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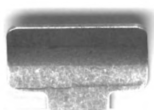

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I.

S. George

Venice, Academy

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ANDREA MANTEGNA

BY

PAUL KRISTELLER

AUTHOR OF 'EARLY FLORENTINE WOODCUTS'
EDITOR OF 'ENGRAVINGS AND WOODCUTS BY JACOPO DE' BARBARI' ETC.

WITH 26 PLATES AND 162 TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

Just as the study of natural phenomena should lead to a knowledge of the laws of Nature, so it should be the ultimate aim of a scientific study of Art to contribute to the knowledge of the laws regulating the development of the human mind. Upon it devolves the task not only of discerning amidst the sequence of single phenomena the process of organic evolution, but also of singling out in the former that which is typical, or, in other words, that which conforms to a general law.

To deal with a single artistic personality in the form of a monograph is thus hardly in accordance with the demands and purpose of scientific work, because it necessarily involves the isolation of the artist on the part of the author as well as on that of the reader, and is apt only too easily to suffer the internal connection between the individual and the general development to fade into the background.

But quite apart from the question of economy and convenience of treatment, the monograph form is also justifiable, though only in the case of men of supreme genius, because in their own personal development they sum up that of entire epochs, and present in their own mental image a type of general evolution during whole periods of time. Not only do they divine and enforce with greater clearness and intensity the aims and feelings of their own time, but in their individual application and enlargement of those ideas and theories they anticipate the essential characteristics of future development, thus throwing light at once upon its starting-point and upon its goal.

It is true that only the really great original geniuses occupy this position, those, namely, who, bringing to bear upon Nature a new and independent conception of the world, look at things with clearness of insight and depth of feeling, and at the same time possess the energy and capacity to express them.

This power of creating style is quite independent of greater or less perfection of technique, it consists solely in the vigorous expression—as

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perfect as contemporary means allow—of an original and deep feeling for Nature.

The life of those Masters who boldly meet the great problems of human existence with a new interrogation, is not only a reflection of the struggles and endeavours of great epochs battling for new ideas, it is in itself a work of art, and excites our interest beyond the sphere of the actual performances, because even in the individual destinies of such men an important logical connection asserts itself. Whereas in all other cases personal subjective feeling must be abstracted in forming an intellectual appreciation, and the truth sought for outside the individual himself, it is the thoughts and feelings of the great artist, his personal view of life, which form the truest and deepest substance of his work.

Even in an epoch so exceptionally rich in artistic activity as that of the Quattrocento in Italy, in which art had worked its way to free and consummate mastery over the human form, it seems to me that from Jacopo della Quercia and Masaccio up to Leonardo, Michelangelo and Giorgione, there were but two artists who confronted Nature freely and independently from the highest standpoint of an original conception of the world, namely, Donatello and Mantegna; nor was it by chance that the sculptor was a Florentine, and the painter from the Veneto.

Donatello's position, in spite of a certain amount of opposition proceeding from one-sided views, is almost universally acknowledged; to Andrea Mantegna, on the contrary, the place which I believe to be his due has never yet been conceded either in artistic appreciation or in historical criticism. Great as is the recognition that he has always enjoyed, he is still, and with the greatest injustice, looked upon as the 'erudite' artist, the great but rigid pedant, who laid more stress upon technical studies than upon artistic effect; as the 'archæologist,' the blind admirer of the antique. In the history of Italian art, nay, even of Venetian painting itself, he is left almost on one side of the arbitrarily drawn line of development, he is looked upon as a sudden apparition, whose powerful influence cannot well be denied, but whose origin seems lost in legendary obscurity. To speak frankly, he has always been a most uncomfortable personage for historical criticism to deal with, and has, therefore, to say the least of it, been very much neglected.

In what follows I shall attempt to set forth where the sources of his intellectual and artistic training lie, and how the work he accomplished passes organically into the main drift and tendency; but, above all, I shall strive to bring home to the perception and feeling of the reader

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how Mantegna reached out beyond all knowledge and study, beyond all conventions, with an infinite passionate feeling for Nature which he endeavoured to fathom with the whole depth of his intellect; and that he, the most perfect son of the great early period of 'humanism,' remained always and everywhere independent of his subject, and strove only to recognise and bring to its intensest expression the purely human—in a word, that he was one of the mightiest combatants in the van of that battle for Nature which we have now to fight more ardently than ever, a fact which, alas, so few can, or will, comprehend.

Whoever nowadays attempts a task of this kind may safely assume that even the outer circle of cultured readers to whom he addresses himself will no longer be content with the bare knowledge of facts and the results of investigation, but will wish to learn in broad outlines the basis upon which they rest. Only by comparison of one work of art with another can the eye and mind acquire a standard for estimating the relation of the work of Art to Nature. For Art cannot reproduce Nature as Nature, but can only recall its impression of it by conventional, symbolic signs. And herein may be found the justification of the historical method in the field of Art, which has often, and especially on the part of modern artists, been denied it. The laity also should be made to feel the charm which lies in the knowledge of the historical relation of works of art to one another and to the prevailing ideas of the time, a knowledge which only increases, without in any way impairing, as has so often been urged, the artistic enjoyment of individual works.

I conceive it to be the duty of the author to put before the reader in an agreeable form all that is required for personal study, sparing him the long and laborious work of detail, and to present to him, well ordered and arranged, the material with the help of which he can himself critically follow the narrator, who lays his own personal view before the reader without wishing to force it upon him.

All controversy has been as much as possible avoided, nor has the particular refutation of differing opinions been aimed at. By a personal study of the authorities and the bibliography, which have been invariably set forth in as complete a form as possible, whoever wishes to go more deeply into the individual questions will be able to compare the assertions of the various writers with one another and with those advanced here, and thus to form an independent judgment. Wherever my opinions have coincided with those of earlier writers, grateful mention has been

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made of my predecessors; to those who, by personal information and help of other kind, have advanced my work, I gladly take this opportunity of expressing my heartiest thanks.

I am indebted above all to the Director of the Archivio Gonzaga in Mantua, Cav. Stefano Davari, who gave me valuable assistance in the study of the MSS., also to Dr. Alessandro Luzio, the Director of the State Archives there; and to Professor Andrea Moschetti, Director of the Museum and Archives in Padua, for kindly allowing me to have access to unpublished documents. I have further been assisted in the kindest manner in my study of the monuments and collections under their charge by the heads of the Department for the Preservation of the Monuments in Venetia and Lombardy, Comm. Berchet and Comm. Moretti, Inspectors Federico Cordenons in Padua and Achille Patricolo in Mantua, as also by the Central Board of the Ministry of Education in Rome; the Directors of the Galleries in Florence and Venice, Comm. Ridolfi and Cav. Cantalamessa, Dr. Meder of the Albertina, Dr. Lippmann, Director of the Print Room in Berlin. I must express my thanks above all to the gentlemen who have permitted me to utilise and reproduce works of art in their private possession: the Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Duke of Devonshire, Louisa Lady Ashburton, Mr. Ludwig Mond, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Ch. Butler in London, Baron Giorgio Franchetti in Venice, Messrs. James Simon, Adolph von Beckerath, Paul Davidsohn in Berlin. For valuable information and manifold assistance I am indebted to Mr Herbert Cook, Mr. Ch. F. Murray, Messrs. Gutekunst and Deprez in London, M. Eugène Müntz in Paris, and to many of my friends and colleagues in Berlin.

The English edition of this book appears before the German; it was undertaken at the suggestion of Mr. S. Arthur Strong, Librarian to the House of Lords and at Chatsworth, to whom my last, but certainly not my least debt of gratitude is owing, for finding time, in the midst of his arduous duties, to supervise the whole of the translation. Only those who are aware by personal experience of the laboriousness of such a task will be able to appreciate the value of the work here accomplished.

The greatest care has been bestowed upon the reproduction of the pictures. If, in spite of this, many deficiencies should be apparent, it must be recollected that the difficulties to be contended with were particularly great: for instance, in the case of the 'Madonna della Vittoria' in the Louvre a broad piece is hidden by the frame, and,

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strange to say, the firm of Braun alone have the privilege of removing the picture from the frame and placing it in a good light. Fresh plates have been made for all the heliogravures; for the zincotypes, photographs by various photographers, always mentioned by name, have been used, but a large number have been newly made, among which a series of the most difficult photographs taken in the Eremitani Chapel in Padua, in the Camera degli Sposi, and in Mantegna's Chapel in S. Andrea at Mantua, have been prepared with his accustomed finish and perfection by that most excellent of all photographers, Domenico Anderson of Rome.

PAUL KRISTELLER.

FIG. 1.—PUTTO WITH MANTEGNA'S SHIELD

From his chapel in S. Andrea at Mantua. (Phot. Anderson)

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From Mantegna's Chapel in S. Andrea at Mantua

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From the frescoes in the Camera degli Sposi at Mantua (Phot. Anderson)

CHAPTER I

MANTEGNA'S COUNTRY; INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC INFLUENCES OF HIS YOUTH

It is only in great centres saturated with culture, where participation in a broad political and social life has raised the level of mental activity to the highest point possible at the time, that art can meet with conditions favourable to the creation and development of a style. A powerful and art-loving prince may, it is true, by inviting artists to his court, stimulate artistic production, even in remote spots; but such isolated incitements can never be permanently effective. This necessitates the voluntary co-operation of a whole range of mental forces. The several sciences and arts are so closely interconnected that the isolated development of any single branch must be recognised as impossible. But, though the happy conjunction of great talents in one place is indispensable to the production of a strong intellectual current, yet the highest development attained in the several branches need not coincide in time. The influence of great men often abides long in a place, bequeathing its effects to a later generation. Above all, it raises the standard of the claims made

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upon the worker. The soil in which great art is to flourish must have been long manured and tilled by mental work that the tender plant of art may unfold upon the strong, fresh, and well-cultivated sod. The public must be made ready to receive its great artists.

The clearest proof of this is afforded in the Italian Renascence by Florence. In Germany we may point to the towns of Cologne and Nüremberg, where the free vital growth of culture brought to maturity the choicest blossom of German art. It is the centripetal force, as it were, of collective mental efforts that draws the artistic energy as well into the sphere of control.

A comparative survey is enough to show the great influence which the attitude in the several towns of Italy towards the culture of the Renascence exercised upon the development of art, and how art developed on lines closely parallel to those of science and literature. In the smaller centres, the development of art, as of science, proceeds by fits and starts. It attains only spasmodically to great results, and incessantly demands fresh inspiration from without. The art schools grow from local beginnings to a certain one-sided perfection, and then suddenly stop short or succumb to new influences. For example, the school of Verona, which fell into almost entire dependence upon Mantegna and the Venetians; that of the Marches, which breaks off with Melozzo and his weak pupils; the Ferrarese, which dies out in imitation of Raffaelesque forms, or is barely kept alive by infusions from Venice; the Bolognese, which similarly expires in imitation of Raphael; the Umbrian, which is merged in the Florentine; the Sienese, which dies of inanition; the Milanese, which disappears before the resistless invasion of Leonardo's genius, without reckoning individual phenomena, like Piero della Francesca, Signorelli, Correggio, bold enough and strong enough to take an independent line between different schools. In Naples and other courts one can speak only of an imported artistic activity, artificially nurtured. Rome in the Renascence displays no independence, whether in art or in literature and science; its peculiar art begins only with the baroque. It forms the meeting-place for foreign artistic forces, that measure themselves there in rivalry, until the weaker are driven out of the field by the stronger—that is by the Florentine. Only Venetian and Florentine art exhibit an independent and consecutive development. The Venetian school does not, at the outset, differ materially from the others, but later it takes energetic flight in two directions. Mantegna unites, with the power of genius, the intellectual and the technical capabilities of his time; he

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seems to inaugurate a new and splendid school, which, like the literary movement in Venice, acts as a vivifying and even determinative force in the collective development of art in Italy—but its influence is scattered. He had pupils and imitators over the whole of Italy, but no follower who could carry on his work with his own or even with adequate energy. The native art of Venice proper, fertilised by foreign influences, and especially by that of Mantegna himself, pursues its own course, developing independently and harmoniously, but quite one-sidedly, and comes but seldom in contact with foreign schools. Florentine art alone remains always true to itself. It never resigns the supremacy or abandons the pursuit of its great problems; it assimilates, without imitating, foreign forms. Upon the broad basis of an all-sufficient knowledge and skill, it grows to a corresponding universality of artistic conception, and so attains to undisputed supremacy in Italy and in all Europe.

Beside Florence, therefore, Italy in the early Renascence has only one other centre of culture of equal importance. It was by no mere chance that PADUA, the city of scholars, representing the sum total of scientific labour in Northern Italy, became the cradle also of that Northern artistic Renascence which found in Mantegna its most perfect embodiment.

These two art movements—the Florentine and that of Padua and Venice, which are one from the point of view of culture—are the only movements that actually and entirely correspond with the intellectual efforts made in those places, and which assimilate the whole of their mental acquisitions, because they alone both found an independent and highly developed mental life to serve as a basis for their creative activity.

In fact, the intellectual activity of Italy after the end of the fourteenth century crystallises round these two great centres, Florence and Padua. In them, the great ideas of the new epoch found their earliest, clearest, and most pointed expression, as well as a universal application. They are the first fields of the great struggle that continues to the present day, the struggle between the mediæval and the modern conception of the world; and there the modern spirit won its first great victories.

This struggle, so often and so brilliantly depicted in its origin, its course and in all its manifestations,[1] can only be described here

[1] Cf. especially Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance*, 7th ed., Leipsic, 1899; Georg Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Altertums*, 3rd ed., Berlin, 1893; E. Gebhardt, *Les origines de la Renaissance en Italie*, Paris, 1879; J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, London, 1877; Gaspary, *Geschichte der italienischen Litteratur*, Berlin 1888; Vittorio Rossi, 'Il Quattrocento,' in *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, Milano, 1898, &c.

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in its main features, but some knowledge of its nature is absolutely requisite to the understanding of the art, not only of the Renascence in general, but in particular of the artist who is the subject of this monograph.

Mediæval scholasticism takes its rise in Church dogma, which, as the supremacy of the Church during the first centuries becomes ever more rigidly conceived and fixed, suppresses more and more the ancient, sensuous mode of life and thought, and strives to obliterate its traces. It borrows and retains from antiquity only the outer garment, the form in speech and ceremonial, that which can be grasped by the understanding, the philosophic logic. Owing to the development of political and commercial independence in the Italian towns, and, above all, to the strength of purely human emotion in the artist soul, the new humanistic tendency almost imperceptibly struggles forth out of the mediæval ascetic point of view. In the period of the Renascence—that is, in the fifteenth century—it comes to the power of expressing its thoughts clearly and asserting them effectually; it fathoms the mind of antiquity, and seeks inspiration in the content of its works of art, and in its broad and free feeling and thought. In contrast with the enmity of the Church towards antiquity, humanism abandons itself unreservedly, with no religious scruples of conscience, to the luxurious enjoyment of ancient literature. For the most part the genuine humanists retained Christianity only in form; at the bottom of their hearts there reigned only the ancient joyous world of the gods and of legend. In Dante, Virgil still appears in the form of the seer, who had foreseen and foretold Christianity. To the humanists of the fifteenth century, the veil is withdrawn, and it is the spirit of antiquity itself which they seek to conjure up. All their thoughts and feelings are dominated by the great prototype; it sets its impress upon their every word and deed. All attempts to reconcile antiquity with the Christian point of view are external and formal in character, conscious or unconscious sophisms. The opposition comes out in full clearness in the environment of Nicolas V. and Pius II., the first humanists on the papal throne, and leads under Paul II. to that violent reaction against humanism, which brought to the dungeon several prominent members of the 'Accademia Pomponiana,' so entirely pagan in form and essence. It may be said, that the liberation of Platina from the papal prisons secured the triumph of humanism, so that even the appearance of Savonarola has no longer power to check it. In Italy the contradictions were heedlessly left to subsist side by side, and only in the North was the endeavour

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made, in earnest faith and scientific obedience to conviction, to reach an inner reconciliation through a purer conception of Christianity—at once more human and more ideal—and through a deeper philosophical knowledge.

The bent of Italian humanism is, in fact, essentially literary and artistic, on account of the belief that the goal towards which at bottom all desire is consciously or unconsciously set—namely, *nature*—could only be reached in and through the ancient monuments of literature and art. The modern spirit manifests itself first in art; it is only later that it follows the development of religious feeling, of scientific knowledge, of philosophy, and finally of political and social ideas. Even as the strong fresh mind of the creative artist required antiquity, not so much as a model, but rather as an ideal support, as a guiding star, in his struggle to attain to the largest and deepest apprehension of nature, so the political instinct of national growth found an ideal rather than a practical prototype, in the self-reliance of the ancient individual, and in the memories of the greatness of ancient Rome. Just as the fame of the ancient artists gave no rest to the modern, but spurred them on to excel in that for which the ancients were most celebrated—namely, the imitation of nature—so the general or the statesman of the Renascence sees his ideal in the resolute, independent personalities of the ancient heroes.

The Middle Ages recognise only the one ecclesiastical rule, binding upon all, and to which all must be subjected; with the observation of nature, of the particular in all the manifestations of its separate existence, the *individual* again obtains his rights and his significance. The art of the Renascence is thus essentially the art of individualism, of the personally characteristic. The mediæval way of looking at things is encyclopædic; it endeavours to arrange all separate phenomena under general categories, not springing from the internal necessity of their nature, but arbitrarily determined by Church dogma, and into this artificial system everything special is forced. Very different is the habit of the modern mind. Roused to attention by the free and large method of conception of the ancient authors, and supported by their universally admitted authority, it enters once more upon the observation of the individual phenomena in nature, in art and in history, and thus seeks first of all to lay the foundations of the knowledge of the evolution of nature and of mind, by means of an enquiry into the facts of physical and mental life, based upon perception and historical sympathy. This problem, which we are still working out to-day, is unending; but that new tendency which begins to predominate

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in the fifteenth century, and which we may call 'humanism,' for this reason also that it brings again into effect the *sensuous and human*, was what gave the first powerful impulse to our whole modern mental growth. At that time the first blocks were again placed upon the foundations so solidly laid by the ancient world, upon which the Middle Ages, almost without noticing the foundation walls, had erected a system that towered indeed to the skies, but was, nevertheless, weak and tottering. Every new development must tear down that portion of the preceding structure, which consists only of prejudice and error, until, below the ruins, it comes again to the solid walls, upon which it can build once more. Italian humanism is the first great intellectual movement of the Christian era; that, starting from natural and, at the same time, ideal foundations, leads accordingly to a continuous progressive development. It exercises an irresistible force, because it is rooted in the relations of the modern spirit to nature, and because it springs from the reawakening of observation and of natural feeling; it is with justice, therefore, that the period bears the name of the 'Renascence,' the 'Re-birth.'

Only formative art, in its strong and independent creative activity, penetrated below the externals of antiquity right into the substance, to an individual apprehension of nature: literature, which had no such peculiar force at its disposal, remained tied to the form, losing sight of the original aim, which had still hovered before the earlier independent generations of humanists, who learned from antiquity how to create anew in its spirit; it becomes more and more absorbed in purely formal studies, in interpretation and imitation. Not only did the numerous claims made upon it from without damage its independence, but it was also lacking in original creative force. Thus popular Italian poetry remains, in spite of many charming and spirited performances, on a low level as compared with pictorial art, until the time of Ariosto and Tasso. As regards literature, the whole period of humanism, especially in the North, is a time of study, of preparation for the powerful flight of the poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rather than of actual poetic achievement.

But the historical significance of the mental tendencies of a period does not at all coincide with that of its literary creations. Even though the permanent value of these may be less, they are yet of significance to us, not so much in themselves, but as evidence of the aspirations of the time. It was not so much in their actual achievement as in their purpose that the mental force lay which influenced their contemporaries. Their close and enthusiastic study of a great ancient culture gave a powerful

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impulse towards free and independent thought, towards free and independent action. The mighty voice of the ancient poets aroused the slumbering self-consciousness of the individual.

Italian humanism attained to its full and most brilliant growth only in Florence. In the smaller places, such as the courts of Naples, Milan, Urbino, and even Ferrara, humane studies were prosecuted with zeal only at intervals, like a hot-house plant, and nowhere did they take root in the popular mind. The Roman Curia also formed a meeting-place for fully-matured scholars, and a field for their ambition and their covetousness, rather than a place of serious and unremitting study. Only the towns of the Veneto, with Padua as their scientific centre, take an independent position, in many respects on the same level as Florence. The centre of gravity of their task lay in collecting the remains of Greek culture, and in the task, more profitable than brilliant, of preparing the learned way of humanism.

The significance of the north-east of Italy in the growth of humanism is estimated, as it seems to me, too low in comparison with Florence. The share of Venice in particular in the general work is almost universally undervalued.[1] The State as such, it is true, did not come prominently forward, although it always paid attention to the maintenance of education, and even in the preparatory schools for service in the Cancelleria supported, from 1442, a regular humanistic teaching institute, with professors for Latin and Greek. Just as in powerful and rich commercial towns, projects which do not directly concern the practical advantage of the town are, and may be, safely left to private initiative, because in such communities individual members possess sufficient force and devotion; so too in Venice, the humanistic interests were mainly cared for by a number of high-minded and cultured *nobili*. Though the State itself might hold back, it yet always remained well disposed and tolerant, so that Venice became, in the Renascence, almost a sanctuary for persecuted and even for aggressive men of letters. It is true that these Mæcenases could pursue their studies only incidentally, alongside of their high offices of State. Their work is without profundity, but full nevertheless of earnestness and zeal, and, above all, absolutely free from personal motives, and pursued only from genuine interest in the matter. Their wealth enabled them to give support to prominent

[1] Cf. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*; Voigt, *Wiederbelebung d. class. Altertums* (3rd ed.), ii., p. 412 *seq.*; Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*; Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venice*, Paris, 1875.

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scholars, and to receive them in accordance with their own personal convictions, without needing to ask the State for help. Consequently, no definite group of scholars was formed at Venice, and even the most esteemed teachers could remain there only a short time. The noble promoters of the new learning remain in dignified retirement and isolation. They enter more readily into relations with foreign scholars than with their townsmen of like tastes. But they do not take part in the squabbles of the scholars; at the most do they endeavour to mediate between conflicting parties.

As early as 1351, in the inventory of Marino Falier, we find mention of ancient and modern works of art of every kind, ancient coins, books, astronomical instruments, and the like. Petrarch's stay in Venice (1362-7), though the poet presented his library to the town, left no very apparent traces, but it was certainly not without influence. Andrea Dandolo, the compiler of the chronicle, and Benintendi de' Ravegnani, high-chancellor of the Republic from 1350, and others, welcomed him in warmest veneration. Carlo Zeno (1418), the first of the Venetian *nobili* to devote himself with zest to humanistic studies, received into his house Emanuele Chrysoloras, Pier Paolo Vergerio, and Guarino. His funeral speech was pronounced by the ingenious and musically as well as poetically endowed Leonardo Giustiniani (1388-1446). He was in correspondence with Cyriacus of Ancona, Traversari, Niccolo Niccoli and Palla Strozzi, Filelfo, and in particular with his teacher Guarino; he translated three of Plutarch's Lives, and was even able to welcome the Emperor John Palæologus in a Greek speech. His son, Bernardo Giustiniani (1408-89), also a pupil of Guarino, stands out yet more prominently. But the most striking phenomenon is Francesco Barbaro (1395-1454), who also acquired fame as an excellent administrator and a brave general. He had studied Greek with Giovanni da Ravenna, the pupil and friend of Petrarch, and afterwards with Gasparino Barzizza, Guarino, and Vittorino da Feltre, and was in lively intercourse with almost all the humanists. He had summoned Georgios Trapezuntios from Candia to Venice, had him instructed in the Latin tongue by Vittorino, and procured him a professorship in Vicenza, and remained always his faithful helper in case of need.

A long series of Venetian *nobili*, such as Marco Lipomano Ludovico Foscareno, Giovanni Cornelio, Fed. Contareno, Marco Foscaro, Pietro Loredano, Antonio Leonardi, Zaccaria Trevisano, who all devoted themselves, more or less zealously, to the study of ancient literature and

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history, might still be quoted; but the instances already cited suffice to show us that Venice scarcely remained behind the other towns of Italy.

The aspirations were directed, first and foremost, to the study of Greek, even in Greece itself or by the means of learned Greeks, with whom it was easy to establish relations from Venice. Even though they mostly remained but a short time in Venice, nevertheless their stay sufficed to enable the eager pupils to acquire knowledge enough to approach the sources of ancient culture with enthusiasm and independence. The idea of the reunion of the Greek with the Roman Catholic Church, to negotiate which Chrysoloras had first (1393) come to Italy, contributed at the same time to excite sympathy for him and for the study of Greek, even in remoter circles. The taking of Constantinople (1453) heightened the interest in the Greeks and permitted the difference in religion to fall more into the background. It brought over to Italy, moreover, in the refugees new Greek teachers and owners of valuable codices, and gave fresh fuel to the enthusiasm for ancient Greek art, of which these fugitives felt themselves to be the legitimate guardians.

Foundations of learned schools and institutions for poor students may be pointed to in Venice, in great number, as early as the fourteenth century,[1] but a movement in the sense of the new studies, based upon antiquity, dates only from the presence of Emanuele Chrysoloras and Guarino in Venice. Chrysoloras, a pupil of Gemisto Plethon, first came to Italy in 1393, and, tempted by his brilliant reception and especially at the instigation of Palla Strozzi, returned in 1396. Besides Florence and other places, he taught also in Venice. His inspiriting teaching and his Greek grammar—the first in Italy—laid the foundations for the study of Greek in the West. Chrysoloras died in 1415 at the Council of Constance. The succession of celebrated Greek and Italian scholars who taught, after Chrysoloras, in Venice—such as Gasparino Barzizza (1407 and 1411), Guarino (1415–20?), Vittorino da Feltre, Francesco Filelfo (1428), Georgios Trapezuntios (1429?–37 and 1459), Ambrogio Traversari—and others, is continued into the second half of the sixteenth century by men no less celebrated, such as Gregorio da Tiferno (1459–66?), Paolo della Pergola, Domenico Bragadino, Ognibene da Lonigo and others. Petrarch had begun the endowment of the library of San Marco; but Cardinal Bessarion (1472), who presented to the Republic the whole of his rich collection, is its actual founder. Cosmo de' Medici knew no more distinguished way of expressing his gratitude for the

[1] Cf. Bart. Cecchetti, *Archivio Veneto*, xxxii. (1886), p. 329 *seq.*

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friendly reception which, as exile, he received in Venice, than by the founding of the library of S. Giorgio. The Venetian love of splendour turned the zeal for collecting principally in the direction of precious works of art, ancient and modern. In the history of art-collecting, Venice takes a prominent place. The collection of Marino Falier (of 1351) has already been mentioned.[1] After him Pietro Barbo (born 1418)—who ascended the papal chair as Paul II.—is the most famous collector, becoming through his eagerness and liberality the most formidable rival of the Medici.[2] It suffices to name him and, for the later period, Domenico Grimani, who commissioned the famous breviary called after him, in order to show the extent of the share taken by Venice in the cultivation of artistic enjoyment. The force with which the spirit of classical culture, and the feeling of the unquestioned superiority of the ancient over the modern world, affected even the proud Venetian aristocracy, is shown most clearly by a little trait, in itself insignificant. Even they took pride in connecting their origin with antiquity, by an etymological play upon words: thus the Barbo derive their family from Ahenobarbus, the Cornaro describe themselves as Cornelii, that is descendants of the Scipios, while the Venier go so far as to claim to be 'propago Veneris,' offspring of Venus.

The above sketch, though it has no claim to be exhaustive, is enough to show that Venice not only took the most lively share in the humanistic movement, but that in union with the inland towns—all of which participated more or less eagerly—it even fulfilled its own peculiar task. It forms the bridge between the East and Italy, receiving and passing on the knowledge of that ancient Greek culture which had been preserved in the East. Florence, it is true, takes precedence in this respect also of every other town. Petrarch had already tried to acquire from Bernardo Barlaam some knowledge of Greek; already in 1360 the first chair of Greek in Italy was founded at Florence by the exertions of Boccaccio, and Chrysoloras summoned in 1396 by Palla Strozzi. And yet Venice remains the real meeting-place of the Greeks, who looked upon the tolerant and enlightened town as their real refuge in Italy, even though their own vanity and greed often met with disappointment. As against the preponderance of Latin literature and of Roman conceptions in the circles of Florence and Rome, the more Greek character of Venetian

[1] Before this we hear of a native of Treviso, Oliviero Forzetta, who collected coins and other antiquities in Venice in 1335. See Federici, *Memorie Trevigiane*, Venice, 1803, i. p. 184

[2] Cf. Muntz, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1877 (ii.), p. 98.

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humanism is always pronounced. It is by no mere chance that Venice became the centre for the typographical multiplication of the works of classical literature, that Aldus Manutius from Rome, the most meritorious propagator of Greek literature, chose Venice as the field of his activity. The services of Venice to Italy, however, were not limited to the propagation of the knowledge of Greek literature; she began to make the treasures of antiquity of practical value in science, but more especially in education, as affording a point of view at once morally and mentally larger and more free.

The greater the enthusiasm for the ancient world, and the more profoundly the men who had first quickened their thoughts through antiquity felt themselves the successors and inheritors of the ancient Romans, the more difficult was it for them to submit to the constraint of a thorough and obscure study. The impulse to step forth before the public and to proclaim in high-sounding words all that was guessed at, rather than known, of antiquity, only too readily allowed the great gaps in actual knowledge to be overlooked. A long work of weary sacrifice was needed for the collecting of the remains of antiquity, the copying and critical sifting of texts and the investigation of their contents. The knowledge that a return to the Greek sources must be made was the first step. The second was taken by the scholars, who shirked no trouble in procuring, whether in Greece itself or through Greeks, the means of understanding these sources, and who sought, by close grammatical and historical study of the text of the ancient inscriptions and monuments, to lay the foundations for a deeper comprehension of ancient literature.

The Venetian Guarino of Verona was the first who tried to put these thoughts into execution. Guarino is the first Italian humanist whose thirst for knowledge led him to Byzantium. After having previously enjoyed the instruction of Giovanni da Ravenna, the friend and pupil of Petrarch, he wandered to the East and studied in Byzantium under Manuel Chrysoloras, with whom he afterwards returned to Italy.[1] Guarino's activity as a teacher was a fundamental factor in the development of humanism. 'This one man has made more people learned and eloquent than all the other men of his profession put together.' 'More scholars have come out of his school than warriors out of the Trojan horse,' says Bartolomæus Facius. He and his pupil Vittorino da Feltre, with whom we shall later make closer acquaintance, have remained

[1] Carlo Rosmini, *Guarino da Verona*, Brescia, 1805, places his stay in Constantinople in the years 1388-93; Sabbadini, *Giornale Ligustico*, xviii. 1890 (p. 3 ff.), not until the years 1403-8.

down to our own times the most striking examples of genius and earnestness in teaching.

They both embraced their educational task in its widest and deepest sense. They strove, in the true spirit of antiquity, not so much after a one-sided pedantic schooling of the understanding, but rather after an all-round, harmonious culture in the pupil of all his powers of mind and body. They did not think only of conveying to their pupils a thorough knowledge of the ancient tongues and of their masters, but, above all things, of leading them to a lofty ideality in mental perception, of raising them to the highest mental and moral levels. They did not think of educating scholars as such, but great personalities, who should act in life as teachers, orators, or statesmen.

Just as, according to their view, only the large and liberal teaching of the ancient authors, and the example of moral greatness in the ancient heroes, could worthily prepare for his calling anyone born to a high station, so they esteemed themselves the expounders and teachers of the ancient spirit, fitted for something more than the quiet work of the scholar. They claimed and obtained for themselves a position in public life by the side of princes in which, through their knowledge both of the past and of the human mind, their words could take effect. In the middle ages, knowledge of the theological sciences qualified almost of itself for all the governing functions; and now the new learning, based upon antiquity, stepped into its place.

We can easily estimate how powerful must have been the influence of men who strove after such ends when (like Guarino and many of his pupils) they attained to undisputed authority. By the side of the Church a new force grew up which, by its influence upon the minds of rulers, won a personal share in the rule and a portion of the control. The new force did not, however, set itself in opposition to the ancient ecclesiastical powers; it even drew a part of its recruits from the clergy. The attempt was made by rhetoric and sounding words to smooth away, or at any rate to dissemble, the opposition between antiquity and Christianity, so that they seldom came into hostile contact. From Nicolas V. to Leo X. the papal chair was filled by a succession of humanistically minded popes, just as the Italian higher clergy adhered in great part to humanism.

The influence of the teaching of Guarino and Vittorino, and their great authority, rested not least upon the moral integrity of their character, upon the ethical elevation and the deep earnestness of their

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views of life. In this respect also, this first—that is mainly the teaching—generation of Italian humanists stand far above the later representatives of learning, who, though more brilliant, are for the most part on a far lower moral level. This 'moment' is one of no slight value for the significance of Venice in the humanistic development and in its relations also with the wider strata of the population.

Guarino was without question the most striking phenomenon of the humanism of Upper Italy in the fifteenth century, and his turn of mind was characteristic of the development of the mental life in that region. Yet neither in Verona—proud to be able to call him its son—nor in Ferrara—where in friendly co-operation with the highly cultured and artistic princes of the house of Este he formed a new home of learning—nor even in Venice—which had first bestowed upon him friendly reception and recognition, and which, owing to the stedfastness of its policy, and to its being the most powerful State, socially and intellectually, took the most prominent place in the Northern provinces—is the true centre of humanism in North Italy to be sought. There was lacking in all these towns a continuity of learned tradition, the mental discipline of centuries, which alone was capable of preparing the way for new ideas, and of converting them into practically useful learning. Only in Padua was this ancient tradition of learning united with the conditions most favourable for the reception of the new ideas of classical culture. Bologna, indeed, was older and more powerful, as a university, than Padua; there, also, as in Padua, the flocking together of pupils from foreign lands produced a greater mobility and freedom of mind, a higher standard of scientific judgment. But, nevertheless, in Bologna, the practical pursuit of legal science formed almost exclusively the central aim of the teaching. Even though teachers in rhetoric such as Pietro del Muglio, Aurispa, Guarino and Filelfo were not lacking, they yet found few pupils. The soil was little favourable to humanism, the political relations too insecure. For, above all, Bologna stood rather aloof from the great platforms of the political and intellectual struggles of the fifteenth century. The rivalry between Venice and Milan, whose antagonism formed the kernel of the political situation in Upper Italy throughout the fifteenth century, was played out more in the North; Bologna, on the contrary, was threatened from the South, and had to turn its attention in that quarter. Padua enjoyed the advantage of being situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Venice, and, after its subjection to Venice (1405), that also of its position as the

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official nursery of science for the Venetian States, receiving the benefits of their wealth of spiritual and material resources. While it could turn to account the security for quiet work, which the protection of Venice afforded, it yet stood in the midst of the strongly fluctuating life of a great town, of the Queen of the Adriatic—a life teeming with rich and stimulating subjects of observation. Other places of culture, such, for example, as Milan and Mantua, cannot be brought into any comparison with Padua.

The foundation of the University of Padua[1] took place in the year 1222. At the very beginning of its career it could boast, as a student, an Albertus Magnus. A number of privileges (those *e.g.* of 1262, 1312, 1346) and other sources of information bear witness to the steady prosperity of the academy. About 1264 the students were already legally constituted into a corporation; in 1363 the university received, almost simultaneously with Bologna, the privilege, previously confined to the Sorbonne, of conferring the academic degree in theology. Above all, we find, from the very earliest date of its existence, chairs of astrology, philosophy, grammar, and rhetoric (1262), while medicine, anatomy, natural science, and mathematics were especially cultivated.

The strong independent spirit of the people, that even dared to bid defiance to the Pope's thunder of excommunication, brought to the schools an intelligent interest. Albertino Mussato (1261–1329), one of the best known precursors of the Renascence in the age of Dante, produced before the people his tragedy of 'Eccerinis,' in which a contemporary theme, the history of Padua's hated tyrant Ezzelino da Romano, was treated for the first time under the forms of ancient tragedy, and his coronation as poet[2] (December 3, 1315) was a genuine popular fête, the memory of which was for a long time celebrated by a public festivity in his honour on Christmas Day. The intimate relations of Petrarch with Giacomo II. and Francesco I. of the house of Carrara, dominant in Padua from 1318, are universally known. At their court the great poet met with a respectful reception, and in their territory (in Arqua) he ended his days in peace (1374). Besides the library which they collected, the interest felt by the Carrara and their circle for the ideas of antiquity is especially shown by the decoration of their palace

[1] Cf. Tiraboschi, *Storia d. Letteratura Italiana*, vol. iv.; Jac. Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini*, Patavii, 1757; Colle, *Storia dello Studio di Padova*, 1827; Gloria, *Monumenti dell' Università di Padova*, 1888. A scientific account of the University of Padua is still needed to fill a regrettable gap in the history of learning, even after the studies of Facciolati, Gloria, and others.

[2] Cf. Wychgram, *Albertino Mussato*, Leipzig, 1888; Gloria, *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, i 422.

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in Padua with scenes from Roman history (like Jugurtha and Marius) and with portraits of the Roman emperors and other celebrated men (Petrarch among them), all these being borrowed from Petrarch's biographies.

The medallions which Francesco II. had cast to celebrate the recovery of Padua in 1390, with his own and his father's portrait, are a quite conscious imitation of Roman Imperial coins.[1] The recollection of ancient Roman splendour was, it is true, never extinguished in Italy, but this is the first time that we see ancient forms imitated with knowledge of their significance, and with the conscious intention of bringing the new motive into line with the ancient ideas. Lombardo della Seta of Padua, the friend of Petrarch, brought an ancient statue from Florence to Padua, and Giovanni Dondi dell' Orologio, also a friend of Petrarch's, has left descriptions of the sculptures which he saw in his journey to Rome in 1375.

We see how the sphere of thought of the Paduan scholars gravitated to the ancient notions and forms; the cult of Padua's greatest son, Titus Livius, shows us once more that this attachment to the ancient world had a hold also on the people. The supposed discovery of his bones (1413) excited in Padua an enthusiasm which inspired the clerical authorities with uneasiness. Though much of it was due to superstition and mere local patriotism, it nevertheless unquestionably had its root in the feeling for the vanished greatness of the ancient world and for the importance of the scientific and literary performance of the great historian.

The international character of the university contributed also to raise the respect for the schools among the people, to extend the range of vision and to raise the demands made upon the individual. The influx of foreign students was so great that a special rector (ultramontanus) was appointed for them, who held sway, by the side of the Italian rector for the 'Cisalpini,' over the 'Transalpini.' In the year 1315 it was the Duke Albrecht of Saxony who, as rector, set the laurel crown upon the head of Mussato amid the rejoicing of the people.

The Venetian Republic, which in 1405 dethroned Francesco II. and incorporated Padua in its domain, made the university the object of special care. It was resolved that Padua alone should form the academy

[1] Cf. Julius v. Schlosser, *Die ältesten Medaillen und die Antike* (in *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xviii. Vienna 1897, p. 64), an essay which contains many new ideas and facts of interest for our purpose.

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for Venice, and a liberal allowance of 4,000 ducats yearly was granted to the university. When later (1470) Paul II. founded a university also in Venice, Padua still retained the privilege of conferring the doctor's diploma in theology and jurisprudence.

The real supports of the humanistic studies were the chairs of rhetoric and of the Latin and Greek languages and literature, which in the fifteenth century were filled almost uninterruptedly by paid teachers. Pietro del Muglio (about 1363) and Giovanni Malpaghini da Ravenna[1] (1382) had already taught rhetoric in Padua; but a secure position for this discipline seems to have been first obtained by Pietro Paolo Vergerio (between 1390 and 1400). After him we find such men as Gasparino Barzizza (1407), Ognibene Scola, Emanuele Chrysoloras, Guarino da Verona (1416), and Francesco Filelfo, Vittorino da Feltre, and many others.

With these scholars humanism acquired the official right of citizenship at the Paduan university. Round them and their pupils there grew up a society of scholars and laymen, in part without direct connection with the university, who extended with ever-growing enthusiasm the range and depth of the studies in classical antiquity. The long line of poets and authors, born in Padua alone, that Scardeone enumerates, comprises men who must have exercised the most stimulating influence, both in person and through their writings, especially in the province of contemporary history and in the quite new one of biography. Palla di Noferi Strozzi—an earnest character, full of enthusiasm, for Greek literature especially—was an important centre of intellectual life. At his invitation Chrysoloras had come from Florence and had also instructed him in Greek. When Palla Strozzi was driven out of Florence (1434) by the jealousy of the Medici, he directed his steps to Padua and lived there in exile until his death (1462). He devoted his enforced leisure wholly to study, to the promotion of learning, to the collection of ancient manuscripts, and to the education of his children, appointing for their teachers Giovanni da Imola and later Tomaso da Sarzana, who afterwards, full of zeal for the new learning, ascended the papal throne as Nicolas V. Into his house were received Giovanni Argiropolo and other Greeks, who were to read and translate the Greek authors with him. The worthy old exile became the object of popular veneration and esteem, and his influence upon the learned

[1] Cf. Andrea Gloria, *loc. cit.* i. p. 533; Facciolati, *Fasti*; for the contrary opinon see Colle, *Storia dello Studio di Padova*, 1824, iv. p. 38.

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and artistic society of Padua must have been very great. The profounder insight and acuter knowledge of the aims of science, in which the Florentines surpassed the Northerners, the products of their learning and of their study, could have been transmitted to the Venetian scholars and amateurs by no more convinced and single-minded apostle than Palla Strozzi. It was probably by his advice that Donatello, who was to gain so strong an artistic influence over the Paduans, was summoned to Padua. The portrait of his son Onofrio was introduced by Mantegna, after the Florentine fashion, as Scardeone and Vasari relate, into the fresco of the martyrdom of Saint Christopher in the Eremitani Chapel at Padua, together with that of Girolamo Valla and of Bonifacio Frigimelica, who likewise belonged to the literary set. The gifted young artist must certainly have come into personal relations with the venerable old man. Here we have exposed one of the threads that connect the art of Mantegna with the ideas of that learned world which was wholly animated by the spirit of the antique. Indeed, we come yet closer to the object of our enquiry, both materially and personally, if we betake ourselves to the circle of students of antiquity, who, stimulated by the study of its authors, ardently sought to snatch from its monumental remains some intelligence of the vanished world of Rome.

Cyriacus of Ancona (1391?—about 1457) is the earliest in the line of these investigators of the ancient monuments and, in particular, of their inscriptions. Travelling through the East and Italy first as a merchant, he surveyed their ancient ruins with interest and intelligence and devoted himself wholly to their study. His journeys certainly brought him also to Padua; in any case he came into intercourse with Palla Strozzi, as with Filelfo and many other contemporary humanists. At any rate, he is indirectly connected with Mantegna, through Felice Feliciano of Verona, who copied for Samuele da Tradate Cyriacus' biography of Francesco Scalamonti, and who may accordingly be reckoned as having carried on his collection of inscriptions. This work is dedicated to no other than our Andrea Mantegna (1463). Like Feliciano, Giovanni Marcanova, whose work on inscriptions (manuscript of 1465 in Modena) contains a number of drawings of antique architecture and statues, was also a close friend of Mantegna.

We shall treat more fully later of the intimate relations of these antiquaries with Mantegna, who stands on the same ground with them, keeping pace with their learned research, of their friendship and their

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journeys together for purposes of study. Here we are only concerned to characterise broadly the circle in which Mantegna grew up, to show how the atmosphere which surrounded him was saturated with enthusiasm for the ancient world, an enthusiasm which rested upon old local tradition, upon deep scientific study, and which could not fail to carry away a fervent impressionable youth. Outside Florence, no surroundings more favourable to the moulding of a great genius can be conceived. The old rigid traditions of learning are here reanimated by a whole world of conceptions and forms drawn from the newly discovered writings of the ancients, all the more captivating because clothed in the fresh enthusiasm of discovery. It was thus granted to the young artist to spend his youth in immediate contact with the sources of enquiry, and in an environment which was on the highest level of the culture of the time, surrounded by a rich and varied life that must needs stamp a thousand impressions on a susceptible soul, a brilliant and magnificent life such as only proud Venice with her dominion over land and sea could foster.

The artistic life was as rich and stimulating as the intellectual at the time when Mantegna passed his youth there. The most superb monuments of architecture, of sculpture, and of painting daily met the boy's eye. In the Cappella dell' Arena, Giotto had created a series of frescoes, evincing a depth of feeling and a dramatic simplicity such as could not fail to affect a susceptible spirit. In the Santo and in the Cappella di S. Giorgio the boy could admire, in the paintings of the Veronese Altichiero and Avanzo, the earliest precursors of the modern naturalistic art in Upper Italy, love and care in the presentation of the individual figures, tender feeling and tasteful rendering of form, and warm harmonious colouring. And fresh marvels were arising before his eyes. Filippo Lippi, in his frescoes in the Santo and in the Cappella del Podestà (1434?) must have given effect to all the great qualities of the new Florentine painting, and Paolo Uccello (whose somewhat one-sided but profound studies doubtless met with especial appreciation and recognition from the scientifically minded Paduan circle) to his bold naturalism and his mastery of technique and perspective.[1] And by their side appeared one even of the very greatest, opening up

[1] Vasari (iii. p. 96) mentions Filippo Lippi and Paolo Uccello as having accompanied Donatello. The frequently mentioned chiaroscuro paintings in Padua are perhaps due to Uccello's example. Cf. also Gonzati, *La Basilica di S. Antonio in Padova*, Padova, 1852, p. 295, and *passim*.

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a whole world of fresh observation of nature and fine dramatic feeling, Donatello, who was at work in Padua from 1443.

One might almost marvel that, beside such powerful artistic impressions, beside such great masters, there should still, among the native Paduan artists (whose inferiority is betrayed by the fact that foreign artists were summoned), be named a 'teacher' of Mantegna, said to have determined the course of his culture. Should not such an environment have sufficed to point the way to his artistic genius, in so far as that genius was subject at all to external influence? Might one not suppose that, beside such forces, other weaker influences would be entirely without effect?

Tradition, however, does not take these and other less tangible forces into account, but definitely names the Paduan painter, Francesco Squarcione, as the teacher of Mantegna. Indeed it gives to this man a quite special importance, stamping him as the founder of a Paduan school which, through his 137 pupils, spread his method of painting over the whole of Upper Italy. All writers, from Vasari and Scardeone to the present day, have more or less definitely attributed this *rôle* to Squarcione, although no one is in a position to give a clear idea of his art or of the character of his school. We must on this account endeavour first of all to come to a clear understanding as to Mantegna's personal and artistic relation to Squarcione.

Vasari, it is true, declares that Mantegna was born in the country near Mantua; but as he narrates in the following sentence that, as a boy, he was brought 'to the town' to study painting under Squarcione, he can by the town mean only Padua, where Squarcione lived, and can thus have named Mantua as the birthplace only by an oversight. Mantegna himself speaks of himself always as a Paduan, *Patavus, civis Patavinus*, and he is also designated thus by all his contemporaries.[1] In only one document, recently discovered, is he called M. Andreas Blasii Mantegna de Vincentia.[2] We must indeed bow before the authority of this document, especially as it refers to the youth of the painter (the year 1456=January 1455 Venetian style), and must accept Vicenza as Mantegna's birthplace, unless we choose to consider the description a slip of the writer. Mantegna's own testimony does not contradict the supposition that he was born in Vicenza, since it was customary for a man to describe himself as native of the place in which he had resided longest

[1] Cf. Brandolese, *Testimonianze intorno alla Patavinità di Andrea Mantegna*, Padova, 1808.

[2] Cf. *Archivio Veneto*, xxix. (Venezia, 1885), p. 191.

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and had acquired the right of citizenship. Since Mantegna was adopted by Squarcione, it would be the more natural for him to describe himself as a Paduan, even though he were born, not on Paduan soil, but on that of the neighbouring Vicenza.

In any case, documents and reports leave it without a doubt that Mantegna while yet a child came to Padua, and there received his intellectual and artistic education, and that Padua therefore must be regarded as his home. The year of Mantegna's birth is known from the inscription which he placed on his first independent work, the altarpiece for S. Sofia in Padua. Scardeone[1] has preserved for us this inscription, according to which Mantegna painted the picture in 1448, at the age of seventeen. Consequently he was born in the year 1431. His father was called Blasius, and, according to Vasari, was of humble birth, which we may well believe, even though afterwards Mantegna, when he was living highly esteemed in Mantua, is called 'Andrea Mantegna quondam honorandi ser Blasii.' In any case he lost his parents early in life; for, as Vasari likewise informs us, he was adopted as a child by his teacher Squarcione. He is entered in the register of the Fraglia (brotherhood) of painters in Padua as 'Andrea fiuolo de M. Francesco Squarzon depentore.'[2] Still later the poet Ulisses sends him a poem with the address: 'Pro Andrea Mantegna dicto Squarsono.'[3] In this case the appendix might, it is true, be taken in the sense of 'pupil of Squarcione,' and the entry in the Fraglia might possibly refer to an actual son of Squarcione; moreover the breakfast that was given on July 3, 1467, in Pisa, 'per fare honore Andrea Squarcione dipintore,'[4] need not necessarily have been given in honour of our Andrea.

Conclusive, on the other hand, is the fact that in the year 1461, 'Andrea Squarzoni' is named as the owner of a piece of land in that 'contrada S. Lucia' where we know, from various documents, that Mantegna lived and owned a house, the same indeed, as appears from the description, that in 1492 was sold by 'spect. miles et comes magnif. D. Andreas Mantegna.' It is likewise remarkable that Mantegna never calls himself Squarcione, but always Mantegna (Mantenga, Mantinia or the like),[5] and this even in 1448 on the picture in S. Sofia, in 1452 in the

[1] *De Antiquitate Urbis Patavii*, Basileæ, 1560, ii. p. 372.

[2] Cf. Gianantonio Moschini, *Delle Origini e delle Vicende della Pittura in Padova Memoria* (Padova, 1826), p. 34.

[3] Quadrio, *Della Storia e della Ragione d' ogni Poesia*, Bologna e Milano, vii. pp. 201, 231; Moschini, *loc. cit.* p. 34; Adolfo Venturi, *Kunstfreund*, 1885, p. 292.

[4] See Supino, *Il Camposanto di Pisa*, Firenze, 1896, p. 28.

[5] The artist signs his letters, until about 1470, 'Andrea Mantenga,' and later always in the

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painting over the portal of the Santo, and in 1452 in the contract with the vestry of S. Giustina in Padua. And it is most noteworthy that in the lawsuit of 1456 the contract which he had concluded with Squarcione, *i.e.* with his adopted father, in 1448, was legally decided to be null and void on the ground that he was a minor at the time and under the control of his father. Nevertheless the adoption of Mantegna by Squarcione must be accepted as a fact, and we shall have to consider the probable importance which this close relation of the young artist to Squarcione exercised over his artistic education and the development of his style.

The artistic relations of Mantegna to his teacher Squarcione must be denoted as one of the most obscure points in the history of Italian art. The fixing of the actual circumstances is of the greatest importance, not only for the understanding of Mantegna's artistic development, but also for the knowledge of the history of the fifteenth-century schools of painting in Upper Italy, nearly all which have their point of departure in Padua. We must endeavour, therefore, first of all to gain a clear idea of Squarcione's personality.

Vasari, *à propos* of a letter of Girolamo Campagnola to Leonico Tomeo giving information about some of the earlier painters in Padua,[1] describes Squarcione and the instruction which he gave Mantegna in the following words:—'Since Squarcione was not exactly the most skilful of painters, he permitted Mantegna, that he might learn more than he himself could impart, to practise assiduously after casts of ancient statues and after paintings of which he had copies upon canvas brought to him from various places, especially from Tuscany and Rome. By these and many other means, Mantegna learned a great deal in his youth. The rivalry also with Marco Zoppo of Bologna and Dario of Treviso, and Niccolo Pizzolo of Padua—pupils of his adopted father and teacher—helped him greatly and spurred him on to learning.'

Vasari relates of Squarcione only this much more—that later he violently criticised Mantegna, whose intimate relations with his rivals the Bellini had roused his anger, on account of his imitation of ancient

Latin form 'Mantinia;' likewise, on the early pictures he invariably signs 'Mantegna,' and on the later 'Mantinia.' His son Francesco signs himself 'Mantinius.'

[1] It is, unfortunately, not quite clear whether only the above information as to Mantegna's adoption by Squarcione is taken from the letter, unhappily lost, of Campagnola, or whether it also contained the statements that follow as to Squarcione as an artist. Campagnola, the father of the painter and engraver Giulio Campagnola, was the associate of distinguished scholars of the time. Matteo Bossi of Verona, the learned Abbot of Fiesole, addressed to him a number of letters. Leonico Tomeo (1456-1531) had a chair in Padua since 1497.

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statues in the figures of the Chapel of the Eremitani. Squarcione was thus, according to Vasari, not only a poor painter, but he also let his criticism be influenced by his personal relations to the artist, and blamed in the work of his pupil Mantegna precisely those qualities which must, according to tradition, be referred back to his own method of instruction.

Scardeone relates that Francesco Squarcione was the son of a Paduan notary, and of comfortable means; that from his youth he took pleasure in painting, and so soon as he grew up made distant journeys to Greece and throughout Italy, bringing back drawings from every place, and entering, thanks to his amiability and industry, into friendly relations with many distinguished people; that when he returned home he acquired, through his 137 pupils—of whom he himself gives an account in his autobiographical sketches—the fame of being the first teacher in painting, so that he was called the 'father of painters.'

As regards Squarcione's works, Scardeone has no sure information. He says that Squarcione had a good judgment in art, but little skill; and that his pupils learnt more from the statues and paintings which he collected than he could teach them by instruction or example. He was so famous that the Emperor Frederick on his visit to Padua desired (1452) to make his acquaintance. He likewise came into relations with Saint Bernardino, and with many priests and cardinals—in particular, with the Patriarch of Aquileja, Lodovico Mezzarota (whose portrait Mantegna afterwards painted). He died in Padua at the age of eighty, in 1474. What, then, do we know positively about Squarcione as man and as artist?

In a deed of December 29, 1423, he is called 'Franciscus Squarzonus sartor et recamator filius quondam Joannis Squarzoni Notarii civis et abitator Padue in contracta Pontis Corvi.'[1] He comes before us as a painter for the first time in 1439.[2] From 1441 to 1463 he is mentioned in the registers of the Fraglia of painters, and in the account books of S. Antonio of Padua (in 1445 in that also of the cathedral) he is entered as painter, and as providing drawings.[3] A document from between the years 1449 and 1452 is preserved, in which he pledges himself to Leone de Lazzara to provide, for thirty gold ducats, an altarpiece for the Church of the Carmine, and gives a receipt for a portion of the sum received. In 1465 he is exempted from all taxes

[1] Moschini, *loc. cit.* p. 27. [2] Campori, *Lettere artist. ined.*, Modena, 1866, p. 348.

[3] B. Gonzati, *La Basilica di S. Antonio in Padova*, Pad. 1852, i. Doc. 34. 134; Odorici, 'Lo Statuto della Fraglia dei Pittori in Padova,' *Archivio Veneto* (1874), vii. p. 327, viii. p. 117.

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because he had pledged himself to draw and colour a plan of the town and province of Padua.[1]

Of the various works executed by him or attributed to him by writers,[2] only two can still be pointed out: the altarpiece which he painted, 1449 to 1452, for the Lazzara, and which passed out of their possession to the Municipal Gallery in Padua,[3] and a genuine signed Madonna, sold in 1882 by the family of the Lazzara to the Museum of Berlin.[4] The altarpiece in Padua consists of five parts, in the centre of which Saint Jerome is represented, seated in a landscape, while the others contain the figures—somewhat smaller, and standing on pedestals—of Saints Antony and Justina, John the Baptist and Lucia on a gold ground.

The artistic importance of the picture in the Paduan Gallery is as small as its historical interest is great (see fig. 3). It is a wretched performance, without life or character, in a style the close relationship of which with the school of the Vivarini is quite obvious, and has also been frequently remarked. It so closely resembles the work of Gregorio Schiavoni that it might be taken for an early work of this artist, who was engaged in Squarcione's workshop, although it is far below his better performances.

The great difference between this painting, shown by documents to have been provided by Squarcione, and the Berlin picture, which from the inscription and provenance is confidently accepted as by him, has been universally remarked (see fig. 4). As a fact, but for the documents and the signature, it would not occur to anyone that the two pictures could be by the same hand, and no one can reasonably hold them to be works of the same painter. Whereas the altarpiece in Padua is thoroughly Venetian in style, as seen in the composition, with the schematic juxtaposition of the saints, and in the forms and method of painting—in the Berlin Madonna the fresh naturalistic motive of the Child who, frightened by something unaccustomed, takes refuge in his Mother's arms, is obviously borrowed from Donatello, just as the general arrangement with the garlands and candelabra at the sides, and the type of the Child, are Donatellesque. The lifelike movement and the care in the execution

[1] Campori, *loc. cit.* V. Lazzarini, *Bollettino d. Museo Civico di Padova*, 1898, No. 12.

