli, St. Bonaventura and Adorer. Jacquemart André Museum, Paris. Photo Bulloz.



Fig. 49. Vittorio Crivelli, Pietà. Sta. Lucia, Fermo.

Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.

The same inscription is found at the foot of a painting representing St. Bonaventura holding a book, a cardinal's hat and a tree on which the Saviour is crucified; we see, besides, the lington Fine Arts Club, (Exhibition of) Early Venetian Pictures, London, 1912, pl. 5. Catalogue of Italian Pictures collected by R. and E. Benson, London, 1914, No. 72.

Virgin and different Franciscan monks and below, a small friar kneeling in adoration; this picture is preserved in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris (fig. 48). Particularly fine for their decorative qualities are two polyptych panels of SS. Jerome and Bonaventura in the vom Rath collection, Amsterdam (1).

Of a draughtsmanship which closely approaches that of Carlo is a picture of St. Jerome in penitence with a rock in the background, which was at one time in the J. Spiridon collection, Paris (2).

A strong influence of Carlo is also observed in the technique and execution of a half-length figure of St. Antony Abbot in the Platt collection, Englewood, U.S.A., previously in the Nevin collection, Rome (3).

The extent to which Vittorio's temperament differed from that of Carlo is clearly manifest when we compare Vittorio's Pietà of the half-length figure of the dead Saviour, held upright by the Virgin and St. John, in the sacristy of Sta. Lucia at Fermo (fig. 49), in which great sorrow is expressed in a subdued manner, with those of Carlo, in which we always find a display of tragic frenzy (4). In the same church there is a rather indifferent Madonna with the Child in the midst of cherubim (fig. 50) (5), while in that of Sta. Maria at Capodarco, quite near Fermo, there is a painting of no better quality of the Madonna with SS. John the Baptist, Bonaventura, Bernardine and Francis (6). That Vittorio settled down in Fermo sometime after 1480 makes it very likely that these panels were executed after that year. The same can be said of a Madonna with the Child between two angelic musicians and below, two groups of the members of a confraternity and SS. Syl-

(1) No. 102 of the catalogue of the Exhibition of Italian Art in Dutch possession, Amsterdam, 1934.

(2) No. 17 of the catalogue of the sale of the collection, Berlin, May 1929.

(3) No. 322 and plate 5 of the catalogue of the sale of the Nevin coll., Rome, April 1907. *Perkins*, op. cit., *Rassenga d'Arte*, 1908.

(4) I have seen the photograph of a similar composition, no doubt by Vittorio, which includes, as well, St. Mary Magdalene kissing the Saviour's right hand; this work shows much more life and dramatic expression. I have no idea where the original is.

(5) Both of them have been assigned, without any reason, to the school of Vittorio by *A. Colasanti*, *L'Arte*, VII, 1910, p. 416.

(6) *Gallerie Naz. Ital.*, II, p. 214.



Fig. 50. Vittorio Crivelli, Madonna. Sta. Lucia, Fermo.
Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.

vester, Ruffinus Lawrence and Francis, which is found in the Confraternità dell' Immacolata Concezione at Massa Fermana ⁽¹⁾. At S. Elpidio di Monsanpietro in the same region we find another dated work by Vittorio; it represents the Madonna and Child between SS. Roch, Elpidius, Antony of Padua and Lucy and, in the pinnacles, the Annunciation and the Lord half arisen from His tomb.

Vittorio left still another work at Montesanmartino. It is that in the church of Sta. Maria del Pozzo and depicts the Madonna between SS. Peter and Paul and above, Christ crowned with thorns, the archangel Gabriel and St. Martin in half-length figures. The predella of this picture, which seems at one time to have shown the signature and the date 1489, is missing ⁽²⁾.

Other evidence of Vittorio's activity in this region, that is to say in the vicinity of Amandola, is found in the church of S. Fortunato at Falerone, where a Madonna adoring the Child with two angels is preserved, on which the supposed date of 1489 has been deciphered ⁽³⁾, and in the Franciscan monastery of Montefalcone, in the form of an important polyptych showing the Madonna and Child between SS. Catherine, John the Baptist, Francis and Louis of Toulouse and above, the half-length figures of the dead Saviour with the Virgin and St. John, SS. Antony of Padua, Giacomo della Marca, Bonaventura and Bernardine. Although rather rustic in appearance, this painting is not without charm.

At Sarnano, near by, Vittorio has repeated in the church of S. Francesco the composition of the picture at Manignano, with the Madonna standing between two angels and adoring the Child, Who lies on the ground, but here the Virgin is turned to the other side and the work is of finer technique ⁽⁴⁾. Manignano is to the south of Fermo and the picture in question, which is found in the town hall, is of very mediocre quality. Four polyptych panels in the little gallery of Ripatransone are of much better technique;

⁽¹⁾ Gallerie Naz. Ital., II, p. 214.

⁽²⁾ Idem, p. 218.

⁽³⁾ Gallerie Naz. Ital., II, p. 214. *A. Colasanti*, Rassegna d'Arte, V, 1905, p. 157. A document of the end of the 18th century gives the date of the picture as 1484 but what remains visible on the painting excludes this date.

⁽⁴⁾ Rassegna Marchigiana, III, 1925, pl. 22.



Fig. 51. Vittorio Crivelli, Coronation of the Virgin. Gallery,
S. Elpidio al Mare.

Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.

they represent St. Leonard and Beato Giovanni della Marca in full-length figure and the busts of SS. Ursula and Placidus. In the parish church of Cupra Maritima, only a few miles from here, there is a triptych of the Madonna adoring the Child accompanied by two angels and SS. Bassus and Sebastian, while at Montepandone, not far distant, a Coronation of the Virgin is preserved in the church of S. Francesco.

At S. Elpidio al Mare, which is to the north of Fermo but really nearer to Montegranaro, and where Vittorio lived before he settled in Fermo, we find two important works from his hand, now both in the town hall. One of them is an imposing polyptych with the Coronation of the Virgin in the centre (fig. 51) and to the sides SS. Bonaventura, John the Baptist, Francis and Louis of Toulouse; above we see the dead Saviour half arisen from His tomb and on separate panels the Virgin, SS. John, Antony of Padua, Elpidius, Mary Magdalene and Bernardine, while the predella shows the Circumcision, the Presentation in the Temple, the Visitation, the Nativity of St. John and two other scenes from the childhood of this saint ⁽¹⁾. Not only is the drawing very forceful but we notice here, particularly in the central group but also in the figure of St. John the Baptist and in many of the faces, an extraordinary gift for plastic effects, of which until now we had found little sign in Vittorio's works. Can it be that this painting belongs to an earlier phase in the master's career? If so, the other work must have been executed at quite a different period because it shows no trace of this quality. Here the centre is occupied by a scene of the Visitation (fig. 52) and the lateral panels by SS. John the Baptist and Francis; above, we see a representation of the Crucifixion composed of four figures. There were, no doubt, still some other parts belonging to this altar-piece which is of very mediocre quality ⁽²⁾.

In quite another region of The Marches we find Vittorio's most important polyptych; it is that which was formerly in the church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie but is now in the gallery of Sanseverino ⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Drey*, Crivelli, pl. 79. *Rassegna Marchigiana*, III, pl. 26 (detail).

⁽²⁾ When still in the S. Francesco church it was attributed to the school of Carlo; *Gal. Naz. Ital.*, II, 1896, p. 231.

⁽³⁾ *Rushford*, op. cit., pl. at p. 78. *Rassegna Marchigiana*, I, 1923, p. 460. *L. Serra*, *Le Gallerie comunale delle Marche*, Rome, no date, p. 155, pl. 49.



Fig. 52. Vittorio Crivelli, the Visitation. Gallery, S. Elpidio al Mare.

Photo Minst. Ed. Naz.

In an elaborately carved Venetian frame, with the busts of God the Father and four prophets in the pinnacles, we see in the centre the Madonna and to the sides St. Severinus, holding the model of

a church, St. John the Baptist, St. Francis and St. Louis of Toulouse, above are the half-length figures of the dead Saviour, the Virgin and St. John, as well as those of SS. Mary Magdalene, Bonaventura, Bernardine and Catherine of Alexandria. The Last Supper and twelve half-length figures of saints are depicted on the predella. The quality of this painting is not superior to that of most of Vittorio's works but the general effect is particularly decorative.

There are still quite a number of productions from the hand of Vittorio Crivelli but a brief enumeration of them will suffice (1).

(1) **Altenburg**, Gallery, No. 107, bust of an Evangelist (?); it is strongly reminiscent of Niccolo da Foligno. **Baltimore**, Walters coll., No. 709, St. John the Baptist and a holy bishop; No. 566, Ecce Homo; they are ascribed to Francesco di Gentile by *Berenson*, op. cit. and *Serra*, *Rassegna Marchigiana*, 1933, p. 74. I am rather doubtful about this attribution v. Vol. XV, p. 75 note 4. **Berlin**, for sale, May 1925, predella panel showing half-length figures of the Lord and two saints. **Brooklyn**, Museum, large Madonna enthroned with the Child standing on her knee. **Budapest**, Gallery, Pálffy bequest, No. 24, Madonna. **Cambridge**, Fitzwilliam Museum, No. 106a, triptych, Madonna enthroned between two angels, SS. Bonaventura and Louis of Toulouse, and in the predella four pairs of saints in half-length figure. **Cambridge, U.S.A.**, Fogg Art Museum, St. Jerome in bust-length, holding the model of a church, a fine specimen. **Düsseldorf**, Hauth coll., Madonna enthroned nursing the Child between St. Nicholas and another holy bishop with the half-length figure of St. Lawrence between those of SS. Peter and Jerome above; *Drey*, op. cit., Pantheon, fig. on p. 526. **Florence**, Stibbert Museum, SS. Dominic and Catherine (*Drey* 105); Ergas coll., full-length figure of a holy monk, no. 98 of the catalogue of the sale held in Milan: for sale, April 1928, two polyptych panels, SS. John the Baptist and Nicholas. **Genoa**, for sale, 1927, half-length figure of a holy pope magnificently attired and in benediction. **Gubbio**, Pietà (*Berenson*, op. cit.). **Le Puy**, Crozatier Museum, two coarsely painted panels of SS. Michael and Peter as pope. **London**, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 265 (1865), half-length figures of SS. Catherine and Jerome; Northbrook coll., SS. Bernardine and Clare (*Drey*, 105); Priestly coll., the dead Saviour supported by the Virgin, SS. John and Mary Magdalene; Wagner coll., sold in London, January 1925, dead Saviour supported by three angels, from the HowelWills coll., 1894; White-Thomson coll., sold in London, February 1934, polyptych panels of the Madonna and two saints with half-length figures of saints above. **Marseilles**, Gallery, No. 289, youthful martyr-knight (*Berenson* op. cit.). **New York**, Bayer coll., half-length figure of the Madonna, with two angels, adoring the Child; Blumenthal coll., Madonna and two angels; Lehman coll., St. Peter; Ch. S. Smith coll., No. 25 of the sale catalogue, New York, Jany.

Vittorio was not really an important painter and without Carlo, his brother and master, would hardly have existed. He borrowed from Carlo his style, his type and his decorative princi-

1935, dead Saviour supported by three angels, attributed to Carlo. **Orleans**, Gallery, Virgin standing between two angelic musicians with cherubim above, adoring the Child Who lies on the ground, where we see also a vase of pinks (fig. 53); it is more elaborate but not superior to the above mentioned examples of this composition. **Oxford**, Ashmolean Museum, No. 301, St. Catherine; No. 314, St. John the Baptist, both mediocre works. **Paris**, ex-J. Spiridon coll., predella panel, the Last Supper, no. 17 of the sale of the collection, Berlin, May 1929; on the art market, Virgin enthroned with the nude Child standing on her knee, between two angelic musicians, signed and dated 1497 (*Drey*, Crivelli, pl. 83); SS. Francis and Louis of Toulouse, two polyptych panels of very good quality. **Rome**, ex-de Spiridon coll., (doubtful), half-length figure of the Madonna holding in front of her the Child Who blesses and grasps an apple, no. 29 of catalogue of the sale, Amsterdam, June 1928; on the art market many years ago, polyptych panel, standing figure of St. Peter as pope. **Senlis**, Gallery, Madonna and angels, dated 1501 (*Berenson*, op. cit.). **s'Heerenberg** (Holland), van Heek coll., half-length figures of SS. Antony of Padua and Bernardine of Siena, *Drey*, Crivelli, fig. 43, reproduces them as by Carlo Crivelli; no. 101 of the exhibition of ancient Italian art in Dutch possession, Amsterdam, 1934. **Vienna**, Lanckoronski coll., half-length figure of the Madonna clasping with both arms crossed over His little body the Child Who stands on her knee; Madonna in half-length figure adoring the Child Who is seated in front of her and bestows a blessing; it shows a Ferrarese influence but is of inferior quality. A picture of the Madonna in half-length figure adoring the sleeping Child between St. Francis and a bearded saint, to me known only by photo, was once in a Le Roy coll., I know not where.

Among the pictures wrongly attributed to Vittorio I include: a panel of the dead Christ between two angels in the gallery of Jesi (*Berenson*, op. cit.); I believe it to be by Nicola di Maestro Antonio (v. Vol. XV, p. 97); a Madonna between SS. Roch and Catherine with the dead Saviour above in the gallery of Ascoli Piceno (74) (*Berenson*, op. cit.), which I ascribe to Pietro Alamanno (Vol. XV, p. 85, fig. 50, where a wrong reference is given under the illustration). To Vittorio have been attributed also a Madonna with SS. Lawrence and Lucy in the church of S. Lorenzo at Carasai (Gall. Naz. Ital., II, p. 209), which is by Pagani, and a picture of the Virgin between the holy pope St. Ciprian and St. Catherine, once upon a time at Castel Fulignano (*idem*, p. 209) but now disappeared. In the Collegiata of Marano (Grottamare) a Madonna adoring the Child with angels and cherubim was considered to be a poor work executed in his manner (*idem*, p. 204).

A print of about a century old, of which I do not know the origin, shows



Fig. 53. Vittorio Crivelli, Adoration of the Child. Gallery, Orleans. Photo Bulloz.

ples; in fact it was in the last mentioned element that he most closely approached his more talented brother. He shows us rich ornaments which include fruit, flowers, gold and brilliant colours. He was devoid of dramatic temperament. All his pictures resemble one another and there is little variety in his choice of types. Nor can it be said that there is any trace of evolution in his career. Although the polyptych of the Coronation of the Virgin at S. Elpidio al Mare does, as I said before, excel in plastic effects this is too isolated an instance for us to admit that this quality characterizes a whole period of his activity.

us a painting signed: "*Victor de Crivellis Venet pinxit*"; it represents the Madonna, in half-length figure, standing behind a wall on which the Child Jesus stands and on which we see a carnation and an insect; a landscape was visible in the background; at that time it belonged to John Strange, the English minister in the republic of Venice. Judging from the engraving it seems to have been a particularly fine specimen with Ferrarese elements and in style not unlike the pleasing Madonna in the Liechtenstein Gallery.

There exists a niello-print, a copy of which is found in the print room of the British Museum (Vol. III, 1865-7-8-81), which shows two tondi, one with the Deposition under the Cross, the other with the Virgin and Child, the infant St. John and two female saints; they are separated by an image of the Crucified and the frame is adorned with eight half-length figures of saints; a very strong influence of Vittorio Crivelli is evident in this work.

CHAPTER II

BARTOLOMEO ⁽¹⁾ AND ALVISE VIVARINI.

If, on the one hand, we have very few records concerning Bartolomeo Vivarini ⁽²⁾, on the other hand, it is not difficult to follow his career through the many signed and dated works he has left to us. As a matter of fact the earliest of these gives us the date of his birth. It is a picture of the Madonna in half-length figure, evidently standing in adoration behind the sleeping Child, which at one time was in the collection of Sir Hugh Lane, London, and on which we read the curious inscription: "*Ba(r)tolomei Vi(v)arini De Murano anos VI et X natus sua manu pinxit MCCCCXLVIII*" ⁽³⁾; consequently the year of his birth was 1432.

Bartolomeo's brother Antonio was in all probability considerably older. Bartolomeo, as we saw when dealing with Antonio,

⁽¹⁾ *C. Aru*, Un quadro di B.V., *L'Arte*, VIII, 1905, p. 205. *B. Berenson*, Venetian Pictures in America, p. 13. *T. Bovenius*, Three Paintings by B.V., *Burlington Magazine*, XIX, 1911, p. 192. *G. Cagnola*, Una opera inedita della scuola di Murano, *Rassegna d'Arte*, III, 1903, p. 116. *The Same*, Il V. di Viadana, *Rassegna d'Arte*, VII, 1907, p. 139. *G. Castelfranco*, Il polittico di B.V., nella chiesa di Aurio, *Dedalo*, IX, 1928, p. 354. *E. Galli*, *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1930, p. 173. *G. Gallo*, Un dipinto di V. ed altre opere dimenticate in Calabria, *La Vita*, 20th Nov. 1907. *G. Milanese*, Commentary on Vasari's life of Carpaccio: *Vasari*, ed. Milanese, III, p. 670. *V. Moschini*, Rivedendo alcune opere di B. V., *L'Arte*, XXXVIII, 1935, p. 201. *G. Nocca*, Un opera poco conosciuta di B.V., *Rassegna d'Arte*, XIX, 1919, p. 155. *F. Mason Perkins*, Una tavola di B.V., *Rassegna d'Arte*, VIII, 1908, p. 145. *Ridolfi*, *Maraviglie dell'arte*, ed. von Hadeln, I, p. 38. *E. Sinigaglia*, *De' Vivarini pittori da Murano*, Bergamo, 1905. *A. Venturi*, Un opera di A. e B. Vivarini nell' Isola d'Arbe, *L'Arte*, XXII, 1919, p. 226.

⁽²⁾ *P. Paoletti und G. Ludwig*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XXII, 1899, p. 1. *Ludwig*, *Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml.*, XXVI, 1905, Beiheft, p. 15.

⁽³⁾ *T. Bovenius*, *op. cit.*

collaborated with this brother for the first time in 1450, then again in 1451, 1452, 1458 and apparently also in 1462 and 1464.

From 1459, when he signed and dated the picture of Beato Giovanni da Capestrano, now in the Louvre, and the half-length figure of the Madonna in the Glass Museum of Murano, until 1491, the year of his last dated work, hardly a year passes but we have a dated production by Bartolomeo whose paintings, in fact, are very numerous.

Apart from the evidence of his activity we know only few and unimportant facts concerning his life. In 1458 his sister-in-law Antonia nominates in her will Bartolomeo and not her husband as executor. In 1463 and 1464, when he lived in the Sta. Maria Formosa quarter of the town, he figures as witness, while again in 1465 he is appointed one of the two executors of a will. In 1467 he, together with Andrea da Murano, receives an important order for a picture in two panels for the Scuola di San Marco; if the artists are successful in this enterprise they are to receive the same payment as Jacopo Bellini. Various contributions were made in 1470 for the triptych in Sta. Maria Formosa which Bartolomeo achieved in 1473. In 1483 and 1487 mention is made of the painter's daughter Elisabetta, who receives small legacies; in 1490 her husband makes a settlement in her favour. A painter of the name of Bartolomeo who in 1488 takes a boy of ten as his pupil is perhaps not the same as our artist.

We do not know the year of Bartolomeo's death; his signature with the date 1490 appears on a panel of St. Barbara in the gallery of Venice, while the last date connected with his name is that of 1491 which we read on a triptych in the gallery of Bergamo, but there exists a certain doubt as to whether or not this work is from his hand. Some have judged it to be partly by the master, others as a mere school production. I do not agree with those who wish to associate with Bartolomeo's name the date 1499 which some critics deciphered on the picture of the Death and Assumption of the Virgin, formerly in the Butler collection, London; others pretend that the year inscribed was 1480. Besides, even the attribution to Bartolomeo is uncertain. It is hardly likely that after an interval of eight or nine years Bartolomeo would reappear as painter. I am of the opinion that the date of his death should be placed in 1491 or very soon after.

Bartolomeo's first dated production, that of 1448, at one time in the Hercolani collection, Bologna, later in the Lane collection, London, might at the most be called a pretty picture but it does not reveal the author at the age of sixteen as a precocious youth. It has not very much character but any it has points to an influence of Padua (1) rather than a domination of the elder brother Antonio. We are in the first place struck by the fact that during the same year Mantegna signed his altar-piece for the church of Sta. Sofia in Padua in the same manner, that is to say with mention of his age and the year of execution. Mantegna was only one year older than Bartolomeo and although infinitely more gifted it seems hardly likely that a youth of seventeen could have had a boy of sixteen as his pupil, or even that he could have very deeply influenced him.

The childish satisfaction that Bartolomeo may have felt in informing the public that he was a year younger than Mantegna when the latter painted the altar-piece for Sta. Sofia, must, if he had any sense of artistic values, have been greatly mitigated by a comparison of their respective ability. On the whole it is more probable that they were pupils of the same Paduan master, who must have been Squarcione.

Consequently, it must have been from this master that Bartolomeo borrowed those incisive linear effects which even in his early collaboration with his brother, differentiate his part from that of Antonio. It was no doubt also Squarcione who gave him the idea of the wreath of fruit as decorative motif which, as a matter of fact, is a typical feature of the Paduan school.

The next dated work by Bartolomeo would be the polyptych at Viadana; it is an ambitious enterprise consisting of fourteen panels and is dated 1449 (2). It is not true, however, that the picture is signed; only the letters *Barthol.* can be deciphered. The style of the figures here is decidedly different from that of the small Madonna of the previous year. The Paduan elements are not altogether absent but intermingle with a late Gothicism, especially noticeable in the drapery. The picture is really not

(1) As Professor *L. Fiocco*, *L'Arte di Mantegna*, Bologna, 1927, p. 177, has already observed.

(2) *Von Fabriczy*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, V, 1905, p. 187. *Cagnola*, idem, VII, 1907, p. 139, is of opinion that this polyptych is not by Bartolomeo.

at all characteristic of Bartolomeo Vivarini and I do not see sufficient reason to believe him to be its author.

Bartholomeo collaborated with his elder brother in the execution of the polyptych of 1450, now in the gallery of Bologna. As I pointed out in the previous volume, Bartolomeo seems to have executed the figures of SS. Jerome and Augustine and the bodies of SS. John the Baptist and Nicholas, while Antonio can be held responsible for the heads of these figures and the rest of the altar-piece (fig. 16 of vol. XVII). As I said when dealing with Antonio Vivarini, it was also Bartolomeo who painted the figure of St. Bartholomeo in the triptych in the Cagnola collection, Milan.

During the next decade, roughly speaking between 1450 and 1460, we notice from Bartolomeo's achievements that he is alternately dominated by these two outstanding tendencies; at one time it is the influence of Antonio that gets the upper hand and at another the Paduan elements — those due chiefly to Mantegna predominate — but for a considerable length of time after this period we notice traces of Antonio's influence.

It is chiefly in his polyptychs that Bartolomeo remains faithful to Antonio's teaching, and this is perhaps only natural because it was more often in these important enterprises that the brothers collaborated. In the polyptych of 1458 at Arbe (Vol. XVII, fig. 18) they shared in the execution. Bartolomeo painted probably the half-length figures of SS. Jerome and John and the full-length figures of SS. Francis and Antony of Padua. In the same convent of St. Eufemia at Arbe there are two other polyptych panels, no doubt of about the same year, which I believe to be a production of Bartolomeo while he was still working under Antonio (1).

I think that Bartolomeo can in all probability be held responsible for the figures of SS. Peter, Nicholas and Paul in the altar-piece of 1462 at Pausola, for the busts of SS. Jerome and Peter in that of 1464 from Pesaro, now in the Vatican Gallery (Vol. XVII, fig. 18), and for most of the polyptych of the same year at Osimo, of which Antonio painted only the half-length figures of the dead Christ and St. Catherine and the standing figures of SS. Peter and Antony.

(1) *A. Dudam, La Dalmazia nell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1921, p. 393.

Somewhat weak is the polyptych in the church of S. Francesco at Matera (Basilicata) ⁽¹⁾. It is an imposing work and shows in the centre the Madonna seated on a Renaissance throne with the Child standing on her knee and to the sides, on eight separate panels, the Saints Bernardine, Catherine, Antony, Paul, Louis of Toulouse, Elizabeth of Hungary, Peter and Francis. Some of them are different in appearance and it has been supposed that they were executed by a pupil who was perhaps of Umbrian origin ⁽²⁾. I am not, however, of this opinion. The forms are smooth and round but the proportions are elongated, and we are strongly reminded of the late Gothic style to which Antonio to a certain extent still adhered.

I think it was during the same sojourn in the south of Italy that Bartolomeo, rather than Lazzaro Bastiani to whom Mr Berenson attributes it, executed the now isolated panel of St. Antony of Padua in the church of S. Andrea at Barletta, which is very similar in style.

Three polyptych panels by Bartolomeo, which not long ago were transferred to the museum of Taranto, originate from the Aurio church at Lecce in the same region ⁽³⁾. These paintings, which are very much damaged, show the Madonna enthroned holding the nude Child standing on her knee between SS. Benedict and Scolastica. The saints are stiff and rigid but the Madonna and Child are of a much more fascinating appearance and in type and technique give us a glimmering of Bartolomeo's more mature manner.

The last dated work of this particular style, in which Bartolomeo executed his polyptychs and in which much of Antonio's influence persisted, is that of 1459 in the Louvre (1607) representing St. Giovanni da Capestrano, not unlike St. Bernardine in appearance, holding a book and a banner. The drapery and plastic effects are more evolved and this rather unattractive piece of painting is not without technical qualities; consequently I find no reason to agree with those who believe it to be a school production;

⁽¹⁾ *W. Arslan*, *Magna Graecia*, I, 1928, p. 85. *E. Galli*, *Bollettino d'Arte del Minist. dell' Educazione Nazionale*, X, 1930, p. 172.

⁽²⁾ *Galli*, *op. cit.*

⁽³⁾ *Castelfranco*, *op. cit.*



Fig. 54. Bartolomeo Vivarini, St. Giovanni da
Capestrano. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.

furthermore it shows the signature: "*Opus batholomei Viarini de Murano 1459*" (fig. 54).

Of the same year is the panel of the Madonna in the Museo Vetrario of Murano; she is shown in half-length figure with hands folded in adoration and behind her a piece of the back of the throne is visible. Were not the signature and date inscribed at the foot of the painting this panel might very easily have been taken for a fragment of a larger work. Perhaps the artist himself cut it off in this manner from a more important picture which for some reason or other did not satisfy him. The Virgin here is rather round and robust in appearance and is more reminiscent of Bartolomeo's later works than of those in which Antonio's influence still predominates. The incisiveness of design, however, is not yet as strongly developed as in his first typically individual dated work, namely the polyptych of 1464 in the gallery of Venice.

Perhaps we should place in the early sixties a few panels which are generally, but not always, ascribed to Bartolomeo Vivarini and which are characterized by that particular Paduan manner which might be called Mantegnesque.

Here we enter into a very intricate question which involves a series of pictures, beginning with the Madonna in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (27) (which was attributed to Andrea Mantegna by Bode and Kristeller and after much controversy, in which this opinion was contradicted, is again given to this master by Testi, Fiocco and in the last catalogue of the museum) and ending with the Adoration of the Magi in the Morgan Library, New York, which is certainly by Bartolomeo.

In the volume on Mantegna in the series of the "Klassiker der Kunst" the author has suggested Bartolomeo Vivarini as the possible master of the panel in Berlin which he judges unworthy of Mantegna while Mr Berenson is of the opinion that it is a copy after Mantegna (fig. 55). I certainly do not believe that Mantegna executed this painting and I think that it is quite likely by Bartolomeo, after an original which Mantegna must have painted between the altar-piece of S. Zeno in Verona and the triptych in the Uffizi, that is to say an early work of about 1460⁽¹⁾. Among

(1) The coat of arms of the Veronese family Bevilaqua also points to Mantegna's Veronese period which was an early phase in his career.



Fig. 55. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna*. Museum, Berlin. Mus. Photo.

the productions of Mantegna we know one picture which, notwithstanding some variations, might have served as model for the panel in Berlin; it is the *Madonna and Child in the midst of cherubim* formerly in the Friedsam collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum.

The central panel of the picture in Berlin shows, below a wreath of fruit, the half-length figure of the Virgin holding the Child Who, with His mouth open, is seated on a cushion on a low wall; this part appears to be superior to the angels and cherubim who alternate in the painted frame. Of the two central figures there



Fig. 56. Bartolomeo Vivarini, Madonna and Angels. Poldi Pezzoli Gallery,
 Milan. Photo Anderson.

existed at one time a free but rather ruined copy in the Butler collection, London ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Mantegna, in *Klassiker der Kunst*, p. 158.



Fig. 57. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna*. Lee of Fareham Collection, Richmond.

The painter to whom we owe the panel in Berlin executed, I think, also a *Madonna* in the Poldi Pezzoli Gallery, Milan (fig. 56).

The *Madonna*, who is attired in rich velvet and holds the Child on a cushion on her knee, is depicted in the midst of six angelic musicians; two other angels hold a crown above her head while God the Father and the dove appear above the curtain which forms the background; garlands of fruit adorn the upper corners

of the picture. The types, the round heads, the sharply pronounced features and the muscular limbs are still more obviously Paduan; the light and shade effects are very pronounced. This picture might in a way be an introduction to Bartolomeo's art as we are most familiar with it, but it is certainly not by one of his followers as is sometimes supposed.

Slightly inferior but again from the same hand is a picture in the gallery of Padua in which the Madonna, in a pink velvet dress, is represented seated on a metal throne adoring the sleeping Child Who lies on her knee; a landscape with hills in the distance and a wreath of fruit fill up the background.

I feel less sure of the attribution to the same artist of a Madonna in half-length figure which some time ago was for sale, first in Berlin, then in Paris; a thin veil covers her head, a cut velvet dress is visible under her cloak, the edge of which is draped on the wall and protects the Child's feet from the cold stone. The same applies to a similar composition in which the nude Child stands on a cushion and caresses the face of His Mother who offers Him a flower; this work was for sale in Munich in 1931. The type here is slightly different from the more Mantegnesque panels, and more closely approximates to that of the early works which Bartolomeo executed under the influence of Antonio.

There are still some other pictures which are Mantegnesque in appearance but which point towards Bartolomeo's manner and are in all probability by him. Many years ago I saw in Rome a half-length figure of the Madonna dressed in rich velvet; she holds the right foot of the nude Child Who stands on her knee and grasps her cloak at the neck. I know only from a photograph the picture belonging to Count Enzenberg, Tratzberg Castle, in which the Virgin is depicted adoring the nude Child Who is seated before her on a low wall, on which also a book and an apple are seen; a wreath of fruit hangs in the arch which forms the background.

A work which is very much inspired by Mantegna but is generally admitted to be by Bartolomeo is the Madonna in half-length figure holding the Child, Who has two cherries in his right hand, upright in front of her, formerly in the Rushford collection, now in that of Viscount Lee of Fareham (fig. 57)⁽¹⁾. The landscape

⁽¹⁾ Burlington Fine Arts Club, (Exhibition of) Early Venetian Pictures, London, 1912, No. 4, pl. 3. International Studio, February 1930, p. 26.



Fig. 58. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna and Saints*. National Gallery, London. Photo Nat. Gal.

background is intersected by a richly carved Renaissance frame, the upper border of which is laden with fruit. The types, especially that of the Madonna, and the incisive design point to Mantegna's direct influence and it is perhaps in the execution of this work that Bartolomeo was most dominated by the Paduan genius. The same inspiration but slightly weakened is evident in a panel in the National Gallery, London (284), in which the Madonna with the Child on her arm is represented between SS. Paul and Jerome (fig. 58). The sweet Infant with the drooping mouth is borrowed directly from Mantegna, whose influence is slightly less marked in the figure of the Virgin. The signature: "*Opus Bartolomei Vivarini de Murano*", however, takes us out of the realm of hypothesis and sets us at last on firm ground. A comparison with this authentic work further adds to the probability that also most, if not all, of the above cited paintings are by Bartolomeo.

Paduan elements are still manifest in a panel in the Accademia of Venice (616), in which, against a landscape background with rocks and a castle to the right, the Madonna is represented seated on a cushion on the ground, holding the Child, whose somewhat puffy face is the strongest Paduan feature in this picture (fig. 59). This work also has sometimes been supposed to be by a follower of Bartolomeo but it is certainly by the same hand as the small though delightful Adoration of the Magi in the Morgan Library, New York⁽¹⁾ which, on account of the numerous figures, it is much easier for us to demonstrate to be by Bartolomeo (fig. 60). The Virgin, who sits in the right corner, is more simply attired but, apart from this, is of the same type as the figure in the previous painting. A beautiful velvet cloak is worn by the kneeling king; of the two others one is also dressed in rich velvet, while one of the pages who holds a horse is garbed in similar material. St. Joseph, who holds a golden vessel, the gift of one of the Magi, forms part of the central group under the open shelter; an old female servant looks on from behind. The realism of the features of the two last mentioned figures, as well as some other minutely observed details, gives to this representation somewhat the appearance of a "genre picture".

⁽¹⁾ *Berenson, op. cit. Berenson, Venetian Painting in America, p. 15. O. Sirén and M. W. Brockwell, Catal. of Loan Exhib. of Italian Primitives, New York, Nov. 1917, No. 88.*



Fig. 59. Bartolomeo Vivarini, Madonna. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

I am not quite sure when Bartolomeo produced this series of Mantegnesque pictures. They are certainly the outcome of several consecutive years of work because, even if they are not all by Bartolomeo, the group in itself offers us a development and a transformation of the elements borrowed from the great Paduan master; the likely hypothesis is that all these works are by Bartolomeo, though this is by no means certain.

Besides, Bartolomeo was a painter who obviously often varied his manner. If, for instance, we compare the Madonna of his polyptych of 1464 in the gallery of Venice with that of 1468 in the Davia Bargellini Museum, Bologna, we find not only two different types but two different aesthetic aspirations. As a matter of fact it is the former which shows us that manner which characterizes his works from about 1470 until the end of his career, while the latter with its smoothness and roundness of shapes is still somewhat reminiscent of Antonio's style.

The polyptych of 1464, which originates from the church of S. Andrea della Certosa and is now in the Accademia (615), represents in the centre the Virgin on a throne, the back of which is draped, adoring the nude Child Who sleeps on her lap; the saints to the sides are SS. Andrew, John the Baptist, Antony of Padua and Peter (fig. 61). The face of the Madonna is round and somewhat heavy, the proportions are large and the draping of her figure sharply designed, but this is still more evident in the robes of the saints which show, especially those to the left, a refined effect as if engraved, which seems to be borrowed from Mantegna, in whose triptych in S. Zeno we notice not only the same characteristics but also a similar elongated elegance. In the lengthy forms and the bronze relief effects we discover a certain resemblance between Bartolomeo's St. John the Baptist (fig. 62) and the corresponding figure, which is the last to the right, in Mantegna's triptych. The curious plasticity, with angular facets produced by the calligraphic handling of line, is a feature very personal to Bartolomeo. The signature on this work runs: "*Opus Ba[r]tolomei Vi[v]arini de Murano MCCCCLXIII*".

Of 1465 is the altar-piece in the gallery of Naples which is of a rare magnificence of ornament (fig. 63). Nothing is known about its origin except that prior to 1821 it was in the "Scuola del disegno".



Fig. 60. Bartolomeo Vivarini, Adoration of the Magi. Morgan Library, New York.



Fig. 61. Bartolomeo Vivarini, Polyptych, 1464. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 62. Detail of fig. 61.

Photo Böhm.

The position of the Madonna and Child is little varied from that in the previous work. She is attired in a velvet robe with a flowery pattern; the pillars of the niche-shaped throne are decorated with a design of relief work while on the pedestal, which is adorned with cherubim and fruit, we read the signature: "*Opus Bartolomei Vi[v]arini De Murano 1465*". A blossoming hedge forms the background to a holy bishop with a long beard, SS. Roch, Louis of Toulouse and Nicholas, who stand on a flowery

lawn on which two partridges hop about. On the projecting ledge of the throne stand four angels, two to either side, carrying on their heads flower-pots out of which grow two garlands of fruit which surround the back of the throne; six cherubim and the half-length figures of SS. Dominic, Catherine, Peter the Martyr and Mary Magdalene emerge from clouds in mid-air. Here there is much less Mantegnesque severity of line than in the foregoing picture and several elements, among them the face of the Madonna as well as some of the other faces, remind us of Antonio's influence rather than that of Mantegna.

However, it appears that Bartolomeo in this case followed, although very freely and distantly, the Madonna by Antonio da Negroponte in the church of S. Francesco della Vigna Nuova, Venice. There are many points in common, particularly in the arrangement of the decoration but not actually in the details of the execution.

The particular sweetness of the painting at Naples characterizes another Madonna seen in half-length figure adoring the Child Who, in this case, is depicted clothed and awake, lying on her knee. This picture formed part of the L. de Spiridon collection in Rome. The back of the throne on which a little bird is perched and a landscape, in which we see two very Umbrian-looking trees, form the background.

With these paintings should be associated a panel of the Madonna, seated lowly in a field with trees behind, adoring the nude Child Who sleeps on her knee, which in 1930 was for sale in Munich, and a somewhat restored half-length figure of the Virgin with the swathed Child of a Giambellinoesque pathetic appearance on her arm, in the Correr Museum.

In executing the Madonna of 1468, in the Museum of Decorative Art or the Davia Bargelini in Bologna, the painter had perhaps in his mind some vague thoughts of Mantegna's altar-piece in S. Zeno, Verona, but the regularity and smoothness of the forms are, as I said before, more reminiscent of Antonio's manner. The enthroned Virgin is depicted in three-quarter-length figure; she offers a flower to the Child Who, dressed and with legs wide-spread, is seated on her lap.

It was certainly about this time that the master painted the delightful Madonna in the Platt collection, Englewood (New



Fig. 63. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna and Saints*. Gallery, Naples.

Photo Anderson.

Jersey) ⁽¹⁾. The composition is quite different. The Virgin is seated on a throne which is placed on a low ornate platform; she is accompanied by four angelic musicians, two of whom kneel on the ledge of the throne, while the two others are seated on the upper border of the back, from which two garlands of fruit and leaves dangle. The lively Child, who wears a little robe bound at the waist, seems eager to approach His Mother's face; He stands on one leg, the foot of His right leg being held in the Virgin's hand.

A half-length figure of the Madonna who looks down lovingly at her Son whom she holds in her arms, which in 1929 was for

⁽¹⁾ *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908, p. 145; idem, 1911, p. 146. *Berenson*, *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 14. It was previously in the Nevin collection, Rome, No. 141 and pl. 10 of the catalogue of the sale which took place in Rome, April 1907.



Fig. 64. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna*, 1470. Gallery, Sassari.

Photo Alinari.

sale in Berlin, is likewise a production of this particular moment.

In the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A. (44), there is a

somewhat damaged but still very fine Madonna in half-length figure, standing and holding on her arm the Child Jesus Who pathetically sucks His fingers⁽¹⁾. A very similar picture is found in the gallery of Sassari (Sardinia). It is signed and dated 1470: "*Bartholomeus Vivarinus De Murano pinxit MCCCCLXX*", but none the less several critics have pronounced it — without reason — to be a workshop copy (fig. 64)⁽²⁾.

Similar to the Madonnas in the Fogg Museum and in Sassari is another, likewise shown in half-length figure with the lively Child in her arms, in the Brass collection, Venice; part of the signature is still visible at the foot of the panel. This particular style is again manifest in a picture of the Virgin enthroned facing the spectator and holding the Child in benediction seated on a cushion on her knee, in the Colonna Gallery, Rome, which is signed: "*Opus factum Venetiis per Bartholomeum Vivarinum De Muriano MCCCCLXXI*" (fig. 65).

A step backward towards Antonio's manner is evident in the elongated smooth faces of the figures of the Annunciation in the cathedral of Modugno in Apulia⁽³⁾, which shows a signature worded in the same way as in the previous work but with the date 1472. In rather an elaborate composition we see, inside a room with a landscape visible through the window, the angel kneeling very close to the Virgin who is depicted reading. It has been supposed that this picture is only a workshop production; however the weakest element in the panel is the overfull composition, which without any doubt we owe to the master, even if the execution was left to a pupil.

A handsome half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child with reminiscences of Giambellino's art, which is signed and dated 1472, formed part of the Th. M. Davis collection, Newport⁽⁴⁾.

(1) Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1905, p. 68. *Aru*, op. cit. *Fogg Art Museum*, Collection of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1919, p. 218.

(2) B. Berenson, *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 18, note 1, is of opinion that the Fogg panel is a studio version of that at Sassari.

(3) Salmi, *L'Arte*, XXII, 1919, p. 168. *Rassegna d'Arte*, XX, 1920, p. 210.

(4) Berenson, *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 16, fig. 9, says that the date, which has been tampered with, can be read as either 1472 or 1477, but the style of painting points decidedly to the former of these years.



Fig. 65. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna*, 1471.
Colonna Gallery, Roma. Photo Anderson.

It is suave in form and shows more feeling than most of Bartolomeo's works.

In manner close to the picture of 1471, although the Madonna in type sooner recalls that of the polyptych of 1464, is the triptych in the Philip Lehman collection, New York⁽¹⁾, formerly in the Wemyss collection, Gosford House, Aberlady. In the centre the Virgin, crowned and attired in magnificent velvet, is seated lowly on a cushion; two angels touch her crown and a small nun adores the Infant Jesus. The figures are shown against a background of trees. In the wings are depicted above, the Annunciation and below, the Nativity and the Pietà, all of a rare perfection of execution.

⁽¹⁾ R. Lehman, *The Philip Lehman Collection*, New York, Paris, 1928, No. 76. *Sirén and Brockwell*, op. cit., No. 89.

In the following years Bartolomeo executed several very important altar-pieces. In the church of Sta. Maria Formosa, Venice, we find a triptych the central panel of which is occupied by a Madonna della Misericordia who, under her cloak, protects fourteen of the faithful who kneel at her feet. The signature on the pedestal reads: "*Bartholomeus Vivarinus De Muriano pinxit MCCCCLXXIII*". The lateral panels contain the Nativity of the Virgin, of a very simple composition, showing one woman taking the Child from her Mother, with the bath prepared close by (fig. 66), and the Meeting at the Golden Gate. These not very attractive scenes are designed with a purely Paduan, one might almost say fierce, incisiveness. The details of the wooden furniture in the former panel are executed in a very minute and Flemish-looking manner.

Of the panels of the altar-piece of the same year, which we see towards the end of the left wall in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, and which is the only work by Bartolomeo mentioned by Vasari⁽¹⁾, only three have been preserved; they are those representing St. Augustine enthroned between SS. Dominic and Lawrence. Ancient authors, beginning with Boschini, wrongly deciphered the date as 1422 although the inscription is still clearly visible on the panel of St. Augustine; it runs: "*Bartholomeus Vivarinus de Muriano pinxit MCCCCLXXIII*". Ridolfi tells us that it was considered to be the best of the master's works. The figure of St. Augustine has obviously great qualities and is considerably superior, especially in linear technique and execution, to the other productions of the same year.

I should not say, however, that the three remaining panels of the S. Giovanni and Paolo altar-piece impress us with their great superiority, more particularly if we compare them with the really beautiful triptych in the chapel to the extreme left in the Frari church (fig. 67). Here we see in the centre St. Mark in benediction, enthroned in the midst of four angelic musicians while three other angels support the garlands which adorn the back of the ornate throne. The left wing is occupied by an extremely beautiful and inspired figure of St. John the Baptist, who is accompanied by St. Jerome, while to the right are a saint with a book, probably

(1) *Vasari*, ed. Milanesi, III, p. 647.



Fig. 66. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Nativity of the Virgin*. Sta. Maria Formosa, Venice.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 67. Bartolomeo Vivarini, St. Mark and Saints, 1474. Frari Church, Venice. Photo Anderson.

St. John the Evangelist, and a holy bishop. The colour scheme of this painting is just as refined as the marvellous, though never varying, linear effects of the drapery. The angels with their fat round faces show a type with which we meet frequently in Bartolomeo's later works.

This was a fortunate period for our painter who was given



Fig. 68. Bartolomeo Vivarini, Madonna and Saints. S. Antonio,
Lussingrande. Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.

many important orders and reveals himself as a really skilful master.

Very fine and of a fairly original composition is the Madonna and six saints in the church of S. Antonio at Lussingrande



Fig. 69. Detail of fig. 68.

(Istria) (figs. 68, 69). The Madonna enthroned adores the Child Who, turned towards the spectator, lies sleeping on a cushion on her knee; two angels hold a crown over her head and God the Father in the midst of cherubim appears above. The rocky landscape is almost entirely hidden behind the four large figures of saints who stand to either side; they are SS. Jerome, Agnes, Christina and Gaudenzia. SS. Lucy and Catherine, with the emblems of their martyrdom, kneel at the foot of the throne. This

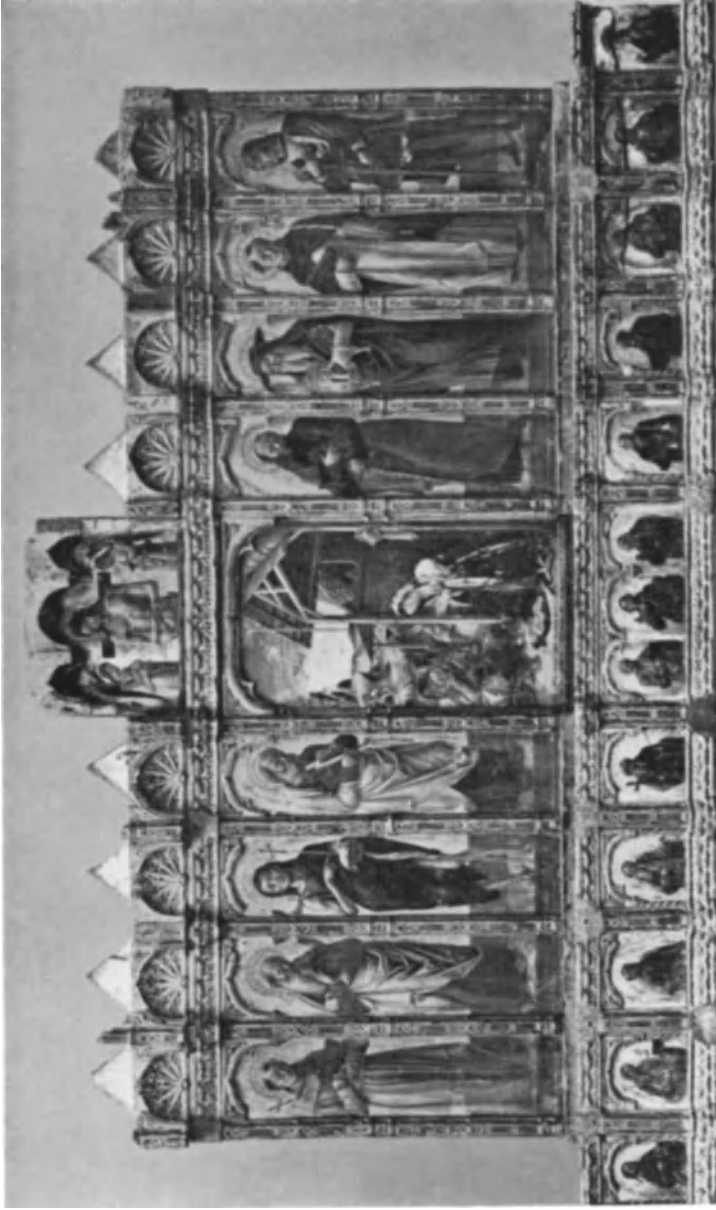


Fig. 70. Bartolomeo Vivarini and Helpers, Polyptych. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

picture is, I think, another of Bartolomeo's very good productions in which the linear effects and juxtaposition of colour are of great beauty ⁽¹⁾. The work is signed: "*Opus factum Venetiis per Bartholomeum Vivarinum de Murano 1475*" ⁽²⁾.

A polyptych which is of inferior quality, no doubt because it is executed for the greater part by helpers, is that which originates from the cathedral of Conversano in the region of Bari, but is now in the gallery of Venice (581). The central panel shows the Madonna under a shelter kneeling in adoration before the Child with St. Joseph in meditation, the ox and the ass near by and the Angelic Message to the Shepherds in the distance; on the lateral panels are depicted SS. Francis, Andrew, John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Jerome, Antony of Padua and Theodore. Above in the centre we see the dead Saviour between two angels while the predella is adorned with the busts of Our Lord and the Twelve Apostles (fig. 70). The carved frame is of very fine quality but the figures are somewhat stiff; the drapery does not fall in the same elegant folds and even the design is rather coarse. The long inscription gives the name of the canon, who in 1475 ordered this important picture, and the signature: "*opus factum Venetiis per Bartholomeum Vivarinum*".

A very similar half-length figure of the dead Saviour, in this case without angels but with the instruments of the Passion around Him and rocks in the background, is found in the gallery of Naples (172 previously). It is, however, of broader treatment and I am not absolutely sure about this attribution. At one time it was ascribed to the Modenese school but at the present moment is not exhibited.

Fine works of these years but of no certain date include two half-length figures of SS. Cosmo and Damian with very individual features in the Lanz collection, Amsterdam (fig. 71) ⁽³⁾; a very beautifully designed bust of a holy bishop looking down at an open book, in which we notice a touch of Ferrarese fantasy, in

⁽¹⁾ Mr Berenson judges it to be for the greater part by Bartolomeo.

⁽²⁾ This apparently is the picture which at one time was in the possession of the Craglietto family, Venice, v. *Testi*, op. cit., p. 469.

⁽³⁾ No. 411 of the Catalogue of the Exhibition of ancient Italian Art in Dutch possession, Amsterdam, 1934. *Van Marle*, Bollettino d'Arte del Minist. dell' Ed. Naz., XXVIII, 1935, fig. 5.



Fig. 71. Bartolomeo Vivarini, St. Cosmo. Lanz Collection, Amsterdam.
the University Gallery of Göttingen (186) and, probably dating
from the last years of this period, two polyptych panels with

the figures of SS. Francis and James in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (fig. 72) ⁽¹⁾.

Towards the year 1480 we notice a certain decline in Bartolomeo's art; this is manifest chiefly in the heaviness of the forms and the conventionality of the linear effects which no longer correspond to any logic idea of plasticity but convey to us the impression of poor wooden sculptures. At the same time the faces take on a sheepish expression and lack life and animation.

This decadence is not yet very obvious in Bartolomeo's dated works of 1476 executed for Bari where, in the church of S. Nicola, there is an important altar-piece from his hand ⁽²⁾. Inside a high wall, over which the tops of trees are visible, we see the Madonna enthroned, with the nude Child standing in benediction on her knee, between SS. James, Louis of Toulouse, Nicholas of Bari and a saint reading a book. This work, which is signed and dated: "*Factum Venetiis Bartholomeum Vivarinum*

⁽¹⁾ *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, V, 1905, p. 129. Nos. 155 and 156 of *Bevenson*, *Catalogue of the Italian Pictures in the Johnson Collection*.

⁽²⁾ *F. Carabalese*, *Bari (Ital. artistica)*, Bergamo, 1909, p. 130. *G. Frizzoni*, *Bollettino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, VIII, 1914, p. 29. *Salmi*, *Bollettino d'Arte*, XX, 1920, p. 210.



Fig. 72. Bartolomeo Vivarini, St. Francis. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.

Photo Courtesy of the Johnson Coll.



Fig. 73. Bartolomeo Vivarini and Helpers, Polyptych. S. Bernardino, Morano Calabro. Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.

de Muriano pinxit 1476', still shows the inspired figures and linear qualities which we so often noticed in his early productions, but here the colour scheme, with much red and pink, is unrefined.

Of inferior quality is the imposing polyptych in the church of S. Bernardino at Morano Calabro (fig. 73) ⁽¹⁾ in which the Madonna in full-length figure is enthroned between SS. Francis and Bernardine and numerous busts, including that of the dead Saviour; small half-length figures of the Lord and the Apostles adorn the predella. In the execution of these numerous rather wooden-looking figures, which lack both grace and feeling, we

⁽¹⁾ *Nocca*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1919, p. 155. *Galli*, *Bollettino d'Arte del Minist. dell' Ed. Naz.*, N. S., X, 1930, p. 182. *Minist. dell' Ed. Naz.*, *Inventario degli oggetti d'arte d'Italia*, II, Calabria, Rome, 1933, p. 194.



Fig. 74. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *St. Ambrose and Saints*, 1477. Accademia, Venice. Photo Alinari.



Fig. 75. Workshop of Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna*, 1481. Gallery, Turin.

Photo Anderson.

have to admit that Bartolomeo received a good deal of help. The signature and date 1477 are inscribed on a label at the foot of the throne.

Pompous and heavy, with artificial and manneristic effects in



MADONNA AND CHILD

*From a triptych of 1478 by Bartolomeo Vivarini, in
S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice.*

Photo Anderson.

the drapery, is the altar-piece of 1477 from the "Scuola di Taglia pietra" in Venice, later in the gallery of Vienna but after the war restored to Italy and now in that of Venice (825) (fig. 74). In the centre St. Ambrose is enthroned in benediction while ten little adorers kneel around the base of the throne; to the sides are a holy king (St. Louis?), SS. Peter, Paul and Sebastian. The fine but subdued colouring is the chief quality of this work. This is also the case for the heavy, draped and over-plastic figures of the signed triptych of 1478 in S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice, in which the Virgin enthroned with the Child on her knee is depicted between SS. John the Baptist and Andrew (Plate) (1).

Again in 1480 Bartolomeo was active for the region of Bari where, in the church of S. Giorgio at Zumpano (2), we find a triptych, in a beautifully carved Venetian frame, representing the Virgin enthroned with the Child seated on her knee between St. George slaying the dragon and St. Augustine; it is signed and dated: "*Opus factum Venetiis per Bartholomeum Vivarinum de Murano 1480*". Perhaps we should hold an assistant responsible for the entire execution although very probably it was the master himself who made the cartoon (3).

Also of 1480 and of very much the same quality is a picture of St. Roch in the church of St. Eufemia, Venice; in the lunette above there is a figure of the Madonna with the Child. This panel no doubt formed the centre of a polyptych (4).

The year 1481 and the master's signature are found on an uninteresting half-length figure of the Madonna, with the nude Child seated on a cushion on a low wall in front of her, in the

(1) The inscription gives also the name "*Jacobus de Faencie*" (Faenza) as that of the sculptor who carved the frame.

(2) *Galli*, op. cit., p. 178. Inventario degli oggetti d'arte della Calabria, p. 253.

(3) It has been supposed that Bartolomeo executed in 1480 a picture of the Death of the Virgin which once upon a time was in the Butler collection, London. The original is unknown to me but the authorship and date, which others have read as 1499, have both been contested, Judging from the reproduction the painting resembles late works by Bartolomeo; v. *Bovenius*, op. cit. *Testi*, Stor. pitt. Venez., II, p. 485.

(4) *Ridolfi, Zanetti and Moschini*, describe the entire triptych, the lateral panels of which showed SS. Sebastien and Louis.



Fig. 76. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna and Saints*, 1487. Frari Church, Venice. Photo Anderson.

gallery of Turin; this is probably a workshop production (fig. 75).

The heavy mannerism of this period of his activity is again

very obvious in an important triptych signed and dated 1482 in the Frari church, Venice (fig. 76). The Madonna enthroned holds the nude agitated Child on her knee; a flower-pot with a stubby shrub is placed on the floor in front of the decorative base of the throne. Above the central panel we see a half-length figure of the dead Christ. St. Andrew with St. Nicholas of Bari and St. Peter with St. Paul are depicted in the wings; their over-accentuated strange features are heavily designed.

Fairly coarse and certainly for the greater part by an assistant is the polyptych, signed and dated 1483, of St. Francis with raised hands facing the spectator, between St. Michael, slaying the dragon, with St. Antony (fig. 77) and St. Bernadine with St. Peter, in the museum of Bari (1).

An important dated work of Bartolomeo's late years is the polyptych

(1) *Frizzoni*, op.cit., p. 32.



Fig. 77. Bartolomeo Vivarini, SS. Michael and Antony. Gallery, Bari.

Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.



Fig. 78. Bartolomeo Vivarini, St. George. Museum, Berlin.

Mus. Photo.

tych of 1485 in the gallery of Boston (62) (1). The central part of this altar-piece is a sculptured relief of the Pietà and, although the signature "*Factum Venetiis per Bartholomeum Vivarinum de Muriano*" does not exclude the possibility that Bartolomeo might be held responsible for these plastic figures, it seems more likely that they were executed by the same hand as the beautiful frame.

In the upper row of panels we see the Resurrection between the half-length figures of SS. Jerome, Gregory, John and Christopher, while below are depicted the entire figures of SS. Benedict, Andrew, George and Scolastica. Here we meet with the fat faces, bulging eyes, thick protruding mouths, heavy features, broad motionless bodies and clumsy drapery which unfortunately are the characteristics of the last years of the master's activity; they are however combined with a still fairly accomplished draughtsmanship. No doubt much of the execution was left to assistants; in fact the upper central panel looks little better than a mere school work.

The finest production of the painter's last phase is the beautifully executed panel of St. George slaying the dragon and the princess in prayer, in a mountainous landscape, in the museum of Berlin (1160); it is fully signed and dated 1485 (fig. 78) (2).

Of 1485 there is still a signed Madonna in the church of S. Bartolomeo at Almenno, near Bergamo, which without any doubt has been executed by a helper. Finer is a signed Madonna of the following year in the gallery of Bergamo (175), although his authorship of this piece is frequently doubted.

Corresponding in style to the latter work are three half-length figures of saints — John the Baptist, Catherine and Antony of Padua — once in the Frizzoni collection, Bergamo (3), and the somewhat inferior, now oval, panel with four half-length figures of female martyrs in the parish church of Ranica (Bergamo) (4).

(1) B. Berenson, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XV, 1896, p. 204. *The Same*, Venetian Painting in America, p. 18, "for a factory work, not a bad one".

(2) R. Eitelberger von Edelberg, *Die Mittelalt. Kunstdenkmäler Dalmatiens*, Vienna, 1884, affirms that he saw a polyptych signed by Bartolomeo and dated 1485 in the church of S. Andrea at Arbe.

(3) *Reprod. in Testi*, op. cit., p. 486.

(4) *Idem*, pp. 504, 505.



Fig. 79. Bartolomeo Vivarini, Madonna. Gallery,
Bergamo. Photo Anderson.

Of the dated works of the very last years of his career we have a signed triptych of 1488, in the gallery of Bergamo (fig. 79). The enthroned Madonna is shown adoring the Child Who lies sleeping on her knee, between St. Peter and St. Michael slaying the dragon. In my opinion the linear qualities of this work are too great to place it, as Messrs Berenson and Testi do, in Bartolomeo's bottega. The figures, though unpleasant, are not devoid of technical qualities and inspiration.

Of the year 1490 we possess two signed and dated works. They are, in the first place, the two panels in the Accademia of Venice (584, 585) showing SS. Mary Magdalene (fig. 80) and Barbara with the signature: "*Bartholomeus Vivarinus de Murano pinxit 1490*" on the latter panel. These originate from the chapel of S. Savino in the church of S. Gimignano where Ridolfi, Boschini and Zanetti saw them and describe them as forming part of a "Crocefisso"; they are among the



Fig. 80. Bartolomeo Vivarini, St. Mary Magdalene, 1490. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Böhm.

better productions of the master's last years. The other work of this year is a polyptych, ten panels of which were in the J. Spiridon collection, Paris (1). The principal panel shows the full-length figure of St. James and the signature: "*Opus factum Venetiis per Bartholomeum Vivarinum Demuriano 1490*". The other panels, representing St. John the Baptist, two saints holding books and St. Peter, are slightly smaller. On the upper row we see the Virgin with the nude Child standing and the half-length figures of SS. Mary Magdalene, Ursula, Appollonia and Catherine. The Madonna and the faces of the female saints are not without artistic qualities. This work, which previously formed part of the gallery of Cardinal Fesch in Rome, is said to originate from the neighbourhood of Bergamo. In the Spiridon collection there was also a half-length figure of St. Catherine which no doubt belonged to a similar polyptych of about the same date (2).

The last work bearing the master's signature: "*Opus factum Venetiis per Bartholomeum Vivarinum de Muriano 1491*", is a triptych, again in the gallery of Bergamo. It depicts St. Martin on horseback giving his cloak to the beggar, with SS. John the Baptist and Sebastian in the lateral panels. It is a poor production, in the execution of which helpers must have taken a considerable part: it is very pink in colouring and particularly conventional in design.

The numerous works by Bartolomeo in and around Bergamo lead us to believe that he passed the last years of his life in this town and probably also died there.

We are still far from enumerating all the works which are attributed to Bartolomeo, whose prolificity might be called extreme but who certainly left the execution of many works which bear the characteristics of his art, or even his signature, to helpers (3).

(1) *Van Marle*, Cicerone, 1929, p. 186. No. 67 of the catalogue of the J. Spiridon sale, Berlin, May 1929.

(2) No. 69 of the catalogue of the Spiridon sale.

(3) To Bartolomeo, in some cases with assistance, can be ascribed still the following works: **Bari**, Museum, No. 102, Annunciation. **Basel**, Burckhardt Bachofen Museum, No. 1374, Crucifixion. **Bassano**, Museum, Christ enthroned; triptych, Pietà between SS. Nicholas and Andrew. **Bergamo**, Museum, Nos. 377, 378, SS. Jerome and Barnaba; Nos. 379-81, the

Finally, I venture to attribute to Bartolomeo one drawing which I think is generally supposed to be by Marco Zoppo. It

Trinity and angels. **Boston**, Museum, St. Mary Magdalene, from the Quincy Shaw coll., Boston. **Brooklyn**, Museum, St. Francis (?). **Florence**, Uffizi, No. 3347, St. Louis of Toulouse; for sale 1930, half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child seated on a cushion on a wall. **Genoa**, for sale 1926, bust of a bishop in a red robe. **London**, for sale 1929, a signed Madonna in half-length figure with the nude Child in her arms against the background of a curtain. **Milan**, private coll., half-length figures of SS. John the Baptist, Catherine and a monk holding an angel's head. **Munich**, property of Mr von Nemes in 1926-1928, small enthroned Madonna, signed; for sale 1931, bearded monk standing reading. **New York**, Samuel Kress coll., two half-length figures of the Madonna, a fine polyptych panel with St. Bartholomew, five figures of saints, early productions executed under Antonio's influence; Arthur Lehman coll., half-figure of the Madonna. **Paris**, ex.-J. Spiridon coll., Mater dolorosa, No. 39 of the catalogue of the sale (Jacopo da Valenza); it is perhaps an early work by Bartolomeo Vivarini. **Philadelphia**, Johnson coll., Madonna (fig. 81), No. 157 in *Berenson*, Catalogue of the Italian Paintings of the Johnson coll.; *the Same*, Venetian Pictures in America, p. 17. **Phough-keepsie** (New York), Vassar College, St. John the Baptist (*Berenson*). **Polignano** (Apulia), parish church, five polyptych panels, Madonna and four saints (*Salmi*, *L'Arte*, 1919, p. 166). **Reims**, Museum, No. 664, a holy bishop and St. James kneeling, early work showing Antonio's influence. **Rome**, once in the Max Bondi coll., enthroned Madonna, signed but the signature has been tampered with. **St. Louis**, U.S.A., Museum, Madonna (*Berenson*). **Venice**, S. Stefano, sacristy, SS. Nicholas and Lawrence, probably from the church of S. Vitale (v. *Paoletti u. Ludwig*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XXII, p. 427); Italo Brass coll., half-length figure of the Madonna with the nude Child Who bestows a blessing standing on a wall in front of her. **Vienna**, Estensische Museum, half-figure of a holy nun with staff and book, damaged.

Of the works of the school of Bartolomeo I shall cite: **Bari**, Museum storeroom, polyptych panel, St. Peter. **Berlin**, for sale 1929, half-length figure of the Virgin with the nude Child in her arms, Mantegnesque influence. **Cittadella** (Veneto), parish church, seven faithful mourning around the body of the Saviour, with rocks and a town in the background. **Florence**, for sale several years ago, free copy of the early Mantegnesque Madonna and angels in Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan, but with fewer angels. **Gradara**, Town Hall, Madonna della Misericordia (*Rassegna Marchigiana*, III, 1925, p. 395). **Milan**, ex-Crespi coll., half-figure of the dead Christ between two flying angels. **Montefortino** (The Marches), Town Hall, lunette, half-figure of St. Lucy between SS. Antony of Padua and Bernardine (*Rassegna Marchigiana*, I, 1923, p. 267). **Padua**, Gallery, No. 398, Death of the Virgin with St. Bernardine. **Rome**, ex-Lazzaroni coll., Madonna enthroned with the Child lying awake in her lap; ex-Nevin coll.,



Fig. 81. Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna*. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.

Photo Courtesy of the Johnson coll.

St. Francis, No. 325 and pl. 9 of the catalogue of the sale, Rome, April 1907; for sale 1930, *Madonna enthroned adoring the Child lying awake on her knee*, a strip of flowered silk and trees form the background; perhaps by Bartolomeo himself but it is repainted; for sale 1922, *Madonna on a monumental throne holding a book*, the leaves of which the Child



Fig. 82. School of Bartolomeo Vivarini, Madonna. Correr Museum, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

turns over with one hand, while on His other hand a little bird is perched; a hedge is visible in the background. **Venice**, Accademia, not exhibited, lunette, God the Father between the two figures of the Annunciation;

forms part of the collection of drawings in the Uffizi and represents the Madonna kneeling in adoration before the Child Who lies on the ground (fig. 83). It is rather similar to the figures on the central panel of the polyptych of 1475 from Conversano, now in the Accademia of Venice. The design of the features and the drapery point, I think, to the hand of Bartolomeo. An important sketch of the Madonna enthroned between the two SS. John in the Condé Museum at Chantilly has recently been ascribed to Bartolomeo; it might indeed be by him and if this is the case it is surely an early production, as has already been observed (1).

Ridolfi affirms that the windows of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, as well as those in the Ballarini chapel of S. Pietro Martire, were made after cartoons by Bartolomeo but they were lost before 1808 because Moschini, who seems to have known about these windows and Bartolomeo's cartoons, refers to them at that time as a thing of the past. However, the window in SS. Giovanni e

No. 27, Molin bequest, small polyptych, Madonna and four monks; Correr Museum, Madonna, in three-quarter length, standing holding the lively Child in her arms, with a curtain and landscape as background; a knee-length figure of the Madonna with the Child standing holding on to her hand (fig. 82); Ca d'Oro, half-length figure of the Virgin holding the Child Who with both hands grasps her breast.

Among the wrong attributions I shall mention the picture of the Doge Foscari in the Correr Museum which is by Gentile Bellini. It is reproduced as a work of Bartolomeo by *Licudes*, *Dedalo*, IV², 1933, p. 395 and of a follower of Bartolomeo by *A. Venturi*, *Stor. dell' arte ital.*, VII³, fig. 266. Morelli gave to Bartolomeo Giambellino's Madonna at Pavia. A St. Jerome, once in the Lazzaroni coll., Rome, which is sooner by Vittorio Crivelli, was reproduced as a production of Bartolomeo by *G. Bernardini*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, XI, 1911, p. 103. *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 454, is rather inclined to accept the attribution of this work to Bartolomeo. Zanetti and Moschini attribute to Bartolomeo the Presentation in the Temple in the church of S. Giovanni in Bragora, which is by Alvise.

A lost work is the picture in two parts for which he received the order from the Scuola di San Marco in 1467. Ridolfi informs us that in his day a picture of the Madonna nursing the Child dated 1473 belonged to an engineer of the name of Giovanni Battista Fais and that another was in the possession of a Signor Bernardo Giunti. Zanetti mentions still a painting of Justice by Bartolomeo in the Magistrato del Monte Novissimo a Rialto and several pictures in churches, but it is not always clear to which Vivarini he attributes them.

(1) *J. Byam Shaw*, *Old Master Drawings*, Dec. 1933, p. 36, "the beginning of the 1460's".



Fig. 83. Bartolomeo Vivarini, Madonna adoring the Child, Drawing.
Uffizi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

Paolo shows on the lower part the signature of Mocetto and from this Testi ⁽¹⁾ argues that the four saints which form the lower piece might be by Mocetto and the four above are those made after Bartolomeo's cartoons. Von Hadeln is of opinion that the other figures in the upper part of the window also were executed after drawings by Bartolomeo. Their actual style is rather in favour of the hypothesis that they were designed in

⁽¹⁾ *Testi*, op. cit. *Baron*, Madonna Verona, IV, 1910, p. 41. *Von Hadeln*, ed. of Ridolfi, I, p. 39 note 1.

their entirety by Mocetto but these windows have undergone rather thorough restoration.

Looking through the ancient authors we discover that Sansovino never mentions Bartolomeo Vivarini although he sometimes refers to the Vivarini in general. Vasari cites him in his chapter on Carpaccio but of all his works describes only the St. Louis altar-piece in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, which in his day was still complete. Ridolfi on the other hand gives a short but efficient list of the principal works by Bartolomeo in the churches of Venice and even adds a critical remark on his art in general ⁽¹⁾. In their guides on Venice, Boschini, Zanetti and Moschini mention several of his works ⁽²⁾.

Bartolomeo was not one of the great masters of the Venetian Renaissance. He was the head of a studio which had a tremendous output and I think he himself almost always took an active part in those productions which bear his signature. Had he received any orders from the authorities, it might have been taken as a sign of official approval. The order for the two panels for the Scuola di San Marco in 1467 can hardly be considered as such when we compare it with the huge enterprises for the same Scuola or for the big council room which were entrusted to his fellow artists. He provided churches in Venice, in The Marches, in Apulia, in Calabria and in Bergamo with large, decorative and complicated altar-pieces which seem to have been in great demand at that time.

There can be no doubt that at one period Bartolomeo was the assistant of his elder brother Antonio; probably he was also his pupil but this is not absolutely certain because his earliest dated production, the Madonna of 1448, painted when he was a boy of sixteen, sooner points to a Paduan influence. In his collaboration with Antonio he was versatile enough to be able to adapt him-

(1) "Non sapesse dipartirsi dall' usata maniera" (he did not know how to detach himself from the traditional manner).

(2) Also Boschini's information would have been more useful if he said which of the Vivarini he meant but he never does. He mentions works of "Vivarini" in the office of the Magistrato del Cattaneo (p. 64), in Sta. Maria Grobenico (p. 106), in S. Stefano Frate (p. 116) and a production of the school of Vivarini in the office of the Magistrato della Tana (p. 168). His attributions, moreover, are untrustworthy.

self to the style of his elder brother and the reminiscences of late Gothicism which it still contained, but this was probably only a passing phase although traces of it, alternating with Paduan characteristics and personal features, are found even as late as 1471.

Quite a number of Bartolomeo's works show a direct influence of Mantegna who at a certain moment — probably the early sixties — dominated him; as a matter of fact he seems to have copied Mantegna. Bartolomeo also came under the charm of Giovanni Bellini, whom however he followed only in some isolated instances.

Finally, in the hard conventional design of the drapery, the hands and the curious grimacing features it becomes obvious that Bartolomeo had made a profound study of the art of Carlo Crivelli and in the later part of his career this tendency, evident also in the colour scheme, becomes the leading factor in his art.

Even if we might explain the incisiveness of his drawing by a Paduan Mantegnesque influence, we find that afterwards the playful but unnatural handling of the linear effects, though not of the same quality, are quite in the taste of Carlo Crivelli, whose tragic temperament, however, was entirely foreign to Bartolomeo's uninspired neatness.

I do not think that there is much evidence of the influence of Giovanni Bellini or of Antonello but I agree with Signor Moschini that there are certain Gothic elements in his art, and in his taste for detail, which connect him with other virtuosi of line, like Crivelli himself and some of the Ferrarese painters.

The ease with which he worked no doubt explains the great number of his productions and it is only natural that in his haste he laid more stress on the decorative effect than on the depth of feeling so that most of his works, especially those of his later activity, are lifeless and uninspired. Although of fine technique they are monotonous in form and in human type and the features, though sweet, are inanimate and expressionless. This is the result of a well-supervised mass production and we notice the same qualities and the same defects as, for instance, in the output of Sano di Pietro in Siena.

Bartolomeo took no part in the artistic movement of Venice and he seems to have gone on in his own way indifferent to the

changes and development which were taking place in this school. Perhaps the cause of this is none the less the short distance — half-an-hour in a rowing boat — which separates Venice from Murano, Bartolomeo's real abode, which, in his numerous signatures, he never forgets to mention as his native town.

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Alvise Vivarini ⁽¹⁾ was the son of Antonio, consequently the nephew of Bartolomeo, and this fact is not without importance because it is to this uncle that he seems to owe most of his artistic education. Ridolfi, who calls him Luigi and greatly praises his art, affirms that his master was the mediocre Andrea da Murano, a statement which appears to be unfounded. His mother mentions him in her will of 1457 ⁽²⁾ and again in that of 1458 as being not yet of age, that is to say under fourteen; on the other hand his parents cannot have been married much before 1446.

We find Alvise active for the first time in 1475 when he signs an important polyptych at Montefiorentino but, as we shall see, the curious appearance of this work makes it probable that he was still fairly young when he executed it. The following year he enters the Scuola Grande di Sta. Maria della Carità but eleven years later his name is scored off the rolls because he never goes there.

Perhaps after this he went to the south of Italy since we

⁽¹⁾ *C. H. Collins Baker*, A. V. in the National Gallery, Burlington Magazine, L, 1927, p. 23. *B. Berenson*, Lorenzo Lotto, London, 1901, p. 65. *The Same*, The Study and Criticism of Italian Art, I, p. 104; III, p. 56. *The Same*, Venetian Painting in America, pp. 165, 194, 233. *G. Frizzoni*, Illustrazione comparativa di un insigne dipinto e di una scultura del Quattrocento, Rassegna d'Arte, VIII, 1908, p. 1. *D. von Hadeln*, Zu Werken A. V.'s, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XXIX, 1908, p. 466. *Milanesi*, Note 2 in his ed. of Vasari, II, p. 159. *G. Musner*, Un S. Bernardino del Convento di S. Anna Capodistria, Rassegna d'Arte, 1911, p. 6. *Paoletti u. Ludwig*, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., 1899, p. 269. *C. Ridolfi*, Le Maraviglie dell' Arte, ed. von Hadeln, I, p. 36. *G. Sinigaglia*, De' Vivarini pittori di Murano, Bergamo, 1905. *A. Taramelli*, Una tavola di A. V., L'Arte, III, 1900, p. 161. *D. Westphal*, Ein wenig bekanntes Bild des A. V.'s in Cherso, Zeitschr. f. Kunstgesch., III, 1934, p. 189.

⁽²⁾ For the documents v. *P. Paoletti u. G. Ludwig*, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XXII, 1899, fasc. 4. *Ludwig*, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., Beiheft, XXVI, 1905, p. 19.

find a work of 1483 by him at Barletta, another of 1485 at Naples and some undated panels at Bari. In 1484 he shares in an inheritance. He is back in Venice in 1488 because, in order to show his ability, he offers to paint a picture for the big council hall where the Bellini are at work. He asked only for the mere cost of the material and whatever the Doge thought right to give him. His offer is at once accepted and in 1492 he is employed in the decoration of the hall.

Alvise made his will in 1491 and a donation the following year; in 1494, 1497 and 1498 he works at different pictures for the church of S. Giovanni in Bragora and in 1501 he has to paint a banner for the Scuola Grande di San Marco. In September 1503 he promises to pay a debt of 90 ducats to Federico Morosini who, in 1505, after Alvise's death, takes legal proceedings against his heirs for the payment of 56 ducats, the residue of this debt; instead of the money he is given a small house. In 1503 Alvise began the picture for the Frari church which was finished by Basaiti. He died sometime between September 1503 and 1505; it was possibly at the beginning of 1505, since no doubt Morosini would not have waited long before putting in his claim.

It was only in 1507 that Giovanni Bellini, assisted by Carpaccio, Vittore Belliniano and a helper of the name of Gerolamo, was ordered to finish the three canvases which Alvise had undertaken to execute for the big council hall. Apparently Alvise had finished one of them, had started the second but had not yet begun the third. Vasari mentions Alvise in his biography of the Bellini and remarks that he was of poor health.

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When Alvise executed in 1475 his first dated picture, the polyptych at Montefiorentino, near Piandimeleto (prov. of Pesaro), he might have been almost thirty years of age but he also might have been very much younger, because we know for certain only that he was born prior to 1457. The altar-piece depicts, in the remains of a richly sculptured Venetian frame, the full-length figure of the Madonna enthroned, with the sleeping Child lying on her knee, between SS. Bernardine, Peter, Paul and John the Baptist.

Comparing the style of the figures of this polyptych with that

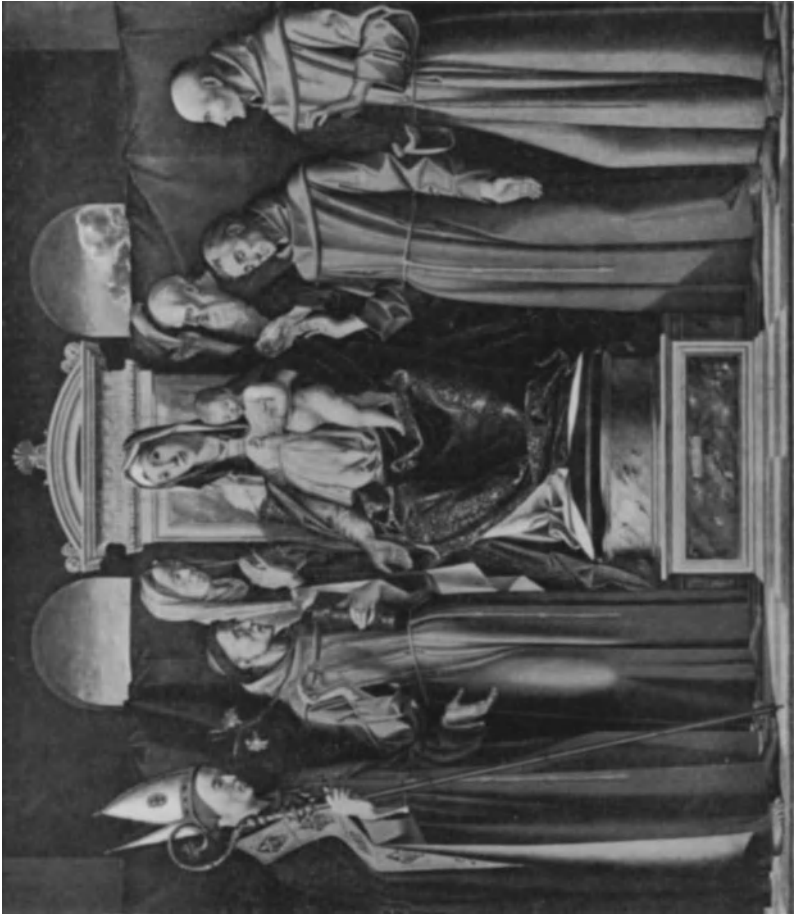


Fig. 84. Alvise Vivarini, *Madonna and Saints*. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

of the works of Antonio and his uncle Bartolomeo we see at a glance that Alvise owes very much to his uncle and hardly anything at all to his father. There is no trace here of the late Gothic tradition from which Antonio's art sprang and which always remained visible even in his later works. On the other hand the types, as well as the technique with the sharply designed outlines and facet-forming drapery, are borrowed from Bartolomeo; only the figures are somewhat different in proportion; they are long and emaciated and on the whole lacking in construction.



Fig. 85. Detail of fig. 84.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 86. Alvise Vivarini, St. Antony, 1480. Correr Museum, Venice.

Photo Naya.

However, in Bartolomeo's productions also there are some instances of similar lengthy proportions, as for example in the polyptych of 1458 at Arbe, in the execution of which Antonio and Bartolomeo collaborated. The composition of the Virgin adoring the Child Who lies sleeping on her knee appears frequent-



Fig. 87. Alvise Vivarini, St. Clare. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

ly in Bartolomeo's paintings but it is not unknown in Antonio's works also.

As we saw before, it may be that Antonio was still alive in 1476; however, he does not seem to have been active much after 1466 or 1467; consequently we can suppose that it was he who taught his son the first principles of painting, but when Alvisé executed the polyptych at Montefiorentino he must have been already for several years his uncle's pupil and possibly also his assistant, which would explain why no trace of his independent activity is found prior to this date.

Already the important altar-piece of 1480, which originates from S. Francesco, Treviso, where Ridolfi and Moschini describe it, but which is now in the gallery of Venice (607), shows a considerable development in the aesthetic principles of Alvisé (figs. 84, 85). This leads us to suppose that when he executed the altar-piece of 1475 he was not yet a mature artist, in fact from the style of the work it can be conjectured that he was still fairly young.

In 1480, however, Alvisé has quite abandoned the conception of the altar-piece composed of isolated framed figures. True, his uncle had done so before him but nevertheless, comparing Alvisé's altar-piece of 1480 with those of Bartolomeo in Naples, Lussingrande and Bari, we find that the nephew's composition is of a freer and better conception; indeed, it is perhaps the most modern grouping that was created in Venice at this period. This is evident in the obvious contact which exists between the Madonna, seated on a fairly high throne with the nude Child standing on her knee between the adoring old St. Anna and the white-bearded Joachim who lifts his head and stands nearest to the throne, and SS. Louis of Toulouse, Antony of Padua, Francis and Bernardine, who express their devotion by gestures, and two of whom look towards the Virgin. It is true that in order to bring the heads more or less all on the same level, the painter has made St. Bernardine very tall but, as we saw in his previous picture, he seems to have had a liking for elongated proportions. The plastic values are expressed by simple means but in a very efficient manner; the faces are beautiful, expressive and animated. The small window in the background also, through which clouds are seen, is a happy invention. The signature runs: "*Alovixé*

Vivarini P. MCCCCLXXX".

