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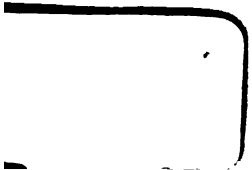
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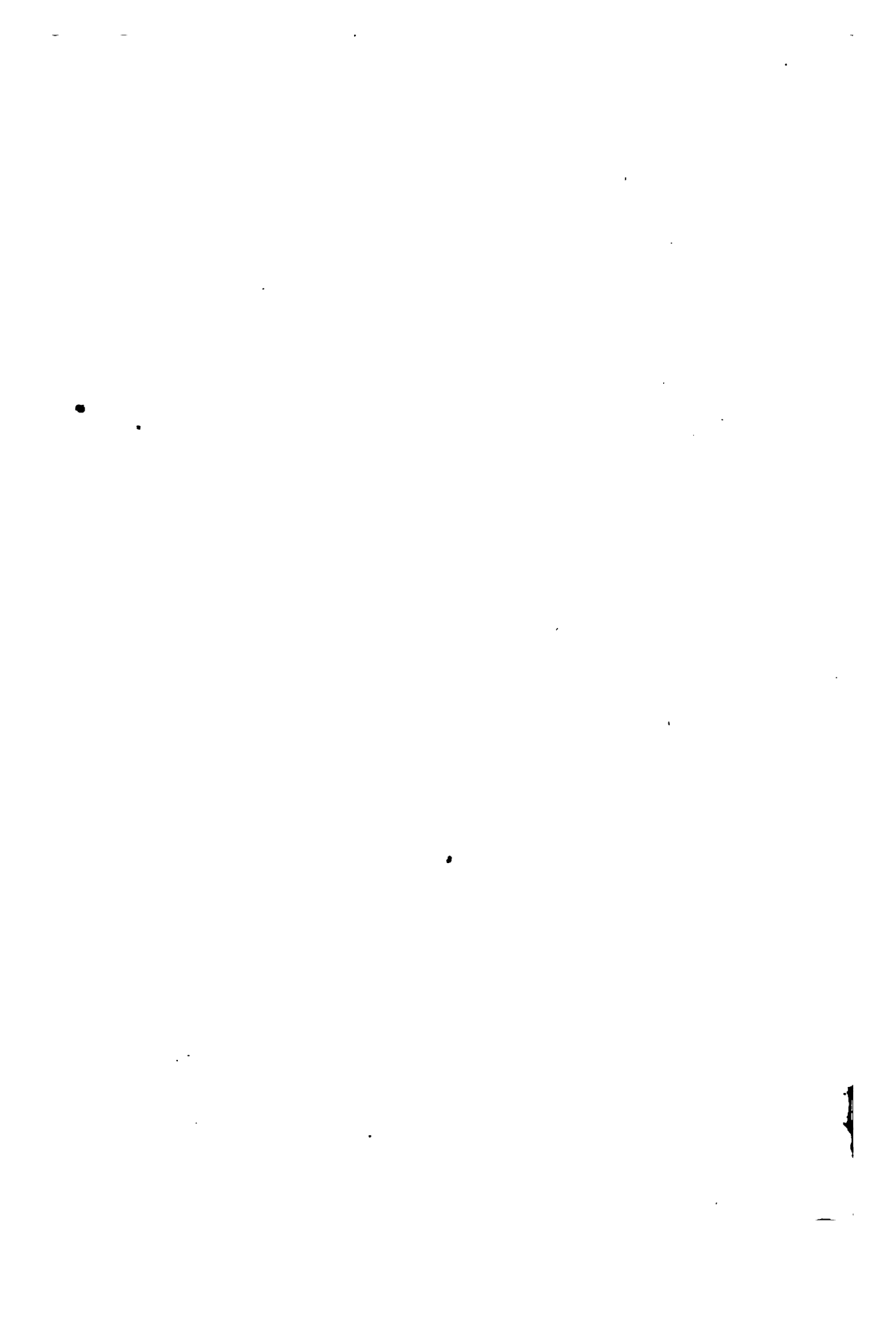
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ADORING MADONNA.

HISTORICAL HANDBOOK
OF
ITALIAN SCULPTURE

BY
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ILLUSTRATED

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

1883

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E del
ETRUSCAN BAS-RELIEF FROM CHIUSI. (Musée Napoléon III. au Louvre.)

PREFACE.

ERRATA.

Page 126, line 11, for 1531 read 1381.

" 404, " 10, " *Gesso Duro*, original design, read *Original Terra Cotta Study*.

and Mediævalism, which regarded them solely as a means of conveying doctrinal instruction through symbolic or direct representation, sculpture in Italy had dragged out a feeble existence for many centuries before the year 1000 when the end of the world was confidently expected, and had then almost ceased to be. As the dreaded moment approached, men thought only of how they could save their souls or drown their anxieties, and not until it had passed did they breathe freely enough to occupy themselves with life and its activities. Among these, art at once claimed attention, as gratitude for deliverance found natural expression in the building of new churches or the restoring of those which through neglect were fast falling to ruin, and as sculpture formed an integral part of their façades and portals, improvement in the use of the chisel soon began to show itself, though no real revival took place in the decorative arts until the first quarter of the thirteenth

century, with which our history properly begins. Its seat was Tuscany, and its leader was Niccola Pisano, of whom we shall speak, after giving some account of sculpture in Italy before his time and as he found it. We use the word sculpture, which implies technical and æsthetic training, instead of stone carving, which more properly expresses the nature of much of the work which we are to consider, simply because it is a more convenient form of speech, and not as implying artistic excellence in Italian works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Their makers, who modestly styled themselves "Maestri di Pietra," *i.e.* stonecutters, and "arte marmoris periti," men skilled in marble work, then first began to sign their works, and to be lauded in fulsome inscriptions, which while they show that art was held in esteem also prove the low standard of an age, when the clumsiest workmen were looked upon as prodigies of genius.

In preparing this volume for the press from materials already made use of in a larger work on the same subject, and from those which have been added to the common stock of information since its publication, I have thought it best to speak of Pre-revival sculpture throughout Italy in an introductory chapter, and to begin the work—proper with the Revival. After that era, as the personality of the sculptor becomes more and more pronounced, biographical materials increase, until in the case of such representative men as Michelangelo little remains to be discovered. Modern research is however constantly active in the pursuit of fresh information, so that we can never consider what we know at any given time as final, but the historian can do no more than avail himself of present acquisitions, and this I have endeavoured to do.

"Als ik kan, niet als ik wil."

Boston, December, 1882.

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INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

SCULPTURE IN NORTHERN ITALY BEFORE THE REVIVAL.

LOMBARDY.

THE Goths who overran Italy at the end of the fourth century were fortunately under the control of a leader who, though himself so illiterate that he could not write his own name, had imbibed at the Court of the Emperor Zeno such a respect for arts and letters that when he became master of the better part of the Western Empire he used his power to protect ancient monuments from injury, and for a time stopped the wanton destruction of those vestiges of the past. With a shrewd foresight, which recognized the conditions necessary for the maintenance of his authority, Theodoric (475-526) stimulated the Italians to the cultivation of arts and letters, while he kept the Goths out of the reach of such humanising influences, lest in becoming civilized they should fall off from their high state of military discipline. The palaces which he erected at Terracina, Ravenna, Verona, and Pavia,* were built by Italian architects who were ignorant of any other style of architecture than that which was based upon the round arch, and imitated the old Roman buildings as far as their inferior skill would allow. The debased Roman was therefore the only style employed in Italy during the period of Gothic rule, and it was not till seven hundred years after its overthrow that the pointed style, to which the name of Gothic has been most erroneously attached, crossed the Alps and took an always uncertain foothold in the peninsula.

While Italian architects and mosaic-workers built and

* Cantù, *Storia degli Italiani*, ii. 25.

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decorated the edifices of Gothic kings, Italian marble-workers adorned sarcophagi* with such rude bas-reliefs as we see in the Lateran museum at Rome and about the streets of Ravenna, but they made no statues,* and were so inferior to Byzantine sculptors that St. Ecclesius, Bishop of Ravenna, on returning from Byzantium, where he had witnessed the immense enthusiasm of Justinian and his people in the construction of Santa Sophia, determined to employ only Greek workmen upon the church of San Vitale.† The introduction of the Byzantine style into Italy thus effected was productive of important results, for as it was gradually blended with the classical Roman, with which it was then first brought face to face, a third great style was formed, known as the Romanesque, Romano-Byzantine, Lombard or Comacine. The two first names sufficiently denote their origin, but the two last demand some explanation. That of Lombard as applied to any art is an absolute misnomer, if supposed to be derived from the barbarous tribes who crossed the Alps under Alboinus, king of the Lombards or Longobards, reduced the greater part of Italy to subjection and ruled it for nearly two centuries, since they like the Goths were ignorant and unlettered. It was not because the new style of architecture, which sprang up in Italy during their dominion, originated with them, that the name of Lombard was applied to the manner of building then prevalent, but because the greater part of the southern as well as the northern Italian provinces were comprehended under the name of Lombardy. The name of Comacine was derived from a body of Italian architects who built for the Lombards, and kept art traditions alive while their rule lasted. For twenty years after Alboinus and his followers overran the plains of Lombardy, the Isoletta Comacina (an island in the Lake of Como), which held out against their power under Francione, an imperial partisan, contained numbers of fugitives from all parts of Italy, amongst whom were many

* The equestrian group which surrounded the pediment of Theodoric's palace at Ravenna was a portrait of the Emperor Zeno cast at Constantinople. It bore a shield upon its left shoulder and a lance in its outstretched right hand. Birds flew in and out of the distended nostrils of the horse and built their nests in his belly (Agnelli, *Liber Pontificalis*, pt. ii. ch. ii. p. 123; Mur. *Sc. Rer. It.* vol. ii.).

† Completed by St. Maximin A.D. 546-556.

skilled artisans known as the *Maestri Comacini*, a name afterwards changed into that of "*Casari*" or "*Casarii*,"—builders of houses. After they had submitted to the invaders (A.D. 590) their college or guild was favoured by the Lombard kings; its members were enfranchised, made citizens, and allowed certain important privileges, but there is no evidence that the Lombard kings did anything to protect arts, commerce, or industry before the reign of King Rotari (A.D. 686–652), whose code of laws contains special enactments for the protection of the *Maestri Comacini*, and a recognition of their free jurisdiction in the name given to them of Free-masons. During the early period of Lombard rule, while the country was suffering from war and pestilence, these artisans found little employment; but their situation was ameliorated after the conversion of the Lombards from Arianism to Catholicism, through the influence of Queen Theodolinda, the Bavarian and Catholic wife of their King Agilulph. To commemorate his change of faith, the queen employed Comacine architects to build the Cathedral at Monza, where they represented her with other members of her family, and the precious gifts with which she endowed the Church, in a bas-relief of the Baptism of our Lord, which still exists over its chief portal.

A hundred years after her time other Comacine masters worked at Cividale in the district of Friuli, with the same methods of construction, and the same lack of skill in the use of the chisel. Their architecture and sculpture are chiefly interesting as examples of a transitional period, when Roman and Byzantine elements hesitated in each other's presence before uniting in the Romanesque. The most important of these Comacine works is the octagonal font in the Cathedral which was erected by St. Calixtus, Bishop of Aquileja, about 737. The spaces between the slender columns with rude Corinthian capitals which support its roof are spanned by round arches, whose spandrels are adorned with clumsily represented Christian emblems. The bases of the columns rest upon a marble parapet decorated with figures symbolical of the four Evangelists. These figures and an ornate Greek cross with candelabra and palmettos, are executed in relief by lowering the surface of the stone around the clumsy outlines, within which the details are indicated by furrows dug out in

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the stone. The sarcophagus of Pemone, Duke of Friuli, under the high altar of the Church of San Martino is contemporary with them, and equally rude in style. Our Lord is there represented as borne upwards by four angels in an aureole formed of leaves within which are two other angels, marked as cherubim by the eyes upon their wings. The hand of the Father is sculptured above the head of the Son, and stars and flowers are scattered about the background. In the bas-relief of the Adoration of the Magi* at one end of the sarcophagus, and in that of the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth at the other, the Madonna has a cross cut upon her forehead, instead of having it traced upon a veil as in early Greek manuscripts. The faces of the figures are without expression, and their proportions are short and clumsy. Their outlines, features, and

folds of drapery were originally rendered more distinct by colour, traces of which are still visible.

Numerous fragments of ornaments and animals in the same Italo-Byzantine style are set into the wall of the atrium of the church of Santa Maria della Valle,† where they may be easily compared with the genuine Byzantine figures and stucco ornaments inside its portal, which were probably executed for Peltruda, wife of a duke of Friuli, who founded the adjoining monastery, by some of those artists who took refuge in Italy during the Iconoclastic war. The archivolt of the portal is

completely covered with a vine, boldly modelled in open work.

* The three Kings are said to be portraits of Rachis Duke of Friuli, and his brothers Aistulf and Ratcait.

† See *Tavole Chronologiche della Storia della Chiesa universale, illustrate de Ignazio Mozzani*, sec. 8, pp. 96, 97, for a mention of Sta. Maria della Valle, also the work of M. de Dartain on Lombard architecture, pt. ii. pp. 30 *et seq.*



Above it are six life-size statues of SS. Anastasia, Agape, Chionia, Irene, Chrysognus and Zoiles, whose long proportions, rigidity of pose, and peculiar type of face give them the appearance of the saints represented in Byzantine mosaics and ivories. They wear crowns upon their heads, and are clothed in closely fitting robes, whose borders are ornamented with gems disposed in regular patterns. (*See wood-cut, p. xii.*)

It is important to remember that many of the early Italian churches have been so completely changed by restoration as to retain but few traces of their original aspect, while the date of the sculptures about them, when history fails us, can only be conjectured, as they often belong to a later period than the buildings. The capitals of the columns of the church of San Salvatore at Brescia, for instance, some of which are Byzantine and others rude imitations of the Corinthian, certainly belong to the same period as the edifice, which was built by the Lombard king Desiderius and his wife Ansa in the eighth century (769), while the capitals of the white and red marble colonnettes formerly in the confession, and now in the museum, cannot have been sculptured before the tenth century, as one of them is adorned with representations of the martyrdom of Santa Julia, whose worship did not obtain favour at Brescia until after that time.* So also the stucco ornaments and reliefs at San Pietro di Civate (in the territory of Brienza, on the mountains near the Lake of Como), which was built by the same king in fulfilment of a vow made to St. Peter when his son Adelchi was struck blind while hunting, are of several different periods, though none appear to be contemporary with the building itself. The griffins, chimeras, fantastic animals and fishes, with the interlaced ornaments resembling those upon Scandinavian monuments, indicate that influence of northern traditions, which shows itself in similar sculptures of the eleventh century about Apulian churches, but the subjects in relief from the life of our Lord belong to a later period, for the Resurrection and the Passion were not directly represented in this part of Italy before the twelfth century. So again, while the rudely-shaped animals and monstrous figures about the façade of San Michele at Pavia, and the clumsy images of San Michele and of a bishop above its pediment, are works

* Ricci, *op. cit.* i. 256, 258.

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of the eleventh or twelfth century, the church is a building of the tenth, erected upon the site of an old edifice founded by King Grimoaldus, which was burnt down when the Hungarian mercenaries of the Emperor Adalbert set fire to the city.

MILAN.

While Theodoric made Pavia a royal residence, and the Lombards embellished Monza, Milan was left in the low state to which Uriah, the nephew of Vitiges King of the Goths, had reduced her in the fifth century. Her double walls, her theatres, temples, and peristyles adorned with statues, mentioned in the verses of Ausonius, were then thrown down and destroyed, and this city, which had been the first in Italy after Rome, did not regain her former position for more than five hundred years. The remains of early sculpture at Milan are consequently of little importance, and only worthy of attention as connected with the history of art. The earliest are a sarcophagus of the fourth century in the church of S. Celso, which differs in no respect from works of the same class and period at Rome and Ravenna, and a rudely executed bas-relief of the eighth century on the outside of the church of Sta. Maria di Beltrade, which is interesting on account of the connection of its subject with the period in which it was sculptured. It represents a bishop preceded by monks bearing an image of the Madonna and Child upon their shoulders, and followed by torch-bearers. The man with a long beard who closes the procession (called "Della Idea") is supposed to be the "Primiciere"* of the "Scuola di Sant' Ambrogio," a society of twenty male and female beggars, to whom alms were distributed at certain seasons of the year, among whose benefactors was Archbishop Anspertus, the regenerator of Milan.

With the exception of Anspertus and his predecessor Angibertus, the Archbishops of Milan, who held the first rank among Italian ecclesiastics and were the real rulers of the city under the weak successors of Charlemagne, did little for any of the arts. Angibertus erected the ciborium at Sant' Ambrogio

* From his dress we might suppose this to be a priest, did we not know that priests were not allowed to wear beards at that time (Giulini, *Mem. di Milano*, i. 305).

(A.D. 835) whose gables are adorned with long-proportioned symmetrically-disposed figures in relief of a thoroughly Byzantine type, and employed an artist named Wolvinus to make a series of bas-reliefs in gold to decorate the high altar.

The wealth and power of the Milanese archbishops culminated in the person of Heribert or Aribert, an ambitious and warlike prelate, who assuming the right to dispose of the crown of Italy, offered it at the Council of Constance, to the German emperor Conrad, placed it on his head in the cathedral at Milan, and entertained him and his suite with princely magnificence for many weeks after the ceremony. His chief title to remembrance is the invention of the Caroccio, which was adopted by the principal cities of Northern Italy, and proved a powerful element of military success, as its loss in battle was a disgrace, and its possession by the enemy the surest proof of victory. It consisted of a huge car with a lofty mast, surmounted by a crucifix standing on a gilded globe, from which floated two long white banners. An altar for the celebration of mass, the military chest, and all kinds of medicines and bandages for wounded soldiers were carried upon it, and it was always kept in the midst of the army while in the field, so as to show where the commander stood, where the disabled could find succour, and where fugitives could rally in safety. The Milanese regarded their caroccio with so much affection, that when Frederic Barbarossa ordered it to be broken up (A.D. 1162) their emotion affected even his rough soldiers to tears,* but they took their revenge upon him at Legnano five years later, and then consecrated the rude Byzantine-looking crucifix which towered above the Caroccio on that memorable day in the church of San Calimaro,† where it still remains.

The victory of Legnano is also commemorated by the bas-reliefs of the Porta Romana, which represent the triumphant citizens returning to their half-destroyed homes, headed by a monk named Frate Jacopo, who bears the city banner in his hand, and accompanied by their allies from Cremona,

* Kington's *Life of Frederic II.*, i. 52.

† The figure of our Lord in low relief is both coloured and gilded. Below it Archbishop Heribert is represented holding the model of the church of St. Dionysius in his hand. The square nimbus around his head proves that the crucifix was made during his lifetime.

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Brescia, and Bergamo. One of the inscriptions upon the gate records the name of Anselmus as the sculptor, and hails him as a second Dædalus,* but in applying to him a name which stood to his contemporaries as typical of the perfect sculptor they showed their own ignorance, for art could hardly reach a lower stage than in these short, clumsy, thickset figures, dangling in the air like a row of dolls with pendant feet and shapeless hands. The contempt of the Milanese for Barbarossa expressed itself in two bas-reliefs of himself and his wife, the Empress Beatrice, one of which is a hideous caricature, and the other too grossly obscene for description.† In the first the Emperor is represented as a bareheaded and long haired monster, holding a sceptre in one hand and resting the other upon his thigh. His feet are crossed, and he holds between his knees a nondescript creature with a human head, bat's ears, a dragon's scaly breast and wings, and fishes' fins in lieu of arms.‡

As Milan increased in power and wealth, the monuments in her churches were so greatly multiplied, that at the end of the fourteenth century they are said to have been no less than 2,000 in number. Many of those in the Cathedral were removed by San Carlo Borromeo, and others, such as the twelve marble statues given by Pope Urban II. in 1220, a pulpit made by a certain Oprando da Busnate, and divers tombs of the Sforzas and the Viscontis have disappeared, so that the red marble sarcophagus supported upon columns in which Archbishop Otho Visconti (d. 1256) was buried, is now the only existing monument to a member of either family in the Cathedral. It may be the work of one of the Campionesi, so called from Campione, their native district on the shores of the Lago

* "Hoc opus formavit Anselmus Dædalus ale." "Ale" has been supposed to stand for "alter," or to be an abbreviation of Alexandrinus. "Dædalus ale" has also been read as "De Dalus arte" (see Millin, *Voyage dans le Milanais*).

† This bas-relief, which long disgraced the Porta Tosi, is now preserved in the Palazzo Archinti. It is sculptured on the back of a Roman cippus, whose inscription says that Publius Futilius had it made for himself and his three sons.

‡ Fiamma, the chronicler, says this figure was made for the Greek emperor; but this cannot be, as he was an ally of the leaguers. Millin calls it "Christ Conqueror of Satan." Giulini and Biondelli believe it to be the portrait of Barbarossa. When removed from the gate it was set up in the wall of a house overlooking the Naviglio.

Ceresio, to whom we may also safely attribute whatever of an improved style is to be found at or near Milan of an earlier date than the beginning of the fourteenth century, as, for instance, the equestrian alto-relief on the outer walls of the Broletto of the Podestà Orlando di Tresseno, who is noted for having first caused heretics to be burned at Milan (1233). He is here represented with bared head, and hair cut close in the neck, after the modern fashion, riding on a heavy limbed horse. The group, though wanting in life, has a certain homely truth to nature, and is interesting as being one of the first works of its kind made in Italy since the days of Justinian.

MODENA.

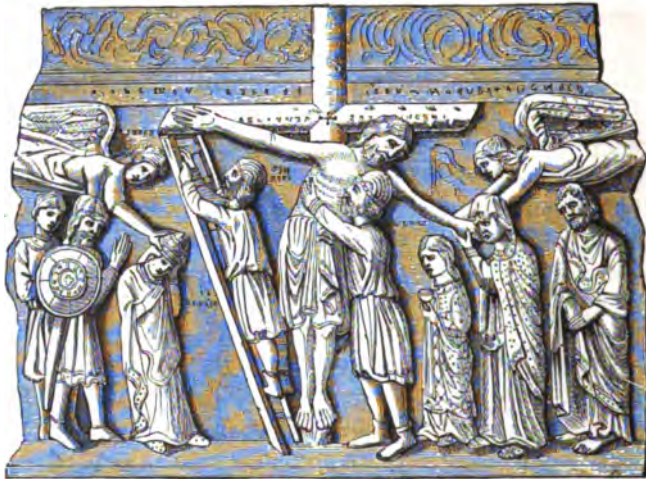
Five of the Campionesi, named Anselmo, Ottaccio, Enrico, Alberto and Jacopo, were employed at Modena, about the middle of the thirteenth century, to sculpture certain bas-reliefs for the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the Cathedral. The best among them is that of the Last Supper by Anselmo which, though far from being a masterpiece, is not barbaric like the reliefs of the victories of King Arthur over the Visigoths, sculptured by Wiligelmus, a Lombard or German sculptor of the twelfth century upon the façade of the Cathedral. Their figures, like those in the bas-reliefs of the Porta Romana at Milan, lately described, have round staring eyes, pendant limbs, and furrowed draperies, and represent sculpture at its lowest stage of degradation, while those in Anselmo's relief of the Last Supper, although stiff and inexpressive, show some knowledge of form, and some comprehension of the requirements of Art.

PARMA.

Benedetto degli Antelami, who built the Baptistry at Parma, and decorated it and the Cathedral with sculpture, was a much more remarkable artist than his contemporary, Anselmo da Campione. Like the Campionesi, and the Comacini, the Magistri Antelami to whom Benedetto belonged, were a body of architects and stone carvers, who derived their name from

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the place of their origin. Benedetto, who came from the Valley of Antelamo, in the province of Como, between the lakes of Maggiore and Varese, is known to us only by his patronymic, and we have no information as to his youth and education. In point of technical skill he was not in advance of many of his contemporaries, but though he expressed himself in very broken language, he had vastly more intelligence and feeling than any of them, and is on this account to be classed as their superior. Eighteen years before he built the Baptistry at Parma, and decorated it with sculptures, which form his best title to remembrance,



E del

DESCENT FROM THE CROSS. (By Benedetto Antelami.)

he carved three bas-reliefs for a pulpit in the Cathedral (1178), one of which, representing the Descent from the Cross, is now preserved in the Boiardi Chapel (see woodcut). The figures are stiff in pose, and scanty in proportion, but they form a composition with a central group and side groups whose action is concurrent. On the right of the cross, from which Nicodemus detaches the body while Joseph of Arimathea supports it in his arms, stand St. John and the Madonna, who assists the flying angel above her head to hold up the drooping arm of her Divine Son. The corresponding group on the left, represents a priest who is pushed forward to the foot of the Cross by

a soldier and a flying angel. As he has the word *Synagoga*, inscribed above his head, we may suppose that he is here introduced as a type of the stiff-necked Jews. This striking and so far as we know original idea, exemplifies those mystical tendencies of Benedetto which found full expression in his works at the Baptistery (1196). The bas-reliefs of its three portals illustrate the first and second coming of Christ, and symbolize human life. Jacob and the twelve Patriarchs, with Moses, who freed the children of Israel from slavery as Christ liberated mankind from the thralldom of sin, and the kings of David's line and the Madonna are represented upon the side parts of the north portal as seated one above the other upon the leaves of a vine, the tree of Jesse, whose branches intertwine to enframe them. Around the archivolt sit the prophets who foretold the coming of Christ, holding medallions, upon which half figures of the apostles are carved in relief. The frieze illustrates the history of our Lord and of St. John the Baptist. Upon the side posts of the western portal are the deeds of charity, which the Judge will enumerate as the titles of the just "to inherit the kingdom prepared for them from the beginning of the world," and the parable of the Labourers of the Vineyard, divided into twelve parts to represent the hours of the day. In the lunette sits Christ the Judge, surrounded by angels bearing the instruments of the Passion, and upon the architrave are other angels blowing trumpets to call the dead to life. The principal decoration of the southern portal is a bas-relief in its lunette, which represents a youth seated in the branches of a tree, gathering honey from a honeycomb,* while two small animals are gnawing at its

* Many learned explanations have been given of this relief. See for example, the *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, t. x. p. 289; Letter written by Sig. Lopez to M. Isabelle; Hammer, *Antologia di Firenze*, 1827, p. 84; Valéry, *Voyage en Italie*, t. ii. p. 210; Sacchi, *Antichistià Romantiche d' Italia*, epoca i. p. 117; M. le Dr. Duchalais, *Lettre à M. Lopez* du 5 juin 1854, imprimé dans le *xxii^e vol.* p. 307, *des Mémoires de la Société Impériale des Antiquaires de France*, 1855, in which he suggests that the subject of the bas-relief was drawn from the legend of S. Barlaam; Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xv. p. 413, 1855. Sig. Lopez, *op. cit.* p. 180, quotes the explanation given by Sig. Ab. Luigi Barbieri and printed in the *Efemeride della Pubblica Istruzione* (anno ii. no. 28, April 1, 1861, p. 473), as the most satisfactory. Sig. Barbieri says that the

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roots, and a dragon, with flames issuing from his extended jaws, sits watching to seize his prey when they shall have done their work. Thus man, absorbed in worldly enjoyments, forgets his inevitable doom. Reliefs in red Verona marble, of such symbolic human figures, heads, busts, animals, and fantastic monsters as are frequently seen about Lombard churches, are disposed about the eight sides of the building; and others of Faith, Justice and Peace, Hope, Prudence and Modesty, Charity and Piety, Chastity, Patience and Humility, are placed near the doorways.

The lunettes of the three doors within the building are filled with reliefs representing the flight into Egypt, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and the Regions of the Blessed. In a fourth relief upon the high altar, Christ seated within a mandorla blesses with his right hand, and rests his left upon an open book. In considering these works,* we must remember that they were sculptured at a time when anything beyond the decoration of a font or an architrave with emblems was seldom attempted, while in them on the contrary, the whole scheme of human redemption is unfolded in a series of allegorical and sacro-historical compositions and symbolic figures, by a master who lived more than a century before Giotto treated the same subject on the walls of the Arena Chapel at Padua. This once again brings us to see that in art, as in nature, the processes of evolution are slow and progressive. An apparently sudden advance is always preceded by efforts which have made it possible, and it is the discovery of these efforts which gives charm to the study of art in its early periods. Objects in themselves unattractive become interesting so soon as we recognize their historical relations to each other and to those of later and more educated times. Thus, at Parma, when we compare the sculptures of the Baptistery with the work of Lombard times, about the doorway of one of the old portals of the Basilica of San-Quintino, and upon the so-called *Porta di*

bas-relief expresses human life in its beginning, its source and its end; and that it is truly symbolical in that it has a triple significance, in relation to the physical, the moral, and the religious attributes of human nature.

* The façade sculptures of the Cathedral at Borgo San Donino near Parma, were perhaps executed by Benedetto or his scholars.

San Bertoldo in the choir of the church, which are respectively of the ninth and eleventh centuries, we see that although no great advance has been made in technic, the field of art representation has been greatly widened. Nearly all the great and many of the small North Italian cities give opportunity for such comparative study and observation, as for instance Verona, Venice, Mantua, Modena, etc., of which we shall now proceed to speak briefly.

VERONA.

The earliest sculptors mentioned at Verona, are Magister Urso, or Orso, and his scholars Gioventius and Gioviano, whose names were inscribed upon a ciborium in the church of San Giorgio di Val Pulicella. They are supposed to have been refugees from the Roman Campagna, who when Alboinus descended with his Lombard followers into Italy in the sixth century, fled with many natives of the invaded provinces to the Isola Comacina, and eventually became members of its famous body of architects. Maestro Pacifico, who lived in the ninth century, was perhaps a Veronese, as were Guglielmus, Nicolaus, Briolottus, and Adaminus, who in the twelfth took part in the decoration of the venerable church of San Zeno, which though founded in the sixth century was not completed till after the middle of the tenth (961). Guglielmus has been identified with the sculptor of the bas-reliefs and portal ornaments about the Cathedral at Modena, and Nicolò with the Nicolò del Ficarolo who decorated the exterior of the cathedral at Ferrara. The rude bas-reliefs on either side of the portal of San Zeno represent subjects from the Old and New Testament, fantastic animals, knights on horseback,* &c., &c. The figures in these compositions are short and clumsy, with eyes marked by round holes bored in the stone and painted black, and with furrowed draperies which still bear traces of colour. San Zeno appears in the lunette above the portal, standing on a dragon, surrounded by a crowd of people and knights on horseback. The doorway is closed by wooden doors covered with metal plates,

* One of the knights on horseback going to the chase is supposed to be meant for Theodoric, who according to a legend, was supplied with men and horses by the infernal powers.

beaten out into reliefs of the very rudest description, and of unknown date, which represent scenes from the Bible, and miracles worked by San Zeno.* Briolottus, who made the baptismal font within the church and the beautiful round window emblematic of Fortune's wheel above the façade-portal, probably lived at the close of the eleventh century. The wheel is covered with little figures, sitting, climbing, and falling, and is inscribed with Latin verses to this effect, "I elevate some mortals and depose others; I give good or evil to all; I clothe the naked and strip the clothed, in me if any one trust he will be turned to derision."

Adaminus, who inscribed his name upon one of the capitals of the double shaft which divides the entrance to the crypt of San Zeno, sculptured the reliefs upon the architrave above them. They represent a centaur hunting a stag, a dead fox carried on a staff by two cocks, birds, snails, frogs, imaginary animals and trees, which though barbarously drawn are treated with spirit. When, as here, the Romanesque sculptor confined himself to work of a decorative character, he was tolerably successful, but we need only look at the colossal San Zeno in the choir of this church, or at the figures of a large size and in high relief about the portal of the Cathedral, which were probably executed early in the twelfth century, to see how signally he failed in more ambitious attempts. The paladins of Charlemagne, there represented in allusion to the popular tradition that the church was founded by King Pepin, have short thickset forms, staring eyes and vacant faces, and their draperies and outlines are marked with furrows dug out in the stone. The other sculptures about this portal, the symbols of the Evangelists, the Prophets and Virtues, the signs of the Zodiac, &c. &c., are equally barbaric in style and execution, and of about the same date. It is evident that the artists who made them worked under no outside influence, but this was certainly not the case with the equally unknown sculptor of the font in San Giovanni in Fonte (about 1200), as its reliefs of incidents in the life of Christ from his birth to his baptism, betray the influence of Byzantine pictures and of antique marbles upon the artist's mind. In execution they are very superior to other

* Gailhabaud (*Hist. de l'Architecture du v^{me} au xviii^{me} siècle*), states his belief that they belong to two epochs, the latest having been made after a fire in MCLX.

works of the time, and notably so in the treatment of the draperies, in the more natural action of the figures, and in their combination into groups which, as in the Annunciation and in the Murder of the Innocents, show no little comprehension of the principles of composition, and in the latter a remarkable dramatic feeling. The sculptor of this font founded no school at Verona, and the character of his work is so different from that of any other Italian trecentist, that we are half inclined to accept the theory that he came from beyond the Alps.

VENICE.

The oldest sculptures to be seen at Venice were brought thither by the inhabitants of Aquileja and Altina, when they were driven to take shelter on the islands of the Lagoon by the Huns in the fifth, and the Lombards in the seventh century. Those who came to Torcello with Paulus Bishop of Altina in the year 640, brought tools and materials with them, and were thus enabled to build churches and other edifices, for whose decoration they obtained an almost inexhaustible supply of sculptured stone from Heraclea, Aquileja and Altina.*

Many such transplanted fragments, consisting of antique capitals and columns, and of early Christian slabs sculptured with peacocks, lions, crosses, and vines in flat-surfaced low relief, may be seen at St. Mark's and about the cancellum, the cattedra and the pulpit in the Cathedral at Torcello which was founded by Bishop Paulus, together with the baptistry, whose font was supplied with ever-running water from the mouths of brazen animals. This font no longer exists, nor, with the exception of the marbles already mentioned, is there any sculpture at Torcello earlier than that in the Cathedral which is probably a work of the ninth century. The four capriciously-imagined monsters on the outside of its marble basin, and the human figures grouped around the short column upon which it stands, are carved with the extreme rudeness characteristic of the period to which it belongs. It was not until after the tenth

* Romanin, *Storia di Venezia*, l. 48. The continuator of the Cronaca Altinate says that the citizens of Oderza, "totam petram dehinc abstulerunt."

century that some slight amelioration took place, when draperies were better arranged, and hands and feet fashioned a little more like nature.

The character of early Venetian sculpture, which in type and treatment of subject resembles the early Christian in other parts of Italy, is illustrated among other examples by the cattedra in the treasury of St. Mark's, a work of the tenth or eleventh century, although it lays traditional claim to an origin of far higher antiquity.* The mystic lamb standing upon the mountain out of which flow four rivers, the olive branch of peace, and the cross, are represented on the back of this venerable relic, and the symbols of the four Evangelists surrounded by the six wings of the cherubim, upon its sides. Other contemporary marbles in and about the Basilica, carved in the same rude style, prove that Venetian sculptors at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, were men of little skill, and this is corroborated by the fact that the doge Pietro Orseolo was obliged to procure artists from Constantinople to rebuild St. Mark's, which had been burnt down during the reign of his tyrannical predecessor Candiano IV.

The remark "that the history of the human race might be written by the aid of tombs" is peculiarly applicable to that of the Venetians, whose city is so rich in these memorials of the dead. Through them we not only learn the names of her doges, great captains, and eminent men, but in the early simplicity, the increasing splendour, and the ultimate extravagance of their monuments, discover the causes of the primitive strength and the later weakness of the Republic.

The custom of burying illustrious persons in Roman or early Christian sarcophagi prevailed at Venice until the fourteenth century. Vitale Faliero (1086-1096), for instance, in whose reign occurred the miraculous recovery of the body of St. Mark and the visit of the Emperor Henry IV., lies in the atrium of

* Venetian chronicles state that St. Mark sat upon this cathedra; that it was brought from Alexandria to Constantinople by the Empress Helena, and thence sent by the Emperor Heraclius as a present to Primigenius, Patriarch of Grado, who wished to keep up amicable relations with the Venetians, and at the same time to avoid engaging in a war with the Lombards to recover the treasury of Grado, which had been carried off by Fortunatus, Patriarch of Aquileja.

St. Mark's, to the right of the great portal, in an antique sarcophagus decorated with shapeless octagonal columns. In a similar sarcophagus on the other side of the great portal, lies the wife of Vitale Michieli, who ruled the Republic (1096-1101) at the time of the first crusade, in which Venice, fearing that it would interfere with her commerce with the East, co-operated but coldly. Another doge, Marino Morosini (1249-1256), whose reign was short and uneventful, also lies in the atrium of St. Mark's in an old Christian sarcophagus, sculptured with rude figures of Christ and the apostles, angels bearing censers, and ornate crosses. His immediate predecessor, Jacopo Tiepolo, (1229-1249), and his grandson the doge Lorenzo (1268-1275), are buried in massive sarcophagi on the façade of San Giovanni e Paolo, simply decorated with angels bearing censers, and with birds with crosses placed like crests upon their heads.

The commercial relations of the Venetians with the East, which brought them under Byzantine influences, and the presence of Greek workmen at Venice, shaped their taste in art until the thirteenth century. The capitals of many of the columns of St. Mark's, the general character of the building, the numerous Byzantine Madonnas upon its walls, and its central bronze door, which though an Italian work is so absolutely Greek that were it not for the Latin inscriptions and saints upon its panels, we should suppose it to have been cast at Constantinople, are indisputable evidences of the strength of this foreign influence.* In the thirteenth century a rude but national style began to be formed, among whose first fruits were the scripture bas-reliefs carved upon the marble columns of the ciborium, a bas-relief in the baptistry representing the Baptism of our Lord, and the little figures at the base of the columns in the Piazzetta. The inclination to select subjects for artistic representation from the life of the people, which afterwards found its full expression in the capitals of the columns of the Ducal Palace, shows itself in these figures sculptured by a Lombard artist named Nicolò Barattieri, who was so called because he was allowed to establish public games of chance between

* This door was made by order of the procurator of St. Mark's, Leone di Molino, in the year 1112. The door to the right is a real Byzantine work brought from Constantinople in the year 1204.

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the columns as a reward for his skill in raising them from the ground, where they had lain since the Doge Domenico Michieli brought them from the Holy Land (1125). This Nicolò, a Maestro Donato, and the Joannes de Venetia who carved the attributes of the Evangelists over the portal of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome, are the only Venetian marble-workers known to us before the fourteenth century. Up to that time the few native sculptors were employed in adapting old fragments to new uses, and it was not until the supply of carved stone failed that, being obliged to meet the demand with their own work, they began to improve. The introduction of the Gothic style of architecture, of which Greek workmen were ignorant, made it necessary that the Italians should fit themselves to take the place which foreigners had hitherto so generally occupied. Thus with the adoption of a new style of building, of which sculpture formed an integral part, this art may be said to have first taken root at Venice.

PADUA.

The north Italian cities not yet mentioned, contain very little pre-revival sculpture. The works of Fra Clarello, architect and sculptor at Padua in the thirteenth century, have disappeared from San Antonio, with many other early marbles which once decorated its walls and cloisters, and it contains no examples of carved stone-work older than the fourteenth century, with the exception of two sarcophagi, in one of which, now hidden under the altar of the Cappella dei Conti, the body of St. Anthony is said to have been deposited by the Paduans, when after a five days' fight they took it from the Convent of Arcesia where he died (1231). The other, in the cloister of the Capitolo, contains the bodies of Costanza d'Este and her husband Count Guido da Lozzo, who was himself driven out, after he had helped to overthrow Ezzelino, when he endeavoured to seat himself in the tyrant's place.

MANTUA.

This city contains but two works whose date brings them within this division of our subject, the one a statue, the other

an alto-relief of the illustrious Latin poet whom she claims as her son. When at the beginning of the thirteenth century the Mantuans had repulsed the Cremonese, and raised the siege of the Castle of Gonzaga, the magistrates decreed that the event should be commemorated by placing a statue of Virgil in a niche overlooking the Piazza, so that he might appear to share in the successes of his compatriots. This poor work by an unknown sculptor (1220), represents him dressed in a long robe, with the cap of a rector of the people on his head, seated at a reading desk with an open book before him. The alto-relief of the great poet in the Museo Patrio, sculptured about twenty-five years later than the statue, is superior to it. Both interest us chiefly as examples of a branch of art rarely attempted at a time when sculpture was almost altogether decorative.

PIACENZA.

The façade of the Cathedral, which was erected early in the twelfth century (1122), has clumsily executed bas-reliefs about its northern and southern portals, and the sculptured signs of the Zodiac.

FERRARA.

The Cathedral at Ferrara was rebuilt at the end of the tenth century, and its façade was decorated with sculptures at the end of the twelfth by Nicolò da Ficarolo, so called from the branch of a fig tree over the right hand portal, or from Vico Ariolo his supposed birthplace, a town in the Ferrarese district.

This sculptor, who is perhaps identical with the Nicolò with whom we made acquaintance at Verona, represented the agricultural labours of the year upon the arch and architrave of one of the side-portals, thence called the *Porta de' Mesi*.

The equestrian statue of San Romano above the great portal is attributed to one of the Byzantine artists whom the Doge Pietro Orseolo brought to Venice in the eleventh century to rebuild the church of St. Mark.

GENOA.

The Cathedral at Genoa was founded a century later than that at Ferrara, but the oldest of its façade sculptures are apparently much earlier in date than either of these buildings. The fantastic animals, sirens and monsters carved about the side-posts of the small doorway to the left, belong both in character of subject and mode of execution to Lombard times, so that we are forced to conclude that they originally decorated the old church of San Lorenzo, which was pulled down to make room for the present edifice. The biblical reliefs on either side of the chief portal, which represent the Stem of Jesse, and the early history of our Lord, are works of the thirteenth century, to which we may also assign the Martyrdom of San Lorenzo in the lunette, and the Byzantine looking Christ above it. The reliefs, executed in a stiff bad style, are crowded with small figures confusedly ranged one above the other with little or no attempt at composition.

SECTION II.**SCULPTURE IN SOUTHERN ITALY BEFORE THE
REVIVAL.****APULIA AND THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.**

THE name of Apulia, which properly belongs to a province of Eastern Italy, has been applied at different periods to a larger or smaller portion of country. Under Norman rule it was given to the part of the Peninsula south of Rome, including the provinces afterwards consolidated into the so-called Kingdom of Naples, while by a singular fiction, when the Italian possessions of the Greeks had been reduced to the province of Apulia proper, they clung to the shadow of their once widespread domination, and called it Italy. At the end of the tenth century the Eastern emperors bounded their possessions by an ideal line drawn from Monte Gargano on the Adriatic to the Bay of Salerno on the Mediterranean, and governed this territory, which included Apulia, the Capitanata, Otranto, Calabria and Beneventum, by a Greek officer, residing at Bari, who bore the title of Catapan or Capitan, while the German emperors, as successors of Charlemagne, claimed feudal homage from the republics of Naples, Gaeta, Amalfi, and Sorrento, and the Aglabite Saracens occupied Sicily and Malta, keeping the Italian sea-coast cities in constant dread of their ever-renewed incursions. This state of affairs was completely changed by the Normans, who made their first appearance in Italy in the year 1006, when a small troop of Norman knights, on their homeward voyage from Jerusalem, landed at Salerno, and were hospitably received by Duke Guaimar III. Soon after, a fleet approached the coast, bringing a host of Saracens, who on landing encamped under the walls of the city, and demanded a large sum of money for its ransom. The duke being too weak to fight, would have submitted as on former occasions, had not his fiery guests volunteered to defend him, and rushing

upon the infidels, who had given themselves up to rest or revelry, they massacred many, and put the remainder to flight. Grateful for this succour, Guaimar vainly offered his deliverers every inducement to settle in his dominions, and loaded them with rich presents when they embarked for France. Ten years later, a band of Norman pilgrims landed on the Adriatic coast on their way to the shrine of the Archangel Michael at Monte Gargano, where they met Melo, a noble of Lombard extraction, who had taken refuge at the shrine after heading a late unsuccessful revolt against the Greek Catapan. Tempted by their love of adventure and hope of plunder, they enlisted under his banner, and helped him to win three pitched battles before he was finally defeated at Cannae; after which, Melo appealed for aid to Henry II., whose interests, like his own, were imperilled by the successes of the Greeks, but died at Bamberg while pressing his suit. On the reception of tidings of such aggravated danger to his imperial rights in Italy as could only be averted by prompt and immediate action, Henry crossed the Alps at the head of a large army, marched through Lombardy and the Marca d' Ancona into Apulia, and taking the Normans into his pay laid siege to Troja, which shortly after surrendered. The further prosecution of his designs was frustrated by the excessive heat of the climate, under which his soldiers sickened and died like sheep, and he returned to Germany, leaving the Normans to continue the war as best they could.

Their first act was to seize upon Aversa, a fortress near Naples, in which they established themselves under their leader Rainulph, whom Conrad the Salic soon after created Count of Aversa. Constantly strengthened by fresh arrivals from Normandy, they became more and more formidable and aggressive, and three years after they had been joined by William, Drogon, and Humphrey, sons of Tancred de Hauteville, they seized upon Melfi, and successively overran the whole of Apulia (1040-43), leaving only Bari, Brindisi, Otranto, and Tarentum in the hands of the Greeks. Their conquests were then divided between twelve Norman counts assembled at Melfi, which was set apart to be held in common as the seat of government.

We need not here relate the subsequent history of Apulia, as

it was during the period of which we have been speaking that the churches were built, whose façades and portals furnish us with the most important examples of sculpture. They consist of bas-reliefs in the lunettes, and upon the architraves and side-posts of the doors, representing Scriptural personages or scenes from holy writ in the conventional style of Byzantine ivories, mosaics, and paintings, and of rich and complicated ornaments of a mixed Oriental and classical character, skilfully combined with every variety of animal form, in relief and in the round.

In the presence of these different elements we recognize the united influence of Greeks, Saracens, and Normans upon the Italians, who while they made use of early Christian and Mediæval symbolism, clung with tenacity to those classical ideas whose hold upon the national genius was never lost. Let us see how and to what extent each of these nations and systems worked upon Southern Italy. The Byzantine influence, which is sufficiently accounted for by the political and commercial relations between the governed and the governors, and by the presence of a Greek ruler with his dependents, was further developed by the artists and artisans who returned from the East in the ranks of the Crusaders, bringing with them new ideas about ornament and architecture, derived not only from Byzantium but also from the cities of Syria, which as far back as the fifth century possessed examples of a peculiar system of ornament derived from old Greek art, modified by Roman and Asiatic influences. Unlike the Byzantines, who made use of animal forms and figures in their stuffs of rich and varied patterns, though they discarded them in sculpture, the Syrians restricted ornament to dentellated leaves of a conventional form deeply marked and sharply cut out, combined with geometrical patterns formed by the intersection of circles or of straight and angular lines. The Saracens, who succeeded the Greeks as masters of Sicily and thence acted upon the mainland, decorated their buildings with ornaments made up of plants, leaves, and flowers, as they were forbidden by the Koran to represent the image of any living thing.

The Norman element in Apulian church-decoration is much more difficult to define, as our knowledge of it is more vague. It is even questionable whether the Normans possessed any art of their own when they invaded France in the tenth cen-

ture. The little sculpture found upon their oldest buildings consists of clumsily interlaced lines (entrelacs), and of animals biting each other, analogous in character to those common to Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic, and Scandinavian art.*

The earliest adaptations of natural forms to architectural ornament are found among the Egyptians, who decorated the tympani, friezes, and column-capitals of their buildings with the lotus, the palm, the papyrus, the acanthus, and different species of water plants; and among the Persians, who laid the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms under contribution for the same purpose; but there is this capital difference between Oriental and Christian symbolism, that in the first natural forms are represented for worship as symbolic of deities or as typical of natural forces and phenomena, while in the second they are signs of a hidden religious meaning, and as such are often described by the Church Fathers, who, while regarding all created things as witnesses to the power and intelligence of the Supreme Being, considered them chiefly worthy of attention in so far as they could, by an often strained interpretation, be made to conduce to man's moral advancement. Frequently incorrect in their ideas about the nature and properties of animals, they did not seek to separate the true from the false, since as St. Augustine remarks, "The all-important object for us is to consider the signification of a fact, and not to discuss its authenticity." This habit of looking for a symbol in every created thing led to a system of mystical zoology contained in the "*Physiologus*" or "*Bestiary*,"† a work which explains the now forgotten meaning of

* Les Normands furent d'habiles constructeurs, précision dans l'appareil, exécution soignée, mais absence de sculpture."—M. Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'Architecture*, vol. i. pp. 227-280.

† The *Physiologus* is a popular account of such facts in natural history as were best adapted to the religious instruction of the early Christians. Whether it is the title of a treatise composed by one of the Church Fathers, or whether some great Greek naturalist, like Aristotle or Theophrastus, is designated under the name of *Physiologus*, is uncertain (*ibid.* pp. 18, 19). The subject-matter of the Latin and French *Bestiaries* and *Lapidaires* is derived from Albertus Magnus, Vincent de Beauvais, Barthélemy de Glanvil, and the *Physiologus* (*ibid.* p. 27). A French and Latin version of the *Physiologus* is given in the second and third volumes of the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, par Ch. Cahier et Arthur Martin. At p. 85 of the Introduction to this work, vol. ii., it is stated that the oldest

many of the strange forms carved about the façades of Mediæval churches. The first sentence in the version of the *Bestiary* made by Peter of Picardy, clearly sets forth the object for which it was composed. "Here commences the book which is called '*Bestiary*,' and it is so called because it speaks of the nature of beasts; for God created all the creatures upon earth for man, and that he may in them find an example of faith and a source of belief." So also William of Normandy tells us, that "all the examples collected in the book are intended for the amelioration of sinful man and for the profit of his soul."

The Mediæval sculptor who made use of it, was probably not animated by so deliberate a purpose as the learned doctors of the Church, for he dealt only with the sign, and left its interpretation to them. This was comparatively easy in the early ages of the Church when symbolic forms were few and simple, but as they increased in number and variety, it became more and more difficult to discover in many objects represented about sacred buildings that spiritual meaning which could alone justify their presence, for their mystic significance had been gradually lost sight of, and even before the seventh century, when the permission to represent Christ and the Saints and the mysteries of the Passion gave a final blow to art symbolism, many of the old forms were used only because they were well adapted for decorative purposes.

In the thirteenth century they were simply regarded as ornamental, and as such were denounced by St. Bernard, in an eloquent passage against extravagance in the decoration of churches, "whose walls glow with colour, and whose stones are covered with gold, while the poor are in want and go naked." "What," he says, "is the use of those absurd monstrosities displayed in the cloisters before the reading monks? See what deformed beauty and what beautiful deformity. Why are

prose version is that of Philippe de Thaun, a Norman troubadour of the twelfth century. About a hundred years later Guillaume le Normand rhymed the *Bestiary*, and about the same time a clerk of Picardy put it into prose in the Beauvoisin dialect. The origin of the *Physiologus* is doubtful. It has been attributed to St. John Chrysostom and to St. Ambrose. There are several MSS. of this work of the thirteenth century in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and one at Brussels of the tenth (*ibid.* p. 99).

unclean monkeys and savage lions, and monstrous centaurs and semi-men, and spotted tigers, and fighting soldiers, and pipe-playing hunters represented? You may see there many bodies with one head, and one body with many heads. Here a quadruped with the tail of a serpent, there a fish with the head of a quadruped. Here a beast half horse and half goat, there another with horns and a horse's body. The variety of form is everywhere so great, that marbles are more pleasant reading than manuscripts, and the whole day is spent in looking at them instead of in meditating upon the law of God." *

The ground plan of the noble Apulian churches, whose ornamental sculptures we have endeavoured to characterize and explain, is generally that of the Roman basilica, and their style is either Romanesque, i.e. debased Roman—often called Lombard or Norman of the first period—or Gothic, modified by classical influences, also called Norman of the second period.†

Ages before these stately buildings were created, nature had hollowed out a vast cave, near the rocky summit of Monte Gargano, which was to become one of the most famous shrines in the world. In ancient times, a Pagan temple stood above it, whose priests doubtless used it for oracular purposes, but its existence had long been lost sight of, when one day at the end of the fifth century (says the legend) a shepherd having shot a wild bull upon the mountain, saw his arrow fly back to him, as if sent by an invisible hand. Amazed at this mysterious occurrence, he sought out the holy Laurentius, then Bishop of Sipontum, who repaired to the spot, and after three days spent there in fasting and prayer, the Archangel Michael led him to the cave, which he declared henceforth sacred to himself and the angels. Within it stood the oriental sign of consecration—an altar covered with a red cloth—and upon this the Bishop celebrated mass. Crowds of Pilgrims climb the steep

* *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, Parisiis, 1690, vol. i. p. 538, ch. xii. : *Luxum et abusum in templis et oratoriis extruendis, ornandis, pingendis, arguit.*

† The Norman circular style, which reached its height in the eleventh century, was one of the modifications of the Romanesque, whose parent stock was Roman architecture. The earliest churches built in Normandy and England, as in Apulia, are basilicas in form. Vide *Antiq. of Normandy*, J. Britton, 1 vol. fol., London, 1828; and Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'Architecture*.

mountain path on the anniversary of that day to pray in the grotto. Each man as he crosses its threshold, shakes one of the rings pendant from its venerable bronze gates, which were cast at Byzantium eight hundred years ago, and given to the church by one of the noble family of the Pantaleone from Amalfi.* A marble "cattedra" of the twelfth century, supported upon crouching lions of the Romanesque type, and adorned with rich Arabic ornament and with a small bas-relief of St. Michael and the Dragon, is the only object of artistic interest to be seen in the grotto.†

More than five hundred years after its consecration, a Greek bishop named Bisantius ‡ founded the Cathedral at Bari, which his successor Bishop Nicolaus completed.§ It formerly contained a ciborium made by Alfanus da Termoli, an artist of the eleventh century, whose name was inscribed upon each capital, with descriptive and highly laudatory verses. In general design it resembled the still existing ciborium in the neighbouring church of San Niccolò, which was erected by the abbot Eustachius early in the twelfth century. The eagles, rams' heads, leaf work, and angels kneeling upon long drooping leaves, about the capitals of the

* "Armillæ januæ," rings of iron placed upon church façades, and much venerated by the people (Montfaucon, *Monarch. franç.* p. 193; Lopez, note 42, p. 204, *Il Battistero di Parma*).

† According to tradition this cattedra was made in the days of the holy St. Laurence, and the Emperor Henry II. is said while sitting upon it to have seen a vision of Christ and the holy angels. The outer church and adjacent buildings, as well as the Gothic portal at the head of the long flight of steps leading down to the Grotto, belong to Charles of Anjou's time. The bas-relief over this portal, of the Madonna and Child, with Saints Peter and Paul and a kneeling donor, has been too much white-washed to allow of any judgment upon its original merits. It is inscribed with the name of "M. Simon de Rac . . . (perhaps Ragusa)." The bas-reliefs of Biblical scenes and personages upon the capitals of the columns of the adjoining baptistry, are also of the thirteenth century, and excessively rude.

‡ Bisantius is evidently a patronymic. The bishop is said to have decorated the duomo with 500 large and 200 small columns brought from Paros for the purpose (Ughelli, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 603).

§ The duomo was consecrated October 28th, 1035. Archbishop Elias (A.D. 1091) discovered the bones of St. Sabinus under the old altar, where they had been concealed for 240 years. According to a tradition mentioned by Ughelli, these relics were brought to Bari by Archbishop Angelarius, Bishop of Canosa, A.D. 850.

columns which support its pyramidal roof, are sculptured with that fineness and decision of stroke peculiar to the Apulian marble worker, who, though ignorant of anatomy, treated animal forms as boldly as those of the vegetable kingdom, whose structure he so well understood. Nicolas, Bishop of Myra (A.D. 825), the titular saint of the church in which this ciborium* stands, was especially renowned as a destroyer of heathen temples and idols. His bones, from which flowed a healing oil of miraculous power, were brought by certain merchants from Antioch to Bari in the latter part of the eleventh century, and the splendid church which bears his name was founded in the year 1087. Twenty-four columns with rich Byzantine capitals, decorated with carved leaf-work, lions' heads, and a great variety of sharp, clear-cut ornaments, support the vaulted roof of the vast crypt where his remains were buried. Hardly had the building been roofed in (1079), when it became the scene of a great Church-council, held by Pope Urban II. to denounce the errors of the Greek Church, at which Anselmus, Archbishop of Canterbury, and one hundred and eighty-five bishops assisted. The marble "cattedra" in the choir was made in commemoration of this event. Its seat rests upon two wild grotesque-looking Arab prisoners, each kneeling on one knee, a man with a staff in his hand, and a lion holding a man's head in his paws. Lions' heads are introduced below the foot-slab, which, like the other slabs and panels of the sides and back of the chair, is adorned with ornaments of elegant design.

Bas-reliefs of Samson and the lion, and other Bible subjects, lions and sirens, vines and arabesques, a centaur, a man carrying a hare, and beasts of different kinds encircled by winding lines which spring from vases, are sculptured upon the façade and about the portals of the church, while a sphinx sits above the gable, bulls standing upon consoles protrude below the cornice, and two flying angels of a strongly Byzantine character fill up the spandrels of the portal-arch.

The animals are by no means so well sculptured or so numerous as those on the exterior of the cathedral at Troja,

* King Roger II., who was crowned King of Sicily in this church by the antipope Anacletus in 1131, is represented on a niello plate set above the arch of the ciborium.

which was commenced by Bishop Gerardus in 1093, and completed by Bishop Guglielmus II. Peopled with all created things, and glowing with yellow and green stones, after the fashion of the Sicilian churches, its façade unites the sharp-cut, clear-line sculpture of the East with the Polychromatic decoration of the Saracens. A cornice richly carved with heads of men, lions, and leaf-work divides it into two parts. The great wheel window is encircled with a row of rudely sculptured beasts, and surmounted by the figure of a man seated upon the back of a nondescript animal. Oxen, elephants, porcupines and apes protrude from the wall on each side of this window, and columns, with lions above their capitals and at their bases, support the plain round arch above it. The spaces on either side of the great central arch over the portal are enriched with a row of small arches, having dentellated archivolts and columns with leaf-work capitals. Slabs of marble covered with Arabic ornament, and rudely-chiselled figures in relief of a Byzantine type, representing Christ enthroned between the Virgin and St. John, SS. Secundinus and Eleutherius, together with the symbols of the Evangelists in medallions, decorate the great doorway, while the lunette of one of the lateral doors, whose side-posts and architrave are sculptured with ornaments, is filled by a bas-relief of Christ treading on the lion and the dragon, and two rudely-carved angels of a Byzantine type. Many columns with varied and elaborate capitals divide the nave from the side aisles within the church, and furnish another example of rudely chiselled heads surrounded by rich and tasteful ornaments, whose patterns are intricate but never confused in line. On the right-hand side of the nave stands an oblong pulpit of the twelfth century (1167), decorated with deep-cut, flat-surfaced ornaments, and supported upon columns whose capitals are divided by volutes, upon one of which sits a bearded figure with broad nose and long hair. The raised work is gilded, and relieved against a green back-ground. An eagle with spread wings, holding a beast in his talons and standing upon a human head supported on a colonnette, occupies the centre of the front of this pulpit under the reading-desk, and on the end towards the high altar there is a very curious bas-relief of a lion, with foliated body, curling hair, and staring eyes, who while tearing a sheep to pieces, is himself seized by a sort of

tiger-cat who has mounted on his back and fixed his teeth in his flank.*

The churches of the twelfth century bear as strong marks of Byzantine influence, as those of the eleventh of which we have been speaking. In the crypt of the Cathedral at Otranto (1160) for instance, some of the capitals of the columns are carved with patterns exactly like those of St. Sophia at Constantinople. So also the three figures in alto-relief of our Lord, the Madonna, and St. John, which fill the Moorish arch over the great portal of San Giovanni in Venere (1200)† near Lanciano, are Byzantine in their forms and draperies, as is the nimbus about our Lord's head and the ornament upon the cattedra on which He sits. Some of the leaves and ornaments carved upon the capitals of the columns and pilasters which flank this portal are antique in character, while the freer and less conventional bas-reliefs beyond them seem to be Italian works, and of a later date. The upper relief of the left-hand series represents two peacocks drinking from a vase, and that in the corresponding panel below, two griffins with a kneeling figure between them. St. John the Baptist, attended by a youth, figures with two other saints in one of the upper panels, while in the lower Mary and Elizabeth meet before a little temple, which stands below a series of pointed arches separated by towers, perhaps meant to indicate those of Jerusalem. The upper panel of the right hand series contains an arabesque ornament, and a relief of two men firing arrows at a bird. Moses with the Tablets of the Law, and Jonah, as typical of the Old Dispensation, and St. John the Baptist with the Madonna and Child as typical of the New, are also represented, together with Daniel praying between two lions, and Zacharias with a censer in his hand listening to the angel who announces to him the birth of St. John the Baptist.

Standing in the quiet country, out of the reach of those

* This pulpit was removed to the duomo from the church of St. Basilio. Its inscription is to this effect: "Anno Dⁿⁱ Incarnationis mclxvii. regni vero Dⁿⁱ BRIW Dei grátia Siciliæ et Italiæ regis magnifici olim regis W Filii Anno III. Mense Mai II. Factum est hoc opus."

† It derives its name from a temple dedicated to Venus Conciliatrix, whose site it occupies. Although traditionally said to have been founded under Justinian, it was commenced in the twelfth century by the abbot Raynaldus, who built this portal, and died February 19, 1204.

jarring sights and sounds which mar the effect of the noblest building in the midst of a busy town, this church remains as it was centuries ago, save those scars and rents which time has made in roof and parapet. Sturdy oaks like those which first saw its towers rise heavenward still shelter it, and the sea which stretches in blue immensity below the hill on which it stands, is the same Adriatic whose waves broke upon the coast when the first stone of its now crumbling walls was set in its appointed place.

To the north of San Giovanni in Venere, near Chieti, at the base of Monte Majella, stands San Clemente a Casauria, one of the most ancient, and most interesting churches in this part of Italy.* Until the middle of the ninth century (A.D. 854) its site was occupied by a small church dedicated to St. Quirinus, which the Emperor Louis II. destroyed to make room for a church and monastery. These buildings were already far advanced A.D. 872, when the emperor, who had obtained the body of St. Clement from Pope Hadrian III., journeyed from Rome with a crowd of priests and devotees to escort the holy relic to its new resting-place, which he dedicated to the saint and to the Holy Trinity. When the procession reached the bank of the river Pescara it could not proceed, as the bridge had been swept away by a late freshet. Seeing this the emperor ordered the body of St. Clement to be placed on the back of a mule, and striking the beast with his hand, cried with a loud voice, "Let Clement guide you," and lo! the tumultuous waves became like rocks under its feet, and the precious burthen was conveyed safely to the opposite shore. It was then deposited in the church, and the emperor having appointed Romanus to be its first Abbot, presented him with his own sceptre, to be borne in lieu of a crozier by him and his successors.

Three times plundered by the Saracens in the first two centuries after its foundation, the church† was restored early in the

* All the circumstances of its foundation are related in the *Chr. Casauriense* (Muratori, *Script. Rev. It.* vol. ii. pp. 769-780). It is in the commune of Castiglione, olim "alla Pescara," near a little town called Tor de' Passeri, and can be reached either from Popoli or Chieti.

† The Emperor Louis II., St. Clement, the Abbot Leonas, and his successor the Abbot Joel, were represented in bronze upon the panels of the now almost entirely dilapidated doors of the church. These doors, which must have been cast at the end of the twelfth century, were made of

xl *Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture.*

twelfth century (1110), by the Abbot Grimoaldus, who constructed the crypt and adorned it with paintings. About sixty years later it was almost completely rebuilt on a much more magnificent scale by the Abbot Leonas, who added to it the chapels of St. Michael, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the Holy Cross, erected the façade, and built the narthex. The abbot is represented in the lunette of the great portal, kneeling before St. Clement to present a model of the restored church, whose history is illustrated in a series of reliefs upon the architrave. They represent the gift of Pope Hadrian to the Emperor, and his reception at the door of the church, the mule with the reliquary on its back, the installation of the Abbot Romanus, and the purchase of the island on which the church is built, in a stiff conventional Byzantine style which, however imperfect, harmonizes well with the Romanesque architecture of the building. Rudely sculptured reliefs of the distinguished persons connected with its history cover the flat spaces between the central and the side portals, whose lunettes contain alto-reliefs of the Madonna and the Archangel Michael. Among the interesting objects inside the church are the sarcophagus under the high altar which contains the bones of St. Clement; the terra-cotta ciborium above it, adorned with the symbols of the Evangelists, a relief of the Madonna, some fantastic birds, and a repetition of the historical bas-reliefs upon the architrave of the great portal; the paschal candlestick, a round shaft of marble with an ornate Byzantine capital surmounted by a number of colonnettes clustered about a central column; and the pulpit, which rests upon columns with carved capitals, and is adorned with panels filled with a flat-surfaced leaf ornament sculptured with surprising boldness. The inscription upon it warns the officiating priest to beware lest his voice be but an empty sound.*

A similar inscription upon the "cattedra" in the Cathedral at Canosa, admonishes the Bishop, if he would hereafter gain an wood, upon which bronze plates were fastened with nails after the old Greek fashion. They were divided into twelve rows by horizontal and vertical bands, each containing twelve panels, adorned with the above-mentioned portraits, and with lions' heads, griffins, crosses, moons, stars, &c. (Schultz, *op. cit.* ii. 23-32.)

* "Hic qui magna canis, fac, ne tua vox sit inanis;
Multum se fallit mala qui fecit et bona peallit."

eternal throne, to be that which he would seem to be, to make his actions tally with his words, so that while giving light to others he may not himself sit in darkness.* The cattedra, which was made in 1080 for Urso the Archbishop of Bari and Canosa, by a sculptor named Romoaldus, rests upon the shoulders of two richly caparisoned elephants of an heraldic type. It has leaf ornaments, inscriptions, and geometrical patterns about its pointed Gothic back and side posts; sphinxes and griffins upon its side panels; eagles with red painted wings and tails upon the slab below its seat; and bearded heads upon the end of its front slab. The pulpit in the nave is of a later date and less remarkable. The capitals of its four octagonal columns are sculptured with simple leaf-work, and its reading desk rests upon an eagle standing on a human head.†

The Cathedral was founded by the Norman hero Bohemund on his first return to Italy from the East, and the adjoining Grave chapel was erected to his memory by his mother Alberada, whom Robert Guiscard repudiated under pretence of consanguinity, in order to marry Sigelgaita, the daughter of Guaimalchus, Duke of Salerno. The chapel is a small building, crowned by a cupola, with an octagonal drum pierced by round-headed windows, having pilasters upon its outer wall spanned by round arches, whose capitals are decorated with heads and leaf-work, and a single doorway filled with bronze gates cast by an artist from Amalfi named Roger. The kneeling and standing figures engraved on the lower panels, whose outlines were filled with niello long since removed, are absolutely Byzantine in style, while the discs above them are Saracenic. The lower panel to the left contains a lion's head with a ring pendent from his jaws. Bohemund's exploits and virtues are commemorated in Latin inscriptions upon both valves. The multiple influences which worked upon the art of the time

* "Præsul ut æterna posthac potiare cathedra,
Quod vox exterius, res ferat interior.
Quod geris in specie, da (?), gestes lumen ut in re (?),
Lumen cum præstas, lumine ne careas."

† The style of the "cattedra" and the use of Leonine verses in the inscription, make it probable that the Urso mentioned in the inscription was the Bishop of the eleventh century, and not him of the seventh, who was also Bishop of Canosa (M. de Bréholles, *op. cit.* p. 42).

are far less forcibly represented at Canosa than at Trani, where the magnificent church of St. Nicholas the Pilgrim, of about thirty years' later date than Bohemund's chapel, shows them more fully than any other Apulian building.* Its plain, massive walls are Norman; one of the windows in the bell tower† and portions of the ornament are Arabic; its ground-plan is that of the triple-naved Roman basilica; its bronze gates are Italo-Byzantine; and its double-arched portal, with slender columns and sculptured pilasters resting on human figures, is a first-rate example of Romanesque architecture. The flat spaces between the winding lines of ornament upon the archivolt are filled with sphinxes, centaurs, dogs, and fantastic animals, such as a creature with the head of a devil, the body and legs of a horse, and the arms of a man, who is striking with a hatchet at a species of tiger cat, who has seized his fishlike tail in his teeth. These sculptures, kept within the level of the mouldings, are flat-surfaced, full of life and action, and well proportioned. An equal skill in combining figures with ornament is shown in the reliefs of Jacob's Dream, the Sacrifice of Isaac, &c. &c., carved on either side of the door-posts on the left hand, but the figures with broad faces and sharply marked and deeply cut draperies, whose folds are well indicated and arranged, are much less justly proportioned. Elephants with small columns on their backs, a griffin holding a human figure in his claws, bulls, &c. &c., protrude from the upper part of the façade, and are disposed about its richly-adorned windows.

The sculptures of the same period at Trani, about the portal of the Ognissanti church, are ruder in execution and more

* Date of foundation uncertain, dedicated in 1143, but not then finished, as is proved by the will of a woman of Trani named Rosa, dated 1163, which directed that in case of the death of her children a third of her property should be given to aid in its construction. The Saint Nicholas to whom it is dedicated was a Greek pilgrim, who died at Trani in consequence of rough usage, A.D. 1094. Persuaded of his sanctity by the wounds which appeared upon his corpse, Archbishop Byzantius of Trani caused him to be made a saint by Pope Urban II. This archbishop began the duomo which was consecrated under his successor, Byzantius II. Like most Apulian churches, it is a pure basilica.

† This campanile was built by Nicolaus, sacerdos and protomagister, a name also inscribed upon the pulpit in the duomo at Bitonto.

stiff in outline. They consist of leaves, volutes, angels with floating hair and pointed wings, women with snakes hanging upon their breasts, syrens, centaurs, a long-bearded violin-player, and a Madonna with a kneeling suppliant and an angel.

A few other Apulian churches of the twelfth century may here be mentioned, such as the Cathedral at Ortona (1127), which has two rude bas-reliefs, representing Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law, and St. Peter walking on the waters, made by a Magister Riccardus in the thirteenth century, set into the wall of its campanile. The Cathedral at Ruvo has a very ornate Gothic façade, and a richly decorated portal with a round arch, within which are bas-reliefs of the Paschal Lamb, the symbols of the Evangelists, Christ and the Madonna, with SS. John, Peter and Paul, and angels, carved in a hard, rude style. The Cathedral of San Valentinian at Bitonto, one of the earliest buildings of the so-called Norman Gothic style, has a Romanesque portal flanked by small columns resting on lions. The lunette is filled with a row of rudely sculptured figures, decreasing in size to the right and left of the central crucifix, and the architecture is decorated with small reliefs of subjects taken from the New Testament. The roof of the church, towards the piazza, is crowned with an arcade of rich design, whose supporting columns have capitals in which Saracenic ornaments and Romanesque animals are combined in the old style of mixed decoration.

From Apulian churches, let us now turn our attention to their pulpits, some of which also exhibit an extravagant use of form and colour. The most remarkable among them is that in Sta. Maria in Lago, at Moscufo, which was made by a sculptor named Nicodemus in 1158. The body of the pulpit, raised high in the air upon columns spanned by arches of a decidedly Moorish type, is reached by a staircase decorated with reliefs representing the history of Jonah. It has two reading-desks, one of which rests upon the head and arms of an angel with white and green wings, red hair and a scarlet robe, and the other upon an eagle. Below these figures, respectively symbolic of SS. Matthew and John the Evangelist, are the winged lion of St. Mark and the Ox of St. Luke, coloured with bright flat tints. The angles of the pulpit between the reading-desks are decorated with twisted columns, having little nude figures climbing up their shafts or seated at their bases, and the flat spaces

between them are enriched with reliefs of men fighting with lions and bears, and with delicately sculptured geometric ornament. The rich leaf-work about the cornice, the open arcade below it, and the birds, syrens, griffins, harpies and intersecting lines in the spandrils of the arches below the body of the pulpit are carved with the care and skill of an accomplished workman, but the figures are rude and clumsy. The round staring eyes of the angel and the lion, the furrowed draperies, and the gaudy colours freely used upon every part of the work give it a barbaric aspect, and yet it is so well-proportioned and so systematically planned that the general effect is not unpleasing.

The contemporary pulpit made by a *Magister Acutus* at Pianella, a mountain town near Moscufo, is far less elaborate than that at Sta. Maria in Lago. Its side panels are adorned with the symbols of the Evangelists in relief, and the reading desk rests upon an eagle of bizarre aspect. The pulpit at San Pellino, which was erected by Oderisius, Bishop of Valva, in 1168, has panels and column capitals adorned with flat ornament composed of interlaced lines. In the Cathedral of St. Valentinian at Bitonto there are two remarkable pulpits, one of which is inscribed with the name of *Nicholaus Sacerdos et Magister*, probably the same person who built the campanile of the cathedral at Trani. An eagle standing upon a crouching human figure supports the reading desk, and the panels are filled with boldly carved rosettes, while those upon the staircase contain conventional looking trees, relieved against a red background, with birds sitting upon their branches and nestling in their leaves. The ornaments and the little angel on the front are well proportioned and carefully worked, and when compared with the rudely executed bas-reliefs of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba at the back of the staircase, illustrate the superiority of early Apulian marble-work to that of a later period. The smaller pulpit in the church exemplifies the mixed style of decoration which we have so often noticed. The shafts and capitals of its columns are adorned with fruits, flowers, birds and beasts in relief, and its panels are filled with flat-surfaced deep cut Arabic ornament relieved upon a mosaic background. Some excellent marble-work in the old style is to be found in the church of S. Maria d' Arbona, at Chieti, where the Paschal candlestick,

a marble shaft wreathed with a vine, has a capital of charming design, and the marble tabernacle near it is decorated with well conceived and boldly sculptured ornament.

Having now noticed the Apulian sculptors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we must say a few words about the bronze casters, who found models for their work in the gates cast at Constantinople by Staurachios between 1066 and 1087, by order of two citizens of Amalfi, Mauro and his son Pantaleone III., who presented them to the churches of Amalfi, Atrani, Monte Casino and Monte Gargano. These gates, which are panelled and decorated with Scripture subjects and persons, delineated by incised lines filled in with silver and with red, black or green metallic pastes, were closely imitated by Roger of Amalfi in the already described doors of the Grave-chapel of Bohemund at Canosa, and by his contemporary Oderisius of Beneventum in the bronze gates of the great portal of the Cathedral at Troja, and of a side door made up of plain bronze panels, upon which the bishops of Troja are represented in niello, in a thoroughly Byzantine style. The incised figures upon the panels of the great gates of the chief portal represent Oderisius the artist; Berardus Count of Sangro, to whose domain Troja belonged; Christ the Judge, enthroned after the old Byzantine type upon a rainbow, and the donor Bishop William II., standing between two plants of a conventional type. Eight of the panels, which are set in squarés formed by boldly-projecting ribs with a quatrefoil in each corner, contain lions' heads with rings pendent from their widely-extended jaws, and two are decorated with fantastic dragons holding bell-shaped knockers between their teeth. These boldly and vigorously handled accessories give an effect of great richness and variety.* While Oderisius of Beneventum closely copied the Byzantines in style and mode

* The coats of arms in the third row, of Cardinal Scipio Rebiba, Bishop of Troja from June 19 to September 4, 1560, and of his nephew, Prosper Rebiba, in whose favour he resigned his see, were cast by Maestro Cola Donato Mascella or da Mascella, now Strongli in Calabria, in 1573. The inscription gives the artist's name, and states that Prosper Rebiba caused the doors, which were in a ruinous condition, to be repaired. The patron saints of Troja—Secundinus, Paulianus, and Eleutherius—are also by Cola Donato. The two cardinals are mentioned by Ughelli (i. 1347). Another part of the doors was restored in 1690 by Antonio de Sangro, who was Bishop of Troja from 1675 to 1694.

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of work, Barisanus of Trani (1160–1179) freed himself from such trammels to a certain extent in the gates which he cast for the cathedrals at Ravello, Monreale, and Trani.* Many of the subjects treated are identical, but whilst the panels of the Ravello gates are decorated with rosettes at each corner, and enframed in arabesque borders, those at Trani are enriched with small medallions containing miniature repetitions of the large subjects, executed with great delicacy and skill. In all, the work is clear and smooth, and there is a life in the figures unknown to Greek art of the time. St. Eustace, for instance, draped like an Arab sheikh, sits upon a fiery though heavy-limbed steed, and the two Saracens fighting with clubs and cross-barred shields are vivacious and resolute. Even in a composition so Byzantine as the Deposition, the artist shows feeling and attains some freedom of line. Those who know the bronze doors at Pisa, Monreale, Verona, and Beneventum will agree with us in considering them inferior to the work of Barisanus, who was in fact the best bronze caster in Italy before Andrea Pisano.

The period at which we have now arrived is that of the Emperor Frederic II., who affected the style and attributes of the Roman emperors in his portraits, statues, medallions and effigies, and whose taste in art was formed upon classical models.† The splendour of his resources, and the great ability of the master architects of his time, are set before us in the Gothic castle known as Castel del Monte, which he erected in 1244 upon the summit of a high mountain between Ruvo and Andria, called by the Normans "le Haut Mont" and the "Mont Hardi."

* The name of Barisanus is given only on the doors at Monreale, though the Duc de Luynes (*op. cit.* p. 43) thinks that the mutilated legend in one of the panels of those at Trani, "... vs ... nsis," may mean Barisanus Tranensis, and that the person kneeling at the feet of a saint above it may be the artist himself. The inscriptions in the Trani door, which is the oldest, are in Greek; those at Ravello in Latin. There are thirty-two panels in the Trani door, and fifty-four in those at Ravello.

† Frederic and Manfred are both represented as Cæsars in medallions upon the side pilasters of the portal of the church of the Porta Santa at Andria. They are probably copies from originals of their time, as the portal is Renaissance in style, and consequently of a much later date. The church was commenced by Conrad in 1253, and finished by Manfred in 1265.

Tenanted only by robbers or wandering shepherds, it has greatly suffered of late years, and its single portal, with a double Gothic arch and cannellated pilasters, above whose Corinthian capitals stand the Suabian lions, has been much marred and defaced. Through it the traveller enters the castle, which from its great size, its peculiar distribution, the mysterious solitudes of its vaulted chambers and winding stairways, and its association with one of the most romantic and interesting persons in history, is eminently calculated to affect the imagination. Involuntarily the feeling creeps over the mind that the great Frederic is waiting here, like Barbarossa at Kyffhauser, until he be permitted to issue forth in pomp to resume the reins of empire.*

The edifice is as beautiful as its general plan is ingenious and its masonry perfect. The same high finish and admirable taste is visible everywhere; in the windows, with their small columns of rose-coloured marble and their deep embrasures; in the tall Gothic fireplaces; and in the ribbed and vaulted ceilings, with their rosettes and corbels, some of which are adorned with seated figures sculptured in the rude style of the thirteenth century. Besides the two heads of a later and better period, carved upon the corbels above a staircase in one of the towers, the only other piece of sculpture in the castle is an almost totally effaced bas-relief of a woman kneeling before a chief, with a retinue of armed men.

The church and monastery of St. Leonardo, between Foggia and Sipontum are classed among the buildings raised by Frederic to recompense the devotion of the Teutonic Knights, but the sculptures about its mutilated portal are too much like those of the eleventh century at Trani and Bari, to make this credible. The monastery is now a farm-house, and the church is desecrated and fast falling into ruin, but the portal-sculptures, where they have not been broken away by violence, are in a state of tolerable preservation. Three arches, the inner one being round and the upper two pointed, rise above the portal. Below the lamb sculptured within the pointed arch, is a rosette,

* January 29th, A.D. 1240, Frederic II. wrote a letter to the Justiciary of the Capitanate concerning the building of the castle; "*Cum pro castro, quod apud Sanctam Mariam de Monte fieri volumus per ter,*" etc. The emperor appears to have erected it in 1244 (Schultz, *op. cit.* i. 164).

like that on the pulpit at San Clemente on one side of which stands a saint, and on the other a monk with a chain and a book. Griffins protrude from the wall above the capitals of the round columns which support this arch, at whose bases stand lions, one of whom is devouring an Arab prisoner. The adoration of the Magi is carved upon one of the capitals, and St. Joseph seated on an ass and guided by an angel on the other. The archivolt of the round arch is enriched with a winding ornament of great beauty, into which angels and fantastic animals are introduced, while the pilasters on either side of the doorway are sculptured with birds and human figures.

Of the Emperor Frederic's palace at Lucera, which was decorated with statues brought from Naples upon men's shoulders, no vestiges remain, and none exist of that at Foggia, except an arch, below which are sculptured the imperial eagles and several inscriptions relating to its construction.*

The Gothic Cathedral in the picturesque hill city of Atri, which was built during Conrad's reign, has no sculptures of his time. The figures of Christ, the Madonna, and saints over its portal were made by Maestro Raymondo de' Podio in the latter part of the thirteenth century. There is also but little sculpture about the Cathedral at Lucera, which King Charles II. founded to commemorate the expulsion or forced conversion of the Saracens who had been established there by Frederic II. Its Gothic portal is surmounted by a small group of St. George and the Dragon, and the lunette is filled with an alto-relief of the Madonna and Child seated upon a throne supported by lions. Inside, the church offers nothing of interest but the mutilated statue of its founder.

The last great Apulian building which we have occasion to mention, is a triple-naved basilica at Bitetto, dedicated to St. Michael. The fourteenth-century bas-reliefs about its façade,

* "Compalatii Neapolitani inveniant homines qui eas salubriter: super collum suum usque Luceram portant."—*Regesta* (cité par M. de Bréholles, *Mon. et Hist.* p. 76). Kington, *Life of Frederic II.*, vol. ii. p. 176, says the statues were brought by sea to Naples, and probably came from Pisa. The same writer, at p. 314, says that in 1242 Frederic "ravaged the country round Rome, but withdrew to Melfi in August, carrying off from Grotta Ferrata the brazen statues of a man and a cow which poured forth water. These were meant to adorn Lucera."

representing scenes from the history of our Lord, show that Apulian art, having reached its term where the Northern schools began, had then fallen into a complete state of decadence.

Single statues were rarely made in any part of Italy before the fifteenth century, and in Apulia, if we except a pleasing figure of St. John the Baptist of the sixteenth century in the church of St. Andrea at Barletta, not at all. The colossal bronze statue of the Emperor Heraclius, which stands before the guard-house in the same Apulian town, is a Byzantine work of the seventh century. The military dress and accoutrements are Roman, but the head is Byzantine, and the diadem which encircles it is such as was worn by the early Greek emperors.* The noble and serene expression of the face (see tailpiece) answers well to the idea which we form of this valourous servant of Christ, this pioneer of the Crusaders, who invaded Persia A.D. 622, to regain the Cross which Schaharbarz, the cruel ally of Chosroes, had carried off to Ctesiphon, and returning with it to Jerusalem, mounted the steep ascent of Calvary bearing it like our Lord upon his shoulders.

There seems no doubt that the ship in which the statue was brought from Constantinople was wrecked off the coast of Barletta, leaving it stranded, like some huge leviathan, upon the beach, where it remained until the fifteenth century, when it was brought to the town in a mutilated state, and set up in the Piazza, May 19, 1491, after the legs, the cross, and the ball which lies in the hollow of the left hand, had been restored by a Neapolitan bronze-caster, named Albanus Fabius. One account states that Heraclius himself had the statue cast by a Greek artist named Polyphobus, and sent it to Monte Gargano as an offering to the shrine of the Archangel Michael; another, which wears a much greater air of probability, affirms that the Venetians brought it away from Constantinople, where it had been set up to commemorate the triumphal entrance of the

* According to the *Chronicon Pascale*, Constantine the Great first wore a diadem of pearls on May 11th, A.D. 330. Constans I. is represented upon coins wearing a diadem made of two rows of pearls with pendant bands. Julian, 360-363, and Jovian, 363-364, wear exactly such a coronet as described in the text, on coins of the time (Schultz, *Denkmäler der Kunst*, i. 148).

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emperor on his return from Persia, mounted on a car drawn by four white elephants, and preceded by the rescued Cross.*

Apulia is scarcely richer in tombs than in statues. Those of the Norman heroes in the church of the Holy Trinity at Venosa are among the few of historical interest.

Robert Guiscard was buried there near his brothers, William of the Iron Arm, Count Drogo, Count Humphrey, and his repudiated wife Alberada, who lies in a plain sarcophagus standing under a Gothic gable supported upon columns. None of the Hohenstauffens were buried in Apulia, although Frederic and his three sons, Henry, Conrad, and Manfred, all died there. Iolanthe,† and Isabella,‡ the Emperor's wives, were buried in the crypt of the duomo at Andria, where a few finely-worked bits of marble, and some small columns belonging to their monuments may still be seen. King Charles II. of Anjou was buried at Lucera in a sarcophagus, whose sepulchral effigy placed near the great portal represents the king dressed in a suit of chain mail, half concealed under his surcoat. The hair is cut across the forehead, and falls in long straight locks upon the shoulders. The hands are crossed, and the feet rest upon small dogs.

The monuments of the princes of the house of Anjou, with this single exception, are to be found in the church of Sta. Chiara at Naples. They are all Pisan, or of the Pisano-Neapolitan Gothic school, and will be described in the division of our subject to which they belong. The kingdom of Naples, unlike Apulia, contains few examples of an earlier period, and Naples itself has no sculpture older than the middle of the thirteenth

* Amédée Thierry, *Les Fils et Successeurs d'Attila*. Giovanni Villani, *Ist. Fior.*, says this statue is a portrait of the Lombard King Eraco or Rachi (704-749), to whom he erroneously ascribes the defeat of Chosroes and the rescue of the Cross; evidently confounding the name of Erachio with that of Eraclio. Setting aside the costume, which is not at all like that of a Lombard king, such a statue would never have been erected in the eighth century at Barletta in preference to such important towns as Bari, Capua, or Salerno, as it was then a mere tower for the accommodation of travellers journeying between Trani and Cannæ (Giannone, i. 257, ed. Ven. 1766).

† Daughter of Walter de Brienne, King of Jerusalem, and mother of Conrad.

‡ Daughter of King John of England.

century, excepting some Byzantine-looking pulpit bas-reliefs in the chapel of San Giovanni in Fonte adjoining the chapel. Their subjects, taken from the history of Samson and the lives of SS. Joseph, George and Januarius, are treated in the style familiar to us in ivory reliquaries and diptychs. In the neighbourhood of Naples there are various early works of art of much greater interest than any to be found in the city itself, some of which we have already mentioned, as for instance the Byzantine bronze gates at Amalfi, where there is a holy water basin given by the Pantaleones, father and son, and those at Ravello cast by Barisanus of Trani. Those of the Cathedral at Salerno, cast at Constantinople 1085–1121, were given by the noble Salernitan, Landolph Botromile and his wife Guinsala. The chief ornaments of this church are its two pulpits of the twelfth century (1158–1181), erected by the Archbishop Romoaldus II. The panels of the larger and finer pulpit are enriched with flowers and birds in porphyry, serpentine and gilded glass mosaics, its frieze is supported by little nude marble figures standing above the capitals of the columns, and the angles of the body of the pulpit are faced by statuettes of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and the symbols of SS. John and Matthew.



SECTION III.

SCULPTURE IN CENTRAL ITALY BEFORE THE REVIVAL.

THE ROMAN STATES AND TUSCANY.—ROME.

FROM the beginning of the ninth to the early part of the fifteenth century Rome suffered by internal feuds, by the attacks of the Emperor Henry IV. (1082), and of Robert Guiscard (1084), who did her even more harm than the Goths or Vandals



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had done, and finally by the removal of the popes to Avignon (1305). Her great nobles, the Frangipani, the Colonna, and the Orsini, turned her ruins into fortresses; robbers ravaged the Campagna and plundered the pilgrims journeying to the shrines of the Apostles; grass grew in her streets, and vines overran her fallen temples; her inhabitants were decimated by the pestilence, and her towers and basilicas were shattered by the earthquake. The return of Pope Urban V. (1367), brought no immediate remedy, and it was not until the election of Pope

Martin V. (1420) by the Council of Constance put an end to the schism which had long divided the Church, that a new era of prosperity opened for Rome. During all these long centuries of decline the arts were neglected, and only from time to time was a spasmodic activity brought about by exceptional causes. Thus in the days of Charlemagne, fallen

edifices were raised, churches were adorned with mosaics, and new buildings were erected by the Popes Hadrian I. (771-795) and Leo III. (795-816). Many works which still exist, or are known to have existed, show that the use of the chisel was never completely abandoned. Among these are several sarcophagi in the Lateran museum, and that of the Prefect Junius Bassus (359) in the crypt of St. Peter's, works of the fourth century; the bronze statue of the titular saint which was cast in the fifth century by order of Pope Leo I.* in commemoration of the miraculous delivery of Rome from Attila through the intercession of SS. Peter and Paul; and the statue of St. Hippolytus in the Lateran museum, known by the form of the letters in his Paschal calendar upon the side of the "cattedra"† to be a work of the sixth century.

In the seventh century the atrium of St. Peter's contained so many Papal tombs that it was called the portico of the Popes.‡ Many of them were destroyed when the venerable basilica was pulled down by Julius II. and his successors,



but greatly as we deplore their loss we must not exaggerate its artistic importance, for they were either simple slabs bearing inscriptions, or such sarcophagi as we see in the Lateran museum, without sepulchral effigies, adorned with bas-reliefs representing scenes from Holy Writ.‡ A few inscriptions and sarcophagi in the crypt of St. Peter's, are all that remain of these monumental splendours. The earliest Papal inscription

* Torrigio, *Sac. Grot. Vat.* pp. 126-27, and Platner, *Besch. Roms*, ii. 177. Some critics believe this figure to be an antique with restored head and hands.

† *Besch. Roms*, ii. 329. The upper portion of this statue is a modern restoration.

‡ Before the year 408 the popes were buried in the catacombs; then in the portico of St. Peter. (*Ibid.* vol. i.)

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among them is that of Pope Boniface IV. (608-615); and the earliest Papal tomb an old Christian sarcophagus with Scriptural bas-reliefs, which contains the bones of Pope Gregory V.* (996-999). The next is an immense Roman sarcophagus of oriental granite, with masks carved upon its lid and festooned bucranes upon its sides, in which lies the one English pope, Adrian IV. (1154-1159), Nicholas Breakspear, who hung and burned the Italian martyr Arnolfo da Brescia, and crowned Frederic Barbarossa.

In the seventh century the bodies of the popes who were especially venerated were transferred from the vestibule to the interior of the basilica. Those first so honoured were Leo the Great (432-440), to whom a magnificent monument was erected in the vestibule of the sacristy; Gregory the Great (688); and Adrian I., the friend of Charlemagne. Side by side with these successors of St. Peter lay Honorius (423) and his nieces, Maria and Thermantia, daughters of Stilicon; Otho II., surnamed the Great (983); † Helpis (524), the first wife of the ill-fated Boëtius; Cædwalla, king of the West-Saxons, who became a Christian and when hardly thirty-years old abdicated his throne to journey by sea and by land to Rome to be baptised by Pope Sergius on the vigil of Easter, and died, "candidus inter oves Christi," before he had laid aside his white catechumenal robes (688); and Pope Honorius IV. (1285-1287), whose sepulchral effigy was removed to the Savelli chapel at Ara Coeli when the old basilica was destroyed, and placed upon the sarcophagus of his mother Vana Aldobrandesca.

The statue of his successor, Nicholas IV. (1288-1292), who was buried at the Lateran, may be seen in the retro-choir. He kneels with clasped hands, looking upward, and wears a tall pointed tiara upon his head, and shoes with soles of extreme thickness upon his feet. This rude image is one of the few monumental relics which escaped destruction in the

* See Tav. xlv. *Sac. Vat. Bas. Crypt.* Dionysius, vol. i., and a description of the sarcophagus at vol. i. p. 115; also, Torrigio, *Sac. Grot. Vat.* p. 349.

† The sarcophagus is now in the court of the Quirinal palace. Its lid is used as a baptismal font at St. Peter's. The emperor's bones were walled up in the crypt by Pope Paul V. A.D. 1609.

early part of the fourteenth century, when the Lateran was twice well nigh consumed by fire.*

No Roman sculptors are mentioned in inscriptions from the fifth to the ninth century, but one of the tenth, at Santa Prassede, records the name of Magister Christianus as having made the monument of a Cardinal Peter, who assisted at the Lateran Council of the year 904. Many names of marble-workers who lived after this date are mentioned in inscriptions upon arches, friezes, monuments, pulpits and bishops' thrones in Roman churches, and in those of towns within a range of forty or fifty miles of the city. Among these names we may mention those of Giovanni and Guido, inscribed upon the architrave of the ciborium of the church of Santa Maria di Castello, at Corneto (1060); † of a second Giovanni, with his father Paulus, and his brothers Peter, Angelo, and Sasso, upon the architrave of the ciborium, at San Lorenzo "extra muros" at Rome; ‡ and of Nicholas, grandson of Paul and son of Angelo, upon the paschal candlestick at St. Paul's (1148) (*see tail-piece*), which consists of a round column of marble about eighteen feet in height, resting upon a quadrangular base, with sphinx-like animals at the corners. The figures in relief upon the shaft are short, clumsy and

* The two rudely-sculptured figures of Saints Peter and Paul, in the retro-choir, some architectural fragments in the beautiful cloister, parts of the tomb of a Milanese count, m. 1287, with portions of those of Antonio de Claribus, m. 1274, and of Gerardus Blancus, m. 1302, in the side aisles, belong to these monuments.

† This church was founded A.D. 1121 when Calixtus II. was pope and Henry II. emperor, and dedicated in 1208 by Innocent III. The ciborium, which is dated 1060, i.e. sixty years before the church was founded, must, says Promis, *op. cit.*, have been brought from some other building and set up there. Its inscription is: "Virginis . ara . pie . sic . e . decorata . Marie . que genuit XRM. Tanto sub TPR scriptū, anno milleno vi. et ageno;" to which Gaye, *Kunstblatt*, No. 61, A.D. 1839, article on Promis, adds:

"Octo super rursus fuit et prior optimus sursus.

Johs. et Guitto magistri hoc opus fecerunt."

‡ "Joh^s. Petrus. Angl's et Sasso. filii Pauli marmor. Hui. opis magistri fner. ann. MCXLVIII. ego Hugo humilis Abs. Hoc opus fieri fecit." The two last names of the brothers have been read as Anglus English, and Sassone Saxon, an interpretation which is regarded as doubtful by Didron. (*See Le Moyen Age, Ann. Arch.*) Gaye in his article on Promis says that the father Paulus is the same whose name was found by De Witt upon a grave-slab in San Giovanni di Terentino.

rudely sculptured, with staring and inexpressive eyes marked by round holes drilled into the marble.* The name of its author occurs again in an inscription belonging to the church of Saint Bartolomeo, on the "insula Tiberina,"† and with that of his father in the cathedral at Sutri (1170). Another supposed grandson of Paolo is the Petrus Amabilis who has already been mentioned as the sculptor of a pulpit at San Vittorino near Aquila (1197).‡ The attempt to follow these marble-workers from place to place and identify them is difficult, and often leads to conflicting results. The multiplicity of Roman Peters is especially puzzling, for besides the two already spoken of, a third is mentioned in inscriptions at Rieti (1252-1283), a fourth at Alba Fucense (1225), and a fifth is said to have gone to England with Abbot Ware (1267) to make the shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey.§ This Peter le Orfever, as he is called in English records of the time, and his companion Odericus|| belonged to the Roman Cosmati who

* The artist's name with that of his otherwise unknown companion is thus inscribed upon it: "Ego Niconans [*sic*] de Angilo [*sic*] cum Petro Fassa de Tito hoc opus cõplevi."

† "Nicholaus de Angelo fecit hoc opus."

‡ Gaye, *op. cit.*, identifies the Petrus of San Vittorino, 1197, with him of Rieti, 1252-1283; while Promis considers the Peter of San Vittorino, 1197, to be identical with him of Alba Fucense, 1225. It seems more natural to believe the Peter of San Lorenzo, 1140, to be one and same as the Peter of San Vittorino, 1197, and to make a second Peter out of the three mentioned at Alba, 1225, Rieti, 1252-83, and England, 1267. For a mention of the latter see Scott's *Westminster Abbey*, second ed. pp. 129, 133.

§ Abbot Ware went to Rome to be consecrated by Pope Urban IV., in 1258, and remained there for two years. That Abbot Ware brought workmen and porphyry stones with him on his return to England is mentioned by Weaver and confirmed by his epitaph: "Abbas Riccardus de Ware qui requiescit. Hic portat lapides quos hic portavit ab Urbe." (*Ibid.* p. 134.) Rome was always called "Urbs" in the thirteenth century "the city" par excellence.

|| Odericus is not to be confounded with a Petrus Oderigius or Oderigi of the preceding century, whose name is inscribed upon a sarcophagus in which Roger Count of Calabria and Sicily, m. 1101, was buried in the abbey of Santa Trinità at Mileto in South Calabria. This sarcophagus was removed to the piazza of the town after the earthquake of 1795, and thence to the museum at Naples. It is adorned with rudely-sculptured figures of a man and a woman and two crosses at each end and spiral

originated the system of decorative architecture which bears their name about the middle of the twelfth century. Successive generations of this family of artists worked at Rome and in its neighbourhood during more than a hundred and fifty years, enriching many churches with charming examples of their skill and taste. The appellation of "*arte marmoris periti*," which was applied generally to Roman Mediæval sculptors, is peculiarly appropriate to them, since they decorated their tabernacles, pulpits, &c. &c., with mosaics and discs made of porphyry, serpentine, giallo and rosso antico, and many coloured marbles, to obtain which precious materials they despoiled old buildings, cut up beautiful columns, and destroyed rich pavements. Their early works which are remarkable for an organic lightness of structure, an absence of caprice or extravagance in ornament and a scrupulous subordination of decoration to the architectural unit,* are examples of that "perfect harmony between the end and the means," which has been given as a definition of *style*. These qualities are conspicuous in the fine façade of the Cathedral at Civita Castellana; in the exquisite cloisters of St. Paul's and the Lateran at Rome; in the portico and pulpit of San Lorenzo; and in the cloisters of Santa Scolastica at Subiaco.

More Cosmatesque work of the first period is to be seen in the church of San Pietro d'Alba at Alba Fucense, near the site of the old Marsian city of Alba, in the Abruzzi. The Andrea, Gualterius Morronto and Petrus,† whose names are inscribed upon its choir parapet ("*septum marmoreum*"), and the Giovanni and Andrea upon its pulpit,‡ were all Roman marble-workers of the early part of the thirteenth century, as was the Nicolaus who made the pulpit in the Cathedral

columns. The following inscription upon it records the name of the deceased count and the artist who made the sarcophagus—

"*Hoc sepulchrum fecit Petrus Oderisius, magister Romanus, in memoriam Rogerii comitis Calabriae et Siciliæ.*"

* *Architettura Cosmatesca*, di Camillo Bonito, p. 16.

† This Petrus is perhaps identical with the artist who made the pulpit at S. Vittorino, near Aquila, and the Giovanni with the marble-worker at Corneto mentioned at p. lv.

‡ "*Abbas Oderisius fieri fecit. Magister Gualterius cum Moronto et Petrus fecit hoc opus. Andreas magister Romanus fecit hoc opus.*" (*See*

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at Fondi,* and worked with Nicolaus, son of Rainuccius,† and Rainerius, son of Giovanni from Perugia,‡ upon the façade of Santa Maria di Castello at Corneto (1208). The pulpit in this church, by Giovanni di Guido, who is probably identical with him of Alba, is entered by a double staircase flanked by crouching lions of a very rudimentary type. Its semicircular front is formed of three slabs, separated from each other by columns whose capitals are adorned with rudely-carved birds and leaf-work, on the central slab an eagle with outspread wings hovering above a plant which springs from a vase with dolphin-shaped handles, is sculptured in a much better style, and of a later date than the pulpit.§ Donnaincasa, an artist of the Cosmati school, adorned the white marble pavement of this church with discs and strips of serpentine, porphyry and giallo antico, in imitation of the Roman Opus Alexandrinum.

Toscanella, not many miles distant from Corneto, has two very interesting churches, San Pietro and Sta. Maria, whose sculptured façades, pulpits and tabernacles are in all probability Roman work. San Pietro was founded as early as the ninth or tenth century, but from the remarkable variety of its parts we may conjecture that it was not completed till a much later period. Its façade offers a unique example in this region of that fantastic system of decoration which distinguishes Apulian church façades, employed here however much less systematically and

Febonius, *Hist. Marsorum*, lib. 3; Promis, *op. cit.* p. 12; Schultz, *op. cit.* p. 83.) Upon the pulpit is inscribed—

“Civis Romanus doctissimus arte Johs
Cui collega Bonus Andréas detulit onus.
Hoc opus excelsum struxerunt mente periti
Nobilis et prudens Oderisius abfuit Abbas.”

* “Tabula marmoreis vitreis dirstincta [*sic*]
Doctoris studio sic est erecta Johñis
Romano genitos cognomine Nicolao.”

† “Nicolanus Rainucii magister Romanus fecit” is inscribed upon the capital of the column which divides the window over the portal.

‡ “Rainerius. Thos. Perusinus” is inscribed upon the archivolt.

§ Made for the Prior Angelus in 1208. The same name is inscribed on the architrave of the ciborium—

“AD · MCCVII · MAG · T · DNI · INNCENT · PP · III · Ego
· Angel · per · Hui · Eccle · hoc · op · nitid · auro · et · mar-
more · diverso · fieri · fecit · per · manus · Johis · Guitonis ·
civis · R · M · N.”

with far less technical skill. The ox-like animals standing upon consoles resting on Griffins, remind us of those which protrude from the façade-wall of the cathedral at Troja, which however presents no such animated picture to the eye as this at Toscanella, with its dragons pursuing hares, and its huge monster with a hideous head like an Indian idol, and arms entwined with snakes. The date of this strange work is not precisely known, but in all probability it nearly coincides with that of the ciborium inside the church, which bears the name of Petrus, a priest who lived at the end of the eleventh century (1098).

The sculptures of the façade of the neighbouring church of Sta. Maria appear to belong to about the same period, though they are much less extravagant. The bas-reliefs of the Madonna and Child, Abraham's journey, and the Sacrifice of Isaac in the lunette over the central door; the two figures in alto-relief of SS. Peter and Paul, set against the door-posts; the human figures, horses, and fantastic animals introduced into the flat spaces; and the monsters and lions in the frieze above the capitals, and at the bases of the large columns on either side of the door, differ little from other rude works of their kind and period. The church contains a pulpit resting upon columns, whose sides are covered with squares, oblongs, and interlaced patterns, and whose projecting reading desk is supported on a rudely-carved figure in alto-relief. The capitals of the columns which divide the nave from the side aisles, are covered with carved leaf-work, animals and ornaments, sculptured in the rude style of the ninth or tenth century.*

It was not until the end of the thirteenth century that sculpture which in the Roman states, as elsewhere in Italy, had been ecclesiastical and architectural, was employed in a single instance in a secular and monumental form, to perpetuate the memory of an historical personage, King Charles of Anjou. When this "Nero of the Middle Ages" as he has been well called,† came to Rome in the forty-sixth year of his age to be invested with the senatorial dignity, the Roman senate decreed that his life-size statue should be sculptured and set up upon

* Campanari, *op. cit.* i. 125, says the church was founded in the eighth century. He thinks the sculptures not anterior to the tenth.

† *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, p. 361.

the Capitoline. This was done, and the result is of no common interest, for the statue, which stands in the great hall of the Senatorial Palace, is not only the portrait of one of the most noted men in history, but also the only Mediæval portrait statue of any importance in Italy. It represents the "Gothic plunderer" in a long tunic and mantle, with a crown on his head, and a sceptre in his hand, sitting upon a throne-chair flanked by lions. The peculiar shape of the head, and the long nose which Villani mentions * as a marked feature in the King's face, leave no doubt that the sculptor, although deficient in the higher qualities of his art, was at least true to nature to the extent of his ability.

With the departure of the popes from Rome (1306), all activity in art ceased, and so completely was this the case with sculpture, that we meet with the name of but one Roman sculptor of the fourteenth century, Marcus Romanus (1317), whose only known work is a statue of St. Simeon the Prophet, behind the high altar of his church at Venice. In the dark tomb-like recess where it lies, the face wears a dignified air, and the figure is expressive, though rudely sculptured and defective in its proportions.

The reader will see by the foregoing pages that sculpture of the time under consideration is but poorly represented at Rome and in its immediate neighbourhood, and this is the case throughout the states and cities ruled by the Popes before the unification of Italy. At Volterra there is a pulpit of the year 1194 in the Cathedral, and at Viterbo one papal tomb, that of Hadrian V. (1276) in the church of San Francesco.

BOLOGNA.

This city contains but little early sculpture, and but scant records of early sculptors. A curious old terra-cotta pulpit at S. Stefano, adorned with rude symbols of the Evangelists, and four stone crosses in the basilica at St. Petronius, are the only marbles anterior to the fourteenth century which we find there. The date of the pulpit is unknown, and that of the crosses uncertain. Two of them are probably of the eighth or ninth century, and the others posterior to it, though tradition says that

* Villani, *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. vii. ch. i. p. 225.

they were erected near the old gates of the city by St. Petronius, Bishop of Bologna, in the fifth century. One of the four is particularly interesting on account of its sculptures, and because one of its inscriptions records the names of the Petrus Albericus and his father who made them. At the back Christ appears in a mandorla, supported by the three Archangels, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, holding the book of the new law open upon his knee, and giving the benediction with his right hand. Upon the front, Christ crucified holds this simple and touching dialogue with his mother: "My son," she says to him; and he, "What, mother?"—Q. "Are you God?"—A. "I am."—Q. "Why do you hang (upon the Cross)?"—A. "That mankind may not perish." Besides the Petrus Albericus and his father who carved this cross, we know the names of a few other early Bolognese sculptors such as Daniele, surnamed Il Sarcofagaio, (524),* Ringhieri or Ringhiero, who worked in the Holy Land, (1110),† Ventura dei Lamberti, both architect and sculptor, who flourished between 1197 and 1230;‡ Alberto or Albertini who also lived in the thirteenth century, and Manno, goldsmith and painter,§ who made a very curious colossal statue of Pope Boniface VIII., now in the university, out of beaten plates of metal fastened together with nails. This statue was erected to the pope during his lifetime (1301) by the Bolognese, out of gratitude for the decision he had given against the Modenese in a dispute between them concerning the castles of Bazzano and Sarignano. The eyes are staring and inexpressive, the head wears a plain mitre, and the stiff figure is robed in a long vestment. Resting one hand upon his breast, the Pope slightly bends the fingers of the other in sign of benediction.

* The Daniele da Ravenna mentioned by Zani, *Enc. Met.*, is perhaps the same person.

† Ghirardacci, *Della Historia di Bologna* (Bologna, 1596), vol. i. lib. ii. p. 63. See also Zani, *Enc. Met.* xv. 331, and xvi. 72, 182.

‡ "Henrico Vescovo di Bologna fece fare la porta della chiesa verso quella medesima parte (al mezzogiorno) di prezioso marmo e la ornò di varie e belle figure fatte da Ventura scultore in quel tempo, architetto e scultore famosissimo."—Ghirardacci, *op. cit.* vol. i. lib. v. p. 132.

§ Baldi cited in the *Felsina Pittrice*, i. 25, says that a picture of the Madonna and Child by Manno dated 1260 existed in the old Palazzo della Binda, and that he himself had a capricious and diligently-drawn Massacre of the Innocents by Manno in his possession.

RAVENNA.

Ravenna is especially interesting for the early Christian mosaics with which its great churches are adorned, but it does not abound in marbles of any period. Some sarcophagi are to be seen, both in its streets and in its churches, as in the sacristy of the Cathedral, where the cattedra of Bishop Maximin of the sixth century is also preserved; at S. Apollinare in Classe, where there is an altar of the ninth century and the fragments of the cattedra of St. Damian of the eighth century; at S. Francesco, where there is an early Christian altar; at S. Vitale, and at S. Maria in Porto, which contains a Byzantine bas-relief of the Madonna. None of these objects call for special description as they differ in no respect from others of their time and class elsewhere described.

ANCONA.

The Cathedral of St. Ciriacus consists of two superposed churches, the upper of the eleventh century, whose façade, erected about 1200, is decorated with figures in relief of SS. Lorenzo, Liberio Palagda, Stephano, and Ciriacus, and the lower of the ninth century. This contains a richly sculptured sarcophagus, and fragments of early marble work. The façade of S. Maria di Piazza, a church of the tenth century, is a work of the early part of the thirteenth. The capriciously conceived sculptures about it show the influence of the neighbouring Apulian churches, which, as we have said, were erected for the most part a hundred or a hundred and fifty years earlier.

TUSCANY.

The course of our history now leads us to Tuscany, the richest of all Italian districts in sculpture from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, and the poorest in Pre-Revival work. The oldest works at Pisa, Pistoja, Lucca and Florence, belong to the twelfth century, when new forms of portal-building gave opportunity for much stone carving. We know the names of many Pisan artists of this time, but one of whom, Bonanno, worked in the Byzantine style. He it was who built the Leaning Tower in 1174,* and cast the bronze reliefs upon

* In this work he was assisted by a M^o. Guglielmo, who, Milanese

the so-called Porta di San Ranieri of the Cathedral, as well as those upon the doors of the Cathedral of Monreale near Palermo. These doors are contemporary with those at Trani and Ravello by Barisanus, who was his superior both as bronzecaster and artist. Byzantinism seems to have died out in Tuscany with Bonanno, for we find no trace of it in the stone reliefs of his contemporaries, whose clumsily modelled, ill-disposed reliefs of Bible stories are not slavish imitations, however rude and imperfect. The most notable among them are an Adoration of the Magi on the architrave of the portal of S. Andrea at Pistoja, a Last Supper upon that of San Giovanni, and the reliefs upon the pulpit of S. Michele at Groppoli by Gruamonte of Pisa (1166), the Christ and twelve Apostles, and two clumsy angels over the doorway of S. Bartolomeo at Pistoja by Rudolphus (1167), the font at San Casciano near Pisa (1180), and a miracle of St. Nicholas over one of the side doors of S. Salvator at Lucca by Biduinus, the portal of S. Andrea at Pistoja by Enricus, and the font in San Frediano at Lucca by Bonamicus, who



sculptured a bas-relief of Christ in Glory, with David and the Evangelists, now in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Works of the same period exist at and near many Tuscan towns, such as the Old Testament reliefs upon the portal architraves of Santa Mustiola de' Torri near Siena, the Birth of Christ and the Adoration of the Magi in the chapel of San Ansano in the Cathedral, the reliefs upon the lower portion of the

says, was perhaps a Pisan, and certainly an Italian. He identifies him with a Guglielmo, who in 1165 was head master of the Cathedral at Pisa, and sculptor of the pulpit in that church, prior to that made by Giovanni Pisano. (*See* Vasari, ed. Milanese, vol. i. p. 274, note.)

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façade of San Martino at Lucca (1204), those about the portal of the Pieve at Arezzo by Marchionne (1216), and others by anonymous sculptors about the architrave and side posts of the eastern portal of the Baptistry at Pisa (after 1200), representing Christ's descent into Hell, &c. &c. The pulpits of San Bartolomeo at Pistoja by Maestro Guido da Como (1250), of S. Michele at Groppoli between Pistoja and Pescia, of the cathedral of Volterra, at Barga near the Baths of Lucca, and that at San Leonardo near Florence, are all decorated with reliefs which, while they illustrate the extremely low level of sculpture in Tuscany up to the first half of the thirteenth century, show in many instances a striving after greater freedom in arrangement and action. The period was transitional between the decay of Byzantinism, and that when a leader was to arise whose mind and hand were strong enough to direct the aims and shape the destinies of sculpture. This leader was Niccola Pisano, whose history belongs to that of the Pisan school which he founded.