[2] The specifications in Moschini, in Selvatico (*Scritti d' Arte*, 1859), and others, are for the most part exceedingly uncertain and indefinite. In the inventory of Lorenzo de' Medici of the year 1493 there is also mention of a picture ('Head of Sebastian' and other figures with scutcheons) by Squarcione (Müntz, *Les Collections des Médicis au XVe siècle*, p. 60).

[3] Padua Gallery, No. 657. On wood, much damaged.

[4] Berlin Museum, No. 27 A. On wood. The preservation of the picture is very unsatisfactory. It is in part painted over, in part scraped down to the first coating.

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of the accessories cannot blind us to the weaknesses of the picture ; one need only notice the contrast between the characteristic movement of the Child and the stiffness of the Madonna, especially in the hand ; but it is

FIG. 3.—THE THREE CENTRAL PANELS OF THE ALTARPIECE BY FRANCESCO SQUARCIONE

Padua Museum. (Phot. Anderson)

for all that far superior to the Paduan picture. It exhibits also, in the details, in the forms, in the technique and colour, an entirely different kind of execution.

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Since the Saint Jerome altarpiece is known to have been executed between 1449–52, while the Berlin Madonna, inexplicable without Donatello as model, must have been produced some time after 1443, the date of Donatello's appearance in Padua, the difference between the two pictures cannot be explained by difference in the time of their origin. It follows that one at any rate of the two cannot have been painted by

FIG. 4.—FRANCESCO SQUARCIONE: MADONNA AND CHILD
Berlin Museum

Squarcione himself. But whether we regard one of them as Squarcione's own work and the other as mere schoolwork, or suppose both to be by the hand of apprentices, it does not affect our estimate of Squarcione as teacher and founder of a school.

A new artistic style capable of being the foundation of Mantegna's development cannot in any case be deduced from these paintings; although they belong to a period when Mantegna himself was already fully

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developed, and when therefore his teacher and his school must have stood at the zenith of their power. One certainly does not gain from these pictures the impression that Squarcione was the influential artist whom the Paduan tradition, repeated since Vasari by almost all writers, represents him to have been. Both pictures display throughout the forms of Venetian painting. Types, shape of head, movements, treatment of drapery and rendering of form, and—in the picture of Saint Jerome especially—the feeling also, are exactly the same as in the paintings of Antonio Vivarini and his associates, Michele Giambono and others. The Vivarinesque style that meets us here, however, is faded and, so to speak, almost decrepit with age, being only superficially freshened by the imitation of Donatellesque motives. In the Saint Jerome, also, suggestions of Donatello may be seen in the square socles with the garlands and in the pillars behind the saint; in the Berlin Madonna, besides the accessories, the motive also is borrowed from Donatello, though assuredly without any communication of his spirit to the work.

In Squarcione's figures, then, we find forms destitute of sensibility and of feeling for nature, that are not in the very least new and capable of development, but are those of an obsolete and played-out movement. Were it not for the external credentials, his works would be lost among the mass of mediocre work of the Paduan school of that time. The sole surviving witnesses of this artistic activity, they serve only, taken in conjunction with the report that Squarcione had most of his works carried out by pupils, to excite in us the suspicion that he was not so much the artistic, but rather the business, head of his workshop. This view is now further confirmed by a number of documents.

Squarcione appears to have been born in 1394, but in 1423 he is still noted as tailor and embroiderer, and can therefore have busied himself with painting only in his later years. And as a fact we find him mentioned as painter first in 1439. Vasari and Scardeone also inform us that Squarcione was a most feeble painter—that he was no true artist at all is strikingly proved by the fact that he did not himself execute the frescoes of the Eremitani, which were committed to him, but left them, as we shall see, entirely to his pupils, in particular to Mantegna, reserving to himself the old man's portion of criticism. Would an artist of independence, founder of a new style and a great new school, have let slip such an opportunity of executing an important work, and have suffered the apprentices to conduct the matter, unless his part were limited to

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the business arrangements? That our conclusion may not lack, so to speak, judicial confirmation, a document has turned up in the Venetian archives which declares in plain words what appearance and reflection had suggested. The young Mantegna brings his master Squarcione in 1456 (January 1455 Venetian style) before the courts of justice and demands the annulling of a contract which the latter had concluded with him in the year 1448 (1447 Venetian style), presumably for the common execution of works. The contract is in fact declared null and void, on the ground that Mantegna was at the time of contracting still a minor, and under the power of his father, and, as one of the judges rules, was deceived by Squarcione.[1] The editor of this document dwells rightly upon the strong contradiction offered by this document to the previous conception of Squarcione as founder of a school and teacher of Mantegna. As early as the year 1448, when Mantegna was scarcely seventeen years old, Squarcione was obliged to have resort to contracts and to deception in order to secure the co-operation, or rather the work, of his pupil. The eyes of the dreamy artistic youth were opened too late, and then, with the energy of that righteous nature which we shall often again recognise in him, he sought to fight for his due. Squarcione's irritation against Mantegna, which then found further vent in acrid criticism of his work, had thus its solid grounds, and many traits in Mantegna's character also may be explained by these experiences of his youth.

The agreement between Pietro Calzetta, one of Squarcione's followers, and Bernardo Lazzara, in Padua, of October 17, 1466, is equally characteristic of Squarcione's artistic activity. Master Pietro pledges himself to paint a picture, similar to the sketch, copied on the leaf of the actual contract, from a drawing of Master Francesco Squarcione *which is by the hand of Niccolo Pizzolo.*[2] Thus here again Squarcione is obviously only the material owner of the drawing by his talented pupil Niccolo Pizzolo. The drawings which, as we know from documents,[3] Squarcione delivered in 1462 to the Canozi da Lendinara for the choir-stalls of the Santo in Padua had doubtless a similar origin.

Squarcione is unanimously declared—not, it is true, without a side-

[1] Archivio di Stato in Venice. Cf. F. Stefani in the *Archivio Veneto*, xxix. (1885), p. 191.

[2] Moschini, *Pittura in Padova*, p. 67: 'Una historia simile al squizo, ch' è suso questo foglio, el quale è ritratto da un disegno di Maestro Francesco Squarcione el quale fo de man de Niccolo Pizzolo.'

[3] Cf. Gonzati, *Basilica di S. Antonio*, p 67 f. Doc. 134.

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glance at Mantegna—to have first encouraged in Northern Italy the study of perspective, that most important basis of the new naturalistic art. Yet his own works show no trace of this. They exhibit as many faults as could possibly occur in such simple representations. Note the arrangement of the garland and of the tapestry in the Berlin picture, and, above all, the attitude of the Child, with his foot set upon the parapet and facing the spectator, while yet embracing the Madonna, who stands behind the parapet. Even though they might be mere school productions, Squarcione's works should have been in harmony with the rules of science, precisely in the case of a discipline so essential and so easily learnt as perspective. The source whence the artists who pass for his pupils, Schiavone and, in particular, Mantegna, may have acquired their perspective knowledge—that we may readily learn from Donatello's reliefs, or from the drawings of Jacopo Bellini, who knew how to apply the rules of perspective in his compositions, if in a somewhat crude and pedantic manner, yet with great zeal and intelligence.

With like unanimity all writers, from Vasari and Scardeone down, declare that the imitation of the work of classical antiquity was the essential element in Squarcione's conception of art. There were collections of ancient works of art in Venice, in Verona, and also in Padua as early as the fourteenth century. One need only recall Oliviero Forzetta (1335), Marino Falier (1351), Petrarch and his friend Lombardo della Seta, and above all, Giovanni Dondi dell' Orologio, who in 1375 was in Rome, and the Carrara themselves.[1] There was thus no occasion at all for the impulse to come from Squarcione, even though he may have possessed a collection of antiques and casts. But Squarcione is supposed to have founded a genuine classical school of art, where the teaching was based essentially upon drawing from casts and from copies of originals believed to be antique—somewhat in the manner of modern academies of art, since the last century. When, however, we consider the works of Squarcione and his immediate pupils, we see in them, to our astonishment, anything rather than an imitation of the antique. Squarcione's Saint Jerome altarpiece is as remote from the spirit of the antique as from its forms, and what in his Berlin picture and in the works of his pupils, especially Schiavone, there is of antique in the ornamental forms—for to these alone is confined all that can be so described—has its source entirely in the art of Donatello.[2] The plastic manner of rendering form, which

[1] Cf. Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, ii. p. 164 *seq.*

[2] See above, p. 23 *seq.*; this observation is made also by Pietro Estense Selvatico in his

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people like to refer to the influence of antiquity, may be easily explained as imitation of the great sculptor. Squarcione, Schiavone, and their associates rest completely satisfied with the imitation of what is purely external in the antique of the plastic forms, which they take over from Donatello. Mantegna alone does not confine himself to the bare imitation of Donatello, but approaches antiquity independently, incited no doubt by the Florentine, but upon other and scientific grounds, and under the guidance of associates of a very different mind, with whom we shall become acquainted later on.

At the very time when Squarcione is supposed to have founded his school and to have stood in the highest esteem with all the world, including the Emperor, we find, notwithstanding the 137 pupils whom he is said to have trained, the most important artistic works—those in particular of the Santo and of the Cappella of the Podestà—being entrusted to foreign artists. Filippo Lippi, Paolo Uccello, and Donatello were summoned from Florence, Jacopo Bellini from Venice. That surely shows that the weakness of the productions of Squarcione's workshop was well recognised.

That Squarcione obtained his reputation generally as a painter only very late is made exceedingly probable by the silence of the most important of the contemporary historians of Padua, Michele Savonarola, who discusses in detail the Paduan school of painting, in two passages of his *Commentaria de laudibus Patavii*, finished in 1440.[1] It is not in the least Squarcione, but the Paduans Giusto, and Guarienti, the great Florentine Giotto, Altichiero da Verona, Jacopo Avanzo, and Stefano da Ferrara whom he extols as the masters who make Padua's artistic fame; to them pupils come on pilgrimage from all parts of Italy, taking their works as models. About 1440, a few years before Mantegna gave the first splendid proof of his already matured talent, Squarcione's school of art would yet surely have been widely enough known to have attracted the attention of a man who, like Michele Savonarola, manifests the liveliest interest in the art of his birthplace, and who lays especial stress precisely upon the scientific relation of painting to mathematics, to perspective, and at the same time to philosophy, especially since the movement towards antiquity and antiquarianism, supposed to form the main feature of Squarcione's art, would have made such an art-tendency, owing to its

essay on Squarcione (*Scritti vari*, Firenze, 1869, p. 8), with whose views on Squarcione and his relation to Venetian art those expressed above agree in many respects.

[1] Muratori, *Scriptores*, xxiv. p. 1181.

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novelty in Padua, appear to him particularly interesting and significant.[1]

Squarcione is said, however, to have instructed his pupils not so much by practical guidance as by referring them to a choice collection of pictures. While it must appear altogether dubious whether anyone who cannot himself paint can successfully instruct young artists, such a theoretical training is quite inconceivable in a period of handicraft work, when the knowledge of technique still offered especial difficulties and formed the essential part of the instruction. Such a method of instruction by copies is as contrary to the character of the early art of the Renascence, which directed its whole energy precisely to the perfecting of the technique, and strove with all its enthusiasm to come into close and immediate touch with nature, as it is conformable to the spirit of the late Renascence, the time of the founding of academies, when the difficulties of technique were almost overcome and the 'invention' of the subject represented, together with the imitation of certain classical models, appeared to the slacker artistic feeling of the age as the most essential part of artistic production.

Who can fail to recognise here the reconstructive work of the pragmatical historian of the middle of the sixteenth century, transferring his academical notions to the founders of the Paduan school? Vasari, or his learned informants, to whom Mantegna stood as the great connoisseur and imitator of the antique, evidently drew his conclusions as to the teacher Squarcione from his idea of his most celebrated pupil. For the art historiographers from Vasari down to the end of last century, the chief matter was to have a flowing and interesting narrative that should leave no question unanswered, no problem unsolved, but should set forth everything in uninterrupted sequence. Just as the ancient historians innocently fill up the obscure beginnings and the gaps of history by legend, so they too without discernment mingle facts with local tradition and anecdotes, and everywhere try to establish a direct local school-connection between the individual artists, a sort of lineal descent in the

[1] The burlesque Venetian poet, Andrea Michieli detto Squarzola (Squarzina or Strazzola) in one of his poems feigns to be asked by someone who met him in the street: 'Sete voi di Squarzon, disse lo artista, pittore egregio, a cui li altri se inchina?' The expression, 'di Squarzon' (pupil of Squarcione) shows already that only Mantegna, the famous pupil and adopted son of Squarcione, and not Squarcione himself, can be intended—as the editor also takes it—especially as the poems of Squarzola, born after 1450—who, by the way, boasts a quite special personal hatred for Gentile Bellini—are to be dated in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and thus after the death of Squarcione. Cf. V. Rossi in the *Giornale storico della Letteratura Italiana*, xxvi. (1895), p. 3, and Venturi, *L' Arte*, i. 1898, p. 356.

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kingdom of art, for the place in question. Even with so refined an art connoisseur as Vasari, the sense of the mysterious individual development of genius comes to the surface only in flashes, in the treatment of the separate works, while he trusts entirely to local tradition for the construction of his legendary artistic genealogies. And these traditions are almost always coloured by the strongest, often almost blind, local patriotism, which must always be carefully discounted. For the great artist of the native town, there must at all costs be found a teacher among the native artists of the previous generation. Squarcione, the 'father of painters,' must in the course of nature have been the teacher of all Paduan artists, the founder of the school.

Squarcione may have possessed much artistic feeling and general culture, and perhaps also a certain knowledge of the monuments of antiquity, and above all a great practical dexterity in intercourse with people, and in the business arrangements of artistic enterprises—a dexterity which so often procures for quite insignificant men real influence and even a leading position. In spite of the great weakness of the performance, he knew how to procure a great reputation for his workshop by cleverly utilising the forces at his disposal, so that the less independent of his apprentices might gladly boast of their relation with him, and the respect paid to his external position might then easily have been transferred to his artistic activity. But everything that we can ascertain directly or indirectly about his art shows him to have been the last man capable of initiating a new artistic movement from which should spring almost all the schools of painting of Upper Italy in the early Renascence. And when by the side of a feeble, lukewarm, and self-interested theoriser like Squarcione we find the most important of those great innovators of the Quattrocento, who pursue only their artistic ideals, full of force and enthusiasm, and without regard for external convenience; when we see a Paolo Uccello and a Donatello at work in Padua at that very time, and received with wonder and enthusiasm, we cannot for one moment doubt to whose influence the great revolution in the painting of Upper Italy is to be attributed, or who were the true teachers of Mantegna and his fellow-pupils. No more striking disproof of the legend of Squarcione's artistic hegemony in Padua could be afforded than his own work, which tries to borrow composition, form, and ornament from Donatello, nor could a clearer historical indication be desired of the true originator of the artistic revolution in Padua.

The powerful influence of Florentine art, which had sent out its

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best and most characteristic representatives to the north-east of Italy, found certainly a well-prepared soil, tilled and cultivated, where the new seeds might fructify, while at the same time it abundantly fostered its own healthy sap, that a new plant might blossom forth in harmony with the character of the country.

If the Paduan school of the fifteenth century had been independent and autochthonous, it would certainly have taken its departure from the splendid and important works executed in Padua by artists of the Trecento. Giotto's frescoes in the Arena, and the works of the Veronese Altichiero and Avanzo—who first give clear expression to the conception of nature characteristic of the Veneto—had not failed of their effect in Padua, and had found zealous imitators among the native artists.[1] But as the evidence of the works themselves teaches, and as is almost universally admitted, neither in the works which pass under Squarcione's name nor those of his pupils, nor even the youthful productions of Mantegna himself, exhibit any connection whatsoever with this earlier tendency, which develops essentially on Giottesque lines. Their style points unmistakably to Venetian art as its source. Trecentist art in Padua is imported directly from Florence or through Verona. It dies out without leaving behind any vital germs, at least not in Padua. The art of the fifteenth century in Padua, so soon as its own creative power begins to stir, strikes root naturally in Venice, with which it forms a unity not only politically but likewise in culture, in feeling, and in national character. Paduan painting starts on its new development from the basis of Venetian art forms.

The old Venetian painting based in the main upon Byzantine tradition, had developed into a genuine Venetian style of art under the influence of German masters, probably from the Lower Rhine country, and especially of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello, who appear to have been active in Venice between 1411 and 1420. It was also doubtless affected by Venetian sculpture, which was practically dependent upon Florence.

The works of Antonio Vivarini, about 1440, are the first which exhibit a clearly marked Venetian character, giving expression to the fundamental traits in the nature and the aspirations of the national

[1] Moschini cites (p. 7 *seq.*) a whole series of Paduan artists of this time. See also Julius von Schlosser, *Jahrbuch der Kunstsamml. des Oesterr. Kaiserhauses*, xvi. (1895), p. 144, xvii. (1896), xix. (1898); a different opinion is maintained by Paul Schubring, *Altichiero und seine Schule*, Leipzig, 1898.

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mind. They accordingly contain vital and growing elements, and even at the present day they may be accepted as masterpieces, representative of a definite fundamental style whence spring all branches of Venetian art, the Bellinesque as well as the Crivellesque and the Paduan, however much these may become modified through varying influences, and above all through the artistic personality of the several masters.

Venetian painting is in the highest degree a decorative art. It sees its essential end in the rich effect and gorgeous colour of its pictures pranked in gold. Oriental influences are certainly not far removed from this tendency of Venetian art towards ornamental splendour. Venetian art, however, is also essentially rhetorical and formal, evincing no deep study of the physical or spiritual nature of what is represented. In Venice art was never taken seriously, as having an official function, but was regarded merely as external adornment, and as a sign of power and splendour. No artistic and cultured prince ever directed the artists to the path of scientific enquiry, nor did any eager interest on the part of the people for questions of art, or any penetrating criticisms, spur them on, as in Florence, to deeper artistic study. Art in Venice, when not applied to purely external ornament, appeals entirely to the personal emotion, to the sentiment, and the spiritual mood of the individual spectator. Neither was the character of the people bent, like that of the Florentines, upon the quick and keen grasp of essential traits. The interest of the Venetians as a body was divided between a prudently calculating and coldly selfish policy in public life and commerce, and frivolous and meaningless pleasures and spectacles that satisfied only the senses. More than anywhere else, ideal aspirations and artistic feelings were in Venice the private affair of the individual; art lived so entirely in the twilight of the senses that its content of form and thought could not be disturbed by the searching rays of critical analysis. There is something effeminate also at the present day in the character of the Venetian, in spite of all his tenacity in the pursuit of his ends which he seeks to attain rather by diplomatic arts, by persuasion and argument, than by impetuous and decisive actions prompted by passion. And as he is circuitous and wordy in his speech, so in the choice of subjects for the plastic arts he gives the preference to undefined sensations, to what admits of generalisation over definite and pointed dramatic treatment.[1]

[1] Gio. Bellini's refusal to let the subject of the picture for Isabella d'Este be dictated to him is characteristic. He desires to give free rein to his imagination. Cf. letter of Bembo to Isabella (D'Arco, *Delle Arti e degli Artefici di Mantova*, Mantova, 1857, ii. p. 57, No. 68) and letter of Vianello (*Archivio Veneto*, xiii. [1877], p. 370).

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Venetian painting passes quite naturally, with the deepening in the expression of feeling, from the ceremonial epic of a Sacra Conversazione to the romantic lyrical subjects of Giovanni Bellini and of Giorgione.

Just as the soft moist air of the town on the lagunes fuses outlines in its warmer light and sharpens the eye for the charm of colour, so it makes the search into the structure of forms and the endeavour to account for the mechanism of the body, and the movements of the several limbs and muscles, seem less indispensable for life-like reproduction. Whereas the clear air of mountainous landscapes in particular—in Tuscany and in Bologna for example—led artists to keen observation of detail, to the study of anatomy and of perspective, Venetian art, on the contrary, lays stress from the first upon the gorgeous splendour of colour, upon the tender and dignified presentation of the individual figure, upon soft and pleasant modelling of the limbs, and upon a gracious and emotional treatment of landscape.

It is remarkable how constantly Venetian painting, in spite of all the counter-currents called up by the direct influence of central-Italian art, especially in Jacopo and Gentile Bellini and in Bartolomeo Vivarini, and without prejudice to the mastery that it attained later in the representation of every movement and every form, has sought and found its special character and its greatness in this substitution of colour for form. It has always remained the art that lays stress upon circumstance, that represents what is great by the symbols of action, by the ceremonial, not by the action itself. How little movement there is in the pictures of Giovanni Bellini or of Giorgione! quiet reigns almost everywhere, and the effect is attained through the figures as such, their character and mood, and not through movement or action.

We find this indifference to form as compared with colour as early as in the works of Antonio Vivarini, who worthily represents the first stage in the development of true Venetian painting. Here, indeed, stress is still laid mainly upon the external splendour, upon the rich adornment of the garments, upon the execution of what is ornamental—gold being used almost to overloading—but yet the colours are already of great depth and tenderness, and are harmoniously combined to a general tone which is full of subtlety. Warm rose colour, bright yellow, strongly relieved with brownish shadows, warm bright blue and violet tones are, together with gold, the characteristic and predominating colours. Beneath the rich, stiff and gold-pranked garments, the forms of the body and its movement scarcely come into play. The figures in their almost

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frozen stillness serve to heighten the dignified impression of solemn consecration, which was certainly the chief intention. Neither can it be denied that these paintings answer incomparably better to their religious purpose of arousing a solemn mood in the spectator than the majority of the works, artistically superior, of Florentine art. The connection with the Cologne school of painting which occupies in Germany a very similar position, is especially visible in this respect. In the expression of the countenances there is a tender delicacy—the gentle sadness of a spirit which has grown, through individual sorrow—not hard and bitter, but soft and loving. Even the zealous Ambrose, who wields the scourge in Antonio Vivarini's picture in the Academy of Venice, can scarcely be said to have a severe expression. The form of head is characterised by a striking breadth and softness; the form of the women's heads approximates to the round, that of the men to the square. The small delicate straight nose and the small mouth almost disappear between the thick fleshy cheeks and the high perpendicular forehead. The ears, that stand out, and the wealth of hair, make the form of head appear still broader. Vivarini's figures seem almost to have no bones under the thick soft flesh. The hands also are very delicate, with wrists too large and very broad, and with short, rounded fingers. In the drapery, soft round lines predominate, oval folds, without corners or edges. The rich, stiff drapery allows little to be seen of the forms of the body; the study of nature, the understanding of form and character in the bodies, and of movement and expression, are of the most limited description. Thus everywhere Venetian art presents the most direct contrast to the Florentine, with its endeavour after closer knowledge of the body, after greater energy in movement and expression.

Jacopo Bellini was for a long time pupil and apprentice of Gentile da Fabriano. He worked with him long in Florence, and yet at bottom he remained thoroughly a Venetian. The structure of his figures, their movements and their mode of feeling, are the same as in the works of Antonio Vivarini. The form of head has the same breadth and roundness, the limbs have a quite similar modelling, the movements exhibit a like quiet and slow ponderosity, the folds the same softness. The influence of Gentile da Fabriano and of the Florentines is to be recognised especially in the sharper, more precise drawing of the outlines, in the plastic modelling, in the bonier forms and in the slenderer proportions of his figures. The expression of the feeling is slightly more energetic and stronger. In colouring, Jacopo seems to have been even

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more dependent on Gentile da Fabriano. Even though the works remaining afford, in their present condition, insecure ground for a judgment, it may yet be assumed that his colours were much less clear and soft than those of Antonio Vivarini. The contrasts of light and shade are stronger, the several local colours stand out more sharply and forcibly. The colours are deeper and darker; a general tone of reddish-brown predominates. The flesh-tones are laid on in strokes, and appear brownish in the shadows, with a strong reddish gleam in the lights. Like Gentile, Jacopo seems to have loved drapery picked out in gold, while on the other hand he avoids excessive employment of gold.

Besides the two signed Madonnas, full of poetry (in the Accademia of Venice and in the Gallery Tadini, in Lovere), and the Crucifixion, much over-painted but still very impressive, in the gallery at Verona,[1] there remain to us of the quite authenticated works of Jacopo only the two sketchbooks which are preserved in the British Museum and in the Louvre.

How far Jacopo was influenced later, when he was at work in Padua, by Donatello cannot unfortunately be determined, for none of his later works—where, moreover, the co-operation of his sons would make it difficult to distinguish his own share—remain to us. The two books of drawings, however, of which one is dated 1430,[2] afford us an exceedingly valuable insight into his earlier style and into his method of work. The drawings disclose to us, not an artist of original genius, in the true sense of the word, but they bear abundant testimony to his delicate gift of observation, his thoroughness of study and the many-sidedness of his objective interests. In composition and rendering of form Jacopo remains far behind his Florentine contemporaries and Pisanello, and even throughout the separate sketchbooks a genuine progress is scarcely perceptible. In general, there prevails a certain uniformity, betraying itself even in the landscape, where the perspective vistas are drawn almost always from the same very simple point of view. Jacopo has little feeling for composition or for the proportions of the figures, whether in relation to one another (kneeling figures are made as high as the seated ones before whom they kneel) or in space. He neither attains to a convincing reality, nor does he really get beyond suggestion.

[1] A signed and dated picture of Jacopo of the year 1453 in Rovellasca, near Saronno, is noticed by Venturi (*Le Gall. Naz. Ital.* i. p. 6) and by Cantalamessa (*Ateneo Veneto*, xix. [1896], i. p. 154).

[2] The book in the Louvre must be later in origin than the one in London (middle of the forties) because in it (Phot. Giraudon, 792) Donatello's equestrian statue of Gattamelata, or, at any rate, a drawing of the horse, is copied.

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The significance of the drawings for Venetian art lies, however, principally in this, that Jacopo starts always from his own observations of nature, endeavouring to take independent account of forms and movements. Jacopo is no great artist, but he is a very conscientious and industrious one, intent upon fully mastering the technique of his art, and thus fully deserving the reputation which he enjoyed in his day.

These qualities must have fitted him peculiarly for a teacher. His thorough technique, his indefatigable study of all details in nature, his delicate, tender feeling, were a necessary condition of artistic culture both for his two sons and also for the exceedingly delicate and detailed technique of Mantegna. Even though we knew nothing of Jacopo Bellini, the course of development of these three artists would necessarily lead us to assume such a teacher.

It is at bottom a matter of indifference from whom Mantegna learnt the mixing of colours and the merely practical part of technique. He could have acquired it as well in Squarcione's workshop, where many a skilled master of technique may have been engaged, as elsewhere. Only those influences are of significance in his development which had a determinative effect upon the bent of his genius. Only new and large ideas, both as regards technique and intellectual conception, impressively presented to him, could obtain so decisive an influence over a youthful talent. Youth, with its joy in creating, is only too ready to treat with contempt and to oppose fundamentally everything that may appear to it antiquated or theoretical. That this was the case with Mantegna as regards Squarcione appears from a comparison of his earliest works—*e.g.* the altar of Saint Luke in the Brera at Milan—with Squarcione's contemporary altar of Saint Jerome; but it may also be deduced from external signs. That opposition against Squarcione, which impelled him in the year 1456, when he was barely twenty-five years old, to call his old teacher to account before the law for his treatment of him, did not assuredly arise suddenly. In any case he must, as early as 1448, have taken, artistically at least, a totally independent position in Squarcione's workshop, if not the leading one, as the contract which Squarcione then concluded with him proves clearly enough. If at so youthful an age he could independently execute for one of the chief churches of Padua—S. Sofia—a large altar-piece, which, as Vasari says, appeared the work of an old experienced master, he must at that date have not only been fully developed, but must also have trodden his own path with full

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consciousness, and must also have been recognised by others as an independent artist.[1]

The more he became conscious of the contrast between his master and his own force, the more must he have felt himself repelled by him, and have applied himself with all the greater enthusiasm to the new ideals of art, which came to him from Florence in Donatello, from Venice in the Bellini—in the aged, still somewhat clumsy, yet thorough, Jacopo Bellini, who approached nature quite in the modern spirit, and in his gifted sons. In 1450, at any rate, and probably even earlier, the Bellini had been for some time at work in Padua.[2] Mantegna's connection with the Bellini was by no means limited to personal relations. The personal characteristics of the family must certainly have also attracted him. Jacopo as well as his two sons appear as noble and amiable characters. Dutiful and pious sentiments make themselves felt in Gentile's will, while Giovanni's friendly behaviour towards Dürer gives us a high conception of his refined nature. Together with the respected and venerated father, the sons also, who were learning with him and striving after the same artistic ideals, must quickly have obtained Mantegna's friendship. Indeed, even stronger feeling linked him with the family Bellini. In the beginning of the year 1454[3] Mantegna married Jacopo Bellini's daughter, Nicolosia.

These intimate personal relations of Mantegna to the Bellini may have widened the breach between him and Squarcione, who gave vent to his annoyance that his most talented pupil had gone over to the camp of his most formidable rivals in harsh, unjust criticism of his works. They may also have favoured the close artistic link between Mantegna and the Bellini, then active in Padua. In fact, Mantegna could learn much from the Bellini, and he could learn from them without doing violence to his artistic nature, for Mantegna as an artist is entirely

[1] A further proof of the respect that Mantegna had obtained even in his early years would be afforded us by his employment in Ferrara in the year 1449, where he painted portraits of the Marquis Leonello and of his favourite Folco da Villafora, could we identify without further preliminaries the 'M. Andrea da Padova' spoken of with Mantegna. There were, it is true, several distinguished painters of the name of Andrea about this time in Padua. Cf. Campori, *Pittori degli Estensi*, 1886, p. 357, in *Atti d. Deputazione di Storia Patria*, Modena, 1886, 3, iii., 2, and Venturi, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, i. (1884), p. 607. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, v. p. 417 (*n.* 51), where 1459 is given for 1449.

[2] Jacopo Bellini and his sons had worked, according to M. A. Michiel (*Anon. Morelliano*, ed. by Frimmel, Vienna, 1888, pp. 4 and 6), in the Santo of Padua. The date of the altarpiece in the Gattamelata chapel is given erroneously as 1410; it is questionable whether 1440 or 1460 should be read.

[3] Cf. Paoletti, *Raccolta di Documenti inediti dell' Archivio di Venezia*, Padova, 1894, Fascicolo I.

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Venetian. The contemplative self-absorption and dreamy unconsciousness of his personages; the restraint imposed upon their movements, even when these are violent; the measured rhythm of their gestures, which appear as if set to music, and dragging at times as though to dwell upon the notes—all this corresponds absolutely to the temperament which the neighbourhood of the sea fostered in the Venetians. It is in this matter of mood, rather than in form or colour, that Mantegna manifests himself a Venetian. But even as regards form and technique his early works are still entirely based upon the old Venetian system of forms.

We need only compare Mantegna's altarpiece of Saint Luke in the Brera at Milan with the Polyptych ascribed to Antonio Vivarini, in the same collection; the similarity lies not only in the almost identical arrangement of the figures of the saints upon a gold ground within frames, without mutual connection, in two rows—the lower being composed of full figures, the upper of half-figures, in the middle of whom here, also, Christ appears as the Man of Sorrows, between Mary and John. We find besides the same scheme of form—the full, oval, almost round form of head; the soft, fleshy, motionless countenance; the modelling of the extremities; the rhythmical movement and the fall of the drapery; the mild quiet expression, and above all the scale of colours—bright rose, yellow, and blue—which we observed in Antonio Vivarini. Certainly the naturalness and the freedom of movement and form are infinitely greater in Mantegna's works; the whole distance from an old to a new period separates him from Vivarini. But the formal system and the manner of feeling imparted by the local character are undeniably common to both. The immediate prototypes, then, which Mantegna had before his eyes in his earliest years, whether in Squarcione's workshop or elsewhere, were the paintings of the early Venetian school of Antonio Vivarini—works of the same style from which the art of the Bellini also developed. The young artist, however, passed so quickly from dependence upon the art of the elder Vivarini to entire independence, that the connections between them are not easy to make out in his works.

Since between the youthful works of Mantegna and of Giovanni Bellini there is so close an affinity that those of the latter painter were until recently attributed to Mantegna, and since we again find these common traits in the drawings of Jacopo Bellini, it becomes evident that in Jacopo Bellini we have the teacher of both young painters; though this does not exclude the possibility of inter-relation between the two, or of other influences.

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It is a piece of good fortune for our insight into the history of art that the London sketchbook of Jacopo Bellini is signed by himself, and dated 1430,[1] for otherwise the true relationship would here again have been inverted, and, as usual, an influence of Squarcione or of Mantegna upon the old Bellini would have been assumed. By the date, however, all relation of Jacopo to Squarcione is excluded so far as the drawings are concerned. Apart from the fact that there is absolutely no hold for the supposition of any such relations, Squarcione had started after 1423 upon his long journeys, and we do not find him again until 1439 as head of a workshop in Padua. Jacopo can have returned at any rate only after 1425 from Tuscany, where he had finished his artistic training. The influence of Jacopo Bellini upon his sons as upon many Paduan painters, and in particular upon Mantegna, is shown in the clearest light by the sketchbook.

As regards composition, we notice in Jacopo Bellini, as in the works of his sons and of Mantegna, the direct transition from the foreground to the distance, the lack of a middle distance, the same arrangement, after the fashion of scene-painting, of the buildings and the hills of the background. Just as clearly, the treatment of landscape—the formation of the rocky country, of the path winding to the back or leading up the mountain, and of the plants and trees—is derived from the drawings of Jacopo. The little withered tree also that Jacopo likes to bring into the foreground is to be found again almost constantly in his sons and in Mantegna, as in many other Paduans. Jacopo's sound perspective construction, even though still somewhat timid and awkward, has already been pointed out.

He was, at any rate, familiar with the significance of the vanishing point and with other elements of optics. In expression of countenance the similarity is less great, although the early types of Giovanni Bellini, in particular, display an unmistakable affinity with those of his father; as an example, one may compare Jacopo's 'Lamentation over the Body of Christ'[2] with Giovanni's 'Pietà' in the Doge's Palace at Venice. The refinement and tenderness of Jacopo's Madonnas in Lovere and in Venice show how much the pupil may have learnt from the elder painter in the way of delicacy of expression and of movements.

Especially interesting as proof of the intimate relation of Mantegna

[1] The inscription is autographic, and runs: 'De mano de mj' (not 'messer,' as is generally supposed) 'iacobo bellino veneto, 1430. In Uenetja.'

[2] Louvre Sketchbook, Phot. Giraudon, 737.

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to the Bellini are the compositions borrowed from Jacopo's sketchbook. A few instances only out of many shall be cited at random. Mantegna's and Giovanni's pictures of the 'Mount of Olives' (in the National Gallery) are both derived from a composition by Jacopo (London sketchbook, fol. 43ᵇ–44ᵃ). In a 'Flagellation' in the Louvre sketchbook (Phot. Giraudon) occur the two children, looking on inquisitively, whom Mantegna introduces in the Chapel of the Eremitani, as likewise types of Turks; the horseman in the 'Beheading of James' in the same place occurs in the London sketchbook (fol. 50ᵇ), as also the frequent motive of the warrior seen from behind, riding down the slope. The group of women in Mantegna's 'Crucifixion' in the Louvre is certainly not independent of Jacopo's drawing in the Paris book (Giraudon, 734), and the Procession of the Kings, filing down a road that winds about the mountain, in Mantegna's triptych in Florence, recurs identically in several drawings of the 'Adoration of the Magi' in the Paris volume (Phot. Giraudon, 724). Jacopo's studies from the antique deserve also special attention. While we cannot detect any leanings towards the antique in Squarcione, who passes for the true classicist, we find the elder Bellini possessing a most noteworthy knowledge of ancient monuments. This knowledge, which he himself had perhaps acquired in Rome, he could then pass on to his pupils at first hand. Mantegna reproduces in the frescoes of the Eremitani Chapel in Padua, for example, an ancient inscription which Jacopo also gives in one of his drawings.[1]

It is not necessary to point out with how much greater freedom and skill Mantegna and Giovanni used the compositions of Jacopo, or that Mantegna remained, in spite of these obligations, perfectly original. The point was merely to show, from these examples, that Mantegna stood to Jacopo in the relation of pupil to teacher, and to Giovanni in that of a pupil to a fellow-pupil.[2]

It is easy to understand how the early pictures of Giovanni Bellini came to be ascribed to Mantegna, for this early style presents a certain contrast to the art of Bellini, as known to us in his later works, while it perfectly corresponds with our conception of Mantegna. Mantegna, under

[1] Cf. *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1884, p. 255 (E. Muntz), 'T. Pullius Linus' (*Corpus Inscript. Latin.* v. 2528).

[2] Jacopo Bellini's importance as artist and teacher, especially in respect to Mantegna, has been emphatically dwelt upon by Cantalamessa in *Ateneo Veneto*, xix. (1896), i. pp. 115 ff; see, however, Venturi in *Cultura*, Oct. 15, 1896, and Cantalamessa's reply in *Ateneo Veneto*, xx. (1897), i. p. 1.

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the influence of the dramatic and sculpturesque spirit of the Florentines progressed still further in the direction of clear and sharply defined outline, while Giovanni Bellini soon gave himself up unreservedly to his genuinely Venetian mode of expression, to that soft *sfumato* of the forms which is so eminently paintable—a mode which the careful observer may also detect in his very earliest works. Gentile Bellini also, like Giovanni, is more Venetian again than their father, especially in colour. In this, so to speak, linear style, which was really foreign to his nature, Giovanni must have remained behind Mantegna, and have taken the part rather of the learner than the teacher. But assuredly Mantegna did not neglect to avail himself of Giovanni's superior technique in painting and treatment of colour. An interesting example of rivalry between the two young artists is afforded us by their respective Madonnas in Berlin, which show a great affinity one with another. The influence which Jacopo's drawings are proved to have exercised over the sons, and even Mantegna, justifies us in looking upon Jacopo as the model of his pupils, also in the technique of painting. The evidence is here more difficult to adduce, because so few of Jacopo's pictures are preserved, and these few are in so bad a condition. But, in contrast to the clear Vivarinesque colouring, we find the characteristic greyish-brown, deep colouring of Jacopo in many an early work by Mantegna, and principally, indeed, in such as may, from their technical execution in water-colour or tempera on canvas, be referred to the example of Jacopo. In treating of the separate works, attention will be called to this point, especially in the frescoes of the Eremitani, where Mantegna, in his characteristic manner, changes his technique very considerably and suddenly.

The artistic ground, then, upon which Mantegna took his first step, and upon which his fellow-pupils and fellow-workers (in so far as they were not trained in foreign schools) moved was wholly Venetian. They were all at the stage of art of Antonio Vivarini, or else directly dependent upon Jacopo Bellini, and would certainly, with few exceptions, have continued quietly and unreflectingly in the same path, had not new and overpoweringly great artistic impressions diverted them from their road.

Donatello's appearance in Padua in the year 1443[1] may be described as the natal hour of the Padua school of the fifteenth century. The mere

[1] Cf. Gonzati, *Basilica di S. Antonio*; Andrea Gloria, *Donatello Fiorentino e le sue Opere in Padova*, Padova, 1895.

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invitation of the great artist to decorate the Santo—if deliberately determined upon, as it probably was at the advice of Palla Strozzi—testifies already to a great artistic intelligence, and a full recognition of the inadequacy of the native powers, while at the same time it discloses a new artistic wave of interest in the learned town. And the stimulus which he imparted, both as a teacher and through his works, to the development of the art of Northern Italy, especially outside Venice, was absolutely epoch-making. His influence was the more lasting because he not only brought with him to Padua Tuscan artists such as Paolo Uccello, Giovanni da Pisa, and others, but also attracted the native artists and employed them in his undertaking. His activity seems not to have been confined merely to the execution of the powerful equestrian statue of Gattamelata and the sculptures of the Tribuna in the Santo, but he seems to have even been entrusted with the supervision of all the decorative work in the Santo, since painters also are named among his journeymen. In Padua, as in Venice, Donatello was received with the greatest enthusiasm, so that, like a true Florentine, as Vasari says, he longed to return to critical Florence, because in Padua he was praised too much and too indiscriminately. His position became at once dominating, and none of the artists, native or Venetian, at work in Padua could escape his influence The capable ones gave themselves up to him with enthusiasm, and even the weakest and poorest painter tried to catch at least the external qualities of his style.

As a fact, no other artist of that time produced, through the inner power of his art as well as through its natural, external form, so powerful an effect upon the contemporary world, artists and laymen alike, as Donatello. Just the very qualities which Venetian art lacked were exhibited in him in the highest perfection. He might be named the most Florentine of all the Florentines, because he gave expression to the characteristic traits of Tuscan art, above all to that loving, almost devout study of nature, whereby they strove to penetrate to what is intrinsic in the structure of the body and the mechanism of its movements.

Mantegna had already come across the great monumental art of Florence in the frescoes by Giotto, in the Cappella dell' Arena. No definite relations, however, can be pointed out in Mantegna's art to that of Giotto, although it assuredly was not without effect upon him. The young artist may even at that time have been too much engaged in the study of the technical and material imitation of nature to penetrate with full under-

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standing into the presentations of Giotto, which are true to the spirit rather than to the bodily form, and the state of which, moreover, must have appeared to him antiquated. He would scarcely either have had the time; for as early as his thirteenth year he was confronted with Donatello, whose wholly modern style, in harmony with the new ideas of the time, must have strongly attracted him, and scarcely could have left room for other impressions. And though he was perhaps acquainted, even before Donatello, with Jacopo Bellini or with Filippo Lippi,[1] the paler lights must have faded before the new sun. The studies and the knowledge of Paolo Uccello doubtless also affected Mantegna in the same way. But, since Uccello's works in Padua are destroyed, and no coloured frescoes of his remain, we can scarcely obtain a clear idea of his influence on Mantegna. He must, in any case, fall into a secondary position as compared with Donatello.[2]

The impulse given by Donatello must, in the first place, have affected Mantegna's studies of nature. The enthusiasm which impelled him, as an artist of genius and as a man of the Renascence, to a study of nature, must have caused the art of Donatello to appear to him as the incorporation of his ideal. He here saw attained the great end to which thorough and earnest observation of actual life can lead the artist. Here he could perceive the dazzling confirmation of the fact that he was in the right path. Mantegna learns from Donatello how nature is to be studied. It will be one of the chief objects of our survey of the works of Mantegna to show, constantly and primarily, how the loving and intelligent observation and representation of nature forms the fundamental feature of his artistic being. The extent to which Donatello's example influenced Mantegna in this respect may be proved also by particular tokens. It was he that inspired Mantegna with the tendency to the plastic modelling of form. Even though the influence of ancient sculptures—which, for the rest, was also brought closer to him through Donatello—co-operated in the matter, yet it must have been the example of Donatello which actually turned him into this path. His forms become more bony and thin, the outlines of his figures gain a sharpness and the modelling a richness of contrast, for which the example of bronze-technique is unmistakably responsible, and which stands in acutest contrast with the weakness in the forms of earlier Venetian art The character of the entire Paduan school

[1] Cf. above, p. 18.

[2] Wilhelm Bode, in the publication on the Berlin Picture Gallery, has laid great stress upon Donatello's influence on Mantegna.

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is determined by this tendency to the plastic, and is strongly influenced by bronze, not only as regards form, but also colour. This effort after precise form naturally brought about in mental characterisation a deepening of the conception of character, of movement and of expression. Donatello, who, one may say, sacrificed almost everything to characterisation, and rises through this sacrifice to greatness, almost diverted Mantegna out of his road, beguiling him in his earliest works from his sense of beauty in a manner which Mantegna himself may have presently repented. In this, as in other respects, Mantegna returned later to his native Venetian form of speech. Like the truly great artist that he was, Mantegna was dominated even by Donatello only for a moment. He learns from him and fully assimilates all that is conformable to his own nature, and rejects energetically what does not correspond to his proper artistic character. Even though he caught from him many tricks of composition, of technique and of movement, and though he imitated many of his peculiarities—especially the naturalistic: thick blown-out treatment of drapery and individual motives, such as his decoration, with its *putti*, and friezes, the heavy garlands of fruit and so forth, borrowed from the antique—yet even in the works where he comes closest to Donatello his own nature obtains full play, and the dissimilarity between his manner of feeling and that of Donatello is fully expressed.

Donatello's art makes essentially for the general effect of the subject, giving only so much of the details as is absolutely necessary, and its whole endeavour is to produce a strong effect by means of violence in movement and dramatic concentration. Round a strongly accentuated centre Donatello crowds the groups of interested spectators, allowing the press and the interest to diminish towards the sides and the effect of the event represented to die away.

Mantegna, with his tendency to dreaming, lingers all too readily on details, and has the more difficulty in reaching a compact and single effect. He does not concentrate the composition ; his art is essentially non-dramatic, directed to the representation of circumstances. Even as he is absorbed in and with himself and his feelings almost without regard for the external world, so also his figures give expression to their deepest and strongest feelings, not so much through the violence of movement as through its intensity of restraint.

Fundamentally, though Mantegna differed from Donatello in feeling and conception, the youth must yet have felt himself strongly carried away by the congenial spirit. Moveover Donatello's teaching and example

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formed in every respect a healthy counterpoise to his Venetian dreaminess by stirring in him the sense for naturalness and individualisation.

The fact that Mantegna, in spite of the deep and acknowledged conscious impression made upon him by Florentine art, remained in his essence wholly Venetian, and developed independently, testifies to the strength of the Venetian impressions received from Venetian art in his childhood, and, above all, to the greatness and originality of his artistic individuality.

A Venetian, then, by temperament, Mantegna further obtains the foundations of his artistic training through the Venetian school, as it is presented to us in Antonio Vivarini; he receives a penetrating impulse to direct, independent and untrammelled observation of nature, and to free and characteristic expression, from Donatello, and he finds in Jacopo Bellini an experienced guide in his aspiration after thorough mastery of the painter's technique.

If we have thus obtained, as we hope, a clear and precise picture, corresponding to the facts of Mantegna's artistic descent and early development, there is indeed no place left for his supposed teacher, Squarcione. He and his school cannot be placed in the history of Paduan painting before or above Mantegna, but only by his side and after him. We have seen that Squarcione evinces himself, in his extant works, an out and out weak artist, engaged in imitation, on the one side, of Venetian art, and on the other of Donatello. His works certainly cannot be looked upon as precursors or prototypes of Mantegna's art; no one could detect in them even the external and elementary features of Mantegna's style.[1]

Since, however, Squarcione's significance has, from ancient times, been held to consist, not so much in his activity as painter as in his efficiency as teacher, it may be pleaded—even admitting the lack of independence in his own works—that the works of his numerous pupils justify the inference that a new and particular style proceeded from him. We are compelled, therefore, to study more closely the group of painters who designate themselves as Squarcione's pupils, or who at least pass as such, in order to make clear Mantegna's position in relation also to

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle come to practically similar results in their admirable *History of Italian Painting* (History of Painting in North Italy), which provides a sound basis for modern inquiry. Only they are not, as it seems to me, quite consequent in their conclusions, and give too great importance to the position of Squarcione and his school and too little to that of the youthful Mantegna.

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the Paduan contemporaries of his youth, and to show that there can be no question of a school in Padua proceeding artistically from Squarcione, but that the stylistic peculiarities of the artists trained in Padua, or active there, are composed of quite other elements independent of Squarcione. Without attempting anything like a complete survey of the manifold phenomena of the art which is dependent upon Padua, we will indicate the nature of the elements which the several painters owed to their studies in Paduan workshops.

In order to throw light upon the chaos of the 'Paduan' or 'Squarcione' school, which serves only too often as a stopgap, we must distinguish between the several groups embraced under this name, the actual Paduan group of artists trained in Padua and continuously at work there—such as Niccolo Pizzolo and the other painters engaged with him in the Cappella degli Eremitani, Schiavone, Parenzano and others, and the various artists, for the most part foreign, who studied in Padua first of all under Donatello and then under Mantegna—such as Marco Zoppo of Bologna, Cosimo Tura of Ferrara, the Veronese painters, the Milanese Foppa and Butinone, then the Venetians proper—Crivelli, Bart. Vivarini, Giov. Bellini and the painters dependent again on him. But, above all, we must divide off a group of painters who came to Padua as artists already fully trained in other schools, and modified their style under the influence, direct or indirect, of Donatello. Thus Bono da Ferrara, who calls himself in a picture in the National Gallery a pupil of Pisanello, and Ansuino da Forli, who in a picture, likewise signed, in the chapel of the Eremitani, sufficiently and clearly shows himself a pupil of Piero della Francesca. They assuredly cannot pass as Squarcione's pupils, and will be treated of again later in connection with Mantegna's frescoes in Padua.

The Paduan painters are all direct products of Venetian art, either of that of Antonio Vivarini or of Jacopo Bellini, and come strongly under the sustaining influence of Donatello, or else they are already subject directly to the influence of the young Mantegna. The Paduan school, which is so readily brought into a certain contrast with that of Venice, is in reality nothing more than an offshoot of the great Venetian school, a variety of Venetian art, modified by the direct and strong influence of Donatello.

Leaving aside Pisanello, who remains an isolated phenomenon, Upper Italy has, in the first half of the fifteenth century, only one living and growing school of painting to point to, capable of absorbing

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and assimilating foreign elements—namely, the Venetian. While the Paduans were obliged to apply to foreign artists for the adornment of their chief churches, to Donatello, Filippo Lippi, Paolo Uccello, and then, besides, to Jacopo Bellini and others, Venice, which previously had likewise looked to foreign painters, confided at this time wholly in its native school of painting. The complete lack of any force of its own in the Paduan art of this time is shown very clearly by the absolute dependence of the Paduan sculptors, especially of Bellano, upon Donatello. On this account a school connection with Squarcione has been quite unjustifiably inferred in the case of men like Bartolomeo Vivarini or Crivelli, in whom we have the direct influence of Donatello, or of the young Mantegna, working upon the artists of Venice proper. True, we can point to no pictures of the new Paduan school previous to the appearance of Donatello in Padua, but an examination of the extant later works may afford us the proof that in Padua, before Donatello, both in and outside Squarcione's workshop, the manner of painting could not have been other than that of Venice, and that therefore the element peculiar to Padua is formed only through the admixture of Venetian with Donatellesque forms.

The Paduan painter of most artistic importance about the middle of the fifteenth century appears to have been Niccolo Pizzolo, who is named by Vasari as fellow-pupil of Mantegna, under Squarcione, and is set almost on a level with the young Mantegna. He painted but little, says Vasari, but it was all very good. Since the only works of his preserved are those frescoes in the Chapel of the Eremitani, which Vasari and Marcantonio Michiel ascribe to him, where he appears in the closest association with Mantegna, his share can only be fixed by comparison with Mantegna's authenticated works, and his relation to his teachers and to his fellow-pupil can only be determined in connection with the survey of the whole series of frescoes.

Of other painters reputed to be pupils of Squarcione—whether of Matteo del Pozzo, of Padua or Venice, mentioned by Scardeone, and known from documents to have worked in the Santo of Padua in 1471, and believed to have died in 1472, or of Angelo Zotto, who is mentioned in 1472 and styled by Marcantonio Michiel 'ignobile pittore,' or of Pietro Calzetta, who painted between 1461 and 1481, or even later in the Santo, and in 1466 executed a picture for Lazzara, or of many others [1]—we can

[1] Cf. above, p. 17. Moschini quotes a whole series of names, and so, too, Gonzati. For

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form no clear artistic idea. On the other hand, the remark of Michiel about a painter, Resilao, said to have painted an altarpiece in 1447 for S. Francesco in Padua, 'almost entirely in the style of the Muranese,' gives us an indication as to the style of the Paduans at this time, if this Resilao be identical, as has been supposed, with Lancislago of Padua.[1]

We first come across a definite artistic personality in Gregorio Schiavone.[2] Though insignificant in himself, Schiavone is yet of great importance for our knowledge of Paduan painting before Mantegna, because his style is typical of a great number of Paduan works after the middle of the century. Attention has already been called to the fact that Squarcione's altarpiece in the museum of Padua is so closely related to Schiavone that one is tempted to take the latter for the actual painter. This, then, was the manner of painting in Squarcione's workshop. Of direct relation to Mantegna there is no perceptible trace in Schiavone. His style consists in an admixture of Venetian, Vivarinesque forms with peculiarities of Donatellesque art. At bottom Schiavone is thoroughly Venetian. The composition of the Polyptych in the National Gallery follows the Venetian scheme; the several saints in two rows, one above the other, are placed within shrines, arranged without internal connection; the upper row consists of half-figures, with Christ, as the Man of Sorrows, in the centre. We find exactly the same arrangement—for example, in Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini's picture of 1450 in Bologna; in Antonio's picture in the Lateran, and again in Mantegna's altarpiece of Saint Luke in the Brera at Milan. The countenance of Schiavone's Madonna displays the broad soft type; the straight narrow nose with strongly emphasised nostrils, the small mouth with corners drawn downwards, which give a somewhat peevish and indifferent expression, the smooth round forehead of the Madonnas of Antonio Vivarini—only exaggerated in all the details. So, too, the attitude of the Child in the Berlin (fig. 5) and London Madonnas is exactly similar to that in Antonio

Calzetta see Gonzati, i. p. 56, Doc. 35–57; *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1896, pp. 189 and 382; according to which Calzetta must have been on good terms personally with Mantegna.

[1] Morelli, Note to the *Anonimo* (M. A. Michiel), ed. Frizzoni, p. 28; Ridolfi, *Vite dei Pittori Veneziani*, p. 73, and *Meraviglie*, i. p. 117; Vasari, *Life of Filippino Lippi*, and after him Scardeone, p. 373.

[2] Possibly Schiavone is identica with the 'Gregorio' who is named in 1441 in lists of the Paduan Fraglia. In his works he calls himself only 'Schiavonus Dalmaticus [disciple] Squarcioni. Scardeone gives his Christian name as Gregorio. Sansovino (*Venezia descritta*, 1581) mentions (fol. 102A) a Mount of Olives, a 'guazzo,' in the entrance of the Scuola di S. Marco in Venice. Ridolfi (*Meraviglie*, i. 110) names him Girolamo. M. A. Michiel (Ed. Frizzoni, p. 29) mentions an altarpiece in S. Francesco in Padua.

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Vivarini's pictures; the old men also are pure Vivarinesque types. The imitation of Donatello induces him to stiffness, often indeed to caricature, especially in the children and in the movements of the short thick hands. In the main, he borrows from the great sculptor only what is external, above all his architecture and ornaments imitated from the antique, festoons of fruit, vases, bronze decoration (Turin picture), and the like. In the treatment of drapery also he endeavours to imitate Donatello's naturalistic rendering of folds. He remains, however, excessively stiff, and cannot throw off his Venetian habit. The Venetian treatment of drapery comes out most characteristically in the smooth, round folds, and in the highly ornamental borders, falling daintily in regular curves (this especially in the Berlin Madonna).[1]

FIG. 5.—GREGORIO SCHIAVONE: MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS

Berlin Museum

In charm and delicacy of colour, Schiavone remains far behind the Venetians, but the decorative tendency manifests itself in him also in carefully executed and splendid brocades of gold, in rich ornaments of every kind, fruits, gay ribands, and other accessories, executed with almost playful delicacy in the very foreground. His colour-scale is

[1] Pictures: London: National Gallery, Polyptych. Berlin: Museum (1162), Madonna, the side wings in Padua: Sacristy of Cathedral, SS. Francis and Antony Abbot, Lewis and Antony. Turin: Gallery (324), Madonna. Bergamo: Gall. Lochis (6 and 46), ascribed to Mantegna; SS. Jerome and Alexius.

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Venetian—light yellow with brownish shadows, rose-colour with red violet, and blue-green. But here, again, Schiavone has evidently been brought through his imitation of bronze tones, and probably also through Jacopo Bellini, to a deeper, darker, and sadder colour-harmony. It is precisely in the colouring that one of the most striking differences between the Venetians proper and the nearly connected Paduan artists consists. They use in a measure the same characteristic colours (yellow, rose, blue), but in a deeper scale and combined with dark, blue-green, grey, and violet tones. In landscape, Schiavone quite clearly imitates Jacopo Bellini; hilly country, rocky formations, and views of towns can be pointed to in Jacopo's drawings, nor is the little withered tree, so great a favourite with Jacopo, missing from the foreground of Schiavone's pictures.

In Squarcione's Berlin picture, the Madonna exhibits the type of Antonio Vivarini's women; the Child is wholly Donatellesque; the ornaments, the tapestry, the garlands, the candelabra, are borrowed from Donatello; the landscape, on the other hand, wholly resembles that of Jacopo Bellini—the withered tree also appearing in the foreground to the left. The imitation of these models is as obvious as are the weakness and lack of independence in the rendering of the forms, the absence of real feeling for nature, the preponderance of decorative purpose.

