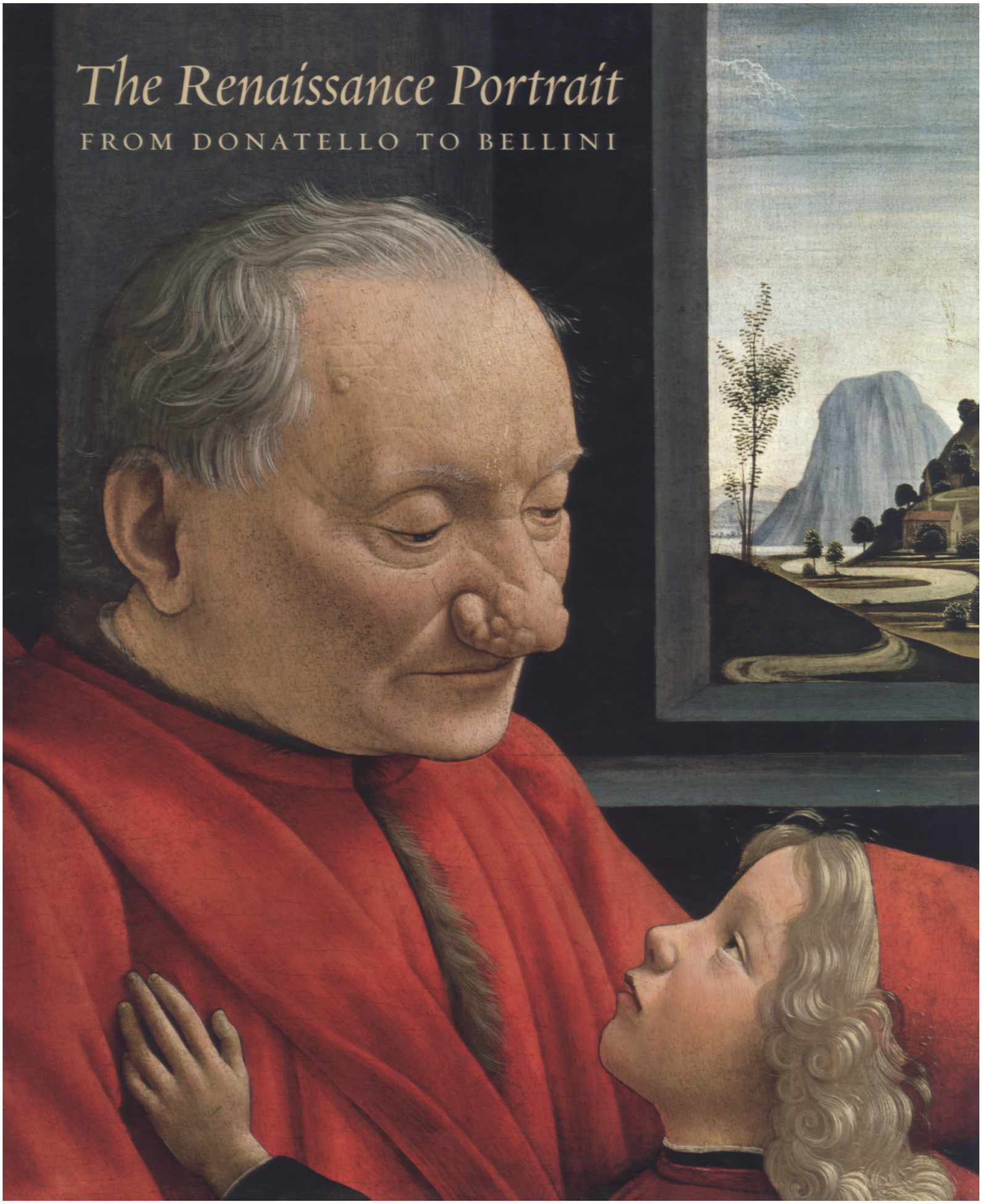
The Renaissance Portrait

FROM DONATELLO TO BELLINI



The Renaissance Portrait from Donatello to Bellini



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FROM DONATELLO TO BELLINI

EDITED BY

Keith Christiansen and Stefan Weppelmann

ESSAYS BY

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Stefan Weppelmann, and Rudolf Preimesberger



The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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FOREWORD

The goal of this exhibition is to present a panorama of portraiture at its crucial, formative stage in fifteenth-century Italy. Simple though it sounds, this proved to be a more complex and ambitious task than anyone anticipated, occupying a team of curators from the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for the past four years. They reached out to enlist the collaboration of established scholars in the field as well as members of a younger generation of art historians, and the result is an exhibition that rewards visitors with a visual mosaic of exceptional richness and variety. Alongside masterpieces of sculpture, painting, drawing, and medallic portraiture by some of the greatest artists of the time—from Donatello to Verrocchio, Masaccio to Botticelli, and Pisanello to Bellini—are extraordinary works by lesser known sculptors and painters.

The decision to stop short of the sixteenth century was a conscious one, for the organizers are convinced that the special character of portraiture in this early phase is best understood if examined in the context of its own time. As the works in the exhibition make clear, the fifteenth-century portrait was shaped by ideals and social conventions distinct from those of subsequent centuries and far removed from those of our own.

What the fifteenth-century viewer expected from a portrait was an image for posterity, the artist's task being to balance the temporal with the memorable: to wrest from the unpredictability of life and the shadow of mortality an image worthy of being passed down to future generations. Far from a mere likeness—something "taken from life" (the definition of the Italian verb *ritrarre*)—the fifteenth-century Italian portrait represents instead an attempt to confer on its subject a distinct identity, perhaps as a husband or wife, merchant, intellectual, military commander, civic officeholder, or prince. Every civilization and culture has evolved its own solutions to this task, but those created in fifteenth-century Italy are of special interest, for it was then that the conventions that informed portraiture down to the invention of the camera were first explored.

We may think of portraiture primarily in terms of two-dimensional images, but in the Renaissance, medals and sculpture were no less important, and both often resonated with classical allusions. Medals had the advantage of being small and thus easily exchanged among rulers or prominent families. By contrast, sculpted busts possessed a monumental, physical presence that no painting could match; placed over doors in a grandiose setting such as a private palazzo, they conferred a sense of dignity and inherited values, offering an alternative and a challenge to the representational potential of painting.

The organizers felt it was indispensible that portraits in all of these media should be included. That they have been able to bring together such a remarkable and bountiful variety of works reflects the generosity of the lenders listed in these pages, to whom we are deeply grateful. Many institutions lent masterpieces in more than one medium, and we would like to recognize here the exceptional collegiality of the Musée du Louvre, Paris; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence; Museo Correr, Venice; Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples; and The National Gallery, London.

Doing justice to this subject required the collaboration of two institutions with notably rich collections of portraiture and the close cooperation of a group of curators with a shared vision. That this was brought to successful fruition is a testament to the initiative and energy of Stefan Weppelmann, curator at the Gemäldegalerie, and his colleagues at the Metropolitan Museum Keith Christiansen and Andrea Bayer. They were assisted by Sabine Hoffmann, Dagmar Korbacher, Ruben Rebmann, and Julia Valiela. Everyone involved greatly benefited from the dedication and expertise of our late colleague Michael Knuth, who sadly will not see the fruits of his hard work. Julien Chapuis assured the ideal installation of the exhibition at the Bode-Museum in Berlin, thus fulfilling the original vision of Wilhelm Bode, general director of the Berlin museums in the early twentieth century, to bring together paintings, sculpture, drawings, and medals in a unified presentation.

It also took a consortium of donors to make this presentation possible at the Metropolitan Museum. We are grateful to the William Randolph Hearst Foundation, the Diane W. and James E. Burke Fund, the Gail and Parker Gilbert Fund, and The Horace W. Goldsmith Foundation for their steadfast support of the Metropolitan's exhibitions program. We would also like to recognize the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities for granting an indemnity for this project. For the catalogue, we appreciate the Samuel I. Newhouse Foundation's important commitment.

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PREFACE

Portraits. Today we take them for granted, but from the fifth to the fifteenth century—for much of medieval history—discrete portraits of individuals were a rarity, a form reserved for rulers and historic figures. Only in the fifteenth century did European artists, working both north and south of the Alps, once again begin to produce independent portraits of men and women. This exhibition celebrates the Italian contribution to that first great age of portraiture in Europe, allowing visitors to experience the innovative responses of artists to the new challenge of recording an individual likeness and, in so doing, to explore issues of identity as well.

In fifteenth-century portraiture, individuals step out from their subsidiary roles in altarpieces and mosaic and fresco cycles, where they had previously been shown as donor figures and consigned to subordinate positions, often on a diminutive scale, perhaps in profile or kneeling with their hands clasped. The visage and upper torso, treated in isolation, now filled the rectangle of an independent panel, which could be hung in the private room of a palace. Some of these early portraits were intended to commemorate a significant event, such as a marriage, death, or ascension to power. Others recorded for future generations the features of an esteemed member of a family or social organization. In Venice, for example, the members of a group calling themselves the Compagnia degli Amici were required to have an outstanding artist paint their portrait and include in it an identifying inscription as well as the subject's personal armorial device. Painted on a small enough scale (see cats. 152a, b), portraits could be carried about in a leather pouch as a keepsake or given as a token of friendship. In 1493 Isabella d'Este, marchioness of Mantua, exchanged portraits with her dear friend Isabella del Balzo, countess of Acerra, a town northeast of Naples. The countess sent Isabella her image on paper, perhaps a highly finished drawing such as some of those in this exhibition. She also sent one in wax, which reminds us of the important role in the evolution of portraiture played by wax effigies: often lifesize votives set up in churches, none of which, sadly, survive. But it was the medallic portrait, an invention of the fifteenth century, that became, quite literally, the currency of fame and the means by which rulers and the cultural elite made a bid for a foothold on posterity. Through the often abstruse allegories and mottos that decorate the reverse—sometimes devised by court scholars and poets—portrait medals were able to evoke to their recipients some particularly valued virtue or attribute. The marquess of Ferrara Leonello d'Este commissioned no fewer than six portrait medals from Pisanello, the first great medalist, each with a profile portrait on the obverse and a completely different allegory on the reverse (see cats. 67–69). King Alfonso of Aragon commissioned three, likewise employing different heraldic devices and emblems on each (see cats. 131, 132). Medals were not limited to rulers, however; Pisanello also made portrait medals of the great humanist teachers Guarino da Verona and Vittorino da Feltre as well as the outstanding military leaders of the day (see cats. 86, 97, 98). Even artists were so immortalized, from Pisanello (cat. 66) and Filarete (cat. 99) to Gentile and Giovanni Bellini.

Just as the portrait medal became established in the Renaissance as a universal means of commemoration, enduring up until the twentieth century, so did the sculpted portrait bust, another classically inspired form. Writing in the first century A.D., Pliny the Elder tells us that the ancient Romans displayed wax death masks in their houses and set portrait busts on the lintels of doors, traditions that were revived in Florence and elsewhere during the fifteenth century. A cast of the death mask of Lorenzo the Magnificent survives (cat. 56), and we know that Lorenzo placed busts of his mother and father over facing doors in the main apartment of the Medici palace (see cat. 47).

This exhibition brings together some of the finest portraits created in this first great age of portraiture, whether painted, sculpted, cast in metal, or drawn. The works were selected to suggest the dominant conventions and the striking

innovations of a period spanning some eight decades. Given the geographic, political, and cultural complexity of fifteenth-century Italy, the organizers decided to divide the exhibition into three clearly defined sections. It opens in Florence, where independent portraits first appeared in abundance, and then moves to the courts of Italy—Ferrara, Mantua, Bologna, Milan, Urbino, Naples, and papal Rome—before finishing in Venice, where a tradition of portraiture was established surprisingly late in the century. In each section an attempt has been made to combine works in all media so that visitors can judge for themselves the ways in which conventions governing one medium interact with those dominant in another. In Florence, many will conclude (not without reason) that the most striking innovations occurred first in sculpture and were then taken up in painting. The sculptural busts of Desiderio da Settignano, for example, are where we first encounter a face enlivened by a transient expression and casual turn of the head (see cat. 12). In the courts, thanks in large measure to the genius of Pisanello, the medal became the preferred means of recording a likeness, and we witness the phenomenon of painters designing medals (see cats. 81, 82), which were durable, could be produced in multiple casts, and were easily exchanged among a social elite. Some were gilded; exceptionally, Isabella d'Este had her effigy cast in gold and decorated with jewels (cat. 92). In Venice the painted portrait held sway thanks to the achievements of Antonello da Messina and Giovanni Bellini, who resolutely abandoned the dominant Italian convention of the profile portrait in favor of the three-quarter view, with the sitter's distant gaze and delicately modeled features expressing hints of an interior life. (One of the tropes of humanist criticism was that painting could capture only external appearances, not the soul or the inner life of the subject.)

Although humanism, with its basis in the literary culture of Greece and Rome, provided a shared intellectual language throughout the Italian peninsula, political, economic, and social circumstances differed profoundly from one place to another, and these differences are inevitably reflected in the kinds of portraits favored in each region and the uses to which they were put. The first three essays in the volume are intended to give readers an idea of these regional and political differences, while the catalogue entries attempt to situate each object within a particular artist's career and give insight into the dynamic between the artist and the individual portrayed, when he or she can be identified.

In a society dominated by social hierarchy and lineage, conformity to an accepted social template was the rule. In fifteenth-century Italy this was provided by the profile portrait, which was equally popular in its sculpted relief and painted forms (see cats. 83, 84). This must seem surprising to anyone familiar—as fifteenth-century Italians certainly were—with the far more naturalistic portraits of Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, and Hans Memling, in which a softly lit subject, angled to the picture plane, is shown as though standing at a window or behind a parapet staring at the viewer, with his or her hand sometimes resting on the edge of the frame (see cats. 27, 71, 145). Yet Italian portraits are not principally about resemblance, at least not in the straightforward sense we attach to that term. Rather than revelations of personality, they are conveyors of social conventions and cultural identities. The female subject of Filippo Lippi's double portrait in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. 6) stands rigidly erect, her enigmatically expressionless face viewed in strict profile and her bejeweled hands folded neatly in front of her richly garbed body. Lippi was a gifted storyteller, capable of extraordinarily expressive range, but that wasn't the point here; instead, he transformed the individual portrayed into a sphinxlike cipher waiting to be decoded.

It is often said that the profile portrait enjoyed such prestige in Italy because it was sanctioned by the example of Roman coins and reliefs. Beyond that, however, the profile had always been the most essential way of transcribing a likeness. So accustomed have we become, through photography, to the

more casual, direct, frontal portrait that we have to remind ourselves of the unique opportunities the profile provides for objectifying a person's appearance and for transforming physiognomies into cultural signifiers: the elegance of a high forehead, the nobility or disdain of a raised brow, the aristocratic curve of a nose, and the strength or weakness of a chin and jaw—all physiognomic traits transformed into emblems of beauty, position, and power.

In the last act of *The Importance of Being Earnest*, Oscar Wilde's skewering of Victorian conventions of love, marriage, and class, there is a marvelous scene in which the socially conscious Lady Bracknell has a change of heart regarding her debtor-nephew's infatuation with a lovely but untitled young woman. Upon hearing the news that young, unprepossessing Cecily stands to inherit a considerable fortune—"about a hundred and thirty thousand pounds in the Funds," as it were—Lady Bracknell decides that perhaps she ought to take another look at what had seemed a socially unequal, and therefore undesirable, match. True enough, the girl's clothes seemed "sadly simple" and her hair "almost as Nature might have left it," yet as Lady Bracknell reminds herself and anyone within earshot, "we can soon alter all that." She instructs Cecily to turn round. "No, the side view is what I want," she specifies. Then, after a pause: "Yes, quite as I expected. There are distinct social possibilities in your profile. The two weak points in our age are its want of principle and its want of profile. The chin a little higher, dear. Style largely depends on the way the chin is worn. They are worn very high, just at present."

Chins were also "worn very high" in fifteenth-century Italy, as anyone who examines the profile portraits of the young women in this exhibition—many of them painted to commemorate their engagements or marriages—will discover. We may laugh at the superficiality of Lady Bracknell's criteria, but her assessment would have struck a sympathetic chord not only among the wealthy families in fifteenth-century Florence, where social connections, money, and appearance were primary considerations in any marriage, but also among the rulers of the smaller courts of central Italy, who were always attentive to potential dynastic alliances. We have a memorable record of this in the letters of Alessandra Strozzi, who was on the lookout for a Florentine wife for her son Filippo, then still living in political exile in Naples. In the summer of 1465, Alessandra attended mass in the cathedral with the explicit purpose of getting a good look at a prospective daughter-in-law. "She seemed to me to have a beautiful figure and to be well put together. She's as tall as Caterina [Filippo's sister] or taller, with good skin, she's not one of those pale ones, but looks healthy. She has a long face and her features aren't very delicate, but they're not coarse . . . and altogether I think that if the other considerations suit us she wouldn't be a bad deal and will do us credit." Clearly, Alessandra had an ideal template against which she measured the appearance of any prospective daughter-in-law, and it was with just such a template in mind—a poetics of beauty shaped in no small measure by the poetry of Petrarch and his imitators—that artists adjusted the features of their subjects. The final two essays in the catalogue attempt to introduce readers to the poetics of fifteenth-century portraiture as well as to the critical language that was employed in describing them.

What distinguishes Italian portraits of the fifteenth century from those created north of the Alps is an emphasis on artifice of style and artistic ingenuity—what in the critical language of the day was referred to as "artificio" and "invenzione"—as a means of transforming mere observation into something beautiful to behold. An artist's reputation depended less on a factor of realism than his success in creating an image worthy to be passed down to posterity. It was to compare Leonardo's qualities as a portraitist with those of Bellini that the fastidious and difficult Isabella d'Este asked Cecilia Gallerani, mistress of Ludovico Sforza, to send the portrait he had made of her to Mantua (see fig. 36). The following year Leonardo made a magnificent drawing of Isabella (fig. 35) in which he combined her profile with a frontally viewed torso, thus mixing modernity with court tradition. As Leon Battista Alberti declared in his 1435 treatise *De Pictura*, "Painting possesses a truly divine power in that not only does it make the absent present (as they say of friendship), but it also represents the dead to the living many centuries later, so that they are recognized by spectators with pleasure and deep admiration for the artist."

* * *

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Andrea Bayer, Keith Christiansen, Stefan Weppelmann

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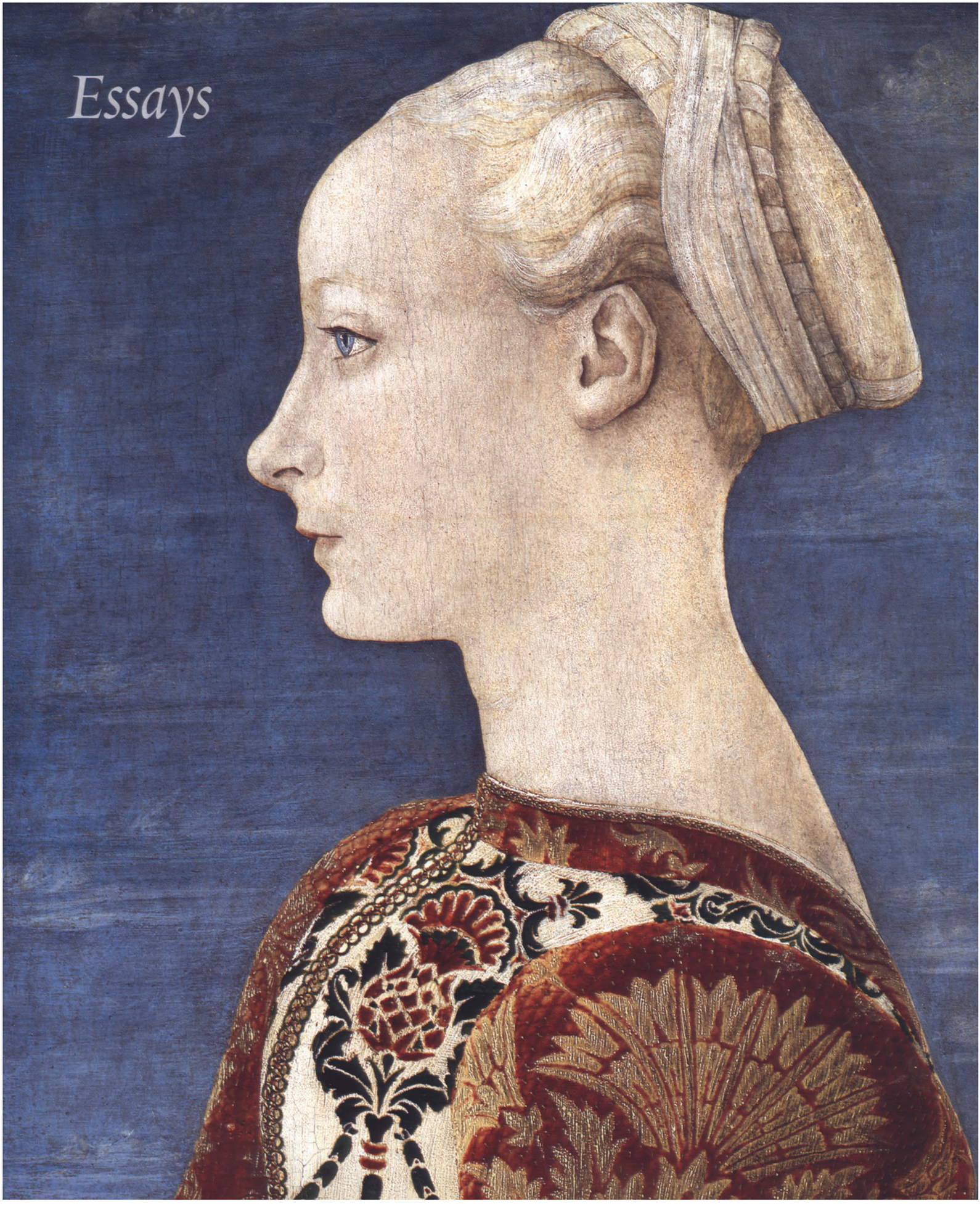

Understanding Renaissance Portraiture

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IN FEBRUARY 1421, a gentleman on horseback arrived in the north Tuscan town of Massa on his way from Milan to Florence. A servant walked in front of him, it was reported, "with a lance covered, as though underneath there was some large standard."[1] The curious object turned out to be a painting on cloth of Filippo Maria Visconti (1392–1447), the duke of Milan, mounted, which was to be the model for a wax votive image at the Florentine Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella. Filippo was famously unprepossessing: fat, with a large mouth, heavy chin, and thick neck. He generally avoided being portrayed except by that "consummate artist" Pisanello, whose mastery alone could make his image seem alive.[2] Pisanello's profile rendering of the duke, known from a drawing and medals (cats. 94, 95), provided the prototype for almost all of the subsequent depictions of Filippo Maria. These, however, date from twenty years after the (long-lost) cloth portrait, which sounds as though it might have been reminiscent of the awe-inspiring equestrian monument to Filippo's great-uncle Bernabò (1323–1385), the "scourge of Lombardy," then in the palace chapel of San Giovanni in Conca and now in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan.[3] Most likely what was at stake was a record not of the duke's features, but of his steed—he was passionate about horses—and of his armor. Milanese armor was famed and sought after throughout Europe. The accurate rendering of his armor and insignia would not only identify the duke and celebrate his city, it would remind the Florentines of Filippo's military advantages. A treaty between the two cities had been agreed on the year before. Although the accord renewed their friendly, if fragile, relations and promised to respect Florentine territory, it was well known that Filippo Maria's energies were directed toward securing and enlarging his state, with the aim of restoring it to the glories of the time of his father, Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1351–1402). The Florentines were justifiably apprehensive. The duke, through his ambassadors, was aware of their distrust and potential hostility. An imposing presence at a major church, recent home to Filippo's friend Pope Martin V, could serve as a useful reminder of his power as well as his piety.

This episode introduces several aspects of portraiture in the fifteenth century, among them the fact that many important forms, such as the votive figure and its large cloth model, have left few traces among surviving objects. Another is that however image-shy the duke might have been, he was also aware of image management, and he participated in the types of representation that would certainly impress his contemporaries and, hopefully, preserve

his memory for future generations. In this he relied both on established traditions (a devotional image) and recent fashions (portrait medals). Although the fifteenth century in Italy is remarkable for the proliferation of portraits as well as for the invention of new portrait types and technologies, likeness was not a novelty.

In his *Lives of the Artists*, first published in 1550, Giorgio Vasari credits the painter Giotto (1267–1337) with being the first to introduce "the portraying well from nature of living people, which had not been used for more than two hundred years," adding as proof the "effigy of Dante Alighieri [1265–1321], Giotto's contemporary and friend," then visible in the chapel of the Palazzo del Podestà (the Bargello) in Florence.[4] For Vasari, Giotto's imitation of nature brought about the revival of art that led to the good, modern style. For art history, as it followed Vasari, Giotto's depiction of Dante put the origins of portraiture at the origins of modernity. It also gave portraiture the cultural prestige associated with the great poet and a baptism in the name of a famous artist. The problem with Vasari's assertion is that the frescoes in the chapel date from after the deaths of both the painter and his putative subject. Dante made Giotto an example of the perils of pride in the eleventh canto of *Purgatory* in the *Divine Comedy*, which testifies to the painter's reputation in his day, but there is no evidence of their friendship.

Inaccurate as it was, Vasari's statement was true to a long-held association of Giotto and convincing, lifelike depiction. He was not the first to connect Giotto with portraiture. In a commentary on a work attributed to Aristotle, completed in Padua in 1310, the physician and philosopher Pietro d'Abano named Giotto as the example of "a painter capable of producing a likeness in all respects" (in its features, colors, proportions, and the character they convey), so that the person depicted would be recognizable.[5] Pietro could have tested his statement against the artist's depiction of Enrico Scrovegni in the chapel Scrovegni had recently founded and had decorated with murals by Giotto, where he is shown in the *Last Judgment* presenting the chapel to the Virgin (fig. 1). Pietro also could have observed the artist's capacity for making physiognomic distinctions, demonstrating his ability to make "images of the face" that showed what people were like.[6] In the case of Scrovegni, with his refined features, elegant aristocratic profile, and steady gaze, Giotto showed him as noble in spirit and rapt in charitable devotion to the Virgin. These qualities ally him to another donor portrait by Giotto: Cardinal Giacomo Gaetani Stefaneschi offering his altarpiece to Saint Peter in the triptych for Saint Peter's Basilica (fig. 2). Both the Paduan usurer and the Roman cardinal must have recognized themselves in these portrayals, while also accepting or welcoming the idealization that might render them virtuous in the eyes of posterity.

Their poses as well as their features are significant: bowing before divine authority, offering a gift, their gestures combine attitudes of submission, prayer, and donation and refer to traditions that can be traced to antiquity but were also current in the late Middle Ages. Portrayed as pious supplicants and serving as pious examples, they are represented in a manner that solicited prayer on their behalf and expressed the hope for intercession and salvation. As with the custom of placing votive images in important shrines, including donor portraits in devotional works was a widely accepted practice in Italy well before the fifteenth century. Other common categories of portraiture with long pedigrees were funerary and celebratory sculptures (tombs and monuments to popes and rulers), dedicatory images

(author and patron portraits in manuscripts), and historical records (narrative or emblematic murals in court and civic settings). These categories were largely confined to princes and prelates or to those in prestigious professions and were related to specific contexts. The great novelty of the fifteenth century was the development of the independent portrait.

In Italian, the most commonly used word for a portrait was *ritratto*, which means "copy."[7] What made such copies of features convincing to contemporary beholders? How were they tempered by convention, by function, or by medium? To what degree is the artist's personality superimposed on the sitter's? When the gentlemen of Venice chose Giovanni Bellini to portray them, as they did frequently, how far were they making their features conform to fashion—becoming "a Bellini," styled by his talent? Complications of this nature are essential to any discussion of portraiture as a form of representation, but, given its mimetic basis, they have special force in relation to Renaissance art. The claims for the renewal of the arts, which date from the fourteenth century, were based on the artist's ability to "follow nature's outlines so closely that [pictures] seem to the observer to live and breathe," as was said of works by Giotto, for example, who was "celebrated enough to be compared with the painters of Antiquity . . . even to be preferred to them in skill and genius," according to one early biographer, Filippo Villani, who concludes his brief account mentioning the portraits in the Palazzo del Podestà.[8] But what were the "outlines of nature"?



Fig. 1. Giotto, *Enrico Scrovegni*, ca. 1305. Fresco. Detail of the *Last Judgment* in the Scrovegni Chapel, Padua

Villani's praise and its claims for Giotto as well as the nature of nature itself, as understood at the time, were based on precepts taken from classical writing. To imitate nature was to seek its inherent principles of perfection, not to replicate its accidental effects. To capture the living essence did not necessarily mean to reproduce a person in ruthless detail. The artist's scrutiny could be overtly flattering, as in the profile portraits of young women rendered according to canonical complements to female beauty: with high foreheads, fair complexions, and long necks (see cats. 8–10). Or it could be seemingly unsparing, as in Mino da Fiesole's marble bust of the immensely rich and immensely fat Florentine banker Niccolò Strozzi (cat. 122). Described in a letter of 1446 as "so fat he could not move," Niccolò is shown in this portrait, from nine years later, as a heavy-jowled but smooth-faced forty-three-year-old.[9] The thick, regular pleats of his weighty embroidered gown attest to his wealth while containing his form. His features are fine, delineated in a manner charac-

teristic of Mino's style. The slight turn of his head, his furrowed brow, and his ruffled hair all suggest movement and have precedents in Roman busts. Not at all settled into corpulent inactivity, he is presented as prompt and resolute. While remaining true to him, Mino's bust endows Niccolò's bulk with formal dignity. It is a work that skillfully balances the demands of immediate recognition with those of long-term recollection: key functions of portraiture.

Evidence of how well these expectations were met is scarce, but there are hints in the letters exchanged among the courts of northern Italy. Isabella d'Este's correspondence proves her to have been as fussy about her image as about everything else. For his part, the duke of Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, is reputed to have been dissatisfied with drawings of him done by Andrea Mantegna, supposedly with a view toward including him in the marquess of Mantua's Camera Picta (the "Camera degli Sposi"). In November 1471, the marquess, Ludovico Gonzaga, wrote that he had heard that Galeazzo had burned them "because he felt [Mantegna] hadn't done him well"—this despite the fact that a few months earlier Galeazzo had summoned the Milanese portraitist Zanetto Bugatto to come to him while he was visiting the Gonzaga court, which Zanetto did, asking specifically to see Mantegna's works. Ludovico commented that "it is true that Andrea is a good master at other things, but in portraits he could have more grace and doesn't do so well."[10] Ludovico's disparaging description of his court painter may be a diplomatic excuse for excluding Galeazzo, given his reliance on Mantegna to represent his family and his other allies in the room reputed to be "la più bella camera del mondo."[11] Then again, one of the portraits rejected by Isabella d'Este was by Mantegna. Adept at capturing likeness, Mantegna was not given to flattery, and he was not, therefore, everyone's preferred portraitist.



Fig. 2. Giotto, *Cardinal Giacomo Stefaneschi*, early 14th century. Tempera on panel. Detail of the Stefaneschi Altarpiece, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City

Dissatisfaction led to litigation in the case of the altarpiece commissioned by the regent of Rimini, Elisabetta Aldobrandini, from Domenico Ghirlandaio in 1493 for the Malatesta chapel in the Dominican church of San Cataldo in Rimini. The work includes portraits of her sons, Pandolfo and Carlo Malatesta, and Pandolfo's wife, Violante Bentivoglio. Elisabetta was widowed, powerful, and beautiful, the survivor of plague, an assassination attempt, and constant conspiracy; her commission was at once an ex-voto, a statement of her authority, and an affirmation of the Malatesta dynasty. The refined but fairly generalized figures that kneel beneath the protector saints of the altar apparently did not provide enough resemblance for this to be recognized, however, and she refused to pay the full price. Domenico Ghirlandaio had died in 1494, and the work was completed by his brother

Davide and other members of the shop. Having inspected the finished painting, the arbiter agreed that there had been a drop in the expected quality, especially in the figures. From what he could see with his own eyes, and having consulted various experts in the art of painting, he judged that even though the portraits had been done from life they failed to resemble the sitters either in their person or their appearance.[12] Of the 24 5/6 florins remaining to be paid of the original 130, Davide only received 10, a reduction of about 11 percent of the amount contracted for the work. Domenico's drawings, like the head of a woman now at Windsor (cat. 15), have the quality of attention that Elisabetta might have anticipated. On pink prepared paper, the woman's features are strongly modeled in metal point. The play of shadow created by the white highlighting against the pink prepared surface evokes the contours and the texture of her loose, slightly puffy, aged flesh. Her eyes, asymmetrical and downward looking, give her a meditative expression. The drawing, at once candid and sympathetic, is characteristic of Domenico's surviving portrait studies.

The choice of how and by whom one might be immortalized could be influenced by a number of factors, fashion among them. Pisanello, praised as the new Apelles and compared to all the renowned artists of antiquity by the literary men attached to the courts where he worked, created a sophisticated balance of idealization, emblematic allusion, and attractively detailed naturalism in his paintings and medals that became the mode for a generation of the ruling elite of the Italian peninsula. Taste played a part in Galeazzo Maria Sforza's search for a replacement for Zanetto Bugatto after the painter's death, for example, proving that he knew what he wanted. Writing in 1476 to his ambassador in Venice, he praised Zanetto as being able to "copy from nature with singular perfection," and now Galeazzo wanted to employ as his replacement a "Sicilian painter" in Venice who can be identified as Antonello da Messina (cats. 147–149).[13]

That the value of a portrait could be measured by its purpose as well as by personal liking or by absolute likeness is demonstrated by Francesco Sforza's quest in 1462 to find an image of his father, Muzio Attendolo Cotignola, who had died in 1424, which Francesco wanted copied and sent to him in Milan. He wrote to his ambassadors, and the reply came from Florence that a thorough search had produced only the wax votive bust at the church of the Santissima Annunziata. Although it was colored, so presumably intended to be realistic, and also labeled or somehow otherwise identifiable as Muzio by dress, emblems, or attributes, those who had known him and who remembered his face perfectly (including Cosimo de' Medici) said that it was not at all like him.[14] Of no help to Francesco's dynastic iconography, which required at least some sort of family resemblance, it retained its value as an ex-voto, adequate to represent Muzio at this important shrine. The ambassador had it repaired and replaced in a position of honor.

This episode shows that the task of recording and transmitting likeness could be performed in many ways and that the standards for judging success depended on circumstance. There was no simple rule for resemblance, but there were some well-circulated ideas providing a framework for appreciation. Among the most influential were the sentiments expressed in two famous sonnets by the humanist and poet Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca, 1304–1374) about a portrait of his lamented and beloved Laura by the Sienese painter Simone Martini. These verses established a link between the poet's desire and the painter's

talent. Petrarch claims that his "friend Simone was in Heaven, / the place from which this gracious lady comes; / he saw her there and copied her on paper / as proof down here of such a lovely face" (Sonnet 77).[15] They also implied a connection between Simone's task and the greatest artists of antiquity: "No matter how hard Polyclitus looked / and all the others famous for that art, / not in a thousand years would they see even / part of the beauty that has won my heart."[16] With a lover's melancholy, the poet wishes that Simone's stylus had been able to give "a voice and intellect as well as form" to his "high idea" so as to free his "breast of many sighs," if only the image, which appeared to hear him speak, could answer him.[17]

The portrait of Petrarch's beloved is long lost, and it may be a fiction. Nevertheless, the subject, the "gentil donna" of the sonnet sequence, became the model for many of the fair young maidens portrayed by subsequent artists.[18] Described as being on paper and done with a stylus, metaphorically, if not materially, the portrait was like the poems. Despite the portrait's failure to be a living likeness, the parallel invested it with enormous prestige. It embedded artifice and beauty in secular portraiture at the earliest stage of the development of the genre in Italy. The sonnets also gave voice to enduring themes for portraiture: above all, those of absence and substitution, of the living image, and of longing and consolation.

These were not mere poetic devices, as proved, for example, by Ippolita Sforza's request in 1466 that lifesize portraits of her mother, father, and all of her brothers and sisters be made in Milan for her newly built study in Naples (where she had arrived the year before as the bride of Alfonso, the duke of Calabria). In addition to decorating the room, she said that they would give her "constant comfort [*consolatione*] and pleasure."[19] In Milan a few years later, when the toddler son of her nephew, Duke Gian Galeazzo, was eager to see his absent father, he was taken to the duke's room, where there was a portrait of him. The picture was covered, probably with some sort of cloth or curtain, though possibly with a wood lid. It was reported that when it was uncovered, "as soon as the count saw it, with the greatest pleasure and amusement he began to ask, 'ho pa opa' making a great show of wanting to go into your arms and it was very difficult to take him away from this."[20] The child's reaction—the polar opposite of Petrarchan loss—suggests that the picture was a convincing record of his father's features, possibly lifesize, similar to Piero del Pollaiuolo's striking portrait of Galeazzo Maria (cat. 48). Aside from aiding an excited child in paternal peek-a-boo, the portrait cover created a different sort of viewing from Ippolita's private family pantheon, more reserved and more intimate. Yet another type of family presence was achieved by the placement of marble busts of members of the Medici family over doors in their palace. Emulating Roman usage, these sculptures publicized the lineage for all those privileged enough to walk through the rooms (cat. 47). Done during the lifetime of the first inhabitants of the new palace, they made family memory part of its fabric.

Portraiture could be explicitly memorial and commemorative, as in the case of the bust of Onofrio di Pietro by Benedetto da Maiano (fig. 3). Called "una memoria" in the city documents recording the payments to Benedetto, it was a grateful memorial to Onofrio's long and loving service to the city of San Gimignano in his capacity as overseer of the works to remodel the church of the Collegiata and to build and decorate a chapel there to the local *beata* Fina dei Ciardi.[21] The prestige of the *commune* was deeply invested in the project, which was part of a campaign for Fina's canonization. An expenditure of ten florins for

a suitable tribute to his "excellent memory" was agreed at the time of Onofrio's death in 1489. The bust was commissioned from Benedetto four years later.[22] The documents record that the design of the monument was based on a drawing supplied to the artist, but it is not clear how he was able to model Onofrio's features. Benedetto knew him, having worked on major sculptural projects in the Collegiata: the altar to Santa Fina in the mid-1470s, and its high altar from 1478 to 1482. Onofrio can be identified among the bystanders at the funeral of Santa Fina in the mural done by Domenico Ghirlandaio about 1477–78 as part of the chapel's decoration, which was an occasion for his likeness to be taken. Benedetto and Ghirlandaio were frequent collaborators, and a drawing made for the mural might have been recycled for this posthumous tribute.[23] The painted portrait is in three-quarter view, so other drawings were required to supplement Benedetto's memory and to aid him in translating the likeness from two to three dimensions. The use of portrait drawings for busts is documented in a letter from Antonio del Pollaiuolo to one of his sitters, and in Benedetto's case it can be supposed that he relied on them for his portrayal of Filippo Strozzi, since neither the terracotta nor the marble bust bears signs of having been done from a life mask (cats. 23, 24).[24] Now in the Museo d'Arte Sacra in San Gimignano, Onofrio's memorial was installed in a niche in the sacristy of the Collegiata there. However resemblance was achieved, it must have been accurate enough for Onofrio's fellow citizens, wishing to remember and to honor for posterity a man of exceptional administrative talent, who had been given equally exceptional powers over a project that was costly, complicated, and of major civic consequence.



Fig. 3. Benedetto da Maiano, *Onofrio di Pietro*, 1493. Marble. Sala di Onofrio di Pietro, Museo d'Arte Sacra, Sagrestia della Collegiata di San Gimignano

Portraits also participated in the rituals and history of court life in the murals that decorated the palaces of the Sforza, Gonzaga, and Este in Milan, Mantua, and Ferrara, where these interlinked and rivaling rulers could show and see themselves—and their courtiers, dogs, horses, and dwarfs—lifesize, reflecting and preserving the full panoply of their family glory in the most sumptuous terms. These pictorial encomia parallel and supplement the biographies and histories that began to pour forth from the pens of resident humanists from the middle of the century, as did medals, which amplified physical description through inscription and emblematic allusions to the subject's character and deeds.

Portraits in all forms could be tokens of friendship or esteem, or of alliance, such as the portrait of Galeazzo Maria Sforza painted by Piero del Pollaiuolo at the time of the duke's visit to Florence in 1471 (cat. 48). The palace inventory of 1492 locates this elegant reminder of the crucial ties between the Medici and Milan in Lorenzo de' Medici's splendid ground-floor chamber, which was a kind of showcase for his magnificence. Portraits served dynasty

as well as diplomacy: young girls being considered for marital exchange between the courts were regularly subjected to prenuptial portrayal and inspection. In the mercantile republics, such scrutiny was not permissible, since overexposure might damage the merchandise, as prospective brides were called; after marriage, however, the new entrants to the lineage could be proudly displayed in their bridal finery and with their dower goods (see cats. 8–10).

As the functions for portraiture multiplied in the fifteenth century, so, too, did the possible forms and formats. There was no one system or set of conventions determining the style, scale, or scheme for portrayal. It was a field of continual and considerable invention, with respect to both the demands of the sitters and the responses of the artists. Those demands were made within given situations. Portraits created a language of the person that circulated as well as commemorated identity, but they did so within specific regimes of visibility. The movement of ideas and ideals was conditioned by circumstances. So the network of relations among the courts encouraged the movement of works and artists and the creation of common, if competitively commissioned and executed, types of representation. On the other hand, the proud civic identities of the republics of Venice and Florence, and to a certain degree their guild restrictions, resulted in strikingly diverse local approaches. Although Venetian and Florentine artists were receptive to external influences—above all from antiquity and from northern Europe—their portrait idioms are distinct. The geography of likeness in the courts and in Venice and northern Italy is charted here, respectively, in the essays by Beverly Louise Brown and Peter Humfrey. What follows is an outline of some of the major developments in Florentine portraiture in the course of the fifteenth century.

Portraiture in Fifteenth-Century Florence

Florence was a republic governed by guild representation but virtually ruled by its mercantile elite. Leading families and their supporters shaped communal politics. Until 1434, the Albizzi family and its faction controlled the government. In that year, Cosimo de' Medici, leader of the rising Medici faction, was exiled along with other members of the family and their adherents. This situation was overturned within the year, and from then until 1494, when the Medici were again exiled, Cosimo (1389–1464), and subsequently his son Piero (1416–1469) and grandson Lorenzo (1449–1492), held the greatest power in the city. Their regime did not go unchallenged—Florentines were notoriously quarrelsome, opinionated, and ambitious—and there was constant rivalry and very serious conspiracy.

The bloodiest plot came to a head at Mass in the Florence Cathedral on April 26, 1478, when there was an attempt to assassinate Lorenzo and his brother, Giuliano, in a conspiracy involving members of the Pazzi and Salviati families as well as the papacy. Lorenzo was wounded but escaped; Giuliano was viciously stabbed to death. Retribution was swift and severe. Within days, the bodies of more than eighty men implicated in the plot hung from the windows of civic palaces. The gruesome event also prompted responses in portraiture. In gratitude for his escape, Lorenzo had lifesize wax votive images placed at major shrines in Florence and Assisi. They are graphically described by Vasari:

> one [is] in the Church of the Nuns of Chiarito in the Via di S. Gallo, opposite to the crucifix that works miracles. This figure is clothed exactly as Lorenzo was, when, with his wounded throat bandaged, he showed himself at the window of his house before the eyes of the people, who had flocked thither to see whether he were alive, as they hoped, or to avenge him if he were dead. The second figure . . . is in the lucco, the gown peculiar to the citizens of Florence; and it stands in the Servite church of the Nunziata. . . . The third was sent to S. Maria degli Angeli [in Assisi], where the same Lorenzo de' Medici . . . [had] caused the road to be paved . . . besides restoring the fountains that his grandfather had caused to be made in that place.[25]

These ex-votos made Lorenzo vividly present as a victim, eminent citizen, and pious patron in settings of miraculous grace, thanksgiving, and devotion. Equally vivid reminders of the conspiracy were ordered by the city's criminal magistracy, the Otto di Guardia e Balia, which paid Sandro Botticelli forty gold florins to paint images of eight of the conspirators on the facade of the jail next to the government palace, the Palazzo della Signoria.[26] These shaming pictures of hanged men were made "to speak," with verse epitaphs in the first person proclaiming their guilt as traitors and rebels deserving of brutal execution.

Botticelli, a favored artist of the Medici circle, was also involved in honoring Giuliano's memory, first with the imposing portrait of Giuliano now in Washington (cat. 52) and subsequently with smaller, simpler variants produced by his shop (cats. 50, 51). The scale of the Washington picture is remarkable, as are its symbolic elements—the half-open window, turtledove, and dead branch—which combine to evoke loss and abiding love. Since none of these portraits has a Medici provenance, it can be supposed that they were expressions of loyalty on the part of the family's supporters. Giuliano's death was directly commemorated in terms of public mourning (LVCTVS PVBLICVS) on one side of the medal commissioned from Bertoldo di Giovanni by Lorenzo soon after the attack (cat. 53). On the other side, Lorenzo's escape was celebrated as the salvation of the city's well-being (SALVS PUBLICA). The medal is unique and somewhat disconcerting, with the stern, stoic, and seemingly colossal portrait heads hovering over a detailed narrative of the assault in the choir of the Florence Cathedral. The Latin inscriptions and the *all'antica* rendering of the plot, with the assailants shown as battling nudes, give it historical resonance, relying on ancient precedent to legitimize Lorenzo's role as savior of the republic. This tactic finds a parallel in the *Commentary on the Pazzi Conspiracy* (*Pactianae coniurationis commentarium*) published by the humanist Angelo Poliziano within three months. The commentary openly celebrates the Medici as defenders of the city's liberty, and it styles the account after authoritative Roman historians such as Sallust and Tacitus.

Lorenzo's direct and indirect deployment of portraiture to commemorate the conspiracy and to consolidate his position as de facto ruler of Florence is characteristic of his strategic use of the visual arts. Characteristic as well is his sensitivity to modes of communication: the vernacular form of the ex-voto and the *all'antica* vocabulary of the medal. His awareness of the power of history was entirely Florentine. As merchants and bankers, the leading men of the city were meticulous bookkeepers. As citizens desirous of an honorable

place in the city and its government, they were equally obsessive record keepers. Status in Florence—*stato*—was a matter of holding positions in the state, regularly serving in its government offices, and, hopefully, holding its highest title as *gonfaloniere di giustizia*. Money helped. Marriage alliances with other leading families were essential. Carefully kept records of the family's history of office holding, marriages, and honors were part of a lineage's legacy.

Over the course of the century, domestic portraits played an ever-expanding role in manifesting family memory and family honor. This development is documented in household inventories. The first known citation of a "head" occurs in an inventory from 1421 of a house in nearby Prato that had a "large and beautiful head of terracotta" in its *sala*, or great hall.[27] The inventories are rarely specific about such heads, called *teste*, the word normally employed in the documents for portraits in all media. The occasional identification proves that some were of religious subjects or famous men and some were generic decorative figures, but others were of named sitters, and Vasari's remark about the frequency of portrait busts testifies to the fact that they became a conspicuous part of palace decoration.[28] There is a dramatic multiplication of these references from the 1460s onward. This is in line with a general multiplication of secular works in domestic interiors as they became more densely furnished and decked out with beautiful goods.[29] It also accords with surviving works. A census of Florentine portraits lists a few profiles attributed to Masaccio and Uccello and therefore datable to the 1420s and 1430s (cats. 2, 3). More consistent production began in the 1440s and early 1450s with works by Fra Filippo Lippi and Andrea del Castagno (cats. 6, 7, 21). From the mid-1460s onward, the genre flourished in the workshops of the Pollaiuolo brothers (cats. 10, 48), Domenico Ghirlandaio (cats. 42, 43), and above all Sandro Botticelli (cats. 14, 52).[30] Mino da Fiesole's portrait bust of Piero de' Medici of about 1453 is the first datable marble bust. The career of Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli (called Niccolò Fiorentino) as the premier portrait medalist of the city began in the 1480s (cats. 18, 58, 59).

Even allowing for accidents of survival, a convincing trajectory can be plotted for secular portraits with some plausible suggestions for its course. The craftsman's handbook written by the painter Cennino Cennini about the turn of the fifteenth century, *Il libro dell'arte*, included a section describing how to make life casts of faces, saying that the technique was "very useful and gets you great reputation in drawing, for copying and imitating things from nature."[31] In addition to being employed as models for portrait busts, during the fifteenth century life and death masks were made for independent display (cat. 56). In March 1497, for example, Piero Capponi's son paid Benedetto da Maiano and Sandro Botticelli, respectively, for casting and painting his father's death mask. The polychromed effigy of the *paterfamilias*—a celebrated statesman—must have been a striking addition to the family pantheon.[32] Cennini was not writing specifically about portraits, but his chapters prove that this technology of likeness was a regular part of workshop practice by the end of the fourteenth century.

Near that time, the humanist chancellor of Florence, Petrarch's disciple Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), promoted an enthusiasm for celebrating famous men and the cultural heroes of the city with a room of portraits and epigrams in the Palazzo della Signoria.[33] The idea caught on in the domestic realm; for example, Bicci di Lorenzo painted a cycle of famous men for the first Medici palace.[34] Narrative, naturalistic depiction of Florentine

worthies in the 1420s is described by Vasari, who says that Masaccio painted "an infinite number of citizens in mantles and hoods" in a *terra verde* mural in the cloister of the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, recording the consecration of the church in 1422. The mural, probably dating from the middle of the decade, was destroyed when the cloister was rebuilt in the late sixteenth century, but surviving drawings show that the citizenry was indeed represented there.[35] Donatello's strikingly individualized reliquary bust of Saint Rossore dates from the same moment (cat. 1).

This conjunction of artistic ability, acute characterization, and portrait patronage occurred under the star of the passionate pursuit of ancient texts and artifacts, strongly fostered by the circle of Salutati's protégés: professional men of letters such as Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) and Leonardo Bruni (ca. 1370–1444) and their friends and employers, with Cosimo de' Medici conspicuous among them. In 1427 Bracciolini, for example, admitted to his friend Niccolò Niccoli (ca. 1364–1437) that he had "become 'somewhat headstrong,'" which meant that he had "a room full of marble heads."[36] Bracciolini relied on Donatello to be his expert eye for purchases of such antiquities, and Niccoli was one of the earliest collectors of ancient coins and sculpture in Florence. Niccoli was also responsible for locating the first complete copy of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, which was known, but as a fragmented and corrupt text. Pliny's chapters on painting and sculpture are the most comprehensive account of ancient art that existed from ancient times, and his descriptions of Roman portrait practices both inspired and justified their imitation. Of great consequence was his nostalgic account of how "The painting of portraits, used to transmit through the ages extremely correct likeness of persons, has entirely gone out," so that

> nobody's likeness lives . . . and since our minds cannot be portrayed, our bodily features are also neglected. In the halls of our ancestors it was otherwise; portraits were the objects displayed to be looked at, not statues by foreign artists, nor bronzes nor marbles, but wax models of faces were set out each on a separate side-board, to furnish likenesses to be carried in procession at a funeral in the clan, and always when some member of it passed away the entire company of his house that had ever existed was present. The pedigrees too were traced in a spread of lines, running near the several painted portraits.[37]

These sentiments supplied forceful arguments for the creation of family portraits, especially in a republic where records of lineage were so crucial and where the aristocratic precedents of the Burgundian and northern Italian courts, however attractive, were politically incorrect. Great, therefore, was the excitement when Niccoli learned of a copy of the *Natural History* in a monastic library in Lübeck, Germany. As Niccoli's fifteenth-century biographer recounts, he "secured it by Cosimo's aid, thus Pliny came to Florence."[38]

Along with Pliny, the avid book hunting of Bracciolini and Niccoli brought better copies of other key works to Florence, among them the complete text of Quintilian's textbook on rhetoric, *Institutio Oratoria*. Ideas about fame, friendship, and style culled from the ancient texts underlie much of fifteenth-century thinking about those subjects, all pertinent to portraiture. The excitement over recovery of these authorities is strongly registered by Leon Battista Alberti's reliance on them when he came to Florence in 1435 and encountered

this "codex-swapping crowd" and the works of art that inspired him to write his treatise *On Painting* (*Della pittura*). Portraiture is the first example in his explanation of "how painting is worthy of all our attention and study":

> Painting possesses a truly divine power in that not only does it make the absent present (as they say of friendship), but it also represents the dead to the living many centuries later, so they are recognized by spectators with pleasure and deep admiration for the artist.[39]

The first generation of autonomous painted portraits consists of profiles, adapting the formula familiar from the donor portraits of sacred painting and adopting its virtuous connotations. Ancient coins, already collector's items, cherished by Petrarch as tangible historical records that allowed for the identification of "the faces of the heroes engraved upon them," added to the authority of the format.[40] It prevailed for much of the fifteenth century for female portraits, but from midcentury the combined influences of the newly revived form of the portrait bust and portraits imported from the Netherlands resulted in outward-looking poses and a major shift in the rhetoric of the image, from that of description to that of encounter.

Painted portraits as well as gesso and terracotta "heads" are most often listed in inventories of *camere*, the chambers that were the multipurpose rooms at the heart of household life. Almost invariably the most highly decorated, they were furnished with the most valuable goods.[41] There are very few indications of exactly how they were arranged and how portraits were placed. The portrait of a woman attributed to Alesso Baldovinetti retains its original gold frame (fig. 4), and the inventory of the Tornabuoni palace lists that of Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni as in a gilt frame, which made them costly ornaments. As an exotic, collected image, a small panel of great cost with the head of a "dama franzese," done in oil by Petrus Christus, was kept with the cameos, gems, and other precious objects of the Medici collection in their palace *scrittoio*.[42] Sculpted busts peopled palaces more variously and are recorded over doors as well as in *camere*.

Portraits are recorded among the possessions of the elite and largely record and represent their interests and their values. The revealing exceptions are portraits and self-portraits of artists. Images such as the portrait heads of Lorenzo Ghiberti and his son on both sets of the bronze doors of the Baptistery stake a claim for their worthiness and that of their art as deserving lasting reputation. The practice of the arts in Florence was mainly commercial, and it was highly competitive. Attracting the notice, sponsorship, and, hopefully, friendship of its influential citizens was the means to secure success. The new enterprise of individual portrayal required ingenuity.

In the case of the emerging genre of autonomous portraiture, expectation and execution were more than usually a matter of negotiation, enhancing its possibilities and creating completely new forms of representation. Mino da Fiesole's marble busts of Piero de' Medici (cat. 47) and his brother Giovanni (fig. 5), from about 1453 and 1455, respectively, are, for example, almost startling innovations, generated by the brothers' love of classical literature and their collecting of ancient coins and sculpture. Resonant as they were with the prestige of ancient precedent, independent, secular busts of living people were nonetheless a



Fig. 4. Alesso Baldovinetti, *Portrait of a Woman*, ca. 1465. Tempera and oil on wood. The National Gallery, London (NG 758)

modern novelty. The commission to a young sculptor was a great, if testing, opportunity for him to try his skill. Both sculptures were eventually over doors in the Palazzo Medici, but they date from before its completion in 1459 and were not conceived as pendants, as is obvious from their appearance. Although both take attitudes that can be related to Roman portraits, Piero is richly dressed in contemporary clothing: a brocade, among the costliest fabrics, with its borders embroidered with the Medici emblem of a diamond. His eyes are directed upward, looking into the distance, with an alert gaze. His pose is active and vigilant. Giovanni, who was in the course of collecting ancient heads to decorate his study,



Fig. 5. Mino da Fiesole, *Giovanni de' Medici*, ca. 1455. Marble. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence



Fig. 6. Antonio Rossellino, *Giovanni Chellini*, 1456. Marble. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

is garbed in fanciful Roman armor. His head is turned only slightly. The asymmetry of his eyes is pronounced. He looks outward, with a meditative expression. His costume associates him with Roman *virtus*, with cycles of the heroes of antiquity, and with his learned pursuits.[43] That Mino satisfied his clients is proved not only by these two works, but by the fact that he was commissioned to sculpt a bust of Piero's wife, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, and that Giovanni soon recommended him to Francesco Sforza with great confidence as a young sculptor willing and able to portray him and anyone else he wished.[44]

Mino, well launched in the genre, did not monopolize it. The vogue for sculpted busts caught on very quickly. Antonio Rossellino's astonishing essay in old age, the bust of the seventy-four-year-old physician Giovanni Chellini (fig. 6) is dated 1456 inside the base. Close in time and similar to the Medici busts in its relation to the format of reliquary busts, cut off horizontally at the chest, it is entirely different from them in dress, expression, mood, and implied movement. Chellini's compressed, pinned-back ears indicate that the sculpture was based on a life mask. But it is Antonio's virtuoso carving that makes the stone seem like paper-thin skin, collapsed against the bony structure of Chellini's face, sagging beneath his chin, bunched up against the closed buttons of his robe. His blood seems to pulse through the veins over his left temple. He is venerable, but not frail; his expression is calm and benign, his posture is erect, and the body beneath his robe is robust. He is shown turning slightly, his robe seeming to sway. No brocade, no fancy dress, Giovanni is in the sober garb appropriate to his profession. Yet another set of choices about the inflection of costume,

movement, expression, and level of detail were made by Benedetto in his introspective rendering of Filippo Strozzi (cat. 24) and Verrocchio in his dashing, bold portrayal of Giuliano de' Medici (cat. 49).

What these figures convey, in addition to an array of artistic personalities, is the range accorded to "masculine beauty" as described in Leon Battista Alberti's book *The Family* (*Della famiglia*), where he defines two manly ideals, the "bellezze" of a fighting man and those of a sage elder: the first, "the beauty of a man accustomed to arms . . . lies in his having a presence betokening pride . . . limbs full of strength, and the gestures of one who is skilled and adept in all forms of exercise. The beauty of an old man . . . lies in his prudence, his amiability, and the reasoned judgment which permeates all his words and his counsel."[45] Smooth-faced, unblemished youths and adoring, adorable little boys were subjects of portraits in painting and sculpture in Florence (cat. 41–43), but a warts-and-all approach was fair treatment for the adult male physiognomy. Unbowed by age—the implied postures are strong, active, and dignified—the time-weathered faces of these men denote experience and mature wisdom. In the patriarchal society of fifteenth-century Florence, these were the virtues required of those who might govern the state and who were expected to govern their households.

As daughters, wives, and mothers, women were judged by another standard and are generally represented following very different criteria. Niccolò Fiorentino's medal of Giovanna degli Albizzi, identified by inscription as the "wife of Lorenzo Tornabuoni" on the portrait side, with the Three Graces surrounded by the words chastity, beauty, and love on its reverse, incorporates and encapsulates the feminine ideal (cat. 18). While older women—matrons and widows—are seen as pious supplicants in donor portraits in altarpieces or in family groups in frescoed narrative scenes, they are a rare occurrence in the surviving autonomous portraits. The great majority of these individual images depict young women, often dressed in the costly garments and wearing the jewels and hair ornaments of new brides or displaying their trousseaux on conveniently placed shelves (see cats. 8–10, 40b). Many are in profile, emphasizing flowing contours and allowing for the appreciation of every detail of their finery and their delicately delineated features, without any threat of suggesting an immodest or dangerous exchange of glances. They appear as exemplars of the physical charms most desired in honorable alliances.

A loving description of his sister Bartolomea by the merchant Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli (1371–1444) reads like a transcription of these portraits, indicating how physical traits were connected to moral ones as well as the way that nature could imitate art in the Florentine mind: "Mea was of ordinary height, with beautiful blond hair, a very fine figure, and so amiable that she dripped with charm. Her hands were like ivory, and so shapely that they seemed to have been painted by Giotto; they were long and soft, with tapering fingers and long, shapely nails." He recalls that "her beauty was matched by her talents" and that "she was a spirited frank woman, with the mettle of a man, and abounded in every virtue," and "was expert in running her household."[46] When Piero de' Medici's wife reported to him about a potential daughter-in-law, her checklist of qualities was similar, but more detailed. When she was finally given a good view of the girl, she found her to be shapely, pale-skinned, and not blond but with full red hair; she had a round face that was not displeasing,

a willowy neck, and long hands. Her chest was covered up but seemed of good quality.[47] This systematic inventory, like Giovanni's fond recollection, points out how young women were examined and how they might be looked at in portraits such as Fra Filippo Lippi's in Berlin (cat. 7), where the subject has a full—therefore healthy—chest, blond hair, fair skin, swanlike neck, and poised, carefully posed hands.

As the century progressed, there was a significant crossover between the way that women were judged and remembered as actual people and the ways that they existed as poetic figures. The ghost of Petrarch's Laura loomed large, indeed larger and larger from the 1470s onward as the circle around Lorenzo de' Medici and Lorenzo himself engaged in a cultural politics of Florentine excellence. Appropriating and openly imitating Petrarch's poetry, they sought to create an eloquently expressive vernacular style. In a courtly cult of lost and unattainable lovers, Florentine beauties became appointed totems and the focus of a poetic industry. This was the case with Marietta Strozzi (see cat. 12); Ginevra de' Benci, subject of a portrait by Leonardo da Vinci (fig. 7); the fair lady of Giuliano de' Medici's 1475 joust, Simonetta Vespucci (see cats. 19, 20); and others. Considered "vanities" by Savonarola, many of these beauties, whether sculpted or painted, perished in the bonfires of his regime in 1496 and 1498, following Lorenzo's death, in 1492, and the exile of the Medici in 1494. Enough of them escaped the flames to leave examples of women totally transformed into festival nymphs, manifestations of poetic artifice, like the paintings by Botticelli identified since the nineteenth century as Simonetta Vespucci. And enough survive to prove the way that images of women could be at once particular and general, such as the marble busts by Desiderio and Verrocchio (cats. 12, 13), which are virtual catalogues of the commonplaces of loveliness, yet vibrant in their movement, seeming to breathe inside their straining bodices, and looking as much like works by Desiderio and Verrocchio as they might have resembled their sitters.



Fig. 7. Leonardo da Vinci, *Ginevra de' Benci*, ca. 1474/78. Oil on panel. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund (1967.6.1.a)

Even without the Savonarolan flames, survival is a question that dogs any overview of fifteenth-century Florentine portraiture. But from the point of view of the sitters, the remaining repertoire of portraits shows how they rapidly became instrumental in forging family identities and family histories. From the point of view of the artists, it is clear that with equal rapidity, they became an opportunity to forge distinctive creative identities. Coming into existence in a fairly uncluttered space for experimentation, portraits allowed artists to venture to the origins and to the limits of their own art. Sometimes they did so with sly reference to that very fact, as in Filippo Lippi's double portrait in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. 6), where the conspicuously cast shadow of the man at the window presents an updated version of Pliny's story of the origins of painting in the tracing of a lover's

shadow on a wall.[48] But, like the intricate framing of the woman with an array of windows and a projected view of a city street, the cast shadow is also a reminder of how light and sight work, of the whole operation of viewing as captured and constructed by the painter's vision. What can be seen in fifteenth-century portraits goes far beyond the copying of features implied by the word *ritratto*; it is a constant investigation into the relations between seeing and being, between artifice and reality, and between imagination and memory.

The "Discovery of Man" and the Rediscovery of Renaissance Portraiture

Since the mid-nineteenth century, when the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897) characterized the Renaissance as a dramatic shift in "human consciousness," there has been a tendency to connect the rise of the independent portrait with the "Development of the Individual" and of "free personality," as "man became a *spiritual* individual, and recognized himself as such."[49] In his influential essay *The Civilization of the Italian Renaissance* (published in 1860), Burckhardt argued that the "Discovery of Man," which occurred between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century, "first gave the highest development to individuality and then led the individual to the most zealous and thorough study of himself in all forms and under all conditions."[50] Although these assertions can be questioned, their impact on subsequent thinking about the period cannot be denied.

The forms treated in Burckhardt's book were political, poetic, and literary. Burckhardt, the first modern cultural historian, was also an art historian, and he intended to treat the arts in a separate volume. That volume was never written, but he had earlier produced his massively popular *Der Cicerone* (1853), published in English in 1873 as *An Art Guide to Painting in Italy for the Use of Travellers*, with revised editions appearing from 1879 until well into the twentieth century (with the addition to the title "*and for Students*"). The guide is divided into eras and artists, with descriptions of their works to be seen in Italy. The fifth chapter, "Painting of the Fifteenth Century," has the subtitle "The Renaissance." Burckhardt explains that

> In the beginning of the fifteenth century a new spirit entered into the painting of the west. . . . A work of art now gives more than the church requires . . . it presents a copy of the real world; the artist is absorbed in the examination and representation of the outward appearance of things, and by degrees learns to express all the various manifestations of the human form as well as of its surroundings (realism). Instead of general types of face, we have individuals.[51]

He reserves his "few words concerning the general style of portraiture" to his discussion of Leonardo da Vinci, arguing that until the lifetimes of Leonardo and Raphael, "hardly [any] but very distinguished characters were painted separately," with the exception of self-portraits of artists and "memorials, which were executed in honour of literary fame, of love, of near and close friendship, also of great beauty, and were often produced by the artist for the sake of preserving the memory of those qualities."[52] He points out that "In manner of representation these works differ greatly," giving examples, and concludes that "In conception some of these portraits," by artists such as Masaccio, Andrea del Castagno, Botticelli, Mantegna, and Francesco Francia, "are noble masterpieces," surpassed, however, by

Leonardo's works.[53] He was subsequently to modify this picture in an essay on portraiture, published posthumously, which enriched the progression; significant here, however, is the strong association of the fifteenth century with "the modern world of art" made in *Der Cicerone*.[54] Also important to note is the scarcity of examples that Burckhardt could muster.

That lack was to be addressed in the course of the nineteenth century. Several factors contributed to the rediscovery of fifteenth-century portraiture. The association of the era with the birth of modernity and its characterization as the time when feudal superstition and submission gave way to civic liberty suited contemporary political ideology; moreover, the period's fame as the time when genius was nurtured and culture flourished under great patrons offered an attractive model to contemporary collectors. Other key factors in this recovery were the building of national collections according to historical principles and a burgeoning art market.[55] The absence of serious or regularly enforced protective legislation in Italy helped to create a booming export trade in art. Aggressive and systematic acquisition of Italian Renaissance art was public policy in Britain. From the late 1850s, the National Gallery had a paid agent in Italy, Otto Mündler, searching out the best works for purchase by the gallery. In the following decades, Wilhelm Bode (1845–1925), who rose from being an assistant in the department of antiquities (1872) to director general of the Royal Museums in Berlin (1905), became a formidable force in promoting the Renaissance. During his long and successful career, he vastly increased the holdings in the Berlin collections, wrote prolifically about them, and worked, successfully, for their proper housing and display in a dedicated museum. His experience as a museum professional and expertise in the arts were widely admired, and his influence on museum practice as well as private collecting was international.[56]

In the context of the nineteenth-century enthusiasm for the fifteenth century and its portraiture, it is no coincidence that Bode was a devoted disciple of Jacob Burckhardt. They met in Rome in 1875. Burckhardt was astonished by Bode's "eye," and from 1879 he entrusted him with revising and updating subsequent editions of *Der Cicerone*.[57] Bode wholeheartedly accepted Burckhardt's connection of the development of the individual with modernity and with Italy, and naturally he found one of the chief manifestations of this new spirit in the visual arts. During the 1870s, with the support of Crown Prince Friedrich, the Protector of the Royal Museums, and in close alliance with the Florentine dealer Stefano Bardini, Bode began to make purchases that embodied this vision: among them the portraits of "Simonetta" and of Giuliano de' Medici attributed to Botticelli (cats. 19, 50) and a notable group of portrait busts, including the terracotta of Filippo Strozzi by Benedetto da Maiano (cat. 23). He was frustrated in the attempt to acquire the terracotta identified as Niccolò da Uzzano attributed to Donatello (cat. 22). Ironically, the authority of his attribution of it as a "true Donatello," though "repainted several times," seems to have increased the sculpture's value for the Italian state, which acquired it for the recently opened museum of national history, the Bargello.[58] Ultimately, however, he could console himself with the boast that "No other gallery, not even the Bargello in Florence, contains so many of these splendid busts."[59]

Burckhardt's vision was fundamental to Bode's project for a "Renaissance Museum," first discussed in 1880. The museum, which opened in 1904 as the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, actually displayed works dating from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century,

but the aura of the Renaissance as the epoch of awakening self-discovery and of dynamic political development provided Bode with compelling arguments for the importance of the project to national identity. Bode asked for Burckhardt's advice about the handbooks for the museum and received the suggestion that the works might be considered according to their "subjects and functions," that is, as objects of cultural as well as aesthetic significance.[60] They were installed in rooms decorated "in the style of the particular time and school represented by the works themselves."[61] The mixing of painting and sculpture in settings of appropriate style owed a certain amount to Bardini's showrooms in his Florentine palace, but the novel concept of allowing masterpieces "of the first historical and artistic importance" to be seen in a period setting without crowding them "like herrings one above the other" was the material manifestation of Burckhardtian individualism.[62]

The need to populate these rooms with images by and of famous individuals was compelling; the search was continuous, the stock limited. This was even more the case as demand accelerated toward the turn of the century, when American collectors entered the chase. Already in 1879, Bardini wrote to the director of the Paintings Gallery in Berlin about the *Portrait of an Old Man and a Boy* (cat. 43) that it was "the only portrait known in Florence of that era that is available for sale."[63] They do not seem to have been able to agree on a price, and, in a transaction full of intrigue, the painting was acquired by the Louvre the following year. Insisting on rarity is a dealer's strategy, but in this case Bardini's remark is a reminder that portraiture was not the principal genre of art production in the fifteenth century. Despite Vasari's comment that portrait busts were to be found above the fireplaces, doors, windows, and cornices of every house in Florence, large- and small-scale devotional works predominated, thus categorically restricting the stock of survivors.[64] In his *Memorie di un pittore di quadri antichi* (translated as *Affairs of a Painter*), Icilio Federico Joni (1866–1946) recalls a Florentine dealer who

> ordered a very large number of fifteenth-century portraits, which went like hot cakes; probably he must have sold them to other dealers, for soon every antique business had its fine portrait of the period, and some of them had two, as I often did a pair, man and woman. As portraits of this kind were extremely rare, the fact that they began to turn up in such numbers gave rise to a certain suspicion, as may easily be imagined; and their sale became more and more difficult.[65]

With supply so inadequate to demand, enterprising artists and canny dealers are known to have assisted the market with copies and counterfeits in both sculpture and painting. Portrait busts were particularly popular, and sculptors such as Giovanni Bastianini (1830–1868) became famous as well as infamous for their replications of Renaissance men and women.[66] There was also a brisk business in highly decorative profile portraits of young women. The Quattrocento was much in vogue in Italy and elsewhere by midcentury, and there was a legitimate trade in modern works in Renaissance style, making the boundary between intentional fake and acquisitional mistake very fluid at times.

Before they became so prized, fifteenth-century portraits had long languished as old-fashioned relics of vaguely remembered or totally forgotten faces. In painting, the poses, formats, and psychology of modern portraiture descended from the grand models of

Raphael and Titian. Quaint and archaic, subject to the vagaries of time, these dusty ancestors emerged into the light of renewed appreciation damaged and often in need of substantial repair, if not total revision. When Otto Mündler visited the collection of Count Giovanni Battista Costabili in Ferrara in 1858 on one of his tours of inspection for the National Gallery, he wrote in his travel diary that the pictures "are in a state of great neglect, if not completely ruined," noting of the portrait by Pisanello of Leonello d'Este (cat. 70) that it was a "painting in the manner of Pisanello. Fine, but injured."[67] An article of April 12, 1886, reporting on the sale of the collection of William Graham, which included Ghirlandaio's portrait of *Francesco Sassetti and His Son* (cat. 42), the *Times* of London commented on the fact that "Mr. Graham's pictures had passed through the furnace of the restorers . . . in most instances the repainting had obscured the original work and destroyed the proper identity of the master." Similarly, in a seminal article from 1897 discussing the attribution and identity of a group of profile portraits of young women (among them, cat. 8), Bode commented that most of them were overcleaned, overrestored, or even almost totally repainted.[68]

The refrain is recurrent in the correspondence among dealers, curators, and connoisseurs as they debated the degree of restoration required and who might best undertake it. These problems were enduring. Letters exchanged between Edward Fowles, director of the Paris office of Duveen Brothers, and Bernard Berenson, the firm's expert adviser on Italian paintings, about a portrait of a lady then attributed to Pisanello (fig. 12) document in some detail how such valuable but damaged goods were repaired. Soon after the painting was acquired at auction in Paris in 1922, Berenson was sent a report of its condition:

> The picture has been rather repainted and smothered with a heavy opaque varnish, but the parts we have tried so far, show that the original is good underneath although in some parts rather thin. The background which had been entirely covered with stove black, shows a delightful green underneath. Evidently this was done to cover up an addition to the picture which has been enlarged to the extent of two inches all round. The original terminates immediately above and immediately to the side of the peculiar fur headdress worn by the lady. The dress is of bright lapis blue, with gold ornaments intact. The profile has been over-painted but the hair is blonde, practically intact, and the headdress also.[69]

The letter goes on to state that the firm's regular restorer, Madame Helfer, who was a "little run down," had gone to Italy for a holiday, commenting that as the restoration of the picture "is so important . . . it will be as well that she should have a proper rest and come back fresh to the work, as . . . it will be very trying and must be carefully done, so as not to spoil the original." The correspondence about the painting extends from May to September 1922 and circles around the issue of who best can "put back the glazes" on a picture that Fowles supposed had been thoroughly scrubbed some thirty or forty years before, when it was in the hands of London dealers, and which in fact was already seriously damaged by 1853.[70] He became quite enthusiastic about "our friend the Baron [Michele Lazzaroni]," a Roman aristocrat and able improver of promising merchandise. Lazzaroni had been the underbidder on the picture, recognizing the jewel beneath "the muck"; Fowles thought he was "the one and only person who can put back the glazes on the picture." He felt that

the baron's agreeing to do it, on his own terms and in his own good time, was "a great coup, as this picture properly restored, is a fortune." In his view, Madame Helfer, competent to clean the picture, "is not yet sufficiently educated to restore the glazes," though he did not want to hurt her feelings and asked for Berenson's view on the matter.[71] He also wanted Berenson's advice about how to reconstruct the headdress, having sent him a photograph: "you will observe . . . the profile and the dress are in very good state but unfortunately, there is very little of the Coiffure left except the outline." The Berensons—Bernard and his redoubtable wife, Mary—were "overwhelmed with delight" at what they viewed as a masterpiece of the highest order, thinking it lucky that so much of the picture remained "ever so much more than in most cases" with "nothing missing in the drawing" and with "so much . . . left" that Madame Helfer would be perfectly satisfactory.[72] And should it all go wrong, the restoration could be removed. Berenson had a friend, even better than the baron, who could take it in hand. Fowles was not totally convinced, owing to the difficulty of reconstructing the headdress; there was "hardly anything left to definitely show what was there originally," making it a "a case of where one has need of someone with great knowledge of Italian Art," with the flattering suggestion that Berenson himself should direct the restoration: "This picture is so important that the restoration must be absolutely perfect and correct in every detail" before it was shown to any client.[73] In the end, he opted for the baron "to put it in order," still puzzled by

> those mysterious excresences on the headdress . . . besides the outline, there is nothing left but the priming, giving no further indication of what character the lady's headdress consisted. She must surely have had one of those peculiar top knots so characteristic of Pisanello, which has disappeared. No doubt the restorer of the last decade who invented the fur headdress which completely disappeared in the cleaning, carefully erased all signs of the former headgear before adding his monstrosity. The remainder of the picture is in quite good order, and really wonderful.[74]

It was left to the baron to create a suitable "coiffure" for the lady, giving her a protruding Pisanello topknot, thereby not only completing the picture, but confirming its prestigious attribution. The painting was readily sold to the financier Clarence Mackay (1924) as one of the artist's masterpieces, soon gaining the identity of the mistress of Sigismondo Malatesta, Isotta degli Atti, celebrated in a medal by Matteo de' Pasti (Pisanello's follower, if not pupil) as "the ornament of Italy for beauty and virtue" (cat. 119).

On the one hand, this cosmetic reconstruction may seem a characteristic act of the House of Duveen, with its mission of monopolizing American millionaires and, as declared by Joseph Duveen, "determined to make a speciality" of the Italian school with "only the very finest and thoroughly authenticated works."[75] Duveen was eager to learn about available portraits, doubtless aware that his New World clients were flattered to see themselves mirrored as the Medici of modern times.[76] The American penchant for portraiture—especially if attached to the famous names of artists and, even better, to renowned sitters—is confirmed by the number of portraits in American collections. A third of the paintings illustrated in a celebratory volume of *Duveen Pictures in Public Collections of America* (1941)

are portraits, and a similar fraction is found, for example, in the 1916 catalogue of P. A. B. Widener's collection. There is no doubt that portraits sold by Duveen are "Duveen portraits," whose almost haunting family resemblance can be traced to the improving efforts of the firm's favored restorers, notably Madame Helfer and Baron Lazzaroni. A related process can be assumed for Ghirlandaio's much remanaged Sassetti portrait (cat. 42), for example, also a Duveen sale. On the other hand, as the letters show, there was a real concern to bring out and interpret the qualities of a painting seen as a major work as well as a great sales opportunity. The so-called Pisanello portrait of Isotta is now generally attributed to the Franco-Flemish school and dated to about 1400–1405. A rare surviving example of Burgundian court portraiture, it has an important role in the history of individual portraiture in Italy as a type that inspired emulation in the courts of northern Italy. Although not by Pisanello, it is a significant precursor to his oeuvre. Moreover, Lazzaroni's imaginative and interpretative intervention for Duveen had abundant precedents in the activities of highly respected nineteenth-century restorers such as Giuseppe Molteni (1799–1867) and his student Luigi Cavenaghi (1844–1918) in Milan. Like so many restorers of the day, they were both trained as painters, and their artistic sensibility was judged to make their thoroughgoing repairs especially tasteful and true. The different character of Giuliano de' Medici in the workshop versions of his portrait now in Bergamo and Berlin (cats. 50, 51) probably owes something to the fact that the Berlin version from the Palazzo Strozzi passed through the hands of Bardini (painter-restorer as well as dealer), while the Bergamo picture, owned by Giovanni Morelli, was most likely attended to by Morelli's friend Luigi Cavenaghi. When reborn as collectors' items in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these esteemed relics were predictably treated according to the tastes of the time.

In the course of the nineteenth century, the marketplace and the museums generated a history of Renaissance portraiture that was largely one of great artists and, whenever possible, celebrated sitters. When Berenson proposed the *Portrait of a Man* (cat. 2) to Isabella Stewart Gardner, he did it in the name of Masaccio, "mightiest of all Florentine painters."[77] Similarly, the Duveen firm urged a "little portrait of Sigismundo Malatesta" upon Benjamin Altman as "a COSIMO TURA, who was the most celebrated and powerful man of the FERRARA school. He is not only a great Master: he is a rare Master."[78] The quest to find the true bust of the Florentine beauty Marietta Strozzi mentioned by Vasari and other sixteenth-century writers gave her name to a number of contenders, the marble in Berlin eventually winning the title (cat. 12). Simonetta Vespucci, another Florentine lovely, also cited in Vasari's *Lives*, was widely sought after, and often found (see cats. 19, 20). The publication of updated and annotated editions of the *Lives* by teams of Italian and German scholars played a part in supplying candidates for discovery and identification. There was doubtless work to be done. The knowledge of portraiture in all media was immeasurably advanced through the application of the methods of the new discipline of art history and the practices of connoisseurship. So, for example, when Bode published the profile portrait of a woman acquired for Berlin (cat. 8), now given to Antonio del Pollaiuolo, it was one of a large and ill-assorted group of profiles that included a painting in the Poldi Pezzoli collection (cat. 9). At the time most were given to Piero della Francesca, though the Berlin painting had an earlier history as a Botticelli and a Cimabue.[79]



Fig. 8. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Confirmation of the Rule of Saint Francis*, ca. 1480–85. Fresco. Detail of the Sassetti Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence

In 1902, Aby Warburg (1866–1929) took the question of identification in another direction in his groundbreaking essay "The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie." Explicitly following Burckhardt's lead as a cultural historian, he argued that

> In a living art of portraiture, the motive forces of evolution do not reside solely in the artist; for there is an intimate contact between the portrayer and the portrayed, and in every age of refined taste they interact in ways which may be either stimulated or constrained. Either the patron wants his appearance to conform to the currently dominant type, or he regards the uniqueness of his own personality as the thing worth showing; and he accordingly edges the art of portraiture toward the typical or towards the individual.[80]

The portraits of Lorenzo de' Medici and his household erupting into the scene of the *Confirmation of the Rule of Saint Francis*, painted by Domenico Ghirlandaio in Francesco Sassetti's chapel in the church of Santa Trinita, gave him the opportunity to examine that relationship in detail and to set it in its contemporary context (fig. 8). Warburg made "the marvelous portrait heads" speak, identifying many of them for the first time. He mined the rich resources of the Florentine archives to give them voice in order to investigate "the effect of the milieu on the artist" and, conversely, to demonstrate how the portraits reveal

"the universal principles behind the thought and the conduct of prominent historical figures."[81] Warburg's historical assumptions are Burckhardt's: the Renaissance of his essay is boldly secular, bourgeois, and redolent of pagan superstition. Warburg associated the portraits with the offering of votive effigies, specifically the wax figures set up at the church of the Santissima Annunziata by "Florentines, descendants of the superstitious Etruscans."[82] As he notes, after the assassination attempt in the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478, these included the figure of Lorenzo in the red robes of a Florentine citizen.

Warburg's essay treats portraits as social and cultural artifacts and identification as a complex interplay between painters and sitters and portraits and their subjects. It is a reminder of historical distance as well as a model of historical interrogation. Far from foreclosing inquiry into the ways to see and to interpret portraiture, Warburg urged tireless questioning. More than a century has passed since then, and the questioning has continued. It has followed a variety of methods, yielding new information about social practices and cultural assumptions. There have been more discoveries and more recoveries. The visual evidence has been scrutinized and sifted. Collected objects have been reclassified and literally put under the microscope. The picture of Renaissance portrayal has been greatly enriched and its outlines refined. But not fixed, as is evident in the individual entries in this catalogue. Like Petrarch, we may regret that these portraits cannot speak to us while we also rejoice in their beauty and in their vivid recollection of absent faces.

Portraiture at the Courts of Italy

BEVERLY LOUISE BROWN

WHEN DAME HELEN MIRREN accepted the Academy Award for her starring role in *The Queen*, in 2007, she saluted Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II for her "courage and consistency" as well as her perseverance in maintaining "her dignity, her sense of duty, and her hairstyle"—a hairstyle seemingly unchanged for more than fifty years, and one perfectly suited for supporting a crown or a surrogate hat. As the queen has aged, her image has only subtly changed. The profile portrait of the monarch that appears on British coinage and stamps has been updated four times as a reminder of her longevity, but its fundamental characteristics remain a timeless embodiment of the virtues of courage and consistency for which Mirren praised her.

Profile portraits of modern rulers such as Elizabeth II can trace their ancestry back to the coins of antiquity. Long ago Petrarch recognized the power and authority that such images could convey. In 1355 he presented Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV with a handful of gold and silver coins bearing the likenesses of ancient rulers, expressing the hope that the emperor would zealously endeavor to imitate his Roman predecessors.[1] For Petrarch, these coins, with their tiny inscriptions and "breathing likenesses," held the key to a person's inner soul, character, and virtue. Three quarters of a century later, in 1433 in Siena, Cyriac of Ancona presented Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund with one of Trajan's gold coins because it showed the features of a rightful prince and set an example for him to follow in the crusade against the Turks.[2] Princes, it seems, took these medallic lessons to heart. Leonello d'Este (1407–1450), marquess of Ferrara, is said to have found the portraits of Roman emperors on coins and gems as compelling as the descriptions in Suetonius's *De vita Caesarum* (known as *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*). Angelo Decembrio, a member of his court, described how Leonello relished holding these small images in his hands as he contemplated their subjects' achievements.[3] It is claimed that Alfonso V of Aragon (1396–1458), king of Sicily and Naples, kept his coins almost religiously in an ivory casket, and that one of Augustus, in particular, "did marvelously delight him and in a manner inflame him with a passion for virtue and glory."[4] It is little wonder, then, that Leonello and Alfonso, like many other princes of their time, carefully crafted their public image in emulation of the ancient rulers they so admired. Like Queen Elizabeth today, rulers of the fifteenth century wanted their portraits to convey something more than a mere physical appearance. Court portraiture, then as now, was meant to embody the ruler's intrinsic worth.

Nowhere is this clearer than in Pisanello's autonomous portraits of Leonello. Whether painted or medallic, these idealized images are dominated by an improbable mass of tightly curled hair (cats. 67–70). The marquess's tangled mane is not only a play on his name ("little lion"), it is a physiognomic allusion to the "king of beasts" and to Leonello's own prowess as a ruler.[5] Moreover, Pisanello's leonine images recall the coins issued by Macedonian conqueror Alexander the Great, which show Hercules with a lion skin thrown over his head and depict him with similar angular features. Pisanello drew one of these coins (fig. 9), which at the time were widely accepted as portraits of Alexander.[6] It can hardly be coincidental that the illegitimate Leonello, whose claim to the Ferrarese territory could be questioned, wished to associate himself with the legendary empire builder. The Paduan philosopher Pietro d'Abano (1247/58–1315/16) had earlier explained that the fundamental reason for making images of the face was "so that someone can be truly recognized through a well marked image for what kind of man he is not only insofar as the body but also the soul."[7] In 1453 Bartolomeo Fazio, a historian and secretary to Alfonso V of Naples, explained that portraiture needed great discretion because it required not only the representation of the face or countenance "but also, and far more, of its interior feelings and emotions . . . in short, whatever has to do with the mind."[8] Half a century later, in 1504, Pomponio Gaurico expressed a similar sentiment when he defined physiognomy as "a way of observing by which we deduce the qualities of souls from the features of bodies."[9] Beyond merely cataloguing Leonello's recognizable features, then, Pisanello's images helped to legitimize his right to rule by showing the kind of man he was.



Fig. 9. Pisanello, *Four Ancient Coins*, ca. 1434–38. Pen and ink and brown wash over black chalk on red prepared paper. Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (2315r)

Axis of Power

Princes like Leonello, who sought to cement their power or who dreamed of territorial expansion, were particularly susceptible to the ancient myths of imperial greatness. By the fifteenth century the Italian peninsula was a barbed collection of microstates overseen by princes, including the pope, dukes, marquesses, cardinals, and tyrants (fig. 10).[10] Despite their moments of hostility, the families of these courts intermarried to forge political alliances. To a large extent they operated as a single patronage network, whose axis of power—in descending order of financial clout and international standing—stretched between Milan, papal Rome, Naples, Ferrara, and Mantua.[11] The papal court included a number of lesser principalities, chief among which was Urbino. However, Rimini, Faenza, Pesaro, and Bologna were also under papal control. The republics of Venice and Florence remained



10. Political map of Italy in the mid-15th century

outside this system but were, nevertheless, engaged in a constant struggle against it for territorial power. Venice and Milan, for example, fought throughout the century over the fertile plains of the Veneto between Brescia and Verona, both sides assisted by mercenary commanders known as *condottieri*. Most rulers of the smaller principalities were *condottieri*, earning huge salaries by hiring out their troops and expertise. For some, such as the Gonzaga of Mantua, the Malatesta of Rimini, and the Montefeltro of Urbino, these military adventures were their main source of income.[12]

The Este, who were the oldest of the princely dynasties, had been the *signori* (or lords) of Ferrara since 1209.[13] As a papal fief, Ferrara was obliged to make annual payments to Rome as well as provide troops for the pope; nevertheless it maintained a distinct political and cultural identity. Niccolò III (1383–1441), marquess of Ferrara, ruled from the age of ten, married three times, and sired more than thirty children, only four of whom were legitimate. A page from the family's genealogical album depicts Niccolò, his wives, and five of his natural sons in portrait medallions (fig. 11), several of which were based on medals by Pisanello.[14] In 1425, Niccolò had his eldest, natural son, Ugo (1405–1425), and his second wife, Parisina Malatesta, decapitated for an adulterous affair. Four years later, he obtained a papal sanction for Leonello's legitimization and named him his heir, bypassing Leonello's elder half brother Meliaduse. Leonello was succeeded by his younger brother Borso, who acquired the titles duke of Modena and Reggio in 1452 and duke of Ferrara in 1471. On Borso's death, the titles passed to his half brother, the fully legitimate Ercole (1431–1505). Throughout this period the Este maintained close ties with the court in Naples. After the death of his first wife, Margherita Gonzaga, in 1439, Leonello had married an illegitimate daughter of Alfonso V of Aragon; Alfonso had taken possession of the kingdom of Naples in 1442.[15] For almost fifteen years Ercole lived and studied in Naples, where he perfected his military skills alongside the king's natural son and heir, Ferrante (1431–1494). Eventually he wed Ferrante's daughter Eleonora of Aragon and sealed the Este dynasty's future through the carefully arranged marriages of his daughters Isabella and Beatrice. Isabella's marriage to Francesco II Gonzaga bound together the neighboring states of Mantua and Ferrara, but her sister's nuptial agreement with Ludovico Maria Sforza of Milan, known as "il Moro," secured Ferrara its most powerful ally.



Fig. 11. Unknown Ferrarese miniaturist, *The Family of Niccolò d'Este*, from *Genealogia dei principi d'Este*, ca. 1474–79. Gold leaf and tempera on parchment. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emmanuele II, Rome (293, fol. 6r)

The Gonzaga ruled Mantua for three centuries but came to international prominence only in 1433, when Emperor Sigismund granted Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (1395–1444) the

title of marquess. Although the Gonzaga were financially successful as mercenary soldiers, their war records were anything but distinguished.[16] Their fame rested almost entirely on the splendor of their court and the prestige of their patronage. Ludovico Gonzaga (1412–1478) and his successors Federigo (1441–1484) and Francesco II (1466–1519) invested heavily in architecture, scholarship, and the arts. Milan, on the other hand, was the richest and most powerful of the principalities. The Visconti had taken control of the city in 1287 and continued to expand their territories throughout the next century.[17] By purchasing the title "duke" from Holy Roman Emperor Wenceslas in 1395, Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1351–1402) was able to suggest that he held power legitimately. The Visconti's authority, however, was repeatedly challenged both inside and outside the court. The duke's son, Giovanni Maria (1388–1412), was assassinated, while his brother and successor, Filippo Maria (1392–1447), nearly bankrupted the court by waging war up and down the Italian peninsula. One of his own *condottieri,* Francesco Sforza (1401–1466), ultimately laid siege to the city of Milan and usurped the title, establishing a shaky claim to it through his marriage to Filippo Maria's illegitimate daughter, Bianca Maria Visconti. For the next half century the Sforza were obsessed with legitimizing their right to rule. In 1476, Duke Galeazzo Maria (1444–1476) was murdered by three aristocratic conspirators seeking to liberate their city from the Sforza. His wife, Bona of Savoy, held a short-term regency until she was ousted by her brother-in-law, Ludovico il Moro (1452–1508). Under suspicion that he had supplanted his own nephew, Ludovico eventually bought the title of duke from Emperor Maximilian for four hundred thousand ducats and the hand of his niece.

Marriage among these families helped to solidify existing power and at times even forged alliances. In less obvious ways it also guaranteed that lasting ties were established between persons with shared tastes and backgrounds. The consistency of taste from court to court during the middle years of the fifteenth century resulted in the development of a homogeneous portrait type. The dissemination of regional styles as well as the rapid assimilation of the newest techniques was facilitated through artistic mobility. The most famous of these peripatetic artists was undoubtedly Pisanello, who moved among the courts of Ferrara, Mantua, Milan, Rimini, and Naples. As one poet reminded Duke Filippo Maria Visconti, "those who wish never to be forgotten by the world, come and be portrayed from life by my Pisan[ell]o."[18] Pisanello's portraits appealed specifically because they catered to the needs of princes and mercenaries whose identities were subsumed by their political roles and whose desires to be remembered as exemplary statesmen or warriors outshone their need to be portrayed with exact verisimilitude. In 1435, Leon Battista Alberti neatly summed up the contemporary artist's role at court by describing the situation in antiquity. If an ancient ruler had wished to appear majestic, Alberti noted, it had been the artist's task to enhance the dignity of his face by hiding any imperfections "as far as possible while still maintaining the likeness."[19] As we have seen with Pisanello's leonine portraits of Leonello d'Este, in the fifteenth century a *vera effigie,* or true likeness, had as much to do with naturalistic detail as it did with self-imaging.

Pisanello and the "Vera Effigie"

Although Pisanello was the greatest exponent of the new court style of portraiture, he did not invent it. By the beginning of the fourteenth century there was a renewed interest in propagating dynastic imagery in the Franco-Flemish courts of northern Europe, where audience halls and crypts were hung with tapestries or decorated with painted and sculpted cycles celebrating the ruler's lineage. The "faces" portrayed conformed to an emblematic typology in which a person was recognized by his placement or an inscription rather than his physiognomy.[20] The earliest surviving autonomous portraits also seem to have originated north of the Alps at the beginning of the fifteenth century. A rare surviving example is the badly damaged *Portrait of a Lady* (fig. 12), which in the past was attributed to Pisanello.[21] Although the attribution is quite rightly no longer accepted, Pisanello undoubtedly helped to popularize this type of profile portrait throughout the Italian peninsula. His earliest datable profile portraits are drawings of Emperor Sigismund (cats. 62, 63), who visited both Ferrara and Mantua in September 1433 on his return to northern Europe following his coronation in Rome.[22] In one of these cities Pisanello made a vigorous, rapid sketch of the emperor wearing an elaborate oriental fur hat known as a *chapka*. He followed this with a more carefully posed and detailed study in which he noted that the colors of the emperor's eyes and beard needed to be lightened. These annotations must have been a reminder to adjust the tonal values of a subsequent highly finished drawing or painted image. It seems likely that Sigismund requested the profile pose; not only did it conform to the Franco-Flemish formula with which he was familiar, it emulated the classical vocabulary of the antique coin depicting the "rightful prince" that Cyriac of Ancona had just presented him in Rome. The profile portrait was the perfect fusion of an existing typology with the new classical interests percolating in court circles, and as such it held instant appeal for the princes and *condottieri* who had played host to the emperor. Pisanello provided precisely what they desired: portraits that not only appropriated the prestige of both ancient and modern emperors but also afforded an almost tangible manifestation of their own power, grace, and élan.



Fig. 12. Franco-Flemish artist, *Portrait of a Lady*, ca. 1410–25. Oil on panel. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Andrew W. Mellon Collection (1937.1.23)

The extent to which an artist might have stretched reality in order to achieve a desired effect remains in most cases a matter of conjecture. In one instance, however, we can compare two portraits of Leonello d'Este by two different artists. Pisanello's profile portrait now in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo (cat. 70), was painted only a few years before one by the relatively obscure

Giovanni da Oriolo (fig. 13).[23] Of the two, Pisanello's is by far the more elegant and flattering. Leonello's neck and jowls are slimmer, his lips less protruding, and his leonine curls fashioned into the *all'antica* coiffure of a Roman emperor. Oriolo's portrait may reflect a lost painting by Jacopo Bellini that was allegedly painted in 1441 in competition with Pisanello.[24] According to Angelo Decembrio, Leonello was puzzled by the differences in the two portraits, "one added to [the] handsomeness [of my face] with a more emphatic spareness, while the other represented it as paler, though no more slender."[25] He neglected to say which was which, so we do not know if Jacopo's was indeed the chubbier of the two or if it was less desirable in Leonello's eyes. Ulisse degli Aleotti, who as a Venetian may have been somewhat biased in Jacopo's favor, penned a sonnet entitled "Pro insigni certamine" (On a Famous Contest), in which he stated that Leonello's father, Niccolò, awarded the palm of victory to Jacopo because "he made his true likeness [*vera effigie*] come alive."[26] Some scholars have doubted the competition actually took place;[27] others have questioned whether Pisanello's portrait in Bergamo is actually the work described by the two writers.[28] Some caution should be taken in assessing either passage at face value, since the inspiration behind it would seem to be a story told by Pliny the Elder in which Alexander the Great asked Timanthes, Zeuxis, and Apelles to paint his portrait in competition.[29] Furthermore, both descriptions conform to common literary topoi. Decembrio used a rhetorical device to compare a simple, unornamented literary style with a more embellished one, thereby challenging painters to achieve the same level of representation as poets.[30] Ulisse degli Aleotti's allusion to the inevitability of death repeats an idea found frequently in writings about portraiture both in antiquity and in the Renaissance. For example, Alberti, recalling Aristotle, wrote that "painting possesses a truly divine power in that not only does it make the absent present (as they say of friendship), but it also represents the dead to be living many centuries later."[31] In the poet's eyes, Jacopo won because he had achieved the impossible, bestowing eternal life—and hence fame—on Leonello.



Fig. 13. Giovanni da Oriolo, *Leonello d'Este*, ca. 1447. Egg tempera on panel. The National Gallery, London (NG 770)

The search for eternal fame was surely one of the chief reasons princes came to favor portrait medals. The abundance of ancient coinage, bearing the likenesses of Greek and Roman rulers, provided a strong precedent. The sculptor and architect Filarete ventured that future generations would find modern medals buried in the foundations of buildings and "through them remember us and know our names, just as we remember them when we find some noble things in an excavation or ruin."[32] Not only was the material durable, ensuring that medals would last for many centuries, they could be easily replicated, and their smaller

size made them more transportable than paintings. The standard for medallic portraiture was once again set by Pisanello, who must have been conscious of reviving this ancient form of representation. In fact, the term for ancient currency—*medaglia*—was appropriated for the new non-monetary commemorative medals. Like ancient coins, Pisanello's medals had a profile portrait on the obverse surrounded by a Latin inscription, and a symbolic or allegorical design celebrating the deeds, achievements, or virtues of the sitter on the reverse. His earliest medal is generally considered to be the one depicting John VIII Palaeologus (1392–1448), emperor of Constantinople (cat. 64).[33] Between February 8, 1438, and October 19, 1439, Palaeologus attended the ecumenical council held in Ferrara and Florence in hopes of establishing a lasting union between the Greek and Latin churches. While in Ferrara, the emperor spent a great deal of his time hunting on a long-backed horse imported especially for him from Russia by one of his men. Pisanello, evidently intrigued by the exotic costumes of the emperor and his entourage, made a number of sketches of the hunting party, some of which include detailed notes about the color of the emperor's garments.[34] Niccolò d'Este may have commissioned a fresco or portrait from Pisanello to celebrate the council, but before any such work could be brought to fruition the plague broke out in Ferrara and the proceedings were transferred to Florence. Pisanello used the sketches as a basis not for a painting but for a medal. While the profile portrait on the obverse is reminiscent of his earlier drawings of Emperor Sigismund, the reverse has an inventive pictorial scene that depicts Palaeologus on his Russian horse stopping to pray at a roadside cross.



Fig. 14. *Seal of Teobaldo De' Prefetti di Vico* (matrix, obverse), late 12th–early 13th century. Gilt bronze. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (1079)

The typology of the medal is usually related to two pseudo-antique medals with equestrian images of Emperors Constantine and Heraclius that were purchased in 1402 by the duke of Berry from a Florentine merchant living in Paris.[35] It has been suggested that as early as 1436, two silver copies of the Heraclius medal are recorded in Niccolò d'Este's inventory, but we have no proof that the idea to commission a similar medal of a living person was his.[36] Generally overlooked as a precedent for such works are the equestrian portraits found on circular fourteenth-century metal and wax seals that were attached to important documents (fig. 14).[37] Like Pisanello's medal, these seals were often double-sided and were considerably larger than ancient coins. They were symbols of validation in much the same way that Pisanello's medal was circulated as a means of verifying the council's triumphant conclusion. In a letter to Duke Cosimo de' Medici, Paolo Giovio describes a second (now-lost) medal of Palaeologus by Pisanello, cast in Florence, that showed on its reverse "the cross of Christ held up by two hands, namely the Latin and the Greek."[38] Although the ecclesiastical union celebrated by these medals was short-lived, Pisanello's new type of medallic portraiture was enthusiastically embraced by Italian princes, and by the end of the 1440s he and his followers had produced portrait medals for every major court.

Among the earliest portrait medals is the one cast for Filippo Maria Visconti (cat. 95), which probably dates shortly after 1440, when Pisanello is documented as being in Milan,

although his official residence is given as Mantua.[39] On that occasion he is likely to have made the highly finished black-chalk drawing (cat. 94) that served as the basis for the profile portrait on the medal. The equestrian scene on the reverse is a variant of that found on the Palaeologus medal, but it also has close stylistic affinities with Pisanello's *Saint George* frescoes in Sant'Anastasia in Verona, which were carried out in the mid-1430s.[40] Like Saint George, Filippo Maria is cast as a triumphant Christian knight, whose resilience and courage are personified by the colossal statue in the background of Venus Victrix, the goddess who brought order and reason to the world by disarming Mars.[41] Images of the semi-draped goddess holding a scepter and turning sideways appear frequently on ancient coins and gems and would have had specific resonance for Filippo Maria, who on the obverse is named "Anglus," after a descendant of Venus.[42] The extent to which this type of medal acted as a calling card, announcing the military prowess of the man depicted on the obverse, is seen in two other medals most likely commissioned by Filippo Maria to mark the peace established among Milan, Venice, and Florence in 1441 (cats. 97, 98). Filippo Maria had been assisted in his campaign by two rival *condottieri,* Niccolò Piccinino and Francesco Sforza, and the medals must have been a token of his appreciation for their military acumen. Pisanello once again created highly personalized medals by combining easily recognized imagery with motifs culled from antique coins. Piccinino was from Perugia, and on the reverse of his medal are twins, labeled Braccio and Piccino, shown suckling from the teats of a winged griffin, the city's medieval symbol. The poses of the twins and the griffin itself, adapted from coins depicting the she-wolf who nursed Romulus and Remus, allude to Piccinino's own friendship with his fellow Perugian Braccio da Montone, who was a noted professor of warfare.[43] On the reverse of Francesco Sforza's medal there are a horse's head, a sword, and a stack of books. These carefully selected objects allude to Francesco's diverse interests in arms and letters. The horse's head is based on numismatic images of Alexander the Great's famous horse, Bucephalus, and was clearly meant to link Francesco with the greatest warrior of all time.[44]

For the third *condottiere* hired by Filippo Maria Visconti, the war proved to be a disaster. Gianfrancesco Gonzaga had hoped to attain the neighboring cities of Verona and Vicenza for Mantua, but both were ceded to Venice. It is perhaps telling that Pisanello, who as noted above was resident in Mantua at the time, did not make a celebratory medal of Gianfrancesco. Rather, the medal depicting him as a military commander on horseback (cat. 86) was commissioned posthumously by his son Ludovico about 1447 in an attempt to restore the family's tarnished military standing and reinsert his father into the ranks of exemplary Christian warriors.[45] Ludovico's own medal (fig. 15), commissioned at the same time, bears a strikingly similar equestrian image, which reinforces the notion that the chivalric ideals of honor and glory had passed seamlessly from father to son.[46] Ludovico's medal may have been planned as a pendant to that of his younger sister, Cecilia, which is dated 1447 (cat. 87). Cecilia was renowned throughout Italy for her refusal to marry the infamous Oddantonio da Montefeltro (1428–1444), who later became duke of Urbino, and her decision to enter, instead, the convent of the Observant Poor Clares in Mantua, the Corpus Domini.[47] Gianfrancesco Maloselli, a local chronicler, describes how on February 2, 1445, dressed in white and gold brocade and wearing a garland of juniper trembling with



Fig. 15. Pisanello, *Ludovico Gonzaga* (obverse), *Marquess in Armor, Riding* (reverse), ca. 1447/48. Bronze. National Galley of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1957.14.608)

gold ornaments, Cecilia entered the convent "to marry Jesus Christ."[48] Cecilia Gonzaga's story has remarkable parallels to that of her name saint, who was married to a pagan but convinced her new husband to convert to Christianity and take a vow of chastity. She was subsequently declared a *sposa Christi*, a virgin bride of Christ.[49] On the medal, Cecilia Gonzaga is depicted in court dress, not as a nun. Pisanello, who routinely based his medallic likenesses on drawings, may have used an earlier sketch, since Cecilia had taken a vow of *clausura*, although women of high rank had the freedom to exit convents and were normally allowed access to family members and servants.[50] Whatever the truth may be about Pisanello's access to Cecilia, his portrait of her is a *vera effigie* in only the most symbolic sense. On the obverse, she is depicted as a paradigm of contemporary beauty, whose outer appearance reflects her inner virtue and purity of spirit. As the inscription says, she is "the virgin daughter of Gianfrancesco." Her virginity is celebrated on the reverse through the depiction of a maiden taming a unicorn, which was a traditional symbol of chastity. According to medieval legend, the maiden was none other than the Virgin Mary, and the unicorn's single horn an allusion to her marriage with Christ.[51] The crescent moon, an attribute of the virgin goddess Diana, is seen in the sky, paralleling the placement of Ludovico's device of a sun on the reverse of his medal. Perhaps an allusion to the classical pairing of Diana and Apollo, the sun and moon are also an evocation of Saint Cecilia's story, which tells how, when dawn broke on the morning of her execution, she looked to the heavens and proclaimed, "Hail, soldiers of Christ, cast aside the works of darkness and put on the arms of light."[52] Taken together, Pisanello's medallic portraits represent the religious paths chosen by brother and sister: Ludovico, the Christian soldier taking up the arms of light, and Cecilia, the virgin daughter, who devotes her life to Christian chastity.[53]

The complex weaving of classical mythology with medieval chivalric ideals reflects the humanist education that Ludovico and his sister received at La Casa Giocosa, the famous school established by Vittorino da Feltre (1378/79–1446) on the grounds of the Castello di San Giorgio in Mantua at the request of their father in 1423.[54] The school added exponentially to the fame of the Mantuan court, and as a grateful student, Ludovico commissioned

a portrait medal from Pisanello at the time of Vittorino's death (cat. 88). In Ferrara, Niccolò d'Este hired the eminent scholar Guarino da Verona (1374–1460) as a tutor in 1429, shortly after he had Leonello legitimized.[55] Leonello's humanist education sparked in him a love for literature and a lifelong passion for classical art. The obscure and complicated images on the reverse of the medals cast for Leonello by Pisanello (cats. 67–69) must have been largely of his own design, their recondite symbolism conceived as a witty challenge to test the mental agility of their recipients. Unlike Vittorino, Guarino is likely to have commissioned his own portrait medal from Pisanello's pupil Matteo de' Pasti (cat. 72). Its reverse, too, is a deliberately perplexing allegory of learning and virtue that was intended to be deciphered by a select audience.[56] We know that on at least one occasion Guarino gave a bronze copy as a gift to his Hungarian pupil Janus Pannonius (1434–1472), who on December 8, 1449 (?), sent it to his uncle Bishop Janós Vitéz, explaining "that your eminence might recognize now from the features and the likeness of the face the man whom you knew before from his reputation and from his writings."[57]

One prince who clearly understood both the commemorative and diplomatic potential of medallic portraiture was Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta (1417–1468), lord of Rimini, Fano, and Cesena, and one of the most noted *condottieri* of the age. Inspired by the medals cast in Milan and Ferrara (his second wife was the illegitimate daughter of Francesco Sforza and his first brother-in-law had been Leonello d'Este), Sigismondo commissioned two medals from Pisanello about 1445 (fig. 16; cat. 117), which depict him in field armor and are decorated with heraldic devices.[58] Shortly thereafter, he employed Matteo de' Pasti, who produced at least sixteen different medals bearing either his likeness or that of his mistress and later wife, Isotta degli Atti (cats. 118, 119). Sigismondo took the unprecedented step of naming his own castle after himself and then having it depicted on the reverse of a medal with the inscription CASTELLVM SISMUNDVM ARIMINENSE. As Filarete had recommended, large numbers of these commemorative medals were placed in the foundations of Sigismondo's building projects, including the castle.[59] Many of these are inferior casts and omit Matteo's signature on the reverse; those commissioned as gifts are of a discernibly superior craftsmanship. As Cosimo de' Medici noted, Sigismondo had a voracious appetite for recognition and seems to have been acutely aware that one way to ensure his lasting fame was to circulate his medals.[60] Timoteo Maffei said as much in a letter he wrote to Sigismondo in 1453, when he remarked that Matteo's work would immortalize him through its dispersal to other nations.[61] Indeed, by 1461 the circulation of Sigismondo's medals had become so widespread that Sultan Mehmed II asked him for the loan of Matteo so that he might have his own likeness painted and sculpted. Matteo duly set sail for Turkey on what turned out be an aborted trip. He carried with him a letter that sheds further light on the motives behind Sigismondo's interest in portraiture.[62] Sigismondo begins by saying that he knows the sultan shares his interest in the portrait sculpture of past princes, generals, and notables, by which he undoubtedly meant coins. He continues by outlining the virtues of portraiture as a means of gaining immortality. Finally, he compares Mehmed's employment of Matteo to Alexander the Great's demand that his portrait be painted only by Apelles or sculpted only by Lysippus. This last statement was a common topos repeated by Pliny the Elder, Valerius Maximus, and Plutarch.[63] As Leonardo Giustiniani (d. 1446) explained to



Fig. 16. Pisanello, *Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta* (obverse), *Sigismondo Armed and Holding a Sword* (reverse), ca. 1445. Bronze. Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

the queen of Cyprus, by associating himself with Apelles, Alexander was able to augment his own fame.[64] Matteo was to play the same role for Sigismondo, assuring that, through his art, his patron's fame would endure.

Alfonso V of Aragon also sought a modern-day Apelles to help fashion his political and cultural identity. He may have settled on Pisanello as soon as he was introduced to his work during the marriage negotiations between Leonello d'Este and his daughter Maria of Aragon, in April 1443.[65] It was not until sometime after August 18, 1448, however, that the artist reached Naples.[66] In February of the following year, Alfonso issued a *privilegium* making Pisanello a member of the royal household and granting him a fixed income of four hundred ducats per annum. Alfonso praised his singular talents in both painting and sculpture and declared his enthusiasm and affection for an artist who could "fashion nature herself."[67] The first of the three medals that Pisanello and his workshop produced for Alfonso is substantially larger than previous medallic portraits, allowing extra space for a crown and helmet on either side of the king's head (cat. 132).[68] The inscriptions proclaim that he was triumphant, peace-loving, and generous, but unlike *condottieri*, the king is not shown on horseback. In fact, the fanciful parade helmet seen in one of the preparatory drawings (cat. 131) is replaced on the medal by a less elaborate one emblazoned with a sun shining on an open book. A contemporary gloss on the device explains that "an open book signifies that he understood that the knowledge of good arts was especially important for kings."[69] It was knowledge, including the martial arts, best learned from books. Thus the medal is not only a *vera effigie* of Alfonso, it is a philosophical statement on the nature of kingship and on the virtues of a contemplative life. While previously Pisanello had moved freely among the various courts—circulating as easily as his medals did from prince to prince—he was now under the exclusive control of Alfonso. He was, in modern parlance, a "court artist," although that is not a term often found in Renaissance documents.[70] His economic status had been secured, but at the price of flexibility. What Alfonso gained was instant control of

a homogeneous style. In doing so, he set an important example for the next generation of princely patrons, who sought artistic exclusivity as a means of personal prestige.

Andrea Mantegna and Cosmè Tura: The Expanding Role of an Artist at Court

When, in January 1457, Ludovico Gonzaga asked Andrea Mantegna to come and work in Mantua, he must have had in mind the type of relationship Alfonso of Aragon had established with Pisanello. For three years Mantegna prevaricated, and in the end Ludovico was forced to sweeten the package by offering him fifteen ducats a month, a house for his family, enough corn to feed six people, all the wood he needed, and a boat to transfer his effects from Padua to Mantua.[71] In addition, he was given the right to use Gonzaga devices on his coat of arms and was proclaimed "carissimum familiarem nostrum," or "dearest member of our household."[72] The rank of *familiaris* brought with it not only financial rewards but social standing and influence within the court. The fact that it was the title bestowed on lawyers, counselors, poets, and humanists immediately elevated Mantegna to a similar intellectual level.[73] Once settled in Mantua, Mantegna spent the rest of his career working for the Gonzaga, fundamentally shaping our perception of the family and the court through his art.

In Ferrara, Cosmè Tura was no less important in defining a "court style." Beginning in the 1450s, Tura—something of a jack-of-all-trades—worked as part of an artistic collective that designed everything from book illuminations to tapestries, pennants, small stuccoed caskets decorated with *pastiglia,* and bronze medals.[74] Unlike Mantegna, he did not have a permanent position and was paid a full-time salary only while working on the studio of Borso d'Este in 1458–61 and later, in 1469–72, when he painted the chapel at Belriguardo.[75] Nevertheless, his art was held in such high esteem that he was frequently referred to as *nobilissimus* and undoubtedly profited both socially and materially from his association with the Este court.[76] He is documented as a portraitist only later in his career, when he provided engagement pictures to be sent to prospective spouses. In 1477 he executed three lifesize portraits of the infant Alfonso d'Este, intended as diplomatic gifts in the negotiation of Alfonso's marriage to Anna Sforza. The portraits are now lost, but a medal based on them depicts the one-year-old future duke on the obverse and the infant Hercules strangling serpents on the reverse (cat. 82).[77] Emblematic rather than naturalistic, such "portraits" were pawns in the ritualistic game of dynastic alliance and survival. About the same time he probably designed another medal depicting Alfonso's parents, Ercole d'Este and Eleonora of Aragon (cat. 81). The crisp linearity of the features and swirling arabesques of Ercole's wavy hair are comparable to the handling in Tura's only known portrait of an unidentified member of the Este court (cat. 79).[78] The portrait of Eleonora on the reverse is strikingly similar to the miniature of her in Antonio Cornazzano's *Del modo di regere et di regnare* (cat. 83), which was probably also based on a design by Tura.[79] As these medals illustrate, Tura, like Mantegna, provided the visual means through which a prince might confirm his cultural identity and merit to rule.

At the time of Mantegna's employment, Ludovico had just begun to transform the Castello di San Giorgio from a fortress into his principle residence, and its decoration was

utmost in his mind. Mantegna's reputation as a religious painter certainly preceded him, but Ludovico would have been equally aware of his success as a portraitist. In 1449, one "Maestro Andrea da Padoa" was commissioned to paint a double-sided panel with the portraits of Leonello d'Este and his *camerlengo*, Folco da Villafora.[80] Two poems written while Mantegna was still in Padua praise his skills in capturing a likeness. Ulisse degli Aleotti, who as we recall wrote about the competition between Jacopo Bellini and Pisanello, describes in a sonnet the portrait of a nun "sculpted in paint accurately lifelike and true."[81] In 1458, Guarino's Hungarian pupil Janus Pannonius wrote a poem to Mantegna in thanks for a double portrait of himself and his friend Galeotto Marzio da Narni. Using a well-known cliché, he compared Mantegna to Apelles and marveled at his ability to grant eternal posterity: "Galeotto breathes with Janus in one picture, a knot of unbroken friendship.... Thou makest our faces to live for centuries, though the earth cover the bodies of us both."[82] The poem suggests that Mantegna's double portrait was inspired by Roman funerary monuments of the type he paraphrased in the Ovetari Chapel of the church of the Eremitani in Padua. Just before his departure from Padua, Mantegna painted the innovative portrait of Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan (cat. 142). Unlike the strict profile portraits that had become the norm at court, Trevisan is shown obliquely turned toward the viewer. Although the pose is reminiscent of such Netherlandish portraits as Rogier van der Weyden's *Francesco d'Este* (cat. 71), it also has a strong classical pedigree. Pliny the Elder claimed that the "oblique portrait" had been invented by the Greek painter Cimon.[83] Mantegna's direct source of inspiration, however, was likely to have been a Roman portrait bust. Trevisan's chiseled features and look of steely determination give him the gravitas of a Roman senator in a way that Cristoforo di Geremia's earlier profile portrait medal never could (cat. 141). On May 9, 1460, just weeks after Mantegna moved to Mantua, a Gonzaga courtier, Zaccaria da Pisa, wrote from Florence describing the diverse faces of the men and women filling the streets. With a twist of irony, he proclaimed that the faces were so phenomenal they "truly could have come from the hand of Andrea Mantegna."[84] It is little wonder, then, that even before he could start work on the chapel in the Palazzo Ducale of the Castello di San Giorgio, Mantegna painted a small yet eloquent profile portrait of Ludovico's young son Francesco (cat. 89), who in April 1460 was about to leave for school in Pavia.[85]

Both of Mantegna's portraits were likely to have been based on preliminary drawings made from life. Five black-chalk studies of heads have been attributed to Mantegna, but a consensus about their attribution has yet to be reached.[86] To varying degrees all share the sculptural solidity of the Trevisan portrait, though none of them has the same dry, linear precision. A drawing in the Albertina, Vienna (cat. 154), is either a preparatory study or a copy after the signed and dated *Portrait of an Elderly Man* by Francesco Bonsignori (cat. 153). If we assume that the Vienna drawing is by Bonsignori, then it is hard to fathom that the more assertive handling of the drawing of Francesco Gonzaga in Dublin (cat. 157) is also by him. Its robust plasticity and intense psychological penetration are shared by two drawings in Besançon (cats. 155, 156). All three are likely to be by Mantegna or at least from his workshop. The drawing at Christ Church, Oxford (cat. 158), is the most finely nuanced of the group, but its subtle, fluid shading is more characteristic of Giovanni Bellini. Although none of these drawings can be directly linked to a work by Mantegna, we know

that he was astutely aware of the necessity of having his patrons sit for him before he began a portrait. When, with some urgency, Ludovico Gonzaga demanded portraits from Mantegna in July 1477, the artist did not hesitate to express his frustration at being asked to proceed without a sitting and without knowing the purpose and kind of portraits needed:

> I advise your Excellency that if you wish to have those portraits so quickly, I do not understand how I am to make them, whether just as drawings or colored on panel or on canvas and what size. If your Lordship wishes to send them a long distance, they can be done on thin canvas so that they can be wrapped around a rod. Moreover, as your Excellency knows, it is not possible to make a good [portrait] from life if there is no opportunity to see it.[87]

"La più bella camera del mondo": Group Portraiture in a Domestic Setting

Mantegna is best remembered for his scenes of court life painted between 1465 and 1474 in the newly renovated Palazzo Ducale of Mantua (fig. 17).[88] Unlike the small, classically inspired profile portraits found on medals and painted panels, these group portraits, all nearly lifesize, have an informality and naturalism that make their idealized reality ring true. The small, square room in which they are painted, known as the Camera Picta, was used as an audience chamber. On one wall we see Ludovico and his wife, Barbara of Brandenburg, surrounded by children and courtiers, all of whom, including the court dwarf, wear the red and white livery of the Gonzaga household (fig. 18). Rubino, the family dog, rests tranquilly under the chair of the marquess, who turns his attention to his chamberlain, perhaps announcing the arrival of an important visitor.[89] The illusionism and scale trick the spectator



Fig. 17. Andrea Mantegna, view of the Camera Picta, 1465–74. Palazzo Ducale, Mantua



Fig. 18. Andrea Mantegna, *Family and Court of Ludovico Gonzaga*, Camera Picta, 1465–74. Fresco. Palazzo Ducale, Mantua

into thinking that he or she has been granted an audience with Ludovico. On the adjacent wall, Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga is greeted by his father, brothers, and nephews (fig. 19). What appears to be a tender scene of familial affection, as older and younger Gonzaga link hands, is in reality a cleverly conceived demonstration of genealogical descent. Sandwiched somewhat uncomfortably behind them are portraits of Emperor Frederick III and King Christian I of Denmark, who had married the marquess's sister-in-law, Dorothea of Brandenburg. Contrary to the effect created, the scene does not record a historical event, since as far as we know Frederick never visited Mantua. In 1469 he stopped briefly in Ferrara, where Mantegna is likely to have made a portrait of him, which Ludovico Gonzaga sent as a gift to Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan and then asked to borrow back so that a copy could be made.[90] Not until some five years later did the king of Denmark stop in Mantua on his way to Rome.

The inclusion of the emperor's and king's portraits in the Camera Picta caused something of a diplomatic row. Ludovico's ambassador in Milan, Zaccaria Saggi, wrote on November 26, 1475, to say how displeased the duke was that "two of the most wretched men in the world" rather than himself had been portrayed in "the most beautiful chamber in the world."[91] Ludovico confided to Zaccaria that he really had had no choice, since the emperor



Fig. 19. Andrea Mantegna, *Meeting Scene*, Camera Picta, 1465–74. Fresco. Palazzo Ducale, Mantua

was his superior and the king his brother-in-law. So many people had seen the chamber that he could not now have their portraits removed. He went on to say that, while he had considered including the duke of Milan's portrait in a place of honor, Galeazzo Maria had been so displeased when Mantegna had drawn his portrait that he burned the sheets. "It is true," he concluded, "that Andrea is a good master at other things, but in painting portraits he could have more grace and does not do so well."[92] This last line is often quoted as a true reflection of Ludovico's displeasure with Mantegna's work as a portraitist. Given that he continued to commission portraits from the artist, however, this can hardly be the case. Rather, the statement should be taken within the context of the letter; Ludovico was advising Zaccaria on how he could diplomatically skirt the issue should it arise again, but he did not wish him to say any more than was necessary, and, above all, the letter was to be burned after reading. It is often forgotten that in April 1470 Ludovico was so delighted with Mantegna's work in the Camera Picta that he summoned two of his daughters to the chamber so the duke of Milan's ambassadors could see just how lifelike the portraits were.[93]

Galeazzo Maria Sforza felt snubbed, and with good reason. The group portraiture in the Camera Picta belonged to a well-established tradition of court decoration, sadly little of which survives today. When the duke had planned his own cycle for the Castello di Porta Giovia in Milan in 1471–72, he had specified that he was to be shown with the duchess holding the hand of his young son and surrounded by courtiers as well as lords and princes who were friends of the court. Ludovico Gonzaga and the marquess of Montferrat, the ruler of a small state and brother-in-law of the duke, were to be depicted "both on a par, in such way and manner that it cannot be understood that one of them is superior or greater than the other."[94] The program may never have been carried out, but his slightly earlier renovations to the decorative program at the Castello di Pavia were, and there, too, portraits of family members, courtiers, and servants were included following a strictly regulated order of hierarchy.[95] As in Mantua, the decoration of the rooms reflected their use. In the duke's dressing room there were portraits of his barber, tailor, and secretary, while in the audience hall there was a depiction of the duke and his brothers receiving foreign ambassadors. We know from Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti's extensive descriptions, written about 1497, that similar decorations were painted in the Este country residences (or *delizie*) just outside Ferrara.[96] At Belfiore there was an impressive cycle depicting Alberto d'Este, who had ruled toward the end of the fourteenth century, and his court as well as more recent scenes of Ercole's wedding to Eleonora of Aragon and the duke's pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in 1487. At Belriguardo, Ercole was shown "happily, relaxed and natural with all of your courtiers, which one recognizes by their images and their names, which are inscribed in Roman letters, along with their crests at their feet."[97] In other rooms the duke was shown on horseback, surrounded by his brothers and members of the court, or in a more formal setting where he wore the Order of the Garter, an honor conferred on him by Edward IV of England in 1480.

The major surviving Este cycle is found in the Salone dei Mesi of the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara. Although the upper registers are devoted to astrological and mythological representations of the months, the bottom zone depicts Borso d'Este and members of his court carrying out seasonal activities. As in Mantua, these are generic scenes of princely



Fig. 20. Francesco del Cossa, *March*, 1469. Fresco. Salone dei Mesi, Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara

pursuits rather than visual records of specific events. In the month of March (fig. 20) Borso appears four times: twice on horseback, hunting with his entourage; once beneath a loggia, receiving petitions; and, finally, as a portrait bust above a doorway inscribed IUSTICIA.[98] Borso is shown as the ideal prince, bringing social order to the city and economic stability to the countryside. He has consciously cast himself as an exemplar in both governance and leisure and must have been actively involved in designing the complex program with his court adviser Pellegrino Prisciani. The actual execution was carried out by a collective team of artists, perhaps under the supervision of Baldassare d'Este, who was Borso's half brother.[99] The fictive marble bust over the door depicts Borso as a young man, although not quite as young as he appears in Pisanello's profile drawings from the early 1440s (cats. 76, 77).[100] It may have been based on Jacopo Lixignolo's medal of 1460 (cat. 78) or perhaps on one of the terracotta sculptures of Borso that are known to have adorned buildings in Ferrara. In the narrative scenes, the gray-haired Borso is depicted as a mature statesman. These images are likely to have been based on a cartoon provided by Baldassare, who later took on the task of retouching them in order to bring the images up to date after Borso's investiture as duke of Ferrara, just four months before his death, in August 1471. Clearly, Borso relied on Baldassare to help maintain his public persona through portraiture. We get some idea of the extraordinary range of portraits he created from a list he compiled on September 30, 1473, demanding back pay two years after Borso's death.[101] In addition to the retouching of

the thirty-six portraits in the Salone dei Mesi, he cited a large canvas of the duke and three courtiers on horseback, a lifesize portrait intended as a gift for Galeazzo Maria Sforza, a number of smaller bust-length portraits of assorted courtiers, and one of Borso painted on canvas and glued to a panel. This last picture must have been similar to Baldassare's jowly profile portrait of Borso (cat. 75), which shows him in his prime.[102] His hair has yet to turn silver, and as in Lixignolo's medal, he wears one of his distinctive diamond and pearl brooches.

Baldassare's work for Borso reflects the growing demand for a variety of portrait types at court during the later part of the fifteenth century. One of the earliest full-length independent portraits, from about 1476, depicts Federigo da Montefeltro and his son, Guidobaldo (cat. 120). Like the fresco cycles in Mantua, Milan, and Ferrara, Federigo's portrait was intended to be part of a decorative program, in this case for the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino. Federigo, who had studied with Vittorino da Feltre in Mantua, is portrayed as an ideal prince proficient in *sapientia et fortitudoe*—that is, both the liberal and military arts.[103] He has laid aside his ducal crown and warrior's helmet to read Saint Gregory the Great's *Moralia,* a commentary on moral and spiritual education.[104] Standing directly beneath the ducal crown is his young son, Guidobaldo, who holds a scepter inscribed PO[N]TIFEX, a reference to the papal authority behind the dynastic succession.[105] He will inherit not only the power of state, but the humanistic values fostered at his father's enlightened court. Federigo is shown in profile not simply to conceal his damaged right eye, but as a manifestation of his civil authority. Yet, for all its emblematic trappings, the double portrait is surprisingly realistic: a warts-and-all homage to the vicissitudes of life. Vespasiano da Bisticci credited this naturalism to an unnamed Netherlandish artist who "painted from life a portrait that only wanted breath."[106] It was, however, no less calculated to suit the specific ideological demands of its patron.

La donna è mobile: Isabella d'Este

No patron was pricklier about her own image than Isabella d'Este (1474–1539).[107] Raised at the court in Ferrara, Isabella arrived in Mantua as a bride in 1490. Some ten years earlier, a portrait by Cosmè Tura had been sent to her prospective husband, Francesco Gonzaga, with a letter assuring him that it was not her looks but her "marvelous intellect and intelligence" that was most impressive.[108] Isabella later complained to her husband that if she had had more to do with running the state then she would not have grown so fat, but a rare medal issued in celebration of her marriage already shows her to be a rather uncomely bride (fig. 21).[109] Her bulbous nose and double chin are less than flattering, and perhaps the image was suppressed for this very reason. A few years later, in 1493, she rejected a portrait by Mantegna on the grounds that "the painter has done it so badly, that it does not resemble us in the least; we have sent for a painter from outside Mantua who is reputed to be good at counterfeiting from life."[110] On the recommendation of her sister-in-law the duchess of Urbino, she ordered a replacement from Giovanni Santi, Raphael's father.[111] Although Isabella grumbled that this painting did not resemble her either, she nonetheless sent it to her friend Isabella del Balzo (1465–1533), countess of Acerra, because she had agreed to



Fig. 21. Marriage medal of Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella d'Este, 1490. Bronze. Formerly Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

exchange portraits with her.[112] Isabella next turned to a painter from Parma, Gianfrancesco Maineri. Maineri's portrait was meant to be a gift for the widow of Ludovico Sforza's nephew, but when il Moro asked for permission to send it, Isabella shot back a characteristic reply that she was sending the portrait "even though it is not very like me, for it makes me look fatter than I am."[113] To this il Moro replied, somewhat tactlessly, that he thought it looked like her despite the fact that she might have put on some weight.[114]

One portrait that seems to have met with Isabella's approval is a medal cast in 1498 by Gian Cristoforo Romano, which she happily distributed as a token of her friendship and diplomatic gratitude for more than three decades. Her own version was cast in gold and set in an elaborate enamel and jewel-encrusted mount with her name spelled out in diamonds (cat. 92).[115] Isabella's double chin is evident, but the artist gave her a more elegant, aquiline nose, and her classically inspired hairstyle of loosely bound tresses is so voluminous that it cunningly distracts attention from any of the "excess baggage" that might have concerned her. It has been suggested that Gian Cristoforo—or perhaps more accurately Isabella herself—based the hairdo on ancient coins bearing the likeness of Augustus's wife, Livia.[116] When the Roman women attending Lucrezia Borgia's wedding to Isabella's brother Alfonso d'Este marveled at her unusual hairstyle, Isabella had one of her courtiers remind them that "if they had paid as close attention to the front of coins as they did to their reverses, then they would not have praised her hairstyle so lavishly."[117] Isabella kept her medal in a cabinet in her study (or *studiolo*) along with a cameo bearing a double portrait of Augustus and Livia. It is difficult to say, however, whether Isabella had Livia specifically in mind when she had her own image cast since her hairstyle is considerably more flamboyant than the tightly tied bun and stray curl found on the coinage depicting Livia.[118] No matter what her prototype might have been, Isabella clearly intended the medal to be something more than a mere physical likeness. Its recipients were meant to recall her wit, intelligence, and inner beauty, perhaps by carefully scrutinizing the reverse, which bears a complex allegorical scene based on imagery culled from antique coins. It unites a winged figure of Victory taming a serpent with Isabella's ascendant sign of Sagittarius and is surrounded by the motto BENEMERENTIUM ERGO, which alludes to victory through personal merit.[119] The imagery was so bespoke, however, that when one of the medals was presented to the ladies at the Neapolitan court, the Mantuan envoy, Jacopo d'Arti, had to explain its meaning to them.[120]

Less erudite but just as pleasing to Isabella was the profile drawing Leonardo made from life during his brief stay in Mantua from late 1499 to early 1500 (fig. 35). Isabella's delight with Gian Cristoforo's flattering profile image may have prompted her to ask Leonardo for a similar type of portrait.[121] By the end of the fifteenth century, profile portraits were decidedly passé, even in court circles. Furthermore, Leonardo's own pictorial language was dependent upon the expressive control of light and shadow, which was more easily manipulated in three-quarter views. Just a year earlier, Isabella had asked Cecilia Gallerani, former mistress of Ludovico il Moro, to send Leonardo's portrait of her to Mantua. This was undoubtedly the *Lady with an Ermine* (fig. 36), a portrait whose beauty, according to Bernardo Bellincioni's sonnet, was the envy of nature.[122] Isabella explained that "having seen some fine portraits by the hand of Giovanni Bellini, we began to discuss the works of Leonardo, and wished we could compare them with these paintings."[123] Cecilia sent the

picture to Mantua with the caveat that the portrait had been painted of her when she was much younger and that she no longer looked anything like it; she made clear, though, that this was not to be taken as a criticism of Leonardo, whom she greatly admired.[124] A month later, Isabella dutifully returned the portrait and asked Leonardo for one of her own. Yet, Leonardo's profile of Isabella lacks the refined elegance and natural ease of Cecilia, who turns and gently smiles at an unseen companion. It is unclear why Leonardo never turned his chalk drawing into a finished portrait, since the drawing itself has been pricked for transfer. Perhaps he was displeased with the profile solution or found Isabella too demanding a patron.

As Isabella grew older she became increasingly intolerant of sitting for artists. In 1510, Francesco Francia painted a portrait of her young son Federigo, when he stopped in Bologna on his way to Rome (cat. 93). Although Isabella liked the portrait, she sent it back to the artist, demanding that he darken her son's hair, which she found "too blond."[125] Despite this audacious error, Isabella decided to commission her own portrait from Francia. Unfortunately, she refused to sit for it, and Francia was forced to paint her in absentia, using as a guide a mediocre portrait by Lorenzo Costa and the verbal descriptions of Isabella's half sister, Lucrezia d'Este Bentivoglio.[126] This was not an ideal situation. Lucrezia reported that Francia had made Isabella "too melancholy and too thin" and suggested that she sit for the artist, but Isabella was having none of it.[127] She was tired of holding a pose, and besides, she trusted Lucrezia to remember her appearance by heart and to make certain that Francia did nothing to insult Costa.[128] When the portrait arrived in Mantua, Isabella wrote a letter of exuberant thanks, saying, "you have made us far more beautiful by your art than nature ever made us."[129] It seems that she was not completely satisfied, however, for she also asked Lucrezia to have Francia make her eyes a bit lighter.[130] Francia refused, claiming that it would destroy the picture's overall effect. In the end, Isabella was clearly satisfied with Francia's idealized image of beauty and intellect, because when Titian came to paint her—some twenty-five years later—he was given Francia's portrait as a guide.[131] Once again Isabella waxed poetic, wryly commenting that "the portrait by Titian's hand is so pleasing a type that we doubt that at the age he represents us we ever had the beauty it contains."[132] Pietro Aretino was a bit more acerbic about "the monstrous Marchessa of Mantua, who has teeth of ebony and eyelashes of ivory, dishonestly ugly and embellished to an astonishingly dishonest degree."[133] Like so many others at court, Isabella wanted not so much a *vera effigie* as a timeless image that spoke to her ideals and intellect. Yet unlike Elizabeth II, who subtly updates her image to preserve the dignity of the monarchy, Isabella shamelessly turned back the clock.

The Portrait in Fifteenth-Century Venice

PETER HUMFREY

AS IN FLORENCE and at the northern Italian courts, the art of portraiture occupied an increasingly central place in the artistic production of fifteenth-century Venice.[1] By 1500, physiognomically accurate portraits appeared in a wide range of public and private contexts—from large-scale narrative paintings, altarpieces, and tomb monuments to small-scale, close-up images for the home—and in diverse media, including paintings on panel and canvas, manuscript illumination, marble sculpture, and bronze medals. Venetian portraits record the physical appearance of a variety of sitters, from the doge, as head of state, to members of the ruling patriciate and the *cittadinanza* as well as scholars, poets, and artists. Only one important category of Renaissance portraiture, the marble bust, which represented such a primary interest for Florentine sculptors, was not part of this florescence; it did not make an appearance in Venice until well into the sixteenth century, an absence perhaps related to the traditional Venetian suspicion of the cult of famous men.[2] Still relatively unusual were autonomous portraits of soldiers in armor and members of the clergy, as were portraits of women; yet it is also probable that more female portraits were created in fifteenth-century Venice than is now often realized.

Most of the principal Venetian painters actively practiced the art of portraiture, with leading roles played in turn by the three members of the Bellini family: Jacopo (ca. 1400–1471) in the second quarter of the century; his elder son, Gentile (ca. 1430/34–1507), in the third; and his younger son, Giovanni (ca. 1436/38–1516), in the final quarter. The Venetian experience of portrait painting was also greatly enriched by the regular import of examples from different artistic traditions, notably from the southern Netherlands, and by the presence in the city of eminent visitors such as the Sicilian Antonello da Messina (ca. 1430–1479). Writing in the 1540s, Giorgio Vasari, impressed by the sheer quantity of portraits that he saw in Venetian palaces, claimed that Giovanni Bellini "introduced into the city the custom that anyone, even someone of no rank, could have his portrait done by him, or by some other painter, with the result that the houses of Venice are full of portraits, showing family members going back four generations."[3]

Vasari's often-cited remark is sometimes regarded as a fabrication or at least an exaggeration,[4] but it is partly corroborated by the notebooks (*Notizie d'opere del disegno*) compiled in the 1520s and 1530s by the Venetian patrician and connoisseur Marcantonio Michiel. The

works of art recorded by Michiel in a selection of houses in Venice and nearby Padua indeed include a relatively large number of portraits, some of whose subjects he identified as the father or grandfather of the owner.[5] Other portraits, however, represented the owner's friends, members of princely dynasties, or intellectual and artistic celebrities. By Michiel's day, therefore, if not already a generation earlier, prosperous Venetians were active not only in commissioning new portraits of themselves, but also in acquiring existing portraits of others, for a variety of historical, aesthetic, or sentimental reasons.[6] In this respect, portraits in Venice played an important role in the early history of collecting.

Developments in the Autonomous Portrait: Jacopo to Giovanni Bellini

Our knowledge of portrait painting in the first half of the fifteenth century remains sparse. There already existed representations of particular individuals, especially of doges, in the previous century, but they were not shown in close-up, and their features remained generalized. Exactly when the first autonomous Venetian portraits, based on a study from life, were created remains unclear; however, it is likely that a crucial role in this process was played by the central Italian Gentile da Fabriano (ca. 1370–1427), who was present in Venice from about 1408 to 1414.[7] No independent portraits by Gentile appear to survive, but a pair comprising an older and a younger man are recorded by Michiel in the collection of Antonio Pasqualino,[8] and Gentile's example is clearly evident in the portrait by his Venetian follower Giambono now in Genoa (cat. 139). Michiel also records—this time in the house of the poet Pietro Bembo, in Padua—a portrait of Gentile himself by his pupil Jacopo Bellini.[9] This is lost, like all of Jacopo's other portraits on panel, but Michiel mentions that it showed the sitter in profile; the same must have been true of the portrait he painted of Leonello d'Este on the famous occasion of his competition with Pisanello at the court of Ferrara in 1441.[10] The portrait of Leonello by Pisanello, even if it is not the picture now in Bergamo (cat. 70), suggests that Jacopo similarly showed the sitter in a format deliberately evocative of antique coinage: in bust length and in profile, with the head somewhat cramped in relation to the pictorial field.

An idea of Jacopo's more mature practice as a portrait painter may be provided by a manuscript illumination of 1453 plausibly attributed to him that portrays the Venetian general Jacopo Antonio Marcello (fig. 22).[11] The format is now somewhat longer, and unlike in the portraits by Pisanello or the one by Giambono, the sitter



Fig. 22. Attributed to Jacopo Bellini, *Jacopo Antonio Marcello*, 1453. Tempera on vellum. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris (MS 940, fol. 38v)



Fig. 23. Follower of Jan van Eyck, *Marco Barbarigo*, 1449–50. Oil on oak. The National Gallery, London (NG 696)



Fig. 24. Antonello da Messina, *Portrait of a Man (Michele Vianello?)*, 1475. Oil on wood. Galleria Borghese, Rome

is set into space by the device—also found in contemporary Netherlandish painting—of a foreground ledge, or parapet, which also serves as the surface for a cryptic inscription. Already, too, the inherently planar character of the profile is to some extent countered by the delicate hatching that models Marcello's features, thereby embedding them in a surrounding atmosphere and giving a sense of the underlying structure of the skull.

Portraiture, particularly official portraiture, was one of the primary specialities of Gentile Bellini. Although his oeuvre, like that of his father, survives in a very fragmentary state, it is clear that throughout the 1460s and 1470s he continued to adhere to the profile format, as in his portrait of Doge Pasquale Malipiero (cat. 143). By midcentury, however, Netherlandish portraits showing the sitter in the more informative, less hieratic three-quarter view had already begun to be imported into Venice. One of the earliest must have been the portrait of the future doge Marco Barbarigo (r. 1485–86) painted by a follower of Jan van Eyck when the sitter was acting as Venetian consul to the English court in 1449 (fig. 23).[12] This work, which incorporates a hand in a way that was not to become common in Venetian portraiture for another half century, perhaps arrived too early to be immediately influential. But by the 1470s Netherlandish pictures were being imported in greater numbers, together, prob-

ably, with some of the Netherlandish-inspired portraits by Antonello. Presumably painted in direct response to these was one of the first Venetian portraits to show the sitter in three-quarter view, Giovanni Bellini's *Jörg Fugger* of 1474 (Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena). The principal reason for Antonello's stay in Venice (he arrived probably later that year) was to paint an altarpiece for the church of San Cassiano; however, judging from the number of surviving portraits by him that are either dated to the years 1474–76 or have an early Venetian provenance,[13] local patrons were quick to take advantage of the artist's presence in the city to commission his typically vivacious and spontaneous portraits, such as those in Berlin (cats. 148, 149) and Rome (fig. 24). While Antonello's portraits show less of the figure and the surrounding space than earlier Venetian examples, such as Jacopo Bellini's *Jacopo Antonio Marcello*, their sharp lighting from the left, strongly individualized, even idiosyncratic expressions, and outward-turned eyes give them a powerful physical and personal presence that must have been mesmerizing for viewers accustomed to the remote and impassive portraits of Gentile.



Fig. 25. Giovanni Bellini, *Doge Leonardo Loredan*, 1501–4. Oil on poplar. The National Gallery, London (NG 189)

Antonello's example revolutionized the practice of portrait painting in Venice in the last quarter of the century. Virtually all the Venetian portraits of this phase—those by the now-dominant Giovanni Bellini as well as by younger contemporaries such as Jacometto (see cats. 151, 152), Alvise Vivarini (see cats. 165, 166), and Carpaccio (see cats. 161, 162)—show the sitter in three-quarter view, usually behind the foreground parapet that Antonello had helped to make conventional, but which probably also owed its popularity to portraits by Hans Memling that had made their way to the city (see below). Even Gentile revised his previous practice (see cats. 143, 163; fig. 28). All this is not to say that the Venetians imitated every aspect of Antonello's portraiture; indeed, in different ways both Bellini brothers retained much of the psychological remoteness of earlier Venetian portraits. Giovanni, for example, consistently preferred—as in his masterpiece in the genre, *Doge Leonardo Loredan* (fig. 25)—a light background, an effect of diffuse illumination, and an undirected gaze off to one side by the sitter. By contrast, Alvise, in his various portraits, remained closer to the spirit of Antonello, sometimes developing the effect of spontaneity by including one of the sitter's hands (see cat. 166).

The Most Serene Prince

In both Gentile's *Doge Pasquale Malipiero* and Giovanni's *Doge Leonardo Loredan*, the sitter is shown wearing the distinctive ceremonial robes of his office, consisting of the horned

cap, or *corno*, and a high-collared mantle buttoned at the front by bell-shaped *campanoni*.[14] The surface of Gentile's picture is badly damaged, but Giovanni's newfound mastery of the technique of oil painting does full justice to the texture of the luxurious damask, which tellingly contrastes the white silk with the greater roughness of the gold threads. Adorned with the visual trappings of a quasi-sacred majesty, the doge of Venice was also invested with a string of honorific titles, including that of "Most Serene Prince." Yet his position was a paradoxical one, especially compared with that of other Italian princes and heads of state. Occupying the center of the political and religious life of the republic, the doge was traditionally forbidden by his fellow patricians from attempting to glorify his own person or from using his office to seek political or financial advancement for his family. It is true that, during the course of the fifteenth century, following the expansion of Venice's mainland empire, more than one doge sought to subvert these restrictions and to assume greater powers of independent action.[15] Such attempts continued, however, to be met with disapproval and resistance from the doge's peers, and after the election of Doge Loredan, in 1501, republican principles were decisively reasserted.

Nothing is known of the early history of either the Malipiero or the Loredan portraits, but it is highly likely that they were both private commissions, destined for the sitters' family palaces. Autonomous ducal portraits of this type may also have been intended as diplomatic gifts, as was Gentile's now lost portrait of Doge Agostino Barbarigo (r. 1486–1501), sent to the marquess of Mantua in 1493.[16] The Malipiero, however, and the various other surviving profile portraits of doges by Gentile and his workshop, were almost certainly replicas of the official series of ducal portraits in the principal council chamber of the republic, the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, in the Palazzo Ducale. Soon after the construction of the present, late Gothic palace in the mid-fourteenth century, a campaign was begun to decorate the walls of the hall with a cycle of frescoes showing scenes from Venetian history. Placed above the narratives, between the walls and the ceiling, was a long series of portraits (or pseudo-portraits) of doges going back to the ninth century.[17] From 1474 onward, under the leadership of Gentile Bellini, the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century frescoes, already in a state of decay, were gradually replaced with canvases, but in 1577 this second series of narratives and portraits was entirely destroyed by fire. The lost decorations must have constituted a veritable portrait gallery, since Francesco Sansovino, writing in 1581, very soon after the fire, recorded that in addition to the series of doges, all of the narrative scenes contained portraits of illustrious Venetians, including procurators of San Marco, ambassadors, generals, prelates, and writers, and even a self-portrait by Gentile himself.[18] Sansovino was referring, in particular, to the scenes painted by the Bellini brothers and their contemporaries, but he also reported that a fresco by Pisanello from the earlier cycle, probably dating from about 1416–19, incorporated a portrait of the future doge Andrea Vendramin (r. 1476–78) when he was a youth.[19]

In addition to the images in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, fifteenth-century doges were also portrayed in a number of other official contexts. On ducal tomb monuments, for example, it had become customary since the middle of the fourteenth century to include an effigy of the deceased; by the middle of the fifteenth century such tombs, usually erected by the doge's family after his death, had not only become exceedingly pretentious, they also

included increasingly particularized portraits. Antonio Rizzo's multistoried, multifigured monument (ca. 1476–80) to Doge Niccolò Tron (r. 1471–73), for example, is a fifteen-meter-high structure in the chancel of the church of the Frari.[20] While its imagery is meant to stress the sacred nature of the Venetian state and the role of the doge as the city's earthly personification, it comes dangerously close—as does the imagery surrounding the earlier portrait of Doge Francesco Foscari above the new triumphal entrance to the Palazzo Ducale in the early 1440s[21]—to glorifying the particular man. Tron is represented lifesize and full length twice in the monument: once as an effigy, lying on his bier, and then again standing in his robes of office, facing outward, as if to accept the homage of the viewer (fig. 26). In both representations his garments were originally polychromed and his features portrayed with a powerful realism. An inscription on the tomb celebrates Tron as a reformer of the Venetian currency, but his issue of a silver lira coin with his profile on the obverse, in imitation of Roman imperial coinage, earned him the opprobrium of his peers, who considered such gestures typical of autocratic tyrants.[22] Significantly, subsequent images of doges on coins reverted to the tradition of representing them kneeling before one of the divine personages to whom they owed their authority.



Fig. 26. Antonio Rizzo, *Tomb of Doge Niccolò Tron* (detail), ca. 1476–80. Marble. Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice

Another public context for ducal portraiture was that of the votive picture, which each doge customarily commissioned soon after his election for one of the smaller council chambers of the palace.[23] Like the decorations for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, virtually all the ducal votive pictures were destroyed in conflagrations, notably one just three years earlier, in 1574. A chance survival of that disaster is Giovanni Bellini's masterly votive picture of Doge Agostino Barbarigo of 1488 (fig. 27), which on the doge's wishes was transferred soon after his death, in 1501, to the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, on the island of Murano.[24] Elected just two years earlier, succeeding his brother, Marco, Agostino had himself portrayed kneeling in prayer before the enthroned Virgin and Child; he is presented to them by Mark, patron saint of the republic. In conformity with Venetian iconographic tradition, Bellini represented the doge in near profile, and yet, in this post-Antonellesque phase of portraiture, Agostino is turned slightly toward the spectator, with his left eye just visible. Contemporaries were struck by Barbarigo's attempts to invest himself with an excess of princely magnificence; despite his humble posture, he is shown wearing an ermine cape and a crown of rich jewels around the ducal *corno*, with a display of personal heraldry at the base of the throne. Furthermore, the bequest of the picture to the church of the Angeli was motivated by his desire to have it placed above the high altar, in contravention of a Venetian tradition that excluded full-scale donor portraits from altarpieces. Typical of the



Fig. 27. Giovanni Bellini, *Virgin and Child with Saints Mark and Augustine and Doge Agostino Barbarigo*, 1488. Oil on canvas. San Pietro Martire, Murano, Venice

continuing resistance to exhibitions of ducal imperiousness, the picture was never (or at least only very briefly) placed above the high altar and was soon relegated to the back wall of the church.

A Marquess and a Sultan

In contrast to the courtly career pursued by Titian in the following century, there are few instances of fifteenth-century Venetian artists painting the portraits of foreign rulers. At the very moment when Giovanni Bellini was engaged with his portrait of Doge Leonardo Loredan, he was being actively pursued by the marchioness of Mantua, Isabella d'Este, to paint an allegorical subject for her; the correspondence makes no mention of any plans for a portrait, however, and the two may never even have met. As mentioned above, however, Giovanni's father, Jacopo, painted the portrait of Isabella's uncle Leonello in Ferrara in 1441, the year in which the latter succeeded as marquess; and to judge from Jacopo's *Virgin and Child with Leonello (?) d'Este as Donor* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), datable on stylistic grounds to a few years earlier, the painter seems to have made at least one previous visit to the Ferrarese court and to have enjoyed an international reputation, exceptional among Venetian painters, for his portraiture.