BOOK I.



THE REVIVAL AND THE GOTHIC PERIOD.

1240 to 1400.

HISTORICAL HANDBOOK

OF

ITALIAN SCULPTURE.

CHAPTER I.

NICCOLA PISANO.

As we walk through the quiet streets of Pisa, or traverse the broad plain which divides her from the sea, we find it difficult to realise that in the eleventh century she was a crowded seaport, the busy mart of Oriental traffic, and chief among the Ghibelline cities of Italy. The antique sarcophagi in her Campo Santo, which then decorated the exterior of her newly built Cathedral and served for the next century and a half as tombs for illustrious Pisans and foreigners of distinction deceased at Pisa,* recal to us a still earlier period of her history, when she was a Roman colony and famous for her marble works. To us they are of peculiar interest, not only as visible links between her ancient and mediæval periods, but also because Niccola Pisano made the bas-reliefs upon them special objects of study, and learned from them those forgotten arts of composition, treatment of form, and disposition of drapery, which made his sculpture superior to any executed in Italy since the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. This was in the thirteenth century, when Italy was convulsed by the great struggle unceasingly carried on between the Imperial

* Such as some Pisan Archbishops; the Countess Beatrice, mother of the Countess Matilda, in 1187; Pope Gregory VIII., who died at Pisa in the same year, and the great Burgundian in 1193. See Appendix A.

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and Papal powers, which had so much influence upon the development of the arts. At the outset of Niccola Pisano's career the war between the Hohenstauffens and the popes was renewed by Frederic II., who, king of Sicily through his mother, of Jerusalem through his wife, and of the Romans by election, had been crowned emperor by the pope, of whom he professed himself the vassal, while secretly preparing the way for the subjugation of Italy, which he looked upon as his rightful heritage.

The popes considered the independence of Italy as necessary to their own freedom, while the emperor wished to put down both popes and republics, in order to bring about its unification under himself. In this plan, as well as in his resistance to papal authority, and in his attacks upon the vices, wealth and power of the clergy, Frederic was far in advance of his time,* but the hour was not yet come for the unification of Italy, or for religious reform, and though he pressed Rome hard, the elasticity of her institutions, which yield to pressure only to resume their original shape when it is removed, saved the Church from the loss of temporal power. In warring against Frederic, whose courage, cunning, and ambition gave the popes ceaseless cause for alarm,† and in strengthening and extending their influence, which had been much shaken by heresies in Italy and France, they received invaluable assistance from the Minorites and the Preaching Friars, whose Orders had been established by Pope Innocent III. in the early part of the century, in consequence of a vision, in which he saw the tottering walls of the Lateran Basilica supported by an Italian and a Spaniard, in whom he afterwards recognized their respective founders, Francis and Dominic, Saints who employed the most opposite means in the work of conversion.

Their history, as well as that of the Popes whom they served, and that of the Emperor whose power they helped them to

* Kington, *Life of Frederic II.*, says, Frederic's circular addressed to such prelates as mourned over the grasping and combative spirit of their head (Gregory IX., who had just excommunicated him in 1237), reads like a forerunner of the Reformation. See also M. Cherrier, *Hist. de la Lutte des Papes*, vol. ii. p. 397.

† G. Villani gives the Guelphic opinion of Frederic, lib. vi. ch. i. pp. 233 *et seq.*: Jamilla, *Hist. Conradi et Manfredi*, vol. viii. p. 495, the Ghibelline. Vide Sismondi, *Rep. etc.* vol. ii. pp. 46, 48.

curb, concerns us here only so far as it is connected with the development of art. It is evident that while Frederic II. and Eccelino of Padua needed fortresses, and palaces scarcely less calculated for defence, Innocent IV. and Urban IV. wanted convents, where the monks whom they enlisted to fight against heresy could be lodged, as well as churches in which the growing army of the faithful could assemble for prayer. An impulse was thus given to civil and to ecclesiastical architecture, and consequently to sculpture, which formed an integral part of it. Exercise in the arts brought technical improvement in its train, and as the field continually widened builders and carvers of stone multiplied, until the length and breadth of the land was enriched with those masterpieces of construction and decoration whose beauty we still admire.

Among the men of genius by whom architecture and sculpture in Italy were most advanced, none has won for himself a more deserved renown than Niccola Pisano, of whom we now propose to speak as fully as our imperfect knowledge will allow.

That he was born between 1204 and 1207 seems proved by an inscription on the fountain at Perugia, which states that he was seventy-four years old when it was completed, during the Papacy of Nicholas III. 1277-80;* but where and how he was educated are questions which have been much discussed. Apart from the fact that Niccola is called a Pisan in all inscriptions relating to him, those† who hold that he was of Tuscan birth and education rest their belief upon long established tradition, upon the character of his works, and upon a document in the archives of San Jacopo at Pistoja in which he is spoken of (July 11, 1272) as "Master Nicholas of Pisa, son of the late Peter of . . .," and again (Nov. 19, 1273) as "Son of Peter of the parish of S. Biagio at Pisa." Those‡ who regard him as an Apulian born and bred, cite the contract between Fra

* Schultz, *Geschichte*, etc. vol. vii. p. 271, note 1, doubts the correctness of Vermigliogli's reading of the inscription, and places Niccola's birth between 1210 and 1220.

† Milanesi, Semper, Schnaase, and Dobbert.

‡ Rumohr, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Förster, Grimm, Lubke, Springer and Salazaro. The arguments on both sides are stated by Milanesi in his Commentary upon the lives of Niccola and Giovanni Pisani, Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1878, vol. i. pp. 321-329, and carefully discussed in Schnaase's *Geschichte*, etc. vol. viii. pp. 292 *et seq.*

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Melano and himself for the pulpit at Siena (May 11, 1266) in which he is mentioned as Master Nicholas son of Peter of Apulia.

The question as to whether the ancestors of Niccola were natives of Tuscany or Apulia would be of comparatively little importance, if its decision did not carry with it another of a much more serious nature—namely, which of these parts of Italy was the cradle of the revival of sculpture. For our own part, we have no hesitation in leaving this long-accredited honour to Tuscany, for only there are to be found those works of the twelfth century which announce its approach, together with those of the thirteenth in which it reveals itself; while in Apulia, on the contrary, the clumsy fourteenth century bas-reliefs which decorate the façade of the churches at Bitetto, Bitonto, &c., are of like character with Tuscan works of Niccola Pisano's predecessors in the twelfth century, although from 150 to 200 years later in date. As for the kingdom of Naples, we need only say that its school of sculpture, which had its beginning in the latter part of the thirteenth century, owed its existence to the Tuscan pupils of Niccola Pisano as well as to the master himself.*

* In the first volume of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *Hist. of Painting in Italy*, at p. 128, these authors, in support of their theory that Niccola was an Apulian, and formed his style upon Apulian marbles, state that sculpture in South Italy was still at a high standard in the thirteenth century. As an example of this they cite the very beautiful pulpit in the Cathedral of S. Pantaleone, at Ravello, the work of a sculptor from Foggia, named Niccolò di Bartolomeo, about the year 1270. As at this time Niccola Pisano was more than sixty-four years old, and had executed the greater part of those works which had made him famous all over Italy, it would seem more natural to conclude that Nicholas of Foggia was his pupil, rather than his master. Again, the pulpit at Ravello is the only work known of the Foggian artist. The sculptures about it, exclusive of the Lions, which, as in Niccola's pulpits at Pisa and Siena, support the columns upon which it rests, are the bust of a woman placed above the arched door of entrance, and two profile heads upon either side, relieved upon a mosaic background. It is upon these sculptures that Crowe and Cavalcaselle found their statement (*op. cit.* p. 130) that Niccolò di Bartolomeo's works are so like those of his Pisan namesake in style, that "they may be confounded." In answer to this, we may first say that the profile heads are so inferior to the bust that we do not believe them to be the work of the same sculptor; second, that in neither can we trace any resemblance to the style of Niccola

It is true that Apulian sculptors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were very superior to their Tuscan contemporaries, but they worked wholly after Saracenic or Byzantine models, and their school died out without leaving any marks of influence upon their successors in Apulia, or upon the old Tuscan masters, whose individual and clumsy efforts were equally sterile of results.

For these reasons we regard the theory of Niccola Pisano's Apulian origin as untenable, if by Apulia we are to understand the so-called south-eastern province of Italy; but we are very willing to accept the probable explanation given by the editor of the new edition of Vasari, that the birthplace of Peter, the father of Niccola, spoken of in the Sienese contract as Apulia, was not the province, but one of the two towns in Tuscany called Apulia, Puglia, or Pulia, one of which is situated in the neighbourhood of Siena, and the other in that of Arezzo.*

For the first forty-three years of Niccola Pisano's life, that is up to 1260, when he contracted for the pulpit at Pisa, we must rely upon Vasari, as amended by modern commentators, for such information as we have to offer to our readers.

His earliest master was probably one of the head workmen employed about the Cathedral and Baptistry,† through whose instructions, aided by the daily study of those noble buildings, he developed so rapidly that when scarcely fifteen years old

Pisano; and, third, that though the heads are in all probability by the same artist as the pulpit, we doubt whether this be the case with the bust, which, unlike them, forms no integral part of it. This bust is commonly said to be a portrait of Sigelgaita Rufolo, wife of the donor of the pulpit, but there is some ground for the supposition that it represents Queen Joanna II. of Naples, and is consequently more than a century later in date.

* Vol. i. p. 323, *Commentario alla Vita di Niccola e Giovanni Pisani*. "If," says Milanesi, "the notary who wrote out the Sienese contract had meant to indicate the province, he would not have said *Petrus de Apulia*, but '*de partibus Apulie*,' according to the usual formula. By '*de Apulia*,' he not only meant to designate a town of this name, but also that it was a Tuscan town, since he added nothing after the name."

† This is stated by Vasari. Schultz, *Geschichte*, vol. viii., discredits the fact, on the ground that they could have taught him little. This is true of sculpture—but not of architecture; and it was as an architect that he first gained reputation.

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he is said to have obtained the appointment of architect to Frederic II., who passed through Pisa in 1220, on his way to receive the Imperial crown at Rome. After his coronation, in the month of November, the Emperor and his suite proceeded to Naples, where Niccola remained for about ten years, during which he completed Castel Capuano and Castel dell' Ovo, both of which had been commenced under the Norman King William I., by Bono, a Florentine architect,* and then went to Padua, to design a Basilica in honour of St. Anthony.

No one among the disciples of St. Francis was more conspicuous for holiness of life, and the gift of persuasive eloquence, than this saintly man, who born in an age of fierce and unbridled passions, preached peace and good-will to men, and so moved the vast audiences assembled around him, in city squares and open fields, that the bitterest enemies fell upon each other's neck and swore thenceforth to live like brothers. Such astonishing results are generally attributable in an even greater degree to the faith of the people in the sanctity and sincerity of the Minorites and Preaching Friars than to their discourses† which consisted of Scripture texts and quotations, strung together in simple sequence; but to this rule the sermons of St. Anthony‡ form an exception, as he developed his texts by images calculated to touch the heart, and illustrated them by striking similes. It was, however, chiefly because his words reflected his holy life that they had such power over the minds of his hearers.

Soon after the death of the Saint, May 30, 1232, he was canonized by Pope Gregory IX., and offerings were then received

* Vasari, vol. i. p. 261, note 4. Castel Capuano was long used as a palace by the Angevine kings. According to Ricci, these castles were finished by a Neapolitan architect, named Puccio (*St. delle Arch. in Italia*, vol. i. p. 593). Unfortunately we can form no idea of their appearance when finished by Niccola, since they were completely remodelled by the viceroy, Don Pedro, in the sixteenth century.

† If they were spoken in the Latin language, their effect is still more wonderful, although we must remember that it differed much less from the then unformed Italian tongue than from that which we know. Pope Gregory V. (996-999), as we know from his epitaph, used French, Italian, or Latin, as best suited the comprehension of his hearers, and this may have been the case with the Minorites and Preaching Friars.

‡ *Sancti Francisci Assisiensis, nec non S. Antonii Paduani, Opera omnia*: Parisiis, 1641, p. 160.

towards building a Basilica in his honour on which a sum of 4,000 lire was annually spent during the seventy years occupied in its erection.* Niccola Pisano attempted in his design to amalgamate many styles into a harmonious whole. He lived at a time when architectural ideas were in an unsettled state in Italy, and was extremely susceptible to fresh impressions, whose results he grafted upon classical forms to which, like other Italian architects, he clung with extraordinary tenacity. The Gothic elements which he used were a homage to the peculiar predilections of the followers of St. Francis; the clustering Byzantine cupolas showed the effect produced upon him by the church of St. Mark at Venice; while the Romanesque façade told that he had not forgotten the well-beloved Cathedral at Pisa, under the shadow of whose walls his early years had been spent.† If on the one hand this combination of styles, which was habitual to Niccola, corroborates the traditional belief that he was the architect of this church, it weighs equally against the statement that he built the Frari at Venice, whose simple Gothic features, and geometrical rather than sculptural ornaments, belong to quite another school.‡

It seems probable that four years before the corner stone of the Paduan Basilica was laid, Niccola Pisano went to Lucca to sculpture an alto-relief of the Deposition, which still fills the lunette over one of the side doors of the Cathedral of San Martino.§ If it had been his only work, it would have sufficed

* *Vita S. Antonii*, caput xxii.; *Sancti Francisci Assisiensis, nec non H. Antonii Paduani, Opera omnia*.

† The most important work upon this church is that entitled *La Basilica di S. Antonio*, by the Padri Gonzati and Isnenghi (see vol. i. pp. 120, 121). Selvatico and Ricci attribute only a part of it to Niccola; but Vasari, Gonzati (vol. i. pp. 120, 121), Burckhardt, Morrona (vol. ii. p. 61), and Cicognara (vol. ii. p. 170) assert that he built the whole of it, or at least completely designed it (see *Not. St. sull' Arch. Pad. est. dal Giornale di Belle Arti*. Venezia, 1834).

‡ Selvatico, *Architettura e Scultura in Venezia*, p. 98; Ricci, *St. dell' Architettura in Italia*, vol. ii. p. 328.

§ The date 1233 on the wall of the portico of San Martino, has no connection with Niccola's work. See Milanese's ed. of Vasari, vol. i. p. 300, note 1. Some writers regard this work as of the school of Niccola, and not by the master; while others (see Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *Hist. of Painting*, vol. i. pp. 114, 115), consider that he sculptured it in the latter part of his life.

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to give him the place of honour which he holds in the annals of Italian art, for it is the first example of a composition properly so called, since the downfall of the Roman Empire. Instead of being strung together with no concurrent action and without connection, as in mediæval bas-reliefs, the figures are grouped around a central point of interest, and inspired with a common sentiment.

While Nicodemus detaches the lifeless body from the Cross, and Joseph of Arimathæa sustains it in his arms, the Virgin



and St. John bear up the drooping hands, forming a grand group in the centre of the lunette, the corners of which are filled with kneeling and standing figures, who show by their action how deep an interest they take in the melancholy scene which passes before their eyes.

If, as we suppose, this bas-relief was executed before Niccola had gone through that course of study upon which he founded his second and most characteristic style, it may be taken as an example of what he could accomplish without such study, and

therefore of his comparatively uncultivated powers. The same may be said of the statuettes of the Madonna, St. Dominic, and the Magdalen, in niches on the outside of the Misericordia Vecchia at Florence. In themselves they are of little importance, with the exception of the Madonna, which is interesting as the prototype of all Madonnas of the Pisan school. In accordance with the spirit of early Christian art, the Virgin is amply draped, and, in token of her peculiar office of showing Christ to the world, holds the child far from her, as though her human affection were controlled by reverence for his divine nature.

The year in which Niccola made these statuettes is unknown, but we may suppose it to have been about 1248, when he was certainly at Florence and employed by the Ghibellines, whose vengeance wreaked itself on the homes as well as on the persons of the Guelphs. Incited by the Emperor, and headed by his son Frederic of Antioch with 1,500 horse, the Ghibellines had driven their enemies out of the city, and had thrown down thirty-six lofty towers, and many palaces lately occupied by the Guelphs, of which the most remarkable was the Toringhi, whose tower rose to the height of 250 feet above its superposed ranges of marble columns.* Desiring also to annihilate the venerable Baptistry, which had been a favourite place of worship with the Guelphs, but not daring to use direct means, they employed Niccola Pisano to throw down upon it a neighbouring tower, called Guardamorto, because corpses intended for burial in the Baptistry were previously exposed for eighteen hours in its chambers. To do this, Niccola, who probably desired to save the Baptistry, removed the stone foundations of the tower on one side, and replaced them with beams to which he set fire, and when these were burned away, "it fell," says Villani, "by the grace of God and through a special miracle of St. John, straight across the Piazza."† The unrecorded years which passed between Niccola's visit to Lucca and that to Florence, and the twelve which immediately followed the overthrow of the Guardamorto Tower, may have been spent in building certain churches and palaces, the exact date of whose construction is unknown, but of which he is universally allowed to have been the architect. Among these are

* Canto, *St. degl' Italiani*; Malespina, *Hist. Fior.* pp. 94, 95.

† Giovanni Villani, ch. xxxiii. p. 177.

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Santa Trinità at Florence,* San Domenico at Arezzo, the Cathedral at Volterra, the Pieve and Santa Margherita at Cortona, all of which were subsequently remodelled. The church of San Michele in Borgo, which he began and his scholar Fra Guglielmo Agnelli finished, and the ingeniously constructed campanile of the church of San Niccolò* which he built, are still extant; but many other buildings erected by him or his scholars at Pisa were destroyed by the great fire which desolated that city in the year 1610.†

With the exception of the relief of the Deposition at Lucca and the statuettes at Florence, just referred to, Niccola, so far as we know, worked only as an architect until he began the pulpit for the Baptistery at Pisa. In the interval he must have carefully examined such remains of antique sculpture as came within the range of his observation, and recognizing their great superiority to the work of his contemporaries, have determined to take them as his guides in carrying out a work in which sculpture was to play the most important part. In order to obtain as much space as possible for its display, he made his pulpit hexagonal instead of quadrangular in shape according to the common fashion of the time. Acquainted with all architectural styles and troubled, as we have already said, by no scruples about mingling them in one and the same construction, he used Roman, Mediæval, and Gothic elements to enrich it; crowned his columns with classic capitals; rested them on the backs of Lions, as in the church porches of the Middle Ages;‡ filled his round arches with

* Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 60. According to Villani, this church was built in the year 801. It was rebuilt after Niccola's design in 1230, and restored in 1593 by B. Buontalanti.

† Among these were the church of San Matteo, whose external southern walls and cloister alone escaped, and the palace of the magistrates (adjoining the Torre della Fame, where Ugolino and his children miserably perished), upon whose foundations Vasari subsequently built the convent of the Cavalieri di San Stefano. Vasari, vol. i. p. 262; Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 59. That Niccola had any hand in building the façade of the Duomo at Siena, as stated by Vasari, is now known to be false (Milanesi, *St. di Siena*, etc. p. 135; Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 71).

‡ The Lion is a symbol of sacerdotal vigilance, and of wisdom, and a companion of Solomon the wise. The true Solomon is Christ, who is represented with the twelve lions, typical of the twelve apostles. In the

pointed details; and set up statuettes symbolic of the Christian virtues wherever he thought they would produce a harmonious effect. The wonder grows as we study his pulpit, that with such discrepancy of parts it should produce so agreeable and even beautiful an effect. The five bas-reliefs which adorn its sides are its most interesting feature—for they are the first-fruits of a revived art. They represent the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Circumcision, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment. In them, as in his architecture, Niccola is an eclectic who, like the bee, lights upon every flower and by a mysterious process turns its juices into honey. Any one who knows the Byzantine mode of representing the Nativity will recognize it as the basis of Niccola's treatment of the subject, but beyond the traditional arrangement of the figures it is all his own. These short sturdy forms and flowing robes in no wise resemble those of the long, meagre saints, clad in stiff conventional draperies, who stare at us from the pages of a Greek missal, while the majestic Virgin reclining upon a couch, looks more like an Ariadne than a Byzantine Madonna. In the Adoration we have a still closer imitation of the antique. Here the seated Madonna is as identical with the Phædra in a bas-relief upon an old sarcophagus in the Campo Santo, as the sculptor with his imperfect education could make her.* Sitting on the lap of this Greco-Pisan Virgin, who with little of the style has much of the dignity of her prototype, the infant Christ receives gifts from his royal tributaries, two of whom kneel while one stands beside him. St. Joseph, an angel, and the three horses of the kings, complete the composition, whose simple directness of language is worthy of high praise. In the Circumcision Niccola borrowed not only one but two figures from the antique, namely, the bearded and amply draped personage leaning upon a youth in the foreground, so evidently inspired by the group of Dionysos and Ampelos upon a well-known Greek vase in the Campo Santo. In the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment Niccola seems to us less successful than he was in treating the same

Revelation he is called the Lion of the Tribe of Judah. Kreuser, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 189.

* Beatrice, wife of Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, who died A.D. 1076, was buried in it. Its reliefs represent the story of Phædra and Hippolytus

subjects upon the pulpit which he afterwards made for the Cathedral at Siena. There as here, however, he overcrowded his compositions, and resorted to the rude expedient of filling up small spaces with little figures on quite a different scale of proportion from the rest.

How long a time Niccola spent upon this remarkable work is unfortunately an unanswerable, though by no means an unimportant question, for knowing as we do the year when he completed the subject by the inscription upon it,* we could, did we know when he began it, fix with some approach to accuracy the time when he turned his attention to sculpture. Reason tells us that a long period of preparation for work so new to him was necessary, and furthermore that after it was over, he must have employed several years in carrying it out, especially as he can have had but little aid from others. The same question arises in regard to the Arca or sarcophagus at Bologna, made to receive the bones of St. Dominic by Niccola and Fra Guglielmo Agnelli, his pupil, a monk of the Convent of St. Catherine at Pisa. The annals of the Convent prove that on the 12th of June, 1267, Fra Guglielmo witnessed the ceremony of transferring the Saint's remains from the plain stone sarcophagus in which they had rested for more than thirty years, to the richly sculptured receptacle which he had assisted in preparing for them.† We do not know how many years he and his master worked upon its bas-reliefs, but they represent Niccola's labours as a sculptor from 1260, when he completed the pulpit at Pisa, to 1267. Its bas-reliefs, as we have seen, attest the influence of the ancient marbles at Pisa upon him. Of this we see no other trace in those upon the "Arca" of St. Dominic, as compared with contemporary Tuscan sculpture, save the great superiority in composition, technic, and treatment of drapery which Niccola's study of models of a high order had enabled him to attain. Evidently there never was a man so susceptible to present influences as he. At Pisa where he saw the antique, he not only

* "Anno milleno bis centum bisque triceno
Hoc opus insigne sculpsit Niccola Pisano,
Landetur digne tam bene docta manus."

† See Annals of the Convent of St. Catherine. *Arch. St. Ital.* vol. vi. pp. 467-474, pub. by Prof. Bonaini; also, Padre Marchesi, *Mem. etc.* vol. i. p. 72, 73).

educated himself upon it, but actually copied it, while at Bologna where no old marbles met his eye, he worked with the greater knowledge which he owed to them, though with no dependance upon them.

Two miracles worked by St. Dominic, and certain events connected with the establishment of his order, are represented in the bas-reliefs upon the front and ends of his sarcophagus. The most important one of the series illustrates the following story. "On Ash Wednesday, A.D. 1215, the Abbess and some of her nuns went to take possession of the new monastery of St. Sixtus at Rome; and being in the chapter-house with St. Dominic and Cardinal Stefano di Torre Nuova, suddenly there came in one tearing his hair, and making great outcries, for the young Lord Napoleon, nephew of the Cardinal, had been thrown from his horse and killed on the spot. The Cardinal fell speechless into the arms of St. Dominic, and the women and others who were present were filled with grief and horror. They brought the body of the youth into the chapter-house, and laid it before the altar, and Dominic, having prayed, turned to the body of the young man, saying, 'O adolescens Napoleo, in nomine Domini nostris, tibi dico surge,' and thereupon he arose sound and whole, to the unspeakable wonder of all present." *

With a just sense of the capabilities of his subject, Niccola represented the resuscitation of the youth, not in the chapter-house, but on the spot where the accident occurred. This enabled him to introduce the fallen horse, as well as the praying saint and the crowding spectators, and thus show at once the cause and effect of the untoward accident. The story could hardly have been more clearly told, or the central group more happily disposed. It attracts and fixes the eye because of the contrast which its action presents to the passive witnesses of the miracle who fill the background, and by reason of their quietness give it full prominence. (*See wood-cut, p. 16.*)

A statuette of the Madonna separates this relief from another in which St. Dominic appears disputing with heretics in Languedoc, and submitting his own and the Manichean books to the ordeal by fire. He is again represented in a relief upon one end of the sarcophagus, in the act of receiving the Gospels

* Mrs. Jameson, *op. cit.* p. 369.

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from SS. Peter and Paul, and in that of transmitting these instruments for the conversion of heretics to his monks, in obedience to the Apostolic command. In the corresponding relief, the brethren are fed in time of famine by angels disguised as acolytes. The statuettes of the four Doctors of the Church, on the corners of the sarcophagus, appear to be the work of Niccola, but the bas-reliefs at the back and the statuette of the Redeemer between them, are so technically inferior to the rest, that though he may have designed them,



we have no doubt that they were sculptured by Fra Guglielmo during his absence.

This sculptor monk, who was born at Pisa in 1238, continued to work, both as architect and sculptor, after he entered the convent of St. Catherine at Pisa at the age of nineteen. The exercise of these professions was perfectly compatible with his new calling at a time when art was almost exclusively devoted to religious subjects, and we may suppose that he began to study them under Niccola Pisano at a very early age. The bas-reliefs which he sculptured, after his master's designs, upon the back of the "Arca" of St. Dominic, represent events in the life of the Saint's disciple, Reginald of Orleans, the

vision of Pope Honorius III., and his establishment of the Dominican order. They give proofs of such moderate ability that we find it difficult to accept Fra Guglielmo as the sculptor of those which have been accredited to him upon the pulpit of San Giovanni outside the walls of Pistoja, especially on account of the dramatic feeling displayed in them. This points to the influence of Giovanni Pisano, rather than to that of Niccola—an influence which could hardly have led to so great a transformation of style in the three years which intervened between the finishing of the Arca (1267), and the making of the pulpit, whose date is given as 1270. The bas-reliefs at Bologna and a rude statue of the Madonna and Child in a Gothic tabernacle over the portal of San Michele in Borgo at Pisa, are the only certain works of Fra Guglielmo known, for although he was employed (1298) at Orvieto with other artists upon the bas-reliefs of the Cathedral façade, it is not possible to identify his work there. He rebuilt the convent of St. Catherine at Pisa, where he died in 1312, after confessing that while working upon the "Arca" of St. Dominic, he had stolen one of the Saint's ribs and hidden it under the altar of the Magdalen.*

We must now return to the shrine of St. Dominic, which is interesting as an epitome of styles of sculpture from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. More than two centuries after the sarcophagus was sculptured by Niccola Pisano, another Niccola, variously called da Bari, Il Dalmata, Il Bolognese and dall' Arca,† made it the centre of a marble structure, which he adorned with leaves symmetrically arranged and divided by eight zones terminating in volutes, which support statuettes of SS. Francis, Dominic, Florian, Proculus, John the Baptist and Petronius.‡ On the summit he placed a statuette of God the Father upon a vase-shaped pedestal, from whose handles hang festoons of flowers and fruit pressed outwards by two little angels. An Ecce Homo and two adoring angels by Tribolo, a Florentine sculptor of the sixteenth century, fill the

* *Arch. St. Ital.*, vol. vi. second part, p. 464:

† For an account of this artist *see* p. 257.

‡ The S. Petronius is said to be by Michael Angelo. The S. John, and perhaps some of the other statuettes were sculptured by Girolamo Coltellini in the sixteenth century.

space between these festoons, which rest upon dolphins and fall upon a flat base with prophet-statuettes at its corners. Below it stands the "Arca," upon an altar whose "gradino" is covered with extremely flat reliefs sculptured by Alphonso Lombardi, of Ferrara. The angels with candelabra upon it, are by Niccola dell' Arca and Michel Angelo.*

The bas-relief on the front of the altar by Carlo Bianconi, representing the entombment of S. Dominic, and the ornaments about it by Mano Tesi and Salvolini, Italians, and Boudaud, a Frenchman, are works of the seventeenth century.

It is hardly to be wondered at that the shrine, being the work of so many hands, should want unity of effect. Imposing as it is by reason of its richness and size, we cannot look at it without regretting that the sculptors who were successively called to work upon it, failed to recognize that their real mission was to give the sarcophagus a harmonious setting. Like Mozart when he wrote additional accompaniments to some of Handel's Oratorios, they should have thought only of how they could make the master's work appear to the best advantage, and had they done so the result would have been of far greater value.

In June, 1267, when the ceremony of placing the bones of the Saint in the "Arca" took place at Bologna, Niccola Pisano was not able to be present on account of the important work which he had in hand at Siena. In the previous year he had contracted with Fra Melano to make a pulpit for the Cathedral in that city, and had bound himself to reside there until its completion.† The terms agreed upon were that he should be paid at the rate of eight soldi a day, besides his living expenses, have his son Giovanni, here first mentioned, and his pupils Arnolfo di Cambio, Donato and Lapo to assist him, and be allowed to visit Pisa four times a year, with permission to remain there a fortnight at a time, not counting the days spent in travelling.

Wisely considering that his second pulpit was not, like the

* The question of authorship is discussed at p. 257.

† The contract is dated May 11th, 1266, "according to the Pisan reckoning," which corresponds to the 29th of September, 1265, of the common reckoning. Schultz, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 272. Milanesi, note 2 to Vasari, vol. i. p. 304, gives Sept. 29th, 1266, as the date of the contract

first, to stand in a small building, but under the dome of a vast Cathedral, he designed it on a larger scale, with eight instead of six sides, but despite these increased proportions it is less effective than that in the Baptistry at Pisa, perhaps because it is surrounded by so many other objects of interest. It is also less harmonious, as a work of art, owing to its elaborately ornamented Renaissance staircase which, though admirable in itself, conflicts in style with the main body of the pulpit.* Supported upon columns resting on the backs of lions, and enriched with statuettes like its prototype, it differs from it in having its flat spaces filled with tracery, leaves, and gilded glass mosaics,† as well as in the greater number of its bas-reliefs. Two of these, the Nativity and the Crucifixion, differ very slightly from those of the same subjects at Pisa; two, the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt, are original compositions; and two, the Adoration and the Last Judgment, are old subjects varied in treatment. The Adoration is less clear and simple in composition, and the Last Judgment even more crowded than that at Pisa, although in other respects of superior merit. This defect of overcrowding, which is less marked in the Pisan than in the Sienese reliefs, none of which are free from it, is most excusable in the Last Judgment, which could hardly be treated successfully in sculpture, unless by the Greek method of using a few typical figures to represent a multitude. Such a device was unknown to Niccola who, undeterred by the difficulties of his task, undertook and accomplished it with no small credit to himself.

The Padre della Valle in speaking of the Sienese pulpit says,

* Said to be the work of Il Marrina, a Sienese sculptor of the first half of the sixteenth century. See ch. iv. p. 67.

† By a celebrated glass-worker, painter, and sculptor of Siena, named Pastorino Pastorini (1531-1560), scholar of Guglielmo Marcilla, or Di Marcillac, a French painter on glass and in fresco, who painted the windows in the episcopal palace at Arezzo, and the round window of the Duomo at Siena. Pastorini attained great reputation by his portraits in the round, in medals of coloured wax, and medallions in bronze. From 1554 to 1557 he worked at Ferrara for Duke Hercules II. See *Commentary to the Life of Guglielmo de Marcillac*, Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. iv., p. 433

that the first Sienese and Florentine sculptors issued from it as the Greeks from the Trojan horse.* In so far as their art owed its revival to Niccola Pisano, this observation is justly applicable to all parts of Tuscany. The capacity of the sixty workers in stone who kept open shop at Siena when he came there, may be estimated by such rude bas-reliefs as those of the Birth of Christ and the Adoration of the Magi in the chapel of Sant' Ansano at the Cathedral.† At the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Pulpit had done its work of regeneration, Siena produced a number of sculptors who were thought worthy to assist in building and decorating the façade of the Cathedral at Orvieto under Lorenzo Maitani, himself a Sienese, and one of the greatest of Tuscan architects and sculptors. Leaving these facts to speak for themselves, we may pass on to discuss the remaining portion of Niccola Pisano's life.

Soon after the completion of his pulpit at Siena, the last scene in that struggle between the papal and imperial powers which began in his youth, had been played out on the battle field of Tagliacozzo; the last scion of the Hohenstauffens had died the death of a felon, and Charles of Anjou had finally seated himself on the throne of Frederic II.‡ To commemorate the victory which gave it to him, the monarch commissioned Niccola Pisano to build an abbey and convent near the battle-field, within which the bones of the slain should be buried, and daily and nightly masses for the repose of their souls said by the Templars. The site selected for these buildings, whose origin is marked only by the name of an adjoining church, Sta. Maria della Vittoria,§ was the height, about ten miles from Tagliacozzo, where the ill-fated Conradino first halted in his march from Rome. Looking from it over the little town of La Scorgola, with houses clustering upon

* *Lettere Sanesi*, vol. i. p. 279. The pulpit was probably finished in November, 1268.

† With the architects they formed a guild, ruled by three rectors and a chamberlain elected for six months, who became ineligible for three years after they retired from office.

‡ The pulpit is supposed to have been completed in November, 1267, and the battle was fought in August, 1268. See Appendix, letter B.

§ Carlo Promis, *Degli Artefici Marmorarii Romani*, p. 15, note 22. A festival to commemorate the victory of Charles of Anjou is held at Santa Maria della Vittoria every hundred years.

the hill-side, the traveller commands an exquisite view of the fatal plain, the sparkling lake, the grand background of mountains whose chain culminates in the snow-capped Velino, and of the ruins of the old Marsian city of Alba, which supplied a mass of material for the construction of the now ruined abbey. When Niccola himself stood there, we cannot doubt that he remembered the days, then half a century past, when he won his first laurels in the kingdom of Naples, where he was now to build a monument intended to commemorate the overthrow of the house, and the extinction of the race, of his early friend and patron, Frederic II.

The last work of importance in which our sculptor had a share was the fountain in the square of the Cathedral at Perugia. The inscription mentions his name and that of his son Giovanni who, as we know from other sources, had the assistance of his fellow-pupil Arnolfo di Cambio in its completion. It consists of two superposed basins, the upper of which is decorated with twenty-four statues in niches, representing prophets and saints, and the two Podestas who ruled Perugia while the fountain was in progress.* These simple, broadly-draped figures were sculptured by Niccola at Pisa, whence they were sent to Giovanni who remained at Perugia to sculpture the bas-reliefs upon the sides of the lower basin, which for the most part consist of single figures symbolic of the months and the seven liberal arts,† together with coats-of-arms, the Guelphic lion, the Griffin of Perugia, the Eagle of Pisa twice repeated, as well as some of Æsop's fables, and Rhea with the twins and their nurse the Roman wolf. Proud of their beautiful fountain, the magistrates enacted severe laws for its preservation, in which it is mentioned as the most valuable possession of the city, and as unique, not only in Italy but in the world;‡ encomiums which, in its present state of decay, seem somewhat exaggerated. While still engaged upon it, Giovanni, hearing of the dangerous illness of his father, travelled homewards, but being detained

* The bronze work was cast by a Maestro Rossi, of Perugia, in 1277; perhaps the same artist who, fourteen years earlier, made the ball of the cupola of the Duomo at Siena.

† The Trivium, in the Middle Ages, was a course of elementary instruction in Grammar, Dialectics, and Rhetoric; the Quadrivium, in Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy.

‡ Vermiglioli, *op. cit.* preface.

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in Florence, did not reach Pisa until Niccola had breathed his last (1278).

Inestimable were the services rendered to art by this eminent man. He gave the death blow to Byzantinism and barbarism, established new architectural principles, opened men's eyes to the degraded state of art by showing them where to study, and how to study, and founded a new school of sculpture in Italy. Never hurried by an ill-regulated imagination into extravagance he was careful in selecting his models of style, and his methods of self-cultivation; an indefatigable worker, who spared neither time nor strength in obedience to the numerous calls made upon him from all parts of the peninsula, he is to be found now in Pisa, then in Naples, Padua, Siena, Lucca, or Florence, here to design a church, there to model a bas-relief, erect a pulpit, a palace or a tower. By turns architect and sculptor, great in both arts, original in both, a reviver in both, laying deep and well the foundations of his edifices by hitherto unpractised methods, and sculpturing his bas-reliefs upon principles evolved from the study of antique models long unheeded, he held the same relation to Italian art which Dante held to Italian literature, and was a truly great man whose claims to remembrance can never be forgotten.



ALLEGORICAL FIGURES FROM THE FOUNTAIN AT PERUGIA.

CHAPTER II.

THE SCHOLARS OF NICCOLA PISANO.

It seems at first sight strange that an artist of such extraordinary genius as Niccola Pisano should not have formed scholars content to repeat his types and work in his spirit, but we understand the reason when we look at the eclectic character of his work, and consider the unsettled state of men's minds about art at this time. To shape others, a man must himself have definite ideas, and these Niccola had not. Wanting in fixed principles, and having no style of predilection, he welded divers heterogeneous elements into units though an instinct peculiar to himself. After his day, when Gothic influences predominated in architecture, his chief pupils submitted to them more or less completely, and in sculpture, as in architecture, their works show little trace of their previous training. Forced to seek other paths than those in which their master had walked, they turned to nature, and endeavoured to express the emotions of the soul in the countenances and attitudes of the figures which they introduced into their compositions, striving, however incompletely, to catch the spirit of the time, and make their art intelligible to their contemporaries.

This is especially the case with Giovanni Pisano, of whom we purpose to speak in this chapter, after saying a few words about his fellow scholars under Niccola. The reader has already made sufficient acquaintance with one of them, Fra Guglielmo Agnelli, so that we may pass on to the three Florentines, Lapo, Donato di Ricevuto, and Goro di Ciuccio Cinti, who assisted their master at Siena, where they settled with their families, and received the honours of citizenship. Lapo, who was perhaps the author of the monument to Hecuba, Queen of Cyprus, in the Cathedral of Assisi,* built the barracks of St. Angelo in Colle (1281), and nine years later commanded an expedition sent by the Sienese to destroy the possessions of the Cacciaganti. Donato is only once spoken of as head-

* See Appendix, letter C.

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architect of the Ponte di Fojano in 1277. Of Goro we know nothing, save that he had three sons, Neri, Ambrogio, and Goro, sculptors and architects, who built the Fonte di Follonica in the year 1306.*

From these men of little note, let us turn to Niccola's great pupils, Arnolfo di Cambio and Giovanni Pisano. In a history of architecture Arnolfo would claim a much larger share of our attention than Giovanni, as he was especially an architect and had but little to do with sculpture even as an architectural accessory. He was born at Colle in the Val d' Elsa, in the year 1232,† and is first heard of as the assistant of Niccola in the construction of the oft-mentioned pulpit at Siena. Twenty years later we know that he was living at Naples, in the service of Charles of Anjou, as the King then received a petition from the magistrates of Perugia (1277) that he would allow his architect to assist in constructing the Fountain in the Piazza of the Cathedral, to which he returned a gracious answer with the promise of a gift of marble.‡ Whether or not Arnolfo availed himself of the permission granted is uncertain, as his name is not given with those of Niccola and Giovanni in the inscription upon the fountain, and the municipal records which would have settled the question are lost.§

The attempt to trace Arnolfo by any known work is but a fruitless game at hide and seek, until the year 1280, when he received a commission for the tomb of Cardinal Guillaume de Braye in the church of San Domenico at Orvieto, which enabled him, at the age of forty-six, to show the originality of his genius in a design, whose peculiar feature gave individuality to the type of tombs thenceforward adopted by artists of the Pisan school. We refer to the Angels drawing back curtains from a recess, which contains the effigy of the deceased, lying upon a sarcophagus. In the tomb of Cardinal de Braye, as in other early examples at Perugia, Capua, Rome, and Naples,

* See Appendix, letter D.

† His parents were Cambio and Perfetta. Perfetta is mentioned in a *Mortuario* of the Florentine Duomo as *Mater Magistri Arnolphi* (Vasari, vol. i. p. 249, note 4; *Kunstblatt*, no. 64, A.D. 1839, Article by Gaye, on Promis).

‡ Schultze, *Denkmäler der Kunst in Unter Italien*, vol. iv. p. 50 no. cxxviii.

§ Vermiglioli (*op. cit.* p. 32) suggests that Arnolfo may have made the SS. Peter and Paul of the first basin.

this idea is treated with a simplicity which enhances its touching sentiment.

"If it be an error," says Mr. Ruskin, "it is an error so full of feeling as to be all but redeemed and altogether forgiven, and none the less so because the later Pisani caricatured it (as at Venice) and turned the quiet curtained canopy into a huge marble tent with a pole stuck in the middle of it." At Orvieto, where Arnolfo first used it, it appears in all its freshness. The recumbent statue of the Cardinal watched over by angels, with a touching and eager expression of sorrow, lies above a double basement, which is adorned with mosaics disposed in geometrical patterns ("a stella"), and divided into niches separated by twisted columns, also inlaid with mosaic. Above the sepulchral effigy, under a Gothic tabernacle, sits a very dignified Madonna with a crown upon her head, from beneath which a veil falls upon her shoulders. Her left hand supports the Divine Child upon her knee, and her right rests upon the ball which terminates the arm of her throne-chair, on either side of which are statuettes of St. Dominic and a companion saint, who present to her the kneeling Cardinal de Braye. This monument is one of the most finished works of the Pisan school. It contains one strikingly original idea, and many exquisite details, and although it is the only well-authenticated work of Arnolfo in which sculpture plays an important part, it suffices to give him fame as an architectural sculptor. Some writers suppose that at this time (1285), he made the very beautiful Gothic tabernacle at San Paolo f. m. at Rome, which still represents the glories of the old Basilica amid the cold splendours of the new, while on the other hand authorities of equal weight deny it, on the ground that he could not then have left Florence, owing to his great and pressing occupations. Considering his widespread reputation, and the inscription upon the tabernacle,*

* Inscription—

"Anno milleno centum bis et octuageno
Quinto summe Ds. qd. hic abbas Bartholomæus
Fecit op. fieri sibi tu dignare mereri.

Hoc opus fecit Arnolfus—cum suo socio Petro."

An Abbot Bartholomew ruled over the convent of St. Paul's from 1282 to 1297 (*Neue Römische Briefe*, vol. i. p. 99). The following authors believe Arnolfo di Cambio to have made or designed this tabernacle: Gaye, *Kunstblatt*, no. 64, 1839; Rumohr, *It. Forsch.* vol. ii. p. 156;

we are inclined to believe that he designed it at Florence, and sent his scholar Pietro to execute it.* Could this be proved, it would give to Arnolfo the glory of having introduced a Gothic taste into the Roman school, then represented by Adeodatus and Giovanni Cosmati, as they thenceforward gave up the round arch and horizontal line and imitated the model set before them. The Tuscan character of the statuettes of SS. Peter and Paul, Luke and Benedict, placed above the capitals of the column which supports the canopy, and of the gable-reliefs of Abel and Cain offering sacrifice, Adam and Eve, and flying angels, and the decided superiority of the whole structure in design and workmanship to known Cosmatesque works, further authorize the belief that it is not a work of their school. The same may be said of the tomb of Pope Boniface VIII. now in the crypt of S. Peter's, of the altar of St. Boniface, and of the tomb of Pope Honorius III. which stood in a now destroyed chapel at Santa Maria Maggiore, for all of which Arnolfo may have furnished designs.

To comprehend what he did for Florence, we have but to look down upon that fair city from one of the neighbouring eminences, and note that the walls which encompass it, and all the most striking objects which greet the eye, the Cathedral, the Palazzo Vecchio, Sta. Croce, and Or San Michele, are his creations. Their purely architectural character puts them out of the scope of this work, otherwise than through a passing allusion, which cannot but make the personality of Arnolfo more important in the reader's eyes. He did not live to see any of them completed, nor can he be said to have founded a school of the original style of architecture which they represent, perhaps because it was really rather a decoration than an architecture. Giotto made exquisite use of it in his campanile, but even in Florence its further development was checked by Orgagna, and elsewhere by other Florentine artists, who when working at Venice and in other parts of Italy, suited their Cicognari, *St. della Scultura*, vol. iii. p. 265; and C. Boito, *Arch. Cosmatesca*, p. 29; while Promis (*Ant. Mar. Rom.* pp. 28, 29) doubts it, as does Reumont (*Neue Röm. Br.* vol. i. p. 102). Vasari and Baldinucci make no mention of it.

* This artist cannot be identified with Giotto's scholar, Pietro Cavallini, who is first heard of in 1308, twenty-three years after the erection of the tabernacle (1285).

designs to local taste. Arnolfo, who died in the year 1310, had two sons, Guiduccio and Alberto (a sculptor), of whom we know nothing but that they, like their father, were honoured with the citizenship of Florence. An inscription let into the wall of the Cathedral, his portrait introduced by Giotto into a fresco which he painted in Sta. Croce, and a statue placed in our own day side by side with that of Brunelleschi, opposite the Cathedral which the one built and the other crowned with the second greatest dome in the world, are the only memorials to one of the most illustrious of Italian artists.

One such scholar would have sufficiently honoured the name of Niccola Pisano, but it was made doubly famous by a second of equally remarkable ability, and this his own and only son Giovanni, who was born at Pisa about 1250. At the age of fifteen, when he worked with his father at Siena, he must have occupied an independent position, for his co-operation is spoken of in the contract for the pulpit as a matter subject to his own decision, while that of his fellow pupils is promised by Niccola at a fixed salary.* On the completion of their work, father and son went to Perugia to construct the Fountain of which we have already spoken. The fifty bas-reliefs of the lower basin by Giovanni bear no trace of that marked individuality, which makes his later work easily distinguishable from that of Niccola, and show that he developed his peculiar style after his father's death, which as we have said took place about 1278. It brought Giovanni to Pisa, where he was occupied for the next five years in building the Campo Santo, which was constructed to enclose the sacred earth transported from Calvary by Archbishop Lanfranchi (1108), and by fifty Pisan Galleys on their return from the crusade undertaken by Frederic Barbarossa (1178). Its ground plan was predetermined by the Archbishop, who had caused the earth to be disposed in the shape of a parallelogram according to the traditional dimensions of Noah's ark, and its general character was evidently suggested by that of a church-cloister.†

* *Milanesi, Doc. Sanesi*, vol. i. p. 148.

† Public cemeteries apart from the dwellings of men were first used in France, and then in other parts of Europe. In early Christian times the dead were buried in churches, thence called *Caemiteria*. Decrees of the early Councils afterwards restricted burial to the porticos of churches, but this usage also was abandoned from fear of pestilence.

Shut in from the outer world by long ranges of windowless walls, whose surface is agreeably broken by rows of blind arches, it opens to the "God's acre" within, through the arcade which separates it from the surrounding corridors. As the traveller paces them, he looks on the one hand at the impressive frescoes upon the upper part of the inside walls and at the antique sarcophagi below them, and on the other, catches glimpses through the doorways opening into the quadrangle of the graves, the cypresses which overshadow them, and the roses which bloom above them. Eloquent of the life beyond the grave, the Campo Santo with its trophies of Pisan valour and its historic marbles, speaks also of man's doings in this world. There hang the chains which vainly closed the harbour of Palermo against the attack of Pisan galleys, and there stand the antique sarcophagi which Niccola Pisano studied, with many marbles sculptured by masters of the Pisan, Siennese and Florentine schools, from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century.

Among them is an allegorical image of the city of Pisa, one of Giovanni's most important works. It represents her as a crowned and draped woman, holding two diminutive children at her breasts as emblems of her fertility, and girdled with a cord, whose seven knots typify her dominion over as many Mediterranean islands. She stands upon a pedestal having figures of Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice at its four corners, and eagles, in allusion to her Roman origin, upon its sides, and as an example of Giovanni's fully formed style with all its merits and defects is a most interesting object. The intensity of expression and the dramatic feeling of the statue, whose sly glance seems on the watch for some strange coming, the treatment of the nude figure of Temperance, whose classically knotted hair and Venus-like pose recall the antique, and the generally careful disposition of the draperies, are all points worthy of commendation, while the extreme ugliness of the faces, the defective proportions of the forms, and the mannered attitude of the principal figure, would be worthy of blame, were we not forced to take into account the immense and untried difficulties encountered by the sculptor in modelling one of the first large statues made in Italy since the days of Constantine. From its general character we suppose that the work is about coeval in date with the fragments of a pulpit in another

part of the corridor, which he made for the Cathedral before 1311, that is, thirty-two years after he built the Campo Santo. They consist of three female figures clustered round the shaft of a column, and an apostolic looking figure of Justice standing upon a base adorned with reliefs of the seven sciences. The six reliefs now in the choir of the Cathedral, which Giovanni made for the same pulpit, represent incidents in the life of Jesus from his birth to his crucifixion. They are characterised by a want of repose and a tendency to an exaggerated expression of sentiment, and in so far as they show the sculptor's endeavour to attain truth to nature rather than classical correctness, they remind us far more of Giotto than of Niccola Pisano. Among Giovanni's other works at Pisa,* we may here mention a Madonna signed with his name over the door of the Baptistry, a half figure of the Madonna and Child in the Campo Santo, and a very carefully sculptured ivory statuette of the Madonna and Child in the Sacristy of the Cathedral (*see* tail-piece), together with a carved reliquary of the same material. We are unable to give any fixed date to these works, and in order to take up the chronological sequence of his career must return to the year 1283, when he completed the Campo Santo.† In that building as he left it‡ there were no Gothic elements, but this is far from being the case with the façade of the Cathedral at Siena, which he in all probability designed immediately after leaving Pisa.§ Holding the office of Head-Architect, to which he was then appointed, his return to Siena was marked by special civic favours, showing the great esteem in which he was held. In order to induce him to remain there, the magistrates made him a citizen, exempted him from all taxes for

* The Gothic church of Santa Maria della Spina, attributed to Gio. Pisano by Vasari, was not begun until 1323, three years after his death. *See* Schultz, *op. cit.* vol. vii. p. 5, note 3; and Burckhardt's, *Cicerone*, iv. ed. p. 52.

† That Giovanni went to Naples at this time, as stated by Vasari, is very doubtful.

‡ The Gothic window traceries and other ornaments in the pointed style about the building, are of a later date. Ciampi, *Belli Arredi*, p. 44.

§ This church existed A.D. 947, under the name of Santa Maria Assunta. It was enlarged in 1089, and consecrated by Alexander II. in 1179. According to Malavolti, the new church was begun in 1245. *See Historical Studies, etc.*, by C. E. Norton, p. 93.

life, and that he might continue to work without hindrance, absolved him from certain penalties to which he had for some unknown reason subjected himself. It is impossible to say how far the façade was advanced under Giovanni during his three years' residence at Siena, but it is certain that whatever he may have done his original design was much modified by succeeding architects, who are, perhaps, answerable for the want of clearness and simplicity which strikes us when we vainly seek to extricate the main lines of the edifice from the maze of parti-coloured marbles, statues, bas-reliefs, mosaics, lions, horses and griffins scattered over its surface.* With all its defects it is, however, a splendid work, and also one of the most striking examples of the then increasing influence of the great French and German Cathedrals upon Italian taste. After Giovanni left Siena, notwithstanding the many inducements held out to him to remain there, he devoted himself almost exclusively to sculpture.† The tranquil course of his days contrasts strikingly with the tumultuous times in which he lived, when ever-surging feuds would have checked the growth of Art had it been less exclusively the servant of religion than it was. The long struggle between the Church and the Suabian princes which Niccola Pisano had outlived, was followed in the lifetime of his son by that between the people and their rulers, when Italian cities were divided by hostile factions, or pitted against each other on bloody battle fields. Siena warred with Florence; Pisa against native tyrants and the Genoese; the Ghibelline exiles made ready at Arezzo for the fight in the plain of Campaldino in which Dante took part, and the Bianchi and Neri were arrayed against each other in the streets of Pistoja. Meanwhile Giovanni, like other artists of his day, pursued his occupations without let or hindrance, and carved the altar and the monument for church or cloister undisturbed by the tumult of popular strife, which like sea waves upon rocks broke harmlessly against their peaceful walls.

We have no reliable record of Giovanni Pisano, from the year

* The lions, horses and griffins are the emblems of Arezzo and Perugia.

† We do not know the date of his departure, but his name appears in the registers of the cathedral under the years 1284, 90, 95 and 99. Milanese, *Doc. i.* p. 162.

1233, when he left Siena, to the year 1300, when he went to Pistoja to commence a pulpit for the church of Sant' Andrea. During a part of this time he is said to have made a now destroyed monument of Pope Urban IV. for the Cathedral at Perugia, and it has until recently been supposed that after completing it he went to Arezzo to sculpture the shrine of San Donato, which is now known to be the work of another Giovanni, the son of Francesco d'Arezzo, and Betto di Francesco da Firenze, in the latter part of the fourteenth century.* That it was not made by Giovanni Pisano had long been suspected from the un-Pisan character of the Madonna who sits above the altar and the inferiority of its bas-reliefs to those known to be by this sculptor. At this period of his life his style was so marked that it could hardly be mistaken, as any one may see who looks at the pulpit of Sant' Andrea at Pistoja, upon which he began to work in the year 1302. As this work, which may be regarded as Giovanni's master-piece, resembles the pulpits at Pisa and Siena in its general features, we need only say that its dimensions tally very nearly with those of the first, and pass on to its five bas-reliefs of the Birth of Christ, the Adoration, the Crucifixion, the Last Judgment and the Massacre of the Innocents, which latter seems to us the most forcible representation of this painful subject to be found in Italian art.

The artist's deep dramatic feeling shows itself in the Herod, who looks down with sullen satisfaction upon the maddened soldiers, and in the women, one of whom bows in speechless grief over the body of her child while the other struggles to save her darling from a like fate. The Crucifixion and the Last Judgment are less striking than the Massacre, but the first contains an admirable group of women at the foot of the cross, and the second is powerfully treated throughout. It is, however, like the bas-reliefs at Pisa and Siena of the same subject, overcrowded and confused. Some lingering trace of Niccola's influence shows itself in the statuettes about the pulpit which represent the virtues under classical forms—as for instance the Fortitude as Hercules, like that at Pisa—but as a rule, the tendency to clothe Christian ideas in a Pagan dress is far less conspicuous.

* Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. i. p. 311, note 1.

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The new spirit reveals itself in the fine statue of an angel with a book, typical of St. Matthew, grouped with the winged Lion, the Ox, and the Eagle, respectively symbolic of his brother evangelists. Having greatly increased his reputation



by this admirable work, Giovanni turned his steps towards Florence, where he reasonably hoped to find a fresh field for the exercise of his talents, but in this he was doomed to disappointment, as for some unknown reason he failed to find that patronage at the hands of the Florentines which his fellow pupil Arnolfo di Cambio had met with during his long residence among them. He left but one record of his visit, namely, the Madonna and Angels in the lunette of the so-called Porta della Canonica on the east side of the Cathedral. To this group he may have owed his introduction to the Cardinal Matteo d'Aquasparta, through whose influence he obtained the commission for a proposed monument to Pope Benedict

XI., who had lately died at Perugia after eating of poisoned figs from a basket which his enemy Philippe le Bel had caused to be prepared for him. On his accession to the Papacy Benedict had sustained the King's policy, and revoked the decrees of his predecessor, Boniface VIII., against him, but when Philip demanded that the late pope should be declared a heretic, and that all those who had taken part in his humiliation at Anagni should be excommunicated, Benedict refused to comply, and soon after met the fate of those who opposed the will of the unscrupulous king. The nine months' session of the Sacred College which followed upon this event, gave Philip time to mature his plans for getting the Papacy into his power, and it was mainly by the timely advice of the Cardinal Aquasparta that he eventually secured the election of a French Cardinal, Bertrand de Got, who under the name of Clement V. was crowned at Lyons, and took up

his abode at Avignon. Meanwhile Giovanni Pisano had commenced to work upon the monument to Philip's victim, in the church of St. Domenic at Perugia. Before designing it, he must have seen Arnolfo di Cambio's tomb to Cardinal de Braye, in which, as we have already said, angels drawing back curtains from the recess which contains the sepulchral effigy first appear. Struck with the beauty of the idea, Giovanni appropriated it, following an example which was widely adopted by sculptors of the Pisan school. In the monument to Pope Benedict the effigy of the deceased, thus watched over by angels, lies stretched upon a sarcophagus under a lofty Gothic canopy supported upon twisted columns whose spirals are decorated with mosaic. The little nude figures climbing up their shafts were probably introduced to enhance the richness of the general effect; at least no better reason for their use in such a place suggests itself.

Between 1305 and 6, when Giovanni Pisano sculptured this papal tomb, and 1311, when he began the pulpit for the Cathedral at Pisa, we have no certain data concerning him. In the interval he may have made the very impressive monument of St. Margaret at Cortona, though it is somewhat doubtful if it be his work. Like that of Pope Benedict it has the sepulchral effigy, the curtained recess and the watching angels, together with bas-reliefs representing the Magdalen washing the Saviour's feet, the raising of Lazarus, the investiture of the penitent Saint, and the bearing of her soul to heaven by Angels. Its Pisan character is unmistakable, but as the monument is better in design than in execution, we may not be far wrong in supposing that Giovanni planned it, and entrusted the carrying out of his design to some one or more of his scholars, of whom eight are known to us, namely, Leonardo who assisted him in making a holy water vase for the Church of San Piero near Pisa; Bernardo his son, who was an architect and at one time "*Capo maestro*" of the Cathedral at Pisa; Andrea Pisano, one of the greatest of Italian sculptors; the four Sienese, Agostino di Giovanni, Agnolo di Ventura, Tino di Camaino, and Ciolo di Ventura, and the Pistojan, Jacopo di Matteo.

Among the uncertain works of Giovanni we must not omit to mention the monument of Enrico degli Scrovegni in the Arena Chapel at Padua. If he died in 1321 and Giovanni in

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1320, it cannot be his work, nor is it likely to be such if both died in the same year. If however Giovanni lived until 1329 as Milanesi asserts,* we might accept him as its sculptor, were it not that its style indicates a Venetian hand. The portrait statue of the same Scrovegno at an earlier period of his life, near the choir of the Chapel, and the Madonna and Child, look much more like Giovanni's work, and may be taken as such.

Two years after the death of the Princess Margaret (1311), wife of the Emperor Henry II., Giovanni erected her tomb in S. Francesco di Castellato at Voltri, of which a few fragments exist in the neighbourhood at the Villa Brignole Sale.

A grave slab in front of the archiepiscopal palace at Siena, which was set up twenty years before Giovanni's death, indicates that he intended to be buried there, but as he died at Pisa his fellow-citizens laid him in the same sarcophagus with his father. This is not distinguishable among the many at the Campo Santo, where the only memorial of these two artists to whom Pisa owes so much of her fame, is a modern tablet set up by the curator Lasinio. The inscription upon it is as follows :—

In memoriam Nicolae Pisani et Johannis filii,
Sculptore artis restitutorum.
Hec! principe Pisanis artifices
Hic jacerent sine titulo.

* Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. i. p. 319.



CHAPTER III.

ANDREA PISANO AND HIS SCHOLARS.

ANDREA PISANO, the most eminent of Giovanni Pisano's scholars, born at Pontedera about the year 1270, was the son of a notary of Pisa named Ugolino di Nino.* No record of his early youth and manhood exists, and it is not until he was nearly sixty that we have any reliable information concerning him, though we have ground for believing that when he was thirty-five he spent a year at Venice,† during which he sculptured several statuettes for the façade of St. Mark's, and made designs for the reconstruction of the arsenal which were subsequently carried out by Filippo Calendario.‡ Andrea's visit to Venice would become an important fact in the history of Italian sculpture could it be proved that this ill-fated Venetian architect and sculptor, of whom we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere, studied under him and carved the capitals of the columns of the Ducal Palace, whose Tuscan affinities of style seem to give ground for the conjecture that they were sculptured under a foreign influence. In 1330 we find Andrea at Florence, with so great a reputation as a bronze caster,§ that

* Andrea is mentioned as "famulus Magistri Johannis" in the archives of the Pisan Duomo, 1299-1305 (Ciampi, *op. cit.* p. 47).

† Vasari's doubtful assertion (vol. i. p. 486, ed. Milanesi) is confirmed by a MS., which Orlandi cites in the *Abecedario Pittorico*, and (as it appeared to Cicognara) by ancient Venetian chronicles, in which, however, Andrea is not mentioned by name. Selvatico, *op. cit.* pp. 110, 111, states his belief that the style of the Pisani penetrated into Venice through Andrea.

‡ Hanged in 1354, as implicated in the conspiracy of Marino Faliero

§ Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. i. p. 487, note 2, ascribes the crucifix of bronze, which Vasari says Andrea sent as a present to Pope Clement V. at Avignon, to Andrea Arditi, a Florentine goldsmith.

he obtained the commission for those noble gates of the Baptistry which are his chief and enduring title to fame. He began them on the 22nd of January, and completed the models of the reliefs in wax on the 2nd of April, with the assistance of three Florentine goldsmiths, Piero di Jacopo, Lippo di Dino, and Piero di Donato, whose share in the work is unknown.

The gates were unsuccessfully cast in 1332 by a Maestro Lionardo, son of a bell-maker of Venice named Avanzo, and the work had to be recommenced by Andrea himself, who on the 24th of July, 1333, agreed also to model twenty-four Lions' heads, and to have them cast and gilded by the 1st of December. The second casting, which he superintended, proved satisfactory in every respect, and the gates were finished and set up in 1336,* opposite the Cathedral, in the place afterwards occupied by Ghiberti's second gate. The twenty large panels contain reliefs representing leading events in the life of St. John the Baptist; and the eight of a smaller size are adorned with allegorical figures of Faith, Hope, Force, Temperance, Charity, Humility, Justice, and Prudence. In considering the compositions, we are, in the first place, struck with the antique simplicity of the means employed to relate the stories. Where Niccola or Giovanni Pisano would have brought in a crowd of figures, Andrea contented himself with a very few, and thus avoided that confusion of line and overloading of space which mar their best work. Thus, for instance, in the bas-relief of Zacharias called upon to name the Child, but four persons are introduced, a venerable old man writing at a table, a youth, and two women; and again, in the Burial of St. John there are but seven figures, namely, four who lower the Saint's body into the sarcophagus, one who holds up a part of the winding-sheet, an old man praying with clasped hands, and a young monk holding a torch.

In the second place, we admire the sobriety and elegance of the architectural accessories, as in the last-named composition,

* The inscription upon the gates is as follows:—

“Andreas Ugolini Nini de Pisis me fecit, A.D. MCCCXXX.”

The elaborate frieze around them was begun by L. Ghiberti and his son Vittorio, in 1454. After Ghiberti's death in 1455, it was completed by Vittorio, Ant. Pollajuolo, and other pupils.

where the figures are enframed by and sheltered under a Gothic canopy. Thirdly, we see that the draperies are disposed in broad folds, which accentuate form without concealing it, and fourthly, that the figures are rhythmically disposed, as in the Burial, where the four disciples who sustain the corpse bend forward by a simultaneous movement, which contrasts happily with that of each of the other figures. The same praise may be given to the Baptism, the Beheading of St. John, the Dance of Herodias, &c., as to the two compositions of which we have been speaking, and also to the Virtues upon the small panels—of all such personifications perhaps the most admirable.

If we compare them with those painted by Giotto at Padua some thirty years earlier, it is not to point out any resemblance, but to appreciate the difference between Andrea's truly plastic, and Giotto's thoroughly pictorial conceptions of the same subject. The "Spes" of the sculptor, like that of the painter, raises her arms to grasp a celestial crown, but while the first is a seated, the second is a flying figure. Other parallel subjects in the two series show the same essential differences in conception, which seem to prove that the influence of Giotto over Andrea did not affect his essentially plastic style, though it may have quickened his perception of the mystical and spiritual in Art. These qualities are, however, even more conspicuous in the reliefs upon the gate of the Baptistry, which are not in any way connected with Giotto, than in those of the Arts and Sciences upon the sides of the Campanile, some of which, Ghiberti tells us in his Second Commentary, were modelled by Giotto himself, while others were sculptured by Andrea after Giotto's designs.* This may be so, but to us they seem Giottesque only so far as they are conceived in the naturalistic spirit of the Florentine, rather than in the old classical spirit of the early Pisan school, which shows itself only in the attributes of the Hercules. As in the reliefs by Andrea on the gates of the Baptistry, the action is carried on with few exceptions by one or two figures, treated in the same simple style, which becomes unusually animated in the Equitation, a spirited figure on horseback, and in the Agriculture, a group

* The five reliefs on the side of the Campanile towards the Cathedral are by Luca della Robbia. See chap. iii. book ii. p. 139.

of men and oxen ploughing. In all essentials they are like Andrea, and were it not for tradition, we doubt whether Giotto's co-operation would have been thought of. The truth would seem to be that the great painter and architect, not being himself a sculptor, engaged Andrea to adorn the Campanile with reliefs, and the façade of the Cathedral (which was far advanced at the time of his death) with statues.* One of these, long hidden in a corner of the Oricellari gardens, represents Pope Boniface VIII. clad in pontifical robes, and with a very tall tiara upon his head. Though stiff, it is dignified in bearing, and in its present mutilated condition strikingly suggestive of the miserable state of helplessness to which this proud Pontiff was finally reduced by Philippe le Bel of France. The only other sculptural works by Andrea known to us are a bas-relief of the Madonna and Child on the outside of the Bigallo at Florence, and another in the Campo Santo at Pisa, with, perhaps, some of the statuettes in the Villa Medici at Castello.

He built many palaces, villas, and castles in and about Florence, strengthened the Palazzo Vecchio for the tyrant Walter de Brienne, whom the citizens had in an evil hour (1341) made Captain and "Conservatore" of the People, and began to build the Baptistry at Pistoja, with the assistance of M^o. Cellino di Nese, a Sienese architect. He died at Florence in 1345, and was buried in the nave of the Cathedral, near the pulpit, under a monumental slab, which has long since disappeared. His scholars were his sons, Nino and Tommaso, Alberti Arnoldi, Giovanni Balduccio of Pisa, and the world-renowned Andrea Orgagna.

Alberto Arnoldi, whom we shall first mention,† was the son of a Lombard stone carver of the same name, who in the early

* Vasari says that Andrea made statues of the four Doctors of the Church, and of SS. Stephen and Lorenzo for the façade. Milanesi doubts it, as it is not until after 1357 that the registers of the Cathedral make mention of statues to be made for it. These registers show that the commission for the statues of the four Doctors of the Church was given to Pietro di Giovanni, and to Niccolo di Piero d'Arezzo, in 1396; and that in 1391 the last named sculptor was working on the S. Stephen. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. i. p. 484, *note*. See Appendix, Letter E.

† Mention is made of Alberto Arnoldi by Franco Sacchetti, *Novella* 229, and *Novella* 136.

part of the fourteenth century took up his residence at Florence, where both were made citizens. The son was employed in 1351, with other workmen, to decorate Giotto's Campanile with coloured marbles. He was afterwards made head-master of the Cathedral workshop (*Opera del Duomo*), and in 1359 was commissioned to make the arch of the great portal of the same building.

In sculpture, properly speaking, he is known to us only by the half figure of the Madonna on the exterior of the Bigallo, sculptured in 1361, and long erroneously attributed to his master, Andrea, and by the life-size group of the Madonna and Child with angels, which stands over the altar of the Bigallo chapel. The contract for this work, dated June 13th, 1359, stipulates that it is to be adorned, that is, have the robe-borders, &c., picked out with gold, and to be of equal excellence with the Madonna by Andrea Pisano at Pisa. We have no doubt that Arnaldo endeavoured to make it so, for the workmanship is in every respect careful and conscientious, but to fulfil such a promise was out of his power. The statue, which conforms to the Pisan type of treating this subject, is cold and rigid. A certain grandeur is given to the group by the massive folds of the once star-spangled drapery of the Madonna, which falls over the lower limbs of the Child, who sits poised upon her left arm, but the faces are singularly inexpressive.

Nino Pisano, the son and scholar of Andrea, was a much more genial sculptor than his fellow pupil. His masterpiece, the Madonna della Rosa in the Church of Sta. Maria della Spina at Pisa, is a gentle Virgin, who holds a rose in her left hand which the child Jesus leans forward to take, and wears a crown upon her head, from which a veil falls in graceful folds upon her shoulders. The sweetness of Nino's manner is here kept within the bounds of discretion, but it degenerates into mawkishness in the statues of the Virgin and the Angel of the Annunciation (incorrectly called Truth and Charity) in the Church of "Sta. Caterina" at Pisa, whose eyes and hair were coloured, according to the common practice of the time, and their draperies picked out with gold but faint traces of which now remain. The monument of Archbishop Saltarelli, in the same church, was at least designed by Nino. His

death occurred about 1367,* while he was working upon a monument to the Pisan doge, dell' Agnello, who made himself odious to his fellow citizens for four years by his ostentation and his exactions. Tommaso Pisano, the second son of Andrea, who was architect, sculptor, painter, and goldsmith, built the upper story of the Leaning Tower, designed a palace for the Doge, made a now destroyed monument of his wife, the Duchess Margaret for whom he painted two chests ("cassone"), and a marble Ancona for the Church of San Francesco, now in the Campo Santo. It consists of six Gothic niches, whose pointed gables are filled with half-figures of saints, and of a predella covered with bas-reliefs. Though rich in general effect, it is coarsely sculptured, and the poorly drawn figures have none of Nino's sweetness of feeling. As it looks rather like the work of a goldsmith than of a sculptor, we are inclined to believe that Tommaso was more skilful in the first than in the second capacity.

Moving in a narrow sphere, the two sons of Andrea Pisano could do nothing towards propagating the principles of his school out of Tuscany, but such was not the case with his scholar Giovanni Balduccio, who long resided in the north of Italy. Born at Pisa about the beginning of the fourteenth century, he worked at first in Tuscany, upon a pulpit for the Church of Sta. Maria al Prato, at Casciano near Florence, and on the rude monument of Guarnierius, son of Castruccio Castracani (1328), for the Church of San Francesco at Sarzana. This work gave Castruccio so favourable an opinion of his talents that he recommended him to Azzo Visconti, Lord of Milan, who during two years spent in Tuscany after his liberation, through Castruccio's mediation, from the dungeon at Monza into which he had been treacherously thrown by the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, had imbibed a love of Art which led him, after his accession to power, to invite eminent foreign artists to settle in his dominions. Among those who came at his bidding was Balduccio, who, according to some authorities, built a palace for him at Milan which Giotto afterwards adorned with frescoes, and executed many important works in sculpture.†

* Proved by a decree of the Pisan magistrates, dated Dec. 8th, 1368, to pay twenty florins to Andrea, son of the late sculptor, Nino di Andrea (Doc. pub. by Prof. Bonaini; Vasari, vol. ii. p. 44, note 1).

† See Appendix, letter F.

The most remarkable of these is the monument to Fra Pietro da Verona, commonly known as St. Peter Martyr, in the Church of San Eustorgio. This elaborate work, which was commenced in 1336 and terminated in 1339, consists of a sarcophagus with a sloping lid, surmounted by a Gothic tabernacle, and supported upon eight pilasters faced by allegorical statues of the Virtues. The eight bas-reliefs upon the sides of the sarcophagus, representing scenes in the life of the Saint, are hardly worthy of the scholar of Andrea Pisano, but some of the statues are remarkable and strikingly Giottesque in character. Giotto himself might have modelled the Hope, the Temperance, or the Prudence, so closely do they correspond to his style in type of face, conception, and mode of representation. The monument to which they belong was hardly completed when Azzo Visconti died, and Balduccio was called upon to design his patron's tomb for a chapel adjoining the palace, whence it was, long after, removed to the Trivulzi Palace, where it exists in a mutilated condition. The recumbent figure of the prince, watched over by angels, lies upon a sarcophagus, whose front is adorned with figures of knights in relief (typical of the cities subject to Azzo) and of their patron saints kneeling before St. Ambrose. Other fragments, which we are unable to place in the general design, are the figures of St. Michael and the Dragon, and of a woman holding in her arms a child with clasped hands, possibly emblematic of her soul.

Another work attributable to Balduccio, in the church of S. Marco at Milan, is the tomb of Lanfranco Settala, an Augustinian monk and professor of theology, who is represented lying on a mortuary couch behind which two angels raise the folds of a curtain, and in a relief on the front of the sarcophagus, in the act of giving instruction to his scholars. The bas-reliefs set into the wall opposite this tomb, which belonged to that of Salvarino de' Aliprandis (d. 1344), together with the tomb of Stefano Visconti, an Ancona, and a bas-relief of the Magi at San Eustorgio, a bas-relief on the outside of the Porta Nuova, and some rude figures in the Mediæval Museum at the Brera, are works rather of Balduccio's school than of the master himself.

Many such outside of Milan, show how extensive an influ-

ence he exercised upon sculpture in the north of Italy, as for instance, the Arca di Sant' Agostino at Pavia, which was probably made by Matteo and Bonino da Campione, the two most remarkable artists formed by Balduccio during his residence at Milan.* Twelve years were employed, and 4,000 golden scudi spent, in constructing it in the sacristy of San Pietro in cielo d' oro (1382), whence it was removed to its present position in the Cathedral, when that building was demolished. Enriched with bas-reliefs, statuettes, and architectural accessories in the pointed style, it forms an *ensemble* of the most imposing character. The effigy of the saint, covered with a winding-sheet held up at the corners and sides by six angels, lies upon a mortuary couch seen through the open arches which support its second storey. The statuettes of the apostles, grouped in pairs within compartments around the lower or basement storey, are separated from each other by pilasters faced by statuettes of the Virtues. Above them are placed smaller statuettes of saints and prophets, with seated figures of saints and martyrs. A row of pointed gables enriched with crockets and finials runs round the upper storey, which is decorated with a series of bas-reliefs representing incidents in the life of St. Augustine, and with twenty statuettes. All the figures upon this monument are highly polished, the borders of their robes are carefully elaborated, and the pupils of their eyes are painted black, according to a common custom of the time.

After the death of Azzo Visconti, his paternal uncles, Luchino and Giovanni, nominally ruled the state together, though the latter, being little inclined to politics, left the reins of government in the hands of his brother, who was one of the best princes of his house but not a patron of art. Mention is made of many palaces which he built and decorated with frescoes, but we have no proof of his having given any commission to Balduccio or his scholars, though he may have ordered the former to make the already described monument to Azzo. That to Stefano Visconti in the chapel of St. Thomas Aquinas at S. Eustorgio, which has been attributed to Balduccio, was most

* According to Vasari it was made by Agostino and Agnolo Sanesi, but this cannot be, as they died before the middle of the century, and the Arca is dated A.D. 1362. Cicognara ascribes it to Pietro Paolo and Jacobello delle Massegnä, but no work of theirs is known prior to 1380.

probably erected by order of Luchino's three sons, Matteo II., Bernabo and Galeazzo, whom he had exiled, and whom Giovanni recalled to share the territory of Milan with him. This division was soon simplified by Bernabo and Galeazzo who poisoned Matteo, to save themselves from a like fate. Of the two, Galeazzo was perhaps the worst, for he was persistently cruel and unjust, while his brother sometimes varied his course of crime by acts of justice and even of kindness. Galeazzo disregarded the claims of art and wantonly destroyed the frescoes of Giotto in Azzo's palace, while Bernabo patronized it as a means of self-glorification.

His equestrian statue in the Mediæval museum at the Brera which was probably sculptured by Balduccio's scholar Bonino da Campione, represents him clad in armour, and holding the bâton of command in his left hand. The rider sits stiffly on his horse whose trappings, enriched with his cypher and the emblems of his house, were once gay with gilding and colour, while two diminutive figures of Fortitude and Justice stand like pages at his stirrups. The sarcophagus, upon which the group is raised, is supported by nine short columns, and adorned with coarsely-modelled bas-reliefs of the Crucifixion, the dead Christ and angels, the Evangelists, and single figures of saints. Bernabo erected this monument to the memory of his wife Regina della Scala, behind the high altar of San Giovanni a Conca, in such a position that the worshippers appeared to be praying to him, and this was considered so scandalous that soon after his death it was removed to a more fitting place near the door. We are rather inclined to ascribe it to Bonino than to Matteo da Campione, because the equestrian group resembles that upon the Gothic tomb of Can Signorio at Verona, which is certainly by Bonino, and because its style is less simple than that of the pulpit by Matteo at Monza.* Matteo, the elder of the two, who succeeded the unknown architect of the Cathedral at Monza about the middle of the fourteenth century, designed its façade in a mixed Gothic style, and

* Torre, *op. cit.* p. 50, does not give the sculptor's name. Rossi and Cataneo, *MS. Hist. of Lombard Artists*, in the Biblioteca Melzi, suggest Bonino. Calvi, *op. cit.* p. 45, says Matteo, the inferiority of whose work in it as compared with that at Monza he ascribes to his having so bad a subject as Bernabo to treat.

decorated it with slabs of coloured marble, in the manner originally introduced by Arnolfo di Cambio at Florence. He also sculptured a now destroyed font for the baptistry, and the pulpit, which is adorned with statuettes of the Apostles in niches separated by panelled pilasters, upon which are small and remarkably well-designed figures in very low relief.* The compartments which divide the surface of the projecting reading desk contain small statuettes of the four Evangelists, and one of our Lord holding a book and a thunderbolt, a piece of paganism which would have been less surprising a century later. The accessories are executed in a simple unpretending style, which leaves little room for criticism. The works of Matteo at Monza are thus enumerated in the mortuary tablet set into the outer wall of the duomo: "Here lies the great architect, the devout master Mattheus da Campilione, who built the façade of this holy church as well as its pulpit and baptistry, and who died in the year of our Lord 1396."

Balduccio's best scholar, Bonino, who is supposed to have belonged to that family of Fusina which gave several artists to Milan, is mentioned by Giulini and Mazuchelli as a simple "scarpellino," but the tomb of Can Signorio della Scala at Verona, of whose equestrian group we have spoken as like that of Bernabo Visconti at the Brera, proves that he deserved a higher title.†

At the time when he was called upon to design it, other tombs to princes of the same distinguished family, which did so much to promote arts and letters in the north of Italy, existed in and about the church of Sta. Maria Antica where it was to be placed. One of these, that of Cane della Scala (1329) over the portal, is a sarcophagus with reliefs, under an arched canopy surmounted by a spirited equestrian group; another, that of Mastino II. (1351), by Perino of Milan, in the graveyard adjoining the church, corresponds to it in general design.

To both these tombs, Bonino may have recurred for hints as to the leading features of his monument to Can Signorio, such

* Their close resemblance to those upon the Arca di S. Agostino at Pavia, confirms the belief in Matteo's co-operation in that work.

† "Hoc opus sculpsit et fecit Boninus de Campiglione Mediolanensis (vide Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, ed. in 8vo. vol. iv. p. 128).

as the equestrian statue, the canopy and the placing of the sarcophagus, but he designed it on a far more sumptuous scale, in accordance with the wishes of the prince, who, while dying of an incurable malady, had set aside 10,000 golden florins for the purpose, and had summoned Bonino to Verona to sculpture it. The edifice, for so it may well be called on account of its imposing size and intricate structure, consists of three parts, the base, the sepulchral effigy under a canopy, and the pyramidal roof crowned by an equestrian statue. The eight columns with Corinthian capitals, upon which the canopy rests, serve as supports for Gothic niches containing statuettes of military saints, the sides of its pyramidal roof are enriched with other niches in the same style filled with statuettes of the Virtues, and the spaces between the columns are spanned by Gothic arches of rich design, through which the sepulchral effigy of the deceased, lying upon a sarcophagus, is watched over by an angel with half-spread wings. Can Signorio is himself represented in a bas-relief upon it, kneeling at the feet of the Madonna to receive the benediction of the Infant Saviour.

After completing this magnificent work (1375 ?) Bonino returned to Milan and aided in the building of the Cathedral, whose registers show that he took part in a discussion concerning alleged errors in its construction, and refer to him as dead in an order of the year 1397 for the removal of a marble figure to Milan from the quarries at Gandolia, where he had sculptured it.

From the pupils of Balduccio, let us now return to his fellow scholar under Andrea Pisano—Andrea Arcagnuolo di Cione, commonly called Andrea Orgagna,* who was born at Florence about 1308. As his father Maestro Cione was a celebrated goldsmith† it is natural to suppose that he received his first lessons in the paternal workshop, though Vasari tells us that

* Orgagna, or Orcagna, is a corrupt abbreviation of Arcagnuolo. See Rumohr's, *It. Forsch.* vol. ii., and Vasari, ed. Milanesi, i. p. 593, note 1.

† Milanesi (ed. Vasari), p. 593, note 2, suggests a doubt as to whether Cioni was a professional goldsmith; but this is hardly compatible with the fact that he made a silver altar for the baptistry. It was wantonly destroyed in 1336, and a few reliefs belonging to it were set in a new altar with others by Michelozzo, Pollajuolo, Ghiberti, and other eminent artists. This altar is kept in the Opera del Duomo.

he was apprenticed to Andrea Pisano at a very early age. Be this as it may, it is certain that he studied painting under his brother Nardo, and that the early part of his life was spent in the practice of that art. In 1343 he was admitted to the painters' guild, and to that of the sculptors nine years later (1352), but long before that time he must have studied architecture and sculpture very thoroughly, as he soon after showed his complete knowledge of both arts in the famous Tabernacle at Or San Michele, which he completed in 1359.

The church in which it stands was originally a covered hall or Loggia, built for a grain market by Arnolfo di Cambio (1284), on one of whose brick piers a Sienese artist named Ugolino painted a Madonna, which began to manifest miraculous powers in 1292. In 1304, when the Loggia was much injured by fire, the city guilds determined to rebuild it on a much larger scale, and two years later, when the corner-stone was laid with immense pomp and ceremony, the magistrates granted the petition of the silk Merchants' Guild, that its members should be allowed to place the statue of their patron saint in one of the niches upon the outside of the building. This example was followed by other guilds, until the remaining niches were gradually filled with statues made by the greatest sculptors of the fifteenth century.

As time went on the brotherhood of Or San Michele became enormously wealthy through the gifts of devotees to the miraculous picture, and the many donations made by citizens,* who offered their treasures still more freely at the shrine when, after a long period of prosperity, a terrible pestilence desolated the city (1348).† Thus enriched, the confraternity commissioned Andrea Orgagna to finish the granary as a church, and to erect a Tabernacle within its walls, in which the famous picture of the Virgin, which had been the cause of their association, should be enshrined.‡ Summoned for this purpose from Or-

* In the course of half a century the offerings to the chapel amounted to 350,000 florins.

† Boccaccio says that more than 100,000 persons perished at Florence between March and July. Villani says, Florence lost three-fifths, and Pisa four-fifths of their inhabitants, and Siena 80,000 citizens.

‡ Ugolino's picture, which, like all his works, was painted "alla Greca," and on the "intonaco," or plaster surface of one of the pilasters of the Loggia, undoubtedly perished in the fire of 1304. The

viato, whither he had gone to superintend the mosaics of the Cathedral, Orgagna returned to Florence to design and construct a work which pre-eminently embodies the spirit of mediæval Christian art. Built of white marble in the Gothic style—enriched with every kind of ornament, and storied with bas-reliefs illustrative of the Madonna's history from her birth to her death—it rises in stately beauty, and whether considered from an architectural, sculptural or symbolic point of view, excites the warm admiration of all who can appreciate the skill with which its bas-reliefs, statuettes, busts, intaglios, mosaics and incrustations of "pietre dure," gilded glass and enamels, are welded together into a perfect unit,

Che passa di bellezza, s' io ben recoło,
Tutti gli altri che son dentro del secolo.*

The altar occupies the front of the Tabernacle under the miraculous picture of the Madonna, over which rises the open-work roof, decorated with statuettes of the Archangel Michael, and an attendant angel. The base is adorned with bas-reliefs in octangular recesses, representing the Birth of the Madonna and her Presentation at the temple, separated by a small figure of Faith on the right side; the Marriage of the Virgin and the Annunciation, by one of Hope in front; the Birth of our Lord and the Adoration of the Magi, by one of Charity on the left side; the Presentation in the Temple and the Angel who comes to inform the Madonna of her approaching death, at the back. Above this relief is another of large size in which the Madonna lies on her death-bed surrounded by apostles and disciples (one of whom is a portrait of Orgagna, *see* tail-piece), and ascends to heaven in a mystic mandola or aureole, from which she drops her girdle to the incredulous St. Thomas.

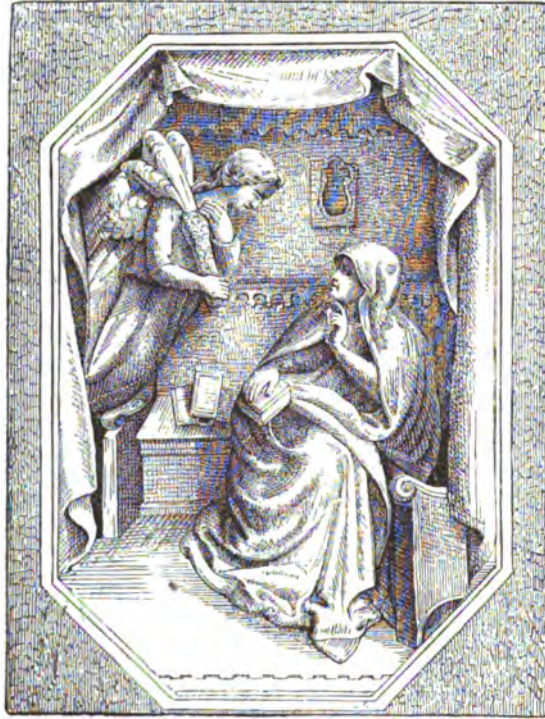
The most interesting of the reliefs, if only for its novelty as a subject, is that of the warning visit of the angel to the aged Madonna, who sits tranquilly gazing at the celestial messenger as he brings her a palm branch endowed with miraculous power to conceal her dead body from the eyes of the Jews,

present picture, which is upon canvas, and in a Giottesque style, was probably painted by some artist of the fourteenth century. *Vide Vasari, Comm. alla Vita di Ugolino*, vol. ii. pp. 23, 25.

* Poem upon the Tabernacle, by Sacchetti.

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when it shall be borne to the tomb. In this, as in the other compositions, Orgagna treats his subject as a painter would. The flying angel, the little window of coloured glass, and the attempt to put the chamber and the objects within it into perspective, are all pictorial devices which Andrea Pisano, with his just sense of plastic requirements, would never have resorted to. It reminds us that Orgagna was wont to write "sculptor"



after his name upon his pictures, and to inscribe himself as "pictor" upon his sculptures. The last designation seems true in another sense than that which it was interled to convey, for the bas-reliefs of which we have been speaking are treated pictorially, and as they are Orgagna's only works in sculpture, we may look upon him as a precursor of Ghiberti.

In multiplicity of intellectual gifts (we are far from saying in quality) he even surpassed Michael Angelo, whom Pindemonte calls the man of four souls—Orgagna had five, for he was archi-

tect, sculptor, painter and poet, and goldsmith besides. Only one side of his complex personality comes properly under consideration here, yet we cannot take leave of him without at least referring to his reputed great work as an architect, the Loggia de' Lanzi, that world-renowned portico which foreshadowed a turning-point in the architectural history of the nation, the approaching transition from mixed Gothic to pure Roman forms. It announced the end of the Mediæval and the beginning of the Renaissance period, and is in architecture what the contemporary writings of Petrarch and Boccaccio are in literature, evidences of the coming classical revival which in the first half of the fifteenth century embraced all forms of thought. But did Orgagna build it? that is a question, raised in our day, which turns upon the date of his death. The order for the construction of this sumptuous place of assembly for the discussion of political and commercial matters at times when heat or rain made the uncovered platform (*ringhiera*) before the Palazzo Vecchio untenable, was passed by the general council in 1368, but the foundations of the Loggia, called de' Lanzi, from its location near the guard-house of the German Lands Knechts or hired soldiers, were not laid until 1376, eight years after the death of Orgagna as fixed by modern authorities. Vasari, who first ascribed the building to Orgagna, says that he died in 1389, but this must be an error, as the last certain information about him is a record of the year 1368, in which he is spoken of as dangerously ill. In another, of ten years later, he is mentioned as a deceased person. His death, in 1368, is perfectly compatible with the supposition that he left designs for the Loggia, which were carried out by the eminent architects Benci di Cione and Simone di Francesco Talenti, when they were appointed head masters of the building.* Its great round arches, of which there are three in front, and one at the end, are supported upon piers with Corinthian capitals, and surmounted by a broad entablature adorned with six half-figures of the Virtues in relief, and a group of the Madonna and Child under a canopy. The Virtues were sculptured by Jacopo di Piero, one of Orgagna's scholars, perhaps after the designs of Angelo Gaddi, with the possible exception of the Fortitude and

* See Appendix, letter G.

Temperance. These are attributed to Giovanni Seti, an otherwise unknown sculptor.

The subterranean church of the Certosa convent, near Florence, which if not built by Orgagna is of his time, contains some interesting monuments of its founder Niccolo Acciajuoli, Grand Seneschal of the Kingdom of Naples under Queen Joanna, and of his family. These are in all probability works of Orgagna's scholars. The recumbent statue of Niccolo, clad in armour, is placed under a rich Gothic canopy, set high up against the wall above the tombs of his father, daughter and son Lorenzo, whose funeral obsequies were celebrated at the enormous cost of 50,000 gold florins by his afflicted parents.

With Orgagna, the Pisan school, whose rise and progress we have now traced through the better part of two centuries, may be said to close. The Florentine school properly dates from Donatello and Ghiberti, and may be considered as the successor of the Pisan and Sienese schools, which died out respectively the one in the fourteenth, and the other in the fifteenth century.



CHAPTER IV.

SIENA.

THE reader's attention has been already called to the impulse given by Niccola and Giovanni Pisano to architecture and sculpture at Siena in the latter half of the thirteenth century. The presence and example of father and son did much to raise the standard of excellence in both arts, whose improved condition found ample opportunity for its display through the enlargement and embellishment of the Cathedral, the construction of the Abbey Church and Monastery of S. Galgano, and the building of walls, bridges, gates and fountains in and about the city. Many artists who as rectors represented the greater and lesser art guilds in the city government, were involved in the struggles which constantly arose between the nobles and the people, but despite these disturbing influences, and those arising from the open state of war between the Ghibellines and the Guelphs, they made notable progress.

Few of them are known to us even by name, and still fewer by their works, which were doubtless for the most part of a decorative character. Nothing is known about the personal history of Ramo or Romano di Paganello, son of Paganello di Giovanni,* one of the first whose name is something more than a name to us, save that he was banished for having killed or maltreated his wife; that in 1281 he was recalled by a decree of the general council;† and that he subsequently worked at the Cathedral under Giovanni Pisano. It was probably at this period (1288) that he sculptured a statue of St.

* Rumohr (*It. Forsch.* vol. ii. p. 143) says that Ramo's father was perhaps Rodolpho, called "Il Tedesco," one of the German artists who introduced the Gothic style into Italy in the thirteenth century.

† The decree mentions Ramo as "Intalliatoribus de bonis" (meaning those who worked upon ornaments and leaves); "et sculptoribus et subtilioribus" (as expressing those excessively minute works in the "semi-tedesco" style, then in fashion) "in mundo qui inveniri possit."

Francis, which formerly stood over the door of the Church of San Francesco. In 1296 he went to Orvieto with Lorenzo Maitani, and there presided over the sculptors working about the Cathedral as "*capo loggia*," an office to which none but a man of remarkable capacity would have been elected. Though we cannot suppose him to have worked upon the bas-reliefs of the façade, as they were begun somewhat after his time, he doubtless aided in carving some of the capitals of its pilasters.

One of his contemporaries, Goro di Gregorio,* military architect and sculptor, made the sarcophagus under the high altar of the Cathedral at Massa Maritima, which contains the body of St. Cerbone, Bishop of Massa. Its five bas-reliefs represent the bishop summoned to Rome by the messengers of Pope Virgilius, drinking the milk of a hind while on his journey thither, restoring the sick whom he met on his way, presented to the pope at Rome, and celebrating mass before the pope, who by placing his foot upon that of the saint, hears angelic melodies inaudible to other ears. Although technically rude, these reliefs are not devoid of expression. The statuettes above the sarcophagus are carefully draped, and the ornaments about the cornices are delicately carved. Goro sculptured a bas-relief of the Baptism of our Lord for the Baptistry of Rosia, a castle near Siena, some statues for the façade of the Cathedral (1332), and the monument of the Petronio family in the subterranean chambers of the first cloister of the church of San Francesco (1332).

Ramo and Goro were artists of purely local celebrity, but such was not the case with Lorenzo di Lorenzo Maitani, who built the beautiful Gothic cathedral at Orvieto. Gifted with rare genius, and thoroughly versed in architecture, sculpture, bronze-casting and mosaic, he was eminently fitted for his work, and, thanks to the singular fortune which permitted him to watch over the building from the day when its corner-stone was laid to that which saw its last pinnacle pointed towards heaven, he carried it out with a unity of design unattainable by an artist less versatile than himself.† At the time of its foundation no fewer than forty Florentine, Pisan, and Sienese

* Not to be confounded with Niccola's pupil, Goro di Ciuccio Ciuti, a Florentine. See ch. ii. pp. 23, 24.

† See Appendix, letter G.

architects, sculptors and painters came to reside at Orvieto, and were formed into a corporate body subject to Lorenzo Maitani, the master of masters, who with his council pronounced judgment upon the models and drawings presented to them in the "Loggia," a building set apart for their use near the Cathedral. Many of these artists were employed in procuring and working upon marbles at Rome, Siena, and Corneto, as also at Albano and Castel Gandolfo, whence the prepared material was dragged by buffaloes, or sent up the Tiber in boats, to the neighbourhood of Orvieto.* Aided by the Orvietans and the country people, who on fête days assisted in transporting building materials to the Piazza di Sta. Maria, the work was advanced so rapidly, that eight years after the laying of the corner-stone (1298) Pope Boniface VIII. celebrated mass within the walls, which had already risen to a considerable height.

The beautiful façade, rich in sculpture and mosaic work, was begun in 1321, and carried on under Maitani's direction until his death nine years later. "Artist Philosopher," says Romagnuoli, "he adorned its base with scenes from the Old and New Testament, the foundations of our faith; decorated the upper space about the round window with the symbols of the Evangelists, together with statues of the Apostles and Popes; and crowned the whole with angels placed at a dangerous and almost aerial altitude." The bas-reliefs of the base spoken of by the Sienese writer in this passage, are sculptured upon four piers placed on either side of the great portal. On the first, called the Pier of Creation, because its subjects are taken from the book of Genesis, we see the calling into being of the sun, moon, and stars, of birds and beasts, and of man and woman, by Christ, who "in all religious art as in all sound theology is the Creator in the active and visible sense."† In each act he is attended by angels, who follow him with bowed heads and folded arms, or, as in the scene where the Lord walking in the garden calls to Adam, float in the air above his head. What we find to praise in these works, is their unaffected simplicity of expression, their clearness of narration, their freshness of

* *Lettere Sanesi*, p. 103.

† *History of Our Lord*, by Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake, vol. i. p. 66.

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feeling, and the careful and loving treatment of rocks, plants, leaves, and other accessories. These qualities give them a charm which takes fast hold upon us. The reliefs of the Temptation, the Expulsion, and the Murder of Abel, on the upper part of the first pier, and those relating to the Mosaic dispensation on the second, called the Pier of Prophecy, are inferior to the Creation series in conception and execution. Those on the third pier, of



Fulfilment, are remarkably excellent in composition and treatment of drapery. In these respects the Annunciation and the Visitation especially, stand in the first rank, but they want that peculiar charm which in art as in life, belongs only to youth, the charm of childhood as compared with manhood, of spring with summer, of the bud with the full grown flower.

In the reliefs upon the fourth pier, of Judgment, the resurrection of the dead is treated with vigorous realism and

great power. Skeleton forms lift the heavy lids of the sarcophagi which they have long tenanted, to join the elect who, led by their guardian angels, mount to never-ending joy, or to be added to the troop of the condemned who, driven in a leash by an archangel, are seized by demons with serpents' tails and bats' wings. A vine springing from the base of each pier encircles every relief with its branches, leaves and tendrils. If it be typical of Christ—the true Vine—as we may suppose, and not simply decorative, it is notable as the only piece of symbolism, excepting the symbols of the Evangelists, used in these sculptures, and this is no little remarkable at a time when sculptors and painters still spoke in that mediæval language. The works of Giotto and the Giotteschi, of Giovanni and Andrea Pisano, abound in representations of the Virtues and Vices, the Liberal Arts, the Seasons, &c.

In inquiring as to the authorship of the sculptures which we have under consideration, it might be hazardous to take their paucity of symbolism as an indication of a preponderating Sienese influence, although the school of Siena was less addicted to its use than that of Florence or Pisa, but it hardly seems so when we couple it with the certainty that a Sienese architect directed, when he did not personally design, every part of the edifice. To attribute them to Maitani as a whole is impossible, for not only do they vary greatly in technic, but also in style, and as the bronze symbols of the Evangelists, which he cast in the last year of his life (1330), are the only works about the façade known to be his, we can form from them no idea of his capacity as a sculptor. As it is equally impossible to identify the bas-reliefs with any one or more artists of the period, we must content ourselves with showing who among them can or cannot have worked at Orvieto. Niccola Pisano, despite Vasari's assertion, cannot have done so, as he died twelve years before the corner-stone of the edifice was laid. Giovanni, his son, is said to have died in the very year (1320) which saw the reliefs of its façade commenced, and as his name is not mentioned in the carefully kept registers of the Cathedral, we may dismiss all idea of his co-operation. Fra Guglielmo Agnelli, to whom Padre Marchesi attributes the greater part of the reliefs, came to Orvieto in 1290 and remained there until 1304, but as they were not begun until long

after, and as the well-known works of this sculptor at Bologna and Pisa are very inferior to them, we are disinclined to believe that he took part in them. Arnolfo di Cambio, who came to Orvieto about the same time as Agnelli, went to Florence in 1290; and remained there overwhelmed with work until his death, so that he also must be dropped from the list of possible sculptors. Among the Siennese artists who certainly did take part in decorating the façade were Vitale Maitani, the son of Lorenzo, and his successor in the office of head-master of the works; Buzio di Biaggio, who made the bronze group of the Madonna and Child over the great portal of the Cathedral, and Niccola Nuti or Nuzii. The co-operation of other sculptors of the time, such as Agostino di Giovanni and Angelo di Ventura, Tino di Camaino, Antonio Brunaccio, Cellino di Nese, and Gano, is possible but in nowise certain. The two first, of whom Vasari's account is full of errors, were not brothers, as he states, or scholars of Giovanni Pisano, neither did they sculpture those statues of the Prophets upon the façade of the Cathedral at Orvieto, which he attributes to them.* We know them by one work only—the monument to Bishop Guido Tarlati in the Cathedral at Arezzo, for which they received the commission (1330) from that prelate's brother, Pietro Saccone di Pietramala, through the good offices of Giotto who, as Vasari declares, kindly supplied them with the design.† Without accepting this as a fact, it is impossible for any one who examines the sixteen bas-reliefs upon the monument, of the sieges and battles in which this warlike prelate took part, to doubt that they were sculptured under the great painter's influence. Rudely executed, pictorial in style, and dramatic in spirit, they form the one novel feature of a monument which otherwise differs in no respect from tombs of the Pisan school already described. Agostino and Angelo, who were much employed at Siena as architects, died there about the middle of the fourteenth century. Agostino had two sons, one of whom, Domenico, was a goldsmith, and the other, Giovanni, a sculptor. His Giottesque-looking bas-relief of the Madonna and Child with angels in the Oratory of San Ber-

* Agostino and his son Giovanni are mentioned in the Cathedral registers of the year 1339. Angelo's name is nowhere recorded.

† See Appendix, letter H.

nardino at Siena, shows that the painter's influence was not limited to one generation.

We now come to a Sienese sculptor who deserves a more extended notice, if only on account of the wider field in which he worked, Lino or Tino di Camaino, the son of Camaius di Crescentius or Crescentius di Diotisalvi, who was in all probability the scholar of Giovanni Pisano. One of his more important works (1315), the tomb of Henry VII., which was removed from the Cathedral at Pisa to the Campo Santo in the early part of the present century, consists of the imperial effigy, clad in a mantle decorated with the lions and eagles of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, lying upon a sarcophagus with mourning genii sculptured at either end, and several heavy but not ill-draped figures of saints disposed along the front.* A long inscription upon the base records the translation of the body to Pisa, from the Castle of Suvareto in the Maremma, in which it had been temporarily deposited on its way from Buonconvento, where the ill-starred Henry of Luxemburg died of fever or poison (1313), after the two years' struggle which followed upon his descent into Italy to reassert the long dormant rights of the German Emperors. Hailed by Dante as the saviour of his distracted country, and crowned at Milan with the iron crown, he had vainly besieged Rome and Florence, before death put an end to the hopes and fears which his presence had excited. There is little doubt that he would have captured Florence had it not been for the brave Bishop Antonio d'Orso, who directed its defence, and it is not a little singular that Tino should have been selected to sculpture the monuments of the Emperor who attacked, and of the Bishop who defended, the fair city. The latter stands in the left aisle of the Cathedral, and consists of a statue of the Prelate sitting in his robes of office, with his hands crossed upon his breast, on the top of a sarcophagus, which is decorated with a bas-relief representing the Bishop as a young man kneeling before our Lord, to whom he is presented by Angels.

Another tomb attributed to Tino, is that of Bishop Felice Aliotti in the Ruccellai Chapel at Sta. Maria Novella, but as they

* The tomb of Henry VII., in accordance with common usage at the time, was decorated with colours. Ciampi in his *Notizie Inedite* mentions four painters employed for this purpose, and the expense incurred for varnish, gum, &c., used by them.

died in the same year, and the sculptor spent the last thirteen years of his life at Naples, it can hardly be his work. He went there about 1323, having been appointed by the last will and testament of Queen Maria, wife of Charles II. of Anjou, together with a M^o Gerardus da Sermona, to erect a monument to her memory in the Church of Sta. Maria Domina Regina. As this tomb served as a model for the Angevine monuments at S. Chiara, which Neapolitan writers also erroneously attribute to Masuccio II., it gives Tino an importance in the history of sculpture as the introducer of the Pisan type of tomb in the south of Italy. The sarcophagus, under a tent-like canopy, is supported upon statues of the Virtues, and its front is divided by columns into Gothic niches enriched with mosaics, and filled with seated figures of King Robert and Iolanthe of Aragon, his first wife, of his father Charles II., his son the Duke of Calabria, and his brother St. Louis of Toulouse. Angels hold back curtains from above the effigy of the queen, which lies under a Gothic canopy supported upon marble columns decorated with mosaics. The gable contains a medallion of Christ giving the Benediction. On one side of it the kneeling queen is presented by an angel to the Madonna, and on the other she appears with the model of the church which she rebuilt and endowed. After the completion of this monument (1326) Tino was chiefly employed as an architect, by Duke Charles of Calabria and by King Robert, during the remainder of his life, which must have ended before July 11, 1336, as a successor to "the late" royal architect Tino da Siena, was then appointed.*

Maestro Gano of Siena, one of Tino's contemporaries, who is said to have been a scholar of Agostino and Agnolo Sanesi, made the tombs of Bishop Tommaso di Andrea, and Raniero Porrina, in the collegiate church at Casole.† The statue of Porrina is the work of one who copied nature simply and without pretension. Dressed after the fashion of his day in a tight under-garment, over which his "lucco" or mantle falls in long straight folds, and holding a book under his right arm, this sturdy upholder of the Ghibelline cause and most devoted

* Tino built the Incoronata Chapel in the Cathedral at Pisa, and made a font with sculptures in relief, now no longer extant. He was head-master of the Sienese Cathedral in 1319-20. *Doc. San.* vol. i. p. 185.

† A small town, about twenty miles from Siena.

partisan of the Emperor Henry VII., looks every inch the powerful citizen he was in life. A like simplicity in the treatment of form shows itself in the monument of Bishop Tommaso di Andrea.* The deceased, with his hands crossed upon his breast, lies straight upon his back, while two small genii kneel at his head and feet, and angels hold up a curtain behind him. The effigy is placed under a Gothic arch whose lunette once contained a fresco by the Siennese painter Pietro Lorenzetti. The monuments of Cardinal Petroni in the Duomo at Siena; of Ugo Causaronti (1346) in the Pieve delle Serre at Rapolano, and of Nicolo Aringhieri in the university at Siena, are ascribed to Gano, but without evidence.

Antonio Brunaccio, another sculptor of this period who took an active part in the civic broils and revolutions at Sienna, is mentioned in the Cathedral records of 1356, as having been paid for work connected with the beautiful pavement of the choir. None of his works exist, and no particulars of his career are known, save that he was the object of an urgent appeal from St. Catherine of Siena to forsake the error of his ways and turn to Christ.†

His contemporary Cellino di Nese, architect and sculptor, was called to Pistoja in 1334 to complete the Baptistry, and to sculpture the monument of Messer Cino (Guittone Sinibaldi) after the design of an unknown Siennese artist, for the Cathedral. Its Gothic canopy with twisted columns, and its sarcophagus with a professorial bas-relief, are features common to other monuments of the time, but we do not elsewhere remember a tomb in which the statues of the deceased and his pupils are introduced, as here, on the top of the sarcophagus. One of

* He was made Bishop of Pistoja in 1283, and afterwards collector and commissary for Pope Nicholas IV., in Tuscany. He died in 1303.

† Another architect and sculptor of this time mentioned by Vasari in the lives of Berna, Duccio, and Quercia, is Moccio of Siena. The monument of Bishop Simone at Arezzo, in the Church of S. Francesco della Scala, which Vasari attributes to Moccio, is by Andrea da Firenze, who sculptured that of Ferdinand Sanseverino in S. Giov. a Carbonara at Naples. Milanesi in his edition of Vasari, vol. i. p. 648 and 657, note 3, states that in 1340 Moccio worked on the enlargement of the Cathedral at Siena, 1345 built the wall of the tower in the Piazza, and in 1326 was architect of the Porta Pisani. In the Cathedral records, he is spoken of as from Perugia.

these statues has a peculiar interest as it represents Selvaggia Vergiolesi, who was to Cino, as Beatrice to Dante and Laura to Petrarch, the source of all poetical inspiration while living, and the object of unceasing regret when dead. He addressed many sonnets to her during and after the termination of the exile (1307-1319) into which he was driven with her father Filippo, chief of the Bianchi faction, when the Neri triumphed at Pistoja.* Cino died soon after his return there, regretted by his fellow-citizens, who sought by posthumous honours to make amends for the long wanderings to which their factious quarrels had condemned him. Siena, like Pistoja, was also in a perpetual state of unrest during the latter half of the fourteenth century, when her intestine quarrels ended in the exile of many artists, and reduced art in all its branches to a very low ebb. We see evidence of this in the mediocre statues of the Apostles which fill the niches of the Cappella della Piazza, made between 1376 and 1384, by Lando di Stefano, Bartolomeo di Tommè (called Pizzino), Mariano di Angelo Romanelli, Giovanni di Cecco, and Matteo di Ambrogio (called Sappa),† as well as in the holy-water vase of the Cathedral at Orvieto made by Lucca di Giovanni, and in the baptismal font opposite to it, which was sculptured in the beginning of the fifteenth century by two Sienese and two Florentine artists, after the design of Pietro di Giovanni of Friburg.‡

In the year 1374, when Giacomo della Quercia was born near Siena,§ her school of sculpture seemed to be dying out altogether. This remarkable artist, who was the son of a goldsmith named Pietro d'Angelo di Guarnerio, studied the goldsmith's art under

* Dante's letter to Cino, and the testimony of his biographers, seem to prove that Cino fell in love with many other women after Selvaggia's death, and was fickle and inconstant in his new passion. Vide *Epistola IV*. "Exulanti Pistoriense," and the sonnet beginning "Io mio creda," etc. See Appendix, letter I. *Il Convito e le Epistole*, pp. 432, 437, ed. Barbera, 1862. Petrarch wrote a sonnet upon the death of Cino, beginning, "Piangete, donne, e con voi piangi amore," etc.

† Milanese, *Siena e il suo Territorio*, p. 155.

‡ Valentino di Paolo, Matteo di Nobili, Pietro di Vanni, and Giacomo di Pietro Guidi.

§ His surname of Quercia was derived either from Quercia Grossa, a castle near the walls of Siena, built in 1271; or from Guerco, or Guerchio, a popular word signifying workman (Dr. Carpellini, MS. notes to Romagnuoli).

his father, and sculpture perhaps under Lucca di Giovanni. At the age of nineteen, he brought himself into notice by an equestrian statue of wood covered with cloth painted in imitation of marble, for the funeral obsequies of the famous Sienese captain Azzo Ubaldini. Soon after this, his patron Orlando Malevolti, with many other patriots who refused to consent to the disgraceful surrender of the city into the hands of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, were driven into exile, and Quercia, although not forced to do so, thought it best to leave Siena.* For the next nine or ten years his history is a blank, but in 1401 we know that he competed for the gate of the Baptistry at Florence, and with no little distinction, since the judges praised his work as next in merit to that of Ghiberti and Brunelleschi.

We next find him at Ferrara, where, about 1408, he sculptured a Madonna and Child in relief,† and the monument of a Dr. Vera, formerly in the Church of San Nicolò, and now in the Church of San Giacomo Maggiore at Bologna, to which it was removed by Annibale Bentivoglio and used as a monument to his father Antonio. The recumbent effigy is placed on an inclined plane, so that although set high up against the wall, every part of the figure is visible from below. Statuettes of SS. Peter and Paul, and four figures of Force, Prudence, Temperance and Faith, stand above the cornice, and the front of the sarcophagus is adorned with a professorial bas-relief added after Quercia's day to suit the monument to its new uses, for Antonio Bentivoglio was an eminent jurist, as well as a politician and a soldier.

In the first month of the year 1409, Quercia entered into a contract with the Signory of Siena to make the celebrated fountain for the great square of the city from which he derived the surname of "della Fonte." The project of bringing water from Fontebranda, outside the walls, was conceived in the twelfth century, but the conduits for this purpose were not laid until the middle of the fourteenth (1348). The new fountain thus constructed, called Fonte Gaja, was then decorated with an antique statue of Venus,

* Vasari says, Quercia made some statues of prophets for the Duomo at this time; but if he ever did so, it must have been at a later date, as his name does not appear in the archives until after 1417, and he left Siena soon after 1391.

† Removed from Cathedral to the Capitolo dei Canonici.

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supposed to be the work of Lysippus, which had been dug up at Siena, many years before. Fourteen years later, during which the city had been more than usually disturbed by factious tumults, a member of the council of twelve denounced this heathen idol as the source of their calamities, and advised that Heaven should be appeased by breaking it in pieces, which when buried in the Florentine territory might work ruin on their adversaries. "Detto fù fatto," and Fonte Gaja was deprived of its only ornament, until Giacomo della Quercia, undertook to decorate it in a more Christian fashion.* His contract bound him to furnish a design subject to public approval, to find his own materials, and to select his assistants. He was to receive in final payment the sum of 2,320 florins. The design offered by Quercia,† and accepted by the Signory, consisted of a three-sided marble parapet; the central and longest divided into nine niches containing statues of the Madonna and Child and the seven theological virtues, and the other two decorated with bas-reliefs representing the creation of Adam and the expulsion from Paradise. Marine animals bearing children on their backs, as well as wolves, and dolphins, whose mouths serve for jets, rise above the surface of the water. As its general effect is excellent, its design original, and its details interesting, Fonte Gaja deservedly ranks among the model fountains of the world. The statues have Quercia's characteristic grace of line, and are free from the mannerism which mars some of his best work. Though far less refined in style than his great Florentine contemporaries, and given to the use of heavy draperies, whose snakelike folds seem arranged to conceal rather than to veil and enhance form, he had qualities which entitle him to be regarded as the best Italian sculptor of the fifteenth century outside of Florence. In disposition he was amiable and modest, but

* First contract, dated Jan. 22, 1409; second contract, 1412, in which year it was commenced. Date of final quittance, Oct. 20, 1419. Vide *Doc. dell' Arte Sanesi*, vol. ii. pp. 45, 51, No. xxxii.; also Romagnuoli and Carpellini.