In the Correr Museum, Venice, there exists a replica of the figure of St. Antony, shown however in bust-length but holding with the same gesture a lily and a book (fig. 86). If anything this painting is finer than the corresponding figure in the altar-piece.

There are a few works which reveal such an obvious connexion with the art of Bartolomeo that I think they should be classified in about the same period as the altar-piece of 1475, or perhaps slightly later.

They include a half-figure of St. John the Baptist in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, now in Lugano ⁽¹⁾; a mournful figure of St. Francis holding the crucifix in a rocky landscape in the church of Sta. Maria Assunta at Asolo; and the full-length figures of St. Jerome and a holy bishop in the Brass collection, Venice.

On the other hand, very fine productions after the manner of the altar-piece of 1480 are the St. Clare and a female martyr in the gallery of Venice (593, 593a), both

⁽¹⁾ *Van Marle*, Dedalo, XI, 1931, p. 1380, fig. at p. 1387. No. 344 of the exhibition of the "Schloss Rohoncz" collection, Munich 1930; previously in the de Magni coll., Paris and the Joseph Spiridon coll., Paris; No. 68 of the catalogue of the sale of the latter coll., held in Berlin in May 1929.



Fig. 88. Alvise Vivarini, Holy Martyr. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.



Fig. 89. Antonio and Alvise Vivarini, Descent of the Holy Ghost. Museum,
Berlin. Mus. Photo.

really individual portraits of elderly women (figs. 87, 88) ⁽¹⁾.

In the gallery of Berlin there is an important polyptych (1143) (fig. 89); it is catalogued as a production of the workshop of Antonio Vivarini, while Mr. Berenson ascribes it to Jacopo da Valenza.

⁽¹⁾ Originally in the church of S. Daniele. No. 593a was No. 24 in the gallery of Vienna but was included among the pictures restored to Italy after the Great War.



Fig. 90. Alvisse Vivarini, Madonna and Saints. Gallery, Naples.

Photo Anderson.

In my opinion this work is due to at least two different hands, one of them being that of Alvisse Vivarini, to whom we owe five of the six panels; they are the Descent of the Holy Ghost in the centre, the entire figures of SS. Francis and Antony of Padua, Bernardine and Bonaventura and above, the half-figures of SS. Paul with George and Jerome with John the Baptist. It is only the upper central panel of the dead Saviour, half arisen from His tomb between two adoring angels, which shows some connexion with the art of Antonio. The influence which Bartolomeo still exercised on Alvisse is particularly evident in the half-length figures above and in the central scene. The lengthy lateral saints



Fig. 91. Alvisio Vivarini, Madonna. Gallery, Capodistria.

with their simply draped robes sooner correspond to those of the altar-piece of 1480.

The next dated work is a panel of the Madonna enthroned with the Child, Who sucks His finger, seated on a cushion on her arm, in the church of S. Andrea, Barletta⁽¹⁾; it is signed and dated "*Alvisio Vivarini MCCCCLXXXIII*". It is followed by a triptych signed: "*Alvisio Vivarini P. Venetia 1485*", in the gallery of Naples, in which the central panel is slightly reminiscent of the foregoing work but the figures of SS. Francis and Bernardino in the wings are somewhat wooden (fig. 90). The picture at Barletta, however, has much more charm and grace than the stiff

(1) *Salmi*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, XX, 1920, p. 211.

figures of the triptych in Naples, which recalls much more obviously the art of Bartolomeo.

The presence of these two examples of Alvisè's art in Southern Italy might lead us to believe that in 1483 and 1485 the painter resided for some length of time in this region. However, except for the fact that it was privately owned before entering the gallery, nothing is known about the origin of the triptych in Naples; the wording of the signature might perhaps make us suppose that the painting was executed in Venice.

In the South of Italy there is still another work which is attributed to Alvisè; it is preserved in the museum of Bari and comprises two polyptych panels representing St. Catherine with the wheel and St. Antony of Padua, but it is neither very characteristic nor important.

The next dated work by our painter is the Madonna enthroned adoring the Child Who lies sleeping on her knee while two little angels playing on lutes are seated at the foot of the throne; it is signed "*Alvisius Vivarinus De Muriano P. MCCCCLXXXVIII*". Originally it was in the S. Bernardino convent of Pirano but was taken to Vienna in 1802; it was restored to Italy in 1918 and has been given to the town of Capodistria (fig. 91) ⁽¹⁾.

It appears to me obvious that the regular beauty of the features of the Madonna and the suave sweetness of her expression are due to an influence of Giovanni Bellini, who just the previous year had created his great master-piece, the triptych in the Frari church, which no doubt served as a source of inspiration to all the minor masters of Venice. Besides, even the general lines of the composition, with the two angelic musicians in the same position, seem also to have been borrowed from Giambellino's picture.

Alvisè employed an oblong composition in the execution of a half-length figure of the Madonna adoring the sleeping Child between two angelic musicians, which is preserved in the sacristy of the Redentore church in Venice; this work is mentioned by Zanetti and by Moschini (II, p. 347) who believed it to be by Giovanni Bellini (figs. 92,93). The figures are the same as in the foregoing picture and it is only their position that has been

⁽¹⁾ *A. Venturi*, Esposizione d'oggetti d'arte e di storia restituiti dall' Austria-Ungheria, *L'Arte*, XIX, 1922, p. 145.



Fig. 92. Alvise Vivarini, *Madonna and Angels*. Redentore Church, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

changed. Some fruit is placed on the low wall on which the angels are seated; a door-way and a curtain hanging over a cord, on which a bird is perched, form the background. This picture is particularly pleasing, and it was perhaps once more Giambellino's example which made Alvise adopt this composition because it was about this time that Bellini painted several oblong panels with the half-length figure of the Madonna in the centre.

A similar type of Virgin, in this case seated on a bench adoring the Child Who lies sleeping on her knee, is found in a painting in the church of S. Giovanni in Bragora in Venice; a landscape is visible through two windows (fig. 94). Here the positions are slightly changed but the Belliniesque type is still quite pronounced.



Fig. 93. Detail of fig. 92.



Fig. 94. Alvise Vivarini, Madonna. S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

The influence of Bellini is manifest also in a small bust-length portrait of a man of rather stupid expression, wearing a skull-cap, which was acquired by the National Gallery, London (3121), with the Layard collection ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *L'Arte*, X, 1907, p. 152. *Collins Baker*, *Burlington Magazine*, L,



Fig. 95. Alvise Vivarini, Madonna. National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.

Alvise's Belliniesque period continued still for some time. We notice, however, that this influence has become less marked in the head of Christ of 1494 in the church of S. Giovanni in Bragora, which is cited by Boschini, and in that of 1498 in the Brera Gallery, 1927, p. 23. Mr Berenson was among those who attributed this picture to Alvise but he has since changed his mind.

Milan (155). In a beautiful and important painting of the Madonna and Child between SS. John the Baptist and Jerome in the Herzog collection, Budapest, the influence of Giambellino is somewhat stronger. There is a certain linear effect in this work which recalls Bellini's early manner when he was under the domination of Mantegna; perhaps, however, this might be due to Bartolomeo's examples of strongly incisive drawing ⁽¹⁾.

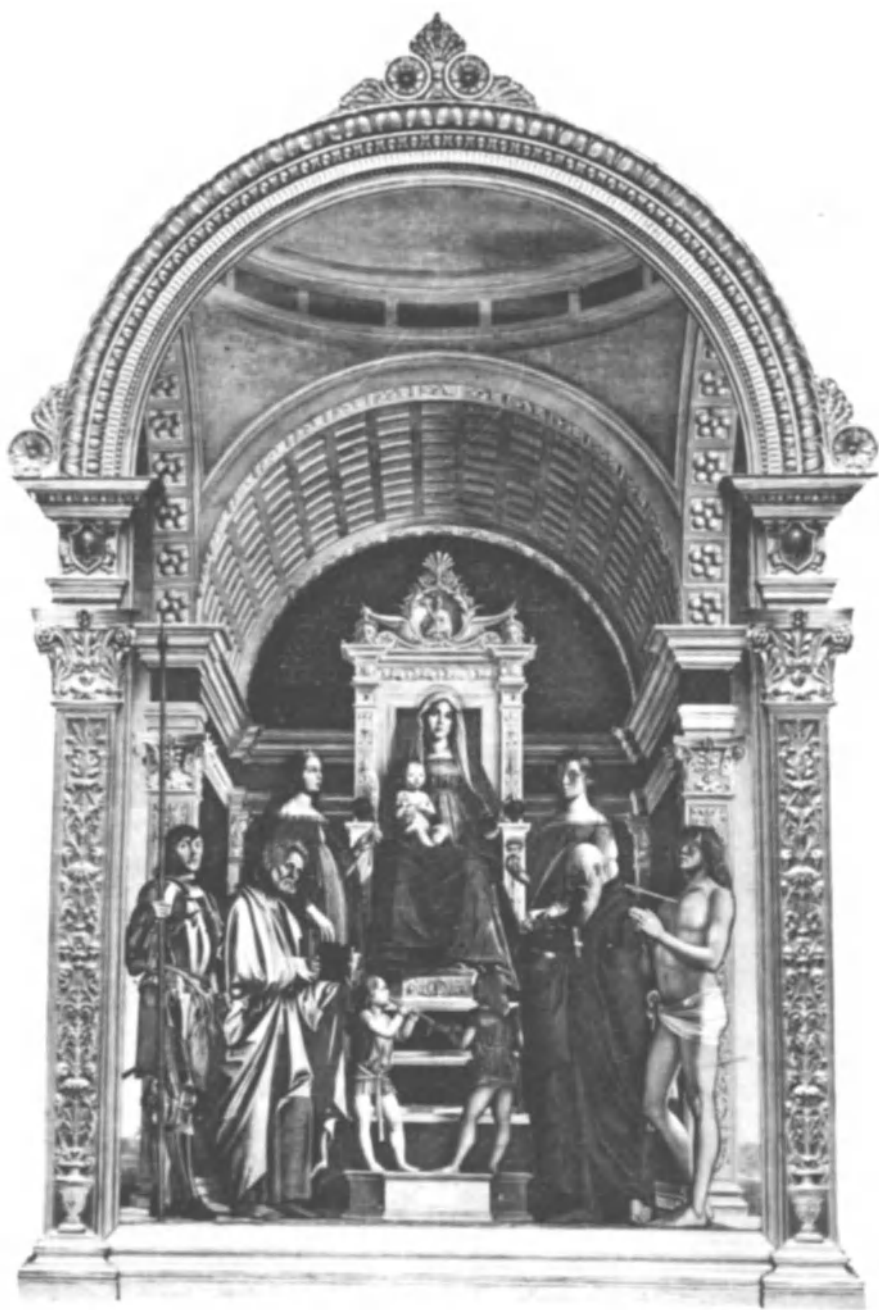
The combined influences of Bellini and Bartolomeo are evident also in a beautiful Madonna, depicted in half-length figure holding the nude Child, with a landscape seen through a window in the background, which is signed: "*Alvixi Vivarini P.*", and which is preserved in the National Gallery (1872) (fig. 95). In the same collection (2672, Salting Bequest) we find the fine portrait of a man shown in almost half-length figure, his left hand just appearing above the parapet which forms the lower border and on which the signature "*Alovisin Vivarinus De Murano 1497*" is inscribed (fig. 96) ⁽²⁾. The subject, who wears a black skull-cap, has a severe self-sufficing expression and the work reveals to us fact that Alvise was a penetrating psychologist; this, moreover, is one of the hall-marks of Venetian portrait painting. Not quite so striking in this respect, but nevertheless probably also by Alvise, is a portrait of a younger man in three-quarter right profile, likewise wearing a black skull-cap, which was at one time in the Pourtales collection but is now in that of Viscount Rothermere ⁽³⁾.

The picture of the Lord resurrected which the master began in 1498 for the church of S. Giovanni in Bragora has the appearance of a work of the 16th century but this is due to restoration (fig. 97). Boschini (p. 164) informs us with great precision that this painting was executed in 1498; however, on account of its size, shape and even of the composition of the predella — the bust of Christ between those of SS. John and Mark — this work seems to have been executed as the counterpart to that in the same church, with SS. Constantine and Helen near the Cross, by Cima

⁽¹⁾ *Cicerone*, June 1912, p. 419.

⁽²⁾ *C. Philips*, Burlington Magazine, XVII, 1910, p. 9. *Baker*, op. cit.

⁽³⁾ *P. C. Konody*, Works of Art in the Collection of Viscount Rothermere, London, privately printed, 1932, pl. 29.



THE MADONNA ENTHRONED, SAINTS AND ANGELS

By Alvise Vivarini, in the Museum of Berlin.

Museum Photo.

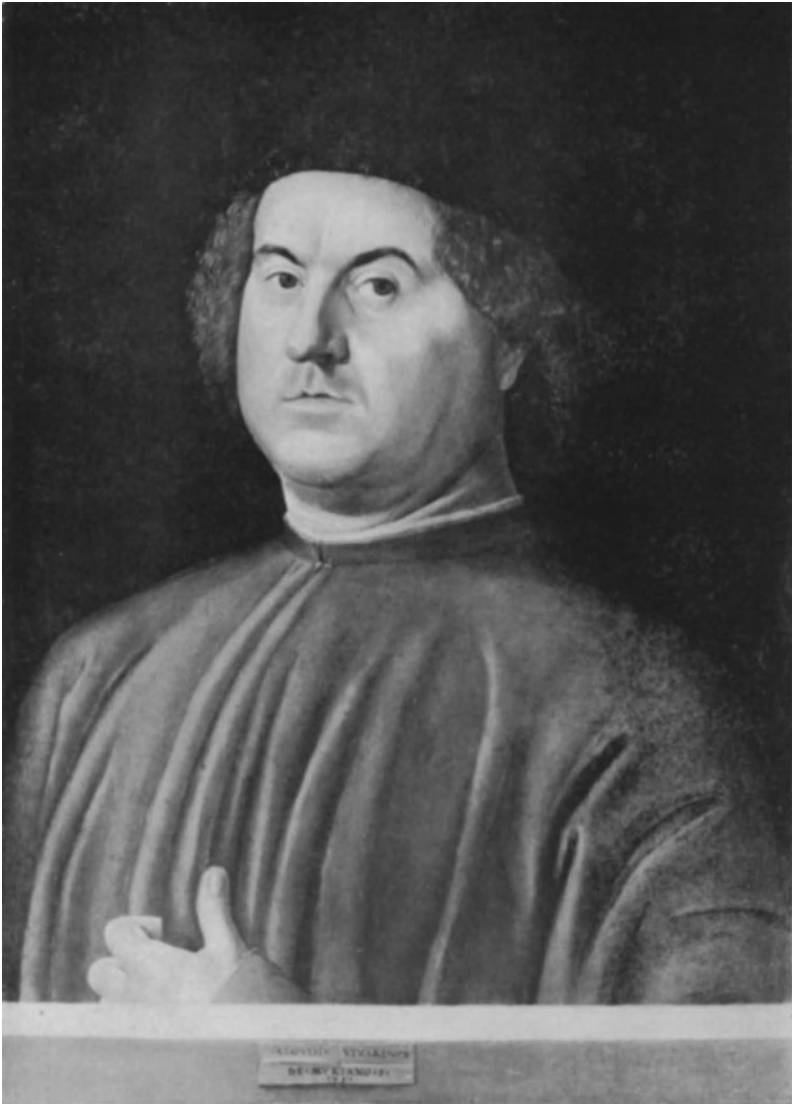


Fig. 96. Alvise Vivarini, Portrait of a Man. National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.

which Boschini affirms to be by (Alvise) Vivarini and which dates from 1501 or 1502.

The large altar-piece from the church of Sta. Maria dei Battuti in Belluno, now in the gallery of Berlin (38) (Plate), is the most

important production we have by Alvise ⁽¹⁾. It represents, under an architectural vault and part of a cupola, the Madonna seated on a high monumental throne, at the foot of which stand two angelic musicians; to the left, we see SS. George and Peter and one step higher St. Catherine and to the right, SS. Sebastian Jerome and Mary Magdalene. In the manner in which the artist has placed the two female saints higher than the others we notice once more his taste for harmonious groups, evidence of which has been found since the beginning of his career. The signature is inscribed on a label at the foot of the throne. It has been supposed that this picture was ordered by Giovanni Corner di Andria, procurator of S. Marco, for the decoration of his tomb, and since this magistrate died in 1493 this would limit the date of execution, although a somewhat earlier date is generally assigned to this picture. I am more inclined, however, to place it slightly later because it is very obvious that Alvise in painting this, for him, unusually grandiose composition, took his inspiration from Cima da Conegliano's altar-piece, started in 1493 for the cathedral of Conegliano, consequently not far from Belluno ⁽²⁾. The setting — cupola and arches with ornaments and frieze — the decorative throne, the two angelic musicians and the appearance of the Madonna with the nude Child seated on her knee are all elements borrowed from Cima, and so really are the types, especially that of the Virgin but also those of the saints. It is this change in aesthetic aspiration which reveals to us that he has deserted Giambellino in order to follow in Cima's wake. Also the anatomy of the figure of St. Sebastian hints at Cima's example; in fact the very presence of this saint in this particular place — pendant to St. George — points to a knowledge on the part of Alvise of Cima's Dragan altar-piece, executed between 1496 and 1499, now in the gallery of Venice. This being so, we reach rather a late date for Alvise's altar-piece in Berlin. However, when we compare this panel with similar compositions of earlier date by Giambellino, such for instance as that of S. Giobbe or the two lost works, we are

(1) *Frizzoni*, op. cit.

(2) About the development of this composition v. *J. Wilde*, Die Pala di San Cassiano von Antonello da Messina, Jahrb. der Kunsthist. Samml. in Wien, N. F. Sonderheft 27, 1929, p. 67.



Fig. 97. Alvise Vivarini, the Saviour. S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice. Photo Anderson.

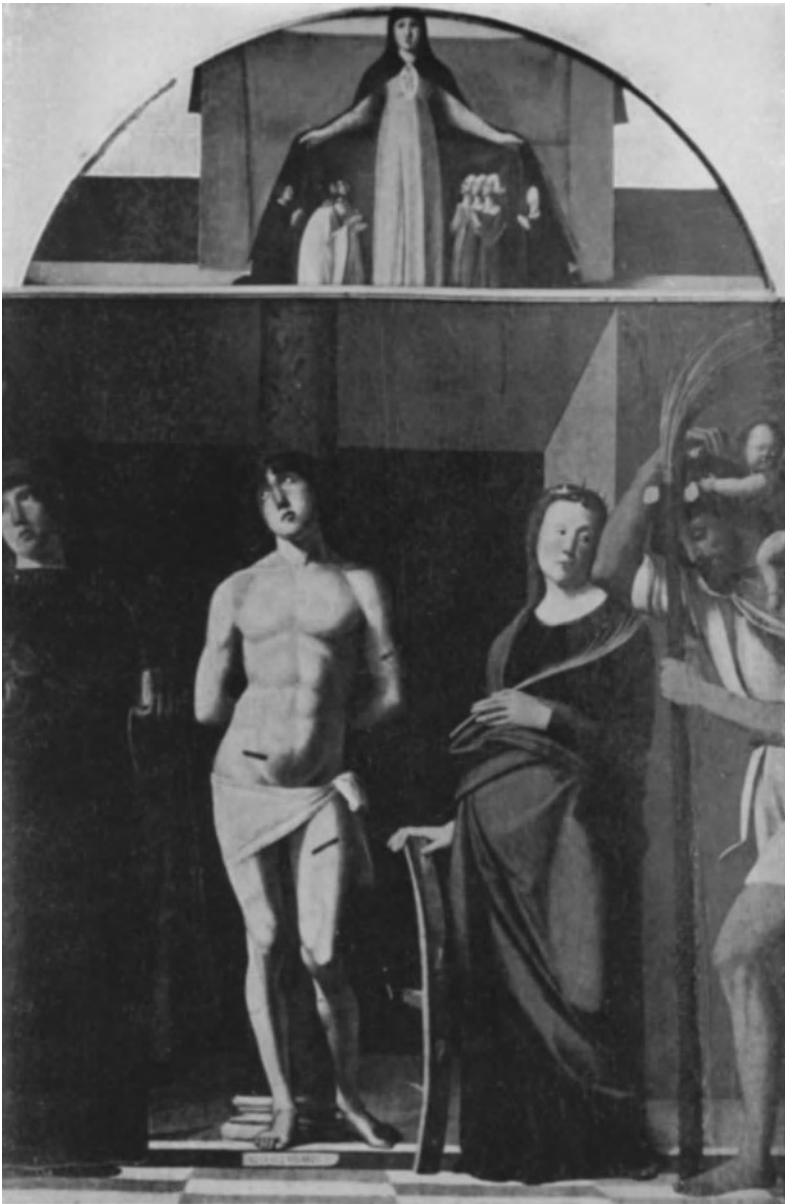


Fig. 98. Alvise Vivarini, St. Sebastian and Saints. Town Hall, Cherso.



Fig. 99. Bartolomeo Vivarini and Marco Basaiti, Altar-piece. Sta. Maria dei Frari, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

convinced that this was not the example followed by Alvise.

So late a date as is implied in a knowledge of Cima's Dragan altar-piece gives rise to a slight complication with regard to the last stage of Alvise's evolution, because, if he died in 1505, only a few years remain for the achievement of considerable changes in his art.

Another important painting, which shows Cima's influence but not to the same extent, exists in the town hall of Cherso; it is signed: "*Alvixe Vivarin P.*" (fig. 98) ⁽¹⁾. It has suffered considerably and is damaged at either side, the figures to the extreme right and left being incomplete. The lunette with the standing Madonna who protects the faithful under her cloak did not, as Miss Westphal points out, originally belong to this work. The panel itself shows, against a wall which forms a sort of recess, the full-length figures of SS. Cosmo or Damian, Sebastian, Catherine and Christopher. Formerly there may have been other figures. The shadows are very strong and do not look natural. All the same, in the types, especially that of St. Sebastian, Cima's influence remains very evident and I have no doubt that it is, as von Hadeln states, a late production of Alvise's and dates, I should say, from after 1495 and not, as Miss Westphal supposes, from around the year 1486.

In 1503 Alvise undertook the execution of the altar-piece for the Frari church which, according to the inscription which I have given in the previous volume, was finished after his death by Basaiti (fig. 99). It is a somewhat hybrid achievement. The architectural vaults assume great proportions. In the centre St. Ambrose is seated between two holy knights; three saints form a group to either side, while in front of them are the two half-nude figures of SS. Sebastian and Jerome which, according to Fogolari, were the only two figures executed by Basaiti. Two angelic musicians sit at the foot of the throne and below their feet is the inscription which gives the names of the two painters. Above the vaults, on a sort of wooden balcony, is depicted the Coronation of the Virgin. We can certainly admit that the greater part of this important panel is the work of Alvise,

⁽¹⁾ *D. von Hadeln*, *Kunstchronik u. Kunstmarkt*, 1910-11, col. 35. *Westphal*, op. cit.



Fig. 100. Alvise Vivarini, Madonna and Saints. Museum, Berlin.

Mus. Photo.

whose art here has taken on quite a 16th century appearance. The linear element has almost disappeared and a certain impression-

ism has taken its place. It is this change which at a certain moment can be noticed throughout the entire Venetian school and Giorgione was its principal exponent, if not its originator.

The same rounder forms and mellow, but more intense, effects of light and shade, which were the first steps in the direction of 16th century art, are again evident in an important panel in the gallery of Berlin (1165) (fig. 100); here, under a vault, the Madonna is depicted on a high but simple throne between SS. John the Baptist, Jerome, Augustine and Sebastian. The morphological types and the beautiful regular features, which however are somewhat lacking in expression, once more recall Cima, but of his extant works we notice this round-featured Renaissance element for the first time in his Madonna in the gallery of Parma, which was executed around 1507.

A stylistic study of these last mentioned works calls to mind Mr Berenson's attribution to Alvise of a portrait of Bernardo di Salla in the Louvre (1519); at least among the many names of artists which have been associated with this picture and among which that of Lotto predominates⁽¹⁾, Alvise's is the only one which, in my opinion, is not decidedly wrong and which to a certain extent can be justified. I think besides that it might have been Alvise, at this rather undefinable phase, who executed a portrait of a man in almost full face, with round features and long dark curls, in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris (660); as a matter of fact, it is catalogued as such but recently it has been ascribed to Giovanni Bellini by Herr Gronau⁽²⁾.

An important painting in the museum of Amiens (373), which is signed and dated: "*Alovisius Vivarinus di Murano pinxit Venetiis 1500*"⁽³⁾, reveals to us how quickly our master became familiar with the innovations which appeared in the Venetian school (fig. 101). The composition has the free character of a work of the 16th century and so too have the types. St. Mary Magdalene who, with St. Jerome, sits in the foreground has all

(1) *Seymour de Ricci*, Description raisonnée des peintures du Louvre, I, Paris, 1913, p. 141, gives the different attributions, he himself deciding in favour of Savoldo.

(2) *Gronau*, Bellini, pl. 135.

(3) *U. Gnoli*, Rassegna d'Arte, VIII, 1908, p. 155. *A. Boinet*, Le Musée d'Amiens, Paris, 1928, p. 19.



Fig. 101. Alvise Vivarini, *Madonna and Saints*. Gallery, Amiens.

Photo Anderson.

the appearance of a figure by Titian; higher up the Child Jesus, seated on the knee of the adoring Virgin, gives the keys to St.

Peter and looks round at an old bearded cleric. In the landscape background also there is something which seems to point to a knowledge of Giorgione's works.

In no way less modern, and painted probably even after 1500, is the picture of the Madonna, generally attributed to Alvise, in the gallery of Verona (162) (fig. 102). The Virgin is represented in knee length, her eyes down-cast while the nude Child seated on a cushion which she holds, looks up at her. It is a pleasing work, not without a touch of sentimentality, and a comparison with the signed painting at Amiens leaves us in no doubt with regard to the attribution. In style, feeling and technique it appears to be more modern than the altar-piece of the Frari church which, however, must have been one of Alvise's last achievements ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Other works attributed to Alvise Vivarini are: **Baltimore**, Walters coll., No. 535, Madonna (*Berenson*, Venetian Painting in America, p. 168, fig. 68). **Bayonne**, Bonnat Museum, No. 3, head of the Saviour, from a Pietà (*Berenson*). **Bergamo**, Gallery, No. 150, Madonna (*Berenson*, with a point of interrogation; mediocre picture, the signature seems false). **Capodistria**, Convent of S. Anna, half-figure of St. Bernardine (*Musner*, op. cit.). **Munich**, privately owned, small portrait of a man dressed in red against a black background. **New York**, Rosenthal coll., Venetian senator (*Berenson*) **Stockholm**, private coll., small portrait of a man in black wearing a complicated head-dress(?). **Urbino**, Gallery, half-length figure of the Madonna with a curtain and landscape in the background (*Bollettino d'Arte*, Aug. 1927, p. 92). **Venice**, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, sacristy, large panel of Christ carrying the Cross, it is mentioned by Ridolfi and seems to have been fine but is now dirty and restored; it shows the signature and a date which has been deciphered as 144 . . . or 1414 but both are impossible; Gallery, Nos. 618, 619, SS. John the Baptist and Matthew, polyptych panels of late date; storeroom, female saint with reliquary from the Academy of Vienna; Correr Museum, Madonna; in *L'Arte*, III, 1900, p. 161 and in *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*, V, 1902, p. 35, there is mention of a tondo, showing God the Father and angels and executed in Alvise's late manner, which was taken from the Scuola di San Gerolamo to the gallery; I do not know what has happened to this panel which is cited by Boschini, Moschini and Zanetti; Seminary coll., No. 17, portrait of an old man (*Berenson*). **Verona**, Gallery, Madonna. **Windsor**, Castle, portrait of a man with hawk (*Berenson*).

The attribution to Alvise of a very mediocre picture of Christ carrying the Cross in the gallery of Budapest (Pálffy bequest, No. 32) seems to me erroneous. In Alvise's manner is a Madonna with the Child on her knee against a background of curtain and landscape in the Ca d'Oro (Room 10)



Fig. 102. Alvise Vivarini, Madonna. Gallery, Verona. Photo Anderson.

(fig. 103); it is assigned to Alvise by *G. Gamba*, *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1916, p. 328. Some years ago a replica of this painting was for sale.

Wrongly attributed to Alvise are also the two pictures by Andrea da Murano at Asolo and Camposanpiero, to which we shall return later on; nor is a Deposition, once in the Sterbini collection, a production of his school (*A. Venturi* La Gall. Sterbini in Roma, Rome, 1906, No. 39), it seems Ferrarese.



Fig. 103. Manner of Alvise Vivarini, Madonna. Ca d'Oro, Venice. Photo Böhm.

I know of only three drawings for which Alvise is with good reason held responsible. One of them is the study of the head of an elderly bald man shown in three-quarters right profile in the British Museum (1876-12-9-619), which seems to be a production of his later but not his last period (fig. 104)⁽¹⁾. Then there is a sheet

⁽¹⁾ *Von Hadeln*, *Venez. Zeichn. des Quattrocento*, pl. 80, dates it from around 1485 which I think is too early.



Fig. 104. Alvise Vivarini Study of a Head, Drawing. British Museum.

Mus. Photo.

with studies of hands, of about 1480 in the Lugt collection, Maartensdijke ⁽¹⁾, while the third is a portrait bust, once in the

⁽¹⁾ *K. T. Parker, Old Master Drawings, I, 1926, p. 6.*

P. Mathy collection, Paris (1), which bears a certain resemblance to the signed painting of 1497 in the National Gallery. A fine drawing of the head of a youth, seen in profile, in the British Museum (Anon. XV. Ital. VII, 1895-9-15-778), previously in the Malcolm collection, might possibly also be by Alvisè (2).

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Formerly Mr Berenson upheld Alvisè as one of the best of the Venetian artists of the later 15th century, attributing to him some of the finest portraits by Giovanni Bellini which, however, he himself now accepts as such. The over-estimation of Alvisè reached its culmination in Berenson's book on Lotto (1901) but received a severe blow in 1913 when he recognised the St. Justine of the Bagata Valsecchi collection to be by Giovanni Bellini. None the less, the portraits still continued to pass as works by Alvisè but now (1935) even most of these have been removed from the list of works for which Mr Berenson holds Alvisè responsible. Personally I hope to see the day when he will find another author also — possibly Antonello — for the portrait of a badly shaved man in the gallery of Padua (3), as well as for that of the man with sly and piercing eyes in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (4). Mr Berenson's former opinion of Alvisè as a portrait painter has been the cause of some other unfounded attributions of Venetian portraits to this master (5).

(1) Reprod. in *Berenson*, Lotto, at p. 94. I hardly think justifiable the attribution to Alvisè of a drawing of a knight in armour in the Uffizi v. *J. Bryan Shaw*, *Old Master Drawings*, VI, 1931, p. 5.

(2) It does not seem impossible either that Alvisè drew the two portrait busts of young man once in the Habich collection at Cassel; this attribution has already been suggested by *Berenson*, Lotto, p. 32. *Frizzoni* *L'Arte*, XI, 1908, p. 406, thought them to be by Jac. de' Barbari.

(3) v. Vol. XV, fig. 299.

(4) *Berenson*, *Catalogue of the Italian Pictures of the Johnson Collection*, No. 166, and also in *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance* (1933); it is attributed to Alvisè also by *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, X, 1910, p. 99 but in Vol. XV, p. 536, I have ascribed it to Antonello.

(5) Portrait of a man in the gallery of Bergamo probably by Jacopo da Valenza *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte ital.*, VII⁴, fig. 243. For other instances v. *Cook*, *L'Arte*, X, 1907, p. 152, *Collins Baker*, op. cit. The bust of a youth (Nat. Gal. 2509) by Giov. Bellini (V. vol. XVII, fig. 131) is still catalogued as by Alvisè.

The old authors, who invariably call Alvise by the name of Luigi, mention still some other works by him which have since disappeared. On the whole the ancient accounts of this painter are rather inexact. Sansovini speaks of a few paintings by "the Vivarini" without making any attempt to differentiate one from the other. The wrongly deciphered date of 1414 on the picture of Christ carrying the Cross in SS. Giovanni e Paolo caused Zanotto, Zanetti and Moschini to express the opinion that there were two artists of the name of Luigi Vivarini, but even Lanzi in his day contradicted this. Ridolfi, Boschini and Moschini all refer to an important altar-piece by Alvise in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, which very probably is that now generally believed to be by Giovanni Bellini. An important work, now lost, was preserved in the Compagnia di San Gerolamo and represented St. Jerome with his lion and the frightened brothers running away in the cloister. Ridolfi adds that here Alvise with much patience had painted the church with a river in front of it; also Boschini praises this architectural representation. Zanetti, who saw it in a very damaged condition and "destined to complete ruin" expresses his regret that the genius of this artist is obscured by barbaric archaisms. Of an altar-piece in the same Compagnia which Boschini describes as consisting of five parts — the dead Saviour with SS. Nicodemus, Mary Magdalene, the Annunciation, John the Baptist and Augustine —, Zanetti in his day saw only the two last figures which were hung above the door. Boschini informs us that Luigi Vivarini painted in the same place a decorative frieze also with leaves in chiaroscuro. The same author talks as well of two figures of saints from the organ doors of S. Basilio and this piece of information is repeated by Zanetti.

We have as well some data concerning Alvise's activity in the big council hall. Vasari, in his life of the Bellini, says very precisely that the painter executed the scene of Otto, released from prison, offering to the Pope and the Venetians to go and make peace for them with his father the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, and that he started the following picture of Barbarossa receiving his son but, on account of Vivarini's death, this scene was finished by Giambellino. In his fairly detailed description of the painting, Vasari praises most of all the architecture and the

perspective; he says, besides, that there were numerous portraits of Venetians in the scene, and this showed the gift the painter had of imitating nature; no doubt these works had much the same appearance as the large canvases of incidents from Venetian history which were executed by Gentile Bellini and Mansueti. It is highly probably that a considerable interval elapsed between the achievement of the two scenes, because the order for the first was given in 1488 while the second was not yet finished at his death, that is to say at least fifteen years later. Also Sansovino (124, 129 verso) and Ridolfi mention these paintings; the former is mistaken when he states that the second was to replace the scene which had been painted by Pisanello; on the contrary it was the first scene which had to be repeated, as we gather very clearly from the text of the contract of 1488.

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Alvise Vivarini was one of the really gifted minor artists of Venice and at his best succeeded in producing rather fine paintings which, however, never allowed him to reach the status of a first-class master. At one time he was placed on the same level as Giovanni Bellini but, as I said before, this was only due to the erroneous attribution to him of some of Giambellino's best portraits.

Alvise's earliest manner is not known to us by any authentic work. It is probable that he started his career as a pupil of his uncle Bartolomeo rather than under the direction of his father Antonio, although the latter may have given him his first instruction. Later, he came under the spell of Giovanni Bellini and Cima and in his last works we see that he was attracted by the more modern 16th century school, in fact his picture of 1500 at Amiens reveals to us that he was one of the first to share in the transition which occurred at this moment.

A great deal has been said about the influence which Antonello is supposed to have had on Alvise and this theory still has its supporters, even after the beautiful portraits are no longer included in his output. Perhaps the Madonna of 1483 at Barletta shows a certain knowledge of Antonello's Madonna of San Cassiano but the connexion between these two painters, if it ever

existed, could only have been very slight. As I remarked elsewhere, Antonello's stay in Venice was really too brief for his art to have had any lasting impression on the Venetian school, and in Alvisè's manner I fail to discover any striking points of contact with the famous Sicilian master.

CHAPTER III

LAZZARO BASTIANI (1).

Like the Vivarini and the Bellini, the painters of the Bastiani family probably formed a group by themselves, though they were infinitely less gifted. In fact, judging from the works of Lazzaro, the only member by whom we have some identified productions, they must have been rather a poor lot.

Lazzaro Bastiani, or Sebastiani (2), was the son of Jacopo Bastiani. Lazzaro was not the brother of Carpaccio, as Vasari affirms; nor did there exist two brothers called Sebastiano and Lazzaro. Jacopo had another son Marco, also a painter, of whom we have record for the first time in 1435 along with mention of his profession, and who died before 1489. He specialized in the decoration of ceilings and curtains. Marco had two sons; one, Simon, who followed his father's special branch of painting and who is mentioned between 1459 and 1473; the other Alvise, active between 1457 and 1485, who was a panel painter. Also Cristoforo, the son of Alvise, was a painter; his name appears in a document of 1494. Paolo Bastiani, the brother of Marco and Lazzaro, was a priest.

Lazzaro was entrusted with the execution of a few mosaics in the church of S. Marco (3). Vincenzo Bastiani, mentioned from 1506 till his death in 1512 as working at mosaics in S. Marco, was the son of Sebastian Zucato and not related to Lazzaro who

(1) *B. Berenson*, *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 149. *M. Logan Berenson*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, II, 1907, p. 337. *G. Ludwig e Molmenti*, *Vittore Carpaccio*, Milan, 1906, pp. 7—31. *L. Venturi* in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, III, p. 21. *L. Fiocco*, *Carpaccio*, Rome (1933), p. 100.

(2) For the documents v. *Paoletti u. Ludwig*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XXIII, 1900, fasc. 3 and 4.

(3) *P. Saccardo*, *Les Mosaiques de Saint Marc, Venise*, 1897, pp. 43, 255. (The same in Italian in *La Basilica di San Marco etc. sotto la direzione di C. Boito*. I, Venice, 1888, p. 306, etc.).

had a son of the same name still alive in 1513. It may be that Zuane Bastiani, active as mosaicist in 1474, was a son of Lazzaro. He had, besides, a son called Jacopo who is cited in 1471 as employed on a very modest piece of work in the Sala del Gran' Consiglio and yet another of the name of Sebastiano who was a priest but who at times did a bit of decorative painting.

If they had been more gifted, these numerous painters and mosaicists, all of one family, might have dominated at least a part of the Venetian school. Of this, however, there was never any trace and even the question of whether Carpaccio was really a pupil of Lazzaro or, at the least, greatly influenced by him, cannot be answered in the affirmative without considerable reserve.

The earliest appearance of the name of Lazzaro, accompanied by the denomination of "pictor", is in 1449. For some time it was supposed that he was Lazzaro di Giacomo, who in 1458 was employed on the restoration of the façade of the palace of the Dukes of Ferrara and who remained in the service of these princes, but there is really no reason for this identification. In 1460 Lazzaro painted an altar-piece, now lost, for the church of S. Samuele, Venice, in which building some very damaged fresco fragments are supposed to be from his hand. Ten years later he is commissioned by the Scuola di S. Marco to execute a picture in two parts illustrating the story of King David. The same year he becomes a member of the Scuola di S. Gerolamo.

A curious incident occurs in 1473; a Venetian, settled at Pera, orders by correspondence a small painting of the Lord by Lazzaro and in case this painter is no longer alive the order is to be passed on to Giovanni Bellini. Various documents of 1482, 1496 and 1502 record him as living in the parishes of Sta. Margherita, S. Raffaele and S. Niccolò, but as all three have common boundaries it may be that the difference in name is due to some slight inexactitudes and that the painter never really changed his house. He figures as witness in 1498, 1500 and 1502. He was certainly not the Lazzaro who, in 1499, executed some decorative painting in the cathedral of Ferrara. In 1508 he, on the advice of Giovanni Bellini, was charged, together with Carpaccio and Vittore Belliniano, to estimate the value of a fresco by Giorgione on the façade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (1). Lazzaro died in 1512 and we find

(1) The document is known to us only in print in *Gualandi*, *Memorie*

his name inscribed that year in the death roll of the Scuola di S. Marco.

From the earliest mention of the painter till his death there is an interval of sixty-three years but from this long period of activity we have only two dated works: the Madonna with saints and adorers of 1484 in SS. Maria e Donato, Murano, and the Coronation of the Virgin of 1490 in the gallery of Bergamo. Consequently we have at least thirty-five years of artistic activity prior to the first of these two dated productions and possibly about twenty years after the second. Thus we are confronted with the difficult task of classifying Lazzaro's different manners of painting in chronological order. The painter changed his style several times and we notice that his chief sources of inspiration were very likely the Paduan masters, but also Bartolomeo Vivarini, Antonio Vivarini, Gentile Bellini and Giambellino. The obvious connexion with Carpaccio has been explained by Mr. Berenson through the influence of the latter on Lazzaro, though it is more generally believed that, on the contrary, Carpaccio was his pupil. As fate would have it, we know no works of Carpaccio either prior to about his thirty-fifth year, so that here, too, points of comparison are lacking.

Bastiani painted a predella with scenes from the life of St. Jerome, which was bought by the Brera Gallery in 1900, and two large canvases of the communion and death of this saint which were transferred from the gallery of Vienna, where they were ascribed to Carpaccio or to his school, to the gallery of Venice (823, 824). The latter works originate from the Scuola di S. Gerolamo.

It will be remembered that in 1470 Lazzaro became a member of this Scuola and it has been supposed that some link exists between his enrolment and the execution of these paintings. I find it somewhat difficult to imagine that these canvases are as early as 1470 and am inclined to think that they should date from about twenty years later. The three predella panels in the Brera,

risguardante le belle arti, III, Bergamo, 1842, p. 90, in which he adds a note that, according to records found in the archives (but he does not say where), Bastiani, together with Benedetto Diana, painted the banners for the Piazza S. Marco, as well as the portraits of the doges in the "Sala dei Venti Savi". Sansovini and Ridolfi also cite these portraits.

on the other hand, are somewhat earlier in style and if Lazzaro joined the Confraternity of S. Gerolamo with the idea of being employed by this institution, I can very well believe that soon after 1470 he painted an altar-piece of which these three panels formed part. In this case it becomes again more probable that the infinitely more gifted Carpaccio was at one time the pupil of Lazzaro, though this must remain in the realm of mere hypothesis.

Moreover, the predella in the Brera is one of the weakest productions of this mediocre artist. The hard incisive design, which degenerates into rigidity, seems to point to an influence from Padua and if we have to admit a Paduan education it is possible that he may have been a pupil of Squarcione. In fact, for chronological reasons it could hardly have been anyone of a later generation and, besides, his curious morphological types seem to find their origin in Squarcione's art.

There are only two other works, generally accepted as productions of Lazzaro Bastiani, which show a strong and direct Paduan influence. The one is an elaborate Deposition in the church of S. Antonio, Venice, mentioned by Sansovino and Ridolfi; the other is a very poor picture of the Visitation in the Correr Museum. The latter, though not without stylistic resemblance to the predella panels in the Brera, is, on the whole, rather below Lazzaro's usual standard and we can easily imagine that it might have been painted by another member of the family. The Deposition is of a much finer quality. Besides the dead Saviour, we see seven figures under the Cross; one of them — St. John — supports the body of Christ which is about to be placed in a coffin. The types and the severe breadth of treatment rather suggest an influence of Andrea Mantegna or of Giovanni Bellini in his Mantegnesque phase.

The examination of another painting will decide us in favour of the latter hypothesis. In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (1170a), there is a panel of the Pietà — a half-length figure of the Saviour standing in His tomb, supported by the Virgin and St. John — which is considerably more Belliniesque; it is inspired, however, by a slightly more mature manner (fig. 105). Not only are the two lateral figures very close to Giambellino's types but that of the Saviour, though inversed, is a slavish copy of the corresponding figure in Bellini's Pietà between two angels in the

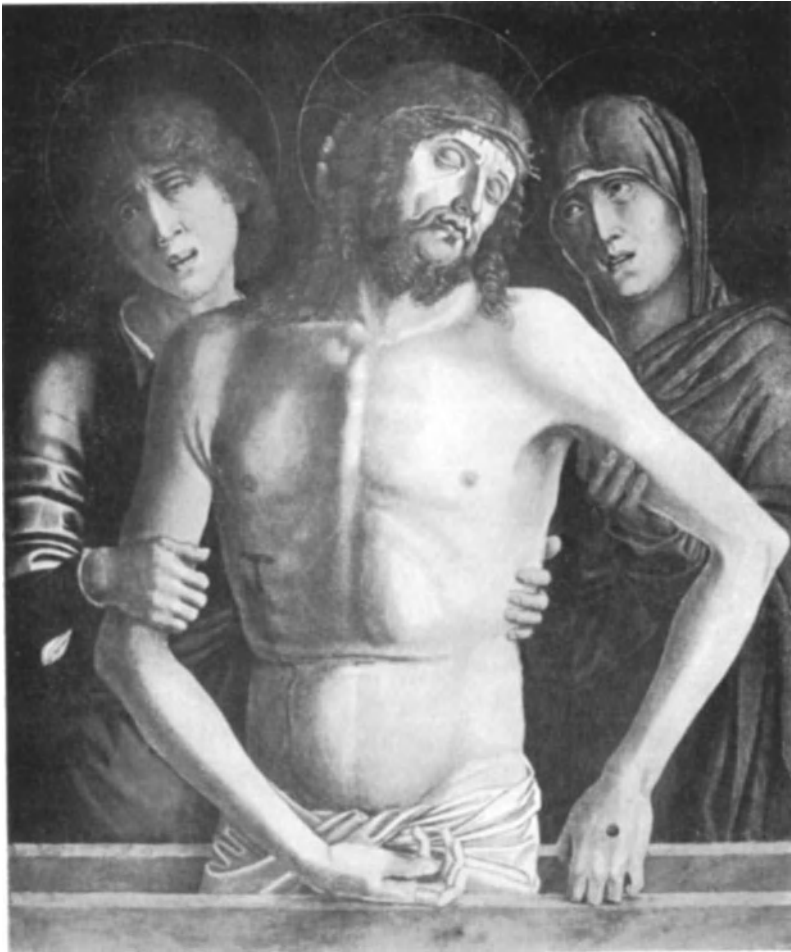


Fig. 105. Lazzaro Bastiani, Pietà. Museum, Berlin.

Mus. Photo.

National Gallery, which, as I said in the previous volume, may have been executed towards 1468.

In the group of works influenced by the Paduan masters might be included two little panels with scenes from the martyrdom of a saint in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, but I am more inclined to look upon these paintings as the first achievements of Carpaccio and consequently we shall deal with them in the following chapter.

Quite possibly Lazzaro came in contact with Gentile Bellini

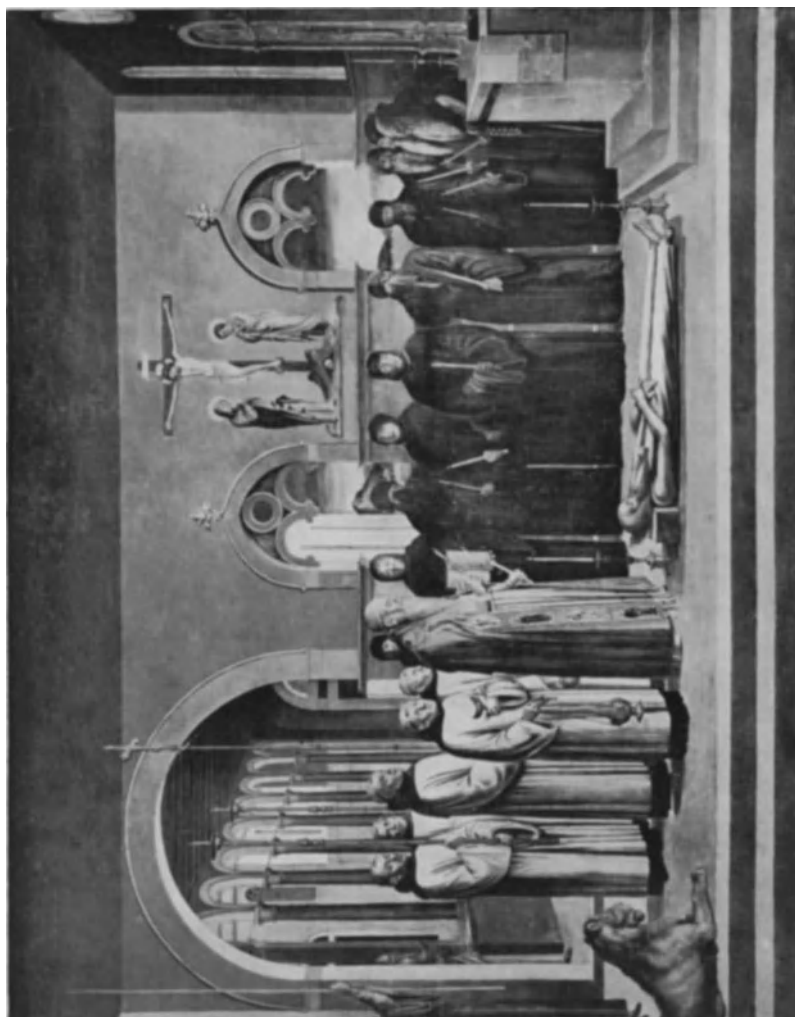


Fig. 106. Lazzaro Bastiani, *Death of St. Jerome*. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Alinari.

fairly early in his career and it is perhaps to this meeting that we owe the decidedly altered appearance of the second painting of the death of St. Jerome, that now in the gallery of Venice (fig. 106) ⁽¹⁾, which forms the pendant to the picture of the saint receiving the Holy Sacrament. Still, if we compare the large

⁽¹⁾ *F. Malaguzzi Valeri, Rassegna d'Arte, III, 1903, p. 98.*

canvas in Venice with the small panel in the Brera, we discover that the composition, even to the details of the architecture and decoration, is the same; a great change, however, has taken place in the appearance of the human figures, especially the heads and the features, and this change approximates him closely to Gentile Bellini. In the painting of the saint's last communion there are a few figures in the right half which reveal a Paduan influence.

Executed in the same manner is the weak, but not unattractive, panel of the Annunciation against a background of architecture, in the Wetzel collection, Boston. It is of a more refined design and execution and is probably of a somewhat earlier period (1).

By Bastiani there is another picture which approximates him still more to Gentile. It represents Filippo de Massari offering the relics of the cross he had brought from Jerusalem to the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista. This painting, which is considerably restored, is now preserved in the Accademia (561) (fig. 107). It is mentioned as existing in this Scuola by Sansovino, Ridolfi, Boschini and Moschini; the latter, however, makes a mistake about the subject. It is also cited by Zanetti but he ascribes it to Mansueti.

This kind of large picture which destroys the religious solemnity of the event and turns it into a scene in the street, with elaborate studies of architecture, details from every-day life and crowds of people with groups of portraits here and there, seems to have come into vogue after the nineties when we meet with the examples by Gentile Bellini, Carpaccio and Mansueti. We can hardly imagine that Lazzaro was the pioneer of this type of composition, consequently we have to date this canvas from towards 1500 rather than around 1490.

Similar in style and again considerably influenced by Gentile are a somewhat repainted panel of a reception on the Piazzetta S. Marco, in the Correr Museum (2), and three predella panels illustrating the story of an as yet unidentified saint in the Jac-

(1) Reprod. *Berenson, Venetian Painting in America*, fig. 50.

(2) According to *A. della Rovere, Rassegna d'Arte*, II, 1902, p. 33, who attributes this painting to Carpaccio, the scene represents the reception of Ercole I and Alfonso I d'Este.

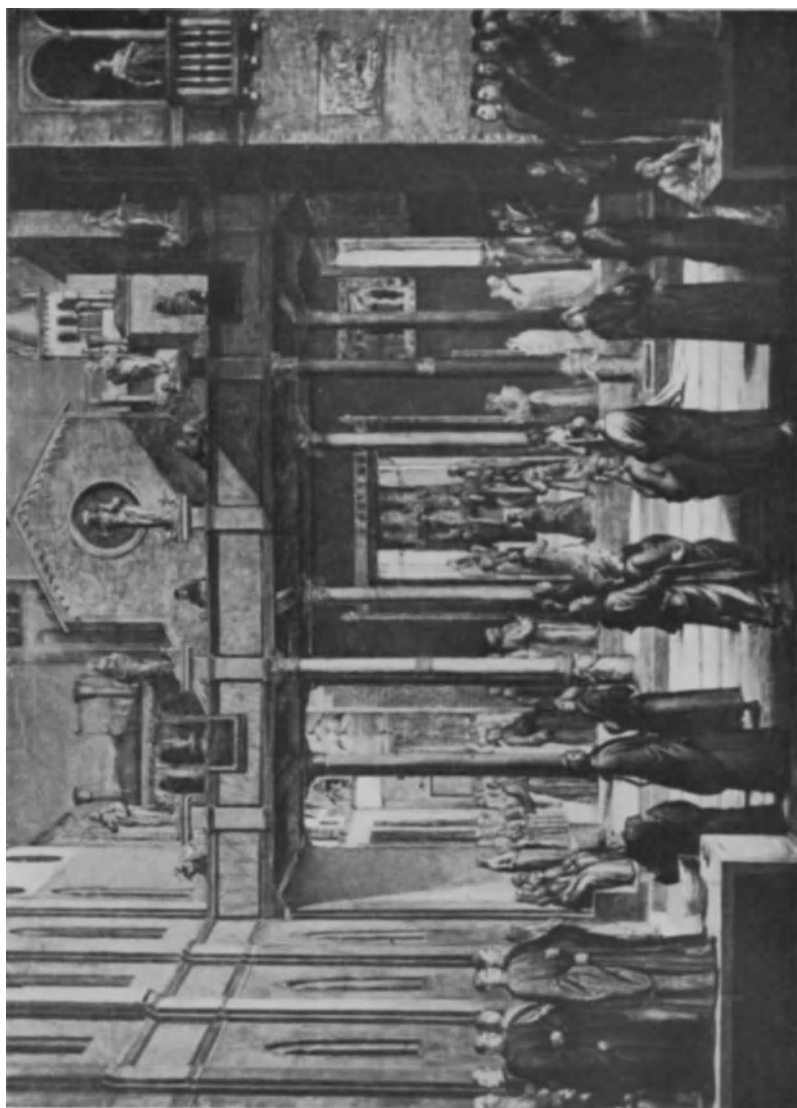


Fig. 107. Lazzaro Bastiani, *Offering of the Reliquary of the Holy Cross*.
Accademia, Venice. Photo A linari.

quemart André Museum, Paris, signed "*Lazari Bastiani O.*" (1).
Perhaps an earlier example of Gentile's influence on Bastiani is

(1) *L. Venturi, L'Arte*, XVII, 1914, p. 73.



Fig. 108. Lazzaro Bastiani, Angel of the Annunciation.
Gallery, Padua. Mus. Photo.



Fig. 109. Lazzaro Bastiani, St. Jerome. Sta. Maria Assunta, Asolo.

Photo Alinari.

shown in the rather problematic-looking picture which was until recently in the von Auspitz collection, Vienna. We see the fortified wall of a town against a landscape background and a group of Venetian patricians near a horse. I think it very unlikely that it represents the Horse of Troy and quite impossible that it could ever have been painted by Carpaccio. Lazzaro Bastiani's is, I think, the most plausible name for the author of this picture ⁽¹⁾.

Gentile Bellini's influence is also very evident in four unattractive figures of saints — Cosmo, Damian, Dominic and a holy bishop — in the Correr Museum.

I am of the opinion that there were two stages in Lazzaro Bastiani's career in which he came under the influence of Gentile Bellini: first, at an early period when this domination intermingles with Paduan reminiscences (and it was in this manner that he executed the two canvases of St. Jerome and the Annunciation in the Wetzel collection); and then again probably after 1490, of which phase the principal achievement is the large canvas of the story of the relic of the cross.

In the intervening years Lazzaro seems to have followed Bartolomeo Vivarini more than any other master and, judging from the particular types he chose as example, this influence could not have affected him much before 1480.

The pictures by Lazzaro in which we find the faces with those round swollen features so dear to Bartolomeo, are: an important Nativity in the Accademia of Venice, with four saints standing near the open shed in which the Virgin adores the Child Jesus while St. Joseph and the shepherds are seen behind; the organ shutters showing the archangel Gabriel from an Annunciation (fig. 108), and the archangel Michael slaying the dragon, both in the museum of Padua (612, 613); and a signed oblong panel of the Annunciation in the Correr Museum, in which both figures kneel on a terrace, while above the architecture and landscape of the background, God the Father appears.

The characteristics which point to the influence of Bartolomeo Vivarini are less obvious in a panel of the Virgin, enthroned

⁽¹⁾ This name was already given by *Ludwig e Molmenti*. The attribution to Carpaccio was made by Professor *Fiocco*, Carpaccio, Rome (1933), p. 57 and pl. 2. *L. Venturi*, *Pittura venez.*, p. 282, judges it to be a production of the school of Lazzaro Bastiani.



Fig. 110. Lazzaro Bastiani, Madonna, Angels and Saints.
SS. Maria e Donato, Murano. Photo Alinari.

between the archangels Gabriel and Raphael with Tobias, in the gallery of Dublin (352, ascribed to Carpaccio); in an altarpiece of St. Jerome enthroned, with two angels in mid-air holding the cardinal's hat over his head, and the half-length figure of the Saviour between those of the Virgin and St. John in the lunette, which is preserved in Sta. Maria Assunta, Asolo (fig. 109); and in a picture of the Madonna looking down at the nude Child seated on her knee, with a curtain and small landscape as background, in the museum of Verona. A replica of the latter, in very poor condition but perhaps also by Lazzaro, is found in the Correr Museum.

A comparison of these pictures with the signed and dated lunette of 1484 in SS. Maria e Donato in Murano (fig. 110) gives us some indication of the period in which Lazzaro came under the influence of Bartolomeo. But perhaps in this painting, in which the Madonna is seated on an architectural throne between St. John the Baptist and a holy bishop, who protects a venerable kneeling adorer, and four little angels, this influence is not even at its strongest. In the Coronation of the Virgin of 1490 in the gallery of Bergamo (fig. 111), in which, according to the ancient Venetian iconography, God the Father seated behind is depicted uniting as it were the Madonna and her Son, between SS. Benedict and Ursula and four little angels, neither the faces nor the features are any longer typical of Bartolomeo Vivarini; instead, the long simple forms correspond more to those we found in the big canvas of the relic of the cross. Consequently, if we can establish any chronological succession of manners in Lazzaro's works, we have to suppose that the painting of 1484 marks about the end of Bartolomeo's influence.

Close in style to the painting of 1484, but probably of a somewhat earlier date, is an important triptych — the Madonna between SS. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene — which was for sale not long ago ⁽¹⁾.

On account of the more regular shape and type of the faces, the smoother design and the proportions of the bodies which characterize another group of works, it seems probable that after being influenced by Bartolomeo Vivarini, Lazzaro came into

⁽¹⁾ It formed part of a collection sold at Christie's on the 14th December 1923. Reprod. in Cicerone, 1930, p. 403.

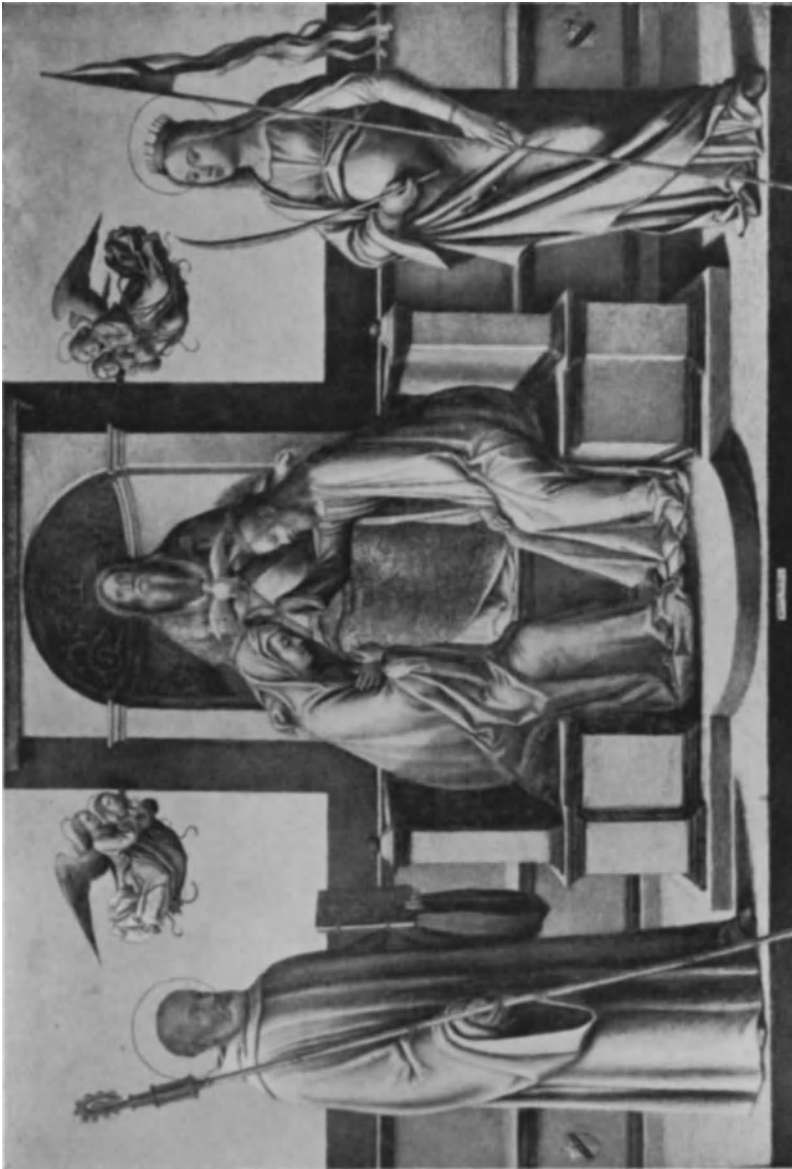


Fig. 111. Lazzaro Bastiani, Coronation of the Virgin and Saints. Gallery,
Bergamo. Photo Alinari.

contact with Bartolomeo's brother Alvise. I should say that the first outcome of this new tendency might be the large altar-



Fig. 112. Lazzaro Bastiani, *St. Veneranda and Saints*. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Alinari.

piece of *St. Veneranda* (fig. 112). Here under an open loggia, adorned apparently with mosaics of the Lord, the Virgin and four



Fig. 113. Lazzaro Bastiani, *Madonna*. National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.

saints, St. Veneranda is depicted seated on a high and very ornamental throne; she is accompanied to either side by four female saints, among whom we can recognize SS. Agnes and Mary Mag-

dalene, and an angel playing the lute. The signature "*Lazarus Bastianus pinxit*" is inscribed below. This picture was originally in the Corpus Domini church and Vasari and Sansovino, who both call the central figure the Madonna, as well as Ridolfi and Zanetti, describe it in this church. Later it was taken to the museum of Vienna but after the great war it was restored to Italy and is now in the Accademia of Venice (822). Vasari adds that he had in his possession the original drawing for this painting.

In quite the same manner Lazzaro executed an allegory of the Church triumphant and militant, which is now in the convent of S. Francesco, Zara (1). It is of an elaborate composition. In the lower part, a church with open doors is seen in a landscape; crowds of people — the men to the right led by the pope, the women to the left headed by a queen — kneel in adoration. Above in the centre we see the seated Madonna carried by angels, with God the Father touching her crown; here again groups of adorers are placed to either side.

Our painter was obviously influenced by Alvise when he executed a half-length figure of the Madonna holding the Child Who, playing with a bird on a string, half kneels on a cushion; the figures are depicted against the background of a curtain, adorned with a garland of fruit, which conceals most of the landscape behind. This picture, in which once more we discern some Paduan reminiscences but which on the whole reminds us more of Alvise's maturer manner, is preserved in the National Gallery (1935) (fig. 113).

Not unlike the above-mentioned painting is one in the sacristy of the Redentore church, Venice, in which, however, the Madonna adores the Child Who lies on a low wall in front of her, while the wreath is missing.

Alvise's influence is still more manifest in a picture representing St. Antony of Padua enthroned in a tree with St. Jerome and a Franciscan monk reading a book, seated below, against an unattractive landscape. This work, in which the signature "*Lazarus Bastianus P.*" is inscribed on a label attached to the tree, originates

(1) *A. Dudan*, *La Dalmazia nell' arte italiana*, II, Milan, 1922, p. 390, pl. 239. *A. Cecchelli* *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia*; Zara, Rome, no date, p. 129 etc.



Fig. 114. Lazzaro Bastiani, St. Antony and Saints. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

from the Scuola di Sant' Antonio ai Frari, but is now in the Accademia of Venice (104) (fig. 114).

Rounder forms and a more evolved style are shown in a picture of the Annunciation in the museum of the monastery of Klosterneuburg (Austria); an abundance of architecture and a piece of landscape form the background; the Virgin is attired in a magnificent cloak of velvet. A young female saint in the Marinucci collection, Rome, is painted in the same manner; again her dress is of rich velvet and she carries a vase, from which a flame emerges, and the palm of martyrdom; two angels hold a crown over her head and an adorer kneels before her. The elaborate landscape is animated by small figures (1).

Finally, Lazzaro Bastiani left his signature near a mosaic figure of St. Serge which, in the first arch to the right of the choir of S. Marco, Venice, forms the pendant to a much more archaic-looking St. Bacchus (2).

(1) Reprod. by *W. Suida*, *Apollo*, Sept. 1934, p. 123, as a work of Carpaccio.

(2) The following works are also by Lazzaro Bastiani: a small picture of the Madonna feeding the Child with two angels holding crowns, in the Correr Museum; probably an early production representing a scene of judgment in the Cook coll., Richmond (130); a Resurrection of Christ which I saw for sale in New York some years ago; and possibly a very damaged predella with St. Jerome in penitence, the crucifixion of St. Andrew and St. Martin and the beggar in S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice. Mr Berenson ascribes to Lazzaro still an Annunciation in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A., which is unknown to me, possibly a recent acquisition; a Madonna with St. George and another saint and twelve angels in the Brera Gallery, Milan (with a question-mark); a Madonna and two angels (407), horsemen in a landscape (456) and Hercules with a flock of sheep and dogs (1705, with a question-mark), all in the museum of Padua; a Nativity in the museum of Stuttgart, which several critics classify as a school production but I think it is by Lazzaro himself. I do not agree with Mr Berenson's attributions to Lazzaro of: a St. Antony in the church of S. Andrea, Barletta; a St. Jerome in the cathedral of Monopoli, both of which, besides, he questions, and a small polyptych of the Madonna and holy monks in the Accademia, Venice (27); I mention these works elsewhere. *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., have made the erroneous attributions to Lazzaro, and they have been repeated by some other critics, of the votive picture of the Madonna with SS. John the Baptist, Christopher and the adoring Doge Mocenigo in the National Gallery (750), possibly begun by Gentile and finished by Giov.



Fig. 115. Lazzaro Bastiani, St. Serge, Mosaic. S. Marco, Venice.

Photo Böhm.

Of the paintings, now lost, mentioned by the ancient authors, the most important seems to have been the series of portraits of doges in the "Sala dei venti Savi" or "Sala del Collegio delle Venticinque", regarding which, as I said before, according to Gualandi's "Memorie", a document apparently existed; the portraits are also mentioned by Sansovino and Ridolfi. The former of these two writers (p. 124*b*) even gives their size — un braccio e mezzo — and informs us further that they were depicted in ancient costume.

Another picture, which is cited by Sansovino (48*a*) and described more in detail by Ridolfi, is one representing St. Augustine and his friars receiving the rule of the order and their habit from the pope, in the S. Salvatore church. Sansovino (49*a*) also speaks of a picture of SS. James, Mark and Jerome and three scenes in the predella in the church of S. Giuliano and (93*a*) of a Madonna della Misericordia, protecting the faithful against the arrows loosed on them by God the Father, accompanied by St. Roch, which is painted "a guazzo" in the Carmine church. According to Boschini, a Deposition in S. Severo was a production of the school of Lazzaro, though Zanetti ascribes it to the master's own hand, as does also Moschini, in whose day it had already been transferred to the Accademia. I do not understand to which painting they refer.

The works of the school of Lazzaro Bastiani are by no means so numerous as might have been expected, considering the number of painters in the family. I am also more inclined to connect with Carpaccio's school the series of small panels in the church of S. Alvise; they are an amusing example of popular painting deriving from the art of a great master.

Quite near Lazzaro's manner, when strongly influenced by Gentile, is an important predella in the Correr Museum, which is sometimes attributed to Lauro Padovano. In the centre we see a woman accusing a man, held by soldiers, before a prince seated

Bellini, and the so-called "Madonna dei Bei Occhi" from the Palazzo Ducale now in the Ca d' Oro, which is a production of the school of Giambellino (v. Vol. XVII, figs. 213 and 227); also *Paoletti e Ludwig*, op. cit., assign it to Lazzaro. Nor have I much faith in the attribution to Lazzaro of a drawing of the head of an oriental in the gallery of Dresden (*Ludwig e Molment*, op. cit., p. 22).



Fig. 116. Giacomo Belli(?), Christ, Angels and Saints. Accademia, Venice. Photo Alinari.

on a throne; crowds of people assist at the scene which is placed in the midst of an abundance of architecture. To the left the same woman is depicted talking to a soldier; some orientals form part of this scene, and to the right are shown noblemen conversing and children; in both these scenes the backgrounds are composed of architecture and landscapes.

In the Correr Museum (1104, 1105) there are two rather attractive pictures, executed however by a poor artist. They represent Adam and Eve and King David and the Salamite, each couple standing near a tree which is crowded with little figures holding scrolls. In both cases the background is the most pleasing part ⁽¹⁾.

Obviously a close follower of Lazzaro Bastiani, though not without a knowledge of Cima's art, was the painter who executed an oblong panel of a row of sacred figures standing in a landscape with hills in the distance and little plants and birds at their feet. The central figure is that of the Lord, His hand raised in benediction, accompanied by two angelic musicians; to one side are shown SS. Mark and Peter and to the other SS. John the Baptist and Paul (fig. 116). This work is not of a very high standard but reveals a Paduan taste for incisive design and rather conventional forms ⁽²⁾. For many years it was in the gallery of Vienna but after the war it was restored to Italy and is now in the gallery of Venice. Boschini (p. 267), who saw this painting in the office of the "Magistrato dei Camerlenghi di Comune" informs us that it is a work of Giacomo Belli. Zanetti (p. 32) repeats this attribution, calling, however, the painter Jacopo Belli. It is highly likely that his authority for this statement was the older author. We know nothing more about this painter; no documents record his name and there are no extant signed works by this master. Several writers have expressed the opinion that Boschini must have made some mistake; yet he could hardly have confounded him with Marco Bello whose manner of painting is quite different.

An unimportant half-length figure of a holy bishop in the Gardner Museum, Boston, has been ascribed to Giacomo Belli and it actually does show a certain resemblance to the picture in

⁽¹⁾ Reprod. in *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., pl. at p. 28.

⁽²⁾ *Frimmel*, Galleriestudien, 1898, p. 347. *Ludwig e Molmenti*, Caracciolo, p. 71. *Thieme-Becker*, Künstlerlexikon, III, p. 267.

Venice. On the other hand Professor L. Venturi's hypothesis ⁽¹⁾ that Giacomo Belli should be held responsible for a votive painting of the Madonna, with SS. John the Baptist, Christopher and Doge Mocenigo, in the National Gallery (750 v. Vol. XVII, fig. 227) is without any foundation. This work is decidedly Belliniesque in style.

Although Lazzaro Bastiani constantly changed his manner, he always remained a mediocre painter. An attempt has been made to raise him out of this mediocrity by suggesting that he was the master of several famous painters. Cavalcaselle thought that he taught Mantegna and to-day many critics believe that he was the master of Carpaccio, in spite of the fact that all the bygone authors, including Vasari — who of the one artist has made two distinct personalities, both of them brothers of Carpaccio — Ridolfi, Zanetti and Moschini affirm that Lazzaro was the pupil of Carpaccio. Zanetti adds, however, that Lazzaro seems more faithful to the old manner than Carpaccio. In fact, his taste for the art of a past generation is manifest in the primitive appearance of several of his works. Of the modern critics only Mr Berenson holds more or less to this opinion. According to him Gentile Bellini was Carpaccio's real master, and the resemblance which exists between some of the works of Gentile and Lazzaro can be due only to an influence of Carpaccio on this fickle painter. The works in which this influence is most obvious, as for instance the two St. Jerome canvases, are consequently late productions.

We have not sufficient material to come to any conclusion regarding this question, because, as I said before, we have no sure knowledge of the early works of either painter. However, I do not find that the appearance of Carpaccio's earliest dated paintings justifies the hypothesis that he learned the first elements of painting from Gentile, who certainly had an influence on him at a later date. Even if the two St. Jerome canvases are late works — and personally I think they are — there remains the predella, with scenes from the life of the same saint, in the Brera Gallery which, as it were, forms a link — modest though it be — between the Paduan school and Bastiani. Again, if Carpaccio in his early years painted, as I imagine he did, the two panels in the

⁽¹⁾ *L. Venturi*, Pitt. venez., 283.

Johnson collection, Philadelphia, which are sometimes attributed to Lazzaro ⁽¹⁾ but which seem to me far too graceful and too spirited for this mediocre artist, here too we find in the obvious presence of Paduan characteristics a certain connexion between the two masters.

Consequently it seems quite possible, and even probable, that Lazzaro Bastiani had some part in Carpaccio's artistic education.

⁽¹⁾ *B. Berenson. Dedalo, V, 1925, p. 623. Question marked.*

CHAPTER IV

VITTORE CARPACCIO ⁽¹⁾.

The long controversy regarding the origin of Vittore Carpaccio, whom some Istrians imagine to be from their country while at the

⁽¹⁾ *A. Alisi*, Benedetto e V. C., "Capodistrica", Aug. 1911. *J. R. Anderson*, The Place of Dragons, ed. by J. Ruskin, 2nd suppl. to Ruskin's St. Mark's Rest, 2nd ed., Orpington, 1889. *B. Berenson*, L'enigma della "Gloria di S. Orsola" del C., Rassegna d'Arte, XVI, 1916, p. 1. *The Same*, Una Madonna Carpaccesca a Berlino, Idem, 1916, p. 123. *W. Bode*, Ein Gemälde des C. in K. F. Museum, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXVI, 1905, p. 145. *The Same*, V. C., Jahrb. des Propylaenverlags "Der Spiegel", Berlin, 1923. *O. Böhm*, L'église de St. Georges des Esclavons a Venise, Florence, 1924. *The Same*, The Calling of St. Matthew, Burlington Magazine, 1909, p. 228. *T. Borenius*, Burlington Magazine, XVIII, 1910—1911, p. 343. *The Same*, Two Groups of ecclesiastic Drawings, Burlington Magazine, XXIX, 1916, p. 271. *The Same*, Two unpublished North Italian Drawings, Idem, Oct. 1916. *The Same*, Two unknown C.'s, Idem, 1923, p. 127. *L. Carrer*, Elogio del C., Accad. di Venezia, 1833. *V. De Castro*, Vita del C., publ. in "Il Preludio", Venice, 1848. *A. Colasanti*, Due strambotti inediti per Ant. Vinciguerra e un ignoto ritratto di V.C., Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XXVI, Berlin, 1907, p. 198. *S. Colvin*, Ueber einige Zeichnungen des C. in England, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XVIII, 1897, p. 193. *De Tuoni*, C. (Ed. Alpes). *G. Fiocco*, Nuovi documenti intorno di V.C., Bollet. d'Arte del Minist. dell' Ed. Naz., XXVI, 1932, p. 115. *The Same*, New C.s in America, Art in America, XXII, Oct. 1934, p. 113. *Frimmel*, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XI, p. 320. *R. Fry*, Burlington Magazine, XXI, 1912, p. 95. *V. Golubeff*, Due disegni del C., Rassegna d'Arte, VII, 1907, p. 140. *G. Gronau*, An unknown Work by V.C., Burlington Magazine, Feby. 1924, p. 59. *D. von Hadeln*, V.C., Thieme-Becker, Künstlerlexikon, VI, 1912, p. 35. *W. Hausenstein*, Das Werk des V.C., Stuttgart, 1925. *T. Hetzer*, Tizian u. C., Monatsh. f. Kunstwiss., VII, 1914, p. 317. *C. Hofstede de Groot*, Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XV, 1894, p. 176. *R. Longhi*, Per un catalogo del C., Vita Artistica, III, 1932, p. 4. *G. Ludwig*, La Scuola degli Albanesi in Venezia, Arch. stor. dell'Arte, 1897, p. 405. *G. Ludwig e P. Molmenti*, V.C., La Vita, le opere, Milan, 1906. *G. Ludwig, P. Molmenti et A. Fabre*, La légende de Ste. Ursule par Memling et C., Le Mois littéraire et pittoresque, Paris, 1911. *H. Marcel*, V.C., (L'Art et les Artistes) Paris,

same time Venetians claimed him as a compatriot, seems to have ended in a victory for the latter. This conclusion has been reached chiefly through the careful documentary research of Ludwig and Molmenti who, in one of the first chapters of their monumental tome on this artist, expound the arguments in favour of this theory. In spite of all this, however, there remains a vague doubt. A document, supposed to be of the 17th century but known to me only from a short article in a newspaper ⁽¹⁾, would apparently establish without any doubt that Capodistria was his native town. The text speaks of a "strage di Erode" in "our cathedral" (doubtless that of Capodistria where there actually is a picture of this subject by Carpaccio) "di mano del Carpatio depentor Justinopolitano". The anonymous author of this text further tells us of a picture in this town of the martyrdom of St. Dionysius in the church dedicated to this saint and adds that it was by Carpaccio to whom "Heaven gave birth in this same town". He had seen this in a document of the Vice-domini of this city of 1516 where Carpaccio figured as witness and where he was described as "depentor da Cape d'Istria". We find a certain confirmation of this statement in the fact that we have an extant picture of 1516 painted by Carpaccio for Capodistria. However, I have since been informed by Professor Majer, librarian of Capodistria, that we cannot put much faith in these documents. As the ancient Lanzi remarked, Carpaccio, in signing some of his works, places the word "Venetus"

1908. *A. Martin*, The young Knight by C., Burlington Magazine, XLIV, 1924, p. 58. *Milanesi*, ed. of Vasari, III, p. 627 and commentary, p. 661. *P. Molmenti*, Il C. e il Tiepolo, Turin, 1885. *The Same*, C. son temps et son oeuvre, Venice, 1893. *The Same*, De alcuni quadri custoditi nella città di Zara e attribuiti al C., Emporium, XXIII, 1906, p. 266. *P. Molmenti e G. Ludwig*, V.C. et la confrérie de Ste. Ursule à Venise, Florence, 1903. *R. Offner*, Un "Sant' Eustachio" del C., Dedalo, II³, 1921—22, p. 765. *The Same*, transl. into English, Art in America, X, 1922, p. 127. *C. Philips*, Two Pictures at the Hermitage, Burlington Magazine, XVII, 1910, p. 261. *The Same*, An unrecognized C., Burlington Magazine, XIX, 1911, p. 144. *Ridolfi*, Le Maraviglie, ed. von Hadeln, I, p. 44. *G. L. Rosenthal*, C. (Les grands artistes), Paris, 1930. *A. delle Rovere*, V.C., Rassegna d'Arte, (March 1902. *J. Ruskin*, The Shrine of the Slaves, 1st suppl. to St. Mark's Rest, 2nd ed., Orpington, 1887. *The Same*, Fors Clavigera, London, 1897. *L. Testi*, Nuovi studi sul C., Arch. stor. ital., XXXIII, 1904, p. 96. *L. Venturi*, Contributo a C., L'Arte, XXXIII, 1930, p. 293.

(1) Corriere della Sera, 2nd July 1929.

after his name, but Canon Stancovich ⁽¹⁾ argued that the artist might have meant that he belonged to the republic of Venice. Anyhow the denomination "Venetus" might have been used to describe his actual citizenship of this great art centre of which, as a painter, he must certainly have been much prouder than of his origin from Capodistria. The same apocryphal document informs us as well very precisely that the painter Benedetto was his "nepote", which means either nephew or grandson, and in two legal documents in which this Benedetto is recorded his father's name is given as "Miser Vctor". There can be no doubt that Vittore Carpaccio belonged to the family of this name, whose members include merchants, masters of the mint, fish and fur dealers, a fraudulent goldsmith and a smuggler, and of which Ludwig and Molmenti publish the genealogical tree from the year 1348 onward. Ridolfi tells us that our painter was "nobile per antica cittadinanza". Several members of this family were called "Vettore" and it is by no means impossible that our painter might be the very Vittore whom these authors believe him to be, a nephew of a certain Fra Ilario in whose will of 1472 he is mentioned. Even so, he might have been born in Capodistria, with which town Venice had very many connexions. Perhaps a branch of the family settled there where the name can be traced from the 15th century to the 16th ⁽²⁾.

The question whether Vittore Carpaccio was born in Venice or Capodistria is perhaps of local importance to the inhabitants of the respective towns, but it can in no way concern his artistic individuality, because Capodistria is not sufficiently distant from Venice for the existence of a separate school of painting, and Carpaccio, if born there, must have come under the far-reaching and powerful influence of the Venetian centre. Nor could the fact that he was born in Capodistria explain any form of the oriental tendency in his art although again quite recently this theory has been propounded.

The name of the family was not Carpaccio at all but Scarpazza, Scarpaza, Scarpazzo, Scarpasium, Scarpatio etc. and in one of these forms is met with in Venice as early as 1284. Vittore signed him-

⁽¹⁾ *P. Stancovich*, *Biografia degli uomini distinti dell' Istria*, Trieste, III, 1928, p. 111.

⁽²⁾ *G. Caprin*, *L'Istria nobilissima*, II, 1907, p. 101.

self Carpacio, Charpatio, Carpat(h)ius or Carpacio and only on one occasion Scarpazo. Benedetto calls himself Carpaco. It was not until the 17th century that Ridolfi and Boschini started using the now universally accepted name of Carpaccio.

If our artist can be identified with the person mentioned in September 1472 in the will of Zuanne Scarpazza, whose monastic name was Fra Ilario, then we should have in this document the earliest record of Carpaccio. Moreover, as the law prescribed that an heir had to be at least fifteen years of age before he could personally receive an inheritance, we can take it for granted that Carpaccio was born not later than 1457 and very probably some time prior to this date. We should not lose sight of the fact, however, that we have no proof that the "Victore" of the testament is one and the same as our painter. As I said before, there were several members of the family who bore this name and it is somewhat surprising that in a document of 1486 in which there is record of the same Vittore of the will — and this we are sure of because of the name of his father — there is no mention of his profession of painter ⁽¹⁾.