Another exception to the rule is represented by the celebrated visit by Gentile Bellini to Istanbul from 1479 to 1481.[25] The trip was undertaken in the wake of the peace treaty made between Venice and the Turkish sultan, Mehmed II ("the Conqueror," r. 1444–46, 1451–81), who took the opportunity of asking the Venetian Senate to send him "a good painter who knows how to make portraits."[26] According to an account of Gentile's visit written soon after his return, Mehmed first asked the painter to provide proof of his skill in the form

of a self-portrait; impressed with the result, the sultan then commissioned a portrait of himself (fig. 28). That work was the first in which Gentile shifted the position of the subject's head and body away from pure profile toward the three-quarter view made fashionable by Antonello. Also, in an unusual variation on the illusionistic motif of the foreground parapet, he framed the sitter in a classicizing archway and draped the high sill with a cloth of gold richly studded with jewels.[27] The effect, perhaps deliberately contrived in response to a commission of quite exceptional prestige, is of a ruler looking out from his palace window or balcony. It is usually and reasonably assumed that Mehmed intended the portrait for himself, but since the first modern record of it locates it in Venice, it is also possible that it was commissioned by the sultan as a diplomatic gift for the doge. In any case, the widespread curiosity in Italy about Gentile's visit and about the appearance of the sultan led to the creation of a number of copies and variants of the image, presumably on the basis of the painter's preparatory drawing. After his return to Venice in 1481, Gentile also designed a portrait medal of Mehmed, likewise for the purpose of wide circulation.[28]



Fig. 28. Gentile Bellini, *Sultan Mehmed II*, 1480. Oil on canvas. The National Gallery, London, Layard Bequest, 1916 (NG 3099)

Patricians and Citizens

In contrast to the examples noted above, the great majority of extant fifteenth-century Venetian portraits are not of rulers, as perhaps exemplified by Giovanni Bellini's *Portrait of a Young Man in Senator's Garb* of about 1485, in Padua (cat. 160). In addition to showing the sitter in bust length and three-quarter view, this portrait is typical in depicting a clean-shaven man dressed in the formal costume worn by all adult males of the Venetian ruling classes. This consisted of a long gown, or toga, usually of plain black, but sometimes, as here, of scarlet, with a narrow band of white shirt barely visible above the high neck; a stole (*becho*) slung over the right shoulder; and a black cap (*bareta*).[29] The only concession to ephemeral fashion is the elaborate, wiglike coiffure, known as a *zazzera*. It should be stressed that while this costume corresponded to the official dress code of the ruling patriciate, it was also adopted by the *cittadinanza*: that is, the legally defined class of Venetian citizens, which represented not so much an authentic middle class as a "parallel, minor aristocracy, with no distinctive culture or outlook of its own."[30] This is the class that ran Venice's many lay confraternities, including the five Scuole Grandi. Just as portraits of celebrities were included in the history paintings of the Palazzo Ducale, so portraits of elected officeholders, wearing the same official dress, appear repeatedly as bystanders in the cycles of narrative paintings commissioned by the Scuole (fig. 29). Both classes, patricians and citizens,



Fig. 29. Gentile Bellini, *Procession of the Relic of the True Cross in the Piazza San Marco*, 1496. Oil on canvas. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice

wore their austere and uniform dress to express patriotic solidarity with the oligarchic and republican system of government, and in conscious opposition to the competitive ostentation characteristic of princely courts and of pseudo-courts such as that of the Medici in Florence.[31] Bellini's *Young Man* is also characteristic of Venetian portraiture in placing the sitter against a simple, neutral background—in this case of sky—with no land- or townscape.

In keeping with the collective rather than individualistic ethos of Venetian society, the sitters of such portraits are only occasionally accompanied by emblematic references to their personal interests or by identifying inscriptions. An exception to this generalization is provided by several of the portraits attributable to the mysterious Jacometto, most notably the *Alvise Contarini* and its female companion piece (cat. 152), both of which carry images on their reverses, but also a *Portrait of a Man* in the National Gallery, London, whose reverse bears a quotation from Horace's *Odes* and two crossed sprays of myrtle.[32] Other painted reverses might show a skull, as a memento mori, or devices conveying sentiments of love or some other personal message. Sometimes, too, such painted devices might form a protective cover for the portrait.[33] Like the pair by Jacometto, these works tend to be on a relatively small or miniature scale and were probably intended not for permanent display but, like precious or fragile objects, to be hidden from view except when brought out for close examination.[34] But even more conventional portraits—of the type represented by Bellini's picture in Padua—are of rather modest dimensions and were presumably commissioned by their sitters to hang in small, intimate rooms in their palaces, such as studies or bedrooms.[35] There the sitter's identity would naturally have been known to their family and descendants and would have served one of the primary functions of Renaissance portraiture: to preserve the memory and virtues of the sitter after death.

Double portraits and group portraits were very rare or even nonexistent in fifteenth-century Venice, and surviving portraits of children or adolescents are rather uncommon. But the information provided by Michiel that Jacometto did a portrait of the future poet Pietro Bembo at the age of eleven (in 1481) and one of Pietro's elder brother Carlo as a

baby (ca. 1472)[36] suggests that it may not have been so unusual for patrician families to commission portraits of their sons as children. If so, the type may be exemplified by Jacometto's *Portrait of a Boy* in London (National Gallery, NG 2509), which is smaller in scale than most portraits of adult males, but which compositionally resembles them closely. By comparison, the pose of Giovanni Bellini's engaging but damaged *Portrait of a Boy* in Birmingham (Barber Institute of Fine Arts) is exceptional among his surviving portraits in its graceful mobility. The signature is also unusual for the painter in its inclusion of the epithet VENETVS, implying that it was executed either on one of his hypothetical journeys outside Venice or for a foreign patron visiting the city.[37]

In the fifteenth century, portraiture was still only rarely combined with religious painting in the context of the home. By the 1490s, however, Giovanni Bellini had begun to develop a type of composition, to become very popular immediately after 1500, in which a half-length composition of the Virgin and Child with saints sometimes included the profile portrait of a kneeling donor. A precocious example of the type, in a vertical format, is Gentile's *Virgin and Child with Donors* of about 1460–65 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin),[38] but more immediately influential were the much later, horizontal compositions by Giovanni, such as those in the Louvre (RF 2097) and the Morgan Library, New York, both of them datable to the 1490s. Similarly unusual before 1500 was the type of portrait represented by Giovanni's *Fra Teodoro of Urbino* of 1515 (cat. 167), in which the sitter—a Dominican friar—is portrayed in the guise of his patron saint. Again in a special category are actual portraits of saints, such as Jacopo's *Saint Bernardino* of about 1450–55 (cat. 140). The vast majority of saints had, of course, lived before the age of accurate portraiture, but Bernardino had died as recently as 1444 and had made several trips to Venice and the Veneto. Jacopo would certainly have heard him preach and could have recorded his features from life. Indeed, while the saint's vivid, emaciated appearance bears all the signs of an authentic likeness, his portrayal with an open mouth and with his downcast eyes gazing at the crucifix clearly evokes his activity as a preacher.[39] At the same time, the fact that he is shown in three-quarter view, two decades before this became the norm in Venetian portraiture, suggests that Jacopo simultaneously conceived the image as a close-up, intimate version of the way in which saints were customarily represented in altarpieces.

As has already been implied, the rarity of donor portraits in a domestic setting is paralleled by a similar rarity of them in the formal context of the church altarpiece.[40] It is true that the representation of donors on a diminutive scale was not uncommon in Venetian altarpieces of the early years of the century in the work of such painters as Niccolò di Pietro (1394–1430) and Jacobello del Fiore (active 1400, d. 1439), and this archaic convention was occasionally preserved as late as 1477, as in Bartolomeo Vivarini's polyptych for the Venetian guild of stonemasons (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice). All altarpieces implicitly invited the worshipper in front of the altar to pray for the immortal soul of its founder, but the invitation was obviously more explicit if the image included the donor's portrait. Yet unlike in Florence and at the Italian courts, the introduction of Renaissance logic and realism to Venice resulted for several decades in the elimination of donor portraits rather than an increase in their scale to equal that of the saints. Toward the end of his career, however, after the turn of the sixteenth century, Giovanni Bellini undertook a triptych that included the

posthumous portrait in profile of the Venetian patrician Pietro Priuli, procurator of San Marco (Sammlung der Kunstakademie NRW, Düsseldorf); yet even here, the donor is physically separated from the Virgin and Child by the frame of the triptych, and according to his own testamentary instructions, there was no display of his family arms in the surrounding chapel.[41] Somewhat earlier, about 1490, the physician Jacopo Surian had commissioned an altarpiece, probably from the sculptor Giovanni Buora (ca. 1450–1515), that similarly included portraits of himself and his wife as supplicants before the Virgin's throne (fig. 30).[42] Here the choice of the expensive medium of bronze is decidedly pretentious, as is the inscription on the base of the throne, which compares Surian with Aristotle and Galen; perhaps the adoption of a somewhat reduced scale for the donor portraits was intended to offset this grandiosity. It is also possible that, paradoxically, it was considered more acceptable in Venice for a mere physician, however wealthy, to celebrate himself in this way than it would have been for a patrician in the higher echelons of government.



Fig. 30. Giovanni Buora (?), *Virgin and Child, Saints James Major and Minor, and Jacopo Surian and His Wife as Donors*, 1488–93. Bronze. Santo Stefano, Venice

Imports from Abroad and Foreign Visitors

Although most portraits of fifteenth-century Venetians were painted, naturally enough, by Venetian painters, the far-flung commercial and diplomatic interests of the republic facilitated visits by foreign painters to the lagoon and, at the same time, stimulated traveling Venetians to have their portraits painted while on foreign missions. The case of Marco Barbarigo, painted by an Eyckian artist when he was in London in 1449, has already been mentioned; analogous cases are those of the Venetians sometimes identified as Zaccaria Contarini (see cat. 146) and humanist Bernardo Bembo, who served as ambassador to the Burgundian court in 1471–74 and who has been plausibly identified as the sitter in Hans Memling's *Portrait of a Man with a Roman Coin* (cat. 145). Other extant portraits by Memling likely to have arrived in Venice at an early date, perhaps even during the painter's lifetime, include two of men against landscape backgrounds: one in the Accademia, Venice, and the other in the Uffizi, Florence.[43] By far the most influential visiting portrait painter was, of course, Antonello, although regrettably few of the sitters for his Venetian portraits can be definitely identified. One plausible identification is the subject of the portrait now in the Galleria Borghese, Rome (fig. 24), as the wealthy citizen-collector Michele Vianello (d. 1506), since Michiel described Vianello's portrait by Antonello (by then in the collection of Antonio Pasqualino) as showing him "dressed in red, with a black *capuzzo* on his head."[44] In any case, it may be indicative of the type of patron particularly attracted to Antonello's portraits that two of those mentioned by Michiel—Vianello, and Pasqualinio's father, Alvise[45]—were of the citizen class, for whom the painter's vigor and

immediacy may have been more attractive than for the more conservative patriciate. Another of Antonello's Venetian portraits, that of 1478 in Berlin (cat. 149), exchanges the dark background for a view of a distant landscape, perhaps in direct response to the example of Memling. Although landscape backgrounds remained rare in portraits by Venetian painters before the end of the century (but see Jacometto, cat. 152), they became common thereafter, and Bellini himself was to adopt it in his *Portrait of a Man* (*Pietro Bembo*?) of about 1505, at Hampton Court.

Another portrait painted in Venice by a visiting artist was the *Portrait of a Man with a Pink* of about 1495 (National Gallery, London) by the Milanese Andrea Solario (ca. 1465–1524). Although the sitter wears the official dress characteristic of the portraits of Bellini and his contemporaries, the elongated format and conspicuous symbol (of betrothal?) as well as the extensive landscape background all depart from local tradition and seem to depend, rather, on the painter's knowledge of a masterpiece of central Italian portraiture, Perugino's *Francesco delle Opere* of 1494 (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). The fact that Perugino is known to have visited Venice that year, and also that the sitter—a wealthy Florentine manufacturer of luxury fabrics—died there in 1496, strongly suggests that the portrait, if not actually painted in Venice, was brought there by its owner.[46] If painted in Venice, its format and landscape background could similarly have been inspired by the portraits by Memling in Venetian collections. In any case, the presence in the city of portraits by Perugino and by other painters from different artistic traditions was to make a crucial contribution to the dynamic developments that took place early the following century.[47]

Scholars, Poets, and Artists

As already mentioned, among the illustrious bystanders depicted in the narrative scenes from Venetian history painted by the Bellini brothers and their followers in the Palazzo Ducale after 1474 were a number of portraits of writers as well as a self-portrait by Gentile. In one scene, apparently a joint work by Giovanni and Carpaccio, a group of famous Greek and Latin scholars was present, with the Greeks appropriately dressed in the fashions of their country.[48] The various narrative cycles for the Scuole Grandi likewise regularly included portraits among the bystanders, some of whom may also have been men of letters and artists. Certainly Gentile portrayed himself again in at least two of his multifigured canvases, including the *Procession of the Relic of the True Cross in the Piazza San Marco* of 1496 (fig. 29), for which he prepared the self-portrait drawing in pen and ink (cat. 159),[49] and the *Preaching of Saint Mark in Alexandria* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan), begun in 1504. In the latter he appears less in his capacity as a distinguished painter, however, than as a dignified officeholder in the Scuola di San Marco, the confraternity that commissioned the work.

When scholars and artists commissioned their own portraits, they usually chose to be shown in a relatively intimate form: sometimes on smaller panels, but perhaps more often in manuscript illuminations and on medals. In 1474, the humanist Raffaele Zovenzoni included a portrait of himself by Giovanni Bellini in the manuscript of his poem "Istrias," which he sent to his patron, the bishop of Trent.[50] There exist medals of the otherwise unknown poet (or musician?) Filippo Maserano, the German musician Nicolaus Schlifer, and

both Bellini brothers (see cat. 159),[51] all of them having some sort of allegorical device on the reverse, and all presumably made with the purpose of circulating the sitters' images among their friends and patrons, actual or potential. Sometimes such portraits show the sitters in modern dress, as in the case of the Bellini, whose formal costumes serve to advertise their accession to the ranks of the *cittadinanza*. Presumably the above-mentioned self-portrait painted by Gentile in Istanbul was of this type, as was that by Giovanni recorded in an inventory of 1567 (with a portrait of his pupil Vittore Belliniano painted on its cover).[52] Alternatively, scholars and artists with antiquarian pretensions could have themselves portrayed *all'antica*, as in the case of the so-called *Portrait of a Humanist* in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan, in which the sitter wears a classical garland round his head and a cloak thrown over his otherwise bare shoulders.[53] Both guises were adopted by the painter and medallist Giovanni Boldù (active ca. 1454–ca. 1477), who in a conceptually precocious pair of medals dating from 1458 portrayed himself in one wearing fashionable contemporary dress and in the other nude, with a crown of ivy.[54]

Occasionally poets composed sonnets on portraits. Usually these were laudatory, as were those by the Venetian humanist and government official Ulisse degli Aleotti on Jacopo Bellini's portrait of Leonello d'Este,[55] or that by an anonymous writer on Carpaccio's portrait of Antonio Vinciguerra, who died in 1502, but whom, thanks to the painter, "we still have alive on earth."[56] Similarly laudatory, and more evocative, were the sonnets by Girolama Corsi on her portrait by Carpaccio, and by Pietro Bembo on the portrait of his beloved by Giovanni Bellini (discussed below). The satirical versifier Andrea Michieli (called lo Strazzola) was, however, decidedly unimpressed by Carpaccio's portrait of him, which had been commissioned by his patron Alvise (?) Contarini. Michieli had wanted the portrait to show him as a professor at the University of Padua, teaching his pupils ex cathedra and wearing a laurel crown. Instead, Carpaccio depicted him wearing a garland of vine leaves, and for this the sitter castigated him as "a true disciple of Gentile Bellini," a painter whom he had elsewhere dismissed as an ignoramus and a pedant.[57]

Portraits of Women

The relative scarcity of female portraits in fifteenth-century Venice certainly reflects the strongly patriarchal society of the city. Of course, all the other Italian states were similarly male-dominated, but in Venice the monopoly of political and social institutions by men was further strengthened by the laws of inheritance, according to which a family's patrimony descended to its legitimate sons but not to its daughters. The lives of Venetian patrician women were confined largely to the home—or, in the case of the unmarried, to the convent—and the absence of a court did not provide an arena for leadership, even in letters and the arts.[58] Patrician families did not, moreover, seek extra-Venetian marital alliances that might have stimulated portraits of potential brides.[59]

These generalizations also apply—indeed, are perhaps even more applicable—to the position of the doge's wife.[60] Although the dogaressa played a role in the ceremonial life of the state, she could not afford to be seen engaging in its politics; and unlike at court, where the prince's consort could enjoy the prestige of being the mother of future princes, the

dogaressa could do nothing to promote the political careers of her sons. Perhaps understandably, therefore, there exists only one portrait of a fifteenth-century dogaressa: that of Giovanna Dandolo, wife of Doge Pasquale Malipiero (r. 1457–62), on the reverse of a medal of her husband made by Pietro da Fano (fig. 31).[61] The commission of the medal may be interpreted as the doge's subtle attempt to promote himself and his consort by clearly alluding to ancient imperial and Byzantine coinage, but in a form with only limited circulation, one that could be distributed among family and friends and exchanged with fellow rulers without exciting suspicions of vainglory and dynastic ambition. Like those of her husband, the features of the elderly Giovanna are portrayed without any attempt at flattery, in a way that may have provided additional reassurance to her fellow Venetians that her childbearing days were well in the past.



Fig. 31. Pietro da Fano, *Giovanna Dandolo, Wife of Pasquale Malipiero* (reverse), 1452–64. Bronze. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1957.14.728b)

It is probably significant that several of the other surviving or documented portraits of women represent sitters who similarly occupied an exceptional position in Venetian society. Unique, and also paradoxical, was the status of Caterina Cornaro, dowager queen of Cyprus, who was both a queen and a loyal daughter of the republic; despite being honored for her patriotism, she was exiled to a mini-court at Asolo, on the Venetian mainland. In his portrait of her (cat. 163), Gentile Bellini accordingly shows the queen decked in a visual magnificence usually reserved for doges, and in an unprecedented waist-length format, which makes it look as if she is enthroned. Yet the queen appears imprisoned within her elaborate costume and jewelry, and she certainly represents no threat to the prevailing patriarchal order. Likewise unusual, although in a different way, was the position of the Tuscan poet Girolama Corsi, who made her home in Venice and Padua in the mid-1480s and there married an elderly Spaniard named Ramos.[62] Although she complains in her writings about how married life constrained her freedom of action, her position as a foreigner may have been more emancipated than that of the majority of the housebound women of Venice. She certainly had more dealings with painters; she addressed one of her sonnets to Jacometto and composed another on a portrait of herself, painted by Carpaccio in 1496. Although the identification of the latter with the picture now in Denver (cat. 164) is hypothetical, it remains of particular interest that she praises the painter for making her seem about to speak ("per far la lingua pronta parlare") and for making a mere wooden panel appear like a living body ("che fa che un legno un corpo vivo pare").[63] In other words, although the portrait may not have made her look more beautiful than she really was, she implicitly regarded it as more vivacious than the more accurate but inanimate portraiture of Gentile Bellini.

Sometimes Venetian women were represented in pendant portraits to those of their husbands, as in the medal of Dogaressa Malipiero and Jacometto's pair in the Metropolitan

Museum (cat. 152). Perhaps the soberly factual female portraits by Jacometto in the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Cleveland Museum of Art, both now anonymous and lacking any identifiable male counterparts, were originally of this type.[64] Occasional examples of man-and-wife pendant portraits as donors have already been mentioned in the context of devotional pictures for the home (Gentile's *Virgin and Child with Donors* in Berlin) and of altarpieces (Buora's Surian altarpiece; fig. 30), yet while it may have been considered a privilege for these wives to be included, it should also be noted that the attention of the holy figures is directed exclusively toward their husbands.

Not a single female portrait by Giovanni Bellini is extant, but several are known from early sources. The lifesize, bust-length portrait recorded by Michiel in the house of the patrician Taddeo Contarini was presumably of the same sober, factual, socially respectable type of the examples just mentioned.[65] Probably rather different in type were the "certi belli retracti de man de Zoanne Bellino" (the various beautiful portraits by Giovanni Bellini) that Isabella d'Este wished to compare to Leonardo da Vinci's portrait of Cecilia Gallerani, mistress of the duke of Milan (fig. 36), in 1498.[66] Like the latter, these must have been elegant, courtly portraits of beautiful young women, yet nothing is known of the circumstances under which they were painted or of how they were acquired by Isabella, and there exists nothing in Bellini's surviving output that might give an idea of their appearance.

Much more is known about one of the most famous of Bellini's lost works: the portrait of the beautiful young widow Maria Griffoni Savorgnan, painted in 1500, in the middle of her passionate but clandestine love affair with the poet Pietro Bembo. As emerges from their exchange of letters, this was another exceptional sitter, and the portrait was commissioned under extraordinary circumstances.[67] Savorgnan was a foreigner, originally from the duchy of Urbino, and her husband, who died in 1498, had been a *condottiere* in the service of Venice. It was she who took the initiative in the relationship with the poet, and it was also she—not Bembo, as is usually supposed—who commissioned the portrait, which she then sent to him as a gift.[68] While Savorgnan confessed that she was not entirely enthusiastic about the painting, Bembo considered it the dearest gift he had ever received; according to his letters, he kissed it a thousand times in her absence, thought that it listened to his declarations of love more kindly than she did, and found it to be both an exact likeness and very beautiful.[69] There is no mention in the correspondence of the authorship of the portrait, but Bembo identifies it as a work by Bellini in the first of two sonnets he composed on it, the opening line of which he modeled on the celebrated sonnet by Petrarch on the portrait of his beloved by Simone Martini.[70] In his poem, whose nexus of ideas is much more sophisticated than that by Girolama Corsi on her portrait by Carpaccio, Bembo elaborates on several of the ideas already expressed in his letters. Addressing the portrait as if it were alive and capable of response, he marvels that the painter was able to conjure the effect of life out of mere pigments and wood, and he finds that the portrait resembles his beloved in how it is as radiant as the sun but fails to respond to him. Unlike its prototype, however, the portrait does not hide itself away and shows pity for his torment.[71]

For all the complexity of Bembo's response to the portrait of Savorgnan, it remains difficult to visualize. The poet's clear use of a Petrarchan trope to evoke an ideal of feminine beauty should perhaps caution us against taking his observations too literally, but

presumably, since Bembo mentions her "eyes" in the plural, the portrait showed the sitter in the three-quarter view characteristic of Bellini at this date. Indeed, it is just possible, in contrast to the painter's usual practice, that she looked sympathetically outward, as if to address her lover. Presumably, too, Bembo's mention of "quelle chiome" (those tresses) implies that her hair was loose and uncovered.[72] While such intimacy of presentation would have been appropriate for a gift between lovers, Savorgnan is unlikely to have had herself portrayed in a state of undress, let alone nude; rather, she is likely to have been fashionably garbed, with the textures of her costume sensuously evoked, as in the closely contemporary *Doge Leonardo Loredan*. In this sense, while Bellini's portrait may have anticipated certain images of beautiful young women painted by Venetian artists of the younger generation, such as Titian's *Violante* of about 1514–16 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), it was likely much more decorous than Giorgione's bare-breasted *Laura* of 1506 (also in Vienna), the explicitly erotic creations of Palma Vecchio, or Titian's own *Flora* of about 1516–18 (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence).

AS HISTORIANS from Jacob Burckhardt to John Pope-Hennessy have pointed out, one of the most powerful motivating forces behind the rapid development of the art of portraiture in fifteenth-century Italy was a new sense of the individual human personality.[73] Conversely, it is probably true that during the first century of its history, that development was often constrained by a political and social ethos that placed a higher value on the collective interests of the Venetian state than on individual self-expression. Before about 1500, autonomous Venetian portraits—including those of their greatest exponent, Giovanni Bellini—tended to be simple in pose, objective in treatment, and impassive in mood. All this changed with the advent of the generation of Giorgione, Lotto, and Titian, when Venetian portraits grew longer in format and larger in scale, showing more of the sitter and his or her surroundings, and poses became more active and complex, more expressive of personal feeling, and more communicative with the spectator. Physiognomies, too, became more handsome and beautiful while also more vivid in their realism. Although this is not the place to attempt properly to account for the dramatic developments that took place in Venetian portraiture in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, it may be safely asserted that they were not the result of any corresponding change of political outlook within the governing elite. Rather, they may have been related to a more purely aesthetic impulse, one that accorded greater recognition to the poetic and expressive potential of portraiture, especially when it was cross-fertilized, as in the art of Giorgione, with other artistic genres, from devotional and narrative to mythological and pastoral. In any case, there were many aspects of Venetian portraiture of the sixteenth century that developed from the innovations and achievements of the fifteenth: the psychological immediacy of Antonello; the private messages conveyed by Jacometto; the presence in Venetian collections of inspiring examples from different artistic traditions; and the masterly evocation by Giovanni Bellini of effects of light, color, and texture. And in their success as portrait painters at foreign courts, Jacopo and Gentile Bellini paved the way for the international career of Titian.

Some Thoughts on Likeness in Italian Early Renaissance Portraits

STEFAN WEPPELMANN

TAKING A PERSON'S FEATURES "from life" (*ritrarre dal naturale*) is among the oldest tasks undertaken by artists.[1] Already in antiquity, casts (*imprente*) were made of an individual's physiognomy (*filosomia*, or *fisonomia*) so that he or she could be immortalized.[2] But by the beginning of the fourteenth century, Neoplatonists such as Pietro d'Abano (1247/58–1315/16) were insisting that a portrait ought to capture the subject's character (*dispositio*) as well as his appearance.[3] Accordingly, fifteenth-century humanist circles emphasized the distinction between *ritrarre dal naturale*—the lifelike recording of external features—and what one poet refered to as "ritrarre el natural": the representation of the subject's internal character.[4] The ambiguous meaning of "nature" in these formulations, elaborately articulated by writers from Petrarch (1304–1374) to Bernardo Bembo (1433–1519), is of considerable consequence for the task of portrait painting. As an illustration of such ambiguity, we may note the way a work such as the bust of Filippo Strozzi by Benedetto da Maiano (cat. 23) shifts in a singular manner from the representation of character to physical appearance. When, at the end of the century, the poet Serafino Aquilano (1466–1500) described a portrait of himself distorted by tears as a scarcely human visage ("'l mio non par più volto umano"),[5] he hit upon a central paradox of Quattrocento portraiture: resemblance (*similtudo*) cannot be achieved with regard to both aspects of nature—outward appearance and inner character. In judging a likeness, moreover, there are typological codes and representational modes as well as narrative and allegorical intent that have to be taken into account. Consequently, the assumption that the sine qua non of a portrait is a lifelike resemblance[6] represents a short-sighted view of the genre and its aims, as the following thoughts on the Italian portrait of the early Renaissance are meant to demonstrate.

Likeness and Aura

In portraits of saints destined for liturgical use, there is to some extent an a priori assumption of verisimilitude, at least when such works depict persons whose appearance is actually unknown. By contrast, the secular portrait is intended to demonstrate a verifiable degree of

similarity with its subject. However, the saint's portrait—characterized by imagination and tradition and destined to evoke the numinous—can occasionally intermingle with secular portraiture; in these cases, especially, the effectiveness of the likeness can be ascribed to artistic invention.

Donatello's reliquary bust of Saint Rossore (cat. 1), from about 1425, appears to be an altogether convincing portrait of this legionary who converted to Christianity, yet nowhere in literature is his actual appearance described: the artist had to invent one for him. The work's larger-than-life size and the fact that it was executed in gilted bronze identify it as a liturgical object, and indeed at one time this reliquary was carried in processions through the streets of Florence. The saint's essential nature is manifested in the work itself, in the medium as well as in its tangible form, which contains a fragment of his skull and is thus a fragment of his entire figure. By contrast, the high cheekbones, the swollen veins on the forehead, the wrinkles next to the eyes, the bushy eyebrows, the finely chiseled shadow of a beard, and, finally, the slight curves in the bridge of the nose are individualized features that signify verisimilitude yet are unrelated to any prototype in the mimetic sense. It is precisely this fiction of verisimilitude that reveals how the artist created a sense of presence not by merely forming the head as a sign, but by combining this aspect with the specific features of a face. The figure takes the form of a bust and thus follows the pictorial formula of the *homo rationale*, in whose upper body, specifically the breast, the soul was held to reside.[7] Accordingly, such reliquaries[8] can be considered the precursors to the secular portrait bust.[9] The boundaries between a liturgical object and a profane likeness can even be wholly blurred, as happens in the case of the reliquary bust of Saint Constance (Musée du Louvre, Paris) attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, long considered a portrait.[10] The Renaissance portrait and traditional depictions of saints are thus related formally. Secular portraits were viewed with eyes accustomed to seeing those of saints, in which resemblance and hierarchical rank were not an issue. This fact served to elaborate pictorial strategies in which the medium was employed not so much to achieve a lifelike resemblance as to evoke within a portrait mode an iconic work in which a secular subject acquires the aura of a cult image. A striking example of this is Giovanni Bellini's portrait of Doge Leonardo Loredan in the National Gallery, London (fig. 25). The face of the sixty-five-year-old man reflects nothing of either his documented infirmity[11] or his choleric disposition.[12] Instead, his features are expressive of wisdom, his gaze that of a visionary statesman. Much like a medieval reliquary bust, Loredan's body is encased in a precious sheathing of brocaded damask, one that virtually imprisons his body and lends it the appearance of immobility. The play of light on the silver, gold, and white threads of the fabric is almost otherworldly. In contrast to his predecessors, who wore exclusively gold brocade, Loredan adopted this unusual garment, whose whitish radiance impressed his contemporaries: in 1502, the chronist Marin Sanudo marveled at the doge's mantle of white and gold, which he described as beautiful to behold ("che fu bel veder").[13] We now know that it was indeed Loredan who introduced white as the color of his brocaded robe,[14] a color associated with religious ceremonies, especially processions on Candlemas (February 2) and the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25). By showing the doge in the very processional costume he would have worn, the portrait alludes to his central role in such ceremonies.[15]

The painting impresses upon the viewer the doge's responsibility as representative of and spokesman for the Venetian state. With his white robe, he also stands as a symbol of the city's veneration of the Virgin and embodies the republic's piety, which is reflected back on himself. His distant gaze is a common motif in portraiture, to be sure, one not unique to Venetian works in the genre; here, however, it appears to have been emphasized, almost as if it represents a form of religious devotion comparable to prayer.

In the subtlest of ways, the Loredan portrait translates the secular role of the head of state into the auratic one of a civic patron saint. For all the effect of physical presence in this masterly painting, Loredan seems to be remote from the here and now and, by virtue of his office, mutates into a symbol of divine providence. His body becomes a mere ornament, wholly subordinate to his higher calling. With all the trappings of an icon, the doge's portrait is also able to invite the prayers of worshipful petitioners.

In Donatello's *Saint Rossore*, a featureless relic was clothed in a precious "skin" that gave it meaning through a readable form. The iconic element was charged with individuality, giving credence to the authenticity of the reliquary's contents. In the Loredan portrait we find the reverse; in view of his high office, and with allusions to his symbolic role in celebrations of the Virgin, a portrait of a specific individual was imbued with the aura of a religious image and thereby subtly adopted its functions. One must, therefore, keep in mind that the Quattrocento *ritratto* was by no means an unprecedented novelty. Because of the conventions of form and function as well as canonical notions of iconology and typology, the portrait could (and sought to) honor a demand for verisimilitude in only a limited way.

Likeness and Type

In A.D. 73, Pliny the Elder related that Apelles, the most famous Greek painter in the fourth century B.C., "painted portraits so absolutely lifelike that, incredible as it sounds, the grammarian Apio has left it on record that one of those persons called 'physiognomists,' who prophesy people's future by their countenance, pronounced from their portraits either the year of the subjects' deaths hereafter or the number of years they had already lived."[16] What is interesting about his report is the way the viewer, looking at the subject's outward appearance, drew conclusions based on his knowledge and categorization of typical features. Pliny also asserted that artistry and nature are not at odds in such depictions, but complementary. *Effictio* (inner character) and *notatio* (outward appearance) are equally valid criteria in judging a likeness[17] and give rise to the topoi of nature as the creator of beauty, of the link between beauty and virtue, and of the body as the receptacle of the soul and, thus, as the expression of its stirrings (*espressione*).[18] This is apparent in representations of female beauty, which in their artistic and literary *descriptio* rely on formulas that were already canonical in the poetry of late antiquity and the Middle Ages. These found their way into Italian treatises beginning in the twelfth century: the hair more radiant than gold, the sweetness (*dolcezza*) of youthful and regular features, the flashing eyes, the lips closed in a smile, the fairest of skin.[19] We find exactly these qualities emphasized in fifteenth-century female portraits, such as those by Filippo Lippi (cats. 6, 7), Sandro Botticelli (cat. 14), and the Pollaiuolo brothers (cats. 8–10), but they are always combined with features fashionable at that time: a high

forehead, for example, or a long neck. It appears that in the representation of the subject's physiognomy, artists were less concerned with producing a precise likeness than with adapting the subject's individual appearance to a codified type.

In this respect, the *Portrait of a Young Woman* by the Florentine painter Agnolo di Domenico del Mazziere (fig. 32), from about 1490, is similar in concept (apart from the landscape background) to a slightly earlier work from the Ghirlandaio workshop, the portrait of Selvaggia Sassetti (cat. 17). The Berlin painting may have been produced in anticipation of a wedding, for on the back are a series of admonitions that can be thought of as allusions to ideal virtues of married life. That past and future are to be accepted as God's responsibility is expressed in a motto, familiar since the fourteenth century, demanding submission to fate; a quotation from Petrarch's *Triumph of Chastity* emphasizes that a striving for honor is motivated by the fear of scandal; and a line from one of the *rime* by the poet and herald of Florence's Signoria, Antonio di Matteo di Meglio,[20] warns against the dangers of desire.[21] These admonitions are mirrored in the girl's expressionless features as well as in her pose, which is virtually set between the NOLI ME TANGERE above the picture's lower edge and the balustrade behind her. There can be no question that the picture is of an actual person, but what was considered important was not her depiction *dal naturale*, but rather the exaltation of her appearance as the physical embodiment of moral perfection.



Fig. 32. Agnolo di Domenico di Donnino, called del Mazziere, *Portrait of a Young Woman*, ca. 1490. Oil on poplar. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (80)

Domenico Ghirlandaio's portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni was likewise intended to be a representation of ideal virtues (fig. 33). With its profile view, it is reminiscent of the medals celebrating Giovanna's beauty and virtues (cat. 18). The young woman had died during her second pregnancy, in 1488. Her death was therefore associated with her fulfillment of one of a wife's primary obligations, namely, guaranteeing the continuity of the family. Giovanna's lavishly decorated *giornea* is ornamented on the shoulder with an L, alluding to her husband, Lorenzo Tornabuoni, as well as with the emblematic Tornabuoni diamond. Her expensive jewelry—the pendant, the brooch set aside in a niche, and her rings—allude to marriage and are part of her bridal finery.[22] With this portrait, Lorenzo Tornabuoni wished to commemorate his deceased wife, equally virtuous and beautiful. The picture may thus be seen to contradict the contents of the *cartiglio* in the niche, which reads: "O art, if you could depict character and soul, no painting on earth would be more beautiful."[23] Especially with regard to the tragic death of the young wife, the couplet in effect urges the viewer to regard the portrait as a commemoration of Giovanna's essential nature and virtue and, by extension, praises the achievement of the artist.

Before arriving at his final composition, Ghirlandaio made a number of corrections that can be seen in X-ray and infrared reflectography.[24] Shortly after it was finished, the work served as the template for the corresponding secondary figure in Ghirlandaio's *Visitation* in the fresco cycle in the main choir chapel in Florence's Santa Maria Novella (fig. 34).[25] Within that narrative, Giovanna is accompanied by other members of the Tornabuoni family, among them Lucrezia de' Medici (née Tornabuoni).[26] Ludovica Tornabuoni is integrated into the scene of the birth of the Virgin in the same way.[27] The link between the Albizzi and the Tornabuoni was of great political importance to both families. However, it is no coincidence that Giovanna appears in the *Visitation*: the young woman had submitted to her destiny in the same way as Mary and Elizabeth, who played central roles in God's plan for Salvation and were exemplary wives and mothers. In the fresco Giovanna stands on the same level with them, a visual allusion to her qualities.

Ghirlandaio could have varied the template when including Giovanna's portrait in the wall fresco. One possible reason why he followed it precisely is that the panel was considered to be a true likeness of the deceased *and* a testimony to her virtue. Transferred to the fresco, the portrait took on almost canonical status, but above all its message was enhanced by its inclusion in the narrative. Giovanna's memorial was given a religious dimension that would have influenced viewers of the individual portrait as well. The panel had a wide gilt frame, and Lorenzo kept it in his private apartments ("nella chamera del palco d'oro") even after his remarriage in 1491.[28] Like the portrait of a patron saint, Giovanna's was considered a symbol of virtue and beauty within the intimate family circle, including even Lorenzo's second wife, Ginevra di Bongianni Gianfigliazzi. It also kept alive in private the memory of the Albizzi-Tornabuoni connection, which the family emphasized so clearly in the semipublic sphere of its family chapel.



Fig. 33. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni*, 1489–90. Mixed technique on panel. Museo Thyssen-Bornamisza, Madrid (158 [1935.6])

Shaping Identities

The success of the profile view—it was continued up to the end of the Quattrocento, as demonstrated by the portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni—is partly explained by its function as the canonical formula for the representation of feminine virtue and beauty, whether in Florence, the courts of Italy, or Venice. Moreover, since antiquity the profile had established itself as the view that most accurately captures individuality: in other words, as the best means of recording the unmistakable traits that make it possible to recognize the subject most readily.[29] To be sure, the use of the profile has its drawbacks, for it conceals as much as it reveals, which is one of the paradoxes of portraiture.

The rise of portraiture was accompanied by the increasing ability of art to construct a subject's personality. Even some of the earliest Quattrocento portraits bear the artist's signature. Pisanello signed his medals with OPUS PISANI PICTORIS, emphasizing the fact that he was a painter (see cats. 64, 87, 117).[30] Mino da Fiesole signed the base of some of his sculpted busts (see cat. 122), whereas in painted portraits a *cartellino* could be inscribed with the artist's name (see cats. 148, 149). In such cases, the artist's ingenuity is thus directly associated with the aspiration of resemblance in the portrait, for there was a keen sense of the degree to which the fiction of verisimilitude was dependent on the artist's personal style as well as on his mastery of the medium. This emerges clearly in the competition in 1441 between Pisanello and Jacopo Bellini, as recorded by Ulisse degli Aleotti (see cat. 70). Both artists were commissioned to produce portraits of Niccolò III d'Este's son Leonello. When they presented their works, Leonello was puzzled at seeing two portraits that claimed to present his likeness yet were so very different. He ultimately pronounced Jacopo's work to be a faithful likeness (*vera effigie*) as opposed to Pisanello's slenderer, and thus less truthful, depiction.[31] The effort of Isabella d'Este, marchioness of Mantua, to find painters who might perfectly capture a face from life ("pictori che perfectamenta contrafaciono el vulto naturale") is equally significant.[32]

In the creation of a likeness—and this, too, corresponds to an ancient literary tradition—only those positive traits of a subject's appearance should be selected; everything unsightly ("le parti brutte a vedere"[33]) was suppressed.[34] A well-known example of this is the case of Federigo da Montefeltro, who, because of the loss of his right eye, would only allow his left side to be portrayed (see cats. 120, 121). Limited to a small-format roundel, medalists were required to be even more selective than painters. The determining factor in design was not resemblance but the medium employed, with its associations with ancient coins as a vehicle for praise.[35] It was likely for this very reason that Isabella d'Este, having been highly displeased with most of the painted portraits of her, was so preoccupied with her portrait medal, for it was destined to be distributed among the European courts and in scholarly circles. The demanding task was executed in 1498 by Isabella's sculptor and court medalist Gian Cristoforo Romano (cat. 92), who was also, apparently, to be the bearer of such gifts. In contrast to Leonardo da Vinci's famous portrait drawing of



Fig. 34. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *The Visitation*, 1486–90. Detail of fresco in main choir chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence

Isabella in the Louvre (fig. 35), the medal shows her with an *all'antica* coiffure; her chin and neck, moreover, are not as heavy as in the Leonardo drawing. Isabella clearly kept close control over her representation on this small object. It is significant that on seeing the work, contemporaries praised the subject's beauty and intelligence (her "bellezza" and "inzegno").[36] While the term *bellezza* is an expected topos in comments on female portraits, the emphasis on her intellect is less common. But it was wholly in accord with the image that Isabella constructed of herself. Her *ingegno* is not visible in her face but is made evident from the medium itself: the medal, with its Latin mottoes and highly complex allegorical depictions on the reverse. It was, therefore, not the portrait itself that occasioned observations about Isabella's qualities but the medium through which it was distributed.



Fig. 35. Leonardo da Vinci, *Isabella d'Este*, ca. 1499–1500. Black and red chalk on paper. Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (MI 753r)

Likeness and Allegory

The issues that inform fifteenth-century portraiture unquestionably reach a climax in the work of Leonardo da Vinci, whose *Lady with an Ermine* (fig. 36) opened a new chapter in the history of art. The subject, Cecilia Gallerani, perhaps seventeen years old and dressed in the latest fashion, casts a glance across her shoulder.[37] A gaze so sharply focused and directed in such a way was unprecedented in Italian portraiture, reason enough to pay particular attention to it and to wonder how Leonardo arrived at such an idiosyncratic composition, one without parallel in his oeuvre. Light plays across the figure's body and clothing with the most delicate nuances, emphasizing the portrait's most important elements: the graceful hand on the ermine's back; the animal's fur as the brightest spot in the composition; and, finally, the girl's face, with the color of the ermine's coat reflected in her eyes. The square neckline of her dress leaves a good deal of skin exposed, and strings of dark beads set off her glowing complexion, linking her right hand with her face, which is also lit. The back of her head and her right shoulder are left in shadow, as is her left hand. The girl's striking pose, wholly oriented to the left, gives the impression that she has just taken a step forward, and indeed Leonardo's painting seems to have been observed from life. Because of its veristic qualities, *Lady with an Ermine* has often been considered the modern portrait par excellance.[38] Yet this is far from being a simple portrait from life (*ritratto dal naturale*). Only a few years after it was finished, Cecilia—who from 1489 to about 1491/92 was the mistress of Ludovico Sforza ("il Moro")—insisted that it no longer resembled her, for it pictured her at far too young an age and was thus "imperfecta."[39] Her objection hits upon a problem with any likeness: that it is valid for only a brief period of time. If every likeness is ephemeral, and it therefore becomes difficult to verify



Fig. 36. Leonardo da Vinci, *Lady with an Ermine*, 1489–90. Oil on walnut. Czartoryski Museum, Kraków

how true to nature it actually is (or was), what were the criteria by which Isabella d'Este hoped to judge its quality when, in 1497, she asked Cecilia to lend her Leonardo's painting so that she might compare it to "certi ritratti" by Giovanni Bellini? The marchioness was apparently not so much concerned to discover whether Bellini or Leonardo was better at painting from life as she was in comparing their artistic solutions, their personal styles, and the expressivity of the portraits—in short, their *concetti* (ideas).

According to Leonardo, the human perception of nature evolves through the penetration of *simulacri* (Latin for pictures or shadows), which emanate from the surfaces of things, into the *sensus communis*, the place in the brain where Leonardo located the human soul as well as the intellect; through this process, subject and portrait are theoretically made to resemble each other. So far as it relates to the act of seeing, however, this is a complex endeavor, for our eyes, when concentrating on something in a normal fashion, do not observe things so intently.[40] Faced with the task of producing a believable portrait, the artist has to take into account selective perception and the way in which we perceive things. The final work will be convincing only if it constructs things in accordance with the way we see them, not if it aims for absolute mimetic equivalence with nature. In the Kraków painting, for example, the face and hand follow their own anatomical rules. Observed with the greatest concentration, they are emphatically three-dimensional, whereas the dress, the ruching of the sleeves, and the shadowed right shoulder are obviously rendered with less realism, less sharpness of detail.[41] In line with this, there is a blurring of contours specific to Leonardo—his characteristic sfumato—particularly around Cecilia's eyes and mouth, which makes her features seem more animated.[42] The viewer is invited to perceive movement in the face and must draw his or her own conclusions about what is expressed. Nature continues to be the basis of empirical experience, to be sure,[43] yet for Leonardo naturalism also stood in the way of artistry.[44] He resolved the problem of a picture's inability to capture the character of a subject by freeing himself from the constraint of fidelity to nature. With Leonardo, the portrait was accorded a new level of expresssion, one that was no longer explained solely on the basis of the accuracy of its likeness. With these preliminiary remarks in mind, we can now proceed to a closer study of the *Lady with an Ermine*.

The painting was the result of a precise planning. No preliminary drawing of the composition survives, but clearly there was one, for the figure's outlines were transferred to the prepared panel by means of pricking.[45] Leonardo, who pursued his anatomical studies with particular interest beginning in 1482, on his arrival in Milan, depicted Cecilia's hand proportionally oversized and elongated. With this hand she does not keep the animal with a firm grip, nor does she caress it; instead, the gesture seems to be one of taking hold of the animal, as if Cecilia wanted to give it away in the next moment. The ermine, with its raised left paw, strikes a pose of quasi-heraldic stylization.[46] The girl's serene features belie the physical tension resulting from the pose of her arm, especially the turning of her head in relation to the pose of her lower body.[47] One presumes that the portrait was composed in Leonardo's atelier out of individual expressive components: the face, the hand, the animal. Calling this work a *ritratto dal naturale* is as problematic as the interpretations proposed to this day.

The idiosyncratic composition can hardly be thought of as an idealized portrait, one in which Cecilia's virtues are exaggerated, for it has nothing in common with the relevant



Fig. 37. Leonardo da Vinci, *The Ermine Hunt*, ca. 1494. Pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk on paper. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (PD.120-1961)

formulas already discussed. Aside from this, any such message—the interpretation of the ermine as a symbol of Cecilia's chastity, for example—can hardly have been intended, given her role as il Moro's mistress. By contrast, with his portrait of Ginevra de' Benci (fig. 7) Leonardo produced a painting that is assuredly meant to express feminine virtue. The two works could not be more different, and the differences cannot be explained solely from the fact that they were produced in different places at different times and for different patrons; the mere fact that Cecilia, in contrast to Ginevra, fails to look at the viewer is unusual enough. The young woman is reacting to some presumed event or the approach of someone to whom she turns. Her attention has been diverted. Her expression forces the viewer to guess what has triggered her movement.

Three features are striking because they are so uncommon. First, Cecilia's body is pictured with a distinct torsion. As mentioned above, one has the impression she is walking toward the left side of the picture field. Her quasi-contrapposto, visible in the shoulders, has already been noted in the literature. Second, the definite turning of her head has to be interpreted as a glance to the back or the side. Finally, the presence of the large ermine, positioned in the center of the picture, is most unusual.

According to legend, ermines will protect their immaculately white fur from soiling, even at the risk of death. In the *Fiore di virtù*, a popular medieval anthology of virtues that related moral concepts to animal behavior, and one that Leonardo owned in his private library,[48] we read that in order to catch an ermine it is enough just to dirty the entrance

to its burrow while the animal has left it, for it would "rather let himself be captured by hunters than flee into the soiled burrow, so as not to stain its white fur."[49] This is why the ermine served as the visualization of the knightly motto about personal honor *Malo mori quam foedari* (Better dead than dishonored).[50] Leonardo himself depicted the motif of a hunter capturing an ermine in a drawing in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, one possibly intended as the design for the reverse of a medal (fig. 37). In it, an empty banderole, perhaps meant to carry the motto cited above or another relating to honor, winds out of the ermine's mouth.[51] That drawing follows a long tradition: various medals, including one of Pisanello's from 1447, present this allegory on the reverse. The behavior of the noble animal is always associated with the person portrayed on the medal's obverse. Later, in Codex H, Leonardo endowed the ermine with the moral quality of humility.[52] In 1493, the Milanese court poet Bernardo Bellincioni refered to Ludovico Sforza as a "white ermine," thereby emphasizing his protector's sense of honor and virtuousness.[53] The allegorical interpretation of the ermine, well known throughout Italy, was accordingly employed at the court of the Sforza, especially since in 1486 Ludovico had been inducted into the Order of the Ermine, established by King Ferrante in Naples in 1465.

With regard to Leonardo's painting, this connection has led to mistaken conclusions. There is no question that Ludovico liked to see himself associated with an absolute sense of honor and considered the ermine a personal emblem. However, that he should have allowed himself, in the guise of an ermine, to be shown "captured" by a young mistress would not have accorded with either his rank or the way he presented himself at court and in the political sphere. Quite aside from that, from such a depiction the qualities of humility, purity, and sense of honor associated with the ermine can hardly apply to Ludovico. If one were to relate the ermine to il Moro, one must ultimately wonder why the animal does not cuddle closer to his mistress, effectively underscoring their relationship. And such an interpretation fails to explain either Cecilia's movement or that of the animal.

Leaving aside supposed wordplays on the name Cecilia Gallerani[54] and fanciful associations of the ermine with Ludovico il Moro, the animal can simply be seen as an attribute of the subject herself, as is common in both painted and medallic portraits. The ermine represents Cecilia's inner nature, which she "carries" and displays along with her beauty. In the area of her left hand, Leonardo's sfumato even suggests a virtual merging between the animal and her person. Leonardo also skillfully equated her outward beauty with her inner essence by giving a similar appearance, noted by various writers, to both the ermine and the woman holding it.[55]

The young woman pauses, listens, and turns without replying: "che par che ascolti, e non favella," in the formulation of Bellincioni.[56] The sequence of movement, Cecilia's turning around, is analogous to the behavior of the ermine in the allegory described above, in which it willingly turns toward its hunter. As the personification of the ermine, Cecilia becomes the desired prey, Ludovico the hunter. Her expectation of surrender is expressed in her self-confident backward glance and, above all, in her smile. The consequence of her self-surrender is increased esteem, for Cecilia doubtless felt distinguished by her privileged nearness to Ludovico at court. Just as the animal's unstained white fur becomes adornment for the hunter, Cecilia's pure love is an adornment to Ludovico, whose virtuous hunt for

beauty is crowned with success. The interpretation of Cecilia as "ermine-like" by no means detracts from the fact that Ludovico may have claimed for himself the high sense of honor ascribed to the ermine in other contexts.[57] In the court circles in which Leonardo moved—as did Cecilia, who was considered to be highly cultivated—such role-playing was certainly understood. Ludovico and his entourage could have come to an understanding of Leonardo's painting from the widespread appearance of the ermine allegory in medallic art. With his "Lady as Ermine" the painter managed to produce a work in which, by way of personification, Ludovico and Cecilia gaze at each other with reciprocal respect (and reciprocal desire), one that does honor to both at the same time. Leonardo's masterpiece may be seen to present an ermine-bearing lady as the lover of the *bianco ermelino*, Ludovico Sforza.

The beauty celebrated in the Kraków painting is not simply Cecilia's outward appearance, but her inner character, the aspect that Petrarch and Bernardo Bembo had both considered impossible to represent in painting precisely because that impossibility affirmed the concept of otherworldly beauty. Leonardo was fully familiar with the skepticism toward painted images expressed by poets and philosophers. His portrait of Ginevra de' Benci, which was commissioned by Bembo, is sufficient proof of this. Elizabeth Cropper has explained that it is a work in which an attempt was made to resolve the paradox of the impossibility of picturing beauty by means of linguistic metaphors.[58] With his portrait of Cecilia Gallerani, Leonardo went one step further, so that through purely pictorial means he employed outward beauty as the embodiment of the beauty of his subject's soul.

One of the crucial and more far-reaching developments in the genre of portraiture in the fifteenth century can be seen to be the expansion from likeness to expressivity. From the *imago*, the image of a sitter, which asserts its empirical truth a priori, and the *ritratto dal naturale*, there arose the modern portrait as a record of something more personal yet indefinite, to which Renaissance critics attached the term *aria*. Leonardo da Vinci provided an important stimulus. His own concept of *aria* heightens the individual qualities capable of objective depiction but links them with the subjective quality of personal style and includes in it the possibility (and necessity) of artistic construction and allegory.[59]

Likeness and Opacity

Leonardo's *Lady with an Ermine* is as unlike Donatello's reliquary as can be imagined. Following a different approach to personification, the invented face in the latter functions as a mask that makes it possible to experience the otherwise faceless saint in a religious context as a real person. The precious covering personifies the content but remains abstract itself. By contrast, Bellini's portrait of a doge heightens Leonardo Loredan's personal features with the qualities of the *imago* and attempts to create the sort of likeness seen in portraits of saints, thereby lending an otherworldy aura to the office and its incumbent. At first glance other fifteenth-century portraits may appear to be *ritratti dal naturale*, yet on closer inspection they are discovered to be composed of individual features and abstractions of the external appearance. Like the *Portrait of a Young Woman* in Berlin inscribed with NOLI ME TANGERE, they are obliged to harmonize with typological criteria and seem strangely out of focus. Then there are portrait repetitions, whose reworking lies partly in the nature of the

genre (see cats. 50–52). The portrait lends itself to formulaic possibilities, the perpetuation of which tends to turn the subject into an icon. In these repetitions, the accuracy of the likeness becomes secondary. The subject is abstracted, timeless, and becomes only a cipher, one associated with specific qualities and pretensions. In the duplication of a given pictorial formula the connection between effigy and archetype is dissolved; it is the medium that determines the likeness. This is apparent in the portrait on Isabella d'Este's medal. Determined to present herself in a specific way, the marchioness approved an image as masklike as the face of Saint Rossore. We have come full circle. Yet considering the Quattrocento as a whole, one sees a distinct development away from mere outward likeness and toward greater expressivity. Leonardo's portrait of Cecilia Gallerani brings this first phase of portraiture to its climax and sets the stage for the innovations of the next century.

"The face that is known draws the eyes of all spectators..." — Leon Battista Alberti on the impact of the face in a painting

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LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI composed his treatise *De Pictura* (On Painting)[1] in both Latin and Italian, completing the texts in 1435 and 1436, respectively.[2] In the context of a more general discussion of the imitation of nature in painting (3.55), Alberti—himself the author of an important self-portrait (cat. 60)[3]—makes reference to the compelling force of a portrait (3.56).[4] To make his point, he evokes the hypothetical "face of a known man" appearing together with "other faces" and "figures" "in a history painting." Even when painted with less artistry than the others, he argues, the familiar face will still capture the attention of all viewers (see fig. 8). The relevant paragraph in *De Pictura* is very short, but it is nonetheless a key text for the history of the theory of portraiture in early modern times and could provide any number of topics for discussion. The following remarks can touch upon only a few of them.

In the Latin text, considered the more concise version, the crucial part of this passage reads, "nam in historia si adsit facies cogniti alicuius hominis, tametsi aliae nonnullae praestantioris artificii emineant, cognitus tamen vultus omnium spectantium oculos ad se rapit, tantam in se, quod sit a natura sumptum, et gratiam et vim habet."[5] And the full text, in English:

> But the painter who has accustomed himself to taking everything from Nature, will so train his hand that anything he attempts will echo Nature. We can see how desirable this is in painting when the figure of some well-known person is present in a "historia", for although others executed with greater skill [*artificium*] may be conspicuous in the picture, the face that is known draws [*ad se rapit*] the eyes of all spectators, so great is the power [*vis*] and attraction [*gratia*] of something taken from Nature [*a natura sumptum*] (3.56).[6]

Just how the two versions of Alberti's text relate to each other in terms of chronology and purpose is an open question.[7] In two places the Italian text differs from the Latin only slightly, but in a third the difference is significant. The full Italian text is as follows: "ove poi che in una storia sarà uno viso di qualche conosciuto e degno uomo, bene che ivi sieno altre

figure di arte molto più che questa perfette e grate, pure quel viso conosciuto a sé imprima trarrà tutti gli occhi di chi la storia raguardi: tanto si vede in sé tiene forza ciò che sia ritratto dalla natura."[8] And in English: "Where the face [*viso*] of some well-known and worthy man is put in the *istoria*—even though there are other figures [*altre figure*] of a much more perfect art [*molto più perfette di arte*] and more pleasing [*grate*] than this one—that well known face [*viso conosciuto*] will draw to itself [*ad se . . . trarrà*] first of all the eyes of one who looks at the painting. So great is the force of anything drawn from nature."[9]

Let us examine the terminology:

nam in historia. Alberti is speaking not of an autonomous portrait but of a "face" that appears in a history painting among other "faces" (Latin) or "figures" (Italian).[10] Whereas painted portraits were common enough in a history painting (*historia/storia*)—for example, as donor portraits—they were not yet routinely produced as autonomous panel paintings. Alberti's words appear to reflect nothing more than the experience of public paintings that incorporated portraits into the composition.[11] Yet if one analyzes his text, one notes that it is structured rhetorically, employing the device of antithesis,[12] here in the effective hypothetical juxtaposition and contrast of the "known" face and the "unknown" faces and "figures" in a history painting. He is contrasting two types of appreciation, two types of effect, and, implicitly, two types of "imitation of nature": the portrait and the nonportrait in the same picture.

The antithesis was not new; it derived from antiquity, in all probability from an earlier source that had been broadly distributed since the beginning of the fifteenth century but whose previous influence is difficult to trace. The brief passage from Alberti's *De Pictura* suggests a textual migration of an unusual sort.

facies, vultus, viso. When at first Alberti uses the term *facies*, he is not explicitly speaking of a painted portrait; in contrast to classical texts such as that of Pliny the Elder,[13] he is not referring primarily to a person's entire form and outward appearance. The following main clause, in which he identifies what he means by the word *vultus*, indicates that he did, in fact, mean "face." He thus employs a term whose secondary connotations to him were "figure" or "appearance;" its primary meaning was "visage," "face," "mien," or "aspect." Consequently, in the Italian version he twice uses the term *viso*, the primary sense of which is also "face" or "glance."

With regard to the phenomenon of the portrait, two fundamental issues are touched upon in Alberti's choice of words. On the one hand, the importance of the face as *pars pro toto* of a person's appearance is suggested, something that can be seen to have its origin in early human development in the visual relationship between a mother and infant. The face is the key to identification, and concentration on it is one of the defining features of the premodern portrait.[14] On the other hand, it is implied that the face is also a most important means of communication. No matter how fundamentally different religious, philosophical, and anthropological assumptions may have been—in Alberti's case they are scarcely conceivable without the notion of the dualism of body and soul, without the familiar tropes of the "body as vessel of the soul,"[15] or of the face as "mirror" and "window" of the soul—from a historian's point of view, what appears to emerge from his choice of words is a kind of anticipation of a "phenomenology of the face, determined both

genetically and culturally, as perhaps a person's most expressive and impressive feature" (see cat. 41).[16]

The Latin version reads, "facies cogniti alicuius hominis" and "cognitus . . . vultus," whereas the Italian one has "uno viso di qualche conosciuto et degnio huomo and quel viso conosciuto." The Latin *cognitus* can have various meanings; along with its primary connotation of "recognized," the past participle of the verb *cognoscere* can also mean "known," "well known," even "proven" or "tested." The same cannot be said of the Italian *conosciuto*. Consequently, in the vernacular version of his text, Alberti added the explanatory adjective "worthy": "uno viso di qualche *conosciuto* et degnio huomo."

More clearly than in the Latin, this mention of the "face of a known and worthy man" implicitly refers to another essential aspect of portraiture, one not unique to early modern times: not everyone is worthy of a portrait; not everyone deserves a painted *memoria*. Alberti's choice of words, based on classical precedent, reflects an assumption characteristic of his time and of his standing in society, namely, that a portrait was somehow associated with its subject's *virtus*. It includes no hint of the various philosophical or theological reservations the portrait has met with throughout its history, for example, the frequently expressed objection that it can capture only one's outward appearance, not one's soul, one's *ingenium*, one's character.[17]

In the Latin version of his text, Alberti employs the past participle *cognitus* twice in a row, and in the Italian one it is *conosciuto* that is repeated. Yet, although he repeats the same words, each time Alberti uses them in two different senses. In their first appearance the reference is to the "known [and worthy] man" whose face appears in the history painting. In both versions the second appearance opens up an entirely new perspective of the text: the combination of the two terms *vultus* and *cognitus* in the one, *viso* and *conosciuto* in the other, automatically evokes the one fundamental aspect that distinguishes the portrait from other kinds of "imitation," namely, its reference to an actual person. It contains a suggestion of what it is that characterizes the portrait as "a distinctive type of mimetic representation."[18]

In both Latin and Italian the past participle oscillates between the connotations "recognized" and "known," and in both versions of his treatise Alberti exploited the words' inherent ambiguity. It is a matter of the viewer's "recognizing" in the painting a face that is already "known" to him in reality. To use another, closely related term, it is a matter of the complex act of "recognition," which can be variously interpreted and has been interpreted in widely divergent ways in the history of philosophy. In Greek it is *anagnorisis*, in Latin *recognitio*.[19]

Just how did Alberti conceive of the "recognition" of the "known face" in the painting? He makes no mention of the close relationship between the portrait and the medium of language. Nothing in the scenario he proposes suggests that he wished to consider the portrait identified by means of an added inscription. On the contrary, he assumes that it is the viewer who identifies the subject, not an inscription.

The "recognition" in the painting is based exclusively on the visual relationship between two faces, and although Alberti does not say as much, it relies on the viewer's "comparing" the two: the face of the "known man" with faces in the painting created by the painter's skill at representation; the subject pictured with his or her image; the original with the likeness; or however one chooses to describe the process. It is not made any easier by the fact that,

as a rule, it is the recollected image of a "known face" that the viewer compares with the face in the painting. Rarely is the subject at hand so that the original and the likeness can be compared directly.

The humanist Alberti would have known that in Latin *comparatio,* or "comparison," is the "act of juxtapostion by which similarities can be observed."[20] Although he does not mention it, he presupposes the word, concept, and connotation of "likeness"—with which, by definition, the relationship between one object and another is generally expressed when they share certain features[21]—as necessary factors in the recognition of the actual face in the face represented in the painting. "Likeness" is the operative word, and the concept it denotes is virtually inexhaustible. For a theory of the portrait—even when negated—it is irreplaceable. The Latin *similitudo*, together with its vernacular derivatives, has become perhaps the most frequently used designation for the portrait. It is already clearly defined in the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder, who uses it to refer both to similarity between the portrait and its subject and to the portrait itself.[22]

Alberti does not use the word in the present context, though he does in other passages. In his treatise *De Statua*, whose dating and chronological relationship to *De Pictura* are a matter of scholarly debate, he discusses the concept and fact of "likeness" as part of a more extensive discussion on the origin of sculpture in the enhanced imitation of images created by nature itself. Proceeding from the notion of nature as the teacher of the arts, he explicitly refers to "man's studies in creating likenesses [of things in nature]" ("studia hominum similibus efficiendis"), and links to them the pleasure in doing so ("non id quidem sine voluptate"; para. 1). In this connection, he also distinguishes between the two possible ends pursued by the sculptor in "creating likenesses." "The first is that the image he makes should resemble this particular creature, say a man. They are not concerned to represent the portrait of Socrates or Plato or some known person, believing they have done enough if they have succeeded in making their work like a man, albeit a completely unknown one. The other end is the one pursued by those who strive to represent and imitate not simply a man, but the face and entire appearance of the body of one particular man" (para. 5).[23]

Two types of likeness, two ways of achieving it through imitation of nature: it is on this very distinction that Alberti based his argument in *De Pictura* as well: the clear distinction, sharpened into an antithesis, between the "known" and the "unknown" face in a painting.

As already suggested, Alberti's hypothesis is hardly new. There is much to suggest that it derives, by whatever intervening byways, from Aristotle's theory of mimesis. In the fourth book of Aristotle's *Poetics*—not yet studied in Alberti's day, but intently analyzed and annotated beginning in the first third of the sixteenth century and even more in the second—Aristotle speaks of the anthropological bases of imitation. Both imitation itself and the pleasure in imitation are inborn. The artist's compulsion to imitate is matched by the pleasure provided to the public by recognition of the imitated object. As Aristotle put it:

> As to the origin of the poetic art as a whole, it stands to reason that two operative causes brought it into being, both of them rooted in human nature, namely (1) the habit of imitating is congenital to human beings from childhood (actually man differs from the other animals in that he is the most imitative and

> learns his first lessons by imitation), and so is (2) the pleasure that all men take in works of imitation."[24]

His argument immediately shifts from poetry to the arts and promptly culminates in a much-pondered paradox, one that Aristotle himself failed to resolve: "There are things which we see with pain so far as they themselves are concerned but whose images, even when executed in great detail, we view with pleasure." In this famous passage the pleasure in imitation is not solely derived from the objects of imitation but is even opposed to them, and its emphasis on the intrinsic value of artistic mimesis anticipates something resembling an aesthetics of the unsightly. Only at the end of the section does one find the fundamental distinction between two kinds of appreciation and effect. Aristotle creates two classes of viewers, each of which takes pleasure in a different way:

> The cause of this also is that learning is eminently pleasurable not only to philosophers but to the rest of mankind in the same way, although their share in the pleasure is restricted. For the reason they take pleasure in seeing the images is that in the process of viewing they find themselves learning, that is reckoning what kind a given thing belongs to: "This individual is a So-and-so." Because if the viewer happens not to have seen such a thing before, the reproduction will not produce the pleasure *qua* reproduction but through its workmanship or color or something else of that sort.

This is not the place to try to determine the extent to which Alberti may have borrowed from this key passage in Aristotle's *Poetics,* if indeed he knew it at all.[25] It can be said, however, that the main arguments in the two texts are very similar: that portrait and nonportrait exist in the same painting, and that they are appreciated by two wholly different classes of viewers. On the one hand is the viewer who recognizes in the representation a known person because he or she has "seen such a thing before" and who accordingly takes pleasure in the "imitation." On the other hand is what Aristotle suggests is the less pointed perception of the viewer who has not seen the subject before in reality and, accordingly, cannot recognize the subject in the painting. The latter takes pleasure not from the imitation but from other aspects of the painting; without "learning" something, this viewer takes pleasure solely from "its workmanship or color or something else of that sort."

Alberti argues in the same way when, in a new rhetorical approach, he presents the same contrast between portrait and nonportrait and their two types of appreciation and effect: "even though there are other figures of a much more perfect art and more pleasing than this one—that well known face will draw to itself first of all the eyes of one who looks at the painting."

On the one hand, then, is the face that draws the viewer's attention to itself because it is one already known to him in reality. Its appreciation and effect correspond to Aristotle's pleasure from the "reproduction." On the other hand, Alberti also speaks of the second kind of appreciation and effect that Aristotle describes with the words "if the viewer happens not to have seen such a thing before, the reproduction will not produce the pleasure *qua* reproduction but through its workmanship or color or something else of that sort." In

Alberti's Latin text this appears as "tametsi aliae nonnullae praestantioris artificii emineant" (although others executed with greater skill may be conspicuous in the picture). With his use of the term *artificium*, which in Latin can mean "artistic execution," "artifice," or "skill" in addition to "artistry," Alberti's choice of words is close to that of Aristotle, who when describing the aesthetic response of the viewer who is denied pleasure in the "reproduction" speaks of *apergasia*, the Greek equivalent of "artistry," "perfection," and "workmanship" in addition to "color or something else of that sort."

Alberti's Italian version of the sentence also compares closely to the text of Aristotle's *Poetics*. In place of the single Latin term *artificium*, here one finds three terminologies of art theory that Alberti counterposes against the effect of seeing a "known face" in a painting: "perfect art," "pleasing," and "figure." His sentence insists that the "well-known face" stands out "even though there are other figures of a much more perfect art and more pleasing than this one."

These are highly important concepts. When he states that the "other figures" are distinguished by "perfect art" while the "well-known face" lacks it, Alberti—doubtless with a nod to a passage in Cicero's *Orator*, with which he was fully familiar—implicitly touches on the core of idealistic art theory, which is a theory of imitation through "selection."[26] To it he adds a second concept, namely, that the "figures" are "pleasing" (*grate*).[27]

Yet why, in this scenario, does Alberti distinguish between the "figures" in the portrait and its effect? What is this term, which he did not use in his Latin version, meant to signal? For all the complexity of the postclassical history of the meanings of the term, here he was doubtless making the distinction between *figura* and *forma* that had already been struck by Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) in his epigram "Figura est artis, forma naturae."[28] The former is the artistically formed figure, the latter only its physical structure. And so they are here as well. The "figures" that Alberti opposes to the forceful effect of the painting's "known face" are artistic ones; the portrait itself appears in the role of a *forma naturae*.

In this passage, too, the rhetorical structure of Alberti's argument becomes apparent. In order to emphasize the effect of the portrait, he resorts to the rhetorical device of exaggeration. In what is unquestionably a highly effective metaphor, the "known face" in the painting takes an active role, forcefully dragging the viewer's eyes to itself ("ad se rapit"). The *ad se rapit*, synonymous with "rape," belongs to the semantics of violence. Alberti softens it only slightly in the Italian version when he writes that the "known face" will "draw" or "pull to itself [*ad se . . . trarrà*]" the eyes of the viewer.

To lend even greater emphasis to the forceful, virtually "ravishing" effect of the "known face," Alberti contrasts its effect in the painting with the "more pleasing" "other faces" and "figures" of "much more perfect art." Only implicitly, but obviously enough, he thereby sets up a scenario in which the portrait, though artistically inferior, exercises the greater effect. Was his mention of the *artificium*—the "molto più . . . perfette e grate" other faces and figures in the painting—intended to contain a premonition of the weaker position of the portrait in the hierarchy of the genres as developed later? "Ravishing" effect, yet artistically subordinate? The portrait as a marginal genre? Later art theory would, in fact, attempt to show that portraiture, owing to the obligatory verisimilitude imposed on it, was either a

lesser art or no art at all: that the necessity of representing a unique individual made it an inferior genre, one not so closely associated with imagination and superior perceptiveness.[29]

But why, then, for all the greater "artistry" and "perfection" of the other faces and figures, is the effect of the portrait more forceful? In place of an answer to this question, Alberti offers an assertion: "so great is the power and attraction of something taken from Nature." Accordingly, the portrait's force and appeal have to do with their origin; unlike the qualities of the unknown faces and figures—artistry and artistic perfection—these are derived from "Nature."

The two variants of the text diverge in this crucial passage in two respects. For one thing, the term "attraction" (*gratia*) does not appear in the Italian text, where the passage reads, "So great is the force of anything drawn from nature" ("tanto si vede in sé tiene forza ciò che sia ritratto dalla natura").[30] For another, there is a significant and possibly even historically illuminating difference between the Latin and Italian versions in Alberti's altogether different description of the artist's role in the creation of the portrait. The Latin text speaks of "sumere a natura," or "to take from nature," whereas the Italian has the more specific "ritrarre dalla natura," or "to draw" or "to extract from nature." The Italian verb derives from the Latin *retrahere*, which is in turn a compound based on *trahere*, to "draw away from" or "draw out." It can be interpreted in the sense of *rursus inspicio*, that is to say, "draw back once again," "draw into the light again," or even *memoria repeto*, meaning "I call to mind again."[31] In its first appearance in an artistic context, the verb as employed in phrases such as *ritrarre dal naturale*, *ritrarre dal vero*, or related formulations refers to drawing from life. In a famous passage in his *Libro dell'arte*, Cennino Cennini exalted the practice of direct imitation of nature as formulated here as the method that might lead the artist to perfection.[32]

Here Alberti has inserted into his text what was by then a well-established *terminus technicus* of contemporary art practice. Just how it relates to its equivalent in the Latin version—"sumere a natura"—is an open question. However, it is highly likely that the Italian term most closely captures his intended meaning. If this is so, the Latin would have been its "translation," which once again raises the question of how the Italian and Latin versions of the text were related.[33]

This much is certain: the present meanings of both the verb *ritrarre* and its past participle *ritratto* were developed over a long period of time, and clearly not in tandem, but by the sixteenth century the substantive form *il ritratto*, reflecting the practice of "drawing from Nature," would become the term most commonly applied to the portrait.[34]

But why the terms *forza* and *vis*? Alberti had already used them in a famous passage at the beginning of the second book of *De Pictura*, modified with the hyperbolic adjectives "divina" (divine) and "admodum divina" (virtually divine), respectively, in a much broader sense:

> Painting contains a divine force which not only makes absent men present, as friendship is said to do, but moreover makes the dead seem almost alive. Even after many centuries they are recognized with great pleasure and with great admiration for the painter. Plutarch says that Cassander, one of the captains of Alexander, trembled through all his body because he saw a portrait of his King (2.25).[35]

Here, already, everything hinges on the effect of the portrait. And already the question arises regarding how the passage might relate to Aristotle's *Poetics*, the "prototype of an aesthetics of appreciation."[36] In its opening sentence we are told that it will treat "the art of poetic composition in general and its various species, the function and effect of each of them."[37] In another passage, Aristotle defines the term "effect" as "the cause of a change in another."[38] In the *Poetics*, the word he uses is the ambiguous *dynamis*, which originally meant "power" and "physical strength," then came to denote "force," "ability," and "possibility." It is this very concept that Alberti alludes to with the terms *vis* and *forza*. The example of the effect of the portrait on the viewer, which Alberti takes over from Plutarch, is also blatantly reminiscent of Aristotle's *Poetics*, in which two categories of the cathartic effect of tragedy are formulated: *eleos*, or "pity" (in another sense "misery"), and *phobos*, meaning "fear" or "trembling."[39] It seems almost a deliberate illustration of the latter category when, in Alberti's Italian text, Cassander "trembled through all his body" simply at seeing Alexander's image (*immagine*) as though he were standing before his ghostly double. In the Latin version he trembles because he has recognized in the simulacrum of the deceased Alexander "the majesty of his King."[40]

With the graphic example of the effect of the Alexander portrait, which caused his absence and death to be forgotten and which restored a colleague's relationship to him, Alberti touched on the question of the "artificial presence" of the likeness of the absent or deceased person,[41] and with it the question of the kind and limitations of the "power of images."[42]

Catalogue



Donatello (Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi; Florence, ca. 1386–1466, Florence)

1. *Reliquary Bust of Saint Rossore*

ca. 1425

Cast bronze, chased, engraved, and gilded, 22 × 23⅞ × 14⅝ in. (56 × 60.5 × 37 cm)

Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa

The reliquary bust of Saint Rossore has a complicated history, and we owe our understanding of its crucial points to the tireless research of Giuseppe Fontana, published posthumously by his son Giovanni in 1895. Saint Rossore was a Christian soldier martyred near Cagliari during the reign of Emperor Diocletian (A.D. 284–305). In 1422, the Humiliati (a lay religious order) at Florence's church of the Ognissanti brought the head of Saint Rossore from Pisa to Florence. Donatello was commissioned to make a reliquary in bust form to house this sacred relic, as recorded in his *catasto*, or tax declarations, of 1427 and 1430. The Humiliati retained custody of the relic as well as of Donatello's masterpiece until 1570, when Pope Pius V suppressed the order, which had been in decline for some time. The bust then passed into the hands of the Corvi family of Brescia, and in 1591 it was donated to the church of Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri in Pisa, where it contributed to the revival of the cult of that early Christian martyr—a cult recorded in Pisa in various historical sources. It remained at Santo Stefano until fairly recently, but the theft and daring recovery of the work in 1977 encouraged its transfer to the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo. It was most recently and masterfully restored in 1984 by Giovanni Morigi under the direction of Mariagiulia Burresi.

Despite the laudable thoroughness of Fontana's research, his historical study did not successfully return the reliquary to the problematic corpus of Donatello's autograph work. Its attribution to the Renaissance master was settled, instead, by the great Hungarian scholar Jenö Lányi, who, over the course of the twentieth century, completely reshaped how we understand Donatello. In an important article of 1939, he confirmed Donatello's authorship of the Saint Rossore reliquary and made a case for the crucial role it played in the revolution wrought by that Florentine sculptor. Both positions have been widely accepted by later scholars, and beginning with H. W. Janson's monumental catalogue raisonée in 1957, the reliquary has been discussed in relation to the artist's important bronze works of the 1420s. Anita Moskowitz's long article on the Saint Rossore bust, published in 1981, remains the only monographic treatment of this work. Moskowitz reconstructed the reliquary's iconography based on a painstaking analysis of literary sources and also offered a number of interesting interpretations. J. Miller and L. Taylor-Mitchell published more important information about the reliquary in 2006, including its presence in Florence and the previously unknown fact that the Florentines officially credited Saint Rossore with their victory over the Lucchesi at the Battle of San Romano in 1432, a triumph celebrated in Paolo Uccello's famous panel now in the National Gallery, London.

The absolute novelty of the Saint Rossore reliquary is evident even in the technique Donatello employed to make it. Most reliquary busts were fashioned from embossed silver, but the Pisan masterpiece was cast in bronze and then chased, incised, and gilded. Documents tell us that the reliquary was cast in five pieces by Giovanni di Jacopo degli Strozza, a specialist in the art of casting. Donatello, however, was alone responsible for the original model of the bust and then the laborious work of finishing the piece; this is the only way to explain the figure's sublime and expressive sense of concentration. Donatello's genius transcended his material and produced the miracle of a perfect illusion of a living figure, a quality we can also see in his *Jeremiah* for Florence's Campanile and in some of his other contemporary works. The skin of Saint Rossore's face, his hair and beard, the steel armor, and especially the soft wool mantle over it are all convincingly real and almost demand to be touched. At the same time, the mantle draped across the figure's chest, when seen from the front, seems to suggest that there is a small base beneath the bust. This reminded contemporary viewers that what they were seeing was not a real person but a sacred container being offered to them on the folds of a precious cloth, in the same way liturgical instruments were displayed at the time.

In a seminal article of 1970, Irving Lavin demonstrated that this work played a pivotal role in the transition from the medieval reliquary bust type to that of the Renaissance portrait bust. The importance of this bust lies not just in its sophisticated realism, but also in the sculptor's acute understanding of the rules that governed such works and, moreover, his ability to bend convention forcefully to his own ends. The rather abrupt horizontal cut that terminates the figure so effectively just



below the shoulders offers a good example of this skill. In sacred art, this compositional device traditionally served to give structural stability to what was essentially a container for relics. When transferred to the new realm of three-dimensional, secular portraits, the device carried with it the "memory" of its origins, thereby strongly reinforcing the biblical and Platonic concept of the body as a vessel or casing for the soul. Although fifteenth-century Italian portrait busts may seem perfect counterparts to Netherlandish paintings on panel, they betray a different etymology in terms of the importance their makers ascribed to psychological expression, which was absent from northern European art at that time. It was this difference that opened the way for the assimilation of the ancient rhetoric of gestures and expressions into fifteenth-century sculpture—something already evident in Mino da Fiesole's 1453 portrait bust of Piero de' Medici (cat. 47). After this turning point, the give-and-take between these artistic genres was reversed, and solutions explored in the Renaissance portrait bust became, in turn, sources for contemporary reliquary busts. For example, a reliquary bust of Saint Lawrence of about 1500, now in the treasury of the cathedral in Gorizia, takes the motif of the turned head from the portrait of Piero de' Medici (or one of the many works that derive from it) as a way of signifying the saint's refusal to sacrifice to false idols—a concept that the older reliquary bust of Saint Rossore successfully expressed, as Moskowitz correctly observed, without deviating from the tradition of rigorous, hierarchical frontality. MCO

Provenance Convent of the Ognissanti, Florence (until 1570); Corvi family; their donation to the church of Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri, Pisa (1591–1977); Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa (from 1977)

Selected References Fontana 1895; Lányi 1939, pp. 9–23; Janson 1957, vol. 2, pp. 56–59; Grassi 1958, p. 65; Lavin 1970, p. 212; Moskowitz 1981, pp. 41–48; Bennet and Wilkins 1984, pp. 34–35, 184–87; Pope-Hennessy and Ragionieri 1985, pp. 10, 82; Rosenauer in Detroit–Fort Worth–Florence 1985–86, pp. 121–22 (Ital. ed., pp. 136–38); Poeschke 1990, p. 99; Avery 1991, p. 39; Collareta 1992, pp. 102–8; Rosenauer 1993, pp. 92–94, 102–3; Miller and Taylor-Mitchell 2006, pp. 685–88

Masaccio (Tommaso di Ser Giovanni; San Giovanni Val d'Arno, 1401–1428, Rome)

2. *Profile of a Man*

ca. 1426–27
Tempera on wood, 16⅛ × 11⅞ in. (41 × 30 cm)
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (P15e26)

In November 1898, Bernard Berenson purchased this painting from the Florentine dealer Costantini on behalf of Isabella Stewart Gardner. Although he listed the picture under Masaccio's name in his posthumously published lists of 1963, we know he had doubts about its authorship (see Mesnil 1927), as have other critics. The compromised condition of the picture is largely to blame, for the colors have altered dramatically; the copper resonate green of the undergarment and the blue background have darkened, making the red of the turban—the *mazzocchio*—appear too intense. Also, the face has lost most of its modeling, so that the underdrawing for the lower lid of the eye, which was intended to confer resemblance, now reads as exaggerated and schematic.

Despite the problematic condition, last addressed in a restoration of 1980, the portrait has an extraordinary presence. The figure is not in strict profile—we see the far shoulder—and this greatly enhances the effect of three-dimensionality, to which the layered clothing also contributes. The reference to sculpted portrait busts is obvious. The face, defined by its sharp contour, is modeled like sculpture, and in the best-preserved areas, such as the ear, which seems to have been made from a template, the effect is very volumetric. The three-dimensional effect of the *mazzocchio* is emphasized by being cut at the right edge of the picture: an effect that must have been intended by the artist, since the panel cannot have been much larger. At the same time, great care was taken describing the sitter's hair and the fur trimming of his cloak.

Cumulatively, these traits point to Masaccio as the author and suggest comparison with various portraits by him in the Brancacci Chapel frescoes in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence, especially the bystanders in the scene of Saint Peter preaching. The construction of the drapery and the remnants of highlights on the cheeks bear comparison with passages in Masaccio's Pisa Altarpiece of 1426 (the main panel is in the National Gallery, London), while the attention to minute details is found in some of his later paintings. An impressive freehand underdrawing for the *mazzocchio* is visible in infrared and supports the attribution to him (see Boskovits



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1997), despite the doubts expressed by some scholars (Paul Joannides [1994] and Franco and Stefano Borsi [Borsi and Borsi 1998] refer to the portrait as Florentine, ca. 1430). Comparisons with the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel and the surviving portions of the Pisa Altarpiece point to a date about 1426–27, making this the earliest surviving independent portrait in fifteenth-century Florence. Masaccio can thus be seen to have played a groundbreaking role in establishing the tradition of the profile portrait in Florence, first for male portraits and then female (see cats. 3, 4, 6).

It is tempting to follow Mario Salmi and associate the Gardner portrait with Giorgio Vasari's claim that there existed in his time portraits by Masaccio in the house of Simone Corsi (Vasari 1966–97 ed., vol. 3, bk. 1, p. 130; for the links between the Corsi and Brancacci families during the fifteenth century, see Borsi and Borsi 1998). These portraits, said to represent the most famous artists and citizens of Florence, were of the same men Masaccio depicted in his fresco showing the consecration of Santa Maria del Carmine, in 1422: the so-called *Sagra*. We possess drawings, some by Michelangelo, after the fresco, which was destroyed in 1599, and these confirm that the fresco included a number of figures that were seen in profile (see Gilbert 1969, Savelli 1998) but were dressed differently from the subject of the Gardner portrait. This being so, a direct association of the portrait with the *Sagra* remains problematic. It is nonetheless interesting to note that Carl Brandon Strehlke (2007, pp. 109–10) has proposed that the *Sagra* was possibly painted after January 1426 rather than immediately after the consecration of the church, in 1422. If this is true, it would mean the fresco was contemporary with the date suggested here for the Gardner portrait.

In addition to the obvious reference to sculpted busts, the possible connection of the Gardner portrait with the *Sagra* indicates that the independent portrait in fifteenth-century Florence emerged from the tradition of including portraits of donors and famous men in public frescoes (see Strehlke 2007, p. 112). This is quite different from the courtly tradition of profile portraits, with its conscious references to ancient medals and coins. In Florence the impetus was chiefly humanistic rather than dynastic. It stemmed from the desire to be remembered as a citizen and an individual rather than to assert noble lineage and legitimacy. This difference explains the absence of any heraldic emblem or inscription in the portrait. NR

Provenance [Costantini, Florence]; Bernard Berenson (1898); Isabella Stewart Gardner, Boston (1899)

Selected References Longhi (1927) 1967, vol. 1, pp. 140–42; Mesnil 1927, p. 70 n. 1; Salmi 1948, p. 177; Hatfield 1965, p. 331; Hendy 1974, pp. 160–61; Hadley 1987, pp. 158–61, 169–70; Joannides 1993, p. 456; Boskovits 1997, pp. 259–60; Borsi and Borsi 1998, p. 268

Florentine artist (Paolo Uccello?)

3. *Profile of a Man*

ca. 1430–40

Tempera on poplar panel, 16¾ × 12¾ in. (42.4 × 32.5 cm)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Andrew W. Mellon Collection (1937.1.14)

This painting is so obviously linked with catalogue numbers 2 and 4 that the unprepared visitor to this exhibition might think that they formed part of an extended series. Moreover, if these three pictures are compared with four others (for which, see Boskovits 1997, pp. 255–57), their importance for the history of the independent portrait in Florence becomes evident. The parallels among the three pictures exhibited here extend from the profile format to the analogous costume and turban; in all three the shoulders are seen from slightly above and are angled to the picture plane, while the face is viewed in strict profile. It seems likely that although the pictures are by different artists, they all refer back—possibly at the request of a particular patron—to the same prototype.

Although the Washington portrait was surely painted in Florence between about 1420 and 1445, its authorship is a matter of debate. This is partly a result of its similarity to the other two portraits exhibited here, but also because of the restrictions of the profile format. The state of its conservation is also problematic and inhibits a definitive attribution (see Boskovits in Boskovits and Brown 2003, p. 453). Most often accepted is Masaccio, and it is under this name that the painting was listed and reproduced in lithograph when it was in the Artaud de Montor collection in the early nineteenth century (see Montor 1843). The attributions in that catalogue are often fantastical, but it may be significant in this case; Miklós Boskovits has argued that perhaps the artist's name appeared on the original frame, which is now lost. In any case, when, after more than a century, the panel resurfaced in 1936, Bernard Berenson immediately ascribed it to Masaccio, and he has been followed by a number of scholars (see Boskovits in Boskovits and Brown 2003 for a complete discussion). Nonetheless, the comparison with Masaccio's portrait in the Isabella Stewart



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Gardner Museum, Boston (cat. 2), has always seemed problematic, even to scholars who believed they were painted by the same artist. Boskovits, for example, believed the Washington portrait was among the earliest works by Masaccio, realized under the influence of Gentile da Fabriano.

And yet the descriptive character makes one think less of Gentile da Fabriano than of Netherlandish portraiture, as does the parapet, probably never included in Masaccio's portrait in the Gardner Museum but found in the Chambéry portrait (cat. 4), where it bears an inscription, as was current in Netherlandish models. These clues point toward a date later than the early 1420s, when Eyckian portraits were surely not yet known in Florence (Boskovits [1997, p. 257] attempted to date the work on the basis of the turban and haircut of the sitter, but this only provides a terminus ante quem of about 1440). The style of the picture is evidently linked with Masaccio's art, but it is less angular and hesitant than what we find in his first dated work, the *San Giovenale Triptych* of 1422, and it lacks the sharpness of his mature productions. Rather, the Washington picture seems to occupy an intermediate position between the prototype by Masaccio in the Gardner and the portrait at Chambéry, here attributed to Domenico Veneziano and dated about 1440–42.

It is worth reconsidering the attribution to Paolo Uccello made in the early twentieth century, even though it was only on the basis of the lithograph published in the Artaud de Montor catalogue (interestingly, Fern Rusk Shapley [1979, vol. 1, p. 182 n. 3] records that in 1975 Federico Zeri was also tempted to ascribe the picture to Uccello, although he published the painting as by Masaccio in Fredericksen and Zeri 1972). Such a suggestion must remain tentative, as the portraits that may be securely ascribed to Uccello and dated to the 1430s are very different in style. Both the much-worn *Profile of a Man* in the Indianapolis Museum of Art and a magnificent drawing in the Gabinetto dei Disegni in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, show a greater three-dimensionality, a quality one would expect of an artist deeply interested in perspective (evident in the dramatically foreshortened ear in both works). Unlike Masaccio, however, Uccello changed his manner constantly throughout his career, and this is why his oeuvre is still the subject of so much debate (see, for example, the proposals in Kanter 2000). What makes one think of Uccello is not only the pattern made by the collar of the exposed shirt but the curvilinear quality of the profile, which is far removed from the sharp delineation found in Masaccio's work. The Washington profile should be compared with some of the heads that appear in the borders of a celebrated cycle of frescoes in a chapel in the cathedral of Prato painted by Uccello in the early or mid-1430s.

If the Gardner portrait was commissioned from Masaccio following his employment on the fresco of the so-called *Sagra* in the cloister of Santa Maria del Carmine (see cat. 2), which included a large number of portraits, the present picture and the one in Chambéry might be thought of as updated responses by two different artists, but both destined for the same family. We know that the sudden death of Masaccio in 1428 conferred on his Florentine creations an aura; this explains how a number of early portraits might have come to be considered his work, resulting in Vasari's statement that he had seen many portraits by Masaccio based on the *Sagra* in the house of his friend Simone Corsi. NR

Provenance Alexis-François Artaud de Montor, Paris (before 1811–49; his sale, Hôtel des ventes mobilières, Paris, January 16–17, 1851, no. 115); John Hahn, Paris; [Jules Féral, Paris]; [Duveen Brothers, Inc., London and New York, 1936]; The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh (from 1936)

Selected References Montor 1843, p. 45, no. 115 and pl. 49; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, p. 123; Shapley 1979, vol. 1, pp. 181–82; Joannides 1993, pp. 460–61; Boskovits 1997, pp. 257–59; Boskovits in Boskovits and Brown 2003, pp. 453–57

Attributed to Domenico Veneziano (documented from 1438–1461, Florence)

4. *Profile of a Man*

ca. 1440–42

Tempera on wood, 18¼ × 14⅜ × ½ in. (46.5 × 36.4 × 1.2 cm); painted surface, 16¼ × 12⅜ in. (41.3 × 31.5 cm)

Inscribed: EL FIN FATVTTO (the end makes all)

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Chambéry (M 930)

Described in a 1911 catalogue as by the "school of Pisanello" (Carotti), this impressive portrait was the subject of a brilliantly polemical article by Roberto Longhi in 1927. While insisting on the exceptional quality of the picture, Longhi discussed it together with the *Profile of a Man* in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (cat. 2), contrasting what he saw as Masaccio's "hasty and imposing affirmation of the body" to this one, in which "the effigy, so neatly defined, is gently sited like a fortress on the arch of his garments, crowned by a *mazzocchio* that is not so much pressed down as wrapped around in astral orbits" (Longhi [1927] 1967, p. 141).

With this remarkable ekphrasis, Longhi laid the foundation for making a distinction between the artists of the two pictures. He considered the Chambéry portrait the later of the two and the work of Paolo Uccello, a protagonist of what he termed the "perspectivist tendency." Although Bernard Berenson, Mario Salmi, and Luciano Berti—three antagonists of Longhi's—favored an attribution to Masaccio, Longhi's reasoned attribution to Uccello was taken up in the art-historical literature from the late 1920s to the 1960s, even finding its way into popular culture: the picture acquired the nickname "L'Inconnu d'Uccello," the unknown man by Uccello. (This sobriquet was the title of a novel written in 1993 by the former mayor of Chambéry, André Gilbertas, who imagined the theft and subsequent restitution of the picture, a plot that, mysteriously, was played out in real life in 1999.) Only in recent decades has the attribution to Uccello been more frequently called into question, without, however, any alternative consensus emerging (see Joannides 1993 and Borsi and Borsi 1992).

In 1997, Miklós Boskovits made a forceful case for attributing the picture to Domenico Veneziano, an opinion that had already been put forward, albeit more tentatively, by Enzo Carli and Alessandro Parronchi. This attribution has not gained favor in the subsequent literature, but it warrants serious consideration. As Boskovits emphasized, the portraits in Domenico's tondo of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, although different in scale, have a similarly sharp delineation of the profile. Moreover, the physiognomy and drapery patterns can be compared to those in Domenico's major work, the main panel of the Saint Lucy Altarpiece in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence: for instance, between the cloth trailing from the *mazzocchio* and the dress of the Virgin. The hairs overlapping the *mazzocchio* are done with the precision so characteristic of Domenico's work.

The Chambéry portrait can be dated to about 1440–42, a moment when Domenico's approach to painting ran parallel to that of Uccello, whose influence is readily apparent in the Berlin tondo painted for the Medici around 1439–40. (As is the case with a female portrait by Domenico, the tondo is listed in the 1492 inventory of the Medici collection but ascribed to "Pesell[in]o.") If we grant that Domenico was aware of Masaccio's *Profile of a Man* now in the Gardner Museum, as the angled positioning of the shoulders suggests, then we must also allow that he was looking at Uccello's work. One possible model is the *Profile of a Man* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., which can be attributed to Uccello himself (cat. 3). In both the Chambéry and Washington portraits, we find a device absent from Masaccio's portrait: a painted ledge or parapet intended to enhance the illusionistic effect. This device derives from Netherlandish portraits, which began to arrive in Florence in the 1430s (see Rohlmann 1994, Nuttall 2004); it here bears the somewhat enigmatic motto EL FIN FATVTTO—literally, "the end makes all"—signifying, perhaps, that death is the great equalizer (see Berger, but also the different, less convincing reading of Hatfield; Jean Lipman and John Pope-Hennessy wrongly believed the inscription was apocryphal). The inscription on the weathered parapet in Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of a Man* in the National Gallery, London, reads LEAL SOVVENIR (loyal remembrance, or a faithful record) and may thus assert that the function of the portrait was both commemorative and to serve as a truthful likeness (see L. Campbell 1998, p. 222). In Domenico's portrait, the connotation seems distinctly funerary (a male portrait in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon, probably painted in Florence in the 1470s, bears a related inscription, EL TENPO CONSVMA, or "time consumes"; see Laclotte 2003). Indeed, the association of portraiture with death, far from being novel, was known from antiquity. Moreover, in about 1425 Masaccio explicitly combined the two in his fresco of the Trinity in the church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence, where we find beneath the figures of the kneeling donor and his wife (recently identified by Alessandro Cecchi [2002]) a skeleton and the inscription,



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translated as "I was once what you are, and what I am you will become." Despite the skeleton and inscription, the fresco was painted while the two donors were still alive, and this is probably the case with the Chambéry portrait as well. Certainly the quality of observation in it suggests an image based on life. Only after midcentury did it become common to portray sitters who had already died as living (see cat. 43). NR

Provenance Bequest of Hector Garriod (1883)

Selected References Carotti 1911, p. 151; Longhi (1927) 1967, pp. 137–42; Berenson 1932, p. 335; Salmi 1932, p. 111; Lipman 1936, p. 101; Carli 1954, p. 69; Berti 1964, pp. 82 and 144 n. 233; Hatfield 1965, p. 325; Pope-Hennessy 1969, pp. 148–51; Parronchi 1974, pp. 48, 53; Jean-Paul Rioux in Paris 1980–81, pp. 65–66 ; Borsi and Borsi 1992, p. 345; Boskovits 1997, p. 260; Berger 2000, pp. 227–28; Chantal Fermex de Mongex in Bourg-en-Bresse–Chambéry–Valence 2001, p. 281

Fra Angelico (documented in Florence, 1417–1455, Rome) and workshop

5. *Head of a Cleric*

ca. 1448

Metal point on prepared ocher surface, heightened with white and touches of pen ink, 7½ × 6¾ in. (18.9 × 17.3 cm)

Verso: *Saint Lawrence, Woman Holding a Child, and Youth with Clasped Hands*

Lent by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (RL 12812)

The verso of this drawing makes identification a simple matter: the group of figures it depicts is directly related to the frescoes for the chapel of Pope Nicholas V, completed in the Vatican palace by Fra Angelico and his workshop about 1448 (for the dating, see De Simone 2009, pp. 129–30). The somewhat imprecise quality of these studies, noticeable in certain anatomical details, suggests they are copies after rather than preparatory studies for the frescoes, or possibly even copies of copies. This hypothesis is supported by another drawing that represents Saint Lawrence and the same woman holding a child (Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 5578; see Di Benedetti in Montefalco 2002).

The study of the bust on the recto has a much greater visual impact, largely the result of a different technique: the paper was tinted an ocher color, against which the highlighted areas stand out in bright lead white. This technique was commonly used in Florence at the time, especially in the studio of Fra Angelico (see Pia Palladino in New York 2005–6b, pp. 251–56). A striking contrast between the two sides of the drawing is also evident in the subtle execution of this single figure, especially in the reflected lights toward the back of the head and neck, and in the minute hatching on the forehead.

This discrepancy in quality raises a problem of attribution: if the verso can be ascribed generically to the studio of Fra Angelico, the *Head of a Cleric*—whose quality is exceptional despite a small imprecision in the three-quarter view—should be considered the work of a highly gifted hand. Two possibilities present themselves: either the drawing is by Fra Angelico and should be considered as a model given by the master to his pupils (see Berenson 1903, vol. 1, p. 4; Pope-Hennessy 1974; and De Marchi in Florence 1990), or it is the work of the most famous of Angelico's pupils at the time, Benozzo Gozzoli (see especially Popham and Wilde 1949; Padoa Rizzo 1972; De Marchi 2002b; and Di Benedetti in Montefalco 2002).

Another drawing also in the Royal Library (inv. RL 12811) bears direct comparison to the present example. On the reverse side of some figure studies, probably studies after late fourteenth-century frescoes, is the bust of a young man on a colored, slightly darker ground. Here the use of the white highlights is more schematic, suggesting the hand of Gozzoli. The very distinct stylistic contrast between the two works would thus lead us to attribute the *Head of a Cleric* to Fra Angelico himself (see Clayton 1993 for a more complete analysis).

The closest comparison for the *Head of a Cleric* in Fra Angelico's painted oeuvre is not to be found in Rome, surprisingly, but in Orvieto. During the summer of 1447, Fra Angelico and his workshop began work on a Last Judgment on the vault of the San Brizio Chapel in the cathedral, which was left incomplete. (Despite the desire expressed by Benozzo Gozzoli to finish the work in 1449, the decoration was finished only at the turn of the century, by Luca Signorelli.) Framing the central representation are several heads that emerge through a peculiar modulation of light and cast shadows. The most remarkable among them are usually attributed to Angelico or Gozzoli; more recently, they have been ascribed to another, anonymous painter (see Toscano 2002). The fact that one of them seems slightly weaker in execution and, at the same time, related to Gozzoli's hand makes the attribution of the finest ones to Fra Angelico more likely, confirming to some extent our analysis of the Windsor drawings. The *Head of a Cleric* may have been made as part of the artist's preparation for the fresco at Orvieto; there is also the possibility that it was for the decoration of one of the destroyed fresco cycles realized by Fra Angelico in Rome in the following years (at least three are documented; but see also De Simone 2002).

It is difficult to know whether this bust was intended primarily as a study of light and tone or as a proper portrait (Bernard Berenson 1903 suggested it might represent Saint Lawrence, but the cleric is not wearing a dalmatic, as noted by Andrea De Marchi in Florence 1990). The sitter's expression, while intense, lacks a quality of interiority, and the physiognomic features are more generic than in other Florentine portraits of the same period (see cats. 2–4; as far as we know, Fra Angelico never made independent portraits). Some of the friar's sacred frescoes do, however, show a great concern for portraiture, as can be seen in the monumental *Crucifixion* in the chapter house of the convent of San Marco in Florence. Carefully depicted at the bottom of this fresco are the ancestors of the Dominican order, a foreshadowing of the figures in Orvieto (it is because of their portraitlike character that Fiorella Sricchia Santoro [2003, pp. 58–60] wrongly, but significantly, attributed



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some of these heads to the French painter Jean Fouquet, who made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he painted a now-lost portrait of Pope Eugenius IV in 1447). In contrast to the sacred scenes themselves, where the figures are idealized even though they sometimes function as crypto-portraits, the subsidiary areas of the fresco field allowed Fra Angelico to express himself in a genre of portraiture that he could not otherwise address directly because of its profane nature. These "portraits in the margins" were not uncommon in Florentine art: Lorenzo Ghiberti, most notably, included a self-portrait in the framework of the two bronze doors he realized for the Baptistery. The close connections between Fra Angelico and Ghiberti (see Middeldorf 1955) make possible a direct comparison based on this example and explain the way the figures emerge through

shadow into light in the Windsor drawings and in the Orvieto frescoes, an effect that bestows both sculptural volume and a greater sense of "apparition" (what Carl Brandon Strehlke [2005, p. 211] called "temporality"). This device was later reused in Florence, for example, in the medallion portraits surrounding the fresco of the Adoration of the Shepherds painted by Alesso Baldovinetti in the Santissima Annunziata. NR

Provenance King George III (r. 1760–1820), whose monogram appears on verso

Selected References Berenson 1903, vol. 1, p. 4 and vol. 2, p. 9, no. 163; Popham and Wilde 1949, p. 172, no. 10; Padoa Rizzo 1972, p. 109; Pope-Hennessy 1974, p. 236; De Marchi in Florence 1990, p. 102, no. 14; Clayton 1993, pp. 19–21; De Marchi 2002b, p. 65; Patrizia Di Benedetti in Montefalco 2002, p. 194; Melli 2009b, p. 65

Fra Filippo Lippi (Florence, ca. 1406–1469, Spoleto)

6. *Portrait of a Woman and a Man at a Casement*

ca. 1440–44

Tempera on wood, 25¼ × 16 ½ in. (64.1 × 41.9 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Marquand Collection, Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1889 (89.15.19)

This is one of the defining works of Italian portraiture: the earliest surviving double portrait, the first to place the female sitter in a notional interior, and the first to include a landscape background. Each of these novelties was to be taken up and developed by other artists only later in the century (see cats. 43, 14, 26). On the basis of the coat of arms displayed by the male sitter, Joseph Breck tentatively identified the couple as the Florentine Lorenzo di Ranieri Scolari (a relation of the celebrated general Pippo Spano) and Angiola di Bernardo Sapiti, who are usually said to have been married in 1436 (see Litta 1819–83, fasc. 67 (1850), disp. 122, tav. I and IV); however, according to information kindly supplied to me by Katalin Prajda, they were still unmarried in 1439. Although the dark pigment of the coat of arms is a deteriorated blue rather than the expected black, Prajda notes that the Scolari employed a number of variations. She is currently pursuing the possibility that the Scolari coat of arms here may have been intended to identify the female rather than the male sitter. Certainly, Dieter Jansen's alternative proposal—that the male sitter is Giacomo Ferrero of Piedmont (1438–1519)—can be dismissed both because the arms are not his (*or*, three bends sable; see Spreti 1928–35, vol. 3, p. 150) and because it implies an improbable date in the 1460s.

Lippi has left us a number of altarpieces that include donor portraits, and these allow us confidently to date the Metropolitan's portrait to about 1440–44, contemporary with the *Annunciation* in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome (see Christiansen in Urbino 2005, pp. 139–43). That altarpiece also provides close analogies for the landscape seen through a window. Although there is the possibility that the picture was commissioned to celebrate the birth of a child, the sumptuous clothes and many rings worn by the woman are appropriate for a bride (for a description of the garments, see Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, pp. 255–56), as is the motto *lealtà* (loyalty) embroidered in gold threads and seed pearls on her ermine-lined sleeve. The male is no less expensively garbed in scarlet (*cremisi*) and wears a hat designating his high social rank (a type worn not only by rulers such as Federigo da Montefeltro and Ludovico Gonzaga, but also by members of their court and by a poet shown on the frontispiece of a literary manuscript in the Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan [Cod. N. 763]; it is also worn by the innkeeper in the predella of Lippi's *Annunciation* in the church of San Lorenzo, Florence, a work of about 1440).

In this innovative portrait, Lippi retained the conventional profile view of both sitters but included their hands. As with most later portraits, he situated the female in a domestic interior, the boxlike shape and steeply foreshortened ceiling of which are plainly adopted from depictions of the Madonna and Child (Donatello's so-called *Pazzi Madonna* in the Bode-Museum, Berlin, and Lo Scheggia's *Madonna and Child with Two Angels* in the Museo Horne, Florence). By contrast, the male stands outside the room, gazing through a lateral window opening, while a second window offers a view onto a landscape that, it has been suggested, may record property belonging to the family.

The degree to which Lippi generalized the features of the sitters is as notable as the implausibility of the "room" that encases the woman. One need only compare their features with the portraits he included in the roughly contemporary *Coronation of the Virgin* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) to see the degree to which detailed physiognomic description has been suppressed. The difference in intent comes to the fore if Lippi's portrait is compared to Petrus Christus's 1446 portrait of Edward Grimston (Collection of Lord Verulam, on loan to the National Gallery, London), in which the highly individualized sitter is placed in a far more plausible room, with careful attention given to light falling through the panes of a circular leaded-glass window. This comparison is important, since there has been a persistent attempt to link Lippi's innovations to his awareness of Netherlandish practice.



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Lippi's two figures occupy different planes in space, with the female figure dominant and the male in a subordinate position, as an observer. Examination with infrared reflectography demonstrates that the artist carefully rethought the placement of the woman's hands, one over the other, to achieve an effect of demure self-possession, as was thought befitted a woman. More interesting, the male sitter was initially shown with one hand raised to just below his chin, actively gesturing: he was not simply an observer but an interlocutor.

Robert Baldwin (1986a) has emphasized the importance of the gaze in amatory poetry and suggests the pertinence to the picture of a verse from the Song of Solomon (2:9) in which the bridegroom—in biblical exegeses understood to be Christ—"stands outside our wall, peeping in at the windows, glancing through the lattice." The motif of the lover first seeing his beloved at a window is something of a topos in Renaissance literature. It is found in a thirteenth-century canzone by Giacomino Pugliese ("Ispendiente Stella d'albore") and is represented in a fragment of a fifteenth-century Sienese *cassone* panel from the workshop of Liberale da Verona that illustrates a novella (see Solomon and Syson in London 2007–8, pp. 213–15). The motif is also a feature of Enea Silvio Piccolomini's (later Pope Pius II) *Story of Two Lovers*, which contains a description of the beautiful Lucretia that reads like a running commentary on Lippi's portrait:

> Her lofty forehead, of good proportions, was without a wrinkle, and her arched eyebrows were dark and slender. . . . Such was the splendour of her eyes that, like the sun, they dazzled all who looked on them. . . . Her nose was straight in contour, evenly dividing her rosy cheeks. . . . A small and well-shaped mouth. . . . Nothing in that body but was praiseworthy, for her exterior witnessed to her inner beauty. Her dress was elaborate: necklaces and brooches, girdles and bracelets, all were there, and marvelous fillets about her head, while on her fingers and in her hair were many pearls and diamonds (trans. Flora Grierson, 1929).

In Lippi's portrait the elaborately coiffed and dressed *donzella* is offered not only to the possessive gaze of her male suitor-husband, but to the admiration of the viewer.

Alison Wright (2000) is surely correct that the sharply defined shadow cast by the male sitter onto the back wall relates to Pliny's well-known account of the origin of painting, in which a lover traces the contours of the shadow cast by her beloved (*Natural History* 35.5.15, 43.151). Quintilian, too, refers to this story (*Institutio oratoria* 10.2.7), to which Leon Battista Alberti makes reference in his treatise on painting, *De Pictura*. Important for our purposes, Quintilian cites the story as a criticism of art as mere imitation. The shadow can thus be understood not only as a record of the lover's features, but as an invitation to read the picture as a poetic conceit—something we would expect from the artist described by Cristoforo Landino as "artificioso sopra modo" (artful beyond measure) in his 1480 commentary to the *Divine Comedy*.

Viewed in this way, Lippi's innovations suggest the intention to create a visual analogue to the conceits of Petrarchan poetry. The picture asserts portraiture as a poetic evocation rather than a mere commemoration of a betrothal, marriage, or birth; an idealized representation rather than a record of the actual appearance of the sitters. It is this richly allusive conception of portraiture that Botticelli, Lippi's great pupil, was to take to even greater heights (see cat. 14). KC

Provenance Private collection, Florence (until ca. 1829); Reverend John Sanford, Nynehead Court, Wellington, Somerset, and London (ca. 1829–d. 1855; bequeathed to Methuen); Lord Methuen, Corsham Court, Chippenham, Wilts. (1855–83; sold to Marquand); Henry G. Marquand, New York (1883–89)

Selected References Breck 1913, pp. 44–55; Pope-Hennessy and Christiansen 1980, pp. 56–59; Baldwin 1986a, pp. 30–34; Baldwin 1986b, pp. 7–12; Jansen 1987–88, pp. 97–121; Tietzel 1991, pp. 17–38; Ruda 1993, pp. 85–88, 385–86; Mannini and Fagioli 1997, pp. 92–93; Holmes 1999, pp. 129–30; Wright 2000, p. 96; Christiansen in Milan–New York 2004–5, pp. 150–52; New York 2007a, p. 44; Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, pp. 255–56

Fra Filippo Lippi (Florence, ca. 1406–1469, Spoleto)

7. *Portrait of a Lady*

ca. 1445
Tempera on poplar, 19½ × 13 in. (49.5 × 32.9 cm)
Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (1700)

This is among the earliest surviving independent Florentine female portraits. In the summary, shallow modeling of the face, the delicately painted mouth, with its thin lips, and the accentuated contour of the profile, the painting attains a degree of abstraction that is rare in the work of Filippo Lippi, to whom it is unanimously attributed. By contrast, the artist attempted to differentiate between the various fabrics. Small, circular indentations—as though made with a pouncing tool—decorate the sitter's headdress, cuff, and belt as well as the shell above the window and the edges of the painting. These were originally filled. The figure's placement in space is rich with contrasting elements. For example, the sitter's left hand, which grasps the

wide opening of her right sleeve, directs the viewer's eye into the picture's depth. She raises her right hand to her breast, however, angling it slightly toward the viewer. Behind her, an open window provides a view onto a landscape consisting of hills, water, and the silhouette of a city, described with delicate brushstrokes. It is one of the earliest depictions of landscape in an independent portrait (see also cat. 6). Although the panorama has been interpreted as a metaphor for eternity (Brown in Washington 2001–2, p. 110), the purely formal function of this heavenly vista should not be overlooked: the blue of the sky sets off the luminous complexion of the sitter, her pallor indicating her noble virtues (Wolfinger Ledogar 1982, pp. 86–87; Körner 2006, p. 78). What is unusual for the period about 1445—the proposed date for the work—is the fact that Filippo provided his portrait with an enframing architectural setting. Paula Nuttall (2004, p. 212) traces this back to Netherlandish precedents, but it is more likely that Filippo, with this simulated *pietra serena* framework, was incorporating into his portrait compositional devices derived from sacred iconography. Also remarkable is the painter's concern with the representation of light. Filippo carefully modulated the shadow cast by the sitter on to the recess in the lower section of the picture and the embrasure of the niche. He may also have been recollecting portraits included in larger pictorial contexts. As a pupil of Masaccio's and a member of the Carmelite convent of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence, Filippo assisted in the painting of the Brancacci Chapel, which is rich in portraits artfully placed in front of architectural frames such as wall recesses or door openings.

A painting from about 1460 by the Master of the Castello Nativity (*Portrait of a Lady*, for which see Sarti 1998, pp. 162–69; Brown in Washington 2001–2, p. 114) takes up Filippo's formula of the profile bust, but only summarily, and without any architectural backdrop. The Berlin portrait is also frequently cited as a precursor to Verrocchio's *Lady with Primroses* (ca. 1475, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; see Butterfield 1997, p. 97; Covi 2005, p. 137). However, Verrocchio included the subject's hands in his marble bust principally to create a quality of asymmetry and thus greater animation, with the hands holding flowers adding a distinctly spatial effect. And although Lippi's portrait is also cited as a source for Domenico Ghirlandaio's portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid; fig. 33) from about 1488–90 (Brown in Washington 2001–2, p. 190), the only real point in common between the two works is that both place a profile portrait in an architectural setting.

Additional insights into the genesis and meaning of the picture are provided by the changes the artist made during its execution. Initially, there was no lunette over the head of the sitter, only a simple horizontal. In its final form, the painting includes a palmette-like shell, such as Lippi introduced in various forms in other works. More important is the way he changed the position of the sitter's right hand, which initially was placed next to the left one at the picture's bottom edge. Ultimately it was placed on her breast in a gesture already familiar from classical portrait busts (see Brilliant 1963, p. 49). The same gesture is found in depictions of saints and the Virgin of the Annunciation, where it signifies humility and submission to God's will (Syson 2006, p. 98). Transposed into a portrait, the gesture is an indication of the subject's otherwise indiscernible character (see Garnier 1982, pp. 184–85). Accordingly, the gesture here does not convey sensuality and beauty, as is the case with Verrocchio or Leonardo (see fig. 36), but it is an aspect of the iconography of virtue. Moreover, the way the sitter's hand clutches the fine veil, which is blown by an imperceptible breeze, can also be taken as an allusion to virtue, in this case chastity.

In this connection one is reminded of Leon Battista Alberti's extensive descriptions of the virtuous wife and mother in his treatise *Della famiglia* (On the Family), from about 1433–41. Alberti admonishes his male readers not to confine their search for female beauty to a woman's face, but to look for an inner *bellezza*, and thus spiritual qualities and virtuous behavior ("Così stimo le bellezze in una femmina si possono giudicare non pure ne' vezzi e gentilezza del viso. . . . Adunque nella sposa prima si cerchi le bellezze dell'animo, cioè costumi e virtù" [Kraus 1962, pp. 139, 140]). This Neoplatonic notion of the body as the repository of the soul and thus of virtue is elaborated by Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), whose philosophy may have influenced such works as Botticelli's *Portrait of a Youth* from about 1480 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) inasmuch as the subject also places his hand on his breast.

The Berlin portrait includes another significant detail that is important to any interpretation of the work: the cluster of rays, originally in gold but now partially abraded, radiating downward from above the sitter's head. According to Alberti's treatise, a woman's virtues are not inborn; a mother instills by example certain qualities in her children, particularly her daughters, but other qualities can only be divine gifts, in that they cannot be learned. The soul's ability to love and the virtues that derive from love were among those credited to divine inspiration, and Filippo's cluster of rays could be an illustration



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of this notion. This detail links the Berlin portrait to a birth tray in the National Gallery, London, by Apollonio di Giovanni di Tomaso and Marco del Buono Giamberti (ca. 1453–55; Gordon 2003, pp. 37–42). The tray's front illustrates the Petrarchian theme of the triumph of love, while on the back, the sun's rays strike two fruit-bearing trees growing out of family crests. As a further indication that love is a *dono divino*—a divine gift—the marbling design (*rosso di Verona*?) on the back of the Berlin portrait stands for eternity and permanence and thus alludes to the qualities that distinguish a conjugal love characterized by fidelity (see Mundy 1988; Dülberg 1990, pp. 116–27). The prominent rings could also be symbols of faithful love, as they are in religious pictures by Lippi (for example, on the hand of the Virgin in his *Adoration of the Christ Child* in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence).

The dating of the Berlin panel was long in dispute. In the absence of documentary evidence, it has been possible to place it as late as 1465 (see Ruda 1993, p. 413). The clothing offers few clues, since the *cuffia* with a silk veil and the *houppelande* with a wreath of stitched pleats at the waist and long, wide sleeves remained fashionable from 1430 to 1460–70. Comparison with the artist's double portrait in New York (cat. 6), likely painted

in the early 1440s, suggests a date of about 1445. In the Berlin panel there is a better balance between the woman's portrait and the framing space. The subject has been drawn somewhat forward, and the artist's attempts to depict depth are not limited to the architectural elements of the picture space but are applied as well to the figure and her pose, most obviously in the way her left arm reaches back into the depth of the picture as she grasps the hem of her right sleeve. The viewer is presented not only with the skillful foreshortening of the left arm, but also with a glimpse between the folds of the right sleeve.

SW

Provenance John Edward Taylor, London (his sale, Christie's, London, 1912, lot 22; sold to Böhler); [Julius Böhler, Munich]; purchased on the Munich art market for the Gemäldegalerie (April 1913)

Selected References Dülberg 1990, pp. 120–21, no. 145, p. 221; Ruda 1993, pp. 181–82, no. 30, pp. 412–13; Holmes 1999, pp. 115–16, 129; Brown in Washington 2001–2, pp. 110–11, no. 4; Nuttall 2004, pp. 212–13; Syson 2006, p. 98

Antonio (Florence, 1431–1498, Rome) and Piero (Florence, 1441–ca. 1496, Rome) del Pollaiuolo

8. *Portrait of a Lady*

ca. 1460–65

Oil and tempera on poplar panel, 20⅝ × 14⅜ in. (52.5 × 36.5 cm)

Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (1614)

9. *Portrait of a Lady*

ca. 1460–65

Oil and tempera (?) on panel, 18¾ × 13½ in. (47.6 × 34.5 cm)

Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan (442)

10. *Portrait of a Lady*

ca. 1470–75

Tempera on panel, 19¼ × 12⅝ in. (48.9 × 32.2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Edward S. Harkness, 1940 (50.135.3)

In the late fifteenth century, the brothers Antonio and Piero del Pollaiuolo ran an active workshop in Florence, producing sculptures, goldsmith work, and paintings. There was also a considerable graphic output. By 1450, Antonio was already a renowned goldsmith; indeed, various sources, including Benvenuto Cellini's *Dell'Oreficeria*, refer to him as a *disegnatore*, a term signifying his reputation both as a draftsman and a designer. He was also active as a sculptor, in particular of bronzes. Other documents refer solely to Piero as the executing artist for certain paintings (see, for example, Boskovits in Boskovits and Brown 2003, p. 586). From about 1480 Piero ran his own workshop, but the two brothers remained close partners throughout their lives.

The two paintings by the Pollaiuolo brothers from the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, and the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan—presented together in the Berlin venue of this exhibition for the first time—are among the most important works of Quattrocento portraiture. In the sharply silhouetted profile and contrast of the bright flesh tones against a blue sky with delicate fluffy clouds, the brothers contributed significantly to the development of the independent female portrait. A similar clarity and a comparable tendency toward abstraction in representing (ideal) female beauty can be seen in Desiderio da Settignano's *Bust of a Young Woman*, also in Berlin (cat. 12), which looks like a sculptural variation on the visual formula embraced by the Pollaiuolo brothers.

The oil medium employed in both portraits allowed the artists to achieve a novel tactile quality, particularly in the hair, but also in the rendering of the fabrics. The treatment of light is also unusual and, in its luminous colors, most likely draws on the example of Domenico Veneziano (ca. 1410–1461), whose works have been aptly described by Roberto Longhi ([1927] 1963, p. 9) as *pittura di luce* (painting of light).

In addition to the Berlin and Milan panels and an example from New York also in the exhibition (cat. 10), the Pollaiuolo workshop produced two other portraits of ladies, one in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (see Wright 2005, pp. 524–25) and another in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (Wright 2005, p. 523). The group has been the subject of controversy, particularly regarding which work was executed by which brother. Proposed dates range from the 1460s to the early 1490s. The Berlin and Milan portraits share certain technical features: the brushwork is similarly fine and, at the same time, less pastose; the flesh tones also lack the reddish tinge that characterizes the New York and Florence portraits. In both, the colors enhance the sculptural effect by giving greater clarity to the anatomical construction of the figures. It is therefore assumed that they are the work of Antonio del Pollaiuolo, that is, of the brother renowned as both a sculptor and a painter. Stylistically, the two portraits can be compared to the great altarpiece created by the Pollaiuolo brothers in 1466–67 for the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal in San Miniato al Monte,



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Florence (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). There are resonances in particular between the balustrade shown in the altarpiece and that in the Berlin portrait, which is supported by capitals lavishly decorated with rubies. A date from the late 1460s thus seems plausible for both the Berlin and the Milan portraits.

It is worth noting that the New York panel shares certain features with the one in the Uffizi not only in terms of the overall design, but also in the rendering of specific details, such as the *giornea* puffed up behind the shoulder, the fancily draped hair, the pearl necklace with pendant, and the brooches on the chest and head. These similarities suggest that the composition of the New York portrait (which has a problematic state of preservation) draws on the one in the Uffizi, albeit without depicting the same person. Rosettes similar to those adorning the hair in the New York portrait appear on Verrocchio's detailed bust from the mid-1470s in the Frick Collection (cat. 13; Wright 2005, p. 524, no. 55). It is plausible that the portraits from New York and Florence likewise date from about 1475. These two panels cannot be by the same painter, namely Antonio, who produced the Milan and Berlin portraits; they



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clearly differ from the two earlier portraits, not only in technique but also in the lack of clarity in delineation. It is thus likely that the New York portrait was painted by Piero.

The Berlin and Milan portraits are also superior to those in New York and Florence in their rendering of the brocade fabric; that in Berlin is especially remarkable for the use of three different colors. The tight-fitting *giornea* consists of a lighter-colored, off-white top with attached sleeves of brocaded red velvet (see Duits 2008, p. 490) and is decorated with a red and green pattern of pomegranates combined with foliage and palmettes. This pattern identifies the fabric as belonging to the group of textiles known as *de' camini* (see De Gennaro 1987, p. 3). It is repeated—in mirror image—on the other side of the row of fasteners that runs down the middle of the garment. This type of brocade fabric appears in other paintings: for instance, in a panel by Agnolo di Donnino del Mazziere that shows an allegory of peace beneath a centrally parted brocade curtain with a pattern of palmettes, flowers, and tendrils (collection of Enrico Frascione, Florence; see Bartoli in Florence 2010b, pp. 264–65). What is more, fragments of closely related

fabrics with similar colors have survived from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, such as a textile preserved in the Museo del Tessuto, Prato (inv. 81.01.76), that has an earlier Florentine provenance (Moench in Avignon 1997, p. 85; Degl'Innocenti in Boccherini 1999, p. 40). The brocade in the Berlin portrait was thus probably based on actual fabrics and may represent a wedding garment of the kind worn in Florence about 1460–70.

Nothing is known about the identity of the sitters. The conspicuous display of fine jewelry along with the elaborate coiffures seen in the portraits from Milan, Florence, and New York suggest women who married within a class of high social standing. Opulent jewelry reflected a woman's parentage and, at the same time, indicated her *dote*, or dowry. It was not uncommon, in fact, to use borrowed jewelry to display the prestige of the bride. By contrast, the Berlin portrait shows the young woman wearing neither pearls nor gems, nor even a necklace, but merely a plain cloth covering her hair. Another striking element in the Berlin panel is the gem-studded balustrade that creates a backdrop for the portrait bust and partly echoes the colors of the garment. The balustrade here draws on the idea of architecture in the work of Filippo Lippi (see cats. 6, 7) and serves to particularize the setting: the young lady appears on a balcony or in an open loggia. The compositional device of situating a woman before a balustrade became increasingly elaborate in Quattrocento portraiture, evolving into ever more complex architectural settings, as seen in the portrait of the lady in Davide Ghirlandaio's double portrait from Berlin (cats. 40a, b). This panel shows decorative, flat porphyry disks set into the parapet. Since antiquity, porphyry has been regarded in both literature and the visual arts as an (imperial) emblem of sovereignty, the unusually hard—and hard to hew—material symbolizing immortality and eternity (see Mundy 1988; Dülberg 1990, pp. 116–27). These symbolic associations predetermined its use in sepulchral contexts in both classical and modern times, as in the tomb of Cosimo the Elder in San Lorenzo, Florence. Moreover, porphyry symbolizes the presence of the divine, as in the cosmatesque floor pavements of the Baptistery or the chapel of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence. The stone can also signify outstanding virtue (see Andrea del Castagno's cycle of *uomini famosi* formerly in the Villa Carducci, Legnaia, now in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence; see also the reverse of Leonardo's portrait of Ginevra de' Benci (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). Finally, the circular form connotes completeness and perfection and has cosmological significance (Bartoli 1993, p. 27). Botticelli



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painted a prominent, foreshortened porphyry disk in his *Annunciation* for the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala, Florence (1481), while Antonio and Piero del Pollaiuolo themselves used porphyry disks in the foreshortened pavement they painted in the aforementioned altarpiece for the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal.

Few other Florentine portraits of the fifteenth century propound the nexus of virtue and beauty as pointedly as the two paintings from Berlin and Milan. Yet another topos is interwoven here, one that, since Dante, has been associated in poetry and painting with ideals of feminine virtue and beauty: the immaculate brilliance of the flesh tones. Unlike other portraits by the Pollaiuolo brothers, the young woman in the Berlin painting has a strikingly pale complexion; as a result, her face virtually beams, a radiance further enhanced by the blue ground. Dante similarly describes the complexion of his beloved Beatrice as being of a noble, pearly hue, evoking purity and therefore virtue:

Dice di lei Amor: "Cosa mortale / come esser pò sì adorna e sì pura?" / Poi la riguarda, e fra se stesso giura / che Dio ne 'ntenda di far cosa nova. / Color di perle ha quasi, in forma quale / convene a

donna aver, non for misura: / ella è quanto de ben pò far natura; / per essemplo di lei bieltà si prova (*Vita nuova* 9.43–50; Barbi 1932 ed., pp. 76–77).

(Amor says of her: "this mortal thing, / how can it be so pure and adorned?" Then he looks at her and swears to himself / that God's intent was to make something rare. / She has the color of pearl, in form such as / is fitting to a lady, not in excess: / she is the greatest good nature can create") (trans. A. S. Kline).

SW

Provenance Cat. 8: Galerie Massias, Paris (1815); Earl of Ashburnham, London; acquired for the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (1894)

Cat. 9: Palazzo Borromeo, Milan; listed in the inventory of Gian Giacomo Poldi Pezzoli (1897)

Cat. 10: Lord Wemyss, Scotland; bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum by Edward S. Harkness, New York (1940)

Selected References Cat. 8: Sabatini 1944, pp. 13–14, 27; Ortolani 1948, p. 191; Busignani 1970, p. 44; Ettlinger 1978, pp. 160–70; Pons 1994, p. 97; Boskovits in Boskovits and Brown 2003, p. 587; Galli 2003; Wright 2005, p. 519, no. 43 (with earlier bibliography); Lindemann 2010, p. 22

Cat. 9: Sabatini 1944, pp. 27–28; Ortolani 1948, p. 201; Busignani 1970, p. LXIV; Ettlinger 1978, pp. 169–70; Pope-Hennessy and Christiansen 1980–81, p. 61; Natale 1982, pp. 151–52; Pons 1994, pp. 101–4; Boskovits in Boskovits and Brown 2003, p. 587; Galli 2005, p. 24; Wright 2005, pp. 522–23, no. 52 (with earlier bibliography)

Cat. 10: Ettlinger 1978, pp. 169–70; Pope-Hennessy and Christiansen 1980–81, p. 61; Pons 1994, p. 105–6; Brown in Washington 2001–2, pp. 115–17; Wright 2005, p. 524, no. 55 (with earlier bibliography); Krohn in New York 2008–9, pp. 102–3, no. 34; Rühl in Frankfurt 2009–10, pp. 192–93, no. 16

Florentine artist

11. *Profile of a Woman*

ca. 1470–80

Black chalk over metal point, squared in pen and ink, on paper, 14¼ × 8¼ in. (36.3 × 21 cm)

Lent by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (RL 12808)

This reductive profile drawing documents an important facet of the process of portrait making in fifteenth-century Florence. Aside from the metal point used to delineate the essential features of the face and neck of the female sitter, two techniques of reproduction are found: a squared grid, and meticulous pricking along the contours, including now-faded or rubbed passages, such as the elaborate coiffure. The pouncing, or *spolvero*, enabled the sitter's features to be transferred to a panel or wall. Carmen Bambach (1994), who notes that the outlines are rubbed with black pouncing dust, is surely right in terming the Windsor sheet an outline cartoon, squared and pricked for transfer. A. E. Popham and Johannes Wilde (1949), followed by Alison Wright (2000), argue that the drawing was generated from another sheet by means of pouncing and that the grid enabled it to then be transferred to a panel larger than the drawing. But it seems more likely that the grid was used to transcribe the features of the sitter as viewed through a device that Leon Battista Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci called a *velo*, or *velum*: a square frame with horizontal and vertical strings forming a grid that allowed the painter, from a fixed point of view, to reproduce a physiognomy as a record of coordinates (see Ragghianti and Dalli Regoli 1975; this possibility has to remain a hypothesis, as the squaring is unusually fine and as the verso of the sheet shows a similar but incomplete grid, with only the verticals).

This combination of mechanical processes constrained dramatically the artistic freedom of the author of the profile, whose identification is thus highly problematic. The most convincing comparisons can be made with Florentine painters of the 1470s. At one time associated with Leonardo da Vinci (the inventory number "48" is evidence that Francesco Melzi, Leonardo's pupil and heir, was convinced of the attribution to the master), the drawing was linked by Adolfo Venturi to Antonio Pollaiuolo, evidently on the basis of the series of female profile portraits painted by Antonio or his brother, Piero (see cats. 8–10). Popham and Wilde thought the drawing might equally be from the workshop of Andrea del Verrocchio. There are also some formal links with the work of Domenico Ghirlandaio, but a firm attribution remains impossible, at least so long as the sitter remains unidentified (Carlo Lodovico Ragghianti and Gigetta Dalli Regoli thought that the pricking was made from the reverse of the sheet, which would mean that the portrait was conceived facing left, but this is contradicted by Carmen Bambach [1988, vol. 2, p. 480]).

Despite the frozen but not inelegant attitude of the sitter, this portrait bears notable distinguishing marks, such as the bag under the eye, the prominent nose, and the double chin. The modification, or *pentimento*, of the contour of the breast suggests that is was a correction made by the artist in the presence of the model. Thus, although we have no written or literary testimony recording a sitting session such as we think of it today (see Wright 2005), the Windsor drawing serves nonetheless as visual evidence for the practice. The simplicity of the dress and the absence of jewels—key indicators of the social status of the sitter—would be surprising in a finished painting, but perhaps such elaboration was deemed unnecessary at this preliminary stage.



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In terms of how it was used, the Windsor drawing may be understood as the counterpart to a wax cast, the importance of which to the working process of artists in Renaissance Florence should not be underestimated (see Warburg 1902). Thus, for the impression of the face in the cast, one could say that the artist substituted a similarly exacting process that relies on comparably mechanical means. Resemblance here has less to do with the expression of the sitter than with the recording of the physical features of the sitter's face, the profile view being understood as the best possible one for transcribing the face in two dimensions and, perhaps not incidentally, suggesting the mythical origins of painting (according to Pliny, painting originated as a delineation of the beloved's shadow cast on a wall: "shadow portraiture;" see Castelnuovo 1973, p. 1048; L. Campbell 1990, p. 160; and cat. 6). In Quattrocento Florence, the profile portrait was evidently seen as the most "objective" image of a person, functioning in the same way as a photo I.D. would today (see Collareta 2003, pp. 137–38). The stylization of the contour should be understood not, primarily, as a will toward abstraction (as argued by Lipman 1936) but as a means of achieving greater realism (a later study for a profile portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici by Jacopo da Pontormo, realized about 1537, is in this sense indicative, as the exact measurements are carefully noted [see L. Campbell 1990, p. 162, fig. 175]).

In Florence, the persistence of the profile pose for women, but not for men, until the last quarter of the century remains problematic. Following the ideas of Patricia Simons (1992, p. 52), Joanna Woods-Marsden (2001, p. 69) suggested it was maintained so that the female sitter avoided eye contact with the viewer, but the long tradition of profile portraits for male sitters makes this interpretation seem too simplistic. (The supposed nobility of the profile view from the right, reserved for men—as argued by Wright [2005, p. 118]—is also contradicted by a number of examples.) More interesting is the proposal that the fifteenth-century viewer memorized more easily the silhouette of the profile than we do now (see Lipman 1936, p. 60; Bleyl 1986, p. 184–85; and Cieri Via 1989, p. 88 n. 65; for an alternative view, see Wright 2000, p. 98; and Wright 2005, p. 451 n. 31). What seems certain is that the ideal of female beauty was much more closely associated with the profile view than it is today (for an early written source, see Collareta 2003, p. 147 n. 32). NR

Provenance Probably King George III (r. 1760–1820)

Selected References Popham and Wilde 1949, p. 178; Ragghianti and Dalli Regoli 1975, pp. 37–38; Bambach 1988, vol. 2, p. 480; Bambach 1994, pp. 18–19; Wright 2005, p. 128

Desiderio da Settignano
(Settignano, ca. 1430–1464, Florence)

12. *Bust of a Young Woman (Marietta di Lorenzo Strozzi?)*

ca. 1462

Marble, H. 20⅝ in. (52.5 cm)

Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (77)

This bust is, in my considered opinion, the most important surviving example of female portraiture in Florentine sculpture prior to Verrocchio (see cat. 13). An essentially similar conclusion was reached by sixteenth-century writers on art—if, that is, one permits that the work can be identified as Desiderio da Settignano's portrait of Marietta Strozzi (as indeed seems to be the case), which was often praised by, among others, Giorgio Vasari. Nevertheless, there is no contemporary documentation either to authenticate or to identify the Berlin piece, and like almost all sculpted busts of women (and children)—and unlike those of men—it bears no inscriptions. The result is that there is no agreement in the modern literature about how to interpret it, either historically or stylistically.

The well-preserved bust was acquired in Florence by the Berlin museums as early as 1842. Several decades later it was recognized as an autograph work by Desiderio and, indirectly, as the portrait of the young woman so celebrated in the historical sources (Bode 1888; Bode 1889). Between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century another eight female busts in styles more or less related to Desiderio's entered major museum collections of Italian sculpture (Florence, Berlin, Paris, New York, and Washington; catalogued by Cardellini 1962, pp. 180–87, 198–205, 248–51, 272–74). These works were all eventually assigned to the master himself, although with variable frequency. Clearly, however, they could not all be by Desiderio. Therefore, over the course of time scholars grew wary, and the authenticity of some of these pieces was called into question (a fate not uncommon for Renaissance sculptures that are genuine, but of lesser quality, and that first appeared in the literature with ambitious attributions).

The Berlin bust suffered from the same circumstances. Although its superior quality spared it from excessively severe judgments, it was nevertheless reascribed to Antonio Rossellino, an attribution that precluded any possibility that the young woman might be identified as Marietta Strozzi (Pope-Hennessy 1958, pp. 59–60, 301, 304, pl. 58). The solution in favor of Rossellino (which was complicated by the fact that some believed the bust to be by Antonio's brother, Bernardo) is less widely accepted today but has not entirely disappeared from the literature (see Coonin 2009). Significantly, some scholars who initially accepted this proposal have since reconsidered the work, changing their opinion in favor of Desiderio (Markham 1964, pp. 241, 244, 247; Markham Schulz 1991, p. 389).

Multiple, direct, and extensive comparisons of these busts have allowed us to establish that they were made by several different artists and that none can compete in quality with the Berlin example. The Weisbach piece, also in Berlin, is an autograph work by Gregorio di Lorenzo, a pupil of Desiderio's (Caglioti 2008a). The Donaldson bust at the Louvre is by the Lucchese sculptor Matteo Civitali, who studied and worked in Florence in the late 1450s and early 1460s alongside Desiderio, Rossellino, and Mino da Fiesole (Caglioti 2004). The Kress example in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., which is sometimes considered to be a fake and sometimes attributed to Verrocchio or his circle (see Luciano in Washington 2001–2, pp. 169–71, no. 24), was executed by a contemporary but less skilled Florentine artist who was close to, if not identical with Domenico Rosselli. The polychromed wood effigy of "La Belle Florentine" at the Louvre, often called a forgery, can, following its recent restoration, be identified as Saint Constance and attributed to an artist close to Desiderio, although it is not an autograph work by the master (M. Bormand et al. in Paris–Florence–Washington 2006–7, pp. 154–59). The other busts await a more exact definition and placement, but all come from Desiderio's workshop. None of them, however, rises to the level of the master himself, including the Bargello bust (see below), whose strange, flat expression makes the young lady appear as if she is asleep with her eyes open. Even if Desiderio had a hand in this work, the sitter can scarcely be the great beauty celebrated in the historical sources.

The Berlin bust is a masterpiece of delicate sensibility, perfectly developed in the definition of volumes and the sense of vibration that marks the surfaces. Devoid of extravagant ornaments on her dress or in her hair, the girl entrusts all her charm to the freshness of her complexion, the vivacity implicit in her slowly turning pose, and the spontaneous expression of her perfect face. She seems to be the older sister of the two putti holding shields on the Marsuppini Tomb in Santa Croce (ca. 1455–60), touchstones for the style and quality of Desiderio's art. The Virgin in the lunette on that same monument



appears as the perfect translation of the Berlin lady into bas-relief. Among many of their shared characteristics, both figures lean slightly backward, as if to underscore an instinctive but controlled sense of surprise as they gaze at their neighbors. Thus, objectively speaking, the attribution of this bust to Rossellino is incomprehensible. Although certainly an artist of standing, he was less accomplished, less sober than Desiderio in his treatment of surfaces, which he animated with a more labored and elaborate use of drapery folds and ornaments. In the Berlin marble Desiderio has succeeded in creating a miraculously fundamental contrast among three elements: the young woman's smooth, pure skin; the plain surfaces of her clothing (which permits the lacing of the bodice, the pleating at the waist, and the gathered fabric around the arms to emerge clearly as accents); and the marvelous, long braid wrapped loosely around her head and intertwined with a thin strand of pearls, which falls loosely over her forehead.

With the name of Desiderio restored to the Berlin bust, it may also be reidentified as the true portrait of Marietta Strozzi. Daughter of Lorenzo and granddaughter of the famous Palla Strozzi, Marietta was born in June 1448 and was not quite sixteen years old when Desiderio died. She was old enough to be married by then, though, and it is at this time that a portrait bust would most likely have been commissioned, to underscore, as the Berlin work does, her radiant beauty and vitality. Contemporary chronicles and letters praising Marietta's charm date as early as 1459, suggesting that this adolescent, already one of the best marriage prospects in Florence, also enjoyed early success within society. Marietta did not marry, however, until 1471—despite numerous suitors—owing to a series of misfortunes suffered by the Strozzi family. This made her an older bride by fifteenth-century standards, and although the husband she eventually found, Teofilo Calcagnini, came from a suitable family, he belonged to the Este court in distant Ferrara (Coonin 2009, with bibliography).

Recently it has been suggested that the *Bust of a Young Woman* in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, can be the only genuine portrait of Marietta Strozzi by Desiderio (Coonin 2009), but its inferior quality clearly excludes it from a place among the master's more memorable works. Moreover, it is documented in the Medici collections as early as 1675, and perhaps earlier (Archivio di Stato, Florence, Guardaroba Medicea, 826, posthumous inventory of Cardinal Leopoldo, 1675–76, fol. 95v; Caglioti in Florence 1992a, pp. 48–50, no. 22). This period was a nadir for the appreciation of fifteenth-century sculptures, which often passed through aristocratic collections by inheritance. It is thus likely that the Bargello bust represents a member of the Medici family, although it is difficult to offer a specific identification. Given the young woman's age, she might be one of the two sisters of Lorenzo il Magnifico: Bianca, born in 1445 and married in 1459 to Guglielmo Pazzi, or Nannina, born in 1448 and married in 1466 to Bernardo Rucellai (that the bust represents their mother, Lucrezia, as proposed by this author in Florence 1992a, pp. 48–50, no. 22, now seems impossible given the figure's age). FC

Provenance Florence (until 1842)

Selected References Bode 1888; Bode 1889; Caglioti 2004, pp. 50–54; Bormand in Paris–Florence–Washington 2006–7, pp. 150–53, no. 7; Caglioti 2008a, pp. 130–31, 137 n. 14; Coonin 2009

Andrea del Verrocchio (Florence, ca. 1435–1488, Venice)

13. *Bust of a Young Woman*

ca. 1465–66

Marble, H. 20⅝ in. (52.5 cm)

The Frick Collection, New York, Bequest of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1961 (61.2.87)

When judging the quality and historical significance of this bust, it is important not to overlook the damage it has suffered over time. The neck, chin, and tip of the woman's nose have been broken, as have a number of her beautiful curls. There is also some minor wearing down of the surface, which has also been overcleaned in the past. Although modern restorations (the most recent in 1988) have repaired the results of these vicissitudes, they still prevent many contemporary viewers from recognizing what was originally one of the most important carved female portraits made in Florence in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

The young woman's curls, particularly the way they are drilled, immediately recall Verrocchio's famous *Lady with Primroses*, now in the Bargello, Florence (ca. 1475). And indeed, from the time the New York bust left Italy—with an old attribution to Antonio Rossellino—and reappeared in the nineteenth century on the Paris art market (see Piot 1864; Piot 1878), it has never been associated with any artist other than Verrocchio (beginning with Bode in 1878). Although this attribution has not been universally accepted, to date no scholar has suggested, even tentatively, a different sculptor.

Several other aspects of the young woman's hairstyle and dress reflect the formal language of Verrocchio's style. The hem of her cloak (a *guarnacca* typical of the period), for example, includes a "running dog," or Vitruvian scroll pattern, which recalls the same motif on the belt worn by the bronze *David* in the Bargello (ca. 1468–70). The foliage motif on the woman's clasp is similar in type and in degree of stylization to the marble surround of the double-sided tomb of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici—sons of Cosimo il Vecchio—in the church of San Lorenzo in Florence (1469–72).

Quite apart from such similarities in fashion and decoration, which may appear incidental, the New York bust seems, given our current state of knowledge, the most intelligent and sensitive surviving homage to Desiderio da Settignano's portrait of Marietta Strozzi (cat. 12). None of the many busts linked by modern scholars (more or less legitimately) to that model is as successful as the Frick example at infusing the figure, which is cut horizontally above the elbows, with such a lively and, at the same time, delicately dynamic presence. The sculptor of the Frick bust captured like no other artist the essence of Desiderio's lesson. This is especially apparent in the slight but significant asymmetry in the woman's breasts, shoulders, and arms and the graceful way she turns her head, as if she has just disengaged from the viewer's gaze, leaning away to look off into the distance. The decorative motifs discussed above (the "running dog" pattern and the stylized foliage) also find their source in Desiderio's larger monuments: the Marsuppini Tomb in Santa Croce, and the Altar of the Sacrament in San Lorenzo.

Scholars uniformly acknowledge that Verrocchio must have learned the art of marble carving from Desiderio, but it seems strange that they do not recognize, at least with the same certainty, that the Frick bust is the most outstanding example of this training. It constitutes the perfect midway point between the innovative but still seminal portrait bust of Marietta Strozzi and the concluding achievement of the *Lady with Primroses*, in which the figure—for the first time shown with her arms so arranged as to suggest movement—has both a spatial presence and a vitality that point to the portrait style of Leonardo and the sixteenth century. There are three distinct but curiously related reasons why the essential character of the Frick bust and its dating to the latter part of the 1460s still seem to be unclear: first, the already noted far-from-perfect state of conservation, which is unlike that of the bust of Marietta Strozzi and of the *Lady with Primroses*; second, the historiographic error that has shifted the attribution of the Marietta Strozzi bust from Desiderio da Settignano to Antonio Rossellino; and third, the fact that, despite Verrocchio's fame as a marble sculptor, the only surviving documented examples of this technique date to his mature period, beginning in about 1470. Today some scholars continue to maintain that either Verrocchio did not make any marble figurative sculpture before 1470, or the ones he did make are now lost, and if they do survive, then they should appear as advanced as his later masterpieces. Yet, if the last hypothesis were true, developments in the history of Florentine art would have happened even more rapidly than we now believe, and the 1460s would have already witnessed a series of minor works reflecting Verrocchio's mature style, which is simply not the case (Caglioti 2011a).

The decorative motifs on the young woman's sleeves, which seem to consist of seven pairs of testicles used as a heraldic device, have attracted attention since the late nineteenth century. This has led to the suggestion that she might be identified as a member of the family of the great mercenary general Bartolomeo Colleoni (Piot 1864; Bode 1878; Piot 1878; Bode 1882), whose own arms are a pun on his last name (which means testicles in Italian). Immortalized by Verrocchio in his famous equestrian monument in Venice of the 1480s, Colleoni fathered numerous daughters, both legitimate and illegitimate, including Medea, who died in 1470 at the age of eighteen. She was buried in a lovely marble tomb made by Giovanni Antonio Amadeo (now in the Colleoni Chapel, Bergamo). Ulrich Middeldorf took the Colleoni identification of the young woman the furthest by discovering pieces of two contemporary fabrics with motifs similar to what is found in the New York bust (1977, pp. 12–13, figs. 6, 8). Skeptics objected that the Colleoni coat of arms has only three sets of testicles rather than seven; that they are represented not as flat but are seen at an angle; that the fabrics identified by Middeldorf did not certainly belong to the Colleoni (see, for example, Butterfield 1997); and, furthermore, that the patterns in the material worn by the Frick young woman were not rare in luxury textiles of the time (Luciano in Washington 2001–2). While this last objection is true so far as concerns the other motifs on the sleeves, it does not apply to the two found on the shoulders, which in my opinion can be explained only as a reference to a noble family. That they are not precisely the same as the Colleoni arms is not sufficient to exclude an identification with that family, since it would be unusual to find a full coat of arms applied to clothing. Instead, we might expect to find partial and imaginative reelaborations or personal emblems. The Colleoni arms with three pairs of testicles never appears in its canonical form on the



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armor or decorations of the equestrian monument in Venice; instead, the device is always combined with two lion heads and is reduced to two sets of testicles. Similarly, in the bust of Piero de' Medici (cat. 47), the motif repeated on his clothing is not the dynastic coat of arms, with its six balls (*palle*), but a diamond ring, the sitter's personal device. Unfortunately, we know too little about the individual and familial emblems of the elite classes of Quattrocento Italy, but the testicle motif on the Frick bust should not be ignored. FC

Provenance Eugène Piot, Paris (until 1864); (?) Charles Timbal, Paris (until 1871); Gustave Dreyfus and his heirs, Paris (until 1930); [Joseph Duveen, London and New York, until 1931]; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., New York (until 1961)

Selected References Piot 1864, p. 3, no. 2; Bode 1878, cols. 734–35; Piot 1878, pp. 585–86; Bode 1882, pp. 103–4, 260; Middeldorf 1977; Butterfield 1997, pp. 16, 18, 19 (ill.), 203, no. 4; E. Luciano in Washington 2001–2, pp. 166–68, no. 23; Pope-Hennessy and Davidson in Frick Collection 1968–2003, vol. 9 (2003), pp. 428–32; Covi 2005, pp. 60–63 and nn. 165–82, figs. 37–39; Caglioti 2011a, passim

Sandro Botticelli (Florence, ca. 1444–1510, Florence)

14. *Portrait of a Lady at a Window ("Smeralda Bandinelli")*

ca. 1470–75
Tempera on wood, 25⅞ × 16⅛ in. (65.7 × 41 cm)
Inscribed: *Smeralda di* [. . .] *Bandinelli moglie di Vi*[viano] *Bandinelli*
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (CAI. 100)

Botticelli's painting of a lady at a window, one of the most important and enigmatic portraits from the early Italian Renaissance, introduced several significant innovations that would be adopted in later Florentine portraiture. The composition differs from the early, groundbreaking female portraits of Filippo Lippi (cats. 6, 7). For example, Botticelli's subject is shown down to her hips and is, furthermore, turned toward the viewer, thereby establishing eye contact (for an overview of the development of female three-quarter portraits, compare Kress 1995, vol. 1, pp. 289–302). The figure shown at a three-quarter angle had been established in Florence for male portraits some years earlier. Andrea del Castagno's painting in Washington, D.C. (cat. 21), from about 1450, is usually considered the first surviving example. Painted portraits of men seem generally to have been patterned on sculpted portrait busts (for example, cat. 47). As for depictions of women, the only parallels to Botticelli's solution are in contemporary mural painting; even in later independent portraits it is difficult to find comparable compositions. To be sure, it is worth noting Verrocchio's more or less contemporary bust of a *Lady with Primroses* (ca. 1475; Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence), his *Bust of a Young Woman* (cat. 13), and Leonardo da Vinci's *Ginevra de' Benci* (fig. 7). In each case there is a generous spatial quality that renounces the traditionally favored profile view. Hence the 1470s appear to mark a change in style and a reinterpretation of the female portrait and its objectives.

While Leonardo's portrait of Ginevra, with her idealized features and the association with concepts of virtue, was intended for the contemplation of the Venetian ambassador and humanist Bernardo Bembo (1433–1519), it is difficult to determine the function of Botticelli's female portrait. Given the subject's direct gaze, it was most likely a special commission, for as a rule a direct glance from a woman carried negative connotations because of its erotic implications (see Simons 1988). At best, it might be sanctioned in humanist circles as the portrayal of the platonic beloved. However, in this case there is no notable attempt at idealization and no obvious reference to emblems of beauty and virtue. Nor is it sufficient to trace the pictorial conceit to Netherlandish precedent (Nuttall 2004), an idea that does not do justice to the painting's innovative potential. It seems unlikely that the painter was attempting to give visual form to a literary or theoretical concept, although there has been speculation (Woods-Marsden 2001) about a connection to Dante's Woman at a Window (*Vita nuova*, 25), or that the work is the painter's response to Alberti and Filarete's metaphor of the window for the construction of a perspectival space (Brown in Washington 2001–2). The notion that this is a painting of a bride also lacks credibility, since both the compositional formula and the subject's age (presumably about thirty) argue against this (see especially Simons 1988).

The lady wears no ornament save for a delicate, looped necklace, perhaps a sign of modesty. This modesty might also reflect the strict Florentine ban on the display of luxury, especially jewelry. Nevertheless, over her *camicia* the woman wears a dress (*giornea*) that, because of its red color and embroidered edges, must be considered costly; on top of this is a *guarnello*, a transparent overgarment of fine cotton (Birbari 1975). The idea that this was a typical costume for pregnant women can be dismissed (see most recently Schumacher 2009a), given that Botticelli's allegories (the *Primavera* in the Uffizi, for example) feature comparable physical proportions and overgarments. Handkerchiefs similar to the one held by the subject are carried by the Tornabuoni women in Ghirlandaio's fresco cycle in Santa Maria Novella as well as by Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni in his portrait in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (fig. 33). This is not immaterial here (to quote Schmid 2002, p. 127) and may allude to the well-born woman's cultivation and status (Rubin in London 1999–2000). Accordingly, we can say that a woman of rank has positioned herself at a window; the column in the background at left suggests that she lives in imposing surroundings.

