

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ITALIAN  
SCHOOLS OF PAINTING

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*CHRIST RESURRECTED.*

*From the fresco by Piero della Francesca. Palazzo Comunale,  
Borgo San Sepolcro.*

Photo Anderson.

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

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

## PREFACE

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The preparation of this volume and of those that have still to follow necessitated a fairly long sojourn in Great Britain and I feel that I must express my gratitude to all those with whom I came in contact for the continuation of this work. Here I should like to convey my personal appreciation, which I feel sure is shared by every historian of art, of the kindness of Sir Robert and Lady Witt, whose collection, incredibly rich in reproductions of works of art, is open to students in a manner which is as cordial as it is useful. My relations with private collectors and with the officials of museums and other collections will always remain a very happy souvenir and once more I wish to thank more particularly Mr. Arthur M. Hind of the Print Room of the British Museum for all that he did to facilitate my study of this marvellous collection of drawings and prints.

*San Marco di Perugia, December 1928.*

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## INTRODUCTION

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After the death of Cosimo de' Medici, Florence lost for a short time that perfect harmony of tendencies which united the noble seigneur with all his surroundings and with the artists and which, during the first generation of the Renaissance, was so fruitful.

This perfect harmony returns only with the advent of Botticelli, the artist who was best fitted to understand the refined tastes, both literary and artistic, with a decided weakness for pagan antiquity, of Lorenzo il Magnifico who, in 1469 at the age of twenty, started his reign over Florence, in succession to his father, Piero il Gottoso, who governed the city only five years.

Certainly no one can say that Lorenzo was not inclined to employ the great artistic geniuses whom he found active in Florence at that moment and, as we shall see, Verrocchio in particular, but also Pollaiuolo and Benozzo Gozzoli worked for Lorenzo.

We are forced to believe, however, that Benozzo Gozzoli's paintings did not please him very much because after the decoration in the chapel of his palace was completed, he gave no other orders to this artist. Pollaiuolo executed the three representations of the Labours of Hercules but apart from that neither he nor his brother seems to have been continuously employed by Lorenzo de' Medici. Verrocchio made a great many works for the reigning family but the connexion between the Maecenas and the artist was not very close. In fact Verrocchio only executed for his patron such works as he might very well have undertaken for any other great seigneur; perhaps after all Verrocchio's mentality was a little too serious, I might almost say, too heavy for the brilliant Lorenzo. There is nothing in his works which reveals



either the personality or the literary tastes of this prince who evidently did not communicate his liking for classical art to Verrocchio; nevertheless, Verrocchio was certainly Lorenzo's favourite artist and one with whom he was on fairly intimate terms. On several occasions, particularly with regard to the monument at Pistoia, Lorenzo resolutely protects his favourite artist, whose great value he perfectly realized.

It might be supposed that Pollaiuolo with his tendency towards classicalism would have been accepted by Lorenzo with more enthusiasm than seems to have been the case, but perhaps this great master was too anatomically scientific to satisfy entirely Lorenzo's aspirations; certainly when compared with Botticelli's works, we find that Pollaiuolo's art lacks a sense of sweetness and lyricism, an omission which the poet prince surely felt.

Nor does he seem to have been greatly attracted by the painters and sculptors of a more religious tendency, as for instance Baldovinetti, who was still to a certain extent dominated by the masters of a previous generation such as Fra Angelico and Domenico Veneziano, Antonio Rossellino, Benedetto da Maiano, Mino da Fiesole or even Desiderio da Settignano who, however, made several portraits. It must be admitted, however, that this group of sculptors, in spite of the many delicious productions they created, lived in a somewhat traditionalistic atmosphere, very different from that of Verrocchio and Pollaiuolo. The problems of realism and anatomical science, which seem to have haunted the mind of Pollaiuolo, were beyond their comprehension and for this reason they neither influenced, nor collaborated with, the art of painting in the discovery of new horizons which were to help in the further development of the art of the Renaissance. Besides the need of their collaboration was less felt because the two greatest Florentine artists of the generation, Verrocchio and Pollaiuolo, were just as much sculptors as painters, if not more.

Lorenzo de' Medici doubtless realized this and it was for this reason that he chose as his favourite artists these two geniuses who produced works of great beauty, attempting at the same time to create something new. Lorenzo was not only their protector; he encouraged them in every possible

manner but this does not preclude the fact that it was Botticelli who was the veritable artistic interpreter of Lorenzo de' Medici and of the refined Florentine mentality of his surroundings and because of this I will enter more fully into the life of Lorenzo in the following volume.

## CHAPTER I

### PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA <sup>(1)</sup>

Piero della Francesca or rather dei Franceschi <sup>(2)</sup> was not Florentine by birth, nor did he belong to that group of painters who established more and more firmly the artistic principles of the Renaissance in Florence.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Aubert*, Bemerkungen über das Altarwerk des P. de F. in Perugia, Zeitsch. f. bild. Kunst, Neue Folge, X, 1898—99, p. 263. *F. Bargiulli*, Riflessioni critiche sulla vita di P. d. F. scritta da G. Vasari, Giornale Arcadico, CXXXVI, 1852, p. 177. *B. Berenson*, P.'s Altar-piece in the Brera, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1886, p. 80. *The Same*, A. Baldovinetti et P. d. F., Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1898, II, p. 39. *W. von Bode*, Der Hl. Hieronymus im hügliger Landschaft von P. d. F., eine neu Erwerbung des Kaiser Friedrich Museums, Jahrb. d. Preus. Kunstsamml., XLV, 1924, p. 201. *W. Bombe*, Zur Genesis des Auferstehungsfreskos von P. d. F., Repert. f. Kunstwiss., 1909, p. 331. *C. Budinich*, Un quadro di Luciano Del Laurana nella Gal. di Urbino, Trieste, 1902. *A. Cinquini*, On the two portraits in the Uffizi, *Classici neolatini*, I, 1905, p. 119. *The Same*, P. d. F. a Urbino e i ritratti degli Uffizi, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 56. *A. Del Vita*, Notizie sulla famiglia e sulla madre di P. d. F., Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1916, p. 273. *The Same*, Il volto di P. d. F., *Rassegna d'Arte*, XX, 1920, p. 109. *The Same*, P. d. F., Florence, 1921. *J. Dennistoun of Dennistoun*, *Memories of the Dukes of Urbino*, new ed. by E. Hutton, I, II, London, 1909. *Evelyn*, v. *Marini-Franceschi*, *G. Fogolari*. Recension on Winterberg's publication of Piero's Treaty, *L'Arte*, 1909, p. 129. *G. Galassi*, Appunti sulla scuola pittorica Romana del quattrocento, *L'Arte*, XVI, 1913, p. 107. *F. Gherardi-Dragomanni*, Vita di P. d. F. del Vasari, Florence, 1885. *P. Gherardi*, Degli uomini illustri di Urbino, Urbino, 1856. *L. Giunti*, P. d. F. dal Borgo S. Sepolcro, *Arte e Storia*, 1887, p. 205 (also separate, Arezzo, 1888). *H. Graber*, P. d. F., Basel, 1920. *C. Grigioni*, I decoratori del Tempio Malatestiano di Rimini, *Rass. bibliogr. dell' Arte Ital.*, XII, 1909. *The Same*, Un soggiorno ignorato di P. d. F. in Rimini, *Rass. bibliogr. dell' Arte Ital.*, XII, 1909, p. 118. *G. Gronau*, P. d. F., Thieme-Becker, *Kunstlerlexikon*, XII, 1916, p. 289. *J. Guiffrey*, (Madonna in the Louvre by Baldovinetti), *L'Arte*, 1898, p. 46. *E. Harzen*, Ueber den Maler P. d. F. und seinem

<sup>(2)</sup> *Gronau*, op. cit., Repert. f. Kunstwiss., 1900, p. 393.

None the less, of this generation there was not a single painter, so characteristically Florentine, who succeeded in such a perfect manner in uniting in his artistic personality all the previous achievements of the Florentine school. Piero was the

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vermeintlichen Plagiarius etc., Pacioli, Archiv. f. d. Zeichnenden Künste, 1856, p. 231. *G. J. Hoogewerff*, P. d. F., Elzevier's geillustreerd Maandschrift, 1919, pp. 153, 237. *H. Janitschek*. Des P. d. F. drei Bücher von der Perspektive. Kunstchronik, XIII, 1878, p. 670. *K. Jordan*, Der vermisste Traktat des P. d. F. etc., Jahrb. d. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., I, 1880. *R. Longhi*, P. d. F. e lo sviluppo della pittura veneziana, L'Arte, 1914, pp. 198, 241. *The Same*, P. d. F., Rome (1927). *G. Mancini*, L'opera "De corporibus regularibus" di P. F. etc., Atti della R. Ac. dei Lincei, Memorie della classe di Scienze morali etc., Rome, Serie V, 1915, Vol. XIV, p. 446. *The Same*, Vasari, Vite cinque annotati, Florence, 1917. *The Same*, La madre di P. d. F., Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1918, p. 61. *H. Marcol*, P. d. F. e Melozzo da Forli, Mélanges Lemonnier. 1913, p. 399. *E. Marini-Franceschi*, La Madonna del Parto di P. d. F., Cronache della civiltà elleno-latina, 1902, p. 102. *The Same*, L'Ercole di P. d. F., idem, p. 140. *The Same*, P. d. F. e la sua opera, Rivista d'Italia, 1902, p. 77. *The Same*, Impressioni artistiche, Milan, 1908, p. 109. *The Same*, P. d. F. ritrattista. Rivista di Roma, 1911. *The Same*, P. de F., Citta di Castello, 1912. *The Same*, Alcune notizie inedite su P. d. F., L'Arte, XVI, 1913, p. 471. *The Same*, Alcune curiose notizie su Fra Luca Pacioli, L'Arte, 1914, p. 224. *A. Masséra*, Dates of frescoes in Rimini, Arte e Storia, 1913, p. 199 and in Il Momento (Rimini), 12 June, 1913. *A. Melani*, Nuovi affreschi di P. d. F. in Arezzo, Arte e Storia, 1904, p. 127. *The Same*, On the condition of the frescoes in Arezzo, L'Arte, 1904, p. 82. *G. Milanesi*, Vita di P. d. F. (scritta da Vasari), Giornale stor. d. Arch. toscani, VI, 1862, p. 10. *The Same*, Scritti vari sulla storia dell' arte toscana, Siena, 1873, p. 299. *The Same*, Documents re the Madonna della Misericordia, the Ascension in Borgo San Sepolcro and testament, Buonarroto, 1885, 1887. *E. Müntz*, A. Mantegna e P. d. F., Archiv Stor. dell' Arte, II, 1889, p. 273. *L. Olschki*, Die Literatur der Technik u. der angewandten Wissenschaften, Leipzig, Florence etc. 1919, p. 137. *J. D. Passavant*, Raffaello d'Urbino etc., appendix III. *G. F. Pichi*, L'Assunzione di M. Vergine etc. nella chiesa di S. Chiara di San Sepolcro e opera di P. d. F., Bologna, 1888. *The Same*, On works of the school of P. d. F., Arch. Stor. dell' arte, p. 145. *The Same*, La Vita e le opere di P. d. F., Borgo San Sepolcro, 1892. *The Same*, Notizie della ricostituzione del trittico etc. alla chiesa della Misericordia in San Sepolcro etc., Arte e Storia, 1892, p. 232. *The Same*, On the condition of the Madonna of Sinigaglia, Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 1892, p. 362; Nuova Rivista Misena, V, 1892, p. 159. *G. Pittarelli*, Intorno al libro "De prospetiva pingendi" di P. d. F., Atti. Congr. di Scien. Stor., XII, Rome, 1904, p. 251. *A. Pope*, A small Crucifixion by P. d. F., Art in America,

artistic inheritor of Domenico Veneziano who, in spite of his Venetian origin, was before all Florentine; on the other hand Piero cannot be classified in that group of painters originating from the borders of Tuscany and Umbria, such as Signorelli and Bartolommeo della Gatta, although we must admit that his native town is situated just in this Tusco-Umbrian region, so that if we include Piero in the Florentine school we no longer observe geographical boundaries.

It is surprising that a serious and scientific monography has not yet been dedicated to this artist who can be considered

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V, 1917, p. 217. *C. Posti*, On lost frescoes by P. d. F. at Ancona, Le Marche, VII, 1907, p. 127. *L. Pungileoni*, Elogio storico di Giov. Santi, Urbino, 1822, pp. 12, 75. *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1905, p. 116, Madonna in Johnson collection, Philadelphia. *F. v. Reber*, (Architectural view in Urbino) Sitzungsbericht d. Münchener Akad., 1889, II. *C. Ricci*, P. d. F. (L'opera dei grandi artisti italiani, I), Rome, 1910 (L'Arte, XIII, 1910, p. 317). *The Same*, Affreschi di P. d. F. a Ferrara, Bolletino d'arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1913, p. 197; Note d'arte, Rome, 1913. *M. Salmi*, I Bacci di Arezzo etc. e le lore cappelle nella chiesa di S. Francesco, Rivista d'Arte, IX, 1916, p. 224. *The Same*, La scuola di P. d. F. nei dintorni di Arezzo, Rassegna d'Arte, XVII, 1916, p. 168. *L. Sighinolfi*, Sigismondo Malatesta e P. d. F., Il Resto del Carlino, 7 June 1913, 17 July 1913 (L'Arte, 1914, p. 237). *C. Sitte*, Die Perspektivlehre des P. d. F., Mitteil. d. K. K. Oester. Mus. f. Kunst u. Industr., Vienna, 1879, p. 325. *U. Tavanti*, Scoperta di affreschi di P. d. F. ad Arezzo, L'Arte, 1906, p. 305. *Vasari*, v. *Bargiulli*, *Gherardi*, *Mancini*, *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, II, p. 487. *A. Venturi*, Un quadro di P. d. F. in America, L'Arte, XXI, 1918, p. 3. *The Same*, Frammenti di polittico di P. d. F. nella Galleria Lichtenstein, L'Arte, XXIV, 1921, p. 152. *The Same*, P. d. F. Grandi maestri dell' arte ital., Florence, 1922, *L. Venturi*, Un opera giovanile di P. d. F., L'Arte, XVIII, 1905, p. 127. *A. Vernaricci*, Intorno a P. d. F., Arte e Storia, 1887, p. 229. *C. Warburg*, P. d. F.'s Constantinslacht in der Aquarellkopie des Ramboux, Atti del X Congresso intern. di stor. dell' arte, Rome, 1922, p. 326. *W. G. Waters*, P. d. F., London, 1901. *W. Weisbach*, Recension on Witting's book, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., 1889, p. 72. *The Same*, Ein verschollenes Silbstbildniss des P. d. F., Repert. f. Kunstwiss., 1900, p. 388. *F. Wickhoff*, Ueber einige Italienische Zeichungen im British Museum, Jahrb. K. Preus Kunstsamml., XX, 1899. *The Same*, Recension on Berenson's article on Baldovinetti, Kunstgesch. Annzeig., 1904. *The Same* Abhandl. u. Anzeigen, Berlin, 1913, p. 340. *C. Winterberg*, Die Traktat des P. d. F. etc. und L. Pacioli, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., V., 1882, p. 33. *The Same*, Petrus Pictor Burgenses, De prospectiva pingendi, Strasbourg, 1899. *F. Witting*, P. d. F., Strasbourg 1898. *G. Zippel*, P. d. F. a Roma, Rassegna d'Arte, XIX, 1919, p. 87.

one of the greatest geniuses and innovators in Italian painting.

We possess a considerable number of documents which enable us to follow the life and career of Piero della Francesca (1).

Piero was born in Borgo San Sepolcro between 1410 and 1420; he was the son of a shoe-maker and leather-curer, of the name of Benedetto, and Romana di Perino da Monterchi. We know nothing of the painter's childhood. Vasari's affirmation that even when a child he was intensely interested in mathematics is mere fantasy on the part of the Aretine biographer whose imagination must have been carried away by Piero's work on perspective. What is certain, however, is that at this moment Borgo San Sepolcro did not possess any artist equal to the task of moulding a painter of Piero's talent. Antonio d'Anghiari who, in 1430, made a contract to execute an altar-piece for the church of S. Francesco in Borgo San Sepolcro, and whom we find as the companion of Ottaviano Nelli, was certainly nothing more than a reactionary member of the late Gothic group (2). Nelli himself went to Borgo San Sepolcro in 1436, but a picture really worthy of inspiring Piero, viz. the polyptych that Sassetta executed for the town, was not finished until 1444, that is to say when Piero was no longer in his first youth. He reveals himself as a disciple of the Florentine school; it was certainly in Florence that he received his education and if Domenico Veneziano was not actually his first master, it was undoubtedly he who shaped this artist.

Moreover, the first document we have concerning Piero's activity, describes the painter as Domenico's helper; in the entry of 1439 which records payment made to Domenico Veneziano for the frescoes in the choir of St. Egidio, it is mentioned that Piero di Benedetto dal Borgo San Sepolcro assisted him (sta

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(1) For the documents v. works cited in the bibliography by *Pungileoni Milanesi*, *Scritti vari*, *Vite di Vasari*, those published in Buonarroti, *Marini*, *Graziani*, *Alcune notizie*, *Gronau*, in Thieme Becker, *Del Vita*, *Zippel*, *Mancini*, *La Madre di P. d. F.* and *Vasari*, *Vite cinque*. All the documents are united in *A. Venturi*, *P. d. F.*, p. 27 and *Longhi*, *P. d. F.*, p. 115.

(2) *Marini-Franceschi*, op. cit., *L'Arte*, 1913.

con lui). Prof. Longhi is of opinion that in all probability Piero became Domenico's apprentice as early as 1435 and that together they made a tour through Umbria and The Marches during which they visited Perugia in 1438 because it was this year that Domenico wrote to Cosimo de' Medici from Perugia. It would have been during this journey that they executed the decoration of the sacristy of Loreto, concerning which Vasari is our only source of information. However, it seems more likely that it was during the tour that Domenico made in 1438, that he became acquainted with Piero. Certainly Piero was no longer a child at this moment because in 1442 we find him appointed councillor of his native town, Borgo San Sepolcro<sup>(1)</sup>, and in 1445 receiving the order from the Confraternita della Misericordia for the altar-piece with the Madonna della Misericordia as principal subject, which is now preserved in the town gallery. The contract stipulated that he himself was to execute the entire work and that he should restore any deterioration which occurred either to the painting or to the panel within a period of ten years<sup>(2)</sup>. Prof Longhi thinks that this last condition arose from the fact that the confraternity was somewhat doubtful regarding the duration of oil painting. Further, the artist binds himself to finish the polyptych in three years but contrary to what might be expected the various panels show such a difference of style that we are forced to conclude that a good number of years elapsed between the execution of the one and the other and it has been thought possible that the payment of fifteen scudi made by the same confraternity in 1462 to Marco, the brother of Piero, as part of the sum still owing for paintings executed by the latter<sup>(3)</sup>, might still have been for certain panels of this altar-piece.

Between 1440 and 1450 — perhaps even only after 1445 — Piero is found at the court of the Duke of Urbino. It was probably not before 1449 that the painter went to Ferrara where he carried out some fresco decoration in the castle of the Este and in the church of S. Andrea, all of which has disappeared.

(1) *Marini-Franceschi, L'Arte*, 1913.

(2) *Milanesi, Buonarroti, Serie III, Vol. II, quad. IV, 1885, p. 146.*

(3) *Gronau, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., 1900.*

The fresco that Piero executed in 1451 for Sigismondo Malatesta at Rimini still exists; it is not very likely, however, that this was the only painting he undertook at Rimini, yet nothing remains of the rest of the work.

The death in 1452 of Bicci di Lorenzo, who had been charged with the decoration of the choir of S. Francesco, Arezzo, and who had already started on this enterprise, gives us a certain date before which Piero could not have executed the marvellous mural paintings which we find there today. Looking at the style, however, I am inclined to believe that Piero worked here considerably later than 1452; Vasari pretends that it was towards 1458. Personally I think he must have executed this cycle of frescoes after the portraits of Federico, Duke of Urbino and Battista Sforza, which I am of opinion date from 1459. In any case the work was finished in 1466<sup>(1)</sup>.

In 1454 Piero made a contract to paint an Assumption for the high altar of the church of S. Agostino in Borgo San Sepolcro. He had to finish it in eight years which makes us imagine that he had some other enterprise of considerable importance in hand at the same time; he was not paid for this work until 1469<sup>(2)</sup>. Vasari informs us that Piero went to Rome during the reign of Pope Nicholas V, that is to say before 1455. We can hardly give credit to this affirmation because the fragmentary paintings in Sta. Maria Maggiore which can be attributed to Piero, seem to correspond to the master's Aretine manner.

We have documentary evidence of a sojourn Piero made in Rome in 1459 when he worked for Pius II who paid him a hundred-and-fifty florins for paintings he executed in a room in the Vatican<sup>(3)</sup>. Vasari speaks also of frescoes that Piero painted in the pope's palace but his description does not correspond with those mentioned in the documents, which according to

<sup>(1)</sup> *Milanesi*, op. cit., Gior. Stor.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Milanesi*, Buonarrotti, idem, quad. VII, 1880, p. 218.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Zippel*, op. cit., *Venturi*, P. d. F., p. 79, *Longhi*, op. cit., p. 120, draws our attention to the fact that Zippel erroneously puts his faith in false documents bearing the date 1475, which ascribe to Piero the frescoes that Melozzo executed for the inauguration of the library of Sixtus IV.



tradition adorned the hall in which today we admire the paintings by Raphael.

The date 1460 under the figure of St. Louis in the gallery of Borgo San Sepolcro does not force us to conclude that Piero at this moment was back in his native town because the mediocrity of the work leads us to believe that it is a school production; further the fact that in 1462 the confraternity of the Misericordia remits money owing to Piero, to his brother, demonstrates that at this time the painter was absent from the town (1).

Consequently, already for some time Piero had been considered a celebrated artist; this we gather not only from the fact that the pope and the most illustrious princes in Italy strove to obtain his services but also because in Antonio Averlino's treatise on architecture, written between 1460 and 1465, the name of "Piero dal Borgho" appears among the painters the author would have liked to employ.

In 1466 Piero is back again in Arezzo, at least on the 20th December the confraternity of the Annunciation order from him a gonfalon with a representation of the Annunciation.

This document further praises the frescoes in the choir of S. Francesco and recommends the artist to make the painting as beautiful as possible, especially the heads which should be sweet and pretty like those of angels (2). The following year he receives a public charge (3) in his native town and in 1468 he finishes the standard at Bastia, a village near Borgo San Sepolcro, where he had taken refuge from the plague and where on the 7th November the "Chamberlains" of the confraternity came to receive the painting (4). In 1469 Piero goes again to

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(1) *Prof. Longhi*, op. cit., p. 121, argues that from the words "a depincto" as the document puts it, there is reason to believe that the panels for which payment was made in 1462, had been quite recently executed.

(2) *Milanesi*, Gior-Stor. *The Same*, Scritti vari.

(3) "Eletor del medico", *Marini-Franceschi*, op. cit.

(4) *Longhi*, op. cit., p. 121. *Evelyn* (*Marini-Franceschi*), *L'Arte*, XVI, 1913, p. 171, interprets this document in another manner and says that the standard was executed for the church of Bastia, near Arezzo. I do not know the original record.

Urbino. He lodges with Giovanni Santi, the father of Raphael, who requests the confraternity of Corpus Domini to reimburse him for the expenses of the sojourn of Piero, who had come to see the panel which had to be executed, but this the confraternity refuse to do <sup>(1)</sup>. The picture in question is probably that which Justus of Ghent painted in 1474 for this confraternity and for which Paolo Uccello made the predella in 1467. In this case it can be supposed that Piero and the confraternity did not come to an agreement <sup>(2)</sup>.

From this time we find Piero frequently at Borgo San Sepolcro. As I have already said, in 1469 he receives payment for the altar-piece ordered in 1454 for the church of S. Agostino. In 1471 he is in arrears with the payment of taxes regarding which subject we possess two documents <sup>(3)</sup>; in 1473 he gives his brother the power of procuration and in 1474 he is remunerated for some frescoes he executed in the chapel of the Madonna of the Badia <sup>(4)</sup>. It may be that between 1474 and 1478 Piero returned to Urbino as it was at this moment that he presented to Federico, Duke of Urbino his work on perspective which is dedicated to this prince, but as he is elected member of the people's council in 1477 he probably returned to Borgo San Sepolcro before this date. In 1478 he painted a Madonna, now lost, in the church of the hospital of the Misericordia confraternity <sup>(5)</sup>; in 1480 he is appointed chief of the priors of the brotherhood of S. Bartolomeo <sup>(6)</sup>, while during the same year the town grants a certain sum of money for the restoration of the wall on which Piero had painted the Resurrection <sup>(7)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Pungileoni*, op. cit., p. 73. *Calzini*, L'Arte, IV, 1901, p. 367.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Venturi*, Storia dell' arte italiana, VII, p. 435. *Ricci*, P. d. F., think it possible that this might bear reference to the Madonna with Duke Federico in adoration, now in the Brera, but, considering which confraternity ordered the picture, this is hardly likely.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Marini-Franceschi*, op. cit.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Marini-Franceschi*, op. cit. *Gronau*, op. cit.

<sup>(5)</sup> *F. G. Corazzini*, Appunt storici e filologi su la valle Tiberina, San Sepolcro, 1875, p. 57.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Marini-Franceschi*, op. cit.

<sup>(7)</sup> *Marini-Franceschi*, P. d. F.

In 1482 Piero goes once more to Rimini where he must have had the intention of remaining some time because we find him renting a house with a kitchen-garden (1). What he did while there is unknown.

It was probably in his old age, that Piero wrote his second treatise on perspective: "De quinque corporibus regularibus" which he dedicated to Duke Guidobaldo; consequently he finished it in any case after the death of Duke Federico, that is to say after 1482.

In 1487 Piero made his will (2). He stipulates that he is to be buried in the family tomb in the Badia and apart from a few legacies to religious institutions he leaves half his fortune to his brother Antonio or to the sons of this brother and the other half to the three sons of his brother Marco. We gather from this that he himself had neither wife nor children.

The old painter had the great misfortune of losing his eyesight and small boys led him by the hand through the streets of his native town, as Berto degli Alberti relates in speaking in 1556 of a man who, in his childhood, had rendered this service to the famous artist (3).

He died in 1492; the register of deaths of Borgo San Sepolcro is shown in the museum of the town and in it we can read the entry: "*M. Piero di Benedetto de' Franceschi pittore famose a' di' 12 Ottobre 1492: Sepolto in Badia*".

As far as we can gather Piero seems to have executed a self-portrait which Vasari used for the reproduction of the painter's likeness in the second edition of his "Vite" and of which a copy -- at least Cavalcaselle thought it such -- was in the possession of the Franceschi family of Borgo San Sepolcro still in the 19th century (4).

(1) *G. degli Azzi*, Archiv. della stor. d'Ital., IV, 1914, p. 128.

(2) *Milanesi*, Buonarroti. *Mancini*, L'opera De Corporibus regularibus.

(3) *G. degli Azzi*, Arch. della Stor. d'Italia, IV, 1915.

(4) According to a local tradition which is without any serious foundation, the artist's own features are said to be portrayed in one of the faithful kneeling at the feet of the Madonna della Misericordia or in one of the soldiers of the Resurrection or again in some of his other works. The canvas of Santi di Tito which belongs to the Marini-Franceschi family, is certainly not a faithful likeness of Piero.

When Piero, shortly after 1445, executed certain parts of his earliest datable work, the Madonna della Misericordia at Borgo San Sepolcro, he must have been about thirty years of age. Although we do not know for certain how long he took over this work nor with which panels he began, generally speaking it can be said that the style is more evolved than that of several other paintings which, for this reason, should be classified at an earlier date.

There is one painting which might be qualified as a typically youthful production; it is a Crucifixion in the Hamilton collection, New York (fig. 1) <sup>(1)</sup>. The figures, although more highly developed, are reminiscent of the art of Domenico Veneziano; the horses recall those in the Adoration of the Magi by the latter in Berlin; the Crucified, on the other hand, reveals a knowledge of Andrea del Castagno's manner. We do not as yet find those monumental proportions which characterize all the works. Piero painted after he acquired an individual style. The gold background in place of the sky is another obviously primitive feature in this work.

A panel, still closer to Domenico Veneziano and of a still more youthful stage, if it be really from Piero's own hand, is the tondo in the collection of the Historical Society, New York, formerly in that of Artaud de Montor, representing a group of knights around the symbolic figure of triumphant Love; the landscape background is very characteristic of Piero's art. It is Mr. Berenson who, with considerable hesitation, ascribes it to the master's youth <sup>(2)</sup>. Again, many of the features recall Domenico Veneziano's tondo in Berlin; moreover, as I said in the previous volume, I sooner agree with Mr. Ranken and Herr Schubring that this painting should be

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Pope*, op. cit. *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1918. *W. Valentiner*, *A Catalogue of early Italian Paintings exhibited at the Duveen Galleries, New York, 1926*, No. 24. Previously the panel belonged to Prince Colonna, Rome, and to the Doria family, Milan and was also for sale in Florence.

<sup>(2)</sup> The catalogue of this collection (B-5) of the year 1915 repeats the old attribution to Giotto, telling us, at the same time, that the coat of arms of the Medici is found on this panel!

considered a production of the school of Domenico Veneziano<sup>(1)</sup>.

Another picture in which a very direct influence of Domenico Veneziano's art is evident, is the Nativity in the National Gallery, London (fig. 2), in which the Virgin, who adores the Infant Christ, is a figure which Piero borrowed from his

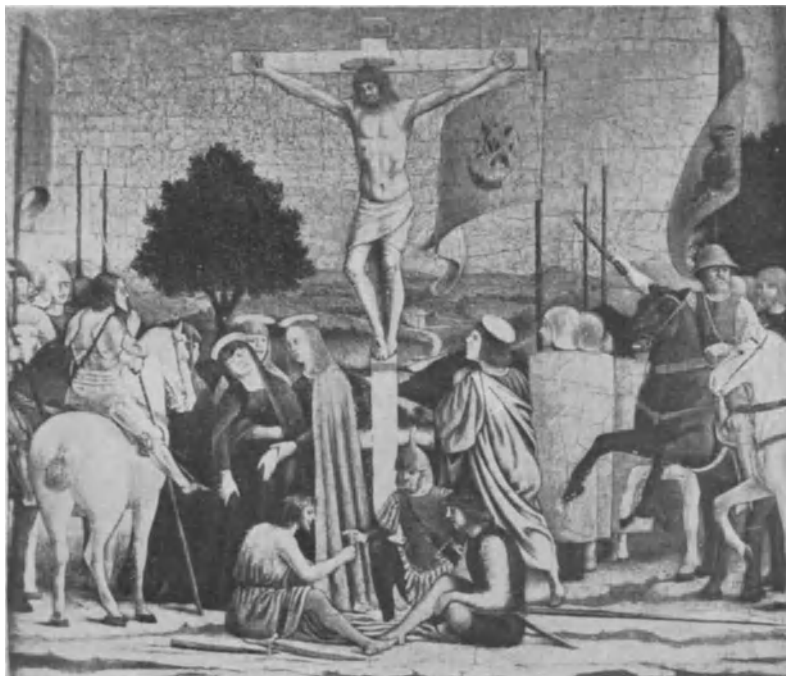


Fig. 1. Piero della Francesca. the Crucifixion. Hamilton Collection, New York.

master. The panel originates directly from the Marini-Franceschi family which descends from Piero<sup>(2)</sup>. Prof. Longhi is of opinion that the fact that the panel must have formed part of the legacy, handed down by Piero, is an argument in favour of the hypothesis that it was executed at the end of his life. I really see no reason why a picture of the master's early

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ranken*, Burlington Magazine, Oct. 1907; *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 43. *P. Schubring*, Cassoni. Truhen u. Truhenbilder der Italienische Früh-Renaissance, Leipzig, 1915, No. 212; v. Vol. X, p. 332.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Milanesi*, note 1 on *Vasari*, II. p. 488.

years should not have been kept in the family and instead of admitting with this critic a late but decided return to the manner of Domenico Veneziano, I am sooner inclined to think that it was executed under this artist's direct influence. No other Madonna by Piero reproduces so faithfully the idealized female



Fig. 2. Piero della Francesca, the Nativity. National Gallery, London.

Photo Anderson.

type of his old master. The Virgin is shown kneeling before the Child who, lying on a cover on the ground, stretches out His hands towards her. Five angels accompanying themselves with musical instruments form a little choir behind; two shepherds converse with the aged St. Joseph who is comfortably seated, his legs crossed, on a donkey's saddle, placed on the ground; the ass neighs beside the ox under the roof of the very dilapidated shelter; a little bird perched on



Fig. 3. Piero della Francesca, Lady's profile. Private Collection, London.

the roof livens up the crumbling shed. A landscape with more marked and more precise features than we notice in Piero's other earlier works fills up the background to the left, while to the right we see the buildings of a town. All the details

are executed in a miniature-like manner, recalling that of Flemish primitives. The entire picture is illuminated by a soft light which sheds its rays on the superb and delicate colours.

Piero was still entirely under Domenico Veneziano's domination when he executed a marvellous portrait of a woman shown in profile which I have seen in a private collection (fig. 3). The subject, bathed in a white silvery light, is very young and pretty, her hair is arranged with bandeaux and a large-flowered pattern adorns the dark material of the sleeve. A landscape, like those in the panels of Duke Federico of Urbino and his wife, fills up the background. It is just this feature which differentiates the portrait in question from that in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan, which, in the previous volume, I ascribed to Domenico Veneziano; it will be recalled that in this instance as also in Domenico's lady's profile in Berlin, a cloudy sky backed the figure, whereas almost all similar portraits of the Florentine school have a plain background. The landscape in the distance is most characteristic of Piero's portraits, and in spite of the very evident souvenirs of Domenico Veneziano's manner, I think this picture is unquestionably the work of his brilliant pupil, Piero della Francesca.

We have several paintings which can be placed in those years which elapsed between Piero's youth when he was dominated by Domenico Veneziano and the moment when he manifested his sense of plasticism in that unique manner which remained the outstanding feature of his art. Those works are the St. Jerome with the Adoration in the gallery of Venice, the Baptism of Christ in the National Gallery and the St. Jerome in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, with which should be associated the Flagellation, with the three figures which have been supposed without reason to represent the Duke Oddantonio and his two wicked counsellors, in the gallery of Urbino.

Of these paintings the earliest, I think, is the little panel in the gallery of Venice (No. 47, fig. 4) with which unfortunately time has dealt very badly. St. Jerome is shown seated on a little wall near a crucifix; he holds an open book on his knee while his gaze is turned towards an adorer who kneels under



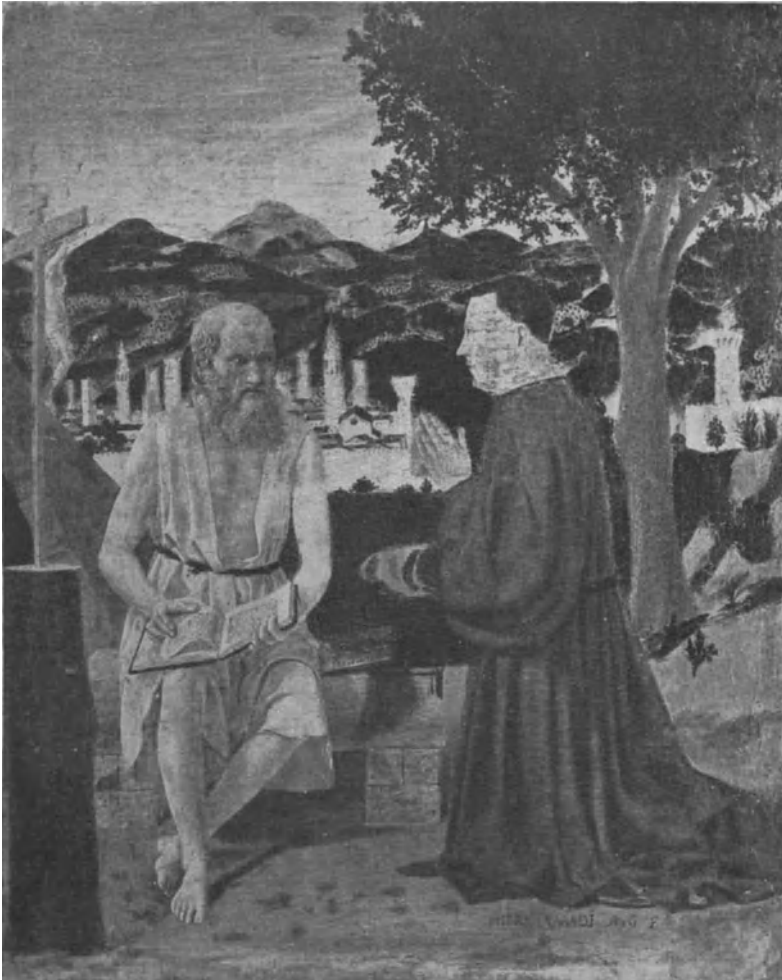


Fig. 4. Piero della Francesca, St. Jerome and adorer. Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

a tree close by. The background, in which we see a town and a castle, is composed of hills, the lighter parts of which are interrupted by forests of a dark brownish green colour which we find in many of Piero's panel paintings. The entire landscape is wrapped in that soft silver light which is one of the secret charms of Piero's art and which accentuates

one of his other mysterious and extraordinary accomplishments, namely the atmosphere in which he envelops the air, the sky, the distance, the aerial perspective, in fact all the elements which combine not only to render distance, but to bring out distances between the different points. This picture is signed: "*Petri di Burgo Sancti Sepulcri opus*".

The same manner and similar qualities but less perfectly rendered, are found in a dated picture of 1450, a recent acquisition made by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (fig. 5) <sup>(1)</sup>. The authors of recent monograph on Piero della Francesca do not seem aware of the existence of this panel which represents St. Jerome in a landscape recalling that of the panel in Venice. While the picture was being cleaned, the following signature appeared in the right hand lower corner: "*Petri De Burgo Opus MCCCCL*".

Of a style slightly more evolved than the St. Jerome in Venice but probably of an earlier date than the picture of 1450 is the Baptism of Christ in the National Gallery (No. 665), originating from the Priory of St. John the Baptist at Borgo San Sepolcro; later it was transferred to the sacristy of the cathedral from where it was sold in 1807 (figs. 6, 7) <sup>(2)</sup>. The Christ, imposing but not beautiful, stands in an almost symmetrical position in the centre; St. John standing to the right pours the water over His head; opposite between two trees is a group of three angels holding one another by the hand and one of them leaning affectionately on the shoulder of the adjacent figure. To the right at a little distance a man pulls off his shirt in preparation for his baptism; beyond him two persons walk on the bank of the river in which their images are reflected as is also part of the landscape.

The background resembles that of the previous pictures, but in this case the contrasts of light bring out the different stages of cultivation of the fields and there are no forests. The colour is still more silvery interspersed with greys verging

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Bode*, op cit.

<sup>(2)</sup> The date 1807 is given in the catalogue of the gallery. *A. Venturi*, *P. d. F.*, p. 72, records it as being 1858. Mr. Berenson is of opinion that this picture dates from about 1465.

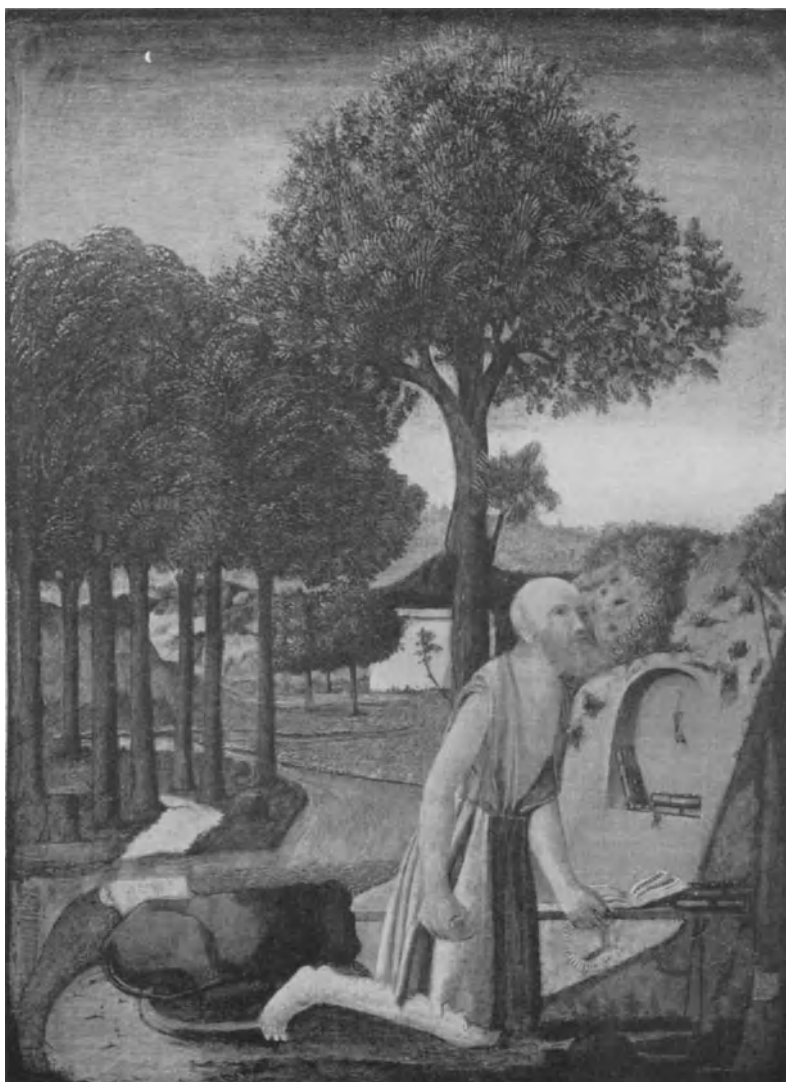


Fig. 5. Piero della Francesca, St. Jerome, 1450. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

on white of which Piero made so much use at a more mature stage.

The human forms, particularly those of the angels, are very robust, even a little thick-set, the artist obviously made no

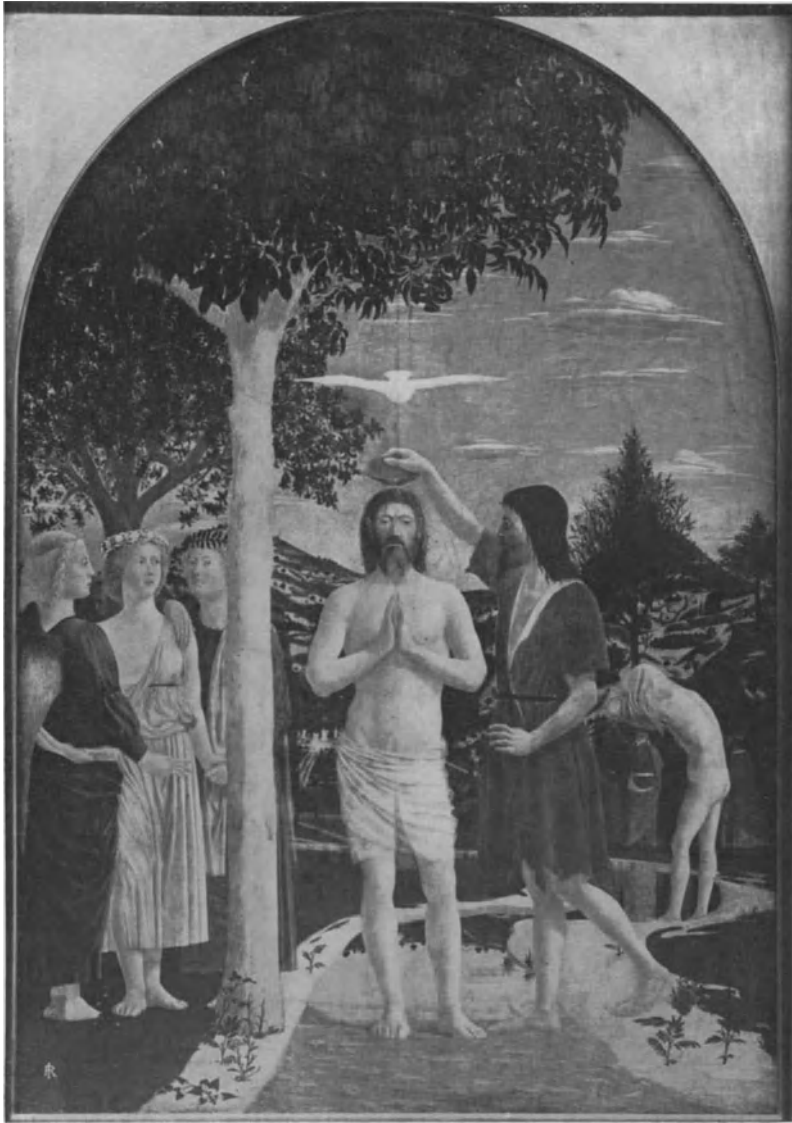


Fig. 6. Piero della Francesca, the Baptism of Christ. National Gallery,  
London

Photo Anderson.

attempt to create graceful figures. More elongated proportions, however, are shown in the figure of St. John and in that of the man preparing for his baptism. It is especially the colour which

connects this picture still with the art of Domenico Veneziano. Comparing it with the panel in Venice we see that Piero has made further improvement in the rendering of perspective.

As I said before, it has often been imagined that the three figures to the right in the picture of the Flagellation, originating from the cathedral of Urbino, now in the gallery of the town (figs. 8—9), are Oddantonio di Montefeltro, the half-brother and predecessor of Federico as Count of Urbino with his ministers Manfredi Pio da Carpi and Tomaso Aquello da Rimini, the agents of his rival Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini, who incited him to a form of bad government and debauchery which



Fig. 7. Detail of fig. 6.

Photo Anderson.

ended in his murder and that of his counsellors by the people in 1444.

The picture if this were so, would have been executed after the tragic affair; the assassinated prince portrayed beside the flagellated Christ probably shows us one of those figures very typical of the time. The entire hypothesis, however, is

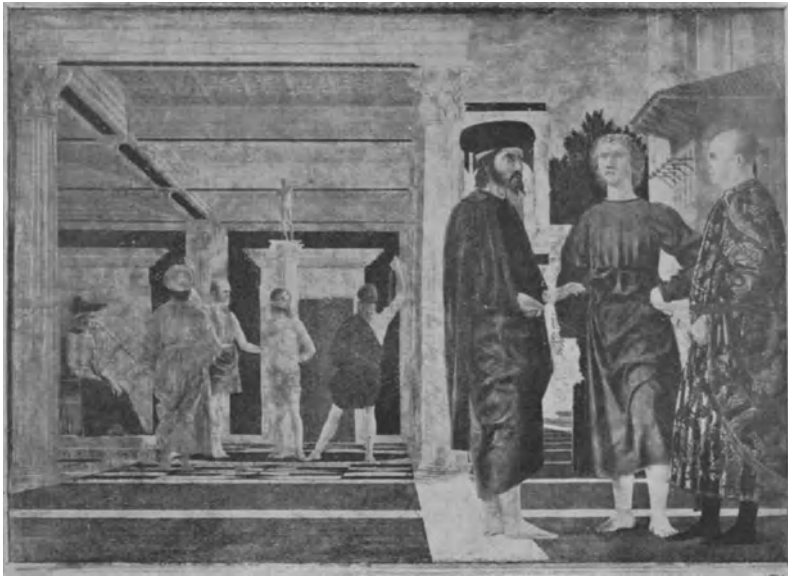


Fig. 8. Piero della Francesca, the Flagellation. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Anderson.

without foundation; that the two false counsellors would have been depicted in this peaceful manner together with their victim is not admissible, at least if the picture was painted in commemoration of the tragic end of the latter. On the other hand, the persons represented might very well be a ruler and his two ministers; certainly the superb attire of one of them marks him as a prince. Nevertheless, there is another difficulty for identifying him with Oddantonio; it is that the seigneur in the picture is certainly more than eighteen years old, the age of Oddantonio at the moment of his death; further one of the two other figures has naked feet which, together with



Fig. 9. Detail of fig. 8.

Photo Anderson.

his fair curly hair and hatless head, gives him a decidedly arcadian or pagan air, not suited to his supposed condition.

This picture shows us Piero battling for the first time with architecture. The Flagellation takes place in a beautiful hall of the Renaissance style, supported on pillars with Corinthian capitals; the column to which Christ is attached is surmounted by an Ionic capital, on which is placed a statuette, another feature borrowed from classical art. To the right of the painting other architectural elements include a loggia almost completely hidden by the head of one of the counsellors, a palace of grandiose proportions and a house of a more modest appearance, all depicted in that grisaille with very white lights, peculiar to Piero. The signature in the left corner reads: "*Opus Petri De Burgo Sci Sepulci*"<sup>(1)</sup>.

As a study of architecture this painting is very interesting, particularly so on account of the artist's non-Florentine taste. In the hall which occupies the entire left of the picture there is nothing which recalls the vaults and arcades supported on columns leaving an empty space below, which formed the principal elements of that style launched by Brunelleschi and Michelozzo and reproduced by Beato Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi in the backgrounds of their paintings. Piero, on the other hand, shows us a building in which the surfaces — that of the ceiling as well as that of the end wall — are highly important; the door with its framework and that part of the wall behind the stairs to the extreme left, which is surrounded by a decorative frieze, are elements which draw attention to the surface in a manner which calls to mind that of the architect Leon Battista Alberti who was inspired by Vetruius' treatise on architecture which Poggio discovered in 1415. Alberti, born in 1404, was a few years older than Piero. It seems certain that they met in 1451 when the painter was working at the decoration of the temple in Rimini of which Alberti had made the plan in 1446 for Sigismondo Malatesta. It is not impossible,

(<sup>1</sup>) *Mr. Berenson* is of opinion that this picture dates probably from 1469. In the Louvre there is a coloured drawing of the Flagellation (02684) which shows a marked connexion with Piero's art but which seems to have been sketched by a good master after Piero's panel.



however, that Piero knew the architect's works or at least his sketches some years earlier, at the moment when he executed this panel. The taste for classical antiquity which was more pronounced in Alberti's case than in that of contemporary Florentine architects explains his independence of the Florentine



Fig. 10. Piero della Francesca, polyptych. Gallery, Borgo San Sepolcro.

Photo Anderson.

Renaissance and it was his style of architecture which obviously inspired Piero della Francesca.

That Piero, in executing the altar-piece of the *Madonna della Misericordia* (fig. 10) which he undertook in 1445, kept to the condition of the contract that the picture should be finished in three years, seems improbable and it is still less likely that he observed the other clause that he was to have no assistance. The predella is certainly not from his hand, and the six little

saints, three to either side forming kind of pillars, may have been left to the same helper.

The rest of the picture seems to be unquestionably the work of Piero but the five panels above, showing the Crucifixion, (fig. 11), the two figures of the Annunciation, SS. Benedict and Francis, are treated in a more suave manner, resembling that of the works we have discussed up to the present, and differ in technique from the Madonna protecting the faithful and the four large figures of saints to the sides which show that monumental plasticity which characterizes his second phase and which developed in a particular manner during his activity in Arezzo. We have already seen that again in 1462 the same confraternity made a further payment for this altar-piece and it is quite possible that it was only at this moment that the work was finished. The fact that one of the figures represents St. Bernardine places the execution of these panels after 1450, the year this saint was canonized; moreover, since the work was not painted in Siena where the fervour for the saint was very intense and since the type of the image is already fairly evolved, no longer showing any of that almost cruel realism of the early portraits executed in Siena, we can admit that these panels were painted some time after the representations of the saint that Sano di Pietro made in 1450 <sup>(1)</sup>.

It cannot be said, however, that the older parts of this altar-piece are lacking in relief effects. Particularly the Crucifixion, which is of a sober composition, showing only the Crucified with the Virgin and St. John making tragic gestures is portrayed with a marvellous plasticity. The perspective of St. John in particular, whose arm is seen foreshortened, is a prodigy of technical science. The figures to the right — St. Francis and the Virgin of the Annunciation — are badly damaged; the St. Benedict is a beautiful piece of work in no way inferior to the Crucifixion. The angel Gabriel seen in profile bears a marked connexion with the figure of St. John in the picture of the Baptism, only the style of execution is a little more evolved.

<sup>(1)</sup> v. Vol. IX. figs. 310, 311



Fig. 11 Detail of fig. 10.

Photo Brogi

In the fresco of Sigismondo Malatesta, his deerhound stretched on the floor behind him, kneeling before St. Sigismund of Burgundy who is depicted as a bearded old king enthroned, globe and sceptre in hand (fig. 12), we have before us a work which still reveals many points in common with the earlier productions. Under the castle which is represented in a medallion in the frieze which surrounds the fresco we read: "*Castellum Sigismundum Ariminense MCCCCXLVI*" which has led several writers to believe that this is the date of execution but below another inscription, very much restored, it is true, runs: "*Sanctus Sigismundus Pandulfus Malatesta Pan. F -- Petri de Burgo opus MCCCCLI*" (1).

The appearance of the fresco confirms what has just been said regarding the style of Piero's works up to this moment. The modelling of the old man's face and still more that of the peaceful profile of Malatesta is of a well-rendered relief but without any marked effects of plasticity. There is, besides, in this fresco, as in all the preceding works, a lyricism, if not a sweetness of sentiment, which disappears, giving place to more pathetic expressions, when the marvellous sculptural effects transforms Piero's manner.

The famous diptych in the Uffizi has given rise to a certain amount of controversy regarding the date of execution. The year 1469 accepted by Cavalcaselle and after him by Calzini, Weisbach, Walters and Marini-Franceschi has been rendered improbable by Cinquini's discovery of the poem by the Carmelite Ferabos in connexion with the portrait that Piero made of Duke Federico and as Ferabos left Urbino in 1466, the painting must have existed already at that moment (2). This would be logical if we could be certain that the portrait described by Ferabos is really that now in the Uffizi, but it is very strange that in the poem there is no question of the portrait of the duchess and it is possible, even probable, that Piero during his numerous sojourns in Urbino, executed more than one portrait of Federico so that Ferabos' reference is to a painting other than

(1) *Sighinolfi*, op. cit. *Masséra*, op. cit. *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1914, p. 37. *Marini-Franceschi*, op. cit., *Rivista di Roma*.

(2) *Cinquini*, op. cit., *L'Arte*, 1906.

that now in the Uffizi. Mr. Berenson and Herr Graber believe the diptych to date from about 1465 while Witting proposes 1459, the year of the duke's marriage with his second wife Battista Sforza.

Personally I find that the diptych is so typical of Piero's style prior to his activity in Arezzo, that for example in that

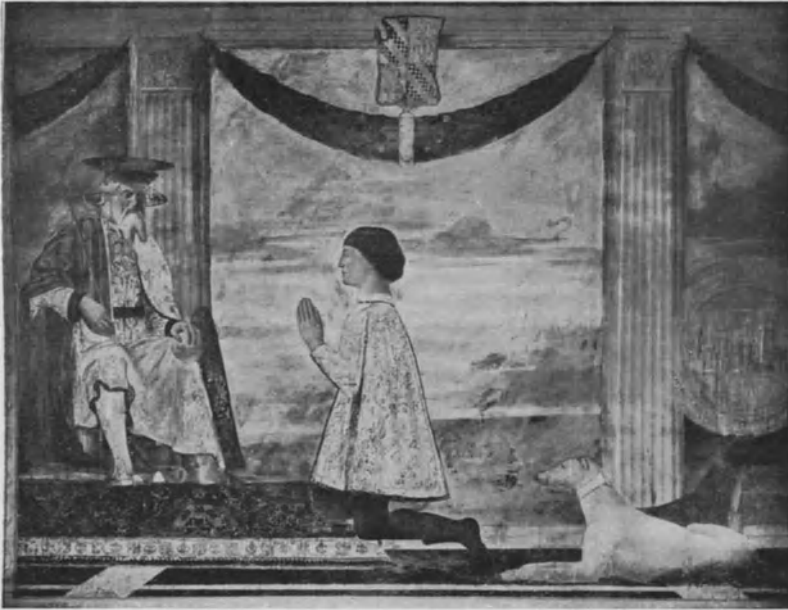


Fig. 12 Piero della Francesca. Sigismondo Malatesta.  
Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini.

Photo Anderson.

in which he executed the fresco of 1451 at Rimini, that I have thought it possible that the lady who forms the pendant to Duke Federico might be his first wife Gentile Brancaleoni who died in 1457. But this neither seems very probable, because we know that his first wife was extremely fat and the lady of the portrait is certainly not.

His second wife, Battista Sforza, was only fourteen years old at the moment of her marriage and the profile represented here has not at all the characteristics of a young girl of this

age but on the other hand it is not at all easy to guess the age of the lady portrayed in this picture.

The forms, not fully developed, make us imagine, however, that she is very young, much younger than when Laurana executed the bust now in the National Museum, Florence. I think this sculpture must have been made towards the end of her short life; she died in 1472 at the age of twenty-seven. There can be no doubt that Laurana shows us a woman of a more mature age but another difficulty arises if we compare the sculpture and the panel, it is that in my opinion there is little, if any, resemblance between the two works. This forces us to conclude that if these two portraits really represent the same person, and of this there does not seem to be much doubt, the works must have been executed with the greatest possible lapse of time between the one and the other, consequently if Laurana's bust was made towards the end of her life, perhaps even at the moment of her death (<sup>1</sup>), the panel must have been painted at the time of her marriage, which indeed seems a very opportune occasion for the execution of a similar diptych.

If we wish to place Piero's activity at Arezzo as the data allow, then it would not be entirely impossible that the diptych was executed at an earlier date because we know only that he started the frescoes after 1452 and finished them in 1466. It might very well be, however, that this sort of somewhat minute painting induced the artist to return to a style which he had employed especially at the beginning of his career for his small panels and which he had abandoned when he undertook the large frescoes. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that the non-plastic manner in which the painter has treated these two profiles with effects of surface rather than those of relief, is subsequent to that sculptural style which we find at Arezzo.

Piero has depicted the heads against a tender blue sky while the material of the garments is placed against distant landscapes of an incredible technical refinement (Frontispiece and fig. 13). The flesh colours appear a little grey, almost

(<sup>1</sup>) *F. Bürger*, Francesco Laurana, Strasbourg. 1907, p. 127.



Fig. 13. Piero della Francesca, the Duchess of Urbino. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

yellowish against the limpid sky. The atmosphere which sparkles above the distant panorama accentuates that marvelous effect of distance which the painter must have seen many

a time from the walls of Urbino, which, perched on the top of a mountain, offers such a view of the horizon as there are few in Italy. The blue of the sky is not dark like that of a hot summer day but pale and cold, suggestive of winter. The marvellous realism of the details is not limited to the facial traits, thus for example Piero did not over-look the duke's broken nose, an accident which occurred in a tournament in 1450 when he lost also an eye, but he pays special attention as well to other minor particulars such as the curly hair, the garments and the jewels of the duchess. The painter has made a slight correction to the neck of Federico which on second thoughts he evidently thought should be thicker. The landscapes recall those in the panels of the lady's profile, of St. Jerome in Venice and the Baptism of Christ in London and are somewhat different from those we find in the frescoes at Arezzo.

The landscapes which form the background to the Triumphs which adorn the backs of these panels are in no way less beautiful. Duke Federico is shown in a coat of mail seated on a chariot drawn by two white horses; Victory places a crown of laurels on his head while the allegorical figures of Fortitude, Prudence and Justice are seated in the same chariot. As in his portrait, a large part of the background is occupied by a river (fig. 14).

The chariot on which the duchess is seated is drawn by two unicorns; she too is accompanied by allegorical figures including Fortitude and Religion (fig. 15).

A detail which renders it still more probable that these panels were executed on the occasion of the marriage is that a little Cupid in each case holds the reins; besides, the unicorn is the emblem of the maiden. The lower part of the two panels is occupied by inscriptions in Latin regarding the two illustrious personages.

It was, as I said, probably several years after Bicci di Lorenzo's death that Piero went to Arezzo to finish the decoration of the choir of S. Francesco commenced by the older artist. Only the vault had been painted by his predecessor, a traditionalistic master <sup>(1)</sup> if ever there was one, and alongside

(1) v. Vol. IX, p. 29. *Salmi*, op. cit., *Rivista d'Arte*.



this, his last work, Piero's master-pieces appear doubly modern.

It was in Arezzo that the truly monumental style developed, that he reached that synthesis of plasticity showing sharp contrasts of light and shade as if formed by facets and that his figures acquire that appearance of majestic dignity. It was evidently while working on this grandiose cycle of frescoes that this tendency, which we observe from the moment he started the enterprise, found a ground in which it grew and



Fig. 14. Piero della Francesca, Triumphal Chariot. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

developed to its very utmost. I do not think it probable that Piero worked on different occasions at the frescoes in Arezzo; if there were any intervals, they must have been of short duration. It was sooner the actual nature of the work which caused an evolution to take place in the master's manner; this change is manifest if we compare those frescoes with which he apparently started this marvellous series of mural paintings with those he must have executed towards the end of the undertaking. Further he seems to have had a certain amount of assistance from helpers who attempted with more or less success to imitate his manner.

I do not pretend that the degrees by which the new elements

in Piero's art developed, help us to fix in a definite manner the chronology of the different paintings. It is more than probable that the evolution did not follow a very steady course; it will be noticed, however, that certain of the frescoes more than the others bear a resemblance to the works which the artist executed prior to his departure for Arezzo.

The spirit and technique of the earlier works are, I think,

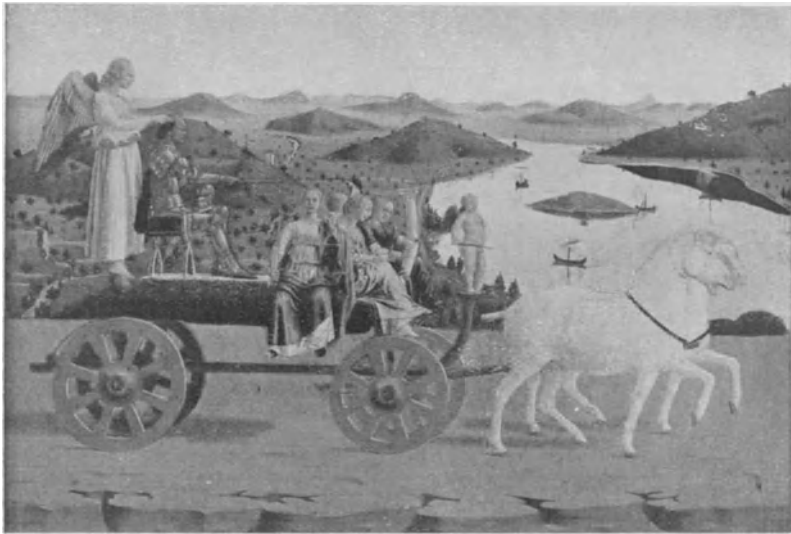


Fig. 15. Piero della Francesca, Triumphal Chariot. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

found more clearly in the representation of the Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon (figs. 16—19 and plate I). The fresco is divided into two parts, one, a simple landscape with some hills and two trees in the foreground, the other a hall, supported on pillars with Corinthian capitals, with a flat rafted ceiling and panelled walls. In the first part we see the queen kneeling in adoration before the trunk of a tree, which spans a piece of a lake because she has had a vision that this piece of wood is to serve to make the Cross on which Christ is to be crucified; she is surrounded by six gracefully majestic women of a somewhat exotic beauty and strange charm; a little girl, oriental in appearance, who stands behind, seems



*LADIES IN WAITING.*

*From the fresco of the Queen of Sheba and Solomon.  
By Piero della Francesca in S. Francesco, Arezzo.*

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 16. Piero della Francesca, the Story of the Queen of Sheba. S. Francesco, Arezzo.

Photo Anderson.

to belong to the queen's superb suite; in the left corner the grooms hold the strong and muscular horses one of which neighs.

To the right the queen and the women we have seen outside enter the hall from the other side; the former bends over the hand of Solomon whom the artist has depicted no longer young, but heavily built and rather fat. Of the six courtiers who accompany the king, the four who are clearly visible, are



Fig. 17. Detail of fig. 16.

Photo Anderson.

represented with so much force and personality that we are almost led to suppose that it is sooner in these figures that we should find the portraits of the founders, members of the Bacci family, than in those who assist at the execution of Chosroes, a fresco which adorns the wall opposite.

Then follows on the window wall the wonderful painting of Constantine's dream (fig. 20). Watched over by a chamberlain who sits resting his head on his hand, the emperor sleeps in an open tent which is guarded by two Roman soldiers; an angel descends from above towards the sleeping monarch.

Against the nocturnal sky, we can distinguish other tents. What forms the extraordinary interest of this fresco is the effect of mystic light which envelops the centre part of the



Fig. 18. Detail of fig. 16.

Photo Anderson.

composition and which accentuates the shadows. We are quite unprepared for the appearance of similar effects in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; besides, neither Piero nor any other artist for centuries to come repeats this phenomenon and we have to come up to Caravaggio or Honthorst to find once more a similar comprehension of the effect of light on darkness.

Piero's example here is mysterious and isolated, a sort of inexplicable marvel which can be accounted for only by the genius of the master (<sup>1</sup>).

The Annunciation (figs. 21, 22) might still just be included in Piero's first Aretine manner, although this scene has nothing to do with the story of the Cross. The building is again composed of the same elements — panelled walls, flat ceiling with



Fig. 19. Detail of fig. 16.

Photo Anderson.

wooden framework, columns with Corinthian capitals — but here we see as well the outside wall of the house and a window. God the Father appears to one side and makes a gesture with both hands towards the Virgin who, standing holding her prayerbook in one hand and marking with her finger the place where she has left off, raises her other hand in a gesture which

(<sup>1</sup>) In the British Museum, Vol. XXXVI, 1860, 6, 16, 51, there is a drawing made after this fresco, it is a late work of no importance. Formerly it was supposed to be the original sketch for the mural painting and was published as such by Mr. *Young Ottley*; *Dennistoun*, op. cit., II, p. 207.



Fig. 20. Piero della Francesca, Constantine's dream.  
S. Francesco, Arezzo.

Photo Anderson.





Fig. 21. Piero della Francesca, the Annunciation. S. Francesco, Arezzo.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 22. Detail of fig. 21.

Photo Anderson.

is no more expressive of surprise or fear than the rest of her personality which is dignified and even austere. The angel with bended knee inclines slightly before her; he holds a lily and bestows a benediction. The background near him is formed by a door composed of panels adorned with carved arabesques of a large Gothic design.

A transition towards the more monumental manner is, I think, noticeable in the lunette on the right wall and in the fresco below, the one representing Heraclius carrying the Cross to Jerusalem, the other, the finding of the Cross and the proof of its miraculous power; only in these two paintings especially in the second, Piero, in my opinion, has left part of the execution



Fig. 23. Piero della Francesca and an assistant, Heraclius bringing the Cross to Jerusalem. S. Francesco, Arezzo.

Photo Anderson.

to a helper, although he himself can in all probability be held responsible for the composition which is particularly hieratic. In the lunette we see to the left the emperor carrying the Cross — the figure is rather damaged — escorted by five persons wearing liturgical head-dresses, advancing towards Jerusalem, outside the walls of which kneels a group of men; behind them a man is shown in the act of removing his tall turban-like hat while a very old man approaches the group (figs. 23, 24). The heads of the figures behind Heraclius seem to be a little hard in execution and somewhat expressionless



Fig. 24. Detail of fig. 23.

Photo Anderson.

and I think it is chiefly in this part that we can discern the hand of a helper, as also in the background which has considerably suffered; it shows only two trees — one rather awkwardly placed, seems to grow out of the head of the dignitary who follows Heraclius — and the walls and crenellated towers of Jerusalem which again are a little hard and not at all picturesque.

I find the hand of the assistant is even more evident in the fresco below which represents to the left the discovery and excavation of the three crosses and to the right the mannes in which a young man is resuscitated by the mere presence of the Cross on which the Saviour was crucified, thus enabling the people to distinguish the Holy Cross from those on which the thieves expired (fig. 25). In the first part against a background of hills with a town in the distance, Queen Helen is shown, followed by her women, whom a breach in the wall has in part destroyed, looking at the workmen who have already excavated two of the crosses; a seigneur seems to explain to her the meaning of the work. The figures in this group are of very unequal value: those of the empress and the women behind her are of considerable beauty and probably by Piero himself, as is also the workman to the right leaning on his shovel and at least the heads of the man with the axe on his shoulder and of the other who, standing in the pit, is only half visible.

The bodies and the two other heads are more rigid although the face seen from the front and slightly inclined possesses certain qualities. Incomprehensible is Prof. Longhi's admiration of the view on the town in the background which is no doubt from the hand of the helper to whom Piero in this case has given considerable liberty. The synthesis is rather infantile and there is a lack of interest in architecture which, on the part of the master himself, would have been very surprising.

The background of the other half of the fresco is much more worthy of attention; we see the façade of a building of the Renaissance style, based on classical antiquity, quite after the manner of Alberti, and a street with houses and churches which are treated with care. The three men in the right corner and the young man who, full of gratitude and surprise, finds himself restored to life, are certainly the work of the great master; the last mentioned figure is expressive of much sentiment and the anatomy is excellent. Also the male and female figures kneeling near the resurrected man are of a fine technique but the man carrying the Cross and the women kneeling behind are of an inferior quality; they are hard, wooden and expressionless; the modelling has been

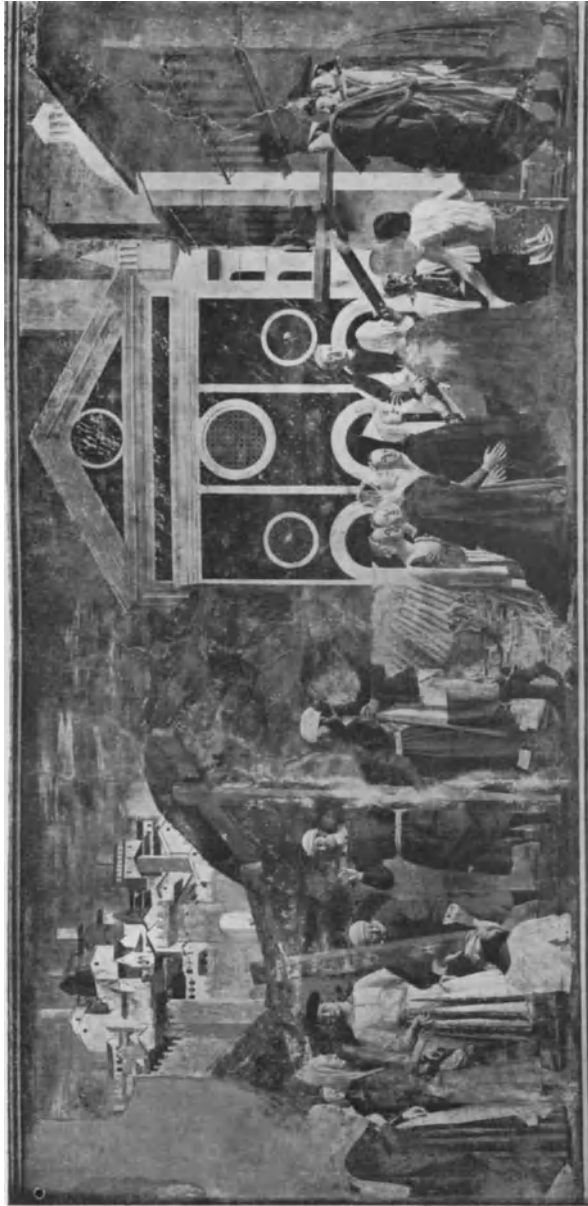


Fig. 25. Piero della Francesca and an assistant, the Finding of the Cross and its recognition. S. Francesco, Arezzo.

Photo Anderson.

neglected and the hands with which they gesticulate are enormous. This part has no doubt been left to the helper whose hand we discovered in the other fresco. In searching for this assistant's manner through-out the frescoes in the choir of S. Francesco, I think it can be discerned in part of the representation of the Death of Adam which adorns



Fig. 26. Piero della Francesca and an assistant, the old age and death of Adam. S. Francesco, Arezzo.

Photo Anderson.

the lunette above on the left wall, in the torture of the Jew and in the fresco on the window wall of the three men erecting the Cross, probably also in the scene of the beheading of Chosroes and perhaps in the figure of the prophet — Jonah? — to the left of the window, which is very inferior to that which forms the pendant.

Piero has placed the old age and death of the first man in a wintery landscape with a large leafless tree in the centre. (figs. 26, 27). To the right the patriarch is seated on the ground in the midst of Eve, an old man and his two sons who seem to have resigned themselves to the loss of their

father who has all the marks of extreme old age, as has also Eve who is not a very cheerful image. On the other hand the two young men, especially the nude figure seen from behind leaning on a stick, a figure whose anatomical modelling announces Signorelli, provide a striking contrast with the



Fig. 27. Detail of fig. 26.

Photo Anderson.

other figures, so obviously expressive of broken-down old age. More to the left in the background we see a small representation of the archangel Gabriel from whom Seth requests the oil of the tree of misericord with which to rub the body of his father and thus restore him to health. The other half of the fresco shows us Seth returning and finding his father dead. Several persons approach the body; one leans over the dead man, perhaps it is Eve, but the painting in this



part is very damaged; another figure with arms uplifted towards heaven is very expressive of despair. The enormous tree in the centre is meant to be that which grew on the spot where Adam was buried, from a branch which the archangel had given Seth from the tree which had caused Adam and Eve to commit the original sin. The archangel told Seth that the day this branch bore fruit, his father would be cured. In the meantime it is winter and the tree is quite bare.

The excellent nudes of this painting are no doubt from the hand of Piero himself but the helper's style is I think to be found in some of the other figures, such as the second from the left, those near the dead body of Adam, and that seen in full face seated on the ground behind Adam.

Then follows the torture of the Jew Judas, whom the Empress Helen has placed in a pit until he confesses where the crosses have been buried (fig. 28). I wonder really if so much trouble was taken to get him safe and sound to the bottom of the pit. The Jew is attached to a long cord which passes over a pulley fixed to a large tripod and by which two men lower him into a hole; a third man grasps him by the hair of his head, a gesture which seems more suited to the circumstances than the complicated manner which has been adopted to lower the unfortunate Hebrew. It may also be that the scene illustrates the event of the seventh day when Judas having declared that he is ready to confess where the crosses are hidden, is withdrawn from the pit. There is a certain hardness of execution in the faces in particular, except perhaps for that of the Jew, which leads us to believe that it is the work of the pupil.

The representation on this wall of the three men erecting the Cross (fig. 29) might be from the same hand. The expression of effort is marvellously rendered and from the movements it is evident that the cross is being erected and not only transported from one place to another. It is for this reason that iron bars are used. Strictly speaking it is not a cross but only a large plank that is being manipulated. Again we notice that hardness of technique which, in spite of the forms and excellent proportions, makes us suppose that the execution



Fig. 28. Assistant of Piero della Francesca, the Jew descended into the pit. S. Francesco, Arezzo.

Photo Anderson

was left to the helper, closely supervised, however, by the master who must have made the rough draft of this scene as he did indeed of the entire cycle.

I have already said that especially the right corner of the fresco of the victory of Heraclius does not seem to be of the same quality as the rest of the painting, still if the figures in this part represent the founders of the chapel <sup>(1)</sup> it would be more plausible to imagine that they were executed by the master himself. Yet these heads are so much less interesting than those in the centre of the battle, where Piero has displayed all his science and passionate temperament, that again we must admit that this part has been left to the assistant, whose hand Prof. Longhi erroneously discovers also in the battle itself. The same inferiority of quality and technique differentiates the prophet to the left of the window from that to the right (figs. 30, 31). No doubt here again the helper is responsible for one of the figures.

It would be difficult to say what degree of excellence above his own normal standard a skilful but mediocre artist might attain from a close collaboration with a genius such as Piero della Francesca and what a downfall would occur the day he was left entirely to his own devices. This question arises in connexion with a panel in the Vatican (No. 185, fig. 32), a work without any doubt of the school of Piero, showing certain qualities and many weaknesses.

Several characteristics approximate the author of this painting to the artist who worked with Piero in S. Francesco, Arezzo, but on the other hand it is all the same difficult to believe that, even abandoned by his master, so very little of the artistic instruction he must have picked up, remained. The picture is dated below the 9<sup>th</sup> of March 1472. The low wall which forms the background and the flower-garden are childish in execution, as are also the vases placed on the wall and the form of the trees. On the other hand the throne on which the Virgin is seated is of a good architectural effect although the perspective is not exact. The figure of the Madonna is pleasing and well proportioned but the Child Jesus is absurd; the head of St. Catherine to the right, who, seen in full face, bears a striking resemblance to the

(1) *Salmi*, op. cit.



Fig. 29. Assistant of Piero della Francesca, the Erecting of the Cross. S. Francesco, Arezzo.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 30. Assistant of Piero, a Prophet. S. Francesco, Arezzo.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 31. Piero della Francesca, a Prophet. S. Francesco, Arezzo.

Photo Anderson

man standing behind the aged Adam in the fresco at Arezzo, and the heads of SS. Sebastian and Bernardine of Siena to the left are of considerable beauty but the bodies and the draperies are unskilfully executed.

The apogee in the development of Piero della Francesca's monumental style has found expression in the two frescoes representing the victory of Heraclius over Chosroes and that of Constantine over Maxentius, which are the lowest paintings to the right and left of the choir and which, also on account of their site, can be considered the most important pieces of the entire series.

In illustrating the battle between Heraclius and Chosroes (figs. 33—35) the painter did not remain faithful to the text of the Golden Legend which tells us how Heraclius and the son of Chosroes fought together on a bridge without the armies entering into combat, how Heraclius, being victorious, entered the house of Chosroes who was seated on a golden throne and who, on his refusal to be baptized, was beheaded by Heraclius. This last event is represented in the right corner of the fresco, but the painter depicts it with much more ceremony than we gather must have been the case from the laconic recital of the text. It is really a scene of execution. Under a kind of pergola, substituted for the gold and silver tower mentioned in the text, we see the throne of Chosroes between a cock representing the Holy Ghost and the wood of the Cross as image of the Son. Here too the painter has not followed the text of the Golden Legend which tells us very precisely that Chosroes had taken away that part of the Holy Cross which the Empress Helen had left behind; besides, the sun, the moon and the stars, mentioned in the text, are missing from the painting.

The greatest digression from the text that the painter makes is the representation of a fierce battle, this magnificent *mêlée* of soldiers which the narrative tells us very precisely did not take place, because the fight was limited to the duel between the two princes and "it was decreed that whoever attempted to aid his chief would have his legs and arms cut off and his body would be thrown in the river".

The fresco, however, is superb. Under floating banners the horses with their riders meet in combat. The different positions



Fig. 32. School of Piero della Francesca, Madonna and saints, 1472. Vatican Gallery.

Photo Anderson.





Fig. 33. Piero della Francesca, the Victory of Heraclius, S. Francesco, Arezzo. Photo Anderson.

are rendered to perfection with a marvellous technical knowledge. The instruments of death appear overhead wielded in every sense and in every direction.

The massacre is seen in the distance as well as near at hand, the dead and dying stretched on the ground, the vanquished begging mercy. In this painting there is a genuine and very



Fig. 34 Detail of fig. 33.

Photo Anderson.

extensive study of fighting arms, cuirasses and helmets. There are some really superb heads, such for example as that, almost Michelangesque, of a young man who, in the left part of the fresco, is seen in three-quarter profile with arm upraised about to strike an assailant who, with visor drawn, attacks him from his right, as also the somewhat oriental head of the soldier wearing a bandeau, behind him. There are other faces of less regular features and of a slightly inferior technique but not to the extent of making us believe that parts of this fresco are from the hand of a helper. The action is so united, forming a dense and uninterrupted whole that it is difficult to believe that two different persons took part in the execution.



Fig. 35. Detail of fig. 33.

Photo Anderson.

A characteristic in Piero's art which is obvious in this case is the lack of expression and dramatic sense. First the faces but rarely reveal the least emotion; they remain calm and unruffled, even dignified and majestic, which appearance, although not at all fitting to the circumstances, is found in almost all Piero's works and which no doubt is an expression



Fig. 36. Piero della Francesca, the Victory of Constantine. S. Francesco, Arezzo. Photo Anderson.

of his artistic temperament to which monumental beauty appealed more strongly than the pictorial value of emotion. Besides, this lack of life is noticeable also in the movements and the gestures of the soldiers engaged in combat; their efforts are perfectly studied but are rendered without any vivacity. They kill one another but they do so with the utmost calm. In certain cases the figures are too isolated, the movement of attack, especially in the left corner of the fresco, being unprovoked. Here too there is too much majesty to render to perfection the warlike action.

The painting opposite which represents the victory that Constantine, on the strength of the little gold cross he carried in his hand, had over Maxentius, is very much damaged (figs. 36, 37, 38). In an aquarelle which the German painter Ramboux executed before 1842, the fresco at that time appears to have been in a much better state of preservation<sup>(1)</sup>. Now large parts are missing, the right corner in particular has almost entirely disappeared. Again we find that Piero did not follow the legend which relates that Maxentius "at the moment he came to the river, forgot that he had had the bridges undermined to deceive Constantine, and in crossing over one of them, was drowned in the rivier". In illustrating Constantine's victory the painter shows us Maxentius' army safe on the other side of the river, the last to cross, unbelievable as it may appear, being the pagan emperor himself; his mount has already his forelegs on the bank and with small effort he and his rider will be safe. Consequently in the painting it seems highly unlikely that Maxentius will be drowned but I imagine that the reproduction of this interesting position of the horse held more attraction to the painter than the fidelity to the narrative. It might still be supposed that the figure does not represent Maxentius, but this is not very likely.

The majestic serenity with which Constantine and his army advance interprets in a perfect manner the magic and irresistible force lent by the little cross which the emperor carries well in evidence. Only one horse rears under his fierce rider;

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(1) *Warburg*, op. cit.



Fig. 37. Detail of fig. 36.

Photo Anderson.

the others calm and dignified step out as if on parade. The gorgeous knights are sure of themselves; they carry their lances erect and show no sign of emotion.

Between the two groups of warriors the artist has reduced

to the strict necessary, the river which nevertheless plays a considerable part in the story. I would even say that he has cut it a little too fine because the distance between Maxentius in flight and the victorious Constantine is so small that it gives one the impression that a piece has been removed from the centre of the composition, and as this naturally is impossible, we are led to believe that after having executed the right half, the painter was enticed into making the group to the left advance more than he had at first intended. The background is very curtailed but none the less it is executed with great refinement.

Professor Warburg's remark that in portraying the figure of Constantine, the artist was certainly inspired by the representation of Palaeologus, the emperor of Byzantium, which he must have seen in Florence in 1439, is perfectly justifiable and we have but to compare the figure here with that of Pisanello's medal or again with that of Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco to make us certain of this fact.

As I have already said, it is in these frescoes that Piero attained, by accentuating to the extreme the means at his disposal, that pre-eminently monumental and plastic style. In order to obtain this marked plasticity which is not an imitation of sculpture but all the same renders so perfectly the sculptural effects, he uses very pronounced oppositions of tones; black horses serve as background to the white chargers, light and dark colours are seen in juxtaposition, brilliant lights are suddenly cut by the darkest shadows. All this gives to the bodies an appearance as if cut in very large and imposing facets, thus lending them monumental proportions which are further accentuated by the dignified expression of sentiment and, in the second fresco, the slowness of the movement which is sooner that of a stately cortège.

In the decoration of the choir we find still some other paintings executed in the same style. I have already mentioned the beautiful figure of a prophet which forms the pendant to that from the hand of a helper, both on the window wall. Then on the entrance arch there are the fine paintings by the master himself of St. Peter the Martyr and an angel, but of the former there remains only the half-length figure and



Fig. 38. Detail of fig. 36.

Photo Anderson.

of the latter the bust alone; the figure of St. Louis of Toulouse and the blind-fold Cupid on the other hand are the feeble works of a helper who is not the same as the artist who collaborated in the execution of the other frescoes.

The monumental style which reached such a high development in the two last frescoes in S. Francesco, Arezzo, is found





Fig. 39. Piero della Francesca, St. Mary Magdalene,  
Cathedral, Arezzo.

Photo Anderson.

in some other works which Piero must have executed shortly after his activity in this town.

Generally speaking these paintings are not so grandiose so that often the plastic effects and breadth of proportions, are much less pronounced.

In the town of Arezzo itself we find a work which shows in a marked fashion the artistic principles which Piero had acquired during the execution of the frescoes in the choir of S. Francesco. It is the standing figure of St. Mary Magdalene which



Fig. 40. Piero della Francesca, Madonna del Parto. Municipio, Monterchi.

Photo Anderson.

adorns the left transept of the cathedral (fig. 39); the figure is executed with great force and I should even say a certain coarseness which detracts considerably from its charm<sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Del Vita*, *Il Duomo d'Arezzo*, Milan, n. d., p. 59.



Fig. 41. Detail of fig. 40.

Photo Anderson.

The type of the Virgin of the Annunciation in S. Francesco is found in the "Madonna del Parto" a fresco which, after the earthquake of 1917, was transferred to the town hall of Monterchi, near Arezzo, but which formerly adorned a little chapel situated between Monterchi and Citerna (figs. 40, 41) (1). Mr. Berenson

(1) *Marini-Franceschi*, La Madonna del Parto. We should bear in mind here that Piero's mother came from Monterchi.

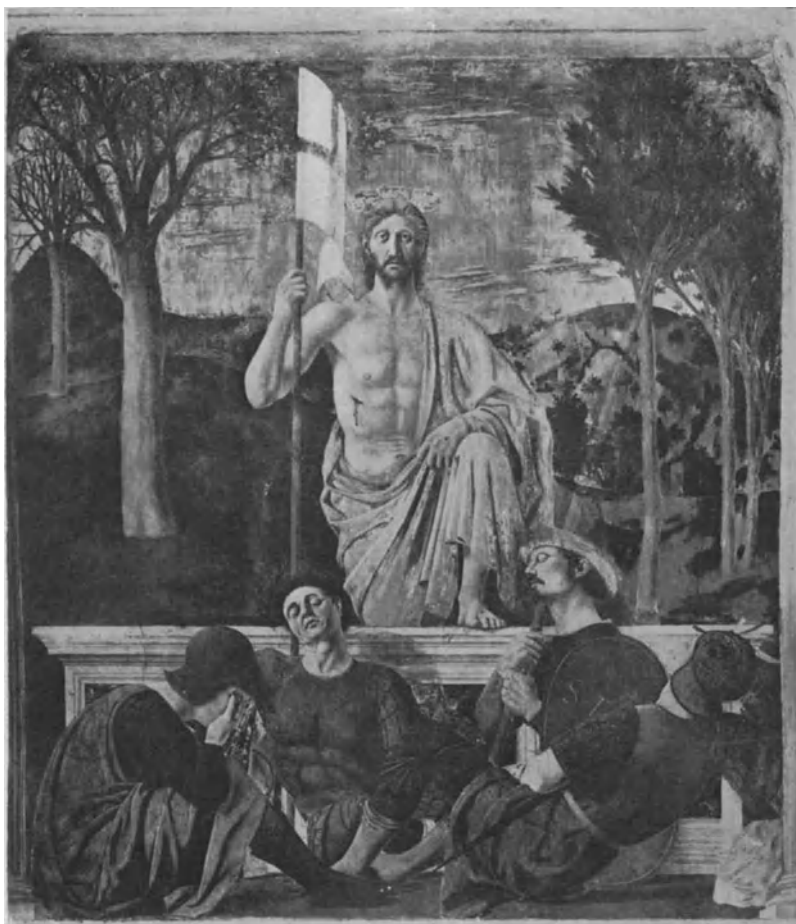


Fig. 42. Piero della Francesca, the Resurrection.  
Gallery, Borgo San Sepolcro.

Photo Anderson.

is of opinion that this painting is almost entirely from the hand of Lorentino, a local painter and pupil of Piero but I think it a work of considerable merit in spite of the fact that the majesty of the figures has been transformed into a kind of haughty stiffness. With an identical gesture the angels to the sides withdraw the flaps of the tent in which the Virgin stands. The forms and execution are finer than in the fresco of the Magdalene, still except for the beautiful oval of the Virgin's

face with its calm mysterious expression, it is a painting of little charm.

Then we come to the most impressive of all Piero's works: the Resurrection of Christ in the gallery of Borgo San Sepolcro (pl. II, figs. 42, 43) <sup>(1)</sup>. The painting has been detached from the wall which it originally decorated and transferred to its actual site. It is obviously the fresco technique which lends itself to such a grandiosity of treatment, such a breadth of form and such a blending of colours, all qualities which contribute to the inexpressible grandeur of the work. Behind the four soldiers sitting leaning against the coffin, not only sleeping but even personifications of sleep itself, appears the Saviour just risen from His tomb, a supernatural figure with an all-knowing expression, full of the comprehension of earthly suffering which, however, can no longer touch Him. This splendid image of the resurrected Christ, from Whose mind the anguish of the Passion has not yet faded, is shown in the centre of a landscape with hills in the distance, between trees, some of which are stripped of foliage while others are in leaf. The painting is full of marvellous effects of plasticity. The head of the soldier seen in full-face, leaning back against the border of the coffin, has justifiably excited universal admiration. It is quite likely that in executing this work Piero's thoughts turned to the fresco of the same subject by Andrea del Castagno in the Cenacolo of Sant' Apollonia in Florence, which shows certain points of resemblance in the composition <sup>(2)</sup>.

The principal panels of the altar-piece, ordered by the confraternity of the Misericord, for which payment was made to Piero's brother still in 1462, seem to me as well executed in the artist's last manner which became fully developed during his activity in Arezzo.

I have remarked elsewhere that the presence and appearance of the figure of St. Bernardine authorize us to place this panel several years after 1450. A slight difference with the frescoes of Arezzo arises from the fact that here we are dealing with a painting on panel, the first of its kind since the cycle illu-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Bombe*, op. cit. *Müntz*, op. cit.

<sup>(2)</sup> v. Vol. X, fig. 226.



*FREDERIC OF MONTEFELTRO, DUKE OF URBINO.*

*By Piero della Francesca in the Uffizi, Florence.*

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 43 Detail of fig. 42.

Photo Alinari.

strating the legend of the Cross which was so significant in the development of Piero's style. The Virgin in the centre holds her mantle over eight figures, four women, of whom one is elderly and appears to be a nun, to the right and four men, one of whom wears the cowl of the brothers of the order,



Fig. 44. Piero della Francesca, detail of the polyptych (fig. 10).  
Gallery, Borgo San Sepolcro.

Photo Anderson.





Fig. 45. Detail of fig. 44.

Photo Anderson.

to the left (figs. 44–46). The Virgin in type resembles the Madonna of the Annunciation in S. Francesco and the figure at Monterchi but her features are sweeter, and of a more regular beauty. The orderly folds of her garments show those sudden oppositions of light and shade which struck us in the frescoes of Arezzo and the head of one of the male figures is depicted



Fig. 46. Detail of fig. 10.

Photo Brogi.

in almost the same position as that of the famous soldier in the Resurrection.

Of the lateral figures (fig. 47), the nude St. Sebastian is very beautiful and recalls that of the young man resuscitated by the power of the Cross in the fresco at Arezzo; SS. John the Baptist and Andrew, particularly the former, have ample draperies but the folds are hard cut as in the figure of St. Mary



Fig. 47, Detail of fig. 10.

Photo Brogi.

Magdalene in the cathedral of Arezzo; the painting of St. Bernardine is too much effaced for us to form an idea of its original qualities.

The fresco of Hercules which was detached from a house owned by Piero in Borgo San Sepolcro, and is now in the Gardner collection, Boston, is too dilapidated for us to pro-

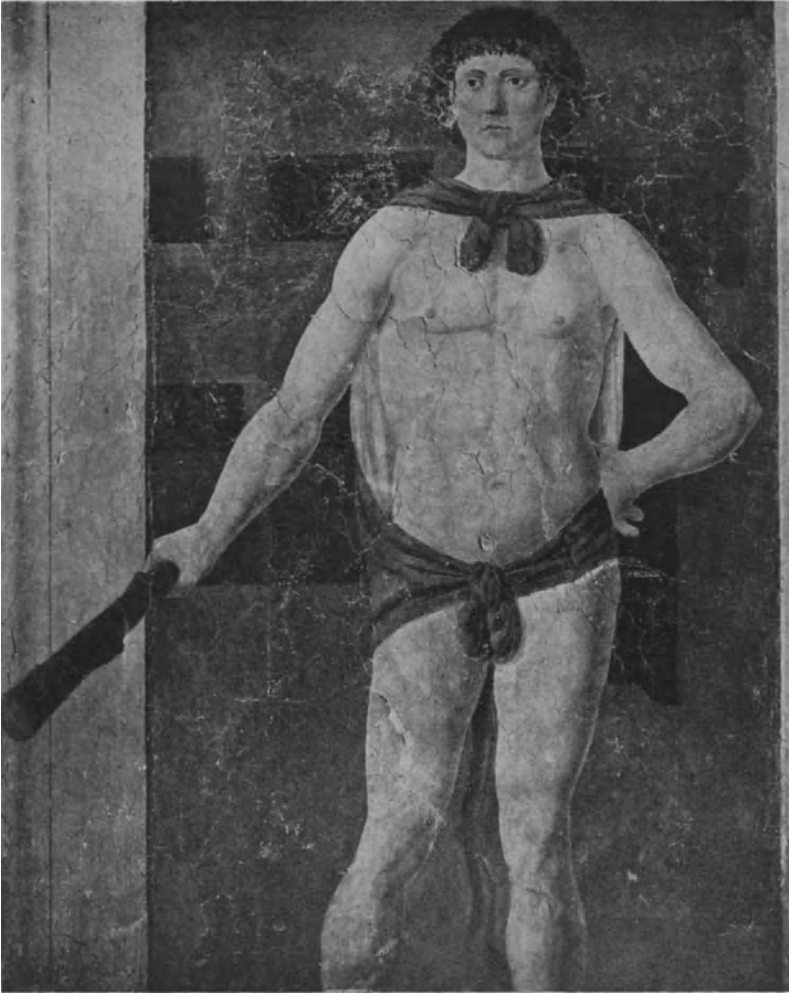


Fig. 48. Piero della Francesca, Hercules. Gardner Collection, Boston.

Photo Alinari

nounce a judgment but in all probability it was executed after the same manner (fig. 48).

Prof. Longhi ascribes to Piero himself the figures of the four Evangelists, of whom St. Luke is the only one now recognizable, which decorate the vault of a chapel in Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome; until now they have been considered a work of



Fig. 49. Piero della Francesca?, St. Luke. Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

his school <sup>(1)</sup>. The vault is situated over a little tribune; against a background studded with stars we see St. Luke sitting

<sup>(1)</sup> *Galassi*, op. cit., detects also an influence of Lorenzo da Viterbo. Formerly the frescoes were ascribed to Benozzo Gozzoli: *G. Biasiotti*, *Affreschi di Benozzo Gozzoli in S. Maria Maggiore in Roma*, *Bolletino d'Arte*, 1913, p. 76.



Fig. 50 Detail of fig. 49.

Photo Anderson.

writing, the emblematic bull in repose beside him (figs. 49, 50).

Among the women behind the kneeling figure of the Queen of Sheba in the fresco at Arezzo, we discover a head closely resembling that of St. Luke; here, however, the plastic effect is more pronounced, for which reason this painting has more in common with Piero's later Aretine manner. None the less, the attribution to Piero, which has not been unanimously



Fig. 51. Piero della Francesca. Madonna and angels. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Anderson.

accepted, seems to me correct; nevertheless that this fresco should date from before 1455, in correspondence with Vasari's affirmation that Piero was in Rome during the pontificate of Nicholas V, is in my opinion highly improbable, whereas he might have painted it when he went to Rome in 1459.

With the Madonna from Sta. Maria delle Grazie of Sinigaglia, now in the gallery of Urbino (fig. 51), we have already passed the apogee of Piero della Francesca's art. This painting, superb

though it be, no longer shows that faultless organic construction and that force of expression. The plasticity is less real, I should say it almost conveys an effect of emptiness, and the modelling is not perfectly natural. It is the beginning, the very first sign, of old age and decline. Prof. A. Venturi pronounces this painting to be a school work.