Although we need take only a minor interest in the problem as to whether Carpaccio was born in Capodistria or in Venice, we can certainly not assume the same attitude with regard to the date of his birth because, if we doubt his identification with the Vittore of the will of 1472 and the document of 1486, the earliest date we can associate with the artist is that of 1490 which accompanies his signature on the canvas of St. Ursula's arrival in Cologne. The question is of the utmost importance to our comprehension of the artist because, if he is not the same as the Vittore of the will and the document, we could place the beginning of his activity at least ten years later and consequently we should not have to search for possible early works, that is to say, those executed in the first thirty-five or forty years of his existence. It is therefore very regrettable that this matter should remain an unsolved problem.

If, on the one hand, it seems impossible that such an important enterprise as the decoration of the Scuola di St. Orsola should have been entrusted to a very young and as yet little known artist, on

⁽¹⁾ *Ludwig e Molmenti*, Carpaccio, p. 57.

the other hand, we are forced to realize that there is something very spontaneous and youthful in several of the scenes. It is also a remarkable fact that, whereas from 1490 till 1523, the date of his last production, we meet with his name almost every year on his numerous dated pictures, we have not one dated painting prior to the St. Ursula series, nor in fact any mention of Carpaccio's activity as a painter, and it certainly seems strange that such a monumental achievement should mark his entry into the history of art. Can it be possible that he passed these early years outside Venice, perhaps at Capodistria? Or on account of his outstanding ability did the authorities entrust the decoration of the Scuola di St. Orsola to a very young painter? The fundamental changes which took place in his manner of painting soon after might also lead us to believe that he was still fairly young when he executed these canvases.

The facts we know about Carpaccio are as follows. From 1490 till 1495 he worked for the Scuola di St. Orsola; soon after 1494 he was active for the Confraternità di S. Giovanni; in 1496 for Udine; and in 1502 for the Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni. All these activities are known to us from extant works which reveal that Carpaccio was specially in demand for the decoration of the different "Scuole". A document of 1501 tells us of an order given to Carpaccio by the Council of Ten for a picture for the "Sala de' Pregadi", for which he is to receive 20 ducats and four ounces of ultramarine. During this year he is paid by order of the same authority ten ducats on two different occasions for a picture for the "Sala Consilii Rogatorium", no doubt the same work to which the previous document refers. In 1502 he gets the final payment for this painting. We have no documentary evidence for the next few years but we know of several dated works executed during this period. In 1504 he painted the series of scenes from the life of the Virgin for the Scuola degli Albanesi and in 1507 he is engaged to work in the Sala del Gran Consiglio at the rate of two ducats a month. Here he is to assist Giambellino in the execution of three canvases one of which, begun by Alvise Vivarini, had been left unfinished at this master's death, while another of them, as we shall see, illustrated an event from the history of Ancona. The same year, the Scuola Grande di San Marco desires to entrust the execution of a processional banner to "the best painter in the world";

they ballot in order to come to a decision and Benedetto Diana gets eight votes while Carpaccio gets only six ⁽¹⁾.

In dealing with Lazzaro Bastiano I have already mentioned that this painter, along with Carpaccio and Vittore di Matteo, was chosen on the advice of Giovanni Bellini to estimate in 1508 the value of a fresco executed by Giorgione at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. In 1511 another Scuola, this time that of S. Stefano, gives an order to Carpaccio to paint a series of scenes from the legend of the patron saint. It took the artist several years to carry out this enterprise although, as we shall see later on, we can put but little faith in the date 1520 which has been deciphered on one of these paintings. Of the same year is the master's letter to Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua ⁽²⁾, a document which is of considerable interest to us. We gather from it that Carpaccio had only a very vague acquaintance with this prince because, in order to recall their meeting, the letter relates that the marquis had once been on the scaffolding in the big Council Hall while Carpaccio had been painting the "historia di Ancona". The artist really wanted Francesco Gonzaga to buy a picture of Jerusalem, painted in water colours on canvas and measuring twenty-five feet by five and a half. Carpaccio praises his own work without modesty and informs the marquis that the painting had already been bought by someone who had come to him accompanied by a bearded priest of the name of Lorenzo, who was painter to the marquis ⁽³⁾; they had agreed on the deal but since then nothing more had been heard of them. He seems to have thought that Gonzaga was the real buyer because he knew that Zuane Zamberti had not only spoken to him about the picture but had even shown him a small sketch (or part) of it. The price of the painting is left to the decision of the prince. In order to make sure that the letter reaches its destination Carpaccio sends a copy of it by a different route ⁽⁴⁾. Evidently Francesco Gonzaga bought

⁽¹⁾ *Ludwig*, op. cit., Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., p. 74.

⁽²⁾ *A. Bertolotti*, *Artisti in relazione coi Gonzaga, signori di Mantua*, Modena, 1885, p. 152. *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p.

⁽³⁾ *Bertolotti*, op. cit., suggests that this Lorenzo might have been Lorenzo Costa or Lorenzo Leon-Bruno. *Luzio*, (v. next note) believes that it was Costa although this would not coincide with the fact that, according to Carpaccio, the Lorenzo of the letter was a priest.

⁽⁴⁾ *A. Luzio*, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all' Inghilterra nel*

this work because the inventory of the Gonzaga collection of 1627 includes a painting of the town of Jerusalem valued at thirty-six lire (1).

This letter reveals to us that Carpaccio was not over-modest, that he was precise and accurate, of free and easy manner and possessed of a keen business sense.

In 1516 and 1517 we find him working at Capodistria and in 1518 at Pirano. There is a picture of 1518 from his hand at Pozzale di Cadore and one of 1520 at Chioggia. In 1523 he is still working in Capodistria but apparently he returned to Venice sometime during this year because he figures in two testaments here, once as executor and once as witness. It was also in 1523 that he received from the administrators of the Patriarch of Venice the final payment for a large panel painting which had cost 52 ducats. He died before the 26th June 1526 since his son Pietro in a document of this date refers to his father as deceased (2). His widow Laura is mentioned in a notarial deed of March 1527 (3).

* * *

We can hardly believe that Carpaccio was verging on the forties when he decorated the Scuola di St. Orsola; yet it seems even less likely, for reasons I have already given, that he was still in his teens when engaged on this work. Consequently, as has often been the case with other painters, we are confronted with the problem of deciding what paintings he created prior to this date.

The possibility that some of the non-dated canvases in St. Orsola might have been executed before 1490, the earliest date we

1627—28, Milan, 1913, p. 101, informs us that there exist two non-autograph copies of this letter in the Gonzaga archives.

(1) *Luzio*, loc. cit.

(2) *Joppi e Bampo*, Contributo quarto alla storia dell' arte nel Friuli, 1894, p. 56.

(3) At one time it was thought that a picture of a bearded man by Vettore Greco, with a Greek signature, with which we shall deal at the end of this volume, then in the Giustiniani Gallery of Venice, represented Carpaccio but *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 50, have nullified this legend which was of Lanzi's invention. Vasari tells us that he knew a portrait of the painter and Ridolfi reproduces one showing the profile of an elderly man with a short beard.



Fig. 117. Vittore Carpaccio(?), Martyrdom of a Saint. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.

Photo Courtesy of the Johnson coll.

find on them, must be excluded because the “Mariegola” of the Scuola records that in 1488 the members decide to make strict economies in order to procure the necessary means for decorating their rooms, with a special mention of canvases which were to illustrate the history of the patron saint (1).

(1) *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 95.



Fig. 118. Vittore Carpaccio, Christ and Disciples. Brockelbank Collection, London. Photo Cooper.

I can quite well imagine that Carpaccio, while still a boy, painted two rather uncouth but spirited panels in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (174, 175), which are hesitatingly attributed to Lazzaro Bastiani. Each represents a scene of martyrdom taking place between houses which are shown in perspective and which end in a low wall, beyond which a landscape is visible (fig. 117). In the types, the strange elongated proportions, the lively and easy expression of action and narrative, I think it might be said



Fig. 119. Vittore Carpaccio, *St. Ursula's Arrival in Cologne*. Accademia, Venice. Photo Anderson.

that we have here an introduction to the story of St. Ursula. In fact there exists a strong psychological link between the tattered hangman leaning on his huge hammer and the little bored "scalco" seated to the extreme left in the scene of the reception of the returning ambassadors in the St. Ursula cycle. Unskilful as was the hand that wielded the brush, these two panels reveal far more wit and temperament than Lazzaro Bastiani ever had at his disposal. The hypothesis that the youthful Carpaccio painted them, however, must remain in the realm of remote possibilities. As to the artistic current to which they belong, I see a connexion

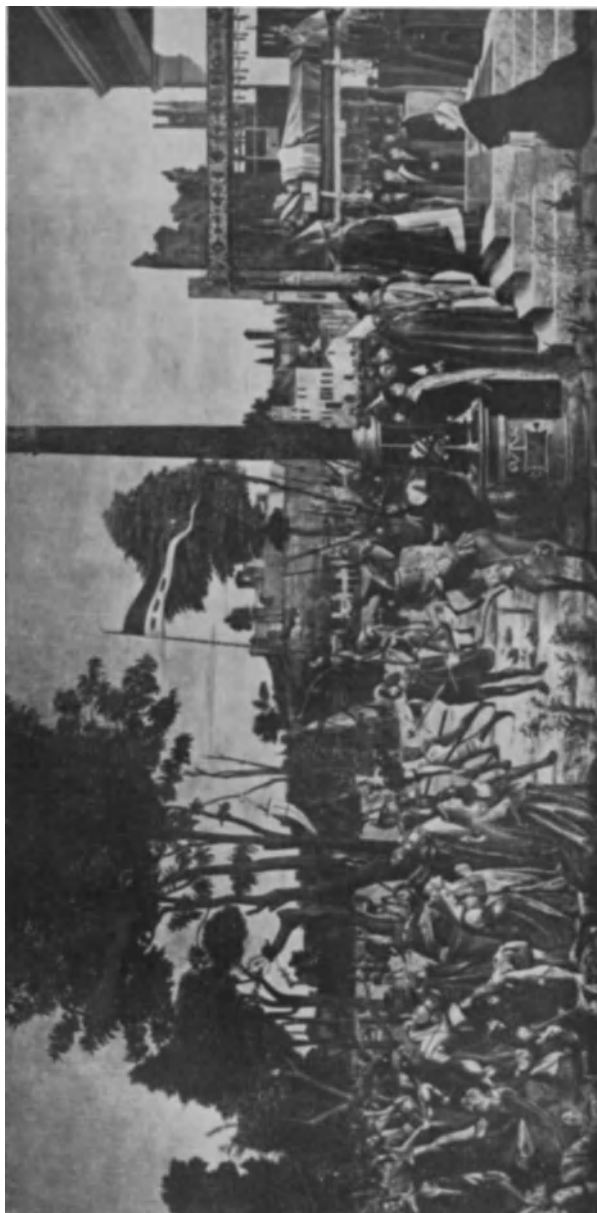


Fig. 120. Vittore Carpaccio, Martyrdom of St. Ursula. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

with Padua rather than with Venice. Moreover, there are some incidental features borrowed from Mantegna's fresco of the martyrdom of St. James in the Eremitani church as, for instance, the wooden hammer of the executioner, the appearance and attitude of the Roman soldiers, some of the gestures, the taste for flag-staffs and garlands and the choice of reliefs as decorative motifs. Nevertheless the painter who executed these two panels cannot be called Mantegnesque.

The painter shows a certain connexion with Mantegna in a panel of the Saviour in half-length figure holding a globe, in the midst of four Apostles, which belongs to Mrs Brocklebank (fig. 178) ⁽¹⁾. There is really very little in this painting which recalls the master's other works. The signature "*Vetor Scarpazo*", which is incised on the low marble parapet, is also unusual. No doubt it is a production of those early years when he had decided neither on a personal style nor on the manner, which he invariably followed afterwards, of signing his pictures.

In 1490 Carpaccio signed and dated as follows: "*Op. Victoris Charpatio Veneti MCCCCLXXX M Septembris*", the first of the canvases of the St. Ursula series, which in all comprises nine paintings though most of them have been cut and consequently are smaller than they were originally, while in part they have also been restored. They now occupy a room by themselves in the Accademia of Venice (572—580) and no doubt offer us somewhat the same impression as they did in their original site. Ridolfi, who saw them in the Scuola, gives a long account of these paintings and tells us very precisely the order in which they came. Vasari informs us that they were among Carpaccio's first achievements but we can put little faith in similar statements by this author.

The first picture represents St. Ursula's arrival in Cologne but we have to look very closely at the composition in order to discover on the big galley, anchored in the harbour, the figure of the saint and the pope, the cardinal, the bishops and the numerous virgins who accompanied her (fig. 119). In fact, the heads of some of the eleven thousand martyrs are visible in the second vessel and

⁽¹⁾ *R. Fry*, Burlington Magazine, XXI, p. 95. Burlington Fine Arts Club, (Catalogue of Exhibition of) Early Venetian Pictures, 1912, pl. 14. *T. Bovenius*, Pantheon, V, 1930, p. 88. *Balmiel and Clark*, Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition of Italian Art, Oxford-London, 1931, No. 269.



Fig. 121. Vittore Carpaccio, Funeral of St. Ursula. Accademia, Venice.
Photo Anderson.

it can very well be supposed that part of this numerous following was carried in the three other ships which have not yet reached port.

Carpaccio, however, has utterly neglected the religious side of the narrative; the principal persons of the scene are so hidden away that it is only on looking carefully at the painting that

their presence is revealed in a stiff row of heads, quite bodiless. This in itself is such a primitive manner of handling groups that it takes us back to the very outset of Italian art. When we compare the disregard with which the painter treats the pious legend with the love he betrays in the same picture for the reality of contemporary life, we at once understand the true psychology of Carpaccio. He was far from being a mystic but he was one of the most charming genre painters that Italy has ever produced, in fact he turned any subject he had to paint into a "scène de genre".

The artist obviously realized that Cologne must have been entirely different from Venice, hence in the sea-side port he depicts there is nothing which recalls his own town. There is a large tree in the foreground and the fortifications remind us more of inland regions. The vessels are treated with the eye of one familiar with navigation and no detail was too insignificant to receive attention. Also the soldiers and their uniform seem to have fascinated our artist and he has treated them with minute care, but with an incoherence of variety which leads us to imagine that he used different, unconnected studies from a sketchbook as models. In the background, tents are visible and close by an elegant young officer on horseback with a club in his hand seems to threaten a soldier who, with his helmet in his hand, is obviously afraid. Next to him an archer takes aim at a bird perched on the branch of a tree. Some of the faces of the soldiers in the group to the right show a certain resemblance to those in the picture in the Brockelbank collection and possibly not many years separates the one work from the other.

If we deal first with the paintings of this series which are dated, we now come to the apotheosis of the saint showing the inscription: "*Op. Victoris Carpatio MCCCCLXXXI*". I think, however, that Mr Berenson's arguments that this picture, for stylistic reasons, was painted at least twenty years later are perfectly sound; we shall therefore discuss it later and for the moment turn to the scene of the martyrdom of St. Ursula and her companions and the funeral of the saint, a large canvas nineteen feet long and nine feet high, which shows the date 1493 and the master's signature (figs. 120, 121). The two events, separated by a column with an ornate base, are depicted in crowded compo-



Fig. 122. Vittore Carpaccio, Farewell of St. Ursula and her Betrothed. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

sitions, with some fine trees and buildings in the background. The execution of the eleven thousand virgins and their clerical companions has the appearance of a *mélée* and continues in the distance where the figures are miniature-like. Some beautifully attired warriors, one of them an elegant archer, are placed well in evidence to the right but the conventional grace and lengthy proportions of some of these figures form something of a contrast to the group of martyrs kneeling before them and still more so to the morphological types in that part of the picture which illustrates the funeral of St. Ursula. Here the figures are of quite a different style; they are of a serene and regular beauty, of almost classical appearance, and remind us of Giambellino's art of about this period, or even of Cima's. With the exception of one woman worshipping in the foreground, the funeral procession is composed entirely of men, no doubt many of them portraits. The bier, on which the saint lies, is carried by four bishops who, having mounted a flight of steps, are about to enter an open loggia on the front of which the saint's name is inscribed. A house of an interesting architectural design and a ruined castle are depicted in the background.

Two other paintings of this cycle are dated 1495. One of them represents the meeting and the departure of the two betrothed, the other the dream of St. Ursula. The former offers us an enchanting picture of the refined, elegant and magnificent existence of the wealthy Venetians in the late years of the 15th century (fig. 122). There is an infinity of objects depicted in the painting which again is divided into two parts, this time by a flag-staff. To the left Hereus, the future husband of Ursula, is seen taking leave of his father, before whom he kneels (fig. 123). A crowd of men accompanies the father, and all these are of such a marked individuality that they are almost certainly portraits, probably of members of the "Scuola".

The hypothesis of Ludwig and Molmenti that the young man, holding a fragment of a phylactery with an inscription, who is the third figure behind the kneeling prince, might be Niccolo Loredan detto Tartaglia, seems extremely doubtful. Moreover, this person does not appear to be sixty-two years of age, as Niccolo Loredan must have been in 1495. Certainly better founded is their supposition that the elegantly attired man, holding a banderole with



Fig. 123. Detail of fig. 122.

Photo Anderson.

letters and with a symbolic design embroidered on his sleeve, might be Antonio Loredan (fig. 126).

At the other side of the flag-staff are represented in one picture the meeting of the betrothed (fig. 125) and their farewell to King Teonato and the Queen, who shows evident signs of distress at her daughter's departure. Further in the background we see

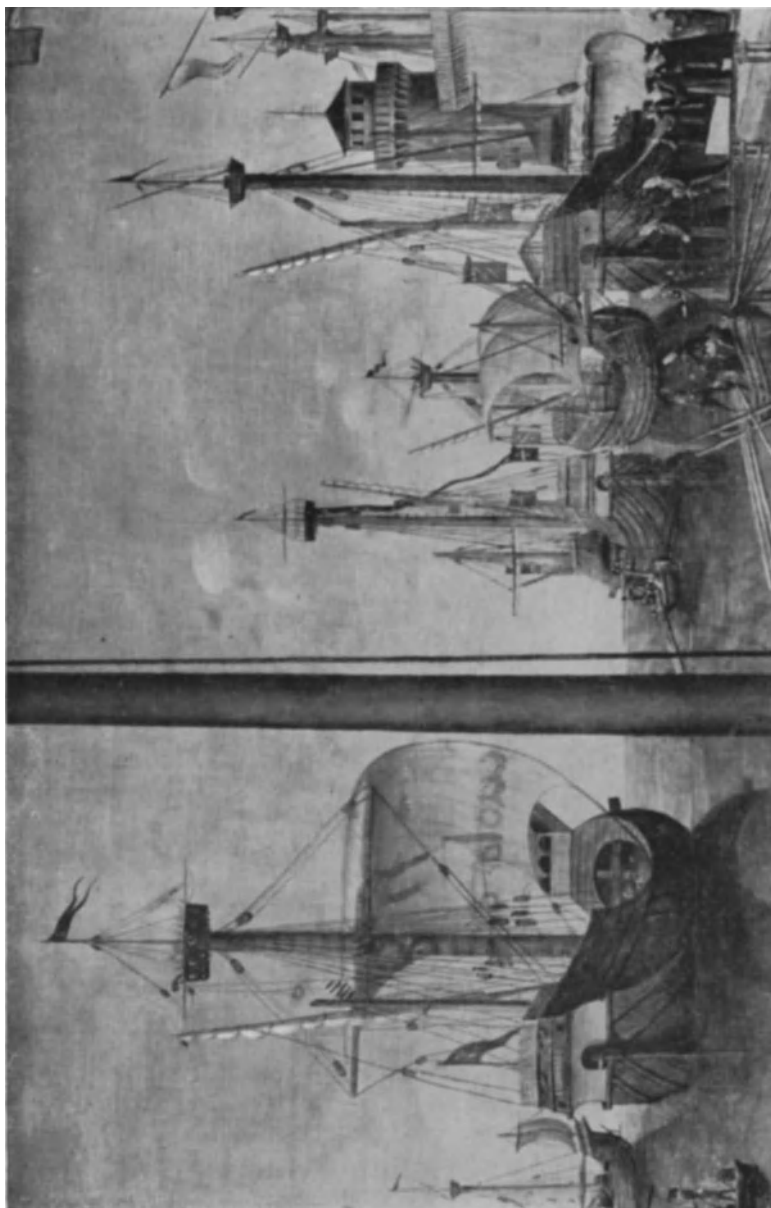


Fig. 124. Detail of fig. 122.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 125. Detail of fig. 122.

Photo Anderson.

Ursula and her fiancé being rowed towards the galleys anchored in the distance. Crowds of people are depicted everywhere and the small figures in the far background are treated with a somewhat hasty sketchiness.

Once more much attention has been given to the architecture,



Fig. 126. Detail of fig. 122.

Photo Anderson.

which in this canvas is quite Venetian in character; a high bridge, on which men blowing trumpets are seen, is typically Venetian. To the other side there is a fortified castle, the original of which Carpaccio could have seen only on the mainland, while the mountainous landscape is of a topography non-existent in the vicinity of Venice. The artist gives free rein to his obvious taste for the detail and the minute rendering of the beautiful side of



Fig. 127. Vittore Carpaccio, the Dream of St. Ursula. Accademia, Venice.
Photo Anderson.

everyday life. Not only has he dealt with the architecture with careful reality but he displays a wealth of detail in the peculiarities of dress and fashion, marvellous tissues, different modes of hair dressing, varieties of stakes supporting the palisades, and oriental carpets covering them. All these are rendered with a precision which provides us with proof of Carpaccio's keen sense of observation and taste for the truly beautiful. Of the things he saw around him, ships seem to have particularly impressed his aesthetic sense because he represents them in his paintings on every possible occasion (fig. 124) and he even shows one keeled over in low water undergoing repairs. The master's interest for expressions of unusual psychology is evident in some of the

curious faces he depicts, as for instance that of the man shown in full-face just under the clasped hands of the betrothed pair and again that of a woman seen in profile more to the left.

The other painting of 1495, in which however the original signature and date have been retouched, represents the dream of St. Ursula (figs. 127, 128) and gives us a most charming and realistic view of an interior of that period. The bed, much too long for the little saint, has a canopy which rests on very slender pillars. St. Ursula has placed her crown on a low bench at the foot of the bed. Carpaccio's realistic taste for still-life asserts itself in every detail: the furniture, the bookcase in the corner, the flower-pots in the window, the dog sleeping near the bed and the pair of slippers on the floor. A rather unusual feature is the presence of two pagan statuettes, one of which, a man with a vase on his shoulder, seems to be an allegorical representation of water. The girl asleep, her head resting on her hand, is the personification of sweet innocence. A decoration, with the word "Infantia" inscribed on it, is shown on the corner of her pillow. Of great technical quality is the cold grey light, probably that of early morning, which envelops the scene and which seems to have penetrated into the room with the apparition of the angel. The light, as might be expected in a bedroom, is not strong and on this account the colouring tends to monochrome.

The four other paintings of this series are undated but they are signed: "*Victoris Carpac(t)io Veneti Opus*" or a similar inscription. One of them, the meeting of the saint and her husband with Pope Ciriacus, is, in style, technique and spirit, very similar to the funeral scene of 1493, while the three others remind us more of the canvases of the meeting and farewell of 1495. The composition of the first scene is somewhat stiff and lifeless. The pope stands in the midst of a number of bishops and other dignitaries, while St. Ursula and the prince kneel at the head of a long procession of the saint's followers. Most of the background is taken up by a view of the Castel Sant' Angelo while, after Carpaccio's usual habit, the far distance is enlivened by many tiny figures. In the group occupying the centre we see many beautiful and expressive heads, several of which are no doubt portraits. However, the identification of these figures proposed by Messrs Ludwig and Molmenti is not at all acceptable. Least of all do I think that the

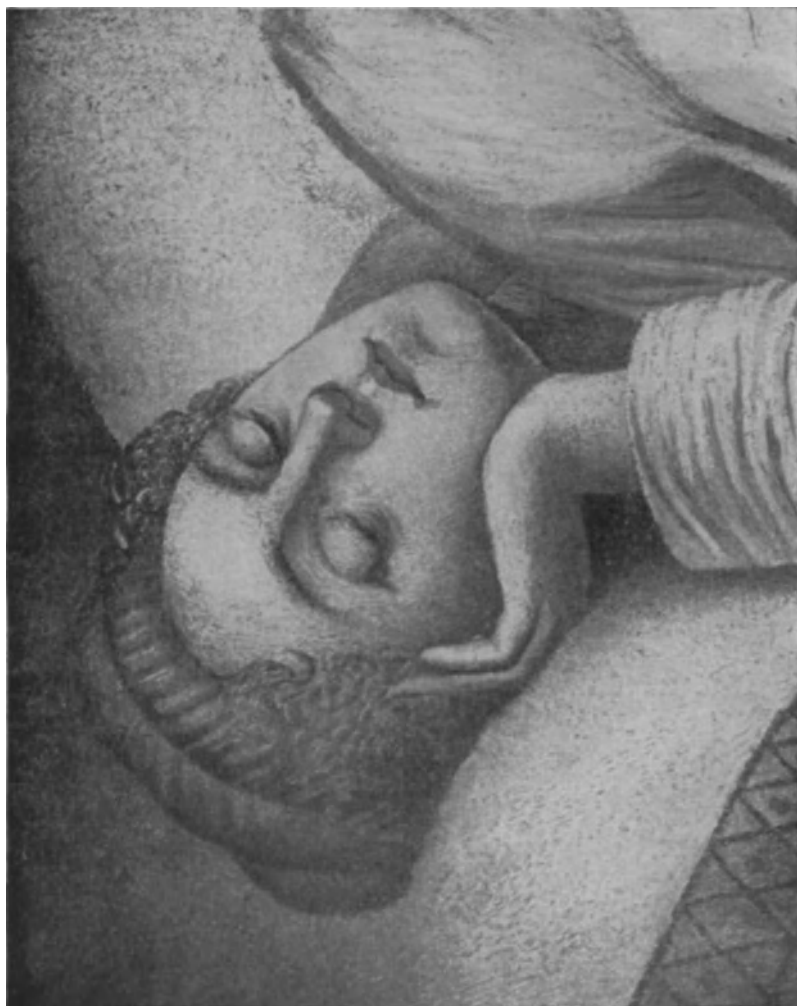


Fig. 128. Detail of fig. 127.

Photo Filippi.

emaciated old man with thin lips, straight nose and sunken eyes, features Carpaccio has given to the pontiff in the canvas, can be the same as the Borgian pope, Alexander VI, who in Pintoricchio's fresco in the Borgia Apartment is depicted as a man of considerable corpulence, with a curved nose and thick lips. In these two portraits, which were executed within a few years of one another, we do not find the least resemblance.

Of great importance is the almost twenty foot long canvas on which Carpaccio illustrates King Teonato receiving the British ambassadors (fig. 129). It is perhaps rather strange that Carpaccio dedicates three of the eight canvases to the history of the embassy which, after all, was of no great significance in the story of the saint; in fact, the three incidents in question are not even mentioned in her legend. We discover in this the painter's evident taste for representing secular events, especially from the lives of the highest social classes, and there can be no doubt that he greatly preferred this and similar subjects to those of a religious nature.

King Teonato is depicted here seated under an open loggia which is protected on either side by a simple iron railing; near it are a few rather uninterested spectators, while on a large square behind we see other people; a church, two other buildings and a canal, ending in a harbour, are shown beyond the square. The four ambassadors kneel before the king, to whom one of them delivers the letter from the King of England. Two counsellors are seated to either side of the king. Under the portico in the left half of the painting are four men attired in particularly magnificent garments; three others are seen in the background while a man in senatorial robes with a document in his hand is shown in the left corner outside the railing which encloses the others. According to an old tradition ⁽¹⁾, the Loredan family gave these paintings to the Scuola but, as we saw before, it seems more likely from the documents that it was the Scuola itself that bore the expense. In any case the Loredans were great benefactors of this institution and it needs no stretch of imagination to fall in with the hypothesis of Ludwig and Molmenti that members of this family are represented in this canvas which, besides, is the first of the series. Consequently the persons depicted under the portico are Senator Pietro Loredan and members of his family (Plate). To the right another incident is illustrated. It takes place in the saint's bedroom where we see her explaining to her attentive father, who rests one elbow on the bed, the extraordinary conditions she makes to her consent to her marriage with the British prince, who however agrees to them. An ugly old woman with a

⁽¹⁾ *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 107.



*SENATOR LOREDAN AND MEMBERS
OF HIS FAMILY*

*From Carpaccio's Reception of the Ambassadors in the
Accademia of Venice.*



Fig. 129. Vittore Carpaccio, Ambassadors received by King Teonato. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 130. Detail of fig. 129.

Photo Anderson.

sort of crutch in her hands is seated at the bottom of some steps which lead up to the bedroom (fig. 130). We can very well imagine that Carpaccio's sense of variety was tickled by this quaint figure verging on caricature.

A smaller canvas represents the ambassadors taking leave of King Teonato, whose answer they have to convey to their monarch (Plate). On a platform with his back to the window the king is



*THE AMBASSADORS TAKING LEAVE FROM
KING TEONATO*

By Carpaccio, in the Accademia of Venice.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 131. Vittore Carpaccio, Detail of the Leave-taking of the Ambassadors. Accademia, Venice. Photo Anderson.

seated in the beautifully decorated hall of a palace; through an open door we catch a glimpse of a courtyard with a flight of steps leading to the upper storey, while through the entrance gate we see a street. Several other people are depicted on the canvas; a

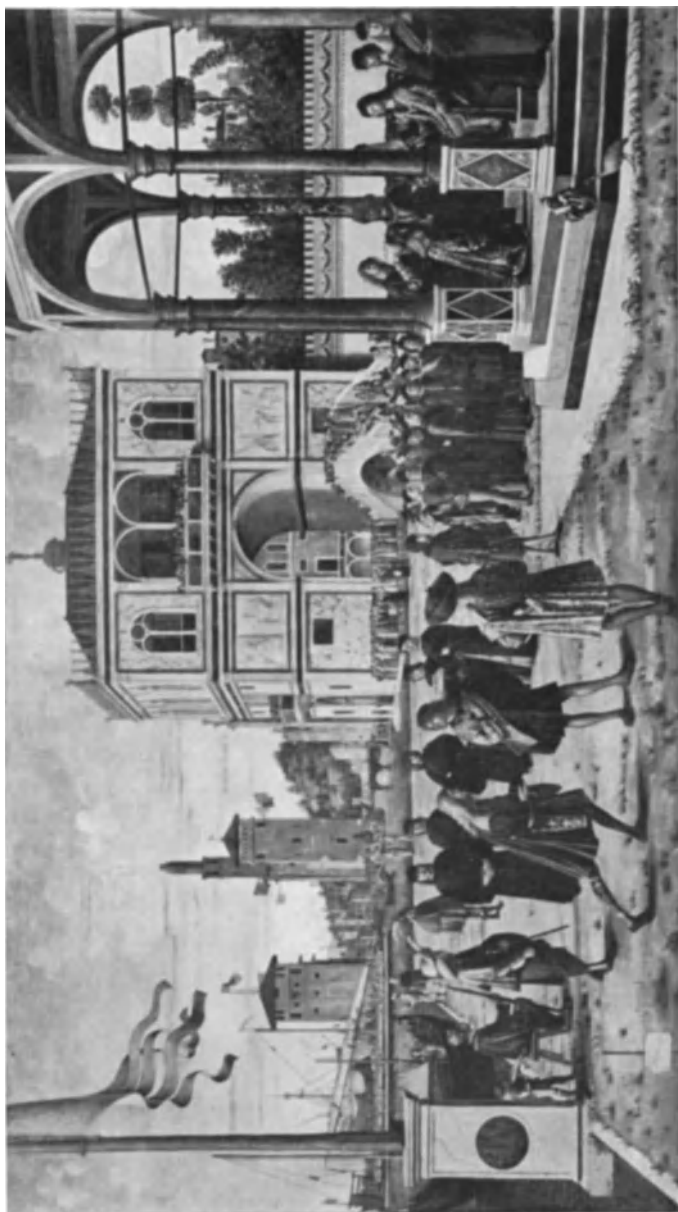


Fig. 132. Vittore Carpaccio, Return of the Ambassadors. Accademia, Venice. Photo Anderson.



Fig. 133. Detail of fig. 132.

Photo Anderson.

particularly fascinating scene is that of an elegant nobleman who, gesticulating in an affected manner, dictates a letter to a scribe in the background (fig. 131).

The envoys' return to the British king is shown on a large canvas, more than seventeen feet long, crowded with people, who are depicted far into the distance, among the buildings in the

background and on the newly returned ships, now lying in harbour (fig. 132). The centre of the picture is occupied by a magnificent marble palace, the façade of which is adorned with two reliefs of a decidedly classical appearance. They represent Vulcan making wings for Amor, and for this detail the painter seems to have been inspired by a small metal relief, now in the Archaeological Museum of Venice. A pagan divinity caps the top of the palace. It is mostly in and around this building that the huge crowds have collected; the balconies are filled to such an extent that we feel a certain apprehension for their safety. Behind a wall decorated with a garland-like design we see a garden with high trees, beyond which other houses are visible. In a handsome open hexagonal loggia of the best Renaissance style is seated the king in the midst of some of his courtiers (fig. 133). Before him kneels one of the ambassadors while another, wearing the magnificently embroidered stockings of the "Compagnia della Calza" (1), bows as he approaches; perhaps the young man, whom he is just about to pass, is the prince waiting for St. Ursula's answer. Several other people stand closeby. Again Carpaccio's sense of humour is manifest in the manner in which he portrays the poor and stupid-looking official, with staff in hand, who is seated on a little stool to the extreme left (fig. 134). As Ludwig and Molmenti have pointed out, this must be the "Scalco", a sort of steward of the palace who, with gilded staff and accompanied by music, introduced the ambassadors on the occasion of their official reception by the Doges. The musicians who should be present are reduced to one, a sweet little boy playing the fiddle. The unkempt appearance of the Scalco and the obvious insufficiency of musical entertainment might possibly be taken as an ironic reference to the lack of grandeur on similar occasions, although it is difficult to believe that the government of Venice economized in any display of pomp at official receptions. A curiously attired monkey sits on the steps leading to the king's pavilion, while a bird resembling a peacock stands close by.

It was probably soon after Carpaccio had finished the St. Ursula cycle that he painted for the Confraternity of S. Giovanni a canvas illustrating how the Patriarch of Grado cured a de-

(1) *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 128.



Fig. 134. Detail of fig. 132.

Photo Anderson.

moniac (figs. 135, 136) ⁽¹⁾. The actual miracle took place in 1494, and it is quite likely that not many years elapsed before the event was commemorated on canvas. Ridolfi informs us that it hung to the left of the altar in the Confraternity and that Carpaccio painted it in competition with Bellini (which one?) and other

⁽¹⁾ *Fogolari*, *Dedalo*, V³, 1924-25, p. 780.

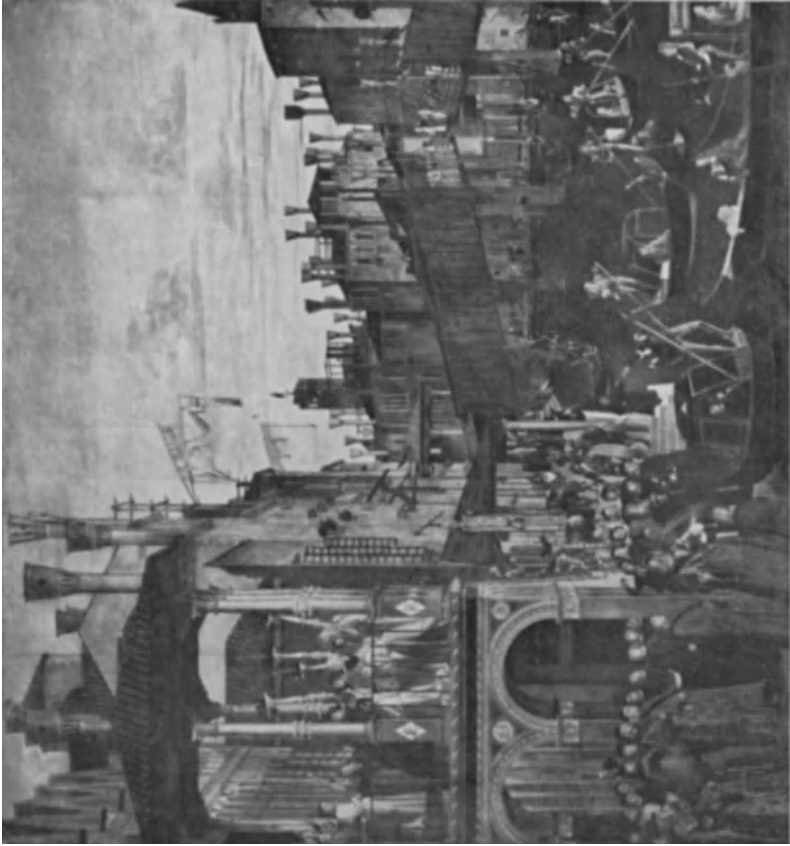


Fig. 135. Vittore Carpaccio, *Miracle of the Cross*. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

painters. Even before Moschini's day (1815) it had been transferred to the Accademia of Venice (566).

It is one of Carpaccio's most crowded compositions and also the only work in which he shows a typical Venetian canal. He was practically forced into it because the event took place on the Rialto. The miracle is depicted occurring in an open loggia on the first floor; the Patriarch holds the reliquary containing a piece of the holy Cross before the still obviously possessed man who, the following moment, is miraculously cured. In the restricted space of the loggia the painter has managed to squeeze quite a number of people, mostly clerics. Many well-dressed people stand



Fig. 136. Detail of fig. 135.

Photo Anderson.

in the street below, no doubt waiting to hear the result. Crowds through the banks of the canal and the bridge, while other obviously interested spectators are shown at windows or even on the

flat-topped roofs. Some oriental figures can be discerned. The most amusing part of the picture is the canal itself with its array of gondolas and brilliantly attired gondoliers, one of whom is a negro. The occupants are elegant patricians and ladies and one in the foreground, with curious individual features and an amused expression shown in full-face, might very well be a portrait of the painter himself. No doubt many of the other figures are also portraits. The view of the canal, in which every house, as well as every window, every piece of decoration and every chimney-pot has been treated with the utmost care, is no doubt a very true representation of this particular spot.

The last dated or datable picture of this, which we must take to be his earliest, period is one representing a mystical subject in the centre of a fine landscape (fig. 137) ⁽¹⁾. Against a curtain held by two cherubim the Saviour stands on a low dais holding the Cross on which the crown of thorns is hung. Rays emanate from His wounds towards the emblems of the Eucharist — the chalice and the wafer — which are placed on the dais, behind which we see a third cherub. Two angels in adoration stand to either side; those to the extreme right and left carry the spear and the long stick with the sponge. This picture, which was executed for the church of S. Pietro Martire, was taken to Vienna in 1838 but recently was restored to Italy and is now in the gallery of Udine. It bears the signature: "*Charpatio Veneti Opus 1496*".

It is a work of very fine quality and shows us the artist in a deeply religious mood. The angels are beautiful but their postures are somewhat affected. The figure of Christ is of great simplicity, nevertheless it is full of feeling and the modelling and plastic effects are very fine. We observe, however, the marked linearity and angular draping, features which to a certain extent might be called characteristic of this period of his activity. But there is no trace here of that taste for extreme grace which caused him to create figures with such long slender bodies and still longer and slimmer legs that they over-stepped the precincts of normality.

There is quite a number of undated paintings which, I think, should be placed in this phase of his career, that is to say well before 1502, the year in which he undertook his next important

⁽¹⁾ Coloured reprod. in Apollo, XI, 1930, p. 240.



Fig. 137. Vittore Carpaccio, *Christ with the Cross and Angels*, 1496.
 Gallery, Udine. Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.

enterprise, the cycle of St. George. I even think that the ultimate limit of this particular stage might be placed still several years prior to this date.

Certainly of about the same period as the St. Ursula series is a canvas in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris, representing the envoy of Hippolyta, an Amazon queen, to Theseus, King of Athens (fig. 138). The painting is supposed to have been inspired by Boccaccio's first book of the "Teseide" ⁽¹⁾. The queen and her graceful companions, all on horseback, approach the old bearded king who, with three young courtiers, is seated on a dais the

⁽¹⁾ *Fiocco*, op. cit., pls. 136—138. *L. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XVII, 1914, p. 58.



Fig. 138. Vittore Carpaccio, *Amazons before Theseus*. Jacquemart André Museum, Paris. Photo Bulloz.

balustrade of which is hung with oriental rugs. Carpaccio repeats the scribe seated at his desk from the last scene but one of the *St. Ursula* series, but shows him here in profile. The picture, though

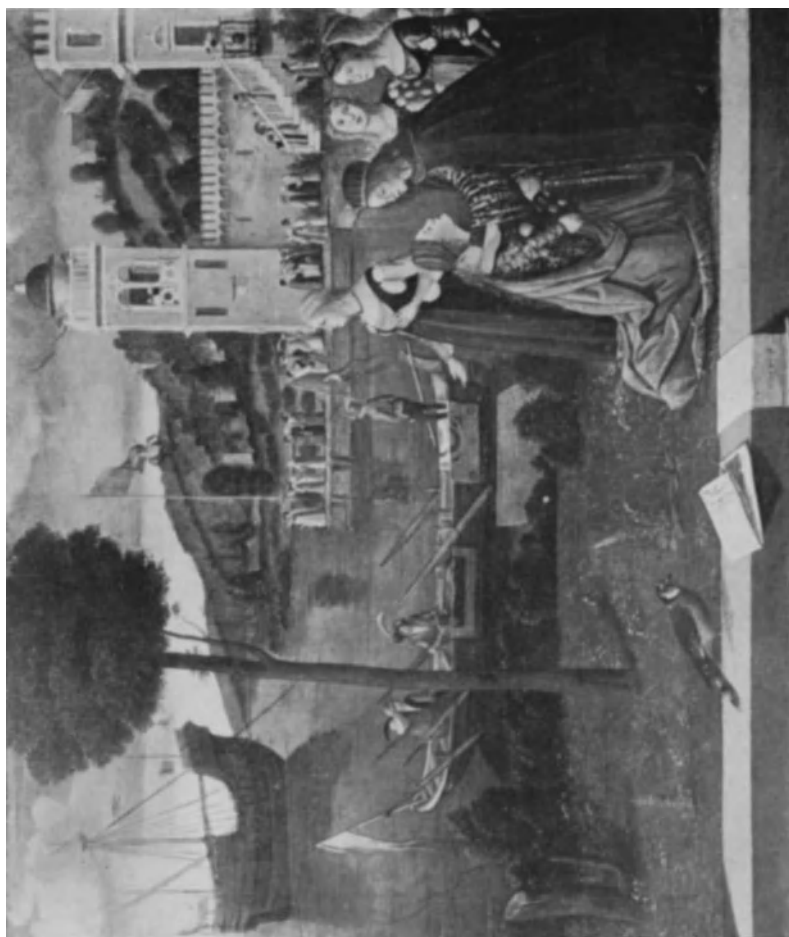


Fig. 139. Vittore Carpaccio, Farewell of St. Ursula. National Gallery, London. Photo Nat. Gal.

charming, does not possess the same qualities as this cycle; the drawing is lacking in refinement and also in composition there is room for improvement. Moreover, the condition of this work does not allow us to form a very favourable impression since in several places the paint has worn off. I think it just possible that it might be an earlier production and this would account for the lack of firmness and for a certain gaucherie, or at least a want of finish, compared with the St. Ursula series.

It was certainly after the execution of this cycle that Carpaccio



Fig. 140. Vittore Carpaccio, Allegory. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.

Photo Courtesy of the Johnson coll.



Fig. 141. Vittore Carpaccio, Death and Assumption of the Virgin.
National Gallery, London. Photo Nat. Gal.

painted a picture of St. Ursula taking leave of her father, which was formerly in the Layard collection but is now in the National Gallery, London (3085) (fig. 139). The composition bears a slight resemblance to that of the corresponding scene in the Scuola. Only a few people accompany the saint who alone kneels before her parent; the other figures are rather lifeless and they are not even attired with that marked elegance which is habitual in Carpaccio's works. In the background we see a landscape, a castle, a vessel at anchor and a rowing-boat. This picture would seem less uninteresting if we did not involuntarily compare it with Carpaccio's master-piece representing the same event.

Similar in style is the charming painting in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (173) (1), which, however, has suffered considerably. It represents the widow of Alcyone about to throw herself into the sea in which the body of her dead husband is seen floating; afterwards both of them were changed into birds; in fact two birds in the left corner evidently allude to this transformation (fig. 140). The scene is depicted in a delightful composition with many people on the sea-shore. A beautiful landscape, with buildings scattered here and there, forms the background. The human figures are particularly graceful but not everything in the present state of the canvas is due to the brush of Carpaccio.

Much nearer in style and spirit to the best canvases of the St. Ursula cycle is a picture in the National Gallery, London (3077), representing the Death and Assumption of the Virgin (fig 141) (2). Unfortunately this painting is in a poor state of preservation, the features in particular being very much effaced. The artist's conception of this event is curious and original. Below an enormous aureole, in which the Madonna in the midst of cherubim is depicted, we see the Virgin, lying on a catafalque supported by four pillars and surrounded by angelic musicians, while her Son bends over the bier. Other angels carrying candles form a procession. One of the Apostles looks on but the eleven others give vent to their violent grief near the balustrade which rails off the sort of

(1) *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, V, 1905, p. 131. *Berenson*, *Catalogue of the Italian Pictures of the Johnson Collection*, No. 173. *The Same*, *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 157. *P. Schubring*, *Art in America*, XI, 1923, p. 241.

(2) *Fiocco*, pl. 200.



Fig. 142. Vittore Carpaccio, Portrait of a Lady. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.

Photo Courtesy of the Johnson coll.

square in which the event occurs. This square has very much the appearance of a choir, an impression which is augmented by the presence of a man kneeling in the open gateway of the balustrade. However, the landscape with the castle in the background and the buildings, one to either side — that to the right is particularly

magnificent — which flank the square, demonstrate that the painter intended to represent an open-air scene. Angels sounding trumpets are seen on a balcony to the left while another stands on the big aureole, behind which God the Father and numerous angels are depicted in grisaille.

It is a strange mixture of mysticism, realistic observation of human sorrow and architecture. On the whole it is a delightful picture but incoherent and utterly fantastic; its present ruined condition is very regrettable.

There are several portraits which, I think, Carpaccio must have executed at this period although they are not always attributed to him. One of the earliest is that in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia ⁽¹⁾. It is the profile of a silly-looking girl (with a spiritual relationship to Wilhelm Busch's "Fromme Helene") and has been treated by Carpaccio with that sense of humour which we have already remarked elsewhere (fig. 142).

A realistic portrait of a young man, more after the manner of those in the St. Ursula cycle, belongs to Mr Percy S. Straus, New York. The subject, not over-elegant in his attire, is of fairly haughty and stern expression. In the design of the face and neck we notice, as in the St. Ursula canvases, the same tendency to exaggerate the vertical line in order to obtain a quaint impression of elegance.

In the same manner Carpaccio executed the bust of a woman, wearing a slightly décolleté dress, with gold chains and pearl necklaces round her neck, and her hair arranged in the form of a little bonnet. This painting, which is preserved in the Borghese Gallery, Rome, has been considerably restored but originally it must have been a delightful piece of work.

I think that it was between 1496 and 1502, the first date connected with the St. George cycle, that Carpaccio painted the two courtesans in the Correr Museum (fig. 143). In this work we notice a somewhat more solid construction, broader forms and and a diminished wish to create the impression of constant movement, a feature which strikes us in all his earlier compositions. In this respect also the St. Ursula picture in the National Gallery belongs to the latter manner. The immobility of the two figures

⁽¹⁾ *Berenson*, Catalogue of the Italian Pictures of the Johnson Collection, No. 164, calls it Venetian of about 1475.



Fig. 143. Vittore Carpaccio, *Courtesans*. Correr Museum, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

seated on a balcony may have been purposely emphasized by the artist in order to convey to us some idea of the empty laziness in



Fig. 144. Vittore Carpaccio, Portrait of a Lady. Gallery, Boston.

Mus. Photo.

which these ladies pass their days. One of them bends forward and, in a disinterested way, plays with two dogs while the other gazes vacantly in front of her, a large handkerchief held in her hand. Perhaps it was a hot summer day, which would account not



Fig. 145. Vittore Carpaccio, Portrait of a Lady. Private Collection.

Photo Anderson.

only for the general lackadaisical atmosphere but also in a way for the presence of the handkerchief. Some birds and a tiny page are depicted close by. Both ladies are magnificently attired in rather low-necked dresses and have their hair very artfully arranged. One of the coiffures is similar to that of the subject of the

portrait in the Borghese Gallery. This painting may possibly be a fragment of a larger composition.

We meet with the same style in two bust-length portraits of rather stately middle-aged ladies, one, in which the hands are not shown, in the museum of Boston (fig. 144) ⁽¹⁾, the other, in which part of a hand holding a book is just visible, for sale in Berlin a few years ago (fig. 145) ⁽²⁾. Each of them is attired in a rich dress, cut fairly low, and wears a chain around her neck. There is even considerable similarity in the manner in which their hair is arranged though the lady in Berlin wears a fancy little bonnet on the back of her head.

With these two paintings might be compared the bust portrait of a fat Venetian senator in the Poldi Pezzoli Gallery, Milan. Perhaps because there are so few points of comparison, this work is less characteristic of Carpaccio's art, but none the less I am convinced that it is from his hand.

We have now reached the second big cycle of canvases by Carpaccio, that of the Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, described at considerable length by Ridolfi ⁽³⁾. The actual building was made half a century after the canvases which, consequently, do not occupy their original site. After the new "Scuola" had been erected the paintings were placed on the first floor where the light was certainly better than on the ground floor where they are now hung.

The series was probably started in 1502; not only because this is the date we read on two of the paintings but also on account of the fact that at this moment the institution was in a particularly flourishing condition and no doubt the considerable outlay which this enterprise involved found the ready consent of the authorities. The paintings in question vary in appearance and can, I think, be divided into four groups, no doubt on account of the different pupils who acted as the master's assistants.

I am of the opinion that the scenes representing the Call of St. Matthew and the Prayer in the Garden of Olives are more

⁽¹⁾ In this gallery there is a portrait of a Venetian senator which is supposed to be the pendant to this portrait of a lady: v. *T. Bovenius*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine, 1923; however, I find nothing in these works which corresponds except the measurements.

⁽²⁾ *L. Mayer*, Pantheon, II, 1928, p. 520.

⁽³⁾ *Ruskin*, op. cit. *Böhm*, L'église de St. Georges.



Fig. 146. Vittore Carpaccio, Christ in the Garden of Olives. S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

forceful but also somewhat coarser in technique, while the drawing of the compositions of St. Jerome and the lion and the death of the saint are slightly rigid.

More characteristic of Carpaccio, especially that particular manner in which he executed the subsequent cycle, are the pictures representing St. George baptizing the Gentiles, the saint dominating the dragon and St. Trifone by prayer delivering the daughter of the Emperor Gordianus of an evil spirit.

In a class all by themselves are the master-pieces of St. George slaying the dragon and St. Jerome in his study.

The signature with the date 1502 is clearly visible on the painting of the Call of St. Matthew and it is found also on that of the death of St. Jerome. In the picture of St. George baptizing the Gentiles we see some traces of numerals on the label on the steps, on which the signature is inscribed. Cavalcaselle deciphered them as 1508 and Moschini (I, p. 91) as 1511 but both these dates seem rather late. No further light can be thrown on the subject as the ciphers are now beyond recognition. Boschini (p. 194), however, affirms very definitely that Carpaccio painted the entire cycle between 1502 and 1507.

The picture of the Call of St. Matthew has suffered considerably. It shows the Saviour, with a following of disciples, taking Matthew the publican by the hand. The site on which the publican's shop is shown has no doubt been rightly identified as the entrance to the ghetto in Venice, though it cannot be said that the rest of the architecture is typically Venetian; certainly the fortified gate and wall in the background have nothing in their appearance which can be described as local.

A certain hardness and roughness in the otherwise fine picture of the Prayer in the Garden of Olives may be due to the poor condition of the painting, which not only appears to be dirty but in several places is badly damaged (fig. 146).

The wild rocks and the landscape are of a really fine and dramatic effect, while the three sleeping figures are rendered with a rare sense of reality and true observation. The Lord in prayer, or at least the part of this figure that remains visible, is beautiful and dignified. There are elements in this work which recall Giambellino's Mantegnesque phase; this is perhaps most evident in the bearded sleeper to the left.

The three canvases of St. George baptizing the Gentiles, dominating the dragon and St. Trifone exorcising the emperor's daughter, which, as I said before, form another group, tend towards that simplicity of form and technique which is so pronounced in the illustrations from the life of the Virgin of 1504, and this is one of the reasons why I hardly think that the canvases in question could be of as late a date as 1508, and still less of 1511.

In the two scenes from the legend of St. George, Carpaccio has struck a particularly oriental note, doubtless on account of the Palestinian origin of the saint. It has already been pointed out that for the Holy Sepulchre and for the appearance of the numerous orientals Carpaccio was obviously inspired by Reuwick's woodcuts, illustrating Bernhard von Breydenbach's account of his travels in the Holy Land. The volume was published in Mainz in



Fig. 147. Vittore Carpaccio, St. George and the Dragon. S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice. Photo Anderson.

1486 and the woodcuts have been claimed to be among the best and most modern of the period ⁽¹⁾. On their way to the East, von Breydenbach and Reuwick stayed twenty-five days in Venice. I do not know if they stopped there on their return but during their sojourn in Venice a personal contact between Reuwick and Carpaccio may have been established. In any case, the Venetian painter borrowed many elements from the German's engravings. In the centre of the background of the triumph of St. George (fig. 147) he has placed the Temple of Solomon as it is depicted in Reuwick's view of Jerusalem ⁽²⁾, changing however the shape of the cupola which corresponds more to that of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, shown in greater detail on another woodcut ⁽³⁾. From the same source Carpaccio has taken the tower which we see towards the left, but the other, more slender, oriental-looking tower seems to be a composite of several depicted in Reuwick's prints of Jerusalem. Again, in the bearded figure gesticulating with one open hand turned downwards, in the centre of a little group of orientals to the right, Carpaccio follows one of Reuwick's illustrations, because this figure corresponds perfectly to the German's "Forma indianorum secularum" ⁽⁴⁾.

For the other orientals in his paintings Carpaccio does not seem to have borrowed directly from Reuwick, at least not from his woodcuts, but he certainly does so for those in the drawing of the triumph of St. George in the Uffizi, to which work we shall return later.

In his painting Carpaccio represents some other more or less exotic-looking buildings, apart from those taken from Reuwick, while important groups of orientals with horses and a few musicians are shown to either side. In the centre we see the armoured saint who, with sword upraised, is about to dispatch the dragon whose head is transfixed by a spear and whom the saint drags towards him by a thong tightly lashed round the monster's neck.

⁽¹⁾ *R. Muther*, *Die Deutsche Bücherillustration*, I, Munich-Leipzig, 1884, p. 89. Reuwick's woodcuts are reproduced in *H. W. Davies*, ed. of *Bernhard von Breydenbach and his Journey to the Holy Land*, London, 1911.

⁽²⁾ *Breydenbach*, ed. *Davies*, pl. 26.

⁽³⁾ *Idem*, pl. 30.

⁽⁴⁾ *Idem*, pl. 37.



Fig. 148. Vittore Carpaccio, St. George baptizing the Gentiles. S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

Looking at the different elements of this composition we are struck by a certain lack of coherence in its component parts. The public, comprising orientals and musicians playing on their instruments, would be much more in place in a scene of jugglery than in an incident taken from a sacred legend and we gather the impression that Carpaccio has used a composition of some lion-tamer's performance for the setting of the triumph of St. George.

In the painting of St. George baptizing the Gentiles (fig. 148) — in this case it is King Aia and his wife who are being baptized — we see the same little orchestra as in the previous picture, but here, as it is placed on a platform covered with an oriental rug, it is still more in evidence (fig. 149). Several of the dignified-looking orientals still wear their imposing turbans but others have removed them. At the top of a flight of steps leading up to the entrance of a church the king and queen kneel before St. George; various figures are depicted around this group while in the foreground we see a parrot and a greyhound and, between them, on one of the steps the master's signature. Other orientals, some of whom are mounted, are represented in the distance. The buildings in this picture are not of an exotic nature. The round church in the centre is of an entirely problematic style.

St. Trifone dominating the basilisk, as the next scene is generally called, really illustrates, as Ludwig and Molmenti have pointed out, the saint delivering the daughter of the Roman emperor Gordianus of an evil spirit. What is usually considered to be the basilisk is actually the exorcised demon of which the child has been possessed. The event occurred in Rome and this no doubt accounts for the general setting, as well as for the reliefs of classical-looking heads on the base of the open loggia in which the scene is depicted. A charming boy prays near a strange little monster with wings which in appearance corresponds to the animal that illustrators of ancient natural histories, such as that of Albertin Magnus, show us as the "Gryphus". Most of the background is occupied by a late Gothic palace with people moving about on the balcony and looking from the windows, on which rugs are hung. Then we see part of the town with bridges, a round building, perhaps a reminiscence of Castel Sant' Angelo, and a Renaissance house with a loggia and an external flight of steps. This painting is in a particularly poor state of preservation;



Fig. 149. Detail of fig. 148.

Photo Anderson.

moreover it has been further disfigured by bad restoration. However, in this picture as well as in the two previous ones we are struck by the masterful rendering of strong daylight, which envelops everything in its bright loveliness and gives great brilliance to the colours.

The first of the scenes narrating the legend of St. Jerome represents the venerable patriarch walking in a cloister followed by his very tame-looking lion (fig. 150); in fact the saint is almost more terrifying than the wild beast. In spite of this the friars, filled with fright, flee away in all directions, their long robes streaming behind them. Even in the distance we see them rushing up the steps which lead to the door of the convent, while to the left others make for the hermitage amid exotic trees, where St. Jerome lived when the lion first came to him. Arabs and Turks who are walking on the square are evidently accustomed to the sight of wild animals and show no sign of terror at the presence of



Fig. 150. Vittore Carpaccio, St. Jerome taming the Lion. S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice. Photo Alinari.

the lion. A deer, however, obviously scents danger and, escaping in haste, is about to knock down a poor old monk who walks on crutches. Other beasts seem to be unaware of the lion's presence.

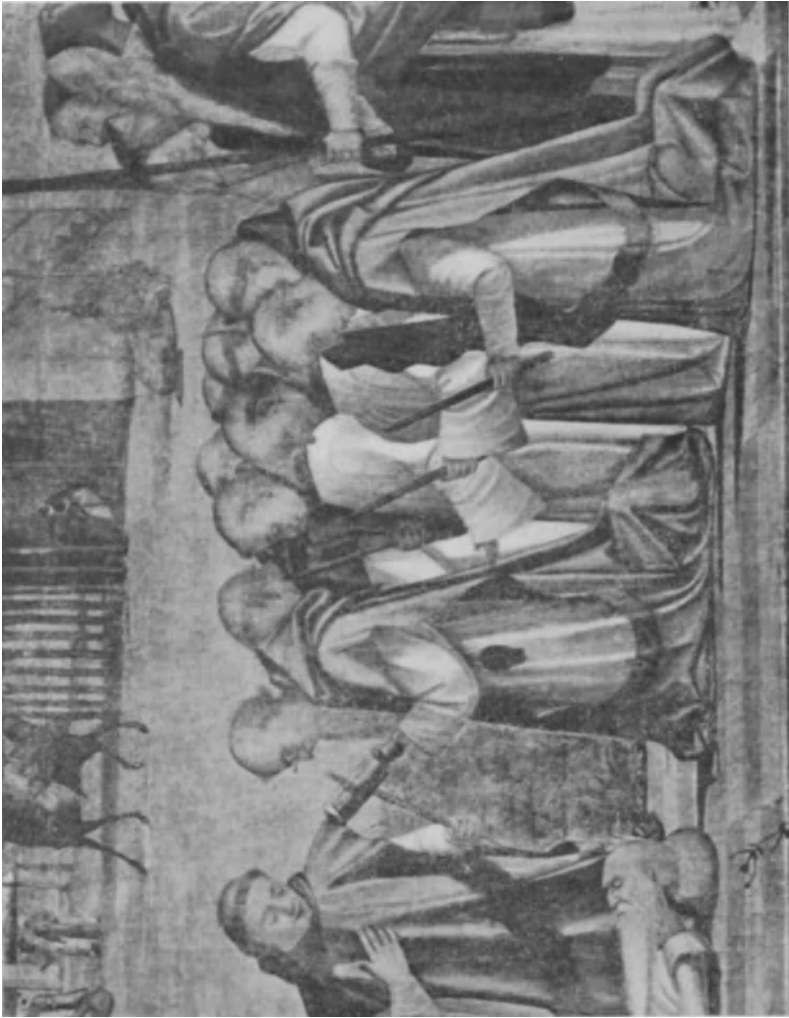


Fig. 151. Vittore Carpaccio, Detail of the Death of St. Jerome. S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice. Photo Anderson.

The monastic buildings, which form the background, and the church, with a large porch, decorated on the outside with paintings, are executed with great care and show again Carpaccio's love of detail and keen power of observation. A balcony of the monastery is crowded with monks who in safety witness the incident. I think that the background is really the best part

of this painting. The figures of the saint and the monks are somewhat wooden and their strong and heavy movements lack Carpaccio's usual grace. There can be no doubt that much of the execution of this painting was left to an assistant.

In the canvas of St. Jerome's funeral service the background, with its rustic houses, again has qualities which make us look on Carpaccio as a direct forerunner of Guardi, though perhaps the modern appearance is due in part to restoration.

Orientalers are seen busy with an instrument that looks like a catapult. Among the animals in the background we recognize a donkey, a lion and others, but there are several of strange appearance, including one attached to a tree, that it is impossible to name. The figure of the dead saint is ethereal and impressive but really quite out of proportion. The two friars kneeling beyond the body are beautifully executed and of great simplicity but with strong plastic effects. The lateral groups are less interesting, that to the right is decidedly rigid and monotonous; however the faces are not without individuality (fig. 151).

As I said before, the two remaining pictures are among the finest of Carpaccio's productions. That of St. Jerome in his study is really a marvel of technical skill in the painting of interiors (figs. 152, 153). A strong light penetrates through three windows and is reflected on every object with an incomparable harmony and uniformity. His great sense of artistic value, combined with that of realism, is shown in the long shadows on the floor. The room is full of objects; in fact there are far too many for us to enumerate them all. They include a shelf with books, another with many small objects, a reading desk with a chair, a cupboard, in which we see more books, and a revolving lectern. Then in the centre of the end wall there is an apse decorated with a seraph in mosaic and containing an altar on which are placed a statue of Christ resurrected, a bishop's mitre, a staff and other ritualistic objects. A globe and some vases adorn a shelf between the windows. The saint is seated on a bench at his desk; both the bench and desk are fixed to the window wall. Books are scattered on the table and all around him; the music and words of two of them which lie open reveal to us that they are missals ⁽¹⁾. This no

⁽¹⁾ *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 175, have had these pages transcribed in modern music.



Fig. 152. Vittore Carpaccio, St. Jerome in his Study. S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice.

Photo Alinari.

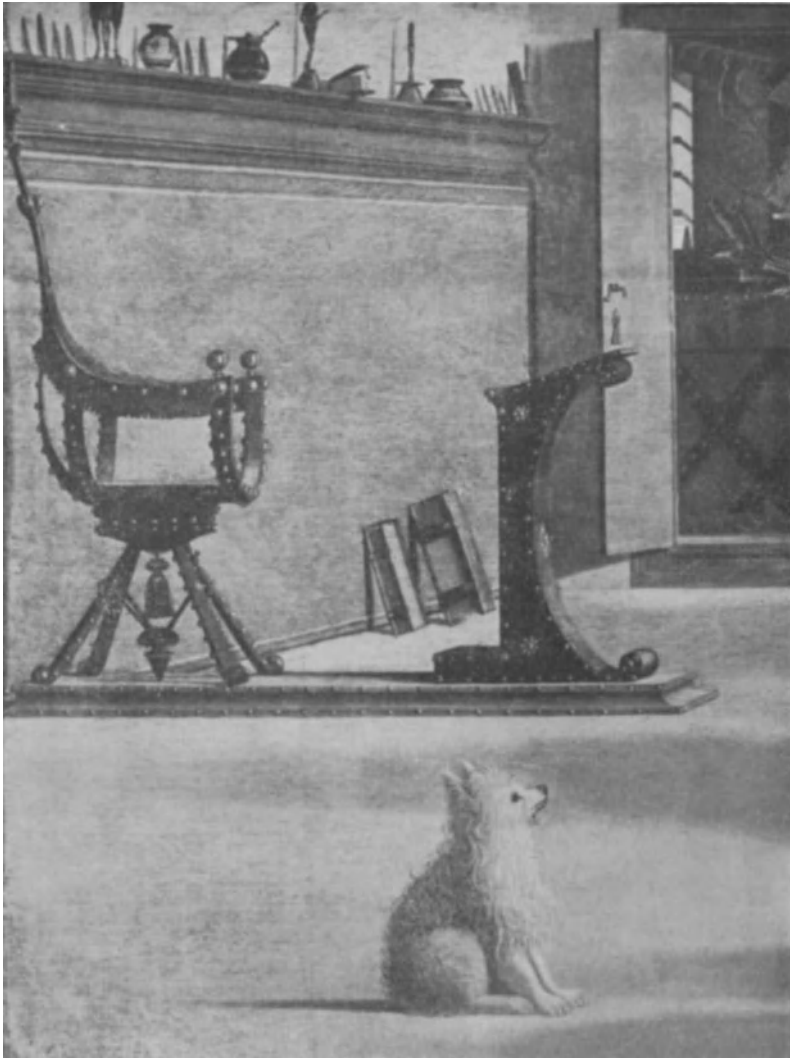


Fig. 153. Detail of fig. 152.

Photo Alinari.

doubt refers to the fact that when the Emperor Theodosius requested Pope Damasius to find a learned person to establish the church services, St. Jerome was appointed to fulfil the task. Besides the books we see on his desk a bell, a pair of scissors, a shell, an hour-glass, some small receptacles, etc. while a little fluffy white dog, sitting on the floor, looks up at his master.

St. Jerome's attitude is remarkably natural. His left hand rests on his desk but he has interrupted his writing and his right hand, still holding the quill, is slightly raised. His face is turned towards the window but his eyes do not seem to see anything. Nor is his expression that of a man whose mind is trying to solve some intellectual problem. His mind, I should say, is taken up with some human and sentimental question of probably a melancholic nature and perhaps one which is somewhat out of place in the thoughts of a Father of the Church. But is not this comfortable, elegant and tastefully arranged study more the setting of a refined and wealthy intellectual than that of an abstruse theologian?

Carpaccio's other master-piece in the Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni is of quite a different character. It depicts St. George slaying the dragon and I think we can say without any exaggeration that it is



Fig. 154. Vittore Carpaccio, St. George and the Dragon. S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

the finest representation in Christian art of this wide-spread and oft-repeated subject, at least in as far as the two principal figures are concerned (figs. 154, 155). I cannot refrain, however, from criticising the unsuitable appearance of the background. This is especially noticeable in the left half, which entirely lacks the fantastic gruesomeness of the site on which the monster met its fate. On the contrary we see a sweet but miniature view of smiling hills and fine buildings, the most evident of which recalls to a certain extent a Chinese porcelain tower.

This part is not at all in keeping with the rest of the picture which breathes of battle, struggle and destruction. The powerful steed leaps forward with a great bound in which he obviously puts all his strength, as indeed the painter all his technique of design. The outline of the horse has a certain heraldic conventionality but this makes it all the more impressive. The rider, a splendid knight without a helmet, concentrates all his attention on the art of killing with a spear. He is firmly seated but slightly bent forward in the act of getting home his blow. The painter has studied with care every detail of the composition which he renders with great realism. The fighting knight must have been a victorious competitor in some tourney at which Carpaccio was present ⁽¹⁾. No doubt it was on the same occasion that he saw the rich and magnificent equipment of the horse. The sword which St. George wears in his belt seems to be a production of a Venetian craftsman at his very best.

The dragon also is of the same heraldic style as the horse. In an aggressive movement he raises his perfectly poised body on his hind legs in order to attack with his claws, but at this moment St. George pierces him through the head.

A gruesome sight is seen on the ground, which is strewn with skulls and human and animal remains of the victims of the monster (fig. 156). Treated in foreshortening of Mantegnesque ability we see the body of a man, two arms and a leg torn off and partly decomposed, and the trunk and head of a handsome young woman with fragments of her dress still clinging to her neck and arms; the rest of her body has obviously been gnawed away. Littered on the ground are arms, legs, a head, bones, a heap of

⁽¹⁾ I reproduce this figure of St. George as that of a typical tourney fighter in: *Iconographie de l'art profane*, I, The Hague, 1931, fig. 130.



Fig. 155. Detail of fig. 154.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 156. Detail of fig. 154.

Photo Anderson.

skulls and the bust of a dead man upright with crossed arms. There are, besides, also the skulls and bones of animals and as culmination of this impression, salamanders, lizards, snakes and toads devour the revolting remains. We find ourselves here in contact with quite a new aspect of Carpaccio's fertile mind; it is that of

the fantastic narrator of grisly fairy-tales with a taste for terrifying realism.

The princess, who stands praying in the right corner, appears very meek in these horrible surroundings. The background in this part, with rocks and ships and small figures in the distance, is more suitable to the event than the view on the other side.

I suppose that it was more or less during the years that Carpaccio was active for the Scuola di S. Giorgio, and probably contemporary with the two last-mentioned master-pieces, that he executed a group of other paintings. Even though they contain different factors due, as we shall see, to a hitherto unmanifested influence, they include some of his finest productions. There is besides a decided psychological link between the canvases of the Scuola di S. Giorgio and the pictures I am about to describe. Very much in the aesthetic conception of these works can be accounted for by the influence of Giovanni Bellini, while there are obvious though unexpected traces of Carpaccio's knowledge of the art of Bramantino.

Against the hypothesis that the following works were painted in the first years of the 16th century the argument might be advanced that at this time Giovanni Bellini was working in a considerably more evolved style, so that the elements due to him were not the result of a personal contact between the two masters but were the outcome of the study on Carpaccio's part of works which Giambellino executed at an earlier date. Again, we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that Carpaccio may have had his most Bellinesque phase at a short interval after Giambellino himself adopted this particular and still somewhat Mantegnesque manner, because, as I observed already, we know of no works by Carpaccio prior to 1490, when, as far as we know, he was forty years of age. However, the points which lead us to believe that we are dealing with a later phase in Carpaccio's development are more conclusive. For instance, it seems altogether inconceivable that an artist who created such evolved works as the mystical representations of the dead Saviour in the museums of Berlin and New York could ever possibly return to the antiquated though fascinating manner of the canvases of the Scuola di S. Orsola.

In composition, in the refined drawing and even in the colouring this group of paintings reveals its adherence to the art of the

Cinquecento, from which the St. Ursula scenes were still far removed.

Of the group in question, the examples which are the least Belliniesque are in all probability the earliest.

We find the same extraordinary elongated proportions, which strike us in the cycle of the Scuola degli Albanesi, in a figure to the right in the most important painting of this group — the dead Saviour lying on a stone table in a strangely fantastic setting, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (23A) (fig. 157) ⁽¹⁾. The words "*Andreas Mantegna f.*" are inscribed on the foot of the table and in 1627, when the work was in the Canonici collection, Ferrara, it passed as a production of the great Paduan. The tall figure, seen from behind in this painting and repeated in the Death of the Virgin, was no doubt associated in Carpaccio's mind with this particular composition where, in both cases, the central figure is that of the emaciated prone body of a dead person.

The Lord's body laid on a marble slab is a theme of Byzantine origin which does not appear very often in Italian painting of the Renaissance ⁽²⁾. The drawing of the nude is of a rare perfection, as, indeed, is the whole fantastic painting.

Sitting on the ground near the dead Saviour is a man with a stick, resting his head on his hand and looking thoughtfully in front of him. The Virgin and one of her faithful companions sit mourning near by while to the opposite side two men, wearing turbans, open the cavern which is to serve as sepulchre; an old man holding a basin stands to the side. High up on the rocks which form the background we can discern two shepherds, one of whom plays the flute. To the left we see the three crosses and to the right a landscape with a lake, surrounded by hills, and oriental figures in the distance.

The ground is strewn with gruesome human remains and fragments of pagan monuments. There is nothing in any of the texts which accounts for the presence of either the one or the other. The skulls, the fragments of human bodies in a state of

⁽¹⁾ *W. Bode*, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXVI, 1905, p. 145. *Molmenti*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1905, p. 160. *L'Arte*, X, 1907, p. 454.

⁽²⁾ *G. Millet*, Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile etc. d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macedoine et du Mont-Athos, Paris, 1916, p. 498.



Fig. 157. Vittore Carpaccio, mystical Vision of the dead Saviour. Museum,
Berlin. Mus. Photo.

decomposition, one of which is half visible above the ground, and the remains of dead animals are very similar to those in the canvas of St. George slaying the dragon.

Far away in the distance we see a complete human figure, which looks mummified, standing upright against a rock, while near by, a quantity of skulls and bones is scattered on the ground;

here, too, a person on all fours is shown creeping on the ground as if looking for others. Or again, it might be an archaeologist in search of material because just in this part of the painting is depicted a slab adorned with a Roman-looking head and an inscription below. This stone, as well as some fragments of capitals lying in disorder on the ground, has apparently fallen from a small building, of which only a portion of the vault is still standing. More towards the centre we see another slab with an inscription and part of a column resting on it. Most of the letters of the inscription are of no definite form with the exception of those to the extreme right and left where we can decipher: "XII", and "C. F."; in these we might be tempted to discover the unfortunately impossible date of 1512 and the signature "Carpathius fecit". If really the master's signature, this half-concealed manner of signing would not greatly surprise us in such a fantastic creation.

At a first glance this extremely beautiful piece of painting reminds us of the art of Mantegna, and in this we are evidently in accordance with the person who added the false signature, but on closer examination we discover stylistic elements which are more akin to Giovanni Bellini, especially at that particular phase when he was still influenced by Mantegna, but at the same time painted with a marked taste for minuteness which, as I said in the previous volume, seems to point to a Lombard origin. This feature is manifest in the detailed treatment of the landscape, the draping, the drawing of the faces and even in the curly hair. Though executed many years before, the painting by Giambellino which shows most points of contact is the Prayer in the Garden of Olives in the National Gallery, London; but also in his Transfiguration in the Correr Museum we discern one or two corresponding features: compare, for example, the prophet who stands to the left of the Saviour with the old man who holds the basin. However, in the human proportions and even in the landscape and the turbaned orientals there are certain points of differentiation, points which seem to reveal a more definite Lombard influence than in the case of Giovanni Bellini, and in which we discover none too negligible reminiscences of the work of Bramantino.

A still more marked stylistic connexion is found between



Fig. 158. Vittore Carpaccio, dead Saviour and Saints. Metropolitan Museum, New York. Mus. Photo.

Giambellino's painting in London and that of the dead Saviour between SS. Jerome and Onuphrius, formerly in the Neville Abdy collection, London, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 158) ⁽¹⁾. No other picture by Carpaccio is so prolific in detail.

⁽¹⁾ *Philips*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine, XXIX, 1911, p. 144. *Fogolari*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1920, p. 125. *Berenson*, Venetian Painting in America, p. 157.

This is most noticeable in the landscape to the right where hills, rocks, trees and houses are executed with the painstaking patience of the Flemish miniature painters; nor is it absent in the fantastic rocks to the left, where we see a few bare trees and others felled, and where one hind grazes peacefully while another is in the grip of a panther. The back of the throne, on which the Saviour is seated, is formed by an antique slab in ruins, with a long hieroglyphic inscription. Much of one side has crumbled away, and of what was once no doubt a triangular gable nearly all is missing. The arms of the throne are of a more Renaissance style. The crown of thorns is seen on the ground where, once again, human bones, including a skull, and fragments of stone are scattered. To the left sitting on a heap of stones is the white-haired and bearded St. Jerome; his long sinewy arms and legs are bare but his body is covered with a shirt; his wooden shoes lie on the ground. The fact that he looks at the spectator, as well as his picturesque appearance and gesture, suggests the possibility that the painter had a model for this figure. To the other side we see St. Onuphrius seated on some slabs of stone with hieroglyphic lettering. His posture, with his head resting on his hand, is the same as that which we found in the painting in Berlin, though the rest of the position is different because here he apparently gesticulates while in deep meditation. His limbs are just as long and thin as those of St. Jerome; he, too, has white hair and a beard but his skin is darker and on his feet he wears sandals.

Everyone now agrees that this picture is by Carpaccio. Still we can very well understand why it was formerly attributed by some critics to Giovanni Bellini. Even though there is no longer any question of its being from his hand, the Belliniesque elements, though limited to the figures, chiefly that of St. Jerome, are none the less very significant. In fact, we know pictures by Bellini, in which this saint is depicted in exactly the same attitude: they are those in the National Gallery and in the Contini Bonacossi collection, while in the painting, dated 1505, until recently in the Clarence Mackay collection, New York, we discover a decided similarity in the naked legs and in the position of this particular figure.

The dead Saviour also may have been inspired by the central figure of some of Giambellino's *Pietàs*. The type, the expression and much in the technical execution recall the great Venetian



Fig. 159. Vittore Carpaccio, Adoration of the Child. Gallery, Caen.

Photo Braun.

master, more especially at an earlier moment in his career when all trace of Mantegna's influence had not yet disappeared.

As Mr Berenson has already observed ⁽¹⁾, there is a considerable resemblance between the dead Christ of the picture in Berlin

(1) *Berenson*, Venetian Painting in America, p. 158.



Fig. 160. Vittore Carpaccio, Biblical Scene. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 161. Vittore Carpaccio, Portrait of a Lady. Lanz Collection, Amsterdam.

and the same figure standing in His tomb between two angels in a beautiful and very Belliniesque painting in the Serrestori collection, Florence (*Fiocco*, pl. 83).

An important Adoration of the Child in the museum of Caen, on account of its Lombard minuteness, types and Mantegnesque sharpness, again reminds us of Bramantino (fig. 159). Here, too, the general setting, with an archway of strange rocks framing the

view of a town and the hills in the distance, bears some analogy to the foregoing work. In the foreground the Virgin is depicted seated on a low wall, holding on her knee the Child Jesus Who playfully turns towards the infant St. John who sits on a carpet on the floor. Two little angels hold a curtain behind the Madonna. To the left, where we read the signature: "*Victore Carpathio*", is seated St. Joseph reading a book, while nearer the centre an elderly woman kneels in adoration. To the right a richly attired young woman is seated on the same low wall and beyond her is a bearded man, in a strange costume, obviously intent on the central figures. Two small angelic musicians are shown, one on either side of the Virgin, behind the wall. On the archway above we see the meeting of St. Jerome and the lion, while to the right a hermit and two monks are represented at the entrance to a cave.

Quite as Bellinesque in style and certainly belonging to this group is a fragment, probably of a Crucifixion, depicting the lansquenets standing round a Jewish high-priest, and a young warrior, looking up, seated on a beam (fig. 160). This painting, in which we see a landscape of high mountains, is probably the master's last production in which traces of Bramantino's influence are evident. It is preserved in the Uffizi.

Another Bellinesque work by Carpaccio is the charming little portrait of a lady in the Lanz collection, Amsterdam (fig. 161) (1). It shows the young sitter in three-quarter profile; she wears a double gold chain round her neck while the upper part of her rich dress, with a row of pearls stitched on the border, is just visible.

It was possibly in these years that the master also painted the representation of St. Jerome, now in the Thyssen Bornemisza collection, Lugano (*Fiocco*, pl. 7) (2). Here the saint holds a little crucifix and is seated on a stone under an overhanging ledge of rock, while in the background we see a fortified town. Again we notice the elongated pointed forms which we found to be an outstanding characteristic of this group of paintings.

(1) No. 71 of the catalogue of the Exhibition of Italian art in Dutch possession, Amsterdam, 1934.

(2) *A. L. Mayer*, *Pantheon*, 1928, p. 252. *R. van Marle*, *Dedalo*, XI, 1931, p. 1378. I was of the opinion then that it might be a production of an earlier period of Carpaccio's activity.



Fig. 162. Vittore Carpaccio, Nativity of the Virgin. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Anderson.

In 1500 the authorities of the Scuola degli Albanesi started to embellish their institution and from 1504 onward Carpaccio was active for them. He executed a series of scenes from the life of the Virgin and on the first of them we read the inscription: "*In tempo de Zuane de Nicolò Zimador e soi compagni MCCCCIIII del mese di Aprile*". In 1808 under Napoleon's government the pictures were removed from the Scuola degli Albanesi, which at that time was also called the Scuola dell' Arte dei Pistori. Three of them were sent to the Brera Gallery, Milan; of these the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the Virgin's Marriage are still in this collection while the third, the Nativity of the Virgin, is now in the gallery of Bergamo. The Annunciation and the Death of the Virgin were restored to Italy after the Great War

and are now in the Ca d'Oro, Venice. In the Correr Museum of the same town we find the Visitation. In describing these paintings I shall follow the order of the narrative ⁽¹⁾.

