

Antonio da Crevalcore was highly regarded by his contemporaries as both a painter of still-lives and a musician, his artistic oeuvre remains the subject of debate. It has been suggested that he trained in Ferrara, because of the stylistic similarities his work shares with other Ferrarese painters working in Bologna, such as Francesco del Cossa and Ercole de' Roberti. The influence of Cossa's Bolognese painting on Crevalcore is clear, especially of the *Pala dei Mercanti* (Bologna, Pin. N.), but the connection between Cossa's Ferrarese works or Ercole de' Roberti's later Ferrarese paintings and Crevalcore is less evident.

Crevalcore is first documented in Bologna in 1478 and recorded as 'Master Antonio, the painter of the Cappella S Proclo' in 1491. The date of his death has been deduced from his inclusion in Girolamo Casio de' Medici's book of epitaphs (1525). His only signed and dated painting was the *Holy Family* (1493; ex-Kaiser-Friedrich Mus., Berlin, destr.). Other works attributed to him include the portrait of the *Sacrat Family* (Munich, Alte Pin.), the *Holy Family with St John the Baptist* (Stuttgart, Staatsgal.), the *Portrait of a Young Man with the sigl A.F.P.* [*Antonius Ferrariensis pinxit*] (Venice, Correr) and three large tempera paintings on canvas of the *Virgin and Child with an Angel*, *St Paul* and *St Peter* (London, priv. col., see Sgarbi, 1985).

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A signed triptych of the *Virgin and Child with Angels and Saints* (Genga, S. Clemente) is dated by documents to 1474. The frescoes of the *Crucifixion with Dominicans* and *Christ with Dominican Saints* (both Fabriano, Convent of S. Domenico) have a suggested date of c. 1480 (Borgogelli). Antonio da Fabriano's approach to light and volume reflects the influence of Piero della Francesca, perhaps acquired through the work of Gerolamo di Giovanni da Camerino and Giovanni Boccati. Antonio's only signed work of sculpture is a marble tabernacle (Fabriano Cathedral).

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Antonio da Mercatello Bencivenni. See BENCIVENNI, ANTONIO.

Antonio da Negroponte. See FALIER, ANTONIO.

Antonio da Trento (b Trent; fl Bologna, c. 1527). Italian printmaker. Of six documented chiaroscuro woodcuts by the artist (two signed, four mentioned by Vasari), five are skilfully cut in a very controlled two-block style, for example *Nude Man in a Landscape* (b. p. 148, no. 13). The sixth, the *Martyrdom of Two Saints* (b. p. 79, no. 28; for illustration see WOODCUT, CHIAROSCURO), is among the best of Italian multiple-block chiaroscuros. All are after designs by Parmigianino. According to Vasari, Parmigianino, arriving in Bologna after the Sack of Rome in 1527, stayed with a friend for several months and retained Antonio to instruct him in the cutting of two- and three-block prints. Although Vasari stated elsewhere that Par-

his left arm in the Hindu manner; in the latter, he depicts himself as an elderly, bearded petitioner with his *jama* tied in the Muslim manner, suggesting that he had converted to Islam. The visual difference in his age is corroborated by the inscription, which reads: 'A portrait of Balchand, a slave of the court. Work of Balchand, the old servant'. These self-portraits lend further evidence to the view that the *Pādrbhānāma* was produced over a number of years.

See also INDIAN SUBCONTINENT, §V.4(i)(b)-(d).

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Baldaccini, César. See CÉSAR.

Baldachin. See CIBORIUM (ii).

Baldassare da Urbino. See LANCI, BALDASSARE.

**Baldassare d'Este** [Baldassare da Reggio] (b Reggio Emilia, bapt 20 June 1432; d after 29 Jan 1506). Italian painter and medallist. He was brought up as the adopted son of a certain Giovanni Bonayni, but a document of 1489 records him as the (illegitimate) son of Niccolò III d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara. In most documents, however, he is called 'Baldassare da Reggio'.

Baldassare is first recorded as a painter in a document of 16 January 1461 from the Visconti-Sforza ducal registers in Milan, in which he is given permission to travel for two years. This suggests that he had been working for the Dukes of Milan for some time. In 1466 he was paid two lire for an altarpiece for the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan. In February 1469 he painted portraits of *Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan* and his wife, *Bona of Savoy*, in the ducal castle at Pavia.

In late September 1469, with high recommendations from Galeazzo Maria (in a letter of 5 June 1469), Baldassare arrived in Ferrara. There he painted portraits of *Borso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara* and members of the ducal court. His only signed and dated works are three medals of 1472 depicting *Ercole I d'Este*, the newly invested Duke of Ferrara. In 1472 he evaluated Cosimo Tura's work in the Este chapel at Belriguardo. In 1473, Baldassare painted two portraits of *Ercole I*, to be sent to the Duke's betrothed, Eleanor of Aragon, and was commissioned to 'touch up' the frescoes, including 36 portraits of Borso, of the Salone dei Mesi in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara. A portrait of *Borso d'Este* (Milan, Castello Sforzesco) has been attributed to Baldassare, because of its similarity to the portraits in the Schifanoia frescoes. Other works that have also been attributed to him include the portrait of *Tito*

*Vesparziano Struzzi* (Venice, Fond. Cini) and an unidentified female figure in the much damaged fresco of the *Stigmatization of St Francis* (Ferrara, Pin. N.).

Baldassare is also documented as painting a series of frescoes depicting the *Life of St Ambrose* in the Ruffini Chapel of S Domenico, Ferrara, and an altarpiece with the *Twelve Apostles* for the nuns of Mortara in S Maria delle Grazie. Baruffaldi recorded two further altarpieces by him: one, of *St Thomas Aquinas and St Catherine*, in S Maria degli Angeli, Ferrara, and the other in S Maria della Consolazione, Ferrara, the predella of which illustrated scenes from the *Life of Abbot Carlo Lalli*. All these works, with the possible exception of the *Twelve Apostles*, which Venturi (1887) suggested might be the large panel of the *Death of the Virgin* (Milan, Bib. Ambrosiana), are untraced.

Longhi (1934) created the persona of 'Vicino da Ferrara', under which name he grouped a number of paintings stylistically close to Ercole de' Roberti's early work. In 1940 Longhi suggested that this group of works might be by Baldassare d'Este; later (1940-55) he identified 'Vicino da Ferrara' with Baldassare (all these articles are reprinted in Longhi, 1975). However, it is hard to accept most of these rather awkward paintings as the work of an artist famed for his skill as a portrait painter, and so the question of the extent of Baldassare's oeuvre must remain open.

In 1476 Baldassare was appointed Capitano of the Porta Castello in Reggio Emilia; though apparently not well suited to the post, he continued in it for at least 30 years.

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continued to participate in Fluxus activities in the 1970s, later returning to word-paintings that resembled his early work, such as *J'attends la guerre* (1981; Paris, Pompidou). Ben relished his role as a debunker of the activities of dealers, critics, art schools and of artists themselves, selling monochrome canvases at cost price and filling his newspaper, *Artbèmes*, and his revues (e.g. *La Fenêtre*, 1973), with a mixture of analysis and gossip. After the Galerie Ben Doute de Tout closed in 1973, it was taken apart and reconstructed as a work of art entitled *Ben's Shop* (1958-73; Paris, Pompidou). In summer 1990 Ben's Caravane des Arts travelled around France.

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VANINA COSTA

**Benaglio** [Benalius], **Francesco** [Francesco di Pietro della Biada] (b c. 1430; d Verona, ?1492). Italian painter. He adopted his professional name from a noble Bergamask family then living in Verona. His earliest documented work is the signed triptych of the *Virgin and Child Enthroned Adored by St Bernard with SS Peter, Paul, Francis, Jerome, Louis of Toulouse and Anthony of Padua* (1462; Verona, Castelvecchio), executed for S Bernardino, Verona. It is a relatively free copy after Mantegna's S Zeno Altarpiece (Verona, S Zeno), although much more decorative in the details and less secure in the spatial arrangement of the saints. Benaglio's name regularly appears in the Veronese tax records from 1465 to 1482. In 1475, he and a painter named Martino were condemned to four months in prison for painting obscene figures on the façade of the Palazzo Sagramoso. In 1476 he finished a fresco of *SS Bartolomeu, Zeno, Jerome and Francis* (destr. 1738) in S Maria della Scala. In 1492 Benaglio's son Girolamo is listed as an orphan, indicating that his father must have died that year.

Other signed works by Benaglio include the *St Anthony* (Washington, DC, N.G.A.), the *Virgin and Child* (ex-Chalandon priv. col., Paris), the *Virgin and Child* (Washington, DC, N.G.A.) and the *Madonna del Ventaglio* (Verona, Castelvecchio). The signature on the *Virgin with Four Saints* (Rome, Pal. Venezia) appears to be false.

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**Cicognara, Antonio** (fl. 1480-?1500). Italian painter and illuminator. A *Virgin and Child* (Ferrara, Pin. N.), signed and dated *Antonii Cicognarii Pictura anno domini 1480*, shows him to have been an extremely feeble painter at that date. Longhi (1934) and Ruhmer (1957) proposed that Cicognara had played a substantial role in the decoration of the Salone dei Mesi in Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, 11 years earlier, but this thesis seems unlikely and has not been generally accepted. His earliest certain work is as a miniaturist in Cremona, where he illuminated two Antiphonaries and a Psalter for the cathedral between 1482 and 1483. The miniature of *Isaiab* on fol. 3r of the Psalter (Cremona Cathedral, Cod. IV) is signed and dated 1483. He is also documented in Cremona on 17 December 1486 and 31 May 1487, painting in S Rocco and in the Ospedale della Pietà. In 1490 he signed and dated a *Virgin and Child with St Catherine of Alexandria and a Female Saint* (ex-Cologna and Speroni priv. col., Milan); in 1493 he signed

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## 06 Cicognara, Antonio

and dated a *Sr Hyacinth* (destr.) painted on a pilaster in S Pantalone, Cremona (Zaist, 1774). He was last recorded in Lodi in August 1500 with Jacopo de' Moti evaluating work by Ambrogio Bergognone in the sanctuary of the Incoronata.

Other paintings attributed to Cicognara include *Sr Catherine with an Adoring Nun* (Bergamo, Gal. Accad. Carrara) and the *Adoration of the Child with Two Angels* (Cremona, Pal. Com.). The attribution of six cards from the Visconti-Sforza tarot pack (New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib.; Bergamo, Gal. Accad. Carrara) is based primarily on faked documentary evidence (Novati, 1880, 1908; Gualazzini, 1931; Dummett, 1976).

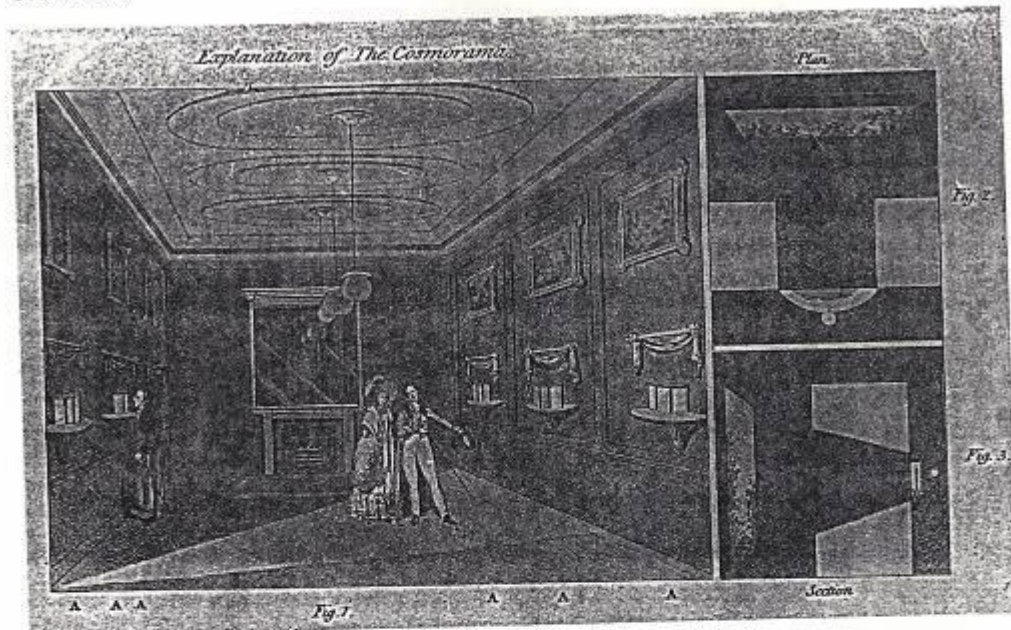
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Explanation of the Cosmorama, aquatint, 140x220 mm; from *La Belle Assemblée* (London, 1821), pl. 155

(sometimes called physioramas, naturoamas and poeciloramas) in London were in the Lowther Bazaar, the St James's Bazaar, the Royal Bazaar, the Queen's Bazaar, the Saville House Bazaar, the Grand Oriental Bazaar and the Waterloo Rooms. In the English provinces cosmoramas were established at Bristol, Manchester, Exeter, Derby and other major cities. Many of the paintings shown were by French artists, although a few were by Clarkson Stanfield, Frederick Nash (1782-1896) and Kenny Meadows. John Martin's paintings provided an occasional source.

