

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ITALIAN  
SCHOOLS OF PAINTING

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*MADONNA AND CHILD IN THE MIDST OF ANGELS*  
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THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE  
**Italian Schools  
of Painting**

BY

RAIMOND VAN MARLE

Doctor of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris

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

## CHAPTER I.

### GENTILE DA FABRIANO (1).

This, I think, is the right place to discuss Gentile da Fabriano, because it was he who gave to the cosmopolitan style, as it was represented in Italy, a truly national character. While painting

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(1) *A. Ricci*, Elogio di Gentile da Fabriano pittore. Macerata, 1825; also in *Operette di Bel. Arti*, Bologna, 1831, and in *Mem. Stor. delle Marche di Ancona*, I, 1834; *G. da F.*, l'Angelico e Benozzo al Vaticano e al Duomo di Orvieto, *Giornale di Erudizione Artistica*, VI, 1877, p. 149; *A. Longhi*, L'anno della morte di G. da F., *Nozze Stelluti-Scala*, 1887; *R. Mariotti*, Nuovi documenti di G. da F. sui affreschi della cappella malatestina a Brescia, *Nuova Riv. Misena*, 1892, p. 3; *A. Venturi*, Edition of "Le Vite" of Gentile and Pisanello by Vasari. Florence, 1896; *The Same*, Quadri di G. da F. a Milano e a Petrograd, *L'Arte*, 1898, p. 495 (Madonnas in Poldi Pezzoli Gal. and in Stroganoff coll.); *Les quatre panneaux au Brera de Milan*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1903, p. 99; *Cagnola*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 42; *L. Cust and H. Horne*, The Quartaresi altar-piece by G. da F., *Burlington Magazine*, 1905, p. 470; *L'Altare Quartaresi da G. da F.*, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, pp. 55, 174; *F. M. Perkins*, Attribution to G. of four panels from the life of St. Nicholas in the Vatican Gal., *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 122; *A. Colasanti*, Gli affreschi di G. da F. nella Basilica Lateranense, *Rivista Marchigiana illustr.*, 1906, p. 268; *Sirén*, (attrib. to G. da F. the panels of the legend of St. Nicholas in the Vatican Gallery) *L'Arte* 1906, p. 332; *A. Venturi*, Un nuovo dipinto di G. da F., (attribution to G. of the Madonna by Bicci di Lorenzo in the Gallery of Fabriano). *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 222; *F. M. Perkins*, (contesting this attribution) *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 91 note; *G. Gronau*, (idem), *Kunstchronik*, June 1907; *G. Poggi*, G. da F. e Bicci di Lorenzo, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1907 (on the same question); *W. Bombe*, *Le opere di G. da F. alla mostra antica umbra* (Idem), Perugia, 1907; *A. Colasanti*, Un quadro inedito di G. da F. (St. Francis receiving the stigmata in the Fornari coll.), *Boll. d'arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1907, p. 19; *Teza*, Per una firma di G. da F., *Augusta Perusia*, II, 1907, p. 145; *Carletti*, Per G. da F., data precisa della morte, *Nuova Rivista Misena*, 1907, p. 27; *Fragment of a Madonna in the Berenson coll.*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 120; *A. Longhi*, G. a Brescia 17 Aprile 1414—18 Sett. 1419, *Nozze Benigni-Corbelli*, Fabriano, 1908, p. 51; *De Nicola*, *Boll. d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1908, p. 38; *D'Ancona*, Intorno alla iscrizione della tomba di G. da F., *L'Arte*, 1908, p. 51; *A. Longhi*, G. a Fabriano nel 1420, *Le*

of this movement in Lombardy bore particular resemblances to French art and while the connexion between the Veronese school and Germany was, as we saw, in no way less evident, with Gentile we come to a style of painting which remains, it is true, cosmopolitan and Gothic, but which at the same time is very clearly Italian. Painters such as Pisanello and those of The Marches and Umbria show the same characteristic, as do also the Gothic artists of Venice, who for this reason, will be dealt with after Gentile; all the painters who came after this master seem to have felt his influence.

We do not know the year of Gentile's birth; however, the documents found and recently published by Signor R. Sassi provide us with a certain amount of information concerning the artist and his family. He was the son of Niccolo, whose father, Giovanni, died after 1397; Giovanni was the son of Massio, whose father was called Venutolo; all of them belonged to Fabriano and this is of some importance since it proves that the painter originated from the town itself where his family had lived for at least four generations before his birth. From the different data we discover that his family was comfortably off, if not rich.

Judging from the ages of his father and his grand-father, Signor R. Sassi surmises that probably Gentile was not born before

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Marche, XII, p. 137; *A. Colasanti*, G. da F., Bergamo, 1909; *G. Poggi*, La cappella di Onofrio Strozzi in S. Trinita, Florence, 1903; *L. Testi*, Storia della pittura veneziana, I, p. 362; *G. Bernardini*, (attribution to G. da F. of the panels from the life of St. Nicholas in the Vatican Gal.), *Rass. d'Arte*, 1909, p. 17; *L. Cust*, Notes on the Pictures in the Royal Collection, London, 1911, p. 17 (Madonna from the Quataresi altar-piece); *L. Venturi*, Un quadro di G. a Velletri, *Boll. d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1913; *A. Colasanti*, *Idem*, 1913, p. 73; *M. P.*, Un dipinto inedito di G. da F. (panel in the Gallery, Urbino), *L'Arte* 1915, p. 232; *E. Cantalamessa*, Un dipinto sconosciuto di G. da F. (*idem*), *Boll. d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.* 1915; *L. Venturi* (attribution to G. and his school of several paintings at Fabriano and other places in The Marches). *L'Arte*, 1915, pp. 14, 232; *A. Colasanti*, Un quadro ignoto di G. da F. (Madonna in the Sartoris coll., Paris), *Bolletino*, XI, 1917, p. 33; *R. Sassi*, La famiglia di G. da F., *Rassegna Marchigiana*, 1923, p. 21; *The Same*, Sonetti di poeti fabrianesi in onore di G. da F., *Idem*, 1924, p. 273; *The Same*, G. da F., il padre di G. e l'ordine di Monte Oliveto, *Idem*, 1925, p. 247; *P. Lungano*, Gentile da Fabriano e l'ordine di Montoliveto, etc. *Rivista di storia benedettina*, XVI, Dec. 1925.

1360 or 1370, because in 1379 his grand-father was still occupied with his own affairs and this makes it very unlikely that his birth took place before about 1320. If Niccolo were the eldest of his children, he could not have been born before 1340, rather after, and his son again not before 1360 and more probably nearer 1370.

The father of Gentile, who according to tradition was a scholar, a mathematician and an astrologer, became a monk of the Monte Olivetan order which was founded in Fabriano in 1397. His brother Ludovico followed his example. Consequently at this moment Gentile's father must have been a widower. The fact in itself proves that Gentile's family was very devout and closely associated with the Olivetan order; moreover when the master, at the end of his life, worked in S. Giovanni in Laterano he lived in the monastery of Sta. Maria Nuova, which belonged to this order. He was buried in the church of the monastery where a picture by him apparently once existed (1).

Gentile never married; he had a sister whose name is recorded.

In his artistic career we meet with Gentile for the first time in Venice in 1408, executing an altar-piece for Francesco Amadi, who paid him a sum of such a considerable amount, that we may suppose that he was a fairly renowned painter (2).

Further, in a list of painters of Venice in the Mariiegola della Scuola di S. Cristoforo there appears the name "*M. Zentile da Fabbriano S. Sofia*" in an inscription of about the year 1410(3). We do not know the date at which Gentile painted the frescoes in the hall of the Great Council which illustrated the arrival of Pope Alexander III in Venice. I shall return to the question of the date when treating Pisanello, who worked in collaboration with Gentile at this decoration, for considering that Pisanello was born in 1397 it is hardly likely that he was active here before 1417, so that Gentile must have lived at least about ten years in Venice.

In 1414 Gentile worked for Pandolfo Malatesta in Brescia where he decorated a chapel; according to documentary evidence this occupied him from April 17<sup>th</sup> of that year until Sep-

(1) *P. Lungano*, op. cit.

(2) *P. Paoletti*, *L'architettura e la scultura in Venezia*, II, Venice, 1893, p. 205.

(3) *Cicogna*, *Inscrizioni veneziane*, VI<sup>2</sup>, p. 271<sup>1</sup>.

tember 18<sup>th</sup> 1419<sup>(1)</sup> but the work must have been intermittent. He left Brescia in September 1419 and set out for Rome where the pope, Martin V, requested his presence. In 1420 we find him back in Fabriano where apparently he intended to remain, at least on two different occasions he made a demand to be exonerated from paying taxes<sup>(2)</sup>; but already in the following year Gentile's name appears in the roll of the corporation of S. Luca in Florence and in November 21<sup>st</sup> 1422 in that of the "Medici e Speciali" of the same town.

In 1423 he executed the altar-piece of the Adoration of the Magi that Palla Strozzi ordered for the chapel — really the sacristy — of the church of Sta. Trinita in Florence and which shows the following inscription: "*Opus Gentilis De Fabriano MCCCCXXIII Mensis Maio*"<sup>(3)</sup>.

According to the different records bearing reference to this painting, it appears that the price agreed upon was 150 florins. The same year a disagreeable incident befalls our painter; some boys threw stones into a courtyard — doubtless that of Gentile's house — where the artist kept a collection of statuettes and pictures; the master sent his disciple "Jacopo" who chastised one of the offenders in such a manner that legal proceedings were taken against him. In the documents concerning this affair Gentile's assistant is called: "*Jacobus Pieri pictor de Venetiis*"; in all probability he should be identified with Jacopo Bellini even although the latter's father was called Niccolo and not Pietro.

The following year, 1424, Gentile went to work in Siena where still in 1425 he pays house rent. The chroniclers Tizio and Fecini mention the "Madonna of the notaries" that Gentile painted in 1424 in the public place at the corner of via del Casato where these officials transacted their business. Besides the Virgin, SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Christopher and the dead Christ rising from His tomb between two angels were depicted.

In 1425 Gentile painted an altar-piece for the Quartaresi

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(<sup>1</sup>) Several of these documents are reproduced in their entirety in *A. Venturi*, Edition of "Le Vite" by Vasari of Gentile and Pisanello; for this record v. *Mariotti*, op. cit., and *A. Longhi*, G. a Brescia.

(<sup>2</sup>) *A. Longhi*, G. a Fabriano, p. 137.

(<sup>3</sup>) *G. Pozzi*, La cappella di O. Strozzi, p. 19.

family, which later hung in the church of S. Niccolo in Florence; it was signed: "*Opus Gentilis de Fabriano MCCCCXXV Mense Maii*"<sup>(1)</sup>, an inscription which so closely resembles that on the Adoration of the Magi that it makes us think it possible that they have been confounded.

Dating from the same year is the fresco of the Madonna on the left wall of the cathedral of Orvieto<sup>(2)</sup>. An erroneous reading of the document referring to this work gave rise to the words "Magister magistrorum", being connected with Gentile, from which it was thought that the master was the director of all the pictorial decoration executed in the cathedral, but this is evidently a mistake.

In 1426—7 Gentile was once more in Rome, and received payment for paintings which he executed in the basilica of S. Giovanni in Laterano<sup>(3)</sup>, where in all likelihood the scenes he represented illustrated the life of St. John the Baptist<sup>(4)</sup>; the payments continued throughout the month of July 1427 and on October 14<sup>th</sup> 1427 the uncle of Gentile received two hundred lire which were still owing to the painter, then deceased<sup>(5)</sup>. Consequently it would be futile to discuss the legend that Roger van der Weyden became acquainted with Gentile after 1450.

This last payment, which was made by the prior of Sta. Maria Nuova, was probably for the fresco of the Virgin between SS. Benedict and Joseph over the tomb of Cardinal Aldimari, which Michel Angelo praised and of which Vasari in connexion with this work said that the painter had a hand similar to his name.

Besides this fresco, the decoration of S. Giovanni in Siena, the Adoration of the Magi with the artist's own portrait, the Quataresi altar-piece and the Madonna, formerly in the church of S. Domenico, Perugia, now in the gallery of that town, Vasari

(1) *Richa*, Notizii delle chiese fiorentine, X, Florence, 1762, p. 270. *G. Rosini*, Storia della pittura italiana, Pisa, 1840 etc., pl. XXXVIII; v. *Cust and Horne*, op. cit.; *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, pp. 55, 174.

(2) *L. Fiumi*, Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri, Rome, 1891, p. 392.

(3) *E. Müntz*, Les arts à la cour des Papes, I, Paris, 1878, p. 16; *the Same*, Mélanges etc. publiés par l'école française de Rome, Rome, 1884.

(4) *Colasanti*, G. da F., p. 78.

(5) These documents were discovered by G. de Nicola v. *Colasanti*, op. cit., p. 18; also *Longhi*, L'anno della morta and *Carletti*, op. cit.

mentions still some lost paintings, such for example as a crucifix in the church of S. Agostino in Bari which seems to have been from the hand of Francesco di Gentile <sup>(1)</sup>, an infinity of pictures in The Marches, and more particularly in Gubbio where there does not remain a single work by Gentile — perhaps Vasari confounded the productions of Nelli and his school with those of Gentile — and in the entire province of Urbino. The last statement is quite correct because the polyptych in the Brera, Milan, as well as the signed panel in Berlin, originated from Fabriano. In the cathedral of San Severino there were some frescoes of scenes from the life of St. Vittorino, but these have long since disappeared.

More than of any of the other works by Gentile, Vasari speaks of the decoration in S. Giovanni in Laterano where the paintings that this artist left unfinished at his death, were completed by Pisanello. Vasari praises in particular the prophets and other figures between the windows, executed in “terretta”, a kind of monochrome. Also Platina in his biography of the popes mentions, under Martin V, that Gentile painted the walls of S. Giovanni in Laterano.

Facio in his “De viris illustribus” (1455 — 1456) speaks at length of Gentile and it seems to be certain that it was from him that Vasari got his information. Even then he forgot the painting, probably on panel, of Pope Martin V and ten cardinals by Gentile, which hung in the basilica of the Lateran and is mentioned by Facio, as well as the representation of a storm with uprooted trees, also described in detail by Facio.

Marcantonio Michiel (the anonimo Morelliano) speaks of a portrait of a man holding a rosary and another of a young priest, which in 1532 were in the house of M. Antonio Pasqualino, in Venice; both were depicted in profile against a black background and had been brought from Fabriano; Michiel further remarks that the resemblance which might make one believe that they represented father and son sooner arises from the manner, always the same, that Gentile had of depicting the flesh tints.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Ricci*, *Memorie storiche delle arti e degli artisti della Marca di Ancona*, I, Macerata, 1834, pp. 152. 168; *W. Schulz*, *Denkmaeler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, I, Dresden, 1860, p. 334, III, p. 174.





Fig. 1. Gentile da Fabriano, the Coronation of the Virgin.  
Brera, Milan.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 2. Gentile da Fabriano. St. Mary Magdalene. Brera, Milan.

Photo Anderson.

He also mentions a portrait of Gentile by Jacopo Bellini in the house of Pietro Bembo in Padua <sup>(1)</sup>.

Lastly Ridolfi in his "Maraviglie dell' Arte" (1648) tells us that in Venice there was a picture of St. Paul, the first hermit, by Gentile in the church of S. Giuliano and a panel of the holy hermits Paul and Antony in S. Felice <sup>(2)</sup>.

Of Gentile's dated works, then, we possess only three, all executed within a period of two years towards the end of the artist's life: the Adoration of the Magi of 1423, the Quartaresi altarpiece of 1425 and the frescoed Madonna of the same year in the cathedral of Orvieto.

In examining Gentile's works, it will be discovered that they can be divided into three groups, one of which includes the three paintings just mentioned and a few others; these are naturally the productions of his last

<sup>(1)</sup> *Der Anonimo Morelliano*, ed. Th. Frimmel, Quellenschr. f. Kunstgesch. etc., Neue Folge, I, Vienna, 1888, pp. 78 and 20.

<sup>(2)</sup> *C. Ridolfi*, *Le maraviglie dell' Arte*, ed. D. von Hadeln, I, Berlin, 1914, p. 40.

manner which is characterised by a diminution of the calligraphic and Gothic elements which are the dominating features in the works of an early stage in his career and which are present but to a lesser degree in those of the intermediate phase.

To Gentile's first manner certainly belongs the polyptych originally in the church of the "Minori Osservanti" at Valle Romita, near Fabriano, now in the Brera Gallery, Milan (No. 497). Four little figures of saints which formed part of the predella were owned at one time by Count Rosei of Fabriano and were not acquired by the gallery until 1901, while a Crucifixion which is still missing from the predella, was sold before 1834 to a Greek.

A. Ricci who provides us with this piece of information, also speaks of documents concerning this polyptych which existed in the monastery (<sup>1</sup>).

The central panel shows the Virgin on whose inclined head the Saviour places a crown; above, God the



Fig. 3. Gentile da Fabriano, St. Dominic. Brera, Milan.

Photo Anderson.

(<sup>1</sup>) *A. Ricci*, op. cit., p. 242.



Fig. 4. Gentile da Fabriano, the death of St Peter the Martyr.  
Brera, Milan.

Photo Anderson.

Father in the midst of cherubim, seems to send forth a blessing – an iconographical detail particularly frequent in Venice – while below eight angelic musicians are depicted on an arc which encircles the firmament on which is inscribed in small letters: “*Gentilis de Fabriano pinxit*” (fig. 1). On the lateral panels are depicted figures of saints, standing in flowery fields; to the left we



Fig. 5. Gentile da Fabriano, St. John the Baptist. Brera, Milan.

Photo Anderson.

see SS. Jerome and Francis and to the right SS. Mary Magdalene (fig. 2) and Dominic (fig. 3). The predella shows the martyrdom of St. Peter the Martyr (fig. 4) and St. John the Baptist in prayer (fig. 5), St. Francis receiving the stigmata (fig. 6) and St. Thomas Aquinas, reading in a garden with architecture in the background (fig. 7). As I have already stated, the Gothicism of line is quite



Fig. 6. Gentile da Fabriano, St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.

Brera, Milan.

Photo Anderson.

marked in these figures but the artist does not seem as yet to have acquired that mastery which we observe in his later works. The standing figures of saints lack a little animation; the small figures in the predella are not very beautiful.

I know another panel by Gentile, executed in the same style. It is found in the collection of Cavaliere L. de Spiridon,

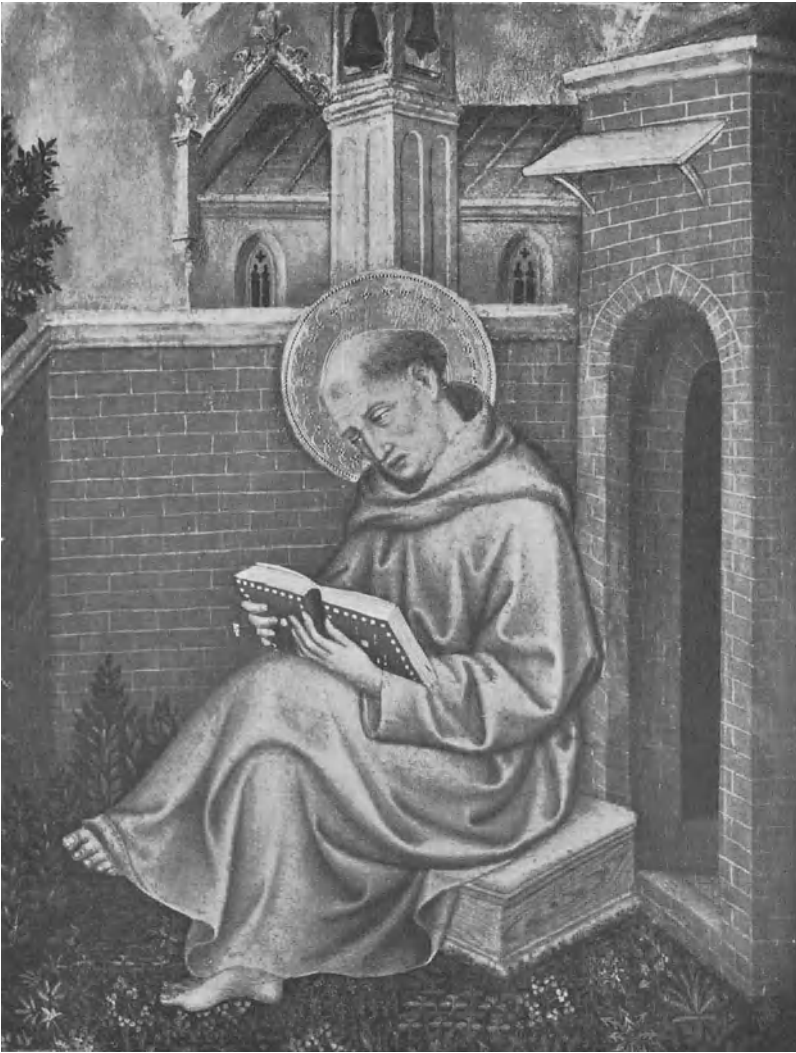


Fig. 7. Gentile da Fabriano, St. Thomas Aquinas. Brera, Milan.

Photo Anderson.

Rome, and represents a female saint holding a book and a belt (fig. 8)<sup>(1)</sup>. In appearance this picture corresponds perfectly with the panels of the polyptych. The Gothic effect is the same as in

<sup>(1)</sup> *Raimond van Marle*, Quattro dipinti marchigiani del principio del Quattrocento, *Rassegna Marchigiana*, IV, 1926, p. 225.



Fig. 8. Gentile da Fabriano, a saint.  
Spiridon Collection, Rome.

the figures in the picture in Milan, as is also the flowery field in which the saint is placed; only the ornamentation of the nimbi and the background is different but this might not be original.

In the Fornari collection, which still existed some years ago in Fabriano, there was a predella panel, executed quite in this manner <sup>(1)</sup>. It represented again St. Francis receiving the stigmata (fig. 9). Against a rocky landscape the saint with one knee on the ground, his face and hands raised, receives the holy wounds from the Saviour Who appears to him on a cross in the sky. To the right a companion on the ground, shielding his eyes, looks at the apparition; further on is depicted a little church, the facade of which is adorned with a representation of the Annunciation. In this picture the artist has obtained very dramatic chiaroscuro effects. The type of St. Francis

<sup>(1)</sup> *Colasanti*, Un quadro inedito di G. da F.





Fig. 9. Gentile da Fabriano, St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. Ex -Fornari Collection, Fabriano.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.



Fig. 10 Gentile da Fabriano, drawing. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh,

Photo Vasari Society.

is not quite the same as in the picture in the Brera, he is more beautiful and the attitude is easier and more natural.

No doubt dating from the same youthful period and showing a similar Gothic character is a pen and ink drawing on parchment in the Gallery of Edinburgh <sup>(1)</sup> which represents two figures of

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<sup>(1)</sup> Vasari Society reproduction, VII, N<sup>o</sup>. 7.



Fig. 11 Gentile da Fabriano, Madonna, saints and adorer. Museum, Berlin.

Apostles or disciples standing, holding one another by the hand; the symbols, however, have been omitted (fig. 10). The faces resemble in particular those of St Paul and Judas.

An early work, although somewhat different from the others, seems to be the panel in the gallery in Berlin (No. 1130). It was presented to the gallery in 1837 by Emperor Frederic William III, after having belonged to a Roman collector, having been the property of the Leopardi Osimana family in Osimo (The Marches) and having hung originally in the church of S. Niccolo in

Fabriano<sup>(1)</sup>. The Madonna is depicted sitting on a bench, which is placed on a platform in a flowery field between two trees in which little angels make music. To one side is a holy martyr, who is generally said to be St. Catherine, although her emblems are missing; to the other side is a holy bishop, doubtless St. Nicholas, (considering the name of the church for which the picture was made) who presents a kneeling donor, whom the Child, standing on His Mother's knee, blesses (fig. 11). The portrait of the donor is full of individuality and it is not difficult to guess that the resemblance must be excellent; in front of him is seen a monogram. The long and rather bent fingers of the Virgin are very curious; St. Nicholas has been given similar hands but the adorer's are quite different. An unusual feature is the complete absence of haloes.

I think that a fragment of a charming Madonna and Child in the Berenson collection at Settignano must be a production of the period of transition (fig. 12)<sup>(2)</sup>.

The Gothic effects are still fairly pronounced in the lines of the Virgin's head dress; also the type of her face bears a resemblance to those we found in the earlier works. The ornamental motif of the halo is taken from Arabic letters with which the artist no doubt became acquainted in Venice.

The picture of the second manner which most closely resembles this one and which for this reason should be placed at the beginning of this second phase, is a panel of the Virgin sitting on a low bench in a flowery field, holding on her knees the Child Jesus to Whom St. Rose offers a basket of flowers (fig. 13)<sup>(3)</sup>. This panel, which only a few years ago was acquired by the gallery of Urbino, shows, in spite of considerable restoration, some parts of the original work which enable us to place the picture in this stage of the master's career

The second half of this period is represented by five, perhaps six Madonnas of which the earliest seems to be that belonging to Mr Henry Goldman, New York (pl. I). This panel before 1874 was in the A. Barker collection, London; it passed into that of Madame

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(1) *A. Ricci*, op. cit.

(2) *Rassegna d' Arte*, 1907, p. 120.

(3) *M.P.*, Un dipinto inedito; *Cantalamesa*, Un dipinto sconosciuto.



*MADONNA AND CHILD*

*By Gentile da Fabriano, Goldmann Collection, New York.*

Photo Murray Kendall Keyes.



Fig 12. Gentile da Fabriano, Madonna, Berenson Collection. Settignano

Sartoris, who exhibited it in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (<sup>1</sup>). The Virgin, attired in a dress of rich brocade, holds the Child half erect on her knee; the throne is covered with a cloth of a flowered pattern which hangs on the floor behind while a

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Colasanti*, Un quadro ignorato; *W. R. Valentiner*, The Henry Goldman Collection (privately published), New York, 1922, N<sup>o</sup>. 2.

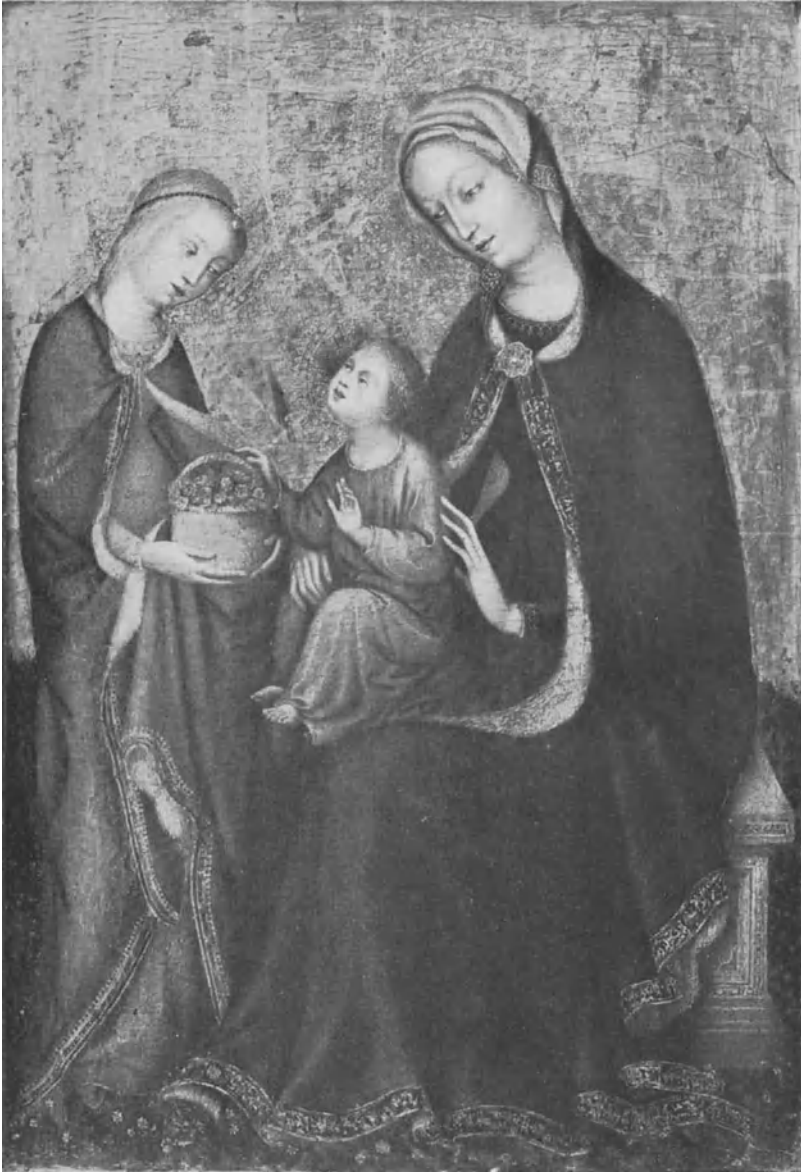


Fig. 13. Gentile da Fabriano, the mystical marriage of St. Catherine.

Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

pavement of a conventional design is visible. In the gold background can be discovered some traces of decoration, such as streamers waving in the air and a wing of either a bird or an



Fig. 14. Gentile da Fabriano, Madonna. Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Alinari.

angel. It is a beautiful work from which emanates a profound but somewhat sad sentiment. In the nimbus we again find the Arabic lettering.



We see them once more in the halo of the Madonna by Gentile in the gallery of Pisa, as well as in the border of the little napkin on which the Child sits on His Mother's knee; the Virgin sitting on a cushion on the ground crosses her hands on her breast and looks at her Son with an expression full of love and sorrow. A curtain with a pattern of large flowers forms the background. (fig. 14). This again is one of the master's fine works.

Bearing a fairly close resemblance to this picture but perhaps slightly older and not without reminiscences of the Madonna in the Berenson collection, is the panel from the church of S. Apollonia in Velletri, which after its restoration was hung in the Capitolo of the Cathedral (1). The lower part of the background is filled by a bench adorned with mosaic woodwork, on which the Virgin sits; to either side is depicted a little angel. A large part of the picture is unfortunately gone. The forms of the Madonna and the sentiment that she expresses recall to our minds the fore-going works; the type of the Child on the other hand shows more connexion with that of the later works. The Virgin is again clothed in a robe of brocade and Arabic letters form the design.

The Madonna in the Gallery of Perugia (fig. 15), which unhappily is considerably damaged, seems to be of a slightly later date. Several elements in this panel are as new as they are charming. Some tiny trees grow out of the Gothic throne, and below, a row of little angels sing from a long scroll of music. The naked Child, Who is being given an apple, sits on His Mother's knee; He is the least pleasing figure of the picture, and this, I think, is the first of a series of paintings which all suffer from the same defect.

We find it in the Madonna once in the Herbert collection, London, but which latter passed into the Paolini collection, Rome (2). The Virgin's throne is invisible but again the site is a flowery field; to the left we see SS. Julian (?) and Francis and to the right St. Jerome, carrying the model of a church and an open book (fig. 16).

The attribution of a picture in the Gardner collection seems to me rather uncertain but if it be included among his words, it

(1) *Venturi*, op cit.

(2) This collection was put up to auction in New York in December 1924. The picture in question was N<sup>o</sup>. 107 of the catalogue. I do not know the name of its present owner.



Fig. 15. Gentile da Fabriano, Madonna. Gallery, Perugia.

Photo Anderson.

approaches most closely this manner of the artist (fig. 17). The Virgin sits on the ground with her head inclined looking at the spectator; she holds standing on her knee the Child Christ, Who



Fig. 16. Gentile da Fabriano, Madonna and saints. Private Collection.

bestows a blessing on a miniature adorer kneeling below; his coat of arms is depicted in the centre of the panel below. I know this picture only from a poor photograph and consequently cannot pronounce an opinion with regard to its authenticity. Judging from the face of the Virgin I should say all the same that the picture is probably from the hand of Gentile.



Fig. 17. Gentile da Fabriano (?), Madonna. Gardner Collection. Boston.

Photo Marr.

In all the foregoing works we have found in considerable abundance those elements of cosmopolitan art which give Gentile a very evident place in this group of artists. Throughout his entire work we find calligraphic effects, a Gothicism in the forms and a conventionality of drawing, always very obvious for example in the length of the fingers.

Gentile's last manner is so much less Gothic that if we possessed only the productions of this period, his place would be with the painters of the first generation of the Renaissance, rather than among the last of the Gothic artists.

With the disappearance of the more mediaeval forms the more intense expression of sentiment also vanishes, so that all the figures of the master's last manner are calmer and more contented-looking than those of his earlier works.

A fairly important though considerably restored production of the transition between the intermediate and last manners is the panel of the Coronation of the Virgin once in the Heugel collection, now in the Art Academy, Vienna (fig. 18) <sup>(1)</sup>. The Virgin and Redeemer are seated together on the same bench which is covered with material of a large-flowered pattern; the Saviour at the same time as He places the crown on His Mother's head, blesses her; a dove flies overhead. To either side are three angels holding a scroll of music; all the figures are attired in rich brocades.

The Gothic element is still fairly marked in this painting but the forms as well as the faces are rounder, while the latter are of a much more natural appearance than we find to be the case in the works of his previous manners.

The Madonnas in the Jarves collection, Yale University, New-haven, U.S.A. (No. 66) (fig. 19) and in the Gallery of Bergamo (fig. 20) are the paintings which reveal Gentile as an artist of the Renaissance.

The first of these Madonnas <sup>(2)</sup> was identified with the central panel of the Quataresi altar-piece until the genuine one was

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<sup>(1)</sup> This must be the picture that *Venturi*, in his edition of Vasari's *Vite*, p. 24, mentions as being in the Meuthen Gallery, Corsham Court, London.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Rankin*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1895, II. *O. Sirén*, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Jarves Collection belonging to Yale University, Newhaven, London, Oxford*, 1916, p. 167.



Fig. 18. Gentile da Fabriano, the Coronation of the Virgin Art Academy.  
Vienna

discovered in the collection of H. M. the King of England; nevertheless these two paintings closely resemble one another.

The picture in Newhaven is signed below to the left in Gothic



Fig. 19. Gentile da Fabriano, Madonna. Yale University, Newhaven, U.S.A.



Fig. 20. Gentile da Fabriano, Madonna. Carrara Accademia, Bergamo.

Photo Anderson.

letters: "*Gent. Fabriano*". At one time this work was repainted but apparently the repaint has been removed without any damage to the original. The composition is rather curious. It is one of the rare Madonnas that Gentile has depicted in full face. The Virgin is apparently standing while the Child, who is naked and bestows a blessing, seems to be placed on a table in front of the Madonna, an arrangement that we meet with in Jacopo Bellini's



works and after him in those of Giovanni Bellini. A kind of Gothic arch frames the two figures and branches bearing flowers and fruit emerge from the openings.

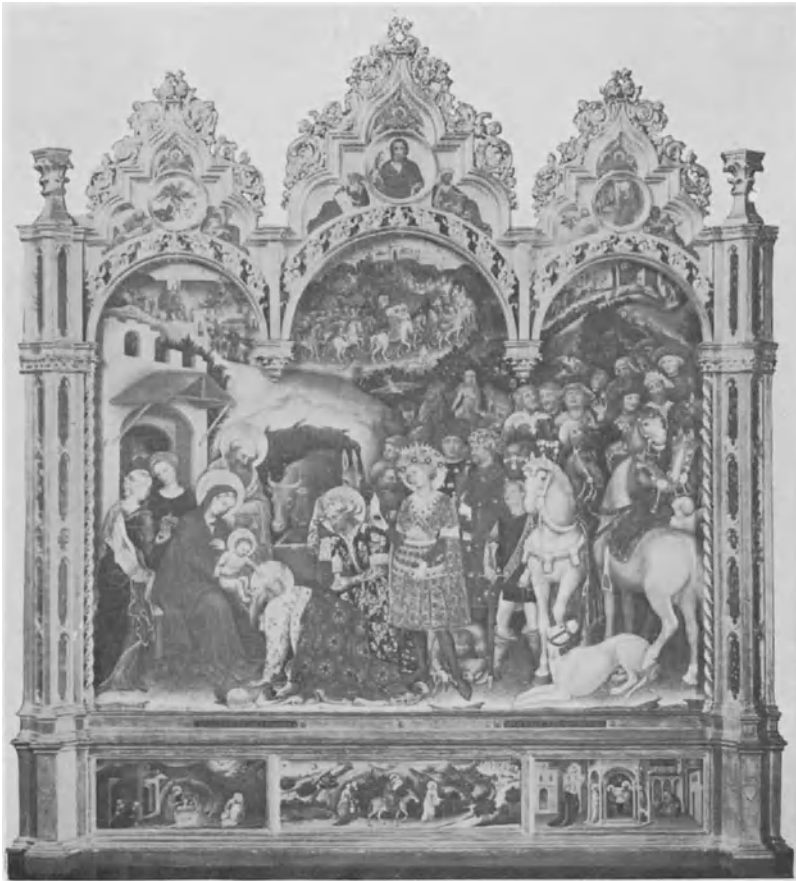


Fig. 21. Gentile da Fabriano, the Adoration of the Magi. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

The panel in Bergamo shows, against a background of conventional leaves in gold on a black surface — which I imagine may not be original — a half-length figure of the Virgin holding the naked Child. This picture, which originates from the Tadini



Fig. 22. Detail of fig. 21.

Photo Alinari.

Gallery, Lovere, is often attributed to Jacopo Bellini <sup>(1)</sup>. I think, however, that it is from the hand of Gentile; the figure of the

<sup>(1)</sup> *Colasanti*, G. da F., p. 71; *Testi*, Stor. pit. venez., II, p. 261; *G. Frizzoni*, Le Gallerie dell'Accademia Carrara in Bergamo, Bergamo, 1907, p. 150, with a point of interrogation. It should not be confused with another picture in the Tadini Gallery, Lovere, signed by Jacopo Bellini, in which the Madonna is crowned and the Child stands on a table before her, v. reprod.



Fig. 23. Detail of fig. 21.

Photo Anderson.

Madonna corresponds perfectly with the type that Gentile affected towards the end of his career; the curious features of the Child are found even still more exaggerated in the *Quartaresi* altar-piece and in the fresco in Orvieto.

in *Testi* op. cit., II, opp. p. 180. The information that the Madonna in Bergamo formerly belonged to the Tadini collection is offered us by Colasanti who reproduces the picture. Is it possible that he may have been mistaken?



Fig. 24. Detail of fig. 21.

Photo Alinari.

The most important work by Gentile that has come down to us, dates from this period; it is the Adoration of the Magi (figs. 21—25) which not long ago was transported from the Accademia of Florence to the Uffizi (No. 8364) and as we saw, came originally from the church of Sta. Trinita in Florence.



Fig. 25. Detail of fig. 21.

Photo Anderson.

If this is not the most characteristic painting of the Gothic movement, it is certainly the finest and most charming production. The principal figures are placed in the left corner below a little shelter, attached to a door which seems to give access to a park, at least through the opening, plants are visible.

The Child sitting on the Virgin's knee, lays one hand on the head of the Eastern King who, bending before Jesus, kisses His feet; he has placed his superb head dress on the ground. One of his companions who is about to kneel down, removes his turban and crown. St. Joseph stands at the Virgin's side while behind, two women look at and admire the beautiful little chalice that the first king has offered.

The background of this portion of the picture is formed by the grotto which serves as stable to the ox and the ass. Immediately behind the second king is depicted the third, standing, holding his offering in his hand (pl. II); a servant is seen in the act of removing his spurs, a detail which reminds us to a certain extent of the fresco by Simone Martini in Assisi, showing

the knighting of St. Martin. Then follows the very numerous suite of which some are on horseback, others hold their mounts by



*ONE OF THE EASTERN KINGS*

*From Gentile da Fabriano's Adoration of the Magi, Uffizi, Florence.*

Photo Alinari.

the bridle while others again are on foot. A beautiful greyhound is seen resting in the fore-ground. The artist has depicted two leopards and two monkeys, one of which is sitting on a camel, and thereby has succeeded in giving a little oriental touch to the picture which otherwise would have been missing. It is true that the second king is quite exotic-looking, as is also a man just behind the third, but this is sooner because of their turbans than on account of their types.

The Arabic inscription on the band which hangs from the shoulder of the other king is not in Gentile's case an attempt to produce something oriental. Fruit-bearing trees, around which birds fly, background this part of the picture. Deep in the background of the painting we see many beautiful miniature-like scenes. To the left a fortified town is situated on the sea-shore; on a hill the three Magi look at the Star of the East; lower down there is a group of horsemen, half hidden by a hill, an arrangement that we have already found in Stefano da Verona's works and shall see again in Pisanello's fresco of St. George. It is curious that Gentile has represented here two soldiers who seem to be dragging away an evil-doer; perhaps it was the same idea that led Pisanello to place two hanged criminals in the background of his fresco.

In the centre we see still the long cavalcade which escorts the Magi, breasting a hill at the top of which is a fortress; then more to the right is shown the moment when the Magi enter the fort by the draw-bridge.

In this picture we discover several features which reveal the spirit of the master, at least at this moment of his career.

Gentile was an artist who was just as much an idealist as Simone Martini but his conceptions were less spiritualized. The little group, composed of the Virgin and Child and the three Magi in their superb costumes — particularly the third so young, so beautiful and so ethereal — is a vision of dreamland sooner than of reality. It is too beautiful to be real. Yet from the picture no mystic or profoundly religious feeling emanates and it is in this that Gentile differs fundamentally from Simone. The scene is before all profane, magnificent of course, but without any very deep feeling and we have to grasp the subject of the picture before realizing that it is a religious representation, because

there is an infinity of details borrowed from every day life. The group of horsemen to the right of the panel, with their leopards and greyhounds would be more appropriate in a scene of the return from the chase than as an escort to the Wise Men who come to adore the new-born Jesus. In the miniature-like scenes in the background this is even more evident. Two of the knights in the central cortège openly hold a falcon on their hands, two others have leopards on their horses behind the saddle. Near the procession a huntsman on foot holds in his dog eager to give pursuit to a stag which escapes into a field. In these moments the artist did not enter into the nature of his subject and he evidently could not prevent himself from divagating into those genre and profane representations, which are so characteristic of the entire cosmopolitan artistic movement.

The altar-piece has a superb frame and an equally beautiful predella. The upper part of the frame is adorned with three medallions, each of which is held above by an angel and is supported below by two reclining figures of prophets. The subjects represented in the medallions are, in the centre, the half-length figure of the Saviour blessing and to the sides the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation, the former flying, the latter sitting in her room by the side of her bed. The lateral pilasters of the frame are each composed of about a dozen panels, each one decorated with a branch of flowers, executed in a manner so delicate and so true to nature that the result can only be described as midway between a miniature and a study of natural history and it is this style, as we shall see later on, that Pisanello followed.

The predella comprises three scenes. The first panel shows the Virgin adoring the new-born Child, Who lies on the ground while St. Joseph sleeps in a corner and two women watch close by. The site is the same as that of the Adoration of the Magi. We see the same door and the grotto in which the ox and ass are resting. On a hill in the background is depicted the angel in a halo of light appearing to two shepherds and announcing to them the glad tidings. The sky is studded with enormous stars and a beautiful mystic light illuminates the group in the foreground and the shepherds, forming an interesting contrast with the darkness of the other parts of the picture.



The Flight into Egypt shows the same miniature-like technique as the principal panel. The travellers are seen passing through a hilly country in which beautiful fruit trees grow; a fortified town and two castles are depicted in the distance. An iconographical peculiarity of this little scene is the presence of two women following the ass on which the Virgin and Child are seated.

The third panel is preserved in the Louvre (No. 1278) and reveals the fact that Gentile must have had a special interest in architecture. Several houses of curious construction, two of which show stones cut in a point, similar to those of the Palazzo dei Diamanti in Ferrara, are portrayed near the little chapel in which

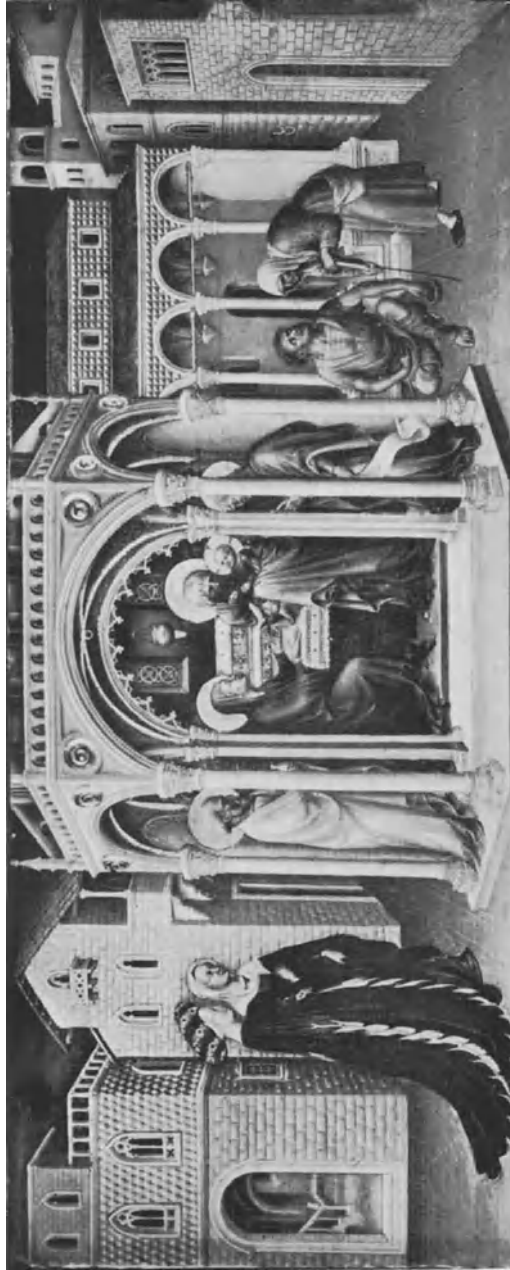


Fig. 26. Gentile da Fabriano, the Presentation in the Temple. The Louvre, Paris. Photo Alinari.



Fig. 27. Gentile da Fabriano, drawing. The Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.

the Presentation in the Temple takes place (fig. 26). This building, some of the walls of which have been left out so that the interior can be seen, is placed a little in front of the other



Fig. 28. Gentile da Fabriano, Madonna from the Quartaresi altarpiece. H.M. the King of England's Collection, National Gallery, London.

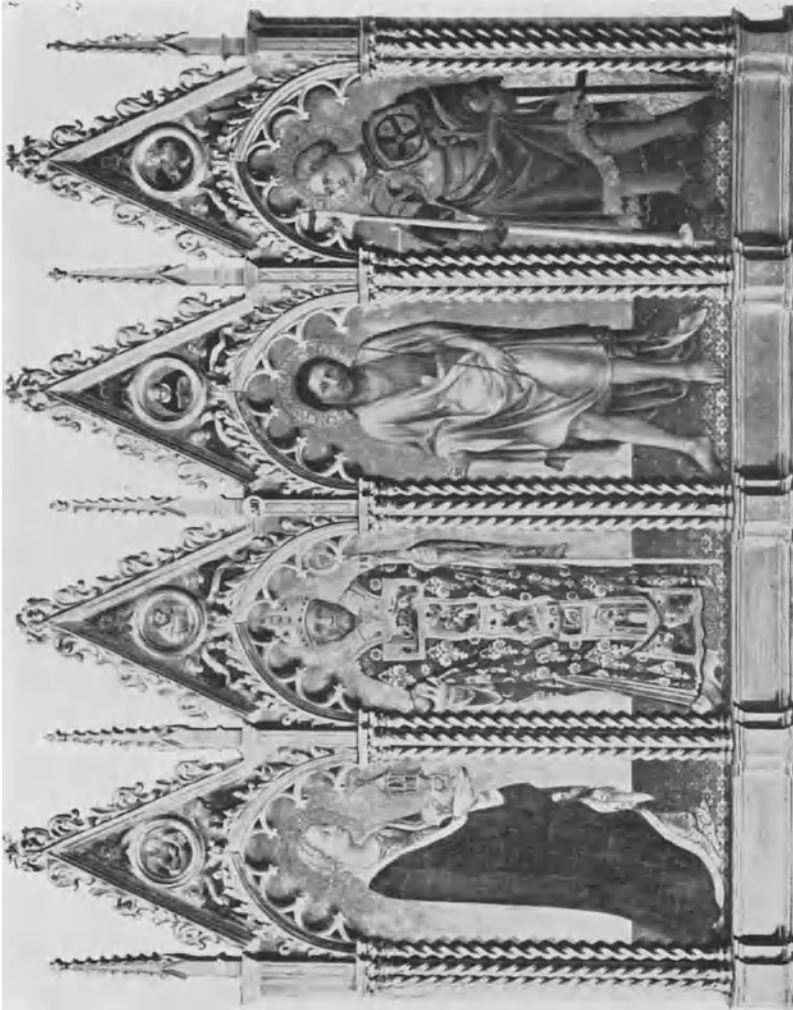


Fig. 29. Gentile da Fabriano, four saints from the *Quartaresi* altar-piece. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

houses; probably Gentile has had in mind here a baptistery in the centre of a place; the temple is hexagonal in form which would correspond to that of a baptistery. The priest holding the Child, the Virgin, St. Joseph and Anna the Prophetess are depicted near the high-altar; two ladies, elegantly attired, approach from the left; two beggars are represented to the right. These four

figures, as well as the minute architectural details give again to this scene the appearance of a genre picture.

In the Louvre there is a drawing which can be approximated to the Adoration of the Magi. It is executed in crayon with white



Fig. 30. Manner of Gentile da Fabriano, scene from the life of St. Nicholas. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

outlines on grey-green paper and represents the bust of a man, wearing a head dress of almost the same form as a turban (fig. 27). Although the same person does not appear among the men to the right of the Eastern Kings, there are several like him and it can be surmised that similar studies as the sketch in the Louvre, existed for the men that Gentile shows in the panel.

The different panels of the Quartaresi altar-piece are rather

scattered <sup>(1)</sup>. The Madonna belongs to H. M. the King of England who, I think, has lent it to the National Gallery (fig. 28). The four lateral saints are in the Uffizi (No. 887) (fig. 29) while the four



Fig 31. Manner of Gentile da Fabriano, scene from the life of St. Nicholas. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

scenes from the legend of St. Nicholas, which are preserved in the Vatican Gallery (Nos. 197, 198, 199, 200) (fig. 30—32), doubtless formed part of the predella.

The Virgin as well as the Child Jesus is characteristic of Gentile's last manner; they are pleasing but neither very graceful nor spiritual. These two figures are backgrounded by a curtain

(1) *Cust and Horne*, op. cit.; *Cust*, op. cit., L' Altare Quartaresi.

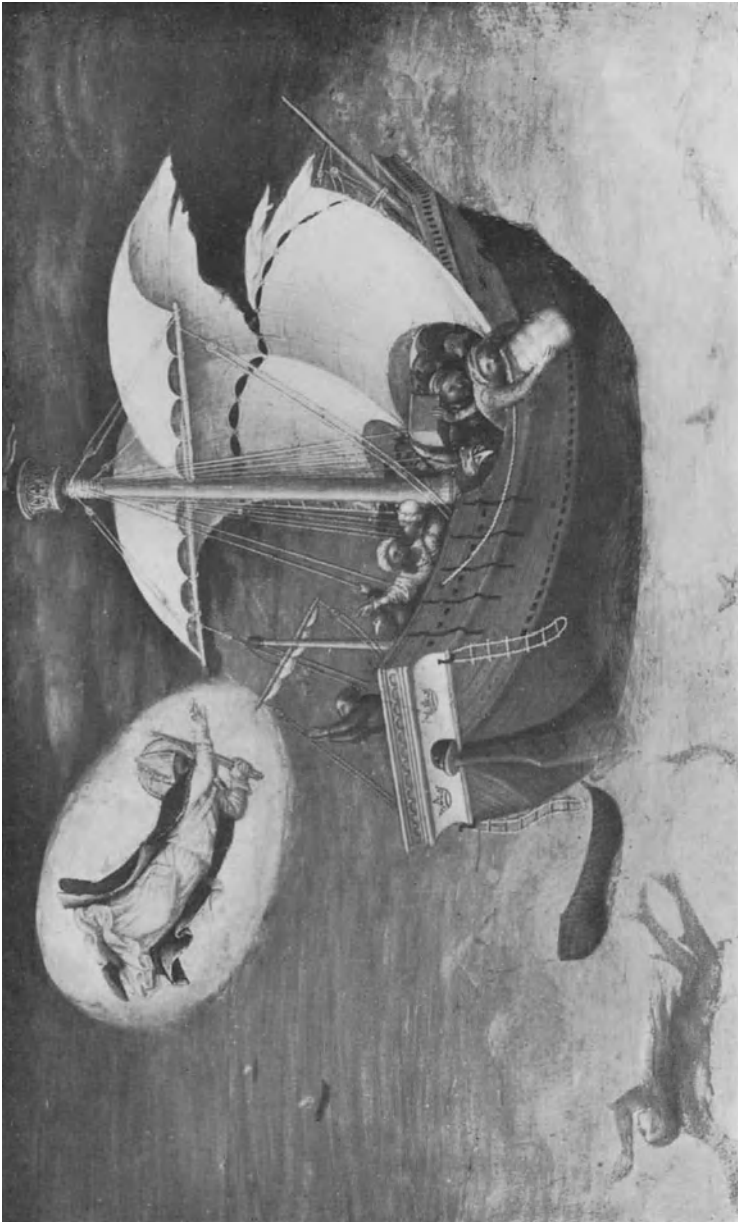


Fig. 32. Manner of Gentile da Fabriano, scene from the life of St. Nicholas. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

with a design of large flowers; the cover on the seat has a pattern of leaves while a carpet on the floor shows yet another motif. The three angels to either side are rather crushed. Above a medallion is supported by two angels with a cherub below. In the lateral panels similar figures are found around the medallions which are adorned with the figures of the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation, SS. Francis and Dominic (?). The principal figures of these panels are SS. Mary Magdalene, Nicholas, John the Baptist and George. They are beautiful images, dignified and calm and have been executed, especially the figure of the Baptist, with more marked plastic effects than we generally find in Gentile's works.

There is some difference of opinion regarding the predella panels<sup>(1)</sup>. Some believe them to be by Gentile himself, others attribute them only to his manner. I am sooner of the latter view.

The compositions are extremely simple; in the two first panels the walls are very evident and particularly in the first the figures occupy a place of minor importance; this in itself would be unusual in a work by Gentile. The scene represents the first bath of the little Nicholas, performed by two women before a fire while the mother, lying in bed in the next room, leans over in order to see her son. Part of the outside wall of the house is visible against which grow some flowering plants. The second picture is the most pleasing; it shows the saint throwing three golden balls into the house of the man and his three daughters whom, on account of their dire misery, the father had destined to a life of perdition. The family is preparing to retire for the night; they are undressing and one of the daughters helps her father. Outside St. Nicholas clings to the bars of the window in a most extraordinary manner, and throws the three balls of gold on to the bed.

The scene of the resurrection is also placed in the midst of much architecture, the plan of which is not easy to understand. It is evidently an inn and the saint miraculously causes the three children to appear safe and sound, from the barrels in which their

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(<sup>1</sup>) *Sirén*, op. cit.; *Bernardini*, op. cit.; *Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 122; *Schmarzow*, *Frammenti di una predella di Masaccio*, *L'Arte*, 1907, p. 209, ascribes them to Masaccio.





Fig. 33. Gentile da Fabriano, Madonna. Cathedral, Orvieto.

Photo Anderson.

bodies, already cut to pieces and prepared for eating, had been placed. The last scene represents the holy bishop plunging from the heavens towards some sailors who had invoked him to save

them from being shipwrecked; other sailors are depicted throwing the merchandise overboard but the sea in which fish and a siren are swimming does not appear to be very rough.

As we shall see, Bicci di Lorenzo practically copied this Madonna by Gentile as well as three of the scenes from the legend of St. Nicholas.

The panels in the Vatican Gallery, although bearing a close resemblance in style to Gentile's manner, are, none the less, too inferior in quality to ascribe them to the master himself, and the pupil to whom he consigned this work must have been given a free hand regarding the manner of treating the subjects because even the composition with its profusion of architecture, does not correspond to Gentile's style.

From the same year as the Quataresi altar-piece — 1425 — dates the fresco in the Cathedral of Orvieto where, alongside the Virgin and Child, additions have been made in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 33) <sup>(1)</sup>. It is one of the rare occasions on which Gentile shows the figures in full face. The Virgin is enthroned, sitting on a cushion of a cylindrical form; her face is rather curious; the broad smile on that of the Child is exaggerated to a grimace; nevertheless the type is the same as we found in some of Gentile's other late works. The Infant stands on the Virgin's knee, bestowing a blessing and grasping one of His Mother's fingers. Again we find here — particularly in the faces — those plastic effects which are absent in the productions of his early and intermediate phases and which seem to be an achievement of the artist's later years.

Of a Madonna which is sometimes attributed to Gentile and which belonged to the collection of the late Count Stroganoff, there will be question in the next volume when we come to discuss Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino who, as Signor Colasanti has recently pointed out, seems to be the veritable author of this work.

Another picture which I find ascribed to Gentile, is unknown to me; it is an enthroned Madonna in the collection of Mr. Theodore M. Davis of Newport, U. S. A., which Mr. Berenson includes in his list.

<sup>(1)</sup> In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century this fresco was covered with locked doors v. *Fumi*, op. cit., pp. 395, 396.



Fig. 34. School of Gentile da Fabriano, Madonna. Massimo Collection, Rome.

I do not think that some fragments of frescoes — the Magdalene and St. John the Baptist — behind the choir in the cathedral of Fabriano, are from the hand of Gentile <sup>(1)</sup>, nor is the fresco fragment, representing the head of Charles the Great, which is kept in the library of the Vatican <sup>(2)</sup>.

A picture of the Madonna, seen in full face, in the Gallery of Venice, shows the false signature: "*Gentile Fabrianensis f.*"; it is a Venetian work of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Another painting of the Virgin with a false signature of Gentile was shown at the exhibition of antiquities that was held a good many years ago in the Castel S. Angelo, Rome, and recently was still for sale in Rome. It seems to me a work by Arcangelo di Cola.

On account of the diffusion of the international style and certain common points of resemblance, many pictures have been attributed to Gentile.

I need not enumerate these works here as they will be dealt with in their proper place <sup>(3)</sup>.

Although Gentile's influence was enormous, it cannot be said that he had many immediate disciples. A certain Nerito <sup>(4)</sup> and Michele of Hungary or Ongaro are mentioned as his pupils, but we do not possess any works by the former, while the signed picture of Michele Ongaro in the Gallery of Budapest classifies him as a member of the Ferrarese school of a later generation.

It is true, however, that several of the painters of The Marches, such for example as Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino and the

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<sup>(1)</sup> Attributed to him by *L. Venturi*, *A traverso le Marche*, *L'Arte*, 1915, p. 18.

<sup>(2)</sup> Mr. Berenson includes it in his list of Gentile's works. We shall deal with it amongst the Roman productions of this style. It is sometimes considered to have formed part of Gentile's frescoes in S. Giovanni in Laterano and actually does come from this church.

<sup>(3)</sup> A picture of the Archangel Michael by Giambono in the Berenson collection was attributed to him when it still belonged to Marquis Dondi of Padua v. *G. Fiocco*, *Venezia*, I, Rome-Milan, 1920, p. 211, note 1. I have already mentioned among Stefano da Verona's school works a Madonna in the Poldi Pezzoli Gallery, Milan, which has been attributed to Gentile by *A. Venturi*, *Quadri di G. da F. a Milano e a Pietroburgo*.

<sup>(4)</sup> *G. Poggi*, *La cappella di Onofrio Strozzi in S. Trinita*, Florence, 1903, p. 19.



Fig 35. School of Gentile da Fabriano, Madonna, Private Collection, Rome.

Salimbeni, were dominated to such an extent by Gentile, that they might be classified as actual pupils. The painters of The Marches who continued more than the others the manner of Gentile, will be discussed in another chapter.

His art penetrated also into Umbria and in Lazio, too, Gentile's manner had its representatives in Lello da Velletri and some others. In Siena it was Giovanni di Paolo more than any other Sienese artist who felt Gentile's influence; as we shall see later on, it was in all probability he who executed a copy of the Adoration of the Magi by Gentile. The master's influence is evident in the Florentine school in the works of Bicci di Lorenzo whose picture in the Gallery of Fabriano was even once thought to be a newly discovered work by Gentile <sup>(1)</sup>. Of the Venetians, Giambono and Jacobello del Fiore came under Gentile's influence, while of the following generation Jacopo Bellini — no doubt one of Gentile's direct pupils — and Antonio Vivarini continued his manner in an early stage of their careers. We shall see shortly how much Pisanello owed him.

Considering to what extent Gentile's art was disseminated in Venice and in Central Italy, where it was chiefly his manner that was instrumental in introducing the cosmopolitan Gothic style, the works of his immediate school are rare.

An artist very close to the master, however, and doubtless working under his direct supervision, executed a picture of the Madonna in the collection of Prince Fabrizio Massimo, Rome (fig. 34). The Virgin, sitting on an ornate piece of stuff on the ground, holds on her knee the Child Christ, Who is attired in rich brocade.

A rather poor painting of the Madonna, sitting in a flowery field with the Child fully dressed standing on her knee, in the gallery of Verona, should be included among the works of Gentile's school.

Closely resembling the master's manner is another panel of the Virgin sitting in a field with little animals running wild, in the collection of Count Serrestori, Florence, and another, somewhat damaged, showing the Virgin seated on the ground,

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<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Venturi*, Un nuovo dipinto; *Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1906, p. 91; *Gronau*, op. cit.; *Poggi*, G. da F. e Bicci di Lorenzo.



Fig. 36. School of Gentile da Fabriano, drawing. Kupferstich Kabinet, Berlin.

adoring the Child, Who lies on her knee, while two angels fly overhead, belongs to Signor Cinelli, Florence.

The influence of the master's last manner is evident in a painting in a Roman collection, showing a half-length figure of the Virgin, carrying the Child in her arms against a background of a flowering hedge (fig. 35). The monogram of the Madonna is inscribed in Greek letters on the gold background above. The style of painting has something in common with Jacopo Bellini's first manner.

A little sketch in the Print Room in Berlin representing a woman sitting on a bench, also belongs to Gentile's school (fig. 36).

Most of the works of Gentile's tradition are comprised in the cosmopolitan artistic movement in The Marches and will be treated in another volume.

I do not know the Madonna in the Hermitage, Petrograd, which is mentioned as a school work. A Madonna, sitting in a marble niche, decorated with Arabic lettering, holding on her knee the Child Christ, Who grasps a pomegranate, in the Gallery of Dresden, is the work of a Florentine imitator of Gentile's, who must have already been acquainted with the art of Fra Filippo Lippi<sup>(1)</sup>.

Signor Colasanti mentions still two gilt glasses, both representing the Madonna. The one in the Museum of Turin, the other in the Albites collection in Florence, executed after Gentile's style<sup>(2)</sup>.

An interesting manifestation of the diffusion of Gentile's influence is found in a Catalan picture, belonging to Signor Miguel Utrillo at Sitges, in which the left portion of Gentile's Adoration of the Magi has been copied<sup>(3)</sup>. Moreover, some other Catalan painters seem to have certainly known Gentile's art<sup>(4)</sup>.

Gentile da Fabriano was by far the ablest artist of the cosmopolitan Gothic movement of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in

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<sup>(1)</sup> Reprod. in *Colasanti*, G. da F., p. 144. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle* mention as school works still a Madonna kept in the Offices of the Hospital of Citta di Castello, but this painting has disappeared.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Colasanti*, op. cit., p. 84. The Madonna in Turin is surely the one reproduced by Signor *P. Toesca*, *L'Arte*, 1908, p. 256.

<sup>(3)</sup> *A. Colasanti*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1916, p. 227.

<sup>(4)</sup> *L. Bertaux*, in *L'Histoire de l'Art*, directed by A. Michel, III<sup>e</sup>, Paris, 1908, p. 761.



Italy. He was also the most Italianized of those who founded this tradition because we have seen how many French elements are found in the works of the Lombard group and to what degree the Veronese painters were influenced by German art. We cannot be deceived as to the character of Gentile's works which are thoroughly Italian. It was he who gave a national stamp to the Italian manifestations of the cosmopolitan art, and this is substantiated by all the productions of the Central Italian painters on whom he exercised, as I have already stated, a very general influence. In Venice his influence is equally evident but there we notice that the painters felt the neighbourhood of Verona, where, however, Gentile's art also found a footing, being introduced there by Pisanello.

With regard to the origin of Gentile's art it is difficult to make a definite statement. I do not think that he owes anything to the 14<sup>th</sup> century painters of Fabriano, such for instance as Nuzi and Ghissi, although from a chronological point of view there is nothing to prevent our supposing that Gentile learned his art from the latter, but the difference of manner contradicts a similar hypothesis.

Gentile's gay and brilliant colouring in a way recalls the art of his native predecessor ; however he seems to have been more inspired by the work of Nuzi — who was in all probability dead before Gentile's birth — than by that of Ghissi, whose colouring is more dim. Further if Gentile must be considered as belonging to the school of The Marches it is more because of the adherents his art had there than on account of the outset of his career.

Gentile was a painter, the evolution of whose art led very obviously towards the Renaissance. A certain amount of Gothic archaism is manifest in the calligraphic lines of the drapery and in some other mannerisms of his first works, in the composition and grouping of the figures, in which depth is lacking in the Adoration of the Magi, and in the miniature-like technique of the background. None the less Gentile was a painter of the transition and the forms, the proportions and the plastic effects of his last works are sooner the achievements of a painter of the Renaissance.



Fig. 37. Medal of Pisanello (enlarged), by himself?

## CHAPTER II.

### PISANELLO <sup>(1)</sup>.

Pisanello was born in 1397. We owe our knowledge of this date to the discoveries of Signor Biadego, because formerly it

<sup>(1)</sup> *C. Cavattoni*, *The Carmini latini composti a mezzo il secolo XV in lode di Vittore Pisano*, Verona, 1861; *Bernasconi*, *Il Pisano, grand artefice veronese*, Verona, 1862; *Vasari-Milanesi*, *Le Vite*, III, Florence, 1878, pp. 5, 23; *Ch. Ephrussi*, *Vittore Pisano*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2<sup>nd</sup> periode, XXIV, 1881, p. 106; *J. Friedländer*, *Die Italienische Schaumünzen des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, *Jahrb. de K. Preus. Kunstsamml.*, I—III, 1880—1882; *A. Heiss*, *Les médaillons de la Renaissance*, *Vittore Pisano*, Paris, 1881; *L. Both de Tauzia*, *Vittore Pisano*, *L'Arte*, 1882, p. 224; *A. Venturi*, *La data della morta*

was thought that this painter was born about twenty years earlier, that is to say about 1380.

di Vittore Pisano, Alba Nazionale Rovighi—Valcavi, Modena, 1883; *A. Armand*, Les médailleurs italiens du quinzième et seizième siècle, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Paris, 1883; *Bode u. v. Tschudi*, Anbetung der Königen von Vittor Pisano und die Madonna mit Heiligen aus dem Besitz des C. Dal Pozzo, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., VI, 1885; *A. Venturi*, Jac. Bellini, Pisanello e Mantegna in den Sonetten des Dichters Ulysse, Kunstfreund, Berlin, 1885, No. 19; *The Same*, Documenti sul Pisanello, 1433, Archivio Storico dell' Arte, 1888, p. 424; *M. Rossi*, Il Pisanello e i Gonzaga, idem, p. 453; *The Same*, Il Pisanello graziato, idem, 1889, p. 38; *A. Venturi*, Scoperto di un ritratto estense del P., idem, 1889, p. 165; *D. Gnoli*, Passaporto di P., Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 1890, p. 402; *F. Ravaisson*, Une oeuvre de P., Mem. de l'Ac. des Inscr. et B. Lettres, 1893 (wooden bust of woman in the Louvre); *A. Gruyer*, Vittorio Pisanello, Gazette des Beaux Arts, X, 1893, p. 353; *C. Dodgson*, Ein Studiënblatt des Vittore Pisano zu dem Fresko in Senastasia a Verona, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XV, 1894, p. 259 (reproduction reversed); *E. Müntz*, A propos de la nouvelle édition de Vasari, publiée par M. Milanese, Revue de l'Art, 1894, pp. 98, 412; *A. Venturi*, Gentile da Fabriano u. Vittore Pisano, Jahrb. der K. Kunstsamml., XVI, 1895; *The Same*, Le Vite (del Vasari), Gentile da Fabriano e il Pisanello, Rome, 1896; *E. Müntz*, Pisanello, Revue de l'Art, 1897, p. 67; *A. Gruyer*, L'art ferrarais à l'époque des Princes d'Este, 2 vols., Paris, 1897; *E. Müntz*, An Italian realist of the fifteenth century, Art Journal, 1898; *Courajod*, Leçons du Louvre, II, Paris, 1900; *G. Zippel*, Artisti alla corte degli Estensi nel Quattrocento, L'Arte, 1902, p. 406; *G. Biadego*, Discorsi e profili, Milan, 1903; *C. von Fabriczy*, Die Medaillen der Italienische Renaissance, Leipzig, 1903; *A. Alexandre*, P., L'Art et les Artistes, Jany 1904; *G. F. Hill*, P., London, 1905; Criticisms on Hill's book, Burlington Magazine, VIII, 1905, p. 104; L'Arte, 1907, p. 82; *F. Burger*, Francesco Laurana, Strasbourg, 1907, p. 67; *L. Ricci*, Come debba chiamarsi il Pisanello, L'Arte, 1907, p. 376; *Biadego*, Pisanus Pictor, Atti del R. Ist. di Sc. Lett. e Arti di Venezia, LXVII<sup>2</sup>, 1908, p. 37; 1909, p. 229; *A. Venturi*, On Biadego's discovery, L'Arte, 1908, pp. 318 and 467; 1910, p. 74; *J. de Foville*, idem, Revue de l'Art, 1908, p. 315; *F. Burger*, idem, Kunstchronik, 1908, p. 65; *v. Hadeln*, idem, idem, 1908, p. 111; *G. F. Hill*, idem, Burlington Magazine, XVI, 1908, p. 288; *G. Frizzoni*, I nostri grandi maestri in relazione al quinto fascicolo dei disegni di Oxford, L'Arte, 1908, p. 81; *K. Zoege v. Manteuffel*, Die Gemälde u. Zeichnungen der A. Pisano in Verona, Halle, 1909; *L. Testi*, La Storia della pittura veneziana, I, Bergamo, 1909, p. 372; *The Same*, V. P. o. Pisanus Pictor, Rassegna d'Arte, 1910, p. 131; Criticism on K. Zoege v. Manteuffel's book, L'Arte, 1910, p. 160; *L. Testi*, Quando nacque il P., Rassegna d'Arte, July 1911, p. 1; Les dessins de P. et de son école, conservés au Musée du Louvre, 4 vols., publiés par J. Guiffrey, Paris, 1911; *G. Biscaro*, Pisanus pictor alla corte di F. M. Visconti, Milan, 1911; *C. Cipolla*, Ricerchi intorno alla chiesa di S. Anastasia in Verona, L'Arte, 1914, p. 396 (412);

The document which provides us with this piece of information dates from 1433 and from it we discover also that he was called Antonio and not Vittore as previously was thought.

The error regarding the name can be traced back to Vasari; this biographer supplied certain facts which caused the false signature: "*Opera di Vettor Pisanello di San Vi Veronese 1406*", to be applied to a picture of the school of Vivarini, now in the store room of the Museum of Berlin.

The hypothesis of the existence of a Vittore Pisano, who should be identified with the painter, has not yet been completely abandoned, Antonio, the medallist, being consequently another person, but as will be seen from what follows, there is no reason to admit the existence of two different artists, the medallist, the draughtsman and the painter being one and the same individual.

From the same document we learn that at this moment, 1433, Pisanello was thirty-six years of age and that he lived in Verona with his mother, Isabella, and a little daughter of four. The father of Pisanello was a Pisan of the name of Bartolommeo; he seems to have been a cloth merchant and it was no doubt on account of the father's site of origin that the son was surnamed Pisanello. We know, further, that the artist had a sister called Bona, who became the wife of the notary, de la Levada, of Venice and that his mother's second husband was Filippo de Ostiglia.

We know nothing concerning Pisanello's artistic education or where he spent his youth. Vasari pretends that he was apprenticed in Florence where he became acquainted with del Castagno and where he executed frescoes representing the legend of St. James saving the son of the Galician pilgrim, in the

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*Nocq*, Les médailles d'Antonio Pisano, Paris, 1914; *A. Venturi*, Un ritratto del P., *L'Arte*, 1918, p. 277 (man's profile in the Capitol Museum); *M. Krascheninnikova*, Catalogo dei disegni del P., *L'Arte*, 1920, pp. 5, 125, 226; *J. de Foville*, P. et les médailleurs italiens, Paris, no date; *G. F. Hill*, Gallows Studies by P., *Burlington Magazine*, XXXVI, 1920, p. 305; *A. Venturi*, Per il Pisanello, *Disegni inediti etc.*, *L'Arte*, 1921, p. 80; *The Same*, Del quadretto attribuito a Bono da Ferrara nella Galleria Nazionale di Londra, *L'Arte*, 1922, p. 105; *A. Venturi*, Un disegno inedito del Pisanello, *Miscellanea per le Nozze Brenzoni-Giacometti*, Verona, 1924; *The Same*, Per il Pisanello, *L'Arte*, 1925, p. 36 (portrait of a lady belonging to Duveen and a drawing in the Lugt collection).

church of the corporation of Sta. Maria della Croce al Tempio or as Mr. Hill believes, in the hospital of this corporation, which in 1428 was left a legacy for the purpose of building a hospital, but we have really no reason to believe the data offered by Vasari, who always attempts to place the début of all great artists in Florence. Judging from his style it would be much easier to believe that he received his first lessons in painting from Stefano da Verona, consequently in Verona itself.

It is highly probably, as will be seen later on, that Pisanello worked in Venice before we find him active in Verona; there, he took part with Gentile da Fabriano in the execution of the decoration of the large council hall of the Ducal Palace (1). A letter of January 1432 from Leonello d'Este to his brother Meliaduse proves that Pisanello was in Verona in 1431. The letter is of interest, not only because it is the earliest document we possess that bears reference to the artist but also because it mentions a picture of the Virgin that Pisanello was executing for him in Rome (2), only the authenticity of the letter has sometimes been doubted.

What is certain is that about this period Pisanello was working in the Lateran in Rome and it has been thought possible that he finished the task undertaken by Gentile da Fabriano, who worked there in 1426, and 1427 and died in 1428, leaving the decoration unfinished. The subject that Gentile illustrated was the story of the Baptist. Vasari, who speaks of Pisanello's paintings, does not mention this subject but informs us that the decoration was carried out regardless of expense, that is to say with a profusion of ultramarine, paid by the pope himself.

In 1431 and 1432 Pisanello received payments for paintings made in the Lateran (3) and we know that in 1432 Pope Eugenius IV gave him a passport which allowed him, his assistants and friends, in all six persons, with their luggage and other belongings, to leave Rome (4).