The Madonna is shown in half-length figure; she belongs to the same type as the Madonna del Parto, the Virgin of the Annunciation at Arezzo and the Madonna della Misericordia at Borgo San Sepolcro but the features, although more regular and of greater beauty, are less fascinating and there is no longer anything mysterious in the serious expression.

The forms are somewhat heavy as also those of the Child Who wears round His neck a coral charm against the evil eye. He bestows a blessing and holds a flower. The two angels with arms folded on their breasts are strange and imposing. The execution of the details is marvellous: look for instance with what perfection he shows the effect of light in the window of the adjoining room and the objects in the little cupboard in the wall which is separated by a small pillar, adorned with a chandelier, from the rest of the wall. Very fine also is the light on the figures as well as the white and light gray tints which are dominant in this panel.

After the same manner seems to me to be a very important panel of the Madonna in the midst of four angels which was offered for sale in New York not very long ago. I know the work only from a photograph but even from that I was impressed by the beauty of the painting.

The deterioration in the quality of painting, which we notice in the picture at Urbino might not have struck us, had we not found it still more marked in the polyptych in the gallery of Perugia (figs. 52—56) in which the central figure corresponds closely with the Madonna of Sinigaglia and the other paintings that I have associated with this work.

The picture originates from the church of the convent of S. Antonio (<sup>1</sup>). Prof. A. Venturi and Mr. Berenson find this

(<sup>1</sup>) *Aubert*, op. cit. *A. Venturi*, *L'atmosfera artistica umbra all' arrivo di Raffaello a Perugia*, *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, p. 259.





Fig. 52. Piero della Francesca, altar-piece. Gallery, Perugia.

Photo Anderson.

production of such a mediocre quality that they classify it, the former as a work of a helper, the latter, at least in as far as the lower part is concerned, painted by the master and his helpers. I do not agree with either of these critics but am of opinion that what strikes us as unpleasing in this



Fig. 53. Detail of fig. 52.

Photo Alinari.

picture is a certain imperfection, particularly in the plastic effects, of which we have already found signs in the panel of Sinigaglia.

This strange and distasteful altar-piece with the upper part resembling an angular pyramid, very ungainly in shape and far too large in proportion to the lower part, has none the



Fig. 54. Detail of fig. 52.

Photo Anderson.

less been created in this form. The manner in which the two parts are united is no doubt original and the preparation of the septangular panel demonstrates that it was the master's intention to give this curious form to the painting. The architectural background above clashes just as much with the gold background below as do the colours in general. The Virgin's throne is composed of an architectural niche of the Renaissance style, similar to those we have often found in the works of Fra Angelico, although much more elaborate in form, besides, the lower part bears sufficient resemblance to the altar-piece that Fra Angelico executed for S. Domenico,

Perugia, and which now hangs in the same room in the town gallery, to allow us admit that Piero, to a certain extent, wished to, or had to imitate the older work. The Madonna and Child are heavy and without grace of form; they are of monumental proportions but lack that spirit which gives life to Piero's majestic figures. Also the four saints -- SS. Antony,

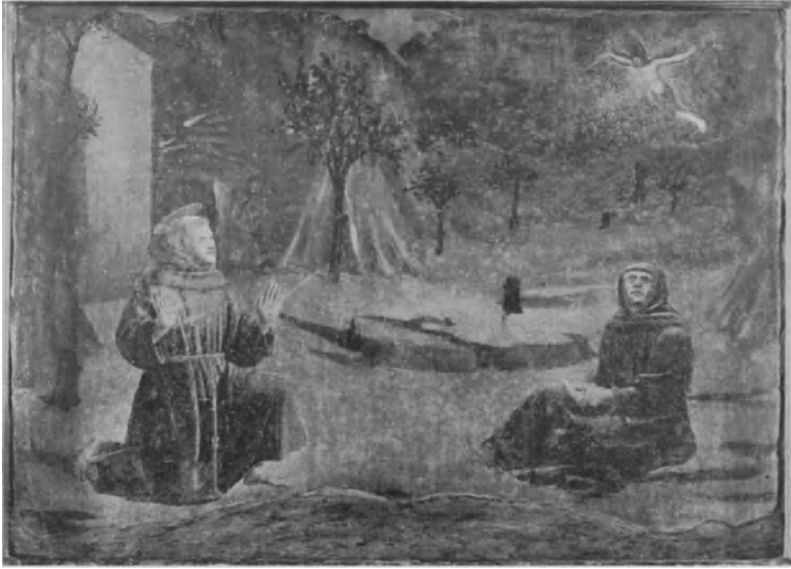


Fig. 55. Piero della Francesca, the Stigmatization of St. Francis, predella of altar-piece. Gallery. Perugia.

Photo Alinari.

John the Baptist, Francis and Elizabeth — are clumsy but here we discover those effects of light and plasticity which, although they convey the impression that the figures are statues, not persons, are nevertheless of a quality which allows us to attribute all these figures to the great master's own hand. Large flowers, similar to the patterns of contemporary velvets, adorn the gold background.

The predella panels are also somewhat perplexing but none the less manifest too many characteristics of Piero for us to conclude with Mr. Berenson that they are entirely from the hand of a helper. Yet the technique is so very inferior to that

of Piero's superb works that I do not understand how Prof. Longhi can place this work between the frescoes of Arezzo and the diptych in the Uffizi which in his opinion dates from towards 1465. It is a work which shows very clearly the defects of old age and it is to this stage in the artist's career that Mr. Berenson ascribes that part of the painting which he believes to be by the master.



Fig 56. Piero della Francesca, Miracle of St. Antony, predella of altar-piece. Gallery, Perugia.

Photo Alinari.

A panel of the predella which must have illustrated an event from the life of St. John the Baptist is missing. The picture of St. Francis receiving the stigmata is represented as a nocturnal scene with a mysterious illumination as in the fresco of Constantine's dream at Arezzo, only here the general effect is too gray; the light is not sufficiently bright and the night not dark enough to produce that opposition which gives the magic effect to the fresco. The hilly landscape with some trees is not clearly visible. The figure of St. Francis with hands open towards the apparition is beautiful and full of dignity;

his companion, seated on the ground, raises his head at an angle, once more reproducing the position of the sleeping soldier in the Resurrection of Borgo San Sepolcro. Unfortunately the panel is considerably damaged.

The miracle of St. Antony, whom we see praying before a cradle in which a child sleeps, between the mother who stands weeping and a monk making a gesture of surprise, again shows that importance given to the walls, typical of Alberti's style. The door is very imposing, as is also the framed recess containing two vases, one of glass, the other of pottery, as was the case in the panel at Sinigaglia, and the whole executed with the same care of detail we remarked there. The figure of the woman, short and standing clumsily on her feet, with arms far too long and enormous hands, is anything but beautiful. The light, on the other hand, is soft and delicate.

The miracle of St. Elizabeth shows, in the centre, a well over which a woman leans; another woman prays close by, a small boy is seated on the ground and a man stands holding a cord to which a grappling-iron is attached; the tiny figure of the saint appears above.

The light effects in this instance are more varied; to one side it is dark, to the other light. The colouring too is more beautiful; a bright red alongside the grays and white-grays, so characteristic of the master, forms a particularly charming contrast. Once more, however, we are struck by a lack of grace which, however, is less obvious in this picture. The walls and the doors are here again much in evidence.

The upper part of this altar-piece on which the Annunciation is depicted, offers us a veritable study of architecture; the Madonna is of the type with which we have already met so often but she is heavily draped in a material which hangs in straight folds and masks her form; the angel is much more graceful and is reminiscent of the angel to the left in the picture at Sinigaglia but is of that more evolved type which we find in the master's other late works.

The background is composed of a triple arcade; the arch most to the left is not very deep and beyond it a park is visible; that to the right projects more than the others, forming a sort of portico to an entrance borne on pillars. Then in the

centre we see a long corridor like that of a cloister, with the effect of perspective produced by rows of pillars, such as we find in the works of the Florentine painters of the early Renaissance as, for instance, the birth-plate of Masaccio in Berlin<sup>(1)</sup>, but which Piero shows us here for the first time. Doubtless in Piero della Francesca's case, just as much as in that of Masaccio, it was the study and admiration of the beautiful creations of architecture which induced them to give such an important place to the architectural elements in their pictures.

Masaccio to all appearances was inspired by Brunelleschi's Loggia degli Innocenti; Piero on this occasion was probably influenced by the courtyard of the palace of the Duke of Urbino which Laurana began towards 1467. It could not have been until a few years later that the painter was able to study the effect that he reproduces here in the centre of his picture, showing as entrance an arcade like those which surround the court at Urbino and then behind this arcade a view of columns and vaults which we discover if we look at the colonnades, lengthwise. It is true that long before this date Brunelleschi and Michelozzo had created similar colonnades in Florence, but apart from the fact that Piero was more likely to have seen them in Urbino, there is a slight difference between the Florentine constructions and those of Laurana and it seems to have been the latter model that the painter followed. This difference lies in the narrower and rounder shape of the arch which is placed more directly on the capitals — this is still more evident in his constructions at Rimini — while the cornice which surrounds the arch is larger in proportion.

There is also something in the form of the Virgin's throne in the lower part of the picture which recalls the less elaborate doors at Urbino — that for example of the principal entrance of the large hall — which already are marked with the inscription *Fe Dux* and consequently were executed after 1474 when Federico became Duke of Urbino; the ornaments of the socle of the back of the throne are identical in style to those of the frame-work of the doors of the façade of the palace. All this leads me to believe that Piero executed this altar-piece

(1) v. Vol. X, fig. 179.



Fig. 57. Piero della Francesca, St. Dominic. Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna.



after his visit to the Duke of Urbino which he made probably after 1474 and which may have lasted until 1477. In the representation of the Annunciation the painter has returned to his earlier colours and here again we find to a certain extent his charming misty light.

Two little half-length figures of saints, St. Dominic (fig. 57) and a holy nun, in the Lichtenstein collection, Vienna<sup>(1)</sup> show a striking resemblance in style to the altarpiece at Perugia, and in spite of the fact that the proportions are a little less clumsy, these two figures must



Fig. 58. Piero della Francesca, St. Thomas Aquinas. Poldi Pezzoli Gallery. Milan.

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Venturi, op cit., L'Arte. 1921.*



Fig. 59. Piero della Francesca, St. Michael. National Gallery, London,

Photo Anderson.

have belonged to an altar-piece that the master executed about this period.

Closely corresponding in style with the Perugian panel but all the same of a considerably superior technique is a figure of St. Thomas Aquinas in the Poldi Pezzoli Gallery, Milan (No. 598, fig. 58), to which a picture of St. Michael in the National Gallery, London (No. 769, fig. 59) forms the pendant. A fat monk has posed for the portrait of St. Thomas, the head is refined but the face is not very expressive. He holds a book in one hand and raises the other hand as if in argument. There are in this painting oppositions



Fig. 60. Piero della Francesca and Luca Signorelli?, Madonna and saints.  
Brera Gallery, Milan.

Photo Alinari.

of light and shade producing effects of relief such as we find only in Piero's best works. A slab of marble with a cornice decorated after the style of the architecture at Urbino forms the lower part of the background. A similar feature is found in the London panel which is of inferior quality, largely due, however, to the poor state of preservation of the picture. The archangel, attired in a coat of mail like a Roman warrior, stands on the body of the dragon which looks more like a serpent except for the decapitated head which he holds. In type St. Michael resembles the angels of Piero's more mature productions. The picture was formerly in the Eastlake collection.

The same style is found in another work by Piero, a beautiful, refined painting, very superior to the polyptych at Perugia; it is the picture of Duke Federico adoring the Virgin and Child in the midst of saints, in the Brera Gallery, Milan (No. 510, fig. 60) (<sup>1</sup>).

It is in a niche, which reproduces a real apse of a church, that the painter shows us the Virgin seated on a little socle covered with a rug; her hands are clasped in adoration while the naked Infant, wearing a coral charm round his neck, has fallen asleep on her knee. Four angels stand behind the Madonna and to the sides we see St. John the Baptist indicating the Child in a somewhat dull listless manner, St. Bernardine for whom the artist has created a special type which we have already seen in the polyptych of Borgo San Sepolcro, St. Jerome in rags and tatters beating his chest with a stone, St. Francis, broad-shouldered and fat and of hard expression, very different from all the other representations of this saint, St. Peter the Martyr whose head only is visible and an old saint, probably St. John the Evangelist. Before them in the right angle of the picture, piously kneels Duke Federico attired in a coat of mail, his sword dangling at his side and his helmet, his steel gauntlets and his marshal's baton placed on the floor beside him. The picture originates from the church of S. Bernardino, near Urbino. In his work on the painters who belonged to the Dominican order, Marchese spread the opinion that this large panel was executed towards 1472 by Bartolommeo Corradini, known as Fra Carnevale, an opinion expressed by Lazzeri in his "Chiese d'Urbino",

(<sup>1</sup>) *Berenson*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1886. pp. 80, 81.

and which otherwise would certainly have remained unknown. Mr. Berenson thinks that Fra Carnevale should be held responsible for the architectural part of this picture and agrees with Prof. A. Venturi's hypothesis that the hand of Duke Federico was painted by Justus of Ghent. Prof. Venturi was previously of the opinion that half the figure of Duke Federico was repainted and that the entire panel was executed by a pupil after a sketch by Piero. He now agrees with the attribution to Fra Carnevale to whom, besides, he ascribes other works which I classify partly as productions of the last stage of Piero's activity while the rest might be included in an early stage of Signorelli's career. That Frederico's hands were repainted in olden times has already been stated by Cavalcaselle.

It is highly likely that the creation of such an important painting was the result of some momentous event in the life of the donor who, for that reason, wished to pay homage to the Virgin.

Between 1470 and 1480, during which period the picture, I think, must have been executed, there occurred two happy events in the life of Federico. In 1472, his son, the first and only one after six daughters, was born. In 1474 the pope appointed him gonfalonier of the church. That Federico had the picture made in commemoration of the latter event might appear unlikely, were it not for the exceedingly war-like attire in which he is represented. There is more reason to believe that it was the former event he wished to celebrate; one can imagine the joy with which a prince of that period, without a direct male heir, received the news that his seventh child was a son. It certainly called for an act of gratitude towards the Virgin. Besides, although this has been contradicted, there is something particularly human in the appearance of the Infant Christ, sleeping on the knee of the Virgin, on whose face we discover more than the usual expression of veneration for the Saviour, that it can easily be imagined that tender thoughts for a real child inspired the painter on this occasion. Moreover, it might quite likely be that the honour of being nominated gonfalonier of the church was conferred on Duke Federico before Piero had finished this important painting and this might account for the military attire of the donor.

The deep niche before which the group is placed, demonstrates an interest on the part of the artist in some architectural achievement with which he must have been specially impressed. It is once more a work of Leon Battista Alberti which excited his admiration. In the façade of the church of S. Andrea at Mantua, for which Alberti made the plan before 1470 although the actual construction was undertaken by Fancelli in 1472, we find a similar niche in the principal porch to which two others are placed at right angles (fig. 61). Piero was forced to alter the plan and measurements but the vault and its decorations, the fluted columns and many other elements correspond so closely that it seems to me beyond doubt that the painter knew at least the architect's sketch for this building.

This painting has been judged, and not entirely without reason, a little dull, lacking expression in the heads and the movements. I think this is due chiefly to a weakening in style which appears in the master's late works and which disfigures the earlier majesty into a lack of life. Then, personally, I am of the opinion that a large part of this altar-piece is from the hand of a helper who, I think, might have been Signorelli, at this moment about thirty years old; at least if it is to him that we owe the group of works that Mr. Berenson has classified together as early productions of this artist (<sup>1</sup>). Certainly the Madonnas that Signorelli executed at a tender age bear a close resemblance to the Virgin of this altar-piece; the figure of St. Jerome taken separately might pass for a work of Signorelli but executed after a manner he acquired at a more mature stage; the appearance of the Baptist too is somewhat unusual for Piero's style, in fact Piero's hallmark is absent in several parts of this picture and this explains why the attribution to him has been so often contested.

It is true that certain facts concerning the life of Signorelli render this collaboration with Piero towards 1474 somewhat improbable considering that already in 1470 he seems to have left this master and to have been working alone in Cortona.

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(<sup>1</sup>) *B. Berenson, An early Signorelli in Boston. Art in America, 1926, p. 105.*



Fig. 61. Alberti, S. Andrea, Mantua.

Photo Alinari.

On the other hand in 1474 he was working once more, not far distant from Urbino, because it was in this year that he executed the frescoes on the tower of Città di Castello; the few débris, which are all that remain of this decoration reveal that very little alteration had taken place in Signorelli's style since he left his master.

Further there is still a large number of works of which we find

mention, particularly in Vasari, but also in some documents to which I have already referred.

In Borgo San Sepolcro itself there were two saints from his hand in the Pieve and a fresco of the Madonna della Misericordia of 1478 in the hospital of this name. In S. Agostino there was an Assumption of the Virgin by Piero which afterwards was transported to Sta. Chiara (1); some frescoes were executed in 1474 in the chapel of the Madonna in the Badia while in the nuns' choir of Sta. Chiara there was a series of figures on a gold background (2). Not very long ago the Marini-Franceschi family was still in possession of four panels showing half-length figures of saints SS. Nicholas of Bari, Apollonia, a holy nun and a holy bishop (3). Perhaps the same family once owned the painter's self-portrait which Vasari reproduces in the 1568 edition of his "Vite" and of which Cavalcaselle saw a copy in the house of the Marini-Franceschi.

In Arezzo too there was a considerable number of paintings by Piero which have now disappeared. In the church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie there existed a figure of St. Donato in papal attire with angels. I wonder if in this case this is not a mis-judgment on Vasari's part for he might easily have taken for a work by the master a fresco by a local painter working under Piero's influence, of Sixtus IV enthroned, in the midst of other clerical dignitaries, which still exists in this church.

Further he executed in Arezzo a standard for the corporation of the Annunziata which I have already mentioned, a St. Vincent in a niche in S. Bernardino, a St. Bernardine on a pillar in the Pieve which Vasari records in his first edition but not in his second and a Christ in the Garden of Olives in the church of Sargiano.

Of greater importance must have been the work which, according to Vasari, the painter undertook for Borso d'Este in

(1) *Milanesi*, op. cit., Buonarroti.

(2) *G. Mancini*, Istruzione storico-pittorica per visitare le chiese e i palazzi di Città di Castello, I, Perugia, 1832, p. 340; II, 1838, p. 268.

(3) *Milanesi*, note 1 on *Vasari*, II, p. 488. Prof. Longhi is of opinion that two of these panels are those now in the Lichtenstein collection in Vienna but one of them represents a holy monk and this does not correspond with the description of the subjects given by Milanesi.



the Schifanoia Palace at Ferrara; he decorated many of the rooms which, however, were destroyed when the palace was re-built by Duke Ercole. The frescoes which he executed in a chapel of the church of S. Ambrogio at the same time, were ruined by the humidity of the site already in Vasari's day (1).

Vasari describes still a Marriage of the Virgin in the church of S. Ciriaco in Ancona (2) and at Loreto a fresco in the vault of the sacristy of the sanctuary, which was begun by Piero and Domenico Veneziano and finished by Signorelli, which affirmation should only be accepted with considerable reserve. Then we are told that Nicholas V charged Piero together with Bramante to execute certain frescoes in the Vatican on the spot now occupied by Raphael's paintings of St. Peter in prison and the miracle of Bolsena.

Speaking in a general manner, Vasari informs us that many paintings of little figures by Piero existed in the town of Urbino and that many of his paintings were to be found in Perugia and in Pesaro. For the latter town, as well as for Bologna, Pascoli makes the same statement (3).

(1) *Ricci*, op. cit., Bollet. d'Arte, 1913.

(2) *A. Ricci*, Memor. stor. delle arti etc. nella Marca etc., Macerata, 1818 I, p. 182. *Pasti*, op. cit.

(3) Still attributed to Piero are the Madonnas in the museum of Boston, in the Villamarina collection, Rome and in Christ Church College, Oxford, which Mr Berenson in his article in *Art in America* claims as youthful works of Signorelli. The frescoes in Sta. Maria delle Grazie, Arezzo, seem to be by Loretino d'Angelo (*Melani*, op. cit. *Tavanti*, op. cit. also the St. Louis, once showing the date 1460, in the gallery of Borgo San Sepolcro; they will be dealt with in another volume; *Venturi*, P. d F, p. 74, qualifies the latter as an indisputable work by Piero; there exist some documents in connexion with this fresco v. *Gerardi Dr. gomani*, op. cit. I do not know the Christ appearing to the Magdalena and the Resurrection in the Funghini collection, Arezzo, but according to Signor Longhi they are not from the master's own hand. In the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, a head of Christ, which Prof. Venturi attributes to Domenico Veneziano, has been wrongly ascribed to Piero. *G. Gruyer*, Musée de Bayonne, Coll. Bonnat, Paris, 1908, p. 8. *Longhi*, op. cit., p. 167, believes, it to be Venetian of about 1460. A head of Christ in the gallery of Borgo San Sepolcro and the views of architecture at Urbino, in Berlin and in the Walters collection, Baltimore will be discussed with the

The place that Piero occupies in Italian painting is very great, even sublime, on account the individual value of the artist whose work forms, so to say, an apotheosis to the early Florentine Renaissance; following immediately the first generation, that of the pioneers, he transformed all that these masters had left, more or less in the form of technical experiments, into veritable manifestations of art of extraordinary merit. However it ended there. I do not deny that an influence of Piero's art, even a very wide-spread one, existed, but he formed no school. The works of pupils are very rare as we shall soon see. Apart from a few anonymous artists of little importance who perhaps collaborated with him, there are only a few poor local painters such as Lorentino, while Luca Signorelli, who started his career as a faithful pupil of Piero, very soon altered his style and followed an independent manner.

In a certain sense then Piero was not a means of transmission of the art of the first generation of painters of the Florentine Renaissance, at least what Domenico Veneziano had communicated of his own peculiar style to Piero, died with the latter artist, except perhaps for some faint trace of it in Baldovinetti's art.

If he did not form a school, his influence none the less was considerable, although I think that Prof. Venturi gives rather an exaggerated picture of it when he affirms that apart from the productions of the artists active at Urbino and the Umbro-Tuscan

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works of Piero's school. The Madonna by Baldovinetti in the Louvre has been ascribed to Piero: *Guffrey*, *L'Arte*, I, 1898, p. 46. *Zippel*, op. cit., as we saw, attributes to Piero the frescoes in the lunettes in the Sala Greca of the Library in the Vatican, as well as the architectural effects on the walls. Also Melozzo's well-known fresco of Sixtus IV in the Vatican Gallery is considered by him to be the work of Melozzo and Piero working in collaboration. A youthful St. John the Evangelist in the gallery of Bergamo used to be assigned to Piero's school; *Frisoni*, *Arch. stor. dell'arte*, 1892, p. 223, now describes it as a production of the Tuscan school. In another chapter I attribute it to Piero Pollaiuolo. In the catalogue of the Toscanelli collection pl. XXXIVa, a woman's profile is described as a work by Piero; it is very probably a production of Antonio Pollaiuolo. A Madonna and Child in the Lanckoronski collection, Vienna, is ascribed to Piero; it is sooner a work of the school of Verrocchio.

painters, he sees the diffusion of the art of Piero della Francesca in the works of the principal masters of Romagna, Rome, Lazio and Umbria. If we consider, for instance, the enormous number of elements, other than those due to the genius of Piero, that go to form a Marco Palmezzano or a Spagna, I think when it is said that such artists are formed by the dissemination of Piero della Francesca's manner, that it is a somewhat warped view of the history of painting. This is even more evident in the case of the Venetian artists (<sup>1</sup>).

That Piero started his career with Domenico Veneziano is proved by documentary evidence and confirmed by his art; I should even say that he remained more or less faithful to Domenico's lessons during his long artistic career (<sup>2</sup>). As we have seen, one of his last works, the Nativity in the National Gallery, London, shows him still as an adherent of the art of Domenico Veneziano. For his human types, his forms and his light effects, he was obviously inspired by Domenico but it is only the primary idea he owes to his master, the enormous development which these principles underwent can be accounted for entirely by his own genius. Domenico never created that silvery light or that aerial perspective, although there is a suggestion of it in the background of his lady's portrait in the Brera; nor did he show those delicate tints which abound in Piero's works. Particularly never did he think of the miniature-like refinement of detail, the grandiose monumentality or the impressive effects of plasticity and perspective. For these last mentioned features Piero must have been inspired by other Florentine painters of the preceding generation, sooner by Castagno and Uccello than by Masaccio because Piero made no attempts to reproduce the impressionistic effects which characterize the finest works by the latter master.

The minuteness of the details is not lost or in any way

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(<sup>1</sup>) *R. Longhi*, Piero dei Franceschi e lo sviluppo della pittura veneziana, *L'Arte*, XVII, 1914, pp. 198, 241.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Schmarsow*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XVI, 1893, p. 159 *The Same*, *L'Arte*, XV, 1912, pp. 9, 81, lays great stress on the connexion between Domenico and Piero as shown in the detached frescoes by Domenico in the National Gallery.

belittled by the grandiosity of the proportions. It has often been said that a Flemish influence can be discovered in his miniature-like style of painting and this indeed is highly probable. The marvellous productions of the early Flemish painters had already penetrated into Italy; it is almost certain that Duke Federico possessed pictures by them. His colour scheme although almost invariably limited to a certain range of tints, with, however, an incredible richness of tones, is the only point which approximates him a little to Sassetta who shows this quality particularly in the altar-piece he executed for Borgo San Sepolcro, but here, too, Piero surpassed what was possibly one of his first sources of inspiration to such an extent that he reached a point of perfection to which Sassetta could never have aspired.

I have already remarked on more than one occasion that in his great interest in architecture, Piero reveals a particular admiration for Alberti, rather than for the truly Florentine architects such as Brunelleschi and Michelozzo. The Florentine style accentuates sooner the lightness of porticoes and colonnades giving only slight importance, aesthetically speaking, to those stretches of wall which Alberti used so much. Besides at Rimini the architect and the painter seem to have worked together, and from what we gather the connexion between them did not stop there. There is much more of the antique temple in Alberti's style and consequently also in the architecture painted by Piero than in the constructions of the two great Florentine architects who inaugurated in Florence the style of the Renaissance.

Like Pisanello, Piero also was fascinated by the oriental type. In his day there were many orientals in Italy and in 1439 he saw the Emperor of Byzantium who came for the Council with a large and magnificent suite. Piero pictured the emperor himself in the person of Constantine in one of his frescoes at Arezzo. Some orientals, who have the appearance of Persians, are depicted among the kneeling inhabitants of Jerusalem in the scene of Heraclius carrying the Cross towards the town, others of another type are represented in the battle-scene while among the women standing behind the kneeling Queen of Sheba there is a droll figure of a girl who might

very well be taken for a little Annamite in national costume. To go further, the artist obviously developed a taste for the oriental type which crops up at the most unexpected of places, thus the Virgin in the superb Annunciation at Arezzo, the same figure, as well as the Madonna enthroned, in the altarpiece at Perugia, the Magdalene at Arezzo and, although less marked, also the Madonna della Misericordia at Borgo San Sepolcro and the Madonna of Sinigaglia, all show a morphological type which can be explained only by admitting an influence of oriental features, an influence sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker, but nevertheless always persistent.

Was it from the Orient too that the painter took that calm, that tranquility, that immobility and those profoundly meditative expressions?

In this respect Piero's figures have something Hindu or Buddhist which is so vague that it is beyond description. The metaphysical philosopher of India, concentrating on the most abstract problem could hardly be less animated than certain figures in the works of the great painter. He had no gift for drama and tragedy; movement and gestures did not come to him naturally. His figures which move only succeed in doing so by a great effort; they remain somewhat petrified in pose like a monument. Nor are the expressions very animated, great emotion is but rarely depicted and even then with but little variety. The painter did not worry very much about the story he was illustrating, we have found him several times unfaithful to the text. He was neither a narrative nor an emotional painter. His art is full of majesty and monumental effects; it is like statuary expressed in two dimensions, clear and precise, the very strong contrasts produced by the diversity of illumination of the different folds of the same figure and a variety of facets juxtaposed, shown with such simplicity that neither a line nor a reflexion is wasted.

His is a condensed art, an art of synthesis without any luxury or waste; everything is reduced to a simple, serious and profound formula in which beauty is everywhere but like true beauty is serene, pure and harmonious.

Leaving out Signorelli from Piero's school, there remain the

local artists who, although fairly mediocre, form a group of quite sufficient size and importance to be qualified as a little Aretine school.

To this school belongs, in the first place, Lorentino d'Angelo who collaborated with Piero in the decoration of the choir of S. Francesco and executed, in all probability, the figure of St. Louis of Toulouse and that of Cupid, but also the frescoes in the sacristy of this church, that in Sta. Maria delle Grazie and the St. Louis of Toulouse dated 1460 in the gallery of Borgo San Sepolcro which is sometimes ascribed to Piero himself.

Then there is the problematic Lazzaro Vasari as well as Giovanni di Piemonte who in 1456 executed a Madonna at Città di Castello which leads Prof. Longhi to believe it possible that he helped Piero with the frescoes at Arezzo. Further, in S. Francesco, Arezzo, and in the country churches near the town there is still a considerable number of paintings which reveal Piero's influence on the local little masters (<sup>1</sup>). We shall deal with these artists in another volume.

Besides the painter who assisted him at Arezzo and who might perhaps be identified with the master of the Madonna and saints in the Vatican Gallery — but I repeat that this is very uncertain, — we must mention among Piero's veritable pupils the artist to whom we have already referred, who executed the predella of the altar-piece of the Madonna della Misericordia at Borgo San Sepolcro and who imitated Piero's types in a not very skilful manner.

Perhaps he was Florentine as Prof. Longhi says, but his art reveals anyhow a closer connexion with Benozzo Gozzoli than with Fra Angelico. The scenes represented are the Prayer in the Garden of Olives, the Flagellation, the Entombment, larger in size than the others (fig. 62), the Apparition of Christ to St. Mary Magdalene (fig. 63) and the Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre; he executed also the six little figures of saints, three to either side, one above the other, which, however, bear a slightly closer resemblance in style to Piero's manner. The background is hard and without any impression of distance, while the figures are wooden and ungraceful.

(<sup>1</sup>) *M. Salmi*, *La Scuola di P. d. F. etc.*

In the Horne collection, Florence, there is a panel of the bust of the Saviour (fig. 64) shown clean-shaven, crowned with thorns and gesticulating with one hand, which is the work of a good pupil, closely connected with the master, while by another of Piero's direct followers is the panel of the Redeemer in the gallery of Città di Castello (No. 70, fig. 65). He is shown in full face, calm and rather severe, raising one hand in benediction and holding the other hand against His breast; the background is composed of a beautiful piece of brocade with a rich ornamental design. Mr. Berenson thinks it might quite possibly be from the master's own hand; Prof. Longhi ascribes it to a Flemish artist who imitated Piero and Justus of Ghent; it is certainly not the work of a Flemish master.



Fig. 62. School of Piero della Francesca, the Entombment, predella panel, polyptych. Gallery, Borgo San Sepolcro.  
Photo Anderson



Fig. 63. School of Piero della Francesca, *Noli me tangere*, predella panel, polyptych. Gallery, Borgo San Sepolcro.

Photo: Anderson





Fig. 64. School of Piero della Francesca, Christ with the Crown of thorns.  
Horne Museum. Florence.

Photo Gab. Fot. Uffizi.



Fig. 65. School of Piero della Francesca, the Saviour.  
Gallery, Città di Castello.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 66. School of Piero della Francesca, the Flagellation.  
Private Collection, Florence.

A fairly direct influence of Piero della Francesca is shown in a little painting of the Flagellation which I saw in a private collection in Florence a few years ago (fig. 66); the scene takes place in a vaulted room in the midst of several people. The master's influence is still more evident in two predella panels representing the Marriage of the Virgin and the Visitation against important architectural backgrounds which were once

offered for sale in Paris. Prof. A. Venturi thinks that they might be Sienese (1).

Some other paintings belonging to this artistic current are a Crucifixion with five holy women in a landscape with excellent effects of distance in the Bruchenthal collection at Hermannstadt, a half-length figure of the Madonna and Child and two angels with folded arms, once in the Cernuschi collection which was sold by auction in Paris in 1900 (No. 30). At the Edersheim sale held in New York in November 1924, there was a picture of a curious figure seated wearing a large hat which revealed an obvious influence of Piero's art. In the gallery of Ferrara there are two detached frescoes, one representing a king holding a ring, the other St. Christopher (?), his body rather contorted, praying, both of which manifest a connexion with this school. As Prof. A. Venturi has already observed, traces of the same influence are found at Naples in an Annunciation which is preserved in the chapel of Mary of Aragon at Monteoliveto in which both figures are kneeling. This critic is of opinion that a profile of King Alfred II in the Jacquemart André Museum in Paris is also a Neapolitan work influenced by Piero della Francesca (2) but I do not see much connection.

What with the architectural marvels that Laurana created and Piero's treatises on perspective in connexion with them, the artist while at Urbino developed such an interest in the study of architectural perspective that it became almost an obsession with him. It was during this period that the three panels of architectural studies without figures were executed; the one originating from the church of Sta. Chiara, Urbino, is now in the gallery of this town (fig. 67), the second is in the museum of Berlin (fig. 68) while the third which was formerly in the Massarenti Palace, Rome, is now in the Walters collection, Baltimore. The painting at Urbino which is beyond doubt the best of the three has often been attributed to Piero della Francesca but also to Laurana (3), to Baccio

(1) *Venturi*, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 473.

(2) *Venturi*, *op cit.*, VII<sup>4</sup>, p. 122.

(3) *von Reber*, *Sitz. Bericht. d. Münchener Akad.*, 1889, II. *C Budinich*, *Un quadro di Luciano Del Laurana nella Gal. di Urbino*. Trieste, 1902.

Pontelli <sup>(1)</sup> and to Francesco di Giorgio <sup>(2)</sup>. All these attributions are merely hypothetical but it might very well be that if Laurana really knew how to paint he would have chosen architecture as his subject although it cannot be said that the buildings represented in the paintings are very typical of his style. I think it more likely that they are by a painter who found it amusing to make plans of buildings but he certainly attempted to imitate Piero's colouring; still the quality of the painting is not sufficiently good to allow us to ascribe them to the master himself <sup>(3)</sup>. Some similar paintings are owned by Marquis Strozzi, Florence but according to Mr. Berenson, they belong to the Ferrarese school and more precisely to that of Cossa <sup>(4)</sup>.

In the Print Room at

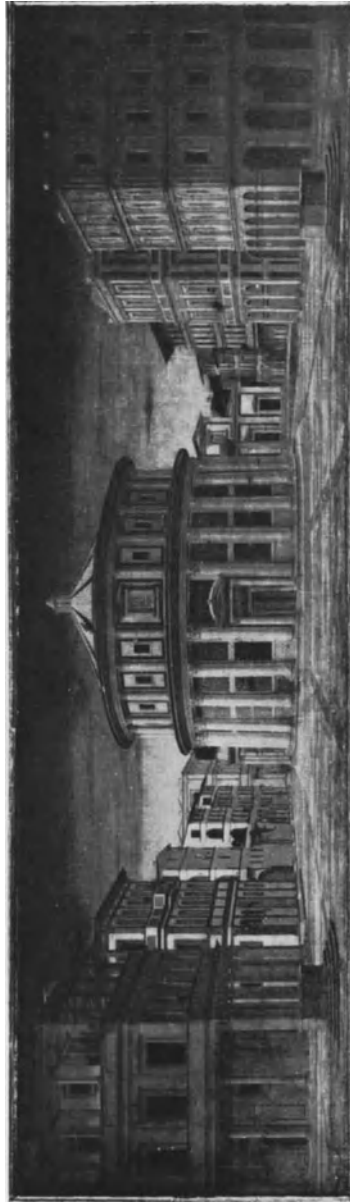


Fig. 67. School of Piero della Francesca. Study of architecture. Gallery, Urbino. Photo Alinari.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Gaye*, *Carteggio*, I, p. 276.

<sup>(2)</sup> *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, VIII<sup>1</sup>, p. 771.

<sup>(3)</sup> As is done still by *P. Schubring*, *Cassoni Truhen und Truhenbilder der Italienische Frührenaissance*, Leipzig, 1915, p. 339 and pl. CXVI.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Schubring*, *op. cit.*, Nos. 568, 569.



Fig. 68. School of Piero della Francesca, Study of architecture. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Photograph, Gesellschaft.

Dresden and in the Uffizi there exist drawings of architectural perspective but I do not think that they are by Piero, nor even by any of his followers<sup>(2)</sup>.

At Urbino many doors and cassoni of inlaid wood were made, invariably with designs of architectural perspective.

This interest in architecture is found still in two panels, about which there has been much controversy, in the Barberini Gallery, Rome; they represent the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and

<sup>(2)</sup> *Berenson*, Drawings, No. 538, attributes the latter with hesitation to Benozzo Gozzoli,

*A. Venturi*, *L'Arte* XXVIII, 1925, p. 57, believes the former to be by Francesco di Giorgio Martini.



Fig. 69. School of Piero della Francesca, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. Barberini Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

the Visitation (figs. 69, 70) <sup>(1)</sup> but the religious subjects were a mere excuse for representations of the most profane character. The personages of the biblical events are lost among those of a more worldly type, although the latter are not in any way more in evidence. The chief object of the first scene was obviously the representation of an enormous basilica, the façade of which is adorned with imposing reliefs of the Visitation and the figures of the Annunciation above and a faun and a Bacchante below; the rest of the decoration comprises garlands, columns and pilasters. Then we see the nave with a row of pillars surmounted with Ionic capitals, the open side entrance with a view on to a street, the division of the choir and the framework of the roof, all executed with the utmost care of detail; it is even easy to recognize the pictures on the altars. Many people, all elegantly attired, come and go or stand about conversing; the cortège of the Virgin and her parents, also dressed with care, occupies the foreground; near them naked beggars and a dog in repose are depicted. The other scene takes place against an open loggia with another storey above with bifurcated windows round the sides of which there are some reliefs of a very pagan nature. To the left in the distance a road, with people on foot and on horseback, is visible. The scene of the Visitation is limited to two young women quite nicely dressed, holding hands in the presence of two other women. Several other ladies walk around this group and had it not been for the scene of the Nativity with the Child's first bath which takes place at a little distance under a gate way, we would certainly have wondered if it really represents this scene in the Virgin's life. It is obvious that the painter's main object was the reproduction of architectural studies and he has filled the picture up with figures just as graceful as the buildings themselves. These figures bear a fairly marked resemblance to the human types created by Piero della Francesca, only

(1) *A. Venturi*, in the *Archivio Storia dell' arte*, VI. 1893, p. 416. ascribes them to Fra Carnevale and in 1913 (*Storia dell' arte*, IV<sup>2</sup>, p. 108) to a painter from Urbino, a pupil of Piero's. Frizzoni agreed with the attribution to Fra Carnevale; Cavalcaselle thought they were by Marco Zoppo; Schmarsow and Budinich held Luciano Laurana responsible for these architectural fantasies; while the old inventory of the Barberini Gallery claimed Botticelli as their master v. *Venturi*, loc. cit.





Fig. 70. School of Piero della Francesca, the Visitation.  
Barberini Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

they are more elongated and in their movements they are more animated.

There is something in these architectural fantasies, which certainly have nothing in common with what one might actually see, which corresponds in particular with the edifices of Laurana and Alberti and this leads us to conclude that the origin of these two panels is somewhere in the environs of Urbino. In the figures, however, we discover certain features which approximate them sooner to Ferrara. As for the period of execution I think we should place them about 1470 or shortly after. There is no serious reason to ascribe them to Fra Carnevale to whom they have been assigned.

A rather remote connexion with Piero's art is found in five large detached frescoes in the gallery of Budapest (1223) representing the figure of Christ which is not exhibited and the four Evangelists. They are ascribed to the school of Benozzo Gozzoli but I am sooner inclined to give them to an eclectic painter who was influenced chiefly by Piero but also by Uccello and del Castagno.

## CHAPTER II

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### BENOZZO GOZZOLI (1)

We have a very large number of documents concerning the

(1) *P. Bacci*, Gli affreschi inediti di B. G. a Legoli, Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1914, p. 387. *N. Baldoria*, Monumenti artistici in San Gimignano, Arch. Stor. dell'Arte, 1890, p. 35. *Becchelloni*, Le pitture di G. B. nella chiesa di S. Francesco a Montefalco, Perugia, 1892. *G. B. Benvenuti*, Gli affreschi di B. G. nella cappella del Palazzo Riccardi, Florence, 1901. *G. Biasiotti*, Affreschi di B. G. in S. Maria Maggiore, Roma, Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1913, p. 76. *Burroughs*, An Altar-piece by B. G., Bullet. of the Metropolitan Museum, Nov. 1915, p. 224. *N. Carnevali*, Un affresco di B. G., Rassegna d'Arte, 1909, p. 24. *C. Carotti*, Una tavoletta di B. G., Rassegna d'Arte, 1901, p. 72. *The Same*, L'Arte, III, 1900, p. 424. *J. Cartwright*, The Painters of Florence etc., London, 1910, p. 161. *A. Chiappelli*, In quale anno e in quale luogo morì G. B., Arch. Stor. Ital., XXXIV, pp. 146, 158. *E. Contaldi*, B. G., Milan, 1928. *F. Cristofani*, La vita di S. Rosa dipinta a fresco da B. G. nel 1453, Miscellan francese, III, fasc. 1. *G. Cristofani*, L'Arte, X, 1907, p. 297 (the Madonna at Terni). *L. Cust and H. Horne*, The History of Simon Magus, part of a predella painted by B. G., Burlington Magazine, 1905, p. 377. *R. H. Cust*, Gli affreschi di B. G. e della sua scuola a Castelfiorentino, Rassegna d'Arte, 1905, p. 149. *P. D'Acchiaridi*, Il restauro degli affreschi di B. G. nel Campo Santo di Pisa, L'Arte, 1903, p. 121. *The Same*, Una tavola di B., L'Arte, VI, 1903, p. 122. *P. Egidì*, I disegni degli affreschi di B. G. in S. Rosa a Viterbo, Nozze, Hermanin-Hausmann, Perugia, 1904. *N. Erichsen*, Un nuovo affresco di B. G., Rassegna d'Arte, VIII, 1908, p. 75. *C. v. Fabriczy*, Neue Daten zur Biographie B. G.'s, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., 1905, p. 538. *M. Faucon*, B. G. à San Gimignano, L'Art, 1881, pp. 125, 189, 301. *G. C. G.*, Ein bisher unbekanntes Werk des B. G. und des Giusto di Jacopo in Certaldo, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., 1876, p. 348. *G. Grassi*, Intorno ad un anconetto attrib. a B. G., Riv. Crit. d'Arte, May-June, 1919. *P. Guidi Emiliani*, Les fresques de B. G. à San Gimignano, Gazette des B. A., May, 1859. *J. G. Hoogewerff*, B. G., to be published in Paris, 1928. *C. Lazinio*, Pitture a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa disegnate a incise, Florence, 1812. *M. Lazzaroni*, Osservazioni sopra alcuni monumenti principali di Roma, etc., dipinti a fresco da B. G., Rome, 1883. *A. Letalle*, Les fresques du Campo Santo de Pise, Paris, no date. *Ch. Loeser*, Note intorno ai

life of Benozzo Gozzoli<sup>(1)</sup>. His real name was Benozzo di Lese di Sandro and whether or not his family name was Gozzoli seems rather doubtful because, although we find this name

disegni conservati nella R. Galleria di Venezia, *Rassegna d'Arte*, III, 1903, p. 177. *U. Mengin*, La chapelle du Palais de Medicis, Florence et sa décoration par B. G., *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, May, 1909, p. 367. *The Same*, B. G., Paris, 1909. *J. Mesnil*, Sigismondo Malatesta e G. M. Sforza in un affresco del G. etc., *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1909, p. 74. *E. Müntz*, Procès verbaux de la Soc. Nation. des Antiq. de France, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1880. *G. Pacchioni*, Gli inizi artistiche di B. G., *L'Arte*, XIII, 1910, p. 423. *The Same*, Un affresco di B. G. in S. Paolo fuori, *L'Arte*, XII, 1909, p. 447. *R. Papini* v. *Vasari*. *The Same*, Due opere di B. G., *Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1921, p. 36. *The Same*, Dai disegni di B. G., *L'Arte*, XIII, 1910, p. 288. *The Same*, L'opere di B. G. in S. Rosa a Viterbo, *L'Arte*, XIII, 1910, p. 35. *C. Ricci*, B. G. e la palla della Compagnia della Purificazione, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1904, p. 1. *G. Rosini*, Descriz. delle pitture del Campo Santo di Pisa (text to *Lasinio*), Pisa, 1816. *G. Rosini e De Rossi*, Lettere pittoriche sul Campo Santo di Pisa, Pisa, 1810. *A. Rossi*, Gentile da Fabriano, l'Angelico e B. al Vaticano e al Duomo di Orvieto, *Giornale d'Erudizione artistica*, VI, 1877, p. 149. *The Same*, Una tavoletta di B. G., *L'Arte*, III, 1900, p. 424. *The Same*, Un affresco di B. G., *L'Arte*, V, 1902, p. 252. *G. Sortais*, Fra Angelico et B. G., Lille, Paris, no date. *H. Stokes*, B. G., London, 1906. *I. B. Supino*, Le opere minore di B. G. in Pisa, *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, 1894. *The Same*, Il Campo Santo di Pisa, Florence, 1896. *L. Tanfani Centofanti*, Della chiesa di Sta. Maria della Spina, Pisa, 1871. *The Same*, Sopra alcune pitture di B. G., *La Provincia di Pisa*, 1882, p. 17. *The Same*, Notizie di artisti tratte da documenti pisani, Pisa, 1897. *H. Thode*, *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, new series II, 1889, p. 53 (the Madonna at Cologne). *G. Tosi*, L'Oratorio della Madonna della Tosse, presso Castelfiorentino, Castelfiorentino, 1895. *The Same*, L'Edicola della Visitazione presso Castelfiorentino dipinta da B. G., *Miscel. Stor. di Val d'Elsa*, VI, Serie 17, No. 3 and published separately. Castelfiorentino, 1898. *G. Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, III, p. 45. *G. Vasari*, Vita di B. G. ed. *R. Papini*, Florence, 1912. *A. Venturi*, Beato Angelico e B. G., *L'Arte*, 1901, p. 1. *M. Wingenroth*, Die Jugendwerke des B. G., Heidelberg, 1897. *A. Wurm*, Meister u. Schulerarbeit in Fra Angelico's werk, Strasbourg, 1907. *Zanobi e Bicchierai*, Alcuni documenti artistici non mai stampati, Per nozze Farinola-Vai, Florence, 1855, III, IV.

<sup>(1)</sup> Published by *Gaye*, Carteggio, I, p. 271; by *Milanesi*, in his edition of *Vasari*. For the documents concerning his activity at Pisa v. *Tanfani Centofanti*, op. cit. and *Supino*, op. cit. The documents have been united in the monography by *Mengin* and in *Papini's* edition of *Vasari's* life of Benozzo. In *Hoogewerff's* work which has not yet appeared, all these documents will be given in their entirety in French.

with the date 1423 in the register of the corporation of painters, the writing is not contemporary and in the first edition of his "Vite" Vasari does not even mention this surname. In a declaration for taxation that he makes in 1480, Benozzo appears to have been sixty years of age, from which we gather that he was born in 1420; in 1470, however, his father affirms in a similar declaration that Benozzo was forty-six, which makes, the date of his birth 1424 but as in records of 1430 and 1433 the father Lese gives his son's age as ten and twelve respectively, the year of his birth must have been 1420. In January 1444 Benozzo signs a contract with Lorenzo and Vittorio Ghiberti engaging himself to work with them for three years on the bronze doors for the baptistery of Florence and in this contract he is already spoken of as a painter. Cavalcaselle thinks that he was a gold-smith at the beginning of his career and that in all probability he fulfilled his contract with the Ghiberti, at least there is no further mention of him until the three years have expired, that is to say in March 1447 when we find him working with Fra Angelico on the frescoes in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the church of S. Pietro, Rome, in which enterprise the holy monk was assisted by many painters<sup>(1)</sup>.

In 1447 he accompanied Beato Angelico to Orvieto where his name figures in records of the 28<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> September 1447 along with other helpers of Fra Angelico<sup>(2)</sup>. During this month he returned to Rome but on the 5<sup>th</sup> July and the 28<sup>th</sup> December 1449 he is back in Orvieto; on the latter date he undertakes to execute an Annunciation for the cathedral<sup>(3)</sup>, a work which has disappeared, but his offer to continue the decoration of the chapel, begun by Fra Angelico, is refused.

Benozzo remains in Umbria and in 1450 he executes the frescoes for the church of S. Fortunato at the gates of Montefalco and also the altar-piece which nowadays is preserved in the Vatican Gallery. The same year he begins the mural

(1) *A. Rossi*, Gentile da Fabriano etc., op. cit. *E. Müntz*, Un document inédit sur Frate Angelico, *Chronique des Arts*, 1876. *The Same*, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, I, Paris, 1878, p. 126. v. Vol. X, p. 37.

(2) *L. Fumi*, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri*, Rome, 1891, p. 394.

(3) *Fumi*, op. cit., p. 395.

decoration in the church of S. Francesco of this town which he finishes in 1452 and if the date of the frescoes in the Studiolo of Nicholas V in the Vatican is really 1453, Benozzo must have returned to Rome to collaborate with Fra Angelico in this decoration.

The series of frescoes in the church of Sta. Rosa at Viterbo, which we know only from a set of very mediocre drawings of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, was made in 1453 and in 1456 he painted the panel of the Virgin and saints now in the gallery of Perugia, originating from the "Collegio Gerolimiano" of this town.

In 1458 he is again at work in the Vatican; this is at the time of the coronation of Pope Pius II; from the document concerning this activity, in which he is called "master" we gather that he is now a well-known artist (1). In 1459 he began his master-piece, the frescoes in the chapel of the Medici Palace in Florence. It was Piero de' Medici who charged the artist with this decoration although the building was constructed by Cosimo, the father of Piero. From three letters which Benozzo wrote on the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> July and 25<sup>th</sup> September of this year to Piero at the villa of Careggi we learn that he was busy on this enterprise which was advancing rather rapidly. We surmise that Piero must have passed certain criticisms on the work because in his letters the painter defends himself, especially concerning some figures of cherubs which Piero evidently did not like. In the letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> September he calls Piero de' Medici "Amicho mio singularissimo" (my special friend) which certainly points to a very amicable footing between the artist and his protector; in the same letter he makes a request for payment. It is in these frescoes that we find Benozzo's own portrait and on the cap he wears he has left his signature.

In 1461 Benozzo is still in Florence; on the 18<sup>th</sup> May he receives payment from Cino di Filippo Rinuccini, a client of Maso Finiguerra (2); it was at this time he executed the altar-piece for the corporation of S. Marco, now in the National Gallery, London and perhaps also a panel for the Alessandri

(1) *Müntz*, *Les Arts* etc., p. 263.

(2) *S. Colvin*, *A Florentine Picture Chronicle*, London, 1898, p. 23 note 1.

family. It is possible that he remained in Florence until 1463, the date we know he left for San Gimignano. After this period there is no further trace of his activity in Florence and although he is inscribed in the corporation of painters in 1465 and makes short visits in 1467, 1469, 1470 and 1497, he passes the rest of his life in the more or less important provincial towns. I think it is very apparent that in spite of the charm of the frescoes in the chapel of the Riccardi Palace, Benozzo was not fit to compete with the Florentine artists of this period. Nevertheless, a letter Benozzo writes to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1467 reveals the artist to be on very friendly terms with this young prince and his family, to whom he had just been paying a visit.

In 1463 he was working at San Gimignano on the frescoes in the choir of S. Agostino which he had half finished by the 1st of April 1464 and which he terminated in 1465. The martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the Collegiata of the same town was begun on the 25th February 1464 and in April he was charged also with the restoration of the frescoes by Lippo Memmi in the town hall, to which decoration he added a few figures. In 1465 we find his name inscribed in the register of the corporation of Medici e Speciali at Florence but if he left San Gimignano at all, it was only for a very short time, because on the 18th February 1466 he finished the St. Sebastian in the Collegiata; on the 26th of April he is charged with the execution of an Annunciation outside the Council Room, as well as with the restoration of all the frescoes in this hall, an enterprise which he signed in 1467 under the fresco by Lippo Memmi. On the 28th August he paints a panel for the church of S. Andrea outside the gates of the town, and during this year we know that he was working once more on the frescoes in the choir of the Collegiata. In 1466 he executes the marriage of St. Catherine at Terni and goes to Certaldo; then in 1467 he returns to San Gimignano to finish restoring the fresco by Lippo Memmi. During this year he writes from San Gimignano to Lorenzo de' Medici regarding a theft that one of his helpers — Giovanni di Mugello — had committed.

The same year a scaffolding is erected in the Campo Santo of Pisa and already in August 1467 Benozzo is at work on

the frescoes. In January 1468 he receives the first payment for this decoration; various other sums are made over to him for this work up until the year 1484. It was not until January 1469, however, that the contract for this enterprise was signed and in order. Benozzo undertook to execute at least three scenes a year and at this moment he had already finished a few of the twenty-six frescoes which form this cycle. He and his entire family settled in Pisa. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1469 he goes to Florence; on the 6<sup>th</sup> September 1470 he assists at his father's funeral and on the 5<sup>th</sup> October he pays for his father's tombstone but apart from these few short visits to Florence, Benozzo seems to have spent twenty-six years in Pisa. In 1471 we find him buying a house; in 1472 he paints a banner for the Opera del Duomo, and the following year he finishes the picture now in the museum of Cologne. During the next few years there is no record of his activity but in 1480 he goes to Legoli to escape the plague; evidence of his stay there still exists. The following year he returns to Pisa and paints a chest for keeping the wax for the "Opera". In December 1484, the year he finished the cycle in the Campo Santo, he executes the extant frescoes in the tabernacle of the Madonna della Tosse, situated on the road to Meleto, near Castel Fiorentino. In 1486 he paints a panel for the church of Sta. Maria della Spina; in 1488 two banners for the Opera del Duomo; in 1492 he works in the church of S. Michele in Borgo; the 29<sup>th</sup> August 1494 he makes two other banners with gold fleurs de lis and the 2<sup>nd</sup> August of the same year he is paid for the decoration of other standards.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> January of the year of his death, 1497, his native town acknowledges to a certain extent his artistic merits because he, together with Cosimo Rosselli, Perugino and Filippino Lippi, is charged to judge the painting by Baldovinetti in the church of the Sma. Trinita, but he does not seem to have been living in Florence because his death occurred in Pistoia on the 4<sup>th</sup> October and he was buried in the cloister of the monastery of S. Domenico (<sup>1</sup>).

(<sup>1</sup>) *Vasari* makes a mistake in saying that Benozzo is buried in the Campo Santo of Pisa.



Benozzo Gozzoli had a brother called Bernardo who was also a painter and who helped him with the frescoes at Pisa; he had as well another brother and two sisters. He married Lena di Luca di Jacopo Cieco of Florence and had seven children, of whom Alesso — born 1473, died 1528 — followed his father's calling.



Fig. 71. Benozzo Gozzoli (?), the Rape of Helen. National Gallery, London.

In the previous volume when discussing Fra Angelico I have already given my opinion regarding the subject of the collaboration of Benozzo and his master, a saintly old monk who allowed himself to be influenced by his pupil's manner which was certainly not superior to his own. Benozzo was between twenty-seven and thirty-three years old when he collaborated with Beato Angelico at Orvieto and in Rome and consequently was no longer in his early youth. Already he had acquired a considerable independence in his manner of painting. These works are certainly not the first pro-

ductions from his brush. Prof. A. Venturi believes that some of the frescoes in the convent of S. Marco in Florence, where he worked with Fra Angelico, are from his hand; he recognizes his manner more particularly in the Crucifixion between SS. Cosmo and Peter the Martyr in the cell adjacent to that of Cosimo de' Medici (1). I am not very convinced of this affirmation which forces us to suppose that Benozzo must have been Fra Angelico's pupil before signing his contract with the Ghiberti, binding himself to work for them from 1444 until 1447. Still there is nothing impossible in it and as I have already said in the preceding volume I am quite disposed to admit that Fra Angelico started the frescoes in the cells of S. Marco shortly after the monks received the monastery, that is to say towards 1437 or 1438, so that this hypothesis would not give rise to any chronological difficulties.

No doubt from an early stage in Benozzo's career, if by him, dates the delicious panel of the Rape of Helen in the National Gallery, London (No. 591, fig. 71) (2). Paris is shown carrying Helen on his shoulders, while other knights lead away their lady captives who do not seem at all disturbed, the elegant young men do not even interrupt their conversation. The beautiful ladies are taken across a flowering meadow towards a magnificent ship which floats in a sunny lake with a range of smiling hills in the background. Everything in the picture is bright and gay; even the house from which Helen and her companions are kidnapped is a charming building of the Renaissance style.

I am a little doubtful about the attribution of this panel to Benozzo; there are certain features which lead us to believe in this possibility but which at the same time are reminiscent of Fra Angelico and Pesellino. I should say that it might pass sooner for a production of a slightly earlier period

(1) *A. Venturi*. *Storia dell'arte italiana*, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 70. *Pacchioni*, *L'Arte*, XIII, 1910, p. 425.

(2) *Schubring*, Cassoni, No. 280. *Berenson*, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, I, p. 27, does not think that this panel is really from the hand of Benozzo Gozzoli although he finds in it many points of resemblance to this master's manner. It was formerly in the collection of Marquis Albergotti, Arezzo and in the Lombardi-Baldi collection, Florence.

than that at which Benozzo was active, than as a work of his school to which the catalogue of the National Gallery assigns it. No doubt this panel belonged to a cassone and many an artist started his career with this branch of decorative painting.

A picture which shows Benozzo at a moment when his individual style was still little pronounced is preserved in the parish church of Sermoneta (fig. 72); it represents the Virgin seated holding a model of the town on her knees; to either side are represented eight celestial hierarchies in the form of little angels one above the other, the



Fig. 72. Benozzo Gozzoli, Madonna and angels. Parish Church, Sermoneta.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

four highest holding a papal tiara over the Virgin's head; two other angels fly below; the pretty garlands with personifications of Faith and Hope and the two prophets above have been added at a later date. This is the work which reveals most clearly Benozzo Gozzoli's derivation from Fra Angelico after he had acquired a certain personal manner of his own. It is Fra Angelico's art a little hardened in form and a little more sophisticated in sentiment.

This picture, not far from Rome, naturally makes us think that in all likelihood it was during his sojourn with Fra Angelico in this city that the panel was executed, yet I am of opinion that the painting at Sermoneta is possibly an outcome of an earlier stage in Benozzo's career. He must have been still fairly young when he executed this picture and if we compare it with the figures in the frescoes at Orvieto and Rome which seem to be from his hand, we find a considerable difference of style, but this can be explained by his close collaboration with Fra Angelico in these last mentioned works.

The picture at Sermoneta, more particularly the figure of the Virgin, has made me think sometimes that another painting might also be a production of Benozzo's youth, in which case it must be a still earlier work. The picture I mean is an almost square panel in the gallery of Perugia representing the Virgin in the midst of six angels; formerly it was attributed to Caporali<sup>(1)</sup> and Prof. Salmi assigns it to an anonymous pupil of this painter<sup>(2)</sup>. This critic notes the connexion which exists between this panel and the art of Benozzo Gozzoli but excludes the possibility that it might be from this master's hand, on account of the vivid colouring. Certainly the colours are unusual but in my opinion they might be considered a not quite successful interpretation of the fine tints that we find in Fra Angelico's works. Still I am very doubtful about the attribution of this picture to Benozzo. I am unaware of the origin of this painting, which, were it known, might perhaps have thrown some light on the subject.

In 1447 Benozzo went to Orvieto to help in the painting of the chapel of S. Brizi in the cathedral, an enterprise which

(1) *C. Ricci*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1904, p. 38.

(2) *M. Salmi*, *L'Arte*, 1921, p. 171.

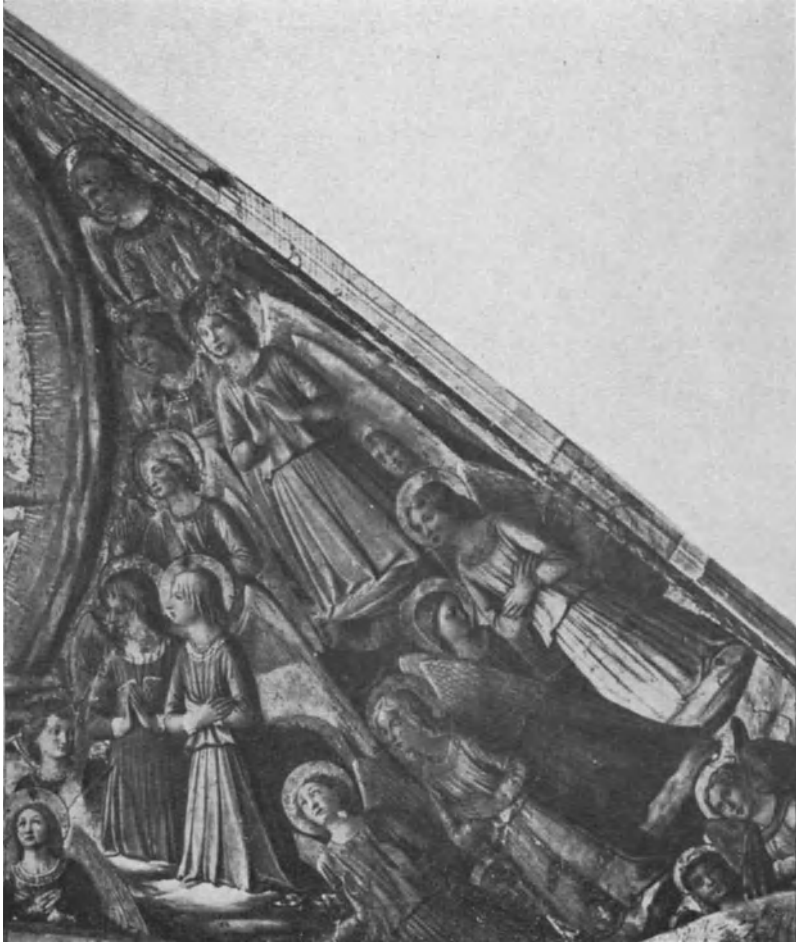


Fig. 73. Benozzo Gozzoli. Angels. Cathedral. Orvieto.

Photo Anderson

Fra Angelico undertook to execute during the summer months of the years he spent in Rome. Besides Benozzo, Giovanni d'Antonio, a Florentine artist and Giovanni da Poli also took part in this mural decoration. The two triangles of the vault, which are not from the hand of Signorelli, show the Saviour of the Last Judgment in a mandorla surrounded by angels (fig. 73) and a group of seated prophets.

Although the artistic inspiration is obviously Fra Angelico's,



Fig. 74. Benozzo Gozzoli, detail from the fresco of St. Lawrence distributing alms. Studiolo of Nicholas V, Vatican. Photo Alinari.

I think the execution for the greater part must have been left to Benozzo Gozzoli; besides we find him active elsewhere in Orvieto after Fra Angelico had left the town. The frescoes in the cathedral appear to have been considerably restored.

Fra Angelico's manner can be recognized fairly easily only in the upper part of the group of prophets: the figures of the lower rows and of the whole of the other triangle are less



Fig. 75. Benozzo Gozzoli. St. Lawrence before Decius. Studiolo of Nicholas V, Vatican. Photo Anderson.

graceful and harder of outline, and these features constitute the great difference between the manner of Fra Angelico and that of Benozzo Gozzoli<sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> v. Vol. X, pp. 38 and 106. *A. Venturi*, op. cit., L'Arte, 1901, p. 1. *Pacchioni*, op. cit., L'Arte, 1910, p. 423. *Gronau*, op. cit., p. 341. *Berenson*, Drawings of the Florentine Painters, I, p. 8: "the execution of the fresco (the Last Judgment) must pass then as almost entirely if not entirely Benozzo's".



Fig. 76. Detail of fig. 75.

Photo Anderson.

As for Benozzo's part in the decoration of the Studiolo of Pope Nicholas V in the Vatican, I can only repeat what I have already said <sup>(1)</sup>. I am of opinion that in the fresco of St. Lawrence distributing alms to the poor, Benozzo should be held responsible for the figure of a woman holding a child in the left half of the painting (fig. 74). Here I should like to refer to a drawing in

<sup>(1)</sup> v. Vol. X, p. 123. *A. Venturi*, op. cit. *Pacchioni*, op. cit.



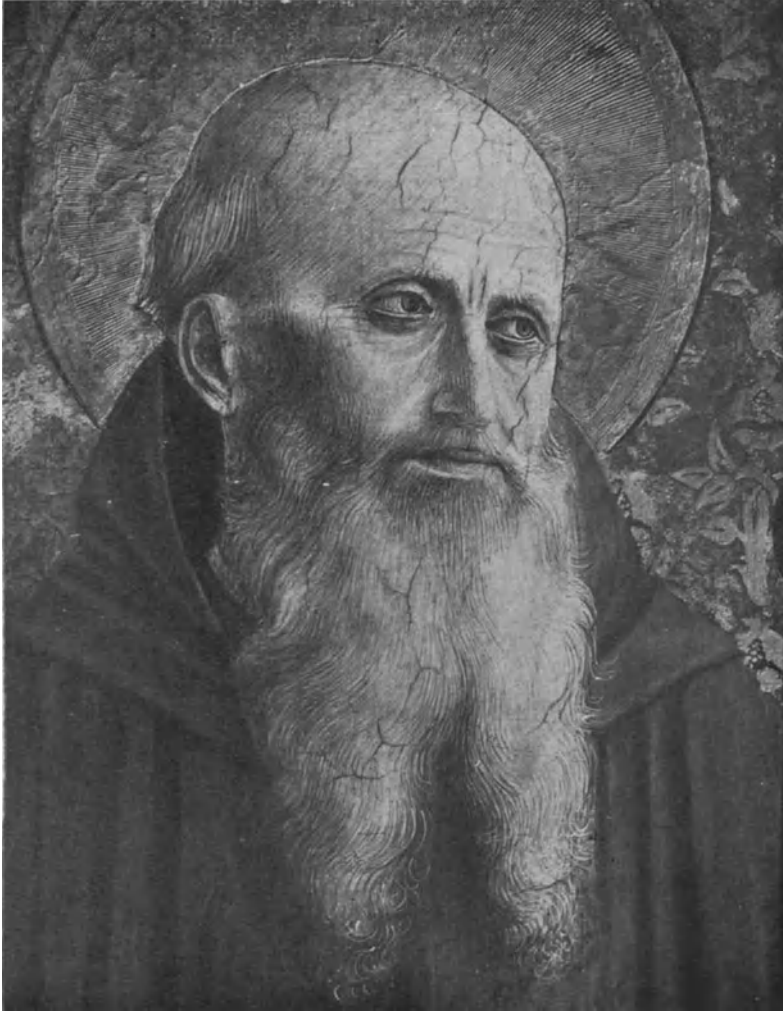


Fig. 77. Benozzo Gozzoli, detail of St. Bonaventura.

Studiolo of Nicholas V, Vatican.

Photo Anderson.

Windsor Castle, representing on one side the same figure and St. Lawrence in a similar attitude as in the fresco, which drawing does not appear to be by Angelico to whom it is often ascribed<sup>(1)</sup> but sooner by Benozzo, although the head on the verso

(<sup>1</sup>) Attributed to Angelico by *Berenson*, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, pl. 2 and *Schötmüller*, *Fra Angelico (Klassiker der Kunst)*, fig. 223.

of the same page seems to be from Angelico's own hand (1).

The fresco of St. Lawrence before the Prefect Decius (figs. 75 and 76) I think might pass for the greater part as a work of Benozzo who painted also the standing figures of SS. Bonaven-



Fig. 78. Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Stephen ordained deacon by St. Peter, Studiolo of Nicholas V. Vatican. Photo Anderson.

tura (fig. 77) and Thomas Aquinas as well as some of the scenes in the lunettes such as St. Stephen ordained deacon by St. Peter (fig. 78) and his sermon before the people (figs. 79, 80) and the senate.

That the elements due to his master's influence are particularly pronounced in these frescoes is but natural since they were executed under Fra Angelico's personal supervision. Working

(1) This head is ascribed to Benozzo by *Papini*, op. cit., L'Arte, 1910.



Fig. 79. Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Stephen's sermon to the people. Studiolo of Nicholas V, Vatican.

Photo Anderson

independently, Benozzo never succeeded in reproducing such perfect architectural constructions as those we find in these two scenes; particularly in the picture of St. Stephen consecrated deacon there is an edifice borne on columns with a portico showing a fine perspective, of which the rough sketch at least must



Fig. 80. Detail of fig. 79.

Photo Anderson.

have been made by Angelico, who perhaps also designed the less elaborate buildings which form the background in St. Stephen's sermon to the populace. In all these paintings there are some very beautiful heads which were no doubt executed after drawings by Fra Angelico to whose manner they come very near but the general effect does not convey the pictorial

and mystic aspirations of the holy painter, nor do we discover in them his variety of composition, his graceful beauty of form or his spirituality of expression.

I have already said, in speaking of Fra Angelico's activity in this chapel, that I accept the explanation proposed by Cartier



Fig. 81. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Assumption, circa 1450. Vatican Gallery.

Photo Anderson.

concerning the inscription A. D. CCLIII on the fresco of St. Lawrence before the pope; he thinks it is a transformation of MCCCCLIII which must have been the date of the execution of these paintings <sup>(1)</sup> in which case Benozzo's activity at Montefalco must have been prior to the decoration he carried out in the Studiolo of Nicholas V.

Above the entrance of the church of S. Fortunato <sup>(2)</sup>, a short

<sup>(1)</sup> v. Vol. X, p. 121 and additions and corrections.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Pacchioni*, op. cit.

distance beyond the gates of the little town of Montefalco, we find from the hand of Benozzo the half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child between SS. Francis and Bernardine and over



Fig. 82. The Death of the Virgin. Detail of fig. 81.

Photo Anderson.

the second altar to the right inside the church, the figure of St. Fortunatus, holding a book and a stick, and some traces of an angel as well as a fresco of the Virgin adoring the Child against a landscape background and an angel. At the foot of the last mentioned painting is inscribed the signature "*Benozii . . . . . Florentia . . . . . CCCCL*".

The altar-piece for this church was no doubt executed at the



Fig. 83. Benozzo Gozzoli, the four Evangelists, 1452. S. Girolamo Chapel, S. Francesco, Montefalco. Photo Alinari.

same time; it is now preserved in the Vatican Gallery (No. 123, figs. 81, 82).

The principal scene represents the Assumption of the Virgin who, in the midst of angels over her tomb in which flowers blossom, is seen giving her girdle to St. Thomas. In the lateral

pilasters there are six little figures of saints while the predella is adorned with the scenes of the Nativity of the Virgin, her Marriage, the Birth of Christ, the Presentation in the Temple and the Death of the Virgin. Fra Angelico's influence is very evident in the types of the figures, particularly those of the principal panel, as well as in the iconography of the scenes of the predella, the landscape and the architecture. However, the predella is very inferior in execution to the other works of this stage in the painter's career; it is, besides, in rather a poor state of preservation. As in all the works of Benozzo, it is chiefly the somewhat vulgar colouring which differentiates in a most obvious way his manner from that of Fra Angelico (<sup>1</sup>).

In the year 1452 Benozzo executed in the church of S. Francesco in Montefalco two series of frescoes, one quite independent of the other. The first is found immediately to the right on entering the church, in what was formerly the chapel of S. Girolamo; here the triangles of the vault are ornamented with the figures of the Evangelists (fig. 83), very similar to those of the Studiolo of Nicholas V in the Vatican and in fact to many a decoration of this sort. Clouds form the background to the figures near each of whom is seen his respective symbol. On the wall is depicted above, Christ on the Cross with four angels catching the blood dripping from the wounds and below two holy monks kneeling to either side. We see here, as well a fresco imitating the form of a polyptych representing the Virgin and Child in the centre with SS. Francis, Jerome, John the Baptist and Louis of Toulouse laterally, Christ and the four Fathers of the Church — among whom is once more St. Jerome — in the pinnacles and the Pietà with the Virgin, St. John and four pairs of saints in the predella; the pilasters are decorated with the figures of SS. Catherine and Bernardine. Here to the sides we see as well two scenes from the life of St. Jerome: leaving Rome and throwing his cardinal's hat on the ground, and extracting the thorn from the lion's paw (fig. 84). Over the fresco in the form of a polyptych, we find the painter's signature: "*Opus*

(<sup>1</sup>) *Rosini* and other writers after him have made a mistake regarding the subject of this picture which they call the Coronation of the Virgin, attributing it to Beato Angelico.



*Benozzi De Florenzia*" while an inscription on either side below the Crucifixion informs us that the chapel was built and painted by the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 1452. This is doubtless the day the decoration was completed<sup>(1)</sup>. Of the two figures in the first scene of the legend of St. Jerome, there exists the rough sketch in the Uffizi<sup>(2)</sup>.



Fig. 84. Benozzo Gozzoli, Madonna and Crucifixion, 1452. S. Girolamo Chapel, S. Francesco, Montefalco.

Photo Alinari.

The other frescoes by Benozzo in this church are found in the choir and illustrate in a cycle of twelve scenes the life of St. Francis. Naturally Benozzo knew the series at Assisi in which Giotto narrates the same legend, he even refers to Giotto as an authority on the question of the biography of St. Francis because in the centre of the frieze below the frescoes he depicts his great predecessor along

<sup>(1)</sup> *Wingenroth*, op. cit., is of opinion that he was assisted by pupils in this decoration, but I see no reason in support of this hypothesis.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Loeser*, op. cit.

with Dante and Petrarch and the portrait is accompanied by the words "*Pictorum eximius Jottus fundamentum et lux*".

Considering this homage to Giotto and the knowledge that he must have had of the famous series of frescoes at Assisi, it is indeed surprising that Benozzo was not more inspired by the work of his predecessor; he does not even



Fig. 85. Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Francis giving away his coat and the vision of the reward, 1452. S. Francesco. Montefalco.

Official photo.

follow the same order. The early events, Jesus telling the saint's mother that her son, like Him, would be born in a stable, the mother in a stable just before the birth and the child's first bath, which we find here, are not included in Giotto's cycle. The incident of the man in the street of Assisi spreading his cloak on the ground for St. Francis to walk over is depicted here but in a manner thoroughly different from that at Assisi. Besides, all these different events being united on one fresco renders it completely incomprehensible for anyone not very familiar with the story of St. Francis. The

same confusion appears in the following painting in which we see St. Francis giving his cloak to the beggar, the dream in which a voice tells him that he will be rewarded for his charitable deed, and the castle which he imagines will be his recompense (fig. 85). Here we discover a few Giottesque elements such as the apparition of the Saviour Himself, which



Fig. 86. Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Francis break with his father. 1452.  
S. Francesco, Montefalco.

Photo Alinari.

is a deviation from the text, and the appearance of the castle. Also in the scene of St. Francis' break with his father (fig. 86) there are some points in common with Giotto's representation of this event; the bishop of Assisi and the father Bordone are both accompanied by other persons, the former covers the youthful figure of St. Francis with his cloak while the latter appears to be furious but as the text of Bonaventura is very precise on certain points this resemblance is but natural.

The subject of the following fresco has not been treated

by Giotto; the Saviour is about to punish mankind when the Virgin kneeling before Him, shows Him St. Francis and St. Dominic, each followed by a member of his order, embracing one another. There is a predella panel in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, representing this scene in the same manner; it is a work either by Fra Angelico or one of his collaborators (<sup>1</sup>).

In the scene of the pope seeing in a dream St. Francis holding up the falling church and in that of the pope confirming the rules of the Franciscan order, two events united in one fresco, there is again a certain correspondence with Giotto's version, as there is also in the following painting which illustrates how Brother Elia, on St. Francis' authority, chases the devils from Arezzo (fig. 87). Here, however, the resemblance is limited to one point, namely the presence of St. Francis in prayer but it is of considerable significance because the text makes no mention of St. Francis.

It is not surprising that the scene of the sermon to the birds recalls that at Assisi because there are but few variations that can be made to this picture, but in this instance it occupies only a corner of a fresco, the rest of which is filled up with an event which is of much greater importance to the inhabitants of Montefalco viz: St. Francis accompanied by a monk, blessing the town; four religious and civil dignitaries kneel before him, doubtless the authorities who governed the town in 1452; one of them is the bishop who wears his mitre and is attired in the Franciscan habit.

Of the sudden death of the knight of Celano which St. Francis had predicted, we also find a very different conception; here it is particularly the seigneur confessing to the saint that draws our attention. The dying man's farewell to his family is depicted in the background and in the representation of this scene there is an obvious effort to obtain those dramatic effects which Giotto with so much ease succeeded in showing in his fresco at Assisi. The painting of the miracle at Greccio (fig. 83) has nothing in common with the corresponding fresco in the Giottesque cycle; it takes place in a large church of

(<sup>1</sup>) v. Vol. X, fig. 76.

a style transitional between Gothic and Renaissance; in the foreground the saint tenderly holds in his arms the doll which has just become alive; some clerics, three men and three women with a child witness the miracle. Here there is nothing of that intimacy that Giotto gave to his scene; the room is too spacious and the assistants too few in number.



Fig. 87. Benozzo Gozzoli, Brother Elia chasing the devils from Arezzo, 1452.  
S. Francesco, Montefalco. Photo Alinari.

The fresco illustrating the test by fire shows a still greater difference when compared with Giotto's painting of this subject, because here there are no heathen magicians and the saint is depicted already in the fire; another point of differentiation is the presence of a young woman who is there to tempt St. Francis. In the group of the sultan and his courtiers there are some features which correspond with the fresco at Assisi. Also in the representation of the saint receiving the stigmata, the two painters chose very different versions. St. Francis as well as the monk who accompanies him is shown by Benozzo in the reverse sense; the companion besides is not at all in

the same place; the little chapel of which the text speaks has here become an edifice of considerable dimensions and the savage rocky landscape has gained importance.

On the other hand we find much more resemblance in the



Fig. 88. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Miracle of Greccio, 1452.

S. Francesco, Montefalco.

Photo Alinari.

two manners of portraying the funeral of the saint who is shown stretched on a bier in the midst of numerous clerics while the incredulous gentleman in the foreground touches the wound in the dead saint's side.

Below the lower row of paintings there is a series of medallions, five under each fresco, in which busts of illustri-

ous persons are depicted; there are celebrated Franciscan monks, cardinals, popes and emperors. The vaults are adorned with the figures of St. Francis in glory, SS. Antony of Padua, Catherine, Bernardine, Rose of Viterbo and Louis of Toulouse; six figures of saints standing in Gothic tabernacles decorate the walls near the windows. For the figure of the king there exists a drawing in the Accademia of Venice, discovered by the late Mr. Loeser<sup>(1)</sup> who, however, does not seem to have known of a similar sketch in the British Museum for the figure of St. Severus (fig. 89)<sup>(2)</sup>. On the verso of



(1) *Loeser*, op cit., erroneously calls this figure St. Louis of Toulouse; it might be St. Louis the King. *G. Fogolari*, *Disegni della R. Galleria dell'Accademia (Venezia)*, Milan, 1913. No. 72.

(2) *Brit. Mus. P.* p 1-6, from the Payne Knight coll. Photo Braun, 73042. On the verso of the same leaf we see a somewhat oriental looking bearded man on horseback and two three-quarter profile views of the head of the same monk; it is the head of St. Francis in Fra Angelico's Crucifixion in S. Marco, Florence, and is executed very much in Angelico's manner.

Fig. 89. Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Severus, drawing. British Museum. Photo Braun.



Fig. 90. Benozzo Gozzoli, drawing.  
Accademia, Venice.

Photo Anderson.

the page in Venice there is a drawing of the head of a young man with a barret, as well as two fragments of heads (fig. 90) <sup>(1)</sup>.

Lastly on the arches there are some figures of angels holding scrolls on one of which we read that these paintings were ordered by the Franciscan monk, Jacopo da Montefalco and were finished by Benozzo in 1452. These twelve frescoes were obviously executed prior to the decoration in the chapel of St. Jerome because the latter was terminated too late in the year to allow the artist to finish the cycle in the choir before the end of the same year. This series of frescoes has been

<sup>(1)</sup> *Loeser*, loc. cit. *Fogolari*, op. cit., No. 71; it is sometimes attributed to Uccello. In the same collection there is another drawing, very similar, of the head of a young man wearing a barret; this sketch which is outlined in white is also ascribed by some to Uccello; it is less characteristic of Benozzo's manner.





Fig. 91. Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Antony. Sta. Maria d' Aracoeli, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

touched up on several occasions but the restorer Fiscali succeeded in giving it back much of its original appearance. As in the other works executed at Montefalco the colouring is

not very fine and in this case the tints are particularly light. The size of this enterprise makes it very likely that Benozzo received some assistance in the execution; all the frescoes, however, show very much the same quality of painting which is not superior to that of his other frescoes in this church; it is perhaps even a little less refined and less spiritual which is all the more striking because there are many elements in this cycle which bring to mind the works of Fra Angelico. The compositions are of an almost childish simplicity but the architectural backgrounds are very beautiful; I should even say that although at San Gimignano and at Pisa his representation of architecture is more complicated and on a larger scale, it is chiefly in the cycle at Montefalco that Benozzo reveals to us his comprehension of the pictorial beauty of architecture.

There is a certain number of works which, although we do not know the exact date, must certainly have been executed during the period of Benozzo's activity in Rome, Orvieto, Montefalco and Viterbo where, it will be remembered, he worked in 1453.

In Rome I know of only one other painting belonging to Benozzo's first manner, it is preserved in the church of Sta. Maria d'Aracoeli where, according to Vasari, the artist executed a long cycle of paintings illustrating the life of St. Antony of Padua. Only one fresco remains; it shows St. Antony standing holding a burning heart and a book, while at his feet kneel the donor and the donatrix; the latter seems to be attired as a nun; two angels support a piece of brocade studded with stars, behind the saint (fig. 91). Critics have often exaggerated the presence of Fra Angelico's influence in this fresco and on account of this a date prior to 1449 has been assigned to it<sup>(1)</sup> but I think Signor Papini<sup>(2)</sup> comes nearer the truth in placing it between 1453 and 1458. I can easily believe that this work is almost contemporary with his participation in the frescoes of the Studiolo of Nicholas V in the Vatican, which I place about 1453.

To the same years of his activity I think we should ascribe

<sup>(1)</sup> *Cavalcaselle* and also *Wingenroth*, op. cit.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Papini*, op. cit., *L'Arte*, 1910.



Fig. 92. Benozzo Gozzoli, Head of Christ. Palazzo Venezia, Rome.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

a head of the Saviour with the crown of thorns, in the treasure of the church of S. Francesco, Assisi <sup>(1)</sup> and a panel of Christ on the Cross between two saints, formerly in the Drury Lowe collection <sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *M. Salmi, L'Arte*, 1921, p. 171.

<sup>(2)</sup> *J. P. Richter. Catalogue of the Pictures at Locko Park, London, 1901, No. 74.*

Prior to the execution of these paintings, I think Benozzo must have gone to Piperno where a beautiful head of Christ was discovered in the cathedral; it has since been transferred to the Palazzo Venezia, Rome (fig. 92). It is certainly a work from Benozzo's hand and was executed at a moment when he was still greatly inspired by Fra Angelico.

Lastly there is a Madonna which bears a striking resemblance to the woman with the child in the fresco of St. Lawrence distributing alms, in the Studiolo of Nicholas V. The painting is now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U. S. A. (fig. 93); it was formerly in the von Tucher collection, Vienna, which collection possessed two pictures of the Madonna by this master (<sup>1</sup>).

Of the important series of frescoes that Benozzo executed in the church of Sta. Rosa, Viterbo (<sup>2</sup>), we possess only some water-coloured sketches made by Francesco Sabbatini in 1632 when the church was pulled down. These drawings are now preserved in the town gallery. The signature "*Benotius de Florentia MCCCCLIII*" was found under the second fresco which leads us to believe that Benozzo must have started the work here towards the end of the year 1453 otherwise, with two important cycles on hand, the artist would have been overcharged with work. I shall not enumerate the nine scenes of which the late little copies give us but a very summary idea. Signor Papini has already remarked on the importance of the compositions with many figures and many buildings; yet the architecture here seems to have been simple, almost rustic in form, showing among it monasteries of an almost poverty-stricken appearance; certain details, however, recall Giotto's frescoes at Assisi.

The next dated work is the Madonna and saints in the gallery of Perugia which, according to Mariotti (<sup>3</sup>) was executed

(<sup>1</sup>) *J. Wickhoff*, Münchener Jahrb. d. Bild. Kunst, I, 1908, p. 30. *J. Breck*, Rassegna d'Arte, IX, 1909, p. 170. *Fogg Art Museum* Collection of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings, Cambridge (U.S.A.), 1919, p. 66.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Wingenroth*, op. cit., 51. *C. Ricci*, Lorenzo da Viterbo, Arch. stor. dell'Arte, I, 1888, p. 64. *C. L.* (Ceccotti Luca), Descrizione di nove storie di S. Rosa dipinti da Benozzo nel 1453, Viterbo, 1873. *R. Papini*, op. cit., L'Arte, 1910, p. 35. *Pacchioui*, op. cit., L'Arte, 1910.

(<sup>3</sup>) *A. Mariotti*, Lettere pittoriche Perugine, Perugia, 1788, n. 66



Fig. 93. Benozzo Gozzoli. Madonna. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.

Photo Anderson.

for the “Collegio Gerolimiano” or “Sapienza Nuova” (fig. 94).

The Virgin is represented sitting on a cushion on the ground while the Child, bestowing a blessing, leans affectionately against His Mother. To the sides kneel SS. Peter, John the Baptist, Jerome and Paul; six little figures of saints adorn the pilasters of the frame while four others along with



Fig. 94. Benozzo Gozzoli. Altar-piece, 1454. Gallery, Perugia.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 95. Benozzo Gozzoli, Madonna and saints. Gallery, Vienna.

Photo Hanfstaeigl.

the dead Christ standing under the Cross between the Virgin and St. John are depicted on the predella. The signature "*Opus Benotii de Florentia MCCCCLVI*" can, with some difficulty be distinguished on the damasked gold background. The coat-of-arms on the predella is that of Benedetto Guidalotti, the founder of the college for which the panel was executed.

It is one of the master's fine productions, belonging to that stage of transition when he was breaking away from Fra Angelico's influence and acquiring a more independent manner; it is a little hard and without much feeling but it is well drawn and the colouring, although greyish nowadays, must originally have been pleasing if not delicate. The somewhat strained and pointed features are shown here for the first time but we meet with them in other works of this period of Benozzo's activity.

There are two pictures in which the principal figure is the Virgin, which bear a fairly close resemblance to the panel at Perugia and consequently should be classified along with it. One is preserved in the gallery of Vienna, the other in the museum of Berlin. The panel in Vienna (No. 26, fig. 95) is oblong in form like that at Perugia but it is much smaller. The Virgin seated lowly, her arms crossed on her breast, adores the Child lying on her knee; to the sides kneel SS. Francis and Bernardine, the former with his hand on the shoulder of an old monk whom he recommends to the Virgin. Two angels support a curtain behind the central figure; the background is composed of a forest, an unusual representation, which is not found in any of Benozzo's other works (<sup>1</sup>).

The panel at Vienna does not come up to the same standard as the altar-piece at Perugia, but the picture in the museum of Berlin (60 B, fig. 96) is of a still more inferior quality, the heads of the Virgin and Child in particular are even not very characteristic

(<sup>1</sup>) Herr *Gronau*, op. cit., p. 343, remarks that Alunno repeats almost the same composition in a picture which he executed in 1457 but I see no reason in this for us to conclude that Benozzo's picture must be of an earlier date because Benozzo might have borrowed the idea from Alunno. Yet I think the panel at Vienna is almost contemporary with that of 1456 at Perugia. Dr. Hoogewerff is of opinion that it is of a slightly later date.





Fig. 96. Benozzo Gozzoli and helper. Madonna and saints. Gallery, Berlin.  
Photo Hanfst. engl.

of Benozzo's style. As in the painting at Perugia the Virgin is shown seated on a cushion on the ground, holding on her knees the little Jesus Who is naked and raises one hand; SS. Martha and Mary Magdalene stand behind the Virgin while two angels support the curtain which forms the background. I am quite inclined to believe that this picture is not entirely from the hand of Benozzo. The museum catalogue informs us that this panel originates from the environs of Perugia.

Very much after the somewhat incisive manner of the altarpiece at Perugia is the second Madonna from the von Tucher collection, Vienna (1).

The Virgin is represented in half-length figure with the Infant Christ Who bestows a blessing and grasps a little bird. Six cherubim fill up the background; some traces of other cherubs at the foot of the picture lead us to suppose that this is only a fragment of a larger panel (fig. 97).

If the Annunciation in the town hall of Narni (2) is really by Benozzo, its chronological place is certainly here; although I, along with several other critics, am in favour of this attribution, the contrary hypothesis, that it is not by Benozzo, has also its adherents. The type of the Virgin's face is strongly reminiscent of that in the panel at Perugia and the Madonna of the von Tucher collection. The angel appears erect before the kneeling Virgin who, with arms crossed on her breast, holds her breviary in her hand. Columns adorned with leaves separate the two figures. The painting is considerably damaged.

In 1458 Benozzo is once more in Rome and it is on this occasion that he may have executed three works which still exist. One of them is only the head of St. Gregory which belongs to a series of twelve heads of Evangelists, Fathers of the Church and other saints, which adorn the passage leading from the church of S. Paolo fuori to the cloister (3). The second work is the fresco formerly on the outside of the house of the priest of S. Angelo in Pescheria, in via

(1) I am ignorant of the actual destination of this picture which did not figure in the von Tucher sale held in Berlin in 1925.

(2) *J. Cristofani*, *L'Arte*, X, 1907, p. 293. *U. Gnoli*, *L'Arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, Bergamo, 1908, p. 109.

(3) *Pacchioni*, *op. cit.*, *L'Arte*, 1909.



Fig. 97. Benozzo Gozzoli. Madonna. Ex-von Tucher Collection, Vienna.  
Photo Anderson.

de' Campitelli but now detached and preserved in the church <sup>(1)</sup>.

The date 1447 to 1450 which has been proposed for this painting is in my opinion much less likely than that of 1458

<sup>(1)</sup> Rossi, op. cit., L' Arte, 1902. Carnevali, op. cit. Pacchioni, op. cit., L' Arte, 1910.

but the fresco is of such a very poor quality that I think it is more probably a school work. The Madonna is represented enthroned, the Child standing on her knee; an angel to either side holds the throne, four others fly above while two support the curtain which forms the background to the figure of the Madonna.

The last of the three works that Benozzo may have painted during this sojourn in Rome is a very much restored fresco of the Madonna and Child with two angels holding a curtain behind and a crown over the Virgin's head and to one side a fragment of the figure of a saint holding a book, which painting is found over an altar in the church of SS. Sisto e Domenico <sup>(1)</sup>.

Although in 1459 Benozzo was already working on the frescoes in the chapel of the Medici Palace, there is one painting which, on account of its Florentine origin, must have been executed in Florence and probably prior to the fresco series. It is a predella panel now in the Uffizi (No. 886) but originating from the Opera of Sta. Croce, and represents the dead Christ half risen from His tomb between the Virgin and St. John, the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine (fig. 98) and SS. Benedict and Antony. In the landscape and in the faces in this picture we can still discover some vague reminiscences of his master, Fra Angelico; the anatomy of Christ's naked body is excellent. These little panels can be classified among the best productions of Benozzo Gozzoli who, with these works, ends that phase in his career which might be called his Umbrian period and enters into that stage of his activity which passes chiefly in Tuscany.

Apart from the altar-piece for the Confraternita della Purificazione, the predella of which is now in the Uffizi, and that for the Alessandri, the only important work that Benozzo seems to have undertaken in Florence is the decoration of the chapel in the Medici Palace which was built by Michelozzo for Cosimo de' Medici and which is known also as the Riccardi

<sup>(1)</sup> *Papini*, op. cit., Bolletino d'Arte, believes it possible that this is the Madonna and saints which, according to Vasari, Benozzo painted over a door in the Torre de' Conti, but a similar mistake in the site of a painting is hardly likely.

Palace (1). Regarding this mural painting the artist had some correspondence with Pietro de' Medici in 1459, from which we gather for a certainty that Benozzo at this moment was busy on the work(2). The first of the three letters has been published more than once (3) and

(1) *Benvenuti*, op. cit. *C. Ricci*, op. cit. *Cust and Horne*, op. cit. *Mengin*, La chapelle etc., op. cit. *G. F. Young*, The Medici, I, London, 1925, p. 190.

(2) I do not know why Prof. Papini in his edition of Vasari's life of Benozzo, p. 36, says that these letters furnish us with the proof that the decoration was undertaken in 1458.

(3) For example by *Hoogewerff*, op. cit.



Fig. 98. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

is well worth while reading because it gives us a very exact idea of the genuine interest the Medici took in the works of art they ordered, their value as critics and the desire on the artist's part to please them. On the 10th July 1459 Benozzo writes the following to Piero:

"This morning, I received a letter that your lordship sent to Robert Martelli and I learn that you do not approve of my representation of seraphim. I have made one in a corner between clouds so that only the points of the wings are visible; it is practically hidden and so well covered by the clouds that it is not at all discordant but sooner of a good effect. This one is near the column. I have executed another to the other side of the altar, hidden in the same manner. Robert Martelli has seen them and says they are minor details of no importance. In any case I shall do as you order; two clouds would be sufficient to efface them". Then he speaks of the heat, of the glue which deteriorates so quickly, of the azure which he is going to use, and his hopes that Piero will come and see the work before the scaffolding is taken down. He has received a little money and expresses his great desire to please his protector. The letter continues: "As for the work I apply myself to the utmost of my possibility and if, in the end, it is still imperfect, it will be because I could not have done better. God knows that it is my greatest preoccupation" etc. etc. In the two other letters there is rather question of the buying of azure and gold, as well as of his need of money. He affirms that he is working as quickly as possible; "and the time that I must wait before Your Lordship comes to see if the work is satisfactory, seems to me to be a thousand years".

The pretty decoration in this chapel has undergone certain changes. In 1658 the owner of the palace, Marquis Riccardi, had a large stairway made which necessitated the making of a window in one of the walls; a piece of the wall opposite the altar was broken down and a small part of the wall to the left of the entrance was made to project more into the chapel, cutting a mule in two, with the result that the landscape on the piece of wall that was displaced had to be renewed. In 1837 the decoration was restored, but this must



Fig. 99. Benozzo Gozzoli, Angels. Chapel, Riccardi Palace, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

have been limited to the strictly necessary because on looking at the frescoes not much of this restoration can be perceived.

The frescoes in this chapel are among the best known works in Italy and I shall abstain from giving a detailed description of them. It will be remembered that the altar was adorned with the Nativity by Fra Filippo Lippi, now in the museum of Berlin, and the decoration of the walls was, in a way, made to accompany this scene; it comprises a choir of angels, the Journey of the Magi on their way to adore the Child Christ and the shepherds with their flocks.

Angels are represented on two of the paintings (figs. 99, 100, 101): they are not depicted in Paradise but have descended on earth choosing, however, as their surroundings the most beautiful of landscapes with an enormous diversity of vegetation, in which the palm-tree flourishes along side a tree bare with the winter frost. Mountains form the background and in the distance we see towns and castles. Roses bloom on the hedges on which a peacock is perched and all around there are many little birds. In the two frescoes the angels form three groups, one standing, one kneeling and the third flying in heaven, while some other angels, independent of the grouping, are shown walking about. All their nimbi are inscribed with "Adoremus te Glorificam" "Gloria in Excelsis" etc. etc. but in spite of these exclamations, Benozzo has by no means attained the spiritual and mystic level which Fra Angelico so easily obtained without any such texts. The angels are beautiful, well drawn and of a good plastic effect, especially the faces; their garments are splendid and their wings multi-coloured but they are angelic figures such as Fra Filippo conceived, beautiful terrestrial children, sometimes even a little common. The greatest merit of these frescoes lies above all in their exquisite decorative effect.