The scene of the Nativity has offered Carpaccio another opportunity of showing an interior (fig. 162) ⁽²⁾. In the bedroom depicted in the foreground we see St. Anna, still quite young, reclining in a comfortable and natural attitude in a walled-in bed; a woman approaches the bed with a plate of soup; another woman, rolling a binder, is seated on a projecting piece of wood-work which is covered with an oriental rug. A third and more elderly person, who looks like the midwife, is seated on a low stool before a wooden tub, in which she is about to give the new-born child her first bath, while the white-bearded Joachim, leaning on his stick, looks on. On the top of a cupboard near the bed we see several small vases, a candlestick and some fruit, while on the wall above hangs a Hebrew text, no doubt the "Seir hameloth", which should be on all four walls in a Jew's house. The curtain which covered the text has been pulled aside and a little lamp hangs in front of it. I think some Hebrew lettering above the door might refer to the Tòrah. The ceiling is simply raftered but the wood-work of the bed, walls, doors and window, through which we see a landscape, is more elaborate. Two pet rabbits play on the floor near the door which communicates with the kitchen. Above a second door, which leads out of the kitchen into an adjoining room, there is an ornamental shelf of pottery, while before the kitchen fire a woman airs a towel. In the room beyond a servant prepares a fowl while still further away we see a courtyard.

The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple which, like the following scene, is preserved in the Brera Gallery, shows a strange intermingling of elements of different origin (fig. 163). In the background oriental houses, turrets and trees are depicted alongside the central building which, although more Italian than anything else, is of rather an incomprehensible style. A sun-dial

⁽¹⁾ *Ludwig*, op. cit., Arch. Stor. dell' Arte. I do not think that Ludwig and Molmenti's account of the iconographical antecedents of these scenes is much to the point; nor indeed is it of any great interest.

⁽²⁾ *G. Frizzoni*, La Galleria dell' Accademia Carrara in Bergamo, Bergamo, 1907, p. 155.



Fig. 163. Vittore Carpaccio, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.
Brera Gallery, Milan. Photo Anderson.

with Hebrew numbers adorns the centre of the façade, and to either side of this there is a classical statue (1); two heavy late Gothic houses occupy the right corner of the background. An equestrian statue in bronze of a Roman emperor caps a column to the left while another classical feature is the battle scene, shown in a relief, in the foreground.

At the top of the flight of steps — Carpaccio evidently was not aware that according to the sacred legend there should be fifteen — the high-priest, a venerable old man in beautiful vestments, followed by two acolytes, receives with tender affection the little girl who kneels before him.

A group of relations, among whom Joachim is the only man,

(1) *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 226, discover a certain resemblance between this building and that of 1430 in the Piazza dei Signori in Padua.

have accompanied the young Virgin and seem to be mournfully impressed by the scene, though their faces are rather lacking in expression. A woman at a little distance looks on while a delightful little boy in the foreground, holding a deer on a leash, apparently argues with one of the priests on the terrace above; a little rabbit crouches at his feet.

The Marriage of the Virgin (*Fiocco*, 149) is depicted in a somewhat more agitated scene. The event occurs inside a magnificent marble temple which has very much the appearance of the rich Venetian churches, as for example Sta. Maria dei Miracoli, were it not for the presence of Hebrew texts and a seven-branched candelabra. Moreover, the attitude of one of the priests also, with hands piously crossed, belongs to the catholic ritual. The high-priest, however, is attired in Jewish liturgical robes; he bestows a blessing on the kneeling Virgin and on Joseph, who carries the miraculously flowering rod, while an angelic figure blesses from above. Behind the Virgin stand the members of her family; to the right the rejected suitors, with vigour and a display of what appears to be bad temper, break their wands. There seems to be a great number of them for they fill up the church to the very door, some of them holding their rods in the air. The elected bridegroom is somewhat concerned at his success.

The Annunciation, with the inscription which I have given above, is now preserved in the Ca d'Oro (fig. 164). The refined sobriety of the composition is very pleasing. The Virgin's house has the appearance of an ornate open loggia in which she kneels before her prie-dieu; a vase with a flowering carnation is really the only decoration. At the back we see a book placed on a little lectern, while through a door part of the Virgin's bed is visible in the adjoining room. The Madonna looks up from her Book of Hours at the approach of the celestial messenger, in whose rather rigid figure there is something Gothic. He stands in a little garden which a crenellated wall with a trellised gateway⁽¹⁾ separates from a wood. God the Father appears in the sky above and sends forth the Holy Ghost; three pigeons perched on a bar in the arch of the portico seem to await his arrival. Several other birds are shown in the garden.

(1) *A. Callegari*, *Dedalo*, XI⁴, 1930—31, p. 905.



Fig. 164. Vittore Carpaccio, Annunciation. Ca d'Oro, Venice.

Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.

The Visitation, as Carpaccio depicts it in his canvas now in the Correr Museum, is a departure from all iconographic traditions (*Fiocco*, 145). In fact, it is impossible to get a clear idea of where and under what circumstances he imagined the event took place. The setting is decidedly oriental, as we see from the trees, most of the buildings and the dress of the people, evidently employed on their every-day occupations, depicted around the two women who embrace one another in the centre of the foreground.

Even the imposing edifice, mostly surrounded by a wall, which forms the greater part of the background, seems to be inhabited by Turks; they are seen at the windows and on the balconies which are adorned with oriental rugs. The smaller building in front is more Italian in style and several of the figures moving about in the porch might be Venetians. Rabbits, birds and even



Fig. 165. Vittore Carpaccio, Death of the Virgin. Ca d'Oro, Venice.

Photo Böhm.

a deer are represented on the large square in which the two holy women meet.

The canvas of the Death of the Virgin, now in the Ca d'Oro, is not a pleasing picture (fig. 165). The event seems to take place in an open loggia, through the two wide arches of which we get a view on to a town. Carpaccio evidently had a very fixed and definite idea of the appearance of a dead person, because the long emaciated body of the Virgin stretched on her bier is very similar to that of St. Jerome on his death-bed. The Apostles surround the far side and foot of the catafalque, while near the head three figures in contemporary secular attire, holding candles, kneel in adoration and partly conceal the five angels who stand behind. Above, the Saviour is represented seated on clouds in the midst of cherubim; He carries away the soul of His Mother which is

represented in the form of a little naked figure standing on a cloud. The whole composition is somewhat clumsy and the figures are too large for the available space. Some of the Apostles, especially the one seen from behind, show a sharp incisive design in the drapery, reminding us of the Paduan school, though at the same time the line and proportions are more Gothic. However, the figure of this particular Apostle has been copied without any variation from Carpaccio's earlier painting of the dead Saviour in the museum of Berlin.

These paintings from the Scuola degli Albanesi are very different in quality and appearance and even in the same work we can discover a diversity of technical levels. This naturally points to the fact that Carpaccio was probably assisted in the enterprise. I do not think that the master himself had a great share in the execution of the Nativity of the Virgin, nor in the Visitation, where the figures are clumsy and lifeless. The group of relatives to the left in the Presentation to the Temple are of the extremely simple technique, which we observe also in the central figures of the marriage scene. I am not of the opinion, however, that we are dealing here with the work of pupils, and I am more inclined to think that in this achievement Carpaccio struck a new note and brought about a considerable change in his manner of painting, which on the whole tends towards greater simplicity and breadth. This is perhaps most noticeable in the large and sober treatment of the features which, in the St. Ursula series, were rendered with such minute care. Here, the faces are flat and the traits as well as the contours are drawn in grey lines. On the whole the figures have become much more static and, compared with his earlier productions, they are somewhat lacking in action and expression. The human body seldom shows that grace for which the artist evinced so much taste in his earlier works. Instead, we find that the forms are hidden under heavy drapery, rendered with large facets and of extreme simplicity.

The layer of colour in all these works is particularly thin. The chief characteristics of this special manner are certainly the soberness of form and the simplicity of method. To establish this manner, however, we should not base ourselves solely on the canvases of the Scuola degli Albanesi, the execution of which, as I said before, was in part left to assistants.



Fig. 166. Vittore Carpaccio(?), Portrait. Kestner Museum,
Hanover. Mus. Photo.



Fig. 167. Vittore Carpaccio(?), Portrait. Kestner Museum,
Hanover. Mus. Photo.

There are several other works which reflect the new style in an even more favourable way but I am not sure whether we should place them before or after 1504, the only date we have in connexion with the six canvases. I am inclined to believe that most of them are later because the picture of the Adoration in the collection of M. Gulbenkian, Paris, and of St. Thomas in glory in the gallery of Stuttgart, which are, the former possibly, the latter certainly, of the year 1507, seem to mark the end of this tendency.

I rather hesitate to give to Carpaccio two important portraits on canvas, but if they are from his hand they should be classified in this group. They are in the Kestner Museum, Hanover, and represent a Venetian magistrate in a magnificent velvet robe and bonnet and his fat, good-natured wife in black, with a veil on her head (figs. 166, 167). Both the subjects are depicted kneeling and are framed in a decorative design in grisaille. These beautiful portraits, which are not often cited, have recently been attributed to Melozzo da Forlì by Mr Berenson, but I do not think that they belong to this artistic current⁽¹⁾. I see a strong psychological resemblance between these two portraits and those which Carpaccio painted at an earlier phase, but technically speaking, especially in the plain and simple way of handling volume, I believe we have here more perfect productions of the same manner in which he executed the six canvases of the Scuola degli Albanesi.

It was no doubt at this time — 1504 or slightly later — that the master painted an oblong picture, privately owned, first in New York and then in London (*Fiocco*, 27)⁽²⁾. It represents the three-quarter length figure of the Virgin standing; she blesses the infant St. John in front of whom the Child Jesus, holding a book, is seated on a cushion on a low wall; He wears a little frock and dainty shoes. The elderly woman, with severely veiled head, who appears behind him, is doubtless St. Elizabeth. A curtain to the right conceals part of the landscape in which we see farm-houses, hills, trees and a field in which some playful rabbits are depicted.

Very similar in style is a panel which I saw some years ago in Munich. It shows the knee-length figure of the Madonna seated

(1) They were Nos. 145 and 146 of the exhibition of the Ferrasese school held in Ferrara in 1933, where they were catalogued as possibly by Baldassare d'Este.

(2) *L. Venturi, L'Arte*, XXXIII, 1930, p. 394.



Fig. 168. Vittore Carpaccio, *Madonna*. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt. Photo van der Smissen.

in three-quarter right profile; she holds a half-open prayer-book in her hand while the nude Child, Who sits on her knee, bestows a blessing. Little more is shown of a woman who obviously kneels in adoration than the veiled head and clasped hands. Most of the background is formed by a curtain but a small view of a landscape with a lake and a castle is visible; two large cherubim occupy over-much of the sky above.

Slightly more evolved in style is a beautiful panel in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfort, representing the half-length figure of the Virgin standing behind a low parapet on which the Child, elegantly attired and wearing an ornate cap and shoes, is seated, with a prayer-book resting on his fat naked legs; the little St. John, standing behind, points towards Jesus (fig. 168) ⁽¹⁾. The background is formed by a curtain and a landscape seen through a window. In a much ruined picture in the Correr Museum, Venice (*Fiocco*, 30), the figures of the two children correspond perfectly to those in the foregoing work; the background, though still half-curtain, half-landscape, has changed considerably but the greatest difference is noticeable in the appearance of the Madonna. In this case Carpaccio seems to have borrowed one of the figures from Giambellino's composition of the Circumcision, executed by Catena in the National Gallery, London (v. fig. 217 of vol. XVII).

Probably of a few years later is an oblong picture in which, in a landscape with a lake, the Child, neatly attired, is seated turning round towards the Madonna who, also seated, clasps her hands in adoration. To the other side of the little Jesus stands St. Joseph with an open book, while behind the Madonna is a female saint, her head covered with a nun's veil. This painting belongs to Mr Samuel H. Kress, New York ⁽²⁾.

Of this period is very likely also the panel of two bearded men (Apostles?) walking in a beautiful landscape with hills and a castle in the background, a work which belongs to Mr vom Rath, Amsterdam (*Fiocco*, 200) ⁽³⁾.

The woman who, in the canvas of the Nativity of the Virgin, is seated on a low wall with her back more or less turned to the spectator, appears in another work which till a short time ago was in the Benson collection but now belongs to Messrs Duveen Brothers (fig. 169) ⁽⁴⁾. That this is not a copy by either Vittore

⁽¹⁾ It figured in 1872 in Paris in the sale of the Pereire collection (No. 94).

⁽²⁾ *Fiocco*, op. cit., Art in America.

⁽³⁾ No. 70 of the Catalogue of the Exhibition of Italian Art in Dutch possession, Amsterdam, 1934; it was formerly in the Annan Bryce collection: catalogue of the Exhibition of early Venetian Pictures, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1912, pl. 16. *A. Venturi*, Studi dal Vero, p. 253.

⁽⁴⁾ Same Catalogue p. 15. *T. Borenius*, Rassegna d'Arte, XII, 1912,



Fig. 169. Vittore Carpaccio, Lady reading. Ex-Benson Collection, London.
Photo Courtesy of Duveen Brothers.

himself or Benedetto Carpaccio, after the corresponding figure in the Nativity, as Ludwig and Molmenti suggest, seems very obvious, because not only is the picture from the Benson collection superior and more elaborate but the woman's attitude reading is more natural and at the same time more logical, whereas in the Nativity she is idle, and the shelf of wood on which she is seated is rather incomprehensible. The painting with its enchanting landscape, now the property of Messrs Duveen, is of a much higher standard and certainly the more consummate work of art and we could very easily imagine that the master copied from this picture the figure of the seated woman for the larger composition of the Nativity. However, as the panel is in all probability of a slightly later date it seems more likely that among his drawings Carpaccio had a sketch which he used not only for these two paintings but also for another of 1507, in which a very similar figure is depicted. The picture belonging to Messrs Duveen was apparently at one time a larger composition but a piece of it has been cut off, leaving a portion of a figure visible to the left.

Several critics of to-day hold Carpaccio responsible for the painting of the Flight into Egypt in the Otto Kahn collection, which has been attributed to Antonello da Messina by A. Venturi and to Giovanni Bellini by Mr Berenson (fig. 170) ⁽¹⁾. The Virgin is dressed in a robe of an elaborate design and holds the little Babe tenderly against her breast, while the ass on which she rides is led by St. Joseph who, staff in hand, looks round at the precious burden. Great attention has, as always, been given to the finely executed landscape, an important part of which is occupied by a field of cactaceous plants. The lengthy proportions of the broad-shouldered St. Joseph who, on account of his thin legs, seems to taper to a point, remind us of the angel in the Annunciation and of the Apostle seen from behind in the Death of the Virgin, both in the Ca d'Oro. On the whole we find in this painting a mellowness, due to the influence of Giovanni Bellini, which is now about to become manifest in Carpaccio's art.

p. 89. Catalogue of Italian Pictures collected by R. and E. Benson, London, privately printed, 1914, No. 76, with bibliography. *F. E. Washburn Freund*, Cicerone, 1927, p. 499.

⁽¹⁾ I have already contradicted these attributions in Vol. XV, p. 536 note 1. The hypothesis that it is by Carpaccio was first made by *Fiocco*, *op. cit.*, p. 61, pls. 25—26.



Fig. 170. Vittore Carpaccio, Flight into Egypt. O. Kahn Collection, New York.

The date of the picture, in which for the third time the seated female figure appears, is not absolutely certain. Most frequently it has been read as 1507 but others have deciphered it as 1505. Until a short time ago it was in the collection of Lord Berwick, London⁽¹⁾, but it now belongs to Mr. Gulbenkian, Paris (fig. 171). In a very elaborate and beautiful landscape with fantastic rocks and a lake and oriental soldiers moving about on foot and on horseback, we see the nude Child Jesus lying on a cloth on the ground, His head resting on a cushion; to the left the Virgin kneels in adoration and, as she is shown in profile, she closely resembles the reading woman of the Benson picture. Behind her is seated the white-haired St. Joseph while opposite are two adorers, a young man and a young woman, in magnificent contemporary costume. In the foreground in this part of the painting we can still make out the name "*Victor Carpathius*" which is inscribed on a label but it is very difficult to decipher the date, which may be either 1505 or 1507; it is, as I said before, more often believed to be the latter and this is more probable also on account of chronological considerations.

There is a certain discrepancy between the rather traditionalistic conception of the background and the very much more evolved figures in the foreground, which, indeed, have very little in common with the figures he executed not more than ten or twelve years before, such for instance as those of the St. Ursula cycle. We discover in them a suave smoothness of feature which tends towards a more regular beauty in the modern and Renaissance meaning of the word. But for a few last vague traces in the draperies of the Virgin and St. Joseph, the Quattrocento conventionality is almost completely absent. Moreover, the importance given to the adorers, who are of the same proportions and just as evident as the sacred personages, is also a new element with which we meet in a similar manner, and perhaps for the first time in an official picture, in the works of Giovanni Bellini. The painting I refer to is the Madonna, enthroned between SS. Peter, Paul and a kneeling donor of 1505, in the Vernon

(1) *R. E. Fry*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, X, 1910, p. 36. *Berenson*, *Idem*, 1916, frontispiece. *C. Phillips*, *Burlington Magazine*, XVII, 1910, p. 262. No. 83 of the National Gallery Loan Exhibition, London, 1909; No. 87 of the Exhibition of Italian Art held in Paris in 1935.



Fig. 171. Vittore Carpaccio, Adoration of the Child. Gulbenkian Collection, Paris.

Photo Dixon.

Watney collection and there can be no doubt that in this new manner of representing donors Carpaccio followed the example of Giambellino.

These modern aesthetics inspired by Giovanni Bellini are just as evident in the altar-piece signed and dated: "*Victor Carpathius MDVII*" in the gallery of Stuttgart. This work was originally in the church of S. Pietro Martire in Murano and is described as being there in old guide books; but in 1807 it was transferred to the Accademia of Venice and afterwards sold (*Fiocco*, 150) ⁽¹⁾. Even the same composition, with the central figure enthroned on a high pedestal and the adorers standing to the sides, was employed by Giovanni Bellini in his altar-piece of 1505 in S. Zaccaria. The principal figure of Carpaccio's painting is St. Thomas Aquinas; he is depicted on a throne which bears more resemblance to a professor's desk; his attitude, too, is that of a teacher and even books are scattered on the pedestal. He is really seated under a vault, most of which however disappears in a cloud (Carpaccio showed us a similar effect in the Death of the Virgin from the Scuola degli Albanesi) in which a half-length figure of the Virgin, holding the nude Child in benediction, appears in the midst of cherubim and angels. To the sides are the figures of SS. Mark and Augustine, the latter in magnificent episcopal vestments. Ludwig and Molmenti inform us that the young adorer kneeling to the right of the throne is the son of Tommaso Licinio, who ordered the picture.

In the execution of this painting it seems evident that Carpaccio made a particular study of the altar-piece which Giovanni Bellini painted for the same church about twenty years earlier, that is to say in 1488, and which represents the Doge Agostino Barbarigo in adoration before the Madonna. It is from this picture that Carpaccio borrowed, without making any alterations, the image of the Child Jesus in benediction, Who, besides, is also held in almost the same manner by His Mother. Several of the cherubim as well seem to have been copied more or less from Giambellino's panel. Although Carpaccio has changed the type of his St. Augustine, the figure is a free rendering of that depicted by Bellini, while his St. Mark is more or less the same type as Giambellino's, but our artist was forced entirely to alter the attitude.

⁽¹⁾ *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 276.



Fig. 172. Vittore Carpaccio, *Death of the Virgin*. Gallery, Ferrara.

Photo Anderson.

The Virgin and the severely executed holy theologian are, on the other hand, typical works of Carpaccio's own invention and personal style.

Of the year 1508 we have a signed and dated work which originates from the church of Sta. Maria in Vado but is now in the gallery of Ferrara. It represents the Death of the Virgin and the signature: "*Victor Carpathius Venetus MDVII*", is inscribed on a label (fig. 172) (1). The figure of the dead Virgin lying on her bier and that of the Saviour above in the midst of cherubim and clouds, with the soul of His Mother, a naked figure kneeling on an oblong cloud which He holds with both hands, are obviously elements which the master has copied from the corresponding scene of the cycle from the Scuola degli Albanesi. Here, too, one Apostle to the right is shown from behind, but he is quite different in appearance. The beautiful heads of the venerable Apostles again reveal a strong influence of Giovanni Bellini and this is evident, not only in the types and aesthetic feeling, but also in the technique with its pronounced and harmonious light effects. In the background we see an intermingling of Gothic and oriental architecture. The figure of the Lord here is more in proportion with the composition. In the earlier work this figure, which seemed to have been copied from another picture, was far too large for the available space, and perhaps there existed at one time a still earlier example of this composition from Carpaccio's hand.

In the Presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple, which was transferred from the church of S. Giobbe to the Accademia (44), we have in its grandiosity of style and proportions (it is fourteen feet high) an example of the monumental altar-piece as yet unknown among the productions of Carpaccio (fig. 173). This painting, which is mentioned by Vasari, who praises the colours, by Ridolfi and by Moschini, is signed: "*Victor Carpathius MDX*". There can be no doubt that in undertaking this work, Carpaccio's idea was to create a picture which would form the counterpart to the altar-piece — the enthroned Madonna with saints and angels — executed by Giovanni Bellini many years before for the same church, now likewise in the Accademia (38).

(1) *Milanesi*, commentary on Vasari, III, p. 662.



Fig. 173. Vittore Carpaccio, *Presentation in the Temple*.
Accademia, Venice. Photo Anderson.

Carpaccio's desire that his painting should harmonize with Bellini's was somewhat handicapped by the dissimilarity of the subject; however, he more or less repeated the setting. In both cases the figures are framed in the apse of a church, decorated with mosaics and resting on ornate pillars. The proportions are much the same though they appear to be different because of the greater breadth of Giambellino's altar-piece. The three angelic musicians in the lower part of the composition are in different positions but have also been taken from Bellini's work. Near the altar in the centre the Virgin stands with the Child in her arms; the old Simon, in magnificent liturgical robes with scenes embroidered on the border, steps towards her, followed by two acolytes who hold his cope. Behind the Madonna are two young women, one of whom holds a little basket containing two pigeons. The somewhat heavy forms and broad expressionless faces of the principal figures remind us of Cima perhaps more than of Giovanni Bellini, but this resemblance may be incidental.

Very similar types, just as regular in form, heavy in shape and lacking in expression, are found in the canvas of St. Ursula in glory which apparently belonged to the cycle from the Scuola di S. Orsola and which, in spite of the inscription with the master's signature and precise date: "*Op. Victoris Charpatio Veneti MCCCCLXXXI Mensis Septembris*", Mr Berenson has rightly claimed to be a production of the same period as the Presentation in the Temple of 1510 (1); he is now of the opinion that the picture might even be of as late a date as 1516 (2), but I think this again might be somewhat too late (figs. 174, 175). The reason for the obviously wrong date is one of those problems which cannot be solved. It does not seem likely that the decoration of the Scuola di S. Orsola remained all these years without the image of the Apotheosis of the saint; hence it is just possible that there existed another picture which was replaced many years later. The pigments are too thin for us to suggest that the work was fundamentally repainted. Here again Carpaccio shows a cloud which conceals part of the background; a hill and many buildings, however, remain visible. In the centre on a bunch of palm leaves, bound by a double row

(1) *Berenson*, op. cit., *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1916, p. 1.

(2) *The Same*, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, 1932, p. 135: "inscribed 1491 but painted twenty-five years later".



Fig. 174. Vittore Carpaccio, *Glory of St. Ursula*. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

of cherubs, the saint stands with folded hands; angels, two of whom hold a crown above her head, hover around her. Higher up in the midst of cherubim God the Father, with outstretched

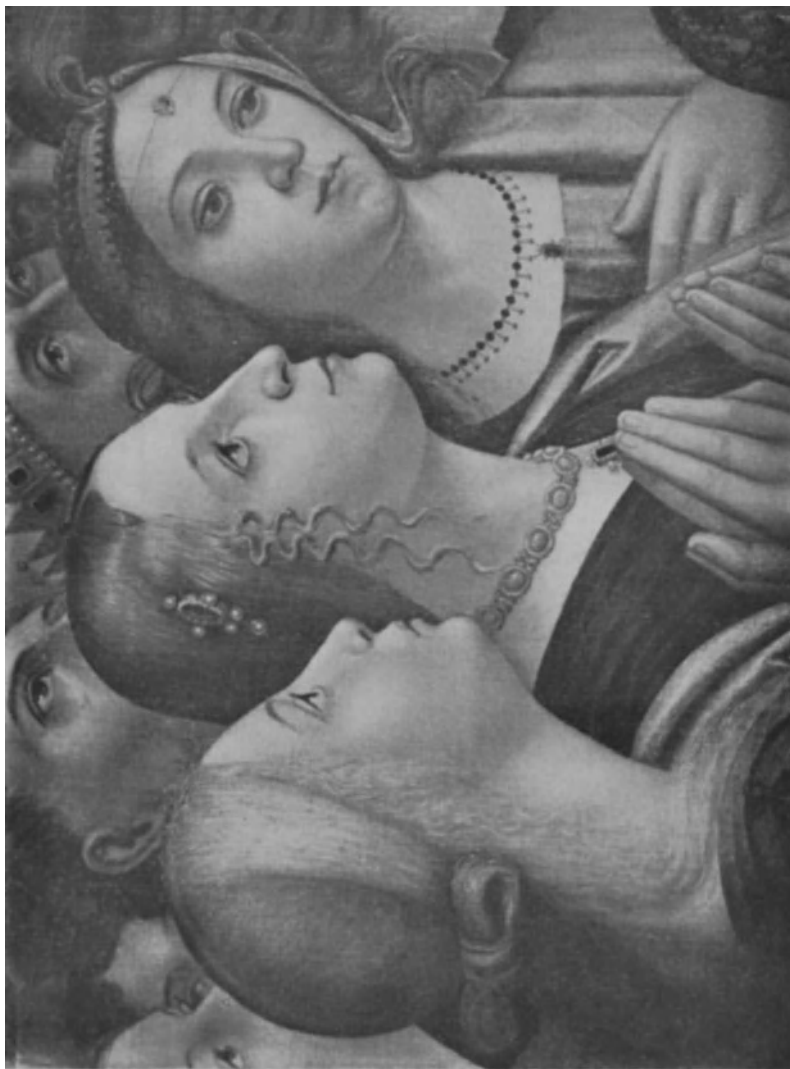


Fig. 175. Detail of fig. 174.

Photo Anderson.

hands, appears in the sky. Below, kneeling in a mass, are the saint's numerous companions among whom we see one or two men. The scene is framed in an arch of architecture and through a hole in the vault three little angels drop flowers. We cannot deny that some of the faces of the virgins and those of the three men to the

left are really quite 16th century in character and approach Giorgione, or even the first works of Titian, but we are struck by a puzzling lack of unity in the multitude of heads.

The same grandiose style, large proportions, regular features and round faces are shown in a very fine painting of St. Michael, formerly in the von Nemes collection, Munich (¹). The saint, holding scales and a spear, stands on the beautifully designed dragon; a particularly pleasing and vast view of a landscape, with a town on the banks of a river, forms the background.

Stylistically closely connected with this painting is a work, till now unknown, in the collection of the painter Italo Brass in Venice, representing Atalanta with an apple in her hand running away from Hippomenes who, attired in a beautiful contemporary costume, pursues her. A lovely landscape, with a lake and buildings and animated by many small figures, is the setting of this delightful painting.

Another work which in style corresponds to the Presentation of 1510, and even more to the Apotheosis of St. Ursula, is the portrait of a lady with a monkey in a private collection, Nice (fig. 176).

We now come to another group of paintings, executed probably in the subsequent years, in which Giovanni Bellini's influence is again very evident. The dated examples, though not the most characteristic productions of this manner, are the canvases which Carpaccio painted in 1511, 1514 and 1515 for the Scuola di S. Stefano. These works are mentioned by Ridolfi, who tells us that Carpaccio executed them at the end of his life, and by Boschini (p. 115), who remarks that they are "copiosi di figure e d'ornatissimi architetture" and that besides the five scenes there was as well an altar-piece by him, but here Boschini quite possibly is mistaken and refers to that by Bissolo, three panels of which are now in the Brera Gallery, Milan.

Four of these canvases are scattered throughout different

(¹) *Gronau*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine, 1924. *A. Venturi*, Studi dal Vero, Milan, 1927, p. 255. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, Painting in North Italy, ed. Borenius, I, p. 229, when it was in the Gera collection, Conegliano, ascribe it to Benedetto Diana. *Fiocco*, op. cit., p. 95, agrees with this attribution which, however, I think quite out of the question. Catalogue of the sale of the von Nemes coll., Amsterdam, Nov. 1928. No. 20, gives it to Lazzaro Bastiani.



Fig. 176. Vittore Carpaccio, *Portrait of a Lady*. Private Collection.

galleries, Berlin, Paris, Milan and Stuttgart each possessing one.

In the first of the series, the consecration of St. Stephen, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (14), Carpaccio once more attempts to show a more or less oriental scene, at least many figures among



Fig. 177. Vittore Carpaccio, Consecration of St. Stephen, 1511. Museum,
Berlin.

Mus. Photo.

the bystanders wear turbans and one of them has even the pointed head-dress of Byzantine emperors, while several of the women are attired in southern, though not Mussulman, fashion (fig. 177). The small figures in the background are Arabs; most of them are on horseback. A great variety of styles can be discerned in the architecture in the background. To the left there is a pagan temple with statues; in the distance a large fortress is of a somewhat Lombard appearance while to the right, among some rather incomprehensible pieces of building, we see an Islamic minaret. Here, at the top of a short flight of steps, St. Peter, with some of his companions in conversation behind, advances in order to bestow his blessing on St. Stephen who, with six other young deacons, kneels below. More to the right a pilgrim is seated at the foot of the steps; his flask is beside him and he is busy getting some food out of his sack; his staff, to which his hat is attached, is leaning against the wall. His attire and the presence of a dog who plays with a small boy, recall somewhat the figure of St. Roch. Close to the pilgrim, but with her back turned to him, is seated an old woman who is not unlike the one in St. Ursula's room when the saint talks with her father. This is a particularly fine painting of excellent design and beautiful bright colouring.

The Louvre possesses the canvas of St. Stephen preaching in Jerusalem which offers us a really delightful view of a somewhat fantastic oriental city with a classical gateway more or less in the centre. The saint, delivering his sermon, stands on the ornate pedestal of some pagan statue; his not very numerous listeners are Turks and other orientals wearing turbans or some equally eastern head-gear (fig. 178). Of a group of five women seated in the centre, only one is veiled after the Moslem custom; the others are attired in different national costumes.

To the extreme right stand two pilgrims while a third can be seen in the background, where most of the other figures are orientals. Like the previous work, this painting too is extremely pleasing; the figures are handsome, the action is lively and the setting, with fine effects of distance, really beautiful.

In the canvas of the Dispute of St. Stephen in the Brera Gallery, Carpaccio has depicted portraits of fifteen members of the Scuola; they are all attired in contemporary Venetian dress and seem rather out of place against the obviously eastern background,



Fig. 178. Vittore Carpaccio, Sermon of St. Stephen. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.

although the loggia in which the scene takes place is of a purely Italian style of architecture. In medallions on the pedestals of the two nearest columns we read: "*Victor Carpathius pinxit*" and the date "*MDXIII*". The attractive-looking young deacon, who is seated, evidently enumerates, with the traditional gesture, his arguments on the fingers of his left hand. He looks towards the

spectator and not at the oriental philosophers who are seated around him and who appear to be decidedly upset at his words; one of them even seems to address one of the Venetian brethren. As usual many oriental figures are depicted in the background, where Carpaccio's attempt to portray eastern architecture has not quite succeeded. The curious pointed pyramid to the left seems to have been taken from a design of a Chinese turret, while for the equestrian monument which is placed on three columns adorned with statues Carpaccio must have been inspired either by Donatello's *Gattamelata* or Verrocchio's *Colleoni*. A hilly landscape rises above the rather low buildings in this part of the background.

When we compare the extremely neat signatures on Carpaccio's other works with the indecipherable hieroglyphics on the little label in the picture of the *Stoning of St. Stephen* in the gallery of Stuttgart (341), it can very well be understood why we need not accept as absolutely certain the date of 1520 (fig. 179). The general acceptance of this date is based on the statement of the not over-accurate Zanetti. The figure which follows the MDX looks to-day much more like a V than an X. Of the name of the artist little more than the first letter V can be read. I think that this canvas has suffered much more than the others; moreover it is not entirely free of restoration. But perhaps the discrepancies we discover in this canvas are not all due to the passage of time for it may be that it never possessed the excellent qualities of the other paintings of the same series. Many of the figures are not only lacking in grace and in form but are even out of proportion. The finest figure is that of the saint who, struck by the stones, has fallen on one knee but continues to pray. The orientals who throw the stones, as well as those in the group to the left, are somewhat weak in design and ungainly in form. Doubtless the master was assisted in the execution of this canvas by a rather mediocre pupil. The background, however, is very beautiful; it is composed of a mountainous landscape to the right, and to the left a walled city, from the gate of which emerges a long procession of Mussulmans. The view of the town is painted with so much care of detail that we gather the impression that the painter followed a definite model and it is quite possible that his source of inspiration was once more Reuwick's illustrations of



Fig. 180. Vittore Carpaccio, *Stoning of St. Stephen*. Gallery, Stuttgart.
Gal. Photo.

Breydenbach's journey. The elaborate manner in which he has painted the town, combined with the fact that he offered to make a picture of the city of Jerusalem for the Marquis of Mantua, leads us to suppose that Carpaccio had a particular liking for this sort of representation.

The canvases of *St. Stephen* belong, as I said before, to a phase in which Giambellino's influence is obvious, but in this cycle we notice, especially in Carpaccio's manner of interpreting the Belliniesque factors, a very personal note which tends towards

an academic taste for regular beauty of the human form.

Possibly at about the same period as the last of the St. Stephen canvases, Carpaccio executed a polyptych, three panels of which, representing St. John the Baptist, a holy bishop and St. Stephen, were privately owned, first in Berlin, then in Milan (*Fiocco*, 201), while the fourth panel, showing St. Peter the Martyr, forms part of another private collection ⁽¹⁾. The discovery of this fourth panel, however, forms an obstacle to Professor Fiocco's hypothesis that the three other figures were in all probability those once existing at Spinea where, according to Ridolfi, there were three figures of saints, though he really leads us to understand that they were depicted on one panel. If we overlook the last item it might be supposed that the fourth figure was separated from the others even before Ridolfi saw the altar-piece. In any case, the origin of this work, which is surely by Carpaccio and executed in one of his more Belliniesque manners, is not of very great importance.

A strong influence of Giovanni Bellini is manifest in six figures of saints of an altar-piece in the gallery of Bergamo; this work, which shows the false signature of Cima and is catalogued as by Gerolamo da Santacroce, has recently been given to Carpaccio by Professor Longhi and I think this attribution is possibly correct ⁽²⁾.

The same critic drew our attention to an altar-piece in the church of Grumello de' Zanchi, in the commune of Zogno, in the valley of Brembana; it represents the standing figures of SS. John the Baptist, James, Jerome and Antony, with God the Father in the lunette above and small figures of saints in landscape backgrounds in the predella ⁽³⁾. The latter figures show much resemblance to Giambellino's representations of St. Jerome but the principal figures are of a somewhat different style, and this makes the work rather difficult to date. I do not think, however, that Professor Longhi is right in placing it around 1496 and am of the opinion that it comes nearer in style to the next dated production, that is to say the altar-piece of 1514 which is divided between the Strossmayer Museum of Zagreb (54, 56) and the

⁽¹⁾ *Longhi*, op. cit., Vita Artistica.

⁽²⁾ *Longhi*, op. cit., Vita Artistica. *Fiocco*, op. cit. Bollettino d'Arte, XXIVI, p. 122, Previtati?

⁽³⁾ *Longhi*, loc. cit. *Fiocco*, loc. cit.

gallery of Bergamo (*Fiocco*, pl. 166) ⁽¹⁾. The former possesses the panels with the figures of SS. Peter the Martyr and Sebastian (fig. 181) on which we read the inscription: "*Victor Carpathius MDXIV*", while in the latter we find the panel of St. Roch which has suffered considerably. These handsomely executed figures are of a decidedly academic appearance but they are without either charm or animation and are even rather lacking in character. Very probably these panels formed part of the altar-piece which Boschini (p. 475) describes as existing in the chapel to the right of the choir in the church of S. Fosca, Venice, and to which also belonged the now lost figures of SS. Christopher and Paul.

The same shortcomings are evident in another retable of 1514,



Fig. 181. Vittore Carpaccio, St. Sebastian, 1514. Gallery, Zagreb. Photo Hanfstaengl.

⁽¹⁾ *G. Frizzoni*, *La Galleria dell' Accademia di Carrara, Bergamo, 1907*, fig. 156.

that in the church of S. Vitale, Venice, which is mentioned by Ridolfi, Boschini, Zanetti and Moschini (fig. 182). With the exception of the holy knight holding a banner, the figures are somewhat different in appearance and technique from those of the foregoing work. Next to the holy knight is a female martyr, while in the centre St. Vitalis holding a battle-axe is depicted on a white charger; he is accompanied on the other side by SS. John the Baptist and James. These figures are shown in front of an ornate portico through the arches of which we see a minutely designed landscape. The signature: "*Victor Charpatius pinxit MDXIV*" is inscribed on a label at the foot of the portico. Behind a plain iron railing on the roof of the portico stand two white-bearded saints and two young holy martyrs, the sons of St. Vitalis. On the projecting ledge of stone outside the railing, sits a little angel playing the lute; the artist evidently wished to convey the idea that on account of his wings there was no danger of falling. Carpaccio might have borrowed this unusual element in the composition from the altar-piece by Vivarini and Basaiti in the Frari church, in which the Coronation of the Virgin takes place behind a railing on a sort of balcony over a vault. Still higher, the half-length figure of the Virgin, holding the nude Child, appears in a cloud in the midst of cherubim. Zanotto informs us that this work was ordered by Giovanni Luciani, the parish priest (1).

It was in 1515 that Carpaccio, as we saw, probably signed the last picture of the St. Stephen series. In any case we know from the signatures that it was during this year that he executed the martyrdom of the ten thousand crucified on Mount Ararat and the meeting of Joachim and Anna, both now in the gallery of Venice (89, 90). The productions of the years 1514, 1515 and 1516 reveal to us very different aspects of the master's talent and are sometimes really so dissimilar that it is difficult to believe that they are all by the same artist.

The former of the two pictures cited above was painted for Cardinal Ottoboni, as the result of a vow he had taken, and originally it adorned the altar of this family in the church of S. Antonio at Castello. Apparently it was one of Carpaccio's best known works because it is mentioned by all the ancient authors:

(1) *Zanotto*, Pinacoteca Veneta, fasc. XXV.



Fig. 182. Vittore Carpaccio, St. Vitalis and Saints.
S. Vitale, Venice.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 183. Vittore Carpaccio, ten thousand Martyrs on Mount Ararat.
Accademia, Venice.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 184. Vittore Carpaccio, Meeting at the Golden Gate and Saints.
Accademia, Venice. Photo Alinari.

Vasari, Sansovino (p. 8a), Ridolfi, Boschini (p. 162), Zanetti and Moschini (fig. 183). Carpaccio again shows us the scene in a very crowded composition with numerous figures crucified on the trees and others being nailed to crosses. The martyrs intermingle with a great number of soldiers, many of whom are in oriental dress, while others are attired like old Romans and a good many are on horseback. The background, composed of a mountainous landscape densely peopled, has the appearance of a miniature compared with the rest of the picture. Mount Ararat is depicted like a vision in the sky and rests on the branches of a tree.

The work is not pleasing but this is chiefly on account of the rather impossible subject. On close examination the individual figures are beautiful and animated, in spite of a tendency towards a rather academic sense of aesthetics. Some of the types, as well as the anatomy of several of the nude figures, again reveal the influence of Giambellino. On a label to the left the painting is signed: "*V. Carpathius MDXV*".

The other production of this year, the Meeting at the Golden Gate, which originates from the church of S. Francesco, Treviso, is one of the least fascinating pictures I know from the brush of Carpaccio (fig. 184). In the heavy, stodgy and lifeless attempt to create regular beauty, we look in vain for the delightfully mundane artist who painted the witty, graceful and charming scenes of St. Ursula's legend, in which so many over-elegant contemporary personages figured.

Here in the centre stand the two old people in an awkward embrace; Joachim's expression is that of artificial sweetness. To the left stands St. Louis and to the right St. Ursula and these four enormous, clumsy and unattractive figures fill up the entire foreground and in fact almost the whole painting. To the left we see a building adorned with pagan sculpture; the two figures on the flight of steps leading up to it very likely represent Joachim chased from the temple by the high priest. In the distance we see a tall tree, a town on the slope of a hill and one or two houses to the right. The signature runs: "*Victor Carpathius Venetus op. MDXV*".

There are some undated works which Carpaccio might have executed during this period.

Very close to the saints of the polyptych of 1514, but somewhat more severe in design and consequently perhaps slightly earlier, are two panels in the Kress collection, New York (1). They depict the allegorical figures of Temperance pouring water into a basin and Prudence holding her mirror. Both are handsome figures and are represented in an elaborate landscape minutely designed.

Of a little later date is an oblong picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (14), in which, against a background of hills and

(1) *Fiocco*, op. cit., Art in America.



Fig. 185. Vittore Carpaccio, Madonna and Saints. Museum, Berlin.

Mus. Photo.

rocks, the three-quarter length figure of the Virgin is seated facing the spectator; she holds on her knee the nude Child Who, with arms piously crossed, looks heavenward. An old white-bearded saint stands in adoration to the left, while to the right we see a young female saint with hands folded on her breast (fig. 185).

The shape and composition of the panel seem to have been borrowed from Giovanni Bellini, as Ludwig and Molmenti observe, but I do not agree with them that this provides an argument in favour of ascribing the painting to one of Vittore's sons. The technical qualities are far above those of a school production and I think it is certainly by Carpaccio himself, but executed in his late and slightly pompous manner. The type of the female saint is one we found also in the St. Stephen series.

A similar Belliniesque style characterizes another painting by Vittore Carpaccio, but again the attribution to the master has been rejected in favour of that to Benedetto (Ludwig e Molmenti and Berenson). The work in question is preserved in the gallery of Karlsruhe and represents, against a distant and scarcely visible landscape, the Madonna and Child, Who is in very much the same position but here looks affectionately at His Mother, between a young crowned female saint and an old saint with a snow-white beard, reading from a book, who is perhaps St. Jerome and in any case is very similar in type to the St. Jerome which Giambellino shows us in his altar-piece in S. Zaccaria (fig. 186). This painting is certainly not very characteristic of Carpaccio either in style or technique and it may well be that Benedetto had a share in the execution.

Two panels, one of St. Mary Magdalene, the other of St. Justine, in a collection at Bassano show the same shortcomings as the Meeting at the Golden Gate of 1515 and although I know these works only from reproductions (*Fiocco*, 15) I imagine that, if they are really by Carpaccio, they must belong to this period of his career.

In Venice there exist two pictures by Carpaccio of the year 1516. One of them represents St. George on horseback piercing the dragon through the head and is preserved in the church of S. Giorgio Maggiore. Of the ancient authors Zanetti alone mentions this work (*Fiocco*, 172). The figure of the knight on



Fig. 186. Vittore Carpaccio, *Madonna and Saints*. Gallery, Karlsruhe.
Gal. Photo.

his charger seems to be a copy, with but a few slight variations, of the picture in the Scuola di S. Giorgio; the horse is somewhat wooden and St. George is long and stiff, while the proportions of horse and rider are different; both are lacking that impetuosity which gave so much spirit to the earlier composition. The dragon also, though again very lively and aggressive, is different in



Fig. 187. Vittore Carpaccio, the Lion of St. Mark, 1516. Palace of the Doges, Venice. Photo Anderson.

appearance, chiefly, I think, on account of the limited space. The setting shows more change than any other part of the picture. We see, as before, gruesome human remains on the ground but the landscape beyond is quite different; it is composed of wooded hills, a lake and a castle. To the left St. Jerome in penitence is shown reading while to the right, near the walls of a city, is depicted the stoning of St. Stephen. The signature: "*Victor Carpathius Venetus o. MDXVI*" is inscribed on the border which separates the picture from the predella. The latter is adorned with four scenes of martyrdom, in which both the judges and the executioners are attired in oriental dress. These little pictures are full of life and action. The rather damaged condition of the painting contributes to the lack of vigour which we notice in the principal scene. The drawing, however, is excellent and this quality characterizes the other production of this year, namely the lion of



Fig. 188. Vittore Carpaccio, Knight in armour. Thyssen Bornemisza Collection, Lugano.

St. Mark, now in the Palace of the Doges but originally in the office of the Magistrato dei Camerlenghi (fig. 187). The signa-

ture: "*Victor Carpathius A.D. MDXVI*", almost concealed by plants, is inscribed on the ground. In fact, in this work the artist has paid great attention to the vegetation which he represents with the minute detail worthy of a botanist or an illustrator of a treaty on natural history. This is quite a new factor in Carpaccio's art. The winged lion, resting one paw on an open book in which we read the words "*Pax Tibi Marce Evangelii Sta Meus*", appears to have just emerged from the lagoon. The drawing of the animal is very skilful. Beyond, we see many ships at anchor and to either side some buildings, including the campanile, the Palace of the Doges and the church of S. Marco. It is really more or less the view we obtain from S. Giorgio Maggiore, for which church Carpaccio executed in the same year the foregoing picture of St. George and the dragon. But in a sense it is not true to nature because this particular view, which is that towards the Lido, cannot be obtained from one spot.

There is only one other picture by the master in which we find plants and flowers treated with the same scientific care; it is that of a knight in armour with one hand on the hilt, the other on the scabbard, of his sword (*Fiocco*, pls. 58-60) (fig. 188) (1). The handsome strongly-built youth with attractive features stands firmly planted on his feet. To the left in the background we see a youthful warrior on horseback; he wears a robe of heraldic design over his armour, carries a lance and is followed by a dog. From a horizontal pole on one of the houses in this part of the background is slung a saddled horse, as if it were the sign-board of an inn. In the landscape to the right we see a fortress on the shores of a lake, some trees, a stag, birds and a dog. In the sky above a falcon attacks a crane.

This really beautiful painting, formerly in the Vernon collection, Wentworth Castle, then in that of Mr Otto Kahn, New York, but now belonging to Baron Thyssen Bornemisza, Lugano, is one of Carpaccio's finest works; it is certainly the best production of the master's later years. I think that it is an obvious mistake to date it from between 1490 and 1500, that is to say contemporary with the

(1) *R. Offner*, op. cit., Dedalo, and *the Same*, op. cit., Art in America. *Martin*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine. *Gronau*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine. *L. Venturi*, op. cit., L'Arte, 1930. *The Same*, Italian Pictures in America, pl. 304.

St. Ursula series, as Mr Offner and some other critics do. We observe here a taste for well-balanced figures of regular features, ample forms and excellent draughtsmanship, all principles towards which Carpaccio tended in his later years. Nor do I find any reason to agree with Mr Offner that the person represented is St. Eustace. Carpaccio has more than once depicted a stag in the background of his pictures and I do not think that we can take it in this case to be the emblem of a saint. Moreover, the young warrior has by no means the appearance of a religious figure.

Some years ago I saw in London the bust-length portrait of a lady, richly attired and wearing a necklace of large pearls; her hair, interwoven with pearls, is dressed in a large round on the top of her head with some curls hanging down. A hilly landscape with a river, a church and a convent, forms the background. I am of the opinion that this work was executed by Carpaccio about this period in his career.

It was no doubt in 1516 that Carpaccio went for a long stay in Istria, in which region he seems to have spent the last seven years of his life, because at Capodistria there are several paintings by him: one of 1516, two of 1517, one of 1523 and an undated work which is now lost. At Pirano there is a picture of 1518, while four panels of saints in Zara apparently date from this time. Although we know that he was in Venice in 1523, we do not find him active in this town after 1516.

There exists a painting of 1518 by Carpaccio at Pozzale di Cadore, one of 1520 at Chioggia, while a work of 1519, now lost, was originally in the church of S. Giovanni in Brescia. All this evidence of his activity outside Venice leads us to suppose that he passed the last years of his life elsewhere. Perhaps the public, attracted by the art of Titian and other painters of the Cinquecento, no longer appreciated Carpaccio's talent and this forced the aged master to seek for orders in less favoured centres.

As a matter of fact, Carpaccio's big altar-piece of 1516 in the cathedral of Capodistria, though a handsome work, is certainly somewhat conservative in type and composition (fig. 189). The enthroned Madonna, of a particular sweetness of expression, is depicted with the nude Child standing on her knee.

The style again points to Giovanni Bellini as the source of inspiration but not as the dominating element. We notice the same

tendency in the pathetic but refined St. Sebastian who stands to the right on the steps of the throne. On the same side are represented St. Louis, holding the model of a town, and a holy bearded warrior, perhaps St. Nazzarius. To the left we see St. Roch, an old white-bearded saint, possibly St. Joseph, whose head only is visible and St. Jerome — or is it St. Zaccariah? — reading a book. For the angel seated on the steps playing the lute the master has used the same cartoon as for the corresponding figure in the Presentation in the Temple of 1510. The two other rather skimpily clad angelic musicians are of quite a different type. A label on the steps of the throne gives us the painter's signature: "*Victor Carpathius Venetus pinxit MDXVI*" as well as the name of Cosroe Duse who restored the painting in 1839, and who, in the inscription, praises the work he did on this picture (¹). In our criticism of this production we should not forget that a certain part of it has been somewhat changed by restoration. The figures are shown inside a church with an ornate ceiling but beyond, instead of an apse, we see the open sky and trees. The manner in which the curtain behind the Madonna is hung on cords recalls a similar detail in an altar-piece, begun by Alvisè Vivarini and finished by Basaiti, in the Frari church. However, much more in this work is reminiscent of Bellini. Carpaccio's model for the old bearded saint reading was obviously the St. Jerome in Bellini's retable in the church of S. Zaccaria, while many features of the St. Sebastian call to mind either the figures of Job and St. Sebastian in the S. Giobbe altar-piece, now in the Accademia, or the two nude figures to the right in Giambellino's illustration of Deguilleville's Pilgrimage of the Soul, in the Uffizi. The holy warrior to the right corresponds in type with St. Vitalis and in attitude with the holy knight, both in Carpaccio's S. Vitale altar-piece of 1514.

Also of the year 1517 is the canvas representing Sebastiano Contarini received by the authorities of Capodistria, when as Capitano del Popolo he takes over the government of the city (*Fiocco*, pl. 177).

The chief magistrate is shown in a square with many other robed figures around him; on the balcony of one of the houses,

(¹) *Caprin*, Iстрия Nobilissima, II, p. 103 (*Fiocco*, p. 81). *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 289 note.



Fig. 189. Vittore Carpaccio, *Madonna and Saints*. Cathedral,
Capodistria.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 190. Vittore Carpaccio, *Madonna and Saints*. S. Francesco, Pirano.

Photo Alinari.

which are of a Venetian Gothic style, we see a banner and several people looking on at the scene below. This painting, which is preserved in the gallery of Capodistria, is very damaged and restored, but in spite of this it retains the character of a work by Carpaccio.



Fig. 191. Vittore Carpaccio, St. Martin and the Beggar. Cathedral, Zara.
Photo Alinari.

At Pirano, in the church of S. Francesco, we find an important altar-piece of 1518 representing the Madonna enthroned in the midst of six saints and two angels (fig. 190). The throne in this case is particularly high and is placed at the top of a flight of steps on which is depicted a vase of irises, and there two angels playing on musical instruments are seated. The one playing the viol is shown in a very natural position with legs crossed; the other who plays the lute is also shown in a realistic posture. Between them a label bears the signature: "*Victori Charpatii Veneti opus MDXVIII*". To the sides of the Madonna, who in type reminds us to a certain extent of those of Montagna, are represented SS. Louis of Toulouse (?), Peter and Francis at the left and a holy knight in armour holding a banner — St. Louis of France? — Clare and Antony of Padua at the right.

Beyond the arch which frames this group we obtain a view which, as Professor Fiocco observes, is proof of Carpaccio's sojourn in Istria. In the somewhat incisive drawing of the drapery and a certain severity of the lengthy forms there is something which recalls the art of Alvise Vivarini of half a century before, rather than that of Giovanni Bellini. Again, this picture has been restored and consequently has lost some of its original appearance.

I imagine it was during his stay on the east Adriatic coast that Carpaccio executed the polyptych in the cathedral of Zara (*Fiocco*, pls. 17-22) (1).

The saints represented here are: St. Martin on horseback — not unlike the St. Vitalis in the altar-piece of 1514 — dividing his coat, which is already wrapped around the beggar who stands quite near him; while some plants and trees adorn the background (fig. 191); and SS. Anastasia, Simeon, Peter and Paul, each standing on a little platform against a landscape background. The dais of the former two is higher and more ornate and a low wall separates the figures from the distant landscapes. More interesting is the representation of St. Jerome, half-nude, praying in a rocky landscape, with a cleric in adoration facing him. This panel and that of St. Martin are superior to the four others which, I think, are mostly from the hand of an assistant who was possibly Carpaccio's son Benedetto. The work is signed: "*Victoris Carpatj Veneti opus*".

(1) *Cecchelli*, op. cit., p. 27.



Fig. 192. Vittore Carpaccio, *Madonna and Saints*, 1518. Pozzale di Cadore.

Photo Filippi.

The fact that this polyptych was placed on the altar which Canon Martin Mladovich had erected in this church in 1480 has been sufficient reason to assign these panels to about the same date ⁽¹⁾. But I think that the style of the painting disproves this theory much more than the argument that the canon — if it is really Mladovich who is portrayed — would have had himself depicted on the panel of his patron saint. There is practically no

⁽¹⁾ *Molmenti*, *Emporium*, April 1906. *Morassi*, *idem*, Sept. 1924.

room for another figure on this panel; besides, St. Jerome is the protector of the clergy in general. Consequently I imagine that the canon ordered the painting many years after the consecration of the altar.

In 1518 Carpaccio in all probability left Istria since we find his signature on a sort of polyptych of that year at Pozzale di Cadore (fig. 192) and not at Pieve di Cadore, as Ludwig and Molmenti state on the authority of Ridolfi who, however, does not mention the subject of the painting. On a fairly high throne, the base of which is covered with an oriental rug, the Virgin is depicted with clasped hands, the Infant Jesus lying on her knee. She is accompanied on the one side by St. Thomas and on the other by the holy bishop St. Dionysius who closely resembles the bishop in the altar-piece of 1516 at Capodistria. Above appear the half-length figures of SS. Roch and Sebastian, while a little angel holding a flower sits at the feet of the Virgin. The signature: "*Victor Carpatio Venetus pinxit anno MDXVIII*" is inscribed on a label at the foot of the painting. In spite of the signature I think that the entire execution of this mediocre panel, defective in design as well as in colour, has been left to Vittore's son Benedetto.

There existed another altar-piece showing the inscription "*Victor Carpatius Venetus pinxit MDXVIII*" but it perished in a shipwreck in 1869 on its way to the National Gallery. The composition is known to us from a rather indistinct reproduction after an old photograph (1).

The picture was originally in the sacristy of the church of S. Giovanni at Brescia (2); later it was acquired by the Averoldi family of this town; from them it was bought by a dealer who sold it to the National Gallery. It again represented the Madonna enthroned in the midst of saints, a composition for which Carpaccio seems to have had a great liking at this stage. The setting, in this case, is a hill with shrubs and trees, against which is depicted the high throne adorned with statuettes; an angel is seated on the steps of the throne while two others of rather strange appearance

(1) *A. Venturi*, *Stor. dell' arte ital.*, VII⁴, fig. 480. *Hausenstein*, *op. cit.*, pl. 68. *Fiocco*, *op. cit.*, pl. 18c.

(2) *Averoldo*, *Le scelte pitture di Brescia*, Brescia, 1700, p. 79.



Fig. 193. Vittore Carpaccio, St. Paul. S. Domenico, Chioggia.

Photo Alinari.

play on musical instruments close by. The lively Child makes agitated movements on the Virgin's lap. To the sides stand the

pathetically gesticulating St. Faustina and the somewhat more tranquil St. Giovita.

A finely designed and well painted but not very attractive work is that representing St. Paul, in full-length figure, holding a sword and an open book, in which we see very minute lettering, while a small crucifix emerges, as it were, from his heart. He stands in a meadow full of flowers, small plants and trees (fig. 193). This painting, which hangs to the right of the choir in the church of S. Domenico, Chioggia, is signed and dated: "*Victor Carpathius Venetus pinxit MDXX*". The imposing figure shows much the same severe conception of drapery and plastic effects as the works of fifteen years before; and we notice once more that tendency to make the human figure more or less triangular, the broadest part being at the shoulders, then tapering to a point towards the feet. The proportions and general technique are here somewhat broader and the drawing of the face more impressionistic. The figure shows considerable resemblance to the St. Thomas reading, in the polyptych of 1518 at Pozzale di Cadore.

The last dated production and probably also the last work we have by the master is the decoration of the organ doors in the cathedral of Capodistria; it is not signed but it is dated 1523 (*Fiocco*, 194). The two scenes, which bear no connexion to one another, are rather clumsily joined together. One of them represents the Presentation in the Temple: the old high priest, followed by two acolytes, stands at the top of a flight of steps to receive the Virgin who approaches with the Child in her arms; she is followed by two women. That Carpaccio recalled the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple that he painted twenty years before for the Scuola degli Albanesi, is evident from one or two points of resemblance, as for instance the two acolytes and the small boy standing near the steps, which in this painting do not seem to lead any where as only a small fragment of the temple is visible. Also the man seen from behind standing to the left is but a slight variation of a figure in the scene of the Death of the Virgin from the Scuola degli Albanesi cycle, and is repeated in the mystical painting of the dead Saviour in the museum of Berlin. Beyond the principal figures we are shown a view of some buildings with Turks walking about and, in the distance, a hill with a town on the horizon. The buildings are oriental, the main one reminding us

somewhat of the temple of Solomon, the model of which we know Carpaccio at an earlier moment borrowed from Reuwick's illustrations of Breydenbach's journey. The edifices in the first and second plans are arranged in such a strange manner that it is impossible to understand what connexion they have with one another. The central figures with their big heads and heavy faces are rather clumsy and I do not think that we can consider them to be by Carpaccio himself, not even at this moment when he was very advanced in years. The St. Paul, which he painted for Chioggia three years before, has still so many qualities that we can hardly believe that a similar decline could have taken place in so short a time. It is true, however, that the Meeting at the Golden Gate of 1515 shows the same lack of style; perhaps the same assistant, who may have been Benedetto, collaborated in both these works.

The adjoining scene represents the Massacre of the Innocents. In a landscape of wild rocks we see to the left Herod, on horseback between two soldiers, looking on while his men, all wearing turbans and oriental costume, carry out his order; the slaughter is shown in a wild *mélée* of mothers, babes and soldiers. Some features in the drawing and in the types recall those productions in which Carpaccio revealed a certain connexion with Bramantino, but again very much of the execution has been left to an assistant.

Two half-length figures of prophets of a purely Arabian type, with long beards and heavy turbans, formed part of the same decoration but they have been removed from the cathedral and are now in the museum of Pola (*Fiocco*, 195, 196).

They are far superior in technique and much more characteristic of Carpaccio, from whose own hand they might very well be.

Although the works of Carpaccio with which we have dealt are fairly numerous there are records of many more which are now lost ⁽¹⁾. I have already cited the painting from Brescia which perished in a shipwreck, while from a letter of the master's to the Marquis of Mantua we know that there existed a representation of the city of Jerusalem from his hand and we may safely assume that this picture was inspired by Reuwick's woodcut illustrating Breydenbach's journey in the Holy Land. In the same letter the

⁽¹⁾ Several of them are mentioned by *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., pp. 261-266.

painter refers to the "historia d' Ancona" which he executed in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, in the decoration of which hall, so a document informs us, he assisted Giambellino; both Sansovino and Ridolfi hold him responsible for the picture of Pope Alexander III giving indulgence to those visiting the church of S. Marco.

Mention is made of portraits, now lost, which Carpaccio executed of different literary personalities. The poetess Girolama Corsi Ramos eulogizes the painting of herself which the master made, while Carpaccio's portrait of the poet Antonio Vinciguerra is spoken of with admiration by an anonymous verse-writer ⁽¹⁾. Lastly, Antonio Contarini commissioned Carpaccio to execute the portrait of the satirist Strazzola; the latter detested Gentile Bellini and requested Carpaccio not to paint him in Gentile Bellini's manner but seated in a "cattedra" and wearing a crown of laurels; the painter, however, decorated the poet's head with vine leaves. The latter retaliated in verse chiding Carpaccio whom he describes as apparently a pupil of Gentile Bellini or a cassone painter ⁽²⁾. This little anecdote reveals to us that the painter and poet must have been on fairly good terms. The manner in which Strazzola says that Carpaccio might be taken for a pupil of Gentile, however, seems to infer that this was not the case.

According to Boschini and Zanetti the cycle in the Scuola di S. Stefano consisted of five pictures but only four of them are known to us. It has been supposed that a drawing in the Uffizi of St. Stephen before his judge (*Fiocco*, 184) might correspond with the lost canvas. Boschini says that the altar-piece in this Scuola was also from Carpaccio's hand but, as I said before, he probably makes a mistake because the retable from the Scuola di S. Stefano is that by Bissolo now in the Brera.

Vasari speaks of a picture of the Lord, appearing to St. Mary Magdalene and other holy women in a landscape, in the church of S. Antonio where Boschini saw a painting, signed by Carpaccio, of the Madonna, with four little angels placing a crown on her head and four donors. Zanetti saw this picture in the office of the

⁽¹⁾ *A. Colasanti*, Repert. für Kunstwiss., 1903, p. 198.

⁽²⁾ *Rossi*, Giornale storico della letterat. ital., 1890, p. 183; 1895, p. 1. *L. Venturi*, Storia della pitt. venez., p. 289.

“Tessitori di panni di lana” and Ludwig and Molmenti further describe the story of this work which is now lost.

In the Carità church there existed a picture with scenes from the legend of St. John the Evangelist, which both Sansovino and Boschini judged to be by Giovanni Bellini. Zanetti, who saw this work in a very ruined state, ascribed it to Carpaccio who was also supposed to have painted an altar-piece, with a holy knight, St. John the Evangelist and God the Father above, which Boschini describes as existing in his day in the chapel of Sta. Maria della Pace ⁽¹⁾.

In the abbey of Sta. Maria del Pero, near Treviso, there were two pictures which were supposed to be by Carpaccio; one of them represented St. George, the other, SS. Peter and Paul. Some evidence points to the existence of an altar-piece by the master in the cathedral of Capodistria.

With regard to pictures by Carpaccio in private collections, Ridolfi cites a Madonna, with St. Simeon and other saints, which, in his day, belonged to Dr. Vivian Viviani in Venice, while the private collections of Balbi, Giusti, Caldana and Albarelli in Verona and those of Buzzacarini and Capodilista in Padua are all supposed to have possessed works by Carpaccio ⁽²⁾.

In the inventory of 1627, illustrated with mediocre drawings of the collection of one of the several Andrea Vendramin, who existed in Venice, there is mention of an oblong picture of the Madonna and two saints, of the same type as those in the galleries of Berlin and Karlsruhe. In this case the lateral figures are an old bearded saint and a young female saint holding a dish; the work is ascribed to Carpaccio. Then there are several portraits of ladies which are without any attribution but which show considerable connexion with Carpaccio's art. One of them is depicted in profile; another recalls one of the courtesans in the Correr Museum, while a third, wearing a high bonnet, is reminiscent of the portrait in the Borghese Gallery ⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *D. Mantinelli*, *Il ritratto di Venezia*, ed. 1705, p. 176, mentions only the holy knight.

⁽²⁾ *Ludwig e Molmenti*, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

⁽³⁾ *T. Borenius*, *The Picture Gallery of Andrea Vendramin*, London, 1923, pls. 43, 21, 25, 55.

I have yet to cite the numerous paintings which are wrongly assigned to Carpaccio (¹).

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(¹) Ancient writers gave to Carpaccio: the saints by Bissolo in the church of S. Giovanni in Bragora (*Ridolfi*, p. 48; *Boschini*, p. 172; *Moschini*, I, p. 84); the St. Ambrose altar-piece in the Frari church (*Vasari*; *Ridolfi*, p. 47, "begun by Guarino and finished by Carpaccio"; *Zanetti*, p. 34, Carpaccio. *Moschini*, II, p. 187, ascribes it rightly to Alvise Vivarini and Basaiti); the scenes from the history of St. Jerome from S. Gerolamo (*Ridolfi*, p. 45; *Zanetti*, p. 35; *Moschini*, II, p. 8), which are by Lazzaro Bastiani; the St. Vincent Ferrer altar-piece in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (*Moschini*, I, p. 133), which is by Giovanni Bellini; the Marriage of the Virgin in S. Martino, Burano (*Moschini*, II, p. 450), which is by Mansueti from whose hand we find here also an Adoration of the Magi. *Ludwig e Momenti*, op. cit., p. 230, attribute to Carpaccio a very mediocre drawing of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple in the Windsor library; it is, I think, a production of his school. Of the attributions made by Professor Fiocco in his monograph on Carpaccio, I do not agree with: pl. 2, the Horse of Troy in the ex- von Auspitz coll. (Lazzaro Bastiani?); pl. 9, Pietà, Correr Museum (Basaiti); pl. 10, two saints, museum, Verona (more likely Benedetto); pls. 11—14, polyptych in parish church of Tisoio (school); pls. 23-24, two saints, gallery, Trau (Gentile Bellini); pl. 94, drawing of sleeping Apostle, Louvre; pl. 171, vision of the martyrs on Mount Ararat, Accademia, Venice, frequently ascribed to Carpaccio but I think it is a studio production; pl. 192, drawing, study of the dead Saviour lying on the lid of His tomb, Uffizi (Ercole di Roberti). *Fiocco*, op. cit., Art in America, p. 114, attributes to Carpaccio a Pietà, belonging to Messrs Agnew, which *Gronau*, in his monograph on Giovanni Bellini, pl. 96, ascribes to this master. It seems to me to be a Ferrarese production and possibly a work by Ercole di Roberti. *Fiocco*, loc. cit., assigns to Carpaccio a Deposition, formerly in the Baulio coll., Trieste, but judging from the illustration, I do not think that it is by the master. For other erroneous attributions, among which is that, so often repeated, of the Samson and Delilah in the Poldi Pezzoli Gallery, Milan, v. *Hausenstein*, op. cit., pp. 147, 148. I do not think that Carpaccio should be held responsible for a drawing of the Apostles fishing, preserved in the Print Room, Berlin, which is attributed to him by *von Hadeln*, op. cit., pl. 28. *Hausenstein*, op. cit., p. 154, repeats the mistaken attribution to Carpaccio of Lattanzio da Rimini's drawing of the Sermon of St. Mark at Chatsworth, made by *Hofstede de Groot*. *W. Suida*, Apollo, Sept. 1934, p. 123, ascribes to Carpaccio a picture of a young female martyr and donor in the Marinucci coll., Rome: by Bastiani. I have already stated that I do not agree with *Borenius*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine, in his attribution to Carpaccio of the bust-length portrait of a senator in the museum of Boston. Nor am I very convinced that the master executed the portrait — little more

Like many other artists whose sense of realism was stimulated mainly by what they saw around them, Carpaccio executed quite a number of drawings ⁽¹⁾ and I imagine that like Pisanello, with whom he reveals a certain spiritual link, he made many sketches of people and things of everyday life, though most of the drawings we know seem to have been executed with the idea of serving as cartoons for pictures. In fact, some of his drawings are complete studies for paintings and there are several cases in which both the rough sketch and the finished work are extant.

Most of Carpaccio's drawings have been published several times, but except for the obvious cases I do not find that a very close investigation has been made regarding their connexion with his paintings. I shall deal, therefore, with the master's drawings chiefly from this point of view.

For the series of canvases illustrating the legend of St. Ursula there exist two drawings which the artist evidently made as preliminary sketches. One of them is of the saint sleeping in her bedroom and is preserved in the Uffizi (fig. 194); the other depicts Prince Conon bidding farewell to his father and is found in the

than the head — of a boy with glossy curls in a private coll. and illustrated as such by *Longhi*, op. cit., *Vita Artistica*; I know only the illustration but the work reminds me more of certain portraits by Giambellino, such for instance as that in the Bache coll., New York. To Carpaccio are still erroneously ascribed: the Reception in the Piazzetta S. Marco in the Correr Museum *A. delle Rovere*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1902, p. 33 (by Bastiani), a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child and St. Joseph in the gallery of Rovigo and a Madonna with the Child and two adorers in a landscape in the Hermitage (*Philips*, *Burlington Magazine*, XVII, 1910, p. 261), which is Lombardo-Veneto, while judging from the reproduction, I should say that the Madonna with SS. Nicholas and Jerome in the coll. of Mrs Minturn is more like a studio production than a work from Carpaccio's own hand, v. *Berenson*, *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 160 and *The Same*, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, where he ascribes to Carpaccio also a head of Christ in the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, which is unknown to me.

(1) *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 267. *Von Hadeln*, *Venez. Zeichn. des Quattrocento*, p. 53, pls. 11-49. *K. T. Parker*, *North Italian Drawings of the Quattrocento*, London, 1927, pls. 50-53. *Balviel and Clark*, *Commemorative Catalogue*, Nos. 769-774. *Italian Drawings Exhibition at the Royal Academy*, Burlington House, London 1930, London, 1931, Nos. 167-172.

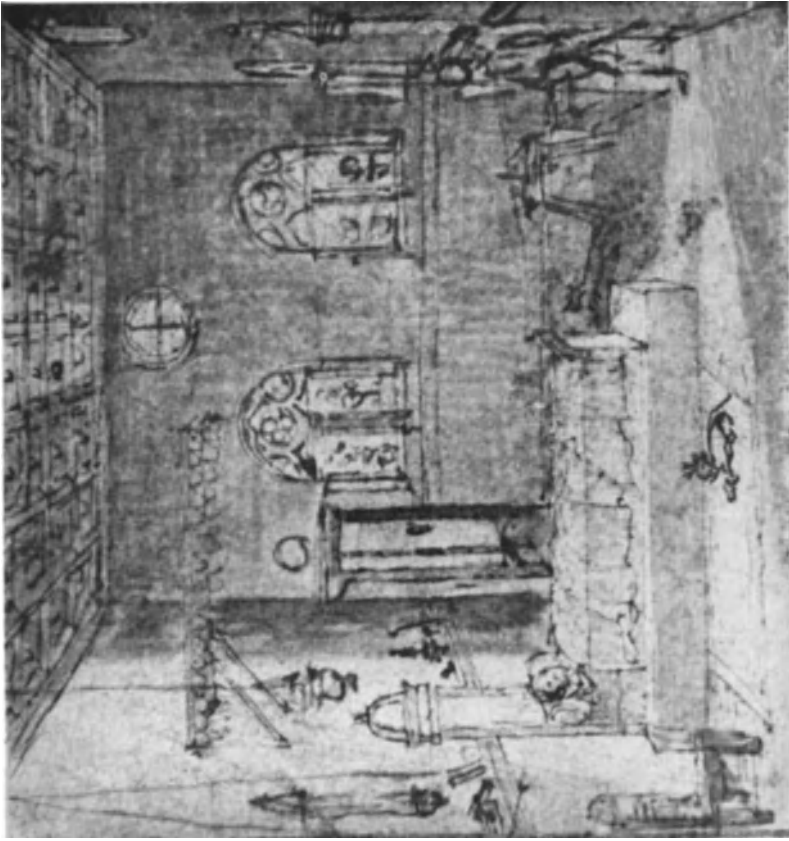


Fig. 194. Vittore Carpaccio. St. Ursula sleeping, Drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth (*Fiocco*, 51).

Comparing the former drawing with the canvas of the sleeping saint, we find that the composition is practically the same though almost every detail has been changed. In the sketch the setting is not so elegant, the furniture is less refined, the windows are Gothic in style, the baldaquin over the bed is fixed to the wall and not supported by columns as in the painting, the little desk in the corner is absent in the drawing and the angel is of a most primitive form; it looks as if this figure had been added as an afterthought.

The drawing, however, is a piece of virtuosity of penmanship and offers us a marvellous exemple of that rare gift of the im-

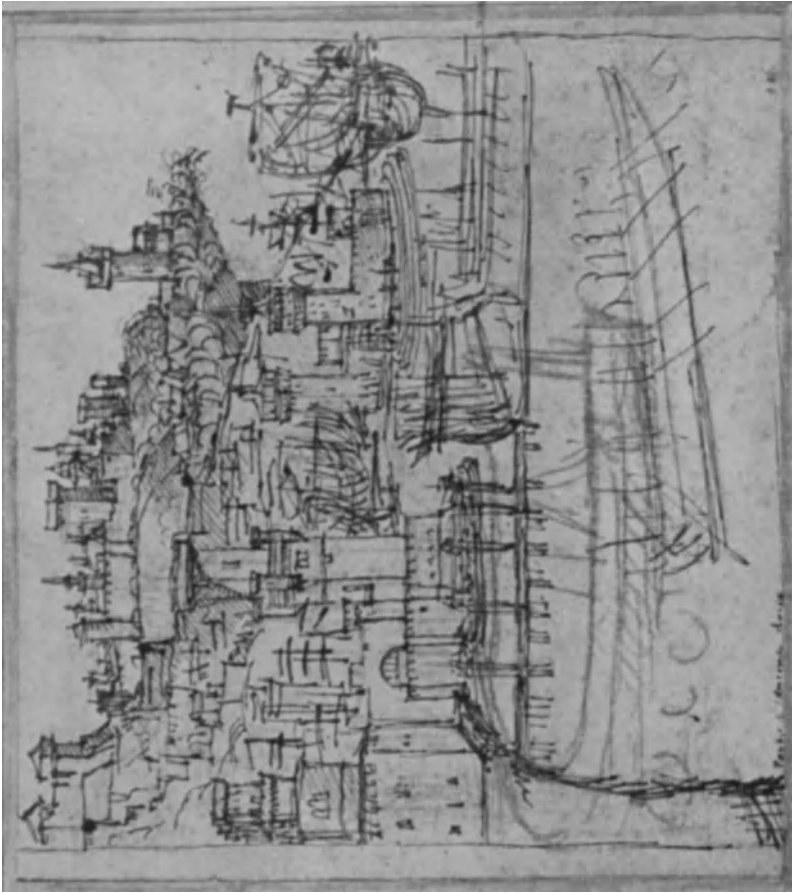


Fig. 195. Vittore Carpaccio, View of a Town, Drawing. British Museum.
Mus. Photo.

mediate response of the hand to the thoughts and vision of the artist.

The second drawing ⁽¹⁾ is also very different from the corresponding painting. Though several of the figures and their positions are taken from the sketch, we notice a considerable alteration in the grouping, in the number of the figures and in the distances between them. Strikingly similar, on the other hand, are the wood-work, the poles and the carpet at the end of the little pier, as well as the row of small figures in the distance. The

⁽¹⁾ *Colvin*, op. cit. *W. Gibson*, *Apollo*, XI, 1930, p. 177.

trumpeters we see here are, in the canvas, depicted standing on the bridge to the right, a part for which we have no rough sketch.

There is another drawing which has been associated with this scene; it is the view of a harbour town and is preserved in the British Museum. The city is shown above and behind the water, in which a few ships are anchored (fig. 195). The points of contact with the canvas are not very important; still, in both, the towers of Rodi and Candia are represented.

Quite recently there has come to light a sheet in the Fitzroy Fenwick collection, Cheltenham ⁽¹⁾, showing the slightly re-touched figures of three standing bishops. The central one has very probably been used for the representation of Pope Ciriacus in the canvas illustrating his reception of St. Ursula and her betrothed; little more has been changed than the features and, naturally, the liturgical head-dress. The two other bishops are found in the same picture, one behind the second couple of kneeling figures, the other more to the right. In the latter only the general lines correspond, because in the sketch he is depicted with a beard and wearing a beautiful cope. On the verso of this sheet we find a sketch of a nude torso and another of a loin-cloth for a Pietà.

Studies of heads for two of St. Ursula's companions in the large picture of the saint in glory again confirms Mr Berenson's hypothesis that this picture was executed at least twenty years after the date 1491 which we now find inscribed on it. They form part of the Gathorne Hardy collection and are entirely different in spirit and in technique (fig. 196, *Fiocco*, 36) ⁽²⁾.

There are several drawings which correspond to such an extent in style and technique to those mentioned above that I have no doubt they were executed in the same period. That, for instance, of the bust of a youngish man in right profile, with a bonnet on his curly head, in Christ Church College, Oxford (*Fiocco*, 69) ⁽³⁾, shows the elongated pointed type of face, with which we meet so frequently in the St. Ursula cycle. This sketch should be com-

⁽¹⁾ *Popham*, Old Master Drawings, December 1933, p. 37, pl. 42.

⁽²⁾ *Colvin*, op. cit., Jahrb., Italian Drawings etc., pl. 143.

⁽³⁾ *C. Ricci*, Rassegna d'Arte, V, 1905, p. 76. *S. Colvin*, Drawings of the Old Masters in the University Galleries and in the Library of Christ Church, II, 1907, p. 33.



Fig. 196. Vittore Carpaccio, Study of a Head, Drawing. Gathorne Hardy Collection, Donnington Priory. Photo Vasari Society.

pared with the figure of the young prince, his hand on his breast, who stands well in evidence in the canvas of the arrival of the ambassadors. The head of an old man in the British Museum is sometimes supposed to have been the sketch which served for one of the counsellors near King Teonato but I do not find a very great resemblance. The two almost over-graceful youths on the

verso of the same page, however, certainly remind us of similar figures in the farewell scene (*Fiocco*, 78).

Two important pen drawings are very similar in style and technique to those connected with this canvas. According to Ludwig and Molmenti one of them represents St. Lorenzo Giustiniani blessing Giangaleazzo Sforza; it is found at Chatsworth (*Fiocco*, 80) ⁽¹⁾ and it is supposed by some to be the cartoon for one of the pictures which the patriarch of Venice ordered from Carpaccio. It is a beautiful piece of work in which the lightness and virtuosity reveal Carpaccio's exceptional ability as a draughtsman. The landscape which forms the background is rendered with a mastery of effects and a facility of means which recall the genius of Rembrandt.

The other sketch depicts the erection of the Cross, to which Christ is already nailed, and forms part of the collection in Christ Church College, Oxford (*Fiocco*, 85) ⁽²⁾. One of the two other crosses is shown upright but the third is not represented; the crosses are raised by means of ladders. Many people, several of whom are on horseback, are seen below. Buildings and a walled town are conspicuous in the background, while the hills in the distance are only faintly visible. The technique of this very spirited drawing is somewhat different from that of the cartoons connected with the farewell scene; in a way it is more finished and less hasty and perhaps a few years separates it from the other sketches.

A very similar style is found on a sheet, recently acquired (1933) by the British Museum, on which is sketched the square of S. Marco with a crowd of people, most of them around a tabernacle in the foreground (fig. 197). This sketch, which formerly was sometimes attributed to Gentile Bellini, is again executed in a very hasty manner; this is particularly evident in the figures, which have hardly any shape and which are far too big in proportion to the architecture. On the other hand the buildings are rendered in a skilful and effective manner. A companion drawing of a procession, which seems to leave a church by one door and enter it by another, is found in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth. It, too, has been ascribed to Gentile

⁽¹⁾ *Colvin*, op. cit. Jahrb.

⁽²⁾ *Colvin*, Drawings of the Old Masters, II, p. 34.

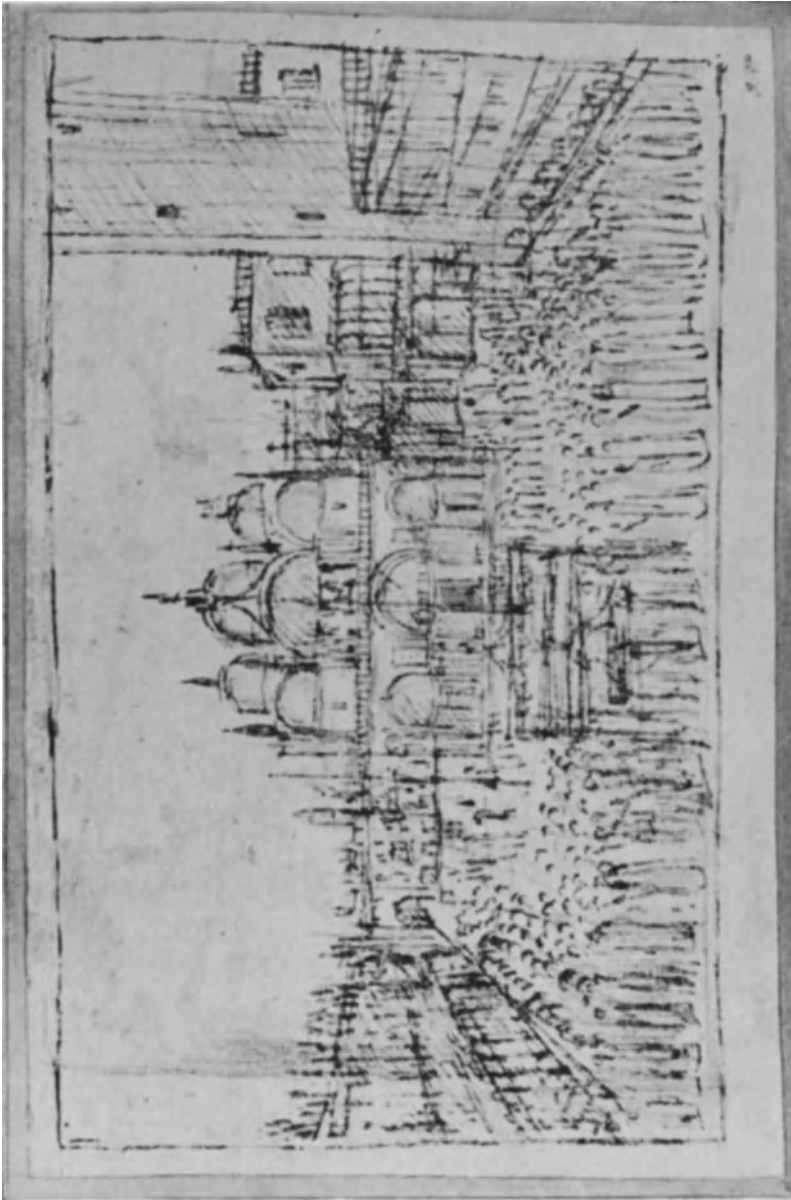


Fig. 197. Vittore Carpaccio. Piazza S. Marco, Drawing. British Museum.
Mus. Photo.