The insistence on movement and directness is evidence that Botticelli was intent on producing a lifelike image and that this portrait apparently served as a private or semi-official *memoria*. Attempts at verisimilitude are seen in the play of the eyes and brows, the curved, asymmetrical lips, the reddened cheeks, and in particular the apparently spontaneous gesture of placing her right hand on the window frame. The lady is neither silhouetted against a neutral background nor framed, but moves within the space, interacting with it, measuring it. Her placement was obviously important to the painter. An



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infrared reflectogram shows the carefully placed lines that lay out the architectural construction. Verisimilitude goes hand in hand with the subject's placement in space. By indicating spatial parameters—and this includes the play of light so crucial to the composition—the portrait becomes charged with an action-oriented potency and, ultimately, a temporal dimension. In its construction of space as a prerequisite for a dramatically conceived confrontation, the painting is a fundamental departure from earlier Florentine portraits of women, for the subject is not merely being put on view or represented, she is presenting herself.

The viewer is separated from the picture space by the window frame in the near foreground; the way the sitter's right hand rests against it accentuates this separation. Accordingly, it has been suggested that this is a commemorative portrait of a deceased woman (Zöllner 2005), certainly a possible motive for the composition, since it is above all in the lifelike image that the absence of a real person is most clearly manifest. The illusionism of the perspective obviously accords with the concept of the portrait as a fiction of real presence. Ultimately, even the panel's uncommonly large format could indicate that it served some official purpose associated with *memoria*. Evidence for identifying the subject as Smeralda Bandinelli (née Donati), a grandmother of the Florentine sculptor Baccio Bandinelli (1488–1560), emerges from the damaged inscription on the window ledge. In a land registry of 1469, Smeralda's husband, Viviano de' Brandini, declared that his wife was thirty years old (Waldman 2004, p. 2, doc. 7). Although it has been proved that the inscription was added in the seventeenth century by Baccio Bandinelli the Younger (Rubin in London 1999–2000, citing Waldman; Hegener 2008), the inscription confirms that the work was owned at that time by the Bandinelli. The fact that it is not original does not preclude the possibility that it records an identification maintained by family tradition (Rubin in London 1999–2000), especially since Smeralda Donati is documented as a contemporary of Botticelli's and would have been the right age in about 1470. Scratches across the mouth and eyes, carefully retouched, were made at some unknown date and tend to support the idea that the person who made them must have had some idea of the lady's identity. The portrait later came into the possession of the English Pre-Raphaelite painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882) and inspired some of his own pictures (see Weinberg 2004, who also discusses Rossetti's own "restoration" of the painting and the work's role in the Botticelli renaissance in the late nineteenth century). SW

Provenance (?) Count Alexandre-James Pourtalès-Gorgier (by 1841); sale, Goupil & Cie., London, March 1865; Colnaghi sale, Christie's, March 23, 1867, lot 1970; Dante Gabriel Rossetti, London (1867); sold to Constantine Alexander Ionides, London (1880); given to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1900)

Selected References Kauffmann 1973, vol. 1, pp. 37–39; Birbari 1975, pp. 26, 69, 93; Lightbown 1978, vol. 1, pp. 38–39, vol. 2, pp. 28–29, no. B 15; Lightbown 1989, p. 57; Caneva 1990, p. 43, no. 20; Deimling 1993, p. 24; Rubin in London 1999–2000, pp. 126–27, no. 83; Woods-Marsden 2001, pp. 70–72, 86 n. 65; Brown in Washington 2001–2, pp. 172–75, no. 25; Nuttall 2004, p. 218; Weinberg 2004; Cecchi 2005, p. 118; Zöllner 2005, pp. 50–51, no. 20, pp. 195–96; Körner 2006, pp. 79–80; Craven 2007, pp. 163, 253–256, no. 16; Hegener 2008, p. 34 n. 9; Rehm 2009, pp. 74–76; Schumacher 2009a, p. 30

Domenico Ghirlandaio (Domenico Bigordi; Florence, 1448/49–1494, Florence)

15. *Head of an Old Woman Wearing a Hood*

ca. 1489–90

Metal point on salmon-pink prepared paper heightened with white, 9⅛ × 7¼ in. (23.1 × 18.4 cm)

Inscribed: on verso, *di Michelangilo bonaroti*

Lent by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (RL 12804)

16. *Bust-Length Woman Wearing a Coif*

ca. 1489–90

Black chalk or charcoal on cream-colored paper, the outlines of the recto pricked for transfer (in Strong 1902, pl. 22, it appears to have white highlighting); verso drawn on top of a faint black-chalk drawing of a youth's head turned three-quarters to the right; 14⅜ × 8¾ in. (36.6 × 22.1 cm)

Watermark: scales (Bambach 1999a)

Verso: *Full-Length Woman Standing, and Faint Sketch of a Face*

The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Bakewell (885a, b)

The renowned portraitist Domenico Ghirlandaio made both of these drawings, so strikingly different in appearance, for the most important commission of his career: the decoration of the huge chancel (about 80 ft. [24.5 m] high) of the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. Domenico, his brother Davide, and their team of assistants covered the walls with murals in which portraits of the extended Tornabuoni family and their friends abound in scenes of the lives of the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. Giovanni Tornabuoni (1428–1497) commissioned the murals in September 1485 and



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celebrated their completion on December 22, 1490, his sixty-second birthday.

The youngest of ten children, Giovanni Tornabuoni was the brother of Lucrezia, the mother of Lorenzo il Magnifico. In 1443 Giovanni joined the Rome branch of the Medici bank, eventually becoming its manager. While the bank faltered toward the end of the fifteenth century, Giovanni remained financially sound, the owner of a grand palace in the center of Florence and two villas in the countryside. In the murals, he is portrayed twice: as a kneeling supplicant facing his wife, who had died in Rome thirteen years previously after giving birth to a stillborn son; and as a proud bystander in the scene of the Annunciation to Zacharias, in which he stands outdoors before a splendid loggia with some of the male members of his family and the ruling elite of Florence.

Giovanni was well acquainted with Ghirlandaio's talents, having commissioned him after his wife's death, in 1477, to decorate a chapel in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome. These murals no longer exist, but a small panel of the Meeting of the Young Christ and Saint John the Baptist (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) most likely was made for the chapel. Ghirlandaio painted lifesize portraits of Giovanni and his teenage son, Lorenzo, in the large mural of the Calling of the First Disciples in the Sistine Chapel (1481–82). They occupy prominent positions standing in the first row of the throng of Florentine representatives to the papal court. In the later Tornabuoni Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, Ghirlandaio continued the practice of including contemporary portraits in sacred scenes.

The two portrait drawings on display are preparatory for the mural of the Birth of the Virgin, which shows Tornabuoni's thirteen- or fourteen-year-old daughter, Ludovica, with an entourage of four women paying a call on Saint Anne, who had just given birth to the Virgin Mary. They are portrayed in the lowest tier of the murals, closest to the spectator, which was executed near the completion of the cycle in 1490. The setting provides a glimpse of the luxurious interior of a Florentine Renaissance palace. Saint Anne lies on a bed in a beautifully appointed room decorated with intarsia panels and a frieze of music-making putti. The pair of fashionably dressed young women immediately behind Ludovica are probably her companions, Caterina and Dianora, to each of whom Giovanni Tornabuoni bequeathed a dowry of 100 florins (Simons 1985, vol. 1, p. 139). The two adult women standing behind them could be Ludovica's relatives or nurses. The one on the left has been identified as Giovanni's sister, Lucrezia Tornabuoni de' Medici (Pernis and Adams 2006), but she does not look like Ghirlandaio's portrait of her in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Both of the drawings were made for the heads of the adult women.

The Chatsworth sheet is a full-scale drawing in black chalk or charcoal for the bust of the adult woman wearing a maroon dress and blue mantle. As Arthur Strong (1902) and John Gere (1949, p. 169) noticed, the paper is "pricked, which seems to indicate that it is a fragment of the cartoon for the fresco." Other writers have refined this identification, observing that, as the paper shows no trace of the powdered charcoal pounced through the pinholes, it was pricked for transfer to a duplicate or substitute cartoon that was used for the actual transfer of the design to the wet plaster (Rosenauer 1985). In the mural, *spolveri* (the powdered charcoal pouncing marks) are visible on the head; from the neck down, the woman's body shows stylus tracing. The black-chalk drawing on the verso of the cartoon is a study for the clothing of the attendant wearing a green blouse and a mauve outer gown, the only figure in the mural to look directly at the spectator. Black-chalk drawings are fairly uncommon in Ghirlandaio's oeuvre (Van Cleave 1994, p. 234), though he used black chalk for another cartoon,



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the head of Saint John the Baptist for the mural of the Pietà in the church of the Ognissanti, Florence (Pouncey 1964, p. 285, pl. 33; Cadogan 1980, pp. 30–31).

The sheet at Windsor Castle is a totally different kind of drawing. It is a highly detailed metal point study from life for the portrait of the adult attendant wearing a white hood and a dark green dress. In the process of incorporating this portrait in the finished mural, Domenico changed the shape of the hood and the lighting—in the mural light falls from the right rather than from the left—but he preserved the woman's introspective mood. The attribution of the Windsor drawing has been accepted by all authorities except Adolf von Beckerath (1904; 1905), who believed it was by "some unknown Bolognese artist" and that it portrayed a man.

Two other drawings for the mural survive: one is a swift sketch in pen and ink of the entire scene, placing all of the figures in a remarkable architectural setting for which Ghirlandaio is justly famous (British Museum, London); the other is a magnificent study of the maidservant pouring water in the basin for the infant Virgin Mary's first bath (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence). Like the compositional sketch, it is executed in ink, but the modeling of the figure is thoroughly worked out

with vigorous cross-hatching. Thus, the unusually diverse drawings provide a glimpse of the different types of preparatory drawings that Ghirlandaio made for his murals. EF

Provenance Cat. 15: Presumably King George III (r. 1760–1820)

Cat. 16: Probably William Cavendish, second duke of Devonshire (1672–1729), early 18th century; by descent to Peregrine Cavendish (b. 1944), twelfth duke of Devonshire

Selected References Cat. 15: Popham 1931, p. 12, no. 38; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 93, no. 893; Popham and Wilde 1949, p. 172, no. 9; Cadogan 1980, p. 35; London 1986, p. 20, no. 2; Caneva in Florence 1992c, p. 100, no. 4.7; Toronto 1993–94, pp. 31–33; Bambach 1999a, p. 456 n. 267; Cadogan 2000, pp. 136, 306, no. 113, pl. 147; Simona Di Nepi in London 2008–9, pp. 238–40, no. 74; Madrid 2010, p. 74, no. 16 (English trans., p. 286)

Cat. 16: Popham 1931, p. 11, no. 37; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 91, no. 866; Gere 1949, p. 169; Rosenauer 1985, pp. 150–53; Toronto 1993–94, pp. 31–33; Jaffé 1994, p. 63, no. 29; Bambach 1999a, pp. 37, 240–41, 287, 456, n. 265; Cadogan 2000, pp. 136, 144, 291–92, no. 79, pls. 145, 149; Pernis and Adams 2006, p. 153; Simona Di Nepi in London 2008–9, pp. 238–40, no. 74

Davide Ghirlandaio (Florence, 1452–1525, Florence)

17. *Selvaggia Sassetti*

ca. 1487–88

Tempera on wood, 22½ × 17⅜ × 1¼ in. (57.2 × 44.1 × 3.2 cm); painted area within borders, 20½ × 15½ in. (52.1 × 39.4 cm); unpainted borders originally covered by an engaged frame

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.71)



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Two portraits of this young woman exist: a lifesize full-length in Domenico Ghirlandaio's mural of the Raising of the Roman Notary's Son in the Sassetti Chapel of the church of Santa Trinita, Florence, and this bust-length on a wood panel in the Metropolitan Museum, which shows her standing before a plain background that was originally blue, the azurite pigment having discolored. The mural contains more than a dozen portraits of members of the banker Francesco Sassetti's household, including at least six of his legitimate children (for Sassetti's portrait in the Metropolitan Museum, see cat. 42), as well as Domenico Ghirlandaio's self-portrait together with a likeness of his brother Davide. In his *Life* of Domenico, Giorgio Vasari observed that the mural shows some "beautiful young women of the same [Sassetti] family whose names I have been unable to discover, all with clothes and hair styles of that period, which is a delight to see" ([1568] 1966–97 ed., vol. 3, p. 256, translated in Vasari 1996 ed., p. 517). Thanks to baptismal records in the archives of the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, we now know the names and dates of birth of Sassetti's seven daughters: Violante, 1462; Sibilla, 1465; Lucia, 1467; Lisabetta, 1469; Selvaggia, or Vaggia as she is called in her father's tax returns, 1470; Maddalena, 1474; and Ginevra, 1477. Violante and Lucia are not included in the mural because they had died before it was painted. Neither is Ginevra, who had evidently died in infancy (apart from the registration of her baptism, nothing is known about her), nor is Sibilla, because she no longer lived with her parents, having married Alessandro d'Antonio Pucci on September 27, 1482, shortly before Ghirlandaio began to plan the decoration of the chapel. This leaves the three daughters who stand and kneel in the front row of the mural, which was completed by Christmas Day 1485: sixteen-year-old Lisabetta on the far left, in a white brocade gown with her hair elaborately coiffed in the Florentine bridal fashion (since she was betrothed as the mural was being executed); fifteen-year-old Selvaggia in a gown of the light blue color called *cilestri di bianco* in contemporary inventories, with the

loose hair of young unmarried Florentine women; and eleven-year-old Maddalena, kneeling as the distraught figure by the catafalque, with the long blond hair and red dress of her name saint. Thus, the occasional identification of the young woman in blue (and consequently the Metropolitan Museum's portrait) as Sibilla (Borsook and Offerhaus 1981, p. 39 n. 135; Rubin 2007, p. 252) is wrong: she must be Selvaggia.

In 1488, Selvaggia consummated her marriage to Simone d'Amerigo Carnesechi. Her wedding is the most likely occasion for commissioning the portrait, in which she is more mature than she is in the mural, which was painted three years earlier. The suggestion that in the mural the handkerchiefs carried by many of the onlookers indicates they are in-laws has been refuted by Patricia Simons (2011).

In the portrait, Selvaggia wears fashionable clothing of the Florentine upper class: a taffeta gown made of two pieces of a yellowish green iridescent cloth fastened up the front with black laces threaded through shell-gold eyelets, with her white underblouse visible beneath the laces and at the slashed openings of the shoulder seams. A translucent veil, worn over the shoulders and fastened near the waist, covers part of her neckline. From her coral necklace hangs a large gold pendant, mounted with a red stone and three pearls. Spiraling locks frame her face; the rest of her hair is pulled to the back of her head and is covered with a small pale-violet, close-fitting cap. The white triangle beneath her right arm is a glimpse of her apron; the bright red strip across the bottom is presumably the top of a parapet behind which the young woman stands.

Infrared reflectography reveals summary lines for the eyes, eyebrows, the eye socket of the sitter's left eye, the nose, lips, and chin. Before drawing these lines on the panel, the artist must have made a preparatory study like the large metal point drawing by Domenico Ghirlandaio's younger contemporary Filippino Lippi of the bust of a stern matron in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (Cecchi 2005, p. 75; London 2010, p. 228), which, coincidentally, shows the sitter in the same pose as the young woman in the Metropolitan's portrait, with her body turned slightly to the right, her head inclined to the left, and her eyes focused on the spectator. Raimond van Marle's suggestion (1931b, "Tre ritratti") that a drawing of a young woman in the British Museum is a sketch for the Metropolitan's portrait is sometimes repeated in the literature (A. Venturi 1933, vol. 2, pl. 266; Wehle 1940; Florence 1949, p. 67), but the drawing bears only a superficial resemblance, and it is now accepted as by Perugino (Popham and Pouncey 1950, p. 117).

In the eighty-some years since Raimond van Marle (1931b) first published the panel, it has been widely accepted as an autograph work by Domenico Ghirlandaio, though some doubts have been expressed orally. In the most recent monograph on Ghirlandaio, Jean Cadogan (2000) catalogued it with Domenico's autograph work but qualified her attribution by saying the portrait "is probably by an unidentified helper in Ghirlandaio's workshop." She did, however, observe the "pronounced left-handed hatching of the brushstrokes," with diagonal hatching from the top left to lower right, that recurs in other Ghirlandaio-esque works attributed to Davide. In fact, the only left-handed painter working in Domenico's circle was one of his younger brothers, Davide (Dunkerton 1994), with whose work the present portrait is consistent. A good example of a female easel portrait by Domenico is his painting of a young woman in the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon. EF

Provenance Léopold Goldschmidt, Paris (before d. 1906); Comte André Pastré, Paris (until 1924; sold to Kleinberger); [Kleinberger, Paris and New York, 1924; sold to Friedsam]; Michael Friedsam, New York (1924–d. 1931)

Selected References Frankfurter 1931, p. 23; Van Marle 1931b; Berenson 1932, p. 225; Zeri and Gardner 1971, p. 137; Sampaio 1999, p. 46, no. 19; Cadogan 2000, pp. 188, 279–80, no. 48; Washington 2001–2, p. 186; Luciano in Boskovits and Brown 2003, p. 306; Pasut in Florence 2005a, p. 95 n. 27; Hatfield 2009, p. 34 n. 144; Fahy in Budapest 2009–10, p. 182; Madrid 2010, pp. 48–49, 72–73, 86, no. 15 (English trans., pp. 277, 285–86, 290); Simons 2011, forthcoming in *I Tatti Studies*

Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli, called Niccolò Fiorentino (Florence, 1430–1514, Florence)

18. *Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni*

ca. 1486

Bronze, cast; Diam. 3 in. (7.7 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *VXOR LAVRENTII DETORNABONIS IONNA ALBIZA* (wife of Lorenzo Tornabuoni Giovanna Albizzi); on reverse, *CASTITAS PVL*[CH]*RITVDO AMOR* (Chastity, Beauty, Love)

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18216331)

This medal exemplifies Florentine medallic portraits of women toward the end of the fifteenth century in its authorship, marital context, idealized portrayal, and message of feminine virtue. It is one of nearly twenty extant portrait medals of young women attributed to Niccolò Fiorentino, who immortalized the city's elite in ennobling profile and costly bronze. Unlike in



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most coeval portraits in paint or marble (see cats. 44, 13), here the sitter is identified by an inscription: she is Giovanna degli Albizzi (1468–1488), wife of Lorenzo Tornabuoni (1468–1497). The couple's marriage was lavishly celebrated in the summer of 1486: a parade of attendants escorted them to Santa Maria del Fiore; the piazza of Santa Michele Albertelli was staged for feasting and dancing (New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, p. 303; Tinagli 1997, p. 67); and *spalliera* panels were painted to adorn their nuptial chamber (Fahy 1984, p. 233). The Florentine poet Naldo Naldi (ca. 1436–1513) penned an epithalamium recording the festivities (Van der Sman 2007, pp. 163, 174–76).

Giovanna's portrait medal was undoubtedly commissioned for the marriage as well. Lorenzo Tornabuoni's father, Giovanni, as the paterfamilias and manager of the Medici bank in Rome, brought the Albizzi access to the powerful Medici. The patrician Albizzi, in turn, offered clout to the newer-moneyed Tornabuoni and, as distant relatives, an opportunity to ally branches of the family (Simons 1985, p. 144).

The blank field of the medal heightens the elegant silhouette of Giovanna's high forehead, straight nose, and long neck. Invitingly textured, her hair wreaths the back of her head while wavy tendrils hang alongside her face. She wears a square-necked dress, with the *camicia* visible through the gape at the sleeve, and, around her neck, an impressive strand of pearls suspending a quatrefoil and teardrop pendant. Pearl jewelry, carrying associations of virginal purity, was typical of a groom's gift (or counter-dowry) (Woods-Marsden in Washington 2001–2, p. 67), which was given shortly before or within a year of the nuptials (Klapisch-Zuber 1985, "The Griselda Complex," p. 219). Giovanna is therefore represented as a newly married bride: a "wife," as asserted in the legend.

Complementing her lovely visage, the reverse presents the Three Graces, who stand on a plinth, side by side, with arms interlocked. Here, the mythological trio embodies the exemplary female virtues of chastity, beauty, and love. The figure of Chastity holds sprigs of wheat, symbol of fertility, while Love holds a stem of myrtle, emblem of Venus and of marriage (DePrano 2004, pp. 102, 107). The resemblance of the features of the Three Graces to the sitter's own attests that Giovanna is the personification of all these qualities (Jones 1979, p. 37). The medal celebrates Giovanna's beauty, which was considered the outward expression of inner virtue. (The motto "Beauty adorns Virtue" appears on the verso of Leonardo da Vinci's portrait of Ginevra de' Benci, at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) The Three Graces also appear on the roughly contemporary medals of Maria Poliziano and Pico della Mirandola. In the former, they symbolize concordia, or a union of merits, whereas in the latter they are identified as Beauty, Love, and Pleasure. This shifting identity may relate to the lofty Neoplatonic debate regarding the nature of platonic love (Wind 1958, p. 73), or it may, more simply, locate Pico among the ambitious literati of Lorenzian Florence (DePrano 2004, p. 79). While pleasure was deemed appropriate for Pico, chastity was the necessary and more proper attribute for Giovanna.

The motif of the Three Graces derives from ancient representations such as those found in sculpture (as at Siena Cathedral), painting, terracotta lamps (Spencer 1987, pp. 202–3), and coins; however, Niccolò Fiorentino's precise source of inspiration is unknown. Another version of Giovanna's medal has, on the reverse, a vigilant armed Venus, who, as in the Berlin example, conveys esteemed qualities of female body and soul. Giovanna also appears in Domenico Ghirlandaio's fresco of the Visitation (ca. 1490) in the Tornabuoni Chapel of Santa Maria Novella and in a famed panel portrait (dated 1488, ca. 1490) in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. (She has sometimes been identified in Botticelli's fresco from the Villa Lemmi [now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris], but in fact that figure is Lorenzo's second wife, Ginevra Gianfigliazzi [m. 1491], who receives Venus and the Graces [Syson in London 2008–9, p. 151 n. 1].) In Ghirlandaio's paintings, Giovanna wears an identical orange *giornea* adorned with Tornabuoni symbols, and she is shown radiant, despite the fact that she had died in childbirth in 1488. Both posthumous portraits derive from the earlier medallic portrait (Syson in Currie and Motture 1997, p. 53) and thus had a commemorative rather than documentary function. In particular, they memorialized Giovanna's place in the life and ascent of the Tornabuoni in Florentine society. If the medal, from the start, proclaimed Giovanna beautiful, virtuous, well-connected, and thus worthy of being VXOR · LAVRENTII, then Ghirlandaio's panel portrait immortalizes her, in the end, as a revered wife who had fulfilled the duty of bearing an heir. JLV

Selected References Friedländer 1882, p. 148, no. 13; Armand 1883–87, vol. 1, p. 88, no. 20; Hill 1920, pp. 79, 81; Habich 1923, pp. 69, 71, pls. XLIV no. 1, XLV no. 6; Hill 1930, no. 1021; Jones 1979, p. 37; Pollard in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 135–36; Börner 1997, no. 388; Syson in Currie and Motture 1997, pp. 52–53; Luciano in Washington 2001–2, pp. 131–32; Syson in London 2008–9, pp. 148–51; Van der Sman in Madrid 2010, pp. 116–17, 298–99, no. 29

Sandro Botticelli (Florence, ca. 1444–1510, Florence)

19. *Ideal Portrait of a Lady ("Simonetta Vespucci")*

1475–80
Tempera on poplar, 18¾ × 13¾ in. (47.5 × 35 cm)
Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (106 A)

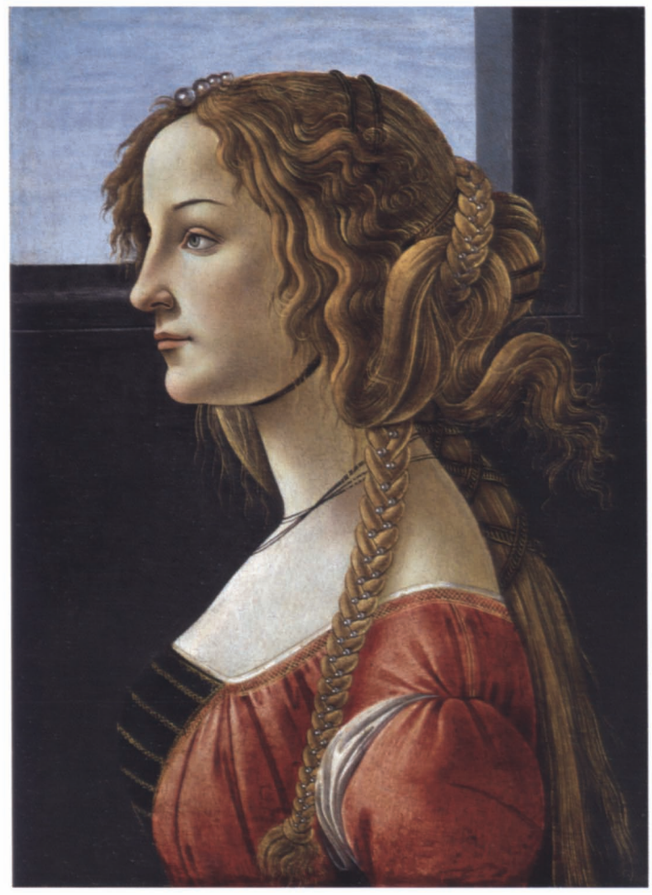
20. *Ideal Portrait of a Lady ("Simonetta Vespucci")*

1475–80
Tempera on poplar, 32¼ × 21¼ in. (81.8 × 54 cm)
Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main (936)

These two portraits present the same female type. The most striking similarity, apart from their comparable physiognomies, is seen in their elaborate coiffures with intertwined strings of beads. Also, both women have turned their heads almost imperceptibly out of strict profile, noticeable in the slight hint of an eye on the averted sides of their faces. In addition to the beads, the woman in the Frankfurt portrait wears an agrafe adorned with feathers (*brocchetta di testa*) and a cameo hung on several gold bands with a relief carving of Apollo, Marsyas, and Olympus. There was an ancient precedent for this gem, the so-called Sigillo di Nerone (Nero's seal), which was owned by the commune of Florence at the beginning of the fifteenth century; bronze casts were already in circulation by this time (Cannata et al. in Athens 2003–4, vol. 1, pp. 232–33; Schumacher in Frankfurt 2009–10, pp. 156–57). Rudolf Hiller von Gaertringen (2004) has noted that Botticelli adopted the color scheme of the cameo—light figures set against a black ground—for the painting as a whole. In so doing, he gave his picture an explicitly antiquarian or antique appearance, which suggests its interpretation as an idealized portrait. This assumption is supported by a drawing in the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford (Melli 2009, pp. 104–6), that is clearly related to the Frankfurt portrait. The drawing is more lifelike in comparison: the subject's features could indeed have been "borrowed" from an actual person, but by no means the elaborately dressed hair. It was hardly the custom for young women of Florence to let their hair hang loose and be blown by the wind, and the beaded ornaments would not have been countenanced by the city's sumptuary laws (Schmitter 1995, p. 36). The Frankfurt and Berlin pictures have both been abstracted from an actual subject and, much as in Botticelli's allegorical figures, transposed into the realm of personification. In addition

to these two panels, other versions of this type have survived (private collection, Marubeni Inc., Tokyo; National Gallery, London [NG 2082], whose verso shows what is probably the personification of a virtue).

Scholars have quite rightly noted that idealized portraits such as these derive from the tradition of Petrarchan topoi of ideal beauty, not the least of which, for instance, is the hair, seemingly of gold and stirred by the wind (for example, Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, 227). This is corroborated by Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494): the hair must fall freely in golden locks if it is to have an erotic connotation. Poliziano's poetic description of the encounter between Giuliano de' Medici and his platonic beloved, the beautiful nymph Simonetta—in actuality the young wife of Marco Vespucci—accentuates the golden locks framing her face: "Candida è ella, e candida la vesta, / ma pur di rose e fior dipinta e d'erba; / lo inanellato crin dall'aurea testa / scende in la fronte umilmente superba" (She is fair-skinned, unblemished white, and / white is her garment, though ornamented with / roses, flowers, and grass; the ringlets of her gold- / en hair descend on a forehead humbly proud) (from the *Stanze per la giostra di Giuliano de' Medici,* a short epic in octaves written in connection with a mock tournament staged for Giuliano in 1475; trans. Quint 1979). More or less simultaneously with Botticelli, other artists—one thinks especially of the Verrocchio workshop—were creating female portraits with elaborately ornamented coiffures. Giorgio Vasari (1966–97 ed., vol. 3 [1966], p. 519) mentions a Botticelli portrait of Giuliano's mistress that was owned by Cosimo I de' Medici. Since Aby Warburg (1893, pp. 41–49), this assertion has been used as evidence to associate the present portraits with Simonetta Cattaneo Vespucci (1453–1476), who became the object of Neoplatonic veneration in Florence, especially after her early death. When Bernardo Pulci (1438–1488) names Dante's Beatrice, Petrarch's Laura, and Simonetta as *the* ideal personifications of virtuous beauty and places them on a common pedestal (Neri 1885, pp. 145–47), it shows that the cult of Simonetta refers back to a topos that already had a literary tradition in Florence. Pictures such as these were above all meant to celebrate the concept of the city as the birthplace of divine and thus eternal beauty. Giuliano de' Medici, in particular, was inspired by Simonetta, as Poliziano affirms in his *Stanze*, and verses by Pulci and Lorenzo de' Medici likewise celebrate her *bellezza* and *virtù* (however, Ross Brooke [2008] has pointed out how such idealizations might have generated a myth that persisted virtually independent of the historical Simonetta).



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In the Frankfurt picture, David Alan Brown (in Washington 2001–2) sees the shimmer of a cuirass beneath the braids falling down over the breast. This would accord with the complex personification of Simonetta as the goddess Minerva (or Venus) elaborated by Poliziano. Other interpretations of the Simonetta portrayal associate her with Thalia, Diana, a nymph, a courtesan, or a heavenly Aphrodite, and some even venture the somewhat extreme view that Simonetta is omnipresent in Botticelli's works (Ventrone 2007, p. 49; Körner 2009, p. 64).

Pictures of Simonetta were being mentioned as early as the Cinquecento (Vasari 1996, vol. 1, p. 541). It must be said, however, that in a letter to Giuliano's mother, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, Simonetta's father-in-law, Piero Vespucci, speaks of a portrait (*immagine*) of Simonetta given to Giuliano by the Vespucci after the death of his platonic beloved (Schmitter 1995, p. 41; Brooke 2008, p. 5), hence it is unlikely that this work was an idealized portrait. It is open to question whether a portrait of Simonetta intended as a lifelike *memoria* (e.g., death mask, portrait on the occasion of her marriage, etc.) might



have resembled works such as the Berlin and Frankfurt pictures, and if so, to what degree. The cross-references between humanistic poetry and classical writing and philosophy were capable of generating highly varied and ambivalent literary images, and the Medici were not above exploiting them as a way of underscoring their claim to supremacy in Florence. As for the present paintings, the question of whether they depict Simonetta Vespucci seems far less relevant than their possible equivalence as literary images and, accordingly, their intention of visualizing humanistic formulations of ideal beauty. This is where their importance lies, and this is the reason for their exalted idealization.

Whereas the Berlin panel exhibits a high degree of subtlety in the painting, especially of the flesh tones, the sculptural effect predominates in the Frankfurt portrait. This accords with its exceptional size as well as with the discovery of a dense row of nail holes running around the edge of the picture, which led Hiller von Gaertringen (2004) to assume the work was once incorporated into wood paneling. In contrast to the other known example of this picture type, the profile on the Berlin panel looks to the left. In addition, X-radiographs reveal that in an earlier planning stage the bottom edge of the window opening was meant to be lower. Botticelli originally planned the interaction of figure and ground by placing the bottom edge of the window somewhat below the shoulders, thus setting head and neck against a backdrop of the blue sky. Why he made these work-in-progress changes is unknown, but reducing the sky area certainly accentuated the line and shape of the long, slender neck and the outline of the upper body. Moreover, the subject's flesh tone could be captured with greater intensity when enveloped by the black background. A more striking way of accentuating her radiant skin is scarcely imaginable. SW

Provenance Cat. 19: purchased for the Gemäldegalerie from the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence (1875)

Cat. 20: Germany (by 1825); Christian Franz Eberhard-Winter, Frankfurt am Main (by 1830); purchased for the Städel Museum (1849)

Selected References Cat. 19: Ulmann 1893, pp. 54–55; Bode 1921, pp. 75–77; Lightbown 1978, vol. 2, pp. 116–17, no. C3; Lightbown 1989, p. 313; Pons 1989, p. 71 (with earlier bibliography); Pons in Athens 2003–4, vol. 1, p. 289; Zöllner 2005, pp. 55–58, 215; Reinhardt 2009, pp. 122–24

Cat. 20: Cropper 1976, p. 388; Lightbown 1989, p. 313; Brown in Washington 2001–2, pp. 182–85; Hiller von Gaertringen 2004 (with earlier bibliography), pp. 324–44; Cecchi 2005, p. 226; Zöllner 2005, pp. 54–58, 214–15; Musacchio 2008, pp. 30–31; Schumacher in Frankfurt 2009–10, pp. 152–55

Andrea del Castagno
(Castagno, ca. 1419–1457, Florence)

21. *Portrait of a Man*

ca. 1450–57

Tempera on wood, 21⅞ × 16¼ in. (55.5 × 41.2 cm)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Andrew W. Mellon Collection (1937.1.17)

This extraordinary picture is one of the landmarks of Italian portraiture: the earliest surviving painted portrait in three-quarter view, with the figure, splendidly dressed in the most costly red (*cremisi*), seen against the sky, shown to the waist, with his right hand clutching the long end (*becchetto*) of a hood worn over the shoulder (*cappucio*). Although his gesture can be found in Renaissance fresco cycles—for example, Ghirlandaio's scene of the Confirmation of the Rule of Saint Francis in Santa Trinita, Florence (see fig. 8)—and was probably as commonplace as old photographs of a politician grasping the lapels of his suit, the attitude it conveys unquestionably introduces a psychological dimension to the portrait. So innovative are these features that occasional doubts have been expressed (most insistently by Gilbert 1968) concerning both Castagno's authorship of the picture and its status as an independent portrait rather than a fragment from an altarpiece. It should, therefore, be stated at the outset that although the picture has been trimmed on all sides, it is extremely unlikely to have been reduced by much. Also, the alternative attribution to Piero del Pollaiuolo that has been advanced from time to time (see especially Boskovits 1997 and 2003) is unconvincing, as Alison Wright noted in her 2005 monograph on the Pollaiuolo brothers. The picture shows none of Pollaiuolo's interest in surface and texture, and the emphasis on line as a means of describing form is typical of Castagno's work. A comparison with Castagno's fresco cycle of famous men and women from the Villa Carducci (now Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), in which full-length figures are shown in animated conversation, suggests compelling analogies.

Cleaning of the picture, undertaken on the occasion of this exhibition, has enhanced the strong contrasts of color and light Castagno habitually employed as well as the emphatically drawn line he used to define contours. He showed little interest in those subtle modulations of surface or the effects of reflected light that so fascinated Domenico Veneziano (but see

Ragionieri in Florence 1990, pp. 139–41). Nor was he concerned with the kind of detailed, naturalistic description that is the hallmark of Netherlandish painting. One must, indeed, reject the suggestion that the innovations of this portrait—especially the three-quarter view—derive from Netherlandish portraits (Nuttall 2004). Marble portrait busts, not painted portraits, constituted Castagno's point of reference. As Richard Offner observed almost a century ago, "There is the heroic breadth of sculpture asserted in the rounding contours of jaw and crown, and the subtle evenness of the relief, and the thing yields the luminous hardness and the quantitative depth of a block of wrought stone" ([1919] 1998, p. 283).

Castagno's frame of reference was not limited to the portrait bust. Critics have rightly emphasized the importance of Donatello's psychologically vivid sculpture as a model: not only the portraitlike reliquary bust of Saint Rossore (cat. 1), but statues such as those created for the Campanile of the cathedral of Florence, in which Old Testament prophets are invested with such vivid lifelikeness that sixteenth-century critics believed they were portraits of prominent Florentine citizens; Donatello is reported to have challenged one lifelike statue to speak. The famous men of Castagno's fresco cycle from the Villa Carducci—some from the recent past—were conceived along the same lines. Precisely this kind of psychological verisimilitude in Castagno's portrait led Offner to declare, "Saving the works of Donatello possibly, and of Antonello da Messina alone among painters, our portrait is the most acute realization of reality in modern times."

Offner's assertion has been cited by more than one author, but its implications for our understanding of fifteenth-century portraiture have not been fully explored. Whereas we tend to emphasize anthropological issues such as social function and typology, he was expanding upon Jacob Burckhardt's conviction that the greatest creative achievement of the Renaissance was the aesthetic development of individual personality (Burckhardt's paradigm was Leon Battista Alberti; see Grafton 2000, pp. 9–18). Crucial to Offner's appraisal was Aby Warburg's classic 1902 article on portraiture, with its acute analysis of Ghirlandaio's portraits in the Sassetti Chapel of Santa Trinita. Offner recognized that Castagno moved beyond the recording of likeness to explore gaze and gesture as expressive devices. As Peter Burke has remarked, the question is how to interpret this "language, or rhetoric, of the body" while avoiding "the obvious dangers of subjectivity and anachronism" (1987, p. 153). Here, then, is Offner ([1919] 1998, p. 284):

> The discovery of some intrinsic dynamic force in the individual seems always to have been Castagno's absorbing motive even in his compositions, and he consequently never achieved the clear and stately harmonies of some of his contemporaries. . . . This is a man without devastating doubts, or self-pity or vain sorrow, and in his life never has thought or the conscience turned upon itself. He embodies the type of culture in which renouncements count for little, because the will to life is still sound and the faculties still singing. . . . In the particularization of personality is sunk the individualization of the moment. The figure more than fills the area, but it was intended that the frame should cut it at the sides in such a way that it might seem to be pausing on its way before the opening. The hand is shown in arrested movement and the eye is detained by some object, neither wincing nor straying. Yet this is precisely what one should expect of Castagno. The photographic moment secures against the aesthetic diffuseness which realism abhors. It contracts the separable factors of facial and structural expression into a single motive force and produces finally a sense of reality so vivid that our eager faculties, united for an instant, swell and glow in one ecstatic response.

The anonymity of Castagno's subject makes it impossible to test Offner's analysis in the way Warburg could set what we know about the subjects of Ghirlandaio's frescoes against their depictions, or in the way we can set Mantegna's portrait of Cardinal Trevisan (cat. 142) against his biography. What is clear is that Offner read Castagno's rhetoric of gesture in terms of his understanding of Renaissance society. Whether we would read this portrait in the same way is perhaps less important than the recognition that Castagno set the stage for a kind of portrait that would not be fully developed until the sixteenth century, both in literary as well as pictorial terms: portraiture as the construction of identity through the evocation of character. Its impact can be seen in several works in this exhibition (see cats. 26, 34), but its implications awaited the genius of Leonardo. KC

Provenance Probably Del Nero family, Florence; Baron Cerbone Del Nero (d. 1816); his widow, Ottavia Torrigiani (d. 1825); the Torrigiani collection, Palazzo Torrigiani (formerly Del Nero), Florence (1825–1927); Charles Fairfax Murray, on joint account with Thomas Agnew and Sons, London; Rodolphe Kann, Paris (1896–1905); [Duveen Brothers, Inc., London and New York, and Nathan Wildenstein, Paris]; John Pierpont Morgan, New York (1907–13); John Pierpont Morgan, Jr., New York (1913–35); [Knoedler and Co., New York and London, 1935]; Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington (1935–37); The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh

Selected References Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1864–66, vol. 2, p. 397; Offner (1919) 1998, pp. 227–35; Pope-Hennessy 1963, p. 28; Gilbert 1968, pp. 281–82; Horster 1980, pp. 32–33, 180–81; L. Campbell 1990, p. 232; Spencer 1991, pp. 131–32; Boskovits 1997, pp. 338–39; Boskovits in Boskovits and Brown 2003, pp. 588–95; Nuttall 2004, pp. 214–15; Wright 2005, pp. 133, 454 n. 94



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Workshop of Desiderio da Settignano

22. *Niccolò da Uzzano*

ca. 1450–55
Painted terracotta, H. 18⅛ in. (46 cm)
Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (Maioliche e Terracotte 179)

Although this terracotta bust is among the most often-discussed sculptures in studies of Italian Renaissance portraiture, its importance in the context of modern scholarly literature—especially compared to other busts of equal or nearly equal fame (for example, cats. 12, 47)—seems to exceed its actual significance. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the noble houses and churches of Florence were filled with portraits modeled in ephemeral materials, beginning with the many wax ex-votos at the Santissima Annunziata, a sanctuary that was also popular among non-Florentine believers from Italy and Europe. That this bust has survived to the present day is thanks largely to the fame of the subject and to his descendants' consciousness of tradition. It has also benefited from an old attribution to Donatello, as famous as it was extraneous.

The figure's identification as Niccolò da Uzzano (1359–1433), a remarkable political and diplomatic figure in Florence in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, immediately preceding the definitive rise of the Medici family (Passerini 1875, pl. II), is well supported by pictorial and graphic evidence from as early as the mid-sixteenth century (Kauffmann 1935; Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà in Florence 1985–86). At that time the bust must still have been (or already was) located where it is known to have resided from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century, that is, in the Palazzo Capponi delle Rovinate in Via de' Bardi, the palace Uzzano built and lived in and which was inherited from his descendants by a branch of the Capponi family in the fifteenth century (Ginori Lisci 1972, vol. 2, pp. 665–72, no. 106). One might suspect, as some already have, that by the sixteenth century the Capponi family no longer had a clear idea of what their ancestor's appearance had been. Nevertheless a late fifteenth-century Florentine medal bearing Uzzano's image and name (Hill 1930, no. 1108) is perfectly compatible with the bust (with the exception of the *mazzocchio,* a typical fifteenth-century Florentine male headdress similar to a turban, which was added in the medal to hide the man's receding hairline).

All the twentieth-century proposals advanced against an identification of this bust with Uzzano—the names are few in number, but often repeated—are less convincing. Gino di Neri di Recco Capponi (1350–1421), his son Neri (1388–1457), his grandson Gino (1423–1487), and his great-grandson Piero (1446–1496) all belonged to a branch of the Capponi family different from that of Niccolò di Piero Capponi (1406–1484), Uzzano's heir and the owner of the palace in the Via de' Bardi (Passerini 1870–71, pls. V–VII, X, XI; Passerini 1875, pl. II; Ginori Lisci 1972, vol. 2, pp. 666–67). The resemblances between the bust and the funerary profile of Neri Capponi in Santo Spirito (a work by Antonio Rossellino) or a figure—identified as Neri or his son, Gino—in a fresco by Domenico Ghirlandaio in the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinita seem more the result of a similarity of types than of individual physiognomic traits. The interpretation of the bust as Cicero, based on the mole on the figure's left cheek (Studniczka 1911, and many after him), is even more unlikely. While this is perhaps a tempting and provocative suggestion, it ignores a second mole next to the nose, and it completely contradicts, moreover, the chronological evidence of style, because it supposes—without any justification—that the bust is an effigy made during the Cinquecento. In the final analysis, it seems best to accept the sculpture as a portrait of Uzzano, an identification that is far more secure than those of many other sitters in the history of portraiture that have never been questioned.

The attribution of the bust to Donatello is not documented before 1745; it comes, therefore, from a time when almost all Florentine Quattrocento sculpture was, in confused fashion, ascribed to the father of the Renaissance. The exact contemporaneity of the artist and subject also contributed to the idea that Donatello had made it. The Italian state bought the work in 1881, largely to thwart the Berlin museums' attempts to acquire it. If this patriotic and costly purchase appeared to endorse the guidebook attributions to Donatello, it also seems to be at the root of later bureaucratic defenses of his authorship. The Risorgimento and the nationalism of a newly united Italy, moreover, celebrated the sculptor as the great realist and portraitist of an ancient, free, and republican people. But even non-Italian authors suggested that no other artist of the early Renaissance had the ability to create such an effective portrait; it was (according to Kauffmann 1935) absolutely the first autonomous bust of modern civilization.

The Uzzano bust would indeed be inconceivable without the new wave of verism and moral and spiritual humanity that Donatello had driven into the soul of the art of sculpture. Yet no work securely attributed to this master reveals such a detailed, meticulous, and self-contained interest in the changing

particulars of individual appearance, which for Donatello was always only a starting point, one that had to be elevated to a more universal meaning (see the reliquary bust of Saint Rossore [cat. 1] and the *Gattamelata* in Padua). Moreover, the myth of the strong personality projected by the Uzzano bust should have come apart completely when, as early as the late nineteenth century, it began to be understood that the face was cast directly from life or, perhaps more correctly, it was based on a death mask. Thus there would have been no need to inconvenience Donatello with such a menial and mechanical task.

Those who do not believe that the bust represents Niccolò da Uzzano include scholars who accept the attribution to Donatello as well as those who do not. In the first instance, it seems as if excluding Uzzano makes an attribution to Donatello easier (for example, Émile Bertaux [1910, pp. 133–34] did not accept that the sculptor, a friend of the Medici, would also have



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worked for one of their political adversaries). In the second case, scholars have tried to identify the sitter as someone more recent than Uzzano so that they can reconcile the bust with a later date, making it impossible that Donatello could have been responsible for it (see Rosenauer 2011, with bibliography). All of these attempts depart, curiously, from the same (in my opinion, ill-founded) supposition, namely, that the death (or life) mask was taken in order to produce the bust rapidly. On the contrary, the custom of making such masks of famous men like Uzzano (whose fame is attested by the great grief expressed by the republic at his death) is well known, even when there was no intention of obtaining a portrait soon after. Whether or not this was also true in the case of Uzzano can be established only through a stylistic analysis of the bust, which almost certainly was made after his death, in 1433, but not necessarily in the years immediately following (as is demonstrated by the late fifteenth-century medal, cited above).

Both the interpretation and dating of the bust need to be based primarily on an examination of the handling of the drapery and the movement of the head, for these are the sculptor's most individual contributions. The drapery shows an impressive and, indeed, unique affinity with the marble sculptures of Desiderio da Settignano, by whom there are few surviving, universally accepted works in "soft" materials such as clay (although documentary sources tell us that he made many). For this reason, Schlegel's attribution to Desiderio (1967) has been accepted at least twice in the past decades (Rosenauer 1993; Caglioti 2008b). Artur Rosenauer recently argued for it in a lengthy article (2011), although, as is so often the case, he linked his conclusions too strongly to the question of the identity of the sitter, whom he was not inclined to see as Uzzano.

While a historical tradition rooted in the nineteenth century suggests that Desiderio only undertook masterpieces of extraordinary grace (see, for example, cats. 12, 41), the Uzzano bust seems to represent the diametrical opposite of this. Research in the last thirty years has revealed, however, that the sculptor was also noted for the profiles he made of ancient military leaders, many of which were inspired by the extreme realism of Roman republican and imperial portraiture (Middeldorf 1979b; Caglioti 2006; Caglioti 2008b). These works are dated to the 1450s, and it is noteworthy that they coincided with Mino da Fiesole's reinvention of the autonomous portrait at the behest of the Medici family. Mino's bust of Piero de' Medici (cat. 47), moreover, has the same movement of the head to the left. Always cognizant of Desiderio's work (and not the other way around), Mino also made a series of busts, beginning with that of Giovanni de' Medici (fig. 5), of contemporary figures in ancient garb. Until recently the bust of Giovanni de' Medici was dated later, but we now know that it was made before 1456 (Caglioti 1991).

Given the current state of knowledge, the most satisfactory way to understand the bust of Niccolò da Uzzano is to place it squarely at the nexus between the study and collecting of ancient busts, which was itself at the root of the birth of the modern portrait bust (Caglioti 2008b). This explains Uzzano's Roman senatorial robes, which in the twentieth century suggested the figure might be identified as Cicero.

Notwithstanding the above, and in light of the use of the old death mask, it would appear that the bust is not entirely from Desiderio's own hand. In 1462, when the Rossellino brothers were working on the tomb of Cardinal Jaime of Portugal (d. 1459) in San Miniato al Monte in Florence, Desiderio was paid to furnish them with a "head" of the prelate. Scholars have interpreted this payment as being for a funerary mask (Hartt, Corti, and Kennedy 1964, pp. 53, 82, 86, 144, doc. 8), and thus it seems that Desiderio's workshop was not new to the practice.

FC

Provenance Palazzo Capponi delle Rovinate (formerly Palazzo da Uzzano) in Via de' Bardi, Florence (until 1881)

Selected References Kauffmann 1935, pp. 47–52, 212–14 nn. 145–69, pls. 9–10; Janson 1957, vol. 2, pp. 237–40 and figs. 492–94; Schlegel 1967; Andreoni in Florence 1985–86, pp. 258–61; Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà in Florence 1985–86, pp. 246–57, no. VII; Rosenauer 1993, pp. 319–20, no. 90; Caglioti 2008b, passim, esp. p. 98 n. 31; Rosenauer 2011

Benedetto da Maiano
(near Florence, 1442–1497, Florence)

23. *Filippo Strozzi*

1475

Terracotta, 17½ × 21⅝ in. (44.5 × 55 cm)

Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (N. 102)

24. *Filippo Strozzi*

1475

Marble, 20⅜ × 22⅜ × 11⅞ in. (51.8 × 56.7 × 30 cm)

Inscribed: inside bust cavity, *FILIPPUS STROZA MATEI FILIVS* (Filippo Strozzi, son of Matteo); *BENEDICTUS MAIANO FECIT* (Benedetto Maiano made [it])

Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris (R.F. 289)

Style of Niccolò Fiorentino

25. *Filippo Strozzi*

1489

Copper alloy, cast; Diam. 3½ in. (8.9 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *PHILIPPVS STROZA* (Filippo Strozzi)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1957.14.880)

After years of political exile in Naples, the wealthy merchant-banker Filippo di Matteo Strozzi (1428–1491) returned to his native Florence in 1466. His father, Matteo, had opposed Cosimo de' Medici, who exiled him along with other Strozzi elders in 1434; the ban was extended to their sons in 1458. Filippo attained repatriation for himself and his brother Lorenzo by facilitating Piero de' Medici's diplomatic advances toward King Ferrante I of Naples (see cat. 133), Filippo's patron (Gregory 1985, p. 10), and upon his return to Florence, Filippo set about restoring the status and reputation of his family (Gregory 1985; London 1999–2000, p. 43). Filippo's magnificent Palazzo Strozzi is the most conspicuous example of his efforts to bring honor to the family. Indeed, Filippo's son Lorenzo reported that his father intended a building that "should bring renown to himself and all his [kinsmen] in Italy and abroad" (as quoted in Kent 1977, p. 311 and n. 1; for the palazzo, see Goldthwaite 1968, Goldthwaite 1973; Lillie 1994, p. 518; Markschies 2000; see Lillie 2004 for Filippo's other architectural projects).

Like many prominent Florentines, Filippo had his portrait made in marble (see cats. 47, 122). A Strozzi account book records a payment of 15 florins on July 15, 1475, for "una testa di marmo fatta fare al mio naturale da Benedetto da Maiano" (a marble head made of my visage by Benedetto da Maiano) (Borsook 1970c, p. 14, doc. 12). The term *testa* (head) was commonly used to describe busts at this time, and the phrase *al naturale* is variously translated as "lifelike" (or naturalistic), "lifesize," and "from life;" here, however, the possessive *mio* could suggest a meaning approximating "of my lifelikeness" or "visage." This notice almost certainly refers to the marble bust from the Louvre, whose interior inscriptions confirm Filippo as the sitter and the Florentine sculptor Benedetto da Maiano as the artist. Judging by extant examples, Benedetto appears to have routinely made terracotta models in preparation for his marble sculptures. The Louvre bust and its model, now in the state collection in Berlin, represent the earliest surviving instance of a terracotta and the finished marble (see cats. 125, 126 for another proposed pair). Their juxtaposition provides insight into both the sculptor's working methods (see Radke 1992) and the nature of fifteenth-century Florentine portrait sculpture.

In the terracotta bust, Filippo turns his head to the right, gazes askance, and furrows his brow, creating a sense of introspection. Peculiarities such as the mole beside the nose and the pronounced pouch beneath the left eye individualize his physiognomy and enhance the impression of lifelikeness. Filippo wears a contemporary costume of a collared doublet and fur-trimmed surcoat, the details of which are sketched broadly into the terracotta. The body is disproportionate to the head, indicating that the two sections were modeled separately. The body was presumably a workshop piece, while the head—the focal point of the portrait—would have been modeled by the master, likely working from sketches (Houston–London 2001–2, pp. 18, 143). A life mask was evidently not used, since the terracotta lacks the smoothed wrinkles, hollow cheeks, and pinned ears typical of a cast of a prone subject. According to Frida Schottmüller (1913, p. 82) and Luitpold Dussler (1924, p. 50), the bust was once painted. Whether the polychromy (removed in 1977; Boucher and Hubbard 2010, p. 221) was original or added later cannot be determined.

Where the terracotta model is concerned with capturing psychological expression, in the marble the artist paid greater attention to physiognomic and clothing details. Here, Filippo faces forward, his gaze just right of center. His large nose and warts remain, but he has assumed a more defined, noble chin. Veins course at his temples and down the center of his now-prominent forehead. Crow's-feet radiate below each eye. His mature features confer a certain gravity of character. The

enlarged torso is erect and imposing, the arms unmoving. The costume's luxurious fur lining and brocade are carefully delineated. These revisions to the terracotta composition demonstrate that male sculptural portraits—as is often said of their female counterparts—were calculated images rather than rote recordings of an individual's features. Eve Borsook aptly termed the Louvre bust Filippo's "official portrait" (1991, p. 9).

It is frequently assumed that the marble was intended for Filippo's funerary chapel in Santa Maria Novella, Florence (e.g., Houston–London 2001, p. 142), as Giorgio Vasari commented that Benedetto made Filippo's marble portrait there after executing the latter's tomb (1996 ed., p. 544). Yet neither the documents nor the chapel design supports this assertion (Carl 2006, p. 139 n. 96). The payment for the bust dates to 1475, while Filippo assumed patronage rights for the chapel only in 1486 (Borsook 1970a, p. 737), and there is no obvious place in the chapel to install the portrait.

In his medallic profile portrait, Filippo is depicted substantially older. The wrinkles across his forehead have multiplied, and the skin along his jowls and beneath his chin has slackened. A Florentine diarist noted that "certain medals" were tossed into the foundations of the Palazzo Strozzi, laid on August 6, 1489 (Landucci 1927, p. 48), presumably very like the medal exhibited here, since no others of Filippo are known. (His profile does appear, however, on an octagonal iron plaque in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, and on a circular wax model at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.) Once attributed to Benedetto da Maiano on the basis of his other portraits of Filippo (see, for example, Armand 1883–87, p. 98; Bode [1897] 1906, p. 30), the medal is now associated with the late fifteenth-century Florentine medalist Niccolò Fiorentino, whose attributed oeuvre includes medals with a similar bird reverse, such as that of Maria de' Mucini (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 340, 341 n. 4). One must



23





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acknowledge, though, that Filippo's medal, and the reverse in particular, is more finely executed than those deemed quintessential of this artist (for example, cat. 55). In a pastoral landscape, a molting falcon splays its wings. Its perch is a sprouting oak stump, to which a shield with the Strozzi arms is tied. (The family arms are generally three silver crescents on a red band against a gold field [Sale 1979, p. 83].) This elaborate *impresa* also decorates Filippo's illuminated manuscript of Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* (Bodleian Library, Oxford; see London–New York 1994–95, no. 85, for the frontispiece and Filippo's portrait there) and two *sgabelli* (high-backed chairs) from the Palazzo Strozzi (Museo Horne, Florence; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). The bird is a play on the Strozzi name, as *strozziere* is Italian for falconer; the molting falcon and the leafing tree exemplify regeneration (Sale 1979, pp. 83–99). Cast in enduring metal and embedded in his celebrated palace, Filippo's medal is an elegant pledge of familial and self-renewal. JLV

Provenance Cat. 23: acquired from the Strozzi collection, Florence (1877)

Cat. 24: acquired from the Strozzi collection, Florence (1878)

Cat. 25: Oscar Hainauer (d. 1894), Berlin; his widow, Mrs. Julie Hainauer, Berlin; [purchased by Duveen Brothers, Inc., London, New York, and Paris, 1906; sold to Dreyfus]; Gustave Dreyfus (1837–1914), Paris; his heirs; [purchased by Duveen Brothers, Inc., London, New York, and Paris, 1930; sold to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, 1944]; gift to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (1957)

Selected References Cat. 23: Bode 1883, p. 21; Schottmüller 1913, p. 82, no. 198; Houston–London 2001–2, pp. 142–43, no. 18; Bode-Museum 2006, p. 136; Carl 2006, pp. 137–38; Boucher and Hubbard 2010, pp. 217–23

Cat. 24: Gonse 1879, pp. 54–57; Pope-Hennessy 1966, pp. 82, 313 n. 30; Borsook 1970c, pp. 3, 10 n. 15, 14 doc. 12; Borsook 1991, p. 9; Dijon–Orléans 1992, p. 20, no. 2; Houston–London 2001–2, pp. 144–45, no. 19; Carl 2006, pp. 137–39; Boucher and Hubbard 2010, pp. 217–23

Cat. 25: J. Friedländer 1882, pp. 141–42; Armand 1883–87, vol. 1, p. 98; Hill 1930, no. 1018; Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 134–35, no. 44; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 340–41, no. 323

Biagio d'Antonio (Florence, 1446–1516, Florence)

26. *Portrait of a Young Man*

ca. 1470

Tempera on wood, 21⅜ × 15½ in. (54.3 × 39.4 cm); painted surface, 20¼ × 14¼ in. (51.4 × 36.2 cm); borders around picture surface, originally unpainted, were once covered by an engaged frame

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.68)

Despite its poor condition—the cheeks, neck, and parts of the jacket are badly abraded, and the sitter's left hand is all but obliterated—this portrait nevertheless makes a strong impression thanks to the skillful reintegration of the damaged areas. Examination with infrared reflectography reveals quite fluid underdrawing confidently applied with the point of a brush, some of it visible to the naked eye in the face and the fingers of the right hand.

The cocky sitter—to judge from his appearance no more than fifteen or sixteen years old—stands before an extensive landscape and stares at the spectator with self-confidence. As Bernard Berenson wrote in 1925, the portrait depicts "a frank, alert youth, somewhat spoiled, no doubt, by birth and wealth, but who will mature into a worthy citizen and leader of his people." The sitter is unidentified, but the view of the walled city of Florence in the middle ground at left indicates that he was Florentine. He may even have been a member of the Niccolini family, since the portrait was sold from the Niccolini palace. If the Niccolini owned property in the countryside to the east of Florence, the prominent rolling hills behind the sitter may allude to their land holdings.

Parents usually commissioned portraits of their sons to commemorate important occasions, such as their leaving their homeland to work in distant cities. In this portrait, however, the sitter's pose has been interpreted as evidence that the painting is posthumous, on analogy with a carved relief of the deceased Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) in the cathedral of Florence showing the great architect as if he were alive, standing in a similar attitude, bare-headed, with his left arm akimbo and his right hand holding the end of a *chaperon*, or cowl hood, the rest of which hangs down his back. Given the naturalness of the youth's pose, however, it is hard to believe it had such a specific meaning: as they walked through the streets of Florence, countless young men must have held their hoods this way. By coincidence, a portrait in the present exhibition (cat. 21), whose attribution oscillates between Castagno and Piero del Pollaiuolo, depicts a young man in the same pose, holding the end of a hood, and incidentally wearing similar clothing: a red tunic over a black doublet and a linen shirt.

When the portrait came on the art market in 1925, it was given to Botticelli (Berenson, letter to Friedsam), an indication of its high quality. The attribution persisted until Roberto Longhi (expertise of 1937) recognized it as a work by Biagio d'Antonio, a prolific Florentine painter whose historical identity was not established until the 1930s. Born in 1446, Biagio d'Antonio was a contemporary of Botticelli's (ca. 1444–1510), and like the young Botticelli he was influenced by Andrea del Verrocchio (ca. 1435–1488). In fact, Giorgio Vasari believed that Biagio's early altarpiece for the church of San Domenico del Maglio in Florence (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest) was an autograph work by Verrocchio (Sallay and Tátrai in Budapest 2009–10). Biagio was one of the team of artists including Botticelli, Cosimo Rosselli (1440–1507), Perugino (ca. 1450–1523), Domenico Ghirlandaio (1448/49–1494), and Luca Signorelli (ca. 1450–1523) who decorated the side walls of the Sistine Chapel in 1481–82. Not only did Biagio paint one of the main murals, the *Parting of the Red Sea*, he also executed secondary scenes in Ghirlandaio's *Calling of the First Disciples* and Rosselli's *Last Supper*.



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Biagio must have had an affable character, for he continued to collaborate with other artists after he worked in the Sistine Chapel. In the late 1480s, he helped Ghirlandaio with one of the frescoes in the Sassetti Chapel in the church of Santa Trinita, Florence, and he painted a beautiful panel of the *Betrothal of Jason and Medea* (Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris) to go with those executed by Bartolomeo di Giovanni and Pietro del Donzello (Mari-Cha Collection, New York) for the wedding in the summer of 1486 of Lorenzo Tornabuoni and Giovanna degli Albizzi (see cat. 18). Biagio also worked with Jacopo del Sellaio on the decoration of marriage chests, beginning with

the sumptuous *cassoni* and *spalliere* for the Morelli-Nerli wedding (Courtauld Gallery, London), and continuing with one of the pair of panels with *Scenes from the Story of the Argonauts* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Biagio's talent for portraiture is evident in the dozen or so animated faces he painted in the Sistine Chapel and in the three donor portraits he made of Niccolò Ragnoli, his wife, and son, in the large altarpiece for the church of San Michele in Faenza (Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma), a documented work of 1476 (with, by the way, a spectacular view of Florence in the middle ground). The present picture is one of three surviving autonomous portraits by Biagio, all of them bust-length portrayals of young men standing before landscape backgrounds. The other two are a *Portrait of a Boy* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), set before an unusual landscape with jagged mountain peaks, and a *Portrait of a Young Man Wearing a Red Cap* (Alana Collection, Newark, Delaware), set before a meandering river valley landscape. The Metropolitan Museum's portrait is the earliest: reflecting Verrocchio's sculptural style, it probably dates from about 1470.

EF

Provenance Marquess Eugenio Niccolini, Florence (sold to Grassi); [Luigi Grassi, Florence, until 1925; sold to Lugt]; Frits Lugt, Amsterdam (1925; sold to Kleinberger and Lucerne Fine Arts Co.); [Kleinberger, New York, 1925; sold to Friedsam]; Michael Friedsam, New York (1925–d. 1931)

Selected References Berenson 1932, p. 105; Longhi 1937; Zeri and Gardner 1971, p. 146; Bartoli 1999, pp. 38, 91, 187 no. 18, 191, 202; Boskovits in Boskovits and Brown 2003, pp. 593 n. 18, 594 n. 32; Luciano in Boskovits and Brown 2003, p. 132; Dóra Sallay and Vilmos Tátrai in Budapest 2009–10, p. 130

Hans Memling (Seligenstadt, ca. 1433–1494, Bruges)

27. Portrait of a Young Man

ca. 1472–75

Oil on oak panel, 15¾ × 11⅜ in. (40 × 29 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.112)

Striking a pose that suggests aloof refinement and innate nobility, the youthful sitter of this portrait wears a purple tunic edged with fur over a doublet with a high collar. Two rings set with rubies are worn on the middle joint of his right "ring" finger. Shown as though standing behind a parapet in a simple room pierced by a lateral window or loggia embellished with veined marble columns, he appears to be in his twenties and must have been a member of the sizable Florentine community in Bruges (it has been estimated that of the surviving portraits by Memling, more than twenty percent were commissioned by Italians; see Martens 1997, pp. 35–36; Lane 2009, pp. 199–201). Although we have no way of identifying him—at some point he was transformed into a Saint Sebastian by the addition of a halo and arrow, long since removed—there can be no doubt that shortly after the portrait was painted it was sent to Florence, where it was studied by a number of artists. A *Madonna and Child* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) variously ascribed to Verrocchio or Ghirlandaio employs the same columns and landscape view, and Raphael's *Portrait of a Man* (cat. 39) also shows close affinities (L. Campbell 1983, pp. 675–76; Fahy in Florence 2008, p. 171; Van der Sman in Florence 2008, p. 172). The portrait must have been painted in the early 1470s, since the Verrocchiesque *Madonna and Child* is usually dated to about 1476–77 (see Fahy in Florence 2008, p. 171). In this regard, it is important to note that a reexamination of the dendrochronological evidence regarding Memling's portrait demonstrates that the panel is from a tree with a felling date of 1470 and, thus, the picture could have been painted as early as 1472–74 (see Fahy in Florence 2008, p. 171).

It has long been recognized that Florentine painters deeply admired the astonishing quality of verisimilitude achieved by their Netherlandish counterparts: not simply the detailed description of the sitter's physiognomy, but the commonly employed illusionistic device of the fingers resting on the edge of the picture frame: the frame as window (unfortunately, the original, engaged frame of Memling's picture has not survived). There is also the creation of a "room with a view" through a window on to a distant landscape. What requires amendment is the idea that the direction of influence was predominantly and even exclusively north to south (see especially Nuttall 2004, pp. 210–21; Nuttall 2005, pp. 75–83). The classical columns in Memling's portrait, like the putti and swags that he introduced in some of his devotional paintings, imply a familiarity with Italian art, perhaps through examples he could have seen in the houses of resident Italians. It was Memling's ability to respond to the expectations of his foreign patrons—by enriching his portraits with classical motifs, and by endowing his sitters with a calm, abstracted demeanor enhanced by broad, placid landscapes and soft lighting that delicately models the features of the face—that ensured his portraits a prestige and influence throughout the Italian peninsula. And yet,



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John Pope-Hennessy was surely right to insist on the difference in "the creative intentions" behind Netherlandish and Florentine portraits (1966 [1979 ed.], p. 54). Although it has been argued that the interior setting of Botticelli's portrait of a woman at a window (cat. 14) was inspired by Netherlandish models, the dynamics of the picture are utterly different. The sitter confronts and actively addresses the viewer, and the mimetic terms of Netherlandish portraits are subordinated to the display of a conspicuously artificial, highly personal style, or *maniera*. Even with Raphael's *Portrait of a Man*, which self-evidently emulates the mimetic terms of Netherlandish practice, the sitter rests one arm on the sill or parapet and confronts the viewer with a bold, self-satisfied directness that fundamentally transforms the self-contained, interiorized world of Memling's portraits. Memling's art can thus be seen not simply to have enriched Florentine practice, but to have served as a catalyst for a truly modern conception—or poetics—of portraiture in which the artist moves beyond the mere recording of a likeness toward the construction of an individual's identity through the transformative character of artistic style.

KC

Provenance Francis, ninth earl of Wemyss (d. 1889), Gosford House, Longniddry, Scotland (by 1857); his son, Francis Richard, tenth earl of Wemyss (until 1912); R. Langon Douglas, London (1912); [M. Knoedler and Co., London and New York]; J. H. Dunn, London (December 1912); [M. Knoedler and Co., London and New York, July 1914]; Philip Lehman (from 1915)

Selected References L. Campbell 1983, pp. 675–76; De Vos 1994, p. 200, no. 48; Ames-Lewis 1996, p. 81; Wolff 1998, pp. 74–78 (with earlier bibliography); Nuttall 2004, p. 217; Ainsworth 2005, pp. 105–6; Madrid–Bruges–New York 2005, p. 165, no. 15; Nuttall 2005, p. 77; Nuttall in Florence 2008, p. 168, no. 34; Lane 2009, pp. 75, 205, 221, 297–98, no. 52

Filippino Lippi (Prato, ca. 1457–1504, Florence)

28. *Head of an Elderly Man*

ca. 1495

Metallic pencil and white highlights on a pink ground, 5⅞ × 4½ in. (15 × 11.3 cm)

Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig (NI 246)

Filippino Lippi's drawing of an elderly man presents the modern viewer with an apparent contradiction. With painstaking exactness, the artist captured the physiognomy of the gray-haired, fifty- to sixty-year-old sitter. Dense strokes with a metal pen and deftly brushed white highlights mark the play of light and shade on the emotive contours of the already sagging face. Features such as the curving, bushy eyebrows and the fleshy ears reinforce the impression of an actual person; however, compared to known portraits from the Quattrocento, the man's pose and implied action do not conform to the conventions of an independent portrait. The strong inclination of the head, for example, and the eyes, almost completely obscured by the upper lids and focusing on a point outside the picture, defy any certain identification by the viewer.

The suggestion that the present work is a preliminary study for a larger composition seems inescapable; indeed, in 1913 Herman Voss identified it as a study for one of the figures in Filippino's *Adoration of the Magi* (1496, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). The old man in the right foreground of this panel has exactly the same facial features, though rendered in three-quarter view. The sole difference from the Leipzig head is the wide-open eyes, for in the painting the head is raised. Alfred Scharf thought he saw the same person in the *Raising of the Son of Theophilus*, painted by Filippino more than ten years earlier in the Brancacci Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence (1935, p. 3). He was also the first to suggest, en passant, that this



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figure might be Piero del Pugliese, a Florentine merchant whom Giorgio Vasari mentions among the men portrayed in the fresco (1966–97 ed., vol. 3 [1976], p. 56). Scharf's cautious suggestion engendered the identification of a whole group of presumed portraits of Pugliese, who became an important patron of Filippino's (see Burke 2004, pp. 85–98). Yet any connection between the majority of these supposed portraits and the Leipzig drawing seems doubtful. The portrait Scharf refers to in the Brancacci Chapel shows no compelling similarity to the head in the drawing, nor is it unambiguously the figure identified by Vasari as Piero del Pugliese. On the other hand, a relatively certain depiction of Pugliese is found in Filippino's double portrait in the Denver Art Museum, and that figure presents a wholly different physiognomy (Zambrano and Katz Nelson 2004, p. 334), one that accords with the praying donor in the artist's *Madonna with Saint Bernard* in the Badia, Florence (Zambrano and Katz Nelson 2004, p. 346). That altarpiece is thought to have been endowed by Pugliese, and for that reason a different figure in the Brancacci Chapel from the one suggested by Scharf—one whose features more closely resemble those of the donor of the Badia altarpiece—has been proposed as the Florentine merchant (Zambrano and Katz Nelson 2004, p. 335).

Comparison between the Leipzig drawing and the head of the elderly man in the Florentine *Adoration* reveals them to be utterly consistent, and the drawing can therefore be grouped with other preparatory studies of various heads for this panel. They all exhibit the same painstaking representation from the live model, allowing for modifications for inclusion in the finished painting. One such drawing, in Berlin's Kupferstichkabinett (inv. KdZ 616)—unfortunately poorly preserved—depicts an elderly man in profile who reappears in the painting as the eldest of the Magi, with a full gray beard. Closer scrutiny of the slightly bent nose ending in a large, somewhat angular tip, fleshy ears, and full lower lip curving inward supports the impression that this is the same model seen in the Leipzig drawing. This would mean that, aside from any interest in portraiture, Filippino had the same elderly man sit for two different figures in the painting. It is doubtless no coincidence that a relatively large number of such head studies have survived for the Florentine *Adoration*; all of them could have been acquired simultaneously for the same collection. The study in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, of a head in *profil perdu* (inv. GDSU 1151E), for example, was cut from the sheet of paper following a line drawn by a compass, evidently for the purpose of mounting it in an album. A compass line was also drawn on the Leipzig sheet. A second possible reason for the quantity of surviving studies was Filippino's concentrated preparation for the *Adoration*, for by taking on this commission he had, in effect, entered into competition with Leonardo da Vinci; although Leonardo had left Florence for Milan, he had received the commission, which he pursued in a dilatory fashion and ultimately abandoned. If the Leipzig drawing suggests a work of portraiture, we can credit this quality to Filippino's painstaking preparatory work in the interests of realism. At the same time, it demonstrates his own peculiar strategy of endeavoring to capture his subject in a transitory pose. This sense of narrative moment is found not only in the secondary figures of his larger compositions, but even in a work such as the Denver double portrait and the *Portrait of a Young Man* attributed either to him or to Raffaellino del Garbo, in the National Gallery, London (see cat. 35). RR

Provenance Johann August Otto Gehler, Leipzig; Emilie Dörrien, Leipzig; Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig (from 1859)

Selected References Voss 1913, p. 227; Scharf 1935, p. 133; Shoemaker 1975, pp. 327–28; Bambach in New York 1997–98, p. 134; Zambrano 1998, p. 151; Zambrano and Katz Nelson 2004, pp. 209–10, 333, 495

Filippino Lippi (Prato, ca. 1457–1504, Florence)

29. *Head of an Elderly Man Wearing a Cap, Called Mino da Fiesole*

ca. 1495

Metal point on bluish gray prepared paper, heightened with white, cut as an oval, 7½ × 5½ in. (19 × 14 cm)

The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Bakewell (705)

At Chatsworth this drawing was traditionally given an implausible attribution to Daniele da Volterra (ca. 1509–1566), who flourished in the mid-sixteenth century; it clearly dates from the previous century. Writing in 1890, Giovanni Morelli ascribed it to Lorenzo di Credi (for drawings by him, see cats. 31–33) and suggested that it is a portrait of the Florentine sculptor Mino da Fiesole (1429–1484). Morelli did not indicate whether he was aware of Giorgio Vasari's claim that there was a portrait of Mino in his *Libro de' disegni*—"The portrait of Mino is in our book of drawings, but I do not know by whose hand; it was given to me together with some drawings made with black lead by Mino himself, which have no little beauty" (Vasari 1996 ed., vol. 1, p. 480)—nor did Morelli note that the woodcut portrait of Mino in Vasari's *Lives* is based on this drawing.

Bernard Berenson (1903) and A. E. Popham (1931) were inclined to agree with Morelli's attribution, Berenson observing that if it were correct, then Credi "could have made it no later than 1484, the date of Mino's death." Alfred Scharf (1935), the author of the first book on Filippino Lippi, catalogued the drawing as by Filippino, an attribution accepted by Berenson (1938), Popham (in Washington and other cities 1962–63), and George Goldner (in New York 1997–98). They dated it about the time of Filippino's murals in the Brancacci Chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence, executed in the early 1480s. The attribution was rejected, however, by Patrizia Zambrano (1998) in her review of the Metropolitan Museum's exhibition of Filippino Lippi drawings, and the drawing was ignored in the monograph she wrote with Jonathan Katz Nelson (2004).

But the attribution to Filippino is supported by the drawing's similarity to Filippino's metal-point study of a youth in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (226E verso; reproduced in Melli 2008, p. 102). The pronounced diagonal lines of metal point and the liberal application of white heightening can also be seen in Filippino's *Head of a Man with Long Hair*



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in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (12822 recto), which is a study for one of the shepherds in his large altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Magi* for San Donato agli Scopeti (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). The latter was completed in 1496, and the Chatsworth drawing probably dates from about the same time, much too late to be a life portrait of Mino.

Morelli was wrong about the artist, but he may have been right about the sitter. His identification was confirmed by Otto Kurz (1937), who catalogued it as the drawing that Giorgio Vasari used for the woodcut of Mino in the second edition of his *Lives* (1568). But Kurz inexplicably called it a self-portrait of Mino, which seems unlikely as it does not look like a self-portrait, which is made by the artist gazing into a mirror, and there are no drawings by Mino with which to compare it. The woodcut reproduces the drawing in reverse and, like the drawing, is an upright oval. It is less than half the size of the drawing (the woodcut measures 2⅝ × 2 in. [6.7 × 5 cm]). When the sheet was trimmed is not known, but a previous owner may have cut it to match the shape of the woodcut.

The drawing is representative of the age-old fascination with portraits of artists. Two of the most famous examples are the panel in the Uffizi with three members of the Gaddi family—Taddeo, Zenobio, and Agnolo Gaddi—painted by an anonymous late fourteenth-century Florentine artist, and the similar

horizontal panel in the Louvre of five artists—Giotto, Uccello, Donatello, Manetti, and Brunelleschi—probably painted a century later (Pope-Hennessy 1966, pp. 23–24). EF

Provenance Giorgio Vasari (d. 1574), Arezzo; Niccolò Gaddi (d. 1591), Florence; Thomas Howard, second earl of Arundel (d. 1646); Nicolaes Anthoni Flinck (d. 1723); William Cavendish, second duke of Devonshire (from 1723, d. 1729); by descent to Peregrine Cavendish (b. 1944), twelfth duke of Devonshire

Selected References Morelli 1890, vol. 1, p. 90; Strong 1902, p. 5; Berenson 1903, vol. 1, p. 47, vol. 2, p. 34, no. 671; Popham 1931, p. 18, no. 58; Scharf 1935, p. 129, no. 292; Kurz 1937, p. 12; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 141, new no. 1274B; Prinz 1966, p. 92, no. 57; New York 1997–98, pp. 17, 103, 134, 136, 137, no. 20; Zambrano 1998, p. 151

Florentine artist

30. *Bust Portraits of Two Boys*

ca. 1490

Metal point with white highlighting on ocher yellow prepared paper, 8⅝ × 11 in. (21.8 × 28 cm)

Inscribed: on recto, *Do Ghirlandaiö* and *45* (lower right), *44* (lower left); on verso, lower left to right: *No: 46, 47, 48*

Verso: *Two Standing Boys and a Seated Man*

Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 457)



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The drawings on this double-sided sheet depict the same two youths twice, first as subjects of the portraits on the recto and second as models for the full-length standing figures in heavy mantles on the verso. Although the youth on the left of the recto is sometimes called a young man (Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96, p. 152), both youths most likely were teenagers when these drawings were made. In the drawings on the recto and verso, the youths—probably workshop assistants (*garzoni*)—wear caps on top of the long hair that covers the backs of their necks. The heads on the recto are not formal studies for finished portraits, like Domenico Ghirlandaio's drawings in the present exhibition (cats. 15, 16), but rather life studies made as exercises to train the eye and hand. As Jean Cadogan observed, life studies were "a class of drawings that was new to the second half of the 15th century" (1980, p. 38). Previously, students were trained to draw by copying from pattern books.

The drawings were made by a not highly accomplished draftsman, as can be seen in the awkward proportions; the head of the boy on the left, for example, is much too big for his chest, and the voluminous drapery of the figures on the verso does not conceal weaknesses in anatomical drawing. Charles Loeser (1902) thought the drawings were made by two different artists: an anonymous copyist after Cosimo Rosselli for the portraits on the recto, and an artist influenced by Filippino Lippi for the figures on the verso. Most writers have followed Bernard Berenson (1903) in ascribing both sides of the sheet to Davide Ghirlandaio (see cats. 17, 34 for paintings by Davide Ghirlandaio), one of Domenico's younger brothers with whom he collaborated throughout his career. Berenson attributed almost seventy life studies to Davide, but it is clear that not all of them are by the same hand.

Some of the leading students of Italian Renaissance drawings, such as A. E. Popham and Philip Pouncey (1950, p. 88) and J. Byam Shaw (1983, vol. 1, under no. 7, p. 13 n. 7), have expressed skepticism about Berenson's reconstruction of Davide Ghirlandaio's oeuvre. Stylistically, the drawings owe more to Filippino Lippi than to the Ghirlandaio brothers. Nevertheless, Berenson's attribution for the Berlin sheet is retained, albeit with a question mark, in the most recent catalogue of the Italian drawings in the Berlin Print Room (Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96), and it was endorsed by Carmen Bambach, who wrote that the sheet was "convincingly attributed by Berenson to David Ghirlandaio, and is among the firmer touchstones for defining this elusive artist's draftsmanship" (1999b, p. 59).

While no uncontested drawing by Davide Ghirlandaio has ever come to light, his copious output of paintings is on secure ground, based on the identification of his altarpiece of 1486 in the Saint Louis Art Museum, Missouri (Venturini 2000, p. 241 n. 23), and his large fresco of 1489–90 in the Museo del Cenacolo di Andrea del Sarto at San Salvi in Florence (Scandicci 2010–11,

p. 100). These, taken with his mosaic of 1496 now in the Musée National de la Renaissance at Écouen, reveal a limited artistic personality that has little to do with the drawings that Berenson attributed to Davide Ghirlandaio. The drawings on the Berlin sheet, moreover, are by a right-handed draftsman, whereas Davide Ghirlandaio's documented paintings were executed by a left-hander, as Jill Dunkerton (1994, p. 86) observed of a characteristic painting by Davide in the National Gallery, London. EF

Provenance Acquired from an unknown source (before 1879)

Selected References Lippmann 1882, vol. 1, p. 64, nos. 97 and 157; Loeser 1902, p. 350; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 136, no. 772; Ragghianti and Dalli Regoli 1975, no. 1; Byam Shaw 1983, vol. 1, p. 13, n. 7, under no. 7; Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96, pp. 152–54; Cadogan 2000, p. 330

Lorenzo di Credi (Florence, 1456/59–1536, Florence)

31. *Bust of a Boy Wearing a Cap*

ca. 1480

Metal point with white highlights on pale brownish pink prepared paper, 9⅝ × 7⅜ in. (24.5 × 18.8 cm)

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (1782)



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32. *Head of an Elderly Man Wearing a Hat*

ca. 1500

Metal point and white highlighting on pink prepared paper, 11⅝ × 8¼ in. (29.5 × 21 cm)

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (1779)

Attributed to Lorenzo di Credi

33. *Bust of a Man Wearing a Rolled-Up Cowl Hood*

ca. 1485

Metal point and white heightening on cream-colored prepared paper, 8½ × 7¼ in. (21.6 × 18.5 cm)

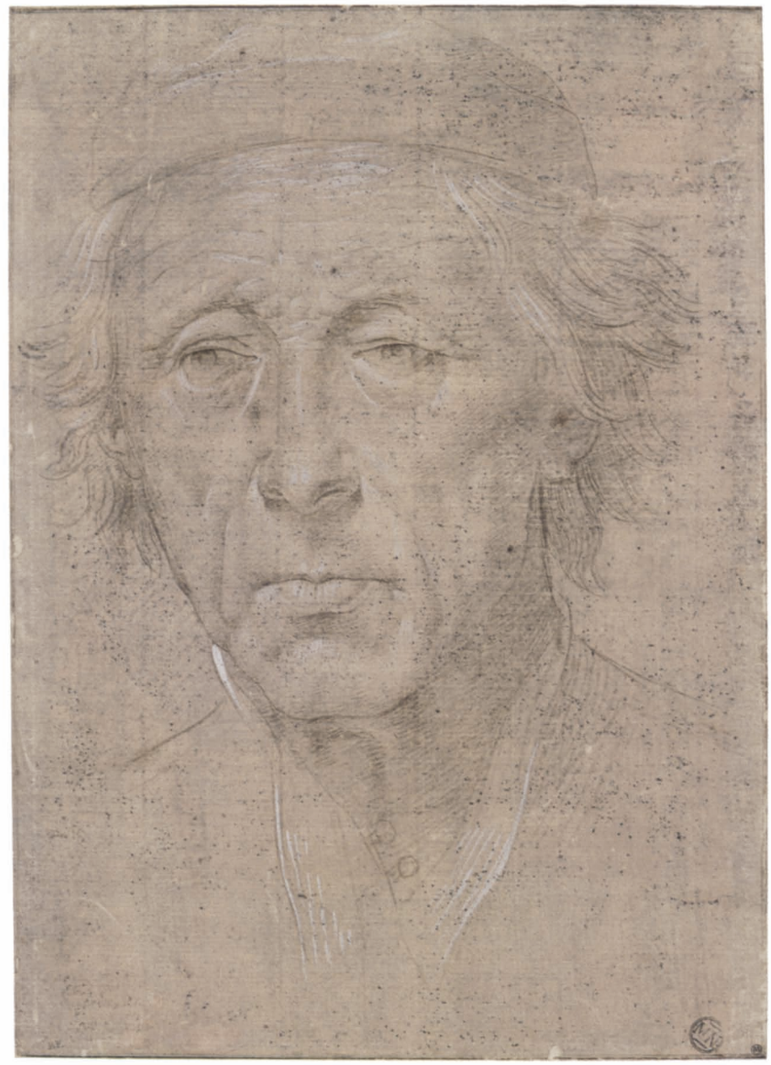
Inscribed: upper right, in black chalk, *Leonardo da vinci fecit.*

The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Bakewell (704)

In his great compendium of Florentine drawings, published for the first time more than a century ago, Bernard Berenson (1903) lamented that none of Lorenzo di Credi's easel portraits, for which Credi drew beautiful studies, have come down to us. The surviving easel portraits are rather tame, whereas the portrait drawings are among the best things he ever did. Only the portrait of the cloth merchant Jacopo Borgianni, the full-length kneeling donor in Credi's large altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* for the church of Santa Chiara (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), approaches the quality of Credi's best portrait drawings, eloquently displaying Borgianni's adherence to Savonarola's religious reform.

Giorgio Vasari named the sitters for some of Credi's lost easel portraits: Credi's teacher, Andrea del Verrocchio (ca. 1435–1488); his fellow student Pietro Perugino (ca. 1450–1523); his great friend the learned Girolamo Benivieni; and even the artist himself, in a self-portrait done "when he was young" (Vasari 1996 ed.). Charles Loeser's attempt (1901) to identify the last with the portrait of Credi in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., has enjoyed some success; the portrait, however, is now recognized as the work of Perugino, but the identification of the sitter as the young Lorenzo di Credi appears to be correct (Brown in Boskovits and Brown 2003, pp. 557–61).

As Berenson wrote of Credi's portrait drawings, "Like most weaker artists, he was at his best when doing a head, and some of his young people are dainty and fresh, and his old men are not without character" (1938, vol. 1, p. 75). The two drawings lent by the Louvre to the present exhibition—the *Bust of a Boy* (cat. 31) and the *Head of an Elderly Man* (cat. 32)—bear this



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out. That of the boy is an excellent drawing, though its play to the emotions did not appeal to Berenson, who wrote that of the "large-eyed, sweet-looking boys . . . the Louvre has the best specimen . . . , the bust of a sentimental stripling with a look of Narcissus-like languor which only his fresh youthfulness renders endurable. The execution is coquettishly dainty, and finished off rather smartly." Not one of Credi's easel portraits is so appealing; the male sitters in the painted portraits look ill at ease and rather sad. By contrast, the Louvre drawing of an old man has a genuinely pensive character and is quite moving. Berenson called it the finest of Credi's drawings of "oldish" men, "with its careful, yet not over-finished modeling, and with a certain touch of life in the crayon line." Charles Loeser (1901) thought it might be connected with Credi's lost easel portrait of Perugino, an idea rightly rejected by Jean Alazard (1924, p. 82), who saw "little or no connection between this wrinkled and emaciated face and the healthy countenance of the Cambio," the self-portrait that Perugino painted in his murals at Perugia. It recalls other studies by Credi of elderly men lost in thought (British Museum, London; Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, nos. 699 and 678).

Seen by itself, the *Bust of a Boy* might appear to be more than a deftly captured likeness. Its beautiful placement on the page and adroit execution call attention to its artistry. Yet it must have been made as a workshop exercise; at least two

other sheets by Credi depict similar (if not the same) workshop assistants with their heads turned and their eyes looking up (Musée Bonnat, Bayonne; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, nos. 727 and 670). Berenson remarked that it was "nearly the same model as in [the] Malcolm head" (1938, vol. 2, p. 74).

Vasari placed his life of Credi in the third and last section of his *Lives*, which deals with High Renaissance and Mannerist figures such as Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Rosso Fiorentino, Pontormo, and Michelangelo. Even though Credi lived well into the sixteenth century—he died in 1536, in his eighties—he never mastered the "modern" style of his younger contemporaries. Credi borrowed motifs from Leonardo and other progressive artists without understanding their aesthetic implications. As Alazard observed, his style remained in the late fifteenth century.

The third drawing here attributed to Credi is controversial. The identity of the artist who drew it and of the sitter are disputed. Executed, like the others, in metal point on prepared paper, it is a three-quarter view of the face of a middle-aged man glancing over his shoulder. It has traditionally been classified as a work by Domenico Ghirlandaio; Arthur Strong (1902) even thought it might be "a preliminary study from life for one of those grave Florentine personages who witness—deferentially but without surprise—the events of Ghirlandaio's gospel-history in Santa Maria Novella." But the resemblance to the painted heads in Ghirlandaio's mural of the *Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple* is not close, though the pose suggests it was made as a study for a large composition rather than for an autonomous portrait. Berenson (1903, vol. 1, p. 47) at first wrote that Credi "had in mind Ghirlandajo's downright style of portraiture," depicting "a craftier elderly man, apparently Mino da Fiesole" (see cat. 29). When the ninth duke of Devonshire lent it in 1930 to the great exhibition of Italian art at the Royal Academy, A. E. Popham (1931) gave it to Filippino, an attribution accepted by Alfred Scharf (1935), the author of the first catalogue of Filippino's work. As the second edition of his *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* went to press, Berenson (1938) changed his mind and in an unusually emphatic entry gave it to Filippino.

By his own count, Vasari owned at least eleven preparatory drawings for the woodcut portraits in the second edition of his *Lives* (1568). They were portraits of Jacopo della Quercia, Luca della Robbia, Antonio Rossellino, Desiderio da Settignano, Mino da Fiesole, Lorenzo Costa, Cosimo Rosselli, Raffaellino del Garbo, Benedetto da Rovezzano, Properzia de'



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Rossi, and Francesco Primaticcio. In her study of the woodcut portraits, Licia Ragghianti Collobi (1974, vol. 1, p. 45, vol. 2, p. 36) connected the Devonshire sheet with Vasari's report that he owned a self-portrait drawing by the sculptor Luca della Robbia: "Luca was an excellent and graceful draughtsman, as it may be seen from some drawings in our book with the lights picked out with white lead, in one of which is his portrait, made by him with much diligence by looking at himself in a mirror" (Vasari 1996 ed., vol. 1, p. 280). Ragghianti Collobi's proposal was favorably entertained in Giancarlo Gentilini's 1992 Della Robbia monograph but firmly rejected in Michael Jaffé's 1994 complete catalogue of the Devonshire drawings ("the drawing is not compelling as a self-portrait of anyone"). Apparently unaware of the argument about Luca della Robbia, Jean Cadogan (2000) firmly endorsed the traditional attribution to Domenico Ghirlandaio, citing as proof the presumed similarity of the drawing's silverpoint technique with that of one of the undisputed drawings by Domenico Ghirlandaio in the present exhibition (cat. 15). EF

Provenance Cat. 31: Pierre Jean Mariette (d. 1774); acquired by the Cabinet du Roi (1775)

Cat. 32: Pierre Jean Mariette (d. 1774); acquired by the Cabinet du Roi (1775)

Cat. 33: William Cavendish, second duke of Devonshire (1672–1729); by descent to Andrew Cavendish (1920–2004), eleventh duke (his sale, Christie's, London, July 6, 1987, lot 7, bought in, attributed to Filippino Lippi); his son Peregrine Cavendish (b. 1944), twelfth duke of Devonshire

Selected References Cat. 31: Reiset 1866, vol. 1, p. 64, no. 202; Degenhart 1931, pp. 365–66; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, p. 75, vol. 2, p. 74, no. 712; Dalli Regoli 1966, pp. 46, 154, no. 114; Dalli Regoli 1996, p. 676; Dalli Regoli 2003, p. 82, no. 31

Cat. 32: Reiset 1866, vol. 1, p. 63, no. 199; Alazard 1924, p. 82; Degenhart 1931, pp. 364–65; Berenson 1938, vol. 1, p. 76, vol. 2, p. 74, no. 709; Dalli Regoli 1966, pp. 64, 161, no. 133; Dalli Regoli 1977, pp. 88, 90 n. 20; Dalli Regoli 1996, p. 676; Dalli Regoli 2003, p. 83, no. 35

Cat. 33: Strong 1902, p. 5, pl. 2; Berenson 1903, vol. 1, p. 47, vol. 2, pp. 68–69, no. 1277; Degenhart 1931, p. 365; Popham 1931, no. 44; Scharf 1935, p. 129, no. 293; Kurz 1937, p. 9; Berenson 1938, vol. 2, p. 141, no. 1277; Washington and other cities 1962–63, no. 34; Prinz 1966, no. 30; Ragghianti Collobi 1971, pp. 40, 44, 60 n. 3; Ragghianti Collobi 1974, vol. 1, p. 45, vol. 2, p. 36; Nottingham–London 1983, p. 292, no. 65; Gentilini 1992, vol. 1, pp. 111, 164 n. 30; Jaffé 1994, p. 77, no. 41; Cadogan 2000, p. 291, no. 78

Davide Ghirlandaio (Florence, 1452–1525, Florence)

34. *Portrait of a Young Man*

ca. 1490

Tempera on wood, 12½ × 8⅜ in. (31.7 × 21.2 cm); panel is thinned and cradled; parts of the original unpainted edges are visible

The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred J. Fisher (53.468)



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The unidentified sitter of this dramatic close-up wears a red sleeveless jacket over a black tunic, the red color being preferred by politically active Florentines. The garments are similar to those worn by the young man in Davide Ghirlandaio's Berlin diptych (cats. 40a, b). Standing before a black background, the young man here strikes a lively pose with his right shoulder higher than his left, opening his jacket with his right hand to reveal a red clasp on his black tunic, and turning his head to scrutinize the spectator with an aloof expression.

The portrait makes a strong impact because of the small area surrounding the sitter's head. The presence of the unpainted border on all four sides of the portrait guarantees that the picture was not cut down. Originally concealed by gilt molding or some sort of engaged frame, the border is an early example of the precautions that painters took to ensure that their paintings were not covered by the woodcarvers, who, as Giorgio Vasari ([1568] 1966–97 ed., vol. 4 , p. 188; 1996 ed., pp. 676–77) relates in his *Life* of Fra Bartolomeo, "always covered an eighth part of the figures with the projecting inner edges of their frames."

The portrait came to light in 1931, when Alfred Frankfurter published it as a "one of [Domenico] Ghirlandaio's finest portraits," a judgment with which most subsequent writers have agreed. Only Bernard Berenson (1968) and Edith Gabrielli (2007) have offered alternative attributions. In the posthumous edition of Berenson's lists of paintings of the Central Italian and North Italian Schools, it appears, surprisingly, as the work of the Ferrarese artist Lorenzo Costa (ca. 1460–1535). Berenson may have been misled by the superficial similarities between it and Costa's early portrait in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (cat. 114), a bust of a young man in red carried out in the smooth technique Costa practiced in Bologna. On the other

hand, Gabrielli unaccountably catalogued it as a work by Cosimo Rosselli (1439–1507). She dated it to about 1481–82, the years Rosselli was busy in Rome, because it reminded her of the group of male onlookers standing on the left in Rosselli's mural of the *Handing Over of the Tables of the Law* in the Sistine Chapel. Comparison of the Detroit portrait with Rosselli's male portrait in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. 127) leaves no doubt: it was not painted by Rosselli.

Having examined the Detroit portrait in person on several occasions, I believe it was painted by Davide Ghirlandaio, a younger brother of Domenico Ghirlandaio. The treatment of the face and the description of the curly hair are exactly like those of Saint John the Evangelist in the detached mural of *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and Four Saints* in the Museo del Cenacolo di San Salvi, Florence, which, as Lisa Venturini demonstrated, is a documented work of 1489 by Davide Ghirlandaio (2002, pp. 145–47). Like other works attributed to him, it was executed by a left-handed painter. Davide painted some fine portraits, such as the profiles of Ludovicho Folchi and his wife, the donors of an altarpiece of 1486 now in the Saint Louis Art Museum, Missouri. Years ago, when I began to distinguish Davide's work from his brother's, I assigned many of Davide's paintings to the Master of the Saint Louis Madonna, named after this altarpiece (Fahy 1967, pp. 134, 137). It remains to be seen how many of the portraits in Domenico's murals were executed by his brother. EF

Provenance Baron Hubert de Pourtales; Baron Arthur de Schickler; [Duveen Bros., New York, 1916]; [Howard Young Galleries, New York, ca. 1931]; Mr. and Mrs. Alfred J. Fisher, Detroit (by 1931); given to the Detroit Institute of Arts by Mr. Fisher (1953)

Selected References Frankfurter 1931, pp. 21, 58; Berenson 1968, vol. 1, p. 96; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, p. 82; Gabrielli 2007, p. 178, no. 52, colorpl. 10

Raffaello di Bartolommeo di Giovanni di Carlo, called Raffaellino del Garbo (Florence, ca. 1470–ca. 1527/28, Florence)

35. *Portrait of a Young Man*

ca. 1495

Tempera on poplar panel, approx. 16½ × 12⅜ in. (42 × 31.5 cm)

Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (78)

The young man looks out at the viewer, his tilted head turned at a three-quarter angle. Although his face is illuminated, his plain brown *vesta,* dark brown, shoulder-length hair, and black cap (*berretta*) merge with the background. Accordingly, the outline of his figure does not stand out incisively from the background but blends with it. He thus seems animated, as though emerging from semidarkness, giving the impression of an intimate and unmediated encounter. The lighting, too, is enhanced by contrasts created by the shaded areas of the pale flesh tones; the brightest spot in the painting is the white collar of the shirt (*camicia*). The atmospheric effect is to some extent a result of a problematic state of preservation: the painted surface reveals numerous losses that have been filled and reworked, and in some areas the pigments have darkened. Such is the case with the *berretta* and the area surrounding the young man's right shoulder.

Few Quattrocento paintings can match this portrait in terms of its formal austerity and limited palette. It was most likely made in Florence, where portraits with dark, atmospheric backgrounds had been appearing since the 1470s, largely owing to the influence of Netherlandish pictures. Portraits by Hans Memling, for instance, are documented in Florence at this time (Nuttall 2004, pp. 53–75, 214–29). In 1471 Piero del Pollaiuolo portrayed the Milanese ruler, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, against a dark background (cat. 48), and Ghirlandaio, too, employed the same formal device in his *Portrait of a Girl* (Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon). Portraits by Botticelli may also be cited as precedents for the Berlin work, notably the *Portrait of a Young Man* in London (ca. 1485, National Gallery) and the male portrait in Washington, D.C. (ca. 1480–85, National Gallery of Art). Both show a similar contrast between the lit face and dark background. As in the Berlin portrait, the subject's plain brown *vesta* barely registers against this background. Although these paintings are clearly portraits, the manner of presentation nevertheless alludes to a certain ideal of youthful beauty espoused in contemporary poetry (see Volpi 1903). Compared with portraits by Botticelli and Filippino Lippi, however, the one in Berlin was executed with less care. This is particularly evident in the rendering of the garment and of the flesh tones, which are somewhat waxen in appearance and lack the glazing and subtlety that would lend the complexion a transparent effect.

Since the 1950s, experts have frequently referred to Raffaellino del Garbo as the author of this painting (Buschmann 1993, p. 165), and rightly so: its rigorous and broadly brushed modeling, accentuated contrasts of light and dark, and use of broad, dark lines to delineate the forms echo works that are verifiably by the artist: for instance, the enthroned *Saint John Gualbert* in the center panel of his triptych in the sacristy of the Vallombrosa abbey church (1507–9). The portrait also has



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stylistic affinities with the *Portrait of a Young Man* in the National Gallery, London, which has likewise been ascribed to Raffaellino (or to Filippino Lippi; see cat. 28) and shares the preference found in the Berlin portrait for earth tones as well as the pronounced white heightening of the illuminated areas (Neilson 1938; Buschmann 1993, pp. 171–72).

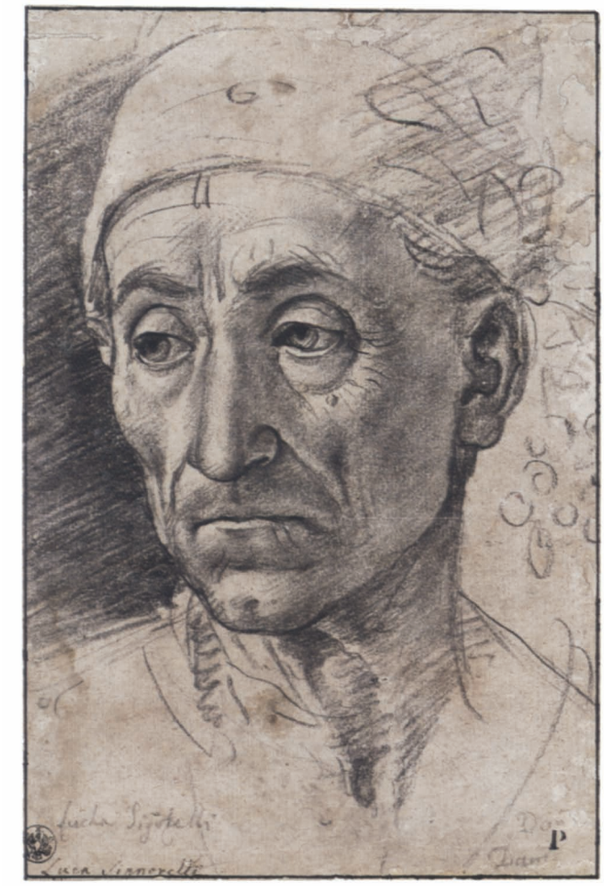
Critical opinion regarding Raffaellino continues to be influenced by Giorgio Vasari's negative view. He wrote that despite promising beginnings, the quality of the painter's work deteriorated over the course of his career: "from a splendid beginning and raising the most confident hopes, he arrived at a very feeble end" (Vasari 1912–15, trans. Gaston C. DeVere [see also 1996 ed., p. 145]). And indeed, the documented altarpieces by Raffaellino—particularly the ones created after the turn of the sixteenth century—are characterized by a repetition of artistic models rather than by originality. Yet it is precisely Raffaellino's distinctive synthesis of Filippino Lippi's eccentric manner of introducing movement into his compositions with elements of the staid, formal vocabulary of Perugino's Florentine works that accounts for the charm of his relatively small oeuvre. The qualities of the Berlin portrait should not be underestimated: even Vasari appreciated some of the portraitlike figures that occasionally appear in Raffaellino's altarpieces (see Waldman 2006, p. 70). A testament to the painter's accomplishment in this field is the study of the head of a youth (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) done in preparation for the figure of Saint Lawrence in Raffaellino's altarpiece for Santo Spirito in Florence (1505).

Raffaellino is notable for being one of the few painters mentioned in literary sources prior to Vasari (*Codex of Anonimo Magliabechiano*; see Frey 1892, p. 108). This might owe to his work for prominent patrons such as the Capponi in the last quarter of the fifteenth century; they commissioned the altarpiece with the Ascension of Christ that Raffaellino painted in 1497 for the family chapel in the church of San Bartolomeo in Monte Oliveto, outside Florence (Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence). In this altarpiece, Vasari singled out as a portrait the figure of a guard who, asleep at the tomb, rests his head on his hand. Louis Waldman (2006, p. 70) identified the subject as Niccolò di Piero di Gino Capponi (1472–1529), who was about twenty-five at the time. The subject of the Berlin portrait also seems to be in his mid-twenties, and his features resemble those of the sleeping guard. The resemblance is not specific, however, and probably relates to the artist's tendency toward generalization.

Created at the threshold of the new century, this portrait thus constitutes a pivotal example in the present exhibition. While dependent on Quattrocento precedents (Botticelli, Filippino Lippi), it also adumbrates features found in sixteenth-century portraiture. Around the turn of the century, portrait subjects increasingly confront the viewer with greater complexity and emotional engagement. Leonardo da Vinci was instrumental in this development, and his direct influence on the Berlin portrait has been noted (Carpaneto 1970–71, pt. 2, p. 9). Early sources refer to Raffaellino as the teacher of Andrea del Sarto (see Shearman 1965, vol. 1, pp. 21–22), a role that becomes particularly evident in the present portrait, which foreshadows the portraits included in some of Sarto's frescoes illustrating the life of Saint Filippo Benizzi in the forecourt of the Santissima Annunziata, Florence (ca. 1509–11). SW

Provenance Johann Metzger, Florence; acquired by Karl Friedrich von Rumohr for the Gemäldesammlung des Königlichen Museums, Berlin (1829)

Selected References Lermolieff 1880, p. 13; Berenson 1909, p. 135; Bode 1926, p. 74; Bodmer 1931, p. 359; Berenson 1932, p. 428; Ragghianti 1935, p. 372; Neilson 1938, p. 195 n. 23; Berenson 1963, vol. 1, p. 185; Carpaneto 1970–71, pp. 5, 9, 18 n. 79; Lightbown 1978, vol. 2, p. 212, no. F.9; Berti and Baldini 1991, p. 186; Buschmann 1993, pp. 85–86, no. 29, pp. 165, 172, 186; Zambrano and Katz Nelson 2004, p. 357



Luca Signorelli (Cortona, ca. 1450–1523, Cortona)

36. *Portrait of a Man (Dante?)*

ca. 1485–1500
Charcoal on paper, 9⅜ × 6⅛ in. (23.7 × 15.5 cm)
Inscribed (in a later hand): *Lucha Sig*[n]*orelli*
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 2381)

This portrait of an elderly man, his head and gaze turned toward the viewer's left, is notable for the sculptural delineation of the head, which is viewed against a roughly sketched background half in shadow. Whereas the outlines of his shoulders, neck, and hat are indicated with great economy, soft, partially smudged parallel hatchings accentuate the precise, strong lines of the individualized features of the face—the focus of the drawing—which is animated by a play of light and shadow. A virtuosic handling of the charcoal exploits the whole gamut of the medium—from the deepest black of the pupils and creases to the medium gray of the middle tones to the brightness of the paper—conferring on the portrait an extraordinary expressive intensity and a lifelike, sculptural presence.

In 1903, Bernard Berenson initially attributed the work to Piero di Cosimo, but the following year Beckerath thought it more likely the work of Luca Signorelli, and since then scholars have convincingly demonstrated that it is by the latter (see Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96, p. 182). Comparison of this sheet with Signorelli's drawing in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, of the head of an elderly man reveals similarities in technique, but in that drawing the execution is less precise (Chapman in London 2010, p. 235). In both drawings the artist clearly set out to achieve a three-dimensional, even tactile, effect, a feature of many of Signorelli's works. In addition, in the Uffizi drawing, the details of a specific physiognomy are precisely observed, and the subject exhibits a presence comparable to the drawing here, suggesting that both works were drawn from life.

Giorgio Vasari related that Signorelli developed a virtual mania for life drawing (Vasari 1966–97 ed., vol. 3 [1971], p. 637). Although here the artist obviously employed a live model, his intention was not necessarily to portray this specific man; he may have had in mind another use for the work, perhaps by slightly altering its details. The indication of a laurel wreath and the distinctive facial features lend credence to the idea that the figure was intended as a portrait of "il Sommo Poeta" Dante Alighieri (1265–1321). On balance this seems more plausible than the suggestion that it is meant to be a portrait of Virgil (Brunner 2001, p. 154). Yet there does not appear to be a direct connection between this work and Signorelli's frescoes in the cathedral of Orvieto (1499–1504), which depict Dante among books at his writing desk and in the context of narrative scenes from the *Divine Comedy*.

As for Dante's actual appearance, the so-called Torrigiani death mask, purportedly a copy of a genuine death mask of the poet, provides few secure clues as to the anatomical reconstruction of his features (see Frassetto 1933). Since the fourteenth century, especially in illustrated manuscripts of the *Divine Comedy*, two traditional images of the poet have evolved, one picturing him as a wayfarer in the hereafter, the other as a writer (on Giotto's depiction of Dante, see the essay by Patricia Rubin in this volume). At first he was identified only by gestures and costume, not specific facial features (see Owen 2007, pp. 84–85). A distinct physiognomy was not assigned to him until the late fifteenth century, at a time when his unique poetic achievements came to receive greater attention. A

flourishing cult of the great man, especially in Florence, gave rise to the desire for a portrait of him with unmistakable features. That desire found a source in Giovanni Boccaccio's description of the poet in his *Trattatello in laude di Dante* (ca. 1360), published in 1470 as *Vita di Dante*: "he had an elongated face, an aquiline nose, and eyes that were larger rather than smaller, strong cheekbones . . . and always wore an expression of melancholy and contemplation" (112, Baldan ed. 1991, p. 124). These are precisely the characteristics we find on the present sheet. Yet Signorelli's presumed portrait of Dante differs from other images of the poet produced in the waning Quattrocento. Those are similarly distinguished by a strong emphasis on Dante's facial features—see, for example, the intarsia work by Francione and Giuliano da Maiano in the Sala dei Gigli in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (1478)—but they also tend to idealize and heroicize him. They also served as the basis for the Dante image established in the sixteenth century, one that colors our conception of him to the present day (see Owen 2007, pp. 93–94). By contrast, the Berlin drawing is anything but an idealization; rather, it is extremely individualized. The warts, dimples, and deep wrinkles in this face are all signs of a genuine portrayal of an individual observed and drawn from life. In its emphasis on the poet's facial features as recorded by Boccaccio, the drawing moves away from being a precise likeness of the live model, yet it nonetheless finds the visage of the poet in that of a contemporary man.

Since there is no direct connection between this drawing and a panel painting or fresco, and because it is difficult to date Signorelli's drawings precisely, dating the present sheet—even placing it approximately within the chronology of the artist's oeuvre—is problematic. Scholars have proposed rather widely divergent dates for its creation: about 1485–90 (Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96); about 1490–1500 (Chapman in London 2010, p. 235); and about 1510 (Claire Van Cleave, after Chapman in London 2010, p. 323 n. 3). The density of the modeling, with interwoven elements that produce a tactile three-dimensionality, suggests that the work may date relatively early in Signorelli's career, certainly before 1500 (see Kury 1974, p. 263). Moreover, it is closely related to both his *Portrait of an Elderly Man* in Berlin (cat. 37) and his Vagnucci Altarpiece of 1484 in Perugia (see Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96, p. 182), in which the saints are also distinguished by unusually individualized physiognomies. DK

Provenance Vincenzo and Michelangelo Pacetti collection, Rome; purchased for the Kupferstichkabinett (1843)

Selected References Berenson 1903, no. 1849; Beckerath 1904, p. 234, no. 1; Berenson 1938, p. 329, no. 2509 B-I; Arnolds 1949, pp. 19–20, fig. 10; Heinrich-Thomas Schulze Altcappenberg in Dückers 1994, p. 257, no. V.16; Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96, p. 182, no. 146 (with earlier bibliography); Heinrich-Thomas Schulze Altcappenberg in Berlin–Rome–London 2000–2001, app. 1, p. 344; Hugo Chapman in London 2010, p. 235

Luca Signorelli
(Cortona, ca. 1450–1532, Cortona)

37. *Portrait of an Elderly Man (Pandolfo Petrucci?)*

ca. 1510

Tempera on poplar, 19¾ × 12⅝ in. (50 × 32 cm)

Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (79 C)

From the 1470s until the early 1520s, Luca Signorelli headed a productive workshop that received commissions for frescoes and large-format panel paintings throughout central Italy. The foremost examples of these are the paintings in the cloister of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, near Siena (1498), and those in the chapel of San Brizio in the cathedral of Orvieto (1499–1504). Considering the prestige of these fresco cycles, it is no wonder Giorgio Vasari claimed that Signorelli was one of Michelangelo's teachers.

This portrait shares with those cycles a monumental quality, focusing on the subject in singular close-up. This nearness is in contrast to the intricate background, with its remarkable suggestion of depth. The elderly man appears in an unusual guise: he wears a bright red cap and a garment in the same color with a wide black stole draped over it. A comparison with patrician portraits of the period (ca. 1500), especially those from the Veneto, suggests that this striking costume indicates the holder of a high public office. His expression of tranquil pensiveness also conveys dignity, as his gaze focuses on neither a specific object in the distance nor on the viewer. It is, rather, the contemplative gaze of introspection, of someone who carefully weighs his options: the gaze of a man whose virtuous qualities are "inscribed" on his face. A certain detachment is further expressed by the use of the background as a foil for the head. Works such as this have led scholars to characterize Signorelli as a "painter-poet" (Seidel 1984, p. 190).

The background of the Berlin portrait shows classical monuments, doubtless alluding to Rome. The cupola on the left evokes the Pantheon, but associations with the Temple of Vesta in the Forum could also be intended. In front of the

architectural backdrop are two pairs of figures in the middle distance—one pair clothed, the other nude—connoting classical literature and mythology and giving rise to a number of contradictory interpretations. The two on the left in front of the temple have been identified as Vestal Virgins, whereas the two nudes on the right have been thought to represent Hercules' murder of Cacus, which according to ancient writers took place on the Aventine Hill (N. Schneider 1992). But neither interpretation is convincing. It is quite possible that these are not specific references to classical mythology, but only allusions to antiquity in general. Similarly, it seems doubtful that the figures in relief on the triumphal arch in the background on the right are Castor and Pollux (N. Schneider 1992).

The subject is certainly not a jurist, as first proposed by Hans Mackowsky (1900) and repeatedly assumed ever since; he is far more likely to be someone committed to humanist learning and its presentation (see Syson in London 2006–7). At the same time, the black stole and the red of the robe suggest the garb of an officeholder and signify the subject's political ambitions. Since there is no further documentation, the subject's identification is necessarily a matter of conjecture. Luke Syson (in London 2006–7, pp. 194–95) assumed him to be a Sienese patron, Siena being a city that especially appreciated Signorelli's work and, in the Bichi and Petrucci families, supplied him with influential patrons (see *Pala Bichi*, ca. 1490; Seidel 1984; Kanter, Testa, and Henry 2001, pp. 168–72). It is not surprising that, in connection with other commissions, the city magistracy especially emphasized the fame of Signorelli's Sienese works: "et dixerunt fecisse [Signorelli] multas pulcherrimas picturas in diversis civitatibus et presentim Senis" (and he [Signorelli] is said to have executed numerous exquisite paintings in various cities, especially in Siena; quoted from Vischer 1879, p. 346).

These lines call to mind one of Signorelli's major private commissions, his fresco cycle for the residence of the Petrucci, the family that between 1487 and 1525 played a central role in shaping the city's fortunes. Signorelli started painting the frescoes in 1508; they include scenes from classical mythology, and the four figures in the background of the Berlin portrait seem like virtual miniatures of the monumental figures from this cycle (see the preparatory drawing for the *Feast of Pan* in the British Museum, London; Syson in London 2006–7, pp. 64, 270–74). Signorelli's frescoes for the Palazzo Petrucci were commissioned by the long-standing head of the family, Pandolfo Petrucci (1452–1512; Nevola 2007, pp. 195–207), who held important offices within the Sienese city government and, moreover, increased his family's wealth, acquiring the sobriquet "il Magnifico." He was also noted as a promoter of the cult of Rome, as reflected in the contemporary histories of Siena by Francesco Patrizi, Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, and Bartolomeo Bentivoglio, who endeavored to link Siena with Rome by drawing parallels between the various historical and mythological features the two cities had in common. Pandolfo went so far as to give his children classical Roman names—his oldest son and heir was called Julius Caesar, an unashamed emblazoning of Pandolfo's pretensions—and he conceived of a grand plan to erect a classical columned portico enclosing the Piazza del Campo.

It is possible, then, that the sitter for the Berlin portrait was, in fact, this patron of Signorelli's. His introspective gaze might even suggest a further interpretation: in contemplating Rome's past grandeur, Pandolfo envisions Siena's future greatness. The portrait's evocation of classical antiquity, especially Rome, would certainly fit Siena's self-image, for in the second half of the century the city's humanists aspired in myriad ways to enhance the specific identity of the city-republic as the "heir to Rome," thus deeply rooting the city in classical tradition and endowing its government with even greater legitimacy. As regards Rome, it is worth noting that Siena had always maintained excellent relations with the Holy See, a matter of communal pride, and in Pope Pius II (r. 1458–64) Siena even had a native son on the throne of Saint Peter.

As described here, the sitter's self-fashioning and self-presentation reveal an intention to claim a noble descent for his family. According to contemporary polemical writings, nobility—and with it *virtus*—belonged especially to families of Roman origin, or to those that could claim it. Membership in the nobility of the Roman republic presupposed that at least one ancestor had held a high office. Such dignitaries were the only personages to enjoy the right of having their portraits made. Thus, the possession of an ancestral gallery demonstrated a family's nobility (see Gaier 2007). In his history of Siena, written at the end of the fifteenth century, Francesco Patrizi explicitly named those families with noble Roman ancestry. According to his account, they included the Petrucci, who claimed descent from the Petrei, an ancient family "of senatorial rank." If the identification of the portrait as Pandolfo Petrucci is correct, then we might imagine it as a visualization of this genealogy. As a supporter of the ruling party known as the Noveschi and as a member of the wealthy patriciate, he had himself portrayed wearing the toga and stola, suggesting his family's legitimate ties to senatorial office in ancient Rome.



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Accordingly, Signorelli's portrait would serve to emphasize above all the subject's *nobilitas*, with which Petrucci could yet again manifest his family's claim to authority. As head of the Petrucci clan, Pandolfo might thus justify his central role in the city's government simply by virtue of his ancestry. A sixteenth-century copy of the portrait (formerly Pfungst collection, London) is now in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (see Mackowsky 1900, p. 119, ill. 3). SW

Provenance Torrigiani collection, Florence; purchased for the Gemäldegalerie (1884)

Selected References Mackowsky 1900, pp. 117–20; Dussler 1927, pp. 26–27; Moriondo in Cortona–Florence 1953, no. 8; Salmi 1953, p. 51; Scarpellini 1964, p. 122; Pope-Hennessy 1966, p. 32; De Logu and Marinelli 1975–76, vol. 1, p. 248; Kury 1978, pp. 345–47; Paolucci 1990, p. 18; Schneider 1992, pp. 76–77; Kanter, Testa, and Henry 2001, pp. 173–74, no. 20; Beyer 2002, pp. 99–101; Kanter and Henry 2002, pp. 173–74, no. 20; Syson 2006, pp. 194–95

Sandro Botticelli (Florence, ca. 1444–1510, Florence)

38. *Michele Marullo Tarchaniota*

ca. 1497

Tempera transferred from wood to canvas, 19¼ × 13¾ in. (49 × 35 cm)

The Guardans Cambó Family, Barcelona

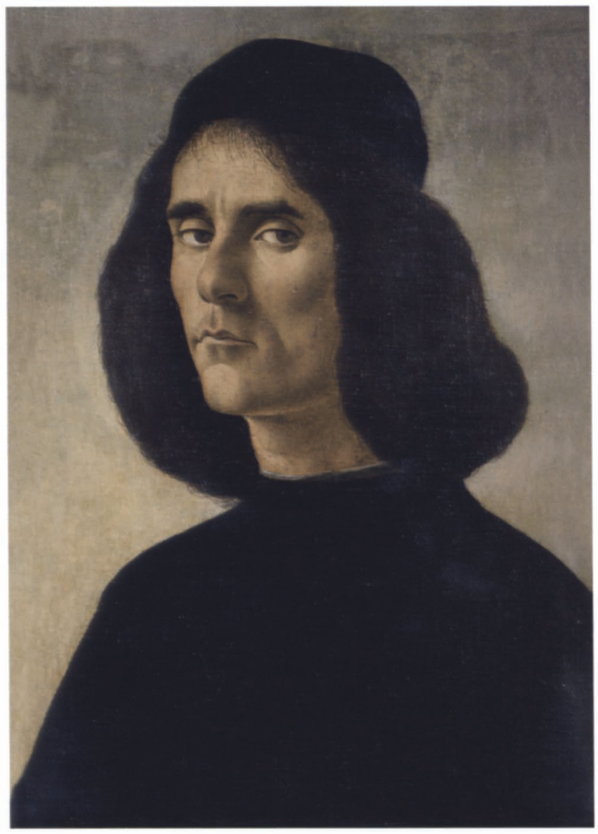
The subject of this portrait can be identified as the poet and scholar Michele Marullo Tarchaniota (1453–1500)—a native Greek who spent his last, most productive years in Florence—by comparing it with two other portraits in which Marullo is identified by inscriptions (Berenson 1932; Croce 1938). Those works, by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (Museo Civico, Como) and Cristofano dell'Altissimo (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), are further testimony to the extraordinary popularity that Marullo's works enjoyed in Florence about 1500. Scholars since Fritz Harck (1896) have attributed this unusually fine portrait to Botticelli, who captured not only the subject's features, but also the heroic aspects of his personality that suggest the poet's burden of suffering.

Marullo has lifted his chin imperceptibly, as if to assess his opponent, and his intense gaze is accompanied by an earnest expression; although he makes direct eye contact with the viewer, this lends him a certain aloofness. The palette is limited, consisting of the flesh tones, the deep black of the hair and clothing, and the radiant light blue-green of the background, possibly meant to represent a patch of sky. In the literature it is routinely overlooked that when the panel was transferred to canvas, in 1864, it was cut down by roughly 7 centimeters on either side (Kroeber 1911). In the original format, the contrast between the head and the light ground was more pronounced than the present state suggests. The face, framed by black, appears to be backlit, so that Marullo's silhouette is surrounded by a virtual aureole. This emphasis on light is perhaps more than compositional rhetoric; it may allude to Marullo's cosmology, in which heavenly deities are at home in and derive their being from a kind of Platonic Hyper-Uranus and are themselves expressions of a single, supreme deity visualized as the sun (see D. Coppini, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 71, 2008, pp. 397–406; Schönberger 1996, pp. 12, 156–59).

It is altogether appropriate to speak of this as an ideal scholar portrait: a forerunner of those portrayals of philosopher-heroes developed in the seventeenth century (by Luca Giordano, for example) that characteristically sought to convey an inquiring intellect. The scholar portrait had been a recognizable genre in wall painting and tomb sculpture since the fourteenth century, but in independent portraits, especially panel painting, it took on greater importance only toward the end of the fifteenth century. The genre and typology of the scholar portrait were fostered by the humanist (Platonic) academies—especially those in Bologna, Florence, Rome, and Naples—and by humanist discourse in general. The participants in this discourse established themselves as authoritative opinion-makers. They commonly served as interpreters of both metaphysical and political matters, and their teachings were often cited in defense of political maneuverings.

At first, scholar portraits were small in format, one of the earliest examples being Alberti's self-portrait (cat. 60). Ambitious medallic portraits of famed scholars were later produced in the north Italian courts (cats. 72, 137), and soon more imposing, large-format portraits of founding figures came to be commissioned in the context of the academies (see cat. 135), including early versions of the humanist friendship portrait (Baader 2008). At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Pietro Bembo commissioned a series of portraits of his friends—the "compagnia degli amici"—insisting that these portraits reflect not only the sitters' appearances but their accomplishments and knowledge ("fatti e conoscenze") (Bembo 1989, p. 700). Thus the Marullo portrait is not unprecedented and takes its place in an established tradition (see also Bolzoni 2008, pp. 30–44).

Beholden to the Medici, Botticelli was also familiar with the humanists who worked within the family's orbit and were themselves dependent on it. In the 1490s, Marullo was close to



38

Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici and thus to the younger branch of the dynasty. Scholars have suspected that it was through Lorenzo that the painter came to know the Greek poet, which suggests that the portrait may have been commissioned by the Medici (see Falomir in Madrid 2008). This is by no means a necessary conclusion, however, for in 1497 at the latest—following his marriage to Alessandra Scala, herself a learned poet and the daughter of the Florentine humanist and chancellor Bartolomeo Scala—Marullo played a leading role among the city's intellectuals, taking strong positions in contemporary debates (for his altercation with Angelo Poliziano, see Coppini 2008). Moreover, he maintained ties with scholarly circles elsewhere on the Italian peninsula, notably in Mantua, Naples, and Rome. Thus, both the dating and function of the portrait are uncertain; some other patron besides Lorenzo could just as well have commissioned it. Perhaps it had something to do with the first official publication of Marullo's most important work: the three-volume *Hymni naturalis* (Hymns to Nature), which was printed, together with his *Epigrammata*, in Florence in 1497 by Antonio Tubini and Andrea Ghirlani and which was dedicated by the author to his friend and patron Antonello Sanseverino, prince of Salerno. It was the *Hymns*, already circulated in manuscript by 1492, that established Marullo's broader fame (Schönberger 1996, pp. 7–19). (Leonardo da Vinci cites him as an authority [see Chastel 1981, pp. 417–18] in the presentation of his programmatic theory of the origin of light and the universal importance of the power of the sun, *Lalda del Sole* [in this context, see Fehrenbach 1997].) It is also possible that Marullo's portrait was produced only after his death, in April 1500, when he drowned while crossing the river Cecina on his return from a visit to the humanist Raffaele Maffei in Volterra.

Marullo's aloofness in this portrait does not accord with a noble pallor. The contemplative, introspective character of a poet contrasts with the tanned skin evocative of a worldly, active life. Here, again, is a possible allusion to Marullo's storied career and his dual character. At seventeen he had already hired himself out as a mercenary, and for the rest of his life he fought in military skirmishes, some outside of the Italian peninsula. Only in the late 1480s did he begin to devote himself more intensively to his studies. He is said to have maintained that no poet was as brave, no soldier so greatly blessed by the muses as he (Kidwell 1989, p. 256). In this portrait Botticelli managed to do justice to both aspects of Marullo's character: the poet and the soldier. SW

Provenance Serand Lasalle collection, Munich (1822); Auguste de Beauharnais, Count von Leuchtenberg, Munich (1824); transferred to canvas in St. Petersburg; Georgij Nikolaievich, Count von Leuchtenberg (his sale, Sulley & Co., London, 1906); Edward Simon, Berlin; acquired by Francesc Cambó in Berlin (1929); Helena Cambó de Guardans and Fondacion Cambó de Guardans (from 1947)

Selected References Harck 1896, p. 428; Kroeber 1911, pp. 34–36; Croce 1938, pp. 16, 32; Lightbown 1978, vol. 2, pp. 81–82, no. B 72; Lightbown 1989, pp. 259–60; Bellosi in Madrid–Barcelona 1990–91; Baldini in Rome 2000, vol. 1, pp. 120–23; Cambó de Guardans 2003, pp. 304–6; Cecchi 2005, p. 317; Zöllner 2005, p. 243, no. 63; Klinger 2007, vol. 2, pp. 119–20; Falomir in Madrid 2008, pp. 366–67; Eclercy in Frankfurt 2009–10, p. 202

Raphael (?) (Raffaello Sanzio or Santi; Urbino, 1483–1520, Rome)

39. *Portrait of a Man*

ca. 1504 (?)
Oil on wood, 20⅛ × 14⅝ in. (51 × 37 cm)
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (1890 no. 1482)

Both the identity of this portrait's subject and its authorship are still matters of debate. In the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, where the painting has hung since the eighteenth century, it is presented as a work by Raphael from his first years in Florence (Cecchi in Florence 1996–97, p. 130). This attribution, first proposed by Richard Offner in 1934, is supported by the majority of contemporary scholars, but it is not undisputed (Meyer zur Capellen 2001). In the nineteenth century, the panel was believed to be a portrait of Andrea del Verrocchio by his pupil Lorenzo di Credi (Royale Galerie de Florence 1860), but since 1913 a number of scholars have assigned the work to Perugino (Thiis 1913; Camesasca 1962; Pope-Hennessy 1966). A passing similarity to the latter's self-portrait in the frescoes of Perugia's Collegio del Cambio has led some to identify Perugino as the subject as well (Offner 1934; Camesasca 1962; Pope-Hennessy 1966). The first mentions of the panel—in the Uffizi inventory of 1704–14 and in the *Vitae* of Filippo Baldinucci (Baldinucci 1845–47)—call it a portrait of Martin Luther by Hans Holbein the Younger. Those Florentine writers were not only struck by a certain similarity between the sitter and the German reformer, they also found the entire concept of the picture somehow "northern." The present exhibition offers the opportunity to compare the picture to a northern work, Hans Memling's *Portrait of a Young Man* (cat. 27).

In both pictures, the subject is placed in the front corner of a shallow interior space in which a window, at left, provides a view onto a distant landscape. Another similarity is that the pictorial space in both paintings is marked off by a foreground parapet on which the sitter rests his hands—but this is also where important differences become apparent between the two artists' notions of the relationship between pictorial space and subject. In Netherlandish art, the parapet is coterminous with the frame; by contrast, in the Florentine portrait, the artist attempted to integrate the parapet, with the architectural setting, into the perspectival scheme of the distinctly spartan interior. Because the small ledge in the Florentine portrait is seen from above, at a sharp angle, the arm placed upon it acquires greater spatial importance. With the notable foreshortening of the upper arm and the careful modeling of the hands, the artist used the arm to define the space in front of the man's face and body, thus structuring the picture space through the sitter's physical presence—or, rather, through the way the parts of his body are treated volumetrically and convincingly occupy different planes.

The motif of an arm placed in the foreground to mark a spatial plane recalls classicizing portrait solutions such as those in Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and Raphael's portrait of Agnolo Doni (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). In contrast to these, the use here of the parapet to close off the space at chest height creates a somewhat awkward effect, one that seems less resolved. Remarkably, the forearm thrust toward the viewer convincingly underscores the sitter's gaze, creating a strong impression of self-confidence. His confrontational appearance is underscored by the indication of tension in the muscles of his face, especially around the mouth; at the same time, as Richard Offner has observed (1934), there is the suggestion that at any moment the muscles might be relaxed, producing a novel degree of realism. In contrast to quotations of "northern" pictorial formulas, the recognition here that it is possible to characterize a subject by means of a specific pose and by the way he or she confronts the viewer anticipates later sixteenth-century portraiture. Instead of simply depicting his subject's outward appearance, the artist shrewdly managed to reconstruct—even manipulate—the sitter's identity on the picture surface in a calculated variation on traditional compositional practice, one that reveals an understanding of physiognomy rooted in anatomy. RR

Provenance Inventory of the Tribuna, Palazzo degli Uffizi, Florence (1704–14)

Selected References Baldinucci 1845–47 ed., vol. 2, p. 270; Royale Galerie de Florence 1860, vol. 2, p. 127; Thiis 1913, p. 54; Degenhart 1931, pp. 366–67; Offner 1934; Beenken 1935; Van Marle 1935b; Camesasca 1962, vol. 1, p. 83; Dalli Regoli 1966, pp. 125–28; Pope-Hennessy 1966, p. 60; De Logu and Marinelli 1975–76, vol. 2, p. 175; L. Campbell 1983; Bellosi 1987; Cecchi in Florence 1996–97, p. 130; Meyer zur Capellen 2001, p. 315; Borchert in Madrid–Bruges–New York 2005, p. 165; Nuttall 2005, p. 77; Van der Sman in Florence 2008, p. 172; Lane 2009, p. 205



39

Davide Ghirlandaio
(Florence, 1452–1525, Florence)

40a, b. *Portrait of a Young Man, Portrait of a Young Woman*

ca. 1500
Tempera on wood, each panel 17½ × 13½ in. (44.6 × 34.4 cm)
Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (86, 83)

Gustav Friedrich Waagen published these portraits in 1837, soon after they were acquired by the Gemälde-Sammlung des Königlichen Museums in Berlin. Apparently unaware that they were a pair, he attributed the *Portrait of a Young Woman* to Domenico Ghirlandaio and the *Portrait of a Young Man* to Domenico's follower and posthumous brother-in-law, Bastiano Mainardi (1466–1513). The attribution to Mainardi has enjoyed wide acceptance and now embraces both portraits in the Gemäldegalerie's most recent catalogue (Gemäldegalerie 1996, p. 74), even though there is little reason for attributing them to him. Born September 23, 1466, rather than about 1460 as previously believed, Mainardi was too young to have assisted Ghirlandaio in the Santa Fina Chapel in his native town of San Gimignano and the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinita, Florence; more than likely he joined the workshop as the Ghirlandaio murals in the chancel of Santa Maria Novella were nearing completion. He became Davide and Benedetto Ghirlandaio's brother-in-law when he married their half-sister, Alessandra Bigordi, in June 1494, six months after Domenico's death. Nine dated murals and panel paintings by him from the period 1490–1507 survive, and they establish quite clearly his limited abilities. Nevertheless, over the years his oeuvre has been inflated with frequently repeated compositions produced in the Ghirlandaio workshop, only a few of which, notably those in his native town, were actually executed by him. In June 1992 the doyenne of Mainardi studies, Lisa Venturini, shared with me her opinion that Mainardi had nothing to do with the Berlin panels.

The attribution to Domenico Ghirlandaio of the *Portrait of a Young Woman* is equally untenable: the left-handed application of paint is comparable to that seen in the portraits of Ludovicho Folchi and his wife in Davide Ghirlandaio's altarpiece of 1486 in the Saint Louis Art Museum, Missouri. The *Portrait of a Young Man* can also be assigned to Davide on the basis of the distinctive character of the tall gray towers with pitched dark green roofs, which recur in Davide's *Madonna* in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, and in his *Portrait of a Young Woman* in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

Two variants of these portraits exist: a pair fine enough to warrant an attribution to Domenico Ghirlandaio himself, in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and a pair of shoddy quality in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Montpellier. These portrait pairs are puzzling because the woman's features are the same in all three versions but the young man's are different in each. The female portraits differ only in quality—for example, the rendering of the hair of the woman in the San Marino pair is more refined; also, details such as the facial features on the gem on the brooch are missing from the Berlin version. The young man in Berlin has a vacant expression, whereas the man in San Marino gazes amiably at his partner. Moreover, the man in San Marino has dark brown rather than blond hair, and he stands before a landscape with typically Italian buildings. One cannot escape the suspicion that the portrait pairs portray different men.

No portraits of married Italian couples survive as a diptych that can be opened and closed in the manner of a book. Yet it is likely that these pairs of panels initially were joined to one another. They probably were attached with hinges, like the numerous double-leaved tablets of the Man of Sorrows and the Mater Dolorosa that were produced in the Netherlands and Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. The panels in San Marino retain unpainted borders on all four sides (visible in Madrid 2010, p. 89), which originally were covered by engaged frames; the Berlin panels have been trimmed to the picture area, so there is no indication of how they might have been attached to one another.

Most of the surviving Italian portraits of married couples depict courtly rulers, such as Ercole de' Roberti's portraits of Giovanni II Bentivoglio, the overlord of Bologna, and his wife, Ginevra Sforza, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. These are strict profiles, facing one another. Ghirlandaio's husband and wife are not rulers but high-ranking members of Florentine society. As Patricia Simons (1988, p. 24) observed, these portraits "showed the male in three-quarter view in front of a landscape with a city and worldly activity, but the female was in profile, painted in a flatter, more absent manner, cut off in a loggia and housebound."

It has been suggested (Alazard 1924) that the author of these portrait pairs "was simply imitating Piero della Francesca," which implies, implausibly, that artists had access in Urbino to Piero's celebrated portraits of Federigo da Montefeltro and his wife, Battista Sforza (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). Assuming that the portrait of Battista Sforza was posthumous, Creighton



40a



40b

Gilbert (1968) has argued that portrait pairs depict one dead and one living spouse, but this notion has been refuted (Sparrow 1969, p. 615). Piero's Montefeltro portraits and all the other similar pairs were probably inspired by Netherlandish prototypes. This inspiration is manifest in the porphyry columns behind the woman in the three portrait pairs: the columns were lifted from Hans Memling's *Portrait of a Young Man* (cat. 27).

When Waagen (1837, no. 193) catalogued the *Portrait of a Young Woman*, he stated that she was a member of the Tornabuoni family ("Das Bildniss einer jungen Frau aus der florentinischen Familie der Tornabuoni"). This identification, ignored throughout the literature on the portrait, has much to recommend it. The format of the portrait is comparable to that of Domenico Ghirlandaio's profile portrait of a woman, the *Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni* in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid: both women face to the left and stand before niche-like cupboards filled with similar still lifes of suspended coral beads, a prayer book, and a gold brooch decorated with pearls. In the late fifteenth century the only Tornabuoni woman of the appropriate age was Giovanni Tornabuoni's daughter, Ludovica (born October 1, 1476), who is portrayed in the mural of the Birth of the Virgin (see cats. 15, 16 for two drawings for this painting). In the mural she wears a brocade gown emblazoned with Tornabuoni emblems of three diamonds, eagles, and flames—motifs also seen in Pietro del Donzello's panel for her brother's wedding chamber—and her hair hangs down her back in a tight braid. In the portrait pairs she wears more modest clothing, including a translucent cloth over her shoulders and bodice, and her hair is left free to fall in curls framing the face and is gathered in a chignon at the back of her head, like Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni's elaborate coiffure. If the woman is indeed Ludovica Tornabuoni, then the young man in the Huntington pair could be Alessandro Nasi, to whom she was betrothed on February 25, 1489, and married in 1491. The identity of the men in the Berlin and Montpellier pairs remains unknown. Perhaps Nasi, who received Ludovica's dowry on September 3, 1492, was succeeded by another suitor. **EF**

Provenance Purchased by Carl Friedrich von Rumohr for the Königliche Museen, Berlin, 1829

Selected References Waagen 1837, p. 60, nos. 193 and 191; Alazard 1924, p. 46; Simons 1988, pp. 24, 30 n. 113; Washington 2001–2, pp. 194–97; Fahy 2007, pp. 45, 50 n. 12; Fahy 2008, pp. 25, 27 n. 39; Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, pp. 263–65; Madrid 2010, pp. 48, 88, figs. 12, 13 [English trans. pp. 277, 290–91]

Desiderio da Settignano
(Settignano, ca. 1430–1464, Florence)

41. *Bust of a Laughing Boy*

ca. 1460–64
Marble, H. 13 in. (33 cm)
Kunstkammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (9104)

This small marble bust can still be appreciated for all its exquisite facture and the brilliance and originality of its conception despite the old and ugly break across the boy's neck (repaired). The sculptor captured this small child, perhaps three or four years old, on the sly, as though—perhaps while sitting for a formal, official portrait—he was jovially distracted by someone to his left, causing him to break into a splendid smile. The child's mouth is open enough so that we can see his tongue and small teeth, and his lips stretch between his cheeks, which form two pouches of flesh beneath his eyes. The child's high spirits are revealed in his face as well as in his slightly tousled hair, swept back in a multitude of curls, and in his shirt, which slips from his shoulders and gathers with an artful casualness around his chest and arms. These qualities of naturalness and liveliness are conveyed with a lightness and subtlety of touch that have rarely been equaled in the history of marble sculpture, creating a sort of aura that envelopes the small figure and introduces him perfectly into the beholder's environment.

With the exception of the monuments that Desiderio da Settignano made for Santa Croce and San Lorenzo in Florence, the Vienna bust is perhaps the most perfect surviving example of his exceptional virtuosity in rendering the evanescent expression of children (and young women), an ability praised in literary sources beginning in the Renaissance, and especially by Giorgio Vasari. As a result, when the bust reappeared in nineteenth-century collections with an attribution to Donatello, it was easily recognized as an autograph work by Desiderio (Bode 1887; Tschudi 1887; Bode 1888), whose authorship has never again been questioned despite the absence of supporting documents.

It is to the mastery of Donatello that Desiderio owes that quality of sculptural space that sympathetically unites the figure being represented, the artist, and the viewer. As effective as this artistry is in drawing in the viewer without our being fully aware of what is happening, it did not readily reveal its secrets even to contemporary sculptors. Desiderio did not employ it with the same assiduousness as Donatello, though he used it in his bust of Marietta Strozzi (cat. 12), while Antonio Rossellino, to whom the Berlin bust is sometimes erroneously attributed, never completely mastered it despite all his efforts.

Like the best artists of his generation, Desiderio rediscovered children as a central subject for sacred and profane sculpture by way of Donatello. Moving from the master's classicizing putti, with their unique ability to animate an expansive space, Desiderio and his contemporaries turned their attention to the scions of Florentine patrician families, whom they transformed not only into winged genii and angels on tombs and altars but also into autonomous portrait busts truncated in the same way as adult figures. (There are three autograph portraits of children by Desiderio: two in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and one in a private collection. For all, see most recently Luchs in Paris–Florence–Washington 2006–7, pp. 160–75.) It is impossible to identify any of these children securely, because the sculptures have no inscriptions and because they were intended for private consumption, a territory of patronage only rarely documented; where documents do exist, they are elusive. Moreover, one of the principle characteristics of busts of children in fifteenth-century Florence is an essential iconographic and typological ambiguity: in part portraits of the young heirs of important families, they can also be sacred images of the Christ Child or the young John the Baptist, patron saint of Florence (Coonin 1995; Luchs in Paris–Florence–Washington 2006–7).

The *Laughing Boy* in Vienna stands out from all these busts for its profound sense of mirth, which makes it almost a character study, anticipating Leonardo da Vinci (who had a deep appreciation for Desiderio, as one can see in many of his works) and the three centuries of art that followed him. This quality is so personal and genuine that it insinuates itself into even the most solemn of settings—for example, in the crowning element of the Altar of the Sacrament in San Lorenzo (finished by 1461) or, a few years earlier, the thirty tondi with cherub heads (not all autograph) that populate the stone frieze of the facade of the Pazzi Chapel at Santa Croce (see the useful photographs in Cardellini 1962, pp. 129–43, 232–35).

In my opinion some of the best examples of this kind of work include the still largely ignored marble fragments, five in all, with cherub heads, now distributed among The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Los Angeles County Museum (three pieces), and the Cleveland Museum of Art (for photographs of the first four pieces, see Cardellini 1962, pp. 282–85, and for the fifth, Cleveland 1971, no. 26). Often incorrectly



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attributed to Antonio Rossellino or Benedetto da Maiano, these unusual fragments are also misunderstood with regard to their original function and location. I believe that they were detached from an overlying bust of Christ, arranged basketlike and carved from a single block of marble. A rather free variation on this important, now-lost work was made about fifty years later: a bust, unrecognized as the work of Pietro Torrigiano (1472–1528), that is set upon seven cherubs (now at Burghley House, Lincolnshire; reproduced in Darr 1982, p. 298, fig. 14, as a work of the seventeenth century). As this example demonstrates, Desiderio's *Christ with Cherubs* seems to have had a lasting impact in Florence, for we find a notable echo of it in a late Cinquecento work by Giovanni Battista Caccini (the bust of Christ at the corner of Via de' Cerretani and Via Zannetti, Florence, 1587; photo: Alinari 20359). The Bode-Museum, Berlin, has a marble fragment with cherub heads (inv. 106), formerly attributed to Benedetto da Maiano and sometimes identified as part of a single series that includes the other fragments by Desiderio (Cardellini 1962, pp. 284–85, figs. 360–62, 364, 366); I think it should be dated later and is, significantly enough, once again by Torrigiano. FC

Provenance Eugen von Miller zu Aichholz, Vienna (until 1892); Gustav Benda, Vienna (until 1932)

Selected References Bode 1887, p. 55; Tschudi 1887, pp. 227–28; Bode 1888, p. 215; Luchs in Paris–Florence–Washington 2006–7, pp. 164–67, no. 9

Domenico Ghirlandaio (Domenico Bigordi; Florence, 1448/49–1494, Florence)

42. *Francesco Sassetti and His Son Teodoro II*

ca. 1490

Tempera on wood, overall 33¼ × 25⅛ in. (84.5 × 63.8 cm); painted surface, 29⅞ × 20⅞ in. (75.9 × 53 cm); borders of unpainted wood surrounding picture area (approx. 5.3 cm wide at sides and 4 cm at top and bottom; visible in Van der Sman 2010, p. 49, fig. 8) originally covered by an engaged frame

Inscribed: at top, FRAN[ciscv]S SAXETTVS THEODORVS QUE·F[ilivs] (Francesco Sassetti and [his son] Teodoro)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.7)



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The painting has suffered from a misguided act of defacement. Whereas most of the picture surface survives in good condition, the man's head has been obliterated by harsh cleaning. The damage was done sometime before 1894, when Costanza Jocelyn Ffoulkes objected to exhibiting the portrait publicly because it was muddled by restoration (1894, p. 166). The man's face is now entirely overpainted, and it is unclear how much of the original body color remains. Infrared reflectography reveals fluent underdrawing, with wrinkles around the left eye, making the man appear to be older than he looks in the restored face. The landscape, the sky, and the boy's head are well preserved, but the boy's hands, like those of Sassetti, are entirely overpainted.

The compromised condition has given rise to disagreement about the painting's attribution and date. Adolfo Venturi (1901–40, vol. 7 [1911]) assigned it (and Ghirlandaio's marvelous double portrait in the Louvre! [cat. 43]) to the artist's workshop, a view shared by other critics and repeated most recently by Ronald G. Kecks (2000). Richard Offner (reported by de Roover, 1948) suggested that the picture was a replica painted in the 1480s, mostly by an assistant of Ghirlandaio's, of a lost portrait that the young Ghirlandaio had presumably painted in the late 1460s. But surely Jean Cadogan is right to maintain that the "Well preserved parts, for example in the face of the child, attest to the execution by Domenico himself" (2000).

A Latin inscription at the top, added after the picture was painted but probably recording a reliable tradition (Zeri and Gardner 1971), identifies the sitter as Francesco Sassetti (1421–1490). A general manager of the Medici bank, Sassetti married the wellborn Nera Corsi in 1459, and the following year he acquired property in the countryside north of Florence where he built the Villa La Pietra (now part of New York University). A bibliophile, an avid collector of ancient coins, and a supporter of humanist studies, he is best remembered as the patron of Domenico Ghirlandaio, who decorated the Sassetti family's burial chapel in the church of Santa Trinita, Florence, between 1483 and 1485.

Several portraits of Sassetti exist. The earliest, showing his features at the age of thirty-eight, appears in the retinue of the Magi in Benozzo Gozzoli's murals in the chapel of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence (Acidini Luchinat 1994, p. 368). At the age of forty-four, he sat for a lifesize marble bust (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence) attributed to Antonio Rossellino or Andrea del Verrocchio (Foister in London 2008–9, p. 96, no. 8), which portrays Sassetti as an ancient Roman wearing a toga, a startling reminder of his antiquarian interests. In his early sixties he was shown again as an ancient Roman in a small roundel carved in the frieze beneath his tomb in Santa Trinita. There also is a charming relief in the decoration above his tomb, showing him and his wife as a

young couple facing one another. The most impressive portraits of him, however, appear in the murals of the Sassetti Chapel, where Ghirlandaio portrayed him as a donor kneeling in strict profile and as an almost lifesize full-length figure, again in profile, standing next to Lorenzo de' Medici and Antonio Pucci in the scene of the *Confirmation of the Rule of Saint Francis* (see fig. 8). As Jacob Burckhardt ([1898] 1930, pp. 217–19) observed, the lifelike aspect of these painted portraits rivals the realism of contemporary Netherlandish art.

Unfortunately, the ruined condition of the Metropolitan's portrait precludes comparison with these datable likenesses of Sassetti. Evidence for its date, nevertheless, lies in the identity of the youth at Sassetti's side. The Latin inscription gives only his name, Teodoro. But as Aby Warburg (1907) observed, Sassetti named two of his five legitimate sons Teodoro: the first, born on July 23, 1460, died sometime in late 1478 or early 1479 (Borsook and Offerhaus 1981, pp. 11 n. 10, 16 n. 34, 60 doc. 6) and certainly before May 11, 1479, when Sassetti's last son was born. The latter was baptized Teodoro, following the then popular custom of naming newborns after deceased siblings.

Controversy persists over which Teodoro is portrayed. Some historians think he is the elder son (de Roover 1948; Borsook and Offerhaus 1981; Acidini Luchinat 1994; Cadogan 2000); others maintain he is the younger Teodoro (Warburg 1907; L. Venturi 1931, pl. 206; Zeri and Gardner 1971; Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9). As the boy appears to be about ten or eleven years old, it follows that if the older Teodoro is depicted, the painting must date from about 1470, the moment when Ghirlandaio painted his earliest works in a crisp, fastidious style quite unlike the fulsome character of the Metropolitan's double portrait. If he is the younger Teodoro, his apparent age would place the painting about 1490, a date consonant with the painting's style.

The second Teodoro is also depicted in the Sassetti Chapel as the revived boy in one of the main murals, the *Resuscitation of the Roman Notary's Son*. Originally, Ghirlandaio had planned this scene as a mural of the *Apparition of Saint Francis at Arles* (Rosenauer 1972, p. 193), but he changed the subject to reflect the seemingly miraculous birth of the second Teodoro. The latter is not to be confused with the boy standing next to Sassetti in the above-mentioned mural of the *Confirmation of the Rule of Saint Francis*; this is Sassetti's fourth son, Federigo (b. 1472), whom Sassetti hoped would become the abbot of Santa Trinita. The three full-length young men facing Sassetti are his eldest sons, Galeazzo (b. 1461), Cosimo (b. 1463), and Federigo. Their presence, as well as that of Lorenzo de' Medici's three sons climbing up the steps in the foreground of the scene, underscores the dynastic aspect of the mural, which also inspired the Metropolitan's double portrait. For Renaissance rulers such as Federigo da Montefeltro, whom a Spanish artist portrayed with Montefeltro's three-year-old son and heir, Guidobaldo (cat. 120), as well as for wealthy Florentines like Filippo Strozzi, whom Gherardo di Giovanni depicted in an illuminated manuscript of Pliny's *Naturalia historia* (Bodleian Library, Oxford) with his son, Alfonso, the perpetuation of lineage was all important. EF

Provenance William Graham, London (by 1875–d. 1885; inv. 1882, no. 208, as by Ghirlandaio; his estate sale, Christie's, London, April 8–10, 1886, lot 263, as by Ghirlandaio; sold to Colnaghi); [Colnaghi, London, from 1886]; Robert H. and Evelyn Benson, London (by 1893–1927; cat. 1914, no. 27, as by Ghirlandaio; sold to Duveen); [Duveen, London and New York, 1927; sold to Bache]; Jules S. Bache, New York (1927–d. 1944; his estate, 1944–49; cats., 1929, unnumbered; 1937, no. 7; 1943, no. 7)

Selected References Warburg (1907) 1932 ed., vol. 1, p. 132 n. 5; Suida 1931, p. 40; Lauts 1943, pp. 42–43, 56; de Roover 1948, pp. 90–91; Zeri and Gardner 1971, pp. 133–37; Borsook and Offerhaus 1981, pp. 21, 27 n. 89; Rosenberg 1993, pp. 189–90, 194 nn. 47–48; Thiébaut 1996, pp. 47, 53 n. 46; Cadogan 2000, pp. 188, 277–79, no. 47; Kecks 2000, pp. 110 n. 189, 111, 409; Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, pp. 275–76, no. 127

Domenico Ghirlandaio (Domenico Bigordi; Florence, 1448/49–1494, Florence)

43. *Portrait of an Old Man and a Boy*

ca. 1490

Tempera on wood, 24¾ × 18¼ in. (62.7 × 46.3 cm)

Département des Peintures, Musée du Louvre, Paris (R.F. 266)

This double portrait marks an important step in the evolution of the easel portrait in Florence. Taking us beyond the simple profile view, the image not only depicts the sitters' features, one of them in three-quarter view, it also suggests their human character. In a touching exchange between individuals of two different generations, the old man sits by a window, gazing tenderly at a little boy, who looks up beseechingly. The boy stares beyond the man's "burgeoning nose ruffled and furrowed like a quince or like a potato that has started budding" (Berenson 1938, vol. 1, p. 341), the result of rhinophyma, a malady of the nasal tissues that mainly afflicts elderly men. The relationship between



them is clearly familial, an elderly father (or perhaps a grandfather) contemplating the continuation of his ancestral line.