The decorative value of the other frescoes is the chief feature which makes them so charming in spite of the lack of feeling. The cavalcade of the Eastern Kings occupies the three other walls of the chapel. In each of the frescoes there is one outstanding figure. In the painting which shows the head of the procession (figs. 102, 103, 104) it is the old man mounted on the unfortunate mule which has been cut in two; it has been thought that it is a portrait of the Patriarch of Constantinople; he is





Fig. 100. Benozzo Gozzoli, Angels. Chapel, Riccardi Palace, Florence.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 101. Detail of fig. 100.

Photo Anderson.

preceded by a young man on a somewhat spirited horse on the rump of which is seated a hunting tiger; another man, his foot already in the stirrup, is about to mount his horse, he seems to call the tiger which he holds in an ingenious way, the leash passing over the collar. The fresco is crowded with figures; among them there are some magnificent pages on richly

harnessed mounts. Then to the right we see a long cortège of which the persons nearest have all their heads turned more or less towards the spectator and in them we are tempted to look



Fig. 102. Benozzo Gozzoli, Journey of the Magi.

Chapel, Riccardi Palace, Florence.

Photo Anderson

for portraits. The cavalcade continues in the mountain and is composed of orientals mounted on or leading camels and mules. The whole fresco is filled up with trees and verdure; birds are seen everywhere, a heron flies in mid air, a tiger gives chase to a deer, another attacks an ox, a little monkey meditates in



Fig. 103. Detail of fig. 102.

Photo Anderson.

the right angle; while in the left angle on a piece of wall which is of a different level from the rest of the fresco we find some soldiers mounted and on foot; with their bows and arrows they have sooner the appearance of huntsmen.

The following fresco (fig. 105 and pl. III) has been damaged by the breaking in of the wall to make a window; on the same



*JOHN PALAEOLOGUS.*

*From the Journey of the Magi by Benozzo Gozzoli, in the Palazzo Riccardi, Florence.*

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 104. Benozzo Gozzoli, Journey of the Magi. Chapel, Riccardi Palace, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

wall there is the door as well as a round window above. The principal figure here is a king attired with oriental magnificence, on a white horse, accompanied by some foot soldiers and three



Fig. 105. Benozzo Gozzoli, Journey of the Magi.  
Chapel, Riccardi Palace, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

beautiful pages on horseback; there were no doubt some other figures on that part where the window is now. The landscape is superb with large trees and a rich vegetation spreading on to the hills in the distance where we see some castles and two tiny knights. The third Eastern King (figs. 106, 107, 108) is quite a young man mounted on a white horse and of very stately bearing; he is preceded by two mounted squires, accompanied



Fig. 106. Benozzo Gozzoli, Journey of the Magi.  
Chapel, Riccardi Palace, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

by an armed suite and followed by a great number of persons on horseback forming again a cavalcade which begins high up on a mountain near a castle. The mountain is barren and rocky; a man on horseback, who has the appearance of an old Roman, his lance raised, gives chase to a deer.

There are still two other frescoes in the chapel but they





Fig. 107. Detail of fig. 106. Portrait of Cosimo de Medici.

Photo Anderson.

portray persons of a much more humble appearance; they are found over the little doors on the narrowest walls and represent the shepherds; in one of them (fig. 109) a young shepherd leaning on his crook is seen guarding a flock of lambs; a bearded shepherd near an ass looks towards the spot which was occupied by the Infant Jesus of the Nativity by Fra Filippo



Fig. 108. Detail of fig. 106.

Photo Anderson

which is now in Berlin. In the other fresco (fig. 110) we find an old white-bearded shepherd near his flock, and another not any younger but clean-shaven who, near an ox, leans on a rocky projection, his head in his hand and plunged in deep meditation, while his gaze is turned towards the new born Redeemer.



Fig. 109 Benozzo Gozzoli, the Shepherds with their flocks. Chapel, Riccardi Palace, Florence. Photo Anderson.

The question whether or not we should look for portraits among all these very individual heads that Benozzo has depicted here, has been much discussed; although some writers are against this hypothesis, I think, all the same there can be little doubt about it, considering that Benozzo represented himself in the last fresco, inscribing his name in clear letters on his bonnet. It is really a signature: "*Opus Benotii*" but it is no doubt on his own portrait that he has left it. Further we can hardly admit that this is the only portrait and that all the other heads, which are so individual in appearance, are mere fantasies. I think sooner that these portraits are perhaps not very faithful to the original models; certainly the chief figure of the second fresco which in all probability represents the emperor John VII Palæologus, only vaguely resembles the medal which Pisanello made of him and which is no doubt a much more faithful likeness. We must not forget, however, that Benozzo had not seen him since 1439, when he came to Florence for the great church council, exactly twenty years prior to the execution of the frescoes. The two men at the head of the last part of the cavalcade -- the old one on a mule and the younger one on a horse -- are doubtless Cosimo de' Medici and Piero "il Gottoso"; moreover they bear a fairly close

resemblance respectively to Michelozzo's medal and Mino da Fiesole's bust, both works in the National Museum, Florence.

But it would be impossible to give names to all the persons who form this group. Monsieur Mesnil<sup>(1)</sup> thinks that the young man on a white horse at the head of the procession, looking a little to one side is almost surely Galeazzo Sforza and the one seen in three-quarter profile is Sigismondo Malatesta judging from a relief in the Tempio of Rimini and some medals. I am not very convinced of this and the resemblance, I think, is very vague. It is true, however, that some connexion must have existed between the execution of these frescoes in 1459 made under the direction of Piero de' Medici, and the feast that this prince organized the same year in honour of Pope Pius II and Galeazzo Maria Sforza, so that we are quite justified in looking for these two personages in the frescoes. The figure which in Monsieur Mesnil's opinion represents Galeazzo Sforza, might be Giovanni de' Medici according to Mr. Martin<sup>(2)</sup> who compares this figure with a bust in terracotta which he attributes to Verrocchio and which he believes represents



Fig. 110. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Shepherds with their flocks. Chapel, Riccardi Palace, Florence. Photo Anderson.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Mesnil*, op. cit.

<sup>(2)</sup> *F. R. Martin*, A terracotta Bust by Verrocchio, Burlington Magazine, XLIII, 1923, p. 3.

this person. I see neither resemblance nor reason which might entitle us to believe that the bust in question is really a portrait of this young man. Lorenzo de' Medici was ten years old in 1459 and nothing is more simple than to identify him with the charming youthful Magus in the third fresco where his father and grand-father also are represented. This is quite possible but there is no question of a resemblance between the beautiful knight of the fresco and Lorenzo de' Medici who, as we know from other portraits, was very ugly.

The argument brought forward to explain the presence of the Emperor of Byzantium and the Patriarch of Constantinople is very plausible. Pope Pius II — Sylvius Piccolomini — was not only thinking of the union of the occidental and oriental churches but also of the defence of Byzantium against the Turks who were becoming more and more powerful and aggressive. When he came to Florence in 1459, the moment the frescoes were being executed, and Piero de' Medici organized a feast in his honour, he had just returned from a congress held in Mantua at which the principal sovereigns of Europe had been represented and at which it had been decided to undertake a crusade against Mohammed II. Perhaps the presence of Emperor John VII, the christian monarch most menaced by the Turks, was a demonstration of the favour in which these projects were held by the Medici.

Benozzo did not spare himself any pains in his attempt to make the chapel as gorgeous as possible and the Medici were just as generous with regard to the expenditure. The frescoes are full of gold and azure. It is really a magnificent piece of work of a pleasing, even superb decorative effect, bright and joyful, rich and in good taste and skilfully executed but in spite of all that it is lacking in depth, in sentiment and in inspiration while there is little if any variety. It is a little the spirit of tapestry work that has guided the artist in this enterprise. There is here practically nothing reminiscent of Fra Angelico; everything has become more ordinary, more terrestrial and there is no trace of the marvellous spiritual imagination of his great master.

There is a long contract regarding the altar-piece that Benozzo executed in 1461 for the confraternity of the Purifi-

cation (1). Domenico di Stefano, guardian of the confraternity, acted for the institution; Benozzo was to receive three hundred lire but he had to provide all the material which had to be of the best quality. All had to be executed by his own hand and the picture must at least be as beautiful as his other works;



Fig. III. Benozzo Gozzoli. Madonna. Saints and angels, 1461.  
National Gallery, London.

Photo Anderson.

the Madonna must resemble that of the altar-piece in S. Marco and the ornamentation must be the same; further the names of the four saints who actually do accompany the Virgin are stipulated and the predella has to be adorned with a scene from each of their lives; two children attired in white with

(1) *Zanobi e Bicchierai*, op. cit. *Horne*, Burlington Magazine, VII. 1905, p. 382. *Hoogwerff*, op. cit.

wreathes of flowers on their heads have to take the place of the usual coats of arms of the donors etc. etc.

The altar-piece in the church of S. Marco that Benozzo was requested to use as model, is naturally the picture by Fra Angelico now in the museum of S. Marco. The Madonna that Benozzo painted does not bear a particular resemblance to Fra Angelico's figure, although the arabesque ornamentation is certainly after this master's manner. It is, however, interesting to note that in 1461, six years after Fra Angelico's death, Benozzo was still considered his official imitator. at least he was openly asked to take his inspiration from the holy monk's productions.

The principal panel of this altar-piece is now preserved in the National Gallery, London (No. 283) and shows the Virgin with the Child, barely covered by a transparent veil, standing on her knee, bestowing a blessing, in the midst of four angels and a cherub. She is escorted by the standing figures of SS. Zenobius, John the Baptist, Peter and Dominic and the kneeling figures of SS. Jerome and Francis (fig. 111). The background consists of a beautiful piece of brocade which forms as it were a low wall over which trees are visible; vegetation and flowers blossom in the foreground while two little birds are depicted on the steps of the throne near St. Jerome's scarlet hat. The faces, the hands and the draperies are executed in a very hard manner; the figures are without any charm, the six saints in particular are very displeasing; some have no expression, the others have an air of hypocritical adoration. Huge inscriptions surcharge the nimbi. On the whole it is in my opinion one of the artist's least successful productions.

Of the predella panels three have been identified; one of them is now in Buckingham Palace in the collection of H. M. the King of England; it illustrates the death of Simon Magus <sup>(1)</sup> who is shown fallen on the ground before Nero and his soldiers; St. Paul is seen in prayer while St. Peter makes a gesture towards the scaffolding from which Simon has

<sup>(1)</sup> *Cust and Horne*, op. cit., *L. Cust*, Notes on Pictures in the Royal Collection. London, 1911. p. 19.

thrown himself; a number of other figures fill up the little picture which, however, is poor in composition; the figures, although well drawn, are all unmoved by the event.

A more pleasing panel is that representing the miraculous resurrection of a child by St. Zenobius which was acquired from the Kann collection, Paris, by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin <sup>(1)</sup>. Here, against a pretty architectural back-



Fig 112 Benozzo Gozzoli, Miracle of St. Dominic. Brera Gallery, Milan.

Photo Anderson.

ground, we see in the foreground the holy bishop, the mother of the child and another woman in prayer; a large number of on-lookers are arranged in two groups leaving an empty space in the centre as in the panel in London.

<sup>(1)</sup> *E. Diaz*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, IX, 1903, p 201. *W Weisbach*, *Francesco Pesellino u. die Romantik der Renaissance*. Berlin, 1901, p. 48, attribute it to Pesellino. *G. B. L. G. Seroux d'Agincourt*, *Storia dell'Arte dimostrata coi monumenti* (translated from French), IV, Prato, 1827, p. 434 and *Pittura*, pl. 147, describes and reproduces this panel, which he believed by Masaccio, saying that the painter followed Ghiberti's relief of the same subject on the altar of S. Zanobi in Florence.



The third of these predella pictures which is found in the Brera Gallery, Milan (No. 475, fig. 112) shows how St. Dominic resuscitates a child of the name of Napoleon who has been crushed by a horse. The accident is seen taking place on the left half of the panel and so as to leave no doubt about the child's fate, the artist shows the horse rearing on its hind legs, its two hoofs buried in the child's body; a man approaches the scene of disaster and seems about to strike the fiery animal; more to the right the child resuscitated, his hands clasped in adoration, is shown standing near three women, very moved by the event, seated on the ground; St. Benedict followed by a group of monks is depicted to the right. The background is composed of a Gothic church and a Renaissance portico above which appear some trees. The fine colouring saves this little picture which is really very mediocre; the forms and feelings are vulgar and the faces rather ugly.

Not of any better quality are four predella panels which Benozzo executed for the Alessandri of Florence, consequently about the same period, that is to say during his short sojourn in this town. The style corresponds perfectly and as we shall see, Benozzo repeats two of the scenes that we have just found in the predella of the altar-piece which he made for the confraternity of the Purificazione so that we can suppose that the two saints from whose legends these scenes are taken viz. SS. Peter and Zenobius, were represented on the principal panel. For the same reason the other two saints must have been SS. Paul and Benedict. Vasari mentions these panels as the work of Pesellino and in his day they were preserved in the Alessandri chapel in S. Pier Maggiore in Florence; he speaks about this work as if only the four little panels existed <sup>(1)</sup> but there can be no doubt that they formed the predella of an altar-piece. These four panels are now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Nos. G 742 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d) <sup>(2)</sup>. Generally speaking they are perhaps a little superior to the other series, the two scenes corresponding to those in the

<sup>(1)</sup> *J. P. Richter*, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., 1884, p. 240. *Ffoulkes*, Archiv. Stor. dell'Arte, 1894, p. 158. *Burroughs*, op. cit.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Vasari-Milanesi*, III, p. 37.

picture of 1461, show little difference, particularly the fall of Simon Magus, the composition of which, although inverted, is practically the same. In the resurrection effected by St. Zenobius (fig. 113) there is a greater number of figures and much more movement; it is quite a pleasing little picture.



Fig. 113. Benozzo Gozzoli, *Miracle of St. Zenobius*.  
Metropolitan Museum, New York.

In the conversion of St. Paul we see the saint as a giant, much larger than the other figures, lying on the ground in the open country; a ray of light descends on him from heaven and frightens away the soldiers mounted and on foot, who surround him, a little dog yaps at the feet of one of them.

Then we see Totila attired in a coat of mail and accompanied by a numerous suite, kneeling humbly at the feet of St. Benedict who, seated before him and escorted by several monks, reproaches him with his wicked deeds. The facade of a church,

some trees and some fragments of architecture form a very rigid background and surrounding to this little picture which is far from pleasing. The heads are decidedly ugly and the technique is inferior to that of the three other panels; yet I do not think that it is the work of a helper.

As I have already said after this stay in Florence which lasted probably from 1459 until about 1463, Benozzo returned but rarely to this town. On leaving Florence he must have gone directly to San Gimignano<sup>(1)</sup>, because in April 1464 he had already finished the eleventh of the seventeen frescoes which illustrate the life of St. Augustine in the choir of the church dedicated to this saint; we cannot be sure, however, that he executed the frescoes according to the order of the narrative; in fact the contrary is more probable because he must have painted the higher frescoes first; he did not finish the decoration till 1465, the date we read on the seventh episode.

Besides, while he was working on this cycle, he executed in the same church a fairly large and important fresco of St. Sebastian protecting the inhabitants of San Gimignano against the wrath of God Who is seen on high in the midst of angels, loosing arrows while Christ and the Virgin kneel before Him, imploring pardon for the sinners. Lower down six angels bear a crown above the saint's head, catch the arrows and hold his cloak to protect the numerous citizens who are grouped below, mostly kneeling, around St. Sebastian, who, although youthful, is bearded, a detail we meet with in some representations of the early christian centuries (fig. 114)<sup>(2)</sup>. Lower down six little medallions contain the half-length figures of saints and in the centre the artist, on what looks like a panel superimposed on the altar, has depicted the Saviour on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John, St. Antony of Padua, St. Augustine and an adoring monk.

The story of St. Augustine is narrated in the choir in seven-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Baldoria*, op. cit. *Faucon*, op. cit. *Guidi Emiliani* op. cit. *Gruyer*, Gazette des Beaux Arts, nouv. sér., IV, 1870, p. 162. *R. Vischer*, Zeitschr. f. Bild Kunst, X, 1875, p. 308. *L. Pecori*, Storia della terra di San Gimignano, Florence, 1853.

teen scenes. First the saint is shown being brought to school by his parents, the school-master receives the young pupil very kindly caressing him on the cheek; yet the master can be very severe as is evident from the scene more to the right in which he is depicted whipping a charming little boy whom, one of the older scholarsholds on his back. The school is visible through a portico with open arches; the rest of the fresco is filled up with architectural buildings, some of a



Fig. 114 Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Sebastian protecting the inhabitants of San Gimignano. S. Agostino, San Gimignano. Photo Alinari.

pronounced Renaissance style, some still quite Gothic (fig. 115). His admission to the university of Carthage is half destroyed; we see St. Augustine as a young student with a book in his hand, kneeling before a professor beside whom a colleague with a curious face is seated while some students stand around.



Fig. 115. Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Augustine brought to school.

S. Agostino, San Gimignano.

Photo Alinari.

Also the third and fourth frescoes — St. Monica, the mother of St. Augustine, praying for her son and, under the window, St. Augustine crossing the sea on his way to Italy — are very much damaged and repainted. Then his arrival in Milan is illustrated: the saint, young and elegant, has sooner the appearance of a warrior followed by his squires, than that of a future Doctor of the Church, although he wears the bonnet of the savant on his head. He is received by an aged man who takes him by the hand.



***ST. AUGUSTINE LEAVING ROME FOR MILAN.***

*By Benozzo Gozzoli in S. Agostino, San Gimignano.*

Photo Alinari.

St. Augustine teaching in the university of Rome is shown in a beautiful Renaissance hall, richly decorated; the young professor is seated at a desk amid his students who, either standing or sitting, are arranged in two rows; a little dog



Fig. 116. Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Augustine teaching philosophy in Rome.  
S. Agostino. San Gimignano.

Photo Alinari.

with an air of independence sits in the centre but does not attract the attention of the audience (fig. 115). This is one of the finest paintings that we have from the hand of Benozzo Gozzoli.

The seventh fresco which represents the journey of St. Augustine from Rome to Milan is strongly reminiscent of the cavalcade in the chapel of the Riccardi Palace (pl IV). The background is a smiling landscape very unlike the country

around Rome ; the town occupies the left corner of the picture and but for the Castel San Angelo and the point of the Pyramid of Cestius visible over the head of one of the figures it would be hardly possible to recognize it. The cavalcade and a man on foot accompanied by a fat old breathless dog, advance rapidly; this forms a strange contrast to the six figures standing immobile to the right and left of the scene. These figures are no doubt portraits because the features are far too individual to be mere invention. Moreover, it is in all probability in this fresco that we should look for the representation of the donors. Above, an inscription speaks of Doctor Parisinus — Fra Domenico Strambi — known under this name because of his renown at the universities of Paris and Oxford. Strambi consequently was probably one of the donors and is no doubt one of the persons represented here. On the same fresco we find the signature of the painter and the date 1465. Two angels unroll the scroll which contains the four lines of inscription. They are much too large as is also the inscription itself; this rather spoils the effect of the fresco which is really very beautiful.

The eighth fresco shows us the saint's arrival in Milan where he is received by Emperor Theodoric and St. Ambrose. The scene is staged in a beautiful portico, divided into three parts, of the purest Renaissance style (fig. 117). St. Augustine has just alighted from his horse which is being held to the left and the principal incident in the painting is the removal of the saint's spurs by a servant. The affectionate welcome that St. Ambrose gives him is depicted in the right corner, while the saint paying homage to the emperor, surrounded by his courtiers, is lost in the background.

The ninth fresco combines several moments in the conversion of St. Augustine. Against a stiff but rather elaborate architectural background we see to the left St. Augustine expounding his still heretic ideas to St. Ambrose who appears to be decidedly shocked; centrally towards the back St. Monica on her knees implores St. Ambrose to convert her son while to the right St. Augustine meditates profoundly as he listens to the words of St. Ambrose who, in episcopal attire, preaches to the people; this portion of the fresco is very much damaged.



The next scene shows us the final stage in the conversion of St. Augustine who, seated in a garden, is plunged in the Acts of the Apostles; he does not seem to be aware of some young people who stand around him and not even of his friend, no



Fig. 117. Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Augustine in Milan.

S. Agostino, San Gimignano.

Photo Alinari.

doubt Alipe, who apparently talks to him of what he is reading.

The baptism of St. Augustine forms the subject of the next scene. Under a cupola supported on columns St. Ambrose sprinkles the holy water on the head of St. Augustine who, naked and on his knees, leans his elbows on the edge of the baptismal font on the border of which we read the date 1<sup>st</sup> April 1464. Different persons assist at the ceremony; one of them is his mother, another must be his son Adeodat while yet another is his friend Alipe who was baptized the same day. Apart from

this incident, St. Augustine is depicted in the habit of a monk.

The following fresco, the twelfth, shows above, the holy doctor visiting the monastery of the hermits at Monte Pisano and below to the left St. Augustine, seated near a large Gothic church, explaining the rules of the order to the monks who, with but one exception, all kneel around him; then we see the meeting at the sea-side of the saint and the little boy who tells him that it would be just as impossible to empty the ocean with a spoon as to make St. Augustine understand divine knowledge and goodness.

The thirteenth fresco illustrates the passage from the Golden Legend which relates that "in the company of Nebrode and Evode as well as that of his mother, St. Augustine set sail to return to Africa, but on his arrival at the port of Ostia he was stricken by the death of his pious mother".

Through a portico on the right half of the fresco, we see St. Augustine, still deep in the scriptures, on a little ship on what appears to be a lake; then inside a room St. Monica is shown on her death-bed; a little naked child — Jesus? — descends towards her while angels bear her soul to heaven; some nuns stand around her bed and St. Augustine reads the funeral service; a young man weeping behind him, must be his son; two monks are also represented here as well as a figure which Benozzo loved to depict, that of a woman sitting on the ground with a little boy. To the right and left the outside of the house is visible. A holy monk and nun in conversation are no doubt St. Augustine and St. Monica which would correspond with a passage in the eleventh chapter of the first book of confessions, as do also the tears of Adeodat. The painter has attempted to brighten this scene of mourning by placing in the right corner two little naked children one of whom terrified, tries to escape from a dog about to bite his leg<sup>(1)</sup> In the right half of the fresco, St. Augustine, from the

(1) In my opinion this is only an element of genre painting which the artist has placed in this scene without thinking and not at all some souvenir on his part of the verse of Lucretius in which there is question of the "puling of the new-born mingling with the wailing of the dying" as *U. Mengin*, B. G., p. 88, thinks. I do not believe in the least that our painter was so familiar with the classical authors.

altar of a church giving his benediction to the faithful, is very much damaged; besides, the only interest of this scene lies in the perspective that the artist has attempted to produce in the interior view of the Renaissance church, seen from the altar towards the entrance. The rather ugly proportions of the church which is not nearly high enough are due to the form of the lunette which the painter had to adorn with this fresco.

In the next painting St. Augustine in episcopal vestments is depicted arguing with St. Fortunatus who, in his consternation has let his book fall but seems already to be convinced; then the saint, attired in the same garments, is represented writing in his little study, his head raised to receive the divine inspiration; there is a certain intimacy in the precise manner in which Benozzo has rendered all the details of the room.

Lastly the seventeenth fresco shows the dead saint stretched on a bier in the midst of numerous monks against a background of architecture, the monastery with a portico spreading in front, occupying the centre; above, the soul of the holy doctor is borne away by angels. The general idea of the composition recalls that of the death of St. Francis at Montefalco, which derives from Giotto's painting of this subject in Assisi.

Outside, on the pillars of the chancel arch there are three figures of saints in niches to either side; above the arch itself we see the half-length figures of Christ and the Twelve Apostles in medallions. The friezes which frame the frescoes and separate them one from the other are worthy of special mention. Some are particularly beautiful, composed of angels placed among garlands or half-length figures of angels supporting wreaths of vegetation; others are of purely ornamental designs, the motifs being invariably stylized verdure.

All the figures here and the ornamental parts are from the hand of Giusto di Andrea as well as several figures near the principal window, as the artist himself says very precisely <sup>(1)</sup>.

That Benozzo received some help in this cycle of frescoes is only natural, yet I do not think that, with the exception of some ornamental friezes, he allowed his assistants to work in an independent manner because the style on the whole is very

<sup>(1)</sup> The document is found in *Milanesi*, note 4 on *Vasari*, III. p. 54.

harmonious and the painting of fairly good quality. After the series in the chapel of the Riccardi Palace, I believe this, in spite of obvious restorations, is the best work we have from the hand of Benozzo Gozzoli. Here we find a warmer and more pleasing colour scheme and well-balanced compositions and although the artist never succeeded in rendering action in a very natural manner, the attitudes at least, are less artificial and the figures have more life, more sentiment and more expression than in his other works. The plastic effects, it is true, are better shown in the faces than in the rest of the body, but the figures on the whole, are not so rigid and the forms are graceful and well-proportioned, if not beautiful. Vasari informs us that he had in his possession all the drawings that Benozzo used for this series of illustrations from the life of St. Augustine.

With the exception of a few short absences, Benozzo remained in San Gimignano until 1467 executing works of minor importance. It is possible that the panel of 1466, now in Terni, was painted at San Gimignano. We know for certain that he went to Certaldo.

At San Gimignano Benozzo worked also in the Collegiata where on the entrance wall he painted a large fresco of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian which bears the date 18th January 1465, that is to say 1466 according to our calendar, and the signature: "*Benozius Florentinus pinxit*". The saint is bearded and strongly resembles that in the church of S. Agostino. He is shown standing on a small pedestal in a beautiful landscape; several soldiers loose arrows at him; his body is already pierced in many places. Deocletus and a companion stand close to the martyr over whose head two angels hold a crown while two other angels approach with the palm of martyrdom. Above in a mandorla surrounded by angels and cherubim the Saviour and the Virgin are depicted. A magnificent border with medallions containing busts of saints, angel heads, coats of arms and monograms frames this fresco. As in the painting in S. Agostino, here too the artist shows below in a little picture, imitating a panel, the Crucifixion with two venerable saints kneeling at the foot of the Cross.

During the same year he painted the figures which are found to either side of this fresco. They represent the Virgin, without

the Child, her hands clasped, in the midst of four saints and one cherub while the wings of other cherubim are visible, a St. Antony also escorted by angels and on the pilasters the standing figures of SS. Augustine, Bernard, Jerome and Ber-



Fig. 118. Benozzo Gozzoli, Madonna and Saints, 1466.  
Collegiata, San Gimignano.

Photo Alinari.

nardine of Siena. On the 6<sup>th</sup> February 1465 (1466) Benozzo is paid 20 lire 10 sous<sup>(1)</sup> and considering that the other fresco was dated 18<sup>th</sup> January and that the payment was made in all probability a few days after the decoration was finished, we get here an idea of the rapidity with which Benozzo worked;

(<sup>1</sup>) *Pecori*, op. cit., p. 510 note 1.

he can hardly have taken longer than a couple of weeks to execute all these frescoes.

In the Uffizi there is a sketch which corresponds perfectly with the figure of the Madonna in these paintings (<sup>1</sup>) but the proportions are heavier and the folds much more wooden so that I do not think that it is by Benozzo himself even although it appears to date from the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

In the choir of the Collegiata there is an important altarpiece, originating from the convent of Sta. Maria Maddalena, which recalls to a certain extent that of 1461 in the National Gallery (fig. 118). The Child, bestowing a blessing with one hand and holding a globe in the other sits on His Mother's knee, to the sides kneel SS. John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, Augustine and Martha. The background, as in the panel in London, is composed of a beautiful piece of brocade; over the Virgin's head two angels hold a crown and a heavy garland of roses. The back of the throne is high and shell-shaped as in Fra Angelico's late paintings of the Madonna.

The signature is inscribed on one of the marble steps, it runs: "*Opus Benozii De Florentia MCCCCLVI*". The technique here is a little hard, and generally speaking it is evident that Benozzo's mural decoration was more successful than his panel painting. Yet this is a work of considerable merit, showing a decided Florentine touch in the plastic effects and a great refinement in the technique. A similar but more modest picture is found in the church of S. Andrea. Here the Virgin is accompanied by SS. Prosper and Andrew and two angels with baskets of flowers; the predella is adorned with a figure of Christ on the Cross between the Virgin, St. John, St. William and another saint. The signature reads: "*Opus Benotii de Florentia die XXVIII Augusti MCCCCLXVI*"; also the name of the donor is inscribed.

The same date, 1466, is found on the pedestal of the Virgin's throne in the panel now in the gallery of Terni (Umbria), but very probably executed at San Gimignano (fig. 119).

It really represents the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine who kneels below and receives the ring on her finger from

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(<sup>1</sup>) Photo Braun, 76252.



Fig. 119. Benozzo Gozzoli, Madonna and saints, 1466. Gallery, Terni.

Photo Alinari.

the Child Christ; laterally we see SS. Lucy, Bartholomew and Francis, two angels support the curtain which forms the background while above, God the Father sends forth the dove. This picture is signed: "*Opus Benotii De Florentia MCCCCLXVI*"; the general effect is quite harmonious. According to Caval-caselle it originates from the church of S. Francesco which would explain the presence of St. Francis; other writers are of the opinion that it comes from the church of Marina d'Oro <sup>(1)</sup>.

In 1467 Benozzo restored the fresco that Lippo Memmi executed in 1317 in the large meeting-room of the town hall. It represents the Virgin under a baldaquin in the midst of saints, resembling in composition the *Maestà* Simone Martini painted in Siena <sup>(2)</sup>. Two doors had to be opened in the wall but Benozzo did not limit his work to a mere restoration of the existing fresco because he added to the extreme right the figures of SS. Francis and Louis King of France, while to the extreme left he seems to have entirely repainted the figure of St. Antony Abbot but on the old model. He signed this work: "*Benotius Florentinus pi tor restauravit Anno Domini MCCCCLXVII*" but already in April 1466 the authorities had decided that Benozzo was to be charged with the restoration of all the frescoes in this hall, which included some of the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century; he had to paint the coat of arms of the town in gold, and white-wash the rest of the hall. At the same time he painted an Annunciation at the top of the stairs in this hall and for the combined work received the sum of 90 lire <sup>(3)</sup>.

A very mediocre work is preserved in the court-yard of the ex-monastery of Monte Oliveto, near San Gimignano; it represents the Crucifixion in the midst of four angels with the pelican above and the Virgin, St. John and the kneeling figure of St. Jerome at the foot of the Cross; two prophets adorn the spandrels (fig. 120). Benozzo gave himself no pains over this work which he executed for a country monastery; he obvi-

<sup>(1)</sup> Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane, II. Rome, 1896, p. 197. *G. Cristofani*, op. cit., p. 297.

<sup>(2)</sup> v. Vol. II, p. 163.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Pecori*, op. cit., p. 650.



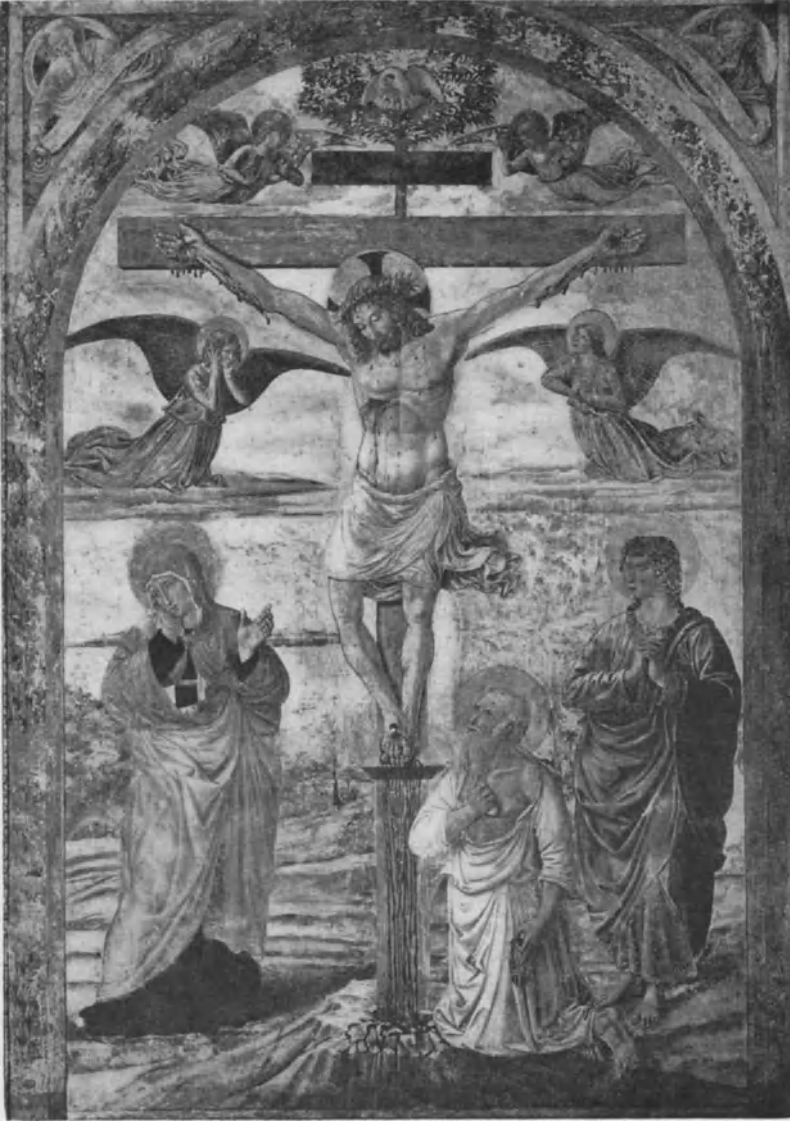


Fig. 120. Benozzo Gozzoli, Crucifixion. Monte Oliveto, San Gimignano.

Photo Alinari.

ously dispatched it with the utmost haste; it is vulgar in appearance and the colouring is ordinary. Vasari mentions this fresco as well as other paintings by Benozzo now lost in the

same monastery. No precise date can be affixed to this fresco <sup>(1)</sup>, nor to another picture of the same subject, Christ on the Cross accompanied by St. Jerome, St. Francis and a donor, which was detached from a hall in the Palazzo Comunale and is now in the town gallery (No. 2). This painting is just as mediocre in technique as the previous fresco for which reason it has often been taken for a school work, but I agree with Mr. Berenson that it is more likely a poor production from the master's own hand.

In the British Museum there is a drawing (XXXVIII, 1885, 519, 38) which is attributed by many writers to Benozzo and I think indeed it really is by him; it is hastily executed but is full of life and movement (fig. 121) <sup>(2)</sup>. The subject, a young girl in bed surrounded by people, raising herself and looking at the Virgin in the midst of angels, who appears to her, is, I think, an episode from the life of St. Fina, the child saint of San Gimignano, to whom Ghirlandaio has dedicated two frescoes in a chapel of the Collegiata. It might be surmised from this drawing that Benozzo, during his sojourn in San Gimignano, made a more or less extensive cycle of illustrations from the legend of St. Fina unless this sketch served as model for the execution of a predella panel. Mr. Berenson remarks <sup>(3)</sup> that another drawing by Benozzo, now preserved in the Print Room of Dresden, shows a young saint received into a religious order <sup>(4)</sup>. The two leaves belong to the same series.

A little drawing in the collection of the late Mr. Loeser, Florence, closely resembles in technique the previous sketches; it illustrates an incident from the life of St. Augustine which is not represented in the series of frescoes in the church dedicated to this saint; in a landscape the saint in the throes of a violent

<sup>(1)</sup> I do not know where Mr. Berenson found the date of 1466 for this fresco.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Berenson*, Drawings of the Florentine Painters, No. 540.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Berenson*, Drawings of the Florentine Painters, I, p. 10, thinks that this drawing is a production of the artist's Umbrian period and illustrates an event from the life of either St. Clare of Assisi or St. Clare of Montefalco.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Vasari Society*, III, pl. 3. *J. Meder*, Die Handzeichnung, Vienna, 1919, p. 612, fig. 296, mentions this drawing as a typical example of unsymmetrical construction.

toothache is depicted seated on the ground under a figtree, a man talks to him, two women pray while a third is but only faintly outlined (fig. 122) (1). What makes the attribution



Fig. 121. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Story of St. Fina?, drawing. British Museum.

Photo Anderson.

to Benozzo in this case quite certain is the inscription of two lines below which explains the scene and which without any doubt is written by the same hand as the letter to Pietro de' Medici. Could Benozzo's primary intention have been to prolong

(1) *Vasary Society*, reprod. III, No. 5.

further the cycle from the life of St. Augustine or to add other scenes to it? And is this perhaps the sketch for one of them?

In the Ponte dell' Agliena chapel at Certaldo there is a tabernacle decorated with frescoes which are quite characteristic of Benozzo's style. Outside we see the Crucifixion and the martyrdom of St. Sebastian; in the embrasures of the wall the figures of SS. Anthony Abbot, James Major and John the Baptist; and on the arch the Annunciation while the principal scene, the Descent from the Cross, adorns the inside of the tabernacle. In his letter of 1467 to Piero de' Medici, Benozzo says that he has sent Giovanni di Mugiello and another helper to execute some work at Certaldo<sup>(1)</sup>. The second assistant might have been Giusto di Andrea, at least this artist records in his annotations that the decoration in the Ponte dell' Agliena chapel is the last work in which he collaborates with Benozzo Gozzoli. It might be also that the two helpers went to Certaldo to undertake first some other mural painting. We know from Giusto di Andrea's own records that he was in San Gimignano in 1465 and that he worked with Benozzo at these frescoes so that there can be no doubt regarding the date of execution. The paintings in question are of a very mediocre quality.

In 1467 we find Benozzo Gozzoli in Pisa working at the frescoes in the Campo Santo. Already in July 1467 the carpenter is paid for having brought the scaffolding; in August the painting has already been taken in hand and a certain Sandro, Benozzo's helper, is remunerated at Christmas for having kept the paintings in the Campo Santo in such a manner that they did not get spoiled<sup>(2)</sup>. Nevertheless, it was not until January 1469 (1470) that the actual contract was signed, according to which the artist undertook to execute at least three frescoes a year and for each fresco he was to receive 66<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> large florins; the scenes of the grape gathering and the drunkenness of Noah were already finished and the payment for them settled. We find very regular records of the work and remuneration for it up till

<sup>(1)</sup> *Milanesi*, note on *Vasari*, III, p. 54

<sup>(2)</sup> *Supino*, Campo Santo, p. 195 note 1.

1472. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1470, Benozzo had finished the scenes of the malediction of Cham, the Tower of Babel, the Adoration of the Magi, and Ninus forcing the people to adore the statue of his father Belus. By the 29<sup>th</sup> October 1472 he had painted the frescoes of Abraham, Sarah, Lot in Egypt, Abraham's victory over the Assyrians and the message to Sarah.



Fig. 122. Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Augustine suffering from toothache, drawing. Loeser Collection, Florence.

Photo Vasari Society.

Then the work continues more slowly and it is not until 1474 that he is accredited with the Burning of Sodom, the Sacrifice of Abraham and the wedding of Isaac and Rebecca while in 1475 he has illustrated the story of Esau and Jacob, the marriage of Jacob, the rape of Dinah and the choir of Apostles and saints. In October 1477, having finished the three episodes from the story of Joseph, the painter has completed eighteen frescoes for which the total remuneration, according to the contract, amounted to 1200 ducats; he was paid separately for each fresco as soon as it was finished.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> April 1479 Benozzo had dispatched the first scene

of the cycle of the story of Moses carrying off the crown from Pharaoh; during the same year he painted Pharaoh and his army drowning in the Red Sea and Moses receiving the tables of the law (March 1479 (1480)). A year later he had finished the scene of the golden calf and it has been calculated that he was paid 8066 lire for the twenty-two scenes. During the same year he achieved the Chastisement of Core, Datan and Abvion. In July 1482 he has to his credit the fresco illustrating the story of the flowering rod of Aaron and the bronze serpent.

On May 1<sup>st</sup> 1485 he is paid for three frescoes as if they were four on account of their unusual size; the scenes in question are Moses' attempt to cross the Jordan and his death, Joshue crossing the Jordan and David slaying Goliath. Then he depicted as well the Queen of Sheba on her way to visit Solomon (1).

For the greater part these frescoes still exist (2) but they are in a deplorable condition (3) and it would be useless to give a detailed description of them. To form some idea of the original appearance of these paintings which have now practically disappeared we must have recourse to the engravings which Lazinio made of all the paintings in the Campo Santo towards 1812 when these frescoes apparently were in a much better state of preservation (4).

The first frescoes are the least ruined. The very first is the well known scene of Noah's drunkenness (figs. 123, 124). The artist does not show us only the grievous consequences of the patriarch's inexperience regarding the effect of wine, but also the making of the wine which is depicted in such a natural manner and with so much knowledge of the subject that the spectator cannot but be surprised at Noah's ignorance when the people around him had perfected to such an extent the method of making wine. The grape-picking takes place in the vineyard; two men gather beautiful bunches

(1) The documents are given by *S. Ciampi*, *Notizie inedite della sagrestia pistoiese etc.*, Florence, 1810, p. 110. *The Same*, *Notizie della sacrestia dei begli arredi del Campo Santo di Pisa*, Florence, 1810, p. 153. *Tanfani Centofanti*, *Notizie etc.* *Hoogewerff*, *op. cit.*

(2) *Supino*, *Campo Santo. Letalle*, *op. cit.*

(3) *D'Acchiardi*, *op. cit.*, *L'Arte*, 1903, p. 121.

(4) Some of these engravings are reproduced in *Supino*, *op. cit.*

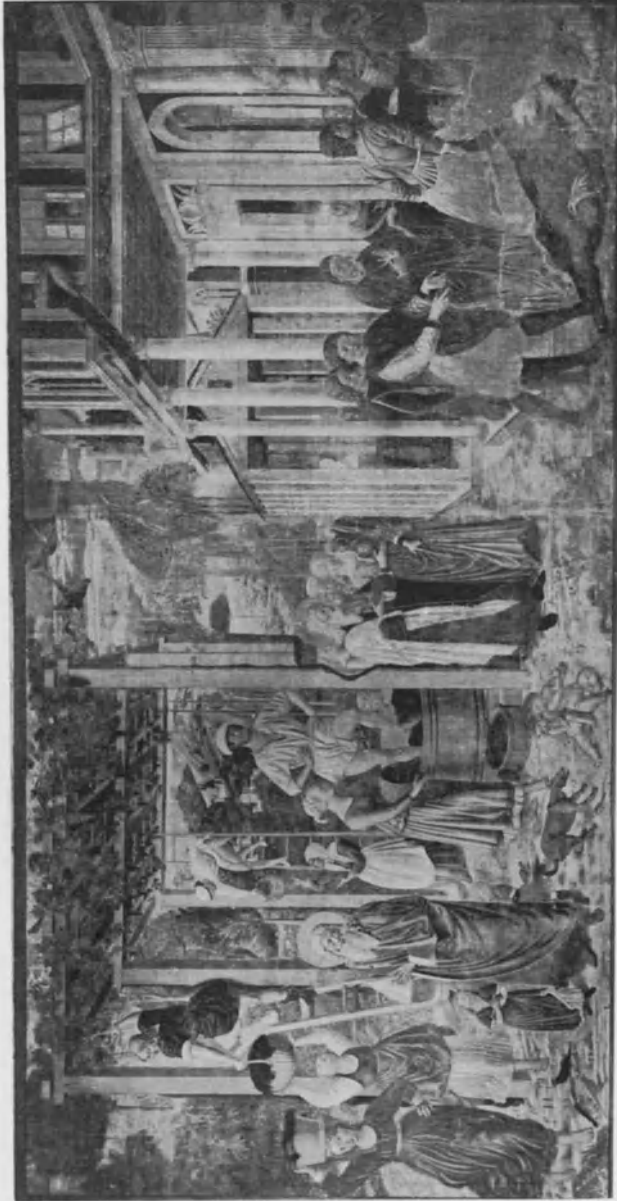


Fig. 123. Benozzo Gozzoli, Noah's drunkenness. Campo Santo, Pisa.

Photo. Alinari.



Fig. 124. Detail of fig. 123.

Photo Alinari.

which four women carry to a receptacle where a man is busy trampling the fruit; all the people around seem to have a complete knowledge of the work in process. Noah and his two grand-sons are represented in the foreground; one of the children is frightened by a dog who barks at two little





Fig. 125. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Malediction of Cham. Campo Santo, Pisa,

Photo Alinari.

boys sitting on the ground. This scene of small infants frightened by a dog appears on several occasions in Benozzo's paintings.

Towards the centre Noah is depicted drinking; a young woman holds the vessel of wine which the old man seems to find to his taste.

Then we see him lying naked on the ground under the effect of the liquor. Cham jeers at him, and the whole family look on with the exception of Sem who, turning himself away, covers the drunken man with a cloak. In the corner a woman covers her face with her hand but peeps through her fingers at the repulsive sight, a humorous detail which gives us a fairly clear insight into Benozzo's character. We see here an edifice of quite an elaborate but very improbable form. Some young girls look from the window; a peacock is perched on the building and various other birds animate this fresco.

Nothing could be less gloomy than the malediction of Cham which takes place under a Renaissance portico over the roof of which other buildings are visible (fig. 125). Before the rather damaged figure of Noah stand his wife and his son Cham, hardly dismayed at all. In a beautiful landscape some women are busily occupied with their children, some young people, one youth with a falcon on his hand, talk together, some children are at play and dogs walk about. A proud peacock and other birds lend further beauty to this charming composition which is essentially profane and in the right corner of which the aged Noah caresses his two grand-sons.

In the fresco of the construction of the Tower of Babel the artist shows us the greatest possible diversity of architecture of which the human mind could think (figs. 126, 127). The city of Babel — the name is inscribed on one of the gates — is composed of an agglomeration of buildings of all the different styles — domes, oriental towers and Italian Renaissance edifices are represented one alongside the other. The tower itself is not yet very high; it looks more like a gateway. A considerable number of workmen are busy on the construction but a still greater number of people look on. Apart from a few biblical personages, they appear to be mostly the

notables of Pisa of the day of Benozzo Gozzoli; there are no doubt many portraits among them.

In the Adoration of the Magi the three Kings are depicted before the Child Christ Who is seated on the knee of His Mother around whom there is a host of angels; the youngest of the three Wise Men is standing and a page removes his spurs as in one of the frescoes from the story of St. Augustine at San Gimignano (fig. 128). Here too we see the little dog as well as two horses, one shown from the front, the other from the back, which recall the fresco of Pisanello. All the left half of the painting is occu-



Fig. 126. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Construction of the Tower of Babel, Campo Santo, Pisa. Photo Alinari.

piated by a cavalcade, after the manner of that in the chapel of the Riccardi Palace. Below this fresco is depicted the Annunci-

ation which frames the upper part of the door of the chapel of S. Gregorio; the site of the event is the Virgin's bed-room; both figures kneel but it would have been difficult to represent them otherwise because the ceiling is so low. At a lower level an angel holding a flower is shown to either side.



Fig. 127. Detail of fig. 126.

Photo Alinari.

In the fresco of Ninus, King of Babylon, forcing the people to adore the statue of his father Belus, the action is again sacrificed to a study of architecture, chiefly of the Italian Renaissance style, in which the episodes of Abraham's test by fire and the massacre, probably of those who have refused to adore the statue, in the background to the left, are quite a secondary consideration. The journey of Abraham, Sarah and Lot to Canaan has provided the painter with another opportunity of portraying a little cavalcade with a marvellous view of a landscape spreading into the distance and to the

right some shepherds guarding their flocks (figs. 129, 130).

Between the two crowded and rather violent scenes of Abraham's victory over the Assyrians and the destruction of Sodom there is one full of peace and almost without any movement, it is the departure of Agar when he is ordered by an angel



Fig. 128. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Adoration of the Magi, Campo Santo, Pisa.

Photo Alinari.

to return in his own footsteps. This fresco is very much damaged; that of the destruction of Sodom a little less so; the four figures fleeing from the town in the right corner of the latter fresco are very fine; one of them is the wife of Lot looking behind her and is shown stiffening into a pillar of salt according to the scriptures.

The story of Abraham's sacrifice is illustrated in several episodes (fig. 131) in a very ruined fresco in which the back-

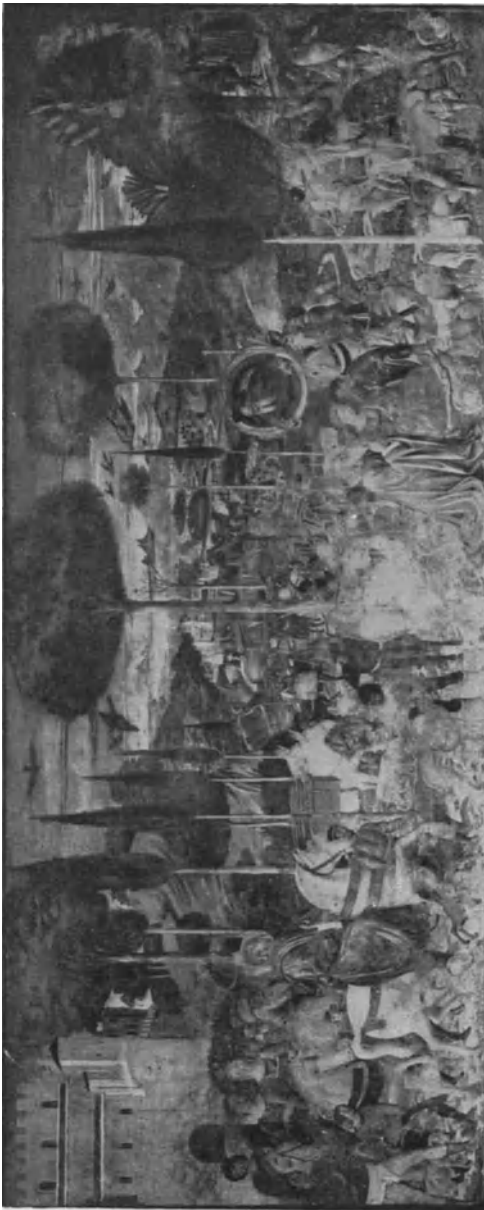


Fig. 129. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Journey of Abraham, Sarah and Lot into Canaan. Campo Santo, Pisa. Photo Alinari.

ground is formed by a fine landscape with excellent effects of perspective; the figures, however, are rather ordinary. The same can be said of the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca in which there is a little more architecture. In the birth of Jacob and Esau, the artist's chief thought has been for the architectural details; a large gateway in the centre, a loggia to the right and a portico to the left fill up almost the entire fresco; the birth of the two children who are seen having their first bath, takes place under the portico (fig. 132); the painter narrates this little scene with much spirit.

The marriage of Jacob and Rachel, on the other hand is entirely a study of a beautiful smiling landscape which must indeed have been charming in its original condition but time has dealt rudely

with this painting and only some vague traces are now visible. A fairly extensive landscape was depicted also in the background of the fresco of the meeting of Jacob and Esau and the rape of Dinah in which we see as well a large number



Fig. 130. Detail of fig. 129.

Photo Alinari.

of little figures, a detachment of soldiers and in the centre an important group of the notable Pisans of Benozzo's day. Then below a Coronation of the Virgin of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, we find a large group of Apostles and other saints but most of these figures have undergone a considerable amount of restoration; a door separated this painting from a similar composition on the other side, of which, however, nothing remains.

In the fresco illustrating the story of Joseph there is again an increase in the quantity of architecture and in that showing the

infant Moses throwing Pharaoh's crown on the ground and other incidents from this patriarch's childhood, architectural buildings fill up the entire background. The figures, however, are numerous and fairly large but they are not very attractive, being unrefined and lifeless.

Of the Crossing of the Red Sea only the pretty landscape



Fig. 131. Benozzo Gozzoli. detail of Abraham's Sacrifice. Campo Santo, Pisa.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

background is visible, the foreground with the figures has almost entirely disappeared.

In the scene of Moses on the mountain, receiving the tables of the law, a certain number of figures can still be distinguished; this is also the case in the fresco of the blossoming rod of Aaron and the miraculous healing by the serpent of bronze; here there are as well some stiff trees placed at an equal distance one from the other. Of the fall of Jericho only some fragments are visible in the left corner; we see soldiers moving about, men carrying the Ark with the sound of trumpets towards the town and the





Fig. 132. Benozzo Gozzoli, detail of the birth of Jacob and Esau.  
Campo Santo, Pisa.

Photo Alinari.

chiefs of the tribes taking large stones from the Jordan. To the right of the same fresco David's victory over Goliath was represented. The frightened warriors retreating from the fray are excellently portrayed. Also in a wretched state is the fresco of the journey of the Queen of Sheba and her meeting with Solomon (1); in the representation of the latter episode we find again much elaborate architecture as well as a group of persons in contemporary costumes among whom a Visconti, Duke of Milan, is supposed to be depicted but there is no reason to believe this hypothesis although these are certainly some portraits here.

Benozzo worked for eighteen years at these frescoes and during that time the chief authorities changed and it is no doubt for this reason that he represents them on several different occasions.

That Benozzo was assisted in this enormous enterprise can be taken for granted; we know from a document, moreover, that his brother, Bernardo was one of his helpers.

Cavalcaselle recognized the hand of Machiavelli in some of these paintings, especially in those representing Abraham and Lot in Egypt (2) but I hardly think this is so.

The frescoes, besides, are of decidedly unequal value; not only are the figures sometimes very roughly painted, but also the architectural features and more in particular the landscapes are of greatly different quality. Although the architectural part is doubtless all executed after Benozzo's own drawings, I think that the examples in the scenes of the adoration of Belus, and the youth of Moses, which are the more important, are, none the less executed in a dry, hard and uninteresting manner com-

(1) In the museum of Pisa there are some water-coloured drawings of these frescoes which *Milanesi*, note 4 on *Vasari*, III, p. 49, imagined might perhaps be contemporary with the paintings, saying that others who had seen them declared them to be Benozzo's original sketches but, as Prof. Supino observes, these drawings are not any earlier than the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

(2) *Supino*, Arch. stor. dell' Arte, 1894, p. 233, raises a chronological difficulty against this collaboration because according to the opera register, Machiavelli does not appear in Pisa until 1475. Yet there is a picture executed by him in 1470 in Pisa; the frescoes in question were finished in 1472.

pared with the architectural constructions, so very much superior, in the malediction of Cham and in the construction of the tower of Babel, while the fine landscapes, with that extraordinarily beautiful effect of distance, in the frescoes of Abraham and Lot, Abraham's sacrifice, the Marriage of Jacob and Rachel and the Crossing of the Red Sea, are infinitely superior to those in the scenes of the bronze serpent and Moses receiving the tables of the law. Many of these frescoes are framed in rich borders, often adorned with medallions containing heads. This part of the decoration was in all likelihood left to Benozzo's assistants.

Benozzo Gozzoli consequently passed a large part of his life in Pisa, working at this cycle of frescoes; apart from the mural paintings at Castelfiorentino which date from 1484 and which he must have executed at once after those in the Campo Santo and even before he had received the entire payment for this work, we have only three other dated productions of this period, one of 1470, the others of 1471 and 1473.

The first of them which originates from the church of S. Lazzaro just outside the town, is now preserved in the chapter-house of the cathedral. It represents the Virgin with the Child in an affectionate attitude standing on her knee, in the midst of SS. Lazarus, Lawrence, Antony Abbot and Bernardine; two little adorers kneel at the feet of the Virgin while on the predella we see against a landscape the dead Christ half risen from His tomb between the Virgin, St. John, St. Stephen and St. Peter. The names of the donors and the date 1470 are given in an inscription under the feet of the Virgin. Cavalcaselle and Professor Supino were of opinion that this was only a schoolwork<sup>(1)</sup>, but since the picture has been cleaned, it has become obvious that it is a production of Benozzo's own hand<sup>(2)</sup>. It is curious to notice that, in spite of a maturity of form, there is in the types a decided return to Fra Angelico's examples. Mr. Berenson mentions a picture of four saints of

(1) *Supino*, Arch. Stor. dell Arte, 1894, p. 247. According to *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. *Langton Douglas and De Nicola*, IV, p. 362, it is by Giusto di Andrea.

(2) *D'Acchiardi*, op. cit., L'Arte, 1903, p. 122.

1471 in the d'Adelsward collection, Paris, but I do not know this work.

This revival of an earlier manner is more or less evident also in the painting of 1473 which is found in the museum of Cologne (No. 520) <sup>(1)</sup>. The Madonna forming the central figure reminds us strongly of that of 1456 at Perugia; the low wall with the trees appearing above recalls the compositions of Fra Angelico. The arrangement of the figures, on the other hand, corresponds with that of the picture of 1461 in the National Gallery, London; SS. Gregory and John the Baptist, SS. Peter and Dominic stand to the sides while SS. Jerome and Francis kneel in the foreground. The figures are of a breadth of stature such as we find only in the works of Benozzo's second manner but the technique is very refined although a little hard. The inscription gives the date 1473 which is qualified as being in the time of the "Magnificent Giovanni Salviati" who was perhaps that year Captain of People of Pisa.

From the early years of Benozzo's sojourn in Pisa dates, I think, a picture, framed in a tabernacle, now in the gallery of the town but originating apparently from the convent of SS. Domenico e Marta. It represents against a background of flowered brocade, St. Anna, the Virgin and the Child with a nun and two young girls in adoration below; in the gable of the frame we see God the Father sending forth the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove (fig. 133). To about the same period I think we should ascribe the figure of St. Thomas Aquinas which Vasari saw behind the episcopal throne in the cathedral; later it was attached to one of the pillars of the cupola <sup>(2)</sup> but now it is in the Louvre (1319, fig. 134). The composition was obviously inspired by Francesco Traini's panel of the same subject, then more than a century old <sup>(3)</sup>. All the same elements are reproduced, only Benozzo's picture is vertically longer in form. St. Thomas is depicted sitting in the centre, holding an open book on his knee; Averroës is seen crushed under the

<sup>(1)</sup> *H. Thode*, *Archiv. Stor. dell'Arte*, II, 1899, p. 53.

<sup>(2)</sup> *A. Da Morrona*, *Pisa illustrata nella arte del disegno*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., I, Livorno, 1812, p. 304.

<sup>(3)</sup> v. Vol. V, p. 203.



Fig. 133. Benozzo Gozzoli, St Anna, the Virgin and Child. Museum, Pisa.  
Photo Alinari.

feet of the holy doctor alongside whom are shown Aristotle and Plato. Christ in the midst of cherubim adorns a mandorla above, while lower down are the four Evangelists, St. Peter

and Moses. At the foot of the panel there is a gathering of clerics presided by a pope who, according to Vasari, is Sixtus IV; other writers imagine that this scene represents the assembly of Anagni of 1256 presided over by Alexander IV or again Guillaume de Saint-Amour attacking the mendicant orders which were defended by St. Thomas<sup>(1)</sup>. Rosini was of opinion that it illustrated the canonization of St. Thomas by Pope John XXII<sup>(2)</sup>. The faces of some of the figures to the right lead us to believe that here again we have other instances of portraiture.

The other works executed by Benozzo in Pisa must date sooner from the later years of his sojourn in this town, that is to say from his approaching old age. Not one of them is very pleasing and this makes us think that gradually he left more and more to his assistants.

Some paintings which can be dated with precision are the frescoes he executed at Legoli in the vicinity of Pisa, in a little oratory which now belongs to Countess Cantanti (1914)<sup>(3)</sup>. This decoration must date from 1479 because we have documentary evidence that during this year Benozzo went to Legoli to escape the plague which was ravaging Pisa. Here Benozzo adorned a four-sided tabernacle; the principal painting is that of the Madonna between four saints against the background of a piece of brocade held by four angels; the arch is decorated with the four Evangelists and four Fathers of the Church. On the sides of the tabernacle we see Christ on the Cross and the martyrdom of St. Sebastian while on the back wall is a large Crucifixion with the Virgin, SS. John, Francis, Dominic, Thomas and Michael.

We have still another Crucifixion dating from the last years

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(1) This is the opinion of *Villot* in his catalogue; it is repeated by *Seymour de Ricci*, *Description raisonnée des peintures du Louvre*, Paris, 1913, p. 69; in this case the figure under the feet of St. Thomas must be Guillaume de Saint-Amour but the fact that the corresponding figure in Traini's picture bears the name of Averroës makes it certain that it was the latter that Benozzo wished to represent.

(2) *Rosini*, *Storia della pittura italiana*, VII, p. 256, pl. XX, erroneously gives the name of the pope as John XX.

(3) *Bacci*, *op. cit.*

of the artist's stay in Pisa; it is found in the Poor House in a room which was once the refectory of the monastery of SS. Domenico e Marta (fig. 135). Against a very sketchy landscape. Christ is represented on the Cross between two suns and eight angels flying in mid-air; at the foot of the Cross are the Virgin St. John, St. Mary Magdalene kneeling, four Dominican saints, St. Martha, St. Catherine and several nuns all kneeling. In the same room we find a figure of St. Dominic and two angels and this is all that is left of a cycle of illustrations from the life of



Fig. 134. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.

this saint, which is mentioned by Vasari. A work of Benozzo's later years is a Madonna enthroned between SS. Benedict, Scolastica, Ursula and John of Gualdis, which originates from S. Benedetto a Ripa d' Arno but is now in the gallery of Pisa; it is a painting without charm and of poor technique. The execution might have been left for the greater part to pupils.

A more pleasing picture of the same period is a little panel which is for sale in Berlin; it shows against a landscape background, St. Jerome beating himself with a stone and a beatified figure with his arms crossed <sup>(1)</sup>.

It was no doubt towards the end of his sojourn in Pisa that Benozzo went to Lucca and executed in the chapel to the right of the choir in the church of S. Francesco <sup>(2)</sup> the frescoes, important fragments of which are still visible. The scenes represented are the Nativity on the left wall, the Annunciation on the end wall and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and her Marriage to the right, but the figures and the events are of very slight importance compared to the display of Renaissance architecture which is monumental but overcharged and of doubtful taste. This abundance of architecture recalls some of the frescoes in the Campo Santo of Pisa, the chief aim of which seems so often to be this feature. The arrangement and the archway in the centre correspond more particularly with the scene of the birth of Jacob and Esau.

Lastly we have Benozzo's dated works near Castelfiorentino in the little chapel of the "Madonna della Tosse" <sup>(3)</sup> the construction of which, according to an inscription sculptured on the façade, was terminated on the 18<sup>th</sup> December 1484. The fresco over the altar shows the Virgin nursing the Child between SS. Peter, Catherine, Helen (or Margaret) and Paul with two angels to the sides and two others above, holding a curtain which forms the background; in the predella we see against a landscape the dead Christ between the Virgin, St. John and two other saints. A head of the Redeemer, closely resembling that

<sup>(1)</sup> Burlington Magazine, Advertisement supplement, Dec. 1927. Apollo, 1927, p. 279.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ericksen*, op. cit.

<sup>(3)</sup> *R. Cust*, op. cit. *Tosi*, L'Oratorio, op. cit.





Fig. 135. Benozzo Gozzoli, Crucifixion. Poor House, Pisa. Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

in the treasure of S. Francesco, Assisi, but without the crown of thorns, forms as it were, a separate little picture, supported by the other. To the right is represented the Death of the Virgin in which, apart from the figure of Christ with the personification of the Virgin's soul in His arms and the Apostles and angels around the deathbed, we see three kneeling adorers and above, God the Father in a host of angels and cherubim sending forth the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove. The Assumption shows against a pleasing landscape extending into the distance, the Apostles around the empty sepulchre in which roses bloom and above the Virgin, enthroned among angels, giving her girdle to St. Thomas (fig. 136). These paintings have all the characteristics of Benozzo's late manner; the technique is somewhat hard; if he had any help in the execution of these frescoes, which I do not think is the case, the assistant closely followed the instructions and style of the master.

Not so far from the town of Castelfiorentino, near the bridge over the Elsa, there is the chapel of the Visitation (<sup>1</sup>) where Benozzo executed some frescoes; it has been supposed that this decoration is of a much earlier date than the others — 1450-1455 — but I find that in style they resemble the paintings of the Madonna della Tosse and consequently must be almost contemporary. Nor do I agree with the opinion that these paintings are superior to the others; on the contrary here we see a heaviness in certain of the forms, of which Benozzo himself was never guilty. This decoration is in poor condition, in fact parts of it have entirely disappeared. Over the original site of the altar there is a pseudo-polyptych showing the Madonna between the standing figures of SS. Peter, Stephen, Paul and Lawrence with SS. Francis and Clare kneeling below.

Very little of this painting has been preserved, but above there is a fresco in a much better state of Joachim chased from the Temple, a scene full of movement, showing a marked architectural perspective in the background.

The vault is adorned with a figure of Christ in a mandorla of cherubs, the four Fathers of the Church and the four

(<sup>1</sup>) *L. Cust*, op. cit. *Tosi*, *L'Edicola* etc., op. cit.



Fig. 136. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Assumption, after 1484.  
Madonna della Tosse, Castelfiorentino.

Photo Alinari.

Evangelists. Lower down there are some fragments of what might have been the Presentation in the Temple; in the arch there are some remains of an Annunciation while to the right we see Joachim with the shepherds. The Meeting of Joachim and Anna with a pleasing landscape and a view on a town, is well preserved (fig. 137); the Nativity has almost entirely disappeared, the choir of angels alone remaining visible, and nothing is left of the two rows of saints once depicted here.

On the opposite wall we see the Nativity of the Virgin with many women around St. Anna's bed and the new-born infant in swaddling clothes. This fresco is obviously from the hand of a helper who had only a very vague idea of Benozzo's art; Joachim chased from the Temple and the Meeting at the



Fig. 137. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Meeting of Joachim and Anna.  
Chapel of the Visitation, Castelfiorentino.

Photo Alinari.

Golden Gate, however, are much nearer the master's style and in part at least certainly from his own hand.

There exists one other work which seems to date from the last year of Benozzo's life. It represents the Descent from the Cross; against a background of rocks and landscape, the three crosses are shown in a crowded composition. This work which is painted in oil-colours on canvas is preserved in the Horne Museum, Florence (N<sup>o</sup>. 84, fig. 138). The catalogue tells us very precisely that this picture, which was unfinished at the death of Benozzo, was sold by his inheritors to the episcopate of Pistoia where, as we have seen, the painter died. Considering the time and energy the late Mr. Horne devoted to



Fig. 138. Benozzo Gozzoli, the Descent from the Cross. Horne Museum, Florence.

Photo Soprintendenza Belle Arti.

research in the archives, we can have every confidence in his statement although I do not know from what source he took this piece of information. In appearance this canvas resembles very much those works which we have classified as productions of an advanced stage in Benozzo's career.

I should say that another work of this period is a little canvas of SS. Mary Magdalene and Dorothy in the gallery of Beziers (N<sup>o</sup>. 268), but the figures are so very much repainted that it is difficult to pronounce a judgment on this picture.

Of Benozzo's activity at Volterra of which Vasari speaks, there remains only one fragment in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament or "Nome del Gesu"; it represents the voyage of the Magi and forms the background to a Nativity by della Robbia; we find in it a faint reminiscence of the cavalcade in the chapel of the Riccardi Palace but it resembles more closely that of the Nativity in the Campo Santo (<sup>1</sup>). Apart from the drawings to which I have already referred there are still a few which I should like to mention.

Regarding the very delicate question of the attribution of certain drawings which might be either by Fra Angelico or by Benozzo, I do not always agree with Mr. Berenson. This critic is of opinion that the drawing at Chantilly, showing the Christ of the Last Judgment, a figure which corresponds with that in Orvieto, is not by Fra Angelico but by Benozzo and was executed during the artist's Orvietan period after

(<sup>1</sup>) Some other paintings that can be attributed to Benozzo are: a half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child in an affectionate attitude at the Sedelmeyer sale. **Paris**, 1907, No. 90, later acquired by Böhler, the art. dealer. **Munich. Vienna**, Lowy Collection, Presentation in the Temple, Oesterr. Kunstschatze, I, pl. XI (a late production). **Philadelphia**, Widener coll., Resurrection, a late work, once for sale in London. **Munich**, for sale, recently, afterwards in **Amsterdam**. Madonna, seated with the Child, two angels to the sides and two angels holding a crown over her head, slightly restored. In his list of Benozzo's paintings Mr. Berenson mentions still the following works which I do not know: **London**, C. N. Robinson coll., Madonna and angels. **Meiningen**, Grand Ducal Palace, St. Ursula. **Paris**, Baroness d'Adelsward's coll., four saints, 1471 (already mentioned). **Philadelphia**, P. Widener, coll., the Raising of Lazarus. *Wingenroth*, op. cit. mentions a Madonna with angels and saints, once in the collection Gzell, Vienna.

sketches by Fra Angelico <sup>(1)</sup>. I am convinced, as I have already had occasion to remark, that these drawings are by Angelico himself, moreover the documents inform us very precisely that sketches by Angelico for this vault existed <sup>(2)</sup>. About the drawing with St. Michael and a putto in the Print Room of Dresden, the same difference of opinion exists between Mr. Berenson and myself <sup>(3)</sup>.

In connexion with this diversity of ideas I should like to mention still that several writers ascribe to Benozzo the drawing of a man's head in Windsor Castle, which I uphold to be by Angelico, even although I admit that the sketch on the verso of the same page is from the hand of Benozzo <sup>(4)</sup>, as well as the drawing of the Madonna and Child in an oval in the Uffizi which seems to me executed more probably after a painting by Angelico <sup>(5)</sup>.

Drawings by Benozzo must formerly have been very numerous. Vasari pretends that he had in his possession those which served for the cycle of scenes from the life of St. Augustine at San Gimignano and for the frescoes in the Campo Santo, Pisa, but all these have disappeared; there exists however a considerable number of other drawings <sup>(6)</sup>.

First of all I shall cite the drawings which Mr. Berenson attributes to Benozzo, that is to say in so far they have not already been mentioned <sup>(7)</sup>: No. 534, Uffizi, kneeling figure of Gabriel, resembling the angel of the Annunciation on the predella of the altar-piece of 1450 in the Vatican; on the verso, a nude man walking; No. 535, Uffizi, Christ on the Cross and a young Evangelist; No. 536, head of a young girl (fig. 139);

<sup>(1)</sup> *Berenson*, Drawings of the Florentine Painters, I, p. 7, No. 530: "copies by Benozzo after jottings by Angelico".

<sup>(2)</sup> Vol. X, p. 135 and additions.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Berenson*, loc. cit., No. 531. v. Vol. X, p. 137.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Papini*, op. cit., *L'Arte*, 1910, p. 290. v. Vol. X, p. 127.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Pacchioni*, op. cit., *L'Arte*, 1910, p. 442. v. Vol. X, p. 140.

<sup>(6)</sup> v. The Drawings of the Royal Gallery of the Uffizi, 5th series, 4th portefolio, pl. 6. *H. S. Ede*, Florentine Drawings of the Quattrocento, London, 1926, p. 16, who claims for Benozzo a head of a boy in the Uffizi which *Berenson*, op. cit., No. 1871, gives to Pierfrancesco Fiorentino.

<sup>(7)</sup> v. also *Wingenroth*, op. cit., p. 196.

I do not believe in the attribution to Benozzo of No. 538, landscape and architecture of which Mr. Berenson, himself, is not very sure (1). Mr. Berenson thinks that No. 541, St. Francis



Fig. 139. Benozzo Gozzoli, young girl, drawing. Uffizi,  
Florence. Photo Cipriani.

holding a cross, in the British Museum, is by Benozzo or perhaps by Alunno; the decorative motifs — two supports

(1) *Papini*, *L'Arte*, 1910, p. 288, believes it to be by a late imitator.





Fig. 140. Benozzo Gozzoli. two young men, drawing. British Museum.

and a wreath — on the verso of this page are executed after Benozzo's manner.

I am more inclined to hold Benozzo responsible for No. 542, a leaf showing two young men, one bear-headed, the other wearing a turban, from the Malcolm collection now in the British Museum (fig. 140) and certainly by this master is No. 544, in the



Fig. 141. Benozzo Gozzoli, Madonna, saints and other subjects, drawing.  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photo Braun.

South Kensington Museum, from the Dyce collection (No. 173), the Madonna and Child with two angels, a saint standing, a young man painting, seen from behind (1) and an angel, the

(1) There is a copy of this figure in the Uffizi, *Berenson*, op. cit., No. 555.

last mentioned hardly visible (fig. 141); No. 545, Print Room, Rome (Corsini Gallery, No. 128283) a cardinal holding by the hand a kneeling bishop (fig. 142) — Mr. Berenson thinks it might perhaps have served for one of the frescoes of St. Jerome



Fig 142. Benozzo Gozzoli, cardinal and bishop, drawing. Print Room, Rome.  
Photo Calderisi.

at Montefalco — and on the verso the head of a bishop (fig. 143); No. 545a, National Museum, Stockholm, head of a cherub and on the verso a nude male figure and a lion; it is very near the manner of Angelico to whom it has often been attributed (<sup>1</sup>). Mr. Berenson ascribes to Benozzo's school

(<sup>1</sup>) Albertina Handzeichnungen, X. 1086, school of Gozzoli. C. F. Lindberg, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister*, Stockholm, 1889. O. Sirén, *Dessins et tableaux de la Renaissance italienne dans les collections de Suède*, Stockholm, 1902, pp. 18, 119, Angelico. *The Same*, Italienska Handteckningar i National museum, Stockholm (1917), p. 1, Benozzo.



Fig. 143. Benozzo Gozzoli, bishop's head, drawing. Print Room, Rome.

Photo Calderisi.



Fig. 144. Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Paul, drawing.  
Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

a drawing in the same museum, which I think sooner to be from the master's own hand, it is No. 559*a* a monk and a nun holding a book and on the verso a cherub <sup>(1)</sup>. In agreement with Mr. Berenson I ascribe to Benozzo, No. 546, Royal Library, Windsor, head of a young man. Mr. Berenson is of opinion that No. 548, St. Paul seated with sword and book, in the Uffizi, is a school production but again I am inclined to look upon it as a work by Benozzo himself although probably the lines have been traced over again (fig. 144). I have not come to a decision regarding the drawing of the Presentation in the Temple in the British Museum (Berenson, No. 543) and I am not yet certain that it really is a drawing; it might be a print; it might even be false. The heads of St. Anna and Joachim which are very different from the others, show some connexion with the fresco at Monte Oliveto, near San Gimignano. The leaf existed already in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and at that time was found in the Richardson collection.

Of Benozzo's drawings which Mr. Berenson does not mention we might cite a leaf showing two figures kneeling, two standing and faint traces of two hands. once in the E. G. Spencer Churchill collection, London <sup>(2)</sup> and sold with the Northwick collection (fig. 145) <sup>(3)</sup>; there is a certain resemblance between these figures and the angels in the frescoes of 1459 in the chapel of the Riccardi Palace. In the Spencer Churchill collection there was another leaf showing the Virgin standing under a Gothic tabernacle before which are two angels, one holding one of the pillars, the other in the same position without, however, touching the column; the head of another angel or perhaps a saint is visible <sup>(4)</sup>. In composition this drawing recalls the iconographical type of the Madonna of Loreto. Both sketches are of considerable beauty, the outlines are lightly indicated, those of the former contoured in white.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Siren*, Dessins et tableaux, pp. 18 and 119, Angelico. *The Same*, Italienska Handteckningar, p. 2, Benozzo, in connexion with the frescoes at Montefalco; also Albertina Handzeichnungen. VIII. 947.

<sup>(2)</sup> Vasari Society reproduction X, 1.

<sup>(3)</sup> London. 4th and 5th July 1921. v. Burlington Magazine, XXXVIII, 1921, p. 313.

<sup>(4)</sup> Vasari Society reproduction, X, 2.

In the Blenheim collection, there existed a sketch of a woman standing, seen almost from behind; it was finely executed and was no doubt from the master's own hand (!).

In the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, there are two little



Fig. 145. Benozzo Gozzoli, drawing, several figures. Ex-Spencer Churchill Collection. London.

Photo Vasari Society.

drawings, outlined in white, of nude youths holding rods and one of them wearing a hat adorned with three plumes (fig. 146); these works, which are practically unknown, have rightly been attributed to Benozzo, who, when he executed them, was still under the influence of Fra Angelico's art.

I sooner agree with Signor Papini in ascribing to Benozzo

(!) Vasari Society reproduction, VIII. 2.

and probably to his Pisan period, and not to his school as Mr. Berenson does, those drawings in the Uffizi which show the half-length figure of a nude child seated, the entire figure, a youth's head and a hand and on the verso a figure draped in a cloak bestowing a blessing <sup>(1)</sup>. Mr. Sirén gives to Benozzo still a standing figure of St. Francis, three figures of men, Christ giving the keys to St. Peter and several studies and on the verso a monk raising his hands against a serpent, all in the National Museum, Stockholm <sup>(2)</sup>.

Apart from the numerous and often very important works by Benozzo which have come down to us there are still many of which only the record exists; for the greater part it is Vasari who mentions them and of some of them there has already been question.

According to the Aretine biographer the church of Aracoeli in Rome was decorated with a series of frescoes from the life of St. Antony of Padua; then over a door in the "torre de' Conti" there was a Madonna and saints and many figures in a chapel to the right of the entrance in Sta. Maria Maggiore. In Florence he executed an altar-piece for the Compagnia di S. Marco <sup>(3)</sup> and the death of St. Jerome in the church of S. Frediano. The latter work is recorded by Antonio Billi and the Anonimo Magliabechiano, both of whom mention also Benozzo's paintings on the façades of S. Gilio — here was depicted the consecration of the church by the pope — and Sta. Maria Maggiore where the decoration was in terra verde <sup>(4)</sup>. A document of 1449 tells us of an Annunciation he made for the cathedral of Orvieto; and Vasari speaks of still other

<sup>(1)</sup> *Papini*, op. cit., L'Arte, 1910, p. 289. *Berenson*, op. cit., No. 558.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Sirén*, Italienska Handteckningar, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9. In his "Dessins et tableaux", p. 119, he ascribed them, with the exception of no. 7, to Fra Angelico.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Richa*, Chiesa fiorentine, V, p. 335, saw this panel in the refectory of the "Ospizio de' Pellegrini" and tells us quite correctly that Biscioni, in his note on the "Riposo" of Berghini, also mentions it with the information that formerly it adorned the high altar of the compagnia.

<sup>(4)</sup> *C. Fr. y.* Il libro di Antonio Billi, Berlin, 1892, p. 50. *The Same*, Il Codice Magliabechiano, Berlin, 1892, p. 103.



works at Pisa<sup>(1)</sup>, including a cycle from the history of St. Dominic in the monastery of S. Domenico, two panels in the church of Sta. Caterina, one in S. Nicola, two in Sta. Croce, a panel and many other things for the Compagnia de' Fiorentini and a cycle from the story of St. Benedict in the Benedictine monastery at Ripa d'Arno. A record of 1486 makes reference to a tabernacle that he executed for the della Spina church. Vasari tells us further that there were "altre pitture" at San Gimignano apart from the extant Crucifixion at Monte Oliveto, and at Volterra several works of which only one remains and that is

(1) *Supino*, op. cit., Arch. Stor. dell' arte, 1894, p. 238, expresses doubt about the accuracy of Vasari's attribution to Benozzo of the lost works in Pisa,



Fig. 146. Benozzo Gozzoli, drawing, nude youth  
Boymans Museum, Rotterdam.

of very little importance. I have already mentioned the Annunciation that Benozzo made at the top of the stairs in the Palazzo Pubblico at San Gimignano (<sup>1</sup>).

Although Benozzo was not a good painter of religious subjects, he deserves our praise as a decorator. He possessed all the faults and all the qualities except one, which were required for the creation of very beautiful decorative works.

(<sup>1</sup>) Not content with this already long list, some writers have ascribed to Benozzo works which are certainly not by him: **Brussels**, Somsé coll., No. 314 of the catalogue of the sale which took place in 1904, a cassone panel representing Caesar's battle at the Rubicon, *Schubring*, Cassone, No. 301, thinks that it is probably of an earlier date than Benozzo's activity. I do not know this painting but it is mentioned nowhere else as a work by Benozzo. **Colle Val d' Elsa**, Gallery, Madonna between the Archangel Gabriel, SS. John the Baptist, Christopher and Augustine. *Milanesi*, Commentary on *Vasari*, III, p. 61. **Florence**, Uffizi, drawing, three angelic musicians. photo Braun, 76254; S. Martino a Mensola, Annunciation, *Le Vite di Vasari*, ed. *P. Pecchiai*, I, 1928, p. 1031; I have already mentioned it (Vol. X, p. 159) as a production of the school of Angelico. **London**, ex-Ashburnham coll., the arrival of the Argonauts in Colchis and episodes from the story of Jason, exhibited at the New Gallery, 1893—1894, No. 117; Holford coll., Madonna and saints by Pesellino, v. Vol. X, p. 496; it is attributed to Benozzo by *J. P. Richter*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1884, p. 240 and *Ffoulkes*, *Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1894, p. 158. **Milan**, Ambrosiana, drawing, two putti and lower down another putto holding the coat-of-arms of a cardinal, a work of much later date. **Munich**, Ältere Pinakothek, Adoration of the Magi, *Milanesi*, note on *Vasari*, III, p. 47. **Paris**, Vente Hars, Dec. 1911, Nos. 95—96, four saints and two adorers on two panels, *Reinach*, *Repert.*, IV, p. 9. **Pisa**, Gallery, different attributions without any foundation have been made by *Pelloni*, *Catalogo delle opere di pittura dell' Accademia di Belle Arte in Pisa*, Pisa, 1857, v. *Supino*, op. cit., *Arch. stor. dell' Arte*, 1894; Madonna and Child between two angelic musicians is attributed to Benozzo by *Supino*, loc. cit.; Toscanelli coll., predella, St. James preventing the death of a man who has undergone the punishment of hanging. Album Toscanelli collection, pl. XV. **Rome**, Sta. Maria Maggiore, chapel to right of entrance, figures of the Evangelists in the vault, *G. Biascotti*, op. cit.; they are from the hand of Piero della Francesca, v. previous chapter, p. 73. **San Gimignano**, Gallery, altar-piece, Madonna and saints, found by *Milanesi* in the church of S. Michele a Casale, then transported to S. Agostino; attributed by him to Benozzo Gozzoli, commentary on *Vasari*, III, p. 61, ascribed to Giusto di Andrea. I mention this picture in Vol. X, p. 514, as possibly by Piero di Lorenzo Pratese.

His shortcomings are his superficiality, his want of sentiment, of tenderness and of expression and his lack of any dramatic sense, even of narration and it is really extraordinary that a painter, so profoundly mystic and religious as Angelico, in whose art spirituality created such subtle effects, had a pupil who was so absolutely devoid of these gifts.

Yet there can be no doubt that Angelico was Benozzo's master and probably his only one. It is quite possible that Benozzo worked with him even before joining the Ghiberti. Not only am I of opinion that the Ghiberti had practically no influence on his artistic development but considering that he was already twenty-four years old when he became their assistant, it is obvious that he must have had another master during, I should say, the ten previous years; moreover the Ghiberti engaged him as help and not as pupil and in the contract he signs with them he is already called painter.

I find no reason to believe, as Herr Wingenroth does, that Benozzo owes much to Uccello; I see sooner an influence of Pesellino, especially in his display of brilliant cavalcades which recall those with which the older master adorned the cassone panels in the Wantage collection; yet, although Pesellino belonged to a previous generation, it would be difficult in this case to prove that Pesellino's was the earlier work.

Benozzo reveals still a close adherence to that particular form of genre painting which was a characteristic of the late Gothic masters of towards 1400 or thereabouts; here and there he even becomes something of an anecdotist. In the most sacred subjects he introduces incidents of the chase, especially in the Journey of the Magi in the Medici chapel where we find hunting tigers, dogs, falcons and even a man mounting his horse, as in the fresco of St. George by Pisanello at Verona. There are many dogs represented in his frescoes and on several occasions they are shown barking at little boys who are obviously very much afraid. Benozzo must have liked little children; he depicts them very often, either well-behaved or squabbling and generally they have nothing to do with the subject of the painting. Where their presence is necessary, as for instance in the first scene of the cycle from the life of St. Augustine, the painter has devoted his entire

attention to the portrayal of the children. Another subject he had preference for was the elegant noble and not only the frescoes he executed for the Medici but also those from the life of St. Augustine, are full of elements of feudal life, such for example as the cavalcade and the arrival in Milan.

Benozzo is somewhat childish; he is gay but he is not vulgar; in the first fresco in the Campo Santo he has given much more importance to the grape-gathering than to Noah's drunkenness because the former is a subject full of light and life and the drunken old man a rather sordid figure. Only very lightly he touches on the scandal of Noah's nakedness; it does not even exist; moreover the woman peeping through her fingers rids this unfortunate incident in the patriarch's life of its distressing character and makes of it a unique and somewhat ridiculous moment. No truly, not only had Benozzo no sense of the tragic but he even lacked seriousness.

Technically speaking Benozzo was extremely capable; he succeeded in showing human structures, reliefs and plastic effects which can be classified with the best that Florence produced at that time; from this point of view he was certainly not behind his day. One fault which he had, however — and it is this fault which prevents our classifying him as a really first class decorator — was his unrefined sense of colouring; his tints are often hard and crude with oppositions which are violent and not harmoniously combined.

The manner in which he paints some of his landscapes is another feature which links him with the genre artists of about 1400; they are full of charming little details but they are wanting in unity; it is an agglomeration of all that a landscape might offer, including effects of distance and perspective and indeed there is little difference between his landscapes and those of Pisanello or Gentile.

His skill as a decorator is manifest from the effect he manages to obtain from a landscape, particularly a landscape seen in the distance in the background of a picture. At times he also borrows the principal idea of his landscapes from Fra Angelico who shows us very beautiful examples in his Descent from the Cross in the museum of S. Marco and in some of his small panels illustrating the history of SS. Cosmo and Damian. It is

after this manner but on a larger scale that Benozzo executed the landscape backgrounds of his frescoes of 1459 in the Medici chapel. Still neither Angelico, nor Benozzo in those frescoes which I have just mentioned, succeeded in fusing into one vision the two elements of landscape and figures, it is only at Pisa that he becomes so to say a true landscape painter; there the figures blend with the landscapes and there is even one fresco, unfortunately very much damaged, the Marriage of Jacob and Rachael, in which, in spite of the numerous figures and several buildings, the landscape is the outstanding feature of the painting. If Benozzo was not a narrative painter, he was on the other hand a most subtle landscape-painter and as such he obtained really charming effects of distance and light. This is another element which makes us classify him sooner as a painter-decorator and the frescoes which come under this category bear a striking resemblance to beautiful verdured tapestries.

Benozzo felt very strongly that he lived at a moment weighty with architectural problems and that each artist ought to be interested in the new and ingenious solutions of the day. Fra Angelico does not show a great abundance of architecture in the backgrounds of his pictures but in the examples he represents we see that he felt very deeply, although he never became completely familiar with, the beauty of the new style.

Benozzo's frescoes are full of architecture but it is sooner in the form of plans, sketches and studies of buildings or fragments of buildings and never a really harmonious and organic whole. In collaborating with Angelico in the Studiolo of Nicholas V, Benozzo together with his master shows us some edifices of great pictorial value, but left to his own devices he did not succeed so well. When, towards 1450, he goes to Umbria, he brings with him some knowledge of the new Florentine architecture, but in the little hill towns, far from the great centre, his attempts at reproduction at once acquire a rustic appearance. At Montefalco he represents Umbrian Franciscan monasteries of the humblest kind and before them places Florentine arcades in the style of Brunelleschi or Michelozzo (1)

(1) The meeting of St. Francis and St. Dominic and the Marriage of the Virgin in the predella of the panel in the Vatican.

and throughout the decoration he combines Renaissance buildings with Gothic windows (1). In his representation of the town of Arezzo he shows us a view of a little mediaeval town which does not reveal on the part of the artist a very great interest in architecture; there are, however, several towers which bear a striking resemblance to the Medici's castle of Cafaggiolo, near Florence, which was built by Michelozzo (fig. 147).

Before Benozzo went to San Gimignano he spent a few years in Florence and the style of architecture which was then in vogue, still further captivated him. It is true that he persisted in the unhappy idea of giving Gothic windows to buildings which otherwise would be of the purest Renaissance style, but his comprehension of this style becomes more and more manifest also in the decorative parts, friezes etc. (2). Generally speaking, however, his buildings are not very realistic, yet he shows us a beautiful Renaissance hall in the fresco of St. Augustine teaching his students and charming colonnades with a fine effect of perspective in the scene of the saint's arrival in Milan; but similar architectural features are to be found in Fra Angelico's paintings (3).

In Pisa Benozzo's architecture takes more and more the form of a sort of sample of all the works of architecture that one could possibly imagine — as in the representation of the construction of the Tower of Babel — or he shows studies of architecture and perspective similar to those in the paintings of the school of Piero della Francesca in Urbino, Berlin and Baltimore, to which the arrangement of the buildings in the fresco of Moses' youth which Benozzo executed at Pisa, bears a fairly close resemblance. The constructions are not any more real than before, but the Gothic windows begin to disappear, at least they are so changed in form, as in the adoration of

(1) For example in the frescoes of St. Francis supporting the church and the miracle of Greccio.

(2) These friezes adorned with garlands closely resemble those Michelozzo used in the decoration of the Banco Mediceo in Milan which he began in 1456.

(3) For instance in the predella of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Louvre v. Vol. X. fig. 30.

the statue of Belus, that they now sooner recall the two-light windows of the very beginning of the Renaissance. The frescoes at Pisa are full of the most extravagant features that Florentine architecture of the day had to offer.

If we were to believe Benozzo, open porticos and loggias supported on pillars at the top of the edifices adorned almost

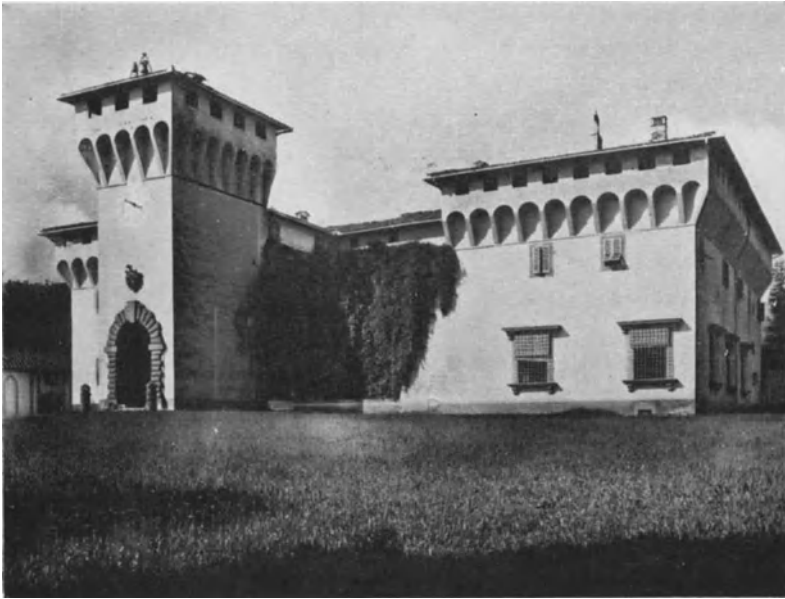


Fig. 147. Michelozzo, the Villa Cafaggiolo. Compare it with fig. 87.

Photo Alinari.

all the houses; there were certainly a few examples in existence and he must have seen those porticos which were made at a slightly earlier date, such as that of Sta. Maria delle Grazie, perhaps by Benedetto da Maiano, while the loggia of the Villa Careggi where he addressed his letter of 1459 to Piero de' Medici might have served as model for the loggias he depicts on the top of the houses.

It is very evident, however, that in the execution of his architecture, Benozzo closely observed the geometric science of perspective which at that moment was so intensely studied and on which subject Piero della Francesca was no

doubt already busy writing his treatise; the perspective of Benozzo's architecture appears to be very elaborate and must have been calculated with the aid of rule and compass (fig. 148).

In speaking in a general way of Benozzo's art, I have not touched on the subject of a connexion between his painting and Oriental art. A very superficial and fortuitous resemblance exists between the one and the other, but that is due either to a mere chance or to the fact that the master's fantasy was struck by a person or an object from the East which created in him a desire to reproduce it but in my opinion there can be no question of an actual influence (<sup>1</sup>).

As for the school of Benozzo, we find it developed chiefly in Umbria where there was not a single painter of outstanding importance at this period and where many of the little masters of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century were subjected to his influence. They were Mezzastris in particular, Bonfigli, Caporali and Boccatis who really originated from The Marches. Outside Umbria he had one adherent at Viterbo in the person of Lorenzo da Viterbo but at Florence there were so many better artists that Benozzo had practically no following, only Cosimo Rosselli and Pierfrancesco Fiorentino reveal an obvious dependence on Benozzo's art. Giusto di Andrea and probably Zanobi Machiavelli were collaborators. In this group might be included also Luigi Giani di Portugallo whose signature with the date 1474 we find on a picture of St. Christopher carrying the Child on his shoulder, in the gallery of Pisa (<sup>2</sup>); it is obviously a work by a rustic follower of Benozzo Gozzoli; several other

(<sup>1</sup>) *Ch. Diehl*, La peinture orientaliste en Italie au temps de la Renaissance, *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XIX, 1906. *G. Soulier*, Les influences persanes dans la peinture florentine du 15<sup>ème</sup> siècle, *Atti del X Congresso internaz. di storia d'arte a Roma*, Rome, 1922, p. 194, compares certain frescoes by Benozzo with Persian miniatures. *The Same*, Les influences orientales dans la peinture toscane, Paris, 1924, passim.

(<sup>2</sup>) *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, VIII<sup>1</sup>, p. 678, note 2, believes that this might be the name of the person who ordered the picture, but I hardly think that this is likely.



paintings can be ascribed to this painter to whom we shall return in another volume.

The names of some of his pupils are recorded in the documents, where mention is made of Baccio, Domenico di Losso (1481), Giovanni and Bartolommeo di Giovanni<sup>(1)</sup>.

Apart from the works of the painters whom I have just

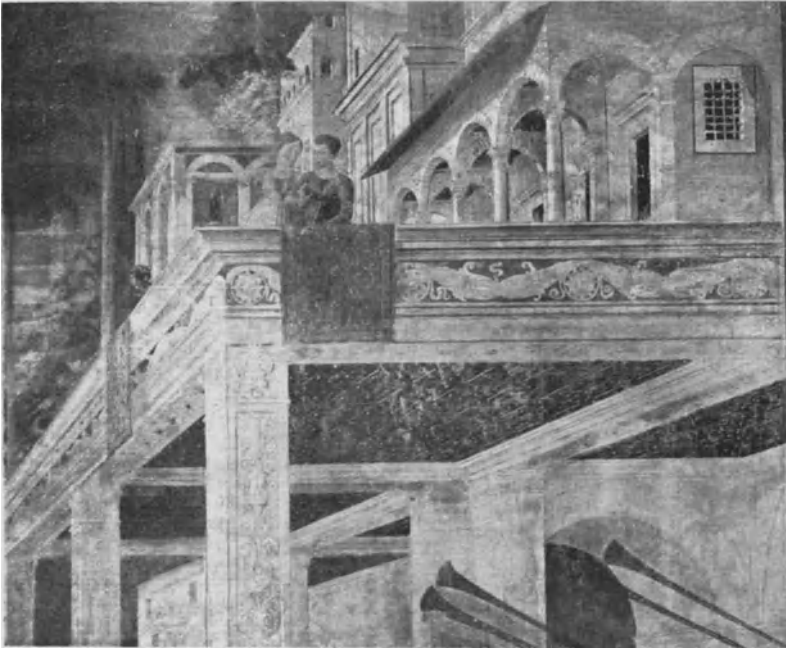


Fig. 148. Benozzo Gozzoli. detail from the Marriage of Rebecca. Campo Santo, Pisa. Photo Minist. Pubbl. Istr.

cited, the productions of Benozzo's school are fairly rare and I shall dwell on them very shortly:

*Amsterdam*, private collection, St. Dominic standing in a tabernacle adorned with angels and a predella below.