A whole series of pictures closely related to Schiavone, and the works provided by Squarcione, but yet scarcely attributable to Schiavone himself, show that he must have numbered among the painters of Padua many kindred associates and apprentices.[1] One of the most interesting of them is Benedetto Bembo,[2] by whom there exists a signed altarpiece, dated 1462, in the Castle of Torrechiara, near Parma. He stands very close to Schiavone and Crivelli; the drawing is thoroughly weak, but the expression of the heads is very lifelike and individual, and all the detail of the forms and of the rich ornamental decoration is carefully executed throughout.

Bernardino Parenzano (or Parentino)[3] must be named here, although

[1] Half-figures: Madonna and Child, in the collection v. Kaufmann in Berlin; Madonna, half-figure, and Child, in a garland of fruit, belonging to M. de Stuers; Madonna and Child, signed A. P., London, Nat. Gallery (904, ascribed to Crivelli); Madonna, Padua, Museo (656); Madonna, Padua, Museo (1809); fragment of a fresco, comes near to Zoppo; fragments of frescoes, Padua, S. Giustina.

[2] The Bembo (Benedetto and Bonifazio) are natives of Brescia. Benedetto is mentioned in a document of Francesco Sforza's, of June 22, 1465 (*Archivio Storico Lombardo*, v. 1878, p. 834). There was also a Bonifazio Bembo da Brescia among the prebendaries of S. Maria del Vanzo in Padua.

[3] His single signed work is in the gallery in Modena (No. 40, a bishop in front of Christ bearing the cross, and S. Jerome). We have by him pictures in the Galleria Doria-Pamfili

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his style is already based in great measure on Mantegna, and probably his works appear earlier than they are. He is a weak painter, very careful but niggling, who executes all the manifold detail of his pictures in hard unnatural colours, in the manner of miniature painting. His style is taken apparently from that of Niccolo Pizzolo in the Fathers of the Church and Saints on the wall of the apse in the Eremitani Chapel attributed to this artist, and in which Parenzano, perhaps, had a hand. His characteristic is the slender formation of the figures and the great prominence of the bones of the face and the joints of the hands. His style seems to have served as a model for the Modenese painters, in so far as they were not dependent upon Mantegna himself. In his picture in the Louvre he comes near Mantegna in the composition also. The Madonna, seated in front of a grotto, and the train of the kings descending the mountain by the winding rocky road, resemble the picture of Mantegna in the Uffizi, as also the relation between background and foreground, which pass into one another directly without middle distance.

Of far greater importance, but much harder to determine exactly, is the connection with the Paduan school of certain other independent artists, who probably studied and worked in Padua, and then transmitted the manner of painting so formed to other places in Upper Italy, forming schools, such as Marco Zoppo da Bologna, Cosimo Tura da Ferrara, and Butinone da Treviglio.

Characteristic of all of them is the admixture of different elements, among which the Donatellesque predominate. Had Donatello worked as a painter, his style would certainly have obtained complete mastery over these artists, save in so far as the native character of each individual might have reacted. The absence of any deeper comprehension of his dramatic quality, and of his delicate sense of form, checked any more enduring influence from Donatellesque art upon the North Italians, as did also the Venetian bent towards splendour and decorative effect. For the most part they copy from Donatello only what is external in the movements and the forms.

This is especially the case with Marco Zoppo. He has been looked upon as a direct pupil of Squarcione on the ground of a picture that has

('Temptations of S. Antony and S. Lewis'); in the Gall. Borromeo ('Bearing of the Cross'—called 'school of Squarcione'); in the Louvre ('Adoration of the Kings'); Verona, Museo ('Conversion of S. Paul'—school of Mantegna); Berlin Museum, No. 229 ('Pietà'—style of Mantegna); remains of frescoes in S. Giustina in Padua. See Venturi, *L'Arte*, i. (1898), p. 357, with reproduction of the picture in the Louvre.

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passed from the Manfrin collection into that of Lord Wimborne,[1] and that bears the inscription: 'Opera del Zoppo di Squarzione.' The picture has, however, so little affinity to Marco Zoppo, and so great a resemblance to Schiavone, that, in spite of the inscription, it has been attributed to the latter. Nevertheless, in spite of all its affinity, the picture diverges too much from Schiavone to be looked upon as his work. Probably we have to deal here with another Zoppo (the name is not so rare) who was a pupil of Squarcione, and who, by his close relation to Schiavone, may again show us very clearly which artist (beside the youthful Mantegna, who, together with a few fellow-pupils of like aims, took his own way) fixed the style in Squarcione's workshop. Schiavone's style persisted, at any rate, for some time by the side of the new Mantegnesque style, among the painters who worked on heedlessly and mechanically in the old ruts. We may trace their activity for a long while in a series of their works.[2]

The inscription on the picture must not mislead us. Marco Zoppo displays even in his undoubtedly earlier picture in the Collegio di Spagna in Bologna his own personal manner. The determining element in Zoppo's style is the imitation of Donatello. The endeavour to give plasticity to the forms, even all the details, leads him to exaggeration—he works out even the veins plastically upon the nude bodies. In the movements of the *putti*, again, in the types, in the folds of the drapery and in the accessories, there is evident imitation (though this is often crude and unintelligent) of Donatello. The Berlin picture by Zoppo, painted, according to the inscription, in 1471, in Venice, even though cold in tone, exhibits the Venetian scale of colour, with its characteristic yellow, rose, and light blue; the type of the Madonna strongly recalls Jacopo Bellini and the early pictures of Giovanni, while the landscape, with stony ground and conical rocks, is composed quite in the sense of Jacopo Bellini and Mantegna. There is no indication in any part of the paintings that Zoppo had a share, as has been supposed,

[1] Exhibited in the Bolognese-Ferrarese Exhibition of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1898, and reproduced in the Exhibition Catalogue. A second picture, which passed from the collection of Prince Napoleon into that of King Charles of Roumania in Bucharest (catalogue by L. Bachelin, Paris, Braun, 1898, No. 5), bears the inscription: 'Madonna del Zoppo di Squarcione,' from its form clearly a forgery, Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*History of Painting in North Italy*, i. p. 347 note 2).

[2] Very similar to Zoppo's picture in the Collegio di Spagna, in Bologna, is the fragment of a fresco representing a Madonna in the Museo in Padua. The picture in the Accademia in Venice (No. 54), by 'Catherina Vigri' (the inscription is forged), comes close to Zoppo, but displays also Vivarinesque forms and Mantegnesque feelings.

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in the frescoes of the Chapel of the Eremitani. His close affinity to Schiavone and to the artists engaged upon those frescoes is easily accounted for by their common training.

There is no external confirmation of the relations of Cosimo Tura, the true founder of the school of Ferrara, to the Paduan school, but his style is clear proof of a close connection. He must in any case have made a long stay in Venice—even, perhaps, have undergone there his first training—since in his will of 1471 he provides largely for the poor of Venice. He was born only a few years before 1431, was almost the same age as Mantegna, and must, if his stay in Padua is correctly dated (1453 to 1457)[1], have actually studied with, or near, Mantegna himself. The artistic relations between Padua and Ferrara appear to have been very close. We find a certain Niccolo d'Allemagna who is entered in 1441 among the Paduan Fraglia, at work in Ferrara in 1446, and the Paduan Tito Livio (no work by whom is known) between 1452 and 1474; indeed, possibly Mantegna himself worked for Leonello d'Este.[2] Tura would thus already previously have had the opportunity of coming into contact with Paduans, even in Ferrara itself. But in his case also, the Paduan peculiarities may be referred back direct to Donatello—the violence of the movement, the plasticity of the forms, the style of ornament borrowed from the antique—while, on the other hand, strong reminiscences of Venetian painting as of Venetian sculpture (especially that of Antonio Rizzo) make themselves felt.

The Veronese painters also, who approximate to the Paduan tendency in style, come already quite under the influence of Mantegna himself. Painting in Verona had grown to independence through its great master, Altichiero, and more especially through Pisanello. Even though Altichiero depends formally upon the great creations of Giotto; yet, as has only recently been justly noted,[3] the mode of apprehending a subject peculiar to Venice or the Veneto appears for the first time in him apart from the Florentine element. This comes out especially in the naive fresh story-telling manner of the representations, in the careful and delicate execution of every detail, in the loving observation of the plant and animal world, and of many little traits of everyday life; in the softness of the forms, in the feeling for beauty, and in the warm and

[1] Cf. Venturi, 'L'Arte a Ferrara' in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, ii. (1885), p. 711, and *Arch. Storico dell' Arte*, 1894, p. 407.

[2] Cf. above, p. 38, note 1.

[3] Cf. Julius von Schlosser, *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerh. Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1895, xvi. p. 144; Paul Schubring, *Altichiero und seine Schule*, Leipzig, 1898.

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attractive colouring. Pisanello, the great and delicate naturalist, stands on the shoulders of Altichiero. From him more than one artist take their departure, artists who were formerly reckoned without further preliminary among the Paduan school. So especially besides Bono da Ferrara, Vincenzo Foppa of Brescia, the founder of the Milanese school, who in his earliest picture of 1456, in the Galleria Carrara at Bergamo, approves himself in everything a pupil of Pisanello ;[1] only in his later works does he show a strong bent towards Mantegna.

Not one of the Veronese, then, was able to escape the influence of the art of Mantegna. In their case, naturally, the Donatellesque element falls into the background, since it comes to them only at second hand.[2] Francesco Benaglio alone must be brought forward in this connection, because he approximates more to Schiavone, and because his pictures are frequently quoted under the name of Zoppo (Verona Museum, No. 642) or of the 'Paduan school' (Venice Accademia, No. 617). But he may be recognised as an undoubted pupil of Mantegna ; this is especially clear in his signed painting in S. Bernardino at Verona, where he has borrowed the composition of Mantegna's altarpiece in S. Zeno. The same applies to Domenico Morone (born 1442).

The later Veronese, such as Francesco Morone, Girolamo dai Libri, Liberale da Verona and others, must already be classed among the numerous artists of the second half of the fifteenth century directly influenced by Mantegna. The close affinity of Veronese technique (especially in pictures on canvas) and colouring with Jacopo Bellini, which seems to me not to have been as yet sufficiently observed, is explained – if a direct influence of Jacopo, who was, however, also at work for some time in Verona, is absolutely rejected – through their common model Vittore Pisano.

The Milanese group of painters dependent on Padua is represented – leaving aside Vincenzo Foppa, already treated of—by Bernardino Butinone da Treviglio, who in his earliest signed pictures in Isola Bella,

[1] The two medals also at the top of the picture point to the great medallist Pisanello, but more particularly the landscape and the delicate technique with the soft high-lights. This observation has also been made independently by Herbert Cook in his unpublished Catalogue of the Milanese Exhibition of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1898.

[2] The Berlin picture, out of the collection Dal Pozzo, which—by the inscription 'Opera di Vetore Pisane . . . lo (?) de San V. Verona,' and by the imperfect date, MCCCCXI—has introduced so much confusion into the chronology of Pisanello, is already rightly decided by v. Tschudi (*Jahrbuch der K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, vi. p. 23) and Venturi (*Vite di Vasari : Gentile da Fabriano e Pisanello*, 1896, p. 28) to be Paduan work of about 1450. It comes very close to Schiavone.

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in the Brera of Milan and at Parma, combines in types, architecture, and ornament the characteristics of Schiavone (to whom the picture in Isola Bella has even recently been erroneously ascribed), with those of Carlo Crivelli, and who comes in particular very close to Benardino Parentino, and must later have studied much under Foppa (picture in the Brera). He assuredly acquired his not very striking knowledge in Padua from the frescoes of the Eremitani, and from works of those artists; from Mantegna's style he has appropriated only the external motive of the composition, the grouping of the saints and angels by the side of the Madonna, and the movement, as also the posture, of the child-Christ. In the altarpiece painted in 1485 by Butinone and Zenale in common, in Treviglio (S. Martino), motives from Mantegna's altarpiece in S. Zeno at Verona are made use of in the predella, painted by Butinone, so that here also the direct dependence on Mantegna is clearly manifest.

As regards Bernardino Zenale, we have not yet sufficient knowledge to be able to fix the origin of his style. According to the most recent inquiries he would appear also, like Foppa, to be an immediate pupil of Pisanello.[1]

The group of artists whose relations to the Paduan school reveal most clearly what was the motive force in the development of Paduan art is the Venetian, for here an independent and developed artistic style assimilates those influences.

As a fact, in the later works of Antonio Vivarini, in Bartolomeo Vivarini and Carlo Crivelli, new elements find expression that could not have been evolved out of Venetian art pure and simple. There occurs above all a great precision and hardness of outline and modelling entirely foreign to the works of the older Muranese; a greater energy of movements and of characterisation; a plasticity of structural form; a sharper emphasising of the muscles, veins, hair and the like which, in this almost exaggerated form, can only come from the intensified imitation of foreign prototypes. To the hardness of the forms correspond the greater sharpness and coldness of the colours. The joy in colour, the decorative intention, remains predominant in them as in all Venetians, and in Crivelli is even emphasised almost to exaggeration. But the colours attain a depth and intensity of tone, and a contrast of light and shade, that is in opposition to the soft colouring of earlier Venetian art. Hard reddish and reddish-brown flesh-tones, with dark-brown shadows, predominate, with strong local colours in the drapery and the ornaments,

[1] Herbert Cook, *loc. cit.*

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which tend to antique forms. The plastic strain in the development of these artists is unmistakable.[1] Seeing now, as we do, that the same tendency makes itself felt in the early works of Gentile Bellini (as in the organ doors of S. Marco) and of Giovanni Bellini, there can be no doubt as to the influence to which we must refer this revolution in the Venetian painting of about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is Donatello, whose more pithy style, intent upon emphasising modelling and movement, that turned Venetian art for a brief period aside from its proper path, into which it was again directed, after this schooling, by Giovanni Bellini in his maturity. The imitation of Donatello is also manifest (especially in Crivelli and Giovanni Bellini) in many peculiarities of the types, in the draperies that cling at times close to the body forming narrow lines of angularly broken folds, and in the ornaments, &c. Donatello's influence, however, takes effect not only directly, but also through his most gifted pupil Mantegna, the only artist who knew how to translate into painting Donatello's plastic rendering of form.

Donatello's style is felt less powerfully—and then almost only in external matters—in the numerous works of the artists who again are grouped round Crivelli, the Bellini, and the Vivarini. The stylistic connection of the earlier works of Crivelli with the Bellini and the Vivarini may be illustrated in particular by a comparison of his types with those of Bartolomeo and of the youthful Giovanni Bellini, *e.g.* with the sleeping apostle in Giovanni's 'Mount of Olives' in the National Gallery.

Jacopo Bellini must have had in Padua also a great following, for —independently of his sons and of Mantegna, who proceeded from under his influence to an independent further development—more than one painter of the Paduan school seem to have learnt their art from him, as, *e.g.*, Girolamo da Treviso (see the picture in the Brera, and that of Signor Picinelli in Bergamo); Jacopo d'Ilaria Loschi (Madonna, with Angels playing on musical instruments in the Gallery at Parma, signed and dated 1471). A number of pictures which are put down to the school of Padua or to Squarcione belong to painters (generally unimportant) of the school of Jacopo.

[1] In a series of mosaics in the Cappella dei Mascoli in S. Marco again and even in Venetian sculpture, there may be felt a similar tendency of style, but really the influence is already that of Mantegna.

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A very clear proof that the style of Paduan art as such is nothing else but a union of Venetian with Donatellesque forms is afforded by the picture of Fra Antonio da Negroponte in S. Francesco della Vigna at Venice. In this a union of a purely Venetian, Vivarinesque style with Donatellesque elements results in a system of forms that is exceedingly similar to Schiavone's. We have, unhappily, no external evidence for dating this picture. But Fra Antonio belongs artistically, though perhaps not in point of time, to a more primitive stage in the rendering of form and colour than does Antonio Vivarini. At the same time, however, the modern naturalism and the influence of Donatello are shown unmistakably in the foreground—which is enlivened by every sort of bird—in the throne of the Madonna, which is adorned to overloading with wreaths, Renascence ornaments, vases, cornucopiæ, centaurs, dolphins, quite in the manner of the Donatellesque *putti* reliefs.[1]

If from this survey of the painters who were studying or were at work in Padua during Mantegna's youth—a survey which does not in the least attempt to be exhaustive, but only to characterise the several types—we arrive at the result that the Paduan school, previous to Mantegna's maturity, took its rise (abstraction being made of foreign elements introduced by the school of Pisanello and Piero della Francesca) in a union of Venetian art with that of Donatello, then its artistic centre can no longer be looked for in Squarcione. No new artistic element can be indicated in his own works or in those of his apprentices that must needs be referred to his personal influence, or that may not be deduced from the effect of other more significant forces. A new independent style of art cannot be formed by imitation or theories, but only through a new, independent vision and apprehension of nature.

If our conception of a school be purely external, as of a group of artists working in the same or similar style, we may continue to speak of a Paduan school previous to Mantegna. Its external existence is proved through documents and through the long series of artists working in Padua who were united into a 'Fraglia' (brotherhood or guild). Only we must bear in mind that previous to Mantegna the Paduan school, as such, lacked the stamp of mental and artistic independence. The element

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.* i. p. 11, make the same observation in the remark that Fra Antonio approximates here to Gregorio Schiavone. Donatello's forms suffice fully to explain this similarity. The same tendency appears in the picture ascribed to Quiricius da Murano, of the Madonna with SS. Augustine and Jerome in the Museo Correr in Venice, and also in the Polyptych of Paolo da Brescia in the Turin Gallery.

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that leads to all these artists who collected in Padua from various places, attracted by its stirring artistic life, their *character* of stylistic homogeneity, is the art of Donatello. Before the appearance of the Florentine sculptor there can be no question of a Paduan school. By this crossing of Venetian with Donatellesque art, Padua becomes a centre in the history of artistic development, whence again artistic force radiates on every side, to Venice, to Bologna, to Milan, and so on.

But yet all the phenomena and the full historical significance of this development of the Paduan school cannot be explained by this conjunction of elements more or less foreign. In all the important works that proceed from it we feel an energy and freshness which, in its new untrammelled manner of approaching nature, arises, doubtless, from the traits common to all early Renascence art, but which necessarily presupposes, in its special local and personal feeling, the hidden operative force of a young and autochthonic genius. Only a genius that belongs spiritually to the country can concentrate the native forces of culture and art, and blend with the great attainments of foreign art into an organic structure, into an independent apprehension of the outer and inner world, which, self-contained and self-consequent, as a philosophic system imposes admiration and discipleship far and wide, and determines for a long period the artistic course of thought. It is the spirit of Andrea Mantegna that animates the world of forms of the Paduan school. He is not so much an outcome of the Paduan school as its true founder. His artistic training rests upon the same bases as that of the other Paduan painters, or painters trained in Padua. It is conditioned by the Venetian artistic character, and the strong fermenting force of Donatello—this is the most weighty result of our foregoing survey—but, outstripping his fellow-pupils and teachers in bold flight, he shows them new paths, and, while still learning with them, teaches them and forms a school. The best proof that the Paduan school attained to artistic independence only through Mantegna is afforded by the fact that after his departure from Padua it loses all weight, and lives on only in weak and imitative works. Whenever we have tried to penetrate into the character of specifically Paduan art, his luminous figure appeared in the background, as the source of light.

His genial intuition of nature and deep grasp of the mental culture of his time enabled him, not merely to form, like the best of his associates, a manner of his own, but to create a *new style*; not only to

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originate a system of characteristic art-forms, but to lay a new foundation for the observation and representation of natural phenomena. This we may observe even in the first great work of his that is preserved, the frescoes in the Church of the Eremitani at Padua, which were begun by him while associated with his Paduan comrades.

FIG. 6.—'FAITH:' FRESCO FROM MANTEGNA'S CHAPEL IN S. ANDREA AT MANTUA

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FIG. 7.—LUNETTE: FRESCO IN THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI, MANTUA, CASTELLO DI CORTE

CHAPTER II

THE FRESCOES IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI AT PADUA

IN the earliest extant work on a great scale by Mantegna, the frescoes which decorate the Chapel of SS. James and Christopher in the Church of the Eremitani at Padua, we become at once aware of an independent and creative worker, fully conscious of his own aims and manifesting a dignity consistent with what we know of his whole career as man and as artist. Since his earliest works of all have not come down to us, we can form a notion of what his training must have been only by reasoning back, as I have already tried to do, from these, his first independent creations. Stress has been laid on his close relation to the old Venetian school, and still more distinct traces of this relation may be found in some early works which were possibly executed even earlier than the frescoes of the Eremitani, and also in a later work, the altarpiece of 1454, in which the artist appears bound to the old Venetian scheme of composition either by convention or by the wish of the person who gave the commission. On the other hand, the great series of frescoes in the Church of the Eremitani reveals for the first time, in strong contrast with those Venetian elements which grafted themselves so naturally on his own genius—the influence of the Florentine style, which now began to determine the direction of his efforts in art. Not for this reason only, however, do we make these frescoes our point of departure for the study

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of Mantegna's artistic growth, but also because they illustrate his relation to his contemporaries of the Paduan school, and enable us to perceive, when we compare Mantegna with these artists, the peculiarities of his personal style and the originality of his talent. In presence of the large surfaces at his command he must have felt free for the first time to follow his own inspirations and to wrestle with the problems set by his own soaring ambitious spirit.

A very apt analogy has been drawn between the frescoes of the Church of the Eremitani in their significance for painting in Northern Italy and Masaccio's pictures in the Brancacci Chapel of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence. They may really be regarded as the starting point from which all the differing artistic tendencies in North Italy developed in varying degrees of strength and brilliancy, just as arches of various heights spring from the capital of the same column.

Evidence for the exact date of the frescoes is very scanty. We know that Antonio degli Ovetari, in his will of January 5, 1443, left the chapel to Jacopo Leone on the condition that after his death 700 gold ducats should be spent on decorating it with scenes from the life of Saint James and of Saint Christopher.[1] Unfortunately, we do not know when Antonio degli Ovetari died, but he was still living in April 1446, and the pictures were not begun, as appears from a list of the churchwardens.[2] The commission for the paintings was given, as Vasari tells us, to Francesco Squarcione, who in his turn entrusted the execution to his pupils, Mantegna and Niccolo Pizzolo; after the death of Pizzolo, Mantegna is stated to have finished the work alone. It was in the year 1448 that Mantegna made that agreement with Squarcione which proved so unfavourable for himself and was judicially annulled in 1456. It is quite possible that this agreement referred principally to the execution of the frescoes in the Eremitani. It was in the year 1455 that the breach between Squarcione and Mantegna, who had married the daughter of Jacopo Bellini in 1453, became so complete that the pupil prosecuted the master in a court of justice (January 1456). In his correspondence with the Marquis Ludovico of Mantua, from January 1457 onwards, Mantegna brings forward as an excuse for delay only the work for the Protonotary in Verona, and says nothing about the chapel. We have

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. p. 306 *seq.*; Selvatico, *Guida di Padova*, 1869, p. 153, note 4.

[2] Extract from a codicil to the will of Ovetari in the Archive of the Museo Civico in Padua (*Arch. Corona. Eremitani, Busta* 38, No. 1093). I owe to the kindness of Professor Moschetti the knowledge of this important document. Professor Moschetti, as also Inspector Cordenons, have also most kindly furthered my researches on various other points.

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therefore very good reason for placing the execution of the pictures between 1448 and 1455.

Vasari's assertion that Mantegna painted the altarpiece for S. Giustina (1453-4) whilst he was employed on the frescoes of the Eremitani, is valueless, because the same author, in a passage immediately following, erroneously designates the fresco over the door of the Santo in Padua, which bears the date 1452, as a later work. In any case the frescoes in the Eremitani must have been pretty well advanced by 1452, and have been completed as far as the lower sections where the legend of Saint James is represented, as a comparison with the painting over the door of the Santo, dated 1452, will at once show. The surmise that Squarcione took a personal share in the execution of the work seems unlikely, if only because he criticised so severely Mantegna's work in the chapel; moreover, at this time Mantegna had attained not only his full artistic development, but complete personal independence, so that Squarcione was obliged to have recourse to agreements with his pupil in order to secure his co-operation, Mantegna having as early as 1448 signed, independently and with his own name, an altarpiece for a large church in Padua (Santa Sofia).[1]

But it is chiefly on artistic grounds that the frescoes must be placed in this period. The decorations of the chapel betray in every part the influence of Donatello. Therefore they must have been begun after Donatello's appearance at Padua, and when his style had become generally dominant there. However much the frescoes may differ from one another as regards execution, Mantegna must have had the whole undertaking in hand and supervised it from the beginning. This is evident not only from the homogeneity and individuality of the artistic conception, but, more important still, from the consistent and consecutive development shown in the decorative scheme and in the composition of the separate paintings. The choice of subjects and possibly also their arrangement within the given space were settled by the donor or his ecclesiastical advisers, the clergy of the church itself, but the artist who undertook the work had still plenty of room to exercise his talent in the decorative arrangement of details and above all in the plan of the compositions.

The chapel, which runs parallel to the choir, consists of a rectangular oblong nave with vaulted roof in four sections, and terminating

[1] See Vasari and Scardeone.

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in a pentagonal apse with corresponding ceiling recesses.[1] Four windows in the walls of the apse and a round window in the cylindrical strip of wall that runs beneath the ceiling admit plenty of light to the interior. In the four spherical triangles of the vaulting over the nave are represented half-lengths of the four Evangelists within circular medallions with garlands of fruit and fluttering ribbons and groups of three pateræ and three shells (an attribute of Saint James) alternately. The lower angles are very skilfully filled by angels standing on clouds. These figures display for the most part life-like movement, but the execution is rough. The Evangelists are not solemnly enthroned figures, but life-like types engaged in every-day occupations, represented as completely absorbed over their books and papers. Their movements are true to nature and their symbolic attributes very cleverly introduced.

In the perspective view of the frame the spectator standing below has been taken into consideration, and the attitude of the angel to the left (below Saint Luke), who is looking upwards, shows that an attempt has been made to bring the subsidiary ornamental figures into a real relation with the principal scenes. The skill shown in the composition and in the manner in which the space is filled forms a striking contrast with the technical execution of these ceiling frescoes, which is harsh, and in some parts even coarse. It is impossible to attribute the design to any of the artists (for there must have been several engaged in the work) who executed it so feebly.

The naturalistic tendency which shows itself so clearly here as in all parts of the chapel is common, it is true, to all Quattrocentro art whether Italian or Flemish, and since the times of Altichiero and Pisanello the style of painting which lays stress on the homely and everyday side of life has been a feature of the Venetian school. All the same the resolution of religious subjects into the momentary interest of *genre*, the thorough penetration of the religious by the purely and naïvely human could only spring from a fresh and individual conception.

The four Fathers of the Church in the round spaces on the cylindrical frieze under the vault of the apses are conceived in a like spirit; they are the logical development of the same motives and the same manner of composition, but were actually painted by a more accomplished artist. The Evangelists on the ceiling, placed as they are in large spaces enclosed by heavy frames, look much too small for the height of the

[1] The chapel is 8·75 m. (28¾ feet) broad, 7 m. (23 feet) long, the apse has a depth of 4 m. (13 feet).

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chapel; the artist who designed them seems to have become aware of this flaw, and accordingly to have drawn the figures of the apse proportionately larger, though they are really much nearer the spectator. The four Fathers are worked into the four circles beside the round window with admirable skill and great knowledge of perspective, as if they were placed within four real openings.

In the five triangular fields on the vaulting of the apse are represented, as if standing in an open space, the two titular saints of the chapel and the two apostle-princes Saint Peter and Saint Paul, standing on clouds, and between them, in the central triangle, and within an almond-shaped glory, the figure of God the Father, represented as an old man enthroned and surrounded by angels and cherubim. He forms the ideal centre of the whole cycle; beside Him stand the ascended saints, worshipping, while the Madonna, represented on the central face of the apse behind the altar, appears to be soaring upwards to meet Him, and attracts our gaze away from the earth, where the Apostles, who still have toils and martyrdom to go through, are present at her Assumption. The walls of the nave are devoted to the acts and sufferings of Saint James and Saint Christopher. The six frescoes of the left-hand wall represent scenes from the history of Saint James the greater; his call to the office of apostle, the exorcism of the demons sent to him by the magician Hermogenes, the baptism of the converted magician, the defence before Herod Agrippa, the healing of a cripple on the way to the place of execution, and the martyrdom. On the right hand, in the spaces of the lunette, we see Saint Christopher before the mightiest king of the earth, and his meeting with the Devil; underneath he is carrying the Christ-child through the water (marked 'Opus Boni'), in the adjoining picture he is addressing the king's troops (marked 'Opus Ansuini'), while in the lowest row are represented his martyrdom and the carrying away of his body.

Although this distribution of the subjects seems so simple and natural, it is yet the result of careful thought and of a clear comprehension of their meaning. Besides, the presence of a fine artistic sense fully conscious of its own aims is shown by the use made of the space to be filled, by the clever arrangement of the subjects within the different sections, and, above all, by the unity of scheme combined throughout with the rapid and consistent development of a decorative system of form.

The ornamention of the ribs of the vaultings over the nave gives in its garlands of fruit—which are carried out in a decidedly stiff and mechanical manner—the dominant motive of the whole decoration. The

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painters who executed the design seem to have worked quite arbitrarily at the borders of heavy, confused and crowded Gothic ornaments similar to the acanthus, which frame in the triangular spaces. The forms of these ornaments recall the Venetian decoration of the same period, especially the capitals of the Doge's palace. To the right of Saint Luke, to the left of Saint Matthew, and also below Saint Luke, Saint Matthew and Saint John, the more condensed design of sprays passes suddenly, without transition, into a narrower and lighter ornament. Very noticeable are the vases in the corners, from which the bands of ornament rise, and which betray the attempt to find an architectonic motive for the decoration. In the decoration of the apse the same thought is clearly expressed. The ribs are plastically indicated and shrouded in somewhat stiff wreaths of oak foliage. In the hollows between the ribs are more garlands of fruit, presenting clearly a much lighter and more living appearance. We see here for the first time a new and original motive for ornament. At the upper angles are tassels, from which spring luxuriant garlands of fruit decked with ribbons and represented as if *hanging downwards into space.* The effect of suspension in space has not been perfectly attained, but the intention is unmistakable. This motive becomes intelligible only when taken in relation to the development of Mantegna's ideas on decoration. We shall often have to observe that what Mantegna aims at is essentially this: to annihilate the wall surface as an architectonic feature, and so make the ornament or other representation appear as if actually present in the given space. Here we come upon the beginning of a new and peculiar scheme of decoration. Mantegna is the first artist who tries not simply to cover his wall with pictures, without any regard to the spectator's position, but to fit the separate designs into a constructive whole so that they may appear to the spectator as would real events. This idea of *illusionist decoration* is first consistently carried out in the Camera degli Sposi in the Castle at Mantua; in the building we are now studying it is shown only in its initial stages. The whole decorative design has not yet attained to a complete *architectonic* unity, and yet a firm *decorative* skeleton forms its groundwork. In many parts of the frescoes of this chapel we shall have to call attention to features which can only be explained by a reference to this 'illusionist' decorative system of Mantegna.

The garlands of fruit which frame the lunettes of the left-hand wall of the nave are carried out similarly to those in the apse, while the corresponding garlands on the wall to the right (facing the altar) are

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clumsily filled in, though on the same scheme, by Ansuino da Forlì. Between the lunettes and the upper course of frescoes hang heavy garlands about which frolicsome cherubs are gambolling. The garlands hang from rings which are painted with special care to simulate relief, in order that the fruit wreaths, the cherubs, and the donor's coat of arms in the centre may look as if they were really hanging down into the empty space. Here again the right-hand motive is exactly the same as the left-hand one, but the execution is completely different; it is even possible to distinguish, on the frescoes of Bono and Ansuino, the touch of each painter, and we therefore conclude that each had a portion of the same design to execute in his own manner. Pure Renascence motives appear for the first time in the garlands and bucrania on the arch of the apse; the two monochrome colossal heads in stone-colour at the spring of the arch are specially original (see fig. 9). The soffit of the arch, on the other hand, is adorned by a stiff row of cherubim. Starting from the borders with cornucopiæ and bucrania over the picture of the Assumption and over the fresco, the ornamentation in the frescoes of the left-hand wall transforms itself into a frame of 'montants,' composed of acanthus ornaments, candelabra, busts, and statues of angels, and finally, in the cornice over the last fresco of Mantegna, ends in a purely architectonic antique motive.

We see, then, in the frescoes of the Eremitani Chapel that the artists begin with Gothic ornament, and only gradually attain to freer, lighter forms that approach the antique. This is a striking instance of how the facts refute the tradition that Squarcione's pupils studied antique models under him; for it is only when the pupils have outgrown the master's instructions and have learned independence that they begin to push their way out of the old system of forms to a newer mode of ornament. Who their model was cannot remain doubtful if we compare the decoration of the Eremitani Chapel with Donatello's reliefs in the Tribuna of the Santo in Padua; the leader of the new following can have been none other than the young Mantegna himself.

Even those frescoes which were certainly not painted by Mantegna, but by independent artists like Ansuino da Forlì and Bono da Ferrara, prove that a definite consistent plan was followed in the execution of the separate paintings. Composition, scale of figures, and background, as well as the forms taken individually, show, as we shall see further on, that all these pictures stand in a definite relation to the later designs painted by Mantegna on the opposite wall.

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Accordingly there can be no possible doubt that Mantegna was the artist who planned the whole decoration, who made more or less exact designs for the other artists employed to follow, and in fact superintended the whole work. Not only was he Squarcione's adopted son, but the older painter had made an agreement with him, such as he could only have entered upon with an important independent power, and not with a raw apprentice. Above all, the early frescoes of the young artist bring

FIG. 8.—SAINT LUKE: FRESCO ON THE CEILING OF THE CHAPEL IN THE CHURCH OF THE EREMITANI AT PADUA

(*Phot. Anderson*)

out so clearly his personality and definiteness of aim that there can be no hesitation in referring to him the inspiration of the progress shown in the other paintings also.

When we come to details, it is extremely difficult, or perhaps impossible, to define Mantegna's share in the different paintings and to distinguish the touch of the various artists, especially as the documentary evidence is very ambiguous. Marcantonio Michiel,[1] who visited Padua

[1] The 'Anonimo Morelliano,' edition of Vienna, 1888, p. 26.

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in the first half of the sixteenth century, divides the frescoes thus: 'The left-hand wall entirely by Mantegna, the lower part of the right hand by the same, the upper part by Ansuino da Forlì and Buon Ferrarese or Bolognese, the Assumption of the Virgin and figures of Apostles behind the altar and the figures under the dome by Niccolo Pizzolo from Padua, besides the Evangelists with the recesses in perspective' (apparently he means the four Fathers). Vasari is, no doubt, less reliable on this point.

FIG. 9.—SAINT MARK; FRESCO ON THE CEILING OF THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(Phot. Anderson)

He ascribes to Niccolo Pizzolo 'God the Father in a glory between the four Fathers of the Church' (as he inaccurately expresses it), and to Mantegna the four Evangelists of the vaulting.

This is evidently a mistake; for, although the drawings for the Evangelists, like the whole decorative arrangement of the ceiling, fall to Mantegna, it is incredible that he carried out his own designs (figs. 8 and 9). It is true that these paintings are difficult to criticise, because of their height, and also because the chief figures with the exception of Saint Mark are completely re-painted; and yet we must assume several, or at least two, separate hands to account for the striking differences in the

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ornamental borders. In roughness of execution (which amounts to clumsy coarseness in the figures of the angels), they form the strongest contrast to all known works of Mantegna, as they do also in the extremely vulgar types and the schematic style of drapery. The pictures of the Evangelists come so very near to the manner of Gregorio Schiavone, especially in the hands and draperies, that we may rightly identify him as that assistant of Squarcione to whom was entrusted the task of carrying out Mantegna's designs in these pictures, and perhaps in other parts of the frescoes as well. Supposing this to be so, the Angels and ornaments must have been painted by a still more incompetent apprentice, who was most likely responsible for the half-length figures of Angels in the ovals of the soffit of the arch.

FIG. 10.—ORNAMENTAL HEAD: FRESCO ON THE ARCH IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI

(Phot. Anderson)

In the border of bulls' heads and garlands on the front face of the arch we meet for the first time with a purely antique motive carried out in a fresher and more lively manner, and remarkable on account of the insertion of the two colossal heads in stone-colour at the spring of the arch (fig. 10). Although there is no question here of direct imitation of the antique, and although the heads are not antique in form, yet it seems evident that this application of sculptural members as ornament is conceived in the spirit of the antique as imagined by the Quattrocento, and is derived from the same plastic tendency which shows itself in the elaboration of detail and in the effect of ornament as such. The heads are executed in the same manner as the saints in the vaulting of the apses which were ascribed to Niccolo Pizzolo by Marcantonio Michiel and Vasari.

Before we turn to the pictures of this new master, whose work we shall find it difficult to identify, we must notice the frescoes attested by inscriptions to be by Bono da Ferrara and Ansuino da Forlì, two artists

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who stand outside the Paduan circle. In design and execution these pictures stand very far apart from the works of Mantegna and the other

FIG. 11.—BONO DA FERRARA: SAINT CHRISTOPHER: FRESCO IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

Paduan painters. Bono da Ferrara, who has proudly signed his name under the left of the two upper rectangular frescoes of the right-hand wall, where the young giant Christopher with the Christ-child on his

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FIG. 12.—ANSUINO DA FORLI: SERMON OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER: FRESCO IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI

(*Phot. Anderson*)

shoulders is represented standing by the water (fig. 11), clearly announces himself by his pictures in the National Gallery[1] as the disciple of Pisanello; and this on the evidence not only of the inscription 'Pisani Discipulus,' but of the fine careful style, the types of the saints and

[1] Saint Jerome, No. 771.

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the landscape with its plants and animals. In this fresco, too, Bono does no discredit to his artistic origin. Very characteristic is the landscape with the high horizon and the hilly ground sloping up to it behind, so that very little of the sky is visible, especially so different from the landscapes of Ansuino and Mantegna. Again, the careful work bestowed on the flowers and bushes, which cover a great part of the ground, and the stags and roebucks with the high lights on their haunches, recall very strongly the manner of Pisanello. A nearer examination of the fresco results in the discovery of closer analogies with the picture in the National Gallery than might at first be supposed possible. The formation of the feet with protruding veins and the shape of the hands are the same in both, and the type of Saint Jerome is characteristically repeated in the figures of the old hermit in the background and of the old man to the left of the fresco. Evidently, however, Bono's work here in Padua owed much to his companions, Schiavone and others, and perhaps was even directly influenced by Donatello. The types of Christopher and of the children, the long skull, the broad flat nose, the protruding eyes in a flat face, the shape of the children's little feet, the powerfully plastic modelling with heavy shadow, the rolls of drapery which look as if they were kneaded out of soft clay, the violent pose in which the bodies appear to curve, the stringy hair, in fact everything is imitated from Schiavone or his prototype Donatello, mostly indeed in a superficial manner, and without either real comprehension or the life-like swing to be seen in the figures of Donatello. Saint Christopher even directly recalls the youth to the left beside Saint Antony in the relief by Donatello on the high altar of the Santo, representing the testimony of the young children to the innocence of the Mother. Even the antique colonnade, inserted on the left without any apparent reason, is probably a concession to the leanings towards the antique then in vogue among the Paduan artists. As representation this picture is very meaningless; it really gives none of the essential content of the scene, and stops short at a purely superficial presentment of forms which are really ill adapted to express it. Even the attempt to indicate by the attitude of the giant the supernatural weight with which, as the legend relates, the Christ-child pressed on his shoulders, is very unsuccessful, and the proportion of the giant to the little figure of the fisherman beside him is not well brought out.

In the case of Ansuino, who has signed his name in the same manner on the fresco next to Bono's, the influence of Donatello has met

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with a more powerful rival in that of Piero della Francesca, in whose school Ansuino da Forlì—a countryman accordingly of Piero's most talented scholar Melozzo da Forlì—must evidently have been formed. The picture represents Saint Christopher preaching to the soldiers and being worshipped by them (fig. 12). Schmarsow [1] was probably right in ascribing

FIG. 13.—ANSUINO DA FORLÌ: SAINT CHRISTOPHER BEFORE THE KING: FRESCO IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(Phot. Anderson)

to Ansuino the two triangular frescoes of the lunette also, above those signed by himself and by Bono, although they are feebler and clumsier than the lower picture. Here Christopher is represented in presence of the king on his throne and meeting the devil on horseback (figs. 13 and 14).

[1] Schmarsow, *Melozzo da Forlì.* The Madonna in the Altenburg Museum may also, in spite of the careless execution, be a work of Ansuino. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1897, (xviii.) p. 179.

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Scarcely any one will dispute the close connection of Ansuino with Piero ; the heavy figures which even when moving have both feet firmly planted on the ground, the serious but stiff and cold expression on the faces, the clumsy bodies and limbs (for example, the hands with the thick, wide-apart fingers), together with the details of costume and drapery,

FIG. 14.—ANSUINO DA FORLÌ : SAINT CHRISTOPHER MEETING THE DEVIL : FRESCO IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

prove that Ansuino must have been Piero's pupil before he came to Padua. It is possible that he like many others, was attracted to Padua by the hope of lucrative work ; for there was in Padua at that time a great artistic activity which gave employment to obscurer as well as to more distinguished artists. In any case his frescoes in the Chapel of the Podestà, which, according to Marcantonio Michiel, were painted

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beside those of Filippo Lippi (who worked in the Santo at Padua in 1434) and those of Niccolo Pizzolo, must have been executed previously to the works in the Eremitani.

Like many of the painters mentioned above, who, though working in Padua, belonged to other schools, Ansuino, although he must have

FIG. 15.—GOD THE FATHER: FRESCO IN THE APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(Phot. Anderson)

come to Padua already a mature artist, was soon drawn into the vortex of Donatello's inspiration. Probably it seemed the more inevitable that he should share in the new art-tendency because in the Eremitani Chapel he found himself in a circle of zealous pupils of Donatello, and was forced to make his work fit in to a plan already settled upon.

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The composition of the 'Sermon of Saint Christopher' is thoroughly Donatellesque. The spectators pushing briskly forward towards the centre of action, the circle of indifferent onlookers standing behind them, and especially the group of the two youths standing on the plinth between the pillars and pressing inquisitively forwards, are motives very characteristic of Donatello. The direct imitation is the more evident because the execution is laboured and the diminution of the figures is not rightly managed. Even the background goes back to a prototype by Donatello; but in this instance, too, the imitation is only superficial, the perspective is wrong, and the arches most uncomfortably squeezed in between the pillars. It is evident that an effective motive has been spoiled by the heavy figures, which do not fit into their surroundings. In the separate forms, in the attitudes, and in the treatment of drapery, Ansuino did not adopt the style of Donatello; he was apparently too mature and cumbrous in his methods to be able to learn anything in this respect. His technique and colouring, like those of Bono, are softer and more graduated than those of the Paduans and of Mantegna in his earlier pictures. In the pictures of the lunette he probably worked more independently, and betrays accordingly still greater unskilfulness in his attitudes and his

FIG. 16.—SAINT PETER: FRESCO IN THE APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

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foreshortenings. This brings out the more clearly his dependence on the designs put before him. Though the compositions of Ansuino are strongly influenced by Donatello's motives, it is plain that his dependence on the Florentine artist is not due to his own initiative but to that of the leading artist who made the first sketches for him to follow. This is strikingly proved by the fairly close correspondence between his works and the frescoes by Mantegna on the opposite wall. In the lunettes the representation of an interior on the left, as also the landscape on the right—the projecting rock that skilfully fills up the corner, and the distance—correspond respectively to the pictures opposite, which are certainly designed by Mantegna. The composition of Ansuino's 'Sermon of Saint Christopher' answers still more exactly in scheme to Mantegna's 'Baptism of Hermogenes' on the opposite wall. The similarity in the disposition of the colonnade at the side, the arch in the background, the tendency to thrust the centre of gravity of the picture towards the outer edges, cannot be explained as accidental resemblances, any more than a series of decorative and figured motives which need not be enumerated in detail. No one could suppose that Mantegna and Ansuino followed a common prototype, still less that Mantegna imitated the frescoes of Ansuino. In Ansuino's pictures some figures come completely out of the architectonic

FIG. 17.—SAINT PAUL: FRESCO IN THE APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

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frame, because they appear not to be able to find room within it; in Mantegna's they move with security and ease within the free open space which is homogeneous with themselves. Mantegna's essential principle of composition, which is to attain a natural and unconstrained effect of space by clear grouping and by leaving large portions of the ground free, underlies both paintings, only Ansuino did not understand it. Moreover, the unity of action alone—a principle which at that time even Piero della Francesca and most of the Florentines do not consistently observe—would be very surprising in the case of artists like Bono and Ansuino if we could not refer the composition of their pictures to Mantegna himself.

FIG. 18.—SAINT CHRISTOPHER: FRESCO IN THE APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI

(Phot. Anderson)

If, then, we take it as proved that Mantegna planned the whole decoration of the chapel, and made more or less finished drawings for the separate pictures—for those even which were carried out by other and independent artists — we shall find that this fact, once established, throws a new light on his relation to the school of Squarcione. We shall realise that the bond of style uniting the artists who worked in Padua is not due to Squarcione, but to Donatello, and that Mantegna occupied an influential position in the Paduan school earlier than has hitherto been supposed. Such

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early maturity was, indeed, nothing remarkable at that period in Italy.

We may hope, therefore, that we have found at the same time the right point of view for the study of the frescoes of the apse also, and to these we must now return.

Unlike the works of Ansuino and Bono, these paintings, ascribed, as

FIG. 19.—SAINT AMBROSE (?): FRESCO IN THE APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

we have already said, with the two designs of the lunette on the left-hand wall, to Niccolo Pizzolo, approach very near to Mantegna's style, not only in the composition, but in feeling and rendering of form. The figures of God the Father, and of the four saints in the vault of the apse (one of which, Saint James, at the extreme left, is completely destroyed), are powerful statuesque figures, whose attitudes and faces express peace,

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dignity, and elevated sentiments. The drapery is treated in Donatello's manner, clinging to the body in parts, and in others breaking into a confused and turbulent mass of creases and folds. In spite of their naturalness and their plastic character, we miss the largeness and freedom

FIG. 20.—SAINT AUGUSTINE (?): FRESCO IN THE APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(Phot. Anderson)

of effect which, we cannot help feeling, were intended by the designer (figs. 15 to 18).

More effective are the four Fathers of the Church in the round spaces of the frieze under the vaulting. Their characteristic and natural movements bear witness to a fresh and direct observation of nature. The aged Saint Jerome seems to have been disturbed in his study, and

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looks up from his book with an almost vexed expression; Saint Augustine is raising his book as though deeply moved by what he reads. Saint Gregory is holding the book at a distance as if criticising the contents, while Saint Ambrose is trying a pen before beginning to write.

FIG. 21.—SAINT GREGORY: FRESCO IN THE APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

With admirable truthfulness and reality, the artist has represented the attitudes, the perspective foreshortening of the spaces and of the round openings through which the spectator seems to look at the figures from below, and the accessory details round the figures. They are masterpieces of composition, realisation and drawing (figs. 19 to 21).

Although immensely superior to the saints on the vaulting, they are

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unquestionably by the same hand. The types, though more lifelike, are identical; the drawing is the same, as is shown by the rather full but finely curved lips, the prominent cheek-bones with the high lights on them, the figures with joints strongly marked, the remarkable prominence at the wrist joint, looking almost like a separate growth, the peculiar twisted folds of the drapery and other details. Another, though more superficial point of resemblance—the identical ornamentation of the halos —may help to convince the doubter that our analogies and the statements of the old authors, Michiel and Vasari, are correct. Both assign these pictures to Mantegna's fellow-pupil, Niccolo Pizzolo, by whom, according to Vasari, Mantegna was so much stimulated to study.[1]

In Vasari's short but sympathetic account, Pizzolo appears as a highly gifted artist lacking in seriousness, whose talents were never fully developed, and whose passion for fighting and duelling brought him to a violent and untimely end. According to M. A. Michiel he painted in the Chapel of the Podestà along with Filippo Lippi and Ansuino da Forlì, and Vasari adds that his subject was a God the Father, the only work in Padua that, in his day, was known to be by Pizzolo. Now Filippo Lippi is mentioned in the accounts of the Santo in 1434, and by 1438 he was undoubtedly back in Florence, so that the paintings in Padua must have been executed between 1434 and 1438. Hence neither Niccolo Pizzolo nor Ansuino can have painted in the Chapel of the Podestà at the same date as Fra Filippo, but can only have begun after he had left—that is to say, if we can without further proof identify the 'Nicolò depentore,' who was working in the Santo from 1446 to 1448 as 'garzone' (apprentice) of Donatello, with our Niccolo Pizzolo.[2]

This relation of pupil to master between Pizzolo and Donatello would thus form another link in the chain of external evidence as to the complete dependence of the Paduan school of painting on Donatello. Certainly, the saints and the Fathers of the Church of the apse show Pizzolo as an artist nearly related to Schiavone—essentially grounded, that is, in the Venetian manner of representing form and emotion—but upon whom Donatello exerted a determining influence. In the frescoes of Filippo Lippi he might have

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*op. cit.* i. p. 316) contradict the current tradition, and assign the four Fathers to Lorenzo di Lendinara, an artist whose sphere lies totally outside the Paduan school. Perhaps they do so because of the spatial foreshortening which was familiar to Intarsiasts. But Lorenzo di Lendinara, in all his authenticated works, appears consistently as the pupil of Piero della Francesca, and stands quite apart from these pictures.

[2] S. Gonzati, *Basilica di S. Antonio in Padova*, i. pp. 56, 256, and xli. (note 1 to Doc. xxxv.), and p. lxxxv. and Doc. 81.

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FIG. 22.—ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN : FRESCO IN THE APSE OF THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI

(*Phot. Anderson*)

studied the Florentine technique. And, indeed, his frescoes, with their refined and graduated treatment, full of powerful contrasts of light and shadow, show a much superior technical skill and a softer touch than the

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early frescoes of Mantegna, who may in turn have learned something from him. But when we consider the great advance from the figures of saints in the vaulting to the Fathers of the Church, and realise the immensely greater refinement in the type and expression of individual faces compared with others much coarser and rougher (for example, the Saint Christopher compared with God the Father), we must of necessity admit that Mantegna shared and influenced the work. Even so greatly gifted an artist as Pizzolo, particularly if wanting, as he apparently was, in earnestness and concentration, could only make such a step with the help of a master of genius, who was certain of his aim, and this master, if we recall the frescoes of the chapel in their decorative development, we must conclude to be no other, in spite of his youth, than Mantegna.

This relation of Pizzolo to Mantegna is further confirmed if we look carefully at the picture of the Assumption behind the altar in the apse, which, according to M. A. Michiel, should also be by Pizzolo (fig. 22). Without the statement of the old authors, no one would have assigned the Assumption to the same painter as the Saints and Fathers of the apse, but it would at once have been attributed to Mantegna. The Madonna herself, to consider this figure only, as she stands on clouds surrounded by Angels and raises her inspired gaze to heaven, is entirely in Mantegna's style, much more slender and more graceful in attitude than Pizzolo's figures. Her robe is of thinner stuff, that clings to the body; it forms more plane surfaces and more finely crimped folds. The form of the hand is longer and narrower, entirely like Mantegna's. The Angels, who are supposed to be sporting at will in the air, are arranged quite symmetrically, but their action is full of life; their attitudes appear almost violent, yet they are evidently studied from nature, perhaps from children swimming. They bear the strongest resemblance to the *putti* on garlands of the walls of the nave. The expression of the Madonna is slightly empty, and lacks the depth of feeling which characterises Mantegna's personal style. This circumstance alone would make one chary of assigning the execution of the work to Mantegna himself. If we were right in referring the composition and drawing of the Fathers of the Church to Mantegna, then we cannot help recognising that here also his share in the work was the determining influence; the executive artist, if he was the same who painted the apse vaulting, has in this instance again come a step nearer Mantegna in style. The ornamentation of the framework is already quite in the style of the Renascence. This is true not only of the frieze of cornucopiæ, above on the arch,

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carried out in a rather petty and restless manner, and repeated over Bono's fresco, but also of the refined ornament of stylised foliage on the pilaster, which corresponds exactly to Mantegna's ornamentation between the frescoes representing the legend of Saint James.

The group of Apostles, looking up to the ascending Virgin, can hardly be paralleled, as to largeness and originality of composition and expression, among the works of the early Quattrocento.[1] Here, for the first time, Italian art has succeeded in expressing psychic emotion by physical action naturally and without exaggeration. One most significant feature, not only for Mantegna's principles of composition, but also for his efforts to excite in the spectator immediate realisation of the occurrence represented, is the manner in which separate figures step out of the architectonic framework which is intended to confine the representation. Singularly bold is the attitude of the Apostle to the left as he grasps the pilaster which forms part of the frame, in order to look up to the Madonna, thereby appearing to step out of the space assigned to the representation and into that assigned to the spectator. The group of the two Apostles embracing is also highly effective, emphasising, as it does, the vehemence of emotion, and making one realise how the loss of the Saviour's Mother tends to strengthen the brotherhood of the disciples. The dramatic motive of sympathy is here not simply hinted at as in early art, but revealed in its full and natural truth.

This group is absolutely on a level with Mantegna's personal style alike in dramatic feeling, freedom of movement, and depth of sentiment. Not only so, but technically it surpasses the first two frescoes which were certainly executed by his own hand. This is already evident from the perspective treatment, which, as in the second pair of Mantegna's frescoes—the lower pictures of the legend of Saint James—assumes a point of sight beneath the lower edge of the picture, so that the figures are seen as if from the real standpoint of the spectator, and therefore, because the lower edge lies above the spectator's eye, the feet of the second row of figures are not visible. The ornament of the pilaster, too, is more refined and lighter than that of the arch.

In this case, therefore, it is not only composition and drawing—as in the other frescoes of the apse—that should be referred to Mantegna, but the whole group of Apostles is undoubtedly executed by his own hand, and that at a date intermediate between the upper and lower

[1] They are very much injured, and unfortunately they cannot be photographed, because they are placed behind the altar. Reproduced in an engraving by Novelli (?).

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rectangular frescoes representing the legend of Saint James. Apparently Pizzolo painted the ascending Virgin with the Angels, while Mantegna was occupied with the upper pictures of the left-hand wall. When the work was interrupted by Pizzolo's sudden death, Mantegna, having no assistant available, or none he could entrust with the task, was obliged to set to work and finish it himself.

We see, then, that Pizzolo, who, like Schiavone and other Paduan artists, began with Venetian forms, and imitation of Donatello in the figures of saints in the vaulting, proceeded in the Fathers and ascending Madonna to follow closely the development of his older, or at least maturer and more serious, fellow-student. He can keep pace with him as far as technique goes, but when it comes to expression of emotion or comprehension of the inner life, as in the figure of the Madonna, he falls far behind him. With all his talent, he is lacking, as we can see from the accounts of his life and character, in repose and depth of spiritual insight.

If we were to suppose the group of Apostles and the other paintings of the apse to be independent works by Pizzolo, we should not only have to make Mantegna the pupil and Pizzolo the master, but we should have to transfer to a stranger the first manifestations of genius and of the personal style of the master we are studying, and at the same time the whole further development of his original artistic conception would become unintelligible.

Vasari and M. A. Michiel assign to Mantegna the frescoes of the left-hand wall with the legend of Saint James, and the two lowest pictures on the right-hand wall representing the martyrdom of Saint Christopher, Vasari's notice implying that Mantegna began the work on the left-hand wall and then added to it the picture on the right.

The two designs of the left-hand lunette, representing the Call of Saint James (fig. 23) and the Exorcism of the Demons sent by Hermogenes (fig. 24), can nevertheless not be accepted as the work of Mantegna's own hand. They fall too far short of the frescoes below them, and form too crude a contrast with their clumsy uncertain attitudes and the coarse staring faces of many of the figures, to the well-proportioned heads of Mantegna's figures, with their peaceful and quiet expression; and in their colouring they are distinctly brighter and harder than even his earliest frescoes. The compositions, however, must be his. Their symmetrical relation to Ansuino's frescoes on the opposite wall has already been mentioned; the presentment of the events is clear and effective; in both the centre of gravity and direction of movement are

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brought towards the edges and are skilfully closed off, towards the side of the arch of the chapel vaulting, by the rocks or the architecture of the background, so that at the back the illusion of illimitable space is pro-

FIG. 23.—THE CALL OF SAINT JAMES: FRESCO IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(Phot. Anderson)

duced. The arch over the pulpit of Saint James is apparently intended merely to draw the eye away from the line of the vaulting arch. The principle of composition is the same as in Mantegna's frescoes underneath, but in the execution the work of several hands can be distinguished.