All experts on Italian painting except Adolfo Venturi and Federico Zeri regard the painting as a wonderful example of Domenico Ghirlandaio's work. Believing it was too realistic and lacked Domenico Ghirlandaio's "sweet" character, Venturi (1901–40, vol. 7 [1911], pt. 1, pp. 769–71) suggested that it was executed in the Ghirlandaio workshop by Domenico's brother Davide. Zeri (1987a) thought the boy was banal and the landscape formulaic, and he attributed these passages to a talented assistant. However, neither the boy nor the landscape is inconsistent with Ghirlandaio's masterly handling of paint. Indeed, the Louvre double portrait is a fully autograph work, "Ghirlandaio's supreme masterpiece," to quote Roger Fry (1909).

The painting has great appeal, all the more so when we realize that the likeness of the old man is posthumous. In preparing to paint it, Ghirlandaio made a breathtaking bust-length drawing (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; Bjurström 2001, unpaginated). Executed in silverpoint on pink prepared paper, it shows the old man with his head erect, his eyes and lips sealed, his thinning hair tousled. When Bernard Berenson first discussed the drawing (1903, vol. 2, p. 181), he wrote that it "would seem to have been done just after the old man had died and was still lying in his bed-clothes." But later Berenson (1933; 1938, vol. 1, p. 341) said the drawing was done while the old man was napping. The frozen countenance, however, is certainly that of a corpse. With consummate skill Ghirlandaio transformed the image for his painting, tilting the head so that the man would appear to be communicating with the boy in a lifelike manner.

The earliest report of the painting's condition is a remark in the Italian edition of G. B. Cavalcaselle and J. A. Crowe's history of Italian painting (1886–1908, vol. 7 [1896]). They observed that a harsh cleaning had carried away some of the pigment but do not mention the hook-shaped scratches on the old man's forehead and left eye that marred the painting for most of the twentieth century. The scratches were in-painted when the picture was restored in the early 1990s (Volle 1996). According to Wilhelm von Bode ([1930] 1997 ed., vol. 1, p. 138), the scratches were the reason the Berlin museums did not purchase the picture, despite lengthy negotiations (Niemeyer Chini 2009, pp. 59–60, 69 nn. 45–47, 245, 264).

There are unsubstantiated reports about the picture's provenance: Cavalcaselle and Crowe (1886–1908, vol. 7 [1896]) said it came from the Frescobaldi family, Raimond van Marle (1931a, p. 98; 1931b, p. 10) the Ridolfi family, and the sitters were presumed to be members of one or the other of these families. Soon after the Louvre acquired the painting, however, it was connected with the Sassetti family, based on the supposition that the old man was Francesco Sassetti (see cat. 42). Although this identification was refuted by Henri Hauvette (1907), it continues to reappear in the literature on the painting (Hautecoeur 1926, vol. 2, p. 66; Ragghianti 1935, p. 197; Lightbown 1978, vol. 2, p. 95; Thiébaut 1996, pp. 46–47). To complicate matters, Zeri (1987a) declared that the painting was commissioned by members of the Sassetti family. However, it cannot be the family's patriarch because the shape of Francesco Sassetti's cranium was different. The idea (Kecks 2000) that the boy is the same as the one in the Metropolitan Museum's double portrait can also be rejected: whereas both are fair-haired, idealized children seen in profile, Teodoro Sassetti appears to be ten or eleven years old in the Metropolitan's double portrait and the child in the Louvre double portrait can be no more than about four years old.

Another candidate for the old man, not proposed before, is Giovanni di Francesco Tornabuoni (1428–1497), Lorenzo de' Medici's brother-in-law and Ghirlandaio's recurrent patron. There are two portrayals of him at the age of sixty-two in the Santa Maria Novella murals. Completed in December 1490, they show him as a kneeling donor, dressed in a costly pink gown, and as a member of the ruling elite of Florence, standing with his family and peers in the mural of the *Annunciation to Zacharias*. His son, Lorenzo di Giovanni Tornabuoni (1468–1497), was obviously too old to be the little boy in the Louvre double portrait. The same is true of his grandson, Giovannino (b. 1487), who was nine or ten years old when Giovanni Tornabuoni died.

Unlike portraits in murals, which the public could see in Florentine churches, Ghirlandaio's double portraits were intimate affairs, painted for family and friends. They call to mind Leon Battista Alberti's observation (1972 ed., p. 61) that through portraiture the absent were made present to their friends and to others long after the sitter's death. Whoever is depicted in the Louvre double portrait, the work illustrates this notion. On another occasion Ghirlandaio painted a comparable double portrait of a man and his daughter. In the room of the Villa Lemmi for which Botticelli painted murals of Lorenzo Tornabuoni and his second wife, Ghirlandaio portrayed Giovanni Tornabuoni sitting at a table with his nine-year-old daughter, Ludovica, standing beside him (Simons 2011). Before the mural was damaged it must have conveyed the same sentiments as Ghirlandaio's captivating double portrait in the Louvre. EF

Provenance [Stefano Bardini, Florence, before 1879–80]

Selected References Cavalcaselle and Crowe 1886–1908, vol. 7 (1896), pp. 473–74; Steinman 1897, p. 76; Hauvette 1907, pp. 133–36; Berenson 1933, p. 175; Lauts 1943, p. 56; Pope-Hennessy 1966, p. 56; Gilbert 1968, p. 284; Zeri 1987a, pp. 240–454; Shearman 1992, p. 108; Rosenberg 1993, pp. 188–89; Thiébaut 1996, pp. 42–50; Volle 1996, pp. 51–53; Cadogan 2000, pp. 188, 276–77; Kecks 2000, pp. 110–11, 144, 349–50, no. 23, 387; Greer in London 2008–9, pp. 244–45

Lorenzo di Credi (Florence, 1456/59–1536, Florence)

44. *Portrait of a Young Woman (Ginevra de' Benci?)*

ca. 1475–80

Tempera and oil on wood, 23⅛ × 15¾ in. (58.7 × 40 cm); top and bottom of panel are original, sides have been trimmed

Inscribed: on back, *GINEVERA DE AM . . . BENCI*

Verso: *Unfinished Portrait of a Woman*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Richard De Wolfe Brixey, 1943 (43.86.5)



44

This painting reflects an important step in the evolution of Florentine portraits of women: earlier examples almost always show them bust-length and in profile. The change came about in the mid-1470s in the work of the young Leonardo da Vinci and, slightly later, in the work of Botticelli. In the new format, women turn their faces toward the spectator, giving artists greater opportunity to suggest their personalities. By increasing the length of portraits, artists could also include the hands and show the sitters in more natural poses. The catalyst for this change seems to have been Andrea del Verrocchio's *Lady with Primroses*, a half-length marble sculpture with hands, in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, a work so lifelike that some critics believe Leonardo carved it.

An old, probably sixteenth-century, inscription on the back of the Metropolitan Museum's panel identifies the sitter as Ginevra d'Amerigo de' Benci, the same young woman whom Leonardo depicted in a portrait formerly in the Liechtenstein collection in Vienna and now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. Ginevra, the daughter of a wealthy Florentine banker, was born in 1457; on January 15, 1474 (1473 Florentine style), at the age of sixteen, she married Luigi di Bernardo Niccolini. Leonardo probably painted her portrait about the time of their marriage.

The Metropolitan's painting is clearly inspired by Leonardo's portrait: the format of the two pictures is virtually the same—both of them depict somber young women standing outdoors before misty landscapes, gazing toward the spectator. The resemblance is even greater if one bears in mind that the portrait in Washington has been truncated at the bottom and trimmed on the right-hand side, resulting in a loss of approximately 7 inches (17.8 cm) at the bottom and ½ inch (1.3 cm) on the right-hand side, so both portraits originally were about the same size. They differ in that the pose of the sitter in the Metropolitan's painting is reversed, with the young woman turning from the right rather than from the left. Although a drawing by Leonardo in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, has often been cited as a study for the missing hands of Leonardo's portrait in Washington, the Metropolitan's portrait probably provides more reliable evidence.

The attribution to Lorenzo di Credi was proposed by Bernard Berenson (1896; for drawings by Lorenzo di Credi, see cats. 31–33). Credi received his training in Andrea del Verrocchio's workshop when Leonardo da Vinci and Perugino were also employed there. Giorgio Vasari wrote that "since Lorenzo [di Credi] took an extraordinary pleasure in the manner of

Leonardo, he contrived to imitate it so well that there was no one who came nearer to it than he did in the high finish and thorough perfection of his works" (1996 ed., vol. 1, p. 800). Credi's free copy of Leonardo's Benois *Madonna* in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, not to speak of his variant of the *Ginevra de' Benci* in the Metropolitan Museum, lend credence to Vasari's account.

The attribution to Credi of the Metropolitan portrait is widely accepted today, though it has occasionally been questioned: Wilhelm Bode (1921) tentatively gave it to Credi's student Giovan Antonio Sogliani, Jean Alazard (1924) dismissed it as "a work of no great artistic value," and David Alan Brown (1998) ascribed it to the prolific follower of Credi's known as Tommaso. Doubts about the attribution may be a result of the portrait's compromised condition. Unlike Leonardo's picture in Washington, the surface of which is well preserved, the Metropolitan's version is badly abraded: the face is badly damaged, the dark pigments have deteriorated, and little detail remains in the clothing and the landscape. The surface is so poorly preserved that it shows no sign of the high finish for which Credi was known in his time. (For a breathtaking example of a Credi in immaculate condition, see his *Madonna* in the Gemäldegalerie, Mainz.)

The poor condition of the Metropolitan's portrait also precludes any firm conclusion about the identity of the sitter. Some scholars (Bode 1903; Walker 1967; Schuyler 1976; Garrard 2006) maintain that it portrays Ginevra de' Benci; others (Carnesechi 1909; Sirén 1916; Alazard 1924; D. A. Brown 1998) believe that it does not. In the earliest published reproduction of the portrait (Bode 1903, p. 275), in which it appears to be in much better condition than it is today, the sitter's features correspond closely with those of the Washington portrait. An X-radiograph of the Metropolitan's panel (Walker 1967) shows various contours for the position of the woman's head, changes presumably owing to the artist's inexperience. The X-radiograph also reveals that the neckline of her dress was originally rectangular and cut much lower, in fact, exactly like the neckline of the dress in the Washington portrait. In a recent technical examination of the Metropolitan painting, Dorothy Mahon noticed that the artist or one of his assistants first attempted to paint the portrait on the back of the panel. The outline of the young woman's head and body is the same as one of the contours seen in the X-radiograph of the head and body on the front, which indicates that the design was transferred from a cartoon. The image was merely laid out, not worked up, and was abandoned because someone noticed that the grain of the wood is curved toward the pith, making it liable to buckle the paint surface (information kindly communicated by George Bisacca).

Discounting the old inscription on the back, Gigetta Dalli Regoli (1966) suggested that the portrait depicts a different Ginevra—Ginevra di Giovanni di Niccolò, the reputed widow of Lorenzo di Credi's older brother Carlo, who was a goldsmith. The juniper foliage, behind the sitters' heads in both the New York and Washington portraits, alludes to their Christian name, the Italian word for the plant—*ginepro*—being a play on the name Ginevra. The ring held by the sitter in the Metropolitan's portrait could refer to her late husband's profession, but it might also have had some connubial significance. On balance, making allowances for its compromised condition, the portrait probably does represent Ginevra de' Benci.

Dalli Regoli (1966) at first proposed that the Metropolitan's picture dates from about 1490 to 1495, the time of Credi's Mascalzoni altarpiece (Musée du Louvre, Paris), a grand work with monumental proportions, so unlike the delicate figure in the Metropolitan's painting. Thirty years later Dalli Regoli (1996) wrote that the design of the portrait reflects Leonardo's *Mona Lisa*, thereby dating the picture considerably later, because Leonardo began the *Mona Lisa* about 1505 and did not complete it until 1514. Judging from style alone, the Metropolitan Museum's portrait probably dates from the late 1470s, when Credi was copying early works by Leonardo. It lacks the ponderous quality of Credi's work after Leonardo's return to Florence in 1500, best seen either in the Bongianni *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), with angels holding up their hands in Leonardesque gestures, or in the *Young Woman with a Bowl of Flowers* (Pinacoteca Civica, Forlì), which is clearly based on the *Mona Lisa*. EF

Provenance Marquess Pucci, Palazzo Pucci, Florence (by 1896); Marquess Emilio Pucci, Florence (until at least 1912); (?) [A. S. Drey, Munich, ca. 1912]; [Arthur Ruck, London, until 1920; sold to Duveen]; [Duveen, London and New York, 1920–25; sold to Brixey]; Richard De Wolfe Brixey, New York (1925–d. 1943)

Selected References Alazard 1924, pp. 60–61, 83–84; Degenhart 1931, p. 463; Clark 1935, p. 89, no. 12558; Dalli Regoli 1966, pp. 44–45, 145, no. 89; Walker 1967, pp. 13–18; Zeri and Gardner 1971, pp. 154–57; Dalli Regoli 1996, p. 677; D. A. Brown 1998, pp. 106, 202 n. 33; D. A. Brown in Boskovits and Brown 2003, pp. 360, 361, 366; Garrard 2006, pp. 41–43, 50–52; Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, pp. 282–84

Workshop of Antonio Rossellino

45. *Cosimo de' Medici*

ca. 1460

Marble, 14⅛ × 12⅝ in. (36 × 32 cm) without frame

Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (124)

Florentine artist

46. *Cosimo de' Medici*

ca. 1465–69

Bronze, cast; Diam. 2⅞ in. (7.3 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *MAGNVS COSMVS – MEDICES PPP*; on reverse, */ PAX LIBERTAS QUE PVBLICA / FLORENTIA*

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18216318)



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Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464), called "il Vecchio" (the Elder), is such a well-known historical figure that it is both impossible and unnecessary to summarize his life here. An immensely rich banker with extraordinary political skills, he was the de facto ruler of Florence for thirty years (1434–64). His cultural interests mark him as one of the fathers of the Renaissance; he was, moreover, one of the most significant patrons in the history of Western art.

Cosimo's appearance is well known thanks to a large number of portraits in sculpture, painting, and other media dating from the fifteenth century down to the present (Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 1 [1981], esp. pp. 385–406, no. 26). And yet the basis for this iconographic tradition derives from only a few secure sources. Indeed, the marble relief and the medal discussed here are the earliest surviving sculptural testimonies to Cosimo's likeness. This is somewhat surprising given his great interest in monumental sculpture (especially that of Donatello) and considering that both of his legitimate sons were portrayed in a pair of important marble busts when their father was at the height of his power, with ten years still to live (see cat. 47; fig. 5).

All the primary visual evidence that remains for what Cosimo looked like dates from the final years of his life, or just after his death, and that includes the two works catalogued here.

Scholars are almost unanimous in dating the Berlin medal to after March 1465, when the title "Pater Patriae" (father of his country), an epithet of classical origin, was conferred by the Florentine republic on Cosimo, who had been dead for almost a year. The honorific (PPP) appears in the inscription on the medal's obverse, behind the figure's shoulders. The reverse shows an allegorical figure of Florence dressed as a Roman matron and seated on a faldstool; she holds an orb in her right hand and an olive branch in her left. The figure sits symbolically, but also awkwardly, above a large yoke, one of the emblems of the Medici family (derived from Matthew 11:30, "for my yoke is easy and my burden is light"). The orb alludes not only to the balls in the Medici coat of arms but also to the meaning of the Latin name Cosmus. The inscription on the reverse celebrates both peace (PAX), signified by the olive branch, and public liberty (LIBERTAS PVBLICA), the ideological pillar of the Florentine republic that the Medici skillfully incorporated as one of their civic mottoes during the time they were in control.

Despite a lengthy scholarly consideration, it remains difficult to attribute the medal to a specific artist and to advance beyond the rather generic label of "Florentine school." This is partly a result of the mediocre facture of the piece, which contrasts with its early celebrity and the stature of the subject. By 1469 the medal (or perhaps a slight variation of it, for which see Hill 1930, no. 910) was depicted in reverse (in gold) on the page of a manuscript of Aristotle's works made for Cosimo's son Piero, who died that year (Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, MS Plut. 71,7; Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 1 [1981], pp. 15–16, 390–91, no. 15). Shortly afterward (ca. 1475) a copy of the medal, in gilded stucco, was inset into Sandro Botticelli's famous *Portrait of a Young Man* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). The bust-length figure, shown frontally, holds the disc in his hands as he



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fixes his gaze intently on the viewer. The identity of Botticelli's sitter has been much discussed (a member of the Medici family, perhaps, or one of its followers? the artist who designed the medal?), but the question has not been resolved. The inventory of the Medici's possessions compiled after Lorenzo the Magnificent's death in 1492 confirms that the medal of Cosimo also existed in now-lost gold versions (Spallanzani and Gaeta Bertelà 1992, p. 44).

Since the nineteenth century scholars have made casual reference to correspondences between the medal's obverse and the marble relief. Few, however, have attempted a careful analysis of these relationships, even though the generally accepted date for the relief (ca. 1460) would imply that it preceded the medal and, indeed, functioned as a model for it.

The marble relief seems in fact to suggest a fresher, more direct knowledge of its subject, as if Cosimo were still alive when it was made (but perhaps not for much longer). It does not present the sitter in pure profile, as the medal does; instead, we see him in what is nearly a three-quarter view. When the Berlin relief is perceived frontally, Cosimo's right eye is only slightly visible, but it is almost entirely sculpted, since, behind the mouth, the nose, and the chin, which all are fully modeled, half of the right cheek is carved (the tip of the nose has been redone and a piece in the upper left of the background reattached). The execution of the relief demonstrates such physiognomic and stylistic coherence that it is difficult to imagine that the sculptor was working from the medal. The medal, by contrast, could easily be the result of reducing a work in high relief, like the one in Berlin, to a pure profile, and then incorporating into it a number of the figure's unmistakable physical characteristics as well as the signs of the physical decay that come with age: the wrinkles on the forehead, the large blood vessels at the temples, and the many flaccid pockets of flesh on the left cheek and neck.

When the Berlin museums acquired the marble relief in Florence, in 1842, it carried an earlier attribution to Andrea del Verrocchio that has subsequently never been completely abandoned, though no monograph on that sculptor has ever seriously accepted it and the various catalogues of the Berlin collections have almost always expressed caution.

Although it offers us a reliable portrait of Cosimo de' Medici, this relief does not in fact demonstrate a quality of execution worthy of Verrocchio, the great artist who succeeded Donatello as the Medici family's preferred sculptor and who himself made Cosimo's tomb in San Lorenzo (the reason for the nineteenth-century attribution to him). Furthermore, the relief is not mentioned in the famous and carefully compiled list, drawn up in 1496, of the works Verrocchio executed for the Medici. Nor does its style suggest the hand of Verrocchio, who from his earliest works demonstrated his lifelong ability to give to the marble a distinct quality of vibration, in the manner of Desiderio da Settignano (see Caglioti 2011a). Desiderio's work would have provided Verrocchio with incomparable examples of what might be called a velvetlike surface, even for the representation of the skin of an old man, as in the portrait of Julius Caesar now at the Musée du Louvre, Paris (Caglioti 2006).

There has been only one suggestion that the relief might be by Luca della Robbia (Gentilini 1992). While this solution is

more plausible from the point of view of style, the quality of Luca's autograph work is always much higher.

Strangely enough, no one thus far seems to have observed the close similarities between this relief and the productions of Antonio Rossellino (1427/28–ca. 1479) and his workshop. An autograph work by Rossellino, such as the bust of Giovanni Chellini in London (see fig. 6), dated to 1456, offers a perfect example of that combination of sincere attention to actuality and volumetric consistency in the details that the unknown sculptor of the Berlin piece would have learned from his master.

The inventory of Lorenzo the Magnificent's property drawn up after his death mentions a "testa di marmo della 'mpromptа di Cosimo"—a marble head of Cosimo—in a room in the Medici palace. Its value was listed at only one florin, while Mino da Fiesole's busts of Piero (cat. 47) and Giovanni (fig. 5) de' Medici, Cosimo's two sons, were estimated at twelve and twenty-five florins, respectively (Spallanzani and Gaeta Bertelà 1992, pp. 17, 27, 72). This remarkable difference suggests that the marble portrait of Cosimo was a modest work not unlike the relief in Berlin, although such a specific identification must remain purely conjectural (Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 1 [1981], p. 17; Caglioti in Florence 1992a, p. 40).

It is worth noting here that when Pontormo painted what is probably the loveliest and most famous image of the old Pater Patriae (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence)—executed about 1520 for someone in the small circle around the Medici family—he chose to represent him not in pure profile but in a view that is closer to that of the Berlin relief than it is to the silhouette presented in the medal (although the latter is generally regarded in the literature as the model for the painting; see most recently Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 296). Apparently Pontormo had access to the type transmitted in the marble portrait, confirming both the direct ties between the Berlin relief and early Medici patronage and its value as a historical document. FC

Provenance Cat. 45: Orlandini del Beccuto family, Florence (until 1842)

Cat. 46: antiquarian market (until 1914)

Selected References Cat. 45: Waagen 1846, p. 253; Bode 1883, pp. 37–38, 46, 47 (ill.); Bode 1887, pp. 257–58; Middeldorf 1938b, p. 100; Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 1 (1981), pp. 17, 396–98, no. 27; Gentilini 1992, pp. 108 (ill.), 110, 164 n. 18

Cat. 46: Hill 1930, vol. 1, pp. 236–37, no. 909, and vol. 2, pl. 147, no. 909; Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 1 (1981), pp. 15–16, 398–99, no. 28; Börner 1997, p. 94, no. 353.1, and pl. 52, no. 351.1; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 296, no. 279

Mino da Fiesole (Mino di Giovanni; Papiano or Montemignaio, 1429–1484, Florence)

47. *Piero di Cosimo de' Medici*

1453–54

Marble, H. 21½ in. (54.5 cm)

Inscribed: along bottom edge, in front, *PETRVS · COS*[mi] · *F*[ilius]; in back, *AETATIS · ANNO · XXXVII*; beneath left arm, *OPVS · MINI*; beneath right arm, *SCVLTORIS*

Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (Sculture 75)

This sculpture, a key work in the history of Italian portraiture, is also the oldest authenticated example we have of a post-classical portrait of a living person in the form of a marble bust.

Several inscriptions carved into parts of the effigy that are hidden from view reveal its subject, date, and author. The bottom has been hollowed out in a bowl shape, and there is a two-part inscription cut along its edge; in addition, the area beneath each truncated arm is flush, creating two circular areas where we find the two parts of the artist's signature. Taken together, the inscriptions read: "Piero the son of Cosimo at the age of 37," and "A work by Mino the sculptor." Since Piero de' Medici was born in June 1416, the bust must have been carved between June 1453 and May 1454.

Piero de' Medici (1416–1469), known as "il Gottoso" (the Gouty), was Cosimo the Elder's firstborn son and successor, and, in turn, was the father of Lorenzo the Magnificent. With his brother Giovanni (1421–1463), he was a pivotal figure in Florentine and Italian history in the middle of the fifteenth century, not only because of his activities in the economic, political, and diplomatic spheres, but also owing to his central role in cultural and artistic life. The prestige of his social and governmental position—Piero was virtually a head of state—and his unusual interest in promoting the arts and encouraging the rebirth of classical literary and visual genres help explain the origin and the extraordinary quality of the work almost as much as the sculptor's skill. In 1453–54 Mino was less than twenty-five years old, and as far as we know there are no earlier autonomous works by this artist.

Here the dialogue between sculptor and patron produced a fresh, novel portrait type that skillfully fuses the ancient Roman tradition—republican as well as imperial—of strongly individualized marble busts with that of the medieval bust-reliquaries of saints, creating a figure that is not rounded or otherwise shaped at the bottom, as was common in the Classical period, but, rather, truncated horizontally nearly halfway



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down the arms and torso. Piero also may have brought brilliant examples of contemporary Netherlandish painted portraits to Mino's attention, since the Medici were among the wealthiest and most knowledgeable admirers of that school of painting.

Fortified by models from classical antiquity and northern European art, Mino succeeded in celebrating Piero's social position as well as his character and personal authority but without avoiding the less attractive aspects of his peculiar appearance. The upper part of the torso, dressed in a sumptuous

brocade robe decorated with, among other motifs, the Medici device of a diamond ring, is majestically erect, while the head turns to the left, suggesting Piero's living presence and simultaneously creating a sense of distance from the viewer. Behind Mino's innovations lies Donatello's monumental sculpture, with its new realism, but it seems that the father of the Renaissance, so dear to the Medici, was not interested in achieving a similar degree of individualization or in celebrating a single personality, and he left no certain autonomous portraits (the famous bust of Niccolò da Uzzano, almost always attributed to him, comes most likely from the workshop of Desiderio da Settignano, a contemporary of Mino's; see cat. 22).

A virtuoso marble carver with excellent training (perhaps in Bernardo Rossellino's shop), Mino knew how to differentiate the volumes and surfaces of clothing, flesh, and hair of head and body without becoming lost in myriad details. They would in any case have been unnecessary here, since the work was not meant to be meticulously examined by the viewer: at the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent's death, in 1492, this bust of his father and a similar one of his mother, Lucrezia Tornabuoni (1425–1482), are documented as being installed over two doors—one facing the other—in the principal apartment on the *piano nobile* of the Palazzo Medici in Via Larga, behind the main facade. Insofar as the apartment was created for Piero, and considering that the palace, begun in 1445, was being furnished in about 1453–54, the location of the two marbles seems to be the original one, a fact that is an important consideration for other portrait busts of the early Renaissance.

In referencing this arrangement a century later, Giorgio Vasari (1568) also attributed Lucrezia's portrait bust to Mino. If this attribution were correct, that portrait should now be considered lost, since the unidentified *Noble Woman* in the Opera della Primaziale, Pisa, sometimes proposed as Mino's portrait of Lucrezia (see, for example, Zuraw 1993b), is unquestionably by Matteo Civitali (Caglioti in Pisa 1993, pp. 291–93, no. 110). If, instead, Vasari was mistaken in his attribution (perhaps he based it on the proximity of the two busts), then one might look to other fifteenth-century sculptors. This is a difficult task, however, because female busts, unlike their male counterparts, were almost always highly idealized and included no inscriptions. (The *Bust of a Young Woman* produced in Desiderio da Settignano's workshop and now in the Bargello is probably not Lucrezia—Caglioti [in Florence 1992a, pp. 48–50, no. 22] notwithstanding—even though it came from the Medici collections, for it represents an adolescent of marriageable age rather than the mother of a family, as was the case with Lucrezia in about 1455–60.)

The Medici so greatly admired the bust of Piero that shortly afterward they commissioned from Mino himself a bust of Giovanni di Cosimo dressed in antique armor (fig. 5). At the same time, they recommended the artist as a portraitist to other courts in Italy, making him the most sought-after and dynamic Florentine sculptor of marble busts for almost two decades. In 1456, for example, Giovanni tried to send Mino to the court of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, writing a letter in which he praised his own bust by the artist as well as those of Piero, Astorgio Manfredi, lord of Faenza (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), and King Alfonso the Magnanimous (Caglioti 1991). This last work was executed in Naples for the royal palace of Castel Nuovo, where Mino stayed for about a year (1455–56). Following this experience he was known in Rome by the names "Mino del Regno" (Mino of the Kingdom) or "Mino del Reame" (Mino of the Realm), which became the source of considerable biographical confusion that persists to this day.

The portrait that Mino made of Alfonso is sometimes identified with a relief profile of the king now at the Louvre (and also by Mino). Alfonso's effigy was a monumental bust, however (Caglioti 1991), and we now know that in the eighteenth century it was in Valencia, together with other treasures originally from Naples, and that it was signed, like the present work, OPVS MINI (Barreto 2010, vol. 1, pp. 95–96 and n. 302). While Mino was at Alfonso's court, Desiderio was in Florence making a series of marble reliefs with profile portraits of ancient emperors for the monarch's residence at the Castel Nuovo. That commission, itself a novelty in the period, illuminates the relationship between the cult of classical personalities and modern individualism that is at the root of Renaissance portrait sculpture. It was no coincidence that Giovanni de' Medici, so recently represented as a Roman prince, was at the same time amassing an impressive collection of ancient busts (Caglioti 2008b).

Mino's bust remains the principal document of Piero de' Medici's appearance. This explains the numerous images of Lorenzo's father derived from it, mostly in the sixteenth century, including paintings by Agnolo Bronzino and Vasari (Langedijk 1981–87). FC

Provenance Palazzo de' Medici, Via Larga, Florence (until mid-16th century); Guardaroba Medicea, Palazzo Ducale, then Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (until late 17th century); Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (until 1873)

Selected References Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 1 (1981), pp. 14–15, 17–18, and vol. 2 (1983), pp. 1328–39, no. 98; Caglioti 1991, passim; Caglioti in Florence 1992a, pp. 42–44, no. 19; Zuraw 1993b, passim

Piero del Pollaiuolo
(Florence, 1441–ca. 1496, Rome)

48. *Galeazzo Maria Sforza*

1471
Oil (?) on panel, 25⅝ × 16½ in. (65 × 42 cm)
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (1890, no. 1492)

At Lorenzo de' Medici's death, in 1492, this portrait of Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1444–1476), the former duke of Milan, was hanging alongside that of Federigo da Montefeltro in the Camera Grande Terrena—Lorenzo's own room—of the Palazzo Medici. Almost certainly painted by Piero del Pollaiuolo during the young duke's state visit to Florence in 1471, the portrait was a lasting testament to the importance of the political alliance between the two families and cities. Cosimo I de' Medici used a copy of it to represent the duke in his own portrait collection; the original had been moved from the Medici palace to the Palazzo Vecchio by 1553 (see Wright 1996, p. 65). Owing to our knowledge of its early history and function, the panel is a keystone in the history of official courtly portraiture in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The years 1470–72 saw Galeazzo's court much on the move. Married to Bona of Savoy (1449–1503), daughter of Duke Ludovico of Savoy and sister-in-law to King Louis XI of France, Galeazzo seriously considered making a trip to France in early 1471 to help cement relations with this critical ally. Typical of his volatile manner, he shifted course and determined to visit Florence instead, with the stated purpose of visiting the church of the Santissima Annunziata, to which his family was devoted, but also because of the importance to Milan of the Florentines, particularly the Medici. That alliance, which proved crucial to the reign of his father, Francesco Sforza, had wobbled in the earliest years of Galeazzo's own rule but had since recovered. In 1470, Lorenzo acted as godfather to Galeazzo and Bona's first child and gave the duchess a necklace of great value to mark the occasion (Wright 1996, p. 70). The visit in 1471 is well documented in the ducal archives and by contemporary descriptions. We are told that some fourteen hundred people made up Galeazzo and Bona's cortege, their spectacular pomp noted by the inhabitants of Pisa, Lucca, and Siena as they made their way through those cities. Arriving in Florence on March 15, Galeazzo made his visit to the Annunziata and, "with all his court and magnificence," addressed the Signoria in the Palazzo Vecchio (Lubkin 1994, pp. 98–100). Galeazzo lodged with Lorenzo himself, Bona with Pierfrancesco de' Medici; the Florentines scrambled to put up the other courtiers. As the visit took place during Lent, much of it was spent quietly in the palace.

It was most likely at this time that Galeazzo sat for Pollaiuolo, who was at the height of his fame, carrying out a major commission to paint figures of the Virtues for the audience hall of the Mercanzia in their palace in the Piazza della Signoria (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). Lorenzo was also involved in this project, a connection that makes it most likely that the commission came from the Florentine host rather than from the duke as a gift to him. Pollaiuolo portrayed the duke wearing an ermine-lined doublet decorated with French lilies, appropriate considering the great alliance Galeazzo had gained through his marriage; these are also the the very devices noted by an observer as the duke entered the city ("dressed in a blue brocade with lilies, and the French devices and arms, as was his wife"; see Wright 1996, p. 65). The cut of the embroidered *veste*, as it was called, with wide sleeves and seams along the sleeves and collar, reflects a Franco-Burgundian style (Butazzi 2009, p. 27). Around Galeazzo's neck on a gold chain is an unusually shaped pendant, perhaps a ruby, considering his love of such gems. The duke conspicuously wears one thin glove—so thin as to be almost transparent, with the joints of the fingers and the cuticles of the nails visible—while he holds the second. The *magnificenza* of his wardrobe was of extreme importance to him (Lubkin 1994, pp. 120–21 for these years; Wright 1996, p. 66). His zeal to clothe his courtiers grandly was also great, and it was said that he hoped to make the court of Milan "one of the most resplendent in the Universe" (Butazzi 2009, p. 27).

Pollaiuolo portrayed his imposing sitter against a dark, neutral background. Galeazzo is shown almost to the waist, with a twist of the shoulders and torso, and gazes out to the right without engaging the viewer's eye. The duke's sharply defined features are actually close to being in profile, with the proper left eye visible but not the cheek. The index finger of the right hand points assertively in the same direction. There is something remarkably experimental about this pose as well as the conception of the figure. Pollaiuolo may very well have been aware of Netherlandish portraits of approximately the same date that had by then arrived in Florence, and which are somewhat similar in composition, as well as the handful of comparable independent Italian portraits (see cat. 21). Yet, in none of the works that have come down to us is there quite the same indication of a powerfully volumetric body moving through space, one in which motion and commanding expression are implied



by the emphatic gesture—which as Alison Wright points out may be a "speaking" gesture (2005, p. 136)—as well as by the aloof gaze of the dark-rimmed, deep-set eyes. Although this portrait is not as wholly convincing in its suggestion of mass and movement as the great bust-length sculptures of about the same date (see cats. 47, 49), the artist clearly sought a similar effect. Perhaps this somewhat unresolved pose is what prompted some earlier writers to think this portrait might have followed a lost prototype by a Lombard master (U. Rossi 1890, p. 160; Cruttwell 1907, pp. 182–83).

Antonio and Piero del Pollaiuolo both explored innovative painting techniques in the later 1460s and 1470s. The portrait of Galeazzo was painted mostly in oil, and recent restoration has shown that it was painted directly on a cypress panel, without gesso preparation. Four of the figures for the Mercanzia were made using a similar technique, as was Antonio's *David* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin). In each of these, the wood of the panel lends its own tonality to the thin, dark areas of the composition (Cecchi 1999, p. 85; Wright 2005, p. 71). Although we do not know the sequence of events leading to the portrait's production, it may have been painted in some haste so that it could be shown to the sitter before his departure from Florence (Wright 2005, p. 136).

Just a few years later, in 1476, Galeazzo was murdered on Christmas in the church of Santo Stefano by conspirators who believed they were ridding Milan of a tyrant. Galeazzo was a complex and highly unattractive character, and some of his most ardent detractors were Florentine. One Florentine chronicler called the assassination a "worthy, manly, and laudable undertaking," while Machiavelli wrote about it at length as a cautionary tale against tyrants (see Lubkin 1994, p. 245). Thus it is ironic that the finest existing portrait of the despised duke, one that self-consciously advances his own claims to *magnificenza,* remains in that city. AB

Provenance Lorenzo de' Medici, Palazzo Medici, Florence (1471–92); Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (by 1553)

Selected References U. Rossi 1890, pp. 160–61; Cruttwell 1907, pp. 182–83; L. Ettlinger 1978, p. 30, no. 13, p. 145; Wright 1996, pp. 65–80; Cecchi 1999, p. 85; Wright 2005, pp. 131–36, no. 50, p. 521

Andrea del Verrocchio
(Florence, ca. 1435–1488, Venice)

49. *Giuliano di Piero de' Medici*

ca. 1475

Terracotta, formerly painted, H. 24 in. (61 cm)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Andrew W. Mellon Collection (1937.1.127)

This is one of the most renowned Italian sculpted portraits of the fifteenth century, owing both to the celebrated artist who made it and, even more, to the subject, Giuliano de' Medici (1453–1478), Lorenzo the Magnificent's younger brother, who at the age of twenty-four was assassinated during the Pazzi Conspiracy (April 26, 1478). When the bust appeared on the art market in Paris in the mid-nineteenth century, it was attributed either to Verrocchio (*Magasin pittoresque* 1866) or to Antonio del Pollaiuolo (Heiss 1881–92, vol. 4 [1885]). Meanwhile, the identity of the sitter fluctuated between Lorenzo the Magnificent and Giovanni dalle Bande Nere, a sixteenth-century member of the Medici family (see *Magasin pittoresque* 1866). In 1878 Wilhelm Bode recognized the figure as Giuliano, an identification secured on the basis of comparisons with the growing number of portraits, in sculpture and especially paintings and medals (cats. 50–53), that were coming to light at that time (see Bode 1882). Once he had discovered the sitter, Bode became increasingly convinced that the bust was by Verrocchio, the Medici's preferred sculptor after the deaths of Donatello and Desiderio da Settignano (Bode 1882; Bode 1887), and this argument persuaded Bode's contemporaries.

The Giuliano identification has stood unquestioned throughout the whole of the twentieth century. Yet because it is undocumented, the bust—like most such sculptures of the early Renaissance (a majority of which resulted from private patronage)—has had an uneven history in terms of critical appraisal, moving from great heights to low points of esteem and back again (these vicissitudes are summarized in Covi 2005). At one extreme the piece was judged to be a nineteenth-century forgery, an allegation that is certainly unjustified. The apex of the work's fame, on the other hand, came with the attempts to attribute it, either fully or in part, to Leonardo da Vinci (scholars have at one time or another looked for Leonardo's hand in almost all of Verrocchio's works). In 1997 Andrew Butterfield confirmed both the authenticity of the terracotta and its identification as Giuliano de' Medici, but he



excluded an attribution either to Verrocchio or to Leonardo and dated it to the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century.

After 1997, the attribution to Verrocchio has once again prevailed, and the bust has generally been dated to just before Giuliano's death, probably 1475, the most felicitous year in the sitter's life, when he competed splendidly and successfully as the champion of Simonetta Cattaneo Vespucci in a public tournament in Florence. This event, recorded in many letters as well as in the chronicles and literature of the time, inspired Angelo Poliziano, among others, to write his *Stanze per la Giostra del Magnifico Giuliano* (Stanzas on the Tournament of the Magnificent Giuliano), which were left unfinished because of the subject's untimely death. The representation of a confident and triumphant warrior has suggested a connection between the 1475 joust and the terracotta. Irrespective of this link, the Washington bust stands out as the only autonomous and reliable image of Giuliano that was made before his death.

Despite the consensus that the bust of Giuliano now enjoys, there remains some uneasiness owing to its absence from

a well-known list, compiled in 1496, of Verrocchio's works for the Medici family. This inventory, made when both the sculptor and his patrons were dead, was part of an attempt by Verrocchio's heirs to collect money from Lorenzo's heirs for tasks for which the artist had possibly not been paid. The bust of Giuliano is the only one of Verrocchio's works now considered to have any significance in relation to the Medici family that is missing from the 1496 inventory. While it is difficult to find a single satisfactory explanation for this lacuna, there are several likely reasons. It is possible that: (1) whoever drew up the list simply forgot the bust; (2) even though it represents a Medici, it was perhaps commissioned not by his relatives but by one of their close partisans; (3) the terracotta was only a preparatory model for a more durable work (in marble or metal) that was never executed; or (4) the terracotta itself remains unfinished.

The omission from the Verrocchio-Medici list raises the issue of the bust's original function, an issue made more difficult by the sculpture's complicated state of preservation. Recent investigations and restorations, skillfully executed by the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (1996–99), have revealed that the terracotta, once polychromed, has suffered a number of breaks over time that were repaired either with the original fragments or with plaster. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the bust (already stripped of its polychromy, and perhaps some areas of gilding, too) presented itself covered with a reddish patina, which made its surface appear homogenous and hid the damage it had sustained. Now that the sculpture has been cleaned, it is easier to see that several parts of it, especially in the hair, were executed rather summarily. This begs the question of whether the terracotta, together with the colored application, was once made up of soft substances (for example, plaster), and whether, if the bust were indeed an independent work rather than a model, the figure also included metal additions to the armor (e.g., a helmet).

Be that as it may, the portrait may still be appreciated because it so successfully conveys the vitality and self-confidence of this scion of the new Florentine merchant-class aristocracy, here disguised in classical armor.

Giuliano's uncle, Giovanni de' Medici, inaugurated the fashion for monumental portrait sculpture in heroic garb when he had himself represented by Mino da Fiesole as a Roman emperor in 1455 (fig. 5; Caglioti in Florence 1992a, pp. 44–46, no. 20). At the same time, Giovanni was collecting classical busts, especially those of Roman rulers and generals. Also at this time, encouraged by Giovanni and their Aragonese patrons in Naples, both Mino and Desiderio da Settignano made marble profile reliefs of these Roman heroes (Caglioti 2008b).

When this practice was passed on to Desiderio's pupil, Verrocchio, it was extended to other great military protagonists of the ancient Mediterranean world. In particular, Verrocchio can be credited with two pairs of famous antagonists shown facing each other. One pair represented Scipio Africanus and Hannibal and was carved in the late 1460s, perhaps for a Florentine patron (Donato Acciaioli?). The second showed Alexander the Great and the Persian king Darius and was sent about ten years later to Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, via Lorenzo the Magnificent (Caglioti 2011b). With unremitting creativity and fantasy, and in competition with contemporary miniatures and prints, these reliefs developed a motif first introduced into modern sculpture by Desiderio (Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris): a richly decorated lorica, or cuirass, with the prominent feature of a screaming head of either Medusa or some other ancient mythical monster.

Dressed in a similar cuirass, the bust of Giuliano appears to have been conceived in close relationship with these profiles, just as the "imperial" bust of Giovanni de' Medici was created at the same time as the first generation of profile portraits of Roman emperors. This unity of conception may help us to better understand the decisive, almost violent movement of Giuliano's head, which is turned to the left, in contrast to the stable, static form of his armored torso. This feature, which has impressed many observers, has always been interpreted, justifiably, as a prelude to the pose of Bartolomeo Colleoni in the same artist's celebrated equestrian group, executed in Venice in the 1480s. Of the four reliefs Verrocchio made of ancient generals, three were shown in perfect profile. That of Alexander the Great (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) represents, however, the head in pure profile, while the torso is seen in a three-quarter view, an apparent inconsistency that has always troubled scholars because the head seems to turn too far to his left. Yet in fifteenth-century Florence, the educated public would have been very familiar with the passage in Plutarch in which the author, while praising the Macedonian hero, noted that he always held his head tilted to his left. Perhaps this topos, which Verrocchio used in his relief of Alexander, also offered a new and ingenious way to portray some of the most ambitious of contemporary figures in Renaissance Italy. Leonardo, too, seems to have been aware of this tradition: his famous cartoon of Isabella d'Este (fig. 35) shows the marchioness of Mantua's head in pure profile but allows a three-quarter view of her bust (Caglioti 2011b).

The bust of Giuliano de' Medici poses a further problem in that the head of Medusa on his cuirass serves as a reminder that the iconography of the great general and of the goddess Athena, both of whom wore armor decorated with the aegis, was very much intermingled in the Renaissance. It was as an attribute of Athena that Medusa appeared as a central device of Giuliano's sumptuous armor at the 1475 tournament, even on the chest plate that protected his horse (Mazzatinti and Pintor 1901, p. 28; Naldi 1974 ed., pp. 124–25, 128). But in Verrocchio's bust, in which Medusa is combined with the leftward turning of Giuliano's head, it is possible that the allusion is instead to Alexander, creating an ethical and mythological play of references typical of a world divided between chivalric lore and antiquarian humanism. One of the literary descriptions of the tournament, written by Filippo di Bartolomeo Corsini, expressly compares Giuliano and Scipio Africanus (Kristeller 1939, pp. 413–14). An allusion to Alexander the Great would be no less legitimate for such a display, and even more appropriate since the king of Macedonia undertook his campaign to conquer the world at the age of twenty-two—precisely Giuliano's age in 1475. FC

Provenance (?) Eugène Piot, Paris; Charles Timbal, Paris (until 1871); Gustave Dreyfus and his heirs, Paris (until 1930); [Joseph Duveen, London and New York, until 1936]; Andrew M. Mellon, Washington, D.C. (until 1937)

Selected References *Magasin pittoresque* 1866, pp. 41–42; Heiss 1881–92, vol. 4 (1885), pp. 59, 84; Bode 1882, p. 266, no. 3; Bode 1887, p. 109; Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 1 (1981), pp. 34–35, and vol. 2 (1983), pp. 1071–72, no. 13; Butterfield 1997, pp. 239–40, no. 29 and fig. 273; Covi 2005, esp. pp. 131–33 and nn. 220–36, figs. 115–17; Caglioti 2011b, p. 540 n. 70

Sandro Botticelli (Florence, ca. 1444–1510, Florence)

50. *Giuliano de' Medici*

ca. 1478

Tempera on wood, 22⅜ × 15⅛ in. (56.8 × 38.5 cm)

Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (106 B)

51. *Giuliano de' Medici*

ca. 1478

Tempera on wood, 23⅜ × 15½ in. (59.5 × 39.3 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Comune di Bergamo (58 MR 0006)

52. *Giuliano de' Medici*

ca. 1478

Tempera on wood (poplar or linden), 29¾ × 20⅝ in. (75.5 × 52.5 cm)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1952.5.56)



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Giuliano de' Medici, brother of Lorenzo il Magnifico, was killed in the cathedral of Florence on April 26, 1478, a victim of the so-called Pazzi Conspiracy. There is no question about the subject's identity in any of these three portrait variants, all of which correspond to other portraits of Giuliano—for example, the bust by Verrocchio (cat. 49) and the commemorative Pazzi medal (cat. 53)—as well as to contemporary descriptions of him. The Florentine poet Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) describes Giuliano as tall, with a robust physique and thick chest; well-formed, muscular arms; alert gaze; proud face; dark complexion; and thick black hair that he wore down to his shoulders (see Poliziano 1958, p. 63). In each of the variants he is turned slightly out of profile, his face framed by his hair, which sets off the glowing tones of his skin. Particularly striking, and without parallel in contemporary portraiture, is his pronounced downcast gaze. The prominence accorded to features such as the long nose, delicately curved brows, projecting lower lip, and seemingly schematic creases on his chin, cheeks, and forehead lends the subject a quality of nobility and

elegance, to be sure, but also suggests a certain eccentricity and gives the face a mannered, masklike quality.

Just as the identity of the subject is certain, so, too, is the attribution of all three to Botticelli's workshop. (It should be noted that there is a fourth portrait in the series, previously in Milan and now in an American private collection [see Vertova 1991], which does not date from the fifteenth century and is often considered a forgery.) The portraits in Berlin, Bergamo, and Washington have elicited considerable scholarly discussion concerning their relative quality and the degree to which Botticelli was himself involved in their execution. There has also been much speculation about the peculiarities of the iconography as well as the motivation behind the large number of versions, which relate to the problem of dating the works.

It has now been shown that all three portraits were created using the same template. However, the fact that their condition and conservation histories differ complicates any stylistic judgment. What is clear is that the Berlin painting was more painstakingly executed than the portraits in Bergamo and Washington; one need only note the highly tactile rendering of the hair and the way the skin color was built up using more complex glazes. It has therefore been assumed that the Berlin panel preceded the other two (Boskovits in Boskovits and Brown 2003, pp. 170–75). Yet, it must be noted that in the Washington variant, with its larger format, the artist appears to have been especially concerned with emphasizing the figure's sculptural qualities. One could accordingly conclude that the Berlin and Washington panels relate to each other in much the same way as do Botticelli's two idealized female portraits in Berlin and Frankfurt (cats. 19, 20). Of course, it is not impossible that the larger Washington portrait, with its more complex iconography, was the prototype for the series, even though the Berlin portrait was invested with more detailed treatment. Ultimately, it is also conceivable that the original was an unknown work that served as the pattern for all three. This possibility is worth considering, inasmach as a woodcut by Tobias Stimmer included in the 1574 edition of Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Praise of Men Illustrious for Courage in War) shows Giuliano with a dagger in his chest, in reference to his assassination, and Pierio Valeriano, secretary to Pope Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici; r. 1523–34), mentions a portrait of Giuliano in which the subject holds a white rose in his right hand (Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 2 [1983], p. 1064). Here, then, were compositions incorporating attributes absent in the present three portraits. It nonetheless seems likely that the Stimmer print



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was also based on the portrait type discussed here and that the draftsman simply added the dagger. All in all, it appears to be impossible to determine with any certainty the chronology of the portraits in Berlin, Bergamo, and Washington.

Attempts to date the three paintings are accordingly problematic. Since they repeat the same template, they were not necessarily produced as a direct response to Giuliano's death. Even so, the date of the assassination presents itself as a fixed point of reference in any discussion of the issue. Portraits of this kind could have been intended to commemorate Giuliano and the circumstances of his death and, thus, would have been produced after April 1478. The unusual feature of the half-closed eyes, or lowered gaze, could be taken as an indication that they were posthumous portraits. Lorenzo de' Medici or his partisans could have commissioned works such as these as a means of reinforcing dynastic claims to power (Zöllner 2005, p. 63). On the other hand, this could have been a portrait formula requested by Giuliano himself, namely, as a way of expressing his sadness on the death, in 1476, of his platonic



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beloved, Simonetta Cattaneo Vespucci (most recently Rehm 2009); the number of surviving copies does not automatically preclude such a possibility. It is also conceivable that a portrait commissioned by Giuliano, possibly even as a companion piece to a corresponding portrait of Simonetta, later became the pattern for the "duplicates" and variants. To be sure, the relationship between Giuliano and Simonetta may have been for the most part a poetic fiction (Boskovits in Boskovits and Brown 2003); in fact, it seems more likely that there was some kind of amatory relationship between Simonetta and Lorenzo de' Medici (Brooke 2008).

In the Washington portrait, which is by far the most ambitious of the series in terms of iconography, Giuliano is seen through a window; behind him one of the shutters of a second window has been opened. By analogy to other comparable pictures, the half-open window has been interpreted as an allusion to the hereafter—to the world beyond, where the soul retires after death—an interpretation that should not, however, be applied to all depictions of interiors with open windows (see cat. 14). The turtledove perched on the windowsill in the foreground is thought to symbolize mourning, for folklore has it that once such a bird has found a partner, it remains faithful and does not seek a new partner after the death of the first.

The meaning of the downcast eyes that are notable in all the versions is uncertain (but see Wright 2000, p. 111 n. 4). If the paintings were meant to instill in the collective Florentine memory the tragedy of Giuliano's early death, the motif is not unproblematic, especially since on the Pazzi medal, with its obvious reference to the assassination, Giuliano is pictured looking straight ahead. Even with portraits known to have been based on a death mask (see cat. 22) the eyes are not closed; on the contrary, the deceased is commemorated as a living person, his character and facial features clearly emphasized. Downcast eyes are hardly suggestive of strength and decisiveness. Moreover, it is by no means certain that this particular feature was meant as an indication that the subject was deceased, especially given the fact that in Botticelli's *Adoration of the Magi* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), commissioned by Guaspare del Lama and completed about 1475, Giuliano, clearly alive and well, casts his gaze downward in just this way.

It is necessary, therefore, to consider alternative connotations, one being that in about 1472–73, before the assassination, Lorenzo made a considerable effort to have his brother named a cardinal. It is conceivable that these portraits were meant to present Giuliano in an accordingly contemplative guise and to suggest virtues not normally associated with the Medici: modesty, for example. Although the plan came to naught, it is an indication of the Medici's desperate desire to gain influence in the Roman Curia, which was of the greatest importance for their hold on power and for the very survival of the Florentine republic itself. Perhaps that is why in portraits such as the Berlin panel, Giuliano was given traits that would have proved advantageous in the realization of such far-reaching ambitions: his distinct aloofness and the exaggerated features common to all of these portraits. In this context, one must recall that about 1477 various marriages were being considered for the young Medici, and this could also have necessitated the creation of likenesses of him.

What is clear is that the manner in which Giuliano is pictured was not necessarily motivated either by the death of Simonetta or his own assasination. This image was not meant to suggest that his eyes are closed so much as that he has simply lowered his gaze, an expression that proved to be particularly well suited for later commemorative images and their variants and that thus has come to be reinterpreted—particularly in the Washington portrait—as relating to Giuliano's death. SW

Provenance Cat. 50: Palazzo Strozzi, Florence; purchased for the Gemäldegalerie (1878)

Cat. 51: purchased in Florence by Giovanni Morelli for the Accademia Carrrara (1883)

Cat. 52: Grand Duke Ferdinando I de' Medici; Marquess Alfonso Tacoli-Canacci (ca. 1796); Adelaide Tacoli; Bellincini-Bagnesi collection, Modena; Count Vittorio Cini, Venice (1940); Wildenstein, New York (1948); Samuel H. Kress collection (1949); National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (from 1956)

Selected References Cat. 50: Lightbown 1978, vol. 2, p. 30, no. B 18; Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 2 (1983), p. 1066, no. 60, 6; Körner 2006, p. 93; Zöllner 2005, p. 201, no. 27

Cat. 51: Lightbown 1978, vol. 2, p. 30, no. B 19; Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 2 (1983), p. 1064, no. 5; Körner 2006, p. 93; Zöllner 2005, p. 201, no. 28

Cat. 52: Friedmann 1959, pp. 116–19; Lightbown 1978, vol. 2, pp. 30–32, no. B 20; Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 2 (1983), pp. 1068–69; Rubin in London 1999–2000, p. 126; Brown in Washington 2001–2, pp. 180–81, no. 27; Boskovits in Boskovits and Brown 2003, pp. 170–75; Körner 2006, pp. 91–96; Zöllner 2005, pp. 200–201, no. 26; Rehm 2009, pp. 143–45; Schumacher in Frankfurt 2009–10, pp. 164–67

Bertoldo di Giovanni
(Florence, ca. 1430/40–1491, Poggio a Caiano)

53. *Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici ("Pazzi Conspiracy medal")*

1478

Bronze, cast; Diam. approx. 2½ in. (6.4 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *LAVRENTIVS MEDICES* (Lorenzo de' Medici); *SALVS PVBLICA* (public well-being); on reverse, *IVLIANVS MEDICES* (Giuliano de' Medici); *LVCTVS PVBLICVS* (public mourning)

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18216319)

This medal depicts the harrowing events known collectively as the Pazzi Conspiracy. On April 26, 1478, brothers Lorenzo (1449–1492) and Giuliano de' Medici (1453–1478) were attacked during mass in the Duomo of Florence. The plot, headed by Francesco and Jacopo de' Pazzi, members of a rival banking family, drew support from local Medici opponents and even Pope Sixtus IV in Rome, who were troubled by Medici political power. Their scheme succeeded only in part: though Lorenzo sustained minor injuries, Giuliano was fatally wounded.

Lorenzo's fortunate escape plays out in low relief on the medal's obverse. An octagonal screen rings the cathedral choir. Inside the choir, at far right, an officiant with clerics performs mass at the high altar. South of the choir, in the foreground, two nude figures wielding swords assault the cloaked Lorenzo from behind, while bystanders gesture in surprise and flee (the difference in dress distinguishes the protagonist from all others). A few steps away Lorenzo appears again, fending off an attacker with his arm, which is draped in a cloak. The story concludes in the center of the choir, where Lorenzo is seen dashing to safety; contemporary accounts report that he retreated to the New Sacristy (Poliziano 1978 ed., p. 313; Poliziano 1958 ed., p. 34). The inscription overhead titles the scene "public well-being." The apex of the medal is an oversize, near-profile portrait head of Lorenzo. The furrowed brow and collar of *all'antica* drapery lend a heroic air. Bracketing the whole scene are, at left, an animal beneath a forked tree, perhaps the lion of Florence, the Marzocco (Wright in London 1999–2000, p. 8), and, at right, a draped figure, conceivably Victory, offering a wreath (see Bode 1925 for another interpretation).

On the reverse, the caped Giuliano is accosted by two nude conspirators on the north side of the cathedral's choir. At right lies Giuliano, wounded on the floor and surrounded by armed assailants. The figure straddling him is likely Francesco de' Pazzi, who reportedly stabbed the victim time and again (Draper 1992, p. 91; Poliziano 1978 ed., p. 312). The inscription "public mourning" and the sorrowful figures flanking the choir convey the tragedy of the event. Above is the portrait of a healthy Giuliano, with his distinctive long nose and strong jaw. George Hill (1914, p. 118) contended that the outwardly turned profile, unusual for a medallic portrait, derived from Giuliano's



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painted portraits by Botticelli (especially that in the Crespi collection, Milan; see also cats. 50, 51).

In the sixteenth century Giorgio Vasari ascribed the unsigned medal to the artist of the *Battle of Nude Men* engraving (now known to be Antonio del Pollaiuolo), but Wilhelm Bode reattributed it on stylistic grounds to the lifelong Medici artist Bertoldo di Giovanni. Bode also adduced the medalist Andrea Guacialoti's letter to Lorenzo on September 11, 1478, which describes four enclosed medals as cast from Bertoldo's first proof (or model) (Bode 1895, pp. 153–55).

Here, Bertoldo inventively revised the traditional portrait medal. He married the portrait obverse and symbolic reverse; replaced emblems with episodic narratives; and staged the action in an open, three-dimensional structure over which one has full view. The inscriptions indicate that the medal honors not the carefully re-created misdeeds but their outcomes, hence the date and the Pazzi name are omitted. It is a remembrance of Giuliano's death and a celebration of Lorenzo's survival presented as a virtual martyrdom and miracle, respectively. What is more, Lorenzo's survival is aligned with the health of Florence itself, since the Medici, and by extension the city, are aggrieved but victorious.

This unconventional medal—not strictly a display of status or a token of friendship—is a skillful piece of propaganda that could have been circulated beyond the circle of family and allies to great effect. The medal, like Angelo Poliziano's Latin account of the conspiracy, was surely Lorenzo's brainchild, as it craftily and simultaneously rallies support and justifies Medici preeminence. In fact, it is only after these events that Lorenzo successfully consolidated his political power and became the "Magnifico" renowned today (Martines 2003, p. 224). JLV

Provenance Benoni Friedländer (d. 1858); his son, Julius Friedländer (sold by him to the Königliche Museen, 1861)

Selected References Bode 1895, pp. 153–55; Hill 1930, pp. 240–41, no. 915; Draper 1992, pp. 86–95; Draper in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 129–32; Börner 1997, pp. 95–96, no. 360

Leonardo da Vinci (Vinci, 1452–1519, Cloux)

54. *Lorenzo de' Medici*

ca. 1480

Pen and ink on paper, 2⅞ × 1⅞ in. (7.3 × 4.9 cm)

Verso: *Sketch of a Surveying Instrument, a Man with a Surveyor's Staff, and a Diagram*

Lent by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (RL 12442)

The modest format of this drawing does not diminish the fact that it is the product of the young Leonardo encountering the conventions of the official portrait. The bust image shows Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492) in strict profile facing right. Obviously executed with great speed, the drawing manages to capture the sitter's features with considerable economy. Modeling is unnecessary; only a few diagonal hatches indicate the shadow cast on his face by his head covering. Leonardo was forced to redraw the outline of the prominent chin; around the eye, the lines converge into a blot, which marks the socket beneath a strong brow. These highly distinctive features fully support the identification of the subject with Lorenzo il Magnifico, as was first proposed by Eugène Müntz (1899, p. 56) and later taken up by other scholars working with Leonardo's drawings (Von Seidlitz 1911, p. 276; Clark 1935, vol. 1, pp. 62–63; Clark and Pedretti 1968, vol. 1, p. 72). Kenneth Clark considered the drawing to be a posthumous, idealized portrait of Lorenzo, whereas A. E. Popham—who rejected Clark's identification—dated the work to about 1485 (1946, p. 142, no. 131).

Leonardo left Florence for Milan about 1482 and did not return there to stay at length until between 1500 and 1511, by which time the reputation of the deceased Medici ruler, inasmuch as his family had been exiled, was not particularly exalted. So what might have prompted Leonardo to record the features of the Florentine statesman? Carlo Pedretti suspects that the drawing is a portrait produced from memory about 1487 (1993, p. 175). But this seems unlikely given the subject's strained pose, seemingly an effort to appear majestic. Owing to its similarity to standard contemporary portraits of him, one suspects that the drawing was based on an already existing image. Müntz pointed out the similarity of the drawing to a stucco bust of Lorenzo in the Berlin museums (Schottmüller 1913, p. 94; Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 2 [1983], p. 1161, nos. 74, 28b), a work that has since come to be considered a lesser version of a terracotta in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Luchs 2000). Common to both the drawing and the two



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sculptures is the characteristic head covering, the *cappuccio*. This decorative headgear evolved out of a type of hood with a long pointed end that closed beneath the chin and also covered the shoulders. Beginning in roughly 1300, what had been the face opening came to be placed on the head horizontally at the level of the brow, creating a fashionable new head covering—called a *chaperon* in Burgundy—that reached the height of its popularity in the first half of the fifteenth century. In Florence, the *cappuccio* was given a special form that persisted into the sixteenth century, one in which what had been the opening for the face—now the head opening—was padded, and the former neck and shoulder section hung from one side; the long pointed end fell down the other side and draped across the shoulder. In Lorenzo's time the *cappuccio* was worn only by magistrates and more conservative merchants, but in the sixteenth century it became a kind of official badge of the old republican offices.

The fact that in the Washington bust Lorenzo is not bareheaded, as was the classical norm and the convention in Florence at the time, appears to be significant. Although any connection between Leonardo's drawing and the bust in Washington is disputed (Middeldorf [1976, p. 44] sees only a coincidental similarity), there may well be a common prototype. Aby Warburg was the first to suspect that the portrait busts of Lorenzo were based on the three-dimensional votive images of the Medici ruler produced in the wake of the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478 (1902, p. 11). After the assassination attempt in the cathedral of Florence, which Lorenzo survived with only slight wounds (see cat. 53), his adherents commissioned three lifesize wax figures of him for selected churches in Florence and Assisi (Kress 1996). In doing so, they followed the traditional Florentine practice of giving thanks for divine intervention (Van der Velden 1998). At the same time, these figures were to be understood as political messages. Giorgio Vasari reported that one of the wax images was clothed in the very garments Lorenzo had worn during the attack (1966–97 ed., vol. 3 [1971], p. 544). The suspicion that Leonardo's drawing, like the Washington bust, was based on one of those remarkably lifelike votive images is now justified (Luchs 2000, p. 18). Since Vasari related that they were produced under the direction of Leonardo's teacher, Andrea del Verrocchio, Leonardo may have had a particular interest in the wax figures, even though he was probably no longer active in his master's workshop (D. A. Brown 1998, p. 147). Certainly there is nothing to indicate that the drawing could not have been done at this time, that is to say, in the period between the attack of 1478 and Leonardo's departure for Milan in about 1482. Its style is reminiscent of his swift sketch of the hanged assassin from the Pazzi Conspiracy, Bernardo di Bandini Baroncelli, which can be precisely dated to 1479 (Popham 1994, p. 108, no. 26). Also, the sketches on the verso reflect one of Leonardo's technical interests, one that certainly had occupied him before 1485 and that he emphasized in his famous letter of application to the duke of Milan. The Windsor drawing thus seems to reflect an official portrait type of Lorenzo created at a time when his image was placed throughout the city as part of his attempt to consolidate his rule (Lowe 1996). However, the individual features of his face would have been of considerable interest even later, when Leonardo reflected on physiognomy as a means of characterization. RR

Provenance Francesco Melzi; purchased by Pompeo Leoni (ca. 1582–90); Thomas Howard, second earl of Arundel (ca. 1630); (?) King Charles II of England; Royal Collection, Windsor (ca. 1690)

Selected References Müntz 1899, p. 56; Trapesnikoff 1909, p. 51; Von Seidlitz 1911, p. 276, no. 174; Clark 1935, vol. 1, pp. 62–63; Popham 1946, p. 142, no. 131; Clark and Pedretti 1968, vol. 1, p. 72; Middeldorf 1976, p. 44; Pedretti 1993, p. 175; Popham 1994, p. 130, no. 131C; Luchs 2000, p. 18; Zöllner 2003, p. 364, no. 186

Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli, called Niccolò Fiorentino (Florence, 1430–1514, Florence)

55. *Lorenzo de' Medici*

ca. 1490

Bronze, cast; Diam. 3½ in. (9 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse (circumscription), *MAGNVS LAVREN · TIVS. MEDICES*; on reverse, top, *TVTELA PATRIE*; in bottom field, *FLOR · ENTIA*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Ann and George Blumenthal Fund, 1950 (50.58.4)

Following the death of his father, Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, in 1469, Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492) became the "first citizen" of Florence at a mere twenty years of age. His Florentine contemporaries perceived the reign of il Magnifico to be a golden age: looking back, the sixteenth-century historian Francesco Guicciardini remarked that the city was "extremely calm and peaceful within and famed and respected without" (2006 ed., p. 126). Unprepossessing in appearance, Lorenzo was famous for his intellectual gifts, classical learning, exquisite taste, and generous patronage of the arts. He surrounded himself with philosophers and poets, and he himself composed numerous poems. Yet his rule over the city, which had never been officially transferred to him, was not undisputed, as revealed by the events relating to the so-called Pazzi Conspiracy (see cat. 53). Also, the Medici's banking empire declined appreciably; one branch after another shut down. Under his luckless son and successor, Piero, the balance of power among the Italian states that Lorenzo had maintained with such shrewdness swiftly disintegrated, and only two years after Lorenzo's death the Medici were driven out of Florence.

In contradistinction to other rulers of his time, and in view of his immense power, there are surprisingly few portraits of il Magnifico; he himself did not commission a single one (see, by way of contrast, the numerous portraits of the Bolognese tyrant Giovanni II Bentivoglio, including cats. 110, 111). The present medal was more than likely commissioned by a Medici supporter or perhaps produced on the artist's own initiative. A few examples of the medal, including a specimen in the Bargello, are signed OP NI F S, which can be deciphered as "Opus Niccolò [di] Forzore Spinelli." A relatively large group of medals is ascribed to this artist, also known as Niccolò Fiorentino, although only a few of them are signed. He was active mainly in Florence, but he also worked in Burgundy and Rome. His portraits, executed with great physiognomic precision, are among the finest examples of medallic portraiture from the waning years of the fifteenth century. The present example features a bust portrait of il Magnifico in the customary costume of the time, consisting of a doublet beneath a sleeveless *giornea*. Despite the restricted format, his characteristic features, rendered without idealization—a long, misshapen nose, a strong, protruding chin, and a short upper lip—are clearly visible. The inscription refers only to the "Great" Lorenzo de' Medici and provides no title.



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Compared to the telling likeness on the obverse, the allegorical depiction on the reverse is distinctly inferior, but this is typical of many of Niccolò's works. The reverses of his medals generally present copies of antique coins or gems. Only on this one does he include an invention of his own making: a female figure, identified as "Florentia," seated in the shade of a laurel tree (Italian *lauro,* Latin *laurus* = Laurentius/Lorenzo) and holding a lily stalk with three blossoms, the city's emblem. She cradles additional blossoms in the folds of her garment on her lap. The Metropolitan Museum's medal, which may have been considerably reworked, is the only one of the known examples on which the blossoms in Florentia's lap are so clearly chiseled (Flaten 2001, p. 178 n. 256). The female figure relates to the personification on the reverse of the medal of Lorenzo's grandfather, Cosimo, the Pater Patriae (cat. 46), which is also identified by name as "Florentia." The words "Tutela Patri[a]e" (guardian of the fatherland) derive from the poem *Stanze per la Giostra di Giuliano del Magnifico* by Angelo Poliziano (begun in 1478, posthumously published in 1494; Winner 1972, p. 179). There, too, Florentia is permitted to rest in the shade of a sheltering laurel: "Et tu ben nato Laur, sotto el cui velo / Fiorenza lieta in pace si riposa . . . " (And you, O well-born laurel, under whose protection / Florentia rests in blissful peace; *Giostra,* bk. 1, st. 4, Poliziano 1912 ed. [edited by G. Carducci], p. 249). Since the reverse inscription is cropped at the edge and the original diameter does not match that of the obverse, it has been assumed that Niccolò designed the reverse for a different medal (Pollard in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, p. 134) even though it is thematically perfectly appropriate.

SH

Provenance J. Pierpont Morgan; J. Pierpont Morgan Jr.; J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (until 1950)

Selected References Armand 1966, vol. 1, p. 85; Warburg 1902, pp. 12–13; Trapesnikoff 1909, p. 48; Hill 1930, no. 926; Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 2 (1983), p. 1170, nos. 74, 41; Pollard in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 133–34; Luchs 2000, p. 10; Flaten 2001, pp. 178–81; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 310–11, no. 291

Orsino Benintendi (?) (ca. 1440–1498, Florence)

56. *Cast of the Death Mask of Lorenzo de' Medici*

1492

Gypsum-based stucco mounted on poplar panel; mask, 8½ × 6¼ × 3⅛ in. (21.5 × 16 × 8 cm); panel, 22⅞ × 17¼ × 2 in. (58 × 44 × 5 cm)

Inscribed: above the mask, *P·P·P;* below the mask, *MORTE CRVDELE CHE 'N QUESSTO CHORPO VENNE / CHE DOPO MORTE EL MONDO ANDÒ SOZOPRA / MENTRE CHEI VISE TVTO IN PACE 'L TENNE* (Cruel death that befell this body / Upon his death the world was unsettled / While alive, he had held everything in peace)

Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria," on loan to the Museo degli Argenti, Florence

During the night of May 7, 1492, Lorenzo de' Medici, the charismatic and art-loving ruler of Florence—dubbed "il Magnifico" by his contemporaries—died at the age of forty-three in his villa in Careggi, near Florence. Immediately afterward, a cast was made of the deceased's face, from which this plaster cast was in turn made, preserving the authentic features of il Magnifico, from the wide and deformed bridge of his nose to his protruding lower lip and strong chin. Even his stubble, the lashes of his closed eyes, and his bushy eyebrows are immortalized in the imprint. One early biographer described Lorenzo as "taller than average and broad-shouldered with a firm and robust frame." In terms of looks, however, nature evidently had not been particularly kind to him: "His eyes were weak, he had a flat nose and no sense of smell" (Niccolò Valori; quoted by Warburg 1902, p. 33). Another contemporary referred to his "ugly face, nearsightedness, with a dark complexion and dark hair, dented cheeks and an unusually wide mouth" (Bartolomeo Cerretani; quoted by Warburg 1902, p. 32).

Making death masks was a common practice in fifteenth-century Florence. Giorgio Vasari mentions in his *Life* of Andrea del Verrocchio that during the latter's lifetime "men began to make at a slight cost death masks of those who died, so that a number of these life-like portraits may be seen in every house in Florence over chimney-pieces, doors, windows and cornices" (1966–97, vol. 3 [1971], p. 544; trans. Vasari 1998 ed., p. 239). Contrary to Vasari, who generally claimed that Verrocchio was the first to make casts from nature, the technique had been part of artistic practice for some time, as can be gleaned from Cennino Cennini's treatise on painting, the *Libro dell'arte* (ca. 1400). In it, Cennini, a trained painter, provides detailed instructions on "copying [*ritrarre*] and matching [*simigliare*]



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things from nature," a technique for which he also uses the term "making an impression [*imprentare*]." In this context, Cennini also describes the elaborate procedure of taking a plaster cast from the face of a living person. As opposed to a death mask, this required, in addition to framing the face with a funnel-shaped sleeve to catch the liquid plaster, ensuring sufficient air by means of a double metal tube inserted into the nose. In the case of more prominent individuals, rose water was mixed with the plaster, and for men Cennini recommended a thorough shave—advice that was obviously not followed in Lorenzo's case. With his method, Cennini explained, it was possible to preserve a faithful effigy ("efigia [*sic*]") and the physiognomy ("filosomia [*sic*]") of any great gentleman (chap. 184; Cennini 2006 ed., p. 208). He also pointed out that the mold, or the negative form ("meschera [*sic*]," or "prima forma") initially obtained, could in turn be reproduced and cast in other, more durable materials such as bronze. An example of a bronze cast from a mask is the bust of a woman at the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, which preserves, as does Lorenzo's mask, the closed eyes of the original mold (Schuyler 1976, pp. 139–41). In the case of the supposed bust of Niccolò da Uzzano (cat. 22), the entire head is similarly based on a cast from nature, but with the eyes remodeled. A death mask was made of Antonino Pierozzi (1389–1459), the Dominican archbishop of Florence (and godfather to Lorenzo) who was later canonized; to this day it is preserved in his cell in the

monastery of San Marco in Florence. Numerous casts of it were integrated into terracotta busts or mounted on panels and installed in different locations in his hometown (one specimen is at the Palazzo Vecchio; Schuyler 1976, pp. 144–47). The genuine final countenance of a person considered worthy of veneration played a particularly important role in promoting saintly cults, not least because it was considered to be endowed with a special aura on account of the implied direct physical contact. The panel with Lorenzo's death mask, on the other hand, can be seen as an early example of the cult of a political personality.

In Florence, sculptors were not the only ones skilled in taking castings of death masks; there were also *fallimagini* (makers of votive images) and *ceraiuoli* (wax workers). The most prominent Florentine workshop in this trade was run by several generations of the Benintendi family (Masi 1916–18; G. Gaeta, s.v. in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 8, 1966, pp. 540–41). The aforementioned passage from Vasari's *Life* of Verrocchio also refers to an assistant named Orsino (Benintendi), who under the guidance of his master had taken the previously crude craft of wax working to a new and magisterial level (1966–97 ed., vol. 3 [1971], p. 544). According to Vasari, Orsino also made the deceptively realistic, lifesize wax figures of Lorenzo in the wake of the Pazzi Conspiracy, which partisans of the Medici donated as ex-votos for the miraculous survival of their lord to various churches in Florence and Assisi (Kress 1996; Van der Velden 1998). It is possible that Orsino also cast the original mold of the present death mask.

This cast, the only one that has come down to us, is mounted on a panel that was formerly primed blue and has since darkened considerably. It is inscribed and decorated with a classic candelabrum pattern, both in gold. Microscopic analysis of the stucco surface has revealed that the mask itself was once gilded as well (Bitossi, Mauro, and Rossi 2001, p. 520; its gilding is still noted by Trifon Trapesnikoff [1909, p. 51]). Photographs taken in the early twentieth century additionally show a metal ring above the forehead, to which gilded laurel leaves were originally attached (Benkard 1927, figs. 4, 5). It was probably removed in the course of restoration work in 1928. The laurel (Latin, *laurus*) not only signifies the fame of Lorenzo, who was celebrated as a poet, it also alludes to his name (Laurentius = "the laureled"), and laurel branches frequently appear in connection with his likeness (see cat. 55).

Taken as a whole, the panel with the death mask represents an assemblage of various elements, each one with different, medium-specific connotations. The three-dimensional relief of the face cast, for example, which protrudes rather abruptly from the dark ground, represents the fragment of a once fully rounded body, but the form and dimensions of the panel surface refer to the traditional picture format (*quadro*). The decorative painting, in turn, imitates traditional elements of antique architectural decor. These components of the visual arts are joined by the more abstract medium of writing: the letters P·P·P are inscribed in a horizontal field that, however simplified, is reminiscent of a *tabula ansata*. It is not clear what they stand for; one possible solution is "Primus (or Princeps) Pater Patriae" (First Citizen [or Prince] (and) Father of the Country); another is "Pater Patriae Parens" (Father and Founder of the Fatherland), analogous to the circumscription on the medal of Cosimo de' Medici (Cox Rearick 1984, pp. 57–59). However, unlike his grandfather, Lorenzo did not carry this honorific title from classical antiquity (but see Kliemann 1976, p. 31). Another conceivable solution would be one borrowed from the realm of classical epitaphs: "Pro Pietate Positum" (Donated Out of Piety). At the bottom of the panel, a three-line epigram bemoans Lorenzo's death and its far-reaching consequences but does not mention the ruler by name. It is the final stanza of a longer lament made up of tercets titled *In Morte del Magnifico Lorenzo* (On the Death of the Magnificent Lorenzo de' Medici; Poliziano 1912 ed., pp. 765, 777), which was passed down, in slightly different form, in a manuscript of Niccolò Valori's life of Lorenzo from the mid-sixteenth century. Although long considered a poem by the Florentine humanist Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), the text was most likely written after his death, since Poliziano himself did not witness the unrest—the collapse of the framework of Italian states and the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, in 1494—alluded to in these lines. It is thus likely that the mask was mounted only a few years after Lorenzo's death, possibly by a Medici partisan professing his loyalty during the time of the republic or after the return of the Medici in 1512. It has been speculated that the panel may have come from the workshop of Lorenzo di Credi and been painted by Giovanni Antonio Sogliani (1492–1544) (Florence 1993–94, p. 11), but there is nothing to substantiate this claim; the less than solid execution, in fact, undermines it.

The mask of Lorenzo de' Medici takes a special place among the portraits in this exhibition. On the one hand, it conveys his "actual" appearance, an absolute resemblance, carrying with it the evidence of direct contact with Lorenzo's mortal body. In contrast to his brother Giuliano (see cats. 49–52), no individual, contemporary portrait of Lorenzo survives

(Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 2 [1983], pp. 1138–84). He appears only as a marginal figure in frescoes (notably in Domenico Ghirlandaio's famous depiction in Santa Trinita, Florence) and on medals (see cats. 53, 55); there are also several busts, though some are disputed (Middeldorf 1976, pp. 43–45; Luchs 2000). More famous are the posthumous portraits of him, such as the one by Vasari (1533–34, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), who actually remarked on the helpfulness of death masks in portraying historical figures (Vasari 1966–97 ed., vol. 3 [1971], p. 544). On the other hand, the mask, in spite of its purported resemblance, does not provide a vivid image of Lorenzo. Rather, it fixes his features as they were frozen by death: a disembodied face, a fragment. The panel is at once a morbid memorial and powerful epitaph for il Magnifico, immortalizing the deceased's presence and, as a secular relic, nostalgically evoking the splendor of a bygone golden age. SH

Provenance (?) Strozzi family, Florence; donated by Alessandro Rivani to the Società Colombaria, Florence (1827); Museo Mediceo, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence (1928–66); Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Sala di Lorenzo (from 1993)

Selected References Cruttwell 1904, pp. 98–100, 242–43; Trapesnikoff 1909, pp. 51–52; Benkard 1927, pp. 7–8; Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 2 (1983), pp. 1154–56, no. 74, 25; Florence 1993–94; Didi-Huberman 1994, pp. 416–17; Munich–Vienna–Blois 1998–99, p. 57, no. 2; Luchs 2000, p. 13; Bitossi, Mauro, and Rossi 2001; Wied in Vienna 2009, pp. 85–86, no. 1.18

Gherardo di Giovanni di Miniato (Gherardo di Giovanni del Fora; Florence, 1445/46–1497, Florence)

57. *Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici*

1488

From Homer's *Opera*, ed. Demetrius Chalcondyles, Florence; printed by Barolommeo de' Libri for Bernardo and Neri de' Nerli (fol. 2v)

Tempera on parchment, 8¼ × 13 in. (21 × 33 cm)

Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli (S.Q. XXIII.K.22)

Set against a deep blue background, a blond young man dressed in glowing red and a black cap, gazes up at us out of an open book. According to the dedication letter by the publisher Bernardo de' Nerli, dated January 13, 1489, which appears opposite this portrait, he is Piero de' Medici (1472–1503), oldest son of and, at the age of seventeen, luckless successor to Lorenzo the Magnificent. The brilliant miniature is not part of a codex but, rather, an important incunabulum: the *editio princeps* of the works of Homer, printed in Florence in 1488 and one of the first books printed in Greek. Only a short time before, the Greek calligrapher Demetrius Damilas had taken to Florence from Milan the font of Greek letters he had designed especially for this project (Proctor 1900, pp. 60–70; Ridolfi 1958, pp. 95–97). The volume contains biographies of Homer by the writers known as the Pseudo-Herodotus, Pseudo-Plutarch, and Pseudo-Dion Chrysostomos; texts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; the *Batrachomyomachy* (Battle of Frogs and Mice), at the time attributed to Homer; and the so-called Homeric Hymns. Financed by Bernardo and Neri de' Nerli and Giovanni Acciaiuoli, the texts were edited by one of the most prominent Greek scholars of the time, Demetrius Chalcondyles (1424–1511), who after teaching in Perugia, Padua, and Messina had settled in Florence in 1475, where he gave instruction in Greek to noted humanists such as Angelo Poliziano as well as to the sons of Lorenzo the Magnificent, especially Piero. (Domenico Ghirlandaio portrayed Chalcondyles among the circle of Florentine humanists in the Tornabuoni Chapel.) In his dedication, Bernardo de' Nerli points out that Piero had been skilled in Greek since childhood; indeed, at the age of seven the boy could boast of his progress in the language in a letter to his father (Pons in Florence 1999–2000, p. 241). The edition of Homer's writings was published at a time when, at the behest of Lorenzo—who did not know Greek himself—the creation of a major Greek library had begun, one that now forms a part of the Biblioteca Laurenziana.

The copy dedicated to Piero is especially splendid. Its miniatures are now unanimously attributed to the painter Gherardo di Giovanni di Miniato (occasionally called del Fora, after his father), a highly regarded artist in his time (Vasari 1906 ed., vol. 3, p. 249; Fahy 1976, pp. 120–21). Giorgio Vasari devoted a separate life to this multifaceted artist, who worked not only in small formats but also as a panel and fresco painter and mosaicist. No less an authority than Leonardo da Vinci, in his treatise on the representation of shadows, mentions the miniaturist Gherardo. Called a "cervello sofistico" (sophisticated mind) by Vasari, the scholarly Gherardo was also a gifted portrait painter. His portrait of Piero, at one time thought to be the work of either Domenico Ghirlandaio (De Marinis 1921) or Perugino (Lorenzetti 1924; Berenson 1932, p. 437), confirms this most impressively.

In addition to the youthful portrait, the book contains an elaborate title page with a Greek epigram from the *Antologia palatina* (Dillon Bussi in Florence 2006). The opening page of the *Odyssey* (fol. 244) is also embellished with an ornamental frame of vines, filled with cavorting putti and birds, that



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incorporates depictions of antique gems and cameos from Lorenzo's collection, such as one depicting Apollo and Marsyas and the so-called Sigillo di Nerone (Lazzi 2010, pp. 28–29). There, in a large medallion, the same youth is pictured once again; wearing the same red garment and black cap, he appears in a winter landscape beneath bare trees outside the gates of Florence, absorbed in "his" Homer. The copy printed on parchment was thus a personalized, specially produced dedication copy of a text that now, with the new medium of printing, could be widely reproduced.

This was not the only humanist textbook to be illuminated with a large-format portrait of a young man. The Latin book of Massimiliano Sforza (1493–1530), son of Ludovico il Moro and Beatrice d'Este, is preserved in Milan and includes a profile portrait of Massimiliano by Ambrogio de Predis (Alexander 1977, no. 29), doubtless intended as an added incentive to the clever youth portrayed therein to master the book's language. Piero, to be sure, failed to live up to expectations that he might become as shrewd a statesman as his father. Thanks to his immature dealings with the king of France and, as the Florentine historian Francesco Guicciardini puts it, his limited intelligence ("el suo poco cervello"; Guicciardini 2006 ed., p. 134), he managed to squander his inheritance within two years of his father's death and was driven out of Florence along with his

supporters. Dismissed with the sobriquet "the Unfortunate" (also "the Vain"), Piero drowned a few years later while crossing a river near Montecassino, where he lived in exile. SH

Provenance (?) Piero de' Medici; (?) Alessandro Farnese collection, Rome; Farnese collection, Parma; taken to Naples by Charles III of Spain as part of his inheritance from his mother, Elisabetta Farnese (1738)

Selected References Vasari 1906 ed., vol. 3, p. 249; De Marinis 1921; Fahy 1976, pp. 21–34, no. 17, pp. 120–21; Langedijk 1981–87, vol. 2 (1983), p. 1343, nos. 99, 7; Garzelli 1985, vol. 2, nos. 940–43; De Marchi in Florence 1992b, pp. 109–11 (with earlier bibliography); Pons in Florence 1999–2000, pp. 241–42, no. 20; Ambra in Rome 2000, pp. 137–38, no. 4.1; Dillon Bussi in Florence 2006, pp. 136–37, no. 51; Boni in Florence 2010a, pp. 154–55, no. 57 (with earlier bibliography)

Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli, called Niccolò Fiorentino (Florence, 1430–1514, Florence)

58. *Angelo Poliziano*

ca. 1494

Bronze, cast; Diam. 2¼ in. (5.6 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *ANGELI POLITIANI* (Angelo Poliziano); on reverse, *STV DIA* (Study)

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18216334)

Angelo Ambrogini (1454–1494), known as Angelo Poliziano, was an esteemed poet and philologist with strong Medici ties in late fifteenth-century Florence. Appointed tutor to Lorenzo de' Medici's eldest son, Piero, in 1475, he is depicted ascending the stairs with three of Lorenzo's children in Domenico Ghirlandaio's fresco of the *Confirmation of the Rule of Saint Francis* in the Sassetti Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence (ca. 1480–85). While living in the Medici household, Poliziano also composed the *Stanze* celebrating the jousting tournament (or *giostra*) arranged by Lorenzo's brother Giuliano de' Medici in honor of his platonic love, Simonetta Vespucci. The poem was never completed, presumably on account of Giuliano's murder in 1478 (see cat. 53). From 1480, Poliziano lectured on Greek and Latin oratory at the Studium Generale, which became the University of Florence. He was among "the most learned men then to be found in Florence" whose portraits Giorgio Vasari identified in Ghirlandaio's fresco of the *Annunciation to Zacharias* in the Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (dated 1490). Alongside Poliziano stand Neoplatonic theorist Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), philosopher and writer Cristoforo Landino (1424–1498), and professor of Greek language and literature Demetrius Chalcondyles (1424–1511) (Vasari 1996 ed., vol. 1, pp. 523–24; the last figure is now thought to be Gentile de' Becchi [Cadogan 2000, p. 243]).

On the obverse of the medal, Poliziano wears a collared tunic and a round cap over long hair. His aquiline nose and protruding lower lip, both ungainly, may have suggested to contemporaries a flattering comparison with the famed poet Dante (Cotton 1951, p. 291). As in the Tornabuoni Chapel portrait, Poliziano's profile is marked with the early signs of age, namely, the bag under the eye and the strong creasing around the nose and mouth. The medal probably dates from the end of Poliziano's short life.



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The reverse is more enigmatic. A draped female figure sits on a rock beneath a laurel tree. An angel reaches into the tree's canopy with one hand and gives a bough to the seated woman with the other. The composition recalls the reverse of Niccolò Fiorentino's portrait medal of Lorenzo de' Medici (cat. 55), where a single figure, labeled "Florentia," sits below a laurel tree (Hill 1930, p. 262). A stanza by Poliziano (*Stanze*, bk. 1, st. 4) elucidates the iconography as Florence resting peacefully under the protection of Lorenzo (Flaten 2001, pp. 151–52; Poliziano 1981 ed., p. 80); that reading surely applies to Poliziano's medal as well. The angel, a play on the poet's first name (Flaten 2001, p. 153), bestows the city with laurel, a symbol of poetry and literary virtue. The Latin inscription STV DIA (Study), meaning both devotion and learning, encapsulates Poliziano's gift to Florence. (An alternate reverse is a profile portrait of Maria Poliziana, possibly the poet's sister [Armand 1883–87, vol. 3, pp. 21–22], though the pairing of male and female siblings is uncommon in fifteenth-century Italian medals.)

The Berlin medal presumes a viewer with a literary bent similar to that of the sitter. Indeed, Poliziano may have exchanged portrait medals with his fellow Italian humanists, as he did Latin letters (Poliziano 2006 ed.), since medals of Ficino and Pico della Mirandola also survive (see cat. 19). For these men dedicated to the revival of ancient learning, the portrait medal, a genre inspired by ancient coins, was a particularly apt tribute. JLV

Provenance Purchased by Alfred von Sallet (1842–1897); Königliches Münzkabinett, Berlin (1870)

Selected References Friedländer 1882, p. 149, no. 18; Habich 1923, p. 70; Hill 1930, pp. 262–63, no. 1001; Cotton 1951, pp. 262–64; Börner 1997, p. 100, no. 382

Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli, called Niccolò Fiorentino (Florence, 1430–1514, Florence)

59. *Girolamo Savonarola*

ca. 1492–94/98

Bronze, cast; Diam. 2½ in. (6.2 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *HIERONYMVS SAVO FER VIR DOCTISSS ORDINIS PR-EDICHARVM* (Girolamo Savonarola of Ferrara, most learned man of the order of preachers); on reverse, *GLADIVS DOMINI—SVP TERAM CITO ET VELOCITER* (the sword of God above the earth, quickly and swiftly)

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18216330)

Hanged and burned at the stake in the Piazza della Signoria, the Dominican friar Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) was a polarizing figure in late fifteenth-century Florence. He preached vehemently against the extravagant lifestyle of the citizenry and the greed and corruption of the powerful, especially the Medici and the pope. His moralizing message spurred bonfires in 1497 and 1498 that destroyed "vanities" such as cosmetics, playing cards, and portraits of beautiful women (for example, cat. 12).

Unsurprisingly, Savonarola's medallic portrait presents a sober member of the Dominican Order of Preachers, whose habit and hooded cloak reveal only the forelock of his tonsured hair. His profile is dominated by the large, aquiline nose and full lower lip described by such early sources as the anonymous writer known as the Pseudo-Burlamacchi. On the other side of the medal, a right hand emerging from a cloud clutches a dagger pointed menacingly at the fortified city and tower below. This image derives from two revelations Savonarola experienced in 1492: the first, a spontaneous exclamation of the words "Ecce gladius Domini super terram cito et velociter"—as on the legend—and the second, a vision of the Sword of the Lord, inscribed with this same phrase, threatening wrath upon an unrepentant world (Ridolfi 1959, pp. 49, 55). The invasion of Italy by the French king, Charles VIII, in 1494 was interpreted as the divine retribution predicted by Savonarola.

The Berlin medal lacks the epithet "prophet," which appears on other medals of him (Hill 1930, no. 1077) as well as on a painting by Fra Bartolomeo (Museo di San Marco, Florence), and thus could date from before 1494. The records of Florentine diarist Piero Parenti confirm that comparable medals were extant by November 1497 (see Parenti 1994, p. 128; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 353 n. 6).



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Palm-size, portable medals could have been used to spread the Lord's urgent call for penitence, as Mark Wilchusky suggests (in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, p. 145), but it is worth noting that Savonarola's portrait literally and figuratively outweighs the low-relief illustration of the prophecy. The vision seems supplementary to the portrait, like the heraldry or allegories traditionally found on medal reverses. Would Savonarola have commissioned such an image? Or could the medals have instead been keepsakes for devotees of the venerated preacher? The latter scenario might explain the number and variety of medals of Savonarola, which George Hill (1930, nos. 1072–83) divides into two groups: those portraits with the hood pulled over the hair, and those with the forelock exposed (as with the Berlin medal; a subset of these shows the preacher half-length holding a crucifix). The reverses vary among those depicting the imperiled city, a map of Italy threatened by the Sword of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit alongside the Sword. While the former portrait group may have developed from a gemstone cameo attributed to Giovanni delle Corniole (Museo degli Argenti, Florence), the sixteenth-century artist and biographer Giorgio Vasari reported that the sons of Florentine terracotta sculptor Andrea della Robbia, who were friars ordained by Savonarola himself, portrayed the preacher "in that manner which is still seen today in the medals" (1996 ed., vol. 1, p. 279). Thus, the latter portrait group could derive from a della Robbia design, such as the small portrait medallion in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, published by Ulrich Middeldorf (1979, p. 270). The medals need not, however, be attributed to Francesco and Marco della Robbia themselves, as some have suggested (Armand 1883–87, vol. 1, p. 105; Gentilini 1992, pp. 373, 376; Muzzi in Arezzo 2009, pp. 341–42). Julius Friedländer (1882, p. 155 n. 41), Wilchusky (in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 136, 145), and others preferred a simple Florentine attribution. Wilhelm Bode (1904a, p. 13) assigned these works to Niccolò Fiorentino, whose sculptural medallic portraits celebrate such Florentine notables as Lorenzo de' Medici, il Magnifico. JLV

Provenance Benoni Friedländer (d. 1858); his son, Julius Friedländer (sold by him to the Königliche Museen, 1861)

Selected References Friedländer 1882, p. 155, no. 41; Habich 1923, p. 70, pl. 40.2; Hill 1930, no. 1076; Pollard 1984, pp. 481–82, no. 271; Wilchusky in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 136, 145; Börner 1997, p. 104, no. 405; Sebregondi 2004, p. 48, no. 31; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 352–53

Leon Battista Alberti (Genoa, 1404–1472, Rome)

60. *Self-Portrait*

ca. 1432–34

Bronze, cast; 7⅞ × 5⅜ in. (20.1 × 13.6 cm)

Inscribed: ·L·BAP· (Leon Battista); note that the terminal stops are in the form of eyes and the central stop appears to be a set of open wings

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1957.14.125)

Alberti was not shy about his portrait, and he was much concerned with his posthumous fame. He ended his treatise *De Pictura* by requesting: "This is all I have to say about painting. . . . If it is such as to be of some use and convenience to painters, I would especially ask them as a reward for my labors to paint my portrait in their 'historiae' and thereby proclaim to posterity that I was a student of this art and that they are mindful and grateful for this favor" (Alberti 1972 ed., pp. 105–7).

This relief (usually called a plaquette, though it is rather large for that designation) is both a creative milestone and an anomaly in the history of portraiture. Crafted in the classically noble medium of bronze, it may be the first self-portrait in such an unabashedly celebratory manner. It is the kind of heroic likeness that was usually reserved for rulers. At the same time, its form remained an isolated instance, unprecedented and with no direct descendents, with the possible exception of Filarete's self-portrait medal (cat. 99). The production of durable portraiture in bronze in association with a personal device, here the winged eye seen below Alberti's chin, did, however, become quite fashionable in the form of the medal, elegantly portable in a way that this plaque (weighing 3.66 pounds) never could be. Given this relief's protomedallic features and Alberti's presence at the Council of Ferrara (later moved to Florence), where Pisanello produced his first medal, it seems likely that Alberti was closely involved with the development of that medal (Trenti Antonelli 1991, pp. 26–28).

The illegitimate son of a Florentine patrician and a Genoese widow, Leon Battista Alberti was born in 1404 in Genoa and educated in Padua and Bologna. He took Holy Orders about 1432 and spent much of his life in the employ of Pope Eugenius IV and Pope Nicholas V, a personal friend, receiving numerous benefices, which gave him financial security. Alberti wrote widely, from plays to mathematics, ethics, equine arts, numismatics (now lost; Paoli in Florence 2005–6a, p. 86), and archaeology. His groundbreaking treatises on painting, sculpture, and architecture laid the theoretical foundation for Renaissance art. As a practicing artist, he was most successful as an architect, responsible for such landmarks as the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini, the Palazzo Rucellai and the facade of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, and the church of Sant'Andrea in Mantua (for Alberti's biography, see Grayson 1960).

The plaque is generally accepted as by Alberti's hand. Its mixture of technical imperfections, in the casting and in modeling certain areas (the knot of the garment, for example) and in the proportions of the neck and head, coupled with the forceful characterization of the portrait, the elegant inscription, and the inventive device, mark it as an experimental work of a brilliant dilettante (Middeldorf 1978, p. 314). Even Giorgio Vasari stressed Alberti's technically amateur status, noting that "he was much more able to describe with the pen than to paint with the brush" (L. Schneider 1990, p. 262).

The authenticity of this work is supported by its heavy facture, virtually untouched after casting and showing several flaws. In addition, its alloy composition as a quaternary bronze with impurities (iron, antimony, silver, and arsenic) is consistent with a fifteenth-century date.

The form of the plaque, an oval portrait relief, is derived from Roman carved gems, such as the Blacas Cameo of Emperor Augustus in the British Museum (Richter 1971, no. 474; Lewis in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, no. 3), though much enlarged and with the addition of the device. This larger scale is consistent with the artist's own advice in *De Pictura* to "draw big" (Clark 1947, p. 16). The type of the portrait, in strict profile to the left, as well as the short hairstyle and the *all'antica* cloak knotted in front may have had a more recent source in the medal of Francesco I da Carrara, of about 1392 (Hill 1930, no. 2), in which the sitter appears similarly posed and attired, though this medal is on a much smaller scale. As a student in Padua, Alberti would have had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Carrara precedent, which he modified in scale and format.

An aftercast of the present relief, possibly an early one, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. A smaller portrait oval, seemingly also of Alberti, but with more schematic hair and without the winged-eye device, is in the Musée du Louvre,



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Paris, and also exists in later copies. The Louvre plaque renders the shape of the sitter's head more naturalistically but includes a protruding blood vessel on the temple, which may derive from a misunderstanding of a casting flaw on the temple in the National Gallery of Art's plaque. A small oval medal (Hill 1930, no. 18) features a version of this portrait of Alberti, though facing in the opposite direction and with the addition of a crown of laurel. The winged-eye device appears on the latter's reverse. (All these bronzes are discussed by Paoli in Florence 2005–6a, pp. 84–87.)

Alberti's pioneering interest in self-commemoration is also evident in a later portrait drawing (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome, MS V.E. 738, fol. 1v; Florence 2005–6a, no. 48), in which the lanky humanist, this time in contemporary dress, points to his name while holding a book. As noted above, Alberti was not technically proficient, but his depiction of himself full-length and directly confronting the viewer is highly innovative.

The date of the relief shown here is based on the relatively youthful appearance of the sitter in conjunction with and evaluation of where in Alberti's peripatetic life it was likely to have been made. Most authors agree that the self-portrait predates Pisanello's medals; a reasonable consensus has recently developed for a date of about 1432–34, during Alberti's residence in Rome (Syson 1994a, p. 49; Florence 2006, p. 59; Lewis forthcoming, no. 1).

In one of his minor works, a dialogue called *Anuli* (Rings), Alberti gave the following explanation of the eye device, which appears winged in the field of this plaquette and, crudely, forms the stops of the inscription:

> The wreath is the symbol of joy and glory: and the eye is more powerful than anything, swifter, more worthy; what more can I say? It is such as to be the first, chief, king, like a god of human parts. Why else did the ancients consider God as something akin to an eye, seeing all things and distinguishing each separate one. By this we are reminded that we must render praise for all things to God, rejoyce with the whole spirit in him, fulfill a flourishing and manly ideal of excellence, knowing that he sees everything we do and everything we think. Then, on the other hand, we are reminded to be wide-awake, all-embracing as far as the power of our intelligence allows, in order to find out all things that lead to the glory of excellence, delighting to pursue with labor and persistence what is good and divine (Watkins 1960, p. 257).

In one of his Latin works, the *Convelata* (Veiled Sayings), Alberti stressed the desirability of "veiled meanings" for didactic purposes (Grafton 2000, pp. 102–3), suggesting that the complexity and ambivalence of the explanation in the *Anuli* was intentional: the winged eye was meant to be mysterious.

EL

Provenance Vicomte de Janzé, Paris (his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 16, 1866, no. 41); Charles Timbal, Paris; Gustave Dreyfus, Paris (1837–1914); his estate; [purchased by Duveen Brothers, Inc., London and New York, 1930]; purchased by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, 1945; given to the National Gallery of Art (1957)

Selected References Hill 1930, no. 16; Badt 1958; Watkins 1960; Pope-Hennessy 1965, pp. 7–8, no. 1; Middeldorf 1978, p. 314; Northampton 1978, no. 81; Schneider 1990; Douglas Lewis in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, no. 3; Christine Smith in Venice 1994, no. 40; Syson 1994a; Pfisterer 1998; Woods-Marsden 1998, pp. 71–77; Grafton 2000, pp. 101–2, 105–9; London 2001–2, pp. 112, 113; Pfisterer 2003a; Michel Paoli in Florence 2005–6a, pp. 83–90; Florence 2006, pp. 59–63

Matteo de' Pasti (Verona, ca. 1412–1467/68, Rimini)

61. *Leon Battista Alberti*

ca. 1454

Bronze, caste; Diam. 3⅝ in. (9.2 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, ·*LEO BAPTISTA*· ·*ALBER*· (Leon Battista Alberti); on reverse, *OPVS·MATTHAEI·PASTII·VERONENSIS*· (the work of Matteo de' Pasti of Verona), across the field, ·*QVID·TVM*· (what then)

Gabinetto Numismatico e Medagliere del Castello Sforzesco, Milan (M.0.9.1343)

A warm relationship existed between Alberti (1404–1472) and Matteo de' Pasti, whom the former addressed as "outstanding . . . and most beloved friend" in a letter of 1454 (Grayson 1998, p. 166). "Making the absent present, as they say of friendship . . . " (Alberti 1972 ed., p. 61), this portrait medal may have been made as an expression of friendship from Matteo to the older, famous humanist, who was designing the church of San Francesco in Rimini (the Tempio Malatestiano), for which Matteo was supervising the construction.

A date for the medal of about 1454 seems stylistically plausible in relation to Matteo's earlier medallic production for the Malatesta (cats. 118, 119) and in terms of the likeness of Alberti. As noted by Michel Paoli (in Florence 2005–6a, pp. 87–88), this likeness is close to the one in the full-length self-portrait drawing in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome (MS V.E. 738, fol. 1v). George Francis Hill (1930, no. 161) originally dated the medal to 1446–50,



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assuming that the sitter was in Rimini in those years, but not later. However, Pier Giorgio Pasini (1987, pp. 150–52; accepted by Syson 1994a, p. 51) observed that during the years 1450–54 Alberti was also actively in contact with people in Rimini, providing Matteo with detailed instructions on the execution of his architectural designs. Pasini's argument that the geometric, pared-down composition of the obverse, with the bracketlike inscription, must be due to Alberti's influence as well as that of Piero della Francesca, seems similarly valid; it also points to a relatively late date. Underscoring the speculative nature of all the proposed dates, Gino Castiglioni (2002, pp. 31–33) broadened the range to about 1445–55, also noting the similarity in the overall design to Matteo's medal of Guarino da Verona (cat. 72), which, however, boasts a more incisive portrait.

Given the close relationship between Alberti and Matteo, it seems probable that the design of the medal was a collaborative effort. Clearly the reverse, a winged eye surrounded by a laurel wreath and the accompanying motto, was Alberti's invention. The winged eye appears without the wreath but with the motto, drawn in pen and ink with wash, in a manuscript of Alberti's *Philodoxeos* that was sent to Leonello d'Este in 1436 (Danesi Squarzina in Rome 1988, p. 46; Biblioteca Estense, Modena, MS lat. 52=α.0.7.9). In a manuscript of Alberti's *Della famiglia*, dated to about 1438, a pen-and-ink drawing of the emblem with the wreath and motto, as it appears on the medal, is very possibly in Alberti's own hand (Danesi Squarzina in Rome 1988, pp. 46–47; Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, MS II.IV.38 [già Magl. XXI, 119]). Alberti could well have provided Matteo with a similar drawing. The winged eye also appears on Alberti's self-portrait plaque of about 1432–34 (cat. 60, including a discussion of the emblem's significance).

As he did with the winged-eye design, Alberti must have invented the motto *quid tum*, his knowledge and understanding of the classics being unparalleled. A multiplicity of sources have been proposed—entirely in keeping with Alberti's erudition: Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 2.11.26; Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.543; Virgil, *Eclogues* 10.38; Horace, *Satires* 2.3.230; Terence, *Eunuchus* 2.3.47 (Danesi Squarzina in Rome 1988, p. 47). EL

Selected References Hill 1930, no. 161; Pasini 1987, pp. 150–52; Silvia Danesi Squarzina in Rome 1988, p. 47; Elena Corradini in Milan 1991, pp. 166–67; Christine Smith in Venice 1994, p. 455; Rimini 2001, p. 284; Castiglioni 2002, pp. 31–33; Rome 2005, p. 296; Michel Paoli in Florence 2005–6a, pp. 87–88; Bruna Maria Tomasello in Florence 2006, pp. 64–65; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 58–59

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

62. *Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg*

1433

Black chalk on paper, 12⅜ × 8⅛ in. (31.4 × 20.7 cm)

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (2479)

63. *Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg*

1433

Black chalk and pen on paper, 13⅛ × 8¼ in. (33.3 × 21.1 cm)

Inscribed: at upper right, *l'ochio varo ove bia*[n]*chi* (the eye whitish or white); at left of beard, *piu chanuta / canuta* (whiter)

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (2339)

It would be difficult to overstate the interest and importance of these two drawings of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368–1437), one of the most tenacious and embattled rulers of Europe: margrave of Brandenburg (1378), king of Hungary (from 1387), king of the Romans (from 1414), king of Bohemia (1419–20, 1436–37), and Holy Roman Emperor (1433–37). Not only do they portray a figure of international importance—someone who fought the westward advance of the Turks, a supporter of the Council of Constance that, with the burning of the reformer Jan Hus, instigated the disastrous Hussite wars in Bohemia—they constitute our first, certainly datable portrait drawings by Pisanello. They also testify in a remarkable fashion to the process by which he transformed a rapidly executed record of his sitter into a formal portrait suitable for a court. Yet, the differences between the two drawings, in both style and technique, have sometimes led to questions of attribution and to the rejection of the more formal drawing, thereby hampering a proper appreciation of the creative process that underlies Pisanello's achievement in his court portraits.

As long ago as 1933, Otto Fischer recognized that both drawings depict Sigismund and that they must have been made by Pisanello during the king's two-year sojourn in Italy, from August or September 1431 until September 1433; he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Saint Peter's on May 31, 1433. By then, Pisanello had already completed his work in San Giovanni Laterano and returned to northern Italy. It was therefore probably in either Ferrara or Mantua, where he was employed by the Gonzaga, that he met the emperor and made these drawings. Between September 9 and 17, Sigismund was a guest of the Este's in Ferrara, and between September 22 and 26 he stayed at Mantua (see Fischer 1933, pp. 8–9).

Sigismund would have been sixty-five. His distinctive profile, with its protruding brow, aquiline nose, and beard (a Hungarian fashion), is framed by a fur-rimmed hat called a *chapka* that seems to have fascinated Italians almost as much as the headgear of the Byzantine delegation to the Church Council in Ferrara and Florence in 1438–39 (see cat. 65). The same features, less acutely rendered, are found in a portrait showing him in three-quarter view that was once ascribed to Pisanello but is, instead, by a Bohemian painter (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; see Rasmo 1955, pp. 12–16, and, most recently, Suckale and Fajt in New York–Prague 2005–6, pp. 310–11). In the more highly finished of the two Louvre drawings, the monarch wears the imperial insignia of a globe surmounted by a cross (see Paris 1996, pp. 99, 240), an addition in keeping with Pisanello's use of emblems and *imprese* to add a further dimension to his portraits, whether painted or medallic. There are also minor color notes about the whiteness of the eye and beard, probably a reminder to counteract the dark appearance in the drawing rather than to assist him in making a painted likeness (Paris 1996). The inscriptions are in the same hand as those on a drawing of John VIII Palaeologus (cat. 65).

The rapid sketch is notable for its quality of verisimilitude, the baggy eyes and the emperor's aged features suggesting a beleaguered ruler. With repeated, overlapping chalk strokes Pisanello sought to define the outline of the nose, while a few cursive lines suffice to suggest both the fur of the hat and the texture of the beard. By contrast, the more elaborated drawing is concerned with transforming these all too obvious signs of mortality into a timeless image of rulership. The shoulder is flattened out, and the neck and back are rendered as a continuous curve that contrasts with the elegant profile of the face, many of whose physiognomic irregularities have either been eliminated or modified. The hair falls in undulating waves, and the beard has been combed out. The eyes, no longer careworn, are focused and penetrating, and the mouth is slightly open, as though the monarch might say something: a precocious example of the "speaking portrait," or one with an implied voice, something contemporary humanist critics denied was possible in painting. Pisanello used the pen to sharpen the features and model the chest, and he conceived of the shoulder as an abstract support for the head, much as in a sculpted portrait bust. Dominique Cordellier has rightly noted that the format of the drawing would suit a painting better than a medal. He has also justly emphasized Pisanello's innovative use of black



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chalk, which was to become the medium of choice for taking portraits in northern Italy and Venice (see cats. 154–59), whereas it became common in Florence only in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (see cat. 16). In this, again, Pisanello emerges as the defining portrait artist in northern Italy. The analytic mind behind the black chalk sketch is truly astonishing. Employing purely pictorial means, Pisanello moved beyond the mere recording of appearance to suggest character and personality, and he did this with an acuity encountered elsewhere only later in the century. But this sketch—so compelling to modern eyes—was only the starting point for the creation of a formal court portrait in which likeness is accommodated to notions of rank and decorum. Pisanello's court portraits are thus the products of a conscious striving toward a poetic ideal no less artificial than the literary portraits composed by court humanists.

It should be noted that, prior to Fischer, the identity of the sitter was disputed. Sometimes called a warrior, he was also identified as a member of the retinue of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaeologus during the Church Council at Ferrara. The more finished drawing was often assigned to a workshop assistant, and the additions in pen and ink were considered later additions. Maria Fossi Todorow went so far as to describe the drawing as "weak," lamenting the way the pen work "destroys and encumbers the effect of the drawing" ("sciupa e appesantisce l'effetto del disegno"). Today most scholars would evaluate the technique in terms of the different functions the two drawings served and would find this aesthetic judgment somewhat arbitrary (see the analogous case of the drawing of Borso d'Este [cat. 77] as well as that of Alfonso V of Aragon [cat. 131]). KC

Provenance Cats. 62, 63: Giuseppe Vallardi, Milan; Musée du Louvre, Paris (from 1856)

Selected References Cat. 62: Vallardi 1855, p. 17, fol. 81; Fischer 1933, pp. 5–8; Fossi Todorow 1966, pp. 58–59, no. 4; Paris 1996, pp. 98–99, no. 49 (with earlier bibliography); London 2001–2, p. 101

Cat. 63: Vallardi 1855, p. 18, fol. 86; Fischer 1933, pp. 5–8; Fossi Todorow 1966, pp. 154–55, no. 265; Paris 1996, pp. 99–104, no. 50 (with earlier bibliography); London 2001–2, p. 101


ΚΡΑΤΩΡ·ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ·Ο·ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ·ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ·ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC·ΚΑΙ·ΑΥΤΟ

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·OPVS·PISANI·PICTOY
RIS·

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

64. *John VIII Palaeologus*

ca. 1438–39

Copper alloy, cast; Diam. 4⅛ in. (10.4 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *IΩ ANNHC · BACIΛEVS · KAI · AVTO · KPATΩOP · PΩMAION · O · ΠAΛAIOΛOΓOC* · (John, king and emperor of the Romans, the Palaeologus); on reverse, · *OPVS · PISANI · PICTORIS · / EPΓON · TOV · ΠICANOV · ZΩΓPAΦON* (the work of Pisano the painter)

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18200203)

In October 1438, John VIII Palaeologus (1392–1448), emperor of Byzantium, was invited by Pope Eugenius IV to attend a council he had convened in Ferrara to deal with problems in the Church and to discuss the possibility of union between the Greek and Roman churches. The emperor, who arrived in Ferrara with a large retinue, was also interested in recruiting support in the West for his hopeless conflict against the Turks, who had conquered most of Byzantium and were now threatening Constantinople itself.

Pisanello, working in Ferrara for Leonello d'Este (see cat. 70), was fascinated by the exotic appearance of the imperial entourage, details of which he recorded in drawings and used in paintings (cat. 65). He was also, it would seem, given the commission to produce an object that would commemorate this historic visit, and this object has, until recently, been acknowledged to be the first portrait medal of the Renaissance, the progenitor of all subsequent medals. Although there are other sources for the medal's appearance, its primary inspiration was Roman imperial coinage. Coins were among the most ubiquitous survivals from the ancient past, preserving portraits of the emperors and their families and information about their official activities and accomplishments. For the Renaissance collector, the coins of Greece and Rome were among the most sought-after objects. What better way to celebrate the visit of an emperor than to create a numismatic object in the manner of his predecessors? Yet Pisanello's creation in no way resembles a Roman coin. Instead, for the formal, rather than conceptual, inspiration for his invention—that is, the large size and pictorial reverse—he may have turned to several other sources, possibly the enigmatic and fascinating "medals" purchased by Jean de France, duke of Berry, especially those of Constantine the Great and Heraclius, that were certainly widely known and circulated, and the handsome and imposing wax seals appended to documents. There does not exist, however, either in drawings or documents, any direct corroboration of this theory.

The original concept for this medal may owe not only to Pisanello, but also to members of the intellectual community present in Ferrara at this particular moment. For example, Leonello d'Este, heir to the marquessate of Ferrara, was dedicated to humanist studies and the revival of antiquity, and he made the Este court a center of such activities. Pope Eugenius himself would also have been interested in marking such an important visit, and a member of his Curia, the polymath Leon Battista Alberti, who had recently produced a large self-portrait plaque represented *all'antica* and based on ancient intaglio gems rather than coins (cat. 60), is perhaps the most likely source of inspiration for the medal. In any case, the portrait medal as an original creation epitomized many of the values and interests of the Renaissance, in particular the celebration of the individual and the study of classical antiquity. It immortalized its subject in a durable and distributable form, just as had the coins of imperial Rome.

It is ironic that this medal, which represents the beginning of Renaissance medallic art, commemorates an individual who suggests a conclusion, for John VIII Palaeologus was the penultimate Byzantine emperor and was thus, in a sense, the last ruler but one of the old Roman Empire. Although the ancestor of this medal is the Roman sestertius, Pisanello made no attempt to represent its subject *all'antica*. The artist made what is surely a preparatory drawing (Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 2478), which suggests that he had direct access to John, who is shown in contemporary dress. This medallic portrait was used subsequently by other artists in sculpture, painting, and engraving and was adapted to many purposes—in one instance even serving as the likeness of the Turkish sultan Mehmed II (Weiss 1966, p. 28, pl. XVI).

The extent of Pisanello's talent is clearly evident in this medal. He achieved measured nobility in the lettering, a balance of proportions in the obverse composition, sensitivity and character in the portrait, subtle delicacy in the modeling of the drapery, and control of the relief. On the reverse, the artist attempted, with some difficulty, to include several large elements in a very small space. Yet his suggestion of depth through the device of the foreshortened page on horseback perpendicular to the full figure of the emperor in profile, though somewhat awkward, is nonetheless successful. Of particular note is the intrusion of the ear of the page's horse across the border of the medal, creating an effective ambiguity that at the same

time diminishes the assertion of the two-dimensional surface. This detail and the entire handling of the reverse indicate undeniably the hand of the painter, which is left in no doubt by the signature.

The medal presents no iconographic mysteries but associates with the portrait some of John's salient interests—riding and hunting—and by showing him at prayer before a wayside crucifix, it suggests the purpose of his visit to Ferrara. SKS

Provenance Benoni Friedlaender collection (1868)

Selected References Hill 1905, pp. 106–12; Hill 1930, p. 7, no. 19; Fasanelli 1965, pp. 36, 40–42, 43 n. 5, 46 nn. 33, 36, 37; Weiss 1966, pp. 17–28; Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 44–46 no. 4, 376; Paris 1996, pp. 202–3, 210; Börner 1997, p. 20, no. 5; Schmitt 1998, pp. 337–75; London 2001–2, pp. 29, 31–34; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 4–6, no. 1

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

65. *Studies of Emperor John VIII Palaeologus and Members of the Greek Delegation to the Council of Ferrara and Florence*

1438–39

Pen and dark brown ink on paper, 7⅞ × 11⅜ in. (20 × 28.9 cm)

Inscribed: on recto, in Thuluth, inscription from a Mamlūk textile, "Glory to our lord the sultan, the ruler, al-Mu'ayyad Abu al-Nasr Shaykh, may his victory [be glorious]"; in Italian, color notations for the ornamental designs, *oro* (gold), *azuro* (blue), *b*[ianco] (white), *or*[o], *rosso* (red), *bi*[anco], *or*[o], *b*[ianco], *or*[o], *azu*[rro]; in Italian, description of emperor's dress and personal appearance (composed in two columns, beginning at right and continuing at left; first two lines on left were added last), *Lochapelo de linperadore sie biancho dessoura / erouersso rosso el profile da torno nero la zupa verde / de dalmascin e lagona de soura de chermezin . . . de la / facia palida la barpa negra chapelj e cilgli el simile / hochj grizy e tra jn verde e chine le spale picholo di / p*[er] *sona*; (continued at left) *listiualj de chuoro zallo smorto/ la guaina del larcho bizaca et grenellossa / eco si quella de turcasso e de la simitarra;*



65, recto

(above last lines) *elrouesso del vestj rosso / el chapelo turchin fodrado de panete de varo* (for translation, see entry)
Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (MI 1062)

John VIII Palaeologus (1392–1448), the penultimate emperor of Constantinople, arrived in Ferrara in March 1438 as head of the Greek delegation that included the octogenarian patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph II, and the metropolitan of Nicea, Basilius Bessarion (from 1439, Cardinal Bessarion) at a council promoting the union of the Latin and Greek churches. Housed in a convent six miles outside the city, the emperor reportedly spent much of his time hunting, to which he was addicted and for which he purchased from a Russian delegate to the council, Nicolas Gedeles, who arrived in August 1438, a breed of horse with short legs and its nostrils deliberately slashed—an eastern European custom that was supposed to keep the horse cool in hot weather (see Juřen 1973). The emperor is reported to have occupied himself little with the theological issues that divided the two churches, the resolution of which was seen as a preamble to a united crusade to stop the westward advance of the Ottomans. (In any event, Constantinople fell to the Turkish armies in May 1453.) His appearance captured the imagination of Pisanello, who made sketches of the emperor, his retinue, and their costumes, arms, and horses on two double-sided sheets that once formed facing pages in an album (the second sheet is now in the Art Institute of Chicago; figs. 38, 39). The drawings give us an unparalleled insight into the scrutiny to which Pisanello subjected his models as well as his inexhaustible curiosity for what they wore, perhaps in this case increased by the pervasive idea that Greek fashion had not changed in fifteen hundred years!

The drawings have often been interpreted as a sort of journalistic record of a specific event during the council, which opened in Ferrara in January 1438 and concluded in Florence with a declaration of the union of the Eastern and Western churches in July 1439. However, Michael Vickers (1978) has convincingly demonstrated that most of the figures show the same person—the emperor—observed from different positions, at

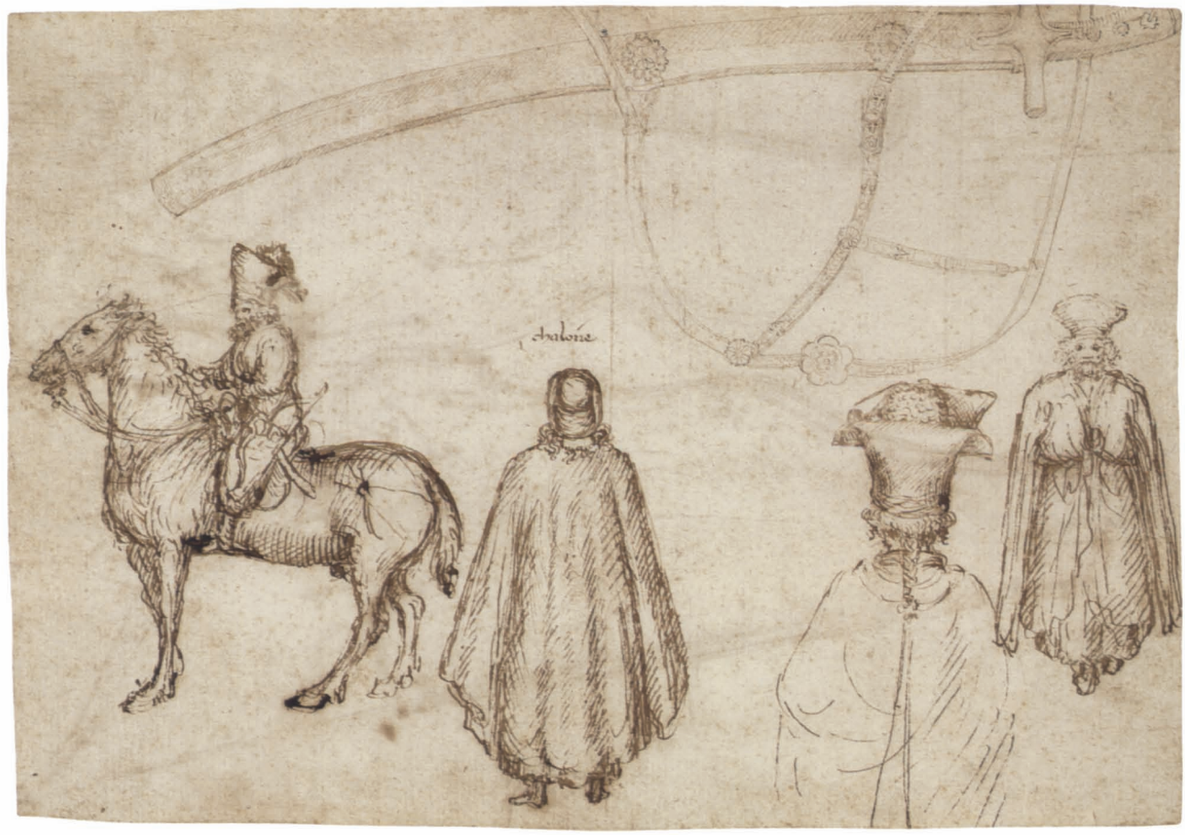

Fig. 38. Pisanello, *Studies of Emperor John VIII Palaeologus and Members of the Greek Delegation to the Council of Ferrara and Florence*, 1438–39. Pen and dark brown ink on off-white laid paper. The Art Institute of Chicago, Margaret Day Blake Collection (1961.331r)



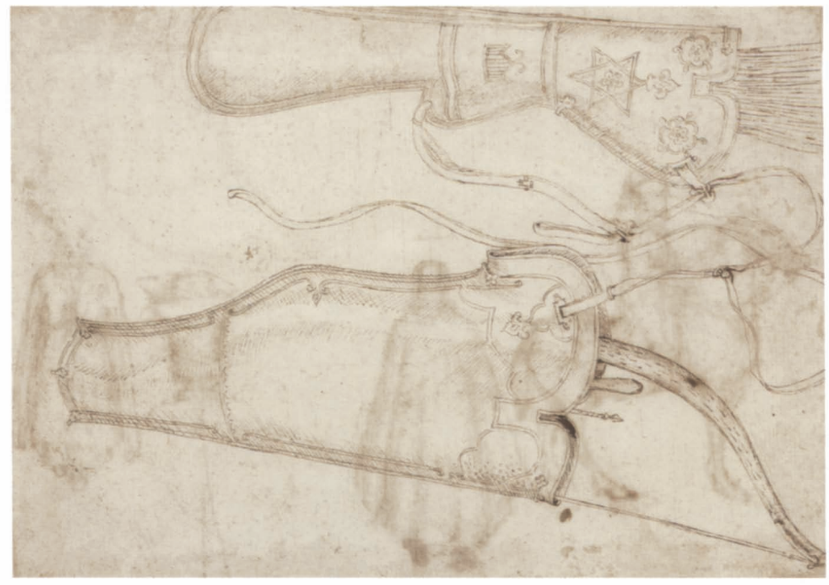

Fig. 39. Pisanello, *Studies of Weapons* (verso of fig. 38)

65, verso

different moments, wearing different clothes (the one certain exception is the back-viewed figure on the recto of the Chicago sheet, identified in the inscription as a Greek monk). So far from being casual studies, they aim at giving a complete record of John VIII, possibly with a view to a painted as well as medallic portrait. For example, on the recto of the sheet in the Louvre we see the emperor ready for the hunt, mounted on his horse with a quiver attached at his thigh. He wears the domed hat with pointed visor that Pisanello later included on the medal (cat. 64), the reverse of which shows the emperor equipped and mounted on a horse as he is in the drawing, but with his hunting interrupted by the sight of a cross. The quiver is studied separately and in detail on the verso of the Chicago sheet, together with a bowcase, which on the recto of the Chicago sheet can be seen being worn by the emperor, who again is mounted on his horse but faces the opposite direction and with a different hat. The horse's head is studied at closer range on the recto of the Louvre sheet, where, in the lower left, we see the emperor standing, facing left, wearing a high hat with two enormous, upturned flaps that curl over at the top. On the verso, Pisanello then isolated the head and hat of the emperor, sketching him full face and in three-quarter view—what we might think of as grasping the model "in the round." The back-viewed figure at the center of the recto of the Louvre sheet—again, probably the emperor—wears a gown with a banded hem ornament. It is almost certainly the fabric and inscription on this gown, a gift to John VIII from Sultan Barsbay in Egypt (Vickers 1978, pp. 419–20), that is studied in detail at the top of the sheet. The drawings are then augmented by color notes relating to the emperor's clothes, his appearance, and additional observations on various items: "The hat of the emperor should be white on the outside and the reverse red and the edge black all round; the doublet of green damask and the mantle on top crimson. The face pale, the beard black, hair and eyebrows the same. Eyes gray tending toward green, the shoulders stooped, a small person. The boots of pale yellow leather; the sheath of the bow brown and grained, and also that of the quiver and of the scimitar." Then, concerning another costume: "The reverse of the gown red, the hat blue lined with multicolored fabric."

We must imagine these sketches as preliminary to more detailed studies similar in character to those of Emperor Sigismund (cats. 62, 63) and Borso d'Este (cats. 76, 77). The end result was a finely modeled profile drawing in black chalk (Musée du Louvre, inv. 2478) in which Pisanello transformed the raw data of observed fact into a formal portrait of great delicacy and refinement. That drawing could have served for both a painted portrait and a medal (cat. 64); indeed, the specificity of the color notes makes it very likely that a painted portrait was projected, conceivably depicting the emperor in full hunting regalia. But the importance of the drawings goes well beyond any particular project; like the marvelous chalk

drawings of an old man (cats. 73, 74), they demonstrate that Pisanello's interest as a portraitist transcended the taking of a mere profile likeness. Here he shows that he was as interested in the attitudes and gestures that characterized his subject as he was in the emperor's dress and social status. The restrictive conventions of court portraiture allowed little of this observation to enter into the finished work. Only in Pisanello's drawings do we get an idea of the complexity of his art, which in certain respects points ahead to the sublime, all-embracing genius of Leonardo da Vinci. KC

Provenance J. D. Böhm (until 1865; his sale, Vienna, December 4 and following days, no. 1132, as Spanish school, second half of 15th century); Frédéric Reiset, Paris (1865–66; his gift to the Louvre, August 9, 1866, as by Gentile Bellini)

Selected References Heiss 1881, p. 179; Hill 1929, pp. 20–21; Degenhart 1945, pp. 16, 44, 51, 77; Fasanelli 1965, pp. 36–47; Fossi Todorow 1966, pp. 30–31, 80–81, nos. 57, 58; Restle 1972, pp. 131–32; Vickers 1978, pp. 417–24; Woods-Marsden 1988, pp. 40, 198 n. 70; Ames-Lewis 1990, pp. 661–62; Paris 1996, pp. 195–206, nos. 112, 113; London 2001–2, pp. 29–34; Mack 2002, pp. 153–54; Bambach in New York 2004, pp. 527–32, no. 318A, B

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

66. *Self-Portrait*

1440s

Bronze, cast; Diam. 2¼ in. (5.8 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, · *PISANVS* · *PICTOR*· (the painter Pisano); on reverse, ·*F*·*S*·*K*·*I*· / ·*P*·*F*·*T*· (initial letters for Faith, Hope, Charity, Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance)

Collection of Stephen K. and Janie Woo Scher, New York

When, in his 1506 treatise on sculpture, Pomponio Gaurico praised Pisanello as "the painter, most ambitious in modeling reliefs of himself," he must have been thinking about this medal (Cordellier 1995, p. 190). Perhaps he owned an example. Although the medal is smaller than most by Pisanello, Gaurico was probably impressed by the noble mien of the sometimes grouchy artist (Strehlke 2002, p. 38), who, while proudly proclaiming his profession, is decked out in courtly finery worthy of a prince: notice his brocaded fur-lined overgarment, a *giornea*. The crumpled hat—a tour de force of subtle modeling—makes the portrait, raising it above the level of mere likeness, which it still captures effortlessly. The importance of the hat can be seen by comparing this image to a smaller, later portrait medal of the artist (Hill 1930, no. 77; Gasparotto in Verona 1996, no. 76) in which his lined face and unadorned bald head evoke the frailty of the human body.

Pisanello was praised by his contemporary humanists more than any other artist of the first half of the fifteenth century (Cordellier 1995, p. 6). Of course, he spent his entire career in the courtly milieu, which fostered a culture of praise and fame, to which Pisanello contributed with the development of the portrait medal not only for princes, but also for the intellectual worthies who so often sang his praises. It is not too surprising, then, that on the reverse of the medal, surrounded by a laurel wreath, symbol of fame, are the initial letters of the seven virtues: the three theological virtues—faith, hope, and charity—and the four cardinal virtues—justice, prudence, fortitude, and temperance. Was Pisanello claiming these virtues for himself? It would be more in line with rhetorical humanist modesty if the wreathed initials—which must be considered a personal device of the artist, since they also appear on the reverse of the later portrait medal—refer to his aspirations rather than to his qualities.

That Pisanello was much esteemed by his contemporaries and followers is also suggested by the fascinating presence of an impression of the obverse of the medal cast in one of the





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lead roof tiles of the Basilica of San Marco in Rome, installed by order of Pope Paul II in 1467, more than ten years after Pisanello's death (Stevenson 1888, pp. 440, 457, 462–72; Rome 1982, pp. 34–35). The lead roof of San Marco was taken down in 1850, and only a few of the tiles survive. The one with Pisanello's image (in the Museo del Capitolo di San Marco, Rome) also includes a cast-in impression of the obverse of Pisanello's medal of his last great patron, Alfonso of Aragon, king of Naples (Hill 1930, no. 41). The informal pairing of artist and king in a place that could be seen only after the destruction of a roof that was built to last for centuries may point to the awareness of a distant posterity, as Filarete discussed in relation to foundation deposits of medals in book 4 of his *Trattato di architettura* (1972 ed., vol. 1, p. 104; Müntz 1879, p. 7 n. 1; Pasini 1973, pp. 51–52; Gregori 2003, p. 151).

The medal shown here, dated to the 1440s on the basis of the artist's appearance (Shchukina in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, no. 10; Gasparotto in Verona 1996, no. 75; Syson in London 2001–2, p. 1), was originally thought to be a self-portrait (Friedlaender 1880) but was downgraded as the work of a follower, Antonio Marescotti (Hill 1930, no. 87; Turckheim-Pey in Paris 1996, p. 34), and later ascribed to an unknown Ferrarese follower (Shchukina in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, no. 10; Gasparotto in Verona 1996, no. 75; Syson in London 2001–2, p. 1) on the basis of the supposed weakness in its modeling. However, as Luke Syson (in London 2001–2, p. 234) noted, Pisanello must have been responsible for the masterful design. Indeed, given the importance the artist must have attached to the preservation of his fame and likeness, it seems strange that Pisanello would not have modeled as well as designed his own medal. It is worth reconsidering whether the medal might be by Pisanello himself, as proposed by Alan Stone (1994). EL

Selected References J. Friedlaender 1880, p. 100; Hill 1930, no. 87; Yevgenia Shchukina in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, no. 10; Stone 1994; Luke Syson in Mantua 1994, no. 84; Dominique Cordellier in Paris 1996, pp. 15–16; Sylvie de Turckheim-Pey in Paris 1996, p. 34, no. 1; Davide Gasparotto in Verona 1996, no. 75; Luke Syson in London 2001–2, pp. 1–2, 234; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, no. 59

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

67. *Leonello d'Este*

ca. 1441

Lead, cast; Diam. 2¾ in. (6.9 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *LEONELLVS · MARCHIO · ESTENSIS* (Leonello, marquess of Este); on reverse, *OPVS · PISANI · PICTORIS* (the work of Pisano the painter)

Collection of Stephen K. and Janie Woo Scher, New York

68. *Leonello d'Este*

ca. 1441

Copper alloy, cast; Diam. 2¾ in. (6.9 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *LEONELLVS · MARCHIO · ESTENSIS* (Leonello, marquess of Este); on reverse, *OPVS · PISANI · PICTORIS* (the work of Pisano the painter)

Collection of Stephen K. and Janie Woo Scher, New York

69. *Leonello d'Este*

1444

Copper alloy, cast; Diam. 3⅞ in. (10 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *GE*[ner] · *R*[egis] · *AR*[agonum] (son-in-law of the king of Aragon) / *LEONELLVS · MARCHIO · ESTENSIS* (Leonello, marquess of Este) / *D · FERRARIE · REGII ET · MVTINE* (lord of Ferrara Reggio and Modena); on reverse, *OPVS · PISANI · PICTORIS* (the work of Pisano the painter) // *·M · / CCCC / XLIII* (1444)

Collection of Stephen K. and Janie Woo Scher, New York

Among the princely courts and city-states of early Renaissance Italy, Ferrara under the rule of Leonello d'Este (1407–1450) became a model of humanist culture. One of the many illegitimate children of the marquess of Ferrara Niccolò III (1383–1441), Leonello was legitimated by Pope Martin V in 1429 and chosen by Niccolò to be his heir; by that time Niccolò had often entrusted Leonello with many affairs of government. As a young man, Leonello was trained in the arts of war by the great *condottiere* Braccio da Montone, but the arrival in Ferrara in 1429 of Guarino da Verona (see cat. 72) provided Leonello with the foundation in the *studia humanitatis* that would characterize his court and encourage him to surround himself with a circle of humanists, scholars, poets, musicians, and artists.

Upon the death of his father in 1441, Leonello became marquess, and all contemporary accounts agree that he was an ideal ruler, a perfect prince: wise, gentle, learned, just, pious,



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and unpretentious. In the midst of the constant squabbling and warfare among the Italian states, Leonello was a proponent of peace, interceding among the great powers, such as Milan, Venice, and Naples. It is tragic that so gifted and effective a ruler should have died so young.

As a serious intellectual, avid musician, poet, and active patron of the arts, Leonello came the closest of any Renaissance prince to Plato's vision of the philosopher king. From this sophisticated environment emerged one of the most important innovations of Renaissance art, the portrait medal. Although the point has recently been questioned (Syson in London 2001–2, pp. 113–16), it is probable that the simultaneous presence of several key individuals in Ferrara during the Church Council held there in 1438—of Leonello, the heir to the marquessate; of the influential polymath Leon Battista Alberti (see cat. 60); of Pope Eugenius IV; of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaeologus (see cat. 64); and finally, and most important, of Pisanello (see cat. 66)—would lead to the creation of an object, the portrait medal, that would represent the central values of the Italian Renaissance.

Leonello seized upon this new type of imagery with great enthusiasm. In 1441 he brought Pisanello to his court and commissioned from him a series of at least six medals. Each medal bears the prince's portrait on the obverse, paired, on the reverse, with an obscure and complicated image rich in symbolism and in allusions to classical art and learning. They were destined for distribution to those who would understand them, a cultural elite within the court as well as the wider Italian humanist community proud of their learning and intellectually insulated from the outside world. The medals not only



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perpetuated the features of their patron, they celebrated his virtues, accomplishments, and aspirations.

The profile portraits, whether painted or cast in metal, show a richly dressed man with delicate features and a peculiarly shaped mass of hair tightly cropped in a fashion typical of the period. That he was a sensitive, intelligent, wise, and effective ruler derives from what we know about the subject rather than from the rigid and somewhat static formula of the portrait. It is the reverse of the medals, the features of which were perhaps conceived by a collaboration of patron, artist, and a consultant (Leon Battista Alberti? Guarino da Verona?), that extends and enhances our awareness of the subject.

Only one of the medals (cat. 69) is dated, 1444. The chronology of the remaining five is based on Leonello's titles, those naming him only marquess of Este being from just before 1441, and those with the titles he assumed after his father's death—lord of Ferrara, Reggio, and Modena—dating from 1441 to 1448. On the medal with the tripartite child's face (cat. 67), the portrait faces right, as in the painted portrait in Bergamo (cat. 70). On all of the others, the portrait faces left.

The emblems employed were not intended to be understood by everyone, and they have never entirely yielded their meanings, though certain themes are evident. On the three earliest medals, done about 1441, the words of the obverse legends are divided by olive branches, signifying Leonello's peaceful rule over Ferrara and his involvement in settling conflicts elsewhere. Olive branches flank the curious figure of the three-faced child, and from them hang poleyns (protective armor for the knees), again indicating peace overcoming war. This accords well with the three-faced child, generally explained as an emblem of Prudence, an essential attribute of the ruler, who, with circumspection, looks to past, present, and future (Wind 1968, pp. 260–61).

The same theme dominates the medal showing two naked men on the reverse (cat. 68), one young, the other old—the past and the present—facing one another and supporting on their shoulders large baskets filled with the familiar olive branches. They stand in a bare landscape that fills the lower half of the field and that supports on either side two bombs that are being extinguished by rain falling from clouds. This is one of Pisanello's most beautiful and balanced compositions, the nude bodies expressed with subtle modeling, referring perhaps to some fragment of ancient sculpture.

To commemorate Leonello's second marriage in 1444 to Maria of Aragon, the illegitimate daughter of Alfonso the Magnanimous (1396–1458), king of Naples and Sicily, Pisanello produced one of the great masterpieces of medallic art (cat. 69). The obverse displays a bust-length portrait with Leonello wearing the rich garments reminiscent of those shown in his painted portrait. As is almost always the case with his medals, Pisanello demonstrated a complete understanding of the rigors of composing lettering and image within the confines of a small circular space. The lettering itself is elegant and pure, the portrait bust dignified and majestic.

It is on the reverse, however, where the artist presented a delightful commemoration of the event for which the medal was ordered. In the foreground, standing upon a bare landscape strewn with pebbles and ending at the bottom with what appears to be a cliff, a lion (Leonello), his tail between his legs (which not only conveys the submission of the animal, but is also a clever device of composition), is confronted by Amor (Love), who holds a scroll of music, teaching the fierce king of beasts to sing and thereby taming him. Among Pisanello's greatest achievements—in addition to portraiture—were his depictions of animals, and here he surpassed himself in this whimsical presentation. A small rocky hill rises in the left background, supporting a bare branch upon which an eagle, the heraldic charge of the Este, perches, its back to the viewer. Next to this subtle reference to the true identity of the lion is a stele, upon which the artist placed the date beneath one of Leonello's favorite emblems, the *vela*, a billowing sail attached by rigging and a spar to a mast that is fixed in a small piece of solid ground. Finally, on the far right, Pisanello included his signature.

There have been various interpretations of the *impresa* of the *vela*. An inflated sail is usually associated with Fortuna, buffeted by the winds of life. In this case, the firmly planted mast resists such blasts. The most commonly accepted explanation, however, is that proposed by Edgar Wind (1968, p. 98), who suggested that it was among the many ways chosen to represent a favorite Renaissance concept drawn from antiquity, namely *festina lente* (make haste slowly). It was held that one ought to proceed through life with determination and energy tempered by caution and prudence, precepts that governed the extraordinary but sadly abbreviated life of the fourth marquess of Ferrara.

Pisanello's medals of Leonello d'Este represent the ideal collaboration of an enlightened prince, one or more learned companions, and an artist of genius. How staggering were the results! SKS

Provenance Cat. 68: Piasa/Bourgey, Hôtel Drouot, March 2–3, 2001, no. 486 bis

Cat. 69: Christie's, New York, June 13, 1996, no. 40

Selected References Cat. 67: Armand 1883–87, vol. 1, p. 3, no. 4; Hill 1905, pp. 142–46; Hill 1930, pp. 8–9, no. 24; Boccolari 1987, p. 41, no. 18; Paris 1996, pp. 383–84, 392, nos. 261, 262; Syson 1998b, p. 393; London 2001–2, p. 227; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 12–13, no. 6

Cat. 68: Armand 1883–87, vol. 1, p. 3, no. 6; Hill 1905, p. 146; Hill 1930, p. 9, no. 27; Boccolari 1987, p. 43, no. 21; Paris 1996, pp. 392–93, no. 264; Syson 1998b, pp. 383–84; London 2001–2, pp. 121–22; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 14, no. 7

Cat. 69: Armand 1883–87, vol. 1, p. 3, no. 8; Hill 1905, pp. 148–50; Hill 1930, p. 10, no. 32; Boccolari 1987, pp. 46–47, no. 27; Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 47, 50, 376, nos. 5, 5a; Paris 1996, pp. 397–98, nos. 272, 273; Iotti 1997, pp. 41–46, 193–99, 285–93; Syson 1998b, pp. 386–87; London 2001–2, p. 123; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 17–19, nos. 10, 11

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

70. *Leonello d'Este*

1444 (?)

Tempera on panel, 11⅝ × 7⅝ in. (29.4 × 19.4 cm); painted surface, 10 × 7⅛ in. (25.5 × 18.2 cm)

Accademia Carrara, Comune di Bergamo (58 MR 00010)

The much admired and eulogized marquess of Ferrara (1407–1450)—an exemplar of the Renaissance prince—is shown in profile against a hedge of roses. His unmistakable features, rendered by Pisanello in six medals, each with a different reverse (see cats. 67–69), have been elegantly reformulated so as to deaccentuate his long, aquiline nose, sloping forehead, and heavy jaw, evident in both the painted portrait by Giovanni da Oriolo (The National Gallery, London) and a medal signed by "Nicholaus" (see London 2001–2). His blue eyes and blond, leonine hair—probably dyed, and cut in a manner popular in France—convey that air of nobility and refinement celebrated by his contemporaries ("His face was calm but his eyes sparkled with vitality," wrote the court humanist Angelo Decembrio; see Gundersheimer 1973, p. 106). Small wonder that Pisanello was the most admired painter of the first half of the century, establishing the standard for court portraiture (see cats. 94, 130).

Few rulers can have been so concerned with their image as Leonello. In 1441 a competition was held between Jacopo Bellini and Pisanello to paint Leonello's likeness (Bellini also included Leonello as a diminutive supplicant in a private devotional *Madonna and Child* [Musée du Louvre, Paris]), and in 1449 Leonello commissioned a portrait from Andrea Mantegna. We learn from a poem written by the Venetian Ulisse degli Aleotti that the 1441 contest was won by Jacopo Bellini (Cordellier 1995, doc. 38). In his dialogue *De politia litteraria*, Angelo Decembrio records Leonello's surprise at the irreconcilable differences between the two works, for whereas Pisanello overemphasized his thinness, Bellini exaggerated his pallor (Cordellier 1995, doc. 52; see also the essay by Beverly Louise Brown in this volume, p. 32). Few reports give us such



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intimate insight into the quandaries an artist faced when depicting a person of rank or the ways in which artistic style interacted with representation.

The Accademia Carrara portrait has almost invariably been associated with the 1441 competition portrait. It has also been argued that it is the same painting later owned by the court humanist Ludovico Carbone, who about 1460 remarked that he could not look at Pisanello's portrait of Leonello without shedding tears of sadness (Cordellier 1995, doc. 78). However, if the two framed portraits of Leonello—"retracte dal naturale"—listed in a 1494 Este inventory are those of Bellini and Pisanello, then the picture owned by Carbone was not the competition portrait (Campori 1870, p. 30). Surely George Hill (1905, pp. 138–39) was right to emphasize that "there was doubtless more than one portrait of Leonello by our artist," and that the Accademia Carrara one was unlikely to have originated in the competition. (Pisanello was repeatedly employed by Leonello between 1435 and 1448, and in 1445 he was paid fifty gold ducats for an unspecified painting for the marquess's retreat at Belriguardo; see Cordellier 1995, docs. 53, 54). In the first place, there is the exceptionally rich costume: a luxurious velvet and gold doublet with a high collar over which is worn a deep red, pleated tunic—a *giornea*—trimmed in green and white and decorated with pearls mounted on metal florets. Elaborately tied ribbons further embellish the back. In only one of the medals does Leonello wear a costume of comparable richness, and that is the one made by Pisanello in 1444 to celebrate the marquess's second marriage, to Maria of Aragon (his first wife, Margherita Gonzaga, died in 1439; see Natale and Sassu 2007). Might Pisanello's picture have been painted on that occasion, which was celebrated with fabled opulence (the festivities lasted two weeks; see Gundersheimer 1988, p. 53)? The red, green, and white of the *giornea* are colors associated with the Este, as they were also with the Gonzaga and the Medici (see the references and information gathered together by Cordellier [Paris 1996, p. 183]). They sometimes signify the three theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, but they also decorate the chariot of Venus in the cycle of frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia and thus have multiple associations. The same is true of the rose hedge—the flower not only of the Virgin but, more important here, of Venus (see London 2001–2, p. 106). Do not these colors and the costume together suggest an association with the goddess of love and marriage? We might further note that, among the muses commissioned by Leonello to decorate his private study, or *studiolo*, is one usually identified as Erato—the muse who, according to Guarino's humanist program for the cycle, "attends to the bonds of marriage and true love." She is shown holding a long stem of roses while with the other hand she unlaces her dress. The association of the rose with love is too common to require elaboration, but it is worth noting that in the hugely popular *Roman de la Rose*, the Fountain of Love is surrounded by rosebushes, from which the poet attempts to pick a blossom, emblematic of his beloved. Although much has been made of the associations of the profile portrait with Roman antiquity, it is important to remember that Leonello, like so many of his contemporaries, possessed a library stocked with French chivalric literature, and it would have been completely in keeping with prevailing court taste for him to commemorate his engagement or marriage by having himself depicted as a lover in the garden of Venus. (On the convergence of French court and antiquarian taste at the Este court, see London 2001–2, pp. 87–108.) Dominique Cordellier is surely right to see Pisanello's portrait of an Este princess in the Louvre, in which the sitter's head is set against an emblematic hedge of pinks and columbine, as the precursor to Leonardo da Vinci's portrait of Ginevra de' Benci (fig. 7), Lorenzo di Credi's *Portrait of a Young Woman* (cat. 44), and Giorgione's *Laura* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), in each of which the sitter is shown before foliage alluding either to her name or to her association with a Petrarchan poetic ideal (for the various proposed identities of Pisanello's sitter, see Woods-Marsden 2002, pp. 669–70). Pisanello may thus be seen as the originator of the emblematic painted portrait as well as the master of the emblematic medal.

The appearance of the Accademia Carrara portrait has been greatly enhanced by its cleaning and restoration between 2004 and 2008 (a full report will be published by the Opificio delle Pietre Dure; I am grateful to Cecilia Frosinini, Roberto Bellucci, and Lucia Biondi for sharing the results of their work). Most important, thanks to the presence of a lipped edge on all sides, the original dimensions have been recovered. The blue background—a much darkened lapis lazuli—has suffered, as has the cut velvet, the pattern of which is not original but was redone at some point in the distant past. KC

Provenance Giambattista Costabili, Ferrara (by 1835–d. 1841); his son, Giovanni Costabili, Ferrara (1841–71); Alexander Barker, London (1871); Giovanni Morelli, Bergamo (d. 1891; his bequest to the Accademia Carrara)

Selected References Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1912, vol. 2, p. 161; Hill 1905, pp. 138–39, 151–53; Degenhart 1941, pp. 42–43; Paccagnini 1972, pp. 155–57; Chiarelli 1972, pp. 97–98; Corradini in Milan 1991, vol. 1, pp. 61–62; Paris 1996, pp. 393–95; Puppi 1996, pp. 92–94; Rossi in Verona 1996, pp. 390–91; London 2001–2, pp. 87, 102, 105–8; Natale and Sassu 2007, pp. 39–40; Toffanello 2010, p. 220; Valagusa in Rome 2010–11, p. 36

Rogier van der Weyden
(Tournai, ca. 1399–1464, Brussels)

71. *Francesco d'Este*

ca. 1460

Oil on wood, overall 12½ × 8¾ in. (31.8 × 22.2 cm);
painted surface 11¾ × 8 in. (29.8 × 20.3 cm)

Inscribed: on reverse, *v*[ost]*re tout* (entirely yours) / *m*[archio] *e*[estensis] (twice) */francisque*; incised on upper left at a later date, *non plus / courcelles*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.43)

As established in a fundamental article by Ernst Kantorowicz (1939–40), the sitter of this supremely aristocratic portrait is the natural son of Leonello d'Este, Francesco (ca. 1429–after 1475), whose appearance we know from an illustration in a genealogical table composed in 1474 (Toniolo in Milan 1991, vol. 2, pp. 49–58). As was the custom at court, Francesco was sent abroad for his military training; in 1444 he arrived in Liège, where he joined the court of Philip the Good (1396–1467) and then that of his son and successor, Charles the Bold (1433–1477), whom he had first served as steward of the household. We have notices of Francesco's participation in battles and jousts and on diplomatic missions that took him back to Italy on a number of occasions (1459–60, 1464, 1467, 1471, and 1474–75). In 1471 he ill-advisedly supported the claims of his half brother Niccolò to the duchy and was exiled by his uncle, Duke Ercole d'Este (see cat. 80). The last notice of him is in 1475, when he was captain of Westerloo at Lille.