*Dijon*. Gallery, Deposition with five figures, attributed to Jacopo del Sellaio; diptych, two little panels with the half-length figures of the Saviour and the Virgin (v. van Marle coll., *Perugia*), No. 20 of the Grangier collection.

(1) *Supino*, op. cit., Arch. stor. dell' Arte, 1894, p. 234.

*Empoli*, Gallery of the Collegiata (No. 22), Madonna enthroned between SS. Matthew, William, Barbara and Sebastian (attributed to Pierfrancesco Fiorentino by *O. H. Giglioli*, *Empoli Artistica*, Florence, 1906, p. 75); it is by an unskilful painter who was strongly influenced by Benozzo.

*Florence*, ex-Guzzardi coll., Madonna in the midst of six angelic musicians.

*Florence*, *Environs of* —, ex-collection in the Vincigliata castle, important Adoration of the Magi, shown in a crowded composition with ruins and a landscape in the background; the influence of Fra Filippo Lippi is manifest, as well as some reminiscences of the cavalcade in the Medici chapel.

*London*, National Gallery (No. 2863), Madonna with the Child standing on her knee against a wall, constructed in the Renaissance style, accompanied by six angels two of whom play on musical instruments (fig. 149); this painting which is a production of Benozzo's work-shop, is now in the store-room of the gallery; it was formerly in the H. Wagner coll., and was exhibited at the New Galleries, 1893—1894, No. 43 and the Grafton Galleries, 1911, No. 15; it corresponds very closely with Benozzo's picture in this gallery (No. 283); Mr. Berenson thinks that it is a copy by Caporali from this a painting.

British Museum, pen-drawing (Pp 1—7), two seated figures wearing togas and the head of an ox, formerly in the Payne-Knight collection when they were ascribed to Cavallini. These drawings are on the verso of the leaf showing the nude youth sitting with legs crossed, which I reproduce in Vol. X, fig. 128, as a work by Domenico di Michelino. The two sides are certainly not by the same hand; perhaps it was this follower of Benozzo who sketched the profile near the nude male figure.

Lord Crawford's collection, four predella panels, each with several half-length figures of saints.

Lady Iligo's collection, cassone panel, the magnanimity of Scipio <sup>(1)</sup>.

*Montefalco*, S. Agostino, Virgin with SS. Peter, Paul, Severus and Fortunatus, dated 1487; it is mentioned in 1910 by Pacchioni <sup>(2)</sup> but seems to have disappeared.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Schubring*, Cassone, No. 302.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Pacchioni*. op. cit. L'Arte, 1910, p. 436 note 3.



Fig. 149. School of Benozzo Gozzoli, Madonna and angels.  
National Gallery, London.

S. Francesco, crucifix (1).

*Munich*, private collection, embroidery of the Nativity of St. John, obviously from a drawing by Benozzo.

*New York*, Maitland Griggs collection, Adoration of the Magi against a landscape with ruins, from the sale of the collections of the Countess of Carlisle and Lord O. Hagan, London, 10th May 1922.

Lehman collection, Madonna and Child between four angels.

*Paris*, Cluny Museum, two cassone fronts (1683, 1684) the story of two serpents according to Gesta Rom. XIII and Antiochus and Stratonice; they recall the works of Pesellino (2).

Chalandon collection, two cassone panels, the battle of Heraclius and Chosroes and the discovery of the Holy Cross (3), resembling in style the rape of Helen by Benozzo in the National Gallery.

*Perugia*, Gallery, Madonna and six angels almost entirely repainted, originating from the convent of the Poor Clares, Monteluca (4).

Van Marle collection, a little half-length figure of Christ (fig. 150) which was sold at the Lebrun sale, London, Nov. 1899 and was reproduced in the catalogue as a Venetian painting of the 14th century!; later it was in the Zoubaloff collection, Florence; it is almost identical to the panel which forms pendant to that of the Virgin in the gallery of Dijon.

*Pisa*, Gallery, Christ on the Cross and the forty martyrs from the church of the Dominican monastery (5).

*Richmond*, Cook collection, cassone panel, the peace between the Romans and the Sabines (6).

*Rome*, Vatican, Museo Cristiano, small Pietà very near Benozzo to whom Mr. Berenson attributes it. Monastery of Tor di Specchio, frescoes, which will be discussed with Roman

(1) *U. Gnoli*, Pittori e Miniatori nell' Umbria, Spoleto, (1923), p. 65, attributes it to Benozzo himself.

(2) *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 294, 295.

(3) *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 281, 282.

(4) Relazione of 1861, Gallerie Nazionali Italiane, II, Rome, 1896, p. 292.

(5) *Supino*, op. cit., Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 1894, attributes it to Benozzo himself.

(6) *Schubring*, op. cit., No. 300.



Fig. 150. School of Benozzo Gozzoli, bust of the Saviour.  
Van Marle Collection, Perugia.

painting of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; the influence of Benozzo is evident.  
Vatican Library, Virgil codex with miniatures attributed  
to Benozzo.

*St. Moritz*, Gogliardi sale, Feb. 1913, St. Jerome and the  
marriage of St. Catherine.



Fig. 151. School of Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Antony Abbot, S. Antonio di Bereide, Spoleto.

Photo Anderson



Fig. 152. School of Benozzo Gozzoli, the story of St. Antony Abbot.  
S. Antonio di Bereide, Spoleto. Photo Anderson.

*Spoleto*, S. Antonio di Bereide, frescoes in the apse, Coronation of the Virgin in the midst of angels and lower down St. Antony Abbot seated and four scenes from his life (figs. 151,

152); to the side of the apse we see the Annunciation in two medallions; these paintings are by a rural master who was influenced by Benozzo's manner.

*Worcester, U.S.A.*, painted cassone with three scenes of the Coronation of Emperor Frederic III and his marriage with Eleonora of Portugal celebrated by Pope Nicholas V in 1452; the connexion with Benozzo's art is somewhat faint<sup>(1)</sup>.

I know from a photograph only, still another work of the school of Benozzo Gozzoli; it is a Virgin adoring the Child lying on her knee and was formerly in the Newton Robinson collection, England.

Mr. Berenson cites twelve drawings of Benozzo's school<sup>(2)</sup>, some of which he thinks, and I quite agree with him, might be probably from the hand of Pierfrancesco Fiorentino; one of them (No. 558) has already been mentioned as a work from Benozzo's own hand. A particularly fine sketch is that of four nude figures in the collection of drawings in Christ Church, Oxford<sup>(3)</sup>. Mr. Berenson does not include in his list a little drawing of but minor importance in the Wicar Museum, Lille<sup>(4)</sup>, which represents a holy monk kneeling between two angels, one of whom plays the mandoline<sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *W. Weisbach*, Zeitsch. f. Bildende Kunst., 1913, p. 254. *P. Schubring*, Vespasiano di Bisticci, Jena, 1914, p. 120. *The Same*, Cassoni. Nos. 291. 292. 293.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Berenson*, Drawings of the Florentine Painters, Nos. 547—559.

<sup>(3)</sup> *C. F. Bell*, Drawings of the Old Masters in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, 1914, pl. XLIV.

<sup>(4)</sup> Photo Braun, 72001.

<sup>(5)</sup> Without any reason the following works have been included among the productions of Benozzo's school: the head of a holy monk from the della Genga chapel at Spoleto. now in the Pucci della Genga palace. *Vita Artistica*, I, February 1926, p. 30; a cassone panel showing a duel and the reconciliation between two families at Eastnor Castle, Somerset. *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 286—289, v. Vol. X, p. 560. and a miracle of St. Jerome in the Ca d'Oro. Venice.



## CHAPTER III

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### ALESSIO BALDOVINETTI<sup>(1)</sup>, GRAFFIONE AND FINIGUERRA

Alessio Baldovinetti kept a diary and many events from his life are recorded in this book, which has been published

<sup>(1)</sup> *C. Bagnesi Bellinucci*, Pitture di A.B. nella cappella di Gianfigliazzo in Sta. Trinita, *Miscellanea d'Arte*, I, p. 50. *B. Berenson*, A. B. and the new Madonna of the Louvre, *Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, II, London, 1914, p. 23 (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1898, p. 39). *J. Cartwright*, The Painters of Florence, London, 1910, p. 137. *Cavallucci*, Au sujet des restaurations que B. fit aux mosaics du Baptistère de Florence, *Arte e Storia*, VIII, 1889, p. 42. *L. Cust*, A Portrait by A. B. at Hampton Court Palace, *Apollo*, VII, 1928, p. 26. *A. v. Fabriczy*, Aus dem Gedenkbuch Francesco Baldovinetti's, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.* XXVIII, 1905, p. 539. *G. Frizzoni*, On the self portrait in the Gallery Morelli, Bergamo, *Archiv. Stor. dell'Arte*, V, 1892, p. 222. *R. Fry*, On a profile Portrait by A. B. (National Gallery, No. 578), *Burlington Magazine*, XVIII, 1911, p. 311. *The Same*, Three Pictures in the Jacquemart André Collection, *Burlington Magazine*, XXV, 1914, p. 79. *O. H. Giglioli*, Pitture di Castagno e B. nella chiesa di S. Egidio, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, p. 209. *The Same*, La cappella del Cardinale di Portogallo nella chiesa di S. Miniato al Monte e le pitture di A. B., *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, p. 89. *The Same*, Una pittura sconosciuta di A. B. nella chiesa di S. Marco, Firenze, *Rassegna d'Arte*, VII, 1907, p. 26. *The Same*, Vita di A. B. scritta dal Vasari, Florence (1912). *G. Grilli*, Le pitture attribuiti ad A. B. in S. Miniato al Monte. Firenze, *Rivista d'Italia*, Jan. 1903, p. 156. *H. Horne*, A newly discovered "Libro di Ricordi" of A. B., *Burlington Magazine*, II, 1903, pp. 22, 167, 377. *The Same*, A newly discovered Altar-piece by A. B., *Burlington Magazine* VIII, 1905, p. 51. *E. Londi*, La data di nascita di A. B., *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, p. 191. *The Same*, A. B., Florence, 1907. *J. Mesnil*, La cappella del miracolo di S. Ambrogio e una tavola di A. B., *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, p. 81. *G. Poggi*, I Ricordi di A. B. nuovamente pubbl. ed illustr., Florence, 1909. *G. Pierotti*, Ricordi di A. B. (per nozze Bonghi-Ranalti), Lucca, 1868. *A. Renan*, (The Madonna in the Louvre), *Chronique des Arts*, 5<sup>th</sup> March 1898. *D. Sant' Ambrogio*, Il prezioso cappuccio di piviale del Museo Poldi Pezzoli, *Rassegna d'Arte*, III, 1903, p. 184. *O. Sirén*, A Picture by A. B. in the Jarves Collection, Newhaven, Art in

several times<sup>(1)</sup>, but we owe the knowledge of the date of his birth to a discovery made by Prof. Londi<sup>(2)</sup>. He was born in 1425 and not on the 14<sup>th</sup> October 1427 as has been thought for many years. We do not know very much about his private life. In 1470 he was not yet married and did not possess any property; at this time he rented a house in the Canto dei Gori in the S. Lorenzo quarter of the town. In a cadastral declaration of 1480 he gives his age as sixty — he was really only fifty-five — that of his wife Monna Daria — Milanese erroneously calls her Diana — as forty-five and that of the servant Mea as thirteen<sup>(3)</sup>. He is still living in the Canto dei Gori but he now owns two shops with dwelling houses above which he lets<sup>(4)</sup>; he was given these buildings in payment for some restoration he carried out on the mosaics of the baptistery of Florence. Later we learn that he has become the proprietor of three pieces of ground.

We know little of Baldovinetti's life prior to that period during which the "ricordi" were kept.

A relation of Alessio's of the name of Francesco Baldovinetti who lived from 1477 until 1545, also wrote a book of memoirs in which he speaks a great deal of Alessio without, however, giving any facts of the least importance and often making mistakes in the dates<sup>(5)</sup>. An addition in a different hand-writing gives us some details about the family which Milanese, in his genealogical tree of the Baldovinetti, repeats almost word for word, only Bernardo, who, according

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America, 1914, p. 236. *A. Venturi*, Un ritratto del B. a Hampton Court etc., *L'Arte*, 1922, p. 10. *The Same*. Una predella di A. B. in Casa Buonarroti a Firenze, *L'Arte*, 1927, p. 34. *W. Weisbach*, Die Duchatel Madonna im Louvre, *Kunst-chronich N. F.*, IX, p. 325. *The Same*, A. B. in Thieme Becker, *Künstler Lexikon*, II, 1908, p. 398.

(1) *Pierotti*, *Horne and Poggi*, op. cit. Horne in particular has completed the data found in the "ricordi" and has published *in extenso* many of the documents.

(2) *Londi*, *La data* etc. With regard to the contradictory statement concerning the date of his birth v. *Gaye*, *Carteggio*, I, p. 224.

(3) *Gaye*, *Carteggio*, I, p. 225, erroneously calls Mea his daughter.

(4) *Gaye*, *Carteggio*, I, p. 224.

(5) v. *Fabriczy*, op. cit.

to Milanesi, is only an uncle, seems to be a brother of Alessio's in the other text. The father was called Baldovinetto; and the mother Agnola d'Antonio da Gagliano. The Baldovinettis were a patrician family, the founder being a "console" of Florence in 1209. That Alessio became a painter against his father's will is probably an invention of Vasari's. He was inscribed in the company of painters in 1448 (1). As for his artistic education, his style leads us to believe that he learned much from Domenico Veneziano, yet, in treating Fra Angelico, we discovered that three of the panels of the long cycle of representations from the life of Christ executed by Angelico towards 1448 for the doors of the cupboard of the relics in Sma. Annunziata, but now in the S. Marco Museum, were painted by Baldovinetti; at this moment our painter was twenty-three years of age, consequently no longer in his very first youth. It cannot be said either that these three panels reveal the artist as an exceedingly faithful pupil of Fra Angelico; nevertheless the influence of this master is here much more evident than that of Domenico Veneziano to whose domination Baldovinetti seems to have been subjected at a later stage. Besides, he appears to have collaborated with Domenico Veneziano very shortly after working for Fra Angelico, at least we gather that he was active on the frescoes in the chapel of S. Egidio in Sta. Maria Novella on which Andrea del Castagno and Domenico Veneziano were occupied from 1441 till 1451. Not only does Vasari affirm this but probably his source of information is the passage from Albertini's memoriale which runs: "The chapel is half by Andreino (Castagno), half by Domenico although some figures in front are by Alessio Baldovinetti". In 1449 Baldovinetti made a sulphur cast of a niello-plate by Finiguerra which he exchanged for a dagger; in 1460 he painted some figures around the picture on the high altar and in 1461 he undertakes to finish a "story of the Madonna" begun by Domenico Veneziano (2). Prof. Supino informs us further that in 1461 Baldovinetti went to Pisa to

(1) (*Gualandi*), *Memorie originali italiane risguardanti le Belle Arti*, VI. Bologna, 1845. p. 177.

(2) *Giglioli*, op. cit., *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905. p. 208.

make mosaics on the façade of the cathedral and that he received 112 "florini larghi" for a St. John which was found over the portico on the side towards the hospital. After the year 1596 this mosaic was entirely restored and so lost all its original character<sup>(1)</sup>.

In 1460—1462 our artist executed the fresco of the Adoration of the Child Christ in the cloister of the Sma. Annunziata; then in 1463 he made sketches for the marquetry work in the sacristy of the cathedral, representing again the Adoration of Jesus; there was owing to him the money earned by the wood-carver Giuliano da Maiano, as well as a small sum for having coloured some heads drawn by Finiguerra for two pieces of marquetry. In 1465 he values, along with Neri di Bicci, the Dante by Domenico di Michelino in the cathedral; he, himself, had provided a sketch for the portrait of the poet, while the following year he, together with Zenobi Strozzi, gives his opinion on a panel by Neri di Bicci<sup>(2)</sup>. During this year he began the frescoes in the chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal in S. Miniato, which he finished in 1473, and in 1467 he executed the painting of Christ resurrected in the Ruccellai chapel in S. Pancrazio. According to his "ricordi" Baldovinetti received the order for the altar-piece of S. Ambrogio in February 1469 from Domenico Maringhi, canon of S. Lorenzo and prior of the monastery of S. Ambrogio. The picture was to decorate a chapel which the prior was having built. The artist received 500 lire in thirteen instalments between 1470 and 1473 and more than two barrels of oil. The panel, however, never adorned the site intended for it. Maringhi died, leaving twenty-five florins for the ornamentation of the chapel. In 1484 (1485) Baldovinetti is paid eight florins for having filled up and painted the hole that had been left in the altar-piece for relics. This payment is made on five different occasions, on four of them it is Giovanni di Michele Scheggini da Larciano, detto Il Graffione, a pupil of Baldovinetti's, who

<sup>(1)</sup> *I. B. Supino*, Archiv. Stor. dell' Arte, VI, 1893, p. 419. *A. Da Morona*, Pisa illustrata nell' arte del disegno, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., I, Livorno, 1812, p. 171. ascribes these mosaics to Filippo di Lorenzo Paladini.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, II, p. 85 note 6, and p. 60 note 1.

receives the money for him. It is true that the subject the artist undertook to represent was the Nativity of the Virgin and instead of that we find the Virgin adoring the Infant Christ. However, it is obvious that this part of the panel has been added afterwards and on account of the payments made to Graffione, Mr. Horne is, I think, justified in supposing that the addition is from the hand of this artist<sup>(1)</sup>.

There is also mention of a Giusuè di Santi, a pupil of Baldovinetti's, who had to paint a fresco, representing Purgatory, for the same prior<sup>(2)</sup>.

In 1470 Baldovinetti makes a declaration to the tax-office<sup>(3)</sup> and the same year he started the frescoes in the chapel of the high altar in Sta. Trinita, all the expenses of which are recorded.

In 1463 Bongianni Gianfigliuzzi became patron of this chapel and it was for him that Baldovinetti carried out this work<sup>(4)</sup>. In the artist's "ricordi" we learn that the glazier owes him money for the sketching and colouring for the windows of this chapel which evidently he also executed; the windows, however, were all broken already in 1616. In his journal Baldovinetti speaks of other windows which he executed, such for instance as the Annunciation he made in 1472 for the church of S. Martino at Lucca and another in 1481 for S. Agustino of Arezzo. In the Pazzi chapel a figure of St. Andrew on one of the windows is rightly ascribed to him. We shall return to this question later on.

In April 1470 he received the order for this important series of frescoes for Gianfigliuzzi. The work had to be finished in five or seven years. From entries in his journal we gather that he started making preparations for this task in April 1471 (1472?). He settled down to it and bought colours at once after being given the commission, still it was not seven years that he required for this decoration but twenty-five because

<sup>(1)</sup> *Horne*. Newly discovered altar-piece. *Mesnil*, op. cit.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Mesnil*, op. cit.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Gaye*, Carteggio, I, p. 224.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Richa*, Chiese fiorentine, III, p. 177. was mistaken in saying that Bongianni and Gherardo had the "jus padronato" of this chapel (*Horne*). *Vasari*, too, speaks of Gherardo.

payment for this work is made to him still in January 1496 (1497). Nevertheless his patron was satisfied with the work which was estimated by Cosimo Rosselli, Gozzoli, Perugino and Filippino Lippi as worth 1000 florins, that is to say five times the price stipulated.

Baldovinetti worked at this decoration in a very elaborate manner; he painted *al fresco* and finished it off *al secco* and did, as well, other extraordinary things which Vasari describes. His system, however, was worth nothing at all because the frescoes, with the exception of those in the vault, have disappeared.

During all these years he executed many other works: in 1481 he restored the mosaics on the façade of S. Miniato al Monte and in 1483 he was charged with the repairing of the mosaics of the tribune in the baptistery for which, as I have already said, he was remunerated with the rent of two houses for the rest of his life, that is to say thirty florins a year<sup>(1)</sup>.

In 1497 Baldovinetti made over all his worldly goods to the hospital, keeping for himself, however, the usufruct; the following year he gave up also this and in 1499 bequeathed everything to the hospital of S. Paolo on condition that this institution supported Mea, his servant, during her life time; his notary was Piero di Leonardo da Vinci, father of Leonardo. Baldovinetti, himself, entered the hospital; he died there at the end of August 1499 and was buried in S. Lorenzo. As both Vasari and Mr. Horne remark, the hospital must have come into the possession of all Baldovinetti's drawings and papers, as well as his treatise on mosaics.

Even in the three little panels in the museum of S. Marco, dating probably from 1448, Baldovinetti is already fairly independent of Beato Angelico with whom, at this moment, he was working in collaboration. The scenery and colouring reveal some connexion with works of the holy monk but this is very little, since in view of the fact that the two painters were working together, a certain resemblance could hardly be avoided.

The first scene is that of the Baptism (fig. 153) in which

(1) This document is found in *Richa*, Chiesa fiorentine. V. p. XXXV.

Christ, standing in the River Jordan which runs between jagged rocks, is sprinkled with the holy water which St. John pours on His head from a little basin; three angels kneel



Fig. 153. Baldovinetti, the Baptism, circa 1448. S. Marco Museum, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

on the river bank, one prays, the two others hold the garments of the Saviour.

The Transfiguration (fig. 154) is shown in a similar landscape; Christ, His arms uplifted, stands between Moses and Eliah; of the three Apostles, two are seated while the third is stretched on the ground. The third scene is the Wedding at Cana (fig. 155): the Saviour, His Mother and four other

persons are seated at table; one servant passes a plate while another pours water into the empty vessels. The scene takes place in a room of simple appearance with small windows;



Fig. 154. Baldovinetti, the Transfiguration, circa 1448.  
S. Marco Museum, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

the lower part of the wall is covered with material with a pattern of flowers.

The great difference between these panels and the work of Angelico lies chiefly in the temperament of the artist who was neither spiritual, nor mystic, nor was he gifted with any sense of deep feeling; I should even say that these little panels reveal an almost disconcerting tranquility, thus for example the three astonished Apostles, thrown to the ground



at the moment of the Transfiguration, are seated or lying down looking very comfortable and phlegmatic. The construction of the figures is not very satisfactory and the movements are a little awkward.



Fig. 155. Baldovinetti, the Wedding of Cana, circa 1448.  
S. Marco Museum, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

Only the Madonna and the bride in the Wedding at Cana are pleasing and expressive but they are figures in which the influence of Domenico Veneziano is already manifest. I think that Beato Angelico was not quite the right master for Baldovinetti whose artistic tendencies did not really begin to develop until he came under the influence of Domenico Veneziano.



Fig. 156. Baldovinetti, the Betrayal of Judas, SS. Andrew and Paul. Lehman Collection. New York.

A predella panel in the Lehman collection, New York, which has never, as far as I am aware, been attributed to Baldovinetti, but which I know only from a photograph, is, I think, from this master's hand, and belongs to a still earlier manner than the panel of 1448, a manner in which Angelico's inspiration is more evident. The principal scene is that of Judas receiving the price of his betrayal before a hexagonal building,

three walls of which are visible; to the sides are the three-quarter length figures of SS. Andrew and Paul (fig. 156).

Fra Angelico's influence is less marked in the painting of

the Virgin adoring the Child lying on her knee in the midst of SS. John the Baptist, Cosmo, Damian, Lawrence, Vitale, Antony Abbot, Francis and Peter the Martyr, the two last-



Fig. 157. Baldovinetti. Madonna and saints. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

mentioned kneeling, which originates from the Medici's Villa of Caffagiolo but which since 1796 has been in the Uffizi (No. 487, fig. 157—160).

The Madonna is seated on a little oriental rug spread in a meadow full of flowers; the background is formed by a piece of flowered material over the top of which some trees are visible, after the manner so frequently shown by Fra An-



Fig. 158. Detail of fig. 157.

Photo Bregi.

gelico. There is something very characteristic of the Florentine Renaissance in all these figures, something much more marked here than in the works of Fra Angelico; this is evident also in the plastic effects and even in the muscular arms of St. John. The four saints to the sides, on the other hand, are executed



Fig. 159. Detail of fig. 157.

Photo Brogi.

in a style more closely resembling that of the three little panels in S. Marco. The colouring is not very fine; it is even somewhat insipid; it lacks the warmth of Angelico's tints and the limpidity of Domenico Veneziano's.

With the Annunciation, originating from the church of S.



Fig. 160. Detail of fig. 157.

Photo Brogi.

Giorgio sulla Costa, Florence, afterwards in the monastery of S. Spirito and now in the Uffizi (No. 483, fig. 161—163) which Vasari ascribed to Pisanello, we approach the style in which Baldovinetti executed the fresco of 1460. The high portico of the Renaissance style, the tops of the trees visible



Fig. 161. Baldovinetti, the Annunciation, Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

over the wall which forms the background and the little flower garden in front, in fact the entire mise-en-scène, are elements taken from Fra Angelico's art, but the figures are here very different from anything the older master ever depicted, they belong entirely to the Florentine Renaissance in spirit as well as on account of their plasticity and their type; the appearance of the angel Gabriel recalls the theories of



Fig. 162. Detail of fig. 161.

Photo Brogi.

Prof. Warburg regarding the question of the importance of the expression of movement in the art of the Renaissance. The types of the faces, especially that of the Virgin, are obviously inspired by Domenico Veneziano, but we find here effects of light and shade and of relief which the latter artist





Fig. 163. Detail of fig. 161.

Photo Brogi.

does not show to the same degree. It is indeed a delightful picture, and, had it not been for a certain unrefinement in the colouring, would really have been a wonderful masterpiece. Yet even in the colours and more especially in the luminosity, we can discover the influence of Domenico Veneziano.

Of the fresco that Baldovinetti painted in 1460 or 1462<sup>(1)</sup> in the cloister of the Sma. Annunziata, very little remains: near a house in ruins, flanked by a tree, the Virgin kneels in adoration before the Child Jesus lying on the ground;

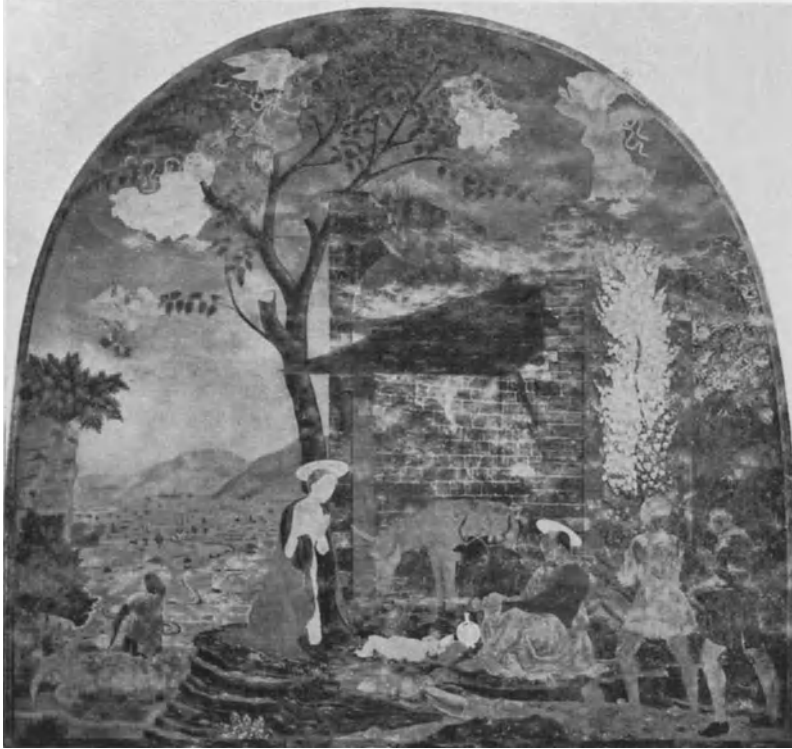


Fig. 164. Baldovinetti, the Nativity, 1460 or 1462.

Cloister, Sma. Annunziata, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

Joseph sits quite near while two shepherds approach the scene from the right; we see also the ass standing and the ox in repose. More to the left, one of the five angels who hover over the central group, announces the glad tidings to the shepherds; this is shown against the background of a valley with a beautiful effect of distance and mountains on

<sup>(1)</sup> *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, II, p. 595 note 3. *Fabriczy*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1902, p. 392.



Fig. 165. Baldovinetti, fragment of a Nativity. Private Collection. Paris.

the horizon (fig. 164). The execution is very refined and the painting is full of sentiment and poetry; the forms are of a more inspired grace than any we have found up till now.

A very attractive half-length figure of the Virgin, her hands clasped in adoration, which I saw not long ago in Paris, must have been a fragment of a similar representation (fig. 165). I believe it to be from the hand of Baldovinetti and executed in the same manner as the fresco in the Sma. Annunziata.

The marquetry work, made after sketches by Baldovinetti, in the sacristy of the cathedral, dates from 1463 and shows, in spite of the changes due to the interpretation, a style closely resembling that of the foregoing fresco. On entering the sacristy we see to the left the Adoration of the Child Jesus (fig. 166), which is but a free copy of the central group in the fresco in the Sma. Annunziata; it shows the Virgin, the Child and St. Joseph but neither the shepherds nor the landscape. Mr. Berenson is of opinion that the representation of the Circumcision was executed after a sketch by the master. The documents, however, only provide us with the certitude that he made the drawing for the Nativity, the carving of which was done by Giuliano da Maiano and personally, I find that the Circumcision has more in common with the style of Finiguerra.

The next dated work is the decoration in S. Miniato which was begun in 1466 and was finished in 1473; it shows us a style so very different that we are forced to admit that a great change took place in Baldovinetti's art between 1462 and 1466 or shortly after. There are several works which can be placed prior to this transformation.

As such should be cited in the first place the Madonna in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris (No. 1028, fig. 167—168) <sup>(1)</sup> which Mr. Berenson thinks is not after, or only just after — 1460. This too is my opinion. It is a work which is certainly contemporary — or very nearly so — with the fresco in the cloister of the Sma. Annunziata, even although at the same time we discover many reminiscences of the art of Angelico. The seated Madonna is represented in three-quarter

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Renan, op. cit. Weisbach, Kunstchr., N. F., IX, p. 325. Fry, Burlington Magazine, XXX, 1914, p. 79. Berenson, op. cit.*



Fig. 166. The Nativity, inlaid wood after a design by Baldovinetti, 1463.  
Sacristy, Cathedral, Florence. Photo Alinari.

length, the Child, all swathed, lying on her knee; the Mother makes a gesture of adoration. In the background we see a distant landscape composed of rocky mountains and a river. It is an exceedingly pleasing picture, although the Virgin



Fig. 167. Baldovinetti, Madonna. Jacquemart André Museum, Paris.

Photo Bulloz.

perhaps is a little coldly sweet. The painting is done on canvas and in the museum catalogue the idea is expressed that it might have been used as a little processional banner.

The Madonna in the Louvre (No. 1134<sup>B</sup>, pl. V) (1), has often

(1) Bibliography as for the previous picture. v. also *Fry*, *Burlington Magazine*, XVIII, 1911, p. 312. *L. Hautecoeur*, *La peinture au Musée du Louvre: Ecoles italiennes*, I. p. 44, with a complete bibliography.



*THE MADONNA.*  
*By Baldovinetti, in the Louvre, Paris.*

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 168. Detail of fig. 167.

Photo Bulloz

been attributed to Piero della Francesca, especially to a late stage in his career; now, however, everyone is unanimous in giving it to Alessio Baldovinetti and it is certainly his most beautiful work.

This panel, which belonged previously to the Duchatel and de la Tremoille collections, again shows the Virgin seated adoring the Infant Who, reclining on the balustrade of a balcony.



is attempting to remove the bandages in which He is swathed. The landscape, with mountains in the distance, rivers and houses, is a delight to the eyes; how could one ever tire of looking at the refinement of the lines in general, the exquisite

forms of the Child, the contour of the sweet and inspired face of the Virgin and her marvellous hands?

Of the period towards 1460 or even a little earlier seem to me also five little drawings, at least if they are really by Baldovinetti. Mr. Berenson was the first to ascribe these sketches to this master but he did so with a certain reserve. These drawings which were formerly attributed to Beato Angelico and later to his manner, are preserved in the Uffizi and represent a man in profile wearing a barret and playing a rumbling-pot, another, seen in full face, with crossed legs



Fig. 169. Baldovinetti, drawing. Uffizi, Florence  
Photo Braun.

playing on a lute, an angel playing the violin (fig. 169), a man with a barret playing the viola, (fig. 170), and a young man standing almost nude (fig. 171).

Mr. Berenson believes them to be productions of the same period as the three panels in the museum of S. Marco, that is to say towards 1448; I think they are slightly later but all the same prior to the fresco of 1460. Another drawing,

much larger but executed in the same manner, also in the Uffizi, represents a woman carrying a crown of laurels and three youths<sup>(1)</sup>.

Another drawing which I think might quite possibly be by Baldovinetti, but of a slightly later date, is that of a man in profile turned towards the left, wearing a complicated barret; it is a pen and ink sketch on a brown background and is found in the Uffizi where it is ascribed to Uccello, although an old inscription cites the name of Finiguerra (fig. 172)<sup>(2)</sup>.

To Mr. Berenson we owe the knowledge of the fresco of Christ arising from His tomb and two adoring angels which adorns the inside of a commemorative monument, dated 1467, of the Rucellai in their chapel which adjoins the old church of S. Pancrazio, now a tobacco factory.

This group of works, the two Madonnas in Paris in particular, shows us the master more and more under the influence of Domenico Veneziano's art, especially of that manner which is best represented by the Madonna in the Berenson collection. The points of resemblance are so striking



Fig. 170. Baldovinetti, drawing. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Braun.

(1) *Berenson*, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, Nos. 191 — 196. Photos Braun, 76019--76023.

(2) *S. Colvin*. *A Florentine Picture Chronicle*, London, 1898, p. 27.

that it is not difficult to understand why this last-mentioned painting has sometimes been attributed to Baldovinetti.

Still, the fresco that Baldovinetti executed after 1466 in the church of S. Miniato cannot be explained by the influence of

Domenico Veneziano alone; that of Piero della Francesca is brought to mind; he, too, it will be remembered was a pupil of Domenico Veneziano but it is difficult to imagine where the two co-disciples could have met at this moment.

The paintings in the chapel of the "Cardinal of Portugal" which Bishop Alfonzo Alvarez had built in commemoration of Cardinal Jacopo di Lusitania, nephew of the King of Portugal, who died in Florence in 1459, were assigned to Baldovinetti already by Albertini in his "Memoriale"; Vasari holds the two Pollaiuolo responsible for them and Cavalcaselle seems to have been of the same opinion, although he constantly refers to the resemblances with Baldovinetti's art. Documentary



Fig. 171. Baldovinetti, drawing. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Braun.

evidence leaves little doubt as to their rightful master<sup>(1)</sup>.

According to an inscription the chapel was consecrated on the 11<sup>th</sup> October 1466 but it is not until the 24<sup>th</sup> October of the same year that preparations — covering of the walls — are made so that Baldovinetti can undertake the decoration<sup>(2)</sup>.

(1) Grilli, op. cit. *Giglioli*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, p. 89.



Fig. 172. Baldovinetti, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Consequently the artist must have started with the frescoes, but unfortunately these paintings are in a very poor state of preservation. There were sixteen figures: eight prophets holding unrolled scrolls between the curves of the arches and above against a background of clouds the four Evangelists and



Fig. 173. Baldovinetti, angel of the Annunciation, circa 1466.

S. Miniato, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

the four Fathers of the Church. The Annunciation (figs. 173—174) adorns the altar and Vasari informs us that this painting is executed in oils. The Madonna is represented seated on a bench which projects from the stone panelled background and which just there is draped with a piece of flowered material; she is shown in full face one hand raised towards the angel; on the floor at her feet is an oriental rug. The forms, the



Fig. 174. Baldovinetti, Madonna of the Annunciation, circa 1466.

S. Miniato, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

proportions and the relief effects of these two figures are somewhat different from anything that Baldovinetti has so far depicted. The general conception is larger, more monumental and more plastic, and in this last feature I should say that Baldovinetti surpasses here not only Domenico Veneziano but even Piero della Francesca. In the drapery of the Madonna in particular there are depths and differences in values which

point sooner to the influence of the painter-sculptors, such for instance as Verrocchio and Antonio Pollaiuolo. It was no doubt Antonio's frescoes of 1466 in this chapel — the angels near the rose window — which had greatly contributed to this further achievement in the development of Baldovinetti's art. In all probability his Annunciation is slightly later than the frescoes by Pollaiuolo.

The activity of Baldovinetti for the Cardinal of Portugal makes it likely that he was also the author of the sketch for a Coronation of the Virgin, embroidered on the hood of a cope bearing the Portugese coat of arms, in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan.

The Virgin kneels before the enthroned Redeemer while two angels support the withdrawn curtain, a detail we shall find also in the panel of the Trinity, and two others below hold the coat of arms. Two episcopal dignitaries kneel to either side but these figures are very dilapidated. The date of the death of the cardinal — 1459 — makes the old attribution to Botticelli chronologically impossible (1).

A certain influence of Piero della Francesca is, I think, visible in a large panel of Christ on the Cross with St. Antonino kneeling below, in the refectory of S. Marco, Florence (fig. 175). The holy old man is full of emotion and piety. In the hilly landscape which gives one a beautiful effect of distance there were some large trees, like those in Angelico's paintings, which filled up almost the entire background but now nothing but some faint shadows remains visible. For many years this picture was attributed to Piero Pollaiuolo and afterwards to his brother Antonio whose name is still inscribed under the frame of the panel (2).

In 1471 Baldovinetti started working in the Cappella Maggiore of Sta. Trinita. Vasari speaks of these frescoes which, on account of the extraordinary technique which the painter employed, had already in his day begun to fall from the walls. Richa makes the same statement concerning them. The decoration comprised scenes from the Old Testament and Vasari mentions in particular the journey of the Queen of Sheba on

(1) *D. Sant' Ambrogio*, op. cit.

(2) *Giglioli*, op. cit., *Rassegna d'Arte*, VII, 1907, p. 26.



Fig. 175. Baldovinetti, the Crucified and St. Antonino.  
Refectory, S. Marco, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



her way to visit Solomon in which there were portraits of Lorenzo de' Medici and Lorenzo della Volpaia, while in other frescoes figured the old Alessio Luigi Guicciardini, Luca Pitti, Diotalvi Neroni, Giuliano de' Medici, Gherardo Bon-  
gianni, Jacopo and Giovanni Gianfigliuzzi, the old Filippo Strozzi, Paolo the astrologer dal Pozzo Toscanelli <sup>(1)</sup> and in the vault four patriarchs; the latter figures are still quite visible although the painting is considerably damaged. They represent Noah, Moses, Abraham and David and each figure occupies a triangle of the vault after the manner in which the Evangelists are so frequently shown. Cinelli mentions the illustration of Cain killing Abel. Some traces of frescoes can still be distinguished in the lunettes which top the three walls but there is really very little left now, although Mr. Horne was able to recognize the Sacrifice of Abraham and Moses receiving the tables of the law. A fragment of these frescoes seems to be preserved in the Morelli collection in the gallery of Bergamo; it is the head of a man which is supposed to be a self-portrait of the artist <sup>(2)</sup>.

Lastly, there is the panel which replaced Cimabue's painting on the altar <sup>(3)</sup> and which is now in the Accademia, Florence (fig. 176). As we have seen, it was not until 1497 that the entire decoration of the chapel was finished.

Yet it seems hardly possible that there is a lapse of almost thirty years between the execution of this panel and the fresco of the Annunciation in S. Miniato; on the contrary, there is an element which approximates it to the Madonna in the Louvre, it is the type of the cherubs and angels surrounding the central group of God the Father holding the Cross to which His Son is nailed; a dove flies from the one to the other; the skull of Adam is seen under the Cross; SS. Benedict and John Gualbert kneel to the sides and the whole painting is framed by a drawn curtain held by two angels.

<sup>(1)</sup> In the *Giornata Seconda, ragionamento primo*, Vasari again insists on the portraits that Baldovinetti depicted in these frescoes. *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, VIII, p. 87.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Frizzoni*, op. cit.; the Baldovinetti family seems to have had a copy of the self-portrait of the painter.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, I, p. 250.

The panel is considerably ruined but it does not seem to have been ever very beautiful; it is hard and dry and of no colour value; yet it shows great technical qualities, displayed, however, in a manner which is more intellectual than artistic, and which Mr. Horne describes as a 'profound intellectual rendering of constructive forms'.



Fig. 176. Baldovinetti, the Holy Trinity and saints. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

With this painting might be compared the figure of St. Andrew, holding his cross before a small building of the Renaissance style, which adorns a window of the Pazzi chapel in the courtyard of the church of Sta. Croce (fig. 177). Mr. Horne was the first to suggest that this stained glass window was executed after a sketch by Baldovinetti who, it will be remembered, is recorded as having made some drawings for this purpose. I imagine that the sketch for this figure of St. Andrew is slightly earlier than the altar-piece of the Trinity.



Fig. 177. Baldovinetti, St. Andrew, window.  
Pazzi Chapel, Florence,

Photo Alinari

The picture that Baldovinetti painted for the prior Meringhi for a chapel in the church of S. Ambrogio where it still is found, shows but very few features which authorize us to consider it a characteristic work of the master (fig. 178). Baldovinetti's pupil, Graffione, as I have already said, added the central figure of the Virgin in adoration before the Child; perhaps at the same time he retouched other parts of this painting. Certainly when Mr. Horne discovered this work in the sacristy of the church it was in a very poor state as we can judge from the photographs taken at that moment; afterwards it was put into the hands of a restorer.

The Virgin in a mandorla of flames, adoring the Child, is depicted in the midst of four saints among whom we can recognize St. John the Baptist, St. Ambrose, a female saint and a holy deacon; the last mentioned figure is



Fig. 178. Baldovinetti and Graffione, Madonna, saints and angels.

S. Ambrogio, Florence.

Photo Cipriani.

vaguely reminiscent of the manner of Piero della Francesca; above, six angels fly near the dove of the Holy Ghost while below kneel two other angels. The picture is executed in very clear colours which in tone recall those of Domenico Veneziano, but they are unrefined and without transparency. The kneeling figure of the female saint bears most resemblance to the master's other works.



Fig. 179. Baldovinetti, Madonna. Clarence Mackay Collection, Long Island.

No doubt a somewhat late work in which, however, there is something reminiscent of the beautiful Madonna in the Louvre, is a half-length figure of the Virgin in the Clarence Mackay collection, Long Island, formerly in the Corsi collection, Florence



Fig. 180. Baldovinetti, portrait. Private Collection.

and in that of Mr. Salomon, New York (fig. 179). Against a landscape background the Virgin holds on her knee the Christ Who bestows a blessing<sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *W. Valentiner*, *International Studio*, Aug. 1925, p. 337. *The Same*, *The Clarence Mackay Collection*, New York, 1926, No. 2. *The Same*, *Catalogue of the early Italian Paintings exhibited at the Duveen Galleries*, New York, April—May 1924. New York (privately printed), 1926, No. 9.

In another private collection I know a portrait of a young man dressed in red with a little cap on his head, which, although the painting is somewhat rubbed off, seems to show the characteristics of a production of an advanced stage in Baldovinetti's career (fig. 180).

Baldovinetti does not seem to have been a very productive painter; moreover Vasari informs us that he worked with great care and very slowly. Apart from the extant paintings there are very few others recorded. In his memoirs Francesco Baldovinetti speaks of some works, which Vasari attributes to Andrea del Castagno, as if they had been executed by Baldovinetti; <sup>(1)</sup> further he refers to an altar-piece on the high altar in Sta. Maria Nuova and paintings in a chapel of this church, as well as these in the cloister of S. Benedetto, outside Florence, as works by Alessio. He mentions also a little panel of the three Magi in the church of Sta. Maria Novella, which, according to an annotation by Giovanni di Poggio Baldovinetti, was from the hand of Botticelli; the altar-piece in S. Pietro in Chalcharga, already lost in Giovanni di Poggio's day, and an Annunciation on two panels on the stairs of the Pallazzo della Signoria. Other works which have disappeared are the "story of the Virgin" begun by Domenico Veneziano and finished by Baldovinetti, the mosaic — angels holding the head of Christ — on that part of the Baptistery which is directly opposite the cathedral, and the drawings from his hand that Vasari had, which can hardly be the five little figures now in the Uffizi <sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Frescoes in the monastery of the Camaldolites and in the cloister of Sta. Croce alla Colonna.

<sup>(2)</sup> The following works are wrongly attributed to Baldovinetti: the Madonna, already mentioned, in the Berenson collection, which the owner himself has published more than once as a production of Baldovinetti and which seems to me to be by Domenico Veneziano, v. Vol. X, p. 323; the portrait of a lady in profile in the National Gallery which *R. Fry*, *Burlington Magazine*, XVIII, 1911, p. 311, ascribes to Baldovinetti but for which I hold Paolo Uccello responsible, v. Vol. X, p. 236; the predella panels with scenes from the story of St. Nicholas in the Buonarroti Museum, assigned to Baldovinetti by *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XXX, 1927, p. 34; *The Same*, *Studi dal Vero*, p. 28, which I think are by Giovanni di Francesco, v. Vol. X, p. 388; scenes from the childhood of a saint to which we shall return when treating Graffione to whom

Baldovinetti was an extremely gifted artist and on the whole his sources of inspiration and learning were very fortunate. Although he had not a very strong artistic personality, he was gifted with enormous aptitude and adaptability and so succeeded in producing the most exquisite paintings when he was guided by Angelico, Domenico Veneziano, Piero della Francesca or Pollaiuolo but in his mature years when he was left to his own devices he became what Mr. Berenson calls "the impalatable Baldovinetti of later years" working in a "maniera secca e cruda" as Vasari puts it. I think it quite likely that this less pleasing manner is due to the influence that his own pupil, Domenico Ghirlandaio, exercised on him; he seems to have been dominated to a certain extent also by Giovanni di Francesco.

Baldovinetti was a painter full of gentleness with very little idea of expressing violent action; he had a most refined aesthetic feeling for everything concerning line and design but his colouring, especially in his early works is sometimes a little crude and vulgar.

The distant landscapes in some of his paintings, however, deserve all the praise that Mr. Berenson gives them; it was his examples which served at times as model to Pollaiuolo,

I ascribe them. In the Hermitage Gallery at Petrograd a Madonna and Child (Catalogue 1909 No. 2) were attributed to Baldovinetti. Waagen believed it to be by Cosimo Rosselli. The following are mentioned as works by our artist but I have no means of verifying the attributions: a half-length figure of the Madonna sold at the Lampori sale, Florence, 10<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1902 and a Madonna in the P. Tudor-Hart collection, stolen in November 1927. *L. Cust.* op. cit. and *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1922, p. 10, both give to Baldovinetti the charming profile of a young man in Hampton Court which I have already mentioned, v. Vol X, p. 330. as a possible work by Domenico Veneziano.

Of drawings wrongly classified as works by Baldovinetti, might be cited that of the bust of a warrior which technically bears a much closer connexion with some sculptor-painter; *Ede.* op. cit., p. 18, hesitatingly ascribes it to Baldovinetti. A sketch of Dante in Christ Church, Oxford, has been thought to be by Baldovinetti because it corresponds with the figure of the poet in Domenico di Michelino's painting in the cathedral of Florence and Baldovinetti had executed a sketch of Dante which the painter had to take as model, but as we shall see later on the drawing in question has much more the appearance of a production of the school of Antonio Pollaiuolo.



Verrocchio and Leonardo, who, in this respect, certainly owe him more than they do to Piero della Francesca.

Vasari tells us of the extraordinary method in which Baldovinetti prepared his colours for fresco painting; he started al fresco, finished al secco, preparing his colours with the yolk of egg and mixing them with a liquid varnish which had to be heated <sup>(1)</sup>. He also took any amount of trouble trying to discover the best way of making mosaics, but according to Vasari he had the luck to meet a German who taught him this art to perfection.

As for those works of Baldovinetti's school which cannot be ascribed to a definite artist, we should cite in the first place a Madonna kneeling in adoration before the Child Who lies on the ground, against a landscape in which Tobias and the angel are depicted; this picture belongs to the Holden collection which was incorporated with the museum of Cleveland (fig. 181). This painting which I know only from a photograph seems to me to be very near Baldovinetti although Mr. Berenson and indeed also Mrs. Berenson ascribe this work to Botticini <sup>(2)</sup>.

In the Lanckoronski collection, Vienna, there is a fine painting of the Virgin shown in half-length figure, adoring the Child Who, quite naked, stands on the balustrade of a balcony against a background of shrubs; the author in this case was inspired chiefly by Baldovinetti but also by Piero della Francesca. In the same collection there are two other works attributed to the school of Baldovinetti. One of them represents the same subject, only here the Madonna holds the Child and the background is formed by a landscape. The other picture which shows St. Antony Abbot in prayer and St. Jerome in penitence, bears only a distant connexion with Baldovinetti's

<sup>(1)</sup> *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, II, p. 592. Also in speaking of Antonello da Messina he refers to this method, II, p. 564.

<sup>(2)</sup> Mrs. Berenson says that "this picture looks like the work of Sellaio but that it is by Botticini and that the landscape is directly from Baldovinetti". *S. Rubinstein*, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings etc.* presented by Mrs. Liberty E. Holden to the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1917, p. 12, ascribes it to Baldovinetti.



Fig. 181. School of Baldovinetti, Madonna adoring the Child.  
Museum, Cleveland.

art; it has sooner something of the ruggedness of del Castagno.

At Locko Park, near Derby, there was a picture of the Virgin adoring the Child which was assigned to the school of Baldovinetti (1).

In the collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham, Richmond, there is a fairly important picture which should be included in this artistic tendency; the Virgin and the infant St. John adore the Child Christ Who, grasping a little bird, lies on the ground, St. Joseph has fallen asleep close by while in the background the shepherd receives the angelic message (fig. 182). In this work we can discern also the influence of Fra Filippo Lippi (2).

In the little gallery of the church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie at S. Giovanni di Val d'Arno, there is a panel of Tobias and the angel against a landscape background, which reveals, in spite of its rustic appearance, a certain connexion with the art of Baldovinetti (3). Much finer on the other hand is an oblong panel of God the Father between two groups of angels which was for sale in Florence some years ago.

By a less direct follower of Baldovinetti but still all the same belonging to this master's school are two charming predella panels in the store-room of the Vatican Gallery; one of them has been identified as representing the conversion of St. John Gualbert and shows us a young man praying in the apse of a church, a youth raising his sword against an opponent, and then in a landscape the reconciliation of the two young men.

The other panel which, it has been thought, illustrates an apparition of St. Antony, depicts to one side the saint standing before a group of persons inside a building, and to the other side the holy monk standing on burning logs while the Virgin (?) appears to him in the sky.

In this group of works I include still a curious picture in the museum of the cathedral of Florence (No. 83) of a holy monk

(1) *P. J. Richter*, Catalogue of Pictures of Locko Park. No. 23.

(2) *T. Borenius*, A Catalogue of the Pictures etc. collected by Viscount and Viscountess Lee of Fareham, privately printed (I. 1923), No. 3. mentions two "variations or copies" of the same picture, one sold at Christie's in the spring of 1923. the other in a collection in Italy.

(3) *G. Poggi*, in *G. Dainelli e G. Poggi*, Itinerari automobilistica d'Italia: Toscana, Firenze, 1924. p. 239, ascribes it to Neri di Bicci.



Fig. 182. School of Baldovinetti, the Holy Family. Lee of Fareham Collection. Richmond.

between two kneeling adorers, one a woman with a scroll, the other a man with a bag of money (?), a rather damaged tondo in the Städelische Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt a. M. (No. 764) representing the Calvary, a miniature in the Wallace collection (No. 45) of the half-length figure of St. Agnes as the decoration of an initial letter, which has been ascribed to the Ferrarese school, and a half-length figure of the Virgin against a landscape background in the Maurice Hewlett collection, which was once exhibited at the Arundel Club.

Among the drawings of Baldovinetti's school, Mr. Berenson mentions several pages in the Uffizi <sup>(1)</sup>. They comprise a leaf (Berenson No. 197) with the figures of two peasants, one a youth with his hand on his hip, the other an old man leaning on his staff. Mr. Berenson considers them good school copies as he describes also another leaf (Berenson No. 198) with four similar figures which, however, are of poorer technique; we see on this page a man standing with clasped hands, a man resting his head on his hand, a youth with his hand on his hip and a man tilling the soil (fig. 183) <sup>(2)</sup>. To the same group belongs a sketch of an old man carrying a sack on his back (Berenson No. 201). There is an obvious difference between these drawings and Baldovinetti's art but there is even less resemblance between the master's manner and three sketches which Mr. Berenson (Nos. 200, 202, 203) describes as rather late copies of works by Baldovinetti. They represent a Descent from the Cross with many figures <sup>(3)</sup>, a Crucifixion in a very crowded composition, both in the Uffizi, and the faithful mourning over the dead Christ, which originates from the Santarelli collection and which appears to be of later date than the others. A sketch in the Uffizi repeats the lower part of this drawing. Still more vaguely connected with Baldovinetti's art is a drawing in the Uffizi of two men their hands bound and a man wearing a toga.

Lastly, there are some engravings which bear a resemblance

<sup>(1)</sup> *Berenson*, Drawings of the Florentine Painters.

<sup>(2)</sup> Photo. Braun, 76037, 76038, *Bolletino d'Arte*, 1909, p. 375.

<sup>(3)</sup> Photo. Braun, 76039. *Ede*, Florentine Drawings, No. 19, hesitatingly ascribes it to Baldovinetti.

in style to Baldovinetti's art. In the first place might be cited an allegory of the reward of Humility and the punishment of Pride; it shows above, the Saviour towards Whom two ladders are raised; a young man followed by a lamb mounts



Fig. 183. School of Baldovinetti, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun

on one of them, a king falls from the other and is caught below by a lion. In the centre between the two ladders we see the Virgin adoring the Child lying on the ground, St. Joseph close by who has fallen asleep and the ox and the ass, a composition which we have found several times in the work of Baldovinetti (fig. 184). There is only one example of this engraving and it is preserved in the British Museum; Messrs. Hind and Colvin classify it as a "somewhat late work of the



Fig. 184. Print of a religious allegory, influenced by Baldovinetti.  
British Museum.

school of Finiguerra" (1). Approximating it quite justifiably

(1) *A. M. Hind and S. Colvin, Catalogue of early Italian Engravings etc. in the British Museum. London, 1910, p. 46 and fig. A. V 6.*





to two other little engravings, one the Virgin adoring the Child Who lies on the ground (fig. 185), the other St. Joseph seated near the stall of the ass, also in the British Museum, and together forming a composition closely resembling that of the foregoing print <sup>(1)</sup>. Of the second of these two engravings another example exists in the E. de Rothschild collection, Paris.

After a somewhat different manner, but none the less still reminiscent of Baldovinetti's art are the illustrations of "Il Monte Sancto di Dio" published in Florence in 1477 and containing three engravings; a second edition followed in 1491 with the same plates; they represent: the Holy Mountain with Christ in the midst of cherubim above while a man climbs a ladder towards Him and another looks on, then Christ in a mandorla of cherubs borne by angels (fig. 186) and Satan devouring the wicked while in the centre others are being afflicted with the tortures of Hell <sup>(2)</sup>. On the other hand I fail to see Baldovinetti's influence in a series of engravings — in the broad manner and in the fine — illustrating the lives of the Virgin and the Saviour, which is divided between the British Museum, the print-rooms of Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Dresden and some private collections and which according to Hind and Colvin "in style approaches most nearly the work of Alessio Baldovinetti" <sup>(3)</sup>.

There is a marked resemblance between the composition of the Crucifixion in this series and that of the drawing of

<sup>(1)</sup> *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., p. 185 and fig. A. V. 1a and 1b. It is true that as far as measurements, inscriptions, etc. are concerned, these two engravings belong to a series of little prints of prophets and sybils that Messrs. *Hind and Colvin* classify in Finiguerra's school; but I do not think that they are from the same hand. The series referred to is much nearer the school of Pollaiuolo than the two engravings in question, in which it is not difficult to distinguish elements borrowed from Baldovinetti's art.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., p. 81 and figs. A. III. 1, 2 and 3. *C. W. Reid*, *Works of Italian Engravers of the fifteenth century*, London, 1884. *F. Lipmann*, *Italian wood Engravings in the fifteenth century*, London, 1890, p. 27. *A. W. Pollard*, *Italian book illustration*, London, 1894, p. 59. *H. Delaborde*, *La gravure en Italie avant Marc-Antoine*, Paris—London, (no date), p. 47.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., p. 102, pls. B. 1 etc.



Fig 186. Illustration from "Il Monte Sancto di Dio", influenced by Baldovinetti (1477).

the same subject in the Uffizi which Mr. Berenson, as I said before, believes to be a copy after a work by Baldovinetti.

However, in style these engravings are much more remi-

niscent of Botticelli to whom, moreover, some of the old critics, Balducci and Heinecker for example, ascribe them; Passavant thought they were by Filippo Lippi. I shall return to this question in the next volume.

I find Baldovinetti's influence in some niellos; firstly in those which some writers ascribe to Maso Finiguerra, such as the Coronation of the Virgin in the midst of a host of angels and saints (fig. 187) and the Crucifixion, both in the National Museum, Florence (<sup>1</sup>).

Delaborde, who attributes these two examples to Finiguerra, admits only a certain connexion between them and a niello of the Virgin and Child accompanied by angels and saints, of which there is a beautiful print in the Print Room of the British Museum (fig. 188), which in my opinion is, without doubt, from the same hand as the Coronation of the Virgin.

Some other niellos of a less refined technique manifest an influence which can be traced to Baldovinetti's art; they are the Madonna enthroned between the two SS. John and the Saviour in the midst of angels with the swooning Virgin in the foreground, both in the National Museum, Florence.

In speaking of Baldovinetti's pupils, I have already mentioned the name of Giusuè de' Santi by whom there are no extant works, of Ghirlandaio, who will be treated in the next volume, he influenced Cosimo Rosselli, Verrocchio, and the Pollaiuolo brothers and of "Il Graffione" whose real name was Giovanni di Michele Scheggini da Larciano and whose artistic career must be discussed briefly here.

(<sup>1</sup>) It has been thought that this Crucifixion should be identified with that described by Benvenuto Cellini in his treatise on goldsmith work as sketched by Antonio Pollaiuolo and executed by Finiguerra. Then *Gori*, Thesaur. vet. dept., 1759. *Duchesne*, Essai sur les Nielles, 1826, and others imagined that it was by Matteo di Giovanni Dei who in 1455 made a similar niello for the baptistery (*Gaye*, Carteggio, I, p. 112 note). Dei is held responsible also for a niello of the conversion of St. Paul in the National Museum, Florence, but *G. Milanese*, L'Arte. XXXVI, 1884, p. 66, does not agree with this attribution although he ascribes the Coronation of the Virgin to this artist and others have upheld this opinion, v. *Thieme-Becker*, Künstler Lexikon, VIII. p. 556 and *Rosini*, Stor. del. Pitt. ital., III. p. 130.



Fig. 187. Niello of the Coronation of the Virgin, influenced by Baldovinetti.  
National Museum, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Mr. Horne dedicates an article to this painter <sup>(1)</sup>, who apparently was born in Florence in 1455 and died there in 1521; in 1468 or 1469 he became apprenticed to Piero di Lorenzo Zuccherini whom Vasari confounds with Piero di Lorenzo

Pratese<sup>(2)</sup>. In 1484 he worked with Baldovinetti and received, as I have already said, five payments due to this artist for having filled up and painted the centre of the panel in S. Ambrogio, so that we can ascribe to Graftione the central figure of the Madonna in adoration. In 1491 he was a member of the commission which was appointed to judge the plans for the façade of the cathedral of Florence and in 1503 and 1508 his name figures



Fig. 188. Niello of the Madonna and Saints, influenced by Baldovinetti. British Museum.

in the register of the Compagnia di San Luca.

Vasari tells us that he was a very strange man, that he never ate at table, seldom slept in a bed but in a box full

<sup>(1)</sup> *H. P. Horne*, *Il Graftione*, *Burlington Magazine*, VIII, 1905, pp. 50, 189. *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, II, p. 598. *Thieme-Becker*, *Künstler Lexikon*, XIV, 1921, p. 489.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Re. this artist*, v. Vol. X. p. 508.

of straw and that one day while talking to Lorenzo de' Medici he said: "it is not the money which makes the artist, but the artists who make money" which seems to me rather a foolish remark. Vasari ascribes to him the fresco of God the Father over the door of the Innocenti Hospital, which we know now was executed by Giovanni di Francesco (<sup>1</sup>).

The Madonna and Child of the panel in S. Ambrogio have still a certain character, although recent restorations have considerably disfigured this painting. For this reason it is difficult to make other attributions to this artist. Mr. Horne, however, is of opinion that he painted a Holy Trinity with SS. Mary Magdalene and Catherine of Alexandria in the church of S. Spirito, Florence, which attribution I accept not without hesitation; Prof. A. Venturi seems inclined, but somewhat hesitatingly, to ascribe to him a polyptych in the gallery of Lucca (No. 53) representing the Madonna crowned by angels, between SS. John the Baptist, Catherine, Joseph and Lucy with God the Father and the Annunciation above (<sup>2</sup>).

I think that Graffione, working under the direct influence of Baldovinetti, must have executed a little panel, illustrating the childhood of a saint, in the Jarves collection, Newhaven (No. 41). The scene takes place in the court-yard of a house; the little child plays on a rug near two women; two Franciscan monks and a woman stand close by, another woman looks from the window; in the background we see the child being bathed by three women; here there is a glimpse of a landscape. This panel has been attributed to Baldovinetti (<sup>3</sup>), to the Umbrian school, probably Buonfigli (<sup>4</sup>) and to Masaccio's time and tendency (<sup>5</sup>).

Still more hesitatingly I cite Graffione as the possible author of a Madonna enthroned between SS. Matthew with a little angel, Louis of Toulouse standing, Francis and Clare kneeling

(<sup>1</sup>) v. Vol. X, p. 384.

(<sup>2</sup>) *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VII, p. 678.

(<sup>3</sup>) *O. Sirén*, op. cit. *The Same*, A descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Jarves Collection belonging to Yale University. Newhaven, London, Oxford, 1916, p. 107.

(<sup>4</sup>) *Breck*, *Der Cicerone*, 1912, p. 133.

(<sup>5</sup>) *Rankin*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1895, II.

which formerly was No. 32 in the S. Marco Museum, Florence (fig. 189); the date 1493 is inscribed at the foot of the throne <sup>(1)</sup>.

If Baldovinetti was an eclectic artist, Graffione was still more so; he was inspired not only by Baldovinetti and Filippino Lippi but also by several other Florentine painters of the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In his old age he no doubt worked in a manner very different from that of 1484 and we must resign ourselves, without much regret let it be said, to the impossibility of ever being able to recognize his late productions.

It is quite another case for the delightful anonymous little master whom Mr. Berenson has christened the "Master of the Castello Nativity" on account of a painting of the Nativity — the centre of a triptych — which is found in the royal villa of Castello, near Florence. Mr. Berenson has grouped together several works by this artist, but to his list I am able to add one or two other productions.

The group of works, which, on account not only of the influence of Baldovinetti but also of obvious reminiscences of Angelico's art, can be assigned to an early stage in the master's career, includes the Nativity or rather the Virgin adoring the Child near a house in a landscape with many angels and the shepherds in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (No. 23) <sup>(2)</sup>, with which we should associate a similar representation which was for sale in London in 1909 <sup>(3)</sup>, and a Madonna adoring the Child lying in a field, with no other figures, in the Acton collection, Florence (fig. 190). At a slightly later period when our artist must have already come into contact with Fra Filippo Lippi although Angelico's influence has not been entirely effaced, he must have executed a Madonna between two angelic musicians with a large vase of flowers in the foreground,

<sup>(1)</sup> Once upon a time Graffione was held responsible for a half-length figure of the Madonna and Child with angels in the Uffizi (No. 486) but this painting is now ascribed to the Florentine school of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>(2)</sup> *B. Berenson, A Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings, etc., I, Italian Painting* (Johnson coll., Philadelphia), Philadelphia, 1913, p. 17. *F. M. Perkins, Rassegna d'Arte*, V, 1905, p. 114, calls it school of Angelico.

<sup>(3)</sup> I do not know this painting; it is mentioned by Mr Berenson.

which is preserved in the gallery of Pisa (fig. 191) (1). I think it quite possible that from the same hand and of about this period is an Annunciation in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



Fig. 189. Graffione?, Madonna and saints. Formerly in the S. Marco Museum, Florence. Photo Alinari.

(No. 4) in which the angel kneels before the Virgin who is seated under a portico while above God the Father is shown in the midst of nine angels arranged in three rows, playing

(1) *I. B. Supino*, *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, 1894, p. 240. ascribes it to Benozzo Gozzoli.





Fig. 190. Master of the Castello Nativity, Madonna adoring the Child.  
Acton Collection, Florence.

Photo Brogi.



Fig. 191. Master of the Castello Nativity, Madonna and angels.  
Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Alinari.

on musical instruments. Very shortly afterwards I imagine he executed the half-length figure of the Madonna, with the Child bending Himself backwards in His Mother's arms, between four angels which was gifted to the Louvre (No. 1657<sup>a</sup>) by M. Bossy (fig. 192) <sup>(1)</sup>.

To the same manner belong a Madonna adoring the Child lying in a meadow, framed by two brocade curtains, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (no number), formerly in the Brinsley Marley collection, and the picture at the Villa of Castello to which I have already referred. Here against a landscape the Virgin is represented near a hut adoring the Infant Who lies on the ground; near them stands the little St. John while above appears God the Father between angels and cherubim. Four medallions containing half-length figures of prophets adorn the predella. This is one of the master's pictures in which the influence of Baldovinetti is most marked; Mr. Berenson thinks that the panel is not anterior to 1460.

Baldovinetti's domination is manifest in another picture by the same artist which represents against a landscape background, the Child on the ground, adored by the Virgin and Joseph seated close by, near a ruined hut in which shelter the ox and the ass (fig. 193). This painting, which, although a little different from the others, is in my opinion certainly by the master of the Castello Nativity, is found in a private collection in Rome.

Another little group, in which Fra Filippo Lippi's influence is more evident, includes a half-length figure of the Virgin in a niche, holding the naked Child Who grasps a little bird and sucks a finger, in the Louvre (No. 4661<sub>a</sub>, leg. Rothschild) (fig. 194), a similar representation in the gallery of the University of Göttingen (No. 70), a little Annunciation in the Gustave Dreyfus collection, Paris, a Madonna seated with the Child on her knee before a portico in a garden in the Berenson collection, Settignano (fig. 195) and a Madonna enthroned in a niche with the Child standing on her knee between two angelic musicians in the Maitland F. Griggs collection, New York (fig. 196).

(1) *O. Sirén*, Burlington Magazine, XLVI, 1925, p. 282. gives it to the school of Filippo Lippi. *L. Hauteceur*, op. cit., p. 47.



Fig. 192. Master of the Castello Nativity, Madonna and angels. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.

Lastly Mr. Berenson declares that probably an Annunciation in the church of S. Giovanni dei Cavalieri, Florence, which shows a very strong influence of Fra Filippo Lippi, is from the hand of this artist, while he finds a marked resemblance



Fig. 193. Master of the Castello Nativity, Virgin adoring the Child.  
Private Collection. Rome.



Fig. 194. Master of the Castello Nativity, Madonna and Child. Louvre, Paris.

Photo, Arch. phot. d'Art et d'hist.



Fig. 195. Master of the castello Nativity, Madonna and Child.  
Berenson Collection, Settignano.



Fig. 196. Master of the Castello Nativity, Madonna, Child and angels.  
Maitland F. Griggs Collection, New York.

Photo Offner.



between the Master of the Castello Nativity and the author of two predella panels illustrating the lives of two saints, one of whom is a bishop whose identity has not been recognized; in one we see the saint standing before a vessel which some women fill with grain, and in the other the holy man hides in a grotto while some soldiers search the mountain side. These panels which are found in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (Nos. 24 and 25)<sup>(1)</sup> are attributed by Mr. Berenson to "an unknown follower of Fra Angelico" yet, judging from the reproductions, the influence of Baldovinetti seems to be still fairly evident and I am inclined to believe that these two panels are youthful productions of our painter.

If my conception of the master differs a little from that of Mr. Berenson, it is only because I place the artist slightly more distant from Fra Angelico and I see in him an eclectic painter who followed chiefly the manner of Baldovinetti, his contemporary, but at the same time he was reactionary and had no great desire to join the new and revolutionary movement which developed in Florence at this stage of the Renaissance.

We must deal here with the problem of Finiguerra<sup>(2)</sup>. That Tommaso or Maso Finiguerra made sketches for the inlaid work in the sacristy of the cathedral of Florence, now partly in the Opera del Duomo, there can be no doubt, but

<sup>(1)</sup> *Berenson*, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>(2)</sup> *B. Berenson*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, serie III. vol. XXIII, p. 170. *The Same*, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, I, p. 31; II, p. 129. *Colvin*, *Florentine Picture Chronicle*. *Delaborde*, op. cit., p. 1. *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., introduction. *A. M. Hind*, *Short History of Engraving*, London, 1908, p. 39. *H. P. Horne*, *Sandro Botticelli*, London, 1908, p. 77. *P. K.*, in *Thieme-Becker's Künstler Lexikon*, XI, p. 583. *Kristeller*, *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, VI, 1893, p. 392. *Milanesi*, *L'Arte*, XXXII, 1883, p. 221. *v. Rumohr*, *Untersuchung üb. d Gründe d. Annahme dass M. di Finiguerra etc.*, Leipzig, 1841. *Ulmann*, *Jahrb. d. K. Preus. Kunstsamml.*, XV, 1894, p. 245. *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, I, p. 209; III, pp. 287, 288; V, pp. 395, 443, 444, 446. *Venturi*, *L'Arte*, II, 1899, p. 112. *Zani*, *Materiale per servire alla storia del incisione*, Parma, 1802, p. 31. For a more complete bibliography v. *P. K.* in *Thieme-Becker's Künstler Lexikon* and *Fraschetti*, *La Bibliofilia*, 1900, p. 191.

the question arises regarding the attribution to him of: (1) two niellos in the National Museum, Florence, (2) a series of drawings of male figures in different positions, partly in the Uffizi and (3) a long series of drawings illustrating a chronicle of important events from the Old Testament, mythology and classical history, originally in the Ruskin collection but now in the British Museum.

As to the first question, that concerning the niellos, we can say that the answer is in the negative because now-a-days no one believes in the discovery and affirmation of Father Zani that Finiguerra executed the two Pax already mentioned, one representing the Crucifixion, the other the Coronation of the Virgin, nor in the fable narrated by Vasari that Finiguerra invented copper engraving, so that we can dismiss these two points which have already been exhausted by other writers.

Regarding the third attribution, that of the series of drawings for the Chronicle in the British Museum, we can say that since it was launched by Mr. Colvin it has its illustrious adherents in such critics as B. Berenson, H. P. Horne and A. M. Hind and its just as renowned adversaries in A. Venturi, Kristeller and Frascchetti. Personally I agree with the opinion of the latter group. I think these drawings belong to the school of Antonio Pollaiuolo and I shall return to them when treating the adherents of this artist.

There certainly exists an obvious connexion between Antonio Pollaiuolo and Finiguerra but if we admit that the latter who was Pollaiuolo's senior, executed these sketches then we are forced to accept him as Pollaiuolo's master and to consider him a veritable pioneer, and the inventor of a new manner which was instrumental in the formation of Pollaiuolo's art. Yet these drawings, although very pleasing, do not reveal any such marvellous qualities on the part of the artist and further, I do not think that we can place them prior to the death of Finiguerra (1464); they date from at least ten years later if not more. None the less, there must have existed a link between Finiguerra, Pollaiuolo and the master of the Picture Chronicle, three masters of Florentine origin, following one another within a short interval, all three draughts-

men and engravers or at least niello workers and dependent one on the other, but of this trio the only great artist was Pollaiuolo.

Tommaso or Maso Finiguerra was born in 1425 <sup>(1)</sup> and became a goldsmith like his grandfather who bore the same name; according to a letter written by Baccio Bandinelli, the artist in his youth must have worked in collaboration with Ghiberti on the famous bronze doors. As early as 1449 we find him in touch with Baldovinetti who had to make a sulphur cast of a niello plate by Finiguerra, in payment or in exchange for a dagger. In 1451 and 1452 he was employed chiefly as a goldsmith also in 1457 when he worked as such for the church of S. Jacomo in Pistoia. In 1459 he pays to Neri di Bicci a carved and gilded "sun".

Maso married Piera di Domenico di Giovanni and had a goldsmith's shop together with Bartolomeo di Sali and Antonio Pollaiuolo. In a book of notes that Giovanni Ruccellai began in 1459, he is mentioned as a drawing-master (*maestro di disegno*) working together with Antonio Pollaiuolo in the house of the Ruccellai; the other artists were Fra Filippo, Domenico Veneziano, Giuliano da Maiano, Verrocchio, del Castagno and Paolo Uccello. In 1463 the Florentine merchant Cino di Filippo Rinuccini purchases on three different occasions metal objects in the shop of Finiguerra and his two companions: twice from Finiguerra and once from Pollaiuolo, and the same year, as we have already seen, Baldovinetti coloured five drawings of heads that Finiguerra sketched for inlaid work that Giuliano da Maiano executed for the sacristy of the cathedral; it is generally supposed that they are those of the Annunciation and St. Zenobius between two deacons. As I said Finiguerra died in 1464.

It was chiefly as a worker in niello that Finiguerra was renowned. Benvenuto Cellini informs us that he did nothing but that, which is certainly not true, and that he always

(1) For the documents v. *Gaye*, Carteggio, I, p. III. *Milanesi*, comm. on *Vasari*, V, p. 443. *Colvin*, op. cit., p. 22. In 1457 the father makes a declaration concerning the family and says his son is thirty years of age but this seems to be a slight mistake.

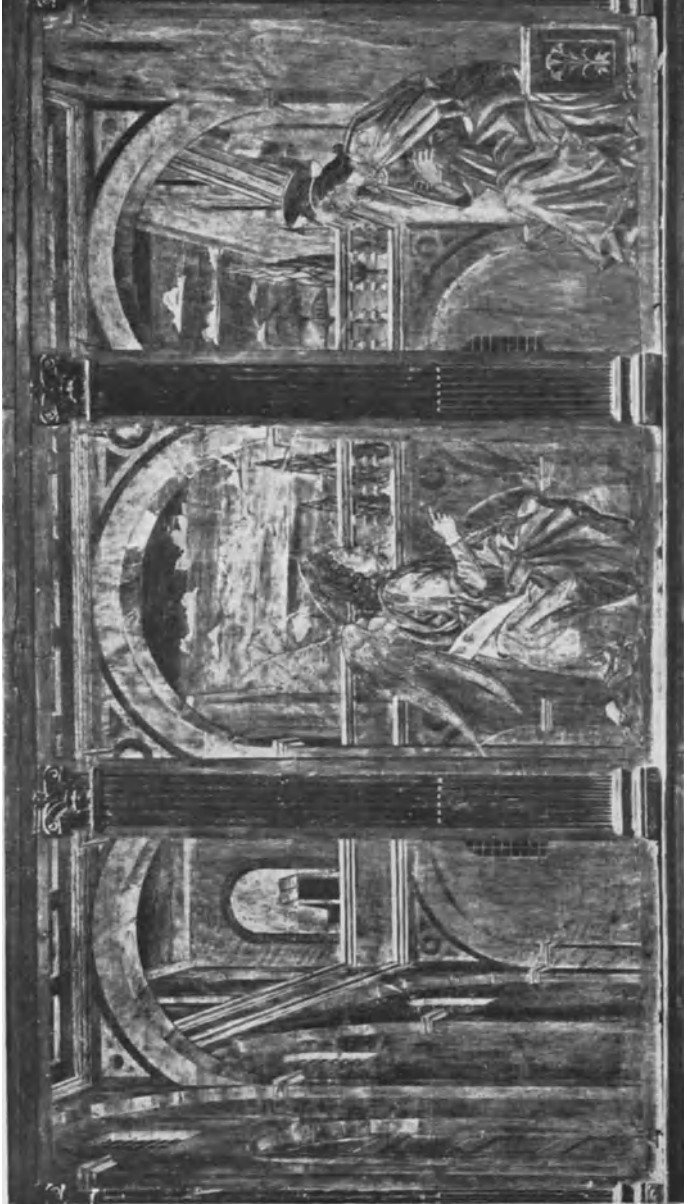


Fig. 197. Annunciation in inlaid wood after a drawing by Finiguerra, circa 1463. Sacristy, Cathedral, Florence.  
Photo Alinari.

worked after designs by Antonio Pollaiuolo (4). Also Filarete and Salimbeni praise him as a worker in this particular branch of goldsmith art.

Although we find Finiguerra working chiefly in connexion with Pollaiuolo and Vasari also speaks of him together with this master, the only authentic productions by him prove that he was inspired above all by Baldovinetti. The works in



Fig. 198. St. Zenobius and two holy deacons, in inlaid wood, after a drawing by Finiguerra. Opera del Duomo. Florence. Photo Alinari.

question are the two pictures in inlaid wood; one is the Annunciation still in the sacristy and represents the angel kneeling before the Virgin who is seated in the courtyard of a house; there is a great display of Renaissance architecture while above we see the tops of trees after the manner of Beato Angelico (fig. 197). The second piece of marquetry, now in the Opera del Duomo shows, in a hall, the ceiling of which is also visible, St. Zenobius seated in episcopal

(4) "Maso Finiguerra fece l'arte solamente dello intagliare di niello; questo fu un uomo che mai non ebbe nessuno paragone di quella cotale professione, e sempre operò servendosi dei disegni di detto Antonio": *Collini*, in the introduction to his *Trattato dell' Oreficeria*.



Fig. 199. The Prophet Amos, inlaid wood, after a drawing by Finiguerra ?  
Sacristy, Cathedral, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 200. The Prophet Isaiah, inlaid wood, after a drawing by Finiguerra? Sacristy, Cathedral, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

attire and two holy deacons, their hands clasped, each standing in front of a niche (fig. 198). I am practically convinced that from the same hand as the Annunciation are the two prophets, Amos and Isaiah (figs. 199, 200), which are found to either



Fig. 201. The Circumcision, inlaid wood, after a drawing by Finiguerra?  
Sacristy, Cathedral. Florence. Photo Alinari.

side in the sacristy; each of them stands before a portico seen from an angle with a good effect of perspective, as well as the representation of the Circumcision which takes place against a background of Renaissance architecture comprising three niches, of which the two lateral are only half visible (fig. 201). This piece of work is executed after a slightly different manner and Mr. Berenson is of opinion that Baldovinetti should be held responsible for the rough sketch. The question is extremely delicate because we should have to know just



to what extent Giuliano da Maiano was faithful to the style of the drawing in reproducing it in marquetry. Yet in studying the Nativity executed after Baldovinetti's sketches, he appears to have succeeded in conveying the style to the picture in inlaid wood and this leads us to suppose that the other marquetry pictures should give us a fairly precise impression of Finiguerra's manner.

Whether the collection of drawings ascribed to him is really from the same hand, is quite another question. The first to speak about this was Baldinucci who informs us that this set of drawings existed in the collection of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici and that the best of them are so near Masaccio that he does not hesitate to proclaim this artist as Finiguerra's master <sup>(1)</sup>. It may very well be that they are the same sketches which Vasari pretends to have had in his possession. In 1793, forty-six of these drawings were stolen; twenty-two sketches now in the Bonnat collection must have belonged to this series, while the rest are scattered among different other collections.

Those which remain in the Uffizi are attributed to the school of Pollaiuolo; two of them bear the name of Finiguerra. This attribution has been accepted by Messrs. Colvin and Horne <sup>(2)</sup> while Mr. Berenson who believes that the "picture chronicle" is by Finiguerra, qualifies the series of drawings in the Uffizi and elsewhere as the work of "a feeble draughtsman, a close follower of Antonio Pollaiuolo influenced by Pesellino". He blames the recent tendency of identifying him with Maso Finiguerra <sup>(3)</sup>. According to Mr. Colvin the examples in the Bonnat collection are sooner copies by a pupil. Prof. A. Venturi remarks that these sketches are very different in style from those of the "picture chronicle"; they

<sup>(1)</sup> *F. Baldinucci*, *Notizie di professori del disegno*, I, Florence, 1845, p. 519.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Horne*, loc. cit.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Berenson*, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, I, p. 31, Mr. Berenson is perhaps not very logical in referring us to this place in Mr. Colvin's book for a full and admirable sketch of the artistic personality of Finiguerra, considering that it is chiefly just from this set of drawings that Mr. Colvin constructs the figure of Finiguerra.

are so much more simple in technique that this critic, as well as Mr. Berenson, is of opinion that the two series of drawings cannot be from the same hand. This is also my conclusion but I differ from Mr. Berenson in this sense, that the sketches in the Uffizi and other collections are much nearer in manner to the mosaics in wood in the sacristy of the cathedral in Florence than the drawings of the "picture chronicle" in the British Museum, yet in spite of the traditional attribution to Finiguerra, I do not believe in the very least that the drawings in the Uffizi and the others belonging to the same series are really from his hand. This seems to me quite impossible even admitting that the wood work, on account of the difference of technique, has lost something of the style in which the rough draughts were executed.

The drawings in pen and water-colour should be placed in the school of Pollaiuolo and consequently we shall return to them when dealing with this group of works. A large number of these leaves is reproduced in Mr. Colvin's book. Some other attributions to Finiguerra are based on the conviction that he was the master of the "picture chronicle" cycle and consequently I do not agree with them. Thus for example Mr. Berenson ascribes to him a drawing in the Albertina of an angel probably of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, which he thinks is a copy by Finiguerra of a drawing by Pesellino. He insists very much on the influence that Pesellino had on this artist or sooner on the artist who illustrated the picture chronicle<sup>(1)</sup>.

For the same reason I do not agree with Messrs. Hind and Colvin in ascribing to "the workshop of Finiguerra, either during his lifetime or in the period following his death in 1464" a large number of engravings, some of which, illustrating the "Monte Sancto di Dio", I have already included among the school works of Baldovinetti, while the others will be discussed among the productions of the school of Pollaiuolo.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Berenson, Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, No. 1848. *The Same*, op. cit., *Gazette des Beaux Arts*.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANTONIO AND PIERO DEL POLLAIUOLO AND THEIR FOLLOWERS <sup>(1)</sup>

Concerning the lives of the brothers Pollaiuolo, there exists a great number of documents. They have been united together and in part published by Mrs. Cruttwell whose book is the

(<sup>1</sup>) *H. A. Barr*, A drawing by A.P.. Art. Studies, edited by the Harvard and Princeton Universities, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1926, p. 73. *Beltrami*, Appunti di iconogr. artist., Rassegna d'Arte, I, 1901, p. 53. *B. Borensen*, Due quadri inedite a Staggia, Rassegna d'Arte, V, 1905, p. 9. *W. Bode*, Recension on Mrs. Cruttwell's book, Burlington Magazine, XI, 1907, p. 181. *T. Borenius*, Four early Italian Engravers, London, 1923, p. 5. *L. Borsari*, A. del P. e gli Orsini, Nozze Orsini-Varo, Rome, 1891 (letter of 1494). *J. Cartwright*, The Painters of Florence, p. 182. *M. Cruttwell*, Quattro portate del Catasto etc. da A. P., dal fratello Giovanni e da Jacopo loro padre, L'Arte, VIII, 1905, p. 381. *The Same*, A.P., London-New York, 1907. *L. Dami*, Due nuove opere Pollaiolesche, Dedalo, IV, 1924, p. 695. *G. De Nicola*, Opere perdute del P., Rassegna d'Arte, XVIII, 1918, p. 210. *J. Del Badia*, Lettera d'A. del P. a Virgilio Orsini, Rivista d'Arte, 1905, p. 126. *H. S. Ede*, Two drawings by A.P., Burlington Magazine, Vol. XLV, July 1924, p. 41. *v. Fabriczy*, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XV, 1892, p. 284. *P. N. Ferri*, Text to first portfolio 3<sup>rd</sup> series of Drawings of the R. Gallery of the Uffizi, Florence, no date. *Filangieri di Candida*, Un bronzo di P. nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli, L'Arte, I, 1898, p. 188. *Franceschini*, Il Dossale d'Argento del tempio di S. Giovanni, Florence, 1894. *B. Haendcke*, Durer's Beziehungen zu J. da Barbari, P. u Bellini, Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XIX, 1898, p. 162. *A. M. Hind*, Noti su Mantegna e i P., L'Arte, IX, 1906, p. 303. *B. M. Howland*, Dürer and P., Burlington Magazine, IX, 1906, p. 63. *M. Logan*, Découverte d'une fresque de P., Chronique des Arts, 1897, p. 343. *H. Mackowsky*, Das Silberkreuz für dem Johannes Altar im Museo di S. Maria del Fiore zu Florenz, Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXIII, 1902, p. 235. *F. J. M(ather)*, The Newhaven P., Burlington Magazine, VIII, 1906, p. 440. *J. Mesnil*, Botticelli, les P. et Verrocchio, Rivista d'Arte, 1905, p. 4. *The Same*, Les figures des Vertus de la Mercatanzia, Miscellanea d'Arte, I, 1903, p. 43. *R. A. Parker*, The key to A. P.'s genius, International Studio, Jan. 1928, p. 39. *M. Raymond*,

only monograph that has as yet been written on these masters. Although this volume contains any amount of useful information, its importance is not in proportion to that of the brothers Pollaiuolo, particularly to that of Antonio who can be considered among the greatest geniuses of this, the most illustrious period in the history of Italian art. Moreover Mrs. Cruttwell's book is no longer up to date.

As the name indicates, Antonio and Piero were the sons of a poultry merchant (1) but quite contrary to Vasari's description of poverty, the business of the father, whose name was Jacopo Benci, seems to have been very successful and he and his wife Tommasa had six children of whom Antonio was the eldest. He, Antonio, lived with his brothers Piero and Giovanni also a poulterer. The latter had also six children, the youngest of whom, Piero, followed his uncles' calling and as painter-sculptor, had an independent bottega. Antonio's brother, Piero, seems to have provided for his parents in their old age.

A cadastral declaration made by the father Jacopo in 1457 mentions his wife Tommasa, Antonio aged 24, Silvestro aged 22, Giovanni aged 17, Piero aged 14 and a daughter Cosa of ten (2). This would give us the year 1433 as that of the birth of Antonio. The inscription on his tomb-stone leads us to

Le Buste de Charles VIII etc., Bull. Archéol. du Comité des trav. hist. et scient., 1895, p. 242. *U. Rossi*, Due pitture di P. P., Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 1890, p. 160. *S. Schwabacher*, Die Stickereien nach Entwürfe des A. P. in der opera di S. Maria del Fiore in Florenz, Strasbourg, 1911. *Z. Takaes*, Zur Dürer's Studien nach P., Kunstchron., XVII, 1906, p. 108. *H. Ulmann*, Die Thaten des Herkules: Wandgemälden im Palazzo di Venezia in Rom. Munich, 1894. *The Same*, Bilder u. Zeichnungen der P., Jahrb. f. Preus. Kunstsamml., 1894, p. 230. *G. Vasari*, Le Vite etc., ed. *Milanesi*, III, p. 285. *A. Venturi*, A proposito del documento pubbl. del Borsari, Arch. stor. dell' Arte, 1892, p. 208. *A. Venturi*, Il paliotto di Sisto IV nella basilica di Assisi disegnato del A. P., L'Arte, 1906, p. 218. *The Same*, Romolo e Remo di A. P. nella lupa Capitolina, L'Arte, XXII 1919, p. 133. *The Same*, Capolavoro del A. P. nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra, L'Arte, XXIX, 1926, p. 56 (also in the Messagero, December 1925). *The Same*, Per A. P., L'Arte, XXIX, 1926, p. 179.

(1) *Cinelli*, Bellezze di Firenze, Florence, 1678, p. 579, thinks that this denomination was taken from a place of this name near Pistoia (*A. Chiappelli*, Arte del Rinascimento, Rome, 1925, p. 228 note 4).

(2) *Gaye*, Carteggio, I, p. 266.

believe that he was born in 1426, but another document gives the year of his birth again as 1433 and this I think we should accept as in all probability the correct date. As for his artistic education, we have only Vasari's affirmation that he served his apprenticeship with the goldsmith, Bartoluccio Ghiberti, the master of Lorenzo, that his skill as a niello worker attracted the attention of Lorenzo de' Medici and that he helped in the execution of the bronze doors for the baptistery. Very soon, however, he left Ghiberti and started a work-shop of his own in the Mercato Nuovo. Although both Antonio Billi and the Anonimo Gaddiano speak of Antonio's activity on the bronze doors, the latter even relating an anecdote concerning a very natural looking quail on the frame, there is no trace of his name among those who assisted Ghiberti in this enterprise.

Nor is there any truth in Vasari's statement that he gave up the goldsmith art because it did not pay and, with the intention of devoting himself entirely to painting, entered the workshop of his brother Piero who, as artist, was greatly inferior; moreover, until the end of his life he signed his works calling himself always a goldsmith.

He was probably twenty-five years of age in February 1457 when he received the order to execute for S. Giovanni the silver cross which is now preserved in the Opera del Duomo, Florence, and this proves that his fame was very quickly established. Payment for this work was made two years later. A document of May 1459 describes a separation of goods he has with his father. We have proof of the fact that he did not take up painting only after his failure as a goldsmith, in a reference that he himself makes in a letter of 1494, to some pictures of the Labours of Hercules that he had executed thirty-four years before — consequently in 1460 — for Lorenzo the Magnificent. He speaks in the same letter of his brother's collaboration.

The documents which immediately follow speak of his work as a goldsmith; at this moment he was associated with Maso Finiguerra and Piero di Bartolomeo Sali. Benvenuti Cellini informs us that Finiguerra was not a good draughtsman and that Antonio made all the sketches for the works in metal

that Finiguerra executed. In 1461 a reliquary was made for the prior of S. Pancrazio; the same year and the year following he receives payments for a belt and a chain in silver for Filippo di Cino Rinuccini <sup>(1)</sup> and in 1465 he is charged with the execution of two candelabra in silver for S. Giovanni.

In 1466 he is asked to undertake quite another work which consists, according to Vasari, in designs for the decoration of two tunics, a chasuble and a cope for S. Giovanni, Florence. The embroideries still exist in the Opera del Duomo; they were working at them till 1480 but the last payment for the sketches was made to Antonio in 1473. It was also in 1466 that he executed the decoration and the altar-piece in the chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal.

In 1468 Antonio is requested to estimate the value of the metal ball on Brunelleschi's cupola of the cathedral of Florence; the following year he buys a property near Pistoia <sup>(2)</sup> and decorates the superb coat of armour and the accoutrements that Benedetto Salutate wore at the joust of Lorenzo the Magnificent <sup>(3)</sup>. In 1472 he is engaged in a similar but less important work, adorning the helmet of the Duke of Urbino while his name figures at the top of the list of Florentine painters in the register of this year <sup>(4)</sup>.

The property he bought near Pistoia in 1469 was at Quarata; he owned as well a vineyard at Castello and rented some ground near Porta a Prato. Between 1473 and 1478 record is made of various orders for, or payments of, metal objects such as a crucifix for the Carmine, a silver basin for the Signoria, reliefs for the silver altar in S. Giovanni and a reliquary for the finger of the Baptist. In 1475 he executed for the Pucci chapel the picture of St. Sebastian which is now in the National Gallery.

<sup>(1)</sup> *G. Aiazzi*, Ricordi storici di Cino di Filippo di Cino Rinuccini. Florence, 1840, p. 251. *Crutwell*, op. cit., p. 260. *Colvin*, A Florentine Picture Chronicle, p. 23.

<sup>(2)</sup> In a cadastral declaration made in 1480, he affirms that he bought this property in 1469. *Gaye*, Carteggio. I, p. 265.

<sup>(3)</sup> *De Nicola*, op. cit. *Borghini*, Discorsi, ed. 1585, II, p. 162. gives a detailed account of the expenditure. *De Nicola* publishes the entire list after the manuscript of Borghini.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Berenson*, Drawings of the Florentine Painters, I, p. 18.

In 1477 Piero presents a model for the tomb of Fortiguerra of Pistoia, competing with Verrocchio; in 1480 Antonio, Giovanni and Piero make a cadastral declaration from which it results that Antonio had a goldsmith's shop together with Paolo di Giovanni Sogliani in Vachereccia, consequently not with Piero, whose bottega at this moment was in the Piazza degli Agli (1).

In 1481 he estimates the value of a reliquary which Jacopo di Pisa had executed for San Gimignano; during the same year we find he buys a house in the parish of S. Michele, Bertoldo and another in Florence, as well as a property of about eighteen hectare in 1483 in the parish of Bacchereto. The same year it is recorded that he receives the last payment for the reliefs of the silver altar, while the year before he is commissioned by the Signoria to paint the façade of a fountain. Lastly in 1484 Antonio and Piero leave for Rome.

Apart from the tomb of Sixtus IV which he finished in 1493 and that of Innocent VIII, Pollaiuolo, during the fourteen years he spent in Rome, naturally undertook many other works, as Prof. De Nicola has demonstrated (2), to which we shall return when discussing his lost productions. From the letter which the authorities of Florence wrote after the death of the artist, it appears that he was employed also by the high ecclesiastical dignitaries of Rome.

In 1491 he takes part in the competition for the façade of the cathedral while from the letter of 1494 (3) we learn that he accepted the commission to execute a bust in bronze of the Condottiere Gentile Virginio Orsini; to make the rough draught of this work he goes to the castle of Bracciano; he proposes to execute an equestrian statue. Further we are informed that when he desires to visit his property near Pistoia, he asks for a recommendation from Piero de' Medici. Antonio died on the 4<sup>th</sup> of February 1498 and in his will expresses the desire to be buried in the church of S. Pier

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(1) *Mesnil*, op. cit., *Rivista d'Arte*.

(2) *De Nicola*, op. cit.

(3) *Bossari*, op. cit. *Del Badia*, op. cit. *Fabriczy*, op. cit., *L'Arte*, 1892, p. 208; 1909, p. 208.

in Vincoli where the tomb, with the portraits of him and his brother, has been erected. The effigy of Antonio bears a close resemblance to the portrait that Filippino Lippi made of him in his frescoes in the Carmine church, Florence. In a cadastral declaration of 1480<sup>(1)</sup> he mentions his wife Marietta but he must have been a widower at this moment; he marries a second time, at least in the will of 1496 he speaks of his wife Lucrezia and of his two daughters; apparently he never received the dowry that had been promised to his second wife. In case of the death of his wife and two daughters, his worldly estate, which was of considerable importance, was to go to the son of his brother Giovanni.

Of the high esteem in which the town of Florence held the artist we have testimony in the letter which the authorities wrote nine days after his death to their representative (orator) in Rome charging him to go to the Cardinal of Benevento and Monsignor Asciano in order to obtain for the widow and the daughters the payment of certain works which Pollaiuolo had executed for them. In this letter he is described only as sculptor and it was no doubt to this branch of art that Pollaiuolo devoted himself, especially towards the end of his life. In this letter it is said that he is "unique in his art".

In the study of the art of the brothers Pollaiuolo and the recognition of their respective works, we are confronted with a certain amount of difficulty on account of their close collaboration. In the letter of 1494 Antonio says very precisely that Piero had assisted him in the execution of the paintings of the Labours of Hercules which he made in 1460 for the Medici; then, as we shall see, Antonio sketches the rough draught for one of the allegorical figures that Piero executed in 1469 for the Mercatanzia of Florence; this he did on the back of one of the panels on which Piero painted, as if Antonio gave to his younger brother an idea of the appearance that these figures should have. Further we learn that Piero collaborated with his brother in the very important sculptures which he executed in Rome so that, in spite of the fact that Piero had a separate work-shop, we are forced to admit

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Gaye*, loc. cit.



that he spent at least the greater part of his life as his brother's assistant. Obviously he was an artist greatly inferior to Antonio although I think that Mrs. Cruttwell has somewhat exaggerated his insignificance.