The two *putti* on the garland in the angles strikingly resemble the Angels in the Assumption, and therefore must have been painted by Pizzolo, but the actual pictures display throughout different and much stiffer forms, more mechanically worked out; the painter has evidently

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coarsened the drawing considerably in the handling. The executant must evidently not be looked for among the artists we are already familiar with as employed in the chapel. Some of the types, especially the Saint

FIG. 24.—EXORCISM OF DEMONS BY SAINT JAMES: FRESCO IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

John kneeling beside Saint James, some peculiarities in the attitudes and in the form of hands and drapery, the treatment of the ground and other things, show certain resemblances to the work of Bernardo Parenzano, who has already been mentioned above (p. 51), so that it might reasonably be supposed that he worked out the greater part of both pictures after Mantegna's designs. But only the greater part, for the fine dignified reposeful figure of Saint James in the right-hand picture,

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and the group of Christ and the Apostles standing, besides the landscape, in the left-hand picture, may with great probability be ascribed to Mantegna himself. It is even possible, by carefully observing cracks in the plaster and varieties in tone, to detect the seams between the different parts of the frescoes. The attitudes are almost as free and significant as in the lower frescoes; the figure of an Apostle seen from behind, especially, is full of majesty and meaning. The faces have the characteristic Mantegnesque expression; the landscape too, as well as the castle behind, the flight of birds overhead, and the half-ruined buildings on the rock, are quite in his style, and worked only in his own refined manner.

At this point, then, Mantegna begins to set his own hand to the decoration of the chapel. Before this he seems to have been occupied with designs and drawings for the frescoes, and perhaps with other work, so that he was obliged to hand over the execution to assistants from Squarcione's studio. The remaining four paintings of the left wall and the lower course of the right wall are exclusively his own creation, so this portion of the work is not baulked of its effect by the disturbing introduction of a weak executant.

It has already been shown that the fresco decoration of the chapel is founded on a definite plan and on a consistent decorative idea, that a symmetrical correspondence in motive between the two series of frescoes is intended; moreover, that a consistent and consecutive development of form and of composition can be unmistakably observed. From the very beginning Mantegna had in his mind not only the idea of the homogeneous decorative structure, but also, though perhaps less consciously, the conviction that it was necessary to make the separate designs appear as actual episodes, and yet at the same time to connect them together as component parts of a realistic whole. This conviction gradually grows to full consciousness, and he tries to attain his end by various means according to the development of his idea of composition and to the stage of technical skill at which he has arrived. The consequence is that with great consistency of intention is combined great variety in treatment.

The first pair of frescoes, the Baptism of Hermogenes and Saint James before Herod Agrippa, are composed from a common point of vision midway between the two pictures. Not only is this point taken for both frescoes at the height of a man, but the centres of gravity for the compositions are moved symmetrically to the left (Saint James baptizing) and to the right (the Proconsul on his judgment seat), so that the free space lies towards the inner sides, and thus the two scenes

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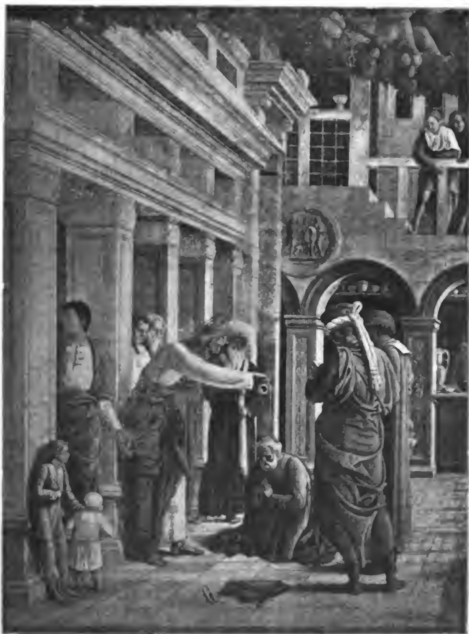

FIG. 25.—THE BAPTISM OF HERMOGENES: FRESCO IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

appear to a certain extent to be taking place on one spot. In the two lower frescoes the change of perspective has made inequality unavoidable, but in this instance also the centre of gravity of both pictures has been

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FIG. 26.—FROM THE BAPTISM OF HERMOGENES
(*Phot. Anderson*)

pushed towards the outer edges, to the right and left. Finally, in the last pair of frescoes on the opposite wall, the realistic principle of decoration makes itself clearly felt, for the two frescoes are really treated as one. They represent two scenes taking place on a common theatre (here the whole wall surface). These two scenes, the Martyrdom of St. Christopher and the taking away of his body are separated from each other only by a decorative pillar in the centre.

The attempt to give the impression of an event really happening in the space in front of the spectator is made characteristically evident in separate features of the composition. In the beheading of Saint James the horizontal bar on which the officer in front is leaning is represented as if it were fastened to the pilaster on the left outside the plane of the wall; therefore both the fence and the upper part of the officer's body seem to emerge from the field of the wall into the interior space of the chapel. In the two frescoes representing the Martyrdom of Saint Christopher Mantegna has gone still further. Although in the original the figure of the saint chained to the pillar on the extreme left, as well as the boy's figure to the right in the same picture, are almost completely destroyed, it may be seen from the old copies[1] that the saint was bound to the pillar itself, and therefore that part of his figure projected over the field of the picture, just as is the case with the figures of the knight and the boy to the right and of the Apostles in the Assumption of the Virgin. It is here that the artist takes his first vigorous steps towards a new and realistic method of composition.

Again, in the composition of the separate episodes, Mantegna is fully conscious of his aim; in any case he is guided by right instincts, and thus

[1] In the Parma Gallery and at Paris, in the collection of Madame André; see *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1886, i. p. 177.

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finds new and original though simple means to attain the desired effect of space and a clear and pregnant exposition of the subject. More than all, the action in each picture is one and indivisible, not put together out of scenes that take place at different times, as happens in most older works. The central point of the action is moved back from the ground-line of the picture somewhat towards the background, so that the space in front in the middle remains free, and the participants or spectators in the scene group themselves on lines running from the centre to the lower corners of the picture. By this means not only is the centre of the action emphasised, but a feeling of spatial amplitude is awakened, while the number of persons is reduced as much as possible. Raphael, as is well known, started from the same principle. Mantegna never makes a pedantic use of this scheme; it is seldom distinctly marked, and never conspicuous, because he shows so much variety and invention in the grouping.

FIG. 27.—FROM THE BAPTISM OF HERMOGENES
(*Phot. Anderson*)

In the first painting, the 'Baptism of Hermogenes,' the triangular line of the composition is specially clear (figs. 25, 26, 27). From the apex, where the head of Hermogenes is placed, the lines run to the front angles; the intensity of the interest gradually declines towards the back. The background with a colonnade to the left, the arches behind, and the spectators are thoroughly Donatellesque, yet employed independently with delicate perception, so as to give a secluded and devotional character to the scene by enclosing it.

The means he has at his command permit him to attempt already the solution of these great problems of expression of feeling. Although here and there a detail in attitude or treatment of drapery may be somewhat hard or stiff in execution, as regards insight and rendering of movement and form the artist has attained a height where few can follow him.

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With an admirable precision, he has caught the momentary attitude from actual nature, and with great skill has applied them to the scene he wishes to represent. The saint and his convert are both so serious even as to the material part of the sacrament, that the symbolic and the corporeal signification seem to be welded into one indivisible unity. The other actors in the scene are more indifferent. The person most impressed by the act is apparently an old man in Oriental costume, perhaps a follower of Hermogenes, who, half thoughtful, half embarrassed, is pulling his long neck scarf through his fingers. Two other persons are watching attentively, apparently more absorbed by the material occurrence, and a third is talking the matter over with an acquaintance behind the pillar. In the superbly expressive figure of a man to the right, Mantegna has by a master-stroke created one of those magnificent types whose position alone suffices to explain fully their way of thinking and their relation to the scene in progress. In the elegant, elastic curve of the body there is a distinguished ease combined with a kind of haughty indifference, which forms a very striking contrast to the earnestness of the principal persons. The man who is turning over the leaves of one of Hermogenes' forsworn books of Magic (which, contrary to the legend, are shown lying there) can hardly be a convert. He will probably turn away with some careless superficial remark and resume his 'more important' and pleasurable avocations. A *spiritual* contrast to the sceptical man of the world is formed by the delicious group of two children, an elder boy, who with bashful curiosity squeezes himself against the pillar, and gently holds back his little brother, who is trying with uncertain steps to make his way towards the saint. The spectator will find for himself a wealth of charming motives and finely characterised types. All the figures tell their own story; we know their life history, why they have come and what they think of the sacred rite. After looking at them for some time one feels as if one were standing among them and must be moved by and share in the peaceful solemnity of the scene.

The trial of Saint James before Herod Agrippa is less successful in composition (figs. 28, 29, 30). The figure of the saint is not made important enough, the eye of the spectator being attracted away from him by the over-prominent arch in the background, and the accessory figures in front. The graceful and animated figure of a lictor, seen from behind, who stands beside the saint, conceals him too much, and the warrior leaning so naturally against the marble rail is detrimental to the figure of Herod Agrippa. The warrior to the left is a pure accessory

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FIG. 28.—TRIAL OF SAINT JAMES BEFORE HEROD AGRIPPA: FRESCO IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI

(Phot. Anderson)

without connection with the scene. The figure of the saint is not specially majestic, and the attitude of looking up, repeated twice by figures in the background, is somewhat exaggerated. The extremely

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FIG. 29.—FROM THE TRIAL OF SAINT JAMES
(*Phot. Anderson*)

careful rendering of architecture, armour, of all details of texture, whether marble-veining or the little plants growing between the floor tiles, the massive plastic effect of the individual figures, the self-contained and independent treatment of each motive prevent the attainment of a clear well-rounded whole. At the same time each separate figure is so natural and expressive, so real and convincing, the result of the saint's eloquence is so clearly to be seen in the astonished faces and attitudes of the soldiers who are gazing at him, that we cannot fail to be deeply impressed by the contrast between the saint himself and the representative of material power in whose presence he stands.

As compared with the paintings of the upper course, the lowest row shows a complete revolution in perspective representation. At this period Mantegna must evidently have devoted himself with scientific seriousness to the study of perspective, and he had no lack of teachers. Among the professors of natural science in the University of Padua there would probably be more than one who occupied himself with optics and perspective.[1] Biagio da Parma, who taught in Padua from 1400 (?) till 1411, had already written (in 1399) a treatise *Quæstiones Perspectivæ*. Mantegna must have known the studies of Leon Battista Alberti,[2] who gives some perspective rules in his treatise on painting (1435), and probably also those of Piero della Francesca. More than this, in Mantegna's student days, besides Donatello, Paolo Uccello, the Florentine painter, who made the most thorough application of perspective, was among the artists working in Padua.

[1] S. Michele Savonarola, *De laudibus Patavii*, Muratori, *Scriptores Italici*, xxiv. p. 1180.

[2] Leon Battista Alberti, *Kleinere kunsttheoretische Schriften*, ed. by H. Janitscheck. Vienna, 1877, p. 254.

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FIG. 30.—FROM THE TRIAL OF SAINT JAMES
(*Phot. Anderson*)

Already, in the upper frescoes, the construction is based on an independent and intelligent application of the then known laws of perspective. In any case it presupposes a knowledge of the theory of vanishing points and points of distance. The vanishing lines of all lines, which are parallel to the main ray, or—considered in actual space at right angles to the plane of the picture—meet in that point of vision, which is identical in both pictures, and lies evenly between them. In the same way the diagonals of the squares, which are parallel to the base-line, extend on the ground plane to distances situated about one and a half picture breadths from the point of sight. The distance from the eye has not been underestimated, as has been maintained,[1] for it coincides with the actual distance from the wall of a spectator standing in the middle of the chapel. It is naturally taken for granted that each of the pictures, forming in subject and composition a self-contained whole, is to be looked at separately, and by a spectator standing at the level of the base-line of the picture. The three figures in front of the barrier in 'The Trial of Saint James'—namely, the saint and the two soldiers adjoining—stand on one and the same line conceived as at right angles to the base-line, and accordingly the line joining the tops of their heads passes quite correctly through the point of vision.

But Mantegna has already gone beyond Alberti's practical rules. Disregarding Alberti's canon, he takes his horizon somewhat under the height of a man, and makes it correspond to the height of the persons represented in the front row, *i.e.* the warrior to the extreme left in the 'Trial of Saint James,' and the man seen from behind in the 'Baptism.' Again, he has drawn the checkered divisions of the floor not as squares

[1] Schmarsow, *Melozzo da Forlì*, p. 308 *seq.*; Brockhaus, *Pomponius Gauricus*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 51.

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FIG. 31.—FROM THE FRESCO OF SAINT JAMES LED TO EXECUTION

(Phot. Anderson)

but as oblongs, with their long sides parallel to the edge of the picture; his object being to produce an impression of greater depth of space by making the foreshortening of the checkers appear greater than it really is.[1]

However thoroughly Mantegna may experiment on and work out the mathematical side of the composition, his perspective calculations are only a means to an end, and are intended to increase the artistic effect of reality in his representations. It is a glaring injustice to accuse him of wishing to show off his knowledge.

How deeply, even at that time, Mantegna had penetrated the science of perspective is shown by the bold experiments he has made in the pictures of the lowest row. In the first, which represents 'Saint James led to Execution,' he adopts an entirely new perspective construction (see Plate 2, and figs. 31 and 32.) He fixes the point of sight not at the height of a spectator standing on the base-line of the picture, but at the height of a spectator really standing on the floor of the chapel, so that, since the base-line of the picture lies above a man's height above the floor of the chapel (height: about two metres), the point of sight, and of course the

[1] It has been maintained that Mantegna did not follow the perspective rules of the Florentines, but built upon another, Paduan system, possibly of his own or Squarcione's invention, which was reduced to writing later on by Pomponius Gauricus in his treatise 'De Sculptura' (Brockhaus, in his edition of Gauricus, Leipzig, 1886, p. 51 *seq.*). But, to begin with, it is inconceivable that Gauricus, who wrote about 1500, can have been unacquainted with Alberti's simple and clearly stated system, which had been given to the world seventy years before, was universally known, and had even been analysed and adapted for the purpose of elementary instruction in painting by Piero della Francesca in his treatise 'De Perspectiva Pingendi' (edited by C. Winterberg, Strassburg, 1899). Besides, Gauricus' explanation is so obscure that even Brockhaus has failed in interpreting it either linguistically or mathematically. An accidental correspondence of a few lines (by no means all) in Mantegna's construction with a system *assumed* to be that of Gauricus is utterly valueless unless the principle of correspondence can be discovered. The fact is that Mantegna was not only quite at home in Alberti's rules, but went far beyond them, and independently attacked some of the hardest problems of perspective.

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horizon too, fall below the base-line of the picture. He therefore represents the figures and objects in the painting as they would appear to the spectator in his actual position if they were really present in the space behind the wall (thought of as open), and were standing at the height of the base-line of the picture. Accordingly the spectator can see entirely only those figures which stand in front, while part of the legs of the figures behind disappear, cut off by the base-line of the picture. The application of this idea was at that time as bold and as difficult[1] as it now appears simple and obvious. Even if Mantegna made a mistake in the foreshortening of the tower to the right (which stands askew and is seen from below), as Crowe and Cavalcaselle supposed, it would not be surprising, and would by no means throw doubt on his knowledge of all the perspective rules of construction then current. To him it was a new problem, for the solution of which the experience of his predecessors in the application of the rules of perspective could certainly be of no help. Probably the tower was drawn by eye measurement, but whether it is really inaccurately built—that is, not rectangular—cannot be decided with certainty, as we have no data from which to argue.[2] Probably Mantegna placed the tower askew to the buildings of this side, not in order to show his perspective knowledge, but to avoid the unbearably stiff parallel which the straight line of houses

FIG. 32.—FROM THE FRESCO OF SAINT JAMES LED TO EXECUTION

(*Phot. Anderson*)

[1] In Masaccio's splendid picture of the Trinity, with Saint Mary, Saint John, and two donors in Santa Maria Novella in Florence, the point of vision lies in the centre of the base-line of the picture, and the two donors kneel in front of the pilasters which enclose the heavenly vision. We have here the same idea of representation in space, and this or similar works may have given the original suggestion, in pursuance of which Mantegna followed out to its utmost consequences the artistic principle by which the space represented is perspectively (from the standpoint of the spectator) united with the actual space.

[2] On this question I rely on the authority of Professor Hauck of Berlin, and I am glad to have the opportunity of expressing my best thanks for his kind advice on the point.

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FIG. 33.—DRAWING FOR THE FRESCO SAINT JAMES LED TO EXECUTION

(London, Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy. Autotype Company, London)

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II.

S. James going to Execution

Fresco in the Eremitani Chapel, Padua

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would have formed with the line of the cornice at the side of the triumphal arch, and in order better to concentrate the background.

Although Mantegna himself, in his later frescoes, returned to the old manner of construction, this attempt remains one of the most important and fruitful in the history of painting. He himself took up the idea again later on, and, after a course of thorough study, used it independently for the first time in a place where it was really capable of an extensive artistic development, in designs for the ceiling. Here the attempt is not only significant in itself, but characterises very clearly the realistic tendency of Mantegna's art. Such an idea could be grasped only by an artist who was aiming strenuously at illusionist representation, and whose principal aim in the artistic effect of the event represented, was boldly to rival nature herself. That Mantegna was acknowledged as a pioneer by his contemporaries and followers is evident from a whole series of notices, among which we need only recall that of Daniele Barbaro.[1]

The 'Saint James led to Execution' is of special interest from another point of view for Mantegna's development. Never did he come so near Donatello as here; never again did he produce a composition so dramatically alive and so concentrated. The undulating movement of the action towards and away from the centre is an entirely Donatellesque contrivance to extend the action in space and yet to concentrate the content. The main action is shifted to the extreme left corner. The lame man who is being healed by Saint James is kneeling close in front of him. Beside the saint is the sinewy realistic form of the warrior who is leading him, and opposite is another soldier, astonished by the miracle, and on the point of kneeling down to worship. These figures round off the principal group at the sides. Especially effective are the stopping of the procession, the pausing attitude of the soldiers at the back, who form a kind of barrier, and, to the right, the return to the scene of the miracle of certain figures, who had already passed on, a movement made clear by the vigorous motive of the soldier pushing the standard-bearer back. So the two sides are united in subject, and forcibly point the contrast between the rude gestures of the men-at-arms, the reverent seriousness of the saint, and the overwhelming effect of the miracle on the bystanders.

A happy chance has preserved to us a study, by Mantegna's own hand, for this, the most important work of his early years. This magnificent

[1] *La Pratica della Perspettiva*, Venezia, 1569, a work which rests essentially on the principles of Piero della Francesca, fol. 21 A: 'Il che' (*i.e.* representing the figures in a high picture as if they were seen from below) 'ha fatto Mantegna con molto artificio in Padova nella sacristia de gli Heremitani.'

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drawing, now in the possession of the Hon. A. E. Gathorne Hardy (fig. 33), shows the composition and forms in an early stage of progress, and, as is interesting to note, has been ascribed to Donatello, to whose style, as a fact, the modelling of the forms, and the treatment of drapery, bear a striking resemblance. Yet it is out of the question that Mantegna could have made use of a sketch by Donatello, or that a drawing of Donatello's could fall so far below the execution by Mantegna as the drawing falls below the fresco. The sketch is so fresh, and expresses the body forms with such directness and certainty, that there can be no doubt about its originality, especially if we compare it with an ancient and good copy in the Louvre. The points in which the fresco differs from the drawing manifest a decided improvement, and show clearly with what giant strides Mantegna's development was then going on. In the fresco the main points of the composition to the left, in the centre, and to the right, are much more strongly accentuated, the depth of space is more clearly indicated, the inharmonious figure of a man scoffing behind the lame man is left out, and instead of it is added the splendid figure of a warrior to the left, which so happily closes the scene; while the movement of the two men to the right is incomparably more vigorous and energetic, and has become more intelligible. It is just this progress from the drawing to the fresco, joined to the character of the separate forms, that proves Mantegna's authorship, and we can see, too, how carefully Mantegna must have made preparatory sketches for his pictures, for assuredly there must have been a whole series of intermediate stages between this first sketch and the final form. The certainty of the pen-work also bears witness to steady practice.

Of the great mass of drawings that Mantegna must have produced, and which have contributed not a little to his fame and popularity, very few have come down to us, and the drawing just mentioned is the only one of his first period in existence. It is only in copies or in engravings that a good many drawings of that period have survived. The two engravings, representing the 'Scourging of Christ,' which were assigned, erroneously as will be shown presently, to Mantegna's own hand, go back to a drawing which was undoubtedly produced in the period of the frescoes in the Eremitani. The plan of the composition, by which the figure of Christ occupies the apex of a triangle, whose base lies along the front of the picture, and the character of the forms conclusively prove a connection with these frescoes. The representation of Purgatory, various sketches for which by Mantegna survive in

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engravings (see fig. 34), and in old drawings by his pupils (Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts;[1] Berlin, Print-room, No. 622, attributed to Francesco Mantegna; Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Rés. Ea. 31), and in paintings (Bologna, Pinacoteca; Genoa, Marchese Durazzo), must have come into being at this period, and so, too, must the original drawings, on which are founded the engravings (ascribed to Mantegna) of the 'Entombment,' with small figures (Bartsch, No. 2), and the 'Taking down from the Cross' (Bartsch, No. 4).[2]

FIG. 34.—CHRIST IN LIMBO: ENGRAVING BY A LATE IMITATOR, AFTER AN EARLY DRAWING BY MANTEGNA

Mantegna's touch in his pen drawings is as bold and free as his finish in paintings is minute and painstaking. The forms are not bounded by a definite line, but modelled by means of a mass of close-hatchings. As a preparation for the actual picture he thinks out and elaborates to the utmost the compositions and figures, so that everything takes clear shape before his eyes, and he can turn all his attention to the completion of details. *Pentimenti*, later corrections, will not be found in his paintings. Here in the drawing he is still feeling for the right line, the artistic conception still wavers before his eyes, and it really consists in a combination of the drawing with the image already present in his mind. His strong sense of the plastic forbids him to define his figures by sharp lines, because he wishes to hold fast the direct impression of nature, and

[1] Phot. Braun, No. 171; see Muntz, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1890, ii. p. 294, and *Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance*, i. pp. 150, 151. Portheim, *Jahrbuch der K. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vii. (1886), p. 219.

[2] Closely related to these compositions are the three pictures in the National Gallery (Nos. 639, 1106, 1381), ascribed without good reason to Francesco Mantegna—namely, the 'Resurrection,' the 'Marys at the Sepulchre,' and the 'Noli me tangere,' which may be by a painter who stands between Crivelli and the young Giovanni Bellini.

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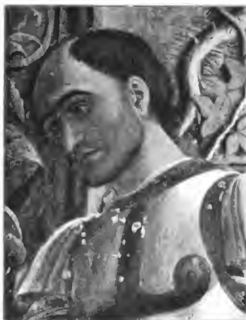

FIG. 35.—FROM THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT JAMES
(*Phot. Anderson*)

in nature there are no hard lines. His figures are not so much defined by their broad soft indefinite outlines, but seem rather to stand out against them. The outline being not so much part of the form as of the background, with the shading of which it is closely connected, while the shading which rounds off the figures grows thinner towards the edges, and at the extreme limit leaves a bright streak of light. That kind of shading which consists of groups of hatchings all slanting in the same direction, and which is peculiar to many Italian Quattrocentists, expresses a very firm sense of plastic form, because by this schematic treatment the line loses its character as line and melts with the neighbouring lines into a uniform shadow. This principle, the indication of form by a mass of lines, persists in Mantegna's later drawings in so far as they are really studies.[1]

Mantegna must have felt that in his 'Saint James led to Execution,' and in the group of Apostles in the 'Assumption,' which is composed on the same principle, he had gone too far in the system of plastic realism suggested by the style of Donatello, and that a too logical application of perspective theories would not harmonise with the demands of pictorial representation. Already in the adjacent picture of the Martyrdom of the saint, he found a way out of the difficulty. As he did not wish to alter the point of sight, he made the ground rise gradually from the front level, on which the principal figures stand, and thus he was able fully to develop the groupings (Plate 3, and figs. 35, 36, 37). In the later frescoes of the legend of Saint Christopher, he has taken the point of sight higher above the base-line. One clearly understands here

[1] It is a common mistake to reckon among Mantegna's drawings several small but completely finished pictures on canvas in grey or bronze tones and intended for decoration, such as the 'Judgment of Solomon,' in the Louvre (exhibited as a drawing).

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III.
THE MARTYRDOM OF S. JAMES
Fresco in the Eremitani Chapel, Padua

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how unjust is the accusation that Mantegna was a pedantic 'doctrinaire.' On the contrary, he is not only a bold innovator, but he has imagination enough to make scientific knowledge subordinate to artistic feeling. It is precisely these iterated attempts that show that for him practice stands above theory. Even though Squarcione's objections, who seems to have been a better critic than artist, or Bellini's counsels may also have had weight with him, he must yet have seen of his own accord that by taking the point of view below the picture, the action was too closely confined to the first plane, and had to be expressed chiefly by juxtaposition of figures, that the front figures were too prominent, and that they made the composition look almost like a painted relief. It is certainly no mere accident that this return to more strictly pictorial principles of composition in the painting of the 'Martyrdom of Saint James' coincides with fresh experiments and marks of progress in the technique of painting and in colouring.

It is remarkable enough that Mantegna's fresco technique shows no relation to the refined and highly developed manner of the Veronese painters, Altichiero, Avanzo and others, who worked in Padua, and might very easily have served him as models. In this department Mantegna is quite independent of older Paduan art; he has more points of similarity with the Florentine technique, which he might actually have studied at Padua in the works of Uccello and Filippo Lippi. The effect of the first frescoes is light and hard, and, notwithstanding the dulness of the colours, diversified. The colouring forms a homogeneous surface and is only toned off by darker or brighter hatching. The very first painting of the lower course shows a transition between the hard technique, consisting of thick closely packed brush-strokes, applied rapidly, though with great

FIG. 36.—FROM THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT JAMES
(*Phot. Anderson*)

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FIG. 37.—HEAD OF SAINT JAMES: FROM THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT JAMES
(*Phot. Anderson*)

certainty, with harsh contrasts of light and shade (see especially the head of Hermogenes, fig. 27) and a finer technique with more delicate lines and softer transitions of light and shade (cf. the head of Saint James, fig. 32). In the 'Martyrdom of Saint James' the increased softness in form and colour is so striking, that some critics have assumed the collaboration of another artist. In contrast to the earlier frescoes, which derive a cold and slightly unnatural colour from the harshly juxtaposed, earthy, grey, blue and violet tones with white lights, large white surfaces, and sharp reddish-brown or heavy grey shadows, the tone in this part of the work is like the modelling, much softer and warmer, and is mellowed to a general reddish-brown.

There can be no doubt that such a distinct change in the scheme of colour must be referable to outside influence. The criticism of Squarcione, who not unreasonably found fault with Mantegna's unnatural colours and exaggerated plastic treatment, would perhaps hardly be sufficient to account for his increased thoroughness in the study of colour effects. What influenced him more was probably the practical example of the Bellini, especially of Giovanni, whose whole efforts were bent on the development of colour technique, and on formal and poetic effects attained by means of colour. Just about this time (1453) Mantegna was brought into the closest personal relation to the Bellini by his marriage with Nicolosia. Up to that date he had directed all his zeal to a most exhaustive study of the human body, its anatomical formation, the mechanism of its movements and its position in space. The influences which counted for most in his youthful period, Donatello and the antique, had given a somewhat one-sided direction to his energies, had distracted him from the practice of colour, and had made him less receptive to what

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he could have learned in these respects from the old school of the Vivarini. We may go so far as to say that Mantegna never had a very strong feeling for colour, and that he always tried to attain his artistic ends rather by means of form. In the Bellini he met for the first time artists who possessed a real genius for colour and who were able to open his eyes to its charms. Naturally enough the youthful painter attacked this fresh problem with fiery energy, and became absorbed in it to the neglect of his former aims. This easily explains the circumstance that just at this juncture his forms also show certain peculiarities, not to be found in his earlier or his later works. There is a great delicacy amounting to softness in details of the nude figure and in drapery, while his plastic modelling of the nude is less careful than in other works. A genius never develops evenly and consecutively, but progresses by leaps and bounds, following the incitement of the moment, and often concentrating all its talent on the solution of some special difficulty. Indeed, talent often reveals its presence by refusing to aim pedantically at one goal, and by seeking new problems and new means for the attainment of its artistic ends. Therefore it is not likely, in spite of the technical and formal innovations to be found in the 'Martyrdom of Saint James,' that other painters had anything to do with it. It is not merely that no one could name those other painters; but because the whole individual force of the master shows itself in so many separate details, and because so many analogies in form and technique may be found between the figures of this fresco and of the others.

The soft graduated technique, especially, that tries to dissolve the separate brush-strokes into one tone, is to be seen not only in the two lower pictures of the legend of Saint Christopher, but also in the fresco over the door of the Santo, which was finished in July 1452 (XI. Kal. Sextil.). Increased practice in fresco technique, the very nature of which demands great certainty in the use of the brush, must have itself done much to draw the young artist away from his somewhat hurried manner with the coarse broad strokes, to a finer and more graduated kind of work which had the additional advantage of being more suited to the lower frescoes nearer the eye of the spectator. The head of Saint James in the Execution is certainly specially striking. The piece of stucco on which it is painted seems to have been submitted to a different process; the surface is smooth and shining, and the colour is put on liquid with a light brush. It is just possible that Mantegna was experimenting with a new technique here, but it is more likely that a very clever late restoration has produced

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FIG. 38.—MARTYRDOM OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER: FRESCO IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

this softness in form and expression, which differs so much from Mantegna's other works.

The impressive effect of the representation is hardly lessened by this inequality of execution. The body of the saint is placed under a machine

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FIG. 39.—BURIAL OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER: FRESCO IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI

(*Phot. Anderson*)

resembling a guillotine; it is vigorously foreshortened with admirable skill in such a manner that the noble, peaceful face is fully seen, and forms a magnificent and tragic contrast to the rough and almost too violent exertions of the executioner, to the indifference of the officer who

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leans with unstudied elegance on the railings and watches for the head to fall, and to the other figures of spectators, most of them not particularly well posed. The horseman to the left, taken from a motive of Jacopo Bellini, and the knight to the right, who curbs his restless horse as it presses up too near the executioner (a very fine motive, observed direct from nature), round off the principal action in a most effective manner towards the sides; they form the base of a triangle, whose apex is the head of the saint.

The landscape is the first example of Mantegna's oft-recurring type of a broad, hilly country, with castles and antique ruins, animated by numerous little figures. For the first time we meet here with a graduated background, instead of a mere scenic contrivance as in the upper pictures, and it produces a natural effect in spite of the neglect of aerial perspective. In the miniature-like refinement of execution, which reached still greater perfection in later works, Mantegna has no equal. Every separate building or figure, however small, all the trees and bushes, are worked from nature with infinite love and care.

The last two frescoes, so sadly injured, which Mantegna painted in the Chapel of the Eremitani—the Martyrdom of Saint Christopher and his Burial—illustrate a further important advance in composition and execution (figs. 38 to 45). As already stated, the point of vision is the same for both pictures. In this case, too, it is higher than the base-line of the picture, although lower than in the first two frescoes (about three-quarters of a man's height) in the middle between the two pictures. It is worthy of notice that the background is the same for both scenes. The principal building in the centre and the arbour extend from the picture on the left to that on the right. The painted pillar, which is the only boundary between the two, forms part of the picture's architectonic frame, into which the figures appear to step out; hence the pictorial fields appear as a single space stretching out behind the wall, and visible through an opening in the wall. In this way the space in the picture attains greater depth, extent and reality than had ever before been the case in painting.

The giant form of Saint Christopher tied to the pillar on the left, and the figure of the king in a window, who has been shot through the eye by an arrow aimed at the saint and miraculously diverted from its course, form the two poles between which the excited attention of the soldiers fluctuates. It was a very happy idea to remove to the upper story of the building the group of the wounded king and his queen, who

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anxiously turns towards him, because by this means the square below was left free for the archers, and thus the miraculous event could be the more distinctly exhibited. The attention of the archers is directed both to left and right, a device which increases the effect of fear and confusion. The two soldiers seen from behind close up the action on the inner side in a peculiar manner. Like Donatello, Mantegna will not condescend to bring his figures into direct relation to the spectator, as later art loved to do ; he would rather draw the spectator forcibly into his own world.

FIG. 40.—FROM THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER
(*Phot. Anderson*)

This picture is also specially interesting for the likenesses which (according to the notices of Vasari and Scardeone) are to be found here. We are told to identify the stout warrior to the left, looking up to Saint Christopher, with Squarcione, and the youth beside him with Mantegna. The three male figures to the right, seen in profile, are quite evidently portraits. Some have tried to find in them the manner of painting and the features of the Bellini.[1] Both suggestions are erroneous, for the painting of these figures does not differ from the other parts of the picture, and they differ in form only in so far as the emphasising of the portrait character goes, while the features do not in the least correspond with the known portraits of Bellini's sons, who, moreover, were much younger at that time than the persons represented. There can be no doubt that, as Vasari says, these are portraits of three well-known residents in Padua—namely, Onofrio di Palla Strozzi, Girolamo della Valle, and Bonifacio Frigimelica. Niccolò, the goldsmith of Pope Innocent VIII., and Baldassare da Leccio, the painter's intimate friends, Messer Bonramino (Borromeo?) and a Hungarian bishop, who were here represented

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.* i. p. 338 *seq.*

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FIG. 41.—FROM THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER
(*Phot. Anderson*)

as soldiers, can no longer be identified. The executioner in the Martyrdom of Saint James (again according to Vasari) is said to be a portrait of a certain Marsilio Pazzo.

The last picture is comparatively uninteresting from the materialistic and unsympathetic nature of the subject (figs. 39, 43 to 45). It appears entirely constructed with a view of experimenting with spatial effects and foreshortening. Fortunately, however, the position chosen for the martyred body spares the spectator a view of the mutilated neck. In its original state the work would no doubt exert a charm by depth of distance, variety of motive, and refinement of execution. A remarkable point in both pictures is the return to the costume of the period and to surroundings corresponding more to reality. In the first four frescoes the figures are dressed in ancient armour and more or less antique drapery; here the costume of the period is consistently observed. In the same way antique structures and decorations are combined with the ordinary buildings of the time and form a realistic whole such as cities like Verona and Padua, rich as they were in ancient remains, must then have actually presented.

FIG. 42.—FROM THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER
(*Phot. Anderson*)

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The Eremitani frescoes, though equalled in artistic effect by many other works of art, and perhaps even surpassed by some, will yield to few in the matter of historic significance.[1] They mark a new epoch and are the basis for further development, because in them the artist adopts a new standpoint in relation to nature, which he approaches with an energy and a freedom from prejudice, and at the same time with a depth and width of sympathy not reached by any of his predecessors, inasmuch as by his single-minded, unconventional effort to be true to nature, he points out a new way to express pure human emotion, independently of the subjective content of the representation. The modern character of Mantegna's compositions may best be made clear by a comparison with the frescoes of Altichiero, painted about seventy years earlier in the Cappella di S. Felice, in the Santo, and in the Cappella di S. Giorgio in Padua, which already show a decided advance on the old symbolic and allusive manner of illustration.

FIG. 43.—FROM THE BURIAL OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER
(*Phot. Anderson*)

In those pictures the attempt at naturalistic effect is restricted to certain figures and objects; in these it is the chief aim of the picture. The events represented *might* be real because they satisfy the demands made by our experience. The unity of action is severely carried through in every picture; reality is given to the space by the most careful calculation in perspective foreshortening; the lighting of each scene is

[1] The high reputation enjoyed among his contemporaries by the frescoes of Mantegna is sufficiently attested by the numerous old copies on a small scale. M. A. Michiel (*Anonimo Morelliano*, Vienna edition, pp. 30 and 112) mentions two, in Padua and Venice. Some of the surviving copies were seen by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*op. cit.* i. p. 329 note); in the collection of the Marchese Galeazzo Dondi Orologio in Padua ('Leading Away and Execution of Saint James'); in the gallery in Parma are copies of the legend of Saint Christopher, and Madame André, in Paris, possesses three pictures (perhaps by Benaglio? *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1886, i. p. 177, with illustration).

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FIG. 44.—FROM THE BURIAL OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER
(Phot. Anderson)

determined by the real lighting of the chapel, and above all, as we have seen, a first attempt is made to create by the general distribution of the designs and ornamentation a decorative effect which shall produce the illusion of space. In this way Mantegna transcends the great dramatic compositions of the Florentine artists, which took their rise from Masaccio's creations in the Brancacci Chapel and revealed themselves to him in the works of Donatello, Paolo Uccello and others. Mantegna unites the Florentine manner of representation, which was truthful in its essence rather than in its outward manifestations, with an almost Venetian intimacy of feeling in the representation of emotion and a sympathetic study of every-day realities, and thus forms a picture convincingly true to its utmost detail within and without.

The deepest insight into the secrets of nature is at the bottom of Mantegna's art. We must lay the more stress on this fact because he has been accused, since Vasari's time, and even before, by his teacher Squarcione, of pedantically looking for his prototypes in antique statues instead of in nature. Certainly Mantegna was a most enthusiastic, intelligent and thorough student of the antique, but antique influence is to be traced, not so much in the outward form of his figures as in the spirit by which they are animated.

His art, especially in his early period, owed much less to antique form than might have been supposed at a first glance. The only features he really borrows from the antique are ornament, architectonic motives for his backgrounds and costume when it suits the subject. Antique works of art evidently influenced his painting—especially at a later period—in certain details, such as treatment of drapery and motives of movement. He may also have purified his sense of beauty by contemplation of the antique, but in form he remains, as do all the Quattro-

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centists, completely independent; he only follows his own individual observation of nature. Here the influence of the antique is unessential compared with that of a feeling for nature.

FIG. 45.—FROM THE BURIAL OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER
(*Phot. Anderson*)

In general it is true that the antique influenced the artists of the early Renascence *as an idea rather than as a visible presentment.* From a lofty conception of the world-wide Roman rule, from the elaborate culture of the period, from the magical glitter of imperial splendour, from the inexhaustible material means which an art of highly developed form always had at command—from this idea, then, sprang the enthusiasm which was ready to see in the antique the very essence of all greatness and perfection. The more limited the knowledge of monuments and of actual historical relations, the more unbounded and imaginative did admiration become. The Italian saw in the antique his own past; he found in the brilliance and undying fame of ancient artists the strongest impulse to push on to a great ideal even amid the troubles of human life. The most essential influence of the antique consists in elevating the self-consciousness of the artists.

Mantegna, like other artists of his time, must have acquired some literary and archæological knowledge of ancient art. His ornamentation, architectural surroundings, armour, and furniture are more exactly copied from ancient patterns (at least, so it seems) than those of other artists; but where are the prototypes for the attitudes, characteristics, expression and form of his figures? We shall look for them among ancient statues in vain; but they are to be seen in actual life down to the present day in the streets of Venetian towns. The hard and somewhat stiff plastic treatment, supposed to be caused by a too zealous study of antique statues, is rather a natural consequence of his absorbing desire to give to his figures

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the illusion of reality. The drapery, too, clinging firmly to the more prominent parts of the body, and following its movements with thick, rounded folds, appears to serve, first of all, the purpose of giving plastic relief to the forms. Of course this is a one-sided experiment, but it is one made with full consciousness of the end in view.

Although Donatello and the antique may have had their share in influencing Mantegna, his power of observation and expression is devoted chiefly to the nature around him and the emotions of his own mind. Every figure and every movement bears witness to continual loving observation of form in relation to the spontaneous expression of life. The people we meet in his paintings are all individuals from his immediate surroundings, his friends, his neighbours, and persons whom he has observed. Each one betrays his rank, his trade, and his life-history. We do not need contemporary information to recognise in most of his figures portraits of his friends and acquaintances. Anyone who studies Mantegna's paintings will find a wealth of motives which a keen and refined artistic sense has appropriated direct from life, and may even recognise the significance of these motives as an expression of feeling in his own mental experience; for it is the artist's special function to bring before our consciousness in all their beauty and spiritual significance some of those fluctuating apparitions of every-day life which we are apt to pass unnoticed, and to call to remembrance others that we may have ourselves observed. Contemporary art owes to Mantegna a rich treasure of such artistic discoveries in the realm of nature. True, there are instances of hardness, angularity, even of confusion among his forms and attitudes; the outlines are too strong, the surfaces too sharply juxtaposed; it is a youth of barely twenty who is grappling with the problems of form.

But even at this period Mantegna reveals a fine sense of beauty and elegance such as none of his North-Italian contemporaries possessed, with the exception of Giovanni Bellini. Mantegna was famed in his own time for the beauty of his human figures, and handsome people used to be compared with his pictures.[1] Assuredly the dignified repose, the harmony of features, and the rhythm of movement of ancient works

[1] *E.g.* Letter of Zaccaria da Pisa to the Marchioness Barbara of Mantua, May 9, 1460 (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1866, xx. p. 318 *seq.*), and a letter of Isabella d' Este, August 1492: 'due figloile tanto belle che meglio non le saperia dipingere mes. Andrea Mantegna.' *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, xvii. (1890), p. 349.

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of art made a deep impression on him, but they were assimilated by his own consciousness, not imitated in a superficial manner.

In contrast to the Florentines, who think more of the action in its general effect, Mantegna founds his work more on observation of detail. Giotto, absorbed and inspired by his subject, only strives to express the emotions which he assumes to be experienced by the persons concerned in the event he represents; but Mantegna makes the subject and its rendering an opportunity for bringing to expression what he himself had observed and felt. Hence the peculiar repose of his figures and their independence of each other; hence also the lack, at bottom, of dramatic concentration in his compositions. The individual, each figure in its own essence, each separate form, is too clearly emphasised to fit easily into the picture as a whole.

The extraordinary care and refinement shown in each detail, however trivial, do not arise from the virtuoso's wish to excite astonishment, but from an almost scientific interest in the object the essential nature of which the artist wishes to lay bare. In his representations of the legends of the saints he penetrates beyond the event to the meaning, to the emotion expressed by the event, and tries to grasp and reproduce the purely human content of the scene. His feelings as man and as artist are deeply rooted in the reality of the formal and intellectual phenomena. Mantegna is not one of those happy persons who are blinded by enthusiasm. He is a clear-sighted realist who views the world as it is, who sympathises deeply with the misery caused by the power of the material over the moral and ideal, who does not veil reality with a halo of rhetoric, and who would rather stand in questioning sorrow before the problems of life than dazzle our eyes with the brilliance of a merely apparent solution.

In this particular he is so like Goethe that it is easy to understand the great poet's preference for him. How deeply Goethe was moved when he saw Mantegna's frescoes for the first time is evident from the words in which he expressed his feeling: 'In the church ot the Eremitani I have seen some paintings by Mantegna, one of the older painters, and I am struck with amazement. *How keenly and with what certainty an actual present is reproduced in these pictures!* It was this real Present—not an effective deceitful apparition appealing solely to the imagination—but a pure, straightforward, clear, consistent, conscientious, delicate, well-defined Present, with a leaven of strenuous, enthusiastic

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and laborious effort in it, that formed a starting-point for the work of succeeding painters, as I noticed in the pictures of Titian. From this time onwards the living force of their genius, the energy of their nature, illumined by the spirit and supported by the strength of their predecessors, mounting higher and higher, soared away from earth and brought into being forms of heavenly reality and truth.'

FIG. 46.—BUST OF JULIUS CÆSAR: FROM THE CEILING OF THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI AT MANTUA

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FIG. 47.—SAINT ANTONY AND SAINT BERNARDINO: FRESCO ABOVE THE CENTRAL DOOR OF THE SANTO IN PADUA

(Phot. Anderson)

CHAPTER III

THE EARLIEST EASEL-PICTURES

THE paintings of the Eremitani Chapel were, so to speak, Mantegna's school; but a school in which he conducted his own education. We have observed how he made experiments rather with a view to study than to the effect produced. He makes homogeneity in the outward appearance of the picture a secondary consideration, and in passing from one picture to another he boldly alters perspective, form, colour, ornament, and costume just as may be demanded by the studies he is engaged in, or the artistic influences prevailing over him at the moment. To Mantegna his works are not only an end in themselves, an embodiment of a certain effect; but in each new task he deals with a new problem; each new work is an occasion for infusing his own personal feeling into the subject and for calling new sentiments into being. This is to be seen with special clearness in the Eremitani frescoes, because there he seems to move more freely than in his later altarpieces, where he is bound by a conventional and perhaps by a prescribed composition. His mental power of artistic deliberation made itself strongly felt there, precisely when his influence as a leader, and his activity as an executant, are most

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undoubted. He takes rank already as an independent and matured master.

If we are right in assigning the frescoes to the years between 1448 and 1455, they must be the earliest surviving dated works of Mantegna, for the altarpiece for S. Sofia, in Padua, signed by the young Mantegna with the self-vaunting inscription: 'Andreas Mantinea Pad. an. septem et decem natus sua manu pinxit MCCCCXLVIII,'[1] has disappeared, to our great loss for our knowledge of his early development. The fresco over the door of the Santo in Padua, marked 1452, is the earliest work of our artist which bears an exact date.

Even leaving elementary attempts out of account, it is quite evident that neither these frescoes nor the altarpiece for S. Sofia can have been the earliest independent works by Mantegna. But his very early works, like so many of his later ones, seem to have been lost, or at least to be still undiscovered or unrecognised. Only three pictures, which, however, are by no means unanimously assigned to him, may be classed by their stylistic peculiarities as quite early works, perhaps earlier than the Eremitani frescoes; these are the Madonna and Child in a frame of Angels with the instruments of the Passion, in Berlin; the Madonna and Child in possession of Mr. C. Butler, London, and the Madonna and Child in possession of Mr. James Simon in Berlin.[2]

The Madonna in Berlin[3] (fig. 48) is so fresh and individual in conception; the refinement in feature and form, as well as some faults and shortcomings, are so evidently due to an artist who made his own independent observations, though he was not always able to express them correctly, that the picture can under no circumstances be assigned to the hand of a later imitator. The Mother is tenderly supporting the Child, which has scrambled from her arms on to the parapet. It seems to be singing in the fulness of joy. The motive is thoughtful and simple, but the Child's attitude presents a very difficult problem in the turn of the body, the backward bend of the head, and the position of the hands. But it is the soulful expression of the Madonna which almost precludes the notion of any other artist. The dreamy look of watching is so purely and exclusively Mantegnesque, especially when combined with the fresh joyous expression on the face of the Child, that, in comparison,

[1] Scardeone, *De Antiquitate Urbis Patavii*, Basileæ, 1560, p. 372.

[2] The half-length figure of Christ in the sarcophagus in the Museum at Padua has nothing whatever to do with Mantegna; the inscription is evidently a forgery.

[3] The coat of arms has not been identified. There is no reason for thinking the picture is the same as the one painted for Matteo Bossi (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.* i. p. 386).

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the correspondence of the forms with earlier authentic works constitutes a merely external confirmation.

The shape of the Madonna's head, with its pointed chin and long, narrow nose, the form of the mouth, the broad forehead, with the high, arched eyebrows, exactly correspond with the 'Saint Euphemia' in Naples, and the Madonna of the 'Presentation in the Temple' at Berlin, and so does the shape of the hand, with its broad palm, thin angular fingers and pointed thumb. The head of the Child is foreshortened in the manner illustrated by several figures in the 'Trial of Saint James,' and the ear, too, has the shape characteristic of Mantegna. Just as in the Eremitani frescoes, the drapery is treated with heavy, somewhat thick, rounded folds, and with the peculiar motive in which one part of the garment is drawn tight, while cross folds seem to resist the pull. The Angels in the frame, pleasantly suggesting Donatello, are very similar in form and type of face to the Angels of the 'Assumption,' and find analogies in the 'Mount of Olives' of the National Gallery. As to forms, the Berlin Madonna represents precisely the same stage as the upper frescoes of the legend of Saint James, while the attitudes of the children among the garlands and in the 'Assumption' are more successful than here in the figure of the Child.

In colouring, the picture cannot be compared either with the frescoes or with earlier easel-pictures by Mantegna. The nearest analogy is the altarpiece of Saint Luke, in the Brera. The colour is put on bright and glittering like enamel, by means of fine brush-strokes, a method to which Mantegna always remained faithful; the sharp rose-red with white lights, the grey-brown shadows, the deep moss-green, make a certain contrast to the duller, greyer tone of the other paintings, and in these particulars the work approaches very near to the earliest pictures by Giovanni Bellini, especially the Madonna in the Berlin Gallery (fig. 49). Only the dissimilarity in the conception of form, and more especially of expression, shows that the pictures cannot come from the same hand. Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini are trying in friendly rivalry to learn each from the other the results of their studies. Both start with the Vivarinesque scale of colour, but Giovanni attains, as we can see in that picture, greater depth and richness of tone, and in landscape can give a variegated effect, while Mantegna, being entirely taken up with his study of plastic modelling, only succeeds in gaining a greater sharpness of definition. Bellini changes his principles of form several times in his early works, but his colour develops consistently

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and independently. Mantegna, on the other hand, is, from the very beginning, conscious of his aims in the evolution of form, but repeatedly

FIG. 48.—MADONNA AND CHILD
Berlin Museum

wavers in his use of colour (especially under the influence of Bellini) from one technique and one method to another, and only late makes out an individual system for himself.

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In motive, as in form and drapery, the small Madonna in the possession of Mr. Butler (fig. 50) is closely related to the Madonna in Berlin. It is true that it is so much defaced and painted over that one hesitates to assign it to Mantegna, especially as the Madonna and the head of the Child are very like the Berlin picture. But the motive is transformed in a powerful and original manner. The Child is sitting, not on the wall but on its Mother's right arm, and is pushing vigorously with its little feet against the wall, hence the attitude of the Madonna is quite different; the Child nestles its head lovingly on its Mother's and holds the thumb of her left hand. The face and hands of the Madonna and the face of the Child are almost entirely painted over. It is not the expression, but rather the originality of motive and the excessively fine and careful execution of the few original parts, the characteristic form of the Child's ear and the treatment of the drapery, which justify us in assigning the picture to Mantegna. If it is his work, it must be as early as the Berlin picture, or perhaps even earlier. The interesting analogies to Jacopo Bellini should be observed, especially in the cherubim of the background and the green gold-spotted mantle of the Madonna, which is similar to that in both the Madonnas by Jacopo.

FIG. 49.—MADONNA AND CHILD: BY GIOVANNI BELLINI
Berlin Museum

The technical relation of Mantegna to the elder Bellini is even more undeniable in the third picture of this group of his early easel-pictures,

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the half-length, on canvas, of the 'Madonna with the Child Asleep,' in possession of Mr. James Simon, in Berlin (fig. 51). The somewhat clumsy attitude of the Child, the tightly drawn mantle of the Madonna, the faulty drawing of the narrow head, and the oblique position of the eyes of the Madonna, at once point to an early period; above all, the type of the Madonna, the drawing and technique, show this work to be closely related to the pictures just mentioned, and to the 'Saint Euphemia' of 1454 in Naples. It is impossible seriously to dispute the authorship of Mantegna. Even if we leave out of the question, as not universally acknowledged, the Berlin Madonna, which the Simon Madonna strongly resembles in form, however much it may differ from it in technique and colour, yet if we compare the Simon Madonna with the 'Saint Euphemia' in Naples and the 'Presentation in the Temple' in Berlin (Plate 5), we shall be obliged to admit in every particular the same expression, the same form, and the same execution. Observe, for instance, the curved form of the nose, the drawing of the eyes, which lie flat under the high and widely arched eyebrows, the pose and form of the hands, the shape of the ear and mouth, with the high curved lips, the rendering of hair, and heavy brocaded stuff, &c. The face of the Madonna is supremely noble and distinguished in expression, the Child in its swaddling bands, asleep, is a masterpiece of the finest observation of nature. The little hands, encumbered by the swaddling clothes, make a clawing movement, the mouth is slightly open for a deep breath, the eyes are fast shut, everything is so natural that we feel inclined almost to doubt (especially as the halo is absent) whether the artist intended to represent the Madonna at all, or only an ordinary mother with her child.

FIG. 50.—MADONNA AND CHILD: BY MANTEGNA (?)
London, Mr. Charles Butler

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The colouring, in accordance with the appropriate medium of water-colour (perhaps mixed with paste or gum) on fine canvas, differs widely from the technique employed in *tempera* painting on wood. We can no longer estimate what alterations the colour may have undergone through lapse of time, varnishing or injury to the fine surface; since canvas pictures of this kind were used specially for decoration, they must surely have produced a gayer and brighter effect than they do now. At present the colour seems to be dark greyish-brown, rather dull and gloomy; the high lights are delicately laid with a pointed brush on the darker ground. The colour is probably applied direct to the fine canvas without a substratum, so that the texture of the linen shows through the layer of colour and helps to enliven the surface. Compared to the toilsome process of painting in *tempera* on a chalk groundwork applied to wooden panels, this technique not only offers the advantage mentioned by Mantegna himself (Letter of 1477), that the pictures can be easily rolled up and carried about, but has the further merit that the colours being put on *alla prima* the work grows rapidly under the designer's hand, and produces the fresh and immediate effect of a drawing.

FIG. 51.—MADONNA AND CHILD

Berlin, Mr. James Simon

With such a thin layer of colour it was almost impossible to make corrections in the drawing, and therefore this technique could be chosen only by those artists who, like Albrecht Dürer for instance, united great certainty in drawing and brushwork with fine and careful execution of details. Pigments rapidly laid on in broad surfaces with a powerful brush would, owing to the dulness of the tone, have produced the effect of stains. It is only when oil technique is introduced that the

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canvas ground becomes available, to a wider extent, for broad and free brushwork. In the picture we are considering the coloured effect, though still somewhat monotonous and flat, depends on refinement of detail.

There can be no question from whom Mantegna learned this technique. In his biography of Jacopo Bellini, Vasari lays peculiar stress on the fact that it was the custom in Venice to paint not only on wood and on the damp plaster (*al fresco*) of a wall (the only background for painting employed at that time in Tuscany), but also on canvas.[1] The fact is that the Venetians soon discovered that damp, briny sea-air is very destructive to frescoes, and they therefore came to use canvas almost exclusively for paintings on walls and ceilings. Vasari says, for instance, that the picture which Jacopo Bellini began before 1453 for the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista in Venice was painted on canvas. There is only one extant picture by him painted on canvas, the 'Christ' in the Museum of Verona, but that is, unfortunately, not in a condition to allow us to judge of the execution. Still these facts and contemporary notices show undoubtedly that not only Jacopo's sons and a whole series of other Venetian painters, especially those of Verona (who betray a strong preference for the canvas ground), but Andrea Mantegna himself, owed their knowledge of this technique to the elder Bellini. It is, therefore, a mistake to relegate all Mantegna's canvas pieces to a late period of his activity, as is often done. The group of his earlier paintings on canvas is essentially distinct, both in style and in technique, from the later pictures of the same kind. Not only does the canvas, called 'rensa' in the earlier works, have a muslin-like texture, while in the later it is much thicker and coarser, but the execution also is radically different, if only for the evident reason that the earlier canvas pictures neither received—nor admitted of—a coating of varnish, and that when varnish is put on afterwards they are spoiled, while to the later pictures, even when not carried out in oils, a coat of varnish was not merely an improvement, but even indispensable.[2]

[1] In Cenino Cennini's book on Art (edited by Milanesi, Florence, 1859, p. 114 *seq.*, translated by A. Ilg, Vienna, 1871, p. 107 *seq.*) are given numerous directions for the painting of stuffs (processional banners, &c.), but it is always assumed that they are to be carried out either on a chalk slip or in *tempera* technique, as if on wood. Only one passage gives a hint (unfortunately very vague) about colouring a stuff with 'certain water-colours without varnishing them afterwards' See also Merrifield, *Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting*, London, 1849, i. p. 96.

[2] Cf. the interesting letters of the Protonotary Bentivoglio to Isabella from December 1, 1504, communicated by Luzio in the *Emporium*, Bergamo, 1900, vol. xi. p. 358. The thorough study of the methods of ancient technique is hampered with the greatest difficulties, and can be successfully carried on, if at all, only by some expert both in technique and in chemistry, to whom, as a

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It is very remarkable what difficulties the attempt to fix the chronology of Mantegna's works has encountered, although large works, which may be exactly dated, are preserved from all periods of his life. Views about the date of works, whose chronology is not fixed by external marks, differ widely from each other. At this point, therefore, it may not be out of place to make clear by a few remarks—which, even if they forestall the historical account, may facilitate our survey—what are the essential differences between the early and the late works. Mantegna assuredly attained artistic maturity and a clear consciousness of his mission in art while still very young, and always remained true to his own strongly marked artistic temperament, but yet he altered his mode of conception and his formal style more completely than might appear at a first glance. Starting from a naïve observation of nature, into which he infuses his own individual feeling, he proceeds by an evident transition to 'style'—that is, he gives to representation a significance, over and above the reality of its appearance in actual nature. The sentiment expressed by his figures is not merely such as would be observed in actual persons in the given circumstances, but it is enhanced to the point of the supernatural by the introduction of an idea transcending the action of the picture.