In any case, already in 1435, Pisanello was in close rapport with the d'Este of Ferrara, because he sent to Leonello, probably

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(1) *Hill*, Pisanello, p. 27.

(2) Among others Mr. *Hill*, op. cit., p. 51, gives the text of the letter. Most of the documents are found in *Venturi's* edition of *Le Vite* by Vasari.

(3) *E. Müntz*, op. cit., p. 46.

(4) *D. Gnoli*, op. cit.

on the occasion of his marriage, a portrait of Caesar. Caesar was a historic figure that Leonello held in special veneration; in his palace an entire room with its decoration was dedicated to him while Guarino, Leonello's professor, presented him with a treatise demonstrating Caesar's superiority over Scipio. Crowe and Cavalcaselle inform us that in 1435 the artist executed a portrait of Niccolo III d'Este but there is no confirmation of this statement and perhaps a slight error has been made here regarding the subject of the painting of Caesar. Three years later Guarino wrote a sonnet on Pisanello, in which he does not only mention his painting but seems to allude to his talent as medallist.

From July 1438 until February 1442 Pisanello did not live in Verona because his name appears among the adherents of the Marquis of Mantua who did not return to the town after the lapse of time during which those who had left Verona on account of the siege were given permission to return. In 1442 he is allowed to return to his native town and to take possession of his furniture in Ferrara. However, we are well informed with regard to his movements during these years.

At the beginning of 1438 he was very probably in Ferrara and saw there at the time of the council the Emperor John Palaeologus, whose image he cast.

In 1439 we find him in Mantua and in May he receives payment of work which he executed for the marquis. Besides it is also possible, as Mr. Hill remarks, that he decorated the church of Sta. Paola in the Corpus Christi monastery, the construction of which had been ordered by the Marquise Paola. B. Facio, in his treatise on illustrious men, tells us, that at Mantua Pisanello painted a chapel and some pictures.

In 1441 we know that Pisanello lived in the house of his brother-in-law, the notary Andrea de la Levada in Venice and it was very likely in that year that he competed with Jacopo Bellini for the best portrait of Leonello d'Este, a competition which Bellini won if we can believe the sonnet of a certain Ulisse, perhaps Ulisse de' Aleatti, who narrates the fact<sup>(1)</sup>. In any case he returned the same year from Ferrara to Mantua by boat. A debt of 180 ducats

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Hill*, op. cit., p. 138.

which the painter owed was deducted from his wages by order of the Marquis of Mantua. From there he went probably to Milan and Pavia and it is possible that while in the latter town he executed some frescoes for the Duke of Milan and made the medals of Piccinino, Filippo Maria Visconti and Francesco Sforza.

In October 1442 he is brought before the tribunal of Venice on a charge of calumniating the republic of Venice while he was at the court of Ludovico Gonzaga, who fought for the Duke of Milan united with the Pope, Florence, and Venice, against the "Liga". The public advocate even asks that his tongue should be cut but there is unanimous opposition to this form of punishment. Nevertheless he is not allowed to leave Venice, nor can he do anything without the permission of the "Council of Ten". Shortly after he is given leave to go for two months to Ferrara<sup>(1)</sup> where he must have arrived towards the end of the year; as we saw before, it was just this year that he was given permission to return to his native town.

The Marquis of Mantua did everything in his power to obtain the services of the painter and as we see from the entries in the register of the household accounts of the court of Mantua he succeeded in this, probably in 1443. The same year the artist writes to Gianfrancesco Gonzaga requesting money due to him, which, according to the reply he has every intention of paying but at that moment has no funds at his disposal. In November the same noble writes that he is sending a messenger to retrieve from Pisanello a painting on canvas, representing the Saviour, that he had taken away without permission. Perhaps the painter during another visit to Mantua had taken possession of the picture in security for the money which was owing to him.

In 1444 Pisanello was once more requested to come to Mantua and after, so it appears, having received from the marquis the payment due to him, he went there instead of to Naples where he was also in demand, and undertook several different works; he decorated a chapel and the hall of the ducal palace and executed as well several pictures on panel<sup>(2)</sup>. The same year on

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(1) *G. Ludwig*, *Archevalische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Venezianische Kunst* (Italienische Forschungen, IV), Berlin, 1911, p. 120.

(2) *M. Rossi*, *op. cit.*

the occasion of the second marriage of the marquis he cast the medal with the portrait of Leonello on one side and Love taming the lion on the other.

It is quite possible that Leonello employed the painter for the decoration of his country house of Belriguardo which he built at this moment. In any case during this year the painter received from Leonello the sum of 50 gold ducats, while in 1447 another payment of 25 ducats was made to him but in December 1448 we find that he owes money to the treasury of Ferrara.

The painter does not seem to have given up his domicile in Verona, at least he figures among the rate-payers of 1445 and 1446 as inhabiting the quarter of S. Paolo.

Pisanello then went to Naples where he not only made a sketch for a medal of Alfonso the Magnificent with the date 1448 but received an annual salary of 400 ducats as a member of the regular staff of the king's household (<sup>1</sup>). In the document the artist is called "*Pisanellus de Pisis pictor*" which has given rise to some uncertainty as to whether it refers to the same person but the discovery of Pisanello's origin has entirely dissipated this doubt. Besides casting medals, Pisanello, while in Naples, perhaps also made sketches for jewellery and no doubt executed works of more importance which, however, have not come down to us. It is possible, as we shall see later on, that he painted the king's portrait.

A sketch of a medal for Pope Nicholas V, if from the hand of Pisanello, would lead us to believe that the artist returned to Rome once more before his death.

We do not know when Pisanello died. Vasari informs us that he died in Pisa while he was working at the frescoes in the Campo Santo but we have nothing to confirm this statement.

Biondo, in his "*Italia illustrata*", written in 1450, mentions Pisanello as still alive, while Bartolomeo Facio in his "*De viris illustribus*" of 1455—1456 speaks of him as deceased, consequently it is between these two dates that we must place the death of the great artist.

As there is no mention made of his activity after 1449, it can

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(<sup>1</sup>) *A. Venturi, Le Vite*, p. 59. *Schulz, Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, 1860, IV, pp. 184, 185, gives the wrong date of 1446.



be surmised that in all likelihood he died shortly after 1450, but against this hypothesis the following arguments have been set forth.

Guarino mentions Pisanello in a letter of 1452.

In a document of 1455, his brother-in-law, the Venetian notary speaks of the considerable debts of Pisanello and of his mother in a manner which leads us to believe that at least one of the two was still alive and as his mother died in 1442, it can only be a reference to the artist <sup>(1)</sup>.

Lastly there exists a letter of Carlo de Medici, dated October 31<sup>st</sup> 1455, saying that he bought some medals from a pupil of Pisanello who died a few days ago <sup>(2)</sup>.

As to the last of these data it is very doubtful if the person who "died a few days ago" was Pisanello or the pupil to whom the medals belonged.

From Guarino's letter of 1452 it is not at all clear that Pisanello was still alive at that moment. The only argument of any value is the notary's letter but here we are dealing only with an impression, and it is hardly likely that the artist could have lived five years in such obscurity, unless of course he were ill or infirm.

Pisanello enjoyed during his lifetime a celebrity that only few artists have known. Numerous poets and other writers have sung his praises. In 1442 Angiolo Galli glorifies him in a poem in which he calls him greater than Cimabue, Giotto (Allegretto Nuzi?) or Gentile and in which he extols the technical knowledge of the "glorioso e dolce mio Pisano".

Prior to 1443 Tito Vespaziano Strozzi wrote a eulogy on Pisanello, enumerating the subjects in the representation of which the artist excelled; they included medals, figures of men and animals, rivers, saints, God, forests, flowers, scenes of the chase, hares, dogs and knights.

Further the poems of Leonardo Dati of 1432, of Guarino (1438), of Basinio di Parma of 1447 and of Porcellio (1449) made special mention of his manner of depicting animals and painting portraits. Paolo Giovio wrote to Cosimo de Medici on the subject of Pisanello's medals but what he says does not seem to be very exact, at least none of the medals he mentions has come down to us.

<sup>(1)</sup> *G. F. Hill*, Burlington Magazine, May, XVI, 1908, p. 288.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Gaye*, Carteggio.

Lastly Giovanni Santi in his rhymed chronicle written at the time of Federigo da Montefeltre, praises him highly (1).

Pisanello was the true painter of the courts of the princes and, as we have seen, particularly of those in the north of Italy where a life of great display of wealth and luxury with all that pertained to it, which had penetrated chiefly from France, had taken a firm hold. Before all, he worked for the d'Este of Ferrara and the Gonzaga of Mantua but as we shall see he went also to Milan, where he was active for the Visconti and very probably to Rimini, where he was employed by the Malatesta. During his visits to the various palaces he must have met a great number of princes.

Not only does his art exhibit that elegance and mundanity with which his relations with these princes brought him in contact but he worked to embellish the luxury in which these seigneurs lived. He designed their costumes and perhaps also their jewellery. The pattern of the materials they wore, the harness of their horses, the collars of their dogs were all of great importance in the eye of the artist and this should not be forgotten in studying Pisanello's works in which these elements are always in evidence.

In the different courts the great painter represented the artistic and aesthetic side of the princely life and it can easily be believed that many of the princes were more intimately connected with the painter than with the ordinary members of their suite. The attention paid him and the desire to please him are clearly manifest, for example, in the letter in which the Marquis of Mantua requests him to come to his palace and even goes as far as asking him which room he would like to occupy.

Apart from the princes themselves the artist came in touch with the entire retinue, the military attendants, as well as the savants and humanists who often were officially attached to the courts.

On account of the surroundings in which he lived, the work with which he was chiefly charged, that is to say portraits and profane decoration, and the artistic tradition from which he derived, Pisanello could only have been a worldly and thoroughly

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(1) *Cavattoni*, op. cit. *Venturi*, *Le Vite*, passim. *Hill*, *Pisanello*, pp. 133, 186, 223.

secular painter and in no way mystic or religious and this will be realized at once in examining the fresco of St. George in the church of Sta. Anastasia in Verona. It would be difficult to treat a hagiographic legend in a less religious spirit. Certainly it is not lacking in imagination. It is an almost fairy-like vision, not only on account of the *mise-en-scène* but also because of the fantastic faces of St. George mounting his horse and the other knights and the mysterious spirit which emanates from the whole scene.

But the fantasticism of Pisanello is rendered with a realism of which few artists have been capable. Moreover, detailed studies of nature seem to have been the master's preferred occupation.

Realism and fantasticism are the elements on which Pisanello's art is based, but to that we must add a very pronounced taste for the sumptuous side of contemporary life in order to grasp the spirit of this artist, who was by far the most captivating painter that Italy possessed in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

My predecessors, with the exception of Mr. Hill, have often been mistaken in thinking that the connexion frequently found between Pisanello's drawings and his pictures prove that these sketches were executed as rough drafts of his paintings and always with the view of serving as such. It is quite the contrary. I think that Pisanello was an extraordinary draughtsman, that he made drawings and sketches of everything he found interesting and that when he had an order for a picture he fell back upon his sketch books and represented in his painting, apart from the actual subject, anything that happened to please him. Even the principal subjects, I think, must often have taken the appearance suggested to the artist by the sketches made at quite another time and when the artist did not yet know to what future use he would put them.

Besides, this was quite the usual manner for artists, especially of the middle-ages, to use their sketch books, the contents of which were looked to to provide ideas and rough drafts for no matter what work.

Certainly there are some cases in which it is evident that we are dealing with genuine studies for definite figures; further I do not think that any considerable length of time passed before the painter put his drawings to some use because I can hardly

imagine the artist having recourse to a sketch he had made many years before.

For what follows it is essential that we should glance for a moment at Pisanello's drawings for they give us a much more general idea of the artist's importance than his paintings which are few in number and in part badly preserved.

A large number of Pisanello's drawings or those of his school are found in the Vallardi collection in the Louvre. This collection takes its name from its last proprietor who bought it in 1828 from a noble family in the vicinity of Milan and the Louvre acquired it from Vallardi in 1836 for the sum of 50,000 francs. The sketches at that time passed for works of Leonardo da Vinci <sup>(1)</sup>, but later on it was discovered that only a few of the pages were by Leonardo and Cesare da Sesto and that the rest were executed by Pisanello or at least by adherents of his manner <sup>(2)</sup>. Professor Venturi seems of opinion that the Recueil Vallardi comprises only half of the original collection, the other half of which is preserved in the Ambrosiana, Milan. Now a days the sketchbook has been broken up and the drawings placed in the portfolios of the collection of drawings in the Louvre.

The Vallardi collection of drawings has sometimes been connected with a piece of information provided by Marcantonio Michiel, for long known as the "Anonimo Morelliano", who between 1515 and 1543 wrote his "Notizio d'Opere del Disegno". Speaking of works of art existing in Padua he mentions, in the house of M.... Da Strada, a cloth merchant, "La carta de cavretto cun li molti animali coloriti fu de mano del Pisano" <sup>(3)</sup> But this

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<sup>(1)</sup> *G. Vallardi*, Disegni originali di Leonardo da Vinci posseduti da G. V., Milan, 1855.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Reiset*, Gazette des Beaux Arts, Vol. XV, 1877, p. 119. *Both de Tauzia*, Notice des dessins de la collection His de la Salle, Paris, 1881, p. 60.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Th. Frimmel*, Der Anonimo Morelliano, Quellenschriften der Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik etc., Neue Folge, I, Vienna, 1888, p. 30. It may be that Signor Da Strada had in his possession some of Pisanello's medals because Michiel speaks as well of many "modern" medals in bronze, an adjective which he uses as opposed to the word "antique" which he employs in a description a few lines before. On the other hand it seems likely that if the medals he refers to were really by Pisanello he would have mentioned the name of the engraver whose signature is never missing.

description refers obviously only to some animals executed in colour on parchment which, if belonging to the collection now in the Louvre, could only have consisted in a very small part of it. Vasari also had some drawings which he attributed to Pisanello but tells us very clearly that they were no longer in his possession when the first edition of his "Vite" was published. However, besides the Vallardi collection there exists, as will be seen later on, a considerable number of drawings by Pisanello. A list of the drawings in this collection is given by M. Jean Guiffrey in the edition that Signor A. Venturi published of Vasari's biography of Pisanello<sup>(1)</sup>; there exists as well a very fine edition of the reproductions of these sketches with a preface by M. Guiffrey<sup>(2)</sup>.

The list that M. Guiffrey gives of these drawings, apart from some inaccuracies, is, from the point of view of criticism, inconveniently lacking. The title, "Catalogo dei disegni del Pisanello", indicates that according to the author all the drawings he mentions are by the master himself. The edition of reproductions, on the other hand, is called "Dessins de Pisanello et de son école". Even for the sketches from the hand of Pisanello the question can be raised to what extent in their actual condition they can be considered the productions of Pisanello himself, because there can be no doubt that many of the drawings have been strengthened — outlined in ink — at a much later period than that of their original execution.

Nevertheless, the study of the Vallardi collection of drawings should be carried out with a little more subtlety, than generally has been the case. Here I specially refer to the writing of Herr Zoege von Manteuffel, who certainly deserves praise for the systematic division of the drawings which he has given us but to whom, at the same time, I reproach a certain rigidity in his methods of investigation. I should say that instead of

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<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Venturi, Le Vite*, p. 88.

<sup>(2)</sup> Paris. 1911. Unfortunately this beautiful publication has been compiled with little care. Of some of the important pages the reproduction has been overlooked, while of others two are given. Also it seems to me incomprehensible that no order with regard to the place the drawings occupy in the Vallardi collection has been given, nor even some indication of the correspondence between the reproduction and the pages of the collection.

judging solely from the sketches in the album, he took up the question with preconceived ideas regarding the manner in which Pisanello worked and on this point he will not admit any possible variation. I think he is right in affirming that a number of the drawings are tracings but the transition between sketches outlined in ink at a later period, the work of a direct pupil treated in the same manner, a copy and a school production is so subtle, I do not believe that anyone exists who could tell us exactly which is which of all these pages of drawings. There are many which are certainly by the master; there are many which in their actual condition cannot be considered such and if, under the later retouching, there is a work by Pisanello, that must often remain a mystery.

The Vallardi collection naturally contains several sketches which show no connexion with Pisanello's art, but on the other hand I am quite ready to admit for an artist like Pisanello, who treated such a variety of different forms of figurative art, the existence of manners of painting very diverse one from the other and also a great diversity of standards.

To reach a definite conclusion with regard to which of the drawings should be ascribed to Pisanello we must study his work in its entirety and not ignore, as Herr Zoege von Manteuffel has done, the medals.

Madame Krasceninnikova, on the contrary, has, in my opinion, been a little too free in her attribution of the drawings to Pisanello himself.

It is highly probably that the earliest activity of Pisanello of which we have any evidence nowadays, took place in Venice, although the different theories about the date are all open to discussion. It is known that Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello worked at the decoration in the Hall of Council in the Palace of the Doges and this fact has been considered in conjunction with a decree of 1415, ordering an easier means of access to the hall in order to see the decoration which was then finished, and another of 1422 voting an annual sum of 100 gold ducats for the upkeep of the frescoes (<sup>1</sup>). I see no reason to admit that the latter document has anything whatsoever to do with the mural paint-

(<sup>1</sup>) *F. Wickhoff*, *Der Saal des grossen Rathes in altem Schmucke*. Repertor. f. Kunstw., VI, 1883, p. 20. *A. Venturi*, *Le Vite*, p. 5.

ings that Gentile and Pisanello executed in this hall because it is merely a provision for the preservation of already existing works and in no way an order for new frescoes.

From the former document it has been surmised that Gentile and Pisanello were at work here before 1415. This is quite possible as far as Gentile is concerned and seemed also possible for Pisanello when it was still thought that he was born about 1380 or 1390, but now that we know that he was not born until 1397 it can hardly be admitted that already at the age of 18 he had accomplished a work of such importance. This decoration must have been executed at the earliest in 1417 or shortly after because in 1419 Gentile went to Rome.

Since neither the decree of 1415 nor that of 1422 has anything to do with Pisanello's activity in the Council Hall, the date of his work there remains problematical. However, a document of 1425 already mentions the finished frescoes in this hall representing the journey of Pope Alexander III to Venice<sup>(1)</sup>, and although these are from the hand of Gentile, Pisanello must have collaborated with him in the execution of this series of paintings. His fresco represented Othon, the son of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, kneeling before his father to whom he was sent to plead the cause of Venice. The painting is described in a passage of Facio's "De Viris illustribus" of 1455—1456, while F. Sansovino, in his description of Venice, tells us that among the portraits in this fresco there was that of Andrea Vendramin, the most beautiful young man of Venice, and that the work was covered or repainted by Luigi Vivarini in 1474 and 1479<sup>(2)</sup>.

Facio gives us some other details; he speaks of the Teutonic appearance of some of the figures and mentions that of a priest who made some boys laugh by pulling faces at them.

Lastly there exist two sketches of this fresco, both of which are attributed to Pisanello. The first is found in the Vallardi collection<sup>(3)</sup>. In a portico before a castle which Wickhoff, for no

(<sup>1</sup>) *G. Lorenzi*, Monumenti per servire alla storia del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia etc., Venice, 1861, p. 61.

(<sup>2</sup>) *F. Sansovino*, Venetia citta nobillissima et singolare, Venice, 1591, p. 124.

(<sup>3</sup>) Pl. 219 (reprod. 67) in ink on rose-coloured paper. Guiffrey did not identify the subject but this has been done by Wickhoff and Hill.

very obvious reason, identifies with the Palace of the Doges (<sup>1</sup>), we can distinguish in the midst of a large gathering a person enthroned, raising his hand while another kneels before him. Pisanello, as we shall see later on, had many different ways of drawing; this is a rough pen and ink sketch, hastily done and with no thought of artistic perfection; on the same page are some very minute studies of dogs, revealing the artist's hand at a more mature and very propitious stage of his career. It is impossible to say why these drawings of such different manners are found on the same page and I personally have the greatest difficulty in admitting that if on this occasion the artist really made a rough draft for a fresco, he would have limited it to a few hasty strokes, sketched in the corner of a page. The work was far too important for this apparent lack of care, especially for an artist still in his teens.

The other drawing which might possibly have served for the same composition is much more elaborate; on the back of the page there is another sketch which confirms the hypothesis that here we are really dealing with a sketch which might have served for the execution of the frescoes in the Hall of Council. The architecture is more truly Venetian in appearance but it is adorned with the imperial eagle. The emperor receives his son who kneels before him, another figure is seen kneeling behind Othon, while a third is depicted standing. Among the emperor's suite one member is represented holding a falcon and in the foreground three dogs at play are shown. The bearded face of the emperor and that of the prince as well as of some of the other figures perhaps explain the remark which refers to the Teutonic types in this work. This drawing, which is preserved in the British Museum (<sup>2</sup>), shows on the verso an important battle scene, mainly composed of knights, led by a chief wearing a helmet of heraldic design. One has been overthrown, the horse of another

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(<sup>1</sup>) As Hill remarks, the event naturally did not take place in Venice but in Apulia, but the artist perhaps did not consider this detail of much importance.

(<sup>2</sup>) Sloane 5226—57 pen and bistre on red paper. *S. Colvin*, *Academy*, XXVI, 1884, p. 338. *E. Müntz*, *Revue de l'art*, I, 1894, p. 70. *Hill*, *op. cit.*, p. 32. Müntz is of opinion that several heads in the Vallardi collection and in that of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatswick were executed as rough drafts for some of the figures in this fresco.





Fig. 38. Pisanello?, drawing. British Museum.

Photo Anderson.

is shown from behind while a *mêlée* is formed by a group of unmounted figures.

In this drawing (fig. 38) we can identify many of those studies of horses, so dear to Pisanello, nevertheless I can understand Mr. Hill's hesitation in ascribing this sketch to the master himself and I think it more likely that we are dealing in this case with a drawing executed after Pisanello's painting. In the Vallardi collection we find a sketch of two armed men, one on horseback, fighting<sup>(1)</sup> which in style and composition corresponds perfectly with the drawing in the British Museum; the latter, if a sketch for one of the series of frescoes in the Hall of Council, represents probably the inhabitants of Rome attacking Barbarossa outside the Porta S. Angelo.

The technique of a little study of three horses on one page<sup>(2)</sup> will, I think, be found to be the same as that of the battle scene in London. I do not agree with the general opinion that these drawings bear a close resemblance in style to Jacopo Bellini's manner.

A design which shows an obvious connexion with the representation on the recto of the page in the British Museum is found in the Condé Museum of Chantilly; it was formerly in the Reiset, Lagoy and d'Aumale collections and depicts a seated monk, a young man holding a falcon and a person wearing a royal crown. This, besides, provides us with a probable date for Pisanello's costume studies, because the sketch which I have just mentioned is executed on the verso of the well-known drawing of an elegant lady advancing towards the right, followed by a young nobleman, not less tastefully attired<sup>(3)</sup>. The same lady, who bears a marked resemblance to the princess in the fresco in Sta. Anastasia of Verona, forms the subject of a drawing in the Bonnat Museum of Bayonne where she is depicted still more richly attired while two little female figures of equal elegance are seen in the background (fig. 39). On the verso of this page are represented three saints, each holding a book and one of them also a cross, and seven studies

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<sup>(1)</sup> Pen drawing on pink paper, page 256 verso (reprod. 225).

<sup>(2)</sup> Page 166 (100) pen on vellum.

<sup>(3)</sup> The position of the legs, which seems a little awkward, is found in another drawing (Vallardi, p. 253 verso, reprod. 23) of the figure of a page (?), of which the head is missing, holding a large sword; pen on pink paper. On the verso of this page there is a sketch of three king-fishers (reprod. 141).



Fig. 39. Pisanello, fashion studies, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.

Photo Braun.

of swans Subject and style once more confirm that these sketches are a youthful work of the painter. Lastly the same lady is shown in a drawing in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; again she is fol-

lowed by a young noble, while between the two figures there is a separate study of her head with a similar and equally elaborate coiffure. Alternating with the sketches of costumes are others of beautiful materials, resembling those of which the dresses are made<sup>(1)</sup>.

The hypothesis that the drawing at Chantilly served for the decoration of the Hall of Council in Venice, justifies our dating several fairly important designs from this period.

Allowing that Pisanello worked in the Hall of Council of Venice, we must admit that he collaborated with Gentile da Fabriano. Moreover, against this supposition there is no argument with the exception of the somewhat contrary statements made by Facio and Sansovino in whose information, however, we can only have a very relative confidence<sup>(2)</sup>.

In the Vallardi collection there is a drawing which confirms once more our theory, because not only does it show Venetian architecture but also certain figures which are reminiscent of some in the sketch of Barbarossa and his son in the British Museum. The drawing in question (fig. 40) represents the Saviour, followed by five young men, emerging from the portico of a house of Venetian style. The Redeemer approaches a kneeling pilgrim. To the left, but not belonging to the composition, is depicted a nobleman whose attitude, although reversed, resembles fairly closely that of the St. George in the picture in the National Gallery, London<sup>(3)</sup>. Some vague traces of a draped figure, much larger than the others, is visible to the right. I feel practically certain that the figure of the Saviour was added at a slightly later period when the artist was looking for a little corner on an old page for this particular study, not only because the figure has

<sup>(1)</sup> Vallardi collection, reprod. 282. *Zoege von Manteuffel*, op. cit., p. 73, does not believe that these designs of what might be called fashion figures, are from the hand of Pisanello and is of opinion that anything that was not either simply graceful and elegant or decorative, was foreign to Pisanello's art. I think his judgment is at fault and this mistake clearly shows that he has not thoroughly understood the spirit of the master's work.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Sansovino*, e.g. mentions Gentile, Luigi Vivarini and Gian Bellini as contemporaries.

<sup>(3)</sup> Fol. 175 (reprod. 17). On the verso is depicted the Virgin of the Annunciation, with which sketch we shall deal in connexion with the Madonna in the Gallery of Verona.



Fig. 40. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

nothing to do with the rest of the composition but also because the style and technique are quite different; they will be found to have more in common with a page of sketches of nine nobles and

a dragon in the Ambrosiana, Milan, to which we shall return later on.

Some other designs recall that which I have just mentioned. In the Vallardi collection there is a page showing three studies, two of which are coloured, of a twisted column similar to those on the architecture in the drawing of the Saviour and the pilgrim; above these is depicted a panther running, also in colour<sup>(1)</sup>. The same beast, but seen from the other side, is depicted at play on another page of this album; the style and technique are identical<sup>(2)</sup>. A coloured sketch of a fox and a young deer<sup>(3)</sup> is executed after the same manner, as is also, I think, a page showing fragmentary studies of a stag and a goat<sup>(4)</sup> as well as two pages of sketches representing foxes, dogs, panthers and other animals in the British Museum<sup>(5)</sup>.

We have thus before us a well defined stage in Pisanello's artistic career and one, I think, which might be qualified as naturalistic-Gothic. Naturalistic firstly, because the animals have been represented with such realism, such acute observation and such scientific knowledge that the sketches are worthy of a natural scientist's album. Nevertheless it must not be taken for granted that we possess any proof that these aquarelles of animals are really by Pisanello, in fact this attribution has been frequently contested; Signor Toesca for instance thinks that they are of Lombard origin<sup>(6)</sup>. In order to admit that these aquarelles really are by Pisanello, we must allow that the artist, at the same time as he worked in different manners, followed as well this style and if this be so, it would justify the hypothesis that at the beginning of his career Pisanello executed also miniatures.

On the other hand some points of resemblance between certain of these drawings — among which the study of the column, which I have just mentioned, should not be forgotten — and the master's

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 217 (reprod. 271) pen and water-colours on vellum.

<sup>(2)</sup> Fol. 211 (178) pen and water-colours on vellum.

<sup>(3)</sup> Fol. 215 (188) pen and water-colours on vellum.

<sup>(4)</sup> Fol. 242 (194) pen and water-colours on vellum.

<sup>(5)</sup> British Mus., 1895, 12, 1494 and 95. *Hill*, op. cit., p. 241, does not think that they are by Pisanello.

<sup>(6)</sup> *P. Toesca, La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia*, Milan, 1912, p. 448. *Zoege von Manteuffel*, finds that they are executed in the artist's manner.



Fig. 41. Pisanello?, aquarelle. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

pictures, as well as some features in the style seem to point to a sufficient connexion with the artist's other works for us to admit that in all probability they are from his hand. In this case it must be said that a faint Gothicism of form dominated the painter in his attempts to execute faithful representations of his subjects. This is most evident in the sketches of the panther (fig. 41) but on close examination it will be found to exist in the majority of his works. Besides, this propensity to accurate representation from nature, so contrary to all forms of impressionistic art, is also thoroughly Gothic in spirit.

The only picture in which we discover the same characteristics is that of St. Eustace in the National Gallery, London (fig. 42) <sup>(1)</sup> and a large number of drawings, executed in the "naturalistic Gothic" style, can be compared with this picture.

It would be rather venturesome to affirm that this charming panel was executed before the Annunciation in the church of S. Fermo, Verona, or the Madonna "della quaglia" in the Gallery of the same town, but there can be no doubt that it is a production of his very earliest activity.

In this painting, beside his marvellous drawings, we notice a fault which moreover is found in some of his other pictures: it is the lack of unity. When Pisanello executed them he was still dominated by that conception of nature which all the painter-decorators of the 14<sup>th</sup> century castles and palaces possessed; the most famous example of this art is preserved in the Palace of the Popes in Avignon. This tendency to fill up a picture with the greatest possible number of elements borrowed from life in the forest is that of a decorator of a past age.

Further, Gothic principles are still clearly visible in many of the details, chiefly in the appearance of the two deer-hounds, more particularly in the one giving chase, and in the scroll on which the inscription has been effaced, but it can also be distinguished in the horse, the two deer seen in profile and in some

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<sup>(1)</sup> N<sup>o</sup>. 1436, formerly in the Ashburnham collection. The panel had previously been attributed to Dürer and to Fouquet when Dr. W. v. Bode recognized it as a work of Pisanello's. v. *Bode*, op. cit., p. 16; v. *Schlosser* Jahrb. der Kunstl. Samml. allerh. Kaiserhaus (Vienna), XVI, p. 209; *Weiszacher*, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., VII, 1886, p. 50; *Zoege von Mantuffel*, op. cit., p. 49, is of opinion that it is by an imitator.





Fig. 42. Pisanello, the Vision of St. Eustace. National Gallery, London.

Photo Anderson.

of the birds in the background. The moment represented on the panel is that of the apparition to St. Eustace of the cross with the crucified Saviour between the antlers of a stag.

It is only natural that attempts have been made to connect a large number of drawings with this picture but as I have already remarked, in accordance with Mr. Hill, I am not of the opinion

that the sketches which bear a resemblance to certain pictures, have always been made with the idea of serving as rough drafts for the execution of those pictures, but sooner formed a collection of studies which the artist fell back upon at need. All the same it is obvious that the drawings which the artist repeats in his pictures are always, or nearly always, anterior to his paintings and from this standpoint it is evident that a group of sketches, fairly considerable in number, can be considered as contemporary or anterior to this panel.

In part these studies are executed in the same manner as those of the panther and the two other drawings to which I have already referred, and this fact confirms my hypothesis that we are dealing here with the productions of the same period, which must have been a youthful stage in the painter's life, not only on account of the reasons which I have given above but also because Pisanello's interest in animals, other than horses, and particularly in birds and plants, seems to have diminished as he advanced in years. At least in none of the works of his more mature manner do we find this agglomeration of zoological and botanical specimens.

Four designs can be associated without any doubt with St. Eustace's horse and to a certain extent with the saint himself. One shows the mount in its entirety and a little of the rider <sup>(1)</sup>. That on this occasion the sketch was really a study for the picture, there can be little doubt, because on the verso of the same page we find some drawings of the Saviour on the Cross <sup>(2)</sup> — a subject which appears in the same painting — and further, two other studies for the horse even more closely resembling the attitude in which Pisanello has depicted it in the panel, are executed in exactly the same technique — hasty pen and ink sketches <sup>(3)</sup> — with in this case some touches of water-colour.

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<sup>(1)</sup> 163 (reprod. 10) in pen and ink.

<sup>(2)</sup> Reprod. 8 That this drawing and the previous one are found on the same page confirms the hypothesis that both served as rough sketches for the picture; the second study was not executed for the medal of Novello Malatesta as Gruyer believes.

<sup>(3)</sup> 160 (122), 145 (155) a study on red paper (190) seems to have served for the same horse.



Fig. 43. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

Lastly in the Haseltine collection <sup>(1)</sup> there was one page which showed, among many other sketches, a study of the saint's leg, his foot in a stirrup.

There can be no doubt that the rough draft of the stag, which in the picture is represented bearing the Crucified between its

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<sup>(1)</sup> Pen and ink strengthened in white on pink paper. Sold in public auction in London, March 1920, N<sup>o</sup> 41. In the catalogue it was ascribed to Simone Martini. The page was previously in the Lagoy and the de Fries collections.

horns is that executed in sepia on vellum in the Vallardi collection (1). The drawing of a hind (fig. 43) (2) so closely resembles in general line and attitude the stag depicted to the left in Pisanello's panel that it is quite possible that the artist used this sketch for this detail of his picture, although the position of the feet in a sketch in the National Museum of Stockholm (3) shows an even greater resemblance.

For the execution in the upper left part of the painting of the recumbent hind, he seems to have used the study of a goat in the same attitude (4). More to the right we see a hind depicted from behind of which also there exist some drawings (5) as well as for the stag, shown drinking in the background (6).

As for the dogs, of the head of the one near the forelegs of the horse we have a very precise drawing (7); the hound giving chase to a hare has been sketched in a very different manner on two pages of the Vallardi collection but neither the one nor the other seems to be from the master's hand (8).

Of the bear represented above to the right, there also exists a

(1) Fol. 236 (85). In the Bonnat Museum, Bayonne, there is another drawing of a stag in a more or less similar attitude, v. *A. Venturi, L'Arte, 1921, p. 91*; but the sketch in the Vallardi collection bears a still stronger resemblance.

(2) Fol. 239 (128) pen and ink. I see no reason to believe, as Herr Zoege v. Manteuffel does, that this drawing is of much later date.

(3) *O. Sirén, Dessins et tableaux de la Renaissance italienne dans les collections de Suède, Stockholm, 1902, p. 34*; pen on paper. On the same page there are two other deer's heads, hastily sketched and a fragment of a putto. The attribution has been doubted v. *Hill, op. cit., p. 69*<sup>1</sup>. I am more inclined to think that it is the work of Pisanello.

(4) 192 (125) pen drawing. In the same page are a fox looking back and a monkey.

(5) 240 (47) pen and water-colours on red paper; three deer seen from behind; and especially fol. 241 (83) pen and water-colours.

(6) In the Bonnat Museum, Bayonne, on the back of the drawing of a deer which I have mentioned before. *A. Venturi, L'Arte, 1921, p. 91*; fol. 234 (172) pen, deer couchant; 235 (233), id., three deer's heads. There exists a drawing on fol. 237 (86) of two deer, a stag's head and two partridges (fig. 44) — pen on vellum — which seems later, while the two studies in silver point on vellum 226 (108) and reprod. 265 are decidedly of more recent date

(7) 220 (176) crayon and aquarelle on paper.

(8) 229 (211) aquarelle on vellum. The other page shows two of the three scenes and a griffon as depicted in the London panel 230 (184).



Fig. 44. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

sketch which shows the animal precisely as he is depicted in the painting <sup>(1)</sup>, but it is a very mediocre drawing and might be considered a copy after the panel.

We possess many drawings of birds resembling those that Pisanello shows in his picture, in which, however, there are but



Fig. 45. Pisanello, aquarelle. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon

few examples which seem to have been directly executed from the extant sketches. All the same we see a peewit below to the right, of which a water-coloured study exists <sup>(2)</sup>, as well as a red

<sup>(1)</sup> 207 (213) crayon on paper. The same page shows a second sketch of a bear. Studies of a bear and a lion in the Museum of Cologne seem to belong sooner to the Lombard school. *E. Müntz*, *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*. 1889, p. 75.

<sup>(2)</sup> 276 (277). Another is executed in pen and ink on the same page.

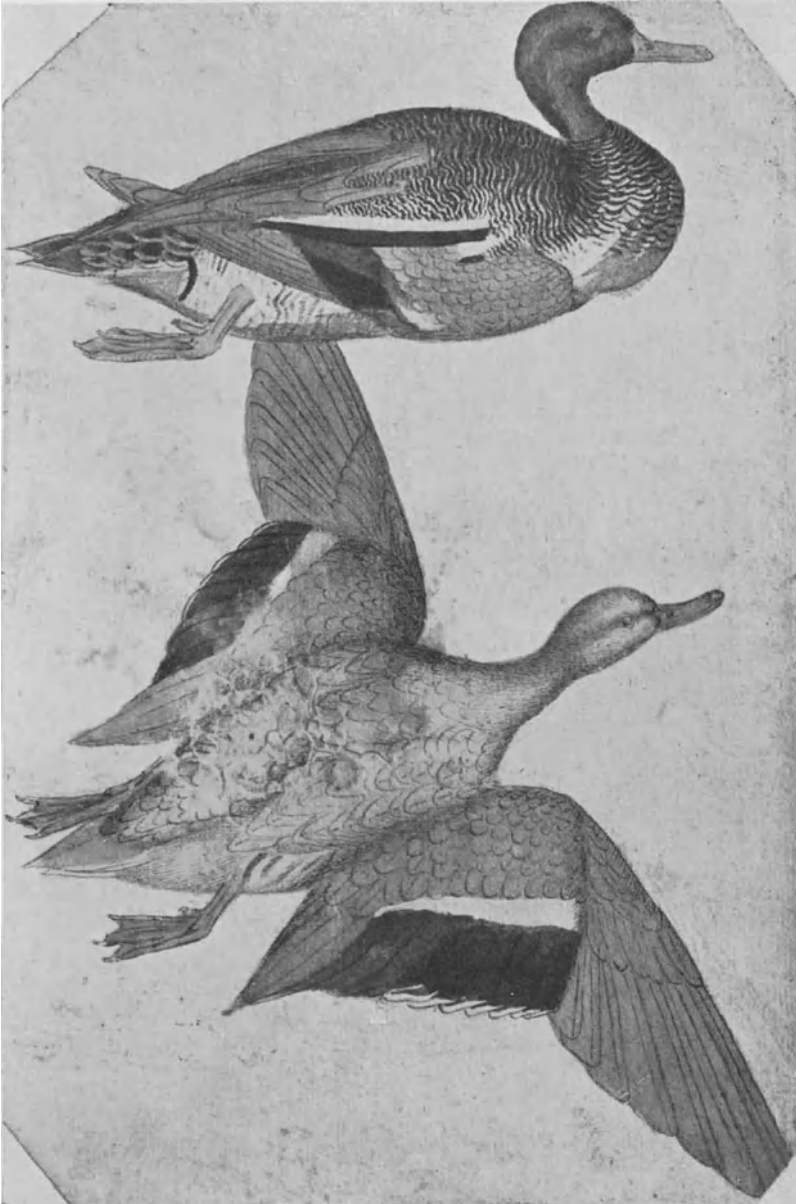


Fig. 46. Pisanello, aquarelle. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

partridge <sup>(1)</sup> and a crane <sup>(2)</sup> to the same side above, of which we also find drawings.

These points and, as I have already remarked, the absence of similar elements in Pisanello's later works justify our placing in an early stage of his career those realistic studies of birds, often executed in water-colours, which are found in considerable number in the Vallardi collection <sup>(3)</sup>. Another series has been carefully sketched in crayon <sup>(4)</sup>, while others are done in pen and ink, several of them with great virtuosity and in the same technique as the drawings of St. Eustace's horse <sup>(5)</sup>. As will be pointed out shortly, the fact that many of these designs represent peacocks, which bird, as far as we know, Pisanello depicted only in the Annunciation in S. Fermo, Verona, once more confirms my attribution of this set of drawings to the master's youth.

In no other painting did Pisanello pay so much attention to plant-life. The ground on which the horse of St. Eustace advances and the background are covered with vegetation. The painter has treated the plants with an interest worthy of a botanist and the miniature-like technique is the same as that which he employed for animals at this stage in his career. Studies of plants after this manner are not lacking in the Vallardi collection <sup>(6)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> 272 (280) pen and water-colours on paper.

<sup>(2)</sup> 280 (61) pen and ink on paper. On the same page we find two other cranes and two herons, one of which is done in water-colours. There are several other studies of herons, storks and cranes: 264 (136) in water-colours, 263 (226), 281 (279). A pen drawing of seven storks and three Apostles is preserved in the Bonnat Museum, Bayonne. Fol. 262 (249) of the Vallardi collection seems to be of later date and by another hand.

<sup>(3)</sup> Water-coloured studies of birds are found on the following pages: 265 (196), 266 (143), 268 (137), 271 (140), 272 (221), 273 (239), 274 (138), 275 (63), 279 (287), 283 (286), 284 (285, 59), and reprints. 56, 277, 278 (figs. 45—47).

<sup>(4)</sup> 59 (241) rather faint, 250 (238), 256 (149), 254 (139), 260 (156) outlined in ink.

<sup>(5)</sup> 187 (150), 251 (62), 251 verso (64), 252 (60), 253 (141), 255 (65), 255 verso (57), 261 (177, doubtful), 269 (157 with some water-colour).

<sup>(6)</sup> 8 (70) pen on paper with studies of a leg and a cuttle-fish, the latter faintly coloured; 10 (76) two legs and two plants, pen and water-colour on pink paper; 178 (134) drawings of plants and three heads of wild cats, silver-point on vellum; 212 (66) plants, pen on paper; 248 (135) plants and a falcon, silver-point on vellum grayish in colour: 248 (254) flowers, a stork and the head of a stork, idem. A beautiful page of drawings of plants is preserved in the Bonnat Museum, Bayonne; on the verso there is an elaborate design of the church of S. Antonio in Padua; *A. Venturi, L'Arte*, 1921, p. 90.





Fig. 47. Pisanello, aquarelle. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

Lastly there are some sketches of figures in profile which, I think, can be compared with that of St. Eustace.

As Mr. Hill has remarked, we should certainly not look for a

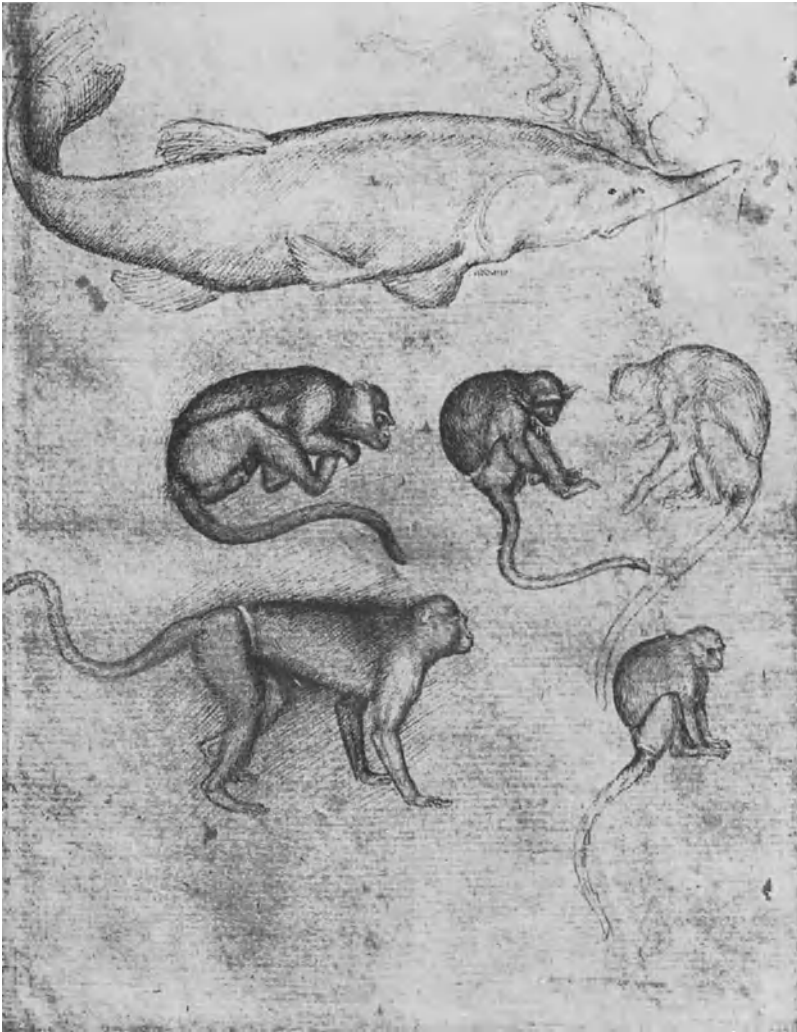


Fig. 48. Pisanello, drawing Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

portrait in the features of the saint but that does not exclude the fact that certain profiles resemble the figure in the picture. This is so, firstly on account of the spirit of the work which is life-like but idealized and lacking the realism of the profiles which Pisanello executed for his medals, and secondly because on closer examination, we discover here too those faint mannerisms and

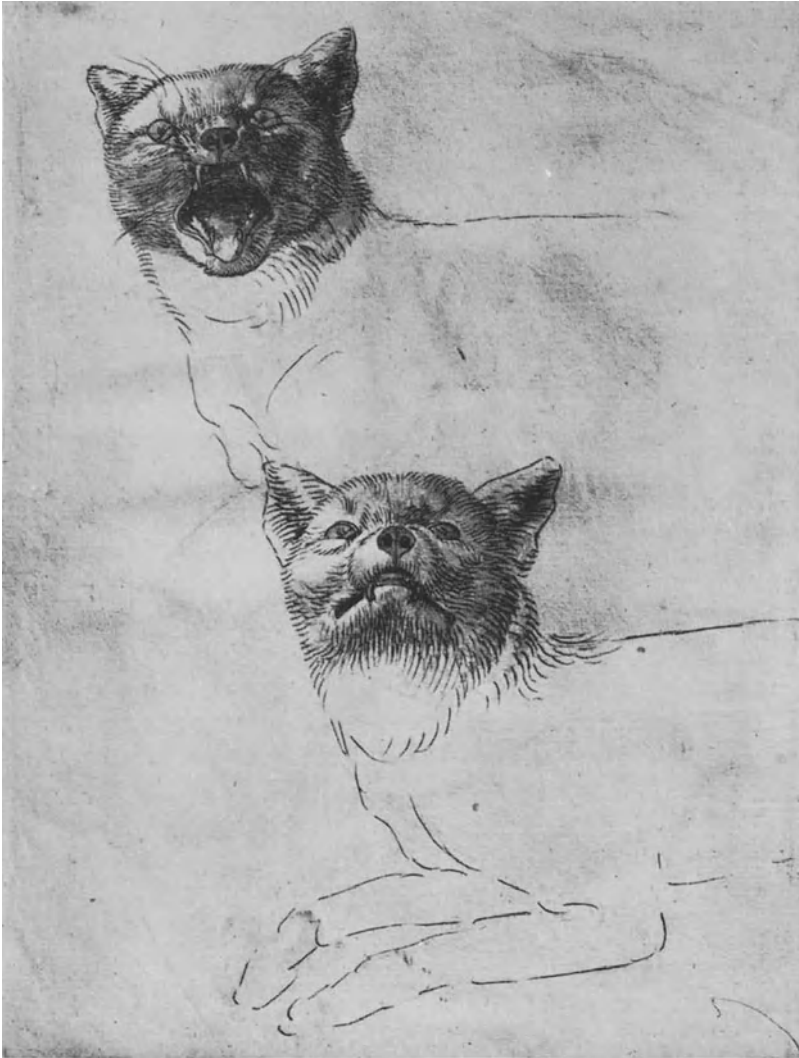


Fig. 49. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

details which point to a domination of the Gothic style <sup>(1)</sup>. On two of these drawings, one of which is on the verso of a page mentioned before, we find, beside the face, a study of an eye in

<sup>(1)</sup> 106 (232), two profiles together in ink on pink paper; 115 (288), one profile, idem; 104 (26), idem; 115 (288), verso (90).

profile <sup>(1)</sup>, which provides us with another argument in favour of the probability that these two studies bear some connexion with the figure of the saint whose eye is depicted in the panel at precisely the same angle.

At the present day we do not see these drawings under their original aspect and I should be even inclined to admit that they are copies of works of the master's school. In the Vallardi collection there is a great number of studies of heads, executed in ink on pink paper, all measuring about 28 cms. long and 20 cms. broad. Not only have very few of these drawings the stamp of Pisanello's work but it must be admitted also that in spite of the uniformity of technique and size, they show manners very different from the master's. Consequently I do not think that we can be dealing here with original sketches gone over at a later period in ink, but with a series of copies made by a pupil, from drawings which existed in Pisanello's sketch-book.

From the fact that some of these designs are found on the same page as others to which reference has already been made, it is highly probable that they date from about the same period, that is to say rather early in the artist's career. This is of considerable importance with regard to the page in the Haseltine collection on which the presence of a study for St. Eustace's leg justifies our dating from this stage a head of a young man near the branch of a tree <sup>(2)</sup> and on the verso the same face seen from another angle and a female figure in a beautiful dress which hangs in Gothic folds. The resemblance in style between the latter figure and the Annunciation in S. Fermo is very evident and we have herein a definite link between the picture of St. Eustace in London and the fresco in Verona, which works are no doubt almost contemporary. In the Vallardi collection we find a page with two studies of a woman seated, holding a book,

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<sup>(1)</sup> 106 verso (215) and 114 (95).

<sup>(2)</sup> 252 (93) there is replica of this head; that in the Haseltine collection seems to be the better of the two and it may possibly be that here we have an example of a tracing of which Herr Zoega von Manteuffel speaks. Nevertheless we see on the verso a sketch of some pigeons (60) which I shall mention presently and which is certainly from Pisanello's own hand.

which were very likely executed at the same time as the page of sketches in the Haseltine collection <sup>(1)</sup>.

For similar reasons or on account of resemblances in style a considerable number of drawings must be ascribed to this period, that is to say some years before 1430 <sup>(2)</sup>. This is the stage that I have called naturalistic-Gothic and it was during this time that he executed the panel of St. Eustace, the Annunciation in

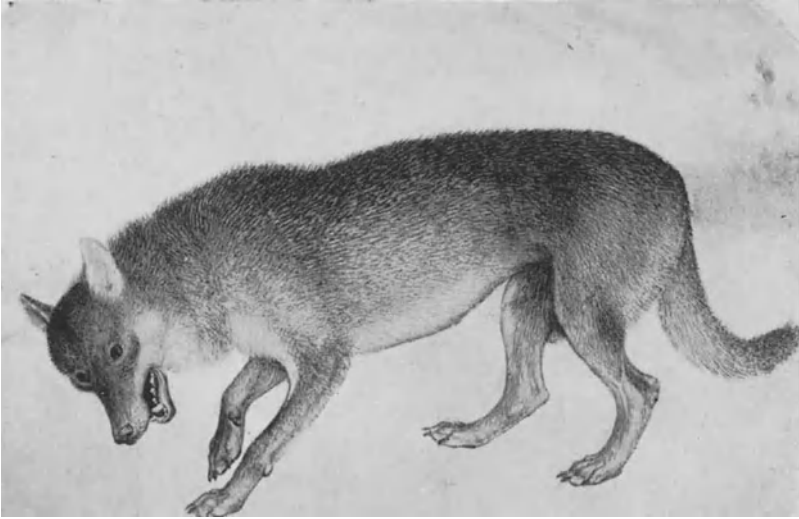


Fig. 50. Pisanello, aquarelle. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

<sup>(1)</sup> 195 (18) pen on vellum. This might very well have been the rough draft of a composition of the Annunciation or of St. Anna teaching the Virgin to read. The other subjects on this page are: a camel, two winged devils, an eagle perched on a lion, a bear carrying away a goose and a pelican feeding its young with pieces of its own flesh. The last representation is depicted in a very different manner on the medal executed for Vittorino de Feltre. *Gruyer*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XII, p. 493; *Heiss*, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>(2)</sup> 9 (69) a leg; 38 (222) feet, verso (192) man's head not by Pisanello; 173 (2) a saint and a knight; verso (3) two seated saints; 186 (169) monkeys; 187 (150) monkeys and peacocks; verso two monkeys and two hands; 188 (174) monkeys and a seated figure; verso peacocks; 189, monkeys and a big fish (fig. 48); verso (193) horse and partridges; 199 (124) hind quarters of a dog; 211 (132) two heads of wild cats (fig. 49); 212 (131) head and rump of a wild cat; verso (66) plants already mentioned; 215 (267) fox in water-colours (fig. 50); 227 (175) hare; 232 (84) idem in water-colours (fig. 51); 235 (187) heads of panthers; 237 (220) antelope.

S. Fermo, the Madonna "della quaglia" and the portrait of a lady belonging to Sir Joseph Duveen, New York.

Of the two works in Verona the Madonna "della quaglia" or "of the quail" (fig. 52) seems to be the older, and in all probability it is the earliest painting by Pisanello that we possess, for it is without any doubt the production in which the influence of Stefano da Verona, who was very likely his master, is most evident. The picture which is preserved in the Gallery of Verona (No. 90, formerly in the Bernasconi collection and before that perhaps in the Sambonifacio collection) has been even ascribed to Stefano, although the first attribution was to Pisanello and now Prof. Venturi has returned, and I think rightly, to this idea <sup>(1)</sup>.

Mr. Hill has not grasped to what extent Pisanello's art at the beginning of his career resembles that of Stefano da Verona and how, in this way, elements of a northern character penetrated into his early manner. It is for this reason that he calls the drawings which I am about to enumerate in connexion with this picture, school works, or attributes them to German pupils or to Stefano himself <sup>(2)</sup>. This opinion, which I think mistaken, is, however, easily explainable on the part of a critic who has studied Pisanello chiefly as a medallist.

The Madonna of Verona belongs to the iconographical type called the Virgin of Humility; she is shown seated on a cushion in a flowery field, a composition of which we have found numerous examples in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in Bologna and Venice.

Her mantle covers her beautiful robe of flowered brocade with rich borders. She holds the Child, Who is wrapped in a veil, standing on her knee. Two angels place a crown on her head and a third is depicted at her feet while in the shrubs, which form the background, two little birds are perched.

There are not to my knowledge any drawings which can be closely associated with this charming picture but there are several with which we can compare it. In the Vallardi album there are two sketches of the Virgin in which she is seated lowly as in this picture and in both cases she holds the Child upright on her knee.

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Venturi*, Storia dell' arte italiana, VII<sup>1</sup>, Milan, 1911, p. 248.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Hill*, op. cit., p. 18.

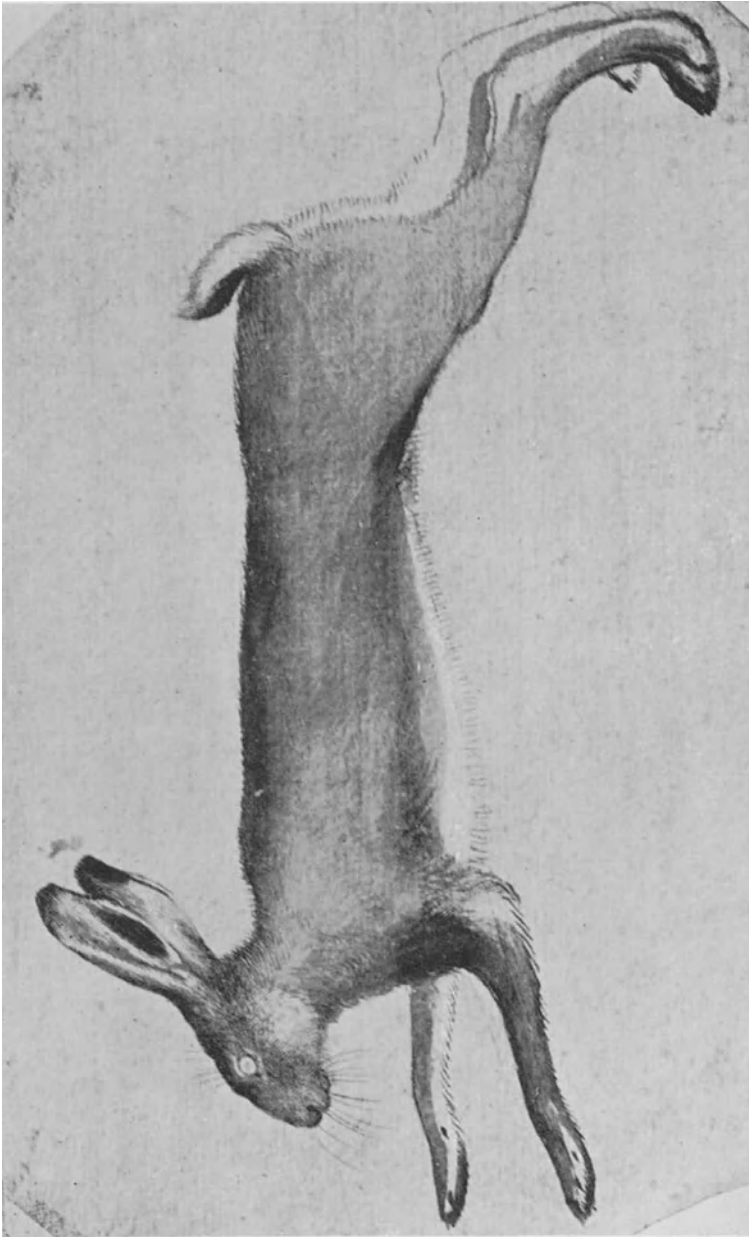


Fig. 51. Pisanello, aquarelle. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Geraudon.

In one of them (fig. 53)<sup>(1)</sup> the Madonna is seen in profile, turned towards the left; in this drawing the forms and proportions are even more Gothic than in the panel and the Virgin's head is covered with a veil as is so frequently the case in Flemish and German paintings. The other drawing (fig. 55) shows the Child naked, bending towards His Mother's breast; adjacent we see two studies of the little Jesus in attitudes more like that depicted in the panel, so that it seems quite possible that this page of sketches<sup>(2)</sup> really served in the execution of the panel.

What increases the interest of the second drawing, is that on the verso of the page, we find another sketch of the Madonna and Child adored by an angel (fig. 56)<sup>(3)</sup>. She is, it is true, depicted standing, but on the other hand she wears a crown which is absent in all Pisanello's representations of the Madonna but which closely resembles that in the picture of Verona. Finally the angel in the drawing has much in common with those flying above the Virgin in the panel.

There are some studies of birds bearing a marked likeness to the quail, depicted at the feet of the Madonna in the Gallery of Verona but these, which are preserved on a page in the Albertina have, I think rightly, been considered the work of a pupil<sup>(4)</sup>.

Lastly the superb sculptured Gothic tabernacle which frames

<sup>(1)</sup> 177 verso (200) pen on pink paper. In the Albertina there is a page with two very similar sketches of the Child Christ; on the same page we see three studies of a young lady in profile with an immense coiffure, two showing the half-length figure, the third the head alone, and a bearded saint sitting on the ground (fig. 54) resembling similar figures on page 173 with which we shall deal presently. It may be that this is a copy made by a pupil. *A. Stix u. L. Fröhlich-Bum*, Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Albertina, I, Venezianischen Schule, Vienna, 1926, No. 10, attribute it to Pisanello himself. On the verso two hermits are represented.

<sup>(2)</sup> 176 (15) crayon and ink on vellum. On the same page we find studies of a nude female figure and a young stag.

<sup>(3)</sup> 177 recto (99) pen on pink paper.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Wickhoff*, Jahrb. der Kunsth. Saml. des Allert. Kaiserh. XIII, p. CLXXXII; *Ephrussi*, op. cit., p. 209. This pupil copied on the same page several of the master's sketches, which seem to have pleased him. We see two ladies sitting on the ground, holding a falcon, one offering it a bird's foot, the other stroking a dog, two quail and a very small figure of a knight bearing his weight on one leg, very reminiscent of a figure on page 175 of the Vallardi sketch-book but shown in the reversed sense. *Stix u. Fröhlich-Bum*, op. cit., No. 12, give this drawing also to Pisanello himself.





Fig. 52. Pisanello, Madonna della Quaglia. Museum, Verona.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 53. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

the panel shows a decided correspondence in style to a study of similar motifs<sup>(1)</sup> although these bear even more resemblance to the ornamental part of the Annunciation in S. Fermo, Verona.

Another drawing which in style can be closely associated with

<sup>(1)</sup> 46 (244) pen on paper.



Fig. 54. Manner of Pisanello, drawing. Albertina, Vienna.

the picture in question and more particularly with the first study for the Madonna, is that representing the Virgin of the Annunciation sitting on the ground, a book on her knee, to whom an angel appears from above<sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> 175 (1) pen on vellum, found on the verso of the page on which the drawing of the pilgrim kneeling before the Saviour followed by young men, is depicted.



Fig. 55. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

It is interesting to note that on the same page as the drawing of the second Madonna, there are two sketches which were destined to serve in the execution of a profane decoration; one is the nude figure of a woman with a ribbon in her hair, about to



Fig. 56. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris. Photo Giraudon.

wrap herself in a cloak, while the other, on the verso, depicts a woman seated, holding a cornucopia. There are two other almost effaced figures; one of them seems to have carried a balance while the other is shown kneeling <sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> 176 (15) pen; verso (101) crayon and pen on vellum.

Some other studies of the nude on parchment are, I think, executed after this manner and should date from about the same period. They are found in the Print Room in Berlin and represent the one, two men practically nude and a figure of St. Peter (fig. 57), the other four nude studies of women. The latter which has been declared to be a production of Pisanello's school <sup>(1)</sup> was executed in a bath room, the accessories of which have not been neglected by the artist. A drawing of four nude men holding sticks formed part of either the E. W. collection or the De Bobiano collection which were put up for sale together in Amsterdam on the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> June 1926.

The fresco of the Annunciation in the church of S. Fermo, Verona, has often been placed between the years 1424 and 1428, since, as Mr. Hill has pointed out, the sculptor Rosso, who executed the monument of the Brenzoni, which Pisanello framed with his fresco, was in Florence still in 1424, while Pisanello left for Rome probably in 1428 or shortly after, in order to continue the frescoes in the Lateran, undertaken by Gentile da Fabriano, who died that year. But as we shall see presently he might have executed the fresco in 1431.

The painting has suffered enormously; nevertheless, we obtain an idea of its general composition from an engraving of 1864, reproduced by Mr. Hill <sup>(2)</sup>. We see that the entire fresco was surrounded by a rich Gothic border which finished above in three architectural motifs, forming baldachins of which the central one contains the statue of a prophet and those to the sides the figures of SS. George and Michael, young and attired in coats of mail. The former is seen in profile turned towards the right, bearing his weight on one leg, the other, describing a curve; he leans one hand on a stick while in the other he carries a dagger. The dragon, once visible at his feet, has almost entirely disappeared. St. Michael (fig. 58) is seen in full face, his arms folded

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<sup>(1)</sup> *J. Meder*, *Die Handzeichnung*, Vienna, 1919, p. 394. In the same collection there is still another drawing showing a nude figure with a boar and two dogs and another sketch of two female figures. In my opinion these are copies made after Pisanello. An ornamental design of no great importance is also attributed to Pisanello.

<sup>(2)</sup> *P. Nanin*, *Disegni di varie dipinture a fresco che sono in Verona*, Verona, 1864, *Hill*, op. cit., pl. 7.



Fig. 57. Pisanello, drawing. Print Room, Berlin.

across his chest; fragments of his poniard and sword can still be seen.

The engraving of 1864 shows the dragon which, no doubt, was depicted at his feet but commits the error of representing it as



Fig. 58. Pisanello, detail of the Archangel Michael. S. Fermo, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

slain by the stroke of a sword which the saint holds in his left hand and of which there is no trace in the painting.

The Annunciation which forms the lower part of the fresco, is divided in two by the upper part of the sculptured monument. To the left in a mountainous landscape with a few vestiges of architecture, the angel kneels before the door of a house (fig. 59);





Fig. 59. Pisanello, the angel of the Annunciation. S. Fermo, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

two pigeons and some flowering plants are depicted in the foreground.

The door naturally should be that of the house in which the Virgin is represented on the other side, but here there is another façade and between the two buildings Pisanello has painted, to the left, God the Father appearing and, to the right, the Child Jesus

descending towards the Virgin, the dove which preceded Him has been quite effaced. The house in which the Virgin is shown sitting and of which we see the façade, a turret and the roof, is markedly Venetian in style (fig. 60). The Madonna is seated near her bed which is covered with a beautiful piece of stuff, fine oriental carpets are spread on the floor and on the steps leading up to the bed, the head of which is adorned with the figures of a man and a woman and two trees. Lower down to the same side we see a little dog and three birds, one of which seems to be a peacock. Lastly on a painted rectangle, imitating a stone slab, a two-lined inscription gives the signature: "*Pisanus pinsit*".

The drawing of Gothic motifs, which I have already mentioned, seems to show a direct connexion with this fresco. Here we find not only the ornamental details but also those pinnacles which terminate above in baldachins, containing the figures in the upper part of the fresco (1). We possess also a sketch of some pigeons, closely resembling those which are depicted near the kneeling angel (2) and there exist as well several drawings of peacocks (3), which birds are depicted only in this picture by the master (4) but which, on the other hand, are rarely absent from the works of Stefano da Verona, whom we believe to have been Pisanello's master.

It seems possible that a page of studies in the Ambrosiana Library, Milan (fig. 61) (5), on which we see a dragon and nine sketches of men, eight of them attired in elaborate costumes, the ninth being in a suit of armour, served for the fresco in S. Fermo because not only does the dragon enter into the composition but also the coat of mail recalls that of St. Michael and four of the

(1) 46 (244) Two water-colour studies of a leg on the verso of the page have nothing to do with Pisanello's art. *Guiffrey* in *Venturi*, op. cit., p. 123, sees a resemblance between the architectural buildings on a page in the archives of Sta. Maria sopra S. Celso in Milan, those in this fresco and in that in the church of Sta. Anastasia. I do not know the drawing but the style of architecture in the two frescoes is somewhat different. Mr. Hill makes a comparison between this fresco and page 157 (273) of the Vallardi collection but I do not see sufficient reason for this and shall return to the drawing in question later on.

(2) 252 (60) already mentioned among the sketches of birds.

(3) 187 (150), 251 (62) and *reprod.* 153 already mentioned.

(4) For it is generally agreed nowadays, that the Adoration of the Magi in the Museum of Berlin is decidedly not by Pisanello.

(5) *Reprod.* by the Vasari Society, IV, 12.



Fig. 60. Pisanello, the Madonna of the Annunciation, S. Fermo, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

men are shown in the same attitude as St. George. The male figure added to the drawing, which I attribute to the Venetian period <sup>(1)</sup>, is executed in the same style.

Comparing what remains of this beautiful fresco with the

<sup>(1)</sup> 175 (17).

St. Eustace in London and the Madonna della quaglia, we observe that the artist, although he has not yet reached his maturity, has made considerable progress. The forms in this fresco are much more free and show a marked diminution of the Gothic influence; the figure of the angel especially has a beautiful line.

On a close examination of the Madonna, we gather the impression that the master must have at this time already known the art of Gentile da Fabriano and was to a certain extent influenced by it. This makes us think of the possibility that he might have executed the fresco after having terminated the enterprise undertaken by Gentile in Rome. If Leonello d'Este's letter of 1432 be authentic, it would show — as I have already had occasion to remark — that the artist spent some time between April and November of 1431 in Verona, coming there from Rome and passing in great haste through Ferrara. The date of 1431 would be very suitable for the frescoes in S. Fermo and if it can be admitted that he executed them in six or seven months' time, which does not seem at all impossible to me, then we would be very tempted to believe that the journey, so inconvenient to the painter in the middle of his work for the pope, was undertaken only with the purpose of fulfilling a contract to decorate the tomb of the Brenzoni. Besides we know that in all probability Pisanello and Gentile had met previously, and perhaps even collaborated in Venice, so that the appointment of the young artist to terminate the decoration started by his senior must have been the result of a then-existing connexion between them. Nevertheless, in the works of his first period, only the influence of Stefano da Verona is noticeable, that of Gentile being evident for the first time in the Annunciation in S. Fermo.

Quite recently a lady's portrait which has been rightly attributed to Pisanello, has been brought to light <sup>(1)</sup>. It shows a young lady in profile, elegantly attired in beautiful brocade with a curious turban-like head-dress, and belongs to the art dealer Duveen of New York. Prof. Venturi, who was the first to publish this important painting, places it chronologically speaking after the portrait of the lady of the house of d'Este, which we shall come to

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Venturi*, *Per il Pisanello*, *L'Arte*, 1925, p. 36. The portrait was loaned to the Fogg Art Museum v. Report of the President of Harvard University, 1922 — 23.



Fig. 61. Pisanello, fashion studies etc. Ambrosiana Library, Milan.

Vasari Society reproduction.

later on, but on account of the Gothic principles which are still fairly pronounced in this figure, I am inclined to place it at an earlier date, that is to say contemporary with, if not prior to the Annunciation in S. Fermo.

I shall terminate this survey of the first phase of Pisanello's activity with an enumeration of some other drawings which seem to date from this period, although a marked resemblance in style to the fresco of the Annunciation makes one think that they must have been executed during the last years of this stage, that is to say round about the year 1430.

As such might be mentioned a page showing on one side the figure of a bearded saint sitting near an elegant knight who, leaning on a stick, places much weight on one leg, always the same attitude as the St. George in S. Fermo. On the verso of this page there is a study of an old saint seated on the ground, which shows even more clearly the Gothic line <sup>(1)</sup>. Closely resembling the seated figure on this page is a pen drawing on vellum in the British Museum (P. p. — 11) (fig. 62); beside it we see a sketch of the same person standing, holding a book, the half-length figure of a young man — Mr. Hill thinks it is a woman — with a helmet and a robe of classical antiquity, and a Roman emperor. Mr. Hill, who is of opinion that these drawings are not by Pisanello himself, notices the resemblance which exists between two heraldic eagles on the verso and those on a page in the Vallardi collection <sup>(2)</sup>.

More closely approaching the date of execution of the fresco in S. Fermo is, I think, a drawing in the F. Lugt collection, Maartensdijke, Holland, representing a young knight, hat in hand, kneeling before a noble lady (fig. 63). Above, a little love ditty is inscribed and the sketch seems to illustrate the moment that the suitor recites these words to the lady of his choice. Near the verse we see a fragment of a dog's head <sup>(3)</sup>. The curious, rather ill-defined shape of the hands is met with only in those drawings which I have mentioned in connexion with the Madonna della quaglia but here the forms are less Gothic, for which reason I think the sketch in the Lugt collection must be of a slightly later date.

In studying certain of these productions of Pisanello's first manner, we are struck by the very evident influence that Stefano

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<sup>(1)</sup> 173 <sup>(2)</sup>, verso <sup>(3)</sup> pen on pink paper. Some think that this is a copy but in all probability it is an original drawing passed over in ink.

<sup>(2)</sup> Fol. 258 pen on vellum.

<sup>(3)</sup> *A. Venturi*, Un disegno inedito del Pisanello; *the Same*, L'Arte, 1925, p. 36.



Fig. 62. Pisanello?, drawing. British Museum.

Photo Macbeth.

da Verona had on him. Particularly the drawings of the Virgin and Child and of the Annunciation, which some writers even believe to be from the hand of Stefano, but also the fresco in

S. Fermo and the Madonna della quaglia, which is also sometimes attributed to Stefano, show proportions, forms and a Gothic design so obviously reminiscent of Stefano's rather later manner that there can be little doubt regarding the identity of Pisanello's first master.

The second phase in Pisanello's artistic career, which must be placed between 1433 and 1438 or 1439, is characterized by a diminution in the influence of Stefano da Verona, which is gradually substituted for that of Gentile da Fabriano, although as will be seen in the summing up, Gentile seems also to have exercised a certain influence at the outset of Pisanello's career.

This period counts for much in Pisanello's life, because it was during these years that he made his first appearance at the courts of the sumptuous princes, that he executed his most important painting — the fresco in Sta. Anastasia, Verona — and that he cast his first medals. His contact with princely life played an important part in the direction his art took.

A pronounced love of art started at the court of the d'Este in Ferrara with the reign of the Marquis Nicholas III (1394—1441) who spent considerable sums of money on works of art to embellish his surroundings while his numerous children wandered round the town, poorly clad and, so it is said, hungry. Nicholas III started several important constructions, among which were the palaces of Belfiore and Belriguardo outside Ferrara, and many painters, almost all from other districts, flocked to the town to take part in the decoration.

It appears, however, that it was chiefly Leonello, the natural son of Nicholas (1441—1450) who employed the painters. Leonello was a cultured humanist and collected medals and carved antique stones. It seems to me quite possible that the study of the cabinet of classical medals awoke or further increased Pisanello's interest in this form of art, at which we know he excelled. However, if the letter of 1432 be authentic, Pisanello already at this time made bronze medals; besides, there are some medals of Nicholas III which have been ascribed to him. These medals are not very beautiful and differ in many points from those that the master executed later. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that they are by Pisanello has been too easily rejected; these heads, seen





Fig. 63. Pisanello, drawing. Lugt collection, Maartensdijk (U), Holland.

in profile, are not without a considerable resemblance to those signed by the master and it may be that they comprise his first essay at this branch of art. None the less, the two medals of

Nicholas III remain something of a problem. We possess in any case a sketch of Nicholas III by Pisanello; it is found in the Vallardi collection (1) and shows us the marquis in profile, wearing an enormous and very complicated head-dress. He has sometimes been taken for Gianfrancesco Gonzaga.

We have two letters which, if authentic, prove that Pisanello was already in relation with Leonello d'Este and Filippo Maria Visconti, before leaving Rome in July 1432; and in 1435, as I have remarked elsewhere, the painter sent a portrait of Julius Caesar as a wedding present to Leonello. We have a document informing us, that this picture was brought to Ferrara on behalf of Pisanello, who evidently was not there in person, but I think we can admit a visit of the artist to this town between his departure from Rome and 1435.

It was, no doubt, on this occasion that he executed the charming portrait of a young girl, now in the Louvre, and formerly in the Bamberg collection (fig 64).

The picture shows a half-length figure in profile against a background of flowers and plants, among which three butterflies hover. The identity of the subject of this portrait has given rise to much discussion but it is now generally agreed upon that it is a princess of the house of d'Este (2).

I find many reasons for accepting the hypothesis of Mr. Hill that it represents Ginevra; she even carries a little branch of juniper (ginevra). Ginevra was born in 1419; in March 1433 was affianced to Sigismondo Malatesta and died in 1440, poisoned, it is believed, by her husband. The portrait might have been executed at the time of her betrothal, for the young girl does not seem to be more than about fourteen years old. Further, this would be the moment best suited in Pisanello's career for the execution of this work, because the decoration of the background still reveals the interest in the study of natural science, which characterizes

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(1) Fol. 20 (reprod. 75). On the same side and on the verso (reprod. 166) there are some studies of architecture showing a certain connexion with the building in the fresco of Sta. Anastasia with which the portrait of Nicholas III might be almost contemporary.