It was probably about 1460, in Brussels—one of the seats of Philip the Good's court—that Francesco sat to Rogier, who had been appointed official town painter in 1436. About the same time, Rogier painted portraits of both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. Francesco's fashionably Burgundian black, fur-lined doublet reveals a high red collar and a gold chain. Unusually, Rogier shows him against a white rather than dark background, which greatly enhances the heraldic effect of the portrait (white, red, and green being the livery colors of the Este). The tendril-like fingers of his hands form an elegant pattern at lower left. Originally differently disposed (see Metzger and Palmer 2008), one hand is placed on the edge of the picture field, while with the other Francesco holds a steel-headed hammer and a gold ring with a ruby. These objects may be attributes of his rank at court—Philip the Good holds a similar hammer in a miniature by Rogier that shows the duke ceremoniously receiving a manuscript of the *Chroniques de Hainault*—or they may relate to a tournament. We know that such hammers were used to inspect the shields, crested helmets, and pennons of contestants, to knock out disqualified shields, and to referee the contest once the fighting began; gold rings were sometimes awarded to the victor (see Armstrong 1977). The heraldic quality of the portrait is underscored by the coat of arms on the reverse (see Nickel 1987, pp. 145–46), probably painted by an assistant. The armorial shield is quartered to combine the Este eagle with the fleur-de-lis bestowed on the house by Charles VII in 1432 and is supported by two rampant leopards; the blindfolded lynx (*lince bendata*) at the top was a personal device of Francesco's father (see Pisanello's medal; Ferrari 1989, p. 117). The motto—*v*[ot]*re tout*, or "entirely yours" (signifying, one imagines, Francesco's allegiance to the duke)—is accompanied by the entwined letters *m* and *e*, for "marchio estensis," the title of his father that was extended to Francesco at the Burgundian court. Francesco's name appears in French at the bottom of the panel. The enigmatic scratched inscription in the upper left, *non plus courcelles*, has been variously explained, perhaps most compellingly as a hamlet or town in Burgundian territory where Francesco met his end (Nickel 1987, pp. 146–47).

The portrait of Francesco has much in common with Rogier's portrait of Philip the Good's natural son, Antoine, known as "le Grand Bâtard" (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels), who is also shown holding an insignia associated with tournaments: an arrow, which was flung into the tiltyard at the beginning and end of a joust. But the portrait of Francesco is by far Rogier's most stylized court portrait, calling to mind the following observation of Max Friedländer (1965, p. 22): "Looking back we realize that the further Rogier retreated from the Jan van Eyck and Master of Flémalle orbit the more his types became remote from nature and the more evolved what we might call a graphic method." Very much apropos is his description of Rogier's figure types as "purified and detached from earthly trivialities" (p. 23). Precisely these qualities established Rogier's supremacy as court portraitist in the Netherlands.

And not merely in the Netherlands: Rogier enjoyed an enormous reputation in Italian court circles. Leonello d'Este commissioned works from him through a Lucchese merchant in Bruges, Paolo Poggi, while in 1460 Francesco Sforza sent a local artist, Zanetto Bugatto, to study with Rogier. When Francesco's brother Alessandro Sforza, the lord of Pesaro, went to the Netherlands in 1458, he sat to Rogier and also acquired a



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portrait of Philip the Good. Moreover, the altarpiece he commissioned includes a series of portraits (see Mulazzani 1971). Another altarpiece, owned by Leonello, also included a portrait of what the humanist writer Bartolomeo Fazio described as "a certain prince" (see Baxandall 1986, p. 108). So regardless of whether Italian princes and artists studied Rogier's portrait of Francesco d'Este—for example, at the Church congress in Mantua in 1459–60, which Francesco attended as part of the Burgundian embassy and at which time he visited Ferrara—there is no question that they were well acquainted with the artist's courtly manner, in which the alchemy of his imagination transformed observed data into a refined object possessing "an ascetic gravity and an uncompromising stylistic purity" (Friedländer 1965, p. 23). It is indicative of Rogier's sense of appropriateness that Francesco's features are shared by those of the young Magus in the Columba Altarpiece (Alte Pinakothek, Munich).

Although the response of Italians to Netherlandish painting is sometimes treated as though it were uniform and undifferentiated, in Fazio's biographical sketches of Van Eyck and Rogier, written at the court of Alfonso of Aragon, a clear distinction is made between Van Eyck's naturalistic approach to painting—painting as the mirror of nature—and that of Rogier, with its emphasis on abstraction and expressivity. It is worth positing that the prestige Rogier's work enjoyed in northern Italian court circles derived, at least in part, from the familiar chord it struck with rulers conditioned by the portraits of Pisanello and Cosmè Tura (see cats. 70, 79). Rogier's portraits offered Italians a model at once strikingly different and more familiar-seeming than those of either Van Eyck or Memling, whose work, by contrast, was so important to Antonello da Messina and Giovanni Bellini. KC

Provenance Private collection or art market, Modena (until 1800); John Rushout, second Lord Northwick, Harrow Park, Harrow-on-the-Hill (1800–1823; his sale, Denew, Harrow Park, September 24, 1823, no. 16); J. Taylor (until 1828; his sale, June 23–28, 1828, Phillips, London); Daniel Mesman (from 1828); Sir Audley Neeld, Grittleton House, Wiltshire (until 1909); R. Langton Douglas, London (1909); [Colnaghi, London, 1910]; Sir Edgar Speyer, London and New York (1911–16); Kleinberger, New York (1916–18); Michael Friedsam, New York (1918–d. 1931)

Selected References Fry 1911, pp. 200–202; Van de Put 1911, pp. 235–36; Ferrara 1933, pp. 26–27, no. 23; Kantorowicz 1939–40, pp. 165–80; Panofsky 1953, vol. 1, pp. 272–73, 291, 294, 477 n. 5; Ruhmer 1958, pp. 13, 17, 55 n. 44; Davies 1972, pp. 25, 229, 244; Armstrong 1977, pp. 72, 74; L. Campbell 1979, pp. 57–59, 62, 154; Nickel 1987, pp. 144–47; Dierick, Verougstraete-Marcq, and Van Schoute 1991, pp. 182–83; Milan 1991, pp. 22, 54, 68, 73, 314; Sprinson de Jesús in New York 1998–9, pp. 154–55; De Vos 1999, pp. 112, 302–4; Nuttall 2004, pp. 214–15; Metzger and Palmer 2008, pp. 72, 75–76, 84 n. 2, p. 85 n. 27

Matteo de' Pasti (Verona, ca. 1412–1467/68, Rimini)

72. *Guarino Guarini da Verona*

ca. 1453

Copper alloy, cast; Diam. 3½ in. (9 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *GVARINVS VERONENSIS* (Guarino of Verona); on reverse, · *MATTHEVS* · *DEPASTIS* · F[ecit] · (Matteo de' Pasti made it)

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18216328)

Guarino Guarini (1374–1460), like his friend, pupil, and colleague Vittorino da Feltre (see cat. 88), was one of the most

revered educators and humanists of the early Italian Renaissance. He helped establish the boarding school centered around a curriculum embodied in the *studia humanitatis* as an essential component in the lives of the governing class. Matteo de' Pasti chose to portray Guarino, the son of a blacksmith, in uncompromising realism, a forceful, determined personality, his heavy features set upon a thick neck, dressed *all'antica* in a mantle pinned with a round clasp at the shoulder. The image, reminiscent of the bust of an emperor of the Flavian dynasty or the stark realism of a Roman republican portrait, emphasizes—in fact, symbolizes—Guarino's position as a preeminent Latin scholar and one of the first Italian humanists to master Greek. There are few Renaissance portrait medals that convey so sensitively and so intimately not only the features, but also the personality of their subject.

Matteo was possibly influenced by Leon Battista Alberti's self-portrait *all'antica* (cat. 60), produced about 1432–34 in Ferrara and probably based on ancient intaglio gems. He thus placed Guarino in a line of succession with the great ancient philosophers, a theme that he underscored on the reverse with a Fountain of Knowledge. This is particularly striking in contrast to Pisanello's medal of Vittorino da Feltre (cat. 88) and Matteo's own medal of Alberti (cat. 61), both of which present their subjects in contemporary dress. Whether the motivation for such choices of portrayal lay with the artist, the subject, or the patron must remain a matter of conjecture.

Guarino was born in Verona in 1374 and studied in Verona, Venice, and Padua, eventually traveling to Constantinople to learn Greek. After a time in Venice, he moved in 1419 to Verona, where he opened an independent school and taught for ten years. In 1430 he was called to Ferrara to become tutor to Leonello d'Este (see cats. 67–70). He remained in Ferrara as a public and university lecturer until his death in 1460, singlehandedly introducing humanist studies to that previously intellectually barren city, which, under the rule of Leonello d'Este, became a leading center of humanist studies and art. Over the course of a long and honored pedagogical career, Guarino taught a distinguished list of future princes, civil servants, teachers, and scholars.

The reverse of the medal displays a symbolic reference to the essential character and accomplishments of the subject. In this case, the image of the Fountain of Knowledge irrigating flowering plants represents Guarino the teacher as a source of knowledge. The nude male figure at the summit of the fountain has not been definitively explained. He clearly holds a shield, which, in the best examples, bears the image of a head. The object in his right hand, however, usually identified as a mace, is not easily explained and thus does not help in the identification of the youth, who may be only a generic form as a classical allusion. Alison Luchs (in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, no. 11; citing Maffei 1731–32, vol. 2, pp. 137, 144) referred to the very apt description of Guarino in the 1420s by the blessed Alberto da Sarteano as "the font of Greek and Latin learning." A large laurel wreath, the ultimate award for literary achievement, surrounds the central image. SKS

Selected References Armand 1883–87, vol. 1, p. 18, no. 2; Hill 1930, no. 158; Pasini 1987, pp. 143–59; Alison Luchs in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 59–62, no. 11; Börner 1997, p. 30, no. 53; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 56–57, no. 39

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

73. *Bust of an Old Man*

1440s

Black chalk on paper, 11⅜ × 8⅛ in. (29 × 20.5 cm)

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (2336)

74. *Head of an Old Man*

1440s

Black chalk on paper, 10⅜ × 7⅜ in. (26.3 × 18.6 cm)

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (2338)

In addition to the studies we possess by Pisanello that were made in preparation for a formal portrait, either painted or medallic, there exist drawings done from life as private exercises. Some of these are sketches of figures that caught the artist's eye, perhaps because of their exotic appearance or elaborate costume, such as we find on the recto of a drawing in Chicago (fig. 38; see also cat. 65). Others are penetrating, rapidly delineated drawings of an individual seen from more than one angle, perhaps done with a view to eventual use in an elaborate mural (Paris 1996, pp. 363–64, nos. 242, 243). Still others are what might be thought of as carefully worked-up physiognomic studies: independent portrait drawings in which the artist strove to move beyond the mere recording of outward appearance in order to suggest a mood or the character of the model. Of these, the most astonishing and seemingly modern are these two

delicately executed drawings of an old man. They remind us that the formal conventions governing court portraiture did not mean that Renaissance artists were uninterested in personality and character but that—like court poets celebrating their employer—they were expected to extol the virtues of their subject rather than record his or her defects. (For a fascinating example of a literary portrait, see the exchange of letters in 1452 between Guarino da Verona and his son Battista, whose fulsome description of the Byzantine scholar Manuel Chrysoloras was said by Guarino to far surpass the efforts of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello; Garin 1958, pp. 422–33). Of course, every portrait painter has to strike a balance between flattery and truthfulness (see cat. 142), but the balance shifted radically when social hierarchy and political power were factored into the equation. Mantegna's portraits, striking in their uncompromising truthfulness, were far from universally admired. Gian Galeazzo Sforza destroyed the portrait drawings he was sent by the artist—they evidently lacked the requisite *grazia* (see Signorini 2002, p. 132, doc. 25)—and Isabella d'Este rejected the one he made of her (Kristeller 1902, p. 554, doc. 120). Pisanello encountered no such difficulties, and his success as a portraitist may be judged by the fact that the bull-necked, double-chinned, and otherwise unpleasant-appearing Filippo Maria Visconti wished to be portrayed by him alone (see cat. 94). Pisanello thus assumed the same role for Visconti that Apelles had in portraying Alexander the Great.

This brings us to the two very different drawings exhibited here, in which the chalk medium is used not simply to record the identifying traits of the model but also to explore the expressive aspects revealed in the topography of the face. Rather than abstracting the model's features, working toward an ideal likeness, Pisanello constructed a psychological portrait through an accumulation of acutely observed details, from the old man's loose-hanging jowls, large nose, and oversize, quasi-elephantine ears, to his wandering eye and pensively morose expression. These extraordinary drawings, showing the model sullenly hunched over a table or desk, resonate with our modern notion of portraiture as a psychological investigation. In one, the old man seems lost in thought, the index finger of his right hand making imaginary designs on the table. In the other, he confronts us directly, his mouth forming an expression of profound discontent or disapproval, his gaze averted. None of the humanist compositions in praise of Pisanello's portraits would lead us to anticipate this kind of portrait drawing. It is as though, freed from the task of creating a flattering, ideal likeness, Pisanello was able to take his art into a new realm, one so novel that in the past the attribution has occasionally been doubted and the drawing even dated a half century later (see Paris 1996). Maria Fossi Todorow, whose 1966 catalogue of the artist's drawings imposed rigorously stringent standards of stylistic consistency that did not sufficiently allow for artistic intention and function, placed both drawings in the category of "uncertain attributions," arguing that "the considered arrangement of the hands and arms in the front plane, the correct proportions of the head and neck of the figure, are elements that reveal an artist accomplished in certain values of light, foreshortening and composition that seem foreign to Pisanello's vision" (p. 41). Yet she did not close the door on the matter, suggesting that if the drawings really are by Pisanello, then they reveal a new attainment, perhaps arrived at through his contacts with Ferrara and with Jacopo Bellini in the 1440s. Others have suggested the importance of Netherlandish painting, so highly prized at the Este court of Ferrara (see cat. 71).

Whatever influence we might choose to read into these drawings, it is important to note that the effect of a shallow relief rather than a geometric solid is typical of Pisanello's work. Francis Ames-Lewis (1990, p. 662) has pertinently suggested that Pisanello's practice of modeling in wax in preparation for medals had a felicitous effect on his graphic technique. But beyond the discussion of a putative "influence" or the effect of his work in another medium, there is the overriding issue of the different function these drawings served and the identification and social status of the model, for the Renaissance notion of decorum drew a clear distinction between the depiction of a person of high social rank and figures of low status. It is in the portrayal of figures from the lower classes or from the margins of society that a realist style emphasizing or even exaggerating physical defects or ugliness was deemed appropriate, usually for comic effect rather than to suggest a sense of shared humanity.

As Dominique Cordellier has noted, the most relevant comparison for the kind of frank portrayal one finds in these drawings is Jean Fouquet's portrait of the Este court dwarf, Gonella (see Ginzberg 1996, pp. 15–17), who in the marvelous painting in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, is shown bust-length with his arms tucked one into the other as he leans forward, eyeing the viewer, a broad smile animating his unshaven face, which is conspicuously marked by his advancing years. The picture seems to date from the 1440s and would thus be more or less contemporary with Pisanello's drawings. It is precisely in the depiction of dwarfs, jesters, or peasants that we find fifteenth-century artists employing a higher degree



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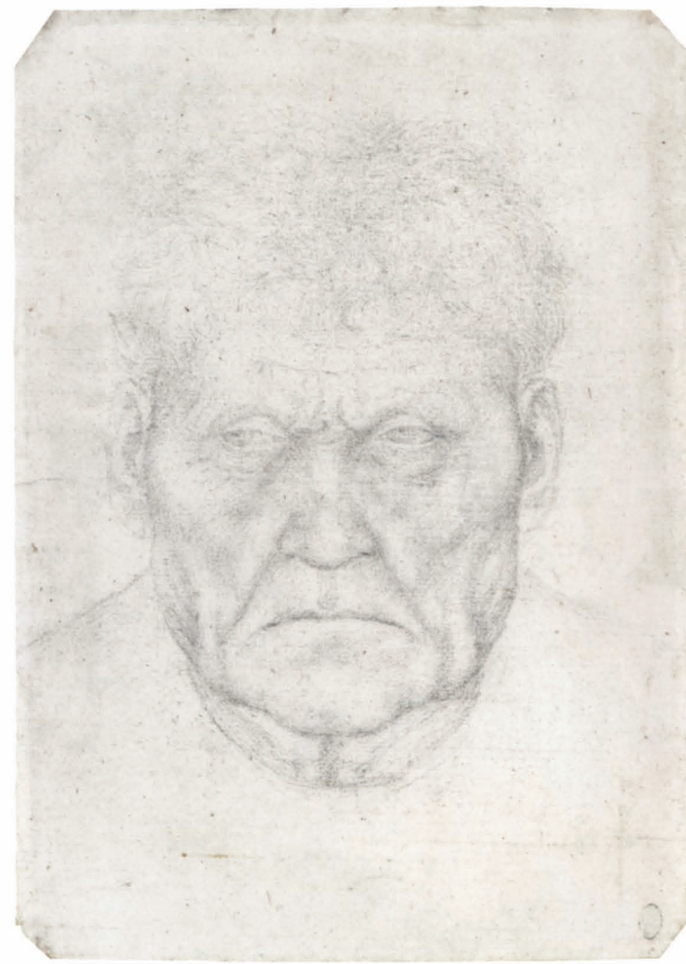

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of realism. We can see this in Barbara of Brandenburg's dour-faced female dwarf in Mantegna's frescoes in the Camera Picta in Mantua as well as in various peasants in Francesco del Cossa's frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara. This purposeful manipulation of style in accordance with social status continues right through the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries: one thinks of the portraits of court dwarfs by Juan van der Hamen and Velázquez, or of the peasant families depicted by the Le Nains and Giacomo Ceruti.

In light of the realistic emphasis in these two drawings, it seems highly unlikely that Pisanello's model was someone of any social standing, let alone the imperial ambassador to the papal court, Jakob von Sierck (see Fischer 1933, pp. 12–13, who, however, rightly emphasized the psychological character of the drawings), or even a long-standing acquaintance such as the great humanist Guarino da Verona (Paris 1996, p. 374), whose portrait medal by Matteo de' Pasti is, predictably, conceived along rigorously classical lines and whose features, in any case, seem markedly different from the works under discussion (see cat. 72). The diminutive hands of the model make one wonder if the figure, like Gonella, suffered from disproportionate dwarfism. Indeed, might Pisanello's drawings show Gonella in a private moment—not as court jester, inspiring laughter, but, like Verdi's tormented figure of Rigoletto, having dropped his comedic mask for the scrutiny of a fellow Este dependent? This is no more than a conjecture, based on general physiognomic resemblance, but it does not seem impossible once we allow that Fouquet's portrait was intended for the amusement of Leonello and his court while Pisanello's drawings had no intended audience. Of one thing we can be certain: they stand at the opposite pole from the quickly sketched and carefully drawn-out profile of Emperor Sigismund (cats. 62,

63) or from Pisanello's splendid drawings of Filippo Maria Visconti (cat. 94) and Alfonso of Aragon (cat. 131). As informal records, these two drawings were meant to stand on their own, and it is this that makes them such an important addition to our understanding of the issues Renaissance artists faced in what initially seems like the straightforward task of "taking a likeness." KC

Provenance Giuseppe Vallardi, Milan; Musée du Louvre, Paris (from 1856)

Selected References Fischer 1933, pp. 12–13; Degenhart 1944, pp. 372–74; Fossi Todorow 1966, pp. 41–42, 95, nos. 91, 92; Paccagnini 1972, p. 101, no. 54; Paris 1996, pp. 373–74, nos. 251, 252; Marini in Ferrara 2007–8, p. 236, no. 35

Baldassare d'Este (Reggio Emilia, before 1441/42–1504, Reggio Emilia)

75. *Borso d'Este*

ca. 1470–71

Tempera on canvas mounted on panel, 18⅞ × 14⅛ in. (48 × 36 cm)

Raccolte d'Arte Antica, Pinacoteca del Castello Sforzesco, Milan (546)

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

76. *Borso d'Este*

ca. 1440

Metal point on parchment, 5⅛ × 3½ in. (13 × 8.8 cm)

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (2314)

77. *Borso d'Este*

ca. 1440

Metal point and ink on parchment, 3⅝ × 2⅞ in. (9.3 × 7.4 cm)

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (2322)

The vain, colorful, yet popular and talented ruler of Ferrara for more than two decades, Borso d'Este (1413–1471) succeeded his more cultured and intellectual brother, Leonello, in 1450. He was made duke of Modena and Reggio by Frederick III in 1452, and in 1471, four months before his death, he was installed as duke of Ferrara at Saint Peter's. Pope Pius II has left us an unflattering but insightful portrait in his *Commentaries* (II, 40):

> Borso was a handsome man, taller than most, with beautiful hair and an attractive face. A garrulous talker, he liked the sound of his own voice and he spoke to please himself not those who heard him. In his mouth, blandishments mingled with lies. He wanted to appear magnificent and generous—rather than genuinely to be so. . . . He never married; most of his energy went into hunting. In his lifetime the citizens erected a statue in the piazza representing him seated and administering justice; the inscription [written by court humanist Tito Strozzi] dripped with flattery, for Borso loved nothing so much as praise. He bought as many precious stones as he could and never appeared in public without jewels.

As Werner Gundersheimer has noted (1973, p. 127), "Of all the Este *signori*, none loved praise more than Borso. . . . His vanity was so shameless, so obvious a source of pleasure, that it almost becomes a cause of admiration." In the library of his successor, Ercole I d'Este, are listed literary compositions from the court humanists extravagantly extolling Borso's virtues (see the encomiastic texts selected by Marco Folin [2007, pp. 39–47]). Obviously intended to flatter the duke, they also helped to craft his princely image, nowhere more in evidence than in the bronze statue mentioned by Pius II that Borso erected to himself or in the ostentatious tomb in the cloister of the Certosa, also ornamented with his portrait and accompanied by verses composed by three court humanists (see Farinella 2007, p. 92). Borso's interest in portraiture was not merely an expression of vanity: he fully appreciated the usefulness of princely images in promoting his legitimacy and status. His portrait was included in the fresco cycles of his various residences, most memorably in the Palazzo Schifanoia, as well as on medals (see cat. 78), coins, and in individual portraits. To judge from the two drawings by Pisanello (see below), this interest in portraiture began at an early age. After 1469, his half brother, Baldassare d'Este, became his preferred portraitist, and it is Baldassare who is the probable author of the picture exhibited here, which shows Borso toward the end of his life, gray-haired and jowly but every bit the proud ruler.

Baldassare's reputation was based on his accomplishments as a portraitist, both at the Sforza court in Milan and in Ferrara. In 1473 he drew up a list of works he had carried out for Borso and for which he had yet to be paid (Venturi 1885c, p. 721 n. 1; Buganza 2007, p. 58). This list offers a fascinating insight into the various formats possible at the time; it also indicates whom Borso wished to have portraits of and to whom he wished to send those of himself. Most astonishing was a large canvas ("una tella grande alta") showing the duke and three members of his entourage on horseback—"a sort of public image, a new icon, to which Borso was giving license at the time" (Sassu in



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Ferrara 2007–8, p. 418). Another had paired portraits of the ruler of Milan Galeazzo Maria Sforza and his wife, Bona of Savoy, and was kept at the Palazzo Schifanoia. There was a no less remarkable, lifesize portrait of Borso intended as a gift to Galeazzo; it was probably very similar in appearance to the miniature portrait we find in a genealogy of the Este family that shows Borso standing in profile holding a baton (see Toniolo in Milan 1991, p. 50, fig. 27). Also listed were bust-length portrayals (*teste*) of various people. One, of Borso, is described as being on canvas glued to a wood panel ("in tella su uno quadro de legno") and was thus similar to the present picture (though whether the panel of the present picture is the original one or of a later date is uncertain; see Sassu in Ferrara 2007–8, p. 458). Finally, Baldassare claimed responsibility for touching up thirty-six portraits in the cycle of frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia; Vincenza Farinella has suggested that Baldassare may actually have furnished templates for Borso's portraits in the fresco cycle (see also Toffanello 2010, pp. 74–76). Since Baldassare d'Este had been employed by the Sforza court in Milan in the 1460s and only returned to Ferrara in the late spring of 1469, all this work must date between 1469 and 1471.

Of his extensive activity at the Este court—for Borso but also for his successor, Ercole—the only certain surviving portraits by Baldassare are those of the court humanist Tito Strozzi and a donor portrait in a detached fresco in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Ferrara, that dates from about 1500 (see Calvesi 1958). The portrait of Borso exhibited here compares favorably with these. Three theories about it have been put forward: that it is a fragment of the full-length portrait for Galeazzo Maria Sforza (Strehlke 1998); that it is the deluxe portrait glued to a panel on the 1473 list (Malaguzzi Valeri 1912); or that it is one of the less highly valued portraits in that same list (Benati in Milan 1991). On balance, the third proposal seems the most likely.

Borso is dressed in costly crimson, with an ermine-edged, gold brocade *giornea* decorated with pearls and enameled metal leaves. On his chest he wears a large brooch with diamonds—

an Este emblem—a ruby (or *balascio*), and large pearls. He wears a no less elaborate but different *giornea* and brooch on Jacopo Lixignolo's medal of 1460 (cat. 78); there his hat is also decorated with jewels. As Gundersheimer (1973, p. 135) aptly observed, "in the Renaissance . . . elegance and magnificence were more than perquisites, they were traditional princely virtues, valued expressions of authority and power, as all of the humanist authors who praised Borso's glorious appearance well understood." It was not so much the numismatic tradition that dictated the profile format but court decorum and an assertion of formal hierarchy. Yet there was, of course, an overlap with numismatic conventions, as demonstrated by Lixignolo's medal portrait.

The reverse of Lixignolo's medal shows one of the favored Este emblems: a unicorn purifying water with its horn beneath a blazing sun, the rays of which warm the rocky, castellated landscape, making it fertile. The unicorn, which also appears in Borso's luxuriously illuminated Bible (Biblioteca Estense, Modena), may symbolize his reputed chastity, since he never married and, remarkably for the times, had no illegitimate offspring; it may also refer to the marsh-draining projects he undertook to recover land for agriculture. Lixignolo's medal clearly lacks the elegance and refinement of those by Pisanello, but it is nonetheless dependent on them (the landscape might be compared to that on the reverse of the medal of Filippo Maria Visconti [cat. 95]). So it may be worth noting that, according to Giorgio Vasari, Pisanello made a medal of Borso; Vasari weakens his credibility, however, by also recording one of Ercole, which is clearly not the case, and by omitting mention of any of the six medals of Leonello! Pisanello's two drawings in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (cats. 76, 77), which show Borso as a young man, have occasionally been associated with the production of just such a medal, either by Pisanello or by Amadio da Milano. To complicate matters, the image on the surviving medal by Amadio resembles one of the Louvre drawings (see Paris 1996, p. 377, for a full discussion). The drawings must date from between 1438, when Pisanello arrived in Ferrara, and 1441, when Borso's father, Niccolò, died and was succeeded by Leonello. It is tempting to think that they relate to a project for a series of painted portraits showing Niccolò's favorite sons rather than to a medal. That done in metal point seems to have been taken from life and is of great subtlety. In the other drawing, Pisanello has gone over the faint metalpoint marks with pen and ink, working toward a more formal solution by tightening up the chin, reducing the idiosyncrasies of the mouth, regularizing the nose, and giving the profile an altogether sharper outline. Although the attribution of that drawing has sometimes been contested (see, for example, Fossi Todorow 1966), Dominique Cordellier is surely right to insist on Pisanello's authorship of both, noting that while the drawings that Pisanello went over in pen and ink "always seem colder, sharper and more impersonal," that does not constitute grounds for questioning the attribution. Rather, the two drawings of Borso seem to document successive stages in the preparatory process as Pisanello worked to conform Borso's features to an ideal of court decorum and princely appearance. Cumulatively, these portraits of Borso give eloquent testimony to a politics of identity and rulership (see the comments relating to the Palazzo Schifanoia frescoes in Farinella 2007, pp. 90–98). KC

Provenance Cat. 75: Trivulzio collection, Milan (by 1912); Museo d'Arte Antica, Castello Sforzesco, Milan (1935)

Cats. 76, 77: Giuseppe Vallardi, Milan; Musée du Louvre, Paris (from 1856)

Selected References Cat. 75: Malaguzzi Valeri 1912, pp. 101–3; Calvesi 1958, p. 145; Benati in Milan 1991, p. 75; De Marchi 1992a, pp. 1059–60; Manca 1993, p. 78; Strehlke 1998, p. 17; Cavalca in Bettini 2004, p. 254; Buganza 2007, pp. 20, 42 nn. 86–87; Farinella 2007, pp. 110–12; Sassu in Ferrara 2007–8, pp. 458; Toffanello 2010, pp. 234–35

Cat. 76: Vallardi 1855, p. 12; Hill 1905, p. 192 n.; Fossi Todorow 1966, pp. 81–82 n. 59; Paris 1996, pp. 377–80, no. 255 (for earlier bibliography); Marini in Ferrara 2007–8, p. 212

Cat. 77: Vallardi 1855, p. 14; Hill 1905, p. 192 n.; Fossi Todorow 1966, p. 94 n. 89; Paris 1996, pp. 277–80, no. 256 (for earlier bibliography); London 2001–2, pp. 106, 245 n. 90; Marini in Ferrara 2007–8, p. 210, no. 23



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Jacopo Lixignolo (documented from 1460)

78. *Borso d'Este*

1460

Bronze, cast; Diam. 3¼ in. (8.2 cm)

Inscribed: on recto, *D/BORSIVS· DVX· MVTINE· ET· REGII ·MARCHIO· ESTENSIS· RODIGII ·Q·COMES· ET· C* (Borso, duke of Modena and Reggio, Marques of Este, Count of Rovigo, etc.) on verso, *R/OPVS IACOBVS LIXIGNOLO MCCCCLX* (the work of Jacopo Lixignolo 1460)

Musei Civici d'Arte Antica, Ferrara (N51140)

Jacopo Lixignolo's medal of Borso d'Este was cast the same year as one by Antonio Marescotti and another by Petrecino of Florence, both artists known exclusively from their medallic oeuvre. All told, we know of seven portrait medals of Borso; of the other four, three are by an unknown artist, and an earlier one is by Amadio da Milano. Like Lixignolo's medal, the verso of Marescotti's shows a unicorn purifying water with its horn, while Petrecino's shows an octagonal font with its lid open and a sun shining its rays on the rocky landscape, bringing forth vegetation. Both were favored devices that are also found in Borso's lavishly illuminated Bible (Biblioteca Estense, Modena). The unicorn purifying water is sometimes combined with a motif of wattle levees, which were used in flood control and marsh drainage and were thus symbolic of Borso's agricultural projects. The unicorn is also a common emblem of chastity as well as of generosity, strength, and victory. The baptismal font refers to Borso's much-vaunted religiosity, but with the sun and landscape there is, again, a reference to his agricultural undertakings (see Ferrari 1989, pp. 106–8, 114). The fact that three medals were cast in 1460 probably relates to the visit to Ferrara of Pope Pius II the preceding year and to Borso's ambition to be invested as duke of Ferrara (see also the entry for cat. 75). KC

Selected References Hill 1930, p. 26, no. 94; Boccolari 1987, p. 57; Corradini in Milan 1991, vol. 1, pp. 82–84

Cosmè Tura (Cosimo di Domenico di Bonaventura; Ferrara, ca. 1433–1495, Ferrara)

79. *Portrait of a Young Man*

ca. 1472–80

Oil and tempera (?) on wood, painted surface 10¾ × 5½ in. (27.3 × 14 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.649)

This exquisite portrait of a youth is usually considered the sole survivor of Cosmè Tura's activity as a portrait painter at the Este court of Ferrara. The only other certain portrait by him is the kneeling figure of Cardinal Bartolomeo Roverella on the lateral panel of an altarpiece in the Colonna collection, Rome.



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Additionally, Tura has been attributed with the design of two medals of Duke Ercole I d'Este, his wife, Eleonora of Aragon, and their son Alfonso (cats. 81, 82) as well as a portrait miniature of the duchess (cat. 83).

Tura was employed at the Este court from 1451, but it is only in 1472 that we have a record of his painting portraits. The first was of Ercole I and his illegitimate daughter, Lucrezia d'Este; these were painted on canvas to facilitate their shipment to Naples as a gift for Eleonora, at the time Ercole's future wife. A pattern was thus established: in 1477, Tura made three portraits of the infant Alfonso, whose future claim to the duchy had been secured the previous year by the execution of his half-cousin, Niccolò, the natural son of Leonello d'Este; that was followed, in 1479, by a portrait of Lucrezia to send to her promised husband, Annibale Bentivoglio; in 1480, a portrait of six-year-old Isabella d'Este on the occasion of her betrothal to Francesco Gonzaga; and in 1485, one of ten-year-old Beatrice d'Este for her promised spouse, Ludovico il Moro (see Manca 2000, docs. 74, 96, 101, 102, 107, 115). As is evident from this list, portrait commissions were associated with dynastic ambition, alliances, and the commemoration of important events. Prices varied from three florins for each of the portraits of the infant Alfonso to four for the others (the price for those on canvas is not indicated). Although the portraits are invariably described as taken from life, they are likely to have been bust-length, profile portraits much like the one in the Metropolitan Museum: the sitter accommodated to an accepted formula. Examination of the Metropolitan's portrait with infrared reflectography reveals no underdrawing, and it seems likely that a detailed drawing—*ritratto dal naturale*—was employed, perhaps one very like that by Pisanello of Filippo Maria Visconti (cat. 94).

The dates assigned to Tura's portrait range from the mid-1450s (Ruhmer 1958) to, most recently and convincingly, the mid-1470s (Syson 1999; for a review of the various opinions, see Manca 2000). A date in the mid- to late 1470s would be in keeping with Tura's documented activity as court portraitist, a position practiced under Ercole's predecessor, Borso, by Baldassare d'Este (see cat. 75). Certainly, the richly described hair—particularly the cascading waves, which offer a perfect foil for the imperturbable expression and minimal modeling of the face—compares favorably with what is found in a *Saint Christopher* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) from an altarpiece that is usually dated no earlier than about 1470. As others have noted, the emphasis on a sharply defined profile and the shallow, delicately inflected modeling of the head compare well with the medal of Ercole designed by Tura about 1477–78 (cat. 81). Although the identity of the sitter remains a matter of conjecture, his profile has features similar to those of Borso d'Este and he is likely a member of the Este family, though none of the identities thus far proposed is completely convincing (to judge from a genealogy illustrated between 1474 and 1479, blond was a favored hair color; see Toniolo in Milan 1991, vol. 1, pp. 49–58). The youth wears a green doublet with lacing (or rather arming points) on the sleeves, a fringed *giornea*, and a red cap. Arming points were used to secure a piece of armor—the vambrace—to the arm, but by about 1450 they had become a fashion accessory independent of their original function (see Capwell 2002, pp. 183–84). The coiffed hair of the blond, blue-eyed subject is arranged so that it frames his face with a sharp diagonal, while stray locks on his forehead give visual emphasis to his proudly arched brow and heavy-lidded eye. As with Pisanello, Tura made a virtue of the youth's physiognomic weaknesses, such as the overbite, thereby transforming an unexceptional countenance into a perfect expression of nobility.

But is the Metropolitan's painting an independent portrait, or is it a fragment from a larger composition? Both positions have been argued. The picture has been cleaned for the exhibition, and a careful examination of the panel indicates that the dull greenish blue that formerly obfuscated the background was a Prussian blue added to enlarge the original, tightly cropped image. The blue has now been removed and the picture surface returned to its proper dimensions. The effect of the picture is not unlike that found in Pisanello's detailed drawing of Filippo Maria Visconti (cat. 94). Just as someone later extended the background of Pisanello's portrait of Leonello d'Este (cat. 70) in order to provide space at the top to accommodate the figure's coiffeur, here a later collector may have felt the need to give the sitter's countenance more room. Interestingly, in the early nineteenth century Pisanello's and Tura's pictures were both in the Costabili collection in Ferrara, and both were subsequently purchased by British collectors. In favor of the picture's being conceived as an independent portrait, we may note that X-radiographs show no trace of an accompanying figure or architectural background.

What needs to be emphasized is that Tura, working within a remarkably constricted format, was able to create an indelible image of aristocratic aloofness. The picture reminds us why the profile portrait remained the preferred form at Italian courts for so long and was only gradually replaced by the three-quarter view. KC

Provenance (?) Marquess Giovanni Battista Costabili-Containi, Ferrara (by 1838–d. 1841); (?) his nephew Marquess Giovanni Battista Costabili-Containi, Ferrara (from 1841); William Drury Lowe, Locko Park, Derbyshire (by 1857–d. 1877); his son William Drury Nathaniel Drury-Lowe, Locko Park (1877–d. 1906); his son Lt. Col. William Drury Drury-Lowe, Locko Park (1906–12); Sulley and Co., London (1912; sold to Duveen); Duveen, London and New York (1912–13; sold to Altman); Benjamin Altman, New York (d. 1913)

Selected References Salmi 1957, pp. 13–14; Ruhmer 1958, pp. 9, 13–14, 169; Natale in Milan 1991, p. 31; Mattaliano 1998, p. 40, no. 22; Syson 1999, pp. 227–28; Molteni 1999, pp. 23–26; Manca 2000, pp. 82–83, 144–46; Campbell in Boston 2002, pp. 241, 249; Toffanello in Ferrara 2007–8, pp. 346–47

Sperandio of Mantua (Sperandio di Bartolommeo Savelli; Mantua, ca. 1425/28–after 1504, Venice)

80. *Ercole I d'Este*

1475

Marble, 22⅞ × 15 × 6¼ in. (58 × 38 × 16 cm)

Palazzina di Marfisa d'Este, Ferrara

The half brother of Leonello and Borso d'Este, Ercole (1431–1505) became ruler of the duchy of Ferrara in 1471. He reigned for thirty-four years, surviving both an attempted coup by Leonello's son Niccolò, whom Ercole had ordered beheaded, and a disastrous war with Venice (1482–84) that reduced the territory of his state. Sent to Naples for his education and military training when he was fourteen, he was appointed ruler of Modena by Borso, and in 1473 he married with great pomp the daughter of Ferrante of Aragon, thereby cementing the alliance of Ferrara to Naples. Ercole and his duchess, Eleonora (see cats. 81, 83, 84), were known as much for their acts of public piety as for the lavish lifestyle they maintained. A less sympathetic figure than the refined and cultured Leonello and the vain but politically shrewd and lovable Borso, Ercole left a more enduring mark on the city. No other Renaissance prince undertook a comparably ambitious urban project, in which he doubled the size of Ferrara and endowed it with broad streets and a magnificent series of palaces and churches as well as country residences (*delizie*). In so doing, Ercole set the stage for modern European urbanism (Folin 2006). He also sponsored major theatrical performances, both religious and profane (including the revival of the comedies of Plautus and Terence), and under his rule Ferrara became a leading center of music, attracting the great Franco-Flemish composer Josquin des Prez (for an overview, see Fabbri 2004, pp. 54–56). Keenly aware of the importance of his public image, Ercole balanced princely display with the performance of acts of charity, including the gathering of food for the poor and washing their feet on Maundy Thursday. In emulation of Roman imperial practice, he had the word "divus," signifying "divine" or "godlike," inscribed on his medals and coins. His most ambitious, though never realized, project of self-aggrandizement was a bronze equestrian monument mounted on columns to be set up on one of the squares of his new addition to the city, known to posterity as the Herculean Addition.

The portrait exhibited here was also intended for public rather than private display. It was one of a pair of portrait busts carved in 1475 by Sperandio to decorate the Porta del Barco—the entrance to a large hunting preserve north of the city—and it shows the duke wearing a conical beret and jousting armor (for the document, see A. Venturi 1888b, pp. 390–91). The significance of a second payment in 1476 for two painted images of the duke for the same gate is unclear, but it may imply that the portrait busts were painted. The curved lower edge further suggests that they were set within circular frames and adorned the gateway in the form of a triumphal arch (see Torresi 2007, p. 192). A Latin inscription announced to the awed visitor that Ercole had undertaken this impressive construction for his relaxation from the rigors of ruling the city: MCCCCLXXV / *Quae spatiosa hospes miraris claustra ferarum / Herculis haec magni sunt monumenta Ducis / post obitas regni curas urbisque labores / venatur et placidis hic vacat aucupiis* (see Bacchi in Brussels 2003–4 and Visser Travagli 1980).

Despite the damage to the nose and chin, the portrait is the finest surviving sculpture by Sperandio. As already noted, the image is distinctly programmed for the viewer-guest, and it reminds us of the care Ercole took in constructing his image as ruler. As Werner Gundersheimer (1973, p. 212) has observed, portraits of the duke convey not only majesty, but a "sense of remoteness, detachment, and augmented psychological distance." Here Ercole is shown not as a Roman soldier or contemporary *condottiere*, but as a paradigm of the kind of chivalric knight celebrated by Matteo Maria Boiardo, the greatest literary figure of fifteenth-century Ferrara. It is worth noting that in 1476 Ercole maintained thirty-five huntsmen, eighteen boys, and a man with two assistants to look after the leopards that were a special feature of the entertainments at the Barco (Tuohy 1996, pp. 246–47). By way of contrast, a miniature in a manuscript on the origins of the Este dynasty (see Di Pietro Lombardi in Bentini 2004, p. 281) portrays Ercole in ceremonial garb, regally enthroned, whereas in a lifesize terracotta



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group of the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* from the 1480s, installed in the church of Santa Maria della Rosa, Guido Mazzoni showed the duke in the guise of Joseph of Arimathea, with one hand on his breast, his face contorted in an expression of deep sadness; the duchess is shown as one of the assisting women (Scalini in Modena 2009, pp. 131–32). The varied character of these portraits was obviously determined by their context as well as their intended audience (for a discussion of Ercole's use of portraiture, see Manca 1989).

A closely related portrait relief in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, shows the duke similarly dressed, his beret and armor protruding beyond the borders of the molding of the rectangular background slab. Inscribed OPVS SPERANDEI, it has sometimes been considered the pendant to the bust exhibited here (see, for example, Torresi 2007, p. 192), but it was clearly intended for another, still unidentified context, possibly as an independent portrait relief (see Toffanello 2010, p. 316). Nonetheless, the close resemblance of the two is typical both of Sperandio's manner of working and, more important, of the control Ercole exerted over his likenesses. KC

Provenance Porta del Barco, Ferrara (until 1618); courtyard of the university, Ferrara (until early 20th century); Lapidario Civico, Ferrara; Palazzina di Marfisa d'Este, Ferrara (from 1938)

Selected References Ferrara 1933, pp. 206–7, no. 250; Barbantini 1938, no. 20; Ruhmer 1960, p. 20; Varese 1980, p. 36; Visser Travagli 1980, pp. 213–14; Tuohy 1996, pp. 17, 194; Bacchi in Brussels 2003–4, p. 192; Torresi 2007, pp. 192–94; P. Di Natale in Sgarbi 2006, pp. 158–60; Toffanello 2010, p. 316

Attributed to Cosmè Tura (Cosimo di Domenico di Bonaventura; Ferrara, ca. 1433–1495, Ferrara)

81. *Ercole I d'Este and Eleonora of Aragon*

ca. 1477

Bronze, cast; Diam. 2⅞ in. (7.2 mm)

Inscribed: on obverse, § *DIVI HERCVLIS ESTENSIS · FERRARIE DVCIS* § ([image] of the divine Ercole d'Este, duke of Ferrara); on reverse, *DIVE ELEONORE DE ARAGONIA FERRARIE DVCISSE* ([image] of the divine Eleonora of Aragon, duchess of Ferrara)

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (AV n. 1874)

82. *Alfonso d'Este*

1477

Bronze, cast; Diam. 2⅝ in. (6.8 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *ALFONSVS MARCHIO ESTENSIS* (Alfonso, marquess d'Este); on reverse, on the crib, *·MCCCC LXXVII·* (1477)

Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford (HCR 4563)

On September 1, 1476, Niccolò d'Este, son of Leonello (see cats. 67–70) and his first wife, Margherita Gonzaga, stormed Ferrara with a few hundred men. He made for the Palazzo Ducale, intent on capturing the family of the ruling duke, Ercole d'Este, while he was away hunting at Belriguardo. In the palace, the frightened duchess, Eleonora of Aragon, had the presence of mind to gather up her six-week-old son, Alfonso, and



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flee through an elevated passageway to the comparative safety of the Castello nearby (Caleffini 2006, pp. 180–81). Niccolò found little support in the city and the coup failed; he was executed three days later, thereby conveniently securing Ercole's dynasty. After the birth to Ercole and Eleonora of two daughters, Isabella (see cat. 92) and Beatrice (see cat. 101), the arrival of the longed-for heir, Alfonso, in 1476, was greeted with jubilation by his parents and the city. His birth ensured Este succession and displaced Niccolò's claim to the duchy of Ferrara, a legitimate one that may have prompted his desperate attempt.

As suggested by Marcello Toffanello (in Ferrara 2007–8, pp. 346–48), this pair of medals—the one of baby Alfonso bearing the date 1477—may well have been commissioned in celebration of the safety of the Herculean dynasty in the aftermath of the defeat of Niccolò's plot, a turning point in Ercole d'Este's rule. Although they do not expressly refer to the historical drama, these medals may have functioned as an affirmation that all was well in Ferrara: they show the legitimate ruler and his very well-connected consort, daughter of the king of Naples, looking dignified and in control, while advertising the Hercules-like strength and health of their heir.

Both medals are remarkable for their finely modeled, crisp low relief and realistic portraits, and they have reasonably been attributed to Cosmè Tura by Luke Syson (1999). The reverse of the medal of Alfonso is particularly close to Tura's work in the fictive pseudo-calligraphy around the top and in the form of the infant Hercules, which is comparable to several of Tura's images of the Christ Child (Syson [1999] noted a similarity to the Christ Child in the *Virgin and Child* in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo; a similar body type, though not pose, is also in the *Madonna and Child* in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice: see Ferrara 2007–8, no. 69). Further, the three likenesses on the medals are consistent with Tura's portraiture. As noted by Syson (1999), the portrait of Ercole d'Este is especially close to the *Portrait of a Young Man* (cat. 79) in the hair, the facial construction, and the treatment of the features. In addition, Tura is documented as having painted three portraits of the baby Alfonso d'Este, for which he was paid in October 1477, in connection with negotiations for the baby's betrothal to the sister of the duke of Milan, Anna Sforza (Syson 1999). In the medals, the crisp creases in the garments, especially on the shoulders, are much like those on the doublet of the *Young Man*. And the same type of crisp folds are also on the robe of the Virgin in the *Virgin and Child* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). If, as Toffanello (in Ferrara 2007–8) has pointed out, we consider that Tura, though not documented as a medalist, is known to have made stucco and terracotta reliefs for the chapel at Belriguardo, it does not seem impossible that he actually modeled these medals, in addition to providing the designs for the portraits and the Hercules reverse.

Syson's suggestion (1999) that Tura produced the medals, in addition to the painted portraits, for the betrothal negotiations for Alfonso seems less likely than the alternative proposal that they were made to celebrate Ercole's victory over Niccolò and Alfonso's birth, since paintings were far more effective for transmitting likeness, as suggested by the Tura documents. Medals could be produced in quantity and could be passed easily from hand to hand and over great distances. They were the most easily disseminated form of portraiture and therefore were ideal vehicles for celebrating an occasion and sending a message that would endure over time. The establishment and securing of the Herculean dynasty in Ferrara seems like just such an occasion.

Although Ercole's portrait does not have an extant source, it must depend on a now-lost painting. It conforms in type and in the sitter's features to Sperandio's marriage medal (Hill 1930, no. 366). Eleonora's likeness is close to her miniature portrait on Antonio Cornazzano's manuscript *Del modo di regere e di regnare* (cat. 83), but in reverse. In both portraits, she wears a close-fitting dress with the sleeve split at the shoulder and with a V-neck opening over a high-necked chemise trimmed at the top. Eleonora's distinctive short veil and bangs are also present in Sperandio's marriage medal, in which, however, the dress is much more richly decorated, as befitting the occasion. Small differences in the medallic and painted miniature portraits of Eleonora—the position of the veil, the more mature and realistic features of the sitter in the medal—suggest that they have a common, now-lost source rather than that they are dependent on one another. One of the portraits was reversed from its original model to accommodate the needs of the commission. On the medal, Eleonora faces her husband, who occupies the dexter, or heraldically more prominent, position.

The reverse of the medal of Alfonso d'Este shows an extremely self-possessed infant Hercules strangling two serpents while he calmly reclines on his left elbow in his crib. The rounded bottom edge of the crib fits perfectly within the circular medal, while the elegant curlicues of the serpents echo the intricate and frustratingly mysterious pseudocalligraphy that decorates the top border. The story of the infant Hercules' extraordinary strength, which permitted him to strangle with his bare hands the serpents that the jealous Juno put in his cradle to kill him, is most appropriate for a celebration of Herculean survival after an attempted coup. The medallic reverse advertises Alfonso as a second Hercules, a compliment as much for the father as for the son. EL

Selected References Hill 1930, nos. 117, 118; Syson 1999; Stephen Campbell in Boston 2002, pp. 246–49; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 84; Marcello Toffanello in Ferrara 2007–8, pp. 346–48

Attributed to Cosmè Tura (Cosimo di Domenico di Bonaventura; Ferrara, ca. 1433–1495, Ferrara)

83. *Eleonora of Aragon,* from Antonio Cornazzano's *Del modo di regere e di regnare*

ca. 1478–79

Tempera and gold on velum, 9½ × 6¼ in. (24 × 16 cm)
(for a codicological description of the contents of the manuscript, see Saffiotti in Ferrara 1998, p. 232)

Inscribed with the dedication: *A LA ILLVSTRISS*[ima]*·ET EX/CEL*[entisi]*MA· M*[adonn]*A·LEONORA DARA/GONA·DV*[chessa]*·DI·FERR*[ar]*AŘDEL/MODO· DI REGERE·E DI RE/GNARE·ANT*[oni]*O·CORNAZANO·*

The Morgan Library and Museum, New York (Ms M.731, f. 2v)

Antonio Cornazzano's treatise on the manner of ruling was in all probability composed between September 1478 and February 1479, in response to Eleonora's taking the reins of government during the absence of her husband, Duke Ercole I d'Este (Musso 1997, pp. 76–78). Such treatises were commonly dedicated to rulers; what makes this one unusual is the fact that it was dedicated to a woman and, indeed, takes Eleonora as an *exemplum*: "To make a Paradise in this life and a golden age of our century, I ask your help, lofty Lady. Lend me your living example" (Per fare un Paradiso in questa vita / e l'aurea età ridure al secol nostro, / Madonna excelsa, a Voi dimando aìta. Imprestimi l'exempio el viver vostro; Proemio, verses 1–4). Like her famous daughter, Isabella d'Este, Eleonora had a forceful personality and proved herself an able substitute when her husband was absent or ill, as, for example, when Leonello d'Este's son attempted to usurp power in 1476, or when Ercole lay in bed perilously close to death during the war with Venice in 1482.

Viewed through a pink frame lit from the right, the duchess is shown in strict profile, her pinched features silhouetted against a rich blue background. She wears an elegantly embroidered variation of a *cappuccino alla francese* and a gold-threaded dress with a slit for her arm, which is raised so that, with notable nonchalance, her gloved hand can receive a rod or scepter of rulership from God's hand (on the gesture, see Gundersheimer 1993, p. 13). She gazes straight ahead, aloof and purposeful, clearly singled out by divine intervention to rule. As noted by Joseph Manca (2000, p. 38), the emphasis in Cornazzano's text "on the virtues of justice, prudence, wisdom, and strength—moral qualities necessary for rulership—are reflected in this seigneurial image of Eleonora."

A LA ILLVSTRISS ET EX
EL M M LEONORA DRA
GON DV D FERR E DL
MOD DRE GERE EDRE
GNRE ANT ORNZAN



The stylized portrait has much in common both with Cosmè Tura's portrayal of an Este youth (cat. 79) and with the medal of Eleonora attributed to him (cat. 81). Although in the medal the duchess's neck is less elongated and she seems stouter, there really can be no doubt that the miniature, too, is Tura's invention. The only question is whether he painted it himself or whether a professional miniaturist, such as Guglielmo Giraldi or Jacopo Filippo Argenta—prominent miniaturists employed by the Este court—worked from a design or prototype by the artist. (Tura is documented as having made portraits of various members of the ducal family, but not one of Eleonora.) Both positions have been argued: for example, Manca and Stephen Campbell support Tura's authorship, while Daniele Benati, Luke Syson, and Fabrizio Lollini favor a follower working from Tura's design. Tura is not documented as a miniaturist, but he often worked on a miniature scale. Moreover, a series of illuminations for choir books seems to have directly involved him (see Kanter in Ferrara 1998, pp. 148–56; Lollini 1999, pp. 203–11), and some of them seem to be contemporary with the miniature in Cornazzano's treatise. It has been proposed, very tentatively, that the choir books were made for the Franciscan church of Corpus Domini, much frequented by Eleonora, who was buried there (Touhy 1996, p. 373). Two objections to Tura's authorship of the Cornazzano miniature have been made: that it does not show the horror vacui so characteristic of his religious paintings, and that there is a simplification in the modeling, especially of the pallid face. Yet surely the iconography of the scene no less than the layout of the dedication page dictated the composition, and while the delicately modeled face of the duchess has a precise parallel in the portrait head of a youth by Tura—so unlike the strongly articulated features of his saints and hermits—its pallor relates to prevailing conventions of female beauty. Certainly the corrugated folds of the drapery, delicately highlighted with gold striations, and the knobby drawing of the gloved fingers are typical of Tura's work. Thus, although it would be unwise to eliminate entirely the possibility that Tura employed a miniaturist to carry out his design—collaboration was not uncommon at the Este court—on balance it seems more likely that he painted this exquisite miniature himself. The treatise must have had personal significance for the duchess and is listed in the postmortem inventory of her library. As with Pisanello, so here we seem to have an example of a court painter adapting his style for the requisites of the medium, function, and identity of the sitter he was engaged to portray. KC

Provenance Eleonora of Aragon, Ferrara (until 1493, inv. no. 29); Antoine-Augustin Renouard, Paris (by 1819); Sir George Holford, Dorchester House, London (by 1894–d. 1926); J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr. (purchased 1927); The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

Selected References Berenson 1907, p. 297; Manca 1991, pp. 17–18; S. Campbell 1997, p. 24; Musso 1997, pp. 86–87; Benati 1998, pp. 232–34; Lollini 1999, pp. 213–14; Syson 1999, p. 228; Manca 2000, pp. 37–38, 146–47 (with earlier bibliography); Campbell in Boston 2002, p. 241–43; Syson in Boston 2002, p. 51; Toffanello in Ferrara 2007–8, p. 348

Attributed to Sperandio of Mantua (Sperandio di Bartolommeo Savelli; Mantua, ca. 1425/28–after 1504, Venice)

84. *Eleonora of Aragon*

ca. 1475
Marble, 11¼ × 9¼ in. (28.5 × 23.5 cm)
Inscribed: along bottom, *DI*[v]*A HELIONORA* (divine Eleonora)
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-16977)

This marble relief of Eleonora of Aragon (1450–1493), duchess of Ferrara, is remarkable for its small scale and the shallowness of the carving. In both respects the analogies are with painted



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portraits rather than sculpted ones. The daughter of Ferrante of Aragon is shown in sharp profile but with her torso slightly angled so that her right shoulder and sleeve are visible, a detail that adds to the illusionistic depth of the relief; one need only compare the composition to the medal of the duchess attributed to Cosmè Tura (cat. 81) or to the miniature on the frontispiece of Cornazzano's *Del modo di regere e di regnare* (cat. 83) to see the difference. Compared with these portraits, the duchess seems stockier—more in keeping with the unflattering description of her by a contemporary: "small and of short stature, heavy and fat, the head broad and the neck short" (see Manca 2003, p. 81). She is also more richly dressed than she appears on a medal made by Sperandio to commemorate her marriage to Ercole d'Este, in July 1473 (see Hill 1930, no. 366, and Vienna 1994, p. 29, no. 2). There, too, she wears an elaborate brocade dress with a square bodice and a head-covering trimmed with jewels, evidently inspired by the French chaperon (or *cappuccino alla francese*). In addition to the chain with a pendant seen here, in the medal she also wears a string of pearls. The pendant in the relief was evidently inset with an actual jewel or glass ornament meant to represent the Este diamond. Like the medal, in which the duchess uncharacteristically occupies the dexter position normally reserved for the husband, the relief probably commemorated the ducal marriage and was most likely intended to be paired with a companion relief of her husband. The epithet "diva," or divine, is in emulation of Roman imperial practice and was employed in portrait medals of Ercole.

This relief was published by Adolfo Venturi (1888b, p. 393) and has appeared sporadically in the literature as the work of Sperandio, who was employed as a sculptor and medalist by a succession of Este rulers between 1445 and 1477, when he moved first to Faenza and then to Bologna, returning to Ferrara only in 1491 (for a biographical summary, see Toffanello 2010, pp. 315–17). The problem with this attribution is that the work so little resembles Sperandio's only signed portrait relief (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and a related portrait bust (cat. 80), both of which show Ercole d'Este. The portrait bust once decorated the Porta del Barco, outside the city, a commission for which Sperandio was paid in 1475. In comparison with these portraits, especially the example in the Louvre, the marble relief of Eleonora is more static and formal in character. In the Louvre portrait the figure is carved in high relief, with strong undercutting. Dynamically posed, the duke's beret and armor protrude in front of the frame molding, greatly animating the space. This approach seems at the furthest remove from the shallow, pictorial carving of the duchess. Small wonder that Jean de Foville (1910, p. 16), author of the most consequential study of Sperandio, considered the attribution of the relief of the duchess uncertain.

Because of the pictorial character of the relief, which may have originally been painted, it is worth noting that when Sperandio went to Faenza in 1477 to work for Carlo II Manfredi, he cited his ability to work in marble, bronze, terracotta, and lead as well as his ability "to make drawings, paintings and goldsmith work" (A. Venturi 1888b, p. 392). Although this assertion might evoke an artist accomplished in all media and could suggest that the character of the marble relief reflects his practice as a painter, an examination of Sperandio's medals makes it clear that at times he took his designs from the work of other artists. For example, for his medal commemorating Ercole and Eleonora's marriage, he probably derived the duke's likeness from a medal by Baldassare d'Este (see Hill 1930, no. 100). Indeed, wherever Sperandio's subjects adopt an unusual pose—as in his medal of Francesco Sforza (Hill 1930, no. 361), where the figure is depicted in three-quarter view—there is generally a suspicion that he based the composition on a work by another artist. Among the painters with whom he may have collaborated is Cosmè Tura (Torresi 2007, p. 194). If there is any validity to these analogies, then we have yet another example of the fluid exchange between artists working in different media and their ability to modify their styles to suit the function and context of a commissioned work. KC

Provenance G. Dreyfus, Paris; Dr. Fritz Mannheimer, Amsterdam; on loan to the Rijksmuseum from the Dienst voor's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen [Netherlands State Art Object Collections Service, now Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage], The Hague (from 1952); transferred to the Rijksmuseum (1960)

Selected References A. Venturi 1888b, p. 393; Vitry 1907, p. 24; Foville 1910, pp. 16, 18; Ruhmer 1960, p. 20; Pane 1977, p. 85; Kruft 1995, p. 131; Torresi 2007, pp. 194–95, 202 n. 40

Ferrarese school

85. *Tito Vespasiano Strozzi*

ca. 1500

Speculum metal, 7½ × 6¼ in. (19 × 16 cm)

Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford (WA 1899.CDEF.B801)

This thickset, knob-nosed man appears in profile on nearly ten plaques, of which the Oxford example is the finest. He wears a collared jacket (or *vesta*) and close-fitting cap (or *berretto*) in each, but the plaques vary in metal, shape, and modeling (see



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Lloyd 1987 for extant and lost examples). Unlike the Oxford version, most carry the inscription TITVS STROCIVS, which identifies the sitter as Tito Vespasiano Strozzi (1422–1505), a well-known courtier of the ruling Este family in Ferrara. A pupil of the renowned scholar Guarino da Verona (cat. 72), Strozzi is among the educated elite accompanying Leonello d'Este (see cats. 67–70) in Angelo Decembrio's *De politia litteraria* (written by 1462). He enjoyed the favor of Leonello's successors, Borso and Ercole I d'Este (see cats. 75–78; 80, 81), who arranged his marriage to a noblewoman and awarded him various diplomatic and gubernatorial posts. He was celebrated most for his Latin poetry, in particular his *Borsiade*, honoring Borso's life and rule (Gruyer 1890, pp. 73–75). Strozzi also devoted an elegy to the renowned painter and medalist Pisanello (see cat. 66), whose portrait of the poet is referenced in the closing lines (see Lloyd 1987, pp. 110–11; Mesdjian 1995). Even if Pisanello had, in fact, executed such a portrait, it could not have served as a model for the plaques, which show the sitter older than he would have been during Pisanello's lifetime (Heiss 1881–87, vol. 1, p. 42). Indeed, in the Oxford plaque Strozzi must be near the end of his life.

A more youthful Strozzi is depicted in a panel portrait by the Ferrarese court painter Baldassare d'Este (Cini collection, Venice) and a medal signed by Sperandio (e.g., Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford). Since Gustave Gruyer (1897, p. 591) first associated these works with the plaques, their possible attribution to Sperandio has been taken up and most vigorously argued by Christopher Lloyd (1987). But as Jeremy Warren notes (1999, p. 54), the Oxford plaque seems to be the work of another artist of the Ferrarese milieu. The modulation of volumes in the neck and face, and the sense of varied textures—as in the dry, scraggly hair and smooth pouches of heavy, sagging skin—differ from the more regularized treatment of forms and details found in Sperandio's medallic portraits (see, for example, cat. 90).

The polished reverse of the Oxford plaque suggests it may have been used as a mirror, as was the case with a self-portrait medal by the Roman medalist Lysippus the Younger (e.g., The British Museum, London) whose dual function is made plain by the legend "Admire on one side your own beautiful face, and on the other that of your servant" (see Syson in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, p. 121, no. 36). While Lysippus's medal was likely a love token, the plaque seems better suited to a nobleman in his study (or *studiolo*) alongside books, ancient coins, bronze statuettes, and other precious items that embody



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erudite interests and inspire the pursuit of virtue (Thornton 1997). On the front, the plaque offers the accomplished elder poet for contemplation, and on the back, the opportunity to compare oneself in the mirror. Milanese humanist Sabba da Castiglione recommended just this sort of reflective meditation to the scholar in his *Ricordi*, written some decades later (Thornton 1997, p. 171, 173–74; Castiglione 1562, ricordo 19).

JLV

Provenance Purchased by C. D. E. Fortnum, London (1858); bequeathed to Ashmolean Museum (1899)

Selected References Hill 1930, no. 125; Lloyd 1987, pp. 107–9, figs. 16, 17; Warren 1999, pp. 54–55, no. 13

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

86. *Gianfrancesco Gonzaga*

ca. 1447

Bronze, cast; Diam. 3⅞ in. (9.8 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *CAPIT·MAXI·ARMIGERORVM·// ·IOHANES·FR ANCISCVS / ·DE·GON ZAGA // ·PRIMVS·MARCHIO·MANTVE·* (Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, commander in chief of the armed forces, first marquess of Mantua); on reverse, *OPVS· / PISANI / PICTO / RI / S* (the work of the painter Pisano)

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18200129)

A successful military captain and a key figure in consolidating Gonzaga rule of Mantua, Gianfrancesco (1395–1444) obtained, in 1433, the hereditary title of marquess from Emperor Sigismund after payment of 12,000 florins (Cicinelli 1994–95, p. 62). Gianfrancesco was attuned to the value of culture in promoting the family's stature. He hired the humanist Vittorino da Feltre to educate his children (both boys and girls; see cats. 87, 88), forming La Casa Giocosa, where many rulers and intellectuals were educated. In 1435 Leon Batista Alberti dedicated his *De Pictura* to Gianfrancesco, and the aged Brunelleschi visited Mantua to advise the marquess (Lazzarini 2000).

The date of the medal shown here has been the subject of much debate, with a consensus lately developing for about 1447 on the basis of the medal's close stylistic similarity with one of Gianfrancesco's son Ludovico, on which Ludovico is identified as marquess of Mantua, establishing a terminus post quem of September 1444 (Hill 1931, no. 20; Gasparotto in Verona 1996, pp. 394–95; London 2001–2, pp. 45, 113; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 25–26). Since it seems likely that it was Ludovico, as head of the family, who commissioned the 1447 medal of his sister Cecilia, the present medal is seen as part of a program of family celebration by the second marquess of Mantua.

The seventeenth-century historian Antonio Possevino recorded the existence of a medal of Gianfrancesco, believed to have been made for his elevation to the marquessate on September 22, 1433 (Magnaguti 1965, p. 87; Gasparotto in Verona 1996, pp. 394–95). No examples of the medal survive, but its



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existence is significant as an indication that medals may have been produced (possibly even by Pisanello) before that of John VIII Palaeologus of about 1438–39.

In the present medal Gianfrancesco is celebrated both as a prince and as a military leader. On the obverse the marquess appears opulently dressed with a large, almost flamboyant hat decorated on the fur border with a large pearl, while on the sleeve of his brocaded overdress is a large and intricate pattern, unfortunately illegible. Gianfrancesco's role as military commander, which is stressed in the inscription, is the subject of the reverse, where he wears field armor, holds the baton of command, and sits astride a powerful steed that is barely contained by the frame of the medal (London 2001–2, p. 65). A dwarf squire, similarly attired for war, is seen from the back, giving Pisanello the opportunity to present a wonderfully foreshortened view of the horse. Gianfrancesco's mysterious device of a large doorknocker or handle (Signorini 1996, pp. 60–61) is suspended in the field next to his head. The medal's reverse is sometimes seen as related to a charming drawing (Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 2595) in which a mounted figure in armor is accompanied by two diminutive squires as well as an elegant damsel (London 2001–2, pp. 43–45). As pointed out by Dominique Cordellier (in Paris 1996, p. 146), the poses must both derive from a common repertory drawing. The motif of the dwarf squire in association with the doorknocker is also present in Pisanello's unfinished Arthurian frescoes in the Palazzo Ducale of Mantua (Signorini 1996, p. 61). Neither the drawing nor the frescoes are securely datable and have little bearing on the date of the medal (Gasparotto in Verona 1996, pp. 394–95), since Pisanello reused motifs in his works, especially portraits. EL

Selected References Hill 1930, no. 20; Hill 1931, no. 2; Annarita Mandrioli in Milan 1991, vol. 1, pp. 98–100; Luke Syson in Mantua 1994, pp. 475–76; Massimo Rossi in Mantua 1995, pp. 394–95; Davide Gasparotto in Verona 1996, pp. 394–95; Rugolo 1996, pp. 163–65; Börner 1997, p. 20, no. 6; London 2001–2, pp. 43–45, 65, 113; Paola Giovetti in Mantua 2006, pp. 381; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 25–26

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

87. *Cecilia Gonzaga*

1447

Bronze, cast; Diam. 3¼ in. (6.6 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *CICILIA·VIRGO·FILIA·IOHANNIS·FRANCI SCI·PRIMI·MARCHIONIS·MANTVE* (Cecilia, the maiden daughter of Gianfrancesco, first marquess of Mantua); on reverse, on the stele, *OPVS / PISAN / I·PICT / ORIS· /·M· / CCCC / XLVII* (the work of the painter Pisano, 1447)

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Ital. 572.15)

The humanist Ambrogio Traversari was referring to Cecilia Gonzaga (1426–1451) in a letter of about 1435 when he marveled that "There was also a ten-year old girl, daughter of the

prince, who writes so well in Greek that I was embarrassed thinking about how many I have taught who can barely write [vernacular] elegantly" (Faccioli 1962, p. 25; Luciano in Washington 2001–2, p. 120 n. 3). This was high praise coming from one of the leading Greek scholars of the day (Tarducci 1897, p. 10 n. 3), all the more so because it was bestowed on a girl. The daughter of the marquess of Mantua, Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (see cat. 86), Cecilia must have had extraordinary talents. Although nothing survives from her hand to demonstrate her achievements, she was extensively praised for her learning by an impressive array of intellectuals: Vittorino da Feltre (her teacher; see cat. 88), Traversari, Vespasiano da Bisticci, Gregorio Correr, Costanza Varano, Francesco Prendilacqua, and Sassuolo Pratese (Tarducci 1897, pp. 10–11). Having overcome strenuous opposition from her father, who had betrothed her at the age of two to Oddantonio da Montefeltro, Cecilia became a cloistered Clarissan nun in 1445. Pisanello's medal, his only one of a woman, must owe to her extraordinary merit rather than her dynastic role, which was the most common motivation for portraits of women. In 1447, the date on the medal, Pisanello could not have seen Sister Clare ("sor Giara," as she became; Signorini 1996, p. 71) to take her likeness. The likeness must therefore depend on an earlier drawing, possibly even one of a different sitter, such as her kinswoman in Pisanello's painted *Portrait of a Princess* in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (London 2001–2, pp. 102–5; Luciano in Washington 2001–2, pp. 119–20; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 30–31). Indeed, in the medal Cecilia wears not a nun's habit, but elegant court dress.

Although the medal was probably commissioned to honor Cecilia's erudition, in it she is celebrated for the traditional feminine virtue of chastity. The reverse alludes to this in both classical and Christian terms: in medieval lore the mythical unicorn (whose twined horn was thought to symbolize the unity of God the Father and Son) could be tamed only by a virgin (London 2001–2, p. 117; Luciano in Washington 2001–2, p. 119, n. 6). But this seminude virgin is likely derived from a classical source and refers to the chaste goddess Diana, with her moon, and her association with the unicorn echoes Cecilia's union with Christ.

This, the first medal of a woman, is one of Pisanello's most successful medals, brilliantly integrating the two sides to form a balanced and complementary whole: the strong vertical element of the portrait in the middle of the halolike inscription is opposite and perpendicular to the tranquil horizontal form of the unicorn and landscape on the reverse. Where on the obverse, to either side of the portrait, there is empty space, on the reverse the two parallel vertical elements of the seated figure and the stele frame the sky and the small sickle of the moon, which in turn echoes the circular shape of the medal as well as the obverse inscription, both in its form and in its allusion to the chaste Diana. The formal perfection of the medal is achieved with the elegant and taut tension between perpendicular and circular elements, mass and void, vertical and horizontal. Here the distinctive challenging characteristics of the medal format, double-sided and circular, are necessary and enhancing elements of the work of art. EL

Selected References Hill 1930, no. 37; Anna Cavallaro in Rome 1988, pp. 101–2; Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 52–53; Massimo Rossi in Mantua 1995, pp. 396–97; Sylvie de Turckheim-Pey in Paris 1996, p. 407; Davide Gasparotto in Verona 1996, pp. 396–97; Signorini 1996, pp. 67–71; Eleonora Luciano in Washington 2001–2, pp. 119–20; Luke Syson in London 2001–2, pp. 116–17; Paola Giovetti in Mantua 2006, pp. 385–86; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 30–31

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

88. *Vittorino da Feltre*

ca. 1446

Copper alloy, cast; Diam. 2⅝ in. (6.6 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, · *VICTORINVS · FELT RENSIS · SVMMVS* (Victorinus of Feltre, most distinguished); on reverse, *MATHEMATICVS · ET · OMNIS · HVMANITATIS · PATER* (mathematician and father of all the humanists) / · *OPVS · PISANI PICTO RIS* · (the work of Pisano the painter)

Collection of Stephen K. and Janie Woo Scher, New York

Vittorino da Feltre was one of the most beloved and dedicated educators in fifteenth-century Italy. The son of a notary, he was born in 1378 in Feltre, north of Venice, and in the years between 1390 and 1415 he studied in Padua, where he also taught Latin and tutored in mathematics. In 1415, he went to Venice to learn Greek from Guarino da Verona (see cat. 72) and George of Trebizond, in turn teaching Latin to the latter. It was Guarino, the founder of a school in Ferrara under the rule of the Este family, who recommended Vittorino to the neighboring Gonzaga in Mantua. Both Guarino and Vittorino established the curriculum of the *studia humanitatis*, bringing to fruition theories of learning and education that began with Petrarch, were based ultimately on the values of Cicero, and were calculated to develop worthy citizens and wise and moderate rulers.



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When Vittorino arrived in Mantua in 1423, he was given a building, a former pleasure house, in the gardens of the Gonzaga Castello di San Giorgio for his school, which he promptly, and with some humor, named La Casa Giocosa (Playful or Merry House). In contrast to the lavish and luxurious activities that had formerly been organized in the building, Vittorino introduced into his school severe discipline, simple habits, plain clothing, and modest dining. He developed a well-rounded curriculum combined with a schedule of physical activities. He did not believe in corporal punishment, and he seems to have treated his charges with a combination of severity and benevolent understanding, for which he earned their lasting gratitude and devotion.

Having been provided with the means to maintain the school and a generous salary, Vittorino felt an obligation to offer an education to those who could not afford to enter the Casa Giocosa. These he paid for out of his own pocket, often exceeding his salary but always compensated by his Gonzaga patron.

He was primarily a learned pedagogue rather than a scholar, since he seems never to have published. Yet other humanists, who often regarded each other with jealousy and spite, universally respected him. His life was devoted entirely to his students, and it is this outstanding characteristic that Pisanello chose to highlight in his medal.

Pisanello depicted Vittorino with the gentle affection his subject inspired: the famous teacher is shown with a lean, grizzled face, an intense gaze, a faintly bemused smile, an undecorated robe, and a plain hat. More than any other artist of his time, Pisanello was lauded by poets and humanists, who emphasized, in a formula that persisted throughout much of the history of art, the verisimilitude of his images. Such is the case of a poem by Basinio da Parma (1425–1457) regarding a portrait of his teacher, Vittorino, though whether he is describing a medal or a painting is uncertain given the descriptive license of these literary exercises:

> Father Vittorino, glory of the Roman language, thou too shalt live through the genius of Pisanello. This was thy appearance, this thy countenance as on the man; and he has also portrayed with skill the gravitas of a Caesar and his white hair; the seriousness of his face is the same, and so is his head; and you might believe that he could even speak through his mouth; the portrait struck terror even in me who was his pupil, and admonished boldness of spirit; and I was greatly dumbstruck. For a moment I had the illusion thou wert once more alive, great Vittorino, and boundless was the joy I felt (Corradini in Mann and Syson 1998, pp. 25, 194, n. 17).

On the reverse, the artist characterized his subject with an image rich in implications. Although the birds might appear somewhat generic, there is little doubt that we have a representation in the tradition of medieval Christian symbolism of the Pelican in Her Piety. According to legend, the pelican kills its young, and then brings them back to life again after three days by opening its breast and sprinkling them with its own blood. In another version, the bird feeds its young by opening its breast and allowing the chicks to drink its blood. In both cases the pelican is a symbol of the Passion of Christ, in which God the Father resurrects His Son after three days. Pisanello adapted this appropriate Christian symbol to represent the dedicated educator. Perhaps to identify more precisely the family whose fledglings Vittorino nourished and who, in turn, supported him, the artist included what is certainly a sunflower, one of the Gonzaga emblems, twice on the reverse—at the top and following his signature.

Among all the subjects whose importance was celebrated and immortalized in portrait medals—emperors and kings, princes and lords, highborn ladies, ecclesiastics, mercenary solders, powerful and wealthy politicians, and merchants—a

significant place was given to the humanists and educators who provided the foundation for, and supported the interest in, the revival of the culture of ancient Greece and Rome. Portraits of these men, both painted and medallic, presented them according to no consistent pattern, in contemporary garb, as here, or dressed *all'antica* in homage to the focus of their discipline.

There is usually little or no specific documentation to determine whether the way the subject is presented and the choice of imagery on the reverse, which often contains classical allusions, were determined by the patron, an adviser, the subject, the artist, or a combination of these. All worked for courts in which the study of classical antiquity was a focus of activity. However, it is reasonable to think that Vittorino's medal was commissioned from Pisanello by Ludovico Gonzaga on the occasion of Vittorino's death in 1446. SKS

Provenance Nicolier collection, Paris (until 1995; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 7, 1995, no. 191); John R. Gaines collection (until 1995; his estate sale, Morton and Eden, London, April 21, 2005); Larry Stack collection (until 2005; sale, Morton and Eden, London, December 9, 2009)

Selected References Armand 1883–87, vol. 1, p. 8, no. 24; Hill 1905, pp. 104, 175–77, 180, 189, 233; Woodward 1912, pp. 1–92; Hill 1930, pp. 6, 11, no. 38; Brussels 1954–55 (1963 ed.), p. 11, no. 172, pl. 18; Pope-Hennessy 1966, pp. 70–71; Baxandall 1971, pp. 127–29, pl. 9a; Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, p. 53, no. 8; Paris 1996, p. 405, no. 280; London 2001–2, pp. 118–19; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 28–29, nos. 18, 19

Andrea Mantegna (Isola di Carturo, 1430/31–1506, Mantua)

89. *Francesco Gonzaga*

ca. 1461

Tempera on wood, 9⅞ × 7⅛ in. (25 × 18 cm)

Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples (Q.60)

So different is this refined and delicately executed profile portrait from Mantegna's depiction of Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan (cat. 142) that occasional doubts about its status have been expressed (Luke Syson [2009], elaborating upon a position argued by Creighton Gilbert [1962] but rejected by most subsequent scholars, thinks it a copy, possibly unrelated to Mantegna). Key to understanding the picture is the tradition of courtly portraiture established by Pisanello. The size and format of Mantegna's picture are virtually identical to that of Pisanello's portrait of Leonello d'Este (cat. 70), except that Mantegna simplified the silhouette, generalized the features (which have suffered somewhat from abrasion), and eliminated the floral embellishment, setting the figure against a plain, dark background, in the manner of a precious cameo. He aimed to achieve the effect of a shallow, delicately modeled relief, or *basso rilievo*, but he did so by emphasizing the descriptive properties of painting with which no sculptural relief can compete: the tight gathering of the surplice and collar; the delicate modulation of light on the face.

The picture is first recorded in the collection of Fulvio Orsini—antiquarian, collector, and librarian to the Farnese family—as a "portrait of a Gonzaga cardinal, on a small panel by Giovanni Bellini" (Hochmann 1993, pp. 52, 80: "ritratto d'un cardinal Gonazga, in un quadretto di mano di Gio. Bellini"). It was recognized as the work of Mantegna by Gustavo Frizzoni (1895), who commented on the "classical fineness of the contour and modeling that suggests something sculpted." He identified the sitter as the young Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483), second-born son of Ludovico Gonzaga. Francesco was destined for the Church: in 1454 he was appointed protonotary apostolic, and in December 1461 he was made a cardinal despite being only sixteen (see Signorini 1985, pp. 34–41). Francesco could have sat for Mantegna between January and March 1461, when he returned to Mantua from Pavia, where he was studying, prior to leaving for Rome to receive his cardinal's cap (en route he did not shave, evidently in an effort to appear older).

Alternatively, the sitter has been identified as Francesco's younger brother Ludovico (1460–1511), who at the age of nine was appointed papal protonotary and was later bishop of Mantua (see especially Agosti and Servi in Paris 2008–9). The images we possess of Francesco all show him as an adult. Ludovico, in contrast, appears on one wall of the Camera Picta as a nine- or ten-year-old and on the other as a fourteen-year-old; a medallic portrait is dated 1475 (see also the essay by Beverly Louise Brown in this volume, pp. 40–43). To judge from these, Ludovico had a straight nose, rather thin lips, and close-set eyes, quite unlike Francesco's full, sensual lips, nose with a bump and wide nostrils, and broad, slightly slanting eyes. The physiognomy of the Naples portrait seems clearly to relate to Francesco's features, not Ludovico's. (Recently a series of miniature portraits formerly in Ambras Castle, Innsbruck, and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, has been introduced into the discussion, but they derive from Mantegna's frescoes in the Camera Picta and have no bearing on the identification of the sitter in the Naples portrait.) This means, of course, that the picture would date from Mantegna's first years at Mantua and would be more or less contemporary with



the portrait of Cardinal Trevisan. As Paul Kristeller noted, "it is to this point in Mantegna's career that the picture would have to be assigned, even if all other evidence were lacking" (1901, p. 173).

It should be emphasized that the profile image carried heraldic connotations that went well beyond the much-cited reference to ancient coins, and which assured its continued vogue for court portraits. For example, on the west wall of the Camera Picta, Mantegna showed the marquess, Ludovico, and his heir, Federigo, facing each other in strict profile (see fig. 19): the marquess in the privileged position of the heraldic right (the viewer's left), his right hand raised in ceremonial greeting. Between them is grouped Cardinal Francesco, shown almost full-face, holding the hand of his younger brother, Ludovico, who is depicted in three-quarter view. Next to the marquess and also in strict profile is his oldest grandson and heir, Francesco II. Other figures are shown in profile or three-quarter view to give animation and variety to the scene. But it remains clear that plausible dialogue and eye contact among the figures have been sacrificed to an illustration of dynastic succession. In other words, Mantegna subordinated his fiction of a seemingly informal meeting to matters of court hierarchy. The Naples portrait, too, celebrates dynastic ambition: the creation of a Gonzaga cardinal. But it also provided a much desired memento of a child about to be sent to Rome for a prolonged period of time, thus substituting for the real presence of the child a pictorial one—much like the portrait of her son that Isabella d'Este was to commission from Francesco Francia more than half a century later (cat. 93). KC

Provenance Fulvio Orsini, Rome (until 1600); Odoardo Farnese, Rome (1600–1626); Farnese collection, Rome (until 1760); Charles Bourbon, king of Naples, Palazzo Reale di Capodimonte, Naples (1760–88); Palazzo di Capodimonte, Naples (before 1806); Palazzo degli Studi (by 1806–1957; in 1816 the Palazzo degli Studi became the Real Museo Borbonico and in 1860 the Museo Nazionale); Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte (from 1957)

Selected References Frizzoni 1895, p. 24; Kristeller 1901, p. 173; Gilbert 1962, pp. 6, 164; Lightbown 1986, pp. 410–11; Christiansen in London–New York 1992, pp. 335–36; De Nicoló Salmazo 2004, p. 147; Santucci 2004, p. 98; Agosti 2005, p. 467 n. 25; Gasparotto 2006, p. 60; Mantua 2006–7, p. 66; Servi in Paris 2008–9, p. 198; Syson 2009, p. 535 n. 36

Sperandio of Mantua (Sperandio di Bartolommeo Savelli; Mantua, ca. 1425/28–after 1504, Venice)

90. *Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga*

ca. 1483

Bronze, cast; Diam. 3⅜ in. (92.8 mm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *FRAN*[ciscus] · *GO*[n]*ZAGA* · *CAR*[dinalis] · *MA*[n]*T*[uanus] · *LIBERALI TATIS* · *AC* · *RO*[man]*E* · *ECC*[les]*IE* · *IVBAR* (Francesco Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, splendor of liberality and of the Roman Church); on reverse, *OPVS SPERANDEI* (the work of Sperandio), at base of pyramid [A]*ENIGMATA* (riddles)

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18216322)

On March 24, 1462, the young Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483), second son of Ludovico III, the second marquess of Mantua, received the red hat of a cardinal that had been granted to him by Pope Pius II the preceding December. He would be the first of nine cardinals in the Gonzaga family, which, however, never achieved a papal tiara. Francesco had been appointed a protonotary apostolic in 1454, but by 1461, he was considered too young to achieve the cardinalate until Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (cat. 109) intervened with Pope Pius through Francesco's great-uncle Prince Elector Albrecht III of Brandenburg. It is generally accepted that Mantegna's portrait of a young ecclesiastic of the Gonzaga family (cat. 89) depicts Francesco as a protonotary. Mantegna represented Francesco once again in the *Meeting Scene* in the Camera Picta of the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua. There he is probably in his early twenties, already showing in his fleshy features and corpulent body signs of his indulgent life. Finally, on the obverse of Sperandio's medal, Francesco is shown about the time of his death in 1483, at the age of thirty-nine, wearing the *zucchetto* (skullcap) and *mozzetta* (short, hooded cape) of a cardinal.

Francesco is described in the legend on the obverse as the "splendor of liberality and of the Roman Church." This could refer to both his spiritual and his temporal attributes: to his lavish lifestyle as a collector of art and antiques, patron of literature, and connoisseur of music and to his generosity toward the poor as well as his devotion to the Virgin Mary. He amassed a considerable library and was intimate with some of the most illustrious scholars and philosophers of his day. As with so many other contemporary ecclesiastics, he led the life of a secular ruler and had an illegitimate son, who was called "il Cardinalino." Although the medallic portrait resembles Mantegna's masterful presentation in the Camera Picta, it has none of the individuality and lifelike expression of the



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fresco. It is, in fact, one of Sperandio's less forceful and engaging portraits.

The reverse refers to Francesco's political and military activities, but its imagery is somewhat obscure and has inspired a variety of explanations. A lynx sits before a pyramid that blocks its view of a panoply of arms lying on the ground: a cuirass, a shield, a bow in its case, and a quiver of arrows. At the tip of the pyramid, this same group of arms is reflected in the clouds. Set into the base of the pyramid is an oblong depression with the word *enigmata* (mysteries or riddles). According to ancient belief as recorded in the *Hieroglyphica* of Pierio Valeriano, the lynx was reputed to have extraordinary vision, being able to see not only long distances and through solid objects, but also, reflected in the sky, objects hidden from it. Here the pyramid blocks the animal's vision of the panoply at its base, which is nonetheless visible in its reflection in the clouds above. This refers not only to the cardinal's sharp intellect, but also to his vigilance and military skills as a papal legate.

The pyramid itself has been explained as a symbol of the ascent of knowledge as given by God, from the mundane to the transcendental. In this context, the word *enigmata* has been associated with 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see through a glass, darkly . . . ," but it has also been thought to refer to the acute vision of the lynx, reinforcing the message of the qualities of the cardinal.

Sperandio was an artist of many talents—medalist, painter, goldsmith, architect, cannon founder, and sculptor—but he is known primarily for his medallic output. He was born in Mantua and grew up in Ferrara, where he worked for a time, subsequently moving on to Faenza and then Bologna, finally returning to Mantua and Ferrara. His final journey was to Venice, where he worked as a cannon founder at the Arsenale and where he probably died in 1504.

With forty-eight medals to his credit, Sperandio was among the most productive of fifteenth-century medalists. Goethe, in an essay published in 1810, considered him to have been the greatest of all Renaissance medalists, overshadowing even Pisanello (Gans 1969, pp. v, 6–7), but later opinions have placed him in a more modest position (e.g., Hill and Pollard [1920] 1978, p. 54). His primary virtue is the power, physical presence, and scale of his portraits in contrast to the refinement and delicate modeling of Pisanello's work. His reverses, however, are often clumsy, derivative, lacking in imagination, and frequently copied directly from the medals of other artists such as Pisanello and Matteo de' Pasti. At his best, however, such as in the medals of Giovanni II Bentivoglio (cat. 110), Bartolommeo Pendaglia, Francesco I Sforza, Federigo da Montefeltro (cat. 121), and Carlo Grati, he has left us an impressive gallery of representative and evocative portraits that seem to have captured vividly the character and personality of Renaissance man. SKS

Selected References Armand 1883–87, vol. 1, p. 69, no. 22; Hill 1930, no. 390; Tervarent 1958–59, vol. 1, pp. 225–26; Magnaguti 1965, no. 18; Gans 1969, pp. v, 6–7; Hill and Pollard 1978, p. 54; London 1981–82, p. 130, no. 44; Mantua 1995, pp. 400–401; Malacarne and Signorini 1996, pp. 81–83; Börner 1997, pp. 49–50, no. 141; Altieri and Rossi 2000, pp. 49–51



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Bartolo Talpa (active ca. 1495)

91. *Francesco II Gonzaga*

ca. 1495

Copper alloy, cast; Diam. 3⅛ in. (8 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *FRANCISCVS GON MAN MAR IIII* (Francesco Gonzaga IIII marquess of Mantua); on reverse, *VNIVERSAE ITALIAE LIBERATORI* (Liberator of all Italy), in the exergue *BARTVLVS TALPA* (Bartolo Talpa)

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18200293)

Little is known of Bartolo Talpa's life and career except that he worked for the Gonzaga court and was a pupil of Andrea Mantegna (1430/31–1506). He is possibly identical with an artist named Bartolino Topino, called the Philosopher: Talpa means mole or gopher, while Topino is a little mole or mouse. Bartolino Topino is mentioned in letters dated October 21, 1495, and July 28, 1496, from the architect Bernardo Ghisolfo to Francesco II, referring to paintings that Tolpino had executed (d'Arco 1857, pp. 32, 36).

Talpa made only two medals, one of Federigo I Gonzaga (Hill 1930, no. 204) and the one exhibited here of his son Francesco II (1466–1519). Surrounded by large-scale, carefully balanced lettering in a meticulously antiquarian style, the portrait, in relatively high relief, dominates the field of the medal with a sharply defined truncation. In comparison with other portraits of the marquess, Talpa depicted only some elements of the rather unusual and distinctive features of Francesco with his stubby nose, high cheekbones, short beard, prominent mustache, and wavy, flowing hair. The modeling is extremely precise, even severe, yet monumental, suggesting the influence of the artist's master, Mantegna. In comparison with Mantegna's drawing of Francesco (cat. 157) and the terracotta bust by Gian Cristoforo Romano in the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, Talpa chose to deemphasize the sensual features—the full lips and wide nose—so prominent in those portraits, thus failing to transmit one of the essential characteristics of Francesco's character, but at the same time idealizing him.

Idealization is also a factor on the reverse, with its somewhat exaggerated designation of Francesco as the "Liberator of all Italy." As a leading *condottiere* of his time, he was constantly embroiled in the tangled and shifting relationships among the dominant Italian powers: Milan, Venice, Florence, the Papacy, and Naples. At the end of August 1494, King Charles VIII of France invaded Italy with a powerful army that included a large contingent of Swiss mercenaries and a significant train of artillery. Charles advanced down the Italian peninsula, treating all opposition in a particularly brutal fashion previously unknown in the more strictly controlled tactics of *condottiere* warfare. The French easily conquered Naples, but they were then faced with the problem of returning north overland, having lost control of the sea. All of Charles's reinforcements were located in the Lombard plain, and the Italian powers realized that the French must be defeated before their destination was

reached. As a result, an alliance, called the League of Venice, was formed, which included Venice, Milan, Pope Alexander VI, and a number of foreign rivals of France. This was the force entrusted to Francesco Gonzaga, and it was his objective to annihilate the invader on his way north.

On May 20, 1495, Charles left Naples, arriving on July 4 at the village of Fornovo, about 30 kilometers southwest of Parma, where they were met by the league's army. Battle was joined on July 6 and lasted only one quarter of an hour, with disastrous results for the Italian forces, many of whom were slaughtered while others fled the field. Yet the Italians claimed victory because, in the end, Charles was forced to return to France with nothing to show for his efforts. Although Francesco's generalship had been far from perfect, he was nonetheless treated as the savior of Italy, and it is clearly to commemorate these events that the medal by Talpa was commissioned. Of greater significance, however, was the impact the French tactics had on the conduct of war. Up to that time, war on the Italian peninsula had been fought by mercenary armies under the control of *condottieri*, in which the objective was to establish field supremacy by maneuvers that minimized loss of life and resulted in the taking of prisoners for ransom. Henceforth, as the Italian peninsula became a battleground for the armies of France and Spain, war descended into a brutal and bloody affair, the means of achieving the territorial ambitions of rival monarchs.

The reverse of the medal depicts Francesco in the role of the Roman hero Marcus Curtius. In 362 B.C., according to the legend related by Titus Livius (59 B.C.–A.D. 17), a chasm suddenly appeared in the middle of the Roman Forum. When the augurs were consulted, the Romans were told that the pit would close only if the most precious thing in Rome were thrown into it. Many offerings were cast into the pit to no effect, until a youthful Roman knight named Marcus Curtius realized that the most precious thing for Rome was the courage and strength of its soldiers. He, thereupon, dressed in full armor, mounted his horse, and leaped into the pit, which then closed over him. Talpa clearly depicted Marcus Curtius with the features of Francesco Gonzaga, naked, wearing a fanciful ancient helmet and mounted on a rearing horse, about to plunge into the mass of flames, indicating the mysterious chasm. Whether or not Francesco merited such a heroic comparison is a matter for dispute. SKS

Selected References Armand 1883–87, vol. 1, p. 83, no. 2; Hill 1930, no. 205; Magnaguti 1965, no. 23; Johnson and Martini 1986, no. 529; Börner 1997, pp. 33–34, no. 71

Gian Cristoforo Romano (Gian Cristoforo Ganti; Rome, ca. 1460–1512, Loreto)

92. *Isabella d'Este*

1498 or later

Gold with enameled decoration and diamonds, Diam. 2¾ in. (6.9 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *ISABELLA ESTEN MARCH MAN* (Isabella d'Este marchioness of Mantua); on reverse, *BENEM ERE NTIVM ERGO* (because of merit)

Münzkabinett, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (MK 6.833bß)

Objects in precious metals were routinely melted down for bullion, and this is the only fifteenth-century gold medal to survive. It is also the best-documented Renaissance work of its kind. Six letters and one sonnet survive outlining the complexities of its commission and the playful, unexpected ways in which it was used. This spectacular, jeweled example was made for the famed Isabella d'Este, appearing in the 1542 inventory of her *grotta*, one of two rooms that housed her most precious objects (Codice Stivini 1995, p. 18, fol. 7r, item 7). The setting, also described in the inventory, features a loop on top, suggesting that it may have been worn.

Isabella d'Este (1474–1539) is the most written-about female patron of the Italian Renaissance, a fact that would no doubt have pleased her since she promoted her fame assiduously. She was also extremely vain, so that her many portraits, including this one, are probably beautified interpretations of her actual appearance. The daughter of Ercole d'Este, duke of Ferrara, and his wife, Eleonora of Aragon (see cat. 81), Isabella was betrothed at the age of six to the future marquess of Mantua, Francesco Gonzaga (see cat. 91). They were married in 1490, and she presided at the Mantuan court until Francesco's death in 1519. She continued to wield considerable influence during the reign of her son Federigo (see cat. 93), until her own death in 1539. Isabella went far beyond the norm for a woman in her successful efforts to acquire works of art and antiquities (Ady 1915; Vienna 1994; S. Campbell 2004a).

Isabella's features on the medal's obverse are close to the famous portrait drawing of her by Leonardo in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (fig. 35), but she wears a simpler, close-fitting, square-necked dress that reflects the fashions of the late 1490s. The elegantly swirling hairstyle is distinctive and may have been inspired by hair arrangements on Roman coins, which Isabella commented upon in a letter to Elisabetta Gonzaga, her sister-in-law, in 1502 (Luzio and Renier 1976, p. 118).





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The winged figure in classical dress on the reverse of the medal holds a palm branch in her left hand and a short staff or wand in her right, and a serpent rises up in front of her. In the field above, a representation of Sagittarius may refer to Isabella's horoscope (Syson 1997, pp. 288–90). The winged woman has been interpreted by George Francis Hill (1930, no. 221) as Astrology; by Georg Habich (1923, p. 90) as Hygenia because of the serpent; by J. Graham Pollard (2007, vol. 1, no. 118) as a sign of Virgo (making the reverse a compound of astrological signs); and by Luke Syson (1997), following Andrea Norris (1987, pp. 134–36) and Rodolfo Signorini (1996, pp. 99–103), as Victory, the most straightforward and plausible interpretation. The figure is copied from the Victory on the reverse of a medallion of the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius (r. A.D. 138–61), which is also about the same size (Michelini Tocci 1965, p. 33 no. 4). The two Victories are so close that there can be little doubt that Gian Cristoforo knew the Roman precedent, which Isabella herself may have selected as the model for her reverse. The medallion source, as well as the description of the reverse as a Victory in the 1542 inventory, makes the identification of the subject fairly certain.

With the adoption of a classically inspired hairstyle on the obverse and the use of a Roman Victory type on the reverse, the medal was clearly planned in relation to Roman coins. Since at the time it was not well understood that large Roman bronze coins, sestertii, were made as currency (Cunnally 1999, pp. 36, 136–38), it is possible that Isabella's medal was intended to imitate their incorrectly perceived commemorative use as well as their form. This highly Romanizing medal would then have placed its subject in a continuum of celebratory portraiture that stretched back to antiquity, ensuring Isabella d'Este's fame for a distant posterity.

We first hear of the patroness's desire to have Gian Cristoforo cast a medal of her in a letter of September 15, 1495, in which she gave him leave to make "that carving [*intaglio*] or sculpture that he [a certain Barone Bonvisino] and also you [Gian Cristoforo] know about" (C. Brown 1973, p. 158). Isabella instructed Gian Cristoforo to make the "intaglio" in gold, stating that Bonvisino would provide the gold. Clearly she intended from the very beginning that her medal would be in gold. In spite of the specific commission, nothing seems to have been done until after the death in 1497 of Gian Cristoforo's principal patron, Beatrice d'Este (see cat. 101), Isabella's sister.

The medal is mentioned next in a letter to Isabella of May 19, 1498 (Signorini 1996, p. 99), from the humanist and nobleman Niccolò da Correggio, in which he suggested three possible inscriptions for the reverse: "Benemerentium ergo" (because of merit), "Naturae officium" (the duty of nature), or

"Gratitudinis studio" (with the duty of gratitude). All three inscriptions seem to refer to the reasons for bestowing the medal, and indeed Correggio noted in the letter that the meanings are similar and followed Isabella's guidelines. The marchioness chose "Benemerentivm ergo," which stresses the recipient's merit rather than the patron's gratitude or duty.

Niccolò's letter demonstrates that medallic legends were the work of humanists, shedding light on the interplay of contributions that converged to make a medal. The patroness seems to have established the general message, turning to the medalist first and the humanist later to come up with the visual and literary manifestations of her intention. In this case, there does not seem to have been any direct consultation between the artist and the literary adviser. All decisions filtered through Isabella, though it is quite possible that Niccolò was provided with a design of the reverse before devising the text (Syson 1997, p. 291).

Gian Cristoforo must have finished Isabella's medal between May and August 1498, since it is mentioned in a letter of September 10 by the minor Ferrarese poet Giacomo Faella, in which he informed the marchioness that he had been shown the medal by the poet Antonio Tebaldeo on the latter's visit in August of that year and he was so moved that he had written a sonnet about it (now lost; Signorini 1996, pp. 99–100). The poet and musician Serafino Aquilano also wrote a sonnet, published in 1502 with the heading "On a medal of the marchesana"; it indicates that he was given a gold example in gratitude for his services (Menghini 1894, p. 67; S. Campbell 2004a, pp. 107–8; Luzio and Renier 2005, pp. 270–71). It must have been made before 1500, when Serafino died, documenting an early gold cast.

Three letters describe the medal's reception. The first two, a 1506 exchange between the satirist Bernardo Accolti (known as l'Unico Aretino) and Isabella d'Este, outline a practical joke played by Elisabetta Gonzaga, duchess of Urbino, on l'Unico Aretino: in November 1505 Gian Cristoforo was traveling from Mantua to Rome with instructions to deliver a cast of Isabella's medal to l'Unico in Fossombrone. On his way, Gian Cristoforo stopped in Urbino, where he saw Elisabetta Gonzaga, who, having heard of the intended gift, instructed the sculptor to play a trick on l'Unico by merely showing him the medal and then taking it away with the excuse that he needed it as a model and would send him another one later. When no medal was forthcoming, l'Unico wrote to Isabella to inquire about it, realizing at the same time that he was the victim of a practical joke. In her reply the marchioness feigned surprise at the nondelivery and gave two interesting reasons why she wished him to have a cast of the medal: to honor the sculptor's talent by giving it to someone of virtue (*virtù*) and good judgment (*judicio*), and in gratitude for l'Unico's affection for her (Luzio 1974, p. 195, n. 1).

On October 24, 1507, the Mantuan ambassador to the Aragonese court at Naples, Jacopo d'Atri, reported to his patroness on the success of her medal, mentioning among much other flattery that "the courteous and graceful daughters of the Viceroy of Naples [Gonzalo de Córdoba] . . . said that they looked at that lovely medal at length and kissed it a thousand times—for they too had heard tell of your standing and merit" (Gopnik 2008). EL

Selected References Hill 1930, no. 221; Norris 1987, pp. 134–36; Syson 1997; S. Campbell 2004a, pp. 107–8, 198; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 136–37, no. 118; Pidatella in Mantua 2008–9, p. 223

Francesco Francia (Francesco di Marco di Giacomo Raibolini; Bologna, active by 1482–1517/18, Bologna)

93. *Federigo Gonzaga*

1510

Oil on wood, transferred from wood to canvas and again to wood, 18⅞ × 14 in. (47.9 × 35.6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.638)

Early in 1903, Herbert Cook recognized that the painting of an unknown youth by Francesco Francia on view at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, was actually the portrait of the young Federigo II Gonzaga (1500–1540), son of Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella d'Este, a work until then known only through one of the most suggestive series of documents involving a Renaissance portrait (Cook 1903, pp. 183–84; the documents were published by Bertolotti [1885, pp. 33–34], Luzio [1886, pp. 548, 563, 564], Luzio and Renier [1901, pp. 63–64] and can now be found in Negro and Roio 1998, pp. 116–18). The compelling contents of these documents, often discussed, merit a brief summary here.

In 1510, during the prolonged conflict known as the War of the League of Cambrai, Francesco Gonzaga was captured by the Venetians. His release was negotiated through Pope Julius II, who asked in return that the ten-year-old Federigo be sent to Rome as a "hostage." Isabella, who understood that exposure to the papal court would be advantageous to the young

boy, nevertheless demanded a portrait of her son to console her in Mantua during his absence. As Federigo was to travel to Rome through Bologna, she offered the commission to Francia—Lorenzo Costa not being available—and the artist was temporarily released from an obligation to paint *borde* (or caparisons) for Francesco Maria della Rovere in order to do so. (All this was explained to Isabella by her agent, Matteo Ippoliti.) The portrait, done in a span of twelve days, was sent to Mantua on August 10 and was praised by Isabella, with the single caveat that Federigo's hair was slightly too blond. Characteristically, Isabella could not then content herself with the result, and she sent the portrait back to Bologna for adjustment. (It is difficult to determine from the surface of the painting if the hair color was altered at that time.) Meanwhile, her husband and other illustrious visitors had arrived in Bologna on their way to Rome, and the painting was somehow whisked away with them—taken by a Messer Zoampiero da Cremona, Julius II's *camerario*—on the pope's orders, and much to Isabella's dismay (Shearman 2003, pp. 158–59). Girolamo Casio, a renowned poet and Isabella's friend in Bologna, wrote a letter to her in which he tried to explain the course of events; he also reported a failed attempt to have Francia paint a replica (the artist said he would not do so "for all of the gold in the world"). Finally, an irate letter from the marchioness precipitated the return of the portrait, and her renewed appreciation of it led to a payment of thirty gold ducats and a request for other work by Francia, including something for her *camerino* and, the following summer, her portrait, based on an existing drawing.

Significant ideas regarding the function and role of portraiture in Renaissance court life are embedded in the exchange of letters outlining these dramatic events. Isabella's reliance on a painted portrait as an aide-mémoire to sustain her during a loved one's absence is a recurrent motif, although more frequently seen in examples relating to husbands and wives or mistresses (see Shearman 1992, pp. 134–36; Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, p. 270). Portraits were proudly shown to other people, and sometimes they could attract strong interest and curiosity: strong enough, even, to overturn a marchioness's plans and provoke the subterfuge of the pope. They certainly also provided opportunities to display dynastic pride, as exemplified by the anonymous medal of Federigo made when he was twelve (see Hill 1930, vol. 1, p. 66, vol. 2, pl. 43).

The ten-year-old Federigo is shown bust-length in an expansive landscape. Dressed in a white chemise with a black gown, he holds the pommel of a sword and wears a gold chain with colored stones and a pendant pearl (much was to be written in correspondence from Mantua about his dress during these years). Despite his youth, he had been portrayed at least twice before; the earliest, done when he was two, was carried by the marquess as he traveled to France (C. Brown 1979, pp. 81–82). Another was by the Veronese artist Francesco Bonsignori (see cats. 153, 154), who according to Giorgio Vasari was at the Gonzaga court working on portraits and other commissions (Vasari 1973 ed., vol. 5, p. 300). Bonsignori's portrait of the three-year-old Federigo, done in 1503 and mentioned in a letter from Isabella to Francesco, can perhaps be identified as the black chalk drawing of a child with similar features that is attributed to the artist (C. Brown 1979, pp. 81–96; Freuler 1996). It is also sometimes suggested that the animated *Bust of a Young Boy* attributed to Gian Cristoforo Romano (cat. 128) portrays Federigo a few years later, perhaps when he was about six, but in a more idealized fashion (see, however, the entry for cat. 128; see also Vienna 1994, pp. 41–45, no. 14).

Francia's portrait barely hints at any depth of character in the young heir, and yet the accounts of Federigo's stay in Rome imply that he made quite an impression at the papal court. The constant exchange of letters between Mantua and Rome includes many allusions to his activities and success. Almost immediately after his arrival, in late August 1510, for example, he schemed to obtain the great classical sculpture group, the *Laocoön,* for his mother (Luzio 1886, pp. 512–14). That same month, Isabella was informed that Raphael intended to portray Federigo in one of the *Stanze* then under way for Pope Julius (this complicated issue is summarized in Shearman 2003, p. 149). Federigo was to appear at the opening of the Lateran Council in May 1512, and Julius took a personal interest in his dress and armor for the occasion (the armor had been commissioned at the pope's order the year before). His ensemble included a black velvet *berretta,* like the one he wears in this portrait, with a round hat badge of Hercules by the great goldsmith Caradosso Foppa. Federigo was also involved on the famous occasion in July 1512 when Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara climbed on to the scaffolding in the Sistine Chapel to see Michelangelo's frescoes. The duke's visit did not include Raphael's *Stanze,* and Isabella's agent pridefully reported back to her that Federigo had easy access to these chambers (for these activities, see Shearman 2003, pp. 147, 149, 159–61).

The denouement of the contemporary history of Francia's portrait is almost more fascinating than its beginning. It was returned to Isabella in late November 1510, but by May 1512 she had already given it away, her attachment fading in the light of new interests. In late 1511 she had been given as a gift a



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manuscript of the *Sonetti Facetiae* by Antonio Camelli, called Il Pistoia (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan), that was "superbly bound" and dedicated to her by the author's friend the Ferrarese poet and gentleman Gian Francesco Zaninello (d. 1518). She asked the advice of her Ferrarese correspondent, Battista Stabellino, about a proper gift in exchange, and he boldly suggested that she send him Francia's portraits of Federigo and herself. In the end she sent him both, and in May 1512 Zaninello wrote to her saying that he was delighted with the portrait of the young boy, whose likeness he described as a "delicate efige." Zaninello also noted that he had hung the portrait alongside Isabella's, like "Venus and Cupid," in his "small hovel" (surely a figure of speech), where many visitors had come to see and discuss them. In 1513 Isabella sent the Ferrarese collector a portrait of the poet Pistoia by Francesco Bonsignori to hang alongside the other portraits in his studio (Luzio 1900, pp. 429–30; see also Hickson 2009 for a detailed analysis of the exchange of portraits, with new documents). Thus, within the course of a year or so, a likeness ordered as a personal consolation took its place, instead, alongside others in a more public context and as part of an intriguing early gallery of portraits. AB

Provenance Isabella d'Este, Mantua (1510–12); Gian Francesco (or Zanfrancesco) Zaninello, Ferrara (1512–18); Prince Napoléon-Joseph-Charles-Paul Bonaparte, Palais Royal, Paris (until 1872; his sale, Christie's, London, May 9–11, 1872); Alexander Barker, London (until 1879; his estate sale, Christie's, London, June 19–21, 1879); [Lesser, London, from 1879]; Edward Aldam Leatham, Miserden Park, Cirencester, Gloucestershire (d. 1900); Arthur William Leatham, Miserden Park (1900–1911); [Duveen, London, 1911–12]; Benjamin Altman, New York (1912–d. 1913)

Selected References Bertolotti 1885, pp. 33–34; Luzio 1886, pp. 513, 563, 564; Luzio and Renier 1901, pp. 63–64; Cook 1903, pp. 183–84; Zeri and Gardner 1986, pp. 19–20 (with earlier bibliography); Negro and Roio 1998, pp. 84, 116–18 no. 70, 195–97; Bayer 2003, pp. 43–44; Shearman 2003, pp. 158–59; Hickson 2009

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

94. *Filippo Maria Visconti*

1440s

Charcoal and chalk on paper, 11½ × 7¾ in. (29.1 × 19.8 cm)

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (2483)

In 1442 Ottaviano degli Ubaldini della Carda, the talented kinsman of Federigo da Montefeltro, sent to Duke Filippo Maria Visconti (1392–1447) a poem in praise of Pisanello that begins as follows: "Those who wish never to be forgotten by the world, let them come and be portrayed from life by my Pisan[ell]o, who portrays a man in such a fashion that he lacks not even life, since he appears lively and feeling" ("Chi vol del mondo mai non esser privo / Vegna a farse retrar del naturale / Al mio PISANO, qual retra' l'hom tale / che tu dirai non è pur vivo, / Perchè l'apar vivace et sensitivo" [Cordellier 1995, p. 102]). Five years later, in his biography of the recently deceased duke, the Milanese humanist Pier Candido Decembrio noted that Filippo Maria wished to be portrayed by no one but Pisanello, whose portrait he found to be alive and breathing (*Vita di Filippo Maria Visconti*, chap. 50). The terms of both of these laudatory references are conventional, for, as Joanna Woods-Marsden (2002, p. 671) has aptly commented, "Pace the humanists, Pisanello's contemporary fame lay less in the naturalism of his portraits—more real than the sitters themselves, as the tag went—than in his ability to produce poetic and elegant likenesses that were sufficiently recognizable to be convincing." Just as Decembrio found it expedient to edit out some unseemly details concerning the deceased duke—on the recommendation of Leonello d'Este—so court portraiture was a matter of editing and embellishment.

The autocratic ruler of the duchy of Lombardy posed an acute challenge to artists. A recluse, Filippo Maria was hideously fat and walked with difficulty. He was also deeply superstitious, surrounding himself with doctors and astrologers, and had a pathological fear of death (in 1412 his tyrannical and barbaric older brother, Giovanni Maria, was assassinated on the steps of a church). He is reported to have allowed no one to wear dark colors in his presence. Understandably self-conscious about his unattractive appearance—his receding chin, small nose, bull neck, and deformed feet—he took to wearing a sort of caftan, and he covered his head, which he shaved at the back,



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with a hat or turban. Small wonder, then, that Filippo Maria prized the images Pisanello made of him, of which a medal (cat. 95) and the extraordinary black chalk drawing often associated with it survive; the much admired painted portrait is lost, while the pen-and-ink drawing in the Louvre (inv. 2484) is probably a workshop copy of a lost drawing by the master (see Cordellier in Paris 1996, pp. 214–15, no. 126). In both the medal and the drawing the duke's physical defects are transformed into attributes of resolution or "columnar strength" (London 2001–2, p. 116).

In the exhibited drawing, as in the medal, the duke is shown in profile, facing right. He wears the same hat, but with the folds arranged differently. His *giornea* is simpler and lacks the brocade pattern and emblem we find on the medal. His head is inclined forward, his nose is slightly longer, and his mouth has not that hint of an incipient smile. Pisanello made a point of emphasizing the eye—a telling detail, since the duke had poor vision. He also appears less corpulent, with the profile of the back of his head and neck straightened out and his bulging, double chin deemphasized. The same abstracting process can be seen in Pisanello's painted portrait of Leonello d'Este (cat. 70), and the unusually high degree of finish as well as the exceptional subtlety of the modeling suggest that the drawing may have been done as an independent work of art: as a model for use in producing other likenesses (see Ames-Lewis 1990, p. 662). It is worth recalling that the portrait by Andrea Mantegna sent by Ludovico Gonzaga to Galeazzo Maria Sforza was a drawing (see the letter in Signorini 2002, p. 132, doc. 25).

As both Francis Ames-Lewis (1990, p. 662) and Dominique Cordellier have emphasized, in this work Pisanello laid the basis for those later, highly finished drawings in black chalk associated with Mantegna, Giovanni Bellini, and Francesco Bonsignori (cats. 154–58). Indeed, it was the innovative quality of the drawing that led Maria Fossi Todorow (1966) to catalogue it as a copy by a Venetian artist working in the second half of the century. In the words of Ames-Lewis, "Pisanello affirms once again his inventive capacity, his independence from the conventions of graphic practice, and the central role that was assigned to drawing of all kinds in his workshop."

No less innovative than the technique was the decision to show the model against a dark ground, lit at a raking angle from behind, with the result that the modeling of the face gains in subtlety and delicacy, as in a sculptural relief. Cordellier ascribes this innovation to Pisanello's visit to Florence in 1439, at the time of the Church Council, and his study of portraits "in which the painters sought a volumetric simplification of the forms seen in a light at once contrasting and sculptural." He suggests as an analogy Paolo Uccello's funerary monument to Sir John Hawkwood in Florence's cathedral, which is, in effect, a substitute for a sculptural monument painted in *terra verde*, with the source of light conceived to accord with the actual illumination in the cathedral (as was common practice). In point of fact, the sitters of Florentine portraits invariably face the light source. A notable exception is Piero della Francesca's profile portrait of Federigo da Montefeltro (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), in which the sitter is also lit from the back. Might we see in this an artistic device for deemphasizing the physical defects of their respective sitters? The black background was ubiquitous throughout Europe in the fifteenth century and is found as well in the portraits of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti (cats. 100a, b).

Although the medal has been dated variously (see cat. 95), the drawing is unquestionably among the most accomplished and mature works of Pisanello and is likely to date no earlier than 1440, when he is documented in Milan (see Cordellier 1995, pp. 77–82, doc. 30). Filippo Maria would have been forty-eight, which seems reasonable. KC

Provenance Giuseppe Vallardi, Milan; Musée du Louvre, Paris (from 1856)

Selected References Hill 1905, pp. 126–27; Sindona 1962, pp. 73–74; Degenhart 1945, pp. 17, 32, 43–44, 77; Fossi Todorow 1966, p. 165, no. 304; Cordellier in Paris 1996, pp. 213–14, no. 125; Rugolo 1996, p. 139

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–1455)

95. *Filippo Maria Visconti*

ca. 1441

Bronze, cast; Diam. 4 in. (10.2 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, **PHILIPPVS MARIA·ANGLVS·DVX·MEDIOLANI·ETCETERA·PAPIE·ANGLERIE·QVE·COMES·AC·GENVE·DOMINVS* (Filippo Maria Anglus, duke of Milan etcetera, count of Pavia and Angera, and lord of Genoa); on reverse, *OPVS·PISANI·PICTORIS* (the work of the painter Pisano)

Gabinetto Numismatico e Medagliere del Castello Sforzesco, Milan (M 0.9.553)

One of the most powerful rulers in Italy, Filippo Maria Visconti (1392–1447) reconstituted the badly fragmented duchy of Milan, which he inherited from his murdered brother Giovanni Maria in 1412. Politically brilliant and ambitious for expansion, he spent the last decades of his reign in almost constant



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warfare with his neighbors. The duke was reclusive and paranoid about his personal security. He had problems with his feet and was so overweight that "during his entire reign he was never seen walking unaided" (Decembrio 1983, p. 101 [chap. 53]).

When the future Pope Pius II was a young cleric, he met the duke of Milan: "Filippo was of gigantic build, thin as a young man, when old he was hugely obese with a deformed frightening face, and large restless eyes" (Pius II 2001, chap. 49; Decembrio 1983, p. 195 n. 184). It is little wonder that Filippo Maria did not want to be portrayed by anyone (Decembrio 1983, p. 98 [chap. 50]), with the exception of Pisanello, who was able to turn his difficult patron's excessive corpulence into an asset used to convey a sense of strength and determination. The imposing effect of the likeness is enhanced by the tall hat and by the ducal crown embroidered on the sitter's sleeve over his favorite *impresa* of a dove (Decembrio 1983, p. 70 [chap. 30]; Welch 1995, pp. 112, 208). In the impressive inscription, Filippo Maria is given the name Anglus, referring to a mythical Visconti ancestor descended from Aeneas (Corradini in Milan 1991, p. 90).

A sensitive profile drawing of Filippo Maria in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (cat. 94), shows the sitter in the same pose and with the same hat, though without the richly patterned robe. Since medallic portraits, miniaturized and in relief, are typically modeled from drawings, it is tempting to see the detailed Louvre sheet as the basis for the medallic likeness. Depending on the date assigned to the medal, however, this relationship may be at odds with the tendency to date the drawing late. It is possible that both portraits are based on a now-lost common source, which, however, would make it hard to account for the lifelike realism of the Louvre portrait, seemingly taken when the appearance of the sitter was fresh in the artist's mind.

Although no longer able to ride once he became obese (Decembrio 1983, p. 109 [chap. 58]; Rugolo 1996, p. 143), Filippo Maria was nevertheless an avid sponsor of jousts and tournaments (London 2001–2, p. 56). On the medal's reverse, the dashing mounted figure wearing tournament armor and holding a jousting lance (ibid., p. 65), with the flamboyant crest of the Visconti emblem of a serpent swallowing a child, evokes the chivalric ambience of the court, as do his mounted companions. The female figure holding a long object that emerges at the upper right from behind the rocky landscape has been variously identified as Fortitude (Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 6–8) or Venus (Gasparotto in Verona 1996, p. 378; Rugolo 1996, p. 139). The fantastic cityscape that surrounds the tiny figure includes a tall bell tower and a ribbed dome, for which there is no clear explanation.

The medal is usually dated to about 1440, when Pisanello is known to have been in Milan. Luke Syson (in London 2001–2, pp. 114–16), however, has suggested that it may have been made about 1435–40 on the basis of the reverse's stylistic similarity to Pisanello's fresco in the church of Sant'Anastasia in Verona. An even earlier date of about 1431–32 was proposed (Syson 1994a, p. 53 n. 36 [later superseded]; seconded in Rugolo 1996, p. 138) in the belief that a now-lost letter of about 1431–32 in which Pisanello wrote to Filippo Maria mentioning a bronze work

that he was making for him might refer to a medal (the authenticity of the letter has been doubted but is accepted in London 2001–2, pp. 18–19 and n. 69). While it is difficult to construct a reliable chronology of Pisanello's medals, this reverse composition seems spatially much better ordered than the reverse of the medal of John VIII Palaeologus (cat. 64), which also depicts horsemen. And the obverse portrait of Filippo Maria, fully encircled by the inscription, with a horizontal truncation and an unusual plain raised border, is most like Pisanello's medal of Alfonso of Aragon (Hill 1930, no. 42; London 2001–2, pp. 129–30), dated no earlier than about 1449.

It is possible that the medal was made for a special occasion, such as the marriage celebrated in Cremona on October 24, 1441, of Filippo Maria Visconti's only child, Bianca Maria, to Francesco Sforza (see cats. 100a, b). For her dowry, Bianca Maria received Cremona, famed for its bell tower, the Torrazzo, at the time the tallest such structure in Italy. The tower in the background of the reverse might then be a reference to this dynastic union, while the medal as a whole stresses the power and rule of Visconti, who viewed his new son-in-law with much distrust (Soldi Rondinini 1997, pp. 778–79). This date would also make more likely a relationship between the medal and the beautiful Louvre drawing. EL

Selected References Tôchon d'Anneci 1816; Hill 1930, no. 21; Elena Corradini in Milan 1991, p. 90; Sylvie de Turckheim-Pey in Paris 1996, p. 215; Rugolo 1996, pp. 138–43; Davide Gasparotto in Verona 1996, p. 378; London 2001–2, pp. 65, 113–16; Basso and Natale 2005, p. 36; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 6–8



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Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

96. *Niccolò Piccinino*

ca. 1439–42

Black chalk on paper, 12⅛ × 8¼ in. (30.7 × 20.9 cm)

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (2482)

97. *Niccolò Piccinino*

ca. 1441–42

Copper alloy, cast; Diam. 3½ in. (8.9 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, · *NICOLAVS · PICININVS · VICOMES · MARCHIO · CAPITANEVS · MAX · AC · MARS · ALTER* (Niccolò Piccinino Visconti, marquess, great captain [or commander in chief] and a second Mars), and, faintly visible on leading edge of pauldron, the letters *AA*, indicating an as yet unidentified armorer; on reverse, · *BRACCIVS* · (Braccio) / · *N*[icolaus] · *PICININVS* (Niccolò Piccinino) // · *PISANI* · *P*[ictoris] · *OPVS* (the work of Pisano the painter), and on collar around griffin's neck, *PERVSIA* + (Perugia).

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (AV 11)

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Italy was a battleground for a bewildering array of city-states, principalities, and foreign invaders. Alliances and loyalties shifted with alarming and confusing regularity. The mercenary soldiers known as *condottieri*, who were hired by the contending parties but often changed employers with impunity, played an important role in the complicated structure of military and political forces. They or their patrons advertised and celebrated their identity through the distribution of medals with their portrait in armor on the obverse and a further military representation on the reverse. The celebration of the status and accomplishments of the individual in medallic form implied a classical ancestry in



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coinage and the possibility of both a wide distribution and the advantages of durability.

Niccolò Piccinino (1386–1444), the "tiny one," as his name indicates, was among the most accomplished and sought-after of these generals-for-hire. That he was extremely short is verified not only by his name but also by a popular story that upon losing an important battle he was spirited away to safety through enemy lines by being shoved into a sack and carried over the shoulder of one of his soldiers. He was born near Perugia, the son of a butcher, and as a young man he worked as a weaver. Becoming dissatisfied and seeking a more exciting profession, he joined a mercenary band as a page, but he soon displayed a singular talent as a determined and ruthless soldier despite his size. In time, he joined the army of one of the foremost *condottieri*, Braccio da Montone, a fellow Perugian and his mentor in the art of war. He himself eventually became one of the leading *condottieri* in Italy, working primarily for the duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti, who in 1439 adopted Piccinino, hence his title in the medal's legend. Filippo's eventual son-in-law and successor, Francesco Sforza, another of the successful *condottieri* and also adopted by Filippo, was one of Piccinino's chief rivals and a frequent opponent.

During the years 1439 to 1442, Pisanello, as a celebrated painter and the inventor of the Renaissance portrait medal, traveled among the cities of Verona, Mantua, Ferrara, and possibly Milan, and it was during this period that he came into contact with Filippo Maria Visconti (see cats. 94, 95), Niccolò Piccinino, Francesco Sforza (see cats. 98, 100a), and Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (see cat. 86). Portrait drawings of the first two survive, as do medals of all four. In each case, it seems likely that the artist had access to his subjects and drew them from life, translating these drawings into the more permanent and distributable medium of bronze. In the drawing, therefore, Piccinino is represented in civilian dress, as he would undoubtedly have appeared when he sat for the artist, but that was changed into armor for the medal, the latter communicating to a wider audience the subject's profession as a renowned soldier. Nonetheless, it is uncertain who would have commissioned such a work, whether Piccinino himself or his employer at the time, the duke of Milan.

Aside from putting Piccinino in armor, Pisanello closely followed the main features of the drawing, compressing them somewhat, however, owing to the reduction in scale and in order to fit the composition into the circular format of the medal. The idea that the drawing could be a copy after the medal, as sustained by Maria Fossi Todorow (1966, pp. 164–65, no. 303), was based on a misunderstanding of the adjustments Pisanello made when working in different media. As is invariably the case, in the drawing he worked toward a more precise and elegant formal solution, while in the medal he emphasized plasticity. His innovative use of black chalk enabled him to endow the features of his model with a delicately modeled, relieflike quality that could serve equally for a painting or a medal. The fact that the drawing is about the same size as the

painted portrait of Leonello d'Este (cat. 70) suggests how easily it could have served as a cartoon. What we have is the refined, finished drawing that would have been preceded by one or more quick sketches, as is the case with the drawings we have of Emperor Sigismund (Cordellier in Paris 1996, pp. 98–100, 106, nos. 49, 50). The portrait drawings for John VIII Palaeologus, Niccolò Piccinino, and Filippo Maria Visconti all show a sensitivity of characterization that is in contrast to drawings from the artist's atelier.

One of the virtues of the medal is its ability to communicate not only a portrait, but, through script and image on the reverse, something about the subject. In the case of Piccinino, Pisanello chose to refer to the general's place of birth and to his mentor Braccio by means of the powerful image of the griffin, emblem of Perugia. Referring to the legend of Romulus and Remus, the two founders of Rome who were raised by a she-wolf as depicted on Roman republican denarii, the griffin here nourishes the two generals as infants. The extraordinary vigor of the beast, the sensitive modeling of its musculature, the representation of the textures of parts of the griffin's body—hair, talons, scaly legs, and wings—and the fierce expression of the beaked head are all testimony to the greatness of the artist. Here, as in most of his medals, Pisanello achieved a remarkable balance between portrait and reverse image, lettering, and field, all composed within the constricting limits of a small circle. SKS

Provenance Cat. 96: Giuseppe Vallardi, Milan; Musée du Louvre, Paris (from 1856)

Selected References Cat. 96: A. Venturi 1896, p. 97, no. 2482; Hill 1905, p. 127 n.; Guiffrey 1911–20, vol. 4, pl. 246; Krasceninnikova 1920, pp. 14, 227; Degenhart 1945, pp. 17, 32, 43–44, 78, fig. 106; Fossi Todorow 1966, pp. 164–65, no. 303, pl. cxxiii; Paris 1996, pp. 203, 211–12; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 10

Cat. 97: Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1871, vol. 1, pp. 457 n. 2, 458, (871); Armand 1883–87, vol. 1, p. 7, no. 21; A. Venturi 1896, p. 83, no. 34, p. 95, no. 2327; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1912, vol. 2, pp. 163 n. 1, 164; Hill 1930, pp. 6, 8, no. 22; Paris 1996, pp. 212–13, no. 124; Rugolo 1996, pp. 160–62, no. 10; F. Rossi 1998; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 9-10.

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

98. *Francesco Sforza*

ca. 1441

Bronze, cast; Diam. 3⅜ in. (8.5 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *FRANCISCVS SFORTIA VICECOMES MARCHIO ET COMES AC CREMONE* (Francesco Sforza Visconti, marquess and count, and lord of Cremona); on reverse, *OPVS PISANI PICTORIS* (the work of Pisano the painter)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1974 (1974.169)

The *condottiere* Francesco Sforza (1401–1466) is identified in Pisanello's medal as the ruler of Cremona and has the name "Visconti" appended to his own, both honors accorded him following his marriage, in 1441, to Bianca Maria, daughter of Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan. The medal probably dates close to that time, when Sforza was deeply involved with the conflict and subsequent negotiations between a Venetian–Florentine league and the Milanese that also involved Filippo Maria and the *condottiere* Niccolò Piccinino, both of whom were also portrayed in medals by Pisanello (cats. 95, 97). It shares with the latter, especially, the bold lettering on the obverse and the placement of the bust within the field, although the enlargement of the signature on the reverse is new (Turckheim-Pey in Paris 1996, p. 215). Pisanello may also have been planning a painted portrait of Francesco in 1440 and was certainly in Milan in that year (Cordellier in Paris 1996 p. 28; Syson and Gordon in London 2001–2, pp. 112, 256). Although it is possible that the medal was made later in the decade, a date following Filippo Maria's death, in 1447, is extremely unlikely given Francesco's immediate ambition to replace him as duke and assume new titles.

Describing Francesco's appearance in this medal, George Francis Hill noted the "hard profile, the determined mouth, the keen, hawk-like expression" befitting a victorious soldier (1905, p. 127). Francesco is shown wearing the hat known as a *berretta alla capitanesca,* or "captain's *berretta,*" and a cuirass with mail below. The reverse, dominated by the profile view of a charger, is of great interest. The horse, which is shown with its mouth open, is of such particularity that authors have suggested it may represent one of Sforza's favorites. Pisanello filled numerous sheets with drawings of horses, several of



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them with views of the head from the side and with the teeth and tongue (and often a bit) visible; such horses also appear in more than one of the artist's paintings (see Paris 1996, figs. 129–32). In this case, Pisanello was evidently inspired as well by ancient coins, possibly a Hellenistic example of the Seleucid dynasty that depicts Alexander the Great's steed Bucephalus or a Roman republican silver coin (Vermeule 1987, p. 271; Syson and Gordon in London 2001–2, p. 120). The reference to the former, in particular, would be an allusion to military achievement. That these models from antiquity inspired Pisanello provides important insight into the artist's possible activities as a collector of coins and medals, one that is seemingly documented soon after his death, in 1455, when Carlo de' Medici wrote to his brother from Rome saying that Pietro Barbo (the future Pope Paul II) had managed to buy thirty good medals from one of the artist's *garzoni* (Cordellier in Paris 1996, p. 31; Gasparotto in Verona 1996, p. 380).

The figure of the horse is set above a sword and a pile of three books, expanding the imagery beyond the virtues of a soldier to those of a learned man (Syson 2001, p. 22). A century and a half later, Cesare Ripa (ca. 1560–ca. 1622) would combine the same two elements for his figure of Autorità (Authority) in his fundamental book of emblems, the *Iconologia* (1593), "one signifying the authority of writing and of doctors, and the other of arms" (Gasparotto in Verona 1996, p. 380). Together, these would have signified Francesco's aspirations at this critical juncture of his career. AB

Selected References Hill 1905, p. 127; Hill 1930, vol. 1, p. 8, no. 23, vol. 2, pl. 4, no. 23; Vermeule 1987, p. 271; Gasparotto in Verona 1996, p. 280, no. 83; Rugolo 1996, p. 147, no. 3; Turckheim-Pey in Paris 1996, p. 215, no. 128; Syson 2001, p. 22; Syson and Gordon in London 2001–2, pp. 63, 112, 119–20, 148–49; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 11, no. 5

Filarete (Antonio Averlino; Florence, ca. 1400–ca. 1469, Rome)

99. *Self-Portrait*

ca. 1460
Bronze, cast; 2⅝ × 3⅛ in. (6.7 × 8 cm)
Inscribed: on obverse, *ANTONIVS·AVERLINVS·A RCH ITECTVS* (Antonio Averlino, architect); on reverse, *VT SOL AVGET APES SIC NOBIS COMODA PRINCEPS* (As the sun nourishes the bees, so the prince fosters beneficial conditions for us)
Gabinetto Numismatico e Medagliere del Castello Sforzesco, Milan (M. 09.1127)

Although indebted to Leon Battista Alberti (see cat. 60) in the oval form and in the inclusion of the artist's personal device on the obverse (Woods-Marsden 1998, pp. 79–84), Filarete's more modest and approachable self-portrait is uniquely his own in the charming attention to narrative detail coupled with simple rural motifs and a quasi-naive style. Filarete was dismissed by the fastidious Giorgio Vasari as a poor practitioner, a fault Vasari seems to have forgiven the lofty Alberti, but he emerged



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from an obscure Florentine background to train probably in Lorenzo Ghiberti's workshop. Although lacking a classical education, in 1461–64 Filarete nevertheless undertook to write a treatise on architecture, which is full of rambling and engaging anecdotal detail. In it he first styled himself "Filarete," lover of virtue, from the ancient Greek.

Early on, Filarete showed an interest in self-commemoration by including two portraits of himself on the bronze doors that he made for Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome about 1433–47 for Pope Eugenius IV, who also counted Alberti among his protégés. The features of a portrait head on the front of the doors that is sometimes considered to be a third self-portrait (Enrico Parlato in Rome 1988, no. 42a) do not resemble Filarete's other portraits because the chin, jaw, and nose are much more pronounced. Filarete does appear once on the front of the doors in a classically coin-style likeness surrounded by an inscription. He looks younger there than he does in the medal here, but the presentation of the portrait bust facing to the right is essentially the same. On the back of the doors is Filarete's most extraordinary portrait: full length, engaged in joyful revels with his entire workshop—farm animals and all—to celebrate the completion of the project on July 1, 1445, the date duly preserved in the inscription. The master and his apprentices are also all identified in the inscription, providing a detailed snapshot-like record of great liveliness and informality, all the more remarkable in comparison to the formal fastidiousness of Pisanello's likeness (cat. 66) and the self-conscious gravitas of Alberti's (cat. 60).

On this medal's reverse, Filarete appears much as on the back of the basilica doors, full length, wearing the same kind of clothing and hat, and similarly active. Here he wields chisel and hammer as he makes an opening in a laurel tree from which the honey in a hive streams down the trunk, forming a great pool. The scene is filled with Filarete's beloved bees, in all different sizes, hovering about, while a sun, complete with a benign face, seems to perch on the tree, bestowing its beneficent rays upon the whole operation. The inscription explicates the scene as a flattering compliment to the prince, probably Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, the artist's patron in the early 1460s, in its comparison of his patronage to the sun's beneficial effect on bees. The equation is then complete between the artist and the bee, which he considered "a worthy and just animal and endowed with many prerogatives in itself" (Parlato in Rome 1988, p. 133, my translation) EL

Selected References Lazzaroni and Muñoz 1908, pp. 226–29; Hill 1930, no. 905; Spencer 1979; Enrico Parlato in Rome 1988, pp. 120, 133–34, no. 42; Woods-Marsden 1998, pp. 67–69, 79–84; Yocum 1998, pp. 17–22

Lombard artist, sometimes attributed to Bonifacio Bembo (Cremona, active by 1444–d. before 1482)

100a, b. *Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti*

ca. 1460–80
Tempera on canvas, 19¼ × 12¼ in. (49 × 31 cm) each
Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan (Reg. Cron. 2238, 2239, nos. 949, 950)

In 1431 Francesco Sforza (1401–1466) became engaged to Bianca Maria Visconti (d. 1468), the illegitimate daughter of the Milanese duke Filippo Maria Visconti. At the time of the betrothal, Francesco, a successful and wily mercenary whose loyalty could not be taken for granted, was fighting for the Milanese against Venice and then the Papal States. Despite their connection, Sforza soon broke with Visconti and reconciled with him only in 1440. The following year Sforza was married to Bianca Maria in Cremona, a city she brought with her to the marriage. Not even this union, however, could permanently cement the relationship between the two men, for although Visconti called for Sforza's aid against a threatening Venetian army in 1447, following the duke's death that year it was revealed that he had not named Francesco as his successor. After years of strife and suffering in Milan, Francesco Sforza entered the city in 1450, but yet another four years passed before a more lasting stability was achieved with the so-called Peace of Lodi. Only then was the duke finally able to turn his formidable energies to governing the city and its territories and to enriching its architectural and artistic heritage.

These impressive portraits show the duke and his wife in strict profile and dressed in luxurious garments, hers enriched with pearls as well as an impressive ornament at the shoulder called a *fermaglio grande da spalla*; one appears in the duchess's jewelry inventory of 1459 and again in a list made in 1468. The particular form found here, crowned with a woman's head in gold, was known as a *damigella* or *dell'angelo*; an evocatively similar example, probably made in Germany at the same date, is in the British Museum, London. These *fermagli* (a type of brooch) were hugely admired at the Sforza court. Galeazzo Sforza gave his bride, Bona of Savoy, one valued at 15,000 ducats (Venturelli 1996, pp. 78–80, with ills.). The lavish *velluti* (velvets) worn by the ducal couple, especially the wonderful red and gold of Francesco's garment, known as *oro e cremisii,* are indications of the production and consumption of these luxury textiles in Milan in the latter half of the fifteenth century (see Buss in Milan 2009–10, esp. pp. 75–77, for related textiles). Francesco's red hat, covering the baldness evident in other portraits, would be at home in Andrea Mantegna's depiction of Ludovico Gonzaga and his court in the Camera Picta in Mantua.

The history of the portraits can be traced only to 1902, when they were in the Archivio Capitolare of the cathedral of the neighboring city of Monza (photographs of them at the time, looking rather worn, are in Malaguzzi Valeri 1913–23, vol. 1 [1913], pp. 10–11). There has been considerable discussion as to their authorship and date, with disagreement about whether they were made during the lifetime of the sitters or perhaps posthumously as part of a campaign focused on the first Sforza duke carried out early in the reign of Ludovico il Moro (r. 1494–99), which followed those of his brother, the couple's eldest son, Galeazzo Maria Sforza (see cat. 48), and his nephew Gian Galeazzo. Although Francesco and his wife were depicted on numerous occasions and in several media—including the medal by Pisanello done about 1441, whose reverse alludes to the young mercenary's varied accomplishments (cat. 98)—the most public and monumental painted representations to have come down to us are the frescoes in the church of Sant'Agostino, Cremona. Elements of a votive altarpiece dedicated to Saints Grisante and Daria that was part of a chapel decoration, the frescoes show the duke and duchess in full-length profiles kneeling with their hands clasped (now detached, the frescoes today hang in the Cappella Cavalcabò of the same church). As Sandrina Bandera Bistoletti has shown, in 1462 there was a payment for the frescoes, which early sources identify as the work of Bonifacio Bembo, a Cremonese artist active at the court of Milan who was in Sforza's entourage from 1441 (for a summary of Bandera Bistoletti's research, see Gregori 1990, p. 235; Marco Tanzi [in Bellingeri and Tanzi 1992, pp. 36] has questioned her reconstruction of the central elements of the altarpiece). Although quite damaged, the frescoes are incisive and convincing likenesses, suggesting something of Francesco's force of character and Bianca Maria's as well (she is thought to have been the patron of the chapel commemorating their wedding anniversary; Strehlke 1998, p. 26). After the pair entered the Brera's collection, in 1932, and following increasing interest in Bembo's work, several historians suggested that these are late portraits by his hand (Fernanda Wittgens and Licia Collobi Ragghianti, as mentioned in Bandera Bistoletti in Pinacoteca di Brera 1988, pp. 390–92, no. 180). Most recent authors discount the attribution, noting that these are official portraits, probably similar to many others found throughout Sforza territory at the time, and are actually rather cautious and humdrum



100a



100b

in execution, without the vitality of the frescoes, which were certainly done from life (ibid.; Bandera Bistoletti in Milan 1991, vol. 2, pp. 93–98; Tanzi in Brescia 2002, pp. 136–37, no. 23; Galli in Milan 2009–10, p. 158, no. 49; Strehlke [1998, p. 26] dissents in favor of the attribution to Bembo). Bandera Bistoletti (Milan 1991, vol. 2, p. 97) has argued that the approach to painting taken by this artist—on canvas, with a dry surface, an exacting touch regarding details, and an interest in humanist motifs—must have been inspired by the works of Baldassare d'Este, including the portrait of Borso d'Este sent to Galeazzo Sforza in 1471 (cat. 75). Baldassare was in Milan during the 1460s, and his work was probably well known there during that decade. Bandera Bistoletti notes additionally that whether these were painted at the end of Francesco's life or posthumously, they were almost certainly not painted between 1466 and 1476, when Galeazzo Maria Sforza did his best to eliminate any memory of his father. It was Ludovico il Moro who, beginning in 1480, revived interest in Francesco, most notably in the great project for an equestrian portrait commissioned from Leonardo da Vinci. **AB**

Provenance Capitolo, Duomo di Monza (by 1902); Associazione degli Amici di Brera (by 1932; their donation to the Pinacoteca di Brera)

Selected References Malaguzzi Valeri 1913–23, vol. 1 (1913), pp. 10–11; Bandera Bistoletti in Milan 1991, vol. 2, pp. 93–97, nos. 18, 19; Venturelli 1996, pp. 78–80; Bandera Bistoletti in Pinacoteca di Brera 1988, pp. 390–92, nos. 180, 181 (with earlier bibliography); Strehlke 1998, p. 26; Tanzi in Brescia 2002, pp. 136–37, no. 23; Galli in Milan 2009–10, p. 158, no. 49

Gian Cristoforo Romano (Gian Cristoforo Ganti; Rome, ca. 1460–1512, Loreto)

101. *Beatrice d'Este*

ca. 1490–91

Marble, 23⅜ × 11⅞ × 9⅝ in. (59.5 × 30 × 24.3 cm)

Inscribed: *DIVAE BEATRICI D· HERC· F·* (to the divine Beatrice, daughter of Duke Ercole)

Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, Paris (ML. 10)

Isabella d'Este (1474–1539) so admired this marble portrait that on June 22, 1491, she wrote to her younger sister, Beatrice, and her new brother-in-law, Ludovico Sforza, duke of Milan (1452–1508; r. 1494–1500), to request that Gian Cristoforo come to Mantua to portray her as well (A. Venturi 1888a, p. 50). Otherwise occupied, the artist remained in the service of the ducal couple, who had married just months earlier in Pavia on January 18, 1491. Beatrice d'Este (1475–1497) was the second daughter of the duke of Ferrara Ercole I d'Este (1431–1505) and Eleonora of Aragon (see cat. 81). In 1480, at the age of five, she was betrothed to Ludovico Sforza while living at the Neapolitan court of her maternal grandfather, King Ferrante, five years before her return to Ferrara. The marriage contract was finalized in 1489, when Beatrice came of age. The ensuing union brought the Sforza valuable ties to the long-reigning Este dukes and the royal Aragonese and lent legitimacy to Ludovico's usurpation of the duchy of Milan from his nephew Gian Galeazzo Sforza (Giordano 2008, p. 68).

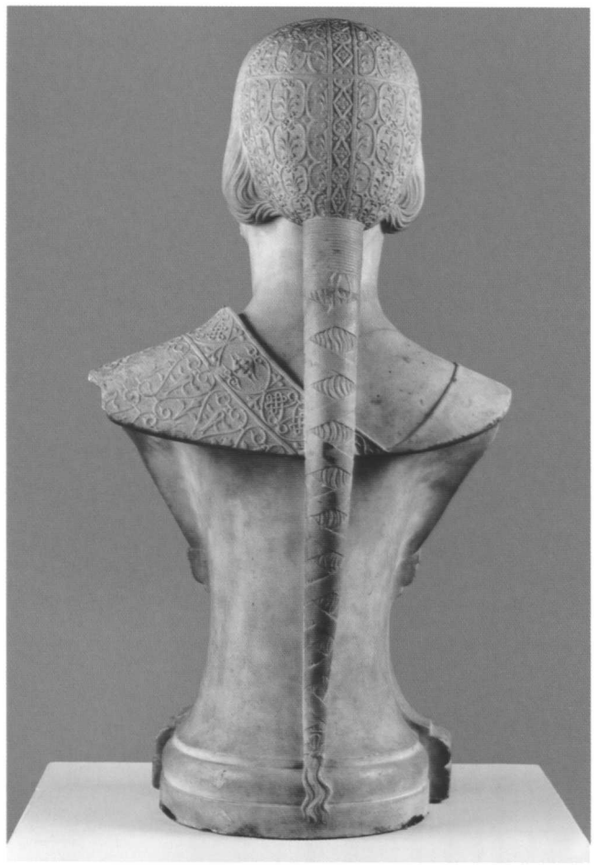
This exceptionally refined and elegant portrait depicts the adolescent Beatrice about the time of her marriage. The inscription identifies her as Duke Ercole's daughter and exalts her with the ancient title "diva." Her long face, large eyes, and a small round chin with a slightly upturned nose appear with varying fidelity in other portraits of her, most notably in the *Pala Sforzesca* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) and her sepulchral effigy by Cristoforo Solari (Certosa, Pavia, originally Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan). However, nowhere else is Beatrice's not-quite-beautiful face treated so deftly. Gian Cristoforo acknowledged the fleshy passages under the eyes, around the corners of the mouth, and along the jaw, but he tempered them with silken skin, a lofty forehead, and a smooth, columnar neck. Parted in the center, the hair falls over the ears in fine, regular waves and gathers at the back, forming a long, laced plait (*coazzone*). A delicate band (*lenza* or *ferroniere*) worn across the forehead secures a beautifully embroidered cap covering the back of the head. This coiffure, of Spanish derivation, seems to have been introduced to the northern Italian courts by Aragonese brides from Naples and was especially popular in the 1490s (see fig. 36; Binaghi Olivari 1983, pp. 640–42).

Exquisitely executed, the costume is nonetheless modest when compared to other portraits of Beatrice, who was described as a "novarum vestium inventrix" (inventor of new fashion; Venturelli 2008). The bib is adorned with the Este diamond ring entwined with tendrils of a flowering plant; together they encircle the Sforza emblem, a cloth sieve (or *buratto*), which is suspended by two hands (Bormand in Paris 2008–9, p. 328, no. 135). The sieve dusts the bloom with flour, simulating pollination or watering. The joined Este and Sforza emblems allude to the desired fertility of the marriage (Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, p. 258). Alongside the bib, a needle puckers the stiff fabric of the corset. Needles were common nuptial gifts, given to equip the bride for new household tasks (Syson and Thornton 2001, p. 48), and here it may allude to Beatrice's domestic skills. Over her left shoulder she wears a thick stole, elaborately decorated with fine knot and scroll patterns, that buttons to the back of the plain bodice. Might it be emblematic of Beatrice's assuming the mantle of duchess?

Portraits of potential and promised spouses were often exchanged between courts. There is, for example, the now-lost portrait of Beatrice painted by Cosmè Tura for Ludovico Sforza (Coceva 1889, pp. 264–65 n. 1) and Ambrogio de Predis's portrait of Sforza's niece Bianca Maria Sforza (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), which was sent to Emperor Maximilian during their marriage negotiations (Syson and Thornton 2001, p. 49). The Louvre bust could have been commissioned for her prospective husband, as its imagery clearly addresses his objectives of strong political allies and a legitimate heir (Giordano 2008, pp. 68, 75–77). Yet, Sforza's name and title do not appear on the inscribed pedestal, which constitutes approximately one-third of the height of the portrait. In the 1490s, Gian Cristoforo is documented in Milan but not Ferrara, and Marc Bormand (in Paris 2008–9, p. 328) has reasonably hypothesized that the portrait was devised in Milan but intended for the duke and duchess of Ferrara as a reminder of their daughter and the Este–Sforza alliance.

The innovation of this portrait is fully revealed in the side-long view. Carved from a single block of marble, it dispels the illusion of a separate plinth and bust. The *all'antica* format, which recalls ancient Roman portrait sculpture, replaces the essentially horizontal truncation found in earlier fifteenth-century female portrait busts from Florence and the Italian


DIVAE
BEATRICI
D·HERC·F·



101, back

courts (see cats. 12, 134); this format also appears on some Quattrocento portrait medals (Bacchi in Ferrara 2004, p. 248). If the *all'antica* bust, socle, and lettering situate Beatrice's portrait in a classical-humanist context, the union of stylization and meticulous naturalism call attention to the artist's skill. Indeed, as a sculptor, singer, poet, and antiquarian (Norris 1987, pp. 131, 133), Gian Cristoforo was an ideal exponent of court culture. In Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (Book of the Courtier), he advises the court of Urbino on the merits of sculpture over painting (1.50).

In 1497, after Beatrice's death and the completion of Gian Galeazzo Visconti's tomb (Certosa, Pavia), Gian Cristoforo finally joined Isabella's court in Mantua. There he is credited with producing a variety of portraits for the Gonzaga, including a terracotta bust of Isabella's husband, Marquess Francesco II Gonzaga (Palazzo Ducale, Mantua), and a marble portrait possibly of their son Federigo (cat. 128). The fate of Isabella's marble portrait by Gian Cristoforo remains a mystery, but her medal (cat. 92) survives. JLV

Provenance (?) Grimani, Venice; anonymous sale, Paris, December 19–22, 1837, no. 123; Louis Fidel Debruge-Dumesnil, Paris (d. 1838); Louis Thomas Marcel Debruge and Joséphine Labarte (née Debruge-Dumesnil); Debruge-Dumesnil sale, March 9, 1850, no. 103; Musée du Louvre (since 1850)

Selected References Courajod 1877; A. Venturi 1888a, pp. 50–52; Malaguzzi Valeri 1913–23, vol. 3 (1917), p. 26 n. 1; Norris 1987, p. 131; Ceriana 1999, p. 204; Bacchi in Brussels 2003–4, p. 195, no. 141; Bacchi in Ferrara 2004, pp. 248–49, no. 42; Di Natale in Sgarbi 2006, pp. 178–81, no. II.23; Pidatella 2007, pp. 184–87; Bormand in Paris 2008–9, pp. 328–39, no. 135

Domenico dei Cammei (possibly Domenico de' Rossi) (?) (active in Florence and Milan, ca. 1500)

102. *Ludovico Maria Sforza*

ca. 1495–97

Onyx with gold frame, 1⅛ × ¾ in. (2.8 × 2 cm) (without hanging element)

Kunstkammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (ANSA XII 485)

As the collecting of antique gems and cameos gathered speed in the second half of the fifteenth century, artists began to create portraits in hard stone in addition to medals. Giorgio Vasari



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(1996 ed., vol. 2, p. 63) wrote of a group of artists who engraved cameos and gems, an activity whose burgeoning importance he dated to the period of Lorenzo the Magnificent. He cited specifically one Domenico dei Cammei ("Domenico of the Cameos"), "a Milanese, who, living at the same time as Duke Ludovico il Moro, made a portrait of him in intaglio on a balas ruby greater than a giulio, which was an exquisite thing and one of the best works in intaglio that had been seen executed by a modern master" (balases were of somewhat lesser value than rubies but still commanded enormous prices).