In Europe the principal cosmorama artist was Hubert Sattler (1817-1904). He was the son of the panoramist Johann Michael Sattler (1786-1847), who from 1829 toured Europe exhibiting a panorama of Salzburg in a transportable rotunda, which he set up in the market-place of each town visited. Hubert Sattler's cosmoramas were displayed either in the corridor beneath the panorama, or in a separate 'art hut'. In his search for subjects Sattler travelled widely, to Italy, Greece, Turkey, Syria, Egypt, the east coast of the USA, Mexico and the West Indies. He visited New York in 1850, exhibiting his cosmoramas in an iron hut on Broadway at 13th Street. In 1870 he presented the city of Salzburg with his father's panorama and over one hundred cosmoramas. Sattler's cosmoramas are preserved in the Salzburger Museum.

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RALPH HYDE

**Cossa, Francesco del** (b Ferrara, c. 1435; d Bologna, 1476-7). Italian painter. Together with Cosimo Tura and Ercole de' Roberti, Cossa was one of the most important painters working in Ferrara and Bologna in the second half of the 15th century. With them he shared an expressive use of line and solidity of form, but he also had a gift for decorative and anecdotal scenes, most evident in the frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara.

1. TO 1470. The date of Cossa's birth must be deduced from information contained in two sets of documents relating to his death. As the coda to two epigrams he dedicated to the painter, the Bolognese juriconsult Lodovico Bolognini recorded that Cossa died at the age of forty-two years, two months and eight days. The date of Cossa's death can be inferred from epigrams and letters of 1477 exchanged between two Bolognese gentlemen, Angelo Michele Salimbeni and Sebastiano Aldrovandi, in which Cossa is described as not long dead. In combination, these documents allow one to place his birth around 1435. Cossa was born into an artistic family. His father, Cristoforo del Cossa, was a mason who had worked on the campanile of Ferrara Cathedral. His uncle Antonio del Cossa was also a mason who worked on several of the Este castles. Cossa's mother was Fiordelisa Mastrìa.

The earliest record of Cossa's artistic activities is a document of 11 September 1456, in which the Fabbrica of Ferrara Cathedral paid him 3 lire 5 soldi for a work to be placed on the high altar. The interpretation of this document is problematic. Scalabrini transcribed the payment as for an altarpiece of 'a *Pietà* composed of three half-figures', while Cittadella read the document as specifying 'three half-figures of stone' (*pietra*). The fact that Cossa is described as a painter in the document lends support to Scalabrini's reading, but, coming as he did from a family of masons, Cossa's first work could easily have been a sculptural group. The work was destroyed in 1727, without its appearance being recorded. The possibility that Cossa might have been a practising sculptor is further supported by references in the letters and epigrams of Salimbeni and Aldrovandi: Salimbeni praised Cossa specifically as a sculptor, comparing him with Polykleitos and Phidias; Aldrovandi referred to him as a modern Skopas or Praxiteles. Following these indications, critics have attempted to attribute a number of sculptural works to Cossa, the most notable pieces being the decorative friezes of the portal of the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (see FERRARA, fig. 4), and the tomb slab of Domenico Garganelli (Bologna, Pin. N.). Cossa may have been both a painter and sculptor during his short career, but without secure knowledge of what his sculptural style might have been, any attributions should be accepted only tentatively.

On 29 November 1460 Cossa became an independent master. He is recorded in Bologna, acting as godfather at the baptism of Domenico Garganelli's son Ludovico on 17 December 1462. Between this date and 1469-70 Cossa's whereabouts are undocumented. He may have remained in Bologna until 1466-7, as he seems to have provided cartoons for a series of stained-glass windows executed by the brothers Jacopo Cabrini and Domenico Cabrini for the façade of S Giovanni in Monte. One of the windows from this complex (whose arrangement was recorded by Marcello Oretti in 1783 before it was dismantled) is signed by the Cabrini brothers and dated 1467. Several of the windows are still in S Giovanni in Monte (a *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Four Angels*, a *St John the Evangelist on Patmos* and a panel depicting the coat of arms of the patron Annibale Gozzadini). Other fragments exist in Ferrara (Gal. Civ. A. Mod.) and in Costozza, Viterbo (Da Schio priv. col.). Certain compositional elements of the stained-glass designs have prompted some critics to include them in a later phase of Cossa's career, perhaps as late as 1474 or 1475, suggesting that the complex of windows could be the result of two separate decorative campaigns. There are marked stylistic similarities, however, between the angels in the *Virgin and Child* window and those found in a painting universally accepted as Cossa's earliest extant work, the *Virgin and Child with Angels* (?1460-65; Washington, DC, N.G.A.; see fig. 1). Even if dated as early as 1467, the S Giovanni window designs would be the work of an artist who had practised for at least 11 years and therefore would say little about Cossa's training or early career.

In a letter of 25 March 1470 Cossa complained to Borso d'Este, Duke of Modena (later Duke of Ferrara), that he had been badly paid for the work he had recently completed in the Palazzo Schifanoia (see FERRARA, §4(ii) and



1. Francesco del Cossa: *Virgin and Child with Angels*, tempera on panel, 535×362 mm, ?1460-65 (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art)

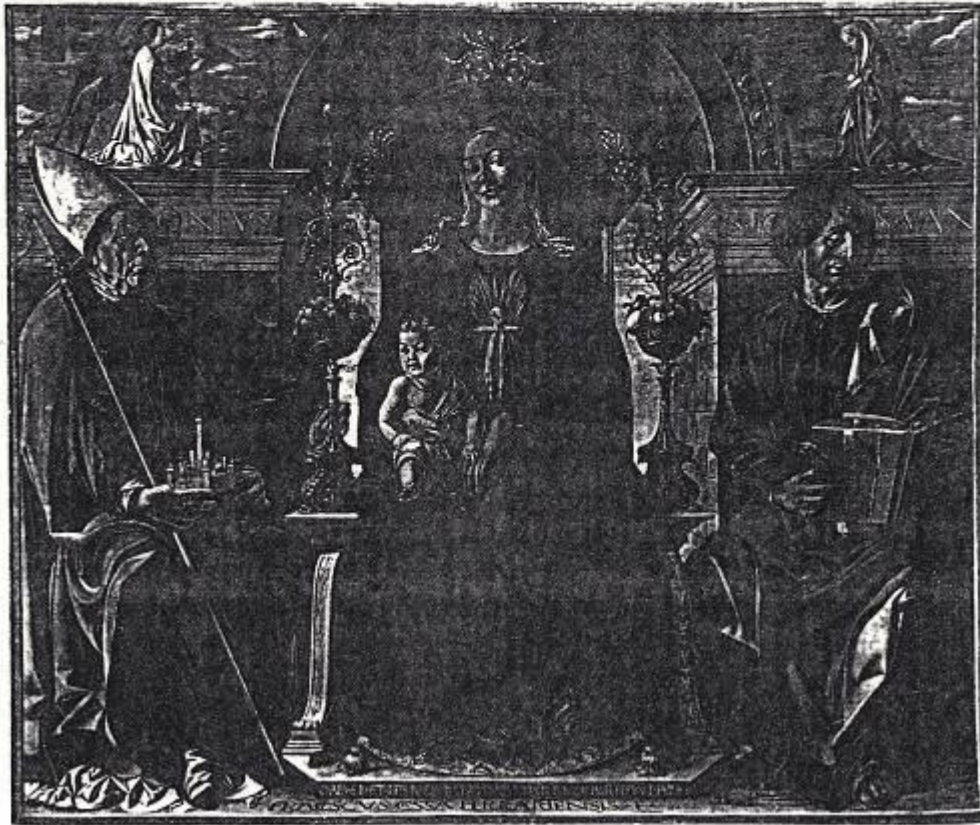
fig. 3). Claiming to have worked on his own to complete three panels on the wall next to the anteroom of the great hall, he grumbled at being paid at the rate of a mere 10 bolognini per foot, the same rate as the 'poorest apprentice painter' in Ferrara. The letter defines the three vertical panels on the east wall of the Salone dei Mesi in the Palazzo Schifanoia—the zodiacal months of Aries, Taurus and Gemini—as by Cossa's hand alone. Of his extant paintings, the Schifanoia frescoes are Cossa's masterpiece and the touchstone of his early style. They reveal an intriguing combination of a Pisanello-like accuracy in detail, a luminosity of colour reminiscent of Piero della Francesca and a prettiness in the features and bearing of the figures, which relates most closely to contemporary Florentine manuscript illumination. Since Cossa demonstrated such a uniformly high level of quality in invention, design and execution in the Salone dei Mesi, it can only reflect badly on the sensibilities of the patron that Cossa's pleas for recognition went unheard. Disillusioned by the Duke's response that he had been paid what he deserved, Cossa left Ferrara, never to return.

2. AFTER 1470. In 1472 Cossa received 100 ducats from the Confraternity of the church of S Maria del Baraccano, Bologna, for restoring and renovating its

miraculous image, a fresco of the *Virgin and Child*, attributed to Lippo di Dalmasio, usually dated before 1401. Cossa added two standing, candelabrum-bearing angels, an architectural framework through which a distant landscape can be seen and the donor portraits of either Bente or Giovanni I Bentivoglio and his wife (*in situ*). Lamo records two additional figures of SS Catherine and Lucy (untraced). At the same time, or perhaps slightly earlier, Cossa was commissioned to paint an altarpiece for the church of the Convent of the Osservanza, Bologna. Longhi suggested that the *Annunciation* and its accompanying predella depicting the *Nativity with Dancing Shepherds* (Dresden, Gemäldegal. Alte Meister) formed the central section of the Osservanza altarpiece. He further proposed that *St Clare* and *St Catherine of Alexandria* (both Madrid, Mus. Thyssen-Bornemisza) might have been placed as pendants on the extreme outer edges of the altar's predella.

One of Cossa's major projects during 1473 was the triptych commissioned by Floriano Griffoni for his family chapel in S Petronio, Bologna. On 19 July 1473 Agostino

de' Marchi da Crema, an *intarsiatore*, was paid for the frame of the elaborate altarpiece. Longhi's reconstruction of the altarpiece, based in part on suggestions first made by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, has been confirmed by the discovery of a drawing by the 18th-century Bolognese painter Stefano Orlandi (Benati, 1984 and 1985), who recorded the shape of the frame and the distribution of the panels. The central panel was *St Vincent Ferrer* (London, N.G.), to the right *St John the Baptist* and to the left *St Peter* (both Milan, Brera) and above the central panel the tondo of the *Crucifixion* (Washington, DC, N.G.A.). Orlandi recorded two smaller panels with rounded tops, of *St Rosalia* and *St Paul*, placed above the panels of *St John the Baptist* and *St Peter*. Longhi suggested that the three-quarter-length *St Florian* and *St Lucy* (Washington, DC, N.G.A.) belong to this section of the polyptych. Above these half-length saints were two tondi representing the *Annunciation* (Gazzada, Mus. Villa Cagnola). The predella, composed of scenes from the life of St Vincent Ferrer (Rome, Vatican, Pin.), is usually attributed in part or in whole to ERCOLE DE' ROBERTI. On 27



2. Francesco del Cossa: *Virgin and Child with SS Petronius, John the Evangelist and a Donor*, tempera on canvas, 2.27x2.66 m, 1474 (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale)

September 1473 Cossa was paid 2 lire 16 soldi for a cartoon representing St Petronius, to be executed by Agostino de' Marchi in intarsia for the choir-stalls of S Petronio. The *St Petronius*, as well as a *St Ambrose* also attributed to Cossa's design, are still *in situ*.

In 1472 Cossa had been commissioned by the judge Alberto de' Cattani and the notary Antonio degli Amorini to paint an altarpiece for the Palazzo della Mercanzia in the Foro dei Mercanti, Bologna. The *Virgin and Child with SS Petronius, John the Evangelist and a Donor* (Bologna, Pin. N.; see fig. 2) is signed and dated 1474. The painting shows Cossa entering a new stylistic phase in which the colours are more sombre and the figures weightier. One can only assume that his last work, for the Garganelli Chapel in S Pietro, Bologna (destr. 1606), was of a similar quality. Lamo described Cossa's part in the decoration of the Garganelli Chapel, stating that it comprised the Four Evangelists and Four Doctors of the Church seated in the cupola and several prophets in the vault. Above the entrance to the chapel was an *Annunciation* painted half life-size; all the other figures in the chapel were full scale.

In a document of 19 November 1476 Cossa's address was given in the Polirone di S Antonio quarter of Ferrara, although it was noted that the painter lived in Bologna. His comparatively early death was presumably a result of an outbreak of plague.