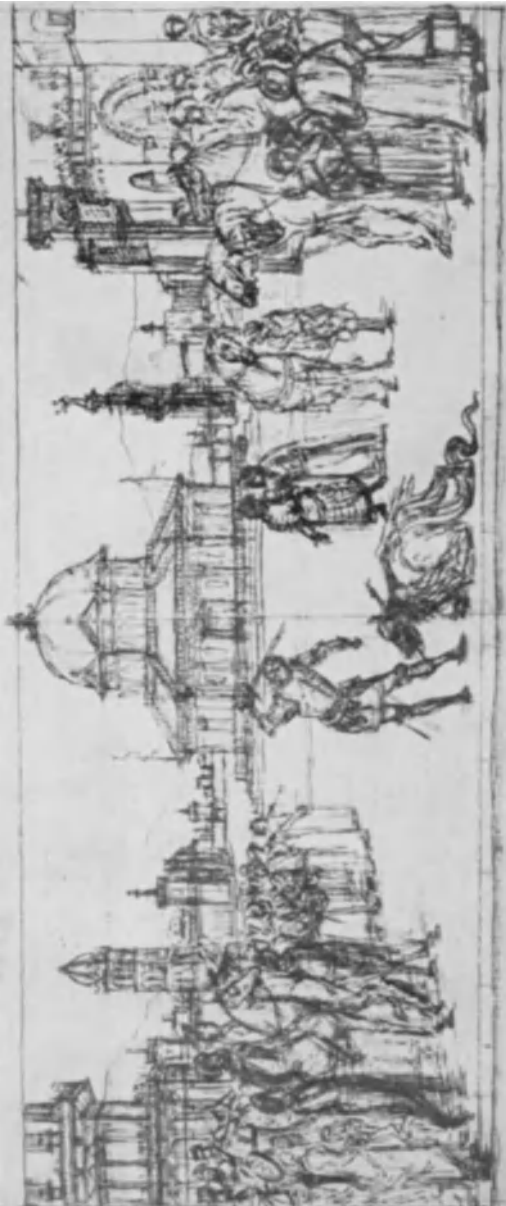


Fig. 198. Vittore Carpaccio, St. George and the Dragon, Drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Bellini ⁽¹⁾ and again the human figures are very rudimentary and the architecture of refined technique.

There are two pages of drawings which are directly connected with Carpaccio's picture of 1494, representing the curing of the person possessed. One of them, which is preserved in the Albertina, Vienna, depicts the man seen from behind and the little boy in right profile, who are shown in the left corner of the painting (*Fiocco*, 55). On the other side are three studies of bearded saints with long robes ⁽²⁾. On the second sheet, which is in the Robinson collection, London, we see the

⁽¹⁾ *Von Hadeln*, op. cit., pl. 8. *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XXIX, 1926, p. 1.

⁽²⁾ *Meder*, *Zeichnungen der Albertina etc.*, IV, pls. 457, 455.



Fig. 199. Vittore Carpaccio, Studies of Heads, Drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Fototeca Italiana.

figure of the rowing gondolier who, in the picture, faces the spectator about the centre of the composition (*Fiocco*, 56).

Of the so-called "Victory of St. George" in which the saint, holding the dragon on a leash, is about to kill it with his sword, the cartoon exists in the Uffizi (fig. 198) ⁽¹⁾; it is of a richer and more crowded composition than the canvas in the Scuola. The setting is very similar, though one of the slender towers like a minaret which we see in the painting is missing in the sketch. The master borrowed this particular tower from Reuwick's woodcut of the town of Jerusalem and it was from this German's illustrations also that he took the bearded oriental in the right corner. On the other hand, we find in the drawing two of Reuwick's figures which do not appear in the canvas; they are the woman with a disc-shaped head-dress to the extreme left and the man who, gesticulating, argues with another in the centre of the composition. Both these figures appear in Reuwick's print of the Saracens ⁽²⁾. The architecture and perspective are rendered with great care and this beautiful drawing does not show the hasty virtuosity of the two leaves with which we have just dealt; in fact, it is even more finished than the studies connected with the St. Ursula cycle and the other sketches of this period.

One of Carpaccio's most spirited and most amusing drawings is that of a series of small oriental figures on foot and on horseback, preserved in the Louvre (*Fiocco*, 117). It seems to have served the painter for the figures in the background of St. George baptizing; this is particularly evident in the representation of the turbaned and bearded Turk facing the spectator.

A short time ago the British Museum acquired a drawing which, in almost every detail, corresponds to the marvellous picture of St. Jerome in his study ⁽³⁾. It seems possible to me that only the part in pen-and-ink is from the hand of Carpaccio and that the shading and light effects have been added later.

For the figures of the monks in the painting of the funeral of St. Jerome in the Scuola di S. Giorgio the master has obviously used a study of eight heads of monks in profile and one in full-

⁽¹⁾ *Meder*, op. cit., II, pl. 136. The Drawings of the R. Gallery of the Uffizi, III, pl. 13.

⁽²⁾ *Breydenbach*, ed. Davies, pl. 34.

⁽³⁾ *T. Borenius*, *Pantheon*, XV, 1935, p. 73.



Fig. 200. Vittore Carpaccio, Study of a Beggar, Drawing.
Uffizi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

face, now in the Uffizi (fig. 199). I do not agree with von Hadeln that these sketches were made after Carpaccio's canvas. Moreover, on the verso of this sheet there is a beautiful study of an old beggar with a long white beard, leaning on his staff (fig. 200), which certainly served the painter for the figure to the extreme right in the same composition. In the Oppenheimer collection, London, there is another sketch of one of the brethren in this scene; he is depicted kneeling and holds a candle in his right hand while his left hand is hidden in the folds of his robe. On the verso we see a study of the lively and agitated nude Child Jesus.

I imagine that Carpaccio, in the somewhat Lombard mood in which he painted the two mystic pictures of the dead Saviour, in Berlin and New York, sketched the fine figure of a young Apostle(?), with curly hair, reclining against the trunk of a tree; his head is raised and his face expresses great sorrow. This drawing, which is sometimes attributed to Gentile Bellini, is preserved in the Uffizi.

Some similarity can be detected between a sketch of St. Jerome in the Print Room, Berlin (*Fiocco*, 106), and the figure seated to the side of the dead Saviour in the picture in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

For the paintings illustrating the life of the Madonna from the Scuola degli Albanesi we find points of contact between that of the Death of the Virgin and a sheet with sketches of hands and arms in the Uffizi (*Fiocco*, 148); this is particularly the case for the study of a hand holding an open book. Two leaves in the Oppenheimer collection show sketches of the heads of two of the Apostles in the picture of 1508 of the same subject in the gallery of Ferrara. On the verso of one of these sheets are studies of a foot, a leg and drapery (*Fiocco*, 152).

There exists in the Uffizi a Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (fig. 201) which is one of the most important and finished drawings we have from the hand of Carpaccio. In a large square surrounded by rich architecture the event is depicted in the midst of an assembly of people. The composition of the picture of this subject in the Brera seems very poor when compared with the drawing, though there are several features in the painting which the master obviously took from the sketch. We find the high-priest in the same position with his two assistants behind

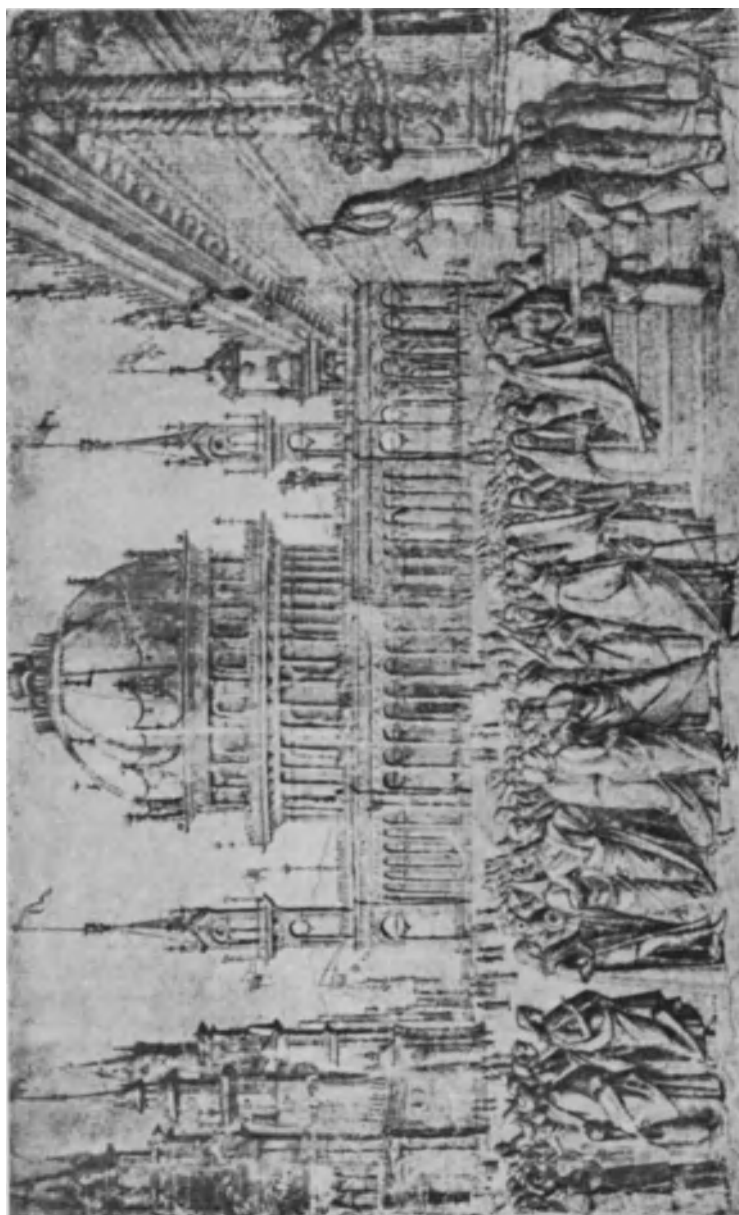


Fig. 201. Vittore Carpaccio, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple,
Drawing. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

him, the Virgin, kneeling on the steps, followed by members of her family and friends, including the old Joachim, who leans on his stick, and even the little boy who, in the drawing, looks perfectly natural but in the painting has lost his significance because he is shown speaking to one of the acolytes who does not listen to him. It is especially in comparing the spiritless, poorly-composed canvas with this charming drawing, full of life and graceful figures, that we realize how small a part Carpaccio must have taken in the execution of the painting.

The seated lady, whose presence in the scene of the Nativity of the Virgin in the gallery of Bergamo seemed so illogical and of whom a finer representation was found in the picture formerly in the Benson collection, appears, this time, in perfect harmony with the rest of the composition, in a drawing of the Madonna and Child with the infant St. John and several saints in the Gathorne Hardy collection, Donnington Priory (fig. 202) ⁽¹⁾. Again, this is a particularly fine drawing though it is executed in a somewhat different technique; it is sketched with a fairly broad pen and the lines are broken and angular. The eight figures which form, as it were, a family group are spontaneous studies of natural attitudes which reveal the master's power of observation and love of variety.

A very similar handling is found on two drawings on the recto and verso of a page in the Uffizi, representing the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 203) and the Holy Conversation, a composition of seven figures with the Virgin and Child as centre piece (*Fiocco*, 87) ⁽²⁾. There exists a certain connexion between the former of these sketches and the Adoration of the Child of 1505 or 1507 which passed from the collection of Lord Berwick into the possession of Monsieur Gulbenkian, Paris. This is most evident in the figure of the adoring Madonna and in that of St. Joseph seated behind her; the latter, however, holds his staff in the other hand. The shelter is depicted in the same place and the background, with its landscape of hills and a lake, though different is not unlike that in the picture. The three Wise Men from the East, all in different attitudes, and the small group of followers reveal once more Carpaccio's genius as a draughtsman. With slight variations in the

⁽¹⁾ *Colvin*, op. cit., Jahrb. Vasari Society reprints., IV, pl. 7.

⁽²⁾ The Drawings of the Uffizi, III, pl. 12.



Fig. 202. Vittore Carpaccio, Holy Family and Saints, Drawing.
Gathorne Hardy Collection, Donnington Priory.

Photo Vasari Society.



Fig. 203. Vittore Carpaccio, Adoration of the Magi, Drawing. Uffizi, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

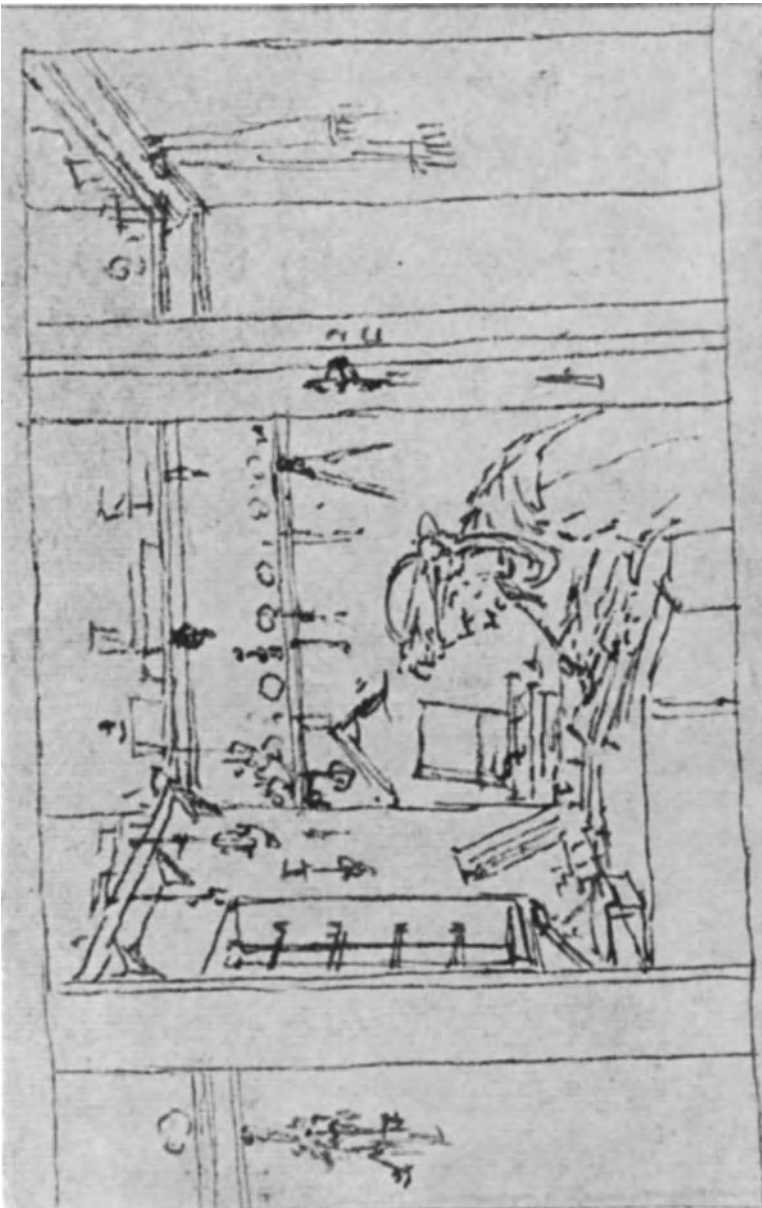


Fig. 204. Vittore Carpaccio, St. Jerome, Drawing. British Museum.

Mus. Photo.

touch of his pen he produces magical effects of values, light, shade and plasticity and in every detail we notice an unsurpassed acuteness of observation. Once more this work reminds us of Rembrandt, whose pen drawings show very much the same quality and technique. In the drawing which occupies the verso of this leaf Carpaccio has been particularly schematic. It is a very clever, but at the same time hasty, sketch in which he indicates the composition and, in a somewhat vague manner, the attitudes of the figures which form part of it.

There are still some pen drawings executed with the same perfection of technique and with that unhesitating certainty of effects. There are three sheets, one in the British Museum (*Fiocco*, 90), the two others formerly in the collection of Prince Dolgoroukoff, Moscow (1), showing half-length figures of learned men in their studies, all three of which have been supposed to be rough sketches for a painting of St. Jerome, though on account of the presence of geometrical instruments these figures might very well represent other personalities. As a matter of fact, the drawing in the British Museum shows somewhat Dantesque features (fig. 204). On one of the pages in the Russian collection there are several lines of writing. In this sketch we see a door very similar in design to that in the picture of St. Jerome in the Scuola di S. Giorgio. In all three drawings the view of the study is far more limited than that in the canvas and we gather the impression that it is less spacious; certainly it is fitted out with less refinement. We are led to believe that at least the drawing in the British Museum, which is more impressionistic than the others, is of slightly later date because on the verso there is a sketch in which one of the figures shows a decided connexion with the Pirano altar-piece of 1518.

In the collection of the Earl of Harewood (*Fiocco*, 100) there is a very fine and cleverly executed pen drawing of the same technique and quality; it represents two groups of priests and monks facing one another and might very well be the rough sketch for a painting of a funeral service but certainly not for that of St. Jerome in the Scuola di S. Giorgio, as some writers imagine.

It has been supposed that a drawing of St. Stephen before his

(1) *Goloubev*, op. cit.

judges in the Uffizi (*Fiocco*, 84) might be the cartoon of the fifth picture of the St. Stephen cycle, the existence of which is recorded by the ancient writers. It is not impossible that this sketch corresponds in composition to the lost canvas, but, as von Hadeln has rightly pointed out, the drawing in the Uffizi is certainly not an original one from Carpaccio's own hand and at most might have been executed from the picture; it looks, indeed, as if it had been made well into the second half of the 16th century. The hypothesis that the composition of this drawing should be associated with the lost picture, however, is confirmed by the existence of two sheets with sketches by the master himself. One of them, which is preserved in the British Museum, represents a series of twelve heads (*Fiocco*, 185) several of which correspond to those in the drawing made after Carpaccio's painting. The other, which we find in the Uffizi (*Fiocco*, 186), depicts two standing figures and it, too, must have served for the lost picture of which the drawing repeats the entire composition. Both these studies are executed with care and minuteness; they are strengthened in white and do not show the hastiness of certain of his pen sketches. In a very superficial pen and ink drawing, in which only the outlines are indicated, in the Uffizi (*Fiocco*, 116), we see, besides a cup, a round construction, another piece of architecture and a study of a minaret-like tower, many examples of which are found in Carpaccio's paintings. This one, however, corresponds most closely to that depicted to the right in the canvas of the consecration of St. Stephen.

The sketch which Carpaccio made for the picture of 1515 of the martyrs of Mount Ararat belonged to the late Mr Oppenheimer, London (*Fiocco*, 170). The cartoon has been made with almost stenographic haste but the general outlines are sufficiently visible to reveal to us that the artist, in executing the painting, made considerable changes in the composition. On the verso of this leaf there are ten figures, one of whom is seated and several looking upwards, arranged in groups. In contrast to the other drawing, these figures are of a very finished technique. Perhaps Carpaccio's first intention was to place them in the martyrdom scene, for which they are well suited, but he must have changed his mind because there is nothing resembling them in the composition.

Of the five figures on a sheet in the Uffizi (*Fiocco* 79), that to the extreme right, as Professor Fiocco observes, corresponds in attitude to the St. Roch in the altar-piece of 1516 at Capodistria, and, as we shall see presently, the pronounced shading is a characteristic feature of Carpaccio's subsequent drawings.

Several sketches can be associated with the Pirano altar-piece of 1518. The angel tuning his lute is found in a drawing in the British Museum, along with two other angelic musicians and an old bearded monk (fig. 205). On the verso of this leaf there is the sketch, already cited, of the savant in his studio. A sort of parapet terminates the drawing in the foreground, while a shelf, laden with vases, books, boxes and other objects, and to which musical instruments are hung, runs round the three walls of the room and recalls a very similar decorative motif in the picture of St. Jerome in his study in the Scuola di S. Giorgio ⁽¹⁾. The handling of the pen has been very rapid, and a feature which differentiates this drawing from all those we have already mentioned is the very pronounced effect of shadows, produced by water-colours.

Although he used water-colours in the same way in other sketches, he did so in a very subdued manner. This shading, which is often very marked in the drawings of his later years, is entirely absent in the cartoon on the verso of this page and it may be that the two drawings on this one sheet are separated by an interval of some years.

The holy monk Antonio, who is depicted to the right of the Madonna in the Pirano altar-piece, is shown in a sketch for a retable — Madonna on a high throne between four saints with a landscape and curtains as background — preserved in the Louvre (*Fiocco*, 181). Here again the shadows have been treated in dark aquarelle and form a strong and very impressionistic contrast to the lighter parts. The sketch was made for an important altar-piece of which, however, we have no knowledge, though it is only among Carpaccio's late productions, that is to say, those executed after 1516, that we meet with this type of composition.

One of the other saints in the drawing is St. Jerome, of whom there is a separate study, showing the same technique, in the

⁽¹⁾ I do not find that this room has the appearance of a monk's cell as is suggested by von Hadeln who calls this drawing "female musicians appearing to a monk in his cell".



Fig. 205. Vittore Carpaccio, Monk and Musicians, Drawing. British Museum. Photo Vasari Society.

Uffizi (*Fiocco*, 182). Here, however, the saint, who strongly reminds us of Cima's representations of St. Jerome, faces in the

opposite direction. On the same sheet we see two studies, one of the saint's head more in profile, the other of drapery.

On the back of the leaf in the Louvre there is a most schematic sketch of some figures of saints; St. John the Baptist, facing the spectator, stands on a higher level than the others and we can easily believe that he is supposed to form the centre of a composition, in which case the four saints to the left are missing. The four to the right, all in profile, are only just roughly outlined but their names, Jerome, Peter the Martyr, Francis and another, are inscribed in Carpaccio's hand writing. The third figure, that which was to become St. Francis, was accompanied by an inscription which, however, has been erased.

Two other drawings, in which we find fairly strong aquarelle shading and consequently those impressionistic effects of *chiaroscuro*, are an Adoration of the Magi in the collection of the late Mr Loeser, Florence, (fig. 206) and a Circumcision in the Uffizi. The former is somewhat different from the above mentioned drawing of the same subject in the Uffizi. We notice a certain resemblance in the figures of the Kings, behind whom some oriental servants are seen bending over a case which no doubt contained the gifts. The Virgin, depicted in profile, holds the Infant Jesus on her knee while behind, a young shepherd kneels on a crumbling brick wall; the shelter in the background is of monumental proportions and St. Joseph, who stands near the entrance, is somewhat romantic in appearance. In the distance to the right we see a town and one of the buildings shows an oriental minaret, but in front of it there are some Roman ruins — part of a triumphal arch and a column — which certainly were sketched from real models. It is not often that Carpaccio shows so keen an interest in pagan antiquity.

The drawing of the Circumcision in the Uffizi (*Fiocco*, 88) offers us a further development of that type of composition which was such a favourite theme in the school of Giovanni Bellini. Here, more figures, ten in all, are depicted round the altar; they are visible almost to the feet and their movements are more agitated.

The cartoon for the shipwrecked altar-piece of 1519 from

(¹) Reprod. Vasari Society, II, pl. 9. *Von Hadeln*, op. cit., pl. 49.



Fig. 206. Vittore Carpaccio, Adoration of the Magi, Drawing. Loeser Collection, Florence. Photo Vasari Society.

Brescia exists in the Print Room of Dresden (*Fiocco*, 180). In executing the picture the painter closely followed the sketch,

making only some slight variations in the dress of the two lateral saints and in the background. This heavily shaded drawing is not very beautiful.

I have not yet enumerated all the drawings which, with good reason, have been attributed to Carpaccio, whose skill as a draughtsman even surpassed his ability as a painter ⁽¹⁾.

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Several of the old writers who deal with Carpaccio appreciate his works, though generally not without a certain reserve. This, however, is not the case for Sansovino who calls his "Scarpaccio"

(1) Other drawings by Carpaccio are: a fine pen sketch of several figures of incomprehensible subjects at Chatsworth (*Fiocco*, 139); a heavily shaded study of a spurred huntsman with a pointed beard in the Print Room, Munich (*Fiocco*, 81. *Meder*, *Albertina Zeichnungen*, V, pl. 592); without any reason it is considered to be the rough draft of Giangaleazzo Sforza for the drawing of Lorenzo Giustiniani blessing this prince; a robed magistrate kneeling in adoration in the Uffizi (*Fiocco*, 189); it might have been made for the altar-piece in the office of the "Arte de' Tessitori" in which, besides the Madonna, four adorers were represented (*Boschini*, p. 510, "quattro ritratti"); adorers do not appear very often in Carpaccio's altar-pieces; a drawing of St. Francis in prayer in the Uffizi (*Fiocco*, 187); the contours of a figure in Benedetto's altar-piece at Capodistria show some resemblance to this sketch. In the Morgan Library, New York, there are two studies for portraits (*Fiocco*, 68), one of a young man with long hair, the other of a man, with a beard, wearing a bonnet; they were formerly in the Fairfax Murray coll., Florence, *C. Fairfax Murray*, *A Selection of Drawings by the Old Masters*, London, 1905, pls. 54, 55; *von Hadeln*, *op. cit.*, p. 40, doubts the attribution of the former to Carpaccio as it is somewhat flat and spiritless. I think, however, it is probably by Carpaccio, to whom I hesitatingly ascribe an unpublished portrait study of the bust of a young man, with long curls and a bonnet, in the collection of the late Mr Oppenheimer, London. By Carpaccio are also a fine rough sketch of some men on horseback and two men drawing a triumphal chariot, adorned with some figures, from the Reynolds, Banks and Poynter collections, recently for sale in London; a leaf with four men standing and, on the verso, two groups of Venetians, in the Lugt collection, The Hague (No. 513 of the catal. of the exhibition of old Italian art in Dutch possession, Amsterdam, 1934, with reprod.); a young lady and elegant youth of pathetic appearance, from the Dobroklowsky coll., now in the Hermitage (Belvedere, X, 1931, p. 6). To Carpaccio were assigned: No. 61 of the sale of drawings at Sotheby's, May 1924 and Nos. 23 and 24 at idem, April 1923. An erroneous attribution to Carpaccio is that of a drawing of two men on horseback in the Albertina (*Meder*, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 21).

a "pittore nobilissimo"; nor for Vasari who praises him in a general manner and describes him as the first Venetian who created something important ⁽¹⁾. Ridolfi finds him a good narrator, agreeable in comparison with his predecessors but rather hard and dry. Zanetti criticises his art as over-conservative, lacking in sweetness and quality of colour and defective in refinement of form; on the other hand, he praises his knowledge of symmetry, anatomy and perspective, the grace and simplicity of his compositions, his fertile imagination, his truthful expression, his general sense of realism, etc. etc. In all this there is a good deal of truth but it hardly describes the quintessence of Carpaccio's art which, indeed, is very difficult to qualify.

It is most difficult of all to say who was the painter from whom Carpaccio learned his art. I do not agree with Mr Berenson that either Gentile or Giorgione played the most important part in his formation; nor do I think, as Professor Longhi does, that Antonello da Messina was of great significance in this respect.

I am of the opinion, in concurrence with several other writers, that Carpaccio's first master must have been Lazzaro Bastiani, though there are many opponents to this theory. Vittore's artistic temperament was so different from, superior to, and richer than, that of the rather insignificant Bastiani that after Carpaccio's earliest productions we no longer find any trace of the connexion. Yet in the St. Ursula cycle we can still discern a certain resemblance to the human types and figures of Bastiani, and the missing link between the so much finer forms and proportions of Carpaccio's canvases and those of the works of his conjectural master is to be found in the two curious-looking pictures in the Johnson collection.

But I think that Carpaccio owes much more to another influence which has been held of no account. This influence reached him through the art of Mantegna.

The incisive drawing of many of Carpaccio's figures, the hard Paduan drapery, and the particular type of rocky landscape find their origin mainly in the works of Mantegna, whom he followed also in his taste for foreshortening: the gruesomely maimed body lying, the feet towards the spectator, under the horse of St.

(1) Vasari, whose chronology is somewhat uncertain, must have classified him prior to the Bellini.

George, is really a study in foreshortening which reminds us very strongly of Mantegna's famous picture in the Brera. It is a late work of the great Paduan master and could only have been a few years old when Carpaccio followed it. The most typical Mantegnesque types, with big heads, broad, strongly drawn faces and Paduan linear effects, are found in the picture of the Saviour in the Brocklebank collection.

Moreover, when Carpaccio takes his inspiration from Giovanni Bellini, whose influence seems to have been more lasting and deeper than that of any other master, the elements are invariably borrowed from that particular period in which Giambellino was most influenced by Mantegna and in which, on account of the extreme refinement of the drawing, there seems to exist a connexion with the Lombard school. Similar Lombard factors are even more evident in some of Carpaccio's canvases. In the rendering of the human figure in his Bellinesque productions, Carpaccio follows the serene, regular and refined beauty of Giambellino's types and features.

Again in certain cases Carpaccio borrows from the examples of Cima da Conegliano. This is most obvious in his painting of the consecration of St. Stephen of 1511, in which the entire setting and composition correspond to Cima's Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple in the gallery of Dresden. It does not seem likely that the contrary is true, and that it was Cima who borrowed from Carpaccio, because in executing the picture now in Dresden the stolid and monotonous Cima made no effort to alter his style, whereas the St. Stephen series, begun about 1511, marks a new phase in the career of the ever-changing Carpaccio. This cycle is very different from the works he executed only a few years earlier and a certain regularity and roundness of form decidedly remind us of the manner which Cima had been employing for some considerable time. Also in the clearer colouring, the stronger light effects and the improved aerial perspective Carpaccio follows Cima's example.

Consequently, Carpaccio's manners were many and varied. His last phase was not his best; in fact, among his late works there are some, as for instance the Meeting of Joachim and Anna of 1515, which reveal the painter's incapacity to adhere in a satisfactory way to the new movement which was growing rapidly. Perhaps

his most pleasing productions are those which are frankly Quattrocentesque in appearance.

A peculiarity of Carpaccio is the care with which he treats his backgrounds. Frequently they offer distant views with architecture or landscapes with hills and lakes, castles and cities, and invariably they are peopled with figures, which, because so far distant, are very minute but of such perfection that one would say they had been executed with the aid of a magnifying glass. This, too, is often the case with the landscape itself; a striking example is the background of the mystical picture of the dead Saviour and two saints in the museum of New York. In several paintings the vegetation is treated with the same minuteness.

The manner in which Carpaccio treats his backgrounds seems to derive without any doubt from Flemish panel painting or a knowledge of Flemish miniatures. The celebrated *Breviarum Grimani* reached Venice in all probability only a year or two before 1520 ⁽¹⁾, consequently too late to have had any influence on Carpaccio. But there exist other miniatures of a few years earlier in which the importance given to floral decoration may have inspired Carpaccio in the execution of those carefully painted flowers which we find in the picture of the lion of St. Mark of 1516, in that of the knight from the Kahn collection, New York, and in the St. Paul of 1520 at Chioggia; all of these are late works.

From a psychological point of view, Carpaccio more than anything else was a realist, that is to say a painter who got his chief inspiration from his power of true observation. During the creation of the St. Ursula legend his attention was entirely taken up by the elegance of the social life in Venice and above all by the magnificent costumes which he reproduces so minutely that, as Ludwig and Molmenti observe, even the embroidered emblems of the different associations to which the wearers belonged can be recognized. We see, besides, the marvellous velvets and other rich tissues of the Venetian costumes of this period — even the Child Jesus in the pictures at Frankfort and in the Correr Museum is clothed in contemporary dress — the complicated hair dressing, the jewellery, the expressions and the manner of walking and standing. All this reveals the spirit of the court painter, akin to

⁽¹⁾ These miniatures do not seem to be of an earlier date.

that of Pisanello, and it seems indeed strange that among the many works we have from his hand there is not even any record of paintings of a secular nature, with the exception of some decoration of an official character in the Sala del Gran Consiglio. Some of the scenes of the St. Ursula cycle and the picture of the miraculous cure of the possessed person are sufficient proof of the success Vittore Carpaccio would have had as a painter of non-religious subjects.

The surroundings of the Venetian patrician formed a subject of keen interest to Carpaccio. This is evident from those minutely depicted interiors, as for example the room in which St. Ursula sleeps, the study of St. Jerome, the hall in which the ambassadors take leave of King Teonato and the scene of the Nativity of the Virgin. The last mentioned interior is more humble in appearance and offers us a perspective not unlike those shown by the Dutch painter de Hoogh a century and a half later.

Carpaccio's group arrangements frequently remind us of some festivity, a big assembly, a procession or some occasion on which many people are gathered together.

The appearance of the figures walking about in the background in some of his compositions is somewhat reminiscent of the present-day Sunday crowd in the Piazza San Marco.

To the more chivalrous side of the nobleman's existence belongs the attention he pays to horses and their harness, as well as the very fine painting of armour which we find in his representations of St. George and other holy knights. Moreover, many ordinary soldiers, always perfectly equipped, appear in his pictures.

Horses are very frequently depicted in his compositions but we find also other animals — dogs in great number, birds and even a pet monkey — which were among the natural perquisites of a nobleman's household. Carpaccio obviously loved animals. He paints hinds, stags, rabbits and unexpectedly even an occasional wild beast in the background of his compositions. The presence of these animals which Carpaccio, no doubt unasked, thought fit to add to the setting of his scenes, seems to point to the existence of a sketch-book, resembling that of the Lombard painter Giovannino de' Grassi or that of Pisanello, in which every pictorial incident which came his way was faithfully recorded.

The occasions on which the painter's sense of humour is ex-

pressed are not rare. We observe this in the figure of the tragicomical and irresistably funny "Scalco", with the sweet but amusing little musician behind him, in the scene of the ambassadors' return to the English court, in the ludicrously ugly old nurse in the picture of St. Ursula speaking with her father and in such representations as the scribe and the elegant seigneur who, gesticulating, dictates to him in the painting of the ambassadors taking leave of King Teonato; also the negro gondolier in the canvas of the miracle of the Cross on the Rialto. I have an idea that the person with a somewhat sarcastic expression seated in the gondola might be a self-portrait. Further, is not the evident boredom of the two courtesans meant to be a satirical reference to the profession of these women, whose elegance forms part of their means of livelihood?

In some of Carpaccio's portraits we notice the same sense of penetrating humour. Perhaps the most cruel example of this is shown in the profile painting of the stupid girl in the Johnson collection, while in portraying the stolid matron in the Boston museum and the fat senator in the Poldi Pezzoli Gallery the master certainly added something to the truth. The St. Ursula scenes, and even more the picture of the miracle of the Cross, are full of individual faces which without any doubt are portraits but I do not think that Ludwig and Molmenti's attempts to identify the personalities are very satisfactory.

A factor which played an important part in every-day life in Venice was navigation, which was present in the painter's eye in the form of harbours and ships. The harbours are plain and simple, as no doubt they were at that period, and the palisade in the scene of St. Ursula's farewell to her parents certainly gives us an excellent idea of the primitive piers which existed in Carpaccio's day. The ships, however, are splendidly drawn; their grace and arrogance gives them the appearance of a Gothic heraldic motif such as might figure in the armoury of Paris. A ship is an element which never seems to have bored our artist. He has understood its value, both pictorial and decorative, to the full. Nor did the practical qualities and use escape his notice, for in the background of Prince Conon's departure we see an upturned vessel being repaired.

Carpaccio also paid much attention to architecture. As I said

before, there are several representations of castles and fortified towns which seem to belong to more inland regions than Venice, and more particularly to Lombardy. Characteristic instances of this are found in the scenes of the arrival of St. Ursula and the departure of Prince Conon.

In the St. George and St. Stephen cycles, oriental architecture predominates, though seldom without a sprinkling of Western buildings, as for example the castle of Lombard style in the consecration of St. Stephen. Most oriental of all is the city near which St. Stephen delivers his sermon (Louvre) but in the same cycle we meet with buildings of a purely Italian Renaissance style, as for instance, the loggia in the picture of the dispute of St. Stephen (Brera), the arcade in the S. Vitale altar-piece and the church in the retable at Capodistria. An abundance of architecture of the Renaissance is shown in the drawing of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and in the painting of the Death of the Madonna in the National Gallery.

The latter case, however, is rather fantastic and it can be said that Carpaccio's deeper understanding of architecture of the Italian Renaissance begins with the St. Stephen cycle of 1514.

For our complete appreciation of Carpaccio's art it is essential that we should realize that it contains an abundance of elements borrowed from the Orient. These elements are far more important than those inspired by Venice or by pagan antiquity, though the latter also not infrequently seem to have attracted him. A Roman triumphal arch is depicted in the picture of St. Stephen's sermon in the Louvre and a fragment of a similar monument, together with other classical ruins, is shown in the drawing of the Adoration of the Magi in the Loeser collection. Pieces of antique sculpture appear in the scene of St. Ursula's dream, in the picture of the dead Saviour in Berlin, in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple in the Brera, in the Meeting at the Golden Gate of 1515 and in the canvas of St. Trifone overcoming the basilisk, but the curious equestrian monument in the background of St. Stephen's dispute in the Brera is, as I said, more inspired by the famous bronzes of Verrocchio or Donatello than by pagan examples. The features borrowed from Roman antiquity, however, never take a prominent place in Carpaccio's compositions; nor does the classical style ever in any way dominate, or even

strongly influence, any of his productions. These reminiscences of a bygone art are limited to decorative details while his rather unfaithful reproduction of the Castel Sant'Angelo — a monument which was well-known throughout the entire Christian world — in the scene of St. Ursula before the pope, makes us doubt very much whether Carpaccio had as yet ever been to Rome.

That the classical spirit never really penetrated his mentality becomes evident when we look at the three works of mythological subjects that we have from his brush — those in the Jacquemart André Museum, the Johnson and Brass collections — which, from a psychological, aesthetic and stylistic point of view, belong essentially to Carpaccio's own day.

Although the painter's keen eye seems to have taken in all that surrounded him — and of this we have proof in his display of many sides of Venetian life of the people and even of some of the beautiful buildings — he apparently was averse to portraying the city itself. Apart from the scene on the Rialto, he shows no liking for Venetian canals, either large or small, for the bridges, the characteristic streets and the gondolas, all of which, even to-day, provide us with enchanting memories of the City of the Lagoons. He had a special liking, however, for a certain Venetian decorative motif which he seems to have borrowed from the late mosaics and which he repeats frequently ⁽¹⁾. This lack of inclination to represent typically Venetian views — and not only the opportunity but the necessity presented itself on many occasions — might be taken as an argument in favour of the hypothesis that the master was not of Venetian origin and that his taste in this respect had been formed before he settled in Venice.

The abundance of Oriental features is not manifest at the outset of Carpaccio's career and appears in his works only after a certain moment. In the entire St. Ursula cycle there is nothing which recalls the East, and this is also the case for the canvases of the legend of St. George. We notice some eastern features, but in a very mitigated form, in the background of the two scenes of the story of St. Jerome in the Scuola di S. Giorgio and then suddenly, and in a very important and evident form, they appear in the

⁽¹⁾ We see it on the baldaquin in the Funeral of St. Ursula, on the steps in the scenes of St. Trifone overcoming the basilisk in the Marriage of the Virgin and on the pedestals in the picture of the saints in Zara.

painting of St. George slaying the dragon and in that of the saint baptizing the Gentiles. According to the Golden Legend the deeds of St. George occurred in Libya and it is a mere flight of imagination on the part of the painter to attire the inhabitants of this country in Turkish costume. Nor is there any mention in the text which might have led him to give the scenes of St. George and the dragon and the saint baptizing the Libyans the appearance of Mussulman festivities with native musicians, sheiks on horseback and numerous groups of Turkish men and women. It is true, as has already been stated, that in the former of these scenes some of the buildings and isolated figures have been borrowed from Reuwick's illustrations of Breydenbach's journey in the Holy Land, published in 1486; but even if we admit that for some pieces of oriental architecture Carpaccio was inspired by Reuwick's woodcuts this by no means explains the frequent appearance in the master's works from now onward of representations of Turkish life, people and towns. Such visions are found in the canvases from the Scuola degli Albanesi and are particularly important in the St. Stephen cycle. We find Turks in the background of the mystical panel of the dead Saviour in Berlin, in the Adoration of the Child in the Gulbenkian collection, in the picture of the martyrs of Ararat of 1515 and in the predella of the St. George panel of 1516. The absence of oriental features in the altar-pieces which he produced in the very last years of his life is no doubt the natural result of the subject, though again the prophets in the altar-piece of 1523 at Capodistria are depicted in the guise of turbaned Mussulmans.

This profusion of oriental features makes me think it possible that Carpaccio himself went to Turkey. The idea of a Venetian artist going to this country need not surprise us because we know that Gentile Bellini went there in a quasi-official character. Neither Reuwick's illustrations nor the presence of many orientals in Venice can explain some of Carpaccio's typical scenes of Mussulman life, as for example his portraiture of festivities such as those which form the setting of the two canvases of the legend of St. George and his representation of rural life in Turkey as depicted in the background of the death of St. Jerome, while his drawings, as for instance that with the minaret in the Uffizi, that with a series of Turks in the Louvre or the sketch of heads in the

British Museum, which may have been used for the lost canvas of the St. Stephen cycle, must have been executed on the spot.

On the other hand, we are forced to admit that, in spite of the profusion of oriental buildings, we do not find in his paintings a view of a purely Eastern city but in his architectural backgrounds the Eastern and Western styles always intermingle. In the canvas of St. Stephen's dispute with the pagan philosophers we see in the background a little tower which even looks Chinese. Frequently, besides, he places palm-trees in his compositions though they are often not in keeping with the rest of the landscape. His oriental figures are not all Turkish. In the picture of the sermon of St. Stephen in the Louvre, the man to the extreme right, judging from his costume, originates I should say from a North Balkan state, while the unveiled women, with slender tower-shaped bonnets and curious wooden shoes (St. George baptizing the Gentiles), are not easily located.

Carpaccio's sense of precision is revealed in his taste for minute writing of letters, as well as of music, as shown in the picture of St. Jerome in his study in the Scuola di S. Giorgio; still finer is the writing in the book held by St. Paul in the painting at Chioggia. His liking for things oriental has prompted him to transcribe with great care Hebrew characters in the picture of the Nativity of the Virgin in Bergamo; we see them also, but less perfectly rendered, in the marriage scene of the same cycle. Some hieroglyphics on the slab which forms the back of the mutilated throne of the dead Saviour and on the stone on which St. Onuphrius is seated in the picture in the Metropolitan Museum, look like Hebrew characters but, as those competent in the matter have told me, they are meaningless and they do not agree with Mr Berenson that the name Victor Scarapat can be deciphered in the latter inscription (1).

This taste for Hebrew and other oriental lettering might have reached Carpaccio through Breydenbach's description of his journey, in which examples of Hebrew and other exotic lettering are reproduced.

Any connexion with Northern art, and more particularly with that of Dürer, does not, I think, enter into consideration, at least

(1) *Berenson*, *Venetian Pictures in America*, p. 160.

in so far as the influence of the German on the Venetian is concerned. However, as I said before, the minuteness of the execution of Carpaccio's backgrounds points to a knowledge of Flemish panels or miniatures but it should not be forgotten that Gentile Bellini also frequently animated his landscapes with tiny figures.

Carpaccio was far from being a mystic. There are several instances in which he has given a decidedly profane appearance to his religious narratives, but we are on no occasion moved by his spirit of devoutness. His altar-pieces and his Madonnas are handsomely painted but they have no sacred appeal, while his isolated figures of saints are sometimes completely lacking in inspiration.

More than once the connexion between his hagiographic and Christological narratives have been compared with earlier examples of the same subjects but the results, on the whole, have been of little interest. On account of the master's personal conceptions and taste for worldly scenes, his compositions have very little in common with the older examples; in fact Carpaccio appears to have ignored their existence. Only in scenes of such sacred iconographic tradition as the Nativity and Death of the Virgin do we find reminiscences of certain features which were too well-known to be neglected.

Carpaccio was not a great colourist and only a few of his pictures possess that quality of colouring which we are accustomed to see in the productions of the Venetian masters. It is more often in his altar-pieces that Carpaccio's colours are pleasing and sometimes even bright. On the whole, canvases of narrative cycles are very subdued in colouring though this may be due to their imperfect state of preservation; many of them are somewhat worn while others have been restored. The painter generally used a particularly rough-grained canvas on which the pigments form a very uneven surface; this too possibly contributed to their fatigued condition.

Although Carpaccio had a by no means very dramatic temperament, and his narratives consequently are rather lacking in vivid action, his figures are very spirited and full of life and his compositions, owing to his keen sense of observation and his knowledge of aesthetic grouping, are natural and excellent.

Some of the scenes of the life of the Virgin from the Scuola degli Albanesi form an unfortunate exception to this rule; but, as I said before, I think Carpaccio had but a minor part in the execution of these paintings; still in similar cases of collaboration the master is generally held responsible for the composition.

As a draughtsman Carpaccio was greater than as a painter. In several of his drawings, e.g. the triumph of St. George and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, we find a richness of composition and an excellent arrangement of multitudes of people with perfect realistic effects, which he did not obtain in his paintings. The composition of St. George and the dragon has been considerably simplified when executed in picture form, while of that of the Presentation in the Temple hardly anything remains.

Carpaccio no doubt possessed a sketchbook, the contents of which must have corresponded more or less to that of Pisanello. In it he must have drawn figures, animals, plants and in fact anything which struck him as interesting, artistic or amusing, and this album was obviously consulted when some accessory figures had to be executed in his paintings. This is the reason that we find the same figure reappearing in different pictures, as for example the man seen from behind in the Death of the Virgin and in the landscape of the dead Saviour in Berlin, or again the little boy who turns his back to the public in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and in the same scene executed twenty years later in Capodistria. Very likely also the seated lady in the Nativity of the Virgin, in the Benson portrait and in the drawing of the Holy Family in the Gathorne Hardy collection formed the subject of a particular study in the sketchbook.

Carpaccio, like his contemporaries, belonged to the transitional movement which links the Quattrocento to the full-blown Renaissance. Somehow we feel that the real personality of the artist is better and more spontaneously expressed in his earlier works. He really was the last of the Quattrocento painters of "scènes de genre" and it is in this type of picture that he puts all his soul and individuality. In the more sedate and systematic religious paintings of his late years we notice a greater perfection and regularity of form and an increased culture, both scientific and artistic, but this development took place at the cost of some of

that delightfully spontaneous, juvenile joy of beauty which the life of the city of Venice offered him at every turn.

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The school of Vittore Carpaccio is not of great importance, nor did he have a very marked or wide-spread influence on other painters. Those who came under his domination were chiefly small local masters such as Oliverio, Pellegrino da San Daniele, Giacomo Bello, Francesco da Ponte il Vecchio, Diana, who is more important, and, as we saw, Mansueti.

We know of the existence of two immediate followers, the one, Pietro Carpaccio, who may have been his son, the other Benedetto, who was more likely his grandson (1).

The father of Pietro was called Vittore. Pietro is mentioned as a painter in the records of a law-suit at Murano in 1513 and again in 1526, when he accepts as a pupil the fourteen-year-old Gian Maria, son of Bartolomeo di Brescia.

At one time a picture of St. George slaying the dragon in the Walters collection, Baltimore, was attributed to this master by Mr Berenson (2). It corresponded in composition to the painting of the same subject by Vittore and it showed the signature *Petrus p.* but since, it has become known that it is a falsification(3).

In the absence of any authentic work by this painter, we can only suppose that we owe to his brush some of the anonymous productions of the school of Vittore (4).

Benedetto's career lasted till 1560 and although he really belonged to the 16th century we have to deal with him here since his chief occupation was as Vittore's assistant and continuator.

He is mentioned for the first time in Venice in 1530 as a witness and again in 1533 and 1542 as executor of a will. In 1545 he is cited as living in Capodistria where we still find him in 1560;

(1) *Von Hadeln*, Thieme Becker, Künstlerlexikon, VI, p. 35. *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 41. *Fiocco*, op. cit., p. 99. The document published in the *Corriere della Sera* states very explicitly that Benedetto was Carpaccio's grandson (or nephew).

(2) *Berenson*, *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 158.

(3) *Fiocco*, op. cit., p. 99.

(4) Hausenstein's attribution to Pietro of the picture of Samson and Delilah in Poldi Pezzoli Gallery seems to be without foundation.



Fig. 207. Benedetto Carpaccio, Coronation of the Virgin. Gallery, Capodistria. Photo Alinari.

but also prior to 1545 he was active in this region, as is proved by the existence of pictures dated 1538 and 1541 at Capodistria, one of 1540 in Trieste and one of 1541 at Pirano.

It was doubtless before setting up as an independent painter that Benedetto acted as Vittore's assistant. For chronological reasons it does not seem likely that he took any part in the execution of the canvases of 1504 for the Scuola degli Albanesi and it might be conjectured that Pietro, who is mentioned many years before Benedetto, collaborated with Vittore in this enterprise. On the other hand, comparing the style with that of his authentic works, we can be almost certain that it was Benedetto who painted the greater part of the altar-piece of 1518 at Pozzale di Cadore, which



Fig. 208. Benedetto Carpaccio, Madonna and Saints. Gallery, Capodistria.

Photo Alinari.

shows Vittore's signature, as well as the organ-doors of 1523 at Capodistria, likewise signed by Vittore.

The paintings signed by Benedetto are somewhat different in appearance and, though they are all fairly close to Vittore, there is not one of great artistic importance.

The earliest are two pictures of 1538 in the gallery of Capodistria. One of them represents the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 207) and is signed: "*Benedetto Carpathio pingena di*

MCCCCXXXVIII". According to Venetian iconography, God the Father is shown behind the Saviour Who places a crown on the Madonna's head. Six angelic musicians are depicted around; three others hold a curtain behind the principal figures while cherubim and clouds are seen above. A very similar composition forms the subject of a drawing in the museum of Copenhagen; here, however, we see a lower part where four standing saints and an angelic musician are represented, and the entire sketch is richly framed (*Fiocco*, 199) ⁽¹⁾.

The other picture of the same year shows the Virgin seated on a fairly high throne, with the somewhat agitated Child, Who bestows a blessing, sitting on her knee, between a saint with a book and St. Bartholomew; an angel playing the lute sits in the centre of the foreground while a landscape with cherubim forms the background. The signature runs: "*B. Carpathio pingeva MDXXXVIII.V*" (fig. 208). The former picture corresponds in style to that of Vittore's works of the first years of the 16th century, but the latter, both in design and form, is much more advanced and is more akin to the art we expect to see in the second quarter of the 16th century.

Very much the same can be said of two pictures of 1541; one of them represents the Virgin enthroned, with the Child blessing seated on her knee, between SS. Lucy and George in armour against a landscape background, and is preserved in the town hall of Pirano (fig. 209). This painting, which is signed: "*B. Carpathio pingena MDXXXI*" ⁽²⁾, is executed much more in the manner of Vittore than the work of the same year in the church of St. Anna at Capodistria. Here we see a mystical vision of the Saviour's monogram in a halo, surrounded by cherub heads; three putti are depicted on the clouds above while below, against a landscape background, are represented the standing figures of SS. Peter and Paul with St. Francis and another Franciscan monk — St. Bernardine(?) — kneeling in the centre (*Fiocco*, 187). In this picture, which is signed: "*Benedetto (sic) Carpathio Venetus pingena MDXXXI*", we observe an attempt to reproduce the vegetation after Vittore's manner, though most of the forms are

⁽¹⁾ *T. Borenius*, Un disegno di B. Carpaccio, Rassegna d'Arte, X, 1910, p. 182. *Von Hadeln*, Quattrocento Zeichnungen, p. 52, pl. 51.

⁽²⁾ *Berenson*, Rassegna d'Arte, XVI, 1916, p. 127.



Fig. 209. Benedetto Carpaccio, *Madonna and Saints*, 1541. Town Hall, Pirano. Photo Alinari.

fairly evolved and belong to the more advanced 16th century. For the figure of one of the kneeling monks, however, Benedetto has more or less followed a drawing by Vittore in the Uffizi (*Fiocco*, pl. 187).

Benedetto was a somewhat eclectic artist and attributions to him, especially of works executed in the late period of his activity which, as we saw, lasted until 1560, are rather hypothetical. None the less, I think the following paintings should be included among his productions.



Fig. 210. Benedetto Carpaccio, Madonna. Museum, Berlin.

Mus. Photo.

He no doubt is the author of a panel of the Madonna reading her prayerbook near a window and the Child Jesus sleeping on a low parapet, showing the spurious signature of Palma Vecchio in the museum of Berlin (31) (fig. 210⁽¹⁾).

⁽¹⁾ *G. Frizzoni*, Nuove rivelazioni intorno a Jac. Palma, il Vecchio, *Rassegna d'Arte*, VI, 1906, p. 115; not Palma. *Berenson*, *op. cit.*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1916: school of Carpaccio, *The Same*, Italian Pictures of the

In the cathedral of Capodistria there is an unattractive picture, executed in an early manner, of the Madonna on an extremely high throne — in fact one wonders how she ever got on to it because there are no steps — between SS. Nicholas and John the Baptist in a mountainous landscape.

Another enthroned Madonna, with the Child blessing on her knee, two angels holding a crown above her head and three angels dancing below, is found in the Oratory of S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, in Venice (fig. 211).

The picture of SS. Catherine and Veneranda with a small figure in the background, in the museum of Verona (*Fiocco*, 10) is frequently attributed to Vittore but I am more inclined to ascribe it to Benedetto, though the influence of the older master is very evident.

In the parish church of Tisoio (Belluno) there are some fragments of an altar-piece which is probably an early work. They represent the Madonna enthroned, nursing the Child, an angelic musician with the infant St. John, his back turned to the spectator, and a half-length figure of God the Father between two angels (*Fiocco*, pls. 11-14) (1).

Among the works of the anonymous followers of Vittore Carpaccio there are few worthy of special mention. Two very fine

Renaissance: Benedetto Carpaccio. *A. Spahn*, Palma Vecchio, Leipzig, 1932, p. 170: not Palma. Reprod. as a work of Palma by *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte ital.*, IX³, fig. 239; it is also described as such in the catalogue of the gallery of Berlin. I should like to call attention to the fact that the two crossed palm leaves with a label bearing the name Palma is not necessarily an invention of the person who forged this artist's signature and, at the same time, a somewhat infantile emblem of his name, because Carpaccio used the same motif in the architectural decoration in his picture of 1514 in the church of S. Vitale, Venice.

(1) *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 296, and *B. Berenson*, op. cit., ascribe to Benedetto the oblong picture of the Madonna and saints at Karlsruhe which I have included among the works of Vittore who, however, was assisted by Benedetto in the execution. Mr Berenson assigns also the following works to Benedetto: **Bergamo**, Gallery, No. 376, Madonna and two donors. **Città Nuova d'Istria**, S. Pelagio, Madonna, with a point of interrogation. **Montauban**, Gallery, No. 185, Adoration of the Shepherds. **Rovigo**, Gallery, No. 205, Holy Family. **Trieste**, Cathedral, Madonna with SS. Justin and Serge, dated 1540.



Fig. 211. Benedetto Carpaccio, Madonna. S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni,
Venice. Photo Anderson.

figures of saints — Catherine and Ursula — in the National Gallery, London (646, 647), which have been attributed to the Umbrian and Marchigian schools, to Rondinelli, to Antonio Solario and which are now catalogued simply as Italian, are, I think, productions of Vittore's school and it would not be a far stretch of imagination to suppose that his son Pietro worked in this manner. The decoration on the back of these paintings, which includes medallions with the half-length figures of SS. John the Baptist and Paul, looks rather spurious; it is supposed to have been executed for Paul Withypole of Bristol, whose coat of arms is also depicted.

In the gallery of Bergamo (388) there is a very handsome bust-length portrait of a lady in profile, which just falls short of Carpaccio's standard. It is certainly executed in the master's manner and is very close to his authentic works ⁽¹⁾.

I have already mentioned the half-length figure of the Madonna between two bearded saints with the Child, Who holds a bird and with open mouth looks upward, much after the manner in which Giambellino has sometimes depicted the Infant Jesus, in the Minturn collection. Formerly Mr Berenson questioned the attribution to Carpaccio but he now ascribes it, without any sign of hesitation, to this master ⁽²⁾.

Nor do I think that we should hold Carpaccio himself responsible for the curious painting, representing, probably, Francesco Antonio's vision of the martyrs of Mount Ararat, in the Accademia of Venice (91), formerly in the church of S. Antonio at Castello (fig. 212). The scene is shown in the form of a procession in a church with a bishop standing at the altar. The interior of the church, with the architectural details, the painted polyptychs and the models of ships, is skilfully painted but on the whole the work is too mediocre to assign to the master, whose name, notwithstanding, is frequently associated with it.

A Madonna, attired in rich velvets, with the nude Child on her knee and St. Joseph behind, in the Walters collection, Baltimore, is a beautiful production of Carpaccio's school ⁽³⁾.

(1) *Frizzoni*, Le gallerie dell' Acc. Carrara in Bergamo, fig. 66.

(2) *Berenson*, Venetian Painting in America, p. 160. *The Same*, Italian Pictures of the Renaissance.

(3) *Berenson*, Venetian Painting in America, p. 162.

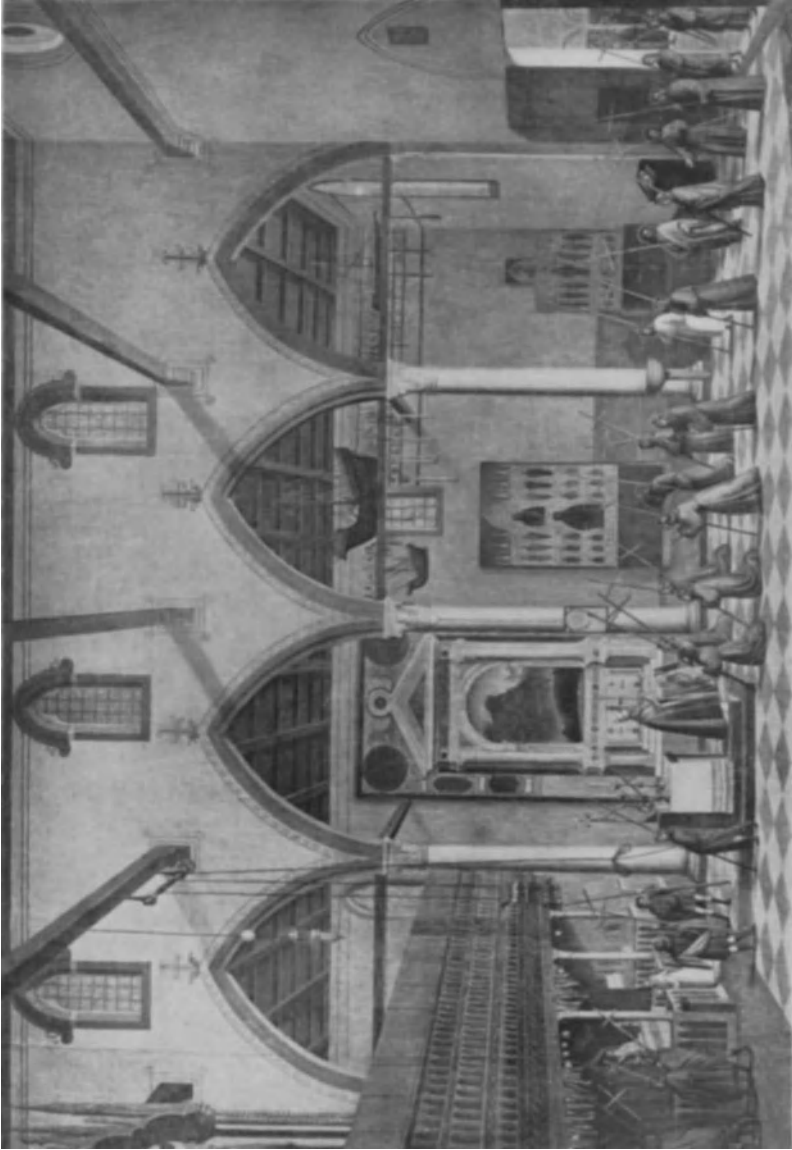


Fig. 212. School of Carpaccio, Vision of the Martyrs of Mount Ararat.
Accademia, Venice. Photo Anderson.

Nearer to Benedetto is a picture of Ariadne on the Isle of Naxos in the Lanz collection, Amsterdam. Here the background,

composed chiefly of a lake, on which ships are sailing, surrounded by wooded hills, is particularly beautiful (1).

In the same collection a painting of an allegory of love, in which a ship, two women and a cupid are depicted, reflects a somewhat earlier manner of the master (2).

More ordinary school productions are a fragment, showing the head of the Madonna, in the Borghese Gallery, Rome, the Flagellation and Christ falling under the weight of the Cross, in the cathedral of Capodistria (*Fiocco*, 197) and, judging from the reproduction, probably also a Pietà, formerly in the Baslini collection, Trieste (3).

To a popular interpreter of Carpaccio's art we owe a series of eight panels with scenes from the Old Testament in the church of St. Alvise, Venice (fig. 213). Though far from beautiful these works possess a certain narrative spirit; moreover the contemporary costumes, as well as some pieces of landscape and architecture, are of considerable interest.

I think it is quite evident that the painter was inspired by Carpaccio more than by Lazzaro Bastiani, in whose school Ludwig and Molmenti and L. Venturi (4) place this manifestation of popular art. It was from Carpaccio that this little master took his taste for contemporary dress, his landscapes, his architecture, the action of his figures and even the appearance of his horses. But that these poor panels should be classified among Carpaccio's early production, as Ruskin believed, is even beyond the realm of possibilities.

In a similar spirit, but with much finer draughtsmanship, a very superior artist executed a panel in the museum of Padua (436), in which three knights on horseback and three soldiers on foot are seen travelling towards a city depicted in the background; on

(1) No. 72 of the Catalogue of the Exhibition of Italian art in Dutch possession, Amsterdam, 1934. It is attributed by *Berenson* to Carotto; by *Schubring*, Cassoni, p. 377, to Bonsignori; by *E. von der Bercken*, Die Malerei der Früh u. Hochrenaissance in Oberitalien, pl. 108, to Catena.

(2) No. 73 of the exhibition catalogue. *Berenson* gives it to Ercole di Roberti; *Schubring*, Neue Cassoni, Belvedere, VIII, 1929, p. 178, to Carpaccio.

(3) *Fiocco*, op. cit., Art in America.

(4) *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., p. 25. *L. Venturi*, Stor. pitt. venez., p. 282.



Fig. 213. School of Carpaccio, Old Testament Scene. S. Alvise, Venice.

Photo Alinari.

the roofs of some of the houses we see clothes hung out to dry; in the landscape of hills and trees several people on horseback and on foot are shown moving about, while two shepherds, with a dog but without any sheep, stand talking to one another ⁽¹⁾.

(1) Some other works of minor importance, in which Carpaccio's influence can be detected, are: **Aix en Provence**, Gallery, No. 494, half-figure of St. Sebastian and head of an adorer in a landscape. **Bergamo**, Gallery, No. 161, Nativity of the Virgin, wrongly called manner of Carpaccio; it shows more connexion with Giolfino. **Boston**, Museum, St. Jerome seated in a fantastic rocky landscape; sometimes ascribed to Jacopo da Valenza, in any case it reveals a considerable influence of Carpaccio. **Genoa**, for sale 1929, handsome panel of the Nativity of the Virgin with two women

holding the Child and one preparing the bath near the fire-place. **London**, Austen sale, March 1921, No. 60, Judgment of Paris; Harmsworth coll., a very spirited rendering of the Adoration of the Magi in which, however, the connexion with Carpaccio is distant; for sale 1927, a mediocre painting of St. George; for sale once upon a time, a king surrounded by eight persons two of whom hold a basin, it is very near to Carpaccio but is known to me only from a photograph. **Münster**, Seminary, repose during the Flight into Egypt. **New York**, E. Speyer coll., death of Alexander, from the Farrar and Douglas colls. **Rome**, ex-Paolini coll., No. 17 of the sale catalogue, New York, Dec. 1924, a picture of a room in which a person is asleep in bed, a woman talks to an oriental and two other people stand in an archway; same collection but not in the sale, mythological scene(?), orientals and other persons in contemporary attire are depicted on the sea-shore near which the prow of a vessel is visible, some buildings are seen in the background; ex-L. de Spiridon coll., St. Jerome in a landscape with rocks sky-high, people, buildings and hills in the background. **Vienna**, Benda coll., (now Museum), head of a woman, resembling to a certain extent one of the courtesans in the Correr Museum; Lanchoronsky coll., Orpheus; von Offenheim coll., St. Barbara, standing holding her emblematic tower and a palm-leaf. **Urbino**, Gallery, oblong picture of the Madonna, with the Child in benediction, between St. George, a holy nun, a holy pope and St. Francis. **Zara**, S. Simeone, SS. Peter and Paul, depicted high up to either side of the choir, unimportant. A work, by a faithful follower, possibly Benedetto, which I know only from a photograph, is a Madonna seated with the Child, Who holds a little bird, on her knee between SS. Catherine and Lucy.

Of the drawings of Carpaccio's school I shall cite: a weak sketch of the Prayer in the Garden of Olives in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.; a full-length figure of a man in contemporary attire in the Louvre (*von Hadeln*, *Quattrocento Drawings*, pl. 52); a half-figure of the Madonna in the Louvre (*Parker*, *North Italian Drawings*, pl. 54); a young man with dagger and spear, a charcoal drawing, in the Corcoran Galleries, Washington; a pen sketch of a man in contemporary costume in the British Museum (Ital. XV. anon. V-1895-9-15-809, attributed to Giorgione and Michele da Verona); a Madonna seated with the nude Child on her knee between St. John the Baptist and a holy pilgrim (Roch(?)) with some trees in the background, in the Uffizi, it appears to have been inspired by Carpaccio's late manner (Alinari, *Drawings* 277).

Carpaccio's influence is manifest also in a Venetian print of the Annunciation, shown in a very elaborate composition with a loggia, in which the Virgin kneels while the angel stands near a vineyard; the background is formed by a landscape where we see a cupid and two other accessory figures (*A. M. Hind*, *An undescribed Italian Engraving of the XVth Century*, *Burlington Magazine*, XXXIX, 1921, p. 216).

CHAPTER V

VINCENZO CATENA

Vincenzo Catena ⁽¹⁾ is a somewhat indefinite artistic personality because, though we have quite a number of signed works from his hand and the appearance of his productions at a certain given moment offers us no difficulty, we have been unable to ascertain the date of his birth; nor do we possess any authentic dated works, with the exception of the altar-piece in the church of Sta. Maria Mater Domini in Venice, which at one time is supposed to have shown the date 1520. Of the few documents we have concerning him, the earliest is a will which he drafted in 1515; he drew up two others in 1518, one in 1530 and again one in 1531. He died in September 1531 and was buried in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. His name appears as witness in 1522 and 1528; on the latter occasion it was at the wedding of the sister of Sebastiano del Piombo. It is now certain that Vincenzo Catena should not be identified, as was previously thought, with Vincenzo dalle Destre of Treviso ⁽²⁾. The father of Catena was called Biagio.

⁽¹⁾ *B. Berenson*, Un dipinto del C. a Carpi, *Rassegna d'Arte*, V, 1905, p. 158. *The Same*, Venetian Painting in America, (1916), p. 243. *G. Bernardini*, Ancora di V. C. o V. dalle Destre, *Rassegna d'Arte*, XII, 1912, p. III. *T. Borenius*, A Portrait by C., *Burlington Magazine*, XXIX, 1916, p. 225. *C. H. Collins Baker*, C. at Trafalgar Square, *Burlington Magazine*, XLII, 1923, p. 239. *R. E. Fry*, On a picture attributed to Giorgione, *Burlington Magazine*, XVI, 1909—10, p. 6. *G. Gronau*, C. o Vincenzo dalle Destre, *Rassegna d'Arte*, XI, 1911, p. 95. *D. von Hadeln*, A proposito di un dipinto nella R. Pinacoteca di Brera attribuito a Marco Basaiti, *Rassegna d'Arte*, VIII, 1908, p. 218. *The Same*, Die Werke V. C.'s, *Monatsh. f. Kunstwiss.*, I², 1908, p. 1080. *G. Ludwig*, op. cit., *Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml.*, XXII, p. 69; XXVI, Beiheft, p. 79. *Milanesi*, notes on Vasari, III, p. 643.

⁽²⁾ *G. Biscaro* Atti dell' Ateneo Veneto, 1897, p. 270.

The various wills of Catena are very interesting. In the first place they reveal to us that he was very wealthy and this confirms the statements made by such ancient authors as Ridolfi, who tells us that he was rich and that he painted more or less for pleasure, at least that he did so without the necessity of thereby earning a living. According to this writer he willed money to an institution for providing poor girls with dowries, financial assistance to poor painters and the rest of his means to the academy of painting. This information is corroborated by his testaments as well as by a document of the 29th September 1531, when the council of the academy discusses what is to be done with the money left by Catena. Ridolfi gives us the epitaph inscribed on a stone which the academy erected in Catena's memory.

Catena was not married but he lived with a woman from Udine, for whom he makes provision in his will of 1515. He must have been very attached to Antonio di Marsilio, to whom he bequeathed all his rings, and he leaves a legacy of twenty ducats in his will of 1530 and one of eighty ducats in that of 1531 to his "garzone Inocente fu fiolo de ser Zorzi dei puarerj". From a letter of 1525 written by Pietro Bembo to Pietro Lippomano, Bishop of Bergamo, we learn that the latter recommended Catena to Bembo who, on this account, increased the sum he paid for the first picture he bought from the artist, for whom moreover he had done what he could even before this recommendation.

Ridolfi further tells us that Catena lived a virtuous life and painted with great devotion and delicacy.

The above facts are all we know concerning Catena and we find no indication in them as to the year of his birth. It has been supposed that he was born around the year 1470, which may be correct, because the earliest works we can ascribe to his brush seem to reveal a knowledge of Giambellino's paintings of the end of the eighties. Consequently, I see no reason to agree with Mr Collins Baker that Catena's Madonna with the Child caressing the infant St. John in the National Gallery (3540; vol. XVII, fig. 218) should be placed as late as 1508-1510 or, in any case, after the picture of the Virgin with two saints and the adoring Doge Loredano, a work to which we shall return presently. That "the Christ is quite un-Belliniesque" is an arbitrary and quite unfounded statement, as we shall see when we compare the Child

Jesus with the corresponding figure in Bellini's picture in the Thompson collection, Chicago (Vol. XVII, fig. 169), or even with that of the Frari triptych. Other elements in favour of an early date are the severity of the draping and the type of the small St. John, who recalls Bellini's figure of Jesus in the picture in Sta. Maria dell' Orto and in that in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (10A) (Vol XVII, figs. 144, 145).

A possible knowledge of the art of Cima, which is manifest in the attitude of the Child and in the colour scheme, should make us refrain from assigning too early a date to this painting; still, I see no pressing reason to admit that it must have been executed later than about 1495, though, on the other hand, we have no indication of how long Catena remained faithful to Bellini's example.

In the previous volume I dealt with Catena's activity in Giovanni Bellini's workshop and I believe it was he who collaborated with the master in the production of the beautiful Madonna and saints formerly in the Pourtalès collection, now in the Morgan Library, New York (*Gronau*, Bellini, 151). Not any more distant from Bellini is the picture of the Circumcision in the National Gallery (1455; Vol XVII, fig. 217), in which Catena, I believe, again acted as his assistant, but his independence is more obvious in the compositions in the museum of Berlin and the Doria Gallery, Rome, and in the ruined example in the gallery of Naples.

Catena's hand is less evident in the composition signed by Giambellino and dated 1511 in the Metropolitan Museum. For the central figure of the Madonna and saints, formerly in the Schlichting collection, now in the Louvre (*Gronau*, Bellini, pl. 116), Catena closely followed a drawing by Bellini, but he executed the four lateral saints in his own manner. The cartoon from which Bellini executed the painting, now in the collection of the Earl of Harewood, was apparently used by Catena for the figure of the Madonna in a panel in the gallery of Dresden (64a, from the Manfrin collection, Venice); she is shown seated, touching with her hands the head and left foot of the nude Child Who, with arms folded, stands in front of her. In style, however, these figures, as well as the SS. Peter and Helen to the sides, belong to a period when Catena had acquired a manner of his own.

A Madonna, with the Child borrowed from Giovanni Bellini, forms the centre of a picture in the Walters collection, Baltimore (1), in which St. John the Baptist, a saint in armour, a female saint and St. Peter are depicted in half-length figure to the sides. The representations of SS. Peter and John are more or less freely copied from the picture executed in Bellini's workshop with, so I imagine, the help of Catena, formerly in the Schlichting collection, now in the Louvre. The warrior seems to point to a knowledge of Cima's Dragan altar-piece; this, as Mr Berenson remarks, hardly allows us to assign to the Walters panel a date prior to 1499.

Another motif, frequently repeated in Giambellino's most intimate circle, is that of the Virgin in profile with the Child, Who lays a protecting hand on the head of an adorer, on her knee. This composition is found in a picture which entered the National Gallery with the Mond collection (2) and in which a second adorer as well as two saints — St. John the Baptist and a female martyr — are depicted against a hilly landscape. The lateral saints in particular offer us examples of those very definite human types which were about to characterize a certain group of Catena's works. Consequently, the picture must have been painted some time after that at Baltimore.

Catena's most Bellinesque manner is manifest in two small portraits of youngish men, each wearing a black bonnet on his long hair and shown against the sky; curiously enough, in both cases their teeth are visible between their slightly parted lips. The one in which some hills are seen in the background was for sale in Munich a few years ago, while the other, in which the bust is represented behind a parapet, was on the art market, first in London and in 1930 in Paris.

To the transition between Catena's first manner, which, before all, is Bellinesque though not without some elements due to Cima, and his second phase, characterized by broader forms and larger proportions and a certain hardness and heaviness of outline, belong the following works, two of which are found in the museum of Budapest.

One of them, which is signed: "*Vincinzo C.P.*" (97), shows the

(1) *Berenson*, *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 244.

(2) *Ffoulks*, *L'Arte*, XIV, 1911, p. 167.



Fig. 214. Catena, Madonna, Saints and Adorer. Gallery, Budapest.

Mus. Photo.

Madonna almost in full profile with the nude Child lying on her knee, and it is still fairly Belliniesque in inspiration, revealing a certain connexion with Giambellino's Madonna adoring the nude



Fig. 215. Catena, Portrait. National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.

Child asleep on her knee, in the National Gallery (599); to the sides are the rather clumsy figures of a white-bearded saint, no doubt Joseph, and a female saint who holds the little label on which the signature is inscribed (1).

(1) *A. Venturi, L'Arte, III, 1900, p. 208. G. von Terey, Die Gemälde Galerie des Museums für bildende Kunst in Budapest, Berlin, 1916, p. 95.*



Fig. 216. Catena, Portrait of a Man. Palazzo Borromeo, Isola Bella.

Photo Alinari.

The other painting (102) is decidedly more pleasing. The Virgin is of a different but not any less Belliniesque type; the nude Child seated on her knee bestows a blessing on a kneeling adorer, seen in profile. The female martyr and the St. Francis, who stand behind, are less stodgy, much more alive and not without a certain

charm (fig. 214). I imagine that this work is the earlier of the two (1).

Catena has repeated the figure of the Madonna of the former composition in a painting in the gallery of Liverpool (28) (2). Here the Child bends towards the donor whom He blesses, but little more than the head of this figure is visible. A young female saint stands behind the Madonna while to the sides we see an old bearded bishop and St. Francis. The signature reads "*Vincentius Catena p.*"

Another production of this phase is an important painting of the mystic marriage of St. Catherine which, in 1928, was for sale in Paris. Again, the Virgin, with the nude Child seated on her knee, is placed in the left half of the composition; St. Catherine is depicted opposite while two saints, in all probability Peter and Francis, are represented behind; all are shown in half-length figure. This picture, in which the broadening-out of the proportions and the faceted effects of light and shade are fairly pronounced, is on the whole quite pleasing.

The same features are still more marked in a portrait of a youth in the National Gallery (1121) (fig. 215); he is represented facing the spectator against a background of sky. On account of the simplicity of the drawing, the plastic construction, the type, colour and technique, I find that this work is a particularly characteristic production of this phase in Catena's career (3). Very similar to this portrait is the one of a slightly older man seen in full-face, holding a palm leave in his hand, in the Borromeo Palace at Isola Bella (fig. 216).

I am inclined to believe that it was an Emilian influence which for a short period approximated Catena to such painters as Rondinelli and even Palmezzano, and dominated his subsequent manner, in which some of his least attractive productions are executed. This tendency is not yet manifest to the full in a picture of the Madonna, still slightly Belliniesque in type, adoring the nude Child seated on a parapet in front of her, between an old bearded saint reading a book and a young female saint, in the

(1) *Venturi*, op. cit. *Von Terey*, op. cit.

(2) *Collins Baker*, op. cit.

(3) The attribution to Catena has been contested by *Collins Baker*, op. cit.



Fig. 217. Catena, Madonna and Saints. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

collection of Mr William Salomon, New York (1), but the same

(1) *Berenson, Venetian Painting in America*, p. 248, fig. 102.

elements are all too obtrusive in the Madonna between SS Jerome and John the Baptist in the Accademia of Venice (348) (fig. 217) (1). In the gallery of Glasgow we find a picture of the Madonna holding the nude Child in benediction, between an adoring female saint and St. Mary Magdalene, in which all the figures are decidedly stony. A replica of the Madonna and Child alone forms the composition of a painting in the gallery of Cracow (2), in which only a strip of landscape is seen beyond the curtain in the background.

Somewhat different in appearance but showing a certain similarity in the treatment of the drapery is the particularly unattractive picture of the Madonna, enthroned in full face, holding the nude Child Who blesses Doge Leonardo Loredano, kneeling in adoration and presented by his patron saint; St. John the Baptist is depicted to the other side. Hills are seen in the background of this work, in which the signature "*Vincencius Chetena P.*" is inscribed on the base of the throne (fig. 218). Ancient writers, as for example Ridolfi, Boschini and Zanetti, describe it as existing in the "chiesetta vicina al Pregadi", it was removed to the Palace of the Doges but is now in the Correr Museum. The drawing in this picture is very poor and the figure of St. John is completely lacking in construction; the Madonna in type points to Cima rather than to Bellini. The reign of this doge lasted from 1501 until 1521 and consequently offers us no precise indication as to the period in which this peculiar production might have been executed.

Quite a number of Catena's pictures seem to belong to a style of painting which the master developed, in all probability, when he sought once more his inspiration in Giovanni Bellini's models; but this he did obviously after the beginning of the 16th century when the great Venetian painter, adopting fuller forms and more easily flowing lines, transformed his manner; a very typical production of this manner is the altar-piece of 1505 in S. Zaccaria. The picture of the Circumcision of 1511 with Giambellino's signature, in the Metropolitan Museum, demonstrates to what extent Catena was influenced by this later style of Giambellino.

(1) *Venturi*, op. cit.

(2) *T. Gerevich*, *A Krakoi Czartoryski Képtár Olasz Mesterei*, Budapest, 1918, p. 160, attributes it to Rocco Marconi.



Fig. 218. Catena, Madonna, Saints and Doge Loredano. Correr Museum, Venice. Photo Anderson.

A new feature in the oblong composition of the Virgin in the midst of saints appears at this period; it is that of the Madonna forming the central figure of the group instead of being depicted to the side, as had generally been the case up till now.

The earliest example of this composition is found in a handsome painting, though still somewhat hard in outline, which was for sale in New York five years ago. The group, shown against the background of a landscape, the centre of which is concealed by a curtain, includes the Madonna, resting one hand, in which she holds a book, on the other, with the nude Child on her left knee, between two female saints, one in prayer, the other with her arms crossed on her breast.

A somewhat more evolved work, and decidedly the finest of this style, is a picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (19). The Virgin is depicted adoring the naked Child Who sleeps on her knee; to the left we see St. Joseph reading a book and St. John the Baptist, who is rather unusual in appearance; to the right are St. Catherine(?), in the attire of an elegant lady, holding a palm leaf, and a young bishop, in magnificent liturgical robes, presenting a bearded donor, whose head is a really fine specimen of portraiture (fig. 219). The entire picture has the character of a work of the 16th century and, though somewhat cold, possesses great technical qualities in the design and plastic effects.

Catena repeats the central figures and that of St. Joseph reading, in a picture in the Hermitage, Petrograd (No. 9 in 1912), in which St. John the Baptist, of a more usual type, stands to the other side of the Virgin.

The same cartoon of the Madonna and Child was employed for a panel which was for sale in Munich a few years ago; here, however, the Child is awake and looks upward; the landscape of mountains and a lake is intersected by a curtain; there are no lateral saints but an angel playing the lute flies to either side. I believe this painting formed part of the von Auspitz collection, Vienna.

In the Leuchtenberg Gallery, Vienna, there existed a picture of the Madonna, in three-quarter length figure, seated with the nude Infant Jesus sitting upright on her knee; her hand is placed under His left foot. To either side stand an old bearded figure and a young female saint⁽¹⁾. Of the latter, the one to the extreme right corresponds in every respect to a figure in the pictures of the Circumcision in Naples and in the Doria Gallery. Of the central figures — the Virgin and Child — there exist several replicas. One of them is found in a collection in Budapest⁽²⁾, another, a rather mediocre example, was formerly in the Alphonse Kahn collection, Paris⁽³⁾; a third is preserved in the gallery of Cracow⁽⁴⁾,

(1) Reprod. in *Gerevich*, op. cit., p. 186. In the old catalogue it is reprod. as a work by Gentile Bellini. *I. N. Muxel*, *Gemälde Samml. in München etc. des Herzogs von Leuchtenberg*, Munich, 1841, pl. 77.