(2) It has also been thought that it might be a member of the house of Gonzaga.



Fig. 64. Pisanello, portrait of Ginevra d'Este. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.

the master's early productions, while the Gothic elements are decidedly less marked.

To this Ferrarese period, or at least to the years which elaps-

ed between 1432 and the end of 1437, I think we can attribute two other pictures; they are the panels of SS. Antony and George, signed by Pisanello (fig. 65) and that of St. Jerome, showing the signature of Bono da Ferrara, in the National Gallery, London (Nos. 766 and 771). Both paintings originate from Ferrara <sup>(1)</sup> which confirms, to a certain extent, the date I have just proposed for them, especially as in comparing them with the portrait of Leonello at Bergamo, it is obvious that these two panels could never be placed in the same period of the artist's career and that they must be earlier works.

The first of these panels, representing SS. Antony and George, has been so thoroughly repainted by Molteni, a Milanese picture restorer, that very little of the original is now visible. The composition is a little clumsy. To the left, against a background of a forest, St. Antony, at whose feet reposes his emblematic pig, rings a bell in a very aggressive manner under the nose of the calm and elegant St. George who runs the risk of being bitten by the dragon, whose death was only a semblance and who, behind the back of the holy knight, might also be preparing to attack the pig lying opposite. The heads of the two horses appear to the right of the picture, an element which approximates it to the fresco of Sta. Anastasia. A half-length figure of the Virgin, tenderly clasping the Child, is depicted in a fairly elaborate aureole above. Some little plants are seen growing in the foreground, in the centre of which the signature: "*Pisanus pc.*" is inscribed in such curious letters that it would be very easy to doubt the authenticity of this inscription, as also that of the representation of medals of Leonello and Pisanello himself, which adorn the frame.

The influence of Gentile is again evident in the appearance of the Virgin, who is depicted with a mystic sweetness that Pisanello can only have acquired through the master of Fabriano; even the horses show more connexion with those in Gentile's Adoration of the Magi than with those in Stefano da Verona's picture of the same subject.

The Vallardi collection contains a drawing of the Virgin and Child in an attitude very similar to that in which they are repre-

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(1) From the Costabili Gallery and afterwards in the Eastlake collection.



Fig. 65. Pisanello, SS. Antony and George. National Gallery, London.

Photo Anderson.

sented here (1) but the proportions and general appearance, as well as certain details, are too different to justify our looking upon this drawing as a rough draft for the picture. Besides the sketch is either a copy or a work that has been entirely changed in appearance by having been clumsily gone over in ink. In any case it sooner reflects the characteristics of a youthful work.

I am unable to point out any drawings which bear a particular resemblance to this picture.

The attitude of St. George seems to have been a favourite one with Pisanello who repeats it on more than one occasion (2). The page of sketches in the Ambrosiana which might have served as rough drafts for the figure of St. George, the dragon and the armour of St. Michael in the fresco of S. Fermo, might also have been used by the artist in the execution of this panel. The painter perhaps also drew profit from the studies of large hats, which are found on the same page but if this be so, he did not reproduce them very exactly.

With regard to the panel of St. Jerome (fig. 67), showing the signature: "*Bonus Ferrarensis Pisani Discipulus*", it has always been considered an authentic work of Bono da Ferrara until quite recently Prof. Venturi pointed out that the signature is false and that the painting is from the hand of Pisanello. In my opinion there can be no doubt regarding this attribution. The picture in question brings us more closely to the large fresco in Sta. Anastasia in which we find rocks of a very similar formation and even certain correspondences in the architecture of the background. The saint is represented seated in the foreground to the right, in a state of deep and sad meditation; he fingers his rosary. The interest Pisanello had in animal life is manifest in the detailed execution of the beautiful lion lying at the feet of the saint and the little deer browsing on a hill-side. The trees have been treated with the same precision as those in the picture of SS. Antony and George, but here they are embellished with touches of gold.

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(1) Fol. 130 (73) pen on paper. On the verso there are three studies of men's heads, one of them with spectacles, which do not reveal the characteristics of a work by Pisanello; they might be ascribed rather to the Veronese school.

(2) *Vallardi*, fols. 173, 175 (fig. 66).



Fig. 66. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

As for designs showing some connexion which the panel of St. Jerome, there is on either side of a page in the Vallardi collection the figure of a monk; in one instance he is seen in full-face, in the other from the back (<sup>1</sup>) and although the figure in both cases is represented from quite different angles, there are

(<sup>1</sup>) Fol. 75 recto and verso (105 and 106) pen on paper.

elements in the attitudes which recall that of St. Jerome. The folds of the drapery more closely resemble those in a drawing executed in red chalk in the Louvre, showing a monk standing, holding a glass and another figure kneeling (1); the face of the latter bears a certain likeness to that of the pilgrim in the fresco in the Pellegrini chapel of Sta. Anastasia, Verona.

A drawing of two hermits of the school of Pisanello in the Albertina, Vienna (fig. 68) (2) shows types of bearded old men very similar to the figure of St. Jerome in the panel.

Several factors in this picture consequently offer points of contact with the famous fresco of St. George and the princess, which was executed at the best moment in Pisanello's artistic career. Besides, as I have already remarked, the two heads of horses in the panel of SS. Antony and George also point to the chronological proximity of this mural painting in which Pisanello gave so much importance to the representation of horses.

Further it should not be overlooked that Guarino in his verses in honour of Pisanello speaks of a picture, presented to him by the artist, depicting St. Jerome in meditation of which the poetical description corresponds in every way with the panel now in the National Gallery. The date, between 1438 and 1441, proposed by Mr. Hill for Guarino's poem, is only a few years later than the period to which I attribute the painting, that is to say about 1437.

Moreover, it is not certain that the verses were written in connexion with the gift of the picture, although it is beyond any doubt to this work that the most obvious reference is made.

To about 1438 should be dated the medal of John Palaeologus, emperor of Byzantium, while the fresco in Sta. Anastasia was executed probably a little earlier. With both works we can associate a large number of drawings which, besides, can be classified in one group on account of a common resemblance.

The representation of the horse, which does not appear very frequently in the multitudinous drawings of animals that Pisanello executed at the beginning of his career, becomes almost a mania with him towards the period when he executed his first large medal and the fresco of St. George. It seems probably that the

(1) Hiss de la Salle collection, R.F. 428.

(2) *Stix u. Früllich*, op. cit., No. 10. I have already mentioned this drawing v. p. 92 note 1.





Fig. 67. Pisanello, St. Jerome. National Gallery, London.

Photo Anderson.

life of luxury into which he was gradually initiated, made him consider this quadruped from quite a different aspect and it was especially then that he understood its importance from an artistic standpoint. Glancing through the sketches of horses, it seems to me that Pisanello grasped also the pathetic side of their

existence in which too often the years of glory are followed by a wretched and piteous old age and more than once the artist shows us the mount of some lordly knight after it has reached this sad stage of suffering which, for a horse, so frequently just precedes its death. Further, as Herr Meder remarks, the study of horses, more than that of any other animal, seems to have inspired the painter to create a technique of drawing of unlimited excellence <sup>(1)</sup>.

It is practically certain that Pisanello executed the medal for John Palaeologus when the latter came to Ferrara for the council which began in January 1438 (fig 69). The emperor arrived in February of that year and stayed until the following January. The medal is so perfect that it is hardly likely that this was the painter's first attempt in this branch of plastic art; as I said before, it is quite possible that the two medals of Nicholas III d'Este are from his hand. In any case it was not Pisanello who, after classical antiquity, revived the art of medal making. It is true that those, made in the middle ages in the northern countries, are of quite another type, but of an earlier date than Pisanello's medals, might be cited those that Francesco II Carrara had coined in 1390 to celebrate the retaking of Padua, consequently in that part of the country which Pisanello frequented, and naturally he must have seen them. In type they resemble those of Nicholas d'Este and also the inscriptions are in Gothic letters, a detail in which some writers tried to find a proof against the attribution to Pisanello of the medals of Nicholas d'Este.

It is very possible also that the Emperor John Palaeologus brought with him medals with the effigies of the Emperors Constantine and Heraclius, dating from the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century <sup>(2)</sup> and that the one that Pisanello made was, to a certain extent, inspired by these and the Carrara medals.

From the latter he got the idea of filling up one side with little else than the head of the figure, while he followed the former examples in choosing the horse as principal motif for the decoration of the verso (fig. 70). But Pisanello was capable of eliminating all the mediaeval elements, which are

<sup>(1)</sup> *J. Meder*, op. cit., p. 453.

<sup>(2)</sup> Pisanello must have known at least the medal of Heraclius, which no doubt he recalled to mind when he executed the medal for King Alfonso of Naples, on the verso of which we see also a triumphal chariot.



Fig. 68. Manner of Pisanello, drawing. Albertina, Vienna.

still very obvious in the medals of the two Byzantine emperors.

It may also be that the study of the antique medals, which he found in Leonello d'Este's collection, was of considerable aid to him in the creation of his own type of medal <sup>(1)</sup>, and I see no con-

(1) There are some sketches of antique medals in the Vallardi collection: 12 verso, crayon (reprod. 113); on the recto there is a pen and water-coloured sketch of two trees (reprod. 144) and 64 pen (209). They are unimportant drawings in which we cannot even recognize the master's hand. Fol. 97 (39)

vincing reason to believe that Pisanello was inspired by medals of the Flemish-Burgundian model to which the master's examples show very little resemblance.

Although the ground, as we have seen, was not entirely unpre-



Fig. 69. Pisanello, medal of John Palaeologus.

shows a large profile of an antique empress (Severinae Augusta) and fol. 99 (179) that of an emperor; on the verso of this page there is a study somewhat resembling the head of the princess in the fresco of Sta. Anastasia and a man's hand (78). These latter sketches on pink paper were probably executed in crayon but have lost their original appearance by having been gone over in ink. It may also be that these drawings are not by Pisanello himself; this is the opinion held by Mr. Hill, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, III, 1906, p. 297; v. also *Courajod, L'imitation etc., des objets d'art*, Paris, 1889, p. 32.

pared, I do not think that we are far wrong in admitting that Pisanello's medal of John Palaeologus is the first notable manifestation of numismatic art of the Renaissance and consequently also the first important production of the master in this field.



Fig. 70. Pisanello, verso of the medal of John Palaeologus.

This was an excellent start and the bronze of John Palaeologus is one of the finest Italian medals. On one side the bust of the Basileus, wearing an oriental head-dress, is depicted, encircled with a Greek inscription; on the other side we see against a rocky background a knight on horseback, adoring a cross on a pedestal and another horseman represented from behind with much foreshortening. On this side the artist has signed the work in Latin: "*Opus Pisani pictoris*", which inscription he has repeated in Greek, no doubt with the idea that the emperor, in

bringing the medal to his own country, would make known the master's name on the other side of the Adriatic.

The portrait of the Basileus is excellent, full of individuality and expression; there is even an oriental element in his features which Benozzo Gozzoli did not succeed in catching when he painted the monarch in 1459 in the chapel of the Riccardi Palace, Florence. As to the verso we might reproach the artist with the fact that the horse to the left is not well equilibrated and it is not easy to grasp exactly how the knight is sitting his horse. Nevertheless this animal, as well as the other whose hind legs are perhaps open to criticism, is well designed. The figure adoring the cross naturally represents the emperor himself, who came to the council to press an alliance between the Latin and Greek churches and to ask for assistance against the persecution of the Turks.

In the Vallardi collection there is a drawing of the emperor, seen in profile but turned towards the left, and wearing the same curious hat; this is beyond doubt from the hand of Pisanello who must have used it for the execution of the medal<sup>(1)</sup>. The representation of the emperor on horseback appears on another page of the same collection, on both sides of which there are several studies of oriental figures, the head of a horse with its nostrils slit open as Pisanello depicts the animal on several different occasions, an Arabic inscription copied in all probability from a piece of stuff<sup>(2)</sup>, and a description in Venetian dialect of the manner in which the emperor dressed, which might very well have served in the execution of a painting (fig. 71)<sup>(3)</sup>.

The belief, held by Mr. Hill and other writers, that this sketch is not by Pisanello, can be explained by the curious appearance of this page; nevertheless there is too great a resemblance between the horseman of the drawing and that of the medal, and the head of the horse and others from Pisanello's hand for us to doubt the existence of a correlation between the one and the other. Further I think that the writing is the same as that which

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 80 silver point on paper.

<sup>(2)</sup> A figure in the Adoration of the Magi by Gentile da Fabriano has a scarf very much in evidence embroidered with similar letters.

<sup>(3)</sup> Reprods. 71 and 72 v. *H. Lavoix*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XVI, 1887, p. 24.



Fig. 71. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

we find on another page of the same collection (86), to which we shall return later on<sup>(1)</sup>. The technique of the drawing of the horseman and of some of the other figures reveals the same skill and

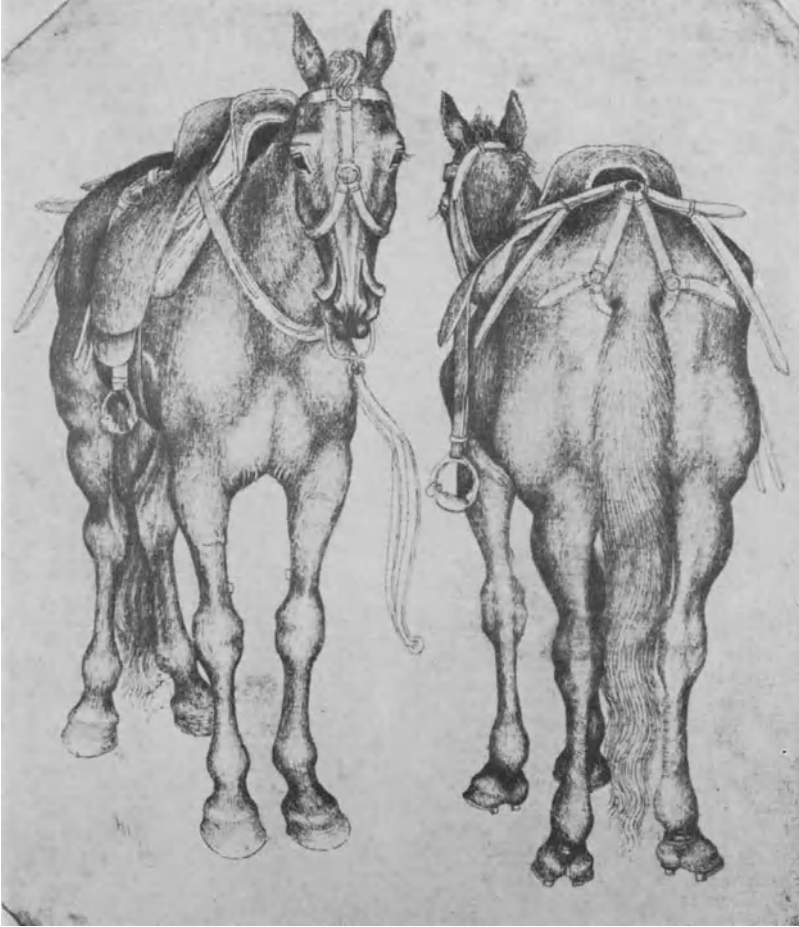


Fig. 72. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Hill*, op. cit., p. 111 note, remarks that if this be Pisanello's calligraphy, the letter in the Fillon collection, which the master wrote from Rome to Filippo Maria Visconti, must be false. Of this letter, however, I only know a facsimile of the signature (v. *Venturi's* edition of Vasari's *Vite*, p. XIX) and considering that signatures are often slightly different from the ordinary hand-writing, I find no reason for the above conclusion.



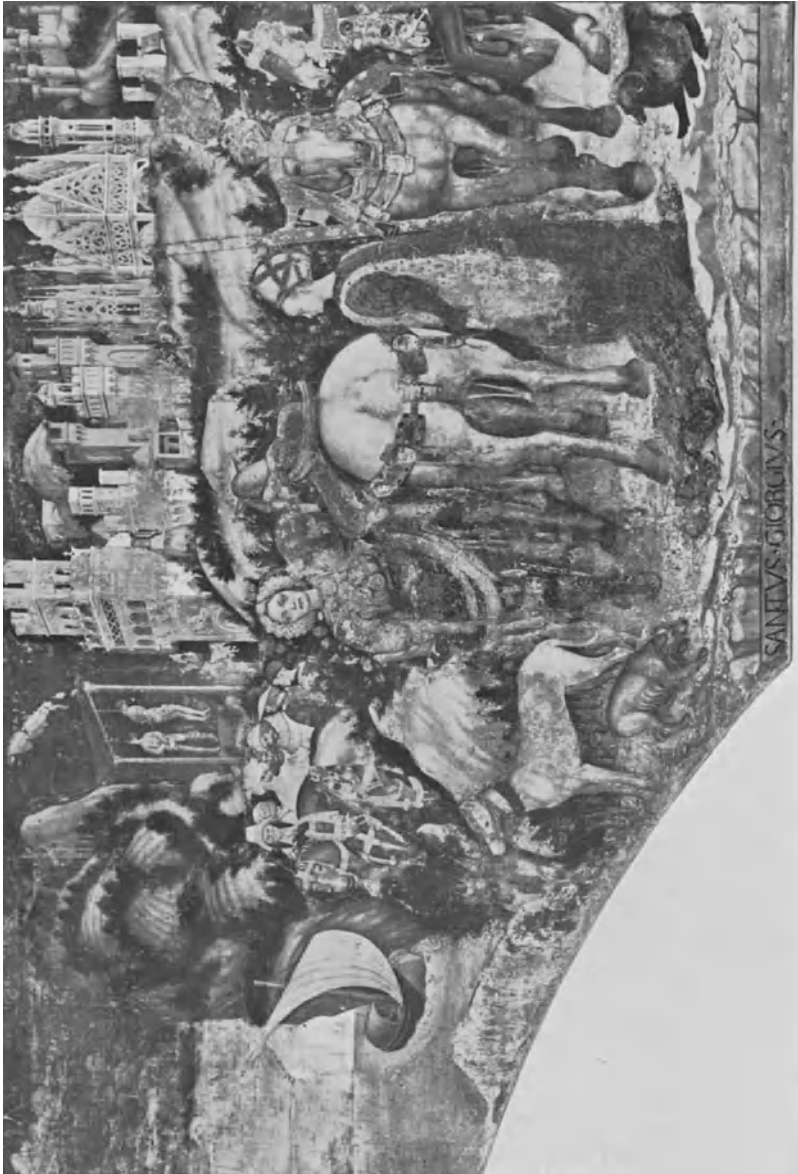


Fig. 73. Pisanello, St. George and the Princess. Sta. Anastasia, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

rapidity of execution with which the master sketched the peacocks, the monkeys, the horse of St. Eustace and others, and apart from the drawing of the knight which seems to have suffered

some correction, several are of excellent quality. The head of a horse and the back view of an oriental are very much more inferior and perhaps from another hand.

With the sketches which can be approximated to the horses depicted on the medal, we enter a vast field of study and we find that a link unites the bronze of John Palaeologus with the fresco of St. George, many other medals and even a little with the panel of SS. Antony and George in London.

The horse on the medal whose head is seen in profile with a curly forelock and a slightly gaping mouth bears an undeniable resemblance to a drawing in the Vallardi collection<sup>(1)</sup>; on the other hand this sketch forms part of a long series of studies of horse's heads or rather of that part including their mouth and nose — the muzzle<sup>(2)</sup>.

Then we find here a foreshortened back view of a horse, a subject which Pisanello repeats in the fresco of St. George, the medals of Novello Malatesta and Gianfrancesco Gonzaga and in several other drawings, one of which fairly closely resembles the horse on the medal<sup>(3)</sup>. The horse is drawn from the front and from the back (fig. 72).

Many painters have borrowed this idea, then new, of depicting a horse from behind as a study of perspective.

We have no documentary evidence concerning the date of execution of the fresco of St. George and the princess in Sta. Anastasia, Verona (figs. 73—75 and plate III)<sup>(4)</sup>. A partial reconstruction of the church was started in 1421 but too much importance should not be given to the information that the pictorial decoration was begun in 1440, because the frescoes

(1) 144 (reprod. 52) pen on paper.

(2) 146 (reprod. 154) should be compared with the London panel; 142 (53) to be compared with the Sforza medal and the panel in London. Others belonging to the same series will be dealt with in connexion with the fresco in Sta. Anastasia.

(3) Vallardi 277 (reprod. 50) pen; two other pages showing perspectives of horses from behind are 167 (180) silver point on yellow paper and fol. 231 (7) pen.

(4) The historical facts have been published by *C. Cippola*, *Ricerche storiche intorno alla chiesa di S. Anastasia in Verona*, *L'Arte*, 1914, pp. 91, 181, 396.



*THE PRINCESS*

*From Pisanello's fresco of St. George slaying the Dragon,  
St. Anastasia, Verona.*

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 74. Detail of fig. 73.

Photo Anderson.

in the vault of the nave are dated 1437. It has been thought that the fresco was executed after the medal of John Palaeologus because on the occasion of the emperor's visit to Ferrara, the master might have seen those oriental types which he depicts in the fresco. However, there is a chronological difficulty; the emperor came to Ferrara at the end of February 1438, but as

we saw the artist's entry to the town was interdicted from July 1438 until February 1442. That Pisanello painted the fresco after 1442 is not very admissable (although he obtained this year permission to return to the town and bring his belongings), because in October of the same year we find him in Venice and in 1443 and 1444 in Mantua and Ferrara, so it is difficult to see when he could have undertaken this work unless it was between February and October of 1442, or else early in the year 1438, just before his visit to Ferrara, and considering the style of the painting, the latter hypothesis is, I think, the more probable. He must have studied oriental types on some other occasion and this is quite possible, especially as the sketches on the same page as the figure of the emperor have nothing in common, either in feature or in costume with the warriors that Pisanello shows us in the fresco.

In the second edition of his "Vite", Vasari gives us a fairly detailed description of the decoration of the Pellegrini chapel. On information gathered from Fra Marco Medici he speaks of a painting inside the chapel, representing St. Eustace, a dog with its head turned, standing at his feet. It was one of the painter's most beautiful productions and his signature was inscribed below the fresco. This figure, however, has disappeared, so too that of St. George picking up his sword after having killed the dragon, which adorned the outside wall of the chapel, and I think this scene might have been found to the left of the fresco where some vague traces are still visible.

What remains of Pisanello's work shows a dragon and two of its young (?) in a landscape. We can also distinguish a skull and some bones, the hind quarters of a deer crouching, a dead stag on its back, and another (?) making its escape. The figure of St. George sheathing his sword would have been in its place here, at least if the dragon be dead, which can no longer be distinguished<sup>(1)</sup>. Lastly, to the right of the outside wall of the chapel we find the superb fresco which even by writers of olden times, was considered Pisanello's master-piece.

The central figure is that of St. George in the act of remounting

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<sup>(1)</sup> *B. C. Dal Pozzo*, *Le Vite de' Pittori Veronesi etc.*, Verona, 1718, p. 8, tells us that this fresco adorned the vault of the chapel.



Fig. 75. Detail of fig. 73.

Photo Anderson.

his horse which is seen from behind and near which stands the princess whom he has just rescued. Calmly and without any emotion, she looks at her deliverer preparing to depart. A small page, covered with armour, is depicted on a horse which advances on the right and, as in the panel of SS. Antony and George in London, the heads of two other horses appear on the extreme

right. To the left, at a certain distance from the central figures, there is a group of seven knights, rather oriental in appearance; behind them we see a gallows with the bodies of two dead criminals; more to the left there is a mountain with a little Gothic church perched on its heights and close by, a ship sailing on a lake. The background is occupied by a Gothic town, partly hidden by a hill. Behind the town are other mountains and to the right a castle. Plants and shrubs grow all around, and in the foreground, which ends in a steep rocky slope, we see to the left a deerhound and a spaniel and to the right a he-goat in repose. Below we read the inscription: "*Sanctus Giorgius*" in monumental letters similar to those which Pisanello shows us on his medals at a somewhat later stage (<sup>1</sup>).

The decorative effect of the fresco is, in spite of the somewhat sombre colours, excellent, and the figures, taken separately, superb. Yet it cannot be denied that the fresco lacks unity of composition and narrative power. Here we see the feeble side of Pisanello's system of reproducing almost the entire contents of his sketchbook in a picture. This we already remarked in the painting of St. Eustace, but while there the question was to present a *mise-en-scène* of forest life, here the elements are quite incoherent. St. George himself has an uncanny bearing and expression, in fact almost a frightful appearance. The superb figure of the princess is obviously the portrait of a lady he has known at one of the courts and for whom he must have had a certain weakness because she is frequently depicted among his drawings. Here she takes no part in the action and evidently is not even interested in the event which all the same touches her very nearly. Why, on the other hand, do we find a he-goat in repose to the right, some dogs to the left, a group of knights of whom there is no mention in the legend, a gallows in the background and a sailing-ship? To these questions there is but one reply: these details are present because Pisanello found them in his sketchbook and wished to make use of his drawings. Even the landscape, which forms the background, is not — as others have already remarked — of uniform appearance, but seems to be composed of different elements; yet what the painting has lost in solemnity with this profusion of details, it has gained in charm.

(<sup>1</sup>) *Hill*, op. cit., p. 90.



Fig. 76. Pisanello, portrait study. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.



Of the drawings that Pisanello used in the execution of this fresco there is a considerable number still in existence but among them I do not think there is one which could have served for the figure of St. George <sup>(1)</sup>; on the other hand the head of the princess is the subject of several studies, some of which are found in the Vallardi collection <sup>(2)</sup>.

The idea of a noble lady depicted much as the princess in the fresco of Sta. Anastasia, seems to have almost haunted the artist's mind from the very outset of his career, because after all it is the same type which he shows us in his costume studies, which date in all probability from the time of his early activities in Venice. Only, in the fresco the figure has been given the features of a person really existing: it is a portrait for which Pisanello made several studies (figs. 76 and 77), whereas it can hardly be said that the costume drawings were executed with an idea of serving for the figure in the fresco.

There are several sketches of certain of the knights who form the group to the right. Beginning on the left we see one of a Kal-muck type for which a very beautiful study in silver point, showing him in half-length figure with bow and arrow, exists (fig. 78) <sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> There is the study of a leg extended, as of someone mounting a horse among the sketches probably of an advanced stage in the artist's career.

<sup>(2)</sup> Fol. 92 (reprod. 5) pen, turned towards the right with a head-dress different from that in the fresco; on the verso of the same page (81) the same head is shown turned towards the left; it is executed in crayon but has been completely destroyed by being passed over in ink; 93 (82) a beautiful pen drawing perhaps also strengthened at a later period; the head is turned towards the right but closely resembles the figure in the fresco also with regard to the arrangement of the hair; on the verso (41) the head of a deer-hound which the painter has represented in the fresco; 99 verso (78) head turned towards the right spoiled by the retouches; on the same page there is a study of a man's hand and on the other side a head of an emperor of classical times (179). I have already referred to this page. M. Guiffrey approximates this drawing sooner to the portrait of a young girl in the Louvre but this I think is a mistake; the resemblance to the princess in the fresco, however, is rather vague.

<sup>(3)</sup> Vallardi, fol. 68; on the same page there are still four other heads, two at least of oriental warriors, but three of them are only very faintly visible. Another page of the same collection contains some drawings executed in the same manner; they show a pilgrim's head, resembling the figure of St. Jerome in the National Gallery, a man with a barret, a child's head and a half-length figure of a nude woman.



Fig. 77. Pisanello, portrait study. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

Beside him there is a bearded head, the face with an expression of suffering, slightly raised <sup>(1)</sup>; then we find a study of the third

<sup>(1)</sup> Vallardi fol. 64 verso (103) pen on pink paper, passed over and having lost much of its original appearance.



Fig. 78. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.

on the right but without either his cap or his ermine collar <sup>(1)</sup> and it will be noticed that again this drawing is one of a considerable series of sketches of warriors (figs. 79—81), all in bust or in half-length figure, belonging to that set of drawings — prob-

<sup>(1)</sup> 128 (reprod. 25) pen on pink paper.

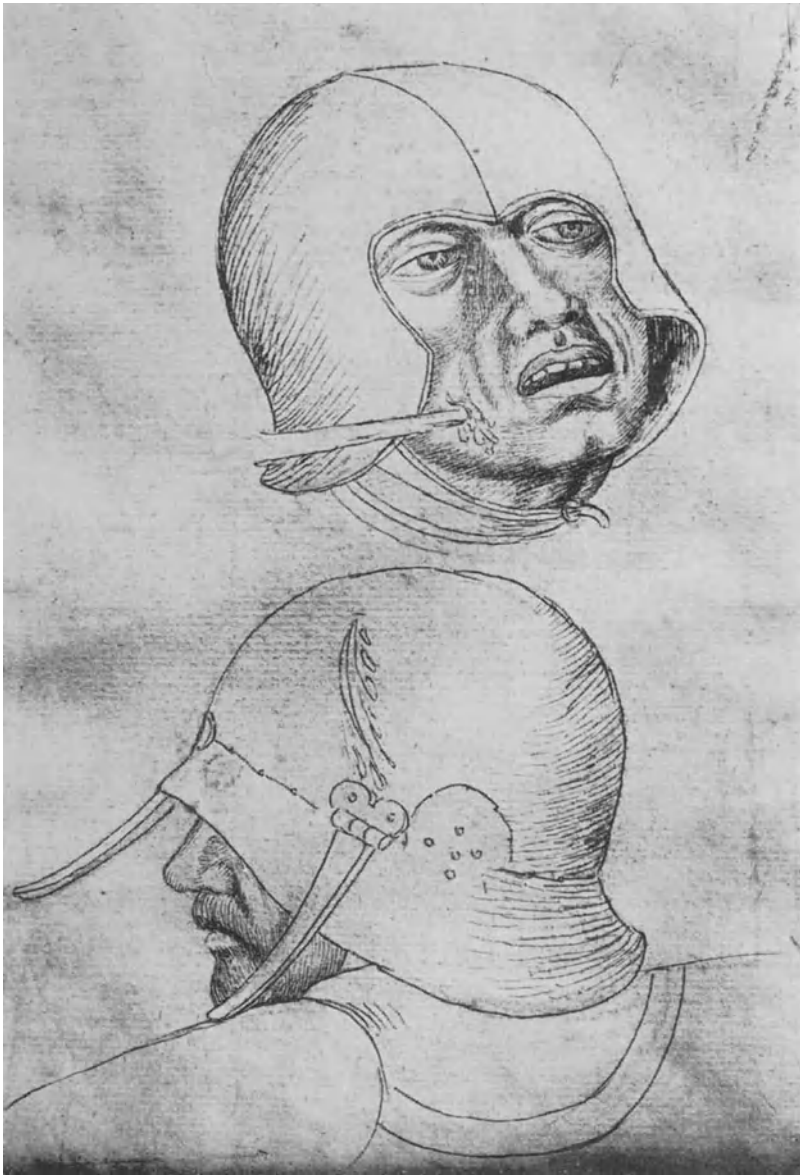


Fig. 79. Manner of Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

ably school productions — of which there has already been question; all are executed in pen and ink on pink paper, each sheet with but very little variation measuring  $28 \times 20$  cms. (1). These works, which are of very unequal value, are certainly from different hands. Two of them are very much finer than the others and although reinforced, seem to be by the master himself or very excellent copies (figs. 82 and 83) (2).

Apart from the Kalmuck who is sketched in quite a different manner, there are only two on the back and front of the same page who have really an oriental type(3). It may be that Pisanello wished to, or perhaps actually did employ the original models of these sketches, in the representation of certain martial scenes, because not only is there a vast variety of types, from the commander down to the trumpeter, flutist and tambour-player, but also wounded soldiers, some in the act of being stabbed in the face, others with ghastly expressions, dying or meditating on the horrors of death.

One might imagine that these figures formed part of one of Pisanello's most famous paintings, now lost, because I know at least two instances in which minor painters copied some of them in their own works; one of them will be reproduced among the productions of Pisanello's school (v. fig. 123), the other is an unimportant painting of the school of The Marches in the church of S. Agostino at San Ginesi (v. fig. 191).

From the hand of Pisanello we have two studies of the gallows, one in the British Museum (vol. 51, 1895—9—15—441) (4), the other in the Haseltine collection (5). It is particularly in the latter in which, besides the two dead bodies, we see two studies of the legs of hanged men, that we find some elements which Pisanello

(1) Vallardi collection fol. 109 (89), 117 (163), (fig. 79) verso (201), 118 (92), 119 (96), 120 (12), 121 (87) (fig. 80), 122 (230), 123 (185), verso (183), 124 (91) 81), 125, 126 (276) perhaps copied with a few changes, from Pisanello's drawing on fol. 58 (74); 127 (162) and the Louvre number 2605. Herr *Zoege von Mantuffel* is of opinion that these sketches are tracings.

(2) Fol. 125 verso (11), 129 (98).

(3) Fol. 125 and verso.

(4) *C. Dodgson*, op. cit. *G. F. Hill*, Gallow studies.

(5) Sold in public auction in London, May 1924. The drawing (No. 14) was attributed to Castagno who, according to Vasari, was once charged to make a sketch of a similar public execution.



Fig. 80 Manner of Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

must have used for the figure to the right in his fresco, that to the left seems to be identical on both sketches. The page in the British Museum shows five other bodies in different stages of



Fig. 81. Manner of Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

decomposition which are horrible to look at, as well as the figure of a young woman with a wreath of flowers in her hair and a curly-headed young man seen in full-face (fig. 84) <sup>(1)</sup>.

There are several sketches which bear a certain resemblance

<sup>(1)</sup> The latter bears some resemblance to a figure wearing a cap shown on the same page of the Vallardi collection as the Kalmuck.



Fig. 82. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

to the horses in the fresco, particularly to those depicted in profile. As for the horse seen from the back, I have already remarked in dealing with the medal of John Palaeologus, that there exist also sketches of horses represented in this position but there is not





Fig 83. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

one which shows a very marked connexion with that in the fresco.

It will be noticed, however, that a pen and ink study of a horse seen from behind (fig. 85) <sup>(1)</sup> so closely resembles in technique and draughtsmanship the mule in the group of knights that we can almost take it for granted that they were executed on the same occasion.

<sup>(1)</sup> Vallardi fol. 231 (reprod. 7) already mentioned.



Fig. 84. Pisanello, drawing. British Museum.

Photo Anderson.

There are also some drawings which can be associated with the representation in the painting of the horse seen from the front. The most similar of them all seems to be a study of the head in this position, executed in silver point on vellum <sup>(1)</sup>. There is a similar sketch in ink on pink paper beside a three-quarter view of a horse's head <sup>(2)</sup>. A study of an uplifted foot appears on another page but this is only a copy <sup>(3)</sup>. A rather effaced crayon drawing on paper depicts the entire figure of a horse from the same angle <sup>(4)</sup> but I think this must have served as a rough draft for a lost picture to which I shall return later on.

The sketches of horses' heads in the Vallardi collection which offer a comparison with those in the fresco, can be divided into two categories: those in ink on red paper and those in ink on white paper. The pages vary very little in size. In the first group there are two which might have been used for the execution of the upper of the two horses' heads that we see in the right angle of the fresco <sup>(5)</sup>. There is also a certain resemblance between one of the drawings <sup>(6)</sup> and the head of the horse bending towards the ground which is the second to the right near the group of knights, but the other studies on red paper show no connexion with the equine representations in the mural painting <sup>(7)</sup>.

In the set of drawings on red paper we very clearly remark the vicious looking head of the first horse to the right (fig. 86) <sup>(8)</sup> while a second sketch of the same animal shows him with a less gaping mouth <sup>(9)</sup>.

A study of the muzzle of a horse can be compared with that

<sup>(1)</sup> Vallardi fol. 229 (reprod. 229) on the same page there is a study of a dog in repose and two very effaced sketches of dogs' heads.

<sup>(2)</sup> Fol. 156 (274).

<sup>(3)</sup> Ink, fol. 172 (54).

<sup>(4)</sup> Fol. 169 (168).

<sup>(5)</sup> Fol. 154 (167); 157 verso (273).

<sup>(6)</sup> Fol. 153 (171).

<sup>(7)</sup> Fol. 156 (274), 156 verso, 157 recto, 158 (49). The head of the latter is decorated with parade ornaments, bearing the coat of arms of the d'Este family. It shows a faint resemblance to the head seen lower to the right in the fresco. Other studies belonging to this group are found on fol. 155 and under the number of order 2681.

<sup>(8)</sup> Fol. 151 (214).

<sup>(9)</sup> Fol. 150 (51).



Fig 85. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

of the animal depicted highest up to the right <sup>(1)</sup>; the same beast is found sketched on another page along with two drawings of the mouth and one of the chest of a horse <sup>(2)</sup>. Rough drafts for

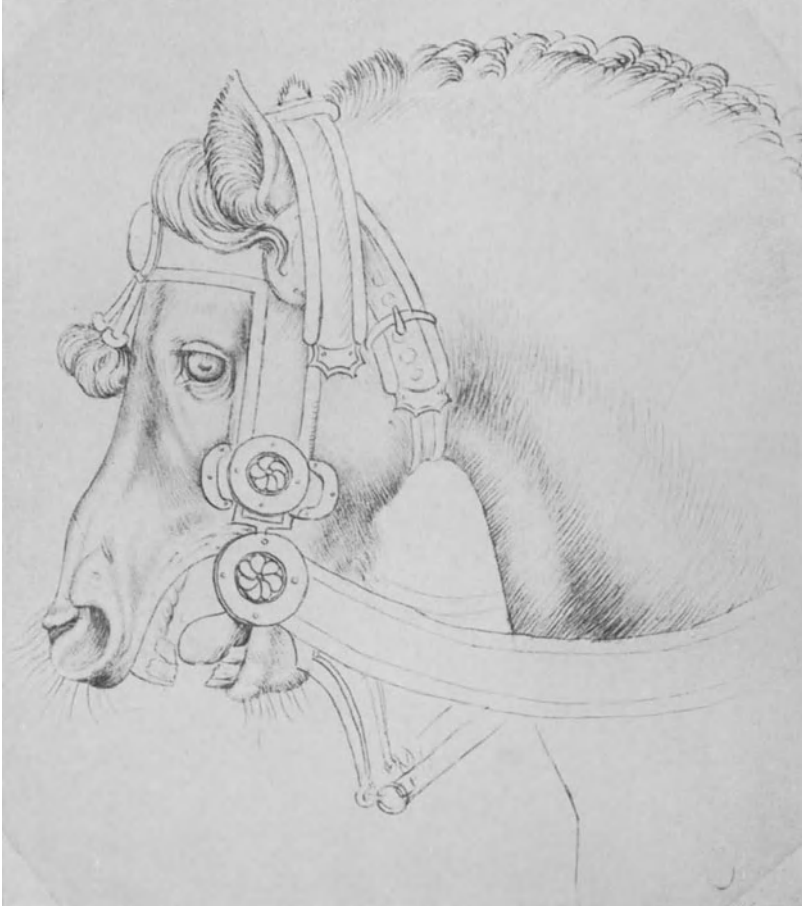


Fig. 86. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

the horse with slit nostrils as depicted in the second to the left among the group of knights, also exist in this set of designs <sup>(3)</sup> which includes still several other sketches bearing no con-

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 148 (119).

<sup>(2)</sup> Fol. 141 (154).

<sup>(3)</sup> Fol. 142 (53); 146.



Fig. 87. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

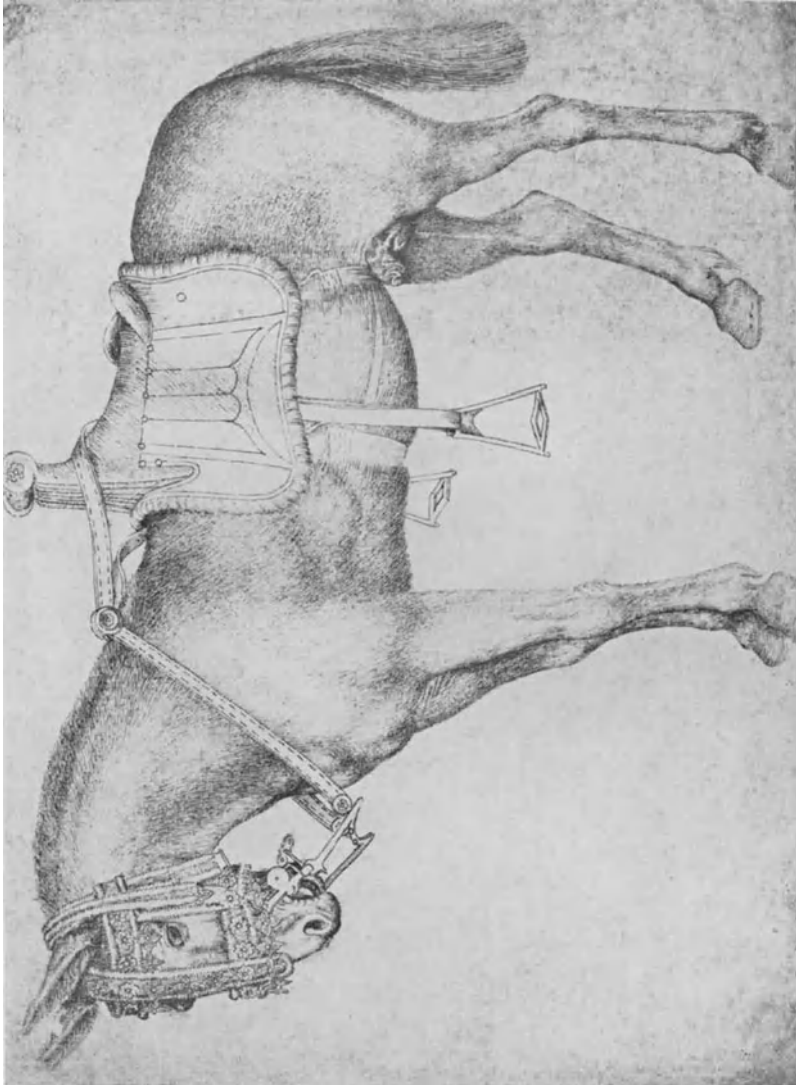


Fig. 88. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.

nexion with the representations in the fresco (fig.87)<sup>(1)</sup>. The head of the mule, seen in the centre of the knights' mounts, is naturally copied from the sketch — one of the better known of the Vallardi

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 143 (173); 146 (151), 152 (55) and reprints 118 and 152.

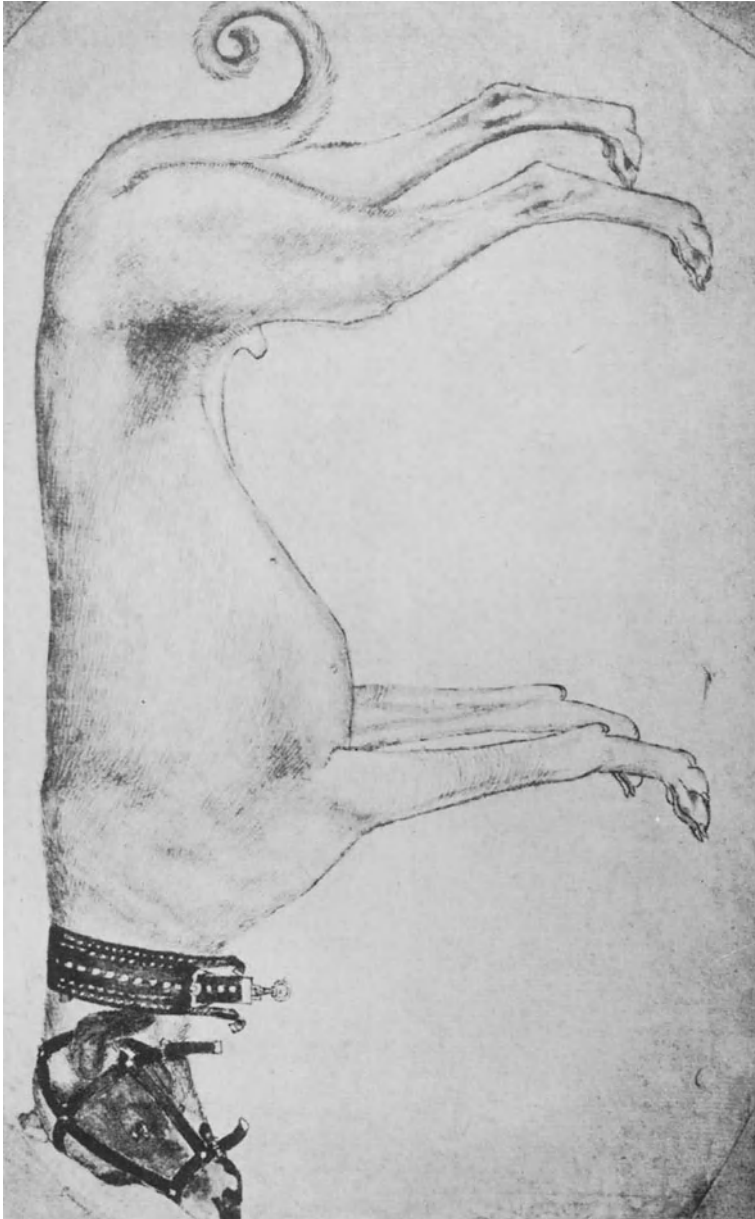


Fig. 89. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.



collection — which shows the entire beast in profile (fig. 88) <sup>(1)</sup>.

For the head of the he-goat lying to the right in the fresco, we find a drawing on a page which shows the same animal upright <sup>(2)</sup>. Of the deerhound too there exists a very beautiful sketch (fig. 89) and another of the head alone with certain slight variations on the other drawing which renders the resemblance to the dog in the fresco still more close <sup>(3)</sup>. It is worthy of remark that on the verso of this last page there is a reversed study for the head of the princess so that there can be little doubt that we have in these sketches the rough drafts which Pisanello used in the execution of the fresco. Of the spaniel we possess a very mediocre and re-touched sketch, showing the animal lying down but only the head and forelegs are depicted <sup>(4)</sup>.

What gives a certain interest to this drawing is that on the verso of the page there are three other studies of a spaniel, one of another dog, two of deerhounds and a third of the head alone, alongside the hastily executed sketch which some have wished to identify as the project for the fresco in the Great Council Hall of Venice <sup>(5)</sup> but which, as I said before, seems to be the production of a later stage. In any case this is certainly not a work of his early youth. A pen and ink sketch, strengthened in white, in the Uffizi represents a hound of a slightly different race (fig. 90).

Lastly there are several drawings which show a certain resemblance to the architecture in the background of the fresco. This is noticeable in some hastily sketched architectural motifs on the page which contains also the head of Nicholas III d'Este to which I have previously referred <sup>(6)</sup>.

However, the drawing preserved in the archives of Sta. Maria sopra S. Celso in Milan <sup>(7)</sup> is still more reminiscent of the buildings depicted in the fresco.

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 174 pen.

<sup>(2)</sup> 194 (126) pen on vellum; on the verso there are three studies of the nude.

<sup>(3)</sup> 224 (6) pen; 93 (41) pen and crayon on pink paper.

<sup>(4)</sup> Fol. 219 verso (40) pen, crayon and white on pink paper.

<sup>(5)</sup> Fol. 219 verso (67).

<sup>(6)</sup> Fol. 20 (75); 20 verso (166).

<sup>(7)</sup> *Guiffrey* in *Venturi*, p. 123, remarks this resemblance. On the other hand, *Hill*, op. cit., p. 47 note, compares the architectural motifs here with those in the Annunciation in S. Fermo.

I should still like to mention the fine figure of a pilgrim which is frescoed on the wall to the right of the entrance to the chapel, against a background with a pattern of conventional flowers; he carries a stick in one hand and a rosary in the other and wears on his hat as emblem the scallop-shell, of St. James (fig. 91). It is the coat of arms of the Pellegrini family who had this chapel built and decorated. As I have said elsewhere, there is much



Fig. 90. Pisanello, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

resemblance between this figure and that of St. Jerome in the London panel. In the collection of Christ Church, Oxford, there is a sketch which gives us a fairly exact reproduction of the head of the pilgrim (<sup>1</sup>), however, this drawing is certainly not from Pisanello's own hand and may after all only be a copy from the frescoed figure.

In painting the fresco in Sta. Anastasia, Pisanello was considerably inspired by Gentile da Fabriano's Adoration of the Magi.

(<sup>1</sup>) Vasari Society, VIII, No. 1.

Not only does the general appearance of the figures, although less Gothic in line, closely approach those of Gentile, but the numerous and striking correspondences are of such a character that they cannot be accounted for by only a few accidental meetings of the two masters.

In his fresco of St. George, Pisanello depicts a group of knights in the left angle; but Stefano da Verona in his Adoration of the Magi represents in the centre of the background a group of horsemen, partly hidden by a rock, which is not without a certain correspondence to the manner in which Pisanello has painted his group. Gentile also shows a similar assembly of knights in the background to the left of his picture and what seems a curious coincidence is, that where Pisanello represents, without any apparent reason, a gallows, Gentile depicts two soldiers leading away a criminal whose presence is inexplicable at the moment of the apparition to the Magi. Evidently both artists felt the necessity of placing a souvenir of crime in the background of a religious representation.

The horse most to the left in Pisanello's fresco, seems to have been inspired by that which Gentile shows very clearly in the group of knights in his panel and in both works we see almost in the same place a horse seen from the front and in the same attitude.

The deerhound that Gentile depicts in repose is the same as that which Pisanello shows standing. In both works the central figure is a young knight, magnificently attired, and Pisanello seems to have borrowed from Gentile's panel the idea of placing a town and a castle — Gentile shows us two — in the background of his fresco, although he has made some variations in their appearance and size.

Further points of resemblance will be found in the style of architecture that we see in the little town which backgrounds the Flight into Egypt, depicted on the predella of Gentile's painting.

The style of building here is purely imaginary and it would be difficult to classify it in any definite school of architecture.

However, in comparing the two works which reveal so many points of contact, we see very clearly that Pisanello had, all the same, found a manner of his own. In Gentile's superb picture some Gothic elements and a few traditional aesthetic conventions



Fig. 91. Pisanello, the coat of arms of the Pellegrini family. Sta. Anastasia, Verona.

Photo Anderson.

although of minor importance, are still evident, while an accurate observation of the real appearance of things seems to have been the unique guide to Pisanello's brush. Nevertheless he retains the methods of the painter-decorators of the middle ages in the lack of natural composition and in the accumulation of details which somewhat wearies the eye and prevents the spectator from comprehending at a glance the dominating idea of the picture; in this respect Gentile was more modern than Pisanello.

Thus in the fresco of Sta. Anastasia the influence of Gentile, although still quite visible, is limited to the more superficial details.

In the series of copies of heads by Pisanello, on red paper, to which I have referred on two different occasions, there is a certain number which seems to reflect the artist's manner of that period dating from between about 1432 and 1439, and I think more probably the earlier years of this stage, because we observe the presence of those Gothic elements which characterize the portraits in the Louvre and in New York and which are completely absent in the sketches for the medals that Pisanello executed from about 1441 onward. The study of a bishop's head (fig. 92) <sup>(1)</sup> is very beautiful and worthy of the master's own hand.

Of very inferior quality are the drawings of the head of a young woman looking down, of a young man, depicted on the different sides of one page <sup>(2)</sup> and of several others <sup>(3)</sup>; but none of these sketches, at least in their actual condition, can be ascribed to Pisanello. Besides, some of these drawings have completely lost the character of a work of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and look almost modern. An exception to this is the curiously impressionistic study of a man's head with an ugly smiling face seen in full; it is executed in large strokes and although it occupies the verso of one of the pages of copies, I think it possible

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 110 (164).

<sup>(2)</sup> Fol. 108 (165); 113 (275), 94 and verso (88 and 182).

<sup>(3)</sup> Fol. 109 (89) a monk, 107 (146) a three-quarter view of a man seen from the left; verso, a hastily executed ornamental design (14); 116 (27 and 218) a man seen from the same angle with a cap; 103 recto and verso (255 and 256) a young man removing his doublet and a youth reading. The size of this sheet is slightly larger and corresponds sooner with those of red paper on which we found the studies of horses' heads.



Fig. 92. Pisanello, portrait study. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

that it is a sketch by Pisanello himself<sup>(1)</sup>. Another, which I am of opinion is also a work by the master, is a drawing in crayon on white paper of the two sides of a young man's head slightly raised<sup>(2)</sup>. The bust of a young man bending over his reading<sup>(3)</sup> is a study of perspective which might be said to find its source of inspiration in the figure of a man stooping to attach one of the Eastern King's spurs, in Gentile's Adoration of the Magi.

There are still some drawings of animals executed in this manner, such for example as that of the four horses lying on the ground, two of them dead with their bodies ripped open, doubtless a rough draft for some battle scene<sup>(4)</sup>; there is still another study of a horse lying on the ground, probably dead<sup>(5)</sup>. A sketch of a dead dog is even more pitiable in appearance<sup>(6)</sup>. Some other drawings of dogs have points in common with that which served for the fresco, although the position of the deer-hound is somewhat different<sup>(7)</sup>.

As the sketch of the goat<sup>(8)</sup> seems to have served for the fresco in Sta. Anastasia, we can surmise that the drawings on the verso of the page were executed probably at the same period. They are in all likelihood studies from the reliefs of antique sarcophagi (fig. 93).

The figure which Pisanello has interpreted as Hercules swinging a club is probably copied from an image of Oreste holding a sword, but the latter detail is incomplete. The female figure seems to have belonged to a group and might have been Venus hastening towards Adonis, because there is also a representation of a young man on bent knee<sup>(9)</sup>. Although smaller and of somewhat

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 275 verso (94).

<sup>(2)</sup> Fol. 76 (204) and the verso.

<sup>(3)</sup> Fol. 55 (33) pen on white paper.

<sup>(4)</sup> Fol. 168 (115) pen; verso, crayon study of a man standing, holding a stick (22).

<sup>(5)</sup> Fol. 165 (127). The same collection contains a copy of this drawing (reprod. 145).

<sup>(6)</sup> Fol. 222 (268) crayon on paper.

<sup>(7)</sup> Fols. 221, 223, 224 and 225 (208, 79, 6) pen and water colours.

<sup>(8)</sup> Fol. 194.

<sup>(9)</sup> Fol. 194 verso (20) (fig. 93) *Hill*, op cit., p. 20 and *the Same*, Papers of the British School at Rome, III, 1906.



Fig. 93. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

finer technique, it is not difficult to admit a connexion between this drawing and another in the British Museum <sup>(1)</sup>, executed in a somewhat different manner and of which the subject is also apparently taken from mythology. A bearded man, almost naked,

<sup>(1)</sup> (Pp.—11). On the verso there are two sketches in crayon of a bearded man and a youth which apparently are the productions of a pupil.



is depicted holding an eagle which vomits while a nude woman looks at herself in a little glass (fig. 94). We notice in this work that the forms, although still slightly Gothic, show more freedom, a greater robustness and a more advanced development than the little nude figures that we found among Pisanello's early productions. To a date still a few years later, I think we can ascribe another study of the nude executed in silver point on vellum; it represents a man sitting but we shall return to it later on <sup>(1)</sup>. Nude figures are depicted only in those of Pisanello's medals that he made about the year 1444.

Adjacent to one of the studies of horses' heads on red paper, we find a sketch which is of some interest not on account of its importance as a drawing but because it offers us an example from Pisanello's hand of the rough draft for an entire decoration of a chapel or an oratory, to which fact, I think, no one has as yet drawn attention (fig. 95) <sup>(2)</sup>. The principal subject is a group formed by the Madonna and Child enthroned with two bearded holy monks, one of them perhaps St. Antony Abbot to the left and a holy knight (St. George?) and St. Catherine with the wheel to the right. Above to the left there is a very hasty sketch of a vault adorned with the four figures of the Evangelists, each one seated at a desk; more to the right a drapery might have been another idea for the lower part of the Virgin's throne; still farther to this side we see the four symbols of the Evangelists. Just over the head of the saintly warrior, an angel swinging a censer has been faintly indicated and in the lower right angle we can just manage to distinguish Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John with Mary Magdalene at the feet of the Crucified, around whom apparently hovered at one time five angels.

This must be the project of an extensive and very important decoration but we have no indication regarding the building for which it was destined.

The folds of the drapery, and in particular of the isolated piece, make us think that the drawings were executed at a stage when the artist was still considerably dominated by the Gothic style.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 226 (108). A page in the Print Room of Berlin (No. 487) shows two male nudes which are attributed to Pisanello.

<sup>(2)</sup> Fol. 157 verso (273).



Fig. 94. Pisanello, drawing. British Museum.

Photo Macbeth.

On the other hand the skill with which the draughtsman in so few masterly strokes presents his ideas of the decoration, reveals the consummate artist. In this respect the emblematic lion of St. Mark is a little chef d'oeuvre.

I think there is one other drawing which must have formed

part of the same set of ornamental projects, or rather, I believe we can indentify the curly head of a young man sketched in crayon on paper <sup>(1)</sup> with the figure of the holy knight.

Of the last dozen years of Pisanello's activities we possess only medals and drawings, with the exception of the portrait of Leonello d'Este in the Gallery of Bergamo, although there are some arguments in favour of the hypothesis that the master executed frescoes in Pavia and Ferrara during this period. His career as medallist started, if not with the bronzes made for Nicholas d'Este, at least with that of Emperor John Palaeologus; however, even if the fresco in Sta. Anastasia was executed, as I imagine, a short time prior to this medal, the two works bear too close a connexion to one another for us to place the division between the execution of the one and the other.

On the other hand it was during this last period that he specialized in the representation of portraits in bronze in particular, but although it is evident it was not at this moment that he started this form of portraiture and continued as well to make beautiful drawings of animals, the art of portrait making and medal designing dominated the period from about 1439 until 1449.

As Herr Heiss has remarked, it is possible that the medals representing the condottiere Niccolo Piccinino, Filippo Maria Visconti and Francesco Sforza were executed almost contemporaneously, that is to say in the year 1441 when the peace treaty required the presence of all three in Milan. In any case the portrait in bronze of Piccinino dates from after 1439 on account of the fact that the title of "Vicecomes" is mentioned and it was certainly executed before the artist departed in 1441 or 1442 to serve King Alfonso of Naples. The titles on the Sforza medal dates it with certainty after his marriage, which took place in

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<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 73 (104). *L. Einstein*, Burlington Magazine, VII, 1905, p. 142, has attempted to demonstrate that this sketch represents Lorenzo de Medici and was executed in 1466 by an adherent of the school of Pisanello. I fail to see any striking resemblance between Lorenzo, with his curious ugly mouth and sleek hair, and the regular features and curly locks of the figure in the sketch, which is more reminiscent of the archangel Gabriel in the fresco in S. Fermo, Verona.



Fig. 95. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

October 1441; perhaps it was on this occasion that he had it executed. Lastly Filippo Maria Visconti was forty years old in 1441, and this age corresponds perfectly with his effigy on the medal.

Pisanello has depicted Piccinino in profile turned to the left;

the griffon of Perugia suckling two naked children is engraved on the verso. The inscriptions around the figures are very large and the signature much in evidence.

In the Vallardi collection there are two charming sketches of the condottiere <sup>(1)</sup> which no doubt served for the execution of the medal (fig. 96). The same person is recognizable but the figure on the medal is but a mere shadow of those in the drawings which are full of spirit and character.

The medal of Francesco Sforza resembles that of Piccinino in size and in the position and proportions of the head as well as in the simplicity of the verso, which is adorned with a horse's head, three books and a sword, and in the disproportionate size of the letters of the inscription with the signature. It is generally admitted that the horse represented was Sforza's favourite mount but shown together with the sabre and the books I think it should only be considered as an emblem of martial life, as is also the sword, while the books probably bear some reference to his humanistic culture. The horse, which has been thought of Spanish breed, recalls one of those in the picture of SS. Antony and George in the National Gallery.

The Visconti medal (fig. 97) is somewhat different; it is larger, the head of the marquis is higher and the inscriptions are much less important, particularly that on the verso which shows a much more elaborate design sooner reminiscent of that on the reverse of the medal of John Palaeologus. A knight and two pages clad in armour, with heraldic motifs, one of which is that of the Visconti, on two of the helmets, are depicted on horses shown in profile, in a three quarter view from behind and in full face in a rocky landscape. In the background we see a fortress, a castle, a church with a cupola and two towers and an allegorical statue of a woman almost nude.

The portrait in profile of the duke makes us almost believe the affirmation that on account of his physical plainness he was opposed to having his portrait made <sup>(2)</sup>. However Pier Candido

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 87 (246) crayon on white paper; on the back of the page we see a winged cupid <sup>(2)</sup> holding a little bird, executed in silver point on green paper but the drawing has considerably faded.

<sup>(2)</sup> Nevertheless other effigies of this Visconti have existed v. *Hill*, op. cit., p. 125.



Fig. 96. Pisanello, study for the medal of Niccolo Piccinino, circa 1441.  
Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

Decembrio who provides us with this piece of information, tells us that Pisanello made an excellent likeness of him. He referred probably to the medal for which the artist made a sketch. Of the two drawings which exist in the Vallardi collection there is only



Fig. 97. Pisanello, verso of the medal of Filippo Maria Visconti, circa 1441.

Photo Alinari.

one which can undoubtedly be considered an authentic work by the master (fig. 98) <sup>(1)</sup>; as for the other Mr. Hill is of opinion that it is a copy <sup>(2)</sup> but it has been considerably modified by the usual passing over in ink. In both drawings the face is much less ugly

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 88 (32) crayon on paper.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Hill*, op. cit., p. 127 note and before him *Heisz*, op. cit., p. 13 and *Zoega v. Manteuffel*, op. cit., p. 160.



Fig. 98. Pisanello, study for the medal of Filippo Maria Visconti, circa 1441.  
Louvre, Paris,

Photo Giraudon.



than in the medal; it is a pleasing, intelligent and shrewd physiognomy with a penetrating regard. The reverse of this medal has never excited great admiration and it is obvious that the composition is not very fortunate and the different parts of markedly unequal value. The horse seen in profile is wooden while the other, depicted from behind, possesses great qualities. The background is of such a nature that it gives a somewhat confusing effect to the general appearance of the group.

It has been affirmed that it was at this moment that Pisanello decorated the castle of Pavia and there is nothing impossible in this, although Prof. Venturi believes that it was more likely in 1424 on the occasion of certain changes which the Duke Filippo Maria Visconti caused to be made. Michiel — better known as the “Anonimo Morelliano” — affirms, on Cesare Cesariano’s authority that the frescoes in this palace were from the hand of Pisanello and Cesariano praises these paintings in quite a special manner for he says that the frescoes were so brilliant that images were reflected as in a mirror.

Breventano in his description of Pavia gives us the subjects of this decoration without, however, mentioning the artist’s name; they included deer, other game, hunting and fishing scenes and other representations with noblemen and their ladies <sup>(1)</sup>. It is true that the subjects enumerated by Breventano are just those which Pisanello would have taken keen delight in depicting, but on the other hand they were quite the usual subjects of decoration for country castles. But this information, which is furnished by Cesariano and repeated by Michiel, dates from about a century after the execution of the frescoes and they do not even say which part of the castle was decorated by Pisanello. Michiel seems to think that the master made all the frescoes while Cesariano says only that he worked there. One part of the ornamentation seems to date from 1367, another from shortly after 1380, so that, even if Cesariano’s statement be correct, it still remains problematic when Pisanello worked there and what part he took in the decoration of the castle.

Of Leonello d’Este, Pisanello made seven different medals and of one of them there exists as well a variant. One medal dates

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<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Venturi*, in his edition of *Vasari’s Vite*, p. 32, gives us these texts.

from 1444 and was made on the occasion of Leonello's second marriage. Three of the others must date from after 1441 because Leonello is given the titles of Lord of Ferrara, Regio and Modena (fig. 99), which he did not obtain until he succeeded his father



Fig. 99. Pisanello, medal of Leonello d'Este, circa 1441.

Photo Anderson.

in this year but the absence of these titles in the other three medals is no proof that they do not belong to the same period; certainly it is difficult to discern any difference between the various portraits. Their similarity is such that it is easy to admit that one sketch served for the execution of them all and that sketch must have borne a very close resemblance to the portrait of Bergamo (fig. 100), even although certain of the medals show a less flattering likeness of the marquis but one in which the features are more

individual. On examining for instance the portrait on the medal with three angel faces united on one head on the verso, we see a wrinkle at the side of the mouth which does not improve his looks but which gives the face much more expression. This wrinkle is missing in the picture in Bergamo or perhaps this detail has disappeared because the painting is slightly effaced. The chin is also less prominent in the panel and it is possible, as will be seen later on, that this work was executed some years earlier. As to his apparent age there does not seem to be a very great difference; the medals show a man of between about thirty-five and forty years of age which Leonello, born in 1407, must have been towards 1444. In the picture he seems to be slightly younger, although there is a marked similarity between the doublet worn by Leonello in the medal of 1444 and that in the picture. I think it likely that Pisanello executed these medals after his sojourn in Mantua in 1443, because he was apparently in Ferrara in 1444, the date we find inscribed on one of the bronzes, then again in 1445 and 1447, in which years various payments were made to him and it may be that Leonello employed him for the decoration of his country palace of Belriguardo for which the marquis expended much money during these years. It is even probable that the painter was still in Ferrara in August 1447 <sup>(1)</sup>.

Although the medal-portraits of Leonello vary so little, the decoration of the reverses shows a considerable diversity of design. The three medals which mention Leonello only as the Marquis d'Este measure 6 × 9 cms., as also two of the other examples. The reverses of these three show (1) three angel's faces united on one head<sup>(2)</sup>, (2) two nude men sitting near a mast to which a sail is attached, and (3) two nude men, each one carrying a basket of olive branches, while two vases are seen in the background. Of the medals with the full list of Leonello's titles there is one much smaller than the others, measuring only 4 × 2 cms.,

<sup>(1)</sup> *Hill*, op. cit., p. 142.

<sup>(2)</sup> There is a drawing by Pisanello, fol. 38 (74) showing three faces united in this manner, but they are those of bearded men; on the same page we see the head of a man blowing a trumpet, a man in profile and a sketch of a group of figures at the entrance of a Gothic church, among them we can recognize a bishop and a noble elegantly attired.



Fig. 100. Pisanello, portrait of Leonello d'Este. Gallery, Bergamo.

Photo Anderson.

the verso of this specimen is adorned with a vase, containing flowers, from the handles of which a whole and a broken anchor hang. The two other medals which are the same size as the first three show on the reverses, the one a seated lynx with eyes blind-fold and the other a nude youth reclining near a vase of flowers with anchors both whole and broken hanging from it. Lastly on the verso of the marriage medal, which measures more than 10 cms., we see a little figure of cupid with an open scroll standing before a lion; the background is occupied by a mast with a sail and to the left an eagle perched on a branch (fig. 101). The interpretation of these allegorical and symbolic representations is not always easy with the exception of the last which depicts the power of love to subdue a lion making of it a "Leonello". All these medals are signed and show long inscriptions.

It is not quite impossible that the picture at Bergamo was executed on the occasion of the competition between Bellini and Pisanello as to which of them would make the best portrait of Leonello, an event which is narrated in verses by Ulisse — perhaps Ulisse de' Aleotti — and to some extent confirmed by a document which informs us that Bellini received a certain quantity of grain from Leonello. This took place at the beginning of 1441 which provides an approximate date for the picture of Bergamo and as the face appears somewhat more youthful than on the medals, it is quite probable that this is really the picture which was judged inferior to Bellini's portrait of Leonello.

The portrait which belonged to the Costabili family of Ferrara, is now found in the collection which Senator Morelli left to the Gallery of Bergamo. As in two of the seven medals, Leonello is depicted in right profile; he is attired in rich brocade and some flowers are shown in the background of the picture<sup>(1)</sup>.

In the Vallardi collection there are two little sketches on vellum of Borso d' Este<sup>(2)</sup> which no doubt were executed at the same

(1) It has been believed, but without sufficient grounds, that the flowers in a drawing of the Recueil Vallardi fol. 15 are repeated in this picture.

(2) Fol. 63 (202) silver point; fol. 66 (111) pen. Herr *Zoege v. Manteuffel*, contests this identification which all the same seems to me very obvious. Another pen drawing may perhaps depict Borso at a more advanced age, wearing a large hat; on the same page we find a sketch of "Diva Faustina" and another of the wall of a fortress.

time as the medals of Leonello. Vasari even makes reference to a medal which Pisanello made of Borso but he probably confused it with other medals. Borso was six years younger than Leonello and this age corresponds perfectly with the sketched figures.



Fig. 101. Pisanello, verso of the medal of Leonello d'Este, 1444.

Photo Alinari.

In the Vallardi collection there are several little studies of heads, executed in silver point on vellum.

One of them sometimes passes, but without sufficient reason, as the portrait of Bartolomeo Colleoni of whom Guidizani made a medal; others show three profiles together, one of which resembles Alfonso of Naples, the head of a youth with an open collar (fig. 102), a three quarter view from the right of the head of a man with a short beard who is sometimes supposed to be Gian-

galeazzo Visconti whose dates do not correspond with Pisanello's activity and the head of a negro, but the last mentioned is coloured with sepia <sup>(1)</sup>. Other drawings in silver point on vellum, sometimes green in colour, are of an exquisite fineness but some of them are almost effaced. Among them there is a man's head executed in water colours which is a little master-piece <sup>(2)</sup>.

Pisanello had apparently at this moment a marked preference for drawing in silver point on vellum; it may be that on account of the precision of line this method lent itself particularly well to his medallic work. At least there is a series of drawings on vellum, which seem to me to have been executed at this stage and several of them, on account of the subject, offer a comparison with some of the medals which he made during these years.

Thus the eagle depicted in the medal of Leonello of 1444 is shown from two different angles on a sheet of vellum on which there are two other studies of an eagle and a mouse while on the back there is a sketch of a falcon seen from behind <sup>(3)</sup>. On another page we find eagles, dogs and lynxes executed in the same manner <sup>(4)</sup> and it will be remembered that a blind-folded lynx appeared on one of the medals of Leonello.

Another drawing which can be easily approximated to two of the medals made for Leonello shows the seated figure of a nude man <sup>(5)</sup>; he should be compared with one of the two figures in a similar position in one medal or with the recumbent nude youth in the other. On the same page there is also a study of a deer and some rabbits, the latter partly in water-colours, and it will be noticed that these animals form the principal subject of this series of drawings in silver point on vellum.

There is a superb drawing of a ram with tortoises and snails

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 62 (203), 63 (110), 64, 67, 67 (112).

<sup>(2)</sup> Louvre Nos of order 2301, 2302, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2313, 2314, 2321. None of them is reproduced.

<sup>(3)</sup> Fol. 265 (257 and 159). The eagles bear a close resemblance to a drawing of the same subject on a page in the Bonnat Museum of Bayonne where we see also a bird of prey beside a porcupine v. *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1921, p. 91, but the page in the *Recueil Vallardi* is very much superior.

<sup>(4)</sup> Fol. 206 (160) silver point passed over in ink.

<sup>(5)</sup> Fol. 226 (108).



Fig. 102. Pisanello, portrait study (enlarged). Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.

in silver point on vellum <sup>(1)</sup>, the first of which — the ram — seems to have served for the Capricorn on the medal of Cecilia Gonzaga of 1447.

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 205 (269). There is a similar drawing in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth but that in the Recueil Vallardi bears a closer resemblance to the unicorn on the medal.



The number of drawings in this group of animal studies is pretty considerable and from an artistic standpoint they are certainly superior to those of the painter's first manner <sup>(1)</sup>.

We need dwell only a short time on Pisanello's other medals because they teach us nothing new regarding the master's qualities as a painter or a draughtsman, although they show him always as an excellent portraitist.

One of the medals in question is that of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, executed probably after his death <sup>(2)</sup> which occurred in 1444; it represents on one side a bust of the marquis and on the reverse the same figure on horseback, attended by a squire (fig. 105); of the latter there exists a sketch with which we shall deal later on <sup>(3)</sup>. It is interesting to note that late states of Rembrandt's engraving of the "Three Crosses" show some figures obviously copied from the reverse of this medal. There do not exist any sketches which might have served for the effigy of the marquis but the image created by Pisanello seems to have been the prototype on which the later portraits were modelled <sup>(4)</sup>.

Of Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini there are two medals, both showing him in right profile. One of them dates

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<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 166 (158) part of a charger, the uneven background would have made a suitable design for reproduction in bronze; 179 (245, 270) lizard; 190<sup>A</sup> (180) heads of women and children in silver point and water-colours (fig. 103); verso (44) pen drawings of monkeys; 190<sup>B</sup> (231) two monkeys in silver point on paper; 193 (42) goat, sheep and tortoise in silver point passed over in ink; verso (43) goat, idem; 197 (130 and 251) camel, silver point and ink; 198 (116) horse's head, sepia; 202 (46) yoked oxen; 203 (45) recumbent oxen (fig. 104); 204 (195) recumbent cattle; 213, 214, 214<sup>II</sup> (205, 133, 228) wild cats; 233 (212) a winged demon; 237 (86 and 247) two deer, head of a deer and two peahens, ink; 247 (161) falcon, rabbit and dog; 247<sup>II</sup> (210) fragment of a bird, pen and water-colours; 248 (207) head of an eagle, hen; 257 (229) horse's head, recumbent dog and dog's head; 267 (117) studies of old horses, silver point and water-colours; 270 (121) ass; reprod. 265 deer(?), (it is so faint that it is hardly visible, where not stated to the contrary, all these drawings are on vellum).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Hill*, op. cit., p. 169. *Venturi* in his edition of *Le Vite* is of opinion that it dates from 1438.

<sup>(3)</sup> Fol. 101 verso (19). Apparently there exists still another sketch of this horseman and the page which is preserved in the archives of Sta. Maria sopra S. Celso, Milan, shows a leopard on the verso v. *Venturi*, op. cit., p. 123.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Hill*, op. cit., p. 170, gives the literature on this subject.



Fig. 103. Pisanello, aquarelle. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

from 1445 and on it is mentioned the title of Captain-General which he obtained from the pope that year. It was no doubt on this occasion that the medal was cast and the reverse, which shows a warrior clad in armour on a charger, not of very great beauty, against a background of mountains and architecture, is an appropriate device to commemorate this event; further it is



Fig. 104. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

possible that it bears reference also to the taking of Rocca Contrada.

The other medal seems to show a more youthful effigy of Sigismondo, a figure of a knight in armour standing between a coat of arms and a heraldic helmet adorns the reverse <sup>(1)</sup>.



Fig. 105. Pisanello, verso of medal of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga.

Photo Alinari.

There exists a beautiful medal by Pisanello of Domenico or Novello Malatesta, the natural son of Pandolfo III, which dates from about the same period (fig. 106). The young man is depicted in left profile and the verso shows a warrior in his coat of mail, kneeling at the foot of a cross which bears the Crucified. His

<sup>(1)</sup> *Hill*, op. cit., p. 164, informs us that there exists a false medal showing Sigismondo on one side and Isotta Atti on the other.

horse seen from behind stands waiting its rider close by (fig. 107). Doubtless this representation bears some connexion to, or rather confirms the legend that Novello in danger of being taken prisoner at the battle of Montolmo in 1444, made a vow that



Fig. 106. Pisanello, medal of Novello Malatesta, circa 1445.