Two onyx cameos portraying il Moro, the seventh duke of Milan (r. 1494–1499), have been preserved, and they are attributed to Domenico dei Cammei on the basis of Vasari's description. The exhibited onyx forms part of the Kunstkammer in Vienna (Eichler and Kris 1927, vol. 2, no. 152; Kris 1929, vol. 1, pp. 36, 156, no. 85/20), while the other, now in Florence (Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti), is known to have been part of the granducal collections as early as the first decades of the eighteenth century (Gennaioli 2007, p. 253, no. 237; Gennaioli in Vigevano 2009–10, p. 78, no. 2). In each portrait the duke is shown facing right, his long hair styled in the characteristic bowl-shaped *zazzera* that was so popular in the 1490s. Another cameo portraying Ludovico, in chalcedony, with an inscription identifying the sitter and mounted at a later date on a gold ring, entered the collection of the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, before 1794. There are distinctions among the three, for instance, the elaborate armor with Sforza emblems in the chalcedony versus the simpler armor breastplate in the Vienna onyx. In its more complex imagery the chalcedony resembles a medal attributed to the Milanese goldsmith Caradosso Foppa (later active at the Roman court of Julius II) that was made to commemorate Ludovico's acquisition of Genoa in 1488; the onyx in Florence is closely related to a medallic portrait that may, in fact, have been derived from it (Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 229, no. 214, p. 232, no. 216). These cameos, medals, and coins bear witness to the extensive use of small-scale official portraiture at the court at Milan; they also testify to the Milanese love for jewels, almost a cult there (Malaguzzi Valeri 1913–23, vol. 1 [1913], p. 387). The late fifteenth-century fascination with cameos, the carving of which reveals layers of different colors within a single stone, may be attributable in part to Leonardo, who expressed his interest in the evocative quality of such stones and had an enormous influence on Milanese craftsmen (Venturelli 1996, p. 52).

There have been various hypothetical identifications of Vasari's "Domenico dei Cammei," most convincingly that he was Domenico de' Rossi, an artist whose work as an engraver of cameos for the court at Milan was lauded by the roughly contemporary Milanese authors Sabba da Castiglione (1480–1554) and Paolo Morigia (1525–1604) (Venturelli 2007, pp. 262–63, no. 9). Although he may well have carved both onyx cameos, there are enough differences between them in terms of the treatment of the hair and the plasticity of the figure to leave their attribution to a single artist open to question. AB

Provenance Franz von Timoni bequest (1865)

Selected References Eichler and Kris 1927, vol. 2, no. 152; Kris 1929, vol. 1, pp. 36, 156, no. 85/20; Distelberger in Vienna 1994, p. 31, no. 6; Vienna 1998, pp. 62–63, no. 2.16; Distelberger in Vienna 2002–3, pp. 100–101, no. 25; Gennaioli in Vigevano 2009–10, p. 278

Vincenzo Foppa (Bagnolo Mella, ca. 1430–1515/16, Brescia)

103. *Portrait of an Elderly Gentleman*

ca. 1500

Tempera on wood, 13 × 10¾ in. (33.1 × 27.2 cm); original surface, 11¼ × 7⅜ in. (28.6 × 18.8 cm)

Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917 (JC 264)

This acutely observed, fragmentary portrait of an older man was probably painted late in Foppa's career, perhaps soon after 1500. Bernard Berenson (1913, p. 171, no. 264) admired the "beautifully defined features" of this "vigorous, handsome man," calling it "one of the best presentations of the elderly patrician that we have in Renaissance art." He ascribed it to the Milanese artist Ambrogio de Predis (see cats. 105–7), however, following an attribution by Giovanni Morelli, who had seen the painting when it belonged to his protégé, Gustavo Frizzoni. Morelli believed it to be a work from the artist's later years, about 1510–15, and therefore among those that were "superior in modeling." (He also noted that in 1848 the Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze had accepted an attribution of the picture to Leonardo; see Morelli 1900, p. 188.) The association with de Predis was questioned early on by Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri (1913–23, vol. 3 [1917], p. 44), and since then Everett Fahy has convincingly suggested that the portrait was by Foppa, comparing it to his depiction of Giovanfrancesco Brivio (cat. 104; see Philadelphia Museum of Art 1994, p. 192; Lignelli and Price 2002, p. 142, no. 17; and Natale in Brescia 2002, p. 259, no. 80, regarding this attribtion).

The appearance of the painting has been much altered with time, as outlined by Teresa Lignelli and Beth Price (2002, pp. 135–36, 140–41). The walnut panel was cut on all three sides save the upper edge, and painted additions were added at right and bottom (these, now hidden by the frame, can be seen in Malaguzzi Valeri 1913–23, vol. 3 [1917], p. 45, fig. 28). Although the work's original appearance is unknown, Morelli, without identifying it specifically, listed the portrait among several others that depict the hands of the sitter (those here were not well painted in his estimation; see Morelli 1900, p. 189). Unless this was merely a careless statement by the author, the painting must have been cut down and additions made to the fragment while it belonged to Frizzoni. These additions were thus possibly carried out by the famous Milanese restorer Luigi Cavenaghi (1844–1918), as they are made using the materials that he favored and, moreover, we know that he was willing to complete fragmentary images to achieve a more satisfying result (Lignelli and Price 2002, p. 135; this conclusion is questioned by Natale in Brescia 2002, p. 259, no. 80). Although the sitter here has not been identified, his costume is similar to that of Brivio in Foppa's portrait, as is his dignified appearance, suggesting that he was a highly placed member of Lombard society. Mauro Natale has hypothesized that if this painting did, in fact, once include the sitter's hand or hands, its original function may have been as part of a funerary ensemble, as was sometimes seen in sculpture (in Brescia 2002, p. 259, no. 80; a sculptural example would be the tomb of Ambrogio Longhignana of the 1480s; see Damiani Cabrini in Natale 1996, esp. pp. 268–70, and figs. 47, 49, 50).

Technical investigation of the Philadelphia panel has also revealed significant information about Foppa's technique (Lignelli and Price 2002). Infrared reflectography shows that the face was drawn with a sketchy brush underdrawing that defines the cheek and shadows of the neck, while some of the contours were defined with closely hatched lines. Similar hatched underdrawing is found in the portrait of Brivio, the only other independent portrait that can be attributed to Foppa with some certainty. As in the Milan portrait, here the artist changed the contours of the red *berretta* (traces of the red paint from its original position can be seen beneath the subject's delicately painted gray hair). The portrait is painted in *tempera grassa*, an emulsion of drying oil and egg. As explained by Lignelli and Price (2002, pp. 129, 141), the grayish flesh tones so typical of the artist were achieved using a pigment mixture combining carbon black with lead white, red and yellow earths, and red lake; the fading of the last, which has affected the color of the *berretta* as well, has led to an intensification of the gray tonality. The carefully described transitions in the planes of the face and the subtle shadows were both enhanced by a certain amount of blending done with the artist's fingertips. AB



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Provenance (?) Private collection, Florence (1848); Gustavo Frizzoni, Milan (by 1890–1910); John G. Johnson, Philadelphia (1910–17)

Selected References Morelli 1900, pp. 188–89; Berenson 1913, p. 171; Malaguzzi Valeri 1913–23, vol. 3 (1917), pp. 44, 45, fig. 28; Philadelphia Museum of Art 1994, p. 192; Balzarini 1997, p. 178, no. 48, fig. 85; Lignelli and Price 2002, pp. 133–45; Natale in Brescia 2002, p. 259, no. 80

Vincenzo Foppa (Bagnolo Mella, ca. 1430–1515/16, Brescia)

104. *Giovanfrancesco Brivio*

ca. 1495–99
Tempera on wood, 18¼ × 14½ in. (46.5 × 36.7 cm)
Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan (1648/641)

Only two independent portraits by the Brescian artist Vincenzo Foppa have come down to us, both from late in his career (see also cat. 103). The sharply characterized sitter of this work was identified by Giovanni Morelli as Giovanfrancesco Brivio (ca. 1457–1517), an important member of the Sforza court at Milan, especially during the reign of Ludovico Sforza, known as "il Moro" (Morelli 1900, p. 188). (Morelli's identification may have been based on comparison with a copy, or another portrait, in the family's possession; see Brivio Sforza 2000, figs. II, III). Brivio is shown in profile facing left, his features etched against the dark background. He wears a fine red *giornea* of cut velvet embellished with a floral pattern and trimmed with fur and a *berretta* that may be knitted. According to Annibale Brivio Sforza (2000, p. 103), the painting appeared in a family inventory from the early eighteenth century and was attributed to Leonardo da Vinci. In the 1880s, when already in the Poldi Pezzoli collection, it was displayed as a work by Foppa (Bertini 1881, p. 20), but Morelli believed it to be by Ambrogio de Predis (see cats. 106, 107). In more recent times the attribution has continued to fluctuate between Foppa and de Predis, both of whom were active in Milan; recently consensus has rightly favored the former (see Natale in Brescia 2002, p. 258, no. 79).

The central decades of Foppa's long career were spent productively at work in Milan and Pavia, both ruled by the Sforza, and in Liguria, where he painted altarpieces for, among others, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (later Pope Julius II). Foppa's work in Milan continued through the reigns of four dukes. He was particularly active there in the 1460s, when he decorated the Medici Bank, designed by the architect and theorist Filarete, a program that included portraits of Francesco Sforza (r. 1450–66) and his wife, Bianca Maria Visconti (see cats. 100a, b). However, he continued to have significant commissions in the city into the late 1490s, painting a *Lamentation* (formerly Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin) for another important patron, Renato Trivulzio, for the church of San Pietro in Gessate in 1498 (see Frangi in Brescia 2003, pp. 236–39). Brivio would certainly have been aware of Foppa's greatest achievement in Milan, the Portinari Chapel in the church of Sant'Eustorgio (completed 1468), as his father and brothers had a family monument built in a chapel there beginning in 1483; he himself wished to be buried in Santa Maria presso San Satiro (Buss in Milan 2009–10, p. 59; Brivio Sforza 2000, pp. 101–2).

Several of Foppa's altarpieces contain memorable donor portraits, and these provide the standard against which the portrait of Brivio should be measured. The two most relevant in terms of date are the portrait of Manfredo Fornari in an altarpiece painted for his funerary chapel in a Certosa just outside Savona, dated 1489 (now Pinacoteca Civica, Savona), and that of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere in his altarpiece painted for the cathedral of Savona, dated 1490 (Oratorio di Santa Maria di Castello, Savona). The strict profile and sober demeanor of the former are particularly close to Brivio's, and it is striking that the artist should have adopted this formal, commemorative pose in an independent portrait so late in the century. Perhaps high-ranking members of the Sforza court continued to view the formal profile portrait as the norm.

Brivio is shown here at the height of his service to Ludovico; in eight still-extant autograph letters written by the Sforza duke from 1483 to 1494, he addresses Brivio as "amico nostro carissimo" (our dearest friend). Indeed, Brivio remained faithful to Ludovico even after the duke was compelled to flee Milan in 1499. The next decade and a half saw continuous upheaval, including the War of the League of Cambrai, and Brivio was forced to take risks that at times resulted in his exile. Nonetheless, even the French occupiers of the city in the early 1510s recognized Brivio's financial acumen and allowed him to retain his customary position as *maestro delle entrate ordinarie* (master of ordinary revenues), a role he had inherited from his father. When the Sforza returned to power beginning in 1513, Brivio was given honors as well as valuable territory (he was made a senator and the feudal lord of Melegnano). His wife, Margherita Landriana, came from a family equally loyal to the Sforza, and she remained so after being widowed in 1517 (Petrucci 1972, pp. 354–55; Brivio Sforza 2000, pp. 98–105; Leverotti 2009).

Brivio's career revolved entirely around his dignified role at the Sforza court. His elevated position is reflected in this portrait, which seems to be from the later 1490s: the period, as noted above, when he was of greatest service to the duke. The connection between the two men was made even closer by the fact that Cecilia Gallerani, Ludovico's mistress—immortalized in Leonardo's *Lady with an Ermine* (fig. 36; Leverotti 2009, p. 2 n. 3, and p. 4)—was Brivio's aunt. It may be no coincidence



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that the elegant overcoat of red damask he wears has a pattern identical to that of the splendid blue robe worn by il Moro in the altarpiece known as the *Pala Sforzesca* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan; Buss in Milan 2009–10, p. 59). AB

Provenance (?) Don Guido Brivio, Milan, probably by 1717; Gian Giacomo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan (probably after 1872; until 1879); Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan (from 1881)

Selected References Bertini 1881, p. 20; Morelli 1900, pp. 188–89; Natale 1982, pp. 76–77, 223, no. 16, fig. 131; Balzarini 1997, pp. 37–38, 178, no. 47; Brivio Sforza 2000, pp. 98–105, and pl. IV, figs. 2, 3; Natale in Brescia 2002, p. 258, no. 79; Buss in Milan 2009–10, p. 59; Leverotti 2009, pp. 1–5

Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis (?)
(Milan, ca. 1455–after 1508, Milan)

105. *Studies of Young Women in Profile*

probably 1490s

Silverpoint and white heightening on blue prepared paper, 5⅜ × 8⅛ in. (13.7 × 20.5 cm)

Kupferstichkabinett, Hamburger Kunsthalle (21478)

As portraitist at the court of Ludovico il Moro in Milan, Ambrogio de Predis was called upon to draw and paint Bianca Maria Sforza (1472–1510), Ludovico's niece, on several occasions. She was the daughter of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza (see cat. 48) and the sister of his heir, Duke Gian Galeazzo Sforza, who died unexpectedly in 1494. Her uncle had raised the siblings following Galeazzo Maria's assassination in 1476, keeping much of the state power in his own hands; in 1494 he took over entirely. Seeking to legitimize his rule, Ludovico did not hesitate to use Bianca's marriage to further that end. Numerous suitors were considered, and in late 1493 her marriage by proxy to Emperor Maximilian I was held in Milan. In essence, Bianca's magnificent dowry was given in exchange for Ludovico's investiture by the emperor (Rill 1968, pp. 24–25; Brown in Boskovits and Brown 2003, p. 599).

It is now generally accepted that de Predis painted his well-known portrait of Bianca Maria (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) about the time of her betrothal to Maximilian. It shows her in strict profile, with elaborate jewelry and headdress, and a carnation—symbol of betrothal—at her waist. This finely drawn silverpoint may have been done at roughly the same time. The profile at the center of the sheet, probably that of Bianca Maria, could relate to the preparation of the painting (Bora 1998, p. 100; Brown in Boskovits and Brown, p. 598). Here the artist concentrated exclusively on the lower section of the face, firmly delineating the silhouette from



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the nose through the neck, and using white highlighting on the blue prepared paper to sensitively suggest the slight overhang of her upper lip and some fleshiness beneath the chin. Even in this fragmentary form the sheet's resemblance to Bianca Maria's painted portrait is striking, although an alternative, less convincing identification with the anonymous sitter of another portrait (sometimes thought to be Beatrice d'Este, Ludovico's wife; see cat. 101) attributed to de Predis and now in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan, cannot be entirely excluded (Von Seidlitz 1906–7, p. 31; Shaar in Hamburg 1997, p. 103, no. 45; Klemm 2009, p. 304, no. 444). The head drawn at the left side of the sheet is not of the same sitter, as evidenced by the much rounder nose, but she, too, is sometimes said to resemble Beatrice d'Este. Making such judgments is more difficult with the figure at far right, who may be the same person depicted at far left. This young woman is shown to midthigh, in profile, with her left hand resting on her upper waist; she wears a rather simple court dress and a single strand of pearls. The sheet is somewhat damaged, probably by water, at upper right, making her hair difficult to read.

De Predis's facility with silverpoint reflects Leonardo's influence on the community of Milanese artists. This was especially true at the beginning of the 1490s, when Leonardo recorded in one of his notebooks the theft from his studio of a pupil's silverpoint tool and of another student's silverpoint drawing by the young Gian Giacomo Caprotti, known as "il Salaì," evidence that Leonardo was encouraging study of the medium. About the same time, Leonardo made extensive notations regarding his belief that artists should circulate in the city with small notebooks of prepared papers and a silverpoint, so they would be ready to observe and record interesting figures (Bora 1998, p. 96). The medium spread quickly, and it was used by most of the artists known to have had contact with the master.

We know that de Predis made several drawings of Bianca Maria. One was sent to Germany to be shown to Maximilian I before the betrothal, and the artist claimed to have made others (Welch 1995, p. 249). These informal sketches could have been done in the context of the court in Milan, but it is tempting to think that they were made in Innsbruck, where de Predis traveled with Bianca Maria and her court in December 1493. This was an idyllic moment for Bianca, as she enjoyed the company of Archduke Sigismund of Tirol and his wife, Catherine of Saxony, "in great happiness," their days filled with dancing and games, before the arrival of her exigent husband (Rill 1968, p. 25). Letters were written back to Ludovico reporting on the artist's activities, including descriptions of sessions in which he captured portraits of court women; Catherine sat to him for two hours, and one of her ladies received a "most beautiful" portrait of herself (Shell 1998a, p. 124). One author has suggested that the choice of this prepared paper, with its rather saturated blue color, might already suggest a German influence (Bora 1998, p. 100).

Although most authors have accepted the attribution to de Predis, others (most recently Klemm [2009, pp. 304–5]) have offered a cautious reminder of how little we actually know of the artist as a draftsman and how difficult it has been to untangle the works in silverpoint made in Milan under Leonardo's influence. **AB**

Provenance Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (1747–1825), Paris; Georg Ernst Harzen (1790–1863), Hamburg; Harzen Donation (1863); Hamburger Kunsthalle (from 1869)

Selected References Von Seidlitz 1906–7, p. 31; Popham 1931, p. 51; Bora in Milan 1987–88, p. 14; Bora 1998, pp. 99–100; Schaar in Hamburg 1997, pp. 102–3, no. 45; Brown in Boskovits and Brown 2003, pp. 598–99; Bora in Paris 2003, p. 335, no. 109; Klemm 2009, pp. 304–5, no. 444

Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis (Milan, ca. 1455–after 1508, Milan)

106. *Maximilian I*

1502

Oil on oak panel, 17⅜ × 11⅞ in. (44 × 30.3 cm)

Inscribed: *MAX*[imilianus]. *RO*[manorum]. *REX*; *Ambrosius de p*[re] *dis m*[edio]*lanen*[sis] *pinxit. 1502*

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (GG 4431)

Attributed to Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis

107. *Maximilian I*

1507

Black chalk, 14⅝ × 9⅞ in. (37.2 × 25.2 cm)

Inscribed: at lower right, *1507*, *Maximilian*; monogram of Albrecht Dürer

Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ. 10)

Ambrogio de Predis remains a somewhat enigmatic figure from the court of Ludovico il Moro Sforza (1452–1508; r. 1494–1500) in Milan. Although best known as one of the artists who contributed—alongside Leonardo—to the commission for the altarpiece of the *Virgin of the Rocks* for the church of San Francesco Grande, he was also an active court artist who worked, for example, at the Milanese mint from 1479 and who



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was deemed a member of the ruling household. From 1493 de Predis was involved in making a series of portraits of various members of the Sforza and Habsburg courts intended to demonstrate their close ties, including this official portrait of the emperor, which is a rare signed and dated painting by the artist.

De Predis played an integral role in the courtly dance that surrounded the 1493 marriage of Bianca Maria Sforza (1472–1510) to King Maximilian I (1459–1519), later Holy Roman Emperor. He was first asked to make a charcoal drawing of Bianca Maria, which was then passed to a German agent working for the duke of Saxony who had come to Milan to observe the young woman on Maximilian's behalf. Marchesino Stanga, one of Ludovico's confidants, was also pressed for information about Bianca Maria's dowry and lineage, and on a second trip to Milan the German agent asked for a "retracto colorito" (colored portrait). The likely result of that request is the portrait of Bianca Maria now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., although, as Everett Fahy has pointed out, it was most likely painted after her betrothal, since she wears a carnation, a symbol of betrothal, tucked into her belt, and de Predis was known to have made several portraits of her (Fahy 2008, pp. 21–22; see Welch 1995, pp. 249, 323–24, no. 37, for the text of the letter outlining these developments; David Alan Brown [in Boskovits and Brown 2003, p. 599] interprets the letter somewhat differently).

Bianca Maria and Maximilian were married by proxy in Milan in late 1493. De Predis traveled as part of Bianca's retinue



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(which included an elaborate trousseau) to Maximilian's court at Innsbruck, where the artist's talents as a portraitist were called upon repeatedly, apparently in rather informal sittings, such as that in which Duchess Catherine of Saxony sat for two hours for a portrait to be sent to the duchess of Bari. Beginning in 1494 and continuing for the next few years, Ambrogio worked for the emperor designing coins, large and expensive *coperte* (tapestries or embroideries), and clothing in the Italian style (Shell 1998a, pp. 124, 126, 130). He revisited Innsbruck on more than one occasion.

We do not know the circumstances that led the artist to paint Maximilian in 1502. He is depicted in strict profile but with his torso slightly turned, and his proper right shoulder is somewhat raised. The painting includes an inscription that identifies the sitter as the King of the Romans, a title he received in 1486. He wears the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, having been admitted into the order at the time of his first marriage, to Mary of Burgundy, in 1477. With Maximilian the sovereignty of the order passed to the Habsburgs, but by 1502 he had already ceded his authority in it to his son, Philip the Handsome, upon whose death, in 1506, it passed to Philip's son Charles, later Emperor Charles V (Pippal in Brussels 1987, p. 56). The design of Maximilian's sleeve, just visible at the lower edge of the panel, seems to show a pattern popular at the Milanese court, including the sempervivum, a kind of succulent, and a quince at the center, a design used symbolically

by Francesco Sforza in Milan to refer to the perpetuation of the Sforza line. Maximilian might have been shown wearing it as an allusion to his hopes for children with Bianca Maria now almost a decade after their marriage (Buss in Milan 2009–10, p. 99).

The black chalk profile drawing of the emperor, which harks back to the earliest northern Italian examples of such drawings by Pisanello (see cat. 94), raises separate issues, including that of its attribution and function. It seems to have been drawn from life and describes the sitter's features sensitively, particularly the lips and the shape of the chin and throat, with its suggestion of sagging skin. The way the artist set the carefully defined profile silhouette against dark hatching, as if it were in relief, brings to mind de Predis's design for a bronze coin of the emperor and his wife (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice; see Syson 1994b, pp. 13–14). It is unclear whether the drawing was preparatory to the painting. Although the two profiles are similar, there are no marks or other means of transfer, and the scale of the features in the drawing is noticeably larger. This does not rule out the possibility that de Predis made the drawing from life and then referred to it while he painted, with the result that the finished portrait differs in certain respects, such as the elongated torso, shape of the hat, addition of the sitter's insignia, and tightening of the features.

Scholars have often disassociated the drawing from de Predis's painted portrait altogether and proposed various alternative attributions, including that it was done by a northern rather than an Italian artist (see entry in Nuremberg 1971, p. 112, no. 194; Brown in Boskovits and Brown 2003, pp. 598, 600, no. 4). This is unlikely, however, as the watermark indicates an Italian paper of about 1502 (Briquet 12223). Based on style, Heinrich-Thomas Schulze Altcappenberg (Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96, pp. 279–81, no. 179) suggested that the drawing is by a Venetian in the circle of Bellini (perhaps Marco Marziale?) rather than a Lombard artist, but the circumstances of such a commission are difficult to imagine. With its softly drawn hatching and mass of undifferentiated hair, it is true that this charcoal drawing differs significantly from de Predis's other related drawings of the couple, as can be seen by comparing it to the *Study of a Young Woman* in Hamburg (cat. 105). Yet we know that he was asked to make a charcoal drawing of Bianca Maria, and since few of his drawings have come down to us, we cannot rule out the possibility that he was accomplished in this medium. For now, both the attribution of this fine drawing and its precise relationship to the painted profile portrait remain open to debate.

An inscription at lower right includes Albrecht Dürer's monogram in one ink and the name "Maximilian" and date of 1507 in a separate ink. Although the authenticity of the monogram has been questioned, there is general agreement that the date and name are in Dürer's hand. From the date, scholars have conjectured that the German artist looked to this drawing while preparing his 1506 altarpiece *The Feast of the Rose Garlands* (Národní Galerie, Prague), with its depiction of Maximilian—painted during his trip to Italy—and then inscribed it to reflect that connection (see especially Flechsig 1931, vol. 2, pp. 271–72; Pope-Hennessy 1966, p. 166). Peter Dreyer, who believed the inscription to be in Dürer's hand, compared it to that on the famous drawing *Three Nude Men* (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna), which was given to the artist by Raphael (Dreyer 1979, pp. 21, 50, 97, no. 52; Nesselrath 1993). Eduard Flechsig (1931, vol. 2, pp. 271–72) correctly noted that the handwriting most closely relates to that of Dürer's writings from about 1518, especially those on the drawn portrait of the emperor done that year (Albertina, Vienna; see Rupprich 1956, vol. 1, fig. 30; Müller in Vienna 2003, no. 162, pp. 470–71). But why would Dürer acquire or receive this sheet and then inscribe it, in about 1518, with a date some ten years earlier? And from whom (and where) did he get it? The drawing entered the Kupferstichkabinett with the collection assembled by Alexander Posonyi (1839–1899), renowned for its works by Dürer, and the sheet's still-mysterious connection to the great artist remains one of its most significant characteristics.

Although it was well nigh impossible to turn Maximilian into a conventionally attractive man given the pronounced hook of his nose, the artist (or artists) managed to convey a sense of dignity and refinement. This is particularly apparent when these portraits are compared to others of the emperor, such as that by Bernhard Strigel in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, or one dated 1499 (private collection; see Kisters in Almudín 2007, pp. 234–35, no. 97), in which the pendulous lips, fleshy face, and lank hair compare unfavorably to the animated description of the hair and the more generalized treatment of the lips and cheeks seen in the present painting. The drawing probably comes closer to Maximilian's true appearance—with its weaker, receding chin and heavy lower lip—but it, too, suggests an appealing sense of vitality. Given the date of 1502, de Predis's approach hardly represents the most modern artistic vision for the emperor's portrait available at the time, but the Milanese painter had long shown that he was aware of the court's traditions and needs and was able to provide a clear, dignified portrayal of this important ruler. AB

Provenance Cat. 106: Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck; Vienna (by 1819)

Cat. 107: Dominique Vivant-Denon (1747–1825), Paris; Alexander Emil Posonyi (1839–1899); A. Hulot, Vienna and Paris; Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (from 1877)

Selected References Cat. 106: Pippal in Brussels 1987, p. 56; Ferino-Pagden, Prohaska, and Schütz 1991, p. 97 and pl. 105; Shell 1998a, p. 128; Ginanneschi in Milan 2000, p. 106, no. III.16; Buss in Milan 2009–10, p. 99

Cat. 107: Nuremberg 1971, p. 112, no. 194; Dreyer 1979, pp. 50, 97, no. 52; Cogliati Arano 1987, pp. 30, 33, no. 23; Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96, pp. 279–80, no. 179; Brown in Boskovits and Brown 2003, pp. 598–99, 600, no. 4

Adriano Fiorentino (Adriano di Giovanni de' Maestri; Florence, ca. 1450/60–1499, Florence)

108. *Elector Frederick III of Saxony, Called Frederick the Wise*

1498

Brass, H. 24⅝ in. (62.4 cm)

Inscribed: on front, *FRIDERICVS·DVX·SAXONIAE·SCARI·RO·IMPERII·ELECTOR* (Frederick, duke of Saxony, elector of the Holy Roman Empire); back, *HADRIANVS FLORENTINVS ME FACIEBAT* (Adriano the Florentine made me); dated, *ANN·SALVT·MCCCCLXXXXVIII* (1498)

Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (H4-1/1)



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Adriano Fiorentino left Naples following the downfall of the Aragonese rulers and made his way to Urbino, where in 1495 he was at work for Elisabetta Gonzaga. She recommended him to her brother, Francesco II Gonzaga, the marquess of Mantua, stressing his skills as a sculptor and maker of medals but also his talents as a poet and musician, thus praising him as a courtier as well as an artist (Fabriczy 1903, p. 82). The Florentine sculptor did not go to Mantua, however, and instead traveled farther north, where he came into contact with the court of Frederick III, elector of Saxony, known as Frederick the Wise (r. 1486–1525), most likely in the Tirol or southern Germany, where the elector spent time in 1497–98 (Raumschüssel in Essen 1986, p. 207, no. 227; Berlin 1995–96, p. 152, no. 11). One of the outstanding rulers of his day, Frederick is remembered as the founder of the University of Wittenberg and as a powerful defender of Martin Luther. His piety was renowned, and in the castle at Wittenberg he put together a staggering collection of relics and reliquaries. His features have come down to us in paintings by, among others, Lucas Cranach the Elder and Albrecht Dürer as well as in this fascinating brass bust—an "incunabulum" of northern portrait sculpture, as it has been called—carried out by Adriano in 1498, the year before he died and was buried in Florence (his funeral took place in Santa Maria Novella; Draper 1992, p. 47).

As with Adriano's bust of Giovanni Pontano (cat. 136), Frederick's is horizontally truncated with a lower band given over to an inscription (the resemblance to a reliquary bust has been noted repeatedly). The inscription at the front identifies the sitter, with the artist's signature at the back and the date on the lower edge of his broad collar. The elector is shown in a plain but distinctive beret and furless overcoat, without any special insignia or ornament—indeed, without any jewelry at all. The torso is aligned frontally, but the head turns to the right so that movement is implied, and the elector appears to gaze past the viewer into the distance. His characteristic low, broad beard and certain details of his costume distinguish this German statesman from most of the Italians portrayed in this exhibition.

Martin Raumschüssel (in Dresden 1992, p. 45, no. 24, and Berlin 1995–96, p. 152) has argued that the somewhat lifeless

chasing of the figure and the flaws in its surface suggest that the Florentine sculptor was responsible only for a wax model and that the later casting and chasing of the metal were done by a German artist, possibly in the workshop of the Augsburg sculptor Jörg Muscat. Working in brass would certainly have been unusual for an Italian sculptor, though it should be kept in mind that, in the late 1480s, Adriano had experience in military engineering and probably in the casting of cannons as well, which might have afforded him a broader technical range (Draper 1992, pp. 44–45).

In any case, Adriano was without question best known at court as a sculptor in metal, specifically as an important figure in the designing of medals and coins. This, too, follows logically from his earlier experience, as Elisabetta Gonzaga had made particular mention in her letter of "some very beautiful medals" that Adriano had made at her court; the medallic portrait of Pontano made during his stay in Naples is also characteristically fine (for Elisabetta's medals, see Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 168–69, nos. 149, 150; for Pontano, see cat. 137). In Germany, he portrayed Degenhart Pfeffinger, Frederick's councilor and treasurer, in a medal, and he most likely designed a taler for Frederick's mint (with Duke Albrecht and Elector Johann the Constant on the reverse; Arnold 1990, pp. 4–5, figs. 1, 7). Did the commission for the portrait bust follow this work for Frederick's trusted financial adviser, or was Pfeffinger's medallic portrait made in thanks for facilitating the larger commission (see Hauschke in Coburg 2010, p. 133, no. 1.1.02)?

As mentioned above, Adriano almost certainly encountered Frederick's court in southern Germany or the Tirol, where Emperor Maximilian's court at Innsbruck had already had many exchanges with Italian artists (see cat. 106). It is generally agreed, however, that the bust was originally intended for Schloss Wittenberg, which was the principal repository for Frederick's treasures. It was soon moved, probably in 1538, to another major residence, the Schloss Hartenfels in Torgau, Saxony, Frederick's birthplace. This castle is dominated by the so-called Great Wendelstein staircase designed by Konrad Krebs, its spiral shape unanchored by any central pillar. The bust, part of an ornate portal leading to the stair on the upper story, was installed between relief portraits of Johann Friedrich I and Sibylle von Cleve, carved in 1535; all three sculptures are now represented by facsimiles (Findeisen 2004, vol. 1, pp. 211–14, figs. 12, 15–17; Hauschke in Coburg 2010, p. 133). Frederick's portrait bust was probably removed in 1815 and entered the collections in Dresden by 1826. AB

Provenance (?) Schloss Wittenberg, Saxony, Germany (1498–1538); Schloss Hartenfels, Torgau, Saxony (1538?–?1815); Antikensammlung, Dresden (by 1826)

Selected References Hase 1826, p. 3, no. 9; Fabriczy 1903, pp. 72, 83–88; Raumschüssel in Essen 1986, p. 207, no. 227; Arnold 1990, pp. 6–8; Raumschüssel in Dresden 1992, p. 45, no. 24; Draper 1992, pp. 46–47; Raumschüssel in Berlin 1995–96, p. 152, no. 11; Antje Scherner in Dresden 2001–2, p. 56, no. 1; Antje Scherner in Torgau 2004, vol. 2, p. 52, no. 23; Findeisen 2004, vol. 1, pp. 211–14; Hauschke in Coburg 2010, pp. 131–33, no. 1.1.02

Bertoldo di Giovanni
(Florence, ca. 1430/40–1491, Poggio a Caiano)

109. *Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor*

1469

Copper alloy, cast; Diam. 2¼ in. (5.6 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *FREDERIGVS TERCIVS ROMANORVM IMPERATOR SEMPER / AVGVSTVS* (Frederick III, emperor of the Romans, forever exalted); on reverse, on parapet of bridge: *CXXII EQVITES CREA*[vi]*T KALEN*[dis] *IANVARI*[is] *MCCCCLXIX* ([He] created 122 knights on the first of January, 1469)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1957.14.843)

At the end of 1468, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (1415–1493) arrived in Rome seeking financial and military support from Pope Paul II (Pietro Barbo, r. 1464–71) for his continuing conflict against the Turks. This he attempted to accomplish in part by bestowing knighthoods, an act that was described by some as being merely a sham for raising money. The event is celebrated on the reverse of the medal shown here in an almost illegibly crowded composition made up of figures in ecclesiastical, military, and civic dress on horseback and on foot.

Although the medal is unsigned, its attribution to Bertoldo di Giovanni is generally accepted based on stylistic comparison with his only signed medal, a portrait of Sultan Mehmed II (Draper in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, no. 39), as well as its similarity to medals of Filippo de' Medici and Antonio Gratiadei. It also compares closely with the medallic commemoration of the Pazzi Conspiracy (1478; cat. 53), the attribution of which to Bertoldo is confirmed in a letter from the medalist Andrea Guacialoti, who cast the piece, to Lorenzo de' Medici, il Magnifico (Draper 1992, app. 4).

Bertoldo was an important member of the circle of artists, writers, and scholars formed under the patronage of Lorenzo de' Medici, and he directed the group of young artists who worked in the Medici garden near the church of San Marco in Florence. Bertoldo claimed to have been a disciple of Donatello



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(Draper 1992, app. 7), a claim that was repeated by Giorgio Vasari, who also implied that Bertoldo was a mentor to the young Michelangelo (Draper 1992, pp. 62–66). His debt to Donatello is evident in his relief sculpture, and the use of classical sculpture and intaglio gems can be seen throughout his work, especially in his production of small bronzes. Bertoldo's medals are characterized by low relief, a certain awkwardness of proportions in relation to the circular field on the obverse, a fine individualization of portraiture, and the animation of the reverse with crowds of tiny, agitated figures, often with fanciful references to classical allegorical or mythological subjects.

Despite his study of and frequent reference to classical art, Bertoldo did not portray the fifty-three-year-old Frederick in the guise of a Roman emperor, nor did he idealize him. He chose instead to show him as an old man with a deep line beside his mouth, with long, flowing hair, and wrapped in winter garb. Frederick appears to be in an introspective mood, a slight smile animating his face with its incipient Habsburg prognathous jaw. If it were not for the inscription identifying the subject as an imperial ruler, we would have no indication of his rank. Yet with an economy of means, Bertoldo produced a portrait of great sensitivity, suggesting that the artist had direct contact with his subject. This medallic portrait, in fact, established a type that was repeated in subsequent representations of Frederick.

Although there is no documentary evidence that Bertoldo was in Rome at the time the medal was made, it is possible that he was a member of the entourage of Filippo de' Medici (1426–1474), archbishop of Pisa, of whom Bertoldo also produced a medal. Filippo represented Florence at the imperial court in 1468 and 1469, when it was in Rome. One of Lorenzo il Magnifico's overriding ambitions was to see a Medici awarded the red hat of a cardinal, and the most likely candidate at the time was Archbishop Filippo, who may have commissioned the medal of Frederick as a gift to enlist his intervention with Pope Paul II.

In the upper half of the reverse, Bertoldo crammed together the participants in the ceremony of the conferring of knighthood by the emperor. Several figures are shown on horseback, including the imperial ruler and the pope, who are depicted in foreshortened perspective. Half-length spectators seen from the rear at each side of the medal also define the limited space. This entire composition takes place on a bridge, with classical references in the form of putti holding swags that depend in the center from a displayed eagle, referring to the imperial presence. Beneath the bridge, there is a boat, although on most casts of the medal it is difficult to decipher. As James Draper (1992, p. 81) has pointed out, the composition with the bridge is possibly based on the reverse of a coin of Septimius Severus.

Although Frederick was bedeviled throughout his life by misfortune—defeat in war, frequent deaths in his immediate family, near poverty, and exile—he possessed qualities that enabled him to survive all of these travails. He was stolid, patient, deliberate, phlegmatic, and absolutely convinced that his house of Habsburg would not only survive, but emerge as a lasting power in European politics, which, in fact, it did. He was king from 1440 and emperor from 1452, longer even than the forty-year reign of the Roman emperor Augustus, a fact that was noted with pride by his contemporary biographers. He traced his lineage back to Caesar Augustus and even further back to King Priam of Troy, and he was so convinced about

the longevity and final triumph of the Habsburg line that he invented a curious device that he engraved on everything he owned: AEIOU, signifying *Austriae Est Imperare Orbi Universo* (the House of Austria is destined to rule the world).

Always short of funds, he realized that the most effective means of replenishing his treasury and enlarging his domain was through marriage, his greatest triumph in that arena being the joining of his only surviving son, Maximilian (see cats. 106, 107), to Mary, the heiress of the immensely wealthy and powerful duchy of Burgundy. Finally, as a cynical old man, having lost his capital, Vienna, to the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus and having been exiled to the city of Linz, he withdrew from the demands of kingship and devoted himself to the study of magic, astrology, astronomy, and natural history, succumbing, at age seventy-seven, from surgery for gangrene in his leg. SKS

Provenance Charles Timbal, Paris (1870); Gustave Dreyfus (1837–1914); his heirs; [Duveen Brothers, London, New York, and Paris, 1930]; Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York (1944)

Selected References Hill 1930, no. 912; Draper 1992, pp. 79–82; Draper in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 128–29, no. 40, p. 382; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 301, no. 283

Sperandio of Mantua (Sperandio di Bartolommeo Savelli; Mantua, ca. 1425/28–after 1504, Venice)

110. *Giovanni II Bentivoglio*

before 1482

Bronze, cast; Diam. 3¾ in. (95.7 mm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *IO*[hannes] · *BENT*[ivolius] · *II* · *HANIB*[ali] · *FILIVS* · *EQVES* · *AC* · *COMES* · *PATRIAE* · *PRINCEPS* · *AC* · *LIBERTATIS* · *COLUMEN*; on reverse, at top, *OPVS* · *S P ERANDEI*

Collection of Stephen K. and Janie Woo Scher, New York

Lorenzo Costa (Ferrara, ca. 1460–1535, Mantua)

111. *Giovanni II Bentivoglio*

ca. 1492–95

Tempera on panel, 21⅝ × 19¼ in. (55 × 49 cm)

Inscribed: *LAVRENTIVS COSTA F.*[ecit]

Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (1890 no. 8384)

For more than forty years, Giovanni II Bentivoglio (1443–1508) was at the helm of the city-republic of Bologna. This old university town, located on a main trade route in southern Emilia, enjoyed a special status; it nominally belonged to the Papal States, whose authority was represented by a papal legate, but local aristocratic families secured a considerable degree of independence well into the fifteenth century. Between the two poles of papal monarchy and local aristocratic rule the Bentivoglio family rose to power, albeit over several generations and not without violent opposition. They were eventually accepted by both sides, by way of compromise, as *primus inter pares* (first among equals).

Having just turned twenty, and thus only a few years older than Lorenzo il Magnifico in Florence, Giovanni succeeded his cousin Sante Bentivoglio as *gonfaloniere della giustizia* of Bologna in 1463. In addition to taking over his office, he also married his cousin's widow, Ginevra Sforza, who was a niece of his closest ally, Francesco Sforza of Milan. In 1466 Pope Paul II appointed Giovanni head of the Council of Sixteen (*sedici riformatori*) for life, making him, like Lorenzo, the de facto *signore* of the city, even though this was not his official title (Ady 1937, pp. 61–62; Drogin 2004; see, on the other hand, Clarke 2004, p. 164). Even as "first citizen," however, Giovanni, who derived his power and wealth mainly from providing his services as *condottiere* to other rulers, had to take into account the interests of the pope and the city's oligarchy. In view of this insecure position, Giovanni's policies were directed primarily at increasing his social prestige. Accordingly, shrewd marriage politics on behalf of his eleven children led to alliances with the most important princely houses of Italy: the Este, the Malatesta, and the Sforza. In 1473 Pope Sixtus IV confirmed the legitimacy of Bentivoglio rule over the city by recognizing the right to succession of Giovanni's son Annibale.

In his strategies for self- promotion, Giovanni followed the example of the northern Italian courts, notably Milan and Ferrara, more than Florence, striving to demonstrate his *magnificenza*—the ostentatious display of splendor and princely generosity—through numerous projects reflective of his vanity. In addition to organizing lavish festivities and tournaments, he pressed ahead with the construction and furnishing of a splendid family palace, the so-called Domus Aurea (Clarke 1999; Clarke 2004). There were also numerous religious donations, such as the Oratory of Saint Cecilia (1506) and, not least, the family chapel in San Giacomo Maggiore, which was richly decorated with paintings and sculptures (1486–88). As part of this self-presentation, likenesses of Giovanni and of the Bentivoglio family occupied a prominent place; along with numerous medals bearing his head, as many as three painted portraits of Giovanni survive, and to these we can add the full-figure portraits of the entire extended family in the chapel.

Although the escapades of his sons put the other aristocratic families in Bologna increasingly at odds with the



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Bentivoglio family, Giovanni was able to hold on to power in spite of several attempts to overthrow him, including the Malvezzi Conspiracy in 1488 and the Marescotti Conspiracy in 1501. Only the threat posed by Cesare Borgia, which intensified from 1499 on, and the claims of the French king for money in return for protection, which resulted in a high tax burden on the populace, weakened his position. Pope Julius II eventually tried to bring Bologna under papal control again, openly taking action against the city's incumbent lord. In 1506 he ordered allied French troops to lay siege to the city, and the Bentivoglio were forced to leave Bologna. In 1507 an angry mob destroyed the magnificent family palace. Living in exile in Milan, an isolated Giovanni died a year later.

The medalist and sculptor Sperandio came from Mantua and was active in Bologna from 1478 until 1490. He created for Giovanni II Bentivoglio a total of three medals that bear his likeness, the first probably just after Giovanni was appointed "first citizen" in 1463; its reverse shows two winged putti with the Bentivoglio family crest (Hill 1930, no. 355; Börner 1997, p. 45, no. 118.2). A second one glorifies Giovanni as a victorious military commander (IOANNES BENTIVOLLVS ARMORUM DVCTOR ILLVSTRIS), its reverse showing a heroic image of him in armor on the back of a rearing horse holding a commander's baton (Hill 1930, no. 380). The third and final one in the sequence is the present medal, the obverse of which shows a profile bust of the ruler, in armor, facing right. He wears his hair in a so-called *zazzera*—a style with short-cropped forelocks, a diagonal cut on the sides, and long hair in the back—as was typical, especially for northern Italy, at the end of the fifteenth century. On top of it he wears not a helmet but a cap, reflecting the symbolic rather than military nature of what was essentially parade armor. The inscription praises him as "Giovanni II Bentivoglio, Son of Annibale, Knight and Count, First Citizen of his Country and Promoter of Freedom." Since it makes no mention of the prestigious title "Ragonensis" (of Aragon), which Giovanni started carrying in 1482 following his adoption by the king of Naples, Ferrante of Aragon, the medal was most likely created just prior to that date. On the reverse, he is again shown in armor and on horseback, this time riding toward the left, wearing a common head covering (*berretta*) rather than a helmet and holding the commander's baton. In the background we see a horseman in armor carrying a lance. Giovanni's richly decorated horse blanket is emblazoned with the Bentivoglio family crest, with its typical *sega*, or saw motif. With this chivalrous image, which derives from earlier medals by Pisanello, Sperandio put the lord of Bologna on equal footing with such rulers as Gianfrancesco I Gonzaga (see cat. 86), Filippo Maria Visconti (see cat. 95), and Sigismondo Malatesta (see cat. 117). Sperandio himself used the image again, likely adapting the same model in his medal of Federigo da Montefeltro (Syson in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, p. 97). Bentivoglio, in fact, took his visual politics even further. Soon after Emperor Maximilian granted him the prerogative of minting coins, in 1495, coins were issued bearing a likeness of him similar to that in the medal portraits (Ady 1937, pp. 98–99; Syson 1998a, pp. 115–16).

Lorenzo Costa, who arrived in Bologna in 1483 and soon started working alongside local artists decorating the rooms of the Domus Aurea, painted his portrait of Giovanni II Bentivoglio in about the mid-1490s. The sitter was first identified



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by Adolfo Venturi (1888c, pp. 241–42, 245) based on comparison with the portrait of Giovanni in the aforementioned family chapel, painted just a few years earlier, as well as the medals by Sperandio. Formally, Costa drew on the type of bust portrait established by Antonello da Messina and Giovanni Bellini, with a painted foreground parapet and a monochrome dark backdrop. What is unusual here, especially compared to the triumphant image on the medals, is the oddly restrained, almost melancholy expression of the subject. This hint of introspection is manifested in Giovanni's strangely indefinite gaze, which is directed not at the viewer—even though the head is, in fact, turned in this direction—but slightly downward and into space. Even allowing for the poor condition of the paint surface, we can recognize, particularly around the eyes, distinctive signs of aging, such as deep wrinkles and bags under the eyes. Unlike the many representative ruler portraits in the present exhibition, which tend to make use of the profile view, Costa's rendering is more psychologically penetrating,

characterized by a particular mood rather than an ostentatious display of power and status. The latter is evident only in the sumptuous attire: the dark green vest with gold embroidery and laced sleeves and the gold-bordered outer garment (a *giornea*) worn on top of it. Hanging down the chest is a long, heavy gold necklace of a type familiar from portraits of, say, Ludovico Sforza, underscoring the subject's dignified appearance (a similar necklace can be found on some of Sperandio's medals). Bentivoglio's long smooth hair is again styled in a *zazzera*, and he wears the usual headdress: a bright red *berretta a bordi*. Still, the costume seems restrained in its luxuriance compared to earlier portraits of him, such as the diptych of Giovanni and his wife, Ginevra Sforza (1474–77, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), or the portrait done by Ercole de' Roberti (1475, University of Bologna). Even Costa's own portrayal of Giovanni in the family chapel at San Giacomo Maggiore, executed just a few years earlier, in 1488, shows the ruler in sumptuous garb replete with gold brocade embroidery and self-assuredly surrounded by the likewise resplendently dressed members of his extended family (C. Brown 1967–68; Nieuwenhuizen 1996).

It is impossible to say why a different strategy of presentation was chosen for this portrait. The question of its exact date of execution is equally unresolved. The painting is signed on the parapet but not dated. Most likely it was made about the same time as Costa's panel of the *Virgin with Child and Saints* at the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, and his altarpiece in San Petronio—that is, between 1492 and 1495. As in his portrait of Battista Fiera (cat. 116), painted more than ten years later, here the artist demonstrates his ability to provide a psychologically penetrating image of the sitter, a quality not evident in either his altarpieces or his highly idealized female portraits. SH

Provenance Cat. 110: purchased at Astarte, Lugano, Asta II, March 5, 1999

Cat. 111: (?) Casa Bentivoglio, Bologna; (?) Casa Isolani, Bologna; documented at the Palazzo Pitti, Florence (1837); Galleria degli Uffizi (from 1919)

Selected References Cat. 110: Hill 1930, vol. 1, pp. 91, 97, 100, 104, vol. 2, nos. 355, 380, 391, 404; Ady 1937, p. 154; Armand 1966, vol. 1, p. 65, no. 6; Syson in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 96–97, nos. 24, 24a; Graziani in Bologna 2003, pp. 46–47; Vannel and Toderi 2003–7, vol. 1, p. 19, no. 148; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 114

Cat. 111: Malvasia 1841, vol. 1, p. 55; Baruffaldi 1844–46, vol. 1, p. 113; A. Venturi 1888c, pp. 241–42, 245; Barbantini in Ferrara 1933, pp. 133–35; Longhi 1956, pp. 131–32; C. Brown 1966, pp. 114, 318–19; Varese 1967, p. 69; Lanzi 1968–74, vol. 3 (1970), p. 16; Marchini in Galleria degli Uffizi 1979, p. 227; Negro and Roio 2001, pp. 104–5, no. 29, p. 148, no. 108.P (with earlier bibliography); Bianchi in Bologna 2003, pp. 56–57

Francesco del Cossa
(Ferrara, ca. 1435–1476/77, Bologna)

112. *Portrait of a Young Man with a Ring*

ca. 1472–74
Tempera on wood, 15⅛ × 10¾ in. (38.5 × 27.2 cm)
Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (1956.14[105])

This portrait of an unidentified young man is easily one of the most unusual of the Quattrocento. The manner in which he gazes directly at the viewer as he stands in front of an imaginary landscape is extraordinary, especially at this early date, as is the illusionistic projection of his left hand, with which he elegantly offers a gold ring with a precious stone for the viewer's inspection. His shoulders angled slightly to the picture plane, the young man wears a black *berretta* and a light gray, buttoned doublet beneath a sleeveless gray cloak. The white linen shirt has a narrow collar and broad sleeves worn over a dark undergarment that is visible at his wrist. The picture plane is defined by a gray marble parapet with grooved molding over which the foreshortened left hand projects, so that the ring, held between the forefinger and thumb, is framed by the open cloak. The suggestion of physicality and spatial depth is heightened by the deep shadow on the back of the hand and the splayed little finger, the shadow cast by the arm on the front of the parapet, and the way the soft fabric of the sleeve rests on top of it.

Behind the young man a coastal landscape with fantastic, towering rock formations draws our gaze into the distance. A path winds at an angle across an arched bridge and through openings in the rocks and into the background. On the far shore, so remote that it appears in only a pale blue, a chain of mountains rises against a leaden sky filled with bizarrely shaped clouds. Despite its forbidding barrenness, the landscape, with its few leafless trees, is not uninhabited: a fisherman stands on the shoreline, while on the path two shepherds approach with one of their animals. Also, several ships are visible out at sea. The painting's muted coloring is likewise unusual, enlivened only by the more intense reddish brown of the man's hair and his black *berretta*. His skin, however, is painted in the ocher tones of his surroundings.

The attribution to Francesco del Cossa, first proposed by Detlev von Hadeln in 1913, is no longer seriously questioned (however, see Negro and Roio 1998). Similarities in style to the work of the Ferrarese master—for example, his *Griffoni Polyptych* (divided among museums in London, Milan, and



Rome); the predella of the *Adoration of the Kings* in Dresden (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister); or the *Pala dei Mercanti* in Bologna (Pinacoteca Nazionale)—are obvious. In the past, the subject of the painting was often identified as the Bolognese goldsmith and painter Francesco Raibolini, better known as Francia (1450–1518). The picture was even thought to be a self-portrait. In fact, the woodcut portrait of Francia in the second edition of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives* ([1568] 1966–97) appears to have been based on the present portrait (Prinz 1966, p. 105). The subject is also identified as Francia in a long legend on an engraving after a painting by the Florentine Carlo Faucci (1729–1784; Coulson James 1917). The reason for that identification was apparently the ostentatiously presented ring, which was taken to be a symbol of Francia's profession: as a trained goldsmith he even signed his paintings with the additional description "aurifex." Interpretations of rings as indications that the subjects of portraits are goldsmiths are legion in art-history studies. The subject of Lorenzo di Credi's *Portrait of a Young Woman* (cat. 44), for example, has sometimes been identified as a goldsmith's widow. Yet only in exceptional cases can such pieces of jewelry be interpreted as samples of goldsmith's work, as, for example, in the *Portrait of a Man* by Gerard David in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Also unconvincing is the presumed connection of the present painting with Francia, which is based on vague similarities with *Portrait of a Man* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers, inscribed F. FRANCIA AURIFEX BONONIAE. That work is not another, albeit later, self-portrait of Francia (as claimed by Coulson James 1922 and Negro and Roio 1998) but, presumably, a copy after the Faucci engraving.

The present painting, a rare example of Cossa's work as a portraitist, was doubtless made after his move from Ferrara to Bologna. It has been assigned various dates: about 1472–73, that is, from the same time as the *Griffoni Polyptych* (Ruhmer 1959; Cavalca 2007); about 1474, like the *Pala dei Mercanti* in Bologna (Longhi 1956); or 1478, shortly before the painter's death (Natale and Sassu 2007–8, p. 54). Andrea Bacchi (1991) is the only writer to date it to the mid-1460s, when Cossa was still active in Ferrara, but such a date does not accord with the style of the subject's clothing. Various scholars have linked Cossa's highly original picture to portraits from north of the Alps. It has been claimed, for example, that the landscape background is a "mere reworking of Memling's picture style," modified only by a rocky landscape with a Ferrarese stamp. The dramatically foreshortened hand has even been compared with the one in Jan van Eyck's *Portrait of a Man ("Léal Souvenir")* in the National Gallery, London (Nuttall 2005, p. 82), ignoring the fact that in that work the hand does not extend across the parapet, the gesture so remarkable in Cossa's picture. Instead, the parapet itself, embellished with various inscriptions, provides the illusionistic device. Moreover, the hands in Netherlandish portraits are rarely placed in the center of the picture as seen here.

The landscape view is altogether typical of Cossa's work and of the Ferrarese school in general; similar landscapes appear in Cossa's pictures of saints (see, for example, his *Saint Vincent Ferrer*, National Gallery, London). Unlike the landscapes in portraits by Davide Ghirlandaio beginning in the 1480s (see cat. 40), it does not include any explicitly Netherlandish motifs. The frescoes in Ferrara's Palazzo Schifanoia already contained portrait heads with the figures standing in front of landscape backgrounds, albeit in a narrative context. The motif of the ring, in turn, has been traced back to a specific precedent: Rogier van der Weyden's portrait of Francesco d'Este (cat. 71), where, as in the present work, the jewel has been interpreted as a trophy, perhaps for winning a tournament (Bacchi 1991, p. 44). However, the fact that Cossa's sitter is extending the ring across the barrier rather than holding it close to his body, the way Francesco d'Este does, suggests a kind of dialogue with the viewer. Whereas in Rogier's portrait the ring seems to be an emblem of self-referential pride, here it is presented in a face-to-face encounter with the viewer. Roberto Longhi (1956) thought it an engagement ring, which would make this portrait a male counterpart to the numerous surviving pictures of brides, especially from Florence (see cats. 8–10). In any event, it is clear that here the accessory is not so much a status symbol as the key to an understanding of the portrait. Without wishing to suggest a direct influence, one might contend that the depiction is structurally most closely related to Hans Memling's *Portrait of a Man with a Roman Coin* (cat. 145). As in that portrait, here the object displayed is meant to launch a dialogue with the viewer, a strategy prominently employed in Sandro Botticelli's *Portrait of a Man with a Medal of Cosimo the Elder* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). In the mid-1470s, artists north of the Alps, like those in Bologna, Ferrara, and Florence, frequently showed their subjects with accessories that they appear to present to the viewer, thereby engaging his or her interest. SH

Provenance Valerio Boschi collection, Bologna; sold to Vito Gnei (Enei?), Florence (1858); (?) sold to Prince Giovanelli, Venice; Sir William Abdy, London (until 1911); Leopold Koppel, Berlin; Walter von Pannwitz, Bennebroek (until 1926); Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, Lugano (now Madrid) (from 1956)

Selected References Hadeln 1913, p. 20 n. 20; Zucchini 1915; Zucchini 1916; Coulson James 1917; Coulson James 1922; Friedländer and Falke 1925–26, vol. 1, p. 1; Longhi 1956, p. 35; Neppi 1958, p. 33; Ruhmer 1959, pp. 36, 57, 76, 95; Oretti 1984 ed., fol. 156; London 1988, pp. 46–47, no. 13; Bacchi 1991, pp. 44–45; Negro and Roio 1998, pp. 127–28 (with earlier bibliography); Sgarbi 2003, pp. 227–28; Cavalca 2007, pp. 412–13; Toniolo in Budapest 2009–10, pp. 180–81, no. 29

Antonio del Crevalcore (active in Bologna, 1461–1525)

113. *Portrait of a Man*

ca. 1475–80

Tempera on wood, 20⅛ × 18½ in. (51 × 47 cm)

Monogrammed: along base, · *A · F · P* · ; along top, in a later hand, *O. BATT FUSSA P*

Museo Correr, Venice (53)

This captivating image of a young man, perhaps in his mid-twenties—a work of astonishing pictorial invention—must rank among the most intriguing northern Italian portraits of the fifteenth century. The carefully coiffed, tight-lipped subject is shown in sharp profile behind an elaborate window casement of luxurious marbles: red and green porphyry and jasper. A pearl and a gold ring set with a ruby are displayed on a breviary that projects into the viewer's space, thereby enhancing the illusionistic effect. The objects are matrimonial: Concetto Nicosia (in Ferrara 2004, p. 304) cites a sixteenth-century treatise specifying ruby and diamond rings as part of nuptial rites, the ruby signifying promised fidelity, the diamond hoped-for faithfulness. There must have been a pendant portrait of the young man's betrothed, though if that is so, the male is unconventionally placed on the sinister (left) side, the position usually reserved for the woman. Behind the sitter, suspended from a rod, hangs a deep-green curtain, the fringed gold border of which is richly embellished with pearls and gems. The curtain is drawn back by a red cord, revealing a view on to a coastline with a variety of boats anchored near towns and two figures on horseback with a page on foot making their way through the landscape. The sitter wears the red *berretta* and fur-lined red garment with stand-up collar typical of scholars and lawyers, the same ensemble worn, for example, by the judge of the council of merchants, Alberto Cattani, in Francesco del Cossa's altarpiece of 1474 painted for the Foro dei Mercanti in Bologna (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna). This altarpiece, together with another completed by 1473 by Cossa, assisted by the young Ercole de' Roberti, for the Griffoni Chapel in San Petronio, provided the principal reference points for the style of the portrait, namely, its jewel-like colors, the sharp description of details such as the various marbles, the trompe l'oeil treatment of the gems and pearls, the glassy surface of the water, and the emphasis on illusionism. As Vittorio Sgarbi (1985, p. 36) has noted, one of the peculiar characteristics of the picture is that the figure is treated with the same impassable and abstracting objectivity as the inanimate objects.

Comparisons with Cossa's *Portrait of a Young Man with a Ring* (cat. 112) as well as with Roberti's pendant portraits of Giovanni II and Ginevra Sforza Bentivoglio (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) are both inevitable and instructive. While Crevalcore elaborates further on the illusionistic device of the parapet employed by Cossa, his subject does not turn to address the viewer, let alone extend a hand into the viewer's space. Rather, he retains the more aloof and formal profile view sanctioned by tradition. As in Roberti's portraits of the Bentivoglio couple, a darkly colored curtain sets off the profile, but in Roberti's portraits it functions as a cloth of honor, emphasizing the status of the sitters as rulers of Bologna, while Crevalcore incorporated the curtain into the composition to further enliven the illusionistic details that make the portrait so intriguing. This almost obsessive interest in description is the product of an antiquarian fascination with marble and precious gems that must have been shared by his patrons. We find analogies in Crevalcore's portrait of the Sacrati family (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) as well as in his masterpiece, an astonishing triptych showing the Madonna and Child with Saints Peter and Paul viewed against a continuous frieze of fragmented classical architecture (private collection). Crevalcore later acquired fame as a painter of still lifes, and there is an obvious relationship between his paintings and the perspectives in works of intarsia. This objectifying approach to the human figure constitutes the strongest evidence for his authorship of this portrait, now widely, though not universally, accepted (see especially Zeri 1966; Sgarbi 1985; Marchi 1991; Nicosia in Ferrara 2004). The alternative suggestions made over the last century and a half—to Francesco del Cossa, Ansuino da Forlì, Baldassare d'Este, Vicino da Ferrara—have in common a recognition of the strong debt the work owes to Ferrarese painting, a pervasive influence in Bolognese art in the 1470s.

Only recently have the outlines of Crevalcore's career begun to emerge, especially following the rediscovery in 1984 of the triptych mentioned above (see especially Sgarbi 1985; and Schizzerotto 1986). Born perhaps about 1440/45, he is first



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mentioned as a painter in Bologna in 1461. He is then documented at intervals until 1525 (interestingly, in 1495 his son was involved in a plot against the Bentivoglio; see Schizzerotto 1986, pp. 45–49). His earliest documented painting, from 1480, is a ruinous fresco above the portico of the church of San Giacomo Maggiore (Marchi 1991); his only other signed and dated painting, of 1493, was destroyed during World War II (formerly Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin). His fascination with perspectival devices and his love of trompe l'oeil details found its natural expression in the still lifes for which he became famous (see Benati 2000, pp. 17–18). Crevalcore was no less attentive to classical epigraphy than he was to rare marble. The letters on the casement in the present portrait have often been interpreted as a monogram, giving rise to the early idea that the picture was by Ansuino da Forlì (A[nsuinus] F[orlivensis] P[inxit]). Obviously, it cannot refer to our artist, Antonio Leonelli da Crevalcore (Crevalcore is north of Bologna). The inscription at the top was added later, possibly an attempt to record the identity of the sitter. Unfortunately, the coat of arms has not been identified, though the same coat of arms appears in a breviary in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Guéant and Toscano in Forlì 2011, p. 252). Unquestionably, this portrait, datable to about 1475–80, would be Crevalcore's earliest surviving work and the one that most reveals his indebtedness to

the example of Francesco del Cossa, though both G. B. Cavalcaselle (Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1912, p. 237) and Roberto Longhi (1934, p. 76) noted a quality of light that strongly recalls the work of Piero della Francesca. KC

Provenance Teodoro Correr, Venice (d. 1830); Museo Correr, Venice

Selected References Lazari 1859, p. 12; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1912, vol. 2, pp. 236–37; Longhi 1934, pp. 76, 171–72 n. 93; Mariacher 1957, pp. 21–22 (with earlier bibiliography); Zeri 1966, p. 425; Romanelli 1984, p. 58; Sgarbi 1985, pp. 9, 31–37, 41, 98 no. 1 (with earlier bibliography); Marchi 1991, p. 84; Nicosia in Ferrara 2004, p. 304

Lorenzo Costa (Ferrara, ca. 1460–1535, Mantua)

114. *Portrait of a Young Man*

ca. 1490

Tempera on wood (poplar?), 19¾ × 15 in. (50 × 38 cm)

Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (25)



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This poorly preserved panel presents the bust of a young man viewed nearly frontally against a uniformly dark ground. He wears a crimson, sleeveless garment called a *lucco*, which is slit above the arms, a dark doublet beneath it, and a simple *berretta* that matches the red of his outer garment. This could be an official uniform, yet, as is the case with many portraits of young men from this period, there are no clues to indicate his profession. His head is turned slightly to the left, but he gazes directly at the viewer. Dark, medium-length hair drawn back on either side of his brow plays about his face. In its simplicity, the portrait follows the convention established by Antonello da Messina, but here the customary parapet has been omitted. Also, the facial features are strikingly individualized; especially notable are the oddly heavy, almost swollen eyelids and full lips. White highlights on his brow, on his eyelids, beneath his eyes, and on his cheeks accentuate the warm tone of his complexion.

The authorship of the portrait was long disputed. Scholars not only proposed a number of different artists, they ascribed the work to different regional schools. In the 1845 catalogue of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, the painting, acquired in Italy only a short time before, was initially attributed only very generally to the Venetian school (Waagen 1845). Beginning with Giovanni Morelli (Lermolieff 1880), it was given more specifically to Antonello da Messina or his school. In the 1931 catalogue (Kunze 1931) it was ascribed to Alvise Vivarini, an attribution that persisted until the 1960s. Bernard Berenson (1932), however, considered the picture a copy after Giovanni Bellini, and in the 1949 Florentine exhibition in honor of Lorenzo de' Medici the portrait was presented as the work of Domenico Ghirlandaio (Florence 1949). Yet as early as 1931, Adolfo Venturi convincingly proposed a different attribution for the portrait, which "is derived from Antonello's precedents not only in the way the torso is cut off, but also in the three-dimensional rounding of the eyeballs, the nostrils, and the lips. The stringy hair, the meticulously drawn eyebrows, the listless, staring gaze, the lips outlined by a distinct line of light—all this proves that in this painting attributed to Antonello we are looking at a work of Costa's from the time when his art begins to follow the lead of the Venetians" (p. 69). This attribution was accepted by Clifford Brown (1966) with reference to Philip Pouncey, who in 1971 reaffirmed his opinion. With his warm complexion, the young man does indeed recall certain figures—saints and Madonnas—in early portraits by Lorenzo Costa, not only in the flesh tones, psychological characterization, and figural construction, but also in the unusual manner in which the head is outlined and illuminated (Pouncey 1971,

p. 94). Since then the attribution to Costa has been generally accepted. Stylistic comparisons with his altarpiece for San Petronio (especially the figure of Saint George) and his portrait of Giovanni II Bentivoglio (cat. 111) suggest a date in the early 1490s, when Costa was working mainly for the Bentivoglio in Bologna.

On close inspection, one discovers an unusual feature: it is possible to make out fine lines of pricking around the eyelids and brows, the nose, and in the area of the chin. The artist clearly transferred a preliminary drawing on to his prepared panel by means of pouncing. Only the internal drawing of the face was transferred in this way, however; for the outer contour, the artist must have cut the face out of his preliminary drawing and drawn around it, as one would with a template. A portrait drawing by Gentile Bellini (cat. 159) that is pricked for pouncing provides a similar case. This use of a preliminary drawing from life assured an accurate likeness, even if the identity of the subject remains unknown. SH

Provenance Purchased for the Gemäldegalerie in Italy (1841–42)

Selected References Waagen 1845, p. 10; Lermolieff 1880, p. 430; Meyer 1883, pp. 14–15; Bode 1891a, p. 172; Bode 1904b, pp. 12–13; Posse 1909, p. 113; A. Venturi 1931, p. 69; Kunze 1931, p. 513; Berenson 1932, p. 69; Florence 1949, pp. 57–58; Heinemann 1962, vol. 1, p. 274, no. V.391; C. Brown 1966, pp. 114–15, 329; Pouncey 1971; Gemäldegalerie 1975, p. 114; Knut 1979, pp. 108–9; Steer 1982, pp. 180–81, no. 57; Gemäldegalerie 1996, p. 24, no. 25; Bambach 1999a, pp. 106–7; Negro and Roio 2001, p. 97, no. 16

Attributed to the Maestro delle Storie del Pane (Emilian school)

115a, b. *Portrait of a Man (Matteo di Sebastiano di Bernardino Gozzadini?), Portrait of a Woman (Ginevra d'Antonio Lupari Gozzadini?)*

1494 (?)

Tempera on panel, 20¾ × 14⅝ in. (52.7 × 37.1 cm), 19¾ × 14⅝ in. (50.2 × 37.1 cm)

Inscribed: on cat. 115a, *VT SIT NOSTRA;* on cat. 115b, *FORMA. SVPERSTES*

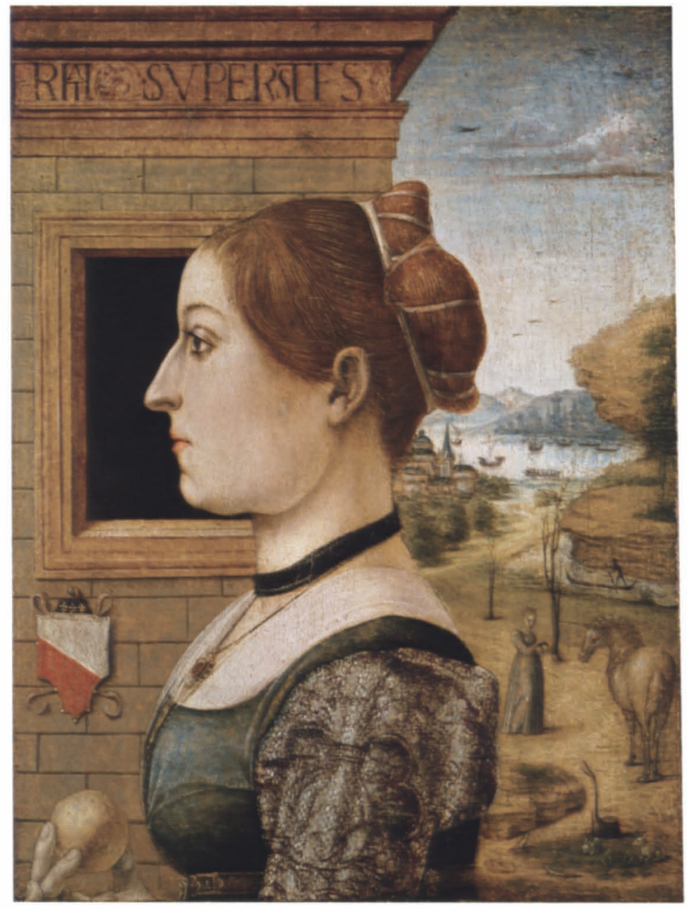
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.95, 1975.1.96)

These portraits evoke the refined artistic culture of late fifteenth-century Bologna during the rule of Giovanni II Bentivoglio (1463–1506) (see cat. 111). The pair, each panel of which bears the coat of arms of the Gozzadini family (the woman's natal arms are not depicted), was sold in the late nineteenth century by Countess Gozzadini to the Florentine dealer Stefano Bardini. Members of the Gozzadini family, whose palace was on the Strada Santo Stefano, were important patrons of the visual arts by the late fifteenth century and then increasingly so during the sixteenth century (Murphy 2003, pp. 91–92 and chap. 4; for the family palazzo, see Guidicini [1873] 1972, pp. 52–53). Lorenzo Costa's magnificent stained-glass window of Saint John on Patmos (San Giovanni in Monte, Bologna) was commissioned by Gabbione Gozzadini in his will of 1481, a request probably carried out by Costa's son Annibale some years later (Volpe 1958, p. 23; Negro and Roio 2001, p. 83, no. 4V). A fragmentary label affixed to the cradle on the reverse of the man's portrait, which probably reflects an inscription found on the panel before it was thinned, reads BERNARDINI DI GOT . . . OS VIGINTI UNO. Several possible identifications have been made based on this label and on archival information about the family. John Pope-Hennessy believed that the likeliest candidates were Matteo di Sebastiano di Bernardino Gozzadini (b. 1473)—and thus the full inscription would have read MATTEUS SEBASTIANI BERNARDINI DE GOTSADINIIS/ AETATIS SUAE ANNOS VIGINTI UNO—and his wife, Ginevra d'Antonio Lupari (d. 1557; for an overview of the question, see Pope-Hennessy 1987, p. 214). Given Matteo's birthdate and his age as noted in the inscription, the paintings would thus date to 1494. However, if the portraits are earlier than that by a decade, as some have suggested (Ghirardi in Bologna 2003, p. 53), then they must depict other family members. Whoever they may be, they are unquestionably a husband and wife.

In an evocative summation of the pair's iconography, Angela Ghirardi (in Bologna 2003, p. 53) called the imagery a "dialogue . . . of the virtues of love." The man proffers a pink, traditionally associated with betrothal and marriage. The landscape to his left features a falconer on horseback, a pelican feeding her young with her own blood, and a phoenix in flames on a tree stump. These are symbolic of, respectively, erotic attachment, charity, and regeneration. The woman, in turn, holds a fruit—perhaps a quince (in Italian *mela cotogna*), the quintessential marriage fruit—and has behind her a woman with a unicorn, symbolic of chastity and virtue, as well as animals such as rabbits and an ermine, referring to fertility and chastity (for a nuanced reading of the landscape and its motifs of love, fertility, and prosperity, see Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, p. 262, nos. 121a, b). She wears luxurious but subdued clothing and jewelry, which might indicate that the portraits



115a



115b

were not painted at the time of their wedding. The overall muted quality of the colors is partly a result of the abraded and changed condition of the portraits. Some areas would originally have been much more highly colored, such as the man's jacket, which was a brighter blue; the woman's sleeves, whose patterns were picked out in a red lake; and even her jewelry, where an intense purplish blue was used. A mixture of underdrawing that includes pouncing (in the horse and rider at left of the man) and freehand drawing shows that the artist made slight changes to the carefully articulated silhouettes (report by Charlotte Hale, 2010).

The profiles are set against impressive architectural fragments suggestive of a grand palace, with a brickwork exterior, a strong cornice and entablature, and a framed window; the woman is silhouetted against a dark interior space. That we see the couple against the exterior of their abode rather than within it, as in most other portrait pairs, is unusual and interesting. An elaborately lettered Latin inscription on the entablature is recorded in a decorative script comparable to that found in northern Italian manuscripts. Decorative motifs of putti and a rider atop a composite figure (a marine monster?) are painted as grisaille reliefs between the words. These have been translated in the past as either "so that our images may survive" (Szabó 1975, p. 56) or, more elegantly, "in order that our features may survive" (Pope-Hennessy 1987, p. 214). Nancy Edwards (in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, p. 262) has recently suggested that the term *forma* should be translated as "beauty" rather than "image" or "feature," as in the inscription on the portrait of Ginevra de' Benci (*Virtutem forma decorat)*, where beauty is explicitly aligned with virtue, as could be implied here. In either case, it is clear that the sitters wished to be remembered for the virtues metaphorically suggested throughout the panels, above all those related to marriage and family.

Earlier attributions to Francesco del Cossa (see cat. 112) and Lorenzo Costa (see cat. 114) have by and large fallen away, especially following an article by Carlo Volpe (1958, pp. 30–31)

suggesting that the pair are close in style to that of an anonymous master best known for his frescoes, now gravely damaged, in the Bentivoglio family castle (used as a villa, or *domus iocunditatis*) at Ponte Poledrano. This master was, in turn, greatly influenced by Cossa. The castle's series of narrative frescoes depicting agricultural activities related to the production of bread concludes with a charming interior scene in which a group of men and women at a banquet table eat the finished product fresh out of the oven, hence the artist's conventional name, the Maestro delle Storie del Pane (for the frescoes and their relationship to these panels, see Sgarbi 1985, pp. 20–21; Bacchi 1984, pp. 304–8; Fortunati 2003, pp. 10–11; Trombetti Budriesi 2006, esp. pp. 103–43). The *castello* was built in 1476–81, and the frescoes were probably completed in about 1480. They are characterized by a rhythmic expanse of landscape interspersed with finely observed animals and buildings of geometric clarity; the latter two features are very similar to those in the Gozzadini portraits, especially the solid and elegantly austere buildings, with their cornices and window embrasures. Volpe (1958, p. 31) hypothesized that this master might be Giovanni Antonio or Guido Aspertini—father and brother, respectively, of the better-known Bolognese artist Amico Aspertini (ca. 1474/75–1552)—both of whom were well respected by contemporaries but whose extant oeuvre is scarce (this possibility would appear very unlikely given the most recent evaluations of their artistic personalities, for which see Benati 2008, pp. 37–43). The enigmatic Giacomo Filippo de Tealdi was also suggested as the author, but in the end the artist remains unknown. Whoever he was, since he worked for the ruling family he would almost certainly have been familiar with Ercole de' Roberti's portrait pair of Giovanni II and his wife, Ginevra Sforza Bentivoglio (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), of about 1474–77, which might have inspired the strict profile formality of the Gozzadini pair.

AB

Provenance Countess Gozzadini, Bologna; Stefano Bardini, Florence (by 1902; his sale, Christie's, London, May 26–30, 1902); [Galerie Trotti, Paris, by 1909]; Philip Lehman, New York (from 1911)

Selected References Volpe 1958, pp. 30–31; Szabó 1975, p. 56; Bacchi 1984, pp. 307–8; Sgarbi 1985, pp. 20–22; Pope-Hennessy 1987, pp. 214–19, nos. 89, 90 (with earlier bibliography); Ghirardi in Bologna 2003, p. 53; Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, pp. 261–62, nos. 121a, b

Lorenzo Costa (Ferrara, ca. 1460–1535, Mantua)

116. *Battista Fiera*

ca. 1507–8

Oil on wood, 20¼ × 15¼ in. (51.4 × 38.7 cm)

Inscribed: on parapet (visible in infrared photographs) and then copied onto reverse, *BATT*[ist]*A.FIERA.MEDIC*[us].*MANTVA*

The National Gallery, London, Bequeathed by the Misses Cohen as part of the John Samuel Collection, 1906 (NG 2083)

This highly original portrait from the hand of the Gonzaga's court painter Lorenzo Costa depicts the Mantuan native (Giovanni) Battista Fiera (ca. 1465–1538), a physician, poet, and philosopher. The inscription on the back identifying the subject is not original but, rather, records one that extends across the entire width of the parapet (see, however, the identification of the sitter in Costa's portrait of Giovanni II Bentivoglio [cat. 111]). Only portions of the original inscription are still legible to the naked eye. An engraving after this painting appeared as the frontispiece to the 1649 edition of Fiera's *Coena*. The publication's editor, Carlo Avanzi, described the subject as being "of medium stature, especially animated eyes, in his countenance and entire person tending toward elegance, he had long hair and was clean-shaven in the fashion of the time." In his introduction to the book Avanzi explains that he had obtained the details of Fiera's appearance from his great-grandson (Fiera 1649).

After studying medicine and logic in Pavia, Fiera spent several years in Rome, where, along with Michele Marullo Tarchaniota—the two dedicated poems to each other (Marullo Tarchaniota 1951, E IV XI, pp. 86–87)—he belonged to the humanist circle around Pomponio Leto. His chief work, the *Coena* (first published 1490), is a series of Latin epigrams on foodstuffs and their medicinal properties. Dedicated to Cardinal Raffaele Riario (1461–1521; see cat. 126), it proved popular throughout Europe and was frequently reprinted. Toward the end of the century Fiera returned to his hometown of Mantua, where he served the Gonzaga as court physician; the majority of his poems are paeans to that ruling family. These were not well received by posterity. The Mantuan humanist Niccolò d'Arco (1492/93–1546), for example, mercilessly judged that Fiera's works deserved "to be tossed in the Mincio river or into the fire" (Dionisotti 1958, p. 413).

Fiera later served as physician to the courtier and writer Baldassare Castiglione, whose children he tutored (Asor Rosa in



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Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, vol. 47, 1997, pp. 415–16). He also maintained close contacts with artists associated with the Mantuan court. He had been an especially close friend of Andrea Mantegna's during that artist's stay in Rome, and in 1506 he witnessed the painter's last will and testament. It is possible that Fiera was the author of the distich that appears in Mantegna's funerary chapel (Vienna 1994, pp. 132–33, no. 59). In his *De justicia pingenda* (ca. 1490) he has Mantegna appear opposite Momus, the god of mockery, in a debate on the proper representation of Justice. Fiera also included an ode on Mantegna's painting of Parnassus for the *studiolo* of Isabella d'Este in his collection *Melanysius* (first published 1515; Jones 1981), and on the artist's death he produced a poem addressed to Francesco Gonzaga in which he mourns the loss of a painter who combined the virtues of the ancient artists Aristides and Apelles. According to the poem, the prince was to take comfort from the fact that a new Parrhasius and a new Zeuxis had taken his place, a reference to Costa and Francesco Bonsignori (Jones 1981, p. 192 n. 2).

Costa's portrait of the art-loving poet and court physician is his finest, and its novelty, immediacy, and vitality make it one of the most unusual examples from the early sixteenth century. In concept it is obviously patterned after Venetian prototypes by Antonello da Messina (see cats. 147, 148), Giovanni Bellini (see cat. 150), and Alvise Vivarini (see cat. 166); it shows the subject behind a low, gray stone parapet and against a dark background that appears to fuse with his dark head covering. Here Costa used an unusual, carefully balanced perspective

to create the impression of lifelike, spontaneous movement. Fiera's right shoulder is angled into the picture space, his left one conspicuously shaded, so that the figure appears to emerge from the dark background. Yet his head is turned toward the viewer, and contrary to customary practice in portraiture the eyes are set at a noticeable slant rather than along a true horizontal. Fiera gazes at the viewer out of the corners of his eyes and from slightly below, a feature that Adolfo Venturi blamed on the artist's distorted vision ("fece guardare di traverso"; A. Venturi 1901–40, vol. 7 [1914], pt. 3, p. 810, fig. 603). All of this gives the impression that the sitter has just abandoned another, more static pose and turned for a moment toward the painter/viewer. A hint of strain is suggested by the slight furrowing of his brows and forehead. His distinguishing features—chin, nose, and eyes—are modeled with pronounced effects of light and shadow, and extreme care was devoted to the subtle shading of his skin. In this instance Costa's realism extends to the prominence accorded the warts on the sitter's cheek—his trademarks, as it were—in the center of the picture. The impression of life and movement is further underscored by the somewhat long, radiantly red hair set off against the pale violet of the doublet. It descends in lovely curves in a few carefully worked, unruly strands from the close-fitting cap. Fiera seems about to speak, for his mouth is slightly open, a highly unusual feature at that time. The expressiveness and intimacy that Costa achieves with such subtlety suggest that the two men were closely acquainted, and the work could accordingly be a token of their friendship. Costa had already produced a similarly unconventional picture in his *Concert* (National Gallery, London), in which the animated movement of the three singers is underscored by stray strands of hair, though there rendered more emphatically, as those figures seem decidedly more robust than Fiera. It has been surmised that the present picture was a gift to the court physician in return for his having treated the artist's syphilis, a malady he is documented to have suffered from in 1505 (Martineau in London 1981–82, p. 154), but this cannot be confirmed. Emilio Negro and Nicosetta Roio (2001) have uncovered documents in which a certain Antonio da Grato is named as the physician treating Costa.

The portrait was produced in Costa's first years in Mantua, where he assumed the position of court painter shortly after Mantegna's death, in 1506. It is generally dated to about 1510 (C. Brown 1966, p. 374) or somewhat earlier (1507–8 in Martineau in London 1981–82, pp. 153–54, no. 96; 1505–10 in Romano 1980). The sitter would thus have been between forty-two and forty-four years old, an age consonant with his appearance here. Following Clifford Brown's 1966 study, an associated drawing in black chalk, formerly in the Koenigs collection and now in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, is no longer considered a preliminary drawing but rather a copy after the painting (Maiskaya in Moscow 1995–96, p. 173, no. 101).

Costa's striking portrait is closely related to Antonello da Messina's experiments with expressions in portraiture. A similarly transitory movement can already be seen in Leonardo's portrait of Cecilia Gallerani (fig. 36), although there it is more pronounced, to be sure, and the subject seems suddenly to turn away from the painter rather than toward him. It should also be noted that at the time Costa executed his portrait of Battista Fiera, Giorgione was developing the *ritratto di spalla,* a pose in which the sitter glances back over his shoulder. SH

Provenance Milan; Brescia (1872); John Samuel, London; Louise and Lucy Cohen (1894); bequeathed to the National Gallery (1906)

Selected References Harck 1894; Spielmann 1907, p. 232; Longhi 1934, p. 106, no. 105; Gould 1962, pp. 43–44; C. Brown 1966, pp. 259, 374; Varese 1967, p. 71, no. 52, fig. 55; Martineau in London 1981–82, pp. 153–54, no. 96; Baker and Henry 1995, p. 151; Maiskaya in Moscow 1995–96, p. 173, no. 101; Negro and Roio 1998; Anderson 1999, no. 45; Sogliani 2006, p. 261

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

117. *Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta*

1445

Lead, cast; Diam. 4⅛ in. (10.4 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, **SIGISMVNDVS·DE·MALATESTIS·ARIMINI·7C·ET·ROMANE·ECLLESIE·CAPITANEVS / GENERALIS* (Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini etcetera and Captain General of the Roman Church); on reverse, *OPVS PISANI PICTORIS*; on the building, *·M·CCCC· / ·XLV·* (the work of the painter Pisano, 1445)

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18218936)

Matteo de' Pasti (Verona, ca. 1412–1467/68, Rimini)

118. *Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta*

1446–ca. 1450

Bronze, cast; Diam. 3¼ in. (8.4 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, **SIGISMONDVS·PANDVLFVS·DE·MALATESTIS·S·RO·ECLESIE·CAPITANEVS·G·* (Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, Captain General of the Holy Roman Church); on reverse, **CASTELLVM·SISMONDVM·ARIMINENSE·M·CCCC·XLVI* (Castel Sismondo of Rimini 1446)

Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18200290)

In an open letter to Italian Renaissance princes in 1453, the humanist Timoteo Maffei singled out Sigismondo Malatesta



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(1417–1468) for his medallic portraits: "I have seen innumerable images in relief [medals] that immortalize your name. They are of bronze, gold, and silver, the work of Matteo de' Pasti of Verona, a truly talented man. They are located in foundations, in the walls of buildings, or sent to foreign nations. They will bring you great distinction and fame" (Friedlaender 1882, p. 43; Castiglioni 2002, pp. 36–37 n. 2; I am grateful to Luciano Meligrana for the translation). Maffei, himself the subject of a medal by Matteo de' Pasti (Hill 1930, no. 159), was right: medals of Sigismondo have been excavated frequently in and around Rimini (Pasini 1973) and are widely disseminated in collections around the world. Much preoccupied with his fame, Sigismondo was the only individual to be represented in medals by both of the great early practitioners of the art form: Pisanello, the founder of the genre, and his fellow Veronese Matteo de' Pasti, who was probably also a pupil of the master (London 2001–2, p. 224; Castiglioni 2002, pp. 8–10).

Pisanello's medal focuses on Sigismondo's military success. On the obverse the sitter is shown in armor with the Malatesta heraldic emblem of a four-petaled rose (a botanical anomaly) delicately ornamenting his right shoulder. In the inscription, Sigismondo is identified as captain general of the papal forces, a prestigious and lucrative position that he first obtained in 1435. On the reverse, he appears on horseback in full field armor (London 2001–2, p. 65), leading with the baton of command raised in his right hand. The fortified building in the background bears the date 1445, and the Malatesta shield is displayed on the adjacent tower. The architecture is probably a reference to the fortress of Rocca Contrada (modern-day Arcevia), which Sigismondo conquered in 1445.

Pisanello is not documented in Rimini in 1445; he probably made this medal while he was working in Ferrara for Leonello d'Este (see cat. 69), who became Sigismondo's brother-in-law when Sigismondo married Ginevra d'Este in 1434, and who was similarly prolific in his medallic commissions. Ginevra died in 1440, and in 1442 Sigismondo married Francesco Sforza's illegitimate daughter Polissena, but cordial relations seem to have remained between the former brothers-in–law, and Sigismondo probably sought to emulate the courtly success of the much better established Este by commissioning many medals. In fact, this was not Pisanello's first medal of Sigismondo: in an earlier signed medal, Sigismondo is identified as lord of Rimini and Fano (Hill 1930, no. 330; London 2001–2, p. 64). The earlier portrait is slightly different, with shorter hair and a less bellicose appearance as a result of the fur-trimmed brocaded *giornea* worn over the chain mail.

Matteo de' Pasti is first documented in Rimini in 1449, when he married a local woman, Lisa del Baldegara, and bought a house (Castiglioni 2002, pp. 17–18). Such a permanent move suggests that he had been connected with the city for some time, likely through Sigismondo, in whose employ he remained for the rest of his life. It is therefore possible that at least a few of the many Malatesta medals that bear the 1446 date were actually made in that year (Castiglioni 2002, p. 21). It was Sigismondo's *annus mirabilis*: he defeated Francesco Sforza (see cat. 98) at Gradara, he officially completed the construction of his palace



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fortress in Rimini (the Castel Sismondo, which appears on the reverse of this medal), and he may have begun his notorious relationship with Isotta degli Atti (cat. 119). Given the confluence on the medal's reverse of the Castel Sismondo and the date of its completion, it is possible that the design for the reverse was originally made in 1446 and continued to be produced over the years.

The medal with the castle reverse, the best-known and most widely disseminated of Sigismondo's medallic images, exists in eight variants with small changes in the inscriptions and details of the castle. It was made in conjunction with two types of obverse portraits: Sigismondo appears in profile facing to the left, wearing elegant court dress, as here; less often Sigismondo is depicted in armor (Hill 1930, no. 184), the legend shortened to accommodate more of his bust.

In contrast to Pisanello, whose design for the reverse of the medal suggests a narrative, Matteo made a specialty of focusing on a single imposing element. He did that brilliantly here with the majestic forms of the newly built castle of Rimini, the first medal to feature an architectural subject. Matteo's portrait of Sigismondo is much larger in proportion to the medal's surface than is Pisanello's, and it offers a more detailed rendition of the same recognizable features: the prominent, slightly aquiline, nose; the straight, determined mouth; and the thick, wavy hair. As on the reverse, Matteo chose a closer focus while preserving the same type of lettering and the naturalism seen on Pisanello's medals.

Four examples of a slight variant of Matteo's medal (Hill 1930, no. 174) were found in the left capital above the archway of the San Sigismondo chapel in the church of San Francesco in Rimini, called the Tempio Malatestiano (Pasini 2009, p. 70). Since the capitals were in place in the fall of 1450, the design for the medal must have been created no later than that date. The medal was probably the model for Piero della Francesca's frescoed portrait of the lord of Rimini, signed and dated 1451, in the Chapel of the Relics in San Francesco (Castiglioni 2002, p. 24). That fresco is further connected with Matteo's medal by its inclusion of a view through an oculus of Castel Sismondo that is virtually identical to the medal's reverse and even includes a similar inscription on the fictive architectural border and the date 1446 (Lavin 1974, pp. 357–59). The painted-panel portrait of Sigismondo in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, may also be traced to Matteo's likeness, though in its thinner forms it appears further removed from the medal than does the fresco.

It is a demonstration of the importance of medals for disseminating likenesses that Pisanello's medal of Sigismondo also seems to have been used as the model for a painted portrait. In Florence, when painting the fresco decoration in the chapel of the Palazzo Medici in 1459, Benozzo Gozzoli turned to Pisanello's medal as the model for the portrait of the lord of Rimini, a Medici friend, who is shown on a brown horse warily eyeing his neighbor, the young Galeazzo Maria Sforza (Mesnil 1909; Ahl 1996, pp. 95–96). EL

Selected References Cat. 117: Hill 1930, no. 34; Sylvie de Turckheim-Pey in Paris 1996, p. 404; Rugolo 1996, p. 167; Börner 1997, pp. 22–23, no. 18; Restani 1997, pp. 343–47; London 2001–2, pp. 35–36, 65; Rimini 2001, pp. 280, 284; Daniele Diotallevi in Arezzo 2007, pp. 217–18; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 22–23

Cat. 118: Hill 1930, no. 177; Elena Corradini in Milan 1991, pp. 108–9; Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 64, 73, 76; Luke Syson in Mantua 1994, p. 483; Sylvie de Turckheim-Pey in Paris 1996, pp. 404; Börner 1997, p. 31, no. 60; Restani 1997, pp. 343–47; London 2001–2, pp. 111, 224–26; Rimini 2001, pp. 280, 284; Gianluca Ameri in Mantua 2006, p. 280; Daniele Diotallevi in Arezzo 2007, pp. 217–18; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 43–44

Matteo de' Pasti (Verona, ca. 1412–1467/68, Rimini)

119. *Isotta degli Atti*

ca. 1450

Bronze, cast; Diam. 3¼ in. (8.4 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, ·*ISOTE·ARIMINENSI·FORMA·ET·VIRTVTE·ITALIE·DECORI*· (to Isotta of Rimini, the ornament of Italy for beauty and virtue); on reverse, *OPVS·MATHEI·DE·PASTIS·V·M·CCCC·XLVI*· (the work of Matteo de' Pasti of Verona, 1446)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1957.14.651)

The daughter of a well-to-do Rimini merchant, Isotta degli Atti (ca. 1432–1474) became Sigismondo Malatesta's mistress sometime about 1446, the year memorialized on this medal as well as on several others of Matteo's production for Sigismondo (cat. 118) and in the inscription on Isotta's tomb in the Tempio Malatestiano, the church of San Francesco in Rimini (Luciano 1996, p. 7). Renaissance princes commonly had mistresses. Indeed, many of the men portrayed in this exhibition—Leonello and Borso d'Este, Federigo da Montefeltro, Francesco Sforza, Sigismondo Malatesta—were themselves the product of such liaisons (Ettlinger 1994). It was extremely rare, however, for a prince to actually marry his mistress, but Sigismondo did just that about 1455–56. By taking Isotta as his third wife, he gave up the possibility of a much-needed political alliance and dowry. Marriage is the subject of Isotta's only extant letter, written to Sigismondo on December 20, 1454: "if for love of me Your Lordship desires to preserve my life and my peace, then will you undertake a real marriage as soon as possible?" (Yriarte 1882, p. 395). From the outset, Sigismondo and Isotta's relationship was out of the ordinary; already in 1447 she was privileged over his still-living second wife, Polissena Sforza, with the grant of a funerary chapel in the Tempio Malatestiano (Soranzo 1925).

This is one of five medals produced in honor of Isotta as part of a larger program of celebration that included poetry, known as *isottei* (Massera 1911; Massera 1928). The medal's inscription, inspired by Virgil, was likely devised by one of the "Isottan" humanists, Basinio da Parma (Rainey 1991, pp. 160–61), who went to Rimini in 1449 and was also the author of a series of thirty elegies in honor of Isotta, the *Liber isottaeus* (Ferri 1917).

The elegant portrait on the obverse is remarkable for the intricate hair arrangement, recalling northern European fashion, with a high, probably shaved, forehead and a large postiche, covered at the back with a light veil held in place by a brooch on top of the head. The portrait, and the medal as a whole, was probably created as a pendant to one of Sigismondo, on which he faces in the opposite direction (cat. 118). In 1551 Paolo Giovio recorded a medal formed by the two



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portraits cast together (Tôchon d'Anneci 1816, p. 14; probably Hill 1930, no. 173).

It is widely accepted that the 1446 date on the medal is commemorative, which has led to much debate over its actual date of production. Pier Giorgio Pasini (1987, p. 147) has suggested about 1453, but there is no reason why the medal could not date to about 1450, when Isotta was at the height of her power, and after 1449, when Polissena Sforza died and Basinio moved to Rimini. Isotta was the second woman to be memorialized in a medal; the first was Cecilia Gonzaga (cat. 87). Like Cecilia, Isotta was an extraordinary figure, falling outside and in some ways above the norm for women, which may account for this unusual honor.

The elephant on the most appealing reverse was a Malatesta emblem and appeared as the crest on the Malatesta arms (Ricci 1974, pp. 319–20); sculptures and reliefs of the beast are also ubiquitous in the Tempio Malatestiano. Since Sigismondo claimed to be descended from Scipio Africanus (Luciano 1996, p. 10 n. 49), the elephant also functioned as a reference to this connection. On Malatesta medals, the elephant is primarily associated with Isotta, though a 1457 inventory records the existence of a small medal of Sigismondo with an elephant on the reverse (Pasini 1973, p. 46; Luciano 1996, p. 8 n. 44). The fifteenth-century interest in elephants can be traced to the popularity of the fourteenth-century *Triumphs* of Petrarch, in particular the "Triumph of Fame," in which the chariot of Fame is drawn by a pair of elephants. In addition, Pliny the Elder's praise of the elephant for its intelligence, prudence, and religiosity (*Natural History* 8.1–12; Maxwell 1992, p. 859) was well known. The elephant on the reverse of this medal was not Matteo's first; he is recorded as having depicted elephants in 1441 in a miniature illustration of Petrarch's "Triumph of Fame" for Piero de' Medici (Castiglioni 2002, p. 6). EL

Selected References Pasini 1987, p. 147; Alison Luchs in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 62–64; Luciano 1996, pp. 6–9; Restani 1997, pp. 359–60; Castiglioni 2002, pp. 29–30; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 47–48; Dopfel 2009, pp. 11–12

Pietro di Spagna (active in Urbino, ca. 1474–82?)

120. *Federigo da Montefeltro and His Son Guidobaldo*

ca. 1476–77
Oil on fir, 54½ × 32½ in. (138.5 × 82.5 cm)
Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino (702)

This landmark in the history of portraiture is the result of the enlightened patronage of one of the great figures of the Renaissance, Federigo da Montefeltro (1422–1482), the celebrated *condottiere*-ruler of the duchy of Urbino. Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–1498) noted in the preface to his biography of the duke that no other Renaissance ruler combined to such a degree the soldier with the man of letters. He also remarked admiringly on the duke's mastery of Latin, his knowledge "not only of history and the Holy Scriptures, but his very great learning in philosophy" (Vespasiano da Bisticci 1859 ed., pp. 91ff.), and attested that his knowledge of the arts was no less complete, ascribing to him an active role in the design of his famous palace: "Concerning painting, he was very knowledgeable; and since he could not find in Italy painters to his taste, he sent as far afield as Flanders to find a worthy master; and he brought him to Urbino, where he had him paint many stately works, especially in his study, where he had the philosophers and poets and doctors of the Church painted—Greek as well as Latin—[and] done with marvelous artifice; there [this master] portrayed his lordship from life, which work lacks only breath" (Vespasiano da Bisticci 1859 ed., chap. 25, p. 93).

The portrait of Federigo to which Vespasiano refers must be the one exhibited here. In it, the dynastic and emblematic conventions that shaped so many fifteenth-century portraits have been transformed by scale, conception, and a style that artfully combines Netherlandish naturalism with the abstracting, mathematical vision of Italian painting. Seated on an elaborate throne covered in velvet and encrusted with gems and pearls, Federigo is shown wearing a suit of armor over which is draped a ceremonial brocade mantle—a *cappa magna*—with the collar and insignia of the Order of the Ermine, conferred on him by Ferrante of Aragon in 1474, inscribed [De]ORVM. Below his knee he wears the insignia of the Order of the Garter embroidered with the motto HONY [soit qui] MAL Y PENSE (shame on him who thinks evil of it), granted by Edward IV that August. His helmet and commander's baton signifying his appointment as *gonfaloniere* of the papal troops sit on the floor,

while on the bookshelf is displayed the ceremonial, dome-shaped hat embroidered with pearls that, like the mantle and sword, signifies his investiture by Pope Sixtus IV as duke (Lauts and Herzner 2001). On the basis of a 1487 inventory of the ducal library, the large codex bound in red silk and adorned with the Montefeltro coat of arms has been identified as a compilation of the works of Saint Gregory the Great (New York 2007b, p. 106). The duke is thus shown prepared for battle, ennobled, but devoted to the study of the Fathers of the Church. Beside him, dressed in full regalia as ducal heir (Chesne Dauphiné Griffo in Urbino 1983), stands his son Guidobaldo (1472–1508), perhaps four or five years old, thus establishing the approximate date of the picture. He holds a gilded scepter inscribed PO[n]TIFEX, asserting the dynastic succession.

The lifesize scale and full-length depiction of the sitters make this portrait a unique survivor of a type of court portraiture of which we otherwise have only scattered records (see cat. 75). It is unlikely, however, that any of these were of comparable quality, programmatic density, and sheer pictorial innovation. The conceit is that we look up into a small, private chamber where we see the duke—his son standing patiently at his side—reading a volume from his famous library, his raised eyebrows, furrowed forehead, and pursed lips creating an image of engrossed concentration. On closer inspection, this fiction of a moment of private life proves to be a carefully programmed presentation of Federigo as the ideal prince—balancing the *vita activa* with the *vita contemplativa*—and of his son as his worthy heir (on this, see especially Lauts and Herzner 2001). The duke's helmet projects into the viewer's space, and the room in which he sits is lit from a window on the far side of the bookshelf. This concern for illusionism, the play of light on varied surfaces, and the suggestion of an informal moment and arrested action relate the portrait to two cycles of paintings also commissioned by Federigo. The first, showing twenty-eight famous men—philosophers, theologians, historians, and teachers—decorated the *studiolo* in the ducal palace at Urbino (now divided between the Musée du Louvre, Paris, and the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino). The second, in which figures in contemporary dress kneel in homage before enthroned personifications of the Liberal Arts, was doubtless intended to decorate another of the duke's residences (L. Campbell 1998, pp. 285–86; Raggio 1999, pp. 157–67). If, as Vespasiano's text seems to imply, the portrait was hung in the *studiolo* at Urbino, Federigo would have been seen in the company of the great men whose books filled his library shelves (but see Rotondi 1973; Cheles 1986). Alternatively, we might imagine the picture as decorating the ducal library, for it was unquestionably conceived for installation in a particular room and not as a portable work of art (Lauts and Herzner 2001).

Who painted this remarkable work? After a century of debate there is still no consensus. However, we know of a "Magister Pe[t]rus Spagniolus pictor"—the painter Pedro of Spain, or Pietro di Spagna—who in 1477 was living in Urbino and was closely associated with the ducal court (Juřen 1997, p. 50; Marías and Pereda 2002, p. 380). Evidently Castilian in origin, he either joined or supplanted another non-Italian painter: Justus of Ghent (Joos van Wassenhove), doubtless the artist Vespasiano says Federigo brought from Flanders. We know that Justus left Ghent for Rome sometime after 1469, and he is documented in Urbino between 1473 and October 1474 working on an altarpiece for a confraternity (Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino). He also designed the series of famous men, which technical examination has established were then completed by a second painter—our Pietro di Spagna—in a more vigorous style employing a bolder technique (see especially Reynaud and Ressort 1991; Menu et al. 2011). In the past, Pietro di Spagna has, understandably, been identified with Pedro Berruguete, who was born in Castile and played a key role in the introduction of Renaissance style to Spain (for a historiographic review, see Reynaud and Ressort 1991; Lorentz 2004; Cavalca in Forlì 2011, pp. 138–41). The problem is that we have no documentation of Berruguete's movements in these years. Moreover, an examination of the technical features and perspective construction of Berruguete's later, Spanish paintings makes the identification problematic (see especially Lucco 2004; Poldi and Villa 2003; Garrido and González Mozo 2004; Garriga 2004; Minardi 2011). Although the last word on the subject has yet to be written, what can be asserted with some confidence is that, having completed the cycle of famous men for the *studiolo*, our artist went on to paint the cycle of the Liberal Arts, the portrait of Federigo and Guidobaldo, and some other paintings in an ever more accomplished, Italianate style. If, as seems possible, he is also the author of a remarkable *Madonna and Child* in Berlin (Gemäldegalerie, inv. 30A), then prior to arriving in Urbino he spent some time in Ferrara. The alternative suggestion is that the author of the Urbino portrait is an unknown Italian artist (see Lucco 2004; Strehlke 2003).

What emerges from this century-long debate is the truly exceptional character of the portrait and the complex culture that informs it, what Max Friedländer described as "half Netherlandish, half Italian" (1927, p. 92). When we recall that Federigo had been portrayed twice by Piero della Francesca—



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in the famous diptych in the Uffizi, Florence, and as a donor in his great altarpiece in the Brera, Milan—we may be initially surprised that he should have attached so much importance to finding a painter conversant with Netherlandish practice. But he was hardly alone (see cat. 71). In his depiction of Federigo in the Uffizi diptych, Piero suppressed blemishes and scars and even rendered less hideous the duke's notched nose—the result of a jousting accident that left him blind in his right eye—to create an ideal, timeless image: one that may have impressed its sitter as overly abstract and impersonal and lacking that quality of lifelikeness so admired in Netherlandish paintings. It has long been recognized that Federigo had the praying hands of his portrait in Piero's altarpiece in Milan repainted in a distinctly realist style by the author of our picture. Clearly, the duke had his own ideas on the way he wanted to be shown. Might this explain his ultimate preference for a talented young Spaniard schooled in the Netherlandish technique of oil painting but amenable to his ideas and capable—as Justus evidently was not—of producing a work that, in its combination of Netherlandish naturalism with Italian geometry, seemed to "lack only breath," to appropriate the humanist trope employed by Vespasiano and of singular relevance here? Is it mere coincidence that another landmark in portraiture—Jacopo de' Barbari's depiction of 1495 showing the mathematician Luca Pacioli giving a Euclidian demonstration (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples)—was also painted in Urbino, this time by a Venetian artist who combined Italian theory with a northern realism? KC

Provenance Palazzo Ducale, Urbino (until 1632); Barberini collection, Rome (1631–1934); acquired by the Italian state in 1934 and deposited in Urbino

Selected References Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1903–14, vol. 5, p. 43; Friedländer 1927, pp. 89–90; Longhi (1927) 1963, p. 76; Lavalleye 1936, pp. 142–46; Lavalleye 1964, pp. 109–12 (with earlier bibliography); Rotondi in Urbino 1973, pp. 582, 586–89; Sangiorgi 1982, p. 30; Neerman in Urbino 1983, p. 90; Chesne Dauphiné Griffo in Urbino 1983, pp. 95–96; Rosenberg 1986, pp. 213–22; Cheles 1986, pp. 17–21; Renaud and Ressort 1991, p. 104; Evans 1993, pp. 88, 98; Silva Maroto 1998, pp. 86, 99–103, 105; Bernini 1999, pp. 19–21; Lauts and Herzner 2001, pp. 362–68; Dal Poggetto in Paredes de Nava 2003, pp. 120–25; Lucco 2003, pp. 51–76; Poldi and Villa 2003, pp. 399–401, 412; Silva Maroto in Paredes de Nava 2003, pp. 22–23; Strehlke 2003, p. 540; Urbino 2003, pp. 28–36, 55; Lorentz 2004, p. 52; New York 2007b, pp. 102–9; Campbell in London 2008–9, p. 190, no. 51; Menu et al. 2011, p. 39; Minardi in Forlì 2011, pp. 71–73; Cavalca in Forlì 2011, pp. 141, 153–54

Sperandio of Mantua (Sperandio di Bartolommeo Savelli; Mantua, ca. 1425/28–after 1504, Mantua)

121. *Federigo da Montefeltro*

ca. 1474–82

Bronze, cast; Diam. 3½ in. (8.9 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *DIVI· FE*[derici] *·VRB*[ini]*· DVCIS· MO*[n]*TE*[feltri]*· AC· DVR*[antis]*· COM*[it-is]*· REG*[ii]*· CAP*[itanei]*· GE*[neralis]*· AC·S*[anctae]*· RO*[manae]*· ECCL*[esiae]*· CON*[falonerii]*· INVICTI** ([image] of the divine Federigo, duke of Urbino, count of Montefeltro and Castel Durante, royal captain general and invincible *gonfaloniere* of the Holy Roman Church); on reverse, *·OPVS· SPERANDEI·* (the work of Sperandio)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Anne D. Thomson, 1923 (23.280.28)

In his *Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, George F. Hill lists eight medals of Federigo da Montefeltro (1930, nos. 47, 295, 304, 305, 307, 317, 389, 1118). The earliest, signed by Paolo da Ragusa (active ca. 1450), seems to date from 1450 and shows the future duke (1422–1482) without his famously notched nose, the result of a jousting accident that left him blind in one eye. Others are dated 1468 and 1478. A large one (11.9 cm in diameter) shows the duke's effigy surrounded by the emblem of the Order of the Garter, which he was awarded by Edward IV in 1474; it is sometimes attributed to Pietro Torrigiano (1472–1528) and is thought to be posthumous (see Diotallevi in Urbino 2005, pp. 204–5). Sperandio's medal has also been thought posthumous because of the epithet *divus* (divine or deified) employed in the inscription. This epithet, conferred on Julius Caesar following his death and later associated with the cult of the emperor, was bestowed as well on members of the imperial entourage, such as Hadrian's beloved, Antinous. It also appears on Roman coins and was emulated on the medals of Italian rulers, sometimes when they were still alive: for example, Pisanello's 1449 medal of Alfonso of Aragon (cat. 132) or Marescotti's medal of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, cast when the future duke of Milan was only thirteen years old (see Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 70, no. 49). Hill was surely right to insist that on Renaissance medals the epithet *divus* is not automatically an indication that a medal is posthumous; rather, it affirms an association with imperial Rome. All the same, Sperandio's medal may well have been cast after Federigo's death, as it records all of Federigo's titles and therefore certainly postdates 1474.

The reverse shows Federigo in armor, mounted on a caparisoned horse bearing one of his devices. He wears the flattop hat, or ducal mortier, and leans forward brandishing a baton,



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as though marching into battle. Luke Syson has convincingly argued that this composition is based on a reworking of the similar reverse of the medal of Giovanni II Bentivoglio, which seems to have been cast prior to March 1482 (see Syson in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, p. 97). Interestingly, just as that medal incorporated elements from Pisanello's medals of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (cat. 86) and Filippo Maria Visconti (cat. 95), so the advancing horse and active pose of Federigo recall the reverse of Pisanello's 1445 medal of Sigismondo Malatesta, an archenemy Federigo defeated in 1462.

Pisanello's medal celebrates Sigismondo as captain general of the Church and his victory at Fano over Francesco Sforza, who was in league with Federigo. Sperandio's medal appropriates this imagery for Federigo, who in 1482 was chosen captain general of the Italian League to defend the Este regime in Ferrara against the pretensions of the pope and Venice. He succumbed to a fever, dying in the ducal palace at Ferrara. Prior to 1477 Sperandio had been employed by both Borso and Ercole d'Este; he then transferred to Faenza and Bologna. One possible scenario is that the medal was commissioned by Ercole to honor his ally and defender. Clearly, Federigo and his fellow rulers attached great importance to medals as a means of asserting their claim to power and ensuring their legacy, and they recognized how medallic imagery could be reconfigured to suit the circumstances. KC

Provenance Anne D. Thomson, New York (until 1923)

Selected References Foville 1910; Hill 1930, p. 100, no. 389; Syson in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 97–101, no. 25; Börner 1997, p. 49, no. 140

Mino da Fiesole (Mino di Giovanni; Papiano or Montemignaio, 1429–1484, Florence)

122. *Niccolò di Leonardo Strozzi*

1454

Marble, H. 19¼ in. (49 cm)

Inscribed: in interior of cavity beneath torso and arms, *NICOLAVS · DE STROZIS · / IN VRBE · A*[nno] *· MCCCCLIIII·* (Niccolò de' Strozzi, in the city [Rome], in the year 1454); along edge of cavity beneath statue, *OPVS · NINI* (the work of Ninus)

Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (96)

The essential information concerning the origins of this well-preserved bust comes from two inscriptions carved on hidden areas of the marble. The artist hollowed out the interior of the torso and the arms to create a coherent oval space, where he inscribed a pseudoscroll in two lines that identifies the subject, place of execution, and date, carving his signature along the empty edge of this large bowl-like cavity.

The stylistic and chronological connections between this bust and the portrait of Piero de' Medici (cat. 47) as well as similarities to various other marble busts leave no doubt that it was executed by Mino da Fiesole. Yet the use of NINI instead of MINI in the signature created much confusion in earlier scholarship. It is worth noting that there is at least one other bust by the same sculptor, executed a few months after this one, that is also signed OPVS NINI (*Astorgio Manfredi*, 1455, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). Moreover, this variation of Mino's



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signature also appears in Renaissance literature on art (Pomponio Gaurico, *De Sculptura* [Florence, 1504], in Caglioti 1991).

Mino was among the Italian Renaissance artists most aware of the significance of signing his own works. The succinct but suggestive OPVS MINI, made unambiguous by the rarity of the name "Mino," was clearly modeled on the signatures of such famous masters as Giotto (OPVS IOCTI) and Donatello (OPVS DONATELLI). In turn, these were inspired by the two apocryphal signatures—OPVS FIDIAE and OPVS PRAXITELIS ("the work of Phidias" and "the work of Praxiteles")—that could be seen throughout the medieval period on the two famous ancient equestrian groups on the Quirinal Hill in Rome (see Donato 2006). As the inscription on the Strozzi bust reveals, Mino executed the work in the Eternal City, where a comparison with classical sculpture was inevitable. Still young and ambitious, the artist evidently must have considered for a time (ca. 1454–55) the possibility of presenting himself as "Ninus," which unlike "Minus" was a well-documented name that appears throughout ancient literature (Ninus was believed to have founded the Assyrian capital of Nineveh).

When Mino arrived in Rome for the first time, in 1454, he had already achieved a reputation as a portraitist, having just

consigned his bust of Piero de' Medici to its patron in Florence. The fame the sculptor eventually acquired, which accompanied him until his death, especially between Florence and Rome, had its beginnings in this creative burst, which produced the portraits of some of the greatest contemporary Italian personalities. In 1454 the wealthy Niccolò di Leonardo Strozzi (1411–1469) was not only one of the most influential members of that large and famous Florentine family; he had also become one of the principal bankers at the papal court after enjoying similar economic successes in the great commercial centers of Italy and Europe, including Naples. He never married, and when he died he left his dynastic authority to Filippo Strozzi (1428–1491), son of his cousin Matteo, and the man who would head the family in the second half of the fifteenth century. Filippo became renowned for his many undertakings, including the construction of the Palazzo Strozzi in Florence, and as an art patron in various fields (see cats. 23–25). Mino worked for the Strozzi and their circle on several occasions, in both Florence and Rome. He made the funeral slab for Niccolò's cousin Filippo della Luna (d. 1449; Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome), and the bust of his nephew Rinaldo della Luna in Rome (1461; Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence); in Florence, Filippo Strozzi paid Mino in 1473 for a now-lost tondo with the effigies of Charlemagne and Totila (Caglioti 1991; Caglioti 2008b).

Contemporary documents, including a letter written by Filippo's mother, Alessandra Macinghi, vividly record Niccolò's obesity as well as his passion as a gourmand, characteristics that the Berlin bust conveys in terms more direct even than those of Alessandra, recording his features with a merciless realism but also some genuine sympathy. In most of Mino's busts the separation between the figure's torso and arms is easy to see. Here, however, he created a single, rounded mass to represent the upper part of the figure, which dominates the space around it like a bell. Above the domed form of this fur-edged, damask robe, the pattern of which is carved in relief, the head and neck are treated as contrasting volumes and surfaces, the mass of flesh—rendered alternately taut or flaccid—seemingly contained by smooth, perfectly shaved, or perhaps naturally hairless skin. The artist's acute ability to observe did not allow him to overlook Niccolò's double chin or his big ears, a verism that Mino must have derived from his study of the most straightforward ancient Roman portraits as well as from the best examples of contemporary Netherlandish painting. The sculptor brought these two quite different sources together in a wholly new and coherent way, and the satisfying result fully justifies his fame.

We do not know where the Strozzi bust was originally meant to go. It seems likely, however, that it was destined for Niccolò's Roman residence or perhaps the headquarters of his bank. After Niccolò's death in Rome, in 1469, the portrait must have been sent to Florence, where it is documented among Filippo Strozzi's possessions from 1475 at the latest. Filippo exhibited the bust at his bank (Sale 1976). The Campanian Pomponio Gaurico recorded the signature OPVS NINI in his *De Sculptura*, without citing a particular work. The treatise was printed for the first time in Florence in 1504 with a dedication to Lorenzo Strozzi (1482–1549), Filippo's son. It seems likely that the reference is to the bust of Niccolò, then in the possession of Alfonso Strozzi, Filippo's eldest son (Caglioti 1991). Wilhelm Bode, who saw the bust in the Palazzo Strozzi in the late nineteenth century, bought it for the Berlin museums and became its first great admirer among modern scholars. FC

Provenance Residence of Niccolò di Leonardo Strozzi, Rome (until 1469); various Strozzi residences and Palazzo Strozzi, Florence (until 1877)

Selected References Bode 1883, pp. 14–16, 42; Bode 1887, pp. 231–34; Sale 1976, pp. 15, 59 n. 37; Caglioti 1991, passim; Zuraw 1993a, vol. 2, pp. 491–95, no. 5; Foister in London 2008–9, pp. 94–95, no. 7

Mino da Fiesole (Mino di Giovanni; Papiano or Montemignaio, 1429–1484, Florence)

123. *Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville*

ca. 1460–64

Marble, H. 14⅛ in. (35.9 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.674)

According to the memoirs of the future Pope Pius II, the greedy and nationalistic French cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville (1403–1483) vied for the papal throne in 1458 in a most disgraceful manner (Pius II 2003, 1:36:4–26, pp. 177–97). While Pius's is not an impartial view, d'Estouteville, from a Norman noble family with ties to the French royals, was indeed an especially wealthy, career churchman. He advanced to cardinal in 1439, archbishop of Rouen in 1453, and bishop of Ostia in 1461 but never to pope.

The principal source for the attribution and identification of the portrait exhibited here is the marble ciborium (or architectural canopy) d'Estouteville commissioned for Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, where he was archpriest from 1443.



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The appearance of the now-dismantled ciborium is known from an engraving (1621) and mid-eighteenth-century written descriptions. The inscription on the ciborium's architrave furnishes the patron's name, the year 1461, and the artist's signature, OPUS MINI ("work of Mino"). The sculptor is more precisely identified as "Mino the Florentine" in a 1510 guide to Rome. The ciborium is generally considered the work of Mino da Fiesole, a prolific sculptor of the second half of the fifteenth century who worked predominantly in Florence and Rome (see Caglioti 1987 and Zuraw 1992). The ciborium's extant relief of Pope Liberius Drawing the Church Plan in the Miraculous Snow (Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome) includes a figure pertinent to this study. The cleric gesturing to himself and to the snow falling at the church's apse (where the ciborium stood) is surely d'Estouteville, an identification supported by comparable medallic portraits attributed to Andrea Guacialoti and Cristoforo di Geremia (Hill 1930, nos. 750, 757; Callisen 1936, p. 405). The New York portrait so closely resembles the cleric on the ciborium as to suggest the same sitter and artist. S. A. Callisen (1936, pp. 402, 406) was the first to identify the cardinal, but he ascribed the ciborium, and therefore our portrait, to Mino del Reame, a figure named by a single, sixteenth-century author (Vasari 1996 ed., p. 444) and now believed to be our same Florentine Mino (see Caglioti 1991). The New York portrait was first attributed to Mino da Fiesole by Wilhelm Bode on stylistic grounds before the subject was rediscovered (1887, p. 252).

In the New York portrait, the cardinal is dressed simply as a priest, with tonsured hair, a collared doublet, and an overlying tunic pleated at the front. He faces forward but turns his head to the right. He has deep-set eyes and a long, slightly crooked nose. Unusually, the lips part to reveal his teeth, a means of inspiriting a figure since ancient times (see Hess 2009, pp. 168, 170, 176; Wittkower's phrase "speaking likeness," coined in descriptions of Bernini's animated, open-mouthed portraits of the seventeenth century, comes to mind). The cardinal's lined forehead, crow's feet, and defined naso-labial lines suggest a mature age, but otherwise his skin is ideally smooth (see cat. 47 for a similar juxtaposition of features; Zuraw 1993a, p. 320). The New York portrait is virtually identical to that in the ciborium relief (completed by 1461; Caglioti 1987, p. 22) and more akin to the stately image on the Guacialoti medal (ca. 1453–61, on account of the listed titles) than to the hefty profile of the Cristoforo di Geremia medal (after 1461). The Metropolitan's relief can thus be loosely dated to about 1460 and before July 1464, when Mino is documented back in Florence. Indeed, it recalls the fine bone structure and elegance of Mino's bust of Rinaldo della Luna (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence), inscribed 1461 and probably also executed in Rome (Douglas 1945, p. 223, as cited in Zuraw 1993a, p. 584; Cagliota 1991, p. 30).

Mino da Fiesole figures prominently in the history of portrait sculpture in fifteenth-century Italy. His bust of Florentine Piero de' Medici (cat. 47) is the earliest datable portrait bust of the Renaissance, and that of Niccolò Strozzi (cat. 122) confirms the transmission of this renewed portrait type to Rome. Yet Mino's portrait of Cardinal d'Estouteville is not an archetypal fifteenth-century portrait bust in the round but a high relief carved free of its backing. Its planar reverse and curved truncation indicate that it was mounted on a wall rather than a horizontal support. An architectural frame surely encircled the relief, and a background of colored stone may have enhanced the splendor and visibility of the portrait. Assembled this way, the relief would have evoked the ancient forms of the *imago clipeata* (portrait on a shield) and portrait cameo, much like Mino's funerary relief of Bernardo Giugni (d. 1466; Badia, Florence; Zuraw 1998, p. 462).

How the cardinal's portrait was originally installed is unknown. Viewed at eye level, the elongated skull, skewed facial features, and pinched right ear are awkward. From the front and below, however, the portrait achieves greater coherence and plasticity, indicating that it was meant to be seen from

below. Bode ([1897] 1906, p. 62, no. 7) listed the relief as coming from a tomb; accordingly, Callisen (1936, p. 406) and others have related it to a (lost) monument in Sant'Agostino, a church rebuilt by d'Estouteville, the protector of the Augustinian order (see Caglioti 1991, p. 49, and Caglioti 1998, p. 152 n. 74, for a certain site in Sant'Agostino). Memorials with roundel portraits are known in Rome from about 1500, like that of the Pollaiuolo brothers (San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome), and earlier in Florence, but it is uncertain whether the cardinal's tomb was ever executed (M. Gill 2001, p. 354). Alternatively, Giorgio Vasari (1996 ed., p. 477) reported that d'Estouteville commissioned Mino to make a marble altar for the relics of Saint Jerome at Santa Maria Maggiore, with scenes of the saint's life in low relief and a portrait of the cardinal (1461–64; Zuraw 1992, p. 314; for this altar, see also Athens [Ga.] 1996, pp. 40–47; Caglioti 1991, pp. 32–34). Only a provisional reconstruction of the altar is possible, but the New York relief has been proposed as the related portrait mentioned by Vasari (Athens [Ga.] 1996, pp. 42, 44, 46). Admittedly novel for an altar, this independent portrait of a living subject suits the specified patron, artist, and proposed dates. JLV

Provenance Oscar Hainauer (d. 1894), Berlin; [sold by Duveen Brothers, Inc., to Altman, February 28, 1910]; Benjamin Altman (1840–1913), New York; his bequest to the Metropolitan Museum (1913)

Selected References Bode (1897) 1906, pp. 11, 62, no. 7; Callisen 1936, pp. 401–6 ; Middeldorf 1938a, p. 115 and n. 15; Douglas 1945, pp. 222–23; Caglioti 1991, p. 49; Zuraw 1992, p. 306 and n. 16; Zuraw 1993a, pp. 576–86; Caglioti 1998, p. 152 n. 74

Andrea d'Assisi, called L'Ingegno (?) (documented ca. 1484–ca. 1521)

124. *Portrait of a Boy*

ca. 1495–1500

Oil and tempera on poplar, 19⅝ × 14 in. (50 × 35.5 cm)

Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (41)

This stunning portrait of a boy formed part of the original holdings of the Dresden picture gallery in the eighteenth century. Apart from a few retouches, it is well preserved. The subject, shown in three-quarter view against a landscape background, wears a simple though elegant red doublet, the so-called *cioppa*. There is not a pronounced effect of three-dimensionality despite the foreshortening of the torso, but the painter went to some lengths to orchestrate the fabric's texture through subtly modulated shades of red. A blue undergarment can be discerned at the neck as well as a white shirt. He wears a hat with an upturned rim, in a style favored by members of both the aristocracy and middle class in the late Quattrocento; the shoulder-length hair likewise conforms to courtly and middle-class fashion in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Although he wears neither jewelry nor decorated fabrics that might indicate high nobility, his social status is certainly to be located within the patrician class.

The modeling of the flesh tones is unusually nuanced, the delicate flush of the cheeks echoing the color of the garment and endowing the face with a remarkable vitality. The richly detailed landscape, with a river or pool of water in the middle ground, serves as a foil for the sitter; on its banks we see the fanciful silhouette of a city, while the eye roams over fields and woodland toward a distant mountain panorama. This elaborate and atmospheric landscape backdrop has parallels in the art of Pinturicchio (ca. 1452–1513), which is why earlier scholars initially ascribed this painting to him.

More recently, an attribution to the enigmatic Andrea d'Assisi, called L'Ingegno, has gained acceptance (Scarpellini 1984; Todini 1989, p. 59, fig. 9; Weber in Perugia 2004). The latter was effusively praised by Giorgio Vasari as an assistant of Perugino's who eventually surpassed even his master. L'Ingegno is documented in Perugino's workshop in the 1480s. It is known that between 1481 and 1482 he assisted his master in painting a group of the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel (Todini 2005, p. 58), and in 1490 he accompanied Perugino to Orvieto. The Dresden portrait was always associated with the Sistine Chapel frescoes, especially the secondary figures in Perugino's fresco of the Baptism of Christ; these figures have been identified as members and protégés of the Della Rovere family, among them relatives and favorites of Pope Sixtus IV, who was notorious for his nepotism (Steinmann 1901, pp. 325–26). However, there are no signed or otherwise documented works by Andrea, so any attribution to him remains uncertain. Even so, the Dresden portrait is clearly related in style to the restored murals in the small church of San Martino in Campo, near Perugia, which Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (1981) ventures to claim as a work by Andrea.

The most salient aspect of the portrait is the delightful contrast between the treatment of the garment, which dispenses with clasps or buttons, and the fine detail and variety of the background. This landscape is not topographical but instead evokes a *locus amoenus*, or "pleasant place," the character of which is indebted to Netherlandish painting. Its imaginative composition is characterized by great attention to detail as well



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as a substantial spatial continuum: located beyond the trees and vegetated rocks above the shoulders of the figure is a body of water, its surface rippled and animated by reflections of light; beyond its far shore rises what appears to be a northern European townscape, followed by plains and, in the far distance, the mountains, whose outlines seem to vibrate and dissolve in the blue haze. The light gathering above the horizon, with the hue of the sky deepening toward the upper edge of the panel, is something that the artist certainly saw in Netherlandish painting, as, for example, in the work of Hans Memling (see cat. 145).

Similarly varied landscapes are found in various paintings from Perugino's circle, some of which have recently been identified as works by Andrea, notably a tondo showing the Virgin flanked by angels, with the Christ Child and the infant John the Baptist (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), as well as a rather small panel at the Denver Art Museum (see Todini 2005, p. 59, fig. 9) in which the conception and variation of the landscape echo those aspects of the Dresden portrait. What appears to be characteristic of these panels and our portrait is the rather high horizon, which reaches into the upper third of the image;

rather than being silhouetted against a bright sky, the subject is thereby better integrated with the background. In most earlier portraits with a landscape background, such as Botticelli's *Man Holding a Medal of Cosimo de' Medici* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) or Antonello da Messina's 1478 *Portrait of a Young Man* (cat. 148), the horizon is considerably lower, and as a result the subject seems detached from the setting.

Perugino's portrait at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., probably a likeness of the painter Lorenzo di Credi, has an inscription that dates it to 1488. There, figure and landscape are likewise detached, and the figure is placed slightly off-center, as in the Dresden portrait, thus creating more space, so that the landscape extends to the bottom edge of the painting. The present portrait was most likely painted after Perugino's, possibly in the 1490s. This chronological sequence is also suggested by Perugino's 1494 portrait of Francesco delle Opere (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), in which there is a similar effort to merge figure and background. A date for the Dresden portrait in the final years of the century appears likely based on the conception of the landscape as well as the fashionable appearance of the boy, who resembles the profile portrait of sixteen-year-old Alfonso d'Este on the 1492 medal by Niccolò Fiorentino (Hill 1930, no. 923).

The finely executed painting seems to synthesize, at the end of the century, various aspects of Quattrocento portraiture. Florentine influences can be discerned in the way the subject addresses the viewer and in the emphasis on color values to enhance the effect of three-dimensionality, while the landscape backdrop and general tonality are Umbrian in nature. Individual features of the landscape—the lighting, the reflections on the rippled surface of the water, the architecture of the townscape—derive from Netherlandish painting. Finally, a degree of psychological characterization, suggested by the boy's melancholic yet intense gaze, anticipates Cinquecento painting, most notably that of Raphael.

Interestingly enough, another assistant in Perugino's large workshop, Rocco Zoppo (Bacci di Belforte; active ca. 1496, d. before 1508)—who like Andrea d'Assisi was involved in the work on the Vatican frescoes—painted, probably while still in Rome, a representative portrait of a boy (Galleria Colonna, Rome; see Baldini in Florence 2005–6b, pp. 104–5). In this case it is a profile portrait, and the boy wears a heavy gold necklace and a cap decorated with a pearl and a gem, but he, too, is dressed in red, and he is about the same age as the subject portrayed by Andrea d'Assisi. Various experts have speculated that the Roman portrait depicts a member of the Riario family. The Dresden portrait may likewise show a member of an important family that counted itself among the favorites of the popes. The reverse of the panel is painted to simulate a geometric design in stone, but it does not include any heraldic devices. A specific meaning for this treatment is difficult to infer, but it may have been intended to suggest that the picture is painted on stone rather than on a wood support, thereby underscoring the portrait's claim to imperishability and permanence (for the tradition, context, and possible iconographic implications of such finishes, see Dülberg 1990, pp. 116–27). SW

Provenance Acquired for the collection of King Augustus III (1747–48)

Selected References Carli 1960, p. 18; Scarpellini 1984, p. 30, no. 36; Todini 1989, vol. 1, p. 91, vol. 2, fig. 1185; Marx 1992, p. 65; Poeschel 1992, p. 67 n. 30; Nucciarelli 1998, p. 231 nn. 57–58, p. 256, pl. 108, p. 313; Acidini Luchinat 1999, p. 10; Sale in Boskovits and Brown 2003, p. 522; Scarpellini and Silvestrelli 2003, p. 82; Weber in Perugia 2004, pp. 228–29, no. I.29; Todini 2005, p. 58; Marx 2008, p. 60

Andrea Bregno (Osteno, 1418–1503, Rome)

125. *Cardinal Raffaele Sansoni Riario*

ca. 1478

Terracotta, formerly painted, H. 20½ in. (52 cm)

Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (4996)

126. *Cardinal Raffaele Sansoni Riario*

ca. 1478

Marble, formerly partially gilded, H. 22½ in. (57 cm)

Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (S27w71)

These two busts, which depict the same prominent sitter in the prime of his youth, are displayed together here for the first time. Although, inexplicably, they have been almost ignored in the literature, both sculptures are important because they allow us to see the differences between a preparatory work modeled in clay and the same piece in its definitive, marble form, a rare opportunity in Renaissance portraiture (see also cats. 23, 24).

The terracotta bust can be easily identified as Cardinal Raffaele Riario (1460–1521), as first proposed by Wilhelm Bode (1904–5), because of its exact resemblance to the profile on a medal cast in Rome by Lysippus the Younger in 1478, shortly after the seventeen-year-old was given his red hat by his great-uncle Pope Sixtus IV (December 10, 1477; see Hill 1930, no. 791). The tonsured young man wears a cassock with tight-fitting sleeves and with a narrow collar from which protrudes a linen shirt. Over his vestments is a rochet of fine pleated linen.



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The contrast between these two garments was probably originally enhanced with different colors. The figure is cleanly truncated at the diaphragm and elbows; the interior of the bust is hollow up to the neck, which made it lighter and easier to fire. (A nineteenth-century wax seal in this cavity bears the conjoined arms of the Paulucci and Panciatichi families, signifying a marriage alliance between them.)

The marble portrait bust, evidently intended for official display, shows Riario with the same hairstyle and attitude as in the terracotta model but wearing a dalmatic, a vestment specific to his rank as cardinal deacon (of San Giorgio in Velabro). Additionally, the arms and torso have been cut to create what is almost the arc of a circle, in conformity with classical prototypes. As is the case with most ancient busts, marble was removed from the back to reduce the weight of the piece. At different, later dates two holes were made at the top of the skull to attach a halo that has now disappeared. This is an indication that, the sitter's identity having been lost in late-modern times, the work was reused as an image of a deacon saint, most likely Saint Lawrence, given that from 1483 to 1517 Riario's titular church in Rome was San Lorenzo in Damaso (he lived next door).



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Like all good-quality busts from the Quattrocento, about a century ago these two appeared on the art market and were introduced into the scholarly literature with overly ambitious attributions, driven by the myth of the Florentine Renaissance. The terracotta piece was assigned to Benedetto da Maiano, perhaps because of the horizontal cut that was typical of Florentine fifteenth-century busts (*Sammlung Simon* 1904; Bode 1904–5). Although the museum has never completely discarded this attribution (Knuth 1982), it has never been repeated in the literature on Benedetto (see Dussler 1924). The marble bust was acquired by Isabella Stewart Gardner as a portrait of Raffaele Riario attributed to Verrocchio (Hadley 1987). In the wake of a hypercorrective attitude frequently encountered in the scholarship with overreaching attributions of Renaissance sculpture, the authenticity of this work began to be questioned shortly after Gardner's death (see Eric Maclagan, March 1928, and Erwin Panofsky, November 1934, in the museum files). (Following a similar pattern, Frida Schottmüller catalogued the Berlin bust as an autograph work of Benedetto da Maiano in 1913, but in 1933 she omitted any mention of it, as its genuineness seemed questionable.) Today the Gardner Museum officially attributes the marble to an anonymous Italian artist of the early sixteenth

century (Hadley in Vermeule, Cahn, and Hadley 1977), the suggested date based on the belief that the bust's rounded cut, done in a Classical style, is a motif never used in the Quattrocento (Middeldorf 1938a). As a result, no scholar has ever divined that these two busts might have been executed by the same artist.

But such, I believe, is the case, based on the conviction that there is an artist capable of working in the style of both the terracotta bust and the marble one, and who, moreover, was able to make the changes in the form of the image as he moved from one material to the other. That master was the Lombard artist Andrea Bregno, the most important sculptor in Rome in the latter part of the fifteenth century, widely admired in the circle of Pope Sixtus IV. Bregno executed authentic masterpieces of monumental sacred—and especially funerary—sculpture, although they remain largely unrecognized because so much of his oeuvre is confused with contemporary Roman works that cannot be attributed either to him or to his flourishing workshop (see Caglioti 1997; Kühlenthal 2002; Caglioti 2005).

Owing to a lack of good photographs, we often overlook the fact that in the monuments that are most certainly by Bregno, there are at least a dozen very effective, lifesize marble portraits, both in relief and in the round, of subjects both living and dead. Among the former are Raffaele's two maternal uncles—that is, Cardinal Pietro Riario and his brother, Count Girolamo, lord of Imola—who are depicted kneeling before the Virgin in the funerary chamber of Pietro's tomb (d. 1474) in Santi Apostoli in Rome (Kühlenthal 2002, p. 198, figs. 30, 31). Pietro is shown tonsured, like his nephew and successor in the college of cardinals, and a comparison of the heads leaves no doubt that the style is identical.

Given the differences in technique between working in terracotta and marble, a juxtaposition of these two busts suggests that the artist was a skilled marble carver who was using clay to experiment with the effects he wanted to achieve in stone. The Gardner bust has been judged too harshly by scholars unused to the subtleties of marble carving; it is, rather, a small but veritable tour de force in the way the artist handled difficult surfaces such as the shaved head or the adolescent skin, which is still youthful but not as rounded or full as a child's.

The notion that busts made in the early Italian Renaissance never terminated in rounded or flared cuts is unfounded, as proved by a number of works from Quattrocento Rome, including Paolo Romano's portrait of Pope Pius II in the Vatican (ca. 1462–63; Caglioti in Mantua 2006–7a, pp. 128–29, no. 1.2) and the slightly earlier effigy of Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville by Mino da Fiesole, now in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. 123; see Caglioti 1991, pp. 49, 60–61 [figs. 50–52], 82 nn. 180–87; Caglioti 1998, pp. 145 [fig. 24], 152 n. 74). The latter work is especially significant because it was made by a Tuscan who, although he truncated his figures horizontally in his homeland or for Florentine sitters outside Florence (cats. 47, 122), was ready to conform to a more classicizing mode when he worked for other patrons in the capital of the ancient world. While the portrait of d'Estouteville was likely made for a funerary monument (in Sant'Agostino, Rome), the bust of Pius II was intended to be placed above a doorway. Thus, it is not necessary to see the Boston youth as part of a funerary monument, thereby excluding the identification with Raffaele Riario, who lived to be sixty-one (Middeldorf 1938a).

Lysippus's medal, the first of several representing Cardinal Riario, was cast in 1478 to celebrate his elevation some months before to the holy college, expressly as a seventeen-year-old cardinal. It is clear that Riario, the future builder of the Palazzo della Cancelleria and the patron of the young Michelangelo, must also have obtained a marble portrait of himself in the same year, and that whoever ordered it turned to the most esteemed sculptor in the milieu of the Curia. Bregno's terracotta model shows the sitter in conformity with the most current horizontal form for portrait busts and in everyday ecclesiastical garb. When it came to translating the model into marble, however, the cardinal must have suggested liturgical vestments, and the sculptor, a keen student of the antique, chose a rounded termination. As it happened, in 1478 Riario was passing through Florence, where he found himself accidentally and unfortunately caught up in the Pazzi Conspiracy, his life in danger as the Florentines pursued their vendetta against the pope's relatives. Thus Florence was the last city in Italy to which one might have looked to commission his portrait bust, which instead was assigned to the foremost artist in Rome at that time. FC

Provenance Cat. 125: Marianna Panciatichi Ximenes d'Aragona (1835–1919), daughter of Ferdinando Marquess of Saturnia (1813–1897) and her husband, Marquess Alessandro Paulucci (d. 1887), Florence (until ca. 1890); James Simon, Berlin (until 1904)

Cat. 126: David Nathan, Great Britain (until ca. 1906); [Dowdeswell and Dowdeswells, London, 1906]; Isabella Stewart Gardner, Boston

Selected References Cat. 125: *Sammlung Simon* 1904, p. 9, no. 24; Bode 1904–5, pp. 69, 70 (ill.); Schottmüller 1913, p. 84, no. 203; Dussler 1924, p. 79; Hadley in Vermeule, Cahn, and Hadley 1977, pp. 120, 121; Knuth 1982, pp. 16, 17, fig. 9

Cat. 126: Longstreet and Carter 1935, p. 231; Middeldorf 1938a, pp. 115–16 and n. 16, fig. 4; Hadley in Vermeule, Cahn, and Hadley 1977, pp. 120–21, no. 149; Hadley 1987, pp. 390, 391, 396

Cosimo Rosselli (Florence, 1440–1507, Florence)

127. *Portrait of a Man*

ca. 1485

Tempera on wood, 20⅜ × 13¼ in. (51.8 × 33.5 cm), painted surface 19½ × 12¼ in. (49.5 × 31.1 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Edward S. Harkness, 1940 (50.135.1)



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Throughout his long career, Cosimo Rosselli painted many portraits of his contemporaries, most of them as bystanders in his religious compositions. Of Rosselli's most appealing work, the *Procession of the Bishop with the Ampule of Blood in the Piazza Sant'Ambrogio* in the church of Sant'Ambrogio, Florence, Giorgio Vasari (1996 ed., vol. 1, p. 497) observed that it contained "an infinity of citizens and women in costumes of those times. Here, among many others, is a portrait from life of Pico della Mirandola [1463–1494], so excellently wrought that it appears not a portrait but a living man." The half-length portrait of an unknown man in the Metropolitan Museum, one of Rosselli's rare easel portraits, is of such high quality that critics have ascribed it to Botticelli or the Pollaiuolo brothers. Bernard Berenson's (1905) identification of it as a work by Rosselli is now universally accepted.

When it came up for auction in 1929, Oskar Fischel proposed that it was Rosselli's self-portrait, even though it bears no resemblance to the woodcut that Vasari (1568) used to illustrate his *Life* of Rosselli. The self-portrait identification was promptly rejected (Gronau 1931), but at the same time it was put forward independently by Richard Offner in an expertise for Knoedler, dated February 16, 1931 (archives of the Department of European Paintings, Metropolitan Museum). Offner argued that it was the same person as a man in the Sant'Ambrogio mural who "looks straight out of the painting in a way similar to the self-portraits in large compositions of the fifteenth century." The man in the mural, however, appears to be much older than the sitter in the Metropolitan Museum's portrait. More significantly, the sitter's clothes—a bright red doublet lined with ermine, a linen undershirt visible at the collar, and a tall cap, originally bright azurite but now quite darkened—indicate he was a member of the Florentine patrician class.

Suggestions for the portrait's date have ranged from about 1470 (Baldini 1953) to about 1485 (Berenson 1905). The portrait lacks the harshness of Rosselli's early works. Its gentle handling has more to do with the murals he painted in the Sistine Chapel (1481–82) and the church of Sant'Ambrogio (1484–86). With only three or four years separating these commissions, one hesitates to date the portrait firmly. Berenson (1905), however, made the novel observation that the sitter's short hair is typical of the men in the Sant'Ambrogio mural; many of the men in the Sistine murals have bangs covering their foreheads and hair hanging down to their shoulders.

As several writers have observed, Rosselli copied the motif of the hand resting on the bottom edge of the panel from one of Hans Memling's portraits in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Rosselli would imitate the dazzling effects of Netherlandish oil painting in later works, but here in the Metropolitan Museum's portrait he still paints with the traditional technique of tempera, visible especially in the subtle gradations of the pale blue in the sky. A knot in the panel has caused paint losses on the right side of the man's chest, but otherwise the portrait is well preserved, contrary to Edith Gabrielli's (2007) unfavorable assessment of its condition. EF

Provenance Étienne Martin, baron de Beumonville, Paris (until 1878; sold to Spiridon); Joseph Spiridon, Paris (1878–1929; his sale, Cassirer & Helbing, Berlin, May 31, 1929, lot 63, as a self-portrait by Cosimo Rosselli); [Knoedler, New York, 1929–34; sold to Harkness]; Edward S. Harkness, New York (1934–d. 1940; life interest to his widow, Mary Stillman Harkness, 1940–d. 1950)

Selected References Berenson 1905, pp. 178–79; A. Venturi 1901–40, vol. 7 (1911), pt. 1, p. 690; Fischel 1929, no. 63; New York 1930, pp. 35–36, no. 16; Gronau 1931, p. 154, n. 1; Baldini 1953, p. 280; Zeri and Gardner 1971, pp. 148–49; Gabrielli 2007, pp. 56, 201–2

Gian Cristoforo Romano (?) (Gian Cristoforo Ganti; Rome, ca. 1460–1512, Loreto)

128. *Bust of a Young Boy About Four Years Old*

ca. 1480–90

Marble, H. 13⅜ in. (34 cm)

Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro, Venice (Sc. 34)

129. Bust of a Young Boy About Six Years Old

ca. 1480–90

Marble, H. excluding later base 13⅝ in. (34.5 cm)

Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (5/77)

130. *Bust of a Young Boy About Eight Years Old*

ca. 1480–90

Marble, H. 12¾ in. (32.4 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.154)

These three busts of young boys of noble lineage, exhibited together here for the first time, seem to this author to be the product of a single and highly skilled artist of the late Quattrocento. The works are especially interesting because they are among the few examples of portraits rather than simply generic images of children in Renaissance sculpture.

The boy now in Venice, which cannot be traced back before 1916, is the best preserved of the three busts, although the end of the nose is chipped and the pendant that originally hung across the chest is missing. The brocaded material and embroidery of the clothing are clearly described, and the marble has been well waxed. Both of these characteristics distinguish it from the other two busts, which may explain why almost no one has recognized that all three are by the same hand.

The Berlin child, which was acquired on the art market in 1977, has suffered the most in terms of condition. It seems to have been placed outdoors, exposed to the weather, and has been subsequently repatinated in modern times. The nose has been entirely remade, particularly altering the boy's appearance and giving him a more adult aspect. This distortion has led most scholars to identify the sitter as being about sixteen or seventeen, much older than his actual age (about six). The Berlin boy also wore a pendant ornament, executed in relief and perhaps set in part into the stone, but this element is now lost. In addition, time has almost entirely erased the two-line inscription, FOELIX / AETAS / DIVI / AVG[usti] (in the happy age of the divine Augustus), which was lightly cut into the boy's clothing on either side of the jewel.

The pendant ornament—a small cross, double-barred above—is preserved on the third bust, now in New York. This work has seldom been noted in the literature since 1913. The boy wears a gold chain that makes two wide loops around his neck. The Berlin bust has a similar but longer chain that loops three times around the neck.

Each of the three children wears an expensive jacket made from heavy cloth over a linen shirt that protrudes above the neckline. The outer garments on the New York and Berlin busts are plain, while that on the Venice bust is fashioned of brocaded cloth, with open slits at the arms. The two younger children have pageboy haircuts, while the older one (New York) has hair that reaches down to his shoulders. The eyes on all three are blank (with no indication of pupils or irises). The base of each bust has a shaped lower edge; in the New York sculpture the edge is finished as a segment of a circle, while the other two are flared in a way that slightly emphasizes a separation between the arms and the torso.

The Venice bust was originally ascribed to Francesco Laurana (Gamba 1916), and evidence of this attribution survives in the captions of the oldest professional photographs (Alinari, Böhm). Subsequently it was assigned to Gian Cristoforo Romano (Moschini in Fogolari, Nebbia, and Moschini 1929; Fogolari 1936), and this solution has prevailed, although usually accompanied by a cautionary note (see Pidatella in Mantua 2008–9, with bibliography). (Exceptionally, Adolfo Venturi [1935] gave the work to Tullio Lombardo, but his proposal is almost never mentioned in the literature.) Shortly after the attribution to Gian Cristoforo—an itinerant artist who was active mostly at the court in Mantua (ca. 1497–1505)—scholars tried to identify the child as a member of the Gonzaga family (Fogolari 1936), specifically Federigo II (1500–1540), son of Isabella d'Este and Marquess Francesco II, whom he succeeded. This identification, which meant the bust should have



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been dated early in the sixteenth century, was, like the attribution, usually offered tentatively, but it was sustained even when Gian Cristoforo's authorship was denied, as it was occasionally, and the piece was given to an anonymous artist from the Veneto (Negri Arnoldi 1974; Patera 1992). Venturi once mistakenly referred to the figure as a girl.

After having been briefly attributed to one of two Lombard sculptors of the Malvito family, a father and son active in Naples at the end of the Quattrocento and the beginning of the Cinquecento (Hersey 1969), the Berlin bust was insistently reassigned to Francesco Laurana and dated to his Sicilian period (Middeldorf and Kruft 1971; Kruft 1995). This attribution has been widely accepted since (Schlegel 1977; Pidatella in Mantua 2008–9) and led to the work's acquisition by the Staatliche Museen in 1977. According to Ulrich Middeldorf and Hanno-Walter Kruft, in 1468 or 1469 the Dalmatian sculptor could have made this bust as a portrait of Ferdinand the Catholic of Aragon (1452–1516), shortly after he became king of Sicily. However, this conjecture, based entirely on the inscription, seems implausible for a number of reasons, including the fact that the sitter is considerably younger than the king would have been in about 1468–69. The inscription, moreover, is senselessly chiseled into the surface of the jacket and appears not to be original. Even if it were, and assuming it had a contemporary reference, it might fit



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any number of young princes. On balance, it seems more likely that the inscription was added in the sixteenth century, when the identity of the sitter had already been forgotten, and instead refers—with a naive anachronism still possible at the time—to Octavian Augustus, as if the bust depicts an offspring of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Furthermore, the assignment to Laurana cannot be confirmed by any comparisons to that artist's securely attributed works. It should also be noted that on at least two occasions, although only briefly, scholars recognized the quite different stylistic link between the Venice and Berlin busts (Negri Arnoldi 1974; Patera 1992).

The New York bust has remained almost entirely unknown beyond the catalogues of the collections through which it has passed. Although ascribed to Gian Cristoforo Romano for almost a century (Colasanti 1915), this piece has not appeared in the literature on that sculptor until very recently (see Pidatella in Mantua 2008–9, who tentatively accepts the bust in Venice as by Gian Cristoforo while rejecting the same name for the New York example). Unlike with the Venice bust, the attribution to Gian Cristoforo followed rather than preceded the hypothesis that it had been commissioned by the Gonzaga. In this regard, it was first put forward that the boy represented



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Francesco II (Aynard Collection Sale 1913; Colasanti 1915) and then Federigo II (Breck in New York 1923). In the end, his identity was left anonymous (Breck 1932), which indeed is the most persuasive of all the suggestions.

The precise identification of such young subjects, especially in marble portraits, is a difficult and largely fruitless endeavor. Moreover, it is not easy to discover comparisons for the style of the three works among Gian Cristoforo's mature production, executed in the north of Italy between about 1490 and about 1505. More revealing resemblances can be found in the catalogue of the Lombard Andrea Bregno (1418–1503), the most important sculptor in Rome in the last third of the Quattrocento. Bregno's influence can be seen in the solid yet elegant naturalism of the three boys, one filtered through a consummate understanding of antique sculpture. The most convincing points of convergence we can find in Bregno's figures of children are nevertheless not specific portraits (because they do not exist in his surviving oeuvre), but, rather, the marvelous putti from his funerary monuments, such as the tomb of Cardinal Bartolomeo Roverella (d. 1476) in San Clemente, Rome, or that of Raffaele della Rovere (d. 1477), the father of future Pope Julius II, in Santi Apostoli (Kühlenthal 2002,

pp. 211 [fig. 56], 213 [fig. 58]). The only portraits by Bregno that may help us are those of adults: among others, the head of Girolamo Riario on the tomb of his brother, Cardinal Pietro Riario (d. 1474), in Santi Apostoli (ibid., p. 198 fig. 31), and the two busts of Cardinal Raffaele Riario of about 1478 (cats. 125, 126).