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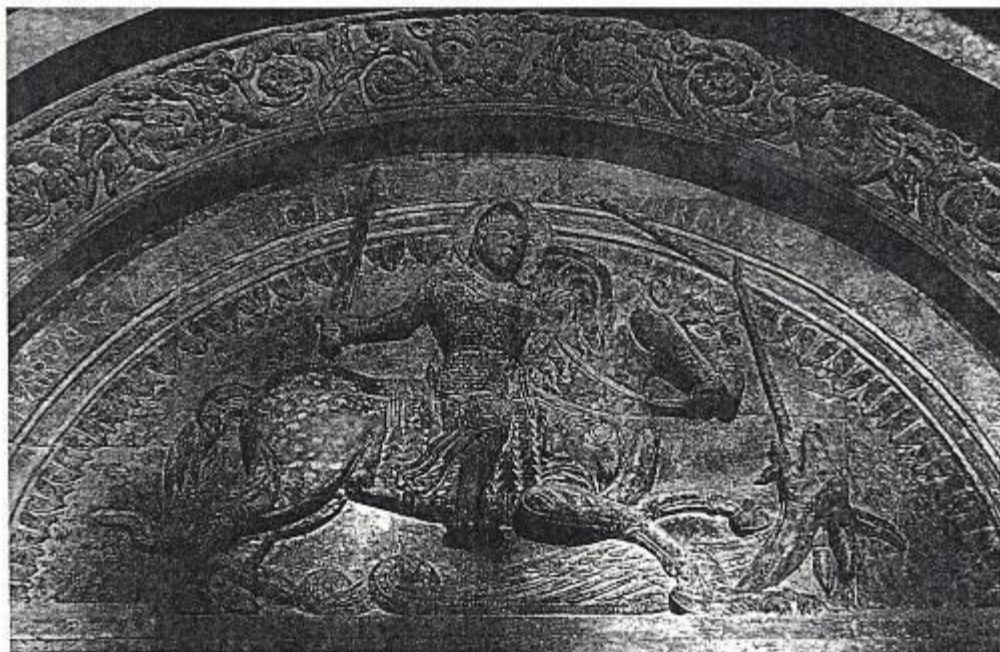
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2. Ferrara Cathedral, west façade, tympanum and lintel of main portal, 1135

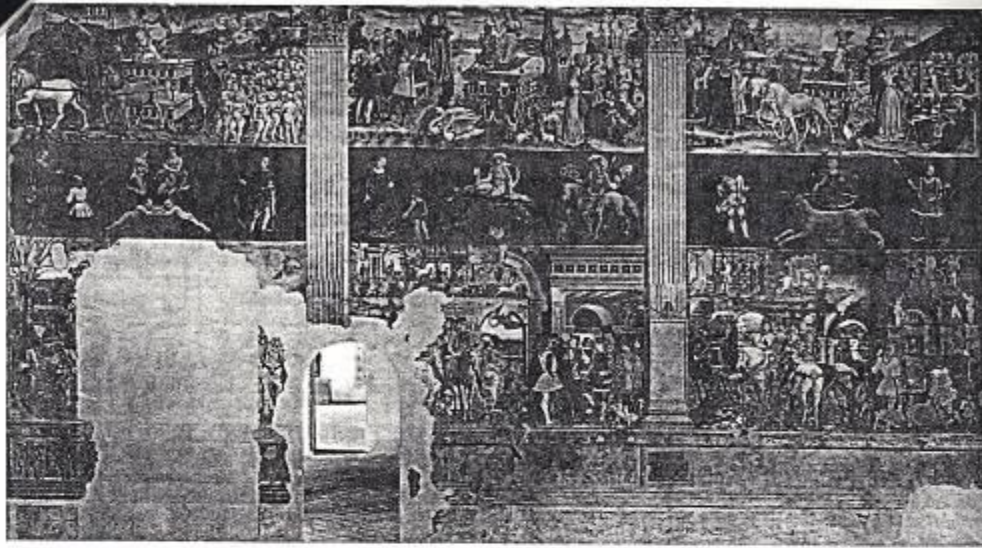
*Christ*. Represented on the jambs are four prophets holding scrolls and, at the top, on either side of the doorway, the *Annunciation*. The inventive iconographic programme of both portals also includes references to the Crusades (the *St George* and the crusader figures once on the *Porta dei Mesi*) and to civil and legal concerns (e.g. the lions, atlantids and knotted columns of the double-storey porches, which have been associated with the tradition of the *Throne of Solomon*). The griffins and other fantastic animals derived from Byzantine and Islamic sources illustrate the wide range of visual models employed for this work. The arcaded bell-tower, begun in the 15th century, shows the style of Alberti.

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CHRISTINE VERZAR

(ii) *Palazzo Schifanoia*. The palazzo, located in the south-eastern section of Ferrara just within the Renaissance city walls, owes its present shape to four separate building campaigns undertaken by members of the Este family. According to the Ferrarese chronicler Ugo Caleffini, the palazzo first built by Alberto V in 1385 was a small, single-storey edifice. In 1391 Alberto enlarged the building to twice its original length and by a third of its depth. He also connected it internally to an adjoining building on the eastern side, raised the main floor to accommodate a sunken cellar and added a large loggia to the back of the palazzo at the western end. A general idea of the composition of the rooms is conveyed through an inventory of the palazzo's contents made in 1436. The rooms were named after their decoration: 'delli alifanti, d'ele donzelli et cimeri, di san zorzo, d'ele pigne and d'ele rode' (elephants, maidens and crests, St George, pines and wheels). Borso d'Este began extensive remodelling of the palazzo some time after 1465. The earliest document is dated 28 February 1468, and building work appears to have been finished by the end of 1469. He added a *piano nobile* at the second-storey level (above the former main floor), extended a staircase from the garden to the new *piano nobile*, added an elaborate marble doorframe to the main entrance and repainted the decorative geometric frescoes on the façade of the building. Three of the rooms decorated for Borso are still extant: the Sala degli Stemma, the Sala degli Stucchi and the Salone dei Mesi. In 1493 Ercole I enlarged the palazzo to the east and transformed its 'medieval' appearance by replacing the mentioned roofline with an oversized,



3. Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Salone dei Mesi, *Aries, Taurus, Gemini*, frescoes on the eastern wall by Francesco del Cossa, before 1470

classically inspired terracotta cornice. Until the late 16th century the Palazzo Schifanoia was used by the Este family both as a suburban retreat and as a lodging house for important visitors. In 1438, during the Council of Ferrara, Demetrius (d'1460), brother of Emperor John VII Palaiologos (reg 1425–48), was housed there; in 1468 three of the Sforza brothers stayed there, and in 1471 the Venetian ambassador and his family were placed there. In 1482, however, Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga wrote to his *camerario*, Giovan Francesco Strata, saying that he preferred not to be put up at the Schifanoia because it was a long way from the centre and stuffy in winter. In 1538 the palazzo became the residence of the retired Archbishop of Ravenna, Cardinal Benedetto Accolti. Since the 18th century it has served as a tobacco processing plant, a granary, an asylum for deaf-mutes and as a music school. It was given the status of civic museum in 1897.

The internal decoration of the Palazzo Schifanoia has suffered greatly through neglect, abuse and inexpert restorations carried out early in the 19th century. The Sala degli Stemma contains remains of a series of frescoed medallions with the Este coat of arms and the personal imprese of Borso d'Este. Most of the frescoes have disappeared, but the massive and highly elaborate stucco frieze (c. 2.5 m high) containing six sculpted, polychrome, neatly life-size, seated figures of the *Virtues* set within shallow niches has survived. The decoration was begun by Domenico di Paris and Bongiovanni di Geminiano some time after April 1467 and was finished before the end of 1469. The room was apparently used as an audience chamber. It has been suggested that Borso d'Este, when seated on his throne in this room, would have been seen as the embodiment of the missing virtue of Justice.

The Salone dei Mesi, although severely damaged and with little more than half of the frescoes surviving, is the

major monument of 15th-century Ferrarese art. The room measures 24×11×7.5 m. The walls are divided by painted grisaille pilasters into eighteen sections. Six sections are frescoed with jousting scenes and cityscapes; the remaining twelve are dedicated to the months of the year; hence the name of the room. They run chronologically anti-clockwise and are divided into three horizontally superimposed zones. The upper section of each panel illustrates the triumphal procession of the pagan god or goddess of the month following the list provided by the ancient Roman astrological poet Marcus Manilius (*Astronomica*, ii, 439–47). The pictorial models for these gods were drawn primarily from the text and illustrations of the late medieval mythographic handbooks. The middle zone shows the zodiacal sign of each month surrounded by three astrological demi-gods, called decans after their function of dividing the 30° of each astrological month into three segments of 10°. The representation of the decan-gods were probably drawn from a contemporary manuscript containing a severely edited version of the Latin translation of Abu Ma'shar's *Introductorium in astronomiam*, made by Hermannus Dalmata [Georgius Zotori Zapari Fenduli]. The lowest zone of the panels contains scenes of daily life at the court of Borso d'Este.

Two contemporary documents mention the decoration of the Salone dei Mesi: the first is a letter to Borso d'Este from Francesco del Cossa dated 25 March 1470, in which he identifies himself as the author of the three panels on the eastern wall (the zodiacal months of Aries, Taurus and Gemini; see fig. 3); this also provides a *terminus ante quem* for the *salone*. The second is a payment for work done before 16 September 1473 to Baldassare d'Este for having 'touched up' 36 portrait busts of the Duke. The authorship of the other frescoes in the *salone* has remained the subject of fierce debate: proposed candidates include Ercole de'

Roberti, Antonio Cicognara, Cosimo Tura, Ettore d'Antonio de' Bonacossi (d 1522), the Master of the Occhi Spalancati, the Master of the Occhi Ammiccanti, the Master of Ercole and the mysterious Vicino da Ferrara.

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Ferrara, Costanzo da. See COSTANZO DA FERRARA.

Ferrara, Girolamo da. See CARPI, GIROLAMO DA.

Ferrara, Jackie (b Detroit, MI, 17 Nov 1929). American sculptor and draughtswoman. She had no formal art education but from an early age enjoyed making useful domestic furniture, such as shelves and cupboards. After moving to live and work in New York in 1952, she became involved in the arts in various ways, taking classes in leatherwork and pottery and, through her job at the Henry Street Settlement, coming into contact with dance and theatre. In the 1960s she attended performances and Happenings at the Judson Gallery and Judson Church and herself performed in two of Claes Oldenburg's Happenings (1962 and 1965), which influenced her. At this time she was making various sorts of sculpture. She began making the work for which she became known in the 1970s. It typically comprises wooden pyramidal/ziggurat-type constructions, made by stacking horizontally layered steps. An early mature work is *Hollow Core Pyramid* (plywood, 0.61x0.61x0.61 m, 1974; Glen Ridge, NJ, Levy priv. col.), for which the inspiration was an unwrapped mummy, which she found intensely 'beautiful, haunting and evocative'; she wanted her own work to have a similar quality. Other early works for which she is known include *Curved Pyramid* (0.99x1.52x0.46 m) and *Stacked Pyramid* (2.60x3.96x1.20 m; both treated fir, 1973; New York, Michael Klein Inc.). *Stacked Pyramid* was her first outdoor work. Her many large-scale public works include *Castle Clinton: Tower and Bridge* (cedar, 0.33x0.61x0.36 m, 1979; New York, Battery Park) and *Meeting Place* (1989; Seattle, WA, Convention and Trade Cent.), a lobby area of

concrete and slate floor, with steps and platform, and concrete and steel seating. All these works are characterized by Ferrara's meticulous craftsmanship and their reference to generic types of non-Western building, such as those of Mesoamerica and Egypt, and to geometric form. Works by Ferrara are in the collections of the County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, MOMA, New York, and the Louisiana Museum, Humlebæk.

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CECILE JOHNSON

Ferrari, de'. Italian family of artists. (1) Gregorio de' Ferrari and his father-in-law, Domenico Piola, were responsible for decorating some of the largest and most prestigious palaces and churches in Genoa in the 1670s and 1680s—a successful partnership that continued with their sons (2) Lorenzo de' Ferrari and Paolo Gerolamo Piola. Another of Gregorio's sons, Giuseppe de' Ferrari (d 1768), was a restorer and also a painter, though less renowned than his father and brother. A signed canvas by him of the *Virgin and Child Adored by SS Mauro and Sebastian* (Calizzano, S Mauro) is a pastiche of the sweet putti and *sfumato* style of Gregorio and of the more smoothly polished and academic figures of Lorenzo.

(1) Gregorio de' Ferrari (b Porto Maurizio, Imperia, 12 April 1647; d Genoa, 26 Jan 1726). Painter. He came to Genoa to study law but devoted his time and energy to painting. He studied with Domenico Fiasella from c. 1664-9, and in this period he may have painted scenes in the style of Giovanni Andrea de' Ferrari, Fiasella and Giovanni Battista Casone. He assisted Fiasella on the altarpiece *St Clare Repulsing the Saracens* (1667; Montoggio, parish church). Probably after the death of Fiasella in 1669, Gregorio went to Parma, perhaps accompanied by Giovanni Battista Merano and Andrea Sighizzi (d 1684), from whom he may have acquired his skill in *quadratura* design. In Parma he abandoned the monumentality of Fiasella's art, and began to develop a softer, more lyrical manner. He made an oil copy (Genoa, Mus. Accad. Ligustica B.A.) of Correggio's frescoes in the dome of Parma Cathedral. Two paintings, the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* and the *Virgin with St Jerome and the Magdalene* (both untraced), apparently copies after Correggio, are mentioned by Ratti (see Soprani) as the property of Anton Raphael Mengs. During his years in Parma, Gregorio may have exchanged ideas with Giovanni Battista Gaulli, Merano and Giovanni Andrea Carlone. The paintings executed after his return (c. 1671) to Genoa suggest the influence of these artists and are distinguished by the graceful elongations and vertical spiral movement of the figures, which resemble those sculpted by Filippo Parodi and Bernardo Schiaffino. They became more undulating and more tightly modelled by the end of the century. Two canvases inspired by Correggio, *St Francis Comforted by an Angel* and *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (both Genoa, S Siro), are dated to c. 1674-5. Domenico Piola is said to have admired Gregorio's work so much that in 1674 he gave his daughter to Gregorio for a wife. The marriage encouraged a harmonious working relationship, which contributed to the

**Giovanni (di Giuliano) da Oriolo** (b Oriolo, nr Faenza; d Faenza, before 24 Sept 1474). Italian painter. His oeuvre is known through one painting, the signed profile portrait of *Lionello d'Este* (London, N.G.). Stylistically similar to Pisanello's *Portrait of Lionello d'Este* (c. 1441; Bergamo, Gal. Accad. Carrara), Giovanni's painting probably dates to the same period or slightly later. There is a payment to 'Magistro Johanni de Faventia' dated 21 June 1447, which may refer to the portrait. He returned to Faenza in 1449 and soon after was commissioned to paint portraits of Astorgio II Manfredi's two daughters, Elisabetta and Barbara (untraced). He is recorded as court painter in Faenza and is described as 'pictor publicus' and 'magister' in 1461. In 1452 'Marcius' is given as his second name; later the family name Savoretti appears. He is said to be dead in a document of 24 September 1474. Giovanni di Giuliano da Oriolo should not be confused with his compatriot Giovanni (di Andrea) da Riolo (fl 1433), nor with Giovanni Pietro da Oriolo, who painted in Asolo.