Photo Alinari.

he would build a hospital consecrated to the Holy Cross <sup>(1)</sup>.

The same simplicity of line which is very pleasing in this last medal, is noticeable again in that of Ludovico Gonzaga which dates probably from between 1447 and 1448; it depicts the profile

<sup>(1)</sup> *Hill*. op. cit., p. 166, considers a drawing in the Print Room of Munich, representing the design with some variations of the verso of this medal, to be a mediocre German copy of the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

of the marquis on one side and a warrior on horseback on the other (fig. 108).

The medal of Cecilia Gonzaga was executed in 1447 and is in no way inferior in quality to the two previous specimens. Her



Fig. 107. Pisanello, verso of the medal of Novello Malatesta.

Photo Alinari.

profile adorns the obverse (fig. 109) while the design on the reverse shows the figure of a half nude woman, sitting near a recumbent unicorn, an allegorical representation of innocence (fig. 110). I have already spoken of the two sketches of goats which reveal a connexion with the animal on this medal. It will be noticed that although Cecilia Gonzaga was a nun in 1447, Pisanello represents her in secular attire

The three medals of the humanists, Vittorino da Feltre, Belloto

Cumano dated 1447, and Pier Candido Decembrio — the last mentioned by Leonello in a letter of 1448 as finished — are not very fine, although the portraits, the first and third in particular, are full of expression and appear to be excellent likenesses, but



Fig. 108. Pisanello, verso of the medal of Ludovico Gonzaga, circa 1447–48.

Photo Alinari.

the inscriptions, with the signature always very much in evidence, are out of proportion to the size of the medals, especially those of Vittorino da Feltre and Cumano, which are small.

I have no intention of entering into a discussion with regard to the doubtful medals among which there is that with the artist's own portrait (fig. 37) which, however might just still be from the master's hand, as well as that of Leone Battista Alberti which again is of such beauty, that I see no difficulty in accepting the

attribution to Pisanello. But before coming to the medals of his Neapolitan stage, I should like to draw the attention to those large and beautiful portrait sketches which Pisanello no doubt executed at the same period as the effigy medals which we have just



Fig. 109. Pisanello, medal of Cecilia Gonzaga, 1447.

Photo Alinari.

discussed. Besides, those drawings tally perfectly with the sketches that I have mentioned in connexion with the medals.

Among these portraits there are some in full-face which were certainly not made with the view of casting medals. There is one of an old man with hard and disagreeable features but of remarkable realism. The same model has served for another sketch which shows his half-length figure in a three-quarter right profile. <sup>(1)</sup> Not less beautiful is the head of a man seen in full-face

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 84 (24), 79 (107) crayon on paper.



with a hat of the fashion of the time; the mouth with its thin compressed lips gives a very special and well defined character to the portrait. (1) A bearded old man seen in a three-quarter view from the left, appears on another page almost opposite (2).

There are also several profile sketches which seem suitable for the execution of medals. We find the head of an ecclesiastic drawn in silver point on vellum and another profile, perhaps also of a church dignitary, of which the chief lines are alone indicated in pen on similar parchment (fig. 111) (3), on which, as I have already said, Pisanello seems to have preferably made sketches for his medals. There are still other studies of men's profiles (4).

One of Pisanello's best drawings is the portrait of an old man with a white beard and curly hair, seen in left profile (5); a cross to which a ring seems to be attached hangs on his chest and apparently keeps his collar in place (plate IV). The drawing which is done in crayon on paper has in part been passed over in ink; traces of colour are still visible. Some words are inscribed near the chin of the noble who, it can be guessed, must have been a man of intellect and refinement. As I have remarked elsewhere, this calligraphy seems to be that of the person who wrote the indications on the page on which the Emperor Palaeologus figures (fig. 71).

None the less, this superb drawing has not quite the same character as those which were used for the medals. This is sooner the case for two men's profiles executed in crayon on paper (6) and for a sketch of a man, wearing a moustache, executed in ink on red paper near which is seen a little drawing of a ship (7). On the verso of this page there is a hasty sketch of a man's head, seen in three-quarter profile from the right.

Of the year 1449 which Pisanello spent in Naples where his presence had been requested already in 1444, we possess five medals, four of which depict King Alfonso I of the house of Ar-

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(1) Fol. 83 (191) crayon on paper.

(2) Fol. 78 (224); 82 (242); crayon on paper.

(3) Fol. 72 (102); 71 (223).

(4) Fol. 77.

(5) Fol. 86 (31).

(6) Reprod. 240.

(7) Fol. 105 (186).



*PORTRAIT OF A MAN*

*By Pisanello, Vallardi Album, Louvre, Paris.*

Photo Giraudon.

ragon. The finest is that on which the king's bust is represented between a crown and a helmet adorned with an open book and the reverse shows four eagles, a smaller bird and a little deer lying dead in the centre (fig. 112). It has been pointed out that



Fig. 110. Pisanello, verso of the medal of Cecilia Gonzaga, 1447.

Photo Alinari.

certain Agrigentum coins are decorated with designs of eagles rather resembling those of this medal but it is hardly likely that Pisanello ever saw these coins.

In the *Recueil Vallardi* there is a drawing which might have served for the medal in question<sup>(1)</sup>. The sketch is made in the opposite sense and the king wears on his arm an ornament of three children's faces, similar to that on the reverse of one of

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol 61<sup>v</sup> (38) pen and sepia on paper.



Fig. 111. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

Leonello's medals, while a bat is depicted over the helmet which is adorned with a lion. The artist has inscribed the date, 1448, under the crown; he has made as well another attempt to arrange the ciphers.

On the second medal the king's effigy has changed but little, but here the crown alone is shown and it is placed under the

bust. The inscription: "*Venator intrepidus*", on the verso does homage to the king as a huntsman. Here there is a beautiful relief of a nude man, dagger in hand, attacking a boar which is also assailed on either side by two hounds. The mountainous



Fig. 112. Pisanello, verso of the medal of Alfonso I of Naples, 1449.

Photo Alinari.

landscape is indicated only to the right and left of the scene (fig. 113).

In the collection of Sir Edward Poynter there was a beautiful drawing of a standing boar (fig. 114) <sup>(1)</sup> which no doubt was the rough draft used by the painter, who, however, on the medal

<sup>(1)</sup> Vasari Society V, No. 4. This drawing was No. 116 of the catalogue of the sale of the Poynter collection which was held in London in August 1918.

shows the beast thrown to the ground. In the *Recueil Vallardi* there is another in water-colours (<sup>1</sup>).

The portrait on the third medal is very reminiscent of that on the first; his garments are different and the crown is seen in the



Fig. 113. Pisanello, verso of the medal of Alfonso I of Naples, 1449.

same place as in the second medal. The relief on the verso is not of great beauty; it shows a triumphal chariot drawn by four horses, driven by an angel. To either side there is a profusion of letters.

The fourth medal, which is very small, is adorned on the reverse with the same chariot but the angel is on his feet and drives the team at full gallop. The portrait resembles that on the second

(<sup>1</sup>) Number of order 2417.

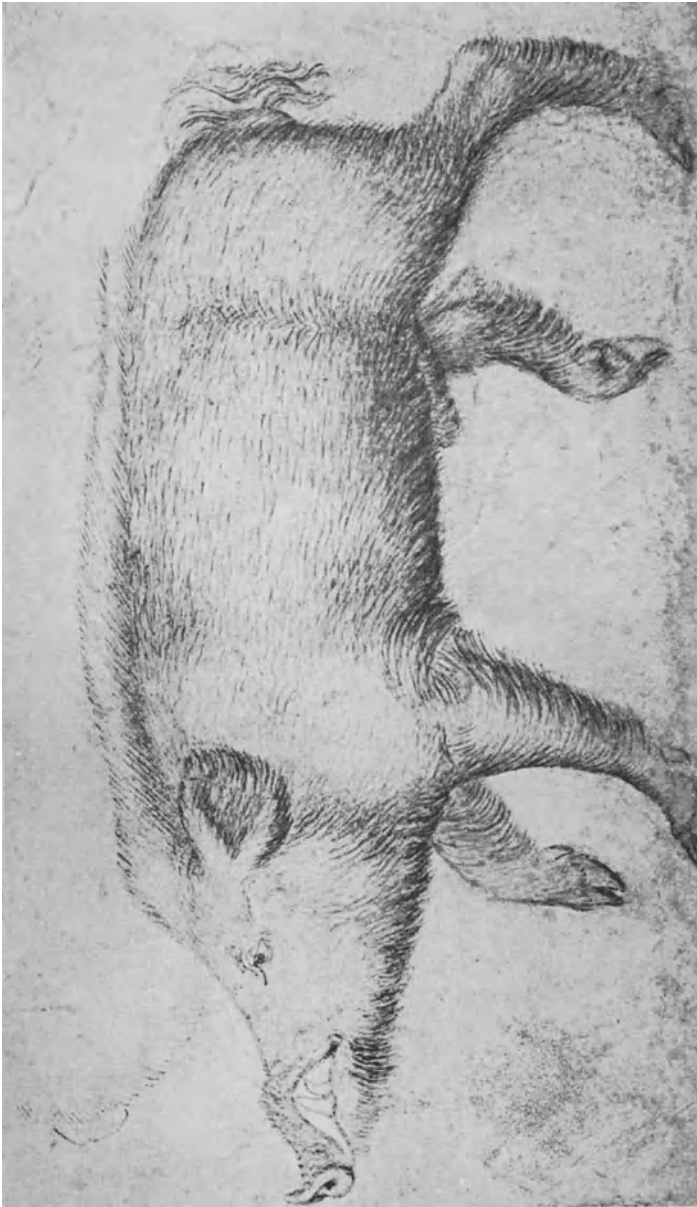


Fig. 114. Pisanello, drawing. Sir E. Poynter's Collection.

Vasari Society reproduction

medal but here there is no accompanying emblem. I have previously remarked that Pisanello might have got the idea of the triumphal chariot from the medal of the Emperor Heraclius of the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

There are two bronze plaquettes of the same king but it is rather doubtful if they are by Pisanello <sup>(1)</sup>.

Sketches for the medals of Alfonso are not lacking in the *Recueil Vallardi*. One page shows four portrait studies, all very similar to the effigies on the medals, with triumphal chariots seen from different angles on the verso of the page <sup>(2)</sup>.

I believe we can ascribe to Pisanello himself a drawing of the king crowned, his coat of arms and two other sketches <sup>(3)</sup> and if this attribution be correct, in all probability the previous page is also from the master's own hand.

Another sheet shows two sketches of the king, one in a circle with his crown below and an inscription with the date 1449 and lower down a study of the bust alone <sup>(4)</sup>. These drawings, however, have been considerably retouched and we cannot recognize in these heavily outlined figures the light hand of the great master.

A drawing for the reverse of one of the medals of King Alfonso shows in a circle a knight, clad in armour and wearing a large hat, on a horse, not less richly decorated <sup>(5)</sup>. The coats of arms, joined by a crown, reveal that it is a representation of the king. On the reverse of another medal a dog on its haunches must have been depicted, at least we find two studies of the animal in this position, one of which is circular in form <sup>(6)</sup>; some other sketches on the same page include a crown similar to those in the medals of the king, a ring, a leg magnificently booted and a costume study.

Another page <sup>(7)</sup> which goes together with this one, shows the coat of arms of the king with an ornament which we find on the other drawing for a medal that I have just mentioned, two men attired in contemporary costume similar to that on the previous

<sup>(1)</sup> *Hill*, op. cit., p. 207.

<sup>(2)</sup> Fol. 65 pen on vellum.

<sup>(3)</sup> Fol. 65<sup>u</sup> pen on vellum.

<sup>(4)</sup> Fol. 61<sup>r</sup> (35).

<sup>(5)</sup> Fol. 249 pen.

<sup>(6)</sup> Fol. 21 (281) pen on paper.

<sup>(7)</sup> Fol. 22 (77).





Fig. 115. Pisanello, study for the portrait of King Alfonso I of Naples.  
Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

page, some ornamental designs and a Madonna and Child. The drawings on the second page are more hastily executed and paler than the others which perhaps have been touched up <sup>(1)</sup>.

There is just the possibility, as Herr Friedländer has observed, that Pisanello painted the portrait of King Alfonso because d'Agincourt in his history of art, published about a century ago, reproduces an engraving of a picture of a knight which he attributes to Antonello da Messina and in which the helmet is adorned with a lion, as in the first medal, and the crown is more or less the same form as those we have just seen <sup>(2)</sup>. However, the engravings in this work never offer any indication as to the style of the painting.

We possess a beautiful portrait of King Alfonso, sketched by Pisanello, although it has probably been touched up at a later period; it was perhaps this study which the artist made particular use of for the execution of the medals (fig. 115). On the verso there are some drawings of eagles <sup>(3)</sup>.

There exist still some other sketches, dating from the Neapolitan period. On the verso of one of the studies for the medals we find the drawing of a beautiful piece of stuff with a pattern of plants and the motto "*Garden les forces*" <sup>(4)</sup>.

Similar designs with the same device are seen on three other pages of the Recueil Vallardi (fig. 116) <sup>(5)</sup>. In the same collection there are sketches of cut velvet (fig. 117) <sup>(6)</sup>, canons and helmets, bearing the coat of arms of King Alfonso, that have been ascribed to Pisanello <sup>(7)</sup>. It has been remarked that these drawings seem very poor for the great draughtsman; I should say sooner that

<sup>(1)</sup> *Hill*, op. cit., p. 205, believes that a sketch on another page (fol. 18 reprod. 195) of an eagle, sitting on a book, bears some relation to a medal of the King of Naples. If this be the case, the painter has had recourse to a drawing which I think is of considerably earlier date and which I have already mentioned among his youthful works.

<sup>(2)</sup> *G. B. L. G. Seroux d'Agincourt*, *Storia dell'Arte* etc. (Italian edition), IV, Prato, 1827, p. 425, and plate 144 of the "Pittura".

<sup>(3)</sup> Fol. 85 (9 and 58) pen.

<sup>(4)</sup> Fol. 61<sup>v</sup> verso (36).

<sup>(5)</sup> Fol. 52 (37), on the verso a decorative design of thistles 53 (283); 54 (284).

<sup>(6)</sup> v. also reprod. 258, 259 and 282.

<sup>(7)</sup> Fols. 50, 51 and 51 verso (235, 109, 236).



Fig. 116. Pisanello, design for a cloth. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

they lack style and that there is nothing in them which justifies the attribution to Pisanello.

After the same manner as the studies of fashionable cloaks for men, are some sketches in the Vallardi collection, showing on one page, beside a very beautiful and rich mantle, a sketch of

the same (?) seen from another side, a Gothic balustrade, and a half-length figure of a woman. On the verso of this page we see the study of a leg<sup>(1)</sup>. Probably of this period is also the more finished drawing of three noblemen, dressed in the height of fashion, in the British Museum (fig. 118)<sup>(2)</sup>.

Lastly, of the year that Pisanello spent in Naples dates also the medal of Don Inigo d'Avalos, who came to the town with King Alfonso. On one side there is the beautiful profile of the young seigneur who with a large hat is depicted with much character. The design on the reverse is not well composed, because too much space remains between the globe in the centre, the inscription and the border of the medal. A combined representation of the heavens, the earth and the sea is shown on the globe, above which we see the d'Avalos coat of arms between two flowering branches<sup>(3)</sup>. The sketch for that part of the sphere which depicts the earth still exists; it is a work of great skill and shows a hilly landscape of excellent perspective with towns and other Gothic buildings in the distance<sup>(4)</sup>.

Mr. Hill mentions two drawings in the *Recueil Vallardi*<sup>(5)</sup> which lead him to believe that Pisanello designed jewellery for the same nobleman. They represent jewelled badges, one of which bears the word "Wast", perhaps another version of Vasto, one of the territories that d'Avalos received from the king. The other shows twice the letter Y, which might be a monogram for Ynicus, another form of the name Inigo. Other designs of jewellery, attributed to Pisanello, represent fantastic ships borne by dragons and dolphins (fig. 119)<sup>(6)</sup>; they certainly seem more suitable as sketches for jewels than as models for aquatic feasts. It has been justly observed that they are very feeble works for Pisanello.

<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 19 (4); verso (68) and verso of fol. 109. I have already mentioned this sketch as bearing some connexion with the position of the leg of St. George mounting his horse in the fresco of Sta. Anastasia.

<sup>(2)</sup> 46, 5, 9, 143, pen on parchment, signed *Pisanus F.*

<sup>(3)</sup> It may be that some sprigs of flowers on fol. 21 (281), already mentioned in relation to a sketch of the reverse of one of the medals of King Alfonso, can be considered the rough draft for this part of the medal.

<sup>(4)</sup> Fol. 37 (234) pen on pink paper.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Hill*, op. cit., p. 210, *Recueil Vallardi*, fols. 16 and 119.

<sup>(6)</sup> Fol. 45 (237); 47 (33); 48, verso 219 and some others in the same collection.



Fig. 117. Pisanello, design for a piece of cut velvet. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

It is not entirely impossible that on leaving Naples, Pisanello went once more to Rome. In the Vallardi collection there is a very hasty sketch for a medal of Pope Nicholas V (1447—1455) which makes this highly probable because, apparently without exception, Pisanello always went to see the models before making his medals. However, the sketch possesses so few elements characteristic of Pisanello's style, that it may be from the hand of another artist. Mr. Hill affirms that the water-mark of this page does not appear in any of the paper used by Pisanello, in as far as he has been able to verify. All the same, the different paper might be accounted for by the change of habitation. The name of the pope is quite visible; there is no indication regarding the design for the front of the medal; for the reverse we see Atlas bearing the earth between a tiara and the papal keys (<sup>1</sup>).

This brings us to the end of the survey of Pisanello's extant works. Attention might still be drawn to some of his lost productions.

In a poem, dating from shortly after 1447, Basinio of Parma expresses the hope that Pisanello will make his portrait and gives a list of portraits then existing; among them are those of Carlo Gonzaga, Guarino, Aurispa, Belloto, Tuscanello and Porcellio, all of which are missing to-day. Mr. Hill (<sup>2</sup>) has justly remarked that there is no reason to admit that these were solely medal portraits as others have believed to be the case. It is likely, however, that some of them really were effigies cast in bronze (<sup>3</sup>).

Porcellio composed an "*in laudem Pisani Pictoris*" which might perhaps be but an exchange of courtesy between poet and painter which, as we have seen, took place also between Pisanello and Guarino. Basinio mentions, as I said, a representation of Hieronymus which Mr. Hill thinks might possibly be that of the humanist Girolamo Castelli, but since we now include the

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(<sup>1</sup>) Fol. 65 (266).

(<sup>2</sup>) *Hill*, op. cit., p. 187.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Vasari* reproduces a letter from Paolo Giovio to Cosimo de' Medici which speaks of medals by Pisanello. The biographer mentions seven other medals but so far as we can ascertain not one of them seems to be by Pisanello himself.



Fig. 118. Pisanello, fashion studies. British Museum.

Photo Anderson.

picture of St. Jerome in London among Pisanello's works, it may be that he simply refers to this panel of the holy doctor.

Reading the list of the master's works in the praises sung by Basinio and Guarino, we find, besides all sorts of animals, many of which are not shown in the picture of St. Eustace, that both

writers mention a night view of a landscape and a seascape : Guarino says a stormy sea while Basinio adds with dolphins. Basinio speaks further of trees bent by the wind and Guarino of a winter landscape where everything is frozen, and of a representation of spring. The calm lake which he mentions, might be identified with that in the background of the St. Eustace picture. Some elements of a winter landscape are found on the reverse of the medal of Novello Malatesta where the leafless trees seem to correspond with Guarino's words: "frost and not foliage clothes the trees" (Hill). He mentions still a representation of God the Father — perhaps that of the Annunciation in S. Fermo, Verona — and figures of saints. Many of the works, to which these old writers refer, have disappeared.

There are naturally still other works associated with the name of Pisanello. In the inventory made in 1632 of the Canonici collection in Ferrara, we find the description of a picture of the Saviour in the manger with the Virgin, St. Joseph, the ox, the ass, three shepherds and above an angel by Vittore Pisano <sup>(1)</sup>. We have, however, no guarantee with regard to the accuracy of the attribution.

Among Pisanello's drawings, there are also some which are not simple studies but seem to be sketches for paintings. I have mentioned several of them already but there are a few others which I should like to cite. On a page in the *Recueil Vallardi*, to which I have previously had occasion to refer in connexion with other drawings on this sheet <sup>(2)</sup>, we see, above, a group of figures among which can be recognized a bishop to the left and a young nobleman to the right, not, as it has been imagined, in a frame, but at the entrance to a Gothic church. This drawing is of a somewhat advanced period in the artist's career, as is also another sketch which seems to be unfinished, showing some small figures of seigneurs, elegantly dressed, in a vaulted room; the architecture is very imposing and has been executed with the aid of square and compass <sup>(3)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Campori*, Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventari inediti, Modena, 1870, p. 109. *A. Venturi*, Il Pisanello a Ferrara.

<sup>(2)</sup> Fol. 58 (74) pen on grey paper.

<sup>(3)</sup> Fol. 5 (16) pen on red paper.



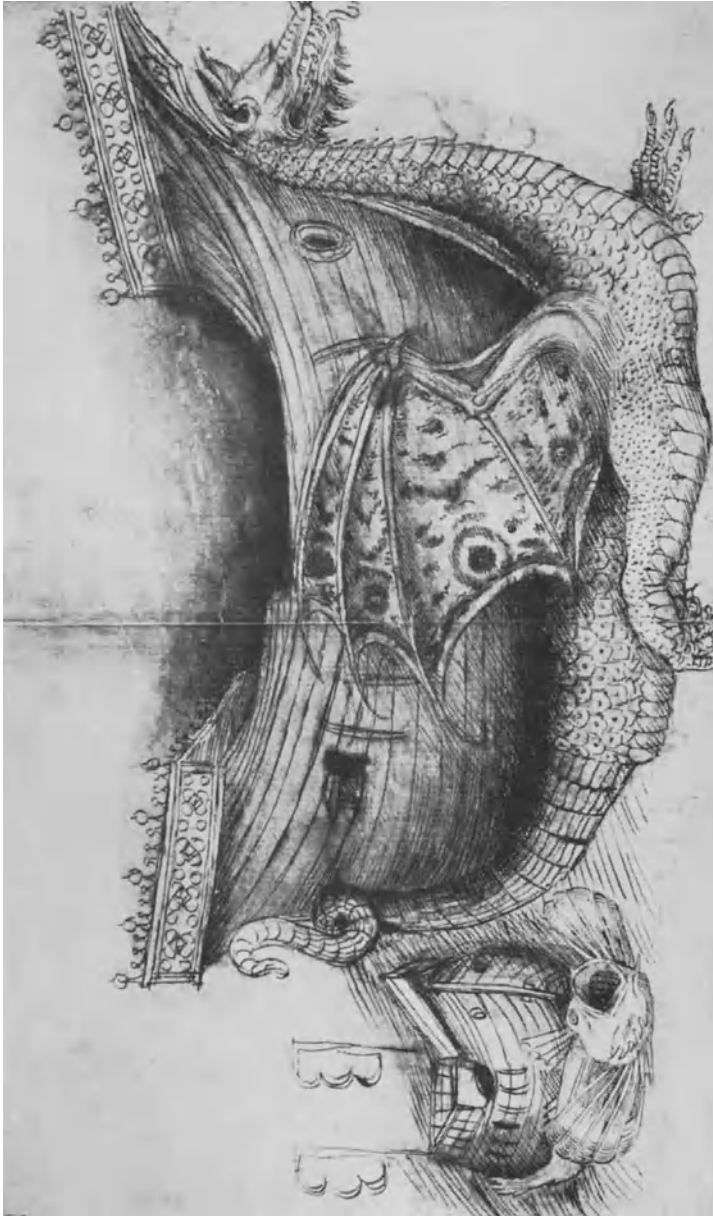


Fig. 119. Pisanello, design probably for jewellery. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

Another page in the same collection <sup>(1)</sup> is occupied by two sketches which sooner lend themselves as studies for frescoes. The design, which is divided into two parts, has been executed with such rapidity that it is difficult to seize the significance of the figures, however, in the upper part we can recognize St. John the Baptist, carrying his staff with a cross, in a landscape over-run with wild beasts, evidently a representation of the Baptist in the desert <sup>(2)</sup>. Below we see a very hilly landscape with four elegantly dressed knights on horseback in the foreground. What leads us to believe that Pisanello actually did use this sketch for the execution of a fresco, is that he apparently made some studies of the details, at least a horse seen from the front in another drawing <sup>(3)</sup> is the same as the little mount most to the left in this group.

Further, a link with another important drawing exists in the following manner: on the verso of the page just mentioned there is a three-quarter right profile of a young man's head <sup>(4)</sup>; the death of the same youth is depicted on another page, slightly larger in size, where he is shown almost full face with mouth open and closed eyes <sup>(5)</sup>. It is obvious that these two sketches go together and it is rather a curious coincidence that on the verso of this page there is another composition which might have served as study for a painting (fig. 120) <sup>(6)</sup>. Although the figures are larger, there are many elements which correspond: again the subject of the sketch is a knight in a hilly landscape and as in the other, birds are seen flying overhead. Also this drawing is on red paper.

The principal figures are those of a lady and a noble on horseback, attended by three squires, one of whom is riding away from the group, which allows the artist to depict the horse in his

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<sup>(1)</sup> Fol. 100 (21) pen on pink paper. *Hill*, op. cit., p. 168.

<sup>(2)</sup> If the style did not guarantee that this drawing is a production of a fairly mature stage in the master's career, we might have thought of the possibility that it had served for the execution of the decoration of the Lateran church in Rome where the history of the Baptist was illustrated.

<sup>(3)</sup> Fol. 169 (168) somewhat effaced crayon.

<sup>(4)</sup> Pen, reprod. 29.

<sup>(5)</sup> Fol. 101 (13) pen on red paper.

<sup>(6)</sup> Reprod. 19.



Fig. 120. Pisanello, drawing. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Giraudon.

favourite position, foreshortened from behind. A deerhound and another dog are seen at the horses' heels.

There can be little doubt that Pisanello used the knight and one of the squires of this sketch for the verso of the medal of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga which he executed about 1444 or 1445,

but I do not at all agree with the opinion held by several writers that this drawing with its five figures, which is of a rather complicated composition, was made by Pisanello as a plan for the reverse of the medal of the Marquis Gonzaga and that the lady in the group is his daughter. I think sooner that this sketch, which is passed over in ink and which originally perhaps resembled those of the other page, belongs to the series which I have just mentioned and which were all executed with the idea of serving as rough drafts for paintings.

Several paintings have been attributed to Pisanello without sufficient reason. The decoration of the Torriani chapel in the church of S. Eustorgio, Milan, although considerably restored, conserves some elements of Pisanello's art. The frescoes represent figures of the four Evangelists and of saints but I think they are better classified among the school productions.

In the gallery of Berlin there is the picture which I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, representing the Virgin and Child in the midst of SS Catherine, John the Baptist and Clare of Assisi and which shows the signature: "*Opera d. Vetore Pisanello San Vi Verona . . . . MCCCCVI*". Now that we are better informed with regard to the name and dates of Pisanello, it is obvious that this inscription is false. Dal Pozzo, to whom this picture belonged at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, mentions it in his biography of Veronese painters, as does also Maffei in his "*Verona illustrata*" (1). Von Tschudi, however, recognized the inscription to be a forgery and classified the picture as a work of the school of Schiavone (2).

Much more serious is the question regarding the tondo of the Adoration of the Magi in the same museum of Berlin, which several historians of art persist in considering a work of Pisanello, using as argument the resemblance which the picture shows to certain costume studies (3). The ideas, borrowed from Pisanello's art, are as numerous as they are evident and I think it is clear that this picture is not by the master. Quite recently a

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(1) Edition of 1732, III, p. 152.

(2) *Bode u. von Tschudi*, op. cit.

(3) Considered from the hand of Pisanello by *Bode*, op. cit. Previously it was ascribed to Fra Filippo Lippi and to Dello.

proposition was made to associate the name of Domenico Veneziano with this painting<sup>(1)</sup>, and this might well be the correct solution to the problem.

Among the erroneous attributions I should like to mention still that of a water-colour in the Louvre (635), showing a young lady caressing a spaniel<sup>(2)</sup>. I do not think that this is a Flemish work as is sometimes believed but the connexion with Pisanello's art is very distant.

Some years ago an attribution to Pisanello was made by Felix Ravaisson who believed that he had discovered the master's hand in two busts, one in wood, which passed from the Goldschmidt collection to the Louvre, the other in terra cotta belonging to himself<sup>(3)</sup>, both of which he took to be portraits of Cecilia Gonzaga. Firstly, I do not think that these two busts represent the same person and secondly neither the one nor the other bears a very striking resemblance to the bronze effigy of this noble lady. Nor do I see any reason to admit that Pisanello executed these works. The bust in the Louvre has recently been attributed to Francesco di Giorgio Martini<sup>(4)</sup>.

Lastly, Prof. A. Venturi ascribes to the master a portrait in left profile of a man wearing a curious head dress, part of which hangs down his back. I do not think that the attribution to Pisanello of this picture, which is preserved in the Capitol Museum, Rome, is correct<sup>(5)</sup>.

Following Pisanello's works in their chronological order, with a close observation of the changes which differentiate his early productions from those of a more mature age, is sufficient to realize the entire evolution which Italian painting underwent in the first half, particularly in the second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Starting as an adherent of the Gothic style scarcely freed from

(1) *B. Longhi*, *L'Arte*, 1925, p. 34.

(2) *Ephrussi*, op. cit.

(3) *F. Ravaisson*, *Une oeuvre de Pisanello*, *Memoires de l'Ac. des Inscr. et Belles Let.*, XXXIV, 2, Paris, 1895.

(4) *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1925, p. 51. For attributions made without any grounds v. *A. Venturi* in his edition of *Le Vite* by Vasari, p. 70.

(5) *A. Venturi*, *L'Arte*, 1918, p. 277.

the artistic conceptions of the past century, we find him at the end of his career a representative of the Renaissance, because Pisanello's medals and the drawings he executed after about 1440, in connexion with these medals, give him a recognized place in the advanced art of the Quattrocento.

As a painter, Pisanello was more conservative and there are two explanations of this fact. Firstly, with the exception of the portrait of Leonello, we have not any other painting of the master's last manner and it may be that he neglected this art and devoted himself practically entirely to medal-making, for which his undoubtedly talented services were in great demand. Secondly, when he took up this particular branch of art about the year 1438, he followed probably the most advanced style, which by then had taken a much firmer hold in Italian art than when he started his career as a painter twenty years before.

There is no doubt that the way leading up to Pisanello's art was well prepared in the town of Verona itself. It was there that he received his artistic education from Stefano da Verona, his immediate and natural predecessor. To a certain extent Pisanello's style was a continuation and development of that of Stefano da Verona, who, in his turn, was but an obvious outcome of the Veronese school of the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, combined, as we have seen, with that of Tyrol. However, in the works of about 1430, or shortly after, he was again more influenced by the art of Gentile da Fabriano, with whom he had come in contact in Venice at the outset of his career but whose style he must have studied more profoundly when he finished the frescoes in Rome towards the year 1428.

In Stefano da Verona's Adoration of the Magi in the Brera, we find, particularly in the background, a pronounced taste for the realistic representation of animals which foreshadows that of Pisanello.

The three horses' heads, as well as the exotic types depicted in the foreground to the right are adumbrative elements of his art. The little group of knights that we see in the centre of the background, half hidden by the hills, must have been Pisanello's source of inspiration when he depicted a similar group in the background of the fresco of St. George in Sta. Anastasia.

The elements borrowed from Gentile's art are very numerous; several of them have already been mentioned in connexion with the same fresco but there are still a few other instances which might be cited; thus, Gentile made detailed studies of flowers as did also at a later date Pisanello.

We find evidence of this in the decoration of the frame of his Adoration of the Magi and in the background of his Madonna in Newhaven, which is adorned with flowers, much in the same manner as Pisanello's portraits of Ginevra d'Este and Leonello. These borrowed elements, however, are somewhat superficial, as are also those which we observed in the fresco of St. George, and it is chiefly in the Annunciation in St. Fermo and, to a less degree, in the panel of SS. Antony and George in London, that we notice points of resemblance of greater importance.

These paintings must have been executed when Pisanello was about thirty-five but his last manner, that of the Renaissance of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, did not make its appearance until towards 1441, that is to say when the master was about forty-five years old.

As I have already said on more than one occasion, there is a touch of the painter-decorator of the middle ages in every one of Pisanello's pictures which gives him an opportunity of showing it; it consists in his tendency of grouping together a large number of decorative elements, all very beautiful and pleasing but without any correlation. It is as we noticed, particularly in the fresco of Sta. Anastasia that a beautiful and harmonious painting is really made up of a mass of quite independent details, well arranged from a decorative point of view but thoroughly lacking in logical order; even the figures manifest no interest in one another.

The object of similar pictures is neither narrative nor devotional; nor do they reveal on the part of the artist any study of psychology; they are purely and uniquely decorative and that even in a very secular spirit, but one we can thoroughly understand in an artist who frequented the magnificent courts of the great princes much more than churches and monasteries.

Pisanello was not at all mystic. Among his drawings in which he naturally had quite a free choice of subject, there are very few religious representations. His sketchbook was badly equipped from this standpoint and it does not look as if he was ever pre-

pared to create much in the way of religious art; the few studies that do exist, practically all date from an early stage in his career.

Among his paintings there are naturally several which depict religious subjects but this depended more on the persons who ordered them than on the painter himself. None the less, it would be difficult to treat similar representations in a more worldly spirit than did Pisanello. Often the saints have not even nimbi because these would certainly have inconvenienced Pisanello in the genre-paintings which he made of religious subjects. The allegories on the obverses of his medals almost all show a pagan Renaissance spirit. Pisanello did not inherit this lack of religious feeling from either Stefano da Verona or Gentile who were sooner imbued with a sense of mysticism, but from the decorators of the castles in France, in Tyrol and in the North of Italy where, as we saw in a previous volume, secular ornamentation had been in vogue for some considerable time. The Carrara, the Sereghi and the Scala had already attracted the attention of artists to their private existence. Interest in the lives of noble and elegant seigneurs had provided new and important features in the frescoes of Altichiero and Avanzo, and Gentile too was affected by the same influence, but this new element in no way detracted from the religious spirit of their works. Pisanello, whose interest in the sumptuous lives of the nobles carried him so far that he even made drawings of rich materials and beautiful garments, which can be more or less considered as fashionable plates, gave himself up so entirely to the exterior charms of signiorial life, that religious ideals seem to have disappeared from his existence. But to a certain extent he makes up for this by idealizing temporal life of which he thoroughly understood all the attractiveness and all the artistic value. Besides, it was the same nobles of Verona and Padua who gave so much importance to the art of portraiture in which Pisanello excelled.

Pisanello borrowed certain details from the earlier examples of Altichiero and Avanzo, who were the greatest artists of the 14<sup>th</sup> century that the Maecenas of Padua and Verona patronized. It was particularly they who introduced paintings of a genre nature in which many horses and dogs were depicted. Even the architecture in Pisanello's fresco in Sta. Anastasia bears some



resemblance to that adorning the pictures of Avanzo and Altichiero in which it took such an important place.

In Verona, at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Pisanello was in constant contact with the international Gothic style and his art must be considered at this time as belonging to it. It is for this reason that resemblances to the miniatures in the Book of Hours of the Duke of Berry — a very characteristic work of this tendency — and to Flemish productions have only a very relative importance, so also the northern elements which some writers find exist in his architectures. All these features are common to the artistic movement to which Pisanello belonged. There is a touch of the northern spirit — that which created the gargoyles of the French cathedrals — in the terrifying and fairy-like phantoms that we sometimes find in Pisanello's works. The dark forest, full of life, in which St. Eustace is depicted, might serve to illustrate some fairy tale of northern countries; the face of St. George in the fresco of Sta. Anastasia is not that of a human being as the others, although strange, obviously are. In these factors we notice the influence of the northern Gothic spirit against which Pisanello offered no resistance; on the contrary, for even in copying works of classical antiquity, he often gave them a northern and mediaeval character (<sup>1</sup>).

Pisanello was a realist with a thoroughly scientific spirit of investigation. He did not only observe but he studied as well. His drawings of plants in particular but also those of birds and other animals are not the work of a painter but that of a naturalist. It is not quite impossible that the minute technique of his naturalistic aquarelles results from the fact that he executed miniatures in his younger years. All the same there are not many arguments in favour of this hypothesis; however, the gold reflexes in the trees in the St. Jerome picture in London might also be considered an indication as to Pisanello's former activity as miniaturist.

There can be little doubt that Pisanello took his artistic work in a scientific light, a trait he had in common with Leonardo da Vinci. The sketches of everything he saw around him are executed with such a love of realism and minute observation of detail, that it verges on excess.

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(<sup>1</sup>) *Hill*, op. cit., p. 20.

If we examine the study of the hanged criminals in the British Museum we discover, that not only did he closely observe these unfortunate creatures from different angles, but that he returned to his ghastly models a second time after the decomposition had set in and still a third time when the putrefaction was more advanced. Was it only a morbid curiosity which impelled him to make such a minute study of this loathsome sight, or had he an abnormal mentality with a leaning towards demonstrations of cruelty and suffering? And again we might ask, is it perhaps to this turn of mind that we owe not only the studies of the gallows but those of broken-down, blind old horses, horses, dead and ripped open, deerhounds lying dead and dried up and the faces of soldiers, either suffering from their wounds, or expressing mortal fear or again in agony with closed eyes and gaping mouth? In those drawings Pisanello reveals an intense but apparently unwholesome interest in the horrors of life because there can be no doubt that his sketches were made from nature.

What chiefly prevents us from looking upon the artist as a morbid neurasthenic is his appearance, not by any means beautiful, but gay, intelligent and spiritual, as it is shown to us in two medals which are sometimes attributed to his own hand.

Comparing Pisanello's drawings with similar collections of sketches, such as those in the Library of Bergamo, in the gallery of Venice, in the Casanatense Library and in the Print Room in Rome, all apparently works of Lombard origin, we find that on account of the great progress they show in quality and realism, they are of fundamental importance. However, in examining the above-mentioned collections we discover that with regard to the subjects Pisanello invented nothing. In all these sketch-books we find studies of animals, of knights, of hounds and often of persons, particularly ladies elegantly attired. Now these are just the subjects of Pisanello's drawings, subjects already well determined by an established convention in the taste for profane decoration, and to find their origin we must go back to a much earlier date <sup>(1)</sup>.

(1) *Raimond van Marle*, L'Iconographie de la décoration profane des demeures princières en France et en Italie au XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Sept.—Oct. and Nov.—Dec. 1926.

In a previous chapter I pointed out how ornamental motifs of French art of the 13<sup>th</sup> century were employed in Northern Italy until the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This will be observed in particular in studying the sketch-book of Villard de Honnecourt. Comparing Pisanello's drawings with those designs for frescoes of two hundred years earlier, we cannot but be convinced that our artist was one of those who contributed to the preservation of this old tradition of decorative painting; I would even say that Pisanello borrowed more from French art than did the Lombard masters. For the multiple studies of horses' heads, Pisanello had a precedent in the album of Villard de Honnecourt <sup>(1)</sup> and there is a curious resemblance in the manner in which both draughtsmen veil their partially nude figures <sup>(2)</sup>.

It is extremely interesting to observe that the figure of St. George mounting his horse in the fresco of Sta. Anastasia is but an adaptation of a sketch in the album of the 13<sup>th</sup> century French architect, at least he too shows a knight in the act of mounting his steed. But apart from this coincidence there is still another detail which makes the comparison all the more striking; it is that Villard de Honnecourt represents a foreshortened view of a horse seen from the front, very similar to the animal near St. George in the fresco in Verona <sup>(3)</sup>.

It is hardly likely that Pisanello sought his models among 13<sup>th</sup> century French drawings but it is quite probable that such subjects as knights mounting their horses or foreshortened views of horses, either from the front or the back, were among those more commonly found in the sketch-books of the 13<sup>th</sup> century decorators of French origin. This accounts for the rather limited variety of subjects chosen by Pisanello; tradition had previously established the repertoire. It also explains why almost all his drawings seem to have been made as rough sketches for certain

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<sup>(1)</sup> v. pl. XXXVI of the edition of reproductions.

<sup>(2)</sup> Compare the drawing on Plate XXII of the reproductions of the sketch-book of Villard de Honnecourt and that of mythological subject in the British Museum (fig. 94).

<sup>(3)</sup> In the same album there is another study in foreshortening, in this case of a lion (pl. XLVIII). It is very interesting to note that the French architect already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, studied this problem for which Pisanello showed such a marked partiality.

pictures, some of which are still in our possession; only if other works by the master had come down to us, we would very probably have seen that he used the same drawings and Pisanello who was instinctively a decorator, must have had frequent recourse to these sketches.

In this respect consequently Pisanello was indirectly influenced by a style which was of French origin. Moreover, a French influence seems manifest also in the portraits which have come down to us. This, needless to say, does not exclude the fact that there had been previous attempts at this form of painting in Italy. None the less, the panels representing the profiles of Leonello, Ginevra d'Este and that of the lady belonging to Duveen show much more connexion with French portraits, such as those of John the Good, now in the Louvre, and Louis II of Anjou, King of Naples, in the National Library, Paris (figs. 17 and 25 in Vol. VII), and that of a prince of the house of Valois in the Louvre, for portrait painting seems to have been fairly current from about the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in France, than with the representations of persons in the frescoes of Italy where portrait painting on panel seems to have been introduced by Pisanello. Further, did he not find some examples of his costume studies in the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duke of Berry and a certain amount of preparation for the landscape background of the St. Eustace panel in the miniatures of the *Maitre aux Boqueteaux* (fig. 16 in Vol. VII) (1).

However, do not let us exaggerate the traditional and inherited factor in Pisanello's art. Rather let us recognize his exceptional skill as a draughtsman for it is that which gives so much freshness and charm to his drawings. He worked after different manners; some are hasty sketches, others are finished studies of great perfection whether in pen, crayon or silver point. I think that sometimes he himself passed over the more important lines of his drawings either in silver point, in pen or in water-colours (2), or else he finished off the important parts in a more thorough manner than the rest (3).

(1) *H. Martin*, *La miniature française du XIII au XV siècle*, Paris-Brussels, 1923, pls. 47 and 48.

(2) E.g. Fol. 226 (108),

(3) E.g. Fols. 211 and 212 (131, 132).

What differentiates his method of drawing from that of his predecessors who treated the same subjects, is that Pisanello worked closely after nature, making unlimited efforts to reproduce lifelike images in his works, whereas the majority of the artists of those sketchbooks which I have mentioned, seem to have been contented with almost conventional forms.



Fig. 121. Matteo de' Pasti, medal of Sigismondo Malatesta.

Photo Alinari.

Apart from this, Pisanello as painter does not present any new problems, nor did he make any significant technical progress. It is only as medallist that he was really great and inventive and it is only in this field of art that he founded an actual school (figs. 121 and 122).

As painter he had only a few adherents and exercised but little influence.

Consequently the school works that exist are of no great importance. A painter who, to a certain extent, felt his influence

was Bono da Ferrara and it was no doubt for this reason that the words "disciple of Pisanello" was added to the false signature on the picture in the National Gallery, London. Since Bono is no longer recognized as the artist of this panel, the connexion between master and pupil is less evident and the quintessence of Bono's art seems to find its origin sooner in Padua.

Quite recently I saw on the art-market, first in Rome, then in Florence, a picture in which Pisanello's influence is very marked (fig. 123). The panel represents St. Blaise, the millstone round his neck, praying on his knees in the river which is miraculously changed under him into dry land, while the wicked soldiers, who have been persecuting him, are drowned. As I said before several of the warriors show such an obvious connexion with the sketches of soldiers' heads which I believe to be copies of originals by Pisanello, that it is impossible to imagine that this resemblance is merely fortuitous. Besides, the figure of the saint, as well as the rocky landscape is without doubt the work of some one who had seen Pisanello's picture of St. Jerome, now in London.

Among the paintings, wrongly ascribed to Pisanello, I have already enumerated some of the works of his school, such for example as the frescoes in S. Eustorgio in Milan. As school works might be mentioned still the profile portrait of a man in a cut-velvet coat in the Palazzo Bianco, Genoa (No 12). a very important, though restored panel of St. Justina of Padua seated in a green field with trees in the background, holding a unicorn, in the collection of the Cardinal Archbishop of Esztergom (Hungary), and a legendary scene, in which the same lady is depicted twice, once with a dog, probably a cassone panel, in the Lanckoronski collection, Vienna.

The master's foreshortened studies of horses of which we find an example in the Adoration of the Magi by Domenico Veneziano in Berlin, had besides a great success. We have seen other instances in miniatures <sup>(1)</sup> and perhaps Paolo Ucello, who was Pisanello's contemporary, also took this idea from him although his treatment of perspective is somewhat different from, and more experimental than Pisanello's.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Hill*, op. cit., p. 85.

One can hardly call Giovanni da Oriolo a follower of Pisanello, although his portrait of Leonello d'Este in the National Gallery, London, seems, as Mr. Hill remarks, to have been executed with the aid of one of the master's medals (1).

Of drawings belonging to Pisanello's school, there is a certain



Fig. 122. Matteo de' Pasti, Medal of Isotta da Rimini.

Photo Alinari.

number, some of which I have already cited; there are, as well, some other copies by pupils of original sketches by the master. Among his school productions, we might mention still two stags' heads in the Albertina, Vienna (2); on the verso of this page an Adoration of the Magi and other drawings of religious subjects are works of the Lombard school.

(1) National Gallery No. 770 from the Costabili Gallery, Ferrara. Giovanni da Oriolo, active circa 1440—circa 1473.

(2) Reproductions of the drawings in the Albertina. VII, pl. 752; *Stix u. Fröhlich*, op. cit., No. 11, ascribe it to Pisanello himself, v. Vol. VII, fig. 77.

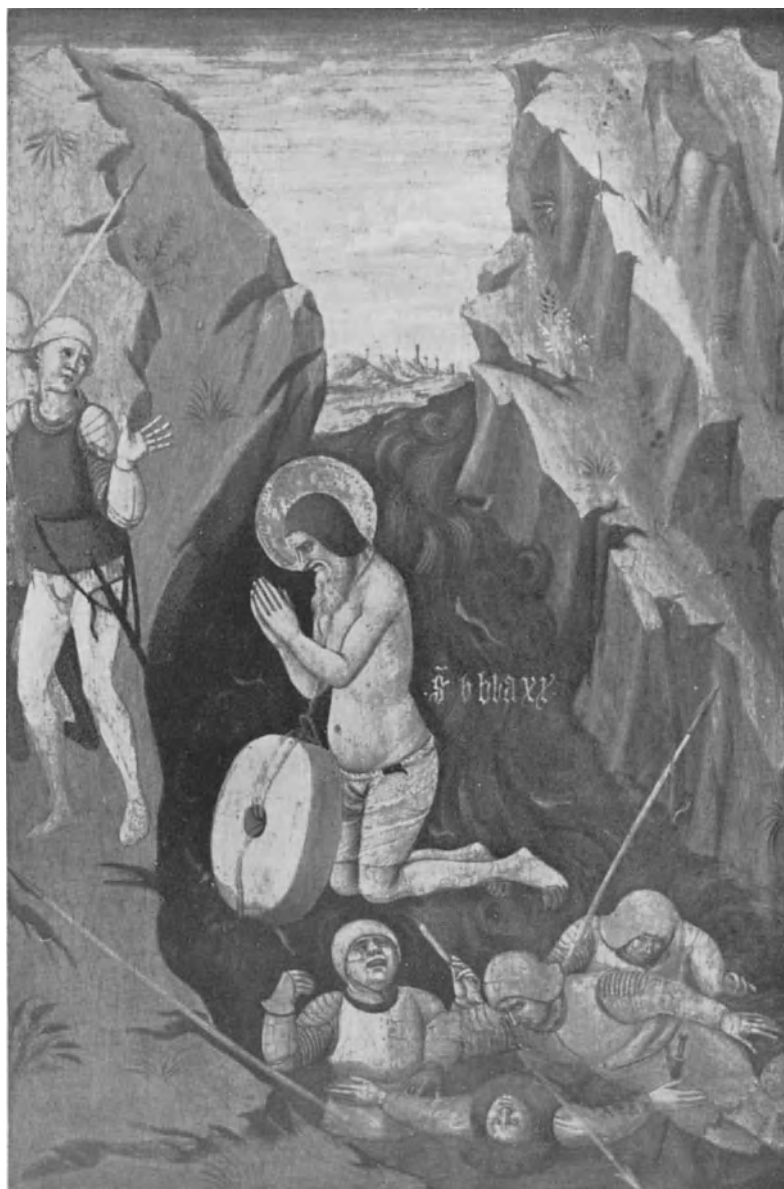


Fig. 123. Follower of Pisanello, miracle of St. Blaise.  
Volterra Galleries, Florence.



A manuscript, containing the biographies of several princes and tyrants, which perished in the terrible fire which destroyed the Library of Turin, was illuminated entirely after the manner of Pisanello with representations of warriors, St. George, foreshortened studies of horses, other animals, profiles of Roman emperors taken from antique coins, and costume studies; it was executed for the Gonzaga family whose coat of arms adorned the first page.

These miniatures have been attributed to Pisanello himself, but Signor G. Fogolari has assigned them to a pupil <sup>(1)</sup>. In the Vatican Library there exists the same text and the miniatures, although deriving from the other series, are considerably inferior in quality. This codex is prior to the year 1457.

Lastly Herr von Schlosser ascribes to Pisanello's school the miniatures illustrating a codex of Petrarch in the Library of Darmstadt <sup>(2)</sup>. But in preceding volumes I have classified them as works of the Paduan school of the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century <sup>(3)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *G. Fogolari*, Un manoscritto perduto della biblioteca di Torino, *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 159.

<sup>(2)</sup> *von Schlosser*, *Jahrb. des Kunsth. Samml. des Allerh. Kaiserh.*, XVI, p. 145.

<sup>(3)</sup> v. Vol. IV, p. 208 and Vol. VII, p. 309.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE MARCHES (1).

The fact that Gentile da Fabriano, who is one of the outstanding figures of Gothic painting of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Italy, was a native of The Marches, where besides he was active for a certain length of time, explains why so many adherents of this movement were strongly influenced by him. Nevertheless in this province there were two painters, the brothers Lorenzo the First and Jacopo Salimbeni of Sanseverino who represented the cosmopolitan Gothic current of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in The Marches and who did not show a more direct connexion with Gentile's manner than can be accounted for by the fact that both they and Gentile belonged to the same artistic movement. As will be seen later on, the Salimbeni brothers show a more marked northern element in their art.

With regard to the two brothers of Sanseverino, there exists a long study by Commendatore A. Colasanti to which I shall naturally make frequent allusion (2).

Art critics of a past age, such as Lanzi, Rosini and Amico Ricci, made the mistake of placing the activity of the Salimbeni towards 1470; this error detracted a good deal from the interest

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(1) *A. Ricci*, *Memorie storiche dell' arte e degli artisti della Marca di Ancona*, I. *C. Ferreti*, *Memorie storico-critiche dei pittori anconitani*, Ancona, 1883. *G. B. Cavalcaselle e Morelli*, *Catalogo delle opere d'arte nelle Marche*, Gallerie Nazionali, II, 1896, p. 191, *Natale*, *I pittori marchigiani anteriori a Raffaello*, *Rivista marchigiana moderna*, VI, 1902, p. 56. *C. Ricci*, *La pittura antica alla mostra di Macerata*, *Emporium*, 1906. *Perkins*, *Note sull' esposizione d'arte marchigiana*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1906, p. 49. *U. Gnoli*, *Lorenzo e Jacopo Salimbeni*, *Rassegna d'Arte Umbra*, II, 1911, p. 1. *Rassegna Marchigiana* which appears from 1922 on. *L. Serra*, *Le gallerie comunali delle Marche*, Roma (1924).

(2) *A. Colasanti*, *Lorenzo e Jacopo Salimbeni da Sanseverino*, *Bollettino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istruz.*, IV, 1910, p. 409.

of these two painters and by fixing their activity half a century after their deaths naturally made them appear reactionary.

We have very little documentary evidence concerning Lorenzo and Jacopo Salimbeni. From what we can gather Lorenzo seems to have been the elder; we know he was born in 1374 because the inscription on the triptych, signed and dated 1400, in the gallery of his native town, informs us that the picture was executed when the artist was twenty-six years of age <sup>(1)</sup>. The frescoes in the church of the Misericordia in Sanseverino date from 1404 while those, painted with the help of his brother, in S. Giovanni Battista in Urbino, are from 1416. A document of 1420 mentioning his wife, "*Vanna figlia di Filippo di Antonio di Rampano*", tells us that her husband is dead <sup>(2)</sup>.

As for Jacopo, besides his signature under the frescoes in Urbino which he executed with his brother in 1416, we find him in 1427 as a member of the council of Sanseverino. The two brothers together with a certain Oliviero seem to have signed the frescoes in the chapel of the old cathedral of Sanseverino and although the signature has been effaced, the paintings have in part been preserved.

The only authentic work of any importance entirely from the hand of Lorenzo, is the triptych of 1400 from the church of S. Lorenzo, now in the gallery of Sanseverino; it represents in the centre the mystic marriage of St. Catherine of Siena and in the wings the figures of SS. Simon and Taddeus (fig. 124). An inscription at the foot of the painting says that it was in his twenty-sixth year that the artist executed the work <sup>(3)</sup>; on the back of the panel we find the date <sup>(4)</sup> while an inscription above gives the names of the donors who were Brother Antoninus Petroni and Petrus Nicola Nicholai.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Gnoli*, op. cit., informs us that in the inscription some letters follow the date 1400, so that it might be that the panel was executed a few years after 1400 and consequently Lorenzo was born after 1374. In any case it is a production of an early stage in his career and the difference cannot be very great.

<sup>(2)</sup> *V. E. Aleandri*, Sulla famiglia dei pittori Lorenzo e Giacomo da Sanseverino-Marche, Sanseverino, 1901.

<sup>(3)</sup> "*Nel limei anni XXVI io Lorenzo fic. quisto laurro.*"

<sup>(4)</sup> "*Ano domini MCCCC . . . D . . . D. Genaro.*"

It is not a very pleasing picture; the figures lack charm and elegance. The painting, it is true, has suffered considerably and if at one time the colouring was agreeable, this quality has disappeared. The Gothicism of the forms and the calligraphic effect of the lines are sooner reminiscent of the aesthetic principles of one of the Milanese de Grassi than of Gentile da Fabriano whose influence, besides, in 1400, could hardly as yet have been felt. The types of the figures and the large crown worn by St. Catherine point to an influence from beyond the Alps which gives the picture a certain Germanic character.

Another painting from Lorenzo's own hand is that decorating the sacristy of the Misericordia church in Sanseverino, formerly the loggia where the public affairs of the town were discussed. The signature: "*Anno Domini Milleximo CCCC° IIII die ultima mesis Septebriis hoc opus dipinxit Laurentius Salibeni D. S. Severino*", is inscribed on the front of the arch and, as Colasanti justly observes, cannot refer only to the purely decorative painting of garlands adorned with half-length figures of prophets in oblong frames, but also to the representation in the centre of the Saviour in the midst of clouds and angels, bestowing a blessing, and of chimera climbing on wreathes. In style this painting resembles the triptych, and again a certain northern influence is clearly manifest.

The other authentic works by Lorenzo Salimbeni were executed, the one in collaboration with his brother Jacopo, the other together with the latter and in all probability a certain Oliviero. They are the frescoes in S. Giovanni Battista in Urbino and in a chapel of the old cathedral of Sanseverino.

The former of these two works which is signed and dated 1416 is by far the finest production in this group of paintings. The apsidal wall of the little church in Urbino <sup>(1)</sup> is adorned with a representation of the Crucifixion (fig. 125) of rather a grandiose

(1) *F. Servanzi Collio*, Pitture nella chiesa di S. Giovanni di Urbino eseguite dai fratelli Lorenzo e Giacomo di Sanseverino, Sanseverino, 1888. *G. Lipparini*, Gli affreschi di S. Giovanni Battista in Urbino e la pittura umbra primitiva, *Cosmos Catholicus*, IV, 1903, p. 760. *G. B. Toschi*, Degli affreschi di fratelli Lorenzo e Jacopo Sanseverino nel oratorio di San Giovanni in Urbino, *Italia artistica illustrata*, II, 1884. *G. Destrée*, Gli affreschi dei fratelli Salimbeni nell' oratorio di S. Giovanni in Urbino, *Arte Moderna*, Nov. 1898.



Fig. 124. Lorenzo Salimbeni, triptych, 1400. Gallery, Sanseverino.

Photo Alinari.

composition with numerous figures grouped around the three crosses. Many angels hover round the Crucified. Below there is a large gathering of the faithful among the soldiers, several of whom are mounted. There is anything but a dignified calm among the spectators, each one seems to play his part. The Virgin has fallen on the ground in a faint; Mary Magdalene and St. John express their despair in gestures and grimaces; one horse rears, another kicks; some of the soldiers are seen blowing blasts on trumpets, others wildly gesticulate, while others again are shown in meditation; two children are depicted fighting, one of them chastised by his mother; a dog is represented scratching himself. Thus, we find in this fresco all those intimate details which comprise a genre painting; already in the 14<sup>th</sup> century we notice in North Italian art signs of this approaching style which flourished in particular in the Gothic cosmopolitan movement of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Under the fresco we read the inscription: "*Anno domini MCCCCXVI die VIII Julii Laurentius De Santo Severino et Jacobus frater eius hoc opus fecerunt*".

On the wall to the right of the Crucifixion, above we see the annunciation to Zaccharias of the birth of a son. The scene is depicted in a Gothic church where Zaccharias before the altar resembles a priest saying mass; an angel in a halo of light appears to him. In a corner a little group of faithful make signs of fright and astonishment. One of them looks through a small Gothic window to see what is happening in the adjoining room where Zaccharias, struck mute because of his unbelief, writes down what has just been communicated to him; a group of astonished women stand near him while a small boy on the floor plays with a dog. Five people on a balcony are keenly interested in the event and in order to get a better view one of them bends so far over the balustrade that he almost falls.

The following fresco also illustrates two events. They are the Visitation of the Virgin to Elizabeth and the visit these two holy women made to Zaccharias (fig. 126). The latter is shown kneeling before the two women in a large Gothic building, one of the walls of which has been suppressed in order that the interior can be seen. This composition is somewhat reminiscent of frescoes of the Paduan school of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The artists wished

to show two consecutive events; the companions of the Virgin and of St. Elizabeth are depicted in both moments.

The Nativity of St. John (fig. 127) takes place in a charming Gothic room; the five companions of the previous scenes are grouped round the bed; one of them holds the new-born child



Fig. 125. The Salimbeni brothers. Crucifixion, 1416. S. Giovanni, Urbino.  
Photo Alinari.

whom the mother is about to take in her arms. An old woman looks out of the window. Zaccharias writes down the name of his son, a little boy before him holding the ink-stand, while a small dog, intent on his private toilet, is depicted in a rather ungainly but very natural attitude on the floor. The circumcision of St. John seems to take place before the door of the house. Some men look at the priest while a group of other figures stand in a flowery meadow below a vine.

The departure of the Madonna (fig. 128) is represented between a house and an isolated door adorned with lions which seem to be alive; one of them looks down at Zaccharias and his wife who kneel before the Virgin Mary, who is about to leave and whose hand the old man holds in both of his. The women who accompany the holy traveller are the same as those depicted in the previous scenes.



Fig. 126. The Salimbeni brothers, the Visitation, 1416. S. Giovanni, Urbino.

Photo Alinari.

The meeting of the Virgin and Child with the little St. John is unfortunately badly damaged and part of this fresco has even been sacrificed to the breaking in of a door in the wall. Nevertheless, an important part of this charming scene is still visible, and in it the tender veneration of the young St. John for the Infant Christ is well expressed.

In the lower row of paintings the frescoes are larger and more imposing with backgrounds of fairly extensive landscapes. The



first of the four scenes here shows St. John preaching to the multitude (fig. 129).

The saint, still young, stands on a large boulder around which his audience of considerable size either stands or sits. Some of the figures in the foreground are slightly effaced. Heads appear



Fig. 127. The Salimbeni brothers, the Nativity and Circumcision of St. John the Baptist, 1416. S. Giovanni, Urbino.

Photo Alinari.

above the rocks in the background and to the right passes a cavalcade of huntsmen, one of whom holds a falcon on his hand. Very curious is the opposition between the ascetic raiment of the Baptist and the contemporary costumes of the other figures, which are treated with a great love of detail.

This is again noticeable in the following scene which portrays St. John baptising his first adherents (fig. 130). Some of them are already in the river in which we see several fish, a frog and a bird; others are depicted undressing on the banks, but the

majority of the figures are spectators. In the background some men are represented sitting at a table drinking, others walking about in a vineyard while to the other side are three tents. To the left of the foreground a little dog lies sleeping and a large number of horses is shown in different parts of the fresco.



Fig. 128. The Salimbeni brothers, the Departure of the Virgin, 1416.  
S. Giovanni, Urbino.

Photo Alinari.

Of the Baptism of Christ, the artists have made a mystic picture. The event takes place in a river alive with fish and aquatic birds. On the right bank behind the Baptist, we see a group of men elegantly attired in contemporary garments, who look on with interest but without any emotion at what is happening. On the other bank, saints, clothed in togas, kneel in adoration, while above God the Father appears in a cloud in the midst of a host of angels and cherubim.

The Sermon before Herod (fig. 131) shows the holy preacher, followed by many laymen, speaking to Herod, who, crowned



***BAPTISM OF CHRIST***

*By the Brothers Salimbeni da Sanseverino, S. Giovanni, Urbino.*

Photo Alinari.

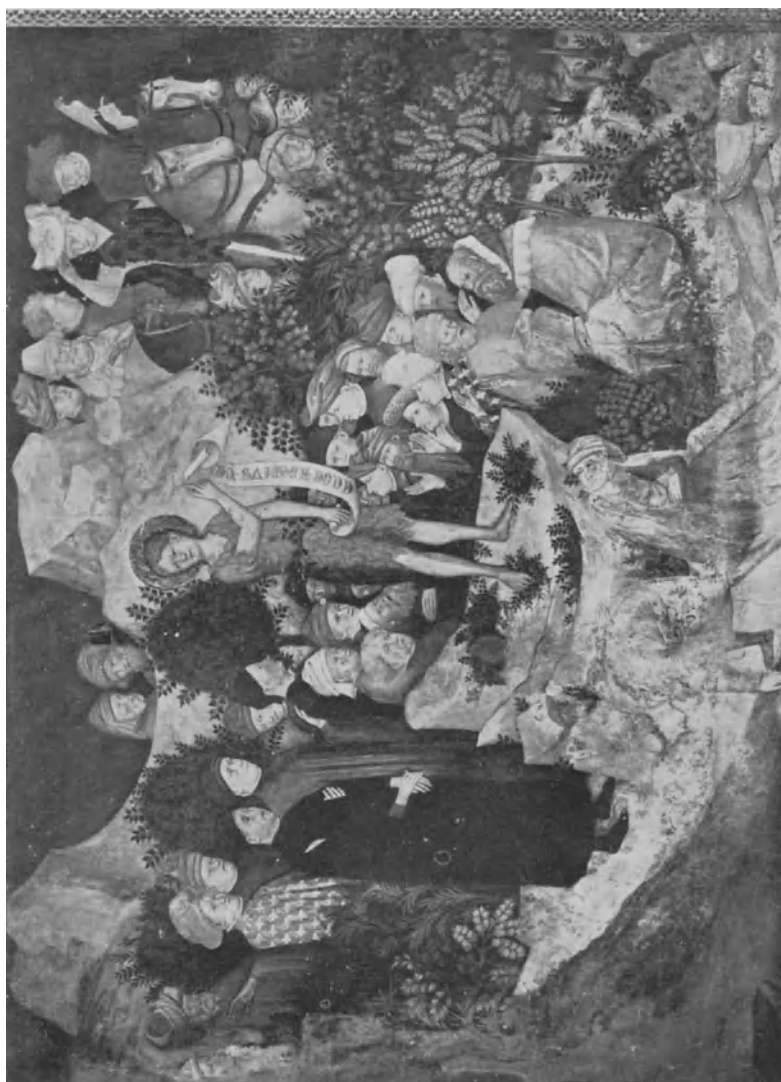


Fig. 129. The Salimbeni brothers, St. John preaching to the multitude, 1416.  
S. Giovanni, Urbino.

Photo Alinari.

and on horseback, followed by knights and squires holding dogs, seems to be returning from the chase.

Here again, as in all these frescoes, we find many characteristics of genre painting; the individual features of the faces, the fash-



Fig. 130. The Salimbeni brothers, St. John baptising, 1416.  
S. Giovanni, Urbino.

Photo Alinari.

ionable garments of the day and many other details give us a glimpse of everyday life of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century but this form of art, as I said before, showed signs of life in the



Fig. 131. The Salimbeni brothers, St. John preaching before Herod, 1416.  
S. Giovanni, Urbino. Photo Alinari.

14<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in Northern Italy, more especially at Padua but also at Verona and in Lombardy.

On the left wall there are some other paintings, probably by



Fig. 132. The Salimbeni brothers, the Virgin between SS. Sebastian and John the Baptist. S. Giovanni, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Lorenzo and his brother. Here we find two representations of the Madonna and Child; in one the Virgin is seated on a Gothic throne between St. Sebastian whose face is drawn in pain, and St. John the Baptist (fig. 132); in the other she sits humbly on the ground between the two SS. John (fig. 133). The ornamental garlands above and the geometrical frames are the same in both

cases. On the same wall we see also the death and funeral of St. John and over the door a fresco of the Crucifixion. On the lower part of the left wall is found a very mediocre fresco of St. John



Fig 133. The Salimbeni brothers, Madonna and saints. S. Giovanni, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

the Baptist and another of a holy pilgrim, a bearded old man who, according to tradition, is the Blessed Pietro Spagnoli of Urbino who died in 1415.

The signature which includes the names of the two brothers induces us to look for two different hands in this mural decorat-



ion. Signor Colasanti has ascribed certain parts to Lorenzo and others to Jacopo. I must confess that I personally cannot discern this difference and I should even say that all the figures are from the same hand ; in which case it seems likely that the second artist painted the backgrounds, the landscapes and the architectural buildings which are very important in these frescoes.

To prove this we have but to cast a glance at the hands ; without exception the fingers are exaggeratedly long and of very special form and unless one painter borrowed this peculiarity from the other we can come to the conclusion that all the figures were executed by the same artist who, in that case, was probably Lorenzo because in the triptych of 1400 signed by him alone we notice the same feature.

It is true, as I remarked before, that the quality of the frescoes in Urbino is very superior to that of the triptych, but the lapse of sixteen years between the execution of the one and the other of these two works is perhaps sufficient explanation of this difference. Consequently we must admit that Lorenzo came under Gentile da Fabriano's influence between 1400 and 1416 ; this is not only perfectly in accord with chronology but further, certain figures in the frescoes clearly reveal this influence which, although it never dominated the Salimbeni, all the same had beneficial effect on the aesthetic sense of the master of the frescoes in Urbino.

Some other works of the Salimbeni show more connexion in quality with the triptych of 1400 than with the mural decoration. Nevertheless, a panel rightly ascribed to Lorenzo Salimbeni<sup>(1)</sup> in the Gallery of Urbino, representing St. Clare holding a lily and a book (fig. 134), is of a technique just as fine as the frescoes in the chapel of S. Giovanni Battista, while in the paintings in the apse of Sta. Maria della Pieve at Sanseverino we notice several points which approximate them to the same works. Of a fairly good quality, for instance, is a fragment showing the Virgin tenderly clasping the Child to her breast, adored by an angel. Two frescoes, each representing two saints — one of them a woman — behind barred windows, and another of the Virgin adoring the Infant Christ while two angels, their hands joined in prayer, fly

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(<sup>1</sup>) *Colasanti*, op. cit., p. 430 ; this panel was indicated to him by Senator Corrado Ricci.



Fig. 134. Lorenzo Salimbeni, St. Clare. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Anderson.

overhead, form part of this series. In two fragmentary frescoes we can recognize other representations of the Madonna while another part of the wall is adorned with two figures of saints together and one alone. Some interesting fragments of an extensive series of frescoes by Lorenzo are found in the church of S. Domenico at Sanseverino in the chapel under the bell-tower (fig. 135).

The decoration of the crypt of S. Lorenzo in Doliolo at Sanseverino can be divided into two parts very different one from the other in subject as well as in execution. The first group, which bears a particular resemblance to the triptych, seems to be for that reason undoubtedly from the hand of Lorenzo and executed probably at a period not far distant from the panels of 1400.

Before entering the crypt we see two fragmentary frescoes, showing the Virgin and Child and a bearded saint, perhaps by Lorenzo but they are in too ruinous a condition for us to be certain of this attribution. In the crypt itself the decoration is not in a very much better state of preservation.

From the hand of Lorenzo we find here a certain number of figures of saints, more or less isolated (fig. 136); I shall not enumerate them all but should all the same like to mention a few. A holy bishop, probably St. Severinus, bestowing a blessing, is a well preserved figure bearing a close resemblance in style to the triptych. Adjacent is an image of St. Thomas Aquinas. A fairly important group of saints in the chapel of S. Andrea is very damaged; the head of the colossal figure of St. Andrew in the centre is missing. Some profane figures of marked elegance, smaller than the others, approach in a procession from the left. To the right we see the kneeling members of a confraternity. It is curious to notice that one of the figures of the group — a bearded bishop giving a blessing — seems to be of a different technique from the rest; the shape of the hands is obviously not the same and I think that this figure is by the artist to whom we owe the scenes from the life of St. Andrew with which I shall deal later on. Certainly by Lorenzo are the figures of SS. Catherine and Lucy and the representation of the Crucifixion which we find, one beside the other. A Madonna and Child with St. Lucy and two other saints which form the pendant to SS. Severinus and Thomas Aquinas, have in part disappeared. Among the other

votive paintings in this crypt there are some which show no connection with the manner of the Salimbeni. A St. George slaying the dragon is a work of their school, of no great importance, as



Fig. 135. Lorenzo Salimbeni, fresco fragment. S. Domenico, Sanseverino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

is also a Madonna with the head missing, her crown held by two angels; the donatrix, an aged nun, kneels below while a figure in bonds lies at her feet. In the vault and under one of the arches the illustration of the history of St. Andrew is executed in monochromes of green-earth. Firstly the artist shows the saint entering a house where among the other guests the devil is seated at table (fig. 137); a second fresco represents St. Andrew beating the

devil with a stick till he falls to the ground to the consternation of the people gathered around. These episodes adorn the arches while the scenes of the saint's martyrdom are found in the four



Fig. 136. Lorenzo Salimbeni, Saints. S. Lorenzo in Doliolo, Sanseverino.  
Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

divisions of the vault. First we see St. Andrew in prison, while outside a crowd of converts with instruments approach, led by Massimilia, the wife of the Consul Egeus who ordered the saint's arrest, and his brother Stratocles who speaks to the mob (fig. 138). This fresco is damaged only in the upper part but very little remains of the following scene which shows some workmen,



Fig. 137. Lorenzo Salimbeni, the story of St. Andrew S. Lorenzo in Doliolo, Sanseverino.

Photo Alinari.

roughly treated by mounted soldiers, carrying the cross on which St. Andrew is to be crucified. Also only a small fragment is preserved of the painting of St. Andrew on the cross with Massimilia on the ground at his feet (fig. 139). To one side the soldiers are represented leaving the scene while to the other some of the faith-

ful are depicted adoring the saint. In the scene of the deposition the followers are divided into two groups, one to either side, while in the centre Massimilia receives the body of the holy martyr which others lower from the cross.

In a lunette above the first fresco the artist illustrates the punishment of the proconsul for his cruelty towards the holy Apostle (fig. 140). In a public place the devil seizes him by the throat, and strangles him while the people, horrified, are seen on either side making their escape.

I must admit that were it not for the fact that these frescoes are certainly from the same hand as those in the old cathedral of Sanseverino, which formerly showed the artist's signature, I should not have ascribed them to the master of the triptych of 1400 and the mural paintings in Urbino. The construction of the figures is quite different, so too the expression of the faces and the spirit of the entire work. It is true that already in the representations at Urbino we discover certain details characteristic of genre paintings, but a burlesque, sometimes even a vulgar element, is the dominating spirit of these works. The technique too is quite different. Whereas at Urbino the calligraphic Gothic line dominated and produced graceful elongated figures, in the vault of the crypt in Sanseverino we find an almost impressionistic style of painting with light effects depicted by white blotches, forming a marked contrast to the very dark shadows.

However, the identification of the artist of the frescoes illustrating the martyrdom of St. Andrew with that of the paintings in the old cathedral of Sanseverino does not justify our ascribing them in their entirety to Lorenzo and Giacomo Salimbeni; on the contrary the signature, once visible in a lunette, read: ". . . *liviero opero chon Lorenzo Jacomo so fratel*". This inscription has disappeared but it was seen by G. Ranaldi who gives it in the second volume of his "Memorie di Belle Arti", of which the manuscript is preserved in the town library of Sanseverino (<sup>1</sup>).

Consequently besides Lorenzo Salimbeni, his brother and a

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(<sup>1</sup>) S. *Servanzi Collio*, *Pitture a fresco scoperte nell' antica cattedrale di Sanseverino etc.*, L'Album, 1860, p. 40. V. E. *Aleandri*, *Il Duomo di Sanseverino-Marche*, Sanseverino, 1905. (*Colasanti*, op. cit., p. 422<sup>r</sup> and 2, p. 430).



Fig. 138. Lorenzo Salimbeni, the story of St. Andrew. S. Lorenzo in Doliolo, Sanseverino.

Photo Alinari.

certain Oliviero who is mentioned first in the inscription, worked at these paintings. With regard to this Oliviero nothing is known and it would be rather venturesome to identify him with Oli-



vuccio di Ceccarello da Camerino who is mentioned as active in Ancona in 1429, who worked for Filippo Maria Visconti at Loreto in 1432 and who died in 1439 <sup>(1)</sup>.

In connexion with the signature, Count Gnoli has propounded another hypothesis <sup>(2)</sup>. He thinks that the word "... *liviero*" may have been read wrongly and that it was really the last letters of the word "*lavrero*" meaning work, of which Lorenzo makes use in the signature on the triptych, so that the entire inscription would have read "this work executed with Lorenzo, Giacomo his brother". I find a certain difficulty in adhering to this theory. Apart from the very unusual syntax, Lorenzo in this case would become the secondary figure whereas at Urbino it was Giacomo who played this rôle; further I think the difference between this series of frescoes and that, for instance, at Urbino, would be easier to explain if we admit the collaboration of another artist. This difference of style has not escaped Count Gnoli but he is of opinion that it can be accounted for by the fact that the masters were assisted by pupils.