If a certain confusion arises regarding the brothers' respective parts in their conjoint works in which naturally Antonio's style dominates, on the other hand there is not the slightest difficulty in recognizing Antonio's art from that of Piero. In the former we find plastic effects revealing a nervous temperament, a love of anatomy, a strength and even a violence of which there is no trace in the art of the phlegmatic Piero, whose authentic works, such as the Coronation of the Virgin at San Gimignano and the Personifications in the Uffizi, allow us to ascribe to him with certitude a considerable number of paintings, all executed in the same serene and fairly pleasing style.

The earliest authentic work by Antonio is the reliquary in the Opera del Duomo which he executed in 1456 for S. Giovanni. It was one of the gems most highly appreciated by the town of Florence. Unhappily critics do not agree as to Antonio Pollaiuolo's part in this object, there is even a certain amount of controversy regarding which figures are of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and which of the 18<sup>th</sup> <sup>(1)</sup> because in 1702 this little monument was transformed from a reliquary into a cross in which form it still exists.

After the victory over the Turks outside Belgrade it was decided that a suitable receptacle should be made for a precious relic of the Holy Cross and Antonio Pollaiuolo, Milano di Domenico Dei and Betto di Franco Betti were charged with the work; the two former artists must have executed the lower part, it took them two years and they received 3036 florins of which Pollaiuolo's part was 2006 florins. I think we should hold Antonio responsible for the little seated figures; the figures half-human, half-dragon, which support the angels to the sides, seem to be executed in his manner and if they are not actually by him, they are at least a good imitation of his style. Some of the enamels too seem to have been made after his designs but they are in such a ruined state that it is difficult to pronounce a judgment on them; indeed the entire work is placed in such

<sup>(1)</sup> *Mackowsky*, op. cit. *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 47.



Fig. 202. Antonio Pollaiuolo. David. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

a manner that any profound study of it is rendered almost impossible.

Antonio Pollaiuolo was probably only twenty-four years old when he executed his share of this piece of goldsmith's work and if we discover in it elements which lead us to believe that at

this moment his style was already shaped, it is chiefly because in his more mature works we discover the same features in a more pronounced form.

A production of his brush that we might compare with the little figures of the reliquary is the small painting of David in the Kaiser Fredrich Museum, Berlin (No. 73*a*, fig. 202). Some writers give this picture to Piero, an attribution which is easily explained by the fact that it is the least virile and most calm of all Antonio's pictorial productions. I do not at all agree with Mrs. Cruttwell that this figure "vibrates with energy". The youth, however, is solidly planted on his legs which are slightly apart but the construction of the body shows neither the robustness nor the anatomy of Antonio's other male figures. The extremities, hands and legs, are long and effeminate. David, as Mrs. Cruttwell remarks, was for the Florentines the personification of Liberty and for that reason figures so often in Florentine art. I do not agree with her, however, that the person represented here is necessarily a portrait, nor do I find a particular resemblance to Botticelli's picture in the Uffizi of a young man with a red cap, holding in his hand a medal of Cosimo il Vecchio.

We have no paintings by Antonio prior to the two figures of angels in the chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal in the church of S. Miniato which, like the rest of the decoration as we saw when discussing Baldovinetti's share, date from 1465—1466. It is true that some critics have approximated the two little panels of the Combats of Hercules in the Uffizi to the series of representations of this kind that Antonio Pollaiuolo executed for the Medici in 1460, but I think the style in which these two pictures are painted reflects quite another tendency and points to a much more mature stage in the artist's career.

On the other hand closely resembling in style the David of Berlin seems to me Tobias with the angel in the gallery of Turin. Vasari mentions this picture (fig. 203) <sup>(1)</sup>. St. Tobias with

<sup>(1)</sup> *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, III, p. 291, speaks, however, of a painting on canvas. *Milanesi* tells us that the picture was transported to the assembly hall of the Capitani of the church, that it was acquired by the Tolomei family, later bought by a Baron Garriod and in 1865 was sold to the Turin Gallery.



Fig. 203. Antonio (and Piero?) Pollaiuolo, Tobias and the archangel.  
Gallery, Turin.

Photo Anderson.

his fish dangling from his hand has taken the archangel by the arm. Together they seem to advance very rapidly, accompanied by a little dog. The landscape background is very remarkable; it is formed by a valley through which runs a river. Pollaiuolo's landscapes were often inspired by some view of the valley of the Arno.

As is the case for all Antonio's youthful works, the name of Piero has been suggested if not for the entire painting, at least for part of it. It has often been thought that the execution was left to Piero after a drawing by Antonio. Certainly the execution in this instance is a little hard. The figure of Tobias is badly constructed but it is not much worse than the David of Berlin; still the folds and the draperies are of a conventionality that Antonio never shows in his more mature works. Perhaps all the same Piero helped his brother in the execution of the less interesting parts of this picture.

The two angels in S. Miniato and the embroideries, executed after the master's designs, in the Opera del Duomo reveal that a considerable change has taken place in Antonio's manner. The chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal was consecrated in 1466 and it was no doubt at this moment that the execution of the altar-piece and the mural paintings was finished. We have already referred to the Annunciation and the figures of prophets that Baldovinetti painted but above the altar two angels withdraw a curtain and these are from the hand of Antonio Pollaiuolo (figs. 204, 205) <sup>(1)</sup>. One figure is pendant to the other, and both, on account of their positions and attitudes, seem to make a great muscular effort which is probably due to Antonio's love of anatomical effects. The somewhat dreamy expression of the faces, however, manifests no trace of this bodily strain. The draperies which are partly effaced, seem to have been of rather hard technique.

The altar-piece which is now in the Uffizi, represents SS. James, Vincent and Eustace standing one alongside the other but apparently quite independent one of the other (fig. 206). The pavement is of marble mosaic and behind them there is

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Schmarsova*, *Kunsthist. Gesellsch. f. Photogr. Publikationen*, VIII, Leipzig, 1902.



Fig. 204. Antonio Pollaiuolo, angel, circa 1466. S. Miniato, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

the balustrade of a balcony through which we see a distant landscape composed of a valley as in so many of Antonio's paintings. Vasari tells us that this picture is the combined work of Antonio and Piero. Mrs. Cruttwell is of opinion that the figure of St. James and the greater part of the figure of St. Vincent are by Antonio and the rest by Piero while Mr. Berenson gives the entire work to the latter artist, with



Fig. 205. Antonio Pollaiuolo, angel, circa 1466. S. Miniato, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

which attribution I am inclined to agree; only contrary to Mrs. Cruttwell's judgment I find that it is the head of St. Eustace that is most characteristic of Antonio's art. His body is poorly constructed while the draperies of the two other figures give them heavy and ungraceful forms. None the less if the execution was for the greater part left to Piero, it was no doubt carried out after a sketch by Antonio and under

his personal direction. The colouring is quite characteristic of Antonio.

Payment for the embroideries for which Antonio made the cartoons started in 1466<sup>(1)</sup>. Antonio was charged with this



Fig. 206. Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo, SS. Eustace, James and Vincent, circa 1466. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

work by the Arte della Mercatanzia for S. Giovanni and it is quite possible that he started it before the year in which we find the first record of the accounts. He seems to have finished the work in 1479 but payments continue until 1487, the total expenditure amounting to about 2200 pounds sterling. Eleven craftsmen from different countries, including Spain,

<sup>(1)</sup> *Schwabacher*, op. cit. *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 101.



France and Flanders, were occupied on this work for thirteen years. Antonio received 90 florins in 1469 and about the same amount towards the year 1480, in all a sum equivalent to about £ 85/10 s. (1).

Herr Schwabacher who has reconstructed the forms of the four liturgical robes which were adorned with these embroideries, has demonstrated that one piece, if not two, is missing. There are twenty-seven extant pieces, one of which — the Baptism of Christ — has been replaced. The material in which the vestments were made was extremely rich.

The Anonimo Gaddiano, Billi and Vasari all knew of these beautiful embroideries and speak of them as a work of Antonio Pollaiuolo, whose name, as that of the cartoonist, is the only one mentioned in the documents. I side with Herr Schwabacher against Mrs. Cruttwell's hypothesis that some of the designs have been left to helpers. The nature of the work in itself renders the assistance of pupils or helpers highly improbable. It is true that we can recognize the master's style in some of the pieces more easily than in others but I think we should ascribe these differences to the skill on the part of the embroiderers of interpreting the designs which served as models. If Mrs. Cruttwell is right in observing that in the style of some of the pieces there is something Flemish, we must not forget that one of the workers was a certain Pagolo d'Anverza or d'Anguersa, that is to say from Antwerp.

I shall not describe the twenty-seven scenes, all of which illustrate events from the life of St. John the Baptist (figs. 207–211). They are very varied and reveal an extreme ease of movement and composition. Landscape backgrounds, such as Antonio loved to represent in his paintings, are rare; on the other hand several of the scenes show architectural features or interiors of considerable interest.

There are two drawings, neither of them from the hand of Antonio Pollaiuolo, which might be used as argument in support of the theory that all the cartoons for the embroideries are not by Antonio. One shows Zacchariah leaving the temple after the message of the angel and is preserved in the Uffizi,

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(1) *Schwabacher*, op. cit., p. 21, 43.598.78 marks.



Fig. 207. Zaccharias leaving the Temple after the angelic message, embroidery after a drawing by Antonio Pollaiuolo. Opera del Duomo, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

the other, formerly in the von Beckerath collection, now in the Print Room of Berlin, represents the sermon of St. John <sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Reprod. in *Schwabacher*, op. cit., pls. III and IV.



Fig. 208. St. John the Baptist preaching before Herod, embroidery after a drawing by Antonio Pollaiuolo. Opera del Duomo, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 209. The Meeting of Christ and St. John the Baptist, embroidery after a drawing by Antonio Pollaiuolo. Opera del Duomo, Florence. Photo Alinari.



Fig. 210. The Feast of Herod, embroidery after a drawing by Antonio Pollaiuolo. Opera del Duomo, Florence.

Photo Alinari,



Fig. 211. St. John the Baptist taken prisoner, embroidery after a drawing by Antonio Pollaiuolo. Opera del Duomo, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Only, the former has all the characteristics of a sketch made after the embroidery and seems moreover to be some decades later, while the latter is somewhat different in appearance, and I hardly think that it could have served as model for the

embroidery, which, in style, more closely resembles Antonio's art. It, too, might have been executed after the embroidery or perhaps even after the master's cartoon which was perhaps too sketchy to be copied directly in needlework; consequently it is possible that it was used by the embroiderer who, however, must have had also Pollaiuolo's design at hand.

From a few years later is, I imagine, another piece of embroidery designed by Antonio Pollaiuolo, that preserved in the treasure of the church of St. Francesco, Assisi (<sup>1</sup>). It represents Pope Sixtus IV kneeling before St. Francis, against a background of branches and garlands of oak which in Italian is "rovere", and which in this instance was no doubt meant as a reference to the name of the pope who was a member of the delle Rovere family (fig. 212). Above we see a row of fifteen compartments which are adorned with the figures of the Virgin and Child and fourteen seated saints, more or less after the manner of Piero's personification of the Virtues in the Uffizi. I think that Sixtus IV who joined the Franciscan order when he was nine years old, must have had this piece of embroidery executed shortly after his ascension to the papal throne to which he was elected in 1471. He was a zealous protector of the basilica of Assisi where he had important works carried out (<sup>2</sup>). This piece of embroidery can be differentiated from those in Florence by a greater breadth in the forms and more marked effects of plasticity.

To this early manner of Antonio Pollaiuolo, in which the effect of his plastic activities had not as yet very deeply penetrated, belongs, I believe, a lady's portrait in the National Gallery, London (No. 758, fig. 213), which is attributed sometimes to Piero della Francesca, sometimes to Paolo Uccello, and sometimes to Baldovinetti. The subject, who is shown in profile, is rather ugly, the nose being very prominent. After the fashion of the day, her hair is shaved half way to the back of her head; the little coif is very elaborate and

(<sup>1</sup>) *Venturi*. Il paliotto. *B. Kleinschmidt*, Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi, I. Berlin, 1915, p. 299.

(<sup>2</sup>) *G. Fratini*, Storia della Basilica e del Convento di S. Francesco in Assisi, Prato, 1882. p. 260. *Kleinschmidt*, op. cit., p. 37.

seems to be embroidered with pearls and the dress is of beautiful cut velvet with a pattern of large flowers (1).

A very similar painting existed in the ex-Toscanelli collection, Pisa (2). Not long ago I saw this picture in London. The lady is depicted looking in the opposite direction and



Fig. 212. Pope Sixtus IV before St. Francis, embroidery after a drawing by Antonio Pollaiuolo. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

a little more of her figure is visible, for here the hands are represented in a somewhat affected pose. The dress resembles that in the portrait in the National Gallery but the features of the subject are much more regular.

A short time ago still another lady's portrait belonging to

(1) Quite recently I saw for sale in Paris an old copy on canvas, in which a slight improvement to the shape of the nose had been made.

(2) Album of the Toscanelli collection, pl. XXXIVa.





Fig. 213 Antonio Pollaiuolo, portrait of a lady, National Gallery, London.

Photo Nat. Gal.



Fig. 214. Antonio Pollaiuolo, dancing nudes. La Gallina Villa, near Florence.

Photo Brogi.

Mr. H. Young, New York, has been attributed to Antonio Pollaiuolo. The original is unknown to me (!).

Antonio Pollaiuolo's second manner is exemplified in another group of paintings in which the linear effect is strongly pronounced. This tendency, the first traces of which are evident in the two angels in S. Miniato, might be due to the

(!) *A. Venturi*, *Frauen Bildnisse von A. P.*, Pantheon, Jan. 1929, p. 12.



Fig. 215. Antonio Pollaiuolo, dancing nudes. La Gallina Villa, near Florence.

Photo Brogi.

technique of engraving or even perhaps to that of niello work in which it is well known that Antonio excelled. This new characteristic seems to coincide with a study of the nude to which the artist apparently devoted himself at this period or perhaps with his gradually increasing taste for classical art.

I think it is here that we should speak of the extraordinarily interesting decoration of the Villa della Gallina at Torre del



Fig. 216. Antonio Pollaiuolo, sketch for Piero's figure of Charity. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Gallo, Arcetri, near Florence (1). It comprises a series of nude figures standing or dancing (figs. 214, 215). Mrs. Cruttwell supposes that the mural painting was executed in 1464 when Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini bought the villa from the Lamberteschi. Giovanni was a friend of Lorenzo de' Medici and was appointed orator of Florence at the papal court. I think the execution of this painting, which was obviously inspired by the decoration of Greek vases, should be placed towards 1470. Only five figures, two of which are very fragmentary, remain visible; all of them are in such a ruined state and so much disfigured by restoration that we can only form a very vague idea of their original appearance. Below the figures there remain some traces of an architectural decoration.

Although the inspiration is purely antique, in the execution there is a certain restraint and some slight rigidities of forms and movements which seem to me characteristic of Antonio's second manner which was certainly in some way dependent on the technique of engraving, although I must confess that in the only engraving we have by Pollaiuolo this feature is almost entirely absent. We find it, however, in two drawings; one, representing St. John the Baptist, his head on his hand and leaning on some rocks, very sad of expression with a death's head near him, is preserved in the Uffizi (2), the other is the sketch for the cartoon of the allegoric figure of Charity (fig. 216) that he executed on the back of the panel on which his brother painted this representation. This again takes us up to about 1470 because it was this year that the Mercatanzia charged Piero with this series which is now preserved in the Uffizi.

It is probably at this stage that he executed the delicious little panel of Apollo and Daphne in the National Gallery, London (No. 928, fig. 217). A delightful landscape forms the background against which Apollo, full of grace, runs with Daphne, whose upper extremities are already partially transformed into laurel branches, in his arms. Although this painting is thoroughly pagan in subject, it is not like his later works,

(1) *Logan*, op. cit. *G. Guasti*, Gli affreschi del secolo XV scoperti in una villa ad Arcetri, Rassegna Nazionale, 1st Feb. 1900.

(2) Photo Brogi, 1705. *Berenson*, Drawings, No. 1931, contemporary copy after Antonio.



Fig. 217. Antonio Pollaiuolo, Apollo and Daphne. National Gallery, London.

Photo Anderson.

classical in spirit; on the contrary it is full of poetry and sweetness, quite typical of the Quattrocento<sup>(1)</sup>.

There are two other paintings by Antonio, executed I think in this manner in which the contours are rather incisive and the forms slightly more clear-cut than usual. One of them is the assumption and communion of St. Mary of Egypt in the Pieve of Staggia (fig. 218). Over a wild and rocky landscape we see the saint, her long hair clinging to her body, borne by four angels while a fifth offers her the Holy Sacrament. Mr. Berenson, who was the first to publish this picture, is of opinion that it was executed by Piero after a drawing by Antonio<sup>(2)</sup>; Mrs. Cruttwell, on the other hand, thinks that the greater part of the painting as well is from the hand of Antonio. I go a step further because I judge the entire work to be by Antonio whose mood, however, was more that of the engraver than the painter when he executed it. It should not be forgotten that Antonio had a son-in-law whose family belonged to Staggia.

The second panel is one of the most important paintings we possess from the hand of Antonio. It represents the martyrdom of St. Sebastian and was made probably in 1475 for the Pucci chapel in the church of Sta. Maria dei Servi, Florence; during the last century the picture was transported to the palace of the Pucci and in 1857 was sold to the National Gallery, London (No. 292, figs. 219 and 220).

A delicious landscape, obviously inspired by the Arno valley, forms the background; to the left we see the ruin of a classical building and below in the valley a great number of warriors in coats of mail on horseback. In the foreground, the saint is attached, rather high up, to the trunk of a tree, four archers standing around loose their arrows at him while two others are busy charging their bows.

There is a great diversity of opinion regarding the execution

(<sup>1</sup>) *Schubring*. Cassoni, No. 334. thinks that this was the lateral panel of a cassone and that the other side piece must have been decorated with a representation of Daphne pursued by Apollo; in support of this hypothesis he cites another instance where these two scenes form pendant to one another.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Berenson*. Due quadri inediti a Staggia, *Rassegna d'Arte*, V, 1905. p. 9.



Fig. 218. Antonio Pollaiuolo, the Assumption of St. Mary of Egypt. Pieve, Staggia.

of this picture. Messrs. Berenson and Mesnil<sup>(1)</sup> think that the entire work is by Antonio. Mrs. Cruttwell holds Antonio responsible for the rough sketch but is of opinion that he executed only the two archers charging their bows, the knights in the background and the landscape. Morelli believed that

(1) *Mesnil*, op. cit., *Rivista d'Arte*.





Fig. 219. Antonio Pollaiuolo, the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, 1475.  
National Gallery, London. Photo Anderson.

only the design was by Antonio, the entire painting being left to Piero. Of by-gone writers, Vasari ascribes it to Antonio, Billi, the Anonimo Gaddiano and Albertini to Piero.



Fig. 220. Detail of fig. 219.

Photo Anderson.

Personally I am of the opinion that the entire work is from the hand of Antonio but that it was executed at a transitional stage. The two archers loading their bows in particular, but also the figure of St. Sebastian himself, are executed after a manner in which obviously the artist's activity as a sculptor began to make itself felt, while the other figures belong sooner to the period dominated by his work as engraver.

Vasari informs us that this painting was executed in 1475

and that the master received 300 scudi for it but as usual Vasari's statements can only be accepted with reserve. I do not know what source provided him with this date, but personally I believe it to be in all probability exact, because I can very well imagine that it was about this moment that Antonio Pollaiuolo's inclination led him more and more towards the art of sculpture.

As Mrs. Cruttwell observes, Botticelli's St. Sebastian in the museum of Berlin — although it is supposed to date from 1473 — that by Signorelli in the gallery of Città di Castello and a predella panel in the Poldi Pezzoli Gallery, Milan<sup>(1)</sup> all seem to derive from this picture by Pollaiuolo or from another picture of the same subject which is now lost but which Richa<sup>(2)</sup> tells us existed in the church of S. Jacopo sopra Arno.

There are two drawings attributed to Antonio which can be associated with a representation of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian but they are so very different from the corresponding figures in the picture in the National Gallery that they can hardly be accepted as the rough draughts for this painting. One shows a nude archer, once in the von Beckerath collection, and now preserved in the Kupferstich Kabinet, Berlin<sup>(3)</sup>, the other is a figure of St. Sebastian; formerly it belonged to the Morelli and Frizzoni collections<sup>(4)</sup> but is now in the Brera. Perhaps these drawings give us an idea of the two corresponding figures in the lost picture recorded by Richa<sup>(5)</sup>. Yet I am not absolutely convinced

<sup>(1)</sup> *Berenson*, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, describes it as a "mediocre painting . . . . combining the style of Pollaiuolo and Credi".

<sup>(2)</sup> *Richa*, *Chiese fiorentine*, X, p. 355.

<sup>(3)</sup> *G. Gronau*, *Aus Raphaels Florentiner Tagen*, Berlin, 1902, IV, II. *Ch. Loeser*, *La coll. Beckerath au Cabinet d'Estampes de Berlin*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XXIX, 1903, p. 56. *F. Lipmann*, *Handzeichnungen Alter Meister im Kupferstich Kabinet des K. Mus. zu Berlin*, I, 1910, No. 12 and p. 156. *De Nicola*, *op. cit.*

<sup>(4)</sup> *Collezione di quaranta disegni scelti della raccolta del Senatore Giovanni Morelli*, Milan, 1886, pl. II. *F. Malaguzzi Valeri*, *I disegni della R. Pinacoteca di Brera*, Milan, 1912, No. 59.

<sup>(5)</sup> As Mrs Cruttwell states a St. Sebastian in the so-called Verrocchio sketch-book shows also some connexion with Antonio Pollaiuolo's lost painting.



Fig. 221. Antonio Pollaiuolo, portrait of a man. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Photo Eilers.

that the second of these two drawings is from Antonio's own hand (1).

(1) *Berenson, Drawings etc.*, No. 1911, judges the drawing in Berlin to be a school work after Antonio.

To the same period of transition in Antonio's career should be ascribed a portrait of a young man, very simply attired, his curly locks covered with a little cap, which together with some other Italian paintings was acquired by the State Gallery of Amsterdam from the collection of the Duke of Oldenburg (fig. 221). In connexion with this picture which is in a very poor state of preservation, the name of Antonio Pollaiuolo has already been associated<sup>(1)</sup>; at present it is catalogued as a work of Filippino Lippi, which attribution is certainly not correct. It might very well be the portrait of some young Florentine artist of Pollaiuolo's day.

From this moment the art of sculpture began to play a part of gradually increasing importance in Antonio's career. The reliefs of the silver altar ordered in 1477 for the church of S. Giovanni mark a particularly significant moment in his development. It will be noticed that at this stage the artist's interest in the human anatomy coincides with an augmentation in the pagan and classical spirit of his works. Already the silver reliefs have nothing either christian or religious about them. It might easily be imagined that the scene of the nativity of St. John (fig. 222) belonged to a set of classical reliefs. The composition is the traditional one: St. Anna in bed is surrounded by numerous companions who have come to visit her and in the foreground two nurses bathe the newborn infant. The scene is crowded and full of action, all the figures move and the spirit shown in the draping of the female forms is quite other than piously christian.

It was indeed fortunate that Antonio secured a part in the execution of this altar, the first parts of which, dating from 1477, were entrusted to Antonio di Salvi, Francesco di Giovanni and Bernardo di Bartolomeo Cenni. The work of these artists reveals that they were traditionalists of considerable refinement but of no originality and that their share in the altar harmonizes much better with the reliefs illustrating the life of St. John of the Baptist which were executed in the

<sup>(1)</sup> Vereeniging Rembrandt: Catal. van de Jubileum-Tentoonstelling, 6<sup>th</sup> Sept. — 8<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1923, No. 158. H. E. W. von Bode seems to ascribe it to Botticelli.

14th century than does the work of Antonio or that of Verrocchio who was charged with the scene of the beheading of St. John. The different artists received the same remuneration.

From the very beginning of Antonio's third or sculptural

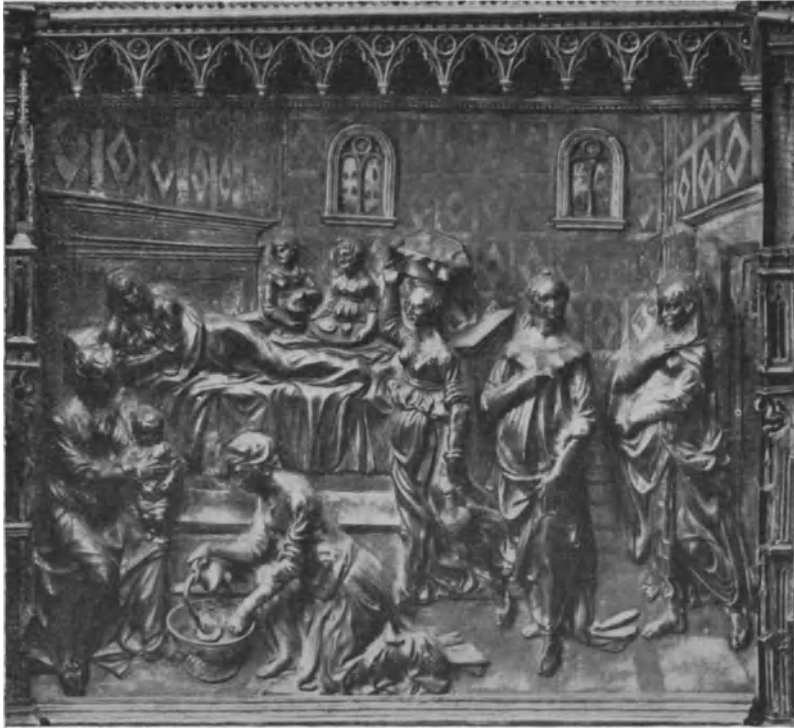


Fig. 222. Antonio Pollaiuolo, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. circa 1477. silver altar. Opera del Duomo. Florence.

Photo Alinari.

and pagan manner date a certain number of drawings and the only extant print.

The latter is so well known that I need only describe it very briefly. It shows the signature: "*Opus Antonii Pollaioli Florentini*"<sup>(1)</sup> and represents ten warriors in fierce combat

<sup>(1)</sup> *Borenius*, op. cit., p. 5. *A. M. Hind and S. Colvin*, Catalogue of early Italian Engravings preserved etc. in the British Museum, London, 1910, p. 189.

in a forest (fig. 223). They slay one another with arrows, hatchets, swords and daggers and this battle has given the artist an excellent opportunity of depicting the nude form in a great variety of attitudes in which the anatomical effects are rendered with much knowledge and science. The figures are not really in sufficient number for us to speak of a *mêlée*. One of the interesting features of this engraving is



Fig. 223. Antonio Pollaiuolo, battle of nudes, print.

Photo Alinari.

the technique of shading which is shown by means of parallel lines. On account of its size as well as of its quality this print is one of the most important in existence. A considerable number of impressions exist but for the greater part they were printed when the plate was somewhat worn; further there are some copies, one of which, a wood-cut, is signed by "*Johannes de Francfordia*" while another, an engraving on copper, of poor quality and without any background, is signed by Luc Antonio degli Uberti (fig. 224).

Pollaiuolo executed in all probability another and very similar engraving representing Hercules pursuing the twelve giants. It is curious that whereas of the former there exist many original



Fig. 224. Lucontonio, battle of nudes, print after Antonio Pollaiuolo. impressions, of the latter we have only copies (fig. 225) <sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> There are two copies in the British Museum; one of them, which I reproduce, shows the inscription "*Quomodo Hercules percussit et vincit Duodecim gigantes*"; the other seems to have been made before the engraving was finished; the inscription here is missing.





Fig. 225. School of Antonio Pollaiuolo, print of Hercules' Combat with the Giants.



Fig. 226. Antonio Pollaiuolo, warriors, drawing. Paul J. Sachs Collection in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.

Of the three figures in the right hand corner of this print, we have a drawing which might have been used by Pollaiuolo in executing the original engraving. It belongs to the collection

of Mr. Paul J. Sachs, now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge; formerly this sketch was in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke and has already for many years been considered an authentic work by our master<sup>(1)</sup>. It is only a fragment on which there remain three entire figures with the legs, the feet and the shoulder of other figures (fig. 226).

The dramatic effect and the passion of battle seem to be still better expressed in this fragmentary drawing than in all the figures of the engraving, in which the action appears to be less spontaneous and the warriors are more heavily planted on their feet.

This drawing leads up to another, that in the British Museum (1893—5—29—1) in which the composition comprises eight nude figures and represents a prisoner, his hands bound, being led by six men before a well-nourished judge who is seated on a throne; one of the men escorting the prisoner raises his sword in a threatening manner (fig. 227). It is quite possible that the drawing continued towards the left; the lower part is very much damaged. In appearance it closely resembles a classical frieze. The movements are not violent, and the human forms are of great beauty. Meder cites this sketch as an example of that kind of work typical of the Renaissance in which the proportions are larger and the contours flowing and less rigid<sup>(2)</sup>.

A drawing in the Wallace collection (No. 762), although not by the master himself, reveals a direct inspiration of this manner; it represents ten nude figures mourning over a dead person, the violence of their grief being well expressed.

Of this sketch there exists a mediocre and rather damaged copy in the Print Room of Munich, while in the Wallace collection there are two prints of the composition inversed, one by A. Claesz of 1555, the other by Prestele of 1777; they are called the death of Gattomalata by Mantegna, in fact the drawing itself for many years was attributed to Mantegna.

A sketch, which in all probability was copied from a lost drawing by Pollaiuolo, but which is executed in quite a different manner and by a much later artist, is found in the collection

(1) *Barr*, op. cit. *R. A. Parker*, op. cit.

(2) *Meder*, *Handzeichnung*, p. 34.

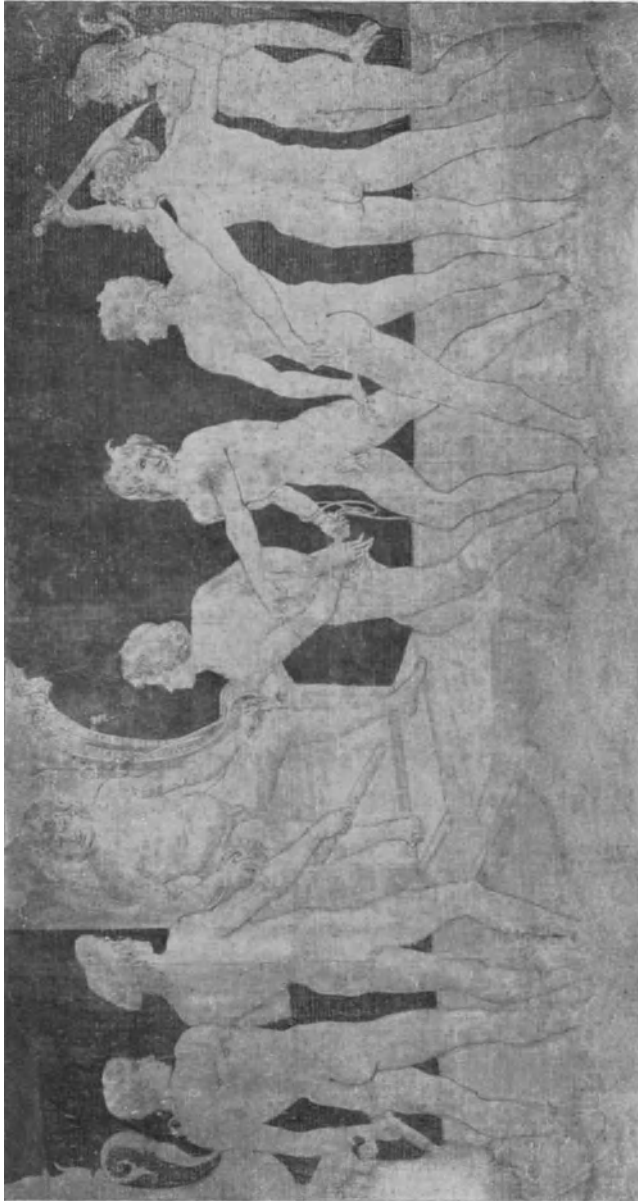


Fig. 227. Antonio Pollaiuolo, a prisoner brought before his judge, drawing. British Museum.

of drawings in Windsor Castle <sup>(1)</sup>. Again it depicts a battle between nude soldiers, in this case about twenty in number.

<sup>(1)</sup> Photo Braun. 79152.

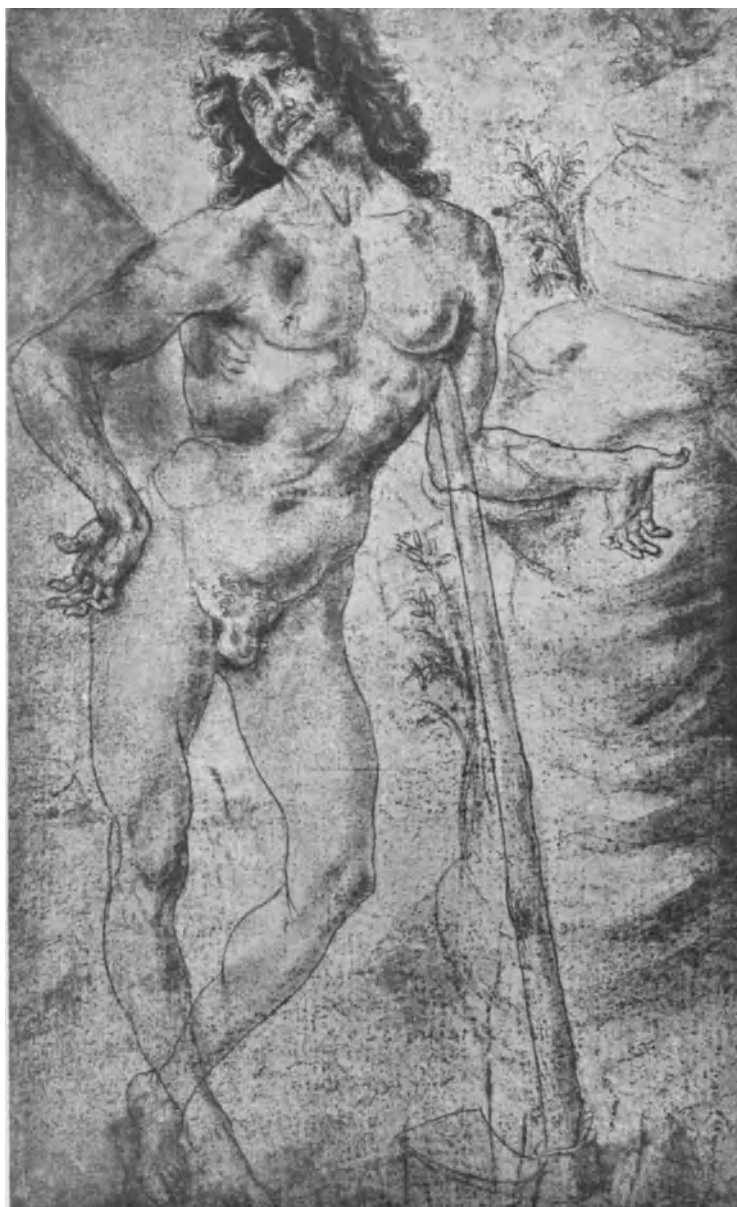


Fig. 228. Antonio Pollaiuolo. Adam, drawing, Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 229. Antonio Pollaiuolo, Eve. drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.

Judging from the attitudes there can be little doubt that the original was by Antonio Pollaiuolo. Certain elements reminiscent of this artist are met with in another drawing which, however, is much less characteristic of his manner. This work, which is preserved in the Print Room of Dresden <sup>(1)</sup>, shows in a very crowded composition what appears to be the return of warriors; they have brought their prisoners with them and are busy removing their war-like attire.

Drawings by Antonio himself, which obviously betray the taste and the technique of the sculptor, are those of Adam leaning on a club and Eve spinning with her two little children near her, in the Uffizi (figs. 228, 229). The execution is so strange, with the anatomical structure of Adam's torso exceedingly pronounced and the expression pathetic and sentimental, that the attribution to Antonio has sometimes been doubted. It has been thought that they belong to the school of Mantegna or else were executed by a German artist influenced by Pollaiuolo; the name of Dürer in particular has been associated with these drawings <sup>(2)</sup>; the type of Eve is certainly northern and the face of the little boy near Adam's knee is just as strange as that of his father.

More sketchy but executed in this manner is a second drawing of St. John the Baptist leaning against rocks, also in the Uffizi. On the same leaf we see two studies of the right hand, one of the left hand and one of the two feet <sup>(3)</sup>.

It was obviously at this moment of his career that Antonio executed the little bronze group of Hercules slaying Antaeus in the National Museum, Florence (fig. 230). With quiet force and without undue effort Hercules heaves up his adversary who shrieks in distress, attempting in vain to free himself from the powerful grip of the athlete. The sure and unemotional strength of Hercules is a superb contrast to the frantic efforts of his condemned opponent. The study of the nude revealed in the anatomical structure of these two little figures calls

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<sup>(1)</sup> Photo Braun, 67039.

<sup>(2)</sup> *E. Tietze-Courat*, Albrecht Dürer's Gröste Kreuzigungs Holzschnitte, Belvedere, 1926 (54), p. 175.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Berenson*, Drawings, No. 1903.



Fig. 230. Antonio Pollaiuolo. Hercules slaying Antaeus, bronze.

National Museum, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

to mind that shown in the sketches of Adam and St. John. The spirit of the work is very pagan. This bronze, which has served as prototype to many artists with more or less success, is known to us only by this one unfinished cast which has never been chiselled. It figures in the inventory made in 1495 of the possessions of the Medici.



About this period Antonio executed some paintings of classical subjects; it was chiefly the different feats of Hercules that he illustrated.

I place also in this mature stage of the master's activities the mythological painting of the Rape of Deianira by the Centaur Nessus at whom Hercules is about to shoot an arrow, which is found in the Jarves collection, Newhaven, U. S. A. (fig. 231) <sup>(1)</sup> Generally this picture is ascribed to a much earlier phase; Mrs. Cruttwell believes that it is even prior to 1467 because the same subject is, in her opinion, copied on a cassone in the Cook collection, which apparently dates from this year <sup>(2)</sup>. Still the cassone panel, if it really was executed in 1467, must have been inspired by another model because I am almost certain that the painting in America is of later date.

Pollaiuolo might very well have treated this subject after the same manner at an earlier period. The background is once more formed by the same delightful landscape. The Centaur escapes at a gallop holding the well developed form of Deianira in his arms. Hercules, on the other bank of the river, stands, his muscles taut, about to loose an arrow from his bow. The anatomy of the figures in particular belongs to this mature manner because at the beginning of his career we do not find this robust and almost massive construction of the human body.

A drawing of an archer which corresponds somewhat with the Hercules of this picture is preserved in the Print Room of Berlin and has already been mentioned in connection with the picture of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the National Gallery.

A somewhat similar drawing from the Saltarelli collection, now in the Uffizi, is much nearer the master to whom Mrs. Cruttwell actually ascribes it.

A drawing, from the collection of Vasari, now in the museum

<sup>(1)</sup> *Howland*, op. cit. *M(ather)*, op. cit. *Loeser*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, June 1903, p. 55. *Rankin*, *American Journal of Archaeol.*, II, 1895, p. 148. *Sirén*, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Jarves Coll.*, p. 111. *R. Offner*, *Italian Primitives at Yale University*, Newhaven, 1927, p. 30

<sup>(2)</sup> *Schubring*, *Cassoni*, Nos. 335—337.



Fig. 231. Antonio Pollaiuolo. the Rape of Deianira. Jarves Collection, Newhaven, U.S.A.

of Stockholm, dating from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, shows on one half the same composition but without the landscape, while below we see a faun and a centaur crushing a man. I wonder if, instead of their being inspired by the reliefs of some Roman sarcophagus (<sup>1</sup>), we cannot consider these drawings as late studies of two paintings by Pollaiuolo, one of which might be that now in Newhaven, while the other has disappeared.

On a page in the so-called Verrocchio sketch-book now in the Condé Museum, Chantilly, we see the Centaur and Deianira but in somewhat different attitudes. Another drawing which corresponds more or less with the picture by Pollaiuolo, has been classified as belonging to the direction of Filippino Lippi; it is preserved in the National Museum of Stockholm (<sup>2</sup>).

It has been remarked on more than one occasion that in Dürer's picture of the year 1500 of Hercules and the Stymphalides in the museum of Nuremberg, the position of this hero of classical antiquity so closely resembles that in the painting by Pollaiuolo that many writers have concluded that the German artist must have known Pollaiuolo's work.

It is certain that as our artist advanced in age, he devoted himself more and more to the art of casting bronze and he sometimes even made terracottas but his pictorial productions were very limited. Indeed 1475 is the last date we have for Antonio's activity as a painter, whereas numerous documents of later date record his plastic work in metal. We can be almost certain that after his departure for Rome in 1484, he laid aside his paints and brush.

Among his last paintings, those consequently which reflect most strongly his activities as sculptor and his taste for classical art, are the two famous little panels of the Labours of Hercules in the Uffizi. One of them represents the hero slaying Antaeus (fig. 232). The composition is the same as that of the group in bronze, but the bodily structure of both figures is still further increased in breadth. The strength of

(<sup>1</sup>) A suggestion made by *O. Sirén*, op. cit., who reproduces this drawing, dating it from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Sirén*, *Italienska Handteckningar*, p. 44.

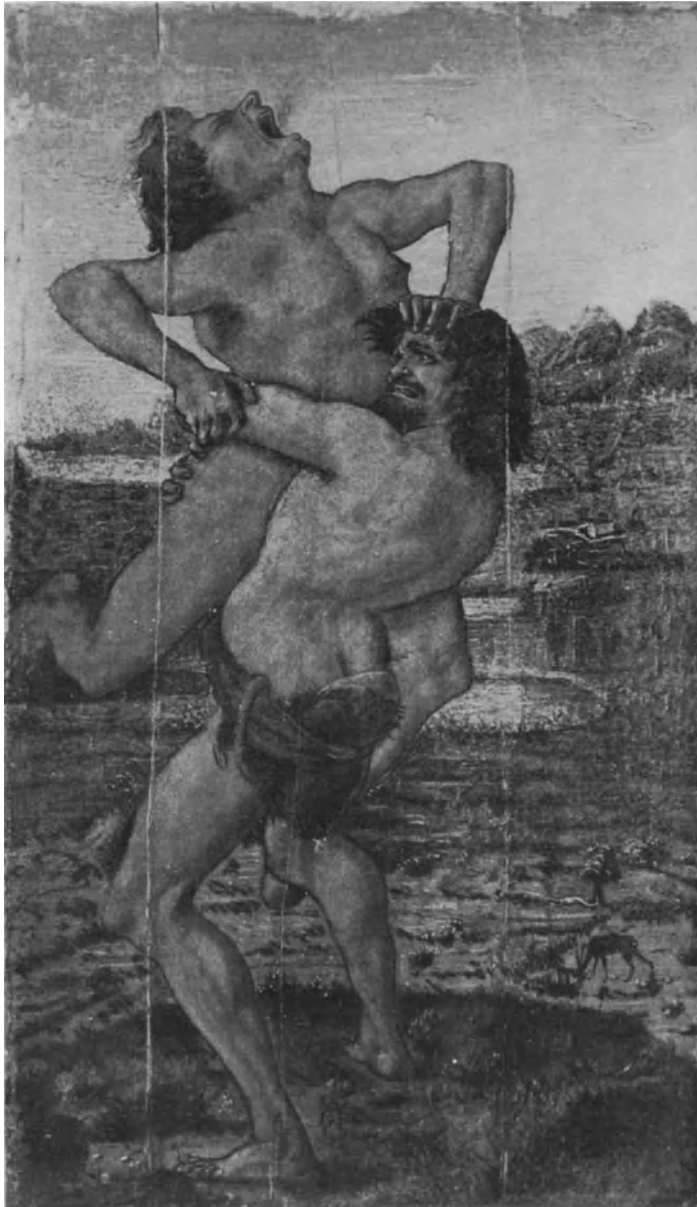


Fig. 232. Antonio Pollaiuolo, Hercules slaying Antaeus. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Hercules is startling and overpowering; his expression, full of malignant effort is terrible. The suffering of the howling Antaeus is not less impressive. Nothing in this grandiose conception would lead anyone who does not know the original, to suppose that the painting is of the smallest scale, not much larger than a miniature. The landscape is similar to those of his other panels; in both pictures the panorama is much the same, shown, however, from different angles; in the former the view is taken from a higher point of vantage and the perspective is different while in the latter the range is more distant. Here we see Hercules with club lifted high fighting the Hydra which he has seized by one of its heads; the monster attempts to defend itself by winding its tail round one of Hercules' legs (plate VI). The physical structure of the hero is not so colossal in this second picture, but the muscular effort is still more beautiful.

It is difficult to say just to what extent these two little panels resemble the paintings of the same subject that Antonio executed in 1460 for the Medici; what is certain, however, is, that if it is true that Robetta, in the prints he made of Antonio Pollaiuolo's paintings, reproduces sooner the lost works of 1460 than those now in the Uffizi, he must at least have known the latter because in his prints we find those proportions which Pollaiuolo had not yet acquired at the early stage (1).

In the British Museum there is a sketch of the figure of Hercules slaying the Hydra (fig. 233) (2) in which, comparing it with the panel, the chief difference lies in the fact that he has not yet seized the monster by the neck although he stretches out his hand to do so; further, there are some slight variations in the drapery which floats around him. I could quite easily believe that this sketch served for the execution of the extant panel rather than for that of the lost canvases.

(1) In the Haseltine collection, London, there existed a drawing of Hercules slaying Antaeus which *Ulman*, op. cit., thought was by Antonio, judging it to be the rough sketch for the frescoes in the Palazzo Venezia which he also ascribes to this artist.

(2) Formerly it was attributed to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio but Morelli restored it to its rightful master.



*HERCULES SLAYING THE HYDRA.*

*By Antonio Pollaiuolo in the Uffizi, Florence.*

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 233. Antonio Pollaiuolo, Hercules slaying the Hydra, drawing. British Museum.

Mrs. Cruttwell observes that in the drawing the body is not perfectly in proportion but was unable to discover the reason of this shortcoming which Mr. Ede explains<sup>(1)</sup>; the drawing was cut down the middle and the two pieces joined together again but in such a manner that they overlap and a slight strip is missing from the figure. On the verso of

(1) *Ede*, Two Drawings.

this page, there is a somewhat effaced study of two dogs held in leash which is certainly also from the master's own hand. A copy of the figure of Hercules is found in the so-called Verrocchio sketch-book.

A very close link exists between the Hercules with the Hydra and a painting which only quite recently has been claimed as a work of Antonio Pollaiuolo, which it surely is <sup>(1)</sup>. This picture which in part is very much re-touched, is preserved in the Bardini Museum, Florence, and represents St. Michael and the dragon (fig. 234). The attitude of the young and beautiful archangel in a coat of mail and brandishing his sword resembles in every way that of the antique hero, nude and bearded with bludgeon uplifted, only the movement of the latter is more violent. The dragon, too, is reminiscent of the Hydra and tries to entrap his assailant in the same manner. The landscape recalls those of Antonio's other paintings; a little piece of rock to the left of the foreground, however, is a new feature. This canvas in all probability can be identified with the picture that Pollaiuolo executed for the confraternity of Sant' Angelo of Arezzo where it still existed in Vasari's day <sup>(2)</sup>. It was sold in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Another work by Pollaiuolo which has some connexion with Arezzo is a wooden shield, painted in black, formerly in the Capel Cure collection, Badger Hall, Shropshire, then in that of Signor Brauer, Florence, now in the Louvre. It is adorned with a relief of Milo of Cortona, writhing in agony, his hands caught in the cleft of a tree trunk. Signor Brauer was of opinion that the coat of arms to the right is that of the Miauti family of Arezzo. The style of the work confirms the attribution to Pollaiuolo and approximates the relief to the painting in the Bardini Museum.

Two drawings of nudes seem to be characteristic of the master's last manner. One of them is found in the Uffizi <sup>(1)</sup> and represents a man nude and bald-headed, seen in full face, a nude male figure with curly hair shown from the back but turning his head towards the spectator and a draped

<sup>(1)</sup> *Dami*, op. cit.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, III, p. 295 note 1.





Fig. 234. Antonio Pollaiuolo, St. Michael and the dragon.  
Bardini Museum, Florence.

figure seated which might be that of a woman but this is not very clear.

There are two examples of the second drawing but one of them is only a fragment of the other. The complete sketch is preserved in the Uffizi and shows three studies of the same man, nude and bald-headed, his legs slightly apart (fig. 235); he is depicted from the front, from the back and from the side but the last study has no arms; these, however, are drawn separately on the same leaf, one at the top, the other to the right hand side of the page. An inscription is written in the left upper corner. The other drawing is in the British Museum and is executed on very yellow parchment. The figure, seen from the back, has been cut through and the arm to the right is missing. There is very little difference between the two drawings, that in the Uffizi is of a slightly better quality.

Of a piece of sculpture that perhaps Antonio never executed, there exists in all probability at least the rough draught, which might date from 1480 or shortly after because it is the plan for an equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza. It was very likely soon after the beginning of the reign of Ludovico Sforza who came into power this year, that different artists competed for this monument. The sketch which is preserved in the Print Room of Munich shows the prince mounted on a horse of somewhat heavy build and with arched back, while below a man in armour is stretched on the ground. Leonardo da Vinci executed several designs for this statue; one of them which to a certain extent resembles that in Munich, is in the collection in Windsor Castle. Moreover the drawing under discussion was also ascribed to Leonardo until Morelli claimed it for Verrocchio<sup>(1)</sup>. Apparently there existed another drawing of the same subject by Antonio in which a view of the town of Verona was depicted. Both these sketches belonged to Vasari who mentions them as works by Pollaiuolo<sup>(2)</sup>.

However, I think we should accept this attribution with a considerable amount of reserve, because I am not certain that the

(<sup>1</sup>) *G. Morelli*, *Italian Masters in German Galleries*, London, 1883, p. 90, v. also *W. Schmidt*, *Handzeichnungen Alter Meister in München*, p. 89.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Vasari*, ed *Milanesi*, III, p. 297.



Fig. 235. Antonio Pollaiuolo, nudes, drawing. Uffizi. Florence. Photo Alinari.

extant drawing is really by this artist <sup>(1)</sup>. The fact that a very

<sup>(1)</sup> *L. Courajod*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XVI, p. 422, thought that the drawing belonged to Leonardo's school or was a copy by Pollaiuolo after Leonardo. *E. Hildebrandt*, *Leonardo da Vinci*, Berlin, 1927, p. 158, classifies it in the Milanese school, after the monument by Leonardo.

similar composition is represented on the back of a medal made for one of the Orsini, combined with the fact that Pollaiuolo was in correspondence with Gentile Orsini in 1494, is an argument in favour of the attribution. I do not agree with the theory that the fresco of Niccolo da Tolentino by del Castagno could have inspired Antonio in the execution of this drawing. I wonder if the study of a horse, in this case walking quietly, in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke has not sooner some connexion with this monument or with another statue of the same type (<sup>1</sup>). On this drawing there are some words inscribed in Pollaiuolo's hand-writing.

Antonio Pollaiuolo's activity in Rome reveals very clearly to what extent he was dominated by classical sculpture towards the end of his career.

We shall deal only briefly with the plastic works that Antonio executed in Rome, these sculptures are too well known to describe them once more in detail; moreover, they are really outside our field of study.

No doubt Antonio's art, already imbued with the spirit of classical antiquity, reacted still more strongly to this influence during the master's sojourn in the Eternal City. The personifications of the Virtues and the Sciences which accompany the figure of Sixtus IV on this pontiff's tomb-stone which Antonio signed in 1493, reveal in the most evident manner the ascendancy of the antique style (figs. 236, 237). Even the idea of surrounding the pope in his last dwelling place with female nudes of prepossessing appearance is contrary to christian conceptions. Perhaps Innocent VIII had made a similar observation, at least the bronze female figures of Virtues surrounding the statute of this pontiff are a little more clothed (fig. 238). On the other hand their appearance is still more classical. The effigy of the dead pope lying below is of an astonishing realism. The monument has undergone some alteration and is no longer seen in its original

(<sup>1</sup>) This sketch has been ascribed to Verrocchio by *S. A. Strong*, in his book on the drawings in the Pembroke collection, pl. 58. *Berenson*, *Drawings etc*, No. 1951a, assigns it to the school of Antonio Pollaiuolo v. *Burlington Magazine*, XXX, 1917, p. 244.



Fig. 236. Antonio Pollaiuolo, Tomb of Sixtus IV, 1493.  
Museum of St. Peter's, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

condition. The artist died a few months after he finished this master-piece.

The large and forceful technique in which Antonio Pollaiuolo modelled the face of Innocent VIII is found in the bust of a



Fig. 237. Detail of fig. 236.

Photo Alinari.

young man in terracotta in the National Museum, Florence, which is universally ascribed to our artist. If this work was made during his Roman period, it is very unlikely that it represents a member of the Medici family, as has so often been



Fig. 238. Antonio Pollaiuolo, Tomb of Innocent VIII, 1497. St. Peter's, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

supposed. The cuirass which covers his breast is adorned with reliefs illustrating once more the Labours of Hercules, they represent the hero overpowering the Stymphalian bird and strangling the serpents. The movement here is just as full of energy and violence as that shown in the two little panels.

Prof. A. Venturi very rightly observes that the little bronzes of Romulus and Remus mothered by the wolf in the Capitol Museum have all the characteristics of a work of Pollaiuolo<sup>(1)</sup>. The wolf belonged to Sixtus IV who started a collection of classical antiquities shortly after he ascended the pontifical throne, it adorned the façade of his palace between 1471 and 1473; from Albertini's description of this group, we learn that in 1510 the figures of the twins existed under the wolf.

The late Prof. De Nicola<sup>(2)</sup> brought to light another relief perhaps in terracotta representing the martyrdom of St. Sebastian; it is described by Alfonso Ciacconio in his works on the catacombs of towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Vatican (Cod. lat. 5407—5409). The relief in question shows the saint attached to a column, three archers loose arrows at him, a fourth charges his bow and a fifth with a broken bow is seated on the ground while a Roman soldier on horseback is depicted near by. In Ciacconio's day this piece of sculpture was preserved in the catacombs of Sta. Priscilla and was supposed to be a production of early christian antiquity. As such it was reproduced in Del Bosio's work "Roma sotteraneo", published in 1650, as well as in other publications until De Rossi in his "Roma sotteraneo", which appeared in 1877, realized that it was executed in a much more modern style. De Nicola recognized in it the hand of Antonio Pollaiuolo, although the sketch reproduced by the by-gone critics gives only a very vague idea of the original appearance of the relief.

The site where the work was found in the 16<sup>th</sup> century renders it highly probable that Antonio executed it in Rome. Prof. De Nicola compares one of the archers of the relief with the drawing, already mentioned, in Berlin, with one of the school of Pollaiuolo in the Uffizi and with a sketch of the school of Raphael in the Louvre in which there are several figures corresponding more or less with those of the relief.

To complete the list of Antonio Pollaiuolo's works for as far as they are known to us, we have yet to cite a few drawings.

(1) *Venturi*, op. cit., L'Arte, 1919.

(2) *De Nicola*, op. cit.



The sketch of the head of a fairly old man with a sad expression on his face, which is preserved in the Condé Museum, Chantilly <sup>(1)</sup>, must be the production of an advanced stage in the master's career. Another drawing, which is now divided into three parts, represented the Adoration of the Magi. Two fragments in the Uffizi show an aged king with a negro attendant and a young king seen in profile with a goblet in his hand, accompanied by three men. The third fragment which is found in the Albertina, Vienna, depicts another part of the same group; this piece has been ascribed to Lazzaro Vasari, but in his catalogue, Wickhoff assigns it to del Castagno.

In the Uffizi there is still a pen-and-sepia drawing signed by Antonio. It is the design for a monstrance and as Mrs. Cruttwell observes, with its Renaissance openings and Gothic pinnacles, is not without some resemblance to the cross in the Opera del Duomo. On the verso we find a drawing for the Navicella. Both sides of the sheet bear the signature: "*Antonio del Polajuolo Horafo*".

As for the beautiful drawing of St. Jerome kneeling before the Cross in the Uffizi, it is so pricked for transfer to painting and passed over in ink that Mr. Berenson thinks it wiser to abstain from a definite attribution to either Antonio or Piero, or even to consider it a copy. He mentions it amongst the school works (No. 193). Although he inclines a little towards assigning it to the elder brother, to whom Mrs. Cruttwell ascribes it without reserve and in this I agree. Apart from Pollaiuolo's usual landscape background, we see to the right a lion devouring a lioness.

Morona, in the second edition of his "*Pisa Illustrata*", published in 1812, reproduces (Vol. II, pl. 9) an old but very mediocre print which corresponds with this sketch <sup>(2)</sup> and which according to him is a facsimile of the altar-piece in the Cappella Maggiore of the Campo Santo. His reasons for

(1) *Berenson*, Drawings, No. 1899.

(2) *Idem*, I, p. 17 and II, No. 1909.

(3) An example of this print exists in the British Museum. *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., p. 26 and pl. D. I. 16.

this identification — simply that there too was a picture of St. Jerome and that among the architectural constructions in the left-hand side of the print he thinks he recognizes the gate of Pisa — are apparently sufficiently serious arguments to make Mrs. Cruttwell suppose that the sketch in the Uffizi was the cartoon for one part of the picture which once existed in Pisa and which consequently would have been from the hand of Antonio. This, however, is mere hypothesis and is without any serious foundation (1).

For a considerable number of Antonio's paintings we have to rely on the testimony of the earlier historians. Among them there is the series of the Labours of Hercules painted for the Medici to which the artist refers in his letter of 1494 as having been executed in 1460 with the help of his brother, who at that moment was only seventeen.

These paintings play a considerable part in Antonio's pictorial activity because it is the most extensive work by him that has come to our knowledge; I should even say that it is the only really important piece of painting of which there is any record.

There were three canvases, each over twelve feet high. The events represented were Hercules slaying Antaeus, Hercules killing the lion, his left knee on the brute's chest and both his hands gripping the jaws, and Hercules killing the Hydra.

Vasari gives a fairly detailed description of the first of these paintings which must have closely resembled the little panel in the Uffizi. The same can probably be said of the combat with the Hydra. These paintings are included in the inventory made in 1492 of the possessions of the Medici; "at that moment they adorned the Sala grande di Lorenzo" in the Medici Palace. After the expulsion of the Medici in 1495, the pictures were transferred to the Council Hall of the Palazzo dei Priori.

(1) Mrs. Cruttwell thinks as well, that the lion devouring the lioness might be symbolic of Pisa's subjugation to Florence, but is it likely that in Pisa itself an allegory of this defeat would have been represented?



Fig. 239. Robetta, Hercules slaying Antaeus, print after Antonio Pollaiuolo.

Albertini saw them there in 1512 and judged them to be by Verrocchio. They were still there in Vasari's day; he expresses great admiration for them and informs us that François I, King of France, had them copied by Ridolfo Ghir-

landaio<sup>(1)</sup>. Further, on the tomb of the son of Charles VIII at Tours there are three reliefs illustrating the Labours of Hercules — slaying Antaeus, killing the Hydra and supporting the world — the two first of which are obviously inspired by Pollaiuolo's paintings<sup>(2)</sup>. All this is proof of the high esteem in which these works were held, even in a foreign country and a considerable time after the death of the artist, of whom they were quite a youthful production. I have already drawn attention to the fact that Robetta's prints of Hercules slaying Antaeus (fig. 239) and his combat with the Hydra (fig. 240) show certain differences in some of the details which lead us to suppose that they were not executed after the little panels in the Uffizi but in all probability after the lost paintings.

On a page in the sketchbook of the school of Verrocchio in the Louvre, which will be discussed in detail later on, there is a drawing of Hercules fighting the Hydra which, on comparing it with the little panel, reveals the same differences as Robetta's print. In the book of sketches in the Accademia of Venice which has been wrongly ascribed to Raphael, we find a drawing of Hercules and the Nemoran Lion, of the school of Pollaiuolo, which may have been executed after the third, now lost canvas<sup>(3)</sup>.

In a previous volume<sup>(4)</sup> I have reproduced a drawing of the Veronese school of the 15<sup>th</sup> century which corresponds in many points with the description given by Vasari. I maintain, however, that if Robetta was inspired chiefly by the paintings he saw in the Medici Palace, he must also have known the two little panels now in the Uffizi, because, although Antonio doubtless repeated more or less the same compositions, he did so in forms and in a style which he had not yet acquired in 1460, and which, none the less, Robetta reproduces.

I have already mentioned the picture of St. Sebastian which

<sup>(1)</sup> *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, VI, p. 540.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Dami*, op. cit.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Crutwell*, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>(4)</sup> Vol. VI, p. 193.

existed in the church of S. Jacopo Sopra Arno, Florence (<sup>1</sup>). It was a painting carried in processions and was almost six feet high (3 braccia). Richa does not definitely ascribe it



Fig. 240. Robetta, Hercules slaying the Hydra, print after Antonio Pollaiuolo.

to Antonio; he simply states that it is said to be by the famous Pollaiuolo.

<sup>1</sup> *Richa*, Chiese fiorentine, X, p. 355. *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 158, thinks, as I said before, that a figure in the so-called Verrocchio sketchbook might correspond with the principal figure of this panel.

Vasari tells us that Antonio executed a St. John the Baptist in the Palazzo della Signoria, near the Porta della Catena but there is absolutely no record of this painting; on the other hand we know that Piero worked in this building and it is quite possible that Vasari confounded the work of the two brothers. The same authority states that in the Palace of the Proconsolo, Antonio painted the portraits of Poggio, secretary of the Signoria and historian of the town, and Gianozzo Manetti.

Antonio's sculptures, too, must have once existed in greater number. In his letter of 1494 to Gentile Orsini he speaks of two busts in bronze which he wants to bring him, of which all trace has been lost. Perhaps he executed a relief representing Hercules and Caccus, the composition of which is in Signor Dami's opinion, reproduced in a drawing of the school of Pollaiuolo in the Royal Palace of Turin and in a relief belonging to the Giucciardini family.

Further, in the documents we find record of various other metal objects executed by Pollaiuolo. Mention has already been made of the marvellous pieces he made for Benedetto Salutati to be worn at the tournaments arranged in 1469 by Lorenzo the Magnificent and Giuliano de' Medici and of the helmet for the Duke of Urbino. Two silver candlesticks, almost five feet high ( $2\frac{1}{3}$  braccia) which Antonio was charged to make in 1465 to accompany the reliquary and which cost 1548 florins, have also disappeared. Lost also are the silver basin which the Signoria commissioned him to make in 1473, a silver crucifix executed for the Carmine church, a reliquary to contain the finger of St. John the Baptist and a silver cover for an Epistolario in S. Giovanni. In 1500 the first of these works was melted down so that Sogliani might have the material to make a pair of candlesticks. Nor is there any trace of the tabernacle which he executed in 1460 together with his colleagues Finiguerra and Sali, or of the silver objects for which Cino Rinuccini paid him in 1462.

Antonio gave Francesco del Lavacchio, a goldsmith he employed, a book of drawings, no doubt designs for gold-

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(<sup>1</sup>) *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, III, p. 287.

smith works, which existed still in 1756. An inscription on the first page stated that Antonio and his mother gave this book to Francesco while the latter was still Antonio's shop-boy.

Vasari speaks still of medals with portraits of popes from Antonio's hand but he must have made a mistake because the only one he mentions is a work of Bertoldo di Giovanni <sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Crutwell*, op. cit., p. 188. The following works are erroneously attributed to Antonio Pollaiuolo: the frescoes of the Labours of Hercules in the Palazzo Venezia (*Ulmann*, Die Thaten etc.); they were recently ascribed to Mantegna but neither is this correct in my opinion; the female profile portraits in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan and in the Uffizi which I have reproduced as works of Domenico Veneziano (v. Vol. X, pl. opp. p. 356 and fig. 205) are often assigned to Pollaiuolo, particularly the former (*Venturi*, op. cit., Pantheon, who believes that the lady's profile portrait by Domenico in Berlin also is by him); Mrs. Cruttwell gives them both to Antonio whereas *W. von Bode*, op. cit., attributes the portrait in Milan to Domenico Veneziano and the other to Antonio. Mr. Berenson holds Antonio responsible for a profile portrait which I have claimed as a work by Paolo Uccello (Vol. X, fig. 155); *Bode*, believes it to be by Piero. *Vasari* and others after him thought that Antonio executed the Crucifixion with St. Antonino in S. Marco, Florence, which seems to me sooner by Baldovinetti. Mr. *Berenson* rightly ascribes to Pier di Cosimo the "Bella Simonetta Vespuici" in the Condé Museum, Chantilly, which has also been given to Antonio. Prof. *A. Venturi*, has recently assigned to Antonio a Madonna in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 108) and a St. Tobias with the archangel in the National Gallery, London (L'Arte, XXIX, 1926, pp. 179 and 56). I think, however, the old attributions are nearer the truth, that is to say the former to Verrocchio and the latter to his school. Further attributions to Antonio which are without foundation are: Christ attached to a column in a landscape in which we see the stigmatization of St. Francis, St. John the Baptist and St. Tobias with the archangel, in the Lascelles collection; it is really a rather mediocre painting (Burlington, Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Florentine Paintings, 1919, No. 24. *C. Philips*. Florentine Painting before 1500, Burlington Magazine, XXXIV, 1919, p. 215); it can no doubt be identified with a picture formerly in the Browning collection which was sold in London in May 1913 (v. Burlington Magazine, XXIII, 1913, p. 120); a portrait of a young man once in the Misses Cohen collection, now in the store-room of the National Gallery, exhibited New Gallery, 1893—1894, No. 99, I believe it was formerly the property of the Earl of Wemyss; it might be by Jacopo del Sellaio; a portrait of a young Florentine in the Alphonse Kahn collection, sold in New York, January 1927, No. 47; a Madonna and Child held by an angel, in the collection of Lord Battersea, exhibited New Gallery, 1893—1894, No. 93; probably also without any foundation is the attribution

We have no existing evidence of his activities as architect although we know that he worked as such because, as we have already seen, he presented, in 1491, a plan for the façade of Sta. Maria del Fiore and in 1467 was consulted regarding the metal ball which was to be placed on Brunelleschi's cupola. We learn from Vasari that it was Antonio who designed the Villa del Belvedere in the gardens of the Vatican for Pope Innocent VIII but the documents record the name of Jacopo da Pietrasanta as that of the architect which casts a certain doubt on Vasari's affirmation; yet, although he may never have taken any part in the actual construction, it is quite possible that he furnished the plan for this edifice which, although little of it remains, seems to have been typically Florentine in style<sup>(1)</sup>.

Antonio's activities as a sculptor in bronze are so much more important than his career as a painter that in certain cases some of the old historians such as Albertini, Billi and the anonymous author of the Magliabechiano codex mention

to Antonio of the portrait of a young man which *Waagen*, *Art Treasures*, II, p. 330, mentions as existing in a collection in Basel. *D. E. Colnaghi*, *Dictionary of Florentine Painters*, London, 1928, p. 218, records some paintings which no doubt without any serious reason, have been put up for sale as works of Pollaiuolo.

Sculptures which have been wrongly ascribed to Antonio Pollaiuolo are, a terracotta of a young man sleeping (*A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XXIX, 1926, p. 179); the old attribution to Verrocchio is more probably correct (*F. Schottmüller*, *Die Ital. u. Span. Bildwerk des Renaissance*, Katal. des K. Mus., Berlin, V, Berlin, 1913, No. 175); a bust of Charles VIII in the National Museum, Florence (*M. Raymond*, *op. cit.*) which is attributed also to Verrocchio and to della Robbia and even regarding the authenticity of which doubt has been expressed; the relief of Discord in the Victoria and Albert Museum (*Cruttwell*, *op. cit.*), which according to *Bode* is by Leonardo; I think it is really nearer to Pollaiuolo. I shall not mention here the numerous bronzes which are ascribed to Antonio but which I believe to be school works although some of them are very close to the master. There are several drawings which have been given to Antonio; they will be discussed among the works of his school.

*Bartsch* in his famous book on engraving attributes several prints to Pollaiuolo but they belong sooner to the school of Mantegna, such for example as that of Hercules slaying Antaeus and another of Hercules and the lion by G. A. da Brescia (*Hind*, *op. cit.*).

(1) *Cruttwell*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.



him only as a sculptor in bronze, a goldsmith, an engraver and a niello worker, whereas his brother Piero is invariably referred to as a painter.

It is certainly true that sculpture such as casting in bronze, moulding of silver and artistic representations in metal in general, which comprise nielli and engravings in copper, interested him much more keenly. We know of no really important pictorial production from his hand, and there is no mention in the documents of any extensive cycle of frescoes. Already at an early stage he got his brother to help him with his larger works such as the Labours of Hercules for the Medici and I can easily believe that as soon as he received orders for metal objects in sufficient number to occupy his time, he entirely gave up painting.

Antonio was not a skilful colourist, even the ever praising Mrs. Cruttwell observes that his colouring is somewhat heavy; it is on the whole rather dull with much brown, while his blues and reds recall those of enamels. He mixes tempera and oil colours in the same manner as Baldovinetti, which makes Mrs. Cruttwell suppose that this artist might have been his master. This is not impossible; moreover the idea of his landscapes is certainly borrowed from this painter. Yet the force of his productions is more reminiscent of the technique of Andrea del Castagno who, according to Vasari, was Piero's master, while his love of anatomy seems to have been inspired by Donatello. But we should certainly be mistaken if we said that Antonio was the follower of one of these three masters. The formation of his style is due above all to his own genius and to the profound study he must have made of the human body. If his nudes serve to illustrate chiefly the events of classical mythology, especially the history of Hercules, it is only because these subjects offered him the opportunity of a demonstration of anatomy which he loved to depict, but I do not think that the spirit of his works is so very pagan. He made, besides, several representations of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian but this subject was no doubt chosen on account of the nude figure.

Pollaiuolo was a realist, an observer of nature and his interest in the anatomical construction of the human body was greater

than that of any other artist prior to him. He not only studied it and represented it in the most harmonious and aesthetic manner, but he shows as well the muscular effect of great physical effort, rapid movements and complicated positions and in this his art is very different from that of either Donatello or di Bertoldo. It is the reality of these effects that interested him and he transforms them from a simple scientific study into artistic creations of a high standard, and urged by a temperament which we guess to have been indomitable, he makes of these anatomical representations, passionate illustrations of hate, strife and battle, that is to say the circumstances which conduce to the most violent movements of the human body. The more the human sensation is violent, the more rapid and vehement is the motion and it is this representation of action which marks Antonio as a true artist of the Renaissance. Physical stress is rendered by Antonio with a just sense of proportion, a certitude and a refinement of line, which remove all trace of materialism and vulgarity from his works. One can always sense the goldsmith accustomed to manipulate material of the most precious nature. He is the poet of the human anatomy in all its aspects, his rendering of it is to a certain extent sensual and entirely devoid of any devotional or religious feeling. Besides the number of his sacred representation is extremely few and they too are without any mystic sentiment.

Antonio Pollaiuolo's great importance in the history of Italian art lies in the fact that he established the precepts of a scientific and artistic anatomy without an undue influence of the classical types. If the idea might have been inspired by the somewhat abstract examples of Donatello, the realization of it is due entirely to Antonio himself. Signorelli and Michelangelo are Antonio's and not Donatello's immediate successors.

This new achievement received immediate and even international recognition. We have already seen that the three paintings of the Labours of Hercules, executed for the Medici, in which there was a wonderful display of anatomical effects, were copied for the King of France. The print of the combatants was not only copied by a certain John of Frankfort but I think we find unquestionable traces of its influence in

the print of the Rape of Helen by Bartel Beham of Nuremberg, which is a scene of battle such as we see in several other engravings by the same artist<sup>(1)</sup>. The same can be said of the combat of Hercules and Antaeus in the gallery of Cassel by Baldung Grien, who doubtless knew Pollaiuolo's model. We have already remarked that in Dürer's painting of Hercules slaying the Stymphalian bird at Nuremberg, the figure of the hero so closely resembles that in Pollaiuolo's picture at Newhaven that we are forced to admit a direct influence; also Dürer's drawing of 1495 of nude men carrying women in the Bonnat collection, Bayonne, is full of elements borrowed from Antonio Pollaiuolo<sup>(2)</sup>.

The artist's great qualities, that union of force and grace, of antique stability and Renaissance motion, captivated to such a degree the fancy of his contemporaries, that there is every reason to speak of a genuine "Pollaiuolanism" which was not limited to Florence alone.

In Italy an interesting example of Pollaiuolo's influence is found in Fiorenzo di Lorenzo's St. Sebastian in the gallery of Perugia; also Mantegna, and this is evident in the technique of his engravings, was subjected to his domination. But I think that Pollaiuolo's influence was felt in particular by the German artists and this is all the more interesting because, as we have observed, some of the master's works reveal a knowledge of the German style; the drawings of Adam and Eve are among the most characteristic examples. Can we explain this mutual influence by the presence of a German artist in Pollaiuolo's work-shop who might have taken some of the master's drawings back to his native country, leaving with the Florentine artist some works of German origin? Antonio Pollaiuolo, however, was never very deeply affected by his knowledge of German art.

As for the pupils who were active in Pollaiuolo's work-shop, very few of their names have come down to us. Apart

(1) *E. Waldmann*, Die Nürnberger Kleinmeister: Meister der Graphik, V, Leipzig (1910), pls. 24, 32, 33, 34.

(2) *Haendcke*, op. cit. *Howland*, op. cit. *Il Wölfflin*, Albrecht Dürer Handzeichnungen, 10<sup>th</sup> ed., Munich, 1923, p. 33, is even of the opinion that this drawing was made after a lost engraving by Pollaiuolo.

from those we have already met with and his colleagues Finiguerra and Sali, Vasari mentions still Mazzingo of Florence, Giuliano del Facchino and Giovanni Turini of Siena to whom Pollaiuolo taught the art of enamel work, and the sculptor Andrea Sansovino<sup>(1)</sup>. That Giovanni Turini who was active as early as 1429 and who died in 1454 could have learned anything at all from Pollaiuolo seems to me highly unlikely.

The numerous drawings, bronzes and engravings that were executed in Antonio Pollaiuolo's immediate surroundings, prove, however, that he must have had a considerable number of pupils. The very few extant paintings of his school confirm once more the fact that it was not in this branch of art that he was particularly interested.

Antonio was one of the great figures of the Renaissance in Florence; his work was better known than that of any other artist of the town. His protector, Lorenzo the Magnificent, in a letter of November 1489 to Giovanni Lanfredini, the Florentine representative at the papal court, declares in the most positive and explicit manner that "this Antonio is the greatest artist of the town, perhaps the greatest that has ever existed and that this is the opinion of all the connoisseurs"<sup>(2)</sup>.

The most faithful of all Antonio's collaborators was his brother Piero, yet Piero was not the one who best understood the art and spirit of our master.

Piero was born in 1443 and consequently was eleven years Antonio's junior. If he learned his art from Andrea del Castagno, as Vasari pretends, it must have been in his early childhood because he was only fourteen when Castagno died. I think it more likely that he started his artistic career with his brother because already in 1460 when he was only seventeen years of age, he helped Antonio and his assistance must have been of a certain importance considering that the elder brother mentions it in a letter thirty-four years later. We have seen, as well, what we imagine to be Piero's hand in many works where the rough draughts at least were by

(1) *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, III, p.p. 289 and 299.

(2) *Gaye*, *Carteggio*, I, p. 341.

Antonio. During the whole of his life Piero was dependent on his elder and infinitely more gifted brother. When in August 1469 he personally received the important commission from the Mercatanzia to execute personifications of the Virtues for the council room of this institution, which works are now in the Uffizi, it was again his brother Antonio, who made the design for at least one of these figures. This order is confirmed in December of the same year when he already receives payment for the representation of Charity; the following year he is remunerated for the figures of Faith and Temperance. Verrocchio also was requested to send in a cartoon for one of these paintings; he received eight lire for his sketch which, however, was refused; several other artists attempted to obtain a part in this enterprise but without success, because it was given to Piero Pollaiuolo at the rate of twenty broad florins a picture, with the exception of that of Fortitude, which, chiefly through the instrumentality of Tommaso Soderini, was assigned to Botticelli who had competed as Piero's rival and who was paid for this work in August 1470<sup>(1)</sup>.

That Piero too was a sculptor we know from the fact that in 1477 he competed with Verrocchio for the monument of Forteguerra at Pistoia. The church authorities recommended him to Lorenzo de' Medici, praising highly the plan which he had presented and which had obtained the general approval. Perhaps the real reason for this enthusiasm was entirely an economic one because Verrocchio's estimate was much greater than the sum of money at their disposal. Unfortunately Lorenzo's reply has been lost but from a second letter from the "Operai" we gather that his decision as connoisseur had been made in favour of Verrocchio and to this the rest of the commission had humbly submitted<sup>(2)</sup>.

Piero had a similar disappointment in 1478 when the Signoria charged him to execute the altar-piece of St. Bernard for the chapel in the Palazzo dei Priori and a month later

(1) The documents are published by *Mesnil*, op. cit., *Miscel. d'Arte and Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 267.

(2) *Gaye*, *Carteggio*, I, pp. 256, 258. Note 1 of *Milanesi* in *Vasari's* life of Verrocchio, III, p. 369.

withdrew the commission and gave it instead to Leonardo da Vinci.

From a cadastral declaration made in 1480 we learn that Piero did not live with his brother and did not share his studio; at this moment he had a house in the Piazza degli Agli and his work-shop was close by. He rented as well a piece of land near Pistoia and provided for his mother Monna Tommasa then aged sixty-eight<sup>(1)</sup>.

In 1482 he was charged by the Signoria to paint the "façade" of a fountain in the Palazzo Vecchio<sup>(2)</sup>, while the following year he executed the large altar-piece of the Coronation of the Virgin for the church of S. Agostino in San Gimignano which is now in the choir of the Collegiata. This work was ordered by Fra Domenico Strambi, "il dottor Parigino" who had employed Benozzo Gozzoli when he decorated this church with illustrations from the life of St. Augustine.

That he remained in close connexion with his brother in spite of these independent works is confirmed by the fact that he accompanied Antonio to Rome in 1484 when the latter's services were demanded by the pope. Piero died in Rome, probably in 1496; he had never married but he left his natural daughter under the guardian-ship of Antonio. The two brothers are buried together.

In 1460 Piero, as we saw, was his brother's assistant and in 1469 he painted the Personifications for the Mercatanzia; between these two dates we can place his youthful productions. Is it possible that during these years he did nothing but imitate his brother's manner? Or did other influences play a part in his artistic development?

We have several paintings from Piero's hand which in my opinion reveal very clearly a profound study on the part of the artist, of the works of Andrea Verrocchio who was only three years younger than Antonio Pollaiuolo, consequently seven years Piero's senior. The few dated paintings we possess by Piero do not allow us to classify this group of works

<sup>(1)</sup> *Mesnil*, op. cit., *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Gaye*, *Carteggio*, I, p. 578.



Fig. 241. Piero Pollaiuolo, St. Christopher. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

with any certainty in a definite period in the master's career, although I am inclined to place them in those years prior to the execution of the Personifications for the Mercatanzia, more especially as the figures of Virtues themselves are not without certain Verrocchiesque elements.

There are not very many extant works by Verrocchio dating with certainty from these years. Still between 1463 and 1467 he executed the group of Christ and St. Thomas for Or San Michele and before 1467 the tomb of Cosimo de' Medici. Consequently he was an artist whose services were in considerable demand and whose works even at this early date were of a quality to inspire the irresolute Piero.

I think Verrocchio's influence is evident in the Assumption of the Virgin with St. Thomas kneeling below receiving the holy girdle which we see over the altar in the sacristy of the church of S. Niccolo in Florence. The landscape resembles those so often shown in the works of Antonio who, himself borrowed this feature from Baldovinetti; but here the view ends in a range of mountains. Four angels hover round the Virgin who is borne by cherubim above her tomb in which flowers blossom; a hind reposes to the right. The breadth of the figures, their draperies, a certain hardness of line, the round shape of the heads and even the decoration of the tomb all seem to point to an influence of Verrocchio. Still this fresco appears sooner to be a production of an early stage of Piero's independent activity<sup>(1)</sup>.

The detached fresco from the façade of S. Miniato fra le Torre, Florence, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (P 765-1, fig. 241) seems to be executed after this manner. Vasari, praising the proportions, ascribed it to Antonio, whereas Antonio Billi, the Anonimo Gaddiano and in our day Mr. Berenson<sup>(2)</sup> believe it to have been executed by Piero after a sketch by Antonio. Albertinelli, who speaks of it as if it were a panel, gives it to Antonio; Bode judges it to be

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(1) This fresco was attributed to Baldovinetti by Cavalcaselle and to Piero by *Berenson*, *Drawings*, I, p. 26 note, who, however, insists on the marked influence of Baldovinetti.

(2) *B. Berenson*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XV, 1896, p. 199.





Fig. 242. Piero Pollaiuolo. portrait of a lady. Hersloff Collection, East Orange (New York).

a production of the Umbro-Sienese school while Baldinucci and Richa (1) assign it to Antonio, saying that Michelangelo

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(1) *Richa*, *Chiese fiorentine*. IV. p. 71.

studied it profoundly and was inspired by it for his representation of David. Although there is a certain difference between the ten braccia which Richa gives as its height and the 112 inches which it actually measures, the description of the painting given by this author is so striking and corresponds so exactly with the fresco that there can be no doubt that he is speaking of the same work (1). It may very well be that Antonio made the rough draught for this painting but as in the previous case, it is chiefly to Verrocchio that Piero owes the breadth of form and even the type of the Infant Christ which is very characteristic of this master and his immediate disciples.

Also a charming profile portrait of a young lady, no doubt a work by Piero, to whom it is ascribed by Dr. Valentiner (2) is executed in this Verrocchiesque manner.

This panel, which is found in the Hersloff collection, East Orange (New York), shows one of the rare instances in which the subject is turned towards the right. The hair is covered by a veil and adorned with a few jewels; the material of which the dress is made has a pattern of large flowers (fig. 242).

The most important manifestation of this tendency is the Annunciation in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 73, fig. 243); the angel, a lily in his hand, is depicted kneeling and making a gesture before the Virgin who is seated with her hands crossed on her breast. The scene takes place in a room which is divided into two parts by a wall and which is adorned with an abundance of decorative motifs, very much in the taste of Verrocchio. Two windows afford a view on to a smiling landscape; above one of them three little angels sing, accompanying themselves on musical instruments. Mrs. Cruttwell (3) remarks that the view from the windows is that obtained from the Medici villa at Careggi and thinks that Lorenzo might have ordered this painting for the chapel in the villa. Again she imagines that Antonio should be held

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(1) *Cruttwell*, *op. cit.*, p. 164, is of opinion that it is a copy of the fresco which Antonio painted on the façade of S. Miniato fra le Torri.

(2) *W. R. Valentiner*, *A Catalogue of early Italian Paintings exhibited at the Duveen Galleries, New York, 1926*, No. 12.

(3) *Cruttwell*, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

responsible for the design and Piero for the painting (<sup>1</sup>) but I fail to see any very pronounced characteristics of Antonio's manner in this picture which, with its overcharged decoration and heavy and somewhat common types, is not in the best of taste. As for the date of execution, the same critic proposes



Fig. 243. Piero Pollaiuolo, Annunciation. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

about 1470, that is to say contemporary with the Personifications of the Mercatanzia with which she compares this work. Certainly this painting shows to the same degree, if not more marked, that exaggerated length of form — very noticeable in the figure of the Madonna — which gradually becomes more accentuated until it reaches an extreme measure in the Coronation of the Virgin at San Gimignano.

(<sup>1</sup>) *Ulmann*, op. cit., is of the same opinion.

With much hesitation I ascribe three other productions to Piero Pollaiuolo and to this stage in his career when he was working under the influence of Verrocchio. One of them is the youthful figure of St. John the Evangelist, with chalice and palm, leaning against the end of a wall, while some trees fill up the background to the right hand side, which is preserved in the Morelli collection in the gallery of Bergamo (fig. 244) <sup>(1)</sup>. If this attractive picture is really by Piero, it should be placed a few years prior to the Annunciation of Berlin. The contours and the linear effects are much less marked, none the less the types and the proportions are the same.

The second of these works which I propose to ascribe to Piero is a drawing in the British Museum (1860, 6, 16, 49) representing the Virgin adoring the Child Who is held with great veneration by four angels (fig. 245). The scene is placed in a hilly landscape with some trees which in appearance are a little stiff for the Pollaiuolo brothers of whose art, I confess, the entire landscape is not very characteristic; to the right we see St. Joseph standing near the shelter; the youthful St. John approaches from the left while over head are several cherubim.

Lastly, I dare suggest that another drawing, although the technique is somewhat different, should be attributed to this phase of Piero's activities. The sheet is preserved in the Uffizi and depicts three nude woman, one sadly embracing another whose hands are bound behind while the third, which is somewhat effaced, is seen from the back; over her arm she appears to carry a towel (fig. 246) <sup>(2)</sup>.

We come now to the Personifications of Virtues painted for the Mercatanzia. It is generally agreed that with the exception of the cartoon for the first of these figures, and naturally

(1) *G. Frizzoni*, Archiv. stor. dell' arte, V, 1892, p. 222, ascribes it to the school of Piero della Francesca. In his *Le Gallerie dell' Accademia Carrara, Bergamo*, 1907, p. 64, he is a little less affirmative, describing it as a production of the Tuscan school showing connexion with the art of Piero. Senator Morelli, himself, imagined it to be a work of the Ferrarese artist, Ercole Roberti to whom also *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte Ital.*, VII<sup>3</sup>, p. 668 attributes it.

(2) *Ede*, *Florentine Drawings*, No. 26, hesitatingly ascribes this drawing to Antonio.



Fig. 244. Piero Pollaiuolo?, St. John the Evangelist. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 245. Piero Pollaiuolo?, Adoration of the Child. drawing.  
British Museum.

the one picture executed by Botticelli, the work is entirely from the hand of Piero Pollaiuolo. Vasari, it is true, informs us that the series is by the two brothers working in collaboration, but Billi, the Anonimo Gaddiano and Albertini give



Fig. 246. Piero Pollaiuolo?, three nudes, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

it to Piero alone which is practically the unanimous opinion of modern critics (<sup>1</sup>).

(<sup>1</sup>) Only *Ulmann*, op. cit., thinks that Antonio made the cartoons for all the figures and even executed the figure of Prudence which he judges superior to the others. Also the actual catalogue of the Uffizi gives these paintings to the two brothers.



Fig. 247. Piero Pollaiuolo, Faith. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.





Fig. 248. Piero Pollaiuolo, Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 249. Piero Pollaiuolo, Justice. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 250. Piero Pollaiuolo, Charity. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

These paintings, with which time has not dealt too kindly, are now in the Uffizi (Nos. 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 161) and represent Faith, Hope, Temperance, Justice, Charity and Prudence (figs. 247—250). Hope, Prudence and Justice are not recorded in the documents but the entire series is obviously executed in the same manner. Each Virtue is represented by the figure of a woman seated on a vaulted architectural throne, holding an emblem in her hand. Charity suckling a child, simulates a picture of the Madonna.

The largely constructed and heavily draped figures with round faces, have much in common with Antonio's art but also with that of Verrocchio, whose influence, however, seems to be on the decline. In type Hope closely resembles the figures of the Annunciation in Berlin. This Personification, as well as that of Faith, manifests some characteristics typical of sculpture in metal. The latter representation, that of Temperance with a bowl of water and that of Charity, show this exaggerated length to which I have already drawn attention. The features lack life and expression; their apathetic appearance is a decided contrast to the passionate violence of Antonio's art.

In the Uffizi exists a crayon drawing heightened with white and worked a little with red chalk, which corresponds perfectly with the head of the Personification of Faith for which painting it no doubt served as the rough draught<sup>(1)</sup>.

In the Wicar Museum, Lille, there is a drawing of the Madonna seated holding the Child with her left hand, and with her right hand supporting a book which rests against her knee<sup>(2)</sup>, which certainly should be associated with the series of Personifications; we find in it the same exaggerated length of proportions while the general appearance of the figure forces us to approximate it to the paintings of the Virtues, only the drawing is so hastily sketched and so undefined that I dare not affirm that it is from the hand of Piero.

A Madonna in the gallery of Strasbourg (fig. 251) is executed in a manner which recalls that of the Personifications of the

(1) *E. Ridolfi*, Gallerie Nazionale Italiani, III, Rome, 1897, p. 179, *Berenson*, Drawings, No. 1952.

(2) Photo Braun, 72020.



Fig. 251. Piero Pollaiuolo, Madonna. Gallery, Strasbourg.

Virtues. Here too the figure is seated on a throne behind which hangs a curtain; the Child sitting on her knee bestows a blessing and holds a globe. To Piero I attribute still a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child, Who stands upright on a balustrade, touching her hand and giving His blessing; in this picture, which belongs to the Parry collection, Highnam Court, near Gloucester (fig. 252), the background is formed by some architecture showing decorative designs still after Verrocchio's manner.

Executed after the same manner, but more Verrocchiesque in style, is a Madonna in the Louvre (1367, Legs Rothschild) which Mr. Berenson has already attributed with hesitation to Piero (<sup>1</sup>). Here the Madonna is depicted in half-length figure near a window, holding the naked Child on her knee; a little cupboard containing some books is shown in a niche in the end wall. The attribution to Piero is in all probability correct, although it must be admitted that the picture is not very characteristic of this master's manner, the Child in particular being of a much finer technique.

We possess several portraits from the hand of Piero Pollaiuolo; they are executed, however, in a somewhat different manner which seems to reveal something of his activity as a sculptor or that of a worker in bronze. The contours are harder and the plastic effects more marked.

We saw that in 1477 Piero tried to obtain the commission for a monument in sculpture at Pistoia, from which we gather that already for some time he must have been working as a plastic artist, consequently I think the paintings in question date probably from after 1470 or thereabouts. Exception, however, should be made for the profile portrait of a lady in the Gardner Museum, Boston (fig. 253). The lady represented is neither pretty nor any longer in her first youth. A veil bound round her head gives a turban-like effect; her simple bodice is low-necked. This portrait seems to be executed in the same style as the Annunciation in Berlin.

(<sup>1</sup>) *G. Frizzoni*, *L'Arte*, IX, 1906, p. 405, ascribes it to the school of Verrocchio. *E. Jacobsen*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XXV, 1902, p. 195. In the catalogue of the Italian and Spanish pictures in the Louvre (*Seymour di Ricci*, 1913) this painting is assigned to Mainardi.



Fig. 252. Piero Pollaiuolo, Madonna. Parry Collection, Gloucester.

Of a harder and somewhat dry technique with great length of line is a tiny portrait of a lady — really a miniature — formerly in the Uffizi but now in the Pitti Gallery (fig. 254) <sup>(1)</sup>. The subject, a bony and decidedly ugly woman, is shown in

<sup>(1)</sup> Attributed to Piero by *B. Berenson*, *Dedalo*, V, 1925, p. 692.



Fig. 253. Piero Pollaiuolo, portrait of a lady. Gardner Collection, Boston.

Photo Marr.



left profile wearing a little cap on her head and a fichu round her shoulders.

A more important and more characteristic portrait is that in the Corsini Gallery; it depicts a three-quarter right view of a youngish man with a barret on his head and holding a ring in his hand which rests on a little balustrade in front of him (fig. 255) <sup>(1)</sup>.

Another portrait of a man in the Uffizi which shows the same tendency but in a more marked degree is that of Galeazzo Maria Sforza who is represented in right profile, wearing a doublet adorned with fleurs-de-lis and holding a glove in his gloved right hand (fig. 256). This painting is mentioned in the inventory made in 1510 of the possessions of the Medici and it might have been executed when Galeazzo Maria visited Florence in 1471 but I think that in all likelihood it dates from a few years later. A facsimile of this



Fig. 254. Piero Pollaiuolo, small portrait of a lady. Pitti Gallery, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

portrait once existed in the subterranean corridor between the Uffizi and the Pitti Palace and as it belonged to a series of portraits that the painter Cristofaro Papi, called Altissimo, copied from much older originals, it is quite possible that Piero's picture served as model to the Lombard artist <sup>(2)</sup>.

The hard and incisive manner in which the forms are indicated, which gives the relief quite a metallic appearance, is that in which the Coronation of the Virgin at San Gimignano

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Venturi*, Botticelli, Rome (1925), pl. XXX.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Rossi*, op. cit.



Fig. 255. Piero Pollaiuolo, portrait of a man. Corsini Gallery, Florence.  
Photo Alinari.

is executed but in this case these peculiarities are much more pronounced (fig. 257). The figures of both the Virgin and the Christ are of unusual length; they are accompanied by hosts of angelic musicians while at their feet is the Holy Chalice

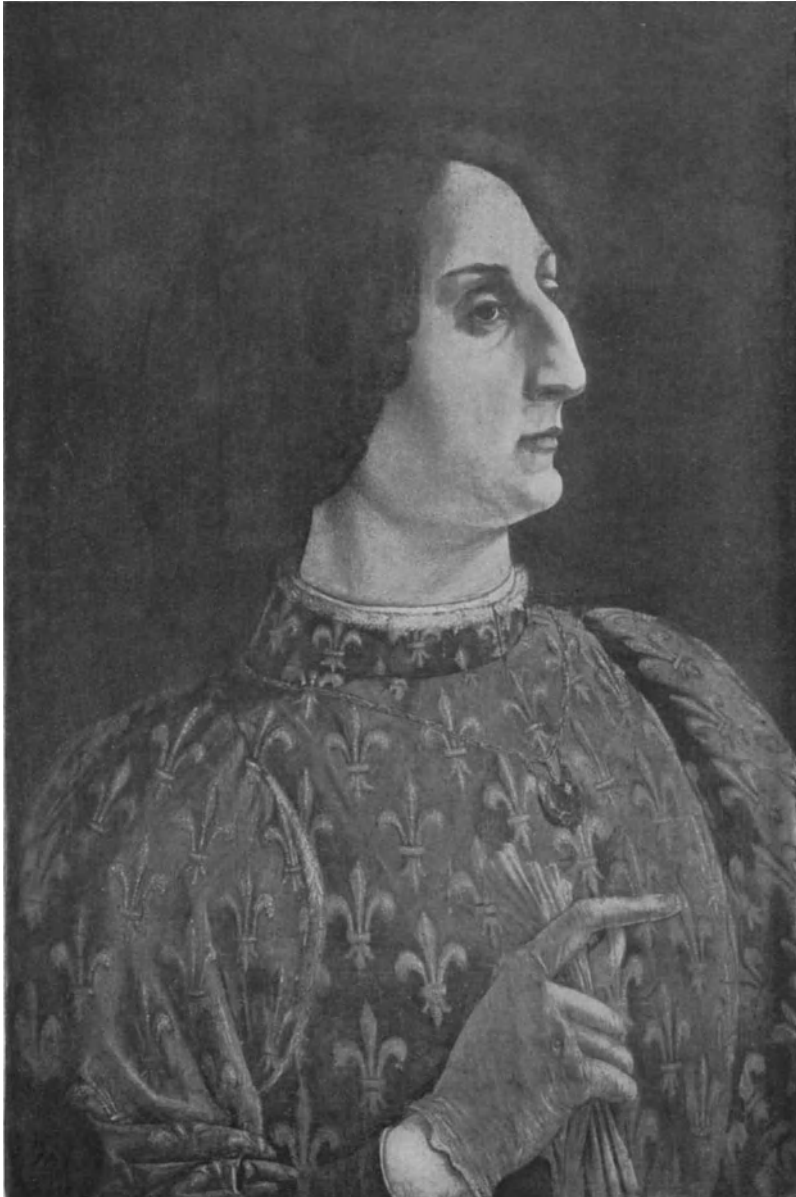


Fig. 256. Piero Pollaiuolo, Galeazzo Maria Sforza. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 257. Piero Pollaiuolo. Coronation of the Virgin, 1483. Collegiata.  
S. Gimignano. Photo Alinari.

surrounded by three cherubim. Below kneel SS. Jerome, Gimignano. Nicholas of Tolentino, Augustine, Nicholas of Bari and Fina while in the centre we see the signature: "*Picco Del -Pollaiuolo Fiorentino*" and the date 1483. The picture is not pleasing; the paint is smeared on thickly, the colours



Fig. 238. Piero Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

are unrefined and the human types rather strange. Yet it must be admitted that in this work Piero achieved a rendering of plastic effects which greatly surpasses his usual attainments. The effects of relief and the oppositions of light, thrown out by a diversity of depths of illumination, are from the hand

of a veritable virtuoso. Evidently Piero had greatly perfected his skill in the art of sculpture which explains why the following year Antonio brought him to Rome to help in the execution of the bronzes. The muscles, the facial traits and the draperies are moulded in a manner which demonstrates that Piero at this moment was well suited to fulfil the new task.