Madonna and Child in Mantegna's early pictures, of which we have already considered the first three examples, represent, though with great naturalness and depth of feeling, a merely human mother and her child. There is no attempt to indicate the supernatural, no angels or saints interrupt the intimate relations of Mother and Child, whose divinity is scarcely hinted at even by a halo; and the Child itself is represented with the most charming realism, sleeping, singing, or moving restlessly about. In the later works the Child becomes an inspired medium of the Divine Idea; he is older and stands in a more dignified pose, his glance is full of enthusiasm, and he blesses the worshipper not like an infant but like a god, conscious of his own power.

The Madonna, the Mother full of tender love and solicitude, becomes a humble worshipper conscious that she bears the Saviour in her arms. Earlier art had tried to express the sacred and divine nature of the Christ-child by a solemn and ceremonial attitude; the realists of the Quattrocento humanise the type in form and sentiment, thus opening to

fact, we must entrust it. Meanwhile, we are very much in the dark, notwithstanding all our efforts. As far as art history is concerned, we are confined to the study of the actual effect of ancient works of art.

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their successors the possibility of expressing the supernatural less by outward tokens than by the deepening and strengthening of feeling. Art constantly struggles out of pure naturalism towards the ideal, and when it has exhausted all its means of expression, returns again to realism, but only in order to seek for new forms in nature and new ways of expressing the supernatural in feeling. In humanising the group of the Madonna and Child Mantegna went further, or rather deeper, even than Donatello; he has an essential share in the development of the devotional picture, of the intimate communion which is to operate by means of purely human sentiment.[1] It was Raphael who brought this spiritual relation between Mother and Child to the highest level of ideality and distinction. Mantegna experienced in himself the same development that Italian art passed through between the Early and the Mid Renascence; the highly gifted individual obeys the same laws of growth as the community, but he reflected the image of a development—its beginnings and its aims—even more clearly in the narrower, but also deeper, current of his own personal activity. This gradual transition from realistic to ideal in the conception of the spiritual content of a representation, corresponds to the tendency in the growth of form and technique, from repose to greater activity in the movement of the body and of the lines, from naturalistic to stylised drapery, the tendency in short towards breadth, softness and amplitude of forms, towards slenderness of proportion, towards freedom and width of execution, towards intensity, warmth, and gradation of colour, as we shall have occasion to trace in individual works.

The group of pictures of the Madonna and Child described above, and the other early devotional pieces which we must now consider, complete the artistic presentment of the young Mantegna which we had obtained from the Eremitani frescoes. In the pictures Mantegna has set himself quite other problems. In the frescoes, where he was experimenting even in technique, he is trying, under the influence of Donatello, to advance from his epic or narrative manner so full of natural sentiment to a dramatic presentment of action and to a plastic actuality in the rendering of forms and characters; but in these pictures he is chiefly concerned with a study of the life of individual feeling in each separate personality. A sensuous delicate reserve and a gentle melancholy are

[1] Before Mantegna, it was Filippo Lippi who introduced into Florentine art a type of Madonna which is that of the purely human mother, tender and sensitive, but not ideal.

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fundamental features of Mantegna's artistic nature. Though it falls into the background when he represents action, yet in the groups this self-contained conception of the figures makes the action appear somewhat stiff and crystallised, while isolated figures gain from it a compensating charm.

Two small pictures of the Madonna, which are almost always erroneously assigned to the last period of Mantegna's career, are really closely related to the three earliest Madonnas, above all to that in the Simon collection, both in sentiment and artistic effect. It is true that as to form the half-length 'Madonna with the Child' in the Gallery at Bergamo, and the Madonna of the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, are softer and more advanced, but the conception is still the same as in the earliest pictures of the same kind. They probably date from the first part of Mantegna's residence in Mantua, and belong to the set of pictures which the princes gave away as presents. In the development of an artist, older intellectual tendencies not unfrequently continue to inspire production for a time alongside of another and more modern manner. And, indeed, it is impossible to fix hard and fast lines between one stage and another of an artist's evolution. The correspondence in type between the Madonna of Bergamo (fig. 52) on the one hand and the Simon Madonna and the figure of the Madonna in the 'Presentation in the Temple' in Berlin on the other, is quite unmistakable. There is the same firm bony structure of the face, with strongly marked arching eyebrows, long thin nose, curved and rather prominent lips, and a left eye somewhat out of drawing. The hand is broad and powerful, the fingers thin and angular, the hair is indicated sparingly by separate fine lines, not represented in full and luxuriant locks, as in the later works. The Madonna of the Museo Poldi (fig. 53) is apparently softer in form, but this softness of effect is merely the result of a very thorough-going restoration combined with a thick coat of varnish, and the fingers likewise have become flabby and shapeless owing to the disappearance of detail. The colour has taken on a dark brown tone from the varnish. The picture in Bergamo has escaped the varnish, but the surface is so rubbed that many details, especially the finer lights that enlivened the modelling, have disappeared. The flesh colour is here a dull greyish-brown inclining to red, the lights are almost white, the high light in the eye of the Madonna is laid on with gold, her dress is pink with gold lights, and she wears over it a blue moiré mantle. In the treatment of drapery we may be easily deceived as to the original

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FIG. 52.—MADONNA AND CHILD; ON CANVAS
Bergamo, Galleria Carrara. (Phot. Taramelli)

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FIG. 53. MADONNA AND CHILD: ON CANVAS
Milan, Museo Poldi-Pezzoli. (Phot. Montabone)

character of the work by lines due to retouching; it still shows the combination of thick rolled folds with broken ones, not so soft and round as in the middle period, nor so stiff and tubular or restless and confused as in the later. The drapery, however, begins already to lie more

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smoothly on the figure and to show more evenness and regularity of movement.

The expression of trustful intimacy which Mantegna afterwards abandoned for a more ceremonial rendering of the Divine manifestation is here allowed to have full play. In the Bergamo picture the Madonna is in a quiet and serious mood, while the Child gives vent to his joyous activity by his movements and by shouting or singing; the Mother, however, after bathing and feeding him, will surely manage to quiet the healthy little fellow, who is just showing his first teeth. In the Milan picture, on the other hand, the Child is still asleep, while the Mother seems to wish to waken him softly. His eyes are closed, he is overcome by slumber, as if just taken from his little cradle and is trying to get free from the swaddling bands. The relation of the two figures is here much closer, and movement and expression are more life-like. The face of the Madonna shows a trace of tender melancholy. Probably it is just the union of the naturalistic in the Child with the refined, almost sentimental feeling in the Madonna that has caused this charming idyll of maternal love to be so universally admired, so that it is justly reckoned among the freshest and most moving creations of the great artist.

In returning once more to the chronological arrangement of Mantegna's paintings, we must consider two works, which in their religious and decorative character approach more nearly again to the Eremitani frescoes, and form a contrast with the homelike intimacy expressed by these Madonnas. We have already mentioned, a belonging technically and formally to the same stage of progress, the fresco over the gate of the Santo, which represents Saint Bernardino and Saint Antony on their knees, holding a wreath with the monogram of Christ, and which, according to the inscription, was finished on July 21, 1452[1] (fig. 47). The composition, however simple and obvious it may appear, evinces a great and thoughtful sense of composition in space. The relation of the circle with the monogram of Christ to the saints holding it up, and whose figures are made small in proportion, so as to modestly fall rather into the background, is very finely balanced. The wreath with the tablet stands at the front edge of the painted niche and

[1] ANDREAS MANTEGNA OPTIMO FAVENTE NUMINE PERFECIT MCCCCLII XI KAL SEXTIL. In spite of restoration in 1610 and 1769, the fresco is better preserved than has been assumed; the lower part has suffered most. The table of indulgences is now removed. Cf. Gonzati, *Basilica di S. Antonio*, i. 124; *Anonimo Morelliano*, p. 10: Brandolese, p. 25; Vasari erroneously places it in the later period in spite of the date.

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fills the whole height; but by representing the arch in perspective more room is cleverly obtained towards the interior for the two saints, who appear to be kneeling within the wall opening, and whose attitudes are skilfully adapted to the curve of the arch.

As regards formal development the fresco is at the same stage as the lower paintings of the Legend of Saint James in the Eremitani Chapel. It is, at any rate, later than the upper course of the same series, for the folds of drapery are smoother and they fall in straighter and more regular folds, while the technique and ornamentation are both fuller and freer. Its similarity to the Assumption is specially striking, but it excels in the delicate expression of the faces, which reflect the refined individual feeling of Mantegna. In Saint Bernardino the artist has kept to the well-known type; in Saint Antony he has created a youth of ideal beauty who gazes out of the picture in serene innocence without a trace of ascetic severity.

The Polyptych of Saint Luke in the Brera (Plate 4, fig. 54) is the earliest altarpiece by Mantegna which we possess.[1] On August 10, 1453, Andrea signed the contract with the monks of S. Giustina in Padua, and on November 18, 1454, he received the balance of fifty gold ducats, the price agreed upon for the finished picture.[2] Brandolese, in whose time the picture was kept in the Abbot's room, relates that the gilding, and probably also the artist's signature, which Scardeone says was introduced 'artificiose' (probably surreptitiously), were destroyed by lightning. At the present day, certainly, there is no trace of a signature to be found.[3] In the year 1797 the picture was brought by the French to Milan, and is now kept in the Brera enclosed in a plain modern frame. In the arrangement, which was probably prescribed, Mantegna has throughout kept faithfully to the Venetian scheme of Polyptych, which was calculated principally with a view to forming a complete decorative harmony between the splendidly carved and gilded frames, and the separate figures of saints, disposed side by side, and in superimposed rows. But without the original frame, which assuredly served

[1] In the centre Saint Luke, to the left Saint Prosdocimus and Saint Scholastica (Saint Teresa?), to the right Saint Benedict (Saint Antony Abbot?) and Saint Justina; above, Christ in the centre as 'Man of Sorrows,' between Mary and John; to the left, Daniel and Saint Jerome; to the right Saint Augustine and Saint Sebastian (?). The original frame was assuredly still executed in the Gothic style, as in many of the altarpieces of the Vivarini, which exhibit Renascence ornaments in the actual picture.

[2] See Moschini, *Vicende*, p. 34.

[3] Brandolese, p. 102; Scardeone, p. 372; Zani, *Materiali per la Storia dell' Incisione*. Parma, 1802, p. 140.

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to bring into closer union the separate parts of the picture, this sculpturesque isolation of figures disconnectedly juxtaposed must necessarily produce a somewhat stiff and unnatural impression. The basis on which the saints of the lower row stand is the same for all five sections, but the sitting Saint Luke in the centre is on a larger scale than the saints beside him and the half-length figures above, while the figures of the Pietà in the centre at the top are smaller still. It is only by studying it in detail that we can realise the excellence of the work. In the drawing, in the

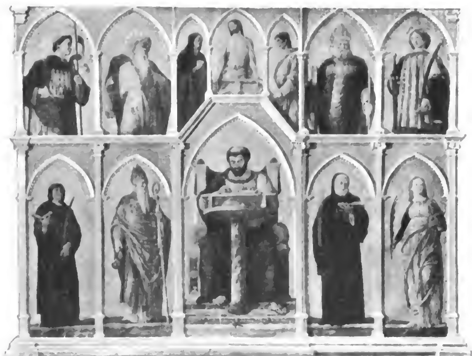

FIG. 54.—ALTARPIECE OF SAINT LUKE.
Milan, Brera. (Phot. Anderson)

greater slenderness of proportion, in the enhanced freshness and freedom of movement, in the lifelike expression and in the rounder and less angular forms, and finer and less cylindrical folds of the drapery, this altarpiece of Saint Luke comes very near to the last two frescoes of the Eremitani Chapel.

Saint Luke, enthroned in the centre, is a wonderfully refined figure, full of gentleness and inner concentration, and, like the Saint Jerome, free from the faintest touch of the ascetic or the fanatic. As a fact all Mantegna's saints show a like freedom; in body and soul they are

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IV.

Central Panels of the S. Luke Altarpiece

Milan, Brera

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vigorous, healthy human beings, full of kindly sympathy for their fellow-men. Notwithstanding the monumental symmetry, their attitudes and movements show a pleasing alternation ; they are carefully studied from nature and of supreme elegance. Another point in which Mantegna excels all his Paduan and, indeed, most of his other contemporaries, is that he combines with his eager desire to be true to nature a purified sense of beauty and a fine feeling for symmetry in form and action.

Like Raphael in his letter to Count Baldassare Castiglione, Mantegna, as Vasari tells us, was of opinion that the ideally beautiful figure cannot be obtained from a single human shape, but must be put together from a series of models, and that hence antique statues are more perfect than nature, combining and accentuating as they do the beauties of several individuals. Whether or not Mantegna expressed this or similar opinions, in practice he was guided through the realm of nature by his own fine artistic sense, and by no means contented himself with imitation of the antique. The study of antique figures may have sharpened his sense for harmony of form and rhythm of movement, but his models are taken without exception from the treasure-house of his observations of nature. If his figures are not directly derived from actual models, they are at least formed on a basis of studies from the living model. It should be emphasised here that even in the picture we are considering, leaving the ornamentation out of account, nothing in pose, type, form, or drapery of the figures is directly reminiscent of the antique, not even the figure of Saint Justina, in which some may possibly want to recognise an antique motive. The elastic backward bend of the upper part of the trunk and the falling movement of one shoulder are specifically Mantegnesque motives, which were developed by the artist in his later works almost to the point of exaggeration. In the dancing Muse of the 'Parnassus' it almost becomes dislocation, so that the weight of the upper part of the body no longer seems to rest on the feet. Even in the Eremitani frescoes we found this motive indicated, but it is here that we first see it in a clear and balanced form. The forward bend of one hip in so many of the saints of the Saint Luke altarpiece is more probably a reminiscence of the Gothic rhythm of the figure, such as we may still observe in the Venetian statues of the fifteenth century.

The altarpiece gains in historical significance with regard to our knowledge of Mantegna's development, owing to its close relationship to the style of the Vivarini. This connection with the Muranese is not only undeniable in the composition but also in the details, and especially in

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FIG. 55.—SAINT EUPHEMIA: ON CANVAS
Naples Museum. (Phot. Alinari)

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the colour. The chief characteristic is a polychromatic cheerfulness without sharp contrasts or much depth of tone. The scale of colour is bright, and the prevailing hues are pink (with white and yellow lights), violet and white. The colours have a certain heaviness of effect, at least at present, and the flesh tends to a bright reddish tonality. Detached spots of conspicuous colours, especially terra-cotta, blue, green, and watered gold, heighten the effect. A comparison, for instance, with the Polyptych by Giovanni and Antonio da Murano in the same gallery will strikingly prove Mantegna's close connection with this school. It is remarkable that Mantegna here still remains at the old standpoint, while in the last Eremitani frescoes, which, according to form and treatment of drapery, should be contemporaneous with the Saint Luke altarpiece, and in the pictures on canvas, the strong influence of Bellinesque colouring can be already traced. For fresco-technique old Venetian painting certainly afforded him no models, so that in it he is more nearly in touch with the Florentines. In the Eremitani Chapel, to be sure, where, among such a mixture of paintings by different hands, there could be no question of unity of effect, he may have tried some new experiments, just as he would have done in smaller pictures; but in the solemn, ceremonial altarpiece, planned on the pattern of the old Venetian devotional picture, he had to be intent on a complete harmony of form and colour. The most careful diligence is accordingly bestowed upon equality of tone and upon the execution of details. The rendering of texture is wonderfully faithful without being petty, as, for instance, in the rough sawn ends of the cross-bars of the desk, in the spots of ink, &c.

The Saint Euphemia in the Naples Museum (fig. 55) has been already mentioned in the discussion of the picture in the Simon collection, because it is the earliest dated work on canvas by Mantegna. The picture is much injured, but is quite reliable. The inscription 'OPVS ANDREAE MANTEGNAE MCCCCLIIII,' which Morelli declared to be a forgery, probably merely in order to support his theory that all Mantegna's canvas pictures are later works, is as evidently genuine as the authorship of Mantegna is indubitable.[1] The saint stands holding her right hand with the palm in the jaws of a lion, almost like a painted statue within a niche of semicircular form under a garland of fruit. The impression of severity and almost of stiffness conveyed by the pose is emphasised by the hard oblique folds of the drapery over the

[1] Morelli, *Galleries of Munich and Dresden*, p. 175 (tr. Ffoulkes).

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shoulder and round the body, and is perhaps still more apparent at present owing to the injuries to the surface which prevent the slight movement of the body from being realised. The face also is very much injured, not so much as to conceal the strangely subdued expression of gentle benevolence without a touch of sorrow or ascetic inspiration. The dagger in her heart is purely a symbol. Not as a martyr, but as a queen, does the glowing form stand in her overpowering majesty. We see here how near the master came to the spirit of the antique without imitating antique forms in detail. He might thus have represented some goddess of peace offering a palm to the victor and raising the branch of olive as a token of peace to victors and vanquished. The statuesque stiffness which cleaves to Mantegna's figures in his early period is less conspicuous in these separate figures than it is in the frescoes and pictures representing groups, because they are so self-contained that they seem to demand plastic repose. The forms are sharply and precisely defined; the face is almost square and the bony structure very prominent. It is the female type of the early period, replaced in the later works by one softer, fuller and more fleshy with a pointed chin.

We pass from the softness of a minor harmony to the firm severity of a major when we leave the exalted gentleness of Saint Euphemia and turn to the Saint Sebastian, pierced with arrows, racked with pain and yet looking upwards, which is preserved in the Church of Aigueperse (fig. 56). A juxtaposition of those two works, which took shape about the same time, and which, in spite of their different dimensions, may almost be classed as counterparts in form, technique and general effect, is highly instructive, because in them the apparent contradictions in Mantegna's nature are made very clear by comparison. Already in the works examined so far we have been able to trace a double tendency of artistic expression. The energetic, almost ruthless determination to penetrate the physical essence of the object to be represented, without the smallest attempt to veil or beautify the crude, often almost offensive reality of the effect, seems incompatible with the soft and infinitely pensive tenderness with which emotion is expressed. Uncompromising truthfulness in the representation of action and of form—even the rudest, as, for example, in scenes of execution—appears to contradict the delicate and almost sentimental mood of individual figures; in the early Madonna pictures, the very realism with which the Child is rendered seems to betray a different spirit from that expressed in the tender emotion of the Madonna's face.

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FIG. 56.—SAINT SEBASTIAN: ON CANVAS
In the Church of Aigueperse. (Phot. Taddei)

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This essential contrast cannot be explained solely by the different character of the subjects; we know too well that the ruling bias of an artist's soul is apt to be reflected also in expressions of feelings of an opposite kind, and that it influences the system of forms, modifying the contrasts between form and conception according to personal idiosyncrasy. Here the contrasts are clearly confronted in all their harsh uncompromising truth. In his relation to the subject, Mantegna retains an objectivity in which few can rival him. His freedom from prejudice is almost scientific; he takes a purely objective interest in the physical being of each separate part of the scene represented, and seems to become equally absorbed in all natural emotions, however various they may be. Though giving full play in the most energetic manner to his own personal conception, he allows the thing in its actual essence—reality with all its contrasts as they exist in nature—to have its due value. For this reason modern criticism, accustomed to convention—that is, to an artificial compromise between the physical form and the intellectual expression—finds in Mantegna's works a certain want of correspondence between the form and the spiritual content to be transmitted by the form.

In the Saint Euphemia the martyr, though pierced by a dagger, stands before us without the least hint of suffering, in the calm, victorious beauty of her womanly majesty. In the figure of Saint Sebastian bodily suffering is expressed with the harshest truthfulness, by the wounds, by the deep furrows made by the cords with which the saint is bound, and by his features; yet here, too, all this is combined with an almost absolute repose; there is no attempt of the body to escape from its torment, and the face expresses an inspired gentleness, a spiritualisation of suffering which strongly contrasts with the Herculean structure of the body and the realism of bodily pain. It was, however, not the artist's intention to point a contrast—such as baroque art loves—between bodily strength and the resignation of a Christian martyr; there is nothing ecstatic in Mantegna's Sebastian, but the artist's two tendencies, towards supreme realism in the presentment of the body, and towards the expression of his own tender melancholy and meditative temper, are responsible in this case for a certain lack of harmony. The mood is elegiac, but the development of form does not seem to suit the mood.

Twice again did Mantegna paint a Saint Sebastian, a subject which was always specially attractive to the earlier artists because it afforded the desired occasion for representing the nude figure. The Saint Sebastian in Vienna (Plate 10) was painted only a few years after the picture

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at Aigueperse, and yet a totally different spirit already breathes from the slender form of the youthful saint. The representation is still completely naturalistic, and physical pain is still the determining cause of the movement, but the feelings are more strongly excited, and the figure far more violently agitated. The saint no longer stands, as in the former picture, looking upwards with a dumb complaint in his mild suffering face; he is more like a Prometheus than a Christian martyr as he writhes in agony, and seems to wish to free himself from the bonds; his upward glance is almost reproachful, while loud laments rather than sighs seem to break from his open lips. The third picture of Saint Sebastian belongs to the last period of Mantegna's activity (Venice coll. of Baron Franchetti) (fig. 112). The saint stands free, or rather seems to float, so vehement is the movement which is also emphasised by the fluttering ends of his loin cloth, and by his streaming hair. The *crescendo* of physical movement in the three pictures of the same saint is as characteristic of the change in Mantegna's mode of conception as the *crescendo* in the rendering of emotion from the gentle elegiac suffering of the Aigueperse Saint Sebastian to the emphatic and almost exaggerated rhetorical effects in these latest works of the artist. In the early pictures, the study of material form predominates, the spiritual expression seems to be introduced almost unconsciously and to resist perfect fusion with the material; while in the later works the expression of spiritual emotion is intensified and emphasised, and the form is more consciously used as a means for rendering the content. The naive personal feeling of the artist shows itself more naturally and clearly in his youthful works than in the pictures of a more advanced period, where new conceptions bordering on the supernatural determine content and form.

The reader has been invited to cast a glance of comparison on the three representations of Saint Sebastian, not only because a view of the later development of the master makes it so much easier to understand his individuality, but also because a comparison of the three pictures among themselves affords the most convincing proof that the Saint Sebastian of Aigueperse is a very early work. Study of the forms can only confirm this conclusion. We must not be led astray by the probability of a later origin, which is adduced from the picture's history. Aigueperse belonged to Count Gilbert Bourbon-Montpensier, who, in the year 1480, married Chiara Gonzaga, daughter of the Marquis Federico of Mantua (1478–1484). The bride (destined to be the mother of the famous Constable Charles of Bourbon, who led the French troops at the sack of

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Rome in 1527), no doubt received a wedding present from Mantegna; this, however, was assuredly not the altarpiece in Aigueperse, which is two and a half metres high; but, in accordance with the custom of the time, a 'Maestà,' or small picture representing the Madonna or some kindred subject. How the Saint Sebastian came into the possession of Gilbert of Bourbon, how it came to Aigueperse at all, cannot now be conjectured; but, however tempting it may be on external grounds to assume that it was obtained in 1480 direct from Mantegna, the internal evidence of style forbids us to admit that it was painted at so late a period.[1]

The treatment of form is strictly analogous to that observed in the Eremitani frescoes, and appears as a translation of fresco-technique to canvas. The osseous structure is strongly accentuated, the forms hard and sharply defined. The light falling direct on the figure from above provokes very marked shadows, and thus brings the modelling and the outlines of the separate planes into specially crude and strong relief. The plastic treatment of the body forms proves a thorough study of anatomy, and shows what delight the artist found in the application of his anatomical knowledge. The larger forms—bones and muscles—are clearly modelled; the brush-strokes are laid on side by side without gradation, the outlines especially are very strong and hard, but the details are nevertheless carried out in the most careful manner.

The analogy between this work and the 'Execution of Saint James,' particularly between the archer on the right and the executioner of the fresco, and its close relation to the frescoes representing the legend of Saint Christopher, are very striking. As in the painting of Saint Euphemia, the point of vision lies fairly low, below the knees of the saint. The rendering of folds, too, is the same as in the Eremitani frescoes. The colour shows a dull yellowish-grey tone, with brownish-red tints in the faces, and violet, orange, or dark red drapery. In the blue sky above float heavy, strongly illuminated clouds; towards the lower part the tone grows lighter, tending to yellowish-white. The landscape in the background is conspicuous for the richness of motives such as Mantegna loved; castles on beetling crags; masses of building here and there, below ruins of antique structures within which the inhabitants of the district have settled; a triumphal arch quite similar

[1] See the heliogravure in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1886 (xxxiv.). Aigueperse is not far from Clermont-Ferrand, in the department of Puy-de-Dôme. Except for a few scratches the picture is well preserved.

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V.

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE

Berlin, Museum

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to the one in the 'Trial of Saint James;' with the delight of a story-teller he puts in the artisans' workshops, the soldiers at the gate, the peasants, and pleasure-seekers, but not with that refinement in the execution of miniature-like details which is to be seen in the later works since the Mantua period. There is much in the landscape and in the architectural structure that recalls Jacopo Bellini. The capital of the pillar to which the saint is bound seems to be directly copied from an antique fragment, for it is finer and richer in its forms than Mantegna's architectural parts usually are; yet on the pilaster to the left behind Sebastian we again meet with the ornament characteristic of this period, in the long narrow leaves standing upright, just as in the Eremitani frescoes, while later a less stiff, more delicate and rounded design of tendrils takes its place.

It is to be hoped that Mantegna's authorship of the Saint Sebastian can no more be disputed now than the early date of the picture. We cannot fail to be struck by a certain ungainly harshness in the figure, produced by the motionless attitude; the hard forms, the rude executioners seen merely as busts from below, and emphasised by the gigantic stature of the saint (nearly two metres), the crude illumination, and the low point of vision; yet the effect of that massive frame, with the childlike expression of grief, from which the two executioners turn away in coarse unconcern, without a single glance of sympathy, is intensely serious and deep. It is with the most heartfelt artistic joy that Mantegna has modelled the forms of the nude body, copied antique ruins, and decked the landscape with the riches of his fancy; but he has also expressed in the suffering figure his own sorrows and the gloomy thoughts of his heart, with such truth to human nature as could only be learned in the school of individual suffering.

The 'Presentation in the Temple' (Berlin Museum) and Lady Ashburton's 'Adoration of the Magi' at Kent House bear a close relation, both in technique and conception, to the Saint Euphemia and the Madonna pictures discussed above. Both are broad compositions of half-length figures on canvas. In them, as in the Madonnas, Mantegna has created a new type of familiar devotional picture for the home. As far as we know, he is the originator of this manner of representing Bible scenes by half-length figures, which afterwards became so popular in Venetian art. By confining the representation to the upper part of the figure, the interest of the material event is reduced and the principal stress is laid on the rendering of personal emotion. The mere fact that

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the figures can thus be painted on a larger scale on a relatively smaller surface emphasises the predominance of expression over action.

This attempt to concentrate interest on the inner and emotional content of the subject explains the peculiar turn given by the artist to the Bible story in the 'Presentation' of the Berlin Museum [1] (Plate 5). The Madonna is holding the Child, who is tightly wrapped in swaddling bands, in a last close and tender embrace before handing him over to the aged High Priest, who has already extended both hands to take him. The picture therefore represents, not, as usually, the ceremony itself, but the moment immediately preceding, when the Mother's tenderness seems to be enhanced by the thought of even a short separation from her Child.

No intimate sympathy is expressed except between the Mother and Child. The other figures are little more than bystanders, such as occur so frequently in Mantegna's early works; if they were absent, they would not be missed, for the picture would then resolve itself into an exquisite Madonna, painted as if in relief, like those other early Madonnas. The relief-like character of the front group within the painted stone frame passes over into the pictorial by the help of the three figures of saints in the background. It is entirely characteristic of Mantegna to sacrifice the whole effect of the composition as such to the expression of refined emotion, and to arrange the isolated figures in stiff, symmetrical relation to one another.

The composition and the technique are enough to show that the work belongs to the early period of Mantegna's activity,[2] and this view is confirmed by the forms, the colour and the minute delicate brush-work. The type of the Madonna, with the long, curved nose and obliquely set eyes, is just the same as that of the Madonna in the Simon collection, the Saint Euphemia and the other pictures of that period. The faces of the subsidiary figures are hard and stiff, the Child is treated as naturalistically

[1] Morelli (*The Galleries of Munich and Dresden*, p. 172, tr. Ffoulkes; *Gallerie zu Berlin*, p. 98) declared the picture to be a copy, and professes to find the original in a feeble, late (but not at all retouched) copy on wood in the Galleria Querini-Stampaglia in Venice. He adduces as a reason also that M. A. Michiel (*Anon. Morelliano*, p. 20) describes as painted on wood the picture in the house of Pietro Bembo. Irrespective of the fact that Michiel calls it a Tavola piccola (the 'piccola' is left out in the edition by Frizzoni), and that therefore the picture is quite possibly not identical with the surviving one, in the very next passage he refers to Raphael's double portrait of Navagero and Beazzano as a 'tavola,' though, as is well known, it was painted on canvas.

[2] It is held to be later, and generally even very late. Giovanni de Lazzara, on the other hand, considers that it is contemporary with the Eremitani frescoes (Letter to G. M. Sasso, 1803, Campori, *Lettere*, p. 351). Dr. Bode (in the *Berliner Gallerie-Werk*) also thinks it an early work.

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VI.

The Adoration of the Kings

London (Kent House)

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as in all the early works, while the slightly angular shape of the hands with pointed thumb, and in general the clear-cut outlines and well-defined lights are like the drapery with its close array of thick rounded folds and the preference for heavy brocaded stuffs, so many recognisable peculiarities of the early style. Another noticeable detail is the stiffness of the small folds beneath the coif of the female saint to the left. Unluckily the picture, probably in consequence of a coat of varnish, has become somewhat thick, dull and disagreeable in tone, greatly to the prejudice of the colouring. But the real Venetian straw-colour in the kerchief of the woman at the extreme left is alone sufficient to justify our assigning the picture to the period of the Eremitani frescoes. Additional evidence for this view is afforded by the remaining colours, the dull earthy red of the cloak worn by Saint Joseph, the violet with yellow lights of Mary's sleeve, the dim lilac with yellow lights, the dark blue-green, the white lights laid on with a pointed brush.

The 'Adoration of the Kings,' in the possession of Lady Ashburton [1] (Plate 6), is closely related to the 'Presentation in the Temple,' both in technique and in the intimate conception of the subject as a familiar domestic scene, yet it is certainly erroneous to assume, as some critics have done, that the two pictures are pendants. Leaving out of account the different size (the Berlin picture being the larger), the 'Adoration of the Kings' proclaims its later origin not only by the greater activity of movement and the more condensed and concentrated grouping round the Child as centre, but especially by the increased breadth and softness of the forms. The head of the Madonna still reproduces the early type with the gentle, melancholy, almost shy expression. The figures are more finely rounded, the outlines more full of repose, the folds of the drapery finer, smoother, and more nearly parallel. The execution is carefully graduated; the hair and high lights indicated by fine strokes, the tone of colour dull and subdued. The Madonna wears a red dress with a green border embroidered in gold and a greyish-blue cloak, Joseph's coat and cap are also red, and so is the robe of the king behind; the Moorish king wears a blue-grey robe and a reddish-yellow turban. The flesh line is greyish-brown with decided reddish lights. The case is parallel to that already noticed in the Madonnas of Bergamo and of the Poldi collection, which also correspond in sentiment with the earliest Madonnas, while in form they are much freer and more developed. Probably the

[1] Somewhat injured, but not restored.

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'Adoration of the Kings' is of the same period as those two Madonnas. They are in a certain sense afterthoughts, in which Mantegna, while painting his great decorative pieces for the Marquis of Mantua, repeated his older types, which, as the numerous copies prove, must have enjoyed great popularity. It is quite certain that these few surviving pictures and copies are only a fraction of the large number of works in this style which Mantegna must have produced in response to the frequent demands of his patrons and friends.

FIG. 57.—SAINT JOHN: FRESCO IN MANTEGNA'S CHAPEL OF S. ANDREA AT MANTUA

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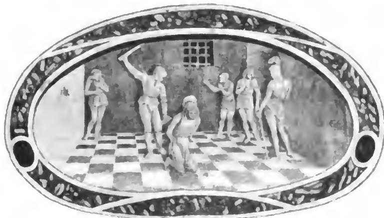

FIG. 38.—BEHEADING OF SAINT JOHN: FROM THE FRESCOES IN MANTEGNA'S CHAPEL IN S. ANDREA IN MANTUA

CHAPTER IV

THE TRIPTYCH IN S. ZENO AT VERONA AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY WORKS

THE young artist who strove so earnestly after the highest aims had the satisfaction to feel that his merit and his great superiority over all his associates were fully acknowledged in his very first works. The high regard which Andrea already enjoyed among his countrymen, as artist and as man, may be seen even from the following external though significant circumstance: his patrons belong henceforth almost exclusively to the highest circle of the lay and ecclesiastical aristocracy, and, at the same time, of the aristocracy of intellect. It is with personalities in every way prominent, in social position and in culture, that he now comes into close contact, whether as artist or as man. The first in this brilliant series is the patron of the first great work that was Mantegna's chief occupation during the years succeeding the completion of the Eremitani frescoes. The papal Protonotary, Gregorio Correr, who as abbot of San Zeno, at Verona, commissioned him to paint a large picture for the high altar of his church, was one of the most important representatives of the humanist clergy. He is especially famous for his treatise, 'De fugiendo sæculo,' which he addressed to Cecilia Gonzaga on her desire to enter a convent contrary to the wishes of her parents (1444), and for his tragedy 'Progne,' in which the ancient form was so well imitated that

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until the eighteenth century it passed for antique. Gregorio Correr was a pupil of Vittorino da Feltre, a close friend of Niccolo Niccoli, and other humanists. At the Council of Bâle he obtained by his speech a great early success, but not to the dishonour of his character—his later ecclesiastical career in no way answered to his brilliant beginnings as nephew of Pope Gregory XII. Not until the last months of his life (1464) did he attain to the long-sought-for dignity of patriarch of Venice.[1] It is obvious that this relation of Mantegna to Gregorio Correr has a significance extending far beyond the simple interest in the commission for the altar of San Zeno.

The correspondence between Mantegna and the Marquis Lodovico of Mantua affords us an insight into the work, and shows the care which the artist—painting much too slowly for the impatience of the Marquis, who was expecting him in Mantua—lavished upon the picture. The first letter of Lodovico to Mantegna, on January 5, 1457, does not make it clearly apparent what progress Mantegna had already made with the work, but the Marquis desires him to finish the painting in Verona, doubtless not only on account of the danger of plague in Padua, but also to have him nearer at hand. On November 27, 1457, the Marquis inquires of the Protonotary how far Mantegna has got on with the work. From a third letter, of April 15, 1458, it may be gathered that Mantegna hoped to have the painting finished in about six months, and that he must accordingly have already been engaged for a considerable time upon it. In any case the work lasted on still longer, so that in February 1459 the Marquis, who in December of the preceding year had again appealed to Mantegna, was compelled to grant to the artist and the Protonotary a fresh postponement of two months for its completion. But even in June the picture was not quite ready, for in a letter of June 28, the Marquis again begs Mantegna to finish it in Mantua or at any rate in Verona. Only in the course of the year, shortly before his removal to Mantua, could Mantegna deliver the painting to his patron. The work therefore occupied nearly three years.

The painting remained in its place up to the French invasion of 1797: it was then carried off to Paris, and sent back after the Treaty of Vienna. The three pictures of the predella, however, remained in France;

[1] Cf. Vespasiano, *Vite di Uomini Illustri*, p. 236 (ed. Frati, Bologna, 1892); Gio. d. Agostini, *Scrittori Veneti*, i. p. 110-134; Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudiz. Eccles.*, vol. xciii. p. 126; Rosmini, *Guarino da Verona*; Morelli, *Operette*, i. p. 184; Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des class. Altertums*, ii. p. 32; Cloetta, W., *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte* (Halle, 1892), ii., 'Anfänge d. Renaissancetragödie,' p. 147; Alfr. von Reumont, *Beiträge z. ital. Geschichte*, iv. p. 297 *seq.*

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the Crucifixion is still one of the treasures of the Louvre; the two other sections are in the Museum of Tours. In San Zeno at Verona the picture has, unfortunately, not been restored to its place above the high-altar, but is hung very high in the choir; good copies of the three predelle, by Giovanni Cagliari, replace the originals (Plate 8, and figs. 59, 60, and 61, 62).

Only a few years separate the Saint Luke in the Brera from the altarpiece in San Zeno, but they are years of growth and of intense work, during which the artist developed to full maturity. The most striking advance is in the composition. In the Brera altarpiece the young artist was still content simply to juxtapose his saints, almost without interrelation, in the early Venetian manner; here he attempts, both externally and in feeling, to fuse into a whole the assemblage of saints about the Madonna. It is true that only the first step is taken in the direction of free movement; thick pillars still appear to divide off the Madonna from the saints, who stand, full of reverence, and each still almost wholly self-absorbed, at the sides of the enthroned Madonna. But the saints have already a certain intercourse one with another, and, above all, they are connected with the Madonna through the unity of space. The three parts of the Triptych compose a local unity.

An elegant and sumptuous portico, with a casetted roof supported upon an architrave adorned with *putti* holding garlands, and carried by ten pillars enriched with medallions, form the sanctuary within which the saints have gathered about the Madonna. In front of the pillars, which divide the space into three parts for the spectator, plastic half-columns are set, which form architectonic members of the frame, the transition to them from the pillars within the picture being effected by painted capitals. Luxuriant garlands of fruit enhance the festal splendour; behind the flowering bushes in the background only the cloud-flecked sky is visible. The idea of the ancient ædicula, covering in the image of the Divinity, and forming a sacred enclosure around it, may have been present to Mantegna's mind, and have been adapted by him to call forth a great and entirely new impression—*that of the living vision.* We no longer have a stiff ceremonial arrangement of saints placed side by side, and in superimposed rows, with an unapproachable image of the Divinity, but we look upon a living group of forms—the Madonna herself enthroned among saints, as she might appear before the excited imagination of the believer.

The altar of San Zeno has an immediate and significant precursor in

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FIG. 59.—LEFT WING OF THE TRIPTYCH IN SAN ZENO AT VERONA
(*Phot. Alinari*)

Antonio Vivarini's painting of the Madonna with the four Fathers of the Church, in the Accademia at Venice, again reminding us of Mantegna's close connection with early Venetian art. The spectator will recognise at once, on comparing the pictures, that it was Mantegna who first

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FIG. 60.—RIGHT WING OF THE TRIPTYCH IN SAN ZENO AT VERONA
(*Phot. Alinari*)

plastically embodied the idea in space so as to convey the appearance of reality.[1] The altarpiece of San Zeno forms, so to speak, the point

[1] The three parts of the Vivarini picture originally were divided, moreover, from one another by the architectonic framework, as may be seen from the gaps in the continuous ornamen-

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of departure for those pictures expressive of a religious mood—those imagined reunions of saints in actual space for the 'Sacra Conversazione'—which have played so great a rôle in Venetian art. Given that the artist wished to remain faithful to the ground plan of the old memorial and ceremonial pictures, the problem is solved as completely as possible; the next step led of necessity to the abandonment of the principle of the unapproachable nature of the Divinity, in permitting the Madonna to come into immediate contact with the saints, as in Bellini, and finally even with mankind, as in the Madonnas of Titian.

Here the Madonna is still solitarily enthroned upon a high majestic throne, surrounded by music-making angels, who do not yet venture to approach the child Christ or the Madonna, and are still fully and wholly occupied each with his own task. The columns of the frame still effect a sharp division between the parts of the picture; the space has but little depth; the line of horizon is taken very low, the point of vision lies in the central point of the wreath upon the pedestal of the throne, beneath the lower edge of the carpet; the throne of the Madonna is brought quite to the front, and the saints converge in rows towards the throne from behind. As in the case of the saints and of the ornaments, strict grouping is observed in the posture of the angels also, who are symmetrically arranged with exactly balancing movements.

The Madonna sits quite upright upon her throne; she merely bends her head slightly to the side, and directs her glance dreamily into the distance. The naked Child, who is closely held by his Mother, stands quietly upon her knee, his left foot supported on her hand; he is a complete child in pose and expression. He bends his little head, listening to the singing of the Angels, and seems to long to get down to play with the little boys, who are singing so lustily. Like the Madonna herself, the saints, too, are still somewhat stiff and constrained—especially those of the right side—but all are noble and characteristic impersonations. By the side of Saint Benedict, an almost morose personage, who seems tormented by inward doubts, as he looks down into his book, stands the young and livelier Saint Laurence, who turns to his neighbour, a severe conscientious bishop (Saint Zeno). John the Baptist turns away from the bishop and stands solitary, reading eagerly; it is a splendid supple figure, full of primeval vigour of movement. The

tation. The three parts have been recently set up in accordance with this intended arrangement. Like Mantegna, Domenico Veneziano also (from whom the scheme probably passed into Florentine art) independently developed the composition of the 'Sacra Conversazione,' as shown by his picture in the Uffizi in Florence (No. 1305).

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VII.

Madonna and Child, with Angels

Centre of the Triptych in S. Zeno, Verona

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very way in which he holds the book firmly in both hands has something rustic and rough. On the left side stand the two energetic apostle-princes; the zealous Paul appears to be speaking eagerly to the self-assured vicegerent of Christ, who is evidently weighing his words critically. John the Evangelist, with an almost effeminate, melancholy expression, full of visionary withdrawal from the world, appears to fix only the bodily eyes upon the book which he holds before him, and in the spirit to be already carried far from the words into the distant world of his imagination. The bishop next him (Saint Augustine?) holds his book firmly on his arm, an image of quiet faith, clear and untroubled by doubts.

These impersonations of radically different human souls are conceived with admirable delicacy and depth of characterisation—each appears, so to speak, as the representative of special and definitely indicated mental tendency, which finds expression in posture and movement:—San Zeno holds the token of his dignity, upright and firmly planted, imperiously in front of him; Saint Peter holds his key like a sceptre, and the emotional and impetuous Paul grasps his huge sword with a gesture full of energy. Significant of the different characters is the manner in which John the Evangelist barely touches his book with his long delicate fingers, and John the Baptist grips his roughly with both hands, while Saint Benedict presses the back of his almost convulsively with lean fingers and turns the leaves restlessly with his thumb. Thus each form and every movement contribute to the more precise rendering of the temperament. They are no more ideal figures constructed from the idea of the characters of the saints than they are imitations of ancient statues. They are real men, without any appearance of superhuman nature; men of mind and action, portrayed from those among the artist's own friends and acquaintances whose exterior answered to the character of the saints. Luther, similarly, formed his conception of the saints from the figures of his friends. But how all these every-day men are exalted to a noble consecrated mood! How harmoniously these diverse exteriors combine, by means of the intensity of feeling that animates them all, in producing a grandly solemn impression![1]

[1] For this reason alone it seems impossible to admit with Dr. J. P. Richter (*Lectures on the National Gallery*, London, 1899, p. 32) that Mantegna made use of a drawing by Giovanni Bellini for the Apostles of the left wing, but also because the drawing in Chatsworth which, as a fact, has nothing in common with the picture beyond the general arrangement of the figures, and a few isolated motives in the pose of the feet and in the draperies, is so weak, so deficient in plasticity

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The colour must originally have been more expressive of this stately splendour than is now the case. It has been made dull and muddy by a too heavy varnish. The picture was intended for the high altar, and was lighted by a window high above on the right, from the opposite side, therefore, to its present lighting. Correspondingly, the colours of the left side, which would receive most strongly the light as it fell obliquely, are the most powerfully pitched; Peter's yellow mantle over the red garment forms the brightest tone of colour. The strongest light, on the other hand, is concentrated upon the central point, the child Christ and the Madonna; the garlands above them are also brighter and more brilliant in colour than those in the wings. Mantegna avails himself with great dexterity of the actual lighting; feeds the real light with strong colour, and accentuates the ideal centre by bright colours, luminous in themselves. The flesh tints in the Madonna and Child are light yellowish, with reddish lights, in the saints darkish brown, lighter only in the young saints John and Laurence. The Madonna wears a dark-green mantle over a red robe; the Angels are in bright-coloured garments; the two in the front wear yellow; Paul stands out strongly, in his dark-blue and violet garments, against the bright cloak of Peter; the others, especially those of the right wing, are similarly clad in dark but powerful colours.

As a whole, the impression is somewhat patchy and restless; the colours are far deeper and more moist than in the Saint Luke altarpiece, but they are without transitions. We have masses of colour without gradation; they do not blend in a general tone, although they are evidently arranged with great care and consideration. The artist endeavours everywhere to break, by spots of brighter colour and stronger tints, the monotony of the broad surfaces, and especially of the dark colours, wherever the modelling with light and shade does not suffice. The garments are so draped that the pieces of different colour intersect, and thus, by the repetition of the colours in smaller surfaces, a transition is effected from one tone to the other. One may notice, for example, the bit of the red garment that reappears from under the dark-green mantle of the Madonna; the delicate effect of the red carpet upon the grey marble. The impression conveyed by each several group of tints is wonderfully delicate, but there is no general effect.

and sense of space that it clearly betrays itself as a mere imitation of the motives of the picture which artists must often have employed as a model and for study. The Chatsworth sheet belongs to a group of drawings, some of which have been ascribed by Morelli to Giovanni Bellini, but which are really by different more or less able pupils and assistants of the young Mantegna.

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In the matter of colour-composition, Mantegna consults his understanding rather than his feeling; in his earlier works especially, the subordination of the colour to the form, the cautious consideration in the arrangement of the tones, is striking; only his mastery of lighting, of the delicate distribution of light among the figures and in the ambient space, prevents his people from looking like painted statues. It is by his skill in perspective and by the lighting that he gives them the appearance of real life.

In the rendering of form and treatment of drapery, the altar of San Zeno is still in the main at the same stage as the Eremitani frescoes. There remains still a certain heaviness in the movements and a certain rigidity in the expression—a residue of Venetian pose. The modelling of the nude exhibits yet greater affinity, in its hardness, with the frescoes, the Saint John the Baptist especially, whose smooth bronze-like tone vividly recalls the executioner in the 'Martyrdom of James.' The treatment of drapery also, with the thick, full, heavy folds and the preference for thick heavy stuffs, is almost identical. The advance is striking enough nevertheless, and principally in the greater individualisation of the particular forms, especially, for example, in the different character of the hands of the various personages—in the naturalness of the expression and of the movements.

With the best will in the world, one cannot discover here, either, anything antique in the forms of the body, in the movements or drapery; though the antique plays a prominent part in the ornaments. It should be noted how entirely even the figures which are conceived as conscious imitations of the antique, such as the *putti* of the frieze, are translated into Mantegnesque form. With great taste and independence the motive of the *putti* carrying garlands, which is borrowed from ancient sarcophagi, is adapted to the adornment of the high architrave, and the medallions on the pillars are especially interesting, one of them reproducing apparently the group of horse-tamers of Monte Cavallo. The others also are certainly taken from ancient works of art, with which Mantegna had become acquainted in Padua and the neighbourhood, or from drawings by Jacopo Bellini or other antiquarian friends.

Of even greater significance for the history of Mantegna's development than the main picture itself are the three sections of the predella, which originally adorned the socle of the altarpiece in San Zeno. The most remarkable of the three is the Crucifixion, in the Salon Carré of the Louvre, where it hangs—as it deserves—even if not in the most

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favourable position—among the greatest masterpieces of painting (Plate 8). Without doubt, it occupied the centre of the predella, and it is far superior, in preservation as well as in execution, to the other two parts which are at Tours.

The composition is so largely conceived that, looking at the photograph, it is difficult to recall to mind the small dimensions of the original. The death of Christ is depicted with the boldest and most severe realism. The thin body hangs down stark, the feet are crushed together by the nails, the lean arms, almost wrenched from the sockets, form a nearly straight line, the head is sunk placidly upon the shoulders; in the features is expressed the whole agony of the death-struggle, with the traces of the last convulsive spasms about the mouth and nose. But there is sublimity of movement and expression, that causes the spectator to feel deeply that it is a noble, lofty being who has suffered so terribly. The space about the cross is almost empty; the two side groups form, with the lower frame of the picture, a triangle, the apex of which is in the background, while in its centre rises the cross. The two robbers are seen half from the side, without detracting from the effect of the crucified Christ as central point, his body lifted high above the people, indifferent or else overcome by pain, and standing out free against the sky, to enhance the impression of the sufferer's solitary depth of suffering. The light falls from the right, leaves the group of the wicked thief and the soldiers in shadow, is concentrated upon the upper half of the body of Christ, and lets acute rays of light fall on the side of his countenance, spreading them over the group of the good thief and the lamenting friends. In the sky also, the centre above the horizon is the most strongly lit up.

Everything is calculated for the great tragic effect, which is produced, however, not by violence of movement, but by the contrasts in the delineation of character and of feeling. Directly beside the cross, the tall standard-bearer, closing the group of soldiers, is placed in most effective contrast to Christ, from whom he has turned indifferently away. The Saint John brought into contrast with the horseman on the right, who is looking up with curiosity at the wicked thief, is in his bearing—which reveals the whole overwhelming depth of his pain, through a scarcely perceptible backward bend of the body—one of the most grandiose figures that Mantegna, or indeed art in general, has created. In this figure the artist approaches the antique, not indeed in the form, but in the union of simple, absolutely honest realism, with a sublime quiet and with a consciousness of suffering.

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VIII.

THE CRUCIFIXION

From the Predella of the S. Zeno Altarpiece, Louvre

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There is in his creations something of the mood of the ancient tragedy of destiny, not only because he emphasises everywhere the earnest side of life, and brings to the fore the tragic contrasts, the vain struggle against the power of fate; but also because he portrays human character as permanent, as inevitably determining a man's fate. Even those of his characters who seem peaceful and happy, betray a touch of sad melancholy, as though they felt the weight of a supernatural power hanging threateningly over them. Thus our first parents released by Christ from limbo, in that composition which has been preserved in school copies and engravings, are moved by dread and terror. Alone, Mantegna's children are innocently joyous, and his old people filled with gentle resignation. In the measured, restrained movement which he is fond of giving to his youthful figures, in the swing, the slight turn of the upper body, which seems reluctant to follow the legs, there may be read a certain reserve and indecision. Every violent expression of countenance turns with him readily to a grimace, as in the Saint John or in the women about the 'Dead Christ' of the Brera (fig. 73). He depicts pain and weeping with absolute fidelity to nature, without any of the conventions to which we are too much accustomed, and he seems in consequence to exaggerate. His real sublimity of effect is produced through the restraint of movement and expression, through the indication of the reflex effect of feeling upon the body.

As a whole the composition suffers undeniably from a certain stiffness, caused principally by the series of straight upright figures, standing one beside the other, but also by the sharp severance of the foreground from the background, the more marked in that the rocky platform of the foreground sinks downwards at the back. The two figures which are cut off in the very front, and the sharply indented point of the rock at the back, strengthen this impression of haphazardness. Only a long and deep study of the painting will reveal the great subtlety of the spatial arrangement and of the grouping. The moral relations of the figures and groups are indicated only lightly; they are not yet, as in later art, concentred into a clear and readily apprehensible image by the accentuation of the main points. As a moving narrative, told to simple, attentive listeners, is to an effective oration, which makes use of forcible emphasis and catchwords in order to captivate a spoilt and inattentive audience, so are the compositions of Mantegna to those of his successors in the later Renascence—of Raphael in particular—who stand upon his shoulders. Mantegna himself, later, became freer, more vivid, more

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eloquent, but he could never transcend this early simplicity and depth of mental feeling, without any trace of rhetoric.

The effect of the colours is very vivid and powerful, their original luminous quality, like enamel, being still clearly recognisable. The combination of colours is very harmonious, tones of orange-yellow and rose predominating. Strong deep colours—such as cinnabar red, in particular—are selected in places only, for small objects, to enliven dull surfaces of colour. In the group on the right, the scale of colour ranges from green

FIG. 61.—THE RESURRECTION: FROM THE PREDELLA OF THE TRIPTYCH IN SAN ZENO AT VERONA

Tours Museum

through bright yellow to blue, then to rose (cloak of Christ as centre point of the group of soldiers), and again to green, finding its counterpoise in the cinnabar red of the shield on the ground.

The two other predella pictures are, as already stated, much less well preserved and duller in colour, than the Crucifixion, to which they are also inferior in execution. In the Resurrection of Christ (fig. 61), the rocks out of which the grave is hewn rise against the sky, lit up by the pale morning light. The powerful figure of Christ, drawn larger, in

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spite of its greater remoteness from the edge of the picture, than those of the soldiers recumbent in front, is encircled by a crown of cherubim and rays of light, and is brightly lit up by a ray falling from the right hand. It rises magically from out the dark background of the cavity, and throws dazzling reflex lights upon the watchmen, who start up in terror. The body of Christ is the pale colour of death, his white cloak has greenish shadows in contrast with the golden rays of his halo, the red flagstaff and the red cross on the flag. The two soldiers on the right are the most clearly lit up, the colours of their faces are a fresh yellowish red ; their garments brighter in tone, violet with red and blue, rose and cinnabar red ; among the others, orange-yellow, violet and green preponderate, heightened by single spots of stronger colour.

The principal effect is derived from the contrast between the grandiose quiet of the ghostly apparition of Christ, and the soldiers who, roused from sleep by the beam of light, seem as though paralysed in the first involuntary movement of fear. Mantegna's Risen Christ has been compared to the same subject by Piero della Francesca in Borgo San Sepolchro, where the Christ is shown in the act of rising out of the grave with just such material force of energy. Even though no direct connection can be thought of,[1] the comparison is, nevertheless, exceedingly interesting. Mantegna does not attain to Piero's immensity, to his almost architectonic monumentality in the apparition of Christ, but neither does he convey, like Piero, a frozen image of the risen Lord, but rather a living occurrence. Piero's Christ has set his foot upon the edge of the grave, but no continuation of the movement is suggested ; he stands as though spell-bound, and the watchmen remain sunk in sleep. In Mantegna's Christ the next powerful movement, that shall lift the body upon the edge of the grave, is felt by anticipation in the elastic swinging movement of the body upon the raised leg. Common to both is the deep feeling for reality, for the materiality of the event ; and for this reason both artists, even though unacquainted with one another, must perforce have conceived the event similarly. They are related also in their desire to be profoundly true to nature in representing the attendant circumstances, but whereas Piero's monumentality increases to rigidity, and his realism to rudeness, Mantegna seeks above all to

[1] Eugène Muntz (*Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, ii. (1889), p. 273) has suggested an influence of Piero upon Mantegna. But even without considering the very uncertain chronology of the works of Piero and all external circumstances, a direct connection is at once improbable from the fact that the two works have in common only the idea, and differ in every point as regards the execution.

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represent, and still more to convey, the life-likeness of movement, the elasticity of body and expression, and to lend to his forms distinction and elegance, beauty as well as character of form.

We do not know whether Mantegna became acquainted with Piero and his works, but in any case no direct influence of Piero is to be found in him. Mantegna's manner of composition, his endeavour after spaciousness, his structure of form, his proportions, treatment of drapery, expression of feeling, all is fundamentally different from Piero's. They come into contact only in so far as two great and profound artistic natures of the same period, and impelled by the same art tendencies, must needs follow parallel paths. Neither is there any reason to suppose Mantegna dependent on Piero as regards the study of the effect of light. He is far more likely to have learnt in this particular from Giovanni Bellini, for as opposed to Piero's attempt to reproduce the effect of diffused light (aërial perspective), Mantegna, like Bellini, aims rather at delicate effects of contrast by means of concentrated light. Indeed, he almost wholly neglected aërial perspective, or in other words the observation that the more distant objects appear less distinct in proportion as the power of vision becomes weaker towards the distance, and owing to the columns of air interposed between the eye and the background. He proceeds, to all appearance, independently and with subtle reflection. The composition of the 'Resurrection' led him to give the effect of a supernatural apparition to the figure of Christ by means of a lighting which could not come from the natural source, the twilight of the rising sun. The light does not come from Christ himself, it falls upon him from without, since the left side of his body is in shade; the light upon the wall of the cavity and upon the soldiers is reflected only from him; but the lighting does not find its motive in the natural situation.