The paintings which adorned a chapel to the left of the entrance are reduced to the frescoes in the vault and the decoration of a lunette opposite the door. The latter shows a painted frame in the form of a triptych enclosing two bearded old saints who, as we shall see later on, depict St. John the Apostle and the philosopher Craton.

According to Signor Aleandri the subject represented in the frescoes of the vault is the legend of SS. Vittorinus and Severinus but this interpretation is false as has already been pointed out by Count Gnoli who rightly sees in this decoration an illustration of the legend of St. John the Evangelist. Two very damaged frescoes, divided one from the other by a curious garland, adorn either side of the vault. To one side we see the two young men who, at the command of Craton, the philosopher, shatter their precious stones in the presence of St. John and Craton, while close by is shown the reconstruction of the stones.

Adjacent, St. John is depicted behind a table, distributing the stones to the poor and the maimed who gather around; for the

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Gianandrea*, Olivuccio di Ceccarello, Nuova Rivista Misena, 1891, p. 179.

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



Fig. 139 Lorenzo Salimbeni, the martyrdom of St. Andrew. S. Lorenzo in Doliolo, Sanseverino.  
Photo Alinari.

greater part they are mothers with their children; one is represented suckling her child in its cradle but the bigger children are depicted quarrelling and fighting. In this scene there is an im-

portant architectural background. Through a window a man is seen asleep; a lady on a balcony waters her flowers.

On the other side the aged saint is shown sitting writing on the Island of Patmos; an angel approaches and touches his arm while the head of the Saviour appears above. The other painting on this side illustrates the joyful reception given to St. John by the people of Ephesus who throng the gateway of the city<sup>(1)</sup>; but this scene has almost entirely disappeared (fig. 141). Under the city walls some small boys are seen at play, one of them has climbed into a tree; a man, whom one might quite easily imagine to be the schoolmaster, observes them from within the walls.

The technique of these paintings is again a little different; it is less impressionistic than the series from the life of St. Andrew in the crypt of S. Lorenzo. However, there is a fairly marked resemblance between these two series of frescoes and considering that the signature mentions in the first place this unknown Oliviero, who consequently must have been the principal artist, and that these paintings are very different from the triptych of 1400 and the frescoes of 1416 in Urbino, it may very well be that that part of the decoration of the chapel in the old cathedral of Sanseverino which is preserved, is chiefly from the hand of Oliviero, the companion of the Salimbeni. It is also quite possible that Lorenzo and Jacopo worked at another part of the decoration because the rest of the walls were, no doubt, once covered with frescoes. Moreover traces of this are still visible.

Some other works have been ascribed to the Salimbeni.

Doubtless from the hand of Lorenzo and approaching in style the frescoes of 1416, is a Madonna della Misericordia, originally in the Congregation of Charity of Cagli, then in the gallery of Urbino, and now in the sacristy of Sta. Chiara, the church of the orphanage in Cagli (fig. 142). The picture, which is retouched, shows the Virgin with the members of a confraternity kneeling under her mantle which is held up by two angels.

Fairly closely resembling in manner the triptych of 1400, but of finer quality, is a Coronation of the Virgin which I saw not long ago in a private collection in Paris (fig. 143). It is a fairly large

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(1) Signor Colasanti says that one of them is a sick person kneeling on his bed; this figure is no longer visible.



Fig. 140. Lorenzo Salimbeni, the story of St. Andrew. S. Lorenzo in Doliolo, Sanseverino.

Photo Alinari.

picture and depicts the Saviour and His Holy Mother, with two angels flying overhead, sitting together on a throne which is adorned with a design of little flowers, reminiscent of the



Fig. 141. Oliviero and the Salimbeni brothers, the story of St. John the Evangelist. Duomo Vecchio, Sanseverino

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 142. Lorenzo Salimbeni, Madonna della Misericordia.  
Sta. Chiara, Cagli.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

garlands we found separating the frescoes in the cathedral of Sanseverino (1).

Executed a little after the same manner is a panel in the gallery of Pesaro, representing an allegory of the original sin and the redemption. The serpent presents Adam and Eve with apples from a tree on which the Saviour is seen crucified. Close by a woman with a halo sleeps on a couch. Although there are some points in favour of the attribution to Lorenzo, I do not think that the picture is a characteristic work of this artist (2).

The subject of a picture in the Schiff collection, Pisa, is rather doubtful. It represents a woman with a hexagonal nimbus sitting on her bier around which throng many people, among whom are several saints, and it has been taken to depict the farewell of St. Catherine of Siena to her disciples the day before her death (3), although others see in it an illustration of the resurrection of Tabita (4). In my opinion it certainly seems to be a resurrection which has taken place during a funeral and that, through the invocation of St. Peter. On the other hand the woman sitting on her bier bears the stigmata. In type the figures somewhat approach those of the frescoes in the crypt of S. Lorenzo, but this resemblance is very superficial and I do not think it is the work of the Salimbeni; I feel sooner inclined to believe it a Catalan production, very near the art of Luis Borassa.

A Madonna and Child in the collection of Signor Eduardo Gelli, Florence, which is unknown to me, is ascribed to the Salimbeni (5).

The same hand which executed the frescoes in the chapel of the old cathedral of Sanseverino, painted a fresco which is almost unknown, on the wall of the Children's Home in Perugia. This

(1) *R. van Marle*, *Quattro dipinti marchigiani*.

(2) *Colasanti*, op. cit., p. 431, attributes this picture to Lorenzo. *Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 177. *G. Vacca*, *Pesaro, Bergamo, 1909*, p. 106, ascribed it to the school of Sanseverino. *L. Serra*, *Pinacoteca e Museo delle Ceramiche di Pesaro*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., *Pesaro, 1920*, p. 12, also doubts the correctness of this attribution.

(3) *R. Schiff*, *Ritrovamento di un dipinto di Lorenzo Salembeni di Sanseverino*, *L'Arte*, 1907, p. 375.

(4) *B. Berenson*, *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., *New York-London, 1909*, p. 190.

(5) *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 181<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 143. Lorenzo Salimbeni, the Coronation of the Virgin.  
Private Collection.



home is adjacent to the church of S. Benedetto and must originally have formed part of the monastery (<sup>1</sup>). The painter, who in my opinion might have been either Jacopo Salimbeni or Oliviero, but certainly not Lorenzo, executed here a Crucifixion in grisaille showing, besides the Saviour attached to the Cross, the fainting Virgin on one side supported by two women and another with arms uplifted heavenwards, and on the other the solitary figure of St. John, sitting weeping on a curious piece of rock (figs. 144 and 145).

Although also in the Crucifixion at Urbino we notice a fairly marked realism in the expressions, this is exceptional in the works of Lorenzo who generally depicts rather calm and agreeable faces and much more graceful forms than we see in the grisaille at Perugia. Besides, as the paintings in Urbino are signed by Lorenzo and Jacopo together, we are quite free to believe that those particular figures of the Crucifixion were executed by the latter.

Judging from his only signed work, viz. the triptych of 1400, Lorenzo Salimbeni shows himself as a mediocre adherent of the great cosmopolitan Gothic movement of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, not without a marked connexion with the contemporary art of those regions of Northern Italy where contact with France and Germany was fairly direct. Also it is particularly in the north of Italy that even in the painting of the 14<sup>th</sup> century we find evidence of individuality and portraiture, which characteristics Lorenzo affects especially in the frescoes of 1416 at Urbino. It might almost be said that the human types represented by the Salimbeni are not purely Italian and would be more in their place on the borders of the Rhine.

If we look upon Lorenzo as the principal artist of the frescoes in Urbino, we have to consider him as a skilful master of much grace, influenced by Gentile da Fabriano; in the work of 1400, however, there is no trace of this influence but this is easily explained by chronology, for Gentile who towards 1400 could not as yet have exercised any influence on a painter, probably his senior, could have done so very easily sometime prior to 1416.

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(<sup>1</sup>) *R. van Marle*, Quattro dipinti marchigiani etc.

The frescoes in the crypt of S. Lorenzo in Sanseverino and the Coronation of the Virgin which I saw in Paris, more closely approach the triptych, that is to say, they are executed in the artist's first manner. On the other hand the paintings in Sta. Maria

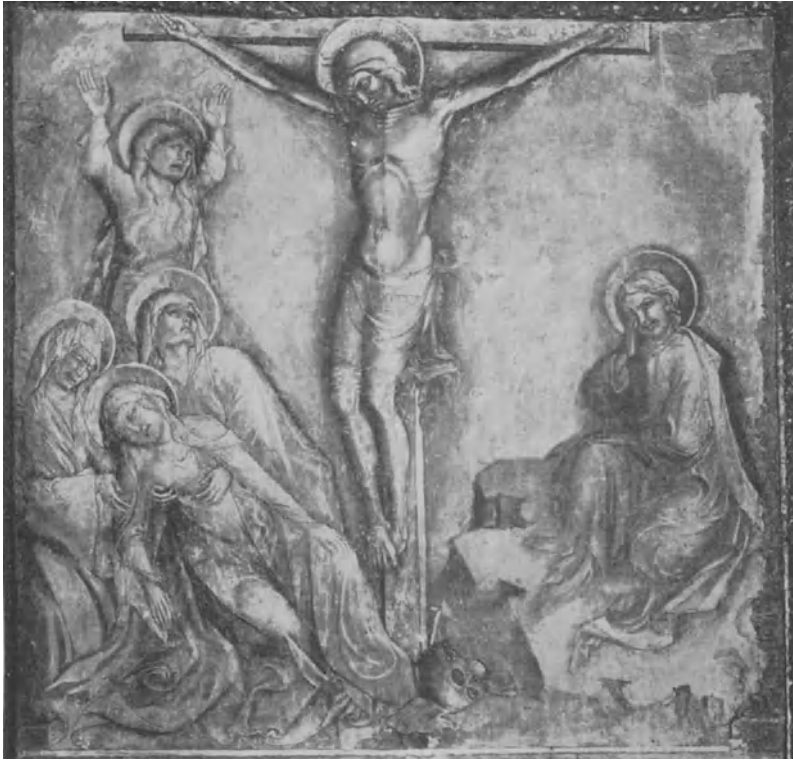


Fig 144. Manner of the Salimbeni, the Crucifixion, Children's Home.

S. Benedetto, Perugia.

Photo Verri.

della Pieve in Sanseverino and the St. Clare in the gallery of Urbino show more connexion with the frescoes of 1416.

In the scenes from the life of St. Andrew in the crypt of S. Lorenzo in Sanseverino and in the mural decoration of the old cathedral in the same town we find not only a different technique but also quite another spirit from that of the dignified beauty and calligraphic design of the paintings in Urbino. In the gestures, the curious attitudes, the exaggerated physical efforts, and the immoderate expressions, pained and funny at the same time, there is much that recalls the burlesque and satirical side of

Gothic art of Central and Northern Europe, as it is shown, for instance, in the gargoyles of cathedrals and the ornamental borders of manuscripts. It is an infiltration of elements from the North into Central Italy which can be explained by the dissemination of that truly international style which at this period linked together the art of all Europe. Oliviero, who executed the frescoes in the old cathedral of Sanseverino with the Salimbeni brothers, must have worked after this manner, and I feel inclined to believe that he was the master of Lorenzo and Jacopo. Not only the fact that his name is given the place of precedence in the signature makes us think that he was the chief artist in this enterprise, but also in comparing the works of Lorenzo in their chronological order we discover that he began as an adherent of northern Gothic art and gradually changed his style under the influence of Gentile da Fabriano.

The works of the school of the Salimbeni are fairly numerous. As such might be cited a series of frescoes of some importance in the church of Colleluce, near Sanseverino, which has even been attributed to the masters themselves (1).

Of their school is also the mural decoration in the church of Sta. Maria delle Vaccarecce at Gaglianvecchio, in the commune of Sanseverino.

In the little gallery of the town of Sanseverino a detached fresco, representing the Crucifixion and a young man manipulating his sword (No. 9) approaches the art of Lorenzo Salimbeni. Near the entrance to the apse in the cathedral of Recanati, a fragment of a fresco, representing the Madonna, reveals an influence of the art of the Salimbeni.

In the church of S. Francesco at Cagli in The Marches, very near the Umbrian frontier, there are two frescoes illustrating miracles of St. Antony of Padua. In the one the saint re-attaches the leg of a young man which had fallen off on his giving a kick to his mother and in the other we see the ass refusing to eat and paying homage to the Holy Sacrament. Signor Colasanti (2) remarks these frescoes are considerably repainted. Anyhow

(1) *V. E. Aleandri*, Scoperta di affreschi nella chiesa parrocchiale del Castello di Colleluce presso Sanseverino, *Arte e Storia*, 1893, p. 22.

(2) *Colasanti*, op. cit., p. 456 note 1.



Fig. 145. Detail of fig. 144.

Photo Verri.

I do not think it likely that they are by the Salimbeni to whom they have been ascribed <sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> By *A. Venturi* at the congress of the history of art held in The Marches in 1909. v. *L'Arte*, 1909. p. 395. The attribution to Guiduccio Palmeruccio of Gubbio, who was active in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, is without any foundation, v. Vol. V, p. 90<sup>2</sup>.

Another painting at Cagli, also attributed to Lorenzo, is the decoration of the vault of a tabernacle in the church of Sta. Maria della Misericordia where the four Evangelists, St. Francis and St. Clare are depicted, but this is also a school work.

In different small galleries in The Marches we find still some paintings of the school of the Salimbeni. They are: at Camerino, Christ on the Cross between the Virgin, St. John and an adorer (No. 5), a very mediocre painting which is attributed to the Florentine school; at Fabriano, a detached fresco of the Virgin and Child enthroned between SS. James and Antony with a fine portrait of the donor (No. 13), and a panel of the Crucifixion with the Virgin in a swoon, SS. Mary Magdalene, John and other figures (No. 6); at Macerata there once existed four figures of saints which Mr. Berenson hesitatingly ascribes to Lorenzo but which Signor Colasanti rightly classifies as a school work; since the reorganisation of the little gallery of this town they have disappeared; at Urbino a painting of St. Antony with two scenes of miracles in the predella, a work closely approaching the master's style; a figure of St. Nicolas of Tolentino in the museum of Pesaro (fig. 146) and lastly, at Mercatello, a fragment of a fresco — St. Clare — on the left wall of S. Francesco.

Outside The Marches we also find some productions of the Salimbeni's school. A little Coronation of the Virgin in the Vatican Gallery has been attributed to Lorenzo by Mr. Berenson. The artist who executed four panels with scenes from the life of St. Augustine in the same gallery (Nos. 206—209) should be closely associated with the master of the illustrations of the martyrdom of St. Andrew in the crypt of S. Lorenzo at Sanseverino; they represent the baptism of St. Augustine, the saint with his disciples, St. Augustine brought to school by his mother, St. Monica (fig. 147), and the saint teaching in the school. Although more roughly executed and less pleasing in appearance, we find here the same rather impressionistic technique with marked chiaroscuro effects. Signor Colasanti informs us that in the collection of art objects, preserved in the chapter-house of Esztergom in Hungary, there are old copies of two of the frescoes of the series in Urbino, which I, however, did not find there. To the school of the Salimbeni Professor A. Venturi attributes, and I think rightly, an important triptych from the Col-

legiata of S. Venanzio at Camerino, now in the Vatican Gallery (fig. 148). It represents in the centre the Coronation of the Virgin, the mandorla which encircles the principal figures is surrounded with angels, those below playing on musical instruments.

The lateral panels show the Nativity of Christ with the angelic Message to the Shepherds, and the Adoration of the Magi; the medallions in the pinnacles contain the two figures of the Annunciation and the emblem of St. Bernardine from which the date of execution can be fixed as not prior to about 1450, that is to say thirty years or so after the death of Lorenzo Salim-



Fig. 146. School of the Salimbeni, St. Nicholas of Tolentino. Gallery, Pesaro.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

beni. Nevertheless, the morphological types and the style of the painting derive directly from the examples left by the Salimbeni brothers.

If the influence that Gentile da Fabriano exercised on the Salimbeni was felt, as it appears, only towards the end of Lorenzo's career, it is not so for the rest of Marchigian painting, and speaking generally it can be said that most of the other painters in The Marches, in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, reveal an acquaintance with Gentile's art. An exception must be made for a very curious painter who decorated the choir of the upper church of Sta Maria delle Grazie at Offida and for those who executed the frescoes at Urbino and Fossombrone, but these artists are so very dependent on Ottaviano Nelli, that I think it better to discuss them when we come to deal with this artist and his school.

A painter of The Marches who felt very deeply the influence of Gentile was Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, concerning whom we have several documents which place his activity between 1416 and 1429.

In 1416 Arcangelo went to Citta di Castello to adorn the large hall of the Palazzo Comunale with a fresco of St. Mary Magdalene in commemoration of the victory of the town over the Marquis of Civitella (1). The date 1421 accompanies the name "*Arcangelus olim Cole Vannis de Camerino populi Sancti Egidii*", in the list of members of the corporation of painters in Florence.

During that year the painter made a panel for Ilarione de' Bardi to place in his chapel in Sta. Lucia, Florence, which chapel Bicci di Lorenzo decorated with frescoes. In May 1422 he set out for Rome at the request of Pope Martin.

It has frequently been said that he went there to help in the ornamentation of S. Giovanni in Laterano at which Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello were also employed.

This would point to the existence of a previous connexion between Arcangelo and Gentile, and consequently it was not

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(1) *Magherini Graziani*, L'Arte a Citta di Castello, Citta di Castello, 1897, pp. 73 and 182.



Fig. 147. School of the Salimbeni, the story of St. Augustine.  
Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

on this occasion that they first came in contact <sup>(1)</sup>. A papal safe-conduct of 1422 allowing the painter to travel through-

<sup>(1)</sup> (*Gualandi*), *Memorie originali italiane risguardanti le belle arti*, VI. Bologna, 1845, p. 176. *Gaye*, *Carteggio*, I, pp. 211, 212. *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, II, pp. 66, 294. *U. Gnoli*, *Pittori e miniatori etc.*, p. 38.



out Italy still exists. After 1425 he seems to have returned to Camerino where he witnessed the testament of Nicolina Verano, the widow of Braccio da Montone, and in 1429 he was one of the arbitrators in a case which concerned the placing of the sculptured choir stalls in the church of the convent of S. Domenico in Camerino (1). Further we know that he executed a picture for the chapel which the hospital of Sta. Maria Nuova of Florence had in the cathedral of Empoli and lastly his signature and the date 1425 were inscribed on a picture which once existed in the church of the Convento dell' Isola, near Cessapalombo, in The Marches (2). Of this work there exists only the reproduction after a very poor little photograph (3).

Only one painting signed by this master is extant, it is a diptych, formerly the property of Mrs. Longland, London, now belonging to Mr. R. Langton Douglas in the same city; on the back of one of the panels — that showing the Crucifixion — is inscribed the signature: "*D. Camerino Arcangelus pinsit*".

From the foregoing documentary evidence consequently we learn that Arcangelo di Cola was a painter of Marchigian origin, that he was established in Florence, that he was active in Citta di Castello and in Rome and that he returned to the country of his birth. It is hardly likely that it was only in Rome that he came in contact with Gentile because in all his works the influence of the great master of Fabriano is evident. In certain of his paintings, however, alongside this influence we notice the effects of another artistic current, namely that of Florence where he settled shortly after Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini and Spinello Aretino — the last representatives of the Giottesque tradition — had been active there. He must have known Lorenzo Monaco, whose manner of painting was not very different; and he was as well the contemporary of such painters as Masolino, Masaccio and Fra Angelico, the exponents of new forms in art, who at times also exercised their influence on the otherwise conservative Arcangelo.

If we make an attempt to classify Arcangelo's works in their chronological order, we should in all probability begin with those

(1) *B. Feliciangeli*, Pittori camerinesi del Quattrocento, extract from Chienti e Potenza (v. recension, *L'Arte*, 1911, p. 77).

(2) *A. Venturi*, Di Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, *L'Arte*, 1910, p. 377.

(3) *A. Venturi*, op. cit.



Fig. 148. School of the Salimbeni, triptych, Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

paintings which show most connexion with Gentile's manner. This category includes several pictures, one of which was attributed for a long time to Gentile himself, until Signor Colasanti rightly claimed it as a work by Arcangelo (<sup>1</sup>). It is a Madonna of

(<sup>1</sup>) *A. Colasanti*, Nuovi dipinti di Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1922, p. 539. Before this he ascribed it to Gentile's school: *A. Colasanti*, Gentile da Fabriano, Bergamo, 1919, p. 127.

Humility and belonged to the now dispersed Stroganoff collection in Petrograd (¹). The Virgin is depicted seated on the ground on a gorgeous carpet, two little angelic musicians accompany her while two other angels in adoration fly towards her.

In the gallery of Camerino there is a Madonna by the master (fig. 149) which must certainly date from the period when Gentile alone dominated Arcangelo's art. The panel, which is somewhat damaged, shows the Virgin seated on a Gothic throne affectionately holding the Child; two angels, one on either side, form an escort (²).

A charming little picture by Arcangelo is exposed in the gallery of Edinburgh (pl. VI); it is the property of the Earl of Southesk and bears an old attribution to Taddeo Gaddi. Against a lightly constructed Gothic throne the Virgin is again represented sitting on the ground, this time on a beautiful cushion with the Child Jesus standing on her knee. The painting is very finely executed and the draperies show exquisite calligraphic effects (³). Part of the Virgin's dress is painted on a gold background, producing an enamel-like effect.

A mystic marriage of St. Catherine, once in the collection of pictures in the castle of Vincigliata, near Florence (fig. 150), in which the Virgin with the Child, adored by two angels, is seated on a throne with spiral columns, has as far as I know never before been attributed to Arcangelo who is certainly the master of this work. This is very obvious if we compare it with the painting in the museum of Camerino; the appearance of the Child is perhaps the most characteristic feature. It may be, however, that we are here dealing with a production of the artist's Florentine period but if this be so it must have been executed at the very beginning of this stage in his career. It is not one of his best works.

Very much superior in quality is an enthroned Madonna holding the Child standing on her knee in the midst of six angels, which is preserved on the first altar to the left in the Prepositura of Bibbiena, in the Casentino (fig. 151). In this picture we notice,

(¹) *A. Venturi*, *Quadri di Gentile da Fabriano a Milano e a Pietroburgo*, *L'Arte*, 1898, p. 495.

(²) The attribution of this picture to Arcangelo was made first by *L. Venturi*. *A traverso le Marche*, *L'Arte*, 1915, p. 19. and was unanimously accepted.

(³) *R. van Marle*, *Quattro dipinti marchigiani* etc.



*MADONNA AND CHILD*

*By Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, National Gallery of Scotland,  
Edinburgh.*

Photo Drummond Young.

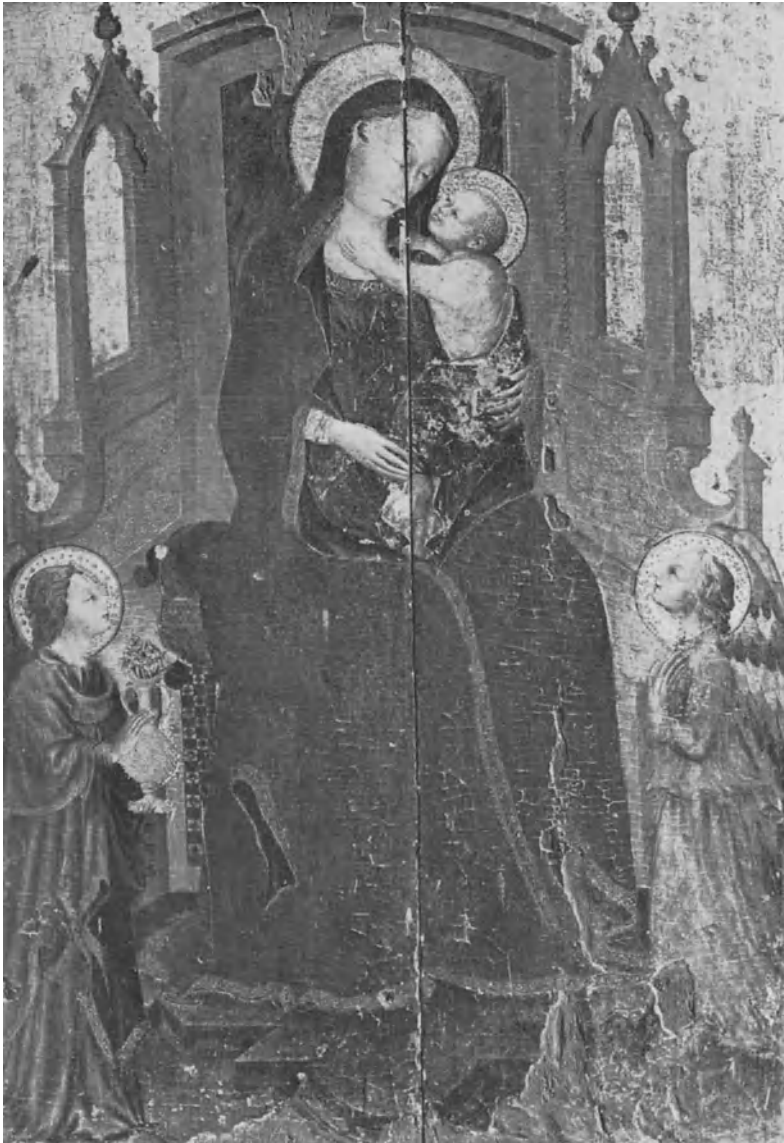


Fig. 149. Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, Madonna. Gallery, Camerino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

as Dr. De Nicola, who was the first to ascribe it to this master <sup>(1)</sup>, rightly points out, an intermingling of elements borrowed from

<sup>(1)</sup> *G. De Nicola*, Di alcuni dipinti del Casentino, *L'Arte*, 1914, p. 257.



Fig. 150. Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine. Formerly in the Vincigliata Castle, nr. Florence.

Photo Reali.



Fig. 151. Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, Madonna and angels.  
Prepositura, Bibbiena.

Photo Gianì.

Gentile da Fabriano and from the Florentine school, elements which at this moment would naturally form the characteristics of Arcangelo's art.

The artist was more influenced by the Florentine artistic principles when he executed the diptych from the Longland collection, now in that of Mr. Langton Douglas (figs. 152 and 153)<sup>(1)</sup>. In the figure of the Virgin who, seated on a Gothic throne, holds the Child upright on her knee in the midst of six angels, there are still a few characteristics reminiscent of Gentile's manner but these have practically all disappeared in the representation of the Crucifixion. In this the dead Saviour hangs heavily on the Cross; two little angels with chalices catch the blood from the wounds, below we see the Virgin, Mary Magdalene at the foot of the Cross, St. John and two holy women. The appearance of this picture suggests above all a late adherent to the artistic movement created by Bernardo Daddi.

Arcangelo di Cola had completely lost that graceful Gothic line so characteristic of Gentile's art, when he executed a Madonna seated on a Gothic throne with a richly ornamented back, between two angels, which, not long ago, belonged to Herr Paul Cassirer, Berlin<sup>(2)</sup>. It is certainly the artist's most Florentine work and although it shows no sign of those new efforts, which were made at this moment by the great masters of Florence and which resulted shortly after in the art of the Renaissance, still all the same we find in this panel a knowledge of and even a certain impression of the manner of Fra Angelico.

I think it possible that Arcangelo made yet another picture after this manner, one which reveals an even stronger influence of Fra Angelico. It is a panel showing the Virgin seated on a simple Gothic throne, looking towards the Child, Who is represented in profile on her knee. Above, God the Father holding an open book is depicted in a trefoil. This picture was shown many years ago in the exhibition of antiquities held in the Castel S. Angelo, but it belonged, when I saw it last, to a private collector in Rome (fig. 154). On the base of the throne the false signature of Gentile da Fabriano has been added, while at the foot of the

(1) The picture is mentioned by *Crowe and Cavalcaselle, A. Venturi*, op. cit., *De Nicola*, op. cit.

(2) *Colasanti*, Nuovi dipinti.





Fig. 152. Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, Madonna. Langton Douglas Collection, London.

panel a long inscription concerning the donor gives the date 1418, a date which does not exclude the possibility of Beato Angelico's influence on our artist.

Considering the different movements that Arcangelo di Cola was able to follow simultaneously — an achievement common to many painters whose skill surpasses their artistic individuality — it is of interest to observe that two other works showing characteristics of the school of The Marches, reveal as well a knowledge of Florentine art of the first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Thus in the Mather collection in Princeton there is a picture of St. Anna, the Virgin and Child which, in spite of the numerous points of difference, seems to have been inspired by Masaccio's painting of this subject in the Uffizi, while a Madonna seated on the ground, holding the Child in swaddling-clothes on her knee, which a short time ago I saw for sale in Florence (fig. 155), bears some connexion with Masolino's panel in the museum of München. and still more with this master's work at Bremen. The former of these pictures has already been attributed to the school of The Marches <sup>(1)</sup> and I find that both show certain resemblances to Arcangelo's art. I think they are certainly by the same hand and the Child Jesus in the panel in the Florentine collection strongly reminds us of Gentile's style. I am of opinion that it is not impossible that the versatile Arcangelo di Cola, inspired by the works of Masaccio and Masolino, executed these two pictures during his sojourn in Florence.

It was after his stay in the Tuscan capital that Arcangelo painted the panel of 1425 which was destroyed by fire and a picture at Osimo. The former represented in the centre the Saviour on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John and in the lateral panels SS. Venanzius, Peter, John the Baptist and a holy bishop. Small figures adorned the pilasters to either side. The reproduction made from a poor photograph gives us no idea of the original work <sup>(2)</sup>.

The painting at Osimo is a fresco preserved in the church of S. Marco, representing the Madonna on a monumental throne between SS. Dominic and Peter and as this church was given

<sup>(1)</sup> *U. Gnoli*, Pietro da Montepulciano e Giacomo da Recanati, Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1922, p. 574.

<sup>(2)</sup> *M. Santoni*, Nuova Rivista Misena, 1890, p. 187; *L'Arte*, 1910, p. 377.



Fig. 153. Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, the Crucifixion.  
Langton Douglas Collection, London.

to the Dominican order in 1427, it might very well have been on this occasion that the decoration was made, as Signor L. Venturi, who was the first to ascribe it to this master, has suggested (<sup>1</sup>). In any case the presence of St. Dominic in this fresco makes it certain that the work was not executed before 1427, so that we have here at last a production which can be assigned to a definite period in the career of the artist. We have, however, no proof that the painter we meet with for the first time in 1416, was an old man in 1427. Nevertheless in comparing the fresco at Osimo with the works which I believe to have been executed during an early stage, the Florentine supremacy becomes very evident at the same time as the diminution of Gentile's influence; although again in comparing the fresco with the productions of his Florentine period, I am inclined to think that Arcangelo, on his return to the provinces, lost much of the refinement which he had acquired in the great artistic centre which Florence then was (<sup>2</sup>). Almost opposite this fresco another mural painting of the "Madonna delle Grazie" might have been executed by Cola but it has been entirely repainted and now has the appearance of a work of the 17<sup>th</sup> or even of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Works which go to prove that Arcangelo di Cola founded a school in The Marches are lacking although an Annunciation and a Madonna standing in the midst of six angels and two saints in the church of St. Esuperanzio at Cingoli have, with reason, been classified as executed after his manner (fig. 156) (<sup>3</sup>). This fresco is considerably damaged but the painting is of fairly good quality.

Another work of Arcangelo di Cola's school is a large triptych in the Vatican Gallery (No. 86), representing the Virgin enthroned between four angels, with SS. Aconcius, John the Baptist, Margaret and Mary Magdalene in the lateral panels (fig. 157).

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

(<sup>2</sup>) Signor *A. Venturi*, op. cit., ascribes to Arcangelo still some frescoes in the oratory of Riofreddo, but I think the fact that these paintings date from 1422 and were ordered by Pope Martin V has influenced this attribution which is in no way justified by a confrontation of style. We shall return to these frescoes later on. *M. Santoni*, op. cit., holds Arcangelo responsible for a Crucifixion, unknown to me, belonging to the Trotti della Muccia family.

(<sup>3</sup>) *L. Venturi*, loc. cit.

It is a painting of no great refinement and without charm, but in it we find united those elements which constitute Arcangelo's art (<sup>1</sup>).

I think a panel of the enthroned Madonna to the right of the choir of the Carthusian monastery, near Florence, also shows some connexion with Arcangelo's style but it is difficult to judge because the picture is so badly placed.

The other Marchigian followers of Gentile da Fabriano are of less importance. Of some interest, however, on account of the fidelity with which he imitates the master, is a certain Peregrino whose name with the date 1428, appears on a



Fig. 154. Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino ?,  
Madonna. Private Collection.

(<sup>1</sup>) This painting was assigned to Arcangelo by *A. Venturi*, op. cit. *Colasanti*, op. cit., contests this attribution.



Fig. 155. Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino ?, Madonna.  
Bellini Galleries, Florence.



Fig. 156. School of Arcangelo di Cola, Madonna, angels and saint (detail).  
S. Esuperanzio, Cingoli.

Photo, Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

picture of the Madonna in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 158) <sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> "*Peregrinus pinsit MCCCCXXVII*". G. F. Hill, *Pisanello*, London-New York, 1905, p. 219. Formerly the museum authorities classified it as a work of the school of Modena. *Both de Tauzia*, *Musées nationaux, notice des dessins de la collection His de la Salle*, Paris, 1881, p. 65, ascribed it to Pisanello's school. *A. Venturi*, in his edition of Vasari's "Le Vite" of Gentile and Pisanello, Florence, 1896, p. XV, approximates it to the scenes from the life of the Virgin in the Louvre, which I have mentioned in the previous volume. Signor *Colasanti*, *Gentile da Fabriano*, p. 84, has justly drawn the attention to the resemblance which exists between this painting and Gentile's Madonna in the gallery of Perugia.

It is a finely executed work showing the Virgin with rather a sad sentimental expression holding the naked Child in her lap; the throne on which she sits is covered with vegetation. Two little angels fly at the sides, two others, incised in the gold, hold a crown over her head. The pinnacle is adorned with a figure of David; a monogram and a coat of arms are depicted at the foot of the panel. The resemblance to Gentile's style is evident even in the details; the same curious appearance of the throne is seen in Gentile's Madonna in the gallery of Perugia.

I can recall only one other painting by this master. It is a fairly large Madonna which was offered for sale some years ago but its actual fate is unknown to me (fig. 159). It shows the Virgin, the Child upright on her knee, seated on a throne the back of which is richly draped, with St. Antony Abbot and a holy bishop kneeling at her feet. The appearance of the Virgin connects it very closely with Gentile's art, especially with his more mature productions; none the less the pleasing type of the Child leaves little doubt as to the real master.

With regard to another adherent of Gentile's school, who signed his pictures sometimes only "*Petrus*", sometimes with the town of his birth "*Petrus de Montepulciano*", we are not much better informed. All the same we possess several works from his hand. It was Count Gnoli who was the first to identify the painter who signed: "*Petrus Dominici de Montepulitano pinsit MCCCCXX*" on a picture in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (frontispiece), with the artist who inscribed "*Hoc opus factum fuit tempore Domini Francisci prepositi sancti viti MCCCCXXII Petrus pinsit*" at the foot of a polyptych in the gallery of Recanati, in The Marches (1). On account of the actual site of the latter picture the artist was generally called Pietro da Recanati (2), but the panel in New York provides us with the truth regarding his origin. Whether he be from Montepulciano or not, Pietro obviously belonged to the little nucleus

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(1) *U. Gnoli*, Pietro da Montepulciano e Giacomo da Recanati.

(2) *A. Colasanti*, Gentile da Fabriano, p. 82. *A. Venturi*, Storia dell' arte italiana, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 183. *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 20.





Fig. 157. School of Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, polyptych.

Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

of painters in The Marches who were inspired by Gentile's manner <sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *J. Brech*, Die Neuerwerbungen des Metropolitan Museum in New York, Cicerone, 1909, p 292, is of opinion that Pietro belonged to the Umbrian school but worked under a Siense influence which reached him through Allegretto Nuzi. Regarding the picture in New York v. also the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum, June 1908, p 117.



Fig. 158. Peregrino, Madonna, 1428. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Further, we know the origin of the picture in New York because W. Schulz <sup>(1)</sup> describes this panel which he saw in his day in the church of the Camaldolite monastery, near Naples; in spite of a mistake in the description <sup>(2)</sup> there can be no doubt that he refers to this picture of which he gives the exact inscription.

The panel in New York is the finer of the two. The Virgin, of the type of the Madonna of Humility is seated on a beautiful piece of material in a flowery field; she looks at the

<sup>(1)</sup> *W. Schulz*, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, III, Dresden, 1860, p. 178.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Schulz* says the Virgin rests her left arm on her knee.



Fig. 159. Peregrino, Madonna and saints.  
Private collection.

Child, Who lies sleeping on her knee. Two angels play on musical instruments, two others are depicted with folded arms while a third pair, hardly visible engraved in the gold, hold a crown over the Virgin's head, a detail which we found in a work of Peregrino's. Rosini pretends that he read the date 1420 on this panel (¹).

In the altar-piece at Recanati (fig. 160) the central representation is again the Madonna of Humility sitting among flowers. She plays with the Child, Who is seated on her knee. Six angels are grouped around; two of them bring offerings, two support an ornamental curtain while the other two place the crown on the Virgin's head. The saints on the lateral panels are SS. Guy, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist and Lawrence; in the medallions of the predella we see the half-length figures of the dead Saviour, the Virgin, SS. John, Bartholomew, James, Peter, Paul, Andrew and Thomas.

Another painting which, although of inferior quality, can, I think, be ascribed to the same master, is preserved in the Addolorata Institute at Potenza Picena (fig. 161). The Virgin enthroned in the midst of five angels is in this case accompanied by SS. Michael, Girius, Stephen and Lawrence. Only one of the terminals remains; it has been detached from the picture and shows a saint with a dagger.

In the sacristy of the cathedral of Osimo there is another work by this artist; it is again of a quality inferior to the panels of New York and Recanati, yet all the same superior to the foregoing picture (²). It is a polyptych of some importance; besides the Madonna enthroned amidst five angels, we see here SS. Catherine, Antony Abbot, Leonard and Nicholas to the sides and above the Saviour on the Cross between the two crucified thieves, the Virgin, St. John, two young martyrs and two holy bishops. An inscription informs us that the picture was ordered in 1418 by the widow of Antonio Fanelli. Lastly, Professor A. Venturi attributes rightly to Pietro an altar-piece of 1442 as well, the central part of which hangs in the Chapter Room of S. Flaviano at Recanati where in the church itself we find a fragmentary fresco of the Virgin and Child, very reminiscent of Pietro's manner (³).

(¹) *Rosini*, Storia della pittura italiana, III<sup>1</sup>, Pisa, 1841, p. 25.

(²) *L. Venturi*, op. cit. Reprod. Rassegna Marchigiana, July—Sept. 1915, pl. VI.

(³) *A. Venturi*, Storia dell' arte italiana, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 183.



Fig. 160. Pietro da Montepulciano, polyptych, 1422. Town Hall, Recanati.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Quite recently I saw in a private collection a beautiful Coronation of the Virgin in which six angels are depicted behind the principal figures. This panel is one of Pietro's most refined productions.

I think it possible that Pietro was the artist who executed eight scenes from the life of St. Lucy, which are found in the gallery of Fermo, originating from the church dedicated to this saint. Signor Colasanti is not wrong in ascribing them to a follower of Gentile da Fabriano (<sup>1</sup>). The scenes represent: St. Lucy and her mother praying near the sarcophagus of St. Agatha who appears to them (fig. 162); the saint giving to the poor; accused by her fiancé before Parrasius (fig. 163); the miracle of the saint's immobility when an attempt is made to drag her with oxen and that of her coming unscathed through fire; we then see her struck down by a dagger wound in the neck (fig. 164); receiving the communion while carried by angels to heaven and finally entombed. I must admit that I am not very certain about this attribution but considering the variety of manners in which the artist worked, I think it quite possible that these panels, some of which are very pleasing, might be from his hand. Then also a large crucifix in the church of S. Angelo Custode at Fermo (fig. 165) would be by the same artist, at least if Signor Colasanti be right in ascribing it to the master who executed the scenes from the martyrdom of St. Lucy.

Besides the Saviour on the Cross which is represented fixed in the ground, we see at the extremities the Virgin and St. John making gestures of distress, and the pelican feeding its young. Although it is not impossible, I am rather doubtful about the attribution of this crucifix to the same artist, but I certainly do not think this painting is a work by Giovanni di Paolo, to whom Signor L. Venturi attributes it (<sup>2</sup>).

Giacomo da Recanati was a follower of Pietro (<sup>3</sup>). We know this painter through a panel of the Madonna in the sacristy of the

(<sup>1</sup>) *A. Colasanti*, Un seguace di Gentile da Fabriano a Fermo, Boll. d'Arte del Minist della Pubbl. Istr., July 1908. *The Same*, Gentile da Fabriano, p. 84. *A. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 186, believes them to be by a painter from the district of Romagna.

(<sup>2</sup>) *L. Venturi*, L'Arte, XVIII, 1915, p. 199; Rassegna Marchigiana, 1925, p. 436, accepts this attribution. *Colasanti*, Gentile da Fabriano, p. 142, calls its author an unknown follower of Gentile.

(<sup>3</sup>) v. *Colasanti*, op. cit. *L. Venturi*, op. cit. *U. Gnoli*, op. cit.

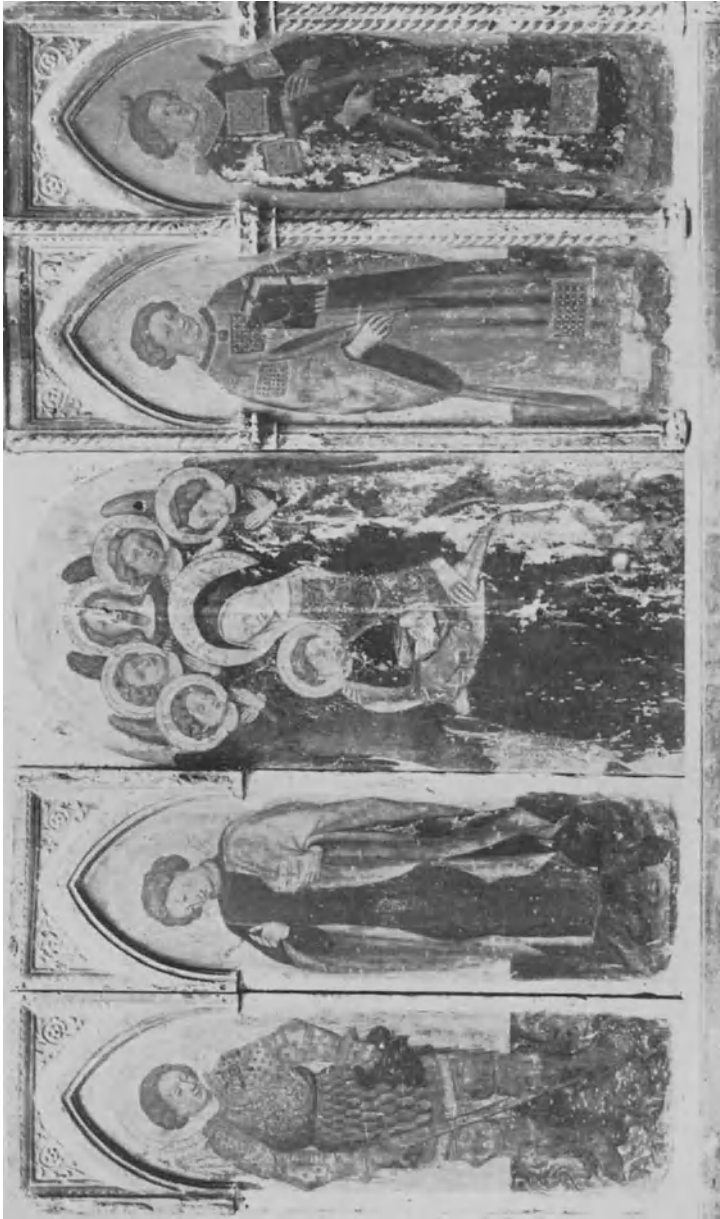


Fig. 161. Pietro da Montepulciano, polyptych. Addolorata Institute, Potenza Picena.

cathedral of Recanati which he signed: "*1443 tempore domini Nicolai de Astis de Forlivio dominus recaneti macerateque iacobus a recaneto pincit*". It is probably of this picture that a disposition of 1441 of the same bishop makes mention, although it seems to refer to a polyptych or large altar-piece of which this Madonna must consequently be the central panel. A document of 1461 informs us that a benefice to a sanctuary at Loreto was founded by "*Jacobus Nicolae pictore*" and in 1466 the same artist made a will, leaving, after the death of his son Antony, his entire estate to the church of Loreto because it was in working for this sanctuary that he had become rich (1).

The signed picture (fig. 166) shows us Giacomo da Recanati as a painter of Gentile's tradition, but he was a less skilful artist than Pietro whose style and composition he followed. The Madonna seated on the ground with the Child in her lap is surrounded by six angels, two of whom place a crown on her head. The subject resembles that of the central panel of the polyptych by Pietro in the gallery of Recanati, even some of the details of the attitudes recall this picture. A pretty shade of blue is the predominating colour.

From the same hand, without any doubt, is a Coronation of the Virgin in the church of Montecassiano in The Marches (fig. 167), which is attributed to him by Signor L. Venturi (2). Besides the principal figures depicted in a host of angels, we see here a young martyr, St. John the Baptist, a female saint and St. Francis. Above, a row of little figures includes that of St. Bernardine of Siena which dates the picture after 1450. Numerous small figures adorn the four sides of the frame. We notice in this work an increase in the linear effect.

The attribution to this artist of a polyptych panel, representing St. James, in the Schiff collection, Pisa, is quite justifiable.

In a chapel of the lower church of the cathedral of Treia, there is still a panel by Giacomo but it is much damaged by humidity. It represents the Madonna in glory in the midst of a host of angels and six saints standing or kneeling, among whom can

(1) *Vogel*, *De Ecclesiis Recanatensi et Lauretana*, I, Recanati, 1859, p. 215. *A. Ricci*, *Memorie storiche etc.*, p. 184 (*L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 21).

(2) *A. Venturi*, op. cit., VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 183, believes it to be by Pietro da Montepulciano.





Fig. 162. Pietro da Montepulciano ?, the story of St. Lucy. Gallery, Fermo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

be recognized SS. Lawrence, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist (?), Francis and two Franciscan saints. Above we see numerous small figures of saints holding inscriptions<sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Rassegna Marchigiana*, III, 1925, p 427. *C. Astolfi*, same periodical, IV, 1926.

By the same master seems to be a large panel of the Virgin and Child between SS. Paul, Peter, John the Baptist, Francis and many angels which, in the gallery of Macerata, is attributed to Lorenzo di Maestro Alessandro. Perhaps also by him is a Madonna enthroned between angels in the Pinacoteca of Fermo, but this is much less certain (fig. 168) <sup>(1)</sup>.

A decadent work, perhaps not by the master himself but closely approaching his manner, is a triptych in the parish church of Albacina (fig. 169). It represents the Madonna between a deacon and a holy bishop, two prophets and two female saints in the spandrels, God the Father and the Annunciation in the terminals and the Twelve Apostles in the predella.

Another painter, who left his native province to follow Gentile's manner in The Marches was Antonio Alberti da Ferrara <sup>(2)</sup> who, born between 1390 and 1400 in Ferrara, migrated to Urbino where he married in 1423 the sister of the painter Matteo Gennari who might have been his master; and was certainly Antonio's senior because he was born in 1370 and died in 1432. Antonio's first wife died fairly soon and he married a second time. Perhaps we should identify this artist with the Antonio da Ferrara who worked in 1420, 1423, and 1424 at Montone for Braccio Fortebraccio along with many other masters. His name is met with in documents very regularly from 1439 until 1445 and on one occasion we are informed that he lived in the Borgo Lavagine. He died before 1449 leaving three children, one of whom, Calliope, afterwards became the mother of the painter Timoteo Viti <sup>(3)</sup>. The information given by Vasari that Antonio was a pupil of Agnolo Gaddi is without any foundation, but his affirmation that he was active at Citta di Castello as well as Urbino has been confirmed by the discovery of paintings by this artist in the former town. Cavalcaselle's efforts to find other works from this master's hand were of no avail.

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

<sup>(2)</sup> *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, I, p. 641. *Pungileoni*, *Elogio stor. di Timoteo Viti*, Urbino, 1835, p. 81. *E. Calaini*, *Urbino e i suoi monumenti*, 1897, p. 135. *The Same*, *L'Arte*, 1901, p. 368. *The Same*, in Thieme Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*, I, Leipzig, 1907, p. 589 (with a bibliography) *Rivista Ligure di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte*, XXIV, p. 249. *W. B. Mbe*, *Geschichte der Peruginer Malerei*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 70 and 300. *D. Zaccarini*, *Antonio Alberti il suo maestro ed alcuni pittori ferraresi loro contemporanei*, *L'Arte*, 1914, p. 161.

<sup>(3)</sup> For the documents v. in particular *Zaccarini*, op. cit.



Fig. 163. Pietro da Montepulciano ?, the story of St. Lucy. Gallery, Fermo.  
Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Antonio's principal works are the frescoes in the chapel of Talamello, near Pesaro and the fourteen panels of a polyptych in the gallery of Urbino.



Fig. 164. Pietro da Montepulciano ?, the story of St. Lucy. Gallery, Fermo.  
 Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

The frescoes which date from about 1437, the year the chapel was consecrated, are signed: "*Antonius de Ferrara habitator Urbini pexit set laus Deo in Sctor. Scla. Amen*"; the name of

Giovanni de Selanis, a Franciscan monk and professor of theology, is also inscribed as that of the founder. On the walls of the chapel we see the scenes of the birth of St. Elizabeth, the An-

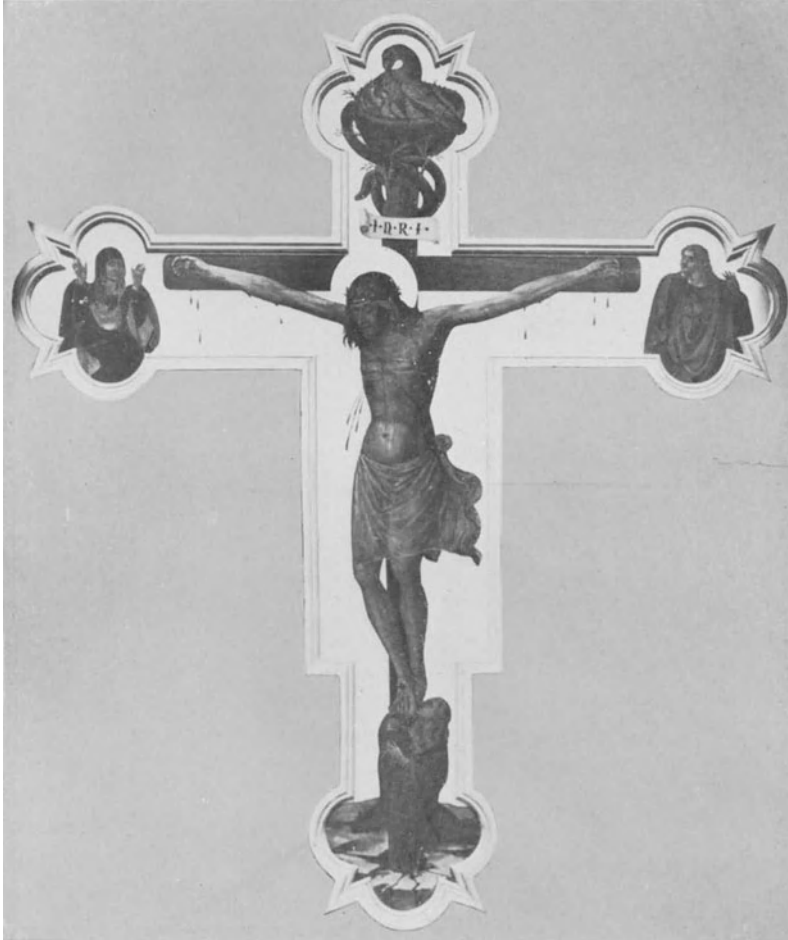


Fig. 165. Pietro da Montepulciano ?, crucifix. S. Angelo Custode, Fermo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

nunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, and the figures of two holy bishops, SS. Lawrence, Francis, Antony Abbot, Agnes, Mary Magdalene, a nun, St. Catherine and others, some of which are hardly visible. The vault is adorned with the figures of the Evangelists with their emblems but three of them are badly



Fig. 166. Giacomo da Recanati. Madonna and angels. Cathedral, Recanati.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

damaged. The genealogical tree of the Malatesta family is also depicted on one of the walls of this chapel <sup>(1)</sup>.

Antonio is revealed in these frescoes as a simple artist, inspired by Gentile da Fabriano, whose forms he interprets in a somewhat rustic manner. He is not without a certain spirit and of



Fig. 167. Giacomo da Recanati, the Coronation of the Virgin. Montecassiano.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

some of the scenes he has made rather amusing genre pictures.

The altar-piece which the painter executed for the Zoccolanti monks and which is now preserved in the gallery of Urbino comprises, apart from the central painting of the Madonna (fig. 170) with the dead Christ rising from His tomb, in the terminal, twelve panels with figures of saints; those of the upper row, represented in three-quarter-length figure, are two holy bishops (fig. 171), SS. Dominic, Clare, Catherine (fig. 172) and Antony

<sup>(1)</sup> Some frescoes under the Annunciation are from another hand.



Fig. 168. Giacomo da Recanati ?, Madonna. Gallery, Fermo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

of Padua (fig. 173); the full-length figures below are an Apostle, SS. John the Baptist, Francis, Jerome (fig. 174), a holy bishop (fig. 175) and St. Paul (fig. 176). The Virgin is portrayed adoring the Child, Who has fallen asleep in her lap. Below, the signature



reads: "1439 Antonius de Feraria. p." The painting is executed with care and considerable technical knowledge but it is without inspiration or any attempt to create an aesthetic picture.



Fig. 169. Manner of Giacomo da Recanati, triptych. Parish church, Albacina.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

From 1438 dates a processional banner which Antonio made for the confraternity of St. Antony Abbot, showing on one side the Crucifixion (fig. 177), St. John preaching and the Baptism and on the other side SS. Antony Abbot and Rochus. This standard which is very damaged and which was repainted in 1554 by Raffaello di Ghisello, is also preserved in the gallery



Fig. 170. Antonio da Ferrara, Madonna, 1439. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

of Urbino, The register of the confraternity, for which it was executed, mentions certain payments for this work.

Of the paintings which Antonio made in the churches of Sta. Maria della Misericordia and Corpus Domini in Urbino, of which mention is made in documents from 1435 till 1440, nothing now remains, but some fairly important fragments of frescoes from the bell-tower and the Paltroni chapel of S. Francesco, depicting heads of angels and a Coronation of the Virgin surrounded by angelic figures <sup>(1)</sup> have been brought to the gallery (figs. 178—180).

As for the other works by the master, we should cite in the first place a picture of St. Agatha in the gallery of Urbino (No. 13) (fig. 181) which although of no great importance, is certainly from Antonio's own hand.

Dr. Salmi has attributed to this artist a picture at Citta di Castello. It is a triptych representing the Virgin and Child entroned between SS. Bartholomew and Benedict and is found in the Vitelli chapel of the church of S. Francesco. It is a rather mediocre work <sup>(2)</sup>. An important fresco of the Crucifixion in the church of S. Domenico in the same town, is, I think, another production of Antonio da Ferrara (fig. 182) <sup>(3)</sup>. The building of this church was finished in 1424.



Fig. 171. Antonio da Ferrara, a holy bishop. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

<sup>(1)</sup> *L. Venturi*, Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1914, p. 307, compares these frescoes with the art of Giambono.

<sup>(2)</sup> *M. Salmi*, Dipinti del Quattrocento a Citta di Castello, Bollet. della R. Deput. di Stor. Patr. per l'Umbria, XXIV, 1920, Nos. 62—64.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Salmi*, op. cit., attributes it to the Umbrian school.

Of the other works ascribed to Antonio, I do not think there is one from his own hand.

I shall include in the school works of Nelli a fresco of the Annunciation in the church of the Annunziata, outside the Porta



Fig. 172. Antonio da Ferrara, St. Catherine. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Minist della Pubbl. Istr.

Sta. Lucia at Urbino, which Cavalcaselle attributed to Antonio, as well as a Madonna frescoed in the church of S. Sergio for which Antonio is also held responsible <sup>(1)</sup>. A Madonna and Child with two angels in the abandoned church of S. Francesco di Paolo, at Fabriano, has also been assigned to him <sup>(2)</sup>, but from the reproduction I should judge it to be of a later date. As school works might still be cited: a Crucifixion on a panel in the cathedral of Urbino; a Madonna suckling the Child, two mystic weddings of St. Catherine, one with St. Antony Abbot, SS. Apollonia, Barbara, a holy martyr, the Annunciation, St. Christopher and in the vault the Trinity with the symbols of the Evangelists, all in the church of Sta. Maria in Castagneto at S. Giorgio di Pesaro <sup>(3)</sup>.

On account of his style Antonio Alberti must certainly be classified among the Marchigian painters

and I am of opinion that he owes little, if anything, to his Ferrarese origin <sup>(4)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Scatassa*, *Rassegna Bibliografica dell' Arte*, 1908, p. 173.

<sup>(2)</sup> *R. Sassi*, *Una chiesa antica chi scompare*, Fabriano, 1922.

<sup>(3)</sup> *L. Venturi*, *op. cit.*, p. 27, hesitatingly ascribes these frescoes to the master himself. *Rassegna Marchigiana*, III, 1925, pp. 403, and 238.

<sup>(4)</sup> On the other hand Signor *Zaccarini*, *op. cit.*, attempts to explain Antonio's art by his Ferrarese antecedence.

Among the little masters of The Marches who were inspired by Gentile da Fabriano, we might name still Domenico della Marca d'Ancona, Marino Angeli da Sta. Vittoria, Gaspare da Pesaro, "il Maestro della Culla", Giovanni di Antonio da Pesaro etc.

Of Domenico we know only some very mediocre frescoes in Piedmont <sup>(1)</sup> and as Gaspare seems to have been active only in Sicily, we shall deal with him in another chapter. From the hand of Fra Marino Angeli we possess a Madonna in the parish church of Collina and a triptych, signed and dated 1448, from the church of S. Biagio at Monte Vidon Combatte, now in the gallery of Urbino (fig. 183)<sup>(2)</sup>. The Virgin is depicted between two saints; it is a typical production of a somewhat rustic follower of Gentile, working in a more calligraphic manner than the master. The type of the Virgin points to a vague influence of Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino. By him are also the fragments of a polyptych, depicting SS. Lucy, Barbara, Proclus and Apollonia in the church of S. Procolo, at Monte Vidon Combatte <sup>(3)</sup>.

A poor little master, who has interpreted Gentile's tradition in a very rustic manner, is he, who on account of the subject of several of his pictures,



Fig. 173. Antonio da Ferrara, St. Antony of Padua. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Venturi*, Storia dell' arte ital., VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 146, mentions works by him at Sta. Maria di Spinerano near Ciriè and at S. Sebastiano di Fontanetto Po.

<sup>(2)</sup> The signature reads: "*Abater Marinus Angeli di Sancta Vittoria me fecit MCCCCXXXVIII*" v. *L. Serra*, Rassegna Marchigiana, III, 1925, p. 195.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Perkins*, Rassegna d'Arte, 1906, p. 52, speaks of two paintings by this master at the exhibition of Macerata.



Fig. 174 Antonio da Ferrara, St. Jerome. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

186). Further we should ascribe to him some frescoes in the crypt of the church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie at Offida, where a

has been called the “Maestro della Culla” (the Master of the Cradle)<sup>(1)</sup>. His best picture, which is found in the Piersanti Museum of Matelica, shows his usual subject of the Virgin adoring the Child in His cradle<sup>(2)</sup>; overhead hover five angels, three of whom are about to place a crown on the Virgin’s head — an iconographical detail, met with more than once in this group of Marchigian paintings — while to the side kneels a small devotee (fig. 184).

More roughly executed is a triptych in the Museum of Fabriano where apart from the Virgin adoring the Infant, we see on the central panel God the Father, crowning the Madonna, and two adoring angels flying above. The lateral panels show the figures of SS. John the Baptist and Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 185).

To the same artist I attribute still four other pictures. Of two of them, representing his favourite subject, one is preserved in the town of Fabriano in a niche to the left under the portico — which portico bears the date 1456 — on the façade of the church “del Buon Gesu”, the other is found in the orphanage of the same town (fig.

<sup>(1)</sup> *U. Gnoli*, *L'Arte umbra alla Mostra di Perugia*, Bergamo, 1908, p. 28, figs. 13 and 50. *Colasanti*, *Gentile da Fabriano*, pp. 64, 67.

<sup>(2)</sup> This picture was originally in the church of Sta. Maria Maddalena.

painting of the Virgin standing, holding the Child, with a figure of St. Antony Abbot seems to be from his hand (fig. 187). The inscription gives the name of the donor and the date 1423. The same date is visible on the inscriptions of some very fragmentary frescoes which, none the less, seem to be by the same artist. Lastly, I ascribe to the "Maestro della Culla" a little panel in the Spiridon collection, Rome, representing the Virgin between two saints and two angels.

Another little anonymous painter, rather directly inspired by Gentile, whom he imitated in a somewhat crude fashion, was the artist who executed some frescoes formerly in S. Francesco, Ripatransone, but of this church only the four walls, without any roof, remain, and of the mural decoration, we find but a Madonna of much later date, and some debris of paint and Gothic inscriptions. These lost frescoes have been attributed to the same artist whose works at Sta. Vittoria in Matenano will shortly be dealt with but judging from the reproductions, those once at Ripatransone were of a later period and certainly from a different hand.

These mural paintings dated from 1461, 1466 and 1468<sup>(1)</sup>. The

<sup>(1)</sup> C. Grigioni, *I dipinti della chiesa di S. Francesco o di S. Maria Magna in Ripatransone*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 7.



Fig. 175. Antonio da Ferrara, a holy bishop. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Minist della Pubbl. Istr.



Fig. 176. Antonio da Ferrara, St. Paul. Gallery, Urbino.  
Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

principal work, under which the date 1466 was formerly visible, was found over the altar of this church and depicted the Saviour rising from His tomb, adored by the Virgin and a holy pope, with twelve very minute scenes from the Passion, simply illustrated, in the background.

A room in the town-hall of Ripatransone is adorned with a fresco possibly by the same artist. It is a rustic, reactionary work and shows the Virgin suckling the Child, two angels and St. Mary Magdalene, while below an inscription bears the date 1461. To him have still been attributed the figures of SS. Philip and James in the church dedicated to those saints in the same town, on which painting the date 1468 was apparently once visible. This church is now used as the store-room of a charcoal merchant and the frescoes are almost entirely effaced.

These works have been attributed to Gentile himself, also to Giacomo da Campli <sup>(1)</sup> but are by neither the one nor the other of these two masters. Signor Colasanti is of opinion they are by an artist from Foligno.

By Giovanni Antonio da Pesaro, who was an artist of considerable merit I know two dated works, one of 1462, the other of 1463. The former is a Madonna della Misericordia in the church of Sta.

<sup>(1)</sup> *E. Calzini, L'Arte, 1907, p. 59. Rassegna Marchigiana, IV, 1926, pp. 191, 192.*





Fig. 177. Antonio da Ferrara, Crucifixion, Gonfalon, 1438. Gallery, Urbino.  
Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Maria dell' Arzilla at Candelare, near Pesaro <sup>(1)</sup> and is signed: "*Johanes Antonius pisauensis pinxit avemaria ano dni MCCCCLXII di VIII decenbis hoc pi.....arie misericordie fecit fieri costatius*" <sup>(2)</sup>. The representation is the customary one; many faithful kneel under the mantle of the Virgin who holds

<sup>(1)</sup> L. Serra, *Rassegna Marchigiana*, I, 1922, p. 110; III, 1924, p. 4; III, 1925, p. 391 and pl. VIII.

<sup>(2)</sup> Serra, *op. cit.*, is of opinion that this name finishes with "*Sforza*".



Fig. 178. Antonio da Ferrara, fresco fragment,  
1435-40. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

it open over them; of the four angels who fly overhead, two place a crown on the Madonna's head. The Child Christ holding the Cross is depicted in a mandorla on the Virgin's body; this rare image bears allusion to the Immaculate Conception and is of Byzantine origin<sup>(1)</sup>. At Apiro in the church of Sta. Maria della Misericordia or della Figura there is a similar representation (fig. 188) of such a striking resemblance that it is quite possible one is a copy of the other although in the latter instance the figure of the Child is absent. The painting at Apiro, however, shows more connexion with Gentile's art but even so I do not exclude the pos-

<sup>(1)</sup> *M. Didron*, *Iconographie chrétienne, Histoire de Dieu*, Paris, 1843, p. 287.



Fig. 179. Antonio da Ferrara, fresco fragment, 1435-40.  
Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

sibility that this is also a work by Giovanni da Pesaro. A head of the Virgin, which comes from the military technical school and is now in the gallery of Ancona, seems to have belonged to a similar figure and is perhaps from the same hand. More closely resembling the signed picture in composition is a Madonna in the church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie at Jesi; we see here the figure of the Infant Christ and the two angels crowning the Virgin Mary, but the technique is so very much



Fig. 180. Antonio da Ferrara, fresco fragment, 1435-40. Gallery, Urbino.  
Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

superior that we cannot possibly ascribe it to this master. Among the faithful under the Virgin's cloak there are some portraits of a very marked individuality. It is often thought that this fresco was painted on the occasion of the plague of 1454<sup>(1)</sup>.

Lastly, I saw quite recently a large panel in a private collection representing St. Mark in a robe of flowered material, holding an

open book with the following inscription: "*1463 Jannuarii Johannes Antoniu Pisauensis pix*" (fig. 189). It is a pleasing picture executed after the best tradition of Gentile; the Gothic calligraphic effects of the design are very good.

By Onofrio da Fabriano there are some fragmentary frescoes, signed and dated 1463, in the old cloister of S. Michele in Bosco at Bologna; they show characteristics which are reminiscent of the group of paintings at present under discussion.

It will be remarked that the Marchigian school spread particularly towards the south. The picture by Pietro di Domenico da Montepulciano, now in New York, was found near Naples and

<sup>(1)</sup> *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 27.



Fig. 181. Antonio da Ferrara, St. Agatha. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

in the museum of this town there are several works belonging to or deriving from the Marchigian group.

The names, but no authentic works, of a certain number of other artists have come down to us.



Fig. 182. Antonio da Ferrara ?, the Crucifixion. S. Domenico,  
Citta di Castello. Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Those native of Fabriano have been published by Signor R. Sassi; they are: Antonio and Constantino, the sons of Franceschino di Cecco, also a painter who was active already in the 14<sup>th</sup> century for the Chiavelli family; the former is mentioned in documents from 1421 till 1451, the latter between 1417 and 1459; Antonello da Fabriano is recorded as painter in Genoa in 1447; Giovanni di Ser Venanzo seems to have received payment from the Chiavelli for a picture probably in 1400; Giovanni di Cicco detto Lepore is found at work from 1419 till 1439 and is probably the same as a certain Giovanni di Cicco d'Andrea who is met

with between 1426 and 1437; Maestro Nicola worked with Gentile in the Malatesta chapel at Brescia <sup>(1)</sup>.

In a previous volume I referred to the frescoes signed by Cola di Pietro da Camerino in the church of Sta. Maria at Vallo di



Fig. 183. Fra Marino Angeli, triptych, 1448. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Nera; they are almost all entirely covered with white-wash but in one of them we can recognize a religious procession from which it is evident that these frescoes are rustic productions of this artistic movement <sup>(2)</sup>. In 1450 Pope Nicholas V employed at

<sup>(1)</sup> *R. Sassi*, Documenti di pittori fabrianese, Rassegna Marchigiana, III, 1924, p. 45.

<sup>(2)</sup> v. Vol. V, p. 196. *D. P. Pirri*, Una pittura storica di Cola di Pietro da Camerino in S. Maria di Vallo di Nera, Arch per la Stor eccl'es. dell' Umbria IV, 1907, p. 137.



Fig. 184 The "Maestro della Culla", the Virgin adoring the Child. Piersanti Museum, Matelica.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.



Fabriano a certain "*Chosstantino dipintore*" in the decoration of his palace there (1).

The anonymous Marchigian works belonging to the cosmopolitan Gothic tradition can be divided into two groups: one, in



Fig. 185. The "Maestro della Culla", triptych. Gallery, Fabriano.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr

which Gentile da Fabriano's influence is clearly evident, the other in which this influence is scarcely visible or entirely absent. I shall now give a list of the works belonging to the first group, beginning with those in the towns of The Marches which I shall take in alphabetical order, continuing with those in museums and collections.

*Ancona*, Episcopal Palace, St. Philip and two monks before the crucifix (2).

(1) *E. Muntz*, *Les Arts à la cour des Papes*, I, Paris, 1878, p. 161.

(2) *L. Venturi*, *op. cit.*, p. 45.



Fig. 186. The "Maestro della Culla", Madonna adoring the Child. Orphanage, Fabriano.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

*Candelara*, Sta. Maria dell' Arzilla, a triptych dated 1470 <sup>(1)</sup> and a Madonna and Child and a saint in prayer between SS. Antony and Dominic <sup>(2)</sup>.



Fig. 187. The "Maestro della Culla", the Virgin and St. Antony. Sta. Maria delle Grazie, Offida. Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

*Fabriano*, Cathedral, in a chapel near that of S. Lorenzo, SS. Mary Magdalene, John the Baptist and some fresco fragments <sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Rassegna Marchigiana*, I, 1922, p. 110.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Rassegna Marchigiana*, III, 1924, p. 7; and fasc. July—Sept., pl. VIII.

<sup>(3)</sup> *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 18, attributes them to Gentile himself, v. *Cantalamessa*, *Bolletino d'Arte del. Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1915.

S. Onofrio, frescoes in the subterranean church (1).  
 Brefotrofio, gonfalon: the Virgin and St. Bernardine of Siena  
 adoring the Child Jesus, Who holds the model of a town in His



Fig. 188. Giovanni di Antonio da Pesaro?, Madonna della Misericordia.  
 Sta. Maria della Misericordia, Apiro.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

hand; above God the Father between cherubs and angels seems ready to loose arrows — affliction — on the city (fig.190).

Church “del Buon Gesu”, on the façade of 1456, besides the fresco by the “Maestro della Culla”, we find two other

(1) *Rassegna Marchigiana*, II, 1923, p. 131; IV, 1926, p. 165. *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 24, ascribes to the same hand, the banner in the Brefotrofio and the Nativity at Matelica.

frescoes each representing the Madonna, late works belonging to Gentile's tradition.

*San Ginesio*, S. Agostino, the battle of 1377 between the inhabitants of San Ginesio and those of Fermo with the figure of St. Ginesius bestowing a blessing above (fig. 191); the technique is fine but the style does not closely resemble Gentile's <sup>(1)</sup>. Some of the figures to the right correspond to drawings of soldiers' heads by Pisanello, in the Louvre.

S. Francesco, St. Antony of Padua healing the leg of a man, a somewhat rustic painting <sup>(2)</sup>.

*Matelica*, convent of the Blessed Mattia, the Nativity <sup>(3)</sup>.

*Monbaroccio*, church "del B. Sante", a beautiful picture of the Madonna suckling the Child <sup>(4)</sup>.

*Monterubbiano*, S. Giovanni, a very rustic master but



Fig. 189. Giovanni di Antonio da Pesaro, St. Mark, 1463. Private Collection.

<sup>(1)</sup> *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>(2)</sup> *F. M. Perkins*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, VI, 1906, p. 49. *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 18, fig. 15.

<sup>(3)</sup> *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>(4)</sup> *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 27. *Rassegna Marchigiana*, I, 1922, p. 115; III, 1925, p. 396.

one who was inspired by Gentile's manner, executed on the first pillar to the right, the Annunciation, the dead Christ, the Trinity with the date 1458, St Leonard and a female saint. The same painter frescoed a figure of a saint holding a knife, in an arch in the right wall. By a more refined painter, also, however, dependent on Gentile, are the figures of St. Antony Abbot, the Virgin and Child and St. Peter on the same pillar and over the altar to the right the mystic marriage of St. Catherine between the Baptist and a holy bishop.

*Pesaro*, Cathedral, chapel to the right of the choir, Madonna and Child and St. Seraphine <sup>(1)</sup>, a local work of rather poor quality.

*Pesaro*, v, Candelara.

*Tolentino*, S. Nicola, chapel of the relics, a bust of St. Nicholas of Tolentino <sup>(2)</sup>.

*Urbino*, S. Agostino, fresco dated 1432 behind the altar.

*Visso*, S. Francesco, four panels showing SS. John the Baptist, Antony of Padua, (fig. 192), Louis of Toulouse and Francis, beautiful pictures, slightly more Gothic in form than Gentile's figures.

The following is a list of works of Gentile's school in public and private collections, although naturally it is not certain that they were all executed in The Marches:

*Ancona*, Pinacoteca, a Madonna of Humility giving breast to the Child, framed by a border of thirteen angels <sup>(3)</sup>.

*Cesena*, Gallery, Madonna and Child <sup>(4)</sup>.

*Fabriano*, Gallery, No. 65, Madonna and Child standing under a baldaquin between SS. Roch, Sebastian and two angels.

*Florence*, Volterra Galleries, Madonna of Humility.

*Liverpool*, Gallery, a saint enthroned between four other saints <sup>(5)</sup>.

*Matelica*, Piersanti Museum, polyptych showing the Madonna and Child enthroned with an adorer kneeling below between SS. John the Evangelist, Michael, John the Baptist and Antony

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<sup>(1)</sup> *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 26. Rassegna Marchigiana, I, 1923, p. 157.

<sup>(2)</sup> *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>(3)</sup> *L. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>(4)</sup> Reprod. in *A. Venturi*, Storia dell' arte italiana, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 217.

<sup>(5)</sup> *A. Venturi*, edition of the life of Gentile by Vasari, p. 27.



Fig. 190. Gonfalon, Marchigian School, middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Brefotroffio, Fabriano.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Abbot; above are seen the two figures of the Annunciation (fig. 193) <sup>(1)</sup>.

*Newhaven, U. S. A.*, Yale University, Jarves collection, the Garden of Love <sup>(2)</sup>.

*Perugia*, Pinacoteca, No. 71, polyptych representing the Madonna between SS. Catherine, Benedict, John the Baptist, and Severius and below the half-length figures of SS. Louis of Toulouse, Bernard (?), the central panel is missing, St. Francis and a holy bishop. It is a pleasing but not very fine work.

*Pisa*, Gallery, the Coronation of the Virgin.

*Rome*, ex-Nevin collection (sold April 1907), No. 44 of the catalogue of the sale, reprod. pl. 2, a Madonna della Misericordia with God the Father above; on the other side we see the Saviour rising from His tomb, St. John the Baptist and St. Sebastian; it is by a late follower of Gentile whose style shows a certain connexion with Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino's manner.