The parallels with Bregno's works are useful in dating our three busts, all of which were made well before Federigo Gonzaga was born. They also show that Bregno's own style was different from that in evidence here, particularly the fuller handling of the hair and more accomplished modeling of surfaces. The three portrait busts point instead to a derivative style, one that is drier and sharper, and one with the potential to evolve into Gian Cristoforo's colder, more abstract manner of about 1500. By cautiously reassigning the Venice and New York busts to Gian Cristoforo Romano and suggesting, for the first time, his authorship of the Berlin portrait, I am also proposing that all three date early in the sculptor's career, that is, between about 1480 and 1490, a period for which there are no surviving works by him, either documented or attributed. This range of dates is also about twenty years earlier than any previously published or suggested for the Venice and New York busts, which are generally placed between about 1500 and 1510.

Many children of the illustrious families of Italy—including the Della Rovere, Riario, Cybo, Borgia, Aragon, Este, Gonzaga, and Sforza—passed through the Curia or the Papal States in the 1480s, when Gian Cristoforo was still living in his native city and in training in Bregno's circle. Any attempt to choose among them is destined to falter on the embarrassing number of potential candidates. FC

Provenance Cat. 128: Baron Giorgio Franchetti, Venice (until 1916)

Cat. 129: Gollnow collection, Stettin, then Düsseldorf (until 1977)

Cat. 130: Edouard Aynard, Lyon (until 1913); Ercole Canessa, Italy and the United States (1913–19); Michael Friedsam, New York (1919–31)

Selected References Cat. 128: Gamba 1916, pp. 332 (ill.), 334; Moschini in Fogolari, Nebbia, and Moschini 1929, p. 95 (with ill.); A. Venturi 1901–40, vol. 10 (1935), pp. 385–86 and fig. 293; Fogolari 1936, pp. 11, 35 (ill.); Negri Arnoldi 1974, p. 21, fig. 4; Patera 1992, p. 101 n. 195; Pidatella in Mantua 2008–9, pp. 232–33, no. VI.9

Cat. 129: Hersey 1969, p. 33 n. 20; Kruft and Middeldorf 1971; Negri Arnoldi 1974, p. 21; Patera 1992, p. 101 n. 195; Kruft 1995, pp. 58, 81, 103, 106–9, 135–37, 158, 216 nn. 75–80, 370, 371, no. 3, pls. 50–51; Pidatella in Mantua 2008–9, p. 232

Cat. 130: Aynard Collection Sale 1913, p. 182, no. 277, pl. between pp. 182 and 183; Colasanti 1915, no. 59 (with ill.); Breck in New York 1923, pp. 19–20, no. 58, fig. 58; Breck 1932, pp. 54 (fig. 2), 58; Pidatella in Mantua 2008–9, p. 232

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

131. *Alfonso of Aragon, King of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples*

1448

Pen and brown ink with traces of black chalk on paper, 11½ × 7¾ in. (29.1 × 19.8 cm)

Inscribed: above the figure, ·*DIVVS·ALPHONSVS·/·REX*·; below the figure, ·*TRIVMPHATOR·ET·/·PACIFICVS*· (the divine Alfonso, king, triumphant and peace-loving); below the crown, ·*M·/·CCCC·/·XLVIII·/·III*·

Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (2307)

132. *Alfonso of Aragon*

1449

Gilded bronze, cast; Diam. 4⅜ in. (11 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, around top, ·*DIVVS·ALPHONSVS·REX*·; below, ·*TRIVMPHATOR·ET*· =·*PACIFICVS*· (the divine Alfonso, king, triumphant and peace-loving); above the crown, ·*M*·/·*C·C·C·C*·; below the crown, *XLVIIII*; on reverse, ·*LIBERALITAS·/·AVGVSTA*· (royal generosity); below, ·*PISANI·PICTORIS·OPVS*· (the work of Pisano the painter)

Collection of Stephen K. and Janie Woo Scher, New York

Alfonso of Aragon (1396–1458) was a key player in Italian politics of the fifteenth century. Spanish by birth, he inherited the crowns of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily. He was also count of Barcelona. In 1442, after a two-decade struggle, he successfully asserted his claims to the throne of Naples, entering the city on a triumphal cart drawn by four horses, in emulation of a Roman emperor. Liberality and magnanimity were the royal attributes he espoused, whence his sobriquet, "the Magnanimous." Under him Naples became a center of antiquarian and humanist studies.

As early as 1444 Pisanello had expressed to Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, the marquess of Mantua, his intention to go to Naples to serve Alfonso (see Cordellier 1995, pp. 119–20, doc. 51). The impetus may have been the marriage that April of Leonello d'Este (see cat. 75) to Alfonso's illegitimate daughter, Maria of Aragon; Borso d'Este (see cat. 90) was sent to accompany her back to Ferrara (see Paris 1996, p. 434). Whether he went or not is uncertain, but just as Alfonso had lured to Naples outstanding humanists—who gathered for discussions and debate at the first literary academy in Italy, founded in 1447—he was eager to secure the services of the most celebrated artist of the day: someone who had portrayed virtually every significant

ruler and military commander in the Italian peninsula. Pisanello moved to Naples sometime after August 1448 to begin work on the portrait medal of the king exhibited here, the largest and most complex medal he had yet designed. The pen-and-ink drawing associated with it bears the date 1448, and it may be that the model for the medal was already complete by February 1449, when, in view of the artist's "talent and craft," Alfonso granted him official status as a *familiaris* at his court, with a revenue of 440 ducats per annum (see Cordellier 1995, pp. 151–53, doc. 68). Two further medals followed, testifying to the king's esteem, as well as one of his grand chamberlain, Iñigo d'Avalos.

The unusually highly finished drawing exhibited here is not a preparatory study in the ordinary sense; its format is rectangular, the king faces left, not right, and there is no indication of how the various motifs and the inscription would be arranged to fit into the circular form of the medal. George F. Hill (1905, pp. 199–200) describes succinctly the differences from the medal:

> The shoulder-piece is decorated with the triple child's face, the emblem of Prudence, which was used for one of the medals of Leonello d'Este [see cat. 67]. The form of the shoulder-plate [actually a pauldron], with its indented edge, is fantastic. The helmet is surmounted by a bat, with outspread wings, and decorated with the arms of Aragon (*or*, four pallets gules) crowned and supported, on the sinister side which alone we see, by a griffin. . . . In front of the bust is the crown, more elaborate than on the medal, and below it the date, which at present reads in four lines, *·M· / ·CCC· / ·XLVIII· / ·III·*. The lower two lines are lightly erased. . . . In the medal we see that he placed the crown lower, dividing the date into two parts and creating a better balance. For a similar reason he omitted the bat, which tended to overweight the design by making the accessory nearly as striking as the main object in the design—the bust. So too he eliminated the fanciful element in the decoration of the shoulder-piece. The result is a design of great dignity and richness, but without any of the fantastic features which are perceptible in the drawing.

Hill's analysis leaves the impression that the changes made by Pisanello were motivated primarily by aesthetic considerations, but this is misleading.

The ostensible purpose of the drawing—together with another, no less finely executed design, possibly intended for the reverse, showing the knightly king wearing a broad-brimmed hat and riding a richly comparisoned horse (Paris 1996, pp. 424–25, no. 297)—was to present the king with the components Pisanello had been urged to include, probably after consulting with one or more of Alfonso's humanist advisers. Indeed, it would not be surprising to learn that, as a matter of course, the drawing was submitted for comment to the same contentious group of scholars who habitually debated literary topics in the king's presence—scholars as accomplished



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as Lorenzo Valla, Antonio Panormita, Giovanni Pontano, Pier Candido Decembrio, and Bartolomeo Fazio. Certainly, the motifs reflect that mix of antiquarian and chivalric culture that typified Alfonso's interests (on this, see especially Woods-Marsden 1990). On the medal the king is shown not in fanciful parade armor emblazoned with an emblem of Prudence, but in the armor resembling what he actually wore (possibly from the Missaglia workshop in Milan; see London 2001–2, p. 63). Similarly, in place of the elaborate helmet of the goddess of wisdom, Minerva—adorned with griffons, as described by Pausanias (1.24.5), but crowned with a bat, the symbol of night and ignorance—we find the more straightforward device of the sun shining on an open book, symbolizing the king's devotion to learning as well as his duties as defender (see Rugolo 1996, p. 182). Much to the point, Panormita records that, when Alfonso was asked whether he owed more to arms or to books, he declared that he had learned about arms from books; he was, in fact, an avid bibliophile (see Woods-Marsden 1990, p. 16). The crown for which Alfonso had battled so long and hard was given greater emphasis by being shown from below. The profile portrait was also modified by emphasizing the king's eagle-beak nose—his *naso aquilo*, in the words of Aeneas



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Sylvius. On the reverse, an imperious eagle, his head also in profile, is perched on a stump, while five smaller birds, including vultures, await their portion of the slain deer: an emblem of liberality depending on Pliny and already familiar to the fourteenth-century author of the *Fiore di virtù* (see Hill 1905; Rugolo 1996).

Everything about this medal testifies to the king's personal involvement. Never before had Pisanello been required to incorporate so many motifs together with such self-aggrandizing inscriptions (this is possibly the first time a ruler appropriated the title of a deified emperor, *divus*, normally conferred in antiquity only posthumously [see Woods-Marsden 1990, pp. 17–18]). Unquestionably, the obverse lacks the elegant simplicity we find on the contemporary medal of Iñigo d'Avalos, but we should not underrate Pisanello's achievement.

Although Hill considered the Louvre sheet to be "one . . . of the finest of all the artist's drawings," its meticulous penwork led Maria Fossi Todorow to classify it as a workshop copy. Similarly, the crowded design, lettering, and a perceived lack of subtlety in the modeling of the relief led Luke Syson and Dillian Gordon to argue that the medal was produced with workshop assistance. But is it conceivable, we might ask ourselves, that Pisanello would turn over a project of this importance to a workshop assistant while he focused his attention on the medal of an adviser to the court? Is it not more likely that we have here an example of an artist struggling—perhaps even making aesthetic compromises—to accommodate the demands of a ruler Francesco Sforza later characterized as presumptuous, arrogant, and proud? It can hardly be coincidental that for a subsequent medal for Alfonso, Pisanello produced a drawing offering four alternative proposals for the obverse and reverse and that, once again, the final product differed from all of these (Paris 1996, p. 437, no. 302).

If this analysis is correct, it is in Pisanello's work for Alfonso that we gain special insight into the dynamics of a talented artist and exigent patron working toward an official likeness. Ironically, the imperial ambitions of Alfonso, who saw himself as the successor to Rome's Spanish-born emperors, were ultimately given convincing, antiquarian form almost a decade later by another artist employed by the Gonzaga, Cristoforo di Geremia (see Woods-Marsden 1990, pp. 21–23). KC

Provenance Cat. 131: Giuseppe Vallardi (by 1855); acquired by the Louvre (1856)

Cat. 132: Blumka Gallery, New York (until 1993)

Selected References Cats. 131, 132: Hill 1905, pp. 195–200; Fossi Todorow 1966, pp. 46–47, 118–19, no. 160; Hersey 1973, pp. 27–29; Woods-Marsden 1990, pp. 15–20; Degenhart and Schmitt 1995, pp. 214–20; Rugolo 1996, pp. 177–83; Paris 1996, pp. 435–36, nos. 300, 301; Gasparotto in Verona 1996, p. 400, no. 93; London 2001–2, pp. 126, 229–31; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 33–34

Guido Mazzoni (Modena, ca. 1450–1518, Modena)

133. *Alfonso II of Aragon (or Ferrante I of Aragon)*

ca. 1489–95

Bronze with a dark patina and traces of gilding, 16½ × 19¾ × 10¼ in. (42 × 50 × 26 cm)

Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples (AM 10527)

At midcareer, the brilliant Modenese sculptor Guido Mazzoni moved from northern Italy to Naples to work for the court of Ferrante I of Aragon (b. ca. 1424–31; r. 1458–94). Mazzoni had made his reputation as the creator of lifesize terracotta groups, usually of the Lamentation, in churches in Busseto, Modena, Venice, and Ferrara. In the last city he had particularly impressed Eleonora of Aragon (see cat. 83), who personally owned a bozzetto for the Lamentation group in the Chiesa del Gesù, probably carried out in the first half of the 1480s (Scalini in Modena 2009, p. 131). It was most likely Eleonora, Ferrante's daughter, who put the sculptor in touch with the court in Naples.

Contemporary documents show that Mazzoni was in the service of the king and his son and heir, Alfonso of Calabria (1444–1495; r. as Alfonso II 1494–95), from 1489. An official court artist, he received a stipend, traveled with the king, and sported the sobriquet "Paganino," after an illustrious uncle who had been both an Este captain and a professor of grammar. By 1492 Mazzoni had completed the astonishing Lamentation group (*uno sepolcro*) for the chapel of the Passion or Holy Tomb (Santo Sepolcro) in the church of Santa Maria di Monteoliveto, known as Sant'Anna dei Lombardi, which was paid for by Alfonso of Calabria (for the documents relating to Mazzoni's years in Naples, see Pèrcopo 1895, pp. 11–17, Lugli 1990, p. 328). The humanist Pietro Summonte described the sculptural group in an illuminating letter (ca. 1523–24) to the Venetian author Marcantonio Michiel concerning the development of the arts in Naples; according to Summonte, the group includes portraits of both Alfonso and his father (Nicolini 1925, p. 168).

This impressive portrait bust was installed in the same chapel and was noted there about 1588 by Scipione Mazzella in his book on the kings of Naples and their portraits; he described it as an "effigie di Re Ferdinando," meaning Ferrante I. By 1738 it had been moved to the cloister of the church, where the monks had erected a monument to their benefactor Alfonso II, thereby introducing a different possible identification of the bust. Stolen from the church probably in 1799 during political turmoil, it fortunately arrived in the Real Museo Borbonico, Naples, in 1820 as a portrait of Ferrante and was thus identified as such throughout the nineteenth century (for this history, see Leone De Castris in Almudín 2007, pp. 218–24, 483–85, and repeated in Leone De Castris 2008 and Leone De Castris in Budapest 2008).

Probably because Mazzoni is far better known as a sculptor in terracotta than in bronze, there was some debate on the attribution of the bust once it entered the museum, but Mazzoni's authorship now seems beyond doubt. In fact, Mazzoni was identified as a "goldsmith" as early as 1476 (Lugli 1990, p. 329), and following Alfonso's downfall and death, in 1496, Mazzoni left Naples with the conquering French king, Charles VIII, for whom he designed a tomb with a large component in bronze (destroyed; formerly Abbey of Saint-Denis, Paris). It may be that Mazzoni worked alongside a real expert in bronze casting. Mario Scalini (in Modena 2009, p. 138) has suggested that he had a working relationship with the founder Guglielmo Monaco, known for casting elements of the doors of Castelnuovo, but this remains speculative.

In any case, the conception of this bust-length figure, with its forceful appearance and personality, is entirely Mazzoni's. The sitter's head, complete with heavy jowls and baggy eyes, sits stolidly over the broad shoulders, which are covered with a luxurious brocade jacket decorated with an elaborate pomegranate design. A tight-fitting cap presses down on meticulously described hair, done in a style recognizable from other portraits of the 1490s. Given the attentive description of the sitter's features, it is odd that it has remained so difficult to pinpoint whether he is Ferrante or Alfonso, father or son. The emblems that the sitter wears—cap badge, collar, and pendant—all refer to the father's honors and to devotional preferences expressed over fifty years of tenacious rule. The cap badge (or fibula) depicts Lucifer being defeated by Saint Michael, to whom Ferrante was devoted (Lugli 1990, p. 330), while the pendant ermine refers to the Order of the Ermine, which Ferrante founded in 1465 and whose symbolism is described in detail in its *Capitoli* (statutes). The great collar (redolent of that of the Golden Fleece, to which the Aragonese rulers belonged) comprises entwined branches and includes four of Ferrante's emblems: an open book, a mountain of diamonds, a throne with flames (called a *seggiolo periglioso*), and a bunch of millet flowers. The Venetian diarist Marin Sanudo mentioned a bronze portrait of "re don Ferando vecchio" seen in 1495 installed on a table in a *studiolo* (or study) in Castel Capuano, where Alfonso of Calabria lived. Can this be the bust to which he referred,



moved later to the chapel (Leone De Castis in Almudín 2007, pp. 220, 485)?

Despite this evidence, there has been a growing consensus that the son, Mazzoni's principal patron, is depicted here instead. Alfonso could certainly have been portrayed wearing his father's dynastic emblems; Ferrante's daughter Beatrice is shown with the ermine decorating her gown in a portrait bust by Francesco Laurana (cat. 134), where it alludes to her natal family. Furthermore, a series of presumed portraits of Alfonso—from coins and a sculpture by Ordóñez to the astonishing figure of Joseph of Arimathea in the Monteoliveto terracotta group noted above—all share the heavy cheeks, crow's feet, facial wrinkles, and blunt nose. In the Lamentation group Alfonso appears balder and also older and more gaunt, which is appropriate given the urgent, devotional character of the sacred group, and quite unlike the solid, well-fed quality of the more official bronze portrait (these arguments are made in detail by Hersey [1964, pp. 84–86, and 1969, pp. 27–29] and Pane [1977, pp. 82–83]). More than half a century later, when Giorgio Vasari needed to portray these Neapolitan rulers in a fresco for the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, he turned to the full-length sculpture by Mazzoni in Naples, where King Alfonso appeared "truly more than alive" (Vasari 1996 ed., vol. 1, p. 396). This bust of enormous individuality and artistry shares the expressive quality of the terracotta figures that so impressed Vasari. AB

Provenance Chapel of the Passion or Holy Tomb, Sant'Anna dei Lombardi di Monteoliveto, Naples (by 1594); probably cloister of that church (by 1738); Real Museo Borbonico, Naples (from 1820)

Selected References Mazzella (1588) pub. 1594, p. 397; Naples 1954, pp. 6–8; Hersey 1964, pp. 83–86; Hersey 1969, p. 29; Pane 1977, vol. 2, pp. 82–83; Verdon 1978, pp. 112–14; Lugli 1990, pp. 329–30; Adams in Siena 1993, pp. 289–91, no. XV.1.1; Leone De Castris in Almudín 2007, pp. 218–21, 483–85; Leone De Castris in Budapest 2008, pp. 255–56, no. 5.4; Leone De Castris 2008, pp. 307–12; Scalini in Modena 2009, pp. 138–139, no. 23

Francesco Laurana (Vrana [now Zadar, Croatia], ca. 1420–ca. 1502, Marseille)

134. *Beatrice of Aragon*

ca. 1474–75

Marble, H. 16 in. (40.6 cm), W. 15⅞ in. (40.4 cm), Diam. at base 8 in. (20.3 cm)

Inscribed: *DIVA BEATRIX ARAGONIA*

The Frick Collection, New York, Bequest of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1961 (1961.2.87)

The inscription identifies this young woman as Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508), daughter of the king of Naples Ferrante I of Aragon (r. 1458–94) and Isabella of Chiaramonte. Beatrice received an exceptional education, and her tutor, Diomede Carafa, later wrote for her a treatise on leading a virtuous life. Following various failed marriage negotiations (see Berzeviczy 1909), Ferrante successfully contracted Beatrice's engagement to Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary (1443–1490, r. 1458–90), in 1474. On September 15, 1476, Beatrice was married by proxy to Corvinus and ceremonially crowned in the church of the Incoronata, Naples. The official coronation took place in Székesfehérvár, Hungary, on December 12, 1476, with Corvinus's blessing. The court historian Antonio Bonfini recounted the pomp and spectacle of the extravagant banquets, jousting tournaments, and other festivities held in honor of the royal couple in the subsequent days. As for the young Beatrice, Bonfini extolled her beauty, modesty, and wisdom as equal to that of the goddesses Venus, Diana, and Pallas (Domonkos 1989, p. 50; Cosenza 1900, p. 106 and n. 2; for Beatrice's biography, see Domonkos 1989; Edith Pásztor in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 7 [1965], pp. 347–49; Cosenza 1900).

The title of "queen of Hungary" appears on various portraits of Beatrice, including a marble profile relief (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest), a portrait medal assigned to the circle of Gian Cristoforo Romano (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Kress Collection), and a portrait medallion in an illuminated copy of epistles by Marsilio Ficino (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel). The appellation is absent from the Frick bust, however, which should therefore be dated prior to the events of 1476 and, perhaps, even before July 30, 1475, when a letter to Pope Sixtus IV refers to Beatrice as "queen" (*Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 7, p. 347). Courts often exchanged portraits during the period of betrothal negotiation and engagement; for instance, Ercole d'Este, duke of Ferrara, sent two portraits painted by Cosmè Tura to Eleonora of


DIVA BEATRIX
ARAGONIA

Aragon (cat. 81) before their marriage in 1473 (L. Campbell 1990, p. 197; Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, p. 257). The Frick bust could have been made for Corvinus's evaluation of the proposed Neapolitan bride, given that he had already refused Beatrice's older sister Eleonora because she was not the "bellissima" he desired (Domonkos 1989, pp. 43–44; Berzeviczy 1914, p. 16). Such portraits tended to be portable paintings and drawings, though, not weighty sculptures. A possible rare example of the latter is the bust of Beatrice d'Este by Gian Cristoforo Romano (cat. 101), which, unlike the Frick bust, clearly displays an emblem of the sitter's future husband. In the end, it seems more plausible that Beatrice's bust was intended to remain in the Aragonese court in Naples.

Beatrice's portrait is one of nine busts of women generally ascribed to the itinerant Dalmatian sculptor Francesco Laurana (for the considerable debate over the identification, dating, and attribution of all these works, see, for example, Rolfs 1907; Valentiner 1942; Kruft 1995; and Damianaki 2000). Wilhelm Bode (1888, pp. 218, 222, 224) first proposed Laurana's authorship of the busts based on stylistic similarities to signed and documented works in France, Sicily, and Naples. Two statues by Laurana provide convincing stylistic parallels to the Frick bust: the *Madonna della Neve* in the church of the Crocifisso, Noto, Sicily, which is signed and dated 1471, and the *Madonna and Child* for the chapel of Santa Barbara in the Castelnuovo, Naples, which is documented in 1474. Consequently, the attribution of Beatrice's bust to Laurana has been nearly universally accepted (see Reymond 1899, p. 75, for an exception). Unusual among this group of works, Beatrice's portrait extends through the upper torso, stands securely on a horizontal termination without a base, and includes an inscribed tablet at front, recalling the format of Italian and Northern European reliquary busts. Laurana's only other inscribed bust is that of Battista Sforza, duchess of Urbino (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence), where the legend runs along the face of the integral pedestal.

With a calm and graceful air, Beatrice faces forward and inclines her head faintly to the left. She is far more restrained in her movement than the female sitters of the Florentine busts in the exhibition (cats. 12, 13), perhaps because of the formality required of court portraits. She wears a simple dress (or *cotta*) with a decorative border at the collar. Now abraded, this low-relief border once comprised a hill flanked by two ermines and two lilies with three blooms each (Rolfs 1907, p. 340). Atop the *cotta* is a V-neck tunic (*giornea*) of light, undulating fabric trimmed with bands of pseudo-Kufic script. This design, which resembles that on the robes of Laurana's Madonna in Noto (Rolfs 1907, p. 340), ends abruptly on the reverse of the bust. The portrait was, therefore, designed to be viewed only from the front, as if intended to be situated in an architectural niche or on a mantel. Beatrice's upswept hair is covered by a cap (*cuffia*) of extremely fine material, which reveals the tresses and high, plucked hairline beneath. Soft, wavy locks fall along her temples. Her almond-shaped eyes are overhung by thick upper lids, making her gaze demurely downward. It is worth noting, though, that the sitter appears more self-assured when the portrait is seen from below. Above the eyes, pencil-thin brows seamlessly give way to a straight nose, which has small nostrils and whose acute projection is evident only in profile. Her plump cheeks, rounded chin, and smooth lips signal Beatrice's health and youth, although later portraits suggest the fullness of face to be a characteristic trait. Here, Laurana married Beatrice's features with the stylized facial forms of his earlier Madonnas. This synthetic beauty may have originally been embellished with polychromy on the eyes, lips, hair, and costume, as on Laurana's female bust in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. While the latter bust may have had a decorative gem on the forehead, Beatrice wears no jewelry. She is adorned, instead, with symbols of purity; the ermines and lilies along the neckline of the dress suggest that her beauty was complemented by chastity, the most important attribute of an eligible young lady. These motifs, which herald her as a lady of the House of Aragon, also correspond to the emblems of the noble Orders of the Ermine and of the Lily, to which her father belonged. (The sitter in a portrait by Guido Mazzoni, probably Beatrice's brother Alfonso [cat. 133], also wears the necklace of the Order of the Ermine.) The central motif of the hill, as identified by Wilhelm Rolfs, was surely the mount of diamonds, one of Ferrante's personal devices (Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, p. 258). In sum, Beatrice is resplendent with feminine virtue and royal pedigree, and in this captivating portrait Laurana renders a glorification of her akin to the inscribed ancient honorific title "Diva." JLV

Provenance Purchased in Florence by Charles Timbal, Paris (ca. 1855–60); possibly Carlo Otler, Florence (1861; see Damianaki, pp. 77, 159 n. 149); sold by Timbal to Dreyfus; Gustave Dreyfus, Paris (1871; acquired with the Dreyfus collection by Duveen); [Joseph Duveen, London, 1930; sold to Rockefeller]; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., New York (d. 1960; his bequest to the Frick Collection, 1961)

Selected References Burger 1907, pp. 129–31; Rolfs 1907, pp. 339–43; Bode 1928, p. 144 (first published 1902, pp. 223–24); Valentiner 1942, p. 284; Hersey 1969, pp. 33, 35; Kruft 1995, pp. 126–28, 375; Damianaki 2000, pp. 76–83, 159–63; Focarino 2003, pp. 423–27; Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, pp. 256–57

Adriano Fiorentino (Adriano di Giovanni de' Maestri; Florence, ca. 1450/60–1499, Florence)

135. *Giovanni Gioviano Pontano*

1488–94

Bronze, 19½ × 19¾ × 7½ in. (49.5 × 50.2 × 19.2 cm)

Inscribed: on base, *IOANNES IOVIANVS PONTANVS / ALFONSI CALABRIAE DVCIS PRAECEPTOR* (Giovanni Gioviano Pontano/ Tutor of Duke Alfonso of Calabria)

Museo di Sant'Agostino, Genoa (PB 153)

136. *Giovanni Gioviano Pontano*

1488–94

Marble, 19⅞ × 13⅛ in. (50.5 × 33.3 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, by exchange, 1991 (1991.21)

137. *Giovanni Gioviano Pontano*

1488 or after

Copper alloy, cast; Diam. 3⅜ in. (8.6 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, *IOANNES · IOVIANVS· PONTANVS* (Giovanni Gioviano Pontano); on reverse, *VRANIA* (Urania)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1957.14.699)

Over his long career, the poet, humanist, and statesman Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503) composed five Latin *Dialogues*; the last of these, *Aegidius* (1501), is set outside the author's house in Naples. It begins with two travelers arriving there from Rome and finding the following inscription on the walls: "Future heir, successor, master of this house, feel neither shame nor grief for its former master, who built himself this home. He cultivated letters, cultivated the nobler arts, and cultivated kings, himself cultivated by honest youths and honest elders, who lauded his integrity, faith, and good morals. Such was Giovanni Pontano, the remnant of an early age. He lived for himself and for the muses" (Marsh 1980, pp. 101–2). With this brief autobiographical sketch in mind—in which the author outlined his virtues, attainments, and attachment to the ancients—we turn to the impressive bronze bust of Pontano by Adriano Fiorentino, a Florentine artist active in Naples, as well as to the artist's *all'antica* portrait relief in marble and his medal of the same sitter. In all three, Pontano is depicted as an older man; his sparse remaining hair is wavy, and his rather severe demeanor is expressed through a furrowed brow, pronounced veins and perhaps a scar at the temples, deeply creased cheeks, and a slightly downturned mouth. In the bust and relief he wears classical garb, with his cloak held at the shoulder by a fibula. The bust is not strictly frontal; there is a slight twist to the neck and shoulders that imparts a strong sense of animation. Unusually, the bust, which is hollow, is cast all of a piece (a technical examination was carried out by Veerle Essel in 2009), with an inscription on the base that identifies the sitter as the *praeceptor* (tutor) of Alfonso, duke of Calabria: that is, Alfonso of Aragon before he succeeded his father, King Ferrante, as Alfonso II. Alfonso was almost surely the patron.

Pontano was deeply involved in the courts of both father and son. During his lifetime he was considered one of the most fecund writers of the age, his subjects ranging from astrology and botany to rhetoric and ethics. From 1471 he guided the Neapolitan Accademia Porticus Antoniana, which was later given his name (Pontaniana). As his *Dialogues* demonstrate, he gloried in discourse that sought to reconcile the language and goals of the ancient philosophers with his devout Christianity. Pontano's austerely beautiful, freestanding funerary chapel in Naples, whose classicizing architecture is sometimes attributed to Francesco di Giorgio (to whom the bust was at one time also given), suggests a similar goal (Schubring 1907, pp. 193–94; Pane 1977, pp. 199–203). Pontano did not, however, live a *vita contemplativa*; he undertook countless diplomatic and military missions for his Aragonese rulers, and it was he who helped convince Alfonso II to abdicate his throne in the face of the arrival of the French king, Charles VIII, in Naples in 1495.

Pietro Summonte, whose 1524 letter to Marcantonio Michiel in Venice outlined the history of Neapolitan art to that date, was Pontano's literary executor (Marsh 1980, p. 104). According to Summonte, "Thirty five years ago in this city, there was a young Florentine named Adriano, who made the statue [*statua*] of Pontano in bronze and also the medal, that you see there today" (Nicolini 1925, p. 167). The medal depicts Pontano in a remarkably similar manner to the sculpted bust as it would appear in profile (Hill 1930, no. 340; see also the obverse portrait on Hill 1930, no. 339). Two smaller medals (Hill 1930, nos. 341, 342) are possibly by other hands but are dependent on Adriano's imagery. All three depict Urania, muse of astronomy and the subject of one of Pontano's poems, on the reverse. Here she is shown holding a sphere aloft in one hand and a lyre in another; a plant grows before her.

It has generally been assumed that Summonte was writing of this bronze, but Francesco Caglioti (in Florence 1992b, p. 114) has questioned whether a learned humanist such as Summonte



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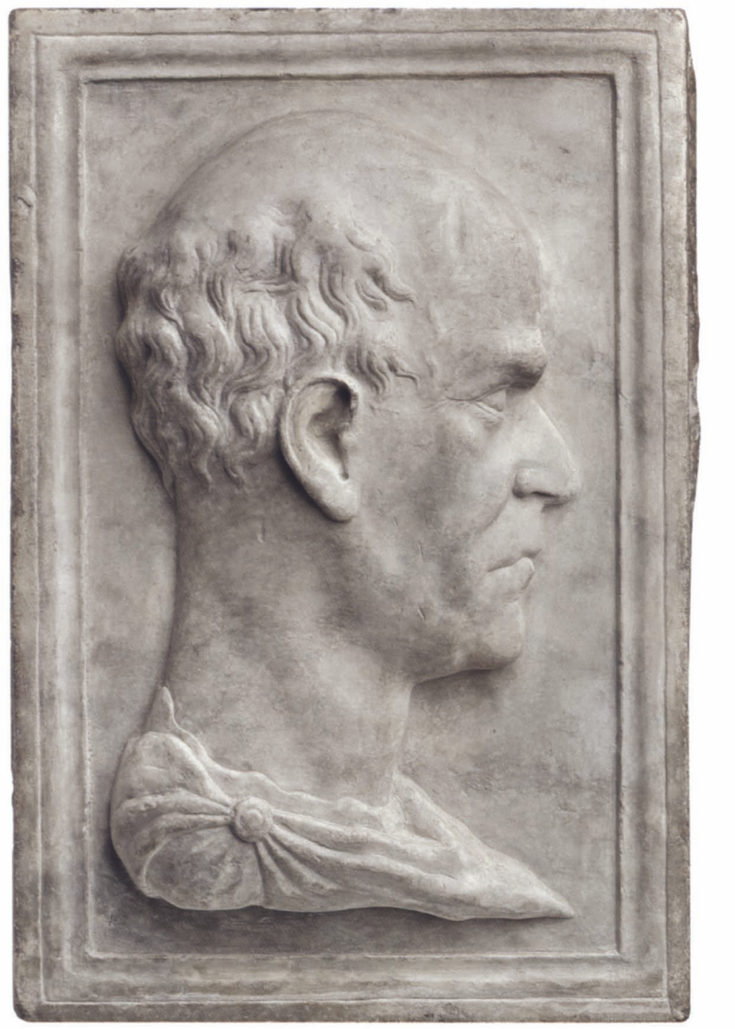
would have used the term "statua" to describe a bust. Nonetheless, the grouping of the two similar works by Adriano Fiorentino in the same textual passage is compelling. Other contemporary descriptions of sculptures of Pontano possibly refer to this bust as well. A Greek epigram by Giano Làskaris describes a bronze in which Pontano speaks from his "bewitching mouth" ("bocca maliarda"). Even more significant is a 1518 dedicatory letter concerning an edition of Pontano's work in which an "imago ex aere" (likeness in bronze) of the author is described as a treasure of Alfonso II's collection and as being in



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his library (de Marinis 1952, pp. 100, 113, no. 54; Caglioti in Florence 1992b, pp. 114–15). The bust was next identified in the collection of the great Roman banker Ottavio Costa (1554–1639), Caravaggio's patron, whose family was from Albenga, near Genoa, and who could have bought the work in Naples (he also owned an edition of Pontano's works). By 1640 the sculpture was in the family palace in Albenga, and it has remained in Genoa since that time (Costa Restagno 2004, pp. 145 n. 127, 163 n. 41, 168 n. 44; Boccardo and Di Fabio in Florence 2005b, p. 36).

It is interesting that the patron of this classicizing bust turned to Adriano Fiorentino rather than Guido Mazzoni, who was also working in Naples at the time. Adriano arrived in Naples probably about 1488 and remained there until the change of regime in 1495. He was closely associated with the Aragonese rulers, including Alfonso's heir, Ferrandino, in whose palace he lived (Draper 1992, pp. 44–46; for his later career, see cat. 108). It is likely that he embodied the latest achievements of the admired Medici circle to the Neapolitan court, especially with his expertise in metalwork and ability to evoke *all'antica* style (Caglioti in Florence 1992b, p. 112). The heroicism of the bust, which is rather rough and simple in design and execution, contrasts forcefully with the equally descriptive but determinedly contemporary depiction of either Ferrante or Alfonso made by Mazzoni about the same time (cat. 133). Indeed, one is courtly, the other humanist; together they represent both sides of the artistic spectrum in Naples.

Adriano also carved a relief in marble that relates to both the profile view of the bronze bust and his medal of the sitter



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(Draper 1992, pp. 51–53). Set within an illusionistic frame, the relief combines the tradition of the carved portrait bust with the imagery of Roman emperors developed in such an extraordinary way by Desiderio da Settignano and Mino da Fiesole (on the latter, see Caglioti 2006, pp. 87–101). The portrait relief by Mino of Alfonso of Aragon (Musée du Louvre, Paris), for example, shows the ruler in contemporary garb, while here Pontano wears the same classical dress as in the bust. What is remarkable is that Adriano was able to create an iconography for this formidable scholar that could resonate in various media and also fix Pontano's image for posterity. **AB**

Provenance Cat. 135: Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, Naples (by 1492 or 1494); Ottavio Costa (1554–1639), Albenga (Genoa); by descent to Pier Francesco Costa (1639–1723); Ospedale di Pammatone, Genoa (until 1877); Comune di Genova (from 1881)

Cat. 136: Gaetano Pepe, Naples (until 1924); Pier Tozzi, New York (until 1991)

Cat. 137: Gustave Dreyfus (1837–1914), Paris; his estate; [purchased by Duveen Brothers, Inc., London and New York, 1930]; purchased by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York (1945); gift to the National Gallery of Art (1957)

Selected References Cat. 135: Schubring 1907, pp. 193–94; Hersey 1969, p. 30; Caglioti in Florence 1992b, pp. 112–15; Costa Restagno 2004, pp. 145, 163, 168; Boccardo and Di Fabio in Florence 2005b, pp. 35–36

Cat. 136: Draper 1992, pp. 51–53

Cat. 137: Fabriczy 1903, pp. 94–95; Hill 1930, no. 340; Draper 1992, p. 46; Caglioti in Florence 1992b, p. 112; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 167, no. 148

Pisanello (Antonio di Puccio Pisano; Pisa, Verona, or San Vito?, ca. 1395–ca. 1455)

138. *Head of a Man*

ca. 1440
Black chalk with traces of a stylus, 11½ × 8⅛ in. (29.3 × 20.6 cm)
Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris (2480)

The model for this drawing wears a cloak with an ermine-lined collar and an extravagant hat similar to those worn by courtly figures in Italian paintings from the 1420s through the 1440s. One such figure is shown mounted on horseback in Masolino's fresco of the *Crucifixion* in San Clemente, Rome, datable to 1427–31. Others appear in Bartolomeo di Tomasso's predella panel showing the funeral of Saint Francis (Walters Art Museum, Baltimore), datable to about 1430, and in the Zavattari brothers' decorations in the Cappella di Teodolinda of the cathedral of Monza, north of Milan, which were commissioned by Filippo Maria Visconti and date from 1441–46. Enio Sindona's idea that the figure was inspired by the "Oriental types" Pisanello observed in Ferrara and Florence during the Church Council of 1438–39 (see cat. 65) thus seems unnecessary. Adolfo Venturi identified the model as Niccolò Piccinino, based on a perceived resemblance to Pisanello's profile drawing (cat. 96) and medal (cat. 97) of the famous *condottiere*, who was repeatedly employed by Filippo Maria Visconti between 1425 and 1444. Although this identification has been accepted, albeit with reservations (Degenhart 1945; Fossi Todorow 1966; Paris 1996), it remains highly problematic. The piled-up hat need not exclude the identification, since Pisanello shows the armored figure of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga wearing a similar one on the reverse of the medal he cast about 1439–40, but the combination of the hat and ermine-lined collar is certainly different from the way Piccinino had himself depicted in the profile portrait drawing and medal. Here, for example, the model appears as a court figure rather than a commander. More troublesome is that the frontal view necessarily renders any attempt at identification conjectural, since characteristic features such as the shape of the nose and brow are, as a matter of course, deemphasized. It is precisely because the frontal view so compromises identification that virtually all fifteenth-century portraits show the sitter either in profile or with his or her head angled.

As recognized by Maria Fossi Todorow, the closest analogy is to the figure of Saint George in Pisanello's famous mural in Sant'Anastasia, Verona (1436–38). Her analysis bears quoting at length (1996, p. 41):

> At first glance the drawing appears typically Pisanellan in its violent frontality, the powerful characterization, the precision of the physiognomic description, the confident relation between the face of the figure and his marvelous hat. Even comparison with the face of Saint George in Sant'Anastasia shows analogies in a certain flattening of the nose, which seems almost to expand into the forehead, masterfully described by the firm curves of the eyebrows. It is similar to the Saint George in the way the chin of the figure blends into the converging lines of the neck, without precisely defining the two different surface planes.

Yet, despite noting all these marked similarities with the work of Pisanello, Fossi Todorow considered the drawing's attribution problematic and classified the sheet, together with the two astonishing drawings of an old man seated at a table (cats. 73, 74), under uncertain attributions. The latter, however, are among the most brilliant of Pisanello's mature works for their ability to suggest a psychological presence. Moreover, the effect of a shallow relief rather than of a sculptural, fully three-dimensional solid is typical of Pisanello's work. The delicate *sfumato* effect creates the impression of a figure seen "as if through an imaginary veil, projected into an aristocratically distant sphere" (Sindona 1962).

Might Pisanello have undertaken the study with a view to including the likeness of this person as a bystander in a mural? Or should we, instead, understand the drawing as a sort of character study: a person whose countenance, even more than his costume, fascinated Pisanello as part of the artist's constant endeavor to give greater veracity to the murals for which he was so famed? If we compare it to the studies of members of the Byzantine court (cat. 65), to the highly finished drawing of courtiers in elaborate costumes (British Museum, London, inv. 1846.0509.143; see London 2010, pp. 106–7), or to the Mongol (Musée du Louvre, inv. 2325) who reappears in the background of the Sant'Anastasia mural, the difference between an interest in costume or an exotic figure type and the desire to convey something of the character of a model is readily apparent. The drawing thus marks the overlap between the task of "taking a likeness" and broader artistic concerns. Certainly, there can be no question that Pisanello's activity as a portraitist increasingly informed his work as a painter of *istorie*: the



narrative subjects that were viewed as the highest endeavor of an artist. To appreciate the distance traveled by Pisanello over the course of his four-decades-long career, it is enough to compare the wide-eyed, generalized features of the knights and ladies in the fragmentary Arthurian mural cycle in the Gonzaga castle in Mantua with the compelling figures of Saint George and the Princess of Trebizond. The date of the Mantua cycle remains problematic, but it seems to this writer inconceivable that it could be more or less contemporary—let alone later—than the *Saint George* (for a summary of opinions and a reaffirmation of a late date, see Woods-Marsden 2002, pp. 673–75). Similarly, the drawing exhibited here can be no earlier than the late 1430s and is probably a bit later (Paris 1996).

Hedwig Gollob's attempt to associate the drawing with a cycle of destroyed frescoes in the hospital of San Giovanni Laterano in Rome, known from later drawings, has rightly been discarded (see Paris 1996). KC

Provenance Giuseppe Vallardi, Milan; Musée du Louvre, Paris (from 1856)

Selected References **A.** Venturi 1939, p. 59; Degenhart 1945, pp. 32, 44, 78; Sindona 1962, p. 73; Gollob 1965, p. 54; Fossi Todorow 1966, pp. 41–42, 97, no. 97; Paccagnini 1972, p. 103; Paris 1996, p. 212, no. 122

Michele Giambono (Treviso?, ca. 1395–1462, Venice)

139. *Portrait of a Man*

ca. 1432–34
Tempera and silver on wood, 20⅞ × 15¾ in. (53 × 40 cm)
Musei di Strada Nuova, Palazzo Rosso, Genoa (57)

In this portrait, one of the very few Venetian examples from the early fifteenth century to survive, the subject wears a luxurious cut-velvet robe with a pomegranate pattern, the neck and sleeve openings of which are trimmed with fur, over a high-collared doublet and a distinctive fur hat with a tail (the fur is marten, or *zibellini*). Both the shape of the extravagant hat and the contour of the profile of the face underwent alterations in the course of painting (see Tagliaferro 1991, pp. 50–53); the velvet was created by a combination of silver leaf with diagonal lines etched into its surface (*sgraffito*) and red lake. Although the surface is somewhat worn and there is a large loss in the turned-up visor of the hat, the picture is of unique importance for the history of portraiture in Venice; it is also a work of compelling presence.

The costume no less than the subject's features identify him as not Italian. In 1666, when it was owned by the painter Nicolas Regnier, the picture was described as showing a "muscovite prince" and attributed to Leonardo da Vinci (see Boccardo 1988 and Lemoine 2007). The basis for this identification is unknown, but accompanying plate 289 of Cesare Vecellio's 1590 costume book, *De gli habiti antichi e moderni*, is a description of the dress of a "Gran Duca di Moscovia" that may be relevant. The subject could have been a member of the large community of Germans, Bohemians, Hungarians, Slavs, Dalmatians, and Albanians in Venice; however, rather than a merchant or banker—such as Jörg Fugger, who was painted in 1474 by Giovanni Bellini (Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena)—this sitter would appear to be a member of court. On grounds of style, Tiziana Franco (in Fabriano 2006, p. 160) has situated the picture in the years immediately following 1432, when Giambono dated his decoration for the tomb of Cortesia da Serego in the church of Sant'Anastasia in Verona. Caterina Marcenaro has suggested as a possible subject a Magyar general who was in the service of the Bohemian king Sigismund during the latter's trip to Italy in 1432–33 to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor: perhaps Janos Hunyadi (1387–1456), the father of King Matthias Corvinus who for a time served Filippo Maria Visconti in Milan, the great enemy of the Venetian state. It is worth noting that during these same years Venice continued to press its interests in Dalmatia and Bosnia, and under Doge Francesco Foscari the privilege of noble status in Venice was granted in 1423 to King Stephen Tvrtko II of Bosnia and in 1434 to "el magnifico et potente domino Zorzi Possilovich, vayvoda"—that is, György Pasilovich of Hungary, son of the count of Vaslai and nephew of the duke of Bosnia (Sanudo 1900 ed., pp. 59–60). Might the portrait have been commissioned on such an occasion?

Given the rarity of Venetian portraits in the first half of the fifteenth century as well as the fame of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello, it is not surprising that the picture has been attributed to both of these artists (see especially Suida 1906, p. 143; Marcenaro 1959, and Fossi Todorow 1966 for Pisanello; and Boskovits 1999 for Gentile da Fabriano). However, as Maria Fossi Todorow remarked in her cautious endorsement of the attribution to Pisanello, the soft and smoky rendering of the contours would be perplexing in a work by the Veronese artist, and the picture lacks the "medallic incisiveness" associated with his portraits. Neither, we should note, does it possess the consummate delicacy and subtle modeling found in the work of Gentile da Fabriano, who was far more attentive to physiognomy as a means of describing character, and who invariably subordinated decorative patterns to his interest in form, never merely playing the one against the other (compare the donor portrait in his early altarpiece in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin [inv. 1130], and the richly garbed figures of Palla and Lorenzo Strozzi in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). Here the acutely observed but somewhat generalized features of the face are set against a uniform bluish background typical of Giambono's work, the costume has the character of a flat silhouette, and the ornament assumes the prominence of a heraldic device, as in Pisanello's portrait of Leonello d'Este (cat. 70). The picture unquestionably ranks among Giambono's finest achievements, and it would seem to testify to the manner in which, from the outset, Venetian painters looked beyond Venice for their models—in this case to Pisanello and, above all, Gentile da Fabriano, whose importance for the history of Italian portraiture must have been considerable (his lost portrait of Pope Martin V and ten cardinals, displayed in San Giovanni Laterano, is reported to have elicited praise from Rogier van der Weyden).

In 1532 Marcantonio Michiel saw in the Venetian collection of M. Antonio Pasqualino two pendant portraits that he believed were by Gentile. One of these survives in a private collection in Bergamo and has been attributed by Federico Zeri (1958) to Pisanello and by Andrea De Marchi (1992b,



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pp. 85–86) to the young Jacopo Bellini, which reminds us how problematic early Venetian portraiture is. The companion portrait showed an old man in profile holding prayer beads, the bottommost of which was modeled in gesso and gilded (*pastiglia*), a technique found in the work of both Gentile and Giambono. Without record of this work we would have no way of knowing that Filippo Lippi's achievement in Florence—a bust-length portrait that included gesturing hands (cat. 7)—was paralleled in Venice. Of this first, still nebulous chapter of portraiture in Venice, Giambono's picture is the outstanding survivor: a work in which the luxuriant richness of northern European courtly portraiture (hence Zeri's idea that it was not Italian) is informed by the more analytic naturalism of Gentile and Pisanello. It is this more analytic approach that, in the hands of Jacopo Bellini, laid the foundation for the achievement of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini. KC

Provenance Nicolas Regnier, Venice (until 1666); Giuseppe Maria Durazzo, Genoa (1670–1701); Maria Durazzo Brignole-Sale, Genoa (1666–93); the Brignole-Sale collection, Palazzo Rosso, Genoa (until 1874); bequeathed by Maria Brignole Sale to the municipality of Genoa

Selected References Zeri 1958, p. 33; Marcenaro 1959, pp. 73–80; Cuppini 1962, pp. 88–93; Fossi Todorow 1966, p. 10 n. 27; Tagliaferro 1991, pp. 50–53; De Marchi 1992b, p. 86; Franco 1998, p. 103; Boskovits 1999, p. 334; De Marchi 2002a, pp. 98–99; Franco in Fabriano 2006, p. 160; Lemoine 2007, pp. 203, 353

Jacopo Bellini (Venice, ca. 1400–ca. 1470, Venice)

140. *Saint Bernardino da Siena*

ca. 1450–55

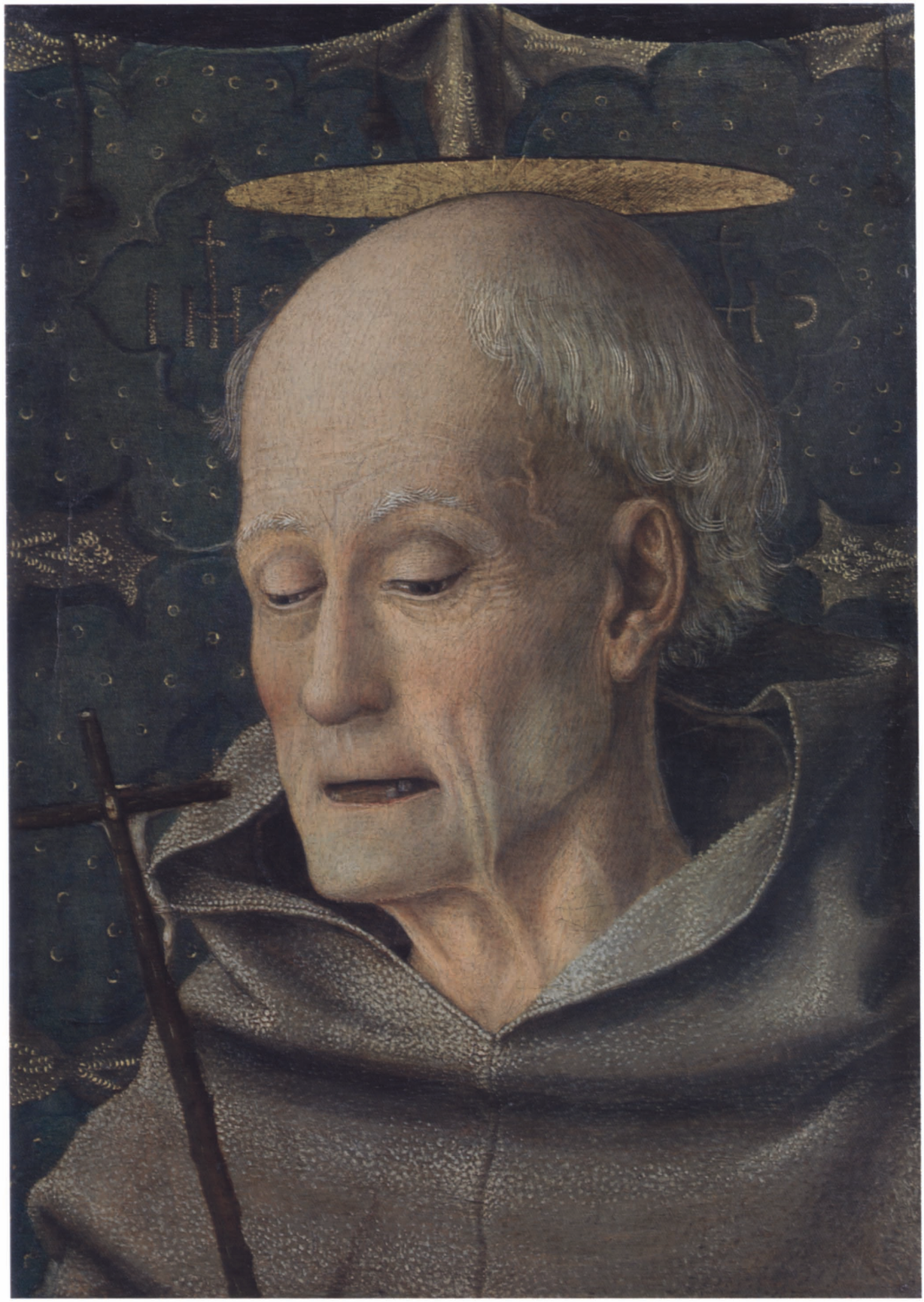
Tempera on wood: overall, 12⅛ × 8¾ in. (30.6 × 22.3 cm); painted surface, 11¾ × 8⅜ in. (29.7 × 21.4 cm)

Private collection

No other fifteenth-century personality was as widely portrayed as the great Sienese preacher Saint Bernardino (1380–1444), a prominent figure in the reform branch of the Franciscan order known as the Observants (he served as vicar general of the order from 1438 until 1442). In addition to a death mask, there are medals, standing and bust-length painted depictions, terracotta busts and statues, and engravings. Following his canonization in 1450, he, like Saint Francis, the thirteenth-century founder of the order, was shown repeatedly in altarpieces. Given his enormous popularity and the devotion he inspired, it may seem remarkable that no image of him can be dated prior to his death. The explanation is that any portrayal of the man during his lifetime was bound to be interpreted as a cult image and thus risk accusations of idolatry; only after Bernardino's death and the emergence of his cult did images of him begin to proliferate (see Israëls 2007). The fact that his features were so well known meant that these early cult images were expected, like portraits, to be verisimilar. Indeed, in 1445 Bernardino's colleague, Giovanni da Capistrano, who was promoting Bernardino's canonization, specifically requested an image "as close to life as possible" ("quantum naturalis similitudinis fieri posit": Israëls 2007, p. 86). By evoking the memory of firsthand observation, these cult images recalled his presence as vividly as his personal possessions, which were avidly sought as relics (Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan, obtained a pair of the saint's spectacles, which he hoped would cure his failing eyesight). To achieve the requisite image, Bernardino's familiar features—his leathery skin; stubbly chin; sunken cheeks (the right one with a mole); toothless, downturned mouth; wrinkled brow; and heavy-lidded eyes—became attributes that were as important for identifying him as the monogram of Christ he employed as a visual aide in his sermons or the three bishop's miters symbolizing the three bishoprics he refused. Indeed, the recurrence of these physiognomic traits in the work of artists who never saw him poses a basic question of what constitutes resemblance in early Renaissance portraiture. As Daniel Arasse (1987, pp. 311–19) and Machtelt Israëls (2007, pp. 104–14) have shown, in images of Bernardino the boundaries we would draw between portrait and cult image break down. The creative process involved was analagous to that found in Donatello's reliquary bust of Saint Rossore (cat. 1), in which the great sculptor reconceptualized a standardized cult object by endowing it with portraitlike traits. Here the mimetic aims of portraiture serve to reinforce the evocative power of a cult image.

Jacopo Bellini had more than one opportunity to observe Saint Bernardino and hear him preach, but the event that most likely formed the background for this image was the saint's last tour of northern Italy, during Lent of 1442–43. His sermons in Verona, Padua, and Venice attracted huge crowds. We might imagine Jacopo making sketches of the saint much like those Pisanello made of Emperor John VIII Palaeologus during the Church Council at Ferrara (cats. 64, 65). These sketches must then have been employed in making two large drawings in an album, now in the British Museum, London (fols. 80v, 82v), in which Jacopo reimagined the event in more formal terms (see Blass-Simmen 2007). In both of these, Bernardino is shown preaching from an elevated wood pulpit over which a canopy has been constructed. In one the pulpit is square shaped, in the other hexagonal. In one the saint is seen from the side, leaning out as he jabs the air with his right hand to drive home a point; in the other he is viewed frontally, his left hand supporting a disk with the monogram of Christ, while his head and outspread right arm are directed heavenward as he reaches a climax in the sermon. The vantage in both is from below, where the crowd is divided into male and female listeners, as we know to have been the case. Jacopo's portrait gives us a close-up view of the saint. He stands before a velvet cloth decorated with thistle leaves and Christ's monogram, so that, as in Pisanello's portrait of Leonello d'Este (cat. 70), an iconographic feature is incorporated as a backdrop. The saint's mouth is open, displaying three small teeth, and his eyes are directed downward toward a crucifix that is angled out, so that it seems to project into the viewer's space (the effect must have been even more pronounced when the panel was framed by a small, engaged molding). In other words, the saint is shown as a living, speaking presence, perhaps the first such portrait of the Renaissance. The portrait easily distinguishes itself from the stylized three-quarter-view portraits produced in Siena or the profile portrait that was widely diffused in northern Italy.

Unfortunately, we know nothing about the history of this remarkable picture prior to the nineteenth century. It was first ascribed to Jacopo Bellini by David Carritt (in *Artemis Consolidated Audited Annual Report* 1978–79); the attribution was then argued by the present writer (1987) and by Colin Eisler



(1989). Carritt rightly noted that the pointillist technique used to suggest the coarse woolen texture of the saint's habit is found also in the work of Jacopo's teacher, Gentile da Fabriano. Compelling analogies can be made with Jacopo's signed *Madonna and Child* in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, in which the same pointillist technique is employed and in which, as in the portrait, the figures are imagined from below and the Virgin has a similarly downcast gaze. The two works must be more or less contemporary: about 1450. Unfortunately, the only two certain autograph portraits by Jacopo that have survived—a diminutive, kneeling donor figure in a small panel of the Virgin and Child in a landscape that dates from the 1440s (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and a silverpoint drawing of a man viewed in profile, in an album in the Louvre (R.F. 1475–1556, fol. 22)—do not provide the comparisons one would wish for, and this has led to an alternative attribution to the young Giovanni Bellini, who at the time was still in his father's workshop (De Marchi 1992b). This very tentative proposal, based on a conjectural reconstruction of Giovanni's early career, has the virtue of underscoring the fundamental novelty of this extraordinary portrait-cult image and the way its descriptive naturalism is directed toward an enhanced emotive intensity.

KC

Provenance William Graham, London (1882, inv. no. 319, as C. Crivelli; sale, Christie's, London, April 9, 1886, lot 354); Cyril Flower, later Lord Battersea, London (1886–1907); his widow, Constance de Rothschild (1907–1931); her cousin, Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, London (1931–1942); Edmond de Rothschild, London (1942–1983); David Carritt (1978); private collection, New York

Selected References Berenson 1894; Carritt in *Artemis Consolidated Audited Annual Report* 1978–79, pp. 14–17; Christiansen 1987, pp. 172–74; De Marchi 1987, p. 34 n. 50 ; Eisler 1989, pp. 28, 51, 54, 165, 192, 390, 516; De Marchi 1992b, pp. 218, 220 n. 13; Israëls 2007, p. 111

Cristoforo di Geremia (Mantua, active by 1456–1476, Rome?)

141. *Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan*

ca. 1440

Bronze, cast; Diam. 1⅝ in. (3.9 cm)

Inscribed: on obverse, L[udovicus]·*AQVILEGIENSIVM·PATRIARCA·ECCLESIAM RESTITVIT* (Ludovico, patriarch of Aquileia, restored the Church; on reverse, *ECCLESIA RESTITVTA* (the Church restored); in exergue, *EXALTO* (from on high)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (1957.14.806)

Andrea Mantegna (Isola di Carturo, 1430/31–1506, Mantua)

142. *Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan*

ca. 1459–60

Tempera on wood, 17⅞ × 13¾ in. (45.4 × 34.8 cm); painted surface, 17⅝ × 13⅜ in. (44.8 × 33.9 cm)

Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (9)

Mantegna's extraordinary portrait of the Venetian-born Ludovico Trevisan, also known as Scarampi or Mezzarota, was painted between May 27, 1459, and February 8, 1460, during the congress convened in Mantua by Pope Pius II to garner support for action against the Ottomans. A rich, powerful, and cultured figure, Trevisan had risen through the ranks of the Church, becoming bishop of Trau in 1435, archbishop of Florence in 1437, patriarch of Aquileia in 1439, and cardinal on July 1, 1440, when he was also appointed chamberlain (*camerlengo*). As commander of the papal troops, he had proved his military prowess against the Milanese general Niccolò Piccinino at the Battle of Anghiari, in 1440. In 1457 he led a successful naval campaign against the Turks in the eastern Mediterranean, returning to Rome in March 1459. Yet at the congress, he opposed Pius's project for a crusade and openly schemed against the Venetian Cardinal Pietro Barbo, later Pope Paul II. Trevisan was in touch with the greatest humanist writers and antiquarians of the day, including Niccolò Niccoli, Poggio Bracciolini, and Cyriac of Ancona, and he formed an outstanding collection of antiquities that included coins, cameos, intaglios, and bronze busts (see the inventory of his collections in Florence published in Bagemihl 1993). By 1461 he had in his employ the Mantuan goldsmith Cristoforo di Geremia, who dealt in antiquities in Rome and is also credited with the portrait medal of the cardinal that is conspicuously based on Roman coinage (see below).

Mantegna's portrait—one of the landmarks of Italian portraiture—transposes the terms of classical sculpture to painting, recalling Ulisse degli Aleotti's praise of the artist's ability to "sculpt in paint [an image] both lifelike and true" ("scolpi in pictura [l'immagine] propria viva et vera"; see Kristeller 1902, p. 488). Ludovico is shown bust-length in three-quarter view, with his red mantle (*ferraiuolo*) anchoring the image as firmly as the cloak (*paludamentum*) anchors the marble bust of a Roman emperor or general, such as those Mantegna depicted on the ceiling of the Camera Picta in the Gonzaga castle in Mantua. At the same time, the depiction of the moiré



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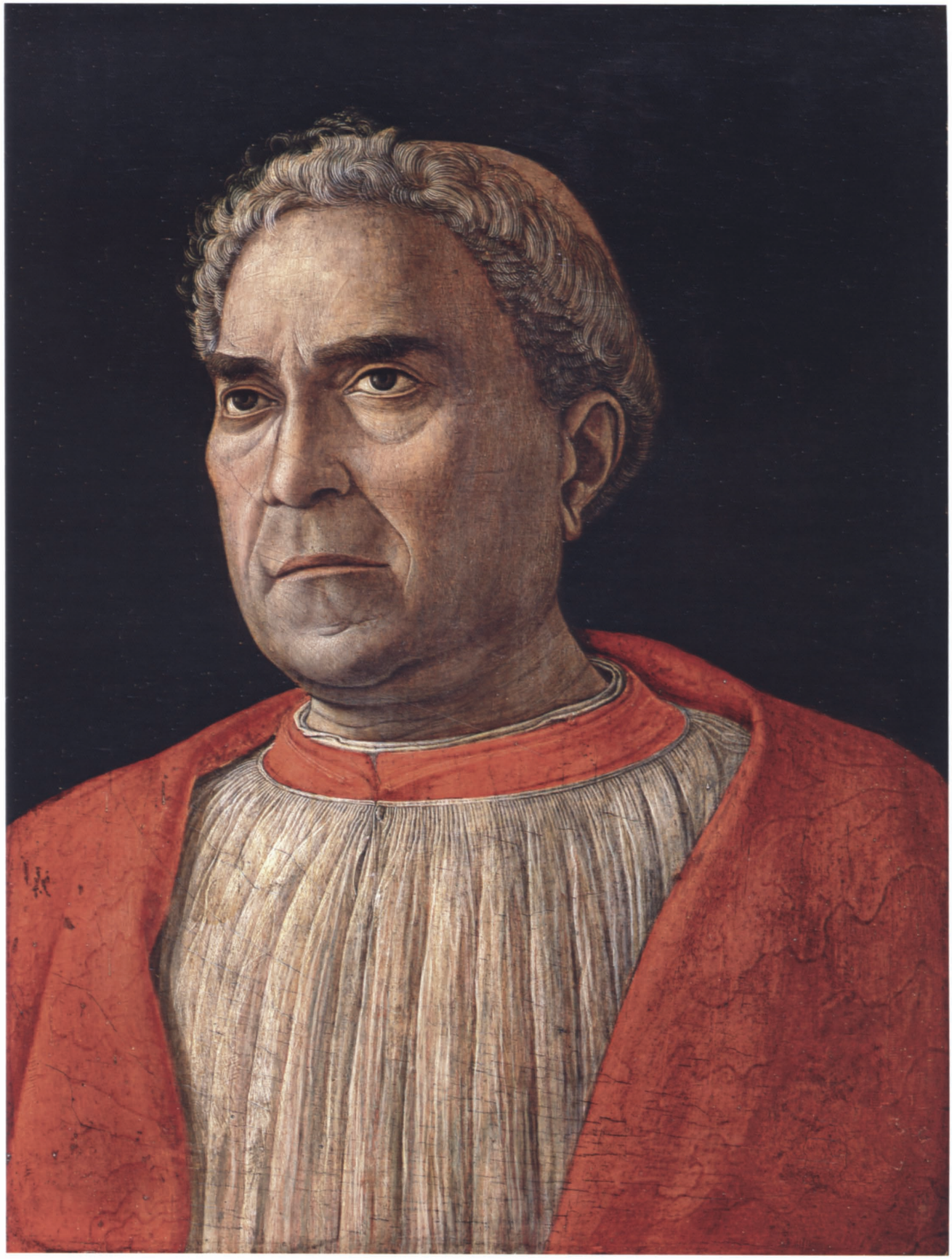
fabric and the way the red of the cassock can be seen through the white surplice are assertions of the representational possibilities unique to painting. We need only compare this uncompromisingly stern portrait of Cardinal Trevisan to the delicate profile portrait of a young Gonzaga prelate (cat. 89) or to the more naturalistically conceived portrait in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, usually identified as showing Carlo de' Medici (see Agosti 2005, pp. 320–21, 352–54 nn. 173–77; Mantua 2006–7b, p. 70) to realize the degree to which Mantegna varied his approach to portraiture depending on the sitter. (In the more softly lit but still incisively descriptive style of the Uffizi portrait, Mantegna seems to compete with the naturalism of Netherlandish portraits without, however, sacrificing that quality of austere, essentially sculptural monumentality that is inherent to his art.) In the case of the Trevisan portrait, classical reference—perhaps a relief from a Roman stele, such as those he could have seen on the property of Jacopo Marcello at Monselice—is used both to temper the coarse appearance of the cardinal, who the Mantuan chronicler Andrea Schivenoglia described as "a small man, swarthy, hairy, very proud and stern" ("homo pizolo, negro, peloxo, com aìero molto superbo e schuro"), and to construct a compelling image of his inner character: his *virtù*. As remarked by Paul Kristeller, "An iron will is stamped upon the sharply cut mouth and the firmly contracted eyebrows; high intelligence and fiery passion shine from the clear keen eyes; something mistrustful sits in the glance, in the depression of the eyebrows. Energy and ambition, the dominant motives in this character, are convincingly expressed in the countenance." The contrast of Mantegna's portrait with the coarse-featured man on the medal ascribed to Cristoforo di Geremia could not, indeed, be more different.

In the medal, Trevisan, shown in profile, is described as patriarch of Aquileia rather than cardinal, and for this reason it has been dated by John Graham Pollard to no later than 1440. Although this is well before we have any notice of Cristoforo's activity, which begins only in 1456, and well before he is documented as in the employ of Trevisan, in 1461, the medal is unlikely to date after 1445, when the cardinal made over the temporal powers associated with the ancient patriarchate of Aquileia to Venice in return for an annual salary of five thousand ducats. Given the military triumph depicted on the reverse, which includes a Roman temple, it is worth asking whether the medal might commemorate the victory at the Battle of Anghiari. In April 1440, Trevisan had been commissioned as papal legate to recover the lands of the Church in the Romagna. He then proceeded to Tuscany to support Francesco Sforza and other papal and Florentine *condottieri* against Niccolò Piccinino, who was defeated that June at Anghiari. The victory was celebrated in a war poem, "Trophaeum Anglaricum," by the Florentine humanist Leonardo Dati, which praises Trevisan's caution as much as his impetuosity and compares him to captains of antiquity such as Alexander the Great and Hannibal (see Chambers 2006, pp. 45–46, 49–50). This would fit well with the scene on the reverse of the medal. KC

Provenance Cat. 141: Gustave Dreyfus (1837–1914), Paris; his estate; [purchased by Duveen Bros., Inc., London and New York, 1930]; purchased by Samuels H. Kress, New York (1945); his gift to the National Gallery of Art (1957)



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Cat. 142: Francesco Leone, Padua? (before 1630); Edward Solly, Berlin (after 1821–1830); Königliche Museen, Berlin

Selected References Cat. 141: Hill 1930, pp. 196–97, no. 756; Danesi Squarzina in Rome 1988, p. 85; Agosti 2005, p. 85 n. 7; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 262, no. 242

Cat. 142: Kristeller 1901, pp. 170–73; Tietze-Conrat 1955, pp. 11–12; Lightbown 1986, pp. 81–82, 408–10; L. Campbell 1990, p. 228; Christiansen in London–New York 1992, pp. 333–35; De Nicolò Salmazo 2004, p. 146; Santucci 2004, pp. 98–100; Agosti 2005, p. 28; Poldi and Villa in Mantua 2006–7b, p. 57

Gentile Bellini (Venice, ca. 1430/34–1507, Venice)

143. *Portrait of a Doge (Pasquale Malipiero)*

ca. 1460–62

Tempera on poplar, 21 × 16¾ in. (53.3 × 42.5 cm), with added strip of approx. 1½ in. (3.8 cm) on the left

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Anna Mitchell Richards Fund, 1936 (36.934)



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This work attests to Gentile Bellini's role as the leading painter of portraits in Venice in the second half of the fifteenth century. It also represents a specific form of the genre: the doge portrait (see the essay by Peter Humfrey in this volume). The doge—the Venetian head of state—is viewed in strict profile and shown bust-length in his official attire. Doges in Quattrocento Venice traditionally wore red (*cremesino* and *scarlatto*) as well as white and gold (see Newton 1988, p. 26). Owing to the poor condition of the painting—only the face is reasonably well preserved—we must imagine the effect when the doge's cap (*corno ducale*) and cape of scarlet and gold brocade velvet were originally set off by a deep blue background. In those places that are better preserved, it can be seen that the cape (*bavaro*) was in relief; the pattern and texture of the velvet brocade were rendered with fine parallel hatching and lines incised into the gesso ground, which was apparently partially gilt and then glazed over with a red lake pigment. The *bavaro* covers the doge's shoulders and arms and is adorned in front with eight prominent buttons, called *campanoni d'oro* (large gold bells); a narrow strip of the ermine lining is visible at the collar, between the fabric of the *bavaro* and the white shirt, or *camicia*, beneath it. Beneath the *corno ducale* he wears a white cap (*veta*), its ties knotted under his chin. The cap's fine linen fabric is precisely rendered, and the subtle shading reveals the shape of the ear. A few gray hairs can be seen at the cap's edges. Over the *veta* is the *corno ducale*, the distinctive hat worn by doges of Venice since the fourteenth century, a symbol—much like a crown—of supreme authority. Indeed, the band around the base is suggestive of a crown and in this portrait was originally ornamented with a geometric pattern of rhombuses and squares. By contrast, the upper part, culminating in the hornlike projection that gives the hat its name, shows a floral pattern.

The profile view helps to emphasize the characteristics of the doge's costume, the *corno ducale* and the *campanoni d'oro*. In the same way that the larger forms of the clothing are enlivened by minute details, the precise contour of the sitter's face is complemented by distinct and highly individualized features. His alert, inquisitive gaze, gently curving nose, and narrow lips, as well as the deep creases in his cheeks, are far from idealized, yet there is a certain delicacy about his features. This is enhanced by a skillful use of color in the modeling of the skin, a slight reddening of the cheeks, and white highlights in the shaded areas. The painting's high quality and its precise

rendering of the sitter's physiognomy clearly show it to be the work of Gentile Bellini, the most important portraitist in Venice until the 1490s. We know of five portraits of doges from his hand, and it appears that between about 1460 and 1500 he was charged with creating the official portrait—as well as the requisite copies—of each of the doges, from Pasquale Malipiero (1392–1462) to Leonardo Loredan (r. 1501–21; Meyer zur Capellen 1985, p. 67). In 1479, when Sultan Mehmed II asked the Venetians to send him a good portrait painter ("bon depentor che sapia retrazer"), it was Gentile who was chosen to go to Constantinople (Boston–London 2005–6). His portrait of the Ottoman ruler (National Gallery, London) resulted from that journey.

In terms of style, the present portrait can be numbered among Gentile's earlier works. It is closely related to the earliest well-documented work, the portrait of the Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani painted in 1465 for the church of Madonna dell'Orto and now in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. It can be dated more precisely since Pasquale Malipiero was elected doge in 1457, at the age of sixty-five, and held the office until his death in 1462. One can assume that the portrait was produced during his reign, or about 1460. The identification of the sitter is substantiated by comparing this painting with a medallic portrait of Malipiero (e.g., Münzkabinett, Berlin) and especially with Pietro Lombardo's portrait of the doge on his tomb monument in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. The chin, nose, mouth, and area around the eyes present clear similarities (though Plaut 1937b, p. 19, finds this insufficient evidence). Pasquale Malipiero's reign was relatively uneventful; in the annals of the republic he was characterized as a "dux pacificus" (doge of peace), noted mainly for the public festivities he staged. Marin Sanudo, in his *Vite dei dogi* (2004 ed., p. 7), related that Malpiero was "just, earnest, and with a pleasant appearance and charming manners" ("justo, grave e di bello aspetto e bella maniera").

In Venice, unlike Florence, few portraits survive from before the last quarter of the fifteenth century, when profile views are extremely rare. They were reserved for state portraits, such as those of the doges (Meyer zur Capellen 1985, p. 63; Humfrey 1995, p. 101). Profile images, with their formal severity, were best suited for such official representations. Moreover, in their allusion to medallic portraits, they referenced the iconography of rulers from antiquity, with the august grandeur and imperial majesty it implied. The splendor of the doge's official garments underscored the near sacred dignity of the office and its incumbent. The uncommon realism and sensitive modeling of the sitter's features in the Boston portrait set this work apart from all the other portraits of doges. DK

Provenance (?) Acquired in Paris in the 1860s or 1870s by Thomas Buckminster Curtis, Boston; Fanny (Mrs. Louis) Curtis, Brookline, Mass.; Morgan Memorial Cooperative Industries and Stores, Boston; sold to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1936)

Selected References Plaut 1937a; Plaut 1937b; Lauts 1941–42, p. 76; Berenson 1957, vol. 1, p. 28; Collins 1970, pp. 133–34, paintings A4, fig. 73; Fredericksen and Zeri 1972, p. 22; Meyer zur Capellen 1981, p. 75; Meyer zur Capellen 1985, p. 125, no. A 3 (with earlier bibliography)

Antonio Rizzo (Verona, before 1440–1499 or after)

144. *Doge Cristoforo Moro*

1462–64 (?)
Marble, H. 14⅛ in. (36 cm)
Museo dell'Opera, Palazzo Ducale, Venice

This monumental portrait, the first in Venice to confront the problem of rendering its subject naturalistically while adhering to the conventions of official representation, is as important as it is problematic (Wolters 1976, vol. 1, p. 283, no. 240 I; Markham Schulz 1978, pp. 47–49). Significantly, the lower half of the nose, the right eyebrow, and the left cheek are restorations, and the *corno ducale,* or doge's cap, is an awkward later addition, perhaps replacing an earlier element made from metal or stone. The proportions of the headpiece are incorrect, and it is decorated with clumsy, abbreviated classicizing motifs set against a hammered ground. The area around the neck appears to have been reworked, most likely to address breakage, and some surfaces were likely polished in the nineteenth century. We should note, however, that this head was always highly finished, as demonstrated by the sharp edges of the realistically rendered wrinkles and folds of skin. Furthermore, it shows no signs of prolonged exposure to the elements.

In the literature this head has always been identified as a portrait of Doge Francesco Foscari. He had been commemorated with a statue in the round on the Porta della Carta, the entryway into the Palazzo Ducale from the Piazza San Marco, which shows him kneeling before a winged lion, the symbol of Saint Mark. The gateway was designed and constructed by Giovanni (ca. 1360–1442) and Bartolomeo (ca. 1400/10–1464/67) Bon between 1438 and the mid-1440s. The figures of the doge and lion completed the complex iconographic program of sculptural decoration on the palace's facade, one that

reaffirmed the divine origin of the power conferred, through the city's patron saint, to the Venetian Signoria in the person of the doge himself (Sinding-Larsen 1974, pp. 165–66). Gentile Bellini's painting of the *Procession of the Relic of the True Cross in the Piazza San Marco* (1496, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice; fig. 29) offers the oldest and most accurate, though only partial, view of what this figural group looked like. Originally polychromed, it was extensively gilded and placed within the portal's flamboyant frame.

In addition to the Porta della Carta, the entranceway into the palace includes a corridor, the so-called Andito Foscari, and a second archway overlooking the courtyard that is itself decorated with numerous sculptures, among them Antonio Rizzo's *Adam* and *Eve*. The original focal point of this arch (called the Arco Foscari) was a statue of Doge Cristoforo Moro kneeling before the lion of Saint Mark, which was placed high on a lintel within the large upper niche.

During the political turmoil that followed the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797, both sculptural groups were vandalized and felled from their perches. Restorations took place in the nineteenth century, but only the Foscari group was replaced with a modern reconstruction based on surviving fragments. The head under consideration here, identified as Foscari's, was saved by the erudite collector Girolamo Ascanio Molin, and it found its way, through his heirs, to the Biblioteca Marciana (Sansovino 1829, p. 40 n. 6; Cadorin 1858, p. 131). It is now on display among the collection of stone fragments at the Palazzo Ducale together with another head, of uncertain provenance, that has been identified with the destroyed figure of Moro. This second portrait was likely executed in the workshop of Antonio Rizzo, the doge's preferred sculptor, in about 1464 (Pincus 1976, pp. 373–76).

The "Foscari" head has always been dealt with rather uneasily in the literature, as it has proved difficult to attribute the portrait conclusively to Bartolomeo Bon, even to his late career, and thus to date it to the 1440s. All the strained conclusions and embarrassed silences can be summed up by Leo Planiscig's disconsolate admission (1930, pp. 102–3) that he did not know how to date or attribute this piece, despite—or, perhaps, because of—its extraordinary qualities. But before the questions of date and authorship can be addressed, we must first verify, with the help of known images, the identity of the figure portrayed. The physiognomy of this head, even after taking later restorations into account, does not correspond to securely identified portraits of Foscari, in particular the medal bearing his likeness (Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 175, no. 156) or the magnificent recumbent effigy, executed by Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino (fl. 1467–1506), on his funerary monument in the basilica of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (Markham Schulz 1978, p. 11). A comparison of the faces could not make this any clearer. Foscari's square, fleshy face, with its short nose and strong chin, bears no resemblance to the bony, angular features of the head under consideration here. The brow line is particularly telling: the known likenesses of Foscari show a characteristic fold of sagging skin that interrupts the arc of his brow, while in this head the brow line is taut and sharp. This detail is an important clue that immediately directs our attention to the second head at the Palazzo Ducale thought to represent Moro, which, after careful observation, can be reidentified as a portrait of Foscari. The physiognomic traits suggest that it represents the same person as do the medal and the funerary effigy, albeit at a younger age and thus with tauter, less abundant flesh. Furthermore, it corresponds perfectly to Bartolomeo



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Bon's style during the period of his work on the Porta della Carta according to a reasonable chronology of its sculptural decorations (Ferretti 1995, p. 78). The quality of the marble surface, highly finished on the left side of the head but still somewhat sketchy on the right, can be explained by the doge's position on the arch; he is seen in profile and facing to the right, toward the lion.

The head under consideration here instead portrays Moro, an identification made abundantly clear following a comparison with his portrait medal (Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 176, no. 157). Close similarities can be detected in the forehead and brow line; the large ears held back tightly by the *camauro,* or cap; the sunken cheeks; and the long nose. Indeed, it seems as if the restoration of the head was based on the medal. This reidentification allows us, in turn, to identify a portrait at the Museo Correr that clearly resembles our head—and has, with some hesitation, been attributed to Lazzaro Bastiani and dated to the 1470s—as a portrait of Moro rather than Foscari, as has previously been maintained (Mariacher 1957, pp. 32–33). Such an identification would resolve remaining issues concerning the dating of this head, for if it were indeed a portrait of Foscari, it would have had to have been posthumous.

There seems, furthermore, to be no doubt that the author of this impressive portrait was none other than the one who executed the most important ducal commissions of the early 1460s, Antonio Rizzo, who, though young, was nonetheless a recognized talent (Markham Schulz 1983, pp. 166–71). Once it is properly dated, the portrait's similarities to the head of Rizzo's *Adam,* or to those of the two figures of God the Father that the artist executed for the altars of San Giacomo and San Paolo in the basilica of San Marco, become immediately obvious. The same is true for the extreme polish of the surface and an enthusiasm for scrupulous accuracy. The flabby folds of sagging skin, though stretched across a raptor-like skull, are arranged in almost capricious volutes, and a network of uninterrupted wrinkles covers the entire face. A desire to compare this head to the greatest, most precocious and innovative portrait in the Venetian realm, Donatello's *Gattamelata,* is hard to resist, especially in regard to their lower halves. Rizzo's eagerness, however, to capture the muscular mass of Moro's face and to imbue it with expression produces an impressive, almost *écorché* effect.

In 1463, one year after Cristoforo Moro was elected doge, Bartolomeo Bon's workshop was pushed to finish its work on the Arco Foscari (Lorenzi 1868, p. 83). The young Rizzo, who perhaps began his career in that workshop, furnished the principal figures in the round that would bring the project to completion. It is not unreasonable to think that the most important of these figures, the official portrait of the new doge, would have been executed first. It seems most likely that it was a work of this caliber, and probably this portrait itself, that led the esteemed Gregorio Correr, Mantegna's gifted patron who died in late November 1464, to write poetry dedicated to "Antonium Riccium Sculptorem"—that is, "Antonio Rizzo, Sculptor" (Pohlandt in Arslan et al. 1971, p. 163 n. 5). MCe

Provenance Palazzo Ducale, Venice (until 1797); Girolamo Oscanio Molin, Venice; Biblioteca Marciana, Venice (by 1829)

Selected References Sansovino 1829 ed.; Cadorin 1858; Pincus 1976; Wolters 1976, vol. 1; Markham Schulz 1978

Hans Memling (Seligenstadt, ca. 1433–1494, Bruges)

145. *Portrait of a Man with a Roman Coin*

1471–74

Oil on oak panel, 12¼ × 9⅛ in. (31 × 23.2 cm)

Inscribed: on coin, *NERO CLAVD*[ius] *CAESAR AUG*[ustus] *GE*[rmanius] *P*[ontifex] *M*[aximus] *TR*[ibunicia] *P*[otestate] *IMPER*[ator] *P*[ater] *P*[atriae]

Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (5)

Remarkably, this portrait was initially ascribed to an Italian artist, Antonello da Messina (Bürger 1861, p. 27; see Peronnet and Fredericksen 1998, p. 96), until 1871, when W. H. James Weale (p. 60) published it as the work of Hans Memling, an ascription that quickly gained general acceptance. The subject is identifiable as Italian not so much by the description—rather optimistic—of his "strikingly southern European appearance" (Nuttall 2005, p. 73) as by his attire: a black *vesta* laced at the collar, the white *camicia* worn underneath but generously overlapping the neckline, and a black *berretta.* The middle-aged man is shown in three-quarter view facing right, gazing toward but not at the viewer. Two laurel leaves lie atop an unseen parapet aligned with the panel edge. In his left hand the man holds an antique coin, a sestertius bearing the head of Emperor Nero. Behind the subject we see a wooded, hilly landscape stretching into the distance and, visible above his left shoulder, the peculiar feature of a palm tree by a lake with two swans and a rider on the far shore. These background details together with the laurel leaves and the coin in the foreground probably allude to the identity of the subject, perhaps his name, motto, or profession (McFarlane 1971, pp. 14–15; De Vos 1994, p. 190), making



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this the only portrait by Memling in which the staffage takes on an emblematic function (Borchert in Madrid–Bruges–New York 2005, p. 160). This may well have been at the request of the sitter and suggests that he moved in humanist circles, where it was common to use literary emblems of the kind found, for example, on the reverse of portrait medals.

To date there is no comprehensive interpretation of the imagery that would allow a secure identification of the sitter. The most interesting proposal, which has found support albeit with reservations, was advanced by Dirk de Vos (in Bruges 1994, p. 94 n. 3), who noted that the palm and laurel were part of the *impresa* of Bernardo Bembo (1433–1519), as seen, for instance, on the reverse of the portrait of Ginevra de' Benci (fig. 7), the object of Bembo's platonic love (Fletcher 1989). Bembo, a Venetian humanist and diplomat, served from 1471 to 1474 as envoy of the Republic of Venice to the court of Charles the Bold, where he would have met Memling and come to appreciate his work (Giannetto 1985, pp. 121–31). According to Marcantonio Michiel (2000, pp. 30–31), the Bembo family owned a "quadretto in due portelle" (small diptych) in Padua,

with images of John the Baptist (with the same provenance as the present portrait; see Campbell and Syson in London 2008–9, p. 103) and the Madonna "de man de Zuan Memglino, lanno 1470" (by the hand of Hans Memling in the year 1470). Taking these clues a step further, Barbara Lane (2009, p. 258) pointed to the facial resemblance between the Antwerp sitter and that in Giovanni Bellini's *Portrait of a Man* at Hampton Court, which allegedly shows Bernardo's son Pietro, but this suggestion is too speculative to provide additional support for the identification of Memling's sitter as Bernardo.

The subject's gaze toward the viewer is unusual compared with other portraits by Memling. Although not focused enough to be interpreted as making contact with the viewer, such contact is nevertheless established by the way the subject displays the antique coin for our examination. The suggestion by earlier scholars (for example, Voll 1909, p. XXI; Hulin de Loo 1927) that the coin may allude to the man's medalist trade was convincingly dismissed by Max Friedländer (1928, p. 42), who argued it would be unlikely for a maker of contemporary medals to have his likeness painted with an antique coin as his attribute; the portrait would more likely have been painted for a humanist-educated collector, sestertii with likenesses of Nero being among the most coveted and valuable collectibles for humanists (Cunnally 1999, pp. 35, 160 n. 26; Lane 2009, p. 258). Nero, a brutal tyrant, was a signal figure for humanists because of his interest in the arts and the great craftsmanship of his coins. Moreover, from a humanist point of view there was a moral benefit to considering negative models such as Nero: these *exempla vitii*, like the *exempla virtutis*, offered instructive insights into human nature (Cunnally 1999, p. 37). The swans on the lake in the background, which incidentally also appear in Memling's *Portrait of a Man with a Letter* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), are a sign of strength of character—*virtù*—and were frequently used in an emblematic context (Clements 1955, p. 784). Swans, closely associated with poets since antiquity, were reinterpreted by the humanists as symbols of their own humanistic learning, as noted in a corresponding entry of Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* (1534): "Doctaque sustineat stemmata pulcher olor" (let the graceful swan sustain the learned family tree; CLXXXIV, "Insignia poëtarum"). The laurel, the plant signifying a poet's fame, should probably be understood in this context as well. Apart from the single laurel leaves on the parapet, the coin shows Nero's head decorated with a triumphal laurel wreath.

This complex interleaving of various motifs also pertains to the portrait as a whole, which combines two different forms of the genre from widely separated historical periods: the likeness of the Venetian man in three-quarter view, and the profile of the ancient ruler on the coin. In this sense we are dealing with a key work that reflects upon its own genre and offers clues to the influences affecting its development: humanistic learning and its ideas on individuality and character, classical antiquity, and the influence of early Netherlandish painting on Italian portraiture.

Research by P. J. Martens (1997) has revealed that probably about a fifth of Memling's paintings were intended for Italian patrons. Portraits were highly popular among merchants and diplomats from the south, not least because they were relatively small and thus easy to transport (Nuttall 2005, p. 70). In the case of Memling's portraits, patrons would also have been fascinated by the verisimilitude he achieved through the naturalistic rendering of individual features, the closely observed texture of skin and fabrics, the subtle details and the plasticity, and a certain enigmatic quality that distinguishes this artist's portraits of men gazing into the distance. Another likely source of their appeal was the introduction of landscape into the portrait—placing the sitter within an environment—a device rarely seen in the works of Italian masters up to that time (Nuttall 2005, p. 75). The present portrait is, accordingly, not the only one by Memling that depicts an Italian and/or boasts an Italian provenance (see L. Campbell 1981; Nuttall 2005, pp. 72–73). If we tentatively associate the work with Bernardo Bembo and consequently assume it was painted between 1471 and 1474, another interesting connection is suggested: when Bembo was recalled from Flanders in 1475 and appointed ambassador to Florence, the portrait could have been seen by Botticelli, whose *Portrait of a Man Holding a Medal of Cosimo de' Medici*, dated about 1475 (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), may well have been inspired by it (Nuttall 2005, pp. 80–81; Lane 2009, p. 214). However, Paula Nuttall's theory (2005, p. 81) that Leonardo da Vinci's portrait of Ginevra de' Benci (fig. 7) was influenced by the Memling's panel is difficult to prove, despite the fact that they share some iconographic similarities. DK

Provenance Abbot Luigi Celotti, Venice (until 1807); Baron Vivant Denon, Lyon (until 1828; sale of the Denon collection, Paris, 1828); acquired by Florent van Ertborn, Antwerp; donated to the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp (1841)

Selected References Bürger 1861, p. 27; Weale 1871, p. 60; Voll 1909, p. xxi, fig. 19; Hulin de Loo 1927; Friedländer 1928, pp. 41–44 no. 71, p. 129; Bruges 1939, pp. 71–72, no. 37; McFarlane 1971, pp. 14–15; De Vos 1994, p. 190, no. 42; Dirk de Vos in Bruges 1994, p. 94, no. 19; Rohlmann 1997, pp. 85–86; Lobelle-Caluwé 1998, p. 67; Klaassen in *Museumbook* 2003, p. 32; Till-Holger Borchert in Madrid–Bruges–New York 2005, p. 160, no. 10 (with earlier bibliography); Lorne Campbell and Luke Syson in London 2008–9, p. 103, no. 11; Lane 2009, pp. 205–7, 213–14, no. 2, 258 (with earlier bibliography)

Southern Netherlandish or French artist

146. *Portrait of a Venetian Gentleman*

ca. 1470–90
Oil on oak panel, 18¼ × 12¼ in. (46.2 × 31 cm)
Musée Bertrand, Châteauroux (271)

The subject of this portrait, a man of about thirty, is shown in a closely cropped composition against a flat, neutral white background and behind a stone parapet. The sitter gazes out at us, but without focusing; his gaze seems to go through or just past the viewer, creating an air of superiority and, indeed, arrogance that was probably intentional. No attribute suggests the man's status or function; he could just as well be a wealthy merchant as a courtier or a patrician. His clothes, characterized by a refined simplicity, include a black jacket over a white shirt and a coat trimmed with brown fur (marten?). The fuzzy piece of fur on his right shoulder is an oddity, perhaps the collar of an overcoat. On his head he wears a brimless cap, the typical Italian *berretta*, while his hair is dressed in an extravagantly sprawling *zazzera*, a fashionable long hairstyle with fringes. Both clearly suggest a north Italian origin, with the *zazzera* pointing to Venice.

In the 1470s and 1480s several Italian merchants and gentlemen wearing similar clothes, always in black and without conspicuous trappings, had their portraits painted by Hans Memling in Bruges (see cat. 145). As had long been suspected, and as Patrick Le Chanu has been able to prove through technical analysis (Le Chanu and Thiébaut 1993, p. 117), the portrait from Châteauroux was likewise painted outside of Italy, in northern Europe. Not only is the panel made of oak, which was uncommon in Italy, it was primed with chalk, a method common only north of the Alps. Yet the exact place and date of origin remain very much disputed. In the nineteenth century it was initially regarded as a work by Hans Holbein the Younger (Musée de Châteauroux 1874, p. 32). Later, Jacques Dupont (1955) related it to the art of the French royal court and attributed it to the painter of a French male portrait dated 1456 in the Liechtenstein collection, Vienna (Basel 2006, no. 1). Dupont, however, insisted on identifying the sitter as Venetian ambassador Zaccaria Contarini, who was sent to the French court in 1492, even though this meant that the portrait would have been painted thirty-five years or more after the painting he compared it to; he based his identification on a wax seal with the Contarini coat of arms on the reverse of the panel. The seal is, in fact, a collector's seal that was affixed to the panel only in the seventeenth century (Le Chanu and Thiébaut 1993, p. 120) and does not imply that the sitter was a member of the Contarini family, much less that he is the aforementioned Zaccaria. Above all, following Michel Laclotte (1962, p. 242) the portrait is now considered to have been painted twenty years earlier, which means that comparisons with the 1456 portrait in Vienna and with paintings by Rogier van der Weyden, such as his portrait of Francesco d'Este (cat. 71), remain critical (Le Chanu and Thiébaut 1993, p. 121).

The parallels to the male portrait from 1456 are, indeed, impossible to deny. Both faces are characterized by modeling that, though three-dimensional, has an abstracting tendency that results in distinct planes, lending the features a hard, angular quality. Individual angular forms are, accordingly, conspicuous in both, particularly at the outline of the left cheek. Moreover, the eyes are similar in the way the viewing directions of the individual eyes slightly diverge. Likewise, the fairly large and somewhat lifeless-looking hands of the man from Châteauroux are reminiscent of the 1456 portrait and other French, rather than Netherlandish, paintings of the time. Finally, the compositions of both half-length portraits similarly position the sitters between a neutral backdrop and a high parapet in front. In the enigmatic portrait of the Venetian, which has been cut on all sides, the leading edge of the parapet must originally have been visible, as it is in the 1456 portrait; as a result, the surface supporting the hands would have appeared more convincingly foreshortened. Yet aesthetically there remains a substantial divide between the two portraits, as our painting falls short of the portrait from the Liechtenstein collection in both quality and impact.

The theory that the two painters are one and the same thus cannot be confirmed. Similarly, the proposition advanced by Charles Sterling (1984) that our portrait may have been painted by the Lombard artist Zanetto Bugatto during a stay at the court of Louis XI in 1468 has already been convincingly dismissed by Dominique Thiébaut (Le Chanu and Thiébaut 1993, pp. 120–21). A few years earlier, in 1461–63, Zanetto had, in fact, been active in the Brussels workshop of Rogier van der Weyden, yet we know of no confirmed work by him that could serve as a basis for attributions. To be sure, the white backdrop, highly unusual in both northern Europe and Italy, is otherwise found only in three works from Rogier's immediate circle (Frankfurt–Berlin 2008–9, nos. 16, 18), among them the Este portrait mentioned earlier, which is usually attributed to the master himself. It is therefore likely that such northern



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portraits were one source of inspiration, just as this type of bust portrait with hands can generally be traced back to the pioneers of Netherlandish painting, Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden. Yet the Venetian panel seems slightly more removed from Rogier's art than from the French portrait in the Liechtenstein collection. This leaves us, then, with little or nothing to go on beyond Thiébaut's cautious assessment of the work as either French or southern Netherlandish (Le Chanu and Thiébaut 1993, pp. 120–21).

The date remains uncertain as well. In terms of the style of dress, the painting appears related to the comparable works mentioned above, but closely similar versions of the *zazzera* can be seen in paintings from the time of Vittore Carpaccio, for instance, in the secondary figures in contemporary garb in the opening painting of the artist's Saint Ursula cycle (ca. 1495, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice). If the Châteauroux portrait was indeed painted this late, it would likely have to be attributed to a conservative painter still very much in thrall to the

conventions of the third quarter of the century. It is also possible, however, that the luxuriant, sprawling abundance of the *zazzera* was associated less with the period than with the personality of the sitter himself, perhaps a fashion-conscious and self-assured young Venetian from about 1470 who presented himself in Paris or Bruges flaunting the dernier cri from his hometown. SK

Provenance Contarini family, Venice (by end of 17th century); Just Veillat (before 1864); given by him to the Musée Bertrand (1864)

Selected References Musée de Châteauroux 1874, p. 32, no. 38; Dupont 1955; Marette 1961, no. 183; Nantes 1961, no. 23; Laclotte 1962; Sterling 1984; Sricchia Santoro 1986, pp. 77, 97, 106; Le Chanu and Thiébaut 1993

Antonello da Messina (Messina, ca. 1430–1479)

147. *Portrait of a Young Man*

ca. 1470–72

Oil on wood, 10⅝ × 8⅛ in. (27 × 20.6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.645)

It is generally believed that about half of the dozen or so portraits painted by Antonello da Messina were done before 1474, the earliest date that appears on any of the panels (see cat. 148; the extraordinary but damaged portrait in Philadelphia may also have once borne the same date). When and where they were painted, and in which order, are questions that continue to be intensely debated. The artist's other portraits were carried out between 1474 and his death, in 1479, a brief span that encompassed his one documented trip to Venice (1475–76). As the sitters of these later portraits seem relatively homogeneous in terms of dress and social position, some scholars have proposed that Antonello quickly developed a reputation for portraiture among a specific Venetian demographic (see Thiébaut in Paris 1993, p. 103).

All of Antonello's portraits depict men, who are shown bust-length and in three-quarter view. With one exception (the portrait with a landscape background generally thought to have been painted toward the end of the artist's life, now in Berlin [cat. 149]), the sitters are set against a dark, neutral background. The early portrait group is distinctive in that the artist appears to have been experimenting subtly with pose, costume, and expression. In contrast to the "Venetian-period" portraits, the early panels, probably made in Sicily from the late 1460s onward, are painted thinly (in oil) and with an emphatic, analytical approach to observed detail that reflects Antonello's admiration for works by both Netherlandish and Provençal artists. The present example is generally considered to date toward the middle of the early portraits, about 1470–72 (most recently Mauro Lucco has placed it third of the five or six presumed to date before 1474; see Rome 2006, nos. 9, 14, 15 [this painting], 20, 26, 27). Although it is the later examples that count among the greatest portrait masterpieces of the fifteenth century, the artist's first attempts are illuminating for the insights they provide into his mind-set, ambition, and, above all, his unique quest to investigate the expressive meanings potentially embodied in a painted portrait.

The nicknames and evocative descriptions that have coalesced around Antonello's portraits reflect the strong impressions they often make on the imagination. For example, the extraordinarily suggestive and acerbic features of the anonymous man in a famous painting in Cefalù (Museo della Fondazione Culturale Mandralisca) led him to be dubbed an "unknown sailor" until that epithet was replaced in light of Roberto Longhi's equally evocative quip that Antonello "did not paint portraits of fishermen but of barons" (see Barbera in New York 2005–6a, p. 40, no. 3). In a similar fashion, one critic's analogy of the figure's smile and the shape of the face in the Metropolitan's portrait to that of a Greek kouros (Sricchia Santoro 1986, p. 102) has resonated with many subsequent viewers, who are likewise struck by the painter's artful emphasis on the wavy red hair and by how the subject's blue eyes catch one's own. These characterizations hint at the artist's ability to suggest that he has revealed something fundamental about the sitter's personality. Whatever the extent of Antonello's exposure to already existing northern and French portraiture may have been, little that survives prepares us for this exceptional aspect of Antonello's first essays in the genre.

The young man is shown dressed in a *capuzzo* (*cappuccio* or *chaperon*) that falls over his proper right shoulder. This type of headgear, typically found in portraits of Venetians (such as that by Antonello in the Galleria Borghese, Rome), may indicate that the sitter was part of the established Venetian community in Messina (Lucco in Rome 2006, p. 164). He wears a simple black garment over a white shirt with a crisply painted white collar; originally another garment, painted in red lake (now faded), would have provided color at the gown's neck above its white tie. The panel has been cut down on all four sides; the composition is probably essentially complete at the top and the sides, but the bottom edge has been more seriously



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compromised. It is therefore impossible to say whether the bust always terminated as it does now or if, instead, it once contained a small painted ledge like those used by the artist in some of his other portraits to separate the figure's space from that of the viewer.

Infrared reflectography has detected some lightly sketched underdrawing that delineates the underside of the tip of the nose, hatches the shadows in the hollow of the cheek and under the lip, and outlines the back of the neck. Within the costume there are drawn lines in the folds and another line, perhaps done with a brush, that marks the outline of the collar. As Dorothy Mahon has noted (report, June 2002; Galassi 2007, p. 69), such sparing use of drawing makes sense for a work that was being painted from life; likewise for the use of a technique in which the paint layers are thinly applied. Another aspect of the artist's technique that bears on the work's current appearance is how he created reserve areas for the head and shoulders. Over time, the curls painted beyond the reserve have darkened compared to the rest of the hair, and, more significant, the actual line of the proper right shoulder has become somewhat obscured.

The painting first came to light in the collection of Henry Willett (1832–1903), the principal benefactor to the Art Gallery in Brighton, whose collections ranged from fossils to important Renaissance paintings. Willett's interest in portraiture led him to buy Ghirlandaio's great portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni (fig. 33) as well as a large series of heads painted in the first quarter of the sixteenth century to decorate the room of a palace in San Martino Gusnago, near Mantua; some of these are now in the Metropolitan Museum (05.2.1–12; see Rutherford 1982, p. 177). Although we know something of the history of the purchase of the latter works, made through a Brescian dealer known as "Luigi dell'Italia," we do not know from whom or where Willett purchased Antonello's *Young Man*. AB

Provenance Henry Willett, Brighton (by 1879); Sedelmeyer, Paris (1896); C. Hoogendijk, The Hague (by 1907–1912); Kleinberger, New York (1912); Benjamin Altman, New York (1912–d. 1913)

Selected References Zeri 1973, p. 1 (with earlier bibliography); Barbera in Messina 1981–82, pp. 109–10; Sricchia Santoro 1986; Wright 1987, p. 187; Thiébaut in Paris 1993, pp. 103–4; Bayer in New York 2005–6a, p. 44, no. 5; Lucco in Rome 2006, pp. 164–65, 174, 196, no. 15; Galassi 2007, p. 69

Antonello da Messina (Messina, ca. 1430–1479)

148. *Portrait of a Young Man in Red*

1474

Oil on wood (walnut?), 12⅝ × 10 ¼ in. (32 × 26 cm)

Inscribed: · *1474* · / *antonellus messanus / me pinxit* (Antonello from Messina painted me)

Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18 A)

As the earliest of Antonello's dated portraits, the *Young Man in Red*—a work whose high quality is somewhat compromised by its present condition—serves as a key reference point in the chronological arrangement of the Sicilian artist's undated portraits. The subject appears to be no more than twenty years old and is thus among the youngest of the men Antonello portrayed. His smooth, youthful face projects out of the darkness, his left cheek and the left side of his neck still in deep shadow. His straight, dark brownish red hair has been lightly brushed aside above his eyebrows and covers his ears. His mouth is slightly open, as if this image—in contrast to Antonello's other motionless portraits—is the record of a specific moment. In this regard, Chiara Savettieri (1998) has described the young man's expression as one of wary expectancy. He gazes intently at the viewer, his eyelids slightly lowered, and he appears quite earnest. This direct gaze—the face-to-face encounter between a sentient individual and an observer, the basic condition of reciprocal awareness (Neumeyer 1964, pp. 68–69)—distinguishes Antonello's portraits from those of his Venetian contemporary Giovanni Bellini (see cats. 150, 160). Early on, the Venetian art connoisseur Marcantonio Michiel noted the particular qualities of his portraits: "They are [painted] in oil, with an eye and a half [i.e., in three-quarter view], very finely executed, and full of strength and vitality, most especially in the eyes" (Michiel 2000 ed., p. 51). This piercing gaze led Raimond van Marle (1923–38, vol. 15, p. 506) to assert that this was a young man who appears to have had a strong and resolute but difficult personality, a somewhat far-fetched interpretation that nonetheless shows how much expressive potential can be credited to the portrait. Gottfried Boehm (1985, p. 149) makes a similar point: "the expression [takes] possession of the person. It is not something merely external, the figure is characterized by it, becomes identical with it. What Antonello here achieves is the visualization of a personality in its physical being."



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As yet no one has been able to identify indisputably a single one of Antonello's subjects, a group notable for its evident diversity. Michiel (2000 ed., p. 51) names only two, and these cannot be associated with the surviving pictures with any certainty. Both of them—the gem dealer Michele Vianello and the silk merchant Alvise Pasqualini—were members of the Venetian *cittadinanza*, a rank between the *nobili* and the ordinary populace (Puppi 1983, pp. 269, 271). As for the pedigree and identity of the present subject, it has been noted only that he is dressed in the same fashion as the young Venetian in the portrait by Giovanni Bellini (cat. 150). In Antonello's portrait the beginning of a sleeve is visible, cut off by the edge of the picture. The full, heavy fabric of his robe falls across his chest in a number of strongly three-dimensional folds at irregular

intervals. His simple standing collar is secured by a red cord through an eyelet, above which the collar of his linen shirt forms a luminous white accent. His black head covering, a so-called *chaperon* (Italian *cappuccio*, Venetian *capuzzo*), blends in with the dark background, while its tippet falls past his right temple on to his chest, casting a distinct shadow on the shoulder and thereby lending the bust a greater physicality.

Despite the figure's sculptural presence, its surrounding space is severely limited. Behind him one immediately encounters impenetrable darkness, and the foreground is tangibly cut off by the stone parapet (see, by contrast, Francesco del Cossa's portrait concept in cat. 112). On the front of the parapet—visible only to the viewer and clearly meant for the viewer's eyes alone—is a small strip of paper, the upper left corner of which has begun to peel away from the sealing wax with which it was affixed. Creased multiple times, it bears the date of the painting, 1474, and beneath it (in Latin) the inscription "Antonello from Messina painted me." Almost all of the artist's signatures are found on such *cartellini*, which the artist used, independent of the subject, to introduce his name into the picture, as though it were on a label (see Burg 2005, p. 39). Here the paper, which is unfolded like a letter and shows traces of having been sealed, has a double meaning: the sitter and, at the same time, his portrait—that is to say, the painting as a whole—have left behind for the viewer an indication of who was responsible for them. Antonello clearly adopted from Netherlandish precursors such as Jan van Eyck the use of the parapet to define the picture space and as a support for self-referential information. After his apprenticeship with the Neapolitan painter Colantonio (ca. 1420–after 1460), Antonello would have had an opportunity to study original works by Van Eyck at the court of Alfonso I of Aragon. This was already noted by Giorgio Vasari, though his assertion that Antonello learned the technique of oil painting from the master himself in Bruges and introduced it to Italy on his return is untenable (Vasari 1966–97 ed., vol. 3, pp. 306–7). Technical investigation has shown that Antonello had an indirect knowledge of Netherlandish oil painting at most and that, rather than follow any rules he had learned, he chose to experiment (Dunkerton 1999; Dunkerton 2000). Even so, to Max Friedländer he was Van Eyck's only worthy successor (1924, vol. 1, p. 161).

It has not yet been determined whether the present portrait was painted in Messina or shortly after Antonello's arrival in Venice; he may have found his way there in late 1474, and he stayed from 1475 to at least March 1476. The kind of wood it was painted on could be of some significance in this regard: in Venice, Antonello used mainly poplar, oak, or linden panels, whereas all the works painted on walnut (for example, cat. 149), which probably includes the present example, according to recent examination (Lorenz 2009, p. 6), were produced in Messina or southern Italy (Lucco in Rome 2006, p. 20). In Venice, possibly thanks to previous contacts with the Venetian colony in Messina, Antonello not only executed two prestigious commissions for altarpieces, he made a name for himself, above all, as a painter of small-format portraits. In this discipline, unlike in large-format altar paintings, he had few local competitors. On the contrary, it was he who provided impetus to Venetian portraiture for decades. His portraits of patrician men behind a *parapetto* and against a uniform dark background established a precedent in Venice that would be followed by Giovanni Bellini (see cat. 150), Francesco Bonsignori (see cat. 153), Alvise Vivarini (see cat. 166), and Lorenzo Costa (see cats. 111, 114, 116). Antonello's reputation as a portraitist soon spread beyond Venice itself. In early March 1476, the duke of Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, tried to secure the artist's services at his court following the death of the portrait painter Zanetto Bugatto. He was persuaded by a work owned by his brother, the duke of Bari, "a figure depicted from life by a Sicilian painter . . . that has found great favor" (Rome 2006, p. 361, doc. XXX). For unknown reasons this never came to pass, and by the summer of that year (at the latest) Antonello had returned to his hometown in Sicily, where he died three years later. SH

Provenance (?) Martinengo collection, Venice (1785); Alexander Hamilton-Douglas, duke of Hamilton, Hamilton Palace, Glasgow (1801); art market, Paris; purchased for the Gemäldegalerie by Charles Sedelmeyer (June 1889)

Selected References Lanzi 1834, vol. 3, p. 29; Waagen 1854, vol. 3, p. 302; Bode 1891a, p. 172; Bottari 1939, pp. 77–78; Mandel 1967, pp. 94–95; Zappia in Messina 1981–82, pp. 112–13; Puppi 1983, p. 272; Sricchia Santoro 1986, pp. 103, 160; Wright 1987, pp. 184–85, 188–89, 191; Lucco 1990, vol. 2, pp. 440–42; Savettieri 1998, p. 123; Puppi 2004, p. 159; Lauber 2005b, pp. 51–52; Rome 2006, p. 210 (with earlier bibliography); Lorenz 2009

Antonello da Messina (Messina, ca. 1430–1479)

149. *Portrait of a Young Man*

1478

Oil on walnut panel, 8 × 5 ¾ in. (20.4 × 14.5 cm)

Inscribed: *14[. . .] / Antonellus messaneus me pi*[n]*xit;* PROSPERANS · MODESTVS · ESTO · INFORTUNATVS · VERO · PRVDENS

Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (18)

This small painting of a young man in black against a dark blue sky is unique in Antonello da Messina's portrait oeuvre. Produced a year before the artist's death, it is not only his last portrait, it is by far his smallest. The panel is also notable in that it is the only portrait in which the artist placed the subject in front of an expansive, atmospheric landscape instead of a plain dark background (see cats. 147, 148). Presumably it was painted in Messina, where Antonello returned in the summer of 1476, at the latest, after a sojourn of more than a year in Venice, but as Giovanni Morelli noted (Lermolieff 1880, p. 429), the subject wears a typically Venetian costume. It is possible that the portrait was shipped to Venice from Messina or that the sitter took it with him to Venice; in any case, beginning in the eighteenth century it is documented as being in a Venetian collection.

According to a label in English on the back, the subject is the painter Giovanni Bellini ("Jean de Belluno in the dress of a noble Venetian painted 14[. . .] and presumed the only picture of the master in England"). This curious identification was based on a story put into circulation by Carlo Ridolfi in his *Maraviglia dell'arte* (1648), according to which Bellini, hoping to discover Antonello's oil-painting secrets, had himself portrayed in his workshop dressed as a Venetian nobleman (Ridolfi 1914–24, vol. 1, p. 65).

The panel's reduced format by no means detracts from its imposing presence. The subject, between about twenty and thirty years old, has raised his head slightly and looks down at the viewer. His skin tone is strikingly light, his eyes are gray, and his gaze is as intense and powerful as those in Antonello's other portraits. The lighter colored fur lining of his black-brown robe is visible in the vertical slit over his chest and in the area of his shirt collar. His black *chaperon* sits atop a head of intense, reddish brown wavy hair. In contrast to the earlier Berlin portrait (cat. 148) and the one in New York (cat. 147), here the *chaperon*'s tail, or tippet (*becho*), is not a simple strip of cloth: its edges have ornamental dagging. The painter left the brownish underpainting visible here for a lighter effect (Lorenz 2010, p. 10). The tippet falls past the man's right temple onto his back and has been drawn to the front across his shoulder and on to his chest, where its edges curl to form a tube. Compared to his left shoulder, his right one seems considerably foreshortened, the sleeve producing an uncommon number of folds. Even with the naked eye one can discern a pentimento in this area: the shoulder was originally meant to extend nearly to the edge of the picture but was subsequently reduced, as infrared reflectography has confirmed (Lorenz 2010). In the adjacent painted area, a meadow landscape dotted with low trees and bushes extends across a broad plain bordered in the distance by a blue hill. Cone-shaped trees cast long shadows across the green, level surface, and the sky directly above the horizon has a yellowish, twilight cast.

As in his other portraits, the painter included a gray stone parapet in the foreground, which serves to separate the viewer's space from that of the subject (there are no other suggestions of architecture in the background landscape). A long narrow *cartellino* bears the date of the painting and proclaims, as in the Berlin portrait produced four years earlier, "Antonello of Messina painted me." The "n" in "pinxit" and the last two digits in the date are now illegible, but Antonio Maria Zanetti (1771), who saw the panel when it was still in the Vitturi collection in Venice, relates that the date read 1478, which seems wholly consistent with the surviving traces.

Because the background landscape is unique in Antonello's portraiture, any number of scholars have questioned its authenticity. Stefano Bottari (1939) concluded that here Antonello took inspiration from Venetian painting, a contention strongly rebutted by Roberto Longhi (1952), with far-reaching consequences. First, Longhi pointed out, correctly, that open sky appears in portraits by Giovanni Bellini only in the last decade of the fifteenth century (see cat. 160) and that landscape was first included after 1500. Longhi was convinced—without justification, as we now know—that the delicate background landscape in Filippo Lippi's profile portrait of a woman (cat. 7) was the work of a Munich restorer, and here as well he saw the work of a non-Italian hand. He suspected that the landscape was a later intervention by some northern painter in an attempt to make the work more like the paintings of Hans Memling, which had become popular in Venice (Longhi 1952, p. 45). His thesis was accepted until very recently (Arbace 1993, p. 116; Bätschmann 2008, p. 60), and indeed one writer has proposed that, in addition to the unknown northern painter, Antonello's son Jacobello may have produced the landscape (Sricchia Santoro 1986, p. 170). Yet as early as the 1970s,


Antonellus
PROSPERANS ✦ MODESTVS ✦ ESTO ✦ INFORTVNATVS ✦ VERO ✦ PRVDENS

scientific investigation demonstrated that the landscape was in fact contemporary with the portrait (Gemäldegalerie 1975) and that only the right shoulder was not executed as originally planned. Joanne Wright (1987) and Mauro Lucco (1990; in Rome 2006, pp. 270–71) have argued most vehemently for the attribution of the landscape to Antonello himself. Meanwhile, a careful examination of the picture (Lorenz 2010) determined that the putative layer of black pigment beneath the sky—said to be visible with the naked eye and repeatedly claimed to have been the original background—could not, in fact, be identified. Instead, a continuous layer of blue pigment was placed over the light gesso ground. The sky consists of an intense medium-blue layer and a lighter one of clouds painted wet on wet. The green of the vegetation was added last. The landscape, though extremely detailed, was quickly executed, also wet on wet. In its lower section there is still a green glaze, which heightens the intensity of the colors.

Recent investigations using the latest technology have revealed that the painting was executed in the following sequence. First, the artist executed the underdrawing on the smooth white ground; over that, he added the black-brown underpainting of the robe and head covering, which shows through slightly. The alteration in the area of the right shoulder could have been made in the subsequent paint layers, as suggested by the underpainting. The solid layer of blue beneath the sky appears to have been applied next. This was probably followed by the robe and head covering, then the skin tone, and, finally, the hair atop the blue of the background. In addition to the change to the shoulder, small corrections were made to the area where the sky adjoins the head covering and to the neck. The shoulder was apparently corrected to create room for the landscape. At that time the horizon was reconfigured; the entire sky was gone over again in a lighter blue.

Inspiration for the combination of portrait and landscape could well have come from Netherlandish portraits in the style of Memling (see cat. 145), yet Antonello's roughly contemporary panel painting of Saint Sebastian (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden) presents the same combination of monumental figure, intensely blue sky, and background landscape (there a cityscape rather than a rural idyll). The inscription at the bottom edge of the picture may not be original, as both the gold and the rather clumsy letters do not conform to Antonello's calligraphic style. It is possible that here, during reframing, the brown strip was added with the moralizing maxim, "Be humble in prosperity, prudent in adversity." SH

Provenance Widman collection, Venice; Bartolommeo Vitturi, Venice (until 1773); (?) exported to England in 1779 by Thomas Moore Slade; Edward Solly, Berlin; acquired from the Solly collection for the Gemäldegalerie in exchange for an unknown painting by Pieter de Hooch (by 1830)

Selected References Zanetti 1771, p. 21; Puccini 1809, p. 13; Waagen 1830, p. 20; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1857, pp. 215, 226; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1869–76, vol. 4 (1871), p. 113; Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1871, vol. 2, pp. 91–92; Lermolieff 1880, pp. 424, 429–30; L. Venturi 1907, vol. 1, p. 570; Posse 1909, pp. 111–12; A. Venturi 1901–40, vol. 7, pt. 4, pp. 70–71; Berenson 1932, p. 24; Lauts 1933, p. 58; Longhi 1952, pp. 44–45; Gemäldegalerie 1964, pp. 13–14; Mandel 1967, p. 102; Conti 1973, pp. 16–17; Gemäldegalerie 1975, p. 30; Zappia in Messina 1981–82, pp. 126–27; Gemäldegalerie 1986, p. 12; Sricchia Santoro 1986, pp. 139, 170; Wright 1987, pp. 196–98; Conti 1988, pp. 27–28; Lucco 1990, p. 445; Paolini in *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 3 (1992), p. 515; Arbace 1993, pp. 116–17; Paris 1993, pp. 53, 107; J. Wright in *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), vol. 2, p. 182; Barbera 1998, pp. 28, 141, 151; Savettieri 1998, p. 128; Lauber 2005b, p. 57; Lucco in Rome 2006, pp. 270–71 (with earlier bibliography); Mason 2006, pp. 154–55; Gemäldegalerie 2010, pp. 366–67; Lorenz 2010

Giovanni Bellini (Venice, active by 1459–1516, Venice)

150. *Portrait of a Young Venetian*

1480–90

Oil on poplar, 12⅝ × 10¼ in. (32 × 26 cm)

Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (S. 12)

"This fine piece had always attracted my attention; every time I visited the gallery, I was captivated by the freshness of its conception and its happy combination of energy and etherealness; that the picture rose considerably above the northern Italian standard was too obvious to be overlooked." So wrote Georg Gronau in 1922 (p. 102). He recognized the portrait to be the work of Giovanni Bellini, and to this day the vast majority of scholars agree with his attribution. The quality of the painting that so fascinated Gronau is still apparent despite the picture's compromised condition. The subject's red garment and his flesh tones, delicately yet vibrantly modeled, are set off by the dark, monochromatic blue-green background. We do not know which young Venetian Bellini portrayed here, for aside from his clothing the man has no attributes and there are no inscriptions. His red outer garment probably identifies him as the holder of a political office and thus distinguishes him from other members of the Venetian bourgeoisie and patriciate, who commonly wore black. Since the colors of official clothing were strictly regulated in Venice, one can conclude that this is the image of a senator or council member, for on almost all



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official occasions the correct attire for such worthies was a *vesta* of red (*scarlatto*) fabric (Newton 1988, p. 18). This *vesta*, a long garment, features a narrow standing collar. In the portrait a narrow strip of the man's white *camicia* is visible. In winter, the *vesta* would have been fur-lined. Beneath his black *cappuccio* his dark brown hair forms a fringe across his forehead and covers his ears; the edge of his coiffure (*zazzera*) falls in a gently curving line across his temple to his shoulders.

Everything in this picture, in which the subject is shown in three-quarter view, directs attention to the face: the restrained colors of the background, the hair, the rather summary rendering of the clothing, and the white collar that sets off the subject's visage. The calm gaze, directed to the left, creates the impression of inner calm expressive of an ideal of equanimity that we find in many of Giovanni Bellini's portraits, what Rona Goffen (2000, p. 12) has referred to as "non-expression." This striking absence of emotion is further heightened by the fact that the subject does not establish contact with the viewer—whether through gaze, facial expression, or gesture—possibly because expression of emotion was considered inappropriate and its public display was to be avoided. Very probably this kind of presentation—combining an individual likeness with an idealized identity (Goffen 1989, p. 220) and simultaneously depicting the sitter's outward appearance and his inner *virtù* (Weppelmann 2008)—was specifically desired by the subject. This is how he wished to be seen and remembered: as an

irreproachable servant of the republic and member of Venice's patrician class.

Yet, despite the obvious reference to the subject's political function and public office, his portrait, like all those by Giovanni Bellini, is still private in nature; we can picture it hanging in the family's palazzo. In a much-quoted passage, Giorgio Vasari spoke of the virtually obsessive enthusiasm for portraiture among the Venetian upper class, noting that there were numerous portraits in Venetian houses and that many nobleman had portraits of their forefathers reaching back four generations, the noblest even further (1966–97 ed., vol. 3 [1971], pp. 438–39). Even if Vasari's assertions are somewhat exaggerated, they are a clear indication of the importance of portraiture in Venice. In contrast to those of Florence, Venetian portraits were not intended so much to capture a person's individuality (along with his specific achievements and ambitions) as to affirm the subject's place within the fixed hierarchy of the state as a member of the upper social stratum. With only a few exceptions, Giovanni Bellini's subjects are men of middle age firmly integrated into this social structure. This precludes the possibility that such portraits were commissioned to mark admission into the Maggior Consiglio, for men became members of the republic's ruling body at a much younger age, between twenty and twenty-five. Nevertheless, these portraits may well be connected with this important ritual in the public life of the city, since a young man was required to prove both his age and his patrician ancestry before he could be considered for membership. He therefore had to rely on a guarantor, usually his father or some other older relative who could vouch for him (Chojnacki 1985). Not until the early sixteenth century did an applicant's ancestry begin to be recorded in the city's *Libri d'oro* (Golden Books). Patrician ancestry and affiliation with a specific clan were of great importance for participation in public and political life. Giovanni Bellini played a significant role in this respect, for in addition to his autonomous portraits he incorporated numerous portraits in his large narrative paintings, creating a virtual who's who in Venice.

It is difficult to date the present portrait precisely or to situate it within Bellini's oeuvre. His surviving portraits are generally dated to the last two decades of the fifteenth century, between his portrait of Jörg Fugger (Norton Simon Museum of Art, Pasadena), dated 1474, and the portrait of Doge Leonardo Loredan (National Gallery, London), painted in 1501–4 (fig. 25). For the present purpose, the suggestion by Terisio Pignatti (1969) seems plausible: based on the picture's relation to the portraits of Antonello da Messina and on the way the handling of the color moves beyond that model, Pignatti argued for a date in the penultimate decade of the Quattrocento. DK

Provenance James Simon, Berlin; bequeathed to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin (1904)

Selected References Gronau 1922, p. 102, fig. 6, p. 104; Pallucchini 1959, p. 92, fig. 168, p. 149; Heinemann 1962, p. 76, no. 273; Pignatti 1969, p. 100, no. 128; Goffen 1989, p. 287; Tempestini 1992, p. 158, no. 54; Tempestini 1997, p. 211, no. 61; Villa 2008, pp. 123 (ill.), 250, no. 56; Weppelmann 2008, p. 82

Jacometto (Jacometto Veneziano; Venice, active by ca. 1472–d. before 1498, Venice)

151. *Portrait of a Young Man*

late 1480s–90s

Oil on wood, 11 × 8 ¼ in. (27.9 × 21 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.3)

This distinguished portrait of an unknown Venetian man, probably painted in the late 1480s or 1490s, was considered by the leading experts of the first half of the twentieth century to be the work of one of three artists: Alvise Vivarini, Antonello da Messina, or Giovanni Bellini. After Vivarini was ruled out, critical opinion was still strongly divided between an attribution to Antonello—principally because of the head's strong geometry and relieflike modeling—and Bellini, albeit under Antonello's influence. The impasse was broken by Federico Zeri (1973, p. 35, with earlier opinions), who attributed the panel to Jacometto Veneziano, a master known primarily through numerous descriptions of works in private collections written by the Venetian patrician Marcantonio Michiel in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Zeri was inspired by Martin Davies's attribution to Jacometto (based on a suggestion by Johannes Wilde) of two paintings in the National Gallery, London (NG 2509, 3121), that are comparable in style to this panel (Davies 1961, pp. 258–69). A small corpus of portraits is now generally accepted as Jacometto's work (see also cats. 152a,b), which is of particular interest because of the cultivated and unusual character of its imagery, including allusive painted reverses and uncommon depictions of women.

Jacometto's fame among his contemporaries is suggested by a letter from the humanist Michele di Paciola written in September 1497 in which the already deceased Jacometto is called "the first man in the world" for his miniatures, his other

preferred medium (Lauber 2005a, p. 97). Jacometto is now considered one of the Venetian artists most deeply influenced by Antonello's arrival in Venice in the mid-1470s. The connection between the two artists is made explicit by Michiel, who in a description of Antonello's *Saint Jerome in His Study* (National Gallery, London) famously debated whether that work had been painted by the Italian artist or a northerner, and whether the figure of the saint was redone by "Jacometto Venitiano" (see Lucco in Rome 2006, p. 212).

The youth is shown bust-length and in three-quarter view, his eyes gazing off to the left. He is soberly clad in black, with just the edge of a white collar with a fold visible, and he is set against a dark background. Perhaps his most distinctive feature is the arrangement of his hair, which is smoothed down over his brow and ends with a bowl-like roll. This style, sometimes described as "helmet-like," is called a *zazzera*; it can be seen in numerous Venetian portraits generally dated to the late 1480s and 1490s (Lucco in Rome 2006, pp. 290–91). The artist incisively delineated the shape of the lips, the curve of the nostrils, and the form and color of the eyes (according to one commentator the irises are "crystalline;" Bache Collection 1929, n.p.), and he described the smooth fall of light from the left, which casts subtle shadows across the chin and neck. Yet, despite what could be called a miniaturist's touch, he did not lose the sense of the figure's form, or what earlier writers called its "plasticity" (A. Venturi 1933, vol. 2, n.p.). Antonello's portraits of Venetian sitters, whose appearance made such an indelible impact in northern Italy in the mid-1470s, determined Jacometto's overall approach in this work, but Jacometto was not capable of achieving the same psychological penetration and sense of animation as the Sicilian master.

Michiel's descriptions of works by Jacometto mention several portraits, most notably those of Alvise Contarini and "a Nun of San Secondo" (cats. 152a,b)—owned in the second decade of the sixteenth century by Michele Contarini—and of Bernardo Bembo's two sons, Carlo and Pietro, which he saw in the Bembo home in Padua (Lauber 2005a, p. 97). The sitter in Jacometto's *Portrait of a Man* in the National Gallery cannot be identified, but its reverse, with a Horatian inscription and delicately crossed laurel branches, is strongly reminiscent of the reverse of Leonardo's *Ginevra de' Benci* (fig. 7), which may have been painted for Bembo (Brown in Washington 2001–2, p. 158, no. 20). Works by Jacometto were also found in the great collections of the Odoni, Venier, and Vendramin families, among others (Lauber 2005a, p. 114, no. 181). All told, this suggests that Jacometto was patronized by, and his works collected by, notable patricians and humanists. Although we do not know the young, carefully groomed sitter here, he is likely to have been from such a family. **AB**



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Provenance Baron Arthur de Schickler, France (by 1908–d. 1919); Comtesse Hubert de Pourtalès, France (1919); William Salomon, New York (1919); Jules S. Bache, New York (1928–d. 1944)

Selected References Zeri 1973, pp. 35–36 (with earlier bibliography); Brown in Washington 2001–2, p. 158; Lucco in Rome 2006, p. 290

Jacometto (Jacometto Veneziano; Venice, active by ca. 1472–d. before 1498, Venice)

152a. *Alvise Contarini*

ca. 1485–95

Oil on panel, 4½ × 3⅛ in. (11.4 × 7.9 cm)

Inscribed: on verso, *AIEI*

Verso: *A Tethered Roebuck*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.86)

152b. *Portrait of a Woman, Possibly a Nun of San Secondo*

ca. 1485–95

Oil on panel, 4 × 2¾ (10.2 × 7 cm)

Verso: *Scene in Grisaille*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.85)

This important and exquisite pair of miniature portraits, the cornerstone of Jacometto Veneziano's oeuvre, has been the object of intense scrutiny in recent years regarding its original construction and function, the identity of the sitters, and the meaning of its imagery. Although great progress has been made in understanding the pair, it remains in certain ways enigmatic and some of our analysis perforce hypothetical.

When the two small panels are displayed as a diptych, they reveal a man and a woman in contemporary dress who face one another; behind them is a complementary though not continuous landscape background that unites the two images. While the man is in characteristic late fifteenth-century Venetian garb (a black robe and cap), the woman's clothing is more unusual, combining a wimple-like veil (comparable to that seen in modified form in two other portraits by the artist) and a garment that leaves the shoulders uncovered. Each panel has a painted reverse. That of the man has a delicate depiction of a roebuck, symbol of faithful love since antiquity, tethered to a golden disk inscribed with the Greek word meaning "forever" (for the fullest recent interpretation, see Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, p. 266). The deer is set against a faux porphyry background, which may very well have funereal connotations. The reverse of the woman, painted to imitate gilt bronze, is the only one of the pair's four sides (rectos and versos) that lacks a gesso ground; instead, it was prepared with a black paint layer covered with another, bronze-colored layer, and the composition was painted in shell gold. It is impossible to read the image fully because of surface damage; however, infrared reflectography more clearly reveals a male figure seated with legs spread on a rocky outcrop with trees in the foreground. A body of water extends to the left, and a gondola, with its distinctive oarlock, is moored near the shoreline. Although the subject of this grisaille has not been identified, it has been compared to related medallic images, most suggestively the reverse of Valerio Belli's portrait of Pietro Bembo of about 1530, in which the writer reclines by a stream surrounded by trees (Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 450, no. 441; Baseggio Omiccioli in Wilson, forthcoming). Under most circumstances, it would be sensible to think that the Lehman paintings depict a married couple, with the allegorical scenes enlarging upon themes of their conjugal relationship.

The pair was described in two separate Venetian collections in the sixteenth century. The first is that of Michele Contarini, as recorded by the patrician Marcantonio Michiel in 1543. In Rosella Lauber's most recent transcription of Michiel's manuscript, a much-parsed passage regarding Jacometto's "most perfect work" reads, "There is a little portrait of M(esser) Alvixe Contarini q(uondam) M(esser) . . . who died some years ago, and a portrait across from [or opposite or adjoining] it on the same panel of a nun of San Segondo, and on the cover of these portraits a little deer in a landscape, while its leather case has foliage of stamped gold. This most perfect work is by the hand of Jacometto" (Italian in Lauber 2005a, p. 98). San Segondo (or Secondo) refers to a Benedictine convent on an island set in the Venetian lagoon. By 1565 the portraits were in the Vendramin collection, where they had received a new attribution, to Giovanni Bellini; in that inventory, the woman is again described as a nun.

The questions concerning the pair's original owner, function, and meaning are directly related to their initial construction, about which we can now speculate rather more fruitfully, even if inconclusively (examination record by Hoogstede, Mahon, and Bisacca 2010). The female portrait is somewhat smaller than that of the male, but its painted surface is complete and has not been trimmed. Indeed, the panel has edges of ungessoed wood, and from this we may surmise that the gesso ground was applied following the application of an engaged frame (now lost); conversely, that of the male portrait is gessoed to its edges, but it, too, has unpainted edges, that on the bottom of the portrait itself being noticeably greater (it is possible that both panels have been marginally cut down). These differences in size, preparation, and technique of the painted reverses, in addition to the discontinuity of the landscapes, indicate that the panels must have fit together in a somewhat



152a



152b

unusual manner and were protected by the leather case mentioned by Michiel. As has been amply demonstrated, private portraits came in many forms: with painted covers, fitted lids, and so on. We even have examples of extant protective bags, such as a velvet one for a portrait diptych of King René of Anjou and Jeanne de Laval of about 1476 (Musée du Louvre, Paris; Dülberg 1990, pl. 51).

Of these various possibilities, it is perhaps most likely that Jacometto's pair was fitted into a small boxlike frame. The larger male portrait may have been at the top and was removable, perhaps sliding over the female portrait (pulled by the unpainted lower edge found on one side of the panel?), likely with the allegorical image of the resting deer uppermost. This is comparable to the construction of Albrecht Dürer's portrait of Hieronymus Holzschuher (Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin). When the upper panel was removed, the paintings could be seen side by side, explaining why both early descriptions focus on the front and back of the male portrait but do not mention the grisaille scene on the reverse of the female portrait, which might have often remained resting on a table. Perhaps this side's more frequent contact with a surface accounts for its damaged state. The same would be true if the male portrait were fitted into a lid that lifted off the female portrait below, and the entire construction was a proper box. Portraits such as this could be kept entirely private—only the outermost image would normally be visible—and must therefore have had some personal meaning for the original owners, perhaps as a keepsake if the sitters were separated.

We do not know Jacometto's inspiration for attempting this complex construction. It is not in line with Antonello's portraiture, which otherwise influenced him profoundly, but it is worth noting that in the Vendramin collection were two other portraits attributed to Bellini, both of which either had a cover or were set in a boxlike structure. Likewise, it has now been shown that Bellini's *Portrait of a Young Boy* (Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham), painted in 1474, was probably the lid of a cabinet that included a marble bust and a painted memento mori as well (Benedicenti 1992; Baseggio Omiccioli in Wilson forthcoming). Thus small, personal portraits of unusual format were being created in the Bellini workshop.

There continues to be lively debate about the identification of this mysterious pair. What was their relationship? Was



152a, verso



152b, verso

she really "a nun of San Secondo"? How are we meant to read the allegorical scenes? Although Michiel helpfully identified the man as Alvise Contarini, we know of some eight men by that name who would have been the appropriate age when the painting was made. Perhaps he was the Alvise who married Daria Querini in 1481 and who was related to the more famous Pietro Contarini, also the original owner of the palace where Michiel saw the paintings (Lauber 2005a, p. 115, no. 195; Baseggio Omiccioli in Wilson forthcoming, for possible candidates).

More intriguingly, who is this placid woman with her hair demurely covered and her shoulders alluringly bare? As mentioned above, every aspect of Alvise's portrait alludes to fidelity and love, and this, combined with the woman's dress, has led many commentators to reject Michiel's description and conclude that she must be Alvise's wife or mistress, not a nun (Brown in Washington 2001–2, p. 154). At the same time, Michiel's statement cannot be discounted easily, especially as he was fully aware of the female monasteries in Venice: two of his own sisters were abbesses, one of them Benedictine. Furthermore, his diaries include comments that reveal his awareness of conventual reforms at San Secondo, a site that may be represented in the painting by the small island with a walled building (Lauber 2005a, pp. 99, 115, nos. 192, 198).

There are various paths out of this impasse. First, if Alvise was portrayed posthumously, as the porphyry reverse of his portrait suggests, then the woman may be a widow. The love between them could be eternal, yet the widow could have begun a new life with her involvement at the convent. There she may have enjoyed the privileges of her patrician status and been allowed an elegant and none-too-spartan environment, with fine clothing and many luxuries. The reforms that Michiel noted in his diaries and that led the convent to a stricter rule took place in 1519, some twenty years after the artist's death. Many other instances of refined, beautiful nuns (and tertiaries) who led seemingly secular lifestyles have now been documented (Periti 2004, pp. 462ff; Garrard 2006, pp. 43–44; Basseggio Omiccioli in Wilson forthcoming). Of course there are two other possible interpretations of this pair: that their love was clandestine and the portraits were designed to keep it that way; or that the piety of the woman was not in doubt, as the love being offered by Alvise Contarini was not meant to sully her, but rather was offered in the spirit of the Song of Songs: "My beloved is like a roe or a young hart." AB

Provenance Michele Contarini, Venice (by 1543); Gabriele Vendramin, Venice (by 1565); Fürstliche Liechtensteinische Gemäldagalerie, Vienna (from 1863); Robert Lehman, New York (from 1967)

Selected References Pope-Hennessy 1987, pp. 240–43, nos. 96, 97 (with earlier bibliography); Dülberg 1990, pp. 236–37, nos. 183, 184; Brown in Washington 2001–2, pp. 154–57, no. 19; Lauber 2005a, pp. 96–99; Lucco in Rome 2006, pp. 334–35, nos. 69, 70; Edwards in New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, pp. 265–68, nos. 123a, b; Baseggio Omiccioli in Wilson forthcoming

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Francesco Bonsignori
(Verona, ca. 1455/60–1519, Caldiero [near Verona])

153. *Portrait of an Elderly Man (Giovanni Cappello?)*

1487

Inscribed and dated: *Franciscus. Bonsignorius. Veronensis. p*[inxit] / *.1487.*

Tempera on wood, 16½ × 11¾ in. (41.9 × 29.8 cm)

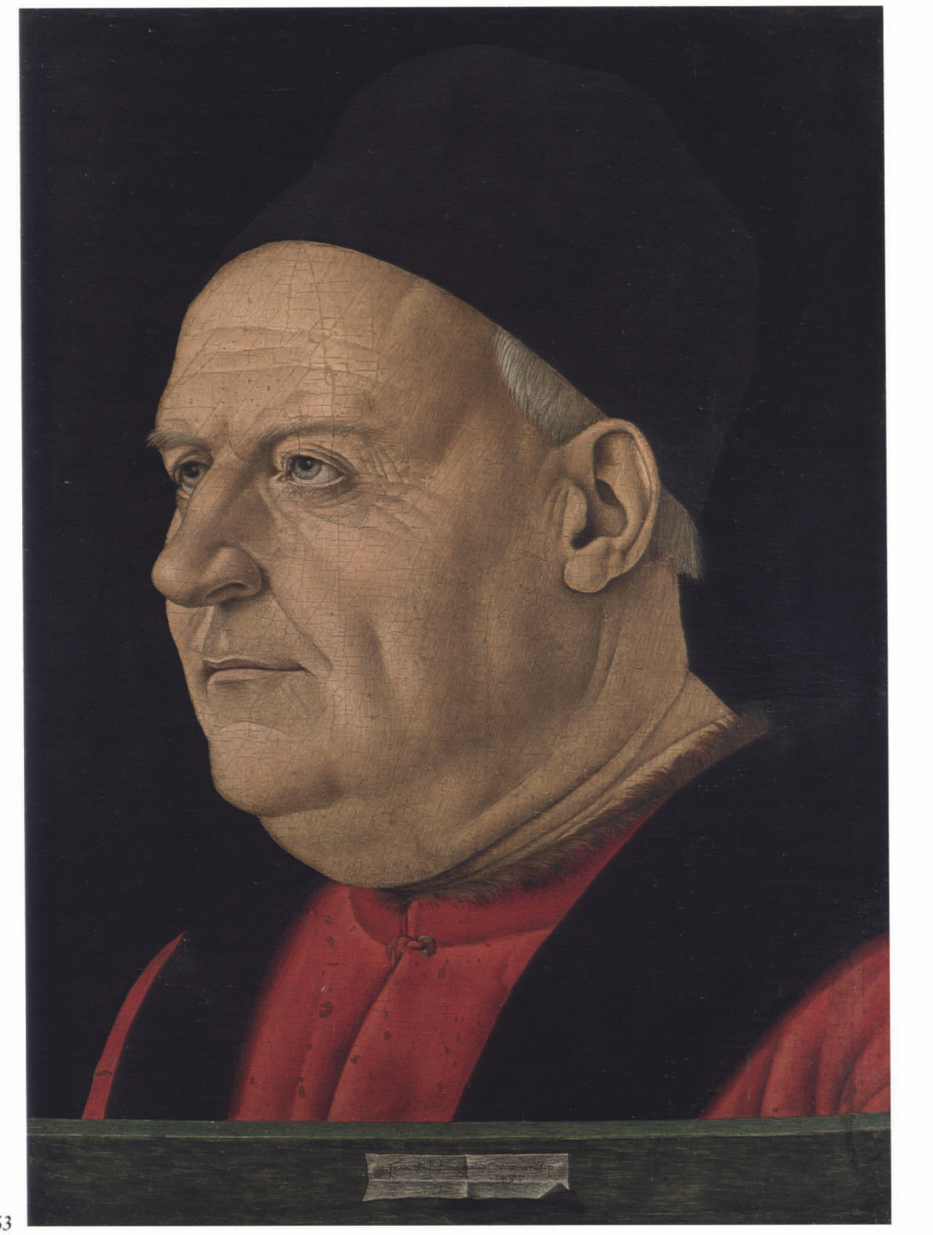
The National Gallery, London, Bought 1864 (NG 736)

The Veronese artist Francesco Bonsignori was best known to his contemporaries as portraitist and court artist to the Gonzaga family. Giorgio Vasari reported that Francesco Gonzaga gave the artist a house in Mantua in 1487—the year this portrait was signed and dated on the *cartellino*—and his *Lives* is full of details concerning portraits of the noble family (Vasari 1906, vol. 5, pp. 299–306; Vasari believed Bonsignori was Mantegna's student; see cat. 93). It is now known that Bonsignori arrived in Mantua as early as 1477, when he is documented as an artist and a *civis Mantue*, or "inhabitant of Mantua" (L'Occaso 2005, pp. 127, 129, no. 7). That does not mean that he ceased to have contact with his native city, as demonstrated by his altarpiece for the Dal Bovo family, painted in 1484 for their altar in San Fermo Maggiore (now Museo del Castelvecchio, Verona), or that he could not have traveled farther afield to study Venetian art. It does, however, help to explain the impact of Mantegna's Mantuan portraits on Bonsignori's own from the early years of the younger artist's career.

The sitter for this portrait was first identified in the mid-nineteenth century by the painting's then owner, Cesare Bernasconi, as a member of the patrician Capello (or Cappello) family of Venice, an identification confirmed by Scipione Maffei's *Verona illustrata* (1732), which records the portrait as being in the Museo Cappello (pt. III, col. 156; Crowe and Cavalcaselle [1912, vol. 2, p. 183] reported on another early work by Bonsignori that was also in Bernasconi's collection). Bernasconi additionally noted that he had purchased the work in Venice and had been told that the sitter must have been a Venetian senator, as demonstrated by his costume (Davies 1961, p. 95). More recently, it has been suggested that he may be Giovanni Cappello (d. 1499), described in a seventeenth-century genealogy of the family as a senator and procurator of San Marco from 1466 (Zabarella 1670, p. 18; the identification was suggested by Lorne Campbell in Mancini in Verona 2006–7, p. 323, no. 85).

The distinguished, gray-haired patrician is depicted wearing a scarlet gown lined with fur at the neck, a black stole (*becho*) over his shoulders, and a black cap. The artist successfully juggled the formal elements of portraiture current among his innovative contemporaries working in northern Italy, such as the beautifully described green parapet, with its illusionistic *cartellino*, the forceful projection of the figure against the dark neutral background, and the volumetric three-quarter view. The sitter's gaze does not meet the viewer's, adding an element of distance to the painting's overall effect that is more common to Bellini than to Antonello. It must have been Mantegna's example that prompted the incisive examination and recording of the passage of time as it marks the elderly man's features.

A black chalk drawing in Vienna directly related to this panel (cat. 154, which is slightly smaller and does not include the parapet) has been the object of much discussion. The fine quality and vivid sense of light playing across the man's features—perhaps more subtly captured on paper than in the more linear forms of the painting itself—have led to the suggestion that the drawing was created by Mantegna for Bonsignori's use (for overviews of the issues, see Ekserdjian in London–New York 1992, pp. 339–41, no. 103; Mancini in Verona 2006–7, p. 326, no. 86; Valagussa in Rome 2010–11, pp. 44–45). Currently, however, the drawing is generally believed to be by Bonsignori himself. Although our understanding of his drawn oeuvre has yet to be refined, contemporary sources mention two kinds of drawings that were part of his portraiture practice. Letters exchanged between Isabella d'Este and her husband, Francesco, in 1503 concerning Bonsignori's portrait of their toddler son, Federigo, reveal that a drawing was part of the artist's process and extol its high quality: "quello di carbone più bello che mai vedesti" (that one in charcoal more beautiful than any you have ever seen; C. Brown 1979, p. 86). Vasari, on the other hand, refers to chiaroscuro record drawings after painted portraits that were kept in the workshop at least until the middle of the following century by Bonsignori's heirs. As suggested by Lorne Campbell, the drawing now in the Albertina might be one such work (see L. Campbell 1990, pp. 185, 265, no. 91). Others have



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identified the workshop's drawings with a group of careful sheets done quite literally in "chiaro" and "scuro," in that the artist blackened one half of the paper to better set off the sitter's features (Beghini in Verona 2006–7, pp. 326–27, nos. 87, 88; these do not, however, appear to be of uniform handling, as recognized in that catalogue). Finally, there is the evidence provided by the underdrawing on the London panel, whose clear but rather mechanical line would seem to indicate that a cartoon was used to transfer the design (infrared reflectography by Rachel Billinge, National Gallery, London; Mancini in Verona 2006–7, p. 325 [ill.]).

In summary, we know that drawing was integral to Bonsignori's approach to portraiture. He made drawings from life to capture a sitter's appearance; relied on cartoons to transfer the features to a panel; and made drawings after his own paintings to save as records in the workshop. His portraits of



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Giovanni Cappello provide our most enduring access to this successful artist's working methods. **AB**

Provenance Museo Cappello, Venice (by 1732); Cesare Bernasconi, Verona (ca. 1848–64)

Selected References Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1912, vol. 2, p. 184; Schmitt 1961, pp. 84, 117; Davies 1961, p. 95; L. Campbell 1990, p. 185; Ekserdjian in London–New York 1992, pp. 339–41, no. 103; Baker and Henry 1995, p. 49; Mancini in Verona 2006–7, pp. 323–26, no. 85

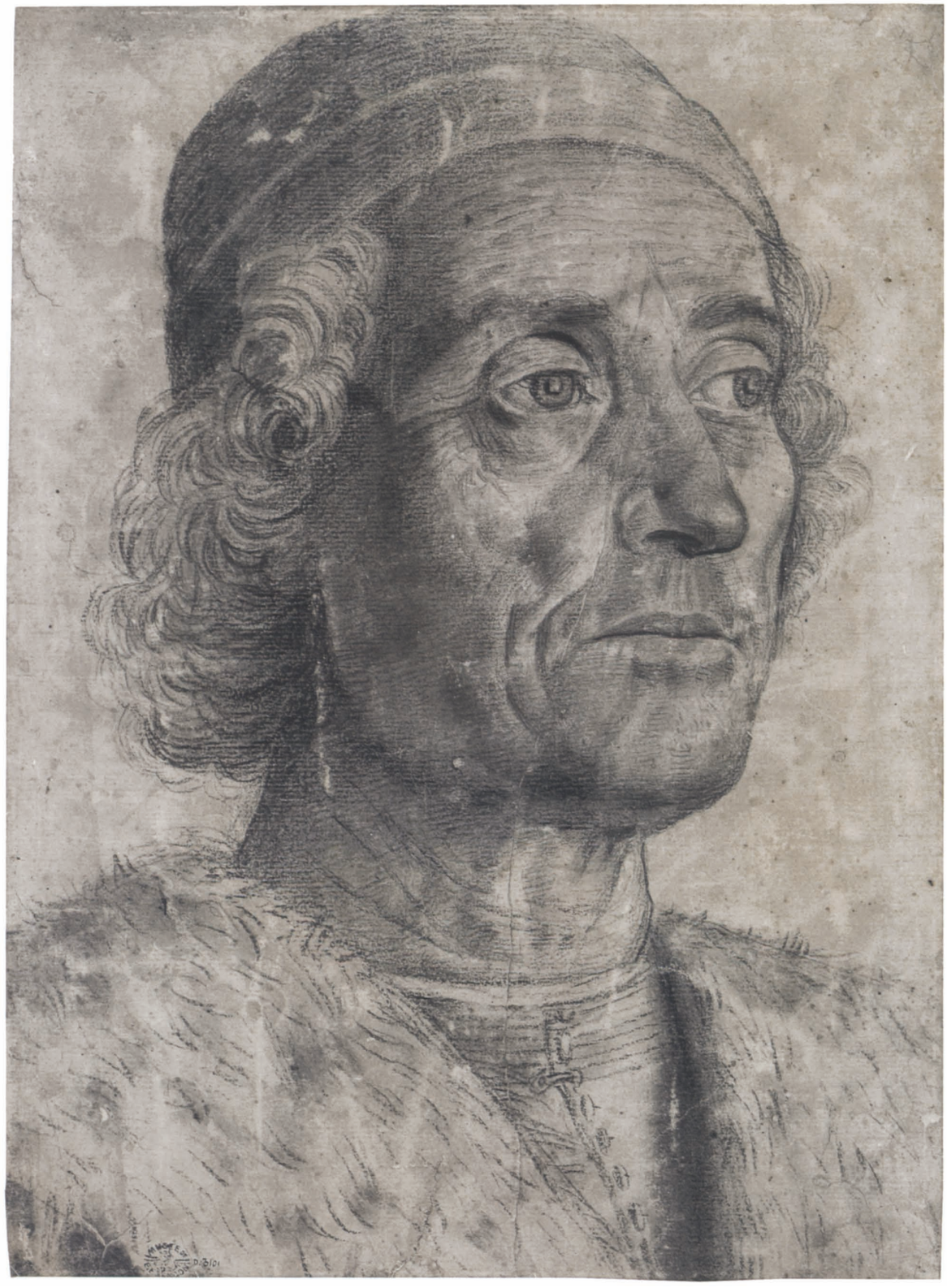
Francesco Bonsignori
(Verona, ca. 1455/60–1519, Caldiero [near Verona])

154. *Portrait of a Man*

before 1487

Black chalk on off-white paper (now much discolored), 14¼ × 10½ in. (36.1 × 26.2 cm)

Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna (17672)



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Andrea Mantegna (Isola di Carturo, 1430/31–1506, Mantua)

155. *Portrait of a Man*

ca. 1470–75

Black chalk on discolored grayish brown paper, 13½ × 9⅞ in. (34.2 × 25 cm)

Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon (D3101)

156. *Portrait of a Man*

ca. 1470–75

Black chalk on discolored grayish brown paper, brush with gray-black wash on the cap, 13⅜ × 9¼ in. (33.9 × 23.5 cm)

Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon (D3103)

157. *Francesco II Gonzaga*

1490s

Black chalk with some highlighting with brush and white gouache on discolored greenish paper, 13⅝ × 12⅞ in. (34.7 × 32.8 cm)

National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (2019)

Giovanni Bellini (Venice, active by 1459–1516, Venice)

158. *Bust of a Man*

ca. 1500

Black chalk with some touches of wash on off-white paper, 15⅜ × 11 in. (39.1 × 28 cm)

Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford (0263)



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In 1992 these five well-known portrait drawings (cats. 154–58) were exhibited together for the first time, with a common attribution to Andrea Mantegna (see Ekserdjian in London–New York 1992). This notion has not won acceptance. Indeed, seeing them alongside each other made it clear that they are only superficially related in style and cannot have been made by one artist. Instead, they must be the work of three different hands working in the same technique.