It was a perfectly simple and logical expansion of this idea that induced him in the 'Mount of Olives,' on the left side of the predella, to choose, as the source of this supernatural light, the Angel who brings strength and comfort to the praying Saviour (fig. 62). In the 'Mount of Olives' also, it is the first weak rays of the sunrise in the background that light up the horizon with a yellow glow, throwing only faint streaks upon the dark clouds and upon the town on the hill, and penetrating to the foreground on the left, reappear on the armour of the approaching persecutors. The dark little trees detach themselves with the greatest delicacy from the clear cold sky. Christ and the sleeping Apostles on the

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right side of the foreground are lit up clearly and sharply by the supernatural light proceeding from the Angel, as he flies down with impetuous rush out of the clouds. Here also, on the right, the warm bright tones are concentrated upon the yellow garment of Christ, upon the citron-coloured cloak of the Apostle, lying to the left, upon the yellowish-violet rocks and the shining fruit in the foliage of the tree. The contrast between the cold tints of the dawn and the warm light that proceeds from the supernatural source is clearly intentional and carefully studied. Piero della

FIG. 62.—CHRIST ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES: FROM THE PREDELLA OF THE TRIPTYCH IN SAN ZENO AT VERONA

Tours Museum

Francesca, indeed, far transcended Mantegna, and even the Bellini, in artistic effects of light; in his 'Dream of the Emperor Constantine' in S. Francesco at Arezzo, he has created a night-scene illuminated supernaturally, of magical and unsurpassed effect, but Mantegna's picture is, so far as we know, the first in which we meet with the problem of a twofold lighting. To be sure, it is little more than suggested; the natural source of light is not sacrificed to the supernatural; the contrast is too

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weak, the execution of the details and the local colours are too strongly emphasised to allow the intention to take full effect. Correggio was the first to impart a convincing reality to this illumination from an imaginary source, side by side with the natural light, as an artistic medium for expressing the divinity of the apparition. It is self-evident that experiments like these, in works as much admired and studied as were those of Mantegna, must have powerfully influenced the subsequent development of art.

It is this application of intense and well-calculated effects of lighting in order to accentuate the idea in the composition, and still more to aid the plastic modelling of the forms, that constitutes, indeed, Andrea's most essential progress between the execution of the Eremitani frescoes and the San Zeno altarpiece. Whereas, in the frescoes, many a trait might still suggest a dependence upon the antique, and Donatello's influence, at any rate, is still very strong; in the altarpiece, and especially in the pictures of the predella, which show an even greater progress than the main picture, the artist goes on every point straight and quite independently to nature. He seems to have overcome or assimilated the foreign element, and to seek for new expedients and new effects in the landscape, in light and in colour. He comes ever closer and more directly in touch with nature. The progress to which we can point, not only in the lighting but also in the greater ease of the movements and the more delicate execution of the forms, can spring only from the most intense study of reality. Even though the spiritual content of his subjects be supernatural, this material presentation is always on the basis of what is actual and physically possible: form and movement diverge not one hair's-breadth from reality, not even where the subject necessitates the representation of supernatural shapes. The Angel flying down in the 'Mount of Olives' is in itself no more than an impetuously striding figure, looked at from below.

Just as the given content is subordinated to the artist's own purely human feeling, so is the form conditioned by the subject subordinated to that actually observed and felt by the artist. The disciples are depicted in their sleep as realistically as Mantegna must have observed sleep in men resting after hard work. The postures of the watchmen terrified out of sleep in the 'Resurrection' are reproduced with the greatest fidelity and psychological exactitude. Consider, for example, the one in the front, who was lying with his back to the grave and is

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now turning round half asleep;[1] beside him is another who shrinks back in dismay; on the left is a bolder man, who is on the point of rising with the help of his lance; behind him another flees, crying out, and yet another seems to be fainting; on the left side a seated warrior, who holds his arm before his eyes as though dazzled, and behind him a stout man, who stares spellbound at the apparition in an almost comic posture, with his mouth wide open. Just as realistically, and without secondary intention, are the two thieves in the 'Crucifixion' represented, with their convulsive movements.[2]

The artist has an inexhaustible fund of the most delicate motives, derived from his observations, and reproduced with amazing certainty and care. It is, no doubt, this great precision and exactness in the rendering of every form, this conscientious clearness and rigour of outline, which, together with his antiquarian tendencies in costume and ornamental accessories, have gained for Mantegna the title of a 'learned' artist. It may have a certain justification, in so far as the actual work, the study, often remains too evident, and the absorption of the many details in the general effect is left out of consideration. But it is not justified if implying the reproach that he subordinated artistic feeling to his scientific studies. The form serves him only for the grand and energetic expression of his strong, personal and purely human feeling, which penetrates and animates all his creations. For this reason he easily sinks to caricature, when the subject transcends his personal feelings.

The altarpiece of San Zeno must have met with extraordinary success, not only among the artists who, like Francesco Benaglio in his painting in S. Bernardino at Verona, copied it, or, like Butinone in the predella of the altarpiece in Treviglio, and others, adapted the grouping and single figures to their works, but also among the art-loving public. It was certainly a special delight in the work that excited in the Podestà of Padua, Giacomo Antonio Marcello, the wish to possess a replica of the 'Mount of Olives' of the predella. It is, to say the least, highly probable that we possess this 'operetta' in the 'Mount of Olives' of the National Gallery (Plate 9). Out of respect for the high Venetian official, the

[1] The collection at Windsor possesses an old copy from a study of Mantegna for a similar figure.

[2] Crowe and Cavalcaselle think that the repentant thief is imitated from the statue of Marsyas in the Uffizi: without any ground, as it seems to me, since the motive is essentially different. Marsyas is suspended only by the arms, and the body hanging down is elongated by its own weight; the body of the thief rests upon the fetters of the feet, which even force the legs to bend, and the arms are merely bound behind, without sustaining the body.

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Marquis of Mantua, into whose service Mantegna had already passed, permitted his artist by a letter, dated March 14, 1459, to remain eight or ten days longer in Padua, in order to finish the picture. In a letter of May 4 the marquis expresses the hope that the picture will soon be completed; in a subsequent letter of June 25, 1459, there is question only of the altarpiece of San Zeno; Mantegna must probably, therefore, in order to gratify the podestà of his native town, have finished off the smaller picture first.

FIG. 63.—GIOVANNI BELLINI: CHRIST ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES
London, National Gallery

The London picture[1] is, at any rate, most closely related in style to the predella pictures of the San Zeno altar. It is an expansion of the same composition, which Mantegna has very skilfully rearranged. The one Apostle on the right is apparently from studies after the model already utilised for the Apostle on the left in the 'Mount of Olives' at Tours. The Apostle sleeping on the left is one of the most successful of Mantegna's figures. The depression of the abdominal region, as the body lies sideways, the disarrangement of the cloak, every part makes one feel the pulsating breath in the powerful body that is sleeping there healthily and peacefully. The superiority over the

[1] It is signed: OPUS ANDREAE MANTEGNAE. Cf. p. 20.

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IX.

THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

London, National Gallery

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San Zeno predella consists principally in the manner in which Christ is thrust back more into the centre and made more prominent by the raised platform, while the disciples, though they occupy the foreground, are better subordinated to him, and in the greater depth and clearness of plan attained in the landscape.

Here again, as in the predella pictures of the San Zeno altarpiece, the most essential advance lies in the colouring. The endeavour after greater depth and warmth is not without beneficial effect, and imparts a greater softness also to the forms and outlines. The general harmony is darker; a warm brownish tint tones down the gayness and hardness of the individual colours, which, as in the Verona altar, still form separate compact masses without gradations. The bright-red garment of Christ is covered, all except one small piece, by his dark-green cloak; the Apostle lying on the left has a sky-blue garment and rose-coloured cloak, with cherry-red shadows; the one lying in the front wears a dark citron-coloured garment and grey-violet cloak, the one behind a moss-green cloak over deep-red clothes. The sky has a greenish tone (presumably altered by time from blue), and similarly the water and the ground display greenish colours, though toning into brown. The light of the rising sun irradiates, from the left, the tops of the mountains and the town, and penetrates, between the hills and by the rocks upon which Christ kneels, to the foreground. The clouds in the dark sky are sharply lit up from below. The strongest light is concentrated upon the group of Angels on the clouds, who display to Christ the instruments of the Passion. The figure of Christ, however (prominent as it is in the composition), does not form the central point in respect of colour; rather is it left the darkest in the whole painting.

Mantegna clearly intended that the light and colour should contribute to the mood of the picture, but it cannot be asserted that he succeeded in unifying the effect of colour so as to produce a definite emotion. Without question, Mantegna was moved to this attempt by rivalry with Giovanni Bellini. The most striking proof of this is afforded by Giovanni Bellini's 'Mount of Olives,' which a fortunate chance has brought likewise to the National Gallery, and which challenges comparison with Mantegna's creations like no other work of Bellini's. The composition of Giovanni Bellini's picture—which, like many other of his youthful works, was long taken for a work of Mantegna—seems, indeed, to be not independent of that of Mantegna. Both artists had most probably studied a drawing of Jacopo Bellini, such as that in the London sketchbook (folio 43-44), and

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had each adapted it independently after his manner. Bellini does not even distantly attain to the delicacy of Mantegna's forms, the lifelikeness of his movements; he remains stiff and hard also in the treatment of the hair and the rendering of drapery. His composition is incomparably weaker than Mantegna's. In Andrea's painting, the Apostles compose one group with Christ; with Bellini they are divided off from him, and the whole band of disciples press forward from the background between him and them. As compared with the clear symmetrical grouping of Mantegna, the composition of Bellini would appear scattered and empty were it not filled up with colour and light. Everything is calculated for the exceedingly poetic effect of the rising sun, which brightly illuminates the town upon the dark rocks, and sheds its first cool rays upon the Apostles in the foreground. The landscape opens at the back in a broad plain, and allows the light to radiate in full glory over the hills, which stand out dark against the sphere of light, and form a frame for the head of Christ that is significantly detached against the rays of light above the horizon. It is still the old Venetian system of colour that Bellini, as also Mantegna, adopts here—rose with cherry-red, sky-blue, dark green, blue with golden lights, yellow with rose shading, &c.—but he knows how to obtain a magical and harmonious general effect, by the wonderfully delicate gradation of the colours in relation to one another, and to the light, while Mantegna is unable either to reach to such depth of luminous colour or to give full effect to the proposed strong contrast of light.

Mantegna's deficiency is most obvious in the landscape backgrounds. Even though all the details show a marvellous fidelity to nature and delicacy in execution and feeling, yet his landscapes always impress one as though they were built up of separate pieces stuck together. The background is sharply divided off from the foreground, and has scarcely more effect than an infinitely delicate scene painting. Depth is wanting; the principal figures stand *before*, not *within*, the landscape. Though Mantegna must be reckoned, for his loving and exact observation and reproduction of each object in nature, not only as one of the first, but also as one of the most admirable, of landscape painters, he yet remained stationary before the final great problem, of how to harmonise the details into a whole—that is, into the image of reality.

Even in the 'Mount of Olives,' where the group of disciples in the middle distance made the task easier, he is unable to effect a real connection between foreground and background. His effort is directed too intensely upon the plastic fashioning of the figures of the first

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plane; his perspective method, with choice of a low horizon, renders it more difficult to give the landscape depth, forcing it upwards, so to speak, and compels him, as we have already seen in the Eremitani frescoes, to represent the ground as rising steeply. His decorative feeling for enlivening all surfaces induces him to fill in the height with masses of rocks (which often, as also in the 'Mount of Olives' and in the 'Crucifixion,' project sharply in the composition), and the sky with strongly illuminated clouds. Certainly we must bear in mind that the rocky formation of the country, which Mantegna must have chiefly visited and studied—the mountains of the wild valley of the Adige to the north of Verona, and about the Lake of Garda—have in reality this character. From this Mantegnesque system of landscape painting proceed nearly all the schools of painting of Upper Italy—the Venetian excepted—and, in particular, the Ferrarese.

But that which above all prevents him from giving to his landscape as a whole a life-like impression is the neglect of aërial perspective and the lack of a uniform mood of colour, whereby alone unity of space can be attained. Only through the application of the technique of oil-painting did it become possible to give to landscape breadth of form and depth of tone. Even the later free water-colour technique, etching and similar techniques, take their rise in the main from the effects of oil-painting. It is Giovanni Bellini, who, as a fact, applied himself, with an energy unusual in him, to the mastery of oil technique, who was first able by means of colour to bring together landscape and subject into an harmonious unison. Delicate as is the feeling with which Mantegna in his 'Mount of Olives' has chosen and arranged the luminous, strong colours; charmingly as he has enlivened the surfaces with separate plants and animals, carefully though, in the endeavour to follow in the footsteps of Bellini, the play of light is observed, he yet remains far behind his comrade. He himself seems in later works to have renounced these attempts. For him they had doubtless the value chiefly of studies. But the works of the succeeding period of his activity will prove to us that the trouble was not wasted. He had first, in his thorough and honest manner, to assimilate fully those elements which at bottom were foreign to his nature, that afterwards he might make use of them just as his own feelings prompted.

The deliberations as to the setting up and placing of the great altarpiece must have often taken Mantegna to Verona and to San Zeno. The charm of the country about this admirably situated town, and

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above all its wealth of ancient buildings, must have captivated him; but neither did he pass heedlessly by the works of mediæval art. The reliefs of the façade of San Zeno, which have for us so deep an interest as the earliest remains of Romanesque sculpture, must also have attracted his curious eye. His glance must have lingered upon the form of the King of the Goths, Theodoric—the Dietrich of Bern of the German legend—represented there on horseback pursuing a stag, which the inscription commits to hell as an Arian heretic. The form of Theodoric appears galloping along in the clouds—perhaps as a symbol of persecuting heathendom—in the picture of Saint Sebastian in the Vienna Museum (Plate 10). This borrowing, so insignificant in itself, throws a clear light upon the relation of the fresh art of the early Renascence to the productions of past ages. The wild huntsman, of whom in Verona many a forgotten legend may have been related, stirred up Mantegna's artistic imagination. The artist did not dwell upon the external form, which he created himself independently. It is the inherent greatness of the object which lays hold on him in the antique; and so here the legendary magic exercised by the form of Theodoric over his conception, transformed the rudely chiselled relief of the Roman sculptor into an artistic image. So in every heap of ruins, in every fragment of ancient sculpture, in every inscription, there came again to life the great idea of the ancient world, as it shaped itself before the imagination of the Renascence. This serves also to explain the fact that the interest of the artists of that time so frequently dwells with such affection upon ancient remains of small artistic value.

Mantegna remained loyal to antiquity up to his very last breath, but in his later period his attitude towards it is nevertheless quite different. He enters upon a process of *formal reconstruction*, particularly in the 'Triumph of Cæsar,' giving thereby artificial form even to his own conception, and so departing the more from the spirit of antiquity. His representations of ancient subjects all belong, so far as we know, to his later period. In his young enthusiasm as student, he strives only to understand antiquity, so as to penetrate himself with its feeling, and he comes in spirit all the closer to it, because in the form he fully retains his independence, remaining at the same time more natural and true. This is the case—even more than in the Crucifixion of the Louvre, where it has been already noted—in the Saint Sebastian of the Vienna collection, which comes entirely within the set of ideas that dominated him at the time.

Neither the town in the background, which, with its ancient buildings

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S. Sebastian

Vienna, Museum

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and amphitheatre, greatly resembles Verona, nor the ruins of the triumphal arch to the columns of which the saint is bound, nor the fragments of sculpture, to be found also in many others of his earlier works, nor even the Greek form of the artist's signature, are so characteristic of his mode of conception at precisely that time as is the figure of the saint himself, absolutely based as it is upon direct study of nature. The Saint Sebastian in Vienna has been not inaptly[1] compared with one of the bound slaves of Michelangelo; it is no contradiction of this to describe the movement and expression as Laocoon-like. Already, when comparing it with the picture in Aigueperse, we became clearly aware of the individuality of this Sebastian. Like a Sophoclean hero, he breaks forth in loud lamentation over his inevitable fate. The slender body, in its consummate plasticity, is interpenetrated by pain; its violently contorted attitude is fully conditioned by the agony endured, and by the chains which bind the upper part of the body to the column, forcing it—since the feet find but an insecure rest upon the block in front of the socle—into a position at an angle to that imparted by the chains on the feet. The knees are compressed by the chains, and the trunk is impelled to seek its centre of gravity in the contrary direction; the chest is forced forward by the tying of the hands, and the shoulders are painfully drawn up. The whole movement is masterfully executed and is tragic in effect. The somewhat too plentiful arrows are not needed to make us realise the suffering of the bound youth. The shattered magnificence which surrounds the saint, the smiling landscape in which we see the three executioners departing with hasty steps, and the ghost-like horseman in the clouds, form a singular and impressive setting to the figure of the martyr abandoned to his torments and to his thoughts.

In the rendering of the forms, in the sharpness of the outlines of the modelling and the folds of drapery the Saint Sebastian is closely connected with the altarpiece of San Zeno, even though none of the figures of the altarpiece touch it as regards the delicacy with which the forms are realised or with which the muscles are knit together. No less unmistakable than the effort after greater animation of movement are the pains taken to give greater warmth and depth to the colour, to emphasise more strongly the contrasts of light and shade, just as we noticed also in the 'Mount of Olives' of the National Gallery. The flesh-colour is a fairly deep reddish-brown; the light, falling strongly

[1] By Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

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from above on the left, is indicated by whitish touches upon the dark flesh. The heavy white clouds, strongly lit up, detach themselves from the deep blue sky. The rocks, of reddish gleaming sandstone, and the red bricks with their bright layers of mortar high up on the arch, afford delicately calculated heightenings in the arrangement of the colours.

About the same time as the Vienna Saint Sebastian, shortly before Mantegna's migration to Mantua, must have been painted the 'Portrait of the Cardinal Luigi Mezzarota,' preserved in the Berlin Gallery (Plate 11). It has been possible to identify the individual portrayed by the name inscribed upon the back of a copy of the picture, by comparison with the medal of the cardinal (fig. 64) and by the somewhat altered reproduction of Mantegna's painting in an engraving in Jac. Phil. Tomasinus's

FIG. 64.—MEDAL OF CARDINAL MEZZAROTA
Berlin Museum

'Elogia Virorum Illustrium' (Patavii, 1630, i. p. 12).[1] The painting of Mantegna—at that time in the possession of Francesco Leone, presumably a member of that Leone family which, as heirs to the Ovetari, had caused the Eremitani Chapel to be painted by Mantegna—is expressly named as the original of the engraving. The cardinal's coat of arms supported by two angels, reproduced by Tomasinus, is also copied, as the author admits, from a wall painting by Mantegna in Santa Lucia at Padua.

Ludovico Mezzarota[2] was born in 1402 at Padua, entered as physician the service of Pope Eugenius IV., distinguished himself as leader of the papal troops in the struggle against Francesco Sforza,

[1] Cf. Bode's Catalogue of the Berlin Picture Gallery, ed. 1898, p. 174. Friedländer, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vii. p. 180, and *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, iii. p. 236.

[2] Cf. Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Ecclesiastica*, vol. xlv. p. 12 *seq.*; Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des classischen Altertums*, 2nd ed. i. p. 528, ii. pp. 208, 432; Jac. Phil. Tomasinus, *Elogia Virorum Illustrium* (Patavii, 1650); Scardeone, *Antiq. Patavii*, 1560, Basil, p. 129; Gasparis Veronensis, *De Gestis P. M. Pauli II.* in Muratori, *Scriptores*, iii. 2. p. 1027.

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XI.

PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL MEZZAROTA

Berlin, Museum

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whose general, the famous Condottiere Niccolo Piccinino, he conquered, and under Calixtus II., as cardinal legate and leader of the papal troops in the war against the Turks, upon whom he inflicted a considerable defeat (1457) at Metelino, near Rhodes.[1] His warlike services procured him the highest ecclesiastical honours; he became archbishop of Florence, patriarch of Aquileja, bishop of Bologna, and finally in 1440 he also obtained the cardinal's hat. From his rich revenues he accumulated an enormous wealth, which he applied to a display of luxury till then unheard of. Such a misuse of spiritual preferments aroused discontent, even in those little scrupulous times, so that after the death of the cardinal, Pope Paul II. appropriated as church treasure the whole inheritance with which the cardinal's heirs, Niccolo and Luigi Scarampo, had already hoped to make off unnoticed. 'Cardinal Lucullus,' as he was called, died in 1465 from sorrow, it was said, that he was not chosen pope—at Rome, where his monument, set up in 1505, is still preserved in San Lorenzo in Damaso.

In spite of his faults—he appears to have been also passionately addicted to gambling—the warlike cardinal remains a remarkable figure, a man of stone and iron, who owed everything to his own energy and wits, reckless and passionate, quite worldly in his thoughts and aspirations as in his manner of life, full of talent, and animated with far-reaching schemes for the worldly dominion of the papacy. To humanism Mezzarota came fairly close. He was chancellor of the Roman University; he had entered into correspondence with Cyriacus of Ancona and Francesco Barbaro, Francesco Filelfo, Poggio, and others. The only witness to his love of art—apart from his care for the buildings and spaces about his titular church San Lorenzo in Damaso at Rome—is the report that he paid for an antique chalcedony engraved with the theft of the Palladium, the enormous price of 200 gold ducats.[2]

In the workshop of Squarcione, whom he appears to have known,[3] the cardinal may have become acquainted with the young Mantegna, and have given him, during a halt in Padua on the journey to Venice, or Aquileja, the commission to paint his portrait. The style places the picture, in any case, in the period of the altarpiece of San Zeno and of the Saint Sebastian in Vienna. Cardinal Mezzarota stayed, more-

[1] In the battle of Belgrade, 1456, Mezzarota can have had no share.

[2] E. Muntz, *Précurseurs de la Renaissance* and *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, ii. p. 177. His relations with Squarcione and Mantegna set, however, his interest in art in a somewhat better light than Müntz allows.

[3] Scardeone, p. 371, says of Squarcione: 'Ab Aquileiensi Patriarcha humanissime salutatus.'

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over, at Mantua from May 27, 1459, to February 8, 1460, at the Council of Pope Pius II., as Schivenoglia informs us in his chronicle.

The character of the man is depicted by Mantegna such as it appears in the history of his agitated life. An iron will is stamped upon the sharply cut mouth and the firmly contracted eyebrows; high intelligence and fiery passion shine from out the clear keen eyes; something mistrustful sits in the glance, in the depression of the eyebrows. Energy and ambition, the dominant motives in this character, are convincingly expressed in the countenance. Even though the painting must be ranked, because of its almost frozen immobility and the somewhat finicking, colourless treatment, below many other portraits, yet for profound and delicate characterisation and for distinction of bearing it takes its place among the most striking masterpieces of portraiture.

His tendency to find expression for permanent characteristics, for those mental dispositions that are habitual and persistent, his talent for seizing with amazing certainty what is typical in the forms, for giving to his figures distinguished tranquillity and elegance of appearance, made Mantegna specially successful in portraiture. Even in the Eremitani frescoes, as we have seen, he had introduced a number of portraits. The frescoes of the 'Camera degli Sposi' at Mantua are essentially groups of portraits, only loosely brought into connection through a ceremonial treatment and through the ornamental conception. His other numerous portraits are unhappily all nearly lost. In portraiture, also, Mantegna's greatness lies in the great actuality and simplicity of his conceptions. He gives only what is there, without personal contribution, without bestowing upon the person portrayed anything of his own feeling. He penetrates, with the scientific seriousness of a student, into the depth of the actual character, as expressed in the features, and faithfully and honestly reproduces what he has observed without preconception. The impressive pregnancy of the forms gives to his portraits, especially at the first glance, something of an appearance of stiffness, since the movements of the body and of the muscles of the face have so little that is momentary. Let us compare, on the other hand—to remain within the same period—Donatello's portraits, especially that of Niccolo Uzzano in the Museo Nazionale at Florence. Mantegna seems to have caught his people at rest physically, yet in the most intense mental activity, in a moment of deep absorption. They seem to be quite alone and unobserved, without relation to the external world. The prudent

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resolute soldier in cardinal's clothes would not have shown himself to mankind as Mantegna depicts him. The shadows of heavy memories, that would only have arisen before the old man in hours of silent solitude, rest upon his eyes and in the harsh lines about the somewhat drawn-down corners of the mouth. The colour of the flesh-tone is a rather dull brownish-red, as in the Saint Sebastian of Vienna, with delicate white lights, which are laid on with a pointed brush. The white surplice is brought by the delicate effect of the red garment beneath, which shines through, into harmony with the red cardinal's cloak and the strongly reddish colour of the countenance.

Not long afterwards, and during the first years of his stay in Mantua, Mantegna produced a second, less important, but not less attractive, portrait, which has only recently been recognised as his work: namely, the small picture in the Museum at Naples representing the young Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga [1] (fig. 65). The features of the youth are strikingly like those of the portrait in the 'Camera degli Sposi' and on Sperandio's medal. The parted lips, the nose strongly emphasised at the insertion and in the middle, the thick nostrils, the orbits of the eyes, are all so many signs too characteristic to be mistaken. Instead of a slim, bashful boy, we have a portly, self satisfied prelate, at the time when he is able to look back with pride upon a long term of years spent pleasurably and not without profit as cardinal. On December 22, 1461, he was raised to the dignity of cardinal, and his portrait was painted by Mantegna on his return from Pavia, where he had been studying, to Mantua (January 4, 1462), in order to present himself to his parents in his new dignity. The age of the cardinal, who, born in 1444 was then seventeen years old, agrees very well with that of the personage represented in our picture. In fact, it is to this point in Mantegna's career that the picture would have to be assigned, even if all other evidence were lacking. In any case, it is closely parallel to the portrait of Cardinal Mezzarota, also painted on wood. It shows the same delicate, linear method of execution, the pallid play of light-hatchings over the duller yellowish-red flesh-tone, the same careful treatment of the hair and powerful modelling of the forms, the same masterly realism in the rendering of the soft folds of the surplice. The effect of the head, which,

[1] Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni was the first to claim this picture as the work of Mantegna in *Napoli Nobilissima* (iv. 1895, p. 24). My attention was drawn to this article by the kindness of the author himself, after I had already independently included the picture in the series of Mantegna's works. This coincidence of our mutually independent impressions will perhaps give additional weight to the attribution to Mantegna.

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FIG 65.—PORTRAIT OF THE YOUNG CARDINAL FRANCESCO GONZAGA
Naples Museum. (Phot. Alinari)

with the rose-red mantle and the cap, stands out against the blue-green of the background, is in the highest degree charming in its simplicity.

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In spite of its unfavourable position, in spite of over-painting, it draws attention to itself, and rivets the beholder.

There is no outward sign of muscular effort; the gaze is attracted in no particular direction: no other person, no object of interest seems to be present; the subject is occupied solely in and with himself. This mental absorption and concentration, this apparent aloofness from the outer world, the expression of a feeling half unconscious that gives such an inward vitality to the face—all these characteristics are so distinctly and entirely peculiar to the art of Mantegna in portrait, that, more than any formal or external evidence, they place his authorship beyond a doubt. Only he knew how to lose himself in the twilight depths of the boyish soul to which Life and the World appear shrouded in a thick veil of the mysterious.

A work that has been lost—the double portrait of John of Czezmicze (called Giovanni da Cesinge or Janus Pannonius, born 1434, died 1473), who studied under Guarino at Ferrara until 1454 and then in Padua until his return to Hungary in 1457, when he took possession of his bishopric, and of his friend Galleotto Marzio da Narni, who likewise studied in Padua and followed Janus to Hungary to the court of King Mathias Corvinus—must also be dated shortly before 1459, when Janus left Italy. We know of this picture only from the elegy which Janus Pannonius addressed to Mantegna.[1] We can see from the tone even of this laudatory poem, that the relations of Mantegna with these men were not confined to those of artist and patron or employer.

In the humanist society which had formed in Venetia, at Padua, Verona and Ferrara, Mantegna was not merely the great painter, but also the genial associate in learned talk and investigation. Laurentius Pignorius does not hesitate in his 'Symbolicarum epistolarum Liber,'[2] to quote him among the students of inscriptions with Marcanova and Feliciano and Fra Giocondo da Verona. Though we are unable to form a judgment as to the extent of his learning from his paintings, it is indubitable that he, at any rate, obtained by his personality a prominent position in that society of students of antiquity. It is known that Felice Feliciano dedicated his collection of ancient inscriptions—preserved

[1] *Jani Pannonij Opera*, Basileæ, Oporinus, 1518; Utrecht, 1784, p. 232; Fr. Rosmini, *Guarino*. For the portrait of an Augustine monk Paul, that passed from the Church of the Eremitani into the possession of Dr. Fusaro, of Padua, and about the existence of which nothing seems to be known, cf. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. p. 321, note 3), who express their doubts as to Mantegna's authorship.

[2] Patavii, 1628, p. 18.

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in a manuscript, dated January 1, 1463, of the Biblioteca Capitulare at Verona—to our artist. The additions, however, appended by Feliciano to the copy of Francesco Scalamonte's 'Life of Cyriacus of Ancona,' which he made for Samuele da Tradate, show us the life and doings, the fantastic rather than scientific tendency of the ideas of that society, in a quite new and singular light.[1]

Samuele da Tradate, one of the suite of the Marquis Lodovico of Mantua, was the 'Emperor,' Andrea Mantegna and Joannes Antenoreus (presumably Marcanova) were the 'consuls' of the society, which Feliciano escorted on September 23 and 24, 1464, to the shores of the Lake of Garda, to investigate with them ancient monuments, to study and to copy the inscriptions. An overflowing enthusiasm finds voice in the narrative, to which Feliciano gives the descriptive title 'Jubilatio,' an enthusiasm not only for antiquity, the splendour of which it was sought to reawaken to fresh life in the imagination, but also for nature, whose charm is depicted in ardent words. Crowned with laurel and ivy the 'Emperor,' Samuele da Tradate, playing the cither, and making merry, conducts the friends in richly adorned boats across the Lake of Garda, the 'Field of Neptune,' and arrived at the other shore, they send up in the temple of the Madonna loud thanksgivings (*ingentes laudes*) to the 'supreme thunderer and his glorious mother,' who have enlightened their hearts and minds to find and enjoy such great spots and such venerable remains of antiquity. Although these records of Feliciano refer to a somewhat later period, when Mantegna had already entered into the service of the marquis, yet these relations certainly had their origin a number of years earlier.

Felice Feliciano of Verona, styled antiquarian, may have attracted Mantegna by his multifarious talents, as much as by his individuality. He came to the fore as a poet, as well as through his archæological studies; he printed Petrarch's 'Vite degli Uomini illustri,' in company with Innocenzo Ziletti, in 1476 at Verona, and later devoted himself with passion to alchemy, which reduced him to beggary. He is described in the 'Novelle Porretane'[2] of Sabadino degli Arienti, as a somewhat decayed original. A more serious impression is made by Giovanni Marcanova of Padua, who certainly is to be recognised in the Joannes Antenoreus of

[1] The manuscript, mentioned by Tiraboschi (*Storia d. Letteratura Italiana*, vi., i. p. 262), is now in the Biblioteca Capitulare in Treviso, to whose amiable sub-librarian, Doctor Angelo Marchesan, I am indebted for this communication about Feliciano. (See App. No. 15.)

[2] *Novelle Porretane di M. Sabadino Bolognese* (1581, Venezia), 3 and 14.

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Feliciano's narrative. He taught about 1446–48 at Padua, and then from 1452 until his death (1467 at Padua), held the chair of philosophy at Bologna. In addition to a collection of ancient inscriptions, which is preserved in two manuscripts in Bern (1457–60) and in Modena (of 1465), he wrote treatises upon the honours, the triumphs, and the military affairs of the ancient Romans. Matteo Bossi also (born 1427 at Verona, died 1502 at Padua), the learned abbot of Fiesole, the friend of the Medici, must have come into intimate relations with this circle, as may be seen from his letter to Marcanova,[1] and from another about Mantegna,[2] who seems also to have painted his portrait,[3] and who, according to Vasari, sent him from Verona a picture of the Madonna.[4]

On the other hand, it has not so far been possible to establish any personal relation between Mantegna and Fra Giovanni Giocondo of Verona (born about 1432–33), who was certainly an important member of the society of Paduan and Veronese humanists. Fra Giocondo had not only acquired fame as scholar, as compiler of a collection of ancient inscriptions—which he dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, as editor of the Letters of Pliny and of Vitruvius, but had also obtained such a reputation as architect that in 1514 he was associated by Leo X. with Raphael as technical adviser in directing the building of S. Peter's at Rome. If Mantegna came, as we may well suppose, into personal intimacy with him, the young artist must have been materially helped, not only by the learning of the richly gifted man, but also by his acquaintance with the theory of art, especially with perspective.[5] The Paduan poet also, Niccolo Lelio Cosmico[6] (died 1500 in extreme old age), who is mentioned by Platina as one of the members of the Roman Academy, may have belonged, before his migration to Rome, to this circle, as doubtless also did many other native and foreign scholars.

It is curious that, as far as I know, attention has never been called

[1] Matteo Bossi, *Recuperationes Fæsulanæ*, Bologna, 1493. Letter 20, written between 1456 and 1465.

[2] *Loc. cit.* Letter 84, written between 1481 and 1490.

[3] Rosini, *Lyceum Lateranense*, ii. p. 59; Leop. Camillo Volta, *Saggio della Tipografia Mantovana*, Venezia, 1786; Selvatico, *Commentary to Vasari*, iii. p. 419, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, erroneously believed that it may be recognised in the Berlin portrait of Mezzarota.

[4] Vasari, *Vite*, v. p. 394; erroneously thought to be the picture in the Brera.

[5] Cf. Tiraboschi, *Storia d. Lett. Ital.*, vi. p. 304 *seq.*; Scardeone, p. 57; Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, ii. p. 189; Portinari, Angelo, *Della Felicità di Padova*, Padova, 1623, p. 275; Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des class. Altertums*, i. p. 438, ii. p. 394; with regard to Feliciano, cf. Mommsen, *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* x. i.; Schöne, *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, 1872, p. 255; Henzen, *Monatsbericht der Berliner Acad.*, 1860, p. 221, 1868, p. 382; with regard to Fra Giocondo, cf. Vasari, v. p. 261, and Urbani de Ghelthof in *Bollettino di Arti*, Venezia, 1877–79, i. pp. 6, 26, ii. pp. i. 33.

[6] Cf. Vittorio Rossi in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, xiii (1889), p. 101.

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to this union of humanists, constituted apparently according to fixed rules, with its 'emperor' and two 'consuls' at the head, which must doubtless be conceived as an archæological academy like that which, formed somewhat later in Rome, so soon came to a violent end. It affords us a new proof of the independence of the Venetian circle of humanists, whose local peculiarity may be recognised, just as is the case with Venetian art, in the union of minute study of detail with an overflow of feeling. It is a world of its own, outside the reality of life, a world in which mingle idealism and luxury, strict scientific inquiry and Utopianism, Christian religion and ancient mythology, which these visionaries create for themselves out of their enthusiastic conception of antiquity. The external form may often indeed appear to us mere child's play. Yet this idealism, this noble, even if exaggerated, idea of the aims of their scientific work, of their mental leadership, which caused them to dream of a re-awakening of the Roman Empire in a sort of spiritual imperialism, was of the deepest significance. The artist, above all, could find in such an ideal reconstruction of the ancient spirit and of ancient life an ideal content, which, with his humanistic inward incredulity—consistent enough with external observance of the rules of the Church—he could not elicit from the religious subjects he had for the most part to represent. Every great art strives naturally thus to rise above daily life to an imaginary kingdom, whether, as in this case, it be erected partly through scientific study upon the native soil of the ancient world; or be sought, as by Rembrandt, in the mysteriously luminous and illuminated fairy splendour of the East, or, as by Watteau, in Arcadian meadows, or, as by the Romanticists of our century, in the poetry of mediæval chivalry. This ideal content may remain absolutely independent of the actual subject; the feeling of the artist reads it into every object, however heterogeneous, which he has to represent. Mantegna accordingly had no need to catch at ancient subjects; he could give expression to the untrammelled, large, and lofty manner of apprehension of the purely human, with which antiquity inspired him, even—as we can see from observation of the individual works—in representations of Christian legend.

In intercourse with these friends and patrons of archæological culture, Mantegna could gather that wealth of knowledge of ancient tradition and history, of the authors, the antiquities and works of art, which opened the way to his own independent and thorough study, and procured for him the reputation of one of the best connoisseurs of ancient

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monuments, and enabled him also to give, as the learned times demanded, even in externals, a correct historical form to the matter borrowed from antiquity.

It may well have been the happiest years of his life that Mantegna passed with these like-minded and intelligent friends in Padua and in Verona. We understand well enough why he delayed to enter into the service of a master, to sacrifice his golden freedom to the caprices of a prince. The world lay open before him. Abundant commissions gave him remunerative employment. He had quickly made himself famous. Princes, prelates, and scholars sought him out, not only as a great artist, but also as a superior cultivated mind and an attractive personality. From 1454, Mantegna, as already mentioned, was married to Jacopo Bellini's daughter, Nicolosia. Vasari's statement is confirmed by the artist's will of 1504, and by a letter of Isabella d' Este to Giovanni Bellini (October 19, 1505), in which she speaks of Mantegna as his brother-in-law. The date of the marriage may be inferred from a recently discovered document of February 25, 1453 (1454 modern style), according to which Jacopo Bellini has an advance paid to him on his work in the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista in Venice, in order to provide for his daughter Nicolosia's marriage portion.[1]

In the letters of the Marquis Lodovico of 1458 and 1459, there is already mention of his family. Nicolosia must in any case have been still living in 1465, but have died before her husband, since she is mentioned as dead in his will of 1504. Nothing unhappily has been handed down to us about Nicolosia, and imagination is left at full liberty to form a conception of the sister of Giovanni Bellini, to look for her figure among his Madonnas, to believe that she shared the tender, poetic sensibility and distinction of her brother. The relations of the members of the Mantegna family to one another seem at any rate to have been exceedingly affectionate. As was the case with Rembrandt, it was not until after the death of his wife that Mantegna's financial and social position began to exhibit that disorder which led to divisions in the family and embittered the latter years of his life. At the time we have been dealing with, Mantegna was experiencing the first happy years of marriage, which at any rate did not take him out of the artistic atmosphere. We may well suppose that the close union with the Bellini considerably facilitated our artist's access to the artistic and learned circles, and to the distinguished world.

[1] Cf. Paoletti, *Raccolta di Documenti inediti dall' Archivio di Venezia*, Padova, 1894, fasc. i.

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Vasari seems to presuppose a considerable stay on the part of Mantegna in Verona; but, as appears from the correspondence with the Marquis, the artist remained settled in Padua until his removal to Mantua, and must have only taken short excursions to the neighbouring Verona, as he did later from Mantua. Vasari declares that at that time he painted in Verona a picture for the altar of SS. Christopher and Antony, in a church the name of which he neglects to mention.[1] There is as little trace at the present day of this work as of the frescoes which he is said to have executed outside certain houses of Verona.[2] Remains of Mantegnesque frescoes there are in abundance in Verona, but none of them can with any probability be described as the work of Mantegna.

[1] The picture for Santa Maria in Organo at Verona, mentioned by Vasari in the same breath with this work and with the altarpiece of San Zeno, was painted by Mantegna, as may be proved by the account-books of the church, only in 1496 7, and certainly in Mantua, and may be identified with the painting of the Collection Trivulzio in Milan, dated 1497. Vasari's statements altogether are so inexact and confused that they are of no value in dating the works of Mantegna.

[2] Ridolfi, *Meraviglie*, i. p. 113: Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. p. 383.

FIG. 66.—MEDAL OF MARQUIS LODOVICO OF MANTUA: BY VITTORE PISANO (*obverse*)

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FIG. 67.—BRONZE BUST OF MARQUIS LODOVICO OF MANTUA: BY DONATELLO
Berlin Museum

CHAPTER V

MANTEGNA AT MANTUA

WHILE engaged in painting the altarpiece for S. Zeno, Mantegna received from Lodovico, Marquis of Mantua, the flattering invitation to remove to his Court and devote his energies to his service. There is no doubt but that the marquis had seen proofs of Andrea's skill; he may even, during one of his visits to Padua, have had the opportunity of admiring the frescoes in the Eremitani Chapel, as well as other of the artist's works. Such men as Cardinal Mezzarota or Matteo Bossi, who knew Mantegna personally, may have told the marquis about this young man, whose talent was exciting remark. In all probability, however, it was Samuele da Tradate, one of his Court officials, whose friendly and scientific intercourse with Feliciano, Marcanova, and Mantegna has already been mentioned, who directed the attention of the marquis to the young painter in whom the highest artistic gifts were so singularly united with literary culture and scientific interest in the study of classical

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antiquity. Such a man as this must have been the very one calculated to appeal to the prince, whose taste for the fine arts had been directed by a scholarly training into absolutely similar channels. The fame of the painter formed the background whereon Mantegna's figure appeared to the marquis through Samuele's description in such glowing colours that a lively desire awoke in him to attract this new star to his Court; and he spared neither friendly words, promises, nor marks of favour towards him, endeavouring with marvellous affability and patience to overcome the opposition of the procrastinating, taciturn artist.

Lodovico's first invitation to Mantegna has not been preserved; it was probably delivered to him verbally by a trusted agent of the prince's. The oldest document known to us showing Lodovico in connection with Mantegna, a letter from the marquis to the painter, dated January 5, 1457, refers to earlier negotiations, and to an affirmative answer from Andrea.[1] The marquis expresses his pleasure at Mantegna's readiness to enter his service, and urgently enjoins upon him to leave Padua, so that he may escape the plague raging there, and to finish in Verona the picture for the protonotary. Notwithstanding renewed summons from Lodovico, however, Mantegna remained in Padua until his removal to Mantua; and, indeed, long retained (until 1492) his house in that city.

The marquis's desire in bringing Mantegna to Verona was, undoubtedly, to have him nearer at hand and easier to get at, and thus, above all things, to separate him from the home environment which seems to have exercised so powerful an attraction on him. On November 27, Lodovico enquired of the protonotary whether the picture which Mantegna was to paint for him was not yet finished.[2] In April of the following year, we learn that the sculptor Luca Fancelli (Luca Tajapietra) was sent to Mantegna to enquire how matters stood with regard to his change of residence. Upon receiving Luca's report, the marquis wrote a long letter, April 15, 1458, in which he further raised his former offers, and promised him a salary of fifteen ducats a month, free lodging, grain enough for six people, and wood.[3] He added many expressions of kindness, and declared his readiness, in case Mantegna should not be satisfied with his salary, to do all in his power to make it seem to him the least important part of his remuneration. Nor is the journey to be of any expense to him; as soon as he is ready to start, a ship will fetch him, his

[1] See Baschet, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1866 (xx.), pp. 318 and 478, and *Ricerche di documenti d'Arte e di Storia negli Archivi di Mantova*. Mantova, 1866.

[2] See App. No. 3.

[3] See App. No. 4.

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goods and his family to Mantua. Furthermore, he will gladly grant him the six months' delay which Mantegna had asked for in order to finish the S. Zeno altarpiece: and, indeed, will agree to wait even a couple of months longer—until the following January—so that Mantegna may attend in peace to all his affairs in Padua, and come to him with a quiet mind. Thus, there was no lack of friendly words on the part of the marquis, and assurances that he would keep his promises. It is true, as the marquis himself intimated in his letter, that the friends who naturally wished to keep Mantegna in Padua had warned him against too great credulity; every one knew, of course, what to expect from the promises of the great! This letter, containing as it does the final conditions between the marquis and Mantegna, is of particular interest, especially in view of Mantegna's reference to it twenty years later, when he, in fact, was placed in the unpleasant position of having to remind the prince of his promises.

The marquis seems to have waited patiently until December. Nothing apparently having been heard from Mantegna, he then despatched to Padua his engineer, Giovanni da Padova, a countryman therefore of Andrea's, with a letter dated December 26, 1458,[1] to remind the dilatory artist, in the friendliest way, of his promise. Soon afterwards, another messenger, Zaccaria da Pisa, was sent, upon the strength of whose report a further leave of absence of two months, which the artist had demanded for the completion of the protonotary's altarpiece, was granted him.[2] The protonotary, Gregorio Correr, was likewise informed in a polite letter of the same date[3] of this new concession. At that time Mantegna must already have been officially in the service of the Marquis of Mantua, for in a patent dated January 30, 1459,[4] in which Lodovico calls him 'our well-beloved servant (*familiaris*), whom we have taken into our service,' a coat-of-arms was, at his request, granted him, as well as permission to bear a motto of the Gonzagas, '*par un désir*.' So much the greater, then, was the prince's kindness in allowing his Court painter such a long leave of absence even before he had taken up his duties.

But his patience was to be put to yet severer tests. The term of two months had not yet expired when a new obstacle appeared in view. The Podestà of Padua, Jacopo Antonio Marcello, had requested the marquis to allow Mantegna to remain eight or ten days longer in Padua in order that he might be able to finish a small piece of work (an 'operetta')—

[1] Baschet, *l. c.*

[2] See App. No. 5.

[3] Letter of February 2, 1459, Baschet, *l. c.*

[4] See Davari, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, i. (1888) p. 81.

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probably, as we saw above, the 'Mount of Olives' of the National Gallery—which he had begun for him. Notwithstanding that the marquis's letter to Messer Marcello[1] is profuse in civilities, he yet lets him feel that it is no small matter to him to grant this request, and still more clearly does he give the artist to understand in his letter to him of the same date[2] that the delay is granted for these ten days and for no more. Not only these ten days, but so very many others, however, went by without Master Andrea's announcing his arrival, that the marquis, after having, as he says, allowed the Festival of the Ascension to pass in its turn, was again obliged in a letter of May 4[3] to urge the laggard to set out at last on his journey to Mantua. On this occasion he sent him, in addition to many kind messages, twenty ducats for the expenses of the journey. But still the artist made no preparation for departure. The painting for S. Zeno had evidently required more time than he had originally believed; or it may be that other orders, such as the Saint Sebastian of the Vienna Gallery and the portraits of Cardinal Mezzarota and Matteo Bossi which, perhaps, he could not well refuse, had interrupted the work.

At last, shortly before June 29, 1459, Mantegna informed his new master that he was about to take the protonotary's altarpiece to Verona in order to give there the finishing touches to the work. We gather this from the marquis's answer to Mantegna, June 29, 1459,[4] which, beyond the usual civilities and exhortations, contains the urgent request that, should it be quite impossible to finish the S. Zeno picture in Mantua, Mantegna should at least come there for a day and give his opinion upon the Castle Chapel, which was to be executed entirely according to his ideas. Lodovico's zeal is the more remarkable in view of the fact that at that very moment Mantua was crowded with cardinals, princes and ambassadors, who had gathered around Pope Pius II. at the Congress begun there in May of that year, and who made no small demands upon the attention and the exchequer of the marquis.[5]

The journey to Verona undertaken by Mantegna for the purpose of placing the altarpiece in S. Zeno and finishing it on the spot seems actually to have been the last postponement, for everything points to his having taken up his abode in Mantua shortly after this letter of June 1459. In any case it is not till August 7, 1460,[6] that we hear of any works

[1] See App. No. 6. [2] Baschet, *l. c.* [3] See App. No. 7. [4] Baschet, *l. c.*

[5] See Pius II. (Enea Silvio Piccolomini), *Commentaria*. The Mantuan Chronicles, especially that of Andrea Schivenoglia, published by C. d'Arco. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*.

[6] See App. Nos. 8 and 9.

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being executed by Mantegna for the Gonzagas; and Zaccaria da Pisa's letter from Florence to the Marchesa Barbara, dated May 9, 1460,[1] in which the elegantly attired and beautiful ladies who went to meet the Mantuans near S. Maria Novella in Florence are compared with the figures in the pictures of the admirable master Mantegna, does not in itself lead to the direct conclusion that Mantegna was already at that time in Lodovico's service. We may, however, establish the exact period of his removal by that letter May 13, 1478,[2] in which Mantegna thought himself obliged to remind his patron of his old promises. Evidently, he had all the old letters as well as his own notes before him when he wrote: 'Close upon nineteen years have now elapsed since I entered your service.' We may therefore safely conclude that Mantegna removed to Mantua in the second half of the year 1459, at the very time, therefore, when Pope Pius II. was holding there, preparatory to a war against the Turks, that council at once so full of pomp and so void of results. Without doubt this brilliant assembly must also have greatly attracted Mantegna.

Although Mantegna was rightly guided by his artistic instincts when he hesitated so long before giving up his freedom, his native town with its circle of scholarly and art-loving friends, and the territory of the powerful and wealthy seaport where art and science found a sure asylum, he yet had reason to believe that through his literary and antiquarian tastes he would find compensation in the cultured Court of Mantua—the birthplace of Virgil—and in the society of its native scholars for the loss he would suffer. Among the cultured princely houses of Italy who loved and encouraged the arts, the Gonzaga family had long ranked among the very foremost.

In the year 1328, after the downfall of the reigning family of the Buonacolsi, Luigi Gonzaga[3] had made himself master of Mantua, which he governed in the capacity of capitano generale, by election, and imperial vicar. His principles of wise and liberal popular government continued to prevail almost uninterruptedly in his family, and permanently assured to it the confidence and devotion of the people. In this respect, they and the Montefeltre of Urbino stand almost alone among the

[1] Baschet, *l. c.*; Portioli, *I Gonzaga ai Bagni di Petriolo*, Mantova, 1869, p. 6.

[2] See App. No. 30.

[3] See Intra, 'Degli Storici e dei Cronisti Mantovani' in *Memorie dell' Accademia Virgiliana in Mantova*, 1877-78, p. 171. The principal authorities are: Platina, *Historia Mantuana ad annum* 1464 (Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* xx. p. 611); Equicola, *Cronica di Mantova*, 1521, Mantova, 2nd ed. 1607; Volta, *Compendio della Storia di Mantova*, 1807-38; D'Arco, *Storia di Mantova*, vol iv.

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despot families of Italy in the Renascence. The ever-menaced position of the little State, situated between powerful neighbours, who were well-nigh always at war with one another—Milan and Venice especially—demanded great diplomatic skill and military capacity of the head of the State. It was only by skilful veering between contending parties in Northern Italy, and above all through the rule of the princes always to place their military talents and their mercenary troops—for good payment, of course—at the service of the side which was weakest at the moment, that the independence of the country could be maintained. Consequently, we find the rulers of Mantua for ever changing about: leading their troops to battle now as generals of the dukes of Milan, now of the Republic of Venice, occasionally also in the service of Florence or Naples. In this way they retained possession of their land, and increased the none too bountiful revenues which it was able to yield. With the less powerful princes they tried to keep up peaceful or friendly relations by means either of personal friendships or family ties.

The Gonzaga, however, in their care for the material and spiritual welfare of their country, also contrasted favourably with most—nay, with nearly all—other Italian princes of that epoch. They belonged to the few who were far-sighted enough to see that their rule and prosperity would be best furthered, not by a reckless exploiting of their subjects, but rather by a comparatively just government and a lively concern for the industrial interests of the country. As events proved, they reaped the fruits of their wisdom, for the country and the governing family suffered little from such revolutions and conspiracies as were the order of the day in other places, and on the whole, notwithstanding the plague and endless wars, enjoyed great prosperity, up to the great sack of 1630.

The Gonzaga, in common with the other Italian dynasties, were keenly aware of the importance of art and science in exalting their own consequence and the splendour of their rule. In the case of the members of the House of Gonzaga, however, who were almost without exception able and intelligent, art and science did not minister only to the satisfaction of their vanity and their thirst for fame: many of them stood also in personal relation to the intellectual ideals they cherished. Guido and Lodovico Gonzago had already proved their love of art by their friendship to Petrarch, to whom, on several occasions, they gave a splendid reception. In this connection, Lodovico's grandfather, Gian Francesco I., who, during his sojourn in France in 1389, had collected a library,

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numbering at his death in 1407 close upon four hundred volumes, of which thirty-two were by Italian and sixty-seven by French authors, is especially worthy of notice.[1] His son, the munificent Gian Francesco II., who began to reign in 1407, and was in 1433 raised to the marquisate in Mantua itself, by the Emperor Sigismund, may be regarded as the real founder of the Mantuan school of learning.[2] The 'Studio' was not recognised by the emperor as a university and granted privileges as such before 1433, but its activity dates back thirty years prior to this; and Vittorino de' Rambaldoni da Feltre, 'uomo di Socratico ingegno,' as he was called by Platina, who to-day is even held as the model of a gifted, noble, and self-sacrificing teacher, and through whom Mantua attained to the foremost rank as the foster city of modern culture, worked here as early as 1423.[3]

Just as he himself, with ardent enthusiasm and inflexible energy, had assimilated into his own mind the learning of the ancients and the scholarship of his own times, and by self-denying study under Giovanni da Ravenna, Guarino and others had so refined his character that it attained to really eminent distinction, even so did his educational aims reach far beyond mere instruction in the sciences to an all-round training of the body, of the mind, and, above all, of the character of his pupils. He is one of the few in whom the spirit of classic antiquity in its noblest form was harmoniously united with a sincere Christian faith, seeing that he endeavoured in both cases to pierce through the external form into the magnificent ethical substance within.

Gian Francesco's first object in summoning him had been to entrust to him the education of his children, but Vittorino was at liberty to allow others to have the benefit of his instruction also. Not only the most cultured among the Mantuan families, but a long and brilliant line of celebrated humanists as well, came from Vittorino's school. To have been his pupil was the boast of men such as Georgios Trapezuntios, Teodoro Gaza, Gregorio Correr, Federico da Montefeltre, Duke of

[1] See Braghirolli, in *Romania*, ix. (1880), p. 497, and the manuals, already cited, on the History of Humanism.

[2] See Stefano Davari, *Notizie storiche intorno allo Studio Pubblico ed ai Maestri dei sec. xv e xvi in Mantova*, Mantova, 1876.

[3] Platina, 'Vita Victorini Feltrensis' in Vairani, *Cremonensium Monumenta Romæ extantia*, Rome, 1778, vol. i. Prendilacqua, *Vita di Vittorino da Feltre* (published by Morelli; Padova, 1774). Rosmini, Carlo, *Idea dell' ottimo Precettore*, Bassano, 1801. Tiraboschi, *Storia d. Letteratura Italiana*, vi. pp. 1016-23. Benoît, *Vittorin de Feltre, ou de l'education en Italie à l'époque de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1853. W. H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre, and other Humanist Educators*, Cambridge, 1897, where the bibliography is compiled.

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Urbino,[1] Lorenzo Valla, Basinio da Parma, and many others. In his difficult task Vittorino found, certainly, unfailing support not only in the marquis, who allowed him an absolutely free hand, but also in the marquis's wife, Paola Malatesta, celebrated by her contemporaries as a marvel of wisdom, goodness and piety, and even in the children themselves, who devotedly loved and honoured their venerable teacher. Lodovico, the eldest of these children, is said never to have failed, even after he had himself become marquis, to rise respectfully from his seat at the entrance of his old master. This trait does not testify alone to reverence for the individual, but also to an appreciation of the importance of that which the individual represented.

As a matter of fact, a humanistic training, based upon the knowledge of ancient literature, was looked upon as indispensable for those placed in high social positions. Thus, not only the sons, Lodovico, Carlo, Gianlucido and Alessandro, but the daughters as well shared in the learned training. Especially distinguished among them was Cecilia, who, even as a child of eight, amazed the learned Ambrogio Traversari by her Latin verses and her thorough knowledge of Greek, and to whom, when later, against the wishes of her parents, she wanted to enter a convent, the Protonotary Gregorio Correr, whom we already know, addressed his work 'De fugiendo sæculo.' A medal of Pisanello's shows us her charming countenance. A leaning towards a monastic, or, at all events, a retired life, entirely devoted to the sciences, showed itself, indeed, in several members of the Gonzaga family, especially in those who, like Alessandro, were excluded from public activity by the hereditary hump. Gianlucido, Vittorino's favourite scholar, who died very young in 1448, is said to have known the whole of Virgil by heart, and to have made a collection of antique medals.

Among the followers of Vittorino, who died in 1446, special mention should be made of Jacopo da San Cassiano (1446–49), Ognibene da Lonigo (1449–53), Bartolomeo Sacco, called Platina, Senofonte Filelfo, Pietro Tribraco, Mario Filelfo, Colombino da Verona, Pietro Marcheselli di Viadana and Francesco Vigilio (1502), all of whom were called thither mainly for the purpose of carrying on the education of the children of the Gonzaga family. It was in the 'Casa giocosa,'[2] a kind of seminary,

[1] Among the portraits in the Castle of Urbino of the most celebrated philosophers and poets Duke Federigo caused that of Vittorino da Feltre to be placed.

[2] Literally 'Casa gioiosa' (House of Joy), built as early as 1380 by Francesco Gonzaga to enlarge his palace (the Corte); S. Paglia, *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, xi. (1884), p. 150.

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where Vittorino instructed his pupils—the children of outsiders and even of the very poor, as well as those of the prince—in all the sciences and the arts, in serious and gay exercises for mind and body, that Lodovico, who was born in 1414, and who began to reign in 1444, after the death of his father Gian Francesco, received the stimulus toward an earnest and intelligent interest in science and art.