Private collection, altar-piece with a Gothic frame, representing the Adoration of the Child Jesus in the stable: the Virgin holds the Child Whom a shepherd, followed by two women, comes to adore; the pilasters of the frame are adorned with the figures of St. John the Baptist and Simon holding the Child and four medallions containing busts of saints; the medallions of the predella show the half-length figures of God the Father and two angels. It is an important work by a painter of the generation following that of Gentile and approaches in style the manner of such artists as Boccati da Camerino.

*Venice*, Accademia, No. 48, Madonna adoring the Child with the false signature of Gentile da Fabriano; a second picture of the same subject <sup>(3)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> In the museum catalogue in which this polyptych is No. 5 there is an error regarding the saints. We are informed that the adorer is Cardinal Brancaccio who died in 1424.

<sup>(2)</sup> *O. Sirén*, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Jarves Collection, Newhaven, London, Oxford, 1916*, p. 171, describes the artist as a painter of The Marches of about 1420–1440, influenced by Florentine art. *Rankin*, attributed it to the Florentine school and to that of Masaccio, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1895, II; and the *Burlington Magazine*, August 1907.

<sup>(3)</sup> According to Signor L. Venturi these two pictures are by the same artist. *Colasanti*, *op cit.*, p. 92, holds, as I do myself, the contrary opinion.





Fig. 191. St. Ginesius protecting his town, Marchigian School, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. S. Agostino, San Ginesio. Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

*Vienna*, Gallery (not exposed), the Virgin adoring the Child (¹).

The following works, belonging to the cosmopolitan style of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and showing no very close connexion with Gentile da Fabriano but often executed in rather a crude manner, are found in The Marches:

*Ascoli Piceno*, Sta. Maria inter Venias, in the vault of the ciborium inside the church, the four Evangelists, each at a desk, accompanied by their symbols.

*Castel S. Angelo*, near Visso, S. Martino, on the wall behind the altar, the Last Supper, Christ with St. John's head on His breast is depicted in the centre on one side of the table; Judas alone sits on the other side; it is dated 1431 (fig. 194). The right wall of the same church is adorned with a representation of St. Martin on horseback, dividing his coat with the beggar and a large figure of St. Christopher. The frescoes of the ciborium against the east wall are by Paolo da Visso with whom we shall deal in another volume.

Parish church of Nocelleto, near Castel S. Angelo di Visso, large polyptych in the choir (fig. 195), in the centre Madonna and Child with SS. Peter, Francis, John the Baptist and Antony of Padua in the lateral panels; the row of panels above show the half-length figures of SS. Louis of Toulouse, Michael, a Franciscan monk and a female saint with the model of the town. The predella is adorned with a row of busts and the Annunciation is shown in the two medallions of the lateral pinnacles. It is a beautiful picture of about 1450, revealing a decided Venetian influence (²).

*Cerreto d'Esi*, a triptych, depicting the Virgin, SS. Michael, Lucy, Leonard and Guy, has been stolen from the parish church (³).

*Cingoli*, S. Esuperanzio, polyptych, Madonna with four saints among whom are SS. Nicholas and Stephen with four angels and the Crucifixion in the terminals (fig. 196).

*Fabriano*, Cathedral, a small room over a stairway, fresco of SS. Francis and Julian.

(¹) *Colasanti*, loc. cit.

(²) This polyptych is sometimes attributed to Girolamo di Giovanni. *Venturi*, Storia dell' arte ital., VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 524.

(³) *Rassegna Marchigiana*, III, 1924, p. 122 with reproduction.



Fig. 192. School of Gentile da Fabriano, SS. John the Baptist and Antony of Padua. S. Francesco, Visso.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

The old chapel of Sta. Lucia, the Saviour attached to the column, the Virgin suckling the Child and St. Mary Magdalene <sup>(1)</sup>.

Befrotroffio, lunette, Virgin and Child adored by St. Francis and the donor.

*Fermo*, S. Agostino, hall of side entrance, two lunettes showing, the one, the Virgin and Child between SS. Antony Abbot and



Fig. 193. Madonna and saints, Marchigian School, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Piersanti Museum, Matelica. Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

a holy bishop, the other the Nativity with the Child's first bath and the Message to the Shepherds; two saints — a bishop and a pope — adorn the lateral walls of the niche.

*Forrano* (near Villa Potenza, Macerata), S. Francesco, façade, Annunciation with much architecture adorned with little Gothic statues: the Virgin kneels, God the Father is seen above but the angel has almost disappeared behind a pillar which has been built in the wall. It is a fresco of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century <sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Venturi*, Stor. dell' arte ital., VII, p. 176. approximates them to the frescoes in the Trinci Palace at Foligno.

<sup>(2)</sup> *C. Astolfi*, La Porziuncola Marchigiana, Rassegna Marchigiana, IV, 1926, p. 414.



Fig. 194. The Last Supper, Marchigian School, 1431. S. Martino, S. Angelo di Visso.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

*Monbaroccio*, convent, del "B. Santo", polyptych, the Saviour with St. Thomas and SS. Michael, Peter, Antony Abbot and the blessed Sante (1).

*Mondavio*, town hall, Madonna of Humility venerated by two donors and above Christ on the Cross between two angels, the Virgin and St. John (2).

*Montegiorgio*, S. Francesco, remains of a cycle of frescoes illustrating the story of the Cross, dating from about the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Sta. Maria degli Angeli, very damaged fresco of the Virgin in the midst of angels.

*Monterubbiano*, S. Agostino, sacristy, panels of a polyptych, Madonna enthroned, SS. John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, the dead Christ arising from His tomb, three half-length figures of saints; they date from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and manifest a Venetian influence.

S. Francesco, right wall, fragment of a fresco with the central figure, an adorer and St. Antony Abbot by a mediocre traditionalistic artist.

S. Giovanni, apse, the Saviour enthroned between two figures (one has disappeared) and angels and below the Last Supper, a damaged fresco by a traditionalistic local master.

*Nocelleto*, v. Castel S. Angelo di Visso.

*Patrignone* (near Montalto), Sta. Maria della Misericordia, to the left of the entrance, an Adoration of the Magi with elegant costumes of the time and a Nativity with the Child's first bath under which we see the date 1459. I think it was the same artist who adorned the chapel to the right of the choir; on the right wall, below, we see a row of saints among whom can be recognized SS. Victor, Nicholas of Tolentino and Antony Abbot; higher up are the standing figures of St. Lucy and the Virgin and above them St. George on horseback slaying the dragon. The decoration on the left wall shows SS. Sebastian, Michael killing the dragon and Lucy, the latter figure seems to be from another hand. On the end wall we see to the left the Death of the Virgin and to the right a group of saints, for the

(1) *Rassegna Marchigiana*, I, 1922, p. 115, where this painting is ascribed to the Venetian school of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

(2) *Rassegna Marchigiana*, III, 1925, p. 396.

greater part covered by a fresco of later date, representing St. Vincent Ferrer, and above the Saviour between the kneeling figures of the Virgin and St. John and cherubim, appa-

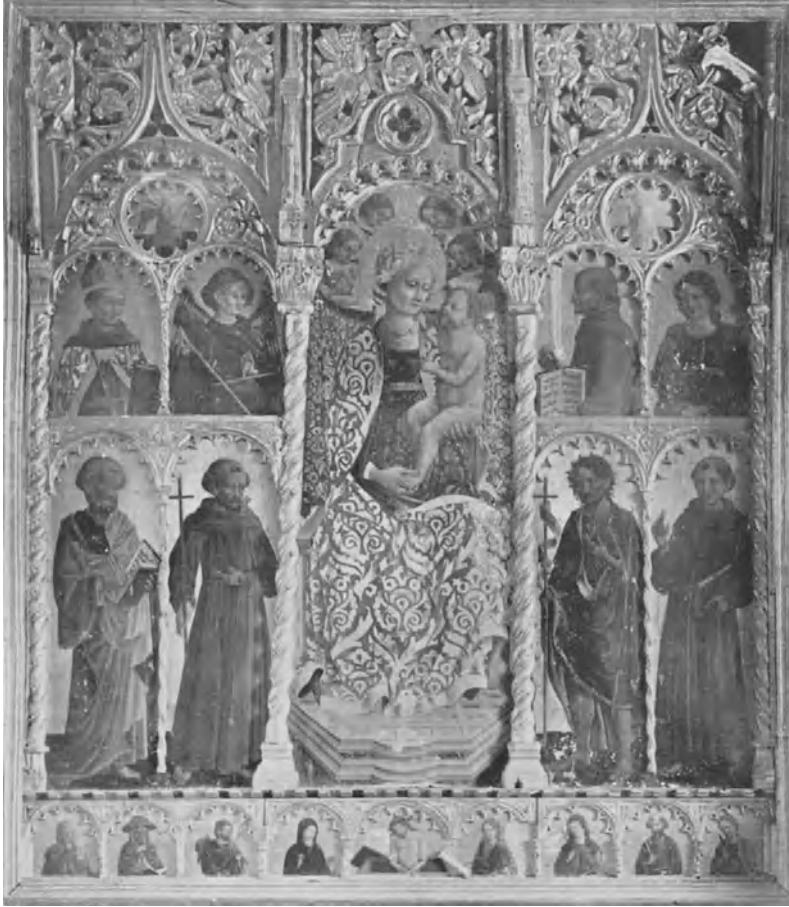


Fig. 195. Polyptych, Marchigian School, middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.  
Nocelleto (Castel S. Angelo di Visso). Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

rently elements of a representation of the Last Judgment. These frescoes have been classified in the school of Nelli but they bear no closer resemblance to the works of this master than most of the productions of this artistic movement in Central Italy. The painter without any doubt was a native of The Marches and his work is quite provincial in appearance.

*Pesaro*, S. Agostino, on the outside of the right wall, some remains of an important fresco, the Madonna between two saints and a scene below, which is no longer recognizable; the date 1475 is clearly visible on the fresco which, however, is from the hand of a reactionary artist, working in the style of the early 15<sup>th</sup> century.

*Recanati*, some detached fresco fragments among which can be recognized the figures of SS. James and Christopher.

*Ripatransone*, S. Angelo, chapel to the right of the choir, Madonna and Child between SS. James and Antony Abbot by a precursor of the Salimbeni.

S. Filippo, altar to the left of the choir, a half-length figure of the Virgin and Child in an affectionate attitude.

*Saltara*, S. Francesco, in the apse, Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John and three saints to either side; an inscription above dates it from 1434 but it is a coarse work, executed still in the style of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

*Sanseverino*, S. Domenico, sacristy, fresco remains of now incomprehensible scenes and figures under arcades; in the bell-tower there are some other fragments of mural decoration, apparently by the same artist; here we can distinguish the Calvary, the resurrection of the Virgin (?) in which angels carry her body above her tomb, a saint, some architecture etc. This work is a fairly early manifestation of the cosmopolitan Gothic style of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

*Sanseverino (near)*, Sta. Maria Gloriosa, to the left of the choir, two detached frescoes, originating from the church of S. Francesco a Castello; they represent the Nativity taking place under an open shelter with the shepherds near by, and the pope confirming the order of St. Francis, who kneels before him; they are executed after the tradition of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and show no connexion with the art of the Salimbeni to whom the former has been ascribed.

*Urbania*, sacristy of the S. Giuseppe Orphanage, Madonna of Humility attired in a beautiful robe with a flowered design in gold, an unimportant work.

*Urbino*, Cathedral, Madonna of Humility nursing the Child in the midst of nine angels, a work executed a little after the old tradition of Fabriano (fig. 197).



*Sta. Vittoria in Matenano*, chapel to one side in the church of the old abbey of Farfa, on the right wall, the Crucifixion with the Virgin, St. John, six angels and two adorers, and the Death of the Virgin, her reception in heaven by Christ, Who places a crown on her head and below St. Thomas receiving the holy



Fig. 196. Polyptych, Marchigian School, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.  
S. Esuperanzio, Cingoli.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

girdle; on the left wall the Annunciation with God the Father above and the Massacre of the Innocents. The pilasters are adorned with figures of saints among whom can be recognized SS. Peter, John the Baptist, Catherine, Antony Abbot, Leonard and Mary Magdalene, nourished by an angel. The four Evangelists and the four Fathers of the Church are represented in the two vaults. Of many of the figures only a few fragments remain and one scene is entirely missing. The master to whom we owe this little cycle, was still fairly faithful to the tradition of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, moreover, the paintings might date from



Fig. 197. Madonna of Humility, Marchigian School, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.  
Cathedral, Urbino. Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

the first years of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In his colouring and his forms which are only slightly Gothic, the artist was very traditional. In some of the scenes we notice those genre details,

characteristic of works of the beginning of the international movement; they are seen in the fresco of the Annunciation and in that of the Massacre of the Innocents in which a group



Fig. 198. Madonna and saints, Marchigian School. Gallery, Naples.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

of persons, elegantly attired after the fashion of the time, is depicted on a balcony looking on at the event. These frescoes have been published by Signor Cantalamessa<sup>(1)</sup> and Signor

(1) *G. Cantalamessa*, *Vecchi affreschi a Sta. Vittoria in Matenano*, *Nuova Rivista Misena*, 1890, p. 3.

Colasanti <sup>(1)</sup> who dates them from about the year 1400 and believes them to be by the artist who worked at Ripatransone in the church of S. Francesco; but as I said before, this cannot be true.



Fig. 199. Madonna and scenes from the lives of Christ and St. Bartholomew, Marchigian School, beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Anderson.

In different public and private collections we find still a few works belonging to this group of paintings.

(<sup>1</sup>) *A. Colasanti*, La chiesa Farfense di S. Vittoria in Matenano e i suoi affreschi, *Emporium*, XXIII, 1906, p. 203. *The Same*, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 302. *E. Calzini*, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 228.

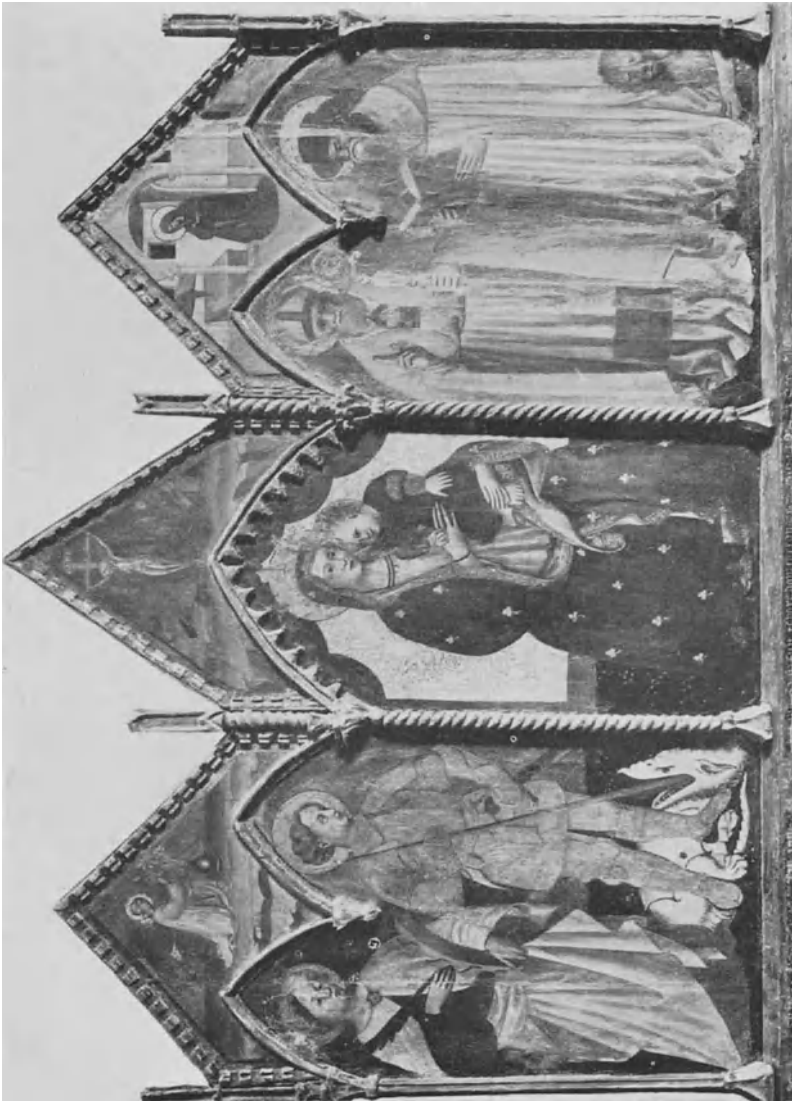


Fig. 200. Polyptych, Marchigian School, 1436. Gallery, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

*Altenburg*, Lindenau Museum, No. 87, Adoration of the Magi with numerous figures against a landscape background in which the journey of the Magi is depicted. It is a late work of this movement.

*Fabriano*, Gallery, No. 52, detached fresco, Madonna "delle Grazie" and two adorers.

Ex-Fornari collection, St. Francis receiving the stigmata <sup>(1)</sup>.

*London*, National Gallery, Nos. 912, 913 and 914, three scenes from the story of Griselda after Boccaccio's Decamerone.

*Naples*, Gallery, in the first room after the gallery was rearranged, a large picture of the Virgin with the Child, Who holds a cross between the two SS. John. There is a profusion of decorative details. It is attributed to the Sienese school (fig. 198).

*Perugia*, Pinacoteca, No. 84, large triptych, Madonna between SS. Francis and Antony Abbot; Madonna and Child.

*Pesaro*, Museum, No. 74, the Saviour half arisen from His tomb.

*Rome*, Vatican Gallery, No. 194, the Virgin and St. Joseph adoring the new-born Child with the journey of the Wise Men and groups of peasants in the landscape background. It is by an artist who comes midway between the first and second generations of the Sanseverinati painters; No. 201, Madonna, St. Joseph and the shepherds adoring Jesus in the manger, and above a group of angels; it is a work of the first years of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Ex-Nevin collection, No. 41 of the catalogue of the sale and pl. 7, polyptych, Annunciation, SS. Thomas, Clare, Ambrose, Nicholas of Tolentino, Augustine, Antony Abbot and Apollonia. It is by a late adherent of this tradition, showing evidence of an influence of Vivarini to whose school it has been attributed.

Venosti Visconti collection, Madonna of Humility, a very beautiful picture <sup>(2)</sup>.

*Sanseverino*, Pinacoteca, the Saviour on the Cross between the Virgin, St. John and a small adorer against a gold background, a work influenced by Gentile da Fabriano.

*Urbino*, Gallery, Annunciation of the type created by Simone Martini; the Virgin seated at a lectern wears a cloak threaded with gold which perhaps points to an influence of Romagna; there are some Florentine elements reminiscent of Lorenzo

<sup>(1)</sup> *Colasanti*, Bollet. d'arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., I. 1907, p. 21. *The Same*, Gentile da Fabriano, p. 91, attributes it to Giovanni di Paolo.

<sup>(2)</sup> *C. Gamba*, *Dedalo*, I, 1921, p. 518.

Monaco's art<sup>(1)</sup>; triptych, Madonna of Humility with five angels in the centre, four scenes from the life of St. Bartholomew on the side panels, the Presentation in the Temple, the Crucifixion and the Ascension in the predella and God the Father, a martyr and a prophet in the terminals (fig. 199); polyptych, Madonna and Child between SS. Catherine, Michael, a bishop and St. Jerome; the Crucifixion and the two figures of the Annunciation above; it bears the date 1436 and is a mediocre work of rustic appearance (fig. 200).

*Vienna*, Figdor collection, a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child, Who holds a pomegranate in His hand and wears a coral charm round His neck<sup>(2)</sup>.

I know still a certain number of pictures of this artistic movement but they are all in private collections.

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(<sup>1</sup>) This picture was published as a work of the school of Lorenzo Monaco by *L. Serra*, *Bolletino d'arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1921, p. 274.

(<sup>2</sup>) Attributed to Jacobello del Fiore by *L. Planiscig*, *Jacobello del Fiore*, *Jahrb. der Kunsthist. Samml. in Wien. Neue Folge*, I, 1926, p. 83, v. Vol VII, p. 352.

## CHAPTER IV.

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### UMBRIA.

The cosmopolitan style of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century is represented in Umbria by a very significant series of frescoes and by a painter of no little merit; the frescoes form the decoration of the Trinci Palace in Foligno, the painter is Ottaviano Nelli of Gubbio, who, besides, was employed on the ornamentation of the palace I have just mentioned.

The series of frescoes in the Trinci Palace gives us a very good idea of the mural decoration of a prince's palace in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and although rather dilapidated, it is the most complete specimen of its kind <sup>(1)</sup>. In order to preserve the frescoes and show them to more advantage, the superintendent of Fine Arts for Umbria had some restorations carried out in this seigniorial dwelling a few years ago.

The Trinci Palace was built between 1389 and 1407. In 1424 Ottaviano Nelli decorated the chapel and this date is found inscribed under one of the figures in the Giant's Hall, so that it is almost certain that the decoration was executed about that year. Besides the chapel which Nelli frescoed, there are several rooms, adorned with mural paintings. In a room of rather modest dimensions which forms a sort of ante-chamber to the principal salon, the story of Romulus and Remus is illustrated <sup>(2)</sup>. Here we see Mars embracing Rea Silvia, the mother of the twins; the birth of Romulus and Remus (fig. 201), which resembles fairly closely in composition the Nativity of the Child

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<sup>(1)</sup> *D. M. Faloci-Pulignani*, *Le Arte e le lettere alla Corte dei Trinci*, Archiv. Storico per le Marche e per l'Umbria, IV. 1888. *The Same*, *Del Palazzo Trinci*, Bolletino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria, XII, 1906, p. 133. *The Same*, Foligno, Bergamo, 1907, p. 58. *M. Salmi*, *Gli affreschi del Palazzo Trinci a Foligno*, Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., XIII, Sept. — Dec. 1919.

<sup>(2)</sup> *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 176, attributes these paintings to the Salimbeni of Sanseverino.



Jesus or that of the Virgin but the new-born babes are at once carried away; the other frescoes show Romulus and Remus nourished by the wolf, Faustolus bringing the children to Acca Larenzia, the execution of Queen Silvia (fig. 202), some scenes from the lives of the two heroes (fig. 203) among which can be



Fig. 201. The birth of Romulus and Remus, Umbrian School, circa 1424. Trinci Palace, Foligno. Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

recognized the capture of King Amulius of Alba and the foundation of Rome. Of these frescoes some large pieces of paint have fallen off, leaving only the black design on a white background. The painting as well as the drawing is of excellent technique, the execution is fine and the general effect very harmonious, being also full of spirit and movement. It is by far the best part of this ensemble of frescoes, even although it is by the same artist as at least the enormous figures personifying the Liberal Arts in the large hall adjacent. Each of the arts is represented by a female figure sitting on a very elaborate throne, accompanied by one of its celebrated representatives (figs. 204 and 205).



Fig. 202. The execution of Queen Silvia, Umbrian School, circa 1424.  
Trinci Palace, Foligno.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

A comparison for instance between the figure of Rea Silvia in the scene of the birth of Romulus and Remus and those of the personifications of the arts leaves little doubt that the one and the other of these series of frescoes were executed by the same artist.

Opposite the Liberal Arts which adorn one wall of the room, we see the planets personified by standing figures. Below the representation of the moon, is depicted a chariot drawn by two

horses at full gallop while in the circles portraying the planets, the painter shows the seven different ages of man. I think it quite likely that the artist who executed this part of the decoration is



Fig. 203. The story of Romulus and Remus, Umbrian School, circa 1424.  
Trinci Palace, Foligno.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

still the same, but the paintings on this wall are so damaged that the attribution must remain doubtful.

In a corridor leading away from this room there are eleven figures of heroes of classical history, Jews, Greeks, Romans and Christians (figs. 206 and 207) and opposite, once more the seven ages of man (fig. 208), each represented by a figure accompanied by inscriptions in French on streamers. Large pieces of the frescoes of the ancient heroes have fallen off and on the surface un-

derneath we see sketches for the frescoes of the seven ages of man which are now depicted on the opposite wall; they are however a little different, being placed in landscapes or at least against a background of vegetation.

The artist who directed the ornamentation of the palace made no attempt to avoid repetition. As he had the ages of man depicted twice, so too the series of ancient heroes which is the subject of the decoration of one of the other rooms. Originally there were probably twenty figures, but one wall has been entirely rebuilt and now there remain traces of only fifteen, all personages taken from Roman history; on the leg of Scipio we read the date 1424. Although the technique is of poorer quality, which can be accounted for by the fact that the principal artist was assisted by pupils or helpers, it seems to me that we can discern the same hand as in the frescoes of the corridor.

In one sense he was more advanced than the other artist; this is noticeable particularly in the technique of plasticity with which he dealt in a more modern manner.

The frescoes of the Trinci Palace have been attributed to a variety of different artists and those in the Giants' Hall again recently to Ottaviano Nelli himself <sup>(1)</sup>, but although there exists a certain connexion between this master's art and that of the painter who executed these frescoes, those resemblances do not exceed what is ordinarily found between contemporary works executed in the same region <sup>(2)</sup>.

The inscriptions in French naturally make us think of a direct influence of that country. That the models for these frescoes were French seems to me quite admissible; in the incredible medley of influences which formed the cosmopolitan art of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, France was largely represented.

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 173. *Colasanti*, *Bolletino d'arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, IX, 1915, p. 372.

<sup>(2)</sup> *M. Salmi* finds the same hand as that of the story of Remus and Romulus in a Madonna surrounded by four medallions, containing figures of prophets or Evangelists at Sta. Maria Pietra Rossa, near Trevi, while a figure of a saint, close by, is according to him by the artist who executed the Liberal Arts which, as I said above, I believe to be by the painter of the Remus and Romulus legend. Moreover I see no striking resemblance, as Signor Salmi does, between the frescoes at Foligno and those in the little church near Trevi.



Fig. 204. The personification of a Liberal Art, Umbrian School, circa 1424.  
Trinci Palace, Foligno

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

However the frescoes at Foligno exhibit nothing approaching the French style; on the contrary they are thoroughly Italian, in fact the figures of the giants and ancient heroes are even a little provincial in appearance. None the less it is interesting to find

in a minor centre of Central Italy a local manifestation of this widespread artistic movement <sup>(1)</sup>.

As I said before Ottaviano Nelli is the most important representative in Umbria of this form of art <sup>(2)</sup>. We possess documentary evidence of his activity from 1400 till 1444; certainly in 1450 he was dead because at that moment there were the usual quarrels among his inheritors <sup>(3)</sup>.

One of the documents of 1400 proves to us that in that year Nelli was no longer in his first youth, because he was consul for the S. Andrea quarter of the town. In October of the same year, the priors of Perugia charge the artist to paint, together with Cristoforo di Nicoluccio and Francesco d'Antonio of Perugia, the coat of arms of Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti <sup>(4)</sup>. In 1403 he is once more appointed consul of the town and we find his name on the Madonna del Belvedere at Gubbio and the polyptych at Pietralunga. He is again consul of Gubbio in 1410 and 1415 and there is further mention of him in 1405 and 1411. In 1417 and 1420 we find him active in Urbino and Cavalcaselle read the date 1422 below mural paintings which were detached from the hospital of Assisi and brought to the museum, but as we shall see from what follows, this work must date from after 1431.

The decoration of the chapel in the Trinci Palace, Foligno, was executed in 1424. In 1427 he sells a house at Costacciaro and from 1428 to 1432 we find him in Urbino working for the brotherhood of Sta. Croce. The same year he is back in Gubbio where

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<sup>(1)</sup> *M. Salmi*, op. cit., thinks it possible that the artist who illustrated the legend of Remus and Romulus, in which he discovers elements of Fabrianes art, might have been "*Magister Johannes coradutiü de Fulgineo pictor*", who in 1415 went to Fabriano to work in the cathedral. *A. Rossi*, *Giornale d'Erudizione artistica*, II, 1873, p. 81.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Fungileoni*, *Elogio storico di Giovanni Santi* (gives several erroneous indications concerning O. Nelli, which have been pointed out by Scatassa in his study mentioned below). *L. Bonfatti*, *Memorie storiche di O. N.*, Gubbio, 1843. *Scatassa*, *Per O. N. di Gubbio*, *Rassegna bibliografia dell'arte italiana*, 1908, p. 205. *W. Rothés*, *Anfänge u. Entwicklungsgänge der Alt Umbrische Malerschulen*, Strasbourg, 1908, p. 29. *E. Jacobsen*, *Umbrische Malerei*, Strasbourg, 1914, p. 12. *U. Gnoli*, *Pittori e miniatori*, p. 227.

<sup>(3)</sup> All these documents are given in *Gnoli*, op. cit.

<sup>(4)</sup> *W. Bombe*, *Geschichte der Peruginer Malerei*, Berlin, 1902, p. 296.



Fig. 205. The personification of a Liberal Art, Umbrian School, circa 1424.  
Trinci Palace, Foligno.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

he is active still in 1434. June 30<sup>th</sup> 1434 is the date of a letter, written by Nelli to Catherine, the wife of Count Guido Antonio da Montefeltre, in which he refers to several works executed for the recipient outside Gubbio and in which he expresses the desire to begin the portrait of her son, kneeling with his family and his horse before St. Erasmus in the church, dedicated to that saint.

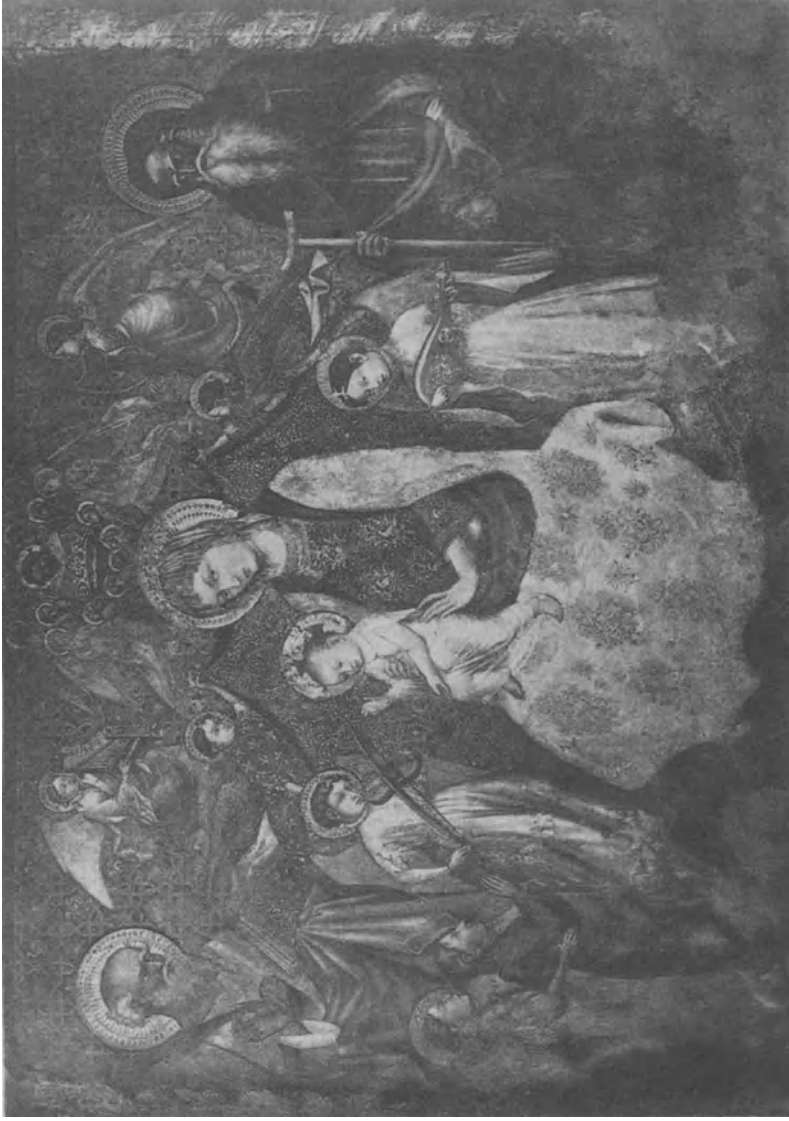
In 1435 he paints a standard for the town <sup>(1)</sup> and the following

<sup>(1)</sup> *Evelyn*, *L'Arte*, 1913, p. 473.

year we find him in Borgo San Sepolcro. From 1437 until 1444 several documents reveal his constant presence in Gubbio: he adopts a child, called Mars, and in 1441 he takes Domenico di Cecco di Baldo as a pupil, making a six years engagement. Ottaviano's wife, whose name was Balda, died before 1458. Of the year 1403 consequently we possess two works: the Madonna del Belvedere at Gubbio and the polyptych of Pietralunga. From the reproductions alone it is impossible to realize the enormous distance which separates these two works by the same master. The mural painting (pl. VII), executed in tempera and not in fresco, is from the point of view of colouring one of the most beautiful that one could wish to see, it is a feast to the eye and although the picture is somewhat damaged, the parts which are intact have preserved a surprising freshness. The Virgin seated in the centre looks at the spectator; the Child on her knee bestows a blessing on the female donor who is presented by an angel. The Madonna is escorted by an angelic musician to either side while two other angels support a beautiful flowered curtain. Overhead God the Father in the midst of cherubim and angels is about to place a crown on the Virgin's head, here also are two angelic musicians. Two large figures of saints — SS. John the Evangelist and Antony Abbot — are seen to the sides; the latter protects the kneeling donor. The background is very ornate and the painting is limited on either side by a spiral column adorned with many representations in grisaille, abounding in little figures in unchaste attitudes. It is not only this last feature which is profane but also the garments of the period, the high collars and ruffed sleeves of the angels and the very realistic portraits of the two donors, all of which are characteristic of the genre painting which played such an important part in the artistic movement with which we are at present dealing. At the foot of this mural decoration we find the inscription: "*Ottavianus Martes Eugubinus pinxit a<sup>no</sup>. D<sup>ni</sup>. MC.....III*".

The polyptych of Pietralunga (fig. 209) shows in the centre the Virgin enthroned holding the Child, standing on her knee; He is in the act of taking a lily from His Mother. The saints depicted on the lateral panels, are: SS. Antony Abbot, Nicholas of Bari, Paul and a crowned female martyr, probably St. Catherine. The pinnacle of each panel is adorned with the figure of a cherub





**MADONNA AND CHILD  
IN THE MIDST OF ANGELS, SAINTS AND ADORERS**  
*By Ottaviano Nelli, Sta. Maria Nuova, Gubbio.*

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 206. King David, Umbrian School, circa 1424. Trinci Palace, Foligno.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

while in the centre we see the Redeemer, behind Whom numerous heads are represented, Three little saints decorate each of the pilasters of the frame. The inscription below, which mentions the donor as a certain Petrus Corsutii, gives the date of execution and the name of the artist as follows: "*a. d. MCCCC III die V mesis madii p. manus otavi. de eugubio dea gratias am.*".

Comparing these two works of the beginning of the master's career with those of 1424 and after, we observe that those graceful and harmonious forms are characteristic of an early stage in Ottaviano Nelli's activity and that his later productions lack these qualities. Also the expressiveness of the faces with their curious individual features which we find in the two works of 1403 becomes in later years grimaces without charm and not always without a tinge of vulgarity.

One of the master's finest works, as far as design is concerned, is a mural painting which was detached in 1647 and placed on an altar to the right, in S. Agostino in Gubbio; it represents the Virgin and Child behind whom two angels play the violin while two other angels present some little nude figures, no doubt souls after the Resurrection; a holy nun is depicted to one side. When the painting was removed from its original site some angels and cherubim were added, which have considerably disfigured the work; the old painting, which is of fine quality, however, can easily be recognized.

Of about the same period is a Madonna sitting in a field, holding the Child standing on her knee between two angelic musicians while above God the Father appears in a host of angels. This picture was once preserved, and perhaps still is, in the Pio Fabri collection, Rome. <sup>(1)</sup> It had been rather badly restored. A curious and very pretty detail is the attitude of the little Jesus, Who grasps a small bird in one hand while with the other hand He plays a lute, presented to Him by an angel. This is an intimate and profane detail which would be more in place in a genre painting.

To an intermediate period between his early activity of 1403 and the date of execution of the decoration of the Trinci Palace — 1424 — I think we should assign the three other panels that we possess from the hand of Ottaviano Nelli; unless of course we can admit that he continued to employ a finer technique for his panels than for his mural paintings.

I am of opinion that we can place an Adoration of the Magi in

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<sup>(1)</sup> *U. Gnoli*, Una tavola sconosciuta di Ottaviano Nelli, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1911, p. 76.



Fig. 207. Canis Marius and Publius Decius, Umbrian School, circa 1424.  
Trinci Palace, Foligno. Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

the museum of Worcester, U.S.A. <sup>(1)</sup>, fairly early in his career (fig. 210); then of a later stage are the two panels in the Vatican Gallery (Nos 195 and 196), representing the Circumcision (fig. 211) and the marriage of St. Francis with Poverty (fig. 212), which seem to have belonged to the same predella. <sup>(2)</sup>

Bearing a fairly close resemblance to these two small panels but, in my opinion, perhaps of slightly earlier date is the series of mural paintings illustrating the life of St. Augustine in the apse of the church dedicated to that saint in Gubbio. I imagine that the very damaged representation of the Last Judgment on the arch is contemporary. It is a somewhat incoherent composition full of curious and fantastic details.

The series of scenes from the life of St. Augustine is fairly extensive. The title of each subject was once fully inscribed. In the vault we see four events with a symbol of an Evangelist above each picture (fig. 213). They depict the vision of St. Monica, the mother of St. Augustine, her conversation concerning the vision with her bishop, St. Monica bringing the child to school and two scenes of St. Augustine receiving instruction from the professors in the Liberal Arts. The interdos of the chancel arch is adorned with a series of half-length figures of the disciples.

The scenes from the life of the saint (figs. 214 and 215) are twenty in number. I shall not enumerate them all, particularly as some of the subjects are not very clear; nor is it easy to interpret the illustrations of the numerous journeys made by the saint. I should like, however, to mention his landing in Carthage, the scene in which he himself teaches and in which a large number of students on foot and on horseback flock to listen and his baptism which takes place at the same time as that of his son Adeodat. Interesting also are the scenes of the old bishop Valerius of Hippone, placing his own episcopal mitre on the head of St. Augustine, the death of St. Monica, the dispute between the holy doctor and the heretics who are converted, unfortunately a painting which has

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<sup>(1)</sup> First erroneously published as a work by Giambono but restored to Nelli simultaneously by *U. Gnoli*, *A Picture by O.N.*, *Art in America*, Dec. 1920. and *R. Offner*, *An O. N. in the Worcester Museum*, *Idem*.

<sup>(2)</sup> The catalogue of the Vatican Gallery informs us that Mr. Sirén places these pictures very near to Nelli without, however, ascribing them to this master.



Fig. 208. Virility. Umbrian School, circa 1424. Trinci Palace, Foligno.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

considerably suffered but still of great interest on account of the caricature-like appearance of the faces, the death of the saint (fig. 216) and the cortege bringing his remains to Pavia (fig. 217), another picture showing very curious morphological types. I can quite imagine that the Augustine monk who, although carrying

the bier, looks at the spectator, is a portrait of the artist himself, who, considering the nature of the scene he represents, has given a somewhat sad expression to his humoristic and rather droll physiognomy.

The extraordinarily good state of preservation of the greater part of this decoration has led several people to believe that most of it is repainted, but this is not so; as in the case of the *Madonna del Belvedere* the method the artist had of mixing his colours has preserved these mural paintings in all their original freshness.

The different scenes are very unequal in quality and appearance and for that reason it has often been admitted, beginning by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, that Nelli was assisted by pupils. Moreover, in an enterprise of such importance this is but natural. However, the entire work is characteristic of the master who evidently succeeded in imbuing his helpers with the spirit of his own art. Certainly some of the scenes, such for example as the conversion of the heretics, the saint's death and the transport of his body, have been executed with more spontaneity and spirit than the baptism of St. Augustine and the death of St. Monica. Perhaps these differences should be attributed to the temperament of the artist who, it can easily be believed, was a nervous and capricious man and consequently had his good and bad days.

At Urbino a fine mural painting of great importance is found in the church of *Sta. Maria dell' Omo*, a short distance from the town. It represents the *Madonna della Misericordia* over whose head two angels hold a crown; two others draw aside her pale green mantle under which kneels a group of figures, a number of them dressed in red; many of the faces are very expressive.

This painting adorns the whole of one wall; on those to the right and left there are two figures of saints to either side. I am convinced that this work dates from Nelli's first sojourn in Urbino of which we have evidence in 1417 and 1420 and not from his second visit which was in 1428—1432.

In the church of *S. Gaetano* at Urbino there is still another painting by Nelli, which dates probably from the same period. The Virgin sits lowly on the ground, the Child at her breast, in the midst of two angels and two holy monks, one of which is certainly *St. Gaetano*; above, *God the Father* is depicted in a

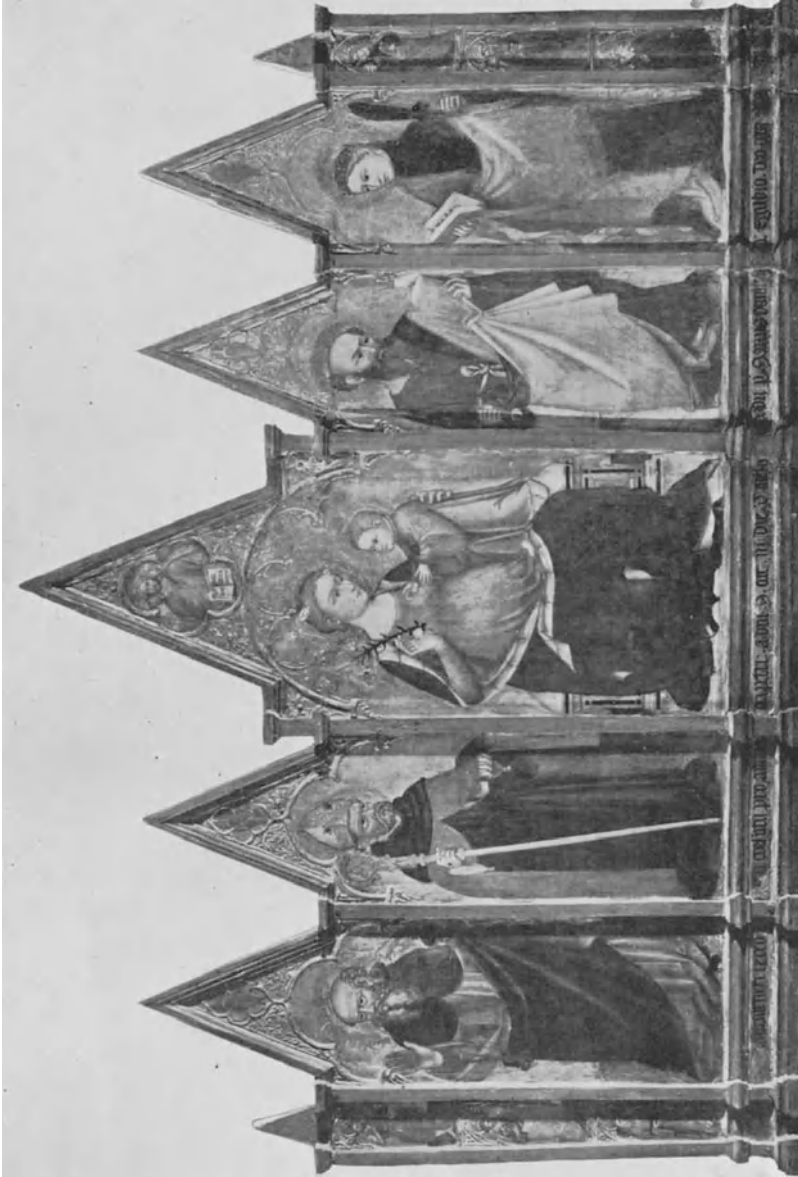


Fig. 209. Ottaviano Nelli, polyptych, 1404. Town Hall, Pietralunga.

Photo Alinari.



host of angels and cherubs (fig. 218); unhappily this mural decoration is rather ruined <sup>(1)</sup>.

Of the later stage of the master's activity the principal work that has come down to us is the ornamentation of the chapel in the Trinci Palace, Foligno, which dates from 1424.

This series of mural paintings is fairly extensive and illustrates the lives of the Virgin and Our Lord with the addition of some other representations <sup>(2)</sup>.

The story begins in the vault where in the four divisions we see the Annunciation to St. Anna and Joachim simultaneously (fig. 219), the Meeting at the Golden Gate, the Birth of the Virgin and Joachim and Anna offering up a sacrifice in the temple. The history of the Virgin continues in the lunettes with the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple on the altar wall, the convocation of suitors for the Virgin's hand on the wall to the left of the entrance, the marriage of the Virgin (fig. 220) opposite the entrance and lastly the Annunciation. On the lower rows we find over the altar the Nativity (fig. 221) and the Adoration of the Magi.

Then the artist takes up once more the history of the Virgin showing the Annunciation of her death, the Farewell to the Apostles, one of whom shakes the dying Virgin by the hand while above the Saviour comes to carry away her soul, the Apostles gathered around the death-bed with the Lord in the midst of angels above carrying away the Madonna's soul in the form of a little naked child; in an adjoining room the disciples are depicted preparing the bier. In the following picture the dead Virgin is seen stretched on the bier, while the Apostles recite the service for the dead; then comes the Assumption; near the open tomb around which kneel the Apostles, the Virgin is represented in the midst of angels.

Above the altar there is still a third row of scenes showing the Crucifixion, St. Francis receiving the stigmata and SS. Dominic, Antony Abbot and John the Baptist. In the frame which separates these last paintings from those above, we read the inscription:

(1) v. L'Arte, 1899, p. 408, where the saints are called SS. Antony and Dominic.

(2) A. Angelucci, La cappella dei Trinci a Foligno dipinta a fresco nel 1424 da Martino Nelli Eugubino, Turin, 1861.



Fig. 210. Ottaviano Nelli, the Adoration of the Magi. Museum,  
Worcester, U.S.A.

Photo Conger.

"*Dñs Corādus Ugulini de Trincis Fulgineis MCCCCXXVIII die XXV feb.*"; Cavalcaselle still read the continuation: "*pinxit M. Octavianus Martini de Gubbio*", of which now there remains no trace (1).

As I have already remarked, Nelli's productions of this period can be differentiated from those of an early stage by a lack of refinement and it might even be said that his later works are tainted with a certain vulgarity. The faces are often extremely ugly, certainly never pleasing, while the forms are without grace. In the representation of elderly people, the effects of old age are markedly exaggerated. Architectural buildings, however, are often treated with more taste and in a more refined manner than the figures; that in which the Annunciation is depicted is very elaborate. Genre pictures, such for example as the Birth of the Virgin, her Presentation in the Temple and her Betrothal, are naturally what the painter liked most to represent; the beautiful costumes of the time seem to have afforded him great pleasure and it is almost certain that the two very elegant figures in the right corner of the scene of the convocation of the suitors, are two portraits, no doubt members of the Trinci family (fig. 222).

A work in which the defect of vulgarity is still more marked is the series of mural paintings near the third altar to the left in the church of S. Domenico at Fano (fig. 223) (2). The principal representation is a somewhat mystical scene; in a mandorla we see Christ on the Cross, carried by God the Father and adored by angels and saints; lower down the wall is adorned with six scenes of the life of St. Dominic, figures of patriarchs and of prophets. To the other side the painter has depicted the Assumption of St. Mary Magdalene (fig. 224) and the pagans putting the Magdalene and other christians on a boat and letting it drift out to sea. These paintings have all the character of a work of Nelli's but possess no charm; what is more they are in a very bad state of preservation.

(1) *T. Borenius*, ed. of *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, V, p. 191 note 1, tells us that in 1912 he could still read the word "*Gubbio*" but the rest of the inscription had disappeared.

(2) v. *L'Arte*, X, 1907, p. 153. *U. Gnoli*, *Affreschi del Nello in Fano*, *Rassegna d'Arte Umbra*, 1911, p. 10, v. *Rassegna d'Arte Marchigiana*, III, 1924, p. 231, in which these paintings are ascribed, but in rather a doubtful manner, to Nelli.

In Gubbio there is another work by the master which must have been executed at a fairly advanced stage because the presence of the coat of arms of Pope Martin V dates the painting from between 1417 and 1431 and probably much nearer the latter date. It is a figure of St. Christopher carrying on his shoulder the Infant Christ, dressed in a 15th century costume, and is preserved on a stairway in the courtyard of the palace of the Counts Beni near the church of S. Domenico (2 via Cavour).

I have already had occasion to mention that the inscription on the paintings executed by Nelli and his helpers on the



Fig. 211. Ottaviano Nelli, the Circumcision.  
Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Giraudon.



Fig. 212. Ottaviano Nelli, St. Francis' wedding with Poverty. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

façade of the hospital of SS. Giacomo e Antonio in Assisi, was misread by Cavalcaselle. He gives part of it as: "..... *Martinellus MCCCCXXII die XXVI mese octob*"; this signature, no doubt, began with the name Octavianus and must have continued "*Martini Nelli*" <sup>(1)</sup>. Since the artist's name was misread the rest of the interpretation of the inscription, which was in all likelihood very damaged, inspires no great confidence; moreover considering that the hospital of SS. Giacomo e Antonio was

<sup>(1)</sup> Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. T. Borenius, V, p. 193. *Rassegna d'Arte Umbra*, I, 1911, p. 140 note 1.

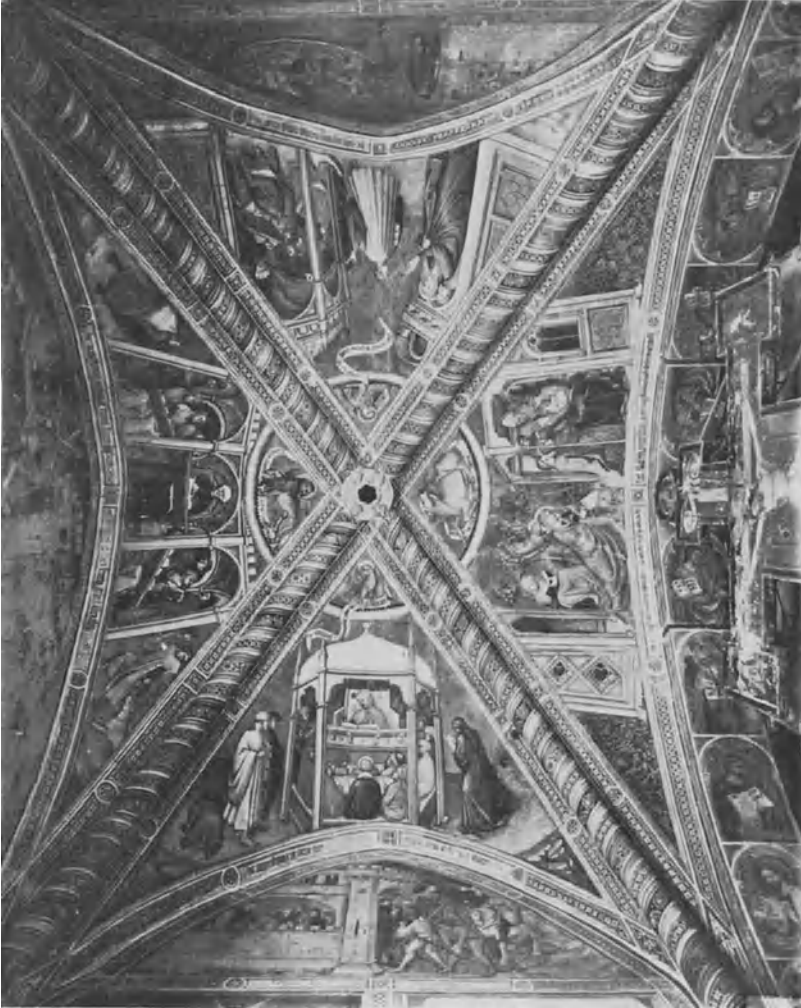


Fig. 213. Ottaviano Nelli, vault of the choir. S. Agostino, Gubbio.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

founded in 1431 <sup>(1)</sup> the painting must have been executed that year and Cavalcaselle probably read one of the X's of the date as a I.

This work is now preserved in the gallery of Assisi (Nos. 40, 43—48). The principal part, in which the hand of Nelli can easily be discerned in spite of the ruined condition of the work, repre-

<sup>(1)</sup> *A. Cristofani*, *Storia d' Assisi*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Assisi, 1902, p. 198. *Bernath*, *Zeitschrift f. Bildende Kunst*, Ser. II, Vol. XXI, p. 121.

sents the Virgin on a large Gothic throne, ornamented with figures in grisaille; traces of two donors kneeling on either side of the throne can still be distinguished.

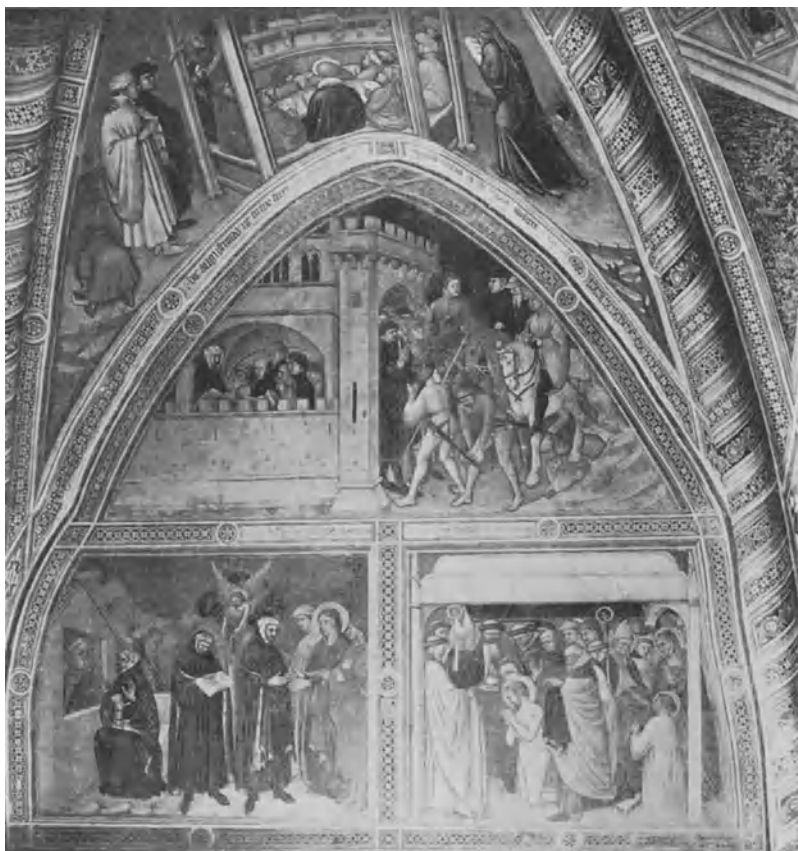


Fig. 214. Ottaviano Nelli, scenes from the story of St. Augustine.  
S. Agostino, Gubbio.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

This fresco is certainly finer than the decoration in the Trinci Palace. The eight fragments which belong to the same series are without any doubt from the hand of a pupil. They show God the Father surrounded by angels, a medallion of the Virgin and Child, several saints, among them St. Rufinus, the patron of the town, and ornamental garlands.



Fig. 215. Ottaviano Nelli, St. Augustine's journey from Rome to Carthage. S. Agostino, Gubbio.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.





Fig. 216. Ottaviano Nelli, detail of the death of St. Augustine. S. Agostino, Gubbio.

Photo. A. in.ist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Between 1428 and 1432 Nelli worked for the brotherhood of Sta. Croce at Urbino and in all probability the painting, still preserved over the altar in that church, dates from this period. It depicts the Madonna and Child between two angels and overhead two other angels holding a cross. Unhappily restoration has entirely disfigured the original work.

Another late production without any charm is a detached mural painting on an altar of Sta. Maria delle Grazie at Citta di Castello, representing the Death of the Virgin (fig. 225); it is possible that Nelli executed this work about 1436, the year for which we possess documentary evidence of his

presence in Borgo San Sepolcro, not far from Citta di Castello<sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *M. Salmi*, *Dipinti del Quattrocento*.

There are still several unimportant works by Nelli but I shall refrain from giving the description <sup>(1)</sup>.

The art of Ottaviano Nelli can only be explained by the enormous expansion of the cosmopolitan Gothic style at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and although Umbria was not at that moment an intense centre of culture, all the same, when a small court like that of the Trinci offered an occasion we find a manifestation of this artistic movement. On account of its profane side cosmopolitan Gothic art was more suited to secular use and it is precisely for the profane decorations — then very much in vogue — of the different courts that we find it more commonly employed. The document of 1434 with regard to Nelli's correspondence with Countess Caterina da Montefeltro concerning works he had executed for her with special mention of a picture he is to make of her son kneeling before St. Erasmus, with his family and horse, reveals Nelli as a painter to a princely court. The few words which give us an idea of this representation, call to mind such works as the votive frescoes of Verona. Besides he also worked, as we have seen, for the Trinci of Foligno.

<sup>(1)</sup> I shall cite still the following works by Nelli: **Foligno**, formerly in the collection of Count Gentile, an enthroned Madonna with angels supporting a curtain as background, SS. James and Peter the Martyr (it is unknown to me but is mentioned by *W. Rothés*, op. cit., p. 30). **Fossato**, Monte di Pietà, several mural paintings in part only by Nelli. **Gubbio**, S. Domenico, first chapel to the left, fragmentary traces of frescoes; Sta. Maria della Piaggiola, Madonna and angels; enthroned Madonna in a niche opposite the Porta S. Agostino; Ranghiasi coll. — sold many years ago — St. Thomas with the holy girdle, attributed to Nelli. **Rome**, Nevin coll., put up to auction in April 1907, No. 45, a holy bishop, now in the Perkins coll., **Lastra a Signa**; No. 144, four frescoes in chiaroscuro, representing allegorical figures, attributed to O. N.; private coll., Madonna between two angels with God the Father and angels above; it is somewhat restored and might be a later copy; it bears a certain resemblance to the Madonna del Belvedere.

The following works are wrongly assigned to O. N.: a Coronation of the Virgin in the Johnson coll., **Philadelphia**, v. *B. Berenson*, Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings etc. (J. G. Johnson, Philadelphia), I, Italian Paintings, Philadelphia, 1913, No. 123; a Madonna by Michele di Matteo of Bologna in the Chiaramonte Bordonaro coll., **Palermo**, (*E. Calzini*, Per un pittore umbro, Rassegna bibliografia dell' arte, 1898, p. 225. v. *R. van Marle*, Vol. VII, p. 224, and my short note in *Cronache d'arte*, II, 1925, p. 244). In the 10<sup>th</sup> edition of Burchardt's *Cicerone* (1910), p. 718, mention is made of Nelli's frescoes in the sacristy of S. Agostino, Fabriano, which are, no doubt, meant to be those in the apse of S. Agostino, Gubbio.



Fig. 217. Ottaviano Nelli, detail of the funeral of St. Augustine, S. Agostino, Gubbio.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

That style of painting which we call "genre" is not lacking in his works. He clothes the Child Christ and his angels in elegant garments, according to the fashion of his day and we see well dressed seigneurs in his religious scenes in the chapel at Foligno. Also he depicts dogs when the occasion presents itself; they are shown attacking the youth on his way to the university in the decoration of the vault of S. Agostino in Gubbio; at Foligno, too, we see one following the cortège which accompanies the child Virgin when she goes for the first time to the temple. In scenes of interiors Nelli pays marked attention to every sort of detail;



Fig. 218. Ottaviano Nelli, Madonna, S. Gaetano, Urbino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

his interest in architecture is also manifest, yet he follows a very old method in depicting events which occur in the interior of buildings which he shows either by suppressing a wall or as a ciborium, open on all sides.

In Nelli's art we notice as well an obvious influence of manu-



Fig. 219. Ottaviano Nelli, the Annunciation to Joachim and to St. Anna, 1424. Chapel, Trinci Palace, Foligno.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 220. Ottaviano Nelli, the Marriage of the Virgin, 1424. Chapel, Trinci Palace, Foligno.

Photo Alinari.

script decoration ; his borders are frequently adorned with little chimera or fantastic figures with a humoristic or ridiculous side. He also borrowed from the satirical style of the ornamentation

of codices, particularly for the accessory parts of his pictures; in the decoration of columns for instance we see, beside the most holy subjects, very absurd and sometimes even obscene little representations. Figures making grimaces or with the features of a caricature, after the manner of gargoyles or images, seen in the borders of manuscripts, are found also among the principal personages of his paintings. Very characteristic of this type is the beardless heretic — somewhat damaged — who sits at the foot of the pulpit from which St. Augustine is preaching in the mural decoration of the church of S. Agostino in Gubbio. Apparently Nelli found great pleasure in depicting figures with ugly faces and unnatural proportions and by means of his works I think we can judge of the master's nature which must have been bizarre and perhaps abnormal. He was certainly a poor draughtsman but he had an excellent sense of colour, a combination which is one commonly found in the art of miniature.

Ottaviano Nelli had a large number of adherents who formed an actual school, the chief manifestations of which are discovered naturally in Gubbio. For the greater part, these school works are of little interest and I shall enumerate them without giving detailed descriptions.

Ottaviano had a brother called Tommaso, who is recorded as councillor of the S. Martino quarter, but not as painter, between 1410 and 1434. Bonfatti, from whom Cavalcaselle borrowed this piece of information, pretends, however, that Gianniccolo di Cristoforo gave him the order to make a panel of St. Vincent Ferrer for the church of S. Domenico, which picture, still in this church, is a beautiful work of Nelli's school, representing St. Vincent in the midst of angels with some of the faithful kneeling at his feet and God the Father appearing above. It has been very much restored.

A detached fresco in the gallery of Gubbio, depicting the Virgin and Child on an elaborate Gothic throne adorned with figures and surrounded by angels (fig. 226) has also been ascribed to Tommaso and seems to be from the same hand as the foregoing picture. It is the work of a faithful follower of Ottaviano but sweeter of form as well as of expression.

I think we should assign to the same artist a polyptych in the



Fig. 221. Ottaviano Nelli, the Nativity, 1424. Trinci Palace, Foligno.

Photo Alinari.



gallery of Gualdo Tadino (fig. 227), originating from the parish of S. Facondino <sup>(1)</sup>; it is more rustic in appearance but, none the less, seems to be by the same hand. The central panel shows the Virgin and Child and those to the sides from left to right St. Nicholas (?), the two SS. John together, SS. Peter and Paul together, and St. Lawrence (?). Some little figures adorn the pinnacles while in the predella, which is very dilapidated, we see the half-length figures of the Saviour and the Apostles. The forms are stodgy and very short. We find this characteristic in a triptych in the parish church of Brusche, not far from Gualdo, and I think that we can hold the same artist responsible for this work. It is in a bad state of preservation. In the centre we see the Crucified and the Virgin alone, the figure of St. John having disappeared; to the left are depicted SS. Peter and Felicity and to the right a holy bishop and a holy monk.



Fig. 222. Ottaviano Nelli, members of the Trinci family (?), 1424. Trinci Palace, Foligno.

Photo Alinari.

A fresco, showing St. Gregory saying mass, in the church of Sta. Maria della Piaggiola in Gubbio might also be by this painter. In Gubbio works directly inspired by Ottaviano Nelli and executed apparently under his personal supervision are preserved on the entrance and right walls of Sta. Maria Nuova; there

<sup>(1)</sup> *U. Gnoli*, *L'arte umbra alla Mostra di Perugia*, Bergamo, 1908, fig. 53.



Fig. 223. Ottaviano Nelli, the Crucifixion and other scenes.  
S. Domenico, Fano.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

are several figures of saints among whom we can recognize St. Nicholas of Tolentino. A Madonna between SS. James, Antony Abbot and a holy martyr and a Crucifixion are executed quite after the master's manner but are of such a poor quality



Fig. 224. Ottaviano Nelli, the Assumption of St. Mary Magdalene.  
S. Domenico, Fano.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

that they can hardly be from his hand, although the date, 1404, seems very early for a school production.

On the same wall as Nelli's Madonna there are some frescoes closely approaching the master's style; they represent Mary Magdalene receiving the communion from an angel, Christ enthroned, perhaps a fragment of a Last Judgment, and the Saviour on the Cross.

In the church of S. Domenico we find two figures of saints in



Fig. 225. Ottaviano Nelli, the Death of the Virgin.  
Sta. Maria delle Grazie, Citta di Castello.

Photo Brogi.

the first chapel to the left and in the vault of the adjacent chapel the four Evangelists, and lower down cardinals and other figures and then scenes from the life of St. Peter the martyr; the scene of the saint's martyrdom is a true genre picture with a wood-



Fig. 226. School of Nelli, Madonna. Gallery, Gubbio.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

cutter, a peasant milking his cow and a nobleman with a falcon perched on his hand. These frecoes are very near Nelli. More distant in manner is a mural painting over the first altar on the right wall of this church; the Virgin with the Child is seated on a very elaborate Gothic throne, adorned with two standing

angels. Of the two lateral saints only a holy bishop remains visible; a miniature devotee kneels at the feet of the Madonna<sup>(1)</sup>.

In the gallery of Gubbio there is another work of Nelli's school, fairly close to the master's manner. It is a *Madonna della Misericordia* who shelters under her cloak a number of little children,



Fig. 227. School of Nelli, polyptych. Gallery, Gualdo Tadino.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

guiding the members of a confraternity who are received by the Infant Christ; in the predella three scenes illustrate the story of a child (fig. 228).

Some distance from Gubbio, in a village called Caprignone, we discover the hand of a pupil of Nelli's in a large fresco on the left wall of the church; it portrays the Virgin enthroned offering a rose to Jesus, Whom she holds on her knee, while two angels are seen behind the throne.

In Gubbio Nelli's manner continued to exist throughout the

<sup>(1)</sup> *E. Giovangoli*, *Arte umbra primitiva*, *Cronache d' arte*, I, 1924, p. 291.



Fig. 228. School of Nelli, *Madonna della Misericordia*. Gallery, Gubbio.

Photo Alinari.

15<sup>th</sup> century in the very mediocre works of Jacopo Beda, Pinitali, Domenico di Cecco di Baldi, Bernardino dell' Eugenia and others, but a number of elements of the art of the subsequent generation



Fig. 229. School of Nelli, Fathers of the Church, 1423.  
Sta. Maria delle Grazie, Offida.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

penetrated into these painters' manner so that I think it better to include them in the Umbrian school of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in which, however, they form a reactionary group.

We find representatives of Nelli's school throughout Umbria but the most interesting manifestation of this manner is preserved in The Marches, in a fairly extensive mural decoration in the apse of the upper church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie at Offida. Of the



greatest interest are the frescoes in the vault (figs. 229 and 230) where seven Fathers of the Church, one in each compartment, are seen seated on Gothic thrones, writing their tracts; over each figure is depicted an angelic musician; in the centre there are two. In the other divisions of the vault there are more angels while of the two at the extremities one is shown throwing flowers. On the border of the apse we see figures of saints framed in medallions. Among the fragmentary frescoes lower down we can still distinguish the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt and the Child Christ teaching in the Temple. Below to the left the date, 1423, is visible.

Features borrowed from Nelli abound in this decoration which at first sight might be mistaken for a work by the master himself. The morphological types, the spirit, the Gothic satire and the marvellous colouring are all reminiscent of Nelli's art. Among the Fathers of the Church there is one elegantly attired after the fashion of the time; another wears an oriental head-dress, as does one of the angels also. We find as well in this artist's work an interest in little familiar details, such as the utensils on the desks and the spectacles worn by one of the holy doctors. The decorative side of the paintings, in particular the garlands over the thrones, recall the art of the painters of Sanseverino sooner than that of Nelli.

At Fossombrone, also in The Marches, a chapel in the old cathedral or church of S. Aldebrando preserves some of its original decoration; we can still discern an Adoration of the Magi and lower down some illustrations from the life of the titular saint (fig. 231) (1). Although these paintings, which besides are of little artistic value, are not very close to Nelli's manner, they have often been ascribed to this Eugubine master.

Also in Urbino where Nelli was active for a certain number of years, we find productions of his school. Thus in the church of S. Sergio a detached fresco, showing the Virgin and Child and two angels, is very near the master's manner. A fresco over the altar in a chapel to the right, in the church of the Sma. Annunziata outside the Porta Sta. Lucia, representing the Virgin of the

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(1) *Colasanti*, Affreschi nella cappella di S. Aldebrando in Fossombrone, Bolletino d'arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1915, p. 366.

Annunciation and God the Father, is frequently attributed to Antonio Alberti da Ferrara, but in my opinion would be better classified among Nelli's school works; so too a fresco of the

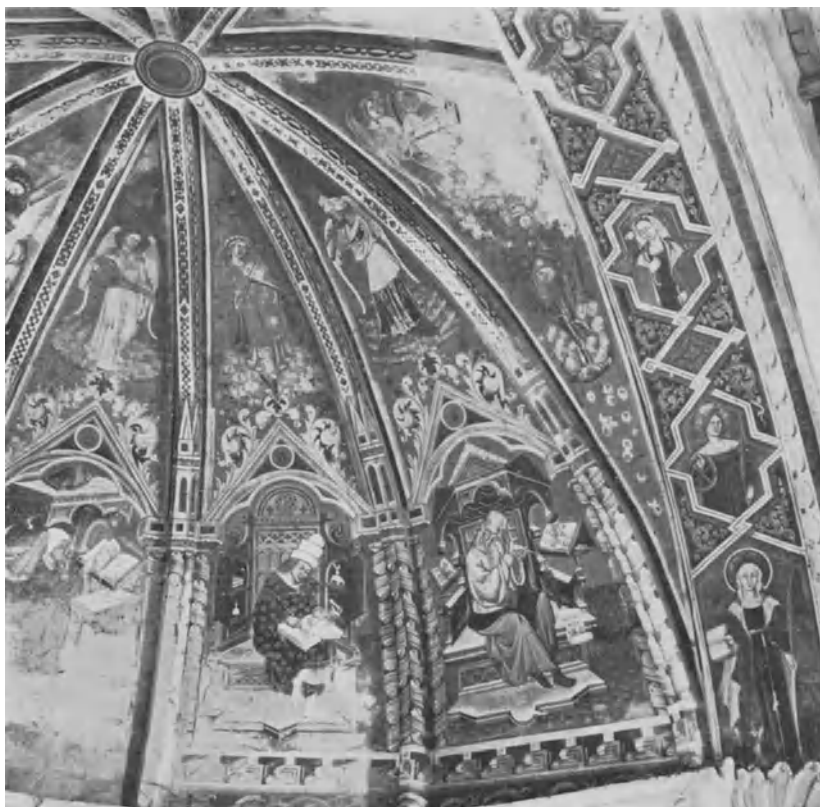


Fig. 230. School of Nelli, Fathers of the Church, 1423.  
Sta. Maria delle Grazie. Offida.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Madonna in a house called "le Logge", which is situated about two and a half miles from Urbino on the road to Macerata Feltria <sup>(1)</sup>.

Also of importance is the decoration of a chest with four miracles of the Blessed Peter and John Becchetti of Fabriano on the front panel (fig. 232) and the figure of one of them lying dead on the lid, in the gallery of Fabriano. The paintings show an obvious and direct inspiration of Nelli's art.

<sup>(1)</sup> v. Rassegna Marchigiana, III, 1925, p. 242.

In Foligno too, Nelli left some pupils of whose activity we have evidence in the refectory of the convent of St. Anna or "delle Contesse", where we find illustrations of St. Martha working in the kitchen, preparing fish, the saint complaining to the Saviour of her sister's idleness and the Last Supper taking place at a round table. Opposite is depicted another kitchen scene, viz. the Wedding at Cana. This decoration is the work of a vigorous but unrefined artist who closely followed Nelli's last manner. In the church, called the Oratory, at Foligno we find on the right wall a large but very much restored fresco of the Virgin on a throne, decorated with little sculptured figures, between SS. James and Antony Abbot and above two angels. Before the restoration almost completely disfigured it, this fresco must have borne a very close resemblance to Nelli's own works.

In Perugia Nelli's school is represented by an interesting panel of the funeral service held by the Apostles at the death-bed of the Virgin (fig. 233). This picture, which hung originally in the cathedral, is now preserved in the Opera del Duomo; it shows the coat of arms of Perugia, and what appears to be one of the gates of the town in another shield; below we read the date 1432 and the information that it was a priest and his parishioners who had the picture executed.

Among other of Nelli's school works in Umbria, I should like to cite still a painting of St. Christopher which, besides the older frescoes, is found in one of the rooms of the monastery of S. Agostino at Citta della Pieve.

In private collections I know only one picture belonging to Nelli's school. It is a large panel of the Madonna with two little adoring angels flying above. This painting, which was privately owned in Perugia, is peculiar in that all the decorative part of the Virgin's robe, the large borders and the numerous fleurs-de-lis are worked in gold relief. Apart from that, the picture is rustic and of little interest but decidedly a production of the school of Nelli.

A hasty survey of art in Umbria reveals to us that works of the cosmopolitan Gothic style were fairly wide-spread although often they are somewhat rustic in appearance and I think in many cases a brief enumeration will be quite sufficient.

As Gubbio, on account of Ottaviano Nelli's presence, seems to have been the principal centre of this movement, we shall begin with an examination of the pictorial works in this town which belong to this tradition but which are not directly dependent on Nelli's art. Such paintings are not very numerous; still a few are



Fig. 231. School of Nelli, scenes from the life of the titular saint.  
S. Aldebrando, Fossombrone.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

found in the church of S. Domenico where Nelli and his adherents also were active. The first chapel to the left is adorned with a figure of St. Paul on a Gothic throne and some scenes from the Passion which I think are superior to Nelli's own works and which bear a fairly strong resemblance to the productions of the school of Cologne. Perhaps it was the same painter who executed a fresco of the Crucifixion on the entrance wall of Sta. Maria Nuova of which the upper part is missing but at the foot of which we read the date 1405. In the same chapel of S. Domenico we find a scene from the martyrdom of St. Blaise from another hand,

while in 1425 a certain Benedetto di Nanno da Gubbio illustrated the life of St. Romulus in the lunettes of the crypt of the cathedral of Fiesole but we cannot form an opinion of Benedetto's skill from the few fragments that remain of this mural decoration <sup>(1)</sup>.

More towards the north of Umbria we find some Gothic paintings of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the church of S. Domenico at Citta di Castello, which not very long ago, were in part discovered and restored. We know that the building of the church was finished probably in 1424 and that the consecration took place in 1426 <sup>(2)</sup>.

On the left wall we find a fresco representing St. Antony enthroned, the poor and maimed approaching him from a convent on the left, while to the right is depicted the Temptation of St. Antony. Above is represented the apparition of an angel to the sleeping saint. We find here two scenes from the life of St. Antony in which figure young people elegantly dressed according to the fashion of the time (fig. 234) <sup>(3)</sup>.

In the same church, on the left wall, another artist has painted the very rare scene of St. Catherine receiving the stigmata in a composition similar to that of the stigmatization of St. Francis; to the sides are represented St. Antony Abbot and a young saint. A Nativity on the same wall can also be ascribed to this artist but the figures of the Redeemer and St. Michael with the scales are from another hand. In the embrasure of a window in the same wall there are two figures of saints executed in grisaille, of which one seems to be St. Clare holding the Eucharist; the other is a holy priest with book and pen. On the wall opposite there are still some figures of saints but they are of little importance.