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KRISTEN LIPPINCOTT

**Giovanni (di Pietro) da Pisa (i)** (fl 1401-23). Italian painter. He is first documented in 1401 in Genoa, where he became Deputy of the Painters' Guild in 1415. Two signed works by him are extant: a triptych depicting the *Virgin and Child with SS John the Baptist and Anthony Abbot* (1423; San Simeon, CA, Hearst Found.) and a polyptych depicting the *Virgin and Child with Four Saints* (Barcelona, Mus. A. Catalunya). Whereas the former shows close contacts with the art of the many Pisan painters (e.g. Turino di Vanni) present in Genoa between 1410 and 1420, the latter shows a stronger influence of Taddeo di Bartolo, active in Liguria between 1393 and 1398, and is probably therefore the earlier work. Close to the Barcelona *Virgin and Child*, but considered slightly earlier, is a polyptych partially reconstructed by Algeri from dispersed panels (e.g. Genoa, S Fedè; Pavia, Pin. Malaspina). Giovanni's first known work has been identified as the polyptych fragment depicting *Four Saints* (Portoria, nr Genoa, convent of the Annunziata), where the Pisan influences of his formative years blend with Ligurian elements derived from Barnaba da Modena and Taddeo. Algeri proposed the attribution to Giovanni of the polyptych depicting *St Lawrence with Four Saints* (Moneglia, S. Giorgio) because of its similarities with the Portoria panel.

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VITTORIO NATALE

**Giovanni da Pisa (ii)** [Giovanni di Francesco] (fl 1444; d ?Venice, c. 1460). Italian sculptor. In a document of February 1447 he is named as a member of Donatello's Paduan workshop, where he apparently worked between 1444 and 1449, engaged on the high altar in Il Santo together with Donatello's other assistants, Niccolò Pizzolo, Urbano da Cortona, Antonio Chellini (fl 1446; d after 1464) and Francesco del Valente (fl 1447). Though his role is not specified, Giovanni probably assisted in the modelling and casting of the bronzes and later may also have assisted on Donatello's pulpits in S Lorenzo, Florence. On 8 July 1447 Giovanni was paid for work on the terracotta altar in the Ovetari Chapel of the church of the Eremitani, Padua. Although Michiel attributed the altarpiece to Giovanni, the design and execution are evidently the work of Pizzolo, from whom the altarpiece was commissioned, and Giovanni's role was minor. Puppi suggested that he made a small-scale model of the altarpiece. Also attributed to Giovanni, probably erroneously, are three reliefs of the *Virgin and Child* (Padua, Eremitani, Ovetari Chapel, included in terracotta altar; Padua, S Giustina; Venice, S Maria Mater Domini), all of which are indebted to Donatello.

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STEVEN BULE

Giovanni d'Arbosio. See JEAN D'ARBOIS.

**Giovanni da Rimini** (fl 1292-1336). Italian painter. Legal documents mention a Giovanni 'painter', then 'master', living in Rimini between 1292 and 1336. It is likely that they refer to the artist identified on the basis of the *Crucifix* (3.0x2.3 m; Mercatello, S Francesco), inscribed *IOHES PICTOR FECIT HOC OPUS/FR. TOBALDI* and dated 1309 or 1314 (Volpe); the earlier date is largely accepted today.

Like most 14th-century Riminese crosses, including three others attributed to the same artist, the Mercatello *Crucifix* is derived from that attributed to Giotto in S Francesco, Rimini. Nevertheless, the more elongated proportions, the more schematic anatomical description of the Mercatello Christ and the slightly archaic decorative background betray Giovanni's 13th-century roots. His style is still characterized by the aristocratic aloofness and rich chromatic range of the Italo-Byzantine tradition.

Two small paintings are generally accepted as Giovanni's earliest work. The *Virgin and Child with Five Saints* (Faenza, Pin. Com.) is probably the surviving half of a diptych; the simple, two-tier structure, present in many provincial productions, and the evenly spaced, remote figures of the lower register emphasize the close embrace of Virgin and Child above. The Child presses his upturned

(Sant'Agata Iripina, parish church) showing her tortured, one with burning coals and the other by having her breasts cut off, are from the same period; the figure types and the composition of the second seem to be directly inspired by Velázquez's *Bacchus and his Companions* (c. 1628; Madrid, Prado). In his later paintings of *St Agatha* (Moscow, Pushkin Mus. F.A.; c. 1637, Naples, Capodimonte; see fig.) Guarino explored the type of female half-length study introduced by Simon Vouet and Massimo Stanzione, focusing on the refined sensuality of the subject, whom he portrayed with one shoulder bare, languidly holding a blood-stained cloth to her mutilated breasts.

Later Guarino, in such works as the *Immaculate Conception* (1637; Solofra, S Michele) and the elegant *Annunciation* (1642; Solofra, S Michele), developed, like many Neapolitan painters of the 1630s, a brighter, warmer palette, indebted to Venetian colour. He also painted small pictures, such as the nine scenes from the *Life of St Anthony Abbot* (1642; Campobasso, Sant'Antonio Abate). The altarpiece in this church, the *Miracle of St Benedict*, with, above it, the *Pietà* (1643) and the pair of pictures *Esau Selling his Birthright* and *Isaac Blessing Jacob* (1640-42; Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein), bear a complex relationship to Stanzione and Ribera. The two stories of Jacob, with three-quarter-length figures, unite a powerful naturalism with a new formal clarity. The paintings are richly decorative and sumptuous fabrics are rendered in brilliant blues, bright reds and yellows.

The increasing influence on Guarino of the more elegant, academic style of Stanzione is apparent in the two versions of the *Madonna of the Rosary* (1644, retouched by the artist in 1649, Solofra, S Domenico; and 1645,



Francesco Guarino: *St Agatha*, oil on canvas, 870x715 mm, c. 1637 (Naples, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte)

Nocera Inferiore, S Maria di Materdomini) and in the *Madonna del Suffragio* (c. 1649; Gravina di Puglia, Chiesa del Suffragio). The more classical style of his last works for S Michele at Solofra, the *Baptism*, the *Assumption* and *Christ among the Angels*, show the increasing influence of Poussin, Domenichino and Francesco Cozza. Guarino's most important patrons were the Orsini family of Gravina and Solofra, and many of his paintings remain in their Neapolitan palace. He died at their court, involved, according to de Dominicis, in a crime of passion.

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RICCARDO LATTUADA

**Guarino da Verona** (b Verona, 1374; d Ferrara, 4 Dec 1460). Italian humanist and educator. He was one of the great humanist teachers of the 15th century. Having studied in Verona, Padua and Venice, Guarino was among the first Italian scholars to visit Constantinople, where he studied Greek from 1403 to 1408, living part of the time in the household of the neo-Platonic philosopher Manuel Chrysoloras (1350-1415). Laden with Greek manuscripts, Guarino returned to Italy via Rhodes and Chios in 1409, stayed in Venice for a short period, moved to Verona (1409-10) and finally settled in Florence, where he was employed as a Greek tutor (1410-14). Between 1414 and 1419 he was teaching in Venice and in 1419 he opened a private school in Verona. In 1429 Guarino was summoned to Ferrara by Niccolò III d'Este as tutor for his son Leonello. He remained there until his death.

Guarino was the author of numerous translations from the Greek, commentaries on both Greek and Latin authors and the biographies of Homer and Plato. His Latin translation of Lucian's *Calumny*, with its ekphrasis of Apelles' painting of the subject, served as the model for Alberti's account in *De pictura* (1435). He also wrote a very influential Latin grammar, the *Regulae grammaticae*. Under Guarino's aegis, Ferrara became an active centre for humanist study and learning. Pope Pius II described him as '... the teacher of almost all who have attained distinction in the humanities in our day'.

There are two slightly varying accounts of Guarino's response to the visual arts. The persona given Guarino in his pupil Angelo Decembrio's *De politia litteraria*, much of which is corroborated by opinions set forth by Guarino himself in his correspondence, shows him to be dismissive

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LOUISE S. MILNE

**Pannonio [Ongaro; Ungaro], Michele** (b ?Hungary, c. 1400; d Ferrara, before 28 July 1464). Painter, active in Italy. He was one of the most important painters at the court of Ferrara in the mid-15th century and contributed to the creation of an indigenous Ferrarese style of painting. Most of his works have been destroyed. He may have been born in Hungary, as his name implies. There are parallels between his style and that of contemporary painters working in Hungary, but nothing is known of his early career. The suggestion that he can be identified with a Michele dai Unii, paid in 1415 for painting a standard for Leonello d'Este, seems untenable, but the Michel da Ungaria, recorded as one of Gentile da Fabriano's assistants working in the Strozzi Chapel in the sacristy of Santa Trinita, Florence, in 1423, may be the same artist.

Pannonio appears in the Este court records continuously from 1427 to 1464. He may have been court painter to the Este between 1456 (the death of Angelo Macagnino da Siena) and the elevation of Cosimo Tura to that position in 1460. In 1450 he decorated the vault (destr.) of the sacristy of Ferrara Cathedral. He also painted at least one canvas, the muse *Thalia* (Budapest, Mus. F.A.), for Lionello d'Este's *studiolo* at Belfiore, probably between 1457 and 1459. He appears to have been responsible for the decoration (destr.) of Borso d'Este's newly built Certosa in Ferrara between 1460 and 1464. According to Tietze-Conrat, Marchese Ludovico Gonzaga considered employing Pannonio as the Mantuan court artist in the late 1450s, when Andrea Mantegna was prevaricating.

Other works attributable to Pannonio include *St Louis of Toulouse* and *St Bernard* (both Ferrara, Pin. N.), their probable companion piece *St Anthony of Padua* (ex-priv. col., Milan, see Boskovits, 1978), and *St George and the Dragon* (Manor House, Mells, Somerset).

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KRISTEN LIPPINCOTT

**Panofsky, Erwin** (b Hannover, 30 March 1892; d Princeton, NJ, 14 March 1968). German art historian, active in the USA. He wrote primarily on late medieval and Renaissance art in northern Europe and Italy, mostly, but by no means exclusively, on painting.

1. Work in Germany. 2. Work in the USA.

1. WORK IN GERMANY. Panofsky's doctoral dissertation (1915) was on the relation of Dürer's theory of art to that in Renaissance Italy; in 1923 he and Fritz Saxl published a study of Dürer's engraving *Melencolia I*. In 1926 he became the first professor of art history at the new university of Hamburg, where he was closely involved with Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945), the professor of philosophy, and with Saxl and Aby Warburg at the Bibliothek Warburg. Panofsky's name is often narrowly associated with the search for the subject-matter of paintings through reference to traditional imagery and literature. However, his writing always involved a much more ambitious and coherent mode of critical interpretation: he sought consistently to place individual works of art in relation to what he took to be an underlying aspect of the human situation, the reciprocity between 'objectivity'—our receptive relation to the external world—and 'subjectivity'—the constructive activity of our thought.

Panofsky's sense of this reciprocity was developed out of two different theories: following Alois Riegl he conceived objectivity as what was outside the mind, objecthood, and subjectivity as the mind's projective or constructive activity; but he also took note of a model from Ernst Cassirer, according to which objectivity was a matter of the mind's rational, constructive activity in contrast to the subjectivity of sensation. Two early papers, 'Der Begriff des Kunstwillens' (1920) and 'Über das Verhältnis der Kunstgeschichte zur Kunsttheorie' (1925) outline Panofsky's theoretical position, an ideal to which interpretation might aspire rather than one it might fully implement, but one that informs all his major historical works. It applied in two important papers of the 1920s.