In the Pitti Gallery there is a head of St. Jerome executed very much after the same style; yet I am not convinced about the attribution to Piero Pollaiuolo <sup>(1)</sup>.

The same technique and practically the same inspiration are found in a drawing in the Uffizi representing the head of youngish man of rather a coarse type; the head which is shown in three-quarter left view is covered with a veil which hangs down (fig. 258)<sup>(2)</sup>. On another sheet in the Uffizi, near the sketch of a horse and the study of a horse's leg, there is a little drawing of a bald head, slightly bent and shown in three-quarter right profile, which is executed in the same incisive manner; it is doubtless on this account that Mr. Berenson favours the attribution to Piero, instead of that to Verrocchio which it bears in the Uffizi <sup>(3)</sup>. Mrs. Cruttwell holds Piero responsible for still two drawings of old men in the Uffizi; one is depicted shooting with bow and arrow, the other reclining <sup>(4)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *O. H. Giglioli*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1912, p. 134. *M. Marangoni*, *L'Arte*, XXX, 1927, p. 257.

<sup>(2)</sup> Photo Braun, 76334.

<sup>(3)</sup> Photo Braun, 77167. *Berenson*, *Drawings*, No. 1953.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Cruttwell*, *op. cit.*, p. 218. Apart from a few drawings which are attributed to Piero but which in my opinion should be classified as works of the school of Antonio, I shall cite as erroneous attribution to Piero still that of the figures of SS. Francis and John the Baptist in Sta. Croce which are by Domenico Veneziano (v. Vol. X, fig. 202). *Rossi*, *op. cit.*, in ascribing this work to Piero quotes as his source of information a 17<sup>th</sup> century manuscript which, however, he seems to have wrongly understood: *Ulmann*, *op. cit.* The two angels by Antonio in the Cardinal of Portugal's chapel in S. Miniato have also been assigned to Piero v. *Ulmann*, *op. cit.* As for works in sculpture, Mrs. Cruttwell has proposed the name of Piero for a bust, representing perhaps Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici, in the National Museum, Florence; but the sole reason for this attribution seems to be that the work is too feeble to be by either Verrocchio or Antonio to both of whom it has at different times been ascribed. I see no serious reason for accepting the attribution to Piero.



Fig. 259. School of Pollaiuolo, the Meeting of Christ and St. John.  
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

If on the one hand Piero appears to be a decidedly feeble artist when compared with his brother and other contemporary geniuses, on the other hand it would not be just to consider his work as entirely worthless.

He always remains a thoroughly Florentine artist with a gift for plastic effects and design. His forms are a little conventional and compared with his brother's creations of life and movement, Piero's paintings appear somewhat dull and phlegmatic. His portraits, however, possess a certain amount of individuality and as I have already remarked, his modelling, especially of the faces, is sometimes of high quality. This particular feature in Piero's case is much more reminiscent of goldsmith's works than of sculpture; it is even a little too detailed to give us entire satisfaction.

It is certain that Piero worked as a sculptor, yet we gather the impression that Piero was first and foremost a painter. Probably Antonio gradually abandoned this branch of art, leaving all the pictorial productions to his brother, in order to devote himself entirely to bronze modelling. Antonio was certainly Piero's principal master and the one who dominated him throughout his career, although, as we saw, there was a moment when he was even more strongly subjected to Verrocchio's influence.

In his day, Piero must have obtained considerable success as an artist, because on two occasions he is chosen in preference to Verrocchio and the Mercatanzia give him priority over many of his colleagues. But as Mrs. Cruttwell justly observes, this decision was in all probability taken on account of economic reasons. Still the Florentine authorities of this period were such lovers of art that it is not likely that they would employ a painter, only because he worked more cheaply than another, without taking into consideration his artistic merits.

The scarcity of paintings by immediate pupils and the considerable number of designs, of bronzes and of engravings which can be classified as school works, reveal once more in a very evident manner that the greater of the two brothers could never have dedicated himself body and soul to the art of painting.



As a production of the school of the Pollaiuolo, however, I shall cite in the first place an attractive picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, representing the Meeting of Christ



Fig. 260. School of Pollaiuolo, portrait of a youth. Gallery, Besançon.

Photo Bulloz.

and St. John (fig. 259); the scene takes place in a forest in which deer stray, while from the left of the background we see the Virgin and Joseph approaching.

In the gallery of Besançon there is a charming little portrait of the bust of a young boy, wearing a cap on his head and

a bright and lively expression on his face; the technique is excellent and reminds us of that of the Pollaiuolo, more particularly of Piero's (fig. 260).

Directly inspired by Piero's art is also a personification of Justice in the Cenacolo di S. Apollonia Museum in Florence (fig. 261). The figure is seated with sword and balance in hand and one foot resting on a globe; coats-of-arms, among them that of the town of Florence, adorn the four corners of the picture.

I have already mentioned the predella panel of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the Poldi Pezzoli Gallery, Milan, which shows only a vague connexion with the Pollaiuolo's art.

A very beautiful painting of Christ on the Cross between SS. Jerome and Antony Abbot, in which the anatomical effects are finely rendered and the landscape is very typical of the manner of the Pollaiuolo, is preserved in the church of Argiano, near S. Cassiano, Val di Pesa (<sup>1</sup>).

Of the Christ attached to the column in the collection of Lord Lascelles, London, there has already been question among the works erroneously attributed to Antonio Pollaiuolo, in whose school this painting might be classified.

Another production of his school is the picture of David with his sling and the head of Goliath which was formerly in the Drury Lowe collection, Locko House (<sup>2</sup>) and is now in that of Mr. Widener, Philadelphia (<sup>3</sup>). It is a beautiful painting, directly inspired by Antonio but of a slightly later date.

Reference has already been made to the cassone in the Cook collection, Richmond, showing a Triumph of David on the front panel and two incidents from the life of Hercules to the sides, which dates from 1467 (<sup>4</sup>).

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(<sup>1</sup>) *Marangoni*, Un eclecticico fiorentino del Quattrocento, *L'Arte*, XXX, 1927, p. 256.

(<sup>2</sup>) *J. P. Richter*, Catalogue of the Drury Lowe Collection, Locko House, London (1901), No. 201.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Schubring*, Cassoni, No. 338, pl. LXXX.

(<sup>4</sup>) *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 335-337. *H. Cook and T. Borenius*, Catalogue of Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond, London, 1913.



Fig. 261. School of Piero Pollaiuolo, Justice. S. Apollonia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Other cassone panels belonging to this school are those with the seven Cardinal Virtues and the seven Liberal Arts in the Spiridon collection, Paris<sup>(1)</sup>, which, however, only vaguely recall the master's manner as does also a panel of the Triumph of Aemilius Paulus in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris (No. 743)<sup>(2)</sup>. Another work of Pollaiuolo's school is a Madonna and Child once owned by Mr. Boehler, Munich<sup>(3)</sup>.

Ulmann sees a connexion between the art of Antonio Pollaiuolo and a picture of an angel carrying a crucifix to a holy martyr attached to a column in the Spada collection, Rome; this picture is unknown to me. In this group he includes also a painting of St. Sebastian in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in which he finds as well an influence of Lorenzo di Credi to whose manner there is a closer resemblance than to that of Pollaiuolo<sup>(4)</sup>. Of another work of this school there will be question when we come to treat the Florentine Picture Chronicle.

With the drawings of the school of the Pollaiuolo, we are forced to return once more to the problem of Finiguerra. This artist was one of Pollaiuolo's companions but as we saw at the end of the chapter on Baldovinetti the only authentic extant work by him justifies us to a certain extent in including him in the school of Baldovinetti, but in no way authorizes

(1) *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 339-340, pl. LXXXI.

(2) *Schubring*, op. cit., No. 341. *E. Bertaux*, Musée Jacquemart André Catalogue, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., classifies this panel and a picture representing a battle-scene as Florentine works influenced by Paolo Uccello and Piero Pollaiuolo. I do not think Mr. *Perkins* (*Rassegna d'Arte*, V, 1905, p. 116) is right in placing in Pollaiuolo's school a Madonna and Child in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia. In the catalogue of this collection No. 60, Mr. Berenson ascribes this work to Cosimo Rosselli.

(3) *S. Reinach*, Répertoire de Peinture etc., IV, Paris, 1918, p. 422.

(4) The actual number is III 125, *Ulmann* gives it as No. 164. *S. Colvin and F. R. Earp*, A descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1902, p. 205, assign it to the Veronese school. When the painting was still in the collection of Dr. H. A. J. Munro it was attributed to Lorenzo di Credi and is described as a production of this master's school in "The principal Picture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge", London, Glasgow, 1912, p. 39.



Fig. 262. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.



Fig. 263. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.

us to attribute to him either the nielli or the Florentine Picture Chronicle, or the series of drawings in the Uffizi and elsewhere which pass under his name. While the nielli on the one hand bear a resemblance in style also to the art of Baldovinetti, the drawings, on the contrary manifest a closer connexion with the manner of Pollaiuolo.



Fig. 264. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun,

However, contrary to the conclusion reached by Colvin<sup>(1)</sup> and others, I am of the opinion that the Picture Chronicle and the series of figures in the Uffizi and other collections

<sup>(1)</sup> *Colvin*. Florentine Picture Chronicle, p. 27.



Fig. 265. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.

are by two quite different hands. The drawings which illustrate the Picture Chronicle have, as Mr. Colvin also observes, the appearance of having been executed with the idea of making copper engravings. The sketches in the Uffizi do not reveal this characteristic. I shall return to the question of the Picture Chronicle when dealing with the engravings of Pollaiuolo's school.



Here, however, I shall say a few words regarding the other designer who is not the most faithful of those pupils of Pollaiuolo whose drawings have come down to us. The subjects of this fairly long series show a certain diversity. In the first place there is a considerable number of men simply attired after the fashion of the day, for the greater part seated, doing nothing, but some are depicted writing, sketching, reading or carving wood with a sort of hatchet and one of them is shown hammering a piece of metal (figs. 262—265). There are, besides, some representations from the Old Testament, some saints, some studies of heads and hands, figures in different attitudes, Jews, and a large number of nudes, particularly male figures of a slightly classical appearance (figs. 266—267), but we find also a drawing of Adam and Eve which recalls in a certain measure the fresco by Masaccio (1).

Similar sketches are preserved in a number of other collections, among them that left to Bayonne by the late Mr. Bonnat, the painter, but in Mr. Colvin's opinion these works are of inferior quality and he classifies them as school productions. I think, however, that they are in all probability from the same hand (2).

(1) Many of these drawings are reproduced in Mr. Colvin's edition on the Picture Chronicle: v. also *Meder*, op. cit., fig. 76.

(2) In the Resta collection in the Ambrosiana, Milan, there is a drawing of nudes with shield and clubs; in the Louvre (No. 2004) two nude men with clubs and in the Corsini Gallery, Rome (No. 130460) a sketch of a man with a basket containing a child on his back and a man with a club which, according to Ulmann, are from the same hand, to which he ascribes as well the profile of a young man in the Corsini Gallery, which we shall discuss later on and which is certainly not by this artist. I have great doubts also concerning the drawing in the Louvre which I shall treat in more detail elsewhere. On the other hand a drawing belonging to this series is preserved in the Accademia of Venice (*J. Loeser*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, III. 1903, p. 180) while three others are found in the National Museum of Stockholm (v. *O. Sirén*, *Dessins et tableaux de la Renaissance italienne dans les collections de Suède*. Stockholm, 1902, pp. 25 and 120 with one reproduction, who attributes them to Finiguerra. However, *Sirén* in his *Italienska Handteckningar*, p. 10, denies the drawing reproduced, which is very characteristic of our artist, to Finiguerra, claiming it as a production of the school of Pesellino. For two other figures belonging to this series v. *Monatsch. f. Kunstwiss.*, II, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1909.



Fig. 266. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 267. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

In studying these drawings we come more and more to the conclusion that instead of having the great qualities which Mr. Colvin finds in them, they are really very mediocre works of Pollaiuolo's school. I can quite easily believe that we are dealing here with the sketch book of a pupil, and not an extremely gifted one, of Pollaiuolo in whose work-shop the designs were very likely made.

The men sitting at work are no doubt the artist's fellow-companions, whom, for want of others, he took as models. The nudes he probably sketched from models who posed for Pollaiuolo himself sooner than for the apprentices working in his studio. An inscription under one of the drawings which was obviously written as a little self-encouragement to a beginner, confirms this hypothesis; it runs "I want to be a fine draughtsman and I desire to become a good architect". A rather childish remark is inscribed under another drawing <sup>(1)</sup>; in both instances these expressions point to the thoughts of quite a young man, almost still a boy.

Of much finer technique are a few drawings which as far as the subject is concerned, recall the first group of the foregoing series because again it must have been some of Pollaiuolo's pupils who were taken as models. These sketches are preserved in the Uffizi; one of them represents a youth with a cap on his head standing reading with a long rod in his hand (fig. 268), another shows a boy of about the same age, sitting on a bench on which he rests his right foot, and industriously drawing (fig. 269) <sup>(2)</sup>. Both these works are charming little sketches, very finely executed and with excellent oppositions of light and shade.

Another reason which makes me suppose that these drawings are productions of a work-shop in which the young artists used one another as models — a thing which is still constantly done in art schools of the present day — is the fact that there exists another sketch of the second subject.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Colvin*, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ede*, op. cit., pl. 7, hesitatingly ascribes them to Masaccio. *Colvin*, op. cit., gives them to Finiguerra. *Ferri*, *Miscellanea d' Arte*, p. 27. *Meder*, op. cit., p. 381, to the school of Pollaiuolo. Photo Alinari, drawings, 263, 264. Braun, 7711, 7712.



Fig. 268. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig 269. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 270. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. British Museum.

The drawing in question is found in the British Museum (1895-9-15-440) and is ascribed to Masaccio (fig. 270); we see the same youth in the same attitude depicted, however, a little more from the front and from a slightly lower angle. The skilful artist to whom we owe this sheet does not appear to me to be the same as the one who executed the two previous sketches.

In the Corsini Gallery, Florence, there is still another drawing which represents the profile of a young man of the same type, his curls visible under his cap; his figure is shown to the shoulders and he stares straight in front of him after the manner of a posing model (fig. 271) (1). This fine sketch might be from the same hand as those in the Uffizi.

The little picture in Besançon was very probably also a study which one young pupil made from an other in Pollaiuolo's studio.

Among the drawings of nudes there are several beautiful examples very close to the master himself, such for instance as that in the Uffizi (2) of four male figures, a torso and an arm (fig. 272) and on the verso of the same sheet two nudes, one with a ribbon in his hair and his hand on a shield; these brilliantly executed pen-drawings are veritable studies of anatomy. Mr. Berenson ascribes to the same hand two other pages, one, also in the Uffizi, representing on one side two nude men and one draped figure seated and on the verso four sketches of a herma (3); the other, which is in the Louvre, shows three nudes and two other figures and bears an ancient inscription to the effect that it is from the hand of Antonio himself (4).

(1) *Ede*, op. cit., assigns it to Antonio Pollaiuolo but with a point of interrogation. Photo Anderson, 2774.

(2) *Berenson*, op. cit., No. 1926. Photo Braun, 76317; Brogi, 1701. Mr. Berenson thinks that a copy of the figure in profile by Pinturicchio is found in the Venetian sketchbook.

(3) *Berenson*, op. cit., No. 1925. Photo Brogi 1699, 1545. *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 129, believes the drawing to be by Antonio himself and connects the nude figures with the reliefs of the Discord in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

(4) *Berenson*, op. cit., No. 1949. Photo Girandon, 54. *Cruttwell*, loc. cit., gives it to Antonio.





Fig. 271. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Corsini Gallery, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

In Pollaiuolo's close vicinity seems to have been executed the sheet in the Uffizi showing four sketches of a caryatid and a bearded man of herculean anatomy without arms <sup>(1)</sup>, as well as a second page in the same collection with studies

<sup>(1)</sup> Photo Brogi, 1545.



Fig. 272. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.

of a nude man seated, a nude man making a large gesture seen from behind and a little child walking, blowing on a trumpet (fig. 273) (1). From the same hand appear to be two

(1) *Berenson, op. cit., No. 1918.*

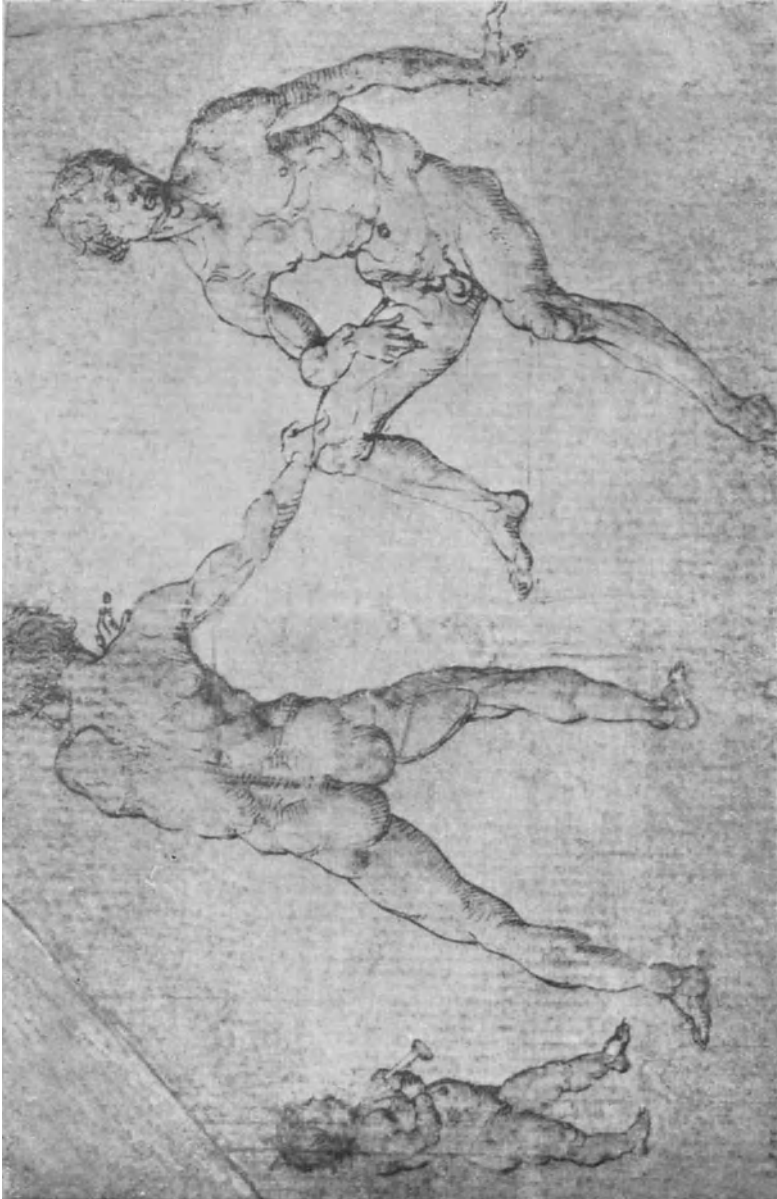


Fig. 273. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi. Florence.

Photo Alinari.

other drawings of nude youths; one is depicted standing with a rod in one hand and the other hand on his hip but placed so high that the position is ungainly while his left foot is posed on a little mound, giving to the figure a somewhat pronounced curve of the hip-line; the other sketch shows the same youth seen almost in full face, his arms crossed on his breast. These drawings which I think bear the characteristics of a studio work, are preserved in the Bonnat collection in the museum of Bayonne (1).

Of other drawings, in which Pollaiuolo's influence is visible, I shall give only a brief list (2):

*Berlin*, Kupferstick Kabinet, nude archer from the von Beckerath collection to which we have already referred (Berenson, *op. cit.*, No. 1911).

*Chantilly*, Condé Museum, nude youth, one knee on the ground, manipulating a bellows (3).

*Florence*, Uffizi, nude youth drawing a bow, which, according to Mr. Berenson (No. 1914) is a copy after Antonio.

To the same hand he ascribes an aged nude figure reclining on his right elbow and holding out his left arm (No. 1916); these sketches are perhaps by the same artist as the Hercules in the von Beckerath collection which I have already mentioned.

By the same hand he believes to be still a right arm, a man's torso seen from behind and three arms (Nos. 1938, 1939, 1940).

Two nudes (Berenson No. 1917).

Saltarelli collection, No. 9, head of a bearded man, washed in sepia, a superb work showing a close connexion with the Hercules of the picture at Newhaven. Berenson (No. 1943) hesitates between calling it a copy after an original by Antonio

(1) *Ede*, *op. cit.*, pl. 21, attributes the former of these sketches to Antonio Pollaiuolo but with a question mark; he makes no mention of the other. *Berenson*, *op. cit.*, No. 1950 and pl. XXI, seems to know only the second of these works which he places in the school of Antonio. *Cruttwell*, *op. cit.*, p. 129, attributes it to Antonio himself.

(2) In this enumeration I do not include the attributions made by *Ulmann*, *op. cit.*, nor those in the catalogue of drawings in the Louvre by *Both de Tauzia*. To enter into a similar discussion would lead us too far astray.

(3) Exhibited at the Ecole des Beaux Arts. Photo Braun, 65027<sup>bis</sup>.



Fig. 274. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

when working under the influence of Castagno or a copy after Castagno himself. Mrs. Cruttwell attributes it to Antonio <sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 80.

Two fine sketches of the same youth in contemporary costume, above reclining, below seated with a cap on his head which in both instances he rests on his hand (Berenson No. 1933, fig. 274) <sup>(1)</sup>.

Mr. Berenson thinks that these sketches and the following drawing which are by the same hand, were perhaps executed by the artist of the archer in Berlin but in this I do not agree. The same youth standing on one foot, his arms slightly outstretched, is shown looking upwards with a sorrowful expression on his face; it is much less fine but perhaps designed by the same draughtsman as the previous work. Mr. Berenson (No. 1927) believes them to be school copies after lost originals. My opinion is that they were sooner executed in his studio but by a fairly independent pupil. In a corner of the last mentioned drawing we read the word Antonio <sup>(2)</sup>.

A fragment of a nude youth shown in half-length figure with the position of the hands and the expression resembling those of the previous sketch; the name "*Antonio del Pollaiuolo*" is inscribed on the sheet <sup>(3)</sup>.

A fragment showing an angel above pouring down gold, behind a seated figure, but here the page is cut, and below a beggar stretching out his hands towards the gold which falls from above, one child climbing on his shoulders while another embraces his knees; a second beggar walking on crutches approaches the group, followed by an angel who carries a piece of wood (fig. 275). In agreement with Mr. Berenson (No. 1929) I think this drawing is a school copy after Antonio <sup>(4)</sup>.

Three nude warriors in combat with a centaur (Berenson, No. 1930, fig. 276), though of inferior quality, seems by the same hand. It is also a school copy after Antonio; the name "*Pollaiolo*" is inscribed on the sheet <sup>(5)</sup>.

A battle scene in two fragments with many nude figures and soldiers on horse-back is also designed after Antonio (Berenson, Nos. 1941 and 1942).

<sup>(1)</sup> Photo Brogi, 1807. Alinari, 683.

<sup>(2)</sup> Photo Braun, 76333. Brogio, 1697.

<sup>(3)</sup> Photo Braun, 76332.

<sup>(4)</sup> Photo Braun, 76330.

<sup>(5)</sup> Photo Braun, 76331.



Fig. 275. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing, Allegory. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.

A young man, his arms folded, turning round (Berenson, No. 1935).

The beheading of St. John the Baptist(?) showing five nude figures; again a school copy after Antonio (Berenson, No. 1936).

A young man seated on the ground which he touches with both hands; a study of draperies in the background<sup>(1)</sup>.

A holy monk standing on a little platform with book and palm in hand, looking sorrowfully heavenwards<sup>(2)</sup>.

A charming bust of a young lady with a very elaborate head-dress, shown in three-quarter right profile<sup>(3)</sup>.

*Hamburg*, Kunsthalle, combat between two centaurs, a beautiful drawing, giving a very true idea of Antonio's art (Berenson, No. 1944 and pl. XX)<sup>(4)</sup>.

*Milan*, Ambrosiana, a nude man bearing a mace (Berenson, No. 1946).

Brera, St. Sebastian from the Morelli and Frizzoni collections, of which mention has already been made.

*Oxford*, Christ Church, Dante standing; this sketch corresponds with the central figure of Domenico di Michelino's picture in the cathedral of Florence for which Baldovinetti had to make the rough draught of the poet (Berenson, No. 1948 and pl. XXII).

*Paris*, Louvre, Tobias with the angel and a second angel, attributed to Pollaiuolo.

Nude man holding out one hand and carrying an instrument in the other; on the verso, a woman seated holding serpents; they are fine sketches very close to Antonio to whom they have even been attributed.

Nude man with club and shield in hand, a school work although it has been ascribed to the master himself.

Two nude men with sticks (Portefeuille, "Florentins anonymes, XIV—XV", No. 2685), a school production.

A sketch for a tabernacle adorned with two angels, a

(1) Photo Brogi, 1661.

(2) Photo Cipriani, 4130.

(3) Ascribed to Finiguerra by *Colvin*, Picture Chronicle, No. 56, who supposes it to represent the wife of the artist and the same person as Queen Hecuba in the drawing of Priam and Hecuba in the Chronicle. To which in fact it does bear some resemblance, but I do not think these two sketches are from the same hand. This drawing is of a much finer technique than the long series of designs, part in the Uffizi, part elsewhere, of which there has already been frequent mention.

(4) The severe criticism of Mrs. *Cruttwell*, p. 217, is hardly justified





Fig. 276. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun

Pietà between two angels and four figures of saints to the sides <sup>(1)</sup>.

*Turin*, Royal Palace, a very clever drawing of four nude men in different attitudes among studies of feet and arms.

Two nude men, one of them seated on the ground apparently at the point of death, killed by the other who pulls him by the arm and forces his head back with his foot, which I have already mentioned.

<sup>(1)</sup> Photo Braun, 63660.

There is a second group of drawings in which the technique is quite different, for the chiaroscuro is very marked, the shades being of an exaggerated black and the lights a brilliant white. I think it very likely that these sketches were used in the casting of bronze statuettes, a considerable number of which belong to the school of Pollaiuolo, or for other works in sculpture which can be classified in this group. The drawings in question seem to be in part executed in Pollaiuolo's immediate surroundings, in part rather late copies or even drawn from bronze statues.

Several of these sketches show archers drawing their bows. A fine but somewhat effaced example is found in the British Museum (P.p. 1-4. fig. 277). The archer who bends a little forward leaning his weight on his left foot, is depicted in three-quarter profile. The same position but the figure more in profile is shown in a sketch in the Louvre (fig. 278) <sup>(1)</sup>. In the Uffizi there exists another drawing of an archer represented almost full face, bending slightly towards the back <sup>(2)</sup>.

A sketch of a nude youth seen from the front, his hand on his hip might have served as design for a bronze; it is of slightly later date and is preserved in the Print Room of Dresden <sup>(3)</sup>.

In the British Museum we find a drawing of a nude man seen in full face, holding a frisky horse by the head, which although lacking a little in style, should be included in this category <sup>(4)</sup>.

A sheet in the Wicar Museum, Lille <sup>(5)</sup>, is rather coarsely designed, it shows a nude man with a hat on his head, raising one arm, and the study of a foot.

In the Louvre there are still two figures belonging to this group, one, a nude, seen in three-quarter profile, the other, the same type of young man as those we imagined were

<sup>(1)</sup> Photo Braun, 62518.

<sup>(2)</sup> Photo Braun, 77131.

<sup>(3)</sup> Photo Braun, 67025; it bears an old attribution to Gentile da Fabriano.

<sup>(4)</sup> Photo Braun, 73065.

<sup>(5)</sup> Photo Braun, 72137.



Fig. 277. School of Pollaiuolo. drawing. British Museum.

designed from fellow-artists; he wears a cap but in this instance appears to hold up a kind of long mantle (<sup>1</sup>). These figures are not executed in a very precise style; the same

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(<sup>1</sup>) Photo Braun, 62094.

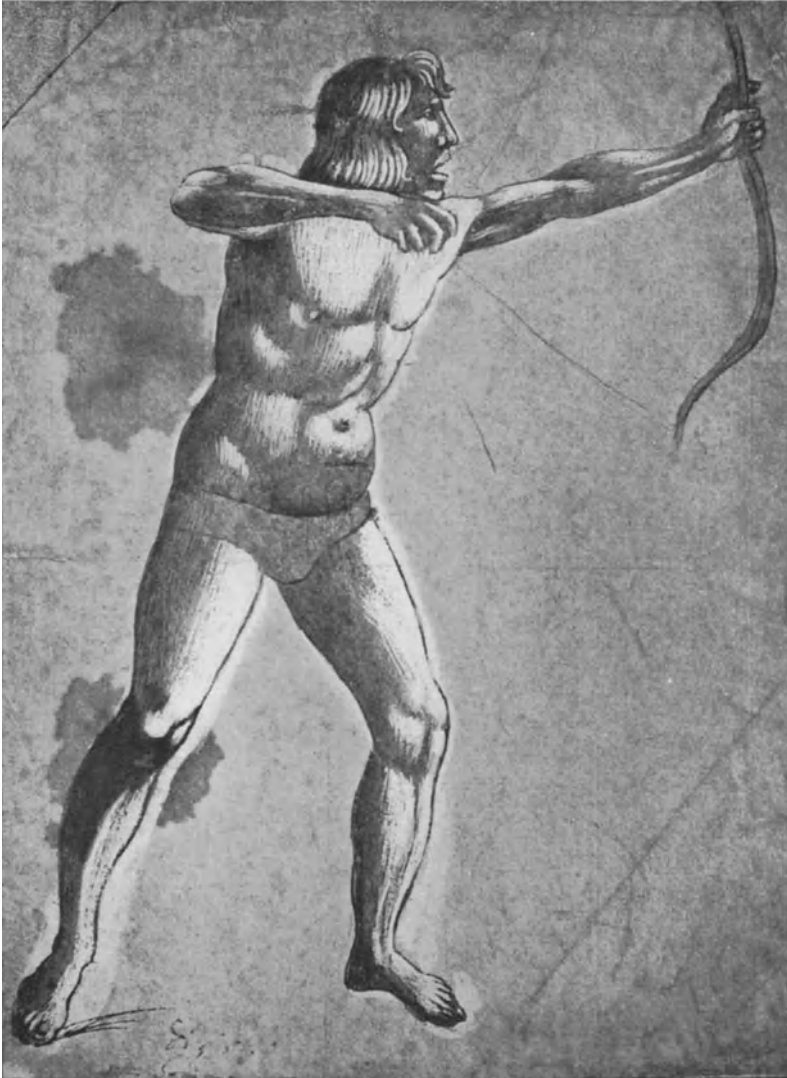


Fig. 278. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing, nude archer. Louvre. Paris.

Photo Braun

can be said of a drawing of a nude man sitting on the ground, his hands behind his back, in the Uffizi (1).

This group is comprised almost entirely of isolated nude

(1) Photo Brogi, 1617.

figures. I know of only one exception. It is a sheet in the Uffizi showing on the recto four gladiators, two in combat with sword and shield, the other two more peaceful (fig 279) and on the verso an archer in the centre and to the left a man making a gesture as if about to give an enormous blow with both his hands above his head and another figure in crouching position (<sup>1</sup>). Mr. Berenson (No. 1919) is of opinion

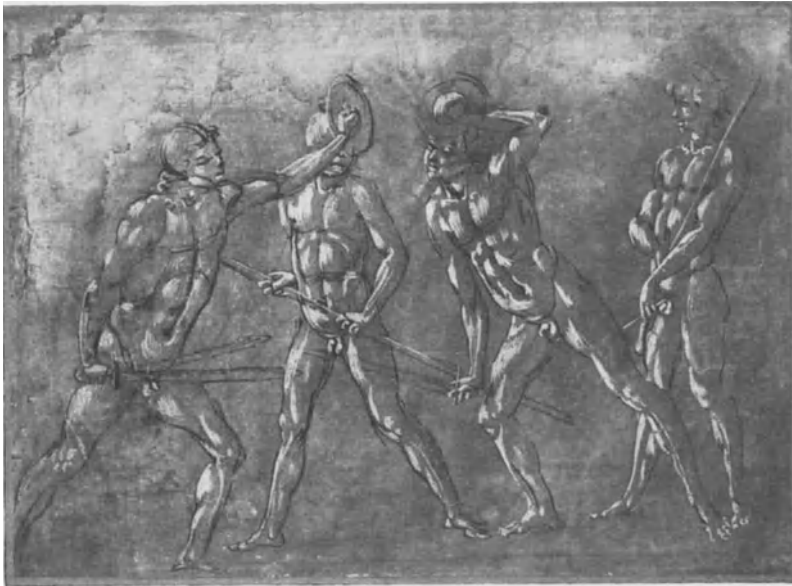


Fig. 279. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing, gladiators. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.

that this is not the work of a pupil but that of a contemporary imitator of Pollaiuolo.

In the Uffizi there is still a little series of drawings which are of a less exaggerated technique but none the less probably also served as designs for sculptures or bronzes. They represent allegorical figures of Justice, Prudence, and Fortitude and SS. Andrew, Peter and James (figs. 280—281). Mr. Berenson thinks that these personifications are not by Antonio and probably not by Piero either; he associates

(<sup>1</sup>) Photo Brogi, 1700, 1808. *De Nicola*, op. cit.

with them a sketch for a statute of a pope bestowing a blessing; certainly as far as the subject is concerned these drawings bear a vague connexion with the two tombs of pontiffs in Rome<sup>(1)</sup>. The same critic judges the figures of saints to



Fig. 280. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing, Justice. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Braun.

be the work of a distant follower of the Pollaiuolo<sup>(2)</sup>. I do not agree with this attribution; although the draughtsmanship is inferior, I think they are from the same hand as the allegorical figures. The saints are placed in niches and no doubt had to form part of the same monument as the figures of Virtues. I think it quite likely that these are copies of projects for some monument which Antonio never executed, perhaps a first idea for one of the two extant tombs in Rome (fig. 282).

<sup>(1)</sup> *Berenson, Drawings*, Nos. 1920, 1921, 1922, 1928. Photo Brogi, 1704, 1702. Braun, 76323, 76324, 76325, 76329.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Berenson, Drawings*, Nos. 1923, 1924; he has forgotten to mention the St. Peter. Photo Brogi, 1703. Braun, 76323, 76326, 76327.

These sketches, probably for some plastic works, lead us to consider for a moment some bronzes of the manner and the school of Antonio Pollaiuolo. His Excellency Wilhelm von Bode reproduces as Pollaiuolo's own work, apart from the Hercules and Antaeus

in the museum of Florence, a Hercules in the Frick collection, New York, where we find as well the figure of a youth standing holding a rod, with one hand on his hip. The latter piece in particular seems to me to be very close to the master himself, as do also two other figures, one a Hercules, an apple in the hand which he rests on his hip, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, the other a nude man bearded wearing a hat, the arm in this case is broken, in the museum of Naples.



Fig. 281. School of Pollaiuolo. drawing.  
Prudence. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.

These two works are certainly from the same hand. In the museum of Berlin there is still another figure of Hercules,

with his club in his hand, looking down at the head of a lion on which he has placed his foot <sup>(1)</sup>.



Fig. 282. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing,  
St. Andrew, Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.

Kunst der Frührenaissance. Berlin, 1923, p. 410. For the bronzes in the museum of Berlin v. *F. Goldschmidt*, *Die Italienischen bronzen etc.*, Königl. Museen zu Berlin, II, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Berlin, 1914, p. 8.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Bode*, *Ital. Bronze*, pl. II.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Cruttwell*, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

The same critic ascribes to the school of Pollaiuolo the statuette of a nude youth, a cap on his head, raising his right arm and looking towards the left, in a private collection in Germany <sup>(2)</sup>.

There are still some other bronze statues which can be classified as productions of this school. In the collection of Countess de Béarn, Paris, we find a group of Hercules and Antaeus for which a similar statue in terracotta in the Berenson collection possibly served as model or it might even be a copy after an original by Pollaiuolo himself <sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *W. von Bode*, *Die Italienischen bronze Statuetten der Renaissance*, Neue Ausgabe, Berlin (no date), p. 17 and pls. 12 and 13. *The Same*, *Die*





Fig. 283. Marsyas. copy from a classical statue with influence of Pollaiuolo. National Museum, Florence. Photo Alinari.

A work of somewhat later date is the Hercules in the Victoria and Albert Museum, formerly in the Pierpont Morgan collection, as well as the David in the museum of Naples in

which Mrs. Cruttwell finds an influence of Michelangelo but I do not think this is at all evident (<sup>1</sup>).

The bronze statuette of Marsyas of which there are many examples, including those in the National Museum, Florence (fig. 283), in the museum of Berlin, in the Louvre and in the Morgan collection and of which we find studies in the so-called Raphael sketch-book in Venice, is generally described as a copy from an antique work; a classical inspiration is certainly very evident, still in the treatment of the anatomy I see some influence of Pollaiuolo's art.

I agree with Senator Chiappelli (<sup>2</sup>) that the coat-of-arms of the town, supported by two winged putti, dated 1494, in the council room of the Palazzo Pubblico of Pistoia, reveals an influence of Pollaiuolo sooner than that of Verrocchio, as has often been said. There would be nothing surprising in this because, as we have seen, Pollaiuolo had some property near this town.

Mrs. Cruttwell ascribes to Antonio Pollaiuolo still the relief of the Genius of Discord in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (<sup>3</sup>), but I do not think this is exact. I believe the work to be of later date and although the anatomical forms of some of the nudes strongly remind us of Pollaiuolo's art, in my opinion it is not even the production of a direct pupil. Wilhelm von Bode ascribes it to Leonardo da Vinci (<sup>4</sup>).

Another branch of figurative art in which Antonio Pollaiuolo's influence is very noticeable is the art of engraving but here we enter a subject which can hardly be included in our field of studies. Consequently it is not my intention to dwell for any length of time on the engravings of the Florentine school; I shall mention only a few examples in which this influence is very evident.

First of all let it be said that Pollaiuolo was the first of

(<sup>1</sup>) *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 85, makes the same observation for a statuette of Hercules in the Brit collection, London, which I have never seen.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Chiappelli*, *Arte del Rinascimento*, p. 228 note 4.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 126.

(<sup>4</sup>) *W. von Bode*, *Studien über Leonardo da Vinci*, Berlin, 1921. p. 42.

the great Italian masters to make engravings; we have already seen several examples of his imitators<sup>(1)</sup>.

We have documentary evidence of Antonio Pollaiuolo's activity as a worker in niello and as I said before, Benvenuto Cellini even pretends that Antonio made the sketches for all the nielli executed by Finiguerra. It is well known that impressions on paper were made from these nielli and that this gives much the same effect as engravings. In the collection of Baron E. de Rothschild, Paris, there are some niello-prints, one of which representing Fortitude shows the coat-of-arms of the Orsini and it will be remembered that from his letter of 1494 to Gentile Orsini, we learn that Antonio Pollaiuolo was evidently working for this prince. Because of this, Kristeller attributes the niello-print in Paris to Pollaiuolo, as well as one of the Fountain of Love in the Malaspina Museum, Pavia, and another of the beheading of a person in the Print Room, Parma. Unless we admit that these nielli do not reproduce very faithfully the original sketches, it is difficult to accept these attributions. Besides, in this field of art he had but few adherents.

Among the prints which can be closely associated with Pollaiuolo, I shall cite in the first place the lady's profile, a copy of which is found in the Kupferstick Cabinet, Berlin (fig. 284)<sup>(2)</sup>, which resembles in type the portrait in the National Gallery. The richness and abundance of the young lady's ornaments betray the taste of the goldsmith. Mr.

(1) As for the literature regarding this subject I shall cite in the first place the excellent catalogue of Italian engravings in the British Museum by *A. M. Hind and S. Colvin*, to which I have already made frequent reference; it gives a complete bibliography for each subject which I shall abstain from repeating; for any information I refer my readers to this catalogue. Many of the prints which will be discussed are reproduced in the publications of the Internationale Chalcographisch Gesellschaft or in those of the Graphisch Gesellschaft. I have already quoted *Laborde's* volume. Other works on the subject are: *M. F. Lipmann*, *Der Kupferstick*, new ed., Berlin, 1906; English ed. 1907. *P. Kristeller*, *Italienisch Niello Drücke u. der Kupferstick*. Jahr. K. Preus. Kunstsamml. XV, 1894, p. 94.

(2) *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., A. I. 6. believe that this engraving dates from before 1465, but I think this is a little too early.

Berenson is of opinion that we are dealing here with an engraving at least made after a drawing by Antonio (<sup>1</sup>).

That the person represented might be Battista Sforza, the wife of Federico of Urbino, whose portrait Piero della Francesca painted, does not seem very likely in spite of an ancient inscription on the engraving in which we read the word Urbino.

Forming almost the counterpart to this print is that of the "Grand Turco" in the same collection (<sup>2</sup>). It is a man's profile, sharply cut with a beard and an abundant head of hair; he is attired in armour and wears a helmet adorned with a dragon showing again marvellous examples of goldsmith's work. The name "El Grand Turco" is inscribed below in the right corner, but in appearance the subject resembles the John II Palaeologus of Pisanello's medal, more closely than Mahommed II. A certain likeness has led several writers to believe that this portrait represents the Albanian prince Scanderberg (1414—1467).

Very much in Pollaiuolo's manner but by a considerably less skilful artist is the engraving of two centaurs in combat in the presence of three armed men (fig. 285) (<sup>3</sup>).

Further, there are some fairly long and highly important series of prints which reflect in a most obvious manner the influence of Pollaiuolo's art.

First and foremost there are the "Otto prints", so called because in the 18<sup>th</sup> century they belonged to Peter Ernest Otto of Leipzig. Of this set of twenty-four, seventeen are in the British Museum.

They are certainly the productions of one and the same Florentine studio which Hind and Colvin believe to be that of Finiguerra and they date them from between 1465 and 1470 (<sup>4</sup>). The subjects are almost all profane and the above-mentioned authors very rightly suppose that they were intended to serve as model for the decoration of coffers and boxes which would

(<sup>1</sup>) *Berenson*, Drawings, I, p. 25 note.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., A. I. 7.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., D. I. 3. *Borenius*, op. cit., p. 10. *Schwabacher*, op. cit., pl. XXV, believes it to be from Antonio's own hand.

(<sup>4</sup>) *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., A. IV.



Fig. 284. School of Pollaiuolo, print. Kupferstick Kabinet, Berlin.



Fig. 285. School of Pollaiuolo, print, Centaurs fighting, British Museum.

explain why so many of them are round in form; some of them show purely ornamental friezes, doubtless meant for the side panels. They represent besides young men and women either together or separate, heads in medallions, hunting



Fig. 286. Lady with unicorn, print, showing influence of Pollaiuolo.  
British Museum.

scenes, a lady with a unicorn (fig. 286), several scenes in which Cupids play an important roll, the Garden of Love, grotesques, Judith and Holophernes, Jason and Medea etc. The inspiration is uniform in the entire series which might quite well have been the production of one studio but in the execution we discover two different hands.

Two long series, certainly the output of one workshop, if not

from the same hand, are those of Prophets and Sibyls (fig. 287) which exist in the so-called "fine manner" and are repeated with some variations in the "broad manner" <sup>(1)</sup>. The Prophets are twenty-four in number, the Sibyls twelve. That these engravings belong to the school of Antonio Pollaiuolo is the opinion already expressed by Hind and Colvin, who even think that the youthful Botticelli in his Pollaiuolesque phase might have taken part in the execution of these engravings, particularly the series in the "broad manner" which seems to be of a slightly later date than the other <sup>(2)</sup>. All these thirty-six seated figures are less monotonous than one might think. The artist shows great variety in the types, in the position and in the attire. They are really very beautiful and inspired engravings of excellent technique. Of the series in the "fine manner" there exist some mediocre Italian copies <sup>(3)</sup>.

The hypothesis that the drawings in the so-called Florentine Picture Chronicle were executed with the idea of making engravings from them has been propounded on several occasions. Moreover, there exists an engraving made from one of these sketches; it depicts the Cretan labyrinth with the story of Theseus and Ariadne <sup>(4)</sup>, but there is a considerable number of differences between the drawing and this engraving.

There can be no doubt that it was Antonio Pollaiuolo who above all inspired this designer <sup>(5)</sup>. This would not exclude the possibility that the artist might have been Finiguerra, on the contrary; only a comparison with the marquetry work in the sacristy of the cathedral of Florence does not authorize this attribution and moreover, as I said, we are forced to admit that these drawings are posterior to Finiguerra's death which occurred in 1465.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Hind and Colvin*, C. I—III and pls. C. I and C. II.

<sup>(2)</sup> *H. Horne*, Botticelli, p. 290.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., p. 142.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., A. II, 10. *Colvin*, Florentine Picture Chronicle, fig. 83.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Berenson*, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, XXIII, p. 170. finds that the master of the Chronicle whom he admits to be Finiguerra, was very much inspired by Pesellino; he even suggests that a sketch of a flying angel in the Albertina (*Berenson*, Drawings, No. 1848) is a copy by Finiguerra from an original by Pesellino,





Fig. 287. The Sibyl Samia, print showing influence of Pollaiuolo.  
 British Museum.

This draughtsman was a follower of Pollaiuolo's mature manner and in no way this master's predecessor or a pioneer. Consequently I have come to the conclusion that these drawings could not have been finished before about 1475. Many elements, for example the decorative motifs that are found in the inlaid work by Finiguerra and in the Chronicle, point to a connexion between the one and the other.

Certainly the master of the Chronicle was not a painter; from a pictorial point of view his compositions are extremely childish. He was obviously an artist who was interested in statuettes in bronze or perhaps in silver and the profusion of decorative details and the nature of these details are characteristic of goldsmith's work. He had a special liking for a very curly leaf which we find throughout his sketches and which we discover also in Verrocchio's decorations (fig. 288). The buildings in his compositions are of an impossible appearance on account of the surcharge of ornamentation. His attempt to reproduce the true classical style is more obvious than that of Pollaiuolo; then suddenly he transforms the scenery into charming contemporary surroundings which he depicts with a decided taste for profane elements: the rape of Helen by Paris (fig. 289) shows us a richly attired bridal couple of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, standing arm in arm under a little tabernacle adorned with a frieze of putti. Also the story of Sardanapalus is portrayed in Renaissance surroundings and the heroes of classical antiquity are attired in costumes of the time of the artist. The long-peaked hat like that worn by "El Grand Turco" and by Palaeologus in Pisanello's medal of this emperor, appears on several occasions in these drawings (fig. 290). In the ancient city of Nineveh we see windows of the Quattrocento Florentine style.

The hand of the goldsmith is again visible in the triumphal chariots. Yet classical elements are by no means rare; we find them in the costumes and in the accessories; the buildings are of a fantastic style while the male nudes sometimes reveal a strong influence of Pollaiuolo but sometimes are executed in a more classical spirit with much less movement (fig. 291). It is very surprising that the group of Hercules and Antaeus (fig. 292) in the Picture Chronicle is so



Fig. 288. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Linus and Musaeus.  
Florentine Picture Chronicle, British Museum.



Fig. 289. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing, the Rape of Helen.  
Florentine Picture Chronicle. British Museum.



Fig. 290. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing, Cassandra and Panthesilea.  
Florentine Picture Chronicle, British Museum.

different from Pollaiuolo's representation which nevertheless achieved such a success. In the drawing Antaeus' back is pressed against Hercules' chest, consequently in the

inverse position to that shown in Pollaiuolo's picture <sup>(1)</sup>.

I know of only one picture of Antonio Pollaiuolo's school which might be by the master of the Picture Chronicle. It is a painting of Tobias and the archangel meeting a person,



Fig. 291. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing, two sibyls. Florentine Picture Chronicle, British Museum.

apparently St. Francis, in a landscape which formed part of the von Nemes collection, Munich <sup>(2)</sup> and which probably will be presented to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. We notice the

<sup>(1)</sup> A little Florentine bronze of the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the Carraud collection in the National Museum, Florence, represents the figures in the same position.

<sup>(2)</sup> It was No. 17 in the catalogue of the auction sale which was held in Amsterdam in November 1928.



Fig. 292. School of Pollaiuolo, drawing. Hercules slaying Antaeus. Florentine Picture Chronicle, British Museum.

same curious expressions, similar long necks and somewhat heavy forms as in the Picture Chronicle.

There is still a number of prints which should be approximated to Pollaiuolo's art. They can be divided into different

groups. One of these groups is composed of prints which are not very fine either in design or in execution but which, however, on account of the style of the draughtsmanship, should be considered the result of this diffusion of Pollaiuolo's art. Messrs Hind and Colvin are quite right in pointing out the very striking differences between these engravings and the others which for the greater part they attribute to Finiguerra or to his immediate surroundings. I do not agree with them that Castagno's influence predominates in this set of prints. I think Pollaiuolo's inspiration is more evident especially in the male nudes, the anatomical effects and the ladies' profiles which we find through-out this set of prints, although I think we are dealing here with rather popular interpretations of elements which derive from Antonio's art. None the less we have in these prints further surprising evidence of the spreading of "Pollaiuoloism".

To this group belongs the series of ten prints illustrating the Passion of Our Lord, the only copy of which is preserved in the Albertina, Vienna, and is known as "the Larger Vienna Passion" (fig. 293) <sup>(1)</sup>. I think the master of this series can be held responsible for an engraving of St. Jerome praying before the crucifix with a small but fierce-looking lion beside him and a palm-tree and some architecture in the background, impressions of which are found, one in the British Museum (fig. 294) and another in the Uffizi <sup>(2)</sup>.

On the other hand by quite a different artist is the series of six prints of the Triumphs of Petrarch (fig. 295) which reveal on the part of the engraver a decided taste for goldsmith's art. In spite of the unskilful and affected draughtsmanship I classify these engravings in the same group <sup>(3)</sup>, as I do also a crowded composition of the sacrifice of Abraham in the Uffizi which, however, is of a slightly later date <sup>(4)</sup>.

Of the Triumphs of Petrarch there exists another print

<sup>(1)</sup> *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., No. A. I. 1.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., No. A. I. 2: "almost certainly by the master of the Larger Vienna Passion".

<sup>(3)</sup> *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., No. A. I. 3.

<sup>(4)</sup> *A. Caabi*, *Raccolte Italiane di Stampe*, II, *Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, VI, 1926, p. 54.





Fig. 293. Descent from the Cross, print showing Pollaiuolo's influence from the "Larger Vienna Passion". Albertina, Vienna.



Fig. 294. Master of the "Larger Vienna Passion".  
St. Jerome, print. British Museum.

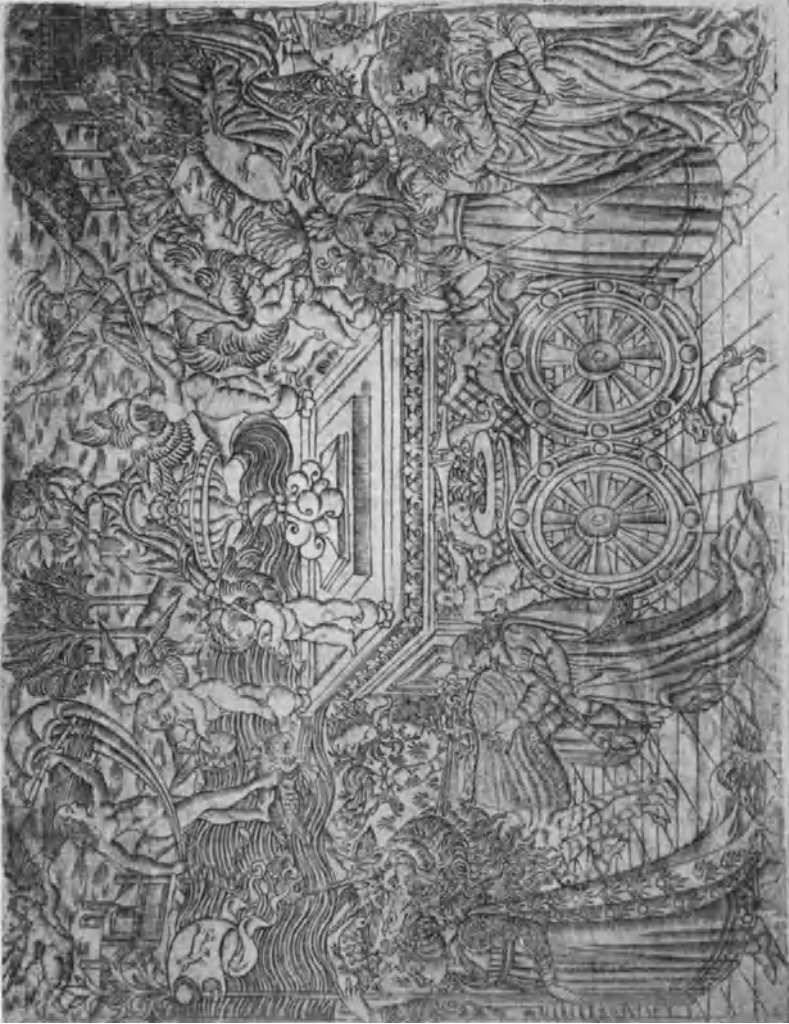


Fig. 295. The Triumph of Chastity, print, showing Pollaiuolo's influence.  
British Museum.

which unites all six events in one composition; the only extant print is preserved in the Albertina, Vienna, and we notice that the individual scenes are somewhat different from those of the isolated prints. Here the drawing is more childish and the engraver practically limits his design to the contours.

The same technique of engraving is found in the set, probably incomplete, of fourteen prints known as the "Smaller Vienna Passion" of which again there is only one example in the Albertina, Vienna. However here the workmanship is different and I do not include these engravings among the productions of the school of Pollaiuolo although this series and the previous set of engravings<sup>(1)</sup> might be the output of the same studio.

Certain features unite the "Larger Vienna Passion" with two prints of the Virgin giving breast to the Child, enthroned under a baldachin between two saints, with the figures of the Annunciation above. The chief differences between the two engravings, impressions of which are preserved in the British Museum, lies in the fact that the lateral figures in one case are SS. Catherine of Siena and Margaret<sup>(2)</sup> and in the other SS. Julian (?) and Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 296) although there is as well a slight variation in the position of the Virgin and angel of the Annunciation (1910-7-16-4). Here too should be cited an engraving in the Uffizi representing putti gathering grapes under a pergola<sup>(3)</sup>.

Other engravings in which I discover elements of Pollaiuolo's art, which, besides have already been ascribed by Messrs. Hind and Colvin to Finiguerra or to his school, which amounts very much to the same thing, are:

Encounter of a hunting party with a family of wild folk (*Hind and Colvin*, A II 2).

Group of elegant ladies who seem to be struggling for the possession of a man's pair of trunk hose (A II 3).

The judgment hall of Pilate, a very large "fine manner" print with a profusion of architecture; as Messrs Hind and Colvin observe, it is very close to the drawings of the Florentine Picture Chronicle (A II 5)<sup>(4)</sup>.

(1) *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., No. A.I. 4: "almost certainly by the same hand that is responsible for the Smaller Vienna Passion."

(2) *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., No. F.I. 2. see the resemblance with the "Larger Vienna Passion" but on account of certain differences, think that this plate might have been a Siense adaptation of a Florentine print.

(3) *Calabi*, loc. cit.

(4) Reproduced in part in *Colvin*, Florentine Picture Chronicle, fig. 86.



Fig. 296. Madonna, Saints and Annunciation, print, showing Pollaiuolo's influence. British Museum.

Eight prints for an ornamental frame or border (A II 7) <sup>(1)</sup>.  
 The conversion of St. Paul with many rapidly moving figures in a landscape in which we see also some architecture (A II 8).

<sup>(1)</sup> Reproduced on the title page of *Colvin*, op. cit.

Perhaps also two prints, one of animals fighting in a barren landscape (A II 1), the other of ships at sea (A II 9), possess some elements which connect them with this group although it cannot be said that they actually reveal an influence of Pollaiuolo (<sup>1</sup>).

On the other hand, on account of a marked similarity in the style, we can classify in Pollaiuolo's school eight highly important prints of the Planets and their astrological influences on humanity (<sup>2</sup>). Each of these engravings shows above a personification of a planet and below a scene filled with agitated figures against a background of architecture and a landscape; on the whole they form charming little pictures; the art of the goldsmith is visible in some of the decorative motifs. The old men in the centre of the print of Mercury are reminiscent of the figures in the series of engravings representing Prophets.

Cristofano di Michele Robetta, who was born in 1462 and who was active still in 1522, belonged to quite another generation of artists and I have no intention of discussing this eclectic Florentine engraver, from whose hand we possess about fifty different prints (<sup>3</sup>), even although Antonio Pollaiuolo was one of the numerous masters who influenced him. In Robetta's work the anatomical effects of the great Florentine artist are toned down to such an extent that almost all the realism disappears; his chief aim was obviously to create pleasing figures. Yet his nudes and their movements recall those of Antonio Pollaiuolo (fig. 297), one of whose principle works he reproduces in two engravings of Hercules.

(<sup>1</sup>) To Finiguerra and his school *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., ascribe still the following prints which in my opinion are executed in a different manner: A. II. 4 and 4a, the Road to Calvary and the Crucifixion, and the Road to Calvary; A. II. 11, triumphal procession of Bacchus and Ariadne; A. II. 12, a bear hunt which is reminiscent of an almost similar scene in the Otto prints where, however, the huntsman is missing.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Hind and Colvin*, A. III, are inclined to ascribe these engravings to the master of the Picture Chronicle. *Horne* thinks "they are by some weaker Florentine hand whose work has been translated so to speak by the engraver into the Finiguerra dialect".

(<sup>3</sup>) *A. M. Hind*, Cristofano Robetta, *The Print Collectors Quarterly*, X, 1923, p. 369.

It is only natural that miniature painters were also subjected to "Pollaiuoloism"; this is evident to a fairly strong degree in the productions of Francesco d'Antonio del Cherico and Filippo di Matteo Torelli both of whom belonged to the group



Fig. 297. Robetta, print, the Power of Love.

of miniaturists who were active in San Marco where, dominated by Beato Giovanni da Fiesole, Strozzi and other artists worked in a more religious and conservative style. When treating these masters I had already occasion to remark that Torelli and Francesco d'Antonio belonged much more to the Renaissance even although they collaborated with Zanobi Strozzi; in 1453 this artist together with Torelli was charged to

illuminate nineteen antiphonaries while in 1463 he and Francesco d'Antonio decorated two other books (1).

The antiphonaries that Strozzi and Francesco d'Antonio illustrated together between 1463 and 1471 for the cathedral of Florence, now in the Laurenziana Library, give us a very precise idea of the latter master's art (2); the magnificent Annunciation in the third volume in particular shows us a little picture quite after Antonio Pollaiuolo's style (fig. 298). In a very elaborate ornamental border, teeming with little figures, among whom the angels recall those of Antonio's works, the Annunciation takes place in a room, through the two doors of which we catch glimpses of a landscape in the manner so often shown by the master; the angel bends one knee before the seated Virgin and the general effect of the composition recalls Piero's Annunciation in Berlin. This miniature bears the date 1471 and in my opinion authorizes us to ascribe to the same hand several illuminations in the other volumes, such as a group of priests singing in a choir and the Adoration of the Magi, which Signor D'Ancona, in agreement with Milanese's out-of-date history of Italian miniatures, gives to Strozzi (3).

I shall not enter into a long description of all the miniatures in these codices which have been attributed to this artist (4) but shall give a short account of those I consider to be the best.

A very Pollaiuolesque work is that representing Theseus slaying the Minotaur which adorns a page in a volume of Plutarch in the Laurenziana Library, Florence (5); in this miniature we find exactly the same gesture as that with which Hercules kills the Hydra or St. Michael the dragon in Pollaiuolo's paintings. The border of one of the pages of another Plutarch, dedicated to Pietro de' Medici in the same

(1) v. Vol. X, pp. 163—165.

(2) *P D'Ancona*, La miniatura fiorentina. I, Florence, 1914, p. 59 and pls. LXVII—LXXIV. *The Same*, La miniature italienne du X au XVI siècle, Paris—Brussels, 1925, p. 77.

(3) *D'Ancona*, La miniatura fiorentina, pls. LXIV and LXXV.

(4) *D'Ancona*, Min. fior., Vol. II, Nos. 785 et. seq.

(5) *D'Ancona*, Min. fior., Vol. II, No. 792 and pl. LXVIII.





Fig. 298. Francesco d' Antonio, the Annunciation, miniature, 1471.  
Laurenziana Library, Florence.

library is also full of little figures reminiscent of the great artist (fig. 299) <sup>(1)</sup>; as also a third Plutarch codex, in the Laurenziana <sup>(2)</sup>.

In a little Book of Hours in the Vatican Library we find alongside an Annunciation, a half-length figure of the Virgin which is a characteristic production of the school of Pollaiuolo (fig. 300) <sup>(3)</sup>. The superb Book of Hours, illuminated by Francesco d'Antonio towards 1485 for the Medici, now in the Laurenziana Library <sup>(4)</sup>, does not show such a marked influence of Pollaiuolo.

On the other hand in the border of a Plutarch in the same library there are some profiles of bearded men executed after the same manner as the engravings of prophets or that of the drawings in the Picture Chronicle <sup>(5)</sup>.

Torelli's borders which I find rather stiff and heavy, show none the less that he too must have had some knowledge of Pollaiuolo's art. We have proof of this in one of the Gospel-books of 1466, originating from the cathedral of Florence, now in the Laurenziana Library, in which a little miniature of the Last Judgment shows some Pollaiuolesque nudes which are certainly not from the hand of Strozzi and consequently must be by Torelli. Moreover the figures in the borders manifest the same inspiration <sup>(6)</sup>.

This influence is in my opinion noticeable in a very marked degree in a Flavius Josephus executed for Giovanni de' Medici and now in the Laurenziana Library <sup>(7)</sup>. Chiefly on account of the colouring D'Ancona discovers in these works an influence of North Italian art and thinks they might be by a Milanese or Ferrarese artist active in Florence. He finds the same features in other miniatures and ascribes to this artist

<sup>(1)</sup> *D'Ancona*, op. cit., No. 796 and pl. LXIX.

<sup>(2)</sup> *D'Ancona*, op. cit., No. 789 and pl. LXXVII.

<sup>(3)</sup> *D'Ancona*, op. cit., No. 828 and pl. LXXXIV.

<sup>(4)</sup> *G. Biagi*, Reproduzioni di manoscritti miniati etc. della R. Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence. 1914, pls. XXIV—XXVIII.

<sup>(5)</sup> *D'Ancona*, Min. fior., Vol. II, No. 796; Vol. I, pl. LXIX.

<sup>(6)</sup> *D'Ancona*, op. cit., No. 777; pl. LXVI. *The Same*, La miniature italienne, pl. LXXVII.

<sup>(7)</sup> *D'Ancona*, Min. fior., Vol. I. Nos. 432—434; Vol. II, pls. LX—LXI.



Fig. 299. Francesco d' Antonio, page from a codex of Plutarch.  
Laurenziana Library, Florence.



Fig. 300. Francesco d' Antonio, page from a Book of Hours.  
Vatican Library: Rome.

the illuminations of a Plutarch, a St. Jerome, a St. Augustine and many other works (1).

(1) *D'Ancona*, op. cit., Nos. 425 and 275 v. note.

It is curious to relate that although Antonio Pollaiuolo himself made sketches for embroideries and in spite of the extent of his influence, there is no trace of designs for embroideries which can be classified as productions of his school. In fact there are very few of these works at all and generally speaking the influence of his style can only faintly be discerned.



Fig. 301. The portraits of Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo, from their tomb in S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

## CHAPTER V

### ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO (<sup>1</sup>).

Andrea, the son of Michele di Francesco Cioni, was born

(<sup>1</sup>) *W. von Bode*, *Bildwerke des A. V.*, Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., III, 1882, pp. 91, 235. *The Same*, Una tavola di bronzo di A. d. V. nella chiesa del Carmine a Venezia, *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, VI, 1893, p. 77. *The Same*, V. u. das Altarbild der Sacraments Kapelle im Dom zu Pistoia, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XXII, 1899, p. 390. *The Same*, Die Madonna darstell. bei V. u. den Bildhauern des Hochrenaissance, *Das Museum*, VI. *T. Borenius*, A Picture from the School of V. (Madonna, Woodward coll.), *Burlington Magazine*, XXX, 1917, p. 129. *The Same*, A. d. V., *Apollo*, V, 1927, p. 187. (Madonna Mumm and H. Young colls.). *J. Brech*, Une Madonna de V. (Metropolitan Museum, New York), *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Oct. 1910. *J. Cartwright*, *The Painters of Florence*, London, 1910, p. 190. *A. Chiappelli*, Il V. e Lorenzo di Credi a Pistoia, *Arte del Rinascimento*, Rome, 1925. *The Same*, Idem, *Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. Pubbl. Istr.*, serie II, V, 1925, p. 49. *A. Chiappelli e A. Chiti*, A. d. V. in Pistoia, *Boll. Stor. Pistoiese*, I, 2, 1899. *M. Cruttwell*, V., London, New York, 1904. *The Same*, Tre documenti sul V., *L'Arte*, 1904. *The Same*, Un disegno del V. per la "Fede" nella Mercatanzia di Firenze, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 8. *Duhoussot*, Un dernier mot à propos du Colleoni de V., *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1898. *C. von Fabriczy*, A. d. V. al servizio dei Medici, *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, I, 1895, p. 163. *The Same*, V. u. das Altarbild der Sacraments Kapelle im Dom zu Pistoia, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XXII, 1899, p. 338. *The Same*, Recension on Mackowsky's monography, *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, XXIV, 1902. *The Same*, Neues zum Werke A. V's, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1904. *P. Franceschini*, Il dossale d'argento del Tempio di S. Giovanni in Firenze, Florence, 1894. *C. Gamba*, Una terracotta del V. a Careggi, *L'Arte*, VII, 1904, p. 59. *G. Gronau*, Das sogenannte Skizzenbuch des V., *Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml.*, 1896. *The Same*, A. d. V., *Das Museum*, I. *C. J. Holmes*, *The Shop of V.*, *Burlington Magazine*, July 1923, p. 3. *Lefebure des Noëttes*, V. et l'anatomie du cheval, *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XXXVI, 1909 (*L'Arte*, 1909, p. 475). *H. Mackowsky*, Das Lavabo in S. Lorenzo zu Florenz, *Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml.*, 1896. *The Same*, Neues über V., *Sitzungsber. der Berliner Kunstgesch. Gesellsch.*, I, 1900. *The Same*, Verrocchio, Bielefeld, Leipzig, 1901. *F. R. Martin*, A terracotta bust by V., *Burlington Magazine*, July 1923, p. 3. *J. Mesnil*, Botticelli, les Pollaiuolo et V., *Rivista*

in 1435<sup>(1)</sup>. His father Michele who was born in 1382, was a brick and tile maker and afterwards became a tax collector. He was not poor because he had a house in the Sant' Ambrogio quarter and owned some land near Florence. Andrea was the son of his father's first wife, Gemma, who had as well three other sons and two daughters; by his second wife, Nannina, he had still a son.

The father Michele died in 1452 and the same year Andrea had the misfortune of unintentionally killing with a stone one of his comrades, Antonio di Domenico, but in 1453 he was acquitted of the charge of homicide.

From a cadastral declaration of 1457 we gather that Andrea must have been fairly well off because he possessed his father's house, some land at Certaldo and some other property. At this time he lived with his grand-mother and his brother Maso<sup>(2)</sup>. He announces in this document that for the time being, on account of lack of orders, he has given up his goldsmith's work. This proves that he started his career in this branch of art; no doubt he served his first apprenticeship in the workshop of the fairly renowned goldsmith Giuliano dei Verrocchi and according to the custom of the day called himself after his master.

Also Vasari speaks of Andrea's activity as a goldsmith, citing some of his works; he further informs us that Andrea in his youth liked to study geometry, while Baldinucci tells us that he read in two ancient documents that Andrea was

d'Arte, 1905, p. 4. *H. Reumont*, Il monumento Tornabuoni del V., *Giornale di Erudizione artistica*, II, 1873, p. 167. *M. Raymond*, V., Paris, 1906. *F. Schottmüller*, Zwei Grabmäler der Renaissance u. ihre antiken Vorbilde. *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, XXV. *N. S. Scognamiglio*, Nuovi documenti zu Leonardo da Vinci. *Arch. Stor. dell'arte*, 1896, p. 461. *H. Semper*, *Jahrb. f. Kunstwiss.*, I, 1868, p. 360. *The Same*, A. d. V., (Kunst u. Künstler), Leipzig, 1878. *J. Thiis*, Leonardo da Vinci, London (no date), p. 43 et seq. *Tumati*, Opus Andrea, *L'Arte*, 1898, p. 217. *H. Ulmann*, Il modello del V. per il rilievo del dossale d'argento, *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, VII, 1894, p. 50. *A. Venturi*, Francesco di Simone Fiesolano, *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, 1892, p. 371. *The Same*, Documento relativo al V., *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, 1894, p. 55. *The Same*, Un bronzo del V., *L'Arte*, 1902, p. 43.

<sup>(1)</sup> All the data concerning the life of Verrocchio have been united in Mrs. Cruttwell's book on this artist, pp. 26 and 224.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Cruttwell*, Tre documenti. *The Same*, V., p. 234.

a pupil of Donatello, an affirmation which need not be taken very seriously.

In 1461 the young artist had already attained sufficient renown to allow him to compete for the construction of a chapel in the cathedral of Orvieto, for which the authorities desired either Florentine or Sienese masters<sup>(1)</sup>. Although he did not succeed in obtaining the commission, this fact confirms Vasari's statement that Andrea was also an architect. Shortly after this date he was charged with a highly important work in Florence itself, namely the execution of the bronze group of Christ and St. Thomas which still exists on the outside of Or San Michele. In 1463 the authorities decided to have this work made; Andrea received the commission in 1465 and in January 1467 the first payment was made over to him.

After this he is given many orders. In 1467 and 1468, the copper globe, which is to be placed on the top of Brunelleschi's cupola on Sta. Maria del Fiore is discussed; this bronze was cast by Andrea and put in place in 1471 but it was destroyed by lightening in 1600<sup>(2)</sup>.

In 1467 the body of Cosimo de' Medici was buried in the tomb which Verrocchio had executed on the order which Piero de' Medici had given him in 1465. This is the first time we find Verrocchio in contact with this family of Maecenas by whom he was constantly employed hereafter<sup>(3)</sup>.

I shall deviate from this chronological description of facts in order to enumerate the works that Verrocchio executed for the Medici.

In 1468 he painted a standard for the joust organized by Lorenzo de' Medici and in 1475 he makes another for the tournament arranged by Giuliano. The tomb that he made for Giovanni and Piero in S. Lorenzo was finished in 1472. For the Medici's villa of Careggi he executed the bronze statue of David which the Signoria bought in 1476 from Lorenzo and Giuliano; the "putto" which is now in the court

<sup>(1)</sup> *L. Funi*, Ricordi di un oratorio del secolo XV nel Duomo di Orvieto, Arch. Stor. dell'Arte, IV, 1891, p. 47. *The Same*, Il Duomo di Orvieto etc., Rome, 1891, p. 433.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Milanesi*, note 1 on *Vasari*, III, p. 365.

<sup>(3)</sup> *v. Fabriczy*, A d. V. al servizio dei Medici.



of the Palazzo Vecchio was also made by Andrea for the villa at Careggi. Further a document of 1496, consequently some years after the artist's death but no doubt a copy of his inventory, records the works Andrea executed for the Medici (1).

Apart from those mentioned above, there is question still of a restoration to an antique statue of Marsyas that he carried out, a marble figure which formed a fountain, a relief with several figures, the repairing of some heads which adorned the court of the palace in Florence, a painting of Lucrezia de' Donati, a lady loved and praised by Lorenzo, a figure of a lady in relief as ornament of a helmet, twenty masks made from life, probably death-masks — Vasari tells us that Andrea was one of the first to make this sort of casts — and the ornaments and appurtenances of a feast offered in honour of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza, probably in 1471 when he and his wife visited Florence.

From Verrocchio's own hand is the bust of Giuliano de' Medici in the Dreyfus collection, Paris, while that of Lorenzo in the Quincy Shaw collection, Boston, is executed at least after his manner. Senator Chiappelli draws our attention to the fact that the tomb-stone and effigy of Bishop Donato de' Medici, dating from 1475 in the cathedral of Pistoia seem to be by Verrocchio himself and the fact that the artist was constantly employed by the Medici renders this attribution all the more likely (2). Vasari cites still two metal reliefs of the heads of Alexander the Great and Darius which Lorenzo de' Medici sent to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, a Madonna in marble in the Medici Palace — perhaps that now in the Bargello — and three scenes of the Labours of Hercules, formerly in the Palazzo Vecchio, which probably also originated from the palace of the Medici (3).

(1) *Semper*, op. cit., Jahrb. f. Kunstwiss. v. *Fabriczy*, op. cit. *Crutwell*, V., p. 242.

(2) *Chiappelli*, *Arte del Rinascimento*, p. 22. *The Same*, op. cit., *Boll. d'Arte*, 1925.

(3) *Crutwell*, op. cit., p. 214, observes that it is quite possible that Albertini who mentions them (1510) was mistaken and that the works he cites should be identified with Pollaiuolo's paintings.

From all this we get a clear idea of how much Andrea Verrocchio's talents were appreciated by the different members of the Medici family who called upon his services for a great variety of works, often of quite an intimate nature.

Yet the Medici were far from monopolizing Verrocchio's entire activity, although he seems to have worked but rarely for private persons.

Exception, however, must be made for Giovanni Ruccellai, because in the journal that this nobleman began in 1459, the name of Verrocchio is recorded among those of the most illustrious Florentine artists of this period who worked for him and his family <sup>(1)</sup>.

Continuing the survey of the data we have concerning the life of Andrea Verrocchio we gather that his activities give him more and more the character of an official artist.

In 1467 he receives payment for metal that he had lent to Michelozzo and Luca della Robbia for the last panels of the bronze doors of the sacristy of S. Lorenzo and in March 1468 it is decided that he is to be paid twenty-five lire a month for the group he executed for Or San Michele. The same year he is given a sum of money in payment of a bronze candlestick for the audience hall in the Palazzo Vecchio; further remuneration for this work is made to him in September 1468 and April 1480.

In 1469, however, he receives a rebuff to which I have already referred in dealing with Piero Pollaiuolo. Verrocchio presented a drawing of Faith for the series of Personifications which Piero had to paint for the Mercatanzia; his offer was rejected and he was paid only 8 "lire piccole" for his sketch <sup>(2)</sup>.

From a cadastral declaration of 1470 we gather that his former possessions have been further increased by the addition of some property at San Donnino <sup>(3)</sup>. In 1473 he is called upon to estimate the value of the pulpit of Mino da Fiesole and Rossellino at Prato.

The following year he competes for the funereal monument

<sup>(1)</sup> *Mariotto*, loc. cit

<sup>(2)</sup> *Mcsnil*, *Miscellanea d'Arte*, 1903, p. 43.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Crittwell*, *Tre documenti. The Same*, V., p. 236.

for Cardinal Forteguerri in the cathedral of Pistoia. Five models are presented and the "Operai" of the cathedral decide to accept Piero Pollaiuolo's. In March 1478 they write to Lorenzo de' Medici saying that Piero's model was the best and had been chosen by all the members in preference to the others.

No doubt the fact that Piero's estimate was considerably inferior to Verrocchio's had a certain influence in this decision to which, however, Lorenzo de' Medici does not seem to have paid the slightest attention, because he declares that Verrocchio's model is to be executed. Lorenzo's letter has been lost but we have the authorities' reply in which they humbly accept Lorenzo's decision, admitting their incompetence in the matter <sup>(1)</sup>.

In 1476 Leonardo da Vinci who was living with Verrocchio was accused of scandalous misconduct and arrested but he was acquitted immediately <sup>(2)</sup>.

In 1477 Andrea is asked to present models for the reliefs of the altar for S. Giovanni, one of which, it will be remembered, was executed by Antonio Pollaiuolo. Verrocchio sent in two models but only one, the beheading of St. John, was accepted. In 1480 he finished this work for which he received 397 florins. One or two years after this he must have started the large altar-piece of the Virgin between two saints for the cathedral of Pistoia; in 1485 this picture is almost finished and the authorities decide to pay him for it. Another statement for taxation dates from 1480. His worldly goods seem to have considerably diminished. He possesses only his father's old house in the S. Ambrogio quarter which he lets while he himself rents another house. Three nieces are living with him at this time <sup>(3)</sup>.

We have reached the moment when Verrocchio created his master-piece, the equestrian monument of Bartolommeo Colleoni who died in Venice in 1475. He received the commission in 1479 from the Signoria of Venice. It has often

<sup>(1)</sup> *Gaye*, Carteggio, I, pp. 256, 258.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Crutwell*, op. cit., p. 248, publishes the documents.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Crutwell*, op. cit., p. 239.

been imagined that Verrocchio on account of a certain similarity must have gone to Venice to study the bronze horses of S. Marco. In any case the model was executed in his studio in Florence, because in 1481, he obtains from the ambassador of Ferrara a free passage through these states for the model of the horse (<sup>1</sup>).

The Signoria of Venice decided that Vellano da Padova, who had assisted Donatello in the execution of his *Gattamelata*, and Leopardi di Ferrara were to help Verrocchio in this enterprise; from this fact Vasari invents the fantastic story that Vellano was charged to execute the figure of the knight which put Verrocchio into such a passion that he broke everything and returned to Florence, and that the Signoria of Venice, only after great sacrifices on their part, succeeded in making him return to the City of the Lagunes. It is true, however, that the name of Leopardi who signed the monument, remained associated beyond rightful limits with the execution of this work. It was he who cast the bronze because Verrocchio died before this part of the work was begun which renders impossible Vasari's statement that the master died from a malady contracted in the furnaces during the process of casting the bronze.

The model, however, was without any doubt finished before his death. In his will which dates from June 1488 he proposes that Lorenzo di Credi be entrusted with the casting of the statue. The Venetian authorities at first apparently agreed to follow this proposal but Lorenzo himself passes on the commission to Giovanni di Andrea di Domenico, an unknown Florentine sculptor. In 1490, however, the Signoria request Leopardi to carry out the work. As I have already said; the caster's name was accepted in Venice as that of the artist who actually created the work, and Leopardi himself contributed to this error by signing the statue under the horse's girth; "*Alexander Leopardus V. F. Opus*". The monument was erected in 1496.

In 1488 Verrocchio was charged to execute a fountain in Florence at the expense of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hun-

(<sup>1</sup>) *A. Venturi*, Arch. Stor. dell'Arte, VII. 1894, p. 55.

gary; the payment for the marble was requested by a dealer in Carrara in August but at this moment Verrocchio had already made his will<sup>(1)</sup>. He left some money to different members of his family and the list — of which a copy of 1496 exists — of works executed for the Medici figures in the inventory as objects for which payment is still due to him<sup>(2)</sup>. In the will which dates from June 1488 he stipulates in the most explicit manner that the house in the parish of Sant' Ambrogio must never be sold but must be handed down from one generation to another.

Andrea Verrocchio died at the age of fifty-three sometime before the 7<sup>th</sup> October 1488 because on that day Lorenzo di Credi speaks of him as deceased. Lorenzo remained in charge of the studio in Florence during his master's absence. He had Andrea's remains brought to Florence in spite of the desire expressed in the will that he should be buried in the church of Sta. Maria del Orto in Venice if he died in this town. Instead, he was buried in the family tomb, where his father already rested, in S. Ambrogio, Florence, and Vasari records the inscription on a slab lost since 1657; "*Hic ossa jacent Andree Verrocchii qui obiit Venetiis MCCCCLXXXVIII*". Later a piece of poetry of four lines was added in praise of Verrocchio's buildings, bronzes and marbles.

A portrait of Verrocchio by Lorenzo di Credi exists in the Uffizi and will be reproduced in the next volume. It shows the artist in half-length figure, his hands on a table, near a window through which a landscape is visible. He was evidently a heavily-built, rather fat man, with piercing eyes and a determined mouth. The gentle Lorenzo certainly did not exaggerate these traits which in the original must have been still more pronounced. It is true that the name of the subject is not inscribed, but comparing the picture with a wood-cut, made after another portrait, in the 1568 edition of Vasari,

(<sup>1</sup>) *Gaye*, Carteggio, I, p. 367. *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 240.

(<sup>2</sup>) As *v. Fabriczy* observes, it is hardly likely that none of these works was paid in 1496. The Medici had probably made over a part of the payment and Verrocchio's heirs present the complete list in order that they can come to a final settlement.

we are left in no doubt as to the identity of the person portrayed by Lorenzo (<sup>1</sup>).

In speaking of Andrea del Verrocchio's artistic productions we are beset by many difficulties because very few authentic pieces of sculpture and not one absolutely certain painting from the hand of this artist, one of the greatest geniuses of the Renaissance, have come down to us. As sculptures surely by Verrocchio might be cited the David and the putto mentioned in the inventory of 1496 as executed by the artist for the Villa of Careggi, the documented pieces such as the group for Or San Michele, the beheading of St. John and the Colleoni and also the two Medici tombs. I shall not dwell at any length on these well known pieces of sculpture.

The bronze David, now in the National Museum, Florence, is a youthful production, rather independent of the master's other works; the smoothness and minuteness of the execution are still characteristic of the art of a goldsmith. In the museum of Berlin a figure of David in terracotta might have been made as model or first idea for the bronze, because a certain resemblance does exist (<sup>2</sup>); the young man, nude, is shown standing with one hand on his hip and the head of Goliath at his feet.

Perhaps the little figure of a man asleep, in the museum of Berlin is another early work (<sup>3</sup>), as is also a terracotta of the Resurrection which Count Gamba discovered in the Villa of Careggi (<sup>4</sup>) and which represents Christ supported by two angels high above His empty tomb, while five soldiers lie asleep on the ground.

The hand of the goldsmith is revealed in the beautiful

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(<sup>1</sup>) I find less resemblance in the man's head in Perugino's fresco of the Circumcision of Moses in the Sixtine chapel which Dr. Steinmann considers to be a possible representation of Verrocchio, *E. Steinmann, Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, Munich, 1901, I, p. 303.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Schottmüller*, op. cit., No. 176.

(<sup>3</sup>) Ascribed, as we saw in the previous chapter, to Antonio Pollaiuolo by Prof. A. Venturi.

(<sup>4</sup>) *Gamba*, op. cit. *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 58.

bronze decorations of the tombs of Giovanni and Piero de' Medici, which, finished in 1472, are certainly not youthful productions, in the lavabo in S. Lorenzo and in a helmet adorned with a dragon which is preserved in the National Museum, Florence, and which no doubt corresponds with that executed for the Medici, although in this case a female figure formed the decoration.

The putto which Vasari saw in the Villa of Careggi but which is now in the Palazzo Vecchio, is not a work of his first youth; a counter part in terracotta is found in the Dreyfus collection, Paris.

From the same period dates the bust of Giuliano de' Medici in the Dreyfus collection, Paris; the richly adorned breast-plate with a Medusa head in the centre is quite after the style of Verrocchio who might perhaps have made a similar piece of armour for the young prince who appears in this portrait to be about eighteen years of age, which would place the work towards 1471. Perhaps a bust of a young woman who, without any reason has been supposed to represent Medea Colleoni, which is preserved also in the Dreyfus collection, dates from the same period<sup>(1)</sup>.

It is difficult to say exactly at what moment Verrocchio executed the group of Christ and St. Thomas for Or San Michele, because twenty years elapsed between the decision on the part of the "Universita dei Mercanti" to have the group made (1463) and the putting in place of the statue (1483). However, considering that already in 1467 the sculptor received one payment for the work, it can be supposed that at least the model existed at this moment. Besides the type of Christ in particular, but also that of St. Thomas, is reminiscent of the terracotta of the Resurrection from the Villa of Careggi; in both, we notice that tendency to create pointed features, the lower part of the face forming as it were the two sides of a triangle of which the chin is the acute angle.

These characteristics might, I think, be due to the influence of a master who initiated Verrocchio in the art of sculpture

<sup>(1)</sup> *Mackowsky*, op. cit., p. 46. somewhat doubts the attribution to Verrocchio.

and I can very well believe that it was Antonio Rossellino. I shall return to this hypothesis later on but for the moment I shall say only that this sculptor was Verrocchio's senior by eight years, and as Verrocchio started as a goldsmith, Rossellino was active as a sculptor in all probability about fifteen years before Verrocchio took up this branch of art. Apart from the morphological types, I find in the treatment of the draperies more resemblance to the works of Antonio Rossellino than to those of his elder brother Bernardo Rossellino or of Desiderio da Settignano who belong more or less to the same group.

As we shall dwell but shortly on Verrocchio the sculptor, I shall not enter into the discussion on the attribution of certain works, such for example as that of the tomb of Bishop Donato de' Medici in the cathedral of Pistoia; both the style and the date, 1475, allow us to classify this work in the last phase of Verrocchio's first manner although it is generally attributed to Antonio Rossellino, while the bust of Lorenzo de' Medici in Boston, which usually passes as a production from Verrocchio's own hand is, in Mrs. Cruttwell's opinion, too feeble to be really by the master. I know this sculpture only from a photograph but judging from that I am inclined to agree with Mrs. Cruttwell; the decorative part in particular is of decidedly poor quality.

Very typical of Verrocchio's second manner are: the terracotta of the Madonna with the Child standing on a cushion to her left in the National Museum, Florence, originating from the Arcispedale of Sta. Maria Nuova (fig. 302)<sup>(1)</sup>, and the bust of a lady holding a nosegay against her breast, in the same museum but formerly belonging to the Medici, in the execution of which W. von Bode discovered, the collaboration of Verrocchio and Leonardo (fig. 303). With the latter work should be associated a very beautiful bust of a lady, once in the Foulc collection, Paris, now in that of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, New York, and with this we reach the most significant production of this stage: the reliefs of the silver altar of S. Giovanni in the Opera del Duomo which were finished

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(1) *E. Ridolfi*, Gall. Naz. Ital., IV, 1899, p. 179.





Fig. 302. Verrocchio. Madonna, Terracotta. National Museum, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

in 1477 and 1480 (fig. 304). The effect of perspective in the hall in which the beheading takes place is rendered with a precision of detail which manifest a profound study of contemporary architecture. The muscular efforts and the violent



Fig. 303. Verrocchio, marble bust. National Museum, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

movements recall Pollaiuolo, who, it will be remembered, worked at the same time on another relief for this altar, in which, however, these features are much less evident. It has been justly observed that the type of warrior seen in profile looking towards the right has much in common with that of the Colleoni. The relief has always aroused universal

admiration; it is mentioned by Vasari and by Richa (<sup>1</sup>).

From Verrocchio's own hand is, I think, a relief in marble of the Madonna seen in half-length figure with the nude Child standing on a cushion to her right in the National Museum, Florence (fig. 305). This work corresponds in all likelihood

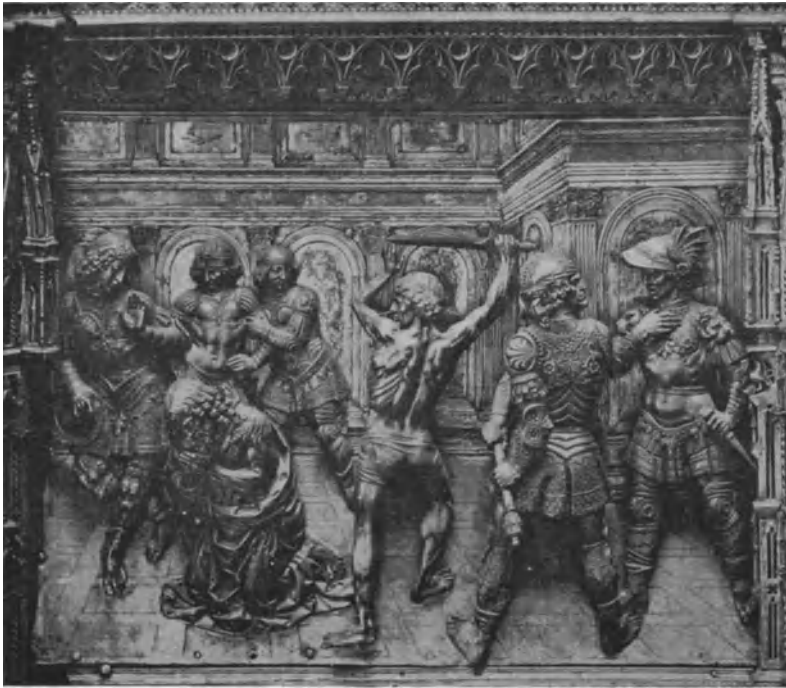


Fig. 304. Verrocchio, the Beheading of the Baptist. Silver relief, Opera del Duomo, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

with that mentioned by Vasari as in the Medici Palace (<sup>1</sup>) and in his day above the door in the room of the "Duchess

(<sup>1</sup>) In the A de Rothschild collection, Paris, there are two statuettes in terracotta which W. von Bode believed to be original models for this relief. A terracotta, which gives the entire relief, belonged to Monsieur de Eperzesy. Rome, and has been supposed to be the original model, v. *H. Ulmann*, *Il modello del V. per il rilievo del dossale d'argento*, *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, VII, 1894, p. 50 *Cruttwell*, op. cit. p. 170, proclaims it to be false and judging from the reproduction, this, indeed, appears to be the case.



Fig. 395. Verrocchio, Madonna, marble relief. National Museum, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 306. Verrocchio. Bust of the Colleoni monument, Venice.

Photo Alinari.

of Florence". Also Prof. A. Venturi is of opinion that we are dealing here with a work by the master; Mackowsky mentions it as a production of his workshop while Mrs. Cruttwell ascribes it to Francesco di Simone; still, although the work does not quite come up to the standard of the terracotta in

the same museum, I find it all the same of sufficient beauty to justify the attribution to Verrocchio.

The difference of material might account for the diversity of quality. There is certainly no question, in my opinion, of its being a work by the mediocre Francesco di Simone; further, the hypothesis that we have here an authentic work by the master is confirmed by the fact that it is the composition of this relief, and not that of the terracotta, which we find reproduced in the pictures of the Madonna which, personally, I attribute to Verrocchio, although other critics assign some of them to his work-shop.

Lastly we have the Colleoni statue (fig. 306). In this work the artist has obviously created something quite new, this is very evident if we compare it with Donatello's Gattamelata or the equestrian figures painted by Castagno and Uccello. There is more spirit, more pride and more individuality all linked with the attitude and the movement. It is chiefly the movement which reveals so clearly the character of the hardened and indomitable warrior; there is a great minuteness of detail in the execution which brings to mind Leonardo in spite of the difference in inspiration. The movement here might also be accounted for by an influence, or at least a profound knowledge, of Pollaiuolo's works. It is difficult to believe that Verrocchio never saw the condottiere whom he has represented in such a life-like manner. I think he surely must have seen some better likenesses of Colleoni than that by Guidizani, which is supposed by some writers to have served as model<sup>(1)</sup>. If he actually studied the bronze horses at Venice, he may have made on this occasion the drawing of one of them now in the Louvre (fig. 307).

In the museum of Berlin there is a terracotta relief of the Entombment; five figures, one of which has practically disappeared, surround the Saviour Who is being lowered into His tomb; the old man kneeling to the right is surely a portrait.

It has been supposed that this relief might have formed part of the tomb of Cardinal Forteguerra but this seems

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(1) *Lefebvre de Noëttes*, op. cit., reaches the strange conclusion that Verrocchio did not make a very profound study of the horse's anatomy.

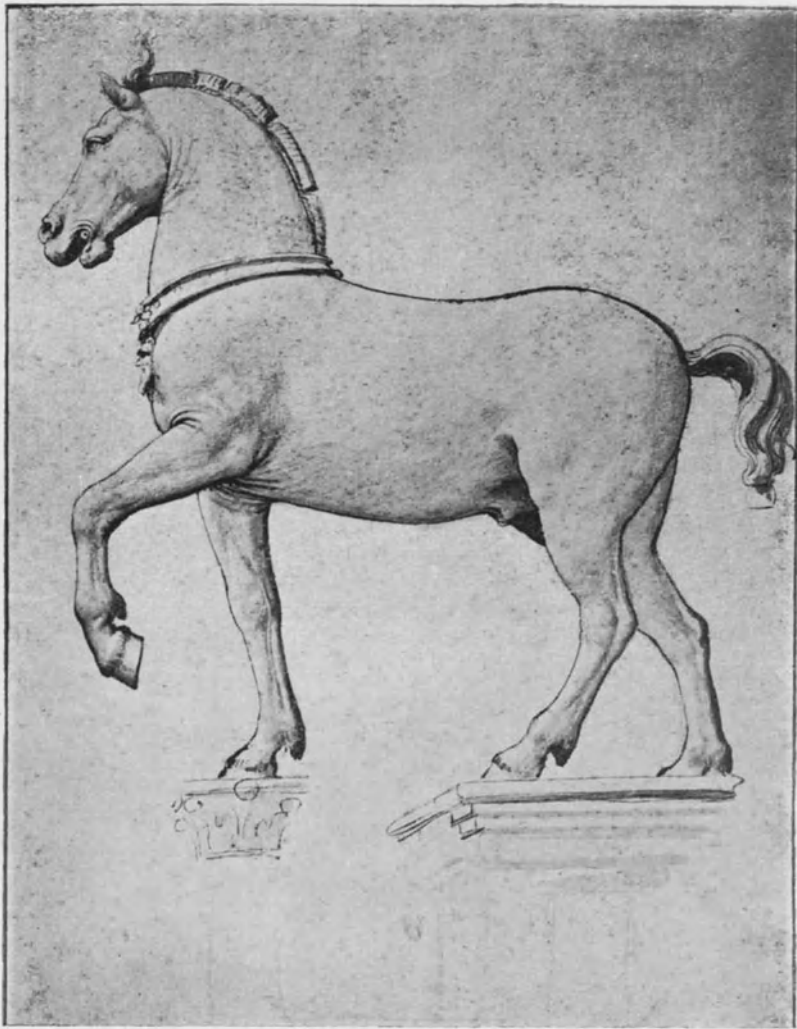


Fig. 307. Verrocchio (?), Drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Braun.

hardly likely and the refinement of execution points sooner to the Venetian period which reminds Mrs. Cruttwell that according to Vasari, Verrocchio, while in Venice, made a tomb for a Doge and that Don Vicenzio Borghini possessed the sketch for this work.

If I have not mentioned the tomb of Cardinal Forteguerra at

Pistoia among Verrocchio's works it is because the general opinion nowadays rightly gives only the rough sketch to Verrocchio. In examining the numerous figures which form this composition, it becomes obvious that not one of them is actually from the master's hand, and if the terracotta model in the Victoria and Albert Museum is genuine, which is often doubted, we are forced to admit that artists who executed the tomb were not faithful to the model, especially to the lower part of the composition. Senator Chiappelli believes that from the passage in a document of 1483 informing us that Verrocchio had already executed part of the sculpture at Pistoia, it can be supposed that Verrocchio worked at it with his own hands, but I do not think that this need necessarily be concluded. Lorenzo di Credi represented Verrocchio at Pistoia but it was certainly not he but a sculptor of the name of Matteo di Jacopo da Settignano who undertook the work, while at a later date we find Agricolo di Polo, a mediocre pupil of Verrocchio's, active in Pistoia. In 1514 they were still working at this piece of sculpture, at which moment the kneeling figure of the deceased was executed; the tomb was not entirely finished until 1753.

Two angels in terracotta in the Thiers collection, in the Louvre may be original models by Verrocchio while a drawing of an advancing angel by Lorenzo di Credi in the British Museum, is often associated with this work.