In the gallery of Citta di Castello there is rather a pleasing panel of 1417 representing the Virgin and Child between two heads of cherubs and four figures of saints; in the style we discover an intermingling of elements borrowed from Gentile da Fabriano and from Florence.

The paintings by Giorgio d'Andrea di Bartolo and Giacomo

<sup>(1)</sup> *F. Bargilli*, *La cattedrale di Fiesole*, 1883, p. 238.

<sup>(2)</sup> *M. Salmi*, *Dipinti del Quattrocento*.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Giovangoli*, *op. cit.* and *The Same*, Citta di Castello, 1921, p. 72, attributes this fresco, apparently without much reason, to Antonio da Ferrara.

da Castello have been included in the productions of the Sienese school of the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (1).

In this region of Umbria there are some fresco fragments which, apart from offering us evidence of the diffusion of this style, are of little interest. Thus at Montone we find in the apse of the church of S. Francesco some débris of mural decoration, showing figures dressed in contemporary garments. The only scene that can be recognized is St. Francis receiving the stigmata. In a niche to the right near the apse a fresco represents SS. Antony of Padua, and Bernardine of Siena and in the covings SS. Sebastian and Christopher; the latter is very damaged. The only interest of this fresco is the date of 1448 which is very early for a representation of St. Bernardine of Siena. Towards the centre of the same wall, a Madonna enthroned with the Child standing on her knee is a very ugly production of the same artistic movement. The fresco of the Crucifixion in the old "Palazzo Pretorio", dates from 1453 and not from 1473 as has been declared. Although now very faded we can still discern that, considering the date of execution, it is quite an advanced work.

In the church of S. Francesco at Borgo San Sepolcro — just over the frontier into Tuscany — some traces of frescoes behind the apse, which might have depicted the

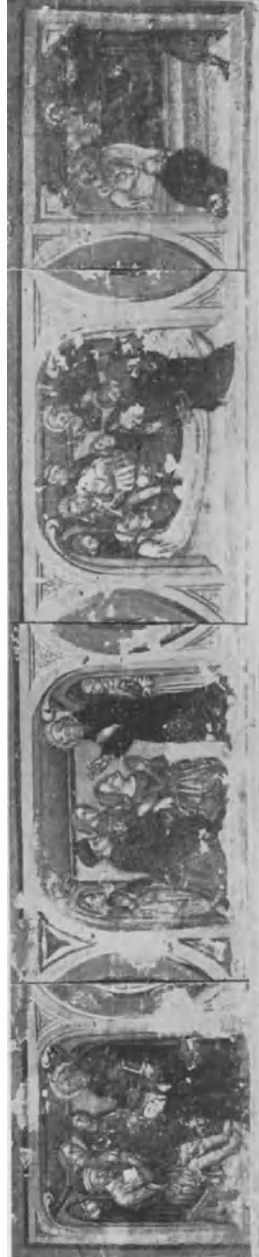


Fig. 232. School of Nelli, painted chest. Gallery, Fabriano.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

(1) v. Vol. II, p. 582.

martyrdom of St. Lawrence, recall the art of the Salimbeni brothers of Sanseverino.

In Perugia there is little manifestation of this artistic current. However, it should not be forgotten that Luca di Perugia executed in 1417 a fresco in the church of S. Petronio, Bologna <sup>(1)</sup>, which although rather reactionary for this period, all the same shows some elements of the Gothic manner of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. We have already seen that a panel of Nelli's school is preserved in the Opera del Duomo, Perugia. In the church of S. Fiorenzo there are some frescoes of a comparatively early date, showing evidence of the cosmopolitan Gothic movement. One over the altar which was detached from a house near the church represents the Virgin with a tiny image of Jesus held in her hand. This painting is perhaps by the artist who will be found later on active at Passignano. In a chapel at the end of the right transept, which until a short time ago was walled off from the rest of the church and used as a store-room, the vault is adorned with figures of the Saviour and the four Evangelists and the walls with scenes of the Nativity and the Child's first bath and traces of other scenes. These frescoes are very fine works of the first years of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; they are not without a strong Tuscan, probably Sienese, influence.

We might still cite as a production of this movement in Perugia a fresco in the Baldeschi chapel in the church of S. Francesco, representing St. Antony Abbot with a devotee kneeling at his feet and the Lord appearing above <sup>(2)</sup>.

An important series of enthroned allegorical figures of the Liberal Arts of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, detached from a house in Perugia, is now preserved in the gallery of Budapest.

At Passignano, near Perugia, we find, as I said before, the hand

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<sup>(1)</sup> v. Vol. IV, p. 476.

<sup>(2)</sup> *V. Ansidei*, La Chiesa di S. Francesco al Prato in Perugia, San Francesco di Assisi, V, p. 19. In the town gallery there is still a detached fresco showing a saint, suspended by the hair of her head, which should be included in this group. The following works in the same gallery are attributed to the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century: No. 136, a Madonna adored by a holy nun and monk; Nos. 111 and 12, St. Jerome and a holy martyr; No. 110, an enthroned Madonna. They are unimportant paintings and seem to me of slightly later date.



Fig. 233. School of Nelli, the Death of the Virgin, 1432.  
Cathedral Museum, Perugia.

Photo Anderson.



of the artist who worked in S. Fiorenzo, in the frescoes adorning the church of S. Cristoforo at the cemetery. They decorate the wall over the columns of the nave; to the right we see the Crucifixion, the Annunciation, the Virgin (?) and figures of saints, to the left the Trinity in one person with three faces, and saints. The dates, 1414, 1418, 1420, 1423 and 1436 (?) are given in the various inscriptions. Like the frescoes of S. Fiorenzo, these too belong, before all, to the Lorenzetti tradition of the 14<sup>th</sup> century of which they are a tardy manifestation. On the entrance wall there are some fragmentary frescoes which might date from the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

At Pacciano, in the neighbourhood of Perugia, a very large fresco of the Crucifixion with the three crosses and many figures below, is preserved on the end wall of the small building of the Confraternity of the Sacrament which originally must have been an oratory. The inscription below gives the date 1449 and the signature: "*Franciscus de Castro Plebis*", an artist whose real name was Francesco di Niccolo di Bonifacio da Citta della Pieve. Already in 1444 this painter was active in Pacciano and in 1487 he made a contract to execute frescoes in the church of S. Francesco in Citta della Pieve, which have since disappeared. His father originated from Siena. The fresco at Pacciano reveals him as a very feeble artist without either charm or technical knowledge; his style derives directly from Umbrian painting of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and there is no trace of any influence of the cosmopolitan Gothic movement <sup>(1)</sup>.

Two panels of a polyptych hanging on the wall of the same building, representing SS. Mustiola and Peter, are no doubt also from the hand of this painter.

In Citta della Pieve there is a fresco of much better quality, belonging to the Gothic style of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Although this fresco adorns the cloister of S. Francesco, in which church Francesco da Citta della Pieve worked, it is out of the question to ascribe to this mediocre artist the pleasing fresco we find here; it shows some connexion with the Orvietan school of the 14<sup>th</sup> cen-

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<sup>(1)</sup> *M. Guardabassi*, *Indice guida dei monumenti etc dell' Umbria*, Perugia, 1872, p. 161, *F. Canuti*, *La patria del pittore Giannicola*, Perugia, 1917, p. 7. *U. Gnoli*, *Pittori e miniatori*, p. 124.



Fig. 234. St. Antony and scenes from his legend, Umbrian School, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. S. Domenico, Citta di Castello.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

ture while the very remarkable plastic effects betray a knowledge of Florentine art. The subject represented is the Madonna enthroned between SS. Francis and Antony of Padua.

To the east of Perugia we have already found in Assisi <sup>(1)</sup> a fairly large number of paintings of the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century which pave the way to the diffusion of the Gothic manner of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

The most important painting of this movement here is the Madonna and three saints that Ceccolo di Giovanni frescoed in the Lower Church of S. Francesco <sup>(2)</sup>.

Of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century are several frescoes in some rooms which now form part of the S. Giuseppe Institute where, as we have already seen, some paintings of the previous century are preserved <sup>(3)</sup>.

In the town gallery there are some frescoes dated 1444 from the castle of Mora; one of them depicts St. Julian killing his parents; these paintings are of an extremely crude technique.

On the outside of the little chapel of the Porziuncola there are some fragmentary remains of a Madonna between two saints; as one of them is St. Bernardine, the work cannot date much before 1450. However, the decorative Gothic throne is of the same type as Nelli depicts. In its original state the fresco must have been a charming work.

The church of S. Claudio, near Spello, contains, besides votive frescoes, some paintings belonging to this artistic tradition, as does also a fresco in Sta. Maria Maggiore in the town where the wall of a little stairway behind the choir is adorned with a figure of the Madonna between two saints, one of whom, St. Antony, is alone visible.

Lastly in Foligno we meet with an artistic personality, very modest, it is true, but none the less quite well defined. It is Barto-

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<sup>(1)</sup> v. Vol. V, p. 70.

<sup>(2)</sup> v. Vol. V, p. 71.

<sup>(3)</sup> In the entrance hall we see a figure of St. Christopher and a female saint apparently appearing to a young man in a forest; in the following room we find frescoes of SS. Onuphrius, Stephen and some fragments, while a room to the side is adorned with a large figure of the Madonna, St. Apollinarius as bishop, enthroned, St. Roch and little more than the head of St. Sebastian

lomeo di Tommaso (<sup>1</sup>). He was the son of a member of the same calling and the father of another. We find him first in The Marches in 1425, living with his father, Tommaso, in Ancona. He is



Fig. 235. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Madonna and saints.  
S. Salvatore, Foligno.

Photo Alinari.

still there in 1433, and in 1434 is employed on work of considerable importance in Fano but in 1439 is back again in Ancona. Although for fifteen years Bartolomeo's principal residence was in The Marches, he seems all the same to have been inter-

(<sup>1</sup>) *M. Faloci Pulignani*, Bartolomeo di Tommaso, *Rassegna d'arte umbra*, III, 1921, p. 65. *U. Gnoli*, op. cit., p. 54.

mittently active in Foligno during this period, because in his contract for the works of 1434 in Fano, he warns his employers that he may be called to Foligno by Corrado Trinci and reserves to himself the right to answer this call. Besides, an old tradition which, although no contemporary document concerning it exists, seems worthy of confidence, affirms that Bartolomeo di Tommaso executed in 1437 for Rinaldo Trinci the panel still in the S. Salvatore church of Foligno (fig. 235), representing the Virgin on a throne adorned with angels between St. John the Baptist and the Blessed Pietro Crisci, dressed as a hermit. Two pinnacles showing an Apostle and a saint are now found near the picture, the predella of which was sold in 1825. A damaged fresco of the Flight into Egypt, taken from the façade of the same church, now preserved in the sacristy, is also attributed to this painter.

We find evidence of Bartolomeo's presence in Foligno in 1444, 1446, 1447, 1449, and 1451. From 1451 till 1453 he was in Rome but must have returned once more to Foligno in 1455 when his name is recorded for the last time.

Another authentic work by this master is the series of frescoes of 1449 which were brought from the church of Sta. Caterina to the gallery of Foligno (fig. 236). In the long inscription below, the date is still clearly visible but the signature: "*Bartholomeus Thoma Hoc op. fecit*" is not so easy to decipher.

One of the frescoes represents the martyrdom of St. Barbara whom a man is dragging by the hair in a landscape where shepherds and people are depicted, discussing the plague of locusts. Lower down some nuns are seen kneeling in prayer; another, more to the right, is shown at the feet of the Virgin and Child, Who, are seen in the Sacred House of Loreto, borne by two angels<sup>(1)</sup>, and then still another is represented adoring St. Antony of Padua. The three subjects are frescoed, one beside the other, in rather a curious fashion, without any connexion between them. Bartolomeo di Tommaso's hand is found still in a fresco of the Trinity between SS. Paul and Lawrence which originates from the church of S. Claudio, Foligno, but is now in the town

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(<sup>1</sup>) *B. Berenson*, Due illustratori italiani dello Speculum Humanae Salvationis, Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1926, p. 373.



Fig. 236. Bartolomeo di Tommaso, the Martyrdom of St. Barbara, the Madonna and St. Francis, 1449. Gallery, Foligno.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

gallery and a Madonna della Misericordia between SS. John the Baptist and Paul on the old façade of a confraternity (29 via della Puella). A Madonna of Loreto between SS. Lucy and Michael and a representation of a peace-making between two soldiers

in Sta. Maria delle Grazie at Rasiglia have also been ascribed to him <sup>(1)</sup>.

Of a triptych which, according to a document, Bartolomeo executed in 1451 for the church of Sta. Maria Maddalena, no trace remains; another lost work is a fresco of the Madonna and saints from the church of S. Domenico, formerly preserved in the gallery of the town, which Cavalcaselle attributed to this artist.

The most glorious moment in the career of Bartolomeo di Tommaso was in 1451 when Pope Nicholas V called him to Rome; he remained there until 1453 and during that time decorated several rooms in the Vatican and executed a frieze in the large hall of the Campidoglio and a Madonna on the stairway of the same palace <sup>(2)</sup>.

In the appearance of his extant works, we do not find any explanation of the pope's choice of this artist, because towards the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century surely he could have commanded the services of a better painter than the provincial little master that Bartolomeo after all really was.

From his works it can be discerned that he was perhaps slightly more influenced by the artists of The Marches, in particular by the Salimbeni, than by his compatriots. From the Salimbenis he borrowed the more elongated and more Gothic forms, noticeable to a marked degree in the panel of S. Salvatore. He reveals, however, certain eccentricities of style in the faces which are sometimes almost caricatures and in the exaggerated length of the fingers somewhat reminiscent of Nelli's manner; but Bartolomeo did not possess the sense of colour of the master of Gubbio, while his draughtmanship is even more inferior.

The region at present under discussion was good ground for the development of this movement. Already in a previous volume I dealt with the frescoes in the vaults of S. Francesco of Montefalco which date from about 1400 and which presage the art of Nelli <sup>(3)</sup>. In the same little town we find in the four divisions of the

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<sup>(1)</sup> The latter attribution was made by Signor G. Cristofani v. *Gnoli*, loc. cit. In the Lichtenstein Gallery, Vienna, the centre of a triptych by Fei — a Madonna, saints and angels — is without reason attributed to Bartolomeo di Tommaso.

<sup>(2)</sup> *E. Müntz*, *Les arts à la cour des Papes*, I, Paris, 1878, pp. 93, 131, 150.

<sup>(3)</sup> v. Vol. V, p. 80.



Fig. 237. Madonna, Umbrian School, 1437. S. Ponziano, Spoleto.

Photo Minist della Pubbl. Istr.



vault of the sacristy of S. Agostino a decoration which must have been executed towards the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It represents four doctors of the church — a pope, a cardinal and two bishops — each sitting at a desk. Below each figure there are two little saints while the keystone of the vault is adorned with a bust of the Saviour. The work is a little rustic but not without some importance. A panel with a great number of scenes from the Life of Christ, which is preserved in the museum (S. Francesco), is a late production of the same movement.

Also at Trevi we find evidence of the dissemination of this artistic current <sup>(1)</sup>.

In the Val di Nera, with Spoleto as its chief centre, we find a considerable manifestation, not always without charm, of the international Gothic style. In Spoleto itself there are several specimens in the crypt of S. Ponziano, where the vault of the central apse is adorned with four angels and the Trinity in which God the Father is represented holding the crucifix on which the dove comes to rest; angels support a curtain in the background and the members of a large family kneel in adoration. SS. Jerome and Onuphrius are also depicted. In the right apse, the same artist has represented an archangel with a nun and a man in adoration while in the other apse we see St. Michael overcoming the devil who attempts to drag towards him half of the balance held by the archangel. St. Apollonia and scenes from the Passion are depicted at a lower level to the sides.

A more refined and more sentimental painter executed a pleasing Madonna on the entrance wall to the right on entering, which is dated 1437 (fig. 237). Other Madonnas of later date are seen in the left apse and on the second pillar.

A fresco of considerable importance is that decorating the apse of S. Giuliano, a church just outside Spoleto; it represents

<sup>(1)</sup> On the right wall of S. Francesco there is a Virgin on a monumental throne after Nelli's type; over the altar a crucifix with the Virgin and St. John at the extremities and two little angels above the Redeemer's head is a slightly Gothic work of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as is also an Annunciation, preserved in the Boncompagni home for children. A copy of this Annunciation exists in the church of Sta. Maria Pietra Rossa, in the valley below Trevi, where among innumerable votive frescoes we find very ugly and rustic adaptations of the cosmopolitan Gothic style. Here are paintings dated from 1446 and 1448.



Fig. 238. The Coronation of the Virgin, St. Benedict and saints,  
Umbrian School, 1442. S. Giuliano, Spoleto.

Photo Anderson.

the Coronation of the Virgin in the midst of angels and lower down St. Benedict enthroned with five saints and a holy nun of his order, but one of the figures has disappeared (fig. 238). Other saints adorn the wall lower down and the vault where also a prophet is depicted. An ornamental border frames the apse. An inscription gives the name of the donor who was the prior, and the date, 1442<sup>(1)</sup>. The value of this work is, in particular, in the decorative effect of the ensemble.

In the Orphanage we find a fresco of the Madonna. A panel of the same subject in the Pinacoteca of Perugia seems to me by the same hand<sup>(2)</sup>, but it is inferior to the painting at Spoleto which, although rather damaged, must originally have been a charming work.

At Spoleto in the episcopal palace a beautiful triptych represents the Assumption of the Virgin who is seen carried to heaven by angels while the Apostles kneel below, between SS. John of Spoleto and Lucy, with scenes from the legend of the latter saint in the predella (fig. 239).

It seems rather doubtful if the painter who executed this panel was really of Umbrian origin because there are no other works in the region resembling this very beautiful but somewhat late production of the cosmopolitan Gothic tradition.

Some works without charm and of minor artistic value are preserved on the walls of the little church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo among the numerous frescoes of the 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>(3)</sup>.

The painter of considerable talent who, in 1437, signed the Madonna in the crypt of S. Ponziano is perhaps the same who decorated an open loggia behind the church of S. Antonio in Cascia with a fresco of the Madonna between St. Antony Abbot and the adjacent wall with representations of St. Michael slaying the dragon and weighing the souls. Below we read the date "*MCCCCXXX . . . .*." of which some of the figures have certainly been effaced. A Madonna on a pillar in the church of Sta. Maria in this little town seems to be also by the same

<sup>(1)</sup> *G. Angelini Rota*, Spoleto e il suo territorio, Spoleto, 1920, p. 107.

<sup>(2)</sup> *M. Salmi*, Note sulla Galleria di Perugia, L'Arte, XXIV, 1921, p. 164.

<sup>(3)</sup> The frescoes of about 1400 at Eggi, near Spoleto, have been mentioned in Vol. V, p. 122.



Fig. 239. Triptych, Umbrian School?. Episcopal Palace, Spoleto.

Photo Anderson.

hand, as well as a fresco over the altar in a side chapel of the lower church of S. Francesco at Monteleone di Spoleto. Here the fresco represented is an adaptation of the Last Judgment; the Saviour is enthroned in the midst of the instruments of the Passion with the Virgin and St. John the Baptist at the sides and

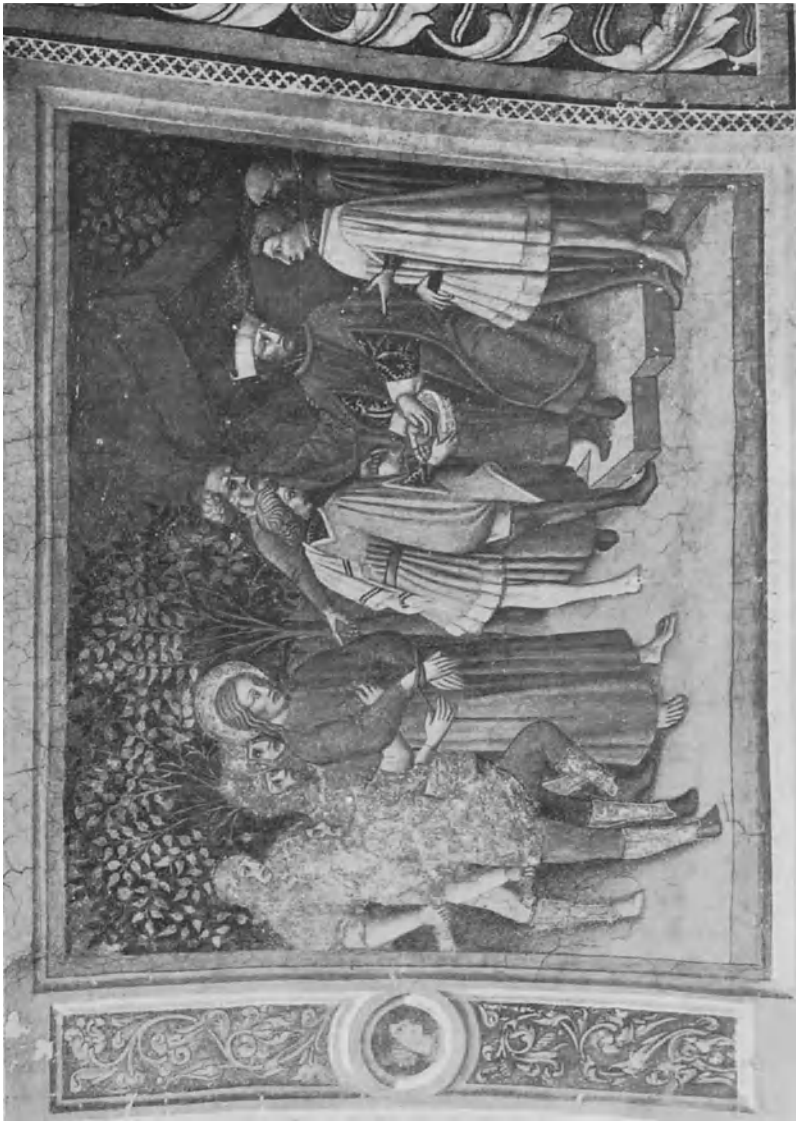


Fig. 240. Niccolò da Siena, Pilate washing his hands, 1461.  
S. Antonio, Cascia.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

angels blowing blasts on trumpets above. As in all the works of this little group the colours are charming and the gradations and reliefs treated with great skill.



Fig. 241. Niccolò da Siena, the Mocking of Christ, 1461.  
S. Antonio, Cascia.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

In the choir of S. Antonio, Cascia, there is a long series of frescoes, still almost entirely covered with white wash, apparently illustrating the life of the titular saint and other hermits. This decoration must be judged from the four Evangelists in the vault and a pretty little Madonna between two angels but the latter unfortunately has been freely restored. We come to the conclusion that this artist, possessing a fairly refined technique, derived from the Sienese school of the previous century but already belonged to the Gothic movement of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. He was certainly not Niccolo da Siena who in 1461 signed an important series of frescoes in the monks' choir situated behind and communicating with the chancel of S. Antonio (1).

On the right wall we find the artist's name in a song of praise which begins:

Vincere qui potuit Policreti solus honorum  
 Quem pia Sena dedit, Nicholaus, in arte magistra  
 Clara deum templi liquit spectacula turbe : etc. etc.

All the walls and the ceiling of this little room are covered with frescoes by Niccolo da Siena.

Following the text of the Evangel we see the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Washing of the Feet, the Prayer on the Mount of Olives, the Betrayal of Judas with St. Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus, Christ before Pilate who is shown washing his hands (fig. 240), the Flagellation, the Mocking of Christ (fig. 241), the Calvary (fig. 242), the Saviour being attached to the Cross, the Crucifixion, a large fresco with the three crosses, depicted in a crowded composition, the Descent from the Cross, the Faithful mourning round the Saviour's body, the Resurrection, the three Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre, the *Noli me tangere* and the Descent into Hell. In the vault the half-length figure of the Lord is represented in the midst of cherubim; then we see the four cardinal virtues, each enclosed in a garland of laurel, while above, a few words in Italian speak of their qualities.

A pretty frieze, with a medaillon containing a head, often separates these frescoes one from the other; sometimes they are separated by garlands or spiral columns.

(1) *A. Morini*, *Gli affreschi di Nicola da Siena nel coro monastico di S. Antonio Abate in Cascia*, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1910, p. 31.



Fig. 242. Niccolò da Siena, the Calvary, 1461. S. Antonio, Cascia.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.



As Dr. De Nicola has already remarked (<sup>1</sup>), the art of Niccolo da Siena exhibits absolutely nothing of the Sienese style, for in Siena this pictorial movement was represented, as we shall see, by artists very much superior to the poor provincial little master we find at work here. There are certainly several painters of the name of Niccolo in Siena at the beginning of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but we have no reason to identify any one of them with the artist who was active in Cascia.

As colourist he still passes but as draughtsman he is worse than mediocre. He lacks skill, dramatic force and even expression, and judging from his compositions alone, we should classify his paintings with 14<sup>th</sup> century works. That which gives him a place among the group of Gothic artists of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century is, apart from the Gothicism in certain of his forms, the use of contemporary costume, which, besides, is the only feature of genre painting in his work. I imagine that the artist was already an old man when he painted these frescoes in 1461 and that he really belonged to the previous generation which flourished about 1430—1440; even then his art was on the rustic side.

Niccolo da Siena must have worked also in the church of Sta. Maria in Cascia where, on the right wall, there remains a fragment of the Descent from the Cross, executed decidedly after his style. Among the fragments that we find on the entrance and adjacent walls, of S. Agostino in Norcia there are a few which might perhaps be ascribed to this painter; the date 1463 is still visible under one of the frescoes.

There is some evidence of the percolation of this current also to the south east of Spoleto. At Cesi in the church of S. Antonio which is tumbling in ruins, we find a large fresco of the Crucifixion with the three crosses and numerous figures below, some mounted and all very occupied; the left part of the fresco has already disappeared.

The importance of this painting lies chiefly in the signature and the date 1425 which formerly were visible; the painter was a certain Giovanni di Giovanello di Paulelli from Narni (<sup>2</sup>). In the

(<sup>1</sup>) In a note along with Signor Morini's article.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Guardabassi*, op. cit., p. 47, gives the signature as: "*Joannis Juenelli Paulelli pictori de Narnea pinsit hoc opus . . .*" He mentions the date as 1425 although apparently even then it was no longer visible.

vault of the apse there were originally six figures, doubtless the four Evangelists, SS. Peter and Paul; only St. Matthew at a desk and St. Peter have been preserved. I do not think that these frescoes are by the same hand as the Crucifixion, nor is a painting in this church of the Virgin enthroned with the Child, but Giovanni di Giovanelli might perhaps be held responsible for a Madonna and angels behind a little wooden grille on the first altar to the left in the church of Sta. Maria in Cesi.

A pleasing fresco of some importance is found under a ciborium in the church of S. Carlo in San Gemini. On a Gothic throne the Virgin holds the Child, Who bestows a blessing, in the midst of twelve angels, SS. Catherine, Lucy, Sebastian and a little grieving figure; above, four angels bear a half-length figure of the Saviour heavenwards. It is a fresco of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century slightly recalling Nelli's art.

At Terni, a panel in the Castelli chapel in S. Francesco, representing St. Antony with two angels above and below two scenes from his life, one taking place in a Gothic building, also bears some resemblance to Nelli's manner.

There are still a good many other paintings in Umbria belonging to the cosmopolitan Gothic movement of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but a brief enumeration of these will suffice (<sup>1</sup>). The names of the Umbrian painters of this period — there are not a

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(<sup>1</sup>) **Campi** (Norcia), S. Salvatore, left wall. fresco of the Madonna, dated 1429. **Cascia**, S. Francesco, on the entrance wall, a fresco of the two SS. Antony, dated 1442. **S. Felice di Narco** in the Val di Nera, apart from the fresco of 1400 (?) of the Adoration of the Magi, mentioned in Vol. V, p. 122, we find in the apse a painting of 1450, depicting God the Father between two angels and below to the left the Virgin, St. Sebastian, a female saint and others missing. The St. Michael and St. Felicity slaying a dragon are by a more primitive hand and date, probably, from about 1430. **Ferentillo**, Abbey of S. Pietro, some distance from the town, frescoes among which we see the Saviour in the midst of angels in the apse and some figures of saints below. **Massa Martana**, Sta. Maria in Pantano, altar to the right, Madonna suckling the Child between St. Antony and a female saint with two little angels above. **Narni**, Cathedral, chapel behind the choir, fresco of a miracle of a saint to whom an angel appears, Virgin and Child and six angels. **Orvieto**, Sta. Trinita outside the town, at the top of a stairs behind the sacristy, Madonna and Child, reminiscent of Gentile's art. **Rieti** (now in Lazio), S. Domenico, in a niche in the right wall, the Massacre of the Innocents, above the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John seated. The Crucifixion which reveals a

great many of them — by whom we possess no authentic work, will be found in Count Gnoli's book to which I have made frequent allusion.

In summing-up it can be said that this particular style was fairly widespread in Umbria. It penetrated apparently chiefly from The Marches where there were some highly important representatives of the movement. Perhaps Gentile was less significant than the Salimbeni brothers for the spread of this style in Umbria. Nelli, who was the Umbrian painter of greatest consequence to interpret the Gothic current, seems to have been directly influenced by more northern, in particular by French, forms, and the court of the Trinci in Foligno naturally afforded an excellent occasion for the manifestation of this art which lent itself admirably to the secular decoration of princely dwellings.

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connexion with Lorenzo Monaco's style is signed: "*Depisit Magister Liberatus de Reate MCCCCXXXI*".

A detached fresco of the Virgin and Child in the gallery of Budapest seems an Umbrian work and shows the date 1449 (or 1442?).

At Macerata Feltria there are some frescoes signed Orlandus Perusinus which we should have had to include in this group, had the date of 1401 as read by *A. Colasanti*, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 302, been correct, but it is an error, the date being 1501 and the artist's name Orlando Merlini.

## CHAPTER V.

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### LAZIO AND THE ABRUZZI<sup>(1)</sup>.

In no other region in Italy do we meet with so many frescoes belonging to the cosmopolitan Gothic movement of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century as in the district around Rome.

These works, which in themselves often show a sufficient number of characteristics in common for us to speak of a local school, are found in a definitely limited region; to the north of Rome the boundary is at Corneto which is almost on the sea; it then runs north towards Tuscania, passes by Viterbo and a little to the south of Terni, descends in a south-easterly direction into the Abruzzi as far as Sulmona, from which point it deviates south-west including the whole of Ciociaria, where the productions of this group are very numerous, and returns towards the Mediterranean, where the extreme limit on this side is the little town of Piperno.

It had better be said at once that all the works in this region are very poor in quality, often deriving directly from Umbrian art, particularly that of Nelli who was the most important and most individual painter to the south of The Marches.

Apart from the works showing this Umbrian influence, there is a certain number of paintings belonging to Gentile da Fabriano's tradition, others continue the style of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, while a fourth group includes typically rustic works, no doubt executed by poor country artists; the productions of the two last categories often intermingle.

Let us not forget that in the Abruzzi we have elsewhere remarked the existence of fairly important frescoes of earlier

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(1) The majority of frescoes of this tradition in Lazio has been dealt with by *A. Bertini Calosso*, *Le origine della pittura del Quattrocento attorno a Roma*, *Bolletino d'arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, XIV, 1920, pp. 97 and 185.

date, presaging the coming of this style. They are the paintings in the church of Sta. Maria in Piano at Loreto Aprutino (1).

We shall start with the first of these groups, that comprising the works deriving from the Umbrian tradition, dominated by Nelli.

A number of paintings after this style were executed by Pietro Coleberti of Piperno or by members of his school (2). An important series of frescoes signed by Coleberti is preserved in the church of Sta. Caterina at Roccantica, to the south of Terni and still quite near Umbria. They show scenes from the life of the titular saint and some other representations. Besides the isolated figures of four saints (3) and one of St. Michael by the same painter, we find on the entrance wall the Coronation of the Virgin and high up on the end wall the Annunciation. The story of the saint is shown on three of the walls of the little church; that to the left is not adorned with them.

The events depicted are St. Catherine in dispute with the pagan doctors (fig. 243); adjacent we see her flagellation (fig. 244) and in an angle her mystic marriage with Christ, which is represented occurring in prison. The following fresco illustrates the conversion of the empress which also takes place in prison where the empress has penetrated with Porphyry and other members of her suite. We then see the converted heathen philosophers burnt by order of the emperor who directs the proceedings; some soldiers also are present while to the right angels are depicted receiving the martyrs' souls in the form of little naked children.

When the emperor attempts to starve the saint, she is nourished by the help of the Saviour and one of the frescoes shows St. Catherine informing the heathen prince of this fact. Then follows the scene of the angels destroying the wheel on which the saint is to suffer her martyrdom. A fresco, of which but some vague traces remain, perhaps illustrates the martyrdom of the empress and of Porphyry, while the last scene shows

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(1) v. Vol V, p. 372.

(2) *Bertini Calosso*, op. cit., p. 185 et seq.

(3) The figure that Signor Bertini Calosso calls the Saviour is, I think, a representation of St. James.



Fig. 243. Pietro Coleberti, St. Catherine disputing with the pagan doctors, 1430. Sta. Caterina, Roccantica.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

the decapitation of the saint and her body being entombed by four angels.

The signature of the painter "*Petrus Coleberti de Piperno p.*" is inscribed at the foot of the fresco representing the empress visiting the saint in prison, while above this scene another in-

scription gives the name of the donor, "*Armelleus de Bastonis de Esculus*", and the date June 1430<sup>(1)</sup>.

We see at a glance that Pietro Coleberti was a little painter-decorator of no real merit. His style of painting retains many elements of the previous century, particularly noticeable in the architectural features which he employs as indications necessary to the narrative and not as the frame or surrounding to his compositions. In his morphological types, their build and expression, and even in the arrangement of the scenes and certain ornamental details, there is a decided connexion with the art of Nelli, whose works he must have seen, although it cannot be said that he belongs to the school of the Eugubine master.

Signor Bertini Calosso discovers Pietro Coleberti's hand in a Madonna of the Annunciation against an important architectural background which forms the subject of a fragmentary fresco on a pillar in the church of S. Benedetto in Piperno, the artist's native town, and in the damaged decoration of a lunette over the door of Sta. Maria Assunta at Sermoneta; here we see the Virgin and Child between a holy bishop and St. Peter, encircled by a frame formed by the Saviour and angels. Lastly, he holds Coleberti responsible for a fresco of the martyrdom of S. Ellenterius in the crypt of the cathedral of Velletri of which there remains only a fragment of the architecture but this indeed does bear a resemblance to that of the painter's other works.

In the church of S. Pietro in the cemetery of Montebuono, quite near Roccantica, a fresco representing the Nativity is signed "*Magister Jacobus de Rocca Anthica dipinçit*"; originally the date 1451 was also inscribed but this has entirely disappeared<sup>(2)</sup>. By Jacopo da Roccantica, we find in the same church still a Madonna enthroned in the midst of angels and St. John the Baptist (fig. 245) and a Last Judgment of which but a fragment is preserved. I am inclined to go a step further than Signor

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(1) The coat of arms of the de Bastonis is painted on either side of the Annunciation which is represented in a meadow. It is composed of an arm holding a bludgeon around which a garland is wreathed. Armelleus Bastonis de Esculo was a famous captain of his day and is mentioned between 1423 and 1431. He was related to the Trinci of Foligno and was castellan and governor of Roccantica for the Popes Martin V and Eugenius IV.

(2) *Guardabassi*, op. cit., p. 116.



Fig 244. Pietro Coleberti, the Flagellation of St. Catherine, 1430.  
Sta. Caterina, Roccantica.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Bertini Calosso and ascribe to Jacopo da Roccantica or to adherents of his manner, the greater part of the mural decoration in the church and apse including the figure of St. Peter enthroned, three other Madonnas, one between two saints, and some figures of saints. Further I believe him to have been the painter who



adorned the arch in the choir, leading to the chapel to the right of the apse, and who executed the Evangelists in the vault of this chapel, and the frescoes on the left wall depicting below, the Baptism of Christ, the beheading of St. John the Baptist and Salome offering the head of St. John to Herod, and above, some fragments which might have belonged to a scene of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. On the wall opposite, the legend of St. James saving the pilgrim's son who was unjustly hanged, is narrated in several scenes (fig. 246). I think that the hand which executed these paintings is different from and even more inferior than Jacopo's; but conversely the Annunciation on the outside of the chapel where each of the figures is depicted in a little Gothic edifice while God the Father in the midst of angels appears above, seems to me of better technique. An amusing border, in which little figures, many of them caricatures, climb into or run along garlands, surrounds the entire fresco. This last painting is the only one which, on account of its motif and its style, really belongs to the cosmopolitan Gothic movement and which shows a more or less direct connexion with Nelli's art. As for the rest of the decoration it is so very poor and rustic that I can hardly classify it as a true production of this style with which the artist must have come into contact very indirectly, thus estranging him still more from the veritable Gothic manner; and really an effort must be made to discover any connexion with Pietro Coleberti, in whose school Signor Bertini Calosso places these poor works (<sup>1</sup>).

Another provincial little painter working after the same manner as Jacopo da Roccantica was "*Jacobus de Castro Poli*" or Jacopo da San Polo whose name as well as formerly the date 1451 (<sup>2</sup>) is in part visible under a fresco, copied from Jacopo da Roccantica's painting of the punishments of hell, a fragment of which is preserved in the church of Sta. Maria in the cemetery

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(<sup>1</sup>) In other parts of the church we find still some votive frescoes among which there is a scene of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. Some of them might be attributed to Jacopo da Roccantica. Signor Bertini Calosso recognizes his hand in the figures of SS. Leonard and Catherine which are preserved in the ruins of a Benedictine hermitage on Mount Tancia, not far from Montebuono.

(<sup>2</sup>) *Bertini Calosso*, op. cit., p. 196.

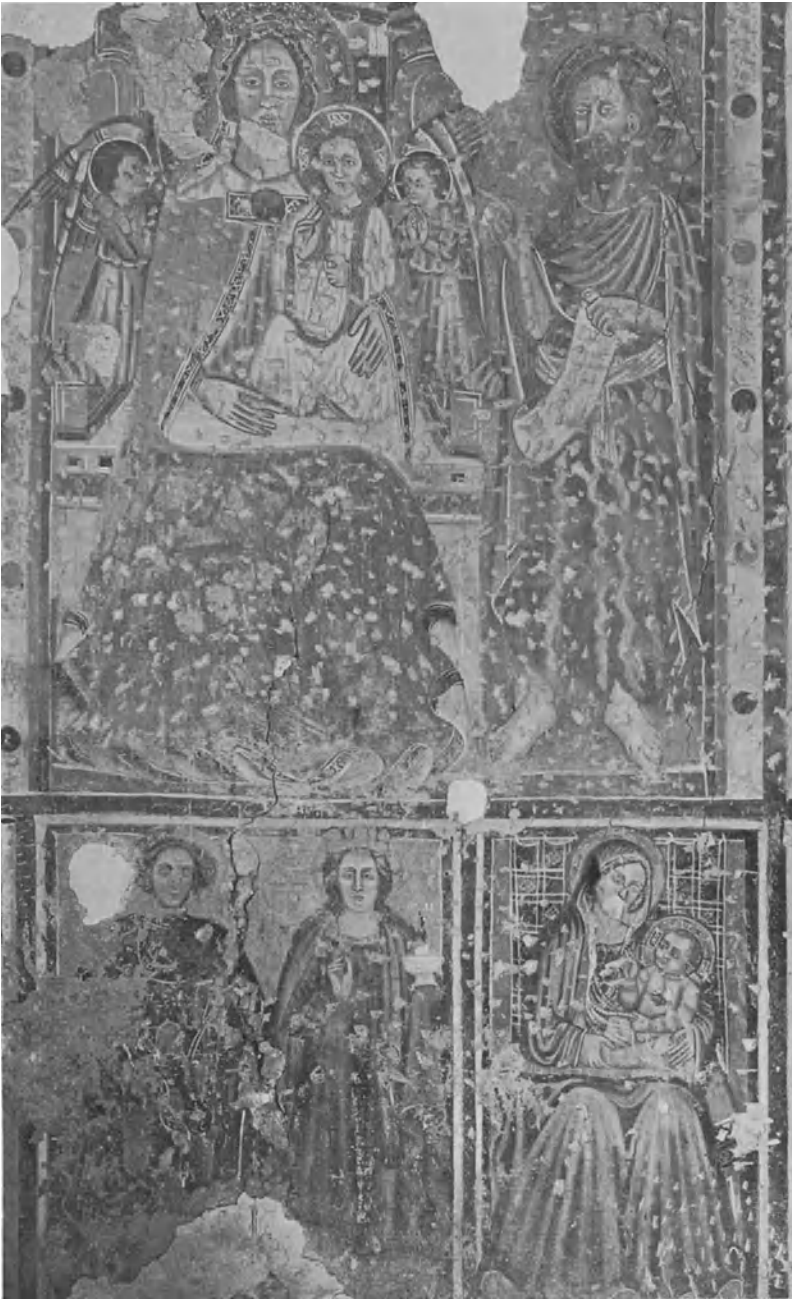


Fig. 245. Jacopo da Roccantica, frescoes. S. Pietro, Montebuono.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

of Fianello, in the commune of Montebuono. This composition is the sequel to an important painting of the Last Judgment in the apse; below we see the Twelve Apostles (fig. 247); half-figures of saints adorn the chancel arch while in the body of the church there are still some votive frescoes by the same artist who was even less skilful than Jacopo da Roccantica.

Some frescoes in the church of S. Antonio Abate in Piperno are the work of a pupil of Pietro Coleberti. In the vault over the altar are depicted the Virgin, standing in a mandorla holding the Child, and the seven Sacraments. These paintings are very damaged and with the exception of the Virgin, only those representing Confirmation and Marriage are easily recognizable. The derivation from the art of Coleberti and even from that of Nelli is quite evident.

A very important series of frescoes, showing before all an influence of the Umbrian school, is found in the Sma. Annunziata chapel at Cori (1). It illustrates the Childhood of Christ (fig. 248), Old Testament history (fig. 249) and the Last Judgment (fig. 250). The figures of saints, the scenes from the Passion, the Resurrection, a fragment of the *Noli me tangere*, the votive frescoes and other paintings are by other artists who, on the contrary, seem to have been inspired by the school of The Marches but were not, as we shall see, without a certain Florentine influence. With regard to the dating of that part which at present interests us, I do not think any very satisfactory conclusion has been reached. Signor Hermanin believes them to be 14<sup>th</sup> century works, executed during the cardinalship of Pietro, Bishop of Pallentia, probably Valencia, in Spain, which lasted from 1378 till 1401 and to whom an inscription in the little church itself bears reference (2), but in my opinion that seems a good deal too early.

The frescoes might date from the second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century but it is always difficult to assign a precise date to works of little artistic value, none the less, I think it quite possible that they were executed in the time of Giovanni Cervantes whose coat of arms is painted in the church and who was car-

(1) *F. Hermanin*, *Le pitture della cappella dell' Annunziata a Cori*, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 45. *Bertini Calosso*, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 208.

(2) *Hermanin*, *op. cit.*, p. 50.



Fig. 246. Scene from the life of St. James, School of Lazio, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. S. Pietro, Montebuono.  
Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

dinal with the titles of Ostia and Velletri in the diocese of which Cori is situated. He was made cardinal in 1446 and died in 1453. Sante Lauriente, writing in 1637 his "Historia Corana", the manuscript of which is preserved in the Casanatense Library, Rome, informs us that this mural decoration was executed about the year 1426 <sup>(1)</sup>. It is certain that in 1455 the frescoes already existed because we find a graffito with this date on the paint <sup>(2)</sup>.

The end wall is adorned with the scene of the Annunciation: the Virgin is shown in the interior of a building outside which the angel inclines; above, God the Father looses the dove. Lower down are depicted the Nativity in a cave and the Adoration of the Magi in which the Virgin is seated on an imposing architectural throne. In the vault there are some rows of illustrations from the Old Testament, including the stories of Adam and Eve, of Noah, Jacob, Moses, Aaron and of Joseph, and other episodes from Jewish history, as well a mystic representation of the gates of Paradise. The fact that these frescoes are partially repainted detracts, to a certain extent, from the interest which they might otherwise have had. On the entrance wall over the door we see an important fresco of the Last Judgment in a very elaborate composition, including every possible iconographical detail. This part, as well as the decoration of the end wall, is in a good state of preservation and reveals the hand of a minor master, with a considerable amount of spirit, less refined than Nelli but all the same approaching him in his human types and facial expressions.

Very superior and belonging to quite a different artistic direction was the artist who adorned the lower part of the wall with scenes from the Passion, the Resurrection and several saints.

As Signor Hermanin has justly remarked these frescoes are not all of the same quality and we must admit that a helper collaborated with this excellent painter. It was no doubt the master who executed SS. John the Baptist (fig. 251), Peter and Andrew on the right wall and SS. Bartholomew, Paul and John the Evangelist on the wall opposite. We discover his hand on the right wall also in a representation of the *Noli me tangere* which, except for the upper part of the Saviour, has been destroyed by the breaking in of a door. The master's collaboration with his help-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Hermanin*, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Hermanin*, op. cit., p. 50.



Fig 247. Jacopo da Castropoli, detail of the Twelve Apostles.

Sta. Maria, Fianello. Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

ers was very close. Following on the *Noli me tangere*, we see the Resurrection and the *Pietà* both of inferior technique and without any doubt by a helper. Close to the figure of St. John the Evangelist is found a votive fresco of the Madonna suckling

the Child with St. Antony Abbot which does not belong to this series. As works of the chief artist's school might be quoted another Madonna beside a second figure of St. John the Evan-



Fig. 248. Scenes from the Life of Christ, School of Lazio, second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Sma. Annunziata, Cori. Photo Alinari.

gelist who can be recognized from the inscription he holds, several saints, including SS. Catherine, Lucy, Agatha, Leonard and Jerome and scenes from the Passion which are divided between the two walls.

The principal artist who worked here is a painter of extraordinary temperament, very forceful in movement and expression. The proportions of his figures recall sooner the art of The Marches but his technical qualities, such as his plastic effects and his chiaroscuro, reveal a knowledge of the advances made in the



Fig. 249. Scenes from the Old Testament, School of Lazio, second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Sma. Annunziata, Cori.

Photo Alinari.

technique of painting by the great Florentine masters, such as Masaccio.

Among the artists who at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century



decorated part of the Sacro Speco monastery near Subiaco (<sup>1</sup>), there was at least one who also did not belong to the group deriving from the Umbrian school. Unfortunately restorers have been at work here and his paintings have completely lost their original appearance.

The master with whom we shall deal first, executed the frescoes of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the refectory where the principal painting shows the Saviour on the Cross in the midst of four angels, the Virgin and St. John and to the sides SS. Augustine, Gregory, Scholastica, Benedict, John the Baptist and Ambrosius (fig. 252); then we see a large fresco of the Last Supper (fig. 253) taking place in a room of which, on account of the suppression of the walls, both the interior and exterior are shown; the Saviour and the Apostles, with the exception of Judas, are seated at one side of the table; St. John rests his head on Christ's breast (<sup>2</sup>). The borders are adorned with half length figures of prophets in medallions. Among the other representations on the walls we see St. Jerome writing at a desk. Saints and angels and medals containing the Easter Lamb and the four Evangelists decorate the vault. These mural paintings are not really very characteristic of the current we are dealing with at present. The style which can be surmised under the repaint belongs sooner to the old Sienese school, more particularly the manner of Barna.

The frescoes in the other parts of the monastery show on the other hand a dependence on the Umbrian school and a certain connexion with Nelli's art. We discover an indication regarding the date of this decoration in the "degli Angioli" chapel near the sacristy, which contains the tomb of Louis, Bishop of Majorca who died in 1428. In the biography of this ecclesiastic mention is made of some work that he had had carried out in this chapel (<sup>3</sup>). No doubt the fresco decoration formed part of this work but unhappily again a restoration which dates from 1855 has disfigured the paintings in the vault, representing St. Michael and angels. Executed after the Umbrian manner but not all by the

(<sup>1</sup>) *F. Hermanin* in *P. Egidi, G. Giovannoni e F. Hermanin*, I monasteri di Subiaco, II, Rome, 1904, p. 517. *Bertini Calosso*, op. cit., p. 202.

(<sup>2</sup>) *B. Berenson*, *Due illustratori* etc.

(<sup>3</sup>) *Hermanin*, op. cit., p. 517.

same hand are the figures of SS. Francis, Bernard, Dominic and Augustine which adorn the corridor leading from the altar of the upper church to the gate of the garden, some angels around the "porta verde" between the church and the garden, the figures of Pope St. Augustine I, St. Gregory the Great, Pope St. Leon IV



Fig. 250. The Last Judgment, School of Lazio, second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Sma. Annunziata, Cori. Photo Alinari.

and St. Benedict, which decorate the vault of the room before the old chapter-house and a Madonna over the door leading from the corridor to the old chapter-house (<sup>1</sup>).

The principal frescoes are found in the second part of the church and in the corridor and chapel beyond; for the greater part they illustrate the legend of St. Benedict. On the left wall is shown the saint, who, by making the sign of the cross, chases away the devil who presents himself in the form of a blackbird. Of a scene which represented the story of how on

(<sup>1</sup>) I follow the description given by Signor Hermanin but I do not always agree with him regarding the relation between the different painters.



Fig. 251. St. John the Baptist, School of Lazio, second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Sma. Annunziata, Cori.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

one occasion St. Benedict was compared with Moses, nothing remains but a monk tilling the soil. Also of the following scene which showed St. Benedict praying in his cave, little is now visible. In a lunette we see the saint, who has been left on the rocks, raising his head towards the hand of God. All these frescoes seem to be by the same artist who is certainly not the best



Fig. 252. Crucifixion and saints, fresco, circa 1400. Sacro Speco, Subiaco.

Photo Alinari.

of those active here. Much superior is the fresco high up on the back wall, depicting St. Benedict on a Gothic throne; on either side a holy monk presents the father and the mother of the saint,

behind each of whom kneels another figure, no doubt the donors.

Yet another hand executed the scenes from the life of the saint on the right wall; here we see how St. Benedict, by making the sign of the benediction, shivers a vessel containing poison which one of the monks offers him during a meal in the monastery (fig. 254); the next fresco represents the devil leading a young brother away from the monastery and St. Benedict exorcizing the possessed monk by striking him with a branch (fig. 255). The four medallions containing saints which adorned the vault, are almost entirely effaced. The painter to whom we owe these works, must have been a strange individual; his forms are complicated and without charm, and his faces curious and grimacing. He shows some connexion with the painter who executed the Crucifixion (fig. 256) in the corridor leading from the altar to the sacristy.

Here we find first a fresco of St. Onuphrius and higher up the scene of how when St. Scholastica begged her brother to remain with her throughout the night in order to discuss spiritual things, a terrible storm prevented him from returning to the monastery as he desired to do, in accordance with the monastic rules (fig. 257). The following arch is adorned with a bust of Christ and St. Benedict looking at the angels, bearing the body of St. Scholastica to heaven. In the vault we see, besides the head of the Saviour and four Apostles which are very much repainted, the Easter Lamb, and the figures of SS. Francis of Assisi, Augustine, Bernard and Dominic in medallions. Two little chapels are decorated, one with the death of St. Scholastica and that of St. Placidius, the other with the decapitation of St. Paul and several figures of saints.

The second arch shows a rich ornamentation of garlands interspersed with medallions, containing the hand of the Saviour and half-length figures of saints; whole-length figures of saints are seen lower down. The lunettes here are adorned with the martyrdom of St. Placidius, his brothers and sisters and thirty companions (fig. 258) and St. Peter, accompanied by St. John, healing the lame man who is represented first seated and then standing near the door of the temple (fig. 259), which seems to me sooner the work of a helper. The same artist might perhaps be held responsible for the considerably repainted Crucifixion with

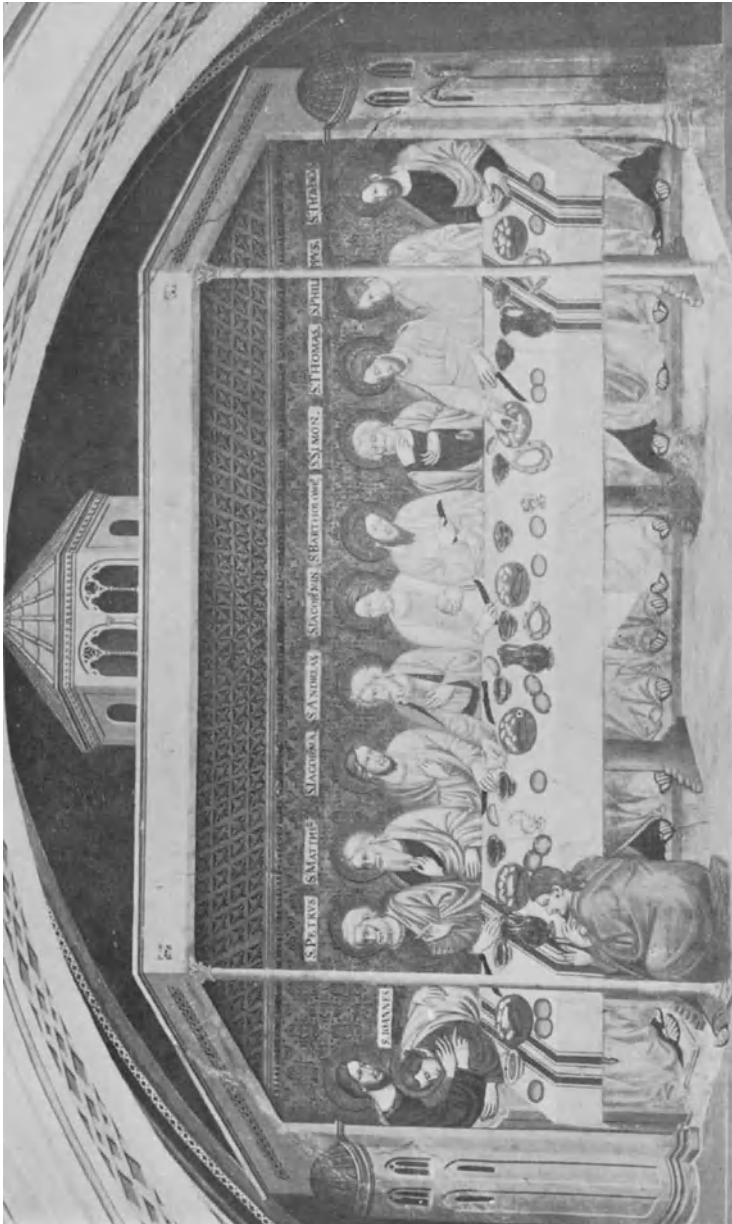


Fig. 253. The Last Supper, fresco, circa 1400 Sacro Speco, Subiaco.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.



Fig. 254. A Miracle of St. Benedict, School of Lazio, first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Sacro Speco, Subiaco.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

the Virgin, SS. John, Benedict and Scholastica in the sacristy where, besides, we find a picture of the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, illustrating the life of St. Benedict.

This artist was the best of the whole group but I dare not affirm, as Signor Hermanin does, that between him and the others we can discern the relationship of master and pupils. All these artists show a fairly marked connexion between one another at the same time as a decided individuality of style. With Nelli they



Fig. 255. St. Benedict exorcizing a possessed monk, School of Lazio, first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Sacro Speco, Subiaco.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

have in common the vivacity of expression and generally speaking the human types.

A pleasing fresco of the Gothic current of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century is preserved in the old convent of Sta. Scolastica, in a lunette in the second cloister over the main entrance to the church; it depicts the Virgin between St. John the Baptist and a female martyr. In the little chapel of S. Clemente, between this convent and the bridge of S. Mauro, we also find some frescoes





Fig. 256. The Crucifixion, beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.  
Sacro Speco, Subiaco.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

of the same tradition but a too thorough restoration has detracted almost all the interest from these paintings.

A fairly interesting series of frescoes adorns a chapel behind the church of the "Morrone" Abbey which was used as prison and hospital and which is situated a short distance from Sulmona,



Fig. 257. St. Onuphrius and a scene from the lives of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica, School of Lazio, first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Sacro Speco, Subiaco.

Photo Alinari,

consequently in the Abruzzi and in the most eastern part of the district with which we are dealing. The chapel was no doubt decorated on the occasion when the beautiful monumental tomb, the work of Gualtiero d'Alemania, was erected in 1412 to the memory of a young member of the Caldora family.

Directly over the tomb is depicted the Deposition from the Cross (figs. 260 and 261), a subject very suitable to the site. In the background we see the two other crosses and also the column at which Christ was flagellated is represented. Two angels carrying the instruments of the Passion approach from either side. In the centre eight of the faithful, their grief realistically expressed, are placed around the body of the Saviour. To either side of this fresco are groups of the different angelic hierarchies, carrying emblems but these paintings are very damaged. The Crucifixion in all probability decorated the apse but it has been entirely effaced; opposite the tomb, however, we see, in three rows, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Betrayal of Judas, the Flagellation, the Ascension (fig. 262) and the Descent of the Holy Ghost (fig. 263) with three figures of saints in the border below.

Characteristic of this artist, too, are the facial traits and extraordinary attitudes due in part to his attempt to produce realistic pictures and in part to the influence of miniature painting, causing a tendency to create burlesque figures.

Aesthetically speaking, these frescoes are of little value but they reveal considerable force and a remarkable dramatic spirit on the part of the artist. Over the door of the cathedral of Sulmona there is a fresco of the Pietà which I think can be ascribed to the same painter <sup>(1)</sup>.

A certain Nardo di Andrea da Sulmona was one of the artists employed by King Ladislas of Naples in the early years of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; he is mentioned in 1407 <sup>(2)</sup>. Record should still be made of two very mediocre frescoes detached from the church of S. Domenico, Chieti, and brought to the museum of the town; one represents the Crucifixion with two saints and above, the

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<sup>(1)</sup> I am not aware of the reason which has led Prof. A. Venturi to attribute this fresco to Leonardo da Teramo with whom we shall deal later on.

<sup>(2)</sup> *W. Rolfs*, *Geschichte der Malerei Neapels*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 78.

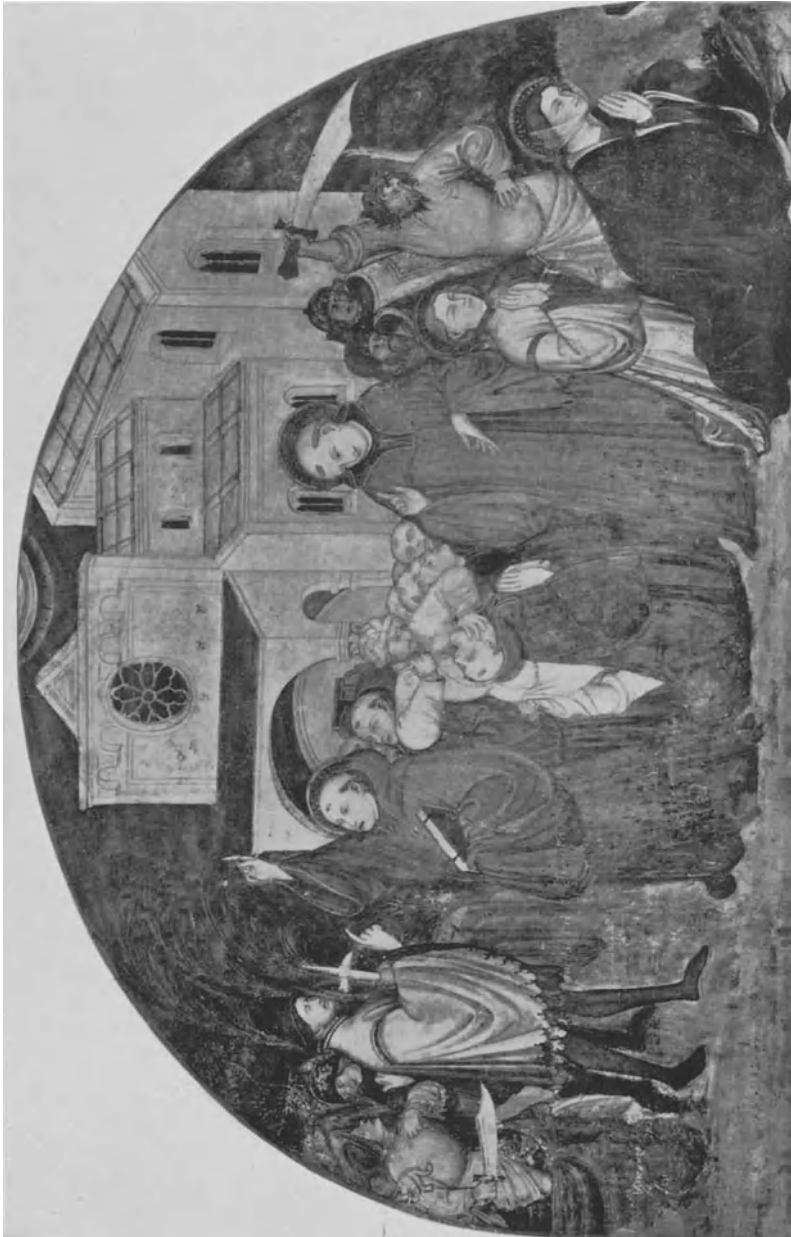


Fig. 258. The Martyrdom of St. Placidius, his brothers, sisters and companions, School of Lazio, first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Sacro Speco, Subiaco.

Photo Alinari.



Fig. 259. St. John healing a lame man, School of Lazio, first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Sacro Speco, Subiaco. Photo Alinari.

Annunciation, the other, again the Crucifixion with four saints (fig. 264) and fragments of three other saints above.

The last series of frescoes executed after this style is found in the opposite corner of this region; it adorns the Vitelleschi Palace in Corneto Tarquinia <sup>(1)</sup>. The construction of this beau-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Bertini Calosso*, op. cit., p. 196.

tiful building was started by Giovanni Vitelleschi, Bishop of Florence, about the year 1435. According to a contemporary witness it was entirely finished at the beginning of 1439 but the coat-of-arms with the cardinal's insignia proves that the mural



Fig. 260. The Deposition, Abruzzese School, circa 1412.

Morrone Abbey, Sulmona.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

decoration could not have been executed prior to 1437, the year he was given this high office.

The decoration which interests us here is found in the room before the chapel. Over the windows the principal fresco depicts Jesus at the age of twelve teaching in the Temple (fig. 265), a Gothic building of fantastic form, supported on columns; within we see Jesus and the doctors listening, arguing or taking notes; the Virgin and St. Joseph enter from the left; to the right an old man and a little boy look on. The rest of the ornamentation



Fig. 261. Detail of fig. 260.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

comprises a long frieze in grisaille illustrating events from the life of Lucrezia Romana, interrupted by personifications of the virtues executed in colour. We see also the cardinal's coat of arms.

As Signor Bertini Calosso remarks, we find here an intermingling of sacred and profane subjects, which is quite in harmony with the humanistic spirit of the period. Cardinal Vitelleschi besides was a confirmed humanist.

The frescoes, illustrating the text of Titus Livy which relates the sad story of Lucrezia, shows first how her husband and other knights, desirous of information regarding their wives' conduct,



Fig. 262. The Ascension, Abruzzese School, circa 1412.  
Morrone Abbey, Sulmona.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr

pay them an unexpected visit and find them leading an exemplary life. Then we see Sistus Tarquinius in the room of Lucrezia who, threatened with shame and death, submits (fig. 266). The next scene depicts Lucrezia sending letters to her father and her husband, telling them of the incident and begging them to come and revenge her (fig. 267). The husband reading the letter in a military camp is the subject of the next painting. The penultimate fresco depicts the journey of the knights to the dwelling of





Fig. 263. The Descent of the Holy Ghost, Abruzzese School, circa 1412.  
Morrone Abbey, Sulmona.

Photo Minist. dell' Pubbl. Istr.

Lucrezia who stabs herself with a dagger (fig. 268); then follows a battle scene in which the infamous Sistus Tarquinius is killed (fig. 269).

The virtues, Prudence, Temperance, Courage and Justice are personified in the form of young women, sitting between two spiral columns, holding emblems. These frescoes again are somewhat burlesque in nature and it is quite evident that the artist's narrative sense was very superior to his technical know-

ledge. The faces, already of an ugly type, are positively disfigured by the grimacing super-realistic expressions. The architecture and landscapes are here veritable accessories, reminding us of the method employed by painters of the previous century. A marked attention is paid to the costumes, the armour and the weapons; and the ensemble, more particularly on account of the intense narrative spirit, is reminiscent of the illustrations of mediaeval romances; the influence of profane miniatures is very obvious and I think it quite possible that the artist had at hand an illuminated manuscript of the same tale.

As a production of this same group, in which the curious facial traits are such an out-



Fig. 264. The Crucifixion and saints, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. S. Domenico, Chieti.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

standing characteristic, I should like to mention still the decoration in the vault of the cathedral of Celano on Lake Fucino in the Abruzzi, which I think was destroyed by an earthquake some years ago. The chancel arch showed the half-length figures of saints and prophets in medallions (fig. 270) and the triangles



Fig. 265. Christ teaching in the Temple, fresco, circa 1439. Vitelleschi Palace, Corneto Tarquinia.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

of three of the vaults were adorned with two representations of the Madonna and several saints, all in half-figure. The artist bore more relation to the Umbrian masters and in particular to Nelli, than the majority of painters who worked in this region.

The second group of Gothic paintings of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in this district show a more evident knowledge of Gentile da Fabriano's art.

Let us begin with the works in Velletri where an influence of Gentile can be easily explained by the presence in the town of one of the master's pictures.

We know the names and productions of two painters of Velletri, viz. Lello and Luciano da Velletri.

A large polyptych signed "*Lellus de Velletro pinsit*" is preserved in the gallery of Perugia (fig. 271); it originates from the



Fig. 266. The story of Lucretia Romana, fresco, circa 1439.  
Palazzo Vitelleschi, Corneto Tarquinia.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

church of the Augustine monastery, Sta. Maria del Condotto, near Perugia, and from there was transported to the church of S. Agostino in the town.

The central panel shows the Virgin on a throne with trees growing in the midst of the Gothic decoration; the Child on her knee looks upward, two little angels stand close by. On the lateral panels we see SS. John the Baptist, Augustine, Agatha and Liberator<sup>(1)</sup>. It is quite manifest that when Lello executed this altar-piece he was inspired by Gentile's more mature works.

<sup>(1)</sup> O. Sirén, *L'Arte*, VII, 1904, p. 337. W. Bombe, *op. cit.*, p. 76. Bertini Calosso, *op. cit.*, 205.

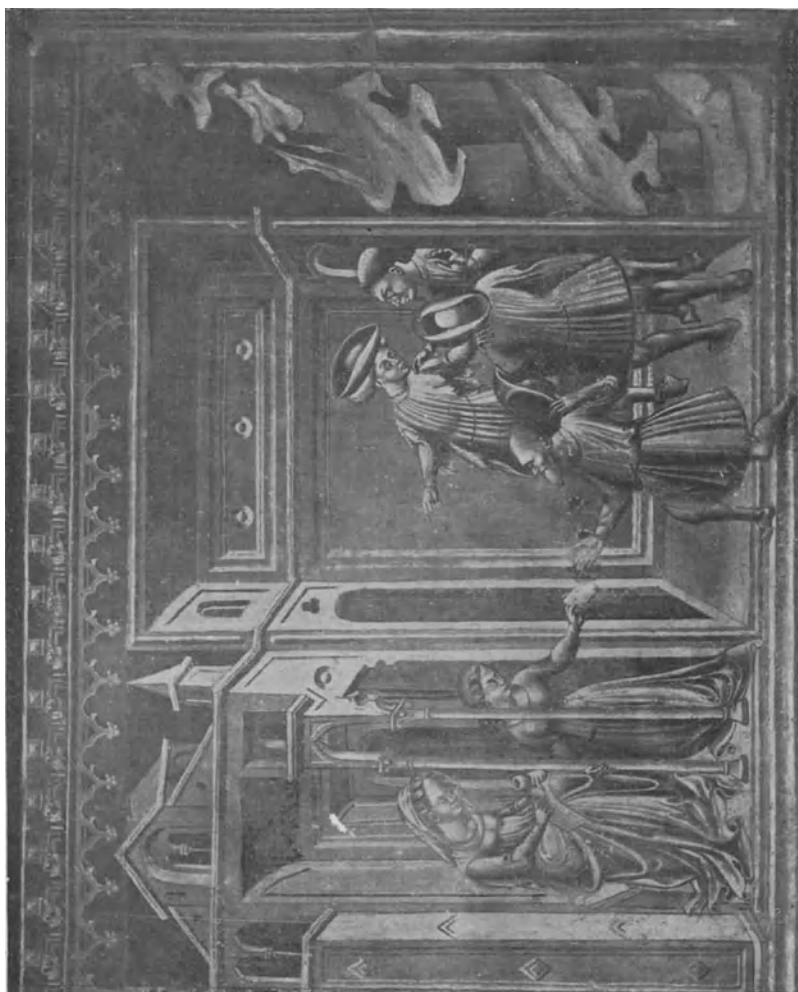


Fig. 267. The story of Lucrezia Romana, fresco, circa 1439.  
Palazzo Vitelleschi, Corneto Tarquinia.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

The form of the throne and the figures of the angels bear quite a marked resemblance to Gentile's panel in the same gallery.

The only other picture I know which might be ascribed to the same hand is a little Madonna in the collection of Prince Fabrizio Massimo, Rome (fig. 272). The Virgin, a flower in her hand, sits on a cushion among trees, the Child Christ plays with a bird and



Fig. 268. The story of Lucrezia Romano, fresco, circa 1439,  
Palazzo Vitelleschi, Corneto Tarquinia.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

God the Father appears above. It is more pleasing than the polyptych, and Gentile's influence is again very evident.

In the cathedral of Velletri there is a very damaged fresco

representing the Virgin and Child with two saints, one of which has disappeared, to either side, which, although very rustic in appearance, bears some connexion with Lello's art.

Giovanni da Velletri, also a painter concerning whom we possess a document of 1414, should in all probability be iden-

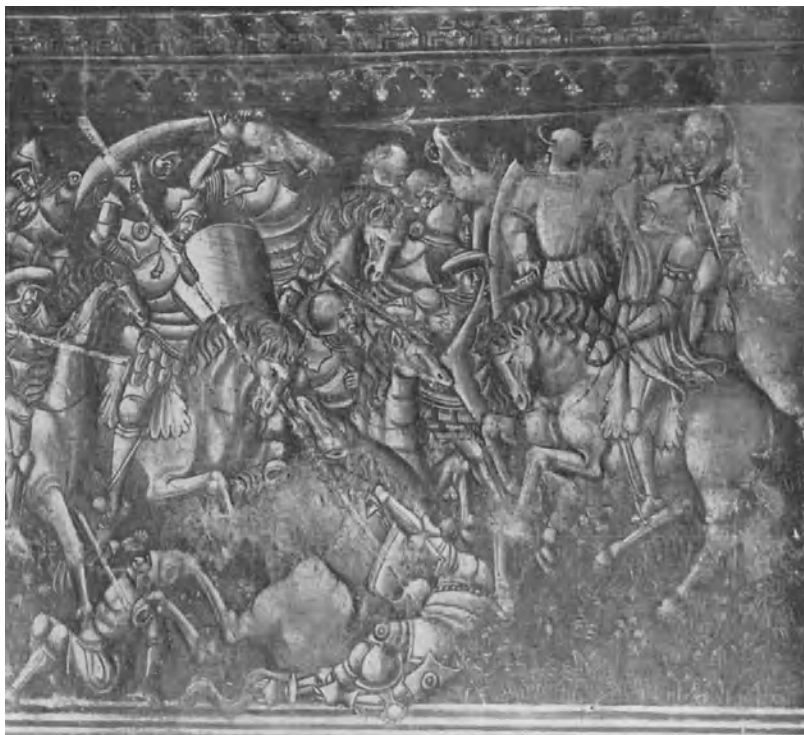


Fig. 269. The story of Lucrezia Romana, fresco, circa 1439.  
Palazzo Vitelleschi, Corneto Tarquinia.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

tified with the father of Luciano. Regarding Luciano we know that in 1441 he collaborated with Domenico di Bartolo in the execution of four frescoes, which have since disappeared, illustrating the history of Tobias, in the hospital of Siena. Further, Della Valle in his "Lettere Senese" speaks of a panel of the Visitation, dated 1435, which adorned the fourth chapel to the left in the cathedral of Velletri but is now preserved in the

Chapter Museum (fig. 273) <sup>(1)</sup>. In my opinion Signor Bertini Calosso lays too much stress on the resemblance existing between the figures of this panel, which originally must have formed part of a polyptych, and the art of Masolino. I think it bears more relation to Gentile's school, especially to the works of some of his Marchigian followers such as the Salimbeni of Sanseverino.

At Alatri, consequently also in the more southerly part of the region we are discussing, we find another but poorer manifestation of Gentile's influence. We know the name of Antonio da Alatri from the signature on a triptych representing the Saviour enthroned between the Virgin with the Child, and St. Sebastian bearded and clothed, which was transferred from the National Museum, Rome, to the Chapter Museum of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Alatri (fig. 274). At the Saviour's feet we read: "*Antonius de Alatro me fecit*". The painting is more archaic in appearance than actually rustic; the artist retains many features of 14<sup>th</sup> century art, particularly in the manner of composing his subjects; in the forms and draping, on the other hand, there is some evidence of the influ-



Fig. 270. Decoration of an arch, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Cathedral, Celano.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Bertini Calosso*, op. cit., p. 204. This panel has been published by Mr. Berenson as a work by Bicci di Lorenzo, working under the influence of Sassetta, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1915, p. 209.