(2) *Gerevich*, op. cit., p. 187.

(3) No. 55 of the catalogue of the sale of this collection, New York, January 1927.

(4) *Gerevich*, op. cit., pl. 22.



Fig. 219. Catena, Madonna, Saints and Adorer. Museum, Berlin.
Mus. Photo.

while a fourth was for sale in Amsterdam some years ago; the two latter specimens are of fine design with cleverly rendered light effects. The chief differences are shown in the fragments of landscape and buildings, visible to the sides of the curtain which occupies most of the background.

Ten or twelve years ago there was for sale in London another version of this composition, in which the position of the Child was slightly altered and the figures were reversed. The curtain in this case hangs in the left half of the picture while to the right we see a landscape.

The little master Duia followed this cartoon by Catena for a picture of the Madonna in the Correr Museum of Venice.

In the rather loose handling of the drapery and the somewhat spotty effects of light and shade these paintings by Catena recall the technique of the Annunciation in the Accademia of Venice (Vol. XVII, fig. 201) now ascribed by several critics to Giovanni Bellini but formerly classified as a production of Pennacchi.

I suppose that Catena's short Raphaelesque period should be placed prior to the St. Christine picture of 1520, though, as we shall see presently, it cannot have been much earlier.

The picture in which this new and unexpected influence is most clearly manifest is that representing the Holy Family — the Madonna with the Child on her knee, St. Joseph, busy with an appliance for teaching children how to walk, and St. Anna — in the museum of Dresden (65) (fig. 220) ⁽¹⁾; a little dog and some partridges are depicted on the ground while a hilly landscape and a piece of wall form the background. The very unusual minuteness of the design, the colour scheme and the diversity of aesthetic principles, which strike us in this work, point directly to Raphael's examples.

The entire composition of the four figures of Catena's picture is shown, without any variation, in a drawing attributed to Giulio Romano in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth ⁽²⁾ and again in a miniature, no doubt of Roman workmanship, of about the middle of the 16th century and ascribed to

⁽¹⁾ *Collins Baker*, Burlington Magazine, LII, 1928, p. 93. For the bibliography v. (*K. W. Jähning*), Der Staatliche Gemälde Galerie zu Dresden, I, Berlin, no date, p. 32.

⁽²⁾ *Collins Baker*, loc. cit.



Fig. 220. Catena, Holy Family. Gallery, Dresden.

Gal. Photo.

Giulio Clovio, in a private collection, while the group of the Madonna and Child is found repeated in a picture by Lotto, formerly in the Benson collection. Unless we can hold Catena responsible for this composition, which seems more probably to be a production of rather a late phase in Raphael's career or even

a work of his studio, we can hardly accept a date much prior to 1520 for the paintings in which he used this cartoon.

I know of only one other picture by Catena in which we find as minute a draughtsmanship; it was for sale in New York some years ago and represents the Madonna in knee-length figure depicted behind a little parapet on which her book, with her hand resting on it, is placed; the Child Jesus more or less turns His back to a female saint who stretches out her hands towards Him; the landscape background is composed of hills, a lake, a town and some trees.

Closely connected in style with the picture in Dresden are the figures of St. Anna and Joseph(?) in a painting by Catena belonging to Captain Stopford Sackville (1); the Madonna is represented to the left facing these figures, who are accompanied by the infant St. John, while in the background we see a landscape. Generally speaking, however, this work is considerably less Raphaelesque and we might even doubt the attribution to Catena if it were not possible to associate it with his later productions, especially with the St. Christine in the church of Sta. Maria Mater Domini (fig. 221). This painting, which is mentioned by the old authors with more praise than it really deserves (2), shows an inscription with the date 1520 and the names of the donors; it reads: "*MD—Ang. Philomati. Plebe. et Fratr. Impen.—XX*". Though the picture has been restored it still gives a fairly reliable idea of Catena's style at this advanced moment of his career. The saint, kneeling, is attached to a mill-stone by a cord round her neck. These instruments of her martyrdom are held by angels, five of whom kneel around her, while a sixth in the sky above seems to offer a cloth to the Saviour Who, in benediction, appears in a halo, holding a banner, the emblem of the Resurrection. The beautiful landscape is occupied by a lake with a hilly shore on which castles are built (3). A broader treatment of the

(1) *Collins Baker*, loc. cit., publishes it as by Catena with a point of interrogation.

(2) *Sansovino*, ed. 1581, p. 75a, stated that the picture was painted by "Angelo C.P."(?). *Stringa*, in his edition of *Sansovino*, 1604, p. 164b, gives the date 1520. *Ridolfi*, p. 82, miscalls the saint St. Febronia. *Zanetti*, p. 79. *Moschini*, II, p. 137.

(3) The lake and the castle — really a tower — are further allusions to



Fig. 221. Catena, St. Christine. Sta. Maria Mater Domini, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

drapery, specially noticeable in the figure of the Saviour, and a suave sweetness of feature and expression differentiate this picture from those we have dealt with up till now. All these elements contribute in making this painting a thoroughly 16th century production and I am of the opinion that it was Giovanni Bellini's last and Titianesque phase which was, in this case, Catena's chief source of inspiration.

There is only one picture which shows some resemblance in style to the above mentioned work. It is that representing the *Noli me tangere* — two rather large figures in a landscape setting — which was classified in the Brera Gallery as a painting by Basaiti (166) but has since been rightly claimed to be by Catena (1). It has also been pointed out that in all probability it is this work which Michiel — the Anonimo Morelliano — describes as by Catena and as existing in his day in the church of the Spirito Santo, Crema.

Ridolfi informs us that in his later years Catena was influenced by Giorgione but that, notwithstanding his efforts, he did not succeed in surpassing him.

Most of Catena's extant portraits seem to date from this last period and it was in this branch of painting that he became most renowned. Ridolfi praises his portraits and Vasari remarks that some of them are "maravigliosi", though the only work he cites is the portrait of Raimond Fugger, doubtless that now in the gallery of Berlin (32) (fig. 222). The sitter is known to us from a medal by Hagenauer and a sepia sketch by Burgkmair. Raimond Fugger was born in 1489 and in this portrait he has the appearance of a man of thirty-five to forty years of age, consequently Catena must have executed the work around 1525 or slightly later. It is a very fine portrait, full of life and individuality. The refined drawing and technique, however, are more reminiscent of the few works he made under Raphael's influence than those in which Giorgione's inspiration is evident.

The Raphaelesque elements are still more noticeable in a half-length portrait of a prelate, wearing a black bonnet and holding with both hands a heavily bound book, which is preserved in the gallery of Vienna (20) (fig. 223); on the upper edge of the painting

St. Christine's legend: an angel saved her when, attached to a mill-stone, she was thrown into the water.

(1) *Von Hadeln*, op. cit., Rassegna d'Arte, 1908.



Fig. 222. Catena, Portrait of Raimond Fugger. Museum, Berlin.

Mus. Photo.

the signature, "*Vincentius Catena pinxit*", is inscribed. It is perhaps the finest work we have by the painter; the colours are rich, beautiful and Raphaelesque; a pink cloak partly conceals the robe of blue shot-silk.

Executed in the same manner is a particularly fine portrait of a middle-aged clean-shaven man in half-length figure facing the spectator, which until 1923 was in the W. Salomon collection, New York. The subject wears rather a large bonnet on his long



Fig. 223. Catena, Portrait. Gallery, Vienna.

Photo Hanfstaegel.

hair; he places one hand on his breast and rests the other on a parapet in front of him.

Other portraits painted in this style are that representing Trissino, a bearded figure with a large bonnet holding a richly bound book, which entered the Louvre (1252B) with the Schlich-

ting collection (1) and that of a broadly built woman in bust-length, which was acquired by the gallery of Edinburgh in 1927.

Of a freer design and a slightly more impressionistic technique, consequently a stage nearer to Giorgione, is the beautiful bust portrait of a bearded man in three-quarters right profile, wearing a rich robe and a bonnet, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Davis bequest) (2); at one time it was supposed to represent Doge Gritti but there is no serious foundation for this hypothesis.

Painted in the same manner is the equally fine portrait of a Venetian senator, seated and attired in rich robes, which some years ago was for sale in Munich (3) and afterwards in New York (4); the subject is depicted to below the waist, with his hands visible.

Although it may possibly be from his brush, I am a little doubtful about accepting Catena as the master of a portrait of a young Venetian gentlewoman of Junonian beauty, wearing a low-necked dress, which in the museum of Berlin (S. 8) is ascribed to him.

The pictures which Catena executed under the domination of Giorgione show a varying degree of this influence.

An early production of his Giorgionesque phase is, I think, the bust of St. Mary Magdalene, with one shoulder bare and the top of her receptacle just visible at the foot of the painting, which again is found in the museum of Berlin (S. 7) (5).

In the museum of Messina there is a picture of the Madonna in profile seated in the left half of the panel with the nude Child on her knee; near by stand an old bearded saint, bowed in adoration, and St. George in armour holding a lance. For the group of the Virgin and Child Catena has used the same cartoon as for the picture in the Stopford Sackville collection, without making the slightest change. The technique of the painting in Messina, however, belongs to a much later manner and the appearance of

(1) *A. L. Mayer*, Pantheon, III, 1930, p. 254.

(2) *Berenson*, Venetian Painting in America, p. 251, "perhaps as late as 1517" but I think it is even still later. *L. Venturi*, Pitture italiane in America, pl. 314.

(3) *A. L. Mayer*, Pantheon, I, 1928, p. 108.

(4) *L. Venturi*, op. cit., pl. 315.

(5) *Berenson*, Dedalo, VI, 1926, p. 655.

the holy warrior, with his hand resting on his spear, and the style of the armour clearly reveal to us that Catena must have seen Giorgione's altar-piece at Castelfranco.

In the now dispersed Heseltine collection, London, there existed a picture in the execution of which the same sketch had once more served for the figures of the Virgin and Child, who, in this instance, are shown against the background of a landscape and trees and accompanied by the bearded St. Joseph in meditation, seated in a rather ungraceful position ⁽¹⁾.

Some paintings by Marco Bello seem to have been inspired by this composition of Catena.

We have now come to a small group of works in which the elements due to Giorgione's influence are present to about the same degree, but, intermingling with them, we find something sweet and charming in the types and even in the execution and these factors, as I said in the previous volume, connect this group with the productions of a certain period in Basaiti's career.

The most important example of this manner is found in the Prado Gallery, Madrid; it represents the Lord, seated in left profile with a globe in his hand, giving the keys to St. Peter who kneels before Him. Three young ladies — there is no reason to believe they are saints — stand near by; one of them touches St. Peter on the shoulder. It is more especially the figure of the Lord which recalls the works of Basaiti and in particular his picture of the Call of the Sons of Zebedee; we cannot but be struck here by the obvious resemblance in the type of the Saviour (V vol XVII, p. 501).

Of the picture in Madrid there exists a replica in the Gardner collection, Boston ⁽²⁾ with some small variations in the background where, instead of a wall, we see a slightly cloudy sky, but the types here are more like those usually seen in Catena's productions and differentiate this painting considerably from that in the Prado.

The other works in which we recognize this particular manner are likewise two paintings of the same subject. The composition is that of the Meal at Emmaus and is based more or less on the setting of Giovanni Bellini, known to us from several versions,

⁽¹⁾ Reprod. in *A. Venturi, Storia dell' arte ital.*, VII⁴, fig. 357.

⁽²⁾ *Berenson, op. cit.*, p. 254, fig. 103.

which I cited in the previous volume ⁽¹⁾. Here, however, only two pilgrims, instead of four, are seated at table with the Redeemer; a young servant carrying a dish approaches from the left while an adorer kneels in the right corner. In the well-known example by Catena in the gallery of Bergamo ⁽²⁾ the adorer is an old man with a white beard, whereas in the replica, which exists in a private collection, this figure is middle-aged and wears a bonnet on his bushy curls. The only other variation is the presence of a little white dog under the table. As in the previous case, here, too, we notice a difference in the style of execution; that in Bergamo corresponding more to that of the Prado while the manner of the replica reminds us closely of the painting in Boston.

On the question as to whether or not Catena became entirely Giorgionesque, and in this manner executed his last works, there is still a certain diversity of opinion, and Mr Collins Baker maintains that there is really no reason to believe that these paintings are by Catena at all. I certainly admit that the group of pictures in question belongs to a more evolved Giorgionesque form of painting than any of the artist's authentic productions, but still there are elements which point to him as their author. As a matter of fact, I do not think that the crucial moment is exactly here; I am inclined to place it at an earlier stage, that is to say soon after the St. Christine altar-piece of 1520, because the master who executed the holy knight in the picture in Messina was sufficiently under Giorgione's spell to be held responsible for the contested works. Mr Collins Baker has not failed to see the point and it was no doubt on this account that he erased the Messina panel from Catena's output, without realizing, however, that the Madonna and Child who figure in it, as also those in the picture in the Heseltine collection, are identical with the corresponding group in the Stopford Sackville painting which this critic admits as probably by Catena.

Another picture with strong Giorgionesque characteristics is found in the National Gallery (234). Here we see a warrior, in Western clothes and armour but with a turban on his head, kneeling in adoration before the Virgin who is seated with the

⁽¹⁾ V. vol. XVII, p. 341 note 1. *Sansovino*, op. cit., p. 47 verso, *Ridolfi*, op. cit., I p. 71, *Moschini*, op. cit., I p. 550.

⁽²⁾ *Frizzoni*, Le Gallerie etc. in Bergamo, p. 91.

nude Child on her knee while St. Joseph stands close by, his arm resting on a low wall; in the background, composed of a landscape with buildings and trees, a page is depicted holding the adorer's horse (fig. 224). Two partridges, and the same little dog as in the Holy Family in Dresden and the Meal at Emmaus, in a private collection, are shown in the foreground. This picture is now catalogued as by Palma Vecchio; however, here again no excessively subtle conception of Catena's ulterior development is required in order to maintain the old attribution. Not only does it seem highly likely that the painter who executed the Madonna and Child at Messina made also the corresponding figures here, but I find that the St. Joseph, in type and in structure, as well as on account of the facet-like broad drapery of his cloak, might be called a typical achievement of that period in Catena's career which set in after 1520.

I admit that with another group of more strongly Giorgionesque paintings we leave the realm of relative certainty, or at least that of fair probability, and enter into entirely hypothetical considerations as to whether Catena was ever dominated by Giorgione to such an extent that it entailed the almost complete disappearance of his own personal manner.

The Adoration of the Magi, once in Lord Brownlow's collection, might quite possibly be by Catena (1). The Madonna in type is not unlike that with the adoring knight in the National Gallery, while the shepherd bears a certain resemblance to the figures of Christ in the Meal at Emmaus and in St. Peter receiving the keys, but I do not find sufficient reason to ascribe the following to Catena: the Adoration of the Magi, classified as "school of Giorgione", in the National Gallery (1160); the Holy Family — the Virgin with the Child and St. Joseph seated outside a building — formerly in the Benson collection, when it was attributed to Giorgione himself (2); the woman and child in half-length figure, facing one another, in the ex-Friedsam collection, New York; the less Giorgionesque St. Jerome in his study, in the National Gallery (694), which seems to point rather to Basaiti — a replica of which, with slight vari-

(1) *H. Cook, L'Arte*, V, 1902, p. 114.

(2) Reprod. as a production of the school of Giorgione in *U. Monoret de Villard, Giorgione*, Bergamo, 1914, p. 92; and as by Giorgione himself in *L. Justi, Giorgione*, 2nd ed., I, 1926, p. 86, pl. 24.



Fig. 224. Catena, Adoration of the Madonna and Child. National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.

ations in the composition as well as in the colouring, exists in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfort (36) — and the Judith with the head of Holofernes in the Querini Stampalia Gallery, Venice, which, in my opinion, has practically no connexion with Catena or with the above cited works ⁽¹⁾. Ridolfi tells us that a picture of this subject was owned in his day by a certain Bartolomeo dalla Nave but we have no reason to suppose that it should be identified with the composition now in the Querini Stampalia Gallery. Lastly, even the master-piece of the standing figure of Judith in Petrograd, which is almost unanimously recognized as a work by Giorgione, has been attributed to Catena.

Naturally those who include these beautiful paintings in the output of Catena cannot but praise the master whose religious pictures of a previous period had been so severely criticised. In order to uphold their theory they are forced to believe that during the last years of his activity the painter's talent developed in a surprising and unexpected fashion and, moreover, that a radical change took place in his technique ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Nor indeed has the picture of the same subject in the Crespi Morbio collection, Milan. *C. Gamba*, Dedalo, IV³, 1924, p. 543. An old copy of the painting in the Querini Stampalia Gallery is found in the gallery of Dresden.

⁽²⁾ Other pictures by Catena or attributed to him are: **Carpi**, Town Hall, Annunciation of later period, not unlike that by Cima in Petrograd (*B. Berenson*, Rassegna d'Arte, V, 1905, p. 158); it used to be attributed to Palmezzano. **Chantilly**, Condé Museum, No. 42, bust-length portrait with the name of the subject, Constantino de Benedictis, inscribed above; it is catalogued as a work of the school of Andrea del Sarto; I am rather doubtful about the attribution (*Berenson*). **Cologne**, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, No. 530E, Madonna. **Dublin**, National Gallery of Ireland, No. 100, portrait of two Venetians in half-figure, ascribed to Giovanni Bellini. **Liverpool**, Walker Art Gallery, No. 133, Madonna and Child (*Berenson*). **London**, ex-Butler coll., No. 14 of the catalogue of the sale, London, May 1911, Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well, started by Palma, the figures are by Catena (*Berenson*, Venetian Painting in America, p. 256); Newton Robinson coll., repose during Flight into Egypt (*von Hadeln*); profile of a lady holding a medal, imitation of a figure in a picture by Cariani, once in the Oldenburg gallery (*Borenius*, note on *Crowe and Cavalcaselli*, p. 261); I do not know this work. **Modena**, Gallery, No. 207, attrib. to Bissolo, Madonna in half-figure with the Child between St. John and a female saint with a male and female donor, of Catena's hard second manner. **New York**, F. Levison coll., portrait of a man (*Berenson*); Grenville L. Winthrop coll., St. Jerome in the desert. **Oldenburg**, Augusteum (dispersed), Madonna and Child with infant St. John, SS. Peter and An-

Only very few drawings have been attributed to Catena; the most important is that of the Madonna and Child on a sheet in

tony Abbot (von Hadeln). **Paris**, Brasseur coll., half-length figure of a young bearded man writing at a table, *T. Borenius*, Burlington Magazine, XXIX, 1916, p. 225. **Petrograd**, Hermitage, No. 1919, oblong picture of the Madonna, knee-length, facing, with the Child between a female and a male saint and an adorer just visible in a landscape background, attributed to Pasqualino in the catalogue and by *von Liphart*, *Starye Gody*, July, 1908, and to Diana by *L. Venturi*, *L'Arte* XV, 1912, p. 134. See below Agram, **Posen**, Raczyński coll., Madonna with infant St. John, an old male saint and a young female saint. **Prague**, Hoser coll., Holy Family, in the manner of Bello or Catena, unknown to me (*Borenius*, note 1 on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, p. 186). **Romsey** (Hants), Melchett coll., Madonna with St. John the Baptist, a female saint and two donors (*Berenson*, early). **Venice**, Accademia, Nos. 72, 73, SS. Augustine and Jerome; No. 645, bust portrait of a gentleman (*Berenson*); in Serra's catalogue it is cited as "attributed to Basaiti"; it is probably a falsification; storeroom, SS. Francis, Bonaventura and Louis, in ruined condition but signed *Vincentius Catena*; it is mentioned by *Ridolfi*, p. 82, as existing in the S. Francesco chapel in the Frari church; Sta. Maria Formosa, above baptismal font, oval panel with a composition similar to that of the Circumcision (hardly visible). **Vienna**, Lanckoronski coll., bust of a young Venetian lady (*Berenson*, early).

The following are some of the wrong attributions to Catena: **Agram**, Strossmayer Gallery, knee-length figure of the Madonna seated with the Child between SS. John the Baptist, Peter and two female saints; a mediocre school work in which the Madonna and Child are copied from Catena's picture at Petrograd. **New York**, sale of the Chiesa coll., Nov. 1925, No. 48, bearded man. **Paris**, Louvre, No. 1157, reception of Venetian ambassadors at Cairo (*Berenson*, with point of interrogation); it seems to be a production of the school of Gentile Bellini; No. 1252a, portrait of Mellini with allegory on the back (*Guiffrey*, *L'Arte*, V, 1902, p. 257. *Nicolle*, *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XVIII, 1905, p. 189; *Berenson*: Marco Marziale); Jacquemart André Museum, No. 670, portrait of a fair woman (*Berenson*); it is an old copy of a picture by Palma in the gallery of Vienna. **Philadelphia**, Johnson coll., portrait of a man in half-length figure holding an open book of music (*Berenson*). **Rome**, Borghese Gallery, Madonna and Child, a late work of Giovanni Bellini (attrib. to Catena by *G. Bernardini*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, X, 1910, p. 142); Sterbini coll., Madonna, three saints and adorer (attrib. to Catena by *A. Venturi*, *La Galleria Sterbini in Roma*, 1906, No. 40, fig. 67); more likely by Bissolo. **Stuttgart**, Gallery, No. 428, Madonna, her hand resting on a book, holding the Infant Christ in benediction, adored by a female saint (*Ch. Loeser*, *L'Arte*, II, 1899, p. 163, ascribes it to Catena. *A. Venturi*, *idem*, p. 438, with more reason gives it to Bartolomeo Veneto). *R. Fry*, Burlington Magazine, XVI, p. 6, published as by Catena a picture of the Judgment of Solomon

the Albertina, Vienna. This sketch corresponds in every respect to the early Bellinesque Madonna by Catena in the National Gallery (¹). Another drawing which might very well be by our

in the R. Banker coll. at Kingston Lacy; the original is unknown to me; the attribution is accepted by *Borenius*, note on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, p. 262, but contested by *Collins Baker*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine, 1923, who ascribes it to Sebastiano del Piombo. *Zanetti*, p. 80, attributes to Catena a Flagellation, formerly in the church of S. Severo, Venice, now in the Accademia (*Moschini*, II, p. 506). In an inventory of 1627 of the Vendramin coll., Venice, a Titianesque composition of the Madonna and Child with St. Joseph and the infant St. John is, no doubt erroneously, called "del Cadena" v. *T. Borenius*, ed. of this inventory, pl. 42. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., I, p. 262 note 4 et seq., mention some of the wrong attributions.

The following works, cited by the old authors, seem to have vanished (v. also *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., p. 263 note 1): **Venice**, Procuratia di Sopra, Madonna, many angels, SS. Mark and Theodore (*Boschini*, p. 36. *Zanetti*, p. 78); S. Severo, Visitation (*Boschini*, p. 28. *Zanetti*, p. 79); Palace of the Doges, Magistrato del Sopragastaldo a S. Marco, Deposition with the Maries and other saints (*Boschini*, p. 55. *Zanetti*, p. 80); S. Simeone Profeta, the Holy Trinity (*Zanetti*, p. 80. *Moschini*, II, p. 104. *Zanotto*, Pinac. Venet., pl. 32); S. Luca, organ doors with the Annunciation on the inside and SS. Mark and Andrew on the outside (of the school of Catena, *Boschini*, p. 129); Carità, Pope Alexander III, in this church, recognized by the doge (*Zanetti*, p. 80); S. Maurizio, Madonna, SS. Nicholas, Christopher, a donor and God the Father above (*Boschini*, p. 108, calls it school of Catena. *Zanetti*, p. 80 and *Lanzi* both mention it as by Catena himself); gallery in Casa Pesaro, Madonna and Child with SS. Joseph and Anna, almost entire life-size figures (*Zanetti*, p. 80, says that it is the picture which shows more than any other to what extent Catena could paint in the manner of the new masters, imitating Giorgione and Titian; it is mentioned also by *Piacenza* and *Lanzi* as signed in "German" (Gothic) letters. It is not the picture in the Dresden gallery as has sometimes been supposed; the composition corresponds more to that of the Stopford Sackville picture which, however, shows the infant St. John and is not signed (*Zanotto* loc. cit. (1858) informs us that the painting went to England). S. Pietro, Murano, Entombment (attrib. by *Ridolif*, I, p. 71, to Giov. Bellini and by *Moschini*, II, p. 419, to Catena). Michiel — the Anonimo Morelliano — cites as by Catena: **Venice**, house of Zuan Ram in 1531 (or 30), a portrait of this Ram in oils and a head of Apollo playing the pipes; house of Andrea d'Oddoni, in 1532, a bust portrait of Francesco Zio, while in the same year he saw in the house of Antonio Pasqualino a small Madonna and Child by Giambellino, repainted by Catena.

(¹) This drawing was published as by Catena in *Hand-Zeichnungen alter Meister der Albertina* etc., V, No. 534 and by *Berenson*, *Dedalo*, IV¹,

master is a washed pen sketch representing a holy hermit in a rocky landscape, in the Uffizi (1).

* *
* *

Authors of by-gone days highly praise Catena who, however, is severely criticized by writers of the present generation. The difference of opinion is due chiefly to the fact that the ancient authors looked upon the artist as a portrait painter, whereas in more recent times the lack of quality in his religious compositions has caused a general reticence in the appreciation of his talent.

Vasari remarks on the difference in quality between his portraits, some of which he finds "marvellous", and his religious paintings (2), while Ridolfi, who cites the pictures he knew by Catena in Venice, really only praises his portraits which, however, he does not enumerate (3).

The highest praise given to Catena is that of Marcantonio Michiel, a humanist of great merit, who, in his "Notizia d'opere del disegno", which for many years passed under the name of the "Anonimo Morelliano", gives proof of his intense interest in, and understanding of, art, and who in 1520 while in Rome wrote to Antonio di Marsilio in Venice, naming in his letter Catena together with Raphael and Michelangelo. The writer remarks that Catena had better be careful because time seems to be dealing badly with clever artists, since Raphael has just died and Michelangelo is ill (4). Whatever the qualities of Catena's portraits may be, this praise is out of all proportion to their real artistic worth. Yet it would be unjust to limit our appreciation of his art to certain

p. 111. *Von Hadeln* in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, imagines that the sketch was made after a picture by Catena. *Venturi*, *La Gallerie Estense in Modena*, ascribes it to Bissolo. *A. Stix u. L. Fröhlich-Bum*, *Die Zeichnungen der Venez. Schule: Beschreib. Katal. der Handzeich. in etc. der Albertina*, I, Vienna, 1926, No. 327, believe it to be by Bonsignori and compare it with the Madonna signed by this artist in the gallery of Verona.

(1) No. 16978; attributed to Catena by *G. Bernardini*, *Bollettino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, IV, p. 149.

(2) "pittore ragionevole chi molto piu si adoperò in fare ritratti di naturale che in alcune altro sorte di pitture".

(3) "Fece ancora molti ritratti tenuti in pregio per la bellezza loro".

(4) *Bottari*, *Lettere*, I, p. 574.

of his religious compositions which, not without cause, have been described as "hard, sharp, flat, timid, dry, bloodless, badly designed and with a bony dryness of the flesh".

But even in his early paintings, in which the sacred figures more or less deserve the above deprecations, the heads of the donors reveal to us that even at this stage in his career Catena was very gifted as a portrait painter; in fact, if we had not proof in some of his signed portraits of his superiority in this particular branch, we might easily have come to the conclusion that he left the painting of the donors in his religious panels to some far more able colleague.

This discrepancy between the poor quality of his religious subjects and the outstanding merit of his portraits — because a portrait like that of the canon in the museum of Vienna really deserves a place among the best Venetian productions of that period — must remain for the moment one of the unsolved problems. We notice one thing: that the general standard of his art seems to have gradually improved and a work like that of the knight adoring the Virgin and Child in the National Gallery might be called an all round good painting.

Consequently, it is not at all true, as Zanetti and Moschini say, that Catena preferred to work in an oldish or conservative manner; besides, Zanetti contradicts this statement when he describes the picture in "Casa Pesaro", saying that in the execution of it Catena followed Titian and Giorgione. Nor does Ridolfi give us a very correct idea of Catena's development because he refers to our painter solely as a follower of Giorgione, and this he was only in his later years.

With regard to his connexion with Giambellino it is of some interest to remember that Catena had in his possession the "restello" (a small piece of furniture), adorned with an allegory, by Bellini, which is now in the Accademia of Venice. At the outset of his career Catena was very Belliniesque but not exclusively so; he was obviously in contact with other painters, perhaps with Vivarini, certainly with Cima, while Mr Berenson supposes that Diana was his real master. I should not be surprised if Catena, who was obviously rich, started painting as a pastime in a real dilettante fashion but with a natural gift for portraiture; he borrowed a little here and there from the different Venetian

masters who pleased him, but it was not until late in life that he realized he had a true vocation for painting.

Catena was lacking in originality and had not sufficient imagination to give much variety to his productions. Frequently he repeats the same figure and very often he borrows his types from other painters, from Bellini in particular. His varied manners of painting are inspired by different artists who are not always even among the great masters. He is most mediocre when he follows his own bent. The change from the Quattrocento style, in which he started his career, to the later Belliniesque and Giorgionesque manner seems to have been easily achieved but it rather destroyed the personal characteristics of his art.

CHAPTER VI

THE MINOR MASTERS OF THE BELLINESQUE TRADITION: DIANA, MOCETTO, MARCO BELLO, DUAIA, JACOPO DA VALENZA, VINCENZO DALLE DESTRE.

There is a certain group of Venetian painters who were active well into the 16th century but who, especially at the beginning of their career, were adherents of the Bellinesque tradition. It is generally from Giambellino that they take their inspiration though sometimes it is difficult to say with which of the Bellini they were most familiar, while in some cases the Bellinesque principles seem to have reached them through the interpretation of others. Moreover, the manner in which they were affected by Bellini's art often varies in the work of the minor and non-individual masters, with whom we shall deal somewhat briefly.

Of the numerous artists belonging to this category I unite in this chapter five of the least mediocre; the poorer members of this group will be discussed at the end of the volume along with the popular votive painters.

The best of the five is without doubt Benedetto Diana ⁽¹⁾, regarding whom Paoletti and Ludwig have found a certain number of documents. The real family name of the painter was Rusconi. The name Diana appears sometimes in Friuli. Benedetto's father was a goldsmith called Apollonio. Benedetto is mentioned for the first time in 1482 when he enters the Scuola Grande di Sta. Maria della Carità. In 1485 his wife and his mother together draw up a testament. In 1505 he collaborates with Bastiani in the execution of three banners for the Piazza San

(1) *Berenson*, *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 155. *Von Hadeln*, in *Thieme-Becker, Künstlerlexikon*, IX, p. 205. *G. Ludwig*, *op. cit.*, *Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml.*, XXVI, 1905, Beiheft, p. 56. *Ridolfi*, in *Le Maraviglie dell' arte*, dedicates a small paragraph to Diana (ed. von Hadeln, I, p. 41).

Marco; in 1506 he competes in an open competition for the painting of a standard for the Scuola della Carità and, strangely enough, succeeds even with Carpaccio in the list of competitors. In 1512 he became "Gastaldo" of the school of painting. He died on the 9th of February 1525. As in 1486 he painted a picture of a somewhat official character, it is hardly likely that he was born much after 1460.

The work to which I refer was at one time in the Zecca where it was seen by Sansovino, Ridolfi and Zanetti; it was transferred to the Royal Palace and not long ago was removed to the Ca d'Oro (fig. 225). The date of 1486 can be deduced from the fact that the two adorers, who from the coats of arms must be Gerolamo Pesaro and Francesco Trevisari, were the directors of the Zecca (mint) that year. Behind these two kneeling figures stand their patron saints while in the centre the Virgin is seated on a high and richly ornamented throne of a rather fantastic shape. To the left of the foreground we see some rocks; the background, however, is so filled up with buildings that very little landscape is visible. The elongated forms of the saints and the hard broken drapery seem to justify Ludwig's supposition that Lazzaro Bastiani must have been Diana's master. The Madonna, on the other hand, is of a somewhat Belliniesque type, though it appears rather antiquated for Giovanni and yet not quite like Gentile. It shows more resemblance to some of Jacopo's pictures of the Virgin, though it is more evolved in style. The attribution to Diana, which has never been doubted, can be traced back to Sansovino (pl. 115B).

Very similar in style is the picture of the almsgiving which he painted for the Albergo of the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista but which is now in the Accademia (565); it is mentioned by Ridolfi, Boschini and Zanetti.

There is considerable difference of opinion about the subject which the ancient authors, followed by Cavalcaselle and von Hadeln, call Almsgiving by the Brethren of the Confraternity, while the catalogues of the gallery and the other modern authors describe it as a Miracle of the Cross: a child who has fallen into a courtyard is miraculously saved. The painting so obviously represents the latter incident that it seems possible that a picture of the other subject may have existed also, or perhaps the presence



Fig. 225. Diana, Madonna and Saints. Ca d'Oro, Venice.

Photo Alinari.

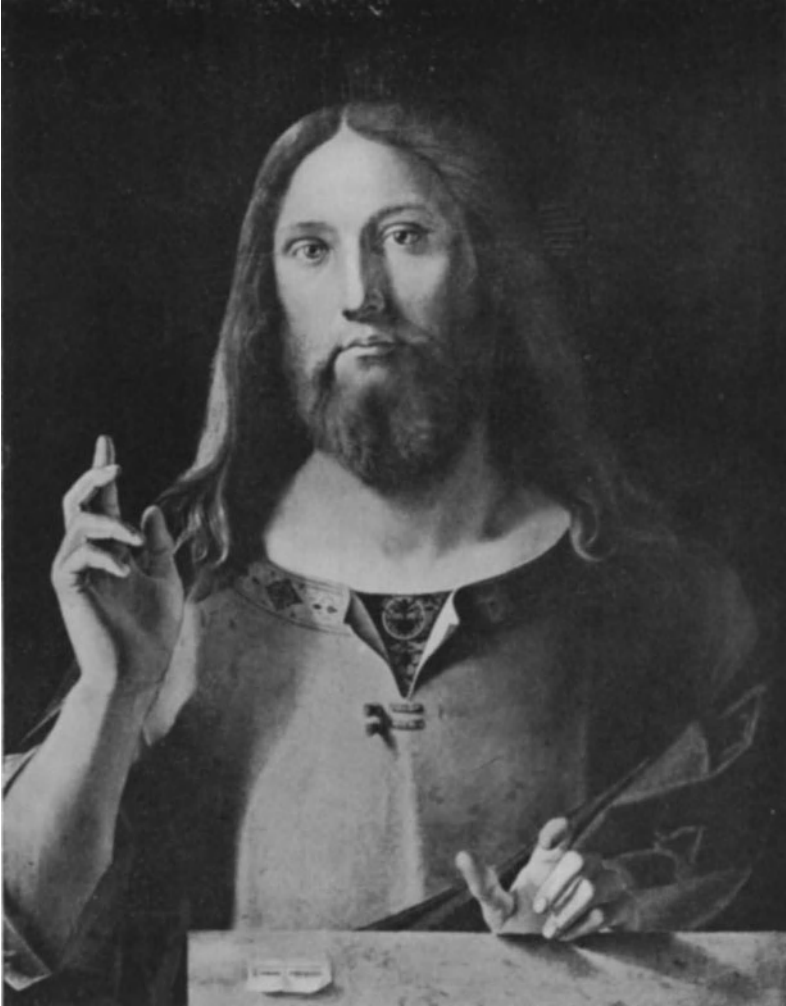


Fig. 226. Diana, Christ blessing. National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.

of the two men in contemporary attire, who stand near the two women, seated on the ground, one of whom holds the child, has been the cause of the misinterpretation. In the composition the painter has paid great attention to the architecture; besides the arches, walls and windows of the courtyard, there is an imposing stairway painted in great detail. It is the only production by

Diana in which we find this interest in architecture, and it can be explained probably by the fact that the picture formed part of the series of the miracles of the Cross executed by Gentile Bellini, Mansueti, Bastiani and Carpaccio, canvases in all of which there is a great display of architecture. As the rest of the cycle was executed between 1495 and 1500, it is more than likely that this picture too dates from the same period. It is so much restored, however, that we can come to no definite conclusion regarding the original style.

Another production of the earliest part of the artist's career is no doubt the half-length figure of the blessing Redeemer, signed *Benedictus Diana pinxit*, which passed from the Contin del Castel Seprio collection, Venice, into the National Gallery, London (2725) (fig. 226). I think it is the finest painting we know by Diana; it is very carefully designed and shows a skilful and refined handling of light and shade. The divine features of the Saviour seem to have been inspired by the corresponding figure in Basaiti's picture of the Call of the Sons of Zebedee, in the gallery of Venice, rather than by any work of Giambellino.

The other pictures which bear Diana's signature or can with certainty be ascribed to him are entirely lacking in interest. Most of them belong more to the Cinquecento and though they reveal great technical ability and a good training they are on the whole rather dull.

More animated than the others and dating probably from an intermediate period, prior to that in which he created his monumental altar-pieces, is a really charming picture in the Duke of Portland's collection; the Madonna seated lowly holds the nude Child standing near her; to one side are SS. Luke and Barbara and to the other the profile bust of an adorer and a hilly landscape ⁽¹⁾. In the finely executed faces and the sharply designed drapery we discover elements which once more remind us of Basaiti.

In very much the same manner Diana executed the now rather damaged picture of the Madonna, seated lowly, bending towards the nude Child, accompanied by the old bearded St. Joseph, against a landscape background, which is found in the collection

⁽¹⁾ Catalogue of the Exhib. of Early Venetian Pictures, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1912, No. 39, pl. 33.



Fig. 227. Diana, Madonna and Saints. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 228. Diana, Madonna and Saints. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Naya.

of Mrs van Urk at Kalamazoo ⁽¹⁾. Mr Berenson is of the opinion that this work dates from about 1505.

At a later moment when the master was obviously inspired by Giambellino's more mature Madonnas, such for example as the oblong panel from the Giovanelli collection, now in the Accademia, Venice, and that in the Borghese Gallery, Rome, are two oblong pictures in the Accademia of Venice (83, 84) (fig. 227); in both, the Virgin in knee-length figure is depicted in the

⁽¹⁾ *Berenson*, *Venetian Painting in America*, fig. 61.



Fig. 229. Diana, Madonna and Saints. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

centre against a landscape background, in one case between SS. Jerome and Francis, in the other between SS. John the Baptist and Jerome. The latter originates from the office of the "Magistrato del Sale" ⁽¹⁾.

From a still later period date the pictures of the Madonna enthroned in the midst of saints. Moreover, they correspond in

⁽¹⁾ There is a late copy of this painting in the Schlesische Museum, Breslau (von Hadeln).

style to an altar-piece, representing St. Mark enthroned between SS. Francis, Michael, Justine and Dominic, which, on account of the presence of the coat of arms of Doge Gritti, must date from the year 1523, that is to say from the very end of the artist's activity. The picture, which Zanetti saw in the office of the Magistrato della Milizia del Mare, is now in the storeroom of the Palace of the Doges.

From the church of Sta. Lucia, Padua, originates the important altar-piece of the Madonna enthroned between SS. Jerome, Benedict, Mary Magdalene and Justine, which is now in the Accademia of Venice (82) (fig. 228). This work, in which a few birds are depicted in the foreground, shows the signature: *Benedictus Diane pix*. The human figures are of a late Belliniesque type but the heavy drapery finds its origin in quite a different source.

Thoroughly 16th century in style, rather academic in appearance and not even really Venetian in character, is the altar-piece of the Madonna, seated on a throne placed on a high pedestal, with a niche behind, holding a flower and caressing the nude Infant Jesus Who stands by her knee while behind appears the child St. John. A little angel playing with flowers is seated below and to the sides we see a holy bishop and an old female saint, both holding a book. They are supposed to represent either St. Louis of Toulouse and St. Anna or St. Augustine and St. Monica (fig. 229).

The figures are placed inside a room, through the windows of which we obtain views of a beautiful landscape. The upper part of the altar-piece was adorned with a half-length figure of God the Father and two angels, but curiously enough this piece has been used to fill up the central upper part of the polyptych of 1357 by Lorenzo Veneziano (Accademia, 10). This picture, (now in the Accademia, No. 86), originates from the sacristy of the Servi church where it was seen by Ridolfi, Boschini and Zanetti.

Ridolfi is rather doubtful about ascribing it to Diana, of whose manner it is not at all characteristic. Von Hadeln is of the opinion that the drawing must have been done by Diana but that the colouring is too unusual to accept as his.

The official catalogue suggests the name of Pellegrino di San Daniele and it has also been attributed to Florigerio, a painter from Conegliano, though it is now generally accepted as a work by

Diana. I must say that I find the chief argument in favour of the attribution to this master in the old tradition to this effect. Of course it is not impossible that towards the end of his career his manner changed into this academic and rather impersonal style of painting, which, if it is not characteristic of Diana, neither is it typical of any other identified painter.

Of the many other pictures which pass under the name of Diana ⁽¹⁾, I shall cite only two. One of them is the Meal at Em-

(1) Other pictures attributed to Diana, chiefly by Berenson, Ludwig and von Hadeln are: **Amsterdam**, Rijksmuseum, No. 517A, Madonna and Child, Who caresses the infant St. John, and two male saints in a landscape (fig. 230). **Basel**, Bachofen Museum, No. 1375, Madonna with the Child and St. John. **Berlin**, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, storeroom, No. 116A, small picture of the Nativity, very mediocre, attribution doubtful; Murray sale, Nov. 1929 at Cassirer's, oblong panel of the Madonna with the Child eating cherries, landscape background (*T. Borenius*, *Pantheon*, IV, 1929, pp. 530, 534). **Boston**, Museum, No. 26—111, St. Jerome in a landscape. **Cremona**, Museo Civico, Madonna between SS. Benedict and John the Baptist(?). **Frankfort a. M.**, Rieffel sale at Helbing's, Madonna with SS. John the Baptist and Jerome. **London**, Graham sale at Christie's, May 1923, Madonna and Child, Who touches a lamb held by St. John the Baptist, St. Antony of Padua and angels; Muir Mackenzie coll., predella, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, her Marriage and the Annunciation (Catal. of the Exhib. of Early Venetian Pictures, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1912, No. 40, pl. 18). **Milan**, Museo Civico, No. 396, Madonna, SS. Peter and Paul. **Pavia**, Accademia, Madonna. **Perpignan**, Gallery, No. 216, miracles of St. Bartholomew. **Rome**, National Gallery, the Saviour blessing. **Stuttgart**, Gallery, No. 515, the Holy Family with SS. Elizabeth and John; Madonna with a holy bishop in benediction and a female saint. **Sweden**, Wahlin coll., oblong picture, Madonna reclining with the Child and a male and female saint. **Venice**, Correr Museum, Madonna between SS. John the Baptist and Onuphrius. **Verona**, Gallery, Madonna giving breast to the Child against a background of a landscape and a curtain. **Vienna**, Bourbon sale at Herschler's, April 1906, No. 41, Last Supper.

Ridolfi mentions two pictures by Diana, all trace of which has been lost: one of St. Lucy between two saints in the Cornari chapel of SS. Apostoli, the other of St. Luke between two saints in a chapel near the sacristy in the Carmine church; both are mentioned in the "Rinnovazione delle Riche Minere" of 1733. Michiel cites a miniature by Campagnola after Diana representing a nude female watering a tree and two putti tilling the ground. A wrong attribution to Diana is that of a Madonna and Child between two saints and an adorer in the Hermitage, Petrograd (1919) (*L. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XV, 1912, p. 134) which is by Catena. Other erroneous attributions are that of a picture of St. Michael treading



Fig. 230. Diana, Madonna and Saints. Museum, Amsterdam.

Mus. Photo.

on the dragon against a landscape background, once in the von Nemes coll., Munich (*Crowe and Cavalcaselle*), which is by Carpaccio; an oblong panel of the Madonna between SS. John the Baptist and Antony (*Berenson*) which *L. Venturi* La Coll. Gualino, Turin-Rome, 1926, and others ascribe to Palma, though *A. Spahn*, Palma Vecchio, Leipzig, 1932, p. 199, describes it as by an "inferior master"; I think it might be classified as a production of the school of Palma; a Madonna enthroned in the midst of six saints and angels in the sacristy of S. Zaccaria (*Berenson*, with question-

maus in the church of S. Salvatore, one of the repetitions of Giambellino's lost original, which I mentioned in the previous volume. It is certainly one of Diana's best productions and is far above his usual standard. It furnishes us, besides, with proof of Diana's intimacy with Giovanni Bellini's art. The other is an important Assumption, with St. Thomas receiving the holy girdle from the Madonna who stands in the midst of cherubim, in the church of Sta. Maria della Croce at Crema (fig. 231). It is an unpleasant work on account of the coarse colouring and the badly designed architecture, which gives one the impression of a scenic background. There is a Baroque restlessness and pathetic agitation in the figures of this thoroughly Cinquecentesque picture, in which Cavalcaselle discovered elements recalling Savoldo. It shows the signature: *Benedicte Diana p.* and is mentioned by Michiel. No doubt it is one of Diana's last achievements and it is certainly very evolved for a painter who started his career in the 15th century.

Diana was one of the many painters who flowed with the tide but did not contribute anything to the current. He was not devoid of a certain ability but lacked personality, temperament and real talent. He may have started, as Ludwig supposes, with Bastiani, and there are features in his early achievements which can be traced to Gentile Bellini rather than to Giovanni. Cavalcaselle's opinion that his art has some connexion with Squarcione is quite unfounded. In his later manner it is difficult to point to any particular tradition which might have influenced him, though there are some elements which reveal a knowledge of the works of Basaiti and Giambellino.

Notwithstanding his minor importance, all the ancient authors, even including Sansovino and Michiel, refer to some of his works; his name was known also to Vasari who, however, only includes

mark), which is very much restored and probably by Palma Vecchio; a Madonna enthroned and eight saints on the first altar to the right in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (*Berenson*, with question-mark), concerning which I think the traditional attribution to Bissolo is the correct one; SS. Helen between Constantine and Ambrose in the museum of Murano (*Berenson*) — from Vienna and previously in the storeroom of the Accademia — which seems to be by Bernardino da Murano. I cannot find the Madonna and two saints and the Eternal which Berenson mentions as in the right transept of the S. Zaccaria church in Venice.



Fig. 231. Diana, Assumption. Sta Maria della Croce, Crema.

Photo Negri.

him among the painters of the North East of Italy. Ridolfi and Zanetti, in speaking of Diana who, so they believed, brought the school of painting to a greater perfection, use such terms of praise as "assai piacevole, grandezza sufficiente, buon colore, unione di tinte," etc.

* * *

Gerolamo Mocetto (1) was a modest painter and if he is better known as an engraver it is more than anything else because prints of this period — the end of the 15th century and the very beginning of the 16th — are extremely rare, since he was not a great graphic artist either.

He was born in Murano, and not in Verona, as was at one time believed; he was the offspring of a Muranese family that can be traced back to 1389. Several members of his family were painters, either of pictures or of stained-glass. A family Mocetto, however, existed also in Verona and coincidences of Christian names and Gerolamo's activity in this town make it highly probable that in some way these two families were related.

The ancient author De Angelis affirms, we do not know on what grounds, that Gerolamo was born in 1454 (2); this however would hardly be possible if we had to put any faith in the date of 1473 which has been given as the year he executed the stained-glass window in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice; but again, as we shall see, this date is far from certain. The same author makes the mistake of placing his birth in Verona, so that we have good reason to doubt the rest of his statement.

Mocetto figures in 1458, consequently at a very early age, in the will of his great-grandfather, who had six children and who owned some slaves.

We learn from Lanzi that a picture by Mocetto, dated 1484, existed in the Casa Correr, Venice, but we have lost sight of this work.

A document informs us that he married prior to 1494. In

(1) *B. Baron*, G. M., Madonna Verona, III, 1909, pp. 61, 77; IV, 1910, p. 21. *R. Bvenzoni*, M. in Thieme-Becker, Künstlerlexikon, XXIV, 1930, p. 600. *G. Fiocco*, Il primo dipinto di G. M., Madonna Verona, VIII, 1914, p. 81. *E. Galichon*, G. M. peintre et graveur, Gazette des Beaux Arts, II, 1859, p. 321. *G. Gerola*, Le antiche pala di S. Maria in Organo, Verona, 1913. *I. Ginbert*, Notes sur une Résurrection du Musée de Berlin, Giovanni Bellini et le graveur M., Gazette des Beaux Arts, 3e per., XXXIV, p. 380. *A. M. Hind*, Catal. of early Italian Engravings etc. in the British Museum, London, 1910, p. 458. *G. Ludwig*, Archival. Beitrage zur Gesch. der Venez. Malerei, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXVI, 1905, Beiheft 69. *Paoletti*, Raccolta di doc. ined. per servire alla stor. della pitt. venez., II, Padua, 1895, p. 20.

(2) *L. De Angelis*, Notizie degli intagliatori: aggiunti a quelle di G. Gori, Siena, 1813, p. 228.

1507 a "Hieronymo depentor" was engaged, together with Carpaccio and Vittore Belliniano, to assist Giovanni Bellini to finish the three canvases which in 1492 had been ordered from Alvise Vivarini for the big council hall. We are not certain, however, that the artist mentioned here, who gets half or less than half the pay of the others employed on this enterprise, is really Gerolamo Mocetto; it might just as well have been Gerolamo da Santacroce, who was very young at this moment, or some other painter of the same name.

In 1514 he is living in a rented house in the parish of S. Apollinare in Venice, while in 1517 we find him active in Verona, where he decorates the façade of a house with frescoes in commemoration of the return of the city to Venice, at the end of the German occupation and the departure of Emperor Maximilian.

In 1531 he made a will leaving all his belongings to his son Domenico who, at this moment, was absent from Venice. Several prints representing the town of Nola suggest to us the possibility that Mocetto at one time must have been in the region of Naples.

Vasari mentions Mocetto only once when he calls him a "creature" of Giovanni Bellini, yet the study of his works does not lead us to believe that such a close relationship existed between them. It may quite well be that Giambellino was in part responsible for Mocetto's artistic education, though the works which can perhaps be considered his earliest point more to a connexion with Mantegna and this connexion, as we shall see later, is rendered still more likely by the existence of some prints which reproduce Mantegna's compositions.

Of quite an antique character in a Mantegnesque taste is a picture of the battle between Hebrews and Amalekites in the Malaspina Gallery, Pavia, which is claimed to be the earliest known work by Mocetto (1). It is signed: *Hieronimus Mocetus pinsit*. There are certain elements in the composition which, as Fiocco observes, recall Mantegna's Triumph of Caesar, and we notice an incisiveness in the execution which points to engraved examples. Moreover, Mocetto himself has treated the subject in three prints which, however, are very different.

Still more Mantegnesque are the two panels of the Massacre of

(1) *Fiocco*, op. cit.



Fig. 232. Mocetto, Massacre of the Innocents. National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.



Fig. 233. Mocetto, Portrait of a Boy. Gallery, Modena. Photo Anderson.

the Innocents in the National Gallery (1239, 1240) (fig. 232), on one of which is inscribed the signature: *Herolamo Moceto P.* (1).

Although Mocetto has not actually copied any of Mantegna's figures, he has continually borrowed from the frescoes in the Eremitani chapel; this is particularly noticeable in the archi-

(1) At one time in the Strange collection, Vienna; engraved in *d'Agincourt*, *History of Art, Painting*, pl. 162.



Fig. 234. Mocetto, Madonna. Gallery, Vicenza.

Photo Alinari.

ecture which is an interpretation of the classical style, as indeed are also many of the figures.

There is yet another picture by Mocetto of antique subject and of just as Mantegnesque a character. It is preserved in the Cook collection, Richmond, and represents the triumph of a Roman emperor ⁽¹⁾.

Very likely after Mocetto's Mantegnesque period which, for

⁽¹⁾ *T. Borenius*, *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House, Richmond*, p. 158.



Fig. 235. Mocetto, Altar-piece. SS. Nazaro e Celso, Verona. Photo Anderson. chronological reasons, we must place at the beginning of his career, there followed a phase in which his chief inspiration seems to emanate from Giambellino. In this manner he executed the portrait of a little boy in the gallery of Modena, a painting in

which a certain fascination of the subject tries to make up for the unsubtle handling of the brush (fig. 233). The bust of the sitter appears above a parapet on which the artist has left his signature: *Hiers Moceto P.*, consequently it is the type of portrait of which Bellini created quite a number of examples. It is his manner of the nineties which is reflected in this work, as well as in another painting of a rather curious composition, formerly in the Humphry Ward collection, now in that of the late Professor O. Lanz, Amsterdam (1). It represents the Virgin as a child standing on a pedestal, her hands clasped, between her parents, who are also standing, with a landscape, trees, a shepherd and some buildings in the background.

Other pictures by Mocetto seem to point to a knowledge of some of Giambellino's later works, in fact, as Baron remarks, in the style as well as in the colouring these are not without a certain resemblance to the art of Basaiti. This manner is most evident in a panel of the Madonna in knee-length figure, with the nude Child standing, in the museum of Vicenza (153), which is signed: *Hieronimo Moceto P.* (fig. 234).

The Virgin, here however enthroned, again holding the nude Child standing on her knee, forms the centre of an important triptych in the church of SS. Nazaro e Celso in Verona (fig. 235). As we know that Mocetto went to this town in 1517 we can safely conjecture that it was at this moment that he executed the triptych. The position of the Child, Who places His arm round His Mother's neck, recalls Basaiti's picture at Aix-en-Provence. The broad shape of the heavily veiled head of the Madonna also points to an example of this artist, as does the strongly lighted but rather clumsy drapery of the two lateral saints: an old white bearded male saint and St. Justine. A bust of the Saviour occupies the gable above, while on the predella we see in the centre the head of a youth with cropped hair and to the sides the coat of arms of the Raineri and the monogram of a member of this family (2). Judging from the heads of the Redeemer and

(1) Catalogue of the Exhib. of early Venetian Pictures, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1912, No. 38, pl. 32. Catalogue of the Exhibition of ancient Italian art in Dutch possession, Amsterdam, 1934. *Fiocco*, op. cit., p. 82, erroneously calls the subject the Annunciation.

(2) The monogram F. R. might be that of Giovanni Francesco Raineri

the youth and that of St. Justine, one would say that the direct influence of Giambellino intermingles with that of his pupil Basaiti. On the steps of the throne we see the signature: *Hiers Moceto fecit*. The landscape, which is intersected in the centre by a curtain, is the most attractive part of this altar-piece.

There are a few frescoes in the museum of Verona (461, 454, 476) which originate from a house at the "Ponte dell' Aqua Morta". They formed a frieze and were no doubt painted in 1517 on the occasion of Verona's return to the Venetian republic. One of them represented the doge and the lion of St. Mark but only the civic emblem remains (1). The other frescoes illustrate the story of Trajan and the widow and Scipio Africanus and the Celtiberian Maiden. These two paintings are fairly well preserved but they are of rather an inferior quality. The already none too gifted Mocetto seems to have taken particularly little trouble over these wall paintings of a decorative nature. The figures are ungraceful and the drawing very poor. In spite of this, the attribution to Mocetto is quite acceptable.

Lastly, towards the end of his career it appears that this eclectic little master came under the spell of Cima da Conegliano. This hypothesis, which is based on the style of some of his pictures, is, as we shall see presently, confirmed by the study of his engravings.

Cima's influence dominates in an important altar-piece by Mocetto in the church of Sta. Maria in Organo, Verona, a work which at one time was ascribed to the local painter Gerolamo dai Libri (fig. 236) (2). It is true that this picture has a somewhat Veronese character, especially evident in the composition and the setting. This might suggest that the artist's sojourn in Verona, where he executed the work, was of considerable duration. We discover, besides, elements due to a knowledge of Bellini's art but still more through Cima's interpretation of it. This is shown in the types of the Virgin and the Child as well as in the rather stodgy who died in 1517. According to other writers the triptych was made for the Rambaldi family but this seems less likely v. *Baron*, op. cit., p. 81 and note.

(1) The original appearance of the frieze is known to us from the reproductions in *P. Nanin*, *Disegni di varie dipinture a fresco che sono in Verona*, Verona, 1864, pls. 7 and 8. *Baron*, op. cit., p. 83.

(2) For the different attributions v. *Baron*, op. cit., p. 88 note.



Fig. 236. Mocetto, Madonna and Saints. Sta. Maria in Organo, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

figure of St. Stephen, while the features of the female martyr to the other side remind us, for technical reasons, of the boy's portrait in Modena.

I think that the head of a female saint in the gallery of Verona (423) must have been painted about this time ⁽¹⁾, while quite a

⁽¹⁾ *Fiocco*, op. cit.

late work — if really by Mocetto, which seems somewhat doubtful — is a picture of the Madonna, with the nude Child in benediction seated on her knee, in the gallery of Vicenza (155). The style points to a certain familiarity with Giambellino's last manner ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Baron*, op. cit., p. 91. The following works are also attributed to Mocetto: **Asola** (Brescia), Cathedral, Annunciation and six saints (*Berenson* with point of interrogation). **Berlin**, Museum, No. 1553, triumph of Chastity (*Berenson*: late work?; I think it is surely by him). **Parma**, Gallery, No. 180, Christ blessing. **Verona**, Gallery, No. 805, Saviour with an open book; No. 371, half-length figures of SS. Martha, Augustine and Monica; No. 815, bust of elderly man. **Vicenza**, Gallery, No. 151, Madonna, SS. Cosmo and Damian and an apparition of the Virgin. Among the works wrongly ascribed to Mocetto should be included: the ceiling paintings representing planets, virtues, mythological figures, etc., in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris (*L. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XVII, 1914, p. 71 and *Schubring*, Cassoni, p. 396. *Fiocco*, *L'Arte*, XIX, 1916, rightly claims them to be the work of Gerolamo da Santacroce, perhaps with the help of Francesco; the man's portrait in the National Gallery, London (*L. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XXVII, 1923, p. 264), which is by Basaiti; the signature is restored but not false as Venturi supposes. *Baron*, op. cit., misled by a wrong interpretation of a passage in Vasari (III, 163), believes possibly by Mocetto Giambellino's oblong picture of 1507 of the Madonna and saints and repainted adorer in S. Francesco della Vigna, Venice; Vasari's remark refers to a painting by Mocetto representing the dead Christ which was made to replace a work by Giambellino which had been given to Louis XI, King of France. Through a comparison with this work, *Baron*, op. cit., 1910, p. 56, commits the error of attributing to Mocetto another purely Belliniesque painting, namely the Madonna who, in the midst of four saints, places her outstretched hand on the head of an adorer, a work which was formerly in the Simon coll., Berlin, but which entered the Louvre with the Schlichting coll. I agree with Gronau that an oblong panel of the Madonna, seated with the Child between two saints, in the Malaspina Museum, Pavia, is by Pasqualino Veneziano rather than Mocetto to whom *Fiocco*, *Madonna Verona*, VIII, 1914, p. 81, attributes it. *Baron*, op. cit., p. 94, makes some other wrong attributions among which are: the Baptist by Gerolamo da Santacroce in the gallery of Budapest and two predella panels illustrating the punishment of Attilius Regulus, in the gallery of Verona (824, 825), which seem to be the work of some follower of Mocetto. Nor do I think that Mocetto was the author of the standing figure of St. Catherine in the gallery of Padua and the St. Helen in the Museo Civico, Milan, both of which are reproduced as such by *A. Venturi*, *Stor. dell' arte ital.*, VII⁴, figs. 405, 406; the former is also mentioned by *Baron*, op. cit. p. 91. Certainly not by Mocetto is the figure of the blessing young Saviour in the gallery of Padua (180), catalogued as possibly a work by him.

Some lost works, if the old attributions are correct, are: the dead Christ

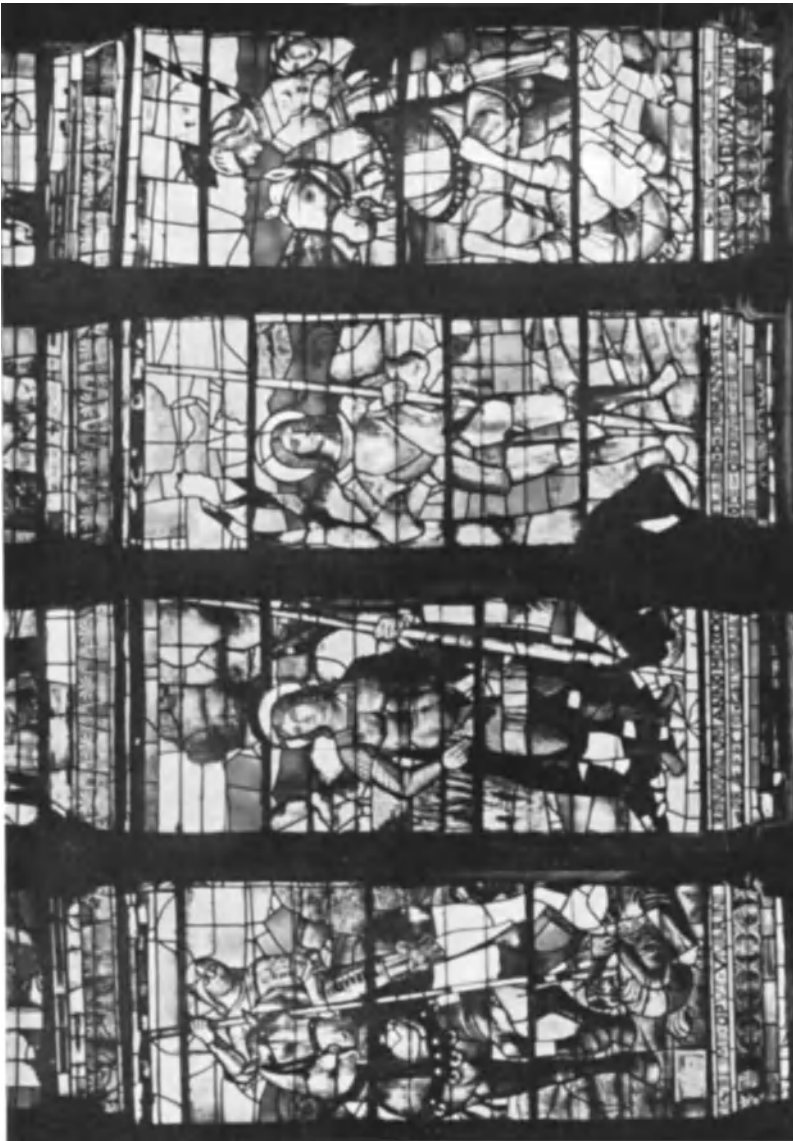


Fig. 237. Mocetto, stained-glass Windows. SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

mentioned by Vasari (v. above); a picture of the Trinity in the S. Biagio chapel in SS. Nazario e Celso (*G. Biadego, La cappella di S. Biagio, Nuovo arch. ven., N.S. XI², 1906, p. 132. Baron, op. cit., p. 81 note 2*) and the picture of 1484 in the Casa Correr, which is cited by Lanzi.

We have still to examine Mocetto's window in SS. Giovanni e Paolo. That Mocetto actually did execute it is authenticated by his signature: *Hieronimus Mocetus faciebat*; moreover as we saw before, the art of glass-making was a calling which the Mocetto family professed.

Notwithstanding the rather radical restoration which was carried out in 1473 and which destroyed much of the original appearance, it is very obvious that the upper part of the window is by a different hand than the lower part. The date 1473, furnished by Lazari, no doubt goes back to the very vague statement made by Ridolfi who, after speaking of a picture of that year by Bartolomeo Vivarini, tells us that the same artist started at this time the window for SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Moschini pretends that he found in a manuscript the information that the window was made in 1510 by the Muranese artist Giannantonio Landis, after a design by Bartolomeo Vivarini⁽¹⁾; the attribution to Vivarini is still at the present day sometimes repeated, and might in fact apply to the figures in the upper half of the window. As to the four full-length figures of saints, two of whom are holy knights on horseback, and, above them the eight medallions in two rows containing the busts of four Dominican saints and the four symbols of the Evangelists, I think they show some connexion with Mocetto's art and it seems probable that this is the part we owe to his hand (figs. 237, 238). The actual appearance of the figures is partly due to the restorer who left a large inscription, recording his work, on the lower border.

It is quite another matter for Mocetto's prints which, in a way, constitute the most interesting branch of the artist's activities, though, as I said before, the reason for this lies in the fact that even mediocre engravings of Mocetto's day get, on account of their rarity, more attention paid to them than equally weak paintings⁽²⁾.

(1) *V. Lazari*, *Notizie delle opere d'arte e d'antichità della Raccolta Correr*, Venice, 1859, p. 91. *Moschini*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 142. *Baron*, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

(2) *Baron*, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 21. *Bartish*, *Le peintre graveur*, XIII, p. 215. *E. Bock*, *Geschichte der Graphischen Kunst*, Berlin (1930), pp. 51, 302, 678. *A. Calabi*, *Bollettino d'arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, N.S., VI¹, 1926-1927, p. 64. *The Same*, *L'incisione italiana*, Milan, 1931, pl. 15.



Fig. 238. Detail of fig. 237.

Photo Böhm.

Several of Mocetto's prints are signed, and they reveal to us very clearly whence came this minor master's inspiration. In this respect Mantegna heads the list; in fact in his print of Judith and

H. Delaborde, *La gravure en Italie avant Marc-Antoine*, Paris-London, no date, p. 121 et seq. *Galichon*, op. cit. *C. Gamba*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, VI, 1906, p. 91. *Hind*, op. cit. *P. Kristeller*, *Kupferstich u. Holzschnitt*, Berlin, 1922, p. 191. *W. Y. Ottley*, *An Inquiry into the Origin and early History of Engraving etc.*, II, London, 1816, p. 511. *Passavant*, *Le peintre graveur*, V, p. 134. *M. Pittaluga*, *L'incisione italiana nel Cinquecento*, Milan (1929), pp. 52, 110.



Fig. 239. Mocetto, Roman Battle, Print.

Photo Brit. Mus.

her servant with the head of Holofernes and in that of the Calumny of Apelles he follows Mantegna slavishly, though we know the composition of the latter subject only from a drawing by a close follower of the great Paduan.

Decidedly Mantegnesque too is his engraving of St. John the



Fig. 240. Mocetto, Baptism, Print. Photo Brit. Mus.

Baptist and, in a more general manner, the series of three engravings of the history of Israel and the Amalekites, which are not without a certain resemblance to Mocetto's early pictures of antique subject (fig. 239). The date 1496 can be deciphered on the third of these prints.

He follows Giambellino quite obviously, though much more freely than he did Mantegna, in his print of the Baptism which, in general lines, reproduces Bellini's panel at Vicenza (fig. 240). He has, however, made quite a number of variations of considerable importance. Curiously enough he has borrowed a figure from Giambellino's Resurrection, now in the museum of Berlin, for an engraving of a seated Bacchus.

The composition of the Madonna between saints under an open loggia, which was particularly favoured by Cima, is shown to us by Mocetto in a print in which we see the Virgin between a bearded saint reading and St. John the Baptist, with three angelic musicians seated on the pedestal of the throne (fig. 241). The figures, however, reveal rather the inspiration of Montagna; this is particularly obvious in the type of the Madonna; further, the master from Vicenza also sometimes places his figures under an open portico. He does so, for example, in the big altar-piece now in the museum of Vicenza and here too he depicts three angelic musicians — in this case standing — as well as a figure of St. John the Baptist in very much the same attitude. Still, as Mr Hind observes, we find an even greater resemblance in a representation of this saint in a picture by Alvise Vivarini. Again, as this author remarks, Mocetto's print of the Madonna enthroned, without saints, against a background of trellis-work with flowers and shrubs, follows in a very evident manner the central figure of Montagna's altar-piece in S. Giovanni Ilarione.

In an engraving of the Resurrection, in which the Saviour stands in the midst of four sleeping soldiers, the Christ is Belliniesque in type ⁽¹⁾.

An important print, with many figures, of the Metamorphosis of Amymone is, in spirit and in style, somewhat similar to the engraving of the Calumny of Apelles and again recalls Mantegna's art. A picture attributed to Leonbruno repeats with some variations Mocetto's composition ⁽²⁾.

Another engraving of an antique subject represents the sacrifice of a sow; three nude men are busy performing the rite while three women, holding receptacles and a lyre, are shown near by.

⁽¹⁾ *Calabi*, op. cit., Bollettino d'arte.

⁽²⁾ *Hind*, op. cit. It formed part of the Rey Spuzer coll., Paris. *Gamba*, op. cit. *Reinach*, Repertoire des peintures, II, p. 733.



Fig. 241. Mocetto, Madonna and Saints, Print.

Photo Brit. Mus.

For two engravings representing a frieze of Tritons and Nymphs, Mocetto seems to have borrowed a few details from Mantegna's prints showing a battle of marine deities.

Finally, there are four prints of the town of Nola which illustrate Ambrosius Leo's book on this town, which was published in Venice in 1514. Two of them are plans while the other two, though not very beautiful, are executed with such precision that

either Mocetto visited this town or made his etchings after very accurate drawings by someone else.

It should be remembered that a great number of minor artists of this particular period took up the art of engraving, particularly in North Italy. They were frequently influenced by Mantegna, who himself set the example. There were Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, Zoan Andrea, Nicoletto da Modena, Jacopo de' Barbari, Benedetto Montagna and several others, so that Mocetto was only one of the many and by no means an exception. Besides, every one agrees that his technique was antiquated and conservative and showed no signs of the improvements introduced by the German school of engraving.

There are also some drawings which can be attributed to Mocetto⁽¹⁾, as for instance that of Tritons and Nymphs in the Uffizi, which shows a decided connexion with the print of this subject and has even supposed to be the study for some of the figures; an allegorical figure of a woman standing with a skull in her hand in the Gathorne-Hardy collection, London, and a figure of Christ in benediction in the Louvre. The two latter betray a strong influence of Mantegna. A series of Sibyls in the British Museum, catalogued as by an anonymous artist of the Sienese school, has been claimed by Ludwig for Mocetto. On the same sheet there is a series of saints; they are catalogued as school of Montagna but Ludwig believes them to be by Licinio and from this makes out an argument in favour of the collaboration of Mocetto and Licinio⁽²⁾. However, his attribution seems to be unfounded and consequently his theory of a collaboration falls through.

I think we can put more faith in the attribution to Mocetto of a drawing of four angelic musicians and a person playing the lute, his foot on a fallen Corinthian capital, in the Koenigs collection, Haarlem⁽³⁾.

Mocetto, then, was really only a mediocre artist but he was quite active and, as we saw, enjoyed a certain popularity.

The fact that Vasari cites him proves that he must have been fairly well known.

(1) *Baron*, op. cit., p. 50.

(2) *Ludwig*, op. cit., p. 48.

(3) No. 597 of the catalogue of ancient Italian art in Dutch possession, Amsterdam, 1934.

Like many of the minor artists, he was, either out of modesty or lack of imagination, an eclectic, borrowing freely from Mantegna, Giambellino, Cima and Montagna, without however creating any work of outstanding merit.

* *
* *

Concerning Marco Bello⁽¹⁾ we know from documents that he was the son of a Ser Giorgio Belli of Venice, that he married Franceschina, daughter of Domenico Mioni, a painter in Tolmezzo, that he was active in 1511 and that he died in 1523. He quite possibly passed most of his life in Udine where, more than once, his habitation is recorded. His works reveal him as a weak but staunch adherent of Giambellino, whose pupil he calls himself in the signature of the picture at Rovigo.

Cavalcaselle thought that Marco Bello and Marco Marziale were one and the same person while L. Venturi⁽²⁾ makes two personalities out of Marco Bello, thinking that the artist who signed the panel at Rovigo is another Marco than the one whose name is found on a panel in Stuttgart, to which we shall return later. The former signature reads "*Opus Marci Belli discipuli Ioannis Bellini*" (fig. 242).

It is a dull and rather clumsy work in spite of the fact that it is a faithful copy of the Belliniesque picture of the Circumcision, executed probably by Catena in Giambellino's workshop, in the National Gallery (Vol. XVII, fig. 217).

The other picture which is signed, probably also by Marco Bello, a fact confirmed by the style of the painting, shows the Madonna almost in profile with the nude Child in benediction on her knee against a background of a curtain and a small piece of a hilly landscape; it is preserved in the gallery of Stuttgart (fig. 243). The signature *Marcho d. ioa. B. p.* has been interpreted by Gronau, and I think quite rightly, as *Marcho discipulus Joannis Bellini pictor*⁽³⁾. The work is certainly not by Marco Basaiti, the only other follower of Giambellino with this Christian name, to whom it was previously ascribed. The Madonna holds her hand

(1) *Joppi e Bambo*, Contribuiti alla stor. d'arte nel Friuli, IV, 1894, p. 25.

(2) *L. Venturi*, Pitt. venez., p. 408.

(3) v. Vol. XVII, p. 370.



Fig. 242. Marco Bello, Circumcision. Gallery, Rovigo.

Photo Alinari.

outstretched in quite a meaningless manner but this only helps to show in what slavish fashion Bello followed Belliniesque cartoons. This particular composition was a very favourite one and



Fig. 243. Marco Bello, Madonna. Gallery, Stuttgart.

Gal. Photo.

has been frequently repeated by Bellini's immediate followers ⁽¹⁾. The position of the Virgin's hand, however, is only logical when it rests on an adorer's head as it does in the Belliniesque picture, until recently in the Morgan Library, New York (*Gronau*, Bellini, pl. 151); some of the master's followers depict the hand rather awkwardly resting on a book.

The cartoon was again used by an artist, probably Marco Bello, in a picture in which the Virgin's hand is placed on the head of the adoring infant St. John. This painting, which is oblong

⁽¹⁾ *Idem*, p. 368 with bibliography.



Fig. 244. Marco Bello, Madonna and St. John. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

in shape, was for sale in Berlin in 1929; the background is composed of a hilly landscape with castles and a farm, near which a peasant woman herds some geese.

There are several works by Bello in which the child St. John

adores the Virgin, seated with the nude Jesus blessing on her knee and generally with a hilly landscape with buildings, often in part concealed by a curtain, in the background.

One of them is found in the Accademia of Venice (101) (fig. 244); a replica of this picture, with some variations in the landscape and in the type of the rather ugly little St. John, belonged to the Benson collection, London (1).

The composition seems to have been adopted by Catena as we see from his painting in the Stopford Sackville collection (2).

There are still some other works which seem to be certainly from the same hand. As such I shall mention an oblong panel of the Madonna and Child between two saints in the gallery of Bergamo (376).

Then in the Layard collection, Venice, there was a picture (3) representing Augustus kneeling in the presence of a Sibyl and looking towards a vision of the Madonna and Child which appears above a town; trees and hills fill up the background. I believe that this painting might be by Bello, as also one in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (1546), depicting under an open shed the Virgin adoring the Child Who lies in a sort of a basket, near which is seated St. Joseph; to the left the shepherds receive the angelic message, while to the right we see the Magi arriving; above, God the Father in half-length figure, some angels and the two figures of the Annunciation are depicted (4).

* *
* *

Pietro Duia, whose name is written also Dugia or Dija, is recorded for the first time in a Venetian document of 1520 when,

(1) Catal. of the Italian pictures collected by R. and E. Benson, London, privately printed, 1914, No. 78. Catal. of the Exhib. of Early Venetian Paintings, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1912, pl. 38. It was for sale in New York a short time ago.

(2) p. 390. Reprod. by *Collins Baker*, Burlington Magazine, LIII, 1928, p. 93.

(3) I have been unable to discover the actual whereabouts of this work.

(4) *F. M. Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte, V, 1905, p. 68, erroneously attributed to Bello a Madonna and Child with the small St. John in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A., which is catalogued as a work by Francesco da Santacroce. A few mistaken attributions were upheld by *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, Painting in North Italy, ed. Borenius, I, p. 291.

together with Antonio da Treviso, he had to estimate the value of a mosaic by Vincenzo dal Mosaico at Melma.

His name is cited again in 1521 and 1524, while between 1525 and 1528 he acted as witness on three different occasions. In 1525 and in 1529 he is employed on the modest task of decorating election urns. During the same years a painter called Matteo Duia, probably some relation, was active in Venice ⁽¹⁾.

We have one signed work from his hand; it is a Madonna in the Correr Museum, Venice (I, 50) ⁽²⁾. The Virgin, visible to the knees and facing the spectator, holds on her lap the Infant Jesus Whose foot she supports; the background is almost entirely occupied by a curtain, just a strip of sky is visible. The signature, the first word of which is somewhat damaged, is inscribed on a label; it seems to have been *Piero Duia F.* (fig. 245).

The composition appears to be a free copy of a work by Catena, who uses the same cartoon for at least five of his pictures. It is quite possible that the composition goes back to an original by Giambellino; it has been repeated by Bissolo, de Ingannatis and others ⁽³⁾.

In the same museum there are two other pictures which, though unsigned, can easily be recognized as from the same hand. The one repeats the composition of the signed panel but with a landscape background. The other is more elaborate. Here the Madonna, whose features recall the works of Catena, is again depicted in full-face; she places her hand on the head of an adoring lady who appears only in bust length and who forms the pendant to the portrait of her husband. The nude Infant, Who holds a bird, blesses them, while to the sides the rather handsome figures of SS. Francis and Peter are depicted against a skyscape which in the centre is intersected by a curtain (fig. 246).

Other pictures which without any doubt can be attributed to this little master are: the Madonna and Child between St. Peter and a female donor in the Uffizi (904) ⁽⁴⁾; an oblong panel of the

⁽¹⁾ *Ludwig*, op. cit., Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXVI.

⁽²⁾ *Gerevich*, op. cit., p. 188. *Gronau*, Bellini, fig. 190.

⁽³⁾ *Gronau*, op. cit., p. 218.

⁽⁴⁾ *Gronau*, Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXVI, 1905, p. 104: Bissolo.



Fig. 245. Duia, Madonna. Correr Museum, Venice.

Photo Filippi.

Virgin in full-face with the nude agitated Child, Who holds a pear, on her knee between St. Sebastian attached to a tree, St. Roch showing his wound and the small St. John, against a landscape of hills, trees and rocks, in a private collection in Paris; and I think also an oblong panel, which recently was for sale in



Fig. 246. Duia, Madonna, Saints and Adorers. Correr Museum, Venice.

Photo Filippi.

London, and which represents the Madonna, again facing the spectator, holding the nude Child in a strange frog-like attitude on her knee between St. Peter reading and an old saint, bearded and cowled, holding a book; the figures are shown against a landscape in which we see hills, a river, trees and a small flock of sheep.

There is mention of a man's portrait by Duia with the signature on the back, which once upon a time was in the Figdor collection, Vienna ⁽¹⁾, but I have been unable to trace this work.

The art of this mediocre artist who continued the late Bellinesque tendency is hardly worthy of further comments ⁽²⁾.

* * *

Of the minor artists of Venice of this period, Jacopo da Valenza ⁽³⁾ takes quite a special place because he was the faithful follower of a very active artist who did not form a school: Bartolomeo Vivarini. He evidently was not particularly attracted by Giovanni Bellini or any of the other great masters. In all probability he received his education from Bartolomeo Vivarini and though he seems to have passed most of his existence in small provincial centres, providing the inhabitants with monotonous, wooden-looking Madonnas, he always remained faithful to the few cartoons he took from Vivarini's studio.

Even the diligent Ludwig has only been able to provide us with one document concerning this artist; it refers to his presence in Feltre in 1492 ⁽⁴⁾. Other dates regarding his activity are found in his frequently signed and dated pictures, from which we learn that

⁽¹⁾ *Thieme-Becker*, *Künstlerlexikon*, X, p. 101.

⁽²⁾ *L. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XV, 1912, p. 134, ascribes to Duia a Madonna at that time in the collection of Prince Nikolaus Leuchtenberg, Petrograd, which is unknown to me. *Berenson*, *Catal. of the Italian Pictures in the Johnson Coll.*, Philadelphia, thinks it possible that a Madonna holding the nude Child, with a curtain and a view of a castle in the background (183), might be by Duia; I am of the opinion that it is executed more in the manner of Bartolomeo Veneto.

⁽³⁾ *Crico*, *Lettere sulle belle arti trevigiane*, 1833, pp. 244, 271. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, *Painting in North Italy*, ed. Borenius, I, p. 72. *L. Venturi*, *Pitt. venez.*, p. 250. *Fiocco*, in *Thieme-Becker*, *Künstlerlexikon*, XVIII, p. 288.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ludwig*, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

his career lasted from at least 1485 until 1509. The hypothesis that he took his name from the well-known town in Spain, and consequently might be of Spanish origin ⁽¹⁾, has already with good reason been contested by Professor Fiocco, who points out that there are several places of the name of Valenza in Piedmont and in Sicily; as a matter of fact he is more inclined to look for some connexion between this painter and Sicily, because he believes that an artistic link exists between Jacopo and Antonello, as well as between Jacopo and some of the less gifted members of Antonello's family. Lanzi, who calls him "di Valentina", affirms that he was born in Serravalle.

Personally I do not think that Jacopo's works show much resemblance to the art of these Sicilian masters; in fact his bust of Christ blessing, in the gallery of Bergamo, is about as different as it possibly could be from Antonello's pictures of the same subject. Neither in the style nor in the type of the panel at Bergamo do we find any reminiscence of Antonello's beautiful painting in London.

The earliest of these dates — 1485 — was inscribed on a picture of the Madonna in a landscape, which Cavalcaselle describes with great precision. At that time it was in the house of the Pagani family in Belluno. Moschini, in his guide of Venice (II, p. 637), tells us that this picture originates from Serravalle.

In chronological order then follows the bust of the blessing Saviour of 1488, in the gallery of Bergamo ⁽²⁾. It is really rather a terrible image; the figure is heavy, hard and wooden, the features enormous and the eyes staring. The Lord raises one hand in benediction and holds a very long thin cross in the other. The signature reads: *Jacobus de Valencia pinxit hoc opus 1487*.

From the following year dates a Madonna in the Correr Museum (II, 6) signed: *Jacobus de Valencia pinxit hoc opus 1488*; she is depicted standing in half-length figure and is about to give breast to the nude Child seated in front of her; the background of sky is intersected by a curtain, to either side of which two cherubim are represented ⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Tormo y Monsó*, Varios estudios de artes y letras, Madrid, 1902, p. 22.