The jealousy of his brother Carlo—who, though accomplished in arms, was violent and crafty, but who was especially favoured by his father—had embittered his youth, and had even driven him to fly from the paternal dominions and enter the service of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan, with whom his father, as general of the Venetians, was then at war. Only with difficulty was a reconciliation effected between father and son. Lodovico retained, nevertheless, his gentle, equitable disposition, and in his thirty-four years' reign was active in promoting the welfare of his country. He built a large hospital, had canals constructed and streets paved, caused an artistic and ingenious clock to be placed upon the tower of the town hall, and encouraged the art of printing, the first examples of which were Pietro Adamo de Michele's edition of the 'Decamerone,' the Dante published by George and Paul Butzbach, and Teodoro Gaza's translation of Aristotle's 'Problemata.' In his truly fatherly relation to his subjects he was a notable exception to the Italian princes of his time.

At his side, and sharing his views, stood his wife, Barbara of Brandenburg, who had been affianced to him as a child by the Emperor Sigismund, and who had come to Mantua to be taught by Vittorino. She is justly celebrated by contemporaries as the model of an admirable wife and mother, a cultured and clever princess, who, in the absence of her husband, was capable of energetically conducting the affairs of the State.[1] An extensive correspondence with scholars and artists, whom they befriended and patronised, and still more the care which they devoted to their children's education, bear splendid witness to the lively interest of the Gonzagas in science and art. With Francesco Filelfo and Platina, who was a native of their principality, the Gonzagas maintained a specially constant and lively intercourse. Platina owed his release from his first imprisonment in the castle of S. Angelo under Paul II. to the intercession of his pupil, Cardinal Francesco, Lodovico's son. Platina procured for the marquis in Florence copies of manuscripts—the works of Virgil, for

[1] See Bernhard Hoffmann, *Barbara von Hohenzollern, Markgräfin von Mantua*, Ansbach, 1881; Friedländer, *Jahrbuch der k. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, iv. (1883), p. 49; and *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* (1899), p. 66 *seq.*

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instance—which Lodovico was desirous of possessing in transcripts carefully revised textually, and richly adorned with miniatures; and Lodovico himself discussed with Platina the changes which he deemed necessary in the latter's 'History of Mantua,' dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga. Codices by Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and Petrarch were procured for him, among others, by Baccio Ugolini. Janus Pannonius and Guarino dedicated poems and prose writings to him; and Francesco Filelfo, in his money difficulties, appealed by preference and with special confidence to him, as to the most gracious and kindliest of his patrons.[1] The marquisstudied with great care the works sent to him, Greek verses being translated by his order into Latin. He had the works of Curtius, of Lucan and of Saint Augustine sent to him at the Baths of Petriolo.[2] His literary studies were altogether very thorough. In his opinion, the Latin grammar was the most important, the most essential, and the most useful foundation for the education of a prince's son.[3] Furthermore, Lodovico caused ancient inscriptions from various collections by Cyriacus of Ancona and others to be gathered together in one manuscript.

The lively interest of the Gonzaga in the humanistic search after the antique was also evidenced in a very pronounced way in the latest fad of the Renascence, the stage performance of antique plays, or of those imitated from the antique. One of Mantua's special titles to fame is that here, in the year 1472, the first performance in the Italian language of a secular play, Angelo Poliziano's 'Orfeo,' was given. Performances of pieces by Plautus and Terence, in the original or in translation, soon acquired great popularity, and the Gonzaga vied with the Este and others in the splendid setting and admirable rendering of such plays.[4] It may be that the first work which we hear of (1460) by Mantegna in Mantua—the sketch for an emblazoned shield upon which verses by Plautus in antique lettering, correct in style, we may be sure, were to have been placed[5]—had some connection with an attempt at a similar

[1] See Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* xx. p. 607 *seq.*; Luzio e Renier, 'Il Platina e i Gonzaga' (*Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, xiii. [1887], pp. 102-105, 433) and 'Il Filelfo e l'Umanesimo alla Corte dei Gonzaga' (*ibid.* xvi. [1890], p. 119 *seq.*).

[2] See Portioli, *I Gonzaga ai Bagni di Petriolo*, Mantova, 1869.

[3] Letter to Guarino, January 12, 1457.

[4] See Alessandro d' Ancona, *Origini del Teatro in Italia*, Torino, 1891, p. 341 (Teatro Mantovano); Poliziano, *Le Stanze, l' Orfeo e le Rime* (published by Carducci, Firenze, 1863). For information on music in Mantua, see Pietro Canal. 'Della Musica in Mantova' (*Memorie del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze*, &c. xxi. [1879], p. 665 *seq.*)

[5] Letter of Zaccaria Saggio to the marquis of August 7, 1460 (see App. No. 8). The National Library at Paris preserves still a beautiful manuscript of Plautus that belonged to Lodovico. See *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, xx. (1893), p. 1066.

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dramatic performance, or with some kindred display of antique objects, being intended, perhaps, as decoration for the theatre, or for the stage itself. Even though we lack more precise information, these and other indications—as, for instance, the performances of the 'Festa di Lauro,' by Gian Pietro della Viola, in 1486 and 1489—lead one to believe that an interest in the theatre is of still earlier origin, and that here it had never died out. Moreover, the great number of imitations of classical plays by poets of the Renascence since the time of Mussato, Petrarch and Gregorio Correr, who, at the age of eighteen (1429) wrote in Mantua his drama 'Progne,' may serve to confirm this supposition.[1] These dramatic performances must have been of special importance to plastic art as well, from the fact that, on the one hand, the decoration of theatres and the painting of background and scenery offered a new field to artists; and, on the other hand, because they themselves must have been incited by such displays to the presentation of antique subjects.

Lodovico's ancestors had already bestowed great care upon their buildings, upon churches as well as upon palaces and public buildings, and the artistic decoration of the same. Giangaleazzo Visconti of Milan's request (1380) that Lodovico, Capitano of Mantua, should send him to Pavia from four to six figure-painters,[2] indicates that the Gonzaga employed a large number of painters at that time. Lodovico's father, Gian Francesco, twice (in 1432 and 1436) summoned Filippo Brunelleschi to Mantua in order to avail himself of the advice of this ingenious architect concerning the restoration of the causeways on the River Po and other works.[3] Vittore Pisano, the most important artist of Northern Italy at that time, was also employed by him for a long period. We know that Pisanello worked here from 1439 to 1441; and, according to Bartholomæus Facius, that he executed frescoes and wall-paintings in Mantua. A room in the Castello, the ceiling of which, we are informed, fell in in 1480, must have been painted by him.[4] His art as a medallist was also highly prized by the Gonzaga, and the portraits of Gian Francesco, and later of Lodovico, of Cecilia Gonzaga and of Vittorino da Feltre executed by Pisanello are well-known masterpieces[5] (see figs. 66, 68, 70). Lodovico's love of art and his fine intelligence are splendidly illustrated by his

[1] See Chassang, *Essais dramatiques imités de l'antiquité au XIV et XV s.*, Paris, 1852; W. Cloetta, *Beitrage zur Litteraturgeschichte*, Halle, 1892, ii. ('Anfange der Renaissancetragödie').

[2] See Caffi, *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, iii. (1876), p. 3.

[3] See C. v. Fabriczy, *Filippo Brunelleschi*, Stuttgart, 1892, p. 366.

[4] *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, i. (1888), p. 453.

[5] See Alois Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1889, i., Nos. ix. xii.

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choice of the artists to whom he entrusted commissions. We know that in 1450 Donatello designed and began work upon the arch of S. Anselmo in Mantua, and that, after executing seven statues for it, he left it unfinished, and, in spite of many entreaties from the marquis, could not be prevailed upon to complete it.[1] Mantua still possesses sculptural works which were carried out, if not by Donatello himself, certainly by the immediate pupils of the master; and a bronze bust of Lodovico from Donatello's own hand is preserved in the Berlin Museum[2] (see fig. 67).

Lodovico succeeded in obtaining for his building schemes the help of the greatest architect of this epoch, Leon Battista Alberti, in whom varied and comprehensive knowledge and ability were united as in no other man of his time with a splendid audacity of conception. Alberti's connection with the house of Gonzaga dates, it is true, still further back, his treatise on painting having been dedicated to Lodovico's father, the Marquis Gian Francesco.[3] He was always treated with distinguished favour—nay, rather as a friend—by Lodovico, who remained his constant patron. Beyond a number of buildings which either no longer exist, or, like S. Sebastiano (since 1459), were severely injured and are to-day almost impossible of access, Mantua possesses the Church of S. Andrea, built in 1470, after the plans of Alberti. This church, with its porch opening out like some mighty triumphal arch, may, perhaps, be called at once the most delightful and the most daring example of the application of antique forms to Christian church architecture; and with its arched roof, magnificent in its simplicity, must be looked upon as the immediate precursor of S. Peter's.[4]

Alberti, it is true, only consented to furnish the plans and drawings, while the conduct of the building was entrusted to other, but technically no less skilful, hands. Luca Fancelli, the same 'Luca Fiorentino or Tagliapietra' who carried on the negotiations with Mantegna relative to the latter's removal to Mantua, was entrusted with the execution of Alberti's plans and the superintendence of the sculptural works, and was employed

[1] Braghirolli, *Giornale di Erudizione Artistica*, Perugia, ii. (1873), p. 4 *seq.*; letters of 1452 and 1458. Intra, 'Donatello in Mantua' in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, xiii. (1886), p. 666. Lodovico's letters of May 29 and June 10, 1450.

[2] See Bode, *Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, x. 1889, p. 49 *seq.* with illustr.

[3] See L. B. Alberti's shorter works on the theory of Art, edited by H. Janitscheck, in *Wiener Quellenschriften*, xi.; Vienna, 1877, p. 254.

[4] Braghirolli, 'L. B. Alberti in Mantua' in *Arch. Stor. Ital.* serie iii. ix., i. (1869), p. 6. Mancini, *Vita di Leon Batt. Alberti*, Firenze, 1882. Intra, 'La Basilica di S. Andrea' in *Arch. Stor. Lomb.* ix. (1882), p. 28. Fritz Schumacher, 'Leon Battista Alberti,' in *Die Baukunst*, Berlin and Stuttgart. Series II., No. 1, 1899. The 'Cappella dell' Incoronata' in the cathedral at Mantua is also a work of Alberti's.

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by the Gonzaga almost constantly until his death (prior to 1502).[1] The Market (Mercato) and the Clock Tower, the Mantuan bridges, as well as the numerous castles or country-houses round about Mantua, at Revere, Goito, Cavriana, Marmirolo, Saviola and Gonzaga, were erected, or rebuilt and decorated, by him, whilst the castles of Sernide, Castiglione, Bigarello, Vilimpenta, Castellaro, erected for Lodovico's successors in the marquisate, whose delight in building equalled that of Lodovico himself, were also his work. Beside Fancelli, Sperandio,[2] and Cristoforo Geremia of Mantua,[3] in particular were employed by Lodovico and his wife Barbara as architects and as agents for the purchase of jewels and antiquities. Among the painters working in Lodovico's time—besides Mantegna and his pupils, to whom we will return again, and later masters, such as Bellini, Leonardo, Perugino, Costa, Francia, &c.—mention may be made of Marco Zoppo,[4] Nicolao da Verona,[5] and Zanetto Bugatti (?) of Milan.[6]

From the above it is evident that Mantegna had found in Mantua an extremely cultured, art-loving, and enterprising patron. Notwithstanding that the buildings were, for the most part, intended for practical purposes or for defence, the artistic taste of the time demanded everywhere artistic decoration; and the outer and inner walls of churches, palaces and country-houses offered space in abundance for the work of Mantegna and his assistants.

Mantegna's external circumstances in Mantua were by no means of an unfavourable nature. His salary of 15 ducats a month, especially as he was provided with lodging, grain and wood, was a very handsome one. With the exception of a few eminent lawyers and physicians who at the same time served as valuable counsellors in matters of practical moment, professors, together with artists, were usually rather badly paid. Chrysoloras received (1396) in Florence 100 florins annually; Giovanni da Ravenna (1404) 96 ducats; in Padua and Perugia we find professors with only from 30 to 40 ducats a year; Gasparo Barzizza received in Padua 120 ducats in 1407, and later, in 1412, 160 ducats a year. Guarino received in Verona 150 ducats, and in Ferrara 200 ducats a year, on which he could live quite comfortably. Vittorino was given 20

[1] W. Braghirolli, 'Luca Fancelli,' in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, iii. (1876), p. 610. Carlo d'Arco, *Dell' Arti ed Artefici di Mantova*, Mantova, 1857, ii. p. 8.

[2] Venturi, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, i. (1888), pp. 385, 428; *Kunstfreund*, i. p. 277. Mackowsky, *Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1898, p. 171, with Appendix by Bode, p. 218.

[3] U. Rossi, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, i. (1888), p. 404.

[4] Letter of Marco Zoppo to Barbara from September 16, 1462. See Braghirolli, *Lettere inedite dell' Archivio di Mantova*, 1878.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See letter of Lodovico's to Mantegna, August 2, 1471. Baschet.

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scudi a month; Georgios Trapezuntios (1459) in Venice, 150 ducats a year. A salary of 700 zechins, such as that of Filelfo in Milan, was unusually large. Artists were, as a rule, less well paid, receiving no more than 3, 6, 8, or 10 ducats a month. Gentile da Fabriano's salary, amounting to 25 ducats, was extraordinarily munificent. Antonio Rizzo, as 'Protomaestro del Palazzo Ducale' in Venice, was paid no more than 100 ducats a year (after 1485, 125 ducats).

There is no doubt that, in addition to his salary, Mantegna received extra remuneration, or presents, for special work (as, for instance, for the 'Madonna della Vittoria'). Thus, for the picture which he was to paint (1485) for the Duchess of Ferrara, the Marquis Francesco promised him a present (*mancia*), which, he said, would be sure to please him. Besides this, he was at liberty to execute work for other patrons.[1] His salary was, indeed, an ample one, but the payment of it was extremely irregular. Mantegna was soon to become acquainted with this dark side to the service of princes. Promises were freely made, but they were not always very scrupulously fulfilled. There is hardly a letter of Mantegna's, in the early days particularly, which does not end with a request for money. This is less to be attributed to a lack of good-will on the part of the marquises than to the fact that their domains were neither large nor rich, that life was very uncertain; war, plague and other calamities being of too frequent occurrence, and the administration of affairs probably also too ill regulated, to allow the princes to count upon assured revenues, or to dispose at all times of large sums for any but unavoidable needs. There was usually a lack of ready money, and the long accumulated claims for salary had, consequently, to be satisfied by grants of land.

As early as 1463 Mantegna was forced to apply to the marquis, with a request for his salary, already four months in arrear.[2] Lodovico sent him, on the same day, 30 ducats, promising him in the kindest manner to be mindful of it in the future.[3] On another occasion, Mantegna was obliged to complain to the marquis of the *Factor* (steward) who refused to give him any wood.[4] In 1472 Mantegna was indemnified—doubtless for arrears of salary—by the grant of a piece of land in Boscoldo, which

[1] For S. Maria in Organo in Verona, and for Francesco Cornaro in Venice, for instance. Indeed, if we may identify our painter with the Andrea Squarcione who is spoken of in a document, he may even have painted in the Campo Santo at Pisa about the year 1467. But perhaps this Andrea Squarcione, a picture by whom is also mentioned in Lorenzo de' Medici's Inventory, is not the same as our artist, who is invariably called Mantegna.

[2] Baschet, *l. c.* [3] See App. No. 10. [4] April 26, 1464; see App. No. 14.

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the administration of the new hospital were to cede, and for which the marquis undertook to pay within four years the sum of 800 ducats [1] to the hospital. The hospital, however, having received nothing up to the year 1478, Mantegna reminded the marquis, in somewhat bitter terms, of his promises. He alludes in this letter of May 13th, 1478,[2] to that communication in which Lodovico had invited him, twenty years before, to Mantua, and complains of not having been rewarded according to his expectations. The open-hearted candour and the kindness of the reply sent only two days later by the marquis from his country seat, Goito, almost make one forget the wrong done the great artist. 'Andrea,' he writes, 'we have received your letter, which, it seems to us, you really were not called upon to write, for we have a clear recollection of what we promised you at the time of your entering our service, nor do we believe that we have left our promises unfulfilled, or failed to do all that we could. It is impossible to obtain from us what we haven't got; and you yourself have seen that, whenever we have been able to collect our revenues, we have never failed to do as much for you and our other servants as was possible, and, moreover, that this was always done gladly and with a good will.' He then explains in detail the reasons for his lack of money, and promises to pay him what was due as soon as possible.[3]

It is true that (in 1481), three years after Lodovico's death, the 800 ducats were still owing, and that the interest had been paid for four years only, the Marquis Federico being obliged, in consequence, to acknowledge once more, in a Decree of August 21st, 1481,[4] his obligation to pay interest and capital to the hospital for Mantegna. Another grant, made him by the Marquis Lodovico, of a piece of land, was also confirmed in 1481.[5] In 1491, Mantegna again addressed the Marquis Francesco, requesting to be indemnified for salary still due to him by a grant of land in Bosco della Caccia, near Borgoforte. The property in question, quite a considerable one of 200 *Biolche* (about 63 hectares), was actually assigned to him by a most flattering decree dated February 4th, 1492.[6] Mantegna's unceasing complaints and demands for assistance certainly make a very sorry impression; but without them he would scarcely have succeeded in obtaining his due.

It is doing the scholars and artists of that period a bitter injustice to

[1] D'Arco, ii. p. 13, No. 14.
[2] See App. No. 30.
[3] See App. No. 31.
[4] D'Arco, ii. p. 16, No. 17.
[5] D'Arco, ii. p. 15, No. 16.
[6] See App. No. 52.

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characterise, as has often been done in a most arrogant and unfair manner, their pitiful requests for support which they addressed to the great nobles, as begging, or even as greedy extortion. Fixed salaries were rare, and if agreed to at all, were most irregularly paid, and for short periods only, and never, as to-day, in the form of a life-long provision. Thus it came about that these men, whose works were of the highest order, and who, moreover, were highly valued and sought after by their contemporaries, were almost always compelled humbly to entreat as a favour, by complaints and requests calculated to awaken compassion, by flattery, dedications, and even by hidden threats, the remuneration due to them for their work in justice and fairness. Not only did authors look upon themselves as the transmitters of real culture and the dispensers of fame and immortality, but they were acknowledged to be such; and artists, likewise, conscious as they were that through their works they contributed to the fame of the prince, were certainly entitled to demand their due. It is, therefore, unjust to judge their conduct from the standpoint of the assured and well-regulated conditions of the present day. At the end of the fifteenth century a complete change occurred, which even Mantegna and Bellini were able with pride to perceive. The works of important artists were sought for with the greatest ardour, and high prices paid for them: Raphael's, Titian's, or even Leonardo's pictures were regarded wholly in the light of favours upon which princes alone could reckon.

Notwithstanding his constant complaints, Mantegna's financial position was in nowise a bad one. Apart from his salary—his 'provisione'—he derived revenues from his landed property and from commissions for foreign patrons. Although his careful, conscientious habit of work did not allow of his making the most, financially, of his art, and although he was undoubtedly very tardy in the execution of orders, his work must have brought him in a good return. Remunerative commissions, at all events, were never lacking. Bishop Lodovico Gonzaga was obliged to refuse the request of even so influential a man as Giovanni della Rovere for a picture by Mantegna, the artist's time being just then fully occupied.[1] The monks of Santa Maria in Organo, in Verona, endeavoured, as their account-book proves, by presents of fowls, olives and preserves, to keep Master Andrea, who had undertaken to paint them an altarpiece, in good humour. Other

[1] D'Arco, ii. p. 194, No. 221; Baschet, *l. c.*

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prospective patrons—such as Francesco Castello, or Francesco Cornarol, through Pietro Bembo—addressed themselves by choice to Isabella d' Este, in order to obtain through her good offices pictures from Mantegna.

The dowry of 400 ducats which Mantegna gave his two daughters, Laura and Taddea, who were married in 1486 and 1499,[1] was quite a considerable one. Poggio gave his daughter 600 florins; the City of Florence gave 800 florins as dowry for Donato Acciaioli's daughter; Lorenzo de' Medici gave his daughter 4,000 florins, nor did a daughter of the Marquis Lodovico receive more than a dowry of 24,000 ducats.[2] The amount expended by Mantegna on his mortuary chapel in S. Andrea also points to his having been well off. Although he was obliged at last to sell his favourite bust of Faustina, the reason for this lay primarily in a momentary lack of ready money, which he was unable to procure owing to the rigour of the times during the plague, and which he needed for the payment of an instalment due on the purchase-money of a house. Mantegna seems to have been no niggardly host, and, like Rembrandt, to have expended a comparatively large sum of money on his collection of antiques, the building of his house, and in other ways. Towards the end of his life, especially, he seems to have given little care to the management of his affairs, but his estate, as far as can be gathered from his will, would seem, the complaints of his sons notwithstanding, to have been no inconsiderable one, although he was not able to amass great riches like the generation of artists immediately following.

Mantegna's social position in his new home was one of exceptional distinction, and his relations with the prince's household especially may be termed almost those of friendship. Lodovico, in particular, gave expression on every occasion to his great respect for his painter and interest in him.[3] The eagerness, and still more the patience, with which he pursued the negotiations prior to Mantegna's removal to Mantua, as well as the honour which he did the painter by granting him

[1] See App. No. 47, and d'Arco, ii. p. 44, No. 56.

[2] According to a Roman statute of 1471, a dowry was not to exceed, under any circumstances, 800 gulden, nor was the outfit to cost more than 600 gulden. See Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, ii. p. 343.

[3] Thode's assumption of a misunderstanding between Lodovico and Mantegna is solely due to his incorrect translation of the Italian text of a letter (*Andrea Mantegna*, 1897, p. 53). The words in Lodovico's letter of October 25, 1463, *Giornale di Erud. Artist.* i. p. 194, 'che certo ne siamo de una mala voglia,' cannot mean 'we are certain that it was due to ill-will' (referring to an act of Mantegna's) as Thode translates it, but simply, 'we [Lodovico] are, indeed, much annoyed' (referring to Mantegna's not having yet gone to Goito).

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a coat-of-arms with his own device, testify to this. It is touching to see with what kindness and patience the marquis took upon himself all the troubles, small and great, of the irritable and passionate artist, who was in the habit of turning to him as his natural protector on every occasion in the most unceremonious way. To assist him in the building of his house might, perhaps, be looked upon as one of the obligations devolving upon his patron, although, as we shall see, Mantegna's demands in this respect seem to have exceeded the limit of what was really necessary; but Andrea did not scruple to trouble the marquis even with a complaint about an ill-cut coat! And Lodovico investigates his complaint with the greatest kindness. 'My dear Andrea,' he answers, August 6, 1470, 'we have seen from your letter what a wrong has been done you. We regret this extremely, and are more vexed than we can tell you. As, God willing, we shall be in Mantua next Monday, do not begrudge a little patience in the matter of the tailor who has spoiled the coat, for we will entrust the case to a person who understands these things thoroughly, and justice shall be done you—trust to us for that.'[1]

But the marquis was called upon to take Mantegna's part in very different and far more serious quarrels and negotiations. In a letter of July 27, 1468, Andrea bitterly complains of his neighbours, who had subjected him to all manner of insult, and who were the worst people in the world.[2] July 2, 1474, the marquis called upon the aldermen of the city to adjust a boundary dispute between Mantegna and Giovanni Donato de' Preti, and induced Mantegna himself, who wanted to bring the matter personally before him, to wait until his return to Mantua.[3] The following year is even more prolific of such disagreeable incidents. This time it is a well-known and respected individual, Francesco de' Aliprandi by name, whom Mantegna, embittered by the boundary dispute pending between them, brings before the marquis under a serious charge which he cannot prove—directly, at any rate. He claims that Aliprandi's brother or his people have robbed a splendid quince tree of his, and have constantly annoyed him in other ways. Aliprandi defended himself energetically, and in his letter to the marquis[4] he emphasises the fact that Mantegna was quarrelsome, passionate, and revengeful; and that, although he was, out of respect to

[1] *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst*, xi. (1876), p. 24. [2] Baschet, *l. c.* [3] See App. No. 18.
[4] September 27, 1475; Baschet, *l. c.*

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the marquis, treated with special consideration, yet he was on unfriendly terms with all his neighbours.

It is difficult to say which side was in the right; the matter was at all events amicably settled, and Mantegna, some time afterwards, actually effected an exchange of land with Aliprandi. Accusations of a still more serious nature than Aliprandi's were made at that very time by a painter and engraver, Simone de Ardizone of Reggio, in a communication to the marquis of September 15, 1475.[1] Later on this letter will again occupy us as one of the most important documents in the history of engraving, but here we are interested only in its universal human aspect.

Mantegna is accused by Ardizone of having attacked the latter and Zoan Andrea, a Mantuan painter and engraver, and caused them to be beaten almost to death because he, Simone, was trying to help Zoan Andrea in the recovery of drawings, engravings, and medals which had been stolen from him. Further still, Mantegna had him accused of sodomy, obliging him in consequence to flee to Verona. By a decree of September 20, 1475, Ardizone was granted a safe-conduct for fourteen days to enable him to plead his own cause in Mantua, which, on October 6, was further extended to another fortnight.[2] Ardizone's complaints would seem, however, to have had no further consequences for Mantegna, as he retained the entire favour and friendship of the marquis until his death.

And it would be quite as unwise to absolutely credit the word of worthy Ardizone as that of Messer Aliprandi. The jealousy and arrogance displayed by the old-established Mantuans towards the new favourite at Court undoubtedly had something to do with the matter, and Ardizone and Zoan Andrea probably richly deserved their beating. For there is no doubt that the drawings and engravings which, according to Ardizone, had been stolen from Zoan Andrea by Mantegna himself, whose interests were concerned, were Mantegna's own originals, or copies after such, which they had by some means or other obtained from his workshop—the intellectual property, therefore, of our artist—which Zoan Andrea and Ardizone were endeavouring to exploit by means of reproduction and engraving. Quite a group of engravers, as we shall see later on, had gathered around Mantegna and lived more or less at his expense. The master will scarcely be blamed for energetically

[1] *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst*, xi. (1876), p. 54. [2] See App. No. 21.

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resisting this unauthorised use by the engravers of his drawings, and for attempting to secure his rights by the strength of his own arm.

From all these circumstances, it seems to me that the character of the great artist has been judged somewhat over-hastily and unfavourably from too modern a standpoint. Mantegna, as is often the case with æsthetic and morally highly sensitive natures, must have been wounded at all points in his intercourse with the rough, self-seeking world. Such self-centred characters, living exclusively in the sphere of their artistic emotions and activities as in another world, when they believe themselves wounded or injured, often become, notwithstanding all the kindness of their hearts, suspicious, violent, and hard toward the outer world, which so noisily and inconsiderately awakes them from their dreams. In Mantegna a consciousness—fostered from within and without—of his individual worth, and a strongly developed conception of his individual rights, were united with intellectual energy, and lent to his demeanour in every-day life a certain harshness really contrary to his innermost nature and, in fact, engendered by this very contradiction. The violence of his temperament easily provoked him, when confronted with real or supposed injustice, into such a state of excitement as left moderation quite out of the question, and led him to formulate such accusations as that contained in his letter of September 22, 1475[1] It must also be remembered that in those times the sense of individual right was not so highly developed as to-day, and that self-help was, not without some justification, greatly preferred to submission to a jurisdiction where all were equal. Mantegna may not have been led by passion alone when he attacked by words and deeds the offending person, but also by the practical consideration that in this manner he would obtain his rights and protect himself from further aggressions more effectively than by wearisome lawsuits. Although it is impossible for us to-day to determine to what degree either Mantegna's frequent accusations against his neighbours or his enemies' reproaches were well founded, they must at all events not be used, in a prejudiced manner, as evidence against him.

Undoubtedly Mantegna was no angel of patience and goodness, but the verdict of his friends and his uninterrupted friendly relations with the Gonzaga prove that when met with kindness and comprehension he could be most amicable. It was not alone the great perfection of his art which was appreciated by all, but the highest praise was lavished on the

[1] See App. No. 22.

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versatility of his gifts, his extreme culture, and the charm of his personality. Thus, Giovanni Aldobrandini, the Mantuan agent in Florence, to whose good offices Mantegna has been recommended, wrote as follows in 1466:[1] 'I have seen that it is not only in the art of painting, but in many other ways as well, that Andrea is highly gifted and possesses the clearest insight;' and Battista Guarino recommends him to Isabella d' Este in the following words: 'He is amiability itself' (*egli è tutto gentile*).[2] Pietro Bembo likewise says of him in a letter to Isabella, dated January 1, 1505—although he seems highly incensed at Mantegna's apparent failure to keep his word—that 'his politeness and kindly disposition, which virtues never seem to desert him,' would make the settlement of the case under dispute an easy matter for Isabella.[3]

If Lodovico's son, the artistic, pleasure-loving Cardinal Francesco, requested his father to allow him to have besides the musician Malagiste, Andrea Mantegna, to keep him company at the Baths of Porretta,[4] in order that he might show him his antiques, and study and discuss them with him, we may assume that Mantegna was possessed of the qualities of an agreeable, intelligent companion in addition to his antiquarian knowledge. Besides the two Mantuans, the pampered, ostentatious prelate had at that time no less important guests with him than Angelo Poliziano and Leon Battista Alberti, with whom, therefore, Mantegna then became more closely acquainted. His connection with the cardinal was, indeed, of so friendly a nature that he even dared to invite him to dinner at his own house, when, in order to do honour to the occasion, he quite confidently begged some quails and pheasants of the marquis.[5]

Mantegna was treated with no less esteem and courteous consideration by Lodovico's son and successor Federico. The latter recommended him as 'our noble and well-beloved servant' to the physician Girardo da Verona, to whom, in Venice, Mantegna brought his sick child, May 1480,[6] the same child, probably, for whose death soon afterwards Matteo Bossi attempted to comfort him through a letter to a mutual friend.[7] The marquis adds that, although Mantegna's ability is so great that it has made him known to the whole world, and all introduction is superfluous, he nevertheless begs him to exert every effort on Mantegna's behalf, not

[1] D'Arco, ii. p. 12, No. 12.
[2] *Giornale di Erud. Artist.* i. p. 202.
[3] D'Arco, ii. p. 57, No. 68; Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. p. 71.
[4] Baschet, *l. c.*; *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst*, 1876, p. 24.
[5] *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst*, 1876, p. 25.
[6] *Giornale di Erud. Artist.* i. p. 198.
[7] Bossi, *Epistolæ familiares* (82), Mantua, 1498.

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only out of respect for the great artist, but also as a favour to himself. With the third marquis also, Federico's son Gian Francesco, in whose reign he was still employed by the House of Gonzaga, Mantegna must have stood on a footing almost of friendship. This is shown by the familiar style of the letters he addressed from Rome to the marquis, in whom he presupposes and finds a warm interest in his own personal affairs. Later on his relations with the marquis seem to have grown colder. On the other hand, Mantegna found in Francesco's gifted and artistic wife, Isabella d' Este, an extremely faithful and kindly patron who interceded on all occasions with the marquis in the interest of Mantegna and his family.

The Gonzaga were, as a matter of fact, very well aware of what they possessed in Mantegna, and how greatly the importance and brilliance of their Court were enhanced by so celebrated an artist, and that in rendering honour to the artist they did honour to themselves. Therefore, they were patient with his caprices, and sought, as far as possible, to fall in with his ways and his wishes. 'Such distinguished masters,' wrote Federico to the Duchess of Milan, in apologising for a refusal from Mantegna, 'are as a rule somewhat capricious' (*hanno del fantastico*), 'and one is forced to take from them just what one can get. . . .'[1] It was certainly no easy matter to deal with Mantegna; he kept a jealous watch over the consideration due to his art, and refused to undertake any work which he looked upon as beneath his dignity—such as the copies which the Duchess of Milan desired, and which, as he said, were rather a matter for a miniature painter than for himself.

Nor was he, it would seem, indifferent to external marks of distinction. We have seen that, upon entering Lodovico's service, he requested to be authorised to bear a device of the Gonzaga and a coat-of-arms, which appeared, moreover, on the seals of his letters. We are even informed that during the presence of the Emperor Frederick III. in Ferrara, Mantegna endeavoured to obtain the title of count. Marsilio Andreasi acquainted the Marchesa Barbara of this, on February 2, 1469.[2] As the Imperial chancellors did not do these things for nothing, endeavouring on the contrary to defray the greater part of the travelling expenses of the Imperial forces by such revenues, Master Andrea must, for the satisfaction of his vanity, have thrust his hand deep into his purse. He seems, as a matter of fact, to have been successful in his purpose, for he is frequently

[1] See App. No. 36.

[2] Campori, *Pittori degli Estensi n. sec. xv.* p. 32.

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designated as 'Comes Palatinus.'[1] He was, moreover, knighted by the Marquis Francesco, prior to his going to Pope Innocent VIII. in Rome, in order that, as 'miles auratus' he might be entitled to occupy, externally as well, a more honourable position at the Papal Court. Mantegna's vanity will certainly not be laid up against him, especially as he never (like Carlo Crivelli, for instance) displayed his titles in signing pictures &c. He may also have hoped for many practical advantages for himself and his family from this elevation in rank; or again, very probably, have associated a certain poetical fancy with his knighthood.

So essentially artistic a nature as Mantegna's must have been strongly influenced, even in his views and the purely personal conduct of life, by artistic ideas. The paltry worries of life, the anxieties connected with the support of a family, affect such men more deeply than they do material natures, and arouse in them a longing to invest their individuality in the eyes of others with a lofty or at least an unusual appearance, and their environment with the glamour of art. Vespasiano da Bisticci tells us that the celebrated Florentine humanist, Niccolo Niccoli, though his circumstances were not at all prosperous, devoted especial care to decking his table with beautiful and costly antique vessels.[2] It was no matter of chance, either, in Mantegna's case that he attached so great an importance to the artistic decoration of his dwelling and workroom. In this respect also he appears to us the counterpart of the modern man and artist. It is not unusual, at the present day, for an artist's studio to be considered his most successful achievement. In earlier times, however, one hardly ever heard anything of artists' workshops; at the most a mention, such as that due to Vasari, of Paolo Uccello's house being full of pictures of every sort of beast. Mantegna, so far as we know, is the first who allowed his house and his collections to assume an important place among his aims. His house was to be not only a dwelling-place, but a real work of art, perhaps the one dearest to him—as he had won it for himself at the price of so much trouble and so many sacrifices. The building of a house was an idea which ran, distinct as a red thread, through Mantegna's whole life.

In 1466 he for the first time mentions in a letter to the marquis his intention of building a house of his own.[3] 'I should like,' he writes, 'to build a little house upon the small plot of ground I own,' and asks

[1] See the inscription in Pope Innocent VIII.'s Chapel of the Belvedere in the Vatican.

[2] See Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vite di Uomini Illustri del secolo xv.*, ed. Frati, Bologna, 1892-93, p. 92.

[3] Baschet, *l. c.*; *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst*, 1876, p. 24.

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his lordship for a loan of 100 ducats for the purchase of building materials, which sum is to be deducted from his salary at the rate of from three to four ducats monthly. Lodovico must have granted his wish, for Mantegna did, in fact, begin to build. But, as usual, the matter seems to have gone forward very slowly, for it was not until 1473 that we hear of his attempts to procure wood for the roof. On September 17 of that year Lodovico wrote to Giovanni da Padova, Mantegna's architect, that, 'regarding the money for wood for Andrea Mantegna's house, he must have a little patience at any rate until the next Wednesday, when we will see what we can do and whether we can procure the money for him.'[1] The architect, who was doubtless hard-pressed by the impatient artist, and who had again asked for money with which to purchase wood for the roof of the house, received a second exhortation to patience from the marquis on November 22.[2]

The foundation stone—according to the inscription still existing in its original position opposite the Church of San Sebastiano near the Porta Pusterla, and adjoining the Palace of San Sebastiano, which was built by Francesco at a later date (and where Mantegna's 'Triumph of Cæsar' was long hidden away)—cannot have been laid earlier than October 16, 1476.[3] As the house was already, in 1473, built up as far as the roof, this inscription of 1476 can refer only to an addition or a new building. Mantegna, it would appear, had not contented himself with a 'little house'; but either his plans had been begun on so large a scale, or had later grown to such proportions, that he was obliged to appeal again and again to outside aid. Thus, in 1484, shortly after the death of the Marquis Federico, he appealed to Lorenzo de' Medici in a letter dated August 26,[4] asking for assistance to enable him to finish his house, which he had been building during the reign of both the preceding marquises. Building, however, must still have been going on in the year 1494, as he complains in a letter of September 3[5] of building materials having been stolen from this house adjoining S. Sebastiano. In the same year he exchanged a piece of ground with the Marquis Francesco, who wanted to use it for the site of his palace. That he still

[1] *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst*, 1876, p. 25. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] The inscription on a corner stone on the street reads as follows: *Super funao a Do(mino) Ludovico) Prin(cipe) op(timo) dono dato An.C(hristi) 1476 And. Mantinea haec fecit fundamenta XVI. Kal. Nov.*

[4] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in North Italy*, i. p. 398, and Pini, *Scrittura di Artisti Italiani*, Firenze, 1869, tav. 80.

[5] D'Arco ii. p. 31, No. 40; Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. p. 325.

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possessed this property in 1498 is shown by the specification of landmarks in a decree of the marquis, dated July 12, 1498;[1] and that his workshop was established here in 1496 is proved by the account of the conveying of his picture, the 'Madonna della Vittoria,' from here to the newly erected church.[2]

Although Vasari tells us that Mantegna built a beautiful house in Mantua for his own use, and decorated it with paintings, and that he lived there his whole life through, Mantegna would appear never to have inhabited it at all. In 1474 and 1475 he lived in the Borgo S. Giacomo (the present Corso Vittorio Emanuele), between Giovanni Donato de' Preti and Francesco and Crescimbene de' Aliprandi, as is shown by the litigation between them.[3] It was here that Lorenzo de' Medici visited him, February 22, 1483, for the purpose of seeing his works and collection, for, as the young Francesco informed his father, Lorenzo went there on foot from the neighbouring church of S. Francesco.[4] Mantegna resided, in 1486, in the *Contrata equi vermili*, which can no longer be identified; in 1487, in the house of a certain Giovanni Francesco Malatesta, who complained to the marquis, through the Duke of Milan, of Mantegna's tardiness in paying the rent;[5] in 1492, we find his lodging mentioned as being in the *Contrata S. Dominici*;[6] in 1499 it is spoken of as situated in the *Contrata Unicorni*,[7] and in 1504 he rented a house in the *Contrata Bovis*.[8] In a letter of January 13, 1506, he writes to Isabella d' Este that, 'in order to avoid being for ever on the move,' he had bought himself a house for 340 ducats, and that to raise this sum he had decided upon selling his antique bust of Faustina.[9] This may perhaps be the house in the *Contrata Unicorni*, in which, on January 24 of the same year, he had a codicil drawn up and added to his will,[10] and where he afterwards died, September 13.

He seems, therefore, never to have finished the house upon which he laboured with so much love during half his lifetime; and the fulfilment of his most fervent wish—to inhabit, or at least to end his days in the artistic home which he himself had created—appears not to have been granted to him. There is something tragically stern in this destiny of

[1] D'Arco, ii. p. 41, No. 52.
[2] See Luzio, *Emporium* (Bergamo, 1899), x. p. 367; *Giornale di Erudiz. Artist.* i. p. 206.
[3] See App. Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20.
[4] See App. No. 39.
[5] See App. Nos. 47, 49, and Luzio, *Emporium* (1899), x. p. 368.
[6] D'Arco, ii. p. 224, No. 258.
[7] D'Arco, ii. p. 44, No. 56.
[8] D'Arco, ii. p. 50, No. 63, and ii. p. 54, No. 65; Gaye, *Carteggio*, iii. p. 565.
[9] D'Arco, ii. p. 61, No. 75.
[10] D'Arco, ii. p. 62, No. 76.

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the great painter, the more so that his purpose in building was certainly not that of personal comfort, but a purely artistic one. What a gem of architecture and elegant decoration we have lost in this building can only be estimated by the very insignificant portion still remaining. The painted ornamentation still visible on the outside is without importance, but in the interior of the buildings standing there to-day, and which are used as a school of technical training, a circular courtyard has been preserved (over 11 m. in diameter), the walls of which are divided into panels by a series of pilasters—simple, but in good taste—diversified by four doorways and four circular niches. The terra-cotta frieze displays the same extreme simplicity of toothed and beaded ornament which we find again in Mantegna's chapel at S. Andrea. The lintels of the doors are not absolutely rectilinear, but slightly curved to avoid an angular interruption of the circular shape of the walls.

Above the doors we observe the inscription AB OLIMPO, a device of the Gonzaga frequently met with on buildings erected by these princes.[1] It is impossible to hesitate for a moment as to the purpose of this aristocratically secluded circular court, open only at the top to the light and air of heaven. Here Mantegna must have housed his collection of antique statues; and here, standing in the four corner niches and in depressions in the walls, or in a circle between the carefully tended plants of which he was so fond, his beloved antiques may have gleamed in the sunlight. In their contemplation, to the murmur of the fountain in the centre, and listening to music, or to the recitation of poems old and new, Mantegna and his friends might well have dreamed themselves back in the old classical world.

This room, the 'Musaion,' was undoubtedly dedicated to the Muses, as the inscription, 'Ab Olimpo,' eloquently testifies. Possibly we have here—in an arrangement still thoroughly artistic, and not dictated by historical pedantry or the craze for crowding together a mass of objects—the first 'museum' in the modern sense of the word; the prototype of the Renascence Courts adorned with statues, the most celebrated example of which is still before our eyes, although in a greatly altered form, in the *Cortile* of the Belvedere, or, as it is called in old plans, 'the secluded garden where are the Apollo and the Laocoon.' It is possible that Lorenzo de' Medici also, who, as we have seen, had

[1] See Saverio Bettinelli, *Delle Lettere e delle Arti Mantovane*, Mantova, 1774, p. 30; Charles Yriarte, 'La Maison de Mantegna à Mantoue et les Triomphes de César à Hampton Court' in *Cosmopolis*, 1897 (March), p. 738 *seq.*

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been connected with Mantegna, and had visited him in 1483 in his workshop, received from him the impulse to a similar arrangement of his collection of sculpture in the garden of S. Marco, where, among the young Florentine sculptors, Michelangelo also pursued his studies.[1] The plan of the Belvedere garden is at all events so similar to Mantegna's court, that the assumption of a direct connection is not a mere hypothesis, especially if we remember that Mantegna, who was recognised and valued as a distinguished connoisseur of antique works of art, was associated in many ways with the Roman world, receiving at his house not only Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, but undoubtedly many other princes, prelates and humanists; and that it was in this very Belvedere, the building of which had not been begun[2] until 1487, that, in 1489 and 1490, he was occupied in painting the Pope's chapel. We may therefore attribute to him the idea of building a special room of a particular shape for the reception of antique works of art, with the definite artistic purpose of displaying each to best advantage.

It is thoroughly characteristic of Mantegna that he did not rest content with the study of antiques, but wished to make them live again in the artistic impression they created. His collection cannot have been an insignificant one, seeing that it not only was of sufficient importance to induce a visit from Lorenzo de' Medici, but to satisfy him as well.[3] In 1498 Mantegna was obliged to agree to part with an antique head—which he had brought from Rome, and which the Duchess of Milan was anxious to own, as it was supposed to resemble her—to Isabella d' Este, who by such presents possessed the talent of ingratiating herself with princes and retaining their favour. That it was no easy matter for Isabella to obtain this beautiful head from Master Andrea in consideration of a promise of a bronze cast of the same is shown by a letter to the Duchess of Milan, dated February 28, 1498.[4] It was equally hard for Mantegna, shortly before his death, and sorely pressed for money, to make over to Isabella d' Este, for the sum of 100 ducats, his most precious possession, the bust of Faustina, which is preserved to this day in the Mantuan Museum of Antiques. It is impossible to gather any further details regarding his collection, but the facts quoted suffice to indicate his passion for the collection of antiques.

A comparison with Rembrandt, whom Mantegna resembles in so

[1] See Vasari, *Vita del Torrigiano*, vii. p. 203.
[2] See E. Muntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, iv. (Paris, 1898), p. 77.
[3] See App. No. 39.
[4] *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, xvii. (1890), p. 661.

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many ways both as man and as artist, involuntarily forces itself upon one. Although he did not allow himself to be carried away to such an extent as Rembrandt, whose bankruptcy was due in great part to his passion for collecting, we may certainly trace many of his financial difficulties, apart from the building of his house, to the expending of large sums in the purchase of antiquities. The intense interest in antique works of art shown by such artists as Mantegna and Rembrandt, who have so objective a sense of artistic form, and who, in spite of all their peculiarities of sentiment, set out with the utmost energy and in an absolutely unprejudiced manner to observe the natural form in itself, is easily understood.

Like the external circumstances of Mantegna's life in Mantua, so must his work there have been most honourable and pleasant; from the first it seems to have consisted not only in the execution of individual works of art of great importance for the princes, their friends, and other privileged purchasers, but above all in a kind of superintendence of numerous artistic undertakings of Lodovico, devoted as he was to building and magnificence of every kind. How far Mantegna was expected to advise in the matter of architectural plans cannot be determined in detail, but apparently it was usual in all artistic matters to request his advice. It was so even in the first undertakings, of which mention is made in Lodovico's letters of 1459, prior to his removal to Mantua. Lodovico writes on May 4, 1459,[1] that Mantegna is to come as soon as possible to Mantua 'now that the chapel in our castle is almost completed, and we are sure it will please you, as it is built after your own taste, and we wish it to be finished only in such a way and manner as you shall dictate.' And again on June 29, he begs him 'to come to us for a day (from Verona), as you will thus be doing us a special favour, just in order that you may see our chapel and give us your opinion before further work is done upon it, so that—little more remaining to be done—it may be completed.'[2] This apparently did not refer to any paintings, but to the architectural, or at least the decorative, arrangements of the chapel. Mantegna's journey to Florence, which is mentioned in the letter to Aldobrandini of July 5, 1466,[3] is perhaps connected with the construction of the subsequently so severely criticised choir of S. Maria dell' Annunziata, which was afterwards executed by L. B. Alberti at Lodovico's expense; as the undertaking was replete with difficulties, especially owing to the narrow space, Mantegna's opinion may well have been

[1] See App. No. 7. [2] Baschet, *l. c.* [3] D'Arco, ii. p. 12, No. 12.

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of value to the marquis.[1] According to Vasari, the church of S. Maria della Vittoria was built from Mantegna's plans (1495).

Lodovico's assertion that the castle chapel would please Mantegna because it was built entirely after his taste, points significantly to the fact that the prince, who had been educated absolutely in the spirit of classical antiquity, sought, above all, to secure in Mantegna the services of the most splendid representative of a new style—the art of the Renascence—which, in its substance and in its decorative form, was essentially determined by the antique. He found in him an artist who was not only a prominent painter, but one who was, above all, intimate with the subject matter of antiquity, and who therefore met his humanistic ideas with great comprehension, and could assist him in his manifold artistic undertakings both as adviser and as being an ingenious, clever and able decorator. Lodovico might truly pride himself that, by securing both Leon Battista Alberti and Mantegna as zealous promoters of the splendour of his Court, he 'possessed that which no other Italian prince at that time possessed' (as Mantegna, in his pride, says in his letter of May 13, 1478).

Unfortunately beyond the frescoes of the Camera degli Sposi in the Castello, nothing is left to us of Mantegna's splendid activity during Lodovico's reign, and we can only glean a few indications of it here and there from letters and other documents. Mantegna's first work of any importance in Mantua must have been the decoration of the castle chapel already alluded to. We may perhaps recognise the altarpiece described by Vasari[2] in the Florentine Triptych, which will be discussed later. But that works of more importance were executed there may be inferred from a statement in the Marquis Francesco's deed of gift of February 4, 1492,[3] in which, besides the 'Triumph of Cæsar' and the 'Camera' (*i.e.* degli Sposi), attention is drawn in conclusion to 'the excellent and admirable works in the sanctuary (sacello) of the castle' as the finest works he painted for the house of Gonzaga. A remark made in a letter of April 26, 1464,[4] may also refer to this chapel. During the years 1463 and 1464 Mantegna was engaged upon the decoration of the castles at Goito and Cavriana. He wrote several letters from Goito, where, on April 26, 1464, he describes the work as almost completed.[5] This letter, and another from the superintendant in Cavriana, are about drawings which Mantegna is to deliver

[1] See Mancini, *Vita di L. B. Alberti*, Firenze, 1882, p. 509, and *Repertorium*, 1879, p. 272.
[2] v. p. 167. [3] See App. No. 52. [4] See App. No. 13. [5] *Ibid.*

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over to a certain Samuele, undoubtedly a painter.[1] A letter of October 25, 1478, from the Marquis Federico to Mantegna, is also about drawings which the latter is to prepare.[2] In 1481 he was sent to Marmirolo to give the necessary instructions to the architect, Giovanni da Padova;[3] in 1484 Giovanni della Rovere's request for a picture by Mantegna had to be refused because the artist was engaged upon the completion of a piece of work which the Marquis was anxious to have as soon as possible.[4] We may assume with tolerable certainty that the paintings also which were executed in other castles by his two sons Francesco and Lodovico, by Francesco Bonsignori, Tondo. Bartolino Topina (called Il Filosofo), Benedetto Ferrari and others, were after Mantegna's plans and drawings and under his superintendence.[5]

Besides this, Mantegna had designs to make for goldsmith's work, pitchers and drinking-cups, which were to be executed by Giovanni Marco Cavalli,[6] and for carpets which were woven in Mantua for the Gonzaga.[7] Lodovico's commission to Mantegna to draw for this purpose two Indian cocks has absurdly been looked upon as somewhat derogatory to the artist. As though it could ever be beneath an artist's dignity to draw from nature, whatever the subject may be. Mantegna knew full well the consideration due to his art, and, as we have seen, he also knew how to defend it.

We learn that Mantegna was also drawn into designing the decoration of apartments for festive occasions, and the arrangement of stage displays and processions, from the correspondence, for instance, of the Marquis Francesco with Mantegna and Pope Innocent VIII., in the year 1490, when the artist, who at that time was working in Rome, was, to his great regret, prevented by illness from coming to Mantua to assist, in compliance with his patron's wishes, in the festivities connected with his marriage to Isabella d' Este. Cardinal Francesco, and later Isabella d' Este, both appealed to him when in need of an expert opinion of

[1] See App. No. 11, 12.
[2] See App. No. 34.
[3] April 24, 1481. Baschet, *l. c.*
[4] D'Arco, II. p. 194, No. 221; Baschet, *l. c.*
[5] Letter of Francesco Mantegna to the Marquis, May 10, 1494, from Marmirolo. See App. No. 57.
[6] See letters of February 12 and 17, 1483; App. Nos. 37, 38.
[7] See letter of Galbridio from Venice, December 5 1465, and letter of the Marquis Lodovico, July 9, 1469. Cf. Braghirolli, 'Sulla Manifattura di Arazzi in Mantova' in *Memoria dell' Accademia Virgiliana*, Mantova, 1879 80, p. 3 *seq.* Carpets, made from Mantegna's drawings, in the castleat Mantua are mentioned by Marcantonio Michiel, together with those of Julius II. and King Alfonso of Naples, as the most celebrated creations of this art (*Diari*, December 27, 1519). See Cicogna, in *Memorie d. Istituto Veneto*, 1860 (ix.), p. 405.

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antique works which they were desirous of purchasing.[1] Likewise, when it was proposed to erect in Mantua a monument to Virgil, it was to Mantegna and to him alone that Isabella and her humanistic friends thought of entrusting it.[2]

Those of Mantegna's works known to us only through literary sources shall be specified in detail in another place. Here it has been our intention simply to give, by means of a short survey, a general idea of his splendid and manifold activity at the Court of the Gonzaga. Let us now turn to the examination of the works of the first period of his sojourn in Mantua, which a happy fate has preserved to us.

[1] See letter from Isabella, March 28, 1505, *Arch. Stor. d. Arte*, i. (1888), p. 108.
[2] See Baschet, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1866 (xx.), p. 486.

FIG. 68.—MEDAL OF MARQUIS LODOVICO OF MANTUA: BY VITTORE PISANO (*reverse*)

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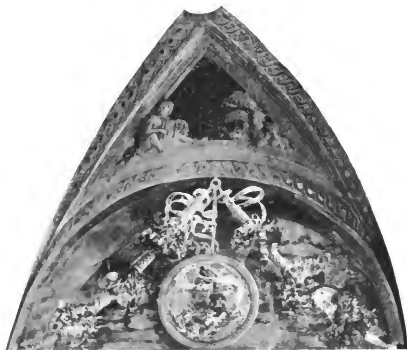

FIG. 69.—LUNETTE (ORPHEUS SINGING): FRESCO IN THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI
Castello di Corte, Mantua

CHAPTER VI

THE EARLIEST WORKS OF THE MANTUAN PERIOD UP TO THE FRESCOES OF THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI

THE remarkable activity as a decorative painter that we have seen to be developed by Mantegna during the first decades of his residence in Mantua is represented at the present time only by the frescoes of the Camera degli Sposi of the Castello di Corte which he finished in 1474. All the other numerous creations of his fancy and his pencil have been destroyed, either by force, in times of war and devastation, or through the decay of the Gonzaga castles and villas. And yet just this period must have been one of great significance for him. Borne on the fame which had accompanied the first brilliant achievements of his youthful career in Padua, assured as to his material future, he could now as a grown man take the decisive step to artistic maturity. He was assuredly not the man to rest on his laurels or to find satisfaction in mere external

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honours. His deep and quietly observant intellect, which had brought to light in such a convincing manner the seriousness of his technical study and the enthusiasm he felt for the great ideas of his time, could concentrate its energies only on production and on the struggle towards perfection. The revolution which took place in Mantegna's artistic conceptions in consequence of changed surroundings, and his own intellectual growth, cannot be fully and clearly realised till we come to the paintings of the Camera degli Sposi. In the few extant works dating from the earliest years of his residence in Mantua, he appears to stand at the same stage as at the end of his Paduan period, the progress made being limited to the technical side of the execution.

In this, the second period of his artistic activity, Mantegna begins, so to speak, to erase the auxiliary lines which are only too visible in his earlier works. The sharp emphasis of his artistic system, the steep perspective foreshortening, the uncompromising plastic form, and the naturalism in drapery begin to be toned down, the form gains in breadth and softness, the movement in freedom and the colour in depth and warmth. The reader's attention has already been directed to this tendency in some works of the last Paduan and of the Veronese period, especially in the particular of colour; and it has been shown that certain of the Madonnas on canvas, and the 'Adoration of the Kings' in half-length figures, which, owing to their intimate connection with one another, cannot well be separated from the earliest Madonna pictures,[1] overlap into this period. Two works which on external evidence may be assigned to the first years of the Mantuan period manifest this tendency still more strongly and characteristically. These works are the Triptych in the Uffizi, and the 'Death of the Virgin' in the Prado.

The Florentine Triptych was part of the inheritance of Don Antonio de' Medici, Prince of Capistrano (1632), and is said to have been sold to the Medici by the Gonzaga. It is not improbable that this is the picture which Mantegna painted for the chapel of the castle at Mantua and which is mentioned by Vasari and by Mantegna himself in a letter from Goito to the marquis, dated April 26, 1464.[2] The centre picture, representing the Adoration of the Kings, is slightly concave, and is 10 centimetres lower than the side pictures, which represent the Ascension and the Circumcision. Perhaps the centre picture used to terminate in a vaulting, so as to form a small apse. The light comes from the front, and diffuses itself from the centre on the wings to

[1] See above, p. 129. [2] See App. No. 13.

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right and left. It must, therefore, have been placed in a small space opposite a small window, the light from which must have fallen directly on the picture from above. For, as we have repeatedly observed, Mantegna always determines the lighting of the picture in exact correspondence with the actual lighting of the space which it decorates.

FIG. 70.—THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS: CENTRAL PANEL OF THE TRIPTYCH IN THE UFFIZI
(*Phot. Alinari*)

In the 'Adoration of the Kings,' Mantegna was able to show the simplicity and inwardness of his feeling by his treatment of a subject which has always afforded to artists an opportunity for representing the external pomp of gold and brilliant colours (fig. 70 and Plate 12). If we compare Mantegna's picture with the famous panel by Gentile da Fabriano in the Accademia of Florence, or with the painting by Antonio Vivarini in

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XII.

Group of the Madonna from the Adoration of the Kings

Centre of the Triptych in the Uffizi, Florence

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Berlin, we shall see at once the progress accomplished, not only in the comprehension of form, but also in the composition, in the unity of action, and in the naturalness of the conception. In the work of Gentile and in that of Vivarini the scene is imagined purely on its ceremonial side; the retinue presses close up to the kings; and its variegated splendour is intended to form the centre of attraction. In Mantegna's work the retinue is kept well in the background, leaving the foreground free for the three kings, who, even in the lines of their silhouette, appear as an independent and self-contained group, while they are intimately connected with the Madonna and Child by the lifelike delineation of their character and of their emotional mood. Observe the waving line which connects the heads of the personages of the foreground, from Joseph to the Moorish king. Only the head of the procession has arrived; the rest of it is slowly approaching along the road which winds round the rocks down to the front. One after another the three kings approach the Christ-child, who is seated on his Mother's lap, and raises his fingers in the gesture of benediction, but with a movement completely natural and child-like. The Madonna is seated in a rocky cave, surrounded by a glory of Angels, and above the rocks Angels are again seen hovering in the clouds beside the guiding star.