† Tizio says, Quercia bound himself to do the whole work with his own hands; but this seems impossible, as he had five able assistants, who did much of it for him: namely, Sano or Ansano di Matteo, Paolo di Minella, Nanni da Lucca, Bastino di Corso, and Francesco Valdambrini, Siennese goldsmith and sculptor, one of the competitors for the Baptistery Gate at Florence in 1401-2. See chapter on Ghiberti.

owing to his habit of accepting a great deal more work than he could possibly carry on simultaneously, he worried his employers and brought much trouble upon himself. Thus in 1418, instead of staying at Siena to complete Fonte Gaja, he went to Lucca and remained there until the Sienese, who in the space of eight months had five times summoned him back without effect, forced him under a penalty of three hundred florins to return and finish their fountain. This was in 1419, when among other works he had finished at Lucca the monument of Ilaria del Carretto, wife of Paolo Guinigi, Lord of that city, and daughter of Charles, Marquis of Carretto. Nothing remains of this monument, which was broken up when the tyrant was driven out, but the effigy and two slabs of the base decorated with children bearing festoons. One of these is in the Bargello museum at Florence, and the other with the sepulchral effigy in the cathedral at Lucca. "I name it," says Mr. Ruskin,* "not as more beautiful or perfect than other examples of the same period, but as furnishing an instance of the exact and right mean between the rigidity and rudeness of the monumental effigies, and the morbid imitations of life, sleep or death, of which the fashion has taken place in modern times. The head is laid straight and simply on the hard pillow, in which, let it be observed, there is no effort at deceptive imitation of pressure. It is understood as a pillow, but not to be mistaken for one. The hair is bound up in a flat braid over the fair brow, the sweet and arched eyes are closed, the tenderness of the loving lips is set and quiet; there is that about them which forbids breath; something which is not death nor sleep, but the pure image of both. The hands are not lifted in prayer, neither folded; but the arms are laid at length upon the body and the hands cross as they fall. The feet are hidden by the drapery, and the forms of the limbs are concealed, but not their tenderness."

Another work executed by Quercia at Lucca before his return to Siena was a Gothic altar-piece for the Trenta chapel at San Frediano, where its donors Federigo di Trenta and his wife are buried. The Madonna and Child and SS. Sebastian, Jerome and Lucia in its niches, are somewhat extravagant in style, but the bas-reliefs in the predella, of St Catharine of Alexandria

* *Modern Painters*, vol. ii. ch. vii.

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(see tail-piece), and of the expulsion of a demon from the body of a child, are delicately sculptured and altogether pleasing. While still at work upon this altar-piece (1416) Quercia agreed to model and cast two bas-reliefs for the Baptistry at Siena.* He returned there, as we have seen, shortly after, to complete Fonte Gaja, but when that was done, went to Bologna, where he spent twelve years upon a very important work, of which we shall speak presently, at the end of which time the Sienese lost patience, and wrote to him by a special messenger that they would fine him one hundred lire unless he returned to fulfil his contract. Whether he did so immediately or not we do not know, but in 1428 he wrote to ask that the fine might be remitted, on the ground that he had been forcibly detained at Bologna by his employers. In 1429 he finished one of the bas-reliefs—the calling of St. Joachim. The other was finally assigned to Donatello.

The important work at Bologna which had prevented Quercia from fulfilling his contract was the construction and decoration of the great portal of the Basilica of St. Petronius† for which he had contracted in the year 1425. During the next two years he spent much of his time in visiting Venice, Verona, and Carrara, for the purpose of procuring marbles and superintending their expedition to Cino di Bartolo, goldsmith and sculptor, who worked at Bologna after his designs, with two assistants upon the ornamental portions of the door. In 1429 Quercia returned to Bologna, and on the 24th of October, having entered into a second contract, devoted himself, until 1433, to the task of designing and putting into marble the thirty-two half figures of Patriarchs and Prophets on the side-posts and archivolt of the portal, and the fifteen bas-reliefs which are disposed on either hand. Ten of these reliefs represent subjects taken from the Old Testament, from the Creation of Adam to the Sacrifice of Abraham; and five are taken from the New, beginning with the Birth of Christ, and ending with the Flight into Egypt. Among all the works of Quercia, none are so remarkable as the Old Testament series

* April 16th, 1616. They were to be gilded at the artist's expense, and he was to receive 180 florins a-piece.

† He was invited to undertake this work by Archbishop Arli, for the sum of 3,600 gold florins.

of reliefs, several of which explain why he has been called the precursor of Michelangelo. The qualities which justify this epithet are more especially conspicuous in the reliefs of the Creation of Adam and Eve and the Expulsion from Paradise. In these compositions, which recall those of the same subjects upon the roof of the Sistine Chapel, Quercia rose to a dignity and grandeur of style equalled only there, and we cannot doubt that Michelangelo, who spent the year 1494 at Bologna and returned there in 1507, studied them, and had them in his mind when he was called upon to paint his celebrated frescoes at Rome. The resemblance here traceable in the works of these great artists extends in some degree to their lives, for as Michelangelo had his "*Tragedia del Sepulcro*," so had Quercia his "*Tragedia della Porta*." Broken contracts and ceaseless pecuniary difficulties harassed the lives of both, and as Michelangelo fled to Florence with the hope of bringing Pope Julius to reason, so did Quercia take refuge at Parma, thinking thus to force his employers at Bologna to confirm his original contract. Whether they did so or not is unknown, but certain it is that in 1434 Quercia was at Siena, where he finally established himself in 1437, the year before his death, leaving his master-work at Bologna incomplete. The directors then warmly urged Jacopo's brother, Priamo, who was sculptor as well as painter, to finish it, but in vain, for his one visit to Bologna in 1442 was made solely to regain possession of the property which Jacopo had left behind him. In this hope he was altogether disappointed, if it be true that 800 gold florins, with a gold ring and clothes and drawings worth 400, had been stolen by Cino di Bartolo, and that the rest of Jacopo's effects had been sequestered by his employers to compensate them for loss of time and annoyance. In 1435 Quercia visited Bologna for the last time, and may then have sculptured the Madonna with angels, now in the Museum of the University. He died, according to the records of the Cathedral of Siena, on the 20th of October, 1438.

None among his scholars, with perhaps the single exception of Antonio Federighi, are recognizable by their works. Niccola da Bari, whom we have already mentioned in the life of Niccola Pisano, and who is said to have studied under Quercia, had four surnames, three of which, "*da Bari*,"

"Il Dalmata," and "Il Bolognese," leave us in doubt as to his birthplace. He is said to have been born about 1414, and to have been brought to Bologna at a very early age. His fourth surname, "dell' Arca," is derived, as we have previously pointed out, from the monumental altar over the sarcophagus sculptured by Niccola Pisano to hold the bones of S. Dominic. Like the Greek sculptor Kallimachos, he wasted much of his time in such microscopic work as a fly no larger than a grain of millet, and a cage full of birds not more than three centimetres in height. A terra-cotta Madonna on the exterior of the municipal palace at Bologna, a coloured bas-relief of Annibale Bentivoglio in the church of San Giacomo Maggiore, and one of the candle-bearing angels on the altar of the shrine of San Domenico in the same city are attributed to him, but whether correctly or not is uncertain.* The chronicler Girolamo de Barzellis describes him as an eccentric and morose person, who spent little, would accept no pupils, and passed his life in solitude. It is said that when dying (1494), he expressed the wish that he could destroy everything that he had ever made. Other pupils of Quercia were Nanni, who worked at Orvieto, and carved ornaments about Fonte Gaja at Siena; Pietro del Minella † (1391-1458), who made all the marble work about the font in the Sienese Baptistry, worked in intaglio and intarsia at Orvieto, where he was capo-maestro from 1481 to 1483, and filled the same office at a later period in the Cathedral at Siena, in which he built the Cappella di San Crescenzo; and Antonio Federighi detto de' Tolomei, who made the statues of SS. Ansano and Crescenzo in the niches of the Loggia degli Uffiziali at Siena (1460), designed and executed (1476) the Seven Ages of Man and other compositions in the pavement of the Cathedral, ‡ and superintended the studies of eight young

* See chap. ii. book iii.

† There were four artists of this family, three sons of Tommaso del Minella, viz. Antonio, Giovanni, and Pietro; and one, Bernardino, son of Antonio.

‡ In the little Chapel "de' Turchi," called the Palazzo dei Diavoli, outside the Porta Camollia at Siena, there is a bas-relief of glazed terra-cotta, probably by Federighi, which, with the four Evangelists in the church of San Niccola, now the Insane Hospital, has been attributed to Cecco di Giorgio, worker in terra-cotta. See Vasari, *Commentary to the Life of Luca della Robbia*, vol. iii. p. 82, note 1.

men, who were educated as sculptors at the expense of the Fabbrica. He also worked as architect and sculptor at Orvieto.*

Quercia's best pupil was Lorenzo di Pietro di Giovanni di Lando, commonly known as *Il Vecchietta*, goldsmith, architect, sculptor and painter, born at Castiglione di Valdorcio, in the Sienese territory, in 1412. No example of his goldsmith's work is extant,† but all lovers of the Sienese school know his pictures at Siena, and Florence, and his masterpiece, the Assumption of the Virgin, at Pienza. Between 1465 and 1472 he made a bronze tabernacle for the Hospital "della Scala," at Siena, decorated with a statuette of Christ and numerous angels and children, which was thence removed to the Cathedral, and placed upon the high altar. A better example of *Il Vecchietta's* hard dry style is the bronze effigy of a famous Sienese jurisconsult, Marino Soccino the elder, which formed part of a monument formerly in the church of San Domenico at Siena, and is now at Florence in the museum of the Bargello.‡ The head is not unlike that of Dante, and appears to have been cast from life, as well as the hands and feet, but the drapery is hard and unpliant, like that of his two statues of SS. Peter and Paul in the niches of the Loggia de' Mercanti or "degli Uffiziali," which are pure in style, though equally meagre in form and drapery. In the latter part of his life *Il Vecchietta* built, decorated, and endowed a chapel in the Hospital, for which he modelled and cast the candle-bearing angels which stand above the altar, and the bronze statue of Christ, which has a serpent with a woman's head coiled around the base on which he rests his cross. This figure is mannered in attitude and hard in style. Other works attributed to this artist, who died at Siena in 1480, are an altar in the Chapel of St. Catherine at San Domenico, and a Christ between two angels in the house of the Sacristan of the Madonna di Fontegiusta.

* Giovanni di Stefano, who made two of the bronze angels above the altar of the Cathedral, was his scholar; so also were Vito di Marco (1456); Franc. di Bartolo (1437-1497); and Barto. di Domenico (1472-1522).

† The silver bust or statue of St. Catherine, which *Il Vecchietta* made soon after her canonization, disappeared in 1555, when Siena was besieged.

‡ Sold by his descendants to the Grand Duke Ferdinando III.

Among his most noted contemporaries were Turino di Sano di Tura da Vignano, goldsmith, and his son Giovanni, goldsmith, sculptor, and niellist, who was born about 1384 and died about 1455. In 1417 these two artists were commissioned to cast two bronze bas-reliefs of the Birth of St. John and of his Preaching in the Desert, for the Font in the Baptistry at Siena. These works were finished in 1427, and Giovanni then received commissions for the enamelled bronze frieze of the font, for three statuettes of Charity, Justice and Prudence, to be placed between the bas-reliefs, and for three "putti" in the round, to stand above the marble tabernacle which rises from the middle of the font. These works were finished in 1431. In 1425, Turino and his son sculptured the three figures in relief of Saints John the Evangelist, Paul and Matthew, for an intended pulpit at the Cathedral, which are now set in the wall near the altar of the Holy Sacrament, and in 1429 Giovanni cast the Roman wolf in bronze, which still stands on a column near the Palazzo del Comune. His brother Lorenzo and his three sons, Turino, Agostino and Pietro, of whom the two first were sculptors and the last a painter, assisted him in his various works.*

Francesco di Giorgio Martini, architect, engineer, sculptor, painter, bronze-caster and writer (1439-1506), was probably one of the scholars of Il Vecchietta. This many-sided artist gained special celebrity as military architect and engineer. Among the many Italian princes who solicited and obtained his services in these capacities, the chief was Duke Federigo of Urbino, who, as Francesco tells us in his famous treatise upon military architecture, employed him to build many edifices of various kinds, and to sculpture a series of military machines, arms, and trophies in relief for the façade of the Ducal Palace.† These works, which now adorn the walls of a corridor in its lower storey, show fertility of invention, but they give us a less fair idea of his powers as a sculptor than the

* See the Commentary to the lives of Antonio and Piero del Pollajuolo, for an account of the Turini. Milanesi, ed. Vasari, vol. iii. pp. 303-307.

† *Trattato d' Architettura*, etc. etc., di Fco. di Giorgio Martini, pub. by Cav. Cesaro Saluzzo, con Diss. e Note di Carlo Promis. Turino, 1841. That the Duke highly estimated his genius, goodness, and prudence, is proved by a letter which he wrote to the Republic of Siena (*Ricca, op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 538).

two bronze angels which he cast (1497) as pendants to those, by Giovanni di Stefano, on either side of Il Vecchietta's tabernacle, in the Cathedral at Siena. In attitude, expression, and treatment they are excellent, as are the candle-bearing angels on the sides of the same altar, which are also attributed to him. The tomb of the Cav. Cristofano Felice in the church of San Francesco, long supposed to have been the work of this sculptor, who died at Siena in 1502, is now assigned to another of Il Vecchietta's pupils, Urbano da Cortona, who sculptured a bas-relief over the door of the Oratory of St. Catherine. Francesco's own pupil, Giacomo Cozzarelli (1458-1515), who surpassed his master as a bronze caster and worker in iron, made the torch holders upon the Palazzo Petrucci and the Palazzo del Magnifico at Siena, which are rivalled only by those of the Palazzo Strozzi at Florence, the *ne plus ultra* of this sort of Renaissance work. Michelangelo Sanese, a sculptor who is mentioned by Cellini as one of his favourite companions at Rome, was Cozzarelli's scholar.* He spent the early part of his life in Schiavonia, and was called to Rome by Baldassar Peruzzi, the famous Sienese architect, to carry out his design for the monument of Pope Adrian VI. in the church of S. Maria dell' Anima.

The last, and one of the best Sienese artists whom we shall mention is Lorenzo di Mariano, called Il Marina or Marinna, who about the year 1517 sculptured the very beautiful High Altar of the church of Fontegiusta, which is traditionally reported to have been carried to Rome on the backs of mules to gratify the curiosity of Pope Julius II. This work, which rivals the marbles of Mino, Desiderio and Rosellino in excellence, consists of a bas-relief of Christ with angels in the lunette, a statuette of a child above the keystone of the arch, a row of cherubs' heads around the door of the central tabernacle, and a profusion of exquisitely sculptured birds, scrolls, griffins, &c. &c., about the frieze, column-capitals and side-spaces. The portal of the chapel of S. Giovanni, the façade of the so called Libreria in the Cathedral (1497), the marble decorations of an altar at S. Martino (1522), and the Marsili altar at San

* Probably identical with Michael Angelo di Bernardino di Michele. See Vasari, vol. viii. p. 227, vol. ix. p. 18; Cellini's *Autobiography*, pp. 59-63.

Francesco, are attributed to the same charming sculptor, who died in 1534.

The annals of the sixteenth century furnish us with no other artists of note among Sienese sculptors. With the loss of her liberties, Siena seems to have lost her artistic power, and when she was added to Tuscany under the sceptre of Cosmo de' Medici in 1555, she brought in dower no new names worthy to rank with those of the best Tuscan sculptors.



ST. CATHERINE. (By G. della Quercia.)

BOOK II.



THE EARLY RENAISSANCE.

CHAPTER I.

GHIBERTI AND DONATELLO.

FLORENCE can hardly be said to have had a school of sculpture before the fifteenth century, when Ghiberti, Donatello, Luca della Robbia, and other remarkable sculptors worked under the stimulating influences of the early Renaissance. Unlike Pisa, whose revival in art was due to an architectural sculptor, Niccola Pisano, she owed her revival to a painter, Cimabue, whose greater scholar, Giotto, influenced all art manifestations throughout the fourteenth century. At its close the two streams met in Florence, which thenceforth took the lead in both arts. The period was singularly favourable for a healthy artistic development, as it formed a halting-ground between an age of strong religious feeling, and one when Paganism was to permeate every form of literature and art. The waning influence of the Church was still strong enough to keep Pagan sentiment in check, although it was at the same time too weak to attempt to control that growing enthusiasm for the antique, which was fostered by the study of the masterpieces of classic art then daily added to the collections of the time.

The spirit of the early Renaissance which prompted architects like Brunelleschi and Michelozzo, and sculptors like Ghiberti and Donatello, to study the antique in order to assimilate its principles, was life-giving and progressive, but that of the later Renaissance which cast off even the semblance of respect for religion, and prepared the way for a direct imitation of ancient masterpieces, was deadening and destructive. So completely did classic art and literature usurp the first place in men's affections, that few were scandalised when Ficino kept a never-extinguished lamp burning before the bust of Plato, as before that of a saint; when Sigismund Pandolfo dedicated a temple to his concubine Isotta da Rimini, and covered its walls with their interlaced cyphers; when painters represented

the Madonna under the features of a well known courtesan; when the secretary of a pope called Jesus Christ a hero, and the Virgin a goddess, and a sculptor modelled the loves of Leda and the swan among the ornaments of the great doorway of the Basilica dedicated to the chief of the Apostles. These abuses, which would have filled the men of the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth century with horror, and which gradually increased until they roused Savonarola to pour out threatenings of wrath to come, were unknown in Ghiberti's youth, when Florence enjoyed comparative peace, and art grew under the kindly influence of Cosmo de' Medici, who used his great wealth, before and after his accession to power, neither as a means of gratifying his factitious wants, and of dazzling the multitude by display, nor of carrying on political intrigues with a view to self-aggrandizement, but of encouraging men of learning and genius, promoting the discovery of precious manuscripts, gems and coins, and serving the cause of art, in which his taste was exquisite, of letters, in which he was himself deeply versed, and of philosophy, upon which his judgment was as just as it was profound.

Averse to show, simple in his habits, and alive to every form of culture, this noble citizen was eminently qualified to lead in the great intellectual movement which radiated from Florence to every part of Italy. He maintained the most friendly relations with all the eminent artists of his time, and more especially with Donatello, Brunelleschi and Michelozzo, but he seems to have looked with less favour upon Ghiberti, not from want of appreciation of his great abilities, but because he found his disposition less congenial, and also, perhaps, because his course of action did not always satisfy him.

This great artist, Lorenzo di Cione Ghiberti, born in 1378, was the son of Cione di Ser Buonaccorso and Madonna Fiore, whose family removed from Fiesole* to Florence in the thirteenth century, where several of its members from time to time held important positions in the government of the church and the city. When Lorenzo was very young his father died, and his mother soon after married a noted goldsmith, Bartolo di Michieli, who exercised a most important influence upon his stepson's career.

* "Venere ut fertur, Fesulanâ ex arce Ghiberti" (Baldinucci, vol. i. p 348).

That the relation between them was in every respect like that of father and son, is proved by the fact that Lorenzo called himself di Bartolo—that is the son of Bartolo—till he was more than sixty years old, and he would probably never have taken his paternal name had he not been forced to do so in order to clear himself from the stigma of illegitimacy cast at him by his enemies in order to defeat his election to the magistracy.*

In Bartolo's workshop Ghiberti obtained that elementary knowledge of all the arts which was of such infinite advantage to him in after life. To estimate the advantage of such training we must drop our modern ideas of the goldsmith, as one who makes articles for personal adornment and table use out of the precious metals, with but little thought for their artistic beauty. The goldsmith of the Renaissance, on the contrary, had to be proficient in all the arts, in order to satisfy the demands made upon him, for he was called upon to exercise each in his craft. He played the architect in little, when he fashioned niches around the stem of a chalice; he became a sculptor when he modelled images of Saints to fill its niches, or reliefs to adorn the surfaces of its base or supporting shaft; a painter when he enriched it with enamels, and an engraver when he used a sharp metal point to trace figures upon its surface, whose grooved outlines and hatched shadow-lines he afterwards filled with niello paste. Versed in the laws of colour and ornament, master, in short, both theoretically and practically, of all the arts of design, the goldsmith was the best of teachers for artists of every kind, and this explains why so many of the great Italian, German and French architects, sculptors and painters of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries began their education in the goldsmith's workshop. There, dealing with materials whose very nature precluded haste, they acquired those habits of precision, care, and patience which made them what they were. No better example of the effect of such an education could be selected than Lorenzo Ghiberti, whose skill in dealing with the precious metals, and in bronze casting, has probably never been surpassed.

Although his life was to be passed in the exercise of these arts, it was not as goldsmith or sculptor that he first obtained repute, but as painter. In 1399, when the plague broke out in

* Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i. pp. 148 *et seq.* See also Gualandi, fourth series, pp. 17-31. The petition is dated April 27, 1444.

Florence, he went to Rimini with a brother artist to assist him in painting certain frescoes in the palace of Carlo Malatesta, and showed so much ability that he attracted the notice of the prince, who endeavoured to attach him to his service by advantageous offers of advancement and employment, which, as Ghiberti himself tells us,* he would have accepted, had he not received a letter from his stepfather urging his return to Florence, on the ground that the Signory and the Merchants' Guild had invited all Italian artists to compete for a bronze door for the Baptistry. Convinced that this golden opportunity of winning fame ought not to be neglected, Ghiberti with some difficulty obtained permission to leave Rimini, and having entered his name on the list of competitors, was chosen with six other artists to model and cast a bas-relief representing the sacrifice of Isaac, it being understood that the final adjudication would be made to the most meritorious competitor at the end of a year. Of the seven contestants, two were Florentines, Ghiberti and Brunelleschi; two Sienese, Quercia and Valdambrini; two Aretines, Niccolò di Luca Spinelli and Niccolò Lamberti;† and one, Simone, from Colle, a town midway between Florence and Siena.‡ By this selection, which was fairly made in respect to nationality, the competition was

* In his Second Commentary, Magliabecchian library, cl. xvii. cod. 33. *Vide* Cicognara, vol. iv.; *vide* Vasari, vol. i.

† See Appendix, letter K.

‡ Francesco Valdambrini di Domenico da Valdambra, Sienese goldsmith and sculptor, 1401, competed for the Baptistry-gate at Florence; 1412, worked with Quercia upon the Fonte Gaja; 1416, sat in the magisterial body at Siena; mentioned in 1454, when he was sent as Castellano to Lusignano. Niccolò di Luca Spinelli was a brother of Spinello Aretino the painter; Simone da Colle is otherwise unknown. Niccolò di Piero de' Lamberti, called Pela, from Arezzo, is spoken of by Vasari as a scholar of Moccio; which is doubtful. Among his works are two statues of saints in the third storey of Giotto's Campanile, between those by Donatello; the statue of St. Mark in a chapel of the Tribune in the Cathedral at Florence, finished in 1415; the Madonna and Angel above the niche which contains Ghiberti's statue of St. Matthew on the exterior of San Michele; a bas-relief of the Madonna della Misericordia with Saints, outside the church of the Maria della Misericordia at Arezzo, and two statuettes of saints on the façade of the Vescovado. Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 82, gives records of this artist from 1390 to 1407. The last record of him in the books of the Cathedral at Florence is in 1419. Milanesi, ed. Vasari, notes 1 and 2, p. 142, vol. ii, says he was alive in 1444.

limited to Florence and Siena, for although competitors from other parts of Italy presented themselves, none were accepted. When the trial-plates were presented to the judges, they selected those of the two Florentines as the best, and considered them so nearly equal in merit that they were puzzled how to award the prize; but they were rescued from their hesitation by Brunelleschi, who disinterestedly avowed his rival's superiority and withdrew from the field.* Ghiberti owed his victory to his stepfather as much as to his own genius, for during the year of preparation Bartolo had carefully criticized the many designs which he encouraged him to make, and had successively submitted them to the judgment of competent citizens, and strangers of note, before permitting his stepson to cast the one which the majority considered most excellent.

When we compare the trial-plates of Ghiberti and Brunelleschi at the Bargello, we wonder that the judges should have hesitated between them, for while the one is distinguished for clearness of narration, grace of line, and repose, the other is melo-dramatic in conception, and inferior in composition.† Ghiberti's Abraham stands ready to slay his son in obedience to the Divine command, but it is evident that he does so with the hope of respite, although he does not yet see the ram caught in a thicket behind him, which is to serve as a substitute for the submissive Isaac. We note also as a point of excellence, that the servants, and the ass which brought the faggots for the sacrifice, are so skilfully grouped below, that they play their part in the story without distracting attention from the principal group. Brunelleschi's Abraham, unlike that of his rival, is a savage zealot, whose knife is already half buried in the throat of his writhing victim, and who, in his hot haste, does not heed the ram which is placed directly before him, nor the angel, who seizes his wrist to avert his blow, while the ass, and the two servants, each carry on a separate action, and fill up the foreground so obtrusively as

* Nov. 23, 1403. Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i. p. 105.

† Milanesi, ed. Vasari, vol. ii. p. 226, note 1, quotes Cicognara's observation that the rival plate of Brunelleschi being made of several pieces of bronze, proves his ignorance of the art of casting. That of Ghiberti is cast in a single piece of metal.

to divert the eye from the main group. For these reasons we think that his composition is inferior to that of his rival, though both, judged according to the laws of sculpture, may be criticized as too pictorial in treatment.

When on the 23rd of November, 1403, Ghiberti received the commission for his first Baptistry-gates, and prepared to commence them, he little thought that they would not be completed and set up (April 14th, 1424), in the doorway opposite the Cathedral where the gates of Andrea Pisano then stood, until the years which had elapsed since he began them were nearly equal in number to the bas-reliefs with which he had enriched their panels. Twenty represent subjects taken from the History of our Lord, and the remaining eight, the four Evangelists and the four Doctors of the church.

The most remarkable among the compositions are the Annunciation, in which the modest Virgin shelters herself in the presence of the angel beneath a little portico of exquisite design, the Nativity, the Presentation, the Resurrection of Lazarus a perfected Byzantine type, and the Temptation. Of the single figures, all of which are of dignified presence and admirably draped, the finest is perhaps the St. Matthew, who sits writing under the inspiration of one of those exquisite little angels which none but Ghiberti could have fashioned. Had he never lived to make the second gates, which to the world in general are far superior to the first, he would have been known in history as a continuator of the school of Andrea Pisano, enriched with all those added graces which belonged to his own style, and those refinements of technic which the progress made in bronze casting had rendered possible. Before the first gates were completed, Brunelleschi had reduced the laws of perspective to a system and made it applicable to all the Arts. The application of this science to painting simply revolutionized that art, for whereas the scholars of Giotto and Orgagna had painted landscape and architectural backgrounds without any other guide to correctness than the eye, their successors were enabled through Brunelleschi's invention to make perspective foreshortenings based on mathematical laws, and thus represent objects in nature with absolute truth. This was an incalculable service to painters, but to sculptors, whose art admits of no attempt at visual deception, it was a snare, into which Ghiberti and his

followers fell, for by the use of perspective in sculpture they perverted the true character of their art, and gave it that wrong direction which eventually brought it into a perfectly false and vicious condition. The date of Brunelleschi's discovery is approximately fixed by the fact, that while there is no endeavour to use perspective in the reliefs of the first Baptistry-gates, those of the second, begun in 1424, are based upon it; but we are justified in supposing that the science was applied to sculpture some four or five years earlier, as in Donatello's bas-relief of St. George and the Dragon the architectural and landscape accessories are represented in perspective. It speedily became the rage among artists. Paolo Uccello the painter pushed his passion for it to the verge of insanity, and his scholar, the great Mantegna, mastered it only to be mastered by it in turn. Ghiberti caught the fever, and when the Signory showed their appreciation of his first gates by giving him a commission (January 2nd, 1424) for the second, he entered upon the task in the spirit of a painter, with brushes of steel and a canvas of bronze. The subjects which he was to represent in his reliefs had been selected from the Old Testament at the request of the Deputies, by Lionardo Bruni, chancellor of the Republic, a man noted for his judgment and literary ability. In his answer to their letter, Bruni wrote as follows:—"I think that the ten stories which you have directed me to select from the Old Testament should possess capacity for illustration, by which I mean that they should afford opportunity for variety in composition, which is pleasant to the eye, and that they should be not only significant, but remarkable as events. In accordance with these ideas, I have made out the enclosed list. The artist who is to model them should thoroughly understand the meaning of each subject, so that he may fitly represent actors and events; and be gifted with an elevated taste, that he may fitly compose them. Though I have no doubt that the work as I have planned it will prove satisfactory in every respect, still I should greatly like to be near the artist who is to illustrate these Bible incidents, that I might assist him to understand them in all their bearings."

We are not told whether Ghiberti availed himself of Bruni's proffered explanations, but we are quite sure that in regard to treatment he took counsel only of himself. He tells us in his

second commentary that his aim was to imitate nature "to the utmost," and that he "studied her methods so that he might approach her as nearly as possible." "I sought," he says, "to understand how forms strike upon the eye, and how the theoretic part of graphic and pictorial art should be managed. Working with the utmost diligence and care, I introduced into some of my compositions as many as a hundred figures, which I modelled upon different planes, so that those nearest the eye might appear larger, and those more remote smaller in proportion." The skill which Ghiberti displayed in overcoming the almost superhuman difficulties of his arduous task can hardly be estimated. Our wonder at it increases when we see that some of the panels contain compositions which strike the eye at first as units, and yet when analyzed are found to represent four successive stages of action—as for instance the Creation of Adam and Eve, the Temptation, and the Expulsion.

This shows the most consummate knowledge of the art of composition. It is sufficiently difficult to treat one subject with many figures, and give unity of effect to it by inspiring them with a common sentiment, whose strongest expression is manifested in some central point of action about which all turn, and from which everything radiates; but to treat four subjects in one composition so ably, that the four central points of interest shall not only not conflict, but shall even apparently coalesce, is a feat which no artist save Ghiberti has, so far as we know, ever successfully achieved. To show twelve or fourteen heads in graduated perspective upon an inclined plane, and yet keep each person and countenance distinct, it was necessary for him to simulate aerial perspective by gradual diminution of relief from Alto, Mezzo, and Basso, to Stacciato the very flattest possible.* He had also to enrich and occupy space with landscape and architectural backgrounds, calculated to produce picturesque shadows, and this necessitated the working out of these accessories so that they should not be unduly prominent over the figures, a task of extreme difficulty in sculpture, where there is no atmosphere to keep objects in their right places, or difference of colour and tone to give distance to parts. To avoid

* In Stacciato relief the inner parts are little more than drawn, incised or cut in sharply, with no projection even on the most prominent parts.

such insurmountable difficulties, Greek sculptors represented multitudes and armies by a few typical figures, a mode better adapted to their high state of cultivation than such a positive appeal to the senses as Ghiberti made to those of his countrymen in the reliefs of his second gate.

The twenty-four statuettes of prophets and Scriptural personages in niches upon its flat spaces, are gems of art, and the heads of Prophets and Sybils at the angles of each relief no less so. Two other heads are especially interesting as portraits of the sculptor and his stepfather Bartoluccio. To enjoy Ghiberti's compositions fully, we must examine them lovingly and carefully in every particular, for thus only can we fitly appreciate the grace of movement, and the expression of wondering awe displayed by the groups of angels who attend upon the Creator—here floating above His head when He raises Adam from the dust—there sustaining the half-conscious Eve, and again bearing Him in a glory far up into the sky of bronze, where they fade away as if it were of air; thus only can we give due admiration to the beautiful group of Israelitish women and boys bearing away corn from Egypt to feed their famishing countrymen (*see* tailpiece), or to the single figure of Joshua, a pigmy in size, but a giant in majesty of presence, standing beneath the doomed walls of Jericho.

Five years after the gates were set up (1452) they were enriched with gilding, now worn away by time, as we think happily, for, although the effect may have been gorgeous to the eye, the precious metal must have interfered with that clearness of outline so desirable in such a complicated series of compositions. Fit, as Michelangelo said, to be the gates of Paradise by their exceeding beauty, they are historically of great interest, as they represent the main work of a distinguished artist's life, for Ghiberti when he began them was forty-six years of age, and when he finished them he was an old man of seventy-four.* He could have completed them much sooner, had he not at the same time executed many commissions for statues, bas-reliefs and goldsmith's work, and also spent some time at Rome, as we know through his enthusiastic description of a statue which he saw there "in the 400th Olympiad" soon

* The gates were finished in 1447, but they were not gilded until the month of April, 1452.

after it had been dug up in a "Vigna," near San Celso. "No tongue," he says, "can describe the learning and art displayed in it, or do justice to its masterly style." In a similar strain of enthusiasm, characteristic of the time, he dilates upon another antique dug up near Florence, and conjectures, that it "was hidden away, in the spot where it was found, by some gentle spirit in the early days of Christianity, who seeing its perfection and the marvellous genius displayed in it, was so moved to pity, that he had a tomb made, in which he buried it under a stone slab to protect it from injury." "The touch only," he adds, "can discover many of its beauties, which escape the eye in any light." None but a great artist who had made antique marbles the object of close study, and had quickened the fineness of his touch by handling them with enthusiastic tenderness, could have thus developed what may be called a sixth sense. Opportunities for doing so were furnished him by his own collection, which contained many valuable antiques, some of which had been brought expressly for him from Greece. In his statues Ghiberti was by no means so successful as in his bas-reliefs, where his love of detail, richness of invention, and knowledge of perspective found fuller scope for display. The SS. Mathew, John and Stephen, which he cast in bronze for Or San Michele, are less attractive than the beautiful niches in which they stand, though the first is a well-draped, well-posed and commanding figure, and the St. Stephen is simple and individual.*

The two bronze bas-reliefs in the panels of the Baptistry font at Siena, which represent our Lord's Baptism and St. John brought before Herod, are examples of the transition period between our artist's first and second manner.† In the first, where he made use (as in the reliefs of his second gates) of progressively flattened relief to unite the principal group with the angels in the background and thus attain aerial perspective, the two women standing on the shore, form an exquisite group, and in their graceful attitudes and elegantly disposed draperies

* The St. Matthew—finished in 1422—was made for the Guild of the Cambiatori; the St. John for that of the Calimala in 1414; and the St. Stephen for the Arte della Lana between 1419-1422

† Ordered in 1417, and finished in 1427 (Milanesi, *Doc. San.* vol. ii. pp. 89 *et seq.*)

show the fruit of Ghiberti's loving study of the antique (*see* woodcut). The second relief, which represents St. John pointing to heaven as he is dragged by the soldiers before Herod, who sits aloft upon a curule chair absorbed in consultation with a sybilline-looking woman, is remarkably dramatic and effective.

The eight letters relating to these bas-reliefs, which Ghiberti wrote from Florence between 1424 and 1427 explain his long delay in finishing them.* In the first he says that the pest had frightened away all his assistants, and obliged him to take refuge at Venicé, in the second he excuses himself on the ground that he has been obliged to dismiss his ungrateful workmen, who have repaid benefits by injuries, and in the rest he speaks of his progress, of the cost of gilding the bas-reliefs, and announces their completion.†

Among Ghiberti's minor works are several grave slabs which mark the resting-places of distinguished Florentines; such as that of Fra Leonardi Stagi (d. 1424), General of the Dominicans (before the high altar of Sta. Maria Novella), which was ordered at the public expense in recognition of his important diplomatic services; that of Ludovico degli Obizzi (at Sta. Croce), who was Captain of the Florentine troops under Carlo



ON FONT AT SIENA.

* *Documenti dell' Arte Sanesi*, vol. ii. pp. 119-125.

† The bas-reliefs upon the Siena font are six in number, of which two are by Turino di Sano and his son Giovanni (ordered in 1417), two by Ghiberti, one by Quercia, and one by Donatello. Vasari is mistaken in saying that Il Vecchietta had one of the reliefs assigned to him. (*See* Vasari, Ed. Le Monnier, vol. ii. p. 109, note 2.)

Malatesta, in the war against Pope Martin V. and Filippo Maria Visconti;* and that in the same church of the upright and patriotic Gonfaloniere of Florence, Bartolomeo Valori, son of that Nicolo di Taldo, whom the people so trusted that in moments of danger they were wont to say, "God and Taldo will protect us."†

In 1446 Ghiberti finished a bronze "Cassa" or reliquary for the Cathedral at Florence, to contain the bones of St. Zenobius, and adorned it with a beautiful relief upon its front representing the miraculous restoration of a dead child to life by the Saint, in the presence of his widowed mother and a crowd of spectators. In the centre lies the body, over which the spirit hovers in the likeness of a little child. The story is exquisitely told, the kneeling figures are full of feeling, the bystanders of sympathy, and the vanishing lines of the perspective are managed with wonderful skill, so as to lead the eye from the principal group, through the nearer and more distant spectators, to the gates of the far-off city. Two other miracles of the Saint are portrayed on the ends of the "Cassa," and at the back there are six angels in relief, sustaining a garland, within which is an inscription commemorative of this holy and learned man, who abjured Paganism in his early youth, bestowed his private fortune upon the poor, and was made one of the seven deacons of the church by Pope Damasus.‡

Our account of Ghiberti would be incomplete without some mention of him as a goldsmith, although unfortunately we cannot point to tangible proofs of that consummate skill, which we are warranted in believing him to have had. Cellini, who was the very best of judges, says of him in his Treatise upon

* This slab was designed but not executed by Ghiberti.

† Having been a firm friend of the deposed Pope John XXIII., Bartolomeo inherited from him a legacy of two thousand golden florins, spent the last days of his life in the convent of Santa Croce, where he studied the Scriptures, and, as he himself tells us, strove "to learn how to die" (Litta, *Famiglie celebri*, vol. ii. Article "Valori").

‡ In 1428 Ghiberti cast a small "Cassa" to hold the relics of SS. Proteus, Hyacinthus, and Nemesis, for the Monastero degli Angeli. It is now in the Bargello. The lid is enriched with arabesques, and the front is decorated with flying angels, like those at the back of the "Cassa" of St. Zenobius, holding a laurel crown, within which is an inscription.

the goldsmith's art, "He was truly a goldsmith, whose forte lay in the art of casting minute works, for although he sometimes worked on a large scale, it is evident that he was then less in his element." In his second commentary, Ghiberti mentions among his chief works as a goldsmith, the mitre which he made for Pope Martin V. (1419), soon after his elevation to the Papacy, covered with leaves of gold, between which were introduced many little figures in the round, and a cope button, adorned with a figure of our Lord pronouncing the benediction. Nearly twenty-years later (1439), when Pope Eugenius IV. presided over the great council held at Sta. Maria Novella to heal the schism between the Greek and Latin churches, Ghiberti made a second mitre, adorned with precious stones worth thirty-eight thousand ducats, enriched with many exquisite ornaments, and surmounted by groups of our Lord with angels, and of the Virgin similarly placed and attended. With this tiara upon his head, Pope Eugenius eclipsed not only the Church dignitaries over whom he presided, but even the Greek Emperor John Paleologus, "who wore a ruby larger than a pigeon's egg" * upon his pointed white hood. In the same commentary Ghiberti describes his setting an antique intaglio belonging to Giovanni de' Medici, between the open wings of a golden dragon, crouching with bent head and slightly raised neck in a bed of ivy leaves.†

Much as we know of Ghiberti's artistic career, we know very little of his personal character, and that little, as displayed to us in the story of his conduct to Brunelleschi, is unfortunately not to his credit. We remember (though he would seem to have forgotten) how generously the great architect behaved when they competed for the gate of the Baptistry, how much assistance he gave him in his work, and how he taught him to apply perspective to sculpture, and thus enabled him to perfect his peculiar style. Despite these obligations, Ghiberti solicited and obtained an appointment as joint architect with Brunelleschi of the Cupola of the Cathedral, although he knew himself to

* Muratori, vol. xix. p. 982.

† Both mitres were probably despoiled of their jewels and melted down by Cellini for Clement VII., 1527, in the days of his dire necessity; while the intaglio, with many other treasures of the Palazzo Medici, may have been carried off by the French after the flight of Piero de' Medici

be utterly unfit to act with him, and during his six years of office perpetually endeavoured to surprise Brunelleschi's secrets, and to make use of the models which he had constructed after years of thought and study. Seeing no other way of getting rid of him, Brunelleschi feigned illness and took to his bed, with the certainty that when left to himself Ghiberti would give convincing proof of his incompetency and be forced to resign. The expected result soon followed, and Brunelleschi was re-instated as sole architect of the building for life, with an increased salary. We are loath to add, that after being thus publicly put to shame, Ghiberti insisted that the monthly salary, which had been promised him for a further term of three years, should be paid to his account. His defective education as an architect is proved by his manuscript *Treatise on Architecture*, an incomplete fragment, replete with false ostentation, which after Ghiberti's death became the property of his grandson, Buonaccorso di Vittorio, who also inherited his precious collection of antique marbles.*

In the latter part of his life (1452) Ghiberti was selected chief magistrate of Florence, and in acknowledgment of his signal merit and services as an artist, was presented by the Signory with a farm near the abbey of Settimo. He died of fever at the age of seventy-five, on Dec. 1st, 1455, and was buried in Sta. Croce, in a now forgotten spot, for Florence erected over it no monument to his memory.

His son Vittorio, sculptor and goldsmith, who assisted him in casting his second bronze gates, was an artist of distinguished ability, who probably made that very beautiful bronze altar in the Bargello, which has been generally attributed to Desiderio da Settignano.† Among his scholars and assistants were Michelozzo, Lamberti, Vittorio Ghiberti, and Antonio Pollajuolo who completed the bronze frieze of leaves, fruits, flowers, and birds around the Baptistry-gates of Andrea Pisano. We have already said that Ghiberti

* Codice 2, classe xvii. Biblioteca Magliabecchiana. Upon a loose sheet of paper in the MS. Baron Rumohr has summed up his reasons for believing in its authenticity, and given his opinion of it as corroborating Vasari's concerning the incompleteness of Ghiberti's training as an architect.

† Gaye, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 108, note.

should be rather called a goldsmith and a painter, than a sculptor, as he delighted in rich detail and elaborate ornament, excelled in modelling small figures suitable for work in the precious metals, and handled his chisel like a brush upon marble or bronze. We must regard his bas-reliefs as pictures if we would estimate them fairly, and although it is vain to deny that in this light they are from their very nature necessarily incomplete, their beauty entitles them to be judged by an exceptional standard. Regarded, however, from the point of view of their effect upon others who, without his genius followed in his footsteps, Ghiberti must be judged as an innovator whose illegitimate use of pictorial effects in sculpture formed a dangerous precedent. The mischief which he wrought would have been far greater than it proved, had it not been for Donatello, whose more just perception of the true nature of sculpture counterbalanced, and to some extent neutralised the effect of his example.

DONATELLO,

the greatest of Tuscan sculptors before Michelangelo, was the son of Niccolò di Betto Bardi, a wool merchant, who lived at Florence in the district of S. Pietra in Gattolino near the Porta Romana. His mother's name was Orsa, his sister's Tita, and his brother's Andrea.* Donato, as he was baptized, though he is generally known by his pet name Donatello, was born in 1386, and early apprenticed to a goldsmith.† This training, whose comprehensive nature we have already pointed out, his early intimacy with Brunelleschi, and his visit to Rome at the age of fifteen, are the three important facts connected with Donatello's youth which more than any others shaped his destiny. Ten years his senior, Brunelleschi was not only his friend and companion but also his Mentor. Of the two, Donatello had the most artistic temperament. He was a creature of impulse, sensitive in the highest degree, full

* Semper's Donatello, p. 1.

† Semper, *op. cit.*, p. 6, says that Donatello probably learned the goldsmith's art from Cione di ser Buonaccorso, Ghiberti's father; but as we are not sure that Cione was a goldsmith, and as he must have died when Donatello was a child, it seems more reasonable to suppose that Ghiberti's step-father Bartolo was Donatello's master if either.

of enthusiasms, "the best of companions and the warmest of friends;" while Brunelleschi, on the other hand, had a clear and comprehensive intellect, and scientific rather than æsthetic tendencies. They met on the common ground of an enthusiastic love of the antique, which is illustrated in Brunelleschi's life by the story of his walk from Florence to Cortona, to see an antique sarcophagus of whose beauties he had heard from his friend. The candour of Donatello's nature, and his willingness to submit to just criticism, are equally well exemplified by his conduct in the case of the Crucifix which he modelled and Brunelleschi criticised as ignoble. Challenged to do better, the latter modelled a Christ more in harmony with his ideal, and Donatello on seeing it frankly acknowledged its superiority by exclaiming, "Compared with this, my Christ is but a crucified peasant." * The third important fact in Donatello's early life, his visit to Rome, was determined by Brunelleschi's failure as a competitor for the Baptistery gates. This decided him to renounce Sculpture as a profession for Architecture, and as he could study its principles nowhere so well as at Rome, he went there in 1401 with Donatello for his companion. At that time, and for the next nineteen years, until Pope Martin V. assumed the reins of government, the Eternal City was in a constant state of disturbance. Rival popes contended for the chair of St. Peter, war was waged with Ladislaus King of Naples, who seized the city and expelled Innocent VII., robbers and assassins infested the streets, and desolation sat enthroned upon the seven hills, which were overgrown with rank vegetation, overtopped by solitary cloisters and churches, and peopled with fever-stricken inhabitants staggering under the triple load of war, pestilence and famine. No wonder that those who observed our two Florentines unceasingly wandering among the ruins, took them for treasure hunters, as indeed they were, though for treasures of another sort than those which they were supposed to be seeking. Young, and absorbed in their work, they probably thought little of danger

* Donatello's crucifix is at Santa Croce, in the Cappella de' Bardi. That of Brunelleschi at Sta. Maria Novella. The crucifix at S. Giorgio Maggiore at Venice, has been attributed to Brunelleschi as well as to Michelozzo.

of any sort, and protected by their apparent insignificance pursued their occupation without let or hindrance. By spending half of each week in doing goldsmith's work, they gained enough to live without remunerative labour during the other half, during which time Brunelleschi measured cornices, architraves, pilasters, and columns, investigated Roman laws of proportion, and classified the orders of architecture, while Donatello made drawings of the bas-reliefs, coins and gems, which were turned up in the course of their joint excavations, or came otherwise under his notice.

In this way the two friends spent four, or perhaps five, profitable years, and returned to Florence laden with the fruits of their labour in 1405 or early in 1406, when Donatello was twenty or twenty-one years old, and fully equipped for the work which he was to do in life. Let us consider what it was to be, before describing it in detail. Up to his time, that is throughout the middle ages, sculpture being limited to structural decoration through statues and statuettes, bas-reliefs and ornaments, was, in fact, what is properly called monumental, or in other words, strictly connected with and subordinate to architecture, as it had been in ancient Egypt. From this state of dependence Donatello partially emancipated it by severing the connection altogether as in such single statues as his David and his St. John, or by giving the figures which he sculptured to fill the niches of some great building, the self-dependence and individuality of his St. George. Removed from the niche in which it stands and placed upon a pedestal, this statue would not produce the effect of a disjointed member of the architectural unit to which it really belongs, as it is complete in itself—the product of an independent art.

While Donatello thus restored sculpture to the double position which it had occupied in Greece, he also brought one of its branches, bas-relief, to a pitch of perfection which it had never before attained. Both Greek and Roman art furnish admirable examples of high and low relief, and the oldest Egyptian work about the doorways of pyramids and tombs contains specimens of the flattest and most delicate relief, but only in the school of Donatello do we see single works in which the sculptor ranges through the entire gamut of relief.

In them the highest and the lowest surfaces may be compared to the extremes of light and shade in a picture, which are united by delicately graded middle tones. These can only be followed through their subtle transitions by passing from the extremes through the variations which lie between them. To attain perfect gradation of tone is comparatively easy with a brush, but with a chisel it is so difficult that it has only been successfully done by Donatello and his followers, whose treatment of bas-relief is so manifestly pictorial, that it may seem inconsistent to praise in their works what we have blamed in those of Ghiberti. It is, however, only necessary to compare one of the relief-panels of his second gate, with Donatello's Christ in the Sepulchre at South Kensington for instance, to see that the plastic character of the latter is retained through the flat and simple treatment of its relief-planes, while in the former all plastic character is lost, because the figures in the foreground are treated in the round, and the planes between them and the extreme background are curved. Furthermore, Donatello tells his story on the Greek principle of conciseness, while Ghiberti introduces a crowd of actors upon his mimic stage.

As in ornament applied to sculpture mastery over relief is absolutely essential, Donatello who was always moderate in his use of decorative material, may, in consideration of the perfection to which he brought all kinds of relief, be regarded as the source of that excellence which ornament attained in the later Renaissance. In Gothic architecture open work tracery is the staple of ornament, while in that of the Renaissance bas-relief takes its place. The skilful use made of it by Donatello and his followers is such, that within any range of vision the design is clear and significant. At a distance the eye seizes the symmetrically disposed masses, on a nearer approach it separates them into their component parts, and on close examination enters into the consideration of surface treatment and minute detail. As studied upon church portals, and the flat spaces of niches and monuments, Renaissance ornament appears severely simple in its earlier periods, but it gradually grows richer in character, and in the latest period, when all structural form disappears under a bewildering mass of vegetable and animal forms, like Tarpeia beneath the golden collars and bracelets of the Sabine soldiers, becomes extravagant and confused. Bucranes, masks,

garlands and children bearing festoons, derived from the antique, are used in early Renaissance ornament, and the child, which plays an important part in its decorative scheme, is nowhere else treated with such special charm. In Greek and Roman ornament it stood for the infant Bacchus, for Eros, either as God of Love or as a funeral genius with reversed torch, or it represented one of the numberless genii who people space, or was symbolic of the soul. In Christian art it became representative of the Infant Jesus, whose image was reproduced by every sculptor from Niccola Pisano to Michelangelo, and by every painter from Cimabue to Raphael; but even if this had not recommended the child for use as a decorative element, it would have been adopted for its grace and naive beauty, and because its unaccentuated forms harmonise so well with the fresh loveliness of plants and flowers. In Donatello's scheme of ornament, where vegetable forms have little place, classical details, such as bucranes, masks, festoons, and children (putti) abound, and admirably did he use them, thanks to his skill in relief and his ability as a draughtsman. On this latter point we have the testimony of Vasari, who says that he drew on paper with suprising ease and boldness, and that of Gaucicus (*De Sculptura*), who tells us that in instructing his scholars he laid the utmost stress upon drawing, using the word as representing the essence of sculpture. If we were asked to state Donatello's special excellence, we should say the apprehension of character. For this he had an intense feeling, which he expressed with such energy and in a manner so peculiar, that his works are not so generally attractive as those of many less individual artists. The taste for them must be cultivated with faith in the result, and it will be found that these thorn-guarded roses when grasped, are of richer colour and sweeter perfume than other flowers which may be handled with impunity. Realistic they are in the nobler sense, that is they are true to nature without being slavish copies of nature, like the works of Denner and Seyboldt, or those of that worst of all schools of sculpture—the modern Italian. Between the Attic and the Florentine schools, which as Mr. Ruskin says are “consummate in themselves, the origin of what is best in others, and of equal rank, as essen-

tially original and independent," there is this difference which makes the modern inferior to the ancient, namely, that while the latter discriminated between plastic and non-plastic elements in nature, and deliberately discarded those which were unfit, or unessential, the former dealt with the special rather than the generic, and represented the effect of passing emotion upon the human countenance, often to the verge of grimace. In his haste to seize and render all facts in nature, Donatello often culled weeds as well as roses, and impelled by an imperious necessity to give utterance to the voice within him, yielded to its pressure without reflection. He, however, condoned these defects by the strength of his assertions, the fire of his style, and the transcendent ease with which his skilful hand traced flowing lines of unsurpassed delicacy and freedom upon the marble. As a first-rate example of his peculiar style we may cite the Entombment, a bronze plaque picked out with gold, in the Ambras collection at Vienna.* From the little child in the foreground who turns frightened and crying to his father, to the old woman who throws up her arms in wild despair, all the actors in the sad scene are animated by a common grief, which finds its culminating expression in the Madonna, who taxed beyond her strength, falls fainting into the arms of Mary Magdalen. Certainly no composition could have greater unity of feeling than we find here, and we may say that it could hardly be more intensely expressed, so intensely indeed, that beauty of line and grace of attitude are sacrificed to it, but these were matters of little consequence to the sculptor, in comparison with the end which to him was all important, namely, realistic truth. The Donatello who had studied and loved the antique shows himself in the beautiful bas-relief upon the sarcophagus, but the men and women gathered round it with shrieks and gesticulations, are not Greeks who restrain the expression of their feelings within artistic limits, but Italians who give natural vent to the emotions which agitate their souls.

From this bas-relief, which undoubtedly belongs to a late period of Donatello's career, let us turn to his works of an earlier time, the Crucifix at Sta. Croce, the wooden statue of the Magdalen in the Baptistry, and the marble St. John

* See Appendix, letter L

at the Bargello. We have already referred to the first as the object of Brunelleschi's criticism, on the ground of its ignoble realism. It is indeed, as Donatello himself acknowledged it to be, "a crucified peasant," the express image of an ordinary human being dying a most painful death, without any sign of that triumph of the spirit over bodily pangs which we should look for in a representation of "The Crucified," but as a conception of death by crucifixion, so far as we can conceive such a death, it is wonderfully true to nature, considering that the sculptor can never have witnessed the reality. If, as seems probable, this Crucifix was the work of a boy under twenty years of age, it displays a knowledge which may fairly be called miraculous. The same may be said of the wooden Magdalen at the Baptistery, an undated but certainly a very early work, which represents the effects of fastings and weepings upon the human frame. In the wasted figure, half hidden under a mass of dishevelled locks, in the attenuated limbs which seem hardly able to sustain even so frail a burden, Donatello realized his vivid conception of one who had long lived on the coarsest and scantiest of food, and snatched rare and uneasy slumbers stretched upon the hard rock. The marble statue of St. John, in the Bargello museum, represents the same theme—famine, but in a less repulsive light, inasmuch as the spirit triumphs over the body. The figure is a gaunt skeleton, but the face is lighted up with a wild fanaticism, and the lips are half opened to utter the prophetic message which it is their appointed office to deliver. As these three works, the Crucifix, the Magdalen, and the St. John show no sign of classic influence upon their author's mind, it seems reasonable to believe that they were made before Donatello went to Rome and there came under the spell of antiquity. An important question is connected with his return to Florence, about which we would say a few words. Was it after his return from Rome, or before he went there, that he became an inmate of the Martelli palace? We are inclined to think after, rather than before, despite Vasari's statement that he resided there from his boyhood by the kind permission of Ruberto Martelli, for the following reason, that the first so-named member of the family, was seventy-three years old when Donatello was born, and the second, twenty-two years his junior,

was the friend of Cosmo de' Medici, Pater-Patriæ, the kind patron of Donatello, Brunelleschi and Michelozzo. It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that he is the Ruberto designated by Vasari as the patron of Donatello, who perhaps did not go to live at the Palazzo Martelli until after the death of his mother (1427).

Among the earliest works of Donatello after his return to Florence were two marble figures of Prophets for the second northern portal of the Cathedral (November 23, 1406), which may still be seen on either side of its gable, and a bas-relief in sandstone of the Annunciation, for the Cavalcanti chapel at Sta. Croce. This latter work was executed for Bernardo Cavalcanti, one of the three commissioners who represented the Republic on the entrance of the Florentine army into Pisa, which event it was intended to memorialize. The Virgin rising from her seat, shrinks modestly before the angel, who kneels before her in a graceful posture. The recess in which these figures are placed, with its pannelled background and chair of antique design, is formed into a sort of chamber by pilasters, with capitals composed of two masks, a rich entablature covered with classic ornaments, and a base decorated with a winged wreath.

As it would be impossible in a general history like the present to describe, or even enumerate, all the works of so prolific an artist as Donatello, we must content ourselves with speaking of some of the most important, grouped together without regard to chronological sequence, when as is the case with the statues of SS. Peter, Mark, and George, they belong to the same building.

The first of these was ordered by the guild of the butchers in 1408; the second by that of the linendrapers in 1411, and the third by that of the armourers, about 1416. Saints Peter and Mark are well draped and carefully modelled figures, whose extremities, and especially the hands, are treated with elegance. Michelangelo bore testimony to the earnest character of the latter, by the rather negative praise that "no one could refuse to believe the gospel when preached by such an honest looking man," but if he said anything, or did we know what he said, about the St. George, we should doubtless find in his words a warmer glow of feeling, as it is remarkable for qualities which

he could not have failed to appreciate. These qualities are well summed up in these words of Vasari: "The figure of St. George is armed and full of life. The beauty of youth is in the face, resolution and courage in the weapons; a terrible vivacity and living action permeates the marble." The saint, who stands with erect head and piercing glance, as if about to turn upon a deadly enemy, with one hand resting on the top of an oblong shield, and the other hanging straight at his side, shows that cool resolve which ensures triumph in every line of his figure and in every part of his limbs. Even the slightly compressed fingers of the right hand express a dominant thought. The base of the beautiful Gothic niche is adorned with a bas-relief of the fight between St. George and the Dragon, in which Cleodolinda, who watches its issue, is draped with antique elegance, and the architectural and landscape accessories are treated with masterly freedom. As a treatment of the subject, this relief is in sculpture what Tintoretto's picture at the National Gallery is in painting—unsurpassed and unsurpassable.

Donatello was assisted by the distinguished Florentine architect Michelozzo Michelozzi in three of his most important works, namely, the tomb of Pope John XXIII. for the Baptistery at Florence (1426), that of Cardinal Brancacci for the church of S. Angelo a Nilo at Naples (1427), and that of Bartolomeo Aragazzi, for the parish church of Montepulciano (1427–29). The first is historically interesting as the last resting-place of the anti-pope who was deposed by the Council of Constance, imprisoned at Heidelberg, and pardoned by Pope Martin V., by whose election the council put an end to the schism which had long divided the Church.* He died at Florence in 1419, leaving twenty thousand florins, of which one thousand were spent by his executors upon his tomb, which consists of a naturalistic and unflattered sepulchral effigy lying upon a couch of gilded bronze, under a lunette containing a bas-relief of the Madonna and Child with angels. Three niches upon its

* Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici (father of Cosmo), had gained immense sums by banking operations during the Council of Constance, when he lent money to the Pope; from this, perhaps, arose the story, that Pope John, in gratitude for his deliverance from prison, which, according to one account had been brought about by Cosmo de' Medici, left him heir to an immense fortune. His will, however, proves that he made no such bequest (*Cantu, St. degl' Italiani*, vol. ii. p. 967).

base are filled with statuettes of Hope and Charity by Donatello, and of Faith by Michelozzo. The epithet "quondam Papa" in the inscription so offended Martin V., that he demanded its removal, but the Chief magistrate refused, saying "quod scripsi, scripsi."

Hardly had our two sculptors finished this tomb when they began to work upon that of Cardinal Brancacci,* the compatriot and warm partizan of Pope John, who was crowned by him at Bologna, and whom he served as vicar and legate at Naples, where many years before his death, which took place at Rome at an advanced age, he founded the hospital and church of St. Angelo a Nilo,† in which he lies buried. His monument stands within an arched recess, from the top of which falls a heavy curtain, held back by two mourning genii, who look sadly down upon his sepulchral effigy. It lies upon a sarcophagus supported upon three full length female figures, which has a relief of the Madonna enthroned and surrounded by angels sculptured upon its front in that delicate sort of relief called *Stiacciato*, which though scarcely raised above the surface, varies by almost imperceptible gradations, and appears drawn rather than chiselled upon the marble. The great medallists of this period, Pisanello, Matteo de' Pasti, and Sperandio, managed it with the utmost skill in little, but Donatello alone attempted it on a large scale. Other Renaissance tombs in Italy are more refined in detail, and more elegant in design than this, but none perhaps at once so impressive and affecting.‡

While working on it at Pisa, Donatello and Michelozzo were commissioned by Bartolomeo Aragazzi, the learned secretary of Pope Martin V., to sculpture his own monument for the parish church of Montepulciano, upon which extraordinary piece of vainglory Lionardo Bruni thus comments in one of his

* "Like Saul, his stature was greater than that of most men, and as his noble and great mind fully corresponded to his physical development, he was highly esteemed among the cardinals of the time" (*Cardella, Memorie dei Cardinali*, vol. ii. p. 304).

† Founded in 1385. The cardinal died in 1427. (*Napoli, Guida degli Scienziati*, vol. i. p. 385.)

‡ This monument was commissioned by Cosmo de' Medici, the cardinal's executor. Donatello tells us in a letter (published by Gaye), that he was to be paid 850 florins, including the expense of its transportation from Pisa (where it was made) to Naples.

letters. "Who that trusted in his own fame ever thought of erecting a monument to himself? * Not Cæsar, nor Alexander, nor Cyrus who ordered that his body should be buried in the earth since no more noble place for its reception could be found than that which produced flowers, fruits, and gems." In the same letter Bruni tells us that while on a journey in the district of Arezzo, he overtook the carts on which the Aragazzi monument was being conveyed to Montepulciano. The heavily laden team had stuck fast in the mud, and its driver seeing that the efforts of his panting oxen availed not to extricate it, gave vent to his feelings in a more than muttered wish that the gods would damn all poets past and future. The wish was in some measure gratified long after the poet's monument had been set up in its destined place, for when the church was rebuilt it was taken down and partially destroyed. Some fragments saved from its ruins were afterwards placed in different parts of the building, such as the sepulchral effigy, an alto-relievo of God the Father in the act of blessing, a part of the base, now incorporated in the high altar, statues of Faith and Fortitude, and two bas-reliefs of exceeding beauty, in Donatello's very best style.† One of them represents the Madonna with the infant Christ, who, looking smilingly down upon the kneeling donor, rests his foot upon the shoulder of one of the three children who kneel before him. Four persons, doubtless members of the Aragazzi family, stand near the throne on which sits the Madonna, behind whose head two little angels hold a garland. The composition is admirable, the treatment of surface masterly, the children are winning and graceful, and the Infant Saviour is full of tenderness and charm. The other relief represents Aragazzi and the three children, together with an old woman whom he takes by the hand while he gives the other to a youth who is accompanied by a monk. These subjects evidently represent incidents in Aragazzi's life of which no account has been preserved.

The reader will perhaps remember that Jacopo della Quercia

* L. Bruni (*Ep.* v. vol. ii. lib. vi. p. 45). The Romans often did so, as the letters V. F., "vivus fecit," and V. S. P., "vivus sibi posuit," in inscriptions show.

† See page 110.

received a commission which he never executed for a bronze bas-relief of the Feast of Herod to decorate the Font in the Baptistry of Siena, and that in 1427 it was given to Donatello, who modelled the highly dramatic relief of this subject which now fills one of its panels.* Sitting at a table with guests, whose gestures betoken their sympathy with his feelings, Herod shrinks back with horror from the head of St. John, which a kneeling soldier offers to him. Behind them rise the prison walls, resting upon arches, through one of which the gaoler is seen in the act of consigning the Saint's head to an attendant. Technically speaking, the surface is treated in a series of flat planes of graduated thickness with the sculptor's accustomed skill.†

Vasari tells us that Donatello was called to Rome early in the year 1438 to consult with his apocryphal brother Simone‡ about the grave slab of Pope Martin V.,§ then about to be cast in bronze for the Basilica of the Lateran, and that happening to arrive there shortly before the coronation of the Emperor Sigismund, he co-operated with Simone in planning the decorations of the city for that occasion, which were on a scale of great magnificence. As this was the year of Cosmo de' Medici's exile, Donatello probably remained at Rome until his friend and patron had been brought back in triumph to Florence.

* J. C. Robinson mentions a relief of the same subject in the Musée Wicar at Lille. It is in very flat relief, like the Charge to Peter in the Kensington Museum, No. 7,629. The grave slab of Giovanni Pecci, bishop of Grosseto, which was cast by Donatello about 1427, is in the Cathedral of Siena, before the chapel of San Ansano.

† Finished before Oct. 8th, 1437.

‡ The inventory of Donatello's property, published by Gaye in the *Carteggio*, settles the fact that Donatello never had a brother of this name. The Simone referred to by Vasari was either Simone di Giovanni Ghini, a Florentine goldsmith, born in 1407, who after 1427 was employed at Rome by Popes Eugenius IV., Nicholas V., Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV. (see *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, by M. Eugène Müntz, p. 56), or Simone di Nanni Ferrucci, of Fiesole, father of the sculptor Francesco Ferrucci. Of the works attributed to Simone by Vasari, Milanesi (ed. Vasari, vol. ii. p. 459, note 1), thinks those in bronze are probably by Ghini, and those in marble by Ferrucci.

§ M. Müntz (*op. cit.*) says, a modern inscription published by M. de Reumont (*Gesch. der Stadt Rom*, vol. iii. p. 526), shows that the grave slab of Martin V. was cast in 1443.

The friendly relations maintained between this merchant prince and the great artists of his time were especially useful to him in Donatello's case, as his advice was needed in selecting works of art for the Medici collections, and his skill in restoring such mutilated antiques as came into Cosmo's possession. From him Donatello received commissions for medallion copies of eight antique gems to be set up in the cortile of the Medici Palace, and for a charming bronze statue of David, now in the Bargello Museum, which is one of the best examples of the way in which an artist of original genius can be influenced by the antique, and yet preserve his individuality intact. When Donatello modelled it he must have come straight from the Medici Palace, where Greek gems and statues had flashed something of their spirit into his brain. The broad-brimmed shepherd's hat which overshadows features of an unusually classical type, recalls the Petasos of Hermes; the bodily forms give evidence of an attempt to idealize through selection, and the body is nude, as befits a statue conceived in an antique spirit. With a stone from the brook in the hand which rests upon his hip, and with the great sword with which he has cut off the head of his giant enemy in the other, the Jewish shepherd boy modestly waits to receive the guerdon of praise and gratitude from those whom he has saved. Unlike his St. George, who stands firmly resting equally upon both feet like a statue of Polyclete, Donatello's David is Praxitelean in outline, for the weight of the body is thrown upon the right leg, and the pose is relaxed and graceful. As this statue is classical in spirit, so are its accessories. Nothing indeed could be more so than the little bas-relief, upon the side of Goliath's helmet, of children dragging a triumphal car, excepting perhaps another bronze relief by Donatello at the Bargello, which represents Bacchus in triumph stretched upon a car and holding a little satyr above his head, while one "amorino" pushes it, two of his brethren sit upon the pole, two drag it, and twelve with clashing cymbals and trailing bunches of grapes, bring up the rear with dance and song. Sometimes, as in the bronze patera or mirror from the Martelli Palace in the Kensington Museum, Donatello worked so completely in the spirit of the antique that we are in doubt whether the work is original or a copy from some ancient gem. The Silenus and the Bacchante,

the mask, the tablet with its Latin inscription, the rhyton, the thyrsus, the trophies, the terminal figure, the damascene work and the foliated ornaments in gold and silver, are worthy of the antique, and in point of workmanship challenge comparison with bronzes of any period.

The leading characteristics of Donatello as a sculptor have been pointed out in the foregoing pages, with the important exception of his singular ability in determining the finish and general treatment necessary to give a statue the best effect with regard to its greater or less distance from the eye. This requires great judgment, and long experience. A highly finished work may be regarded as a masterpiece in the studio, and become an absolute failure when raised to a height of thirty or more feet in the air, or vice versâ, as Phidias proved in his contest with Alcamenes, and as Donatello proved by a statue of David, known from its bald head as *Il Zuccone*, which he made for a niche in the third story of the Campanile at Florence.* Treated with the utmost breadth of form and drapery, it was all but incomprehensible to those who saw it in Donatello's studio, though when it was set in its appointed place it won universal admiration. The bas-reliefs of singing and dancing boys at the Bargello, which Donatello sculptured for an organ balustrade in the Cathedral, form another instance in point. As seen in their present position they suffer greatly from proximity to the spectator, while those by Luca della Robbia in the same museum, which were made for a companion balustrade, gain proportionately, but if both were raised to the height at which they were intended to be seen, there can be no doubt as to which would produce the best effect.

The beautiful bas-reliefs of dancing children upon the pulpit outside the Cathedral at Prato (1434) may be cited as another instance of Donatello's skilful adaptation of technic to locality. Here he had to make a complicated series of figures on different planes, to be seen at a considerable distance, and this

* Of the four statues in niches in this storey of the Campanile, three are by Donatello, namely David, Jeremiah, and St. John the Baptist. The fourth is by Giovanni di Bartolo, called Rosso, who made the Brenzoni monument in S. Fermo Maggiore at Verona, and perhaps the sculptures of the great portal of S. Niccolò at Tolentino in 1431. (Milanesi, ed. Vasari, vol. ii. p. 404, note 2.)

he accomplished by cutting the outlines of those in the foreground so sharply that they throw clear shadows, which falling upon the figures in flatter relief separate the two, so that the eye can follow every sinuous line with ease, and yet find no confusion to mar its delight. To protect the relief-surfaces from possible injury, their level is kept below that of the cornice and pilasters of the pulpit, which being set against an angle of the building, projects from the wall into the piazza. Where, as in his group of Judith and Holofernes at Florence,* Donatello, applying the same principle to figures in the round,



kept their extremities within their bounding lines, a certain stiffness and want of ease strikes us, as if he had been fettered by the attempt. This may, however, be partially accounted for by the fact that the endeavour to group figures of large size was new to him. So far as we know he never repeated it, feeling, doubtless, that his strength lay elsewhere, and choosing wisely to do that which he could do best. In that

* In the Loggia de' Lanzi since 1504. After the expulsion of Piero de' Medici, it was taken from the Palazzo de' Medici to the Ringhiera of the Palazzo Vecchio, and set up with the inscription, "Exemplum sal. pub. vives ponere, 1495," as a warning to tyrants.

best we should certainly include the statue and bust of St. John at the Martelli Palace; a profile head of St. Cecilia in "pietra serena" which worthily embodies Dante's description of Beatrice "walking clothed in humility amidst the hum of praise;" and an exquisite profile bust of the youthful St. John in the Bargello Museum, in which we are at a loss to know what most to admire, the modelling of the cheek and jaw, the expression of the half-open mouth, or the treatment of the hair, whose wayward growth and silken texture are rendered with unsurpassed truth and skill.

We would gladly linger over this and many other marbles and bronzes by Donatello, did not want of space oblige us to proceed with the story of his life.* In one respect he presents a striking contrast to many celebrated artists, and this is in the extreme conscientiousness which he exhibited regarding the fulfilment of accepted engagements. To this rule we know of but one exception, his failure to cast the bronze statue of Borso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, for which he signed a contract in the year 1444, binding himself to complete it within a year. In the meanwhile he had established himself at Padua, and was busily engaged upon an equestrian statue of the famous Condottiere, Erasmo da Narni, called Gattamelata, captain of the Venetian forces, who had recently died (Jan. 16th, 1449), for which, as late researches have shown, he had received the commission from Giovanni Antonio, the son of this great soldier, and not from the Venetian Signory, as has been always supposed.† We can hardly appreciate the difficulties which the execution of this commission offered, if we fail to

* We give a list of some of Donatello's works not mentioned in the text. (1.) Female profile head in marble, probably identical with that of the Valori collection, mentioned in Bocchi's "*Bellezze di Firenze*." (2.) Christ and angels; the delivery of the keys to St. Peter; a Madonna and Child (marble); an Entombment (bronze); Female Saint and Sarcophagus (marble); S. Kensington Museum. (3.) St. Sebastian (bronze relief), M. Ed. André. (4.) The Mazzocco at Florence (marble). (5.) Madonna and Child (very flat relief); Heads of the Saviour and St. John (f. r.); M. Dreyfus. (6.) The Flagellation and other bronzes, given by M. His de la Salle to the Musée de la Renaissance at the Louvre. (7.) Madonna and Child, in Royal Gallery at Turin.

† See a document dated June 29th, 1453. *Arch. St. It.*, vol. ii. 1st part, pp. 47-61.

consider that when Donatello undertook it he had not only never modelled a horse, nor paid any special attention to equine anatomy, but that he had probably never seen an equestrian group in his life, with the possible exception of the Marcus Aurelius at Rome,* and the alto-relief of the Podestà Oldrado di Tresseno at Milan.† Equestrian statues of Tommaso and Bonifazio degli Obizzi were erected at Lucca in the early part of the fourteenth century, of whose character no record remains, but the period to which they belong warrants us in supposing that even if they did come within the range of Donatello's observation he could have derived little benefit or suggestion from them. Depending upon himself, and possibly carrying in his mind a more or less distinct recollection of one of the bronze horses over the portal of St. Mark's at Venice, he constructed the great wooden model of a horse still preserved in the large Hall of the Palazzo della Ragione at Padua, which, covered with skins, and bearing a gigantic Jupiter on its back, afterwards figured at some public games given at Padua by Count Capodalista, and was praised in verse by the poet Lazzarelli as superior to any work of Daedalus, Phidias, or Praxiteles.

In due time the group was cast and set up on its pedestal under the walls of San Antonio. Clad in armour, saving the head, holding a bâton in his left hand and with the reins gathered in his right, the rider sits somewhat stiffly on the back of a ponderous war horse, which seems hardly less a portrait than the man, and shows the closest study of nature in all but one particular, namely, that he moves by lifting his two right legs simultaneously from the ground (*see* woodcut, p. 101). This error, common to other sculptors, both ancient and modern, may surprise us in the work of so careful an observer as Donatello, but it is quickly lost sight of when, after taking in the group as a whole, we examine it more closely, and rejoice in the beauty of its details. One of the charming "putti" from the richly decorated saddle, one square inch of the horse's trappings, would furnish matter for a discourse, and make the reputation of a collection. While our admiration for

* Discovered in the Forum in 1187; raised on the piazza of the Lateran in 1471, and afterwards removed by Michelangelo to the Campidoglio.

† *See* Introduction, p. xvii.

the sculptor's merits as a bronze caster is excited outside the portals of San Antonio by this equestrian group, it is raised still higher when we have passed through them, by the admirable bronzes which are scattered about the church. They were begun for the High Altar about 1444, and completed in five or six years, with the assistance of Francesco del Vagliente of Florence and Antonio Chellini of Pisa, goldsmiths, and Giovanni da Pisa,* and Urbano da Cortona,† sculptors. The bas-reliefs of the predella, a dead Christ with angels, two miracles of St. Anthony, and four angels, are in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament; the symbols of the Evangelists under the singing galleries of the presbytery; an Ecce Homo, and the reliefs of St. Anthony discovering the heart of a miser in his money chest, and of the healing of a youth who had cut off his foot, are upon the parapet of the High Altar, whose sides are enriched with two angels and various ornaments. Lastly, there are four statues of the patron saints of Padua, with a group of the Madonna and Child and a bronze Crucifix, in the choir. In all these admirable works Donatello's matchless skill in bas-relief, his superior ability in the round, his knowledge of the processes of bronze casting, his conscientiousness in the high finish of metal-surface, and the exquisite charm with which he invested his child-angels, are conspicuously displayed. No wonder that they won for the sculptor such high encomiums from the Paduans, that he modestly declared it to be time for him to return to the more critical atmosphere of Florence, lest his head should be turned, though considering the very great benefits which the Paduans had derived from his visit, they can hardly have lavished too much praise upon him and his works. His Paduan pupils, Bartolomeo Vellano and Andrea Briosco, propagated his school in the north of Italy, and many of the young painters who frequented the Art School opened by Squarcione at Padua were his debtors, while the works of the greatest among them, Andrea Mantegna, suffice to show that the Florentine master had not visited their city in vain.

* This artist made the terra-cotta relief of the Madonna and Child, with three saints, in the church of the Eremitani at Padua. See *Anonimo* (Morelli) and Milanese's ed. of Vasari, vol. ii. note 1, p. 424.

† Mentioned by Vasari, ed. Milanese, vol. v. p. 107; not otherwise known.

He left Padua towards the end of 1456 for Venice, there carved a statue of St. John in wood for the altar of the Florentine chapel at the Frari, and then proceeded to Faenza, where he remained long enough to sculpture the charming bust of the youthful St. John, to which we have previously referred, and a statue of the same saint in wood, for the convent of the Padri Riformati. In March, 1457, he was called to Ferrara to act as one of the judges of the bronze statues cast by Niccolò and Giovanni Baroncelli for the Cathedral, and having fulfilled this duty, returned to Florence, after an absence of thirteen years. One of the many changes which had occurred during his long absence, the death of Brunelleschi (1446), must have made Florence other than it had been to him, but Cosmo de' Medici still lived, and, as we know, treated him with constant kindness, until his own death, in 1464. Thinking that Donatello dressed too meanly for an artist of his rank, Cosmo sent him a red mantle, hood and surcoat, but he returned them with thanks, as being much too fine for his use. He did, however, accept a sum of money sufficient to maintain him and four workmen, who assisted him in the works which he undertook at San Lorenzo, and after Cosmo's death, received a like pension from Piero de' Medici, in lieu of a farm at Caffagiolo, which he considered too troublesome a piece of property for a man of his age and occupations to hold. Among his later works are the bronze statue of St. John in the Cathedral at Siena (1458), the very beautiful niche at Or San Michele which contains Verrocchio's group of the Incredulity of St. Thomas (1463), and the statue of St. Louis of Toulouse at Santa Croce. At San Lorenzo, whose sacristy contains his monument to Giovanni d' Averardo de' Medici, Donatello modelled the Evangelists in stucco, several busts of saints, cast the small bronze door of the sacristy, and commenced the two bronze pulpits, which were finished by his pupil Bertoldo,* after his death, on March 13th, 1466. While paralyzed and bed-ridden for some time before it occurred, he had expressed a wish to be buried at San Lorenzo, so that in death as in life he might be near Cosmo de' Medici, and his funeral obsequies were there

* For notice of this artist see next chapter.

celebrated, in the presence of his brother artists and others among his fellow-citizens, who honoured him no less for his singular uprightness than for his genius. Many of them must have recognized him not only as a representative man in his profession, but as one who, having struck the keynote upon which so many of the subtlest harmonies of his century were based, stood to art of every kind in the fifteenth century as Niccola Pisano had stood to that of the thirteenth, as Giotto to that of the fourteenth, and as Michelangelo was to stand to that of the sixteenth. On this account not only sculptors, but architects, painters and goldsmiths mourned his loss as one which specially concerned the profession to which each one of them belonged.

All men then regarded him as the greatest of Italian sculptors, and though in the lapse of time the crown was placed upon the head of another great genius, we think that it had been well bestowed. While it cannot be denied that Michelangelo was the *greater artist* of the two by reason of his superior intellect, multiplicity of gifts, imagination, and power of thought, yet as style and technic are qualities which determine rank in sculpture more than in any other art, we must still call Donatello the *greater sculptor*. The treatment of material in sculpture, whether of bronze or marble, is of supreme importance, both as regards *technic*, which includes all craft that can bring out its finest qualities, and *style*, which comprises the limitation of the subject, and the adaptation of its treatment, to the exigencies of the material. Judged by this rule, the palm belongs to Donatello, for while he made metal and stone yield all that they were capable of yielding, Michelangelo looked upon them simply as vehicles for the transmission of his thoughts, and paid little or no heed to their special qualities either in respect to surface-treatment or the adaptation of his subjects to their nature. There is yet another glory which belongs to Donatello, and this is, that he sowed no seeds fruitful of mischief to art in the future. Had his example prevailed and his precepts been remembered, sculpture would not have fallen into the mad extravagances of the Baroque, and so soon have become a hybrid art.

As compared with Ghiberti, he has been called a Pagan in

Art, but this is manifestly unjust, for though both loved the antique, and owed their highest excellences to the study of it, none of Ghiberti's works are so Christian in spirit as the St. George, the St. John, and many of the bas-reliefs of Donatello.



CHAPTER II.

(1.) THE SCHOLARS OF BRUNELLESCHI.

INDIRECTLY, Brunelleschi was the master of all the great painters and sculptors of his time, for he taught them how to apply science to art, and so far both Ghiberti and Donatello were his pupils, but the last was almost literally so, since as we have shown, the great architect was not only his friend, but also his counsellor and guide. Strictly speaking, however, Brunelleschi's pupils, as mentioned by Vasari, were six in number;* namely, Domenico di Lugano, of whom we know nothing; Geremia da Cremona, the falsely reputed author of a sculptured sarcophagus in the Cathedral at Cremona;† Schiavone, who is perhaps identical with Luciano Martini di Lauranna, who built the Ducal Palace at Urbino; Simone, to whom Vasari attributes a Madonna at Or San Michele,‡ and the sculptures upon the façade of the so-called "Chiesa vecchia" at Tagliacozzo, in the Abruzzi; and the Florentine bronze-casters Antonio di Cristoforo and Niccolò Baroncelli, to whom reference was made in the last chapter, as the author of five bronze statues in the Cathedral at Ferrara.§ In 1450 Donatello went from Padua to Ferrara, to confer with the directors of the "Fabbrica," who wished him to undertake the commission for these statues, but as they could not come to terms with him, it was offered to Antonio Baroncelli, then at Venice, and on his refusal it was assigned to his brother Niccolò. When he had partially completed his work, Donatello again visited Ferrara to act as one of the judges appointed to estimate it. History is silent as to his valuation of it, and

* Milanesi's Vasari, vol. ii. p. 385.

† The work of Omodeo; see p. 189.

‡ Made for the guild of the Chemists in 1399.

§ See p. 105, and *Gualandi Mem.*, iv. series, pp. 33-48. and v. series, pp. 178-183.

equally so as to his opinion of the merits of the three statues of Christ Crucified, the Virgin, and St. John, then finished, but to us they seem lifeless and uninspired, and chiefly commendable as examples of bronze-casting. The two other saints, George and Maurelius, were modelled and cast after the death of Niccolò Baroncelli (1453), by his son-in-law Domenico di Paris.* Niccolò's most important works were the statues of Duke Borso d'Este, and of his grandfather, the Marquis Niccolò, which stood on either side of the great portal of the Palazzo d'Este at Ferrara, until they were destroyed by the Republicans in 1796.† The first was a seated figure, the second an equestrian statue; the horse by Niccolò,‡ and the rider by his brother Antonio.

(2.) THE SCHOLARS OF GHIBERTI.

Michelozzo Michelozzi, the son of a tailor, Bartolomeo di Gherardo, called Borgognona, is to be classed as one of the great architects of the quattro-cento with Brunelleschi and Alberti, and as sculptor and goldsmith with Ghiberti and Donatello. He was born at Florence, about 1396. Vasari calls him the pupil of Donatello, with whom he certainly worked upon the monuments of Pope John, Cardinal Brancacci, and Bartolomeo Aragazzi in 1427, and probably upon the pulpit at Prato in 1434.§ It appears, however, that previously to the first of these dates he had worked with Ghiberti, for in the schedule of property which he drew up in 1427, he refers to the year 1419, when he was associated with Lorenzo di Bartoluccio in casting the statue of St. Matthew for the niche of the Arte del

* Niccolò Baroncelli is perhaps the Nicholaus F. (Florentinus) who cast the well-known medal of Lionello d'Este, 1441. I. Friedlander in the *Jahr Buch*, 2^{ter} Band, 1^{er} Heft, p. 26, concludes that there were two artists of the same name, one, Nicholas the elder, who made this model, and the other, Nicholas Fl., who made the equestrian statue in 1461.

† M. Müntz, *La Renaissance à la Cour des Papes*, 1, p. 258, says that Meo di Cecco, of Florence, one of Niccolò Baroncelli's pupils, assisted his master in this work. Meo was at Ferrara in 1434, and at Rome in 1462.

‡ Called Niccolò del Cavallo, because he cast the horse for the statue of the Marquis Niccolò, 1467; made a design for the completion of the Cathedral at Ferrara, 1492-3; paid for a wooden model of the same. See *Notizie relative a Ferrara*, by the Cav. Cittadella, pp. 100, 101.

§ Gaye's *Carteggio*, vol. i. p. 117, Denunzia de' beni.

Cambio at Or San Michele. The part which Michelozzo took in this work was wholly subordinate, while that which fell to him in the Brancacci and Aragazzi monuments was very much more considerable. Certain parts of the latter monument, as for instance the sepulchral effigy and the figure of Faith, are worked in somewhat rounder planes, and in a less realistic style than is habitual to Donatello, and may be altogether by Michelozzo, though the general design and all the best parts of this and the other monuments upon which they worked together, evidently belong to *the master only*.*

As the greater part of Michelozzo's life was devoted to architecture, he left little of metal or marble work from which we can form an estimate of his ability either as goldsmith or sculptor. The small statue of Faith in one of the niches upon the base of the monument of Pope John, a statuette in silver of St. John the Baptist which he made for the Baptistery altar,† and the sculptured portal of the Palazzo Vismara at Milan, are all that can be attributed to him with certainty. When Cosmo de' Medici was banished from Florence he went to Venice, and spent his year of exile (1492-3) in the convent of S. Giorgio. Moved by feelings of gratitude for the shelter afforded him, he then caused Michelozzo, who had accompanied him, to build a Library in the convent adjoining the church, which he endowed with a number of MSS. and presented to the monks. The wooden crucifix in the church, said to be by Michelozzo, and if so, sculptured at this time,‡ is a thoroughly naturalistic, carefully studied, and admirably modelled representation of a death of agony, in which the spirit achieves no triumph over the pangs of the body. The Library of S. Giorgio was destroyed in the seventeenth century, and this is much to be regretted, as it would doubtless have strengthened Michelozzo's claims to recognition as the pioneer of the Renaissance style of architecture in the north of Italy. He returned to Lombardy in 1456, to enlarge the Palazzo Vismara, which Francesco Sforza had pre-

* M. Eng. Müntz considers it to be the work of Michelozzo, executed under Donatello's direction. See "*Le Tour du Monde*," 3 Juin, 1882, p. 350.

† In the life of Pollajuolo, Vasari attributes this figure to that artist, but it was certainly made by Michelozzo in 1452.

‡ It is attributed to Michelozzo by Cicognara, Borghini and Morrona. See Cicogna, *Iscriz. Venet.* t. iv. p. 313.

sented to Cosmo de' Medici, and then sculptured its very beautiful portal, which, within a few years has been removed from the Via de' Bassi to the museum at the Brera. It is in the Renaissance style, and of simple and elegant design. The greyhound, the palm, and the hand, as ducal cognizances, are sculptured upon its architrave, together with medallion portraits of the Duke and his wife Beatrice d'Este, while armed men, and two richly dressed dames holding spears upon whose points hang eagle-crowned helmets, fill the flat spaces of the pilasters on either side of the entrance. This portal is perhaps the prototype of many such palace entrances afterwards erected in Lombard cities during the domination of the Sforza, in token of the gratitude of their partisans who had been rewarded for faithful service by gifts of confiscated lands and funds.*

Of Michelozzo's distinguished career as an architect we are not here called upon to speak, otherwise than to mention that as such he was constantly employed by Cosmo de' Medici, for whom he built the Medici and Riccardi Palaces, the Villa Careggi, the Villa Mozzi, the Convent of St. Mark, and the Library of the Marciana, which Cosmo endowed with a precious collection of MSS. made by Niccolò Niccoli, a citizen of Florence, and placed under the care of the learned Thomas of Sarzance, afterwards Pope Nicholas V. Michelozzo died about 1476, and was buried at St. Mark's.

The Palazzo Vismara at Milan, which he rebuilt for Cosmo de' Medici, is mentioned by Antonio Averulino, called Filarete, Florentine architect and bronze-caster, in a manuscript treatise on architecture, dedicated to Piero de' Medici, preserved in the Magliabecchiana Library at Florence.† This treatise is divided

* "Such marble portals," says Mongeri (*Bull.^{no} della Consulta Arch.*, Anno ii. fasc. 4: Milano, 1875), "were the great luxury of the time. Many have been destroyed, but there still remain at Milan the Gothic portal de' Borromei, and the Renaissance portals of the Portisian, dei Fontana, dei Castani, dei Vimercati (Pal. Vismara by Michelozzo); at Lodi, alla casa dei Mozzanici; at Piacenza alla casa dei Landi; at Cremona, the Porta della Stanga," erected in 1499, and now one of the chief ornaments of the Renaissance Museum at the Louvre. It was bought by the French Government in 1876 for 43,000 francs. See an article in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, of February 6th, 1876.

† Class xiv. There is a copy of it in the Palatina, and a Latin translation dedicated to Matthias Corvinus in the Marciana at Venice. For notices of this treatise see A. F. Rio, *de l'Art Chrétien*, vol. ii. pp. 329

into twenty-five books, treating of the origin and construction of buildings, and of the selection of a favourable site for a city called Sforzinda, after Francesco Sforza, which he builds in his pages with that mingled spirit of Paganism and Christianity characteristic of the times in which he lived. In its midst he places a splendid Cathedral in the style of St. Mark's at Venice, "like the ideal man, durable, beautiful, and useful," and groups around it palaces, convents, churches and hospitals, destined to be decorated by all the great artists of the day, with works of art calculated to have a bearing upon the moral and religious education of the sovereign, and of his people whom he divides into the nobles, compared to chalcedony and sardonyx, whose transparent texture shows every flaw; the middle classes, whom he likens to porphyry and alabaster; and the "plebs," to marbles and inferior stones. Around the Prince's palace he places four churches, dedicated to SS. Francis, Dominic, Augustine, and Benedict; and a gymnasium where the young men pray and fast, and the women sew, spin, weave, and embroider.*

The author of this treatise was an accomplished architect, but he is not to be ranked with the great men of his time either as sculptor or as bronze-caster.† It is, therefore, not a little strange that he, rather than Ghiberti or Donatello, should have been selected by Eugenius IV. to cast the gates of the great Roman Basilica, which commemorate the Council held by this Pope at Florence, in 1434, with the hope of uniting the Greek and Latin churches.‡ The result of the Papal commis-

et seq.; *l'Anonimo* (Morelli), p. 169, note 74, and Vasari (ed. Milanese), vol. ii. p. 458, note 1.

* Written in an affected style, replete with Latinisms, and tediously prolix, this treatise contains some important notices of artists and works of art, of which Vasari, despite his hard judgment upon it, did not scruple to avail himself without acknowledgment.

† Filarete designed the great hospital at Milan, and built a part of the Cathedral at Bergamo. The dates of his birth and death are unknown. He was the son of a certain Peter, as we learn from the inscription on the gates of St. Peter's.

‡ The gates must have been commenced after 1434, the year of the Council. They were set up on the 26th of June, 1445. In 1447, Pope Eugenius commissioned a Dominican sculptor, Fra Antonio Michele, to represent the principal events of his pontificate upon wooden doors to fill up the side portals of St. Peter's. These doors were destroyed

sion, as might have been anticipated, is unsatisfactory from an artistic point of view, though historically considered the gates are very interesting, for many illustrious persons appear in the reliefs which fill their panels. In one of them, where the Council is represented, the Pope, the Eastern Emperor John Paleologus VI., and his brother Demetrius, tyrant of the Morea, are introduced; and in another, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Egyptian Abbot of S. Antonio, and Eugenius kneeling to receive the keys from the hands of St. Peter. The Saviour and the Madonna, with SS. Peter and Paul are represented in the upper panels, the crucifixion of the first Apostle and the decapitation of the second, in those of a smaller size below them, while the borders of the panels are enriched with medallions, whose mythological subjects show to what extent the spirit of Paganism already pervaded Art in the first half of the fifteenth century. If, however, we are shocked to find Leda and the Swan, Jupiter and Ganymede, &c., among them, we are no less struck with the singular want of respect for the sanctity of the place shown by Filarete, in placing at the bottom of one of the gates on the inside, a bas-relief of himself and his workmen going into the country on a frolic, accompanied by a donkey well laden with provisions.

Filarete, who died at Rome in the latter half of the fifteenth century and was buried in the church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, makes no mention in the introduction to his Treatise of the Simone who assisted him in making the gates of St. Peter's, and no name but his own appears in the inscription upon them. It is however certain that he had the assistance of a Simone whom Vasari identifies as the sculptor of the grave slab of Pope Martin V. at the Lateran, and as the brother of Donatello, while he elsewhere mentions a Simone among the scholars of Brunelleschi. As Donatello had no brother of the name, we may suppose that the person referred to as such was his scholar Simone di Nanni Ferucci da Fiesole, and that the other Simone, who worked with Filarete at Rome, was the Florentine goldsmith Simone di Giovanni Ghini (1407-1491), who was employed at Rome by Eugenius IV. after the year 1427, and by his three immediate successors.

under Paul V. See *Les Arts à la cour des Papes*, par Eug. Müntz, vol. iv. p. 44 of the *Bib. des Ecoles Fr. d'Athènes et de Rome*.

We shall speak later of the Simone Fiorentino who worked with other sculptors at Rimini upon the marbles of San Francesco, and now return to the scholars of Ghiberti not yet mentioned. Antonio del Pollajuolo, the son of Jacopo d'Antonio Benci, called Pollajuolo,* born at Florence in 1429, was apprenticed at an early age to Ghiberti's step-father, the goldsmith Bartolo di Michele, under whom he acquired that great skill as a niellist, caster, and worker of metals, which he displayed in many precious articles for church use, and personal adornment, now irrecoverably lost. His extant works are a bas-relief of the Nativity, made for the silver altar in the "Opera" of the Cathedral at Florence, a bronze relief of the Crucifixion, the bust of a warrior in terra-cotta, and a bronze group of Hercules and Cacus at the Bargello, an enamelled Pax at the Uffizi, a quail rising from her nest in the bronze frieze of Andrea Pisano's Baptistry gate, two Papal monuments at St. Peter's, and two bas-reliefs in bronze at S. Pietro in Vincoli.

The excessive mannerism of style, and exaggeration in pose and facial expression, which strike us in his pictures,† and in his one engraving of ten naked men fighting in a wood,‡ are from the very nature of the case far less conspicuous in his bronzes, though clearly visible in the reliefs of the seven Virtues, and the ten liberal Arts (*see* page 116), upon the carved sides of the highly ornamented couch which, with the sepulchral effigy upon it (*see* page 115), forms the monument of Pope Sixtus IV. in the chapel of the Sacrament at St. Peter's (1493). Called to Rome by Innocent VIII. after his accession in 1484, to make this monument of his predecessor, Pollajuolo remained there to make that of Pope Innocent, who died in 1492. Not content with the usual custom of representing the deceased lying upon a sarcophagus, he placed a second statue above it, of the seated Pontiff, stretching out one hand in bene-

* Cellini says he was so-called because he was a poulterer. This is denied by Baldinucci and Gaye (*op. cit.* i. pp. 265, 266), on the ground that Antonio and Piero ranked as citizens. The family was artistic. The famous architect Cronaca belonged to it, as did Matteo, the pupil of Antonio Rossellino, a sculptor of great promise, who died at an early age.

† Small pictures of the labours of Hercules at the Uffizi, Tobias and the Angel, National Gallery.

‡ Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur*, vol. ix. p. 47.

diction, and holding in the other a lance, which represents that given by Sultan Bajazet to the Grand Master of Rhodes, who sent it to Rome as the veritable weapon used to pierce our Lord's side at the Crucifixion. This monument, placed at a considerable height above the pavement, cannot be scrutinised closely enough to judge its minor details, such as the



statuettes of the Cardinal Virtues on either side of the seated statue, and the crowned woman, emblematic of Divine Providence, seated between Faith and Hope, in the lunette above it.

The bas-reliefs of the imprisonment and liberation of St. Peter, upon the bronze reliquary which contains the supposed chains of the Apostle, at S. Pietro in Vincoli, are among the last works of Pollajuolo, who died at Rome about 1496, and was buried in the left aisle of this church, near the principal entrance.

As an ornamental sculptor he is known to us only by the famous quail in the frieze of the Andrea Pisano gate at the Baptistry, to which we have already referred as having been assigned to Lorenzo Ghiberti, in 1453, after whose death it was continued and completed by his son Vittorio, with the help of Pollajuolo, and perhaps other assistants. In treatment it is absolutely naturalistic, and, though beautiful, is therefore very much out of keeping with the style of the reliefs upon the gates which it enframes. Like the frieze around Ghiberti's second gate, which is even less conventional, if possible, it is

made up of leaves, flowers and fruits, whose every detail is literally rendered. The quail, with his wings just spread, the squirrel cracking a nut, the weasel creeping towards the bird, are masterly in execution, but unfit for the use to which they are put, on account of the absolutely unconventional way in which they are treated. In the best Renaissance ornament, where the child plays a conspicuous part, masks, tripods, wreaths and ribbons, as well as plants, fruits and flowers, are freely introduced, but these are treated flatly, and not in the round, on the principle of absolute imitation. They are in fact abstracts of nature, which give us the spirit of life and growth, and thus harmonize with the architectural forms around them.

These pictorial tendencies of Ghiberti's school which we are disposed to condemn, both as contrary to correct principles, and as the source of future decadence in ornamental art, are fully exemplified in the friezes of both doorways. Little is known of Vittorio Ghiberti, but that he was born in 1417, that he assisted his father in the second Baptistry gate, and that



he had three sons, Francesco, Cione, and Buonaccorso, the last of whom followed the paternal profession of goldsmith and bronze caster. His son, Vittorio II., who had no other glory than that of being Ghiberti's grandson, was the last of his race.

(3.) THE SCHOLARS OF DONATELLO.

"All those who after Donatello's death were good sculptors in relief, may be called his scholars," says Vasari. This is not saying too much, for he so perfected this branch of sculpture that all who studied it were obliged to turn to his works as models. Bertoldo, Nanni di Banco, Desiderio, Rossellino, and Vellano of Padua, are the four artists whom Vasari specifies as Donatello's pupils, and of these the first, Bertoldo di Giovanni, is not mentioned in connection with him until after his return from Padua in 1456, when they worked together at San Lorenzo. How far the two pulpits in this church were advanced when the master died is not known, but it appears certain that much remained to be done to complete the bronze reliefs. Unequal, and in parts exaggerated, as they are, some of them, as for instance the group around the Cross, the Christ in the Descent to Hell, and the Pentecost, are instinct with an energy and dramatic intensity which indicates that the vigour of the old artist was not extinct when he conceived them, but they give us no clear idea of Bertoldo's capacity, as we cannot estimate his share in them. Those, however, who know his bas-relief at the Bargello of a battle between naked horse and foot soldiers, and his very fine medal of Mahomet II., can have no doubt as to his knowledge and ability, of which Lorenzo de' Medici must have been convinced, when he made him Director of the Academy which he opened to artists in the Gardens of St. Mark. Bertoldo retained this office until his death at Poggio a Cajano, in the last days of December, 1491.

NANNI DI BANCO.

Son of a certain Antonio di Banco, "maestro di pietra," in the service of the "Opera" of the Cathedral in 1407, this sculptor probably learned from him what he knew of sculpture, rather than from Donatello, who kindly helped him out of sundry difficulties caused by his want of thorough training, though he can hardly be considered his master, in the proper sense of the term.

The anecdotes of Vasari about their relations to each other,

give proof of Donatello's good nature rather than of Nanni's skill. When he was employed by the Guild of the Carpenters and Masons to sculpture their four patron saints for a niche on the outside of Or San Michele, he did so without first calculating its receptive capacity. Finding that he could not crowd them into the allotted space, he turned for help to Donatello, who so curtailed their proportions by a judicious use of the chisel, that they entered into it without difficulty (1408). The bas-relief below them of a sculptor's studio, is well composed, and interesting as a record of such a place at Florence in the fifteenth century, but the saints and the statue of St. Philip in an adjoining niche are in no wise remarkable. Donatello was to have made the latter, but as he asked a higher price for his services than the Guild of the Hosiers was willing to give him, they employed Nanni, who agreed to take whatever any competent judge should consider a fair valuation. When it was finished the Guild made Donatello their umpire, who, to their great surprise, named a larger sum than he had asked to make it himself, on the ground that Nanni had spent a great deal more time upon it than he should have done.

Another statue at Or San Michele, that of St. Eloi, the patron of goldsmiths, has been attributed to Nanni, though as it seems to us without internal evidence, considering that it is unquestionably superior in style and treatment to his undoubted works.* Neither in the Madonna della Cintola, a bas-relief by Nanni (1418-21), over the side portal of the Cathedral opposite the Via de' Serri,† nor in the relief of the sculptor's studio already mentioned, nor in that below the statue of St. Eloi,‡ which represents the expulsion of Satan from a horse by the Saint, is there any resemblance to Donatello's mode of treatment, and this seems to show that Nanni was slow to profit by his opportunities. He died at Florence in 1421, and was buried at Sta. Croce.

* Baldinucci, vol. i. p. 426, attributes it to Nanni, who is also accredited with it in a note-book belonging to the Gaddi family, entitled, "Fragments of the Lives of the Painters." Vasari, vol. ii. p. 164, speaks doubtfully. Furthermore it is not mentioned in a MS. list of painters in the Strozzi Library.

† Long attributed to Jacopo della Quercia. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. ii. p. 116, note 1, also p. 165.

‡ *Id.* vol. ii. p. 116, note 1. See Appendix, letter M.

DESIDERIO DA SETTIGNANO.

(1428-1464.)

Desiderio, the son of a stone-cutter named Bartolomeo di Francesco, called Ferro, was born at Settignano in 1428, just forty-seven years before the infant Michelangelo was left there by his parents in charge of a stone-cutter's wife. We know nothing about this sculptor but that he had two brothers, Francesco and Gesi; that he became Donatello's pupil, that he was admitted to the sculptors' guild in 1453, that he died on January 16th, 1464, leaving a wife and two children, and that he was buried in the church of San Piero Maggiore. Young as he still was at the time of his death, he had gained a reputation which his few extant works fully justify. "Nature, indignant at being outdone by him," sang an anonymous poet in verses laid upon his tomb, "cut short his days; but her vengeance proved vain, for he had given immortality to his living marbles and they to him." Vasari calls him "an imitator of Donatello's manner," but in this we cannot agree, for it is dramatic, vigorous and energetic, while that of Desiderio is quiet, gentle and unimpassioned. We have little to judge him by—a bust, a monument, and a tabernacle—but these are sufficient to show his exquisite taste in ornament, his great technical skill and his originality.

The bust is that of Marietta Palla Strozzi, wife of Celio Calcagnini, of Ferrara, which has lately passed from the palace of her ancestors at Florence to the Royal Museum at Berlin.* The face is not beautiful, but it fascinates and rivets the attention. The drooping eyelids seem about to close as in sleep or death, and the almost unnaturally calm features contrast strikingly with the elaborately arranged hair, the richly brocaded dress, and the broad band of marble below the shoulders, sculptured with recumbent figures and little genii in low relief. Whether the artist thus represented this high-born dame with a meaning, or from mere caprice, we cannot

* Dr. Bode (p. 32, Lief. 62, *Kunst und Künstler*, etc.) questions whether this can be the bust of the Marietta di Palla Strozzi whose second husband Celio Calcagnini was a minion of Borso d' Este—as she was but sixteen when Desiderio died (1464), and the person represented in the bust looks at least ten years older.

say, but his work is a masterpiece, in which the best characteristics of quattro-cento sculpture are combined, while their attraction is enhanced by the charm of mystery.

The qualities which give value to this portrait bust shine out at Sta. Croce in Desiderio's monument to the learned scholar Carlo Marsuppini (*d.* 1455), whilome secretary to Pope Eugenius IV., and to Florence. A recess formed by the projecting architrave and pilasters, both of which are richly decorated with classic ornaments, contains the effigy of the deceased with his hands crossed upon a book, lying upon a parade bed, placed on the top of a lion-footed sarcophagus, whose ends and sides are enriched with elegantly disposed acanthus leaves, intertwined with ribbons attached to a mortuary tablet. It stands on a sculptured platform raised above an ornate base, at either end of which nude children hold armorial shields. They are balanced in the upper part of the tomb by other children, placed at either end of the entablature to bear up the ends of a long pendant festoon which falls from a sculptured vase on the top of the lunette, against which they lean for support. This lunette contains a charming bas-relief of the Madonna and Child with two praying angels. Every part of the surface is enriched, but the ornamental details are so symmetrically disposed, and so delicately sculptured, that the monument does not appear to be overloaded.

We shall not describe Desiderio's tabernacle at San Lorenzo, with its leaf ornament, its praying angels, and its Pietà in flat relief, nor dwell upon the frieze of angels' heads which he and Donatello sculptured for the Cappella Pazzi,* nor make more than a passing reference to the wooden statue of the Magdalen, at Santa Trinità, which was finished by Benedetto da Majano after our sculptor's death in 1464. He who knows his masterworks, the bust of Marietta Strozzi, and the Marsuppini monument, knows Desiderio in his possibilities and his limitations. Artists like Donatello, or writers like Shakespeare, may reveal new phases of genius in every added work, but sculptors like Desiderio, or poets like Gray, tell us in a few perfect marbles and poems all that they would have said had their works been infinitely multiplied.

* Alberti's *Memoriale* (1510) mentions this frieze as a joint work, and speaks of Desiderio as Donatello's scholar. Bode, *op. cit.* p. 30.

BERNARDO ROSSELLINO (1409-1464), AND HIS BROTHER
ANTONIO (1425-1478).

The three finest Renaissance tombs in Tuscany are those of Lionardo Bruni (1444), by Bernardo Rossellino, at Sta. Croce, of Carlo Marsuppini (1454), by Desiderio, in the same church, and of Cardinal James of Portugal, by Antonio Rossellino (1459), at San Miniato. The first, which served as a type of the other two, is severely simple in effect, the second extremely rich, though equally quiet in line; while the third attains the golden mean in point of ornament, thanks to the judicious contrast preserved between adorned and unadorned spaces, the substitution of the simply disposed folds of a curtain upon the archivolt for a heavy festoon outside the arch, and the opposition of angels and putti in action, to the stillness and repose of the sepulchral effigy. In each the deceased reposes upon a draped parade bed, placed on the top of a sarcophagus standing in a recess, and in each the lunette is filled with a circular relief of the Madonna and Child, supported by kneeling or flying angels; but here the resemblance ends, for while Bernardo has placed eagles, and Antonio seated genii at the head and foot of the bier, Desiderio has dispensed with both, and where he introduced children with shields below and above it, Antonio placed winged angels with emblems upon either end of the entablature above the sepulchral effigy. The Madonna and Child under the arch of the Cardinal's tomb is relieved against a blue background, studded with stars, the flat space around it is enriched with cherubim, and the wreath which enframes it is supported by flying angels. The occupant of this beautiful monument, a member of the royal house of Portugal, who served the Florentine Republic as ambassador at the court of Spain, "lived in the flesh," says his biographer, "as if he were freed from it, like an angel rather than a man, and died in the odour of sanctity at the early age of twenty-six."

Antonio Rossellino, who sculptured his tomb, and his brother Bernardo, who made that of Lionardo Bruni, apostolic secretary, chancellor of the Republic, and eminent scholar (1369-1444), were the sons of Matteo di Domenico Gam-

berelli.* Bernardo, the elder of the two, was the favourite architect of Popes Nicholas V. and Pius II., for whom he is commonly supposed to have built the Piccolomini Palace and the Town Hall at Cosignano (Pienza), the Pope's birthplace, as well as some important edifices at Siena. It is however possible that another Florentine of the same name built them, and not Rossellino.† whose many important works in sculpture would seem to preclude the devotion of so much time to architecture as their erection would have demanded. Besides the Bruni monument at Sta. Croce, already described, he made that of the Beata Villana (1451), a Florentine saint of the fourteenth century, at Sta. Maria Novella, and the monument of Filippo Lazzari (1464), doctor of laws, in the church of San Domenico at Pistoja. These tombs, and the busts of the youthful St. John and Battista Sforza at the Bargello, give evidence of remarkable artistic ability, high technical training, and refined taste. They do not however show those qualities of charm and grace which give value to the works of his brother Antonio, who ranks with Desiderio, Mino da Fiesole, and Benedetto da Majano, among the first sculptors of his time. Although Vasari mentions him among the scholars of Donatello, Antonio really belonged to the school of Ghiberti. His pictorial tendencies are evident in the angels of the Cardinal's monument at San Miniato already described, and are fully manifested in the bas-reliefs of the monument of Mary of Aragon (d. 1470), in the church of Monte Oliveto at Naples, which he made for her husband the Duke of Amalfi.‡ The Nativity is a picture in marble, charming in expression, excellent in composition, perfect in execution, but not a bas-relief properly so called, and the same may be said of the Resurrection and the relief of the

* Matteo had five sons, all artists, viz., Bernardo, Domenico, Maso, Giovanni and Antonio.

† The Vatican registers of Pius II.'s reign, mention M^o Bernardo di Fierenza, as architect of the buildings at Pienza, but do not give his family name. Pius II. in his *Commentaries*, speaks of him as Bernardus Florentinus. M. Eugene Müntz, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 234, after careful research, discusses the question whether this Bernardo is Rossellino or Bernardo di Lorenzo, without being able to decide it definitely.

‡ The Duke was so delighted with the monument of the Cardinal di Portogallo, that he commissioned Antonio Rossellino to repeat it at Naples.

Virgin, St. John, and the Magdalen at the foot of the Cross, over an altar in the same chapel, as they are equally pictorial in style, and like Ghiberti in all but one particular, the flatter treatment of planes. In this Antonio Rossellino followed Donatello, but otherwise he worked after the manner of his rival. His circular relief at the Bargello of the Madonna adoring the Infant Jesus, shows this even more markedly, in the gradual flattening of the relief planes, the landscape background, the sky, and the treatment of figures and accessories in perspective.* However skilfully managed, the use of these pictorial artifices in sculpture, here borrowed from the second gates of the Baptistry, cannot be defended. In the busts of Giovanni di San Miniato, doctor of laws (1456), at South Kensington, and that of Matteo Palmieri (1468) at the Bargello, Antonio seized and expressed the character of his subjects with force and truth, putting into them that extraordinary vitality which gives a unique value to the best Florentine heads of the fifteenth century in terra-cotta and marble. The finest single statue by this sculptor is that of St. Sebastian in a niche over an altar in the parochial church at Empoli. It has two kneeling angels with the emblems of martyrdom, placed above the cornice, like those above the sepulchral effigy of the Cardinal of Portugal at San Miniato.†

Among the minor works of Antonio Rossellino, we have yet to mention a Madonna and Child, enframed with cherubim, in the church of Sta. Croce, called the Madonna della Latte, which formed part of the monument ordered by Francesco Neri for himself, before he fell under the daggers of the Pazzi conspirators who slew Giovanni de' Medici in the Cathedral on the 26th of April, 1478. As this is the last year in which Antonio Rossellino is recorded as a tax-payer in the Guild of Sculptors, it is probable that he died shortly after, though Vasari says that he lived as late as 1490.

* The fine "gesso duro" of this relief belonging to C. Drury Fortnum, Esq., of Stanmore, which is in some respects superior to the marble, perhaps represents the master's original conception.

† Dr. W. Bode, *op. cit.* p. 38, speaks of this statue in terms of high praise.

BARTOLOMEO BELLANO OR VELLANO (B. ABOUT 1480,
D. 1500 OR 1502).