⁽²⁾ *Frizzoni*, Le gallerie etc. in Bergamo, reprod. p. 45.

⁽³⁾ *Jacobsen*, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XIX, 1896, p. 252. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., p. 73.

The signature warrants the attribution to Jacopo though the work is somewhat superior to the usual standard of this master's productions. It is certainly the production of a faithful though modest pupil of Bartolomeo Vivarini.

Between 1502 and 1509 Jacopo created a certain number of signed and dated altar-pieces, all of the Madonna in the midst of saints, which I need not describe in detail.

The first of them, that of 1502, in which the Madonna nursing the Child is accompanied by four saints, is found in the church of S. Giovanni, Serravalle; the Baptist and the female saint seem to be borrowed from Alvise rather than from Bartolomeo. This is also the case for three of the four saints who are shown with the Madonna in an altar-piece of 1503 in the museum of Berlin (1404) (fig. 247). The holy bishop in this painting is particularly wooden; so too are the lateral saints — Augustine and Justine — in the retable of 1509 in the Accademia of Venice which, so Moschini (II, p. 503) affirms, originates from the Sta. Giustina convent in Serravalle. Here the figure of the enthroned Virgin with clasped hands, adoring the Child Who lies on her knee, is faithfully copied from Bartolomeo Vivarini who shows us this representation of the Madonna in several of his pictures.

An enthroned Madonna with saints, dated 1504 and not 1494 as is sometimes said, is preserved in the parish church of Porcen, near Feltre. Another, between SS. John the Baptist and Blaise with a kneeling adorer and two cherubim above, dated 1508, is found in the cathedral of Ceneda, but it has been considerably restored and repainted. The tendency towards Alvise's manner is particularly noticeable in the two last-mentioned works.

We have as well several signed but undated paintings from the hand of Jacopo da Valenza. They do not deserve more than a brief mention. The most important are: a second altar-piece, also damaged, in the cathedral of Ceneda, in which the Virgin is shown between SS. Sebastian, Antony of Padua and a kneeling prelate, and a picture of the faithful mourning over the dead body of the Lord in the museum of Darmstadt ⁽¹⁾.

A signed half-length figure of the Virgin adoring the Child who lies on a parapet in front of her, which was formerly in the

(1) *H. Thode*, Arch. stor. dell' arte, III, 1890, p. 252.



Fig. 247. Jacopo da Valenza, Madonna and Saints. Museum, Berlin.

Mus. Photo.

Skovgaard collection, Copenhagen, but is now in the museum of Berlin (1403), is not one of his worst productions (fig. 248). A similar picture but more mediocre is found in the gallery of Padua (2295) and another in the gallery of Rovigo.

Two unsigned Madonnas in the Correr Museum are certainly also from his hand. In both the Virgin in half-length figure again



Fig. 248. Jacopo da Valenza, *Madonna adoring the Child*. Museum, Berlin.

Mus. Photo.

adores the Child lying in front of her; a curtain and a landscape seen through windows form the background, while in one two



Fig. 249. Jacopo da Valenza, Holy Family. Sta. Maria della Salute, Venice.

Photo Alinari.

cherubim are placed above. On a panel in the sacristy of Sta. Maria della Salute — the only painting we know by Jacopo which might actually have been made for the city of Venice — we see the same composition shown from the side, while a rather awe-inspiring St. Joseph stands behind (fig. 249).

The gallery of Vicenza possesses a picture of the Virgin nursing the Child, Who lies on cushions on her lap, while an old bearded



Fig. 250. Jacopo da Valenza, *Madonna*. Gallery, Budapest. Photo Bard.

saint, with a cowl, and St. Francis stand to the sides. (No. 36, attributed to Montagna). Quite a pleasing example of Jacopo's brush was preserved in the gallery of Sigmaringen but I have seen it since on the art market in Munich. Here the Virgin in half-

length figure holds the nude Child standing in front of her while SS. Peter and George, with a cherub hovering over each of them, stand to the sides (1).

A Madonna in half-length figure, in a private collection in Milan, and a panel of the Virgin on a richly decorated throne under a niche, adoring the Child Who lies on a cushion on her knee; which was for sale in New York some years ago, are very Vivariniesque in both composition and inspiration.

The museum of Bonn (104, 105) has on loan from the museum of Berlin (III, 136, 1590) a picture of the Madonna (2) and a large panel of the Nativity, both by Jacopo da Valenza (3).

As I said before, I do not think that Jacopo took any part in the altar-piece in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (1143), a work which was started in the studio of Antonio, whose manner can be recognized more or less in the Pietà in the centre above, and finished in all probability by Alvise (4).

There is a group of four pictures of the Madonna which, in as far as the figures are concerned, resemble one another, though there are minor variations in the dress and the ornaments. The Virgin, slightly turned to the left, clasps her hands in adoration before the Child Who, naked, lies on an oriental rug, His head on a cushion on a low parapet in front of her; the little Jesus touches

(1) *Harck*, Arch. stor. dell'arte, VI, 1893, reprod. p. 389.

(2) *Thode*, idem, II, 1889, p. 304.

(3) Two other works attributed to Jacopo da Valenza by Professor Fiocco of Padua, who was good enough to communicate his opinion to me are: an important Resurrection with very ugly soldiers around the tomb from which Christ arises, showing Mantegnesque elements in the features and in the rocky background, in the gallery of Verona, and an Ecce Homo in a private collection in Venice. Crowe and Cavalcaselle mention a half-length figure of the Madonna in the Frizzoni-Salis collection, Bergamo, from the Frizzoni collection, Bellagio; a Madonna in the E. P. Warren collection, Lewes; and a signed Madonna with the nude Child, Who holds a rose, standing in front of her, and a donor, belonging to the priest Antonio Ronchi at San Fior di Sopra. Berenson ascribes to Jacopo also a Crucifixion in the storeroom of the Ältère Pinakothek, Munich; a Madonna with St. John the Baptist in the Accademia Albertina, Turin (134); and a head of the Christ carrying the Cross in the gallery of Budapest (Pálffy bequest) (32).

(4) v. Vol. XVII, p. 44 and p. 452 of this volume. Mr Berenson attributes the entire work to Jacopo.

the hand of His Mother. One example, that in the gallery of Budapest (94), has an elaborate landscape background (fig. 250); two of the others, one in the Lanckoronski collection, Vienna, the other a short time ago for sale in Florence, have gold backgrounds, while the fourth is found in the art collection of Klosterneuburg (1).

These pictures are regularly attributed to Jacopo da Valenza but not only are they finer and more pleasing than any of his signed works but also the inspiration is no longer that of Vivarini. The rounder forms, the sweetness of expression and the attempt to create a regular and rather sedate beauty remind us, though somewhat vaguely, more of Cima da Conegliano. Consequently, there are in these works hardly sufficient elements to justify the attribution to Jacopo, though it is not improbable that they are from his hand because the example at Budapest, which is less pleasing than the others, shows a link with Jacopo's authentic productions; moreover, two of his signed paintings reveal that he affected very different manners.

In the gallery of Bergamo there is a head of a youth executed in the manner of Giambellino, to whose school, in fact, it is attributed in the new catalogue (173) notwithstanding the signature: *Jacobus De . . .* which is inscribed in contemporary writing on the back (fig. 251). Though certainly inspired by Bellini's small portraits and more particularly by that from the Holford collection, now in the National Gallery, there is a certain coarseness in the execution which points to another master, so that, taking the fragmentary signature into consideration, it might just be admitted that Jacopo da Valenza, in a happy moment and very Bellinesque mood, painted this rather charming portrait (2).

Then again, in a private collection in Vienna there was a mediocre signed picture of the Madonna shown in half-length figure with the ugly Child, Whose head is enormous, standing in benediction in front of her, while a small adorer kneels to the left.

(1) Mentioned by *von Terey*, *Gemälde Galerie in Budapest etc.*, p. 88.

(2) Reprod. as a work of Jacopo da Valenza but this attribution is questioned by *Frizzoni*, *op. cit.*, p. 153. It is ascribed to him unconditionally by *Fiocco* and *Berenson*. At one time it was attributed to *Holbein!*



Fig. 251. Jacopo da Valenza(?), Portrait. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Ist. Ital. d'Arti grafiche, Bergamo.

This work reminds us of Boccaccio Boccaccino or some such artist with a Lombard touch.

In the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston there is a picture of St. Jerome meditating over a skull in an animated landscape, with fantastic rocks and scenes from his history in the background

which, I do not know for what reason, is given to our artist; as I said before it reminds us rather of the art of Carpaccio.

It was perhaps on account of his inconstancy that Lanzi believed Jacopo to be a follower of Squarcione and Moschini thought he was a pupil of Bellini, while Berenson describes him as a slavish follower and assistant of Alvise Vivarini. For the portrait in Bergamo we certainly have to admit the influence of Bellini while his connexion with Alvise and Cima has been observed on several occasions.

Before all, however, Jacopo da Valenza was a mediocre adherent of Bartolomeo Vivarini and he thoroughly deserves, because of this mediocrity as well as on account of his hard and vulgar colouring, the merciless criticism which has been addressed to him by all those who have dealt with his art.

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* *

Finally we might briefly consider here Vincenzo dalle Deste or da Treviso, concerning whom we have some documentary evidence (1). His father was a blacksmith in Treviso, and Vincenzo is mentioned for the first time in 1488 in Verona. In 1492, 1501 and 1503 he is active in his native town where, in the last of these years, he executes an altar-piece for the church of S. Michele; the value of the work was estimated by Pennacchi and Lotto. But in 1495 he worked in the Sala del Gran Consiglio, earning at the rate of thirty-six ducats a year (2).

Between 1505 and 1537 he seems to have been constantly active in Venice, where he was employed by the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista (1505) and the Scuola di Sta. Maria della Misericordia (1527) and where, in 1530, he becomes a member of the

(1) *Ludwig*, Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXVI, 1905, p. 37. *G. Bernardini*, Rassegna d'Arte, X, 1910, p. 142; March 1912, p. III. *G. Gronau*, Vincenzo Catena o V. d. D., Idem, XI, 1911, p. 95. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., ed. Borenius, I, p. 254. *Von Hadeln*, Thieme-Becker, Künstlerlexikon, IX, p. 155.

(2) Vincenzo worked there at the same time as such great masters as Giambellino and Alvise, though minor artists were also employed on the work. From his salary one would say that he was fairly highly esteemed; Giambellino and Alvise received 60 ducats a year, Bissolo 24 while some others, including perhaps Duia, got only five. *Ludwig*, op. cit., p. 24 and *Gaye*, Carteggio inedito d'artisti, II, p. 71.



Fig. 252. Vincenzo dalle Deste da Treviso, *Circumcision*. Gallery, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

corporation of painters. In 1537 he sells some land in Treviso; he died before 1543. He certainly should not be identified with Vincenzo Catena as is sometimes done.

His immediate dependence on Giovanni Bellini is very evident



Fig. 253. Vincenzo dalle Destre da Treviso, Madonna and Saints. Gallery, Treviso. Photo Alinari.

from two signed copies of the master's lost, but frequently repeated, composition of the Circumcision. The one in the Correr Museum is signed: *Vincentius de Travixis discipulus Joannis Bellini*, while in the harder and more incisive example in the gallery of Padua the artist has left only his name *Vincentius De Travixio* (fig. 252).

A picture of St. Erasmus between SS. Sebastian and John the Baptist which until lately was in the church of S. Leonardo, Treviso, but is now in the town gallery, is that which he executed in 1503 for S. Michele⁽¹⁾. This painting, which is in poor condition, also betrays some connexion with Giambellino but naturally with his more evolved manner.

To Vincenzo is also attributed a panel of the Madonna with the Child, depicted on a seat curiously placed on a high pedestal, between SS. James and Liberale; this work has been loaned by the gallery of Venice to that of Treviso (fig. 253)⁽²⁾.

I think Vincenzo should in all probability be held responsible for an oblong panel of the school of Bellini representing the Madonna and Child between four saints, all in half-length figure, in the gallery of Esztergom (159)⁽³⁾.

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If I have not included in this either Bissolo or Pennacchi it is because the former, who lived until 1554, leads us too far into the 16th century and because the latter is the principal figure of the local group of painters of Treviso, with which I wish to deal separately in another volume.

(1) *G. Biscari*, Per la storia delle belle arti in Treviso, Treviso, 1911.

(2) *Coletti*, Bollettino d'Arte del Minist. dell'Ed. Naz., VI², 1927, p. 471.

(3) The Madonna — a copy from Giambellino — between SS. John the Baptist and Peter, once in the Giovanelli collection, which *Gronau*, loc. cit., attributes with a question-mark to Vincenzo, is, I think, by Rocco Marconi v. Vol. XVII, p. 374.

CHAPTER VII

DIFFERENT VENETIAN PAINTERS INFLUENCED BY FOREIGN SCHOOLS. JACOPO DE' BARBARI, ANTONIO DA SOLARIO, MARCO MARZIALE.

Jacopo de' Barbari ⁽¹⁾, whose family name was Walch, and who,

⁽¹⁾ A complete (almost too complete) bibliography up to 1908 is found in *P. Kristeller*, Thieme-Becker, Künstlerlexikon. The following I think will prove sufficient: *P. Bautier*, J. d. B. et Marguérite d'Autriche, La Revue d'Art, Antwerp, 1924. *B. Berenson*, Lorenzo Lotto, London, 1901, p. 26. *T. Borenius*, Four early Italian Engravers, London, 1923, p. 55. *A. E. Canditto*, J. d. B. et A. Dürer (with appendix by A. H. François), Brussels, 1881. *Ch. Ephrussi*, Notes biographiques sur J. d. B., Paris, 1886; reprint from Gazette des Beaux Arts, XIII, 1876, p. 529. *E. Galichon*, Ecole de Venise, J. d. B. dit le Maître au Caducée, Paris, 1874; reprint from Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1st serie, XI, 1861, pp. 311, 445. *The Same*, Quelques notes nouvelles sur J. d. B., Idem, second period, VIII, 1873, p. 223. *G. Gronau*, Per la storia di un quadro attribuito a J. d. B., Rassegna d'Arte, V, 1905, p. 28. *E. Harzen*, J. d. B. der Meister mit den Schlangenstaben, Naumann's Archiv. f. Zeichn. Kunste, I, 1855, p. 210. *Hendcke*, Dürer's Beziehungen zu J. d. B., Pollaiuolo u. Bellini, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XIX, 1898, p. 161. *A. de Hevesy*, J. d. B., le Maître au Caducée, Paris-Brussels, 1925. *The Same*, Two unknown Drawings by J. d. B., Burlington Magazine, XLV, 1924, p. 143. *The Same*, The Drawings of J. d. B., Idem, XLIV, 1924, p. 76. *The Same*, An important Picture by J. d. B., Idem, XLIV, 1924, p. 299. *A. M. Hind*, op. cit., p. 442. *E. Jacobsen*, Se il gran prospetto di Venezia sia da attribuirsi a J. d. B., Archiv. stor. dell' arte, N.S., I, 1895, p. 106. *Justi*, J. d. B. u. Alb. Dürer, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XXI, 1898, pp. 346, 439. *P. Kern*, Friedrich der Weise u. J. d. B., Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XLVI, 1925, p. 130. *P. K. (risteller)*, in Thieme-Becker, Künstlerlexikon, II, 1908, p. 461. *P. Kristeller*, Das Werk des J. d. B., Internationale Chalcographische Gesellschaft, Berlin, 1896. *G. Morelli*, Italian Painters: the Galleries of Munich and Dresden, London, 1893, p. 194 (or Italian Masters in German Galleries, London, 1883, p. 141). *O. Mündler*, B., Zeitschr. f. Bild. Kunst, IV, 1870. *E. Panofsky*, Dürer's Darstellungen des Apollo und ihr Verhältniss zu B., Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XLI, 1920. *Pauli*, Warburg Vorträge, 1921-22, p. 57. *C. Ricci*, Iconografia storica, Il ritratto di Luca Pacioli

on account of the caduceus with which he signed many of his prints, has been given the surname of "le maître au caducée" by several French critics, is a very hybrid member of the Venetian school.

That he is not the same person as the Venetian miniaturist Jacometto, as was once supposed, but that, on the other hand, he should be identified with Jacob Walch are now recognized facts and we need not enter into the controversy. However, both the exotic name of his family and the more commonly used one of de' Barbari point to a foreign origin. Later on, when active in Wittenberg, he is mentioned in documents as "Jacob der Weylische (or Wellische) Maler" (painter) which may only mean "foreigner", as indeed does the denomination "de' Barbari" in Italian, and perhaps the latter was but a translation of the former.

Germans of the name of Walch are met with in Venice in the second half of the 15th century; one of them, a Georg Walch, was active as a printer between 1479 and 1482 and used the word "Almanus" after his name.

An indication regarding the date of his birth is found in a document in which it is recorded that in 1511 Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands, grants him a pension on account of his old age and infirmity. He was probably over sixty and more likely nearer seventy and this would give us the year of his birth as somewhere around 1440 ⁽¹⁾.

Against the arguments in favour of his foreign origin, which are provided by his different names as well as the character of most of his works, there are several facts which point to Venice as the place of his birth. In the first place Dürer, in speaking of this artist, calls him "Jacobus a native of Venice"; on some other occasions also he is called Venetian and even in 1511, at the time

etc., *Rassegna d'Arte*, III, 1903, p. 75. *A. Springer*, Meister Walch, *Zeitschr. f. Bild. Kunst*, XII, 1877, pp. 1, 38. *A. Venturi*, Il piu antico quadro di J. d. B., *L'Arte*, VI, 1903, p. 95. *H. Wölfflin*, *Der Kunst A. Dürer's*, Munich, 1905, p. 313.

⁽¹⁾ For the documents concerning J. d. B. v. *Jahrb. der Kunsthist. Samml. der Allerh. Kaiserh.*, III, 1885, Nos. 2284, 2397, 2550, 2880. *Le Glay*, *Correspondance de l'empereur Maximilien I et de Marguérite d'Autriche*, I, Paris, 1839, p. 96. *De Hevesy*, *J. d. B.*, p. 35.

he worked for Margaret of Austria, he still continues to write in Italian.

Morelli supposes that Jacopo went to Nuremberg prior to 1494, the year Dürer visited Venice, but this author's theory does not convince us. Nor do I think that our painter is the Jacopo Barbaria, a musician whom the Emperor Maximilian in 1490 sent on an errand to Budapest, where he greatly pleased Beatrice of Aragon.

In 1494 or 1495 he met Dürer in Venice, as is proved by a letter written eleven years later by the German artist to Pirkheimer.

Between 1497 and 1500 he must still have been in Venice, because he very probably collaborated with the German Kolb in the execution of the gigantic woodcut map of Venice.

In 1500 the Emperor Maximilian appoints him for the duration of one year the "contrafeter und illuminist", at Nuremberg, a function which can be understood as portrait painter and miniaturist to the court, though we have no reason to believe that he was ever active in the latter branch of art. It is quite possible that he never returned to Venice, in spite of the fact that the wording of Michiel's reference to some of his works infers the contrary.

He may have been recommended by Dürer, though perhaps he did not satisfy the monarch, because in 1503 we find him employed by the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony, with whom he still is in 1505 and for whom he worked at Torgau, Wittenberg, Naumburg and Weimar. In 1504 he and Kolb, with whom he must have collaborated again, finally get their accounts settled by the emperor. He seems to have passed from one German court to another. In 1507 he was active for the Duke of Mecklenburg while the following year he was employed by the duke's father-in-law, the Markgrave Joachim of Brandenburg.

Some evidence of both these periods of activity has come to light. It comprises two signed portraits dated 1507 and 1508 respectively, one of Henry of Mecklenburg, the other of Albrecht of Brandenburg. An inventory of 1685 of the objects in the castle of Heidelberg mentions the former of these, together with a now lost portrait of Ursula, his wife, the daughter of the Markgrave Joachim. Jacopo seems to have been very much in vogue among the German rulers but, as M. de Hevesy states, his task was apparently somewhat beyond his talent.

Soon after this he was employed, together with Mabuse, by Philip the Bastard of Burgundy, son of Philip the Good, in the decoration of the castle of Suytburg, between Middelburg and Flushing. The author Gerard of Nimwegen or Noviomagus even calls him the "Zeuxis and the Apelles of our time".

Probably Jacopo never returned to Germany, and it is still less likely to Italy, because in 1511 he is working for Margaret, the daughter of Philip of Burgundy. On account of the caduceus in the hand of Mercury in an illustration of poems of Jean Le Maire, who during a certain period was attached to Margaret's court, it has been conjectured that the painter became the lover of the princess who at this moment was a widow for the second time. However, considering that in 1511 this lady grants him a pension of a hundred livres a year because of his infirmity and old age, this romantic hypothesis loses all semblance of truth. In the same year a gift of money, in order that he may have a fine costume, only shows the kindness of the princess towards the declining artist, for whom in 1511 also the treasury on two occasions pays a doctor's bill as well as the expenses of drawing up his will, while money is lent to him to pay the rent of his lodgings in Malines.

It was probably sometime during this year that Henry of Nassau wrote from Brussels, where Jacopo at that moment must have been living, to the archduchess, telling her that the aged artist was somewhat improved in health and wanted to undertake some work to help pass the time and since his utensils and colours are in a certain little room in her palace in Malines he requests that the key of this room be sent to him.

In 1516 he is dead, because an inventory of that year mentions him as "feu maître Jacopo de Barbary".

There can be no doubt that Jacopo de' Barbari changed his manner frequently and with great facility. We only know something of his different manners after 1500. He left Venice probably at the age of about sixty and I do not think that the portraits of Luca Pacioli and of another man, of 1495 in the gallery of Naples, could possibly be by him (1).

(1) *Ricci*, op. cit., has already pointed out why there is no reason that the painting signed *Jaco. Bar. Vigenis* should be by our painter. *A. Venturi*, op. cit., called it Jacopo's earliest picture. *Gronau*, op. cit., thinks that this

In examining the works by Jacopo de' Barbari we find that some of them are more decidedly Italian in appearance than others and consequently were certainly painted while he was still living in Venice. Yet it cannot be denied that in the style and morphological types of all his productions there is something un-Italian; this is very likely due to the master's foreign origin even though his artistic training was received in Italy.

The most Italian of all the pictures attributed to Jacopo de' Barbari is a panel in the Ca d' Oro, Venice, representing in half-length figures the Lord, the Virgin and St. John; it is believed to depict Christ's Farewell (1).

Mr. Berenson, however, is of quite a different opinion regarding this painting which he believes to be by Pseudo-Boccaccino who, he thinks, can be identified with Agostino da Lodi. I see no reason why it should be supposed that Jacopo painted in this particular manner in his early years and if by him and executed at an early stage it ought to have been made towards 1470 or very soon after, instead of which it can hardly be prior to the last years of the 15th century.

A thoroughly Italian-looking picture, in which, however, the style and the human types confirm the uncontested attribution to Jacopo, is the Madonna and saints in the museum of Berlin (26a); the Virgin seated on the ground holds the nude Child standing and lays her outstretched hand on the head of an adoring noble lady, of whom only the bust is visible (fig. 254). Near this group we see SS. Barbara and John the Baptist, who touches his chest with his right hand as if indicating something concerning himself, and lays his left hand protectingly on the shoulders of the donor. A fine mountainous landscape forms the background.

The richly dressed donor has been identified as Catherine Cor-

picture is, in all likelihood, the same as one cited in an ancient inventory in the Guardaroba of the palace of Urbino; in this inventory it is said that the man near Pacioli is the Duke Guidobaldo but there is no trace of resemblance between this figure and the well-known portraits of Guidobaldo.

(1) *C. Gamba*, *Bollettino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1916, p. 328. *Fogolari, Nebbia, Moschini*, *La R. Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca d'Oro, Venice*, 1929, p. 134. *Hevesy*, *J. d. B.*, p. 47.



Fig. 254. Jacopo de' Barbari, Madonna, Saints and Adorer. Museum, Berlin. Mus. Photo.

naro, Queen of Cyprus, but if we compare this profile with the portraits Gentile Bellini has left of her in the picture at Budapest and in the canvas of the Miracle of the Cross in the Accademia, Venice, I think it is far from certain that it is the same person. The lady here belongs to that particular type of fat fair woman who abounds in pictures of the Venetian school.

The severity of the linear effects of the drapery reminds us to



Fig. 255. Jacopo de' Barbari, Madonna and Saints. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Arch. phot. d'art et d'hist.

a certain degree of Mantegna, though this hardly allows us to classify the picture as a production of his school. The adoring lady is, as I said, typically Venetian but the Virgin as well as the St. Barbara have something foreign in their appearance, while the St. John the Baptist, with his long slit eyes, oriental type and pathetic attitude, is altogether strange.

Another work by Jacopo de' Barbari, in which the Italian elements are equally evident, formed part of the Galichon collection but is now in the Louvre (1136A) (fig. 255).

The Virgin, kneeling, rather than sitting, on the ground, holds the nude Child upright on her lap between St. John the Baptist and Antony Abbot against a landscape background with trees and a distant view between the hills. On a label, on which some lines of Ovid are inscribed, we see the caduceus which serves as signature, separating the letters J. A. from F. F., the meaning of which is not clear.

The features of the Madonna, with her long oval, but by no means thin, face, high forehead, rather bulging eyes and fair hair, are much more German than Italian. This type of figure, with which a marked prominence of the hands is sometimes combined, is very characteristic of Jacopo de' Barbari and we find other examples in the saints in Dresden, especially the St. Catherine, in the young woman embraced by an old man, dating from 1503, in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, as well as in several drawings and prints. Although it cannot be said that this type shows a striking similarity to Dürer's figures there is all the same a certain resemblance to the female figures of the latter's early works and the question arises which of these two artists inspired the other. We gather from Dürer's own words that he borrowed elements from Jacopo and it must have been during his first stay in Venice, that is to say in 1495. However, it would indeed be strange if the artist from Nuremberg had to come to Venice to find this more or less German type of figure. Again, though it is true that this Venetian painter was probably of foreign origin in spite of it he seems to have been almost completely incorporated in the Italian school.

It has been supposed that Jacopo visited Nuremberg prior to Dürer's sojourn in Venice but this is very problematic and does not seem even probable.

The earliest dated picture we have by Jacopo de' Barbari is of the year 1500 and represents the English King Oswald who has been recognized on account of the presence of a raven. This picture was discovered in a castle in the Carpathian mountains (1).

(1) *Hevesy*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine, XLIV, p. 299. *The Same*, J. d. B., pl. 13.



Fig. 256. Jacopo de' Barbari, the aged Lover. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia. Photo Courtesy of the Johnson coll.

It was no doubt painted for the Emperor Maximilian because King Oswald was one of his ancestors who died in the odour of sanctity; he figures also in a series of drawings of Maximilian's holy forbears which the emperor ordered from Burgkmair ⁽¹⁾.

The caduceus and the date are seen in the upper part of the picture. We have here then a work executed by Jacopo just after

⁽¹⁾ *Hevesy*, loc. cit.

he had been engaged by the German monarch and when he could not have been more than a few months in the country; yet the portrait is considerably more German in appearance than the two pictures with which we have already dealt. In fact, it can be said that the German elements predominate and point obviously to the influence of Dürer. This brings us back to the theories regarding the connexion between the two painters prior to Jacopo's call to Nuremberg, and it appears pretty certain that when Dürer was in Venice, in 1495, an exchange of influences must have taken place between them.

From 1503 dates the picture of the love of an old man for a young woman, in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, formerly in the Weber collection, Hamburg (fig. 256) ⁽¹⁾. Under the signature, *Ja. D. Barbari MDIII*, we see the caduceus. If anything, this work shows less resemblance to Dürer's art than the portrait of the English king.

The subject, the senile love of the old for the young, has been treated very frequently by German and Flemish artist, and Lucas Cranach had a special liking for it though examples of an earlier date than that of Jacopo are very rare ⁽²⁾.

There are some other works which show us those particular types reminiscent of Dürer's art.

They are the half-length figures of SS. Catherine and Barbara in the gallery of Dresden (58, 59) (fig. 257); and a bust of Christ in benediction in the same collection (57) (fig. 258). These paintings belonged to Lucas Cranach the Younger ⁽³⁾ who, in 1553, made a woodcut of the latter with an inscription informing us that the painting had been executed by Jacopo de' Barbari fifty years ago ⁽⁴⁾; consequently we can date this work from about 1503. It

⁽¹⁾ *Harck*, Arch. stor. dell'arte, IV, 1891, p. 86. *Schaefer*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1912, p. 73. *Berenson*, Catal. of the Ital. Pictures of the Johnson Collection, No. 167.

⁽²⁾ *R. van Marle*, Iconographie de l'art profane au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance, II, The Hague, 1932, p. 476.

⁽³⁾ (*K. W. Jähnig*), Die Staatl. Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden; I, Der Romanische Länder, Dresden-Berlin (1929), pp. 27, 28.

⁽⁴⁾ *Passavant*, op. cit., IV, p. 25. *Cust*, Jahrb. d. Preus. Kunstsamml., XIII, 1892, p. 142. *M. Geisberg*, Der Deutsche Einblatt Holzschnitt: Bildercatalog, Munich, 1930, No. 651.



Fig. 257. Jacopo de' Barbari, St. Catherine. Gallery, Dresden.
Gal. Photo.



Fig. 258. Jacopo de' Barbari, Christ. Gallery, Dresden. Gal. Photo.

proves to us that up to that time Jacopo continued to follow this semi-Düreresque manner.

Then from the following year dates the rather unexpected representation of still-life in the Ältere Pinakothek, Munich (5066), formerly in the galleries of Augsburg and Schleisheim, and originating from Neuburg on the Danube (plate). It depicts,



STILL-LIFE

By Jacopo de' Barbari, in the Ältere Pinakothek, Munich.

Gallery Photo.

hanging on a wall, a dead partridge, two gauntlets and a metal bar. On a folded piece of paper in the right lower corner we read the signature *Jac. de Barbary P. 1504*. The study of this painting leads us to believe that Jacopo had mistaken his career and that his real vocation was that of a still-life painter, because of all his productions it is the only one which strikes us as a first-class work of art. This painting is of such a refined technique and of such perfect execution that judging from it alone we should get the impression that Jacopo was a really great master. Also the sober colouring and the subtle light effects are far superior to those of any of his other works. The minuteness and general spirit of the painting is of course thoroughly Northern — perhaps more Flemish than German. Still-life in the strict sense of the word was at this time rather exceptional but in the choice of the subject of this picture, as well as that of the foregoing work, Jacopo reveals himself as much more akin to the spirit of Northern art than to that of his town of origin, and from now on we have to consider him as belonging more and more to the German school.

I think it is about this time that Dürer's influence begins to be replaced by that of another German master, namely Lucas Cranach. There is nothing very surprising in this because the two painters were active in the same years and in the same town for the monarch of Saxony. No doubt they were in close touch with one another and Cranach, who was by far the stronger artistic personality, left more impression on Jacopo than vice versa. Very probably the fact that the younger Lucas Cranach owned three panels by Jacopo de' Barbari — those now in the gallery of Dresden — can be accounted for by the friendship which existed between his father and the Venetian painter. I dare say that his contact with Cranach caused the change which can be observed in his representations of Christ; two very similar examples exist, one, signed *J. A. D. B.* and with the caduceus, in the museum of Weimar, formerly in the Praun collection, Nuremberg, the other, in which the effects are slightly stronger, in the Goldschmidt collection, at one time in Brussels but afterwards in Castle Erla, near St. Valentin in Austria ⁽¹⁾; the latter work originally was in

(1) From the Lippmann, Miethke and Przibram collections.



Fig. 259. Jacopo de' Barbari, Portrait of Henry of Mecklenberg. Private Collection, Amsterdam.



Fig. 260. Jacopo de' Barbari, Portrait of Albrecht of Brandenburg.
Private Collection.

Bavaria ⁽¹⁾. The problem is rather complicated because on the one hand these figures of the Saviour are more Italian in character than the one of 1503 in Dresden, yet on the other hand they resemble very much more, and even strikingly, the type which Lucas Cra-

⁽¹⁾ *J. G. Sighart, Gesch. der Bil. Künste in Bayern, Munich, 1862.*

nach affected ⁽¹⁾. Then again among Dürer's earlier works there is a picture of Christ which might have served as prototype to both Jacopo and Cranach ⁽²⁾. Still, the panel in Dresden is very different and much more Düreresque in style.

These two panels of the Saviour are probably of a slightly earlier period than the two dated portraits of German princes, the one of 1507 of Duke Heinrich of Mecklenburg, formerly in the E. Heldring collection, Amsterdam (fig. 259) ⁽³⁾, the other of 1508 of Albrecht von Brandenburg, which a few years ago was for sale in Berlin (fig. 260). As already stated, the former of these two paintings is mentioned in an inventory of 1685 of the castle of Heidelberg. The portrait of Albrecht, who was a relation, was no doubt executed at the same time. Both works are signed with the name and emblem of the painter.

In these portraits we can discover practically nothing which betrays the Italian origin of the master. There is perhaps something not quite German in the suave treatment of the faces but the detailed rendering of the costumes with all the minutiae of the rich material, the clasps and the ornaments, as well as the general setting of the figures and even the inscription in the upper corner, point to German examples and in particular to those of Cranach ⁽⁴⁾.

One of his most German looking pictures is that supposed to represent Galatea in the gallery of Dresden, executed no doubt during his stay in Saxony, since it figures already in the Dresden inventory of 1754. It depicts a nude female figure in profile standing on a dolphin which swims in the sea (fig. 261).

The subject might also be interpreted as the Venus Marina, or again Fortuna, though the latter is generally shown standing on a

⁽¹⁾ v. Cranach's picture of Christ blessing in the von Miller collection, Munich. *M. J. Friedländer u. J. Rosenberg*, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, Berlin, 1932, fig. 47. See also figs. 71, 110, 113.

⁽²⁾ Once in the Felix and F. Murray collections. *V. Scherer*, *Dürer (Klassiker der Kunst)*, 1904, fig. 17. *H. Tietze u. E. Tietze-Conrat*, *Der Junge Dürer*, Augsburg, 1928, fig. 244. Cranach's picture in the von Miller collection is particularly resembling.

⁽³⁾ *A. E. Bye*, *A portrait of Henry the Peaceful of Mecklenburg*, *Art in America*, XVIII, 1930, p. 221.

⁽⁴⁾ Compare for example Cranach's portrait of Dr Christoph Scheurl: *Friedländer u. Rosenberg*, op. cit., fig. 22, and other portraits reproduced in the same volume, figs. 49, 51, 55, 57, etc.

globe floating in water (1). Among the prints of Dürer there are two which represent Fortuna more or less in the same way, while there are several other German as well as Italian examples of this subject. Those of German origin offer us a greater resemblance with Jacopo's panel, which is not fine but which shows us a thoroughly German conception of the female nude.

Some years ago I saw in a private collection in New York (2) a portrait of a young woman in half-length figure and in three-quarter left profile, with the head slightly inclined and the low-necked dress of a decidedly German style, a work which was strongly in-



Fig. 261. Jacopo de' Barbari, Galatea. Gallery, Dresden. Gal. Photo.

(1) *Van Marle*, *Icon. profane*, II, p. 178.

(2) Attrib. to Perugino at the sale of the Haupt coll., New York, Nov. 1935.

spired by Cranach but which was no doubt executed by Jacopo de' Barbari. I think he should be held responsible also for rather a strange Madonna who, crowned and seated on a bench, is about to nurse the nude Child Who sits on a cushion on her knee. This is found in a private collection in Amsterdam (1). The landscape background, intersected in the centre by a curtain, is more Flemish than German and from this we can conjecture that it was executed in the very last years of his life when he lived in Flanders and collaborated at Suytburg with Mabuse, to whom he no doubt owes this Flemish element. Quite Flemish too is the taste for detail we observe in the foreground, where he depicts an open book, a string of pearls and flowers, some of which are arranged in a vase. A little bird is perched on the bench near the Madonna who, like the Child, reminds us rather of Cranach's types (2); also the large fat hands, a detail which was particularly evident in Jacopo's portrait of 1508, must have been borrowed from this master.

I know of no other pictures which might be attributed to Jacopo de' Barbari (3). Of his lost works we have record of the

(1) No. 15 of the catalogue of the exhibition of ancient Italian art in Dutch possession, Amsterdam, 1934. Previously in the Chillingworth collection, Lucerne.

(2) See for example *Friedländer u. Rosenberg*, op. cit., fig. 48.

(3) Besides the picture of Pacioli in Naples, I think the following works are wrongly ascribed to Jacopo de' Barbari: portraits of a man in the Heugel coll., Paris, Cook coll., Richmond and a private coll. in England (*Hevesy*, op. cit., pls. 37, 38, 39); the last mentioned which is by Gossart de Mabuse, is now in the Rosenfeld coll., New York (*M. J. Friedländer*, *Die Altneiderländische Malerei*, XIII, Berlin, 1930, No. 52); a half-figure of a man against a curtain and landscape background, with a nude couple embracing, standing in architecture on the back, in the gallery of Berlin (1664); the portrait is more German in style while the nude figures show an Italian influence; this work has also been ascribed to Bartolomeo Veneto but Mr Berenson, who suggests Barbari with a question-mark, has contested this attribution; a portrait of a woman at one time in the Quedeville coll., Paris; the painted frieze on the tomb of Melchior Trevisani in the Frari church, Venice, and the figures of warriors on that of Agostino Onigo in S. Niccolo, Treviso (*Morelli*, op. cit., p. 198 et seq.); the latter is now recognized as a work by Lotto; a falcon, once in the Layard coll., now in the National Gallery, London, which is attributed to Barbari by *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XV, 1912, p. 453, is by Gryeff; and a half-figure of Christ in the gallery of Verona, No. 805. *Hevesy*, op. cit., cites among the wrong attributions to Barbari a St. Andrew in the Fetis

portrait of Ursula of Brandenburg, wife of Heinrich of Mecklenburg, which, as I said before, is cited in an inventory of 1685; of a portrait of the architect Hans Behaim, which Neudorfer mentions as having existed in Nuremberg in 1547; while Michiel in 1521 saw in the house of Cardinal Grimano in Venice works of "Barberino Venetiano who went to Germany and Burgundy and after having taken to that manner (the local manner there), executed many things as for instance . . ." (. . . e presa quella maniera fece molte cose, zoe . . .). Unfortunately the phrase is unfinished; it seems obvious, however, that according to Michiel, Jacopo returned to Venice and worked there after he had been to Germany and Burgundy. There can be no doubt that the mention of the latter country is a misinterpretation of the painter's activity for Philip of Burgundy and this inaccuracy prevents us from placing too much faith in the rest of the information.

Finally there are several lost pictures by Barbari cited in an inventory of the Archduchess Margaret's palace in Malines. They include a portrait of the princess herself "fort exquis"; a picture of a man with a deer's head and a cross-bowman (arbalestrier) also "exquis"; a crucifix (or Crucifixion) with two skulls and a horse's head; a St. Antony painted on canvas; and the head of a Portugese (chief d'un Portugalois) in grisaille (fait sans couleur). Besides, the archduchess owned twenty-three copper-plates for engravings, most of them representing "divers mistères par Jacques de Barbaris, peintre exquis".

We obtain further knowledge of the art of Jacopo de' Barbari from the study of his drawings and prints.

There are only three drawings which with certainty can be ascribed to him ⁽¹⁾. Those of a seated figure and a reclining nymph in the Uffizi (1476, 1477) have been correctly classified as copies from drawings or engravings by Barbari; that representing Scylla, Orpheus and Eurydice in the collection of the late Mr. Oppenheimer, London, has been recognized as a work of Peter Vischer the coll., Brussels; a Mercury in the gallery of Stockholm; a portrait by Lotto in the gallery of Vienna; and the man's portrait by Jacopo da Valenza in Bergamo, v. fig. 251 (*Morelli*, op. cit., p. 201. *Berenson*, Lotto, p. 28). Morelli mentions some other works which he believes to be by Barbari.

(1) *Hevesy*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine, XLIV, p. 76. *The Same*, J. d. B., p. 41, with the bibliography.



Fig. 262. Jacopo de' Barbari, Cleopatra, Drawing. British Museum.

Mus. Photo.

Younger, while three other drawings are productions of imitators of Mantegna and show only a vague connexion with Barbari's art; They are: a Triton carrying away a Nereid, in the Print Room of Dresden; a St. Sebastian in the Uffizi; and a marine god with a nymph in Christ Church, Oxford. Two drawings of the head of a man in the Habich collection, Kassel, have also been attributed, without sufficient reason, to Jacopo ⁽¹⁾.

Of the three drawings which can be ascribed to Jacopo's own

(1) *Frizzoni*, *L'Arte*, XI, 1908, p. 403. *Berenson*, *Lotto*, p. 32.

hand, one, representing Cleopatra, nude with closed eyes, seated in front of some rocks, in the British Museum (fig. 262), seems to correspond to the manner the artist employed some time prior to his leaving Venice and is perhaps contemporary with the picture in Berlin. The artist has used this sketch for an engraving, naturally in the inverse sense, in which the figures correspond perfectly but in which considerable changes have been made in the background. According to Herr Kristeller, however, this print is executed in the master's late technique, after he came in contact with the Flemish artists; this leads us to suppose that many years elapsed between the execution of the drawing and the making of the plate.

The second sketch, preserved in the Louvre, shows us four nude figures of rather classical appearance: a man seen almost from behind and a woman with a palm leaf are depicted standing while a winged female figure bends over an elderly man who, curled up, lies on the ground. The figures of this sketch are much nearer to the pure Italian Renaissance than any of his other works and it is not without a certain reserve that I accept the attribution to Jacopo.

Then in Christ Church College there is a chalk drawing of the Triumph of Chastity; it is of a rather confused composition and very Mantegnesque, or at least Paduan, in style. This sketch, noticeably in the heads, shows a marked resemblance to Barbari's authentic works and might well be from his hand, though again prior to his departure from Venice.

There are twenty-eight engravings on which Jacopo de' Barbari has left his name and his emblem, the caduceus ⁽¹⁾. A print of St. Sebastian is generally accepted as his, though there is much controversy regarding that of the bust of a woman with her head turned and inclined, and I hardly think that we have conclusive reasons to believe that the last mentioned engraving is from his hand.

As for the others, we can divide them into five groups according to their style. This classification is not necessarily chronological

⁽¹⁾ *Bartish*, op. cit., VII, p. 516. *Passavant*, III, p. 134. *Delaborde*, op. cit., p. 134. *Kristeller*, op. cit. *The Same*, Kupferst. u. Holzschn., p. 194. *Hind*, loc. cit. *Borenius*, loc. cit. *Bock*, op. cit., p. 308. *Pittaluga*, op. cit., p. 111. *Calabi*, op. cit., p. 9.



Fig. 263. Jacopo de' Barbari, Sacrifice to Priapus, Print.

Photo Brit. Mus.

because in the work of engravers, who were also active as painters, we often notice a return to forms and styles long since abandoned in their pictures.

I think the earliest group is that which reveals a particularly



Fig. 264. Jacopo de' Barbari, Mars and Venus, Print.

Photo Brit. Mus.

classical inspiration. Two engravings represent the Sacrifice to Priapus (fig. 263), one a satyr drinking from a wine skin, one a Centaur pursued by a dragon and one Pegasus, while a somewhat smoother drawing and more graceful forms characterize those depicting Mars and Venus — which on account of the technique Kristeller considers to be a late work — and Apollo loosing an arrow, with Diana seen from behind. The figure of the young god in this print has been followed by Hans Vischer in the bronze fountain in Nuremberg, for which there exists a drawing at Weimar ⁽¹⁾.

The origin of this figure, however, can perhaps be traced to Dürer's drawing of Adam and Eve ⁽²⁾. Dürer's acknowledgement that he owes his knowledge of classical subjects to Barbari's examples (fig. 264) leads us to suppose that these are early productions because, according to his own words, Dürer learned much from Barbari when he was in Venice in 1495. These works reveal to us that Jacopo was not only acquainted with Mantegna's prints but often inspired by them. This is very manifest in the print representing a nude old woman riding on a Triton accompanied by a sea monster with a horse's head, in which several elements have been taken from Mantegna's incision of the battle of marine gods. Also the print of a guardian angel placing his hand on an old man asleep seems rather Mantegnesque.

Types corresponding to those of Jacopo's early pictures in Berlin and Paris are met with in his prints representing Judith, St. Catherine, the Holy Family, in which some of the figures recall the painting in the Louvre (fig. 265), in that of the Adoration of Magi, which in composition reminds us of the oft repeated Circumcision of Giambellino's school (fig. 266), and also in an engraving of the Holy Family with St. Elizabeth. Before his departure for Germany in 1500 Jacopo took part in the execution of the large woodcut of a plan of Venice, in which the figure of Neptune riding on a dolphin is of a classical character with a great display of anatomy ⁽³⁾.

Very near to the pictures which he executed soon after he went to Germany, as for instance that of 1503 in the Johnson collection, are, I think, the prints of a reclining Victory (fig. 267), the Madonna

⁽¹⁾ *Hevesy*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine, XLV, p. 143.

⁽²⁾ *Wölfflin*, op. cit., p. 315.

⁽³⁾ *Jacobsen*, op. cit.



Fig. 265. Jacopo de' Barbari, the Madonna and other Figures, Print.

Photo Brit. Mus.

and Child and Venus (or Vanity), while that of the Holy Trinity with St. Paul is, on account of the appearance of St. Paul, already more German in style.

Another group reveals his connexion with Dürer. An engraving of Triton and a Nereid resembles the German artist's print of marine monsters of about 1504, while the two nude figures of Victory and Fame should be compared with Dürer's four naked



Fig. 266. Jacopo de' Barbari, Adoration of the Child. Print.

Photo Brit. Mus.

women of 1497 and other of his female nudes. Again, compare Jacopo's woman and child with distaff with Dürer's Turkish family which, however, must have been executed long before (about 1495). There is as well an obvious link between the satyr playing the fiddle as he looks at his wife, who nurses her child, and the Ger-



Fig. 267. Jacopo de' Barbari, Victory, Print.

Photo Brit. Mus.

man's satyr family of 1505 and, once more, between Jacopo's engraving of St. Sebastian and Dürer's example of about 1497. Jacopo must have known both these German prints.

Finally, we observe in some of Barbari's engravings his affinity with Cranach. This is particularly evident in the upright figure of the Redeemer which seems to have been taken from the Christ in Cranach's small triptych of 1508 of the Resurrection, in the gallery of Kassel ⁽¹⁾. Reminiscent of the same artist are Jacopo's types in his engraving of two old men reading and the male nudes in his woodcuts of the combat between men and satyrs and of the triumph of the former over the latter.

It has often been observed that the technique of the engravings Jacopo executed in Germany reveal the influence of Schon-gauer ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Friedländer u. Rosenberg*, op. cit., fig. 17.

⁽²⁾ In the Print Room of the British Museum there is a small niello engraving (Ital. vol. III, 1845-8-25; 129-201 P. 735), showing in three tondi a skull, a woman in three-quarter length figure and the profile of a man, which seems to belong to the school of Barbari.

Jacopo de' Barbari was not a great artist; a weak individuality combined with a considerable amount of skill was the cause of his frequent and radical changes of manner.

He was, however, highly appreciated, as we gather not only from the description of his works in the inventory of the belongings of the Archduchess Margaret, but even more from Albrecht Dürer's attitude towards him. In Dürer's frequently quoted letter of 1506 to Pirckheimer, the German artist acknowledges that he learned much from Barbari when he went to Venice eleven years prior to this date, but that he does not think so much of him any more and, in fact, cannot understand how he could ever have formed such a high opinion of him. However — says Dürer — the painter Kolb still thought that Jacopo was the greatest master in the world. As has been suggested, it is not impossible that the passage in the letter of 1506 was prompted by the false shame Dürer felt because he owed so much to a minor artist. But again in 1523 he is very outspoken regarding all he learnt from Barbari because in the preface of his treatise on proportion, which was published at this time, he frankly states that he did not know anything about proportion before Barbari taught him this science and moreover that it is to this artist that he owes his knowledge of classical representations. Very significant too is Dürer's request to the Archduchess of Austria that Barbari's sketchbook be given to him; but his demand met with a refusal because the princess had already promised to give the album to van Orley.

If Dürer, as it seems, owes much to Barbari, the latter may have picked up many hints about engraving from Dürer though, on account of the widespread dissemination of German prints in Italy, it is not always easy to find out how certain technical details reached the country. It does not appear probable that in most cases of similarity of composition it was Dürer who followed Jacopo; in fact the contrary seems to be the more likely and this is true, notwithstanding Dürer's own words, even in cases of pagan subjects. However, it is not always clear which of these artists influenced the other, though, as Professor Wölfflin observes, Barbari's examples could no longer have had much effect on Dürer's full-blown art.

Jacopo had a certain following in Germany. Hans Kulmbach is generally supposed to be his most faithful adherent. His soft, but

sometimes weak though fascinating design and his clear moist colouring are, however, met with in the work of several other German painters. He certainly had an influence on Hans Vischer and perhaps also on Peter, while a document speaks of a pupil whose name is not given but who, on the order of Frederick of Saxony, was to receive instruction from Jacopo (1).

The question of the origin of Barbari's first manner is not easily solved. Morelli thought that in his youth he was influenced by Giambellino and even more by Antonello while Mr. Berenson who, in his book on Lotto, deals at length with this problem, believed at that time that Alvise Vivarini was Jacopo's chief master though he admitted a certain connexion with Lotto; he still thinks that Alvise should be held partly responsible but now is of the opinion that Antonello may have had a considerable influence on him. Since the definite removal of the frescoes of warriors at Treviso from Barbari's output and the assignment of them to Lorenzo Lotto, I think the theory of the former's dependence on Alvise has lost its chief argument.

In my opinion the two paintings which in all likelihood were executed during Jacopo's Italian period and the prints which in style correspond to these pictures show more than anything else a similarity to Mantegna's art, though they contain as well many foreign elements and even at this early stage we can detect some connexion with Germany. That this connexion should be accounted for by Jacopo de' Barbari's German origin, to which also his name points, rather than by a possible sojourn in Nuremberg prior to Durer's visit to Venice, is, I think, the more feasible hypothesis. Still, even if the latter theory proves to be correct, the one does not exclude the other.

We know of one picture by Niccolo de' Barbari who must have been a relation — M. de Hevesy thinks a brother — of Jacopo (2). His signature, *Nicholaus de barbaris* accompanied by the trident

(1) *Hevesy*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine, XLV, p. 143.

(2) *Hevesy*, A Picture by Niccolo de' Barbari, Burlington Magazine, XLVIII, 1926, p. 206. This picture is described also by *Geiger*, Jahrb. d. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXXIII, 1912, p. 139; by *Meyer*, Allgemein. Künstlerlexikon, II, p. 716 and by *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, Painting in N. Italy, ed. Borenius, I, p. 233, who believe that a panel of SS. Jerome, Catherine and another saint in the museum of Padua is by the same artist.

of Neptune is found on a label in a picture of the woman taken in adultery, which, until a short time ago, was in the Mocenigo Palace in Venice.

I do not find that this painting, as has been observed, shows a marked knowledge of the art of Dürer, who returned to Venice in 1506, where he painted the Christ among the Doctors which not long ago was sold from the Barberini Gallery, Rome. Niccolo's picture is a production of an Italo-German hybrid manner and though it reveals a knowledge of Dürer's types the artist evidently knew nothing of this master's technique. We have no further data concerning this feeble and none too pleasing painter.

* *

We owe our knowledge of the artistic individuality of Antonio da Solario, surnamed lo Zingaro (the Gipsy) — and it was by this name he was called by ancient authors — to the researches of the last twenty years ⁽¹⁾. The name of the painter is cited as early as 1623 by D'Engenio who, in his "Napoli Sacra" (p. 322) tells us

(1) *B. Berenson*, The Authorship of a Madonna by S., Burlington Magazine, II, 1903, p. 114. *The Same*, Venetian Painting in America, 1916, p. 45. *B. Croce*, A. d. S. autore degli affreschi nell' atrio di S. Severino, Napoli Nobilissima, VI, 1897, p. 122. *S. D'Aloe*, Le pitture dello Z. nel chiostro di S. Severino a Napoli, Naples, 1846. *B. De Dominicis*, Vita de' pittori etc. napolitani, I, Naples, 1742, pp. 118-141. *N. F. Faraglia*, I dipinti a fresco nell'Atrio del Platano di S. Severino, Napoli Nobilissima, V, 1896, pp. 49, 135, 167; VI, 1897, pp. 56, 103. *R. Fry*, A Picture by S., Burlington Magazine, I, 1903, p. 353. *The Same*, On a Painting by A. da S., Burlington Magazine, VII, 1905, p. 75. *C. Grigioni*, A.S. detto lo Z. nelle Marche, Arte e Storia, XXV, 1906, p. 177. *N. Laviani*, Cenni sulla vita di A. S. detto lo Z., Naples, 1842. *A. Modigliani*, A. S. Veneto detto lo Z., Bollettino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., I, 1907, fasc. 12, p. 1. *Moschini*, Memorie della vita di A. S. detto lo Z., pittore veneziano, Venice, 1828. *F. Nicolini*, Pietro Summonte etc. e l'arte napolitana nel Rinascimento, Napoli Nobilissima, N. S., III, 1922, p. 161. *W. Rolfs*, Geschichte des Malerei Neapels, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 123-147. *A. Salmi*, Le origine di Bernardino Luini, Bollettino d'Arte del Minist. dell' Ed. Naz., XXV, 1931, p. 251. *H. W. Schulz*, Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien, III, Dresden, 1860, pp. 182-188, 207-221. *P. I. Sebastiano*, Sulla vera patria di A. S. detto lo Z., Rivista Abruzzese, XXI, 1906, p. 639. *L. Serra*, Nota sugli affreschi dell' ex-convento dei SS. Severino e Sossio a Napoli, L'Arte, IX, 1906, p. 206. For some other references to Antonio Solario v. *Ceci*, Saggio di una bibliogr. per la stor. delle arti fig. nell' Ital. Merid., Bari, 1911, index p. 313.

that the frescoes in the cloister of SS. Severino e Sosio in Naples — now State Archives — are by “Antonio Solario singular pittor veneziano, detto il Zingaro” (1). Also Capaccio in his “Forestiére” (Naples, 1634, pp. 857, 864) and della Valle in his “Lettere Sanese” (1786, III, p. 46) knew about him. Art critics, however, remained somewhat sceptical about D’Engenio’s affirmation regarding these mural paintings until the personality of Solario acquired more body by the discovery of a Madonna signed by him in the gallery of the Dukes of Leuchtenberg; this work is now in the National Gallery. Then followed the signed pictures in the gallery of Naples and in the Ambrosiana Library, Milan, while finally some documents, providing us with proof of his activity in The Marches, were brought to light.

We know very little about Antonio’s life. He was undoubtedly of Venetian origin and we need not take into consideration the affirmation of De Dominici, the well known falsifier of the history of art in Naples, that he was born in 1382 at Cività Abruzze (2), nor the supposition that his birth place was Ripateatina in the Abruzzi (3). Rolfs (4), in assuming without reason that Lo Zingaro executed the picture of the review of the Aragonese fleet after the battle near Ischia in 1464, a picture which is now in the S. Martino Museum, Naples, supposes that the painter was then already in Naples but as a matter of fact he was perhaps not even born at this date.

That there exists some connexion with the Lombard master Andrea da Solario is, I think, probable because we notice, especially in his later works, an undeniable resemblance to the art of his more gifted Milanese homonym. With regard to the dates which can be associated with his name, we have those of the documents of Osimo and those on some of his paintings which testify to his activity between 1502 and 1511, but his career no doubt started several years prior to the former date.

(1) D’Engenio’s information is repeated by *di Pietro*, Hist. nap., 1634 and by *Celano*, Notizie del bello della città di Napoli, Naples, 1692.

(2) De Dominici may have copied this early date from Massimo Stanzioni who died in 1656 but who left a manuscript entitled “Vite e memorie delli famosi pittori e scultori napolitani”. *Schulz*, op. cit., p. 207 note 2. *Lanzi*, op. cit., repeats De Dominici’s fable in an abbreviated form.

(3) *Sebastiano*, op. cit.

(4) *Rolfs*, Arch. Stor. Napol., XXXIII, 1908, p. 736.



Fig. 268. Antonio da Solario, Legend of St. Benedict. SS. Severino e Sosio, Naples. Photo Brogi.

The earliest document concerning him, which dates from 1502 ⁽¹⁾, calls him "magister Antonius Joannis Pieri de Solariis de Venetiis habitator Firmi (Fermo in The Marches); we learn that he is entrusted by Giacomo Crivelli to finish a polyptych which

⁽¹⁾ *Grigioni*, op. cit. *A. Anselmi*, Di due quadri marchigiani depositati nelle chiese di Lombardia e attribuiti a Perugino, *Arte e Storia*, XII, 1893, p. 186. *Modigliani*, op. cit.



Fig. 269. Antonio da Solario, St. Benedict received in Offida. SS. Severino e Sosio, Naples. Photo Brogi.

had been begun by Vittorio Crivelli for the church of S. Francesco in Osimo, and left unfinished at his death. As Solario was to receive three-quarters — 150 ducats — of the sum for which Vittorio had contracted, he must have painted the greater part of it. The altar-piece in question has completely disappeared but Antonio executed another one for the same church.

It adorned in all probability the high altar until 1646 when it

was acquired by the Leopardi family, in whose chapel we still find it to-day. The document in which this work is cited dates from the 4th January 1503; a record of three years later tells us that Giuliano da Fano made at this time the predella for the retable, while another of 1504 speaks of an altar-piece which Solario painted for the church of S. Francesco at Serra Sanquirico in the same region; it too has disappeared.

The attribution to Antonio of the panels dated 1511 in the Doria Gallery implies that he was active till at least this year and there is even question of his having worked at Montecassino in 1518 though this is very doubtful ⁽¹⁾.

Certainly of a considerably earlier date than his pictures in The Marches are, as a comparison of the styles proves, the frescoes in the SS. Severino e Sosio cloister which, indeed, might quite well be the first work we have by Solario. They are twenty in number but some of them are in rather a poor state of preservation and have suffered from restoration ⁽²⁾. Not all of them are from the same hand ⁽³⁾ though one artist, who must have been Solario, was obviously the leading spirit of the enterprise. These frescoes have been described by several writers ⁽⁴⁾ and I shall limit myself to a few remarks about their style (figs. 268—271).

The most striking feature in this series of paintings is the oft-recurring and unusually spacious composition, with wide and distant landscape backgrounds and a largeness of conception, such as we but rarely meet with in contemporary painting of any other Italian, or for that matter foreign, school. While we notice this tendency in those scenes which illustrate the early events from the history of the saint, such as his journey from Norcia to Rome, which is painted in monochrome, and his life as a hermit, we find that later the artist develops an interest in architecture not in any way inferior to that he had in landscape. Of course the

⁽¹⁾ *Serra*, op. cit., p. 206.

⁽²⁾ They were repainted in the 17th century, in the middle of the 18th and in 1869.

⁽³⁾ *Serra*, op. cit., is of opinion that five entire frescoes and parts of two others are by the Sicilian painter Quarteraro.

⁽⁴⁾ V. the above cited works of *D' Aloe*, *Faraglia*, *Croce*, *Serra* and *Rolfs*. This important series of wall paintings is also mentioned or described by some of the ancient historians of art such for example as *d' Agincourt* and *Lanzi*.



Fig. 270. Antonio da Solario, St. Benedict conducted to Rome. SS. Severino e Sosio, Naples. Photo Brogi.

nature of the narrative necessitates the different settings but we are rather at a loss to explain the origin of these two tendencies.

The character of the landscapes is certainly Umbrian and more after Pintoricchio's taste than Perugino's; and this type of landscape background was adopted by several schools of painting in Central Italy and Emilia. Yet in the works of the two leading Umbrian masters we never find a similar development of the landscapes which, in Solario's case, seem so natural. Antonio



Fig. 271. Antonio da Solario, Miracle of Crivello. SS. Severino e Sosio, Naples. Photo Brogi.

da Viterbo, in the frescoes he left in the town of his birth, tends to show wider horizons than the real Umbrian masters, but these extensive landscapes with distant views are really of Tuscan origin and can be traced back to Ambrogio Lorenzetti's wall paintings in the town hall of Siena. Later we find them in the works of Masolino, Piero della Francesca and Baldovinetti and very marked in those of Benozzo Gozzoli, more especially in his frescoes in Pisa. Once our attention is called to the similarity



MADONNA AND ADORER

By Antonio da Solario, in the Gallery of Naples.

Photo Anderson.

which exists between the landscapes of Solario and Gozzoli, we discover that this is not the only point of contact. In the works of Benozzo Gozzoli we notice many instances in which the architecture, with buildings shown from an angle and with an interesting development of perspective, is shown in a manner very similar to that of Lo Zingaro. We find in the productions of both masters a pronounced taste for open loggias, for friezes in relief of a somewhat classical style and for the studies of architecture in general. Then again, in Solario's arrangement of figures in the foreground there is more resemblance to Gozzoli's compositions at Pisa than to the large canvases of Gentile Bellini in Venice and we might even find a certain analogy between Benozzo's celebrated cavalcade in the Riccardi Palace and the more modest procession which illustrates St. Benedict's journey.

On the other hand the type of the figures, their construction, the technique of the heads and faces and the light effects are typically Venetian and so too is the taste for animating the distant parts of the background with small but minutely executed figures, with which we so frequently meet in the works of Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio.

In the less fine frescoes of the Neapolitan series the figures are often lacking in life and form and the features are sometimes coarse. Consequently, we come to the conclusion that the frescoes of the "Atrio del Platano", as the cloister is poetically called, offer us an intermingling of Umbrian, Florentine and Venetian elements.

The presence in the gallery of Naples of a signed picture of the Madonna in half-length figure holding the nude Child, Who blesses an adoring donor, does not provide us with proof that the picture was executed during the artist's stay in the city because the painting was bought in England in 1906 (plate). However, through the window which forms part of the background — the other part is occupied by a curtain hung on a rod — we see a landscape of a decidedly Umbrian character and this leads us to believe that the panel dates from about the same period as the wall paintings, though the strong reminiscences of Giambellino's art that we notice in the Madonna point to a somewhat earlier phase. In type and attitude the donor shows considerable connexion with Flemish portraits of the 15th century.

There can be no doubt that this work, in which the signature *Antonius De Solarius. V. P.* is inscribed on a little label, is several years earlier than the large altar-piece dated 1502 in the church of S. Francesco at Osimo. Here the composition, which is over-elaborate, is placed under the vault of a church, the arch of which frames the view of a landscape. In the centre the Madonna is depicted actually seated on the altar under a heavy baldaquin, above which some angels hold a dais. To either side we see five saints and one kneeling figure while two angelic musicians sit on the steps (fig. 272). On the label, which originally must have shown the signature of Solario, that of Perugino has been roughly imitated. The execution is unrefined and the features and drapery are heavy and without beauty; moreover the state of preservation is far from good.

Somewhat similar, though smoother and more Cinquecentesque in manner, is the large altar-piece in the Carmine church, Fermo (fig. 273). Again the Virgin's throne occupies the place of the altar; she is accompanied by four saints. The group is depicted in the apse of a church, the saints to the extreme right and left concealing the corner pillars, thus giving the composition much in common with Giovanni Bellini's retable of 1505 in S. Zaccaria. The lamp hanging from the vault is also a detail we find in both paintings. The different Bellinesque features caused Mr. Berenson at one time to ascribe the work to Rondinelli. Now, however, he agrees with the attribution to Solario but he assigns the painting, I know not on what authority, to the date 1502. I think it can hardly be believed that this altar-piece is prior to that of 1505 by Giambellino.

Nearer in style to the picture at Osimo are: an oblong panel of the Virgin in knee-length figure seated with the Child on her knee between SS. Peter and Francis against an Umbrian-looking landscape, intersected by a curtain loosely hung on a rod, in the Civic Museum, Milan (¹), and a Madonna in the Oratory of the Sma. Trinità at Macerata. Here she is depicted standing, her hands outstretched towards the faithful who kneel under her

(¹) *G. Frizzoni*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, VII, 1907, p. 50. This attribution, which I think is quite correct, has been contested by *Modigliani*, *op. cit.*, p. 19.



Fig. 272. Antonio da Solario, Madonna and Saints. S. Francesco,
Osimo. Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.



Fig. 273. Antonio da Solario, *Madonna and Saints*, 1505. Carmine Church, Fermo. Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.



Fig. 274. Antonio da Solario, Head of St. John the Baptist. Ambrosiana Library, Milan. Photo Anderson.

mantle which is held open by two angels. SS. Philip, Andrew, Sebastian and Roch stand at the sides. The figures, which are again represented under a vault, are of a fairly Venetian type but remind us more of Alvise Vivarini than of Giambellino. The features of the Madonna seem to have been copied from an example by Lorenzo d' Alessandro of Sanseverino, unless we believe

with Mr Berenson that Lorenzo himself painted this part of the picture (1).

The knowledge of Alvisè's art is evident also in a bust-length portrait of a lady, seen almost facing, richly attired and with a pearl-stitched square décolleté, a work which is privately owned in Amsterdam (2).

The panel of the head of St. John the Baptist lying on an ornamented salver, which was acquired in 1906 by the Ambrosiana Library, Milan, and before that was in the Humphrey Ward collection, is signed on the lower border: *Antonius De Solarius Venetus P. Anno Domini MDVIII* (fig. 274) (3). This gruesome representation is beautifully painted and the subject, as well as the technique, shows a close connexion with the Lombard school, more especially with the works of Antonio's Milanese homonym Andrea who, the previous year, 1507, painted a very similar work which is now in the Louvre. These coincidences confirm our supposition that some relationship must have existed between the two painters.

About the same year, or perhaps slightly later, Antonio executed several pictures in this minute and refined Lombard technique. A fine specimen of this manner is a half-length figure of the Madonna, standing in full-face, holding the nude Child on the upper of the two steps in front of her, between the naked infant St. John who, wearing a small wreath on his head, points to the cross he carries, and St. Joseph, who has the appearance of a pilgrim, in prayer. There are several still-life features, as for instance the candle-stick, an apple and a bird pecking at an ear of corn, while certain features recall the art of Boltraffio (fig. 275). This picture, which was formerly in the Odescalchi collection, Rome, and the J. Spiridon collection, Paris, is now in a private collection in Amsterdam.

After the discovery of the picture of the Madonna now in the

(1) *Berenson*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, XIII, 1913, p. 59, reproduced the picture, hesitating in his attribution of it between Antonio da Saliba and Solario. Reprod. in *L. Serra*, *L'Arte nelle Marche: Rinascimento*, Rome, 1934, fig. 532. V. Vol. XV, p. 567 note. *L. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XVIII, 1915, p. 205.

(2) No. 345 of the catalogue of the exhibition of ancient Italian art in Dutch possession, Amsterdam, 1934.

(3) *Fry*, *op. cit.*, *Burlington Magazine*, VII, 1905. *Cagnola*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, VII, 1907, p. 17.



Fig. 275. Antonio da Solario, Madonna, St. Joseph and infant St. John.
Ex-Spiridon Collection, Paris.

National Gallery (2503), the first attempts to reconstruct the artistic figure of Antonio da Solario were made ⁽¹⁾. At that time it was for sale in London; it can be traced to the Leuchtenberg Gallery in Munich ⁽²⁾; afterwards it formed part of the Salting

⁽¹⁾ *Fry*, op. cit., *Burlington Magazine*, 1903. *Croce*, op. cit.

⁽²⁾ *I. N. Muxel*, *Gemälde Sammlung in München*, S. K. H. Herzog von Leuchtenberg, Munich (1841), No. 29bis; on p. 41 he repeats part of De



Fig. 276. Antonio da Solario, *Madonna, Child and St. John*. National Gallery, London. Photo Nat. Gal.

collection, London, and in 1910 was bequeathed with the rest of the collection to the National Gallery (fig. 276) ⁽¹⁾.

This work, in which the Virgin in knee-length figure stands Dominici's fantastic biography of Solario, obviously, however, after Lanzi's version.

⁽¹⁾ It never formed part of the Johnson collection, Philadelphia as is stated by *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1905, p. 134.



Fig. 277. Antonio da Solario, Salome with the head of St. John the Baptist. Doria Gallery, Rome. Photo Alinari.

with the nude Child, Who holds a bird on a string, in front of her with the infant St. John grasping a dead dragon-fly to the left, against a more or less Umbrian landscape visible through a window, is a fine and charming picture and certainly seems to be a production of the Lombard school. In all probability Antonio took his chief inspiration from Andrea da Solario but there are as well some elements which point, one would say, to a knowledge of the late works of the artists of the previous generation, as for instance Foppa or Zenale or Buttinone.



Fig. 278. Antonio da Solario. Lady playing the Viol. Doria Gallery, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

With the attribution of two panels in the Doria Gallery, Rome, one representing the half-length figure of Salome with the head of the Baptist on a salver, and the other a lady playing the viol, which is dated 1511, we leave what might be called certainty for the realm of reasonable probability (figs. 277, 278). The rich ornamentation in the former picture is very similar to that which we found in previous works, but the human types and the more minute technique are different from those of Antonio's authentic productions. Mr. Berenson, to whom we owe this attribution,

thought at one time that they were from the hand of Michele da Verona but he now supposes that Antonio, prior to executing them, made a sojourn in Verona.

An oblong painting in the Walters collection, Baltimore (502), furnishes us with a link between these two half-length figures and the more characteristic works of Antonio. Here the Madonna is depicted in half-length figure looking at a little bird in the hand of the Infant Jesus, Who is seated on a painted box on a table; the child St. John touches His leg while St. Joseph (?), looking like a pilgrim, and a female saint stand at the sides.

Part of the background is again occupied by a rather Umbrian looking landscape ⁽¹⁾.

(1) Reprod. in *Berenson*, Venetian Painting in America, fig. 23; he dates it from towards 1513. I feel a little doubtful about the following attributions made by Mr Berenson: **Berlin**, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Simon coll., No. 13, half-figure of the Madonna holding the foot of the almost naked Child Who places His other foot on a book, through the windows a landscape is visible; it is perhaps quite a late work. **Budapest**, Gallery, No. 92, Volto Santo, Christ in pontifical attire nailed to the Cross, His foot resting on a chalice, against a beautiful landscape background (*von Terey*, op. cit., p. 190); it has been ascribed to Michele da Verona, the Veronese school, Carotto and, previously by Berenson, to Bugiardini with a question-mark; it may have been executed by Antonio towards 1511.

Of the works which, I think, are wrongly given to Antonio I shall cite those attributions by Mr Berenson for the picture of St. Martin and the beggar in the gallery of Naples (v. Vol. XV, p. 386) and the SS. Catherine of Alexandria and Ursula in the National Gallery (646, 647), which is a production of the school of Carpaccio. Nor am I of the opinion that Antonio should be held responsible for the following: **Fermo**, Sta. Caterina, frescoes of SS. Augustine, Thomas of Canterbury and Peter the Martyr (or is it St. Ubaldus of Gubbio?; *Grigioni*, *Rass. bibl. dell' arte ital.*, 1908, p. 137). **Cingoli**, S. Esuperanzio, Madonna and two saints (*L. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XVIII, 1915, p. 204. *Serra*, op. cit., p. 415; Agabiti). **Recanati**, Beato Placidio, Madonna del Soccorso, who exorcizes the devil from a possessed child (*Serra*, *L'Arte nelle Marche: Rinascimento*, p. 204). **Paris**, Thompson coll., cassone panel with an episode from the story of Nastagio degli Onesti (*A. Colasanti*, *Emporium*, March 1904. *P. Schubring*, *Cassoni*, p. 315; Florentine circa 1490. *Serra*, op. cit.: Cremonese school).

We need not dwell on De Dominici's attribution to Solario of the altarpiece by the Bolognese Antonio da Rimpacta, then at Aram, now in the gallery of Naples. *Schulz*, op. cit., I, p. 315, affirms that some pictures in the cloister of the Riformati at Pontenza were either by him or by his pupils. The same author tells us (II, p. 169) that a Madonna and two other panels in the Confraternità al S. Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples

Antonio da Solario was a really eclectic master and, apparently without any preference, he borrowed from anyone who had anything to offer. We have documentary evidence of his Venetian origin and he certainly owes something to Bellini and to Alvise Vivarini; then we find some trace of a possible Umbrian influence and of that of Benozzo Gozzoli; he borrowed also from the Milanese artist Andrea da Solario, from the older Lombard painters and perhaps also from those of Verona. Antonio accepted much but offered little and for this reason Signor Salmi's theory that Luini, at the outset of his career, took some Venetian elements from him, is unlikely (1). We do not even know whether Antonio remained any length of time in Milan.

* *
*

Marco Marziale was another Venetian painter whose evolution clearly reveals to us that he did not remain faithful to the artistic instruction he received in his native town (2).

We meet him for the first time in 1495, when he is an independent but poorly paid artist (he receives 24 ducats a year), working with his great and small contemporaries in the Sala del Gran Consiglio in Venice (3). The following year he figures as a member of the Scuola Grande. At about this time or slightly later he signs a painting of the Madonna with two saints and an adorer in the S. Donato Museum of Zara; the signature is accompanied by

which passed under the name of Lo Zingaro were rather Sienese, of Simone's tradition, while (p. 206) a Madonna with St. Francis, other saints and angels in the church of S. Francesco at Nola was a production of his school. In the Touring Club Guide, Italia Meridionale, I, p. 255, a picture of the Circumcision in the parish church of Fara S. Martino, to the south of Guardiagrele, is attributed to Lo Zingaro and (p. 482) a "fine picture" in the parish church of Montorio nei Frentani, near Larmo, to the south of Termoli, likewise bears his name; both these works, which are unknown to me, are in the Abruzzi. Antonio da Solario's hypothetical activity as a miniaturist seems to be based on fiction v. *Schulz*, op. cit., p. 178.

(1) *Salmi*, op. cit.

(2) *O. Eisenmann*, *Zeitschr. f. Bild. Kunst.*, IX, 1874, p. 29. *B. Geiger*, *M. M. und der sogenannte Nordische Einfluss in seinen Bildern.*, Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXXIII, 1912, pp. 1, 122. *Ludwig*, *Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml.*, XXVI, 1905, Beiheft, p. 34. *Thieme-Becker*, XXIV, p. 191, (particularly short and incomplete).

(3) *Gaye*, loc. cit.



Fig. 279. Marco Marziale, Portrait. Gallery, Mainz.

Gal. Photo.

the statement that he was a pupil of Gentile Bellini. From 1499 dates the picture of the Circumcision from the Conservatorio delle Penitenti in S. Giobbe, now in the Civic Museum, Venice, while the Circumcision from S. Silvestro, Cremona, now in the

National Gallery, dates from the following year. In 1505, on account of his constant absence from Venice, his name is erased from the ledger of the Scuola di S. Marco, consequently it can be assumed that his other dated productions were executed outside his native town. He must have lived in Cremona from 1500 till 1507 since, as we know, several of the works he painted in this period originate from that town. A Madonna with a donor in the gallery of Bergamo dates from 1504; two pictures of the Meal at Emmaus, one in the Academy of Venice, the other in the museum of Berlin, are of 1506 and 1507 respectively. The large altar-piece from the church of S. Gallo, Cremona, now in the National Gallery, was also executed in 1507.

We have no data concerning this painter after 1507. There is record, however, of a Pietro Marziale in Venice in 1513 and again in 1530; there was a picture of the Madonna and saints by him in the church of S. Apollinare, Ferrara, but it is now lost.

The earliest dated production by Marziale, the little oblong panel of the Madonna between St. Peter with an adorer and a female martyr, which is preserved in the museum of S. Donato in Zara, shows the signature "*Marcho Marcial Dissipulo de Zent. Bellin fecit hoc opus die prim Mensis Marcii MCCCCLXXXV...*"⁽¹⁾ This painting is in poor condition but it could never have been very fine, and this supposition is confirmed by our general impression of Marziale's productions. De Nicola's opinion that, in spite of the artist's declaration that he was a pupil of Gentile, there is more evidence of Giambellino's influence, has been contested, but I should say that the influence is not sufficiently marked for us to say from which of the two brothers it comes; moreover around the year 1500 their styles were rather alike.

From about the same moment dates a bust-length portrait of a youth with a bonnet, against a landscape background, in the gallery of Mainz (216); an inscription on the back of the picture reads: *MCCCCLXXXVI(?) Die primo mensis Augusti M.M.F.* (fig. 279)⁽²⁾. It is not a very fine work but it reveals a certain knowledge of the art of Giovanni Bellini.

⁽¹⁾ G. De Nicola, *L'Arte*, XI, 1908, p. 386.

⁽²⁾ *Bevenson*, op. cit., places this picture among the works of unknown Venetians and thinks it might possibly be by Lattanzio da Rimini.



Fig. 280. Marco Marziale, Circumcision. Correr Gallery, Venice.

Photo Böhm.

We also observe this master's influence in the picture of the Circumcision from the Conservatorio delle Penitenti in S. Giobbe, now in the Correr Museum, though the composition is somewhat different from the usual type created by Giovanni Bellini and so frequently repeated by his followers. The event seems to take place in the apse of a church. There is an abundance of ornamental detail in the tissues of the dresses and in the table-cloth, to which is attached a label with the inscription: *Pinxit Hoc opus Marcus Marcialis Venetus Anno MCCCCLXXXVIII*. The painting is rather clumsy, the figures being heavy and without charm and the colouring poor (fig. 280).

Still less pleasing than the above work is the large signed canvas of the Saviour and the woman taken in adultery, which once belonged to the Prince of Wied near Neuwied but recently was for sale in Holland. I imagine that it is the same painting which Cavalcaselle describes as originating from the hospital of Borgo San Donino, now called Fidenza, in the province of Parma (¹). Besides the two principal persons there are six other figures in the composition, each one poorer and more wooden than the other, while the colouring hardly deserves the word. Here the painter has fallen far below the level of Duia, da Valenza or dalle Destre but the signature *Marcus Marcialis V. f.* leaves us in no doubt of its authenticity.

After this climax of mediocrity we notice a decided turn for the better, though Marziale never seems to have been able to adopt one definite manner. It may well be that as long as he was active in Venice there was something which hampered his style. It might have been some incongruous foreign influence because, notwithstanding the elements borrowed from Giambellino, there is a foreign touch in Marziale's early paintings. Here again we think of the presence of Dürer in Venice just at the moment of this artist's début, and it is quite possible that a knowledge of the art of the master from Nuremberg had a harmful influence on the Venetian's early development, though we cannot point out exactly which features are due to the German's examples.

Compared with the very poor production of 1499, the first work

(¹) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., p. 232; the picture from Borgo S. Donino afterwards belonged to Signor Discart in Modena and to Herr Engländer in Vienna.



Fig. 281. Marco Marziale, Circumcision, 1500. National Gallery, London.
Photo Nat. Gal.

which Marziale probably painted outside Venice, the large panel of the Circumcision of the following year appears almost beautiful.

It was painted for Tommaso Raimondi and for long adorned the high altar of the church of S. Silvestro in Cremona, but is now in the National Gallery (803). The name of the artist, as well as that of the donor, is cited in the inscription: *Marcus Martialis Venetus Iussu Mci Equitis et Iurcon. D. Thome R. Opus Hoc p. An. MCCCCC*. If we look at the really fine portraits of the richly attired donor and his wife standing to either side and that of their son, kneeling near the altar, we are forced to admit that Marziale was quite a skilful portrait painter (fig. 281). As Professor Suida remarks ⁽¹⁾, they are Lombard in appearance, though in my opinion, on account of the broad, clear-cut technique, they remind us more of Boltraffio than of de' Conti, with whom Suida associates them. On the other hand, the types, the pointed features and the conventional curls of the figures to either side of the noble lady reveal a knowledge of the art of Bramantino. The principal persons who are near the altar are wooden and rigid; in fact they are not very much superior to those of his earlier productions. In the background to the right we see a man, with a bonnet on his long hair, who shows some similarity to the portraits of Mazzola, some of whose works Marziale may have seen in Parma and in Cremona. The intermingling of so many different influences prevents this work from having a very pronounced personal character. Were it not for the rich mosaic decoration of the vault there would be little or nothing Venetian in the painting. In the costumes also we notice this taste for minute ornamental effects, which remind us of oriental damascene work.

The fine portraits in this panel perhaps explain why a handsome picture of a man in bust-length figure, which was for sale in London a few years ago, is considered to be a production of Marziale's brush ⁽²⁾.

The painter's incredible inconstancy is again obvious in a painting of the Madonna, Child and donor, signed: *Marcus Martialis Venetus pingibat 1504*, in the gallery of Bergamo (395); as Geiger has already pointed out, it betrays above all a knowledge

⁽¹⁾ *Suida*, Pantheon, V, 1930, p. 250.

⁽²⁾ V. Commercial supplement to the Burlington Magazine, December 1929, pl. 16.

of the Umbrian school and in particular of the art of Perugino but there is also evidence of the influence of such Emilian artists as Meloni.

Then in 1506 and in 1507 he executed two paintings of the Meal at Emmaus, a subject very dear to the followers of Giambellino, by whom there must have existed an example which served as model but which is now lost. The former, the provenance of which is unknown, was bequeathed to the gallery of Venice (76, Contarini gift); it is signed *Marcus Marcialis Venetus 1506* (fig. 282). The latter, which originates from Cremona where in 1818 it was in the Bresciani Carena collection, is now in the museum of Berlin; the signature, which is the same, is followed by a "P" and the date 1507 (fig. 283). The compositions are rather different and only the pilgrim with a large hat to the left is repeated in both cases; even the attitude and the type of the Redeemer have been altered. Moreover, in the picture in Venice the event takes place in a room, the wall of which is adorned with an oriental design; near the second pilgrim — an old bearded man — we see two men standing behind the table, a turbaned negro servant and a richly attired fat man who holds his bonnet in his hand. The latter is certainly an example of portraiture, as is also the gesticulating old pilgrim whose very individual features have been treated with great realism. Further, the furniture and the utensils on the table reveal that northern sense of veracity in still-life.