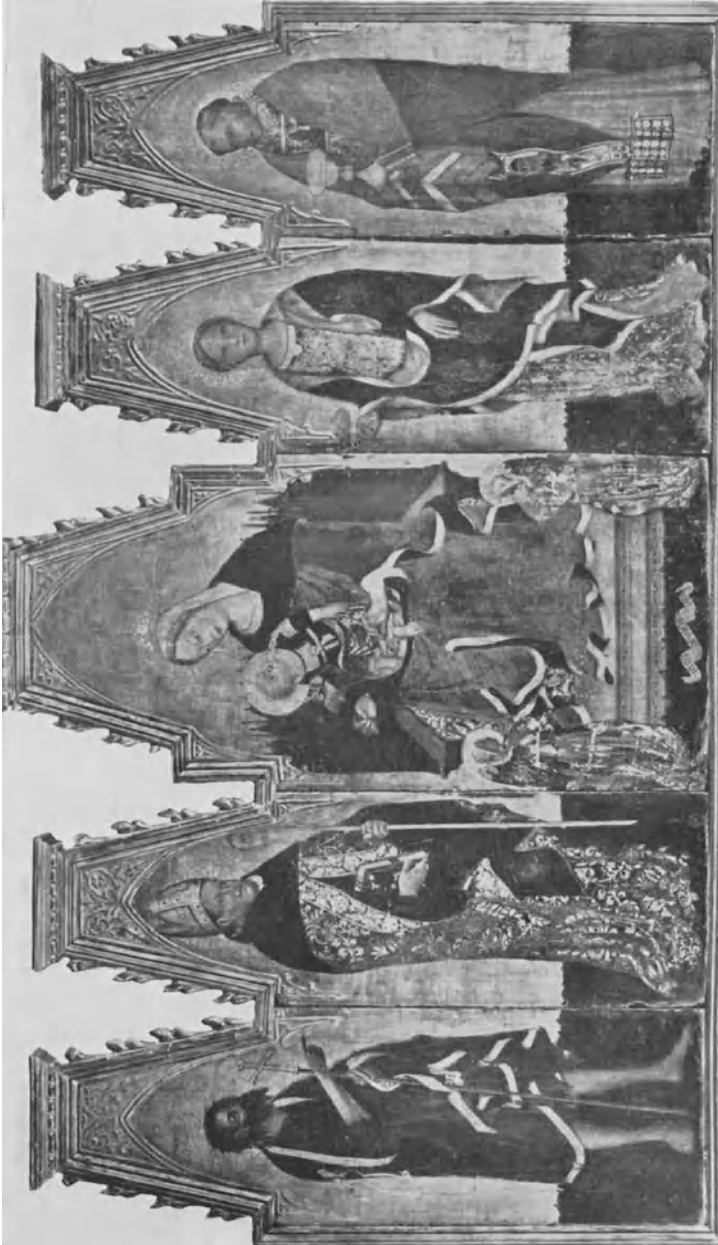


Fig. 271. Lello da Velletri, polyptych. Gallery, Perugia.

Photo Anderson.



Fig. 272. Lello da Velletri, Madonna. Massimo Collection, Rome.



Fig. 273. Luciano da Velletri, the Visitation, 1435. Chapter Museum, Velletri.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

ence of Gentile's manner which, however, has been interpreted without skill.

Signor Bertini Calosso attributes to Antonio still a half-length figure of the Virgin with St. John the Baptist in a lunette in the church of Sta. Maria della Donna at Alatri, and in the church "delle Dodici Marie" a Madonna between two figures of St. Leonard and a Madonna di Loreto with two angels supporting the pillars of the ciborium (fig. 275), but I think this critic has been very reserved in his attributions to the painter. At Alatri there is a large number of paintings characteristic of this master's style. Generally speaking these works which are executed in fresco, are inferior to the panel. In the church "delle Dodici Marie" there is still another Madonna di Loreto which although of poorer quality, is certainly from his hand. The numerous representations of votive Madonnas (fig. 276), usually accompanied by saints, seem to be all by the same master; the

curious border, showing a stencilled geometric motif, that surrounds all these frescoes, is almost a hall-mark. Also some paintings around which this frame is missing, such as a Madonna



Fig. 274. Antonio da Alatri, triptych. Chapter Museum, Alatri.

Photo Alinari.

standing suckling her Child beside a female saint, who has her hands folded on her breast, another Virgin and Child, also standing, and perhaps a fresco of the dead Christ arising from His tomb with St. John the Baptist are, although of inferior technique, executed after Antonio's manner. In the church of



Fig. 275. Antonio da Alatri, Madonna of Loreto. Chapter Museum, Alatri.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Sta. Maria Maddelena we discover Antonio's style in a fresco of the Madonna sitting nursing the Child (fig. 277), a figure of St. Mary Magdalene and in a painting of the Virgin with three



Fig. 276. Antonio da Alatri, votive fresco, Church  
"delle Dodici Marie", Alatri.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

saints, one of them smaller than the two others, and all separated from one another by an ornamental frame.

Evidently the entire pictorial output of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century at Alatri was subjected to the influence of Antonio's manner. I do not wish to infer that he alone executed all these paintings, since he probably had several helpers who worked



Fig. 277. Antonio da Alatri, Madonna. Sta. Maria Maddelena, Alatri.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

under his direction and who continued his style of painting after his death; yet we cannot speak of the formation of a school in connexion with such a modest little artist.

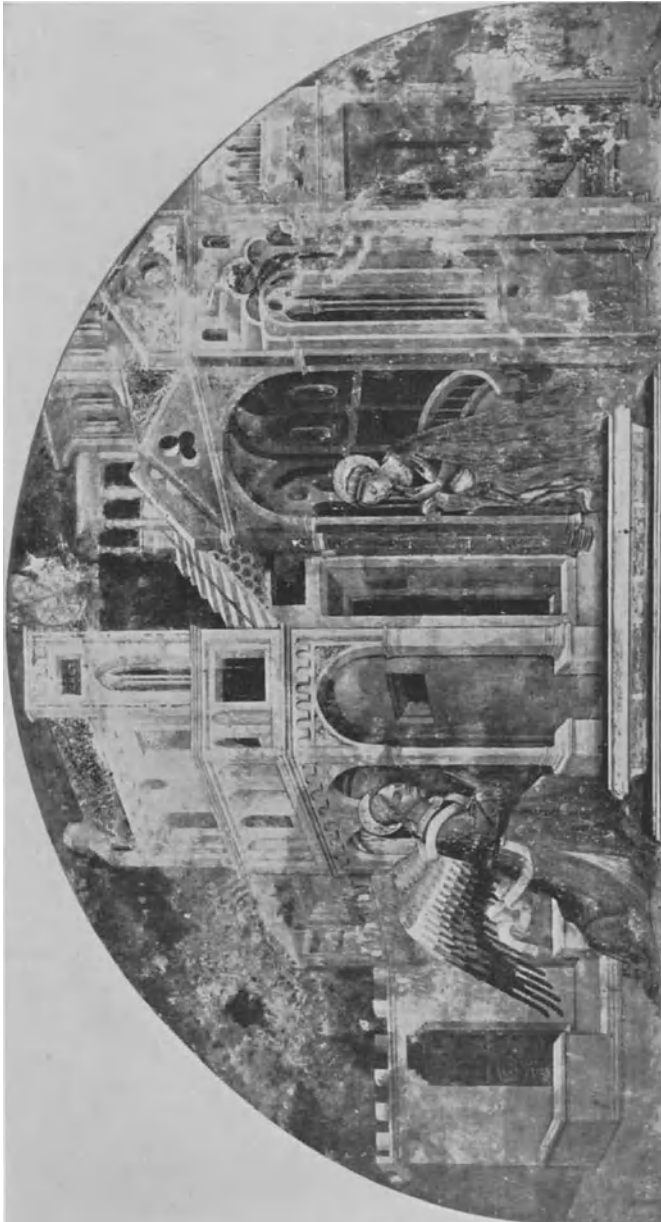


Fig. 278. The Annunciation, School of Lazio, 1422.  
Sma. Annunziata, Riofreddo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.



Going from Alatri towards the north, leaving Lake Fucino to the right, we reach Riofreddo, where a fairly important series of frescoes, in which Gentile's influence is very manifest, is preserved in the church of Sma. Annunziata. As has already been remarked elsewhere, Prof. Venturi attributes these paintings to Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino <sup>(1)</sup>.

This decoration has been the subject of a detailed study <sup>(2)</sup>. An inscription on the architrave informs us that the decoration was executed in 1422. At this moment Antonio Colonna was seigneur of Riofreddo and it is to him that we owe these frescoes; his name was recorded in an inscription now effaced, in the church, while his monogram is depicted more than once on the walls of the oratory.

The general conception of the decoration is fairly grandiose. On the entrance wall a Crucifixion with the Virgin, St. John, and two angels has been rather damaged below by the widening of a door. The end wall is adorned with the Annunciation depicted amidst imposing architecture (fig. 278). In the centre of the vault Jesus Christ holding a book is enthroned, surrounded by five circles, each containing one of the celestial hierarchies (figs. 279 and 280). To either side of this composition there are two groups, each comprising an Evangelist sitting writing accompanied by his emblem and a Doctor of the Church also seated writing or studying (fig. 281); only St. Benedict is represented driving away the sinners. Each figure is shown under a little building of an elaborate Gothic form.

The colours in which the entire decoration is executed are bright but tender, the gradations and shadows are treated in a manner which clearly reveal a knowledge of Gentile da Fabriano's art. Moreover, the types and calligraphic effects of the drapery are even more obviously a result of this influence. Besides it should not be forgotten that Pope Martin V of the Colonna family, a relation of the cardinal who in 1422 ordered the decoration of this little oratory, requested Gentile's presence in Rome

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<sup>(1)</sup> *L'Arte*, XIII, 1910, p. 377.

<sup>(2)</sup> *V. Leonardi*, *Gli affreschi dimenticata del tempo di Martino V*, *Atti del Congr. intern. di scienze storiche*, Vol. VII, ser. IV, Roma, 1905, p. 287. *Bertini Calosso*, *op. cit.*, p. 199.



Fig. 279. The Lord in Glory, School of Lazio, 1422.  
Sma. Annunziata, Riofreddo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

in 1419. It is no doubt to an artist familiar with Gentile's manner of painting, if not to a helper who collaborated with him in Rome, that we owe these mural paintings (1).

(1) Signor Leonardi, in his treatise on these frescoes, approximates them in particular to Masolino, but already Signor Bertini Calosso has remarked that a direct inspiration of Gentile is evident in these paintings.

In Rome there was considerable activity in the field of painting thanks to the orders given by the popes. It did not escape the pontiffs' notice that the local elements were not of a very high standard; Gentile and Pisanello under Martin V, and Arcangelo under Nicholas V replaced the Roman painters when any very special work was required. Writers of olden times pretend that Martin V had the portico of S. Pietro adorned with scenes from the legends of SS. Peter and Paul but this is erroneous because the decoration dated from the early middle ages <sup>(1)</sup>.

Another painter, who was active for this pope, was Pietro di Giovenale, who in 1437, worked in the church of S. Spirito in Sassia <sup>(2)</sup>. Nicholas V employed some foreign artists. Prior to van der Weyden's coming to Rome in 1450, the pope already possessed a picture by him.

We find working for the same pontiff a certain Lucas, of German or Flemish origin, and Salvator de Valencia, a Spaniard, who, besides other works, decorated the mint (1453) and in 1450 took part in the ornamentation of the Vatican Palace where also the following painters are recorded as having been active in 1450 and 1454: Taddeo (di Janni), Simone, Charlo, Giuliano di Jachomo da Terni, a miniaturist, Janino Andrea, Leone, Antonio da Orte and many others who are not individually mentioned <sup>(3)</sup>. We find still the names of Janni Antonio di Paulo, Giuliano di Gionta da Roma, Giuliano di Janni Paulo, Benedetto, Lucha di Paluzzo de Bianca and Nardo di Benedetto <sup>(4)</sup>.

The few Roman works of this period that are extant lead us to believe that Gentile's influence preponderated. In proof of this we might cite a fragment of a fresco of the Virgin and Child originating from S. Giovanni in Laterano, now in the Archiconfraternita del Smo. Sacramento, adjacent to the Scala Santa <sup>(5)</sup>, a votive fresco in Sta. Maria del Popolo <sup>(6)</sup> in which even the oriental hieroglyphics adorning the nimbi seem to have been borrowed from Gentile, a mural painting of the Virgin teaching

<sup>(1)</sup> *E. Müntz*, *Les Arts à la cour des Papes*, I, Paris, 1878, p. 10.

<sup>(2)</sup> *E. Müntz*, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>(3)</sup> *E. Müntz*, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>(4)</sup> *E. Müntz*, p. 166.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Bertini Calosso*, *op. cit.*, fig. 38.

<sup>(6)</sup> *Bertini Calosso*, fig. 39.



Fig. 280. Detail of fig. 279.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

the Child to read in the church of S. Onofrio, on the Gianicolo<sup>(1)</sup> which, however, shows less connexion with the master of Fabri-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Bertini Calosso*, fig. 40.

ano, and a fragmentary fresco representing the head of Charlemagne preserved in the Vatican Library which has sometimes been thought to belong to the series of frescoes that Gentile executed in 1427 in S. Giovanni in Laterano, whence this piece originates (1).

Lastly some frescoes directly inspired by Gentile's art are preserved in the church of St. Agnese, via Nomentana. Here we find on the altar of the second chapel to the right a representation of the Virgin on a Gothic throne, suckling the Child (fig. 282) and in the priest's house a fresco by the same hand of the Madonna on a somewhat elaborate throne, holding the Infant Who fondles her cheek, and not far distant the figure of a young martyr (fig. 283). Signor Bertini Calosso who mentions only the first of these frescoes, is of opinion that the artist was directly influenced by Masolino but I think that both frescoes are sooner rustic productions of Gentile's tradition. A fresco of the Annunciation which was said to be a work of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, formerly adorned the outside of the church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie but nowadays has disappeared (2).

We know the name of Giovenale da Orvieto who signed a fresco in the church of S. Clemente and in 1441 a painting in the church of Sta. Maria d'Aracoeli but both these works are now lost. A fresco in the nave of S. Clemente which is very repainted but which really dates from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, has been wrongly attributed to this artist. In 1425 he restored some mosaics in the cathedral of his native town (3). A certain Sali da Celano seems to have executed in 1416 some frescoes high up in the nave of S. Clemente among which there was a representation of St. Francis (4).

A lunette in the abbey of Farfa is adorned with a fresco of the

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(1) *Bertini Calosso*, op. cit., p. 207, fig. 41 and note 197. Mr. *Berenson* includes it in his list of works by Gentile. Prof. *Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 201 note 1, judges it to be of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

(2) *A. Belli*, *La chiesa di Sta. Maria delle Grazie etc*, Rome, 1833, p. 15 (*Bertini Calosso*, op. cit., note 198.)

(3) *L. Fiumi*, *Il Duomo d'Orvieto e i suoi restauri*, Rome, 1891, pp. 108, 142, 390, 506.

(4) *Bertini Calosso*, op. cit., p. 206.



Fig. 281. St. John the Evangelist and a Father of the Church, School of Lazio, 1422. Sma. Annunziata, Riofreddo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Virgin and Child between two saints which bears a certain resemblance to Gentile's manner <sup>(1)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Guardabasi*, op. cit., p. 67. *A. Venturi*, op. cit., p. 166. *Bertini Calosso*, op. cit., p. 207, fig. 37.



Fig. 282. Madonna, Roman School, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.  
St. Agnese, Rome.

Then to the north of Rome, in and around Viterbo, we find a little group of paintings which recall sooner the Marchigian adherents of Gentile's school than Gentile da Fabriano himself.

The first picture belonging to this group is a triptych in the church of S. Salvatore at Leprignano to the north of Rome but still a considerable distance from Viterbo. Nevertheless the panel shows the signature of an artist from this town: "*Antonio de Biterbo pensi Roma MCCCCII*". In spite of the fact that mention of Rome is made, the picture is correctly classified in



Fig. 283 Madonna and a holy martyr, Roman School, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. St. Agnese, Rome. Photo Alinari.

the school of Viterbo where, it will be remembered, Simone Martini's tradition persisted for more than one generation after the death of the famous Sieneese master (1).

The influence of Simone's school is still manifest in the triptych of Leprignano which, on the other hand, exhibits but few elements which allow us to classify it with the Gothic group of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

The painting represents on the central panel the Saviour enthroned holding an open book and God the Father appearing

(1) v. Vol. V, p. 356.



above; the wings show the figures of SS. Peter and Paul and on the outside the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation.

No doubt Francesco di Antonio da Viterbo was the son of the foregoing painter. It is his work in particular that is reminiscent



Fig. 284. Francesco di Antonio da Viterbo, polyptych, 1441. S. Giovanni in Zoccoli, Viterbo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

of the productions of Gentile's provincial followers in The Marches. An authentic work signed by this artist is preserved in the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista or "in Zoccoli" in Viterbo (fig. 284). It is a polyptych in which the Virgin holding the Child standing on her knee, forms the central panel; to the sides we see SS. Peter, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist and Paul; the Trinity, the Annunciation and numerous figures of saints ornament the frame and the pinnacles, while the predella

shows on the extreme right and left St. George slaying the dragon and the Adoration of the Magi and in the centre five scenes from the life of St. John the Evangelist. The signature

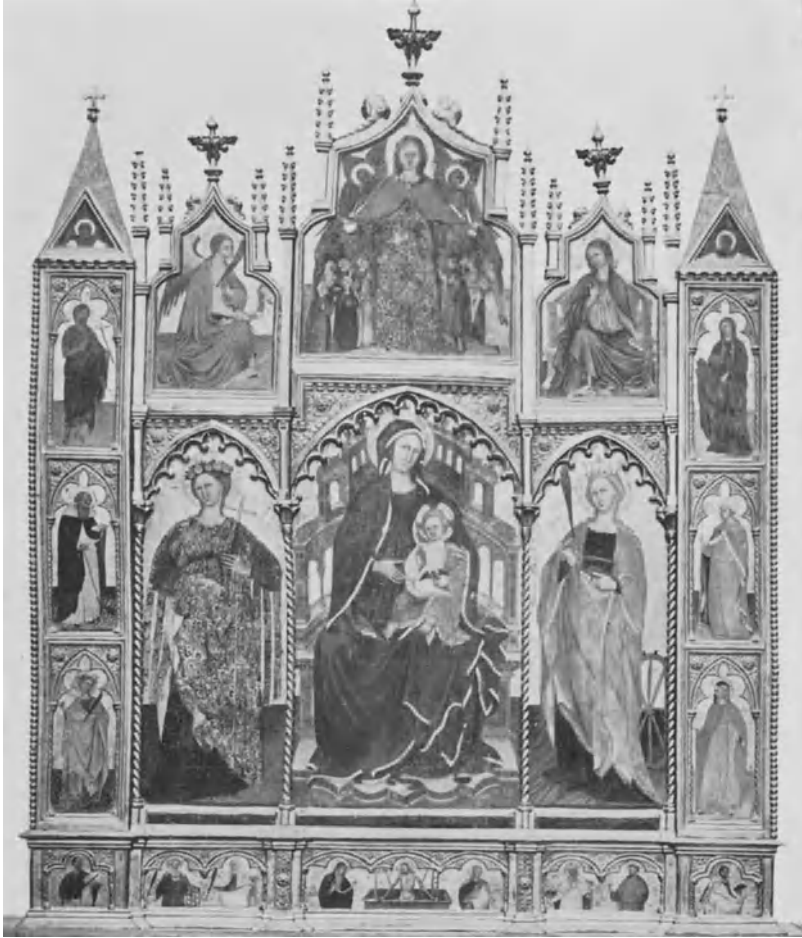


Fig. 285. Francesco di Antonio da Viterbo, polyptych. Sta. Rosa, Viterbo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

reads: "*Hoc opus pinsit Franciscus Antonii De Viterbo A. D. MCCCCXLP*".

Another work by the same artist which is signed but not dated, is found on the altar of the church of Sta. Rosa in Viterbo (fig. 285). The Virgin with the Child Jesus is depicted sitting on

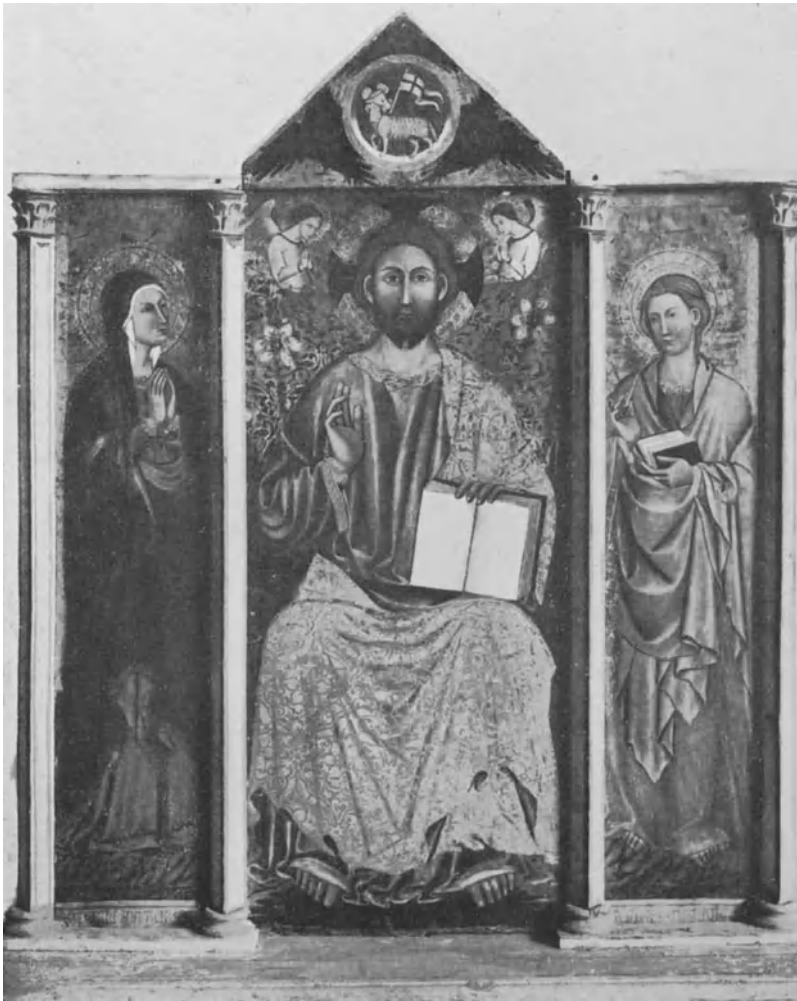


Fig. 286. Francesco di Antonio da Viterbo, triptych. S. Lorenzo, Tuscania.  
 Photo Collezionisti fotogr. inedite.

a monumental throne, to the sides are SS. Rose and Catherine of Alexandria; higher up we see the Annunciation and the Madonna della Misericordia; six figures of saints adorn the frame while six others are shown on the predella along with the dead Christ rising from His tomb between the Virgin and St. John.

Another characteristic work by this artist is a triptych, painted on both sides, in the church of S. Lorenzo in Tuscania. On one



Fig. 287. Francesco di Antonio da Viterbo, triptych S. Lorenzo, Tuscania.

Photo Collezionisti fotogr. inedite.

side the Saviour is represented between the Virgin and St. John with the Easter Lamb in the gable (fig. 286); the other side shows the Virgin in a mandorla between SS. John the Baptist and Christina; here the pinnacle is adorned with a cherub and two angels (fig. 287).

A detached fresco in the Museum of Viterbo (No. 121) is attributed to Francesco di Antonio (fig. 288). It represents



Fig. 288. Francesco di Antonio da Viterbo (?), detached fresco.  
Museum, Viterbo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.



Fig. 289. Francesco di Antonio da Viterbo (?), detached fresco.  
Museum, Viterbo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

the Madonna on an elaborate Gothic throne holding on her knee the Child, who plays with a little bird attached to a string; a miniature adorer kneels below. This attribution was made by Cavalcaselle who saw the painting still in the church of Sta. Maria in Gradi. The work shows more connexion with the

Sieneſe tradition than Francesco's other productions and for that reaſon I have referred to this frieſco when dealing with the repreſentatives of this artiſtic current in Viterbo <sup>(1)</sup>.

If this attribution be correct I think we can hold the painter reſponsible for two other frieſcoes.

The one, which has alſo been detached from its original ſite and brought to the Muſeum of Viterbo, ſhows the Virgin on a throne inlaid with marble, ſuckling the Infant Chriſt (fig. 289). After the ſame manner is executed a frieſco over the ſecond altar to the left in the church of Sta. Maria Nuova, repreſenting the Virgin on a beautiful throne, the Child turned towards the Baptiſt; to the other ſide is ſhown a myſtic preſentment of Chriſt holding the Croſs, with blood pouring from His wounds into the eucharistic chalice (fig. 290). The frame is adorned with medallions containing half-length figures of the Saviour and ſix ſaints; a holy biſhop and a female ſaint, the latter very much damaged, are ſeen lower down to the ſides.

Theſe two frieſcoes along with that from Sta. Maria in Gradi form in a way a little group apart, on account of the element of the old Sieneſe ſchool that is manifeſt in the general ſpirit of theſe works. I am not abſolutely convinced of the attribution to Francesco di Antonio, although it is probably quite correct.

A work cloſely reſembling the laſt mentioned is a conſiderably ruined frieſco of the Madonna and Child, Who beſtows a bleſſing on a biſhop kneeling cloſe by, which is preſerved in the cathedral of S. Martino al Cimeno, not far diſtant from Viterbo (fig. 291); the long inſcription below is partly effaced; the work is very inferior in quality to the others and hardly juſtifies the attribution to Francesco.

To his hand is aſcribed ſtill a frieſco over the altar in the left tranſept of Sta. Maria della Verita, repreſenting the Virgin nurſing the Child <sup>(2)</sup>, as well as a large triptych dated 1410 in the Fitzwilliam Muſeum, Cambridge, ſhowing the Madonna enthroned between SS. Lawrence and Gualberto, the Annun-  
ciation and a prophet above.

<sup>(1)</sup> v. Vol. V, p. 357.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Langton Douglas*, note on *Crowe and Cavalcaſelle*, *The History of Painting in Italy*, III, London, 1908, p. 221 note 3.

In Viterbo there are still some other paintings of the Gothic style of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

In the church of Sta. Maria della Verita, now transformed into the museum, we find in the first chapel to the right, near the paintings by Lorenzo da Viterbo, a repainted fresco of the en-



Fig. 290. Francesco di Antonio da Viterbo (?), fresco. Sta. Maria Nuova. Viterbo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

throned Madonna with two angels flying behind, which belongs to this group. On the left wall a frieze with the figures of the Annunciation, SS. Antony, Margaret and Mary Magdalene close by, is, on the contrary, less Gothic in style and bears more resemblance to the old Sienese tradition. In the church of S. Sisto, an altar-piece, which has been removed from the altar and brought to the sacristy, is a production of considerable importance showing sooner a more marked connexion with the Sienese school. It depicts the Virgin with the Child, SS. Sixtus,





Fig. 291. School of Francesco di Antonio da Viterbo, Madonna. Cathedral, S. Martino al Cimeno.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Felicissima, Lawrence, John the Baptist, Jerome, and Nicholas and the Crucified between the Virgin and St. John.

In Tuscania I should like to mention still a fresco of the Virgin

and Child in the right nave of Sta. Maria Maggiore which is very archaic in appearance but which is really only a rustic imitation of Francesco di Antonio's Madonnas.

A somewhat original artist painted the frescoes on the ciborium of the same church; apart from the less important figures of saints on the outside, we see here the four Evangelists, each with his respective symbol, sitting at desks, one studying, the



Fig. 292. An Evangelist, School of Viterbo. Sta. Maria Maggiore, Tuscania.

Photo Collezionisti fotogr. inedite

second arguing, the third writing (fig. 292) and the fourth, naturally St. Luke, painting a little diptych of the Madonna. This decoration is also rather a rustic work, but it is the production of a painter of considerable individuality, deriving fairly directly from Gentile da Fabriano.

Several other figures on the pillars of the same church might also belong to this period but they possess neither style nor quality.

In the Abruzzi there is a certain number of paintings, some or

them quite pleasing, that to a certain extent manifest some connexion with the works of Gentile's school; moreover some of them are found in that region of the Abruzzi which lies immediately to the south of The Marches, consequently a little beyond the district with which we are dealing at present.

A lunette in the church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie at Teramo is adorned with a pretty fresco of the Madonna sitting in a field, suckling the Child between the half-length figures of SS. John the Baptist and Francis (fig. 293); it is the work of a little country artist who nevertheless must have been acquainted with the paintings of his colleagues in the province to the north. By a more conservative master is a fresco in a lunette in the Misericordia chapel of the same town, showing the Virgin and Child enthroned between St. Antony of Padua and a young female saint, each holding a book. Slightly more evolved was the painter who executed in the church of S. Agostino, Teramo, a Madonna, called "del Soccorso"; it is not, however, of the usual iconographical type, as the Virgin is shown on a throne nursing the Child while two angels support a beautiful curtain which forms the background (<sup>1</sup>).

Closely resembling this fresco and to all appearances from the same hand are some panels in the gallery of Teramo. They are: No. 81, a Madonna between SS. John the Baptist, Francis, Bernardine (?) and John the Apostle; No. 92, a Madonna between two saints of a much later date and Nos. 100 and 101, two large panels of a polyptych showing SS. Bonaventura, Jerome, Francis and another saint. Lastly, Teramo was the birthplace of a painter called Leonardo da Teramo, who, however, was a citizen of Sulmona; none of his authentic works has come down to us but we possess a certain number of documents concerning him, and from them we learn that he was born towards 1351 and that he lived until 1435. Among the different records with regard to his activity, the most interesting is that which informs us that in 1407 he was appointed painter to King Ladislas (<sup>2</sup>).

(<sup>1</sup>) *V. Balsamo* L'arte abruzzese, Bergamo, 1910, p. 57.

(<sup>2</sup>) *G. Pansa*, Di un ignoto pittore teramano, Rivista Abruzzese, VIII, 1893, fasc. IX-X. *P. Piccirilli*, Artisti abruzzesi: Leonardo di Teramo, idem, XV, 1905, fasc. I.



Fig. 293. Madonna, the Baptist and St. Francis, Abruzzese School, middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Sta. Maria delle Grazie, Teramo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Quite near Teramo, towards the frontier of The Marches we find at Campli some paintings which are the outcome of the infiltration of the Marchigian manner into the Abruzzi. In the church of S. Giovanni there are some votive frescoes of no great importance which, although executed in a rustic manner, are



Fig. 294. Triptych, Abruzzese School, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.  
Sta. Maria del Ponte, Beffi (Aquila).

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

vaguely reminiscent of Gentile's style. This is particularly noticeable in a figure of the Virgin, tenderly clasping the Child Jesus. A panel of the Madonna enthroned giving breast to the Infant in the cathedral, which is falsely attributed to Matteo da Campli, is a somewhat better production of the same artistic movement<sup>(1)</sup>.

A beautiful triptych, in which Marchigian and Tuscan elements

<sup>(1)</sup> *V. Balzano*, op. cit., pp. 56 and 57.



Fig. 295. Niccolo di Guardiagrele, Madonna. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

intermingle, is preserved in the church of Sta. Maria del Ponte at Beffi, in the commune of Aquila (fig. 294). The Virgin enthroned in the centre has as background a curtain held by two angels; the wings are adorned with rather elaborate compositions of the Birth of Christ with the Child's first bath and the angelic

Message to the Shepherds and the Death of the Virgin with the miraculous punishment of the unbeliever, the Saviour bearing His Mother's soul to heaven and the Coronation of the Virgin.

Another evidence of the knowledge of this style in Aquila is found in the works in gilt glass by Amico d'Aquila. By him we know a Crucifixion signed and dated 1447 in a private collection, while Professor Toesca attributes to him a Nativity in the Museum of Turin and a figure of St. Paul in the collection of Marquis Albites in Florence (1).

A lunette over the door of the vestibule of the church of S. Martino d'Ocre, near Aquila, is decorated with a rustic fresco of this style; it depicts the Virgin and Child, Who is very big, and two little angels.

In the church of S. Orante at Ortucchio in the vicinity of Lake Fucino there were some very mediocre votive frescoes, the most important of which represented the Virgin nursing the Child between two angels and St. Brunone (2).

I fear that the church in question, like many others in this region, has been destroyed by earthquake. Originating from the municipal buildings of the same town, but now in the museum of Sulmona is a triptych signed: "*hoc opus pinsit Johes pictor de Sulna a. d. MCCCCXXXV*" and showing the Nativity with the Child's first bath, and the Adoration of the Magi inside and on the outside the figures of the Annunciation (3). It is a work of poor quality. The same can be said of a fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin in the church of S. Pietro at Alba Fucense, which dates in all probability from the first years of the 15th century (4).

The little town of Guardiagrele to the north east of Sulmona was the birthplace of an artist called Nicholas, who is better known as a goldsmith than as a painter. From his brush we know of only one work (fig. 295); it is a Madonna sitting in a flowery field, very conventionally conceived, placing a veil on the naked Child Who has fallen asleep in her lap; two little

(1) P. Toesca, Vetri italiani a oro con graffiti del XIV e XV secolo, L'Arte, 1908, p. 247.

(2) E. Agostinoni, Il Fucino, Bergamo, 1908, p. 66.

(3) Agostinoni, op. cit., p. 67.

(4) In Vol. V, p. 378, I have already mentioned this work without definitely placing it in the 14th century.

angels outlined in the gold hover in adoration over the Virgin. The signature: "*opus Nicolax de Guardia Greliis*" is inscribed above on the frame<sup>(3)</sup>. This picture, which was shown at the exhibition of art of the Abruzzi, held in Chieti and is now preserved in the Uffizi, Florence, reveals the artist as a distant follower of Gentile but crude and unskilful in his technique.

Going towards the south, we find among the numerous frescoes in the cathedral of Atri, a few which belong to this group; most characteristic is a painting of St. John the Baptist on one of the pillars (fig. 296). The saint holding a phylactery and a little receptacle is depicted in a rocky landscape; in a forest in the background we see the Easter Lamb. It is an archaic work and dates from as late as the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In the crypt of this church, the same tradition is repres-



Fig. 296. St. John the Baptist, Abruzzese School, second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Cathedral, Atri.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

<sup>(3)</sup> *V. Bolzano*, *I due Nicola di Guardiagrele nel sec. XV*, Chieti, 1904, propounds the hypothesis, I think without much foundation, that the goldsmith and the painter of the same name were two different individuals. *E. Modigliani*, *Dipinti abruzzesi all'Esposizione di Chieti*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1905, p. 186.



ented by some frescoes showing the Saviour in a mandorla between the Virgin and St. John and two little saints attired in costumes according to the fashion of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Opposite we find ten figures of saints in two rows



Fig. 297. Saints, Abruzzese School, fresco, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.  
Cathedral, Atri.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr

(fig. 297), a St. Christopher and some other saints, all by the same artist, whose style is easily recognizable on account of the very bright colours.

In the church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie at Tocca Casauria a pleasing triptych (fig. 298), showing the Madonna della Misericordia with two angels holding the sheltering mantle over two groups of christians kneeling below, can hardly date, in spite of

the archaic character of the work, from before the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, on account of the presence on the side panel of St. Bernardine of Siena who is depicted along with St. Sebastian (1).



Fig. 298. Triptych, Abruzzese School, middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.  
Sta. Maria delle Grazie, Tocca Casauria.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

(1) The Balsamo collection, Rome, possesses a triptych of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, representing in the centre the Virgin and Child and above the Saviour, and in the wings, a holy knight, St Antony of Padua, St. Francis receiving the stigmata and Tobias with the angel; this picture which I know only from the photograph, is attributed, I do not know for what reason, to Antonio d'Atri. The names of some painters of this period in the Abruzzi are given by *V. Balzano*, *Arte abruzzese*, p. 56, and *P. Piccirilli*, *op. cit.*, they

The remaining paintings of the early 15<sup>th</sup> century in this region, the boundaries of which I gave at the beginning of the chapter, are hardly worthy of description; for the greater part



Fig. 299. Madonna and saints, fresco. Piazza del Duomo, Anagni.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

are: Giacomo di Nicola (1407—1413), Mastro Filippo (1408), Mastro Andrea (1409), Cecco di Pietro, Mastro Giovanni and Onofrio di Colella (1435). At Atri there were two painters of the name of Luca and Giacomo who died in 1433 and 1455 respectively. Nardo di Sulmona is mentioned along with Leonardo da Teramo in 1435.



Fig. 300. St Peter, beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Sta. Maria a Fiume,  
Ceccano. Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

they are feeble productions of countrified artists and it will suffice to enumerate them. Their actual existence is of a certain importance because it is proof of the wide-spread diffusion of this style which had its representatives even in this region where the marked scarcity of artists was but the result of the district's general poverty. The fervent devotion of the people, however, accounts for the great number of works which were executed in this part of Italy and of which I shall cite the following:

*Alatri*, besides the paintings already mentioned, there are a good many votive frescoes in the church of "delle Dodici Marie" and in that of Sta. Maria Maddelena. In the former of these two churches, over one of the altars, there was a fresco of the



Fig. 301. Crucifixion, fresco, second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.  
Sta. Maria a Fiume, Ceccano.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Madonna enthroned between two saints and the donor with other figures of saints on the embrasure of the niche. It must have been a work of considerable importance but has almost entirely disappeared. I shall not enumerate each fresco; they are almost all isolated figures of saints; a damaged painting of the Trinity is found in Sta. Maria Maddelena. Some of the paintings still belong to the tradition of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.  
*Anagni*, Piazza del Duomo, Madonna enthroned nursing the



Fig. 302. Madonna della Misericordia. Cappella delle Marie, Genazzano.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Child between SS. Catherine of Alexandria and Antony of Padua (fig. 299).

*Cave* (between Palestrina and Fiuggi), church of Sta. Anotolia, a fresco of the Virgin and Child, a rustic work showing a Marchigian influence.

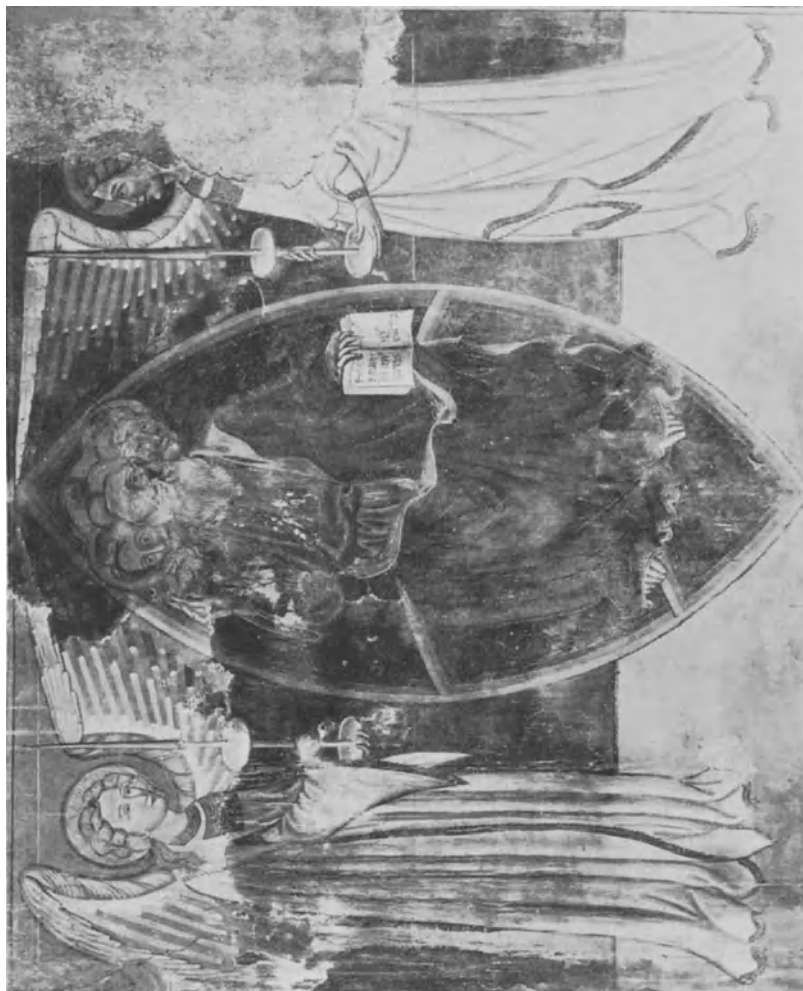


Fig. 303. The Holy Trinity. Cappella delle Marie, Genazzano.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr

*Ceccano* (between Piperno and Frosinone), Sta. Maria a Fiume, votive frescoes of different hands and periods. Apart from those of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, we find here representations of St. Sebastian, St. Peter (the latter dating from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century) (fig. 300), the Madonna enthroned with the Child, Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and Child and St. Antony Abbot (fig. 301) and several other paintings of



Fig. 304. Angels. Cappella delle Marie, Genazzano.

Photo Mmist. della Pubbl. Istr.

the Madonna, some of them dating from the end of the 15th century (<sup>1</sup>).

*Corneto Tarquinia*, Gallery, Madonna with the Child on a large

(<sup>1</sup>) *A. Muñoz*, *La chiesa di S. Maria a Fiume in Ceccano e le sue pitture*, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1911, p. 121.



throne; an adorer kneels below; two angels, one of which has disappeared, fly overhead. It is a rustic work of the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

*Fara Sabina*, Abbey of Farfa, fragments of a Crucifixion between the Virgin, St. John and two kneeling devotees.



Fig. 305. St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.  
S. Giovanni Evangelista. Piperno.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

*Genazzano* (to the south of Tivoli and Subiaco), Cappella delle Marie, a large number of fairly important frescoes among which we see a Madonna della Misericordia, sheltering the faithful kneeling under her mantle (fig. 302), the Holy Trinity represented as one person with three heads, in a mandorla between two angels carrying candles (fig. 303), the instruments of the Passion, the Easter Lamb and other lambs in a rocky



Fig. 306. Madonna, beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.  
Cathedral, Piperno.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

landscape with rivers running through it which has been broken up in order to make an opening in the wall, as is also the case for another fresco which in all probability represented the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple but of which the entire centre part is missing. Long rows of isolated figures (fig. 304), each separately framed, adorn the walls, where we see also a Madonna, standing holding the Child, saints and prophets. These frescoes are not all from the same hand. Elongated figures and pleasing Gothic effects characterize the manner of the best artist. The other, who executed as well the scene of St. Francis receiving the stigmata, was a less skilful painter; his figures are short, heavy and without any charm. *Guarcino*, Church of the Madonna di Loreto, a fresco depicting this iconographical type of the Virgin <sup>(1)</sup>.

*Piperno*, Cathedral, a fine panel of the crowned Virgin with the Child, and the Annunciation in the upper part of the frame (fig. 306). The composition is very archaic, the Infant is seated in the centre of the lap of His Mother, who raises her hands as in representations of the Orante.

S. Giovanni Evangelista, St. Francis receiving the stigmata (fig. 305) <sup>(2)</sup>, scenes from the life of St. Catherine and a coat of arms with a fleurs-de-lis motif borne by two lions; they are rustic works executed after the manner of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. *Rome*, Church of the Cappuccini, via Veneto, a polyptych with the Virgin and Child in the centre, SS. John the Baptist and Francis to the sides and the Crucifixion, SS. Clare (?) and Catherine above; it might be a production of Lazio.

*Tivoli*, S. Silvestro, St. Anna, the Virgin and Child forming a group; it is a very crude fresco with some vague reminiscences of the school of The Marches.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Bertini Calosso*, op. cit., p. 202, fig. 33.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Bertini Calosso*, op. cit., p. 114.

## CHAPTER VI.

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### SOUTHERN ITALY, SICILY AND SARDINIA.

The pictorial movement to the south of Rome continues to be as meagre at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century as it was found to be during the previous century. Evidence of the penetration of the cosmopolitan Gothic style is limited to a few isolated cases, generally of no importance, either in quantity or quality.

To the south-west, even with such a centre as Naples close by, the number of works is just as restricted as elsewhere; in Naples itself we find an extensive series of frescoes belonging to this manner in the church of S. Giovanni a Carbonara, but this is the work of the Milanese artist, Leonardo da Bisuccio or da Besozzo, whom we have included among the Lombard painters. It will be remembered that Leonardo was assisted in this enterprise by Perrineto da Benevento who left his signature along with that of Leonardo, without any doubt the principal artist. The signature of Perrineto, however, provides us with the name of a Southern Italian painter which, in itself, is of some importance considering the rarity of artists' names in this region.

None the less, a few are recorded as having been active for King Ladislas; they are Nardo di Andrea da Sulmona, whom I have previously mentioned, Giovanni da Amalfi, the Spaniard Alfonso da Cordova, and Nicola Rubicano, who together executed some frescoes, now lost, in the church of S. Pietro a Maiella, representing scenes from the life of Pope Celestine V. These painters are mentioned in a document of 1407 as members of the court of King Ladislas <sup>(1)</sup>. We are further informed that the two last mentioned worked as miniaturists for King Alfonso; Rubicano in particular is recorded several times as such, as well as Giovanni Lilione de Cappella of Genoa <sup>(2)</sup>. A mural painting

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<sup>(1)</sup> *P. Piccirilli*, op. cit., in *Rivista Abruzzese*. *Rolfs*, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Rolfs*, op. cit., p. 165.

of the Virgin nursing the Child and some frescoes in the Brancaccio chapel in S. Domenico are attributed to a certain Agnolo Franco who was active towards the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century <sup>(1)</sup>.

Some paintings, fairly characteristic of the Gothic style of the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, are preserved in a tabernacle to the left of the entrance in the church of Sta. Chiara in Naples. In the second chapel to the left we see a fragmentary fresco of the Virgin suckling the Infant Christ and behind the altar to the right of the tomb of Robert of Anjou, still another Madonna nursing the Child in the midst of angels and the remains of a picture of the Nativity, neither of any great artistic value. To the left of the door we find in the same church a fresco of the Holy Trinity with two devotees which, although it adorns the tomb of the Penna family, dating from 1422, is so archaic in appearance that I have included it among the earlier works <sup>(2)</sup>. A Madonna and saints of the Marchigian school in the gallery has also been mentioned. A panel of a standing figure of a bishop bestowing a blessing recalls in a vague way the school of Gentile da Fabriano. It will not be forgotten that another picture of The Marches, originating in Naples, was the Madonna by Pietro di Domenico da Montepulciano from the Camaldolite monastery, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. A panel showing a holy bishop enthroned, blessing the members of a confraternity kneeling at his feet — St. Eleutherius (?) — is less directly a production of the school of The Marches (fig. 307). This picture which is preserved in the gallery, dates from the early years of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

As elsewhere in the kingdom of the Aragons in Southern Italy, we meet with the activity of Spanish artists in Naples. Alfonso was instrumental in bringing from Valencia a certain Jacomard Baço, who afterwards became the court painter. In 1442 he was charged with the execution of an altar-piece for the church of Sta. Maria della Pace, which he finished in 1444 <sup>(3)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *H. W. Schultz*, *Denkmaeler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unter Italien*, III, Dresden, 1860, pp. 162 and 163.

<sup>(2)</sup> v. Vol. V, p. 320.

<sup>(3)</sup> *S. Sanpere y Miguel*, *Los Cuatrocentistas Catalanes*, II, Barcelona, 1906, p. 258, speaks, on the other hand of a Madonna of the Peace, painted in 1444 for the Castelnuovo. In 1447 the same artist executed emblems and banners for the entry of the king.



Fig. 307. St Eleutherius?, beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Gallery, Naples.

Photo Anderson.

He worked in Naples as painter to the king until 1451 when he returned to Valencia. If, in accordance with M. Bertaux, we should really ascribe to him the picture of St. Francis giving the rules of his order, in the church of S. Lorenzo Maggiore, then we must admit in his art a strong influence of the Flemish painters. A painting of St. Antony in the same church bears a close resemblance in style to this picture (1). Some of his other works, one of which is dated by documentary evidence from 1460, are preserved in Spain.

In the church of Sta. Maria delle Grazie di Campiglione at Caivano, seven miles from Naples, there is a fresco dated 1419, representing above, the Saviour seated on a rainbow and below the Virgin with six Apostles to either side which, although of quite a good quality of painting, so thoroughly belongs in style to the art of the previous generation that I have included it with the works of the 14th century in this region (2). The frescoes in the chapel of S. Antonio Abate in the church of St. Angelo at Raveciano, near Alife, are also an outcome of the older tradition (3).

In the gallery of Capua there are two panel paintings which belong to the Gothic current of the 15th century; one is a triptych showing in the centre the Holy Trinity — God the Father enthroned holding the Crucified — between the half-length figures of SS. Mark and Luke; the other represents a female martyr sitting among some birds in a meadow. The saint is attired in a robe with a flowered design in gold, and the style of the painting recalls the manner of Jacobello del Fiore.

In Apulia, examples of Gothic painting of this period would be almost completely lacking but for an important series of frescoes at Galatina; this decoration, however, is from the hand of a

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(1) *C. Miniero Riccio*, *Alcuni fatti di Alfonso I d'Aragone*, Arch. Stor. per le prov. Napol., V, 1881, pp. 1, 231, 258, 411. *E. Bertaux*, *Les primitifs espagnols*, Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, XXII, p. 339. *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 154.

(2) v. Vol. V, p. 346.

(3) *A. Filangieri di Candia*, *Tardi riflessi di parte di Pietro Cavallini nel Quattrocento*, Atti dell' Acc. Pontania, XXXVIII, 1908.

Tuscan painter, Francesco d'Arezzo, and it will be better to include him with the group of artists of that region.

Apart from these mural paintings with which we shall deal later on, there are but very few. A fresco in the right transept of the cathedral of Ruvo depicting the Madonna with two angels supporting a drapery in the background and close by a bearded St. Sebastian at whom an archer looses an arrow, is a rustic work, not, however, without a certain charm. A panel in two parts in the cathedral of Barletta (fig. 308) represents above, the Saviour and His Mother enthroned together in the midst of four angelic musicians, the head of God



Fig. 308. Christ and the Virgin enthroned and Christ with the Virgin's soul, Apulian School, beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Cathedral, Barletta.

Photo Minist. della Publ. Istr.



the Father and the dove appearing behind them, and below the Death of the Virgin is portrayed in the unusual composition of Christ in half-figure in a mandorla bearing away the soul of His Mother in the midst of eight angelic musicians.

The iconography, especially of the first subject, as well as the technique and decorative effects with flowered designs and gold borders, might make us classify this panel as a work of the Venetian school; it is besides a somewhat late production of this artistic current.

A little panel of the Madonna and Child against a gold background in the museum of Barletta bears more resemblance to the Franco-Lombard forms of this movement. In connexion with this, it will be remembered that a picture by Giovanni di Francia was preserved at Trani and judging from a signed Madonna by this master, we came to the conclusion in a previous volume that he was best classified in the group of artists who worked under a French influence. Certain northern features are, I think, visible also in a fresco of the half-length figure of the Madonna in the church of Sta. Maria Vetere at Bitetto <sup>(1)</sup>.

I know from the photograph only one of the frescoes illustrating the life of St. Mary Magdalene, which are preserved at Torre di Belloluogo in the province of Lecce (fig. 309). It is a painting which retains many characteristics of the art of the previous century but considering how remote this little village is from any great centre, this artistic effort might very well date from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

In the church of Sta. Caterina at Galatina there are some other frescoes of the Gothic tradition from a hand other than that of Francesco d'Arezzo. To the right hand side of this curious building we see on the right wall a fine but very damaged fresco of a holy bishop between two knights and close by a figure of the Virgin, and a representation of the Madonna between SS. John the Baptist and Leonard (fig. 310). In the sacristy we find still a third Madonna.

Among the votive frescoes, dating for the greater part from the 14<sup>th</sup> century <sup>(2)</sup>, in the Magdalene chapel of S. Domenico at

<sup>(1)</sup> With regard to this picture v. *M. Salmi*, *Appunti per la storia della pittura in Puglia*, L'Arte, XXII, 1919, p. 149.

<sup>(2)</sup> v. Vol. V, p. 390.



Fig. 309. The story of St. Mary Magdalene, Apulian School, beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Torre di Belloluogo (Lecce).

Photo Alinari.

Manfredonia, there are a few which might have been executed at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century but from the point of view of style they all belong to the art of the Trecento.

In Sicily <sup>(1)</sup>, chiefly in Palermo, there is a series of triptychs



Fig. 310. Madonna and saints. Apulian School, beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.  
Sta. Caterina, Galatina. Photo Morcioni.

and polyptychs, similar in type to those we found here at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century <sup>(2)</sup>. Of some we have only the record handed down to us by Signor G. Di Marzo <sup>(3)</sup>. Among them is a

<sup>(1)</sup> v. the controversy regarding the existence of a Sicilian school of painting between *G. Meli*, *Illustrazione Italiana*, 14<sup>th</sup> October 1884 and *G. Frizzoni*, *Arch. Stor. Sicil.*, Nuova Serie, IX, 1884, p. 465.

<sup>(2)</sup> v. Vol. V, p. 404.

<sup>(3)</sup> *G. Di Marzo*, *Delle Belle Arti in Sicilia*, III, Palermo, 1870, p. 49 et seq.

Madonna between SS. Barnabus and Agatha and the Annunciation dated 1422 once in the church on Monte Gibilrossa, near Palermo. A Coronation of the Virgin between SS. Peter and Paul with the Holy Trinity and the figures of the Annunciation above, that the same writer saw in the church of S. Pietro, is now preserved in the gallery of Palermo.



Fig. 311. Triptych, Sicilian School, 1419. S. Niccolo lo Reale, Palermo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

I do not know the fate of an altar-piece representing, in the centre the Virgin nursing the Child and to the sides SS. John the Baptist and Catherine, which bore the false date MCCXX which no doubt should have read MCCCCXX<sup>(1)</sup>. According to Di Marzo the same hand executed the panel, dated 1419, of the Coronation of the Virgin between SS. Nicholas and John the

<sup>(1)</sup> This picture is reproduced in *G. Rosini, Storia della pittura italiana*, III<sup>2</sup>, Pisa, 1842, opposite p. 103.

Baptist which is still found in the church of S. Niccolo lo Reale (fig. 311) (1).

From the church of Termini Imerese originated a Madonna and Child between SS. Paul and John the Evangelist with little figures adorning the pilasters which Di Marzo saw in the house of the Lo Faso family (2).

In the previous volume I referred to the painter, Niccolo di Magio da Siena (3). He is no doubt the same as Nicholo di Magino who, towards the end of the 14th century, is recorded in the register of the corporation of painters in Siena (4). He appears in Palermo in 1399 after which we have documentary evidence of his activity in 1405, 1411, 1425, 1428 and 1430 (5). The only work by this artist that we now possess is a triptych in the National Museum of Palermo; it represents the Virgin and Child between St. Catherine and in all probability St. Christina because the picture comes from the church of Sta. Christina la Vetere, but this figure is so badly damaged that it is no longer possible to recognize the saint.

The picture reveals the master as a very conservative and feeble artist. Di Marzo is of opinion that the same painter might have executed a polyptych originating from the church of Sta. Caterina, now in the gallery of Palermo (No. 75), in which alongside the Virgin we see the figures of SS. Peter, Paul, Catherine and Dominic.

Di Marzo draws our attention to a triptych showing the Coronation of the Virgin in the midst of four angelic musicians, St. Albert in the habit of the Carmelite order and St. Peter (fig. 312), which, he informs us, was signed: "*Hoc opus dipinxit Magister de Paruchu an. D. 1412*" (6). We gather from Di Marzi that this picture, which hung in the church of the Compagnia di S. Alberto, was lost sight of for some time but later was found by

(1) *G. Di Marzo*, La pittura in Palermo nel Rinascimento, Palermo, 1899, p. 53 et seq.

(2) *G. Di Marzo*, Pittura in Palermo, p. 66.

(3) v. Vol. V, p. 402.

(4) *G. Milanesi*, Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese, I, Siena, p. 40.

(5) *Di Marzo*, Pittura in Palermo, p. 49.

(6) *Di Marzo*, Belle arti in Sicilia, p. 60. *The Same*, Pittura in Palermo, p. 58.

him in the “antioratorio” of the same church; it is now preserved in the gallery of Palermo Di Marzo’s report is not quite correct because the date reads 1422 and not 1412. In the predella we

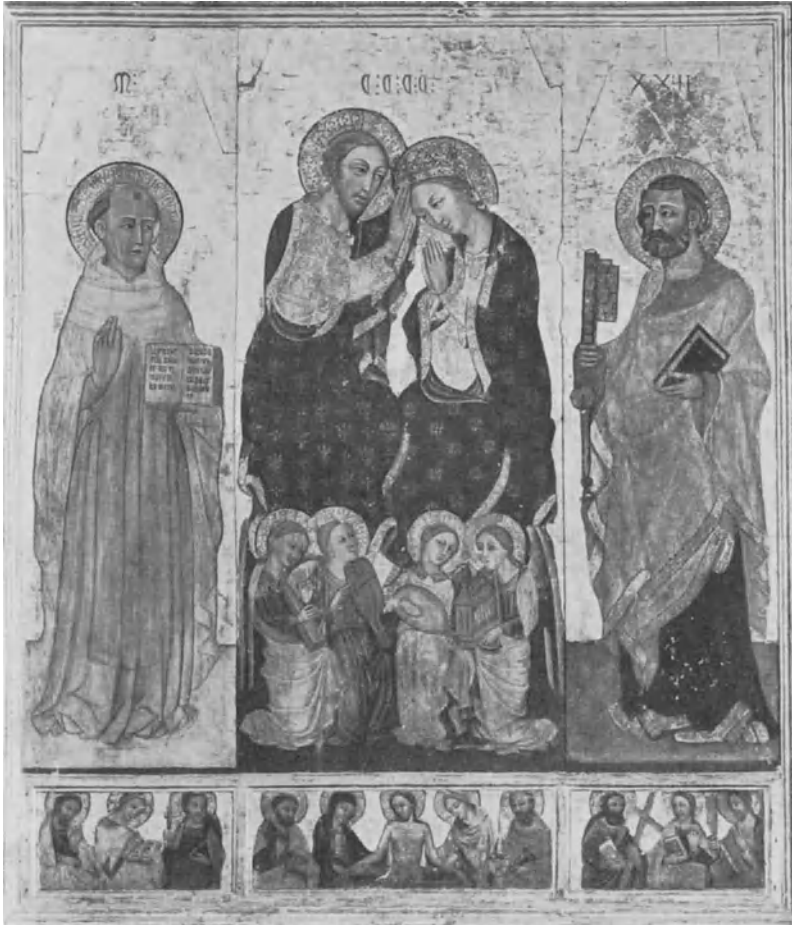


Fig. 312. Matteo de Perruchio (?), triptych, 1422. Gallery, Palermo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

see the dead Saviour rising from His Tomb between the Virgin, SS. John the Baptist, Peter and Paul and in each of the lateral panels three Apostles. The signature has been effaced but a painter of the name of Matteo de Perruchio appears in a document of 1417; perhaps the signature that Di Marzo saw was that of this

artist, in which case he might have misread the name "Matteo" as "Magister".

A panel, from the church of S. Martino della Scala, now in the museum, shows the Madonna in the midst of eight angels, two of whom, as well as the Virgin, offer flowers to the Child Jesus; two other angels accompany the group with music.

In the museum of Palermo there are still two other triptychs; one, which is rather damaged represents in the centre the Coronation of the Virgin and on the lateral panels St. Francis and St. George on horse-back (fig. 313). The inscription dates the painting from 1414. The central figure of the second triptych (fig. 314) is the Madonna nursing the Child, she is escorted by four angels, two playing on musical instruments and two above in adoration; the wings are adorned with the figures of the Annunciation and on the predella we see the dead Saviour supported by the Virgin and St. John and eight disciples, all in half-length figure.

The names of painters active in Palermo, but by whom we possess no authentic works, are not rare. Di Marzo gives a certain number who worked in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; they are: Guglielmo Pironti 1393, Giovanni di Buicello 1413, Giacomo di Comito and his pupil Giacomo da Sabato da Sciacca 1418, Giaimo Sanchez of Sevilla, painter to the king in 1422, (he made his will in 1425), Pino de Horis 1426, Giovanni Pullastra, Bartolomeo Cico and Antonio de Bonsignore 1427, and Berto di Causella 1429 (<sup>1</sup>).

Di Marzo provides us with numerous documents concerning Gaspare da Pesaro, whose name is of a certain interest because it demonstrates that artists from The Marches migrated even to Sicily. Already in 1421 Gaspare was a citizen of Palermo; a document of 1422 records his name and from others of 1430 and 1447 we learn of his activity. He was still alive in 1459 when his son Guglielmo, also a painter, married, but we know that he died

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<sup>1</sup>) *Di Marzo*, Pittura in Palermo, p. 55. *Di Marzo*, Belle Arti in Sicilia. p. 58, speaks of a Jacopo Migile detto Gerardo da Pisa, a painting by whom he saw in the archiconfraternita dell' Annunziata. This must surely be an error, the artist, no doubt being Jacopo di Michele Gera da Pisa, concerning whom v. Vol. V, p. 258.

before August 1461<sup>(1)</sup>. I see no reason to concur with Di Marzo in his hypothesis that Gaspare was the author of a triptych dated 1453 in the church of Sta. Maria della Misericordia at Termini



Fig. 313. Triptych, Sicilian School, 1414. Museum, Palermo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.

Imerese; it shows the Virgin nursing the Child between SS. John the Baptist and Michael and belongs to the subsequent manner of painting, the productions of which will be dealt with elsewhere.

All these works which have just been mentioned, form a fairly homogenous group, artistically speaking they should be associat-

<sup>(1)</sup> *Di Marzo*, *Pittura in Palermo*, p. 60.



ed with painting of the previous century, for there is indeed little evidence of the Gothic style which characterizes the productions of the early 15<sup>th</sup> century. They really derive from the Venetian school of the late Trecento which spread along the entire coast of the Adriatic.

This Venetian element, however, is not the only one we meet with in Sicily. There was, so it appears, a fairly close artistic intercourse between Sicily and Spain which can be easily explained by the fact that the Kings of Aragon were the rulers of this island. Many Spanish painters of this period left their native country to settle in Sicily <sup>(1)</sup>, but we have some proof also of the contrary taking place: thus Pedro Scaparra, who in Spain was surnamed "El Siracusano", is mentioned in a document of 1446. A Madonna and Child by this artist, originating I believe from the north of Catalonia, is found in the collection of Pablo Bosch in Madrid <sup>(2)</sup>; the picture naturally shows an intermingling of the artistic currents of the two different countries.

I have already mentioned that Giacomo Sanchez of Sevilla was painter to the king in Palermo; in 1426--1427 and 1430--1431 Giovanni da Valladolid made some paintings on canvas to put before the windows of the Chiaramonte Palace in Palermo <sup>(3)</sup>, and in 1401 a painter from Barcelona, Guereau Janer, was charged in Valencia by Pierre d'Omeralt, gentleman-in-waiting to the king, with the execution of an altar-piece for the cathedral of Monreale <sup>(4)</sup>. The goldsmith Pietro di Spagna was also active in Palermo <sup>(5)</sup>.

In the museum of Syracuse we find a picture showing a strong Spanish, especially Catalonian, influence (fig. 315). It is a polypych representing in the centre the Virgin seated with the Child on her knee and four pairs of little angels flying around. In the

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<sup>(1)</sup> *L. Ozzola*, *L'Arte spagnuola nella pittura siciliana del secolo XV*, Rassegna Nazionale, January 1909.

<sup>(2)</sup> *S. Sanpere y Miguel*, op. cit., I, p. 287.

<sup>(3)</sup> *A. Venturi*, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 148.

<sup>(4)</sup> *A. Balagner y Merino e A. Salinas*, Di un documento inedito relativo ad una icona etc. etc. per la cattedrale di Monreale, Arch. Stor. Sicil., Nuova Ser., IV, 1880, fasc. IV (*A. Venturi*, loc. cit.).

<sup>(5)</sup> *P. Lanza di Scalea*, *Donne e gioielli in Sicilia nel Medio Evo e nel Rinascimento*, Palermo, 1892 (*A. Venturi*, loc. cit.).



Fig. 314. Triptych, Sicilian School. Museum, Palermo.

Photo Minist. della Pubbl. Istr

lateral panels we see SS. John the Evangelist, Agatha, Mary Magdalene and another female saint (1). It is a work of consid-

(1) *E. Mauceri*, Su alcuni dipinti del Museo Archeologico di Siracusa, *Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr.*, 1908, p. 202. *The Same*, Correspondence in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1909, fasc. of March, p. VI. *The Same*, La pittura in Siracusa nel secolo XV, *Rassegna d'Arte*, X, 1910, p. 23. *The Same*, Caratteri dell' arte siciliana del Rinascimento, *Rassegna d'Arte*, XIX, 1919, p. 220.

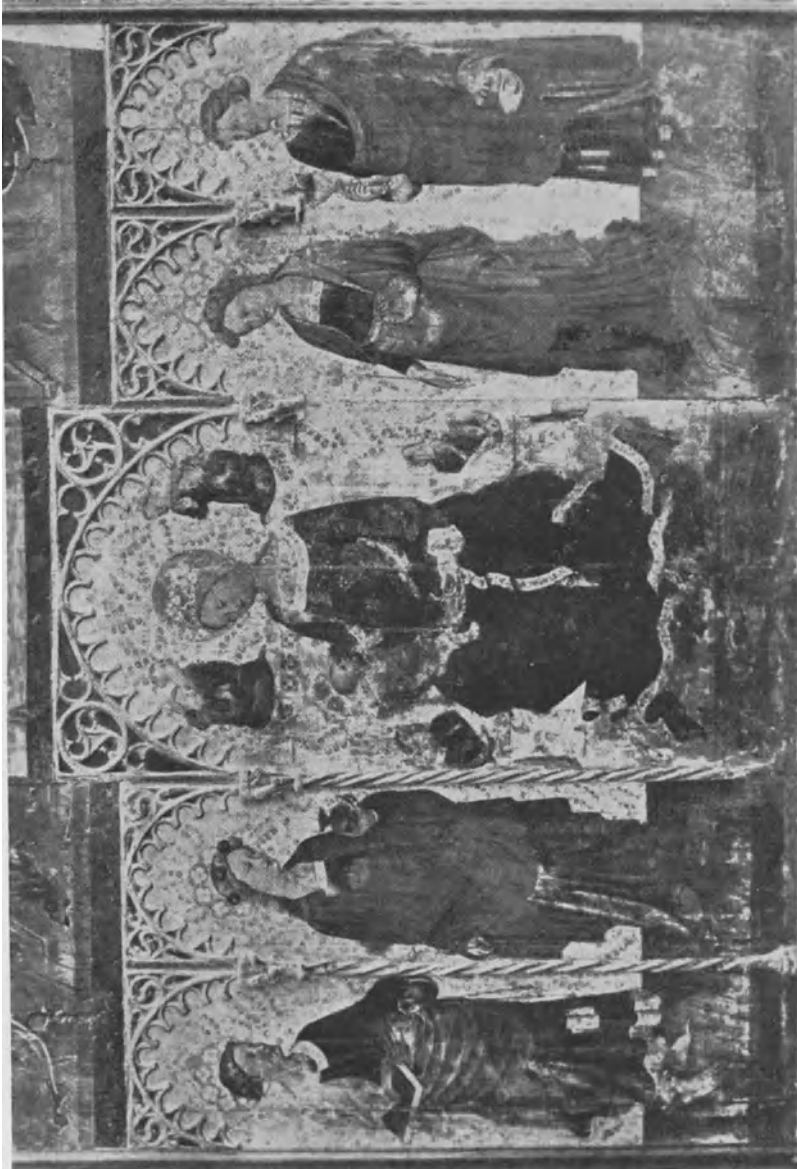


Fig. 315. Madonna and saints, Sicilian School, beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Gallery, Syracuse.

erable beauty but, with the exception of a few features, such as the grace of form and sweetness of expression, characteristic of Italian painting, it is executed almost entirely in the Catalonian Gothic manner. The Catalonian painter whose influence is most evident in this polyptych, is Luis Borassa; if we agree with Señor Sanpere in ascribing to the latter the altar-piece of Santa Colonna of Queralt (1), but of this we cannot be certain, then we might conclude that the artist of Syracuse was a direct pupil of Borassa. The upper parts of the polyptych showing the Crucifixion with the seated figures of the Virgin and St. John, the angel and Madonna of the Annunciation, St. Agatha and a holy bishop, are more Italian in character. These panels were left to a helper and I can quite easily imagine that they were added to the altar-piece at a slightly later period, at any rate they are somewhat less primitive in appearance.



Fig. 316. Madonna, Sicilian School, beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. S. Giovanni Battista, Syracuse.

(1) *Sanpere*, op. cit., p. 221 et seq.

A Madonna with the Child on her knee, in the church of S. Giovanni Battista, Syracuse (fig. 316), is, although less beautiful than the foregoing work, in all probability from the hand of the principal master. With more certainty we can ascribe to him a fine but damaged panel of the Madonna enthroned with the Child in the midst of four angelic choristers, now in the museum of Syracuse, but originating from the church of Pistunina, near Messina (fig. 317).

A large altar-piece with the figure of St. Lawrence in the centre and scenes from his legend around, in the museum of Syracuse might be a school production but it is very close to the master's art. On the other hand, very near the pupil's manner, if not indeed by him, is a picture in the church of Montevergine in Syracuse, representing above, the Virgin enthroned nursing the Child, between SS. Lucy and Agatha and below, the Transfiguration with SS. John the Baptist and Paul.

Another pupil, working more after the master's own manner, executed a Madonna, seated lowly, holding the Child between two angels, in the Carmine church.

A representation of St. Leonard crowned, in the museum of Syracuse, might belong to 15<sup>th</sup> century art but it shows more connexion with the Italo-Byzantine style of the Trecento in Venice (<sup>1</sup>).

Going from Syracuse to Catania there was, and perhaps there still is, in the old cathedral of Lentini a picture representing God the Father and the Saviour seated in glory with the Madonna and Child standing before them and a multitude of devotees kneeling below. This picture, which was repainted in 1665 and already in 1903 was in a very poor state of preservation (<sup>1</sup>), was reputed to be a work by St. Luke; later it was considered as a Byzantine production of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Judging from the reproduction I see in it sooner a vague derivation of the school of Gentile da Fabriano, interpreted, however, in an extremely rustic manner. None the less, in spite of the presence of a painter from Pesaro, it is the only work that I know in Sicily which provides us with evidence of the penetration of a Marchigian influence.

(<sup>1</sup>) All these works are published in the different articles by Mauceri.

(<sup>1</sup>) *A. Salinas*, Monumenti inediti di Lentini e di Noto, *L'Arte*, 1903, p. 159.



Fig. 317. Madonna, Sicilian School, beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Gallery, Syracuse.

It should not be forgotten that the Lombard tradition is represented in Sicily by the fresco of the Triumph of Death in the Sclafani Palace, executed after the true Lombard manner and for that reason it has been included in another volume.

The persistence of the 14<sup>th</sup> century tradition in Sicily is manifest in a crucifix dating, I believe, from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in the parish church of Forza d'Agro, near Taormina; the half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John adorn the lateral terminals while over the head of Christ we see, according to the Giottesque tradition, the pelican in its nest. Close by in the church of Calatabiano there is another painted cross but it is of later date and more simple in form.

The few paintings of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century that we find in Sardinia are proof to us that this island was but an artistic colony of the Spanish school (<sup>1</sup>), and for that reason is really of little importance in a study of Italian painting. The Sardinian school of the 15<sup>th</sup> century begins with Berengar Picalull, inn-keeper and painter, who in 1423 painted in Cagliari a banner for the tomb of Luis Carbonell, a knight from Valencia. He lived in Cagliari until 1436 and while there painted an altar-piece for the church of Sta. Maria, near Uta. A Crucifixion in the church of S. Paolo at Milis is a restored work of this period. Jaime Huguet, a painter of Barcelona, sent some of his pictures to Cagliari before 1451, while Rafael Thomas and Juan Figuerra from Barcelona were active in Cagliari in 1455 and 1456. The contract for the altar-piece of S. Bernardine, now in the National Museum of Cagliari, was found by Signor Aru. The saint forming the subject of this picture is thoroughly Italian; he is escorted by two angels; around him we see several scenes from his legend,

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(<sup>1</sup>) *G. Spano*, Storia dei pittori sardi e catalogo descrittivo della privata pinacoteca del Canonico Giovanni Spano, Cagliari, 1870. *C. Aru*, Storia della pittura in Sardegna, Annuario de l'Institut d'Estudes catalans, 1911—1912. *Brunelli*, Appunti sulla storia della pittura in Sardegna, L'Arte, 1907, p. 359. *W. Biehl*, Kunstgesch. Streifzüge durch Sardinien, Zeitschr. f. Bild. Kunst., 1912. *V. v. Loga*, Ein Beitrage zur Quattrocento Malerei in Sardinien, Idem, 1912. *A. Venturi*, Storia dell' arte italiana, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 151. *G. Goddard King*, Sardinian Painting, I, Bryn Mawr, 1923, p. 62. *C. Aru*, Raffaele Thomas e Giovanni Figuerra, L'Arte, 1920, p. 136.

the Descent from the Cross, the Pietà, in which an angel supports the body of Christ, and some half-length figures of saints. The type of St. Bernadine bears little resemblance to that generally depicted in Italian art.

Some other works can be ascribed to this master. Among them there is a Pietà, in which again an angel supports the Saviour's body, originating from the church of St. Lucifero, now in the town museum. The same artist can perhaps be held responsible for a lost picture of St. George (<sup>1</sup>).

At the beginning of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Juan de Barcelona represented the Catalonian school in Sardinia. As I have just said, it would be useless to enumerate the works executed in Sardinia earlier in the century because it would be encroaching on a chapter in the history of Spanish painting.

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(<sup>1</sup>) *Goddard King*, op. cit., p. 76.



## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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p. 48. Another erroneous attribution to Gentile da Fabriano is in my opinion that of a fresco discovered a short time ago over the first altar to the left in the church of S. Niccolo, Florence. This attribution has been made quite recently by *K. F. Suter u. H. Beenken*, Ein unbekanntes Fresko des Gentile da Fabriano, *Zeitschrift f. Bildende Kunst*, 1926—27, p. 84. The painting represents a young saint holding a heart in one hand and the martyr's palm in the other. The work seems to me very inferior in quality to Gentile's productions; it is probably of Florentine origin and closely approaches the art of Paolo di Stefano (v, vol. IX) if it is not by this master himself. The monogram "J. H. S." in a medallion in the upper part of the frame seems to be modelled on the device of St. Bernardine of Siena, which, in itself, would prove that this fresco was executed after the death of Gentile.

p. 61 line 24. "Giotto" should read Gretto.

p. 89. Quite recently I saw in a private collection a work by Pisanello; it certainly dates from before 1430 and is probably the earliest painting we possess from the hand of this master. It shows the Madonna sitting in an arbour; over head we see the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove and two angels, while to the sides are depicted SS. John the Baptist and Catherine; three birds are perched on the flowering shrubs. At first sight one might imagine this picture to be the work of an extremely gifted and very individual pupil of Stefano da Verona but on further examination we discover that the Virgin and more particularly the Child resemble in type the figures of Pisanello's youthful works, so that there is no reason to doubt that the name "*Antonius Pisanus*" that we find in the signature, which is undoubtedly genuine, is that of Pisanello. It is worthy of remark that this signature gives the master's real name which was discovered only a short time ago.

p. 199. An erroneous attribution to Pisanello is that of an Adoration of the Magi in the gallery of Turin (No. 156<sup>bis</sup>), a Veronese work in which a strong Tyrolese influence is manifest.

p. 205. *W. E. Gessner*, Die Bedeutung des Veronesische in der Malerei des Antonio Pisano, *Zeitschr. f. Bild. Kunst*, Dec. 1926, p. 197, does not believe that there are any French elements in Pisanello's art and tries to explain this painter entirely by his Veronese antecedents, an opinion with which naturally I do not agree.

p. 284 line 19. The Madonna nursing the Child in the Cathedral of Urbino should not be included among the works of the school of Antonio da Ferrara.

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