In the first, 'Die Entwicklung der Proportionslehre als Abbild der Stilentwicklung' (1921), he distinguished between systems of proportion concerned with the interrelation of parts of the body—'anthropometry'—and theories that were 'technical', concerned with how these were represented. In the case of Ancient Egyptian art the relative proportions of parts of the body coincided with a grid system, so that the two systems of proportion coincided. In Classical art the viewpoint of the spectator is included and interplays with the system of proportions of the body, but only in the Renaissance are adjustments for the spectator systematized, with the introduction of perspectival construction. Objective proportionality and subjective proportionality are now brought into a conceptualized relation. Panofsky held that theories of proportion were too elaborate to be comprehensively applied to the complexity of actual works of art, but that at any period the conceptual stance implied by the theory of proportions

Ercole Vernet, who recommended he study under Louis Girodet. He spent four years with Girodet studying briefly with Antoine-Jean Gros. He then travelled around Europe, especially Italy and Holland, for several years, initially working as drawing-master to an artist's family. He returned in 1824 to Paris where he made his début at the Salon. Though he had admired the grandeur and Classical art he had seen abroad and was quite free from its influence, he nevertheless adopted a predominantly Romantic style which matured in the 1830s to produce such works as *Triumphal Entry of Clovis at Tours in 508* (1837; Versailles, Château). The best of Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury's works depict dramatic historical subjects as trials and assassinations, painted in high focus with a wealth of period detail (e.g. *Galileo before the Inquisition, 1632*; 1847, Paris, Musée de la Ville de Paris). He also painted some biblical scenes and a number of works based on the lives of great painters of the past (e.g. *Death of Titian, 1861*; Antwerp, Kon. Mus. der Schone Kunsten). In 1863 he painted four large canvases on historical themes for the Salle d'Audience of the Tribunal de Commerce in Paris and was appointed Director of the École des Beaux-Arts. However, the following year he resigned the post in order to become Director of the Académie de France in Rome. In 1846 he was awarded the Légion d'Honneur, and in 1850 he was elected a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts. Robert-Fleury died in 1890 and was buried in the Salon until 1867.

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Robert-Fleury (b Paris, 1 Sept 1837; d Paris, 8 Dec 1890). Son of (1) Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury. He was a pupil of Paul Delaroche and of Eugène Delacroix, and the main characteristics of his works are due to this training: correct drawing, a restrained style, an orderly composition and a general respect for the classical tradition. He specialized in history and genre painting.

His work can be divided into three main periods. The first is characterized by his interest in the picturesque. After making his début at the Salon of 1864 he had travelled to Rome and was attracted by the manners and people of the city. His first submissions to the Salon were of Italian subjects: *Young Roman Girl* (Bayonne, Musée de la Ville de Paris) and *Child Embracing a Relic*. However, his most accomplished work in this field appeared later (e.g. the *Women of the Piazza Navona at Santa-Maria della Pace*, exh. Salon 1867; ex-Mus. du Luxembourg, Paris). It was Robert-Fleury's ability to convey his vision while carefully observing both the local types and light. Nevertheless, the generalized treatment of the heads deprives figures of character and betrays the coldness and formality of his academic, Neo-classical training.

The second period of Robert-Fleury's work is characterized by the production of large historical compositions relating events from both ancient and contemporary history. The best works are the three paintings that made him famous. The first is *Warsaw, 8 April 1861* (exh. Salon 1865), which depicts the massacre by Russian troops of

4000 Poles, among them many civilians and clerics, in a square in Warsaw during the Polish insurrection of 1861, an incident Robert-Fleury had read about in the newspaper *Moniteur*. This distinctly Romantic subject allowed him to experiment, very successfully, with the representation of intense emotion and drama. He placed the crowd of Polish insurgents in the middle of the composition in a pyramidal arrangement that culminated in the processional cross held by two Catholic monks. The second great historical painting also depicts a dramatic moment: the *Last Day of Corinth* (1870; Paris, Mus. d'Orsay), a work that won him the medal of honour at the 1870 Salon. The subject was taken from Livy's account of the Roman occupation of Corinth, showing Robert-Fleury's knowledge of Classical literature. In fact, both the subject and style show his continuing commitment to Davidian Neo-classicism, as revealed by his laborious concern with ideal beauty, evident in the studied attitudes of his female figures who glide around a statue of Minerva in the foreground, and also by the classic inclusion of a chariot yoked to a pair of stationary oxen, all as if Delacroix's massacres and wild horses had never existed. However, there are concessions to the Romantic movement in the richly coloured carpets, the golden vessels and the realism of the deep blue Mediterranean sky and sea. The third major painting of this period was *Pinel Frees the Insane from their Chains* (1876; Paris, Hôp. Salpêtrière). In the third and last period of his work Robert-Fleury changed both his subject-matter and style. He turned to genre painting, taking his subjects from modern life (e.g. *Anxiety*, exh. Salon 1904; ex-Mus. du Luxembourg, Paris) and also from the more private moments of the main characters of the French Revolution (e.g. *Charlotte Corday at Caen, 1874*; Bayonne, Mus. Bonnat). Much influenced by realism and Impressionism, he treated these with lighter, cooler and more harmonious tones than before. He also painted mural decorations for the Palais du Luxembourg and the Hôtel de Ville in Paris.

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ATHENA S. E. LEOUSSI

Roberti, Ercole (d'Antonio) de' [Grandi, Ercole (di Giulio Cesare) de'] (b Ferrara, c. 1455-6; d. 18 May-1 July 1496). Italian painter and draughtsman. He was, together with Cosimo Tura and Francesco del Cossa, one of the most important painters working in Ferrara and Bologna in the 15th century. Although many of his works have been destroyed, those that survive show that he raised the depiction of human emotion and narrative drama to remarkable heights. From 1486 he worked as court painter to Ercole I d'Este (i), Duke of Ferrara.

1. Early work, 1473-82. 2. Bologna, 1482-6. 3. Ferrara, 1486-96.

1. EARLY WORK, 1473-82. He appears in documents both as Ercole di Giulio Cesare de' Grandi and Ercole d'Antonio de' Roberti. This has prompted some critics to suggest there were two near-contemporary painters working in Ferrara whose Christian name was Ercole. The elder of these, usually designated 'de Roberti', was thought to

paint in a style close to that of Cosimo Tura, while the younger, 'Grandi', painted more like the mature Lorenzo Costa. However, a notarial act of 1530 naming 'Hieronimo, son of the deceased Master Ercole de Roberti, alias de Grandis, a painter and a citizen of Ferrara' makes it clear that the two names refer to one artist. Roberti's father, Antonio, is recorded as a doorkeeper at the Este castle in Ferrara.

Roberti's birthdate has been set before 1456, on the basis of a letter he wrote to Ercole I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, on 19 March 1491, in which he described himself as having passed the middle years of his life. Vasari's comment that Roberti lived to the age of 40 seems to confirm this.

The identification of Ercole's first work remains controversial. In 1473 he was working in Bologna in Francesco del Cossa's workshop, but the extent of his earlier training in Ferrara is unclear. Longhi (1934) attributed to Roberti a large section of the frescoes in the Salone dei Mesi in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (see FERRARA, §4(ii)). He isolated the *Triumph of Luxury* (or the *Triumph of Vulcan*) in the upper register of the *Libra* section as particularly indicative of the 'personal cubism' of the young artist. Longhi's suggestions have been generally accepted. Baragellesi (1945), developing his own previous attribution to Roberti of the section of the St George's Day horse race in the lower part of the Taurus section, also attributed several sections of the north wall (the lower part of Leo, middle and lower zone of Virgo and all of Libra) to the same hand. Cossa's complaint that he had been forced to work alongside apprentice painters while painting in the *salone* supports the idea that Roberti, as one of these apprentices, could conceivably have been responsible for large sections of the decoration. This may explain how the two painters might have met, and the circumstances under which Roberti might have left Ferrara. Against these arguments, however, it is difficult to imagine how Roberti could be the author of the sections of the Salone dei Mesi most often attributed to him, which seem so heavily influenced by Tura, when his first certain works show little indication of this influence but instead seem almost wholly

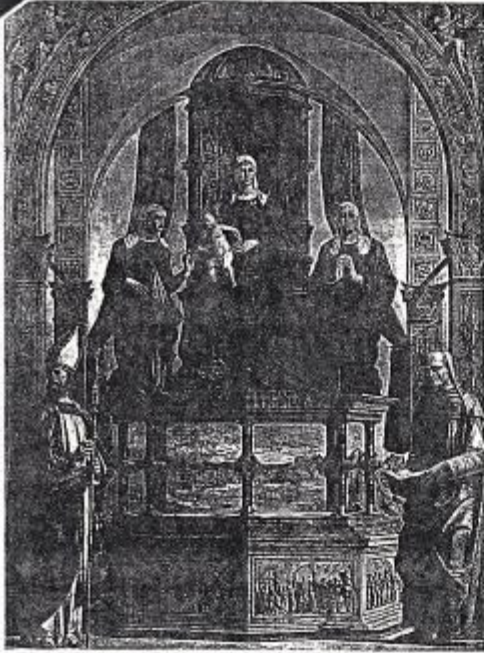
dependent on the art of his master, Francesco del Cossa. It has been suggested that what Longhi cited as the visual 'madness' of the *Libra* panel may result from the calculated and mannered effects of a mature painter rather than from the effusions of a dynamic youth. The possibility that Ercole painted in the Salone dei Mesi should not be dismissed, but perhaps should be treated more tentatively.

Roberti's first secure works are the predella and saints on the lateral pilasters painted for the altarpiece (1473) commissioned from FRANCESCO DEL COSSA for the Griffoni Chapel in S Petronio, Bologna. The predella depicts scenes from the *Life of St Vincent Ferrer* (Rome, Pin. Vaticana; see fig. 1) and relates to Cossa's central panel of *St Vincent* (London, N.G.). A number of small oil panels depicting standing saints are usually identified with the Griffoni altarpiece: *St Michael* and *St Apollonia* (both Paris, Louvre), *St Anthony Abbot* (Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen), *St Petronius* (Ferrara, Pin. N.) and *St George*, *St Jerome* and *St Catherine of Alexandria* (all Venice, Col. Cini). Estimates of the degree of Ercole's participation in these works vary from the claim that he filled in only minor details according to a plan and composition that were essentially Cossa's, to the assertion that Roberti was fully responsible for the invention and execution of the predella and of several of the saints. As a member of a workshop, Roberti would naturally be expected to adhere to its stylistic vocabulary. Nevertheless, the compositions of both the individual figures and the predella betray a certain grandeur of vision unlike anything in Cossa's extant oeuvre. Vasari's claim that Roberti surpassed the work of his master in this predella seems to be borne out. Other works that can be dated to this period are the pendant portraits of *Giovanni II Bentivoglio* and his wife, *Ginevra Bentivoglio* (Washington, DC, N.G.A.), *St John the Baptist* (Berlin, Gemäldegal.), *St Jerome* (London, Barlow priv. col.) and the altarpiece for the Lateran canons of S Lazzaro in Borgo delle Piope, near Ferrara (Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich Mus., destr.). Some scholars have suggested that the S Lazzaro altarpiece was a collaborative work, perhaps begun by Cossa and finished in Ferrara by Roberti after Cossa's death in 1478.



1. Ercole de' Roberti: detail from the predella of the Griffoni Altarpiece showing scenes from the *Life of St Vincent Ferrer*, oil on panel, 270×2140 mm, 1473 (Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana)



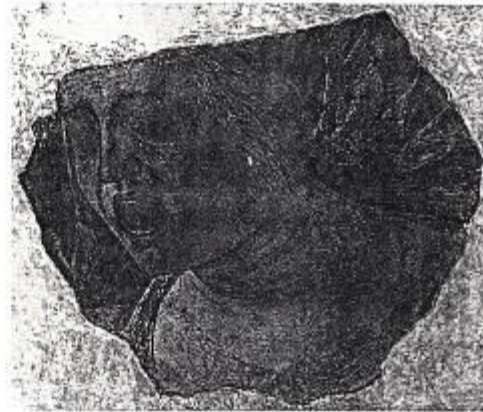


2. Ercole de' Roberti: *Virgin and Child Enthroned with SS Anne, Elizabeth and Augustine and the Blessed Pietro degli Onesti (the 'Pala Portuense')*, oil on canvas, 3.23x2.40 m., c. 1480 (Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera)

On 5 February 1479 Roberti entered into a contract between himself, his brother Polidoro (a woodworker) and the goldsmith Giovanni di Giuliano da Piacenza. The goldsmith was obliged to make gold and silver leaf for the brothers, and in return they agreed to provide him with tools, half the shop and a share in the profits. The document implies that Ercole intended to remain in Ferrara, but this did not happen. By the end of 1480, perhaps after a trip to Venice, he was probably in Ravenna, painting an altarpiece for S Maria in Porto Fuori. The painting, a *Virgin and Child Enthroned with SS Anne, Elizabeth and Augustine and the Blessed Pietro degli Onesti*, commonly known as the '*Pala Portuense*' (Milan, Brera; see fig. 2), is the masterpiece of Ercole's early career and his only extant documented work. On 26 March and 7 May 1481 Ercole received payments for the altarpiece and Bernardino da Venezia was paid for work on its frame. Between these dates, Ercole apparently returned to Ferrara via Bologna so that the final payment for the altarpiece had to be sent to him in Ferrara. The composition of the '*Pala Portuense*' is heavily dependent on the S Lazzaro altarpiece, but much of the decorative fussiness found in the latter painting's architecture and costumes has been simplified. In addition, the figures seem more substantial, and the '*Pala Portuense*' composition is permeated with a classical calm reminiscent of the contemporary work of Giovanni Bellini.

2. BOLOGNA, 1482-6. In 1482 Roberti returned to Bologna, where he stood as godfather at the baptism of Bartolomeo Garganelli's son Giovanni Battista. Between this time and 1486, Ercole was involved in the completion of the decoration of the Garganelli Chapel in S Pietro, Bologna, a commission left unfinished by Cossa at his death. The church was demolished in 1605-6, and only a few fresco fragments in a poor state survive (Bologna, Pin. N.). However, it is possible to reconstruct the original decoration of the chapel from copies, drawings and descriptions.