Among the young artists of Padua who studied under Donatello during his sojourn in that city, was Bartolomeo Bellano or Vellano, who was neither an "ineptus artifex," as he is styled by Gauricus, nor the all-sufficient representative of Donatello at Padua, after that great artist returned home, as Vasari calls him. Judged by the ten bronze bas-reliefs which Bellano modelled and cast for the choir of San Antonio, where they may be compared on the spot with the bronzes of his master, and of his own distinguished pupil, Andrea Riccio, he was far from being the equal of either.* They want smoothness and firmness of texture, and that delicate modulation of surface treatment which gives high value to the best Florentine metal work, and are furthermore overcrowded with figures, ultra-pictorial in style, faulty in perspective, and wanting in repose. A description of one of these bronze pictures, representing the casting of Jonah into the sea, will suffice to justify this criticism, as it is applicable to all the rest. The greater part of the panel is filled with the ship, heavily labouring in the agitated waves. Her decks, shrouds, and broken masts are covered with a mass of diminutive figures of equal insignificance, who are watching the fall of the doomed prophet, but any anxiety as to his safety is dispelled by seeing him kneeling in prayer below the lofty rocks which rise from the sea coast in the background. Here we can find no trace of Donatello's influence, and must suppose that if Bellano ever felt it, it had lost its power over him in the lapse of years.

In his other works, with the exception of the two heraldic genii in niches belonging to the monument of Pietro Roccabonella (1491), in the church of San Francesco at Padua, it is as little perceptible. One of the two panels belonging to this monument, placed on either side of the high altar, represents

* Gonzati, *Doc.* 82, vol. i. p. 90. The subjects of the ten reliefs, for which he contracted on the 27th of November, 1484, and completed in 1488, are:—1. Cain and Abel; 2. Sacrifice of Isaac; 3. The crossing of the Red Sea; 4. Adoration of the Golden Calf; 5. Joseph and his brethren; 6. The Bronze Serpent; 7. Sampson destroying the Temple; 8. David dancing before the Ark; 9. Judgment of Solomon; 10. Jonah.

the professor seated at a desk with a book in his hand ; the other, the Madonna and Child seated under a canopy between SS. Peter and Paul. In both the heads are disproportionately small for the bodies, and the hard-lined draperies cling to the limbs in square patches. That Bellano worked as architect at Rome for Paul II., as stated by Vasari, is doubtful, but it is certain that in 1466 he cast a statue of this Pontiff for Perugia, which was melted down to make copper money in 1798.* The monuments of Antonio Rossello, and of Raffaele Folgoso in the Basilica of San Antonio at Padua, as well as the medals of Paul II., Antonio Rossello, and of Plotina, the historian of the Popes, are ascribed to Bellano, who died at Padua in the first years of the sixteenth century, and was buried at San Antonio.†

Having now spoken of the artists classed by Vasari as the scholars of Donatello, we shall mention others who either worked with him or under his influence, namely, Francesco Valenti or del Vagliante of Florence, Antonio Cellino or di Chellino of Pisa, Giovanni da Pisa, Urbano da Cortona, Simone Fiorentino, Bernardo Ciuffagni, Andrea Verocchio, and Giovanni di Bartolo. Of these the first four assisted Donatello at Padua between 1444 and 1449, in preparing and casting the series of bronzes with which he decorated the Basilica of St. Antonio. Francesco Valenti and Antonio Cellino being goldsmiths, were probably employed in the work of cleaning and hammering out the surfaces of the bronzes, while Urbano da Cortona and Giovanni da Pisa being sculptors, doubtless assisted in modelling and casting them. The latter showed himself to be an able sculptor in the terra-cotta figures of the Madonna and Child with three saints, over an altar in the chapel to the right of the high altar in the church of the Eremitani at Padua.

We have already spoken of Simone Fiorentino, in the life of Donatello, as an ambiguous personage whom it is difficult to identify. Of the two Simones mentioned by Vasari, the one, a

* Placed on its pedestal October 20, 1467. The decree of the Perugians asking it to be made is dated November 4, 1466.

† Gonzati, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 133. The monument to Paolo de Castro and his son Angelo, Professor in the University at Padua, in the church of the Padri Serviti at Padua, is ascribed to Bellano (1492). The Rocca-bonella monument at San Francisco was finished by Riccio after Bellano's death.

so-called brother of Donatello, cast the grave slab of Pope Martin V. at the Lateran, and the other, a scholar of Brunelleschi, who sculptured a Madonna at Or San Michele, and certain works at Tagliacozzo left incomplete at his death, the last was probably the Florentine goldsmith Simone di Giovanni Ghini, born in 1407, who assisted Filarete (Averulino) in casting the bronze gates of St. Peter's, and the first, Simone di Nanni Ferucci da Fiesole,* pupil of Donatello, and co-worker with Bernardo di Piero Bartolomeo de' Ciuffagni and other sculptors employed by Pandolfo Malatesta at Rimini. Bernardo de' Ciuffagni, who was born at Florence in 1531, and educated as a goldsmith, and who assisted Ghiberti in casting the first Baptistery Gate, sculptured the statue of St. Matthew (1409-1415) in the tribune of the Cathedral, the St. Stephen which crowns the gable of its second Northern door (1424), and the King David on the left side wall, near the entrance.† The last seven years of his life, which came to an end in 1457, were spent at Rimini, in the service of Sigismund Pandolfo Malatesta, who caused the church of San Francesco, or the Tempio Malatestiano as it is more properly called, to be re-built by the famous Florentine architect Leo Battista Alberti, in fulfilment of a vow. So far as he completed it it is unquestionably the most perfect of neo-classical buildings, and this is the more remarkable as the original edifice, which he transformed into a mausoleum whose every detail is connected with its founder and his wife, the celebrated Isotta degli Atti, was in the Gothic style. The west front with its noble arch, its Corinthian columns, its broad entablature and massive cornice, the interlaced cyphers of Sigismund and Isotta, and the seven bays of the lateral façade, each of which contains a sarcophagus of classic design‡ give the exterior of this temple a Pagan aspect which is not dispelled by the interior, with its heathen emblems, its medallions, statues and bas-reliefs, and its Greek

* This Simone, who made the grave slab of Pope Martin V. at the Lateran, is the artist designated by Vasari as Donatello's brother, though he had no brother of this name. He is not to be confounded with Simone di Francesco, pupil of Verocchio, who made the Turtagni monument in the church of San Domenico at Bologna, 1477.

† See Dr. Hans Semper's notice of Ciuffagni in his *Donatello*, pp. 72-75.

‡ Illustrious men of the court of Rimini are buried in these sarcophagi.

and Latin inscriptions. As we enter, we listen for the boys' voices and the soft flutes which are to make music at the sacrifice, and watch for the coming of the chaplet-crowned priests and the milk white heifer—

“Its silken flanks with garlands drest,”

which they are to offer up to the god and goddess of Rimini, whose statues—under the guise of SS. Sigismund and Michael—look down upon us from their altars.

None perhaps among the Italian princes of the quattro-cento united in himself so many of the typical virtues and vices of his class, as the prince here deified. Brave to a fault, highly cultured, the liberal patron of arts and letters, though cruel, sensual, and crafty, he is said to have strangled his second wife Polixena Sforza for love of Isotta, who maintained her power over him, not through her beauty, for, judging from the many medals* and portraits of her in existence† she was far from handsome, but by her strong character and determined will. Contemporary poets and chroniclers exalt her as the peer of Helen in beauty, of Sappho in poetical gifts, of Penelope in constancy, and of Hypatia in her knowledge of physics and moral philosophy, but these are either wholly false or grossly exaggerated statements. The researches of her latest biographer lead to the conclusion that this famous woman did not know how to write, but they also prove that she had remarkable political ability, that she was a wise and judicious counsellor to her husband, and that she often saved him from the consequences of his headlong impetuosity and brutal violence.‡ She became Domina Isotta de' Malatestis, the legal wife of Sigismund, in 1457, after seventeen years of concubinage; repeatedly acted as regent of his dominions in his absence, and, surviving him, ruled over Rimini for several years before she died, as it is said of poison, in the year 1470.

* Eight in number; seven by Matteo de' Pasti, and one by Pisanello.

† A marble bust by Mino da Fiesole, in the Campo Santo at Pisa; a bust in wood belonging to the Barker collection at London, and a bas-relief now lost, of which an engraving is given in Mazzuchelli. A portrait by Piero della Francesca, in the National Gallery, is mentioned in the catalogue as a likeness of Isotta.

‡ *Un condottiere au XV^e Siècle*: Rimini, Etude, etc., par M. Ch. Yriarte. Paris, Rothschild. See Appendix, letter N.

Letters in the archives at Siena, found by M. Charles Yriarte, throw much light upon affairs at Rimini during the construction of the church of San Francesco, as they were written to Sigismund, in order to keep him acquainted with affairs at home, while he was defending the Sienese against the Count of Pittigliano. The year of his absence, 1454, was that of the decoration of the temple, and various names of persons concerned in it are given in these letters—one of whom, Maestro Agostino, cited in connection with a sarcophagus of the "Antenati" in the chapel of Sigismund's ancestors, is supposed by M. Yriarte to be Agostino di Duccio or Guccio, called also Fiorenza, of whom more anon, and another, "Matteo de' Bastia," is undoubtedly the famous Matteo de' Pasti, whose admirable medals have made the features of Sigismund and Isotta so familiar to us.

In examining the sculptures we have to consider the four names of Simone Fiorentino, Bernardo Ciuffagni, Agostino di Antonio di Duccio, and Matteo de' Pasti as those of the artists with whom a few of the marbles may be identified with some approach to certainty, though these are exceptions.* Of such are the statue of Isotta under the guise of St. Michael over an altar in one of the chapels, and that of St. Sigismund in his chapel, both probably by Ciuffagni. The latter as Dr. Semper observes, resembles this artist's Evangelist at Florence, both in the pose, and the hard, lifeless treatment of the robe and the head.† Another sculptor of far greater ability, evidently brought up in Donatello's school, sculptured the mannered angels in flat relief upon the walls of the same chapel. The complicated folds of their flying draperies, and the flowing outlines of their forms are treated with such facility and sweep of

* Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. ii. p. 169, says that Luca della Robbia, at the age of fifteen, went to Rimini to work for Malatesta in the church of San Francesco. This is manifestly impossible, as Luca was fifteen years old in 1415, and the church was commenced in 1457. Vittore Pisanello, the medallist, has also been mentioned among the sculptors at Rimini, but there is no proof that he ever worked in marble. His two medals of Pandolfo Malatesta were executed before 1445, after which year he left Rimini, and was succeeded as medallist to its Lord by Matteo de' Pasti. See *Les Medailleurs de la Renaissance*. Vittore Pisano, par Alexis Heis, p. 21.

† *Op. cit.* p. 73.

hand, that they appear to have been drawn rather than sculptured upon the stone, and it seems not improbable that they are the work of Agostino di Antonio di Duccio de' Mugnoni, who has been very incorrectly classed in the school of Luca della Robbia, instead of that of Donatello, to which he properly belonged.* Born at Florence in 1418, the son of a weaver named Antonio, this artist is best known to us by the beautiful façade of the church of San Bernardino at Perugia (1467), which he built and enriched with terra-cottas and parti-coloured marbles.

In the lunette of the great arch which forms its chief architectural feature, San Bernardino is represented in a glory of flaming tongues, attended by angels playing on musical instruments. The reliefs upon the architrave, which are notably realistic in style and peculiarly naïve in sentiment, relate to incidents in the life of the Saint, while the single figures and groups upon the pilasters portray angels with instruments of music, and virtues, one of whom, Chastity, a female form veiled in a flowing robe, has a branch of lilies in her hand. These charming works, as well as the arabesques and ornaments profusely scattered about the flat spaces of the façade, are treated in plane surfaces, and conceived in that spirit which accepts and makes use of common nature without regard to beauty. If Agostino learned the art of making vitrified terra-cottas in the workshop of Luca della Robbia, as Vasari would have us believe, he treated it in his own peculiar way under the unmistakable influence of Donatello. As the angels in the chapel at Rimini, which may reasonably be attributed to him, are in marble, and of great size, they do not recall his work at Perugia, but we do not attach importance to this in weighing his claims to the authorship of both, as the difference may be attributed to diversity of material, of process and of dimension.†

Proceeding now with our identification of the marbles at San Francesco, we come to those possibly sculptured by Matteo de'

* Vasari, ed. Milanese, vol. ii. p. 177.

† Other works by Agostino di Duccio are the ornaments about the door of S. Pietro, the glazed terra-cottas at S. Dominico, Perugia (1459), and four reliefs from the life of San Gimignano, on the façade of the Cathedral at Modena (1442). A bas-relief in the Archaeological Museum at Milan, and a bronze relief of the Crucifixion once attributed to Antonio del Pollajuolo, are ascribed to the same artist by M. O. Yriarte.

Pasti. Among them we should class the medallion portraits of Sigismund Pandolfo upon the pilasters which flank the entrance to the chapel of his ancestors, and the children riding on dolphins in the second chapel on the left hand.* These attributions are founded on the knowledge which we have of the admirable medals of this artist, who was born in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and like Pisanello, his master, was a Veronese. We learn that he was living at Rimini in 1453, by a letter written from that city to Sigismund Pandolfo, in which he is mentioned, but as among his medals of this Prince, of Isotta, and of several illustrious Riminese, all save one are dated in 1446-7 and 50, he may have been already a resident there for some years when the letter was penned, and he probably remained there as late as 1468. We do not recognize him as the sculptor of the elaborately decorated marble sarcophagus in the Chapel of the "Antennati," which contains the bones of Sigismund's ancestors, who as the founders of the house of Malatesta, are represented in its bas-reliefs, grouped around Minerva. Sigismund appears among them, mounted on a triumphal car preceded by prisoners with their arms bound behind their backs.

The sarcophagus is, perhaps, by Simone di Nanni, but we are unable to offer any conjecture as to the sculptor of the statuettes in niches upon the pilasters which flank the entrance to the chapel in which it stands, or of the eighteen allegorical bas-reliefs of agriculture, ethics, metaphysics, poetry, history, &c., upon the pilasters at the entrance to another chapel in the church. The fanciful mottoes inscribed upon them contain allusions to the Lord of Rimini, and his beloved Isotta.

GIOVANNI DI BARTOLO.

Giovanni di Bartolo, called Rosso, whom Vasari classes among the scholars of Donatello, was attached to the Cathedral at Florence from 1419 to 1423, and sculptured the statue of the Prophet Obadiah, which fills a niche in the second story of the Campanile. The other three statues in adjoining niches are by Donatello, and this would seem to be why Vasari asso-

* See *Die Italianischen schaumünzen*, by J. Friedländer. *Jahrbuch der K. K. P. Kunstsammlungen*, Ersterband, supplement heft. pp. 263-4.

ciated them together, as Giovanni, if we may judge him by the ultra-pictorial and scenic monument of the Brenzoni, inscribed with his name (1420), in San Fermo Maggiore at Verona, had no affinity with the great Tuscan sculptor. The monument which resembles certain Venetian tombs in style, has no Tuscan features about it, with the exception of the tent-like drapery held back by angels, which it has in common with them. The canopy shelters a sarcophagus, from which an angel with apparent effort rolls back a stone, while a risen Christ with a banner in his hand stands on the lid. Three sleeping guards in armour, one of whom has his back turned to the spectator, lie upon rocks in the foreground below the sarcophagus, at each end of which are torch-bearing angels of a Venetian type. The whole structure rests upon a heavy and overloaded console, placed against the wall. Were it not for the inscription, which leaves no room for doubt as to its author, we should question the possibility of this tomb's having been sculptured by a Florentine sculptor of the early Renaissance period.

Giovanni di Bartolo, who adorned the great portal of the church of San Niccolò at Tolentino with sculptures in 1481, is mentioned for the last time in the year 1451, in connection with a statue which he had blocked out at Carrara.*

ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO.
(1435-1488.)

The works of Andrea di Michele di Francesco Cione, called Verrocchio, show so little trace of Donatello's influence, that although the fact is well authenticated we find it difficult to believe that they ever stood in the relation of pupil and master to each other.† Born at Florence in 1435, Andrea was early apprenticed to Giuliano Verrocchio, a goldsmith, from whom he took the name of Verrocchio, which is generally said to have been given him on account of his wonderful correctness of eye. We can

* Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. ii. p. 404, note 2.

† It is affirmed by Baldinucci, on the strength of a MS. in the Strozzi library, which he discovered and examined. Another MS. cited by Milanesi, ed. Vasari, vol. iii. p. 358, note 1, affirms the same fact, and states that Andrea assisted Donatello in making the fountain in the Sacristy of San Lorenzo

form no idea of the skill in the goldsmith's art which gained him a place beside Ghiberti and Maso Finiguerra, as his altars and reliquaries adorned with metal work, his chased cope-buttons, his vases covered with animals and foliage in relief, and his cups ornamented with groups of dancing children, have disappeared, together with the silver statuettes of the twelve Apostles, which he made for Pope Sixtus IV.* Of all the precious objects of this class, in the fashioning of which he spent the greater part of his life, none remains save the silver bas-relief of the beheading of St. John, which he made for the altar of the Baptistry at Florence (1477). As little can we judge of his ability as a painter from his one picture of the Baptism of our Lord in the Accademia at Florence, which is so hard in line, dry in style, and wanting in expression, that we are inclined to give credence to the story, related by Vasari, that hurt by being outdone by his boy-pupil Lionardo da Vinci, who had painted the golden-haired angel in its left-hand corner, he gave up painting and thenceforth devoted himself to sculpture.

After the death of Donatello (1466) Verrocchio completed the fountain which he had commenced at San Lorenzo, cast a bronze ball to surmount the cupola of the Duomo (1471), and between 1469 and 1472 made the monument of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici (sons of the great Cosmo) for the sacristy of San Lorenzo, which consists of a porphyry sarcophagus, decorated with bronze ornaments of great elegance, placed beneath an arch, whose recess is filled in with a network of bronze cordage.† About 1478 Verrocchio was at Rome, working upon a monument to Selvaggia di Marco degli Alessandri, wife of Francesco Tornabuoni, a Florentine merchant, for the church of Sta. Maria-sopra-Minerva.‡ Nothing of it exists save one bas-relief now in the Bargello at Florence, whose expressive excellence is marred by a hard style, angularity of action, exaggeration of sentiment, and the abrupt treatment of draperies. It represents Selvaggia dying in child-bed. Supported by her

* 1471-1484. They were stolen from the Pontifical Chapel about the middle of the last century (Vasari, vol. v. p. 141, note 1).

† Finished in 1472. The bodies of Lorenzo and Giuliano, who ordered it, were removed to it in 1559.

‡ This Francesco Tornabuoni, who was made ambassador to Venice in 1420, is not to be confounded with another person of the same name who died at Rome in 1513 (Litta, *Articolo Tornabuoni*, vol. ii. tav. 192).

attendants, she reclines upon a couch surrounded by her relatives and friends, one of whom tears her hair in an agony of grief, while another crouches in silent despair upon the ground with her head enveloped in the folds of a thick mantle.

After his return to Florence, Verrocchio modelled and cast the bronze statue of David (1476) at the Bargello, which though meagre in outline and wanting in sentiment, is full of life and animation. The type of face is thoroughly Lionardesque, the head is covered with clustering curls, and the body is protected by a light corselet. The very carefully studied left hand rests upon the hip, and the right grasps a sword, with which the young hero is about to cut off the head of his fallen enemy. More charming than the David, and equally living, is the boy holding a dolphin in his arms, which Verrocchio made for Lorenzo de' Medici, to decorate a fountain at the villa Careggi. This bronze, one of the gems of Florence, now adorns a fountain in the cortile of the Palazzo Vecchio, and like a straggling sunbeam brightens the gloomy precincts with its presence.

Besides his more important works, our artist sculptured many crucifixes that were highly esteemed and eagerly sought after, and modelled many wax figures, which, robed in the costume of the day, were placed in churches as "ex votos."* In this branch of art Verrocchio deserves especial praise, for although dealing with perishable materials, he treated them with conscientious care. He is also to be remembered for having introduced the fashion of taking casts in plaster of hands, feet, and other natural objects for purposes of study, and in this he was imitated by many, who, says Vasari, also cast heads of the dead at a small expense, in such numbers that they are to be seen "over the chimney-pieces, doors, windows, and cornices of every house in Florence."†

The last work upon which we know Verrocchio to have been engaged was the equestrian statue of the celebrated Condottiere

* The sobriquet of Fallimagini, or "Del Cerajuolo," borne by the Benintendi family in token of their profession, proves that such images had been made in Florence before Verrocchio's day (Del Migliore, *Firenze Illust.*, Bibliotheca Magliabecchiana, MS.). These figures resembled those which the Romans, who had obtained the "jus imaginum," were accustomed to place in the "atria" of their houses.

† See Vasari, vol. v. p. 152, note 2, and Appendix, letter O.

Bartolomeo Coleoni, captain-general of the Venetian forces, who died at Bergamo (1476), leaving his silver, furniture, arms, horses, and the sum of 216,000 gold florins to the republic of Venice, on condition that his equestrian statue should be set up in the square of St. Mark.* This condition caused no little embarrassment to the Signory, as an old law forbade that the Piazza should be in any way encumbered, but it was suggested that the square of the School of St. Mark, which adjoins the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, would sufficiently fulfil the letter if not the intent of the testament, as a site.

In 1479 Verrocchio came to Venice at the request of the Signory to undertake the work, and had already modelled the horse, when a report reached him that Donatello's scholar, Bellano of Padua, was to make its rider. Indignant at this intended insult, he instantly broke the head and legs of the horse in pieces, and returned to Florence, where a decree of the Senate reached him forbidding him under pain of death ever to set foot upon Venetian territory. To this injunction he replied that he would never incur the risk, as he was aware that if his head were once cut off, the Signory could neither put it on again nor supply its place, though he could at any time advantageously replace the head of his horse. Struck with the truth of this answer, the Venetians invited him to resume his work with double pay, and a pledge that he should not again be in any way interfered with. He accordingly returned to Venice in 1488, and had begun to restore his broken model, when he was attacked by a violent illness which speedily carried him to his grave. How much, or rather how little, of his task was then completed, is clearly shown in the passage of his Will in which he supplicates the Signory to allow his scholar, Lorenzo di Credi, to finish the horse which he had commenced.† Instead of complying with this request, they commissioned Alessandro Leopardi, a Venetian sculptor,‡ to complete the group, whose ample forms markedly contrast with the generally meagre

* Sanuto's *Diary*, vol. xxii. p. 1203; Muratori, *It. Ber.*

† "Etiam relinquo opus equi per me principiat" (Gaye, vol. i. p. 369). This will was lately discovered in the Riccardiana library at Florence.

‡ Leopardi was recalled from banishment (to which he had been condemned for forgery) in 1490. "Ut tali modo possit perficere equum et statuam Ill. Bart. de Collionibus, jam cum multa laude ceptam" (Cicogna, *op. cit.*; Reumont, *op. cit.* vol. vi. p. 367, note 38).

character of the Tuscan sculptor's work. This leads us to conclude that Leopardi gave himself full liberty in the matter, and to regard him as the chief author of the finest of all modern equestrian statues, as the Venetians did when they gave him the surname of "del Cavallo."*

Clad in armour, with a helmet upon his head, the rider, who perfectly embodies the idea which history gives us of an Italian Condottiere, sits straight in his saddle, as his horse with arched neck moves slowly forward. His stern countenance is marked with deep-set eyes, whose steady intensity of expression reveals an iron will (see woodcut, Book III.) and the severity of his appearance is happily set off by the rich detail lavished upon the saddle, the breast-plate, the crupper, and the knotted mane of his steed, and by the very elegant pedestal upon which Leopardi raised the group, giving it the noblest possible effect.

Between the intervals of Verrocchio's first and second visit to Venice (1488), he finished the bronze group representing the Incredulity of St. Thomas, begun many years before, to fill a niche on the outside of Or San Michele.† The faces of our

* Would the Signory have talked of appointing Vellano of Padua to make the figure of Coleoni if Verrocchio had already modelled it? and would he only have spoken in his Will of the horse as "commenced" had it been completed? Would Alessandro Leopardi have been allowed to engrave his name upon the work without reference to Verrocchio, or been ever after styled Alessandro del Cavallo, had he not been generally acknowledged as its author? This "vexata quæstio" is important to settle as far as possible, as Leopardi is usually, and it seems unjustly, spoken of as the humble partner of Verrocchio's glory, whereas, for the above reasons, he appears to deserve the lion's share. Cav. P. Zandomenighi, in a discourse pronounced before the Accademia delle Belle Arti at Venice (p. 17), says that the original registers of the Council of Ten, of Luca Paciolo and M. Sanuto, "per quest opera non nominano e non lodano che il nostro Alessandro." Vide *Iscrizioni Veneti*, Fasc. p. 299, 1858. Sansovino (*Venezia Descritta*, p. 61) says Verrocchio made the group. Temanza (*Vite de' Pitt.* etc. p. 110) says that the description upon the surcingle, under the horse's belly, "A. Leopardi F.," proves that Leopardi cast it after Verrocchio's design; F. meaning *fudit* and not *fecit*. The inscription upon Leopardi's tomb in Santa Maria dell' Orto speaks of him as the maker of the pedestal. Sanuto says that the statue was originally gilded (*Cicogna, Iscriz. Ven.* vol. ii. p. 299).

† In 1466 Verrocchio received this commission. Jan. 15, 1467, he received 300 lire in advance. March 26, 1481, the magistrates set aside forty gold florins and 200 lire for its completion. In April, 1484, when it was nearly completed the whole sum which he was to receive (*viz.*

Lord, and of the Apostle who leans forward to thrust his hand into the wound in his Master's side, are expressive, and the composition of the group is excellent, but the draperies are heavy, and their folds angular in line.*

Verrocchio resembled his great pupil Lionardo da Vinci in the multiplicity of his talents, but no comparison can be instituted between his dry uninspired manner, and the divine style of his scholar, to whom all arts and sciences were equally familiar. That Lionardo was an accomplished sculptor there can be no doubt, else he would not have been commissioned to model and cast the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza by the Duke of Milan, who called him to his court in 1483, made him director of the Ducal Academy of Fine Arts, and member of the committee of architects charged with the building of the Cathedral. During fourteen years Lionardo was more or less occupied with the statue of the illustrious founder of his patron's house, for which he not only made an infinite quantity of designs, but also executed two perfect models of full size, one in a classical, the other in a modern and picturesque style. The first of these is probably represented in the frontispiece of a little MS. volume preserved in the National Library at Paris, written by the Cremonese Bartolomeo Gambagnola, and entitled "*Gesti di Francesco Sforza.*"† It represents the hero armed from head to foot, seated upon a heavy but carefully studied horse, and holding in his right hand a bâton which rests upon his saddle-bow. One can well understand that such a design could not satisfy Lionardo, whose genius demanded something of a more original and vigorous type, and accordingly in the year 1490, as he himself tells us in a note written on the cover of his treatise upon Chiaroscuro,

400 florins) was agreed upon; and it was decided that the group should be set in its place on the Feast of St. John (*Beiträge zur It. Geschichte*, von A. von Reumont, vol. vi. pp. 348 *et seq.*).

* Both Verrocchio and Pollajuolo sent in designs for the monument of Cardinal Fortiguerra, which was erected, probably after the design of the latter, by Lorenzo Lotti and Guido Mazzoni, in the Cathedral at Pistoja. The figure of Hope, and the bas-relief of God the Father are, however, attributed to Verrocchio. The original model, in terra-cotta, is at the South Kensington Museum.

† Ancien Fonds, petit in folio. No. 9941. An account of this MS., by M. Ch. Clement, may be found in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April, 1860.

he modelled another group of a fighting warrior, reining in a fiery horse over the body of a struggling soldier. In the fourteen sketches which he made before finally reaching his ideal, he drew the warrior and his horse in various attitudes—both with and without the fallen soldier—and made careful studies of the horse's body, divided as if for casting in bronze.*

The full sized model which he completed before 1493, was placed on the top of a triumphal arch raised in the Piazza del Castello in honour of the marriage of Bianca Maria Sforza and the Emperor Maximilian, but its casting was deferred for various reasons till a more favourable time. Lionardo was occupied in painting the fresco of the Last Supper, and his patron taken up with those financial and political embarrassments which culminated in his overthrow by Louis XII. of France, who seized upon Milan in 1499, and sent him to pass the last ten years of his life in imprisonment at Amboise. It has commonly been said that Louis, being unable to rise above his hatred of the Sforza out of admiration for a great work of art, allowed his soldiers to use Lionardo's model as a target, but this seems disproved by a letter from Hercules I., Duke of Ferrara, dated Sept. 1501, to Giovanni Valla, his agent at Milan, requesting him to ask the Cardinal of Rouen, then governor of the city, to cede to him the model of a horse made by Lionardo da Vinci, that he may have it cast in bronze for an equestrian statue of himself which he intends to set up at Ferrara. Nothing is known of the issue of the negotiations or of the subsequent fate of the model, but the memory of Lionardo's equestrian statue has survived its destruction, and made his name in sculpture, as in all other arts, a synonyme of perfection.†

* The volume containing these sketches is preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor. It is entitled *Disegni di L. da Vinci restaurati da Pompeo Leoni*. Mr. Smith, English consul at Venice, purchased it for King George III. This precious volume contains 236 leaves mounted on blue paper. It probably came into the hands of Pompeo Leoni after the death of Guido Mazzenta, a Milanese engineer, who possessed thirteen volumes of Lionardo's MSS., given him by Orazio Melzi, in 1590. Melzi afterwards took back ten of these volumes, which he gave to King Philip of Spain; the other three came into the hands of Pompeo. At p. 160 of the *Cabinet de l'Amateur*, for 1861, M. Piot has published Mazzenta's own account of these MSS., from the original MS. which belonged to M. Ambrose Firmin Didot.

† Lomazzo, in his *Trattato dell' Arch.* etc., lib. ii. ch. viii. p. 213, de-

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scribes a terra-cotta head of the Infant Christ by Lionardo, in his own possession. M. le Baron Rattier, of Paris, has in his collection a bas-relief inscribed Publius Scipio, which from its general resemblance to the superb drawing of the head of a warrior among the Lionardo drawings at Windsor, has been attributed to Lionardo. The faces of the two are so unlike that we cannot believe the relief to be by the great master. In the drawing the strongly marked lips and protruding chin conform to a type frequently repeated by Lionardo, while in the marble the features are regular, and the expression of the face is placid. As a work of art, however, the bas-relief is masterly, and the winged head of War in very low relief upon the breast is beyond praise, both for expression and in execution.



CHAPTER III.

THE ROBBIAS, MINO, CIVITALI, BENEDETTO DA MAJANO, ANDREA FERUCCI, RUSTICI AND BARTOLOMEO DA MONTELUPO.

THE name of Luca, the son of Simone di Marco della Robbia, is even more widely known than that of either of his great contemporaries, Ghiberti or Donatello, through the famous Robbia ware, which he invented. Born in his father's house, via di San Egidio,* in 1499, he was, like so many other eminent artists of his time, trained in a goldsmith's workshop.†

To him, as to them, this was but a stepping-stone to sculpture, upon the study of which he entered at a very early period with the utmost ardour; and yet, strange to say, the only memorials of the first forty-three years of his life are a few bas-reliefs, on the side of Giotto's campanile, towards the Cathedral (1437-1440),‡ two unfinished reliefs of the imprisonment and the crucifixion of St. Peter,§ at the Bargello, and a series of ten alto-reliefs in the same museum, which he began in 1433 for the balustrade of a singing-gallery (cantoria) in the Cathedral, and finished about 1440. Among these dancing children and players upon musical instruments, there is one group of choristers whose music has gone out unto the ends of

* Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i. pp. 182-186, *Dennunzia de' Beni*. Simone della Robbia lived in the Via San Egidio.

† This goldsmith, according to Vasari, was Lionardo di Ser Giovanni, who made the splendid silver altar in the Duomo at Pistoja, between 1355 and 1371. It is, however, more than questionable whether Lionardo could have lived long enough to have instructed Luca della Robbia. (See *Les Della Robbia*, par H. B. De Jony, p. 5, note 2; and Milanesi's ed. of Vasari, vol. ii. p. 168, note 2.)

‡ Their subjects are Grammar, Philosophy, Music, Astronomy, and Geometry.

§ Assigned to Luca, April 20, 1438, and intended for an altar in the chapel of St. Peter at the Cathedral.

the world. Who that has listened to the shrill treble, the rich contralto, the luscious tenor, and the sonorous bass, has failed to feel with the poet, when looking upon another "marble braid of men and maidens," that "heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter?" Compared in their present position with the boldly treated bas-reliefs of the same subject at the Bargello, which Donatello sculptured for the companion singing-gallery, the highly finished works of Luca della Robbia are the more effective, but could both be raised to the places which they were intended to decorate, there can be no doubt that the verdict would be reversed, for while Luca would be unheard, Donatello would speak clearly from the height for which his voice was pitched. Having neither the scientific knowledge of Donatello, nor the elegance of Ghiberti, Luca is as simple and plastic as the latter is complicated and picturesque. Nothing in his works corroborates the statement of Baldinucci that he studied under Ghiberti,* though it is possible that he did so for a while, to perfect himself in the art of bronze casting, before he undertook the bronze doors of the sacristy of the Cathedral, which though originally assigned to him on the 28th of February, 1446, with Michelozzo and Maso di Bartolomeo as his assistants, ultimately fell entirely into his hands, on account of the absence of the one and the death of the other.† Their ten panels contain figures of the Madonna and Child, St. John the Baptist, the four Evangelists and the four Doctors of the Church, each attended by two pleasing angels whose attitude and expression are so little varied that the general effect is somewhat monotonous. When compared with Ghiberti's reliefs, in which the bronze looks as if it had been moulded like clay, these seem to want sharpness and clearness of line.

Among the many beautiful cinque-cento tombs in Tuscany, that of the Fiesolan Bishop Benozzo Federighi, by Luca della Robbia (1454-55), in the church of San Francesco di Paolo, below the hill of Bello-Sguardo, holds a high place.‡ The admirably truthful figure of the dead bishop, clad in his episcopal robes, lies upon a sarcophagus within a square recess, whose architrave

* Baldinucci, vol. i. p. 452.

† Finished in 1464, August 10.

‡ Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i. p. 183. This monument was finished in 1456.

and sideposts are decorated with enamelled tiles, painted with flowers and fruits coloured after nature.* At the back of this recess, are three half figures of Christ, the Madonna, and St. John. Their faces are expressive, and that of the Saviour is full of mournful dignity. Two flying angels, bearing between them a garland containing an inscription setting forth the name and titles of the deceased, are sculptured below the rich cornice of the sarcophagus.

The glazed tiles about this marble tomb were set in place ten years after Luca had made his first works in Robbia ware, the result of repeated experiment directed towards the discovery of some method of covering clay with an opaque, hard, stanniferous enamel which would not crack, and in which he could multiply his works much more rapidly and far more remuneratively than in marble or bronze. That he invented enamelled pottery, as Vasari asserts, is certainly a mistake, for it was not only known to the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Greeks, but also to the Italians in the middle ages.† Bicci di Lorenzo had modelled and glazed the terra-cotta group of the coronation of the Madonna over the door of the hospital of San Egidio at Florence,‡ twenty years before Luca applied his discovery to art purposes, and at that time the ceramic artists of Spain and Majorca (who had learned their art from the Arabs) manufactured glazed vessels of all descriptions, and tiles for church pavements.

The glaze used by Bicci, which, like that of the ancients, was

* The result of Luca's endeavour, mentioned by Vasari, to paint objects on flat surfaces of terra-cotta, "which, being covered with vitrified enamels, would give them endless durability." The twelve medallions, painted in chiaroscuro, with impersonations of the twelve months, now in the Kensington Museum, are supposed to have formed part of the decorations of a writing-cabinet, made by Luca for Piero di Cosimo de' Medici. Vide *Illustrated Catalogue*, pp. 59-63.

† Vitruvius (lib. ii. ch. viii.) mentions the use of enamelled bricks upon the Palace of Mausolus at Halicarnassus. That the mediæval Italians were acquainted with this art is proved by its mention in the *Div. Art. Sched.* of the monk Theophilus, and in the *Maravita Preciosa* treatise, written in 1330 by Pietro del Bono, a Lombard, as well as by the use of enamelled plates in façades and friezes by early mediæval architects. See M. Piot's *Cabinet de l'Amateur*, for 1861, pp. 1 et seq.

‡ Attributed by Vasari to Dello Delli, but proved by recently discovered documents to be the work of Bicci (G. Milanese, *Arch. St. It.* vol. xii. p. 183, note 1, Dispensa 33a, A.D. 1860).

colourless, merely served to protect the terra-cotta surface from injury, while that employed at Pesaro in the thirteenth century was opaque and coloured.* In all probability the sight of Spanish and Majorcan pottery, or perhaps an acquaintance with some foreign workmen employed in its manufacture, suggested to Luca the idea of applying their processes of glazing to bas-reliefs and groups, and though the glaze suitable for his purpose cost him much study, it did not entail upon him such sufferings and privations as Palissy the potter endured before he attained success.

The enamel first used by Luca upon figures was pure white, and that upon his backgrounds and accessories blue and green, but as he and his nephew Andrea considered that their works, if more highly coloured, might be advantageously used to replace fresco-painting in damp places, they afterwards multiplied the number of colours, and carried them into the flesh and draperies of their figures, with a disregard of true plastic feeling, which little by little degraded their originally pure marble-like surfaces to the level of wax-work.

The first bas-reliefs in Robbia ware, those of the Resurrection and Ascension, were made by Luca about 1440, for the lunettes of the doors leading into the Sacristy of the Cathedral. The Resurrection is probably the earlier of the two as it has no colour, except in the background, while in the Ascension the plants in the foreground are coloured. It is only by such apparently trifling differences that the date of enamelled terra-cottas can be approximately estimated, for as the artist's work is concealed, it is not possible, as in a marble or unglazed surface, to judge by the manner of handling as to what period of his life any given work belongs. In Robbia ware, it is usual to assign that which is simplest in colour and feeling to the period when Luca and Andrea worked together, and that in which colour is unsparingly used to the later period when Andrea and his four sons, Giovanni, Luca II., Ambrogio and Girolamo represented the school, still there are examples, such as the decorative terra-cotta work in the Capella Pazzi at Santa Croce, where Luca did not confine himself to blues and greens, and certain works, such as the lovely altar-piece of the Coronation of the Virgin in the church

* Marryatt, *History of Pottery and Porcelain*, ch. ii. p. 15. Second edition.

of the Osservanza near Siena, which would seem to be recognizable as his work without the aid of documents or signature, now attributed to Andrea,* though to us the pure white figures, whose draperies are picked out with a modicum of gold, the unbroken background against which they are relieved as against an arrested bit of Italian sky, the grace of the bending Madonna, and the simply composed bas-reliefs of the Annunciation, the Birth of our Lord, and the Assumption of the Virgin in the "gradino," all bespeak the master's hand. This also is clearly visible in an altar-piece in the Vetusti Chapel of San Bernardino, at Aquila in the Abruzzi, in which the upper group represents the Coronation of the Virgin with a like surrounding of angelic worshippers, and the lower the Resurrection of our Lord. The four small bas-reliefs of the Nativity, the Annunciation, the Epiphany and the Presentation, in the gradino, are sweet and tender in feeling, and simple in composition. These characteristics give great charm to Luca della Robbia's genuine works, which being eminently serene in sentiment and pure in style, are calculated to soothe the mind, rather than to excite emotion.† They realize the apothegm of Winckelmann that, "perfect beauty like the purest water has no peculiar taste." The death of Luca, who was a truly great artist, took place on the 22nd of September, 1482, and he was buried at San Piero Maggiore, where his nephew and pupil, Andrea di Marco, born in 1437, was also laid to rest in 1528. He and his four sons, who inherited from Luca the secret which was the basis of his and their fortunes, developed that use of glazed and coloured terra-cotta in decorative connection with architecture, of which Luca had set them an example in the medallions upon the façade of Or San Michele, and Andrea in the tympani of the arches of the Loggia di San Paolo. By far the most striking example of this decorative system is the elaborate frieze of the Ceppo Hospital at Pistoja, which illustrates the seven acts of mercy (1514-1525). Whether this series of brilliantly coloured and skilfully modelled compositions be the work of Andrea and

* See Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, fourth ed. p. 345; and Dr. Bode, *op. cit.* p. 17.

† M. Barbet de Jouy gives a long list of Robbian works at the end of his volume (*Les Della Robbia*). See also the Commentary appended to Vasari's *Life of Luca*, vol. iii. pp. 76 *et seq.*

his son Luca II., or of some unknown member of their family or school, we are unable to say, but any one who examines them will find proof of close study of nature, both in individual portrait heads and in such a composition as the Visitation of the Sick, where the effect of illness upon the human frame has been evidently studied with conscientious care. Andrea, who was an accomplished sculptor in marble like his uncle, made a richly decorated altar for the church of S. Maria della Grazie near Arezzo, and several altars in the Chapel of the Madonna for the Cathedral of that city, and Luca II. was at one time employed at Rome by Pope Leo X. to pave the Vatican Loggie with coloured tiles. His brother Giovanni made a highly coloured altar-piece for the convent church of San Girolamo at Fiesole,* as did the monk Ambrogio, Andrea's third son, for the convent of St. Spirito at Siena.

Girolamo, the fourth son of Andrea, architect, sculptor, and painter, went to France with some Florentine merchants about 1527, and there found ample employment during the remaining forty years of his life under four kings of the house of Valois.† The Chateau de Madrid,‡ which he built in the Bois de Boulogne for Francis I., and decorated externally with reliefs in Robbia ware, whose subjects were selected from the Metamorphoses of Ovid, is mentioned by Evelyn in his *Diary*§ as observable only for its open manner of architecture, "being made of terraces and galleries one over the other, to the very roof;" and for its materials, "which are mostly of earth, painted like porcelain or China ware, whose colours appear very fresh."||

* An altar-piece in the Louvre (Coll. Sauvageot) is attributed to Giovanni (Marryatt, *op. cit.* ch. ii. pp. 16, 19).

† His name is mentioned in the royal accounts up to 1565. He died in France about 1567.

‡ This name, which still clings to the site, is generally supposed to have been given on account of the resemblance of the edifice to the king's prison in Spain, but it was more probably suggested by the use of coloured tiles in its decorations, common upon Spanish buildings, for between the château in the Bois de Boulogne, whose style was Italian Renaissance, and such a Moresque Gothic castle as that in which Francis I. was confined in Spain, there can have been no resemblance.

§ Evelyn's *Diary* (Oct. 25, 1650), vol. i. p. 256. Colburn's edition.

|| The Chateau de Madrid had fallen into so ruinous a condition at the end of the last century, that Louis XVI. determined to pull it down; but the royal edict was never carried into effect, and the building remained

Although the Robbias guarded their precious secret with jealous care, glazed terra-cotta figures, generally of inferior quality, were made in Tuscany, even in the lifetime of Luca and Andrea, by individuals out of the family, one of whom was Agostino di Duccio, or Guccio, of whom we have already spoken in the preceding chapter as employed at Rimini by Sigismund Pandolfo Malatesta in decorating the church of San Francisco. We know by a letter from the Signory to the Legate of Perugia,* that he was highly esteemed at Florence, and his great influence upon the development of the ceramic art in that district is proved by his having founded a workshop for the manufacture of pottery at the small castle of Deruta, which eventually attained great celebrity.†

Other workers in Robbia-ware were Baglioni, who made a Madonna with Angels for a chapel of the Badia at Florence, and a now destroyed altar for the Duomo at Perugia; Pietro Paolo Agabiti da Sassoferrato, sculptor and painter, who made the ancona of an altar at Arceria, in the Sinigaglian district, which is still preserved in the Capuchin convent of that town; ‡ Agostino and Polidoro, who made the Porta di St. Pietro at Perugia; and Giorgio Andreoli, from Gubbio, one of whose altar reliefs may be seen in the "Staedelsche Institut" at Frankfurt-am-Main.§

After existing nearly a century, the school founded by Luca della Robbia died out, and although various attempts have been made to discover the glaze which he used, none have been thoroughly successful. This is not to be regretted, unless another Luca could be found to use it. The purity of a white surface relieved against a background of deep blue, harmonised standing until the Terrorists of the Revolution levelled it with the ground, and sold the broken fragments of the beautiful terra-cotta ornaments to the paviors of Paris, who used them to mend the roads. See Labarte (*La Renaissance des Arts*, pp. 1,025 *et seq.*); and for ground plan and elevation, T. A. de Cercean (*Les plus Excellents Bâtimens de France*, Paris, 1607).

* Gaye, vol. i. p. 196, dated Sept. 1461.

† F. Lazzari, *Notizie della Raccolta Correr*. p. 59.

‡ Dated 1513. "Pregevole lavoro che non invidia le opere di Luca della Robbia" (Ricci, *Mem. St. delli Artisti dalla Marca d' Ancona*, pp. 156, 158, Doc. v. p. 158).

§ Dated 1515. Robinson (*Illustrated Catalogue*, p. 53) says it is by Andrea della Robbia.

perfectly with his lovely Madonnas and Angels, but it was less consonant with the inferior creations of his scholars, who used colour not as an accessory, but as an essential element of effect.

Mino di Giovanni, called "da Fiesole" though born at Poppi in the Casentino (1481), is classed by Vasari as the scholar, and by other writers as the imitator, of Desiderio da Settignano, who was but three years his senior and his intimate friend. Their parity of age makes it hardly credible that they can have stood to each other in the relation of master and pupil, and their styles have not sufficient affinity to make it appear that the younger artist imitated the elder, while in one essential particular they differed absolutely, namely, that the art of Desiderio is never mannered, while that of Mino is seldom free from mannerism. Again, Desiderio produced little, and that little was varied in type, while Mino executed many works, which despite their winning grace and charm, weary by their sameness of type. We can listen for ever to the nightingale, but we soon tire of a songster who endlessly repeats the same notes, however sweet. Only in refinement, technical excellence, and delicacy of surface treatment can they be classed together, but these are general qualities which belong to other sculptors of their day and generation who have no connection with each other or with them.

The attempt to arrange the works of Mino in strict chronological order is a hopeless task, both because many of them are not dated, and because they are too much alike in style to allow us to hazard any conjecture as to their execution at an earlier or later period of his life. His earliest dated work is the bust of the rich Florentine banker Niccolò Strozzi, in the museum at Berlin, sculptured at Rome in 1464 with that fidelity to nature characteristic of Florentine portraiture in the fifteenth century. The bust of Bishop Salutati, sculptured about 1462 for the tomb of that prelate in the cathedral at Fiesole, is a still finer example of Mino's skill in this branch of art, and certainly one of the most living and characteristic presentments of nature ever made in marble.* Any one who has looked at those piercing eyes, and strongly marked features, and at that mouth with its combined

* Ordered in 1462, by this bishop, who died in 1466. He was learned in sacred and profane jurisprudence, beloved by Pope Eugenius IV., and made Bishop of Fiesole by Nicholas V., A.D. 1450.

bitterness and sweetness of expression, knows that the Bishop was a man of nervous temperament, a dry, logical reasoner, who though sometimes sharp in his words, was always kindly in his deeds. His bust, which is finished like a gem, from the top of the jewelled mitre to the rich robe upon the shoulders, stands upon an architrave supported by pilasters and adorned with arabesques below a sarcophagus resting upon ornate consoles. The lovely altar-piece opposite the Bishop's tomb, which Mino sculptured at his expense, is divided into three compartments, two of which contain statuettes of San Lorenzo and San Remigius in niches under an entablature crowned by a bust of our Lord, and the third a group of the Madonna kneeling with her hands crossed upon her breast, near the Infant Christ, who sits upon the steps with a globe upon his knee, and smilingly stretches out his left hand to the little St. John, who kneels before him in artless simplicity. The work is as fresh and sweet as a lily of the valley, and in style thoroughly characteristic of the master.

Some of our sculptor's best works are to be seen in the church of the Badia at Florence, where he worked at intervals from about 1460 to the end of his life. The earliest is an altar to the right of the entrance, made for Diottisalvi Neri, whose bust, also by Mino, dated 1464, is in the collection of M. Dreyfus at Paris, together with two charming figures in relief of Faith and Charity, which once occupied niches in some altar of the same character as that at the Badia. A relief of the Madonna and Child in a roundel, which Mino sculptured for the monks of the convent adjoining the Badia, gave them so much satisfaction, that they commissioned him to design and execute the monuments of the distinguished Florentine Bernardo Giugni (d. 1466), who served the Republic as ambassador on several important occasions, and was made Cavaliere and Gonfalonier, and that of Count Hugo of Tuscany. The arched recess, the statue lying upon a sarcophagus, the Madonna and Child in a lunette, are distinctive features in both these tombs, as in those by Desiderio and Rossellino at Santa Croce, which are, however, much more ornate. The Giugni tomb is in fact very simply ornamented, and the figure of Justice below the lunette is meagre in outline though refined in conception and carefully executed. Its draperies, like those of Charity which occupies a corresponding place in the tomb of Count Hugo, are as in all Mino's

single figures disposed in sharp-edged folds, and the faces of both have a sweet, semi-Chinese character. The tomb of the Count with its lunette relief, its statuettes, its flying angels supporting a memorial tablet, its heraldic genii, and its sculptured architrave, is a charming object, but, considering the excellent opportunity offered for relief decoration by the picturesque story of his life,* it is to be regretted that it was not assigned to some sculptor like Rossellino, who excelled in relief, rather than to Mino who seldom ventured to attempt it. Its occupant, who was Viceroy of Tuscany during the latter part of the tenth century under the Emperor Otho II., had long led a worldly life, when one day while hunting, he lost his way in a dense forest. After wandering about for a long time in search of an issue, he suddenly found himself at the entrance to a forge, and looking in saw men tormented in flames, and beaten out on anvils like bars of iron. Asking the meaning of this strange spectacle, he was told by the black forgers that these were damned souls, and that unless he repented of his sins and led a new life he would share their wretched fate. The vision then vanished, and the Count returned home, to sell his patrimony, build seven Abbeys, one of which was that of the Badia at Florence, and to spend the remainder of his life in penitence and prayer.†

In 1478 Mino made two very mediocre bas-reliefs from the life of St. John the Baptist, for a pulpit in the Cathedral at Prato, and then went for the third time to Rome, where he resided for several years, and executed many commissions.‡ The most important of these was that given him by Cardinal Barbo for a monument to his uncle Pope Paul II. (Pietro Barbo), scion of a noble Venetian house, who being vain of his personal beauty wished to take the name of Formosus on ascending the papal

* Count Hugo is the "Gran Barone," spoken of in the *Paradiso*, canto xvi.

"Il cui nome, e 'l cui pregio,
La festa di Tommaso riconforta."

† The vision is related by Scipione Ammirato, *Ist. Fior.* vol. i pp. 32-33.

‡ Mino first went to Rome in 1454. During his second visit, in 1463, he worked upon a pulpit for St. Peter's, commissioned by Pius II. In 1464 he returned to Florence and was admitted to the Sculptor's Guild. See M. Eug. Müntz, *op. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 253.

throne. As this satisfaction was denied him, he consoled himself by showing off his handsome person to the greatest advantage in gorgeous vestments at church ceremonies, and by wearing a costly mitre, blazing with sapphires, diamonds, emeralds, and rubies. Unlike his great predecessor Pius II., he neither appreciated nor favoured Art and Literature, and being neither of an enterprising nor chivalrous nature, abandoned the troublesome but glorious enterprise of repelling the Turks, which that Pontiff was about to undertake at the time of his death. The monument erected to him by Mino, at St. Peter's, was pulled down when the old Basilica was destroyed, and after being again set up, in the middle of the sixteenth century was dismantled and dispersed. It consisted of a recumbent effigy of the Pope, stretched upon a sarcophagus resting on a double base, standing under an arch supported by columns, outside of which were statuettes of the Evangelists in niches. Bas-reliefs of the Last Judgment and the Resurrection filled the lunette and the flat space below it, while winged boys with medallions and garlands, reliefs of Faith, Charity, and Hope, the Creation of Eve, and the Temptation, and a profusion of rich ornament combined to give the surface of the tomb a rich and varied effect. Of all its sculptures, only a few fragments remain in the crypt of the Basilica, such as the mannered bas-relief of the Last Judgment, in which Pope Paul II. and the Emperor Frederic III. are pointed out to the Redeemer's notice by St. John the Baptist; the Creation of Eve, the Temptation, which is in a sadly mutilated state, and the highly-polished and carefully finished bas-reliefs of Faith and Charity.*

There can be no doubt that in these, as in many other works at Rome ascribed to Mino, he employed a great number of assistants who worked after his designs with but little regard to their master's reputation, as for instance, in a second relief of the Last Judgment in the Cloister Court of San Agostino, &c.,† but the Tabernacle at Santa Maria in Trastevere,‡ we believe

* For an engraving of this monument, see Ciacconius, vol. ii. p. 1,091.

† Inscribed "Opus Mini." Engraved at Plate 3 of Tosi's *Mon. Sep.*

‡ Dr. Bode, *op. cit.*, attributes to Mino the monument of Cecco Tornabuoni (d. 1480) in the Minerva; the Madonna reliefs in the lunettes of the monuments of Cristoforo della Rovere (d. 1479) in S. M. del Popolo, and of Pietro Riario (d. 1474) at SS. Apostoli, and the arms and decoration of the interior of the Pal. di Venezia. Many other works, especially tombs, at Rome show the influence exercised there by this master.

to be an authentic, as it is a very charming, work. The bronze door surrounded by angels, which closes the receptacle for the "Olea Sancta," and the Christ holding his cross in one hand and extending the other over a chalice, out of which rises a flame typical of the grace which he sheds upon it, are enframed by an arch, adorned with cherubs' heads, and supported by two pilasters with Corinthian capitals, upon whose flat spaces are vases containing lilies. There are also statuettes in niches, an architrave sculptured with cherubs' heads and festoons, and a gable within which the Holy Spirit is sculptured in the likeness of a dove. Repetitions of this tabernacle, with but slight variations, exist in the sacristy of Sta. Croce at Florence, the baptistry at Volterra (1471), the Church of S. Marco at Rome, and the Baglioni chapel in the church of S. Pietro in Cassinese at Perugia. The hair and robe borders of the statuettes of SS. John and Jerome belonging to this latter work are gilded, and the pupils of their eyes are coloured, like those of the figures and bust of the Salutati tomb and altar-piece at Fiesolo.*

Mino died at Florence in July, 1484, of a fever brought on by over fatigue, consequent upon the moving of some heavy marbles without sufficient assistance, and was buried in the church of San Ambrogio, where he is called to mind by a marble Taber-

* Other works by Mino, not mentioned in the text, are the busts of Piero de' Medici, "il Gottoso" (1454), of a young man in armour, and of Rinaldo della Luna (1461); four profile heads in relief, and a Madonna and Child at the Bargello; a bust of Isotta da Rimini in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Two reliefs of the Madonna and Child—one of great beauty—are in the collection of M. Timbal at Paris, and five in the Kensington Museum, which look rather like the work of an imitator of Mino's style, as they have neither his naïveté nor his high finish. The bust of San Giovannino, by Mino, at the Louvre, formerly in the His de la Salle collection, is a gem. (*See* tailpiece, ch. vi. p. 133.) In the first edition of this work we hazarded the opinion that it might be the work of Desiderio, but further study of it has convinced us that we were in error. Those who doubt may compare it with the shield-bearing child to the left, on the base of the monument of Count Ugo at the Badia. The Louvre also contains an important piece of work by Mino, viz., two marble slabs richly sculptured, nos. 27 and 28, Renaissance Museum. Dr. Bode, *Kunst und Künstler*, Lief. 62, p. 52, mentions also at Florence, a Tabernacle in the Via de' Conti; several Madonna reliefs at Empoli and Urbino in the Museum; at Paris in the Louvre, and the Gavet collection; at Berlin in the Museum, a bust of Christ as Ecce Homo, 1466, with a female allegorical bust.

nacle sculptured in the latter part of his life to enshrine an "ampulla" of crystal, which is said to contain the sacred elements miraculously transmuted during the celebration of mass on the festival of San Firenze, A.D. 1230. The miracle is typically represented in a bas-relief on the gradino, of the Child Jesus supported by angels, rising from a chalice.

In the art of Mino da Fiesole we have pointed out as an offset to its real charm, a certain sameness of expression, which is rare among the Italian sculptors of the quattro-cento, whose works as a rule have much variety, however markedly individual they may be in style. To those already mentioned whose merit in this respect is unquestionable, may be added one of Mino's contemporaries,

MATTEO CIVITALI DI GIOVANNI,

born at Lucca in 1435, and early sent to study at Florence, returned thence to Lucca to enrich the Cathedral with many admirable works. One of these, the little temple of the Volto Santo (1482), is decorated with a statue of St. Sebastian (1484), whose pure realistic style is very unlike that of Civitali's other works.*

Another is the very beautiful monument to Pietro da Noceto, secretary to Pope Nicholas V., which for sobriety of style, elegance of proportion, and judicious alternation of plain and ornamented surface ranks with the best quattro-cento Tuscan works of its class.† The arched recess, the Madonna and Child in the lunette, the sarcophagus with the recumbent statue, are features common to other monuments at Florence, but the profile heads of the son and daughter-in-law of the deceased, in flat relief, are novel and admirably treated additions. Directly opposite Pietro's tomb is the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, for which Civitali was employed (1478) to make a marble Tabernacle and two kneeling angels, by Count Bertini of Lucca,

* Civitali signed the first contract for this work with Domenico Bertini, January 19, 1482, and the second on the 21st of February. The statue is signed and dated 1484. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. ii. p. 127.

† Milanesi says this work was finished in 1472. If so, it was made in the lifetime of Pietro da Noceto, who died in 1479.

whose bust in a roundel is placed at the entrance to the chapel. The angels, which reveal Civitali in an altogether new light, are imbued with a devout feeling even more strongly expressed in the beautiful bas-relief of Faith at the Bargello, and in the statue of Zachariah in the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Cathedral at Genoa, which he sculptured about 1420. The earnestness with which all these figures pray, would seem to show that the sculptor was himself devout. Though pictorial rather than plastic in style, both in action and in the treatment of draperies, they are really original and beau-



tiful works, whose religious spirit contrasts strikingly with the Pagan tendencies which show themselves in the works of other quattro-cento sculptors. Unlike these bas-reliefs, those upon the Altar of St. Regulus, which Civitali made for Niccolo di Pietro da Noceto in 1484, and those in the chapel of St. John at Genoa, are executed in a fantastic and exaggerated style which is strangely at variance with that of his statues. In them he reminds us of Pollajuolo, but when he treats portrait heads in relief, as in the Noceto tomb, he recalls the great medallists of the time,

and we can give him no higher praise. Of his six life size statues in the Cathedral at Genoa, executed between 1490 and 1496, the Zachariah is the finest (*see* wood-cut). The Elizabeth is well draped and grandiose, and the Habbakuk effective, but the Adam wants dignity, and the Eve is coarse and without expression.

Although during the greater part of his life Civitali, who died in 1501, worked as a sculptor, he was a thoroughly accomplished architect, as he proved by the temple of the Volto Santo in the Cathedral, one of the most perfect examples of the Early

Renaissance style, and by the palace of the Lucchesini at San Giusto.

His son, Niccolò, architect and sculptor, built the palaces of the Bernardini at Lucca, of the Santini at Gattajola, and of the Sinibaldi at Massa Pisana. We know nothing of him as a sculptor, save that he worked at Pietro Santa. Vincenzo Civitali, one of Niccolò's descendants, attained some reputation in the sixteenth century as a military engineer and architect.

BENEDETTO DA MAJANO.

Antonio da Majano, "maestro di pietra," had three sons, Giuliano (1432-1490), architect, intarsiatore, and sculptor, who spent much of his life at Naples, in the service of the Duke of Calabria; Giovanni, sculptor; and Benedetto, born at Florence in 1442, with whom, as one of the most remarkable sculptors of the younger generation, we are more especially concerned. A bas-relief of the Pietà by Giuliano and Giovanni, which is set into the pedestal of a life-size terra-cotta group of the Madonna and Child by Benedetto over the altar of a little wayside shrine, called the Madonna dell' Ulivo, about a mile outside the gate of Prato, on the road to Florence, represents the double tendencies of sculpture in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Both bas-relief and group were executed in 1480, and yet they differ totally in style, for while the relief, which represents our Lord supported by the Madonna and St. John, is like Pollajuolo in its intensely exaggerated facial expression and hard-lined draperies, the group is like Luca della Robbia, quiet in action, sweet in feeling, and softly rounded in its forms and folds. It is not known when and with whom Benedetto began to study sculpture. For many years he devoted himself to intarsia work,* in which he was instructed by his eldest brother Giuliano, and, if Vasari is to be believed, he did not

* This branch of art, which consists in combining different coloured woods into figures, ornaments, and effects of perspective, came into vogue when Brunelleschi and Paolo Uccello perfected perspective. It corresponds to the "opus sectile" of the ancients in all but the material (Marchesi, vol. ii. p. 225). The inlaid chair in the sacristy of the Cathedral (1465), and the doors of the Hall of Audience, in the Palazzo

abandon it for sculpture until the destruction of two beautifully inlaid chests by dampness had convinced him that it was unwise to spend his energies upon such fragile materials.* He must, however, have studied sculpture long before 1474, when he modelled his first dated work, the bust of Pietro Mellini at the Bargello, as its masterly execution shows a practised hand. For this same person, who was a rich merchant, he made the beautiful pulpit at Santa Croce, in which the sister arts of architecture and sculpture are admirably combined into a master-work of its kind. Skilfully supported against one of the pillars of the nave, through which its staircase is carried, it shows five panels to view, each containing a bas-relief of an event in the history of St. Francis. One, the finest, represents the dead body of the Saint lying on a bier in the Basilica at Assisi, surrounded by kneeling and standing figures of priests, and boys with tapers and censers. The background, treated in perspective, shows the nave flanked by columns leading up to the altar, over which angels bear the kneeling Saint in a mandorla to heaven. With this exception, the composition so closely resembles Ghirlandajo's treatment of the same subject in the Sassetti chapel at Sta. Trinità (1485), that we feel some interest in ascertaining the date of the pulpit, commonly fixed at about 1495. This would make Benedetto Ghirlandajo's debtor, but if Dr. Bode be right in supposing that the pulpit was commenced soon after the bust of Mellini (1474), then the case is reversed.† The relief is a little more quiet in line than the fresco, and its figures are a little less numerous, but their general arrangement is strikingly similar, and, we may add, their treatment is equally pictorial, for Benedetto here, as in all his other reliefs, painted in marble, as Ghiberti did in bronze. The four other subjects treated in the panels of the pulpit are, like that which we have described, composed with much

Vecchio (1475-1481), generally attributed to the two brothers, are in all probability by Giuliano alone. Benedetto's skill as an intarsiatore is shown in a door found at Borgo San Sepolcro, and now in a private collection at Palermo. The Annunciation is represented in the two upper panels, and vases of flowers in the two lower. Bode, p. 43.

* On the way to Hungary, where they were to be presented to King Matthias Corvinus.

† On the ground that the bust represents Mellini, as well advanced in years. See Bode, *op. cit.* p. 43.

skill and clearness, and the four seated Virtues between the consoles are charming statuettes, which combine with the ornamented flat spaces to give the whole a rich and beautiful effect.

Another master-work of Majano, which has been hitherto assigned to a later period of his life, is the shrine or monumental altar of San Savino at Faenza, which is traditionally said to have been paid for out of a fund left to the Cathedral in 1468 by one of the Manfredi, Lords of Faenza. This makes it more likely that it was commenced in 1471 or 1472, and the similarity of figure treatment noticeable between its reliefs and statuettes and those of the Pulpit at Sta. Croce, would point to the conclusion that the two works are nearly contemporary.

The shrine of San Savino consists of a sarcophagus, with statuettes of the Virgin and an angel on either side, placed under an arch supported upon six pilasters, covered with elaborate Renaissance ornament. In the central space below the sarcophagus there are six flat-surfaced and sharply-incised bas-reliefs, representing incidents in the life of the saint. They represent him as praying when ordered by an angel in the clouds to go to Assisi; as preaching at Assisi; as conducted in company with his deacons before an idol, which he overthrows; as having his hands cut off upon the pedestal on which the idol had stood; as restoring sight to Prisciano who kneels naked before him to receive his miraculous touch, while several spectators show by their gestures and features how great an interest they take in the result, and an admirably conceived soldier in the foreground stands absorbed in the arrangement of his sword and shield; and lastly, as stoned to death by four men, and lying with his face upon the ground. These pictures in marble approach more nearly to the requirements of sculpture than many of Ghiberti's reliefs, in that the stories are told by as few figures as possible, as well as in that their surfaces are more flatly treated.

As Benedetto and Giuliano received their final payment for the beautiful door of the Hall of Audience at the Palazzo Vecchio in 1480 it must have been made before that time. Its marble framework by Benedetto still exists "in situ," but the garland-bearing children which belonged to it have disappeared, and the statue of the youthful St. John which crowned it has

been removed to the Museum of the Bargello (*see* tailpiece). In this graceful and pleasing though not strikingly individual figure, the hands are noticeable for their elegance of form and careful treatment. During this same year (1480), while the brothers were employed at the Madonna dell' Ulivo near Prato, of which we have already spoken, Benedetto sculptured a ciborium for the Church of St. Dominic at Siena, with leaves, festoons and medallion reliefs of the Evangelists upon its pedestal, and two angels holding candelabra, now removed to another part of the church. The friendship and patronage of Filippo Strozzi, gave him many opportunities of exercising his talents both as architect and sculptor, and the enduring records of their connection are a marble bust, a palace, and a tomb. The bust, now in the Renaissance Museum at the Louvre, is a master-work of its kind, full of character, modelled with great skill, and evidently an admirable likeness; * while the palace, massive, rock-like, and defiant, as suited to times when street commotions were common events, is recognized as one of the noblest of the early Renaissance. Its corner-stone was laid by Filippo Strozzi on the 16th August, 1489, "just as the sun rose above the mountains," and when he died, two years later, the works were suspended. On their resumption, Simon Pollajuolo (Cronaca) superseded Benedetto as architect, and had the glory of crowning its sombre façade with a magnificent Corinthian cornice, suggested by an antique Roman fragment.

The tomb is that of Filippo Strozzi at Sta. Maria Novella, in a recess behind the altar of the Strozzi Chapel. It was ordered by its tenant in the very year of his death, and no doubt the sculptor worked upon it with a deeper interest after that occurred. Its chief feature is not the sarcophagus, with its relief of angels holding a memorial tablet, but the lovely group of the Madonna and Child, to our mind the sculptor's masterpiece, in an ornate roundel borne up by angels and cherubs which fills the space above the sarcophagus. It was, perhaps, by the recommendation of Filippo Strozzi to King Ferrante, whose business affairs he administered, that Benedetto was invited to Naples by the Duke of Terranuova,

* The Museum at Berlin has a replica of this bust in terra-cotta, which has all the marks of being the original from which the marble was taken.

about 1490, to sculpture a bas-relief of the Annunciation for the Mastro Giudici Chapel in the church of Monte Oliveto, with statuettes of SS. John the Baptist and Evangelist, and bas-reliefs in the gradino from the Life of our Lord. The Madonna in the Annunciation is pleasing in character and modest, but the angel is violent and mannered in action, and much encumbered with heavy drapery. The background, which is thoroughly pictorial, like all Benedetto's works of its class, represents an elaborately ornamented palace, standing in the midst of a garden. Whether or no Benedetto was appointed architect to the Duke of Calabria after the death of his brother Giuliano we cannot say, but if so he cannot long have held the position as he worked at San Gimignano for some years before his death, and sculptured the busts of Giotto and Squarcialupi, a distinguished musician, for the Cathedral at Florence. In 1494 he received a commission for the tomb of San Bartolo in the church of S. Agostino at S. Gimignano. The Saint (d. 1299), who is called the Tuscan Job, on account of the exemplary patience with which he bore a twenty years' leprosy, was canonized by Alexander VI., after many miracles had been wrought at his tomb. Money for the erection of a chapel in his honour was set aside by the commune in 1488, and six years later Benedetto was charged with the erection of the costly monument in its precincts, whose sarcophagus, placed above the white marble altar, has a bronze tablet set in its front, bearing a commemorative inscription. This tablet is supported by two flying angels, bearing a palm and a crown, and below it, in the "dossale" of the altar, are three niches containing seated statuettes of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and a predella, adorned with three simply designed and admirably composed stories from the life of the saint. In one he stands upon the steps of an altar with his head reverently bent over a book which he holds in his hands, while he casts out a demon from a possessed woman; in another he has his feet washed, and in the third he lies upon his death-bed. The roundel, adorned with cherubs' heads, leaves, and flowers, above the sarcophagus, contains an alto-relievo of the Madonna and Child, almost if not quite equal to that of the Strozzi monument at Sta. Maria Novella. Another admirable work at San Gimignano by Benedetto is the altar-piece at the Cathedral in the chapel

of Sta. Fina. The grated doorway, which closes the receptacle for the pyx, is flanked by niches containing statuettes of angels, and surmounted by a group of the Madonna and Child, surrounded by cherubs and adoring angels.* The predella is adorned with bas-reliefs representing the saint restoring a dead man to life, her death, and her funeral. The bust of Onofrio Vanni (1493), in the sacristy of the Cathedral, is also by Benedetto,† who, dying May 29, 1497, left his property in trust to be divided between his male and female descendants, with reverence to the company of the Bigallo. This occurred in 1558, when the company became possessed of his unfinished group of the Madonna and Child, and of a small statue of St. Sebastian, now in the chapel of the Misericordia. A few other artists of this period, who belong rather to the fifteenth century, in which they had their cradles, than to the sixteenth, in which they found their tombs, may here be mentioned, though none of them equalled the great masters of their time.

One of them was

ANDREA DI PIERO FERUCCI,

born in 1465, at Florence, who spent the early part of his life at Naples, under Antonio di Giorgio da Settignano, architectural engineer to Don Ferrante, and after his return to Tuscany sculptured the ancona of the high altar in the Cathedral at Fiesole. Its centre is occupied by a tabernacle, placed between a bas-relief of the Annunciation and statuettes of SS. Matthew and Romulus, and its gradino is sculptured with delicate reliefs, illustrative of the Mystery of the Holy Eucharist. Another altar-piece of the same character, pleasing in style, and ably sculptured, which Ferucci made for the church of San Girolamo at Fiesole, is now in the South Kensington Museum, together with a tabernacle very similar in design to the tabernacles of Mino da Fiesole, above whom Vasari very unjustly exalts him, though he was decidedly Mino's inferior in style and sweetness

* May 29, 1490 and Dec. 13, 1493, Benedetto is recorded in the *Lib. dell' Opera* as the recipient of certain sums of money for the "Epitaffio di S. Fina" (Pecori, *op. cit.* p. 519).

† *Vide* Pecori, p. 527, and *Doc.* xcvi. p. 653.

of feeling. He was in truth but a second-rate artist, who owed his success rather to the good school in which he was educated than to any great natural gifts. One of his best works is the half figure of Marsilio Ficino in the Duomo at Florence, of which the head is very living, while the hands which hold a book (probably the works of Plato, of whose philosophy he was so celebrated an exponent) are admirably modelled. Other works by Ferucci are the statue of San Andrea in the Cathedral at Florence, a chapel in the church of the Innocenti at Imola, two angels in the Cathedral at Volterra, and two crucifixes in the fourth right-hand chapel of the church of Sta. Felicità at Florence. Shortly before his death (1527), he began the monument of Antonio Strozzi at Sta. Maria Novella, which was completed by his scholars, Silvio Cosini and Tommaso Boscoli.*

RUSTICI.

Giovanni Francesco Rustici, born at Florence in 1474, is classed by Vasari among the scholars of Verocchio, and of his great pupil, Lionardo da Vinci. If Rustici did study with Verocchio, it must have been but for a very short time, as he can hardly have begun to do so before 1486, when he was twelve years old, and much of the remaining two years of Verocchio's life was spent at Venice. At that time Lionardo had already been five years at Milan, where he remained until the overthrow of his patron, Lodovico Sforza, in 1499, when Rustici was twenty-five years old. Six years later (December 6th, 1506) the merchants' guild gave Rustici a commission for the bronze group of St. John disputing with a Levite and a Pharisee, which he finished and set up over the north door of the Florentine Baptistery in 1511. This work bears such unmistakable evidence of Lionardo's influence that we cannot refuse Rustici the honour of being counted among his pupils, nor can we take from him the credit of authorship, as some have done, by saying that the group was modelled by Lionardo, for the very good reason that he was at Milan when the commission was given,

* Cosini worked under Michelangelo at S. Lorenzo, and with Boscoli on the monument of Pope Julius at S. Pietro in Vincoli.

and, with the exception of a flying visit to Florence in 1511, did not return there until it had been cast and put in its place.

Having done his work well, Rustici expected to be well and promptly paid for it, but in this he was disappointed, for although he received a small portion of the 2,000 scudi which he demanded without delay, he had to wait twelve years before he got the balance—January 21st, 1524. In the meantime he had divided his time between fretting over this treatment, painting, studying natural history, practising sleight of hand, and social enjoyment. He was the leading spirit in a convivial club composed of twelve artists who supped with him at stated times, under the agreement that each should design a highly ornate dish, and that, if any two hit upon the same device, they should be fined. In this way Rustici spent his life and frittered away his property, until after the expulsion of the Medici (1528), when he went to France to make the equestrian statue of Francis I., who had promised him a salary of 500 scudi a year, and a palace to live in, but this great good fortune was only partially realized, for when the King died, in 1547, all prospect of casting the statue was abandoned, and Rustici, who, if dates are correct, had long lived like a prince, lost his position through the monarch's demise, and would have starved, had it not been for the timely aid of his countryman, Piero Strozzi, who lodged him in an abbey at Tours belonging to his brother the Cardinal Lorenzo and supported him until his death in 1544.

BARTOLOMEO SINIBALDI DA MONTELUPO.

This artist was born at Florence in 1445, and died there in 1522. After wasting his youth in dissipation, he became a changed man under the influence of Savonarola, and studied with such ardour that he became an accomplished sculptor. When the death of the great reformer made Florence intolerable to him, he went to Bologna to model statues of the twelve apostles, by the sale of which he hoped to support his wife and children whom he had left at home in poverty. The canon at whose house he lodged, wishing to obtain possession of the statues, in order to give them to Giovanni Bentivoglio, Lord of

Bologna (from whom he hoped to obtain a government office for his brother), tried to persuade Bartolomeo to present them to him, which he refused to do, but being really in great need of money, he offered to sell them for half their value. At this juncture he was unfortunately seized with a fever, whose progress the wicked host determined to assist by mixing slow poison with his medicine, hoping to obtain possession of the coveted statues after the death of his victim. Feeling that his end was near, Bartolomeo prayed earnestly to Savonarola to succour him and his unfortunate family, and immediately beheld the sainted friar floating above his bed in a halo of glory, and heard a voice saying, "Arise, and go to the house of Camillo della Siepe" (his father's old friend), "where you will be restored to health." This he did believing, and with the promised result.*

Though we may be inclined to give little credence to the story, we may take it as one of the proofs of that faith in his power with which Savonarola inspired so many artists of his day. Among them were Sandro Botticelli, who gave up painting for love of him, and would have starved without the assistance of Lorenzo de' Medici and other friends; the Robbias, two of whom were made priests by his hands, and who testified their veneration for him by coining a medal bearing his portrait on one side, and on the other a city with many towers, above which appeared a hand holding a dagger pointed downwards, with the motto, "Gladius Domini sup. terram cito et velociter;" Lorenzo di Credi, who spent the latter years of his life in the convent of Sta. Maria Novella; Fra Bartolomeo, who became a monk in the convent of St. Mark, and was so afflicted by Savonarola's death, that he gave up painting for four years; Cronaca, who ceased story-telling, for which he had become famous, and would talk only of Fra Girolamo; Giovanni della Corniole, who perpetuated his likeness in one of the finest of modern gems; and Michael Angelo, who was one of

* *Vita di Savonarola*, Burlamacchi, pp. 166, 167. Among the works of Bartolomeo are a statue of Mars upon the monument of Benedetto Pesaro in the Frari at Venice; the arms of Leo X. on the wall of a garden near the Palazzo Pucci at Florence; the bronze statue of St. John the Evangelist in one of the niches outside of San Michele; and a crucifix in the refectory of the Convent of St. Mark at Florence. He died at Lucca in 1552, aged eighty-eight.

the Friar's constant auditors in his youth, who pored over his sermons when an old man, and ever retained a vivid impression of his powerful voice and impassioned gestures. These his disciples knew that although Savonarola persuaded the people to make bonfires of gems, books, pictures, and drawings of a licentious character, and induced artists to destroy their studies from the nude, he was not an enemy to art.* They well understood that he simply desired the triumph of spiritual things in art, in manners, and in politics, and that he was fighting against the Pagan spirit in art wherever it appeared.†

* According to Prof. Villari, the value of the objects destroyed in the "bruciamento della vanità," at the end of the Carnival of 1497, has been greatly exaggerated. They were chiefly rich dresses, portraits of bad women, books adorned with gold, &c., &c. (*Vita di Savonarola*, vol. i. p. 462).

† That Savonarola was no enemy to literature is proved by his having induced the monks of St. Mark's to purchase for 3,000 florins the Laurentian library, which would otherwise have been scattered among the creditors of the Medici. Among them was the French ambassador, Messer Philippe de Commines, who would have removed it to France (Villari, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 467).



CHAPTER IV.

IN the preceding chapter we have followed the history of sculpture in Tuscany up to the end of the fifteenth century, which closes the period of the early Renaissance. In this we propose to speak of sculpture in other parts of Italy from the Revival, up to which we traced it in our Introductory Chapter, to about the year 1500, and thus so far complete the history of the art throughout the Peninsula.

THE ABRUZZI.

While in Apulia all practice of sculpture seems to have ceased after the middle of the fourteenth century, it had a longer life in the Abruzzi, and in the fifteenth reached its best period under Tuscan influence. Aquila possesses an interesting monument of the thirteenth century in a public fountain, called della Riviera, which was made by Tancredi, a native of Pentima di Valva* in 1292. It consists of an immense basin, surrounded on three sides by walls decorated with patterns in white and red stone, and fed with water from the mouths of ninety masks, now much broken and defaced. Sta. Maria di Colemaggio, Sta. Maria Paganica, Sta. Giusta, San Marco, and several other Romanesque churches at Aquila have portals of

* Pentima is a small town built on the site of Corfinium, not far from Salmona. Zani, *Enciclopedia Met.* xv. 331, mentions Tancredi and the Bolognese sculptor Rengheri (Aulico di Tancredi e Boemondo), with whom he has been confounded; *ibid.* xvi. 72, 282. The date and the name of the artist are inscribed upon a stone set into the wall of the fountain: "A.D. MCCCLXXII. Magis. Tangredus de Pentima de Valva fecit hoc opus." Leosini, *op. cit.* p. 70, states that the north wall of the fountain with its masks was added, long after Tancredi's day, by Alessandro Ciccarone, an Aquilan architect and sculptor.

the fourteenth century adorned with sculptured animals full of life and truth to nature and with ornaments of elegant design, but the figures in the reliefs about them, like the statuettes, are stiff and clumsy. The two monuments at Aquila of the Campioneschi, who were lords of Aquila under the Angevine kings, are very unequal in merit, and different in style, though both are of the fifteenth century. One of them is the picturesquely designed, but clumsily executed Gothic tomb of Count Lalle and his two sons, in the church of San Giuseppe, made in 1432 by Walter Alemanno, a German or of German extraction;* the other is the beautiful Renaissance tomb at San Bernardino of Count Lalle's widow, Maria Pereira, and her infant daughter Beatrice, which conforms in its general design to the type adopted by the Florentine sculptors of the period.† It has, however, one strikingly original feature, the double effigy, of the child under the ornate sarcophagus and of the mother upon it. Death seems but lately to have set his seal upon her sweet face, which droops to the right shoulder so that it is visible from below, and upon that of her infant, who lies between two mourning genii with one arm crossed upon his breast, an image of perfect repose. In technical treatment, in refinement of feeling, and charm of expression these figures are of that high grade which betokens the Tuscan training of the sculptor, who was probably Andrea dall' Aquila, referred to as the scholar of Donatello, in a letter of recommendation addressed in 1458 to the director of the works at the Cathedral of Siena in terms of the highest praise,‡ and not Salvestro Aquilano,§ who with his pupil Salvatore, made the shrine of San Bernardino in the same church, which is very inferior in style and treatment to the Pereira monument.

* This artist made a monument in the church of San Domenico to the knight Niccolò Galioffi (*Leosini, op. cit.* p. 123).

† Upon the monument is this inscription—

"Beatrici Camponescae, infanti dulci, quæ vixit mens. xiv.
Maria Pereyra, Noroniaque mater," &c.

‡ See *Doc. per la Storia dell' Arte Sanese*, by Carlo Milanesi, and Schultz, *op. cit.* iii. 190. Another Andrea dall' Aquila studied at Venice under Alessandro Vittoria in the succeeding century. *Cicogna, Iac. Venet.* ii. 124.

§ He was the son of Giacomo da Salmona, and was called l'Aquilano from Aquila, and d'Arischi from a castle in the Aquilan territory.

The shrine of San Bernardino, erected at a cost of 20,000 golden florins by Giacomo di Notar Nanni, a rich merchant high in favour with King Charles II. and King Frédéric of Naples, and a great benefactor to the churches and religious houses at Aquila, is an immense square pile adorned with statuettes, ornamental work, and reliefs. The most important relief represents the Madonna enthroned upon clouds borne up by cherubs, and the infant Christ, who standing upon her knee blesses the kneeling Donor, here presented to him by San Bernardino.* The figures are simply draped and well grouped, the Divine Child is dignified in attitude and bearing, but the Madonna is self-conscious, and San Giovanni Capistrano who kneels on her right hand with a banner in his hand, is mannered and theatrical. The festoons, birds, fruits, and grotesques want sharpness and delicacy, while the statuettes and the bas-relief of the Resurrection of our Lord, hardly rise above mediocrity. The altar-piece, also ascribed to Salvestro, and given by the same Giacomo Nanni to a chapel in the church of the Madonna del Soccorso, is very superior to the shrine. Its angels with gilded wings and draperies, relieved against a blue background in the central space, recall Luca della Robbia, whose masterpiece in the Vetusti Chapel the artist must have seen and studied.

NAPLES.

Sculpture at Naples in the thirteenth century is represented by Pietro di Stefano, and that somewhat mythical architect and sculptor, Masuccio I. (1280–1305) who, according to the very unsatisfactory and often contradictory accounts given of him by his countrymen, was a pupil of the unknown painter of a miraculous crucifix at San Domenico which is reputed to have spoken to St. Thomas Aquinas. After his master's death, Masuccio went to Rome in company with a foreign architect, to study the antique, but hearing that Giovanni Pisano had been appointed architect to King Charles of Anjou, he returned to Naples, and eventually succeeded him in that position.

* The Saint died at Aquila in 1444.

During his tenure of office he is said to have laid the foundation of the Cathedral, and to have designed S. Domenico Maggiore, though the honour of having erected these and other churches is also claimed for the Tuscan architects, Niccola and Giovanni Pisano, as well as for Maglione and Arnolfo di Cambio, both scholars of Niccola, who resided at Naples for several years.*

Among the sculptures designated by Neapolitan writers as the works of Masuccio I., which have either disappeared or are now known to be the works of other hands, are the bust of Cardinal Raimondo Barile, a bas-relief of Christ between two saints, the tomb of Jacopo di Costanzo, a crucifix in the Capella de' Caraccioli, and the monument of Pope Innocent IV. The latter consisted of several storeys adorned with mosaics and terminated by a half arch, whose lunette contained a bas-relief of the Pope and the Archbishop Humberto di Montorio kneeling before the Madonna.† The recumbent effigy, a simple and expressive figure in the left transept of the Cathedral, is especially interesting as a portrait of the pope who excommunicated Frederic II. at the Council of Lyons. As Masuccio I. died about thirteen years before the erection of this monument (1318), and Pietro di Stefano survived him only about five years, it cannot be their work, but it may be by Pietro's son, Masuccio II. (1290-1387), godson and pupil of Masuccio I., to whom Neapolitan writers ascribe nearly all the churches and tombs of this epoch. They tell us that after his return from Rome, where he had spent several years in study, he was commissioned by King Robert to build the church of Sta. Chiara,‡ which had been commenced by an incompetent foreign

* Niccola Pisano was at Naples from 1221 to 1231 (P). Giovanni Pisano worked at Naples from 1268 to 1274, and perhaps again in 1279. Maglione, built a portion of the church of San Lorenzo, about 1266, but Masuccio II.'s share in the erection of this building was so much greater than his, that he should be rather regarded as its architect. It was completed in 1324. A document of the year 1284, January 25. speaks of it as then nearly finished. See Schultz, iii. 39; *Doc. Reg. Karol. I.* b. 57. Arnolfo di Cambio was in the employ of Charles of Anjou in the year 1277. Vermiglioli, *Le Sculture della Fontana di Perugia*.

† Gregorovius, *Les Tombeaux des Papes*, p. 113.

‡ Dedicated in 1340, according to the inscription on the campanila. Schultz, *op. cit.* iii. 62.

architect. This is possible, but he cannot have sculptured the Angevine monuments within its walls, as their character bespeaks a Tuscan influence, under which, so far as we know, Masuccio never came. This influence was probably brought to bear upon Naples by the Sienese sculptor Tino da Camaino,* who resided there for about sixteen years (1321-1337), and was appointed by the last will and testament of Queen Maria, widow of Charles II. of Anjou, together with Gallardus of Sermona, to erect her monument in the church of Sta. Maria Domna Regina, whose general design—a Gothic canopy, supported upon columns over a sarcophagus, with a sepulchral effigy exposed to view by curtain-drawing angels—is closely followed in the tombs at Sta. Chiara.† The white marble figures in some of the bas-reliefs upon the sarcophagi are either set against a dark blue background studded with golden lilies, or relieved upon black marble‡ as in the tomb of Queen Maria above mentioned. This system of decoration is followed in the bas-reliefs of early Christian martyrdoms upon the pulpit at Sta. Chiara, and in those from the life of St. Catherine upon the organ loft, where, on account of their distance from the eye, they produce a much better effect.

The most important of the monuments in this church is that which was raised to the memory of her grandfather, King Robert, by Queen Joanna I., who on the 1st of September, 1343, only a few months after his death, as we learn from her letter to Jacobus de Pactis,§ commissioned the Florentine brothers, Sancius and Johannes, to erect the imposing structure which towers above the high altar and surmounts the doorway leading into the nuns' choir.

The King is there four times represented: first seated on a throne with the globe and the sceptre in his hands; then lying on a sarcophagus in the garb of a Franciscan monk with a

* See chapter iv.

† *Doc.* 368, Schultz, iii. 146, mentions an order given by King Robert to his agents at Rome to obtain and forward the marbles needed by the sculptor Gallardus for this monument. Documents of the time of King Charles II. record the appointment of Tino da Camaino and Gallardus, and mention the sums paid to them during its progress and when it was completed, A.D. 1326.

‡ Like that of the frieze of the Erechtheum at Athens.

§ *Reg. Johannis I.*, fol. 8, no. i. *doc.* cdxix. See Schultz, *op. cit.* iv. 170.

crown upon his head and a cross upon his breast, while angels hold back the heavy curtain folds that they may look down upon him; thirdly as standing upon the front of the sarcophagus, in low relief, with his two wives Iolanthe and Sancia, his son Duke Charles with his wife, Maria of Austria, and their daughter Queen Joanna; and fourthly as kneeling with Queen Sancia before the Madonna, to whom they are presented by St. Francis and Sta. Chiara. Though grand in its general effect, this Gothic tomb is coarsely sculptured, while the figures about



it are cold, lifeless and of little value apart from their decorative office. The same may be said of the monument of Duke Charles (d. 1328), who is represented by a recumbent effigy robed in a royal mantle painted blue and decorated with golden lilies, and in a relief on the front of his sarcophagus seated in the midst of his councillors and vassals. Below it are winged figures of the Virtues, and a wolf drinking out of the same cup with a lamb, symbolic of the harmony which the Duke brought about during his regency between the nobles and the people. Of the remaining tombs we may speak more briefly. Either Marie de Valois, the second wife of Duke Charles, or his daughter

Joanna, lies in the monument next his own,* and her sister Maria da Durazzo in that on the opposite side of the church whose bas-reliefs are of white marble against a black background. The bas-relief in the left transept, representing the infant Maria da Durazzo (d. 1344) wrapped in swaddling clothes and borne to heaven by angels, is notable for its Giottesque character, and that of the Pietà upon the tomb of Agnesa di Perigord, mother of the Duke of Durazzo, for its extravagant and mannered action.

The first and best of the six distinct styles perceptible in the sculptures at Santa Chiara, is that of the curtain-drawing angels and the statuettes in niches upon King Robert's monument, all probably the work of the Tuscan artists employed by Queen Joanna; the second and worst is that of the seated statue of King Robert; the third is that quiet, lifeless, but comparatively correct style, in which the effigies and figures in relief (*see* wood-cut, p. 168) upon the monuments of Duke Charles of Calabria, Queen Joanna I., and Maria da Durazzo are executed; the fourth is the Giottesque style of the bas-relief of her infant daughter; the fifth, the extravagant and mannered style of that upon the tomb of Agnesa di Perigord; and the sixth, that of the figures in relief upon the pulpit and organ-loft. The co-operation of Masuccio II. in any of these works is questionable, and if we are to regard him as the sculptor of the very picturesque Gothic tomb of the Duchess Catherine of Austria at San Lorenzo, seems hardly possible. This quadrangular structure, whose pointed roof is supported upon twisted columns, is divided midway by the sarcophagus, under which a doorway leads into the choir. Mosaics are let into the spirals of the columns, the pinnacles at each end of the architrave, and the lunette; statuettes of SS. Peter, Paul, Catherine, and Louis of Toulouse stand at the head and feet of the recumbent effigy, and the front of the sarcophagus is decorated with roundels containing half figures in relief of the Madonna, SS. John the Evangelist, Anthony of Padua, Francis, and Santa Chiara. No Tuscan influence is perceptible in it, but as the curtain-drawing angels, here absent, appear in the monuments of Carlo da Durazzo, and of Robert d'Artois and his wife Giovanna da

* Giannone, *op. cit.*, says, at vol. iii. p. 194, *Storia di Napoli*, that Joanna is buried there; but the inscription upon the tomb which records her name is considered to be of doubtful authenticity.

Durazzo in the same church, we are led to conjecture that they were made by the artists of King Robert's monument. There is but little hope that the obscurity which prevails about Masuccio and his works will be cleared up, as his name is not mentioned in any inscriptions or documents of the time, and no better proof of his having existed is to be found than vague tradition and bold assertion, which fixes the date of his death in 1387 at the age of ninety-six.*

As the fourteenth century is filled with the fame of Masuccio II., so is the fifteenth with that of his scholars, Andrea Ciccione and the Abbate Bamboccio. Ciccione, who is said to have built the churches of Santa Marta and Monte Oliveto, and to have sculptured a monument to Giosuè Carracciolo in the Cathedral, was employed by Queen Joanna II. to make the monument of her brother, King Ladislaus, which rises to a great height over a doorway in the church of San Giovanni a Carbonara.† The four colossal figures of the Virtues on either side of the entrance support an open arched gallery containing life size seated statues of the King and his mother, and of Royalty, Charity, Faith and Hope. Above them stands the sarcophagus with the royal effigy watched over by angels, within a curtained recess, crowned by an equestrian group of Ladislaus holding a sword in his right hand. Through its profuse gilding and colour, and its multitude of figures, arches and pinnacles, the general effect of this monument is imposing, but its coarsely executed accessories and clumsily proportioned forms do not allow of close examination. The same may be said of another monument in this church, which Joanna employed Ciccione to erect to the memory of her lover Gian Carracciolo, who after ruling Naples with royal power and state was murdered by a band of con-

* Among anonymous works of the fourteenth century at Naples, we may mention an ex-voto bas-relief on the outside of the church of St. Peter Martyr, dedicated by Franceschino da Briguole, after he had for a second time escaped shipwreck, in 1361. Poor as a work of art, it is interesting for its subject—"the Dance of Death."

† There are no certain data as to the author of this tomb. Ciccione is not mentioned by Summonte (*Historia della Città e Regno di Napoli*), Colano or Eugenio Carracciolo (*Napoli Sacra*). All that we know about him rests upon the doubtful testimony of Cresconius and de' Dominici. Ladislaus was a proud, ambitious, prodigal, and dissipated man, who died at the early age of thirty six, A.D. 1414. (See Schultz. iii. 86.)

spirators on the 14th of August, 1432.* Bad in design, and gaudy in colour, it has but one original feature, the representation of the Virtues in the guise of armed knights, who bear up the sarcophagus, on the top of which stands a rigid portrait statue of the deceased Seneschal, coloured to resemble life.

Little as there is to praise in Ciccione's works, there is even less in those of his contemporary, Antonio di Domenico da Bamboccio, who was born at Piperno in 1351 and died at Naples about 1422. His warm admirer, the Cardinal Enrico Minutolo, was so delighted with the florid Gothic façade of San Giovanni a Pappacoda, and the portal of the Cathedral at Naples which Bamboccio had completed in 1407, that he made him Abbot of a convent near the city, with a revenue of 400 ducats a year. Bamboccio sculptured his patron's tomb and that of Cardinal Carbonet† in the Cathedral, as well as that of Margaret of Durazzo (d. 1412) in the Cathedral at Salerno, all of which have the curtained recess, the recumbent effigy, the watching angels, the Gothic canopy, and the sarcophagus supported by statues of the Virtues, seen in already described tombs at Santa Chiara. By these works, and by the tomb of Lodovico Aldamaresco (d. 1414) in the cloister of San Lorenzo, which according to the inscription upon it, Bamboccio sculptured in the seventieth year of his age, he did little to increase his reputation either as sculptor or architect. His technic and taste were alike defective, and his style was either cold and uninteresting, or extravagant and confused.

The simplicity and absence of pretension, which somewhat redeemed the monotonous and formal style of the school in

* Lionardo di Bisuccio, a Milanese artist, gilded this monument as well as that of Ladislaus; and Scilla, a sculptor from Milan, worked with Ciccione upon both.

† Cardinal Carbone, a Neapolitan patrician, and the reputed nephew of Pope Boniface IX., was a Cistercian monk, renowned from his youth for learning and devotion to the Romish Church. He filled many offices of trust under Popes Urban V. and Boniface IX., and died at Rome A.D. 1405. (Cardella, *Memorie dei Cardinali*, ii. 297.) The tomb of Cardinal Minutolo is in the Minutolo chapel above the altar. The baldacchino is ascribed by de' Dominici to Masuccio II., but we believe it to be by Bamboccio, as its sculptures are in the same style as the altar-tomb. The simple sarcophagi on either side of the altar, with recumbent effigies, reliefs of saints in roundels and mosaics, are probably by Masuccio II.

which he was bred, were the fruit of Tuscan influence, but while Tino, Sancius, and Johannes, who visited Naples during the fourteenth century, exercised a favourable influence upon art, their Tuscan successors in the fifteenth, though infinitely superior to them in ability, left it much as they found it. It was but a few years after Bamboccio's death that Donatello and Michelozzo erected the noble tomb of Cardinal Brancacci in the church of Sant Angelo a Nilo (1427), while later in the century both Antonio Rossellino and Benedetto da Majano worked at Monte Oliveto, Giuliano da Majano built the portal of Santa Barbara, and other foreign sculptors aided in decorating the superb triumphal arch over the entrance to Castelnuovo, which commemorated the accession of Alfonso of Aragon, and the defeat of his rival René d'Anjou whom Queen Joanna had designated as her heir to the throne of Naples.

The erection of a triumphal arch in Alfonso's honour had been decreed by the municipal authorities the year after he had seized upon Naples (1443), but it cannot have been commenced until eight years later, when the great round towers between which it stands were completed. It has four storeys, the three lower pierced with arches, and the upper decorated with niches containing statuettes of the Virtues. While every part of its surface is covered with masks, lions' heads, "putti," "amorini," festoons and leaf-ornament, its most important sculptures are the alto-reliefs of Alfonso and his armed knights, which though somewhat formally composed, are highly effective, and of great historical value. The King is represented thrice: standing bare-headed with a dog lying at his feet, fully armed with a helmet on his head, and borne in triumph upon a car like a Roman general. Other more strictly decorative reliefs, such as those of the genii which support the royal arms, were evidently sculptured by an artist bred in the school of Donatello, and as his pupil Andrea dall' Aquila is mentioned as one of the many sculptors who worked upon the arch, we may attribute them to him with some plausibility. A mortuary inscription (1470) at Santa Maria Nuova* names as the architect who built the arch and was therefore knighted by the King, Pietro di Martino of Milan, who is elsewhere mentioned as one of the sculptors who decorated it with

* *Commentary to the Life of Giuliano da Majano.* Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. ii. p. 483.

bas-reliefs and statues between 1456 and 1471.* His associates were Antonio and Isaia da Pisa,† Domenico di Montemignano, Domenico Lombardo, and Francesco Azzara. To these, other authorities add Salvestro and Andrea dall' Aquila, Desiderio da Settignano and Benedetto da Majano. The river gods, masks and statuettes upon the attic, in the late Renaissance style, are by Giovanni Merliano da Nola, a Neapolitan sculptor of whom we shall speak in another chapter.

ROME.

The example set by Arnolfo di Cambio in the ciborium at St. Paul's‡ was followed by Giovanni Cosmati, who giving up the classical traditions of his family§ while he preserved their decorative system, erected the two fine Gothic tombs, of Cardinal Gonsalvi at Sta. Maria Maggiore and of Bishop Durante at Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, between 1296 and 1303. Their main features are the canopied recess with mosaic background in which lies the sepulchral effigy, watched over by curtain-drawing angels, upon a sarcophagus decorated with coats of arms and ornaments in geometrical patterns. Other works of the same class by Giovanni and Adeodatus Cosmati, or the Pasquale who made the pulpit and paschal candlestick at Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, are the tombs of Don S. Surdi at Sta. Balbina, of Cardinal Anchora at Sta. Prassede, of Boniface VIII. in the crypt of St. Peter's, of the Cardinal d'Acquasparta at Ara Coeli, and the tomb of the Gaetani in their chapel in the Cathedral at Anagni where the paschal candle-

* *Gli artisti ed artefici che lavoravano in Castelnuova a tempo di Alfonso I. e Ferrante I. Napoli, 1876, by Camillo Minucio Riccio.*

† Isaia di Pippo da Pisa on whom Porcello of Padua wrote a poem, in which he enumerates five of his works—viz., the tomb of Eugenius IV. at S. Salvatore in Lauro, Rome; the arch of Triumph at Naples; the tomb of Sta. Monica, formerly in S. Agostino, Rome; equestrian statues of Nero and Poppea; and a group of the Virgin and Child with angels. Isaia was commissioned with Mino da Fiesole, Paolo Romano and Pagno to sculpture the balcony of the benediction at St. Peter's; and with Paolo Romano to make a tabernacle for S. Andrea. The last papal record of his name is August 29, 1464. Eugène Müntz, *op. cit.* p. 257.

‡ See ch. ii. p. 23.

§ See Introduction, pp. lvi. and lvii.

stick is inscribed with the name of Vassalletto. But two native Roman artists of the fifteenth century are known to us, Paolo Romano or Mariano* and Gian Cristoforo Romano who worked at the Certosa of Pavia in 1473.†

Paolo Romano is mentioned by Antonio Filarete in his MS. Treatise on Architecture,‡ as the goldsmith who designed and cast twelve silver statuettes of the Apostles for the altar of the papal chapel at St. Peter's, which were destroyed during the sack of Rome in 1527. The works attributed to him at Rome are a statue of St. Paul§ on the Ponte St. Angelo, which though somewhat dry in style is pure in line and well draped, the tomb of Fra Bartolomeo Caraffa, chamberlain to Innocent VII., in the church of the Knights of Malta on the Aventine, and the monument of Cardinal Stefaneschi at Santa Maria in Trastevere.¶ As both the occupants of these Gothic tombs died before 1420, and Paolo Romano is not heard of at Rome before 1451, they cannot be his work, and we are forced to suppose that the Magister Paulus whose name is inscribed upon the first tomb, was another sculptor of the same name.¶ The knight, grasping the handle of his sword, lies dressed in armour on the top of a sarcophagus, whose front is divided by twisted columns into panels containing the arms of the deceased and a mortuary inscription in Gothic letters. Cardinal Stefaneschi also lies upon a sarcophagus adorned with an inscription

* Papal archives mention him from 1451 to 1463. Eugène Müntz, *op. cit.* p. 245.

† Lomazzo, *Le Grottesche*, book iii., speaks of Gian Cristoforo as a painter, and Cicogna, *Isc. Ven.* iii. 640, quotes his epitaph, which states that he died at Loreto in 1525. At the Certosa he worked upon the tomb of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, designed by G. Pellegrino, of Milan.

‡ See chapter vi. p. 114.

§ Made for Pius II. and originally placed at St. Peter's before the chapel of Sixtus IV.

¶ Petrus Stefaneschi de Annibaldis was nominated acolyte of the Papal chapel and apostolic protonotary by Pope Boniface IX. at an early age; Innocent VII. raised him to the dignity of cardinal-deacon of Sant' Angelo; and Pope John XXIII., when he was obliged to appear before the Council at Constance, left him in charge of the Papal dominions as Temporal Vicar of Rome. *Memorie Storiche dei Cardinali*, Cardella, ii. 230, 330. See also Ciacconius, ii. 723.

¶ Eugène Müntz, *op. cit.* p. 249. This author mentions a statue of St. Andrew by Paolo Romano (1463) in a church outside the Porta del Popolo.

and with two cardinal's hats in relief, under a marble canopy decorated with a frieze of coloured mosaic. The bas-relief upon the monument of the French cardinal Philippe d'Alençon,* in the same church, which resembles the Stefaneschi tomb in general arrangement and is possibly by the same artist, represents the dying prelate surrounded by angels bearing tapers, and by priests, one of whom, an apostolic-looking figure, holds a child in swaddling clothes in his arms, typical of the dying man's soul.

Vasari speaks of a highly-praised statue by Paolo Romano at St. Peter's of an armed man on horseback, and the epitaph placed upon his tomb mentions his statue of Cupid. He retired from the world shortly before his death, which occurred in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and spent his remaining days in solitude and peace.

Among the best anonymous works of the fifteenth century at Rome is a marble "dossale," or altar-piece, in the Cappella Salviati at San Gregorio, which was sculptured in 1469 for a Roman abbot of the monastery, who is represented in the principal relief kneeling before the Madonna to receive the blessing of the Infant Christ, who sits between two adoring angels, while two flying angels above her bear a pyx. The archivolt is adorned with a glory of cherubs, the entablature with three small bas-reliefs representing priests and people entering a temple, and the lunette with a bas-relief of God the Father surrounded by angels. Four statuettes of saints are placed above the side columns, between which stand SS. Gregory and John in niches. The two roundels below the entablature contain reliefs of the Madonna and the Angel of the Annunciation, and angels are also introduced in the spandrels of the central arch, while below the altar-piece on either side of the marble base are statuettes in niches of a bishop and a female saint. This interesting work, which was evidently sculptured under Tuscan influence, has been much injured by restoration. Other works of its class are a stiacciato relief of the Entombment in the style of Donatello, over the altar of the Madonna delle Febbre in the sacristy of the Beneficiati at

* Cardinal Philippe, who belonged to the Royal house of Valois, was made Bishop of Beauvais and Archbishop of Rouen at a very early age, 1359.

St. Peter's, a bas-relief of the Crucifixion in the oratory of S. Venanzio, belonging to the end of the fifteenth century, the monument of Pietro Riario, raised to his memory by Pope Sixtus V. (1465) at the SS. Apostoli, a bas-relief of St. Peter and the angel at S. Pietro in Vincoli, and another, supposed to represent Leo the Great, at the Lateran, which was probably executed during the reign of Sixtus IV. (1464-1471).

LOMBARDY.

MILAN, PAVIA, CREMONA, &c.

AN account has been already given in our Introductory Chapter of the condition of sculpture throughout Lombardy during the thirteenth and the greater part of the fourteenth centuries, when the scholars of Balduccio of Pisa sustained the reputation of Tuscany in the north of Italy. In the latter part of the fourteenth century Gian Galeazzo Visconti* gave an immense impulse to architecture and sculpture by founding the Cathedral at Milan and the Certosa at Pavia, in whose construction and adornment nearly all the most capable Italian architects of the time were called upon to take part, and by opening schools connected with the great building, where many young architects and sculptors were trained to assist them.

In 1375 Galeazzo had made a vow that he would build a splendid cathedral in honour of the Virgin if he succeeded in making himself master of Milan, and when he began the work the very year after the accomplishment of his ambitious schemes (1386), he gave to the "Fabbrica" the marble quarries of Gandolia,† a mountain near the Lago Maggiore, with a revenue to be spent in working them.

There appears to be no doubt that its first architect was Marco Frisone da Campione‡ one of the five Campiones origin-

* Gian Galeazzo son of Galeazzo II., first married Isabella, daughter of the French king Charles VI., and at her death Caterina Visconti daughter of Bernabo (*Cantù, op. cit.* ii. 843). He derived his title of Comte di Vertù from a French "feud" brought to him in dower by his first wife (Verri, i. 387).

† Named also "Candolia," perhaps from the whiteness of the marble extracted from it (*Giulini, v.* 691).

‡ An inscription upon the duomo states that it was begun in 1386 (*Calvi, op. cit.* Vita di Marco da Campione, p. 76). Torre, *Ritratti di*

ally attached to the "Veneranda Fabbrica" (a body of architects and sculptors constituted and presided over by the duke),* though his claims to this honour have been long disputed by a German architect named Heinrich von Gmunden, one of Marco's associates, who shortly after his death expressed grave doubts as to the solidity of the edifice, and being unable to sustain his point, returned to Germany.

As the duke had begun the Cathedral at Milan the year after he had seized upon the throne, he marked the legalisation of that act by founding the Certosa at Pavia, as a new and splendid thank-offering to heaven. Bernardo da Venezia, its head architect, is mentioned in a lately discovered document as having superintended the digging of its foundations, and accumulated materials for its construction about a month before the corner-stone was laid with great pomp by the duke (August 27th, 1396), in presence of the Bishops of Pavia, Novara, Feltre, and Vicenza, and many other illustrious persons.† Three years later the edifice was so far completed that mass was celebrated within the walls.‡

Milano, says the 7th of May, 1387. In 1388 it was decided to cover the walls with marble (*vide* Calvi, p. 77; Ricci, ii. 382; and Giulini, v. 690, 693-4). That the building was roofed in and ready for divine service in 1395 is proved by a record of payment to an organist for his services during the mass (*Mem. dell' Arch. Civ.*), July 10, 1395.

* Sig. Calvi, *Note sulle Vite* (pt. i. p. 65, Life of Marco da Campione), shows that though the duke protected the arts by opening an academy of design in his own palace, and knew enough about architecture to be able to speak intelligently upon it with the best professors, there is no foundation for the assertion of Borsieri that he was capable of designing such a building. Ricci, *op. cit.* ii. 386, does not consider Marco's claim as fully substantiated; but he rejects that of Heinrich von Gmunden, and concludes in favour of one of the Italian architects.

† Codex discovered in the archivio of San Fedele at Milan by Sig. Girolamo Calvi (*vide La Fondazione della Certosa*, by Sig. Calvi, a pamphlet printed at Milan in 1862); see also the life of Bernardo da Venezia (probably so-called from a long residence in Venice), in pt. i. p. 103 of Sig. Calvi's *Notizie*, &c. Milan, 1859.

‡ Gian Galeazzo largely endowed the Certosa in his lifetime, and in his will left a certain sum, the income from which was to be expended on the church and convent until their completion, and after that to be given to the poor. Ricci, ii. 401. The Certosa was built in a part of the park of Mirobello, the remainder of which was kept as a ducal preserve. The circuit of the high walls which surrounded it was twenty miles. Ricci, *op. cit.* ii. 399.

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In artistic interest it far surpasses the Cathedral, for while it is a perfect museum of sculpture by the best artists of the Lombard school, there is hardly one good work of art among the myriad statues that cover the roof, crown the pinnacles, and fill the niches of its rival at Milan. Few Italian churches indeed can compare in effect with the Certosa, whose stillness is broken only by the hushed tread of some white-robed monk, who passing on leaves the visitor to scan every detail of the façade and its richly sculptured portals, the interior with its paintings and marbles, tombs, and exquisite doorways, and the vast cloisters with their bas-reliefs and terra-cottas, carved capitals and cornices.*

These were for the most part executed under the successors of Gian Galeazzo, but the Cathedral at Milan contains some works of his time, such as the richly-sculptured Gothic doors of the sacristies, designed (1395) by a sculptor from Fribourg named Annex di Fernach, and completed by the Milanese sculptors Giovanni and Perrinc de' Grassi. The first of these artists, known as Giovanni da Milano,† a painter of considerable reputation and merit, went from Milan with Giotto, whose influence is plainly visible in the heads upon the flat spaces and architraves of both these doors, to Florence, and there entered the studio of his scholar Taddeo Gaddi, under whom he afterwards worked in various parts of Italy. The two bas-reliefs upon the northern door represent Christ between

* The ground plan of the Certosa, like that of the duomo at Milan, is in the shape of a Latin cross. The central portion of the building, that first erected, is Gothic; the apse shows signs of the transition period from Gothic to Renaissance, the façade, which belongs to the fifteenth century, is completely Renaissance or Bramantesque. Bramante Lazzari, or Bramantino "l'antico," is neither to be confounded with his continuator Bramante d' Urbino, nor with Bartolomeo Suardi. He was like Brunelleschi in Tuscany the propagator of the classical revival in Lombardy, which took place there much later on account of the unsettled state of the country after the death of Gian Galeazzo. Vasari in his life of Pietro della Francesca and Girolamo da Carpi, xi. 268, confounds the two Bramantes, as Calvi plainly shows in his life of Bramantino Lazzari, *Notizie*, &c. pt. ii.

† Calvi says Giovanni's family name was Grassi, *op. cit.* pt. i. p. 96. A document published in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1858, ii. 65, mentions him as Johannes Jacobi Mediolano, and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Italian Painting*, vol. i. pp. 402-8, note 2, adopts this statement and calls him Giovanni Jacobi.

the Virgin and St. John and the Assumption of the Madonna, and those upon the southern, the Madonna della Misericordia, the Virgin seated between two kneeling saints, and the Deposition. The broad archivolts are adorned with reliefs of the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Adoration, the Presentation, the Flight into Egypt, and the Massacre of the Innocents; the side posts are covered by elaborately-adorned pinnacles, and the central arches are surmounted by heavy crockets and finials.* Another interesting work of this time in the Cathedral, is the tomb of Marco Carelli, a wealthy Milanese, who gave thirty-five thousand ducats to the Fabbrica on condition that he should enjoy the interest derived from it during his life, and that a monument should be raised to his memory in a chapel built for the purpose in the Campo-Santo.† After his death at Venice, the directors sent a special envoy to bring his body to Milan, and employed Filippino degli Organi, son of Andrea da Modena, to build the chapel and design the monument.‡ The statuettes in Gothic niches upon its sides were probably sculptured by Niccolò di Piero de' Lamberti from Arezzo, who came to Milan after he had unsuccessfully competed for the gates of the baptistry at Florence 1401, and executed several much admired works.§ Gian Galeazzo died (1402) in the

* See plate xvi. p. 80 in Franchetti's work on the duomo di Milano. Calvi, p. 96, note 1, says that Giovanni de' Grassi made the sculptures set into the wall over the left portal of the Duomo in 1395, and that those in Verona marble are by one of the Campionesi.

† In 1393, the year before Carelli's death, the deputies asked and obtained his consent to raise funds for the continuation of the works at the Cathedral by the sale of part of his property on condition that they should pay him a reasonable income derived from other sources. Afterwards with commendable liberality they permitted him to dispose of a mill which had formerly belonged to him, in order to raise a dowry for his daughter. In the seventeenth century his monument was removed to the Cathedral.