The Vienna portrait (cat. 154) has long been recognized as relating to the painted portrait in the National Gallery, London, that is dated 1487 and signed by Francesco Bonsignori (see cat. 153), who was active in Mantua from at least 1477. The drawing is more vigorous than the resultant painting, and this led both Konrad Oberhuber and Philip Pouncey, as well as David Ekserdjian, to attribute it to Mantegna, who would, presumably, have supplied it as a model for Bonsignori. However, it is hardly unusual for a preparatory study to be more animated than the resultant painting. Furthermore, there is nothing in its execution, with its rather linear outlines and broad, even tonal modeling, that corresponds to Mantegna's draftsmanship. In almost every case, he modeled with strong diagonal strokes that are clearly visible, a technique that is entirely absent here. Lastly, though the form is ably described and set in space, it lacks the vigorous plasticity that is present in Mantegna's painted and drawn portraits. It is true that the only other drawing that can be attributed to Bonsignori with certainty—a study for the kneeling Isabella d'Este in the British Museum (inv. 1895-9-15-141)—is quite different, but that is a quickly sketched study, not a highly finished drawn *modello*. Nevertheless, it shares with this portrait the tendency toward a rather tepid evenness and linearity. Given all of these arguments, the Vienna portrait drawing should confidently be

ascribed to Bonsignori. Mantegna's influence is evident, but Bonsignori's artistic temperament prevails and sets this portrait apart from the others in this group.

By contrast, the two drawings preserved at Besançon (cats. 155, 156) have all of the qualities one might expect of Mantegna himself. The sheet showing the younger man is, even after much rubbing and discoloration of the paper, among the most sculptural drawn portraits of the fifteenth century. Despite being somewhat trimmed and thereby losing much of its ambient space, the drawing projects forcefully. Furthermore, it is composed with strong, animated strokes and bold shadows that are of a different order from the relatively timid and quiet execution of the Vienna drawing. It is very close in character and style to Mantegna's *Portrait of a Man* in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, as well as to several of the frescoed portraits in the Camera Picta, such as that of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga. It should, therefore, be dated to the same period, about 1470–75.

Similarly, the study of a man with a black cap in Besançon (cat. 156) is entirely characteristic of Mantegna. Here, again, the sheet is badly rubbed and has been reduced on all sides, but the sculptural and expressive resonance of the image is still present and deeply affecting. The technique, with lively parallel chalk strokes, is typical of Mantegna, as is the expressive clarity of both form and psychology. These strokes can also be seen in the black cap, which shows restoration only in the wash added at the very top. Although in most respects closely comparable to its companion portrait in Besançon, this one tends toward a more descriptive naturalism and introversion than the example showing the younger man. This may have something to do with the sitters, but here one may also be witnessing the influence of Giovanni Bellini. It is noteworthy that the two Besançon portrait studies by Mantegna have the same provenance (Gigoux), though admittedly not an ancient one. As they date from the same moment in his career, one may speculate that they have been kept together since leaving his workshop.

Often ascribed to Bonsignori (see, most recently, Litta in Paris 2008–9), the portrait of Francesco Gonzaga in Dublin (cat. 157) is in many respects the most challenging of the group in terms of attribution. Although all five sheets are now quite close in size, the Dublin drawing must originally have been the largest, since it has been reduced to the extent of having virtually no space around the figure. This elimination of spatial ambient tends to flatten the image and reduce its volumetric quality. Nevertheless, the powerfully sculptural form projects from the sheet with the expressive animation that among northern Italian artists of this moment only Mantegna possessed. Equally, the commanding frontal presentation of the sitter lends the portrait a dramatic expressiveness unsurpassed in drawn portraiture. The execution of the drawing has all the hallmarks of Mantegna's technique, from decisive parallel strokes to lively rendering of ornamental detail. The magnitude of conception, forceful expression, and graphic handwriting all argue in favor of Mantegna's authorship and preclude any possibility that it might have been drawn by Bonsignori, as comparison with the Vienna portrait study clearly demonstrates. Its somewhat greater breadth of handling, more subtle lighting, and lively decorative details militate in favor of a date in the 1490s, around the time of Mantegna's altarpiece of the *Madonna della Vittoria* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), in which Francesco Gonzaga appears as a supplicant, kneeling beside the enthroned Madonna and Child.

The last of these five portraits, the study of a man in Christ Church (cat. 158), is in many respects the most finely drawn and sensitive of the group. Composed in thinner, more delicate strokes, it displays a subtlety of execution and an expressive restraint that were not aimed for by Mantegna and not achieved by Bonsignori. This holds true throughout, whether one considers the varied and subtle lighting effects or the application of ornament on the shirt. Expressively, the portrayal is somewhat remote and elusive, less forceful and more contemplative than any portrait by Mantegna. Although the sheet has occasionally been attributed to Mantegna, J. Byam Shaw (1976) was certainly correct in advancing the name of Giovanni Bellini, since it contains every quality one might expect from a mature portrait study by this artist and is the drawn equivalent of the portrait of Leonardo Loredan in the National Gallery, London (fig. 25). The suggestion that the subject is Giovanni's brother, Gentile, based on a comparison with the medal (see cat. 159), has not gained acceptance.

Excepting Bonsignori's study in Vienna, for which the related painting survives, one cannot be certain about the purpose of these studies. It is reasonable to assume that they were made as preparatory studies for specific individual portraits or for individuals portrayed in larger compositions. The younger subject of the two portraits in Besançon is posed in a manner that would make sense as an individual portrait, whereas the other studies would appear to be more suitable for specific situations in a larger context. Yet the fact that none were pounced or show signs that a stylus was used to transfer the features to a panel or wall suggests that they were appreciated as independent works of art, possibly done with the intention of showing them



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to the sitter for approval (see the entry on Pisanello's portrait of Filippo Maria Visconti, cat. 94). All five were drawn in black chalk, generally the favorite medium in northern Italy for drawn portrait studies. One may speculate that this preference arose from the greater tonal range of this medium and its capacity for quick erasure and correction in drawing a figure from life. GRG

Provenance Cat. 154: Albert von Sachsen-Teschen

Cats. 155, 156: Gigoux collection

Cat. 157: Richard Cosway; R. Houlditch; Rev. Dr. H. Wellesley (his sale, Sotheby's, June 25, 1866, lot 1800); bought by Mulvany for the National Gallery of Ireland

Cat. 158: General John Guise (until 1765)

Selected References Cat. 154: Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1869–76, vol. 5, p. 505; Schönbrunner and Meder 1896–1908, vol. 2, p. 203; Popham 1931, p. 49, no. 176; Paris 1950, p. 5, no. 13; Pouncey 1952, pp. 100–101; Mezzetti in Mantua 1961, p. 184, fig. 156; Schmitt 1961, pp. 84, 125; Koschatzky, Oberhuber, and Knab 1972, no. 18; Paris 1975, pp. 40–41, no.. 12; Vienna 1975, pp. 34–35, no. 12; L. Campbell 1990, p. 185; Vienna 1991, p. 37, no. 33; Ekserdjian in London–New York 1992, pp. 339–41, no. 103; Goldner 1993, p. 175; Freuler 1996, pp. 50–58; Birke and Kertész 1992–97, vol. 4, pp. 2190–91, inv. 17672; M. Danieli in Mantua 2006–7b, p. 154; G. Mancini in Verona 2006–7, pp. 325–27, no. 86; Valagussa and Villa in Milan 2010, p. 45

Cat. 155: Berenson 1895, pp. 114–17; Heinemann 1962, vol. 1, p. 231, no. V. 89; Ekserdjian in London–New York 1992, p. 345–46, no. 106 (with earlier bibliography); Goldner 1993, p. 175; F. Soulier-Françoise in Besançon 2003–4, pp. 20–21; Mancini in Verona 2006–7, p. 327

Cat. 156: Laclotte 1956, p. 228; Paris 1956, p. 109, no. 156; Ekserdjian in London–New York 1992, p. 347–48, no. 107 (with earlier bibliography); Goldner 1993, p. 175; F. Soulier-Françoise in Besançon 2003–4, pp. 20–21; G. Mancini in Verona 2006–7, p. 327

Cat. 157: Schmitt 1961, pp. 92, 112, no. 20; Heinemann 1962, vol. 1, p. 126, no. S247; Dublin 1964, no. 139; Pouncey in London 1967, p. 6, no. 2; London 1981–82, no. 63; Chapel Hill and other cities 1983–84; Ekserdjian in London–New York 1992, pp. 343–45, no. 105; Hirst 1992, p. 321; Goldner 1993, p. 175; Vienna 1994, pp. 39–41, no. 13 (as Bonsignori); D. Cordellier in Paris 2005, p. 17; M. Danieli in Mantua 2006–7b, p. 154; G. Mancini in Verona 2006–7, pp. 326–27, no. 86; Davis 2008, p. 287; Litta in Paris 2008–9, pp. 308–9, no. 124

Cat. 158: Rigollot 1849, p. 75; Rigaud and Brown 1877, p. 235; Uzielli 1896, pp. 262–63; Colvin 1907, vol. 2, pl. 32; Byam Shaw 1976, vol. 1, pp. 188–190, no. 702 , pl. 400; Ekserdjian in London–New York 1992, pp. 341–42, no. 104 (with earlier bibliography); Goldner 1993, p. 175; Pedretti in New York 2003, pp. 78–81, fig. 46; Greer in London 2008–9, p. 251, no. 80

Gentile Bellini (?) (Venice, ca. 1430/34–1507, Venice)

159. *Self-Portrait* (?)

ca. 1496

Charcoal on paper, 9 × 7⅝ in. (23 × 19.4 cm)

Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 5170)

This bust portrait in three-quarter view depicts a middle-aged man characterized as a Venetian by his head covering, the *berretta*, and the stole-like *bechetto* draped over his right shoulder. Long parallel lines describe the fabric of his garment, a *vesta*. The drawing is striking for its highly individualized physiognomy executed with delicacy and absolute precision, particularly in the configuration of the face and hair. Dark, curving lines render the shaded sections of the curly hair, while light areas were left with scarcely any linear definition. The round head, with its small chin, long, slightly bulbous nose, and creases near the eyes and mouth, is captured with the greatest exactitude. The shadowed left half of the man's face is modeled with delicacy and is clearly set off by the darker locks of hair.

This face is so emphatically individualized that it can be associated with a specific person. Even in the earlier literature (beginning with Gronau in Berlin 1898), it was assumed that the present drawing depicts the same person as a late fifteenth-century medal with a profile portrait of Gentile Bellini from the hand of Camelio (Hill 1967, no. 147). Indeed, on the medal, the nose has the same distinctive shape, and the areas around the mouth and eyes are very similar. It is now generally accepted that the subject of the present drawing is Gentile Bellini, but the attribution is disputed. Is this a self-portrait, or a likeness of Gentile by his brother Giovanni? Among the scholars who argue for the latter possibility are Hans Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat (1944) and, more recently, George Goldner (2004), who see unmistakable differences in execution and expressiveness between this portrait and another drawing by Gentile, the *Portrait of a Young Man* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Yet comparison with Giovanni Bellini's drawing *Portrait of a Man* in Oxford (cat. 158) reveals obvious, perhaps even greater differences. Heinrich-Thomas Schulze Altcappenberg (in Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96) and Alan Chong (in Boston–London 2005–6) consider it altogether plausible that this is a self-portrait by Gentile, but not indisputably so. It does no good to argue that it is impossible for an artist to see himself in such a pose in a mirror, for with the help



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of two mirrors he can create the impression that he is looking away from the viewer.

One of the main reasons for an attribution to Gentile is the fact that the portrait was incorporated into his painting *Procession of the Relic of the True Cross in the Piazza San Marco* (fig. 29). Gentile painted that monumental picture, which is signed and dated 1496, for the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista. The artist can be seen to the left of the processional canopy, apparently next to the figure of his brother Giovanni (Boston–London 2005–6, p. 120; Köster 2008, pp. 331–32). On the present sheet the date and location provided by the watermark—about 1496, Venice—support a close association with the painting, as does the size of the head, which is identical in both drawing and painting (see Chong in Boston–London 2005–6). Moreover, "the notion that Gentile Bellini—a distinguished portraitist—should have included a portrait of himself from the hand of his brother in such a showpiece canvas . . . is hardly seductive" (Meyer zur Capellen 1985, p. 163). Gentile Bellini belonged to the confraternity of the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista, whose most important treasure is a relic of the Cross. The relic was paraded in the annual procession documented in the painting. As a member of the *scuola*, Gentile was entitled to take part in this event.

Self-portraits by Venetian artists are by no means unusual, and drawings like the present one, either on single sheets or in sketchbooks, served as workshop material. Because of the pricking visible on this sheet, one assumes that it, too, served such a function. Remarkably, each element—every wrinkle and lock of hair, including the ones escaping from beneath the *berretta* and covering the forehead—has been pricked. The artist clearly placed great importance on a precise transfer of the drawing from life so as to ensure an accurate portrait in the painting. That he also felt that the work had an aesthetic value beyond its role in the workshop is evident from its relatively good condition. This suggests that the transfer was carried out with special care (Bambach 1999a, p. 106), perhaps with a protective sheet placed beneath it. The fact that Gentile lightly shaded certain details—adding lines in the background that run parallel to the left edge of the *berretta*, for example—is also revealing, for such additions are purely aesthetic and have nothing to do with the transfer of the image to a painting.

Katherine Brown's judgment that self-portraits of this kind were merely "informal" (2000, p. 94) is not altogether convincing given the fact that in a subsequent step they were transferred to larger paintings in which the artist's appearance can be seen as a kind of official signature (see Rearick 2002). For example, Gentile Bellini's own visage can be seen in at least three of his large narrative paintings. This appears to have been a function of the artist self-portrait specific to Venice, one that impressed Albrecht Dürer during his stay in the city and that he later adopted in some of his own paintings (the *Landauer Altarpiece* in Vienna, for example, or the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* in Prague). All in all, Gentile played a major role in the development of the artist self-portrait in the Serenissima. We have more self-portraits by him than by any other Venetian artist. Giorgio Vasari also extolled Gentile's skill in capturing his own appearance. He related that during Gentile's sojourn in Constantinople, Sultan Mehmed II, having seen proof of his artistic skill, commanded him to produce a self-portrait: "Gentile . . . non passò molti giorni che si ritrasse a una spera tanto proprio che pareva vivo; e portatolo al signore, fu tanta la meraviglia che di ciò si fece, che non poteva se non imaginarsi che egli avesse qualche divino spirito addosso" (Gentile . . . did not allow many days to pass before he had made his own portrait with a mirror, with such resemblance that it appeared alive. This he brought to the Sultan, who marvelled so greatly

thereat, that he could not but think that he had some divine spirit within him; Vasari 1966–97 ed., vol. 3 [1971], pp. 346–47; Vasari 1996 ed., vol. 1, pp. 493–94). DK

Provenance Adolf von Beckerath collection, Berlin; purchased for the Kupferstichkabinett (1902)

Selected References Georg Gronau in Berlin 1898, pp. 53–54; Hadeln 1923, p. 44, no. 6; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. A 261, pl. XXXII; Heinemann 1962, p. 224, no. V 49, fig. 714; Gibbons 1963, p. 56; Collins 1970, p. 190, Drawings A1, fig. 86; Pignatti 1970, p. 81, colorpl. iv; Dreyer 1979, no. 13; Kinneir 1980, pp. 165–67; Meyer zur Capellen 1985, pp. 162–63, no. D 1; Ames-Lewis 1990, p. 680; Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96, pp. 69–71, no. 4 (with earlier bibliography); Bambach 1999a, p. 106; K. Brown 2000, p. 94; Rearick 2002, p. 153; Heinrich-Thomas Schulze Altcappenberg in Berlin 2002–3, p. 44, no. 8; Goldner 2004, pp. 253–55; Alan Chong in Boston–London 2005–6, p. 120, no. 31; Bätschmann 2008, p. 17, fig. 9

Giovanni Bellini (Venice, active by 1459–1516, Venice)

160. *Portrait of a Young Man in Senator's Garb*

ca. 1480s–early 16th century

Oil on panel, 13¾ × 10⅜ in. (35 × 26.4 cm)

Musei d'Arte Medioevale e Moderna, Musei Civici, Padua (43)

From the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century, Giovanni Bellini dominated Venetian painting like a charismatic patriarch. As an extraordinary protagonist in the transition from traditional to innovative artistic styles, he led a reconsideration of the time-honored pictorial language of portraiture in part because of his own superb technical ability. Bellini's remaking of this genre had its roots in the style of Antonello da Messina, who came to Venice in 1475 and changed the very concept of the portrait in Venetian visual culture (Castelnuovo 1973, p. 1058; Pellegrini 1998, pp. 549–50).

In his biography of Giovanni, Giorgio Vasari credits the artist's great talent for the popularity of portraits among Venetian aristocrats, who commissioned images of themselves to display in their family palaces. Vasari tells us that Bellini made a portrait of Pietro Bembo's lover that was so lifelike, the illustrious poet was moved to celebrate the artist in verse (Pommier 2003, pp. 68, 106–7). As Anchise Tempestini has noted, "the humanist portrait in the Veneto was first invented by Pisanello but then became one of the most sought-after genres from Giovanni Bellini's shop" (1999, p. 24). This is because Bellini's portraits so successfully met the new formal and hierarchical demands of his Venetian patrons. His "living" portraits were not just a record of the sitter's physical appearance, they contained something of his or her dignity and social position as well. Far from intimate, they celebrated the individual's place in a rigid social hierarchy but eschewed any emotional presence, following the wishes of his patrons. These portraits allowed no glimpse of the sitter's "real" face, offering instead the serene social masks so characteristic of the artist's work. In contrast, Leonardo da Vinci, who was in Venice in the spring of 1500, believed that painting should reveal a figure's emotions—what he called "the motions of the soul"—and should offer an introspective image of the subject. The three-quarter view preferred by Bellini precluded direct visual contact between viewer and sitter and thus any real sense of the subject's personality. His portraits suppressed emotional characteristics in favor of a historicizing representation that paid close attention to the details of the sitter's appearance. While the profile, whose linear silhouette unifies the values of the face, is tied to the devotional or purely historical character of the painting, the three-quarter view portrait gains autonomous meaning and thereby becomes an "expressive" image.

This portrait of a young man is now unanimously recognized as an autograph work by the master. The composition derives from Flemish prototypes, specifically those by Hans Memling, rather than the work of Antonello, to whom the panel was originally attributed by Adolfo Venturi (1901–40, vol. 7 [1915]). It is generally dated between 1480 and the first years of the sixteenth century. Bellini placed the figure behind a marble parapet, which as Peter Humfrey has pointed out "acts as a *repoussoir* device, pushing the figure more deeply into space [making use] of a compositional device derived from Antonello's work." Unlike in the latter's portraits, however, Bellini's sitters are situated against a sky blue background "and stare abstractly into the distance" (Humfrey in Rome 2008–9, p. 240 n. 31). Here the artist, using extremely delicate brushstrokes, pays particular attention to the analytical rendering of the hair and modeling of the form. Gianluca Poldi's recent research (2009) on Bellini's work has revealed that he executed his skin tones by mixing ochers or red-brown earth pigments into lead white. He chose lead-tin yellow for the lighter, more livid areas and vermilion for the cheeks.

The absence of any specific attributes prevents us from identifying this figure, although his dress is that of a Venetian senator. He wears a long scarlet robe over his white shirt, a stole (*becho*) over his right shoulder, and the characteristic black cap, or *bareta* (the Venetian spelling of *berretta*). Humfrey has pointed out, however, that the figure's youth makes



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it unlikely that he could have attained such high rank by the time the portrait was made. Bernard Aikema suggests that the young man belonged to the aristocratic Emo family of Venice because the picture entered the museum in Padua in 1864 as part of the Emo Capodilista bequest.

Rona Goffen (1989) has observed that Giovanni Bellini's sitters never hold books or contemplate symbolic objects. Nothing is allowed to distract from the face, neither hands nor any other attributes that might attract the viewer's attention. In addition to the Padua portrait, typical examples include two paintings of Venetian patricians (one now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome, and the other in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence); the *Portrait of a Young Man* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Kress Collection); the *Portrait of a Young Man with Long Hair* at the Musée du Louvre, Paris; and the *Portrait of a Blond Youth*, also at the Pinacoteca Capitolina. Completely autonomous, these men appear self-contained in posture and affect, even distant; their expressions of noble sentiment (especially in the Padua painting) recall that of donor figures contemplating the Virgin and Child. Bellini's sharp treatment of the features and his use of a clear, bright light to emphasize details and underscore the sitters' moral values were intended to convey that these men were members of a refined, cultured aristocracy. **FP**

Provenance Emo Capodilista family; bequest of Leonardo Emo Capodilista to the Museo Civico, Padua (1864)

Selected References Berenson 1907, p. 128; A. Venturi 1901–40, vol. 7 (1915), pt. 4, p. 7; Gronau 1922, pp. 100, 102; Hadeln 1927, p. 7; Gronau 1930, p. 213; Buscaroli 1931, pp. 32, 324; Berenson 1932, p. 72; Dussler 1935, p. 143; Van Marle 1935a, vol. 17, p. 305; Berenson 1936, p. 62; Gamba 1937, pp. 113, 208; Moschetti 1938, pp. 148–49; Moschini 1943, p. 29; Venice–Lausanne 1946, p. 77; Lausanne 1947, p. 26; Venice 1949, pp. 170–71; Berenson 1957, vol. 1, p. 34 and pl. 253; Grossato 1957, pp. 7–28; Pallucchini 1959, pp. 92, 149–50; Heinemann 1962, vol. 1, p. 76; Bottari 1963, vol. 1, p. 43 and pl. 160; Grossato 1963, pp. 66–68 n. 1; Prosdocimi 1963, p. 63; Berenson 1968, vol. 1, p. 33 and pl. 253; Robertson 1968, p. 107; Pignatti 1969, p. 100; Padua 1988, pp. 49–51 n. 11; Goffen 1989, pp. 204–7, 302 n. 85, 319 n. 31; Tempestini 1992, p. 228 n. 81; Tempestini 1997, p. 218; Aikema in Venice 1999–2000, pp. 196–97 n. 7; Goffen 2000, p. 12; Bätschmann 2008, pp. 57–58; Humfrey in Rome 2008–9, pp. 240–41 n. 31

Vittore Carpaccio
(Venice, 1460/66?–1525/26, Capo d'Istria)

161. *Portrait of a Man in a Red Hat*

ca. 1490–95
Tempera on poplar, 13¾ × 9 in. (35 × 23 cm)
Museo Correr, Venice (Cl. 1 no. 48)

Shown against a coastal landscape with trees and buildings, a middle-aged man faces us, his gaze meeting ours. Under his open red coat, which fastens at the neck with four iridescent mother-of-pearl buttons and a brown lace, he wears a dark green garment, its rigid collar decorated with a pattern of gold palmettes and his white *camicia* just visible at the top edge. The man's light brown, medium-long hair covers his ears, while a red *bareta* sits jauntily on his head.



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This work has long puzzled scholars. To date, neither the sitter nor the artist has been identified with certainty; no less mysterious is the artistic and social milieu in which the painting was created or even its original context. This is all the more astonishing when one considers the painting's high quality and impressive realism and vitality. Both the mediocre condition of the surface and the fact that the panel was cut on the left side and probably at the bottom have complicated the situation and assured the continued debate.

Although ascribed to Carpaccio early on by G. B. Cavalcaselle (1871, vol. 1, p. 211), the portrait has also been attributed to Lorenzo Lotto (Venice 1953), the Vicentine Bartolomeo Montagna (Berenson 1957), and to an unknown Ferrarese or Bolognese painter (Gentili in Venice 1993). The landscape background and the sitter's attire are not specific enough and too generically northern Italian to infer that the painting was created in Bologna or Ferrara rather than in Venice or the Veneto. Indeed, the difficulties in attributing the painting are indicative, if anything, of the extent of lively artistic interaction among the art centers of northern Italy. There are, nevertheless, reasons for situating the picture in a Venetian context. The remarkable individuality of the sitter resonates with contemporary portraiture in Venice, suggesting analogies with, for example, portraits by Alvise Vivarini (see cat. 166). Especially striking is the way the individual physiognomy is developed, with bold eyebrows, nose, narrow lips, and angular chin. A faint shadow of beard and bright highlights on the forehead, nose, and neck reinforce the sitter's dynamic appearance as well as his amenable gaze, directed at the viewer. Similar physiognomies appear, for instance, in Vittore Carpaccio's Saint Ursula cycle in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, particularly in *The Arrival of the English Ambassadors*. What our portrait and the various individually rendered figures in that narrative painting have in common is their extraordinarily vivid portrayal. The almost nonchalantly open garment, the tilted *bareta*, and the slightly turned upper body give the subject a vitality that transcends the conventions of fifteenth-century portraiture; the subject appears as though shown in real life, extracted from a narrative context.

In its overall conception, with the aqueous landscape, the portrait is reminiscent of northern European prototypes, such as Hans Memling's *Portrait of a Man with a Roman Coin* (cat. 145). Such works are recorded in the collections of Italian families soon after having been painted, and the ideas they inspired were adopted and refined in our portrait. There is, however, a distinctly Venetian quality to the coastal landscape, recalling not only the early work of Giovanni Bellini—the *Crucifixion* in the Museo Correr, Venice, for instance—but also, more specifically, Carpaccio's landscapes, such as the artist's use of abbreviated, white brushstrokes to render the rippled surface of the water and the reflections of the trees along the shore. The clear, bright colors, which lend a certain serenity to the painting, can likewise be compared to what we find in late Quattrocento Venetian painting, for example, in the works by Cima da Conegliano, but above all in the narrative paintings of Carpaccio. The most convincing argument for the close connection of this portrait to Vittore Carpaccio or his immediate circle seems that most recently advanced, albeit with caution, by Vittorio Sgarbi (1994), particularly in regard to the painting's Venetian provenance. DK

Provenance Teodoro Correr, Venice (d. 1830)

Selected References Crowe and Cavalcaselle 1871, vol. 1, p. 211; Venice 1953, p. 4, no. 2; Berenson 1957, vol. 1, p. 117; Mariacher 1957, pp. 67–68 (with earlier bibliography); Pignatti 1958, pp. 15 (ill.), 16–17; Perocco 1960, pp. 49–50, fig. 59; Puppi 1962, pp. 163–64; Venice 1963, p. 18, no. 7 (with earlier bibliography); Perocco and Cancogni 1967, p. 86, no. 3; Romanelli 1984, p. 82; Augusto Gentili in Venice 1993, pp. 70–73, no. 16; Sabina Vedovello in Venice 1993, pp. 173–76; Sgarbi 1994, p. 34 no. 7, p. 201

Vittore Carpaccio
(Venice, 1460/66?–1525/26, Capo d'Istria)

162. *Bust of a Young Man*

1490s

Black chalk, brush and gray-brown wash, white gouache on blue paper, 10⅜ × 7⅜ in. (26.5 × 18.7 cm)

Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford (0282)

Carpaccio's central place in the evolution of a specifically Venetian manner of drawing is fully evident in this splendid sheet. Drawn broadly with a brush on blue paper, it achieves effects of light and "colorism" that parallel the most advanced developments in Venetian painting. Unlike his contemporary Giovanni Bellini, whose draftsmanship was deeply imbued with Mantegnesque values, Carpaccio created something almost entirely new, at once more painterly and more strictly Venetian.

In this case, he must have made a study from life of a Venetian patrician, who is shown with more psychological depth than is customary for Carpaccio. It has sometimes been proposed that the figure was used in one of his great pictures for



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the *scuole*, but no direct connection can be successfully made with any surviving painted image. Nevertheless, it seems very likely that it was drawn with this sort of purpose in mind. The assurance and full command of complex media here suggest that a dating in the 1490s is appropriate. GRG

Provenance Padre Sebastiano Resta and John, Lord Somers; Jonathan Richardson; General John Guise

Selected References: Ricci 1905, p. 77; Colvin 1907, vol. 2, p. 33; Lauts 1962, p. 275, no. 41, pl. 64; Venice 1963, no. 2 (with earlier bibliography; "opera tra le piu' belle dell'artista certamente autografa. Attorno al 1495"); Byam Shaw 1976, p. 192, no. 710; Muraro 1977, pp. 67–68, no. 38; Pignatti 1977, no. 11; Roudaut and Perocco 1981, p. 89, no. 13a

Gentile Bellini (Venice, ca. 1430/34–1507, Venice)

163. *Caterina Cornaro*

ca. 1500

Oil on poplar, 24¾ × 19¼ in. (63 × 49 cm)

Inscribed: *CORNELIAE GENUS NOMEN FERO / VIRGINIS QUAM SYNA SEPELIT· / VENETUS FILIAM ME VOCAT SE/ NATUS CYPRUSQ*[ue] *SERVIT NOVEM / REGNOR*[um] *SEDES· QUANTA SIM / VIDES, SED BELLINI MANUS / GENTILIS MAIOR, QUAE ME TAM / BREVI EXPRESSIT TABELLA.* (From the race of the Corneliae [Corner], I bear the name of the virgin who is buried on Sinai. The senate of Venice calls me daughter. Cyprus, seat of nine kingdoms, is subject to me. You see how important I am, yet greater still is the hand of Gentile Bellini, which has captured my image on such a small panel)

Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (101)

The long inscription on the portrait not only reveals the subject's identity, it also alludes to the crucial events in her career. She is Caterina Cornaro (1454–1510), descended from the distinguished and powerful Venetian Cornaro (or Corner) family, which traced its noble ancestry back to the patrician Roman *gens* of the Corneliae. To strengthen Venice's influence in the eastern Mediterranean—and with it, that of the Cornaro family—in 1472 Caterina was married to Giacomo II Lusignan, king of Cyprus. After the deaths of her husband and their son, she assumed the island state's throne herself. In the waning fifteenth century Cyprus was of great political and commercial importance to the Adriatic sea power, however, and in 1489 the Venetian senate forced Caterina to surrender the Cypriot crown and took control of the island. In compensation, she was awarded the honorary title "Daughter of Saint Mark" and permitted to maintain a small court on terra firma: in Asolo, near Treviso on the Venetian mainland. Although without political significance, the cultural influence of her court about 1500 was considerable. Her circle included humanists such as Pietro Bembo—his dialogues on platonic love (*Gli Asolani*) are set in her court—and artists like Giorgione. For strategic reasons, the Venetian senate forbade the widow to remarry, hence the inscription's explicit reference to her virginal namesake, Saint Catherine of Alexandria.

Caterina's portrait is one of the few surviving Venetian female portraits from this period (see the essay by Peter Humfrey in this volume), and it is the only female portrait by Gentile Bellini. In additon, the portrait is unusual both for its relatively large size and the way that, instead of cutting off the subject at the shoulders or bust, as was customary, it extends down to her waist. Unfortunately, the surface of the picture has suffered grievously from paint losses and abrasion; a thorough restoration was undertaken for this exhibition. Shown in three-quarter view, turned to the left, the former queen is sumptuously attired. Her gold-brown, tuniclike *camora*, patterned with small rhomboid shapes, is laced below her breast like a corset and ornamented at the neck with a row of close-set pearls. The seams are studded with more pearls and red gemstones. The garment's fashionable cut, with appliquéd sleeves, leaves glimpses of both a dark underdress and a white *camicia*. Her chestnut brown hair is parted in the middle, and over it she wears a covering of richly patterned gold brocade with a padded edge as a circlet, vaguely reminiscent of a turban. Atop this she wears a crown studded with pearls and gems and finely chased in pseudo-Kufic script. Her veil, subtly interwoven with jewels, frames her face and attracts the viewer's gaze, seemingly more ornamental and linear than three-dimensional. Peter Humfrey (in Budapest 2009–10, p. 188) notes that the subject gives the impression of being seated inside a gilded cage of curving lines. This sense is heightened by the fact that the picture includes her arms but not her hands, making the queen appear almost as if she were bound. Her averted gaze, directed vaguely to the left, likewise makes her seem oddly distant. The meticulous rendering of the fabric pattern inhibits an effect of volume; the figure seems "of a very limited three-dimensionality, despite the model's portly fullness" (Pächt 2002, p. 143; see also Collins 1970, p. 202). The modeling of the face provides a certain three-dimensional effect (Collins 1970, p. 77), yet there is no attempt to suggest any emotion or to characterize her personality (Meyer zur Capellen 1985, pp. 68–69; Syndikus 2000, p. 236). John Pope-Hennessy (1989, p. 51) has remarked that the way Bellini devoted the same painstaking attention to the pattern of the fabric as to the sitter's physiognomy recalls "the mind of a cartographer."

Caterina Cornaro would soon be transformed into a dramatic, melancholy figure, one who would continue to intrigue artists and historians into the nineteenth century (Schaeffer 1911; Syndikus 2000). Scholars have tried to identify her in several female portraits, but only one other certain portrait is known, and that is by the same painter. In Gentile Bellini's *Recovery of the Relic of the True Cross at the Bridge of San Lorenzo*, from 1500 (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice), the former queen of Cyprus stands on the left, with several ladies-in-waiting, in the crowd of witnesses to the miracle. Her face looks much the same, so presumably the Budapest portrait was painted about the same time, 1500 or thereabouts (Meyer zur



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Capellen 1985, p. 68). In both paintings Caterina's clothing and jewelry are generally representative of contemporary Venetian fashion, but with an additional touch of exoticism and regal splendor. With this in mind, Jennifer Fletcher (1990, p. 420) suspected that by appearing in public in regal oriental finery following her forced abdication and return to Venice, the widow hoped to remind the senate of her claims to the throne. In fact, the senate paid court to her, at considerable expense, not simply as the mistress of Asolo but specifically as queen of Cyprus, hoping such flattery would persuade her to abandon her ambitions to regain the Cypriot crown.

Despite its unusual size, the Budapest portrait was probably intended for private display and was possibly commissioned by either Caterina's brother Zorzi (Giorgio), the head of the family, or Caterina herself (Goffen 1999, p. 118; Humfrey in Budapest 2009–10, p. 188). The extensive inscription appears on a trompe l'oeil plaque that hangs from a cord in the picture's upper left corner. The inscription is of interest not only for the information it provides about the former queen, but also for what it tells us about Gentile Bellini and his view of himself as a portraitist. By having Caterina assert that his artistry is of greater importance than herself, Gentile placed himself above the portrayed queen and thus underscored his claim to the throne of Venetian portraiture (Syndikus 2000; Campbell in Boston–London 2005–6, p. 46). DK

Provenance János Lászlo Pyrker, Patriarch of Venice (before 1830); presented by him to the Szépművészeti Múzeum (1836)

Selected References Collins 1970, p. 77, fig. 62, pp. 134–35 no. 5; Meyer zur Capellen 1985, pp. 68–69, 77–79, no. A 5, pp. 126–27 (with earlier bibliography); Pope-Hennessy 1989, pp. 50–51; Vilmos Tátrai in Atlanta–Seattle–Minneapolis 1995–96, pp. 172–73, no. 38; Syndikus 2000; Pächt 2002, p. 143; Caroline Campbell in Boston–London 2005–6, p. 46, no. 8; Humfrey in Budapest 2009–10, p. 188, no. 33

Vittore Carpaccio
(Venice, 1460/66?–1525/26, Capo d'Istria)

164. *Portrait of a Woman Holding a Book*

ca. 1500–1505

Oil on basswood, 16¾ × 12¼ in. (42.6 × 31.1 cm)

The Denver Art Museum, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation (1961.168)

Along with a similar portrait at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, this work belongs to a small group of female portraits attributed to Vittore Carpaccio. First proposed by J. P. Richter (1894, p. 242) and subsequently taken up by Bernard Berenson (1957, vol. 1, p. 57), this attribution is today almost universally accepted by scholars. Very few female portraits from the late Quattrocento and the years about 1500 survive from Venice, unlike Florence (Knauer 2002, p. 101; Ferino-Pagden 2006, p. 190; see also the essay by Peter Humfrey in this volume). Thus, not a single portrait of a woman by Giovanni Bellini, the leading portraitist of the fifteenth century in Venice, is known today, even though the humanist scholar Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) and the art collector Marcantonio Michiel (1484–1552) indicate that such works existed.

Shown in three-quarter view facing right, the woman wears her hair parted in the middle and gathered in the back, where it is held by a net studded with small white beads. Short locks of wavy hair hang down the sides of her round face. She wears a plain gold necklace, and her dress is fashionably tailored and richly decorated. The wide square neckline of her dark brown sleeveless *camora*, a tuniclike garment, is bordered by gold trim and decorated with large white pearls. As suggested by the narrow, gold-and-dark-brown patterned ribbon dangling down her bosom, this outer garment opened in the front. The opening between the *camora* and the attached right sleeve reveals the white *camicia*. Venetian fashion for women is well documented for the period around 1500. A comparison of this portrait with others of Venetian women indicates a likely date of between 1500 and 1505. The woman's dress and hair style are closer to those in Dürer's *Portrait of a Young Venetian Woman* at the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (ca. 1506), and his *Portrait of a Young Venetian Woman* at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (ca. 1505), than they are to Carpaccio's painting of two women in the Museo Correr, Venice (ca. 1490–95) and his portrait of a young woman in the Galleria Borghese, Rome (ca. 1495–98). Indeed, drawings of Venetian women that Dürer did during his first sojourn to Italy in 1494–95 (such as the one in the Albertina, Vienna) show the older fashion in dress and hairstyle. In light of these comparisons, the previously accepted dates for the present portrait, 1495–1500 (Venice 1963, p. 112) or 1495–98 (Sgarbi 1994, p. 202), seem untenable.

Based on the attribute of the book the sitter holds in her right hand, Jan Lauts (1962, pp. 247–48) identified her as the Tuscan-born poet Girolama Corsi Ramos (after 1450–after 1509), who by 1487 resided in Padua and from 1494 in Venice (see Lauts 1962, p. 248; Venice 1963, p. 112). One of her sonnets, "Ad imaginem suam" (Corsi Ramos 1509, fol. 10v), concerns a portrait painted of her by "Victor" (i.e., Vittore Carpaccio). Since this poem cannot be conclusively related to the present painting, however, it cannot be seen as irrefutable evidence of the sitter's identity. Still, the sonnet is an important literary document on the subject of Venetian portraiture about 1500, and it underscores Carpaccio's status as one of the city's most prominent portrait painters. It deals extensively with his masterly skills in this field: because of the artistry and care ("arte, e cura") applied to it, the likeness painted on panel seems almost like a living body ("che un legno un corpo vivo pare") and appears so real that it feels as if she, the subject, were able to speak ("la lingua mia pronta a parlare"). The numerous individual likenesses in Carpaccio's large narrative cycles and his portraits such as the one here, as well as drawings and the portrait medals that decorate the painted architecture in his works—for instance, the panels for the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice (1502–7)—all testify to his exceptional interest in this genre.

Apart from the uncertain link between the poem by Girolama Corsi Ramos and this female portrait, the later date proposed here additionally complicates the identification of the sitter as the poet. Whereas the poet would have been about fifty years old at this time, the subject of the portrait is clearly younger. Moreover, the closed book in the woman's hand should not necessarily be read as an allusion to the poet's vocation; one would expect a poet to be shown, instead, in a more active pose, such as holding a writing instrument or writing



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something into an open book. We may, in fact, be dealing with a woman who has had a humanist education, or perhaps with a pious lady holding a book of hours or a similar devotional work. The composition of the painting, which shows the subject against the backdrop of a reddish brown cloth that is, in turn, against a light blue ground, echoes contemporary conventions in the depiction of the Virgin, adding to this portrait, which was most likely intended for a private context, a quasi-sacred dimension. DK

Provenance Private collection, Milan; Van Gelder collection, Ukkel, Belgium; Wigan collection, Haigh Hall; Earl of Crawford; [Galerie Matthiesen, Berlin, from ca. 1928]; Capt. Norman Colville, London; [Galerie Matthiesen, London, 1939]; Samuel H. Kress, New York (1948); Denver Art Museum (since 1954)

Selected References Richter 1894, p. 242; Berenson 1957, vol. 1, p. 57; Perocco 1960, p. 55, fig. 85; Lauts 1962, pp. 32 no. 45, pp. 247–48, 258; Venice 1963, p. 112, no. 22 (with earlier bibliography); Perocco and Cancogni 1967, p. 93, no. 16; Shapley 1968, pp. 51–52, fig. 116; Humfrey 1991, p. 56, no. 12; Sgarbi 1994, p. 202 (n. 2 includes earlier bibliography), no. 10

Alvise Vivarini (?)
(Murano, ca. 1442/53–ca. 1503/5, Venice)

165. *Portrait of a Young Man*

ca. 1490–1500
Black chalk on paper, 15⅞ × 10⅜ in. (40.2 × 26.3 cm)
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (KdZ 5050)



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This half-length portrait of a young man in Venetian costume, somewhat smaller than lifesize, is particularly striking for its subtle manipulation of light and shadow. The darkened left half of the background sets off the lit portions of the subject's face, locks of hair, and hat, while the light ground of the paper on the right half of the sheet accentuates the dark areas of the hair, *berretta*, and clothing. The flat area of black, which the artist achieved by smudging the black chalk, enhances the sculptural quality of the face and hair. Parallel hatching in short strokes and in different directions creates a contrast with the smudged background (in the shading of the *berretta*, for example), adding to the effect of three-dimensionality. The subject's torso is angled slightly to the right while he turns his head and directs his gaze to the left, creating an active pose.

The remarkable plasticity, smooth modeling, and overall vitality of the portrait support a tentative attribution to Alvise Vivarini, as proposed by Hans Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat in 1944 and revived in 1995, albeit with reservations, by Heinrich-Thomas Schulze Altcappenberg (in Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96). The earlier attribution to Francesco Bonsignori (Mackowsky in Berlin 1898; Arnolds 1949) seems implausible despite a certain similarity to some of the works ascribed to that artist, such as the portrait drawing of an elderly man in Vienna (cat. 154). Bonsignori's drawing technique, with its pronounced use of parallel hatching, clearly comes closer to Mantegna's working method, and his approach to portraiture is more traditional. By contrast, the present drawing reflects the influences of Giovanni Bellini and Antonello da Messina, whose portraits are characterized by a subtler, more nuanced and atmospheric treatment of the subject. Alvise's only signed and dated portrait, the *Portrait of a Man* in London (cat. 166), displays a dynamism in its overall composition similar to what we find in the drawing. Yet, various weaknesses in the construction of the Berlin drawing argue against an unequivocal attribution to Alvise: for example, the subject's lower lip seems too short, and the transition between the neck and the hair falling on his shoulder on the right side can be termed a "gray area" in the truest sense.

The Berlin drawing is associated with a group of other portrait drawings, of roughly comparable size, that exhibit a similar technique: namely, a dark background on the left half of the sheet (the drawings are divided among the Städel Museum, Frankfurt; the Alfred E. Stehli collection, Zurich; and the Graphische Sammlung, Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig). Despite minor differences in the modeling of the faces in these drawings—for example, the Berlin portrait is clearly more compelling than the one in Frankfurt (Frankfurt 2006–7, p. 44)—much about them suggests they all came from the same workshop, if not the same hand. The original function of the Berlin sheet, and perhaps the other drawings from this group as well, is unknown. It is possible that they served as studies for some larger composition, perhaps an altarpiece. As yet it has been impossible to determine the identity of the sitter in the

present drawing, especially as distinguishing features—with the exception of the finely curved nose and full lips—tend to be suppressed. Since the faces in the other drawings in the group are quite similar, Rodolfo Pallucchini assumed that one of Alvise's workshop assistants served as his model (1962, p. 74).

DK

Provenance Adolf von Beckerath, Berlin; purchased for the Kupferstichkabinett (1902)

Selected References Hans Mackowsky in Berlin 1898, p. 51; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, p. 363, no. 2242; Arnolds 1949, p. 50, fig. 31; Schmitt 1961, p. 138, no. 100; Heinemann 1962, vol. 1, p. 276, no. V 403, vol. 2, fig. 786; Berlin–Saarbrücken 1995–96, pp. 76–78, no. 162 (with earlier bibliography); Frankfurt 2006–7, p. 44

Alvise Vivarini
(Murano, ca. 1442/53–ca. 1503/5, Venice)

166. *Portrait of a Man*

1497

Oil on wood (poplar?), 24½ × 18½ in. (62.2 × 47 cm)

Inscribed and dated: · *ALOVISIV*[s] · *VIVARINVS / DE MVRIANO · F* (Alvise Vivarini / of Murano made this) · *1497* ·

The National Gallery, London, Salting Bequest, 1910 (NG 2672)

This signed and dated work is the only portrait that can be securely ascribed to Alvise Vivarini. Accordingly, it serves as a touchstone in the study of this artist as well as of Venetian portraiture at the end of the fifteenth century. It is also a point of reference for assigning dates to other works by the artist. The *cartellino* with the artist's signature and the date appears on a stone parapet, behind which is a roughly lifesize, middle-aged man. He wears a striking blue *vesta*, with his *camicia* visible as a narrow strip of white at the collar. Atop his graying, light-brown locks, rendered with extreme delicacy and enhanced with white highlights, he wears a black *berretta* that can barely be distinguished from the black background. Rather than cut off just below the shoulders, as in portraits by Giovanni Bellini (cat. 150) and Antonello da Messina (cat. 148), it shows half the sitter's torso. The more generous format allowed the artist to include his subject's left hand and to add heft to the body within the composition. While his body is angled, the subject's face and especially his gaze are directed toward the viewer. The dynamic effect generated by this torsion is underscored by the way the sitter grasps his robe with his left hand. Infrared reflectography reveals that the artist shifted the position of the thumb a finger's breadth to the right when compared with the underdrawing, so that the motif of the hand clutching the fabric would be more forceful and the thumb would point more directly toward the face. Moreover, the hand gesture suggests spatial depth, making it plausible that an actual body is standing behind the parapet. Whereas in the work of Antonello and Giovanni Bellini the relationship of the figure to the parapet is a bit like that of a sculpted bust to a plinth, here the parapet adds a higher degree of realism and lends the subject a greater spatial presence. It is worth noting that in reproductions of the painting in early publications (Phillips 1910, p. 20; Collins Baker 1927, pl. 1 C) the parapet was not included. At that time, apparently, a painted stone balustrade was regarded primarily as a substrate for the signature, not an integral part of the composition.

In its interest in space and suggestion of activity, the portrait attempts to capture the moment when the sitter becomes aware of the viewer, turns toward us, regards us, and, barely opening his lips, is about to speak. At the same time, a distance is established by the parapet and the sitter's gesture, which, rather than suggesting a response to the viewer, seems self-referential. There are distinct parallels to portraits by Antonello (see cat. 148), particularly in the turn of the head and the gaze, but in Vivarini's portrait these aspects are developed in a way that prefigures Venetian portraiture of the early sixteenth century, for instance, that of Giorgione, who used this motif in his portrait in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (see Steer 1961, p. 221).

This quality of vivacity and physical presence are indebted above all to the sitter's gaze. Visible pentimenti near both pupils indicate that the artist placed particular importance on the eyes and reworked them to make them as expressive as possible. In this endeavor, Vivarini's portrait can again be compared with those of Antonello, as in his *Portrait of a Condottiere* in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, executed a good twenty years earlier. Marcantonio Michiel (2000 ed., p. 51) related that Antonello's portraits had great strength and vivacity, especially in the eyes ("hanno gran forza et gran vivacità, et maxime in li occhii"), where bold white highlights at the rims and near the tear ducts as well as points of light in the pupils indicate reflections.

It has been noted in the literature that while Vivarini was able to intensify the realism of his portrait, he was unable to match the psychological penetration found in those of Antonello (Humfrey 1995, p. 106). According to John Steer (1982, p. 57), Vivarini's portraiture is limited to the rendering of externals: "He is essentially a painter of things, not a painter of character." Although the individual features of the present


·ALOVISIV VIVARINVS
DE·MVRIANO·F·
·1477·

subject have been captured with utmost realism and in great detail, it has not been possible to identify him. A sole clue—but to his social standing or office, not identity—is provided by his clothing. The blue robe, painted in ultramarine with an underlayer of violet that occasionally shimmers through, could indicate that he was a scholar (Levi Pisetzky 1964–69, vol. 5, p. 415) or member of a confraternity (Newton 1988, p. 169).

The panel is larger than was usual, suggesting that this portrait was destined not for a private residence but for some official or semi-official location, possibly a *scuola*: the headquarters of a Venetian confraternity. Vivarini began work on a commission from the senate in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio of the Palazzo Ducale in 1492, when he was already forty-seven. The paintings he produced there, which included likenesses of contemporaries, helped consolidate his reputation as a gifted portraitist; we can surmise that from then on, at the latest, he received an increasing number of portrait commissions (Steer 1982, p. 61). That his primary interest was in capturing individual physiognomies with the greatest possible verisimilitude and individuality is apparent in his religious subjects, for example, the faces of saints on the side panels of the *Retable of the Pentecost* in Berlin, which he must have painted some two decades before the London portrait. Indeed, this interest was first manifested in the 1490s in independent portraits that are remarkably dynamic and lifelike, including the present example as well as the portrait of an unshaven man in the Musei Civici, Padua, and the *Portrait of a Man* in the Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. DK

Provenance Sale, Brison's, Milan, May 1857; Bonomi collection, Milan (1871); Bonomi-Cereda collection; Bonomi-Ceredi collection sale, Milan (no. 31, pl. VI), December 1896; on loan from George Salting to the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London (no. 24), winter 1902; his bequest to the National Gallery (1910)

Selected References Phillips 1910, pp. 9, 20 (ill.); Collins Baker 1927, pp. 23, 24 pl. 1 C; Hadeln 1927, p. 4; Davies 1961, pp. 558–59, no. 2672; Steer 1961, pp. 221–22, fig. 38; Heinemann 1962, vol. 1, p. 275, no. V 395, vol. 2, fig. 783; Pallucchini 1962, p. 138, no. 262; Steer 1982, p. 141, no. 16 (with earlier bibliography); Zeri 1987b, vol. 1, pp. 206, 208; Baker and Henry 1995, no. NG 2672; Humfrey 1995, pp. 104–6

Giovanni Bellini (Venice, active by 1459–1516, Venice)

167. *Fra Teodoro of Urbino as Saint Dominic*

1515

Oil on canvas, 25⅛ × 19½ in. (63.9 × 49.5 cm)

Inscribed and dated: *IOANIS BELLIN OP· / M·DXV* (work of Giovanni Bellini / 1515); beneath signature and date, *IMAGO FRATRIS / THEODORI URBINATIS* (the image of Brother / Theodore from Urbino)

Victoria and Albert Museum, on long-term loan to The National Gallery, London (NG 1440)

The inscription on the balustrade of reddish marble, now barely legible, identifies this picture as a portrait of (Fra) Brother Teodoro of Urbino. Turned slightly to the left, he appears before a green curtain with a pattern of daisies and small red and white flowers. He wears the habit of a Dominican monk: a white tunic with scapular beneath an open, black-hooded cloak (the so-called *cappa*) and a tight-fitting black cap. His face, turned slightly more to the left than his body, is rendered in three-quarter view. The viewer's attention is drawn to his face by the black framing of the cap and cloak as well as by the narrow, V-shaped strip of his white scapular, visible at the neck beneath his chin. Despite some abrasion, the sensitive modeling of the flesh tones and naturalistic rendering of the subject's features are evident.

The friar appears introspective; his highlighted eyes gaze to the left, but with no particular focus, while his thin-lipped mouth is tightly closed. The white-gray brows and deep-set eyes, the horizontal lines on his brow, the arched nose, and the gaunt face of the old man are observed precisely and are certainly taken from life. The portrait is unusual and especially significant in endowing the subject with attributes that contribute an additional level of meaning and identity; in so doing, it intersects with the tradition of representing saints. The man's head is surrounded by a halo, and his right hand holds the stem of a lily and a book ornamented with metal mounts; its reddish brown leather binding bears a label with the inscription "Sanct Domenc.," surely intended for the viewer since it is attached to the back of the volume. Both the book and the lily are attributes of Saint Dominic (ca. 1170–1221), founder of the Order of Preachers, or Dominicans. In the fifteenth century, he was generally shown as a somewhat younger man, with beard and tonsure. Giovanni Bellini was thoroughly familiar with this picture type, as we see from a depiction of the saint he executed,



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possibly in 1501, for Alfonso d'Este (private collection). The present portrait, by contrast, recalls an earlier tradition, one that emphasized austerity and ascetic rigor (Frank 1974, col. 74), even if these traits are probably far less important here than the matter of verisimilitude, which relates not to Saint Dominic but to the male sitter.

Rona Goffen has described this portrait as Giovanni Bellini's "farewell" to the genre (1989, p. 214), and indeed this is the artist's last known portrait, painted more than four decades after that of Jörg Fugger (1474, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena). The evolution of Venetian portraiture in the intervening period—from rather static, bust-length pictures to figures shown almost half-length and with more dynamic poses and including the subjects' hands—can thus be traced in the work of this single artist (cats. 158, 160).

Bellini's farewell to portraiture can also be seen as a development beyond the normal confines of the genre. Indeed, we might well ask whether this picture really qualifies as a portrait in the traditional sense and whether the artist intended it as such. In contrast to his portrait of a Dominican with the attributes of Saint Peter Martyr (ca. 1490–1500, National Gallery, London), here the attributes were not added later but were part of the original concept. It is tempting to question whether the inscription on the parapet identifying the subject as Fra Teodoro is the work of a later hand: that perhaps another, later artist, misunderstanding the work's evident similarity to portraiture, transformed the depiction of a saint into a portrait (see Davies 1961, p. 62; Goffen 1989, p. 217). This suspicion might appear to be supported by certain technical features. Various changes, or pentimenti, for example, were made during the course of painting. The lily and book were painted before the hand; one can make out their outlines beneath the paint layer of the hand. Hence, there can be no doubt that from the start the work was meant to show Saint Dominic (Davies 1961, p. 62). Whether or not one accepts the authenticity of the inscription on the balustrade, it is clear that Bellini gave Saint Dominic the specific features of an actual person, thereby blurring the boundaries between portrait and saintly image. The subject can be characterized either as Fra Teodoro in the guise of Saint Dominic (Fletcher 1991b, p. 779; Weppelmann 2008, p. 85) or as Saint Dominic with the features of an actual person, probably Fra Teodoro. This is not surprising, since every Dominican was expected to pattern his own life after that of the order's founder, who was, after all, a model of morality as well (Dunkerton 1991, p. 105; Weppelmann 2008, p. 85). Bellini's portrait would therefore be a testament to Fra Teodoro's wholehearted identification with his calling as a Dominican friar, doubtlessly fostered as well by religious writings. Conversely, in every monk who lives according to the rule of Saint Dominic—and thus in Fra Teodoro—the saint is a real and constant presence.

A "frater Theodorus de Urbino" is recorded as belonging to the Dominican convent of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice (Paoletti 1929, p. 152) in 1514. Giovanni Bellini was closely associated with that convent throughout his life, as it stood near his house in the Castello district and next to the Scuola Grande di San Marco, the confraternity to which both he and his brother Gentile belonged. Giovanni painted at least two altarpieces for the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, and it became his final resting place. He evidently enjoyed the friars' trust, for in 1516 they lent him a valuable crown of the Virgin belonging to the convent to use for a few days as a model for a painting. The trust was surely mutual, and it has been suggested that the friar portrayed here was Giovanni's spiritual adviser (Fletcher 2004, p. 42).

The painting was credited to Giovanni Bellini as early as 1856, in John Charles Robinson's exhibition catalogue of the former Soulages collection. Although the attribution to Giovanni is now undisputed, some later scholars have suggested that Gentile Bellini could have begun the work and that Giovanni only finished and signed it years after Gentile's death, in 1507 (National Gallery 1925, p. 14; Collins 1970, p. 180). While the choice of canvas as a support is certainly unusual for Giovanni as a portrait painter, the muted coloring (for which, see Bätschmann 2008, p. 212) seems closely related to other pictures from the artist's last years, such as the *Drunkeness of Noah* in Besançon (see Pignatti 1969, p. 110, and others). DK

Provenance Pietro and Giovanni Pesaro, Palazzo Pesaro, Venice (1797); Jules Soulages collection, Paris and Toulouse (first half of 19th century); Museum of Ornamental Art (later South Kensington Museum, then Victoria and Albert Museum), London; on permanent loan to the National Gallery, London (since 1895)

Selected References Robinson 1856, pp. 161–62, no. 582; Hadeln 1907; Gronau 1909, p. 50; National Gallery 1925, p. 14; Gronau 1930, p. 217, no. 177; Berenson 1957, vol. 1, p. 31; Pallucchini 1959, p. 158, no. 230; Davies 1961, pp. 61–64, no. 1440; Heinemann 1962, vol. 1, p. 79, no. 294; Robertson 1968, p. 153; Pignatti 1969, p. 110, no. 214; Collins 1970, p. 180, no. 62; Frank 1974, col. 74; Meyer zur Capellen 1985, p. 153, no. C 11; Goffen 1989, pp. 214–17, 287; Pope-Hennessy 1989, p. 237 fig. 263, pp. 238–39; Dunkerton et al. 1991, pp. 103–5; Tempestini 1992, p. 298, no. 105; Tempestini 1997, p. 232, no. 123; Tempestini 2000, p. 184, no. 128; Fletcher 2004, p. 42; Weppelmann 2008, p. 85 fig. 10, p. 86

Jacopo de' Barbari
(Venice, active by 1497–d. by 1516, Mechelen or Brussels)

168. *Portrait of a Man ("The German")*

ca. 1497–1500
Oil on poplar, 23⅞ × 17⅞ in. (60.5 × 45.5 cm)
Verso: *Interior with Two Nudes*
Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (1664)

On acquiring this portrait for the Berlin museums, Wilhelm Bode (1908, col. 125) noted its combination of stylistic features relating to both Venetian and German traditions. Accordingly, the picture was first attributed to the northern Italian school generally (Posse 1908, pp. 159–60), then specifically to Bartolomeo Veneto (Schottmüller 1911, and others). More recently, it has been credited to Bernhard Strigel (Levenson 1978) or to an unknown German artist (Aikema in Venice 1999–2000, pp. 234–35). The attribution to Jacopo de' Barbari, which is followed here, has been championed in the more recent literature—for instance, by Federico Zeri (unpublished letter to Erich Schleier, July 20, 1979, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), Laura Pagnotta (1997), and Simone Ferrari (2006)—and has gained general acceptance. When compared with the two portraits now generally thought to be by Jacopo, the double portrait with Fra Luca Pacioli (1495, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples) and the portrait of Saint Oswald (1500, formerly Hungarian private collection), the present work exhibits a number of similarities in execution, especially in the painterly rendering of the distinctive countenance (see Ferrari 2006, p. 90).

The Venetian Jacopo de' Barbari worked at various princely courts north of the Alps between 1500 and his death, before 1516 (Ferrari 2006; Böckem 2010). Little is known about his artistic training and his work prior to 1500 (Ferrari 2002), but we do know that while he was still in Venice he was already interested in northern European culture. The earlier dating of this portrait to the period when Jacopo was working for Maximilian I in Nuremberg (1500–1504), a date based in part on the subject's supposedly Germanic features, seems unconvincing given the Serenissima's manifold relations with cities north of the Alps. Moreover, it is painted on a poplar panel, a wood that would have been highly unusual in Franconia and suggests, instead, that it was produced in Italy. Since Jacopo was employed by the emperor expressly for *contrafeten*, or portrait painting (Böckem 2010, p. 33 n. 52), he must have made a name for himself as a portraitist early on. Hence, the present portrait may plausibly date between the two portraits mentioned above (1497–1500), a time when Jacopo was working on his famous woodcut view of Venice.

While scholars generally agree that the paintings on both sides of the panel are by the same artist (but see Levenson 1978, p. 286; Aikema in Venice 1999–2000, p. 235), the subject of the portrait has not been identified. Bode (1908) was convinced that the man with the strikingly blond hair and northern attire was a German, and various features indeed suggest that this is a well-to-do German, possibly a merchant. The beret is similar to the one in Dürer's portrait of Hans Tucher, in the Schlossmuseum, Weimar (1499), as is the heavy, fur-lined overcoat worn over a shirt richly embroidered in gold with concentric rhomboids and with a splendid border (Newton 1988, p. 41). Portraits of Germans are by no means unusual in Venetian art of this period. In addition to individual portraits such as Giovanni Bellini's portrait of Jörg Fugger in the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, they are found in various narrative cycles by Gentile Bellini and Vittore Carpaccio. The present subject may well be one of the German residents in Venice, the best known of whom was the pigment dealer, art agent, and patron Anton Kolb, who held Jacopo de' Barbari in great esteem and commissioned from him the woodcut view of Venice (Jäger 1958, pp. 52–63; Martin 1994, p. 88; Martin 2008, pp. 145–47).

The blank S-shaped ribbon in the subject's right hand was doubtless intended to bear the sitter's name or motto, or perhaps the artist's signature, but was evidently never inscribed. The hand rests on an invisible parapet aligned with the picture's bottom edge. This detail seems as transalpine as the composition itself, which depicts the man in an interior before a red curtain and beside a window opening onto a distant landscape. We find similar compositions in numerous German and Netherlandish portraits from the late fifteenth century. Here the window opens onto a city seen against an Alpine panorama, recalling the landscape and city views Dürer recorded on his way to Italy: Innsbruck, Arco, Trent, etc. With its towering facades illuminated from the left—whose sharpness of detail reminds us of Jacopo's skill in the woodcut technique—the city view approximates one depicted in the middle distance of the background of his *Madonna and Child with Saints and Donor* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. 26A).

Scholars have puzzled a great deal about the exact significance of the image on the reverse of the panel. As though we are looking through a window, on the sill of which is a glass



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168, verso

containing a laurel branch, the viewer sees an unfurnished interior with a plain wall of windows on the left. In the center of the back wall is a half-open door beneath a rounded-arch portal flanked by pilasters and engaged columns. Through this is a view of building facades aligned in perspective. To the right, a greenish-white wall half obscured by a red curtain closes off the room. Two figures stand in the center, nude except for wispy transparent veils. The female poses in contrapposto, somewhat self-absorbed, gazing at a small object in her right hand, probably a convex mirror. The male has approached her from the right and embraces her. Traditionally, they have been interpreted as lovers (Schottmüller 1911, p. 21; Gersdorff 1987, p. 131), yet the scene hardly conforms to conventional pictorial formulas, as we find, for example, in Jacopo's engraving of *Mars and Venus*. Interpretations of the scene as the magic of love (Hartlaub 1951, p. 131) or as the visual translation of a nuptial poem (Lüdemann 2010) are ultimately unconvincing, particularly since the interior is not clearly identified as a bedroom or a living room, as in the *Magic of Love* by the Master from the Lower Rhine (ca. 1470–80, Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig). Both the bare interior and the obviously allegorical scene are more closely associated with the tradition behind Giovanni Bellini's small panel *Prudenza* (or *Vanitas*; 1490–1500, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice). The erotic connotation evokes depictions of Adam and Eve at the moment of the Fall as well as the theme of Death and the Maiden, which became better known in the 1520s through Hans Baldung Grien but was already common in the late fifteenth century, especially in Netherlandish art (Marrow 1983; Condrau 1984, pp. 339–48; Koerner 1985; Wuijts 1995). Allegories on the backs of portraits are not unusual; they underscore the painting's message, perhaps by identifying the subject by way of his *impresa*. In the case of the Berlin portrait, the reverse combines an allegorical scene containing *vanitas* features with an exquisite still life in the foreground, a clear allusion to the creative power of painting, which, like the Seven Liberal Arts, shows us "the way to immortality" ("la via a la immortalitade") by "making visible what in nature is both palpable and visible" ("crea visibile quello che la natura cera palpabile e visibile"; letter from Jacopo de' Barbari to the elector of Saxony Frederick the Wise, 1503, quoted from Kirn 1925, p. 133). DK

Provenance Purchased from the collection of Count J. de Pourtalès-Gorgier, Paris (1865); Mame collection sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris (1904); Rudolf Kann, Paris; [Duveen sale, London, August 6, 1907]; purchased for the Berlin museums, 1908

Selected References Bode 1908, cols. 124–25; Servolini 1944, p. 156, pl. XLVIII; Berenson 1957, vol. 1, p. 10; Levenson 1978, pp. 283–86, no. 47; Gersdorff 1987, p. 100; Dülberg 1990, pp. 161–63, 249, no. 221; Pagnotta 1997, pp. 280–82, no. A 7; Bernard Aikema in Venice 1999–2000, pp. 234–35, no. 26; Lucco 2004, pp. 90, 288 n. 55; Ferrari 2006, pp. 89–91, no. 6 (with earlier bibliography); Pedretti 2008, pp. 226–27

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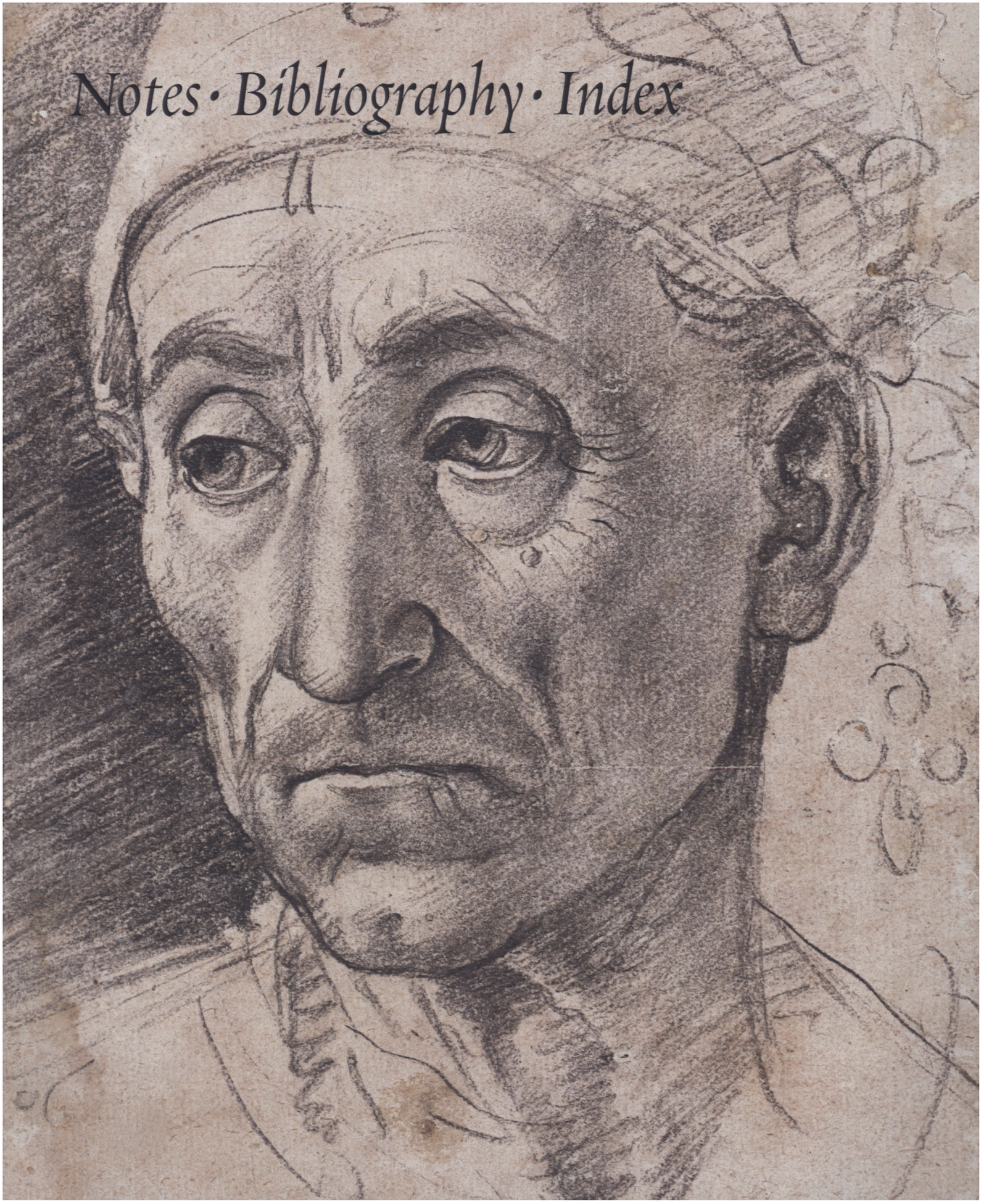

NOTES

Understanding Renaissance Portraiture (*pp. 2–25*)

1. As described in a letter from Bectus de Interminellis, the vicar of Massa, to Paolo Guinigi, the lord of Lucca, February 16, 1421, published in Fumi and Lazzareschi 1925, pp. 452–53: "Capitando questa sera qui uno gentilhomo con tre cavagli bene in puncto, avendo inanti a sé uno famiglio con una lancia coperta, come se sotto fosse qualche magnio stendardo . . . Seppi che quello che avea così coperto insuso la lancia, era uno lenzuolo, in che era dipinta la figura del duca a cavallo, ad immagine di che dice dovere far fare una immagine di cera da essere per lui offerta a Sancta Maria Novella in Firenze." I am very grateful to Geoffrey Nuttall for this intriguing reference.

2. According to Filippo's contemporary biographer, Pier Candido Decembrio, *Vita Philippi Mariae Vicecomitis* (1447), chap. 50; see Decembrio 1983, p. 98.

3. Quoted from Chaucer's "Monk's Tale," in *Canterbury Tales*; for the monument's history and iconography, see Cassidy 2007, pp. 197–200; Welch 1995, pp. 18–23; and Vergani 2001, with complete illustrations, after restoration.

4. Translation from Vasari 1996 ed., vol. 1, p. 97; for the Italian, see Vasari 1966–97 ed., vol. 1, p. 97: "risuscitò la moderna e buona arte della pittura, introducendo il ritrarre bene di naturale le persone vive, il che più di dugento anni non s'era usato . . . Il quale fra gl'altri ritrasse, come oggi si vede nella cappella del Palagio del Podestà di Fiorenza, Dante Alighieri, coetaneo e amico suo grandissimo." For the construction, sources, meaning, and consequences of Vasari's identification of Giotto's portrait of Dante, see Didi-Huberman 1994, and Rubin 1995, pp. 304–6.

5. Pietro d'Abano (1247/58–1315/16), *Expositio in Problematibus Aristotelis*; the reference was first noticed and discussed by Thomann (1991), quoted here from p. 242. For further considerations of Giotto and Abano, with discussions of the relation of Giotto's works to contemporary theories of physiognomy or facial characterization and his place in the development of portraiture, see Castelnuovo 2002, Seiler 2003, and Steinke 1996.

6. See Thomann 1991, p. 242, for the question "Why do (men) make images of the face? Either because this (i.e. the face) shows what kind of people they are, or because these images allow us to recognise them best."

7. The other frequent alternative to *ritratto* was the Latin word *effigies*, also used in the vernacular, but usually in a more antiquarian context, such as that of speaking of the images on medals, for example, in a payment to Pisanello for an *effigiem* of Julius Caesar procured for Leonello d'Este; see Cordellier 1995, p. 69, doc. 22, February 1, 1435. Florentine inventories regularly call portraits *teste*; see Kress 1995, vol. 2, pp. 13–28, for a collection of inventory citations.

8. Filippo Villani, "On the Origin of the Florentine State and Its Famous Citizens" (1380s–1404), quoted from L. Schneider 1974, p. 38. Similar terms were used earlier by Giovanni Boccaccio describing Giotto in one of the stories in *The Decameron* (Day 6, Novella 5); see L. Schneider 1974, p. 28.

9. The letter is from Niccolò's young relation Lorenzo di Matteo Strozzi to his mother, Alessandra Strozzi, April 28, 1446: "Egli sì ene tanto grasso che non si può muovere" (Strozzi 1877 ed., p. 30); first cited in connection with this bust by Francesco Caglioti (1991, p. 75, n. 77). For the bust, see, in addition to cat. 122 in this volume, Zuraw 1993a, vol. 1, pp. 97–100, and vol. 3, pp. 491–95, no. 5.

10. Letter from Ludovico Gonzaga to his ambassador in Milan, Zaccaria Saggi, November 30, 1471; Signorini 1974, p. 232: "parendoge non lo havesse facto bene. Et è vero che Andrea è bon maestro in le altre cose, ma nel retrare poria haver più gratia et non fa cussì bene." Translation from Gilbert 1992, p. 131. For this and for Isabella, see the essay by Beverly Louise Brown in this volume.

11. Quoted from a letter to Ludovico Gonzaga from Zaccaria Saggi, November 12, 1471; Signorini 1974, p. 231.

12. Cadogan 2000, pp. 270–74, no. 41, and p. 378, doc. 45B, Archivio di Stato, Florence, Notarile antecosimiano, 7896, fol. 115r, November 14, 1496: "Cumque etiam nobis constet eam ex relatu multorum peritorum in dicta arte picture quam etiam ex aspectu proprio quia propriis oculis vidimus cuius qualitatis sit dicta tabula et quantum debeatur ex factura eiusdem tabule. Visique quibusdam figuris que debebant in eadem trahy ad naturale illustrorum sic dominorum de Ariminio que minime eorum persone nec eorum aspectui conveniunt." The altarpiece shows Saints Sebastian, Vincent Ferrer, and Roch with Elisabetta Aldobrandini, Violante Bentivoglio, Pandolfo IV Malatesta, and Carlo Malatesta, with God the Father in the lunette and scenes from the life of Saint Vincent Ferrer in the predella. It is now in the Museo Civico, Rimini. I am very grateful to Caroline Elam and Jonathan Nelson for calling this document to my attention, especially to Jonathan Nelson for generously sending me his forthcoming article, "Jockeying for Position: Donor Portraits in Ghirlandaio's *Malatesta Altarpiece*," *I Tatti Studies* (2011).

13. Syson 1996, p. 300.

14. Welch 1998, p. 240, doc. 3, Nicodemo de Tranchedini da Pontremoli to Francesco Sforza, August 26, 1492, Archivio di Stato, Milan, Sforzesco 270: "Ho veduta la testa de la ymagine del signore vostro patre quale è ala Nunciata. Et quantumche primo cognocesser non me paresse havere similtudine de verum de la signoria vostra pur la portay al magnifico Cosimo quale me havia dicto havere benissimo ad mente la philosomia del prefato signore vostro patre. In effecto dice non havere veruna conformita cum essa. Facemo poy venire altri che se lo recordano benissimo e dicono quel medesimo perho non la mando."

15. Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, Sonnet 77: "Ma certo il mio Simon fu in Paradiso/ onde questa gentil donna si parte;/ivi la vide e la ritrasse in carte/per far fede qua giù del suo bel viso" Petrarch 1996 ed., p. 130; translation from ibid., p. 131. For Petrarch's influence on the literary construction of portraiture, see Bolzoni 2008, pp. 10–16, and Wright 2000.

16. Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, Sonnet 77: "Per mirar Policleto a prova fiso/con gli altri ch'ebber fama di quell'arte,/mill'anni non vedrian la minor parte/della beltà che m'ave il cor conquiso" Petrarch 1996 ed., p. 130; translation from ibid., p. 131.

17. Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, Sonnet 78: "Quando giunse a Simone l'alto concetto/ch'a mio nome gli pose in man lo stile,/s'avesse dato a l'opera gentile/colla figura voce ed intelletto,/di sospir molti mi sgombrava il petto . . . se responder savesse a' detti miei!" Petrarch 1996 ed., p. 130; translated from ibid., p. 131.

18. For Petrarch's influence on the poetic and pictorial descriptions of female beauty and female portraiture, see Cropper 1976, Cropper 1986, and Washington 2001–2.

19. Ippolita Sforza to Bianca Maria Sforza, January 6, 1466: "Havendo facto finire uno mio studio per leggere et scrivere alcuna volta, prego la Vostra Illustrissima Signoria sicome altre volte glie ho scritto, glie piaccia farme retrare al naturale la Excellentia del Signore mio patre et vostra Signoria et tutti li mei illustrissimi fratelli e sorelle pero che oltra alornamento delo studio a vederli me dara continua consolatione et piacere." Quoted from Welch 1987, p. 281, app. 3, no. 16.

20. Welch 1990, p. 166 n. 11, a letter from Giovanni Olgiate to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Archivio di Stato, Milan, Sforzesco 898, February 17, 1471: "Questa matina lo portai ala camera de vostra signoria dove li hè il retracto de quella et il fece scoprire. Unde subito che lo prefacto conte il visti con grandissima alegreza et feste comenza ad domandare 'ho pa opa,' facendo gran vista de volerli andare in brazo dove me fu molto deficile levarlo da la impresa."

21. Krohn 1996, pp. 345–58, 366, doc. 6, September 4, 1489, for the decision to commemorate Onofrio. For the payments to Benedetto, see Carl 2006, vol. 1, p. 479, "Appendix of Documents to Chapter 5," no. 8, May 28, 1493–June 23, 1494:

"Benedetto di Nardo da Maiano di Firenze, scultore, s'è obligato questo dì 28 di maggio 1493 a fare una memoria di Nofri già operaio, di marmo, secondo li fu allogato per messer Iacopo di Nanni, operaio doppo Nofri, secondo un disegno ha ser Niccolò di Luca."

22. Carl 2006, vol. 1, p. 479, "Appendix of Documents to Chapter 5," no. 7, April 12, 1493: "in honorem Honofrii Petri et eius optimam memoriam pro suis laudabilibus operis olim gestis circa gubernum dicte Opere et totius ecclesie plebis Sancti Geminiani, faceret dictum Honofrium honorari in dicta plebe." The marginal note states "pro honorantia Honofri Petri." For a discussion of the bust, see ibid., pp. 145–46, and for Onofrio's role as *operaio* of the Collegiata, see ibid., p. 156, and Krohn 1996.

23. Krohn 1996, p. 358, for the identification of Onofrio as the second figure from the left in the *Funeral of Santa Fina*. For an illustration of the mural, see Cadogan 2000, p. 53, fig. 43, and for Benedetto and Ghirlandaio, ibid., p. 37.

24. Antonio del Pollaiuolo wrote to Virginio Orsini in Bracciano on July 13, 1494, about the nobleman's desire to have a bronze bust, proposing to come to Bracciano from Rome for two days to make a portrait drawing for the sculpture ("io mi verro a stare dua di a Braciano e ritraro vi in disegnio poi me la rechero a Roma e faremo la di bronzo"); see Wright 2005, pp. 3–4, p. 425 n. 7. For the suggestion that Benedetto relied on drawings for the terracotta model of Filippo Strozzi, see Houston–London 2001–2, p. 143.

25. Quoted from the *Life* of Andrea Verrocchio, Vasari 1996 ed., vol. 1, pp. 556–57 (for the Italian, see Vasari 1966–97 ed., vol. 3, p. 544).

26. The payment to Botticelli was first published by Horne 1908, p. 63, and p. 350, app. 2, doc. 80. For defamatory images in Florence, see Edgerton 1985; for the Pazzi Conspiracy images, see also Rubin 2007, pp. 117–19.

27. Lydecker 1987, p. 68: "1a testa di terra grande e belo."

28. In his *Life* of Andrea del Verrocchio, Vasari says that busts were to be found in every house in Florence. Vasari 1966–97 ed., vol. 3, pp. 543–44.

29. For this phenomenon, see Lydecker 1987, Goldthwaite 1993, London 2006–7, New York–Fort Worth 2008–9, London 1999–2000, pp. 314–15, and Rubin 2007, pp. 13–17.

30. Kress 1995, vol. 2, pp. 3–12.

31. Cennini 1960 ed., p. 123. The final section of the book is dedicated to life-casting techniques.

32. Carl 2006, vol. 1, "Appendix of Documents: Lost Works," p. 526, no. 16, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Archivio Capponi, ser. III, fols. 10 l., 2, 15, March 7–29, 1497. Benedetto received two gold florins for his work in making the cast ("avere gettato la testa di Piero nostro padre a che Dio abbia fatto perdono"); Botticelli was paid one gold florin for the polychromy ("per dipintura della testa").

33. Rubinstein 1995, pp. 52–54. The cycle was done about 1385. It was based in part on Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* and in part on Filippo Villani's biographies of famous Florentines. A noteworthy deviation from Petrarch's scheme was the inclusion of five poets, four of them modern (Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Zanobi di Strada).

34. Lydecker 1987, p. 69.

35. Vasari 1996 ed., vol. 1, p. 321, and Vasari 1966–97 ed., vol. 3, p. 128. For the lost mural and the drawings, see Berti and Foggi 1989, pp. 36–37, no. 3.

36. Bracciolini 1974 ed., p. 118, no. 52, in a letter dated October 21, 1427.

37. Pliny the Elder 1938–63, vol. 9 (1963), pp. 262–65 (35:2, 4–6).

38. Vespasiano da Bisticci 1963 ed., p. 397, and Vespasiano da Bisticci 1970–76 ed., vol. 2 (1976), p. 229 ("per suo mezzo venne Plinio in Firenze").

39. Alberti 1991 ed., p. 60. Alberti noted the completion of his *De Pictura* on August 26, 1435, in his copy of Cicero's *Brutus*. For the phrase "codex-swapping" and for this group and their influence on the arts, see Gombrich 1978, quoted from p. 6.

40. *Familiares* 18.8.6, a letter to Francesco Nelli, 1355, quoted by Mann 1998, p. 16.

41. For the *camera* and its furnishings, see Lydecker 1987, pp. 165–75, p. 66 about portraits; London 1999–2000, pp. 314–15; Brenda Preyer, "The Florentine *casa*," in London 2006–7, pp. 40–45. For the inventory references, see Kress 1995, vol. 2, pp. 29–30.

42. Spallanzani and Gaeta Bertelà 1992, p. 52: "Una tavoletta, dipintovi di (sic) una testa di dama franzese, cholorita a olio, opera di Pietro," valued at forty florins, a considerable sum for a painting.

43. For Giovanni de' Medici's portrait in relation to his collecting activities and his contemporary commission for a series of heads of Roman emperors from Desiderio da Settignano, see Caglioti 2007, pp. 91–94. See also Zuraw 1993a, vol. 2, pp. 485–90, no. 4. For the origins and development of Florentine busts, see Schuyler 1976. For the genre in general, see I. Lavin 1970; Lavin was the first to emphasize the conceptual and visual novelty of Renaissance portrait busts and to point out their compositional relation to reliquary busts.

44. Letter from Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici, August 12, 1456, to Duke Francesco Sforza, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, I 399, Inf., fol. 3; see Caglioti 1991, p. 45, and Zuraw 1993a, vol. 2, p. 475, no. 2: "è tornato qui quel Maestro schultore il quale ritrasse Piero et me et poi il S[igno]re di Faenza et molte altre cose ha facto come Io narraj alla V.S. Et hora torna da Napolj et ha facte Il Re In forma che para vivo Se La V.S. sicontenta chio la mandi costà p[er] ritrarla luj Verrà volentierj et ritrarrà La V.S. et chi altro quella Vorrà." A portrait of Lucrezia is recorded in the 1492 Medici palace inventory; see Zuraw 1993a, vol. 2, pp. 480–84, no. 3, for a discussion of the bust of Lucrezia.

45. Quoted from Alberti 1969 ed., bk. 2, p. 115. For the Italian, see Alberti 1960 ed., bk. 2, p. 134: "Le bellezze d'un uomo essercitato nell'armi paiano a me, quando egli arà presenza di fiero, membra di forte a atti di destro a tutte le fatiche. Le bellezze di uno vecchio stimerò siano nella prudenza, amorevolezza e ragione delle sue parole."

46. Translation quoted from Morelli 1999, p. 65. Morelli 1986, pp. 153–54: "Questa fu di grandezza commune, di bellissimo pelo, bianca e bionda, molto bene fatta della persona, tanto gentile che cascava di vezzi. E fra l'altre adornezze de' suoi membri, ell'avea le mani come di vivorio, tanto bene fatte che pareano dipinte pelle mani di Giotto: ell'erano distese, morbide di carne, le dite lunghe e tonde come candele, l'unghie d'esse lunghe e bene colme, vermiglie e chiare. E con quelle bellezze rispondeano le virtù, ché di sua mano ella sapea fare ciò che'ella volea, che a donna si richiedesse; e'n tutte sue operazioni virtuosissima."

47. Tornabuoni 1993 ed., pp. 62–63, no. 12. Lucrezia was writing from Rome to Piero in Florence on March 28, 1467; Archivio di Stato, Florence, Mediceo avanti il Principato, CVI, 50.

48. This was first suggested by Wright 2000, p. 96.

49. Burckhardt 1954, pp. 100–101; "The Development of the Individual" is the heading of part II of *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, which has chapters dedicated to "Personality," "Glory," and "Ridicule and Wit." For a Burckhardtian approach to portraiture, see, for example, Pope-Hennessy 1966. For a consideration of the relation between individualism and the independent portrait, see Boehm 1985. For a discussion of these issues and the functions of portraiture, see Syson 1998c and Syson 2008.

50. Burckhardt 1954, pp. 225–26. Burckhardt acknowledges a debt to the introduction of the seventh volume of Jules Michelet's monumental *Histoire de France*, dedicated to the Renaissance, published in 1855. Michelet (1798–1874) is credited with being the first to apply the term "Renaissance" to define the period historically and culturally and the first to describe it as being the time of man's discovery of himself ("L'homme s'y est retrouvé lui-même").

51. Burckhardt 1908, p. 57.

52. Ibid., pp. 112–13.

53. Ibid., pp. 113–14.

54. Ibid., p. 57. Burckhardt's interest in portraiture was an integral part of his concern for the *Gegenständen und Aufgaben* (subjects and tasks) and *Mittel und Kräften* (means and capacities) of art. He lectured on portraiture in the 1880s and in 1894–95 worked on an essay on the origins and development of the genre in Italian painting, "Das Porträt in der italienischen Malerei," published posthumously in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien*, ed. Hans Trog (Basel, 1898).

55. For the historiography and diffusion of the "myth of the Renaissance," see Bullen 1994 and Fantoni 2000. For the national collections and trends in art history, see Anderson 1996, Krahn 1992, and Levi 2005. For the art market, see Fleming 1973 and 1979, Haskell 1981, and Gennari Santori 2003.

56. For an overview of Bode's career and influence and his bibliography of more than eight hundred titles, see the special issue of the *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 1996.

57. Burckhardt wrote to a friend, Robert Grüninger, about Bode on April 13, 1875: "Es ist ganz erstaunlich was der für eine Auge hat;" see Burckhardt 1966, p. 26.

58. For Bode and Bardini generally and for these acquisitions, see Niemeyer Chini 2009, pp. 52–72. Bode sought to purchase the bust of Niccolò da Uzzano directly from its owner, Count Luigi Capponi, in 1878 for 14,000 lire but was frustrated in the attempt when its export was blocked. It was acquired instead by the Italian state in 1881 for 27,500 lire; see Bode 1997, vol. 1, p. 110; Niemeyer Chini 2009, pp. 63–64; and Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà 1985, pp. 97, 246–61.

59. Bode 1891b, p. 514. For Bode's acquisition and display of Italian sculpture, see Krahn 1992.

60. Seidel 1999, pp. 74–75, for this correspondence in December 1889, where Bode also asked if he might come to Basel to discuss the plans for "unseres

'*Renaissancemuseums.*'" Seidel provides a detailed account of the genesis of this museum, which Bode consistently called the Renaissance Museum.

61. Bode 1891b, p. 511.

62. Ibid., pp. 511–12.

63. Niemeyer Chini 2009, pp. 59–60, for this sale, and p. 223, doc. XVII. [20.a], letter from Stefano Bardini to Julius Meyer, January 17, 1879. For this transaction, see also Fahy 2000, pp. 6–7, and Thiébaut 1996, pp. 44, 52 nn. 6–14.

64. Vasari 1966–97 ed., vol. 3, pp. 543–44 (*Life* of Andrea del Verrocchio).

65. Joni 2004, p. 196.

66. For this trade in general, see Ferretti 1981; for Bastianini, see Sani 1973, Pope-Hennessy 1980, and Warren 2005.

67. Dowd 1985, p. 217. The diairies are in the archive of the National Gallery, London. I am very grateful to Per Rumberg for checking this reference for me.

68. Bode 1897, pp. 187–88.

69. Duveen correspondence, May 4, 1922, Berenson Archive, Villa I Tatti, Settignano.

70. Edward Fowles in Paris to Berenson at I Tatti, May 17, 1922, Berenson Archive, Duveen correspondence. For the provenance of the painting and its condition, see Hand and Wolff 1986, pp. 2–3, for its damaged state in 1853.

71. Edward Fowles in Paris to Berenson at I Tatti, May 17, 1922. Berenson Archive, Duveen correspondence.

72. Edward Fowles in Paris to Berenson at the Sanatorium Villa Thea, Bad Kissingen, Bavaria, July 4, 1922, with a draft reply in Mary's hand on the back, Berenson Archive, Duveen correspondence.

73. Edward Fowles in Paris to Mary Berenson at Bad Kissingen, July 18, 1922, Berenson Archive, Duveen correspondence.

74. Edward Fowles in Paris to Mary Berenson at Bad Kissingen, August 2, 1922, Berenson Archive, Duveen correspondence.

75. Joseph Duveen in New York to Bernard Berenson at I Tatti, January 5, 1911, Berenson Archive, Duveen correspondence.

76. Joseph Duveen in New York to Bernard Berenson at I Tatti, December 16, 1911, Berenson Archive, Duveen correspondence. "Do you know of any other fine Italian portraits? We would like some, but they must be fine." For the American taste for portraits in this era, see Rubin 2000, and David Alan Brown in Washington 2001–2, pp. 13–20. For Americans and the Renaissance, see New York and other cities 1979–80.

77. Rubin 2000, p. 39. Similar terms were applied by Berenson to the *Portrait of a Man* by Andrea del Castagno (cat. 21), a sale contested between Gardner and John Pierpont Morgan, with Morgan winning the prize, as in Berenson's letter to Gardner, August 14, 1907: "Remember, this is the grandest surviving work of one of the greatest figures in Italian art, and that it is an overwhelming masterpiece"; Hadley 1987, p. 402.

78. Henry J. Duveen in New York to Benjamin Altman, Duveen correspondence, microfilm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library, February 10, 1913.

79. Bode 1897.

80. Warburg 1999, p. 187.

81. Ibid., pp. 187, 191.

82. Ibid., p. 189.

Portraiture at the Courts of Italy (*pp. 26–47*)

The writing of this essay was facilitated by a grant from the Institute for Mediterranean Studies. I am deeply indebted to Luke Syson for sharing a virtual cornucopia of thoughts and ideas about Quattrocento court portraiture with me.

1. Petrarch, *Le familiari* 19.3 (1991–94 ed.). See also Bishop 1966, pp. 156–60, and Mann 1998, p. 16.

2. Weiss 1969, p. 170, and Hill and Pollard 1978, p. 18.

3. Decembrio, *De politia litteraria*, bk. 6, pt. 68, fol. 165v: "Tum Leonellus interdixit, Nempe Caesarum ego vultus non minus singulari quadam admiratione aereis numis inspiciendo delectari soleo (nam idcirco ex aere frequentiores quam ex auro argentove superfuerunt), quam eorum staturas uti Suetonii vel aliorum scriptis contemplari, quod intellectu solo percipitur"; Baxandall 2003, p. 67. *De politia litteraria* was written between 1447 and 1462, but it is likely to reflect the court at Ferrara in the 1440s; see Baxandall 2003, p. 40.

4. Panormita 1585, bk. 2, p. 47, para. 12: "Numismata illustrium imperatoirum, sed Caesaris ante alios, per vniuersam Italiam summo studio conquisita in eburnea arcula a rege pene dixerim religiosissime asseruabantur. Quibus quoniam alia eorum simulachra iam vetusta collapsa non extarent, mirum in modum sese delectari & quodammodo inflammari ad virtutem & gloriam inquiebat." See also Hill and Pollard 1978, p. 18, and Cunnally 1984, p. 28.

5. Woods-Marsden 1987, p. 210. For a fuller discussion, see London 2001–2, pp. 87–93, and Elena Greer in London 2008–9, pp. 86–89.

6. On the attribution of this sheet and the identification of the coins, see B. Brown 2007, pp. 82–83, 101–2 n. 49.

7. Petrus de Abano, *Expositio in Problematibus Aristoltelis* (36.1): "Quod autem quis imagine quails sit recte cognoscatur expressa non solum quantum ad ea que corporis, verum etiam anime." Quoted in Thomann 1991, p. 241.

8. Baxandall 1971, p. 102.

9. Gaurico 1999 ed., p. 170: "Ea autem est certa quaedam observatio, qua ex iis quae corpori insunt signis, animorum etiam qualitates denotamus."

10. For an overview of the court system in fifteenth-century Italy, see Martines 1979, pp. 301–34; Cole 1995; and Mackenney 2005, pp. 77–103; and Rosenberg 2010.

11. There were also three principalities in the northwest corner of present-day Italy: the duchy of Savoy and the marquessates of Saluzzo and Monferrato.

12. Swain 1989.

13. For the history of the Este, see Gundersheimer 1973; Dean 1988; and Tuohy 1996.

14. Milan 1991, vol. 1, pp. 49–58.

15. On the court at Naples, see Ryder 1976 and Woods-Marsden 1990.

16. For the history of the Gonzaga, see London 1981–82, pp. xvii–xxiii; Belfanti 1997; and Malacarne 2005.

17. On the Visconti and Sforza courts, see Welch 1995; Covini 2007; and Black 2009.

18. Ottaviano degli Ubaldini della Carda, sonnet dedicated to the duke of Milan, 1442: "Chi vol del mondo mai non esser privo / Vegna a farse retrar del naturale / Al mio Pisano." The poet was the nephew of Federigo da Montefeltro; see Cordellier 1995, pp. 100–102, no. 39. The poet is sometimes also identified as Angelo Galli; see Woods-Marsden 1987, p. 209.

19. Alberti 1972 ed., bk. 2, para. 40, pp. 78–81: "Tum antiquos pictores refert Plutarchus solitos in pingendis regibus, si quid vitii aderat formae, non id praetermissum videri velle, sed quam maxime possent, servata similitudine, emendabant." On Alberti's sources for this passage, see Warnke 1993, pp. 213–14.

20. On the genesis of portraiture in northern Europe and its transmission to Italy, see Castelnuovo 2002 and Falomir 2008.

21. Hand and Wolff 1986, pp. 90–97. Boskovits (1998) has proposed that the picture is by the Venetian painter Nicolò di Pietro, while Lorne Campbell (in London 2008–9, pp. 84–85) has suggested that it might have been painted in England.

22. Paris 1996, pp. 98–104, nos. 49, 50; Schmitt 1998, pp. 338–41; London 2001–2, pp. 101–2.

23. The painting is linked to a payment of twenty lire made by Leonello to Magistro Johanni de Faventia on June 21, 1447; see Gordon 2003, pp. 76–79.

24. Conti (1979, p. 74) and De Marchi (1992b, p. 219) suggested that the painting may be by Jacopo Bellini, although their claim that the signature is spurious is unfounded. On the other hand, Syson and Gordon (London 2001–2, p. 87) argued that the picture was based on a bronze medal signed "Nicholaus." Gramaccini (1982) suggested that Jacopo's picture was the devotional painting with a donor portrait of Leonello in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. This seems unlikely because it is not an autonomous portrait and must have been painted about ten years earlier; see Eisler 1989, p. 518.

25. *De polittia litteraria*, bk. 6, pt. 68, fols. 162v–163r: "in mei vultus descriptione varie dissensisse, cum alter macilentiam candori meo vehementiorem adiecerit, alter pallidiorem tamen licet non graciliorem, vultum effingeret, vixque precibus meis reconciliatos." Quoted in Cordellier 1995, p. 122, no. 52; and Baxandall 2003, p. 53.

26. "Che la sua vera effigie feze viva a la sentenica del paterno amore: onde lui primo, et poi il Pisan secondo." Quoted in Cordellier 1995, p. 100, no. 38. For the English translations, see London 2001–2, p. 106.

27. Warnke 1993, p. 94 n. 60.

28. Hill 1905, p. 139; see also cat. 70 in this volume.

29. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 34.53 (1938–63 ed.).

30. Baxandall 1971, pp. 17–18. Baxandall's reading of the passage as a literary metaphor has been questioned by Whitfield (1972, p. 121).

31. Alberti 1972 ed., bk. 2, pt. 25, pp. 60–61: "Nam habet ea quidem in se vim admodum divinam non modo ut quod de amicita dicunt, absentes pictura praesentes esse faciat, verum etiam defunctos longa post saecula viventibus exhibeat." See also the comments in Shearman 1992, pp. 141–48; and Woodall 1997, p. 8.

32. Filarete 1972 ed., vol. 1, p. 104 (bk. 4, fol. 25v): "La ragione per che io metto queste cose in questo fondamento si è che come ogni uomo sa che tutte le cose che hanno principio hanno a 'vere fine, quando sarà quel tempo, si troverranno

queste cose; e per questo da loro saremo ricordati e nominati, come che noi nominiamo o per cavamento o ruina si truova alcuna cosa degna."

33. Lost medals may have predated this one, or, as Syson and Gordon (London 2001–2, pp. 113–14) argue, it may have been preceded by his medal of Filippo Maria Visconti (cat. 95).

34. Vickers 1978; Paris 1996, pp. 195–206, no. 112; and Carmen C. Bambach in New York 2004, pp. 527–32, no. 318.

35. Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 32–37; Jardine and Brotton 2000, pp. 23–24; Stephen K. Scher in New York 2004, pp. 537–39, no. 323; and Pollard 2007, vol. 2, pp. 592–95, nos. 597, 598.

36. The entries for the medals are inconclusive. They merely describe silver "medaia" (which could mean either a medal or an ancient coin) with a head on one side and a carriage on the other. See Bertoni and Vicini 1909, p. 92, nos. 1650, 1651: "Medaia una de ariento dorado cum una testa da uno di ladj et da laltro uno caro buxo in mezzo" and "Medaia una de ariento cum uno volto da uno lado et uno caro da laltro masica ariento." It is not known who commissioned the Palaeologus medal. Various names have been put forward, including those of Pope Eugenius IV, Niccolò or Leonello d'Este, Alberti, and even Palaeologus himself; see Jardine and Brotton 2000, p. 29.

37. For example, see Vatican City 1985, pp. 42–44 no. 6, p. 53 no. 29, pp. 72–73 no. 87; Venice 1985, pp. 58–61, nos. 49–51; Bolzano 2002, pp. 80–81 no. 22, pp. 84–87 no. 24. Weiss (1966, p. 12) also makes a connection with these secular seals showing the owner on horseback.

38. Giovio's letter was quoted by Vasari (1967 ed., vol. 2, p. 520): "una bellissima medaglia di Giovanni Paleologo imperatore de Costantinopoli, con quel bizarro cappello alla grecanica, che solevano portare gl'imperatori; e fu fatta da esso Pisano in Fiorenza, al tempo del Concilio d'Eugenio, ove si trovò il prefato imperadore, ch'ha per riverso la croce di Cristo, sostentata da due mani, verbigrazia dalla latina e dalla greca." See also Cordellier 1995, pp. 200–202, no. 102.

39. Cordellier 1995, pp. 77–82, no. 30. It has been suggested that the medal is referred to in a letter (now lost) dated June 23, 1431 or 1432, in which Pisanello promised to send a bronze object he was making from Rome to Filippo Maria in Milan; see Cordellier 1995, pp. 46–48, doc. 14. The letter does not specify a medal. Nevertheless, Rugolo (1996, pp. 138–43) and Schmitt (1998, pp. 341–43) argue that it refers to this particular medal. Syson (1998b, pp. 390–91) suggests that, stylistically, a date of 1432 is too early and proposes a date of about 1435–40. Pfisterer (2008, p. 97) dates it 1438/40 and later.

40. Verona 1996, pp. 151–236. The frescoes are generally dated 1434–38, but Per Rumberg has kindly informed me that since one of the horses in the background has the split nostrils associated with Palaeologus's horses, Pisanello probably undertook the project after 1438.

41. Degenhart 1973, pp. 393, 410 n. 70, and Rugolo 1996, pp. 138–43. On the reception of Venus Victrix in the Renaissance, see B. Brown 2011. An alternative reading is given by Pollard (2007, vol. 1, pp. 6–7), who identifies the statue as Fortitude.

42. The name "Anglus" was derived from Angera, one of the Visconti's oldest possessions, which is also mentioned on the obverse. See Kirsch 1990.

43. Vermeule 1987, pp. 269–70; Paris 1996, pp. 212–13, no. 123; and London 2001–2, pp. 120–21.

44. Vermeule 1987, p. 271, and London 2001–2, pp. 120–21.

45. Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 25–26, no. 16. Pfisterer (2008, pp. 97–99), however, prefers to date the medal ca. 1432–38 and suggests that Pisanello made it directly for Gianfrancesco.

46. Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 22–27, no. 17.

47. See, for example, the comments by Vespasiano da Bisticci (1938 ed., p. 254). The convent had been founded in 1416 by her mother, Paola Malatesta, who after her husband's death in 1444, also joined the order. The convent was later renamed Santa Paola in her honor; see Wood 1996, pp. 92–96.

48. Mantua 1979, pp. 15–18.

49. Jacobus de Voragine 1993 ed., vol. 2, pp. 313–23. See also Jones 2005, p. 17.

50. It was not until Pius V issued the bull *Circa Pastoralis* in 1566, after the Council of Trent, that laws on *clausura* were strictly enforced. In the fifteenth century the restrictions were frequently waived by papal largesse; see Zarri 1986; K. Gill 1992; and K. Gill 1996.

51. London 2001–2, p. 117.

52. Jacobus de Voragine 1993 ed., vol. 2, p. 322.

53. Jones (2005, pp. 18–19) interprets the crescent moon as a symbol of the Christian West rallying to protect the city of Constantinople from the Muslim Turks. This, however, seems unfounded.

54. The school is interchangeably known as La Casa Giocosa (the Merry House) or La Casa Gioiosa (the Joyful House); see Agazzi 1979, pp. 80–83.

55. For the careers of Vittorino and Gaurino, see Baxandall 1971, pp. 87–96, 127–29; Grafton and Jardine 1986, pp. 1–28; Grendler 1989, pp. 119–29; and London 2001–2, pp. 93–96.

56. For various interpretations, see Alison Luchs in Washington–New York–Edinburgh 1994, pp. 59–62, no. 11; and Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 56–57, no. 39.

57. Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 57 n. 8: "scilicet ut paternitas tua eum virum, quem fama et scriptis dudum cognovit, nunc ipsis oris liniamentis et forma pernoscat."

58. Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 20–23, nos. 12–15.

59. Pasini 1987.

60. For Cosimo's statement, see Woods-Marsden 1989, p. 394 n. 30. On Cosimo's close relationship with Sigismondo, see Kent 2000, pp. 316, 353. Cosimo's inventory does not mention any contemporary medals, but it seems safe to assume that Sigismondo would have given him one. His portrait in the chapel of the Palazzo Medici appears to have been based on one of Pisanello's medals. On the frequency with which fifteenth-century princes exchanged portrait medals, see Pollard 1987, pp. 161–63.

61. The letter is published in Clementini 1617, vol. 2, p. 386: "ad quandam tui nominis immortalitatem Matthei Pasti Veronensis opera, industri quidem viri, vidiare, auro, & argento innumeras, quasi collatas imagines, qua vel in de fossis locis dispersa, vel muris intus locata, vel ad extras nationes transmissa sunt."

62. The letter, which was written by Sigismondo's secretary, Roberto Valturio, is transcribed in Raby 1987, p. 187.

63. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 7.25 and 35.85 (1938–63 ed.); Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 8.11. ext. 2 (1998 ed.); and Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 4. 1–2 (1914–26 ed.).

64. Baxandall 1971, pp. 97–98.

65. On Pisanello's work for Alfonso, see Woods-Marsden 1990 and Syson 2004a, pp. 98–101.

66. Gianfrancesco Gonzaga sent a letter to Pisanello on March 11, 1444, asking him to postpone his trip to Naples; see Cordellier 1995, pp. 119–20, no. 51. Whether Pisanello made a trip later in 1444 is not known. On August 18, 1448, Pier Candido Decembrio mentions that Pisanello is still in Ferrara; see ibid., pp. 147–48, no. 65.

67. Ibid., pp. 151–53, no. 68.

68. Luke Syson (1998b, pp. 395–97, and in London 2001–2, pp. 229–32) argues that the workshop was responsible at least in part for all three medals and for all of the drawings except the one with two sketches of Alfonso (see cat. 131).

69. Panormita 1558, bk. 2, p. 48, para. 14: "Librum & eum quidem apertum pro insigni gestavit, quod bonarum atrium cognitionem maxime rebus covenire intelligeret."

70. Warnke (1993) uses the term somewhat arbitrarily. See the comments in Welch 2004, p. 19, and Syson 2004b, p. 106.

71. Kristeller 1902, pp. 516–17, doc. 11.

72. Ibid., p. 518, doc. 14.

73. On the history of the term, see Warnke 1993, pp. 115–18. Although fully aware of Warnke's groundbreaking contribution, S. Campbell (2004b, pp. 9–18) nevertheless points out the limitations of his views about the social trajectory of the modern artist.

74. Syson 2002.

75. Boston 2002, p. 9.

76. S. Campbell 1997, p. 12.

77. Syson (1999) has argued that Tura himself might have made the medal. But see the comments of Marcello Toffanello in Ferrara 2007–8, pp. 346–49, nos. 82, 83.

78. There have been various attempts to identify him as a member of the Este family, but none of the pictures in the *Genealogia dei principi d'Este* are particularly close; see Manca 2000, pp. 144–46, no. 28. For the *Genealogia*, see Milan 1991, vol. 1, pp. 49–57, no. 1.

79. See Syson 1999, p. 228; and Boston 2002, pp. 241–43, no. 15.

80. Lightbown 1986, p. 457, no. 64.

81. Ibid., p. 457, no. 65: "scolpi in pictura propria viva et vera." The picture, which cannot be traced, may have been painted about 1452, when Mantegna was in Venice.

82. Ibid., p. 459, no. 68: "Talis cum Iano tabula Galeottus in una, Spirat inabruptae nodus amicitiae. . . . Tu facis, ut nostri vivant in secula vultus, Quamvis amborum corpora terra tegat." The "knot of friendship" is taken from Cicero's *De amicitia*. On the poem and double portraits in the Renaissance in general, see Pfisterer 2008, pp. 310–36, and Beuzelin 2009. It is sometimes assumed that the painting was a diptych, and it has been suggested that Mantegna's very damaged *Portrait of a Man* (National Gallery of Art, Washington) might be Pannonius.

The sitter does not, however, resemble the Ferrarese miniature depicting him; see Boskovits and Brown 2003, pp. 432–34, and Stefano L'Occaso in Paris 2008–9, pp. 118–19, with a picture of the miniature. Nor is the identification put forward by Birnbaum (1996, pp. 14–40) of Pannonius as the sitter in the *Portrait of a Man* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles) tenable; this later portrait is of the Ferrarese school, not by Mantegna.

83. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.34 (1938–63 ed.).

84. B. Brown 1991, p. 216: "era un stuppore a vedderle con tanti bei volti e così ben adorne che parevano veramente uscite dele mani di Andrea Mantegna." Mantegna rented his house in Padua on April 13, 1460, and is documented as being in Mantua by June 21.

85. There has been considerable debate over the attribution, identification, and dating of the picture. Keith Christiansen (in London–New York 1992, pp. 335–37, no. 101) suggested that it was done in 1462, just after Francesco returned to Mantua on his way to Rome, where he was to be invested as a cardinal. It seems to me unlikely that at this juncture Ludovico would have wanted a portrait of his son in the soon-to-be-outdated protonotary apostolic robes, which he wears. It is more likely to have been done before he left for school. Agosti (2005, p. 467), Gasparotto (2006, pp. 60–65), and Miriam Servi (in Paris 2008–9, pp. 198–99, no. 69) identify the sitter as Francesco's younger brother Ludovico and date the portrait about 1470.

86. See the entries by David Ekserdjian in London–New York 1992, pp. 339–48, nos. 103–7, and the comments in Hirst 1992, pp. 320–21; Goldner 2004, p. 252; Giorgia Mancini in Verona 2006–7, pp. 323–27, nos. 85, 86; Elena Greer in London 2008–9, p. 251, no. 80; and Alfonso Litta in Paris 2008–9, pp. 302–3, no. 124.

87. Kristeller 1902, p. 534, doc. 69: "Ill^{me} et Ex. S. mio, dapoi la debita ricomandacione aviso la Ex^{cia} vostra chome volendo far queli ritrati, non intendo, volendolj la S. vostra si presto, in che modo habia a fare, o solamente disgn[a]ti o coloriti in tavola o in tela e de che statura. Se la S. vostra li volesse mandare lontano se [posso] no(?) farli suso tela sotile per poterli avoltare suso un bastonzelo. Ancora chome sa la Ex^{cia} vostra non si può far bene dal naturale chi nona comodita di vedere." Lightbown (1986, pp. 473–74, no. 153) suggests that a double portrait of Ludovico and his wife, Barbara, may be a copy after Mantegna's lost originals. However, it is far from clear that the urgently needed portraits were indeed of Ludovico and Barbara.

88. For an overview of the Camera Picta, see Lightbown 1986, pp. 99–117, and Signorini 2007.

89. On the identification of the dog, see Signorini 1978 and Signorini 2007, pp. 254–65.

90. Mantegna went to Ferrara in the hope of buying a title from Frederick; see Kristeller 1902, p. 526, doc. 41. For the request that the portrait be returned, see Signorini 1974, p. 246, and Signorini 2007, p. 248.

91. Signorini 1974, pp. 230–31: "E concluse Sua Signoria che, per memoria di duy più tristi homini del mondo, Vostra Signoria ha fatto ritrare ne la camera sua la Maestà de l'imperatore e quella del prefato re, e comprehendo che non gli piaccia ponto che, havendo Vostra Signoria fatto fare così bella camera quanto è quella, de la quale in però ognuno di qua ne parla et universalmente dice, chi l'ha vista, quella esser la più bella camera del mondo, che essa Vostra Signoria non gli habbi fatto ritrare Sua Exellentia." See also Lightbown 1986, p. 110, and Gilbert 1992, pp. 130–31.

92. Signorini 1974, p. 232: "Et è vero che Andrea è bon maestro in le alter cose, ma nel retrare porìa havere più gratia et non fa cussì bene." See also Lightbown 1986, p. 110, and Gilbert 1992, p. 131.

93. Signorini 2007, p. 398, doc. 8.

94. Welch 1990, p. 183, app. 3: "il marchese de Mantua et lo marchese de Monferra ambiduy ad paro in tal forma et acto ch'el non se posa comprehendere l'uno essere superiore ne magiore de l'altro."

95. Welch 1989. This decorative program was largely destroyed in the sixteenth century.

96. Gundersheimer 1972 and Gundersheimer 1973, pp. 249–67.

97. Gundersheimer 1972, p. 61: "Quivi li vidi con lieto core la tua Excellentia effigiata spirante e naturale, con tutti li suoi curiali li quali cognobi ale loro effigie et ali loro nomi che ivi sono scripti in romane lettere con le insignie loro ali piedi."

98. Cheles 1993 and Marcello Toffanello in Settis and Cupperi 2007, vol. 2, pp. 249–60.

99. Farinella 2007, pp. 106–13, and Sassu 2007.

100. Although Vasari says that Pisanello made a medal of Borso, the drawings seem to have been used instead by Amadio da Milano; see Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 69, no. 48. For the drawings, see Ferrara 2007–8, pp. 210–13, nos. 22, 23.

101. A. Venturi 1885c, p. 721, and Buganza 2007, pp. 14 and 58.

102. Ferrara 2007–8, pp. 258–59, no. 146.

103. Wedepohl 2005, p. 140.

104. New York 2007b, p. 106.

105. Rosenberg 1986, p. 219.

106. Vespasiano da Bisticci 1938 ed., p. 104: "e ritrassevi la sua Signoria al naturale, che non gli mancava nulla se non lo spirito." The Netherlandish artist is often identified as Justus of Ghent, although some authorities have attributed the picture instead to a Spaniard living in the palace, who was called "Pietro spagnolo" and who in the past has been identified as Pedro Berruguete. New technical evidence suggests that while Justus may have been responsible for the underdrawing, another hand finished the picture; see Strehlke 2003, pp. 540–41. The infrared reflectography is published in Poldi and Villa 2004, pp. 399–401.

107. The literature touching on Isabella's portraiture is vast. The relevant documents are published in Luzio 1913, pp. 183–238. More recent studies include Fletcher 1981a; Woods-Marsden 1987; D. A. Brown 1990; Vienna 1994, pp. 86–118; Syson 1997; Sogliani 2006; and Hickson 2009.

108. Luzio 1913, p. 185: "mando Madonna Isabella ritrata, aciò che V. S. e D. Francesco possa vedere la effigie sua: ma più è il mirabile intellecto et inzegno sua." The portrait is now either lost or cannot be identified; see Manca 2000, pp. 225–26, doc. 107.

109. Isabella sent the letter to her husband on June 22, 1509, when he was in prison in Venice; see Luzio 1913, p. 233: "io havesse havuto de le fantasie et affanni che ha havuto V. S. da questi poltroni de francesi forsi che non serìa così grassa." For the medal, see D'Incerti 1971; Boccolari 1987, p. 84, no. 61; and Syson 1997.

110. Luzio 1913, p. 189: "Dolne summamente che non gli potiamo mandare al presente el nostro retracto, perchè el Pictore me ha tanto mal facta che non ha alcuna de le nostre simiglie: havemo mandato per uno forestere, qual ha fama de contrafare bene el naturale."

111. Despite Santi's supposed reputation, there are no extant autonomous portraits by him; see Cieri Via 1999.

112. Luzio 1913, p. 189: "Per satisfare al desiderio de V. S. non perchè la effigie mia sia de tal beleza che la meriti andare in volta depincta."

113. Ibid., p. 198: "Ritrovandomi questo anchor non mi sia molto simile, per essere uno poco più grasso che non sono io."

114. Ibid.: "ritracto suo la imagine del quale ne è piaciuta parendone assai simile a lei; è vero che è alquanto demonstrative de più grasseza che non ha la S. V. excepto se non la è facta più grassa dopoi che noi la vidimo."

115. On the medal, see Syson 1997; Mantua 2006, pp. 402–3, no. 64, and pp. 136–37, no. 118. For the gold version now in Vienna, see Karl Schulz in Vienna 1994, pp. 373–78; and Mantua 2006, pp. 403–5, no. 65.

116. Andres 1999, pp. 253–63.

117. Luzio and Renier 1893, p. 118: "La S^{ra} Marchesana, a chi tocca la parte delli acconzamenti del capo, dice che 'l Picno non si doveva maravigliare che li romani fussero remasti tanto satisfacti de li ligamenti de li capelli suoi, perchè se havessero posto quella accurata diligentia in considerare el diritto de le medalie, che hanno facto de li riversi, non haveriano tanto laudato l'acconziatura de la testa sua." See also Welch 2009, p. 245.

118. Tiberius issued coins with Livia's likeness and the inscription SALUS AUGUSTA in A.D. 23, after his mother had recovered from an illness. Some of these coins may have been known in Italy, but no coins with Livia's image were ever struck in Italy. The earliest illustration of Livia is in Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines* (Venice, 1517), but he invented this image from the types commonly found on the obverse of Octavian's denarii; see Bartman 1999, p. 6. There has been considerable debate about the identification of Isabella's cameo. Both the Ptolemy gem in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and the so-called Gonzaga cameo in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, have been put forward. However, as Clifford Brown (1997) suggests, it is more likely to be a lost gem similar to the cameo of Augustus and Livia in Pietro Bembo's collection, which was engraved by Fulvio Orsini. Nevertheless, an iconographic link between Livia and Isabella has yet to be established.

119. The motto has been translated as "for those who deserve well" and "on account of high merits"; see London 1981–82, p. 160, no. 109; and Syson 1997, pp. 291–92.

120. Luzio 1913, p. 194.

121. On the various speculations as to why Leonardo used a profile, see Romano 1981, pp. 30–40; D. A. Brown 1990, pp. 58–60; and Françoise Viatte in Paris 2008–9, pp. 326–27, no. 134.

122. The poem first appeared in Bellincioni's *Rime* in 1493; see Shell and Sironi 1992, pp. 48–49. For a complete discussion of the picture and the earlier bibliography, see Rome–Milan–Florence 1998–99. For recent interpretations of the

symbolic meaning of the ermine, which seems to have held encoded references to both Ludovico and Cecilia, see Simons 1995, pp. 277–83; Christian 2001; Manca 2008; and Musacchio 2008, pp. 32–34. Musacchio suggests that Cecilia commissioned the picture, but this contradicts Bellincioni, who clearly states that Ludovico il Moro had it painted for her. Surrounding evidence strongly suggests that the picture was a wedding gift for his former mistress, who may have already given birth to his child. Isabella no doubt would have appreciated the subtler meaning attached to the ermine.

123. Beltrami 1919a, p. 51, no. 88: "Essendone hogi accaduto vedere certi belli retracti de man de Zoanne Bellino siamo venute in ragionamento de le opera de Leonardo cum desiderio de vederle al parangone di queste havemo, et ricordanone che 'l v'ha retracta voi dal naturale vi pregamo che per il presente cavallaro, quale mandiamo a posta per questo."

124. Ibid., p. 51, no. 89: "et più voluntiera lo mandaria quanto assomigliasse a me: et non creda già la S.a V.a che proceda per difecto del maestro, che in vero credo non se truova allui un paro, ma solo è per esser fatto esso ritrattto in una età si imperfecta che io ho poi cambiata tutta quella effigie."

125. The correspondence concerning the portrait is published in Luzio 1886, pp. 563–64; and Negro and Roio 1998, p. 116.

126. Costa's portrait is sometimes identified as *Portrait of a Lady with a Lapdog* (Royal Collection, Hampton Court), but this is far from certain; see Whitaker and Clayton 2007, pp. 120–21, no. 30.

127. Luzio 1913, p. 211: "mostrando più saturna, più scarna."

128. Ibid., p. 211, and Negro and Roio 1998, pp. 117–18.

129. Luzio 1913, p. 212: "avendoni vui cum l'arte vostra facta assai più bella che non ni ha facto natura."

130. Ibid., p. 213: "a commuter gli occhij de nigri in bianchi."

131. Negro and Roio (1998, pp. 196–98, no. 71) claim to have identified Francia's portrait of Isabella in a private collection. Hickson (2009, p. 297) rightfully has called this identification into question, noting that it bears no resemblance to any of the known portraits of Isabella.

132. Luzio 1913, p. 223: "Il ritratto nostro di man di Titiano ne piace di sorte che dubitiamo di non esser stata in quell'etade ch'egli rappresenta di quella beltà che in sè contiene." The picture is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. See the comments in Vienna 1994, pp. 111–13, no. 50, and Hickson 2009, p. 306.

133. Aretino 1900 ed., p. 9: "la mostruosa Marchesana di Mantova la quale ha i denti de hebano e le ciglia di avorio, dishonestamente brutta et arcidishonestamente imbellettata."

The Portrait in Fifteenth-Century Venice (*pp. 48–63*)

1. For surveys of portraiture in fifteenth-century Venice, see Meyer zur Capellen 1985, pp. 57–67; Huse and Wolters 1986, pp. 236–40; Humfrey 1995, pp. 100–108; Goffen 1999.

2. This matter is discussed in detail in Luchs 1995, pp. 9–20. See also Gaier 2007, pp. 255–59.

3. "Introdusse una usanza in questa città, che chi era niente di grado si faceva fare o da lui o da altri il suo ritratto: come appare per tutte le case di Venezia, che son tutte piene di quegli, e si vede per infino in quarta generazione i discendenti nella pittura" (Vasari 1966–97 ed., vol. 3, pp. 438–39). As kindly pointed out to me by Sabine Hoffmann, this version of Vasari's text differs significantly from that in the commonly used Gaetano Milanesi edition ("introdusse l'usanza in quella città, che chi era in qualche grado si faceva da lui o da altri ritrarre . . . "), which implies, on the contrary, that only people of rank had their portraits painted.

4. Vasari's remark was treated with skepticism by Weppelmann (2008, p. 79), but good arguments for accepting it are provided by Fletcher (1981b, p. 466) and Goffen (1999, p. 116).

5. For example, in the house of the philosopher Leonico Tomeo, in Padua, Michiel recorded that he saw a painting of the owner by Giovanni Bellini and one of the owner's father by Jacopo Bellini; in the house of Girolamo Marcello, in Venice, he saw a portrait of the owner's grandfather. See Michiel 2000, pp. 30, 53.

6. Fletcher 1981b, p. 466.

7. The fragmentary evidence for Gentile's activity as a portrait painter in Venice is discussed in De Marchi 1992b, pp. 85–86.

8. Michiel 2000, p. 51. De Marchi (1992b, pp. 85–86) identifies the portrait of the younger man with one in a private collection in Bergamo but tentatively attributes it to the young Jacopo Bellini (implying a mistake on the part of Michiel).

9. Michiel 2000, p. 30. The portrait was still in the possession of Bembo's descendants at Palazzo Gradenigo, Venice, in 1815; see Eiche 1983, p. 358.

10. For this occasion, see Baxandall 1963; Eisler 1989, pp. 30–31, 43, 165, 172; Ursula Lehman-Brockhaus in Degenhart and Schmitt 1990, pt. 5, p. 19.

11. The attribution of the portrait of Marcello is controversial; for a recent argument that it is by the young Giovanni Bellini, see Luciano Bellosi in Paris 2008–9, pp. 119–21. More convincing is the attribution to Jacopo proposed by Mariani Canova (1995, pp. 804–6) and followed by Gennaro Toscano in Padua 2006–7, pp. 224–26, and by Syson (2009, p. 533), who revealingly compares it to the portrait drawing in Jacopo's book of drawings in the Louvre (fol. 22). For surveys of Jacopo's activity as a portrait painter, see Eisler 1989, pp. 165–74, and Degenhart and Schmitt 1990, pt. 6, p. 336.

12. See L. Campbell 1998, pp. 224–27; Bernard Aikema in Venice 1999–2000, p. 184.

13. For Antonello's Venetian portraits, see Mauro Lucco in Rome 2006, pp. 210–11, 242–53, 270–73, and 288–89.

14. For the ducal costume, see Newton 1988, pp. 24–31; Monnas 2008, pp. 183–87. For a survey of Venetian ducal portraiture, see Romanelli 1982.

15. Romano 2007, pp. xx–xxii.

16. See Meyer zur Capellen 1985, pp. 63, 113.

17. See Wolters 1983, pp. 84–86; Meyer zur Capellen 1985, pp. 60–62.

18. Sansovino (1580) 1663 ed., pp. 334–36; Wolters 1983, p. 71.

19. Sansovino (1580) 1663 ed., p. 325; P. Brown 1988, p. 221.

20. Pincus 1981; Markham Schulz 1983, pp. 44–64, 171–77.

21. For the imagery of the Porta della Carta, sculpted between ca. 1438 and the mid-1440s by Bartolomeo Bon, see Romano 2007, pp. 151–53. The portrait of Foscari is traditionally identified with the fragment now in the Palazzo Ducale (cat. 144), but as convincingly argued here by Matteo Ceriana, this is actually the later portrait of Doge Cristoforo Moro from the Arco Foscari of the palace, and the Foscari portrait is lost.

22. In the words of Sebastiano Erizzo, writing a century later: "I signori tiranni si mettono in medaglia e non i capi de republica." See Wolters 1983, p. 78; Syson 1998a, p. 115.

23. For ducal votive pictures, see Wolters 1983, pp. 92–135.

24. See Peter Humfrey in Rome 2008–9, pp. 258–60.

25. For the circumstances of the visit, see Meyer zur Capellen 1985, p. 109; Chong 2005, p. 107.

26. "Un bon depentor che sapra retrazar." These words, from the *Annali Veneti* of Domenico Malipiero, are quoted by Meyer zur Capellen (1985, p. 109) and by Chong (2005, p. 107).

27. For Gentile's portrait, see Meyer zur Capellen 1985, pp. 67, 128–29; Caroline Campbell in Boston–London 2005–6, pp. 78–79.

28. See Susan Spinale in Boston–London 2005–6, pp. 74–75; Chong 2005, p. 109.

29. For official Venetian dress, see Newton 1988, pp. 9–24.

30. Pullan 1971, p. 107.

31. For the ethos of the Venetian patriciate, with particular reference to its reflection in portraiture, see Wolters 1983, pp. 59–64; Goffen 1989, pp. 116–17.

32. Dülberg 1990, pp. 131, 228; D. A. Brown in Washington 2001–2, pp. 158–59.

33. For example, the portrait by Giovanni Bellini's follower Previtali in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan, or the portrait and its reverse sometimes attributed to Marco Marziale in the Louvre (RF 1345). See Dülberg 1990, pp. 156, 248, and 149, 239, respectively.

34. Dülberg 1990, pp. 31–45.

35. Ibid., pp. 60–65.

36. Michiel 2000, p. 30.

37. The date and patron of this work, and the significance of the inscription NONALITER on the parapet, have been much discussed. See most recently Dülberg 1990, pp. 157, 248; Benedicenti 1992; Weppelmann 2008, p. 79.

38. Meyer zur Capellen 1985, pp. 43–44, 124–25.

39. Christiansen 1987, pp. 172–73.

40. For donors in Venetian altarpieces, see Humfrey 1993, pp. 106–7.

41. Fletcher and Mueller 2005.

42. Humfrey 1993, pp. 283–84.

43. Both portraits have Venetian provenances: the former was in the Manfrin collection in the nineteenth century, and the latter was acquired by the Uffizi from Abate Luigi Celotti. See De Vos 1994, pp. 202–3, 144–45, respectively. Michiel (2000, p. 56) also records portraits of Joan of Aragon and a self-portrait by Memling in the collection of Cardinal Grimani in 1521.

44. "Vestito de rosato cun el capuzzo negro in testa" (Michiel 2000, p. 51). For the Borghese portrait, see Mauro Lucco in Rome 2006, pp. 246–49. For Michele Vianello, see Isabella Cecchini in Hochmann, Lauber, and Mason 2008, pp. 323–24. For Antonio Pasqualino as a collector, see Rosella Lauber in ibid., pp. 303–4.

45. For the possibility that Antonello's portrait of Alvise Pasqualino is that in the Schwarzenberg collection, Vienna, see Mauro Lucco in Rome 2006, pp. 288–89.

46. D. A. Brown 1987, pp. 41, 48, 70.

47. See Sheard 1992, esp. pp. 171–76.

48. Sansovino (1580) 1663 ed., p. 325; P. Brown 1988, p. 221.

49. For Gentile's self-portraits in these two works, see P. Brown 1988, p. 233.

50. Giovanni's portrait was identified by Fletcher (1991a) with a cutting now in the same library as the manuscript, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. For a different interpretation, see Bussi 1995–97.

51. For the medals of Maserano, Schlifer, and the Bellini brothers, the first two by Giovanni Boldù, and the second pair by Vittore Gambello, see Hill 1930, nos. 417, 418, and 438, 439, respectively, and Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 180–81 and 189–90, respectively. See also Löhr 2004, pp 23–24, for the Boldù medal of Maserano (identified as Philippo Macerato), and pp. 21–22, for that of Schlifer.

52. "Un altro quadreto con il retrato de Zuan Belin et de Vetor suo dixipulo nel coperchio" (Ravà 1920, p. 169; Dülberg 1990, pp. 36, 280).

53. The status of this and a picture in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, as humanist portraits are discussed in Goffen 1989, pp. 191–92. Both have been associated in the past with Giovanni Bellini, but the attribution of neither to him is convincing.

54. Hill 1930, nos. 420, 421; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, pp. 182–83.

55. See Eisler 1989, pp. 38, 512, 531; see also note 7 above.

56. "Che per te uiuo è anchor sopra la terra" (Colasanti 1903, p. 202; Lauts 1962, p. 121).

57. V. Rossi 1895, pp. 47–50; Lauts 1962, p. 258; Meyer zur Capellen 1985, pp. 29, 121–22.

58. For the position of women in fifteenth-century Venice, see Chojnacki 2000, esp. chap. 5 ("Patrician Women in Early Renaissance Venice," first published 1974). The author provides a much more nuanced analysis than the necessarily oversimplified account given here.

59. Fletcher 2009, p. 42.

60. For the position of the dogaressa, see Hurlburt 2006.

61. Hill 1930, no. 409; Pollard 2007, vol. 1, p. 177. Pietro da Fano made a second medal of her, with her portrait on the obverse and an allegory on the reverse. For an interpretation of the portrait, see Hurlburt 2006, pp. 105–8.

62. For Girolama Corsi Ramos, see V. Rossi 1890; Rosario Contarino in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani,* vol. 29 (1983), pp. 570–72; Bolzoni 2008, pp. 139–41.

63. V. Rossi 1890, p. 194.

64. For these portraits, see D. A. Brown in Washington 2001–2, pp. 157, 160–61.

65. Michiel 2000, p. 53. Three of the female portraits illustrated in the 1627 inventory of Andrea Vendramin are inscribed with the name Giovanni Bellini (see Heinemann 1962, pp. 80–81, nos. 303, 305, 306; figs. 178, 179, 185), but in the absence of the originals it is difficult to assess their authenticity.

66. See L. Campbell 1990, p. 204.

67. The correspondence, first published in Dionisotti 1950, has recently been analyzed by Kidwell (2004, pp. 24–70).

68. See her letter, dated July 22, 1500 (but probably in fact written in March), in Dionisotti 1950, p. 8; Kidwell 2004, p. 33.

69. Dionisotti 1950, p. 52; Kidwell 2004, p. 33.

70. For the two sonnets, see Dionisotti 1966, pp. 521–52; Bolzoni 2008, pp. 85–91. What emerges from the correspondence is that Sorvagnan actually commissioned two portraits of herself as gifts to Bembo; while it appears that the poet addressed the first of his sonnets to the first of the portraits, it is not clear whether the second portrait was also by Bellini. Similarly, since Bembo's second sonnet was composed some two decades later, it is not clear whether or not it was addressed to a portrait by Bellini. These complicated issues are discussed further in Meilman (forthcoming).

71. For a detailed analysis of Bembo's sonnet on the portrait, see Rogers 1986, pp. 292–95.

72. As pointed out by Goffen (1999, pp. 117–18).

73. In the first paragraph of the first chapter (which carries the explicitly Burckhardtian title "The Cult of Personality") of his classic study, Pope-Hennessy observed that Renaissance portraiture "reflects reawakening interest in human motives and human character, the resurgent recognition of those factors which make human beings individual." Pope-Hennessy 1966, p. 3.

Some Thoughts on Likeness in Italian Early Renaissance Portraits (*pp. 64–76*)

1. The Italian *ritratto/ritrarre* is derived from the Latin *retraho* (to draw back) and was used in the sixteenth century to mean "copy" as well. The French *portrait* goes back to Latin *protraho*, in the sense of "to draw out"; see Grassi and Pepe 2003, pp. 707–15. About 1400 Cennino Cennini wrote, "Attendi che lla più perfetta ghuida che possa avere e miglior timone, si è la trionfal porta del ritrarre de naturale" (Mind you, the most perfect steersman that you can have, and the best helm, lie in the triumphal gateway of copying from nature); *Il libro dell'arte*, chap. 28; Cennini 2006 ed., p. 81 (English trans., Cennini 1960 ed., p. 15).

2. See Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte*, chaps. 181–86 (Cennini 2006 ed., pp. 204–10), esp. chap. 181 (ibid., p. 205): "ritrarre e simigliare chose di natural, le quali si chiama imprentare" (for copying and imitating things from nature: and it is called casting); English trans., Cennini 1960 ed., p. 123. Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) produced wax casts of the faces of his friends (Alberti 2002 ed., p. 10), which calls to mind the face masks made by Lysistratus (see Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.44 [1997 ed., 34.53, 35.88]; see esp. Müller Hofstede 2002, pp. 48–49).

3. See d'Abano's demand in this regard in his commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian "problemata physica" from about 1310; see Zöllner 2010, p. 229.

4. About 1495 the poet Serafino Aquilano skillfully distinguished between *ritrarre dal naturale* and *ritrarre el natural*. See his Sonnet 49 (Ciminelli 1894 ed., p. 87): "Mando el ritratto mio qual brami ognora, / Né te admirar se par d'un altro el volto; / Non m'ha el pittor del natural già tolto, / Perché el mio natural teco dimora" (I am sending my portrait that you always coveted / Nor should you wonder if it seems of another / for the painter has not taken me from life / since my real self remains with you).

5. Aquilano, Sonnet 49 (see note 4 above): "Lassando te, da me fu el spirto fora / E intorno agli occhi toi remase involto; / Io restai una ombra, e acciò ch'io vegna stolto / Non mi vòl vivo amor, né vòl ch'io mora. / Poi el longo pianto, ohimè, ch'io spargo invano / Per gli occhi, dove un mar di e notte alloggia, / Fatto ha che 'l mio non par più volto umano. / Come talora advien ch'una gran pioggia / Muta i sentier, le vie, li monti e 'l piano, / Tal ch'ogne cosa par d'un'altra foggia."

6. Brilliant 1971, p. 15.

7. Kohl 2007.

8. For the medieval tradition of such objects and a new overview of studies that discuss bust reliquaries in relation to the portrait, see Drake Boehm 1997 and Fricke 2007.

9. For the context, see Kohl 2007, esp. pp. 15–25; for a seminal discussion, see I. Lavin 1998.

10. Bormand and Le Pogam in Paris–Florence–Washington 2006–7, pp. 154–57, no. 8; see also Cascio and Lévy 2007.

11. See Schmidt Arcangeli 2005, p. 285.

12. Goffen 1989, p. 207.

13. Sanudo 1903 ed., p. 68.

14. D. Ferrara 1991.

15. For the ritual significance of the doge's costume, see ibid.

16. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.88: "Imagines adeo similitudinis indiscretae pinxit, ut—incredibile dictu—Apio grammaticus scriptum reliquerit, quendam ex facie hominum divinantem, quos metoposcopos vocant, ex iis dixisse aut futurae mortis annos aut praeteritae vitae" (English trans. by H. Rackham, Pliny the Elder 1995 ed., p. 327). For commentary on this important passage as well as a lengthy discussion of the concept of *imago*, see Preimesberger 1999b.

17. For the distinction between *effictio* and *notatio*, see Cropper 1986, p. 175.

18. See Baader 1999a.

19. For the canonical ideals of female beauty in Latin poetry beginning with Matthew of Vendôme and their adoption and transformation in Boccaccio and Poliziano, a process that continued into the sixteenth century (Ariosto, Tasso, Firenzuola), see Sivo 2007.

20. For this, see Branciforti 1995. Covi (1958, p. 174 n. 27) dates the poem in question to 1452.

21. At top: Petrarch, *Triumph of Chastity*, verse 87: "Timore d'infamia e / solo disio d'onore" (in Petrarch it reads "Timor d'infamia e Desio sol d'onore"); at bottom: Antonio di Meglio: "piansi gia / quello ch'io volli, / poi ch'io l'ebbi"; on the long sides: "Fu che Idio volle / Sarà che Idio vorrà." In his *Nuova Cronica* (6.60), Giovanni Villani describes how Castruccio Castracani, following his elevation into the knightly class, had a carmine-red velvet robe made that was

emblazoned with a transformation of this motto: on the front were the words "È quello che Idio vuole," and on the back "E si, sarà quello che Idio vorrà."

22. See Van der Sman 2010, p. 278.

23. "Ars utinam mores / animvmque effingere / posses pvlchior in ter / ris nvlla tabella foret." For a lengthy discussion of the inscription, see Shearman 1992, pp. 108–13.

24. See the detailed technical study of the picture in Sedano Espín et al. 2010, esp. pp. 333–37.

25. The relationship between the panel and the depiction of Giovanna in the fresco is discussed in the literature; see Cadogan 2000, p. 278, no. 46, for the inscription, the symbolism of her clothing, and an allegorical interpretation of the objects placed in the background; see also Schmid 2002, pp. 125–29, esp. p. 126; in addition, see, most recently, Van der Sman 2010; for the context, see DePrano 2004.

26. Schmid 2002, p. 125.

27. As with the portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni, Giovanni Tornabuoni's only daughter can be identified by comparison with portrait medals; see Schmid 2002, p. 121.

28. Quoted from Van der Sman 2010, p. 278.

29. Pliny the Elder provides the primal formula for this view with his image of the Corinthian potter's daughter who captured her lover's sillhouette on the wall before his departure (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.151).

30. For Pisanello's medals, see Syson 1998b.

31. Spinelli 1892, p. 5.

32. Quoted from Syson 1997, p. 281.

33. Alberti, *Della pittura*, 2.40: "the parts of the body ugly to see" (English translation by John R. Spencer [Alberti 1966 ed.]).

34. Alberti, *Della pittura*, 2.40: "Dipingevano gli antiqui l'immagine d'Antigono solo da quella parte del viso ove non era mancamente dell'occhio. E dicono che a Pericle era suo capo lungo e brutto, e per questo dai pittori e dagli scultori, non come gli altri era col capo nudo, ma col capo armato ritratto" (The ancients painted the portrait of Antigonos only from the part of the face where the eye was not lacking. It is said that Pericles' head was long and ugly, for this reason he—unlike others—was portrayed by painters and sculptors wearing a helmet." For Alberti's sources in Quintilian, Pliny, and Plutarch, see Oskar Bätschmann and Christoph Schäublin's edition (Alberti 2000 ed., p. 130 nn. 89, 90).

35. In a 1355 letter, Petrarch relates how he presented Emperor Charles IV with a few coins bearing portraits of ancient emperors and challenged him to emulate the men depicted; see Mann 1998, p. 191 n. 6.

36. The information about the medal is taken from Syson 1997, where one finds the letter of thanks from Giacomo d'Arti, the ambassador of the Gonzaga in Naples, in which he describes what an impression the medal had made on Germaine de Foix, wife of Ferdinand II of Aragon. There as well is an interpretation of the iconography on the medal's reverse.

37. For a biography of Cecilia Gallerani, see Shell 1998b.

38. Gould 1975a, p. 73.

39. "... ma solo è per esser fatto esso retratto in una età si imperfecta che io ho poi cambiato tuta quella effigie" (Beltrami 1919b, p. 57, doc. 89).

40. See Echinger-Maurach 2006.

41. Echinger-Maurach (2006, p. 96) cites Jan van Eyck's portrait of Margarete van Eyck, in which the "painter's gaze [is directed] with great intensity at the physical properties (skin, fur, and white linen head covering), properties that surely interested Leonardo as a scientist, but which he cared about less and less in his painting."

42. Tinagli (1997, p. 89) writes of the Kraków portrait, "An impression of thought is conveyed by the eyes: Leonardo's sfumato, which masks the corners of her eyes and lips, denies a precise contour and therefore enhances the fleeting sensation of change."

43. Leonardo, *Trattato della pittura* (Vat. Urb. lat. 1270, para. 109), as cited in Laurenza 2001, p. 126: "Debbe il pittore fare la sua figura sopra la regola d'un corpo naturale, il quale comunemente sia di proportione laudabile" (The painter should form his figure following the example of an actual body that is generally considered praiseworthy in its proportions [trans. by Russell Stockman]).

44. Laurenza 2001, p. 126: "L'altra nozione, quella negativa, riguarda invece la natura come 'necessità' cieca ed ottusa, il cui progetto tende ad attuarsi indipendentemente dagli errori o mancamenti che esso comporta. Nei confronti di questa legge, in sé implacabile, resta tuttavia all'uomo un margine etico o razionale di libertà, un elemento con cui Leonardo, nonostante il tendenziale 'animalismo', definisce la specificità della natura umana."

45. Bull 1998, p. 84.

46. Daniela Pizzagalli (1999, p. 13) points out the tendency toward stylization and "unnaturalness" that characterize the animal.

47. The unnaturalness of her movement has frequently been noted in the literature. Pietro Marani (1998, p. 39) characterizes it as "quasi un'anticipazione della figura serpentinata del Manierismo italiano" (virtually an anticipation of the *figura serpentinata* of Italian Mannerism).

48. Kemp 2006, pp. 139–40.

49. Fabjan 1998, p. 73: "e prima si lascia pigliare a' cacciatori, che volere fuggire nella infangata tana—per non maculare la sua gientileza." For the animal depictions in the *Fiore di virtù* in general, see Lehmann-Brockhaus 1940.

50. The motto appears in this or in variant form in the heraldry of various European ruling houses, most notably in the *impresa* of Ferrante, king of Naples.

51. Fabjan 1998, p. 74 n. 2.

52. On fol. 48v it reads, "Moderanza raffrena tutti i vizi. L'ermellino prima vol morire che 'mbrattarsi" (Moderation curbs all vices. The ermine would rather die than soil itself); quoted from Laurenza 2001, p. 173.

53. Sonnet 128 (Bellincioni 1876–78 ed., pp. 178–79).

54. In the literature it is frequently noted that the Greek term for ermine is γαλη (galé) and that the animal is accordingly to be interpreted as an allusion to the family name Gallerani. If in fact such a phonetic allusion was intended, its meaning would still be greatly in need of explanation; see, for example, Manca 2008.

55. Barolsky 1992.

56. Sonnet 45 (Bellincioni 1876–78 ed., p. 72).

57. Bellincioni also refers to Ludovico as "l'italico moro, bianco ermelino" (Sonnet 128; Bellincioni 1876–78 ed., pp. 178–79). Inasmuch as Ludovico claimed for himself the ermine's nature at court, Leonardo's painting could take on an additional erotic connotation. The picture shows how one ermine (Ludovico) gains the love of another (Cecilia), his "ermine lady."

58. Elizabeth Cropper (1986, p. 188) concludes from this that "The poet's denial of the validity of painted appearance is refuted through the painting itself."

59. Zöllner 2010, pp. 256–58.

"The face that is known draws the eyes of all spectators . . ." (*pp. 77–84*)

1. Alberti 1877 ed., pp. 152–53; Alberti 1972 ed., pp 98–100; Alberti 1973 ed., p. 98; Alberti 2000 ed., pp. 300–302; Alberti 2002 ed., pp. 158–59; Sinisgalli 2006, pp. 256–57.

2. Locher 1999, pp. 75–76 and p. 75 n. 1; Alberti 2000 ed., pp. 26–31, 317–18; Alberti 2002 ed., pp. 3–6.

3. Pfisterer 1998, pp. 205–51; Alberti 2000 ed., pp. 19–23; Bredekamp 2007.

4. Alberti 2000 ed., pp. 94–97; Alberti 2002 ed., pp. 36–40; Schnackertz 2005, pp. 670–93; Ortland 2006, pp. 430–32.

5. Alberti 1972 ed., pp. 98–100; Alberti 2000 ed., pp. 300–301; Sinisgalli 2006, pp. 256–57.

6. Alberti 1972 ed., p. 101.

7. For the question of which version was written first, the Latin or the vernacular, see Maraschio 1972, pp. 265–73; Alberti 1973 ed., p. 307; Locher 1999, pp. 79, 82; Alberti 2000 ed., pp. 317–18; Bertolini 2000; Alberti 2002 ed., pp. 5–6; Sinisgalli 2006, pp. 25, 32.

8. Alberti 1877 ed., p. 153; Alberti 1973 ed., p. 98; Alberti 2002 ed., p. 158; Sinisgalli 2006, pp. 256–57.

9. Alberti 1966 ed., pp. 93–94.

10. Keuck 1934, esp. pp. 81–87; Patz 1986; Greenstein 1990; Grassi in Grassi and Pepe 1994, pp. 438–40; Locher 1999, pp. 99–104; Alberti 2000 ed., pp. 87–94; Bätschmann 2001, esp. pp. 108, 111–12; Alberti 2002 ed., pp. 31–36; Brassat 2003, pp. XIV–XXIX, 3–92.

11. Castelnuovo 1988, p. 24.

12. Willwock 1992.

13. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.153; see Preimesberger 1999a.

14. Brilliant 1991, pp. 9–10.

15. Baader 1999a.

16. Kohl 2007, p. 18; see also Brilliant 1991, p. 10; Suthor 1999b.

17. Pommier 1998, pp. 128–83; Baader 1999c; Preimesberger 1999c; Preimesberger 1999d; Robert 2004.

18. Baader 1999d, p. 198; see also Boehm 1985, esp. pp. 19–70; Spanke 2004; Zemanek 2010, pp. 15–22; for the portrait's "occasionality," see Gadamer 1975, pp. 137–42; also Suthor 1999a; for the portrait and individuality, see Boehm 1985, esp. pp. 15–38; for the portrait and persona, Baader 1999b.

19. Teichert 2004; for recognition in mimesis, see Gadamer 1975, pp. 108–10.

20. Schenk and Krause 2001.

21. Schlüter 1971; Brilliant 1991, pp. 23–44; Bettini 1992, pp. 211–39; Pepe in Grassi and Pepe 1994, pp. 889, 906–7; Pfisterer 1998; Preimesberger 1999a; Preimesberger 1999b, pp. 145–49; and see the essay by Stefan Weppelmann in this volume.

22. Pepe in Grassi and Pepe 1994, p. 889.

23. Alberti 1972 ed., p. 121; see also Parronchi 1959, pp. 13–14; Aiken 1980; Balters 1991, pp. 148–51; Pfisterer 1998, pp. 224–25; Bätschmann 1999; Alberti 2000 ed., pp. 13–139, 182–91, esp. pp. 186, 187; for "voluptas," see Patz 1986, pp. 278–82; Zöllner 1997, pp. 32–34; for the dating, see Alberti 2000 ed., pp. 26–31.

24. The translations of this and the following quotations from the *Poetics* are from Aristotle 1967 ed., pp. 20–21.

25. For the reception of the *Poetics*, see Weinberg 1961 and Tigerstedt 1968; for its early reception, see Fuhrmann 1973, pp. 197–98. Shearman (1972, p. 128 n. 167) refers to a translation of the *Poetics* from Arabic that was owned by Pope Nicholas V; among the numerous references to Greek texts in Bertolini (1998) there is no mention of Aristotle; for Lodovico Castelvetro's *Poetica d'Aristotele volgarizzata et sposta*, published in 1570 and 1576 (Barocchi 1971–77, vol. 3, pp. 2712–14), see Preimesberger 1999f, esp. pp. 292–93.

26. Panofsky 1960, pp. 5–6 and note on p. 74; Grassi in Grassi and Pepe 1994, pp. 658–60.

27. Grassi in Grassi and Pepe 1994, pp. 372–74; Müller Hofstede 2003, pp. 132–36.

28. Auerbach 1939; Grassi in Grassi and Pepe 1994, pp. 315–16; Thimann 2007, pp. 338–42.

29. For example, see the section "Della diferenza ch'io intendo che sia tra l'immitare e ritrarre" in Vincenzo Danti's *Il primo libro del trattato delle perfette proporzioni di tutte le cose che imitare e ritrarre si possano con l'arte del disegno*, from 1567 (Barocchi 1971–77, vol. 2, pp. 1570–74; see Preimesberger 1999e).

30. Alberti employs the terms *vis* and *forza* with the epithet "divine" at the beginning of the second book of *De Pictura* in his famous praise of painting: "Nam habet ea quidem in se vim admodum divinam" (Alberti 1972 ed., pp. 60–61; Alberti 2000 ed., pp. 234–35) and "Tiene in se la pictura forza divina" (Alberti 1877 ed. [1970 reprint, pp. 88–89]; Alberti 2002 ed., pp. 100–101). In rhetoric, *vis* can designate the force of a speaker's emotional energy or the force of the expressive energy of the art of eloquence (Lausberg 1973, pp. 840–41). The Italian equivalent, *forza*, is used by Vasari in reference to Piero della Francesca's "forza de le linee et degli angoli" and when describing the *forza terribile* of figures or coloring (Grassi in Grassi and Pepe 1994, p. 332).

31. De Mauro, Grassi, and Battisti 1963, vol. 11, cols. 564–65; Freedman 1987, pp. 67–82; see Preimesberger 1999e, esp. pp. 280–85.

32. Cennini 1982 ed., p. 28; Skaug 1993; Löhr 2008; Berlin 2008.

33. For the question of the intended functions of the two versions, see Locher 1999, esp. pp. 77–89; Alberti 2000 ed., pp. 316–19; Alberti 2002 ed., esp. pp. 3–5.

34. For the history of the word "portrait," derived from the Latin verb *protrahere*, as well as the concept, see Boehm 1985, pp. 45–50; Spanke 2004, pp. 59–60; for the "productive connection between face and drawing" connoted by the words *trait* or *tratto*, see Wittmann 1999.

35. Alberti 1966 ed., p. 63. In the Italian edition: "Tiene in sé la pittura forza divina non solo quanto si dice dell'amicizia, quale fa gli uomini assenti essere presenti, ma più i morti dopo molti secoli essere quasi vivi, tale che con molta ammirazione dell'artifice e con molta voluttà si reconoscono. Dice Plutarco, Cassandro, uno de' capitani di Allessandro, perché vide l'immagine d'Allessandro re tremò con tutto il corpo"; Alberti 2002 ed., pp. 100–101, commentary on p. 184 with reference to parallels to the praise of painting. The Latin version differs only slightly: "Nam habet ea quidem in se vim admodum divinam non modo ut quod de amicitia dicunt, absentes pictura praesentes esse faciat, verum etiam defunctos longa post saecula viventibus exhibeat, ut summa cum artificis admiratione ac visentium voluptate cognoscantur. Refert Plutarchus Cassandrum unum ex Alexandri ducibus, quod simulacrum iam defuncti Alexandri intueretur, in quo regis maiestatem cognovisset, toto cum corpore trepidasse" (Alberti 2000 ed., pp. 234–35).

36. Schnackertz 2005, p. 674.

37. Aristotle 1967 ed., p. 15; see Aristotle 1982 ed., pp. 4–5; Schnackertz 2005, p. 674.

38. Plamböck 1972.

39. Schnackertz 2005, pp. 674–76.

40. Alberti 1972 ed., p. 61.

41. Brilliant 1991, p. 1; Wiesing 2005, pp. 99–106.

42. Freedberg 1989; Belting 1996; Wolf 2003, pp. 48–56; Bredekamp 2010.

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