On the right wall of the chapel was a large fresco of the *Crucifixion* (destr.). An autograph pen drawing of the figures at the foot of the cross (Berlin, Kupferstichkab.) is an early compositional plan for this picture. A drawing of *St Longinus and a Young Page* (Munich, Staatl. Graph. Samml.) probably records the area to the lower left of the central crucifix. The only extant autograph fragment, the head of the *Weeping Magdalene* (Bologna, Pin. N.; see fig. 3), belonged to the lower section of the *Crucifixion*. It is possible that the panel of a *Mourning Woman* (Baltimore, MD, Walters A.G.) may also be connected with this section of the fresco. The scene of the *Death of the Virgin* on the left wall of the chapel can be reconstructed from two early partial copies; a canvas showing *Four Standing Men* (Paris, Louvre) records the lower left half of the wall, while the *Death of the Virgin* (Sarasota, FL, Ringling Mus. A.) shows the right. Traditionally, the figure standing at the extreme left of the Louvre picture has been identified as a portrait of Ercole's patron, Bartolomeo Garganelli, while the young man standing to Garganelli's right is believed to be a self-portrait of the artist. The juxtaposition between the highly charged, emotionally turbulent *Crucifixion* and the refined, elegantly restrained pathos of the *Death of the Virgin* must have been striking. In scale and power the Garganelli Chapel decoration was totally unlike any contemporary north Italian painting, its monumental figures knitted together with a compositional density paralleled only by works of the High Renaissance in Rome. Indeed, Michelangelo found Roberti's paintings almost Roman in their character and quality (Lamo, 1560).



3. Ercole de' Roberti: *Weeping Magdalene*, fresco fragment transferred to panel, 230x280 mm c. 1482-6 (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale)

Three panels that originally formed the predella to the high altar of S Giovanni in Monte, Bologna, probably date from the early 1480s. The *Agony in the Garden and Betrayal of Christ* and the *Road to Calvary* (both Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) flanked the *Pietà* (Liverpool, Walker A.G.; see fig. 4). Several autograph drawings exist for this composition (e.g. Florence, Uffizi, 1444E, 1444F; London, BM, 542). Some scholars have seen the London drawing as a variant on the Liverpool *Pietà*, but the majority of those who have accepted this drawing as autograph have assigned it to an earlier date.

Other paintings probably dating from Roberti's second Bolognese period are the Vendeghini *Virgin and Child* (Ferrara, Pin. N.), the *Virgin and Child* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie), the *Last Supper* and the *Israelites Gathering Manna* (both London, N.G.) and *Melchisedek Blessing Abraham* (untraced; these may have originally been part of the same predella), the *Virgin and Child* (Chicago, IL, A. Inst.), and the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Pietà with St Jerome* (both London, N.G.). During this period Ercole seems to have made an intensive study of the art of Andrea Mantegna. Certain figures in the Garganelli Chapel, in a



4. Ercole de' Roberti: *Pietà*, oil on canvas, 760x490 mm, c. 1482-6 (Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery)

*Battle Scene* (Venice, Correr) and in a number of drawings attributed to Roberti (e.g. Windsor Castle, Royal Lib., 12795; Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen, 574) seem derived from prints and drawings by Mantegna.

3. FERRARA, 1486-96. By 6 March 1486 Roberti had returned to Ferrara. On 21 August and 20 October he was paid for the cost of gold and colours for a small panel (*tavoletta*) for Eleanor of Aragon, Duchess of Ferrara, and received the gift of a length of black damask. In 1487 Ercole is listed on the court payroll at a salary of 240 lire a year (a substantial amount equalling that paid to the ducal estate manager). On 28 May 1487 Ercole was paid for the gold for, and the painting of, a picture for Ippolito I d'Este (i), Archbishop of Esztergom, who was about to set out on a journey to Hungary. Raffaele Maffei da Volterra (il Volterrano) stated that Ercole accompanied Ippolito on his trip. Scholars have noted certain elements derived from Roberti in contemporary Hungarian manuscript illuminations and have suggested that perhaps he had been summoned by Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, on receiving the portrait of Ippolito d'Este. If Roberti did travel to Hungary, he had returned to Ferrara by 27 June 1488, when he is recorded as receiving a gift of some satin.

In 1489 Roberti was painting in a small room (*camerino*) used by Alfonso I d'Este (i) in the garden of his mother, the Duchess Eleanor. In the same year Eleanor sent Roberti to Venice to buy gold to gild coffers (*forzieri*) for the trousseau of her daughter Isabella d'Este (i). A payment of 20 March 1490 lists some of the items Ercole constructed for the wedding festivities, including 13 coffers, the nuptial bed and the triumphal chariot on which Isabella entered Mantua for her marriage to Francesco Gonzaga. Roberti accompanied Isabella to Mantua as manager of her wardrobe, but a letter dated 12 March 1490, in which Ercole begged forgiveness from the Duchess, states that he fled the city a few days after arriving and returned to Ferrara without permission. In a letter of 19 March 1491 to Ercole I d'Este, Roberti complained that he had yet to be fully paid for his labour and expenses. On 30 December 1491 he received 50 gold leaves from the Duchess to gild an image of the Virgin painted on a pilaster near the tax office in the Piazza del Duomo in Ferrara.

Between March and August 1492 Roberti directed work on the decoration of the buildings in the Duchess's garden. His part in this seems to have been confined to the oratory and three small rooms near her private loggia. He also gilded and painted devices on some rose windows. Later in the year he was paid for six trumpet banners made for Alfonso d'Este. Presumably these banners were carried by Alfonso's entourage on the journey he made in 1492 to Rome to pay homage to Pope Alexander VI. Ercole accompanied Alfonso on the trip to Rome, stopping in Florence on his return.

Back in Ferrara, Roberti continued to supervise and paint in Eleanor's garden. It is possible that three panels attributed to him, the *Brutus and Portia* (Fort Worth, TX, Kimbell A. Mus.), the *Wife of Hasdrubal* (Washington, DC, N.G.A.) and the *Death of Lucretia* (Modena, Gal. & Mus. Estense), apparently from a series of paintings of *Virtuous Women*, may have been part of this decoration. In 1493 Roberti also began a series of paintings for Ercole

I d'Este at Belriguardo (buildings and decoration destr.).

In a letter dated 13 February 1493 Siverio Siveri, the ducal secretary, complained about the extent to which the Duke had abandoned his usual pastimes, hunting and playing chess, in order to discuss the projects with Roberti. Siveri described Roberti preparing large drawings, having been

in the most illustrious Duke's own room from morning till night for the past four days, seated on the far side of the Duke's desk, while the Duke is seated on the inner side, which he never leaves. . . . For two or three hours every night he [the Duke] has been reading a section from a book in Italian called Josephus, which mentions matters and stories from the Old Testament.

The letter testifies to an unexpected level of collaboration between patron and artist. Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti, in his *De triumphis religionis* (see Gundersheimer, 1972), recorded an elaborate cycle based on the story of Cupid and Psyche made for one of the Este residences, which he attributed to an 'excellent Ferrarese painter'. This may have been Ercole. It is also possible that the series of paintings depicting scenes of *Jason and the Argonauts* (Padua, Mus. Civ.; Florence, Rucellai priv. col.; Lugano, Col. Thyssen-Bornemisza) was painted for Belriguardo.

In April 1494 Roberti paid a number of artists for painting devices for Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. In May he was commissioned by Isabella d'Este to paint a portrait of her father, Ercole I d'Este. In a letter dated 28 May 1494 Bernardo Prosperi explained to Isabella that Roberti was unable to devote himself to painting the portrait because Alfonso d'Este was keeping him busy with other work. One document may suggest that these tasks included salami-making. The portrait (untraced) was begun but was left unfinished at Roberti's death and was sent to Mantua in that state by Alfonso in January 1497. It is possible that the portrait for which Dosso Dossi was paid on 4 April 1526, often identified with Dosso's portrait of *Ercole d'Este* (Modena, Gal. & Mus. Estense), might be a copy of Roberti's unfinished portrait. Also in 1494 Chiara Clavell commissioned Roberti to paint an altarpiece for S Spirito, Ferrara. The contract stipulates an Annunciation with God the Father and the Holy Spirit on a gable and a predella with the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi and Presentation in the Temple (all untraced). This is the only record of Roberti's being allowed to work for a patron outside the Este household during the last decade of his life.

From 1494 until his death Roberti provided a number of designs for sculptural commissions. The colossal equestrian monument of Ercole I d'Este to be placed in the Piazza Nuova is thought to be based on a design by Roberti (for illustration see A. Maretti: *Teatro genealogico et storico dell'antiche et illustri famiglie di Ferrara* (Ferrara, 1671), ii, p. 152). Similarly, it is known that he furnished drawings for the façade and interior architectural sculpture for Biagio Rosetti's church of S Maria in Vado, Ferrara. Roberti was last documented supplying an estimate for an altarpiece for Fino Marsigli in 1496. He was buried in S Domenico, Ferrara.

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KRISTEN LIPPINCOTT

**Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall & Partners.** British architectural partnership formed in 1956 by Robert (Hogg) Matthew (*b* Edinburgh, 12 Dec 1906; *d* Humber, E. Lothian, 21 June 1975) and Sirirat Johnson-Marshall (*b* India, 1912; *d* 16 Dec 1981). Robert Matthew was the son of John Fraser Matthew (1875-1955), a Scottish architect who had been in partnership with Robert S. Lorimer. He trained at the Edinburgh College of Art and with Lorimer & Matthew (his father's firm). Influenced by the thinking of Patrick Geddes, he turned gradually towards the social and strategic aspects of architecture and planning. For some years from 1937 Matthew worked with the architectural staff of the Department of Health for Scotland. He was then asked by Patrick Abercrombie to assist on a plan for the Clyde Valley commissioned by the Scottish Office (1944-6). Matthew was architect to the London County Council (LCC) from 1946 to 1952, the period of the first post-World War II reconstruction in inner London, based on Abercrombie's plan of 1943. Matthew's confidence, forcefulness, belief in teamwork and architectural ability earned him universal respect. He reorganized the large LCC Architect's Department and brought a spirit of responsible Modernism to the social architecture of London. He took charge of hundreds of LCC building schemes, including the Royal Festival Hall on the South Bank (1948-51) for which he appointed a team of architects led by Leslie Martin and Peter Moro. In 1953 he returned to Edinburgh as Professor of Architecture at the University and began a private practice, his first commission being Turnhouse Airport, Edinburgh. The growth of this practice, notably through the commission of New Zealand House, Haymarket, London, led him to establish

and became an expert field botanist, collecting rare insects for the British Museum. The rhythmical designs in his work were inspired by these natural forms and perhaps also by his experience as a musician. Such paintings as *Fulcrum* (1939; London, Tate), which included shapes reminiscent of both Surrealist sculpture and modern technology, represented an invented world of his own. His later paintings frequently reflect his interest in space exploration, as in *Messenger* (1969; priv. col., see exh. cat., p. 35).

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*John Tunnard* (exh. cat., ed. M. Glazebrook; London, ACGP, 1977)

ANN JONES

**Tunner, Josef [Joseph] (Ernst)** (b Obergaden, Styria, 24 Sept 1792; d Graz, 10 Oct 1877). Austrian painter, draughtsman and teacher. From 1810 to 1817 he studied portrait painting at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Vienna and later travelled in Styria and Carinthia and to Trieste. Inspired by such artists as Joseph von Führich, Leopold Kuppelwieser and Wilhelm August Rieder (1796-1880), he became interested in medieval art and worked in Vienna both as a portrait painter and as a copyist of religious subjects in the museums. In 1821 he married Josephine Pichler, who died the following year. Tunner's painting (Graz, Neue Gal.) of her with her two sisters is in the tradition of a Nazarene family portrait with Biedermeier overtones. In 1823 he moved to Rome, where he was accepted into the circle of the Nazarenes and where, under their influence, he began the most productive part of his career. Two years later he took charge of organizing their communal composition exercises in which they painted mainly biblical and legendary themes, and he himself made copies (Graz, Neue Gal.) after prints by Dürer and paintings by Fra Angelico, Perugino and Raphael. He was a close friend of Eduard Jakob von Steinle, and they worked together on the frescoes of *The Visitation* and *The Annunciation* in Trinità dei Monti, Tunner doing the sketches and Steinle the paintings. He also produced landscape drawings (Graz, Neue Gal.) that are full of atmosphere and that convey his experience of nature surely and spontaneously while at the same time expressing religious spirituality. He won the competition for a painting of *The Crucifixion* (1836-8) for the altar of the Cross in S Antonio Nuovo, Trieste (drawings, Graz, Neue Gal.) and for this was accepted, along with Ingres, into the Congregazione dei virtuosi al Pantheon. Henceforth, he decided to put his art at the service of the Catholic Church and to do no further paintings or drawings of nude figures. In 1840 he was appointed Director of the Steinisch-Ständische Zeichnungsakademie in Graz, where he methodically taught the principles of Nazarene art to aspiring students. He painted portraits of the local aristocracy and received commissions for numerous altarpieces, an important example being that of the *Family of Matthias Constantin Graf von Wickenburg* (1844) for the altar of the Kirche des Kurorts, Bad Gleichenberg. This was rendered in the manner of a Venetian *saera conversazione*, with the donor's family expressing adoration. In 1870 he was dismissed from the directorship because of strong criticism of his dogmatic teaching methods; he had closed his mind

to all contemporary naturalistic trends and had totally rejected landscape as a genre.