‡ Calvi, *op. cit.* p. 152, states his belief that Filippino did not design the whole work. Franchetti, *op. cit.* pp. 102-103, says that he found a record in the archives to the effect that Filippino designed the monument, and an unknown sculptor executed it. Cicognara, vol. ii. pl. x. gives two statuettes from the tomb. It is mentioned by the Conte Nava, p. 37, and by Giuliani, v. 789.

§ Vasari, vol. iii. p. 39, note 2, says there is no doubt about Lamberti's visit to Milan, and it is probable that he assisted at the council held in 1387 to discuss the stability of the works. But it is doubtful if he was

midst of his great schemes, when the Cathedral and the Certosa were daily growing under his eyes, when master of the greater part of Lombardy, the Romagna, and Tuscany, he only awaited the surrender of Florence to put on the royal mantle and diadem already prepared for the ceremony of his coronation as King of Italy, and so closely did the complete dismemberment of his well-nigh constituted kingdom follow upon his death, that within two years his sons, Giovanni and Filippo-Maria, were obliged to shut themselves up for safety in the castles of Milan and Pavia. As both were under age at their father's death, the State was first administered by their mother the Duchess Caterina, who being utterly unable to make head against foreign and internal enemies, at last retreated to a convent at Monza, where she died. Giovanni, who succeeded to a mere remnant of power, was a monster in human shape whose life was fitly terminated by the poniards of his outraged subjects after a reign of ten years, during which the greater part of the native artists whom his father had collected around him at Milan had gone to seek employment elsewhere, leaving their places about the Cathedral to be filled by inferior German workmen. His successor, Filippo-Maria, was weak, cruel, and ungrateful, and rather tolerated than loved the men of note who flourished at Milan during the thirty-five years of his reign; * still he did something for art, by building the great cloister of the Certosa which bears his name, by commissioning Pisanello to make that admirable portrait medal which has rendered his features so familiar to us, † and by patronising the only sculptor

permanently attached to the Fabbrica. There was a Niccolò Selli d' Arezzo in the service of Gian Galeazzo in 1397, with whom he is perhaps to be identified (*see Cicognara, i. 400 et seq.*).

* So says his biographer Pietro Candido Decembrio, a distinguished savant and president of the republic after the death of Filippo Maria. When it was overthrown by Francesco Sforza, he retired to Rome and Naples where he was protected by Pope Nicholas V. and Alfonso of Aragon, but he finally returned to Milan and died there. Pisanello made an admirable medal of him (*eng. in Trésors de Numismatique, pl. vi. no. 2*). Verri, *Storia di Milano*, i. 442, concludes that Filippo-Maria was a "principe da nulla." Giulini, vi. 228, says that facts and the assertions of Decembrio do not show him to have been a great protector of letters although Sassi and Argellati declare him to have been another Augustus.

† This medal is engraved in the *Trésors de Numismatique*, pl. i. no. 3,

of note at Milan during the first half of the century, Jacopino da Tradate, who worked at the Cathedral as early as 1410, but was not regularly attached to the "Fabbrica" until 1415. Three years later, the then newly elected Pope Martin V., arrived at Milan on the 18th of October, "en route" from Constance to Rome, and after being escorted into the city by the duke and a vast concourse of citizens of high and low degree, consecrated the High Altar of the Cathedral in the presence of an immense number of spectators. After his departure, Jacopino was appointed to represent him in bronze and of colossal dimensions for the Cathedral, and modelled a statue of the Pope robed in full pontificals sitting in a dignified and natural pose upon a throne with the keys in one hand, and with the other raised in benediction. The inscription on the base lauds the sculptor as "not inferior but superior to Praxiteles," whose merits, it is needless to say, were matters of pure speculation to the writer. The statue, in sober truth, like the half figure of God the Father in the roof of the apse, shows little else than that Jacopino was a good bronze caster, but the tomb of Pietro Torello at S. Eustorgio, one of the best works of its class at Milan, if it be his work as supposed, proves his merit as a monumental sculptor.* He spent the latter part of his life in the service of the Duke Francesco Gonzaga, at Mantua, where he died about 1440. Among his pupils were his son Samuel,† Isacco da Imbonate, Antonio da Pandino, and Gasparo da Carona.

In the latter part of Filippo-Maria's reign a new school of sculpture developed itself at Milan, whose peculiarities seem to denote a Flemish influence, not by any means improbable. Like the painters of the Van Eyck school,‡ Omodeo, the Mante-

and in Alois Heiss, *op. cit.* p. 13; the duke is represented on the reverse as armed, and climbing a rocky path on horseback, followed by a mounted page.

* *Libro di Memorie e Documenti*, Calvi, *op. cit.* pt. i. p. 139.

† Who set up a mortuary tablet to his father in the cloisters of St. Agnese.

‡ The works of these painters were not unknown in Italy at the time. Pope Martin V. in 1430 gave an altar-piece by Rogier Van der Weyden to the King of Spain; and Folco Portinari, envoy of the Medici at Bruges, caused Hugo Van der Goes to paint an altar-piece for the hospital of Sta. Maria Nuova at Florence (see *Manuel de l'Histoire de la Peinture*, by Dr. Waagen, i. 127, 137, Ecoles allemandes. Traduction

gazza, and other Milanese sculptors indulged in violent action, exaggerated facial expression sometimes to the verge of grimace, and gave inordinate length of limb to their figures, which they clothed in closely clinging draperies, properly called cartaceous from their resemblance to wet paper. These were perhaps first employed at Milan by Agostino da Bramante, called Bramante the younger,* who according to Lomazzo was accustomed to paint from paper and linen models, artificially shaped into sharp cornered angular folds by means of paste and glue.†

The works of the new school are distinguished from those of the old by these novelties in treatment, and also by superior drawing, greater refinement, and a tendency to flatness of surface, improvements which may fairly be traced to the influence of the Tuscan artists who visited Milan in the course of the fifteenth century.

The most important among these were Brunelleschi, who designed a fortress for Filippo-Maria, and on his second visit made many designs for him and for the artists employed about the Cathedral; Michelozzo, who, as we have already said, sculptured the very beautiful portal of the Palazzo Vismara now at the Brera; and Lionardo da Vinci, who painted the fresco of our Lord's Supper in the convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie, and modelled the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza.

A bas-relief, by an unknown sculptor, of the Adoration of the Magi in the Sala Capitolare dei Padri at the Certosa, in which Filippo-Maria and his father Gian Galeazzo are introduced

Française). Rogier Van der Weyden visited Urbino, and Antonello da Messina brought back Flemish methods and traditions from Bruges to Italy.

* To distinguish him from his father Bramantino l'antico. Vasari says that Bramantino was the first introducer of good drawing into Milan (see xi. 268), and Sig. Calvi speaks of Bramante l'antico, whom he also calls Bramante da Milano and Bramantino, as the artist who introduced Renaissance architecture, then called Bramantesque, into Lombardy, and who made the book of drawings which Vasari saw in the hands of Valerio Vicentino; but we are more inclined to adopt the statement made by the annotators of Vasari (vide *Commentario alla Vita di Garofalo*, xi. 277-83) that these drawings were by Agostino di Bramante, son of Bramantino l'antico, himself the master of Bramante d' Urbino the architect of St. Peter's.

† *Trattato della Pittura*, lib. vi. ch. lvi.

among the spectators, may be taken as an example of the transition period between the old and the new schools, since with the rounder forms of the first it has the profuse gilding of the last. It has been suggested that it is an early work by the brothers Mantegazza, not only from certain characteristics of style but also because the sculptors mentioned in the records of the Certosa before their time, were mere carvers of capitals, cornices, &c., called "*piccatores lapidum vivarum*," such as Giovanni da Garbagnate, Lodovico da Regio, Giovanni da Como, and Fusina da Campione.*

Cristoforo and Antonio Mantegazza, who were educated as goldsmiths in the workshop of their father Antonio at Milan, are first heard of at the Certosa in 1473, but they must have been attached to the Fabbrica some time before this, since the Prior then owed them 800 lire for marble work previously completed. Their reputation was evidently considerable, as they were soon after commissioned to model the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, but we may surmise that they hardly felt themselves equal to a task afterwards entrusted to Lionardo da Vinci, as they abandoned it after calculating the amount of bronze which would be required to cast it.†

They were then appointed head sculptors at the Certosa, and entrusted with divers commissions, with the proviso that the price for each completed work should be fixed by appraisers. The first submitted (October 12, 1478) were the marble "*sacrarii*"‡ adorned with bas-reliefs, delicately sculptured ornament and pilasters, in the chapels near the entrance to the right and left. Among the more important works subsequently entrusted to them were the "*dossale*" or altar-piece in the Sala Capitolare dei Fratelli, representing the Virgin with the dead body

* The portrait of Filippo-Maria was probably introduced either because he was the donor of the relief, or in sign of gratitude for the money he had given towards building the great cloister of the Certosa. The arabesques, leaves, busts and little figures in relief about the cornice, base and pilasters which enframe the bas-relief are evidently by the brothers Mantegazza, whose hand is especially recognizable in the very pleasing groups of angels.

† 6,000 lbs. of bronze. Lionardo calculated that 100,000 lbs. would be required for his equestrian group.

‡ "*Sacrario*," a receptacle for utensils used by the priest during the celebration of mass

of our Lord, surrounded by the Marys and the disciples; a bas-relief of the same subject now at South Kensington; some praying angels upon the side posts of a door in the great cloister; and a Pietà over a door leading out of its right transept. The gestures and facial expression of the figures in these marbles are extremely exaggerated, their cartaceous draperies cling to the limbs in square patches sharply outlined, and their proportions are abnormal, and yet, like the pictures of Hugo van der Goes and Rogier van der Weyden which they recall, they move us through their earnestness and intensity of feeling to accept and even admire what would otherwise be painful and repulsive.



Cristoforo Mantegazza, who died in 1482, about a year after Guiniforte Solari had commenced the façade of the Certosa, can have had no hand in the sculptures about it, but his brother Antonio, who was attached to the "Fabbrica" until 1491 and from time to time received payment for work done, undoubtedly had. He died at Milan, October 7th, 1495, much lamented by the duke, who on the recommendation of Beatrice Visconti gave permanent employment at the Certosa to his son Antonio. Other sculptors worked there simultaneously with the brothers Mantegazza, and among them an artist far greater than they, the celebrated Giovanni

Antonio Omodeo, or Amadeo,* who was born near Pavia in 1447 on a farm belonging to his father Aloisius.† Some one of the

* In a letter written by the Cancelliere Bartolomeo Calco, and in various old papers, he is called degli Amadei; his name probably came from the town of Madeo or Malleo, as it is often written de' Madeo or a Madeo (Bossi, *MS. Bib. Melzi* at Milan, cartello ix.).

† Omodeo is sometimes called a citizen of Pavia and sometimes of Milan. In a document dated October 10, 1495, he is called citizen of Pavia, resident at Milan; and in another, dated January 29, 1499, he is

artists employed at the Certosa probably taught him how to use the chisel, but we do not know under whose influence or at what period he formed the habit of cutting deeply into marble, arranging draperies in cartaceous folds, and treating surfaces flatly even when he sculptured figures in high relief.* Excepting in these technical points, he differed from his associates completely, and so far surpassed them that he may be ranked with the great Tuscan artists of his time, which can be said of no other North-Italian sculptor. At the age of nineteen he worked at the Certosa with his brother Protasius, and in the following year received a considerable sum of money and two bushels of wheat in payment for sculptures whose subjects are not specified, though we have no doubt that they were the bas-relief in the lunette, and the fruits, leaves, and delicate little figures of angels upon the pilasters of the doorway leading from the small cloister into the church. These we should hardly believe to be from Omodeo's hand were they not signed, but it is unmistakeable in the bas-reliefs upon the tomb of the Beato Lanfranco in the church dedicated to that Saint near Pavia, which were executed about 1469. Raised upon six slender columns, the sarcophagus serves as base to a little temple whose sides are covered with reliefs relating to the history of our Lord, while those upon the sarcophagus set forth various events in the life of the Saint (b. 1015), who beginning as a dialectician, jurisconsult, and monk, became the confidential adviser of William the Conqueror, and eventually archbishop of Canterbury (1071-1087).†

After completing his work at Pavia, Omodeo went to Bergamo to sculpture the tomb of Medea, daughter of the famous con-

called citizen of both places, which does not necessarily indicate that he was born in either (Calvi, *Life of Omodeo*, pt. ii. p. 143).

* Among the artists who preceded Omodeo at the Certosa were the Fratelli Zaratteri and Pietro da Ripa in 1453, Vincenzo Foppa in 1465, and Guglielmo da Como in 1452, Angelino da Lecco who sculptured a Nativity, Antonio da Lecco and Giovanni da Cairate in 1464, Raimondo da Cremona who made terra-cotta figures for the cloister, Giovanni Solari 1464, and his son Guiniforte, who remained there up to his death in 1481.

† See *Life of S. Lanfranco* by Milano Crispino, cited by Cantù, *St. degli Italiani*, vol. ii. ch. xc. pp. 461-2, and *Histoire de la Conquête des Normandes*, par Augustin Thierry, second ed. vol. p. 253-4.

dottiore Bartolomeo Coleoni, for a chapel which he had built and endowed at Basella, whence it was removed in the last century to Bergamo, to become one of the chief ornaments of that monument of Omodeo's architectural taste and skill, the family chapel adjoining the Cathedral. Draped in the folds of a richly embroidered robe, the simply disposed recumbent effigy, a model of virginal purity* and a masterpiece of its kind, lies upon a sarcophagus adorned with an Ecce Homo and two mourning angels in relief, and with statuettes of the Madonna, the Magdalen, and St. Catherine. Medea's face is turned upwards, her eyes are serenely closed, and her arms peacefully folded upon her bosom. A delicate string of jewels encircles her head, which reposes on an ornamented pillow, and a necklace is clasped about her slender neck. With the possible exception of certain monuments by Desiderio and Rossellino at Florence, no tomb in Italy equals this in design and treatment.

While Omodeo was at work upon it, Coleoni decided to build the family chapel where it now stands, and to raise a splendid memorial to himself within it. With this intent, after vainly requesting the authorities of Santa Maria Maggiore to allow him to pull down one of its sacristies, he took advantage of his almost royal power and carried out his project, despite the judicial proceedings instituted against him. The chapel, designed by Omodeo, and nearly completed before the death of its founder, is quadrangular in form and surmounted by an octagonal cupola. Its extremely ornate façade is decorated with marble colonettes, statuettes, bas-reliefs, busts, medallions and arabesques, and its flat spaces are covered with diamond-shaped slabs of white, black, and red marble. The rich Renaissance portal is flanked by pilasters covered with exquisite arabesques, and surmounted by a rose window on either side of which are busts of Cæsar and Augustus, in roundels, set between Corinthian pilasters. A row of open arches supported upon little columns decorate the upper part of the façade, and the double pilasters at its angles are filled in with circular and diamond-shaped medallions, vases of flowers, and arabesques. The cornices, pilasters and architraves of the side-windows are enriched with angels'

* "Un chef-d'œuvre de grâce et de pureté toute virginal."—Rio, *de l'Art chrétien*, iii. 269.

heads, medallions and statuettes, and the two panels of the pedestals of the truncated columns placed at the head of the flight of steps leading up to the portal, are adorned with bas-reliefs of children grouped together with great freedom, executed in a style free from mannerism, and very true to nature. In one of these compositions a little fellow is playing upon a lute, another upon a pipe, while between them a third holds up a knight's helmet, whose ample plumes form the apex of the group. The silent music of these marble musicians harmonizes well with the façade, which with its multiple colonettes and pilasters resembles a gigantic organ.

Omodeo's monument to its founder within the chapel is crowned by a gilded equestrian statue, made by two unknown German sculptors in 1509,* which stands upon a sarcophagus decorated with statuettes and bas-reliefs of the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration.† Its base, which is of the same shape and like it supported on columns, is decorated with statuettes of Hercules, Mars, and three seated warriors,‡ and its sides are profusely ornamented with arabesques, medallions, and "putti," and with bas-reliefs of the Flagellation, the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Entombment, separated from each other by statuettes of the Virtues. The bas-reliefs are sculptured with astonishing facility and skill in a picturesque, energetic and expressive style, the statuettes are original and effective, and the accessories are models of elegance, but with all these merits of detail, the structure wants unity of effect, as it is divided into two disconnected and superposed masses, supported upon columns apparently too slender for the weight laid upon them.§

Omodeo returned to Pavia in October, 1478, and submitted

* These artists are called Sisto and Leonardo by some writers. Calvi says the statue was made by an unknown sculptor from Nuremberg (*op. cit.* pt. ii. p. 149).

† These statuettes are said to represent the sons and daughters of Coleoni.

‡ Portraits of Coleoni's sons-in-law, Gasparo, Gherardo, and Martinego.

§ The chapel and the monuments together cost more than 50,000 gold ducats, not including the sum left by Coleoni in his will, to complete them (Calvi, *op. cit.* pt. ii. p. 151). See also Ricci, ii. 645, 648; Bottari, *Lett. Pitt.* ed. Rom. v. 277; and Marc Ant. Micarelli, *Agri et Urbis Bergomatis Descriptio*, 1511.

to the approval of the prior and head architect of the Certosa four "sacrarii," a "morena," or parapet for a well in the "Lavatoio dei Monaci," and the marbles of the portal leading from the left transept of the church into the old sacristy, which consist of a bas-relief of the Resurrection in the lunette, medallions upon the architrave, and many charming groups of singing angels upon the doorposts. To this time we should also assign an admirable little relief of the Deposition in a medallion upon the front of the high altar, in which the dead body of our Lord is supported by the Virgin, St. John, and two angels, while two mourning angels float in the air above His head. The central group is in parts almost in the round, and thus happily contrasts with the very flat relief of the remainder. The composition is excellent, the drapery skilfully arranged, the figures are carefully modelled, and the heads full of expression.

On the death of Guiniforte Solari (1481), Omodeo had been temporarily appointed to succeed him as head architect of the Certosa, and commissioned to make a fresh design for the façade with the aid of Benedetto Briosco, Antonio della Porta, and Stefano da Sesto, but it was not until 1490, when he was confirmed in his office, that he made the design which was accepted, and subsequently carried out by him and his successors. He had, in the meantime, been working at Cremona upon the shrine of the Egyptian martyrs Mario, Marta, Audifaccio, and Abacucio, who suffered death at Rome (A.D. 271) under the Emperor Claudius. Of this work nothing remains but the sculptured panels set into the Cathedral pulpit, as the shrine was broken up when the church of San Lorenzo, where it originally stood, was pulled down.* These reliefs

* Zaist, *Pitt. Sc. ed Arch. Cremonesi*, i. 32, describes the shrine as a sarcophagus supported upon six columns and adorned with bas-reliefs. Vasari, xi. 261, nota 2, and Cicognara, iv. 388, erroneously ascribe it to Geremia da Cremona, but their error arose from their having mistaken the date contained in the inscription upon the sarcophagus in the crypt which reads properly, "A. Amadeo F.H.O. 1482 die vi. Octobris," and not 1432 (Morelli, p. 159, nota 64, notes to l' Anonimo, p. 36). Vasari mentions Geremia da Cremona, at xi. 261, as author of a great work in marble at San Lorenzo, and at iii. 241, speaks of him (as does Filarete in his MS. treatise on architecture) as an excellent bronze-caster. Zaist (i. 31) says that he knows of no other work by him than this shrine. Cicognara says he long lived in Venice and executed many works there.

represent the Emperor giving orders to his satellites, and the death of the martyrs by divers kinds of torture. Their sharp-edged and flat-surfaced limbs, and the cartaceous draperies of the numberless little groups of figures, form a series of delicate lines, which cross and recross each other like the meshes of a spider's web. The bas-reliefs upon the sides of the sarcophagus in the crypt of this Cathedral, which contains the bodies of SS. Pietro and Marcellino, the patrons of Cremona, are so much in Omodeo's style that we were led to attribute them to him in a former work,* but this was an error, as the archives of the Cathedral prove that they were sculptured by Benedetto Briosco,† who, on the 6th of May, 1508, agreed as per entry to make the said reliefs and ornaments "of the same excellence as those upon the façade of the Certosa at Pavia, for the price of 600 ducats."‡ Giovanni Battista Malojo of Cremona, whose name is inscribed upon the tomb, was an architect of the seventeenth century, who when employed (1609) to remove the monument from the upper church, was obliged to cut it down in order to place it under the low roof of the crypt. Of eight bas-reliefs there are now but five, treated like the panels of the pulpits described above, but in an even more pictorial style. In one, as in the baptistry-reliefs of Ghiberti, a triple action is carried on; a saint expels a demon from the body of a woman, looks through the base of a grated window, and is put to death. In another, several martyrs are led away to prison under the eyes of the Emperor and of a crowd of eager spectators who fill the window of a palace overlooking a garden; and in another they are put to death, and their souls are borne to heaven by angels, who rise with them above the trees in the background.

We have no knowledge of the time when Omodeo made the Borromei monuments, formerly in the church of S. Pietro

* See *Italian Sculptors*, p. 132.

† Benedetto Briosco was employed upon the portal of the Certosa in 1501. In the Cremonese archives he is mentioned as "filius quondam domini Medigoli Natitutor in civitate Mediolani." His name is inscribed upon the pedestal of the statue of the Madonna upon the monument to Gian Galeazzo Visconti in the Certosa, executed between 1490-1562, by Gio. Crostoforo Romano and other sculptors.

‡ For this extract we are indebted to M. Courrajo, Curator of the Renaissance Museum at the Louvre.

in Gessate at Milan, and now in the Borromeo chapel at Isola Bella in the Lago Maggiore, but we may conjecture that it was after he left Cremona to return to the Certosa. One of them, the tomb of an unknown member of the family, consists of a sarcophagus decorated with military bas-reliefs, and crowned by a little temple, under which the Madonna sits with "kneeling suppliants. The other, that of Giovanni Borromeo, is far more elaborate and effective. The sarcophagus, whose sides are filled with eight bas-reliefs from the early life of our Lord, is supported upon pilasters masked by six statues of armed shield-bearers standing on pedestals adorned with amorini and female figures in relief, and the sepulchral effigy lies below a small temple with statuettes at its corners, from each of which hang curtains supported by little genii. Recumbent figures fill the spandrils of the arches thrown over the inter-columnar spaces, and a highly ornate frieze is carved round the monument directly under the sarcophagus.

About 1490, after an absence of eight or nine years, Omodeo returned to his post at the Certosa, and after constructing a clay model* of the façade, built it without interruption up to the first corridor.† Its great round arched portal, designed and erected by Benedetto Briosco,‡ rests upon four columns with rich Corinthian capitals, and is flanked by eight pilasters covered with bas-reliefs, the larger of which, relating to the history of the building, appear to be by Agostino Busti,§ while the smaller are by Omodeo, and in his best manner. The sub-basement is covered with a series of medallions containing heads of the Roman emperors, "putti," coats of arms, &c., &c.; and the basement with bas-reliefs of very unequal merit, representing Adam and Eve, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the resurrection of Lazarus, the mocking of Christ by the Jews, the

* For this model he was paid 200 lire imperiali (Calvi, *op.cit.* pt.ii. p.163).

† The Mantegazza, Omodeo, Benedetto Briosco, Ettore d'Alba, Antonio da Locati, Battista and Stefano da Sesto, Francesco Biondello, Giacomo Nava, Marco d' Agrate, Angelo Marino Siciliano, Agostino Busti, Battista Gattoni, Antonio Tamagnini, Gio. Giac. della Porta, Giov. Cr. Romano, and Cristoforo Solari detto il Gobbo, all worked on the façade.

‡ Briosco was to receive 8,000 lire imperiali=160,000 francs, for this door.

§ See p. 346.



Crucifixion, and the Resurrection. Many of these marbles have been too much mutilated to allow of identification, but in some of those which are tolerably well preserved we recognize the hand of Omodeo, or that of an artist trained in his school. The admirable bas-reliefs of kneeling bishops with attendant monks and flying angels, which decorate the slabs of marble placed vertically against the walls directly next the portal, and the beautiful square-headed windows on either side of it, which are divided by slender columns in the form of candelabra and surrounded by broad bands of marble covered with elaborate ornament, seem to be by the master himself.

Omodeo was joint architect of the Certosa and of the Cathedrals of Pavia and Milan, until he undertook to crown the latter with a cupola, when he resigned his other offices and took up his residence at Milan, where, assisted by his colleague Dolcebuono, he commenced his work in 1497 according to the accepted model, and carried it up to the octagon. As its solidity was then questioned by Cristoforo Solari and Andrea Fusina, the directors stopped the works (1508). This and other annoyances and delays which followed, find a parallel in the history of Brunelleschi's cupola at Florence, and that of Michelangelo's monument to Pope Julius at Rome, and as the history of the latter has been entitled "*La Tragedia del Sepolcro*," so may that of Omodeo be called "*La Tragedia della Cupola*."* The overthrow of Ludovico il Moro (1499) had deprived him of an efficient protector, and the death of Dolcebuono not only left him without a friend and aid, but gave the directors an opportunity of annoying him, by naming Andrea Fusina as his new associate, after he had generously refused to exercise his right to select a more congenial companion. He was then summoned before the council to defend his work, and though he appears to have answered all their objections triumphantly, he was not allowed to pursue it, on account of the violent opposition manifested by many of the artists connected with the "*Fabbrica*."† Bernardino Zenale, the painter, who had

* It is not known who made the medallion portrait of Omodeo, which is set into the wall of a spiral staircase leading to the roof of the Cathedral through a Gothic turret which he built.

† This unkind treatment of a tried and faithful servant was the more inexcusable as the *Fabbrica* had several years before accepted his gift

begun the study of architecture very late in life, was then chosen to prepare a new model, and this act of hostility was followed (1519) by the appointment of Omodeo's chief enemy, Cristoforo Solari, to the post of architect. All these vexations weighed heavily upon the old artist, who died about 1520, "ex decrepitate," says the record, worn out not less by adverse fortune than by a life of unremitting labour. First among North-Italian sculptors in technic, in facility, and refinement, he would know no rival even among his Tuscan contemporaries, were his style free from mannerism, and his standard of beauty more elevated.

We know little more than the names of many of the sculptors who clustered like bees about the Cathedral at Milan during the last half of the fifteenth century, and made it the storehouse of their handiwork.* All found solid advantages in their connection with the "Fabbrica." Before being admitted to full privileges, the young worked for a time without remuneration, in order to learn their art,† while the old and infirm of a farm at Giovenzano, and a yearly sum of 200 lire destined to furnish dowries for the daughters of its sculptors. Struck to the heart by this and many other signs of hostility, Omodeo made a second will, by which he devised the remainder of his property to his relative Giovanni-Maria Amadeo, counsellor of the Fabbrica.

* Such are Matteo Castaldi, styled in the records of the Fabbrica, "Magister expertus in signis et foliaminibus," who in 1465 received ten gold florins for a roundel to be set in the first story of the campanile at Ferrara (Cittadella, *op. cit.* p. 100); Matteo de' Revetti or Revertis, who made the now destroyed monument to the Count of Valtero and Arquato (A.D. 1422) in the church of St. Elena at Venice, which is described by Sansavino (lib. v. p. 210) as adorned with many admirable little figures, rich leaf-work and varied ornament; Maffeo da Milano, stone-cutter, who after several years' absence from the duomo at Milan on account of illness was readmitted with full pay A.D. 1491; and Pantaleone de' Marchi (1492), who made twelve wooden statues for the Certosa at Pavia, and the choir stalls which were sold at Milan after the suppression of the convent by the French. Ambrogio di Porris (1497), Bartolomeo di Bernardino de' Nova, Girolamo de' Nova (1495), and Giuliano de' Parisiis or Parisio, an assistant of Cristoforo Solari, were all enrolled among the cathedral sculptors; as was Galeazzo Pellegrini, who also worked at the Certosa, where he was commissioned to design the monument of Gian Galeazzo, which was sculptured by Gian Cristoforo Romano. Pietro di Martino (fl. 1450) is mentioned in the Neapolitan chapter of this volume as the designer of King Alfonso's triumphal arch.

† Such as Battista da Ripa (1491) who afterwards worked under Omodeo, 1496.

retired on pensions.* Expulsion was the penalty incurred by those who went to work elsewhere without special permission, but in certain cases, where adequate excuses could be offered, the offenders were readmitted.† Finding ample and remunerative employment at home but few Milanese sculptors went abroad,‡ and among those who did so we find the name of but one remarkable artist, Ambrogio Barocci, called Ambrogino da Milano,§ whose sculptures are not to be found at Milan, but about the doors, windows, and chimney-pieces of the Ducal Palace at Urbino, where his skilful hand was employed in carving trophies, military emblems, flowers, birds, and children, which show the utmost elegance and purity of taste. The architrave of one of the chimney-pieces is adorned with a row of dancing Cupids, and its jambs with reliefs of winged boys holding vases filled with growing roses and carnations, whose structure and wayward growth show the closest and most loving study of nature. (See woodcut.) The leaves, flowers, and birds, where

* Like Antonio de' Resgiovis who was attached to the duomo from 1415 to 1465.

† This was the case with Aloisio Lomazzo, Ambrogio di Arluno (1500), and Ambrogio Ghisolfi. His brother Giovanni Pietro sculptured the arms of Lodovico Sforza over the portal of the castle of Milan which were thrown down by the soldiers of Louis XII.

‡ Maestro Pietro Briosco was commissioned in 1442 to terminate the work about the doors of St. Petronius at Bologna. A Maestro Scilla worked at Naples under Andrea Ciccione upon the tombs of King Ladislaus and Ser Gian Caracciolo. (See Neapolitan chapter.) Other sculptors of ornament (lapicide) attached to the duomo in 1490-1496 are Gio. Ambrogio de' Locate or de' Donati, Gio. Ant. de' Besozzo, Gio. Ant. Taverna, Gio. Ant. de' Mapolinis, Girolamo da Novara, Luigi da Sesto, elected prior of the Sculptors' Guild in 1494, Cristoforo de' Stucchis and Gio. Fregella 1491-1494-1497; Stefano Battista and Paolo da Sesto, dismissed for some unknown reason in 1496. The latter artist worked at the Certosa in 1513.

§ "Magister Ambracius, lapicida et sculptor egregius," was one of the witnesses to Giovanni Santi's will; (Pungileoni, *Elogio Storico di G. Santi*, p. 136; Passavant, *Fr. tr. i. 42.*) From him descended the Barocci d' Urbino, a family which gave both painters and mathematicians to Italy. Federigo Baroccio the famous painter was the grandson of Ambrogio da Milano, and son of Ambrogio the jurisconsult (*vide* Bossi and Cattaneo, *MS. Bib. Melzi*, vol. ii.). Passavant, *Fr. tr. p. 380*, says there were several families of this name at Urbino.

colour alone seems wanting to give life, are well eulogized by Giovanni Santi as—

“Mostrando quanto che natura
Possa in tal arte.”

Such ornamental sculpture is (like all the best Renaissance



work of its kind) no arid imitation of the antique, but a new growth from that parent stem, nor do we know any other work of the sort comparable to Ambrogio's, save perhaps that at Venice by his contemporary Pietro Lombardo.* Ambrogio showed himself equally excellent as a monumental sculptor in the tomb of Lorenzo Roverella, physician to Pope Julius II. and afterwards Bishop of Ferrara, in the church of San Giorgio, outside the walls of Ferrara.† Its style is pure Quattro-cento, and its general arrangement that adopted by the Tuscan masters. The recumbent effigy lies upon a sarcophagus within an arched recess adorned with cherub heads, having two “putti” outside the arch, upon the top a group of

* Passavant, *op. cit.* p. 378, attributes the chimney-pieces to Fcs. di Giorgio from Siena. Baldinucci says he designed them and Ambrogio sculptured them. A glance however at the military bas-reliefs by the Sienese artist in the palace at Urbino is sufficient to convince one, that he cannot be the sculptor of the ornamental work of which we have been speaking. The most important work upon the Ducal Palace at Urbino is that by Fr. Arnold entitled *Der herzogliche Palast von Urbino*, Leipzig, 1857. The first architect of the palace was Mo. Luciano da Lausana in Dalmatia, who received his appointment through a letter written by the Duke Federigo from Castel Papia, June 10, 1468. It was finished by Baccio Pintelli. Ambrogio da Milano and Gondolo Tedesco are spoken of as employed to ornament it. The beautiful stone ornaments are attributed to the first, and the intarsia work to the second.

† Bossi, *MS. cit.*, quotes Zani in favour of the identity of the

St. George and the Dragon, within the lunette a roundel containing a group of the Madonna and Child with adoring angels, and on either side of the recess five excellent statuettes of saints. As the technical handling is admirable throughout, we do not know of any monument so beautiful in design or so free from mannerism as this, with the exception of the masterpieces of the Florentine sculptors at Florence and Lucca. We have no knowledge of where Ambrogio studied, or how long he lived, and any conjecture as to the length of his career would be hazardous, as his works at Urbino and Ferrara were very nearly contemporaneous. He married a lady of good position at Urbino, and from their union sprang the Barocci d'Urbino, a family rich in mathematicians and painters.

VENICE.

With the introduction of the Gothic style of architecture at Venice at the very beginning of the fourteenth century, we should naturally look for a great improvement in decorative sculpture which is an essential part of it. And yet, unless we accept the capitals of the columns and the groups at the angles of the façades of the Ducal Palace as works of this century, we shall find it difficult to show that any such improvement took place. Bertuccius (1800), who cast the external bronze gates of St. Mark's;* Marcus Venetus (1810),

Ambrogio at Urbino and him at Ferrara. The tomb is signed and dated Ambrosii Mediolanensis, op. 1475. Cittadella, in his *Notizie di Ferrara*, p. 47, under the date 1500, quotes a document of payments made to M^o Pietro Martino and Barto. di Cavalli da Verona for work done in the duomo at Ferrara; adding that for the latter artist some chronicles substitute M^o Ambrogio da Milano, who in 1475 worked at the "Officio delle Biade" with the Mantuan sculptors Albertino and Luigi Rusconi. The same writer at p. 95 cites a document dated March 20, 1473, in which M^o Ambrogio da Milano is said to have been paid seventy ducats of Venetian gold, probably for the construction of the loggia "degli Strazzaroli" (cloth and silk merchants) with the help of the Rusconi. Ambrogio had a son named Cristoforo who is recorded as a sculptor in 1511. This artist is probably identical with that Cristoforo da Milano who with other sculptors was employed in 1540 to adorn the Palazzo della Ragione at Ferrara (Ricci, *St. dell' Architettura*, iii. 174).

* Selvatico, *op. cit.* p. 85, states his opinion that Bertuccius sculptured a bas-relief of San Leonardo, which exists upon the wall of St. Mark's towards the Piazzetta dei Leoni.

who carved several rude figures of saints upon the capital of a column which supports an angle of the cloisters of San Matteo at Genoa; the anonymous sculptor and painter whom the Podesta of Murano, Messer Donato Memo, employed (1310) to make an "ancona" of wood for the altar of the Cathedral at Murano, as a votive offering at the shrine of his patron San Donato;* and the anonymous sculptor who carved a Madonna della Misericordia for the Ponte del Paradiso at Venice, were but clumsy workmen of the mediæval stamp, while their successors in the second half of the century were hardly superior. It seems impossible that the Madonna and Child near the entrance to the cloister of the Carmine, by Arduinus Tajapiera (1340),† the Madonna and Child with angels and suppliants,‡ and figures in relief of SS. Leonard and Christopher (1345)§ near the entrance to the Academia, and the Madonna della Misericordia at Sta. Maria dell' Orto (1344), are works posterior to those of Andrea Pisano, and contemporary with those of Orgagna in Tuscany. If they really represent Venetian sculpture during the fourteenth century it is hardly worth examination, but if, as we believe, the Ducal Palace sculptures

* The extreme difference in size between the saint and his worshippers in this ancona, seen also in bas-reliefs of the "Madonna della Misericordia," is met with in Greek votive bas-reliefs, between gods and men. Dr. Friederichs (*Bausteine zur Geschichte der gr. rom. Plastik*, p. 213) says, in the absence of an inscription, it is the surest mark of a votive relief. Mo. Donato, Sc. Veneziano. "Hoc opus fecit Donatus Magister S. Marci de Venetiis A.D. 1276." "Donatus Magister S. Marci de Venecia A.D. MCCCXXVII. Hoc opus fac" or fec. Zani, *Enc. Met.* vii. 401, quotes these inscriptions without mentioning to what works they refer.

† "MCCCXL mensis Octubris Arduin Tajapiera fecit." It seems hardly probable that this Arduinus is identical with the architect of the same name who built the basilica of San Petronio at Bologna A.D. 1390. Temanza, *op. cit.* p. 363, nota A, says he has no proofs to offer of the fact. Cicognara, i. 242 (ed. in-folio), says that Antonio Vincenzi or di Vincenzo (who is mentioned by Gualandi, *Guida di Bologna*, p. xi. as the architect of San Petronio) was a Bolognese magistrate, ambassador to Venice in 1396, and that he probably superintended Arduinus Venetus in his architectural labours. He cites a notice to this effect found in the papers of Palladio by Algarotti.

‡ "In lo tempo di M. Marcho Zulia fu fato questo lavorier."

§ "Fu fato questo lavorier al onor di Dio e de la Vergine Maria e del glorioso Chonfessor M. San Leonardo e in memoria de tutti che in lo santo di fo chomensada e creada."—*St. Santa Fraternitate e Scuola.*

were wholly planned and partially executed by Filippo Calendario, the most eminent architect and sculptor of his time, and not, as some eminent critics have laboured to prove, by Bartolomeo and Giovanni Bon nearly a hundred years later, then no period of its history is so interesting, for these marbles form the most perfect scheme of decoration adapted to any modern building. But who was Calendario? The answer to this question contains in itself proof of his great natural abilities. He was a sailor or shipbuilder at the fortress of Murano, who became head-master of the Ducal Palace, and superintendent of public works, and who was consulted by the senate in all matters connected with the restoration and decoration of city edifices.* How he fitted himself to fill such important posts is a mystery, but certain affinities of style between the compositions sculptured upon the capitals of the Ducal Palace and those which fill the panels of the gate of the baptistry at Florence, lead us to believe that he was brought into contact with Andrea Pisano at Venice (1305), and received lessons from him which bore fruit in works far superior to all others of the pre-Renaissance Venetian school.†

Every child knows that the doge Marino Faliero, being irritated against the nobles by some real or fancied insult, organized a conspiracy against the Republic within a year of his accession to the ducal throne;‡ that the suspicions of the Council of Ten were roused against him by the warning given by one of the conspirators, named Beltrame, to the patrician Nicolò Lioni; that the plot was discovered on the very eve of its execution (1355), and that the doge was degraded and decapitated on the steps of his palace, but it may be new to

* Cadorin, *Pareri di XV Architetti*, at p. 122 quotes a document to prove this from Egnazio, *De Exemp. Ill. Vir. Venetæ*, lib. viii. p. 275; Venezia, 1554; Sabellico says "che era scultore ed architetto in que' tempi nobile," &c. (*vide Ricci, op. cit.* ii. 333). At p. 161, note x. Cadorin, mention is made of a MS. codicil in the Museo Correr at Venice entitled *Congiura Falier*, inv. 175, in which the following passage occurs:—"Filippo Scalaudico (vuol dir Calendario) e suo fil, si dice che costoro erano scultori eccellentissimi, e che questi ebbono fatte tutte le figure antiche del Palazzo Ducale che sopra delle merli si vedono."

† See chapter iii. p. 35.

‡ The immediate cause of the doge's action is given in the apocryphal story of the public insult offered to his young wife Donna Ludovica Gradenigo. (Romanin, *Storia Doc. di Venezia*, iii. 182.)

some of our readers, that his relative and friend Filippo Calendario shared his fate. Seized in his house at San Severo, and brought before the Council with his son Niccoletto, his father-in-law Bertuccio Israello,* and others, he was sentenced to death, gagged, and then hung from the red columns of the balcony of the Ducal Palace.† We do not know Calendario's age when he underwent this shameful death, but we may suppose that he was older than the century, if it be true that in 1327 he had already attained such reputation as an architect, that the senate considered him worthy to complete the arsenal, designed by Andrea Pisano some twenty years earlier. It was deemed necessary about the same time to reconstruct the old palace of the Doges, and designs for the purpose were furnished by Pietro Basseggio the "Protomastro," who was the friend and associate of Calendario, his predecessor in office, and the father of his son Nicolò's wife.‡ As it is nowhere mentioned that Basseggio was anything but an architect, we may fairly suppose that he left the planning and execution of its decorations to Calendario, who was also a sculptor, and if the date in Arabic characters, sculptured upon the twentieth capital, counting from the corner of the Palace near the "Ponte della Paglia," be correctly read, may believe that the series of supporting columns was thus far finished eleven years before his death.§ Sixty-seven years later (1422) the doge Tomaso Mocenigo braved the penalty of a thousand ducats, imposed upon any person who should advise the reconstruction of the Palace, and induced the Signory to order that this should be

* Calendario's wife was Maria, daughter of Bertuccio Israello, one of the chief conspirators.

† The "Colonne Rosse delle balconate del Palazzo" from which, according to Sanudo, Calendario and his accomplices were hung, were probably situated in the ancient wing of the old palace facing the piazzetta, which was rebuilt after 1424. The present "red columns" may perhaps be the same, transported from their original site and made uniform with the new series which were continued along the same piazzetta after 1424 (*Storia dei Dogi di Venezia*).

‡ Cadorin says that Calendario was either the predecessor or associate of Basseggio.

§ *Iconographie des Chapiteaux*, par W. Burges, p. 20. The date, says M. Burges, is on the twentieth column counting from the Rio end of the palace. M. Didron in his note to this passage expresses a doubt as to whether the reading of the date is correct.

done, and the façades rebuilt in accordance (says the edict) with the original designs of Pietro Basseggio. The unbelievers in the claims of Calendario say that the measure was carried out by Giovanni and Bartolomeo Bon under successive doges (1424-1461). It is well known that very important works were undertaken about the Palace while Bartolomeo was its head architect, but the complete dissimilarity of style between the sculptures of the Porta della Carta and those about the Ducal Palace leads to the belief that, moved by a creditable desire not to disturb the harmony of the building by the introduction of elements in a different style, he copied the old capitals in those of the new columns. This explains why several of those on the Piazzetta are repetitions of those on the Rio, for one can hardly accept the theory, that the rich powers of invention shown in the latter had so far failed the artist in the midst of his work, that he was obliged to repeat himself. The unity of idea which binds these sculptures together as relatively important parts of a great whole, their completeness as a series, and their fitness for the place which they occupy, all convince us that they were planned by one mind.* It was not simply with the intent of beautifying the exterior of the edifice that the sculptor carved its groups, and capitals, and ornaments. He had as definite a purpose as the

* The diversity of opinions upon the date of these sculptures is curious. Selvatico, *op. cit.* p. 109, concludes that the two façades are posterior to 1424. Cadorin says that when Calendario died is not known (p. 124, *op. cit.*). Burges and Ruskin both believe, that with the exception of the seven copied capitals, all belong to the first half of the fourteenth century. Didron thinks they are rather of the thirteenth than of the fifteenth. Francesco Zanotti in his work on the Ducal Palace (ch. xii. note 18) speaks of an inscription said to have been discovered on the capital of the Column of Justice to this effect:—"Duo soti (socii) Florentini incisi." Upon this inscription he founds a theory that these two Florentine associates were the Pietro di Niccolò da Firenze and Giovanni Martino da Fiesole, who made the tomb of the doge Tomaso Mocenigo (died 1423) at S. Giovanni e Paolo, during whose reign this portion of the palace was completed. But as no one else mentions this inscription, and as the noble style of the capital is very different from the mediocre character of the work about the tomb, we are not inclined to accept Zanotti's hypothesis, especially as this capital is the finest of the whole series. Ricci, *Storia dell' Architettura in Italia*, ii. 341, expresses as his opinion that the designs for the decoration of the façades of the Ducal Palace were given by Calendario.

architect when he divided its interior into spacious halls and chambers, proper for the reception of the great bodies of the state and for the residence of its chief magistrate, and this purpose was to make it an image of the political state, faith, and occupations of the Venetians, and thus to give it a physiognomy so national, that it would appear to have been born of the place. The task was difficult, let us see how far he accomplished it.

At each corner of the two façades, whose junction forms the apex of a triangle, stands the statue of an archangel, to show the trust of the Venetians in divine protection, whether they were upon the sea or upon the land, at war or at peace. Raphael the patron of travellers with his staff in his hand, at the end looking towards the sea: Michael the warrior and avenger holding his sword, at the angle above the Piazzetta; and Gabriel the peacemaker bearing the lily, at the corner next St. Mark's. Under each of the archangels is a group of figures in alto-relief. The drunkenness of Noah, below the statue of Raphael, an admonition against that vice and a warning against filial impiety, is happily contrasted with the filial piety of the young Tobias, who sits at the feet of Raphael holding in his hand the fish whose liver is to cure his father's blindness. The group of Adam and Eve in the act of plucking the forbidden fruit, under the statue of Michael who was sent to drive them out of their forfeited Paradise, warns all men against disobedience, while the Judgment of Solomon, below the statue of Gabriel, admonishes the magistrates of their duty towards the people.

The carved capitals of the thirty-six columns upon which the edifice rests have for the most part a separate as well as a connected meaning, though the sculptor apparently allowed himself here and there a certain freedom of invention. They represent the conditions of man, the animals and plants needful for his existence and comfort, the planets which preside over his destiny from the cradle to the grave, and the winds which purify the air and propel his ships across the sea. The capitals beginning at the Raphael-end of the façade are decorated with figures of children, heads of young knights and warriors, birds, emperors such as Titus and Trajan, women's heads, virtues and vices symbolically represented, wise men, such as

Solomon, Aristotle, and Pythagoras, the planets Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and Venus, the patron saints of sculptors, each working upon a capital, a cornice, or a figure, the trades, such as that of the lapidary, the carpenter, the husbandman, the blacksmith, the seasons with their varying occupations, the ages of man, represented by the infant, the school-boy, the warrior, the student, and the old man leaning upon his crutch, and dead upon his bed, the courtship and marriage of a young man and woman, who are again represented with their child, first an infant and then a youth, beside whose deathbed they weep and pray. Last of all we come to the column of Justice, below the Judgment of Solomon and the statue of Gabriel. Its capital, the finest of the series, is covered with the richest leaf-work, growing upwards from its base and drooping in graceful volutes, between which are inserted figures of Justice seated upon two lions; the law-givers Aristotle, Solon, Numa, and Moses; and an admirable group of the Emperor Trajan reining in his horse to listen to the widow's prayer for vengeance upon the murderer of her son.* The beautiful description of this subject in the "Purgatorio" may have suggested to the sculptor the happy thought of making a reality of that visionary sculpture which Dante saw carved with a more than mortal skill when he reached the circle in which the sin of Pride is purged away.† The figures by which the Venetian sculptor has rendered this fine subject are defective in their relative proportions; but their technical defects are lost sight of in our admiration for the life which animates, and the sentiment which pervades them. The capital, and the group above it, appear to be later in date than the other capitals and groups, for although we may believe that one person planned all the sculptures as parts of a scheme of decoration, it is not to be supposed that its execution was confined to the first half of the fourteenth century. The Adam and Eve, the

* In note 73 to Longfellow's admirable translation of the *Purgatorio*, he mentions that the history of Trajan and the widow is told in nearly the same words in the *Fiore de' Filosofi*, a work attributed to Brunetto Latini (*vide* Nannucci, *Manuale della Letteratura dal primo secolo*, iii. 291). It may also be found in the *Legenda Aurea*, in the *Cento Novelle Antiche*, no. 67, and in the life of St. Gregory by Paulus Diaconus.

† x. 73-93.

figures emblematic of the planets, and those carved upon the marriage capital, may be the work of one artist, but it would be absurd to suppose that the group of the Judgment of Solomon, which is evidently in a later style, was sculptured by the same hand.

The decided superiority of the Ducal Palace sculptures over all other pre-Renaissance Venetian marbles is so remarkable, that we have been forced to seek for an explanation of it in some extraordinary cause, such as the influence of a foreign artist upon a native sculptor of great natural ability, but how it happened that this influence was not brought to bear upon other artists of the time is a mystery that we cannot penetrate.

If Vasari is to be believed, Calendario was not the only sculptor of the fourteenth century who was educated by a Tuscan master, for he tells us that Jacopo Lanfrani, one of Calendario's contemporaries, as well as Jacobello and Pietro Paolo delle Massegne, were pupils of Agostino and Agnolo Sanesi.* Unfortunately the Church of Sant' Antonio at Venice † and that of San Francesco at Imola, both of which were built by Lanfrani (who sculptured many bas-reliefs about the portal of the latter edifice), have been destroyed, so that we have only the monument of Taddeo Pepoli (1337) in the church of San Domenico at Bologna, as an example of his manner, and here it is not unlike that of his alleged Sienese masters. The bas-relief upon the sarcophagus, which stands in an arched recess above a blank space filled in with diamond-shaped slabs of white and black marble, represents Taddeo, who was a magistrate, seated, and holding in his hand a book, which he appears to be explaining to the persons standing by his side. A second panel, divided from the first by a statuette of an apostle, contains the figures of an angel and a kneeling donor, who offers him the model of a church. The figures are well-

* See chapter iv.

† Sansavino, p. 29. This church no longer exists. The Venetian ambassador Il Magnifico Piero Pasqualigo in writing from London, April 15, 1515, mentions that on his journey through France he visited St. Denys, and there saw "the tomb of Charles VIII. with his graven image the size of life, wrought by the same artificer that did the statues of St. Anthony's church at Venice. (See *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.*, Despatches of the Venetian Ambassador Seb. Giustiniani, i. 83-4, edited by Rawdon Brown, Esq.).

proportioned, quiet in action, and draped with much simplicity, but the general design of the monument has no such points of resemblance with that adopted by the Sienese school as would lead us to connect Lanfrani with it.

The early Gothic tomb common at Venice, which of all types is one of the most beautiful to the eye, and most satisfactory to the mind through its solemn sentiment and fitness, consists of a sarcophagus, generally set high up against the wall of a chapel under an arched canopy, whose gable is adorned with crockets and surmounted by a finial.* The front of the sarcophagus is divided into two panels, containing Scriptural or Historical bas-reliefs, with a statuette of Christ, or a group of the Madonna and Child under a little baldacchino, placed between them, and figures of the Angel of the Annunciation and the Virgin carved at either end, in sign of that hope of a joyful Resurrection which was given to mankind through the promise made to her by the heavenly messenger. The recumbent effigy was originally intended to represent the corpse when laid out in the church before burial, and this realistic thought was spiritualized by placing angels near it, either holding back the curtain which hung from the canopy above it, or standing motionless with censers in their hands beside it, or supporting the cushion upon which the head rested. Such curtain-drawing angels† were introduced at Venice towards the middle of the century upon the monument of Andrea Dandolo, and the sepulchral effigy is first seen upon that of Duccio degli Aliberti‡ (d. 1386) also remarkable as the first upon which figures of the Virtues appear. That this type of tomb was not universally followed at the time is proved by that of the doge Francesco Dandolo, a sarcophagus under a simple arched

* These ornaments, as well as the elaborate leaf-work about friezes and cornices, are for the most part treated too pictorially by Venetian artists, who having passed directly from Oriental to Northern influences, without that intermediate study of the antique which chastened the manner of the early Gothic masters in Tuscany, were from the beginning wanting in purity of style.

† First used in Italy by Arnolfo di Cambio in the tomb of Cardinal de Braye (1285) at Orvieto, and adopted by Giovanni Pisano in that of Pope Benedict XI at Perugia (1305); *see* ch. ii. and iii.

‡ Ambassador to Florence when Venice was allied with that city against Mastino Cane, lord of Verona.

canopy,* adorned with a bas-relief of the Death of the Virgin, and by that of Bartolomeo Gradenigo, his successor, who was buried within the atrium of St. Mark's in a sarcophagus without an effigy, adorned with poorly-sculptured statuettes of the Virgin and the Angel of Annunciation at the angles, and with a central bas-relief of the doge kneeling before the Madonna.† In the monument erected to S. Isidoro in his chapel at St. Mark's by Andrea Dandolo, we find two of the distinctive features of the perfected Gothic tomb, namely the effigy, which is remarkably fine, and the canopy, while in that of Andrea Dandolo in the baptistry of St. Mark's the type is completed by the curtain-drawing angels.

A simple sarcophagus placed high up against the wall in the church of San Giovanni e Paolo, with a St. Paul and two praying angels sculptured upon its front and a recumbent figure so resting on an inclined plane upon its lid that it may be seen from below, contains the remains of Paolo Loredano (1354), a brave and able soldier of his time, captain-general of the republic when Venice was menaced by the Genoese, her ambassador at Milan when the Emperor Charles IV. was crowned, and her chief instrument in quelling the revolt of the Candiotas under Giovanni Calergi. Certain tombs by unknown sculptors, which are variously regarded as works of the Milanese Campionesi, or of the Venetian Massegne,‡ show how closely the two schools, both of which had a common Pisan root, resemble each other. From this cause it is often very difficult to distinguish between them, as the figures in both are extremely unstudied in pose and sober in gesture. This is the case in the simple monument of the doge Marco Cornaro at San

* The canopy still exists in its original position in the chapter-house of the Frari. The sarcophagus is in a desecrated cloister at the Salute. The statue of this doge kneeling before the lion of St. Mark with a banner in his hand was sculptured by a certain Maestro Martino, and set up over the portal of the Ducal Palace which he built. "We, Andrea Dandolo and Marco Loredano, procurators of St. Mark's, have paid Martino Tajapiera and his associates for a stone of which the lion is made, which is put over the gate of the palace.—1344, Nov. 4: We have paid thirty-five golden ducats for gold-leaf to gild the said lion."

† This is the doge to whom the fisherman brought the ring of St. Mark—a scene represented in the splendid picture by Paris Bordone at the Academy.

‡ Calvi, *op. cit.* p. 59; Selvatico, *op. cit.* p. 143.

Giovanni e Paolo, above whose plain sarcophagus are five statuettes in niches of the Virgin, with SS. Peter and Paul and two patron saints, carefully sculptured in a quiet style; and with that of the Senator Simon Dandolo (1360) at the Frari, whose sarcophagus is decorated with the usual figures of the angel and the Madonna, and a group of the Madonna enthroned, and overshadowed by a curtain held up by four diminutive angels; and with that of the doge Giovanni Dolfin (1361), one of the most noted Gothic monuments in the church of San Giovanni e Paolo. Here the sarcophagus, which is enriched with statuettes, and with bas-reliefs of the doge and the dogaressa kneeling at the feet of the enthroned Christ, the Death of the Virgin, and the Epiphany, has an elaborate cornice and plinth, decorated with leaf-work. The details of these Venetian monuments, though effective and well calculated to add to the general picturesqueness of their appearance, are seldom of much value, though the recumbent figures are often excellent in sentiment, and impressive by reason of their rigid quietness. The bas-reliefs, however, which serve chiefly to break the monotony of plain surfaces, cannot for a moment be compared with those upon Tuscan monuments of the time. Generally speaking the statuettes of saints and angels are diminutive and of little importance, and they suffer by the over-increasing prominence given to leaf-ornaments, crockets, and finials.

We have already referred to Jacobello and Pietro Paolo, sons of Antonio delle Massegne or de' Massegni, as the supposed scholars of Agostino and Agnolo Sanesi, but we are rather inclined to connect them less directly with Tuscany through Bonino da Campione (the scholar of Balduccio da Pisa) to whom several anonymous Gothic tombs in Venice are attributed.* The altar-piece by the Massegne (1388) in the church of San Francesco at Bologna,† which consists of bas-reliefs of the Coronation of the Virgin, and other subjects, and of simple and unpretending statuettes of saints, carefully draped, but

* Calvi, *op. cit.* p. 59.

† The contract for this work (made between the Frati Minori and the Massegne in 1388), given by the Marchese Davia, overthrows the statement of Vasari that it was made in 1329 by Agostino and Agnolo Sanesi (*see* Vasari, vol. ii. p. 7, note 1; and Gualandi, *Guida di Bologna*, p. 53). The price agreed upon was 2,150 gold ducats.

somewhat heavy in their proportions, as well as the statuettes of the Virgin, with SS. Mark, Peter and Clement (1894), the Madonna with SS. Christina, Clara, and Catherine at St. Mark's (1897), and the monument to the doge Antonio Venier (1400), over the door of the Cappella del Rosario at San Giovanni e Paolo, and under the tomb of the doge Micheli Morosini (1882), one of the richest examples of the florid Gothic style, are further examples of their style.

As we approach the Renaissance, we are more and more struck with the want of proper balance between decoration and the thing decorated, and of fit subordination of detail to general effect. Thus, for instance, in the portal of the church of S. Stefano, which is attributed to the Massegne, the rank stone vegetation about the Gothic arch is quite out of proportion with the dimensions of the arch itself.* Paolo, the son of Jacobello, who was a more original artist than either his father or his uncle, made the tomb of the Veronese condottiere Jacopo Cavalli (1884), at San Giovanni e Paolo, which, though robbed of its statuettes and no longer brilliant with colour, is one of the most picturesque at Venice.† The effigy of the brave knight clad in armour, with his hands crossed upon his breast, his head resting upon a lion, and his feet upon a dog, fit emblems of his honour and fidelity, lies upon the sarcophagus which is richly but heavily adorned with leaf-mouldings, and with roundels containing the symbols of the Evangelists in alto-relief. The sarcophagus by Paolo of the famous general Prendiparte Pico in the church of San Francesco at Mirandola, is decorated with bas-reliefs, arms, and medallion portraits of Prendiparte and his wife Catarina Cornari. Its compositions are simple and clear, but the figures are heavy, and the workmanship is not over-careful. It is in the variety of design and the distinct character of Paolo's monuments that he proved

* Selvatico, *op. cit.* p. 123, says that a Jacopo Celega and his son Paolo, who built the campanile of the Frari between 1361 and 1396, are perhaps identical with the Massegne. The Pietro Paolo who was called to Udine to build the duomo in 1366 is perhaps one of the same family, and he may have sculptured some of the statuettes about the great window of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio at the ducal palace, finished in 1405.

† The engraving in Zanotti's work, *Il Palazzo Ducale*, shows that there were originally statuettes of Faith, Hope and Charity on projecting brackets in front of this tomb (*see* Ruskin. *op. cit.* iii. 82).

his originality and fertility of invention, and showed his superiority to his contemporaries. Among them were the Maestro Andriolo or Andreoli (1372),* who built the chapel of San Felice in S. Antonio at Padua, for Bonifazio di Lupi Marchese di Soragna,† and sculptured the rather lifeless but not ill-draped statuettes of the marquis and his wife, with those of SS. James, Peter, and Paul above its entrance, as well as the two sarcophagi ornamented with discs of porphyry and Oriental granite, which stand within it;‡ Raynaldinus (1375) who made the thickset, stiffly-posed statuettes of the Virgin and Child, and those of SS. Peter, Paul, and James, which stand upon the altar in the same chapel;§ Giovanni de' Sanctis (1390), who lies with his father Filippo the sculptor|| at Sta. Maria dell' Orto,¶ and is known through his epitaph to have sculptured a group of the Madonna and Child which he gave to the church; Bernardo da Venezia (1396), the first head-architect** of the Certosa at

* He has been confounded with an Andreolo di Ferrari Francescano, the scholar of Giovanni da Giussano, who worked for the duomo at Milan towards the end of the fourteenth century, but who had no reputation as a sculptor (Gonzati, i. 173).

† The contract for the building of the chapel of San Felice is dated February 12, 1372 (*see* Gonzati, vol. i. p. 107, doc. 102).

‡ The marquis lies buried in one of the sarcophagi, and a de' Rossi of Parma in the other.

§ The head of Saint Paul is a restoration by Giovanni Bonazza. Raynaldinus received 196 ducats for these statuettes (*see* Gonzati, vol. i. pp. 113, 174, doc. 102; and Gualandi, series vi. p. 135, no. 193, and p. 145).

|| Cicogna, *Isc. Ven.* ii. 278, says that Filippo sculptured the sarcophagus of the Beato Oderici, a Minorite monk, who died in 1331.

¶ Sta. Maria dell' Orto, originally called San Cristoforo, changed its name in honour of a rude image of the Virgin found by the monks in an adjoining garden A.D. 1377 (Ricci, *op. cit.* ii. 377). The huge colossal wooden statue of St. Christopher with painted face, hair and robes, upon an altar in this church, was sculptured by Gasparo Moranzzone, one of a family which produced several artists. The same Gasparo ornamented two altar fronts in S. Stefano and S. Giobbe (Sansavino, lib. ii. p. 60, and lib. iii. p. 57; Cicogna, vol. i. p. 83, no. 176) Francesco Moranzzone, a wood carver, carved a frame for a picture by Donato Veneziano in 1460. In 1500 his son Jacopo went to Udine to do the like for a picture by Pellegrino da San Daniele (Maniago, pp. 42, 293, ed. 1823). This Jacopo di Francesco was also a painter.

** Calvi, *op. cit.* pt. i. p. 103, and a pamphlet entitled *La Fondazione del Tempio della Certosa* by the same author.

Pavia, who was employed by the Duke Gian Galeazzo to build the castle of Pavia (1391), and by the directors of the Cathedral at Milan to sculpture a group of the Madonna and Child in wood, which stood for many years above the high altar; and lastly, Maestro Bonasuto or Bonafuto, of Venice (1394), who sculptured the half-figures of prophets and saints upon the base of the façade of St. Petronius at Bologna in a bold effective style.* Together with the works of these sculptors we may mention one of the best examples of a common form of memorial used at this time at Venice, the sepulchral slab of Bonincontro di Boaterii, a celebrated Bolognese jurisconsult, abbot of San Giorgio, set into the wall of a corridor leading from the church of San Giorgio Maggiore to the Cappella dei Morti. The effigy of the deceased in flat relief, which is enclosed in a sort of niche, represents him clad in the long mantle of a novice, holding a copy of the decretals in his hand, which he is expounding to his disciples who are sculptured "in little" at his feet.

The period of a hundred and fifty years (1300–1450), during which the Gothic style of architecture prevailed at Venice, is represented by three schools of sculpture, namely, those of Calendario and of the Massegne, of which we have been speaking, and that of the Bons, Giovanni and his sons Bartolomeo and Pantaleone, which we have yet to examine. These artists, who were probably born Venetians, lived in the Contrada a San Marziale, near the church of Santa Maria dell' Orto. On November 10th, 1438, Giovanni and Bartolomeo contracted to build the great gate of the palace contiguous to the church of "Misier San Marcho," which was at first called the Porta Dorata, and afterwards the Porta della Carta because public edicts were affixed to it.† This elaborate structure in the florid Gothic style has a pointed window filled in with rich tracery, surmounted by a roundel supported by flying angels, containing a half figure of St. Mark. Its square-headed portal is flanked

* Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*, pp. 321, 429, and Selvatico, p. 124.

† The Porta della Carta was built between 1439 and 1443, under the doge Francesco Foscari. In 1442 the Bons, father and son, promised to complete the figures about it within a year (doc. pub. by Gualandi, series vi. p. 105). The price agreed upon for the whole work was 1,700 gold ducats (Selvatico, p. 136).

with three-sided pilasters divided into four portions by string courses, two of which are adorned with canopied niches containing heavily-draped statues of the Virtues (*see* woodcut), which are cold in feeling and without individuality. As the gate is inscribed with the words "Opus Bartolomei," we may suppose that Giovanni's assistance was almost nominal, but he and his sons certainly worked together upon the statuettes and other decorations of the internal façades of the Palace, and built the corridor leading from the Porta della Carta to the Giant's Staircase.* It is to payment for these works (1463), as we believe, that reference is made in an order of the Council by which Maestro Bartolomeo Bon is commissioned to finish the palace-decorations.†



It is not a little singular that Calendario and Bartolomeo Bon, the two most eminent sculptors of their day, should have been employed by the two most unfortunate of doges, the one to commence, the other to terminate the Ducal Palace.

Just two years more than a century after the decapitation of Marino Faliero upon its steps, Francesco Foscari, old and worn-out with grief, fell dead in the same place, when he heard the sound of the bell which announced the election of his successor (1457). He was buried at the Frari in a tomb which although it has some Gothic elements, such as the trefoil arches which support the

* Selvatico, *op. cit.* p. 135.

† "Azio che tanta degna opera per piccola cosa non restasse essere complicita" (Gualandi, series vi. p. 108). In 1797 the group of the doge Francesco Foscari kneeling before the winged lion, which stood above the doorway of the Porta della Carta, was thrown down. The mask alone escaped destruction, and now forms one of the objects of interest in the museum of the Ducal Palace, but as it was very coarsely sculptured, that it might produce an effect when seen from a distance, it is no fair example of Bartolomeo's skill.

sarcophagus, the crockets upon the pediment, and the pinnacle surmounted by a statuette of our Lord, is the first important example of monumental Renaissance work at Venice. The same doge employed Bartolomeo Bon to build the Cappella dei Mascoli at St. Mark's, and to make statues of the Madonna, SS. Mark and John for the three Gothic niches over its altar. These heavily-draped lifeless figures are in the same style as those of the Virtues upon the Porta della Carta, but the angels bearing censers on its front are in a much purer manner, not unlike that of some of the earlier capitals of the Ducal Palace, and that of the Madonna and angels in the lunette over a side door of the Frari,* or of the emblem of St. Matthew upon the façade of a house near the Ponte del Ravano, all of which are works of the fourteenth century. We may not, therefore, be wrong in the conjecture that Bartolomeo used old material for the adornment of this altar, in accordance with a practice at one time common at Venice. Other works attributed to him are the Madonna della Misericordia, with statuettes of SS. Cristina, Calista and Dorotea, in the church of the Abazia; the statuettes above the door of the Scuola di San Marco; the archivolts of the lower and of the second story of the façade of St. Mark's, adorned with leaves and figures of saints; the façade of the church of Sta. Maria dell' Orto with its row of niches decorated with statuettes, and a very ornate well in a cortile near San Giovanni e Paolo. There is also at Udine, on the angle of Palazzo Pubblico, a Gothic tabernacle containing a mediocre figure of the Madonna holding in her hand the model of a church, which may be his work, as it is said to have been made by the same sculptor who made the portal of the Ducal Palace at Venice.† It is possible also that he is the "Maestro Bartolomeo" who went to Constantinople (1472) with Gentile Bellini, when the Sultan requested the Signory to send him a portrait-painter and a sculptor.‡ This supposition seems plausible, as he was in the habit of signing his works with his Christian name only, and we know of but one other contemporary artist

* Cicognara strangely enough attributes this work to Pyrgoteles, a second-rate sculptor of the middle of the fifteenth century.

† Maniago, *Guida nel Friuli*, p. 59.

‡ Doc. inéd. trouvés par M. de Mas Latrie, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, liv. du 1^{er} mars 1866, p. 286 et seq.

named Bartolomeo, who though eminent as an architect had too little reputation as a sculptor to have been sent to a foreign country.*

We come now to the time when the Renaissance style was introduced at Venice, in all probability by Michelozzo, when he accompanied Cosmo de' Medici during the year of exile which he passed in the convent of San Giorgio Maggiore (1490-1), and set an example of the revived use of classical forms in the library which he built adjoining the convent.† His initiative was followed by Pietro Lombardo, and Antonio di Giovanni Bregno (commonly called Rizzo or Riccio),‡ both of whom have been called the pioneers of the Renaissance movement at Venice. The honour may be fairly divided between them, as though Rizzo was the elder of the two, the works of Pietro Lombardo had much the greater influence. Rizzo was born at Verona about 1410, and formed his classical taste upon the noble Roman ruins which are still her pride, but he is called a Venetian in documents of the time,§ because he spent the greater part of his life at Venice, where he was superintendent of the "Bottega di Tajapiera," or workshop of the sculptors and stone-cutters connected with the palace. || In 1474, when he went to Scutari, with Antonio Loredano and Count Aloise Quirini, to defend that town against the Turks, his knowledge of the

* Bartolomeo Buono, architect of the *Procuratie vecchie*.

† See Michelozzo, book ii. ch. ii.

‡ Scardeone, Vasari and Sansavino have all fallen into the blunder of identifying him with the renowned bronze-caster Andrea Riccio of Padua. He has also been confounded with Lorenzo Bregno (perhaps a relative), a mediocre sculptor who flourished about 1510.

§ As for instance, in the decrees of 1483, by which his salary was raised, he is called Antonius Riccius Venetus—because, as Morelli (notes to l'Anonimo, p. 97) remarks, he had long held the office of ingegnere or architect to the Illustrissima Signoria di Venezia. Colucio speaks of him as a Veronese, as does Zovenzorno in a sonnet to "Crispo Veronensi marmorario clarissimo," and his biographer Dott. C. Bernasconi in a pamphlet entitled *La Vita e le opere di Antonio Rizzo, architetto e scultore Veronese*, Verona, 1859.

|| Bernasconi, pt. i. p. 13, and Cadorin, p. 14. The stone-cutters (scarpellini) and the sculptors (scultori) of that time both belonged to the guild of the Tajapiere and both worked as architects. In 1723 they were separated into distinct guilds through the agency of the sculptor Ant. Conadino.

art of defence proved so valuable, and his brave conduct during the siege attracted so much notice, that on his return to Venice the Senate gave him a twenty years' pension. A few years later (1493), when a portion of the Ducal Palace was destroyed by fire, he was appointed its head architect, with a salary of 125 ducats a year, and this was soon after increased to 200, in consideration of his having closed his workshop, which brought him in three times the amount of this salary, that he might the better attend to the duties of his office. Unfortunately his conduct did not justify the confidence of the Signory, for in the course of the next thirteen years he appropriated much of the public money to his own uses, and when suspicions were awakened and investigations were about to be commenced, fled from Venice to Foligno, where he died on the 14th of March, 1498.* "Excellent architect, illustrious geometrician, most skilful sculptor, and most gifted superintendent of the workmen attached to the Ducal Palace," as he is called in the decree by which he was appointed to be chief adviser in the restoration of the Cathedral of Vicenza;† he was also a skilful mechanic and an able military engineer. As sculptor he is known to us only by his statues of Adam and Eve,‡ in niches opposite the Giant's Staircase, of which he was the architect.§ Each holds

* Sanuto, vol. i. pt. p. 27, says that Rizzo expended 19,000 ducats while in office, the greater part for his own private uses. Malipiero, *Illustrazioni delle due Statue di Adamo ed Eva*, p. 1, tells the story and adds, "Emigrò a Foligno e poco dopo morì." One would be glad to doubt the truth of this story, and some grounds for doing so may be found in the decree appointing his successor which simply speaks of Rizzo as absent; but it is circumstantially told by several Venetian writers of authority, and accepted as true by his enthusiastic panegyrist and fellow-countryman Bernasconi, who would certainly have proved its falsity had he been able to do so. He attributes the silence of the senate to honourable motives of delicacy towards an aged artist of genius who had rendered them long and useful service (*op. cit.* p. 22).

† Morelli, notes to l' Anonimo.

‡ These statues were not set up in their niches till about 1471, but Morelli thinks they were made about 1462. A group of the doge Cristoforo Moro kneeling before the winged lion, perhaps by Rizzo, which stood above the upper arch of the façade, was thrown down in 1797.

§ Giovanni da Spalatro, Aloise di Pantaleone, M. Domenico and Stefano Tagliapiera assisted Rizzo in this staircase. The delicate ornaments upon it were sculptured by Domenico and Bernardino da Mantova scholars of Rizzo.

an apple, but while Eve casts down her eyes as if convicted of sin, Adam places one hand upon his breast, and raises his eyes to heaven as if seeking to justify himself. In flow of line and contrasted action of limb and muscle, this figure is superior to the common run of architectural statues. The overcrowded, ugly, and disjointed monument of the doge Nicolò Tron at the Frari is attributed to Rizzo, but it seems unworthy of his reputation.

Pietro di Martino Lombardo, the son of a marble-worker at Venice, had three sons—Tullio, Antonio, and Giulio—architects and sculptors, who, like their father, were attached to the Ducal Palace, and worked under Rizzo's direction. They have been called his scholars,* but it is hardly credible that Pietro, who was of about the same age as Rizzo, and rivalled him in reputation, did not instruct his own sons.† Pietro evidently stood high in his profession in 1480, as he then successfully competed with several eminent architects for the commission to build the church of S. Maria de' Miracoli. Four years elapsed before he commenced to do so, as he was called to Ravenna by Bernardo Bembo, then its Venetian governor, to make the tomb of Dante.‡ The manner in which he acquitted

* *Vide* Temanza, pp. 79, 80; Cadorin, p. 140; and Selvatico, p. 185; and the commentary to the Life of Vittore Scarpaccia, Vasari, vi. 128. Other Lombardi were: Ser Giovanni de Ser Tullio, mentioned as a witness to a deed, dated November 20, 1515, preserved at the Museo Correr. Vincenzo was the son of Antonio, and Sante the son of Giulio. Tullio II. and Girolamo were sons of Sante. Martino II. and his son Moro are not certainly known to have belonged to the same family.

† Pomponius Gauricus *De Sculptura*, a work published in Pietro's lifetime, says that they were rivals.

‡ After Dante's death his remains were buried at Ravenna, in a stone sarcophagus, by his friend Guido Novello, whose exile and death prevented him from carrying out his intention of giving them a more fitting resting-place. In 1692 the monument made by Pietro Lombardo was restored at the expense of the city, and in 1780 the chapel in which it stands was erected by the Cardinal Luigi Valenti Gonzaga. The bones of Dante were supposed to have been removed from their original resting-place by the Franciscan friars in 1519, when they feared that Pope Leo X. would order them to be taken to Florence, but in June 1865 a wooden chest was discovered in the wall adjoining the chapel of Braccioforte, within which they were found complete, together with a paper stating that Fra Antonio Santi, chancellor of the convent of San Francisco, had placed them there for safe keeping in the year 1677. This discovery having been made at

himself of the task was so unworthy of the greatness of the opportunity offered, that we cannot suppose he was led to accept it by any strong feeling of enthusiasm for the great poet, for instead of representing him as seated before a reading-desk with books lying upon it, in a cold and lifeless alto-relief which harmonizes but too well with

"The little cupola more neat than solemn"

under which it is placed, he would have exhausted his skill in carving even richer arabesques and ornaments than those by which he afterwards made his reputation at Venice.* After his return there in 1484, Pietro completed the plan accepted for Sta. Maria de' Miracoli by adding to it the chapel of the Sanctuary, and signed a new contract with the directors, by which they agreed to furnish him with building materials, and to pay him an annual salary of 60 ducats.† Eight years later he had built and ornamented the church, which is one of the most beautiful and elaborate examples of Renaissance architecture, conscientiously worked out with infinite skill in every detail. Without and within, its walls, doorways and pilasters are covered with leaves, flowers, birds, and strange creatures born of a fancy wayward but ever logical in its deductions from

the very time when the Florentines were preparing to inaugurate a statue of the poet on the Piazza di Sta. Croce, with the ceremony befitting an occasion looked upon as the consecration of the newly-achieved independence of Italy, created a great sensation, and was received by many as a token of Dante's share in the consummation of the work to which he had so powerfully contributed by his life and writings.

* While at Ravenna, Pietro made a S. Apollinare and a winged lion to be placed as signs of Venetian sovereignty on the top of two columns in the public square. Temanza, p. 81, says that the S. Apollinare was sculptured by Pietro Lombardo, and not by a hypothetical artist named Pietro da Ferrara. See Baruffaldi, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 215, note 1.

† Selvatico, *op. cit.* p. 186, says that this chapel is *undoubtedly* by Pietro Lombardo. Bernasconi who denies it, see *op. cit.* p. 42, says that it is incredible that this chapel should not have been comprised in the original plan, as it was for the sanctuary that the Venetians wished to build the church. When it was proposed to build it in honour of a wonder-working image of the Virgin, 80,000 ducats were collected for the purpose in a few months, and a board of management composed of six patricians was appointed to superintend all affairs connected with it (Temanza, *op. cit.* p. 82).

nature. The rich balustrades of the staircase leading to the chapel of the Sanctuary are adorned with small half-figures of the Virgin, the Angel of the Annunciation, St. Francis and Sta. Chiara, and the pilasters and panels about it are filled with ornaments inspired by, but not copied from, the antique. The Palazzo Vendramin Calergi,* the now demolished church of S. Cristoforo at Murano, the church of S. Andrea on the island of the Certosa, that of Sta. Maria Mater Domini, and the magnificent chapel of the doge Cristoforo Moro at San Giobbe, with the exquisitely-adorned portal of that church (1471), are all attributed to Pietro. The last has been seriously questioned, but if we accept him as the sculptor of the ornamental work at Sta. Maria de' Miracoli we find no difficulty in believing him to have previously sculptured that of San Giobbe,† which is equally excellent Renaissance work, though in this case we must suppose that some other artist sculptured the figure-work, as it is greatly superior to anything of the kind in his authentic works. The round arched portal of San Giobbe is flanked by two Corinthian pilasters covered with the most delicately-sculptured convolvulus plants, upon whose winding stems sit all but living birds. Their capitals are composed of acanthus leaves and ox-skulls, from whose horns hang festoons which are twined about the flower-filled volutes. The cornice and archivolt are enriched with architectural details borrowed from the antique, statuettes of SS. Francis, Bernardino of Siena, and a bishop are placed above the arch and at the ends of the entablature, and the lunette is filled with a bas-relief representing SS. "Francesco" and "Giobbe" kneeling in prayer on either side of a little mount, upon which rays of light descend from heaven. The more we regard these sculptures the more we are convinced that they are the work of several hands. Thus if the arabesques and the statuettes of the portal are by Pietro the bas-relief can hardly be, and if the ornaments in the Cappella Maggiore and the grave-slab of

* Temanza affirms that he began it, and that it was completed by Jacopo Sansovino. Selvatico thinks it much more modern.

† The Cappella Maggiore at San Giobbe must have been built before 1471, as in that year the doge Cristoforo Moro died, and not earlier than 1462 as the ducal bonnet is introduced with his coat-of-arms (Selvatico, p. 234).

the doge, which is enframed in a border of exquisitely-sculptured arabesques and bears the ducal arms in its four corners, are his work, some other artist must have sculptured the Evangelists in the spandrels of the internal arches, and the charming angels which support them. Their unmistakably Tuscan air lends strength to the tradition that a Florentine artist worked in this church, traces of whose hand are visible in certain ornaments and mouldings about the Grimani chapel, and in the terracotta Evangelists upon its roof.

About 1488, Pietro went to Treviso to reconstruct the great chapel in the Cathedral, and to erect a monument to Monsignor Zanotti, who had left a large bequest for these purposes. The ornamental marble-work about the latter would be alone sufficient to establish his reputation as unrivalled in his peculiar branch of art. The sarcophagus, adorned with statuettes, and resting on a projecting base supported upon consoles, is decorated with sirens holding vases in their hands, rich leaf-work, and an eagle with spread wings, but its most remarkable feature is its exquisitely-sculptured frieze, which looks as if it had been worked out with a needle rather than with a chisel. Scarcely less ornate is the tomb of the senator Onigo by Pietro in the church of S. Nicolò at Treviso, in which the life-size statue of the deceased, between two pages with shields, stands upon the upper of two sarcophagi, the lower one of which rests upon consoles, and is sculptured with profile heads of Roman Emperors in flat-relief and with "putti" holding cornucopia.* In 1499 our sculptor left Treviso for Venice, where he had been appointed to succeed Rizzo as architect of the Ducal Palace, but although he held this office for the remainder of his life, he found time to build the Cathedral at Cividale in the Friulian district, and the fortifications of the city of Treviso. He was elected chief officer of the guild of the Scarpellini in that city, and died at Venice about 1511. The bronze monument to Cardinal Zeno at St. Mark's is said to have

* A sculptured altar near the great door of the church, inscribed "Franciscus Bettignolo ded. mortuus est 1491," is probably by the Lombardi, as well as the tomb of the apostolic legate, Nicolas Franco (elected A.D. 1501), in the chapel of the Sacrament at the Duomo. The statuettes of SS. Peter and Paul upon the altar, and the bas-reliefs of the four Evangelists in roundels upon the roof may also be their work.

been made under his superintendence, but we know by documentary evidence that the artists who constructed it were Paolo Savii and Pier Zuano delle Campane (a scholar of Alessandro Leopardi), who in 1515 cast the heavy and uninteresting statues of the Madonna and Child, SS. John and Peter, for the altar.* The monument of Cardinal Zeno which occupies the centre of the chapel, consists of a mortuary couch supported upon a quadrilateral base with six large statues at its corners and sides. Between them are panels adorned with female figures in relief, holding branches in their hands. The bronze sepulchral effigy, which is robed in a vestment carefully worked out in raised patterns, is conscientiously wrought, but it wants that tender sentiment found in so many mortuary figures of the previous century, which never fails to awaken our sympathy. Pietro is said to have assisted his sons in making the monument of the doge Pietro Mocenigo at San Giovanni e Paolo, but we suspect that he did little more than furnish its general design, as neither in style nor conception does it resemble his other tombs, which are richly ornamented and never allegorical like this with its statuettes of Roman warriors and its bas-reliefs of the Labours of Hercules, in allusion to the military prowess of this gallant doge, who was famed for his victories over the Turks. Furthermore, the arabesque-work upon its side-pilasters and archivolt is not comparable to that upon Pietro's Trevisan monuments. In figure-work he was out of his element, and he rarely attempted it. The only statuettes at Venice attributed to him are those upon the balustrade of Sta. Maria dei Miracoli, and those of SS. Anthony, John, and Jerome, at San Stefano. Where his design demanded their introduction, as in the monuments at Treviso, he entrusted them to his sons Tullio and Antonio, of whom we shall speak in another chapter.

* The commission for this work was first given to Leopardi and Antonio Lombardo, who soon quarrelled. Leopardi was then dismissed, and Zuane di Alberghetto, with Pier Zuane delle Campane, were appointed to assist Antonio. As matters still went ill, the superintendence of the work was given to Pietro Lombardo, who agreed to design the figures which Zuane delle Campane was commissioned to cast in bronze (*Selvatico, op. cit.* p. 190).

VERONA.

Although no other Italian city can boast such a number of pre-Revival sculptors as Verona, they developed no school from their rude beginnings. Not one Veronese sculptor of the thirteenth century is known to us,* and when in the fourteenth the lords of Verona wished to adorn their family burial-place with those superb Gothic tombs which make it one of the most striking and interesting cemeteries in Italy, they were obliged to send to Milan for Perrino and Bonino da Campione, who perhaps designed the tombs of Sant' Agata in the Cathedral (1380), of a knight and of a member of the Pellegrini family at Sant' Anastasia, and of Giovanni Scaliger at San Fermo.—The one native sculptor of the fourteenth century of whom we have cognizance is Giovanni di Bigino (fl. 1392), who made a statue of St. Proculus for a monument at San Fermo. In the fifteenth Verona produced a great plastic artist—the painter and medallist Victor Pisano, called Il Pisanello (1380–1447), but although the profile heads and groups of mounted cavaliers upon his medals are miracles of sculpture in little, we can scarcely class him as a sculptor;† and it is certain that no trace of his plastic influence is perceptible in such monuments of his

* There is a little seated Virgin with an apple in her hand, rude in style, and apparently sculptured towards the close of the thirteenth century, in a court behind the church of S. Giovanni in Fonte. It has an inscription in Gothic letters to this effect:

“Magister Pulia me fecit. Orate pro eo.”

† Tommasini, *Vita di L. Pigneria*, Amsterdam, 1669, says: “Eminent Pisani pictoris et statuarii maxima toreumata quæ vocamus Italice medaglioni;” and Mons. Giovio, Letter to Duke Cosimo, November 12, 1551, published in Bottari, *Lett. Pitt.* v. 82 (ed. Milano, 1822), says that Pisanello was “prestantissimo nell’ opera de’ bassirilievi;” but in the context his meaning is clear:—“E perciò si veggono di sua mano molte lodate medaglie di gran principi,” &c. &c. So also Facio, *De Viris Illustribus*, says: “Picturæ adjectis fingendi artem. Ejus opera in plumbo atque ære sunt Alphonsus,” &c., &c. Tito Strozzi in his *Elegia* (Maffei vol. iv. ch. vi. p. 298) says he surpassed Lysippus and Phidias, but this is a “façon de parler” common at the time. Bernasconi, *Studi*, &c. (Verona, 1859), at pp. 5, 6, shows that he must have died before 1455, and was probably born about 1380. Vasari does not give the date of his death, but he says he was “assai ben vecchio.” About the bas-reliefs at Rimini see p. 126.

native city as the tomb of the Cavalier Cortesia Sarego (d. 1432) in the choir of Sant' Anastasia, evidently designed under Venetian influence, or the terra-cotta bas-reliefs from the life of Our Lord upon the walls of the Pellegrini chapel (whose inordinately long figures and clinging draperies are born of the schools of the Manlegazza and Omodeo) or the simply draped, Campionesi-like saints in niches upon the pilasters of a chapel in the left aisle of the same church.

VICENZA.

This city of Palladio never had a school of sculpture, and her only sculptor, Girolamo Pironi, who flourished in the first half of the fifteenth century, is not represented at home. The vines, birds, snakes, snails, leaves, and bunches of grapes very beautifully carved upon a pilaster in the Cappella del Santo at San Antonio* at Padua by this able artist, prove his great skill in dealing with ornament. The little quattro-cento sculpture at Vicenza is either Venetian or Milanese. To the first school belongs a well-draped Virgin and Child with saints under a canopy over an altar to the left in the church of San Lorenzo, signed "Magister Antonianus de Veneciis," and to the second an energetic and Mantegnesque half figure of the dead Christ supported by angels crying aloud with open mouths, over an altar to the right in the same church.

PADUA.

Paduan sculpture of the fourteenth century is represented by a number of sarcophagi and Gothic tombs at San Antonio, which differ from those of the same time at Venice in the absence of curtain-drawing angels and statuettes of the Virtues.

The oldest sarcophagus is that of Rolando da Piazzola (d. 1310), through whose influence Padua was for a time saved from falling into the hands of the Veronese, and Jacopo da

* Signed *Hic. P. faciebat*; date uncertain. Gonzati, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 163, note 3.

Carrara elevated to power as Lord of the city. The next oldest in date is that behind the altar of the chapel of S. Felice, which contains the remains of Bartolomea degli Scrovegni, who was poisoned by her husband Masilio da Carrara (1333), shortly after their marriage. The relief upon the front of the sarcophagus represents the Madonna and Child seated on a throne-chair, which is borne up by two awkwardly posed angels. The sarcophagus of the Rogati, an ancient Paduan family, in the chapel of the Madonna Mora which was sculptured about 1340, is decorated with reliefs of a man on horseback dressed in a long robe, with a cap on his head, and with a group of Christ enthroned and supported by angels. In the cloister of the Capitolo there are several tombs worthy of notice, such as that of Rainerio degli Assendi (d. 1358), a sarcophagus with a heavy foliated cornice, spiral columns, corner niches surmounted by projecting canopies, and a rude relief of the Madonna and Child; also the sepulchral effigy of the learned Bettina di San Giorgio (d. 1355), who professed ecclesiastical jurisprudence in the Paduan University. The passage way leading from this cloister to that of the Noviziati contains the tomb of Manno Donato, whose effigy, clad in armour, lies under a Gothic gable. He was a Florentine Guelph who fought under Francesco da Carrara, and died at Padua in 1375. Lastly, we may mention a tomb in the portico of the southern door of San Antonio, erected to the memory of the Brescian condottiere Federigo di Lavalongo (d. 1374) who fought for Padua under Manno Donato and is represented with the various costumes belonging to the offices which he filled in his lifetime, in the six compartments upon the front of the sarcophagus, as also in a fresco at the back of the canopied recess which shelters it. In the fifteenth century Padua produced but one eminent sculptor and bronze caster, Bartolomeo Bellano, of whom, as the pupil of Donatello, we have spoken in a former chapter. The career of his illustrious pupil, Andrea Riccio, belongs to the sixteenth century, and will be narrated in its proper place.

MANTUA.

About the middle of the fourteenth century the church of Sant' Antonio was rebuilt by the merchants of Mantua, and Guido Gonzaga, Imperial vicar and captain of the people,* perpetuated the remembrance of their generosity by a bas-relief which represents him in the act of presenting the "Massaro" or chief of their guild to the Madonna and the Infant Saviour, who, standing upon her knee, gives them his benediction. The outlines of the figures are hard, their faces are without expression, and their gradation in size according to rank, from the Madonna down to the pigmy "Massaro" kneeling at her feet, is singular in its effect. The contemporary sarcophagus of Bishop Ruffini dei Landi in the Museo Patrio is second-rate both in style and execution, as is the statue of the Archangel Michael above the entrance to a chapel in the Cathedral belonging to the same time, which has quite lost its character through injudicious restoration. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century the Milanese sculptor Jacopino da Tradate was invited to Mantua by the duke Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga, as were the eminent architects Leon Battista Alberti, Luca Fancelli† and Andrea Mantegna, by his son Lodovico, who gave the latter a salary of seventy-five lire a month, and a piece of land near the church of San Sebastiano upon which he built himself a house. Though Mantua disputes with Padua the honour of having given Mantegna birth,‡ she undoubtedly gave him burial, in a chapel dedicated to San Giovanni, which he had himself built and endowed in the church of Sant' Andrea. The bronze bust of the great painter, which is set above the grave slab in a richly-adorned roundel, is a masterpiece of portraiture. The face is grave, earnest and searching, the modelling bold, vigorous and true to nature, and the treatment of the hair,

* In 1348 Luigi Gonzaga having killed Bonacolsi under pretence of saving the country from a tyrant, was elected captain of the people, and in 1349 obtained from the Emperor Charles IV. the title of Imperial Vicar. Guido who succeeded him became a sovereign "de facto."

† See Appendix, letter P.

‡ Vide *Testimonianza int. alla patria di Andrea Mantegna*, by P. Brandolesi, Padova, 1805; and *Notizie*, by the Abbate Gennasi; Vasari, vol. v. p. 158, says, "nacque nel contado di Mantova." In note 1 to this passage his commentators give their reasons for believing that although he wrote Mantua, he intended to write Padua.

which falls in long curling locks on either side of the laurel-wreathed head, most masterly. This bust has been attributed to Mantegna himself, who is mentioned by several authors as being not only painter and engraver, but also sculptor and bronze-caster,* but as he did not mention it in his will,† in which directions are given about his tomb, it is more than probable that it was cast after his death by order of the Duke Lodovico, and that it was modelled by the famous medallist Sperandio Maglioli.‡

Whether Mantegna the painter, Alberti the architect,§ or Sperandio the medallist ever worked as sculptors is uncertain, but their influence is manifest in several anonymous marbles at Mantua, sculptured during the best period of the quattro-cento. Among them is a marble slab in the Museo Patrio, adorned with the Gonzaga arms surrounded by a wreath of oak and olive leaves supported by flying genii, and with profile heads of the Marquis Lodovico and his wife Barbara of Brandenburg, and of his son Federigo with his wife Margaret of Bavaria. The word "Amumoc" (supposed to stand for the Greek ἄμωμος, immaculate) inscribed upon a portion of her head-dress, and sculptured with the dog and the mountain crest upon the door-posts and richly-adorned chimney-piece of the Palazzo Marchionale di Revere, where Federigo and Margaret resided in 1464 when the pest broke out at Mantua, was adopted as a device by Federigo after his marriage, to testify his disbelief in the reports circulated against the Princess after her arrival in Mantua in hopes of preventing his union with a foreigner. The

* "Oltre la pittura e l' incisione trattava la plastica e fondava in bronzo" (Selvatico, p. 180, nota 1; G. B. Spagnuoli, lib. i. *De Sylvis*, fol. clxvi. Parisiis, 1513).

† Mantegna's will dated March 1, 1504, published by Moschini, *Vicende*, &c. p. 50 (Gaye, *Carteggio*, iii. 365; see also Conte Carlo d' Arco, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 50, no. 63).

‡ According to the Mantuan chronicler Amadei, the marquis caused a bronze bust, with the head encircled by a laurel wreath and with two diamonds set in the pupils of the eyes, to be set up at Sant' Andrea in honour of Mantegna (Conte d'Arco, *op. cit.* i. 73).

§ M. Dreyfus of Paris has among his Renaissance bronzes and marbles a bronze plaque of large size, from the Timbal collection, with a profile head upon it, modelled in the masterly style of the period. It is signed L. B. A. P., and is probably a portrait of Alberti by himself. A duplicate at the Louvre has neither inscription nor emblem.

winged genii sustaining a wreathed coat-of-arms upon the outer loggia of San Sebastiano have been attributed to Leon Battista Alberti who built the church.

Other excellent works of the time are the terra-cotta busts of Francesco Gonzaga and the poet Teofilo Folengo in the Public Library, and those of Virgil, Battista Spagnuoli, and Francesco Gonzaga in the Museo Patrio, but as none of them are signed, and we know the Mantuan sculptors of the fifteenth century only by name, it is impossible to identify them. Among them were Guido Gonzaga di Aloisio, a priest, who modelled and cast a very ornate bell for the church of Sant' Andrea (1444),* Gabriele dei Frisoni† who worked principally at Ferrara with the Mantuan goldsmiths and sculptors Albertino and Giacomo Rusconi, sons of a certain Giovanni, a citizen of Ferrara;‡ and Cristoforus and Lysippus, uncle and nephew, who made medalion portraits of Popes Paul II. and Sixtus IV.§ Antonio and Paolo Mola, of Mantua, sons of a sculptor named Vincenzo, were noted for their skill in ornamental sculpture and intarsia at Venice, where they executed some highly-praised intarsia work for the sacristy of St. Mark's (1485), and at Mantua, where they decorated the doors of the Carmine Church, St. Andrea, and San Lorenzo (1492).|| Their contemporary, the sculptor Piero Giacomo Illario, is only known to us by a letter signed "l'Antiquo" (1497), which he addressed to the Marquis Francesco Gonzaga from Rome, to thank him for an introduction to Monsignor Lodovico Agnelli "gloria e splendore del nome latino."¶ The few Mantuan sculptors known after his day were ornamentalists in marble or stucco.

* It was pierced with eight apertures large enough to allow a man to pass through them; adorned with various well-understood ornaments and figures of Atlas, Hercules, Pallas and Adam.

† Perhaps a descendant of Marco da Campione whose family name was Frixonus or dei Frisoni.

‡ They assisted Meo di Checco at Ferrara and Bologna. Cicognara, i. 247; Conte d' Arco, p. 37: and Cittadella, *op. cit.* pp. 49, 95, 98-100, who gives various records of payments to the brothers for work at Ferrara.

§ The women of this family were also skilled in the plastic arts (vide *Il Volterrano Comm. Urb.* p. 1506, ed. Rom.).

|| Doc. no. 151, order for payment, February 22, 1532; no. 178, and vol. ii. p. 274, Conte d'Arco.

¶ He was governor of Perugia, papal vice-legate, made Archbishop of

BRESCIA.

No Brescian sculptors are known to us before the middle of the fifteenth century when we meet with two, namely, Giacomo Fillippo Conforti, who made the tomb of Giovanni Buccelano, Bishop of Groppoli (1468), and Anzolino, author of a terracotta "ancona" formerly in the church of the Eremitani at Milan,* who is probably identical with the Antonio "tajapreda," who assisted Antonio da Mortegno in sculpturing the monuments of Francesco Rangoni for the church of San Agostino at Parma, and that of his wife Lucia Rusca for the church of San Francesco at Mantua.†

BOLOGNA.

Giovanni Bindo, detto delle Massegne (1305), Bittino, who made a monument at Imola (1348), and Sibilius Guarnieri da Capravio (1352), all flourished at Bologna during the first half of the fourteenth century. The latter artist sculptured the sarcophagus of Manfredo Pio in the Oratorio della Sagra at Carpi, with reliefs which represent him kneeling between St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine, the Madonna and Child with angels, St. George, with St. Margaret, who holds the dragon in leash, Christ and the two Marys, and a knight leaping his horse over a river. The style of these sculptures is dryer than that of the Pisan school, and the outlines are clearer and more sharply cut out. Jacopo detto Rosetto, Parto da Bologna, Fra Michele Carmelitano (1390), Giovanni d' Enricuccio, and Jacopino d' Antonio, who assisted Ghiberti in casting the gates of the baptistry at Florence, lived at Bologna during the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, while Bologna il Vecchio, Bartolomeo, Giovanni degli Accurri (1450), Anchise, Giovanni Francesco (1485) and the two Baroni (1490), who are

Cosenza by Alexander II. A.D. 1497, and papal nuncio by Sixtus V. (Conte d'Arco, *op. cit.* ii. 40), died of the pest or poisoned by Caesar Borgia at Viterbo in 1499. *Vide* Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i. p. 338, no. 166; also d'Arco, vol. ii. p. 40, letter no. 50.

* Ricci, *op. cit.* ii. 405.

† Campori, *op. cit.* p. 325.

praised by a contemporary poet as "de' rari al mondo," flourished there in the second half of the fifteenth century, and were probably little better than stone cutters.

FERRARA.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century we find mention of an Antonio da Ferrara, who is supposed to have sculptured a crucifix in the Cathedral over an altar near the chapel of St. George, and of Giovanni, and Camino or Comino, both of whom were put to death for their share in the conspiracy organised by the citizens (1385) against their podestà, Tommaso da Tortona, who had rendered himself extremely obnoxious by inducing the Marquis Nicolò (detto lo Zoppo) to impose new and unjust taxes upon them.

An interesting statue of the Marquis Alberto d' Este, who succeeded the Marquis Nicolò, fills a niche of the façade of the Cathedral to the right of the great portal. The stiff ungainly figure is dressed in the habit of a pilgrim, in commemoration of the marquis's journey to Rome in the jubilee year of 1391, when Pope Boniface IX. conceded plenary indulgences to all who should then visit the shrines of the apostles. His suite consisted of four hundred persons, all like himself in penitential habits, and a guard of soldiers bearing black lances, banners, and pennons. Having been presented by the pope with the golden rose, and authorised to open a university of arts and sciences in his capital, he returned home amid great rejoicings, and was honoured by the statue above referred to.*

More than half a century later great preparations were made at Ferrara for the fitting reception of the Princess Eleonora of Aragon, daughter of King Ferdinand of Naples, and bride of Duke Hercules I. An innumerable crowd of people, singing, playing, and dancing, went out to meet her on her approach, and escorted her into Ferrara, where the pavements were covered with rich carpets, and the houses decorated with superb tapestries and green boughs. Dressed in a suit of cloth

* *Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara*, raccolte da Antonio Frizzi, Ferrara, 1791, ii. 344. See also Gio. Battista Pigna, *Historia de' Principi d' Este* (Ferrara, 1580), lib. v. pp. 324-7; and the work entitled *Della Antichità Estensi ed Italiane*, pt. ii. ch. vi. p. 158; and Cittadella, *op. cit.* p. 415.

of gold cut after the Neapolitan fashion, wearing a crown of gold adorned with pearls upon her head, and many jewels upon her person, the fair bride rode to meet her future lord upon a noble steed, and then dismounting, proceeded to the palace under a baldacchino made of cloth of gold, and on the following day the marriage ceremony took place in the Cathedral, when the event was celebrated by tournaments, games and splendid banquets.* Lodovico Castellani who decorated the royal carriages with ornaments is identified with the sculptor and worker in terracotta who made (1458) a "mortorio" or group of the dead Christ, with Joseph of Arimathea, the Marys and St. John, for the Cathedral at Ferrara, whence it was removed to the choir of the church of S. Antonio Abbate in Polesine. The figures, of life-size, painted and robed in coloured draperies are conceived in the exaggerated style of the many groups of the same subject by Guido Mazzoni of Modena.†

MODENA.

Giovanni Guerra da Modena,‡ who assisted in carving ornaments about the pilasters of the choir parapet in the Cathedral at Milan, about 1400, is the first Modenese sculptor of repute, and the next is Guido Mazzoni, called Il Modanino from his birth-place, and Il Paganino after his grandfather.§ This artist, who flourished in the latter part of the fifteenth century, should rather be called a "plasticatore" than a sculptor, as he worked altogether in clay. His works are vulgar in type, intensely realistic, exaggerated in expression, and monotonous through their unvarying repetition of the same subject, but they are full of earnest feeling and true to nature of a homely type. When we have seen one of his groups we have seen them all, and

* Frizzi, *op. cit.* iv. 84.

† This group is in the Clausura delle Monache and cannot be seen without special licence from the archbishop.

‡ Ricci, ii. 386.

§ His great-grandfather Guido il Vecchio came from a castle in the mountains of Modena called Montecuccolo. His father's name was Antonio (vide *Le Opere di G. Mazzoni e di Antonio Begarelli, dis. ed incise da Guizzardi e Tomba Bolognesi*, Modena, 1823; Tiraboschi, *Bib. Mod.* vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 467; and Vedriani, *Raccolte de' Pittori e Scultori Modonesi*, p. 26; also Vasari, iv. 6).

know his capabilities and limitations. In the "mortorio" of the church of San Giovanni Decollato at Modena, the dead body of our Lord lies upon the ground, while the Madonna, a weeping old woman kneeling on one knee at the foot of the cross behind the body of her son, is supported by the beloved disciple and by the Magdalen, who leaning forward with dishevelled hair and distorted features screams in an agony of grief. St. Joseph sits at the head of the body stretching out his hands towards it, and several of the disciples are grouped around.* The startling effect of these coloured life-size figures, robed in heavy but carefully-arranged draperies, and modelled with no small skill, can hardly be imagined. This "mortorio" differs very little from those by the same artist at Santa Maria della Rosa at Ferrara† and at Monte Oliveto at Naples, made for King Alphonso II. of Aragon in 1490.‡ Mazzoni's group of the Nativity in the crypt of the Cathedral at Modena is of little interest,§ as the subject allowed him no opportunity for dramatic display, but some of the heads are extremely living in their expression.|| We have no other record of the now-destroyed "mortorio" which he made (1487) for the monastery of Sant' Antonio Abbate at Venice than that furnished by the contract, which is curious for the stipulation made by the artist, that in consideration of his having relinquished to

* This mortorio was originally in the Cappella della Confraternità of the hospital of San Giovanni della Morte, then in the public prison. It was repaired and repainted by M. Francesco di Bianco Frare.

† This group is often attributed to Alfonso Cittadella Il Ferrarese, but to our eyes it is unmistakably by Guido Mazzoni.

‡ It loses much of its effect by being coloured to resemble bronze. It is however interesting historically if some of the figures are portraits—the St. John of King Alfonso; the St. Joseph of Sannazzaro the poet; the Nicodemus of Gioviano Pontano; and one of the other figures of the king's son Ferrandino (*Guida degli Scienziati*, i. 387-390; Celano, *Notizie di Napoli*, ii. 30).

§ Belonged to the Porcini family at Modena. According to the *Cronaca Malegazzi* they refused to part with it for 500 golden scudi. It was long in the Palazzo Livezzani (see Vedriani, *op. cit.* pp. 31-2). The second shepherd to the right and the head of the first to the left are by an unknown sculptor. A sculptor named Righi made the sheep and shepherd in the background about 1527.

|| Estratto dal Catastico di Costello in Venezia (Cicogna, *Isc. Ven.* i. 360; and Sansovino, *Venezia Descritta*, p. 32). The monastery and the group have both been destroyed.

the monastery a part of the money promised him in payment, his name and his coat-of-arms should be placed upon it, and mention of his gift made in the inscription. King Charles VIII., whom he accompanied to France after the conquest of Naples (1495), made him a knight and allowed him to enrich his coat-of-arms with the royal fleur-de-lys. The royal tomb at St. Denis which he designed in 1498, was of black marble, with ornaments and figures in gilded bronze.* Its four sides were adorned with niches containing statuettes of the Virtues, divided from each other by flat spaces decorated with swords wreathed with laurel in memory of the royal conquests, and upon the top the effigy of the king was placed kneeling before a prie-dieu, with four angels bearing shields engraved with the arms of France and Jerusalem.† Whether Mazzoni modified his style in dealing with a subject so foreign to his habits, and also in the many other works which he is said to have executed during a residence of more than twenty years in France, we cannot judge, but it is certain that he was well paid for his work there, as he returned to Modena, in 1516, a rich man, and purchased many houses and much land before his death, which took place two years later.‡ His first wife Pellegrina Discalzi,§ and his daughter both accompanied him to France, and assisted him in his labours, proving by their skill in sculpture the truth of Ariosto's lines :

Le donne son venute in' eccellenza
Di ciascun' arte ov' hanno posto cura.

PARMA.

During the fourteenth century there seems to have been a dearth of sculptors at Parma, for Aldighiero della Senazza was

* *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de St. Denis*, par Felibien, p. 559. A small outline of the tomb is given at p. 550 of this work.

† The brass-gilt plate on the pillar nearest to the monument was inscribed with two epitaphs and the words "Vixit annos 28. Obiit anno a Natali Domini 1498. Opus Paganiui Mantoviensis."

‡ The Cronaca Belleardi MS. says he returned to Modena June 19, 1516 (see Tiraboschi, *Bib. Mod.* i. 192). He died Sept. 12, 1518.

§ Vasari, vol. iv. p. 6. nota 1. Vedriani, *op. cit.* p. 33, says that Isabella Discalzi, Mazzoni's second wife, was the sculptress, and not Pellegrina.

obliged to call an artist named Jacopo from Pistoja to work for him, and shortly after, a certain Francesco Frigeri who wished to decorate the sepulchre of his family in the Cathedral, sent to Cremona to purchase a poorly-sculptured "mortorio" of wood. No authentic works of this period exist, save the rude and much injured monument erected to Guido Pallavicino (d. 1301) in the Abbey of Fontevivo, the tomb of Ugolotti Lupi (d. 1351) in the oratory of Casa Melilupi at Saragna, which was sculptured by a second-rate artist with coats-of-arms and figures, and a sarcophagus under the porch of the church of San Vitale e Agricola at Bologna, which was made by Maestro Rosa da Parma, and used as the burial-place of Mondino de' Liucci (d. 1318), a celebrated anatomist. It is adorned with a bas-relief representing the Professor expounding a book which lies before him, to six disciples dressed in long gowns, and with round caps upon their heads, who seated at low reading-desks, listen or follow the text in the books which they hold in their hands. Their attitudes are agreeably varied, and the expression of attention in their faces is well rendered.

Civil discords and the tyrannical rule of the Visconti paralysed the arts at Parma during the fourteenth century, and the same political conditions weighed upon them during much of the fifteenth, which produced some few architects but no sculptors of repute. The only existing monuments of this latter period are the rude bas-reliefs upon the sarcophagus of Biagio Palacani on the façade of the Cathedral (1416), the sepulchral slabs of Giovanni Lalatta and his wife (1421), and those of Giovanni degli Ardemani (1422), Antonello Arcimboldo (1439), and Antonio Bernieri bishop of Lodi (1456); the bas-reliefs of the Beato Simone della Canna (1476), and those upon the sarcophagus of Girolamo Bernieri (1484) in the Cathedral. Giacomo, Filippo and Damiano, sons of Filippo de Gonzati of Parma, who were distinguished as bronze-casters in the fifteenth century, made the statues of the four Evangelists in bronze upon the balustrade around the ciborium in the Cathedral, which are creditable examples of their skill.* A celebrated wood-carver and "intarsiatore" named Luchino Bianchini (b. 1434), the supposed scholar of Cristoforo da Lendinara, who with his son

* The ciborium was made by Alberto da Carrara 1438 (see Lopez, *op. cit.* p. 46).

Bernardino worked at Parma for a period of twenty years (1469-1482), helped them to carve the presses for the sacristy of the Cathedral (1494) and himself made the woodwork about its great portal, as well as the "intaglios" and "intarsiature" of the choir at San Lodovico. His son Gian Francesco, who followed the paternal profession with success, married the daughter of Marcantonio Zucchi, the clever "intagliatore" of the choir stalls in the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista. This same church contains some excellently-sculptured capitals (1510) signed by a Maestro Antonio, who was employed by the Conte di Cajazzo in 1488, to adorn the portal of his palace with ornaments and figures.* Two workers in terra-cotta of this time are mentioned with praise, namely, Maestro Francesco, who also worked at the Cajazzo Palace, and M^o Giovanni who made a frieze for the hospital in 1488.

GENOA.

No one of the great Italian cities has been so artistically sterile as Genoa, and this seems due to a want of capacity for art in the nature of her people rather than to accidental circumstances, since Pisa and Venice, whose site, form of government and commercial relations were identical with hers, rivalled the inland cities in the number and excellence of their artists.

In vain do we search among the many Genoese sculptors who flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for one eminent name, although the absence of any such cannot be ascribed to the want of good foreign examples, as the Cathedral contains many fine works by Civitali,† and S. Matteo the marbles of Montorsoli.‡

The monuments to Cardinals Luca (d. 1336) and Georgio Fieschi (d. 1469) in the Cathedral, although divided by the interval of more than a century, show no progressive development in style, and the two bas-reliefs of the Crucifixion, in the chapel of the Holy Crucifix and in the sacristy, which belong to the same period as the tomb of Cardinal Giorgio, are in no wise remarkable.

* "Anno salutis MDX. Antonius Parmensis faciebat."—Lopez, *op. cit.* p. 46.

† See p. 152.

‡ See p. 322.

To find any sculpture at Genoa which can be classed with fair quattro-cento work, the church of S. Teodoro must be visited in order to see the two marble tabernacles, by an anonymous, and probably foreign sculptor, who had been bred in a good school. The central portion of the one on the left contains a bas-relief of the Infant Christ supported by an angel and adored by the Madonna, St. Joseph, and a monk. Four Virtues are sculptured upon the pilasters, as many prophets in flat-relief in roundels below them, and groups of angels in the base upon which they rest.

Having open and easy communication with

CARRARA,

either by land or sea, Genoa cannot plead want of material for sculpture as the cause of her sterility in this art, but Carrara herself shows even more markedly how little its abundance has to do with the result, for though she has trafficked in marble ever since the Romans first worked the quarries of Luni in the days of Julius Cæsar, and has always had her streets lined with studios, she has never produced a sculptor of real eminence. Her best sculptors are Alberto Maffioli who flourished during the second half of the fourteenth century and worked principally at the Certosa of Pavia, and Danese Cattaneo, the scholar of Jacopo Tatti (Sansovino), who lived in the sixteenth.* Alberto Maffioli, whose bas-relief in the "Lavatoio dei Monaci" at the Certosa shows by its cartaceous draperies and the exaggerated action of its long-limbed figures that he was bred in the school of the Mantegazza, occupied the studio which they vacated after the death of Cristoforo, and probably had a hand in the bas-reliefs of the façade.† In 1490 he sculptured the medallion portrait of Gian Galeazzo Visconti over the door of the old sacristy, and in the next year was made head master of the Cathedral at Cremona, for whose façade he prepared a design which was accepted, but never carried out. In 1488 he worked at Parma upon the marble parapet of the organ loft in the Cathedral, which he adorned with roundels containing heads of the Virgin, St. John and Hilarius, separated by garlands and angels' heads.

* See p. 371.

† See p. 190.

CREMONA.

Among the few Cremonese sculptors who attained reputation at home and abroad before the latter half of the fifteenth century was Cristoforo di Geremia called "da Cremona," though it is doubtful whether he was not born at Mantua.* This artist, who was sculptor, bronze-caster, and medallist, restored the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius at Rome, for Paul II. in 1468; and made the medals of King Alfonso of Naples and of the Emperor Augustus (after 1458),† but he did not, as has been erroneously said, sculpture the sarcophagus of SS. Pietro and Marcellino in the crypt of the Cathedral at Cremona, which is certainly the work of Benedetto Briosco.‡ Another Cremonese sculptor, Giovanni Gasparo Pedoni (1450–1504), sculptured the very elegant chimney-piece in the ante-chamber of the Municipal Palace at Cremona (1502), formerly in the Raimondi Palace, where some of his sculptures still exist. His name, inscribed upon one of the varied and beautiful capitals (1499) as "da Lugano," probably indicates that his family came from that town. If, as seems probable, he sculptured the marble decorations of the doorway of the great hall in the Municipal Palace, it is evident that his "forte" lay in ornament rather than in the sculpture of figures, as the statuettes of Justice and Temperance, and the small reliefs of the labours of Hercules upon the side posts of this door are far less meritorious than the trophies, arms, helmets, and other Renaissance ornamental details. The labours of Hercules, introduced in allusion to the tradition that Cremona was founded by that demi-god, appear upon the doorway of the Palazzo Stanga (1499), of which we have already spoken as one of the lately acquired treasures at the Louvre,§ and upon other portals of the same type erected during the dominion of the Sforzas in various parts of their territory. Tommaso Amici and Francesco Mabila de' Mazo, who made the "dossale" of the altar of St. Nicholas (1495) in the Cathedral at Cremona

* Vasari, ed. Milanese, vol. vi. p. 502; and Eug. Müntz, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 93.