The reliefs in the National Museum, Florence, which, it is supposed, represent the death of Francesca Tornabuoni are by Francesco di Simone. I shall discuss elsewhere certain attributions to Verrocchio which in my opinion are not correct.

The question of Verrocchio's pictorial productions is even more complicated than that of his sculptural activities on which besides, on account of the nature of my work, I have dwelt but shortly. Yet it is only through his sculptures that we can gain some knowledge of his manner of painting because we do not possess one certain and universally recognized picture by Verrocchio with the exception of part of the famous Baptism of Christ in the Uffizi and even regarding this work there is a considerable amount of controversy



regarding which part is by Verrocchio; some critics give him the entire painting while others reduce his part to the figures of the Baptist and an angel. As for the other pictures which have been ascribed to him, no two writers are of the same opinion.

As has often been done in similar cases of incertitude, the critics have abused the situation, that is to say a canon has been established for Verrocchio's works, imposing on this bygone master a style, a manner and an artistic level from which no deviations are admitted.

This plan is not impossible if to begin with we have a certain number of authentic works from which the necessary canon can be fixed, but in the situation in which we find ourselves with regard to Verrocchio's pictorial productions, this is not practical, and instead of making rules as to the appearance his paintings should have, it would be better to learn what we can from existing evidence, to search without preconceived ideas and in case we do not succeed in finding any pictures which correspond in quality with the master's certain plastic works, then we must resign ourselves to the thought that Verrocchio the painter was less talented than Verrocchio the sculptor.

This last hypothesis seems to me to be the key to the enigma and explains the incredible diversity of opinion regarding the works ascribed to Verrocchio. It is this fact which has led me to be a little more liberal in my attributions to the master himself instead of to an "Alunno di Andrea" or to "one of the pupils of Andrea del Verrocchio" (Thiis, Sirén).

First let it be said that no doubt can exist regarding Verrocchio's activity as painter. The facts affirm this. He painted standards for the Medici and a portrait of Lucrezia de' Donati for Lorenzo (<sup>1</sup>). Verrocchio competed for the commission to paint one of the Personifications for the Mercatanzia and he was charged to paint a Madonna and saints for the cathedral of Pistoia. Albertini mentions

(<sup>1</sup>) The curious manner in which this portrait is mentioned in the inventory of 1496 has given rise to the supposition that there was only a frame by Verrocchio, but this hypothesis is erroneous: *v. Fabriczy*, op. cit.

three canvases by him with the Labours of Hercules, but it is quite possible that it is a mistaken reference to the works of Pollaiuolo; the same authority informs us that he made cartoons for certain histories and pictures. Ugolino Verrini's statement that Verrocchio educated all the most celebrated painters in Italy may, however, be somewhat exaggerated<sup>(1)</sup>; Vasari, too, speaks of his pictures, inventing the anecdote that on seeing the perfection with which his pupil Leonardo executed the angel in the picture of the Baptism, Verrocchio was so discouraged that he gave up painting.

After so much evidence of his activity as a painter, we are perfectly justified in trying to identify some of his productions which must have existed in considerable number. There is no reason to believe that all his pictures have perished and it would be still less logical to admit that there should exist school productions of a master who himself created no works, or again that only the pupil's paintings have been preserved and all those by Verrocchio himself destroyed. Consequently in the group of Verrocchiesque paintings there must be several from the master's own hand.

In 1476 when Leonardo, who was inscribed in the corporation of painters in 1472, lived with Verrocchio, the latter was forty-one years old and if he was Leonardo's first master, it is highly probable that the apprenticeship began about ten years before, because Leonardo was born in 1452 and it was customary to place youthful artists with a master towards the age of thirteen or fourteen.

Certain works which seem to belong sooner to an early stage in Verrocchio's activity, bear so much resemblance to Leonardo's art that they have at times been attributed to this painter; still it would be much more plausible to believe that it was Leonardo who borrowed these characteristics from Verrocchio than to suppose that Leonardo at this early stage already exercised such an influence on his master. Even if we admit that Verrocchio, whose first profession was that of a goldsmith, did not start painting at the very

(1) *G. Morelli*, *Italian Painters: the Galleries of Munich and Dresden*, transl. by C. J. Ffoulkes, London, 1893, p. 265 note 1.

beginning of his career, we know for certain that in 1468 he executed a standard for the tournament of Lorenzo de' Medici. Leonardo was than sixteen years old, and we do not even know for certain that the connexion between master and pupil existed at this moment.

It is highly probable that Leonardo collaborated to a considerable extent in the picture of the Baptism of Christ; I should even say that the type of the angel, often ascribed to

him, is so very different from that of Verrocchio, that we are forced to admit that already Leonardo worked after a fairly

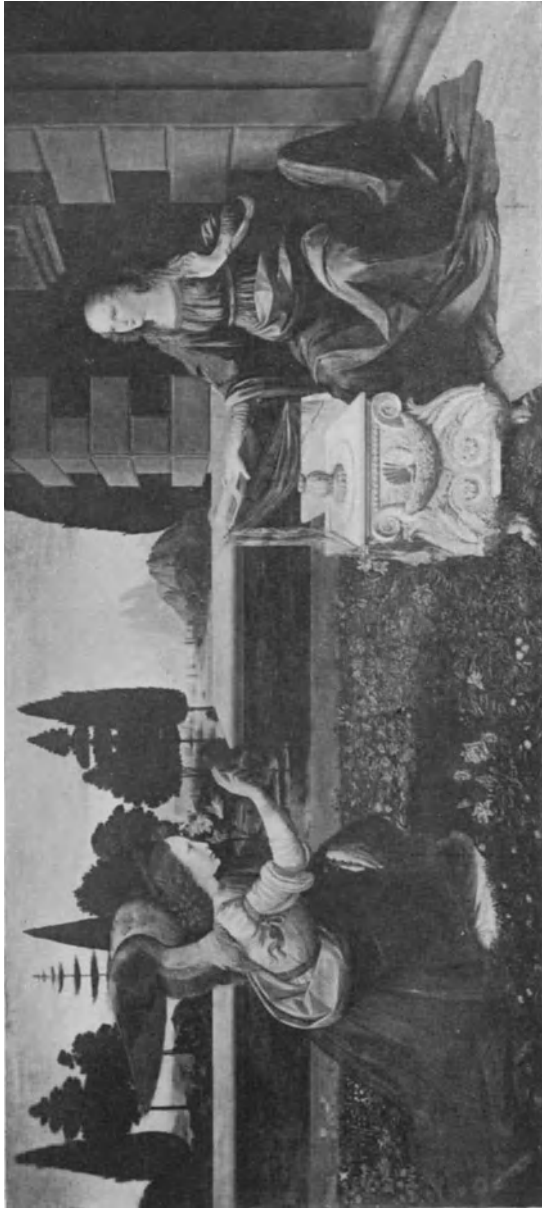


Fig. 308. Verrocchio, the Annunciation. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 309. Detail of fig. 308.

Photo Alinari.

independent manner. I imagine that at this moment he must have been at least about twenty which would place the painting towards 1472 or slightly later.

Prior to this work is without any doubt the Annunciation in the Uffizi (figs. 308, 309, 310), if this picture is, as I believe, really from the hand of Verrocchio. It originates from the



Fig. 310. Detail of fig. 308.

Photo Alinari.

monastery of Monte Oliveto, near Florence, and has even been attributed to Ghirlandaio<sup>(1)</sup>. I think we have in this

(<sup>1</sup>) *Morelli* and *Cavalcaselle* are in favour of this attribution; while it has been ascribed to Verrocchio by *Cruttwell*, op. cit. p. 51. *Reymond*, op. cit., p. 118. *Berenson*, *Florentine Painters*, but he believes that Lorenzo di Credi had a share in the execution which would place the work at rather a late date. *J. Thiis*, *Leonardo da Vinci*, London, no

painting a fairly early work by the master who, in certain features, particularly the treatment of the vegetation, reveals still a close connexion with the previous generation of artists. The sharply cut trees against a luminous background and the rigid little flowers, shown separately one from the other, are reminiscent sooner of Fra Angelico from whom Benozzo Gozzoli borrowed the same elements, than of the panoramic landscapes of Baldovinetti and Pollaiuolo.

The angel kneels leaning slightly forward with a very serious expression on his face and his wings neatly folded behind him. He raises his right hand in benediction, and in his left holds a lily which Mr. Sirén compares with a drawing of this flower by Leonardo in Windsor Castle but I do not find a very marked resemblance. There is even less connexion between the head of the Virgin and a sketch of a woman's head, slightly inclined, her hair caught in a bandeau, which is preserved in the Uffizi (fig. 311) and which

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date, p. 104, is of opinion that it is by Verrocchio and helpers who are neither Lorenzo di Credi nor Leonardo. That it is a production of Verrocchio and the youthful Leonardo is the opinion of: *S. Colvin*, Drawings of the Old Masters in the University Galleries at Oxford, Oxford, I, 1907, p. 14. who has discovered a sketch by Leonardo of an arm which corresponds with the out-stretched arm of the angel, although it is shown at a slightly different angle. *G. J. Holmes*, Burlington Magazine, XXII, 1914, p. 284. *G. Frizzoni*, L'Arte, 1907, p. 83 To the youthful Leonardo working in Verrocchio's studio it is ascribed by *von Liphardt*, then by *W. v. Bode*, Bildwerken etc., op. cit., p. 259. *P. Müller Walde*, Leonardo da Vinci, Munich, 1889, p. 38. *A. Venturi*, Stor. dell'Arte Ital., VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 820. *O. Sirén*, Leonardo da Vinci, New-haven, U.S.A., 1916, p. 19. *G. Poggi*, Leonardo da Vinci, Florence, 1919, p. III. Mr. Sirén has since changed his opinion and now thinks that it is by "some unknown artist who worked in Verrocchio's studio at the time of Leonardo's apprenticeship"; *O. Sirén*, Leonardo da Vinci, Paris, Brussels, I, 1928, p. 18. *E. Hildebrandt*, Leonardo da Vinci, Berlin, 1927, p. 253. thinks that the rough sketch was made by Leonardo and that this artist might have commenced painting the angel which, however, was finished by some other master who worked in Verrocchio's studio. *Mesnil*, op. cit., Rivista d'Arte, p. 37, declares that the picture is by neither Verrocchio nor Leonardo.

(<sup>1</sup>) *Müller Walde*, op. cit., No. 18. *Berenscn*, Drawings, No. 1061. *L. Demonts*, Les Dessins de Leonardo da Vinci; Musée du Louvre, Paris, no date, pl. 1. ascribes it to Leonardo.



Fig. 311. Drawing of the School of Verrocchio, executed in the manner of Leonardo da Vinci. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

is much more typical of Leonardo. On the other hand a striking resemblance exists between the lower part of the figure of the Virgin and a drawing — a study of drapery —

which is found in the Louvre and of which there is a copy by Lorenzo di Credi in the British Museum.

The Madonna who raises one hand is seated near a little table, the decoration of which is in the purest Verrocchiesque style. One would almost say that we had before us the ornamentation of the tomb that the artist executed for the Medici. The draperies are a little rigid; the folds which cover the Virgin's breast are somewhat conventional, as are also those of the sleeve. In this part we can discern the hand of the worker in metal. I find, besides, that the types, more particularly that of the angel, correspond fairly closely with that of the David which Verrocchio executed for the Villa of Careggi. In spite of the dilapidated condition of the painting, we cannot fail to notice the minute execution of detail which verges on hardness and which makes me think that we should perhaps classify in the same stage of the master's evolution another picture, almost unknown, in a private collection.

The painting in question represents the Madonna under an arcade against a sky with little white clouds (fig. 312). She carries the Child in a sort of strip of material which we shall find also in a picture of the Virgin in the museum of Berlin (No. 108) and which is decorated in the same curious manner as the loin-cloth of Christ in the painting of the Baptism. With her right hand the Virgin supports the Infant while with her left hand she offers Him her breast. A vase of flowers is placed on a little wall.

The contours, the details of the drawing, such as the hair, the facial traits and the fingers, and the design of the fillet are all treated in the same minute manner which we noticed in the previous picture. Moreover, I know of no other painting by Verrocchio which shows to the same extent those pointed features with the lower part of the face forming a triangle which, as I have already said, are so characteristic of the sculptures of Verrocchio's first manner. The shape of the face corresponds with that of the David and of the Christ in the group in Or San Michele. It is in this face that we observe most clearly the five elements which Morelli enumerates as forming the characteristics of a face by Verrocchio; (1) the forehead, high and slightly rounded, (2) the eye large,





Fig. 312. Verrocchio, Madonna. Private Collection.

the eyelid boldly cut and with long lashes, (3) the eyebrows only slightly indicated by a shadow, (4) the nostrils, as in Botticelli's pictures, somewhat swollen; the opening which, with Botticelli is long, with Verrocchio is rounder and not



Fig. 313. Verrocchio, lady's portrait. Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna.

prolonged towards the root of the nostrils, (5) the curves of the lips full and undulating (1). The chubby Infant, on the other hand, is reminiscent of the putti in the court of the Palazzo Vecchio and in the Dreyfus collection. The technique is the same as that of the previous picture. Neither in the one nor in the other do we find any effort to create very marked effects of plasticity. The full nimbi with chased orna-

(1) *Morelli*, Italian Painters etc, Munich and Dresden, p. 270.

mentation resemble in type and in design those of the second Madonna in Berlin and of the picture in the Clarence Mackay collection.

In this painting, as also in the foregoing work, we discover certain elements which are repeated by Ghirlandaio, among others the drapery of the Virgin of the Annunciation which he copied in his altar-piece in the Uffizi<sup>(1)</sup>. Obviously Ghirlandaio must have known these works which Verrocchio apparently executed at the beginning of his career as a painter. There is quite a possibility that Ghirlandaio, who was born in 1449 and who, in his works sometimes reveals a fairly strong influence of our master, was in contact with Verrocchio at the time he painted the Annunciation and this Madonna.

The majority of those who ascribe the Annunciation in the Uffizi to Verrocchio holds him responsible also for the portrait of a young lady in the Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna (fig. 313), while those who think that the Annunciation is by Leonardo give this artist as well the portrait in Vienna<sup>(2)</sup>. Prof. Sirén thinks that the same hand — his pupil A of Ver-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Bercuson*, Drawings, commentary with No. 1061.

<sup>(2)</sup> The attribution to Verrocchio is held in favour by: *G. Morelli*, Ital. Maler Gall. Berlin. Leipzig, 1893, p. 37. *Bercuson*, Flor. Painters. p. 187. (*The Same*, Dedalo, March. 1926. p. 638, Verrocchio or Leonardo). *Cruttwell*. op. cit., p. 104. *Reynold*, op. cit., p. 134. *Thiis*, op. cit., p. 112. It is ascribed to Verrocchio's work-shop by: *Sirén*, op. cit., p. 19 (pupil A), while *Poggi*, op. cit., p. XXIV. thinks that if it is not by Leonardo, it should be classified as a production of the school of Verrocchio. *W. v. Seidlitz*, Leonardo da Vinci, I, Berlin, 1909, p. 799. gives it to Lorenzo di Credi as does also *G. Frizzoni*. Nuova Antologia. 1st July 1911, p. 62. Many claim Leonardo as the master of this painting, the first to do so being *Waagen*, Kunstdenkmäler in Wien, I, Vienna, 1866, who is followed in this opinion by: *W. v. Bode*. Bildwerke etc., p. 260. *The Same*. Leonardo's Bildnis der Ginevra dei Benci, Zeitschr. f. Bild. Kunst, II, 1903, p. 274. *The Same*. Studien über Leonardo da Vinci, Berlin, 1921, p. 33, identifies it with the portrait that, according to the Anonimo Magliabechiano and Vasari, Leonardo made of this lady. v. also *H. Cook*. The Portrait of Ginevra dei Benci by Leonardo da Vinci, Burlington Magazine, XVIII, 1912, p. 212. *Th. v. Frimmel*, Der Leonardo in der Furst Lichtensteinschen Galerie, Stud. u. Skiz. zur Gemäldekunde, June 1913, p. 40. *Mackowsky*, op. cit., p. 87. *Hildebrandt*, op. cit., p. 259. For other references with regard to the attribution to Leonardo, v. *Poggi*. loc. cit.

rocchio — executed still the Madonna in the Ältere Pinakothek, Munich, which passes as a work of Leonardo. I do not think, however, that it is by Verrocchio to whom I assign the portrait in Vienna, but I shall return later on to this subject.

If this painting is not by Leonardo, it is useless to enter into the question whether or not it represents Ginevra dei Benci, because an attempt has been made to identify it with the portrait that Leonardo executed of this lady <sup>(1)</sup>. Moreover, it has already been observed that the comparison that W. von Bode made between this portrait and that of Ginevra once in the collection of Marquis Pucci, Florence <sup>(2)</sup>, gives sooner a negative result, that is to say that it is not the same person who is depicted here. The hands are not shown and it has been supposed that the picture has been cut and that a study of hands by Leonardo in Windsor Castle might have served as model for this part of the figure, but this hypothesis, naturally, can be accepted only by those who ascribe also the portrait to Leonardo.

I am rather inclined to accept the identification of the lady of the portrait in the Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna, with that of the bust of a lady with a little bouquet of flowers in the National Museum, Florence, only the bust without any doubt shows us the lady at a much more advanced age which forces us to place the picture among the youthful works of the artist and this would correspond with the opinion of those critics who believe that the same master executed the Annunciation in the Uffizi and this panel; other writers, however, think that this portrait belongs to a more mature stage in Verrocchio's career, approaching in style Lorenzo di Credi.

The technique is certainly much less incisive than that of the previous works; this is noticeable not only in the model but also in the background and the distant view which are executed in a very soft and somewhat mysterious manner, compared with the sharpness of the Annunciation and the

<sup>(1)</sup> v. previous note.

<sup>(2)</sup> Now in the Richard de Wolfe Brixey collection, New York; v *W. Valentiner, A Catalogue of early Italian Paintings exhibited at the Duveen Galleries, New York, New York, privately printed, 1926, No. 16.*



Fig. 314. Verrocchio and Leonardo da Vinci, the Baptism of the Lord. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Madonna which have already been discussed. Yet the type of the face and the serious expression are very reminiscent of the Virgin of the Annunciation in the Uffizi. In the manner of treating the hair which, besides, corresponds with that of the sculpture in the National Museum, Florence, there is again a marked minuteness of detail, as there is also in the foliage behind the head. This points once more to an early

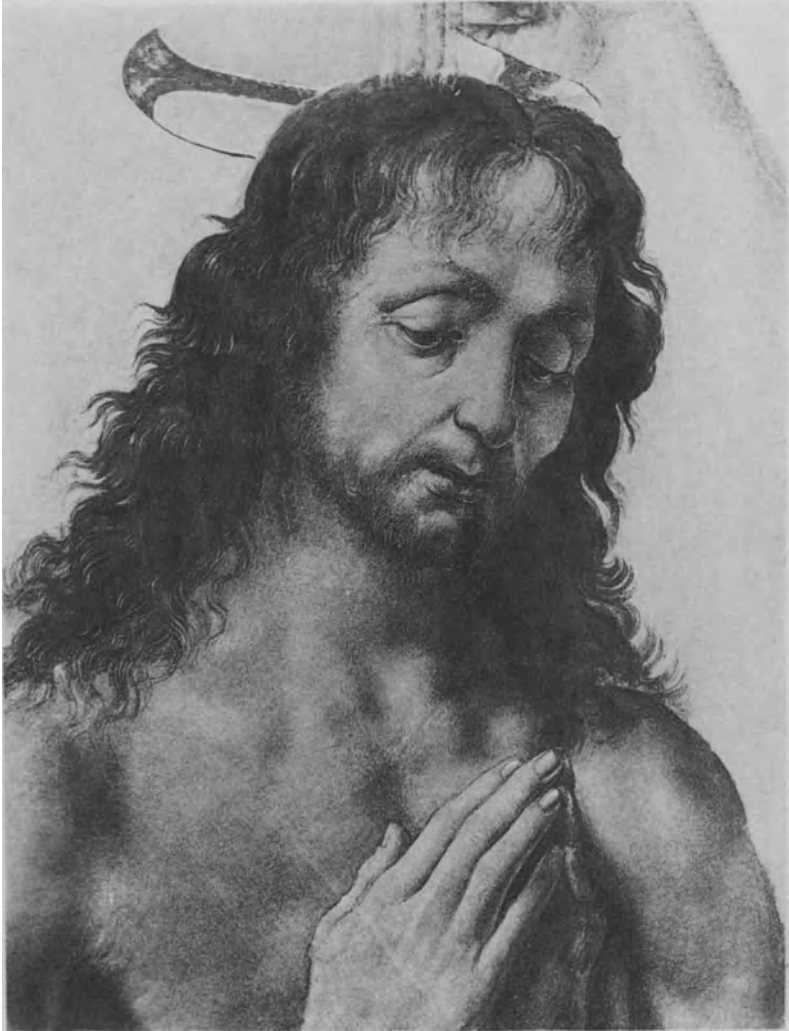


Fig. 315. Detail of fig. 314.

Photo Alinari.

period in the master's career, as does as well the faintness of the plastic effects which are only barely indicated.

The Baptism of Christ in the Uffizi shows us, on the other hand, a marked plasticity (figs. 314, 315, 316). The panel was originally in the church of San Salvi and it is mentioned as being there by Antonio Billi and the Anonimo Maglia-



**CHRIST.**

*From the Baptism, by Andrea Verrocchio, in the Uffizi, Florence.*

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 316. Detail of fig. 314.

Photo Alinari.

bechiano; later it was transferred to San Frediano and afterwards entered the collection in the Accademia.

That Leonardo executed a part of this picture is not merely an invention of Vasari's, because Albertini in his "Memoriale" which were published in 1510, consequently during the lifetime of Leonardo who died in 1519, affirms this statement;



that is to say he mentions only an angel by Leonardo in the St. Salvi church (<sup>1</sup>).

Already Morelli remarks the poor condition of the painting: "first flayed and then smeared over" but I think this expression applies chiefly to that part which Leonardo took in the execution of the picture; on account of the deplorable state of the work it has often been supposed that the painting was left unfinished but this is not so.

In studying the picture it is not difficult to discover a certain incoherence, caused obviously by the presence of two different manners. I do not think, however, that Leonardo's hand is found anywhere but in the angel most to the left and in the landscape to this side. These two parts do not harmonize at all with the rest of the picture; they are executed in a much less incisive manner and with quite another sentiment. The hard outlines of the palm-tree to the left and the jaggy rocks of an almost metallic appearance, reminiscent of the landscapes of a previous generation of painters, form a sharp contrast with the distant blue of the perspective in the paysage to the left; also the face of the angel to the extreme left, with that poetical sweetness of expression and those impressionistic effects of light, does not harmonize at all with the three other figures which seem to have been inspired by works in bronze. The figure of St. John is a veritable study of muscles and veins; his right hand might serve as an illustration of the subcutaneous tissues for a text-book on anatomy. The modelling of Christ's body is less pronounced but in no way less studied.

(<sup>1</sup>) *Berenson*. loc. cit., judges the painting to be for the greater part by Verrocchio. making no mention of Leonardo's collaboration. *Mackowsky*, op. cit., p. 78 and *Sirén*, op. cit., p. 13. agree that the angel to the left and the landscape are by Leonardo. *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 44, does not think that Leonardo took any part in the execution. *Thiis*, op. cit., p. 63. ascribes it to Verrocchio and "the Alunno di Andrea". *Hildebrandt*, op. cit., p. 42, holds Leonardo responsible for the angel to the left, the landscape, and in particular, for the head of Christ. *W. v. Bode*, Studien über Leonardo da Vinci, p. 12, is of opinion that Leonardo painted the landscape, the water and the entire figure of Christ. *E. Jaeschke* in his annotations on *Lasari*, Vol. II, Strasbourg, 1904, p. 113 note 20, is of the same idea.

The features of both these figures are pointed and the faces have that triangular form to which I have already alluded. On the other hand the second angel, shown almost in full face, has more rounded features and is a type which, from now onward, is frequently found in Verrocchio's works.

It has been remarked that the angel and that part of the landscape attributed to Leonardo are painted in oil colours and that the rest of the picture is executed in tempera. This combination of two different techniques in a picture is sometimes found in Florentine works of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but what is still more curious is that under the oil colours there is a layer of painting in tempera and if it could be ascertained that the superficial layer of oils represents what is underneath in tempera, it might be concluded that Leonardo did not exactly collaborate with Verrocchio in the execution of this picture but sooner repainted a portion of it. It is also possible that Leonardo himself executed these parts first in tempera and in order to improve them, touched them up in oil colours. If not, we are forced to admit that the angel and the piece of landscape are corrections that Leonardo carried out on a picture by Verrocchio or perhaps added at a later date. The latter hypothesis is not very likely either, because in all probability the two angels and the two pieces of distant landscapes existed in the original composition.

It might also be surmised that the picture was left unfinished by Verrocchio who charged Leonardo to complete these two parts.

The composition does not show great originality; we find very much the same arrangement of figures just immediately prior to Verrocchio, for example in one of the panels that Baldovinetti executed for the long series in S. Marco by Fra Angelico. Verrocchio's picture must have had a great success; both, Lorenzo di Credi and Ghirlandaio have imitated it very closely.

The Baptism in the Uffizi is not a pleasing picture. Apart from the fact that it is not harmonious, it is, as well, hard and experimental in appearance. The draperies are very wooden and rigid; the attitude of St. John is not very graceful; the brusqueness of the movement forward is not consistent

with the immobility of Christ and the artist in this case has committed the error of creating an unbalanced composition, which is all the more astonishing after the perfect equilibrium which he shows in his group of Or San Michele. Besides, all this demonstration of anatomy would be more at place in a sketch book than it is in a picture of such great importance. On the other hand every square inch of the picture reveals achievements which provide us with proof of the artist's enormous ability.

With the angel that Verrocchio painted in this much discussed picture, critics have frequently associated a superb drawing of a head surrounded with curls and seen from almost the same angle but here the eyes are downcast (fig. 317). Everyone agrees in ascribing this drawing to Verrocchio<sup>(1)</sup>. Unfortunately it is in a very bad state of preservation but even this does not conceal its great qualities.

The type of the face in this drawing closely resembles that in the cartoon which was no doubt the sketch for the Personification of Faith (fig. 318) which, it will be remembered, he presented in 1469 to the Mercatanzia but which was refused, Piero Pollaiuolo being given the commission for almost the entire series. The drawing in question is of poorer technique; it represents a woman seated holding a chalice in her hand; her features are a little coarse but this may be due to the fact that the sketch has been retouched. The hair is dressed in a rather elaborate fashion; the folds on the other hand are simple and a little hard. This drawing, which is preserved in the Uffizi, was discovered by Mrs. Cruttwell<sup>(2)</sup>.

There are several other drawings which should be placed in this early period of Verrocchio's activity. In the first place, I shall cite the sketch in silver point in the Uffizi of the head

(1) Photo Braun, 74246. *Berenson*, Drawings. Vol. I. p. 34 and Vol. II, No. 2785. *Handzeichnungen*, published by the Albertina. II, pl. 134. *Edc.* Flor. Drawings, p. 45. *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 46, believes that the drawing served as model for the angel's head in the Baptism but *Mackowsky*, op. cit., p. 88. opposes this theory and I think that he is right because there is too much difference between the one and the other and as the drawing has been pricked for transference, surely the head on the picture bore more resemblance to the sketch than does the angel of the Baptism.

(2) *Cruttwell*, op. cit., *Rassegna d'Arte*. 1906. Photo Braun. 76136.



Fig. 317. Verrocchio, Drawing. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Braun.

of an angel or of a young girl shown almost in full face in which there is little else visible than half the contour of the face, the right eye, the nose, the mouth and a few curls (fig. 319). On the verso there is a sketch of a putto which is doubtless also from the master's own hand (<sup>1</sup>).

(<sup>1</sup>) Photo Cipriani, 4606. *Berenson, Drawings*, Vol. I, p. 38 and Vol. II, No. 2798, calls it a school work very close to Verrocchio. *A. Venturi, L'Arte*, XXVIII, 1925, p. 137, ascribes it to Leonardo da Vinci, whose name besides figures in an ancient inscription on the drawing. *Thiis, op. cit.*, p. 7c, attributes it to "Alunno di Andrea".



Fig. 318. Verrocchio, Drawing of Faith. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.

There are two other very sketchy drawings in black chalk also in the Uffizi. One of them represents the Virgin seated in three-quarter profile turned towards the right, the Child



Fig. 319. Verrocchio, Drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Cipriani.

moving on her knee (fig. 320); a correction made by the artist himself gives the Virgin two heads; a similar rectification is found in the figure of the Child of the second

drawing which is treated in the same manner (fig. 321) <sup>(1)</sup>.

Other drawings executed in this style seem to be that in which we see very clearly the Virgin with folded hands adoring the Child held by an angel on her knee, while another angel or the little St. John stands close by, also in the Uffizi <sup>(2)</sup> and in the same collection a Virgin and Child, the latter figure depicted twice in opposed directions, and two heads of putti (fig. 322) <sup>(3)</sup>.

There is a group of Madonnas which seems to the entirely from Verrocchio's own hand. Not one of my colleagues is of this opinion because generally speaking only a part of these works is attributed to the master himself while the rest are classified as productions of his studio. Mr. Berenson thinks that only one of these pictures is really by Verrocchio who, however, sketched the others and superintended the execution. Morelli declares that they were all painted in the master's workshop or in that of Pollaiuolo or Ghirlandaio.

This hypothesis in a sense corresponds fairly closely with my own opinion, that is to say that these works are executed more or less in the same technique and that Verrocchio should be held responsible for all or for none of them.

I am, however, a little doubtful regarding the attribution to Verrocchio of two of these Madonnas, one in the museum of Berlin (No. 108, fig. 323) where there is still a second, the other in the Städelsche Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt. The general opinion does not give the former of these works to Verrocchio and even the museum authorities, led by Wilhelm

<sup>(1)</sup> Photos Brogi, 1710 and 1715. *Berenson*, Drawings, I, p. 38; II, No. 2794 and 2795, classifies it in the school of Verrocchio. *Sirén*, op. cit., p. 21 and pl. 15. The Drawings of the R. Galleries of the Uffizi in Florence. Florence, no date, Nos. 443 and 444. *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XXXI, 1928, p. 232, publishes the former of these drawings as a "first idea of the St. Anna" by Leonardo.

<sup>(2)</sup> Photo Brogi, 1714. Photo Bruchmann, Drawings, Uffizi 26. *Bode*, op. cit., p. 116, Verrocchio. *Berenson*, Drawings, No. 2796, school of Verrocchio. *Sirén*, op. cit., pl. 16, Verrocchio. *Thiis*, op. cit., p. 69, "Alunno di Andrea". The Drawings of the Uffizi, No. 445, Verrocchio.

<sup>(3)</sup> Photo Brogi, 1666.



Fig. 320. Verrocchio. Drawing. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Brogi.

von Bode, who are sooner inclined to attribute paintings to this master, express a certain doubt concerning the author of this picture, even although in the catalogue it is admitted



that the types and composition obviously reflect his manner <sup>(1)</sup>.

The Virgin is depicted almost in full-face, looking down at the Child Who, naked, stands on a little wall and makes the gesture of benediction. The upper part of the Virgin's bodice and the band of material she holds are richly decorated; in the background under a sky in which the blue is broken by little clouds, we see a smiling landscape with mountains and rivers. I admit that this Madonna is somewhat different in appearance and a little harder in execution but not to the extent of classifying the picture as a production of the master's workshop or school.

The sharpness of the design, the precision of the forms, and the skilful treatment of the shadows, especially noticeable in the Child's body, are executed with great technical ability; the rigidity of the draperies is not more marked than in the other works while the minuteness of detail in the landscape is a feature which we find in other of the master's productions although here it is shown in a slightly different manner. The appearance of the two figures and the style of execution obviously betray the artist's occupation as a worker in bronze.

The Madonna in the Städelsche Kunstinstitut of Frankfort (No. 702, fig. 324) is of exactly the same style and technique. The motif too is similar and the main difference consists in the fact that here the group is portrayed in a room through the window of which we catch a glimpse of a landscape <sup>(2)</sup>. The little Child, covered only with a veil and bestowing a blessing, stands on a cushion placed on the low wall behind which

<sup>(1)</sup> *Mackowsky*, op. cit., p. 84, judges it to be very close to Verrocchio and compares it, as also H. Exc. von Bode does, with the marble relief of the Madonna in the National Museum, Florence, which he considers to be also a workshop production. *Crutwell*, op. cit., p. 118, believes it to be the work of an imitator. *Thüs*, op. cit., p. 671, gives it to "Alunno di Andrea". *Bode*, op. cit., Repert. f. Kunstwiss., 1899, to Verrocchio's workshop, and more precisely to the artist who executed the pictures in Frankfort and in the National Gallery, London (No. 296. *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XXIX, 1926, p. 179, ascribes it, as we saw in the previous chapter, to Antonio Pollaiuolo and his opinion on the matter also corresponds fairly closely with that held by Morelli.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Bode*, v. previous note. *Thüs*, loc. cit., "Alunno di Andrea". It is ascribed to Andrea in the latest catalogue of the gallery.



Fig. 321. Verrocchio, Drawing. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Brogi.

the Virgin is depicted. The curls of the Infant are in this case dark whereas in the picture at Berlin they are fair; again the Madonna looks down towards the Child and the



Fig 322. Verrocchio, Drawing. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Brogi.

veil which covers her head is pleated in the same manner. The drapery is once more hard and a little wooden but here the folds are more abundant. The composition corresponds perfectly with that of the marble relief in the National Museum,



Fig. 323. Verrocchio? Madonna. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.



Fig. 324. Verrocchio? Madonna. Städelsche Kunstinstitut. Frankfort a.M.

Florence, to which also the previous picture bore a certain resemblance. The drapery of the picture at Frankfort, however, shows even a greater similarity to that of the terracotta in the museum in Florence.



Fig. 325. Verrocchio, Madonna. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Of a more evolved technique but very close to these two paintings is the Madonna in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (VII-I, fig. 325) <sup>(1)</sup>, formerly in the Altman collection New York and in that of Mr. Buttler, London, concerning the

<sup>(1)</sup> *Breck*, op. cit.

attribution of which I feel much more certain. Formerly the picture belonged to Mr. W. R. Farquhard and was exhibited at Burlington House in 1895 and at the Arundel Club. The composition is very much the same as that of the two preceding works, only the wall, on which the Infant stands and on which here a rose and some cherries are placed, is a little higher so that less of the Virgin's figure is visible. Also only a corner of the landscape appears. The Virgin's dress is embroidered with a pattern very much after the style of Verrocchio's ornaments. The outlines are less hard than in the previous picture and the plastic effects are rendered in a more pleasing manner.

Two other Madonnas are of rather a different type. They are the second picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 104a) and the Virgin from the collection of Baron de Schickler, Paris, now in that of Mr. Clarence Mackay, Long Island.

W. von Bode, Herr Mackowsky and many other German critics, as well as some of other nationalities, including Mr. Berenson, agree in ascribing the painting in Berlin to Verrocchio (fig. 326). It originates from the collection of Prince Napoleon (<sup>1</sup>). Here the Madonna is seated, looking down at the chubby Infant on her knee who stretches out his arms towards her. An almost unvarying feature in Verrocchio's works is the curly hair of the Child while here again we see the band of material, in this instance, draped around the little body, which we have already remarked in other paintings. The Virgin's head-dress is an elaborately folded veil; arabesques adorn the lapels of her mantle; the sleeves of her dress are made of cut velvet but the simple folds of her skirt are of an exaggerated regularity. The background is composed of a large rock to the left and to the right a fresh hilly landscape with some scattered buildings.

Those who do not think that this picture is by Verrocchio observe that the hands with short dirty nails are far from beautiful. Certainly they are inferior to those of the sculp-

(<sup>1</sup>) *Siren*, op. cit., p. 23, a workshop production. *Cruikwell*, op. cit. p. 118., an imitator of Verrocchio. *Mesnil*, op. cit., *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, p. 37, does not, either he, think it is from Verrocchio's own hand



Fig. 326. Verrocchio. Madonna. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

tures, but the difference of technique might easily explain the diversity of quality; as for the dirty nails, they are found in many a master-piece of the Quattrocento.



It must be granted, however, that the type of the Virgin is more reminiscent of that of the marble relief in the National Museum, Florence, which often passes as a school production but which in my opinion is a work by Verrocchio's own hand, than it is of the figure in terracotta in the same collection, which is unanimously accepted as a production of the master's. A relief of the Virgin and Child Who is held by an angel, doubtless a work of his bottega, in the Quincy Shaw collection, Boston, manifests some quite interesting points of contact with this picture, especially in the complicated drapery of the head-dress. In composition this relief closely resembles that of the famous painting by Fra Filippo Lippi in the Uffizi, in which two angels support the Infant Jesus. As Herr Mackowsky very rightly observes also Verrocchio's painting in Berlin derives from this composition.

It is interesting to observe that here as in the picture of the Baptism, a mixture of tempera, oils and glue has been employed. Yet I think that a considerable lapse of time separates the period of execution of this painting from that of the Baptism and I believe we should place this Madonna at an advanced stage in the artist's maturity although Mr. Berenson holds the contrary opinion.

Lastly, the Madonna from the collection of Baron de Schickler, Paris, formerly in that of Baron de Pourtales, Martinvast in Normandy but now belonging to Mr. Clarence Mackay, Long Island (New York), resembles the previous picture to such an extent that we can almost speak of it as a replica (fig. 327). The attitudes are exactly the same, also the garments, although in the picture in America they are a little more simple; the head-dress, too, is similar in appearance and the faces show only very slight variations. Mr. Berenson is of opinion that the execution of this painting is probably not from the hand of Verrocchio himself.

Before passing to the productions that Verrocchio executed

(<sup>4</sup>) It is attributed to Verrocchio by *W. Valentiner*, op. cit., No. 11 and *The Same*, The Clarence Mackay Collection, International Studio, Aug. 1925, p. 338. *Berenson*, loc. cit., describes it as "designed and superintended by Verrocchio".



Fig. 327. Verrocchio, Madonna, Clarence Mackay Collection, Long Island.

in collaboration with his helpers, I should like to mention a few drawings which, in my opinion, are by the master.

In the British Museum (1895—9—15—785) there is a famous



Fig. 328. Verrocchio, Drawing. British Museum.

drawing in black chalk of a woman's head, slightly inclined to one side, the eyes downcast, the hair dressed in a complicated manner, showing very beautiful effects of plasticity, which is certainly by Verrocchio and is universally recognized as such (fig. 328) <sup>(1)</sup>. I think it is rather a late work and I do not agree with Herr Mackowsky that there is any connexion

<sup>(1)</sup> *Berenson*, Drawings, No. 2782. *Mackowsky*, op. cit., p. 89. *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 112.



Fig. 329. Verrocchio, Drawing. British Museum.

between this sketch and the angel in the picture of the Baptism. Perhaps it is one of those drawings of ladies' heads mentioned by Vasari together with the information that they were copied by Leonardo. On the verso of the same sheet we find a rough sketch of the head of a woman, with slightly less rounded features (fig. 329); only the outlines and principal traits are indicated but in such a forcible manner that we again recognize the master's hand.



Fig. 330. Verrocchio, Drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

Another page with sketches by Verrocchio on both sides is that in the Louvre showing on one side five studies of nude putti (fig. 330) and on the verso four studies of the same



Fig. 331. Verrocchio, Drawing. Christ Church, Oxford.

subject, executed in ink in rapid strokes, full of life and spirit <sup>(1)</sup>.

A piece of poetry in handwriting of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, no doubt inscribed by one of the first owners of the drawing, sings the praise of Verrocchio who executed this work probably also at a fairly advanced stage of his career.

(1) *Berenson*, Drawings, I, p. 33; II, No 2783. *Ph. de Chennevières*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Nouv. Sér., XIX. p. 516.

From a much earlier period and probably from the time when Leonardo was apprenticed to Verrocchio, dates a study on canvas of the drapery of a kneeling figure, outlined in white, of which only a part is finished in water colours; it belonged to the Malcolm collection and is now in the British Museum. There are but few adherents of the attribution to Verrocchio<sup>(1)</sup>. Nevertheless, I think that there are many elements in the rigid and rather heavy appearance of the figures and in the strong oppositions of light and shade which allow us to suppose that this study is from the master's hand.

Executed at a mature stage and in style corresponding with the second Madonna in Berlin appears to me a large but rather damaged drawing of a female bust, seen almost in profile, with an elaborate coiffure which is preserved in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford (A 5, fig. 331)<sup>(2)</sup>. We discover in this work the grandiose conception which characterizes the productions of Verrocchio's more mature manner.

It is quite possible also that Verrocchio should be held responsible for a drawing of the Virgin's head, shown in right profile, a veil intertwined in the elaborately dressed hair, which is found in the Uffizi (fig. 332)<sup>(3)</sup>. A very similar head is seen in a picture of considerably poorer quality of the Virgin and Child in the midst of five saints in the gallery of Budapest which, however, is obviously inspired by Verrocchio's manner<sup>(4)</sup>. Mr. Berenson, who classifies this drawing as a production of the school of Verrocchio, affirms that

(<sup>1</sup>) *Berenson*, Drawings, No. 2799, school of Verrocchio. *Ede*, op. cit., No. 46, school of Verrocchio. *Thüs*, op. cit., p. 170. "Alunno di Andrea".

(<sup>2</sup>) *C. Ricci*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1906, p. 41. *Colvin*, Oxford Drawings, 1. *C. F. Bell*, Drawings by the Old Masters in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, Oxford, 1914, p. 124. *W. v. Bode*, Der Kunst der Frührenaissance in Italien, Berlin, 1923, pl. XXII, all agree in ascribing it to Verrocchio. Only *Berenson*, Drawings, No. 2800, believes it to be a school production. He thinks it is by the same hand as the angel's head from the von Beckerath collection, now in the Print Room, Berlin, to which we shall return later on.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Ede*, op. cit., No. 47, Verrocchio?.

(<sup>4</sup>) *E. Kühnel*, Francesco Botticini, Strasbourg, 1906, pl. XIII. "Compagno di Botticini".

Lady Henry Somerset, Reigate <sup>(1)</sup>, possesses a picture in which the head of the Madonna has been executed after this sketch.



Fig. 332. Verrocchio?. Drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

Then if we can accept Mrs. Cruttwell's theory that before undertaking the Colleoni monument Verrocchio made a special study of the ancient bronze horses which adorn S. Marco,

<sup>(1)</sup> *Berenson, Drawings, No. 2797.*



Venice, I should be very tempted to attribute to him the beautiful sketch of one of these horses with the upper part of the column on which it actually is placed, which I have already mentioned (fig. 307).

One of the reasons for which I think it highly probable, in spite of the lack of certain evidence, that Verrocchio executed these paintings, which are not productions of his studio, is that there exists another group of works which obviously were made in his bottega, under his personal direction, or might even have been painted by Verrocchio in collaboration with some of his pupils who had become more or less familiar with their master's art.

The altar-piece that Verrocchio was charged to execute in 1477 for the cathedral of Pistoia represents on a monumental throne forming a niche the Virgin and Child Who turns towards the Baptist; the other lateral figure is the bishop St. Zeno; a beautiful oriental rug descends from the two steps of the throne; over the top of a low wall we see a pleasing landscape while a balustrade above supports pots of flowers (fig. 333).

In a document of 1485, Senator Chiappelli thinks he finds proof that at this moment Verrocchio had already painted a large portion of this altar-piece. The fact that a part was painted is actually recorded, but it is almost certain that Verrocchio left the execution of this picture to a helper, who was no doubt Lorenzo di Credi and the manner in which this piece of information is expressed in the document proves only one thing, namely that Verrocchio was held morally responsible for the work. Further, we gather also that those who had commissioned the picture were behindhand with the payment because it is said in 1485 that if they had fulfilled their duty in this sense, the painting would have been finished six years ago. As it has very rightly been observed, Lorenzo di Credi was only nineteen years old in 1478, but in 1485 he was twenty-four and as it is in 1485 that the document tells us the painting is well advanced, there is no chronological reason to believe that Lorenzo did not execute that part of the picture already achieved at this moment,

and still less for the rest of the work which was finished at a later date (<sup>1</sup>).

Yet it seems very likely that Verrocchio had a share in



Fig. 333. Verrocchio and Lorenzo di Credi. Madonna and Saints. Cathedral, Pistoia. Photo Alinari.

the execution. The picture is too important to have been left entirely to such a youthful pupil. Verrocchio must have made

(<sup>1</sup>) The attribution of the entire picture to Lorenzo di Credi is upheld by: *Berenson*, op. cit., p. 132 (in Verrocchio's studio). *Bode*, Repert. f. Kunstw., 1899, p. 390. *O. H. Giglioli*, Pistoia nei suoi monumenti e nelle sue opere d' arte, Florence, 1924. *Mackowsky*, op. cit., p. 96. *Sirén*, op. cit., p. 20, "perhaps Credi".

at least the cartoon; he may also have started the work and painted parts here and there<sup>(1)</sup>; the holy bishop to the right is certainly more strongly reminiscent of Verrocchio's manner than of Lorenzo's; the appearance of the Madonna reminds us of the portrait in the Lichtenstein collection; also the landscape, so clear and minutely detailed, and the precise and monumental composition are elements which are not typical of Lorenzo di Credi. Yet the weak forms of St. John and the organically feeble construction of the Madonna betray the hand of this pupil. Still the impossibility of admitting that the entire work is by Lorenzo di Credi is clearly demonstrated by the manner in which he executed a free copy, the Madonna between two saints in the museum of Naples, which is much more characteristic of his own style and in which there is no trace of the grandiose monumentality of the altar-piece of Pistoia.

All the same this panel does not belong to that group of works created in Verrocchio's studio, which reflect most faithfully the master's manner. As such should be cited in the first place the Madonna and Child and two angels in the National Gallery, London (No. 296), a work of exceeding beauty and certainly not inferior to some of those which I have ascribed to Verrocchio himself (fig. 334)<sup>(2)</sup>. The composition is the same as that shown by Fra Filippo Lippi and

(1) It is claimed as the combined work of Verrocchio who started it and Lorenzo di Credi who finished it, by *Morelli*, loc. cit. *C. v. Fabriczy*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1899, p. 338. *Frizzoni*, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 405. *Cruetwell*, op. cit., p. 173. *E. Jacobsen*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1906, p. 27. who thought he had found the rough sketch for his painting. *Thiis*, op. cit., p. 120, ascribes it to Verrocchio. *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell'Arte italiana*, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 781, admits a part to be by Verrocchio but does not think that the assistant was Lorenzo di Credi. *Chiappelli*, op. cit., p. 226. Senator Chiappelli reminds us of the fact that Salvi, in his history of Pistoia of the first half of the 17th century, attributes the painting to Leonardo.

(2) Everyone agrees in classifying this painting as a workshop production. *Bode*, op. cit., *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1899, p. 390, believes it to be by the same hand as the first Madonna in Berlin (No. 108) and that in the Frankfort gallery. *Thiis*, op. cit., p. 66, is of the same opinion. calling the artist "Alunno di Andrea" to whom he attributes still a number of other works. *Mackowsky*, op. cit., p. 86, thinks it might be

sculptured by a pupil of Verrocchio's in the relief in the Quincy Shaw collection, Boston.

The presence of the two angels makes the resemblance to Fra Filippo's work still more marked but an essential difference lies in the fact that here the group is depicted in full face whereas Fra Filippo represents the figures in profile. As in almost all the Verrocchiesque paintings of the Madonna, the Virgin looks down at the Child lying on her knee and supported by one of the angels; the other angel holds a lily; the beautiful landscape background is framed by two drawn curtains. The chief difference between the manner in which this painting is executed and that of Verrocchio consists in the extraordinarily brilliant colouring, but the minute technique, the sweetness of sentiment and the affectation of attitude, especially noticeable in the angel holding the lily, are not features characteristic of the vigorous Andrea. Certain of these elements bring to mind the art of Domenico Ghirlandaio, to whom, in fact, the picture has been attributed, as it has also to Antonio Pollaiuolo and to the school of his brother Piero. I do not think, however, that this is a work of a youthful stage in Ghirlandaio's career, yet in my opinion it is not impossible that it is from the same hand as the Tobias with the angel in the same gallery (No. 781), another picture which has been attributed to Domenico Ghirlandaio and to Antonio Pollaiuolo but also to Botticini and this last hypothesis has still its adherents (fig. 335) <sup>(1)</sup>.

If this painting is by the same hand as the previous work, it must have been executed at an earlier moment in the

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by Botticini which, in a certain sense, is quite logical because he believes, like almost everyone else that Botticini is the master of the Tobias and the archangel in the Uffizi, which will be discussed later on. *Berenson*, *Florentine Painters*, declares that the picture in London, has been "designed and superintended by Verrocchio" and in *Drawings*, I. p. 37, judges it to be "one of the finest achievements of Verrocchio's studio".

<sup>(1)</sup> *Mackowsky*, loc. cit. and *Berenson*, *Drawings*, I, p. 40. *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, XXIX, 1926, p. 56, has returned, as we saw in the previous chapter, to the attribution to Antonio Pollaiuolo. *Bode*, op. cit., *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1899, was of opinion that this picture was from the hand of Verrocchio.



Fig. 334. Verrocchio's Workshop. Madonna and Angels.  
National Gallery, London.

artist's career. Nevertheless there are many points of contact; the two figures who are shown arm in arm, accompanied by a little dog, in a pleasing landscape, have the same affected gestures and the same sweetness of expression which we



Fig. 335. Verrocchio's Workshop, Tobias and the Archangel. National Gallery, London.

observed in the foregoing picture. The outlines are still a little hard and the gestures and pose of the hands still somewhat intentional.

To the same artist and to an intermediate stage between the two works in the National Gallery should, I think, be assigned the journey of Tobias and the archangels in the



Fig. 336. Verrocchio's Workshop, Tobias and the Archangels. Uffizi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

Uffizi (No. 8359, figs. 336, 337, 338); it originates from the Capponi chapel in the church of S. Spirito and from there was transferred to the Accademia. This picture almost invariably passes as a work by Botticini<sup>(1)</sup> but I am convinced

<sup>(1)</sup> Considered as such for example by *Kühnel*, op. cit., p. 14. *Berenson*, *Florentine Painters*, p. 119. *A. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 786. *Mackowsky*, op. cit., p. 84, who admits at the same time that the painter was inspired by Verrocchio.



Fig. 337. Detail of fig. 336.

that this attribution is erroneous. At least if the starting point for our knowledge of Botticini's art lies in the mediocre paintings in the Collegiata of Empoli which are certainly from his hand, we can never be justified in ascribing to him the really beautiful painting in the Uffizi which is not only entirely different from everything that can be assigned to





Fig. 338. Detail of fig. 336.

Botticini but is of a greatly superior artistic quality. Even admitting that Botticini was as changeful as is affirmed by those who hold him responsible for the group — in my opinion somewhat heteroclite — of paintings which nowadays passes as his work, there is absolutely no reason to believe that he ever attained such a degree of perfection as is manifest in the panel of Tobias and the three angels. The same opinion

has already been pronounced by M. Mesnil<sup>(1)</sup>. Another obstacle to this attribution is found in the documents discovered and published by M. Mesnil and according to which this picture in all probability existed before 1467 and was perhaps executed in 1463 when Botticini (who was born in 1446) was only seventeen years old. A painter of the name of Chinienti di Piero worked in 1467 at the altar for which the picture was made, but no doubt he was charged only with some minor decoration which does not allow us suppose that it was this artist who painted the altar-piece.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century this picture was attributed to Botticelli, an opinion repeated by Richa in his "Chiese fiorentine"; Cavalcaselle gave it to Antonio Pollaiuolo and Bayersdorfer to Verrocchio, which judgment has been accepted and upheld by W. von Bode up to the present day<sup>(2)</sup>.

This opinion was contradicted by Morelli who repudiated a little too forcibly the importance of the work, but to a certain extent I agree with his judgment because I do not think that we are dealing here with a work from the master's own hand.

The painting in question is very superior to that of the same subject in the National Gallery, and the composition is much more important.

Here there are four figures because two other archangels, Michael in a coat of mail and holding a sword and Gabriel with a lily in his hand, accompany Tobias and his angelic companion<sup>(3)</sup>. The landscape which forms the background is very distant and in this respect recalls especially those of Baldovinetti; the foreground is rocky and strewn with stones as it was also in the panel in the National Gallery and as there again a little dog follows the travellers. A feature which marks a certain difference between this picture and the two other works is the drapery of the archangel Raphael,

(1) *J. Mesnil*, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1902, I, p. 252. *The Same*, op. cit., Miscellaneo d'Arte, I, p. 117. *The Same*, Rivista d'Arte, 1905, p. 37.

(2) *v. Bode*, Der Kunst der Frührenaissance, p. 423.

(3) It has often been supposed that the head of St. Michael is a portrait of Leonardo; this idea was propounded by *Müller-Walde* in his monograph on Leonardo. *v. Hildebrandt*, op. cit., p. 66. There is no serious argument in favour of this affirmation.

the thin material of which, in a movement which might be compared with the ripple of water and which a little later we find so frequently in Botticelli's paintings, moulds the forms of the body. This is less marked in the figure of St. Gabriel while the folds of St. Michael's cloak fluttering in the wind resemble fairly closely the draperies we find in the two other pictures. There is less affectation in this painting than in the panel in London; some trace of it, however, is manifest in the attitude of St. Gabriel whose features like those of the archangel in the middle, are most strongly reminiscent of Verrocchio's types. There is a certain want of harmony in the movements of the different figures; St. Michael full of majesty seems to advance more rapidly than St. Raphael who has come almost to a stand still; Tobias himself goes forward in a spirited manner and one would say that very shortly he will leave the other figures far behind; St. Gabriel is somewhat independent, he is something of a celestial vision, his feet hardly touching the earth. The colouring has not the same brilliancy as that of the two panels in the National Gallery; the tones are greyish but of great refinement. In this respect, as well as in the types of the faces and the perfection of the modelling, this picture comes nearer Verrocchio's own art than do the paintings in the National Gallery.

Of some other Madonnas of Verrocchio's studio I shall give only a summary enumeration.

In the von Mumm collection, Frankfort, there was a superb picture of the Virgin which was formerly in the Bournonville collection when it was attributed to Botticelli. The Madonna is represented in half-length figure turned towards the left, holding on her knee the Infant Christ Who plays with the veil which covers her head. The figures are shown against a landscape background. This picture which is now the property of Mr. Howard Young, New York, does not possess those technical qualities which might allow us to attribute it to Verrocchio; also the types of the faces are slightly different <sup>(1)</sup>.

Belonging to quite another artistic tendency is a Madonna with the Child standing on her knee against a landscape

<sup>(1)</sup> *W. v. Bode*, Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., III, 1882, p. 238. *Mac-kowsky*, op. cit., p. 84. *T. Borenius*, op. cit., Apollo, 1927, p. 189.

background, which is preserved in the Dreyfus collection, Paris<sup>(1)</sup>; the style of the painting comes very close to the manner of Leonardo to whose early years it has sometimes been ascribed but I do not think that this is correct; it is certainly not from the hand of Lorenzo di Credi to whom it has also been attributed.

H. E. Wilhelm von Bode mentions in 1899 still two Madonnas of Verrocchio's workshop which were sold in London; one of them belonged to the art dealer Bardini, the other passed as a work of Pollaiuolo; he ascribes them to the artist who, he supposes, executed the altar-piece of 1471 in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris and the Madonna and saints in the Budapest Gallery<sup>(2)</sup>, two works to which we shall return later on but which in my opinion are not by the same hand.

There are some other paintings of the Virgin and Child which are productions of Verrocchio's studio but which belong to quite a different iconographical type; the subject is that greatly favoured by Baldovinetti, of the Virgin adoring the Child. Of this little group of three works, there is only one which is executed in the true Verrocchiesque manner; it is the panel in the Ruskin Museum, Sheffield, which was exhibited at the Arundel Club, London, in 1913. Mr. Berenson believes that the picture was designed by Verrocchio. The Virgin kneels in adoration before the Child and, as in so many representations of this scene by Baldovinetti, the figures are surrounded by architecture.

Of the second picture of this category, only a fragment remains; it is preserved in the collection of Mr. W. H. Woodward, London<sup>(3)</sup> and was exhibited at the Burlington Fine

(1) *A. de Hevesy*, Ein Unbekanntes Bild aus Verrocchio's Werkstatt, Pantheon, I. 1928, p. 26. *Sirin*, op. cit., p. 21, perhaps by Lorenzo di Credi. I have since had occasion to see this picture and on account of the wonderful light on the hands and other qualities, I think it should be included among the works by Verrocchio himself.

(2) *Bode*, op. cit., Repert. f. Kunstw., 1899, p. 190.

(3) Formerly at Crooksbury, Hurst, Farnham v. *Borenus*, op. cit., Burlington Magazine, XXX, 1917, p. 129. who thinks that the same artist executed No. 296 in the National Gallery, No. 108 in the Berlin Museum and the pictures in the Metropolitan Museum, New York and at Frankfurt.

Arts Club in 1919 and in the Agnew Galleries in 1924 as belonging to the school of Verrocchio but Mr. Constable<sup>(1)</sup> of the National Gallery is of opinion that it is the production of a pupil of Baldovinetti's who was influenced by Verrocchio. Although the difference is very subtle, I am sooner in favour of the contrary point of view, that is to say that the basis of the painting is Verrocchiesque, which is particularly evident in the plastic effects, but that the master was certainly familiar with Baldovinetti's art which he seems to have followed in the composition, as is proved by the presence of some ruins and the ox and the ass eating from their trough.

Mr. Berenson mentions as a work by a painter of Verrocchio's school influenced by Botticelli a Madonna in adoration before the Child belonging to Lady Henry Somerset, Reigate<sup>(2)</sup>. I do not know the picture but as this critic informs us that a drawing of the Virgin's head in profile in Uffizi, which I have already cited as a possible work by Verrocchio, may have served as the rough sketch for this painting, it must certainly have been executed in the master's immediate surroundings.

A production of Verrocchio's studio of quite a different nature is the portrait of a young girl in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 80, fig. 339) which generally passes as a work by Lorenzo di Credi<sup>(3)</sup> of whose art it is not at all typical. The words "Noli me tangere" below the figure and the other lines inscribed round the coats of arms on the back of the picture might lead us to believe that it is a portrait of Lucrezia de' Donati who for a certain time captured the affections of Lorenzo de' Medici, but this friendship may have been purely platonic.

(1) *W. G. Constable, Paintings by Italian Masters in the possession of W. H. Woodward, Oxford, 1928, No. 2.*

(2) *Berenson, Drawings, I, p. 39 and II, No. 2797.*

(3) *Mackowsky, op. cit., p. 86. Hildebrandt, op. cit., p. 194. A. Pellegrini, L'Arte, XXIX, 1926, p. 190, and many others. Berenson, op. cit., p. 131, thinks that it might be youthful work by Credi. Formerly it was attributed to Granacci. *W. v. Bode, Jahrb. f. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., III, 1882, p. 250, classifies it as a production of Verrocchio's workshop. The Same, Ital. Bildhauer, p. 131. v. Fabriczy, op. cit., Arch. Stor. dell'Arte, 1895, p. 171.**



Fig. 339. After Verrocchio, presumed portrait of Lucrezia de' Donati.  
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Photo Haufstaengl.

It could be imagined that this might be the portrait which Verrocchio executed of this young lady and which figures in the inventory of 1496, if the appearance of the painting had in any way allowed us to suppose that Verrocchio was the master, but this is not the case. Although many elements approximate it closely to Verrocchio's art, it has none of the qualities of the master's brush. If the young lady who is depicted somewhat gauchely with her arms disappearing behind the inscription, is really the object of Lorenzo's love, it is certainly inadmissible that Verrocchio left such a task to a pupil. But I can very well believe that in spite of the intimate character of the portrait, a copy of the original was made and it is this copy that we find to-day in the museum of Berlin. If this be so, the copy might be from the hand of Lorenzo di Credi who, in this instance, has been very faithful to the master's model. Lorenzo di Credi could not have painted the original portrait of Lucrezia de' Donati, because he was only thirteen years old in 1469 when Lorenzo held the joust in honour of this lady, for whom his affection lasted only a short time.

Lastly there are some large altar-pieces which in all probability can be classified as productions of Verrocchio's studio and for which the master himself made the cartoons, although I do not think he took any part in the execution of these paintings.

Before the reorganization of the galleries in Florence an important picture of the Virgin on a throne which formed a niche in a high wall over the top of which appeared the tips of four very rigid trees, was preserved in the Uffizi (fig. 340). The Madonna looks down at the Child sitting on a cushion on her knee; to the sides we see St. John the Baptist and a holy bishop holding the model of the town of Florence in which the cathedral and the Palazzo Vecchio are easily recognized; SS. Francis and Nicholas of Bari are represented kneeling on the mosaic pavement below. It is a work of considerable beauty, showing excellent plastic effects in the faces. The physical development of St. John the Baptist is that of an athlete.

From another hand are a few paintings which are often

attributed to Botticini (<sup>1</sup>). They include a Christ on the Cross with two angels catching the blood which drips from His wounds, in the museum of Berlin (No. 70 A, fig. 341). To the sides are depicted SS. Antony Abbot, Lawrence, Peter



Fig. 340. Verrocchio's Workshop, Madonna and Saints. Uffizi, Florence.  
Photo Alinari.

the Martyr and Raphael with the child Tobias; a landscape forms the background in the centre. All the figures are heavily draped; the modelling of the faces is skilfully executed. At the foot of the picture an inscription gives the name of the donor and the date 1475.

(<sup>1</sup>) *Kühnel*, op. cit., p. 4 et seq. *Berenson*, op. cit., p. 120. *Bode*, op. cit., Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., III. pp. 245, 251.



Another work no doubt from the same hand is found in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris (No. 944); it represents the Virgin at the foot of the Cross, holding the body of Christ in the midst of SS. Louis of Toulouse, Dominic, James Major and Nicholas of Bari (fig. 342). This painting shows the same



Fig. 341. Verrocchio's Workshop, the Crucified and Saints, 1475. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Photo Hanfstaengl.

somewhat coarse plastic effects and the same monumental grouping as the previous work. It too is sometimes ascribed to Botticini (<sup>1</sup>).

I am much less convinced of the attribution to the same artist of the "Glory of the Virgin" in the Louvre (No. 1482). I am more inclined to look upon this painting as a production

(<sup>1</sup>) v. previous note.



Fig. 342. Verrocchio's Workshop, *Pieta and Saints*. Jacquemart André Museum, Paris. Photo Bulloz.

from the hand of Botticini, directly inspired by Verrocchio.

Before finishing the discussion on Verrocchio I should like to cite a few of his lost works. I shall not mention again those which figured in the inventory of 1496 nor those which he made for the Medici.

Regarding his activity as a goldsmith we know that he executed clasps for the ecclesiastical vestments for the clergy

of Sta. Maria del Fiore, and two metal cups, one adorned with animals and foliage, the other with dancing putti, which are recorded by Vasari. Further there is mention of a hind as ornamentation of a helmet, a head of St. Jerome in terracotta, a putto with mechanical arms which struck the hours, other putti of which again Vasari speaks, a bell adorned with figures which Verrocchio cast in 1474 for the monastery of Monte Scalari, which was melted down and recast in 1815, a candelabrum for the audience hall in the Palazzo Vecchio for which he receives payment in 1468 and 1480, between which dates there is such a lapse of time that we are justified in supposing that there were two different candelabra (1).

Further, Vasari speaks of three silver statues and other objects in the same metal which Verrocchio executed for Pope Sixtus IV (1471—1484) for ornamentation of the pontifical chapel; these objects were stolen in the 18<sup>th</sup> century but the exactitude of this affirmation has often, and with reason, been doubted (2).

Then there was the tomb for a doge in Venice which I have already mentioned, as well as a crucifix carved in wood. In 1677 Cinelli describes a Pietà and a Madonna of the Annunciation in the Attavanti chapel in the church of S. Pancrazio (3) but I think it more likely that these works were productions of the della Robbia (4).

In the field of painting, apart from the pictures executed for the Medici, we find mention of an altar-piece which, according to Vasari, Verrocchio painted for the church of S. Domenico del Maglio in Florence, but this is apparently the work now in the gallery of Budapest to which we shall return later on.

As for Verrocchio's lost drawings, Vasari speaks of some representing heads of pretty women with elaborate coiffures which, on account of their beauty, Leonardo imitated. I think that Vasari had in his mind's eye such drawings as the very

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(1) A bronze candelabrum in the National Museum of Florence has wrongly been identified with this lost work by Verrocchio; it is of a technique very inferior to that of the master's authentic sculptures.

(2) *Crittwell*, op. cit., p. 215.

(3) *G. Cinelli*, *Le Bellezze della Città di Firenze*, Florence, 1677, p. 203.

(4) *Crittwell*, op. cit., p. 216.

fine profile of a lady in the Uffizi, in which Verrocchiesque elements intermingle with those of Leonardesque origin, but which in my opinion is by neither the one nor the other of these two artists <sup>(1)</sup>. From the same source we learn that there existed two sketches of horses with measurements indicated, which must have closely resembled that in the collection of Lord Pembroke, a drawing of the head of a classical horse, the plan of a monument for a doge of Venice which in Vasari's day, Don Vicenzio Borghini possessed, an Adoration of the Magi — perhaps one of the sketches that Leonardo made of this subject — and a lady's head on paper which might very well be one of the extant drawings.

Milanesi mentions a drawing which Verrocchio executed as the rough draught of his David in bronze and which is preserved in the Uffizi <sup>(2)</sup>. Several other works have been attributed to Verrocchio but to my mind they are certainly not from his hand. We shall have occasion to return to the productions wrongly ascribed to Verrocchio and to the works of his school <sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> See fig. 311.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Milanesi*, note 2 on *Vasari*, III, p. 360.

<sup>(3)</sup> Some examples of works erroneously attributed to Verrocchio are: the two ladies' profiles for which *Berenson* hesitatingly holds him responsible, one in the Uffizi, **Florence**, the other in the Poldi Pezzoli Gallery, **Milan**, which I reproduce in Vol. X, p. 326, as from the hand of Domenico Veneziano. Morelli rightly contests the attribution to Verrocchio of two pictures of Tobias and the archangel, one in the Accademia, **Florence** (old catalogue, No. 20), the other in the Uffizi, **Florence** (No. 1278 before the reorganization); a Madonna in the gallery of **Dresden**, No. 13, which is by Lorenzo di Credi (*Morelli*, *Ital. Painters in the Borghese and Doria-Pampili Galleries*, p. 85 note 1. *The Same*, *Ital. Painters in the Munich and Dresden Galleries*, p. 266). To Verrocchio has also been assigned (*Reymond*, *op. cit.*, p. 126) the famous half-length figure of the Virgin offering a pink to the Child, while through the windows we catch glimpses of a hilly landscape, in the Ältere Pinakothek, **Munich** (No. 7779) (1493), which *Bayersdorfer* and *Bode*, *op. cit.*, and others as well, have claimed for Leonardo which opinion has been very much contested. I sooner agree with *W. Schmidt* and *Berenson*, that it is probably a youthful work of Lorenzo di Credi very much influenced by Verrocchio but also by Leonardo. A mediocre replica of this work is found in the Louvre, **Paris**. I imagine that another erroneous attribution to Verrocchio was that of a Madonna at the Lamponi sale, **Florence**,

In studying the artistic figure of Andrea del Verrocchio we should not forget that first and foremost he was a sculptor. In Vasari's account of his life we find mention of plastic works in every possible material, in silver, bronze, clay,

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November 1902, of which I find no other mention. There is a drawing in silver point in the Print Room of **Dresden** which *Thiis*, op. cit., p. 117, ascribes to Verrocchio. *Sirén*, op. cit., to his school, *Bode*, op. cit., to Leonardo, *Morelli*, Munich and Dresden, p. 266 and *Hildebrandt*, op. cit., fig. 245, to Credi, from whose hand it might really be. In the British Museum, **London**, there is a drawing in silver point which resembles those of the Forteguerra tomb; it is dated 1489 but Verrocchio died in 1488; *Morelli*, Munich and Dresden, p. 271, gives it to Credi. In the Uffizi, **Florence**, we find: a drawing of a nude man, attributed to Verrocchio by *P. Pecchiai*, in his ed. of *Vasari*, I, Milan, 1928, p. 122; it is very close to Perugino; a sketch which I ascribe to Castagno (Vol. X, p. 374) is, according to *Jacobsen*, Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XX, 1904, p. 193, a self-portrait by Verrocchio. The attribution to Verrocchio of a drawing of a lady's profile lately exposed in the Saville Gallery, London (Reprod. in *Apollo*, March 1929, op. p. 182 and *International Studio* March 1929, p. 63) seems to me equally incorrect. Lastly, the sculptures wrongly attributed to Verrocchio are: the relief of the "Discordia" in the Victoria and Albert Museum, **London**, which in my opinion is a work of the school of Pollaiuolo (v. previous chapter also for the bibliography); the bust of Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici in the National Museum, **Florence**; the bronze with the Deposition and the portrait of Federico of Urbino in the Carmine church, **Venice** (*Bode*, Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, VI, 1893, p. 77 but now *The Same*, Leonardo Studien, p. 50, gives it to Leonardo) and the Flagellation in the gallery of **Perugia** (*A. Venturi*, L' Arte, V, 1902, p. 43) which *Bode*, Leonardo Studien, p. 47, ascribes also to Leonardo. The *Anonimo Magliabechiano*, *Billi* and *Vasari*, III, p. 361, attribute to Verrocchio the monument of Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo in Sta. Croce, **Florence** which, however, they give also to Desiderio da Settignano (v. *Magliabechiano*, ed. *Frey*, p. 332); it is a work of Bernardino Rossellino. **Paris**, Dreyfus collection, relief in bronze which *Bode*, op. cit., Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 1893, gives to Verrocchio but I do not think that it is from his hand, nor is the marble relief of Scipion in the Louvre, **Paris**, by this master (*Reymond*, op. cit., p. 64). *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 217, believes that a terracotta of St. Jerome is false v. *Mackowsky*, op. cit., fig. 22, also a Christ on the Cross, both in the Victoria and Albert Museum, **London**; they are certainly not works by Verrocchio, nor is the relief of the Madonna in the church of S. Giacomo, **Rome**, in spite of the signature: "Opus Andreae". *D. Tumiati*, L' Arte, I, 1894, p. 217. *M. De Benedetti*, Rassegna d' Arte, 1906, p. 165; nor again a terracotta bust which, for no serious reason, is supposed to represent Giovanni de' Medici (*F. R. Martin*, op. cit.).

marble, wax, wood, terracotta and cement; he made statues, reliefs, death masks, goldsmith work and mechanical figures. Compared with this production of plastic works, painting takes but a very secondary place. Yet, as I said before, he certainly executed a good few pictures and if a fixed conception of the appearance of his pictorial production permits the attribution to him of only two or three paintings as Mrs. Cruttwell and Herr Mackowsky both suppose, then we can but reasonably conclude that this conception is erroneous, and although we must admit that Verrocchio's genius as a painter was less great than his genius as a sculptor, it is none the less certain that an artist who created, as he did, such an important school of painting, must himself have executed a fairly considerable number of pictures.

In fact my opinion on Verrocchio is more or less that held by Vasari whose affirmations, however, generally inspire me with but little confidence. Yet the Aretine biographer already speaks of the manner "alquanto dura e crudetta" (somewhat hard and coarse) of Verrocchio's paintings and that he was helped more by study than by nature, a statement which might imply a reproach against the artist's lack of naturalness or his mannerisms. Vasari informs us that Verrocchio took up painting out of artistic ambition, but the work remained imperfect because the master was not gifted with persistence; he goes on to say that Verrocchio did not execute all the cartoons he made, which explains the abundance of workshop productions and paintings of his school to which we shall come shortly.

The genuine merits that Verrocchio possessed as a painter have been somewhat eclipsed not only by a comparison with the works of his more brilliant pupil, Leonardo, but also on account of the uncertainty in which we are placed regarding his pictorial production. Several critics, e. g. Morelli, have abandoned the subject as hopeless resigning themselves to the fact that, under the existing circumstances it is impossible ever to reveal the figure of Verrocchio as painter. I admit that the matter is rather equivocal but I think all the same that we can recognize a fairly homogeneous personality in Verrocchio the painter.

It must be granted, however, that the painter was very different from the sculptor and I do not think that he even attempted to reproduce in his pictures all the qualities of his plastic works, thus for example we do not find in one of his paintings those really beautiful hands which charm us in so many of his sculptures.

It would be difficult to say by whom Verrocchio was most influenced. A close contact in his youth with Donatello who, according to bygone writers, was his master, does not seem to me likely, besides there is a certain chronological objection because Donatello was but rarely in Florence after 1443. Moreover it has often been observed that on comparing their respective works Donatello's influence on Verrocchio is not at all evident; Verrocchio owes nothing or almost nothing to classical art and he did not possess the nervous temperament of Donatello. He was more christian in sentiment and manifests at times a stronger traditionalistic feeling. Some of his draperies, such as those we find in the terracotta Madonna in the National Museum, which is universally accepted as a work from his hand, have a slightly Gothic touch which connects him with quite another generation of artists. We find this element in many of his own works or those executed in his immediate surroundings but there is nothing in the productions of the previous generation of sculptors to justify our calling them the founders of Renaissance art. We find, however, the somewhat hard folds, resembling those of Verrocchio, in the works of Antonio Rossellino; moreover, as this sculptor was several years older than our artist, who, besides, was active as a goldsmith and probably not as a sculptor at the beginning of his career and as we find in Verrocchio's early plastic works those types with pointed features, which are characteristic of Antonio Rossellino, who in his turn might have borrowed this element from Desiderio da Settignano, I think it is here that we should search for the origin of Verrocchio's style in sculpture (<sup>1</sup>).

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(<sup>1</sup>) *This*, op. cit. p. 59. thinks that Desiderio da Settignano might quite possibly have been Verrocchio's master. *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 21, also speaks of Desiderio's influence on our artist.

It might be that in the treatment of the modelling, Antonio Pollaiuolo had a certain influence on Verrocchio, but these artists belonged to two different tendencies. In comparison with the impetuous and nervous Pollaiuolo who created energetic and rapidly moving figures with great manifestations of muscular force, Verrocchio appears to be very calm and solid. He apparently did not take great pleasure in the expression of muscular effort which seems to have captivated. Pollaiuolo, alongside whom we judge Verrocchio to have been a man of much tenderness, of great reserve and religiously inclined. He was certainly of quite another temperament and never aspired to produce works resembling those of Pollaiuolo (<sup>1</sup>).

In his last work, the Colleoni, there is more force and more movement but without any violence, and I think it quite likely that if Verrocchio had not died comparatively young, he would have attained a still greater power in the creation of force and life than is shown in his extant works. He was certainly not lacking in disposition and technical knowledge; his modelling is of a greater perfection than that of Pollaiuolo.

Regarding the question with whom Verrocchio learned his painting we have just as little and as uncertain information. In his compositions of the Virgin accompanied by angels, he sometimes approaches Fra Filippo Lippi but I do not agree with Herr Mackowsky that the type of his Madonnas derives from those of this artist. Nor am I of Mr. Berenson's opinion that an influence of Pesellino is very evident. I find sooner a more decided correspondence with the art of Domenico Veneziano who, besides, in some of his paintings shows us the Infant Jesus nude and standing as Verrocchio has depicted Him. The regularity of the features and the strong but subtle plastic effects are reminiscent of Domenico Veneziano with whom these points have much more in common than with the violent oppositions of Castagno. In the altar-piece formerly in the Uffizi, a production of Verrocchio's workshop, we notice a very striking resem-

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(<sup>1</sup>) Mr. *Berenson*, seems to infer that it was his incapacity which prevented him from creating works resembling those of Pollaiuolo.



blance with Domenico's Madonna between four saints in the same gallery.

Another painter who had a strong influence on Verrocchio was Baldovinetti. We have already seen that several paintings of Verrocchio's studio reproduce that composition of the Virgin adoring the Child which, although it derives from Fra Filippo, corresponds more closely with the representations by Baldovinetti.

Baldovinetti's paintings of the Madonna shown in half-length figure against a landscape background, such as those in the Louvre and in the Jacquemart André Museum, Paris, are, to my mind, those which bear most resemblance in type to Verrocchio's productions, although the landscapes are decidedly different. Instead of the birds-eye view that we find in Baldovinetti's works and also, but to a lesser degree, in Pollaiuolo's paintings, Verrocchio's show us landscapes of a very different nature which, as Mr. Berenson puts it: "convey more rapidly and unfailingly than nature would do, the consciousness of an unusually intense degree of well-being". Mr. Berenson continues that Verrocchio was "among Florentines at least the first to feel that a faithful reproduction of contour is not landscape, that the painting of nature is an art distinct from the painting of figure".

It is not entirely impossible that this difference which separates Verrocchio's landscapes from those of his predecessors is due to an early influence of Leonardo da Vinci. Already in the Baptism in the Uffizi, we discovered that part of the landscape has quite a different appearance from the rest and this piece of the painting seems in all likelihood to be by Leonardo. What makes the hypothesis all the more plausible is the fact that the characteristics of this sort of landscape are always more pronounced in the authentic works of the brilliant pupil than in those of the master. Besides the influence that Leonardo exercised on Verrocchio did not stop here, but gradually spread to other elements which Verrocchio was all the more ready to pick up since he himself was, as yet, still at an initial stage.

Some beautiful paintings which have been the subject of much controversy, some writers ascribing them to the

youthful Leonardo, others to Verrocchio, seem to me to be for the greater part the result of the influence that the pupil exercised on the master and this is most clearly manifest in the portrait in the Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna, and in the Annunciation in the Uffizi. Yet, when we compare the latter with Leonardo's youthful painting of the same subject in the Louvre, it is nevertheless obvious that these two representations, in spite of an evident resemblance, cannot be by the same artist and that the picture in Florence reflects another tendency and belongs to the art of a previous generation, which faint traces of innovations have only slightly altered.

It is perhaps a little exaggerated to say that Verrocchio was the master of the majority of Central Italian painters. He had, however, some pupils of great importance. Vasari mentions as such Pietro Perugino and Leonardo da Vinci who in turn played a considerable part in the artistic formation of Lorenzo di Credi, the official but rather boring pupil of Verrocchio for whom he acted in a certain sense as representative<sup>(1)</sup>. It was Credi who for long continued the artistic current launched by Verrocchio leaving away from it, however, all its life and charm. Gifted but lacking in temperament, he repeats the old formulae until everything that characterizes the work of the master entirely disappears.

Both Ghirlandaio and Botticelli at the beginning of their careers were strongly influenced by Verrocchio. These two artists, very different in character, can at one moment be classified as members of his school, but neither the one nor the other continued in this direction and in their more mature works it is no longer easy to recognize their Verrocchiesque origin. Cosimo Rosselli, Pier di Cosimo and Uccello da Faenza were subjected to the domination of Verrocchio as well as to that of many other masters, while the eclectic Botticini at one stage of his career reveals such a dependence on Verrocchio that I am convinced that he must have worked in his studio.

The number of anonymous painters who learned their art in Verrocchio's bottega or who were subjected to his influence is extremely great and their productions will be dealt with

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<sup>(1)</sup> v. *Holmes*, op. cit., for the connexion between master and pupil.

immediately but first I should like once more to ask the question can we possibly believe that such a considerable group of pupils, among whom some first class painters can be counted, was ever formed by Verrocchio, if he himself, as several critics suppose, was a sculptor who, but rarely and more as a pastime, was tempted to take up the brush and executed only a few vague paintings, two or three of which still exist? This seems impossible. Verrocchio, it must be granted, was more of a sculptor than a painter, but that he actually was a painter is confirmed by the number of his apprentices, by certain documents and by some ancient texts, such for example as the writings of the painter Giovanni Santi, who, shortly after Verrocchio's death, speaks with great praise of his paintings.

The pupils whom Verrocchio left behind him in the field of sculpture, are neither in number nor in quality so important as his adherents in painting. I am not, however, going to deal with the sculptors who can be classified in his school, nor with the very numerous anonymous plastic works that belong to the Verrocchiesque group. Among Verrocchio's pupils in sculpture Vasari mentions Nanni and Niccolo Grosso, as well as Francesco di Simone <sup>(1)</sup> from whose hand we have a considerable number of sculptures, including almost certainly the two reliefs of the death of Francesca Tornabuoni in the National Museum, Florence, and also Agnolo di Polo, best known for the bust of Christ in the Liceo Forteguerri, Pistoia, which has been very frequently copied <sup>(2)</sup>.

In the following list I enumerate the principle paintings of Verrocchio's school that are known to me:

*Avignon*, Calvet Museum, No. 413, Madonna enthroned holding the Child on her knee.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Venturi*, Francesco di Simone, *Archiv. stor. dell' Arte*, V, 1892, p. 371.

<sup>(2)</sup> A number of reliefs of the Madonna and other plastic works of Verrocchio's school are reproduced in Mackowsky's monograph. In the museum of Berlin we find many productions of his school.

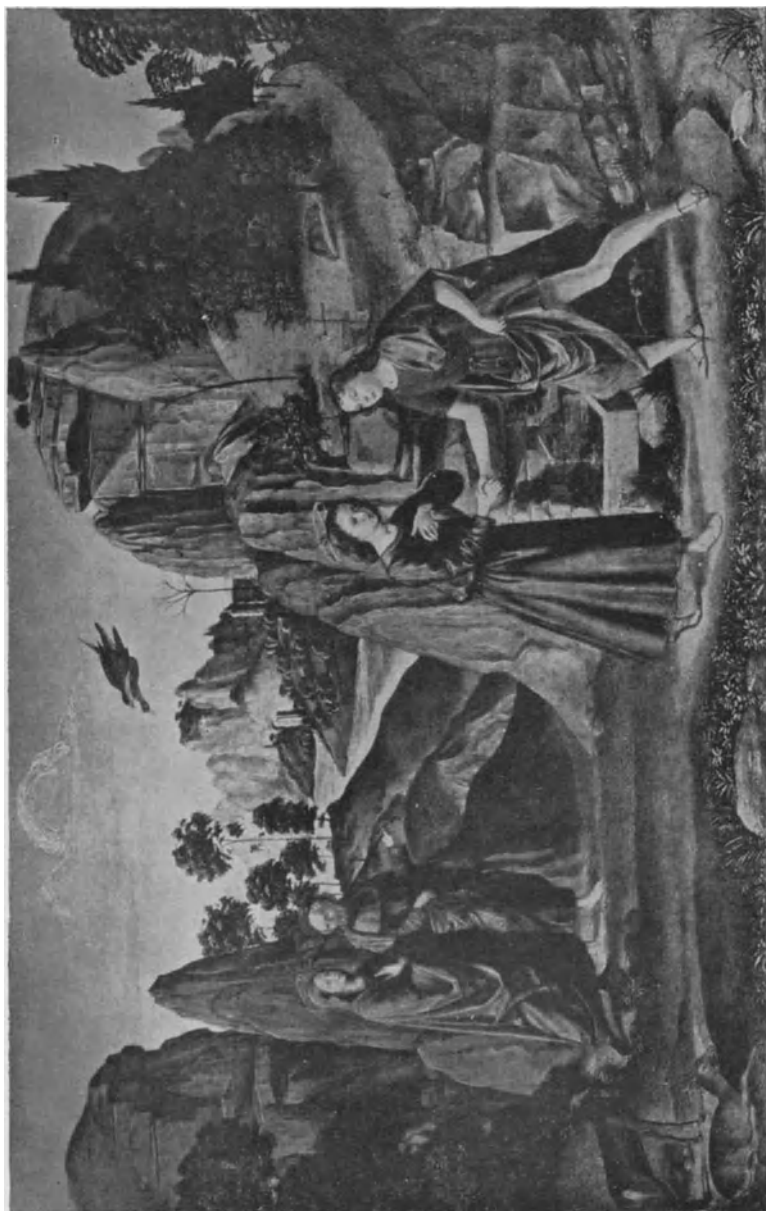


Fig. 343. School of Verrocchio, Meeting of Jesus and the Baptist.  
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

*Berlin*, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 93, the youthful Christ followed by His parents meeting St. John the Baptist in a rocky landscape (fig. 343); this painting has been attributed to Pier di Cosimo, to the young Ghirlandaio and to Jacopo del Sellaio (<sup>1</sup>).

*Boston*, Gardner collection, the Virgin with the Child Who is supported by the small St. John; it is close to Botticini but does not seem to be by him.

*Brooklyn*, Babbot collection, the Virgin adoring the Child in a hilly landscape.

*Brussels*, van Gelder collection, Madonna and Child, very similar to Verrocchio's picture in New York (fig. 344).

*Budapest*, Gallery, No. 59 (1386), Madonna and Child between SS. Peter the Martyr, a bishop, Catherine of Siena kneeling, Dominic and James, while two angels hold a crown over the Virgin's head; it is the same picture which, according to Vasari, Verrocchio executed for the church of S. Domenico del Maglio, Florence (<sup>2</sup>); it is very close to Botticini.

*Dornach (Scotland)*, Rothermere collection, half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child on her knee.

*Düsseldorf*, Gallery, No. 1280, Madonna attired in white seated on a mandorla borne by a circle of angels and cherubim (<sup>3</sup>).

*Ezstergom (Hungary)*, Archiepiscopal collection, tondo, the Virgin seated with the nude Child on her knee, in a circle of red cherubim.

*Florence*, For sale about 1915, Madonna enthroned between SS. John the Baptist and Nicholas of Bari.

For sale 1920, Virgin in full face, holding on her knee the

(<sup>1</sup>) *H. Mackowsky*, Jahrb. f. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XX, 1899, p. 197.

(<sup>2</sup>) Reprod. in *Etruria Pittrice*, I, Florence, 1791, p. 177, pl. XVI, as by Verrocchio. *Kühnel*, op. cit., ascribes it to a "Compagno of Botticini". *Mackowsky*, op. cit., to Botticini. *Müller-Walde*, op. cit., to Verrocchio. *G. v. Terev*, Die Gemälde Galerie des Museums f. Bildende Künste in Budapest, I, Berlin, 1910, p. 45, to Verrocchio's workshop. *B. Berenson* Catalogue of the Johnson coll., p. 36, to Uti. *Sirón*, op. cit., p. 23, to the school of Verrocchio. *A. Chiappelli*, op. cit., Bolletino d'Arte, 1925, p. 60, to Verrocchio. *C. de Francovich*, Benedetto Ghirlandaio, Dedalo, VI, 1926, p. 723, attributes it to this painter.

(<sup>3</sup>) *R. Klopheck*, Der Kunstsamml. der Stl. Kunstakademie zu Düsseldorf, Düsseldorf, 1928, p. 34.



Fig. 344. School of Verrocchio, Madonna. van Gelder Collection, Brussels. Child Who rests His head against her and bestows a blessing; the landscape in the background is visible between columns.

Spinelli collection, sold in *Milan* 11<sup>th</sup> — 14<sup>th</sup> June 1928, No. 129 of the catalogue of the sale, Christ on the Cross between SS. Francis and Jerome.

*London*, National Gallery, No. 2508, Madonna and Child



Fig. 345. School of Verrocchio, Madonna and angels.  
National Gallery, London.

held by two angels: a very fine painting quite near the master  
(fig. 345).

Ex-Benson collection, No. 23, Madonna with the Child Who

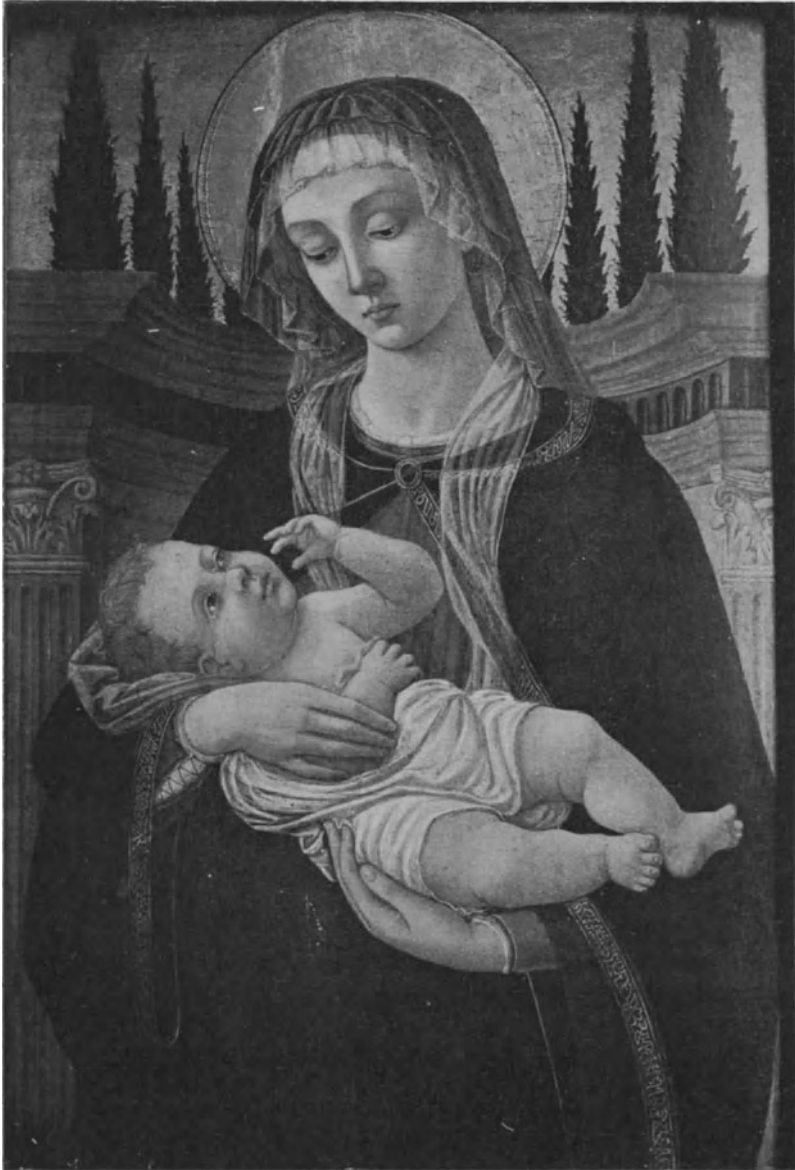


Fig. 346. School of Verrocchio. Breasted Collection, London.  
grasps a bird, standing on a cushion on her knee; the infant  
St. John stands close by.

Collection of the Earl of Crawford, two cassone fronts



showing the Rape of the Sabines and the peace between the Romans and the Sabines; the coats of arms point to the date 1465, when a marriage united the Davanzati and Redditi families (1). The scenes are composed of numerous small figures and reveal as well an influence of Antonio Pollaiuolo.

Harris collection, a female saint holding a book and a palm-leaf, perhaps St. Catherine of Alexandria (2).

Lord Breasted's collection, Madonna and Child (fig. 346).

*Milan*, Manfrin sale, 1897, No. 50, Virgin and Child and a tiny angel.

*Nancy*, Gallery, tondo with a mediocre painting of the Madonna and Child with a landscape visible through the window.

*Nantes*, Gallery, No. 191, Madonna and Child with two angels by a distant follower of Verrocchio.

*Newhaven, U.S.A.*, Yale University, Jarves collection, No. 51, Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John against a landscape in which a town is visible; it is distantly connected with Verrocchio (3).

*New York*, Auction sale, American Art Association, February 1921, No. 17, an unimportant picture of the Madonna nursing the Child and the small St. John.

*Paris*, Louvre, No. 11657, Madonna with the Child standing in a niche and a small adorer while two angels hold flowers, two adore and two make music (fig. 347).

Jacquemart André Museum, No. 763, Madonna on a throne which forms a niche in a wall holding the naked Child, between the Baptist, a young martyr, St. Sebastian, and St. Peter, approaching Botticelli's early manner (fig. 348); No. 1032, against the background of a wall over which the tops of some trees

(1) *Schubring*, op. cit., Nos. 208, 299. *The Same*, Burlington Magazine, March 1913.

(2) From the Northesk collection. At the Exhibition of Florentine art before 1500, held at the Burlington Club, London, in 1900, this picture was exhibited as No. 37 and was attributed to Bartolommeo di Giovanni v. *Fry*, Burlington Magazine, XXIX, 1916, p. 3.

(3) *Sirén*, Descriptive Catalogue, No. 137, attributes this picture to "Pseudo-Verrocchio" an immediate follower of Andrea's, to whom he ascribes also the two Madonnas in Berlin and the Tobias with the angel in the National Gallery. He has obviously changed his mind since then.



Fig. 347. School of Verrocchio, Madonna. St. John and angels, Louvre.

Photo Archiv, fotogr. d'art et d'hist.

appear, the seated Virgin, shown in profile, adores the Child on her knee Who is supported by one of the two angels depicted to the sides; No. 1050, a half-length figure of the

Virgin holding the Infant Who stands on a cushion on a low wall; the painting is somewhat damaged but it is very near to Verrocchio to whom the catalogue ascribes it.

Sambon sale, May 1914, No. 221, Madonna, Child and two



Fig. 348. School of Verrocchio, Madonna and Saints. Jacquemart André Museum, Paris.

Photo Bulloz.

angels with St. Michael weighing souls and slaying the dragon.

Rome, ex-Nevin collection, sold in Rome April 1907, No. 30 of the sale catalogue, Madonna and the small St. John adoring the Child against a landscape background; No. 136, the Virgin adoring the Infant Christ in a landscape; No. 319, half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child, Who is supported by an angel, on her knee.

Ferroni sale, April 1909, the Virgin before a niche holding the Child Christ Who stands on a little wall which is adorned with fruit; only the head of St. John is visible (1).

Paolini collection, against a landscape the Madonna is shown seated adoring the Child on her knee, Who is held by an angel, a cherub appears above. This picture formed No. 103 of the Paolini sale which took place in New York in December 1924.

*Urbino*, Gallery, canvas of the Madonna and Child Who touches His Mother; it is not without elements borrowed from Fra Filippo Lippi.

*Vienna*, Lanckoronski collection, seated Madonna holding the nude Child upright against a landscape background; it is attributed to Piero della Francesca.

Sax sale, 4<sup>th</sup> December 1894, No. 40, Christ on the Cross between SS. John the Baptist, Jerome, Paul, Francis and other figures (2).

Of the drawings of Verrocchio's school, I shall mention in the first place those which comprise the so-called Verrocchio sketchbook and which were once attributed to Verrocchio himself (3). Morelli (4) judged them to be very inferior to the

(1) *Reinach*, Repertoire de peintures, IV, p. 470.

(2) Paintings wrongly attributed to the school of Verrocchio are: **Paris**, Louvre, No. 1367a, Madonna with the Child on her knee, a landscape visible through the window; Mr. Berenson and I give it to Piero Pollaiuolo. v. previous chapter; to the school of Verrocchio it is ascribed by *Frizzoni*, *L'Arte*, IX, 1906, p. 405 and *Jacobsen*, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XXV, 1902, p. 195; the catalogue proposes Mainardi as the master. **Dresden**, Gallery, Madonna, Child and St. John, which is by Lorenzo di Credi and not a production of the school of Verrocchio as *Thiis*, op. cit., p. 125, believes. **Berlin**, Museum, No. 72, Coronation of the Virgin which is by Botticini v. *Kühnel*, op. cit., p. 5; it is described in the catalogue as a work of Verrocchio's school. **Milan**, Poldi Pezzoli Gallery, No. 581, Madonna, Child and angel which is attributed to Verrocchio, might be by Benedetto Ghirlandaio, v. *Franco*, op. cit.

(3) *Ph. de Chennevières*, Gazette des Beaux Arts, XIX, 1879, p. 505. *Ch. Ephrussi*, idem, XX, p. 309 and 1882, p. 231. *Bode*, op. cit., Jahrb. f. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., III, 1882. *The Same*, Ital. Bildhauer. *Lippmann*, Zeichnungen alter Meister, pp. 116—117.