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CHRISTA STEINLE

**Tupac Inca, Juan Tomás Tuyru.** See TUYRU TUPAC INCA, JUAN TOMÁS.

**Tura, Cosimo [Cosmè]** (b Ferrara, ?1430; d Ferrara, April 1495). Italian painter. He was court painter to the Este family of Ferrara from 1458 until the mid-1480s. He was the first and one of the greatest representatives of the Ferrarese school of painting, but many of his most important works, including the decoration of the library of Pico della Mirandola (1463-94), have been either destroyed or dismantled, and some of his large-scale altarpieces are divided between collections. His career is well recorded and provides a vivid illustration of the role and duties of a 15th-century court artist.

1. Life and work. 2. Critical reception and posthumous reputation.

## 1. LIFE AND WORK.

(i) To 1459. (ii) 1459-70. (iii) 1471-95.

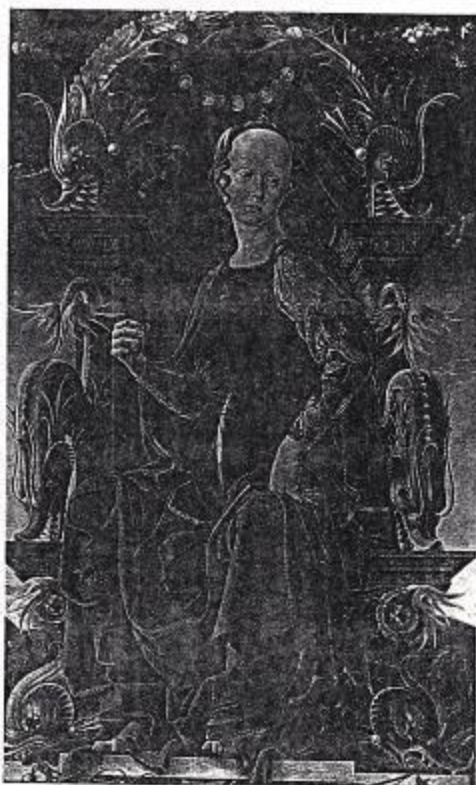
(i) To 1459. Tura is first recorded in Ferrara in a notarial act of 28 July 1431, in which 'Cosimo, the son of Domenico, the shoemaker' is described as an infant, which would set the date of his birth some time within the previous year. The first indications of an artistic career occurred in 1451 when, in association with the painter Galasso di Matteo Piva, Tura was called in to appraise a set of trumpet banners painted by Jacopo Turolo. The following year his name appeared among the regular salaried members of the Este household where he is documented as having designed a jousting helmet decorated with Borso d'Este's *impresa* of the unicorn and palm tree for the St George's Day horse race; he also painted a banner for the tailors' guild (which he was asked to repaint four years later), and worked with the manuscript illuminator Giorgio d'Alemagna and the carver Giovanni Carlo di Bretagna on 17 small coffers (*coffineti*) decorated with, among other things, religious scenes and heraldic devices of Duke Borso.

Between 1453 and 1456 Tura is absent from the ducal records. Venturi proposed that he had spent this time in Padua and, perhaps, Venice. The former suggestion is based on the observation that several aspects of Tura's painting style seem to be derived from the mannered classicism of Francesco Squarcione and the Paduan school. Specifically, there are similarities with the work of Mantegna and Niccolò Pizzolo in the Ovetari Chapel in the church of the Eremitani, Padua, which has prompted some critics to suggest that Tura worked on or, at least, carefully

these paintings. The proposed stay in Venice is followed by a passage in Tura's first will (14 January 1471), in which he leaves money to the poor of Venice. It has also been suggested that during this visit he was influenced by the recently completed mosaic designed by Andrea Castagno in the Mascoli Chapel in S Marco.

In 1456 Tura was in Ferrara and by 1457 he is listed as living in the Castello and earning a regular salary from the court of 15 lire per month. His only documented ducal commission for this year is for tapestry designs containing the coat of arms and devices of the Duke, which were subsequently woven by the Fleming Livino di Giglio. Tura's first documented painting was a *Nativity* (1458; untraced), commissioned by the ducal bailiff Vincenzo de' Lardi, and placed in the Old Sacristy of Ferrara Cathedral. The work must have been part of a portable altar since it was transferred to the main sacristy of the cathedral during the 18th century. According to 18th-century descriptions it consisted of several small figures.

In 1458 Borso d'Este appointed Tura official court painter, doubled his salary and placed him in charge of the decoration of the ducal villa at Belfiore. It is difficult to assess Tura's contribution to the fresco cycle of the *Nine Muses* (destr.), originally intended for the *studiolo* of Borso's father Leonello d'Este. Three contemporary documents relate to the project: a letter of 5 November 1457 from Guarino da Verona to Leonello d'Este, offering a series of iconographic suggestions regarding the form and attributes of the Muses; Cyriac of Ancona's description of 1449 of the finished paintings of *Clio* and *Melpomene* he had seen in the studio of the former court painter, Angelo del Macagnino; and the statement made by the Ferrarese humanist Ludovico Carbone that Tura was responsible for finishing the series of the Muses begun by Angelo del Macagnino. Unfortunately the information contained in these letters is not wholly consistent, thus making it difficult either to make connections with extant works of art or to reconstruct the iconographic programme. However, two panels have been proposed as possible components of the decorative scheme: Tura's *Enthroned Goddess* (London, N.G.; see fig. 1), variously identified as Venus, Spring and the nymph Ezato; and the painting usually called *Charity* (Milan, Mus. Poldi Pezzoli) but perhaps intended to represent the muse Terpsichore. (The lower half of the latter painting, showing three dancing children, appears to be by Tura.) Resting on these suggestions is the identification of Tura's first datable works and our understanding of the whole chronology of his oeuvre. If the two paintings in London and Milan are characteristic of Tura's early work, they show him to be an artist much more closely linked to the local tradition of Ferrarese painting and the style of Angelo del Macagnino and Michele Pannonio than had hitherto been suspected. As a result, stylistically similar works such as the *Virgin and Child with SS Apollonia and Jerome* (Ajaccio, Mus. Fesch), dated by Longhi and Ortolani to the 1490s, should be radically redated to the late 1450s or early 1460s. The transition from this softer, and slightly awkward style—via perhaps the *Pietà* (Venice, Correr), the *Crucifixion* (Washington, DC, N.G.A.), the *Ecce homo* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Mus.) and the *Portrait of a Young Man* (New York, Met.)—to the highly formalized structure and figures



1. Cosimo Tura: *Enthroned Goddess*, oil on panel, 1160 x 710 mm, 1459-63 (London, National Gallery)

of Tura's earliest extant documented work, the organ shutters (1469; Ferrara, Mus. Duomo) for Ferrara Cathedral, seems plausible.

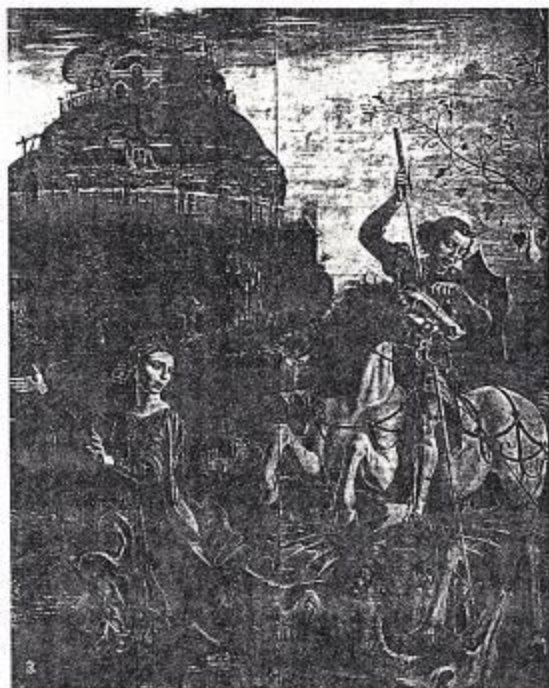
(ii) 1459-70. In 1459 Tura made designs for tapestries that were probably commissioned as part of the festivities surrounding the visit of Galeazzo Maria Sforza to the Este court. It is also possible that Borso d'Este, constantly beseeching Papal favour, may have been making preparations in the hope of receiving a much grander guest, since Galeazzo Maria was travelling in the cortège of Pope Pius II. On 6 August 1462 Tura was paid for two tournament costumes for Alberto Maria d'Este, which were covered with gold lilies, silver daisies and images of sieves with water running through them (the last probably being one of Alberto Maria's *imprese*). On 7 March and 14 July 1464 he was paid for further tournament costumes for Alberto Maria d'Este and Niccolò d'Este and the following year he decorated three pairs of horse trappings to be given as a gift by Duke Borso to his favourite, Cavaliere Teofilo Calcagnini.

Tura's absence from the ducal records between 1466 and 1467 suggests that during this period he was engaged in the decoration of the library (destr.) of Pico della

Mirandola in the castle of Mirandola. A detailed description of the cycle is given in a dialogue by the Ferrarese humanist Lelio Gregorio Giraldi. The decoration was apparently arranged in six panels, each divided into three registers and surmounted by a lunette. It depicted the history of poetry arranged chronologically from ancient to modern times. The lunettes contained triumphs of the different poetical ages, and the scheme was bound together by a frieze consisting of crowns, armorial devices and foliage.

By 31 December 1467 Tura had returned to Ferrara, involved, again, with tapestry decoration. Late in 1467 he also received a commission from the brothers Uberto Sacrafi, Bartolommeo Sacrafi and Pietro Sacrafi to decorate the walls of their family chapel in S Domenico, Ferrara, with the 'entire story of the New Testament' and provide an altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Magi* (both frescoes and altarpiece destr.).

On 11 June 1469 Tura was paid for painting the organ shutters (Ferrara, Mus. Duomo) for the great organ in Ferrara Cathedral. Together with the severely damaged frescoes of the Salone dei Mesi in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (see below), the organ shutters represent the best of Ferrarese painting during the last half of the 15th century. On the outside of the doors is an emotionally turbulent and pictorially dynamic depiction of *St George and the Dragon* (see fig. 2) set in a landscape. On the inside is a dramatically different, serene image of the *Annunciation*, set beneath a classicizing triumphal arch. Stylistically



2. Cosimo Tura: *St George and the Dragon*, 349×305 mm, 1469 (Ferrara, Museo del Duomo); outside of the organ shutters from Ferrara Cathedral

related to the organ shutters, and therefore probably also datable to the late 1460s, are the *Virgin and Child* (Venice, Accad.) and two tondi (both Ferrara, Pin. N.) depicting scenes from the life of St Maurelius, painted for the chapel of St Maurelius in S Giorgio fuori le Mura, Ferrara.

On 30 May 1469 Tura signed a contract to decorate the chapel of Belriguardo (destr.) near Voghiera. The terms are interesting not only because they stipulate wages and provisions for Tura and his two anonymous assistants, the responsibility for materials and a time schedule, but also because they indicate that the patron, Borso d'Este, intended to devise the iconographic programme himself. The progress of Tura's work is well documented, including notations of his various trips to Venice to buy gold and colours. Six months after beginning the project Tura was sent by Borso to Brescia to look at the Malatesta Chapel in the Broletto (town hall). It is unclear whether Borso intended Tura to study the decoration of the chapel as a whole or just the frescoes by Gentile da Fabriano. Either way, it is a reflection of Borso's conservative taste that he chose to send his court painter to study work painted some fifty years earlier.

An accurate picture of the subject-matter and disposition of the decoration, in what appears to have been a free-standing, centrally-domed, cruciform building, is given in a contemporary description (31 March 1471) of the programme, supplied by Baldassare d'Este and the Venetian artist Antonio Orsini when they were called upon to evaluate the project. The paintings were executed in oil and represented God the Father, in the small dome of the lantern, with eight semi-circular half-lengths of Evangelists and Doctors of the Church arranged beneath. The architectural components of the chapel were heavily decorated with animal and vegetal reliefs, and highlighted by a continuous frieze of 145 sculpted and gilt seraphim.