† *Friedländer*, Jahrbuch, 2nd vol. 3rd book, pp. 178–9.

‡ See p. 189.

§ See p. 111.

which has simply-designed and well-draped figures of Saints in its three niches, were probably Cremonese, as were Tommaso Malvito, who sculptured the heavily-draped and coarsely-executed statue of Cardinal Olivero Caraffa in the crypt of the Cathedral at Naples (1504), and Cristoforo Pedoni son of Giovan Gaspare who made the Arca di San Arcaldo in the crypt of the Cathedral at Cremona (1538-38) and died after 1552.

Of the several artists belonging to the Sacha or Sacchi family of Cremona, we have but little information. The eldest, Paolo, an "intarsiatore," or wooden mosaic worker, who died in 1537, had two sons, Giuseppe and Bramante. The latter made four saints in niches for the façade of the Cathedral, but, as we have already shown, he did not sculpture the Arca di SS. Piero and Marcellino, or the Porta Stanga, both of which have been attributed to him. He was probably one of the sculptors who worked at the Certosa of Pavia.

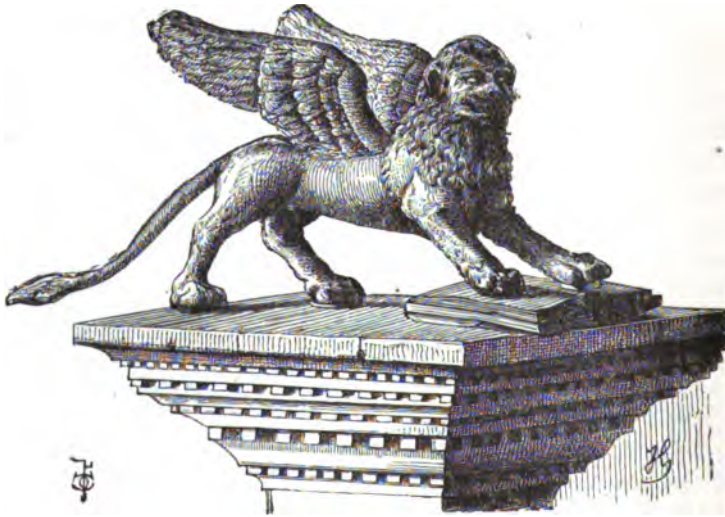
Como.

Like the Cathedral at Milan, and the Certosa at Pavia, though in a much less degree, the Cathedral at Como was a gathering point of artistic work in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Its façade was designed and decorated by Lucchino of Milan, 1457-1485, and his successor Tommaso di Giovanni Rodari da Marogia, a town near Lugano, who continued in office until his death on the 9th of June, 1526, and was assisted by his brothers Donatus, Bernardino and Jacopo. The MS. books of the Cathedral contain many records of payments made to Tommaso for work done, as, *e.g.* 1484, 40 lire for thirteen figures; November 13, 40 lire for a Magdalen; xxv Sept., for a St. Ambrose, &c.; 1485, June xxiii, payment made for eight statuettes of Saints and one of the Virgin, &c.*

The works of the brothers upon the façade are the bas-reliefs of the Annunciation and, perhaps, that of the Adoration of the Magi over the great portal, which is remarkable in that the figures in the foreground are completely worked out in the

* Extracts from the MS. *Journaux des Comptes* made for M. Courrajob, Conservateur adjoint of the Louvre, who has taken much pains to clear up the uncertain dates about the brothers Rodari, and their work at Como.

round, while those in the background are in low relief, giving the effect of a scene upon the stage. The statuettes of the Madonna and Saints in round-headed niches under Gothic canopies over the great portal, and the two very ornate recesses on either side of it which contain statues of the two Plinys, are all by the brothers Rodari. Of these statues, that to the left is signed by Thomas and Jacobus "fratris de Rodariis," and dated 1498. Though faulty in proportion, and essentially decorative in style, they produce a pleasing and picturesque effect. The marble casings of the two side doors of the Cathedral, one of which is called the "Porta della Rana," have been so much mutilated that it is difficult to judge of their original merit, but they bear traces of taste and careful study of nature. Other works by the Rodari inside the Cathedral, such as the second-rate and feeble "dossales" of the altars of SS. Lucia (1492) and Apollonia, show that they were less successful in dealing with figure than with ornamental sculpture.



BOOK III.



THE LATER RENAISSANCE.

1500 to 1600.

CHAPTER I.

THE year 1500 is a landmark between the early and the later Renaissance, the Quattro and the Cinque-cento. It divides the age when the Antique was taken as a guide, from the Decadence when it was taken as a master; the age when nature was interpreted in a realistic spirit, and gems and marbles were studied to purify the taste and elevate the style, from the age when ancient art was slavishly imitated, and the barriers between painting and sculpture were completely thrown down. In the later period the nude was more broadly treated, draperies were more classically arranged, and the balance of the figure, as of the left side against the right, the upper part of the body against the lower, was more consciously observed, but on the other hand there was a marked loss of that freshness, naïveté, and individuality, which makes the works of the earlier time as superior to those of the later, as fruits warmed into life by the potent rays of an Italian sun are superior to those which have been forced by artificial heat. Between the two there was an intermediate period when sculpture was chiefly represented by Andrea Sansovino, whose successive works illustrate the gradual change from the old to the new school, and bridge over the gap between them.

Andrea was the son of Niccolo di Domenico Contucci, a shepherd of Monte San Savino near Arezzo, whence his name, slightly euphonised into Sansovino.* Born in 1460, he spent his early years in tending his father's flocks, and like Giotto

* Milanese, ed. Vasari, vol. iv. p. 509, gives the name of Andrea's father as Niccolò di Domenico (called Menco) di Muccio, whence his family was called de' Mucci, and later de' Contucci. Niccolò's will, dated August 4, 1508, by which he gave a house and lands at Monte Sansavino to his two sons Andrea and Piero, shows that he was not, as Vasari says, "poverissimo."

whiled away the lonely hours by drawing sheep in the sand, or on the flat stones which he picked up in the fields. One day the Podestà Simon Vespucci found him thus occupied, and struck with his evident talent, asked and obtained his father's consent to let him send the young artist to Florence to study with Antonio Pollajuolo, under whom and in the gardens of St. Mark's, where Lorenzo de' Medici had opened an Academy under the superintendence of Donatello's pupil Bertoldo, Sansovino made rapid progress.* His first original works were terra-cotta busts of Nero and Galba, after antique medallions, one of which came into Vasari's possession. These no longer exist, but the painted terra-cotta altar in the church of Sta. Chiara at Monte San Savino which he made at a very early period of his life, shows that at that time the Italian masters of the Quattro-cento had no small influence upon him. No one can look at the San Lorenzo in the central niche, over which flying angels hold the martyr's crown, without being reminded of Donatello's St. George by the turn of the head and the energetic expression of the face, or at the St. Sebastian on his right hand, without thinking of Civitali's statue of that saint in the Cathedral at Lucca, or at the San Rocco on his left, without recognising the spirit of the Quattro-centisti.

Between 1488 and 1492, Sansovino carved two pilasters for the sacristy of Santo Spirito at Florence, built the corridor between it and the church, and made an altar for the Corbinelli chapel with statues of SS. James and Matthew and an infant Christ with angels, and reliefs of the Annunciation and the Coronation of the Virgin, the Beheading of St. John, the Last Supper, and a Pietà, which, though not strikingly individual works, are pure in style and technically excellent.

From the early part of 1491, when he was one of the judges of the competitive designs offered for the façade of the Cathedral, until the year 1500, Sansovino lived in Portugal, working as architect and sculptor for King John, to whom he had been recommended by Lorenzo de' Medici. During these nine years he built a royal palace, carved a wooden altar with prophet-statuettes, and made the statue of St. Mark, and the bronze bas-relief of the King fighting with the Moors which still exists in the

* See pp. 105 and 117.

church of the Convent of St. Mark at Coimbra.* On his return to Florence after this long absence he accepted several important commissions, and in the course of the next four years completed a Font for the baptistry at Volterra (1502); a Madonna and Child for the Cathedral at Genoa (1504), and the marble group of the Baptism of Christ over one of the doors of the Florentine Baptistry. In this group, which was assigned to him in 1502, and still occupied him in January 1505,† we find a new departure, and a modern spirit. Though admirably modelled and skilfully grouped, the aiming at effect for effect's sake is evident in the figures, and as it betrays the self-consciousness of the artist their power over us is by so much diminished. In Early Renaissance works we lose ourselves, as the artist did his own personality when in obedience to the imperious promptings of his nature he modelled them without thought as to the praise or censure which they might ultimately receive. This, as it seems to us, is a primary condition for the production of a really fine work of art, and this it is which makes the essential difference between the art of the early and that of the later Renaissance. Between the time when Sansovino made the altar at Santa Chiara, and that when he modelled the St. John and our Lord for the baptistry at Florence, he had eaten of the fruit of the forbidden tree, and becoming self-conscious had passed over to the ranks of the artists of the sixteenth century, in whose spirit he thenceforward worked.

In the year 1505 or 1506 he went to Rome, where Pope Julius II. gave him a commission for the splendid monuments of Cardinals Ascanio Maria Sforza and Girolamo Basso della Rovere in the choir of S. Maria del Popolo, which differ in ornamental details though they are almost identical in design. In each the sarcophagus, standing in a deep triumphal arch-like niche, is surmounted by a lunette containing a bas-relief of the Madonna and Child, and in each the rich cornice of the entablature above the lunette is crowned by the arms of the Cardinal, above which Christ enthroned sits between two angels holding candelabra, and standing upon pedestals shaped

* Raczyński, *Les Arts en Portugal*. Paris, 1846, p. 344.

† Said to have been finished by Vincenzo Danti after the death of Sansovino. The praying angel is by Innocenzo Spinazzi, a sculptor of the seventeenth century.

like capitals. The statuettes of the Virtues in niches to the right and left of the sepulchral effigy are flanked by rich Corinthian columns, and above them, outside the lunette, there are two other seated Virtues, while from the massive base of the structure to its summit the flat spaces are enriched with ornament of a classical character. The two things especially to be noted as novel features in these tombs are, first the non-dependence of the statuettes and effigies upon the architecture, and secondly the representation of the deceased leaning upon his elbow, with his head resting on his hand as if he had fallen asleep. Upon Etruscan and Roman sarcophagi the dead man is represented as if reclining at a banquet, in order to recall him to his friends as they knew him in life, and to comfort them with the assurance that he is still feasting in the Elysian fields, while upon Gothic and Early Renaissance tombs the portrait statue is always laid out in the majestic repose and solemn stillness of death, like the body when it was laid to rest in the sarcophagus. Both modes of representation were justified by their special significance, but it would be hard to find a justification for the senseless compromise between the two, first made by Sansovino, as it has neither the meaning of the pagan, nor the beautiful fitness of the Christian practice.

In 1512 Sansovino sculptured a marble group of the Madonna and Child with St. Anne, for James Corycius, a German prelate noted as a patron of literature and the arts, whose praises, sung in one hundred and twenty Latin sonnets which were affixed to it in the church of S. Agostino, and afterwards published in a volume called *Coryciano*, were prompted, we surmise, by the gratitude of the recipients of his bounty, rather than by the merits of the group.

After terminating this work, our sculptor was sent to Loreto by Pope Leo X. (1513) to superintend and assist in decorating the exterior of the marble temple which encloses the "Santa Casa" with bas-reliefs, of which he modelled the Nativity (1528), and the Annunciation (1522), and began the Adoration of the Kings, and the birth, marriage, and death of the Virgin. The last three were finished by his assistants, who are responsible for the remaining reliefs, which fully illustrate the then fallen state of Tuscan sculpture, and show how ignorant the leading artists of the first half of the sixteenth century were of

the nature and treatment of relief. Though Sansovino's works are superior to those of his assistants, they in no wise deserve the praises which have been lavished upon them. Take the Nativity for instance as an example of ultra pictorial sculpture, and note its complete want of repose. The angels, the shepherds, and St. Joseph, seem possessed by the demon of unrest, and even the Madonna bending over the infant Christ has her soul disquieted within her. Look also at the Annunciation, which Vasari calls a miracle of art, with its shrinking Virgin, its curtsying angel, its vaunted vase of flowers, whose stems and leaves have been surpassed a thousand times by the sculptors of the Early Renaissance, its landscape and architectural background cut up by jarring lines, and its sky filled with sharp-edged clouds bound together like bundles of spears.

Here we may leave Sansovino, with regret that his remarkable powers led to no better result. He spent his latter years in planning the fortifications at Loreto, and in agricultural pursuits at Monte San Savino, and died at Rome of a fever in the year 1529.

Though inventive and skilful, he was always wanting in repose, and too often aiming at effect. Mannered in his later works he is seldom interesting at any period. Cold, correct, and shallow, he sometimes favourably influences the judgment, but never touches the heart. While we thus judge him, we must not forget that he worked at Rome during part of the reign of Leo X., when Michelangelo and Raphael, both in the ascendant, were shining with a light which made all lesser luminaries grow pale, and allow that to have then made a distinguished reputation is no small proof of merit.

His most remarkable pupil was Jacopo Tatti, called Sansovino (b. 1477), whom Andrea received into his studio at the age of twenty-one, soon after his return from Spain. Jacopo's father, Antonio, wished him to become a merchant, but his mother, whose ambitious mind was filled with the fame of Michelangelo, fostered his love of art, and finally persuaded her husband to allow their son to become a sculptor. He first attracted attention (1508-9) in a competition with Raffaello di Montelupo for a statue of St. John the Evangelist, ordered by the Silk Merchants' Guild, when his design, though not accepted, was highly commended by the best judges, and so

much admired by his friend Andrea del Sarto that he used it for his St. John in the Madonna delle Arpie (1517).*

In 1510 Jacopo followed his master to Rome in company with the famous architect Giuliano di Sangallo, under whose instruction he laid the foundation of his great architectural knowledge, and associated there with artists of the old and of the new schools of art, who live for us in works so widely sundered in style that we can hardly imagine them to have been contemporaries.† After living for some time with Sangallo, Jacopo took up his abode in the palace of the Cardinal di San Clemente with Perugino, for whom he is said to have modelled a Crucifixion and many figures in wax to serve as models, though it seems difficult to understand how the aged painter could have used the designs of an artist, who from the first showed himself to be a disciple of a school whose principles were not at all in accordance with his own.

Bramante's friendship procured our young sculptor and architect an entrance to the Vatican, where he made a model of the Laocoon which was cast in bronze,‡ and found both profit and emolument in restoring antique statues for Pope Julius, until he was obliged by ill health to leave Rome for Florence, where with the classic influence of the Eternal City strong upon him he modelled the nude Bacchus of the Bargello (1513), which ushers in that long line of statues of an antique type whose descendants, if one may so speak, people our modern studios. Of their prototypes this figure is one of the best, easy in its action, correct in its proportions, and elegant in its forms, but with all its cold perfections less precious than a chip of marble from the workshop of a Donatello or a Desiderio. When Leo X. made his triumphal entry into Florence in 1515, he was much impressed with the beauty

* In the Tribune at the Uffizi. Nanni Unghero, the wood carver, one of Jacopo's early patrons, owned his sketch of this figure. *Temanza, Vita di Sansovino*, p. 200.

† Perugino painted in the Sistine Chapel between 1480 and 1495, and died in 1524. Signorelli painted in the Sistine Chapel about 1484, and died in 1523. Pinturicchio finished the Ara Coeli frescos in 1500, and died in 1513.

‡ Cardinal Grimani, who purchased it, left it by will to the Venetian Signory, by whom it was given to the Cardinal de Lorraine, who took it with him to France.

of a temporary wooden façade decorated with bas-reliefs and statues of the apostles by Sansovino, and expressed himself so warmly that Jacopo was led to hope that the Pope would commission him to build the façade of San Lorenzo, but in this he was disappointed, as on presenting himself at the Vatican with his design he found that he had been forestalled by Michelangelo (1516). He remained at Rome for the next seven years, and judging from the colossal Madonna which he made for the church of San Agostino, came under the all-pervading influence of his great countryman, which shows itself in the massive structure of the figure, the pose of the hands, and the arrangement of the drapery.

Having made a design for the church of San Giovanni, which the Florentine residents proposed to erect in honour of their patron Saint in the Via Giulia, and been appointed its head architect, Jacopo commenced operations, but before the foundations were laid he met with an accident which obliged him to give up the direction of the works and retire to Florence, whence he proceeded to Venice (1523). At this time the cupolas of St. Mark's church were in a ruinous condition, and the doge Andrea Gritti hearing from Cardinal Grimani that the one man in the world who could restore them had arrived in the city, sent for him to undertake the work,* but Jacopo having just then heard of the election of Clement VII., who being a Medici was expected to revive the golden days of Leo X.'s reign, declined to do so, and went back to Rome, where he remained until 1527. Forced to fly when the city was besieged by the Constable de Bourbon, he once more turned his steps to Venice, where he was warmly received by his friends Titian and Pietro Aretino, and appointed to succeed Bartolomeo Bon as Protomastro of the Republic, an office which gave him charge over St. Mark's church and the adjacent buildings, with a handsome salary, and a house.† He was at this time fifty-two years old, and had yet a career of forty-one years before him, during which he built so many churches and palaces, that it may be safely said that no one architect ever left his impress so strongly upon a city as Sansovino upon Venice. Had his style

* Date of Sansovino's visit to Venice fixed in 1523, as Cardinal Grimani died at Rome on the 27th of August of that year.

† Decree dated April 7, 1529

been that of a Brunelleschi or an Alberti, how different would have been the result attained ! but unfortunately it was corrupt, and despite its undeniably rich and picturesque character, fruitful of evil to the rising generation. Capable only of assimilating its defects, his many scholars* developed them into the wild extravagancies of the Baroque, to which the cold formalities of Palladio and other Vitruvians form a scarcely less obnoxious antidote. Both in architecture and in sculpture as connected with it, Jacopo Sansovino aimed at a decorative effect. In his buildings we get an impression of rich detail at the expense of breadth and mass of structure, and feel in the statues which he placed about them, that they were only thought of from a pictorial point of view. Thus it happens that while his single figures are in many respects excellent, his architectural statues want dignity and repose, and as in the case of the colossal Mars and Neptune upon the Scala d' Oro of the Ducal Palace, are utterly unworthy of the man who sculptured the Bacchus of the Bargello. The statues of Apollo, Mercury, Minerva and Peace in the niches of the Loggia of the Campanile (1540), though thoroughly unplastic in action and conception, are of a much higher order of merit, and like the terra-cotta Madonna and Child with St. John in the interior of the Loggia, a little figure of St. John on a holy water vase at the Frari (1554), and the bronze figure of St. Thomas of Ravenna over the door of S. Giuliano, form some of the better examples of Jacopo's work as a sculptor. In bas-relief he was at his worst, as he showed by the six small bronze reliefs of the miracles of St. Mark around the choir of his Basilica, which are but a confused mass of heads, arms and legs ; by the bronze bas-reliefs in the sacristy upon which he worked at intervals during a period of thirty years, and by the bas-reliefs of the Entombment and the Resurrection upon the door leading into the sacristy.

A Madonna in the court of the Arsenal, the Poducatore monument at S. Sebastiano, the tomb of the doge Francesco Venier (1556) at S. Salvatore, the four Evangelists upon the balustrade of the high altar of St. Mark's, and a very mediocre

* Among them were Il Tribolo, Il Solisimo, Luca Fancia, Bartolomeo Ammanati, Danese Cattaneo, Alessandro Vittoria, Girolamo da Ferrara, and Tiziano Segala.

bas-relief, representing an incident in the life of San Antonio, in the chapel of the Saint at Padua, may be mentioned as further examples of the degeneration of his later style. The career of Jacopo Sansovino at Venice was uninterruptedly successful, with one exception, namely, the falling in of the roof of the Public Library while in process of construction (1545). For this catastrophe he was held responsible, deprived of his office under government, and both heavily fined and imprisoned. After his release, obtained through the efforts of his scholar Danese Cattaneo and his friend Pietro Aretino, he repaired the roof and finished the building. In February, 1549, he was restored



BISHOP BONAFEDE. (By Francesco di Sangallo.)

to favour and position, and until his death (1570) was constantly occupied in the duties of his profession. He was buried at S. Gimignano, whence his remains were removed to S. Maria della Salute at the beginning of the present century.

Francesco di Sangallo (b. 1498, d. 1570), the son of the famous architect Giuliano,* and, like Jacopo Tatti, the pupil of Andrea Sansovino, sculptured the recumbent effigy of Lionardo Bonafede, Bishop of Cortona (*see* woodcut), whose position, in the pavement of a chapel at the Florentine Certosa of which he was the Superior, gives it a striking effect. The mitred head

* The tomb of Francesco Sassetti, in the Sassetti Chapel at Sta. Trinità, is generally attributed to Giuliano di Sangallo, though Vasari does not mention it as such. The little figures performing funeral obsequies, and the medallion portrait of the deceased in flat-relief upon the base of the sarcophagus, are sculptured in a pure quattro-cento style.

rests on a cushion, the hands are crossed upon the breast, and the robes are simply disposed over the straight laid limbs. Other works by the same sculptor are a group of the Virgin and Child with St. Anne (1526) at Or San Michele, the monument of Bishop Angelo Marzi at the Annunziata, the statue of the historian Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, two heads in relief of the Madonna and San Rocco at Fiesole in the church of S. Maria Primerana, and the monument to Piero de' Medici in the church of the convent of Monte Cassino.

Were it not for the recumbent effigy of Bishop Bonafede at the Certosa, Francesco di Sangallo would hardly be remembered, for he had neither remarkable skill nor originality, but this was not the case with his contemporary Benedetto, the son of M. Bartolomeo di Ricco di Grazino, de' Grazini, called "da Rovezzano," from a small town near Florence where he had an estate. Born at Pistoja about 1474, he left Tuscany at an early age to exercise his profession in other parts of Italy. He is first heard of at Genoa in 1499, as employed with Donato Beati, a Florentine sculptor, upon the marble "cantoria" of the church of San Stefano, which they had been commissioned to make by the Abbot Lorenzo del Fiesco. The two artists are also said to have made a monument for Louis XII., King of France, in 1502, and to have gone there from Genoa to set it up, but nothing is known positively of Benedetto's movements until 1505, when he returned home, and sculptured the very beautiful chimney-piece of the Casa Roselli. The tombs of Piero Soderini at the Carmine (1512), and of the Prior Oddo Altoviti (d. Sept. 28, 1507) in the choir of the SS. Apostoli, are the works which most fully illustrate his peculiar mode of dealing with ornament when applied to sepulchral monuments, both as regards choice of subject and technical treatment. Instead of the sphinxes, ribbons, vases, festoons, putti, &c., in favour with his predecessors, Benedetto used mortuary emblems, such as skulls, crossbones, &c., almost exclusively, and these he treated in every variety of relief, from the flattest to the highest, keeping the first almost level with the surface of the marble, and working out the last nearly in the round, with deep perforations and under-cuttings. The result is highly effective and altogether peculiar. Where, as in the statue of St. John the Evangelist

* Cicognara, *vide* vol. ii. plate xxx.

(1512) at the Cathedral, Benedetto attempted to deal with large figures in the round, he was far less successful than in treating ornament, to judge by this single example, as we must do, since the life-size figures which he sculptured for the monument of San Giovanni Gualberto, founder of the famous convent of Vallombrosa, were destroyed by the papal and imperial soldiers during the siege of Florence in 1580. Begun before 1511 in the sculptor's studio outside the Porta S. Croce, it remained there up to the time of the siege, and was never set up in the church of the Monastery of Pasignano, for which it was destined. Three of the five bas-reliefs at the Bargello, which are all that remain of it, are mere fragments, but the other two, though injured, are tolerably perfect. One of them represents the Saint expelling a demon from the body of the monk Florenzio, and the other the removal of the Saint's remains from Pasignano to Vallombrosa upon a bier borne by monks and attended by an angel with outspread wings. The beauty of this celestial attendant is set off by the writhing form of a boy possessed with a devil (*see* tail-piece), who brought with hope of cure to meet the procession, struggles in the arms of his keepers. Skilfully wrought, and well composed, these reliefs show that Benedetto had dramatic power as well as great technical skill, and had this monument and that which he made for Cardinal Wolsey escaped destruction, we should not, as now, feel that his talents are but inadequately represented.

The Cardinal's tomb, which consisted of a marble sarcophagus with bronze enrichments, was commenced by Benedetto in 1524, five years before Wolsey fell from power. Henry VIII. then ordered him to complete it for himself, but although it must have been finished long before the monarch's death (1547), he was not buried in it, nor was Charles I., as he also intended to have been. Its rich metal work was melted down in 1646 by order of Parliament, and the sarcophagus remained untenanted until 1805, when it received the remains of the hero of Trafalgar. How long Benedetto remained in England we do not know, but he probably returned to Florence long before his death, which took place about 1552, after he had passed twelve years in a state of total blindness.

Before Cardinal Wolsey gave Benedetto the commission for his monument, he had negotiated for it with one of his con-

temporaries, Piero Torrigiano. This Florentine sculptor, who was born in 1472, and went to England about 1513 to make the tomb of Henry VII., left Florence in 1492 for Rome, after he had brought himself into disfavour with Lorenzo de' Medici by his brutal conduct to Michelangelo, whom he had disfigured for life by a blow given during a dispute which arose between them on some trifling subject, while they were employed together at the Carmine. After spending some time in working in stucco at the Torre Borgia, he served in the papal army under Cæsar Borgia in the Romagna, fought at the battle of Garigliano (1503) where Piero de' Medici lost his worthless life, and then becoming impatient of non-advancement after eight or ten years of military life, went to England where he soon attained great reputation for his skill in marble, brass, and woodwork. In 1518, after he had been commissioned to make the monument of Henry VII., he returned to Florence to obtain more able assistants than he could find in England, and among others selected Benvenuto Cellini, who outraged by the insolent manner in which he boasted of the result of his quarrel with Michelangelo, refused to have anything to do with him.*

Others proved less scrupulous, and Torrigiano with their assistance, completed what Lord Bacon calls "one of the state-liest and daintiest monuments in Europe, in which King Henry VII." (with Queen Elizabeth) "lieth buried at Westminster, so that he dwelleth more richly dead in the monument of his tombe than he did alive in Richmond, or any of his palaces."† This tomb, which is considered the best example of the Renaissance style in England, is made of black marble; its sides are divided into panels by bronze pilasters, which are ornamented with the King's emblems, the rose and the portcullis. The panels are filled with bas-reliefs, representing the Virgin and Child, the Archangel Michael trampling on Satan, SS. John the Baptist and Evangelist, George of England, Anthony of Padua, Christopher and Vincent (the king's two patron saints),

* In his autobiography, p. 23, Cellini describes Torrigiano as a handsome man, with the air of a soldier rather than an artist, given to much gesticulation, possessed of a sonorous voice, ever in the habit of knitting his brows in a terrible manner, and daily boastful of his valorous deeds 'amongst those English beasts.'

† *History of the Reigne of Henry VII.* London, 1622.

the Magdalen, and SS. Barbara and Anne. Armorial bearings with the quarterings of France, England, Ulster, and Mortimer, are placed at each end of the tomb, upon the top of which lie the bronze effigies of the king and queen, draped with simple and well-arranged folds.*

An "awltter and various images," which Torrigiano bound himself "to make and work, or do to be made and wrought," to stand within the screen, was destroyed during the Civil Wars by Sir Robert Harlow, who, says a chronicler, "after breaking into Henry VII.'s chapel, brake down the altar stone which stood before that goodly monument of Henry VII."† From its similarity of style, Torrigiano is also supposed to have made the monument of Margaret, Countess of Richmond,‡ which stands in a chapel adjoining that of her son, King Henry VII. The copper effigy (originally gilt) represents her dressed in a plain mourning habit, with her feet resting on a collared antelope, the Lancastrian emblem. The face and hands seem to have been cast from life, the drapery is skilfully arranged, and the work technically excellent. Horace Walpole had a head in his possession, supposed to represent Henry VII. in the agonies of death, attributed to Torrigiano,§ as is the tomb of Dr. Young, Master of the Rolls, in the Chancery Lane Chapel, at London, the Italian character of which strikes the eye agreeably in a foreign land. The recumbent terra-cotta figure, simply treated, lies upon a stone sarcophagus of early Renaissance style, under a low arch, above which are placed a head of Christ, and two angels in terra-cotta.

* Torrigiano received £1,500 in payment for this monument. It stands within a sacellum, or chantry chapel of brass, which is supposed to be the work of English artists, as it was begun during the life of Henry VII., before "Peter Torrysany" (as the English called him) came from Italy. See Dart's *Westminster*; G. S. Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, and Neale's *History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter's, Westminster*, vol. i. p. 54.

† Dr. Ryves, *Anglia Ruina*. Neale, *op. cit.*

‡ Daughter of John of Gaunt; she founded Christ and St. John's Colleges at Cambridge, and was noted for her literary tastes and her charitable disposition. See Neale, *op. cit.* p. 69, and Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. p. 104.

§ Now in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland. It is engraved in J. Carter's *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, vol. ii. plate xl. p. 44.

Though fortune smiled upon him in England, Torrigiano left it for Spain where, though he failed to obtain the commission for the then contemplated monuments to Ferdinand and Isabella, he probably passed the remainder of his life, and made a crucifix, a terra-cotta group of the Madonna and Child for the Geronomite church at Seville, an alto-relief of Charity, for the tympanum of a door in the Cathedral of Grenada, and a terra-cotta statue of St. Jerome originally coloured like life, now in the Museum at Seville.* Realistic in treatment, and carefully modelled, it represents the Saint kneeling upon one knee, with a cross in one hand, and a stone in the other.

The following history of the sculptor's death is related by Vasari. The Duke d'Arcos, a Spanish nobleman, who had ordered a duplicate of his terra-cotta Madonna in marble, sent Torrigiano a bag full of maravedis, amounting to only thirty ducats, in payment. Insulted by this pitiful recompense, he shattered his group to fragments with a hammer, and the duke, in revenge, denounced him to the Inquisition as an impious heretic who had dared to destroy the image of the mother of God. He was then thrown into prison, where he starved himself to death.

* A cast of it may be seen at the Louvre, and another in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.



CHAPTER II.

MICHELANGELO.

Ingenium triplex docto præfulsit ab Arno.

THE complex nature of Michelangelo, who is aptly called the man of four souls, has generally been studied as a whole, though any one of its component parts, if, as here examined separately, appears in itself sufficient to have filled up his life, as it would have insured his fame.

In none of the manifestations of his genius does he appear greater than in sculpture, for which his preference was so marked, that he always turned to it when not actually forced by some one of his taskmasters to build or to paint. In one of his letters he says, "It is only well with me when I have a chisel in my hand," and he tells us in one of his most beautiful sonnets,

"The best of artists hath no thought to show
Which the rough stone in its superfluous shell
Doth not include."*

Teeming with possibilities, the virgin block seemed to his mind the prison of a captive idea waiting to be set free by the action of his strong hand, with which he dealt blow after blow, until possessed by a fresh thought he left the half-revealed image in a state vague as music, and as suggestive to the imagination.†

An enemy to tradition in art as well as to a positive imitation of nature, following neither the Conventionalists, the Realists, nor the worshippers of the Antique, he was a great dreamer, who developed man into something more than man, and by the novelty and strangeness of his creations placed himself out of the pale of ordinary criticism. His defects, which are

* XV. "Non ha 'l ottima artista alcun concetto," &c.

† Carducci speaks of "quella man che sì potente pugnò co' marmi atrarne vita fuori."

palpable to all, are surrounded, like the spots in the sun, by a dazzling indistinctness, which renders it impossible to examine them closely. Many are the artists who suit our taste better, move our feelings more deeply, and satisfy us a thousand times more than this Titan of a late time, but we know of none, ancient or modern, who leaves a stronger impression of power upon the mind, or who more unmistakably imprinted the stamp of genius upon all that he touched.

Considering that Michelangelo looked upon "the rough stone" as including every possible shape, and that sculpture was the art of his predilection, it is interesting to observe the many ways in which he was associated with it. The historical stronghold of the Counts of Canossa, from whom he supposed himself to be descended,* was a mountain fortress,† his birthplace was a castle built on the summit of a rock, and his wet-nurse was the wife of a stonemason, so that, as he humorously said, he imbibed his love for marble with his first nourishment.

He was born on Sunday, March 6, 1475, at eight o'clock in the evening, in the castle of Chiusi e Caprese in Casentino, a Tuscan stronghold on the upper waters of the Tiber, of which his father, Ludovico di Lionardo Buonarrotti Simoni, was podestà.‡ Returning to Florence with his wife, Francesca di Neri di Miniato del Sera, when his year of office had expired, Ludovico stopped at Settignano where he had a villa,§ to place

* Despite his strong republican tendencies, Michelangelo was proud of his supposed descent from the Counts of Canossa, and was disposed to take offence when its reality was questioned. It, however, has no foundation in fact. (See Aurelio Gotti, *Vita di Michelangelo*, vol. ii. pp. 3-5.) A letter written to Michelangelo in 1520 by the Count Alessandro da Canossa, and signed your "bon parente" (see Gotti, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 4), shows that he was, nevertheless, recognized as a kinsman by the then living representative of the family.

† Situated in the territory of Modena near Reggio. It was the patrimony of the Countess Matilda, daughter of Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, the great ecclesiastical heroine of the eleventh century.

‡ The ruins of the castle crown a height on the left bank of the Tiber. The hill belongs to the mountain chain which separates the source of the Tiber from that of the Arno. See *Pilgrimage to the Sources of the Tiber*, by W. Davies. The room in which Michelangelo was born is still shown, and a commemorative tablet has been placed in it.

§ A correspondent of the *Academy* (January 2, 1875), describes the

their infant son in charge of the stonecutter's wife. Thus almost the first objects upon which Michelangelo's eyes rested were the blocks of stone quarried by his foster-father, and the chisels and hammers which he used in his daily work. Does it seem altogether fanciful to suppose that such early associations with the implements of his special art, may have fostered those plastic instincts which nature had implanted in him at his birth?

As soon as he grew old enough, Michelangelo was sent to a school at Florence, kept by Francesco Venturini of Urbino,* who found him more disposed to draw on the margins of the pages of his books, than to possess himself of their contents. Between the dictates of his nature which indicated art, and the will of his father which pointed to trade as his future occupation, the quick-tempered and self-willed boy suffered much before April 1st, 1488, when he obtained leave to enter the studio of Dominico Ghirlandajo, as an assistant, at a progressive salary of six, eight, and ten florins during three years, which shows that he was far in advance of ordinary pupils who had to pass through a preliminary apprenticeship. That Ghirlandajo had no appreciable effect upon Michelangelo's early manner is to be accounted for by the little natural affinity between them and by the pronounced individuality of his pupil, who found the antique and modern marbles and bronzes at the gardens of St. Mark more congenial to his disposition. There his æsthetic taste was trained, while in the studio he learned to master technical difficulties, such as preparing colours, fresco grounds, and panels for painting in tempera, copied Ghirlandajo's drawings, counterfeited those of other masters, and painted a picture

Buonarotti villa as "a good-sized house, beautifully situated on the olive-clad slopes of the range of hills stretching east from Fiesole, commanding a noble view over the Val d'Arno and Florence. At the top of the stairway leading to the kitchen, there is a drawing on the wall of the upper portion of the figure of a Satyr, attributed by tradition to Michelangelo, as are two chimney-pieces, though these latter are said by the same writer to be of later date. C. H. Wilson (*Life and Works of Michelangelo*, p. 9) says the Satyr "is evidently by Michelangelo, but when his powers were matured." There are also some clever heads painted in fresco upon tiles by Giovanni da San Giovanni. The house is now inhabited by a lineal descendant of Michelangelo's old enemy, Baccio Bandinelli.

* Author of the first complete Latin grammar printed at Urbino in 1494 by Master Heinrich of Cologne.

from Martin Schongauer's engraving of St. Anthony tormented by devils and monsters covered with scales, which he coloured like those of fishes selected at the market for their bright hues. The work which he did at the Academy of St. Mark's was of a sort much better suited to his ardent spirit than this. Vasari tells us that the "loggia" opening into the garden and its shady walks were peopled with antique and modern marbles from the collections amassed by Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici.* The so-called "Madonna delle Scale" at the Casa Buonarroti, which is much in the manner of Donatello, and the marble mask of a Faun at the Bargello, which is a copy or an imitation of an antique original, show that at this time Michelangelo studied the works of the quattro-centisti as well as those of the ancients. The mask is interesting, if only for the story that it drew Lorenzo de' Medici's attention to the young sculptor, and led to an intercourse which ripened into friendship. When invited to take up his residence in the palace of his patron, Michelangelo was brought into daily intercourse with Lorenzo and the distinguished scholars of his court, and in their society developed that love of poetry and philosophy which distinguished him through life. His character was also formed during this period by the eloquent voice of Savonarola. As he listened in the Cathedral to the reproaches addressed by the prophet monk to Lorenzo de' Medici and other princes who, like him, had crushed Italian liberty and corrupted Italian hearts, that love of country awoke within him which long after led him to devote himself to her cause, and as he heard the earnest appeals of the preacher to take the Bible as a guide to truth, those religious instincts were roused in his soul which after many years ripened under the influence of Vittoria Colonna and made him not only almost, but altogether, a Christian.

While living at the Medici Palace, Michelangelo, under the advice of Politian, sculptured a bas-relief of the battle between

* For an account of the Medici collections, see *Les Precurseurs de la Renaissance*, par M. Eugène Müntz. Paris, 1882, pp. 136-157 *et seq.* and p. 186, where he cites an inventory, published after the death of Lorenzo, of the treasures collected in the Medici Palace. Nothing is said of the statues in the gardens of St. Mark. Among the artists who studied there were Rustici, Torrigiano, Fr. Granacci, Niccolo Soggi, Bugiardini, Lorenzo di Credi, Baccio da Montelupo, Andrea Sansovino, and Albertinelli.

Hercules and the Centaurs, now at the Casa Buonarrotti, in which he clearly revealed his individuality. Filled with an intricate web of nude forms in vigorous action, and sculptured with all the boldness of his later years, it seems impossible that it can be the work of a boy of eighteen, and as such it is a marvel. It illustrates one of the most striking things about Michelangelo's beginnings in art, that stepping at once upon his own ground, he began as he was to go on, ignoring the trammels of the schools, paying no attention to architectural or landscape backgrounds, not busying himself with the realistic imitation of objects around him, and disdaining to make a show of his knowledge of perspective although he understood it like an Uccello or a Mantegna, or a parade of finish although when he saw fit he could give as smooth a surface to marble or canvas as any artist of his time. From the first he recognized the human form as the one great object of study, and strove to represent it in every possible and, we had almost said, impossible attitude. He shared with Winckelmann the Greek feeling that "the highest object of art for thinking men is man," and with this conviction, planted his midnight torch in the breast of a corpse, and pursued his investigations until he had mastered all the springs of action and could work them at will.

It was by such studies that Michelangelo sought to alleviate his deep grief for the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (April 8, 1492).^{*} He was enabled to pursue them though the kindness of his friend the prior of Santo Spirito, who gave him a cell in the convent, where, by dissecting dead bodies obtained from the neighbouring hospital, he laid the foundation of that wonderful knowledge in which he has had few equals.

Lonely† and dispirited he lived at his father's house, until

^{*} In sculpture he was not altogether inactive at this time. He had a studio in his father's house, and there made a statue of Hercules, which was bought by Giambattista della Palla for Francis I. in 1529. Henry V. placed it in the garden park at Fontainebleau in 1594, where it remained until 1713, when the garden was destroyed. What became of it after this time is not known.

† Among the artists of his own age Granacci seems to have been his one friend. At the Gardens of St. Mark he soon quarrelled with his fellow-pupil Torrigiano, and when they worked together at the Carmine he received a crushing blow in the face from this ill-tempered, second-rate

Piero de' Medici induced him to return to the Medici Palace, where he treated him as a hired servant, and employed him to build up a snow statue in his courtyard, fit emblem of the then unstable and crumbling fortunes of his house (January 20, 1494).^{*} Michelangelo's sense of obligation to Lorenzo reconciled him at first to his position, but it was impossible for him to hold it long under such a representative of the family. The only way for him to shake himself free of Piero was to quit Florence, but to do so at this moment was no light matter for an honourable man, as it was to fly before a danger which every loyal adherent of the family was called upon to share.

In August, 1494, the Alps were black with the gathering masses of the French army which Charles VIII. was leading into Italy at the invitation of Ludovico Sforza, with the avowed object of seizing upon the crown of Naples, which he claimed as the rightful heir of the house of Anjou. Florence stood in the invader's path, and as the liberals within her walls, with Savonarola at their head, looked to Charles to deliver them from the tyranny of the Medici, it was a foregone conclusion that Piero would be driven into exile. We may suppose that Michelangelo reconciled his conscience to the step he was about to take, by reasoning that to wait for the catastrophe would be worse than to depart before it happened, since he would then be obliged to fly with the man whom he despised. This would set him in a bad light before his fellow-citizens, a result he wished to avoid, as he fully sympathized with the

sculptor and braggadocio which disfigured him for life. *See* p. 248. With the older artists, the acknowledged masters of the time, he sympathized but little. He did not appreciate the works of Lorenzo di Credi, never had any friendly relations with Lionardo da Vinci, who became his rival after he returned from Milan, and had a contempt for Pietro Perugino, whom he must have had frequent opportunities of knowing during their common residence at Florence.

^{*} It is generally said that the snow statue was the only commission given by Piero to Michelangelo. This is not so, for in a letter to his father from Rome, dated August 19, 1497, Michelangelo refers to a commission for a statue for Piero, which he had never begun because promises made to him had never been kept. "Now," he says, "I have bought a piece of marble and am cutting out a figure for my own pleasure." This was perhaps the Cupid bought (with the Bacchus) by Jacopo Gallo, which became the property of the Duchess of Mantua, and is now preserved in the Museum at Mantua. *See* Milanese, *Lettere*. vol. ii. r. 4.

popular party to which, if he awaited the moment of its triumph, he would not be able to adhere openly without appearing to be a traitor to the memory of his benefactor. Nothing, then, remained for him but to leave Florence while Piero still weakly held the reins of power. Having arrived at this conclusion, he went for a short time to Venice, and thence returned to Bologna, where Piero de' Medici had already taken refuge to the great dissatisfaction of the Bolognese. The city was so agitated, and the general condition of Italy so unsettled, that a law had been lately made by which any stranger entering or leaving the gates without having a seal of red wax upon his thumb-nail, by which he could be recognized as such, had to pay a fine of fifty francs or go to prison. Having neglected the required formality and being unable to pay the fine, Michelangelo would have been imprisoned had not a counterpart of the good Samaritan in the person of a magistrate, named Gian Francesco Aldovrandi, happening to pass by at the very moment when he was about to be led away, inquired his name and circumstances, ordered him to be set free, and given him shelter in his own house. This act of kindness proved mutually beneficial, for while on the one hand Michelangelo gained a home and a friend, his host secured the society of a man of rare genius, who talked admirably upon many subjects, and read Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio aloud to him with rare expression and deep appreciation. While thus engaged, Michelangelo may have forgotten his sorrows and uncertainties, but there were doubtless many hours when they pressed heavily upon him, and as he could not return to Florence until political matters had assumed a more definite shape, he gladly accepted a commission from the monks of St. Domenic to finish a statuette of St. Petronius for the monumental altar of the titular saint, and to sculpture a kneeling angel holding a candelabrum for the altar-table.*

This was one of the two included in the contract made with Niccola da Bari in 1464. That he may have sculptured neither of them is possible, but it is evident that he can have made but one, as in 1494 Michelangelo was commissioned to make the other. Of those upon the altar table, the one to the left has until recently been supposed to be his work, but as it is

* See chapter i. p. 18.

not at all Michelangesque, and the other is decidedly so, this conclusion has been disputed, with no little show of reason.* We should consider the question settled could it be proved that Niccola dell' Arca sculptured either, for in this case his must be the one to the left. If he did not, then it is perfectly reasonable to suppose that Michelangelo who, as he proved by the Madonna delle Scale at the Casa Buonarroti, could imitate the manner of the quattro-centisti when he pleased, did so here in order to make his work harmonize with the rest of the monument. If we are right in this conjecture, we may conclude that the angel to the right, on the evangelist side of the altar, was sculptured by an artist bred in Michelangelo's school, to which it manifestly belongs. This may have happened in 1532, when, as we know from an entry in the convent archives, a sum of money was paid to some person not mentioned "ad perficiendum Arcam S. Domenici." The heavy draperies of the angel to the left furnish further ground for ascribing it to Michelangelo, as they resemble those of Giacomo della Quercia (1425-1493), whose bas-reliefs upon the doors of the basilica of St. Petronius Michelangelo undoubtedly studied during his residence at Bologna.†

On his return to Florence, he found the city at peace under a comparatively stable republican government, and as Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pier Francesco de' Medici, had given in their allegiance to the new order of things, he could call himself a republican without any appearance of ingratitude to their family. The popular party was, however, slow to believe in the liberalism of those who, like Michelangelo, maintained friendly relations with the present representatives of the family, for though they called themselves "Popolani" their adherence to the Republic was evidently a mere matter of policy. In his case these relations were perfectly natural, as while

* *Raphael und Michelangelo*, von Anton Springer, p. 12, and second part, p. 492.

† Vasari and Condivi both say that Michelangelo stayed at Bologna more than a year; but M. de Montaignon, in his biography of Michelangelo (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, January 1, 1876), shows that he was one of the persons consulted about the construction of the great Council Hall in the Palace of the Signory at Florence, with which Cronaca was charged on the 15th of July, 1495, he must have returned home earlier than has been hitherto supposed.

Lorenzo, who had inherited the artistic and literary tastes of his namesake, "Il Magnifico," was drawn towards Michelangelo, the latter was equally impelled by the unforgotten past, and the hope of favours to come, to welcome his advances. In this hope he was not disappointed, for Lorenzo not only aided him in obtaining work, which in the low state of his funds was a matter of great importance to him, but himself purchased a statue, of which until a few years back all trace was lost.

In 1875, on the four hundredth anniversary of Michelangelo's birth, all his works were exhibited at Florence, either in marble or plaster, and among the casts, one of a statue belonging to Count Rossellmini Gualandi at Pisa, which had hitherto passed as by Donatello or Civitali, was pronounced by many competent judges to be the long-lost St. John the Baptist made by Michelangelo for Lorenzo de' Medici. Since that time the marble has been purchased for the Royal Museum at Berlin, and its authenticity is now very generally acknowledged. It represents a youth of about fourteen or fifteen years of age, with a sheep's skin about his loins, in the act of raising to his open mouth a small goat's horn full of honey, which he has pressed from the honeycomb in his right hand. To our eyes the sculptor's individuality is clearly recognizable in it, though softened and subdued into something as like and yet as unlike his fully-developed style as the bud is to the flower. Furthermore, in its mingling of the antique, the quattro-cento, and the Michelangelesque, it realizes our idea of a work sculptured at a transition stage when the manner of the master was still in the process of formation. In the gardens of St. Mark, as we have seen, he worked in the manner of Donatello and also counterfeited the antique; at Bologna, if the kneeling angel long attributed to him be really his, he adapted his work to that of the fifteenth century monument to which it was to belong, and now at Florence he sculptured the St. John in a style like that of his predecessors, and in his Sleeping Cupid* counterfeited the antique so successfully that when, by the

* Gotti (*op. cit.* vol. i. p. 15) says that the Cupid afterwards came into the possession of Duke Valentino, who gave it to Isabella, Marchioness of Mantua. It may still be seen in the Museum at Mantua. See Gaye's *Carteggio*, vol. ii. pp. 53, 54.

advice of Lorenzo de' Medici, it had been buried at Rome and was offered for sale by a Milanese dealer named Baldassare as a genuine ancient work, it found a purchaser as such for 200 ducats, in the Cardinal di San Giorgio. The discovery of the fraud, and the attempt made by the dealer to cheat Michelangelo out of the purchase-money, led to his first visit to Rome, where he arrived on the 18th June, 1496, and waited on his Eminence, who so far from bearing any ill-will towards him, received him kindly, and gave him a commission for a statue which he immediately began.*

Flattered by the Cardinal's reception, and sensible of the superior advantages of Rome as a residence, Michelangelo remained there for four years, during which time he produced two works of an extremely opposite character, one of which, the famous Pietà at St. Peter's, may be considered as an expression of the religious feelings which had been awakened in him by Savonarola, and the other, the Bacchus of the Uffizi, which he sculptured for Jacopo Gallo, as a typical representation of the life which surrounded him at Rome, then ruled by Alexander VI.† Between the group and the statue there is that wide gap which separates the noble from the ignoble. The Bacchus, a drunken youth with a wine-cup in one hand and a bunch of grapes in the other from which a little satyr is stealthily regaling himself, embodies the vulgar idea of the god of wine, who differs from the inspired Dionysos as the Venus Pandemos from the Venus Urania, and scantily atones for its want of ideality by skilful modelling and anatomic correctness. We can only excuse Michelangelo for selecting such a subject by supposing that he consulted the taste of his employer rather than his own. In the Pietà, on the contrary, we may believe that he found a theme congenial to his mind.‡

* In a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici dated July 2, 1496 (*see* Milanese, p. 375), Michelangelo speaks of his having bought a piece of marble for a statue ordered by the Cardinal, and in another letter to his father says that he is waiting to leave Rome till he is paid for it, "for in dealing with such great people 'bisogna andare adagio.'"

† Vasari (vol. xii. p. 169) says that his first Roman work was a cartoon of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, for the Cardinal di San Giorgio's barber, who was himself an artist.

‡ Sculptured for Jean de Grosloye de Villiers, Cardinal de St. Denis

He must have often wandered under the vast roof of the venerable basilica, so rich in associations with the purer ages of the Church, and so full of tombs of great and good men of past times, whose faith was a standing reproach to the scandalous unbelief of those in which his lot was cast. Impressed with the *religio loci*, and proud to think that a work from his hand was to be placed within the walls of this central edifice of Christendom, he determined to make his *Pietà* worthy of it, never dreaming that it was to be the first stone of the new temple which he was destined to raise upon the ruins of the old.

It represents the mother of the Saviour of mankind gazing upon the mortal remains of Him who is Himself the spring of life, the fountain of faith in things unseen. Her chief office in art at all periods is to show her divine son to the world. While He is yet a child He sits enthroned upon her arm, or stands erect upon her lap like a statue upon its pedestal; and when he has grown to manhood and has consummated the mighty sacrifice which He came on earth to make, she lays Him reverently across her knees, and sits in calm dignity, that all may behold the body of Him who died that they might live.

Here, more completely than in any other work of modern sculpture, art and Christianity are allied; here alone, among the plastic works of Michelangelo, is evidence of that religious spirit which found frequent expression in his sonnets. In his sublime frescos at the Sistine Chapel he is a historian of sacred things, who rises to the lofty height of the inspired Hebrew writers in his own peculiar language, but he is not, from the nature of the subjects with which he there dealt, what he is in his *Pietà*—an exponent, through form, of the gospel spirit of absolute submission to the will of God, whose type is the prostrate figure of the dead Christ. In his sculptured Holy Families and Madonnas there is no show of Christian fervour; still less in his mannered and unmeaning statue of Christ at

and Ambassador of Charles VIII., between 1499 and 1500, who placed it in the chapel of the kings of France dedicated to St. Petronilla, at St. Peter's. The contract bears date August, 1498. It is given by Gotti in his second volume, *op. cit.* p. 33. The price agreed upon was four hundred and fifty ducats.

the Minerva; but little in his half-finished groups of the Deposition at Rome, Palestrina, and Florence; or in the bas-relief at the Albergo dei Poveri at Genoa. Considering how truly religious he was, it seems strange that such slight trace of it is to be found in that art which, as he loved it most, would, we should have supposed, have been that in which his deepest feelings would have found expression.

Harmoniously composed, the lines of the Pietà combine admirably from every point of view, and the inner harmony of its parts with each other is no less remarkable than that which they bear to the whole. What the Greeks call "*παθος*," that is, a unity of feeling running through the whole body of the dead Christ, is wonderfully rendered. The drooping head, the fallen arm, and the helpless hanging of the feet all tell of death which has not yet stiffened the limbs or robbed them of their suppleness.

Sculptured in the very last years of the fifteenth century, this group stands like a boundary-stone on the extreme limits of the quattro-cento. Its devotional spirit marks its connection with the art of the past, as its anatomical precision and masterly treatment connect it with that of the future, and with it the first period of Michelangelo's development ends. The curtain falls on Rome, and the scene opens with the new century at Florence, to which he returned, after an absence of four years, to begin a new phase of his life, to show a fresh development of his genius, and to engage in a world-renowned contest with Lionardo da Vinci, who, after a nineteen years' residence at Milan, had just returned to the banks of the Arno.

The cartoons prepared by the two masters for the never executed frescos in the Hall of the Palazzo Vecchio were masterpieces, whose destruction we can never sufficiently regret.* Each had selected a theme calculated to display his peculiar powers. Lionardo, who was an accomplished horseman and thoroughly conversant with equine anatomy, had taken a moment of struggle in the midst of battle;

* For several years the rival works hung side by side in the great hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, where that of Michelangelo was maliciously cut to pieces during a popular tumult in 1512. Vasari (vol. x. p. 296) accuses Baccio Bandinelli of this dastardly act. There is, however, no proof of his guilt, and for reasons given we are inclined to believe him innocent.

while Michelangelo, knowing that his greatest strength lay in the treatment of the nude, had represented a number of soldiers suddenly summoned to the fight by the sound of the trumpet whilst bathing in the Arno. Some were in the act of climbing the steep bank of the river; others who had already gained it were endeavouring to clothe their dripping limbs. Beyond them, either outlined upon the canvas or finished in black and white, were groups of men in every variety of attitude, standing, kneeling, lying, struggling.

In strict chronological order, we should have mentioned this cartoon after the David, which Michelangelo began in September, 1501, and completed in January, 1504. This celebrated statue must be judged with reference to the fact that it was made out of a piece of marble which had been so much cut away by an incompetent sculptor of the fifteenth century, that no one less confident in his own powers than Michelangelo would have consented to try his hand upon it. To other artists the long thin block lying in the Office of Works of the Cathedral was meaningless; to him it suggested the form of a shepherd boy who, like one of the younglings of his flock, was at that awkward age when the limbs are not symmetrically developed. So he made a small wax model, still preserved in the Casa Buonarroti, and then, shutting himself out from curious eyes, rained sturdy blows upon the mutilated marble until it took the shape with which all who have been at Florence are so familiar.* Admiration at the feat performed combined with the real merit of the statue to rouse popular enthusiasm, and the artists and connoisseurs who were called upon to say where it should be placed decided, probably by Michelangelo's own advice, to remove Donatello's bronze group of Judith and Holofernes from the terrace of the Palazzo Vecchio to the Loggia de' Lanzi in order to make room for it. In placing this image of one who had courageously saved a people whom he afterwards wisely governed, at the door of the palace of the Signory, the Florentines wished perpetually to remind the city magistrates of their duty to the people.†

Although the distance from the Duomo to the Palace, over

* It was set up on the 8th of June, 1504.

† That Michelangelo also had this in his mind is very plausibly suggested by M. de Montaignon, *op. cit.*

which the David had to be conveyed, was only about a quarter of a mile, five days (14th to 18th of May) were consumed in the operation of moving it upon a ponderous machine dragged by forty men. Stones were thrown at it by riotous people, and the guards were attacked, but their animosity ceased after it reached its destination. In 1527 the arm was accidentally broken,* but from that time up to 1873, when it was removed to the Academy of Fine Arts, this tutelary genius of Florence kept its place unharmed, save by wind and weather, until it had become as much identified with the Square over which it presided as the Palazzo Vecchio and the Loggia de' Lanzi.†

The incomplete condition of many of the works which Michelangelo executed at Florence before he bent his neck to the papal yoke, shows us both the impetuosity of his spirit and his unlimited belief in his own possibilities of work. Not recognizing limitations of time, strength, or material, he accepted more commissions than a dozen sculptors could have executed, and working with a conviction that he could accomplish whatever his will led him to undertake, he commenced with the St. Matthew at the Academy that long series of unfinished works which stand like milestones along his path from the year 1500 until his death in 1567. When we look at these marbles, whose grandeur is that of such semi-defined shapes as are formed by clouds and vapours, and whose impressiveness, like that of the ancient oracles, is in some degree owing to their vagueness of meaning and consequently multiple possibilities of interpretation, we are tempted to believe that Michelangelo made use of the undefined with deliberate purpose, laying down his chisel after he had blocked out a

* During the tumults which agitated the city at this time a band of rioters attacked the palace. Some one, in order to repel them, threw a piece of furniture out of a window, which fell upon the arm of the David and broke it into three pieces. They were picked up by Francesco Salviati and Vasari, then young men, and taken to a place of safety. Duke Cosimo I. had them restored.

† Michelangelo modelled another statue of David of life-size for Soderini. It was cast in bronze and presented by the Signory of Florence to Florimond de Robertet, treasurer to Louis XII., king of France. Having been sent to that country in 1508, it was set up at Robertet's Château de Bury. In 1650 it was removed to the Château de Villary, after which nothing is known of its fate.

figure, because he knew that every new stroke would diminish its effect. But even without attributing their unfinished state to press of other work, or to sudden weariness of one idea under the charm of a new inspiration, or to intention, it is evident in many cases that he had committed irretrievable mistakes through the impetuosity of his attack upon the marble block, which left him no choice in the matter. Cut away until it could no longer hold his thought, he threw it aside like a manuscript, which through manifold corrections and erasures had become illegible.

“Disdaining the ordinary methods of the sculptor, he made no plaster model, nor did he fix the three points of length, width, and depth, according to the system of execution practised in his day, of which he took no heed. When his sketch was finished he placed it before him, side by side with the block of marble and the living model; he then sought the extreme points of his composition, and having found them fixed his attention upon the marble which concealed his statue from him. Then, after tracing the principal outlines upon it in charcoal, he attacked the block with violence, dealing blow after blow so as to strike away the superfluous matter. The fragments flew in showers with the sound of hail driven by the wind; the point struck sparks from the stone; blow succeeded blow. . . . It seemed as if the hot and rapid breathing of the artist infused the first breath of life into the hard material. As by degrees the marble grew in the likeness of his thought his ardour increased, and his idea shone with a brighter light . . . the marble seemed to feel the power of its master.”* Often, alas! we may add, did Michelangelo, like Saturn, devour his own children, leaving them, like his group of the Deposition at the Palazzo Fevoli, but shapeless wrecks.

The above vivid description does not apply to his method of working at that earlier time when he sculptured the *Pietà* at Rome and the *Madonna and Child* in the church of *Notre Dame* at Bruges. These show that he at first proceeded with caution. They are equal in finish, but of the two the first is so superior in composition, in treatment, in mastery over detail,

* Dupré's discourse before the Florentine Academy in September, 1875. *La Nazione*, September 17, 1875, quoted by M. Guillaume in his *Michel Ange, Sculpteur*, *G. des B. Arts*, January 1, 1876.

and in correctness of proportion that we are inclined to believe it to be the later work. The constrained pose of the Madonna, the disproportionate length of her neck, and the shortness of her figure from the waist downwards, betray a less practised eye and hand than that of the sculptor of the *Pietà*, but these defects are condoned by the fine arrangement of the drapery, which is thoroughly Michelangelesque, the modelling and finish of the hands, the sweet and virginal expression of the face, and the natural and pleasing attitude of the infant Saviour who leans against the Madonna's knee.*

The Madonna at Bruges may be compared with two unfinished circular bas-reliefs of the Holy Family, one of which, now at the Bargello, was sculptured for Bartolomeo Pitti; the other, now in the Royal Academy, for Taddeo Taddei, one of the most generous patrons of art and literature at Florence. Excellent in composition, and remarkable for its combined strength and sweetness of feeling, the Taddei bas-relief is one of Michelangelo's most pleasing works. The Madonna is graceful and sympathetic, and at the same time grand in style. By her side the Madonna of the Tribune is hard and uninteresting, the Madonna at Bruges a little cold and wanting in feeling, the Madonna of the National Gallery grandiose but unmotherly, and the Madonna of the *Pietà* impassive. While working upon the two bas-reliefs, the statues of the Apostles ordered for the Cathedral at Florence, and those of fifteen Saints for the Cardinal Piccolomini's family chapel at Siena,†

* This group was given to the church of Notre Dame by a member of the Mouscron family, but not, as generally supposed, by Peter Mouscron, who was born in 1514, died in 1571, and lies buried under the altar above which it is placed. A letter from Barducci, written from Rome in 1506 to Michelangelo, then at Carrara, about the shipment of one of his works, not specified, *vid Viareggio*, to Flanders for the heirs of John and Alexander Mouscron, Gotti (*op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 51) proves that it was a group, and not a bronze bas-relief, which two Flemish merchants bought from Michelangelo, as stated both by Vasari and Condivi. That it was this marble group is evident, since Albert Dürer speaks of having seen it in the church in 1521. It is also spoken of as there, and as by Michelangelo, in a history of Belgium written in 1560.

† In June, 1501, Michelangelo signed a contract with the Cardinal, afterwards Pope Pius III., by which he engaged to make these fifteen statues, between four and five feet in height, within three years. A new contract was made on the death of the Pope in 1503, after a pontificate

Michelangelo was called to Rome by Pope Julius II. and obeyed the summons without delay, leaving them all unfinished.

His first interview with the Pope was a turning-point in his career, and we have no doubt that he carried from it the impression that he had found his match in strength of will and energy of character.

Julius was a man of war, who would not brook the slightest opposition to his wishes. When men stood in his way he set his foot on them, and when cities rebelled against him he mounted his horse and rode in triumph over their ruined walls.* But one man in the world, so far as we know, ever dared to oppose him, and that man was Michelangelo. Sparks will fly when flint and steel are brought into contact, and had they not mutually esteemed each other they would have soon separated, but as vindictiveness was not in the nature of either, their frequent quarrels were followed by reconciliations, brought about through such concessions and explanations as each could make without undue sacrifice of dignity.

During the first years of his reign (1503-1513) Julius II. had little time to give to anything save war, but after the final expulsion of the French from Italy, and the conclusion of a treaty between Louis XII. and Ferdinand of Naples, Cæsar Borgia and Piero de' Medici being both dead and the succession to the Duchy of Urbino secured to his nephew, Giuliano della Rovere, he turned his attention for a few months to the arts of peace, and conceived the project of erecting a monument to himself which should surpass all other monuments in size and splendour. Michelangelo was commissioned to

of twenty-seven days, under which the time was prolonged two years. Four were then finished, namely, those of Saints Peter, Paul, Pius, and Gregory, and with these the work ended, for in 1537 we find that the heirs of the Pope reclaimed one hundred scudi on money advanced over and above the value of work done. (Gotti, vol. i. pp. 25, 26.) There are five small statues of Saints Francis, James, Pius, and Gregory, and a Madonna and Child in the Piccolomini Chapel in the Duomo at Siena. These represent the result of the Cardinal's commission, but we quite agree with the annotators of Vasari (*Prospetto Cronologico*, vol. xii. p. 388) that they are second-rate works, and not in Michelangelo's style.

* As at the siege of La Mirandula, A.D. 1506.

give substance to this great scheme, and could the design which he produced have been carried out in all its details, there can be no doubt that the result would have fully satisfied the ambition of its projector. As no part of the basilica of St. Peter was capable of receiving a marble structure covering eight hundred square feet, and consisting of three storeys, the lower one of which was thirteen feet in height, the question of site had first to be considered. The plan suggested and adopted was the completion of the new Tribune begun by Pope Nicholas V. (1447-1455), and this led to the destruction of the whole church, and its reconstruction on its present magnificent scale. The hand of the destroyer, once raised, was never stayed till every vestige of the venerable and precious shrine had been swept away. This act of vandalism was not even condoned by the carrying out of the scheme which had prompted it, for executed only in part by Michelangelo, the shrunken monument of Pope Julius at San Pietro in Vincula responds in no sense either to the ambition of the Pontiff or the grand conception of the sculptor, save in one statue.

The descriptions of Vasari and Condivi, and a pen-and-ink sketch in the Casa Buonarroti at Florence, show us that it was to have been an immense quadrangular structure, thirty-six by twenty-seven feet at the base, raised upon a platform reached by steps. The lower storey was to have been decorated with niches, separated by terminal figures supporting a projecting cornice, and containing statues of prisoners naked and bound, symbolic either of the provinces added to the patrimony of the church by Julius, or of the arts and sciences rendered powerless by his death. Colossal statues of Moses, St. Paul, Rachel and Leah were to have been placed above the cornice at the four corners of the flat surface of the monument, whose centre contained the papal effigy watched over by the angels of Grief and Consolation. This effigy, according to Vasari's account, was to have rested upon the shoulders of two figures representing Heaven rejoicing and Earth grieving over the Pope's death.*

Of its forty statues, and its multiple bas-reliefs, cornices,

* Vasari, vol. xii. p. 181. The body was to have been placed in a sarcophagus within an oval chamber constructed in the centre of the monument.

and mouldings in marble and bronze, but few were even commenced, as we shall see when we come to speak of that later period of Michelangelo's life to which they belong.

Within four months of his first interview with the Pope, Michelangelo started for Carrara, where he spent eight months in superintending the extraction of marbles, in blocking out certain figures intended for this monument, and in planning a colossal work like that proposed by Dinocrates to Alexander the Great.* One of the Carrara mountain-peaks was to be shaped into a gigantic figure, which could be seen far out at sea, but what it was to have represented we do not know. Anxious to return home, he abandoned the idea as soon as he was no longer needed at the quarries, and after spending a few days at Florence continued his journey to Rome, which he reached late in the month of November.†

His one desire was to begin the monument as soon as possible, and in order that he might do so the Pope gave him a house in the immediate neighbourhood of the Vatican,—too near, as it proved, for a long continuance of their friendly relations. To find himself subject to a visit from Julius, whenever the whim seized him to cross the bridge which had been built between the Vatican and his studio, must have been intolerable to one who loved privacy and was unaccustomed to work under supervision. This we suspect was one of the causes of the catastrophe which the Pope might have foreseen, had he known the nature of the man with whom he had to deal. Michelangelo does not, however, allude to it in the letter which he wrote to Giuliano di Sangallo after he reached Florence, the following extract from which shows, among other things, that the Pope had begun to count the cost of those great blocks of marble lying in the square behind St. Peter's, "whose number seemed to the people sufficient for the building of a temple rather than a tomb."

"Talking at table with a jeweller and a master of the ceremonies, I heard that the Pope had said that he would not spend another bajocco upon big stones or little stones. Astonished at this, I determined before leaving Rome to ask for a part of the money needed for the continuation of my

* This architect wished to fashion Mount Athos into a statue.

† Condivi, *op. cit.* p. 18.

work. When I did so, his Holiness sent me word to come again on Monday, and so I did, and also on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. At last on Friday the door was shut in my face by an attendant who said that he knew me very well, but that he must obey orders. . . . This, however, was not the only cause of my departure ; there was also another reason, which I do not wish to mention." * This reason doubtless was that Julius had changed his mind about the monument, and had proposed to Michelangelo to decorate the Sistine Chapel with frescos. Both Vasari and Condivi tell us that this was brought about by Bramante, with the desire to ruin Michelangelo and thus bring Raphael forward. They say that he told his Holiness that he would hasten his death by building his own monument,† and advised him to employ Michelangelo to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, hoping that he would fail in the attempt and thereby lose all favour at the Vatican. From these charges Bramante cannot be altogether exonerated, for it is evident that he had some hand in the matter, from the testimony of Pietro Roselli, who, writing to Michelangelo, tells him that Bramante, being told by the Pope in his presence that Sangallo was to be sent to Florence to bring him back, replied, "It will be of no use, for I have heard him say several times that he would not paint the chapel as the Pope had ordered him to do," adding, "In my opinion Michelangelo is afraid to try his hand at a work which is out of his line." "This," writes Roselli, "I denied, and told the Pope that I would stake my head that you had never said a word to Bramante on the subject." It is clear that, for some reason or other, Bramante placed himself in Michelangelo's way, prevented him from doing what he had set his heart upon, and turned his powers in a direction in which most men would have said they were likely to be wasted. If this was his object we cannot characterize his spirit as other than malignant, and yet we have reason to be grateful to him, for had he done otherwise the

* Letter cccxliii., *Milanesi, op. cit.* p. 377.

† Michelangelo undoubtedly alludes to the Pope's acceptance of this idea, and his subsequent change of plan, in the lines of a sonnet addressed to him,—

"Lo, thou hast lent thine ear to fables still,
Rewarding those who hate the name of truth."

world would have lost the sublime frescos of the Sistine Chapel ceiling, for which the monument to Julius would have been but a poor compensation.

It was on a Saturday in the month of May, 1506, that Michelangelo, who had paid for the last shipment of marbles from Carrara out of his own pocket, took the road to Florence, angry at the ill-treatment which he had received, and fully determined henceforward to leave the Pope to shift for himself. Pursued and overtaken by a messenger who used every argument to induce him to return, he kept on his way, and it was perhaps well for him that Julius had other rebels to deal with, and plans for their reduction to turn over in his mind while his anger was at white heat, else the towers of Florence, like those of Perugia and Bologna, might have shaken with the sound of his cannon. His demands that the fugitive should be immediately sent back were so imperious, and his menaces so violent, that Soderini was really alarmed as to the consequences of delayed compliance. "You have dared," he said to Michelangelo, "to treat the Pope in a way the king of France would not have done, and as we are not inclined to risk our independence and go to war on your account, you had better make up your mind to obey."* Answering one of the papal briefs on the subject, he writes, "Michelangelo the sculptor is so frightened † that, notwithstanding the promise

* Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. ii. p. 83.

† The sonnet, written as if from Rome about this time, certainly does not show much personal fear, and is so very plain-spoken about abuses at the Court of Rome, that if the Pope, to whom it is addressed, had seen it, it may be doubted whether he would have ever consented to pardon the writer. It is signed, "Your Michelangelo in Turkey," where our sculptor, having been invited by the Sultan to superintend the building of a bridge between Pera and Constantinople, seriously thought of taking refuge in case Soderini should turn him out of Florence.

"Here helms and swords are made of chalices:
The blood of Christ is sold so much the quart:
His cross and thorns are spears and shields: and short
Must be the time ere even his patience cease.
Nay let him come no more to raise the fear
Of fraud and sacrilege beyond report!
For Rome still slays and sells him at the court,
Where paths are closed to virtue's fair increase.
Now were fit time for me to scrape a treasure!

of forgiveness conveyed to him in this brief, he will not return unless you send us a signed letter promising him security and immunity." That the Gonfaloniere was frightened there is no doubt, but Michelangelo was not a man to be intimidated by threats, though, as Soderini wrote to his brother, the Cardinal of Volterra, "if you speak kindly to him and treat him affectionately, you can do anything you please with him." After three months spent in working upon his unfinished cartoon at Florence, he consented to go to Bologna "with a halter round his neck," to use his own words, "to ask pardon of the Pope," not because he was afraid to refuse, but that he did not wish to bring trouble upon his friends and fellow-citizens; that he wished to return to Rome as soon as possible; and, lastly, because his Holiness had sent him word by the Cardinal of Pavia, in a letter addressed to the Signory of Florence, that "he would receive him kindly and set him to work immediately."

As Perugia and Bologna had submitted to the Pope after his bold march from Rome, Michelangelo had every reason to hope that he should find him in a comparatively amiable frame of mind when, after an absence of eleven years, he re-entered the gates of Bologna, at the latter end of November, 1506. He was recognized by one of the Pope's servants while attending mass at the Cathedral of St. Petronius, and conducted to the palace where Julius had taken up his residence. After the irritation which showed itself in the first words addressed to him had spent itself upon a meddling Monsignore, who proffered an unasked excuse for the culprit, the papal brow relaxed its frown, and the papal eyes once more looked kindly on the repentant fugitive, who was needed for the realization of a new project. This was to make a colossal bronze statue of the Pope, which, seated above the great door of St. Petronius,* would perpetually remind the Bolognese of

Seeing that work and gain are gone: while he
Who wears the robe, is my Medusa still.
God welcomes poverty perchance with pleasure:
But of that better life what hope have we,
When the blest banner leads to nought but ill?"

See *The Sonnets of Michelangelo and Campanella*, translated by J. Addington Symonds, p. 34. London, 1878.

* In a letter to his brother Buonarroti, Michelangelo thus records a

their absent master. The clay model, which was immediately begun, was nearly finished before the 22nd of February, when Julius, alarmed at the movements of Louis XII. of France who was preparing to make a descent into Italy to reduce insurgent Genoa to obedience, left Bologna for Rome. His last words to Michelangelo about the statue are characteristic of the man. Questioned as to whether the left hand of the figure should hold a book, the right being raised in a menacing attitude, he replied, "Rather a sword, for I am no reader."

At the end of April, when the figure was ready to be cast in bronze, Michelangelo seems suddenly to have remembered that, as he knew nothing of the processes of the font, he could not go on without the assistance of a skilled workman. He accordingly wrote to Florence for Maestro Bernardino d'Antonio, a master of artillery in the service of the Florentine Republic, much renowned as a bronze-caster, who after obtaining the necessary permission, joined him at Bologna towards the end of May. A month later an attempt was made to cast the figure, but as he says in a letter to his brother, "either on account of the ignorance or misfortune of Bernardino it has failed. Half the bronze has stuck in the furnace, which must be taken to pieces in order to get it out. When this is done, all will go well I trust, but not without great annoyance, fatigue, and expense. So great was my faith in Bernardino that I was ready to believe that he could have cast the statue without fire; not that I mean to say that he is not a skilful artist, or that he did not do his best, but those who work are liable to fail, and he has failed, not only to my injury but to his own, for he is blamed in such a fashion that he hardly dares to raise his eyes in Bologna."*

The second casting succeeded much better, though even this seems to have been less perfect than might have been hoped,

visit of the Pope to his studio on the 29th of January:—"On Friday evening at 21 o'clock (*sic*) Pope Julius came to the house where I am working and stayed about half an hour while I was at work; he then gave me his blessing and went away. He seemed pleased with what I am doing. For this it seems to me we have reason to thank God: so do I pray for you, and ask you to pray for me." Letter L. Milanese, *Lettere*, p. 65. In another letter, No. LI., to the same he records a second visit on the 1st of February, 1507.

* Letter LXIII., Milanese, *op. cit.* p. 79. Dated July 6

as several months of hard work were afterwards spent in cleaning and polishing the surface of the statue. In November it was finished, but as the Pope had made Michelangelo promise to remain at Bologna until it was actually placed above the door of the basilica, he was obliged to restrain his impatience until the 21st of February, 1508, when the final ceremony took place with the accustomed rejoicings. Pipes, trumpets, drums, and bells made the day sonorous, and fêtes and fireworks made the night joyous. Four years later (December 30, 1511) when the Bentivogli came back to enjoy their own again, a furious rabble gathered in the square before the church, bent on the destruction of this effigy of a now detested taskmaster. When lowered to the pavement, upon which despite every precaution it left the impress of its enormous weight, it was delivered over to the insults of the populace, and then broken into fragments which were given, in exchange for some pieces of artillery, to the Duke of Ferrara, who recast them in the shape of a huge cannon, fit symbol of so warlike a pope as Julius II.

The many letters written by Michelangelo to his brother Buonarroti during his forced and prolonged stay at Bologna are filled with expressions of discontent. "Like everything else here," he writes, "the wine is dear and bad, so that life is a burden, and it seems to me a thousand years before I can come to you;" and again, "I must stick to my work, else it will detain me another six months;" and again, "Know that I desire a speedy return even more than you desire it for me, for I live here in the greatest discomfort and undergo the most extreme fatigues, working day and night; you would be sorry for me if you knew how I am situated here." Writing to his younger brother Giovan Simone, he alludes in a half-joking way to the plague which had broken out at Bologna. "You tell me that you have heard from one of your friends, a physician, that the pest is a bad disease which kills. I am glad that you have heard this, for we have it here, and these Bolognese have not yet found out that it is a mortal sickness." *

On his return to Florence in March, 1508, Michelangelo took a year's lease of the house in the Borgo Pinti which had been

* Letter cxxiv., dated April 20, 1507.

built for him by the Board of Works of the Cathedral when he accepted the commission for the statues of the Apostles, with the intention of completing them, but as the Pope insisted upon his coming immediately to Rome to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, he reluctantly changed his plans, and arrived there at the end of June. To go on with the Papal monument was his heartfelt wish, but Julius was obdurate, and although Michelangelo protested that he was no painter, he was obliged to begin the mighty task before the end of the year. When it was half completed the scaffold was removed that the Pope might judge of the effect, and the doors of the chapel were thrown open on All Saints' Day, 1509. They were then again closed, and if the papal chamberlain is to be trusted, were not re-opened to the public until March, 1513, when the Pope died, though it is generally supposed that the frescoes were finished in the previous year. As the special subject of this work and the limits assigned to it do not permit us to dwell upon them, we must refer our readers to Harford, Grimm, Gotti and other writers who have done so with all fulness, and content ourselves with saying that the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, perhaps the greatest of achievements in art, could only have been conceived and executed by one who was not only architect and sculptor, but also painter and poet.

Perhaps no other man ever lived who could have grappled successfully with such an enterprise, for even if we could name one who had, like Michelangelo, the requisite knowledge of all the arts of design, coupled with poetical genius of the highest order, this genius and that knowledge would not have sufficed without the Titanic boldness of spirit which gave him courage to undertake what seemed beyond human power.

The death of Julius II., in 1513, deprived Michelangelo of a real though an often troublesome friend, who was ill replaced by Leo X., whose person and court were uncongenial to him. The one hope which sustained him in a grief greater than any which he had felt since the death of Lorenzo de' Medici was, that he would now be allowed to complete the monument which the late Pope's superstitious fears had caused him to abandon. This hope was authorized by the provision made in his will that it should be finished on a somewhat diminished scale, and reduced to an apparent certainty upon the signing of a new contract with

his executors, whose payments to Michelangelo during the next two years* show that no opposition was made to the prosecution of this work until Leo X. visited Florence in 1514, when seeing the unfinished condition of the church of San Lorenzo, which was the burial-place of the Medici, he conceived the idea of doing honour to his race by completing it, and solicited designs for its façade from Baccio d'Agnolo, Giuliano da Sangallo, Andrea and Jacopo Sansovino, Raphael, and Michelangelo. Why the latter, who was no practical architect, did not decline to compete if he really wished to be left undisturbed, we cannot understand, for he must have foreseen that if, as it happened, his design was accepted he would be called upon to carry it out. He had lately signed a second contract with the executors, which bound him not to undertake any work of importance until he had completed that which he had on hand for them, and was at Carrara when the Pope recalled him to Rome, forced him to accept the commission, and then sent him back to the quarries to procure the necessary materials for the façade.† In this occupation nearly three years of his life were wasted and embittered by pecuniary embarrassment, uncongenial toil, and those ceaseless annoyances which made the Tragedy of the Façade only second to the Tragedy of the Sepulchre.

These years were spent in tedious journeys to and from the mountains of Carrara, and in building a road to the quarries of Seravezza, hitherto approachable only by footpaths.‡ As the ground was both marshy and rocky, a long time passed before it could be made solid and smooth enough to admit of the transportation of marbles to the sea-shore, and long before this was done the Pope's ardour had begun to cool, and the supplies of money to decrease in proportion. The weight of tedious labour, the heartsickness of exile, the impatient fret-

* Through Bernardo Bini he received 6,100 ducats on account in 1514 and 1515. See Appendix to Gotti, *op. cit.* No. 8.

† Leo obliged the executors to consent to his wishes, promising them, however, that Michelangelo should do what he could for them when not otherwise employed.

‡ As the Marchese Malespina, Lord of Massa and Carrara, derived a considerable portion of his income from the quarries at Carrara, he looked with a jealous eye upon the attempt to make those of Seravezza accessible. Obstacles were thrown in Michelangelo's way, and the hostility of the Carrarese workmen was excited against him.

ting of a proud and haughty will against a power which it could not resist, would have shaken and unnerved a less resolute spirit and crippled its powers completely. But Michelangelo was strong enough to bide his time. He had long ago learned that his destiny was to struggle and to be temporarily overcome, and though defeated could yet hope for ultimate victory. He believed that the Pope had sent him to Carrara to get him out of the way, and although he was well received when he went to Rome for a few weeks in the autumn of 1517 to present a model of the façade to the Pope, this belief was in no wise shaken.*

At the end of February he was again sent back to the mountains, nor was it till another twelvemonth had elapsed that he was liberated by the final abandonment of the enterprise. The fruit of all his toil and anxiety was certainly not sufficient to console him. Only six columns had been extracted from the quarries, four of which were never carried further than the seashore. One still lies at La Vincarella amid a mass of chips and blocks of Seravezza marble, and one may be seen at Florence at the base of the bare brick-wall which it and its fellows were to have rendered beautiful, forming a silent but impressive memorial of the wasted years of one of the greatest among men of genius.

From time to time during his exile at Carrara, Michelangelo had visited Florence, and had employed himself at long intervals upon the monument to Pope Julius. To this he returned when he was finally freed from his engagement to Leo, nor would he suffer himself to be enticed back to Rome, although certain inducements were held out to him which seem to show that the reigning pontiff was not as hostile to him as he believed him to be. Thus, after the death of Raphael he was invited, through his friend Sebastiano del Piombo, to paint the Hall of the Pontiffs at the Vatican. As Raphael had left drawings or cartoons for the mural decorations of this hall, his scholars, Giulio Romano and Francesco

* In Michelangelo's design, preserved at the Casa Buonarroti, the architecture, as was his wont, is treated as a background to sculpture, or, in other words, as a field for the display of statues and bas-reliefs. "He did the work of an architect," says M. Garnier (*Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, January 1, 1876, pp. 192-4), "but he was not an architect, properly speaking."

Penni, laid claim to the commission, and it is just to suppose that Michelangelo's refusal to interfere was at least partially prompted by a proper respect for the memory of the great painter, whose wishes, could they have been expressed, would have undoubtedly been that his designs should be carried out by his scholars. Other reasons against the acceptance of the offer are not difficult to conjecture, such as that he wished to complete the monument, and that painting was not an art to which his nature inclined him. He was at this time working upon a statue of Christ which he had long before commenced for his friend Metello Vari. After he had brought the marble to an advanced stage of completion he sent it to Rome under the care of one of his workmen, Pietro Urbano, whom he charged to finish it according to his design, but Pietro had the vanity to suppose that he could improve his master's work, and after doing much mischief, was dismissed in disgrace. "He has spoiled everything," writes Sebastiano del Piombo to Michelangelo, "especially the feet and hands, so at least says Federigo Frizzi, a Florentine sculptor of repute, in whose judgment I have greater confidence than in my own, as I do not pretend to understand how to work marble. As for the beard, my studio boy would have known better how to do it, indeed, it looks as if a blunt knife had been used in the operation. I have put it into Frizzi's hands, and he will do his best to finish it satisfactorily."* In October of this same year the statue was set up in the church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, where it still stands. The sculptor was evidently not himself when he conceived it, for of all his works it is the most insipid. "He was at this time," says Condivi, "in a despondent frame of mind, unable to apply himself to anything, or when so doing, working without enthusiasm." Suddenly a hope dawned in his mind that an object worthy to call forth his best

* This letter is dated September 6, 1521. The statue was begun at Rome in 1514 at the request of Bernardo Cenci, Canon of St. Peter's, Maestro Mario Scuppiani, and Metello Vari, but the block of marble proving unsatisfactory it was abandoned. In 1521 Michelangelo again blocked out the figure and worked upon it between the months of April and August. (See Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 200, 264). The name of the workman employed by Michelangelo to finish it is incorrectly given by this writer as Pietro d' Urbino. Gotti (vol. i. p. 140) calls him Pietro Urbano, as does Vasari.

powers would be set before him. A petition was about to be sent by the Florentine Academy to the Pope, urging that the bones of Dante should be brought back to Florence, and among the eminent names appended to it he thus wrote his own: "I, the sculptor Michelangelo, ask the same of your Holiness, offering myself to make a worthy monument for the Divine Poet, and to give it an honourable place in this city." To this petition and to this offer Leo paid no attention, and the project was left to be carried out in our own day by the sons of a united Italy.

In the autumn of 1519 the Pope determined to build a family chapel in the church of San Lorenzo, where monuments to the most distinguished members of his house should be placed. The Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, then Governor of Florence and afterwards Pope Clement VII., was instructed to ask Michelangelo to make designs for the chapel. These were sent to Rome in 1520, and are referred to in a letter from the Cardinal with expressions of satisfaction, but preparations to carry them out were hardly begun when they were temporarily suspended on account of the death of Leo X. (1522).

The subsequent election of Adrian Boyers, Cardinal Bishop of Tortosa, who took the name of Adrian VI., left Michelangelo free to work upon the Julius monument, for the new Pope regarded the arts with an aversion which he did not attempt to conceal, and was absolutely indifferent as to how he or any of the artists who had been the pride and glory of his predecessors' court employed themselves. They left Rome "*en masse*," soon however to return, for within two years the Pope died, and was succeeded by a man of a very different stamp, the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, known in history as Clement VII. Confident that he would prove a second Leo X., the lovers of wisdom and the lovers of pleasure came back from their exile, eager to inaugurate the new reign with befitting splendour, and Michelangelo expressed the general feeling when he wrote to Domenico (a marble-worker at Carrara), "I am of opinion that much will now be done in the way of art." His own anticipations of finding favour in the new Pope's sight were founded on the fact that ever since the days when they had lived together in the Medici Palace at Flo-

rence, Giulio de' Medici had shown an interest in him. What he did was not what Michelangelo desired, although he must have anticipated that the Pope who had given him the commission for the Medici monuments while he was Cardinal would not allow him to go on with the monument to Pope Julius, and thus forego the realization of a project calculated to aggrandize the prestige of his own family, which he had much at heart.

Julius or Leo would have commanded him to do their bidding without any preliminaries, but Clement tried first to tempt him by the offer of a pension, and hinted that he had better enter a religious order, a course which would have taken away from him even that shadow of independence to which he had held fast under former Popes. Although Michelangelo rejected both propositions, Clement was none the less master of the situation, as he showed by ordering him to go on with the Medici Chapel, to build a library to contain the books and manuscripts of his family,* and to decorate the piazza of San Lorenzo with a colossal statue sixty feet in height. This last scheme was evidently taken by Michelangelo in the light of a joke,—an exceptional way of looking at anything with him,—for in a letter to Fattucci he ridicules it with a grim smile. "Let us put it," he writes, "where the barber's shop now stands, opposite the square on the other side of the street; and in order to save Figaro from displacement, I will make the seat hollow, upon which the figure is to be seated, and give it to him as a convenient place to shave his customers in. The cornucopia in the hand of the statue can be used as a chimney, and the head being empty can serve as a dovecot. Another plan would be to treat the figure as a campanile for San Lorenzo, putting the bells inside the head and having the sound come out of the mouth, so that when they are rung it will seem as if the figure cried 'Misericordia.'" This humorous letter seems to have killed

* Cosmo Pater Patriæ built a room for them in the convent of St. Marks. After the death of Lorenzo and the expulsion of Piero de' Medici, the monks, being embarrassed pecuniarily, sold them to Leo X., who, when he became Pope, took them to Rome, installed them at the Villa Medici on the Pincian, and made many precious additions to them. In 1522 Clement sent them back to Florence, where the Laurentian Library had meanwhile been prepared to receive them.

the project altogether, and Michelangelo might have settled down to work upon the library and the chapel in comparative peace, had he not been worried by a lawsuit which the heirs of Julius II. proposed to bring against him, because he had failed to fulfil his last contract for that monument which was the intermittent torment of his life for forty-five years, and accused him of having received money on account which he had spent in other ways than those for which it was advanced. Filled with righteous indignation, and firm in the consciousness of his innocence, Michelangelo demanded and obtained an examination of the accounts *ab initio*, which resulted in proving that so far from having plundered others he had robbed himself by spending more money than he had received for buying marbles and transporting them to Rome.

The reader will remember that according to the first design the monument was to have been an immense quadrilateral structure, three storeys in height, decorated with forty statues and many bas-reliefs. The second design, made under the new contract, shows but three sides, the fourth being set against the wall;* but from Michelangelo's own words in the letter just quoted, and from the fact that instead of ten thousand ducats, stipulated by the first contract, the executors agreed to allow him sixteen thousand five hundred, it is evident that they proposed to make it even richer and grander than it would have been according to the first design. The arrangement of niches, statues, architectural enrichments, etc., seems to have been very much the same, but a chapel adorned with five statues was to be built against the wall, at the rear end of the platform, which would certainly have contributed greatly to the grand and imposing effect of the whole.

In 1515 Leo X. obliged Michelangelo to break this second contract in order that he might work for him upon the façade of San Lorenzo, but the next year he permitted him to make a third, by which the design for the monument was again modified, and the number of statues considerably reduced. Nine years of incessant occupation, during which little was done towards carrying it out, ended with those threats of prosecution of which we have already spoken, and brought about an exami-

* Milanese, Appendix, pp. 635-637, gives this second contract *in extenso*.

nation of the accounts which cleared Michelangelo from the unjust accusations of fraud with which he had been charged. Seven years after he signed his name to a fourth contract, by which he bound himself to finish six statues with his own hand for the monument, which, on a greatly reduced scale, was to be set up, not in St. Peter's, but in the church of "San Pietro ad Vincula," of which Julius II. had at one time been Cardinal. For recompense he was to receive two thousand gold ducats, and the whole was to be completed in three years; but this agreement was broken like the rest, nor was it until the year 1542 that a fifth and final contract was made between Pope Paul III., the Duke of Urbino, and Michelangelo, under which the monument received its present form. As all the world knows, it has one statue finished by the great sculptor himself, and two other statues, the Rachel and Leah, for which he furnished the designs. Before concluding this final arrangement, Michelangelo stipulated that he should be allowed to pay back a sum of money already advanced for the three other statues agreed upon by the contract of 1532, and he accordingly deposited fifteen hundred and eighty ducats to the Duke's credit in the hands of his bankers, the Strozzi, at Florence.

The monument in its final shape would hardly have satisfied the ambition of Julius II., whose statue, reclining upon a sarcophagus (the work of Maso del Bosco, a third-rate sculptor), is one of its most insignificant features. It has been called a monument to Moses, and such it appears, for in looking at it we see only that mighty figure relieved against an architectural background, whose tasteless lines disturb rather than enhance its effects. Painfully out of harmony with its surroundings, which are quite disproportioned to it, it is but the disjointed part of an unexplained whole, a giant among pigmies, a huge block of marble set in a cold and uncongenial framework. In judging it we should not forget that we behold it under the greatest disadvantage, on a level with the eye, instead of seeing it at a height of fifteen feet from the pavement, as the artist intended. So when sitting within a few feet of an orator whose voice is pitched for a vast audience, the ear is deafened, and the mind perplexed, until all power of appreciation is lost. This remark applies, however, solely to the pose, proportions, and general effect of the figure, for it

cannot be denied that, as Michelangelo meant that it should be seen at a considerable distance, the elaborate finish of its surface was a waste of labour, calculated to diminish its effect. It was not until he grappled with the same question in treating the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel that Michelangelo learned after one failure to calculate finish and expression in correct ratio to the fixed distance between the spectator and the object offered to his sight. With all its defects, however, the Moses is original, grandiose, and thoroughly characteristic of the master ; but this is not the case with the statues of Rachel and Leah, which fill the niches to its right and left.* The original suggestion for these figures is to be found in Dante's vision of Leah and Rachel. Leah gathers flowers in a meadow to decorate herself, for, as one of his commentators explains, "she delights in her own labour," and is a type of the unglorified Active life as Matilda is of the glorified, which delights in God's labour, while Rachel sits all day long looking at her own image in a looking-glass, for she is a type of the unglorified Contemplative life, as Beatrice is of the glorified, which finds joy in the sight of God's face.

In the statues of Michelangelo, Leah holds a mirror and a wreath of flowers, while Rachel gazes upwards as if in prayer. Thus neither corresponds to the poet's description of Leah as wearing a garland while she walks,

"To please me at the mirror, here I deck me ;"

or of Rachel, who never leaves

"Her looking-glass, and sitteth all day long"

gazing at herself. It would be hypercritical to object to such modifications of the poet's idea by the sculptor if his own creations were equally inspired, but this we do not find them to be. Vague as the figures on the Medici monuments in meaning, they have none of their redeeming grandeur.

A Prophet and a Sybil by Raffaele da Montelupo, with both of which Michelangelo was greatly discontented, four terminal

* Michelangelo says of these statues, "Ne fornì due di mia mano, cioè è la Vita contemplativa e l'attiva." Letter dated February, 1545, written to M^o Salvestro da Montanto, No. CDXLV.

figures, the Papal arms, and other details not necessary to mention, complete the decoration of a sepulchre conceived by ambition, nursed in disappointment, and finished when the will and power of him who had planned it on a mighty scale were weakened by age and trouble. Take away the Moses, which belonged to the original design, and there is nothing which any second-rate sculptor could not have conceived and carried out. And for this poor result what a world of trouble, annoyance, humiliation, and pain had one of earth's greatest and noblest sons suffered! Condivi calls its history a tragedy, and with ample reason, for it is not only unutterably sad as studied in its result, but in its every detail. With it are connected the delays and hesitations of Julius, varied by outbursts of anger and threats of punishment; the opposition of Leo, leading to months of exile at Carrara and Seravezza, to endless journeys, and troubles with the Duke of Massa and the quarrymen and the boatmen; to accusations of dishonesty, delays in payment of dues for work commissioned and completed, constant change of plans, and a thousand other painful circumstances more easily imagined than described.

Among the statues known or supposed to have been intended for this monument, the two finest are the Prisoners at the Louvre. The sleeping Prisoner perhaps symbolizes its sculptor's grateful recognition of the one avenue of escape which Nature offered him. To forget in sleep the burthens of life, the impediments of circumstance and the obstacles which stood between him and his lofty ideal, was to him an infinite relief. When himself a prisoner at Carrara, he wrote those lovely lines to Night, which should be in the mind of him who looks at the statue that embodies their spirit.*

" O Night, O sweet though sombre space of time !
 All things find rest upon their journey's end—
 Whoso hath praised thee, well doth apprehend;
 And whoso honours thee, hath wisdom's prime.
 Our cares thou canst to quietude sublime;
 For dews and darkness are of peace the friend:
 Often by thee in dreams upborne, I wend
 From earth to heaven, where yet I hope to climb.

* *Poesie di Michelangelo*, ed. da Cesare Gausti. No. XLIV. p. 205.
 Translated by J. Addington Symonds, *op. cit.* p. 77.

Thou shade of Death, through whom the soul at length,
Shuns pain and sadness hostile to the heart,
Whom mourners find their last and sure relief!
Thou dost restore our suffering flesh to strength,
Driest our tears, assuagest every smart,
Purging the spirits of the pure from grief."

In the waking Prisoner struggling to burst his bonds, Michelangelo may have symbolized those moments when the sun roused him to a consciousness of his own hopeless bondage. This also he expressed to Pope Julius in the bitter words,—

"I am thy slave, and have been from my youth."

Four other writhing captives in the grotto of the Boboli gardens at Florence are supposed to belong to the monument, but they are so roughly blocked out in the marble that it is impossible to determine whether they are not young men bearing garlands, intended to decorate the never erected façade of San Lorenzo.* In the pen-and-ink sketch of a portion of the monument at the Casa Buonarroti there is a winged Victory, which resembles the marble Victory at the Bargello, another powerful, half-defined shape which sets conjecture at defiance. She stands over the prostrate body of a man whose constrained attitude is similar to that of the so-called Adonis at the Uffizi. If, however, this statue is also one of the prisoners† and not an Adonis, why is the Boar's head thrust under his bent knees? The sculptor might perhaps have answered this question, but in default of his aid we must leave it unanswered, with many other inexplicable things in his statues. When he puzzles us, as he often does, we must remember that where other artists would have used a lump of clay he used a block of marble, and if his idea did not afterwards seem worth working out clearly, turned from it with as little thought as if the material had been equally worthless. This reckless indifference to the value of a material which had been quarried and brought within his reach at great expense, shows a mind disposed to rise above those reasonable but somewhat vulgar considerations

* This is suggested by Mr. Heath Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 242. (M. Guillaume (*Michel Ange, Sculpteur, Gazette*, p. 79), on the contrary, thinks the Boboli statues belong to the monument.

† So far as I am aware the idea that the Adonis is really one of the monument statues belongs to Mr. Wilson. (*See* p. 243, *op. cit.*) Not so the Victory, however, which he says (*ibid*) is much too large.

by which most men are influenced. At the bottom of it lay that love of overcoming obstacles which was natural to Michelangelo. The soft and ductile clay wearied him by its very obedience to his will, whereas the resistance with which the solid block met his vigorous attack was an excitement and a stimulus to exertion, in itself a joy to his strong nature. Is it not possible that he also found some slight consolation for the constant opposition which he met with from his Papal masters in the effort to overcome them, as he would have done had not their hearts been harder than marble? That indeed, he could fashion as he would, but these were made of a stuff against which the chisels of his will soon became blunted and useless. When he perceived this, he obeyed their behests, and throwing himself into the work which they gave him to do, temporarily forgot his disappointments.

Scarcely less magnificent as a scheme than the monument to Pope Julius, the Chapel of the Medici offered him an equally congenial field for the exercise of his powers. Already in 1524 the cupola had been raised upon the building, and in the following year the four reclining figures of the sarcophagi were in progress and somewhat advanced. The two monuments of which they form a part were not intended to be the only ones in the chapel, as they now are. Besides these of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, and of Giuliano, Duke of Nemours, there were to have been others, to Lorenzo the Magnificent (for which the Madonna and Child by Michelangelo, and the two statues of SS. Cosmo and Damian by his pupils, were destined), to Giuliano de' Medici his brother, to Leo X. and to Clement VII. The last three remained, so far as we know, entirely *in nubibus*, and the completion of the first two was long delayed by the grave political events which brought about the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, and placed Michelangelo before the world, in the new and nobly sustained rôle of a patriot soldier.

When the news of the capture and sack of Rome (1527) reached Florence, Ippolito and the infamous Alessandro de' Medici were driven into exile, and a republican form of government was re-established under the Gonfaloniere Piero Capponi, the representative of the moderate party, who was two years later (1529) deprived of his office by the democratic party, for having entered into secret negotiations with Pope Clement.

In the same year the Florentines were roused to a sense of their danger from Charles V. by the news of the Peace of Cambrai, from which Florence was tacitly excluded by the contracting Powers, and of the treaty of Barcelona, by which the Emperor openly espoused the cause of the Medici, promising his natural daughter Margherita in marriage to Alessandro, and consenting to the Pope's demand, that he should send the Prince of Orange to reduce the Florentines to submission. They consequently began to repair the walls and forts of their city, and on the 6th of April appointed Michelangelo commissary-general of the fortifications for one year, with the title of Governor and Procurator.* An ardent liberal, and an enemy to the policy by which Leo X. had crushed the liberties of his native city, he felt in no wise bound in conscience to maintain allegiance to the illegitimate and unworthy descendants of Lorenzo the Magnificent; accepting the honourable post, he set about putting the hill of San Miniato into a complete state of defence. Towards the end of July, when its fortifications were far advanced, Niccolò Capponi and his colleagues, considering that he had committed grave errors in their construction, induced the Signory to send him to study the fortifications and artillery at Ferrara, where he met with a gracious reception from Duke Alphonso, who himself explained the military works, which he had brought to great perfection, and would not allow him to depart until he had promised to paint a picture for his gallery.

Soon after his return, Michelangelo became convinced that the Condottiere Malatesta Baglioni of Perugia, the commander of the forces of the republic, was a traitor to the cause which he was paid to serve, and he therefore thought it his duty to warn the Signory but, his suspicions were attributed to over-caution or personal fear,† and his warnings were disregarded. Annoyed by this, and believing that the city would be betrayed to the Medici in a few days, or even hours, he took 3,000 florins in his purse, and, in company with Rinaldo Corsini, secretly departed for Venice, with a vague plan of proceeding thence to France. He had hardly arrived there and taken lodgings in a

* *Prospetto Cronologico*, p. 384.

† This insulting imputation was cast upon him by the Gonfaloniere Carducci. Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. ii. p. 213; Varchi, *St. Fior.*, lib. x.

house on the Giudecca Canal, where he intended to live unknown, when he was waited on by two gentlemen, members of the Signory, who in the name of that body offered to supply his wants and those of his companions, an act of courtesy which, showing the high appreciation in which they held him, gratified Michelangelo extremely, and might have induced him to remain in this friendly asylum, had he not at the same time received a letter from Galeotto Giugni, delegate from the Florentine Republic to Duke Alphonso d'Este, begging him to come immediately to Ferrara on business of importance. After a sojourn of fourteen days, he left Venice and went to Ferrara, where he met Giugni, who in accordance with the instructions of the Signory urgently entreated him to return to his post at Florence.

The magistrates' earnest desire that he should do so is proved not only by their instructions to Giugni, but also by their not having included his name in the list of the proscribed who had abandoned Florence at the same time with himself, as well as by the safe-conduct which they sent to him at Venice, through a stone-cutter named Bastiano, who was greatly attached to him. Duke Alphonso again welcomed him most cordially, and urged him to take up his residence in the palace, but Michelangelo firmly refused, preferring to remain at the inn at which he had alighted.

In the latter part of November he returned to Florence, not without peril of his life, for the city had been closely beleaguered by the enemy since the 24th of October, when the Prince of Orange had encamped with his army on the hill of Arcetri. As this position was overlooked by the campanile of San Miniato, the besieged were able to inflict much injury upon the enemy, who directed their artillery against it and would have destroyed it, had not Michelangelo effectually protected it by piling up bales of wool on the sides exposed to their fire.

This is not the place to recount the history of the siege of Florence, which was distinguished by the bold sorties of the besieged and the brilliant exploits of the valiant Francesco Ferrucci, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Gaviniana and barbarously put to death by the Imperialists. After this event, which spread consternation throughout the city, Malatesta threw off the mask (August 12th, 1530), and by turning his

artillery against the Porta Romana, forced the half-famished and plague-stricken inhabitants to capitulate, with the agreement that their future form of government should be fixed by the Emperor within four months, and that they should not be deprived of their liberties. Michelangelo had been so long convinced of the traitorous intentions of Malatesta that this final result of his infamous schemes could not have taken him by surprise, nor knowing as he did the temper of the victors, could he have put any faith in the general amnesty proclaimed by them and shamefully violated by the Pope a few months later. He therefore lost no time in concealing himself so effectually that it was impossible to discover his hiding-place,* and as the Pope needed him to finish the tombs at San Lorenzo, he was obliged to announce publicly that if he would resume his work he should receive full pardon for the past, and his monthly salary as before. It must have cost this proud and high-spirited man a severe struggle to decide upon such a step, particularly as he had none of those feelings of affection for Clement VII. which had paved the way to his reconciliation with Julius II., yet for his work's sake he did so, and again took up his chisel to finish the Medici monuments.

He had employed his rare moments of leisure during the siege in painting a picture of Leda for the Duke of Ferrara, in sketching a group of Samson smiting a Philistine, and a young Apollo drawing an arrow from his quiver, but it is morally certain from what we know of him, that his loyal hand had dealt no chisel-stroke for the Medici while he was working to prevent their return to power. In 1527, when he had ceased his work upon the chapel-monuments, the four recumbent figures were blocked out and a portion of the architectural background was completed, but when he again took them in hand after the siege a great deal remained to be done, and his state of health was such that it seemed more than doubtful whether he would finish them. "He is so ill," writes his pupil, Antonio Mini, "that he cannot live unless he can be persuaded to take care of himself." "Suffering from loss of sleep and appetite, subject to headache and attacks of vertigo, and distressed by the condition of his beloved Florence," his feelings would have broken

* Either in the house of a friend, or, according to another account, in the tower of the church of San Niccolò oltre l'Arno.

his heart had they not found an outlet in poetry and sculpture. In these so-called figures of the Medici he embodied his own moods and thoughts, and this is the reason why they are so difficult of interpretation. It is hard to conjecture why Giuliano, titular Duke of Nemours and brother of Leo X., who was an insignificant person, and Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, son of Piero and father of Catherine de' Medici, who was a dissolute and unprincipled man, were chosen to represent the family of Clement VII., unless because both had governed Florence.* Neither of them was a representative man in any sense. Of the two, Giuliano was the most interesting to Michelangelo, as he had elevated tastes, which led him to cultivate the society of literary men and of artists, but his statue gives no indication of this side of his character. It is that of a military hero, although he did nothing as a soldier or a leader to entitle him to be so regarded. Can we come to any other conclusion than that Michelangelo, failing to find in the real man an element of greatness worthy of embodiment, substituted an abstract being in his place? If he did so when dealing with Giuliano, we cannot wonder that he also ignored Lorenzo's personality as being even less worthy of his regard.† We may, then, dismiss both from our minds when we enter the Medici Chapel, and regard their statues as purely abstract conceptions. The finer of the two is well called "*Il Pensoso*,"—the Thinker, for as he sits with the forefinger of his left hand pressed upon his lip, as if to command silence, with his face darkened by the pro-

* Giuliano, from the restoration of the Medici until the elevation of Leo X. to the Papacy; and Lorenzo, from 1513 until his death in 1519.

† This unprincipled and ambitious man, whose influence over his brother Leo X. was altogether for evil, desired, like Cæsar Borgia, to carve out a principality for himself in the heart of Italy, by uniting Siena, Lucca, and the Duchy of Urbino under his rule; but failing to induce the Pope to favour the rash attempt he returned to Florence, where he died of his excesses in 1519, leaving a daughter known in history as Catharine de' Medici, and an illegitimate son, the infamous Alessandro, who was to die by the avenging dagger of his cousin Lorenzino, and be buried in the same sarcophagus with his father in the Medici Chapel. The statues of Dawn and Twilight were not placed upon the lid until after Alessandro's assassination (March, 1536) and burial. The sarcophagus was opened in March, 1875, and found to contain the two bodies, which, having been fully identified, were shamefully treated, and thrown back "a confused pile of bones." See Wilson, *op. cit.* Appendix, p. 565.

jecting visor of his helmet, he looks the very personification of all-absorbing thought. Thus when the struggle was over, brooding in silence over those evil times for his country and himself, which he had in vain striven to set aright, did the sculptor sit, groaning in spirit as he remembered the wrongs of Florence, or thought bitterly of the hard fate which doomed him to be the puppet and slave of popes and dukes, or pondered over the great problems of life.

Select whichever subject you will, and it will suit the Thinker at San Lorenzo. You ask what he is thinking of. If you would know, read the life of Michelangelo. He was an artist, and he was ever thwarted in his work; he was a patriot, and he saw his country crushed; he was religious, and he lived among scoffers; he was full of kindly affection, and he lived alone in sadness until, to use his own words,

"Par che amaro ogni mio dolce io sento."

Thus interpreted, the Lorenzo has a far greater interest and significance than the Giuliano, which has too little distinctive character to give us any clue to the artist's meaning.* The head is spirited and handsome, the pose effective, but there is little depth in the face, or significance in the attitude. The magnificent figures of Day and Night upon the sarcophagus below it would seem better suited to the Thinker, waiting in a night of doubt and perplexity for the coming of the day, than to the warrior, with whom they seem to have no connection. Taken with the Dawn and Twilight, they are commonly interpreted as a pale allegory of the flight of time which, as touching the interests of Florence, was to pass from the twilight and night of her evil days to the dawn and full day of better times. This interpretation would be satisfactory as connecting the four figures with Florence and her fate, did we not know that all four figures were blocked out four years before the siege began so that they cannot allude in any way to events resulting from it.† Equally unsatisfactory is the explanation which makes

* Wilson says that Giuliano is here "represented as an incompetent leader, the face mindless; the hand with the bâton of command listless and feeble, the other filled with the purchase-money of treason,"—a coin held in the left as if to bribe the enemy.—*Op. cit.* p. 391.

† In a letter of 1525, dated October 24, and addressed to Messer Giovanni Fattucci, Michelangelo speaks of the four figures as blocked out, but not yet finished. He began them in February, 1524.

Lorenzo, as represented in the "Pensoso," a victim to remorse.* Machiavelli had indeed, at one time, counted upon him to effect the national deliverance, but this lofty idea had certainly never crossed his brain. Had Michelangelo supposed him capable of regretting that he had not merged his selfish aims in so noble an enterprise, he would have given his face an expression of remorse, instead of making it depressed and melancholy, as it is, and we therefore return to our previous idea, that the statue is a personification of the artist's desolate and brooding spirit, that the Night expresses his longing for repose, and the Day that reaction against despair which proved that, though sometimes cast down by all the evils which surrounded and oppressed him, he had within him an undying energy. The figure is that of a Titan rousing himself for action. With superhuman strength it lifts itself above the lid of the sarcophagus, as the sun at dawn above the horizon, and while by its vague grandeur it reminds us of such shapes as we sometimes see in cloud-cumuli towering against the evening sky, the undefined nature of its forms allows free play of the imagination, giving us a certain sense of companionship with the sculptor, with whom we seem to be working towards completeness. Often, as in this statue, Michelangelo stayed his hand when approaching his ideal, because with every fresh stroke he feared to lose ground. He had dealt his sturdy blows upon the marble without placing a point, or stopping to calculate whether it was broad enough or long enough to hold his thought; then he paused to reflect, doubt followed, and as his

"Fears, like the needle verging to the pole,
Trembled, and trembled into certainty,"

his ardour cooled, and he turned away to repeat the same experience.

The quarries of Carrara and Seravezza must have been as exciting to him as the sound of a trumpet to a war-horse, for their white blocks offered him a limitless range of possibilities, but his enthusiasm cooled with possession and he often dropped the chisel before he had half worked out the intended form. The exceptions are such highly finished works as the "Pietà," the Moses, and the Night of the Medici Chapel. Unlike the Day,

* Niccolini. *Essay on the Sublime and Michelangelo.*

this sleeping giantess is completely and most elaborately worked out in the marble. She lies upon the opposite end of the sarcophagus with her head drooping towards her left shoulder in an attitude which, were it possible, would hardly allow repose. A star between two moon-horns (*cornua noctis*) rests above her forehead; a mask, the symbol of dreams, lies near her left arm, and a bunch of poppies at her feet.

"The Night which thou beholdest, bound in deep
And sweet repose, an angel's hand did hew
Out of this rock, and, though she is asleep,
Breathes: doubt'st thou? Wake her, she will speak to you.
Whereto, in language we may never match,
The grief-worn patriot gave sublime reply:
'Tis well to slumber, best to be of stone,
While shame endures and Florence is not free;
So lest I waken, ah! subdue thy tone:
Methinks 'tis blessed not to hear nor see.' " *

These lines to the Night were written in 1531, the year after the submission of the city to the Medici, and it is to the grief which he feels for her slavery that the sculptor plainly alludes in his answer, but the statue expresses that desire for repose, that love of the dark hours which bring

"Sleep, that knits up the ravell'd sleeve of care,"

which he felt when he wrote the Sonnet to the Night, and sculptured the Prisoner at the Louvre. In presence of the Thinker and the Day, the Night, grand as it is, is forgotten, but when compared with the Aurora and the Twilight it, in turn, casts them into the shade. In the unfinished group of the Madonna and Child, Michelangelo is himself again. It reminds us of the Taunton Madonna in the National Gallery, but it is stamped with a grander and more mature feeling.