(4) *Morelli*, Ital. Painters, Munich and Dresden, p. 271 note.

master's own work and was of opinion that they were from the hand of a mediocre sculptor. Since then Herr Gronau, helped to a certain extent by the hand-writing on some of the pages, has established that these sketches are by Francesco di Simone, the pupil of Verrocchio<sup>(1)</sup> and with this conclusion everyone now agrees<sup>(2)</sup>. The sheets are scattered among different collections; the Louvre possess eleven of them, most of them acquired with the His de la Salle bequest; there are eight in the Condé Museum, Chantilly, which come from the Reiset and Durroveray collections; two, from the Galichon collection, entered the British Museum, while the others are found one in the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris, one in the Print Room, Berlin, one in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, one in the museum of Dijon, one in the Uffizi and one in the museum of Lille<sup>(3)</sup> (figs. 349, 350).

The date 1487 is inscribed twice on the sheets at Chantilly but the figure 1489 is not a date but a sum of money which has to be paid. On the page in Hamburg we find reference to two putti by Verrocchio and in fact the entire series, although from the hand of not a very brilliant draughtsman, is interesting because it shows us the work of an artist in the immediate vicinity of Verrocchio. Subjects of a religious nature predominate: there is in particular a very large number of studies of the Infant Jesus, of St. John as a child and of putti or little angels, all nude and in a great diversity of attitudes. There are only a few Madonnas, but we find many saints draped in togas and numerous sketches of horses often mounted by knights. The architectonic features depicted on these sheets seem to have served chiefly for the representation of tabernacles framing sculptures of the Madonna in half-length figure; on one page we see a complete sketch of this composition with an angel to one side. There are also some nudes, some figures of Christ on the Cross and some of

(1) *G. Gronau*, Das sogenannte Skizzenbuch des Verrocchio. Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., 1896, p. 65.

(2) *Mackowsky*, op. cit., p. 91. *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 201. *Berenson*, Drawings, I, p. 35 note; *Revue de l'Art*, June 1922.

(3) Of the sketches in the Louvre, at Chantilly and in the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris, there exist photographs by Braun and Giraudon.



Fig. 349. Francesco di Simone, Drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.



Fig. 350. Francesco di Simone, Drawing. Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris.  
Photo Braun.

St. Sebastian, some sketches of trees, a group of knights in combat, a drawing of Verrocchio's David, and a study of one of the angels that Desiderio da Settignano executed for the Cardinal of Portugal.



Fig. 351. Francesco di Simone, Drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.



Many of the figures are treated in a very schematic manner with the principal contours alone indicated and, as I have already had occasion to remark in speaking of Antonio Pollaiuolo, several of the sketches have been borrowed from works by this master, such for example as two sheets in the Louvre showing St. Sebastian and an archer, and Hercules slaying the Hydra, which corresponds more closely with Robetta's engraving of this subject; and the drawing at Chantilly of the Rape of Deianira which, however, is somewhat different from the picture at Newhaven. Herr Mackowsky has observed that certain of these sketches reveal a knowledge of works of art existing in Venice, from which he supposes that Francesco di Simone may have accompanied Verrocchio to this town. As is often the case with minor artists, here too, the drawings, although almost all the figures lack modelling, show us Francesco di Simone under the most favourable aspect.

There are certainly other sketches from his hand and in spite of the difference in quality which Mr. Berenson observes, I think we should hold Francesco di Simone responsible for a sheet showing on one side some schematic studies of nudes, a little St. John and two putti (fig. 351) and on the verso the reclining figure of a nude woman, a nude man seen from behind and an eagle<sup>(1)</sup>, as well as for the drawings of three putti, one seated, the two others with their feet on a globe and above a combat of knights (fig. 352), and the page with a considerable number of figures (some attired as antique warriors) helmets, some presons in rather extraordinary costumes, the study of an arch and some little decorative friezes, which sketches, all preserved in the Uffizi, might have served for some feast, like those mentioned in the inventory of 1496, which Verrocchio prepared for the joust organized by Lorenzo de' Medici in honour of Galeazzo Maria Sforza<sup>(2)</sup>. Both sheets are in the Uffizi.

Fairly close to Francesco di Simone's drawings but of a much finer quality are two sketches in the Uffizi, both without any doubt from the same hand; one represents the

(1) *Berenson*, Drawings, I, p. 39; II, No. 2787.

(2) Photo Cipriani. 4132, 4133.



Fig. 352. Francesco di Simone, Drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.

head of a child seen almost in full face, the other, the head of a woman, two heads of children, two studies of the mouth and chin of a child and a hand which is almost invisible (fig. 354). On the former sheet we find as well the profile of an old man and on the verso a woman half nude with a cornucopia on a sea-god while on the verso of the other leaf there are various sketches but all these are from another



Fig. 353. School of Verrocchio, Drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.

hand<sup>(1)</sup>. From the marked relief effect on these two drawings one would say that they are the work of a sculptor. Mr. Berenson believes that the same artist executed a little drawing showing above, the Virgin in profile and two putti one of

(<sup>1</sup>) Photos Braun, 77165, 77166. *Berenson. Drawings*, Nos. 2785, 2786, calls the man's profile Ghirlandaiesque and judges the sketches on the verso of No. 2786 to be from the hand of Pierfrancesco Fiorentino.



Fig. 354. School of Verrocchio, Drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Braun.

which is held by a woman of whom only the head in full face and one arm are visible; I do not think that it is of quite the same quality<sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> Photo Brogi, 1711. *Berenson, Drawings*, No. 2789.

A very fine drawing executed I should say in Verrocchio's immediate surrounding, passed from the von Beckerath collection, Berlin, to the Print Room of the same town<sup>(1)</sup>. It depicts the head of an angel looking upwards and has been pricked for transferring. Herr Mackowsky draws our attention to the resemblance which exists between this drawing and the Madonna with angels, a production of Verrocchio's workshop, in the National Gallery, London, because not only does this head, except for the position, correspond with one of the angels in the picture, but on the verso of the sheet there is another head, unfortunately cut at the level of the mouth, which closely resembles the angel which forms the pendant.

On a sheet, cut almost diagonally in the Uffizi, there is a drawing of Venus reclining, her head in her hand, and close by a Cupid with bow and arrows<sup>(2)</sup> which I find of poor technique and feeble composition; Venus rests her elbow on the box containing Cupid's arrows.

A very beautiful drawing in black chalk representing a putto, of which unfortunately only the torso and legs are preserved, is found in the Ricketts and Shannon collection, London<sup>(3)</sup>.

In Verrocchio's school should, I think, be placed a drawing in the Uffizi, representing twice the same young person with curly hair, once in the attire of an antique warrior and once nude, in both cases holding a banner and a shield. As Mr. Berenson observes there exists a pennon-bearer in the collection of Lord Rosebery, which seems decidedly by Lorenzo di Credi and for which these two studies apparently served. Because of this, Mr. Berenson is inclined to ascribe to Credi also the two sketches in the Uffizi. To the same master he

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Berenson*, No. 2784, school of Verrocchio. *Hildebrandt*, op. cit., fig. 242, Verrocchio. *Ch. Loeser*, La collection Beckerath au Cabinet d'Estampes de Berlin, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XXIX, 1903, p. 54.

<sup>(2)</sup> Photo Brogi, 1615. *Cruttwell*, op. cit., p. 56, seems to be of the opinion that it is a drawing from Verrocchio's own hand, also in the Drawings of the R. Gallery of the Uffizi, I, it is ascribed to Verrocchio. *Berenson*, Drawings, No. 2788, classifies it as a production of Verrocchio's school.

<sup>(3)</sup> Vasari Society, III, No. 2.

attributes a pen-drawing of the Madonna and Child and a study for a piece of goldsmith work in the Uffizi (<sup>1</sup>); the former obviously corresponds with Credi's Madonna between two saints in the Louvre; yet as Mr. Berenson himself remarks, these sketches are executed with more spirit than is generally found in Credi's works.

Of scientific studies of equestrian proportions belonging to the school of Verrocchio, we find an example in the Print Room of Munich on which the measurements of one of the bronze horses of S. Marco, Venice, are indicated (<sup>2</sup>). A similar drawing once belonged to the Earl of Pembroke (<sup>3</sup>). The human body was also studied in the same scientific manner by Verrocchio's adherents as is proved by three sketches in Christ Church, Oxford, which, however, show only a very distant connexion with the master's art (<sup>4</sup>).

A very fine drawing which must have been executed in Verrocchio's immediate surroundings and which in the less skilful parts is reminiscent of Francesco di Simone, once belonged to Lord Brownlow. One side shows the Virgin kneeling, St. Peter, small personifications of Faith and Charity and a putto, while a St. Sebastian, studies for a Madonna and Child and some angels are depicted on the verso (<sup>5</sup>).

Also in Verrocchio's vicinity were executed some studies of drapery for kneeling or standing figures which are preserved in the Uffizi and in the Louvre and which have all been attributed to Leonardo (<sup>6</sup>).

In the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, there are two sheets, one with a bishop and some heads, the other with studies of a head and some figures which seem to have

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(<sup>1</sup>) Photo Brogi, 1471. *Berenson*, Drawings, No. 684.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Morelli*, Ital. Painters in German Galleries, p. 89, "Verrocchio, Leopardi or some other sculptor of that time".

(<sup>3</sup>) Collection sold by public auction in 1917 v. *Burlington Magazine*, XXX, 1917, p. 249, where it is attributed to Pollaiuolo.

(<sup>4</sup>) *Bell*, op. cit., p. 92.

(<sup>5</sup>) Sold by public auction in London (Sotheby), July 1926, No. 17 of the sale catalogue.

(<sup>6</sup>) Photos Brogi, 1877, 1870. Braun, 63182. *Berenson*, Drawings, 2790, 2792, 2801.

been inspired by the altar-piece at Pistoia, unless we can look upon these sketches as the original rough draughts for this picture (1). There are still some drawings which can be associated with Verrocchio's art but it would be useless to give a detailed description of these works (2).

Lastly, like Pollaiuolo, Verrocchio too exercised an influence on certain engravers, an influence, however, very much less extensive than that of Pollaiuolo.

In the National Library, Paris, there is an engraving in the fine manner of the angel Gabriel which closely resembles that in the picture of Tobias and the three archangels in the Uffizi and Herr Mackowsky, who reproduces this engraving (3), believes that we are dealing here with a fragment of a plate which represented the entire composition. This is rendered all the more probable by the presence of a little piece of Tobias' cloak which we see to one side; but the chief difference between the archangel of the engraving and that of the picture is found in the inscription "*Ava Maria Gratia Plena*" which has been added to the print and which gives the figure sooner the appearance of the celestial messenger of an Annunciation.

An engraving, in which a strong influence of Verrocchio is noticeable in the forms although the movements are rather violent to have been borrowed from this artistically serene master, is that in the broad manner representing St. George slaying the dragon before an enormous Roman arch in three

(1) Vasari Society, VII, Nos. 3 and 4.

(2) They are: **Paris**, Louvre, drawing of a tabernacle with the dead Christ supported by two angels and four saints. **London**, Victoria and Albert Museum, sketch of a cup with three female figures and angels; it appears to be of later date and might have been designed after a Verrocchiesque work. **Stockholm**, National Museum, two men, one sitting on a high chair, the other looking from a window at a rider on a refractory horse, a St. John the Baptist, two male heads, a fragment of a woman and a child seated. I do not remember these drawings sufficiently well to pronounce a judgment but they are attributed to Verrocchio's manner by *O. Sirén*, *Italienska Handteckningar* etc., i Nationalmuseums, Stockholm (1917), p. 17.

(3) *Mackowsky*, op. cit., fig. 69.



Fig. 355. St George slaying the dragon, Print made under Verrocchio's influence. British Museum.

divisions, inspired by that of Constantine in Rome, while the princess, in a sprightly manner moves towards the right; the dragon is superb and terrifying, the knight and his mount vigorous and full of spirit. The only known copy of this plate is preserved in the British Museum (fig. 355) <sup>(1)</sup>. Although

<sup>(1)</sup> *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., B III 11.



the outstanding influence here is that of Verrocchio, there are as well certain elements which betray a knowledge of Botticelli's art.

Verrocchio's domination, although less marked, can also be recognized in an engraving in the fine manner of the Resurrection, of which again there exists only one example in the British Museum. Christ is shown between four angels raised above His tomb on which an angel is seated; the four soldiers

lying on the ground are seen waking up; the shield of the soldier in the foreground to the right is adorned with three plumes passing through a ring, one of the badges of the Medici.



Fig. 356. Venus and Cupids. Niello made under Verrocchio's influence. British Museum

Verrocchio's influence is manifest to the same degree in an engraving of the conversion of St. Paul: in a rocky landscape in which we see several buildings and a large number of rapidly moving figures; Christ surrounded by angels appears in a mandorla. It is a large engraving in the fine

manner, the only known example of which is preserved in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg (<sup>1</sup>).

In the National Museum, Florence, there is a niello of the conversion of St. Paul which shows many analogies to this print.

In many other Florentine engravings of the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century we can discover elements which seem to have been borrowed from Verrocchio but they invariably intermingle with details which derive from other artists, from which we gather that their authors were of a decidedly eclectic nature.

(<sup>1</sup>) *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., A II 8, school of Finiguerra. *Horne* ascribed it to a Florentine artist influenced by Uccello and Pollaiuolo.

The prints of Robetta offer us a striking example because they show an incredible mixture of elements of very different origin. His works in which Verrocchio's influence is most evident are an Adoration of the Magi and a Madonna and Child seated in a landscape <sup>(1)</sup>.

Verrocchio's influence can also be discovered in some niello prints, for example those in the British Museum representing Venus between three cupids (fig. 356), Cupid with bow and arrow, and two cupids near a fountain. Impressions of the two first works are found as well in the collection of Baron E. de Rothschild who possesses still a third, apparently belonging to the same series and representing a little personification of Fortune <sup>(2)</sup>.

In the same collection we find still impressions from niello work of Venus seated in the midst of four cupids, two cupids blowing on trumpets, two other amorous trumpeters sitting on the border of a fountain on the upper part of which a third is depicted. This series of prints is not of such a fine technique as that in which the foregoing set is executed.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Hind and Colvin*, op. cit., D II 6 and 8.

<sup>(2)</sup> Brit. Mus., 1861-7-13, 1842-8-6-2, 1845-8-25-152 (D 227) *Colvin*, Picture Chronicle, XLV and p. 32.

## CHAPTER VI

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### COSIMO ROSSELLI, ZANOBI MACHIAVELLI, GIUSTO DI ANDREA AND FRA DIAMANTE

Cosimo Rosselli<sup>(1)</sup> was born in 1439 in the via del Comcomero in Florence and in 1453 became one of the numerous students of Neri di Bicci whom he left however in 1456, that is to say the year Benozzo Gozzoli came to Florence and it is highly likely that during a certain length of time Cosimo worked with this artist.

The question of whether he accompanied Benozzo to Pisa has even arisen, but I do not think we have any sufficiently affirmative proof of this hypothesis<sup>(2)</sup>.

The earliest dated work from his hand is of 1471. Apparently he was in Florence in 1476 because it was probably at this time that he executed the fresco in the cloister of the Sma. Annunziata church.

The great moment in his career was in 1482 when he worked with Botticelli, Ghirlandaio and Perugino in the Sistine chapel. The decoration was contracted for on the 27<sup>th</sup> October 1481 and on the 15<sup>th</sup> August 1483, when the chapel was consecrated, it appears likely that the entire ornamentation was completed. In connexion with Cosimo's activity in the Sistine chapel, Vasari relates that the artist, conscious of his inferiority, tried to embellish his frescoes by employing very brilliant colours and much gold and although his colleagues judged his frescoes to be of great mediocrity and treated them with scorn, the pontiff who, according to

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, III *Gayz*, Carteggio, II, p. 457. *F. Knapp*, *Pier di Cosimo*, Halle, 1897, p. 9. *G. Gronau*, *Über die frühere Thätigkeit des C. R.*, *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1897, p. 70. *J. Cartwright*, *The Painters of Florence*, p. 177.

<sup>(2)</sup> *I. B. Supino*. *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, 1893, p. 421.



Fig. 357. Cosimo Rosselli?, the Calvary. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Photo Aman.

the Aretine biographer, was not a connoisseur, was so charmed by the splendour of the paintings that he declared that it was Cosimo who had best succeeded in his task, the result being that the other painters hastened to add gay colours and gilt also to their frescoes. Needless to say we cannot place much confidence in this little anecdote.

In 1485 we find Cosimo in Florence, working in the church of S. Ambrogio; in 1491 he was a member of the artistic commission which had to decide about the restoration of the façade of Sta. Maria del Fiore (1) and in 1496 he was requested to estimate the fresco that Baldovinetti had executed in Sta. Trinita. Cosimo made his will in 1506 and we gather that his industrious life procured him a certain well-being; he died in January 1507 and was buried in the church of Sta. Croce.

He had a wife and a natural son called Giuliano who became an architect. His father Lorenzo and his uncle Jacopo were masons and of his three brothers one, Clemente was a painter and another, Francesco a painter and miniaturist. Cosimo was the friend of the sculptor Benedetto da Maiano whose executor he was appointed in 1497.

Vasari informs us that the painter Agnolo di Donnino was a friend of Cosimo's and that he, Vasari, possessed a portrait of Cosimo which had been sketched by Agnolo; but Vasari also tells us that Cosimo died in 1484 and that he had spent all his fortune in experimenting in alchemy, statements, which, as we have seen, are both incorrect.

Among the works which can be attributed to Cosimo there is not one which reveals a strong influence of Neri di Bicci with whom besides he worked only from his 14<sup>th</sup> till his 17<sup>th</sup> year.

Still in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (No. 953, fig. 357), there is a picture of the Calvary which I imagine might be a youthful work of Cosimo Rosselli, who, although already in contact with Benozzo Gozzoli, had retained something of the manner of Neri di Bicci. From the former he certainly borrowed the rocky landscape and the stiff trees

(1) *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, IV, p. 308; V, p. 11.



Fig. 358. Cosimo Rosselli, the dead Redeemer and adoring saints.  
Private Collection.

against the horizon, features which can be traced back to Fra Angelico. The type of Christ and that of the torturer by his side derive from the same source. There is, however, a certain stiffness visible in the figure of the torturer be-

hind Christ and in the one who turns away his head, as well as in the traits of the Virgin, which recalls the decadent manner of Neri di Bicci. The attribution of this picture to a youthful stage in Cosimo's career is quite hypothetical.

I am more certain of the attribution to Cosimo of a painting of the dead Christ half risen from His tomb which belonged to the von Nemes collection, Munich (fig. 358) <sup>(1)</sup>. Before the coffin kneel SS. Bernardine, Francis, Jerome and Mary Magdalene; the last mentioned figure is very typical of Cosimo. In the background we see a beautiful landscape with a town, a lake, the Calvary, some pilgrims and some herds of animals. The landscape here is more pleasing and treated with a greater artistic comprehension than that in the previous picture. The draperies are somewhat hard and primitive; some of the heads, that for instance of Christ Himself, reveals a strong influence of Benozzo Gozzoli.

Another work of Cosimo's in which this influence, although less evident, is all the same visible, is a Descent from the Cross with many figures, including the group of the swooning Virgin, in a landscape with a good effect of distance which not many years ago was acquired by the Fine Arts Museum, Boston (fig. 359) <sup>(2)</sup>; although this work appears to be less primitive than the two other paintings, it is doubtless anterior to the earliest dated production we have by Cosimo Rosselli which is of 1471.

This picture, which is preserved in the gallery of Berlin (No. 59a) <sup>(3)</sup>, represents St. Anna on an elaborate architectural throne with the Virgin who holds on her knee the Infant Christ Who bestows a blessing; to the sides stand SS. Michael with the dragon, Catherine, Mary Magdalene and Francis. The date is inscribed below (fig. 360). The central figures, that of the Virgin in particular, still show the influence of Benozzo Gozzoli.

<sup>(1)</sup> No. 13 of the catalogue of the sale which took place at Amsterdam on the 13<sup>th</sup>—14<sup>th</sup> November 1928, when this picture was ascribed to the Florentine school of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>(2)</sup> Museum Bulletin, Oct. 1922.

<sup>(3)</sup> I saw it recently in the store-room of the new Schloss Museum, Berlin.

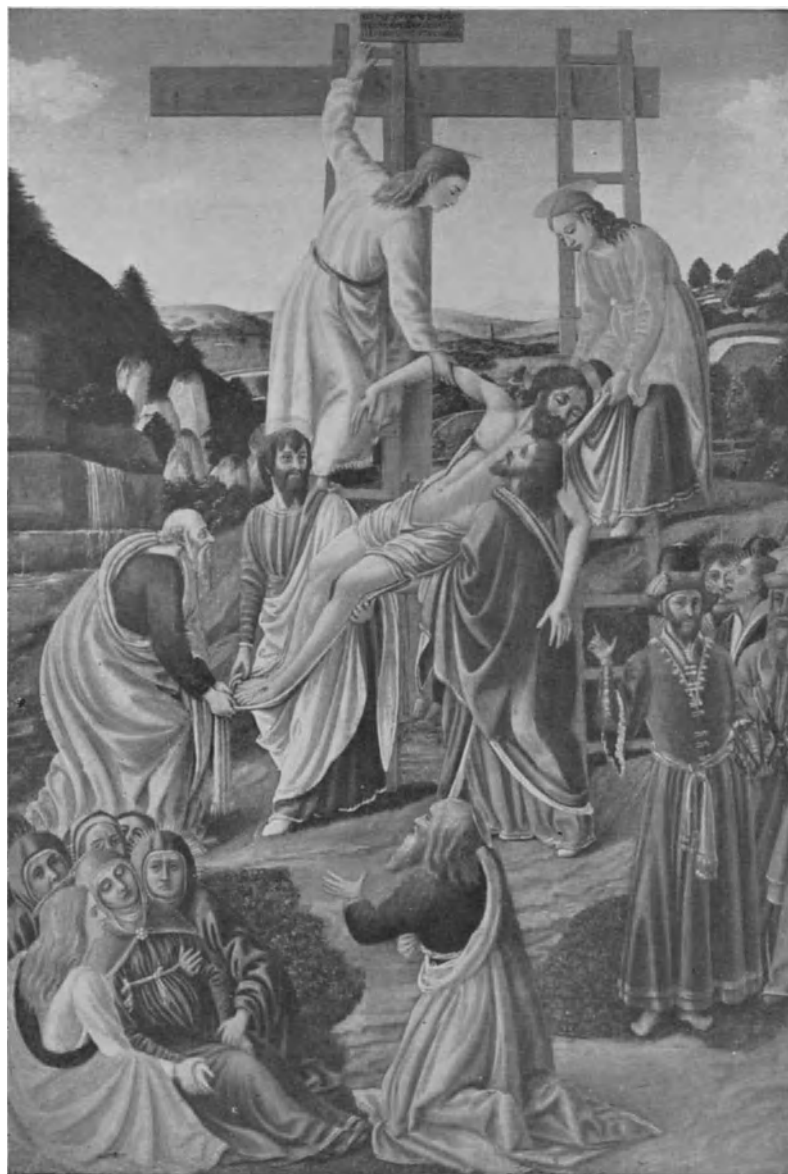


Fig. 359. Cosimo Rosselli, the Descent from the Cross.  
Fine Arts Museum, Boston.



Another picture by Cosimo bearing the date 1473 is found in the Louvre (No. 1656); it depicts the Annunciation between SS. John the Baptist, Antony Abbot, Catherine and Peter the Martyr (fig. 361). The four saints are portrayed before



Fig. 360. Cosimo Rosselli, *St. Anna, Madonna and Saints*, 1471.  
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

shell-shaped niches on a marble tiled floor; there is besides a little picture of the Crucified, below which we see the date.

The background to the figures of the Annunciation is composed of the courtyard of a house in the Florentine style of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and a tiny corner of a garden with only half of the top of a rigid palm-tree visible. The angelic messenger bends one knee while the Virgin kneels on a

stool. This painting, which in the Louvre is still ascribed to the Florentine school, has, following Mr. Berenson's example, been unanimously accepted as a work by Cosimo Rosselli. Yet it is interesting to note that in the Campana collection

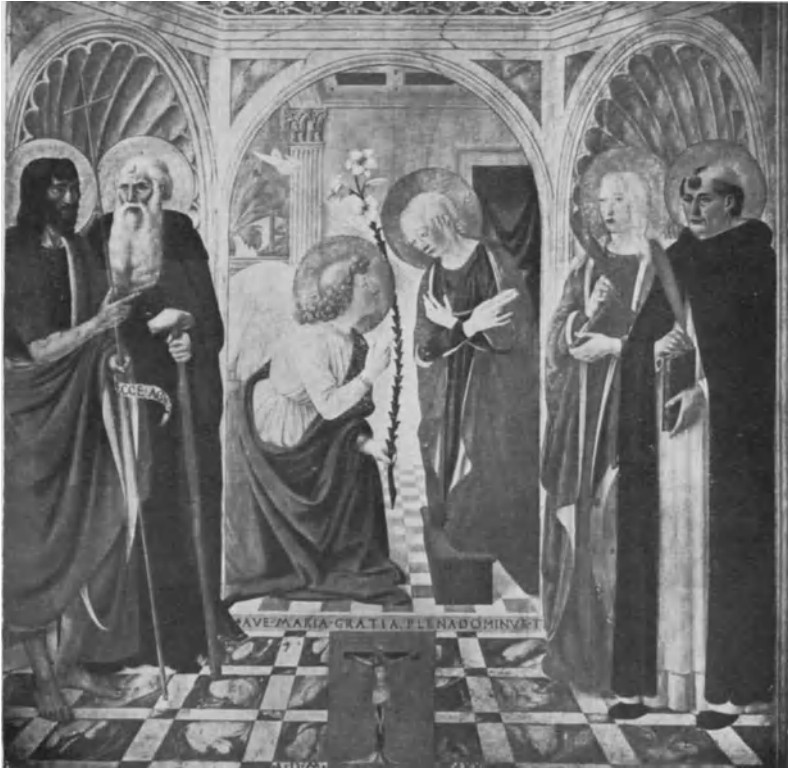


Fig. 361. Cosimo Rosselli, the Annunciation and saints, 1473.

Louvre, Paris.

Photo Arch. d'art et d'hist.

it passed as a production of Benozzo Gozzoli; but this is quite comprehensible because this artist's domination, although less marked than in the earliest works, is still very obvious in this painting, as it was also in the previous picture. However, in the figures here, with their more pronounced forms, better plastic effects and heavy drapery we can discern the early traces of an influence other than that of Benozzo, an influence to which the skilful but impersonal Cosimo gradually became

more subjected, namely that of Verrocchio. I should even say that in the angel of the Annunciation and in the head of St. Peter the Martyr in the picture in the Louvre, this domination is already fairly evident.

The same tendency, more pronounced but treated in a more experimental manner, is manifest in an important picture of St. Barbara, with tower and palm leaf, standing on the vanquished Marsianus between SS. John the Baptist and Matthew which Vasari describes as in the Servi church but which is now in the Accademia, Florence (No. 8636, fig. 362). The inscription at the foot of the panel informs us that the work was executed for some persons of German nationality. The background is formed by a low wall in which an architectural throne is built; the two angels who hold the withdrawn curtain are thoroughly Verrocchiesque in style, as indeed is also the abundant drapery which, however, is treated in an unskilful and unpleasing manner. The influence of Verrocchio is noticeable also in the hands of the two saints; the head of St. Barbara on the other hand shows more connexion with the art of Piero Pollaiuolo.

These elements are much more harmoniously expressed in the fresco of St. Filippo Benizzi in the court of the Sma. Annunziata, Florence. To the left we see the young saint kneeling almost nude receiving from the monks the white robe of the Virgin and to the right he is shown praying in a chapel while the Virgin in a triumphal chariot, drawn by a lion and a ram, accompanied by two angels, appears to him (fig. 363). The former event takes place in a street before a church with a landscape and a town as background; the artist does not manifest a great interest in architecture. What is very striking is the purely Verrocchiesque style of the decorative design of the chariot. This is evident, but to a less degree, in the border which frames the fresco and which is adorned with seven medallions containing heads; one is that of Christ while the six others are monks, no doubt protectors of the order. In all probability the fact that Andrea del Sarto painted the other frescoes which illustrate the rest of the saint's life, led Vasari and Baldinucci to suppose that this was Cosimo's last work which he left unfinished. Richa, however, informs us that

the fresco was executed in 1476 <sup>(1)</sup> and although he gives us no proof of this affirmation, I think, chiefly on account of the appearance of the work, we should accept this statement as very probably correct.



Fig. 362. Cosimo Rosselli, three saints. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Reminiscences of Benozzo Gozzoli's art, mingled with elements of a style which approaches that of Verrocchio, are found in the Adoration of the Magi in the Uffizi (No. 494, fig. 364) of which the composition and the elegant knights bring to mind the Journey of the Magi by Benozzo in the Medici chapel, but in which the drapery, the plastic effects

<sup>(1)</sup> *Richa*, Chiese fiorentine, VIII, p. 108.

and the figure of the Virgin have more in common with Verrocchio, as has also the landscape which is of that panoramic appearance, introduced probably by Baldovinetti and followed by Pollaiuolo.



Fig. 363. Cosimo Rosselli, the history of St. Filippo Benizzi, 1476.  
Sma. Annunziata, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

The same type of Virgin, obviously inspired by Verrocchio, is met with in two other works by Cosimo Rosselli. The first of them is the tabernacle in the via Ricasole, known as the tabernacle "delle cinque Lampade" where the Madonna is depicted seated on a fairly large throne holding on her knee the Child Who, covered only with a little shirt, bestows

a blessing and grasps a little bird; two angels rest an elbow on the throne and their head in their hand. Here again we see the withdrawn curtains. It is a mediocre work and has suffered from frequent restoration.

Of much finer quality is the second painting which is preserved in the Uffizi and in which against a Pol-laiuolesque background the Madonna is represented with the nude and very lively Child on her

knee, adored by two angels (fig. 365). The manner in which the Virgin is seated in three-quarter profile with only one side of the chair visible closely resembles that shown by Verrocchio



Fig. 364. Cosimo Rosselli, Adoration of the Magi. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

and although we do not recognize it at a first glance, the frisky but rather ridiculous figure of the Infant is an effort on the part of Cosimo to reproduce the delicious putti of Verrocchio.

Verrocchiesque elements are found also in a picture of the Assumption which was in Russia but which I saw not long ago in London (fig. 366). The Virgin in a mandorla, framed in cherub heads and borne by four angels, is portrayed over her empty tomb in which lilies blossom and alongside which stand SS. John the Evangelist and Bartholomew while SS. James and Thomas are depicted kneeling; the Virgin lowers her girdle towards the last mentioned figure; the landscape which is of but minor importance recalls those of Pollaiuolo. In this painting which is somewhat different from the others, it is chiefly the angels and the cherubim which seem to have been inspired by Verrocchio.

The same source of inspiration is noticeable in a picture of the Madonna seated on clouds between two cherubim while two angels hold a crown above her head; the little Jesus, Who stands on a cushion on her knee, passes one arm round His Mother's neck; this figure in itself is thoroughly Verrocchiesque in appearance. The picture, which originates from Sta. Maria Nuova, was up till the reorganization in the Uffizi (1).

Lack of skill in the composition is evident particularly in the large frescoes which Cosimo executed in Rome (2) and it might well be asked how was he ever admitted to the company of such illustrious painters as those who executed the other frescoes here.

The Last Supper (fig. 367) shows, in a Florentine hall of the 15<sup>th</sup> century which Cosimo has succeeded fairly well in representing, Christ and eleven Apostles seated all on one side of a semi-circular table while Judas sits alone on the other side. The four figures to the extreme right and left are in all probability portraits; on the floor we see a little dog standing on his hind legs begging; the table service has been placed on the floor which removes all indication of the

(1) *Ridolfi*, Gal. Naz. Ital., IV, Rome, 1898, p. 173.

(2) *Steinmann*, Die Sixtinische Kapelle, I, p. 392.



Fig. 365. Cosimo Rosselli, Madonna. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.





Fig. 366. Cosimo Rosselli, the Assumption. From a Russian private Collection.

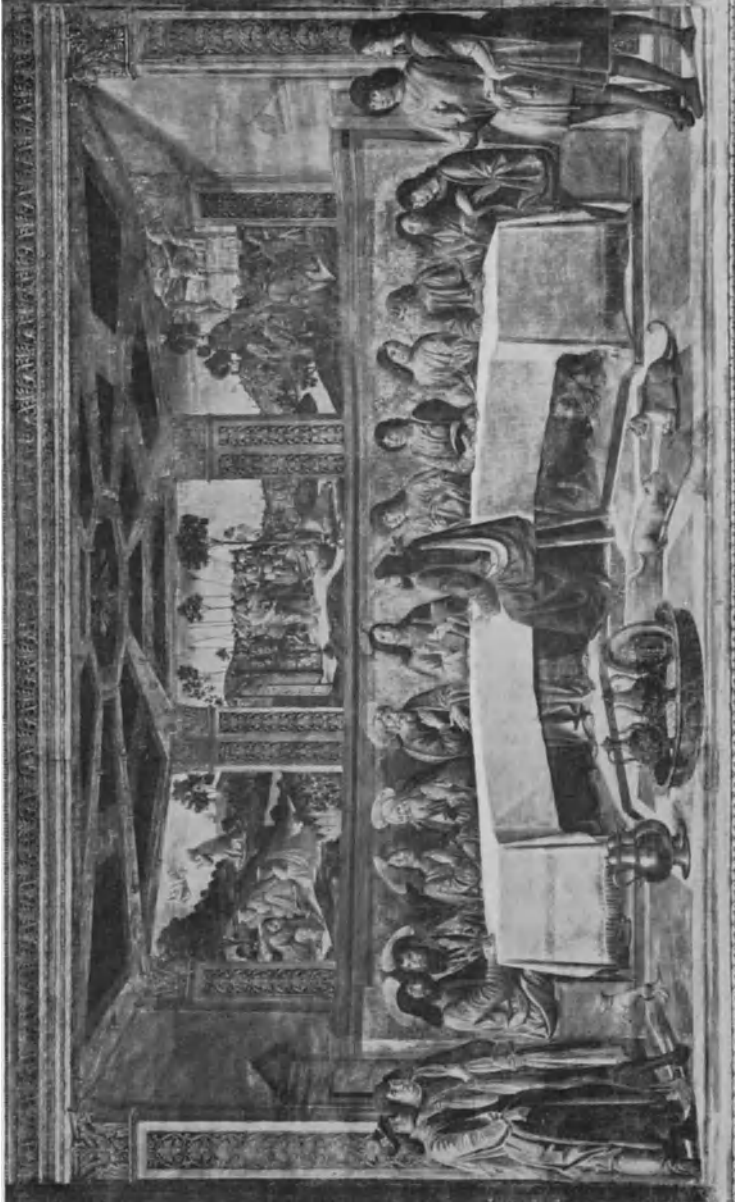


Fig. 367. Cosimo Rosselli, the Lord's Supper. Sistine Chapel, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

moment the artist wished to represent. The design of the ornamentation of the metal jugs and of the pilasters and architrave of the room is Verrocchiesque in style.

Through the large windows we see three little pictures, they illustrate the Prayer in the Garden of Olives, the Betrayal of Judas and the Crucifixion but according to Messrs Steinmann and Berenson, these scenes are not by Cosimo. The former of these critics is even of opinion that the landscape here is from the hand of Pier di Cosimo and that the figures are by a helper of Cosimo's whose style he recognizes in other works. Of the portrait of the man to the extreme left we find a corresponding drawing in the Louvre which, in agreement with Dr. Steinmann, I think we can look upon as the original sketch for the figure in the fresco (<sup>1</sup>).

There is a great confusion of figures and landscape in the two other frescoes each of which, besides, illustrates simultaneously several different events.

In one of them, apart from the two principal and crowded groups of the Sermon on the Mount and the healing of the leper, we see a number of figures in the background which shows two interesting views of perspective divided in the centre by a hill.

Still more crowded is the other fresco representing Moses on Mount Sinai receiving the tables of the law, God the Father appearing to him and the prophet destroying the tables of the law when he sees the multitude adoring the golden calf (fig. 368).

High up in the left corner of the fresco Moses is depicted in presence of the Saviour according to the Book of Exodus Chapter XXXIII, 18, 20—22; this tiny scene which was difficult to interpret, has been identified by Dr. Steinmann. Then Moses followed by Joshua is represented a second time with the tables of the law close to the spot where he is figured breaking the tables. All this manifests the painter's desire to illustrate as many events as possible but he does so without any attempt to render the scenes comprehensible.

In all these frescoes there is a great number of figures

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(<sup>1</sup>) *Steinmann*, op. cit., fig. 193.



Fig. 368. Cosimo Rosselli, the history of Moses. Sixtine Chapel, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

which Dr. Steinmann has very rightly recognized as portraits. In the scene of the Sermon on the Mount he has discovered the chief of the order of St. John with whom Pope Sixtus IV was on very friendly terms on account of their combined defence of the island of Rhodes. He finds as well the portrait of Charlotte of Lucignan, Queen of Cyprus, who was protected by the order of St. John, and perhaps those of the ambassador of Portugal, the painter himself and the humanist George of Trebizond. Also in the fresco of the history of Moses there are some examples of portraiture, such for instance as the figures of the young man and young woman before whom the patriarch is about to dash the tables of the law.

From Vasari we learn that Pier di Cosimo who at this moment was twenty years old, assisted his master in this enterprise, and Dr. Steinmann has further developed this theory by ascribing the landscape in particular to Pier which I think is correct.

The following fresco, that of the destruction of Pharaoh, is almost entirely, if not entirely from the hand of Pier di Cosimo and will be discussed in the next volume <sup>(1)</sup>. Dr. Steinmann attributes to Cosimo also two figures of the long and uninteresting series of popes in the Sixtine chapel; they are those representing SS. Dionysius and Callistus <sup>(2)</sup>.

What appears to me fairly evident, however, is that the adaptability of the artist united with his obvious lack of individuality caused him to be subjected to yet another influence, that of Botticelli who was working at this decoration at the same time. Especially in certain very elongated figures in the history of Moses, such for instance as that of the patriarch himself breaking the tables of the law and the two figures, the knight and the lady hand in hand, to the right, this domination is very noticeable. This female figure which, after Botticelli's custom, has bare feet, advances with a movement which is certainly

<sup>(1)</sup> Mr. Berenson judges this fresco, which Vasari attributes to Cosimo, to be the work of Pier. Dr. Steinmann is of the opinion that it is by Pier and a helper, while Prof. Venturi gives it to Fra Diamante. *Ulmann*, Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., 1896, p. 54 and *Knapp*, op. cit., p. 21, ascribe it to Benedetto Ghirlandaio.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Steinmann*, op. cit. p. 221.

inspired by this master, in fact it is almost the same person as Botticelli himself represents in full face to the left of the fresco of the purification of the leper and the temptation of Christ in the same chapel.

In Cosimo's Botticelliesque manner we have besides, several works, as for example the half-length portrait of a man in the ex-Spiridon collection, Paris<sup>(1)</sup>, a fragment of a picture showing St. Peter with the keys against a rocky background in the Institute of Arts in Minneapolis, U.S.A., (fig. 369) and a large but rather ugly picture of the Virgin enthroned between two angels accompanied by SS. John the Baptist, Andrew, Bartholomew and Zenobius on a background of five niches in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (No. 556); here the



Fig. 369. Cosimo Rosselli, St. Peter. the Institute of Arts, Minneapolis.

<sup>(1)</sup> *B. Berenson, Due ritratti fiorentini del Quattrocento, Rassegna d'Arte, V, 1905, p. 177.*

Botticelliesque proportions of the saints intermingle with the Verrocchiesque appearance of the Infant Jesus, the Virgin and the two angels; this picture might date from 1483<sup>(1)</sup>. Then the painting of the Virgin adoring the Child lying on the ground watched over by an angel against a landscape in which we see a river and some knights, which belonged to the Hertz collection, Rome<sup>(2)</sup>, might almost be classified as a production of the school of Botticelli.

A pleasing effect of Botticelli's influence is manifest in the fresco of 1485<sup>(3)</sup> in the church of St. Ambrogio; the painting represents the procession of the Holy Sacrament and shows a bishop coming out of a church with the Eucharist before which several priests kneel while other persons, apparently unaware of the solemn passage of the Sacrament, are seen walking in front of a little palace of Florentine architecture. In this last group and particularly among the female figures there are some which are decidedly Botticelliesque in type; but the rather free arrangement of this crowd of people brings to mind sooner the compositions of Ghirlandaio although the most typical examples of this sort of grouping are found in his frescoes in Sta. Maria Novella, which he did not begin until 1486. Vasari informs us that one of the figures represents Pico della Mirandola.

After this phase, Cosimo executed some paintings in which we observe a much greater individuality of manner, from which we can conclude that it was only towards his fiftieth year that he began to acquire a certain independence.

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(1) Mentioned by Crowe and Cavalcaselle but not by Berenson. *F. R. Earp*, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, 1902, p. 168. The principal Pictures in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, London, Glasgow, 1912, p. 142. The impossible date 1443 is found at the foot of the picture but very probably one of the X's should be an L.

(2) *J. P. Richter*, *La collezione Hertz e gli affreschi di Giulio Romano nel Palazzo Zuccari, (Rome)*, 1928, p. 33. The picture seems to originate from Pisa.

(3) *Milanesi*, note on *Vasari*, III, p. 186. *von Rumohr*, *op. cit.*, thought that the date 1456 could be distinguished after the signature "*Cosimo Rosselli F.*", but this is naturally impossible because at that moment Cosimo was only seventeen years old.

There is no trace of Botticelli's influence in the works of his last manner of which we have productions dating from between 1492 and 1505.



Fig. 370. Cosimo Rosselli, *Madonna and saints*, 1492. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

The picture of 1492 is of considerable beauty; it represents the Virgin seated on an ornamented throne holding the nude Christ on her knee and caressing the head of the little St. John. To the sides are SS. James and Peter while over the Virgin's head two angels bear a crown which has the shape of a papal tiara. In the background we catch a glimpse of two little corners of Florence; the figures are placed under



a vaulted arcade supported on columnus with Corinthian capitals, the upper parts of which are not visible (fig. 370). This panel, formerly in the Uffizi (No. 1280bis), now in the Accademia (No. 1562), originates from the church of Sta. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi and was ordered from Rosselli towards 1492 by the Salviati family (1).

It has very correctly been observed that in this picture there is evidence of the influence of Filippino Lippi; the few years which separate this work from the previous productions was sufficient for the versatile Cosimo to turn his sympathy from the master, Botticelli, to the pupil, Filippino. In Filippino's Madonna of 1486 with saints and angels in mid-air holding the crown and in his picture of the Virgin with the child St. John, two saints and adorers in S. Spirito, we find all the elements which might have served Cosimo in the construction of this panel.

In all probability we should classify in this period the half-length figure of the Madonna holding the Child Who stands on a cushion before her, with two angels in adoration, which is nowadays preserved in the Jugo-Slav Academy in Agram, in which is incorporated the Strossmayer Gallery of this town (2). A Verrocchiesque influence is manifest chiefly in the attitude of the Child and in the figures of the angels while the Virgin is very reminiscent in type of the Madonnas of the "Master of the Castello Nativity."

In the same category I place the Virgin, seen in half-length figure with the nude Child standing before her and two angels one of whom offers some flowers; this picture, in which the figures are depicted in a sort of tabernacle against a landscape background, belongs to Mrs. Benjamin Thaw (3).

Yet not all the works of Cosimo's last manner are of this quality.

A painting which was ordered in 1498 and which is preserved in S. Ambrogio, Florence (4) shows God the Father

(1) *Milanesi*, note 1 on *Vasari*, III, p. 185.

(2) *G. Frizzoni*, La Pinacoteca Strossmayer, L'Arte, VII, 1904, p. 430.

(3) Exhibited at the Loan Exhibition of Italian Primitives held in the Kleinberger Galleries, New York, November 1917, No. 31.

(4) The document is published by *Milanesi*, note on *Vasari*, III, p. 184.



Fig. 371. Cosimo Rosselli, the Coronation of the Virgin and Saints.  
Bandini Museum, Fiesole. Photo Alinari.

and the Virgin in mid-air surrounded by five cherubim and four angels and lower down SS. Augustine and Francis against a landscape background while in the predella we see three scenes from the life of St. Francis: the confirmation of the rules of the order, the stigmatization and the funeral

of St. Francis. It is not a very pleasing work because that hardness which mars all the productions of his old age, is already evident here.



Fig. 372. Cosimo Rosselli, *Madonna in Glory*. Schloss Museum, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

Some of Cosimo's late works are of considerable size such for example as the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Bandini Museum, Fiesole (fig. 371). Above in the midst of angels of different hierarchies, we see God the Father and the Saviour together placing the crown on the head of the kneeling Virgin. Below eighty figures of saints are arranged in five rows while six angels holding phylacteries adorn the frame.



Fig 373. Cosimo Rosselli, Madonna.  
Private Collection.

The figures are all of good draughtsmanship but the never-changing sweetness of expression renders the picture monotonous and insupportable.



Fig. 374. Cosimo Rosselli, Coronation of the Virgin and Saints (1505).  
Sta. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

Of very little charm is also a Madonna with the Child in a frame of cherubim and four angels holding inscriptions above a group of kneeling persons among whom there are many saintly and beatified figures and the bust of a Dominican adorer seen in profile; this painting belongs to the collection

in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 59), but a short time ago it was in the store-room of the Schloss Museum (fig. 372).

Executed after the same manner but of slightly finer technique is a picture in a private collection of the Madonna seated on a large radiant mandorla borne on clouds above a landscape (fig. 373).

From an advanced stage in Cosimo Rosselli's career might date a panel of the bust, shown in three-quarter profile, of a Dominican monk holding a book, which was formerly in the Sterbini collection, Rome, but now belongs to Signor Gualino, Turin (<sup>1</sup>).

The last authentic dated work that we have from the hand of Cosimo is the Coronation of the Virgin in Sta. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi which was executed for the Giglio chapel, the construction of which was ordered in 1505 (fig. 374) (<sup>2</sup>). Consequently Cosimo must have undertaken this work shortly before his death. In former times, both Richa and Lanzi ascribed this painting to Fra Angelico. In a frame of cherubim Christ is depicted placing the crown on the Virgin's head; to either side are seen angels while below, there is a considerable number of saints; SS. Peter and John the Evangelist kneel in the centre. We might call this a pretty picture but it possesses neither charm nor inspiration; the figures are all constructed in the same manner and the expressions show no variety (<sup>3</sup>).

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(<sup>1</sup>) *A. Venturi*, La Galleria Sterbini in Roma, Rome, 1906, No. 26, ascribes it to Fra Diamante. *L. Venturi*, Alcune opere della collezione Gualino esposte nella R. Pinacoteca di Torino. Milan, Rome, 1928, No. 24, hesitatingly gives it to Cosimo Rosselli.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Milanesi*, note 1 on *Vasari*, III, p. 185.

(<sup>3</sup>) Other works by Cosimo Rosselli are: **Berlin**, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, store-room, No. 71, the dead Christ supported by five of the faithful against a background of architecture. **Breslau**, Schlesischen Museum, No. 171, from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 1503), the Virgin adoring the Infant Christ with the little St. John and Joseph in the background; I am not convinced of the exactitude of this attribution. **Cologne**, Wallraf Richartz Museum, No. 518, from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (No. 1075), Madonna with the Child, Who bestows a blessing, between angels, SS. John the Baptist, Augustine, Dominic and Peter and the Innocents of Bethlehem in the foreground, an early work.

Concerning drawings from the hand of Cosimo, Vasari

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**Edinburgh**, National Gallery of Scotland, No. 1030, St. Catherine of Siena giving the rules of the order to some nuns, and SS. Laurence, Dominic, Peter the Martyr and Tobias with the angel, from the Butler collection, exhibited at Burlington House in 1885 and at the New Galleries in 1893—1894. **Florence**, Monte alla Croce church, prophet in a niche holding an inscription, doubtful. **Genoa**, Palazzo Adorno, small triumphs, *Berenson* contests this attribution. *A. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 696, thinks they are by a miniaturist of the school of Ghirlandaio. **Gloucester**, Parry collection, Highnam Court, No. 26, a small lunette with Christ on the Cross, three holy monks, SS. Stephen and Clare, doubtful. **Haigh**, Lord Crawford's collection, St. Francis kneeling, a holy nun and Tobias with the archangel. **Königsberg**, Gallery, Adoration of the Child Jesus, from the Museum, Berlin (No. 1502). **Lille**, Gallery, No. 617, a standing figure of St. Mary Magdalene. **Locko Park**, Drury Lowe collection, St. Bartholomew, *J. P. Richter*, Catalogue of the Drury Lowe Collection, Locko Park, London, 1901, p. 24. **London**, ex-Fuller-Maitland collection, sold at the Cholmondeley sale in London, 1922, Christ with a long cloak on the Cross in the midst of angels and cherubim with SS. John the Baptist and Peter the Martyr standing below and SS. Dominic and Jerome kneeling, exhibited in Manchester in 1857, at Burlington House in 1875, at the New Galleries in 1893—1894; described in *Waagen*, Art Treasures, III, p. 4 and in *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. *Langton Douglas*, IV, p. 370, who says it is restored but one of Cosimo's best works; it can hardly be the painting described by Vasari as in the church of S. Marco on account of the absence of the patron saint and because the saints do not correspond. The original, as well as the actual whereabouts of the picture, is unknown to me. Woodward collection, St. Nicholas of Bari between SS. Catherine, Lucy, Helen and Margaret from the Buttery collection, an important picture of brilliant colouring but very unusual appearance. **Lucca**, Cathedral, entrance wall, story of the true Cross, mentioned by *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, III, p. 187; *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., p. 367 and *Berenson*, op. cit. Gallery, No. 61, originating from the church of S. Agostino, Madonna enthroned in a landscape between SS. Augustine, Monica, Antony of Padua and Jerome; it shows Verrocchiesque plastic effects but is executed in part by pupils. **Munich**, Drey collection, 1920, tondo, Madonna adoring the Child, and the infant St. John. **New York**, belonging to Messrs. Duveen, 1923, tondo, Virgin and the small St. John. **Paris**, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Legs Peyre, No. 253, Madonna, Child and infant St. John with St. Julian(?) in adoration. **Philadelphia**, Johnson collection, Madonna holding the Child seated on a cushion against a landscape background; *Berenson*, Catalogue of a Collection etc., No. 60, very Verrocchiesque in manner, *Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1905, p. 116, classifies it in the school of Pollaiuolo.

mentions that he himself possessed the sketch for the fresco of the Lord's Sermon on the Mount in the Sixtine Chapel as well as several others "of style and chiaroscuro".

Mr. Berenson who does not cite the drawing in the Louvre which corresponds with one of the figures in the fresco of the Last Supper, ascribes four sketches to Cosimo <sup>(1)</sup>. Two of these works which he reproduces (pls. LXXX and LXXXI) show a very strong influence of Benozzo Gozzoli. One belongs to Mr. G. T. Cough, London and represents six different studies of figures among which are St. Peter, St. John the Baptist, two kneeling women and a profile. This sheet is harder in technique and more mannered than the drawing in the British Museum of St. Bernard's vision of the Virgin, a subject treated by Filippino Lippi whose composition, however, is different.

Here St. Bernard is seated writing at a table under a rock while the Virgin accompanied by two angels appears to him. Lower down on the same page we see a sketch of another monk. Benozzo's influence is particularly marked in this drawing.

In the Uffizi we find a sheet with different studies of the Crucifixion and in the British Museum a sketch of a bishop standing reading which Mr. Berenson claims as characteristic of the master's late manner <sup>(2)</sup>.

Of Cosimo's works now lost Vasari records three figures in the church of the convent of S. Jacopo dalle Murate, a badge for the children of the Compagnia di S. Bernardino, paintings in the nuns' chapel in S. Ambrogio very much praised by Vasari, and a panel of the Holy Cross with four saints in S. Marco. Prof. Venturi is of opinion that Cosimo, together with his pupil who afterwards became Fra Bartolommeo, executed eight scenes in the dormitory of

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Berenson*, Drawings, I, p. 126; II, Nos. 2384-2387.

<sup>(2)</sup> In the collection of drawings in Christ Church, Oxford, there is a sheet showing on one side a youth and a woman and on the other a Coronation of the Virgin which in old times is said to have been ascribed to Cosimo Rosselli. *Bell*, Drawings by the Old Masters etc., p. 82.



S. Ambrogio, paintings which have also disappeared <sup>(1)</sup>.

The artist's enormous inconstancy and the rapidity and frequency with which he changed his manner of painting render him rather a difficult figure to define. His early works reveal him as an artist very characteristic of the second generation of Florentine painters of the Renaissance, that of Benozzo and of Verrocchio, while at the end of his career he appears to be posterior to Botticelli or Filippino Lippi. Certainly his facility of creation was very much greater than either his inspiration or his individuality. This facility, however, has procured him a fair amount of appreciation; even Mr. Berenson judges favourably this feature and thinks that his best works are not inferior to those of Ghirlandaio. Vasari is not very enthusiastic about Cosimo whom he finds "non eccellente ma ragionevole" and believes that he was well aware of his own weakness of composition.

(<sup>1</sup>) *Venturi*, op. cit., VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 693. The following works are wrongly ascribed to Cosimo: **Chantilly**, Condé Museum, No. 14, Madonna and Child by an anonymous Florentine. **Florence**, Uffizi, Annunciation, prophets and God the Father, pinnacles of Lorenzo Monaco's Adoration of the Magi, v. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., p. 367 note 4; the prophets and God the Father are certainly by Lorenzo. **Halle**, Gallery, from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 63), Madonna, Child and St. Francis, a tondo given to this artist by *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., p. 370; and in the catalogue of the Berlin gallery, 1906, p. 496, to the Florentine school of about 1500. **London**, National Gallery, No. 227, St. Jerome in the midst of saints, angels and adorers. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., p. 370, believe it to be by Botticini; No. 1196, Amor and Castitas, attributed to Cosimo by Mr. Berenson, but it seems to me to be the work of an anonymous Florentine. Ex-Benson collection, Virgin with St. John the Baptist recommending a family to the Saviour and St. Bernard kneeling, No. 21 of the catalogue, London, 1914; it is probably by Raffaellino del Garbo. **Lucca**, S. Francesco, Nativity and other scenes, assigned to Cosimo by *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., p. 367 note 5, are by Benozzo Gozzoli, v. p. 210. **Paris**, Louvre, No. 1482, Madonna in glory, given in the catalogue to Cosimo, is by Botticini. **Rome**, Colonna Gallery, Rape of Sabina and the peace between the Romans and the Sabines, *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, op. cit., p. 370; it is by an anonymous artist. **Turin**, Gallery, No. 106, triumph of Chastity, *Berenson*, op. cit. *Venturi*, op. cit., p. 696, thinks it is by a miniaturist of the school of Ghirlandaio. A drawing which I do not think is from his hand, representing a monument with a Madonna, two saints, a Pietà and angels, was attributed to him at the Pembroke sale which took place in London in July 1917.

Cosimo greatly profited from what the other Florentine masters had to offer. First of all he learned from Neri di Bicci who, however, did not make much impression on him; he was more inspired by Benozzo, then by Verrocchio, and perhaps a little also by Pollaiuolo, Botticelli and Filippino Lippi; yet he never remained for very long entirely faithful to any of these masters but continued in his own more or less personal manner so that we cannot classify him as a faithful adherent of any one of these artists.

Under these conditions it is very difficult to determine which works really belong to his school. There certainly are a few paintings which can be classified as such, but as they are all of minor importance, I shall not deal with them in detail <sup>(1)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> The following is a list of the principal works of Cosimo's school: **Badia di Passignano**, Tavernelle, Val di Pesa, San Biagio, some saints and rather damaged scenes from their legends, 1502; S. Benedetto, St. Benedict on his death-bed surrounded by monks v. p. 618. **Empoli**, Gallery of the Collegiata, No. 32, the Holy Family and the infant St. John, *Berenson*, op. cit., ascribes it to Cosimo's own hand. *Venturi*, loc. cit., is I think nearer the truth in classifying it as a school work. **Florence**, S. Miniato al Monte, lunette with the half-length figure of the dead Christ; Stibbert Museum, St. Michael holding a sword. **Frankfort a. M.**, E. Jacobi collection, exhibited in 1925, Madonna adoring the Child against ruins. **Gloucester**, Parry collection, Highnam Court, half-length figure of the Saviour with an open book. **Liverpool**, Walker Art Gallery, No. 15, St. Laurence, *Berenson*, op. cit., ascribes it to Cosimo. **London**, Chamberlain collection, eight female figures in a landscape, exhibited at Burlington House at the Exhibition of Florentine Art before 1500, 1920, No. 27; *Burlington Magazine*, XXXII, 1918, p. 201. **Lucca**, Gallery, No. 71, the Virgin, St. Joseph and angels adoring the Child in a landscape, with two shepherds, the ox and the ass in a shed, wrongly ascribed to Lorenzo Zacchai, a painter of Lucca, born in 1524. **Lyons**, ex-Aynard collection, tondo, the Virgin, four angels and the child St. John adoring the Infant Jesus; *Berenson*, *Dedalo*, IV, 1923—1924, p. 23. **New York**, Ehrich Galleries, 1920, the Judgment of Paris. **Philadelphia**, Johnson collection, Virgin adoring the Child and St. Joseph in meditation, *Berenson*, *Catalogue of a Collection etc.*, No. 61. **Rome**, Galli Dunn sale, April 1905, No. 323, the Nativity with the small St. John and a shepherd which *Berenson*, loc. cit., believes to be by the same hand as the picture in Philadelphia. As drawings of Cosimo's school, *Berenson*, *Drawings*, Nos. 2388—2391, cites a study for an altar-piece with the vision of St. Bernard, a sketch of a Last Judgment from a lost painting by Cosimo, both in the

Bernardo di Stefano Rosselli, born in 1450, the son of a cousin of Cosimo's was also a painter and as we know that in 1474 he was active in the refectory of the monastery of the Badia di Passignano, Val di Pesa, we can in all probability attribute to him the other frescoes which we find here and which I have mentioned among the works of the school of Cosimo.

I cannot dismiss Cosimo without referring to the fact, that some miniatures adorning a liturgical book of 1471 in the Laurenziana Library, Florence, are executed in a manner very characteristic of Cosimo Rosselli's art; the most important illumination represents the consecration of Sta. Maria del Fiore by Pope Eugenius IV which took place in 1436 (fig. 375) <sup>(1)</sup>, and I do not exclude the possibility that at least some of these miniatures are from the hand of our artist.

Concerning the life of Zanobi Machiavelli <sup>(2)</sup> we possess a certain amount of documentary evidence from which we learn that he was born in 1418 in Florence, that he made cadastral declarations in 1457 and 1469 when living in the S. Spirito quarter of the town, that he had a wife and six children and that he died in 1479 leaving debts. It is very doubtful if some other records refer to the painter of this name, because contrary to the custom, his profession is not mentioned. On the other hand we find some facts concerning a "Zanobi di Jachopo Machiavegli dipintore" in the registers of June to November 1472 of the Compagnia di S. Marco. The following year he was active in Pisa from where his picture of 1473 in Dijon Uffizi, a draped youthful figure in the Louvre and an Adoration of the Child in the Albertina, Vienna, No. 582 of the reproductions published by the Albertina.

<sup>(1)</sup> *D'Ancona*, La miniat. fior., Vol. I, p. 60 and pl. 72; Vol. II, No. 805. *The Same*, La miniature italienne, Paris-Brussels, 1925, p. 78 and pl. LXXIII, ascribes these miniatures to the collaboration of Francesco di Antonio and Zanobi Strozzi, although he remarks that they are different from the other works which he attributes to these two artists.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Milanesi*, note 3 on *Vasari*, III, p. 53. *S. Reimach*, Un tableau de M. au Musée National de Dublin, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1900, I, p. 278. *M. Salmi*, M. e il "Compagno del Pesellino", *Rivista d'Arte*, IX, 1916, p. 49. *G. Poggi*, *Z. di Jacopo M.*, *Idem*, p. 67. *P. Bacci*, *Z. M. a Pisa*, *Idem*, X, 1917, p. 125.



Fig. 375. Manner of Cosimo Rosselli, Consecration of Sta. Maria del Fiore, miniature, 1471. Laurenziana Library, Florence.

originates; he was working in this town still in 1475 and 1476, in all probability in the cathedral and for the Franciscan monks of Sta. Croce in Fossabranda; in any case two of his pictures come from this monastery (<sup>1</sup>). He died very likely in Pisa; we know for certain that it was not in Florence.

We cannot be sure that Zanobi Machiavelli collaborated with Benozzo Gozzoli in the decoration of the Campo Santo, Pisa, anyhow his name does not figure in the documents, nor are there really any parts of these frescoes typical of his manner. Still there can be no doubt that he saw Benozzo at work and was impressed by his style, because this master's influence is very evident in Machiavelli's works.

Still Benozzo, who was born two years after our artist, was certainly not his first master. In all probability he was apprenticed with Pesellino and as we find that in 1452 Pesellino was associated with Piero di Lorenzo Pratese and with a certain Zanobi (<sup>2</sup>) we are very tempted to identify the latter with our Machiavelli. It appears certain, however, that this Zanobi was the son of a Migliori, as already Milanesi stated (<sup>3</sup>), which does not allow us to make this supposition, because our artist was the son of Jacopo. Nevertheless, the identity of the name combined with the obvious traces of an influence of Pesellino's art in Zanobi's paintings remains a strange coincidence.

For chronological considerations, those works in which Pesellino's inspiration is most evident must be of early date and for this reason I think we can admit that one of Zanobi's earliest paintings is the Madonna seated on a throne forming a niche, with the nude Child, Who grasps a pomegranate, on her knee, which is found in the church of S. Angelo at Cetica, in the Casentino, and which formerly Dr. De Nicola attributed to the "Compagno del Pesellino" (<sup>4</sup>), which opinion is held

(<sup>1</sup>) v. also *Tanfani Centofanti*, Notizie di artisti tratti dai documenti pisani, Pisa, 1893, p. 416. *Supino*, Arch. Stor. dell'Arte, 1894, p. 234. *The Same*, Campo Santo, p. 199.

(<sup>2</sup>) v. Vol. X, p. 471.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Milanesi*, commentary on *Vasari's* Life of Pesellino, III, p. 43. In Vol. X, p. 471, I erroneously say that it is Vasari who makes this affirmation, an affirmation which is confirmed by H. Horne v. *Salmi*, op. cit., p. 55 note 1.

(<sup>4</sup>) *De Nicola*, Di alcuni dipinti nel Casentino, L'Arte, XVII, 1914, p. 260.

also by Prof. Salmi who, however, identifies, I think wrongly, the "Compagno del Pesellino" with Machiavelli (<sup>1</sup>). Further Prof. Salmi judges this painting to be a late production which

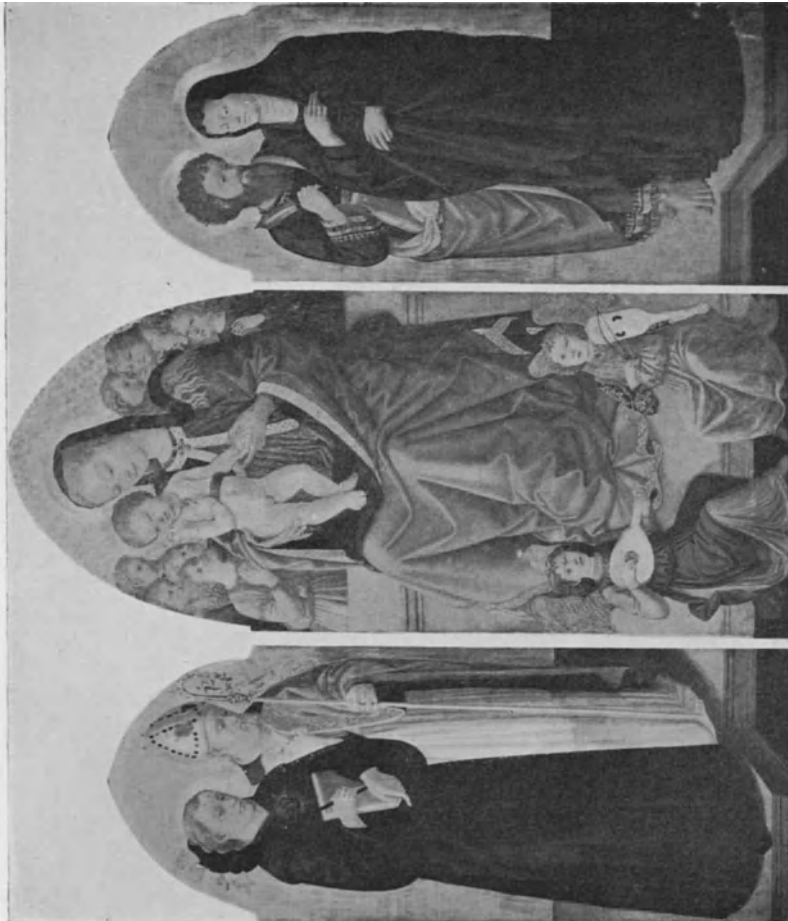


Fig. 376. Zanobi Machiavelli, Madonna and Saints.  
National Gallery, London.

to my mind is inadmissible, not only on account of the primitive appearance of the work, but also because of the presence of a direct inspiration of Pesellino who, it will be remembered, died in 1457 while still young.

(<sup>1</sup>) *Salmi*, op. cit.

A rather poor work possibly of the first years of Machiavelli's activity is a Coronation of the Virgin which was for sale in Paris in 1924; besides the Virgin and Saviour seated in a mandorla against rays of light, we see below four angelic musicians. I am not absolutely convinced of the attribution to Machiavelli of these two paintings.

The earliest authentic work by Machiavelli is dated 1463; it represents St. James Major with staff and book and above a half-length figure of the Virgin in a medallion and is preserved in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 94a). At the foot of the panel we read the signature: "*MCCCCXLIII pinsit Cenobius de Machiavellis*". It is a picture which belongs to the school of Pesellino showing, however, particularly in the proportions and the draperies, elements borrowed from Fra Filippo. This painting authorizes us to attribute to the same hand a little picture of St. James Major who in this instance is shown turned towards the other side, which is preserved in the Lanckoronski collection, Vienna, where it passes as a work of the school of Fra Filippo.

Machiavelli was less obviously inspired by Pesellino when he executed the altar-piece which is now in the National Gallery, London (No. 586, fig. 376). Apparently this panel originates from the church of S. Spirito, Florence, and prior to its being acquired by the National Gallery it was in the Primicerio Crociani collection, Montepulciano and in that of Lombardi Baldi, Florence.

In the centre the Virgin, sitting on a simple throne, holds the nude Child Jesus standing on her knee; behind, nine angels are arranged in two groups while sitting at the Madonna's feet are two angelic musicians. In the lateral panels we see SS. Nicholas of Tolentino, Augustine, Monica and Bartholomew with his knife on his shoulder as if it were a sword.

The appearance of this work almost makes us believe Vasari's statement that Zanobi was a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli's; especially the appearance of the Virgin and angels but also the colouring betrays a distant connexion with Fra Angelico's art as it has been interpreted by Benozzo. The Florentine origin of this painting leads us to suppose that Zanobi must have been in contact with Benozzo before going to Pisa, and

very probably it was between 1459 and 1463 when we know that Benozzo was active in Florence. This new influence is more easily explained when we realize that Machiavelli's first master, Pesellino, died two years before Benozzo's arrival in Florence. If a connexion between the two artists already existed



Fig. 377. Zanobi Machiavelli. Madonna and Saints. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. Photo Geoghegan.

in Florence, it might account for Machiavelli's sojourn in Pisa while Benozzo was working there.

In the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, there is another signed work by Zanobi, it represents the Virgin enthroned with the rather restless looking Child on her knee between SS. Benardine, Paul (?), Jerome and a holy bishop (fig. 377). The signature below runs: "*Opus Cenobii Machiavales*" (1). This work shows a return to Pesellino's manner, as does

(1) *Reinach*, op. cit.



also a painting of the two SS. John in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (No. 456) <sup>(1)</sup>.

An intermingling of the elements of Zanobi's art, as we know it from his signed works, with a very strong influence of Benozzo Gozzoli is manifest in a Coronation of the Virgin in the Städelsche Kunstinstitut, Frankfort, in which the principal figures are escorted by eight angels, a holy bishop, a crowned female saint and two kneeling angels (fig. 378), as well as in a large picture of the Madonna enthroned with two angels holding a crown above her head and two others kneeling below, which not long ago was for sale in Paris (fig. 379). The attribution to Machiavelli of the first of these pictures is but a hypothesis.

The chronological order of Zanobi Machiavelli's works will always offer a certain difficulty, because we do not know exactly at what moment he was most dominated by Benozzo Gozzoli whose influence is so pronounced in some of his paintings.

This tendency is less manifest in a picture in the gallery of Lucca (No. 47), which shows the Virgin seated under a baldaquin, the Child bestowing a blessing on her knee, between SS. Bartholomew, Mary Magdalene, a holy bishop and Antony of Padua and which was originally in the hospital of the town. The damasked gold background and the border of arabesques on the Virgin's cloak give this work an archaic appearance reminding us of the Madonna of Cetica which, however, must date from a still earlier stage in the artist's career.

An important panel of the Virgin enthroned between SS. Sebastian, Andrew, Bernardine of Siena, Paul, Lawrence and a holy bishop against a low wall over which some trees are visible, formed part of the Spiridon collection, Paris <sup>(2)</sup>. In style it has most in common with the picture in Lucca.

Executed in a slightly more evolved manner than these pictures is a work in the gallery of Pisa where the master

<sup>(1)</sup> The last edition of the catalogue (1924) erroneously states that the panels in London, Dublin and Edinburgh are all parts of the one altarpiece which originates from the church of S. Spirito, Florence.

<sup>(2)</sup> No. 46 of the sale of the collection which took place in Berlin in May 1929.

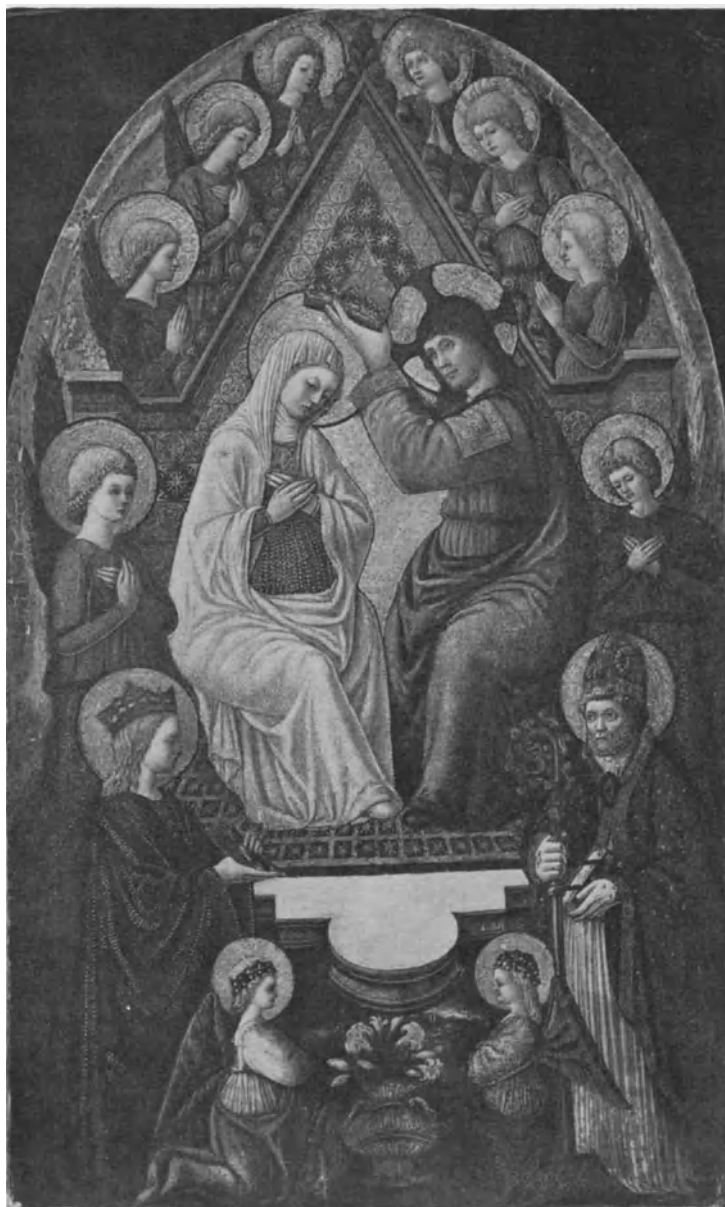


Fig. 378. Zanobi Machiavelli?, Coronation of the Virgin. Städelsche Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt a.M.

Photo Brückmann.



Fig. 379. Zanobi Machiavelli, Madonna and Angels.  
Private Collection, Paris.

ture: "*Opus Cenubii De Machiavellis MCCCCLXXIII*". It is an

was active from 1473 until 1476 and where perhaps he died. The composition, however, resembles that of the painting in Lucca; the Virgin is depicted seated with the Child on her knee between SS. Antony of Padua, a holy pope, James Major and Francis.

Very different in appearance and doubtless painted in collaboration with pupils is the Coronation of the Virgin in the gallery of Dijon where it has been since 1876 although it is still frequently mentioned as being in the Louvre, where it was previously.

It originates from Pisa and bears the signature:

elaborate painting; the Virgin and the Saviour are seated on an imposing throne between SS. John the Baptist, Francis, Mary Magdalene and Peter, eight angelic musicians are depicted behind and four others kneel in the foreground. It is not a pleasing work; we discover in it reminiscences of Pesellino's art together with an influence of Fra Filippo or his school, but the types are rather coarse and the forms heavy and awkward. There are, besides, certain elements which recall Piero di Lorenzo Pratese. In spite of the fact that these pictures were executed so to speak in the presence of Benozzo Gozzoli they are not the works in which his influence is most evident <sup>(1)</sup>.

From the hand of Giusto di Andrea Manzini who has already been cited as a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli, there are no extant authentic works with the exception of those at Peretola which are entirely repainted.

We have a considerable amount of information concerning this painter; he himself kept a journal <sup>(2)</sup>, while Neri di Bicci speaks of him in his book of "ricordi" <sup>(3)</sup>. We learn that he was born in 1440 and that he was the son of Andrea di Giusto, the painter, with whom we have dealt in the previous volume. He made a cadastral declaration in 1457; he lived in the Sta. Croce quarter of the town, his parents were dead and he had a brother who was fourteen years old. He married in 1458 and became the pupil of Neri di Bicci who in two years time gave him thirty florins and two pairs of trunk-hose. Neri relates that Giusto left him to enter the studio of Fra Filippo but from Giusto's own diary we learn that he worked there for only one year and then became assistant to Benozzo Gozzoli with whom he remained from 1465 until 1468, helping this master in the execution of the frescoes in S. Agostino, San Gimignano, and at Certaldo.

<sup>(1)</sup> In the choir of the church of the convent of Sta. Cecilia at Città di Castello, there was a Madonna and Child between two angels which I find attributed to Machiavelli and which was afterwards transferred to the town gallery v. Gal. Naz. Ital., II, 1896, p. 305, but there is no work corresponding to this description in the gallery.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Gaye*, Carteggio, I, p. 209.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Milanesi*, ed. *Vasari*, II, p. 87.

He brought his brother with him to San Gimignano and while there had him educated by the monks. In S. Agostino Giusto di Andrea painted the saints around the principal window, four Apostles and most of the beautiful ornamental friezes <sup>(1)</sup> and at Certaldo he assisted Benozzo in the execution of a fresco of the Deposition. All this information is given in his own journal in which we find as well a brief description of the revolt of the Florentine people against the Medici which occurred in 1494. According to Vasari his brother Giovanni should be identified with the Giovanni di Mugello who committed a minor theft while at Certaldo and concerning whom Benozzo wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici <sup>(2)</sup>.

Giusto di Andrea died in 1497. The Manzini family possessed a villa — now Casa Benci — at Monti outside the Porta S. Giorgio of Florence, which was sold by Matteo, the son of Giusto, in 1552 <sup>(3)</sup>.

Giusto executed the frescoes in the portico of Sta. Maria at Peretola, near Florence, representing St. Antony Abbot seated between SS. James and Egidius but this mural decoration, for which a document of 1466 gives us the name of the artist <sup>(4)</sup>, is so completely repainted that it is impossible to form from it an exact idea of Giusto's manner.

Briefly speaking we do not possess one authentic and original work by Giusto di Andrea, with the exception of the friezes of the frescoes by Benozzo in the choir of S. Agostino, San Gimignano, because the other figures here, some of which he painted, are so typical of Benozzo that even if they have been executed by another artist, that artist imitated so closely Benozzo's style of painting, that it is impossible to discern an individual manner.

The number of works attributed to Giusto di Andrea is very great, as is often the case for painters whose artistic personality is not well established and who are held responsible for many pictures which are not easy to place.

If Giusto derives primarily from Benozzo, retaining, however,

<sup>(1)</sup> *N. Baldoria*, Arch. stor. dell'Arte, III, 1890, p. 53.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Gaye*, Carteggio, I, p. 209; v. p. 115 of this vol.

<sup>(3)</sup> *G. Carocci*, I dintorni di Firenze, II, Florence, 1907, p. 259.

<sup>(4)</sup> *O. H. Giglioli*, Rivista d'Arte, III, 1905, p. 258. *Carocci*, op. cit., I, p. 347.

something of the lessons he received from Neri di Bicci and passing through a stage when he was influenced by Fra Filippo, there is no reason to ascribe to him certain paintings in which Pesellino's domination is the most manifest and which I have already classified in the previous volume with the productions



Fig. 380. Giusto di Andrea, Madonna and Saints. S. Gerolamo, Volterra.  
Photo Alinari.

of the hypothetical Piero di Lorenzo, such for instance as the Madonna between saints at S. Miniato al Tedesco <sup>(1)</sup>, that in the gallery of San Gimignano <sup>(2)</sup> and that in the Ältere Pinakothek, Munich, which is dated 1458 (once No. 1086, now No. 1003) <sup>(3)</sup>. The fact that in 1458 Giusto was only eighteen

<sup>(1)</sup> Vol X, p. 515. Attributed to Giusto by *B. Berenson*, *Drawings*, I, p. 59. and in *Thieme Becker*, *Künstler Lexikon*, p. 227.

<sup>(2)</sup> Vol. X, p. 514. Attributed to Giusto by *Pantini*, *San Gimignano*, Bergamo, 1908, p. 78, also in the gallery and in *Thieme Becker*, loc. cit.

<sup>(3)</sup> Vol. X, p. 515. *Thieme Becker*, loc. cit.

years old, makes it in itself already improbable that he should have executed this rather important picture.

There is another group of works of somewhat different appearance for which Giusto is also held responsible. In the first place I shall cite the Annunciation in the Jarves collection, Yale University, Newhaven (No. 40) <sup>(1)</sup> in which the composition with the Madonna seated, the angel standing and the portico in the background owes much to Fra Angelico, but in which the types actually reveal the combined influence of Neri di Bicci and Benozzo Gozzoli which certainly goes to uphold the attribution to Giusto. Perhaps to the same hand might be ascribed a picture in the church of S. Gerolamo, Volterra, in which similar tendencies are noticeable; the Virgin is depicted seated in a niche in a wall with the Infant Child, Who grasps a little bird, on her knee between SS. Lawrence, Antony of Padua (?), Cosmo and Damian and the kneeling figures of SS. Jerome and Francis (fig. 380) <sup>(2)</sup>.

Certainly by the same master as the foregoing painting is a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child in the collection of Herr Dieckmann, Hamburg, previously in that of Lord Pirbright.

I find that there exists a certain connexion between these paintings and a Madonna escorted by six saints in the church of S. Stefano at Anghiari, between Arezzo and Borgo San Sepolcro <sup>(3)</sup>, as well as the panels of SS. Mary Magdalene and Margaret of Cortona in the sacristy of Sta. Maria delle Grazie at S. Giovanni Val d'Arno <sup>(4)</sup>.

To Giusto Mr. Berenson ascribes, not without some hesitation, still a drawing from the Malcolm collection, now in the British Museum, representing a youthful pope on horseback with a falcon on his hand, behind whom a woman kneels on the threshold of a building <sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Sirén*, Descriptive Catalogue. p. 101.

<sup>(2)</sup> *C. Ricci*, Volterra, Bergamo, no date, p. 100. *Thieme Becker*, loc. cit.

<sup>(3)</sup> *G. Poggi*, in *G. Dannielli e G. Poggi*, Toscana (Itin. Automob.), Florence, 1924, p. 255. *P. L. Occhini*, Valle Teberina, Bergamo, 1910, p. 58, to the manner of Giusto.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Poggi*, op. cit., p. 239.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Berenson*, Drawings, II, No. 906. Other attributions to Giusto di Andrea are: Cambridge, U.S.A., Fogg Art Museum (No. 6), St. Jerome between SS. John the Baptist and Thecla(?), *Fogg Art Mus. Collection*

Fra Diamante<sup>(1)</sup> was a figure of the transition between the first and second generation of Florentine painters of the Renaissance. In the previous volume I have already spoken of his early activity with his master Fra Filippo but his work in the Sixtine chapel forces us to include him in the following generation because no artist of the first generation took any part in the achievement of this unique pictorial monument of the Renaissance.

Many details from his life reveal him as a faithful follower of the education he received from that surprising monk Fra Filippo not only in his artistic career but also in his adventurous existence.

Born in 1430 at Terranuova, Val d'Arno, the son of a certain Teo, he became a Carmelite monk and in a document of 1452 it is recorded that he assisted Fra Filippo in the decoration of the choir of the cathedral of Prato<sup>(2)</sup>. In 1463 his spiritual superiors recall him to Florence where he is put

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of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings, p. 57. *Sirén*, Boston Museum Bulletin, XIV, 1916, p. 13; it is attributed to Fra Diamante but appears to be by Giusto di Andrea. **Certaldo**, Pretorio, Pietà of 1484, attributed to Giusto by *Milanesi*, note 4 on *Vasari*, III, p. 54; according to *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. *L. Douglas*, IV, p. 342, it is a production of the school of Ghirlandaio. **Florence**, Uffizi, store-room. Madonna and four saints, formerly in the Accademia, No. 16 of the catalogue of 1884; Accademia, ex-No. 37, pilaster with the figures of SS. Bartholomew, James and John the Baptist which Mr. Berenson includes among the works by Benozzo but which in all probability is by Giusto. **Near Florence**, S. Martino a Mensola, Annunciation, *Berenson*, Drawings, I, p. 59; I mentioned it in Vol. X, p. 159, as a production of the school of Fra Angelico. **Gravisseri (Casentino)**, S. Andrea Corsini, Madonna and four saints; *C. Beni*, Guida del Casentino, Florence, 1908, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., p. 161. **Petrograd**, ex-Weiner collection, half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child; *P. P. Weiner*, Collections Russes, pl. at p. 24. *Reinach*, Repertoire de Peintures, p. 282. *Thieme-Becker*, loc. cit. **Prato**, Gallery, No. 22, Madonna nursing the Child with four saints; *Thieme-Becker*, loc. cit., a work by Botticini; *Kühnel*, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>(1)</sup> *C. F. B(aldanzi)*, Relazione della pittura di Fra Filippo nel coro della Cattedrale di Prato, Prato, 1835, p. 50. *Ulmann*, Fra Filippo u. Fra Diamante als Lehrer Botticelli's, Breslau, 1890. *The Same*, Sandro Botticelli, Munich, 1892, p. 4. *Steinmann*, Sixtinische Kapelle, I, p. 202. *H. Mendelsohn*, Fra Filippo Lippi, Berlin, 1909, passim. *G. Gronau*, in *Thieme Becker's Künstler Lexikon*, IX, 1913, p. 202, v. Vol. X, Chap. VII.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Mendelsohn*, op. cit., doc. XIII.



in prison for reasons unknown. The magistrates of Prato attempt to obtain his liberty (1). He leaves the Carmelite order and enters that of Vallombrosa, becoming in 1466 chaplain to the convent of Sta. Margherita in Prato where his master had occupied the same office in 1456 when he abducted the nun Lucrezia Butti. One would suppose that this incident should have warned the authorities against appointing another painter as chaplain. There is no record of any trouble in the convent during Fra Diamante's tenure of office but in 1468 he followed Fra Filippo to Spoleto, finished the frescoes begun by his master, who died there on the 9th October 1469, and received the bulk of the payment owing for this decoration. His activity here, however, did not last very long because in May 1470 we find him once more in Prato where he executed some paintings in the Palazzo Pubblico in honour of the Podesta Cesare Petrucci (2).

In 1472 his name is inscribed in the corporation of S. Luca in Florence; at this time he lived in the monastery of S. Pancrazio. In 1481 he figures among the artists employed in the Sistine chapel and his share in the decoration must have been pretty considerable because he receives a fairly large salary: 100 ducats a year, which sum the pope requests the monastery of S. Fedele at Poppi in the Casentino to remit to the painter. The monastic authorities refuse and this is the beginning of a law-suit during which the avaricious monk succeeds in having a number of the brothers imprisoned. It is only in 1484 that they come to an agreement but Fra Diamante continues to harass them with his demands until 1490 (3). In 1493 he is appointed prior to the convent of S. Pietro di Gello in the diocese of Volterra; he has at this moment another law-suit with a monk of the order of Vallombrosa. In 1498 we find the painter himself once more in prison and the ambassador

(1) *Guasti*, I quadri della galleria di Prato, Prato, 1888, p. 107.

(2) *Gior. Stor. degli archivi toscani*, II, p. 248.

(3) The documents have been published by *Milanesi*, ed. *Vasari*, II, p. 641, who by mistake gives the date as 1492 instead of 1482. *Steinmann*, op. cit., p. 203. *Ulmann*, op. cit., *Horne*, op. cit., does not think that this record refers to works carried out in the Sistine chapel but of this there can be no doubt, v. *Venturi*, op. cit., VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 579 note 4.

of Ferrara in Florence writes to the Duke of Este requesting him to use his influence on the Signoria of Florence in order to release the "eccellente pictore" whose imprisonment had been ordered by the Abbot of S. Salvi (<sup>1</sup>). This is the last mention we have of the monk. Vasari tells us that his master,



Fig. 381. Fra Diamante, detail from the Death of the Virgin.  
Cathedral, Spoleto.

Photo Minist. Pubbl. Istr.

Fra Filippo, represented him in the fresco of the death of St. Stephen at Prato where he also painted a portrait of himself in the guise of a prelate. This biographer praises Fra Diamante as a worthy pupil of Fra Filippo and speaks of many paintings he executed in the Carmine church of Prato but of this decoration nothing remains. Still, as I said in the previous volume

(<sup>1</sup>) *A. Venturi*, *Arte e Storia*, III, 1884, p. 101. *Steinmann*, loc. cit. *Ulmann*, loc. cit.

we discover the hand of Fra Diamante in many works in Prato.

In the chapel which Fra Filippo decorated in collaboration with his pupil in the cathedral of Prato I think we can recognize Fra Diamante's manner in the birth of St. Stephen, the first event from his life, his ordination as deacon, the saints exorcizing a person possessed, the stoning of St. Stephen, the figures of SS. Gualberto and Albert, the beheading of a saint and the saint being stoned to death. No doubt the most important scenes were executed after cartoons by Fra Filippo.

In the Nativity in the gallery of Prato (No. 20) which originates from the church of S. Domenico (Vol. X, fig. 270), Fra Filippo in my opinion painted the figures of the Virgin and Child and perhaps that of St. Joseph, leaving to Fra Diamante the St. George and the Dominican monk to the sides and all the background with the angels and the shepherds. Of the painting of the Assumption in the same gallery (No. 11), formerly in the convent of Sta. Margherita, only part is from the hand of Fra Filippo and I think we should hold Fra Diamante responsible for Tobias and the angel, the female adorer, St. Thomas receiving the Holy Girdle and probably the bodies, but not the heads, of SS. Margaret and George.

I do not think that Fra Diamante took any part in the execution of the principal fresco, the Coronation of the Virgin, in the cathedral of Spoleto, although Herr Ulmann is of opinion that the part to the right hand side is by this artist. We can attribute to him, however, the group of Apostles (fig. 381) and perhaps also some figures of the group opposite in the scene of the Death of the Virgin, the entire fresco of the Annunciation (fig. 382) and also that of the Nativity with the exception of the angels above, which are by Fra Filippo who, besides, doubtless provided the rough draughts for all the scenes.

The curious and rather ugly types, with long pointed noses and bodies in which the plastic effects are not very marked, are found in some figures of holy popes which adorn the walls between the windows in the Sixtine chapel. Herr Steinmann discovers his hand in the figures of SS. Anicetus, Eleutherus, Zepherinus, Urbanus and Antherus on the left wall and those of SS. Alexander (fig. 383) and Telesphores to the



Fig. 382. Fra Diamante, Madonna from the Annunciation.  
Cathedral, Spoleto. Photo Minist. Pubbl. Istr.

right<sup>(1)</sup>. The two last figures in particular appear to me

<sup>(1)</sup> *Langton Douglas*, in his notes on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, IV, p. 180, is of the same opinion. Regarding the attribution of the figures of the holy popes to Fra Diamante, v. *A. Schmarsoff*, *Francisci Albertini opusculum di mirabilibus novae urbis Romae*, Heilbronn, 1886, p. 13.

characteristic of the master's manner which is revealed to us most clearly in the Annunciation at Spoleto. Some of the figures on the other wall are repainted, such for instance as those of SS. Zepherinus and Anterus while the long face of St. Anicetus manifests an influence of Botticelli's art.

Considering the large sums of money that Fra Diamante received, or should have received, for his share in the decoration of the Sistine chapel, his activities here can hardly be limited to the above-mentioned figures of popes. Personally, however, I fail to discover any other frescoes which can be ascribed to him and if ever they existed, they must have been covered over by those of Michelangelo, not perhaps a very great loss, because Fra Diamante was an artist of little merit, especially when left to his own devices as was the case here, although the works he executed in collaboration with Fra Filippo are of a slightly higher artistic standard.

Prof. Venturi was in favour of the attribution to Fra Diamante of the fresco of Pharaoh and his army drowned in the Red Sea, a work generally ascribed, and I think correctly, to Pier di Cosimo, although recently he has changed his mind and now believes that we owe it to the collaboration of Fra Diamante, Benedetto Ghirlandaio and Bartolomeo di Giovanni (1).

A little panel of the Annunciation against a background of architecture which was for sale in Florence in 1918 and in Paris in 1926 and which reproduces more or less faithfully that in the choir of the cathedral of Spoleto, is in all probability from the hand of Fra Diamante, as is also a very damaged detached fresco of the Death of the Virgin which is preserved in the gallery of Spoleto.

The artistic figure of Fra Diamante is so indefinite that it is not difficult to understand the many different attributions that have been pronounced in his favour. The most likely appears to me that of some drawings made by Mr. Berenson; they include the head of a Madonna, two figures of the Visitation, St. Jerome in profile sitting reading and on the verso the same saint kneeling, all in the Uffizi and the study of a draped male figure in the British Museum. He admits the possibility that also a sketch in the Uffizi, which more or less

(1) *A. Venturi, La Cappella Sistina, Rome, no date, p. 26.*

corresponds with the famous Madonna and two angels by Fra Filippo in the Uffizi, with the figure of St. Jerome on the verso of the sheet, might be from the hand of Fra Diamante, as well as a draped headless figure which in the British Museum is found on the verso of a sketch of the Madonna under the Cross by Fra Filippo (v. Vol. X, fig. 278) (1).

Herr Ulmann and Fräulein Mendelsohn believe that Fra Diamante is the master of the Nativity in the Louvre, while the latter critic includes the predella



Fig. 383. Fra Diamante, Pope St. Alexander.  
Sixtine Chapel, Rome. Photo Alinari.

(1) *Berenson, Drawings*, II. Nos. 744—747, 1388, 1387.

panels in the gallery of Prato among this artist's works. In the previous volume I reproduce the latter paintings as probably by Piero di Lorenzo Pratese, with whom, besides, Fräulein Mendelsohn attempts to identify Fra Diamante.

In the Fogg Art Museum (No. 6) there is a panel representing St. Jerome between SS. John the Baptist and Thecla which formerly belonged to the Berti family of Prato and apparently originates from the Dragoni chapel in the Carmine church of this town where Vasari tells us he saw so many works by Fra Diamante (1).

It is a pleasing picture but I do not find sufficient reason for the attribution to Fra Diamante but sooner believe it to be by Giusto di Andrea. I should be inclined to ascribe to him a Madonna in the Doetsch collection (2) although it is a work of greater artistic value than the majority of this master's authentic works.

I do not agree with any of the other attributions which have been made to Fra Diamante (3).

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(1) *Baldanzi*, op. cit., p. 52. *Milanesi*, note on *Vasari*, II, p. 627<sup>2</sup>. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. *Langton Douglas*, IV, p. 179. *Fogg Art Museum Coll. of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings*, p. 58.

(2) *G. Poggi*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, VIII, 1908. p. 43

(3) *Berenson*, *Drawings*, I, p. 53, attributes to Fra Diamante some paintings at Prato which in my opinion are productions of the collaboration of Fra Filippo and Fra Diamante. He holds him responsible for the Datini Madonna in the gallery, for the upper part of the panel of the funeral of St. Jerome in the cathedral and for the Circumcision in S. Spirito, as well as for the angels in the Coronation of the Virgin in the Vatican, an affirmation which besides gives rise to chronological difficulties (v. Vol. X, p. 414 note); in my opinion these works are all entirely from the hand of Fra Filippo. Other attributions to Fra Diamante with which I do not agree are: **Corshamcourt**, Lord Methuen's collection, Annunciation, *Mendelsohn*, op. cit., p. 177, "for the greater part by Fra Diamante"; I have already mentioned it (Vol. X, p. 464) as a work of the school of Fra Filippo with Botticelliesque influences. **Florence**, National Museum, Carrand collection, tabernacle with the Holy Family *U. Rossi*, *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, III, 1890, p. 34 **London**, ex-Benson collection, Madonna and Child with three angels, No. 18 of the catalogue. **Turin**, Gualino collection, portrait of a Camaldolite monk, formerly in the Sterbini collection, Rome, attributed to Fra Diamante by *A. Venturi*. *La Gal. Sterbini*, No. 26; p. 613 I have already mentioned it as a probable production of Cosimo Rosselli.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO VOLUME XI

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p. 95 line 14, I say by mistake that the Nativity in the National Gallery, London, is one of Piero della Francesca's late works; as I remark elsewhere in the text it dates from an early period in his career.

p. 216 note 1. To the list of works by Benozzo Gozzoli should be added a half-length figure of the Saviour blessing in the midst of cherubim, which is at present for sale in Vienna, and a painting of a group of people supporting the Saviour under the Cross against a landscape background in the von Auspitz collection, Vienna. The latter work still shows a fairly close connexion with Fra Angelico's manner.

p. 226. A drawing of an angel and two hands which was exhibited at the Saville Gallery, London, should be included in the list of drawings by Benozzo Gozzoli (International Studio, March 1929, p. 63). Another drawing representing the Crucifixion was sold in London as from the hand of Benozzo (44 Sotheby sale, April 1929). I cannot be certain of this attribution as I have never seen the original.

p. 226 line 20. Although it might be inferred from the text that the altar-piece from S. Marco is lost, it is this painting which is now preserved in the National Gallery, London.

p. 280 note 2. Lampori should read Lamponi.

p. 378. We should include among Pollaiuolo's works three drawings in the Venetian sketch-book after originals by the master (*O. Fischel*, *Die Zeichnungen der Umbrer*, Berlin, 1917, figs. 164, 165 and 174). I am rather doubtful, however, about fig. 174.

p. 386, 6<sup>th</sup> line, di Bertoldo should read Bertoldo.

p. 414 note 4. 9<sup>th</sup> line from below, Baldovinetti should read Antonio.

p. 470. To the works of the school of Pollaiuolo should be added a niello print of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam; it closely resembles the niello of the same subject in the National Museum, Florence, with which the name of Finiguerra has been associated (v. p. 307).

p. 491 note 1. The relief formerly in the de Eperzesy collection, Rome, was sold at the Castiglioni sale (III, No. 44) which took place in Amsterdam in July 1926.

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## INDICES

## INDICES TO VOLUME XI

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