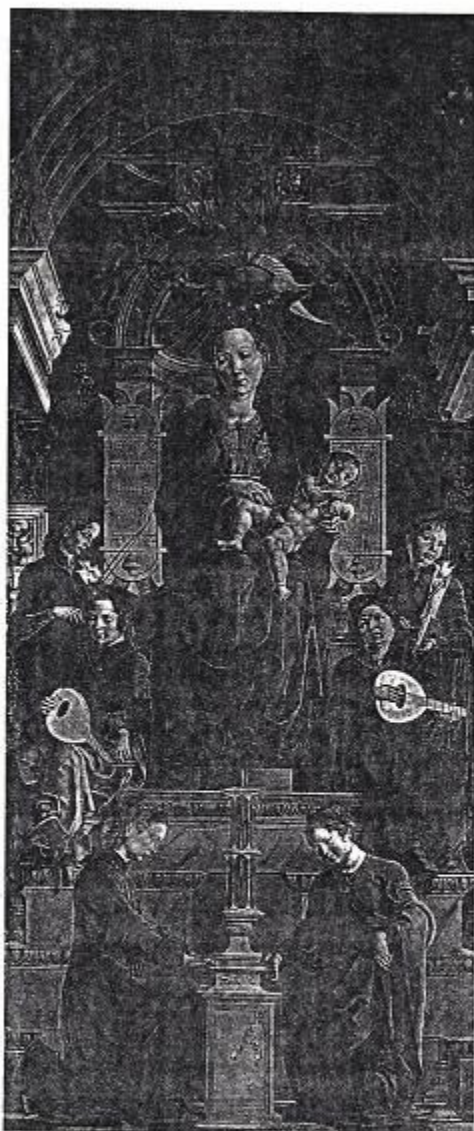
Despite repeated attempts to attach Tura's name to some aspect of the Salone dei Mesi frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, the stylistic evidence of Tura's oeuvre makes this unlikely. Baruffaldi's suggestion was based on the assumption that as court painter Tura must have played a role. He proposed that Tura was responsible for the cartoons and that the rest of the work was executed by other painters. However, this overlooks the fact that between 1468 and 1470, the probable date for the Schifanoia cycle, Tura was engaged in a number of other projects, including the decoration of the Belriguardo chapel. Moreover, stylistically, compositionally and, more tentatively, conceptually, the Schifanoia frescoes bear no more than a generic resemblance to any of Tura's known works.

(iii) 1471-95. On 14 January 1471 Tura made the first of his three wills. His instructions indicate unexpected wealth and properties. In 1464 Tura had bought a two-storey house between the Via Centoversuri and Via Boccanale in Ferrara. In his first will he made provision for the erection and decoration of a church dedicated to SS Cosmas and Damian in which he wanted to be buried, stipulated that his 50 books and all of his drawings were to be left to a certain 'Domenicus filius Jacobi Valezij' and left large legacies to the poor of Venice and to those nearest to him. In August 1471 Borso d'Este died, and Tura was paid 20 lire for constructing the ducal catafalque. His official court

title seems to have been changed or augmented to court portrait painter with the succession of Ercole I d'Este. Tura's first recorded duty for the new Duke was to supply designs for a 36-piece silver set (to be executed by the Venetian goldsmith Giorgio Alegretto da Ragusa), intended for the celebration of the Duke's impending marriage to Eleanora of Aragon. The decoration, recorded in detail in the register of the Guardaroba, consisted largely of ducal *imprese* and devices, but two of the flasks had the unusual iconography of 'wild men', and the garlands used were described as *all'antica*. In 1472 Tura executed portraits of *Ercole I* and of *Lucrezia d'Este* (both untraced) to be sent to Eleanora of Aragon in Naples. During the late summer he provided a coloured sketch for a tapestry, to be woven by Giovanni Mille and Rubinetto da Francia for the marriage bed of Ercole I and Eleanora. Between 1472 and 1474 he seems to have been occupied almost exclusively with tapestry designs.

The year of the death of Bishop Lorenzo Roverella (1474) provides the approximate date for Tura's next major commission, the Roverella altarpiece for S Giorgio fuori le Mura, Ferrara. Baruffaldi records the original location (on the wall in front of the chapel containing Tura's St Maurelius tondi) and the disposition of the panels within the altarpiece. The *Virgin and Child with Music-making Angels* (London, N.G.; see fig. 3) comprised the central portion of the altarpiece and the *SS Paul and Maurelius with the Kneeling Nicolò Roverella* (Rome, Gal. Colonna) was the right wing of the polyptych. The left wing illustrated SS George and Peter, below whom the kneeling Bishop Roverella was shown knocking on the Gates of Paradise. Only a fragment of this, the *Head of St George* (San Diego, CA, Mus. A.), has survived. The central panel was surmounted by the lunette of the *Lamentation* (Paris, Louvre). Two additional half-lengths of SS Benedict and Bernardo have been lost. In his reconstruction of the Roverella altarpiece, Longhi suggested that the *Circumcision* (Boston, MA, Isabella Stewart Gardner Mus.), the *Adoration of the Magi* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard U., Fogg) and the *Flight into Egypt* (New York, Met.) are three of a proposed seven tondi that formed the predella of the altarpiece. In addition to the fact that this contradicts Baruffaldi's observation that the predella was composed of scenes from the lives of SS Benedict and Bernardo, the use of historiated roundels in a predella is unprecedented. Thus, although these tondi belong to the same stylistic period as the Roverella altarpiece, it seems unlikely that they existed as a part of it. In the altarpiece, Tura's painting technique has become appreciably harder and more stylized. The figures seem to have lost all trace of human warmth both in their colouring and their emotional states. Other paintings which can be dated to this period are the *St Jerome* (London, N.G.; see fig. 4) with its corresponding fragment, the *Crucified Christ* (Milan, Brera), the *Annunciation*, *St Francis* and *St Maurelius* (all Washington, DC, N.G.A.), the *Virgin and Child* (Rome, Gal. Colonna) and the *St John on Patmos* (Genoa, Gnecco priv. col.; see Molajoli, pp. 86-7, no. 27).

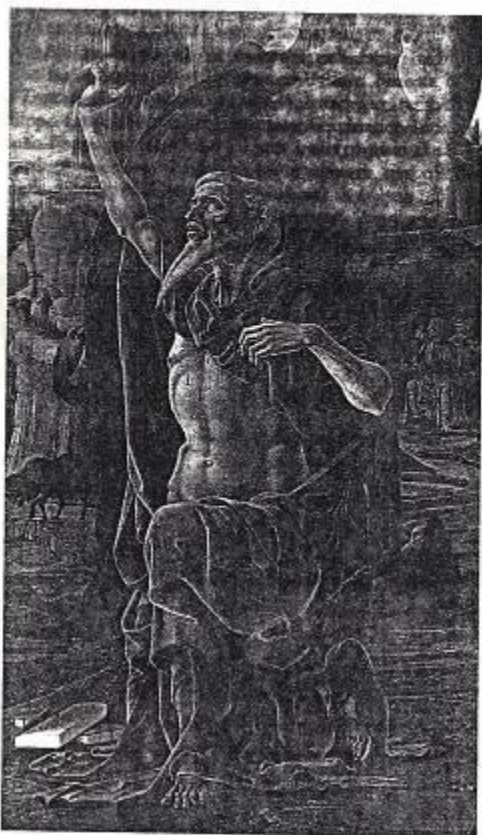
In 1475 Tura made further tapestry designs. Between 1475 and 1483 the weaver Rubinetto da Francia is recorded as working on an altarcloth; it is possible that Tura's *Lamentation* antependium (Cologne, Neven-Dumont



3. Cosimo Tura: *Virgin and Child with Music-making Angels*, oil on panel, 2.34×1.01 m, c. 1474 (London, National Gallery); central panel of the Roverella altarpiece

priv. col., see Molajoli, p. 88, no. 28; copy, Cleveland, OH, Mus. A.) dates from this period. Also in 1475 he was commissioned by Ercole I d'Este to make a series of paintings for a small portable altar. The frame was carved by Bernardo da Venezia and the niello decoration executed by Amadio da Milano. Apparently Ercole was dissatisfied with Tura's work and ordered him to repaint it. The





4. Cosimo Tura: *St Jerome*, oil on panel, 1010 × 572 mm, 1471-95 (London, National Gallery)

contract stipulates a central Virgin and Child flanked by four standing saints. Several suggestions have been offered as to which extant panels might have belonged to this altar. These include the four panels in Washington mentioned above and the *Madonna and Child* (Bergamo, Gal. Accad. Carrara). In 1476 Tura was involved in a lawsuit with the Ferrarese notary Giacomo Pinzerna.

In 1477 Tura was commissioned to paint three portraits of the year-old prince, *Affonso I d'Este* (all untraced). The first was completed on 27 July, while the other two were not finished until October. One of these portraits passed via the Canonici Collection into the collection of Baruffaldi's father, and the critic recalls it as 'exemplary above all others'. In the same year Tura was asked to complete a set of seven female nudes (untraced), four of which had been worked on previously. It is unclear if this is another case of Tura having to repaint, or perhaps 'update' work of his own or of others. Ruhmer suggested that these figures might relate to work Tura had done previously at Belfiore and proposed that the brush drawing of a *Seated Winged Female Figure* (Berlin, Kupferstichkab.), which he

called *Charity*, might be a preliminary study for one of the paintings from this series.

In addition to supplying tapestry cartoons for a door curtain to be woven by Giovanni Mille, and a mule blanket, to be woven in several copies by Rinaldo da Bretagna, in 1479 Tura was paid by Eleanora of Aragon for a portrait of *Lucrezia d'Este* (untraced) to be sent to Lucrezia's fiancé, Annibale Bentivoglio. In 1480 Tura painted a portrait of *Isabella d'Este* (untraced) for her intended spouse, Francesco Gonzaga, Marchese of Mantua, and was paid for a cartoon depicting a story of Solomon. In 1481 he is recorded collaborating with the intarsia worker Tasto Tortoletto and, between 1483 and 1485, he was engaged in making designs for an elaborate silver service for Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan.

In a letter to Ercole I (8 January 1490), complaining of poverty and the unpaid debts due to him, Tura mentions two paintings for which payment is outstanding. The first, a *St Anthony of Padua* (untraced), was painted for the Monsignor of Adria and cost 25 ducats, which indicates either that the painting was small or that Tura's reputation as an artist had suffered to the extent that he was no longer able to command adequate fees. The second, an altarpiece for S Niccolò, Ferrara, commissioned by the ducal secretary Francesco Nasello and worth 60 ducats, has been identified with Tura's *St Anthony of Padua* (formerly called *St Giacomo della Marca*, Modena, Gal. & Mus. Estense). This association is slightly problematic as Tura does not mention the subject of his painting for Nasello. He claimed to have painted 'similmente' for Monsignor of Adria, but it is doubtful that this refers to the subject-matter of the painting. Moreover, Tura mentioned that Nasello's picture had been coloured with gold at his own expense and the Modena *St Anthony* has neither gold ground nor details. In support of this attribution, however, the painting can be dated stylistically to c. 1484, thereby complementing Tura's note recording that he finished these paintings six years before the date of his letter, and the painting's provenance can be traced back to the church of S Niccolò, Ferrara. If the painting is part of the altarpiece painted for Nasello, it is Tura's last documented work and shows him as having developed a style of painting so mannered and tense as to verge on the repellent. A number of small panels, stylistically related to the Modena *St Anthony*, although not quite so austere, have been variously arranged by critics to form reconstructions of the dispersed altarpieces Tura painted during the mid-1480s. These include *St James the Great* (Caen, Mus. B.-A.), *St Dominic* (Florence, Uffizi), *St Anthony of Padua* (Paris, Louvre) and perhaps *St Christopher* and *St Sebastian* (both Berlin, Bodemus.).

In 1485 Tura received his last court commission for a bust-length portrait of Beatrice d'Este to be sent to her betrothed, Ludovico Sforza. In 1486 he was moved from his lodgings into one of the gate-towers of the city wall near Porta Cosmaria, Ferrara, and lived with a certain Teofilo di Jacopo Cesena, apparently a painter or apprentice. From this time until his death virtually all the documents pertaining to Tura centre on his complaints about poverty. In 1487 he wrote a second will, asking to be buried in S Giorgio. On 18 April 1491 he wrote his

and final will. He was buried, according to the request in his third will, in S Lorenzo, Ferrara.

2. CRITICAL RECEPTION AND POSTHUMOUS REPUTATION. At the height of his career Tura's fame had spread as far as the courts of Milan and Urbino. Filarete, in his *Trattato di architettura* (1458-64), listed Tura with Fra Filippo Lippi, Piero della Francesca, Squarcione and Vincenzo Foppa as one of the masters fit to paint in the courtyard of the Casa Regia of his imaginary city of Sforzinda. Giovanni Santi, in his *La vita e le geste di Federico da Montefeltro* (c. 1488-92), named Tura and Ercole de' Roberti as the two exemplars of Ferrarese painting. Tura's fortunes, however, were directly linked to his patron Borso d'Este, after whose death in 1471 the artist progressively lost commissions to his more fashionable contemporaries. By the middle of the 16th century, only some 50 years after his death, his name was all but forgotten and he was only summarily mentioned by Vasari. Girolamo Baruffaldi was the first to restore his reputation during the 18th century, citing him as the founder and greatest representative of the Ferrarese school. Despite the relative paucity of surviving works, now scattered in different collections, archival work by scholars such as Cittadella, Campori and Venturi has contributed greatly to our understanding of his career.

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Tura, Pietro del. See ARETINO, PIETRO.

Tur 'Abdin [Turk. Mazi Dağ; Mt Masius, Mt Izla]. Plateau in south-eastern Turkey, in what was northern Mesopotamia, to the south and west of the Tigris River between Diyarbakır (anc. Amida) and Nusaybin (anc. Nisibis). The Syriac name Tur 'Abdin means 'the mountain of the servants (of God)'. It is a rural area noted for its Early Christian and medieval architecture and for its medieval illuminated manuscripts. From c. AD 300 onwards its culture was influenced by that of the surrounding and nearby cities of Amida, Nisibis, Dara (now Oğuz), Resh'aina (Theodosiopolis), Martyropolis (now Silvan), Constantina (now Viranşehir) and the more distant city of Edessa (now Urfa; see EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE ART, §II, 2(i)(d) and (ii)(c)). The nearest large city is Mardin, a medieval foundation.