Splendid as are the powers displayed in the Medicean monuments, they explain the deleterious influence of Michelangelo upon the rising generation of artists. Unable to seize his spirit, they attached themselves to those qualities of exaggera-

* The apostrophe left by Giovanni Strozzi in the sculptor's studio during his absence, and the reply of Michelangelo on his return, are here given as translated by Dr. T. W. Parsons at the conclusion of a short poem called the "Birthday of Michelangelo," written for the celebration of its four hundredth anniversary by the Women's Club at Boston.

tion which impair his style, and like the frog in the fable, burst from over-dilation. The pretentious grandeur of their works makes their weakness conspicuous. After a Michelangelo, a Bandinelli was inevitable. His Hercules and Cacus, with its blustering vulgarity, its swollen muscles, and its back which Cellini compared to a sack filled with chestnuts, is an epitome of Michelangelo's defects.* The immediate scholars of Michelangelo were not, like Bandinelli, men of remarkable talent. Their best works, the SS. Cosmo and Damian, which flank the Madonna in the Medici Chapel, were executed under the master's eye, and with his direct assistance. He retouched the St. Cosmo of Fra Giovan Angelo Montorsoli, and modelled both the head and hands in clay,† and may have done as much for the St. Damian of Raffaele da Montelupo,‡ whom he employed to finish the statues of Rachel and Leah for the tomb of Julius II. The dissatisfaction with which he regarded them is not to be wondered at, considering what they are as compared with what they might have been had he fulfilled his promise of finishing them himself, which he was prevented from doing by stress of occupation. In accepting them, Michelangelo drained the last drops of the bitter cup which Julius II. held to his lips.

Architecturally, the Medici Chapel is cold and uninteresting. Such effect as it has is derived from the skill with which the monuments are connected with the architecture by the great sarcophagi, which are so placed that the heads of the grand allegorical figures upon them rise just above the line of the surbase running round the walls, and by their combination with the portrait statues in the niches above them form pyramidal compositions on either side of the chapel. It is unfair, however, to judge it from its present appearance. When the dome was decorated with arabesques, and the panels below it were enriched with stucco work by Giovanni da Udine, it doubtless wore a very different aspect.

* The block of marble which Bandinelli used for this group had been assigned to Michelangelo in 1528 by the magistrates of Florence for a group of Samson slaying a Philistine.

† Montorsoli's bas-reliefs and statues at Genoa, Naples, and Messina have little individuality.

‡ Other works of R. da Montelupo are the Prophet and Sybil on the tomb of Julius II. at San Pietro in Vincoli. For this artist's autobiography, *see* the next chapter

Among Michelangelo's works is a grand, though unfinished, bust of Brutus.* The shape of the head fully corresponds to the expression of the face, which is stern, defiant, and resolute. The exact date of this work, and the circumstances under which it was commenced and abandoned are not known, but it was probably begun shortly before the assassination of Alessandro de' Medici, as a relief to feelings under whose influence the artist thought of Brutus only as a passionate lover of liberty, and given up when the dagger of the "Tuscan Brutus" laid that ignoble Cæsar low, and brought before him the nature of such a deed in all its heinousness.† His residence at Florence during the latter part of Clement's reign was anything but agreeable, on account of the suspicion and dislike with which Alessandro de' Medici regarded him, and he was anxious to go to Rome, both because he wished to fulfil his contract with the Duke of Urbino, and because, should the Pope die while he was within Alessandro's reach, he had reason to fear the result.‡

As Clement refused to give him leave of absence, and ordered him, under pain of excommunication, to devote his time wholly to the Medici Chapel and the Laurentian Library,§ he remained at his post, with the exception of one or two flying visits to Rome, until September, 1534, when, having completed all necessary arrangements for the prosecution of the work at Florence by his assistants, he hurried there, and arrived only two days before the Pope breathed his last.|| Condivi says that it was well for him that he was then out of the Duke's territory, though he incurred the risk of entering it by returning to Florence almost immediately to look after his workmen, who were thrown out of employment when

* The bust, which is at the Uffizi, bears the following inscription:—

"Dum Bruto effigiem sculptor de marmore ducit
In mentem sceleris venit et abstinuit."

† Wilson (*op. cit.* p. 234) says it was begun for Cardinal Ridolfi.

‡ The Duke was especially angered with Michelangelo because he refused to select a site for a fortress which he wished to build at Florence, with the view of overawing the people, and strengthening his government. To forge chains for tyrants' use was no work for a man like Michelangelo.

§ A brief to this effect was issued on November 11, 1531.

|| September 25, 1534.

within a fortnight of completing the ceiling of the Medici Chapel. The new Pope, Paul III., whose election took place in December, was a Farnese, and indifferent to the posthumous glory of the Medici. As little did he care for that of the Della Rovere, so that when he summoned Michelangelo back to Rome it was not to bid him finish the monuments of Lorenzo and Giuliano, and the Laurentian Library, nor to allow him to work upon the monument of Julius II., but to carry out a scheme conceived by his predecessor, which would reflect glory upon his own reign. He knew that designs for a fresco of the Last Judgment, to be painted in the Sistine Chapel, had been prepared for Clement's acceptance, and when he went to Michelangelo's studio to see them it was with the determination that they should be used immediately.

Among the cardinals who accompanied him was his Eminence of Mantua, who on beholding the Moses, declared it to be in itself a sufficient monument to Julius II. Seizing this idea, the Pope overruled the plea of Michelangelo that he must complete his contract with the Duke of Urbino before he could undertake to paint the Last Judgment, and promised to persuade the Duke to content himself with the Moses and two other statues as a final arrangement. Preparations for the fresco were actively carried on during the following year, and he commenced it in September, 1534, as chief architect, sculptor, and painter to the Pope, with an annual salary of twelve hundred golden florins.* For the next seven years it occupied his thoughts, and formed the chief object of his labours. Regarded as his masterpiece by contemporary critics, by those of our own time it is placed lower in the scale of his works than the stupendous frescoes of the ceiling above it; not that any sign of waning power is visible in it, either in conception or execution, but that the subject is one which demanded incompatible qualities for anything approaching adequate treatment. As painter, all Michelangelo's work after the Last Judgment has but a retrospective interest, and so also as sculptor after the Moses and the tombs of the Medici,† but as architect and poet he rose

* The brief of nomination is dated September 1, 1535. For text *see* Gotti, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 123.

† Among his later works are the almost shapeless Pietà in the courtyard of the Palazzo Fevoli at Rome, and that in the Barberini Palace at

in his latter years to new heights of distinction, and as a man grew daily in all qualities calculated to command respect and veneration.

In 1546 Michelangelo succeeded Antonio da Sangallo as head architect of St. Peter's Church, and completed his commenced restoration of the "Palazzo" Farnese by adding a fine cornice of classical design, by building the great windows over its principal doorway, and by projecting a bridge across the Tiber to unite the Farnese with the Farnesina. These works were carried on simultaneously with those at St. Peter's, of which he received the official charge by Papal brief issued on New Year's Day, 1547, when he was seventy-six years old. He accepted it without salary, so that he might act with absolute independence, and he kept it until a few months before his death at the age of eighty-four, never faltering in the discharge of a duty which he looked upon as sacred. Neither the pressing invitations to visit Florence which he received from the Duke of Tuscany, nor the solicitations of his friend Vasari, availed to turn him from it. "I should love," he writes to him, "to lay my bones near those of my father, as you urge me to do, but did I leave Rome at present, I should be the cause of great harm to St. Peter's and bring disgrace upon myself, and commit a grievous sin."

Michelangelo's chief desire was to finish the building so far that no one could alter the design. Abused and opposed as he was by the "Sangallo sect," he had no little reason to fear that this would happen in case he was removed by death before he had made a change of plan impossible, and he therefore remained at his post firm and unmoved, like a rock amid the breakers.

Three years after he assumed the direction of the works the naves and transepts had been roofed in, the external elevation fixed, the two great stairways completed, and the foundations of the great piers under the dome, as well as the four arches upon which it rests, strengthened.* This was necessary, Palestrina, in which the shoulder and head of the Christ and the hand of the Virgin are finely worked out. His last unfinished work, begun during the reign of Julius III., 1555, is the group of Nicodemus and the Magdalen supporting the body of Our Lord, while the Virgin faints from grief.

* A rare engraving, representing a tournament in the court of the Vatican under Pius IV., not mentioned by Bartsch, but attributed to

as the dome, instead of being a half-sphere, as Bramante projected it, is a double drum composed of two thin shells connected by interposed bands, like the famous cupola of Brunelleschi at Florence.* "Io la farò più grande sì, ma non più bella," he said, when asked if he hoped to surpass that admirable model. The result showed that he had under-estimated his powers, for the dome of St. Peter's is not only larger, but finer in effect and more perfect in its proportions than that of its rival at Florence. At certain hours the flood of light which pours into the church from the sixteen windows with which it is pierced, streams like a banner of golden vapour across the chancel, bathing the great Baldacchino in its splendour. Then if you look up into the overhanging vault, you will seem to be gazing into the spacious firmament, so vast, so luminous, and so lofty does it appear. Disturbed by many inharmonious details of ornament, fretted by the tortured and twisted draperies of the statues with which Bernini and his scholars have filled the surrounding niches, and annoyed by the white marble cherubs in medallions with which the great pillars of the nave are spotted, you have perhaps confessed yourself disappointed in the great Basilica, but now, under the full impression of its crowning glory, the part stands for the whole in your mind, and it becomes to you the paragon of churches.

It was a grand ending to a noble career, this enrichment of

Jacob Binck by Passavant (*Le Peintre Graveur*), vol. iv. p. 96, Appendix No. 3, shows the condition of St. Peter's about 1555. The arches and piers under the dome are visible through the open walls at the apsidal end of the church. The drum of the dome is about two-thirds finished, the cupola not yet commenced.

* So late as 1556, on his return to Rome after a short absence at Spoleto, Michelangelo, yielding to the solicitations of his friends, who feared that he might die and leave behind him neither drawing nor model of the cupola, made a small model of it in clay, and some working drawings. By the help of these Giovanni Franzes, one of his workmen, constructed the wooden model, sixteen feet high and twelve feet eight inches in diameter, now preserved at Rome in the Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro. Gotti (*op. cit.* p. 324) says that subsequent architects altered the exterior of the cupola, but that the interior is exactly as Michelangelo designed it. This is also stated by Milanese, p. 333, Note 2 to Letter cccii. Michelangelo refers in this letter, addressed to his nephew, to the model as about to be made.

the first of Christian temples with a dome so loftily enthroned upon its pedestal that it is the first object seen by the traveller on his approach to Rome, and the last upon which his eyes rest when he leaves it. If you traverse the city until you reach its extreme limits, or drive miles away from its gates upon any of the great roads which cross the Campagna, so long as no hill intervenes to shut it out, so long will you see the mighty cupola of St. Peter's, so long will you have the name of Michelangelo upon your lips.

At Rome, like this noble creation of his genius, he is rarely out of sight. The Sistine Chapel, the Campidoglio, the Farnese Palace; the noble church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, which he shaped out of the ruins of Diocletian's Baths; the cypresses which he planted in the midst of the adjoining cloisters, where they mirror their sombre foliage in undisturbed waters; the deserted villa of Pope Julius III., near the Arco Scuro, which he designed; the monument of Julius II. at San Pietro in Vincola, which cost him so many years of trouble and disappointment; the Pietà at St. Peter's, which he sculptured; the Torso of the Belvidere, which he so much admired; the Laocoön, which he restored; the Porta Pia, which he built; the house near the steps of the Capitol, where he once lived; and the little church of San Silvestro on the Quirinal, where he held converse with Vittoria Colonna,*—these are but a few of the many objects which recall him to our minds as we tread the streets of the Eternal City.

The period during which he lived in almost daily intercourse with this "lady both great and good" may be compared to the Indian summer which beneficently stays the winter's coming, and as it sheds its warm glow over the landscape, cheats us into the belief that ice and snow are illusions, and cold blasts not inevitable evils. Their friendship probably began between 1536 and 1538, when Michelangelo was frequently at Rome, though possibly a few years earlier.† Vittoria Colonna was then living, by Papal permission, in the convent of "San Silvestro in Capite," where she had retired with the intention of taking the veil after the death of her ever-lamented husband, Alfonso d'Avalos, on the battle-field of Pavia. Being unable to obtain

* Daughter of Fabrizio Colonna and Agnese da Montefeltro.

† Gotti (*op. cit.* vol. i. p. 231) says they met as early as 1532.

the Pope's consent to this step, she contented herself with a life of seclusion in a religious house at Rome or Viterbo, where she could "weep, pray, study, and write poetry, and whence she could lend a helping hand to the needy." In these pious, intellectual, and charitable exercises she passed the remainder of her existence, cheered by frequent converse with the great artist, between whom and herself existed "a firm friendship and a most unchangeable affection, bound in a Christian knot."* The topics discussed at their interviews were for the most part of a religious nature, but occasionally, as we are told by François de Hollande, art and philosophy also engaged their attention.† Valuable as the Diary of the Portuguese painter is as the only record of Michelangelo's opinions upon subjects connected with his profession, it does not compare in interest with his own letters and sonnets to the Marchesa, which, in language perfectly suitable to their respective rank and age, tell us of his deep attachment to her, and prove the great influence which she had in shaping his religious opinions.

Knowing what a foothold the Reformers had gained in Italy at a time when, as stated in the rescript of Clement VII., both the laity and the clergy were affected by Lutheran doctrines, and having the testimony of Giannone as to the powerful effect of the sermons of Valdez, the Spaniard, and Ochino, the converted Capuchin friar, upon many men and women of high rank, we cannot doubt that Michelangelo shared the general feeling as to the necessity of a radical reform in the Roman Catholic Church, and looked, like them, upon the calamities which had fallen upon Rome and Florence as direct judgments of Heaven for the corrupt lives of the clergy and the abuses of the Papal court. Though he does not recant any of the

* Letter from Vittoria Colonna to Michelangelo, dated July 20, 1546.

† François de Hollande, the painter, was an art pensioner of Don Giovanni III., King of Portugal, at Rome. The authenticity of his manuscript diary, written in 1549 and first published by Count Raczynski in a work entitled *Les Arts en Portugal* (Renouard, 1846), cannot reasonably be called in question; and so far as the fact of his being Michelangelo's friend goes to prove it, is substantiated by a letter dated Lisbon, August 15, 1553, preserved in the Buonarroti archives, which was written by François to the great artist six years after he left Rome. (See Gotti, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 245.)

Romish dogmas in his letters or his sonnets, some of the latter are Protestant in spirit, in so far as they directly appeal to Christ for pardon and aid.*

We shall never know how much Michelangelo was affected by Protestant ideas, but that they found some favour in his sight seems not improbable, if we reflect that in his youth he had learned from Savonarola to look upon the Bible as the reformers did, to regard the state of the Church as corrupt, and that during his long residence at Rome he afterwards had ample opportunity of convincing himself of the necessity of extensive reforms.

In those early days he had also learned by study of the philosophy of Plato to aspire to the beautiful and the good as emanations from a Divine but vaguely defined source. This sufficed him until, captivated by the beauty and the genius of Vittoria Colonna and filled with reverence for her piety, he was brought into sympathy with her religious views, and found the peace for which his soul yearned. The deep affection which he felt for the noble guide and friend who blessed his life caused him to mourn over her death with never-ceasing grief. She had been carried to the house of Giulio Cesarini, her last surviving relative, from the monastery in February 1547, when it was known that she could not recover, and Michelangelo was among those who stood beside her at the last, to kiss her cold hand, and weep over it with many tears. Although dead, she walked with him in spirit to the end of his own life, inspiring him by her example, guiding him by her precepts, and sustaining him by her well-remembered counsels.

Nine years later he met with another great sorrow in the death of his faithful servant Urbino (December 3rd, 1555). After watching day and night by his bedside until all was over, he wrote to Vasari that in this death he had received from God a great favour and a great grief—a favour, because Urbino, “after being the support of my life, has not only taught me to die without regret, but even to desire death. He has lived with me twenty-six years, faithful and perfect to the end. I had enriched him, I regarded him as the support of my old age,

* See the seventy-third Sonnet. Guasti, *op. cit.* p. 246, and as translated by J. A. Symonds, *op. cit.* p. 110.

and now he has gone, leaving with me nothing but the hope of seeing him again in Paradise."

On the approach of the Duke of Alva in this same year (1556), Pope Paul IV. commissioned Michelangelo to strengthen the fortifications of Rome; but having had enough of sieges at Florence, and remembering the sack of 1527, he retired to the mountains near Spoleto, where he dwelt with some hermits until the danger had passed.

It is not astonishing that, being eighty-one years old, he should have preferred the quiet of this temporary retreat to his necessarily disturbed existence at Rome, where demands were constantly made upon him, to some of which he could not refuse to listen. Among these were the flattering request of Catherine de' Medici that he would design an equestrian statue of her murdered husband, Henry II. of France,* and that of his countrymen that he would make plans for the completion of San Giovanni, the church of the Florentines at Rome.† Pope Pius IV. also asked him to make designs for a monument to his brother, the Marquis of Marignano,‡ to be placed in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, and also for the Porta Pia at Rome.§ As his hand now trembled so that he could not draw a straight line, Michelangelo was obliged to dictate these plans to Tiberio Calcagni, one of his assistants. Three years before his death he virtually gave up his superintendence of the works at St. Peter's, though he received daily accounts of their progress from his subordinates.

Early in the year 1564 it became evident that his life could

* The Queen's autograph letter is dated from Blois, November 14, 1559. Gotti, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 349, 350. Daniel of Volterra modelled the horse under Michelangelo's eyes, and it was cast in 1565. In 1639 it was placed in the Place Royale at Paris with a statue of Louis XIII. upon its back. In 1793 it shared the fate of so many other royal monuments.

† This church was begun by Antonio da Sangallo. Michelangelo's designs for its completion, drawn by Tiberio Calcagni, were made in 1559 and 1560, but were never carried out, owing to the great expense which they would have necessitated.

‡ This monument was executed by Leone Leoni for the Cathedral at Milan.

§ The contract for this gate is dated 1561. The greater part of the sculpture upon it was made by Jacopo del Duca, a Sicilian sculptor, who also designed the Baldacchino in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli.

not be greatly prolonged, and on the 15th of February his friend Diomede Lioni wrote to Lionardo Buonarroti: "I advise you to come as soon as possible from Florence, starting immediately, but not hurrying overmuch, because if, as God forbid, the master's life is in danger, you cannot get here with the utmost haste in time to find him alive; for, owing to his great age and his disease, he cannot live a great while. . . . You may be certain in your absence that Messer Tommaso del Cavalieri, Messer Daniele [Ricciarelli, the painter], and I will not fail in our duty. Besides which Antonio del Francesco [who had succeeded Urbino as manager of Michelangelo's household], the master's old and faithful servant, is one who will do himself credit in any possible circumstances in which it may please God to place him. . . . To give you an account of the master's condition at this moment, it being the third hour of the night, I will tell you that I just now left him in full possession of his faculties, but troubled with constant drowsiness. He got on horseback this afternoon, according to his usual habit when the weather is good, to chase it away, but the coldness of the weather and the weakness of his head and limbs made it impossible for him to ride, and he returned to his chair by the fire, which he much prefers to his bed." Two days later another letter was despatched to hasten the coming of Lionardo, and on the next day, February 18th,* the great artist breathed his last with these words upon his lips: "I give my soul to God, my body to the earth, and my worldly goods to my nearest relations, charging them through life to keep in remembrance the sufferings of Jesus Christ."†

The feelings with which he met death breathe in the beautiful sonnet to Vasari, written ten years before it came to set his spirit free:—

"The course of my long life has reached at last,
In fragile bark o'er a tempestuous sea,
The common harbour, where must rendered be
Account of all the actions of the past.
The impassioned fantasy, that, vague and vast,

* M. de Montaignon (*op. cit.*) says he was exactly eighty-eight years and fifteen days old.

† Vasari, vol. xii. p. 269.

Made art an idol and a king to me,
 Was an illusion, and but vanity
 Were the desires that lured me and harassed.
 The dreams of love, that were so sweet of yore,
 What are they now, when two deaths may be mine,
 One sure, and one forecasting its alarms?
 Painting and sculpture satisfy no more
 The soul now turning to the Love Divine
 That oped, to embrace us, on the cross its arms."*

Lionardo Buonarroti arrived at Rome three days after the death of his uncle, as we know from the letter written by Daniel of Volterra to Vasari, which also informs us that in accordance with the express wish of Michelangelo he ordered that the body should be removed to Florence. So great, however, was the love of the Romans for the illustrious dead, and so desirous was the Pope to give his remains the peculiar honour of burial at St. Peter's, that it was found necessary to send the corpse to Florence as a bale of merchandise. It remained at the Custom-House until the 11th of March, when it was transferred to the church of San Piero Maggiore preparatory to its removal to Santa Croce. The funeral obsequies were celebrated, with the utmost pomp and circumstance, at the church of San Lorenzo, under the direction of Vasari, Bronzino, Cellini, and Ammanati, deputed for that purpose by the Academy of Artists, and the oration was pronounced by Benedetto Varchi.

That Duke Cosimo should do everything in his power to make the ceremonies memorable, and that all the artists in the city should assemble to do honour to him whom they regarded as their chief, was to be expected, but no one could have foretold how universal a homage would be paid to Michelangelo by the people of his native city. "Perceiving the intense feeling of the multitude, and thinking that it would content many," says Grazzini in his account to the deputies already referred to, "the prior, who, as he afterwards confessed, desired to see him

* Sonnet lrv., written to Vasari and sent to him with these lines:—"My dear Messer Giorgio, you will say that I am old and mad to write sonnets; but as many say I have fallen into second childhood, I have chosen to do what I can, etc. 19th September, 1554. Your Michelagnolo Buonarroti at Rome." Translated by Longfellow, January 23, 1874. *Esequie*, etc. p. 27.

dead whom he had never seen living, or had seen when so young that he had hardly any recollection of his appearance, decided to have the coffin opened, which, as you will believe, met the wishes of all; so, entering into the sacristy, he gave the necessary orders. Both he and we expected to find the body in a state of decomposition, as it had lain in the coffin twenty-two days or more, and had been dead twenty-five, but when it was opened no bad odour came from it, and you would have sworn that it was lying in a sweet and most quiet sleep. The lines of the face and the complexion, saving a somewhat deathly pallor, were unchanged, no limb was injured, or in any way disagreeable to look upon, and when we touched the head and cheeks, as all did, to our wonder we found them flexible and natural, as if life had departed but a few hours before."

Thus the last impression of Michelangelo's face was solemn and peaceful, and since, as so often happens after death, many deeply furrowed lines had disappeared, wore a more youthful appearance than in life. We could wish that for us also some marks of suffering and disappointment might be smoothed away from it by the discovery of a likeness of him in his youth, so that we could know how he looked before he had fought his battle and won his crown. Were such a portrait found, the world would greet it with the same feelings of delight with which it greeted the recovered portrait of the young Dante, painted by Giotto on the wall at the Bargello before the sorrows of exile had left their deep and solemn impress upon his well-known features. Without such aid the utmost effort of imagination cannot avail to smooth out the wrinkles, straighten the crushed nose, fill out the sunken cheeks, and give colour to the whitened locks of Michelangelo, and he must ever be thought of as a man advanced in years and burdened with care. Not that it would be desirable to exchange these evidences of past struggles for the fresh smoothness of youth, for they are precious records of the efforts which made him what he was, but that we would also gladly know how he looked before he entered upon them, if only to estimate their intensity. So standing upon a battle-field where a nation had lately won its freedom, we should not desire to obliterate the deep ruts made by cannon wheels, and the marks of the trampling hoofs of victorious legions, and restore the once green expanse to its former smoothness at the

cost of effacing the memory of brave deeds there done, but we might wish to have seen it as it once was, the better to estimate the price which brave men there paid for victory.

Condivi tells us that Michelangelo was somewhat sickly in his younger days, and describes him in his seventy-ninth year "as of middle height, with broad shoulders and thin legs, having a large head, a face small in proportion to the size of his skull, a square forehead, full temples, high cheek-bones, and a nose made flat by the fist of that beastly and proud man, Torrigiano de' Torrigiani." "His lips," he adds, "are thin, and the lower being the larger, appears to protrude slightly when his face is seen in profile. His eyebrows are sparse; his eyes small, grey, spotted with yellow and blue lights, and ever varying; his ears of just proportion; his hair, once black, is streaked with grey, as is his thin, forked beard, which is four or five fingers' breadth in length."* In all important particulars the portraits known to us† corroborate the exactness of this description. Even in youth the face can never have been handsome, though its energy, earnestness, and intelligence must at all times have made it interesting, as it is the face of a man who would put his will into whatever work he had on hand, making that for the time his one object in life. This, indeed, Michelangelo did in all relations and occupations, for whether we look at him as

* *Vita di Michelangelo*, pp. 57, 58. Compare Vasari's description, vol. xii. p. 270.

† In a valuable pamphlet by Mr. C. Drury Fortnum on an original medal by Leo Leone, which contains a complete list of all the portraits of Michelangelo, he says that only seven, including busts, medals, and paintings, can be considered authentic likenesses, namely: 1. A bronze bust at the capital supposed to be by Daniel of Volterra. 2. A posthumous bust in marble modelled from a mask taken after death. 3. Leo Leone's medal, of which Mr. Fortnum owns the wax original, which he discovered and identified. 4. A figure in the foreground of Daniel of Volterra's fresco of the Assumption of the Virgin in the church of Santa Trinita at Rome. 5. A head painted by Marcello Venusti in his copy of the Last Judgment. 6. A portrait by the same painter at the Casa Buonarroti. 7. The engraving by Giulio Buonasoni which forms the title-page to Condivi's *Life*. To these may be added the portrait by François de Hollande, discovered by M. Charles Graux at the Escorial, of which M. Müntz has published a fac-simile in a pamphlet entitled *Une rivalité d'Artistes au XVI^e Siècle*, extracted from the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, March and April, 1882.

artist, patriot, son, brother, or friend, we see that his whole soul was absorbed in present work. In all respects he was one of the most remarkable men the world has known, so multiple were his intellectual gifts, so admirable were his moral attributes.

As an artist, without regard to his influence, for which he can hardly be held responsible inasmuch as he worked himself out according to the imperious necessities of his strong nature, we wonder at and admire him; but we feel that art paid dearly for Michelangelo when we turn our eyes from his works to those of his scholars, who aped his exaggerated development of form, without having that knowledge of anatomy which alone saved it from being absurd, and who taking contorted limbs and impossible attitudes, which were signs of superabundant strength in their master, to be essential elements of the sublime, produced shapes simply monstrous and irredeemably bad. None escaped the "*maniera terribile*" of the great Tuscan, not even Raphael, whose early death perhaps saved him from a more complete abandonment of those pure doctrines, which he had learnt from his Umbrian master.

We are not prepared to say what fate would have befallen sculpture had Michelangelo never lived, for signs of decay are visible in artists who were old men when he was born, such as Pollajuolo, whose exaggerated style is unredeemed by any sublime element, and many others who enjoyed great reputation contemporaneously with himself, such as Andrea Sansovino, of whose evil tendencies the bas-reliefs upon the Santa Casa at Loreto are sufficient examples; but as Michelangelo was far stronger than these men, his power for good or for evil upon his times was proportionably greater, and as his peculiarities were especially marked and imitable, while his sublimity was unattainable by men of inferior stamp, he above all others did harm in his day and generation.

To appreciate how much art fell away in the first half of the sixteenth century, we have but to remember that while Brunelleschi and Alberti were the great architects before Michelangelo, Vignola and Fontana filled their places after his death; that in sculpture, Desiderio and Mino were then represented by Bandinelli and Montorsoli; and that in painting, Ghirlandajo and Perugino had been replaced by Vasari and Pontormo.

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Could Michelangelo have passed like a comet through the sky without affecting the lesser lights, our admiration of him would have been unmingled with the regret that so much genius and power did not work for good upon his successors.



Coyd. (By Michelangelo. South Kensington Museum.)

CHAPTER III

BANDINELLI, AMMANATI, RAFFAELLO DA MONTELUPO, LORENZETTO,
MONTORSOLI, CELLINI, AND GIAN BOLOGNA.

THE life of Michelangelo, recounted in the last chapter, has brought us far into the second half of the sixteenth century, and we must now retrace our steps to consider a group of sculptors especially associated with the reigns of the Duke Cosimo I. and his son, the Grand Duke Francesco, whom he more or less influenced. The proverb "like master, like man" is here fully applicable, for these rulers were as inferior to the great Cosmo, Pater Patriæ, and Lorenzo the Magnificent, as the sculptors of their time, Bandinelli, Baccio da Montelupo, Montorsoli, Tribolo, Ammanati, and Cellini were inferior to those whose names shine in the art-annals of the first Medicean princes. Like the first, the second Cosmo strove to make himself the centre of æsthetic culture, and did much to promote arts and letters in a half-ruined kingdom, but he had neither the taste, the culture, nor the knowledge requisite to take the position occupied by his predecessors, nor, indeed, had he been their equal in these respects, could he have done what they did with the inferior material at his command.

In a sonnet entitled "The Dream of Benvenuto," Cellini says that in his sleep he heard the Muse of Painting lamenting that her lamp had gone out, and left her in the dark.* This lamp (he explains) is sculpture, "which all the best painters have used before beginning to paint, when modelling the figures for their pictures in small, and with its aid, as our great Michelangelo has said, have shed light around them. Thus did Masaccio by his frescoes in the Carmine at Florence; Lionardo

* Michelangelo in a letter to Varchi says, "A me soleva parere che la scultura fosse la lanterna della pittura."—*Lett. Pitt.*, Bottari, vol. i. p. 7.

da Vinci by his works at Florence and Milan ; and our sculptor, painter and architect Michelangelo by his at Rome ; and after their death, Painting weeps over her decay, and having become blind, lives groping her way." "Furthermore," says Cellini, "I saw Sculpture and Architecture in an equally miserable plight, wandering in the dark, and weeping together at the feet of the great Michelangelo, who burdened with his eighty-five years had grown powerless to succour, although he greatly pitied them. Thus abandoned, they turned in a despairing mood to that noble demigod Hercules, castigator of the evil creatures of the earth, and called three times upon him for aid. At the third summons Hercules answered, that he had once come in a marble shape, when called by Bandinelli, and had been so dreadfully misrepresented and maltreated, that he did not wish again to descend into such benighted regions, 'though it is true,' he added, 'that had I been called by that artist who made the statue of my nephew Perseus, I might have consented ; but as he has not called me, I prefer to keep company with these poor abandoned ones, Sculpture, Architecture, and Painting, and to join my lamentations to theirs in these words, Alas ! we are lost ! no one can save us.' "

It is hardly necessary to explain to the reader that the artist who so pleased Hercules by the statue of "my nephew Perseus" was Cellini, and that he who so dreadfully misrepresented the demi-god as to make him reluctant to return to earth in a marble shape was Baccio Bandinelli, in a group of Hercules and Cacus of which we shall speak presently.* Born at Florence in 1487, the son and pupil of Michelangelo di Viviano da Gaiuolo,† one of the best goldsmiths in Florence, Baccio Bandinelli grew up an ill-tempered, envious, and ill-mannered person, who quarrelled with everybody and was the butt of the time. Numerous drawings at the Louvre, the Uffizi and

* Or in a Hercules which he modelled for the Loggia de' Lanzi when Pope Leo X. visited Florence.

† Gaiuolo is a small town between Florence and Siena. Michelangelo di Viviano was employed at the Mint, and highly reputed as a niellist, enamellist, and goldsmith. He was the master of Benvenuto Cellini, and a devoted adherent of the Medici. When Piero de' Medici fled from Florence in 1494, he confided many precious articles to the care of this artist, who returned them intact to the Cardinal Giovanni on the restoration of his family to power in 1512.

in other collections, prove his ability and skill as a draughtsman, but little evidence of talent is to be found in his marbles, which are for the most part detestable. An insane desire to be more Michelangelesque than Michelangelo pursued him through life, and in the attempt he only succeeded in making himself ridiculous and obnoxious. Despite every advantage for forming a pure style in his youth, he went hopelessly wrong, and both as sculptor and as man left behind him the worst of reputations. Most of the charges brought against him appear to be well authenticated, but the evidence of his having secretly destroyed Michelangelo's cartoon of the battle of Pisa is far from being conclusive. Vasari in his life of Baccio says that he cut it in pieces in 1512, and in that of Michelangelo that he did so in 1517, but this is impossible as Cellini made drawings from it in 1518, and had Baccio committed the dastardly act at a later period, he would have been charged with it in the autobiography of one who hated him, as much as he loved Michelangelo. Cellini's silence corroborates Condivi's statement that no one knows how it was destroyed.

Baccio is said to have made some admirable studies from the rival cartoon of Lionardo da Vinci which hung near it in the Palazzo Vecchio, and his success may have induced him to attempt painting under Andrea del Sarto and Il Rosso, though on finding that he had no talent for it he quickly abandoned that art for sculpture. His first statue, a St. Jerome, was, we are told, commended by Lionardo da Vinci, whom Baccio met frequently in the studio of Rustici where he studied, and his next, a Mercury, sold to Francis I. who valued it most highly. These works brought him into favour with the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, his brother Giuliano, and Duke Cosimo, and obtained for him a commission to sculpture a statue of St. Peter for the Cathedral (1514). In the next year, when Leo X. made his entrance into Florence, Baccio modelled a colossal figure of Hercules to be set up under one of the arches of the Loggia de' Lanzi, and was roundly abused, not only because it was very bad, but also because he had boasted that it would eclipse the David of Michelangelo.

After the Pope returned to Rome, Baccio followed him there with a sketch for a statue of David, hoping to receive a com-

mission for it, but his Holiness who had seen the Hercules set up in his honour at Florence, preferred to employ him otherwise, and to get him out of the way sent him to Loreto to work under Andrea Sansovino upon the bas-reliefs for the Santa Casa.* In a few months, having quarrelled with his associates, he was again knocking at the doors of the Vatican, and Leo X. who had imprudently promised Charles V. when they met at Bologna to make him a present of the Laocoon, thought that he could not do better than to have a copy of it made by Baccio to be sent to the Emperor in lieu of the original. It was far advanced when Leo X. died, but not finished until after the accession of Clement VII. who liked it so much that he sent it to Florence to be set up in the court of the Medici Palace, whence it was subsequently removed to the Uffizi. Baccio now boasted that he had surpassed the antique, and was held up to ridicule in a caricature (attributed to Titian) of three apes writhing in the coils of a serpent. In 1527, when his friends the Medici were banished for the third time, his position at Florence became quite untenable, and after burying some antique bronzes and cameos belonging to them at Pizzidimonte where he had a villa, he betook himself to Lucca, whence on their return to power he came back to live in the Medici Palace, and to play the spy upon his Republican fellow-citizens for the Pope's benefit, and their detriment.

He was at this time (1534) blocking out a group of Hercules and Cacus in a piece of marble, which on its way from Carrara to Florence had fallen into the Arno, where a witty poet said that it had drowned itself rather than submit to the terrible alternative of being hacked to pieces by Bandinelli.† Good judges considered it to be "one of the finest pieces of marble ever brought to Florence, and the group made out of it the very worst group ever executed there,"‡ while the rhymsters signalized its vulgarity, pretentiousness, and bad modelling,

* Serragli affirms that Bandinelli completed the bas-relief of the Nativity for the Santa Casa in 1531, wherefore he must have gone there twice, if, as asserted by Vasari, he worked under Andrea Sansovino while Leo X. was Pope.

† In a Latin epigram by Gio. Negretti, which was printed in the *Viaggi per la Toscana di Gio. Targioni*, vol. ii. p. 42.

‡ The sketch for this figure is supposed to be that in the Museum at South Kensington.

in their epigrams. When Bandinelli complained of them to the Duke in Cellini's presence, he amused himself by quoting their remarks to this effect: "They say that if you shaved the head of Hercules, you would find a skull too small to hold any brains; that his face is a cross between that of a lion and an ox; that he does not attend to what he is about; that his head is badly set upon a pair of shoulders which look like the cross-trees of an ass's pack-saddle; that the muscles about his breasts were copied from a bag of melons set up against a wall; that no one can tell how his legs are stuck on to his wretched body, nor on which of them he rests his weight, or if on both that he is quite out of the perpendicular; that the action of his arms is awkward, and that they in no wise resemble nature; that the right legs of Hercules and of Cacus are stuck together so closely that if they were separated, not only one, but both, would be left without calves; and lastly, that while one of Hercules' feet is sunk in the ground, the other looks as if he had fire under it." Those who have seen this group on the Ringhiera of the Palazzo Vecchio will hardly think the criticism too scathing, and considering its defects and the state of public feeling in regard to Bandinelli, it is no wonder that the Duke hesitated about setting it in its place, or that he was obliged to preserve order by military force through Clement VII.'s influence, when he decided to do so. As the Pope knew Bandinelli to be the devoted servant of his family, and thought that as such he ought to be patronized by the Medici however bad his sculpture might be, he not only helped him at Florence with the Duke, but called him to Rome to make his own monument and that of Leo X. for the church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva. Baccio served him in a thoroughly mercenary spirit, as might have been expected, and hurried back to Florence before his work was done to begin the statue of the Duke's father, Giovanni delle Bande Nere, which has long disfigured the Piazza di San Lorenzo. This heavy, unmeaning, ill-proportioned and unfinished figure is mounted on a square pedestal enriched with Ionic columns and festoons, and adorned with a poor and pretentious bas-relief of the hero passing sentence on a group of prisoners.

Wishing to compete with Michelangelo in architecture as well as in sculpture, Baccio projected a plan for remodelling

the Palazzo Vecchio, and offered to build a palace at Pisa for the Duchess, whom he assured that "prudent princes always make use of the best artists, as they not only work with unrivalled zeal for their employers, but also spend their money in the most economical way possible." When his offer was rejected, he persuaded the Duke to allow him to decorate the High Altar of the Cathedral with statues (1549), and the marble balustrade around the choir with figures of prophets and apostles in relief, which he conceived and executed in a better style than that of his other works now scattered about the city, such as the group of Adam and Eve in the Palazzo Vecchio, the dead Christ in the Baroncelli Chapel at Santa Croce, and the God the Father in the cloisters of the same church, all of which works (says Vasari) Baccio thought would please the public as much as they did himself, but in this he was disappointed, as they "were cruelly lacerated in sonnets and Latin verses."*

Thanks to the intervention of the Duchess, Baccio was employed in his later years to decorate the gardens of the Pitti Palace.† He then unsuccessfully competed for the fountain in the Piazza della Signoria with Cellini, Ammanati, and John of Bologna, and sculptured one of his last and best works, the Pietà in the Pazzi Chapel at the Annunziata, under which he was buried in 1559.

Among his pupils were his son Clement, a young sculptor of some promise who died at Rome; Giovanni Bandini,‡ who completed the bas-reliefs of the choir-balustrade in the Cathedral, which Baccio had left unfinished at the time of his death; and Vincenzo Rossi da Fiesole, who sculptured the prophets and apostles in the Cappella Cesia at Sta. Maria della Pace at Rome, and the seven labours of Hercules in the great hall of

* Baccio had full authority given to him over all stone-cutters, masons, workmen, wood-carvers, and servants employed in the Duomo. Gaye, vol. ii. p. 498.

† So says Vasari. Cellini, however, tells us that the Duchess disliked him.

‡ Commonly called "dell' Opera," because of his long connection with the Opera del Duomo. This artist sculptured the statue of Architecture for the tomb of Michelangelo at Sta. Croce, and the statues of SS. Philip and James the Less for the Duomo. His bust of the Grand Duke Cosimo I. stands over the door of the Opera del Duomo.

the Palazzo Vecchio, which weakly represent Michelangelo's school.

Bartolomeo Ammanati, born 18th June, 1511, who was one of the most noted among the architects and sculptors of this time, also studied under Bandinelli in his youth, but, either from a distaste for his style, or because he could not bear with his violent and insolent temper, left him to join Jacopo Sansovino at Venice, where he worked with Cataneo, Vittoria, and his other pupils, upon statues, bas-reliefs, and stuccoes for the library of St. Mark.* On leaving Venice, he returned to Florence, where by studying the tombs of the Medici in the Cappella dei Depositi at San Lorenzo, he caught the manner of Michelangelo, though he failed to approach him in grandeur of spirit and style. Certain statuettes made by Ammanati for the tomb of the Neapolitan poet Sannazzaro, and a Leda, so pleased the Duke of Urbino (Guidobaldo II.), that he commissioned him to make a now destroyed monument of the late Duke Francesco Maria, for the church of Sta. Chiara at Urbino,† after completing which he was called to Padua by a professor of jurisprudence, Marco di Mantova Benavides, who having collected many antique marbles, bronzes, coins, and rare objects of "virtu," as well as modern pictures and statues by eminent masters, in his palace, wished Ammanati to make its entrance worthy of its contents.‡ He built it in the form of a triumphal arch, with niches containing statuettes of Jupiter and Apollo, and modelled a colossal statue of Hercules for the cortile, twenty-five feet in height, composed of eight pieces, which as he wrote the Archbishop of Florence, was much admired by Palladio, Sansovino, and other distinguished artists.§

Ammanati was also employed by Benavides to erect a costly monument to himself in the church of the Eremitani, where he is represented surrounded by allegorical figures of Learning,

* *Vide* Baldinucci, vol. iii. p. 336; Temanza, p. 243; Vasari, vol. xiii. pp. 91, 100.

† Being out of proportion with this little church it was removed and probably broken up. Dennistoun's *Dukes of Urbino*, vol. iii. pp. 337, 379; Gualandi, III. series, note iv. p. 41.

‡ Anonimo, p. 24, with Morelli's notes, p. 148.

§ The triumphal arch now forms the entrance to the gardens of Casa Venezzi, and near it stands the Hercules in a very injured state.

Labour, Honour, and Renown, and watched over by three genii, one of whom is Immortality.

Either during his first visit to Urbino, or after his return from Padua, Ammanati married the poetess Laura Battiferri, whom Bernardo Tasso called the "Pride of Urbino," and Annibal Caro "the new Sappho,"* to the great displeasure of the Duchess of Urbino (Vittoria Farnese) who, unwilling to lose one of the chief ornaments of her court, long refused to pardon her.

Immediately after his marriage (1550) Ammanati went to Rome, where he devoted himself especially to the study of architecture,† and through the joint influence of Vasari and Michelangelo, obtained a commission for the tombs of Cardinal Antonio de' Monti and his father, in the church of San Pietro in Montorio, which were to have been sculptured by Raffaello da Montelupo had he not lost favour with Michelangelo, on account of the unsatisfactory manner in which he had worked for him at San Pietro in Vincoli.

After completing these tombs, Ammanati returned to Florence (1557), where he was graciously received at court, and employed to make the fountain at Pratolino which bears his name, the group of Hercules and Antæus at Castello, and to rebuild the Ponte Sta. Trinità (1569), which had been destroyed by a terrible inundation.‡ While occupied in the construction of this beautiful bridge, which combines great strength with elegance, grace of line, and simplicity of design, and is assuredly Ammanati's best title to fame, he was also working upon the fountain for the Piazza della Signoria, his most important work in sculpture.

The history of "that poor ill-starred marble," out of which he made a colossal Neptune for this fountain, "is (says Cellini) an example of the fate which often attends him, who trying to escape from one evil, falls into another ten times worse, since

* *Life of Leo X.* vol. ii. p. 128, and nota 77, p. 450. Laura Battiferri's poems are chiefly of a devotional character. They were published by Giunti in two vols. A.D. 1560.

† There is at the Uffizi a volume by Ammanati, containing drawings for an imaginary city, consisting of ground plans, elevations, &c. &c. Cl. 184. No. 25. The cortile of the Pitti Palace, and the Ponte Sta. Trinità are his most important architectural works. See Fergusson's *Modern Styles of Architecture*, p. 88.

‡ Baldinucci, vol. ii. p. 352.

in trying to escape from Bandinelli, it fell into the hands of Ammanati."

After the death of Bandinelli who had begun to model the statue, five artists competed for the commission, namely, Cellini, Gian Bologna, Vincenzo Danti, Il Moschino, and Ammanati, to whom it was given, although his design was the third best offered, because Gian Bologna was thought to be too young and inexperienced to execute so important a work, and because Cellini had offended the Duke, by telling him in the presence of the Lucchese ambassador that he would disgrace himself if he failed to select the best model. The Neptune, mounted on a car drawn by sea-horses and surrounded by marine deities, is a clumsy figure, weak in pose, heavy in limb, and out of all proportion with the rest of the fountain. Ammanati completed it in 1571, nearly twenty years before his death, which took place at Florence, April 14th, 1592. He was buried near his wife in the church of San Giovannino.

The two principal scholars of Michelangelo were Raffaello da Montelupo, and Fra Giovan' Angelo Montorsoli, who revolved about him as small satellites about some great planet. Like Cellini, Raffaello wrote his autobiography, a portion of which has come down to us, so that up to the date when it closes we have authentic information about him. The year of his birth, which he does not mention, was 1505, his birth-place was Florence, and his father, Bartolomeo di Giovanni d' Astorre, a sculptor of whom we have already spoken, belonged to the Montelupo Sinibaldi family.*

When very young, Raffaello went to reside at Empoli with his paternal uncle Astorre, who sent him to school, where he made some progress in his studies, and excited attention by his skill in drawing with his left hand. He was evidently proud of this, for he records that in after years, at Rome, while sketching the Arch of Constantine, Michelangelo and Fra Sebastian del Piombo stopped in their walk to watch him at his work and expressed their astonishment at what, he says, no sculptor or painter had ever before done. After passing two years at Empoli, Raffaello returned to Florence and was apprenticed to the goldsmith Michelangelo di Viviano, from whose son, Baccio Bandinelli, he hoped to learn something of sculpture, the art of

* See p. 160.

his predilection. Disappointed in this expectation, and having little liking for the goldsmith's trade, he ran away from his master's workshop to his father's studio, where he learned how to work in marble and clay, and in his leisure hours drew at the Carmine, Santa Maria Novella and the Annunziata. By the time that he was sixteen years old he had evidently gained no little proficiency, for he was selected by Giovanni da Fiesole to go with him to Carrara, to finish a monument commenced by Bartolomeo Ordonnez, a Spanish sculptor lately deceased. From Carrara, where he spent a year, he went to Lucca, to work upon the tomb of Bishop de' Gigli, begun by his father Bartolomeo, and thence to Florence where he fell in with the sculptor Lorenzo Lotti, called Lorenzetto, with whom he was afterwards associated at Rome. We first hear of this artist (born 1490, died 1541), who was the son of Ludovico Lotti, a bell-maker and caster at Florence, in 1514, as working on a statuette of Charity, and on the sepulchral effigy of Cardinal Forteguerri for his tomb in the Cathedral of Pistoja,* and then as employed to put into marble the statues of Jonah and Elias which Raphael had designed as a part of the decoration of the Chigi Chapel at S. Maria del Popolo.† The death of the great painter in 1520, followed almost immediately by that of his

* Commenced by Verrocchio, to whom the figures of Hope and the God the Father with angels are attributed. The effigy by Lorenzetto is in one of the halls of the Sapienza, and unfinished. The bust, the urn and the ornaments are by Gaetano Mazzoni. Milanesi, ed. Vasari, vol. iii. p. 370, nota.

† Raphael intended to sculpture these statues himself. We know that he could handle the chisel, through a letter written by Count Castiglione, to Andrea Piperario (his intendant at Rome), in which he tells him to inquire of Giulio Romano whether he still owns the young boy in marble sculptured by Raphael, and if so, at what price he will part with it. The boy is supposed to be identical with the wounded child carried on the back of a dolphin, which is preserved at Down Hill, Ireland, and engraved in the *Penny Magazine* of July 17, 1841. See Passavant's *Raphael d'Urbino et son Père*, trad. Fr. vol. i. p. 206, note 2. Passavant erroneously ascribes to Raphael the design of the Fontana delle Tartarughe at Rome, which was made sixty years after his death, by the Florentine sculptor Taddeo Landini; vide the article by Anatole de Montagnon, appended to the French translation of Passavant's work, vol. i. p. 550. The first edition of Vasari, published in 1550, speaks of the two statues as still in Lorenzetto's studio. The second, published in 1568, mentions the Jonah as then in the Chigi Chapel.

patron Agostino Chigi, stopped the prosecution of this work, and both statues, of which the Jonah was then finished, and the Elias only blocked out, remained in Lorenzetto's studio for thirty-four years before they were set up in the Chapel. Admitting that Raphael designed, and perhaps modelled the Jonah,* we can scarcely suppose that he did more for the Elias than to leave behind him a pencil sketch, so feeble is it in character, and so wanting in significance. The Jonah, on the contrary, is a pleasing figure, not unworthy of the prince of painters. Resting his right foot upon the whale's jaw, the young prophet sits in a graceful attitude holding up his mantle above his left shoulder, whence it falls behind his back and over his thigh in well-disposed folds. Raffaello da Montelupo tells us nothing in his autobiography about this figure, but he says that when he came to Rome, Lorenzetto employed him to work upon a statue of the Madonna† to finish the figure of Elias for the Chigi Chapel, and to sculpture the sepulchral effigy of Bernardino Capella, Canon of St. Peter's, for his monument at San Stefano Rotondo.

While thus occupied he was seized with the plague, and lay for fifty days between life and death in an upper chamber of Lorenzetto's house. On his recovery he found but little work to do, owing to the disturbed state of the times. Evil days were at hand, and the sacking of the Borgo by the Cardinal Colonna in 1526, proved but an insignificant prelude to the events of the following year, when the Constable de Bourbon and his German mercenaries took Rome and gave it over to plunder and rapine. Lorenzetto and Raffaello were among the fugitives who sought refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, with the Pope who effected his escape (Dec. 1527), after an imprisonment of seven months, but before this time Raffaello had made his way to Loreto, where he found employment with other artists in finishing the bas-reliefs commenced by Sansovino for the Santa Casa. Three years later (1530) he was working under Michelangelo at Florence upon a statue of St. Damian for the Sacristy of San Lorenzo.

* Passavant, vol. i. p. 205, states his decided belief that Raphael sculptured the statue.

† The so-called Madonna del Sasso, over the altar under which Raphael was buried.

Designed by the great master, and put into marble under his eye, the merit of this figure, such as it is, can hardly be attributed to Raffaello, and yet Michelangelo thought so well of him for it, that when he made his final contract with the Duke of Urbino for the tomb of Julius II. (1542) he designated Raffaello as a fit person to finish the statues of Active and Contemplative Life, designed and blocked out by himself, and to model a prophet and a sibyl.* When they were finished, he openly expressed great dissatisfaction with them, and found but little consolation in the plea of ill-health urged by Raffaello as his excuse for not having performed his task better. They who knew what he did when left to himself, can only wonder that Michelangelo should have been surprised at the result in this case. He was, however, an able workman, and acquitted himself with great credit when called upon to model decorative figures, such as the fourteen statues in clay and stucco which were set up on the Ponte St. Angelo when Charles V. made his triumphal entry into Rome in 1536, and those of the Rhine, and the Danube, with which the Ponte Santa Trinità was shortly after adorned when the same monarch rode into Florence to become the guest of Alessandro de' Medici.

Little more remains to be said of him. At one time he filled the position of architect of the Castle of St. Angelo, where a marble angel which he sculptured for its summit exists in a niche on the stairway. The effigy of Leo X. at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, a monument to Baldassare Turini who filled several important offices at the Roman court, in the Cathedral at Pescia, and a bas-relief of the Adoration of the Magi in the Chapel of the Magi in the Cathedral of Orvieto, of which he was architect and inspector-general in the latter part of his life, complete the list of his more important works. He died at Orvieto in 1566, and was buried in the same tomb with his lamented friend Simon Cioli, called Il Moscha, who was a decorative sculptor of rare skill.†

* By his contract with Michelangelo, dated February 20, and August 23, 1542, in which three figures are mentioned as already blocked out, Montelupo agreed to finish the four in eighteen months' time for 400 scudi. MS. British Museum, Nos. 17 and 19, vol. xxii. 731.

† His best work is in the Cappella Cesia in S. Maria della Pace at Rome. See Tosi, *Mon. Sep. di Roma*, vol. ii. plates 30-35. At Orvieto he sculptured the capitals, cornices, &c., in the chapel of the Magi, and a

Fra Giovan' Angelo Montorsoli (b. 1500, d. 1563) who worked with Raffaello da Montelupo under Michelangelo, was the more able sculptor of the two, if we judge them by their respective statues of St. Cosimo and St. Damian in the sacristy of San Lorenzo. Both statues were retouched by Michelangelo, who is even said to have modelled the head and hands of the Saint Cosimo in clay; but although equally Michelangelesque it has more individuality than the St. Damian. A larger share of credit thus belongs to Montorsoli, who was the son of Michele d' Agnolo da Poggibonsi, by whom he was first set to work as a stone-cutter in the quarries at Fiesole. There he attracted the notice of the sculptor Andrea Ferrucci, who gave him some instruction, and then sent him to Rome where he obtained employment at St. Peter's. He was employed at Volterra with other sculptors upon the monument of Raffaello Maffei (b. 1454, d. 1522), a renowned scholar of that city,* and later at Florence, where he was enrolled among the assistants of Michelangelo at San Lorenzo.

The works upon the Sacristy and the Library were suspended in 1527, and Montorsoli, being of a peaceful disposition which led him to prefer a religious to a military life, took the vows in the convent of the Servi in 1530 without renouncing his profession, in which he found occupation, first from the monks, who employed him after the restoration of the Medici to remodel the wax statues of Popes Leo X. and Clement VII., which had been destroyed during the war, and then from Clement himself, to whom he was sent by the General of the Servites by Michelangelo's advice. While at Rome he modelled the Pope's bust, and restored the left arm of the Apollo Belvidere and the right arm of the father in the Laocoon group before returning to Florence, as he did when work was resumed at San Lorenzo, to assist Michelangelo in

bas-relief of the Adoration. Other works in this chapel are by Frisone Francesco, called Il Moschino (1560-71.) This Francesco had a son Simon, sculptor and architect, who died at Rome in 1610.

* Called Il Volterrano. In 1526 Sylvio Cosini began this monument, for which Stagi di Pietro Santa finished the effigy after 1531, and sculptured the ornaments. Montorsoli sculptured the statuettes of the Archangel Raphael and of St. Gherardo Cagnoli, in niches. See Gozzini's *Mon. Sep de la Toscane*, p. 135.

finishing the statues of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, and to sculpture the already-mentioned statue of San Cosimo. (*See tail-piece.*) In 1534 he went to France with letters of recommendation from Ippolito de' Medici, but as the terms of his appointment at court were not satisfactory, he returned to Florence in time to assist Raffaello da Montelupo and other sculptors in preparing for the triumphal entry of Charles V. (1536). During this visit he sculptured the mannered and Michelangelesque statues of Moses and St. Paul in the Painters' Chapel at the Annunziata, the monument of Cardinal Dionisio Beneventano, General of the Servi, in the church of S. Piero at Arezzo, and the colossal statues of Minerva and Apollo, which form part of Girolamo Santacroce's monument to the poet Sannazzaro (d. 1537) in the church of Sta. Maria del Parto at Naples.* On his return from that city Montorsoli was called to Genoa by Prince Doria to sculpture his statue and to adorn the church of S. Matteo with works in marble and stucco.†

Among the former, the four Evangelists on one of the two pulpits, those in the choir, and the Pietà, very much resemble Michelangelo in style, but the Christ with the emblems of the Passion on the left-hand pulpit, and the bas-reliefs of the Annunciation, the Adoration, and a St. Matthew, are more individual. The reliefs with which he decorated the ceiling of the cupola include a God the Father, the Creation of Adam and Eve, the Temptation, and the Expulsion in which the three figures are very violent in action. Besides these works, Montorsoli modelled a gigantic Jupiter in stucco for the Villa Doria, where it may still be seen.

Desirous of meeting Michelangelo, from whom he had been long separated, he left Genoa in 1547 for Rome, where he fell in with certain persons from Messina who were in search of a sculptor to make a fountain for the Piazza of their city. Having accepted the commission, Montorsoli accompanied them

* The names of Judith and Moses were inscribed upon these colossal statues to save them from a Spanish Governor who, under pretence that Pagan deities were out of place in a church, was about to take them into his possession.

† Two statues were erected to the famous Admiral Andrea Doria in 1528 and 1551 by the Genevise Senate. They were thrown down in 1797, and the two mutilated torsos placed in the cloisters of S. Matteo.

to Messina in the same year, and remained there until he had sculptured numerous bas-reliefs, masks, marine monsters, and other ornaments for the fountain, which is one of the most elaborate works of its kind in Italy; had finished the façade of the Duomo (an edifice in the old Sicilian Gothic style); had designed the statues of SS. Peter and Paul for one of its chapels, and had sculptured a Madonna for the Cicala monument, a bas-relief for the Bari Chapel at S. Domenico, and a St. Catherine for a church at Taormina. His many friends were anxious to induce him to take up his residence in



Sicily, and the Grand Master of Rhodes endeavoured to persuade him to become a knight of his order, but when Pope Paul IV. (1557) ordered all unfrocked friars under grave penalties to return to their duties, he resumed the cowl at Rome, and then, to the great joy of his brother Servites, once more settled himself at Florence in the convent to which he belonged. He left it for a time to work at Bologna in the church of the Servites upon the statues of Moses, Adam, Christ, the Madonna, St. John, the Church Fathers in relief (*see* wood-cut), and the angels supporting a bas-relief of the Crucifixion to decorate an altar, and then returning to Florence, re-entered the service of Duke Cosimo,

with the stipulation that his chisel should be employed only upon sacred subjects. The remainder of his days were spent in adorning the Painters' Chapel at the Annunziata with very Michelangelesque figures in stucco of prophets and biblical personages, and in reorganizing the Company of the Arts of Design, which had fallen into a languishing state. The Duke gave him license to construct, at his own expense, a place of sepulture for artists under this chapel, over which a solemn mass for the dead was to be celebrated annually on the festival day of the Holy Trinity, and on its completion it was inaugurated in the presence of forty-eight artists, who attended mass in the chapel, and afterwards listened to an address in praise of Montorsoli's liberality. The bones of Pontormo the painter were then deposited in the new tomb, whose next inmates were Martino, Montorsoli's scholar, who had assisted him at Messina, and Montorsoli himself (1563), over whose body "the renowned and learned Maestro Michelangelo" pronounced a funeral oration.

BENVENUTO CELLINI

Among the sculptors of Cosimo I.'s reign, Benvenuto Cellini, goldsmith, sculptor, bronze-caster, poet and prose writer, was by far the most remarkable. His name, on the one hand, calls up visions of jewelled cups, of salt-cellars fit only for royal tables, of cope buttons and helmets of ideal beauty, and on the other evokes the image of an unrivalled braggart, who recognizing no distinction between right and wrong, records in his Autobiography deeds kindly and villanous, with equal elation and a like certainty of applause. Although it would be manifestly unjust to judge him by our present standard of morality, we have a right to do so by that of his own time, according to which, low though it was, he was condemned, for by his own account his extravagances and mad freaks amazed his contemporaries almost as much as they do us. He claimed descent from Fiorino da Cellino, a valiant captain in the army of Julius Cæsar, who founded Florence and named it Fiorenza, in his honour. Between Fiorino and Benvenuto there were many Cellinis of note, at Ravenna, Pisa, and in other cities; some valorous soldiers, who

bequeathed to Benvenuto their love of the sword and dagger, and some artists, such as his grandfather Andrea, the architect, and his father, Giovanni, architect, engineer, worker in ivory, and musical instrument maker, from whom he derived his love of art. On Nov. 3rd, 1500, the glories of his line culminated in his own birth, and his father, then well stricken in years, overjoyed at the event, named him Benvenuto, and determined to educate him as a musician. As the boy disliked music and was bent upon becoming a goldsmith, Giovanni allowed him to enter the workshop of Michelangelo di Viviano,* whence he passed to that of Antonio di Sandro, another goldsmith of repute, in whose workshop he had been only a few months, when he became implicated in a quarrel of so serious a nature, that to avoid imprisonment he was obliged to fly the city, and seek employment at Siena and Bologna. As soon as he was able to return with safety, he resumed his studies, but not long after, being angry because his best clothes had been given to his brother Cecchino, he walked straight out of the nearest gate, and went to Pisa, where he lived for a year in the employment of a goldsmith named Olivieri, and spent his leisure hours in studying the marbles at the Campo Santo. In 1518, Torrigiano tried to persuade him to go with him to England to assist in making the monument of King Henry VII., but Cellini, moved by love of Michelangelo, refused his offers, and made his way to Rome, after which his life may be divided into three periods, the first of twenty-two years spent for the most part in the service of Clement VII.; the second of five, passed at Paris in that of Francis I., and the third of twenty-seven years, at Florence, in that of Cosimo de' Medici.

Soon after his arrival at Rome he modelled a silver salt-cellar enriched with masks, which brought him much custom from the Pope, the Cardinals, the nobles, and the gentry, who bought his gold medals to wear in their caps, according to the fashion of the time.

The ornate candelabra which he made for the Bishop of Salamanca, and the exquisite setting which he gave to the diamonds of Madonna Porzia, wife of Gismondo Chigi, attracted much notice, but they did less for his renown than a Papal cope

* Father of Baccio Bandinelli, the same goldsmith with whom Montelupo studied.

button, described as about the size of the palm of a man's hand. In its centre shone a magnificent diamond of a reddish hue, limpid and brilliant as a star, used by Cellini as a throne for a little image of God the Father with flying drapery, in whose folds angels fluttered, as also about the surrounding jewels. For this work he received 500 golden scudi from the Pope and an unlimited amount of praise.

According to his own account, Cellini did the Pope service of another sort during the summer of 1527 by slaying the Constable de Bourbon under the walls of Rome, by wounding the Prince of Orange, and by disposing his artillery in the Castle of St. Angelo so judiciously, that Clement gave him his benediction, pardoned him for all past or future homicides committed in the service of the Church, and employed him to melt down the gold settings of his jewels to relieve his dire necessity. Had Cellini expressed some regret for this act of vandalism, we should think more of his love of art, and had he made any valid excuse for stealing away from Florence in 1530, while preparations were being made for her defence against the Papal and Imperial forces, an act the more heinous as he held the rank of Captain in the Republican army, we should be more ready to believe in his valour and his patriotism. As it is we have not much faith in either, although his devotion to the Medici partly excuses his return to Rome at such a moment, and explains his after acceptance of a commission from Alessandro de' Medici to make a die for the new coin with his effigy upon the obverse, issued after his elevation to power. This medallion portrait, and those of Clement VII., Paul III., and Francis I., afterwards modelled by Cellini, were, as he states, considered by the best judges superior to the antique, although they are not only inferior to it, and to the work of the great medallists of the fifteenth century, but even to that of his contemporaries, Grechetto and Bernardi. The assassination of a brother goldsmith named Pompeo, in 1534, brought Cellini into trouble with Paul III., who gave him a safe-conduct because he had need of his services, but regarded him with diminished favour. This determined him to go to France in 1537, whence he shortly returned on plea of ill-health, to find himself accused of having stolen many of the Papal jewels whose settings he had melted down for Pope Clement ten years before. Although

proofs of his guilt failed, he was imprisoned for two years (1538-40) in the Castle of St. Angelo, and might have longer remained there had not the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este obtained his liberation on the plea that the King of France had need of him. With a salary of 700 gold scudi a year, the title of "Seigneur," letters of naturalization, the Hôtel de Petit Nesle as a residence, and many commissions from Francis I., Cellini now established himself at Paris, and assisted by many able French, Italian, and German workmen, under the direction of his pupils Ascanio and Paolo Romano, who had accompanied him from Italy, produced many works, whose vogue greatly wounded the pride of the Parisian Corporation of Goldsmiths, then peculiarly sensitive to the extraordinary patronage given by their king to a foreigner, because their own material prosperity had been lately affected by a royal ordinance, which they looked upon as unjust.

Judging by the contemptuous manner in which Cellini speaks of French sculptors and goldsmiths, it might be supposed that they were unskilful workmen, but this was by no means the case. During each succeeding reign royal ordonnances had been issued affecting the goldsmiths, several hundreds of whom are recorded by name in documents of the fourteenth century, and during that of Charles IV. (1322), who has been styled the father of the goldsmiths, those of Paris had a private chapel assigned to them, and were marshalled according to fixed rank and prerogative in the royal, municipal, and ecclesiastical ceremonies. The magnificent style of dress indulged in at that time gave great scope to the exercise of their skill, as the smallest ornaments were covered with little figures in relief, chiselled with the greatest care. Cellini certainly had great influence upon French art, but he was not the pioneer which he claims to be, nor was he the first Italian who brought the taste and skill of his compatriot goldsmiths to bear upon France, for King Charles VIII., on his return home from his expedition to Naples (1495), brought in his train many excellent workmen, among whom were goldsmiths from Florence, Venice, and Milan; while the Cardinal d'Amboise, Minister of Louis XII., not only brought from Genoa and Milan an immense number of precious objects, with which he filled the Château de Gaillon, but also induced many artists from those cities to settle in

France, by whose influence, as well as by that of those subsequently called thither by Francis I. (among whom Cellini holds the first rank), the Renaissance style supplanted the Gothic.

The French goldsmiths whom Cellini found at Paris especially excelled in works included under the head of "grosseria," that is in church and table ornaments, and statuettes in gold and silver, and were hardly to be surpassed in hammered metal-work. It was consequently in "minuteria," that is in personal ornaments connected with dress, such as medals for the bonnet, rings, &c. &c., that his influence was principally felt, as well as in the almost universal adoption of mythological, in preference to Christian subjects. As in Italy, so in France Cellini introduced medallions worked throughout with the graver, which were worn in the hats of men and the hair of women, especially during the reigns of Francis I. and Henry II.

Upon French sculpture he had only an indirect influence, nor did he begin to work as a sculptor until after he came to France. Many names of French sculptors who enjoyed a high reputation, both at home and abroad, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, are known to us, while during the latter part of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth, there were such men of note as Michel Colombe, sculptor of the noble tomb of Francis II., Duke of Brittany, at Nantes; François Marchand, who worked at Chartres; and Jean Juste, of Tours, who sculptured the tomb of Louis XII. and his queen, Anne of Brittany.* In 1580 Francis I. confided the direction of all his artistical enterprises to Il Rosso, who came from Italy for the purpose, and was followed by Primaticcio the painter and many young artists of talent, such as Paul Pontius Trebatti the sculptor, who with Cellini founded the so-called school of Fontainebleau.

Tempted by their facility to work without models, these artists, whose style was imbued with that factitious grace which was then the bane of the Florentine school, were blind to the defects of limbs unnaturally lengthened, and extremities disproportionately small, of forms both full and delicate, of outlines exaggeratedly rounded, and of joints so

* See Emeric David, *Tableau Historique de la Sculpture Française*, pp. 114, 153.

small as to be manifestly unable to bear the figures they were meant to sustain. Their pretentious elegance and false grace captivated the King, whose taste formed itself definitively in the school of Fontainebleau, upon the works of Il Rosso, Primaticcio and Cellini, for whom in particular he conceived so unbounded an admiration, that he was induced to overlook and excuse his violence of conduct, and to protect him against the enmity of Madame d'Étampes and the Count of St. Paul, who did not scruple to tell his Majesty, when he expressed fear of losing his protégé, that the surest way to keep him would be to hang him on a gibbet.

The only large work executed by Cellini in France (1543), is the bronze Nymph at the Louvre, originally intended to be placed over the principal door of the Palace of Fontainebleau, as the personification of the "Belle Eau," a spring from which the forest derives its name. Crowned with fruits, she lies upon the waves with her right arm around the neck of a stag, and her left resting upon an urn from whose mouth flow abundant waters which are lapped up by deer, wild boars, and dogs. The absence of expression in the face, the inordinate length of limb and the want of organic unity in this colossal figure, are defects which give it the appearance of a magnified piece of goldsmith's work, and such it really is, for Cellini was never more a goldsmith than when he undertook to be a sculptor.* He was at his best in such a silver statuette as that of Jupiter, which he made for Francis I: in 1544, and in the golden salt-cellar now in the Cabinet des Antiques at Vienna (1543), which he decorated with the arms of that monarch.† The Neptune and Cybele with their attributes, the figures symbolic of the winds, and the divisions of time upon its ebony base, and all the accessories, are marvellously worked out by one who understood the resources of the goldsmith's art to perfection, but nevertheless we feel here, as in Cellini's larger works, that they fail altogether in that deductive harmony which makes the best Greek work as thoroughly satisfactory to the

In 1547, after the death of Francis I., Henry II. sent the Nymph to the Château d'Anet, whence after the Revolution it was taken to the Louvre.

† See Dr. von Lacken's *Catalogue of the K. K. Ambraser Sammlung*, p. 161, No. 22.

mind as it is beautiful to the eye. In it, each part is the corollary and indispensable complement of every other, and the whole like a natural creation is one and indivisible.

Whether Francis I. at last grew tired of Cellini's art or his eccentricities, or reluctantly made up his mind to part with him to pacify Madame d'Étampes, we do not know, but in 1545 their connection was dissolved by mutual consent, and in the month of August of that year Cellini reached Florence, and immediately waited on the Duke at Poggio a Cajano.

The benign prince, as he tells us, received him in the kindest way, and requested him to model a figure of Perseus, to be placed under one of the arches of the Loggia de' Lanzi. "Hearing this (he says), I was moved by an honourable ambition, and thought within myself, 'My work will then stand between one by Michelangelo, and one by Donato, men who have surpassed the ancients; what more can I desire than to be admitted to such proximity?' Wherefore with great joy and zeal I commenced to make a little model of the Perseus,* and when I showed it to his Excellency, he said in wonder, 'If you can make this work in the large as well as you have made it in the small, it will be the finest statue in the Piazza,' to which, moved partly by reason of what I had done, and partly by what I felt able to do, I replied, 'Oh! most excellent prince, I promise you that the statue shall be three times better than the model,' at which he shook his head, and I took my leave."

During the next four years, while occupied upon this figure, Cellini suffered infinite trouble and annoyance from Ricci, the Duke's maggiordomo, and Baccio Bandinelli, who threw doubts upon his capacity. The Duke had given him a house for his atelier,† and fixed his salary at two hundred scudi a year, but this promising prospect soon clouded over, and Cellini finding it impossible to get money enough to go on with his work, would have returned to France, had he not received an intimation that the settling of his accounts with the King, which were by no means as clear as they should have been, might seriously damage his reputation.

* *Trattato d' Oreficeria*, p. 87. This model may be seen in the bronze room at the Bargello.

† In the Via del Rosajo.

His position eventually became so intolerable, that he went to Venice (1546), and there spent a short time in the society of Titian, Sansovino, and Lorenzino de' Medici who advised him not to return to Florence. He, however, disregarded the advice, and having cast a bust of the Duke, and the body of Medusa, would have begun work on the statue of Perseus, had not the Duke, influenced by Bandinelli, long refused to advance him the necessary funds. When these were at last granted, he began his difficult task, after taking many precautionary measures, necessary with this figure on account of the position of the arms which made it very difficult to cast it in one piece.

We must refer our readers to Cellini's Autobiography for a graphic account of the terrible anxieties which beset him and the dangers which he successfully avoided in the casting of the Perseus. When at last it was uncovered in the Piazza before the Duke, and an immense crowd of people whose loudly expressed admiration reached his eager ears, he was one of the proudest and happiest of mortals. On many accounts he had reason to be so, as well for the courage and perseverance which he had shown in the course of his enterprise, as for the result achieved, for there is much to admire in the statue, and the rich pedestal upon which it stands, with its bronze bas-relief and its statuettes, skulls, goats' heads and terminal figures. At the same time, when the figure is looked at critically, we see that, while the winged helmet, the face and the outstretched forearm are admirable, the head is too large for the body, the torso is full of unmeaning detail and too long for the legs, and, furthermore, that the pedestal is too narrow for its height, and the bas-relief, fine as it is, not exempt from meretriciousness. In technic and the management of relief it rivals the works of the quattro-centisti, though it falls far below them in style and purity of taste.



To Cellini it seemed that not only the bas-relief, but also the statue never had been and never would be surpassed, and so much did he presume upon his success that he estimated its value at 10,000 gold scudi.* When the Duke said that he could build churches and palaces for that sum, he answered, "Your Excellency can find any number of men to serve you as architects, but not one capable of making such a statue; no, not even my master Michelangelo now that he is old, although he might perhaps have done so in his youth, if he had taken as much pains as I have."

The Duke was now desirous of employing him upon the marble balustrade for the choir of the Cathedral, but as Bandinelli, whom he hated, was already working upon it, Cellini refused, and, with even more than his usual self-conceit, offered to make two bronze gates for the great doorway, on condition that he should not be paid for them unless they surpassed those of Ghiberti. The Duke wisely declined to put him to the proof, and gave him permission to go to Rome, where, while residing in the Altoviti Palace near the Ponte St. Angelo, he modelled that admirable bronze bust (1552) of his host, Bindo Altoviti, in reference to which Michelangelo wrote to him: "My Benvenuto, I have long known you to be the best goldsmith in the world, and I now know you to be an equally good sculptor."†

Anxious to remain at Rome, Cellini unsuccessfully endeavoured to obtain an interview with Pope Julius III., in hopes of obtaining employment, but failing in this he went back to Florence, and resumed his labours for the Duke.

In one of his numberless memorials addressed to the syndics about the settlement of his accounts, he enumerates the works which he has executed for the Duke, and mentions the prices he has received for them.‡ Among them is a crucifix, with the life-size figure of our Lord, in white marble, set upon a cross of black marble, which Cellini originally intended

* Girolamo degli Albizzi, who was appointed arbiter in the matter of price, valued it at 3,550 golden scudi, to which the Duke agreed, and Cellini was forced to submit. *Vita di Cellini*, p. 463. Gualandi says he originally asked 7,000 and received 3,000; *op. cit.* series iv. p. 99. Cellini himself says 3,000—*vide* Doc. 57, p. 459, Appendix to his life, ed. *de Monnier*.

† *Vita*, p. 434.

‡ *Doc.* 57, p. 549. Appendix to *Vita di Cellini*.

to have placed over his own grave. He, however, sold it to the Duke in 1568, and his son, the Grand Duke Francesco, presented it to Philip II., King of Spain (1576), by whom it was placed in the Escorial, where it still remains.* Another of his works, a gold chalice, adorned with figures of the three Christian Virtues, was purchased by Cosimo, who at the time of his coronation as Grand Duke (1570) presented it to Pope Pius V.†

The year before Cellini's death he made two small models for a Juno, which he intended to cast in bronze for Francesco de' Medici, and terminated his two treatises upon the goldsmith's art, and upon sculpture, which he dedicated to Cardinal Fernando de' Medici (1569).

In his treatise upon the goldsmith's art, which is most valuable as a record of the several processes introduced by him, and of those used in his day, Cellini discourses upon niello-work and jewellery; upon the nature of precious stones, their proper setting, and of the foils to be used for coloured stones; of enamels; embossed work in gold and silver; and of the making of rings, medallions and bracelets; and in that upon sculpture, he speaks of the art of casting in bronze, and of the different qualities of marble.

He began his Autobiography, which is by far the most important of his literary labours, when he was fifty-eight, and carried it on to his sixty-third year. So highly was it esteemed for expressive diction, and rich use of those forms of speech peculiar to the Florentines, that notwithstanding its involved style, and frequent misuse of words, it was placed by the Acca-

* Cellini demanded 1,500 golden scudi and received 700 for this work.

† Among the well-authenticated works of Cellini are three medallions of Clement VII., Alessandro de' Medici, and Francis I.; a cup of lapis-lazuli, with three handles, in enamelled gold, and the lid of a rock-crystal cup, in the Bargello; three cups and a flask of enamelled gold, with dragon-shaped handles, in the plate-room of the Pitti Palace; a salt-cellar made for Francis I., and an oval medallion of Leda and the Swan, in the "Cabinet d'Antiques" at Vienna; a reliquary of enamelled gold, with the Adoration of the Magi in alto-relief, in the Rich Chapel of the Royal Palace at Munich; the cover of a "livre d'heures" in the museum of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha; an antique cameo mounted by Cellini, with chased and enamelled figures in relief, masks, and a figure of Victory holding two prisoners in chains, in the medal cabinet of the Imperial Library at Paris.

demia della Crusca * among the books selected as authorities; an honour which would perhaps have astonished Cellini, who, though esteeming himself perfect in every other art, confessed himself a "bad speaker and a worse writer." †

Popes, kings, cardinals, men of letters, artists and people of every class figure in its pages, and above all the man himself, with his libertinism, his swaggering, his indiscriminate amours, which, like those of Don Giovanni, were "gia mille e tre" long before his death; his ceaseless quarrels, frequent assassinations, and endless complaints of bad usage. All of these are told without reserve, as are the few really good acts which graced the life of one, who with a man's growth and strength lived like a child, without self-control, and gave way to every impulse. Among these we must not omit to mention how, after his return from France, he took his widowed sister, Liberata Tassi, and her six fatherless children into his house, gave them a monthly allowance, and treated them with such kindness, that the "pane d'altrui" lost its bitterness in their mouths. ‡

The letters, petitions and poems of this singular man show us that he considered himself poorly paid for his services, which indeed he habitually over-estimated. It is true that the Duke often treated him coldly, delayed payments, and disappointed his hopes, but at the same time he bestowed upon him a pension of two hundred golden scudi a year, made him a free gift of a house in the Via del Rosario, § and bought many of his works at the value set upon them by good judges.

Like so many of the great Italian artists, he wrote sonnets and madrigals, as well as religious, artistical, amorous, laudatory, and vituperative poems, among the latter of which one addressed to his enemy Bandinelli is especially remarkable, on account of its extraordinary argument, that he is less to be blamed for his homicides than Bandinelli for the marbles which he has broken and defaced, since his victims are put

* Founded eleven years after Cellini's death.

† Letter to B. Varchi, written in Jan. 1546. *Trattato*, p. 273.

‡ "I can only say that my return to Italy was solely caused by my desire to assist my six poor nephews, children of my sister, all of whom I endowed." Gaye, vol. iii. p. 598.

§ *Doc.* 70, p. 578.

out of sight, while those of Bandinelli remain above ground to his eternal disgrace.

Early in December 1570, Cellini, becoming seriously ill, made a will, in which he divided his property between his wife and his three children; signified his wish to be buried in the church of the Annunziata; and bequeathed a wax model of Neptune (intended for the before-mentioned fountain) to Don Francesco de' Medici, to whom he wrote shortly before his death, "If I had not been hindered by a most dangerous illness, I would have cast my Juno for you in bronze, as it is nearly finished. The disease which has laid me low has baffled my physician, and many other able men; nevertheless, although I am seventy years old, I still fight against death."*

A month and a half later (Feb. 13th, 1571), death gained the victory; and after ten days, as we read in the account of his obsequies recorded in the archives of the Accademia delle Belle Arti, "Messer Benvenuto Cellini was buried with great funeral pomp in our chapter-house at the Annunziata, in the presence of our Academical body and the Company."†



Among the artists who figure in the pages of Cellini is Niccolo di Raffaello Braccini (b. 1485, d. 1550), commonly called Il Tribolo, most probably because he was the butt of those of his companions who were less timid than himself. He studied with Nanni Unghero, wood-carver, and Jacopo Sansovino, and brought himself into notice by a bronze group

* Sonnet 59.

† Appendix to *Vita*, No. 65, p. 569, dated Dec. 20, 1570.

of two boys and a dolphin cast for Lorenzo Strozzi to adorn a fountain at the Villa Casarotta (*see cut*). In 1525 he must have attained considerable reputation, as he was invited to superintend the works then in progress about the church of St. Petronius at Bologna, and to sculpture twelve bas-reliefs about its portals to supplement those of Jacopo della Quercia. Taking Il Solosmeo and Simon Cioli (Il Moscha), his fellow-pupils in Sansovino's studio, as his assistants, he proceeded to Bologna and executed the reliefs of subjects from the Old Testament, with angels (*see cut*, p. 335) and sibyls, in a style which,



while it plainly shows the influence of Michelangelo, is far less exaggerated than that of his other imitators. In 1529, Tribolo is said to have sculptured the four statuettes of Virtues upon the monument of Adrian VI. by Michelangelo da Siena, in the church of S. Maria dell' Andrea at Rome, and in 1533 to have gone to Loreto to work under Antonio di Sangallo upon the bas-reliefs of the miraculous transportation of the Santa Casa to Italy and of the Marriage of the Virgin. The ultra-pictorial

treatment, the clumsy sky-scape, and the ill-proportioned and badly-arranged figures in these reliefs show that Tribolo, who had done such good work at Bologna, where he was under Jacopo della Quercia's influence, was very dependent upon his surroundings for inspiration. Michelangelo, however, thought so well of his ability that he commissioned him to model two statues for the Chapel of the Medici; but poor Tribolo was attacked with fever on his return to Florence, and did not recover until the death of Pope Clement (1534), when all work at San Lorenzo was suspended. He then accompanied Collini

to Venice, hoping to obtain employment from his old master Sansovino, but as he was disappointed in this he returned to Florence in time to assist in the preparations for the triumphal entry of Charles V. (1536), and the decoration of the palace of Ottaviano de' Medici for the reception of Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of the Emperor, and bride of Alessandro de' Medici. In the following year, after the Duke's assassination, Il Tribolo designed two fountains, decorated with "putti," syrens and dolphins, for the Ducal villas at Castello and Petraja; and in 1539, when Cosimo I^o married Eleonora da Toledo, he erected a triumphal arch at the Porta al Prato, superintended the decorations of the Medici Palace, and modelled an equestrian statue of the Duke's father. After giving up sculpture for hydraulics, in which he proved his incapacity, he died on the 7th of September, 1550. Gifted with remarkable talent and great facility of invention, Il Tribolo was one of the best sculptors of his day, and, leaving Michelangelo out of the question, not surpassed by any of his contemporaries save Gian Bologna, who, though not an Italian, may be classed as such since he owed his education, advancement and success to the many years which he spent in Tuscany.

Born at Douai (1530), then a part of the Low Countries, and therefore called Il Fiammingo, Giovanni or Gian Bologna or Boullogne showed his natural love of sculpture at a very early age, and was placed by his father under the care of a sculptor named Beuch, whose account of the wonders of art to be seen at Rome so inflamed his imagination that he soon left him and made his way thither, to spend two years in study, after which, while passing through Florence on his homeward way, he fell in with Bernardo Vecchietti, goldsmith and bronzecaster, who, struck with the talent shown in his sketches, offered him shelter at his villa, Il Riposo, where he had a forge and workshop. Here the young sculptor had every facility for work, and made astonishing progress during the next three years. The patronage of Prince Francesco de' Medici, who bought his marble Venus and gave him an annuity, encouraged him to compete with Cellini and Ammanati, in 1559, for the fountain in the Piazza della Signoria, and he would have carried off the prize had not the judges, who acknowledged the superiority of his design, thought it imprudent to entrust so

important a task to one who had but little experience in working marble. The Neptune, which formed a part of his design, was afterwards cast by himself and Zanobi Portigiani for a fountain on the great piazza at Bologna. The two artists bound themselves by their contract, dated August 20, 1563, to model and cast the colossal statue, which was to be nine feet in height, four "putti," an equal number of sirens, and the arms of the city, within ten months, but they did not complete their work until three years had elapsed. Compared with Amma-



nati's Neptune at Florence, Gian Bologna's statue is a masterpiece which no other sculptor of his time could have produced; but his reputation rests on two later works—the world-renowned bronze Mercury at the Bargello (*see woodcut*), which until the middle of the last century graced a fountain in the gardens of the Villa Medici at Rome, and the marble group known as the Rape of the Sabines, in the Loggia de' Lanzi. Skilfully composed, and modelled with the knowledge of an accomplished sculptor, this work was hailed with an enthusiasm which found vent in a volume of laudatory effusions in prose and verse, and gave its sculptor a reputation

which brought him many pupils. Among these were Pietro Francavilla, sculptor of the Four Seasons on the Ponta Santa Trinita, and Pietro Tacca, who made the monument to Duke Ferdinand at Leghorn, and cast the equestrian statue of the same prince at Florence from a model made by his master in the latter part of his life. Some of the more important among the many works of Gian Bologna are an equestrian statue of Cosimo I. in the Piazza della Signoria (1594); a group of Hercules and Cacus in the Loggia de' Lanzi (1599); a Victory at the Palazzo Vecchio (1602); a stucco giant or genius of the Appenines at Pratolino; a bronze statuette of Venus at Petraja

(*see woodcut*); a statue of St. Mark at San Michele, and a colossal group of Samson killing a Philistine, at Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire, the seat of S. W. Worsey, to whose grandfather it was presented by George III. Gian Bologna's bas-reliefs, like those of so many other able sculptors, are very inferior in merit to his statues. This is so often the case that it seems to prove the superior difficulties of bas-relief over figure sculpture, and to indicate that the union of qualities necessary for the proper treatment of relief is more rarely met with. The Florentine sculptors of the fifteenth century excelled in it, and made it their peculiar field; but it was a lost art to those of the sixteenth century, with the qualified exception of Cellini, and remained so in Italy as in other countries, until the nineteenth, when Thorwaldsen revived it with a remarkable measure of success. This was more than Gian Bologna did, though he had an admirable opportunity to distinguish himself when he was called upon to cast bronze gates for the Cathedral at Pisa in 1595, after those made by Bonanno in the twelfth century had been destroyed by fire. His work proved a conspicuous failure in all but the casting, which was done by Domenico Partigiani,* the son of the Maestro Zanobi who had been associated with him at Bologna.† Crowded, confused, and unmeaning, the reliefs are but a tangle of lines, owing to the indistinctness of the planes. The same may be said of those upon the base of the equestrian statue of Cosimo I., and of those in the chapel of the Madonna



* A Dominican monk in the Convent of St. Mark at Florence. He was an accomplished architect and bronze-caster. After his death, in 1601, the Pisan gates and the statues and bas-reliefs, designed by Gian Bologna for the chapel of St. Anthony at San Marco, were finished by Zanobi, nephew and pupil of Domenico, and his fellow-scholar Angelo Serrano.

† The contract for these gates bears date April, 1597. *Marchesi Mem. &c.*, vol. ii. lib. iii. p. 306.

del Soccorso at the Annunziata. Gian Bologna had prepared a place of sepulchre for himself and for such of his compatriots as might chance to die at Florence under this chapel, and he was buried in it August, 1608, at the ripe old age of eighty-four.

Among his contemporaries were Stoldo Lorenzi (1534–1583), whose statues of Adam and Eve upon the façade of the church of San Celso at Milan shine chiefly by force of contrast with the "baroque" sculptures of Annibale Fontana in their neighbourhood, and Paul Ponzio Trebatti (b. about 1500), who spent nearly forty years of his life in France, and worked for Primaticcio and Il Rosso at Fontainebleau. The bronze effigies of Alberto Pio of Savoy, formerly in the church of the Cordeliers; of Charles de Magny, captain of the guard; and of André Blondel de Rocquencourt, comptroller-general of finance under Henry II., by this artist are now kept in the Renaissance Museum at the Louvre.



CHAPTER III.

NON-TUSCAN SCULPTORS AND THEIR WORKS FROM 1500 TO 1600.

THERE were sculptors in Lombardy, as in Tuscany, whose works link the Early with the Later Renaissance, or in other words the school of Omodeo and the Mantegazza, with that of Michelangelo. Among these Cristoforo di Bartolo Solari,* called *il* or *del* Gobbo, *i.e.*, the hunchback, or the son of the hunchback, holds a high place.† The year of his birth is not known, but in 1490, when Omodeo was appointed head architect to the Cathedral, he must have stood high in his profession, as he competed for that important position, and was so piqued at his defeat that he left Milan with his brother Andrea, and resided at Venice for several years, during which he sculptured a St. George for a chapel in the church of La Carità,‡ and a statue of Eve mentioned by Lomazzo.§

On the death of Antonio Mantegazza (1495), Solari was appointed Ducal sculptor|| and recommended as such to the prior of the Certosa, though it is doubtful if he ever worked at Pavia. By virtue of his office he received the commission (1497) for the monument which Lodovico il Moro determined to raise to the memory of Beatrice d'Este soon after her death,

* Vasari, xi. 272, praises him as one of the best Lombard sculptors of his time. Mentioned also at xii. 171, *ibid.*, and by Gauricus, *De Sculptura*, p. 77, ed. Flor. 1544.

† As his brother Andrea the painter is also called "del Gobbo," it seems more likely that their father was the hunchback.

‡ *Vide* l'Anonimo, p. 86.

§ *Grotteschi e Poesie*. Lomazzo also speaks of him in his *Trattato della Pittura*, vol. ii. ch. xlv. p. 325.

|| His salary was 280 lire a year.

and having completed his design presented himself in the Duke's name before the directors, asking them to nominate five sculptors from among those attached to the "Fabbrica" to assist him in carrying it out. This was granted on condition that they should not be employed elsewhere, and the monument when finished was set up in the apse of Sta. Maria delle Grazie, whence it was afterwards removed to one of the side aisles.* A little more than half a century later (1564), it was broken up and sold to the highest bidder, and the sepulchral effigies, purchased for the Certosa by Oldrado da Lampugnano for the trifling sum of thirty-eight scudi apiece, were first placed against the wall near the monument of Gian-Galeazzo, and then upon marble bases in its left transept.† They are especially interesting as faithful portraits, and careful records of costume. The Duchess wears a closely-fitting hood, and her hair is curled in small, elaborate ringlets, which fall upon her neck and about her somewhat heavy features. The lids of her closed eyes are fringed with thick lashes sharply cut out in the marble, and her figure is completely enveloped in the folds of a rich dress covered with a corded net-work decorated with jewels and tassels. Her arms are crossed upon her breast and partially concealed under her robe, and her feet are encased in very thick solid shoes. Her husband, the Duke, spent the night before he fled from Milan on the approach of Louis XII. (1499) in watching by the tomb of this brave and loyal woman, who had been his support in previous hours of danger, and who had she lived might have saved him from the loss of his kingdom and from those eight years of imprisonment in the castle of Loches which preceded his death (May 27th, 1508). As he survived her eleven years, and her monument was finished some time before his flight, it is probable that his own sepulchral effigy, which represents him in the costume of the period, then lay as now beside hers, and

* The five sculptors nominated were Ambrogio Ghisolfi, Lentino Ferrario, Biagio Vairone, Giuliano Pasifico, and Benedetto dell' Onago.

† Anonimo Certosino, MS. Bib. Brera, cited by Calvi, pt. ii. p. 223. Verri and Corio say that the monument cost 15,000 gold scudi. We have no record of its general design. Vasari, xiii. 118, says these statues of the Duke and Duchess were to have been placed upon a tomb designed by Giov. Giacomo della Porta.

that it was ever present in his mind as a "memento mori," during the time of his captivity.*

Cristoforo Solari was one of the many artists in the employment of the Duke who left Milan when it was occupied by the French, and went to Rome, where he remained until February, 1501, when he was recalled to Milan by the directors of the works at the Cathedral and engaged in their service under exceptional conditions, which show how highly they esteemed him. Unlike his associates, who even when men of superior ability as sculptors were treated on very much the same footing as the stone-cutters employed in the "Fabbrica," Cristoforo was not placed under the control of the head architects, but had full liberty to select blocks of marble, to carve statues according to his fancy, to work when he liked, and dine when he was hungry. Furthermore, he was to be paid by the month, and not like a workman by the day; and should he fall ill, was to receive his full salary for a year, and half the amount afterwards until his recovery. In his contract he is spoken of as a great honour to Milan, both as architect and sculptor.† Of his architectural labours little need be said, further than to point out the fact that he successfully laboured with Andrea Fusina to supplant Omodeo as head architect of the Cathedral, and was appointed to the coveted position in 1520, with Bernardo Zanobi as his colleague. Together they prepared a new model for the Cupola, in connection with which Cristoforo's name appears for the last time in the register of the "Fabbrica," though he survived until after 1523, as in that year he signed his daughter-in-law's act of dower.‡

His best works in sculpture, the sepulchral effigies of Beatrice and Ludovico II Moro at the Certosa, are naturalistic, carefully studied portrait statues in the early Renaissance style, but the few which he sculptured after his return from Rome to Milan are conceived altogether in that of the later Renaissance. The Michelangesque statue of Christ bound to the column, in the Sacristy of the Cathedral, is a coarse muscular figure without

* Calvi, p. 225 of his *Notizie*, expresses a doubt whether the effigy of the Duke was in its place so early as 1499.

† Bossi, MS. cartella ix. p. 251; and Albuzzi, MS. quoted by Calvi, *op. cit.* pt. ii. p. 225.

‡ Calvi, *op. cit.* p. 230.

elevation, and the Adam on the roof of the Sacristy, though more refined, has but little individuality.* Many statuettes† attributed to Solari are lost among the thousands which cluster about the roof and pinnacles of the Cathedral.‡

Among the scholars of "Il Gobbo" were Giovanni Dentono of Padua, Giovan Giacomo della Porta, Girolamo da Novara, who made a monument to the Archdeacon Melchior Longhi for the porch of the Cathedral at Novara, and Andrea da Fusina, sculptor of the tomb of Francesco Birago in the Chiesa della Passione at Milan, a tasteless and clumsy work, in which he had the assistance of a Milanese sculptor, Biagio Vairone, who figures in the records of the Cathedral as a constant applicant for advanced pay. It was perhaps on this account that the directors, becoming tired of his importunity, caused his name to be stricken from the list of artists attached to the "Fabbrica," in 1496. A bas-relief of the Last Supper, at the Certosa, is ascribed to him by some writers.

The famous goldsmith, medallist and sculptor, Ambrogio Foppa, called Caradosso and Del Mundo, who was born at Pavia about 1470, and spent much of his life at Rome, was declared by no less competent a judge than Cellini to be the most skilful goldsmith he had ever met.§ A letter written to

* The companion statue of Eve is not by Solari, but by Angelo Marini detto Il Siciliano.

† Among them are SS. Helena, Sebastian, Judith, Lucia, Peter, John the Evangelist, Eustace, also Longinus and Lazarus.

‡ The Cathedral at Milan possesses a very fine work of art, which may here be mentioned—the bronze candelabrum, whose tree-like shape has caused the chapel in which it stands to be called the "Madonna dell' Albero." It was the gift of Archbishop Trivulzio in 1557, but its date is unknown and has been much disputed. Some writers assign it to the twelfth century, others, such as the late eminent architect Mr. Street, to the thirteenth, with a doubt if it be an Italian work, and others, struck with its general resemblance to the so-called Gloucester candlestick at South Kensington, an English work of the early part of the twelfth century, believe it to be of that time. To these conflicting hypotheses another may be added, that it is possibly a pseudo-archaic work of the fifteenth century. A description of it and some reasons for adopting this view are given in the Appendix to "Italian Sculptors," pp. 271 and 272, to which, for want of space, I must refer the reader.

§ How genuine this admiration was on his part is proved by his refusal to accept any payment for a chiselled cap-button from a gentleman who declared it to be superior to those for which Caradosso received

Francesco Binasco at Milan, by Bishop Lorenzo Gonzaga of Mantua asking for a list and some pencil sketches of certain marble figures and heads by Caradosso which were offered for sale proves that he worked in marble, and that he was a skilful modeller in clay is evident from a terra-cotta "mortorio," a group of life-size figures standing about the dead body of our Lord, in the church of San Satiro at Milan, which, like similar works by Guido Mazzini at Modena and Naples, produces the effect of a *tableau vivant* in a Mediæval Mystery. The forms and draperies are coloured; the action is arrested at a moment of great feeling on the part of the Apostles and Marys, and the treatment throughout is thoroughly naturalistic. It cannot be classed as the work of a sculptor, but rather as that of an able "plasticatore," or modeller in clay.

Paolo de' Garviis, one of the Milanese sculptors who wandered from home, was employed at Atri, in the Abruzzi, by Isabella Piccolomini, wife of Matteo III., Acquaviva, to sculpture an altar for the Cathedral, which he had vowed to dedicate to the Virgin and St. Anne when he should be liberated from the prison into which he had been thrown, for his share in the conspiracy of the forty Barons against Alfonso of Naples. Before the altar was finished (1506), Matteo was set free, so that his wife had faith that her anticipated fulfilment of his vow had found favour in the Madonna's sight.* Besides this altar, which stands under a ciborium supported upon four pilasters adorned with the Ducal arms, leaves, festoons, and arabesques, Paolo de' Garviis made a font (1509) for the Cathedral, sheltered by a canopy resting on carved pilasters.

Among the Milanese sculptors of the first half of the sixteenth century, Agostino Busti, surnamed Bambaja, certainly holds the first rank.† Nothing is known of the place or date

* a hundred scudi apiece. "Such praise," said Cellini, "is payment enough for me, since the highest reward that can be given me for my labour is to be assured that I have approached in excellence the works of so great an artist."—Cellini, *Vita*, pp. 50, 56. A gold pax, made by Caradosso (1527) for the Cardinal de' Medici (Pius IV.), and presented by him to the Cathedral at Milan, is his only extant work as a goldsmith.—See Franchetti, *Il Duomo di Milano*, plate xxx. and pp. 84, 85.

* See Andrea Matteo iii. *Sulla Capella degli Acquaviva*, by G. Cherubini, *Mem. St. Art.* Pisa, 1859.

† Called also Bambara, Zambaja, and Zambaglia.

of his birth or of his early education, but the first was probably Milan, and the second about 1490, while the third is shown to have been thorough by his one great unfinished work whose parts are scattered all over Europe. After the battle of Marignano (1515), which gave Milan to the French for the second time, Francis I. determined to erect a splendid tomb to the memory of Gaston de Foix, nephew of Louis XII. and governor of Milan, who fell on the battle-field of Ravenna, April 11th, 1512, from which time his body reposed in a leaden coffin, suspended between two columns in the Cathedral, until the expulsion of the French, when it was exposed by the victorious Swiss on the ramparts of the castle, and thence removed by reverent hands to the church of Sta. Marta.* There, after the re-occupation, the king commissioned Bambaja to give it a final resting-place. A drawing in the South Kensington Museum† is our only clue to the general design of the tomb, which the sculptor left incomplete‡ after working upon it for eight years.§ In this design the sides of the sarcophagus are adorned with bas-reliefs, separated from each other by projecting pilasters upon which stand statuettes, and the curved base is supported upon foliated lions' feet, and decorated with a rich cornice. The mortuary couch is surrounded by candelabra, and the whole structure raised from the ground upon a flat basement resting upon double pilasters, on which stand figures of the Virtues, and below which sit others of apostles and prophets. The tomb was

* MS. by Andrea da Prato, cited by Franchetti, *op. cit.* p. 90, note 1, and by Verri, ii. 119.

† Vide *Illustrated Catalogue* by J. C. Robinson, Esq., pp. 170 *et seq.* The drawing, ascribed to Lionardo da Vinci, was purchased at the Woodburn sale.

‡ This is disputed. Lattuada, *Desc. di Milano*, v. 56, in proof of his opinion that it was set up at Santa Marta, cites the following inscription from a tablet placed upon the wall below the statue of Gaston de Foix when the old church was restored:—"Cum in sede Marthæ restituenda ejus tumulus dirutus sit hujusce cœnobii virgines . . . hoc in loco collocandum curavere," A.D. 1674.

§ See Vasari, xi. 271, and viii. 183, Vita di R. da Montelupo; also Cicognara, lib. v. ch. v. and Biondelli's article on Bambaja in the *Politecnico di Milano*, no. iii. pp. 222 *et seq.* for notices of Bambaja and his works.

intended to stand in the middle of a chapel whose walls were to have been ornamented with bas-reliefs, many of which still exist. Those meant to fill the flat spaces of the pilasters, composed of arms, trophies, instruments of music, and horses almost detached from the background by deep cutting, are marvels of skilful workmanship, but the statuettes and reliefs intended for other parts of the tomb are wanting in style and purity of outline.* Of all the fragments belonging to it none is so impressive as the mutilated effigy of the young soldier, which was taken to the Brera when the convent of Sta. Marta was suppressed by the French. Clothed in armour and wearing a helmet wreathed with laurel upon his head, he lies with his arms crossed upon his breast "*quasi tutto lieto nel sembiante, così morto per le vittorie avute.*" Were it not for this one statue, we should think Bambaja overrated, notwithstanding his really great skill as an ornamental sculptor. The details of his small monument to *Lancinus Curtius* in the Renaissance Museum at the Brera are excellent, but the general design is meagre and in bad taste.† Upon a tablet

* Fragments are to be seen not only at Milan, but also in Spain and England. Those in the Ambrosian Library, consisting of three pilasters covered with trophies and military emblems, were bequeathed to it by Cesare Piatti, nephew of the Cardinal Flaminio Pitti, who purchased them for 200 gold scudi when the convent of Santa Marta was restored. At Castellazzo, the villa of the Marchese Busca near Milan, there are seven bas-reliefs, three pilasters, and six seated figures, which were bought in the early part of this century by the Count Giuseppe-Maria Arconati. Three seated statuettes are at the Brera, and four others at the church of Chiaravalle in the neighbourhood of the city; in the museum of the Academy at Turin there are four pilasters, and in the museum at Madrid two unfinished reliefs, one of which represents a procession of soldiers barely sketched out in the marble; lastly, there are two statuettes of Fortitude and Charity, and three important reliefs in the South Kensington Museum. The first (1515) represents a warrior leading a horse, and is inscribed with the motto "*Nunquam tentes aut perire;*" the second (1518), men shooting upwards, standing on either side of a truncated column with the device "*Illæso lumine solem.*" In the third, a warrior crowned by Apollo sits upon a triumphal car above which Jupiter and the Eagle appear in the clouds. This relief bears the latest date (1523) connected with the monument, but it is probable that Bambaja continued to work upon it until the defeat of the French at Pavia in 1525.

† Originally in the cloister of the church of St. Mark at Milan. It

below the recumbent effigy is an inscription lauding this eminent man of letters, who wrote Latin poems and epigrams, and made an excellent Latin version of the poems of Callimachus. A second tablet sustained by winged horses, emblems of poetical genius, and volute-shaped flaming torches, typical of the light which it sheds, is placed above the sarcophagus, and contains a bas-relief of the three Graces. The monument is surmounted by a crowned female genius, below which are winged figures of Victory with a palm branch, and of Faith with a torch flanked by "putti" with candelabra.* Bambaja was attached to the "Fabbrica" from 1537 until his death in 1548,† during which time he made the mediocre monuments of the Cardinal Marino Caracciolo, governor of Milan, and of the Canon Giovanni Andrea Vimercati for the Duomo. Nothing could well be more cold and bald than the architectural design of these tombs, or more uninteresting than their accessories. In 1548 Vimercati commissioned him to sculpture a bas-relief, representing the Presentation of the Virgin, for an altar in the left transept.‡ Here again he failed to produce a work worthy of his reputation, for the composition is poor, the figures are inordinately long in proportion and wanting both in expression and in elevation of style. Bambaja's name appears in the list of artists who worked upon the façade of the Certosa, but we look in vain among its many bas-reliefs for such internal evidence as we find in those upon a tomb in the family chapel of the Borromei on the Isola Bella, representing the Agony in the Garden, the Flagellation, and a warrior marching in triumph surrounded by a crowd of soldiers and people.§ These, as well as the birds, masks, festoons, and

is inscribed:—"Opus Augustini Busti . A.D. 1513 . absolut. e. cœnobio. S. Marci . Mediol. translát."

* Engraved by Cicognara, vol. ii. tav. 79.

† Franchetti, p. 77, nota 1, says Bambaja was attached to the Veneranda Fabbrica July 16, 1537, and remained so till his death in 1548.

‡ October 23, 1543, Vimercati deposited 2,200 ducats in the hands of the treasurer to pay for these works. See Franchetti, *op. cit.* p. 77.

§ It is true that those upon the side pilasters of the portal, which represent the history of the edifice, resemble the bas-reliefs of the Presentation at Milan, in the extreme length of the figures, and the compositions upon the tomb of Gaston de Foix in the combination of basso- with

arabesques upon the sarcophagus, need no signature or documentary evidence to prove their authenticity. Like Bambaja's other works they have great excellences, coupled with grave defects characteristic of the art of his time. Even in ornament as excellent as that upon the pilasters of the tomb of Gaston de Foix, the laws of sculpture are violated by the introduction of drums, banners, and other objects unfit for representation in marble, while in bas-relief the bounds which should limit subject in sculpture are repeatedly disregarded.

Among Bambaja's contemporaries were Antonio di Domenico (1508) da Ligorno or Ligiuno (a province of Como), who is styled "egregius sculptor" in a document of the time;* Bernardino da Milano (1521), who assisted Giacomo da Ferrara in sculpturing the frieze of the Palazzo Castelli at Ferrara after the designs of Baldassar Peruzzi;† Galinus da Cozteno, a native of the Valtelline;‡ Antonio di Santo, who long lived and worked at Reggio, where he adorned (1503) the portal and staircase of the palace of Count Borso Sforza;§ Cristoforo da Milano, who worked at Ferrara (1509);|| Bernardino da Milano or Lugano, a noted bronze-caster, who assisted Rustici to cast the figures of St. John disputing with a Levite and a Pharisee, for the baptistry at Florence,¶ and Marco Ferrari, called from his native town near Milan, da Gra or d' Agrate, whose statue of St. Bartholomew in the Cathedral at Milan hardly needs the warning inscription upon its pedestal—

alto-relievo, but these are not distinctive marks, and we are the less inclined to accept them as such, because the said reliefs are very much superior in style and composition to any of Bambaja's known works. The draperies are simply treated, and fall in straight-lined well-arranged folds, whereas those in the statuettes and bas-reliefs belonging to the tomb of Gaston de Foix are fluttering and cut up. The architectural backgrounds are also purer in style than those of Bambaja.

* Cittadella, *op. cit.* p. 661.

† *Ibid.* p. 318.

‡ Bossi, MS. cartella viii.

§ Campori, *Art. Est.* p. 316, *op. cit.* In a filza from the *Archivio di Parma* cited by Gualandi, *Mem. &c.*, 6th series, 31, 33, this artist is styled "Mo Antonio di Domini Sancti; habitat in civitatis Regii in via. Scti. Raphaelis."

|| Cittadella, *op. cit.* pp. 318, 423.

¶ See *Giornale, Degli Arch. Toscani*, iv. 63, anno 1860, and p. 159 this volume.

"Non me Praxiteles, sed Marcus fuixit Agrates."*

Other works by this sculptor are a bas-relief of the marriage of Cana in the Capella del Albero, and the monument of Bartolomeo Martini in the Cathedral at Parma, neither of which rise above mediocrity.† This is unfortunately the case with the greater part of the sculpture of his time in the Milanese territory. It shuns the Scylla of nullity and bad taste only to fall into the Charybdis of Michelangelism. Among those who were swept into the latter whirlpool were Guglielmo della Porta, Brambilla, Fontana and Leone Lioni. Guglielmo was the nephew and pupil of Cristoforo Solari's scholar Giovan Giacomo della Porta, whom he accompanied to Genoa (1531), to assist in erecting a ciborium over the altar of St. John the Baptist in the Cathedral.‡ The Prophets in alto-relief upon the pedestals of its porphyry columns, and the mannered statues and bas-reliefs in the chapel of SS. Peter and Paul, were sculptured by Guglielmo during his six years' residence there, together with a poor statue of St. Catherine on the stairway-landing at the Academy. Leaving Genoa in 1537 he went to Rome with a letter from his uncle to Fra Sebastiano del Piombo, who presented him to Michelangelo, through whom he obtained occupation, and admission to the Pope's service. In 1547 he was appointed to the office of "piombatore," and when Paul III. died (1550) was commissioned by Cardinal Farnese to make his monument at St. Peter's. Its prototype is to be found in the tombs of the Medici at San Lorenzo, so far as the tripartite arrangement of a seated statue looking down upon two reclining allegorical figures is concerned, but whereas in Michelangelo's tombs the material is homogeneous, and the figures are symbolic of abstract ideas, in this of Guglielmo della Porta both bronze and marble are used, and the reclining figures are portraits in allegorical guise; the Prudence, an old woman looking into a mirror, of the Pope's mother, Giovanna Gaetani da Sermoneta, and the Justice, of his sister-in-law Giulia Gaetani. Her nude statue was considered so scandalously out of place in a church that Guglielmo's son, Teodoro,

* See Cicognara, vol. ii. plate 80; and Vasari (ed. *Le Monnier*) vol. xi. p. 273, note 6.

† Franchetti, *op. cit.* p. 107; and Bossi, *MS.* vol. i. no. 78.

‡ It cost 1,000 golden scudi. Banchero, *Il Duomo di Genova*, p. 178.

was directed to drape it in a tunic of bronze (1590), which, however decorous, is very unpleasing in effect.* The tomb as a whole and in detail strikingly illustrates the decadence of monumental art in the sixteenth century, as it epitomizes those defects of mannerism, want of significance, absence of individuality, sensualism, and unrest, which mar so much of its best sculpture. There is so little satisfaction in studying it that we hasten on to the close of our task, like the belated traveller who, after traversing a land of plenty, has yet to cross a desert strip of country before reaching his journey's end.

The most famous Lombard artist of this period was Leone Lioni, goldsmith, medallist, sculptor, and bronze-caster, called *Il Cavaliere Aretino*, though born at Menaggio in the district of Como,† and "*Il Scultore Cesareo*," because he made so many statues, busts, and medals of the Imperial family. In 1552 Charles V. lodged him in the palace at Brussels, knighted him, and after taking him to Spain, where many of his works still exist,‡ pensioned him, and on his return to Milan gave him a house in the *Contranda degli Omenoni*,§ known as

* See Gualandi, 6th series, pp. 123, 125, for documents concerning father and son. Melchiori in his *Guida di Roma* says this tomb cost 24,000 scudi. Other artists of the della Porta family were the Cav. Gian Battista della Porta, Tommaso (d. 1568), Paolo, and a second Tommaso who cast the statues of SS. Peter and Paul for the Trajan and Antonine columns, and died in 1618. (Bossi, MS. cartella x.)

† Campori, *Art. Est.* p. 283, and Morigia, lib. v. ch. v. p. 470, both speak of him as a native of Menaggio. Guilliot, *Les Artistes Italiens en Espagne*, p. 23, and Vasari, vol. xiii., say he was born at Arezzo. The editors of Vasari, xiii. 3, nota 1, account for this difference by supposing that his father was an Aretine residing at Menaggio when his son was born. But in a contract made by Leone for the Melegnano monument, he is called Leone Aretino son of Giovanni Battista Milanese.

‡ Such as the statues of the emperor and empress in the *Accademia di S. Ferdinando*, and the bust of the emperor in the new palace at Madrid; two large bronze medallions of Charles V. and the Empress Isabella at Buen Retiro, and several busts of the Imperial family; and busts of Charles V., Philip II., and the Duke of Alva in his palace at Madrid. He also projected an equestrian statue of the emperor (Campori, *op. cit.* p. 249).

§ So called from the colossal terminal figures of prisoners on the façade (Vasari, xiii. p. 115), made by Antonio Abbondio called *l'Ascona*. Battista called *l'Asconino* made several statues for the Cathedral at Milan. One of Leone Lioni's scholars, Martino Pasqualigo (1524-1580)

the Casa Aureliana, from a cast of the statue of Marcus Aurelius in the courtyard.