The painting in Berlin is more Venetian in character which is also manifest in the clear and strong colouring. The meal takes place out of doors in a vine-covered arbour with a view of a hilly landscape in the distance. The scene is luminous and pleasant and somehow suggests a family meal in the open air. To the right there is another old pilgrim in the same attitude and with individual features just as strongly marked as the one in the foregoing picture, but here he is clean-shaven; at his side stands a richly dressed patrician while to the other side we see a little boy. These are obviously all portraits, so too, I should say, is the figure of Christ Who is very different in type from the Christ of the painting in Venice and Who, besides, wears a profane robe with a monogram on His collar and a string of beads round His neck, like the old pilgrim in the other picture.



Fig. 282. Marco Marziale, Meal at Emmaus. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

This work is not without charm; the portraits again are handsome though different in style from those in the altar-piece of 1500 in London. The portrait of the man standing and the features of Christ decidedly belong to the Venetian school of the first years of the 16th century, as indeed does most of the painting, notwithstanding its Cremonese origin. In the head of the old man and in the details of the table we can detect a northern touch.

Similar features are found in another production of the year



Fig. 283. Marco Marziale, Meal at Emmaus. Museum, Berlin.

Mus. Photo.

1507, which likewise originates from Cremona; at one time it was in the church of S. Gallo of that town but is now in the National Gallery (804). The signature *Marcus Marcialis Venetus P.M.D. VII* is inscribed on a label at the foot of the Virgin's throne, on the base of which is seated an angel playing the lute. The throne, above which we see a dais, is placed under a dome adorned with mosaics. Around the central group stand SS. Gallo, in episcopal attire, John the Baptist, Bartholomew and Roch (fig. 284). The



Fig. 284. Marco Marziale, Madonna and Saints. National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.



Fig. 285. Marco Marziale, Deposition. Gallery, Budapest.

Photo Anderson.

first of these saints is really a fine figure; his features are minutely painted and very expressive and his attitude is natural though not very reverent because he places one foot on the base of the throne. The other saints also are fairly praiseworthy and beside them the Madonna looks rather mediocre.

It was no doubt during the latter years of Marziale's activity that he executed the important picture of the Deposition in which twelve figures surround the Virgin who holds the dead Saviour

on her lap, a work which was formerly in the Crespi collection, Milan, but which is now in the gallery of Budapest (1243) (fig. 285) (1). Here we discover a tendency towards that refined Milanese style of painting which was affected by the first pupils of Leonardo. The composition is overcrowded and the position of the dead Christ most unnatural. The examples of portraiture are the best part of the painting and we find several instances among the sacred figures. The colouring, which is strong and beautiful, is more Venetian than anything else.

I believe that Marziale should be held responsible for a half-length figure of Christ in benediction with a globe in His hand, which was formerly in the Sterbini collection, Rome (2).

It is very easily understood why all those who have tried to sum up the art of Marco Marziale have come to different conclusions and also why so many names of painters have to be called upon to explain the origin of his art. The fact of the matter is that there are hardly two paintings alike as he was for ever introducing new elements. Moreover, his artistic standard as well as his technical abilities seem to have varied in very much the same degree. Within a few years he raises himself from the worst form of mediocrity, as is shown in the picture of 1499, to a manner of considerable beauty, of which we have evidence in the Meal Emmaus of 1507. Even the Circumcision of 1500 is of quite a different standard from that of the previous year. Marziale changed and adapted his manner with an almost chameleon-like

(1) *A. Venturi*, *La Galleria Crespi*, Milan, 1900, p. 329. No. 38 of the catalogue of the Crespi sale, Paris, June 1914. Prior to this it was in the Bertini coll. and formed No. 34 of the sale catalogue, Milan, May 1899; it then entered the Hatvany coll., Budapest.

(2) It is not mentioned in *A. Venturi's* catalogue of this collection. I find that Mr. Berenson attributes to Marziale still the following works: a picture of Christ and the adulterous woman in the gallery of Bergamo (410) and, with a point of interrogation, the bust-portrait of a man — Giulio Mellini — and two putti near a tree in a landscape background, which is found on the back of the panel, in the Louvre (No. 1252A); it is catalogued as a work by Catena but does not seem to be by either of these artists. *Von Liphart*, *Starye Gody*, January 1915, p. 4, assigns to him a Pietà which at that time was at Gatschina, near Petrograd, while in *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, *op. cit.*, p. 232 note 2, we find mention of a Crucifixion by Marziale in the Castelbarco coll., Milan, which was sold in Paris in 1870.

facility and to sum up his art would imply the recapitulation of all that I have already said.

Geiger, in his fundamental study of this really mediocre master, protests against the attempt which has been made to explain Marziale's art by a northern influence. I agree with him that this tendency is but sporadic in the productions he created after he left Venice in 1499, though it had a certain significance in the formation of his first manner.

CHAPTER VIII

MINOR PAINTERS, SOME MOSAICISTS AND "MADONNERI".

In Venice, as in many centres where the art of painting reached a high standard, there was a group of craftsmen who satisfied the requirements of the more modest classes of society and frequently also those of the inhabitants of the small towns in the Veneto.

Many of these towns, however, possessed their own artistic centres, centres which are sufficiently independent to form the subject-matter of a separate volume. Yet there are a few painters whom we cannot detach from the leading masters of Venice and with whom I shall deal briefly here.

Leonardo Boldrin ⁽¹⁾ belonged to the earliest generation of this group of artists, because a document of 1452, in which he figures as witness, reveals to us that he must have been born before 1432. Moreover, the fact that he is cited together with Antonio Vivarini confirms what can be conjectured from his works, namely that he was either a pupil of or collaborator with this master.

Leonardo was the son of Giovanni, a barber, and descendant of a family that can be traced back to the beginning of the 14th century in Murano. If the name Poltremo or Boltremo can be identified with Boldrin, as Ludwig and Paoletti assume to be certain, also other members of this family were painters. In the 16th century we find in Venice two women painters, Lucia and Marietta Boldrin, though we have no proof that the engraver Niccolò Boldrini of Vicenza belonged to the same family.

⁽¹⁾ *Ludwig u. Paoletti*, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XXII, 1899, pp. 271, 444. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., III, p. 436 note 1. *L. Testi*, Storia della Pitt. Venez., pp. 512, 554, 723. *Thieme-Becker*, Künstlerlexikon, IV, p. 241.

Leonardo's name appears in documents of 1454, 1458, 1462(?), 1473 and 1478; he was enrolled in the Scuola Grande di Sta. Maria della Misericordia, for which he started to make a processional banner ⁽¹⁾, but as he did not achieve it the authorities requested, first Marco Vecchia and then Francesco Plasito (Placido) di Giacomo to finish this rather unimportant enterprise. In 1491 and 1493 he colours some wooden sculptures — Christ and a St. John — by “Lardo tedesco” for the church of S. Giovanni in Bragora. At this time he belonged to the Scuola S. Saba which was connected with this church. He died some time between March 1497 and 1498.

A work, which this artist signed *Op. Leonardi Boldrini Bnect*⁽²⁾, is preserved in the church of S. Gallo, near Zogno, in the region of Bergamo; it is a polyptych and represents the Annunciation and Coronation of the Virgin with SS. Peter, Sebastian, Gallus and John the Evangelist ⁽³⁾. The different parts of this altar-piece show us the two artistic tendencies which dominated Boldrin. The Annunciation and the Coronation are executed under the influence of Antonio Vivarini and his companion Giovanni d'Alemagna. The angel of the former scene is even somewhat transalpine in appearance though the type of the Madonna is obviously that of Antonio Vivarini, while in the Coronation of the Virgin the artist reveals his knowledge of the painting of the same subject by Antonio and his German colleague in the church of S. Pantaleone in Venice. On the other hand the figures of the saints are in type and style taken from the models of Bartolomeo Vivarini.

Sansovino (ed. 1581, fol. 10a, 49b), who mentions two pictures in Venice by Boldrin, one an altar-piece of St. Francis with SS. Antony and Bernardine in S. Antonio, the other a retable with no further description in S. Basso, calls the painter on one occasion Boldreno and elsewhere Boldrono.

Although a mediocre artist, Boldrin does not deserve the

⁽¹⁾ *Ludwig u. Paoletti*, op. cit., give the date as 1486. *Testi*, op. cit., as 1478.

⁽²⁾ *Ludwig e Molmenti*, op. cit., suppose that the mysterious word “Bnect” might be a restorer's deformation of “Venecti”.

⁽³⁾ Reprod. in *Testi*, II, pp. 515 and 723. Mentioned in *L'Arte*, I, 1898, p. 454, when it was shown at the Diocesan Exhibition in Bergamo.

severe criticism which Cavalcaselle, who thought he was Bergamesque, gives him. The full-length figures of saints, which reflect Bartolomeo's incisive style of drawing, possess certain qualities and are not lacking in character.

To this early period belongs also **Giorgio Bagnolo** who witnesses a document in 1458 and, consequently, could not have been born later than 1438 (1). I do not think we can put much confidence in the reference to a document according to which this painter, along with Andrea da Murano and Giacomo di Guido, should, in 1462, have been given the order to decorate the vault of the chapel of S. Tarasio in Venice (2). In 1463 he is remunerated for some paintings he executed in the attic of the small church in S. Zaccaria, that is to say S. Tarasio, and for frescoes on the façade of this church where some traces of decoration are still faintly visible. In 1472 Giorgio Bagnolo is commissioned to paint an altar-piece with two saints and two scenes on the predella by the Scuola dei Pifferi e Trombettieri for the modest sum of ten ducats and even then it is stipulated that he should deserve it.

Sansovino speaks of an altar-piece by "Giorgio Vinitiano" of St. Mark, in the church of S. Stefano, in the St. Mark quarter of the town, but it is by no means certain that we should identify this painter with Bagnolo.

Francesco Pelosio (3) is known to us from a Venetian document of 1474 and from a signed triptych from SS. Vitale e Agricola in Bologna which, along with the companion piece of the same provenance, is now in the gallery of that city (127, 128). The inscription, *Magister Franciscii de Pelosii de Venetiis 1476*, is shown under the feet of the Virgin who, attired in a rich dress of a flowery pattern, is seated with the nude Child on her knee; in the lateral panels we see SS. Benedict and Julia (fig. 286). The

(1) *P. Paoletti*, Archit. e scult. nel Rinasc. in Venezia, Venice, 1893, p. 67. *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 543.

(2) It led *Testi*, op. cit., and others to believe that the frescoes in the apsidal vault of the chapel, now known to be by Andrea del Castagno, and Francesco da Faenza, were the work of these painters. *Fiocco*, L'arte di Andrea Mantegna, Bologna, 1927, p. 65 et seq. See also Vol. X, p. 339.

(3) *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 551.



Fig. 286. Pelosio, Triptych. Gallery, Bologna.

Gal. Photo.

other picture, which has suffered considerably, has as central figure the Belliniesque composition of the dead Saviour supported by two angels, while the Madonna and St. John are depicted in the wings. On the whole the figures are ugly and decadent, lacking in grace and proportion. The representation of the Madonna is not quite so unpleasant as the rest and we notice in this figure a vague connexion with some of the followers of Antonio Vivarini, such for example as Quirizio da Murano and Antonio da Negroponte, though it does not come up to the same standard. Very possibly also Pelosio was a native of Murano.

The small town of Murano was the birth-place of various other painters and their origin cannot be contested because it invariably accompanies their names. I have already dealt with Cima's follower Bernardino da Murano but there existed as well a **Bernardo da Murano** ⁽¹⁾ who was certainly a different person, as his signed picture of 1462 — the Madonna between SS. Paul and John — in the Correr Museum, bears testimony. By this production he reveals himself as an unimportant painter of votive images.

Andrea di Giovanni da Murano ⁽²⁾, on the other hand, is the most important figure in this group of minor adherents of the Venetian school. Testi suggested the possibility that he might be the brother of Qurizio, whose father was also called Giovanni. Until recently it was thought that he was a painter of considerable merit but this was only the result of the undeserved praise of the ancient authors. In fact Ridolfi (I, p. 36) affirms, without a semblance of truth, that Andrea was the master of Alvise Vivarini. Zanetti (p. 11) informs us that he was a leading member of the first good Venetian school and that "Andrea's eyes were opened to the first traces of fine draughtsmanship". Moschini (II, p. 487) repeats these remarks of Zanetti while Ridolfi, followed by others, affirms that he was the master of the Vivarini. Rosini (II, p. 207) was the only one who realized Andrea's mediocrity. All these authors, and Boschini (p. 528) as well, mention the triptych in the church of S. Pietro Martire in Murano. Zanetti and Moschini ⁽³⁾ cite the signed Crucifixion from the church of S. Andrea on the Island of Certosa, near Murano. The former finds the Lord's anatomy so beautiful that he imagined that some classical sculpture must have served as model.

Numerous documents allow us to follow his career from 1462

⁽¹⁾ Reprod. in Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XVII, p. 267.

⁽²⁾ *Crico*, Lettere sulle belle arte trevigiane, p. 251. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., I, p. 76. *M. Caffi*, A. d. M., Arch. Venet., XXIII², 1887, p. 331. *The Same*, Bibliofilo, VIII, p. 71. *Cecchetti*, idem, p. 397. *A. della Rovere*, Arte e Storia, VI, No. 33. *Ludwig u. Paoletti*, op. cit., Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XVII, p. 267; XXII, p. 448. *G. Fogolari*, Thieme-Becker, Künstlerlexikon, I, p. 460. *Chiuppani*, Bollettino del Museo Civico di Bassano, III, 1906, p. 71. *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 531.

⁽³⁾ *Moschini*, Guida per l'Isola di Murano, 1808, p. 122.

until 1502 (1). In the first of these years and the following year he works with Bagnolo and Giacomo di Guido in the church of S. Zaccaria, while in 1467 he and Bartolomeo Vivarini receive an order for a picture for the Scuola di S. Marco. In 1470 an Andrea pictor, son of Giovanni, is cited in a document but it is not certain that this record refers to the painter in question. He figures in three documents of the year 1472. From them we learn that he had a workshop in the Sta. Maria Formosa quarter, that his brother Gerolamo was an "intagliatore" — probably a wood-carver — and took as a pupil a certain Francesco who had to learn the art of both the brothers. The name of Andrea is found in a record of 1475, but not again until 1484, when he starts an altar-piece at Trebaseleghe. There is another long interval until 1499 when we are told that he is living with his family at Castelfranco. In 1500 he makes a declaration that he has received part of the payment of the picture which was ordered sixteen years before; the following year he gets the last instalment (2). The value of this work was estimated to be four hundred and ten golden ducats. The altar-piece of 1502 of Mussolente provides us with the last date we have concerning him and it is quite possible that his death occurred soon after.

In all probability his earliest work is the large altar-piece from S. Pietro Martire, Murano, which at one time was divided between the Brera and the Accademia of Venice but is now united in the latter collection (28). The central panel shows SS. Vincent Ferrer and Roch and the much smaller figures of an angel and an adorer; in the wings we see St. Sebastian and St. Peter the Martyr, each with a small adorer, while the lunette above contains the upright figure of the Madonna della Misericordia, with the usual throng of people kneeling under her cloak, and four saints — a king, two monks and a nun — to the sides. At the foot of the central panel we read the signature: *Opus Andreae De Murano*. I cannot say that very much trace of Bartolomeo Vivarini's influence is found in this work; it has more a general Muranese appearance with some Paduan elements and this combination of features reminds us of the fact that Testi has suggested the

(1) *Testi*, op. cit., gives all the dates.

(2) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., III, p. 78 note, give the document in extenso.



Fig. 287. Andrea da Murano, Part of an Altar-piece. Parish Church, Trebaseleghe. Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.

possibility that Andrea and Quirizio might have been brothers. Moreover, notwithstanding Andrea's signature, Cavalcaselle attributed this work to Quirizio.

More Paduan in style and showing some traces of Bartolomeo Vivarini's influence is the Crucifixion — Christ on the Cross between the mourning figures of the Virgin and St. John with

some buildings, among which we see a sort of Colosseum, in the background — which Zanetti describes as in the church on the Certosa Island, near Murano, but which has been in the gallery of Vienna (9) since 1838. It is signed: *Opus Andreae de Murano* and, in spite of Zanetti's praise, it is a poor and rather ugly achievement.

Andrea, as we saw, started the altar-piece for the church of Sta. Maria at Trebaseleghe, near Noale, in 1484 but did not finish it before 1501. It comprises a considerable number of figures. Above we see God the Father; the dead Saviour between the Virgin and St. John and the half-length figures of SS. Jerome, Christopher, Antony of Padua and Nicholas are depicted on the second row while the panel below is occupied by the Saviour with SS. Sebastian and Roch, in a mandorla carried by angels, SS. Cosmo, Damian, Barnaba, Macarius and three angelic musicians (fig. 287). As Cavalcaselle so truly remarks: "we seldom meet with an example in which there is so much of the appearance and so little of the reality of mastery". The figures are not all equally bad and again we notice some similarity with the works of Bartolomeo Vivarini, from whose altar-piece of 1474 in the Frari church Andrea seems to have borrowed the three angelic musicians. The strange and strongly designed features, however, remind us of the Paduan and Ferrarese schools.

As there is less connexion with Bartolomeo's art in Andrea da Murano's panel of 1502 in the parish church of Mussolente (fig. 288), it can be conjectured that the retable of Trebaseleghe was executed nearer to 1484 than to 1501. It is also manifest that Andrea's intimacy with Bartolomeo had been the saving point of his art because his separation from this master resulted in a rapid and obvious decline. It is not without difficulty that we recognize, along with Testi, that this Madonna and saints also derives from Bartolomeo, but in this case from his second altar-piece, that of 1482, in the Frari church. However, these works look like the productions of a much weaker, more vulgar and more provincial artist than Andrea until now had shown himself to be. The peculiar appearance of the figure of St. John the Baptist leaves no doubt that the waning influence of Bartolomeo was replaced by that of Alvise Vivarini and I think this new tendency accounts for the deformation we notice in some of



Fig. 288. Andrea da Murano, Madonna and Saints. Parish Church,
Mussolente.

Photo Alinari.

the other figures. This influence of Alvise on Andrea perhaps explains the mistaken hypothesis that Andrea was Alvise's master. The picture in question shows the signature *Opus Andreae De Murano 1502*.

Fogolari ascribes to Andrea a St. Francis in the church of Sta. Maria Assunta at Asolo, which is sometimes attributed to Alvise, and a very damaged St. Antony in S. Giovanni at Camposanpiero (Padua), previously given to Bartolomeo, but Testi is opposed to

these attributions. Berenson, with some hesitation, assigns to Andrea a Madonna with the sleeping Child, once in the H. White Cannon collection, Fiesole, and a similar picture in the Redentore church; both these works are of much the same composition as that by Giambellino which entered the Metropolitan Museum with the Davis bequest (1).

Rugero, a painter from Venice, is known to us only from his signature on an important triptych which shows St. Jerome, holding the model of a church, seated between St. Mary Magdalene and St. Catherine with the wheel, both depicted against backgrounds of a landscape and a cloudy sky. On a label we read *Sumus Rugerii manus*. In Venetian documents of 1472 and 1473 the names of "Ser Johannis de Rugeriis pictor" and "Ser Marcus Rugerii pictor" are mentioned; besides, there was also a "Laurentino Rogerio pictor" (2). The painting is described by Zanetti (p. 31) as situated in a passage between the church of S. Gregorio and the cloister but in a note he adds that "now this panel is

(1) *Berenson*, *Venetian Painting in America*, p. 64. A considerable number of pictures has been attributed without any reason to Andrea or to him in collaboration with Bartolomeo Vivarini, v. *Testi*, loc. cit. and *Fogolari*, op. cit. To the combined efforts of the two artists are ascribed: the polyptych, now generally believed to be by Giambellino, in SS. Giovanni e Paolo and the four triptychs from the Carità church, likewise early works by Giovanni Bellini (*Paoletti*). A Resurrection, with the false signature *Andre De Mura . . . 1446(?)*, was at one time exhibited in the gallery of Venice, but it has been taken away. Andrea has also been held responsible for the Madonna with SS. Peter and Paul in the sacristy of S. Niccolò in Treviso and for the Saviour between SS. Augustine and Francis in the Accademia of Venice (614, 620, 622), which have been ascribed to Bartolomeo as well, but which are now correctly classified as productions of the Paduan school. Of the lost works, besides the altar-piece executed in collaboration with Bartolomeo for the Scuola Grande di S. Marco, there was, according to *Vinc. Zanetti*, Guida di Murano, a picture by Andrea in Sta. Chiara, Murano, while *Moschini*, Guida per l'Isola di Murano, p. 122, tells us that in some notes of Cav. De Lazaro there is mention of a signed Madonna in a private house (*Testi*, p. 540). I have already referred to the mistakes made by Testi and others regarding the frescoes by Castagna and Francesco da Faenza in the S. Tarasio chapel, which they thought had been executed by Andrea da Murano, Bagnolo, etc.

(2) *Testi*, op. cit., II, p. 87, with bibliography.



Fig. 289. Rugero, Triptych. Museum, Berlin. Mus. Photo.

much better placed". Lanzi tells us that in his day it was in the Palazzo Nani; it is now in the store-room of the museum of Berlin (1163) (fig. 289) ⁽¹⁾.

At first Lanzi thought of the possibility that Rugero might be Roger van der Weyden and I do not think that this critic deserves Testi's praise of his perspicacity for having decided that after all this was not the case; in fact it would be difficult to find a less Flemish-looking painting. The artist is certainly one of the most gifted of the group with which we are dealing; he is superior to

⁽¹⁾ *Lanzi*, ed. 1795-1798, II, p. 23, finds that the work deserves more praise on account of its colours than for its design.

Andrea da Murano but, like him, shows considerable connexion with Bartolomeo Vivarini and perhaps still more with Mantegna. Although the incisive design is rendered in a hard and conventional manner, his drawing is not lacking in style and his figures are not without a certain grandeur. Lanzi's remark that it is strange that we do not know any other work by so good a painter is still true. Perhaps he was an assistant of Mantegna and it is for this reason that independent productions from his hand are so very rare. It seems, however, possible to me that Rugero was the author of a picture of the Madonna seated, in a landscape background, with the nude Child standing on Her knees, which shortly ago Baron Michaele Lazzaroni bequeathed to the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome.

We have now reached another group of minor Venetian painters; it is formed by those who followed in the wake of Giovanni Bellini. I have already devoted a chapter of the previous volume to the master's more gifted pupils and followers. There (pp. 370, 480), I mentioned **Francesco Tacconi** ⁽¹⁾ by whom there is a picture, signed *Op. Francisi Tachoni, 1489. Octu*, in the National Gallery (286). He was a native of Cremona where he is mentioned in 1464, along with Filippo Tacconi, as the recipient of a public reward — exemption from taxation — for having painted frescoes in the loggia of the town hall; in recognition of this favour they are requested to execute also an Annunciation ⁽²⁾. However, the greater part of Francesco's activity seems to have taken place in Venice. From a document of 1489 we gather that he had been living there already for some time, while in 1490 he painted the canvases which adorn the organ of S. Marco ⁽³⁾. Urbano da Venezia constructed the organ but did not, as has been supposed, assist Francesco in the execution of the

⁽¹⁾ *Ludwig*, op. cit., XXVI, p. 8. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., III, p. 331.

⁽²⁾ The documents are given by *Graselli*, *Abecedario biografico dei pittori cremonesi etc.*, Milan, 1827, p. 242. The frescoes, which were afterwards white-washed, are described by *R. de Soresina Vidoni*, *La pittura cremonese descritta*, Milan, 1824, p. 124.

⁽³⁾ *Moschini*, op. cit., I, p. 287. *Vidoni*, loc. cit., after Stringa's edition of Sansovino.

paintings, which were signed *O. Francisci Tachoni Cremon. Pictoris 1490 Maii 24.*

These canvases, in a very poor and darkened condition, were at one time stowed away in some recess in S. Marco, but I do not know where they are now. They represent the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Assumption and the Resurrection (1). In 1491 Francesco receives the payment for this work; in 1499 he is still in Venice but the following year returns to Cremona.

The painting in the National Gallery, which was bought in this town in the middle of the last century, shows the Madonna, seated against the background of a curtain and a wall, holding on her raised right knee the Child Jesus Who plays with her veil (fig. 290). It does not belong to the school of Vivarini, as Cavalcaselle says, but rather is a sweetened version of a Belliniesque Madonna, the prototype of which, certainly by Giambellino himself, is now lost. There are several examples of this composition, though some of them show the Virgin in half-length figure, as for instance that with an adorer which entered the Metropolitan Museum with the Friedsam collection, that by Mazzola in the Scalzi church, etc. (2).

Therefore, though not of Venetian origin, Tacconi was a staunch adherent of Giovanni Bellini. We do not know, however, when this particular manner developed, though no doubt prior to his emigration to Venice he belonged to the local school of Cremona.

Another follower of Giambellino's formulae was **Campolongo**, whose existence is revealed to us by the signature *Imp. Campolongo fec.* on a mediocre though Belliniesque panel of the Madonna in the gallery of Bergamo (375).

The Virgin, in half-length figure, stands in adoration before the nude Child Who lies sleeping on a cushion on a low wall in front of her. A curtain and a landscape form the background and an ornamental frame is painted round the group (fig. 291) (3).

The art of **Fra Marco Pensaben** (4) is not very much superior

(1) The subjects are described in *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, loc. cit.

(2) Reprod. *Gronau*, Bellini, fig. 117, and in Vol. XVII, fig. 219; v. also p. 371.

(3) *G. Frizzoni*, *Le Gallerie etc.* in Bergamo, p. 36 and fig. 64.

(4) *Federici*, *Memorie trevigiane sulle opere di disegno*, I, Venice, 1803,



Fig. 290. Tacconi, Madonna, 1489. National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.



Fig. 291. Campolongo, Madonna. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Ist. Ital. d'arte graf.

but the extraordinary proceedings in connexion with the altarpiece he had to paint for S. Niccolò, Treviso, have gained for this master a certain amount of renown.

p. 130. *Rosini*, op. cit., V, p. 287. *Marchesi*, Memorie dei etc. pittori, scultori e archit. domenicani, 2nd ed., II, Florence, 1854, p.181. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., III, p. 310. *Biscaro*, Arch. stor. dell' arte, N. S., I, 1895, p. 363. *Jacobsen*, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XIX, 1896, p. 260. *Ludwig*, op. cit., p. 117.

We know that he was born in Venice in 1486 and that he died there in 1532. In 1502 he entered the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo where he is mentioned in 1510, 1514, 1515 and 1524 when he was nominated "Sacristano maggiore", a charge which lasted four years. In April 1520, through the mediation of Vittore Belliniano, Fra Marco received the order for the altar-piece for S. Niccolò, Treviso. Several records refer to his activity on this piece of work. One of the payments is made to "Fra Marco Maraveia" which in all probability was his real name, while "Pensaben" which means "think well" was a specific denomination. However, some time after January 1521 he suddenly left Treviso and although a brother was sent in pursuit of him he was not found. Yet three years later, he is, as we saw, back in the monastery in Venice. Cavalcaselle doubted whether the friar who painted in Treviso was the same as the Venetian monk but I think there are several facts in favour of their being one and the same person. Federici's attempt to identify Fra Marco with Sebastiano del Piombo does not deserve our attention. Nor do I think it possible, as Cavalcaselle supposed, that Fra Marco Pensaben and Marco Bello could have been the same.

The picture for S. Niccolò, Treviso, was finished by Savoldo but in all likelihood we owe to Fra Marco the Belliniesque composition of the Madonna on a high throne, with an angelic musician at her feet and three saints to either side, under an open vault with the sky as background. In fact, in general lines the composition is not unlike Giambellino's famous panel of 1505 in S. Zaccaria; even Fra Marco's St. Jerome seems to be a free copy of the corresponding figure in this masterpiece.

However, if we look at the one and only production signed by Fra Marco — that in the gallery of Bergamo (384) — we wonder why this obviously modest artist ever received such an important order and still more how he dared to undertake such an ambitious enterprise. The oblong painting in Bergamo, which is signed *Fr. Marcus Venetus P.*, represents the Madonna, who places her hand on the head of an adoring Dominican monk — supposed to be the painter — seated with the Child and accompanied by two saints (fig. 292). The principal figures form a composition which was frequently employed in Giambellino's workshop, as for instance by Marco Basaiti, while he was still a pupil of Bellini, in

his pictures in the Ca d'Oro and at Stuttgart (Vol. XVII, figs. 297, 298) and by Marco Bello (fig. 243 of this volume).

There is mention of a picture, described as "the bust of the Virgin with the Child in her lap; to the left, in front of a wide window, a saint", which was offered for sale in London in 1870; it showed the signature *Fra Marcus Venetus faciebat*, of which, however, the authenticity seemed questionable (1).

We know the names and some isolated works of still a few other painters.

Vettore Greco's name in Greek and the date 1522 are found on the portrait of a bearded man, which was at one time in the Giustinian Recanate "alle Zattere" Gallery in Venice. This painting, which was supposed to be the self-portrait of Vittore Carpaccio, is obviously the production of a late follower of Gentile Bellini.

There are several records of painters of this name: in 1536 as a member of the Scuola di S. Giovanni; in 1537 as taking part in the war against the Turks; a painter of Madonnas called Vettore is cited in documents of 1518, 1539 and 1546, while in 1555 Vettorello, a painter, was murdered. We have no means, however, of verifying whether any of them are the same as the author of the portrait (2).

Tommaso di Zorzi was a typical painter of popular votive images, as we see from his rather worn mediocre frescoes of 1485 on the apsidal arch in S. Giovanni in Bragora. These mural paintings, which show a faint derivation from the art of Carpaccio, represent the Annunciation, SS. Elizabeth and Zaccharia and God the Father in a medallion.

Sebastiano Zuccato belongs to the better known of these nonentities, because both Lanzi and Rosini repeat Dolce's statement that he was Titian's first master.

He is mentioned for the first time in a document of 1467; in 1479 he belonged to the Scuola Grande di Sta. Maria della Carità.

(1) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, German edit., VI, p. 488 note 214; English edit., Borenius, III, p. 312, note 2.

(2) The documents are published by *Ludwig*, op. cit., p. 108. *Lanzi* and *Federici* mention the painting as a self-portrait by Carpaccio. *Reprod. in Ludwig e Molmenti*, Carpaccio, p. 49.



Fig. 292. Pensaben, Madonna, Saints and Adorer. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Ist. Ital. d'arte graf.

There are several other records of him, as well as of a son and a daughter, up to 1520; he died in September 1527. His connexion with the Scuola di S. Giorgio, which belonged to Dalmatians, makes it probable that he himself was of Dalmatian origin.

He descends from a well-known family of workers in mosaic, some of the members of which had been active for S. Marco, where Sebastiano's sons Francesco and Valerio and his grandson Arminio were also employed in this calling.

The art of Sebastian is known to us from one authentic work, now in the Civic Museum, Venice. It represents, against a landscape background, St. Sebastian, pierced by arrows, attached to a tree with an adorer kneeling at his feet, and is signed *Sebastianus Zucatus pinxit*. It is a very mediocre piece of work and stylistically seems to derive from the art of Pietro and Antonello da Saliba (fig. 293).

The names of other Venetian painters, whose abilities did not surpass this low level, are known to us from documents.

An Antonio Veneto is mentioned in Ferrara between 1452 and 1496; one of his occupations was the designing of liturgical vestments ⁽¹⁾.

Another artist of the same name was active in 1463 in Orvieto and died there the following year ⁽²⁾; it is quite possible that he was only a painter of stained glass ⁽³⁾.

The well-known medallist, Boldu, is mentioned as painter several times between 1454 and 1477 ⁽⁴⁾.

Among the poorly paid assistant painters who were active in 1492 on the decoration of Sala del Gran Consiglio we find a Perino and Matthio — perhaps Matteo Duia ⁽⁵⁾. On the same occasion Cristoforo da Parma — il Temperello — was better paid, but he does not belong to Venice. Zuanne (Giovanni) da Brescia or da Asola ⁽⁶⁾ who, in 1512, became a member of the Scuola

⁽¹⁾ *Modigliani*, in Thieme-Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, wrongly quotes *Baruffaldi*, *Vite de' pittori e scultori ferraresi*, II, p. 585, where there is no mention of Antonio da Venezia.

⁽²⁾ *Modigliani*, loc. cit.

⁽³⁾ *L. Fiumi*, *Il Duomo di Orvieto etc.*, Rome, 1891, pp. 236-237.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ludwig*, op. cit., p. 4.

⁽⁵⁾ *Idem*, pp. 24, 25.

⁽⁶⁾ *Idem*, p. 112.



Fig. 293. Zuccato, St. Sebastian and Adorer. Correr Museum,
Venice. Photo Böhm.

Grande di S. Marco was active as a wood-engraver in 1514; he died in 1531. In 1526 he collaborated with his son in the execution of the ornamentation of the organ wings in S. Michele, Murano, but these paintings are so Cinquecentesque in style that they must, for the greater part, be due to the younger painter.

* * *

There were but few mosaics executed in Venice in the 15th century ⁽¹⁾. Those by Giambono in the Mascoli chapel in S. Marco are considerably restored. It has been supposed that it was Castagno who carried out the restoration but I think it was done rather by a Paduan artist.

To how low a level the art of mosaic-making was reduced in Venice is revealed to us in a document of 1424, in which it is recorded that the senate, with the large majority of seventy-seven votes in eighty, decides to recall an artist, emigrated to the Ligurian coast, who had been the associate (*socius*) of the last maker and restorer of mosaics in S. Marco, who had recently died.

Perhaps the artist did not respond to the call or perhaps he gave no satisfaction; in any case the following year Paolo Ucello made his will in Florence, before setting out to work in Venice (v. Vol. X, p. 204). In 1427 his wife declares that he went to Venice over two years ago. From a letter of 1432 in which the "operai" of the cathedral of Florence ask their envoy in Venice about the ability of Ucello, we gather that this artist had executed a mosaic of St. Peter on the façade of S. Marco; moreover, in this letter he is referred to as "magistro mysaici".

In Venetian documents of 1443 and 1455 the name of Matheus Tibaldi, a mosaicist, is recorded, but we know nothing about his artistic activity.

In order to revive this dying art Venice had to call in the help

⁽¹⁾ *B. Cechetti*, *Archiv. Venet.*, XXXIII, 1887, p. 204; XXXIV, 1880, p. 400. *P. Saccardo*, *Les mosaïques de St. Marc à Venise*, 1897, pp. 32-44, 246, 248, 254, 263, 276, 284, 287. The same in Italian: *La Basilica di S. Marco etc. sotto la direzione di C. Boito*, I, Venice, 1888, p. 306 et seq. *G. Fiocco*, *Il rinnovamento toscano dell'arte del mosaico a Venezia*, Dedalo, VI¹, 1925-26, p. 109. *The Same*, *L'arte di Andrea Mantegna*, Bologna, 1927, pp. 33, 86 and *Rivista d'Arte*, XVII, 1935, p. 402. *G. Ludwig*, *Archiv. Beitrage zur Gesch. der Venez. Kunst*, Berlin, 1911, p. 151. See also Vol. X, p. 380.

of a Florentine master. Still more obvious signs of a Florentine influence are evident in the figures of SS. Vincent, Bernardine of Siena, Paul the Hermit and Antony of Padua which Silvestro and Antonio executed in 1458, in the vault in the right transept near the big window (figs. 294, 295). The actual appearance of the symbolic figures of "Libia" in the mosaic of Pentecost, which is of Byzantine style, is, according to Professor Fiocco, due to a restoration made by Antonio. In style all these mosaics derive from the art of Andrea del Castagno who, it will be remembered, painted important frescoes in the chapel of S. Tarasio in 1442.

Silvestro Barbetta di Pietro appears for the first time as a witness in a document of 1442; in 1458, as we have just seen, he signs the mosaics in S. Marco; then again in 1483 his name is cited in a document. In 1486, 1492, 1506 and 1508 he figures in the "Zornal" or account book of the church. Together with Pietro di Zorzi he witnesses a testament of 1492 and in 1512 he makes his will.

Pietro di Zorzi may have been Pietro Barbetta, the nephew of Silvestro, who again can perhaps be identified with "Petrus con dam Giorgis pictor", mentioned in 1462. His name is also cited in the account book in the same entries as that of Silvestro.

Under the figures of SS. Mark and Vitus on the south side of the church, the signatures *Petrus F.* and *Antonius F.* 1482 were still visible in Moschini's day (I, p. 234), while the dates 1506 and 1509 accompany the signature *Petrus* which we find in S. Marco under the figure of the Saviour, seated on a cushion, in the choir, and that of the Madonna, in the vault between the choir and the S. Clemente chapel. The signature *Petrus F.* is again seen near the figures of SS. Zaccharias, Jeremiah, Moses and David under the vault before the cupola of the right transept but, as Saccardo remarks, these figures belong more to an older style. This is perhaps due to their having been made to replace other mosaics which were destroyed either by the fire of 1419 or that of 1489. To this Petrus, Professor Fiocco attributes also the mosaic of St. George on the external wall above the door of the canons' sacristy. Fiocco's statement that this artist is more Venetian than Silvestro and Antonio is quite justified.

Antonio, who in 1458 signed two figures of saints next to those by Silvestro, is spoken of only in the accounts of 1486 and 1492. He is no doubt the same as "Antonius quondam Jacobi" who



Fig. 294. Silvestro, St. Antony Abbot, Mosaic.
S. Marco, Venice. Photo Fiorentini.



Fig. 295. Antonio, St. Bernardine of Siena, Mosaic.
S. Marco, Venice. Photo Fiorentini.

figures, either under this name or a similar one, as witness in 1470 and 1496 and who made his will in 1498. He and Silvestro are paid twice as much as Pietro and very much more than the other mosaicists whose names are cited in the ledgers, as for example Marco in 1486, Alvisè in 1492, Vincenzo, son of Sebastianò, in 1506 and 1508 (in 1512 he was killed by falling from a scaffolding) and a priest called Grisogono in 1506. From the salaries they received we can conclude that Silvestro and Antonio were the leading artists of the revived school of mosaic. This school was formed, I should say, towards 1486, that is to say after both the principal masters had been active for close on thirty years.

By Francesco and Valerio Zuccato, by the priest Grisogono and the two nephews who collaborated with him, there are some signed mosaics in the church of S. Marco but, like Marco Luciano Rizzo, Vincenzo Bianchini and the "Presbyter Alberto", they and their productions belong to the 16th century, though the earliest works of Francesco and Grisogono reveal that these artists received their instruction in the school of Silvestro Barbetta and Antonio.

When dealing with Lazzaro Bastiani I have already referred to the mosaics executed by this master and to the activity in the same branch of art in 1474 of Zuan Bastiani, who might have been Lazzaro's son.

The principal source for our knowledge of the art of mosaic in Venice in the second half of the 15th century is the series of four saints signed by Silvestro and Antonio. It is a fine piece of work, obviously of Florentine inspiration, and an interesting comparison can be made between the St. Bernardine in Antonio's mosaic and the St. Francis in the fresco, generally attributed to Domenico Veneziano, in the church of Sta. Croce, Florence.

Hence, as Professor Fiocco has already stated, the opinion that Bartolomeo Vivarini was of great importance for the revival of the art of mosaic does not hold good. On the other hand we have no reason to believe that the two artists were actually of Florentine origin, in fact the quaint appearance of St. Paul the Hermit might be explained by the artist's attempt to cast the local Byzantine elements in a Florentine mould.

* * *

Under the denomination "Madonneri" is generally understood

the group of traditionalistic artists who, even up to the 18th century, produced pictures of the Madonna of a purely Byzantine style ⁽¹⁾.

Their activity, which we already remarked in the 14th century, became even more intense in the 15th. The presence in Venice of quite a number of Greeks, who, at the end of the 15th century, obtained permission to found a church of the Orthodox rite ⁽²⁾, is sufficient to explain whence came the impulse to this particular form of painting. Similar pictures were in all probability imported from Greece and no doubt some Eastern artists settled in Venice; in fact, we know that a certain Giorgio from Constantinople was active in Ferrara and a picture of St. Mark with his name and the date 1454, *MCCC(C)LIIII Georgius pinxit*, which originates from the Magistrato di Petizione, Venice, is now in the Brera Gallery, Milan (172) (fig. 296).

It would be entirely unjust towards the early representatives of this form of painting to classify them along with those of the later period as unattractive craftsmen.

On the contrary, the Veneto-Byzantine panels of the 15th century and early 16th possess the qualities of a refined technique and pleasing, though archaic, effects of line and colour, but it was evidently impossible for the artists to escape that lifeless monotony which characterizes this form of painting.

Fine examples of early Madonnas are found on the first altar to the right in the church of S. Lio, and on the stairs of the Scuola S. Rocco; both specimens belong to the type known as the "Madonna della Passione" in which the Child, looking round, loses His sandal at the sight of the Passion instruments held by angels.

A repainted and partly covered Madonna, which is possibly anterior to the 15th century, adorns the high altar in the Salute church. Creto-Venetian Madonnas of this period are not rare

(1) For Veneto-Byzantine painting v. S. Bettini, *La pittura di icone cretese-veneziana e i Madonneri*, Padua, 1833. Also O. Wulff u. M. Alpatoff, *Denkmäler der Ikonenmalerei*, Hellerau, 1925, p. 219. Ph. Schweinfurth, *Gesch. der Russischen Malerei*, The Hague, 1930, pp. 354-452 (more especially p. 397).

(2) The building of S. Giorgio dei Greci, however, was started in 1539 and of the large collection of icons preserved in this church, I do not think that there is one example prior to the 16th century.



Fig. 296. Georgius, St. Mark, 1454. Brera Gallery, Milan.

Photo Zani.

and fine examples are preserved in the Ca d'Oro and in the Correr Museum ⁽¹⁾.

In this great amount of undated material it is of some importance to know that at least one work was executed by Rico or Rizzo da Candia in 1498. This artist, who is one of the least pleasing of the

⁽¹⁾ *Bettini*, op. cit., pl. 4, reproduces one in the Rampazzo collection, Padua. There exists quite a number of similar Madonnas of equally good quality.



Fig. 297. Rico da Candia, Madonna. Gallery, Parma.

Photo Minist. Ed. Naz.

Madonneri, has left us several signed works; among them might be cited the Death of the Virgin in the gallery of Turin and the Madonnas in the galleries of Parma (fig. 297) and Fiesole. We do not know, however, whether he was ever in Venice where, on the whole, similar productions are of a superior quality.

It would be useless to give a list of the examples of this art;



Fig. 298. Veneto-Byzantine School, XV Century, Reliquary of Cardinal Bessarion. Accademia, Venice. Photo Böhm.

moreover, we can never be sure that they are Venetian productions though I am inclined to believe that the finest specimens

were executed in the City of the Lagoons. We find quite a number of these paintings in the region of Venice, in Dalmatia and all along the Adriatic coast. Also in the churches of Rome a certain number still exists. On the whole it is very difficult to differentiate the Italian examples from those made in Greece and other Orthodox countries; they seldom seem to be older than the 16th century ⁽¹⁾.

A Venetian production, which certainly must have been executed by the best artist available at the time, is the decoration of the cover of the reliquary of Cardinal Bessarion, which was executed in all probability shortly after 1463 when the cardinal presented the relic to the Scuola della Carità (fig. 298). We can conclude that this work is Venetian and not Oriental in origin because, as has already been pointed out, not only is there no mention of the cover in the donation act but the iconography of the seven Passion scenes, which frame the important composition of the Crucifixion, is not Byzantine.

Of the other works described by Signor Bettini I shall cite, on account of their exceptional quality: a small panel of the Virgin and Child between two angels with sixteen saints and prophets in the frame, formerly in the Uffizi, now in the Accademia of Florence; a triptych in the Vatican Gallery representing the Coronation of the Virgin with SS. Peter and Paul embracing to the left and to the right two anchorites seated in a grotto; and a half-length figure of St. John the Baptist in a private collection, Milan. To Signor Bettini's list I should like to add a big panel of the half-length dead Saviour between the standing Virgin and St. John, signed "*Angelus pinxit*" in the Correr Museum (I 1021). In the same collection (383) we find still a fine triptych with the Madonna in the centre, three saints in each wing and the twelve Apostles below, all in half-length figure. Here too (974) we find a Veneto-Byzantine half-length Madonna feeding the Child, surrounded by non-Italian small scenes, from the first half of the 15th century. Giovanni Perminiato signed a big picture in this

⁽¹⁾ The Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, has an interesting collection of Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine panels. Among those in the Vatican Gallery there seem to be a few of the 15th century, probably of Venetian origin. Two small Madonnas in the museum of Capodistria might also be of that period.



Fig. 299. Veneto-Byzantine School, circa 1500, St. Jerome. Van Marle Collection, Perugia. Photo Brogi.

museum — a decadent late Veneto-Byzantine production — in which, in a landscape background, the Madonna is seen enthroned between the Baptist and a holy bishop.

I want to mention further two pictures of St. Jerome removing the thorn from the lion's paw in which the figures of the holy father, as well as those of the lion, are much alike. One example, which is shown against a gold background, is in my own collection and might date from the end of the 15th century (fig. 299); the other, which some time ago was for sale in Germany, is of a more evolved design, with a more elaborate bench and rocks and a church in the background and can, I think, be assigned to the beginning of the 16th century ⁽¹⁾.

It is interesting to remark that the Madonneri took their inspiration sometimes from the great masters of the 15th century. Of Giovanni Bellini's dead Christ between the Virgin and St. John there exist to my knowledge two late Byzantine replicas, one in the museum of Bamberg, the other in the gallery of Vicenza (161).

⁽¹⁾ I do not think that Signor Bettini is right (p. 54) in classifying as Creto-Venetian the Crucifixion in S. Marcuola, which is a Venetian work of the 14th century. Bettini himself expresses some doubt about it. Nor do I believe that the Crucifixion, once in the von Auspitz coll., Vienna, which he reproduces (pl. 31) could possibly be Veneto-Macedonian. I have reproduced it in the second volume of the Italian edition of "the Development of the Italian Schools", fig. 1, as a Siense production between the Duecento and Duccio. I also rather doubt whether the small diptych in the Vatican Gallery (*Bettini*, op. cit., pl. 29) was painted in Venice; in any case it does not look like a production of the Madonneri. On the other hand, I agree with Signor Bettini, who misquotes me, that the triptych in the Vatican Gallery, which I mention (Vol. V, p. 482) as a work of Caterino, might be by a similar traditionalistic artist, though of a somewhat later date than I formerly supposed; the connexion with Caterino is nevertheless very obvious.

CHAPTER IX

VENETIAN ENGRAVINGS, WOODCUTS AND MINIATURES OF THE XV CENTURY.

With the exception of a few prints, such as those made by Jacopo de' Barbari and Mocetto, the art of engraving in Venice⁽¹⁾ prior to the 16th century was almost entirely limited to woodcut illustrations of books.

Of the list drawn up by Kristeller very few items have been accepted as really Venetian.

The long series, formerly known as Mantegna's "Tarocchi Cards" now more appropriately called "fifty instructive prints", does not stylistically speaking belong to Venetian art, nor do the Fountain of Love in the British Museum, the Cupids' Vintage and the Death of Orpheus, which are of the same school as the "instructive prints".

An engraving of a thoroughly Venetian style and of a very early date (1460—65)⁽²⁾, showing, as has been observed, some connexion with the art of Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna, is that representing the Virgin seated, holding a book on her knee, with the Child sitting on a cushion on the floor; St. Agatha kneels near the Madonna and St. Catherine receives the

(1) *D. Gnoli*, Il sogno di Polifilo, La Bibliofilia, I, 1900. *P. Kristeller*, Ein Venez. Blochbuch, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXII, 1901, p. 132. *The Same*, Der Venez. Kupferstich im XV Jahrh., Mitteil. d. Gesellsch. f. Vervielfält. Kunst, 1907. *The Same*, Kupferstich u. Holzschnitt, pp. 133, 280. *F. Lippmann*, Der Ital. Holzschnitt im XV Jahrh., Berlin, 1885, p. 39. *W. Dana Orcutt*, The Book in Italy, London, etc., 1928, p. 52. *J. Proppelreuter*, Der anonyme Meister des Poliphilo, Strasbourg, 1904. *Essling duc de Rivoli*, Les Missels imprimés à Venise, Paris, 1896. *The Same*, Les premiers ornements xylographiques dans les livres de Venise, Florence, 1907. *The Same*, Livres à figures vénitiens, 6 vols., Florence. Paris, 1907-14. *A. M. Hind*, An Introduction to a History of Woodcut, II, London, 1935, pp. 415, 456.

(2) *Hind*, Catal. Ital. Engr., p. 281 with bibliography.

ring from the little Jesus; four angelic musicians are seen in the foreground, while a fifth approaches the Infant Christ; to the sides are depicted the standing figures of SS. Jerome, Sebastian, Dominic and a Dominican monk. This important print, which frequently though erroneously is considered to be a woodcut, is known to us from one damaged copy pasted inside the cover of an "Epistolae Hieronymi", Venice, 1496, in the Marcian Library.



Fig. 300. Woodcut illustrating Nicola Malermi's Italian translation of the Bible.

A series of the seven deadly sins is also probably Venetian, and very likely other prints, though they have no distinctive characteristics, are of the same origin.

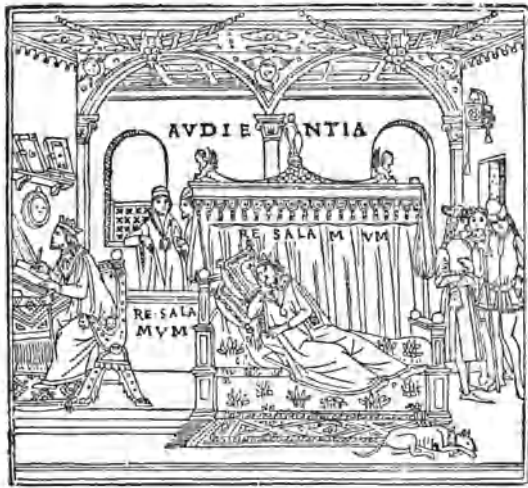


Fig. 301. Woodcut illustrating Nicola Malermi's Italian translation of Ovidius 1497.

On the other hand Venetian woodcuts, used as book illustrations, of the second half of the 15th century, are as numerous as they are fine and we can certainly look upon Venice as the most important Italian centre of this art.

I need not enter into the classification according to the monograms found on some of these prints, as this has already been done.

Books were printed for the first time in Venice in 1469; however

the "Meditationes" of Turrecremata, published in Rome in 1473, was the first illustrated volume which appeared in Italy. Books illustrated with woodcuts were introduced into Venice by the printer Erhard Radtold of Augsburg, who embellished his earliest productions in 1476, 1478 and 1482 with very fine and rich borders round the titles, while in 1484 he printed a "Fasciculus temporum" with a series of rather poor woodcut vignettes.

Similar vignettes illustrate such books as the "Supplementum Chronicarum" of 1486 and 1490, the later edition being of somewhat better quality. It was about this time that the great school of woodcut illustrations made its appearance in Venice.

The most famous example of this form of art, comprising three hundred and fifty woodcuts very similar to the small vignettes we meet with in manuscripts, is found in Nicola Malermi's Italian translation of the Bible which was published by Giunta in 1490 (figs. 300, 301). The same method of illustration, still more or less following the example of the earlier manuscripts, with larger woodcuts at the beginning of the volume and here and there throughout the text, is found in several other publications of this period, as for instance the "Novellino" of Masuccio Salernitano, the "Cento Novelle" of Boccaccio, both printed by Gregorius de Gregoriis, who is sometimes supposed to have been the author of the woodcuts, the "Terentius", printed by Lazarus de Suardis in 1497 and many others. These tiny figures, generally in small vignettes, are typically Venetian; they are full of life and spirit and show a pronounced taste for folk-loristic details of every-day life, very much after the manner of Carpaccio. It is interesting to compare these small xylographs with those illustrating the Bible published in Cologne in 1480, which the artist who made the woodcuts in Malermi's translation obviously knew and followed. In changing entirely the spirit and the style he has been able to create rather individual works of art. Compared with these handsome and charming wood engravings, those in the Dante editions of 1491, 1493, 1507 and 1529 are clumsy, lacking in vitality and refinement.

There is another group of woodcuts in which the style, the composition and the background, frequently a landscape, are of such a grandiose and pictorial conception that we are forced to believe that the cartoons were executed by accomplished

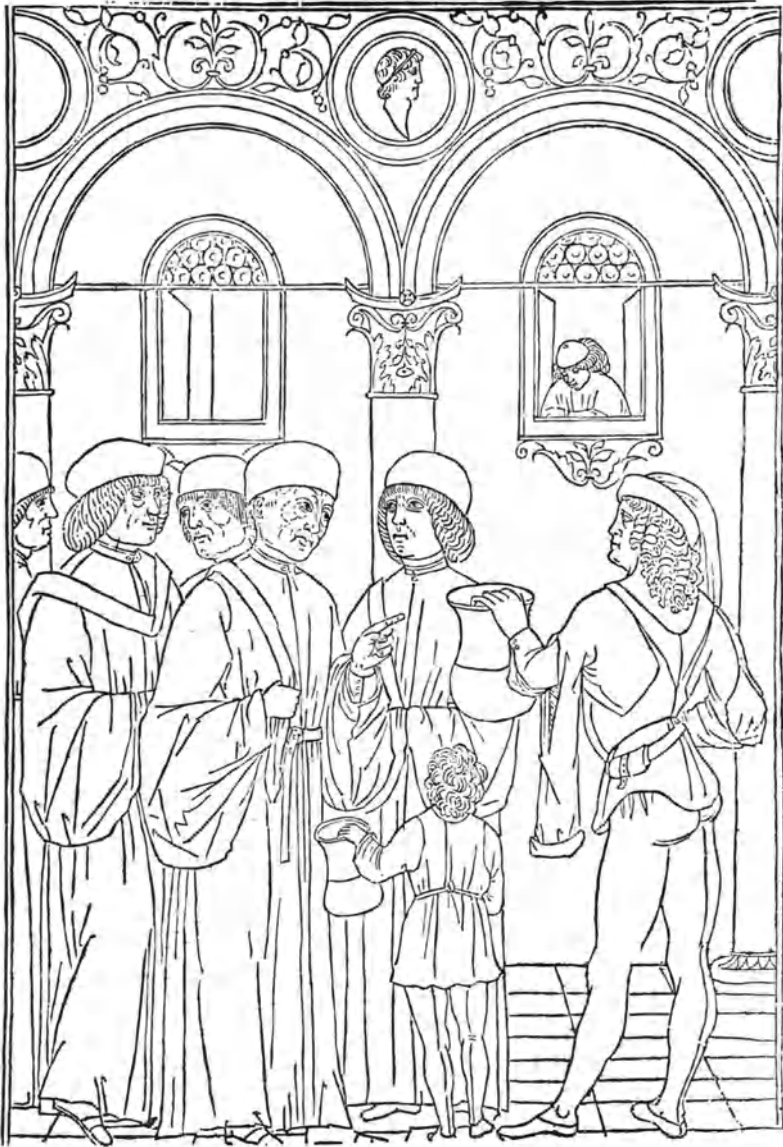


Fig. 302. Woodcut from Ketham's *Fasciculus de Medicina*, Venice, 1493.

Photo Fiorentini.

draughtsmen. Consequently, they are different from the previous group, in which even the rough sketches were made by the engraver. Here, on the other hand, we find a form of art which could

only have been created in a centre where excellent drawing was the rule. Fine examples of this manner are found in the illustrations of Nicola de Lyra's "Biblia cum postilis" of 1489 and in Guglielmus de Tridino's edition of 1493 of Nicola Malermi's Italian Bible.

A further development of this style resulted in the creation of quite monumental woodcuts limited, however, entirely to contours, as for instance those illustrating Ketham's "Fasciculo de Medicina" (fig. 302) printed in Italian in 1493 by the de Gregoriis brothers; they appear also in later editions of this work but not in the Latin edition of 1491. Notwithstanding a Paduan touch, I do not think it can be said that these illustrations belong to the school of Mantegna. I find rather an inspiration of Gentile Bellini; this is particularly evident in the plate of the venerable teacher surrounded by his pupils. To this type of engraving belongs also that of the Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani and a small cleric holding a processional cross, which figures in Giustiniani's "Dottrina del vivere religiosamente" which was published, without the name of the printer, in 1494 (fig. 303). The figure of the Blessed Lorenzo has been copied from Gentile Bellini's picture in the Accademia of Venice (Vol. XVII, fig. 79) and the cleric with the cross, though the figure has been somewhat altered, has been borrowed from the same source.

Similar in style is the woodcut in the "Dialogo di S. Caterina da Siena" printed the same year by Matthaëus Capcasa di Codeca from Parma. The same printer published other volumes with illustrations of this monumental style; they include the "Meditationi" of St. Bonaventura of 1489, the 1494 edition of the same with different engravings, and the Triumphs of Petrarch of 1493.

I really think that the illustrations of the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" by the friar Francesco Colonna, published by Aldus in 1499, were executed by more than one artist, because in this magnificent series of woodcuts, which have been ascribed to several of the greatest Venetian painters including Giambellino, we notice a considerable difference of manner. For instance, the sober grandiose style of the woodcut representing the two lovers embracing one another in a room, which belongs to the monumental style under discussion, is very different in type and in spirit, and possibly also by a different hand, from those depicting nudes in a



Fig. 303. The Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani, Woodcut, from "Dottrina del vivere religiosamente", Venice, 1494. Photo Fiorentini.

forest, the court of Venus, the triumphal chariot drawn by fauns (fig. 304) and several others. In the latter group we meet with that sensual conception of classical art which marks the end of the

school of the Quattrocento and which Giovanni Bellini in his old age made an attempt to imitate in his *Feast of the Gods*. The illustrations of the classics, such as the *Plutarch* printed in 1491, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* of 1493 and the Italian edition of 1497, naturally gave scope to the development of this antique spirit.

In Venice the art of xylography of the Quattrocento came to an end around the year 1500, when Jacobus Argentoratensis from Strasbourg popularized quite a different manner of wood engraving, based more or less on that of copper prints. Xylography was no longer looked upon as an art of outline but was produced with light effects and shading throughout the entire surface. German artists, for example Dürer, had already for some years been employing this technique even for making woodcuts. Jacobus' twelve prints of the triumphs of Caesar, obviously inspired by Mantegna's engravings of the same subject, appeared in Venice in 1504. Apart from many other woodcuts, he executed, after Montagna, a *Madonna between SS. Roch and Sebastian*, which is signed by both artists.

The innovations introduced by the German master make very obvious the extent to which the Venetian illustrators had been traditionalistic in their technique, which had been thoroughly linear and based chiefly on the artist's talent as a draughtsman.

In the abundant output of illustrated editions of the beginning of the 16th century, when the leading printing press was that of Giunta, liturgical and devotional books form a very important part. Among the illustrations there are very few which are typically Venetian, because the vogue for similar publications had already for some time existed in other countries, particularly in France, and the Venetian artists seem to have worked after foreign, and principally French, models. Among the engravings, however, we can recognize the compositions of Schongauer and Dürer, whose series of illustrations of the *Apocalypse* was more or less copied by a Venetian artist ⁽¹⁾.

A woodcut of the dead Saviour, seated on His tomb, supported by two angels, which appears in a *Missale Romanum* of 1515 and again in Folengo's *Humanita* of 1533, seems to have been inspired by a picture of Giovanni Bellini. Many illustrations, as Kristeller

(1) Certain illustrations of the *Breviarum Pataviense* of 1517 show a direct derivation from German models.



Fig. 304. Woodcut from Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Venice, 1499.

observes, reveal however a general knowledge of the art of Mantegna, since his forms are often adopted.

In the period between 1500 and 1520 several other important editions, with illustrations executed in the same technique, appeared in Venice, as for example Petrarch's *Triumphs* of 1500, a Dante of 1512 and quite a number of classical authors ⁽¹⁾. On the whole these illustrations are rather monotonous, lifeless and

⁽¹⁾ Of less importance are: *Suetonius*, 1506 and 1510. *Valerius Maximus*, 1508 and 1513. *Petrarca*, Li sonetti, canzone e triumphi, 1513, 1519, *Ovidius*, *Metamorphoseos*, 1513, 1521 and later editions. *Horatius*, *Omnia Opera*, 1514. *Sallustius*, *Opera*, 1514 and later editions. *Juvenalis*, 1515. *Publio Philippo Mantovano*, *Formicone*, 1517. *Petrarca*, *Secreta*, 1520. *Nic. di Augustini*, *Successi bellici*, 1521. *Dante*, *Convivio*, 1521. *Martialis*, *Epigrammata*, 1521. *Homerus*, *Ilias*, 1526.

lacking in form and elegance. The monogram found in many of these prints might be that of Zoan Andrea Vavassore detto Guadagnino, one of the few names we know of the Venetian engravers of the 15th century and early 16th who formed a very important and productive group. It was only in an artistic centre such as Venice, where the art of painting and drawing had reached such an exceptionally high standard, that a school of engraving which was so largely based on perfect drawing as that of Venice could flourish (1). However, there seems to have been quite a considerable distinction between book-illustrators and painters and any connexion that can be pointed out between their respective productions is apparently fortuitous.

That Jacopo de' Barbari played a very important part in the rise and decline of this school, as Lippmann believed, is I think a mistaken conception; yet this author was right in stating that, in the art of xylography as in the art of painting, Venice was a source of inspiration to the other regions of Northern Italy.

* * *

It seems indeed strange that, whereas the art of graphic illustration had such a prodigious development in Venice, that of illumination was apparently more or less neglected in a centre where the sister art of painting reached so high a standard. In any case, it was left for the greater part to foreigners, so that this form of artistic activity never really acquired a typically Venetian character (2).

This is all the more surprising since miniature painting flourished, as we saw, in the previous century. In the early years of

(1) None the less also in Venice quite a number of books were illustrated with very ordinary popular woodcuts, as for example *Jac. Phil. Bergomensis*, Supplementum chronicarum, 1492. *S. Bernardo*, Sermoni, 1502. *Cicero*, Epistolarum familiarium, 1508. *Boccaccio*, Fiametta, 1511. *Julius Caesar*, Commentaria, 1517, etc.

(2) *R. Bratti*, Miniatori veneziani, Nuov. Arch. Venet., N. S., II¹, 1901, p. 73. *The Same*, Miniature veneziane, Emporium (March 1907), p. 187. *Cheney*, Remarks on the illuminated official Manuscripts of the Venetian Republic, 1869. *D'Ancona*, La miniatura italiana, Paris-Brussels, 1925, p. 62. *C. Foucard*, Della pittura sui manoscritti di Venezia, Atti dell' Imp. R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia, 1857, p. 25. *Testi*, op. cit., I, p. 503.



Fig. 305. Venetian School, Miniature. *Mariegola dell' Arte della Seta*.
Correr Museum, Venice. Photo Filippi.

the 15th century Andrea Amadio was still at work and his marvellous miniatures of 1415 in Benedetto Reno's "*De Semplicibus*"



Fig. 306. Miniature of the "Promissione" of Doge Niccolò Marcello, 1473. Correr Museum, Venice. Photo Filippo.

are among the finest botanical illustrations ever made. This volume is now in the Marciana Library.

Documents provide us with the names of quite a number of miniaturists who were active in Venice in the 15th century⁽¹⁾ but we are surprised to find that many of them were not of Venetian origin. We know of ten miniaturists who came respectively from Vicenza, Padua, Verona, Terzago, Bologna, Modena, Cremona,

⁽¹⁾ *Foucard*, op. cit. *Testi*, op. cit.



Fig. 307. Venetian Miniature of 1462-65. British Museum.

Photo Brit. Mus.

Florence, Pisa and Lucca, while in only seven cases is there no mention of a foreign origin.

There is quite a number of official books of the town, ledgers of the different corporations and, naturally, numerous liturgical volumes, many of which are exhibited in the Correr Museum, which reveal the activity of miniaturists in Venice. However, we look in vain for any distinctive characteristics which might enable us to unite these often very fine illuminations into one local group; they are as different one from the other as the towns of origin of their masters.

Yet there are a few miniatures which vaguely recall the style of the great Venetian painters and some of them have even been attributed, but without foundation, to Bartolomeo Vivarini and Carpaccio. Those in the "Mariegola" of S. Stefano really bear, as Testi observes, some resemblance to Cima's art, but unfortunately they have been somewhat retouched (fig. 305).

There are several miniatures which in style recall the productions of Gerolamo da Cremona. This influence, though rather transformed by Venetian, I should say Bellinesque, elements, is manifest in an important illumination in the "Promissione" of Doge Nicolò Marcello of 1473 in the Correr Museum (fig. 306).

In the British Museum in the congratulatory oration by Bernard Bembo to Doge Cristoforo Mauro, which was executed between 1462 and 1465, we find two pages with miniatures showing architectural frames, adorned with angels, peacocks, garlands of fruit and coats of arms, which reveal rather a Paduan inspiration (fig. 307) ⁽¹⁾.

The miniature, now in the Correr Museum, of the "Commissione" of 1485 to Agostino Barbarigo, procurator of S. Marco, shows some resemblance to those executed in Ferrara for Duke

(1) British Museum, Reprods. from illum. Manuscripts, II, 2nd ed., 1910, p. 16, pl. 47. *P. Toesca*, La coll. di Ulr. Hoepli; Monumenti e studi per la stor. della miniat. ital., I, Milan, 1930, pp. 120, 121, pls. 106-109, ascribes to the Venetian school a miniature of a male saint standing in a landscape and two miniatures of martyrdom scenes in this collection. He may be right, though I see no conclusive reasons why they should have been executed in Venice. More convincing is, I think, the attribution to the Venetian school of the unimportant miniatures in an "Officium beatae Virginis Mariae" in the Civic Library of Trento, where we find another "Officium" containing miniatures which are also supposed to be Venetian. *H. J. Hermanin*, Die illum. Handschr. in Tirol; Beschreib. Verzeich. der illum. Handschr. in Österreich, I, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 260-261.



Fig. 308. Venetian Miniature of 1486. British Museum.

Photo Brit. Mus.

Borso, that is to say connected with the Paduan and Veronese schools. In this museum there are several of these "Commissioni" of the 15th century but their miniatures are more of a Paduan and Cremonese character and are, besides, generally without importance.

The miniatures of the Crucifixion and three saints, which illuminate the "Mariegola" of the "Scuola" of the water-carriers, are quite Ferrarese in style, while a follower of the Bonfigli of Perugia seems to have executed the one in the "Mariegola" of the fishmongers.

One of the few miniatures recalling the Venetian school of painting, more particularly the manner of Giambellino, is found in the "Mariegola" of the wood-sawers, a ledger which was started in 1445; the miniature, however, is of considerably later date.

Of finer quality and still more purely Venetian, reminding us, though distantly, of Giambellino and Carpaccio, is the miniature in the "Commissione" of Agostino Barbarigo; it dates from 1486 and is preserved in the British Museum (fig. 308).

A significant and typical Venetian production in the art of miniature painting is the well known little piece of vellum — about 12½ inches by 9 — with the profile bust portrait of Doge Andrea Vendramin (1476—78) and those of two other persons who are supposed to be the doge's secretary and the papal envoy, now in the Koenigs collection, Haarlem (fig. 309) (1). The figures are framed by a window from which is hung a piece of cut-velvet, with the Vendramin coat of arms, concealing most of the ornamental wall. This little master-piece has been ascribed to Gentile and Giovanni Bellini. It seems to show more similarity to the work of the former, though a comparison with this master's miniature of an Oriental artist in the Gardner collection, Boston, leaves us doubtful. The technique seems to be different; in the

(1) Formerly in the Sunderland and Heseltine collections. *Catal. of the Exhib. of Venetian Painting, Burlington Club, 1912, No. 70, pl. 50* (Giov. Bellini). *A. Venturi, Stor. dell' arte ital., VII⁴, p. 558, fig. 343* (an anonymous Bellinesque). *Catal. of the Exhib. of Italian Art, Royal Academy, London, 1930, No. 696* (Gentile Bellini). *A. E. Popham, Italian Drawings exhibited at the Royal Academy, Burlington House, London, 1931, No. 159* (Venetian school). *Babniel and Clark, op. cit.* (Venetian school). *Catal. of the Exhibition of old Italian art in Dutch possession, Amsterdam, 1934, No. 432* (Gentile Bellini).



Fig. 309. Venetian Miniature, 1476-78, Doge Andrea Vendramin and two Officials. Koenigs Collection, Haarlem.

Photo Frequin.

picture of the Doge it is more that of a real miniaturist. We might also consider the possibility that it is a work of Jacometto Veneziano, whose activity as a miniature portrait painter is known to us; yet again a comparison with his works in the Liechtenstein Gallery makes this improbable. Consequently, I think it safer to refrain from ascribing this gem of the art of miniature painting to any definite master.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

p. 1. To the Bibliography on Carlo Crivelli should be added; *W. Boeck*, An unpublished drawing by C. C., Burlington Magazine, LIX, 1931, p. 72 (Adoration of the Shepherds, Print Room, Berlin). *G. Fiocco* Ein neuer Crivelli, Pantheon, VII, 1931, p. 248, (St. Bernardine in a private collection Milan, supposed to have formed part of the Montefiore altar-piece).

p. 62 (note 2 of p. 60), Malaspina Museum, Padua, should read Malaspina Museum, Pavia.

p. 64. The Madonna by a follower of Carlo Crivelli at Poggio di Brettia (not Brella) has also been attributed to the painter himself by *G. Fiocco*, Un ignoto C., Rivista d'arte, 1930, p. 237.

p. 124. The date in the title of the illustration should be 1482 as in text.

p. 145. The St. Francis in Sta. Maria Assunta, Asolo, mentioned as by Alvisè Vivarini is by Andrea da Murano, v. pp. 165 (164 note 1) and 528.

p. 154. The bust portrait by Alvisè Vivarini in the Rothermere collection has been published by *T. Borenius*, Apollo, XXII, 1935, p. 254.

p. 164, note 1. To the list of works attributed to Alvisè Vivarini should be added a signed St. Jerome in penitence in the T. Harris collection, London, *T. Borenius*, Cicerone, 1930, p. 500.

p. 134 note, 12th line from below, Presentation in the Temple should be Resurrection.

p. 172 note 1. To the literature on Lazzaro Bastiani should be added: *G. Fiocco*, A proposito dei pittori Bastiani e del Carpaccio, Rivista di Venezia, January 1933 and *E. Sandberg Vavala*, L. B.'s Madonnas, Burlington Magazine, LIX, 1931, p. 124, who attributes to this artist several paintings, which I believe to be early works by either Bartolomeo Vivarini or Giovanni Bellini, and publishes some new material.

p. 197. To the bibliography on Carpaccio should be added: *G. Fiocco*, C., Rome, (1933) the monography to which I constantly refer in the text; *The Same*, Le pitture di V. C. per l'organo del Duomo di Capo d'Istria, Atti e mem. della Soc. Istriana di Arch. e di Stor. patr., XLIII, 1935 and the article by *the Same* mentioned in addition to p. 172.

p. 235, fig. 141. Mr. Kenneth Clark, director of the National Gallery, London, was good enough to call my attention to the fact that on cleaning the picture of the Death and Assumption of the Virgin (3077), which most critics, myself included, have classified as a work of Carpaccio, the signature of Gerolamo da Vicenza has been revealed. Its strong Carpacciesque character and its previous condition account for the erroneous attribution. Mr. Berenson told me that he thinks it is a copy by Gerolamo after Carpaccio.

p. 326. Fiocco's attributions to Carpaccio of the Pietà belonging to Messrs Agnew, and of the drawing of the dead Christ in the Uffizi, which to me seem erroneous, have been repeated by him in *L'Arte*, XXXVII, 1934, p. 237.

p. 338. A complete sketch for Carpaccio's death of St. Jerome, in the University Library of Upsala was published by *A. E. Popham*, *Old Master Drawings*, X, 1935, p. 10, pl. 13.

p. 350 note 1. To Carpaccio has been attributed also a study for two standing figures and a study for a torso in the Hermitage, Petrograd. *M. Dobroklonsky*, *Belvedere*, VI, 1931, p. 199.

p. 422 note 1. The Strange collection was in Venice, not in Vienna.

p. 452 note 3. To Jacopo da Valenza I ascribe a second picture in the gallery of Vicenza, in which the Madonna is shown in half-length figure with the Child, Who is seated on a cushion, looking up at her.

p. 459. To the bibliography on Jacopo de' Barbari should be added: *E. Brauer*, *J. de' B.'s graphische Kunst* (dissertation), Hamburg, 1933. *A. E. Bye*, A portrait of Henry the Peaceful of Mecklenburg, *Art in America*, 1930, p. 221 (which I produce as fig. 259). *B. Degenhart*, Another unknown *J. d. B.*, *Burlington Magazine*, LXI, 1932, p. 132 (Drawing of the Madonna holding the Child seated on a lamb, in the Louvre), *J. Duverger*, *J. d. B. en J. Gossart by Filips van Bourgondië te Souburg*, *Mélanges Hulin de Loo*, Brussels, 1931.

p. 462. At the Italian exhibition held in Paris in 1935 the picture of Luca Pacioli with another man was exhibited as a work of Jacopo de' Barbari, No. 224. v. *P. Wescher*, *Cicerone*, XVI, July 1935, p. 243.

INDICES

INDICES TO VOLUME XVIII

Compound names divided by di, de, del, etc., will be found under the letter of the first name, all the others under that of the second.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

The ciphers in brackets are those of the museum or sale catalogues. Illustrated descriptions are indicated by bold-faced numbers.

Aberlady (near Edinburgh).

Wemyss coll., *Vivarini, Bartolomeo* —, triptych v. Ph. Lehman coll., New York.

Agram.

Strossmayer Gallery, *Carpaccio, Vittore* —, panels of altarpiece, probably from S. Fosca, Venice (54, 56) **300**; *Catena, school of* —, Madonna and saints 400².

Aix en Provence.

Gallery, *Basaiti, Madonna* 425; *Carpaccio, school of* —, St. Sebastian and adorer (494) 373¹.

Almenno, near Bergamo.

S. Bartolomeo, *Vivarini, Bartolomeo* —, Madonna, 1485, 127.

Altenburg.

Gallery, *Crivelli, Vittorio* —, bust of an Evangelist (107) 84¹.

Amandola.

Clementi coll., *Crivelli, Carlo* —, polyptych, 1471, lost 8.

Amiens.

Museum, *Vivarini, Alwise* —, Madonna and saints, 1500 (373) **162**, 164, 170.

Amsterdam.

Rijksmuseum, *Diana, Madonna and saints* (517A) **415**¹; *Schiavone, Gregorio* —, Madonna, from the de Stuers coll., Paris 61¹.

Ex-Heldring coll., *Jacopo de' Barbari*, portrait of Henry of Mecklenburg, formerly in the

Castle of Heidelberg, 1507, 461, **474**.

Lanz coll., *Carpaccio, Vittore* —, portrait of a lady **268**; *idem, school of* —, Ariadne on Isle of Naxos 371; allegory of love 372; *Crivelli, Carlo* —, St. Augustine 26; two small polyptych panels, perhaps from S. Domenico, Ascoli **26**; *Mocetto*, child Virgin between her parents, from Humphry Ward coll., London 425; *Vivarini, Bartolomeo* —, SS. Cosmo and Damian **117**.

Private coll., *Antonio da Solario*, portrait of a lady 500; Madonna, St. Joseph and infant St. John, from Odescalchi coll., Rome and J. Spiridon coll., Paris **500**; *Jacopo de' Barbari*, Madonna, from Chillingworth coll., Lucerne 476, 476¹.

Pröhl coll., *Crivelli, Carlo* —, panel of polyptych from Montefiore dell' Aso 13.

Vom Rath coll., *Carpaccio, Vittore* —, two Apostles, from Annan Bryce coll., London 280, 283³; *Crivelli, Vittorio* —, two polyptych panels 78.

For sale, *Catena*, Madonna 388; *Crivelli, Carlo* —, Madonna of Annunciation, from Thieme coll., Leipzig 49.

Ancona.

Gallery, *Crivelli, Carlo* —, Madonna **8**, 10.

Aram.

Antonio da Rimpacta, altar-piece v. Gallery, Naples.

Arbe.

S. Andrea, *Vivarini*, *Bartolomeo* —, polyptych, 1485, once there 127².

St. Eufemia, *Vivarini*, *Bartolomeo* and *Antonio* —, polyptych, 1458, 91, 142; *Vivarini*, *Bartolomeo* —, two polyptych panels 91.

Ascoli Piceno.

Crivelli, *Carlo* —, active 2.

Sma. Annunziata, *Crivelli*, *Carlo* —, polyptych, 1487, lost 2, 61¹; Beato Jacopo della Marca v. Louvre, Paris; Annunciation v. National Gallery, London.

Cathedral, *Crivelli*, *Carlo* —, polyptych, 1473, 6, 10; *idem*, *attrib. to* —, Crucifixion, from S. Pietro in Castello, lost 61¹.

S. Domenico, *Crivelli*, *Carlo* —, polyptych, 1476, dispersed 24, 26 v. perhaps Museum, Berlin and Lanz coll., Amsterdam; polyptych in sacristy 24; mystic wedding of St. Catherine 61¹.

S. Gregorio Magno, *Crivelli*, *Carlo* —, Madonna and saints, lost 32¹.

Sta. Maria della Carità detto della Scopa Hospital, *Crivelli*, *Carlo* —, panel, lost 61¹.

S. Pietro in Castello, *Crivelli*, *Carlo* —, *attrib. to* —, Deposition, lost 61¹; Crucifixion v. Cathedral.

Gallery, *Alamanno*, *Pietro* —, Madonna and saints (74) 84¹.

Asola (Brescia).

Cathedral, *Mocetto*(?), Annunciation and saints 428¹.

Asolo.

Sta. Maria Assunta, *Andrea da Murano*, St. Francis 145, 164¹, 528, 569; *Bastiani*, *Lazzaro* —, St. Jerome 184.

Atri.

S. Francesco, *Crivelli*, *Carlo* —, Holy Trinity v. Rothermere coll., London.

Augsburg.

Gallery, *Jacopo de' Barbari*, still-life v. Ältere Pinakothek, Munich (5066).

Baltimore.

Walters coll., *Antonio da Solario*, Madonna and saints (502) 505; *Carpaccio*, school of —, Ma-

donna and St. Joseph 370; false picture of St. George and the dragon with signature of Pietro Carpaccio 362; *Catena*, Madonna and saints 378; *Crivelli*, *Carlo* —, Madonna and saints 50; *Crivelli*, *Vittorio* —(?), St. John the Baptist and a holy bishop (709) 84¹; Ecce Homo (566) 84¹; *Vivarini*, *Alvise* —, Madonna (535) 164¹.

Bamberg.

Museum, *Veneto-Byzantine school*, Pietà 551.

Bari.

S. Nicola, *Vivarini*, *Bartolomeo* —, altar-piece 119.

Gallery, *Vivarini*, *Alvise* —, two polyptych panels, SS. Catherine and Antony of Padua 139, 149; *Vivarini*, *Bartolomeo* —, polyptych, St. Francis and saints 125, 144; Annunciation (102) 130³; *idem*, school of —, polyptych panel, St. Peter 130³.

Barletta.

S. Andrea, *Bastiani*, *Lazzaro* —, *wrongly attrib. to* —, St. Antony 190²; *Vivarini*, *Alvise* —, Madonna, 1483 139, 148, 164¹, 170.

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Bachofen Museum, *Diana*, Madonna and St. John (1375) 415¹; *Vivarini*, *Bartolomeo* —, Crucifixion (1374) 130³.

Bassano.

Museum, *Vivarini*, *Bartolomeo* —, Christ enthroned, 130³; triptych, Pietà and saints 130³.

Private coll., *Carpaccio*, *Vittore* —, two panels, SS. Mary Magdalene and Justine 308.

Bayonne.

Bonnat Museum, *Vivarini*, *Alvise* —, head of Saviour (3) 164¹.

Bellagio.

Frizzoni coll., *Jacopo da Valenza*, *attrib. to* —, Madonna v. Frizzoni-Salis coll., Bergamo.

Belluno.

Sta. Maria dei Battuti, *Vivarini*, *Alvise* —, altar-piece v. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Pagani coll., *Jacopo da Valenza*, Madonna, from Serravalle 446.

Bergamo.

Gallery, *Bastiani*, *Lazzaro* —, Coronation of the Virgin, 1490,

174, **184**; *Bello Marco* —, Madonna and saints (376) 441, 368¹ (attrib. to B. Carpaccio by Berenson); *Campolongo*, Madonna (375) **532**; *Carpaccio, Vittore* —, Nativity of Virgin, from Scuola degli Albanesi, Venice (155) 269, **270**, 275, 280, 282, 340, 359, 361; six saints from a polyptych 300; panel of St. Roch, probably part of altar-piece from S. Fosca, Venice 301; *idem, school of* —, bust of a lady (388) 370; Nativity of the Virgin (161) 373¹; *Catena*, Meal at Emmaus 397, 398 *Crivelli, Carlo* —, Madonna **32**; *Jacopo da Valenza*, bust of Christ blessing 446; *idem*(?) , head of a youth (173) 168³, **453**, 453², 455, 476³; *Marziale, Marco* —, Madonna and donor, 1504 (395) 508, 512; *idem, attrib. to* —, Christ and the adulterous woman (410) 518²; *Pensaben, Fra Marco* —, Madonna, saints and Dominican monk (384) **535**; *Vivarini, Alvise* —, Madonna (150) 164¹; *Vivarini, Bartolomeo* —, Madonna, 1486 (175) 127; triptych, Madonna and saints, 1488, **129**; SS. Jerome and Barnaba (337, 338) 130³; Trinity and angels (379—381) 130³; *idem and helpers*, St. Martin and saints, 1491, 89, 130.

Frizzoni coll., *Vivarini, Bartolomeo* —, three half-figures of saints 127.

Frizzoni Salis coll., *Jacopo da Valenza, attrib. to* —, Madonna, from Frizzoni coll., Bellagio 452³.

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