The best example of Leone's corrupt and mannered style is the bronze statue of Don Ferrante Gonzaga, Viceroy of Sicily and Governor of Milan, which was removed from that city to Guastalla by Don Ferrante II.* To understand its allegorical significance it is necessary to know that Don Ferrante gave so much discontent by his administration that Charles V. summoned him to Madrid to give an account of it, and that he succeeded in justifying himself in the eyes of his master, who loaded him with honours. To illustrate this history, Leone represented his hero in the costume of a Roman general, standing with one foot upon a prostrate satyr who grasps a triple-headed snake, typical of envy, and holding three apples in his hand, like a Hercules fresh from the gardens of the Hesperides. Skilfully cast, and ably composed, the group is "baroque" and pretentious in style, as is the monument to Giovan Giacomo de' Medici, Marquis of Melegnano, in the Cathedral at Milan, which Leone cast as it is said after a design by Michelangelo. The Marquis clad in armour, the seated allegorical figures of Peace and military Renown, and the personifications of Prudence and Fame, make up what the world calls a fine tomb, that is to say, a huge mass whose effect is due to scale and costliness of material rather than to artistic excellence.† Pompeo Lioni, the son and scholar of Leone, who was both sculptor and medallist, imitated his style so closely that their works are hardly distinguishable. After living many years at Madrid where he made no less than thirteen bronze statues of members of the Imperial family,‡ Pompeo returned to Italy in 1582, to work under his father upon certain statues designed by Giovanni de' Herrera for the High Altar of San Lorenzo, in the Spanish capital, and in the space of four years he modelled and cast ten figures larger than life,§ for which he was paid 3,000 ducats, and, in consideration lived long at Venice with Jacopo Sansovino and Pietro Aretino, and was painted by Titian.

* Engraved in Litta's *Famiglie Celebre*, fasc. xxxiii. pt. ii.

† It was ordered by Pius IV., who gave seven marble columns and spent 7,800 gold scudi upon it. The contract is dated September 12, 1560.

‡ Giulliot, *Les Artistes en Espagne*, p. 60.

§ He also made nine statues for the Church of St. Filippo Reale. For

of his thirty years' service, received a pension of 600. As the statues gave entire satisfaction to his employers, we may presume that they rated quantity of greater importance than quality.

Among Leone's contemporaries were Antonio Fontana (1540-1587), who decorated the façade of San Celso at Milan with many vicious statues* and bas-reliefs, and Francesco Brambilla, long head master of the "Veneranda Fabbrica" of the Cathedral, whose two pulpits, resting upon bronze symbols of the Evangelists and the Doctors of the Church, were cast after his designs by his pupil, Andrea Biffi.† All other sixteenth-century sculptors employed at Milan‡ and in the cities and towns of its territory, may be dismissed in a few words. Tommaso Lombardo, from Lugano, a scholar of Jacopo Sansovino and one of his assistants in decorating the façade of the Library at Venice, who flourished in 1547, was a skilful workman in stucco, a material greatly in favour for decorative purposes in that part of Italy, and eminently suited to the "baroque" style of the period. His heavy and mannered marble group of the Madonna and Child with St. John, in the church of St. Sebastian, is a close imitation of Jacopo Sansovino's group of

these works and the nineteen gilded bronze statues which he made for the Escorial, he received 23,000 ducats. The quality of the latter may be judged of by the fact that their draperies are of marble enriched with precious stones!

* One of them, the Madonna, now within the church, over the left side door, was declared by the deputies to be the work of an angel. The St. John the Evangelist, in a niche over the tomb of Fontana at San Celso, is considered one of his best works.

† Biffi also cast the bronze tempietto over the high altar and the angels which separate the bas-reliefs about the choir, designed by Brambilla. Pietro Antonio Daverio, who worked at the Cathedral, and Ruggiero Basgapè or Bescapè, were scholars of Andrea Biffi.

‡ Such as Lionardo, who made the statues of SS. Peter and Paul in the chapel of Cardinal Riccio da Montepulciano at Rome; the brothers Jacopo and Tomaso Casignuola, who cast the baroque bronze statue of Pope Pius IV. for his monument in the Caraffa chapel at the Minerva; Ambrogio Buonvicino (d. 1590), who sculptured the monument of Pope Urban VII. in the same church, the bas-reliefs upon the tombs of Clement VIII. and Paul V. at St. Andrea della Valle, and a bas-relief of Christ's charge to Peter at St. Peter's. Giacomo Scilla Longhi, of Milan, carved the six mediocre bas-reliefs upon the sarcophagus of S. Silvestro in the abbey church at Nonantola

the same subject in the Loggia, and his statuette of St. Jerome in the same church is altogether insignificant. Another artist from Lugano, Maestro Galeazzo, worked upon capitals, architraves, &c., for the chapel of St. Anthony in his Basilica at Padua (1500-1502), together with an Alessandro from Saronno (1502-1516), a decorative sculptor of ability. From Bergamo came Pietro, who worked at Ferrara (1551) and Naples; Giovanni Castello, called Il Bergamasco, who sculptured the poor statue of Hope in the Lercaro Chapel in the Cathedral at Genoa; and Pietro di Bonomo de' Maffeio (1526-1579), who carved many animals in wood for the choir of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Bergamo. At Como there were no worthy successors of the brothers Rodari already spoken of, or at Cremona of the Giovanni Gaspari Pedoni, whose works in the municipal palace have been mentioned. His son Cristoforo, who sculptured the Arca di San Arcaldo (1538-1538) in the crypt of the Cathedral, the brothers Jacobus and Galeatino de' Cambi, who worked at Bergamo, and the brothers Campi, one of whom, Bernardino, painted frescoes in the Church of St. Sigismond (1550), complete the list of Cremonese sculptors known to us. The Pietro of Pavia, who sculptured the life-size statue in fig-tree wood of Christ bound to the column, in the church of San Giovanni a Monte at Bologna, was evidently a follower of Michelangelo. The head is expressive, and the body shows careful anatomical study. Simone of Pavia, one of Pietro's contemporaries, commenced an "ancona" of gilded bronze with niches, columns, cornices, and chiselled silver figures two feet in height, for the confraternity of Sta. Maria della Misericordia at Bergamo, but died at the end of the century, leaving it unfinished.

VENICE.

In a previous chapter we gave some account of Pietro Lombardo's works at Venice, Ravenna and Treviso, and mentioned his sons Tullio and Giulio. Tullio has been called the best of Venetian sculptors, though his style is cold and monotonous, and his compositions are rarely felicitous. One of his two large bas-reliefs in the Capella del Santo at Sant' Antonio at Padua, of a youth who was healed by St. Anthony

after he had cut off the offending foot with which he had kicked his mother in a moment of anger, shows ten unmoved spectators in a row, looking at the equally unmoved sufferer whose body, stiffly stretched across the composition, produces a series of awkward and disagreeable lines. The other relief which illustrates the scripture text, "where a man's treasure is, there will his heart be also," represents St. Anthony finding the heart of a miser lying in his money chest. We have but to cross the church to the high altar to feel the hollowness of Tullio's style, as we see how Donatello has treated the same subject with point, vigour, and clearness, never distracting the eye from the main centre of action—true to nature and sentiment in every line and detail, and incomparable in style. None of Tullio's works at Venice justify his great reputation. The angels which support an altar at San Martino are without expression, and monotonously uniform in drapery and action, and the Christ with the Twelve Apostles in relief at San Giovanni Crisostomo, though carefully draped and smoothly worked, are wanting in life and stiff in arrangement. The bas-relief on the façade of the Scuola di San Marco, which represents St. Mark baptizing S. Ansano, is said to be one of Tullio's works, but the composition is so good, the treatment so sculptural, and the gradation of relief so well managed that we hesitate to attribute it to him. His hand is, however, clearly recognizable in other equally unauthenticated marbles, as for instance in some of the bas-reliefs from the Palazzo Suffiolo, near Modena, which are said to have been sculptured by him and his brother Antonio for the Duke Alfonso d'Este, to decorate the Palazzo Belriguardo at Ferrara.* Though four of them, representing classical subjects, are in the same cold and unsympathetic style as Tullio's bas-reliefs in the Capella del Santo, they are more highly finished. The others, which consist of griffins, eagles, tritons, and arabesques, are excellent examples of Renaissance

* When the dukes of the house of Este left Ferrara they brought with them many precious works of art, including these bas-reliefs, and placed them in the Palazzo di Suffiolo, which eventually passed into the possession of Count d'Espagnac, who brought the marbles to Paris, where they now are in the Spitzer collection. The Cav. L. N. Cittadella, director of the public library at Ferrara, states that nothing is known of their history at Ferrara, and that no mention is made of them in the Boschini MS.

ornament, and worthily represent the school of Pietro Lombardo. We have yet to mention the uninteresting monument to the Doge Giovanni Mocenigo, which Tullio sculptured for San Giovanni e Paolo, and the coarse and vulgar statues of Adam and Eve in the Palazzo Vendramin Calergi, from the monument to the Doge Andrea Vendramin in the same church.* A few years before his death at Venice, Nov. 17, 1530, Tullio worked with his father at Treviso, and sculptured the very beautiful eagle upon the sarcophagus of Bishop Zanotti's monument.† His brother Antonio (d. 1516) is chiefly known to us by a large bas-relief (1505) in the Cappella del Santo, at Padua,‡ of an infant bearing witness to the innocence of its mother, who had been unjustly accused of infidelity. This work is altogether second-rate, the figures are clumsily proportioned, stiffly posed, and without expression.§ One of the best anonymous marbles at Venice, which is classed as belonging to the school of the Lombardi, is a bas-relief over a doorway in the museum of the Ducal Palace. It represents St. Mark with a bishop and a saint, in the act of presenting the Doge Lionardo Loredano to the enthroned Madonna, who by her impassive countenance and dignified presence recalls Giovanni Bellini.|| The Divine Child standing upon one knee bends forward to

* See p. 359.

† Tullio was buried at Venice in the church of San Stefano. See the *Registri di San Stefano*, MS. Cod. della Bib. Marciano, quoted by Morelli in his notes to l'Anonimo, note 102, p. 193.

‡ Gonzati, *op. cit.* vol. i. doc. 101. Antonio received 2,480 lire for this bas-relief (*ibid.* p. 170).

§ It is certain that the two pretended families of Lombardi at Venice and Ferrara were in reality one and the same. Antonio di Pietro, who was the founder of the Ferrarese branch, came to Ferrara in 1505, was still in the Duke's pay in 1515, and as we know from his widow's will was dead in 1516. His sons Aurelio, Lodovico, and Girolamo were all under age at the time of his death. Aurelio and Lodovico were in Ferrara in 1523. In 1530, or 1534, Girolamo went with his brothers to Loreto, and worked there. They afterwards married and settled in Recanati. Aurelio died in 1563. Girolamo left several sons, among whom were Antonio and Paolo, sculptors, and Pietro, sculptor and painter (Letter from the Cav. L. N. Cittadella).

|| Loredano seems to have especially cultivated the worship of the Virgin, for we find him again represented as kneeling before her, upon the "quattrino," a square coin which was struck during his reign (*I Dogi di Venezia*).

listen to the aged suppliant, whose expressive face and clasped hands are full of character and truth. The long trailing folds of his ducal mantle are disposed with great skill, and worked out with great care. If it be difficult to believe any of the Lombardi capable of so admirable a work as this, it is equally difficult to credit them with the marbles of the Giustiniani chapel at San Francesco delle Vigne, which is said to have been built by Agnesina Badoaro after the death of her husband Girolamo Giustiniani, and decorated by Tullio, Antonio and Santi Lombardo* (1532). The marbles are evidently by three different artists, but not by Tullio, as he was dead at the time, or Antonio, who though alive had not the requisite capacity, or Santi, who was an architect. The earliest and best of them, perhaps executed before the chapel was built,† consist of a delicately-sculptured bas-relief of the Last Judgment, an excellent statuette of St. Jerome (see wood-cut), and of statuettes of the Archangel Michael, SS. Agnes, Anthony and James,‡ which have much more spontaneity and freedom than the cold but highly-finished alto-reliefs of the Evangelists upon the walls of the chapel.



* Zanotti, *Guida di Venezia*.

† Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*, vol. iv. p. 338, ed. in 8vo, and Selvatico, *op. cit.*, both ascribe these works to the fourteenth century. The latter, at p. 381, says Jacopo Sansovino built the church in 1534. Sansovino, *Venezia Descritta*, p. 48, says the church was rebuilt in his day.

‡ Selected by Agnesina Badoaro because their names were the same as those of certain members of her own family and of that of her husband.

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The transition period at Venice between the Gothic and the Renaissance, is well represented by the bas-reliefs upon the marble parapet around the choir of the church of *Sta. Maria de' Frari*, whose flat spaces are adorned with half-figures of prophets and saints. One of these is supposed to be a portrait of the unknown sculptor (1475), whose motto, "*Soli Deo Honor et Gloria*," is engraved upon the cartel which he holds in his hand. Another anonymous sculptor (1484) made the monument of *Jacopo Marcello* at the *Frari*,* which is one of the first examples of that use of incongruous elements in monumental art which gradually destroyed its solemn character. The statue of the deceased, with a banner in his hand, stands above the highly-ornate sarcophagus, which is supported by male figures in Venetian costume. The tomb of the *Doge Nicolo Tron*, a towering overcrowded pile, shows still more plainly the decay of taste. It has three niches with statues of the *Doge* and the *Virtues* in the first story, an epitaph and bas-reliefs of children with vases of fruit in the second, a sarcophagus with recumbent effigy and three statuettes in the third, seven niches with as many symbolical statuettes in the fourth, and at the top a lunette, containing a relief of the *Resurrection* of our Lord, surmounted by a God the Father, with the *Madonna* and the *Angel of the Annunciation*.† We need not dwell upon this monument, whose confused effect proves that no richness of detail can compensate for the absence of simplicity and unity of design. Other Renaissance monuments at the *Frari*, in which the skilful hand vainly strives to hide the want of pure taste and correct sentiment, are those of *Melchiorre Trevisan* (1500), general of the Venetian republic, of *Benedetto Brugnolo*, and that of *Pietro Bernardo*, an ornate casket flanked by two seated lions, crowned by a statuette, and supported upon a fluted cornice held up by consoles. Below them is a sarcophagus resting upon consoles shaped like *Doric capitals*, between which an eagle spreads his wings.

The peculiarly North Italian fashion probably first set in the monuments of the *Scaligers* at *Verona*, of surmounting tombs with equestrian statues of the deceased became so

* A brave Venetian captain who perished under the walls of *Gallipoli* during the war between *Venice* and *Ercole*, *Duke of Ferrara*.

† Perhaps designed by *Antonio Rizzo*.

identified with the Venetian school that tombs so decorated are said to be "*alla veneziana*." This and other innovations led to a time when the curtain-drawing angels, the still, straight-lined effigy, and the sarcophagus storied with Scripture scenes and decorated with simple statuettes of the Virgin and the Angel became things of the past. The tomb of Jacopo Suriano* at San Stefano, which is much better in style than the tombs of which we have been speaking, consists of an arch, supported by Corinthian columns, and raised upon a richly-ornamented base, with a bas-relief of the devotee presented to the Madonna by his patron saint. Below it is a sarcophagus with the recumbent effigy of the deceased resting upon griffins, between which stand two genii with torches in their hands, on either side of a memorial tablet. Some writers consider the crowning glory of Venetian monuments to be that of the Doge Andrea Vendramin in the church of San Giovanni e Paolo.† Here the later Renaissance displays all its borrowed splendours; Corinthian columns supporting a triumphal arch; pilasters and a broad frieze covered with arabesques; a mortuary couch resting upon eagles, a sarcophagus adorned with niches and ornamented pilasters, wreaths, sculptured panels, and to crown all a medallion, supported by syrens. This abundance of pagan elements is poorly balanced by statuettes of Christian Virtues, placed about the recumbent effigy of the doge and in the niches of his sarcophagus, virtues which, according to history, Andrea Vendramin did not possess. He belonged to one of those Venetian families which were ennobled for services rendered to Venice during the Chioggian war, owed his election rather to his influential connections than to any personal merit, and his magnificent monument to his great wealth. The already-mentioned statues of Adam and Eve‡ by Tullio Lombardi, originally in the larger niches outside the columns, are now replaced by personifications of military prowess. The general design

* An eminent physician from Rimini.

† Cicognara speaks of this tomb as "*il vertice a cui le arte veneziane si spinsero al ministero dello scalpello*." Selvatico and others are equally extravagant in their praises, but Ruskin shudders at it and finds satisfaction in the thought that the man who designed it (Leopardi) was impure in spirit as in art.

‡ Now in the Vendramin-Calergi palace.

for this tomb is said to have been given by Alessandro Leopardi, the most eminent bronze-caster of his time.* The date of his birth is unrecorded, but we know that he lived at Venice in the Contrada of Sta. Maria dell' Orto, that his studio was situated in the Piazza del Cavallo, adjoining San Giovanni e Paolo,† and that in the year 1487 he was banished from the Venetian territory for forgery.‡ In the following year Andrea Verrocchio died at Venice, 18th Sept., while working upon the equestrian statue of the great condottiere Bartolomeo Coleoni, and the Senate knowing no artist so capable of completing it as Leopardi, allowed him to return with a safe-conduct for six months, which they afterwards prolonged indefinitely. We have already adduced our reasons for giving him a chief part in the divided authorship of this noble work (p. 135). If Verrocchio left behind him sketches in clay and pencil embodying his general conception of the group, as seems probable, they were doubtless placed in the hands of his successor to use as he saw fit, but from such beginnings to their full realization there is a wide step. In his will Verrocchio refers to the horse as commenced, but he makes no mention of the rider, who may therefore be altogether by Leopardi. This noble cavalier of the stern countenance (*see* woodcut, page 361) and noble bearing, is Venetian in his picturesque mediævalism, and in treatment quite unlike the dry precision of the realistic Verrocchio, whose training in the goldsmiths' workshop shows itself in his sculpture. Whatever may be concluded as to the authorship of the group, there can be but one conclusion about the pedestal on which it stands, namely, that it is wholly by Leopardi. Adorned with six Corinthian columns, and an elaborate frieze of marine animals and tro-

* Zanotti, *op. cit.* p. 291, says perhaps the monument was designed by Leopardi. Temanza and Selvatico consider it probable that he was its author.

† "Elogio di A. Leopardi del Cav. P. Zandomenighi, Atti del Reg. Accad. in Venezia A.D. 1858."

‡ Selvatico, p. 221, says that documents prove that Leopardi forged the name of a sailor called Marino Bernardo. The Cav. Zandomenighi in the above-cited eulogium, p. 18, endeavours to explain away the guilt of Leopardi, by representing him as the victim of a dissolute nobleman who employed him to make facsimiles of certain documents without telling him to what use he meant to put them, and who when discovered left him to bear the consequences.

phies, it lifts the horse and his rider up against the blue sky to a height just sufficient to give it full effect. When first exposed to view on the 21st of March, 1496, it met with the admiration which still greets it, and the delighted Signory deliberated upon commissioning the sculptor to cast bronze gates for the Porta della Carta. As the scheme was abandoned they directed him to cast the three standard bases of bronze which stand before the portals of St. Mark's. Each one is supported upon winged lions, and decorated with figures and emblems typical of the wealth and power of Venice, and a special interest is given to the middle one by the profile head of the Doge Leonardo Loredano (1501-1506). These bases, as well as the Coleoni group and the three richly-ornamented bronze candelabra at the Academy, show that as a bronze-caster Leopardi surpassed any other artist of his time. Distinguished also as an architect, he built the church of Santa Giustina at Padua after the plans of Antonio Rizzo (1507), and made an accepted design for the Scuola della Misericordia, at Venice. The date of his death is uncertain, but as he is spoken of by a native writer in 1541, as the "new glory of our age who shines like a star in the Venetian wonders," it must have been much later than is generally supposed. He had several contemporaries who were not destitute of talent, such as Lorenzo Bregno, Zuane Zorzi, called Pyrgoteles, Antonio Deutone, and Vittor Camello or Gambello * (1460-1539), sculptor, bronze-caster, and medallist, who counterfeited antique coins so perfectly that they deceived even the most expert.



* Zani, *Enc. Met.* vii. 176, says that Camello was a Vicentine.

Sometimes, as in the two portrait medals of himself (1490), he adopted the antique style, and then again, as in that of Gentile Bellini (1500), followed, though he never rivalled, the great Italian medallists.* With little individuality, he had a tendency to imitate the most opposite styles. Thus, for example, his statuettes of the Twelve Apostles at San Stefano, and those of the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, and the Apostles at the Frari, are in a quiet simple style resembling that of the Massegne, while the two battle scenes in relief† at the Academy are violent and exaggerated in action.‡ We learn that rhyming was one of his accomplishments from the verses of Cornelio Castaldo, whose extravagant praises may be partially ascribed to gratitude for the medallion portrait which Camello made of him. The verses are, however, mildly laudatory compared with others addressed by Italian poets to artists far less eminent than Camello,§ such as those of the poet Guarino upon a group of Venus and Cupid sculptured by Pyrgoteles, who was an artist of but very mediocre talent. The group which the poet declared superior to the works of Apollo and Praxiteles does not exist, but we may judge that it cannot have been a very wonderful work of art from the sculptor's feeble group of the Madonna and Child (1518) in the lunette over the door of Sta. Maria dei Miracoli, and his insignificant statuette of Sta. Giustina on the holy-water vase in the Church of Sant' Antonio at Padua.||

* Among the medals of Gambello are those of Galeotto, marzo 1483; Pope Sixtus IV., 1484, an allegorical subject, 1490; the Doge Agostino Barbarigo, 1486; the Doge Andrea Gritti, 1523; Francesco Fasnolo and Cornelio Castaldo, juriconsults.

† Made for the tomb of a Captain Briamonte.

‡ Other works attributed to him are two figures which sustain a chimney-piece in a chamber of a Ducal Palace, a God the Father with angels and statuettes of SS. Anthony and Francis over the altar of the sacrament of St. Mark's, the Gobbo del Rialto on the Pinzzo del Rialto, a statuette of Mars over the great window of the façade of the Ducal Palace towards the Lagoon, a Justice on the Piazza at Murano, and the Slaves of the Contarini monument at Sant' Antonio di Padua.

§ Camello had a son named Domenico, who was the sculptor of a bas-relief, dated 1571, over an altar in the church of San Giuseppe at Venice.

|| The record of payment for this statue published by Gonzati, *op. cit.* doc. 130, in which the artist is mentioned as M. Zuane Zorzi "dicto

Antonio Dentone, a sculptor of some note at the end of the fifteenth century, made a group of the Admiral Vittore Cappello kneeling at the feet of Sta. Elena, in which the figure of the saint is not devoid of grace, nor the head of the admiral of truth to nature. It originally stood above the door of her now destroyed church, and is now placed high up against the transept wall of San Giovanni e Paolo, near the door of the sacristy. Dentone made a now destroyed monument to Orsato Giustiniani at Santa Eufemia,* and also a Pietà for the sacristy of Sta. Maria della Salute, which shows complete ignorance of the rudimentary principles of bas-relief. The face of the Virgin is distorted by a grimace which looks as much like laughter as grief; the lines of the figures and draperies are hard and angular, and the rocky landscape background belongs to the worst sort of pictorial sculpture.† Lorenzo Bregno, who worked at Venice in the early half of the sixteenth century, designed the monument above the door of the sacristy of the Frari to Admiral Benedetto Pesaro, who stands on the top of the sarcophagus with a banner in his hand, as well as the statue of Dionigi Naldo da Briseghella (1510) at San Giovanni e Paolo, and the statuettes of SS. Andrew, Peter and Paul above an altar in the church of Sta. Maria Mater Domini.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century there was no sculptor at Venice strong enough to found a school,‡ and

Pyrgotele," first revealed his real name. Zanotto, p. 305, note 2, erroneously speaks of him as Gio. Ettore Maria Lascari, who died of the plague in 1528.

* Both Vittore Capello and Orsato Giustiniani, touched by the grief of the unfortunate Doge Francesco Foscari, vainly endeavoured to obtain pardon for his son Jacopo when banished for the second time from Venice. Both distinguished themselves in the conduct of the Venetian fleet against the Turks. Giustiniani, after filling many civil and military offices with great honour, was so cast down by his defeat at Metalino that he retired to Modena, where he shortly after died (Romanin, iv. 318).

† This relief was formerly in the Cappella Giustiniani at the church of the Certosini (Cicognara, vol. v.).

‡ Note—containing names and notices of sixteenth-century sculptors at Venice of little repute:—

Bernardino Quatrini, *tajapietra*, contracted for certain works in the cloister of S. Antonio, A.D. 1503 (Cicogna, i. 364).

Jacopo Sansovino,* who did so about 1527, was not an artist of sufficiently fixed principles to keep himself in the right path, or bring others back to it. Born and bred in Tuscany and nourished upon the antique, his arrival at Venice promised the most beneficial results to art, but instead of stemming the current, which was running in the wrong direction, he yielded to it, and by his teaching and example continued to encourage license in style, and contempt of tradition during the forty years of his acknowledged headship of the Venetian school of architecture and sculpture. His scholar, Alessandro Vittoria, dragged art down in the mad extravagances of the "baroque," a style, if style it can be called, which declared war against the straight line, erased logic in construction from its grammar of art, and overloaded buildings with meretricious ornament. Following the lead of the architects, sculptors twisted the limbs of their statuettes into the most impossible positions, hollowed out the folds of their draperies like chance furrows in broken rocks, and aiming altogether at novelty for novelty's sake, indulged in caprices of the chisel, false to nature and to taste. We do not propose to enter at any length into an account of this corrupt period, concerning which enough may

Francesco Quatrini, ditto, A.D. 1548, June 29, agreed to complete the façade of this church (*ibid.*).

Stefano di Cortero or Cortesi, tagliapietra, in April 14, 1592, buried at R. Margherita (Cicogna, no. 14, p. 284).

Sebastiano, tajapietra, 1506, contracted for work about the church (*ibid.*).

Bernardino Canozzi, sculptor and architect, belonged to the Genesini family of Rovigo, 1501 or 1502, contracted to make the stalls of the Duomo di Ferrara adorned with intaglio and intarsia work, died about 1507 (Cittadella, *op. cit.* p. 58). He was son of Lorenzo Canozzi called "del Coro" (*see* Gonzati, ii. 141-2).

Daniele di Bernadino Canozzi, D^o M^o Daniele da Landinara, "M^o d'intarsia e di prospettiva, negli anni 1509-12 e 13," also worked in choir of duomo di Ferrara (*ibid.* p. 59).

Giovanni Giacco or Giachino, sc. Ven. fl. 1537 (Zani, x. 271).

Cristoforo del Legname, 1505, sculptured a bust of Matteo Piovano for the church of San Gimignano, of which he was architect (Cicognara, iii. 110).

Niccolò Roccatagliata received 160 ducats for bronze statue of SS. George and Stephen (*ibid.* p. 344).

* For an account of Jacopo Sansovino's career in Venice, *see* book ii. ch. iv.

be gathered from a sketch of the life of its leader, who is the type of his school.

Alessandro Vittoria, the son of a respectable citizen of Trent named Virgilio Vittoria della Volpe, who was born in 1525, came to Venice when he was a very young man and entered the studio of Jacopo Sansovino, which was well furnished with casts and other materials requisite for study, and greatly frequented by young artists of the day. With a mind quick in its conceptions, extreme facility of hand, and an undisciplined taste, he spent the years which he should have devoted to severe study in modelling ornaments for public and private buildings in stucco, a material which allowed of rapid free handling, and was therefore peculiarly adapted to his habits of work. Even Sansovino was at last shocked with the license of his pupil, and reproved him so severely that he left Venice for Vicenza, 1549, and worked during four years with Palladio, who availed himself of his talents as a decorator, although his style must have displeased this rigid follower of Vitruvius. When the friendship between Sansovino and his pupil was renewed through the intervention of their mutual friend Pietro Aretino, Vittoria returned to Venice to decorate the buildings which his master erected, with rich stucco ornaments, such as the leaves, trophies and grotesques on the ceiling of the Library, and those upon that of the "Scala d'Oro" at the Ducal Palace. After Sansovino's death Vittoria took his place as director of all art enterprises, and no artist could succeed at Venice without his favour. He rebuilt the Cappella del Rosario at San Giovanni e Paolo (1571), and decorated the spaces between its pilasters with colossal prophets and sybils, extravagant and mannered in style. The Scuola di San Girolamo, and the Palazzo Balbi (1582-1590) on the Grand Canal, whose façade is full of vicious detail, are also his works, as are the gigantic Caryatides on either side of the doorway leading to the old Library; the Evangelists in the church of San Giorgio Maggiore; the marble statues of St. Jerome at the Frari and San Giovanni e Paolo; the busts of Tommaso and Gaspare Contarini, and his own bust over his tomb at San Zaccaria. He died in his house at San Giovanni in Bragora, in 1613, at the age of eighty-five, and left a large sum of money to the poor and to the convent of San Zaccaria.

Among his scholars, who even surpassed him in extravagance

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of style, were Tiziano Aspetti, of Padua,* Niccolò di Conti and Alfonso Alborghetti, of Ferrara,† as well as the unknown bronze-casters of the candelabra at San Stefano, the Salute, and San Marco.

NAPLES, 1500–1600.

Giovanni Merliano da Nola, son of a leather merchant, and by far the most distinguished Neapolitan sculptor of the first half of the sixteenth century, was born about 1475, the natal year of Michelangelo.‡ Under his first master, Agnolo, or Aniello di Fiore§ (b. 1465), sculptor of the tomb of Francesco Caraffa in the chapel of the Crucifix at San Domenico,|| Merliano must have made rapid progress if, as is said, he carved the wooden bas-reliefs from the history of our Lord, and the statuettes of Prophets in the sacristy of the Annunziata, before he was twenty; but as the latter especially are decidedly Michelangelesque in style, we are disposed to believe that they were sculptured after he had studied the works of

* Among whose works are a holy-water vase in S. Antonio at Padua, the mannered statues of Moses and St. Paul in the façade of S. Francesco delle Vigne, the "baroque" colossus in the passage way leading to the Zecca, as well as the busts of Marcantonio and Agostino Bragadino, and that of Seb. Venerio at the Academy.

† These artists made the wells in the cortile of the Ducal Palace.

‡ The annotators of Vasari, ed. *Le Monnier*, vol. ix. p. 19, note 6, say that Merliano first studied under Aniello and then under Michelangelo. According to de' Dominici, Merliano was born in 1478 and died in 1560, though Vasari, ix. 21, gives 1558 as the date of his death.

§ He cannot have been the son of the painter Colantonio del Fiore, as stated by de' Dominici, as he died in 1444, or the pupil of Andrea Ciccione, who died in 1455.

|| The statuettes of Prudence and Fortitude, and the two Saints in niches belonging to this monument, are weak, but the bas-relief in the lunette of St. Dominic presenting a kneeling devotee to the Madonna, is superior to any Neapolitan work of the time. Other works by Aniello in the same chapel are the tombs of a Caraffa opposite that of Francesco, and of Alagni da Buccianico (d. 1477). De Dominici also ascribes to him a bas-relief of St. Jerome doing penance at the foot of the cross in the left transept of San Domenico (1515), and a wooden bas-relief of St. Hubert at Sta. Maria la Nuova.

the great Tuscan at Rome, and perhaps come into personal contact with him. The churches at Naples contain many works by Merliano, of varied quality. Among the best are an altar-piece at S. Aniello, of the Madonna della Misericordia, in which the Virgin sits gracefully upon a crescent moon; another at S. Pietro ad Aram, with nude figures of the dead rising from their tombs; a group of the Madonna and Child in the sacristy of San Pietro ad Aram; a relief of the Virgin and Child over an altar at San Domenico, with statuettes of SS. John and Matthew; a statue of St. Sebastian at San Pietro a Majella, and one of St. Michael at San Pietro ad Aram. The group of the Madonna with the infant Christ and St. John by Merliano, over the Ligorio monument in the church of Monte Oliveto, shows the favourable influence of Antonio Rossellino and Benedetto da Majano upon him, and this is also visible in his bas-relief of the Baptism of our Lord at San Giovanni Maggiore, the only one of his reliefs not thoroughly vicious in style. Among the worst are the overcrowded, ill-composed pictures in stone upon the sides of the tomb of the Viceroy Don Pedro da Toledo (d. Feb. 12, 1553) at San Giacomo de Spagnoli, with their troops of soldiers on foot and on horseback, backed by hills, towns, harbours, and skies dotted with clouds. His reliefs upon the tomb of the three brothers Jacopo, Ascanio and Sigismondo di Ugo San Severino, in the church of that name at Naples, are less objectionable, though of little merit. These ill-fated brothers, whose life-size statues seated upon the sarcophagus represent them with heads thrown back and contracted limbs, as if dying from the effects of poison, were the sons of Ugo, Count of Severino and Ippolita de' Monti, whose brother Don Geronimo poisoned them (Nov. 5, 1516) at the instigation of his wife Donna Lincia, out of revenge for Ippolita's revelation of her shameless intrigues.* It is unnecessary to comment upon the corrupt taste of a time which tolerated melodrama in monumental art, but we are bound to say that, considered

* This story is related in a MS. in the possession of the Cav. Tito d'Albono of Naples, entitled, "*La Verità svelata*," written by Silvio and Ascanio Corona. Don Raimondo da Cordova caused Geronimo and his wife to be imprisoned at Castelnuovo. Though condemned to death, they were eventually pardoned by Isabella of Anjou.

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apart from the place which they occupy, the statues are effective and well executed works.

In technic Merliano was surpassed by his compatriot and rival Girolamo Santacroce (b. 1502, d. 1537?), pupil of a certain Matteo, who studied sculpture and architecture at Rome, and on his return to Naples sculptured the Pezzo Altar at Monte Oliveto, which forms a "pendant" to the Ligerio Altar by Merliano. The group of the Madonna and Child, and the



Statue of Jacopo di San Severino by Giovanni da Nola.

statues of SS. John and Peter on either side of the niche which is decorated with a gable resting upon double Corinthian columns, attest the influence of Michelangelo's earlier works upon Santacroce. This shows itself rather in the attitudes, the treatment of the hands, and the cast of the draperies than in the anatomical display and muscular exaggeration which we generally find in imitations of the master's latter style. It is also in the marking of the muscles, and the position of the hands, that Michelangelo's influence upon Santacroce is seen

in his best work, the Arcadian bas-relief upon the tomb of the Neapolitan poet Giacomo Sanazzaro (b. 1458, d. 1532). In the life of Fra Giovan Angelo Montorsoli* we mentioned this monument as the joint work of Montorsoli and Santacroce, who died while it was in progress (1537?), after completing the relief which, unlike any other work of the Neapolitan school, shows that the sculptor had studied the antique as well as Michelangelo. The classical subject, Apollo's Victory over Marsyas, is represented in an ingenious composition, made up of the triumphant Sun-god playing upon the lyre (*κιθαρῳδός*), dressed in the long robes which belong to him as leader of the Muses,† and attended by Pan, a satyr of the true antique type playing on the syrinx, Neptune with his trident, while the unhappy Marsyas

“Drawn out of the scabbard of those limbs of his,”

writhes in the background, his body bent backwards like that of a Mœnad in a Bacchanal. The surface of the marble is highly polished, the accessories are elaborated with great care, and the work, though not pure in style, is that of an accomplished sculptor.

Santacroce's other works at Naples, among which it will suffice to mention two bas-reliefs of the “Taking Down from the Cross,” one at San Pietro ad Aram and the other at the Annunziata, and an Incredulity of St. Thomas at S. Maria delle Grazie, are so inferior to the Arcadian bas-relief that we must regard them as “juvenilia,” of which the sculptor may himself have lived to be ashamed.

Other sculptors of his century were Naccarini, who made the tombs of Ferdinando Majceta and Porzia Camilla at San Severino, and his pupil Domenico d'Auria (d. 1575), sculptor of the poor monuments of Niccolò di Sangro and Bernardino Rota at San Domenico, and the bas-relief of the Conversion of St. Paul at S. Maria delle Grazie; and Annibale Caccavello (1515–1596), author of the tomb of Fabriccio Brunaccio in the same church, and of a coarse and unmeaning bas-relief of the Beheading of St. John at San Giovanni Maggiore.

* Book iii. ch. ii. p. 322.

† *Pythius in longa carmina veste conat*.—Prop. ii. *xxx* 16.

ROME, 1500-1600.

In the sixteenth century, as in the centuries which preceded it, foreign artists produced great works at Rome without any stimulating effect upon native genius. In vain did Andrea and Jacopo Sansovino, Michelangelo, Cellini, and other distinguished Tuscan sculptors make it their home and adorn it with their works, so far as the Romans were concerned, judging by the fact that but two native sculptors of the sixteenth century are recorded, Giovanni Battista and Andrea Romano,* both of whom worked at Mantua. The tombs at Ara Caeli of Pietro di Vincenzo (d. 1504), Cardinal Ludovico Lebretti (1531) and Ludovico Grati, and a bas-relief at Sta. Francesca Romana,† representing the entrance of Pope Gregory XI. into Rome on his return from Avignon (1377), are anonymous, and probably foreign works.

VERONA, CARRARA AND VICENZA, 1500-1600.

In the sixteenth century Verona produced one able sculptor, Girolamo Campagna (b. 1522), who was the pupil of Danese Cattaneo of Carrara, poet and sculptor, of whom we shall first speak. Son of an honest tradesman who settled at Carrara shortly before his birth, Danese went to Rome at an early age to study sculpture under Jacopo Sansovino, and thence followed him to Venice to assist in decorating the façade of the Library, the Zecca, and the Loggia of the Campanile. A statuette of Apollo in the cortile of the Zecca, and a mannered figure of St. Jerome, with busts of Andrea Dolfin and his wife Benedetta Pisani by Danese, do not give us any very high idea of his capacity, and lead us to believe that Temanza is right in saying that he practised sculpture rather as a means of gaining a livelihood than for love of the art, and that poetry may have been his vocation.‡ This belief is strengthened by the

* Il Conte d'Arco, *op. cit.* p. 13.

† Erected by the Roman Senate in 1584.

‡ Torquato Tasso, in *his Rinaldo*, speaks of Cattaneo as an equally

insipid statue of Christ which he made (1565) for the Fregoso altar in the church of Sant' Anastasia at Verona, whose only recognizable merit is the modelling of the arms and hands. About 1552 Danese went to Padua to assist Tiziano Minio in casting bronze gates* for the Cappella del Santo, and returned there some twenty years later to sculpture a bas-relief for the same chapel, upon which he had made little or no progress at the time of his death (1579). The commission was then given to his scholar Girolamo Campagna da Verona, who is first heard of at Venice (1542) as working upon the statue of the Doge Loredano, for a very mediocre monument designed by his master Cattaneo. At what period he made the bronze statues of the Madonna with the Angel of the Annunciation for the façade of the Palazzo del Consiglio at Verona, and that of the Virgin for that of the Collegio dei Mercatanti is not known, but they are so mannered in style, affected in attitude, and "baroque" in drapery, that we cannot doubt them to have been modelled under the influence of Vittoria, with whom he must have come into contact at Venice. Some better influence prompted him at Padua in his masterpiece, the bas-relief in the Cappella del Santo, which was assigned to him after the death of Cattaneo. Its subject is St. Anthony's resuscitation of a murdered man who, according to the legend, was miraculously transported from Padua to Lisbon that he might testify to the innocence of his father, who had been falsely accused of having murdered him. The bas-relief is well composed and carefully executed, and though somewhat conventional in style is superior to the bas-reliefs by the Lombardi, Sansovino, and other sculptors of note in the same chapel.† After completing it he returned to Venice and married, but on the death of his wife (1580) he came again to Padua to make the

illustrious poet and sculptor, while Bernardo Tasso in his *Armadi* places him on the mountain of glory, and calls him,—

Spirto alto ed egregio,
E poeta, e scultor di sommo pregio.

Two MS. volumes of Cattaneo's poems exist in the Chigi Library at Rome.

* Eventually melted down.

† Completed in 1577, and signed "Hieronymus Campagna, Veronen. Sculp."

elaborate and much-overloaded bronze tabernacle which decorates the altar in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament at Sant' Antonio. During the remainder of his life he lived at Venice, and produced many works, among which are small statues of Sta. Chiara (1591) (*see* tailpiece), and St. Francis at Sta. Maria de' Miracoli (1598), a bronze group of God the Father with angels standing on a gilded globe,* and a heavy ill-proportioned marble group of the Virgin and Child with angels at San Giorgio Maggiore (1595), the figures in relief upon the Ponte del Rialto of the Virgin and the Angel of the Annunciation and the patron saints of Venice, a Sta. Giustina over the door of the arsenal, as also statuettes of SS. Mark and Francis, and a bronze crucifix in the church of the Redentore, and the colossal figure of St. Sebastian at the Zecca. The time of his death is unknown, but it has been assigned to too late a date by writers who have confounded him with another artist of his name, Girolamo the younger,† who sculptured (1604) the very mediocre statue of Federigo, Duke of Urbino, on the staircase of the Ducal Palace at Urbino, and was still alive in 1623.‡ The only other Veronese sculptors of this period are Giulio di Girolamo della Torre, who having in his youth read law at Padua with great applause and gained some notice as an author, attained distinction as a bronze-caster and medallist;§ Giovan Battista, who made a crucifix for the Duomo at Mantua (1581) which is highly praised by Vasari;|| and Alessandro Rossi, who made a statue of San Bernardo Abate for the church of Sta. Maria at Carrara (1584), and sculptured one of the ugly hunchbacks

* Cost 1,650 gold ducats. Girolamo was assisted in casting it by his brother Giuseppe (Cicognara, vol. iii. p. 267, and doc. 239, p. 342).

† The suggestion that there were two Campagnas from Verona of the same name was first made by the Abate Zani. Gualandi, *op. cit.* serie v. pp. 75-78, gives the contracts which he thinks belong to Girolamo the younger. They are dated May 8 and April 27, A.D. 1604.

‡ Temanza, pp. 519-28.

§ His treatise *De Felicitate*, published in 1531, was dedicated to his sister Paulina. Maffei, *op. cit.* vol. iii. lib. iv., places him among Veronese authors. In vol. iv. ch. vi. p. 301, he suggests that he may have made the bronze bas-reliefs on the Della Torre monument at San Fermo—but this is impossible, as they are known to be by Andrea Riccio.

|| *See* Vasari, ix. 168.

under a holy-water vase in the church of Sant' Anastasia at Verona.*

The beautiful marble candelabra in the Cathedral are first-rate examples of Renaissance ornamental work, and belong, judging from the more rounded character of their salient portions, rather to the sixteenth than to the preceding century. A certain Paolo from Rome, called "delle Breze," is said to have sculptured them, but the only Paolo Romano known to us never practised ornamental sculpture so far as we are aware. To the Veronese we may add the names of a few Vicentine sculptors of the sixteenth century, such as those of Girolamo da Vicenza† (1517), who made the tomb of Pope Celestine V. in the church of Sta. Maria Collemaggio, at Aquila in the Abruzzi; his contemporary Rocca, who executed certain unknown marble-works for the Collegiata of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Spello; ‡ Vincenzo da Vicenza, a sculptor of ornament who worked at Trent in the church of Sta. Maria Coronata;§ and Nicolò da Cornedo, who made a marble "ancona" of little merit for a church at Trissino.||

PADUA, 1500-1600.

The impulse given to the art of bronze-casting at Padua in the fifteenth century by Donatello bore some fruit in the works of his Paduan scholar Bellano or Vellano, but it attained its greatest result in those of Bellano's famous pupil, Andrea Briosco, called Riccio or Crispo, from his closely curling hair. Paduan by birth (April 1, 1470), he was the son of Ambrogio,¶ a Milanese goldsmith, who doubtless taught him the goldsmith's art, and perhaps inspired him with that love of classical orna-

* Its pendant is said to be by Gabriello Caliarì, the father of Paul Veronese.

† Leosini, p. 232.

‡ Ricci, *op. cit.* iii. 90.

§ *Ibid.* iii. 337.

|| Cicognara, ii. 159. Faccioli (*Mus. Lap. Vic.* iii. 147) mentions a statue at Priabone by Nicolò.

¶ Mentioned as M. Ambrogio Briosco. M. Piero Briosco, who worked about 1442 at Bologna with other sculptors employed to finish the uncompleted bas-reliefs by Giacomo della Quercia, may have been his grandfather.

ment which marks his elaborate style. His earliest works, the two bas-reliefs in the choir of Sant' Antonio (1506-1507), are vastly superior to those of his master Bellano,* and in every respect remarkable.† In the Translation of the Ark from the house of Abinadab, which seems inspired by Dante's description, the mountains, trees, and the far-off city, as well as the figures on foot and on horseback are treated with great skill.‡ King David dances before the Ark of the Covenant amidst a crowd of singers and players upon musical instruments, while Ahio, with a wreath upon his head, and clad in a Roman toga, turns with an expression of horror to look at the lifeless body of his brother Uzzah, who died because his sacrilegious hand had touched the sacred ark. Among those who show their fear and wonder at the sight is Riccio himself, distinguishable by the curls which escape from beneath the round cap upon his head. In his second relief, from the story of Judith, Riccio represented the battle between the Bethulians and their enemies, the death of Holofernes, and Judith showing her victim's head to the exultant people. This triple action reminds us of Ghiberti, and although it cannot be said that Riccio attained an equal clearness and grace of line, it will be allowed that he here approaches that master, and deserves to be regarded as the best follower of his school.

It was not, however, by these bas-reliefs, which, as an eminent modern artist has said, "contain lessons sufficient to form a sculptor,"§ that Riccio established his great reputation, so much as by his magnificent bronze Paschal candlestick at Sant' Antonio.¶ This noble work of art is divided by rich

* Bellano is spoken of as the master of Riccio by Gaurico, *De Sculptura*; by Morelli, p. 94, note 70; by Vasari's annotators, vol. iv. p. 112, note 4; by Gonzati, i. 319; as well as by Piacenza and Cicognara.

† Gonzati gives the contract made with Riccio (doc. 83, vol. ii.). He was to receive forty gold ducats apiece for them.

‡ Dante, *Purgatorio*, x. 55-66.

§ M. le Baron H. de Triqueti.

¶ Riccio's contract is dated June 19, 1507. The price agreed upon, as given by Gonzati, *op. cit.* vol. i. doc. 84, p. 91, was 3,270 lire, or 600 golden ducats. Riccio was allowed the sum of twenty-nine lire and eighteen soldi for expenses incurred in the transportation of the candlestick with a guard of soldiers from and to his own house when it was thrice occupied by troops during the war which followed the league of Cambray.

mouldings into several parts, diminishing in size to the vase upon its summit, each one of which is enriched with ornament whose significance, in some cases, Œdipus himself would find it difficult to interpret. The bas-reliefs are allegorical and scriptural so far as subject is concerned. The first category includes reliefs of Music, History, Fame, Envy, Hatred, &c., and the second the Adoration of the Magi, the Sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb, the Entombment, and Christ's Descent to Limbo. There are also four allegorical figures of Temperance, Courage, Justice, and Prudence, and a multitude of wreaths, tablets, masks, festoons, lucernes, genii holding lyres, sphinxes, fauns, satyrs, marine deities and centaurs. The execution of this elaborate work is free, clear, and energetic, the taste displayed exquisite, and the richness of fancy shown surprising; but as much of the detail is unfit by its nature for the decoration of a Paschal candlestick, it wants that perfect harmony between the purpose and the material which can alone give satisfaction to the mind as well as to the eye. Not only the allegorical but the religious subjects are treated in classical guise, as, for instance, the Sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb, which really represents a Pagan rite in all its details, the festooned altar, the men and maidens with offerings, the musicians with pipes and timbrels, the vases, torches, dresses, and coiffures. In his other works, as we shall see, Riccio used the same mingling of Pagan with Christian forms, costumes, and ornaments; showed a like exuberance of fancy and love for richness of detail, and fell into the same error of overcrowding space. He had, however, abundant reason for being proud of his candelabrum, and evidently regarded it as his masterpiece, for when he struck a portrait medal of himself he mentioned it in the accompanying legend,* and figured it in the one green shoot upon the broken and withered laurel branch with which he decorated its reverse. It is the only one of his works spoken of in his epitaph at San Giovanni di Verdara, but the mausoleum of Girolamo and Antonio della Torre, which he erected in the chapel of the Torriani at San Fermo at Verona, is also mentioned in a manuscript epitaph preserved in the archives of the Convent of Sant Agostino at Padua.† The mausoleum consists of a

* Andreas Crispus Patavinus aeneum D. Aut. candelabrum F.

† L'Anonimo, *Morelli*, p. 94, note 8.

sarcophagus resting on bronze griffins crouching on a marble slab, pilasters adorned with arabesques, a bronze effigy of the deceased, a frieze sculptured with arabesques and adorned with circular slabs of porphyry and verde antique, and eight bas-reliefs cast from the originals which were taken to France at the end of the last century, and after long decorating the *Porte des Caryatides* in the *Galerie des Antiques* at the Louvre now adorn the *Musée de la Renaissance*. Riccio's love of clothing modern events in an antique garb here made his meaning so obscure that these reliefs were supposed to relate to the history of Mausolus, whereas they really figure the occupations, illness, death and obsequies of Girolamo della Torre, and the progress of his soul to the abode of the blessed after its separation from the body. We do not propose to describe the compositions in which, with many excellent points, a prevailing monotony of general form is indisputable. The figures introduced are so arranged as to form a parallelogram, the upper line of the heads being never pyramidal or broken, but uniformly horizontal, as in all Riccio's bronze reliefs, so that from a distance one may pick them out by their shape, from the works of other masters. His habit of overcrowding space, which we have already pointed out as a defect interfering with desirable clearness, is especially conspicuous in four bas-reliefs in the Academy at Venice, relating to the history of Constantine and St. Helena. Riccio, who had some repute as an architect, though the only building which he is known to have designed (1516) is the church of Santa Giustina, died at Padua, July 8th, 1522, and was buried in the cemetery of San Giovanni di Verdara.

He founded no school, but signs of his influence are visible in the works of the able sculptors of ornament, who covered the pilasters of the Cappella del Santo at Sant' Antonio with arabesques and graceful designs. Among these was the Francesco di Niccola da Colle, who sculptured the marble pedestal for Riccio's Paschal candlestick, and adorned its panels with the emblems of the Passion, the palm, the olive, &c. This artist worked at Padua with Antonio Minello, Alessandro da Saronno, Francesco da Porlezza, and Mastino di Giovanni da Bergamo, under the superintendence of Maestro Giovanni Minello de' Bardi, who presided over the marble-work executed

for the Cappella del Santo, and sculptured the statuettes of saints, seraph heads, and arabesques in flat relief about the choir parapet, as well as the busts of the Evangelists which stand between the arches of the façade of this chapel.

Other Paduan artists of the time were Giovanni Carino, who cast the busts of Andrea Navagno and Fracastoro for the municipal palace; * Tiziano Minio di M^o Guido Lazaro (1551), who was employed with Danese Cattaneo da Carrara to cast bronze gratings to fill the arches in front of the Cappella del Santo; † Tiziano Aspetti, already mentioned as the scholar of Alessandro Vittoria; Giovanni Maria Mosca (1520), an excellent medallist, who went to Poland to make the tomb of King Sigismund II.; ‡ and Vincenzo de' Grandi, who with Giovanni Dentone of Padua (1524) and a Florentine sculptor named Giuliano, sculptured the second bas-relief in the Cappella del Santo.

BRESCIA.

Brescian annals of the sixteenth century record the name of but one native sculptor—Prospero Antichi, called Bresciano (fl. 1584), who is unenviably renowned as the author of the worst colossal statue in the world, the Moses of the Piazza de' Termini at Rome. § There are, however, several excellent anonymous works of this period at Brescia, which, in absence of proof to the contrary, may be accredited to native artists, such as the effigy of Nicola Orsini, Count of Pitigliano, in the Museo Patrio, || on a sarcophagus adorned with a bas-relief of the

* Cicogna, *Isc. Ven.* fasc. 22, art. v.; *ibid.* pp. 209, 302, 320, art. "Ramusio."

† Three were cast; two of which were afterwards melted down to make a bell (Gonzati, vol. i. ch. xxii. p. 84, doc. 62; App. p. 64), A.D. 1568.

‡ Gonzati, i. 169.

§ Lionardo da Sarzana endeavoured vainly to better this figure when Prospero had finished it.

|| This monument was originally in the Pitigliano Castle at Ghedi, near Brescia. The Count died (1510) in consequence of the vigils and fatigues which he underwent during the siege of Brescia, when he commanded the Venetian forces.

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Madonna and Child with SS. Anthony and George, not unlike Cimada Conegliano in style; the tomb of Martinengo, a Venetian captain (d. 1526), in the church of San Corpo di Cristo, and the shrine of SS. Apollonius and Philasterius (1510), in the Duomo Nuovo, which is decorated with statuettes and bas-reliefs.

BOLOGNA.

Although Bologna can boast of but one notable sculptor in the sixteenth century, that one was a woman—and of such the world has seen but few—Properzia, daughter of Girolamo de' Rossi.* Born at Bologna about 1490, famous for her beauty as well as for her talents in music and sculpture, she seems to have inherited a somewhat violent temper from her father who had been condemned to the galleys for manslaughter eighteen years before her birth, as her name appears in two lawsuits instituted in 1520 and '25 by aggrieved parties, one of whom, a painter named Miola, charged her with assault and battery, of whose violence the marks upon his face gave evidence. Vasari's romantic story† about Properzia's unrequited passion for a handsome youth appears to be without foundation, for we know that she was devotedly attached to and beloved by Antonio Galeazzo Malvasia de' Bottigari, who survived her, and did not marry until some years after her death. The celebrated engraver, Marc Antonio Raimondi, taught Properzia how to draw, but we do not know who taught her to model. Her early works are minute intaglios—a cherry-stone in the cabinet of gems at the Uffizi carved with a glory of Saints; eleven peach nuts at the Palazzo Manili at Bologna, decorated with busts of Saints and Apostles set “a giorno” in the body of an eagle in silver filagree;‡ and a cross adorned with heads of Our Lord, the Madonna, St. Paul and Santa Dorotea. Emboldened by her success in this limited field, Properzia addressed herself to ornamental sculpture, and showed no little ability in the lions, griffins, birds, censers, vases, eagles' heads, and scroll-

* Gualandi, *Mem. delle Belle Arti.*, second series, p. 7, No. 39.

† Vol. ix. p. 4, ed. *Le Monnier*.

‡ See C. Bianconi's *Descrizione di alcuni minutissimi intagli di mano di Properzia de' Rossi*. Bologna, 1840.

work with which she decorated the flat spaces of the arch over the high altar in the church of the Madonna del Barracano. She also modelled the bust of Count Guido Pepoli now in the sacristy of the basilica of St. Petronius, and enrolled herself among the artists employed there to finish the reliefs commenced by Giacomo della Quercia about its portals. Their completion, which had been greatly hindered by artistic discussions, was hastened in 1525 by the appointment of Il Tribolo* as director, and it was from him that Properzia received a commission for the two bas-reliefs, now in the sacristy, representing Joseph and Potiphar's wife,† and Solomon receiving the Queen of Sheba, which, though fairly modelled, interest us chiefly as the works of the one Italian sculptress. Her statue of an adoring angel, in a chapel at San Petronius, is so far superior to them, and so much in the style of Il Tribolo, that we suspect him of having assisted her in it. In the year 1530, when Bologna opened her gates to the Emperor Charles V., his unwilling ally, Pope Clement VII., who came to crown him in the basilica of St. Petronius, asked to see Properzia de' Rossi, of whom he had heard so much; but his wish could not be gratified, as only a few days before she had been buried in the Spedale della Morte.

Little need be said about other Bolognese sculptors of the sixteenth century, as none of them rose above mediocrity. Lazzaro Casari‡ (b. 1542, d. 1593), made the clumsy ill-proportioned figure of St. Proculus upon the Volta monument at San Domenico, and the late Renaissance tomb of Viannesio Alberti (d. 1593), apostolic protonotary to Pope Leo X. in the public cemetery; Girolamo Coltellini (1508-1545) designed the monument to Francesco Ranuzzi at San Domenico, which has been attributed to Casari, and made the statuette of St. John the Baptist at San Domenico, which stands upon one of

* See p. 336.

† This bas-relief is engraved in Cicognara's work, vol. ii. tav. lii., and in the *Sculpture delle Porte di San Petronio illustrate dal Marchese Virgilio Davia*.

‡ Casari, Casario or Cassari. In an inventory of his property dated March 23, 1593, he is mentioned as dead. See Gualandi's *Memorie*, &c., third series, p. 181, and the *Guida di Bologna*, by the same author, pp. 30 and 53; also *Eletta dei Monumenti del Campo Santo di Bologna*, vol. ii.

the volutes above the "Arca" of the Saint, as well as the bust of Lodovico Bolognese. Other sculptors were Tiberio Meneganti and his son Alessandro (1588), known by the apparently satirical names of "Michel-Angelo incognito" or "riformato."* Domenico Aimò, detto Varignana di Bologna, who sculptured the statues of the four patron saints of Bologna for the basilica of St. Petronius, who worked at Loreto† (1537), and was especially recommended to Alberico, Marchese de Massa (1514), by the Roman Conservatori when he went to Carrara to procure marble for the statue of Pope Leo X., which he sculptured for the Capitol at Rome;‡ Francesco Dozza, who assisted Mo. Melchiorre da Faenza to adorn the façade of the church of Corpus Domini,§ and Giacomo Nava, who worked under Omodeo upon the façade of the Certosa at Pavia.

FERRARA.

Alfonso Cittadella, alias Lombardi, by far the best of Ferrarese sculptors, born about 1488, was the son of Nicolò, a Lucchese, who married a lady of the Lombardo family to which Pietro and his sons Tullio and Antonio belong. We are inclined to think that Antonio, who worked for the Duke of Ferrara from 1505 to 1516, was Cittadella's master rather than Pietro, who so far as we know never went to Ferrara.|| It is said that when Michelangelo visited Bologna in 1507, he was so much struck with the ability displayed in Cittadella's terracotta mortorio at San Pietro, that he called him "Il Dio della terra," and employed him as an assistant in casting the statue of Julius II. Be this as it may, the influence of Michelangelo upon Cittadella is very evident in the "Mortorio della Madonna," a number of colossal terra-cotta figures grouped around the dead body of the Virgin, which he modelled in 1519 for the

* Gualandi, third series, p. 182, and fourth series, p. 158, quotes Meneganti's will under dates of January 27 and June 7, 1594.

† Orlandi, *Abeceario*, p. 242.

‡ Campori, *Artisti Estensi*, p. 4, and Frediani, *Ragionamenti Storici*, p. 71.

§ Ricci, *op. cit.* ii. 559.

|| Cicognara, iii. p. 365, says that Cittadella's master was Nicola dell' Arca.

Oratory of Santa Maria della Vita.* It is the work of an able "plasticatore," who had no comprehension of the requirements of sculpture, and but a modicum of artistic feeling. In Cittadella's other works at Bologna we find as little proof of either. They comprise a group of Hercules and the Hydra in the Palazzo Pubblico† (1520), four figures in terra-cotta of the patron saints of the city, in niches upon the pilasters which support the arches under the Torre dell' Arengo (1525);‡ a group of the Resurrection of our Lord in the lunette over one of the side doors of St. Petronius, with figures of Adam and Eve inside the church; the terra-cotta busts of the Apostles in the church of San Giovanni in Monte,§ and the monument of the famous condottiere Armaciotto de' Ramazzotti at San Michele in Bosco. The life of this free captain, who had performed many daring feats of arms in the service of the Medici, the Bentivoglios, and of Popes Julius II. and Leo X., by whom he was knighted, and had taken part in the battles of Ravenna and Montemorlo, abounded in incidents offering abundant material for the representation in statuettes and bas-reliefs,|| but Cittadella was not the man to take advantage of them, as he showed by restricting himself to the meagre programme of a weak, ill-drawn figure in armour placed on the top of a plain sarcophagus, in a position awkward in sleep and impossible in death. In 1529 Cittadella decorated the portal of St. Petronius and a triumphal arch, with statuettes for the coronation of Charles V., of whom he modelled a wax medallion and sculptured a bust while the Emperor was sitting for his portrait to Titian, (1534). In 1533 he went to Carrara with Cardinal Cibo,¶ and there made a statue of the Bolognese poet Giraldi;** but his

* Commissioned in December 1519; completed and paid for June 30, 1522.

† Made in competition with Zaccaria da Volterra (Baruffaldi, i. 207).

‡ Vasari, vol. ix. p. 12, nota 2; and Ghirardacci, *St. di Bologna*, vol. i. lib. vii. p. 215, and index, letter Q.

§ Gualandi, *Guida di Bologna*, p. 77.

|| *Memorie Storiche intorno alla Vita di Armaciotto de' Ramazzotti*, in folio, Firenze, 1835.

¶ Marchese Campori, *Artisti Estensi*, p. 154.

** Identified by Petrucci (vol. i. p. 226, note 1, of Baruffaldi) with that in the University at Bologna. There is a bust of Pope Clement VII. in the Riccardi Palace at Florence by Cittadella (Vasari, vol. ix. p. 15, nota 1).

best works are the delicately-sculptured, though somewhat overcrowded bas-reliefs (1532), upon the predella of the "Arca" di San Domenico at Bologna, which represent several incidents in the life of St. Domenic, and the Adoration of the Magi. He died at Bologna about the year 1537.

Girolamo Usanza, called like Cittadella Il Ferrarese, and his reputed brother, though in no wise related to him, has been often confounded with Girolamo Lombardi, the son of Antonio di Pietro, who worked at Loreto with his brothers Aurelio and Lodovico upon some of the mannered and ill-proportioned Prophet-statues, which fill the niches of the marble parapet around the Santa Casa. Girolamo is said to have assisted the scholars of Jacopo Sansovino in sculpturing the bas-reliefs upon the loggia of the Campanile at Venice,* to have lived for many years at Loreto and Recanati, where he established a bronze foundry and cast a font for the Cathedral at Prague (1553), and to have sculptured the statue of St. Andrew over an altar in the church of S. Andrea at Ferrara. The identity of this artist is difficult to determine, and his existence has been called in question by a competent authority.†

Several native sculptors of little note worked at Ferrara in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,‡ and many foreign artists were employed there by the princes of the house of Este, whose palace, Belriguardo, is described as richer in statues, bas-reliefs and pictures, than any other building of the kind in Europe,§ and whose splendid ducal residences of Belvidere and Belfiore contained many treasures of art now dispersed or wantonly destroyed.

* Selvatico, *op. cit.* pp. 309-10.

† Cav. L. N. Cittadella.

‡ M. Arma da Regenta, 1554; M. Giovanni, 1554; Ippolito d'Arento, 1574-77; M. Maffeo, 1503; Ercole Azzolino, 1574; Martino Burzoni, 1548; Alessandro Cagnone and Bart. Calabroso, 1554; Ottaviano, 1552; Alessandro and Giorgio Cariboni, 1585; Gio. Ant. di Giacomo, 1552; M. Giulio. Lodovico Ranzi made many statues for the Palazzo Pubblico at Brescia (*see* Cicognara, ii. 350); Alfonso Alberghetti, 1572 (*ibid.* vol. iii. p. 343, nota 2); Cristoforo da Ferrara (Cicogna, *Isc. Ven.* vol. iii. p. 361, no. 2).

§ "Ut nulla alia esset in Europa cuncta, que cum hac sua conferri posset."

REGGIO.

The only Reggian sculptors of note are Bartolomeo di Clementi Spani (son of Giovanni da Cremona), and his grandson Prospero. Bartolomeo had three sons, Bernardino, the father of Prospero; Giovanni Andrea, a goldsmith; and Girolamo, who like his father was goldsmith, sculptor, and architect. We first hear of Bartolomeo in 1494, as working upon a silver cup for the Canon Bernardino Nigoni, upon two silver statuettes of saints for the Duomo at Reggio, and upon busts of SS. Prosdocimo and Giustina for a church in Padua.* Some years later (1518) he built the façade of the church of San Giacomo and the door of the Pallazzo Donelli at Reggio, and sculptured the marble columns of the cloister of San Pietro, the Malegazzi and Arlotti monuments in the Duomo, and the tomb of Rufino Gabbinata in the church of San Prospero. The latter, which consists of a sarcophagus with sepulchral effigy, supported upon a sculptured base, is placed in a recess, whose architrave is adorned with arabesques, and the lunette with a bas-relief of God the Father. The design is good, and the style sober and in good taste, but the general effect is marred by details which are singularly out of keeping with the monument of a Christian prelate, such as the sphinxes supporting the roundel, and Neptune with trident, chariot and sea-horses, in the bas-relief upon the base. Such errors in taste, common in the monumental art of the time, are manifest signs of the decadence shown in the works of Bartolomeo's grandson and pupil Prospero, who when a very young man studied at Rome. Thinking to attain Michelangelo's grandeur of style by throwing his statues into strained attitudes, and giving an unnatural development to their limbs and muscles, he modelled those monstrosities the colossal *Lepidus* and *Hercules* before the Ducal Palace at Modena, and the clumsy statue of Bishop Ugo Rangoni in the Cathedral at Reggio, whose monument is considered Prospero's masterpiece. It consists of a white marble sarcophagus upon a red marble base, at each end of which are life-size genii, the one holding a crosier, the other a sword and helmet. Above it, and out of all proportion with it, the

* Assisted by his son Giovanni Andrea (Vasari, vol. vi. p. 106; nota 1).

colossal bishop sits within a square recess crowned by a broken pediment. The prelate's arms are introduced in black marble shields upon the base of the monument, which is adorned with two small seated figures in relief of Innocence symbolized by a dove, and Self-devotion by a pelican.* Debased as it is in style, ugly in combination of colour, and faulty in the relative proportion of its parts, it is, if possible, surpassed in bad taste by Prospero's monument to the Canon Cherubino Sfortiano in the same church, which consists of a huge white marble hour-glass, supported on a base of red marble, flanked by figures of two Virtues, and crowned by a statuette of Christ.† We will not trespass upon the reader's patience by describing any more of Prospero's works, but to show that they have admirers, we quote the following passage from a discourse delivered before the Academy at Reggio upon the two figures of weeping women which form part of his monument to the jurisconsult Bartolomeo Prati, in the crypt of the Cathedral at Parma. "In them," said the orator, "the pathos of the Laocoon, the 'morbidezza' of the Venus de' Medici, and the grace of the Flora are combined, any one of which excellences would entitle Prospero to rank with Glycon and Praxiteles."

MODENA, 1500-1600.

Antonio Begarelli, born at Modena in 1479, was the son of a baker named Giuliano, and the reputed pupil of Guido Mazzoni,‡ whom he even surpassed in reputation as a "plasticatore" or modeller in clay. As Mazzoni went to France in 1495, and did not return until 1516, Begarelli must either have studied under him before he was sixteen years old, which is possible, or after he was thirty-seven, which is improbable. Be the fact as it may, his works show no trace of Mazzoni's influence, whereas that of Corregio, with whom we know him to have been intimate, is clearly manifest. The great painter, who

* This tomb cost 1,250 golden scudi (Fontanesi, *Disc. Accademico sopra Clementi*, Reggio, 1826).

† Who was travelling with Cellini when he killed the postmaster near Siena (see Cellini's Autobiography).

‡ See pp. 226-228.

was the younger of the two by fifteen years, is said to have learned a great deal from Begarelli,* which at least proves an intercourse between them, but the effect upon the sculptor was not to his advantage as such, since the very qualities which attract us in Corregio's works are unplastic. Great masses of painted drapery may be so lightened by magical effects of chiaroscuro as to give them a desirable lightness and flow of line, but when modelled in clay their heaviness and bulk asserts itself with crushing weight. In painting where the artist has all the resources of the pallet at his command, he can give rein to his fancy, and represent the human form draped or undraped in every possible attitude, provided that he does not sin against the law of grace, but in sculpture, where he is fettered by the material in which he works, he must submit to be controlled by it, and respect the limitations of his art. This Begarelli did not do; and although Michelangelo on seeing his groups, when he passed through Modena in 1529 on his way to Florence, is credited with having said, "Woe to the antique statues, if this clay could be turned to marble,"† we cannot call the man who made them a sculptor. It is only after dismissing all true ideas about sculpture from our minds that we can do justice to the facile handling, the powerful expression, and the Corregesque conception of Begarelli's pictures in clay.

The most important among them is the "Taking Down from the Cross" in the church of San Francesco at Modena, represented by the twelve life-size figures of Nicodemus and St. Joseph of Arimathea, with two assistants, engaged in detaching the body of our Lord, SS. Anthony of Padua, Jerome, Francis, and John the Baptist standing or kneeling on either side, and by a great central group of the Virgin swooning in the arms of the two Marys. Robed in fluttering and complicated draperies, they seem to have turned in haste towards her, and while one supports her head the other holds up her drooping hands as she sinks back in complete abandonment. Upon canvas the group would be counted a masterpiece, but in clay it is a *tableau vivant*. In Begarelli's Pietà at San Pietro, the Madonna, supported by St. John, kneels by the dead body of our Lord, whose head rests upon the lap of Nicodemus. The draperies are well arranged, the heads expressive, and the details carefully

* Vasari, ed. *Le Monnier*, vii. 95.

† *Ibid.* xii. 281.

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worked out; but the pictorial character is identical with that of the "Taking Down from the Cross" and other works by this artist at Mantua, such as the Magdalen lying at our Lord's feet, attended by SS. Peter and Paul and two unknown persons, in a corridor leading from the church of San Domenico to the Academy; a Pietà at San Agostino (1526), in which the St. Joseph is said to be a portrait of Begarelli; a statue of St. Mary Magdalen in the Belleardi chapel, Sta. Maria del Carmine (1531); a Madonna and Child with St. John in the Sacristy of the Chiesa Votiva (1528); and two groups in the Academy at Parma, of the Madonna and Saints, modelled in 1558 and 1561.

Begarelli died at Modena about 1565, after a long and successful career of unceasing activity.



APPENDIX.

A, p. 3.

Tempesti (*Ant. Pisane*) attempts to prove that the Duomo at Pisa was founded in 1005, but Tronci (*Annali Pisani*, pp. 37, 38), Morrona (*Pisa Illustrata*), and the inscription upon the Church itself, say A.D. 1063, immediately after the taking of Palermo by the Pisan fleet. Its architect was a Pisan, named Boschetto. (*Vide* Roncioni, part i. p. 120, in vol. vi. of *Arch. St. It.*)

The burial of distinguished persons in pagan sarcophagi was common during the Middle Ages; e.g. Charlemagne, who was buried in a Roman sarcophagus sculptured with a bas-relief representing the Rape of Proserpine; and the French martyr, St. Andreol, in one inscribed Tid. Jul. Valerianus. (*Vide* M'Farlane's *Catacombs of Rome*, pp. 128, 129.)

The Abbate Tosti, in his life of the Countess Matilda, thus refers to this fact (at pp. 167, 168): "Ne fu sola Beatrice che andasse così a sconciare le ceneri dei pagani per locarsi nel loro sepolcro, trovandosi nel anzidetto Campo Santo Pisano ed in altre chiese le urne pagane."

The following is the inscription upon the sarcophagus of the Countess Beatrice:—

QUAMVIS PECCATRIX SUM DOMNA VOCATA BEATRIX,
IN TUMULO MISSA, JACEOQUE COMITISSA.

Morrona, *Pisa Ill.*, vol. i. p. 295, nota 1.

B, p. 20.

The abbey of Tagliacozzo. According to Vasari, i. 268, Niccola was called to Viterbo in 1267 by Pope Clement IV., and having restored the church and convent of the Preaching Friars, then went to build that of Tagliacozzo for Charles of Anjou. As the battle was fought in August 1268, and the buildings at La Scorgola were, as we know by documents in the archives at Naples, commenced in 1274, Niccola may have stayed seven years at Viterbo. In 1274 he certainly went to Perugia, as we may suppose after he had designed and commenced the buildings at Tagliacozzo. There is therefore no chronological ground for doubting Vasari's state-

ment. Some doubt, however, is certainly thrown on it by the fact that Niccola Pisano's name is not mentioned in the documents connected with the foundation of the buildings, published from the Neapolitan archives by Schultz, *op. cit.* vol. ii. The first document is a letter written by King Charles from Bari, January 1, 1274, in which he tells the magistri Jacopo and Pietro da Caul (or Saul), Simone da Arganta and Pietro da Carelli (or Garelli) that he wishes to build an abbey at Castrum Pontis, and orders them to go, with the Abbot of Casanova, to select building materials and fix upon the site there, where the battle with Corradino was fought. Four years later, February 21, 1278, the king writes from Capua to his administrator Raynaldus Villanus to say that he has appointed a Frenchman, Henri d'Assone (in Poitou), to be head-master of the building, and Giovanni da Messina to be overseer. As this was the year of Niccola Pisano's death these appointments may have been made in consequence of that event. From a third royal letter, dated December 30, 1281, at Orvieto, written to the same Villanus and an Abbot Guglielmus, we learn that the work was then nearly completed (*see* Schultz, *op. cit.* ii. 88).

C, p. 23.

Vasari (vol. i. p. 295) attributes it to a certain Fuccio, "scultore fiorentino," who, he says, built the Church of Sta. Maria sopra l'Arno, at Florence, in 1229, upon which he inscribed his name thus, "Fuccio mi feci" (*sic*). The inscription possibly refers to a person of that name who restored or rebuilt the church in 1300, but cannot allude to any architect, as none such is known (Vasari, vol. i. p. 296, note †). The only Fuccio of note in the thirteenth century was the famous robber referred to by Dante (*Inf.* 24) in the lines,

son Vanni Fucci
Bestia, e Pistoja mi fu degna tana.

This Vanni Fuccio despoiled the Sacristy at Pistoja of its treasures, A.D. 1293, for which he and his accomplice, Vanni Mironne, were hung, and their bodies afterwards dragged through the streets, tied to horses' tails.

D, p. 24.

Margheritone of Arezzo (b. 1236, d. 1313), architect, sculptor, and painter, is said by Vasari (Ed. Milanese, i. p. 363) to have ameliorated his style under the influence of Arnolfo di Cambio's works, and to have sculptured the monument of Pope Gregory X. in the Cathedral at Arezzo. Previous to the year 1275 he had sculptured as well as painted "Alla Greca," and yet Vasari would have us believe that although in painting he continued to be a rude follower of the Byzantines, and looked upon Giotto as a

dangerous innovator, in sculpture he changed his manner and followed the new school. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*Hist. of Painting in Italy*, vol. i. p. 189, and Sig. Milanesi, Ed. Vasari, vol. i. p. 364, note), have shown how impossible it is to accept Margheritone as the author of the Gothic tomb in question, on the strength of Vasari's assertion, and the statement made in the modern inscription on a slab under the sarcophagus.

Vasari also attributes to Margheritone the model of the Municipal Palace, and that of the church of San Ciriaco at Ancona, with the sculptures about its portal. The first building has been completely rebuilt, so that no trace of its primæval appearance remains; while the last is a work of the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, in which Margheritone, who lived in the thirteenth, can have had no hand.

E, p. 38.

Artists who worked upon the Façade erected by Giotto.

Vol. IV. p. 591. Giovanni d'Ambrogio, Sc. and Arch., December 19, 1384, recorded as having been paid for statues, among which was a St. Barnabas. December 28, 1396, paid three months' salary. He was assisted by his son.

P. 522. Lorenzo di Giovanni, August 25, 1396, paid for statues of the Virgin and two Prophets.

P. 524. Nanni di Bartolo (called Rosso), intagliatore; "quis recepit pro parte solutionis unius figuræ marmoris mictende (*sic*) in Campanile dictæ Ecclesiæ."

Pier Gio Tedesco vel de Bramantia, paid for an Angel, pro opera (del Duomo); ditto for a Saint, and four crowned Saints; ditto for four Doctors of the Church, to be placed in four tabernacles of the façade.

Pp. 529-531. Niccolò di Pieri, called Augusto Nicolao Pieri Lamberti, called Niccolo d'Arezzo (scholar of Moccio Sanese), n. 1350, m. 1417, sculptured two statues for Campanile.

Pp. 451-456. Francesco di Neri Sellajo, or Sellari, fl. 1354; sculptured a St. John, St. Peter, an Angel, and a Prophet for the façade.

Marco di Guccio and Lucia di Giovanni da Siena, also worked at this period for the Duomo façade.

(MS. Ricordanze dell' Provveditore Stieri, preserved in the Duomo archives at Florence. *Vide* Baldinucci, con aggiunte di Piacenza. Milan, 1811.)

F, p. 40.

"The Palace of Azzo Visconti," says Fiamma, "had a great tower, several storeys in height, containing chambers, halls, and corridors, adorned with paintings, baths, and gardens; and many

rooms at its base decorated with paintings of unequalled beauty. There were also nobly ornamented sleeping rooms, with double doors guarded by porters, who allowed no one to enter without special permission. Before the entrance to the first room stood a great wire-netted cage, containing every variety of birds; and near by several other cages containing lions, bears, monkeys, baboons, and an ostrich. Adjoining the Aviary there was a very large and magnificent Hall, in which there was a painting of Vain-glory, surrounded by Æneas, Attila, Hector, Hercules, Charlemagne, and Azzo Visconti, made of gold and blue enamels, put together with unsurpassed perfection. Lastly, two fountains, fed by subterranean canals, impetuously cast their waters by divers mouths into a square fishpond."—*De Gestis Azzonis*, Ginglini, vol. v. pp. 236, 237.

Some of these paintings must have been by Giotto, who was called to Milan by Azzo Visconti, to paint frescoes in his palace.

G, p. 49.

Both Gaye and Ricci must be mistaken in saying that the Loggia de' Lanzi was commenced in 1374 or 1376, as Orgagna, according to the best authorities, died in 1368. The subjoined mention of the artists who worked with him upon it fixes its commencement at a much earlier date.

1367. Jacopo di Piero, whose works greatly resemble those of his master Orgagna in style, sculptured four Theological Virtues for the Loggia de' Lanzi. 1384. "Una cum figura Fidei et alia cum figura Spei proponendo ad Loggiam, Priorum, &c. et 10 auri super Angelum quem celat (*sic*) pro Loggia dicta Flor."—*Baldinucci*, vol. iv. p. 416, ed. Milano. A.D. 1367. From the payment of two florins made to Angelo Gaddi for designs for the figures to be placed on the Loggia de' Lanzi, Baldinucci concludes that Gaddi furnished these designs for Jacopo and others who sculptured them.—*B.*, vol. iv. p. 344.

Giovanni Seti, who worked in Giotto's style, Lib de Delib. A.D. 1367, paid for a "Fortezza" to be placed over the Loggia della Piazza de' Signori, and for a "Temperantia," which his advanced age prevented him from terminating.

G II., p. 52.

The Padre della Valle's statement that Maitani watched over the Cathedral at Orvieto from the year of its foundation (1290) is not strictly true, as he was then but fifteen years old. As in 1310, when he became capo-maestro, the building was in so ruinous a condition that he had to reconstruct it, he may be regarded as the architect of the existing edifice, and tradition be reconciled with fact.

G III., p. 56.

Relief Subjects upon the Tarlati Monument.

1. Bishop Tarlati takes possession of the Archiepiscopal Palace, 1312.
2. Is elected General of the Aretines, 1321.
3. The Commune of Arezzo, symbolized by an old man insulted by many persons, who pull his beard and hair.
4. The Installation of Tarlati. 5. He restores the city walls.
6. Takes the town of Lusignano, 1316.
7. Takes the town of Rocca di Chiusi; 8. and Fonzola.
9. Receives suppliant prisoners beneath the walls of Focognano.
10. Takes Castello di Rondine, 11. and Buine, in Valdambra, 12. and Caprera.
- 13 and 14. Destroys the Castles of Laterina and Monte S. Savino.
15. Crowns Louis of Bavaria at Milan, 1327.
16. Dies at the Castle of Montenero in the Maremma.

H, p. 57.

The Seventh Epistle of Dante is inscribed, "Sanctissimo Triumphatori et Domino singulari domino Henrico, divina providentia Romanorum, Regi, semper augusto, devotissimi sui Dantes Aligherius, Florentinus et exul immeritus, ac universaliter omnes Tusci, qui pacem desiderant terræ, osculantur pedes." *Epistola VII.* p. 464, ed. Barbera.

I, p. 60.

Dante and Cino. *Epistola IV.* is inscribed, "Exulanti Pistoriensi exul immeritus, per tempora diuturna salutem et perpetuæ caritatis ardorem." This letter was written by Dante in answer to Cino's question, whether our nature can pass from passion to passion, "utrum de passione in passionem, possit anima transformari?" With his answer, Dante sent a piece of poetry to Cino (according to De Witte, the canzone, "Voi che intendendo"), and probably spoke to him of that purely intellectual love which inspired him after the death of Beatrice.

K, p. 76.

Vasari (iii. 39) says that he was made capo-maestro of the Duomo at Milan, and that he sculptured several statues for the "Fabbrica." Cicognara, who suggests that he may have made the tomb of Marco Carelli for the Milanese Duomo, doubts if he

be the author of that of Pope Alexander V., now in the public cemetery at Bologna. In 1403 the Signory of Venice sent an envoy to Florence to request Lamberti to come to Venice and superintend the works then going on for the restoration of the Ducal Palace, but he was obliged to refuse on account of his numerous engagements. Gaye, *Carteggio degli Artisti*, i. 82, publishes the answer sent by the Signory of Florence, dated June 8, 1403, to the Doge Michel-Angelo Steno, concerning Lamberti. In 1407 or 1408 he went to Carrara with Giovanni di Lorenzo di Ambrogio to procure marble for statues of the Evangelists to be placed in the Duomo. One of these is Lamberti's St. Mark, for which he was paid 130 florins. In 1390 he finished six stone shields for the Loggia de' Lanzi, and in 1391 the arms of the Guelphs. In 1405 he made a sepulchral slab for the tomb of Leonardo Acciajuoli at Sta. Maria Novella. In 1407 he was appointed Maestro della porta della chiesa di Santa Reparata, and in the previous year he was paid ten florins for works executed for the door of that church. In 1408 he was paid twenty florins for works about the door of the Duomo which leads to Sta. Maria de' Sorvi.

L, p. 92.

The entombment in the Ambras collection at Vienna is mentioned in Dr. Edouard, Freiherr von Sacken's Catalogue, at p. 96, as: "Ein flaches Relief auf vergoldetem Grunde, der Grablegung Christi vorstellend, mit vielen Figuren die ungemein ausdrucksvoll und schön gruppiert sind; der vergoldete Sarkophag, in dem der Heiland gelegt wird, ist mit Siegeswagen und Kriegern geziert, eine treffliche Arbeit." This admirable relief is certainly a Florentine work of the fifteenth century, and as among the Florentine sculptors of that period none but Donatello could have thrown such intensity of expression into the heads and attitudes of his figures, have grouped them with equal variety, or so skilfully have made use of different kinds of relief to obtain a desired variety of surface, we have little hesitation in ascribing it to him. None other we may add could have caught the spirit of the antique so completely, or used it with such unexampled ability as a foil to the strong realism of his main subject, as is here done in the small relief upon the front of the sarcophagus.

M, p. 118.

This saint is called Eloy, or Alo, in Latin, Eligius, i.e. chosen. See *Curiosités de l'Histoire des Arts*, par Jacob, bibliophile, pp. 193, 217, 219. Baldinucci, vol. i. p. 426, attributes this statue to Nanni di Banco, as does a note-book belonging to the Gaddi family, entitled *Fragments of the Lives of the Painters*. Vasari, vol. iii. p. 57, speaks doubtfully, and it is not mentioned in a MS. list of Nanni's works, preserved in the Strozzi Library. St. Eloy,

who was born A.D. 588, and died A.D. 659, was first a goldsmith, and then, without giving up his art, for the promotion of which he founded a Conventual Academy at Solignac, became a preacher. The miracle, which is represented in relief, below his statue at Or San Michele, is thus related. One day, Satan, who persecuted him under various disguises, entered into a horse, which had been brought to the blacksmith to be shod, and caused him to kick and plunge so violently that the bystanders fled in dismay. Seeing this, St. Eloy cut off the horse's leg, hammered on the shoe, and then, after making the sign of the cross, replaced it, sound as before.

In the twelfth century, three Latin hymns to be sung at matins and lauds on the Saint's two fête days (one of which commemorated the translation of his body to the Cathedral of Noyon, A.D. 1157), were written. One of these we give below, with a literal translation :

De fabri ministerio	From the rank of a workman
Assumptus in pontificem,	Raised to be a priest,
Pastoris in officio	In the office of a shepherd
Renovavit aurificem.	He purified the goldsmith.
Verbo potens in opere	Strong in word and deed
Christi servire nomini,	To serve the name of Christ,
Novo vasorum genere	With a new kind of vase
Exornat templum Domini.	He adorned the temple of the Lord.
Manum misit ad malleum	He put his hand to the hammer
Verbum exemplis astruens,	That he might exemplify his doctrine,
Sic vas format idoneum	Thus he formed a fitting vase,
Verbum vitæ non destruens.	Nor contradicted his teachings by his life
Malleus verbi ratio,	His hammer is doctrinal authority,
Fumax zeli constantia,	His furnace constant zeal,
Follis est respiratio,	His bellows inspiration,
Incus obedientia.	His anvil obedience.
Sic faber in pontificem,	Thus the craftsman was changed into a priest,
In montem crevit atomus ;	An atom grew into a mountain ;
Lemovices aurificem,	Limoges boasts of her goldsmith,
Patrem jactat Noviomus.	Noyon of her father.

In the sixteenth century, Sebastian Rouillard wrote a French hymn, of which we give two verses :

1.	2.
O Saint Eloy, prelat insigne,	Sous Dagobert* fut ta naissance,
Pour te chanter un los condigne	Ton premier art eu la puissance
Aux merites de tes vertus :	Sur les plus riches des metaux :
Toi dont l'Eglise a tant de gages,	Après tes chasses et tes lames,
Et qui admire tes ouvrages	Tu vins regner sur les âmes
D'or et de perles revestus.	Des plus nobles desanimaux.

* St. Eloy made a golden chair for King Dagobert, supposed to be that preserved in the Louvre, which has been regarded as such since the twelfth century.

N, p. 127.

*Opening of the Tomb of Isotta de Rimini, and of other Tombe
at S. Francesco di Rimini.**

"Il Padre Baccelliere Fran. Righini Imolese, Procuratore e Consiglio di questo Convento de PP. Conventuali di S. Francisco, sentendo che da alcuni veniva asserito per proprio capriccio che ne' sepolcri che sono al di fuori e al di dentro della sua chiesa spettanti alla cosa de' Sigg. Malatesti, non vi fossero i rispettivi cadaveri; quindi è che invogliandosi di sincerarsi del vero sopra tal effetto, raunò alcuni galantuomini suoi amici, fra i quali vi fu anch' io: nomini quantunque di mente non superiore all' umana, tuttavia erano uomini di bastante giudizio per distinguere i morti dai vivi, e per distinguere i cadaveri dagli scheletri. Erano ancora uomini onesti, per non imposturare sul fatto. La notte per tanto del 15 Agosto venendo verso i 16 dell' anno scorso 1756, ci portammo ai monumenti che sono al di fuori della mentovata chiesa nella facciata laterale del Tempio, e coll' opera di alcuni fabbri murari, s' aprì il primo monumento di Basinio, poi il 2do di Giusto de' Conti, &c., &c. Il giorno 16 dopo il desinare, e non di notte come supponsi, si venne all' apertura del sepolcro d'Isotta, il quale s' aprì della parte dei piedi alla presenza degli altri sette mentovati. Si scostò il marmo dell' arca, che era della parte dei piedi, quantunque potersi sufficientemente coll' occhio ravvisare la positura del cadavere. Questo si vide tutto coperto di fradiciume, e tutto sciolto nelle giunture, ma tutto in sito, onde non restò persuaso che possa essere stato smosso in altro tempo, perchè tutto l' andamento del corpo è in un sito troppo aggiustato per autenticare la sua prima positura, conforme anche può vedersi al presente, non essendo stato toccato veruno. E intanto tutto quel fradiciume ricuopriva il cadavere, perchè uno dei pezzi dell' arca era scostato dagli altri per essersi rotto un legamento di ferro, onde l' arca ha potuto coadiuvare alla putrefazione del cadavere e delle vesti." Upon this follows the description of the opening of Sigismund's tomb, and the account ends with the statement that this examination has been recorded in the City Register by the Public Notary of Rimini, Sig. Francisco Antonio Masi.

O, p. 133.

The ancients used clay and gypsum for modelling purposes, and also made statues in both materials, but authorities differ as to whether they knew how to take plaster casts in piece moulds. A very obscure passage in Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* lib. xxxiv. ch. xii.) relating to an invention of Lysistratos, the brother of Lysippos, has been interpreted by Welcker, Brunn, and Overbeck to mean

* *Novelle Letterarie di Firenze*, A.D. 1757, vol. xviii. col. 202.

that it was that of taking casts in plaster from the life and from the round. If this reading be correct, as I believe (see *American Art Review* for March and April, 1860, for a full discussion of the passage), it settles the question in the affirmative. In modern times I have been unable to find any evidence as to the use of plaster for casting before Verrocchio's time, though it is to be noticed that Vasari in the passage quoted in the text says:—"Andrea was one of the first, but not the first, as it appears that the practice of casting the faces of the dead was more ancient;" and also that in describing the plaster used by Verrocchio for casting hands, feet, &c., he says "it can be used for the casting of entire figures," but does not affirm that Verrocchio did so use it. A good reason for supposing that he did, is the fact that on his return to Venice in 1488 (see p. 134) he began to restore the model of the horse for the Coleoni statue which he had broken in pieces nine years before (1479). Had the model been made of clay this would have been impossible. We may also suppose that Lionardo da Vinci's equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza (see pp. 136-7) was a plaster cast, as it existed from 1493 to 1501.

It is not, however, until the middle of the sixteenth century that we find in the *Comptes des Bâtimens royaux de France*, a passage about the plaster casts, which admits of no discussion. It records a payment made to "Jean le Roux, dit Picart, imager, pour avoir, vacqué à jeter en plâtre la figure d'un grand cheval sur les mousles, qui sont aussy de plâtre, qui ont été apportés de Rome audit Fontainebleau, et à jeter aussy en plâtre, sur autres mousles, aussy apportés de Rome à Fontainebleau, une grande figure de N. D. de Pitié, dedans la haute chapelle du donjon dudit châtean." (Quoted in M. H. de Jouy's article, entitled *Les Fontes du Primatice*, at p. 11.)

The horse mentioned in this passage (called in accounts of the time "Le Grand Cheval," or "Le Cheval Blanc," because it was made of plaster), was a cast of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which Catherine de Medicis set up in the courtyard of the Palace at Fontainebleau (thenceforward called Le Cour du Cheval Blanc), under a roof raised upon four pillars to protect it from the rain, where it remained until the year 1626.

The figure of N. D. de Pitié was the Pietà of Michelangelo. The moulds of both these works of art were made for Francis I., who, in the year 1540, sent Primaticcio to Rome, to purchase antique marbles. At the same time, says Vasari (vol. xiii. p. 3), he (Primaticcio), caused Jacopo Barozzi da Vignuola, and others, to make moulds* of the statue of Marcus Aurelius, of a part of the Column (of Trajan), and of the statues of Commodus, Venus, the Laocoon, the Tiber, the Nile, and the Cleopatra (Ariadne), that they might be cast in bronze. This was accomplished three years later (1543), by four French artists, viz., Francisque Rybon, Pierre Beauchesne, Benoist le Bouchet, and Guillaume Durant

* The word used is "formare," often applied by sculptors to the process of making the mould in which figures were to be cast.—Cellini, *Vita*, p. 354, nota 2.

(see *La Renaissance des Arts*, par M. Le Comte de Laborde, vol. i. pp. 424-427, 430), in the foundry at Fontainebleau; and *Les Comptes des Bâtimens* (says M. Jouy, p. 20) which prove this fact, mention also payments made to Pierre Bontemps, image maker, for the models in wax, &c., for casting.

P, p. 221.

Among Alberti's scholars, Vasari (iv. 60-61) mentions Salvatore Fancelli Fiorentino, and Luca Fiorentino. These artists were in reality but one and the same person, named Luca Fancelli, "architetto e scultore ragionevole," the son of Jacopo di Bartolomeo da Settignano (see *ibid.* note 2, p. 60). According to Gaye he was living at Mantua in 1486. In 1490 Lorenzo il Magnifico requested Francesco Gonzaga to send M^{re} Luca to the Duke of Calabria, who was in need of an architect on account of the death of Giuliano da Majano, whom Fancelli succeeded as capo-maestro of the Duomo at Florence in 1491. M. Armand Baschet tells us in his "*Recherches dans les Archives de Mantoue*" (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts* for April, 1866) that Fancelli was sent by the marquis to Andrea Mantegna at Padua to persuade him to enter into his service. In a letter dated April 15, 1458, to Mantegna, the marquis mentions the return of his envoy, and expresses his pleasure on hearing that the great painter has acceded to his propositions. M. Baschet furthermore tells us that an autograph document discovered by him in the Mantuan archives proves Luca Fancelli to have been Perugino's father-in-law; that he was attached to the service of the marquis in 1450, and was so still in 1492 and 1493. His business was to superintend the buildings erected by the prince in and about his capital.

A Paolo di Luca da Fiorenza, perhaps the son of Luca Fancelli, is mentioned by Cittadella (*Notizie relative a Ferrara*, p. 56) as working at Ferrara in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

Q, p. 307.

Florentine Sculptors of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

1. Maso di Cristoforo Bracci Aurifex, b. 1383; free of the Arti della Seta 1409; d. 1430, leaving a wife and four children. He is proved by records to have been employed by Ghiberti, in 1407, on the bronze gate of San Giovanni at Florence (Crowe and Cav. *Hist.* vol. i. p. 513); and Nicolò da Firenze worked at Padua in 1443 under M^{re} Bartolomeo di Domenico, architect of the choir and tribune of Sant' Antonio. (Gonzati, *op. cit.* i. 60.)

2. Simone Bianco. Cicogna, *Isc. Ven.* p. 218, mentions his bust of Vincenzo Bianchi, a Venetian man of letters (1583-1627) in the *Bib. Cesarea*. Pietro Aretino (*Lettere*, lib. iv. p. 277, ed. 1609)

praises his bust of the wife of Niccolò Molino. Vasari speaks of him in his life of V. Carpaccio, vi. 105, and in his first edition says that he resided at Venice. L'Anonimo, p. 60, speaks of a marble foot upon a base in the house of M. Andrea di Odoni at Venice (see also Morelli's note to this passage, No. 103, p. 194), and at p. 63, of a marble statue of Mars naked and carrying a helmet.

3. Paolo Fiorentino detto Il Pelucca, commissioned in 1554 to make a bas-relief for the Cappella del Santo at Sant' Antonio, which was given to Cataneo in 1572 and to Campagna in 1573. (Gonzati, i. 165.)

4. Camigliani and Vagherino, Florentines, made the gate of a villa belonging to Don Pedro di Toledo at Palermo in 1522, which was afterwards sold to the city, and with added ornaments became the Porta Felice. (Ricci, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 91, note 5.)

5. Antonio di Giusto lived at Carrara in 1508-14-16 in the house of his father, also a sculptor. He was attached to the service of the King of France. (Campori, *op. cit.* p. 14.)

6. Donato Benci, fl. 1511, 1512. April 17, 1518, appointed by Michelangelo to purchase marbles at Carrara and forward them to Florence. (Campori, p. 60.)

Sculptors employed at Rome by Pope Nicholas V. (1447-1455.)

7. Francesco di Domenico da Firenze and Righe d'Obriglia, marmorairi or carpellatori.

8. Pietro di Giovanni da Varese worked at Arieto in 1450, and built Tower of Capitol at Rome 1452-3.

9. Varro or Varrone, worked for Pius II.—real name Varrone d'Aguolo del Belferdile, or Belferdino da Firenze, 1450-54, worked in bronze and marble at Court of Pope Nicholas V., mentioned by Filarete in his *Truttato d'Architettura*.

10. M. Valentino da Viterbo, carved doors for the Vatican Palace 1450-1, assisted by his brother Lionardo and M^o Nicolò da Firenze (see 1).

11. Fra Antonio da Viterbo, mentioned in Papal registers in 1467, carved fauteuils and footstools for Pope Nicholas IV., and wooden doors for Eugenius IV. (See *La Renaissance à la Cour des Papes*, by Eugene Müntz.)

R, p. 337.

Pier Francesco, called Pierino da Vinci, was the son of Bartolomeo di Ser Piero, the nephew of Lionardo da Vinci, and the scholar of Il Tribolo. He was born at Vinci (a castle near Empoli) in 1520 (?), and when very young was taken to Florence and placed by his father in the studio of Baccio Bandinelli (see Vasari, x. 291, note 1), whence, as he progressed but little, he was soon removed to that of Il Tribolo. Here he made rapid progress,

and greatly assisted his master in decorating the ducal villa at Castello. He modelled the graceful and carefully-studied "putti" which lie upon the rim of the marble basin of the fountain behind the Casino. They were cast in bronze by Zanobi Lastricati (Vasari, x. 285). These are the only works executed by Pierino while under the influence of Il Tribolo. The following works are in his second and Michelangesque manner, which he adopted after his second visit to Rome—a bas-relief of the Madonna and Child: SS. Joseph, John, and Elisabeth in the Museum of the Bargello; a Holy Family in flat relief at the Louvre, from the Campana collection; an allegorical representation of Pisa raised from her fallen state by Duke Cosimo I° at the Vatican (Vasari, vol. x. 289, note 2), and the death of Count Ugolino and his sons by starvation, a bas-relief in the palace of the Conte della Gherardesca at Florence, mannered and pictorial in style, with figures violent in action. Like a tarnished mirror this clever and second-rate sculptor dimly reflected the objects which came within his range.

S.

Monuments, &c., not mentioned in text.

1. Florence. Sacristy of Santa Trinita. Onofrio di Palla Strozzi, b. 1345, d. 1417. (Gozzini, *Mon. Sep. de la Toscana*, p. 92, pl. 46.) This monument was raised to the memory of Onofrio by his son Palla Strozzi (the younger), and sculptured by Piero di Niccolò, as proved by an old book of accounts in the Archives, in which a record of payment occurs dated Aug. 4, 1418. We are inclined to think that this sculptor is identical with Niccolò di Piero Lamberti, called Pela (*see* pp. 72-3), one of the competitors for the Baptistery Gates, who died after 1419. The sarcophagus, upon whose front winged genii hold a shield, is almost identical in shape with that at the Bargello, made by Lorenzo Ghiberti to contain the bones of SS. Proteus, Hyacinthus, and Nemesius. It stands under an arch springing from Corinthian capitals, and supported upon a base with dentellated cornice and richly-foliated brackets. The architrave is sculptured with "putti" and festoons.

2. Bronze Cassa or Reliquary of the SS. Proteus, Hyacinthus, and Nemesius, by Lorenzo Ghiberti (1428) at the Bargello, formerly in the Monastero degli Angeli. The lid of the reliquary is enriched with arabesques, and the front panel decorated with flying genii, like those at the back of the Cassa di San Zenobio (*see* p. 84), holding a laurel crown, within which is the inscription.

3. San Pancrazio (Via delle Arme, N° 10), rich little chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, erected in 1467 by Leon Battista Alberti for the Ruccellai family. (*See* Buckhardt, *Cicerone*, 4th ed., p. 90, d.; and Gozzini, *Mon. Sep. della Toscana*, pl. 48, p. 95.)

4. Monument of Niccolò Aringhieri, d. 1374 in San Domenico at Siena. Gozzini (pl. lxiii. p. 127) attributes it to Goro Sanese, but

erroneously. The two Sienese sculptors so named, Goro di Ciuccio Ciuti, scholar of Niccola Pisano, and Goro di Gregorio (*see* ch. iv. p. 52), both died in the first half of the fourteenth century. The monument consists of a sarcophagus with sepulchral effigy and professorial bas-relief, raised upon three columns. The architrave is decorated with lions' heads in relief.

5. Monument to Marco Antonio Albertoni (d. 1485) in Sta. Maria del Popolo at Rome. Cappella Costa, unknown sculptor of Florentine school. The effigy is that of a youth of a fair countenance, wearing a round cap upon his head, which rests on an embroidered cushion. The body is clothed in a short tunic, and the feet rest against a cushion. The hands are simply crossed below the breast.

6. Monument to Cardinal Ortega, 1524. Sacristy of Santa Maria del Popolo. Unknown sculptor. This is a very beautiful tomb in a pure Renaissance style, consisting of a square recess formed by a rich entablature (architrave decorated with cherubian and dentellated cornice), supported upon pilasters adorned with arabesques. The sepulchral effigy lies upon a sarcophagus resting on lions' feet. The base consists of a memorial tablet, flanked by panels, in each of which is a winged genius, with a shield in high relief.

7. Monument of Francesco di Simone Pazzi, d. after 1318. Cloister of Sta. Croce. Attributed by Gozzini to Nino Pisano. (*See* pl. 26, p. 51.) Sarcophagus, without effigy, supported by statues of the four Cardinal Virtues standing on pedestals. Not unlike Balduccio Pisano in style.

8. Gastone della Torre, Patriarch of Aquileja (d. 1317). Cloister of Nuns of Sta. Croce, A.D. 1317. Attributed by Gozzini to Agostino Sanese. Of this there is no documentary proof, nor is there any resemblance of style to the reliefs of the Tarlati monument (*see* ch. iv. p. 56) which would warrant the conclusion. The bas-reliefs on the sides of the sarcophagus of the Preaching of St. John, the Incredulity of St. Thomas, the Noli me Tangere, the Resurrection of our Lord, and the Marys at the Sepulchre, are remarkable for liveliness of action, flatness of surface planes, and disposition of draperies. The figures of Prophets in the round, placed between the reliefs, are dignified and well-draped, showing the study of antique models. The recumbent effigy is inferior, short, and thick-set. It lies on the casket-shaped lid of the sarcophagus, which rests on four ornate brackets.

9. Monument of Count Bonifazio della Gherardesca (1321) in the Campo Santa at Pisa, formerly in the (now destroyed) Church of San Francesco. It originally had a triple canopy. The sarcophagus, which is bracketed against the wall, has a rich Greek cross at each end, and nine shallow niches in front containing half-figures of Saints, rather stiffly disposed, and with but little expression. The effigy lies on a second smaller sarcophagus under three unmistakably Pisan statuettes of the Madonna and two Saints. The brackets are richly ornamented. That this tomb is the work of Tommaso Pisano is altogether dubious.

10. Monument of Ulbertino de' Bardi in the Cappella Bardi, at Sta. Croce. Gozzini (pl. 34, p. 37) attributes this Gothic tomb to Tommaso "detto" Giotto. Following Vasari (ed. Milanese, p. 624), who describes the fresco of the Last Judgment over the sarcophagus from the top of which Bettino de' Bardi rises at the sound of the last trump, Milanese, in a note to this passage, shows that the tomb contains the remains of Andrea de' Bardi (d. 1367), and in note † p. 622, proves that Vasari made one painter out of two, Maso di Banco, who died after 1350, and Giotto di Stefano, called Giotto, who died after 1369.

The monument consists of a Gothic canopy, crocketed gable, twisted columns, base formed by sarcophagus with casket-like lid, on front shields, figures, and an Ecce Homo.

11. Monument of Neri Capponi (d. 1457), by Simone di Niccolò de' Bardi, at Santo Spirito, Florence. Gozzini (pl. 41, p. 81) attributes this monument to Simon, the so-called brother of Donatello (see p. 98). It consists of a sarcophagus shaped like a reliquary: on lid, festoons; in front flying angels, supporting a medallion and profile portrait of the deceased.

12. Monument of the Cerchi family in the Church of San Francesco at Assisi. Gothic, fourteenth century; somewhat heavy gable with finial and crockets, resting on two slender twisted columns, raised upon a base with ornate mouldings and cornice, divided into spaces by richly-ornamented interlaced arches with twisted columns and pendant heads, &c. The porphyry vase under the canopy is said to have been given by Hecuba, Queen of Cyprus, to the Convent, filled with ultramarine.

13 and 14. Tombs of Jacopo di Carrara, fifth Lord of Padua, and of Ubertino di Carrara (d. 1354). These Gothic tombs, which stand opposite each other in the Church of the Eremitani at Padua, are interesting, as showing in the sarcophagi the gradual tendency to accumulate ornament. The hood-like gables at the corners project above niches containing statuettes, and central niches containing groups of the Madonna and Child are formed by raising the cornice and frieze into arches. The effigies rest on inclined planes formed by the gabled roofs of the sarcophagi, whose form is peculiar to Padua.

15. Tomb of Barbara Ordelaff (d. 1466) in the Church of S. Girolamo at Forlì. An excellent example of the Renaissance style.

16. Fernando di Cordova, d. 1486. In the Church of Sta. Maria di Monserrato at Rome, removed from S. Giacomo de' Spagnuoli.

17. Pietro Cesi, Roman Senator. Tomb similar to No. 16 in the Cathedral at Narni.

18. Diego di Valdez (d. 1506), at Sta. Maria di Monserrato, Rome. Removed from S. Giacomo de' Spagnuoli.

19. Rhoderico Sanctio, Bishop of Oviedo and Palencia (d. 1471), at Sta. Maria di Monserrato, Rome. Grave slab. Removed from S. Giacomo de' Spagnuoli.

20. Castiglione di Olona. In the lunette above the architrave,

of chief portal is a bas-relief "executed (say Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist.* vol. i. p. 500) with the ease and breadth characteristic of Florentine art," representing the Virgin enthroned, with the Infant Saviour in the act of giving the blessing to Cardinal Branda, who kneels at the left supported by a Pope and St. Laurence. To the right SS. Ambrose and Stephen are placed in attendance, and on the marble at the side of the latter is carved the date 1428.

Italian marbles at Paris, London, and Berlin.

PARIS.

THE LOUVRE—RENAISSANCE MUSEUM.

1. Bronze relief, "fond doré," Christ au Tombeau, fifteenth century.
2. Statue, marble, Louis XII. Lorenzo da Mugiano, 1508. Head, arms, and legs restored.

SALLE MICHEL ANGE.

3. Bronze plaque, profile, flat relief. L. B. Alberti. Without inscription or emblem. Fifteenth century.

(His de la Salle bequest.)

4. Bronze plaque. Madonna standing with child in her arms under an arch, between angels; below, four "putti" with wreaths and musical instruments. Fifteenth century.

(His de la Salle bequest.)

The draperies seem too heavy and complicated for Donatello, to whom it is attributed.

(His de la Salle bequest.)

- 5-12. Bronze bas-reliefs, by Andrea Riccio (1480-1522), from the tomb of Girolamo della Torre, at Verona (*see* p. 376). 1. Illness; 2. Sacrifice; 3. Death; 4. Obsequies; 5. The Passage of the Styx; 6. Earthly Fame; 7. Paradise.

13. Bronze plaque. The Flagellation. Donatello. Fifteenth century (*see* p. 102*).

(His de la Salle bequest.)

14. Galba, profile, "pietra serena," bas-relief. Sixteenth century.

15. Triumph of Petrarch, bronze relief. Andrea Riccio.

16. Medallion, bronze, wreath enclosing a group of man and woman seated.

17. Madonna and Child. North Italian.

18. Bust of St. John the Baptist (*see* p. 150*). Mino da Fiesole.

19. Beatrice d'Este. Fifteenth century.

20. Madonna and Child, marble. Mino da Fiesole. Halos gilded.

(His de la Salle bequest.)

- 21-2. Sides of a marble sarcophagus. Lions' heads at each end;

"putti" with a festoon and central head in high relief (*see* p. 150*). Mino da Fiesole.

23. Bronze bas-relief, life-size Madonna and Child. Resembles Michelangelo in the movement of the Madonna's head, and the treatment of the shoulder.

24. Terra-cotta Virgin and Child. Louvre. Italian. Sixteenth century (*see* *Athenæum*, No. 2,809, p. 283; also 2,811, Sept. 10, 1881).

25. Bust in marble. Unknown portrait. Milanese school. End of fifteenth century.

26. Bust of Filippo Strozzi, dated 1491. From Palazzo Strozzi (*see* p. 156). Benedetto da Majano.

27. Large bas-relief. Madonna and Child. Mino da Fiesole.

28. Nature. Statue by Il Tribolo. Like Diana of Ephesus, 1485-1550.

29. Alto-relief. A warrior on horseback with two attendants. Roberto Malatesta. Ariminensis.

30-31. Prisoners (*see* pp. 284-5). Michelangelo.

32. The Porta della Stanga, erected at Cremona in 1499 (*see* p. 111*).

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS AT PARIS.

M. Dreyfus.

1. Bust of St. John, by Desiderio da Settignano. An exquisite work.

2-3. Charity and Faith. Mino da Fiesole. Perhaps for the monument of Cardinal d'Estoutville at Sta. Maria Maggiore (*see* p. 147).

4. Filippo Maria Visconti. Marble, profile. Resembles the portrait head on the medal by Pisanello.

5. Diva Heleonora. Flat relief. Fifteenth century. Florentine.

6. Beatrix Aragonia. Bust. Fifteenth century. Florentine.

7. Christ and St. John. Very flat relief. Fifteenth century. Florentine (*see* p. 102*). Donatello (?).

8. Fine bust in marble, with inscription. Fifteenth century. Florentine.

9. Bust of Diottisalvi Neri, dated 1464. Mino da Fiesole (*see* p. 147).

10. Leon. Battista Alberti. Bronze plaque. Signed L.B.A.P.; with a winged eye; as on the reverse of Matteo de' Pasti's medal of Alberti (*see* p. 222§).

11. Madonna and Child. Luca della Robbia.

12. An admirable collection of "plaques."

M. Le Baron Rattier.

1. Publius Scipio. Marble relief; profile. Attributed to Lionardo da Vinci. (Referred to in note †, p. 138.)

2. Medal Portrait of Francis I. Benvenuto Cellini. Signed Benvenuto, F.
3. Luca della Robbia. Relief.

M. Spitzer.

Bas-reliefs from the Palazzo Suffiolo at Modena, by Tullio Lombardo. (Referred to at p. 356.)

ROYAL MUSEUM, BERLIN.

1. No. 1,074. Terra-cotta (painted) statuette of David. The sketch for the bronze statue of David, by Andrea del Verrocchio, at the Bargello, Florence (*see* p. 133).
2. No. 1,036. Painted terra-cotta bust of Filippo Strozzi. Original study for the marble bust at the Louvre (*see* p. 156*). Benedetto da Majano.
3. No. 733. Marble bust of a young Florentine lady. Mino da Fiesole.
4. No. 1,070. Statue of St. John (marble), made for Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici, by Michelangelo Buonarroti (*see* p. 259).
5. No. 667. Marble bust of a young Florentine. Desiderio da Settignano.
6. No. 1,039. Bronze statuette of St. John the Baptist. Donatello.
7. No. 1,037. Painted terra-cotta bust of Giov. Ruccellai. Florentine, about 1450.
8. No. 674. Painted bust ("gesso duro") of Lorenzo de' Medici. Florentine. Second half of fifteenth century.
9. No. 646. Bust in marble of Marietta Strozzi, from the Palazzo Strozzi; one of the most beautiful works of the Florentine Renaissance (*see* p. 119). Desiderio da Settignano.
10. No. 1,050. Marble bust of Niccolò Strozzi, 1454 (*see* p. 146). Mino da Fiesole.
11. No. 640. Colossal marble bust of Pope Alexander VI. Sculptor unknown.
12. Fine collection of bronze plaques, chiefly Italian, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

LONDON.

KENSINGTON MUSEUM. (Late additions.)

1. Sarcophagus—used as a horse-trough. Female Saint in very flat relief; angels at each end. Cost £186 7s. 6d. Donatello.
- 2-3. Two superb bronze circular medallions. The Labours of Hercules. Strangling the Serpents, and carrying off the Eryman-

thian Boar. In carved wooden frames. Fourteen inches in diameter. Ascribed to Sperandio of Mantua. Bought for £2,000. See *Times*, October 22, 1881.

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS.

Alex. Nesbitt, Esq.

1. Medallion. Head in relief. Close of the fourteenth or early part of the fifteenth century.

C. Drury Fortnum, Esq.

1. Terra-cotta bust. Baccio Bandinelli.

2. Gesso Duro. Original design for the relief at the Bargello, Florence. By Antonio Rossellino (*see* p. 123).

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