The attitude of the Madonna, who is seated somewhat to the right, and turns her head to the left whence the kings are approaching, together with the attitude which by her movement she imparts to the Child, who seems to be trying to climb out of her lap on one side, strikingly recalls the Madonna in Leonardo da Vinci's 'Adoration of the Magi' in the Uffizi, and the closely analogous motive of Raphael's 'Madonna di Foligno' in the Vatican. Joseph, as a bent old man, stands modestly on the right, and harmoniously finishes off the group, the centre of which is occupied by the Madonna. The oldest king, having already offered his homage and presented his gift, which lies on the Madonna's lap, seems to be kneeling in a last act of adoration before stepping back. The features of this noble old man express so deep and calm a seriousness that the object of his adoration can clearly be nought else but Divine. The second king, with his turban unwound, a strong, vigorous figure of Oriental type, is approaching behind the first. His movement shows him to be on the point of kneeling down. The third and youngest king, according to tradition, a Moor, is already on his knees, and waits his turn with arms crossed on his breast, in Eastern fashion. All three are quite absorbed in the event

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FIG. 71.—THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST: LEFT PANEL OF THE TRIPTYCH IN THE UFFIZI
(*Phot. Alinari*)

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and full of devotion and reverence. The Madonna's face, which has a matronly cast, is gently sorrowful. She is looking neither at the Child nor at the worshipping kings but at the gay retinue, which seems to attract her attention. The sight, however, appears to awake in her mind neither pride nor joy, but only melancholy thoughts. In contrast to the solemn and self-contained bearing of the saints, the attendants behind move in lively confusion, indifferent and unsympathetic, like the mere hirelings that they are. In this part of the composition the artist has allowed full scope to his love of minute painting, and of the representation of small *genre* groups. All the little figures are carried out with the greatest care from nature.

The left wing, representing the 'Ascension of Christ,' is the least successful as regards composition (fig. 71). The ground on which the Apostles and the Madonna are standing is hemmed in by the rocks to right and left. Christ is standing somewhat stiffly on a cloud shaped like a hard consistent mass, exactly as if He were standing on the solid earth. The artist has suggested neither floating in the air nor the upward movement, except by means of the cloud and the cherubim. The figure of Christ, magnificent in itself, produces a distinctly heavy effect when represented in the air above; this floating movement was not one of those that Mantegna had observed at first hand in the realm of Nature. The group of the apostles likewise is stiff as a whole, though each separate figure is full of life and inspired by deep feeling. To represent on a small panel so many persons crowded together and all looking upwards was, as a fact, no easy task, and Mantegna has created out of it a surprising wealth of new and various motives of movement. The backward inclination of the head necessitates a curve of the spine, and this again demands an alteration in the position of the lower part of the body, to resist the thrust. The attitude of the different figures is observed with extreme accuracy, and a fine feeling for the statics of the human body. The apostle on the left, shading his eyes with his hand, and thus increasing the weight at the top, is standing firmly on both feet, with the trunk pushed forward; the apostle standing more to the right, by placing his left foot forward and letting his right arm drop, gives a counterpoise to the movement of the upper part of his body, while the apostle beside him, as he looks up, steps to one side and turns the upper part of the trunk. Highly effective are the two kneeling figures, in whom the movement of the hands and of the head also contribute to express the passionate *crescendo* of devotional feeling. The emotion is entirely

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concentrated, the convergence of the spectators' attention on one spot being perhaps too uncompromisingly and monotonously emphasised.

On the other hand, 'The Circumcision,' represented in the right wing, is as a whole and in its details a real gem, one of the most refined and harmonious interiors which this scene has ever inspired (Plate 13). In front of the dignified, aged priest, who is performing his office with becoming seriousness and gravity, the young mother stands shyly; the Child is turning away from the priest to take refuge in his Mother's bosom, and looks up in her face as if to seek protection. Even Mantegna has seldom succeeded so perfectly as in this group in interpenetrating a biblical story with universal human emotion. He has delineated, as he loves to do, not the act itself, but a moment of rest, a pause in the sacred rite, which is specially favourable to the observation of emotion. In this case Mantegna shows his fine taste by abstaining from a representation of the ceremony itself, as will be at once admitted if we compare this with the many other representations of the same scene. The refined effect, brought about by the inwardness of relation between Mother and Child, is further heightened by the groups to left and right. To the left we have the somewhat harsh and squarely built Joseph, a real workman, bent with the habit of toil; on the right is the group of an old woman quietly looking on, and of a younger woman who is watching the Child with a lively gesture of astonishment, and laying her hand the while on the head of her own little boy, who, with finger in mouth, is shyly squeezing up against his mother; all these figures express in the most charming way the emotions of a family placed in unfamiliar surroundings that cause them all to feel a little embarrassed. The splendid interior, with its pillars, brilliant marbles and gold ornaments, makes a fine contrast to the intimate family group, who show by their shy and somewhat clumsy attitudes, and by their dress, down to the boy's torn shoes, that they belong to the humbler class of citizens. Evidently it is the old priest alone who feels at home here. This individual and poetic family idyll is quite in the spirit of those early representations from the history of the Holy Family which we considered above, and is conceived entirely in the intimate emotional manner of the young Mantegna.

Even among the works of so delicate and painstaking an artist, the Florentine Triptych is unique in the minuteness of the execution. The refinement in detail becomes almost too conspicuous. In the letters of Zaccaria of Pisa to the Marchesa Barbara,[1] we saw how highly this

[1] See above, p. 185; Baschet, *l. c.* p. 26.

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XIII.

THE CIRCUMCISION

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fine miniature-like execution was prized at that time. Possibly Mantegna wished to show, on his arrival in Mantua, how far he could go in this direction, or perhaps he paid his new patrons the compliment of striking the note he thought most likely to harmonise with their tastes, while not doing violence to his own.

The Florentine Triptych, however, is not only the most miniature-like picture which Mantegna ever painted, but the strongest and most various in colour. The peculiar intensity in the colouring of this picture is not merely a sign that Mantegna wished to meet the taste of his public, royal or other, but it represents one phase in the very irregular development of his scheme of colour. Mantegna's palette is dependent more on conviction than on feeling; and its harmony is attained rather by the artificial juxtaposition of single colours than by free modulation on one fundamental tone. He had long been conscious of the deficiency in his scheme of colour, and in his latest Paduan works had made the transition to a warmer and deeper tonality. But in this work he seems to wish to produce his splendid effect by great intensity in the separate, sharply defined tints and by juxtaposition of vigorous local tones. He has gone so far in this direction, that the exaggerated variety of effect attained must have convinced him that it was time to strike out another path. It is the last step before his colouring develops those warmer and softer general tones which he appears to have attained in the frescoes of the 'Camera degli Sposi.'

One very striking feature about this picture, and one most characteristic of Mantegna, is the free use of gold to effect points of light on the dark drapery, the ornaments, and so on. The dark blue mantle of the Madonna is illumined with gold, her robe of rose-red, watered stuff is interwoven with it. Joseph wears a golden-yellow cloak over a red robe; the old king has a dark green dress with gold lights, carmine mantle, and brick-red shoes. The second king wears yellow boots, blue hose, and a rose-coloured coat lined with yellowish-pink moiré. The third king wears reddish-yellow boots, blue hose, and a coat of gold brocade under a red mantle, while sleeves and neck-cloth are greyish violet. Similarly the retinue of the kings are clothed in splendid bright dresses; even the little figures in the background detach themselves, in yellow or red, from the lighter colour of the road. Everywhere, as is evident from this enumeration, different colours in strong, brilliant tones, among which yellow and red predominate, are placed side by side. The wings are rather duller in colour than the central panel, but in

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them also the artist is trying to gain a full, almost a harsh chord of colour.

To the same period as the Florentine Triptych must be assigned the small picture in the Prado representing the 'Death of the Virgin,' and this from stylistic as well as external evidence (fig. 72). In the landscape seen through the window can be seen the bridge of S. Giorgio, which passes over the lake from the Castello di Corte to the Castello di S. Giorgio. The bridge is now rather altered in shape, but seventeenth-century views of the town show it as it appears here. The view is taken from the castle, where Mantegna was working at the time. Just as the presence of this local view makes it certain that the picture belongs to the period of the artist's residence in Mantua, so its close relation in types and forms with the altar of S. Zeno constrain us to place it among the earliest works which he executed there. The drapery is treated with more breadth and softness; the picture has been much restored, but the parts remaining intact show a fine, very vigorous and intense colouring *quite in the manner of the Florentine Triptych.* The bier, on which is lying the corpse of the aged Mary, stands in the centre of the room, and the apostles are grouped so that the foreground is left free. Behind the bier an apostle in the dress of a priest—from the type probably Peter—is reading prayers between two ministering apostles; to the left and right stand three and four others respectively, with tapers and palms, chanting hymns; the eleventh disciple steps rapidly up to the bier and swings a censer over Mary. Here, too, the apostles are stalwart, realistic figures from every-day life. The three singing apostles to the right show, by the movement of their mouths, that the hymn has become a cry of lamentation. The faces are no more beautiful than the voices are likely to be; the difference in pitch between the voices, and the corresponding difference in effort, are rendered with a wonderful fidelity to nature; there is no doubt that the apostle most in the background is singing bass, the middle one baritone, and the front one the tenor.

The problems which Mantegna sets himself in each new work are drawn from the innermost essence of the subject, from the intellectual content of the representation. It is a small company of faithful friends who are showing the last honours, as prescribed by religion, to the beloved and honoured dead. There is no analogy with antique representations of similar subjects, though such an analogy might almost have been expected here, and is undoubtedly present in works by Donatello

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FIG. 72.—THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN: PRADO, MADRID

(*Phot. Braun*)

that treat of similar themes. The connection is rather with the early Christian form of the scene, which, however, is transformed into a self-contained intimate expression of inward feeling; except for the halos, there is no indication of the supernatural or of the universal importance

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of the event. The loneliness of this quiet little mourning company is emphasised in a poetic way by the site of the pillared hall, in which the dead saint is lying, on the shore of a wide lake far from the bustle of everyday life. This is the only picture in which Mantegna has discarded his favourite background, a rocky landscape, in favour of a view of the broad expanse of lakes that surrounds Mantua. The horizon, too, is chosen exceptionally high, so that the view of the melancholy landscape may have its due effect as seen through the window.[1]

The Florence Triptych and the 'Death of the Virgin' are the last works of Mantegna where the intimate, purely human, almost idyllic conception of the subject forms the prevailing mood. While the development of the formal and technical treatment of his works makes steady and gradual progress without any distinctly perceptible pause, the poetic conception of his subjects undergoes a very definite revolution. If it were necessary to express the difference with one word, we might say that in his earlier works the *elegiac* mood prevails, and in his later the *heroic*. This revolution finds its first clear expression in the frescoes of the 'Camera degli Sposi,' which among extant works may be considered the apex of his development; but it must have been recognisable in earlier works of the master which have now disappeared, and it makes its presence felt in some paintings which were executed either shortly before or contemporaneously with the frescoes in the castle at Mantua.

Mantegna is not the artist of dramatic action or excitement; his art tends chiefly to express the deepest and most inward emotions of the soul. In the features of almost all his characters there lies a touch of melancholy, a kind of reflective reverie. But from this time forward we

[1] The mosaic with the same subject in the Cappella dei Mascoli in San Marco at Venice, the design for which Henri Thode (*Festschrift für Benndorf*, Vienna, 1899, p. 309 *seq.*) ascribes to Andrea Castagno and connects with Mantegna, is so clearly distinguished in its aim after a solemn processional effect, from the work of Mantegna, that it brings into prominence the peculiar inwardness, simplicity and humanity of Mantegna's conception. In the San Marco picture the coffin, covered with costly stuffs, is placed almost in the middle of the street in front of a rich triumphal arch; Christ, with the soul of the Virgin, appears above, enthroned on the clouds; the subject is therefore treated quite in the symbolic ceremonial scheme of ecclesiastical art. In the elements of the composition and of the forms the artist of the mosaics was certainly dependent on Mantegna, not Mantegna on him, as Thode supposes. Anyhow Mantegna's 'Death of the Virgin' cannot have been painted before the Mantuan period. The Paduan and Venetian painters, long influenced by Mantegna's youthful style (and through this indirectly by Donatello and Uccello) went on for a long time working in the same manner; even some pictures dated in the nineties show the same mixture of Venetian and Mantegnesque elements as the mosaics of the Cappella dei Mascoli, which therefore, as the now destroyed inscription, the correctness of which we have no reason to doubt, once correctly stated, may have been completed as late as 1490.

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notice a fresh infusion of intellectual life; though the personages are still self-contained, neither projecting their influence outside the picture nor posing before the spectator, they have greater activity of movement and expression, as if they had awakened from their dream and entered into closer relation with each other; above all, their emotional life is deepened and at the same time exerted more outside themselves. They leave the world of their own inward feelings and enter the great world outside them where appearances count for something, and strive to make themselves felt there. People make their entrance in a more conscious and self-conscious manner, the saints seem to be in an emotional, almost ecstatic mood, which communicates itself even to the Angels and, above all, to the Infant Christ. Mantegna could not fail to be affected by the general endeavour of the Renascence towards a freer and larger range of conception, and in the attempt thus made to replace the observation of detail by a more universal and ideal treatment. There is no doubt, however, that his new surroundings and his relation to the great world of princes also influenced him powerfully. Although Mantua was not one of the greatest political centres, yet the political influence of its princes was far in excess of the actual importance of their marquisate; their *prestige* and ability in war, and their skill in the field and in the management of mercenaries, gave them an influential voice in the councils of Italian Powers. The Gonzaga were in touch with affairs all over the country. Princes and distinguished statesmen were not unfrequent guests at their brilliant Court, which was kept up on the model of the greatest Courts of Europe. The artist here came into personal relation with the highest representatives of political and intellectual life. The horizon which now opened out before his eyes was considerably wider than the company of learned antiquaries and dilettanti prelates in Padua.

It is only natural that an artist, employed by a Court, should, to a certain extent, make the person and family of the prince, their exploits and their history, the central point of his creative activity. The subject of each representation is directly or indirectly placed in relation to the person of the prince, or to his ideas and aims, and thus the artist's works gradually become permeated with a new meaning imposed from without, and foreign to their original character. Above all, more stress is laid on outward effect. And there are also brought to bear influences of a purely artistic kind. We learn from a letter of Aldobrandini to the Marquis Lodovico, written on July 5, 1466, that Mantegna was at

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that time staying in Florence.[1] That great Tuscan monumental art, which took so strong a hold of the youth in Padua, and taught him so much, must surely have appeared in a new and brilliant light to him when he saw it on the spot as a mature man. He must have approached it much more independently than during his apprenticeship in Padua, and with a much deeper intellectual comprehension. He would be impressed, not so much by the form as by the higher flights of imagination, and by the well-considered independent standpoint which the Florentines took up in relation to their subjects. If we think of Mantegna before the frescoes of Masaccio, of Andrea del Castagno, and of Paolo Uccello, or in Verrocchio's studio, where Lorenzo di Credi and the young Leonardo were working, we can hardly suppose that the budding ideas of the younger Florentine generation, who tried by expressing a blissful smile or inspired emotion to raise the creations of their art into a higher sphere, was lost upon the fine perception of the Paduan.

It is impossible to estimate exactly the importance of these contending influences, but it is, at any rate, evident that in this revolution of his artistic aims, Mantegna was more dependent than usual upon the changing spirit of the time and upon outward influences. In contrast to the entirely intimate and reserved sentiment of his early works, arising, as it does, solely from his own personal poetic conception of his subject, and depending in a sense upon the mutual relation between the subject and his purely human feeling, his later works show that some of the pomp and magnificence belonging to a world foreign to that of his own thoughts found its way in. Never again did he portray the life of the individual soul, or the pain and vague terror which it feels in the presence of fate, so truthfully and simply as he had done in his earliest creations. When he left the outwardly confined, but sincerely enthusiastic, surroundings of his home, to obey, with scarcely a misgiving, it would seem, the call to Mantua, he ceased to be purely and solely an artist. Along with a freer, but also more sceptical, attitude, and with the desire that now awakened in him of outward honours and riches, a certain cold external strain now becomes apparent in his art. The

[1] D'Arco, ii. p. 12, No. 12. If we must refer to Mantegna the notice already mentioned in the account-book of the 'opera' (management) of the Campo Santo in Pisa about a breakfast which was got ready on July 3, 1467, for 'Andrea Squarcione,' who had to finish some paintings there, we must suppose that our artist took part in the decoration of this famous monument of Tuscan art (*v.* Igino Supino, *Campo Santo di Pisa*, Florence, 1896, p. 28). As Mantegna was at that very time much occupied for his own patron, this supposition is very improbable. In any case there is nothing in the Campo Santo at Pisa that could on any grounds be referred to Mantegna.

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subjects of his representations from this time onward gain in importance, because they are not, as before, of that universal nature which leaves free play to the emotions, but are intended to illustrate definite personal or literary relations, and because much more weight had to be laid on their decorative effect or on their symbolic meaning.

In attempting to define this difference, I have probably over-emphasised characteristics which naturally do not make themselves felt at once, or in every work of the new period. Perhaps the most charming creations of the master are those in which there is only a hint of this broad free style, harmoniously blended with the inwardness and simplicity of more youthful works. This is true in a very high degree of the 'Saint George' in the Accademia in Venice, a work which stands just on the threshold of Mantegna's new creative epoch (Plate I.). Though this picture is inconspicuous both in form and subject, it reveals to the student who tries to penetrate the essence of the artistic presentment the master's art in its purest and most exalted form. It was in mid-life that Mantegna produced this gem, the ideal picture of a strong beautiful youth, excelling in bodily and spiritual strength—no saint, but a man in the noblest sense of the word.

Beside the monster which he has slain, he stands in conscious thought, holding the stump of the lance, as if the fight had cost him no effort. He seems almost motionless, and yet a fine elasticity thrills through his frame cased in its stiff steel armour. He stands, not in the middle of the picture, but considerably to the left; the weight rests entirely on the right leg; the slight bend of the body and the position of the left leg indicate the intended movement. Notice how the right arm, with the broken lance, seems to project beyond the pillar which bounds the picture on the left, right out into the actual space in front, and thus gives to the figure the character of a momentary, passing apparition. The figure is moving slowly and hesitatingly in one direction, and glancing back with an expression compounded of melancholy and haughtiness, as if, in modest pride, he would escape the noisy thanks of the rejoicing multitude. He is the very incarnation of the disappointed idealist, whose finer feelings are saddened, because even in the midst of recognition he sees himself misunderstood, because he feels that he owes the applause not to what he himself prizes most highly, but only to the outward effect of his act. In the same way the artist himself, even in the midst of the success which, as he knew, was the result not of the essential qualities of his art, but of external appearance, may have felt

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lonely and sad at heart, and have withdrawn into himself. As an expression of his own character, the artist has given to the 'Saint George' a cast of gentle melancholy, a feeling of dissatisfaction with his own work, a consciousness of all those incongruities which prevent the man who thinks clearly from ever attaining to the full enjoyment of outward life.

As we become absorbed in the contemplation of this picture the little figure appears to attain a majestic height and to move in a melodious rhythm. In the unrivalled elegance and calm of the attitude lies the most refined characterisation, in the wonderful union of fresh elastic force with extreme delicacy of feeling are manifested distinguished reserve, masterly decision, independent of any external verdict, and a self-reliant spirit which counts the accomplished act as a trifle in comparison with its own higher aims and its own consciousness of higher powers. We seem to be in presence here of the Spirit of the Renascence incarnate in a form of youthful beauty, purified from the dross of the lower passions, and revealing all its grander characteristics, its clearness and depth of feeling, its energy of action, individual independence of judgment, and the will which is a lawgiver unto itself. This is perhaps the earliest ideal picture of modern art, not merely an imaginary picture, but an embodiment of the ideal sides of the actual vigorous tendencies of the men of that great period. Thus did the Renascence conceive the ancient heroes—a young Scipio for instance—and thus did she idealise her own, as Angelo Poliziano in his 'Giostra,' the youthful Giuliano de' Medici.

Donatello is the only other artist who, in the 'Saint George' of Or San Michele in Florence has succeeded in representing with equal perfection and harmonious unity the fresh sensuous character of the Quattrocento by means of a purely human lifelike personality. The whole personal contrast between Donatello and Mantegna, between Florentine and Venetian art, comes out in a comparison of the two masterpieces. The one emphasises skill and energy in action by the attitude of keen watchfulness he has given to his knight; the other, in his noble victor, strikes rather the finely tuned chords of feeling. Mantegna's youthful warrior belongs moreover to a younger generation, which moves with more ease and freedom on the ground won by the toil of its great predecessors; he stands at the turning-point between an earlier and a later phase of development; still full of diffidence and reserve and apparently inaccessible to outward influences, he already manifests an inner life and a distinctness of aim such as Art, and Mantegna himself, had not hitherto been able to express.

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In form and colour, too, the 'Saint George' is treated in a considerably broader and freer manner than any of the works of Mantegna we have hitherto studied, and must be dated immediately before the frescoes of the 'Camera degli Sposi.' The difference is easily seen if we compare with it the 'Saint Sebastian' in Vienna, a work which in size and form might almost appear a counterpart. The face of the Saint George is softer and fuller, the hair more luxuriant and flowing, and the hands very rounded and delicate. In spite of the rather severe injuries which the picture has sustained, it is still possible to recognise that the pigments are laid on with a more flowing and graduating brush, and that the brownish-red colouring, in general as well as in detail, is warmer. The coat of mail is toned to a warmer line by the insertion of gold rings, the cold and monotonous colour of the armour is enlivened, not only by warm shadows and bright lights, but by the red straps, red mantle and sword-sheath. The light falls from the right full on the saint and leaves in shadow behind him the greenish dragon with reddish-brown wings, a powerful monster with the appearance, unusual in such representations, of a living organism. The yellowish tone of the landscape, which already shows a broader, freer foreground, and in which the favourite groups of rock jutting into the picture from the sides are abandoned, the fresh full colours of the wreaths between the pillars above, are all harmoniously mingled to a warm light general hue. The influence of Giovanni Bellini seems to be already beginning to bear fruit here and, after the various and independent experiments which Mantegna in his thoroughness pursues to their last consequences, to be leading our artist towards a definite style of his own in colour also.

The knight represented by Mantegna as Saint George in the picture at Venice might almost seem a brother of the young matron who appears as the Madonna with the boy Christ, seated in a rocky landscape, in a small picture of the Uffizi, so strong is the resemblance in form, feature, and expression (Plate 14). The 'Madonna of the Grotto,' according to Vasari's[1] account, was, it is true, not painted till the artist went to Rome—that is, between 1489 and 1490—for, although the Child is not really lying on the breast of the Mother, nor sleeping, as Vasari says, the description of the background makes it impossible to doubt that this little picture in the Uffizi was the one that Vasari saw at the house of Don Francesco de' Medici, 'Principe di Fiorenza.' But here, as so often, we find ourselves in the predicament that the state-

[1] Vasari, iii. p. 401. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.* i. p. 403.

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ments of the Aretine are contradicted by the conclusions of comparative criticism. By its style the picture must be placed close to the 'Saint George' in Venice and the frescoes of the 'Camera degli Sposi.' It is true that Mantegna was, as we have seen, personally acquainted with Lorenzo de' Medici, that in the year 1483 he even received him as a guest in his own house, and that, in the following year, he presented to the illustrious Mæcenas a request for support, a request which he may have emphasised, according to the fashion of the time, by the despatch of one of his works; but in Lorenzo's inventory of the year 1492 there is no mention of a Madonna by Mantegna.[1] Don Francesco may have obtained the work himself in some way or other. But possibly Vasari may have mentioned the picture as having been painted in Rome only on account of the stylistic connection of his narrative or as a mere conjecture. The chronological order in which Vasari arranges the works of Mantegna so often contradicts (as, indeed, many of his assertions do) the accurate dates obtained from signatures and archives, that it need not even be seriously considered.

The dentated rock behind the Madonna, which looks like a crystallised piece of mineral placed on the native rock, presents a peculiar formation, which could easily be taken for an arbitrary construction. In reality, however, Mantegna has imitated a special volcanic formation of basalt, which lies on the top of other rocks and occurs in only a few scattered spots in Italy, one of these being Monte Bolca, near Ronca, between Vicenza and Verona,[2] a district which Mantegna must often have visited when making archæological excursions with his learned friends from Verona. This is a strikingly instructive example of the thoroughness of his studies of Nature, which, to a much greater degree than one is apt to realise, formed the groundwork of his artistic activity. Within the rock we see a crowd of stonemasons in a quarry, busy shaping pillars and other architectural members, a scene which reappears in the fresco of the meeting between Lodovico and Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga in the 'Camera degli Sposi,' and also in a work of his later period, the 'Man of Sorrows,' in Copenhagen. But, besides this, the landscape, with the hill that bounds the background and the town at its summit, approached

[1] See Muntz, *Les Collections des Médicis au XV Siècle*, Paris, 1888; only 'una Tavoletta in una chassetta dipintovi su una Giudetta chon la testa d' Oloferno e una serva opera d' Andrea Squarcione f. 25' (p. 78) could be regarded as a work of Mantegna.

[2] See Abbate Fortis, *Della Valle Vulcanica-Marina di Ronca nel territorio Veronese*, Venezia, 1778, and *Del Monte Bolca*, Venezia, 1792. I have to thank Professor Giuseppe Cuboni in Rome for calling my attention to this interesting fact.

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XIV

Madonna of the Grotto

Uffizi, Florence

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through the fields by a frequented road, shows great similarity with the backgrounds in the 'Saint George' and the Mantuan fresco, not only in the execution of details such as the rocks, but in the softer and earthier nature of the soil and in the colour. Vasari's admiration for the great refinement and poetic simplicity of this landscape is fully justified, although in this instance also the harmony between the landscape and the principal group is one of mood rather than of natural effect.

The drapery of the Florentine Madonna is between the earlier manner of thick rolls and the softer, broader fulness of the Mantuan frescoes. The thinner stuffs flow in narrow, wave-like folds, with delicate intermediate fine breaks and rounded shadows, while the heavy stuffs hang in broad masses with a wealth of cross folds, forming horizontal, rectangular, or oval projections and hollows, but in later pictures the straight line, the vertical direction and the smooth, tube-shaped fold prevail. The type of the Virgin clearly recalls the Florentine Triptych, especially the Madonna in the 'Circumcision'; her face (as are the other nude forms) is unusually soft and delicate, but it is more elongated, and as yet not so broad or so flat as the female faces in his later works; the bridge of the nose is narrow, the chin pointed, and the mouth powerful. Action and expression are fresher and more spontaneous. The colour is considerably more harmonious and much less variegated than in the Triptych; the dark blue of the mantle over the pink robe, and the warm yellowish-red flesh-colour are toned to wonderful harmony with each other and with the greenish-brown soil, the brownish-red, brightly illumined rocks of the background, and the landscape behind on the left, with its pale yellow road and sky covered with fleecy white clouds. The paint is laid on with very delicate and finely graduated strokes of the brush. As in the 'Saint George' a heavy coat of varnish seems to have darkened and dissolved the blue pigment of the mantle.

This is the only one of Mantegna's Madonnas represented with the head uncovered; her hair falls full and luxuriant on her shoulders and frames her face, which is bent slightly downwards, with a serious, dreamy expression. The Child, entirely naked, is struggling joyously on his Mother's lap and singing out with all his might, just as the Child in the Madonna of Bergamo. The drawing of the left arm is either not clear, or else it has been defaced. The figure greatly resembles the somewhat older, restless, and disobedient *putti* in the 'Camera degli Sposi.' Here, again, Mantegna has shaken himself free from the traditional scheme and with bold unconcern has represented a scene of actual life. If we can

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forget the haloes and perhaps also the rich brooch and the border on the Madonna's mantle, we have before us a real *genre* picture taken from country life. In the early Madonnas our artist had already ventured to humanise the Divine, or, in other words, to express the Divine in the deepest feelings of pure humanity; here he comes a step nearer to reality: he represents the Madonna in full length alone with the Child, unattended by holy kinsmen or intercessors, and in the actual surroundings of work-a-day life. She is a strong young woman of the people, seated in an easy attitude with her playful Child within a sunny landscape brightened by the blessings of toil. Mother and Child are quite alone, quite absorbed in each other, undisturbed in the intimacy of their confidence by the busy life which surrounds them. There is no trace left of the ceremonial representation, which tries to attune the mind to worship by the external dignity of the apparition; the whole effect is derived from the simple expression of feeling in the most purely natural way. Raphael has had no predecessor who touches him so nearly in this, as in many other things, as Mantegna.

Before proceeding to discuss the frescoes of the 'Camera degli Sposi' in the castle at Mantua, the most important and characteristic work of the first Mantuan epoch, we must turn to a picture which makes a very strong contrast of effect with the gentleness and calm expressed by the 'Saint George' and the 'Madonna of the Grotto,' and which seems to have been planned less as a self-contained work of art than as a preparatory study for his large frescoes. The 'Dead Christ' in the Brera (fig. 73) did not leave Mantegna's studio till after his death; it is mentioned among their father's effects in his son's letter to the Marquis Francesco.[1] The picture passed, as is proved by a letter from Lodovico Mantegna to Isabella, November 12, 1507,[2] into the possession of Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga; but in a letter from Ippolito Calandra to the Marquis Federico, October 28, 1531,[3] it is mentioned as one of the pictures with which the rooms intended for Margherita Paleologa were decorated, while in the inventory of 1627 it is described as in the 'Camerino delle Dame,' and valued at 90 lire.[4] Afterwards, like so many other works of art belonging to the rich Mantuan collection, it was either sold or stolen when the collection was plundered in 1630, and it first reappears in the palace of Cardinal Mazarin in Rome, where Felibien saw it, and described it in

[1] See App. No. 82.
[2] D Arco, ii. p. 73, No. 92.
[3] *Arch. Storico dell' Arte*, i. (1888), p. 184.
[4] D'Arco, ii. p. 161.

his 'Entretiens.'[1] Early in the nineteenth century it was brought to Milan by Giuseppe Bossi, whose heirs parted with it in 1824 to the Pinacoteca of the Brera.

The circumstance that the painting was among the effects which our artist left behind at his death has been supposed to prove that it belongs to the last period of his activity, but Crowe and Cavalcaselle have,

FIG. 73.—DEAD CHRIST MOURNED BY SAINTS: ON CANVAS
Brera Gallery, Milan (Phot. Anderson)

nevertheless, rightly assigned the work to the eighth decade of the fifteenth century. Mantegna may have kept the picture in his studio because it was specially interesting as a study, or perhaps because it was not for sale—after the death of an artist circumstances are changed, and amateurs usually take what they can get—and could neither be used as a devotional picture for private apartments nor as an altarpiece for a church, being in fact interesting as a work of art only to a collector. Anyone

[1] Felibien, *Entretiens sur les vies des Peintres*, Paris, 1669-79, i. p. 196.

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who is acquainted with Quattrocento taste knows how much weight is given to the requirements of decoration in executing works of art, and how each work is produced with strict regard to its practical destination and the place it is destined to adorn—a principle that peremptorily imposes artistic completeness both of composition and representation. In Mantegna's compositions we have had frequent opportunities of admiring the expressive rhythm of the grouping. In the 'Dead Christ' of the Brera one can scarcely speak of composition at all. The body lies slightly aslant, right and left from top to bottom, a departure from the strict perpendicular, which is made less noticeable by the inclination of the head to the right; the space beside the body is much narrower to the left than to the right, and yet the three profile busts of the mourners are inserted in the left-hand corner without any counterpoise on the other side, and without a sufficient motive for their position in the given space.

To make an effective picture cannot have been the artist's aim. It is only necessary to realise the impression made by the painting on every spectator. The realism of the blue livid corpse is almost terrifying. The lifelessness of the mass, the sunken chest void of breath, the strengthless sinking limbs, the stiffness of the fingers, and lastly the wounds, with the flesh round them already discoloured and decaying, are represented so naturally that we shudder as we look. The calm and gentle features of the refined face scarcely modify the painful impression. The faces of the three mourners, in which the cramped distortion of the muscles round the mouth, that results from unrestrained weeping, is reproduced all too truthfully, are absolutely repellent.

The body, which is seen in full front view from the feet to the head, is so foreshortened, that the view remains the same from any standpoint. It seems to turn as the spectator moves, precisely because it is drawn exactly from the front. Naturally, the horizon lies very high above the upper edge of the picture, to make it possible to see the whole body; and the spectator looks down upon it from a very high and distant point of view. Apparently Mantegna was here essentially concerned with a study in perspective, and is strenuously pursuing to the last consequences the problem, how to represent a figure seen from above. Painted on a ceiling, and looked at from below, the Dead Christ would appear as a standing figure. When the picture is hung up on the wall at the level of the eye, the spectator standing on the ground cannot find the right standpoint from which to look at it; it is only as a ceiling-painting with its

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perspective point of sight coinciding with the central point of the ceiling that the figure would appear correctly foreshortened. There can be no doubt that the Dead Christ was painted as a preliminary study for the nude *putti* standing inside the balustrade on the ceiling decoration of the 'Camera degli Sposi,' and for other figures in ceiling pictures. We have seen that even at an earlier period than this, when Mantegna was working in the Church of the Eremitani, he had become thoroughly absorbed in perspective problems of this kind, and that then, for a time, he had given up attempting wall-decoration as seen from below. His residence in Mantua again afforded him an opportunity of resuming his studies, and of applying to ceiling pictures a completely new and natural system of perspective.

But even if we judge by technique and form alone, it will be necessary to assign the execution of this picture to the period immediately preceding the Mantua frescoes. It follows closely on those early pictures, painted on canvas with lime or water-colours, which we have already examined, and some of which, as has been shown, overlap into the Mantua period. This easy and rapid technique was admirably suited to a study of this kind. All the same, the execution, as we can see by the surviving portions, was as refined and careful as usual. The cerecloth gives the impression of a linen material stiffened with plaster or some other substance, the folds are therefore strangely stiff and crackled, but otherwise are quite in the manner of the earlier drapery with its rolls. The forms are more sharply outlined, heavier and more angular than in the easel pictures of the same period. This may be owing partly to the technique, but the artist must certainly have been influenced by a desire to produce a brilliant and pleasing effect when he gave to the little pictures an increased warmth of form and colour. Probably he thought that in this case he need not pay attention to the spectator; he felt alone with Nature and quite absorbed in study. Such transition stages are absolutely necessary to the artist as well as to art. The artist cannot always go straight along the highway to the goal, he must needs diverge from the road to the right and left, must explore the country in its most insignificant paths, if only he can find his way back again to the high road without losing himself in the thicket. He must often try to pursue a problem to its very last consequences, even if part of his work has no other use than to show to himself and his successors the limits of the practicable and attainable in art.

Thus Mantegna shows himself here also to be exclusively in the

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service of art, when he outruns the purely artistic and touches the confines of possibility, when he produces a creation which is less a work of art than an artistic experiment. In his early period, more especially, Mantegna had worked above all for himself and less with a view to the effect on the spectator. This is only too evident in the Eremitani frescoes, and his contemporaries, in spite of the admiration they felt for him, could not fail to let the young artist feel their resentment at being thus left out of consideration. He would certainly have found no difficulty in softening some of the harshness of his work and in producing a pleasing result, if he had not been aiming first of all at clearness of conception, and only in the second place at the satisfaction and applause of the public. No one who did not approach the study of Nature with sacred seriousness could ever—especially if endowed with so peculiar a sense of beauty and rhythm as Mantegna's—have so deliberately rejected exterior grace of form in order to carry out in all its details, lovingly and carefully, a task like this representation of the Dead Christ.

FIG. 74.—MANTEGNA'S ARMS: FROM THE CEILING OF HIS CHAPEL IN S. ANDREA AT MANTUA

(Phot. Premi)

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FIG. 75.—THE CASTELLO DI CORTE AT MANTUA

(The 'Camera degli Sposi' is the room on the first floor of the Tower on the right)

(Phot. Premi)

CHAPTER VII

THE 'CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI' IN THE CASTELLO DI CORTE AT MANTUA

'To the illustrious Marquis Lodovico II., most worthy prince, invincible in the Faith, and to his illustrious Lady Barbara of incomparable renown, their Andreas Mantegna of Padua has completed this humble work to their honour in the year 1474.'

Probably no savant or artist ever addressed a simpler or a prouder dedication to his princely patrons than this, which Mantegna placed on one of the tablets held by Angels over the door of the 'Camera degli Sposi' in the Castello di Corte in Mantua (fig. 88). It indicates clearly his relation to his exalted employer, his own artist's pride, and the consciousness of what he had therein achieved in his employer's honour, and that of Art. In fact, there are few creations of such epoch-making significance

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in the history of painting as the frescoes of this small apartment. Here an entirely new horizon opens before the art of surface-decoration, while portrait-painting in historical groups enters upon a new path. The important innovation consists above all in this, that here for the first time in modern art in the decoration of a room painting frees itself from the trammels of the surface, and, by breaking up the space into architectonic divisions which correspond to its real form, expands it, as it were, beyond its natural limits, and then in the ideal space so obtained makes the subjects in the architectonic divisions appear like actual scenes. Here for the first time the different subjects are not applied to the wall like single pictures side by side or one over another; but they seem actually to be happening in and outside the space in the room, as if the walls had disappeared. The 'Camera degli Sposi' is the earliest example, since the antique, of illusionist decorative painting. The idea which, as we saw, was floating before Mantegna's mind when he painted the frescoes of the Eremitani, but to which he could only give expression in isolated indications, he has here freely and consistently carried out in a masterly manner.

The 'Camera degli Sposi' is a square apartment on the first story of the north-east tower of the Castello di Corte, which was built by Bertolino Novara between 1393 and 1406. It is lighted by two windows, on the north and east sides. The flat vaulting of the roof is cut into by three semicircular lunettes on each wall. These form twelve spandrels, of which a pair meet in each of the four corners, and twelve spherical triangles, which connect the lunettes with the vaulting. The spandrels rise out of brackets of carved stone, shaped like capitals and gilt, and these in their turn spring from the painted pilasters. The pilasters stand on a painted marble coping which runs all round, and they divide each wall into three spaces. Above, the ribs of the adjacent spandrels are produced so as to form eight lozenge-shaped fields. These are ornamented with eight medallions carried by *putti*, with busts of emperors painted the colour of marble on a ground of gold mosaic (figs. 46, 89, 136). Within the quadrilateral space formed by the upper ribs of the spandrels in the middle of the flat central surface of the vault, the roof opens out in a painted circle furnished with a marble balustrade, which again is enlivened on both sides by playing children and women looking down (Plate 16). In the twelve triangular spaces, the following subjects are painted in stone-colour to represent reliefs: on the south side, Hercules shooting, Nessus and Deianira, Hercules with the lion; on the west side, Hercules and the Hydra (almost defaced), Hercules and Antæus,

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Hercules with Cerberus; on the north side, Orpheus mourning, Orpheus in the Underworld (fig. 69), the death of Orpheus; on the east side, Arion at sea, singing, Arion on the dolphin (or Neptune) (fig. 2), and the sailors brought to justice. In the lunettes fruit garlands are represented festooned from the centre to the angles; and medallions with emblems of the Gonzaga family and branches alternately (figs. 69, 76). They are imagined as open arches, as a continuation of the openings in the wall between the pillars which carry the vaulting of the roof.

The whole space therefore is represented as a colonnaded hall, open on all sides—a kind of pavilion—covered by a vault formed by a light network of carved stone ornament and open in the centre. Between the pillars hang splendid draperies fastened by rings to iron poles. Only on the west and east sides are these draperies drawn back, and they disclose to view on one side a broad, splendid landscape, in which we see represented the meeting between the Marquis Lodovico and his son Cardinal Francesco; on the other side a garden terrace, on which are grouped the prince, his consort, and his family. Over the door of the south side is a group of *putti* holding a coat-of-arms. Otherwise on this and the eastern wall the curtains are drawn, and with their rich tasteful patterns they maintain the illusion of the shape of the room.[1] Here in the south-east corner of the chamber stood the marriage-bed of the marquis. The arrangement of the decoration and the old traditional designation of the room as the 'Camera degli Sposi' (chamber of the wedded pair) leave no doubt as to its purpose. Even the strong hook which held the canopy on the east wall is preserved. Moreover, the situation of the room, in the strongest part of the castle, on the first story of an angle tower looking towards the lake and surrounded by deep moats, points to the same conclusion.

In the newly restored castle of Milan the very sight of Lodovico Sforza's sleeping-chamber, with its colossal walls and single narrow entrance closed by gigantic doors, almost inspires horror. This was the ultimate result that tyrants attained at the cost of so much blood and tears, that they could safely trust themselves to sleep only in the strongest and remotest corner of their castles. It seems, therefore, all the more natural that they should have wished to see the interior of the chamber adorned with the most attractive representations of mirth and jollity. For the most part it is the love of one woman that is here glorified in

[1] The tapestries were therefore not added later to cover the wall where it was unpainted, as has been often maintained, but the whole decoration was planned from the beginning as it is now.

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poetical and allegorical representations, and that finds tender and delicate expression in the emblems and devices illustrating the thoughts and feelings of the beloved one. The worthy and serious Lodovico, the conscientious father of his family and people, chose for his sleeping apartment, as the subject which he liked best to see, his own blooming family, the embodiment of the fame of the House of Gonzaga. Even the decorative parts have a character of seriousness, for the subjects are chosen from the humanistic circle of ideas. Portraits of the Roman Emperors, the brilliant exemplars of every general and statesman of the Renascence, subjects from the old mythology, exploits of Hercules, the fate of Orpheus and of Arion (these two probably with reference to Lodovico's fondness for music),[1] together with emblems and devices through which in those days people expressed their individual principles and ideas.[2] The effect of the whole is calculated, not from the point of view of a person entering, but in view of the corner opposite the entrance, where the marriage-bed stood. The bright sunlight that here streams through the eastern window in the morning, illuminated for the awakening gaze of the prince a joyous picture of domestic bliss, bringing before him in a gracious shape the figures and scenes upon which his fancy loved best to dwell, all interwoven with the wondrous tracery of an airy palace, in which he seemed transported out of the darkness of his ponderous keep into a pavilion, gorgeous and festive, set in a smiling landscape.

The dedicatory inscription over the entrance places it beyond a doubt that the paintings were finished in the year 1474; and in itself excludes the supposition that the room which Mantegna had still to finish in 1484, as appears from a letter of the Bishop Lodovico Gonzaga to Giovanni della Rovere, February 25, 1484,[3] was the 'Camera degli Sposi.' Both before and after the frescoes of the Camera there must have been a whole series of room decorations by Mantegna, in the castle at Mantua and in other palaces of the Gonzaga, but they are unfortunately all lost. A contemporary inscription, '1465 d. 16 iunii,' scratched on the window-sill to the left of the entrance, has been cited as if it were Mantegna's autograph note of the date when the work

[1] See Pietro Canal, 'Della Musica in Mantova,' *Memorie d. R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti.* xxi. (1879), p. 655 *seq.*

[2] Emblems of this kind with devices (*imprese*) were used almost as personal crests (in contradistinction to family crests), and were even granted to other persons, friends, and servants. (See *Arch. Stor. d. Arte*, i. [1888], p. 81.)

[3] See D'Arco, ii. p. 194, No. 221.

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was begun. This assertion can neither be proved nor disproved; but it would be unusual to mark a date of that kind in such a casual fashion;

FIG. 76.—MARQUIS LODOVICO AND HIS FAMILY: FRESCO IN THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

moreover, as we shall see later, the age of the persons represented, especially the children, does not admit of so early a date, at least in the case of the family pictures.

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Although these pictures were highly prized, and are mentioned in the decree of 1492, together with the chapel and the Triumphs, as the best works produced by Mantegna for the Gonzaga, yet it appears that after the death of Lodovico the chamber was neglected; for as early as the year 1506, when this and the adjoining room were to be prepared for the expected visit of Pope Julius II., it was absolutely necessary to restore the paintings because the damp had got in and seriously injured them. At that time the master lay dying, and his two sons were entrusted with the work of restoration. From the letters which passed upon this subject between Isabella d' Este and her husband the Marquis Francesco,[1] it appears that the room, then known simply as the 'Camera depincta,' was certainly not inhabited, and probably only used as a storeroom, for Isabella says she cannot open the room for the workmen to go through until a particular key is found. The first proposal was to cover with a roof the open battlemented passage which led from the chamber over the 'Camera depincta' to the southern bastion, in order to preserve the paintings from further injury from the rain. This subsequent covering in of the battlemented passage on the lakeside can still be distinctly seen.

These masterpieces of art unfortunately attracted little notice afterwards. At the time of the Austrian domination the room was even used as a prison, and it is only quite recently that the chamber, which now forms part of the 'Archivio notarile,' has been cleared and cared for. When we remember the part played by the fortress of Mantua, especially during the Napoleonic wars, we can only wonder that the frescoes of the Camera did not share the fate of the other paintings in the castle, and that there is still so much left for us to admire. The best preserved frescoes are those on the entrance wall; they show a few cracks and scratches, but only one figure, in the corner, is completely destroyed. The ceiling on the side of the window is well preserved; towards the inner corner it is much injured by damp, but this injury dates, as we have seen, from the time of Isabella d' Este. The painting on the north wall over the chimney-piece is a mere ruin; the pigment has mostly peeled off (and continues to do so in spite of various attempts to fix it), so that except the outlines only a few parts remain in their

[1] See Luzio e Renier, *Mantova e Urbino*, Torino, 1893, p. 173; D'Arco, ii. p. 67, No. 83, p. 68, No. 84, p. 69, No. 85, and two unpublished letters of Isabella of October 4 and 20, 1506 (Copialettere libro 19).

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FIG. 77.—GROUP WITH THE MARCHESA BARBARA: FROM THE FAMILY PICTURE IN THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

original condition. Recent restoration has filled numerous cracks and gaps with neutral tints.[1]

[1] Better preserved parts: the female dwarf and the women behind her.

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In the large family-picture over the chimney-piece on the north wall[1] (figs. 76–80) which fills two of the columned spaces, some have seen a representation of an actual event in the family history of the Gonzaga—namely, the return of Federico, the marquis's eldest son, from voluntary exile to his father's house. Federico, as the chronicles tell us, had met his father's behest to marry Margaret of Bavaria with a distinct refusal; he then attempted, with the help of his mother, to escape his father's anger by flight. With a few trusty followers he betook himself to Naples, where, ill and without means of subsistence, he was cared for by his companions, who worked like servants to support him and themselves, and tended him, until at last his mother found out their hiding-place, and managed, by picturing his distress, to appease his father's anger. It is this scene of the return that we are supposed to have represented here, though, according to recent investigations, the whole story is nothing but a legend. Anyhow, it is in itself very unlikely that one would have wished to record a family quarrel of this kind, still less in the form of a large picture, and when the once-discarded bride was at his side as his wife and the mother of his children. Moreover, the picture lacks the element of dramatic emotion which could not fail of its presence and effect in such a scene. Above all, we see Federico already a full-grown man (he was born in 1440) standing quietly and with dignity beside his father's chair (fig. 76). A comparison with the

FIG. 78.—THE MARQUIS AND HIS SECRETARY: FROM THE FAMILY PICTURE IN THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

[1] See Friedländer, *Jahrbuch d. Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, iv. p. 49. Yriarte, 'Les Gonzagues dans les Fresques de Mantegna' in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1894 (ii. pp. 5 and 115), whose frequent errors in the identification of persons need not here be discussed. See *Hohenzollern-jahrbuch*, 1899, p. 66 *seq.*

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medal that Bartolo Talpa made of him [1] leaves no doubt as to his identity (fig. 86).

No special event is represented, but a quiet and cheerful family scene, almost patriarchal in character. There is not a trace here of the easy-going impulse of gaiety and high-spirited frivolity which we find expressing itself at other princely Courts, and later at the Court of Mantua also. A high seriousness, a calm sense of moderation and of worth, breathe in all these figures; there is something, in fact, of bourgeois simplicity. The Marchesa Barbara sits somewhat stiff and homely on her chair; a shrewd, busy, worthy wife and mother (fig. 77). She looks attentively at her husband, who takes a letter from a secretary (Marsilio Andreasi?), and while he gives him instructions tries to read the purport of the message in his countenance (fig. 78).[2] The lively youth behind her is evidently her favourite son, Gian Francesco (born about 1446; fig. 79). The boy in the surplice standing in front of Federico can scarcely be other than Lodovico, the marquis's youngest son, who, born in 1459, was already appointed bishop of Mantua in 1468 at nine years old. A comparison with the medal by Melioli will confirm this supposition. The girl, holding an apple and trying to attract Barbara's attention, may well be

FIG. 79.—GIAN FRANCESCO GONZAGA: FROM THE FAMILY PICTURE IN THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI

(*Phot. Anderson*)

[1] See Friedländer, 'Die ital. Schaumunzen der Renaissance' in *Jahrb. d. K. Preuss. Kunstsamml.* ii. (1881); Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance.*

[2] The portrait of Barbara was copied, and the copy was placed in Castle Ambras in the collection of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, which was formed in the sixteenth century; but the portrait of Lodovico, which forms its pendant, is taken from an earlier original, probably also by Mantegna. (See *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen d. allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1896, xvii. (i.), p. 139, Nos. 46 and 45; and Kenner, *Führer durch die Portratsammlung Erzherzog Ferdinands.*) Perhaps the double portrait of Lodovico and Barbara, which was formerly in the Hamilton collection and latterly in the Cernuschi collection at Paris, and which is copied in a later copper-plate wrongly ascribed to Mantegna, may be a replica of those portraits of the Ambras collection.

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FIG. 80.—BARTOLOMEO MANFREDI?: FROM THE FAMILY PICTURE IN THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI (*Phot. Anderson*)

her granddaughter Chiara, who was born in 1464, and married to Gilbert of Bourbon-Montpensier in 1480,[1] but she may also, perhaps, be one of Barbara's younger daughters, Paola or Barbara. The grey-haired man between Federico and Gian Francesco has been identified with the Gonzaga family astrologer Bartolomeo Manfredi,[2] without whose professional advice and sanction no important business was undertaken, and who constructed the ingenious clock on the tower of the town hall (fig. 80). The richly dressed young woman standing modestly behind Gian Francesco might well be Margareta, Federico's consort, although the place she occupies appears strangely subordinate. The only other figure to whom we can attach even a probable name is the slim youth who stands in an almost defiant attitude before the pillar. He must be Rodolfo (born in 1451), who fell fighting bravely in the battle on the Taro in 1495. The rest it is impossible to identify.

As we pass from the quiet group of the princely pair towards the right, where a staircase leads down from the verandah, on which the family are seated in front of a magnificent marble balustrade, to the garden below, there is a growing movement of freedom and life. The personages who are descending the staircase, or approaching from the garden behind the partly raised tapestry, are probably nephews, more distant relatives of the marquis, or the most intimate of his courtiers. Specially striking is the presence of a female dwarf in the actual family circle, though these creatures, who at Mantua were sometimes even artificially bred, played an important part in the amusement of the Court.[3]

[1] See above, p. 141.

[2] A conjecture of Stefano Davari, communicated to me verbally. See also his 'Notizie storiche intorno al pubblico orologio in Mantova' in *Memorie dell' Accad. Virgiliana*, Mantua, 1882-84, p. 211; and Gabotto, *Bartolomeo Manfredi*.

[3] See Luzio e Renier, 'Buffoni, Nani e Schiavi dei Gonzaga' in *Nuova Antologia*, 1891.

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XV.

The Meeting of the Marquis Lodovico and Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga

Fresco in the Camera degli Sposi in the Castle at Mantua

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FIG. 81.—MARQUIS LODOVICO: FROM THE MEETING WITH CARDINAL FRANCESCO GONZAGA: CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

In this picture we specially miss the second son of Lodovico, Cardinal Francesco. His high ecclesiastical dignity as a prince of the church gave him a right to appear on an equality with the marquis, and apart from his brothers and sisters. The first cardinal of the house of Gonzaga, the brilliant and splendid legate of Bologna and bishop of Mantua, who had reflected so much honour on the family, was bound to have a representation to himself. In the painting on the entrance wall he stands opposite his father as if on an equal footing (Plate 15). On August 24, 1472, 'con trionfo et magnificentia,' as Schivenoglia tells us,[1] Cardinal Francesco made his state entry into Mantua in order to take ceremonial possession as titular of S. Andrea, the finest church in the town, which was just then on the point of being rebuilt. Two days before, his father had ridden out with a great retinue as far as Sichia to meet him, in order that they might make the state entry together, and it is this meeting which is the subject of Mantegna's picture.

Lodovico (fig. 81) has with him his two eldest grandsons, Francesco, afterwards marquis, born in 1466, who even in childhood shows the features characteristic of his manhood, and Sigismondo (born 1469), the future cardinal. The age of the two little princes proves that the picture cannot have been painted before 1472. Cardinal Francesco (fig. 82) stands before his father with the easy self-confidence of a man of the world, and holds by the hand his younger brother Lodovico, already, at the age of nine, appointed bishop of Mantua in 1468, whom we have already met with in the great family

[1] See *Raccolta di Cronisti e Documenti storici Lombardi inediti pubblicati da Giuseppe Müller*, Milan, 1857, ii. p. 170 (D'Arco). According to Equicola, *Cronica di Mantova* (Mantua, 1521), there were in the castle portraits of the Emperor Frederick III. and of Barbara's brother-in-law, King Christian of Denmark, both by Mantegna. These portraits are certainly not to be traced in the family group.

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FIG. 82.—CARDINAL FRANCESCO GONZAGA: FROM THE 'MEETING': CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

picture. The little Sigismondo shyly grasps the hand of his youthful uncle; this probably means that he too was destined for the ecclesiastical career. In this way the three prelates of the house form one group. The man to the right in front is Federico, the next heir (fig. 85), as appears from the correspondence of his features with the medal by Bartolo Talpa (fig. 86) and the portrait in the picture on the chimney-piece wall. The youth just visible between Lodovico and the cardinal is again Gian Francesco (fig. 83).

Cardinal Francesco had arrived from Bologna with a large retinue which included a brilliant group of artists and poets. We have already seen that at the end of July Mantegna and Malagiste the musician had been sent to the baths of Porretta, high up in the Apennines, to keep the cardinal company. We know, too, that Francesco had brought with him from Florence Leon Battista Alberti and Angelo Poliziano, and was besides accompanied to Mantua by Bartolomeo Platina and some members of the family of Pico della Mirandola. It was for the festivities at Mantua on this occasion that Poliziano, as he himself recounts, wrote his famous drama 'Orfeo' in three days, and had it acted before the

FIG. 83.—GIAN FRANCESCO GONZAGA: FROM THE 'MEETING': CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

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FIG. 84.—MEDAL OF CARDINAL FRANCESCO GONZAGA ; BY SPERANDIO

Court and the cardinal, to whom the prologue is addressed.[1] We

[1] See Alessandro d'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, Torino, 1891, ii. p. 341 ; Carducci, *Le Stanze ecc. di A. A. Poliziano*, Florence, 1863, p. ix. ; Isidoro del Lungo, *Nuova Antologia*,

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cannot be far wrong if we assume that the figures behind the cardinal are portraits of his most distinguished attendants. About the one on the extreme right, at the back, there can at any rate be no doubt. The strong and characteristic features of the man tally perfectly with the bronze bust of Mantegna in his chapel in S. Andrea in Mantua (fig. 85 and Plate facing page 1). The other figures are still uncertain. We do not see in this group the face either of Poliziano or of Leon Battista Alberti, so well

FIG. 85.—GROUP OF FEDERICO GONZAGA AND MANTEGNA. FROM THE 'MEETING' IN THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

known from medals. The man behind the cardinal, who bears a certain resemblance to Poliziano, is too old to represent the 'Homeric youth,' who was at that time only nineteen.

The persons behind the Marquis are in any case nobles and servants of his Court. They are all unquestionably portraits from life of particular people down to the serving-men who hold the prince's horse and his

xxviii. (2nd series), 1881, p. 537. Del Lungo assumes that the 'Orfeo' had been acted on the occasion of the visit of Galeazzo Maria of Milan in July 1471. But the prologue, addressed to Cardinal Francesco, seems to prove clearly that the representation was given in his presence and in his honour, as had been always supposed. Cardinal Francesco would hardly have brought Poliziano with him from Florence if he had not wished to be amused and hear his own praises sung.

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huge dogs (not hounds for the chase, as has been supposed), but their names, even if we knew them, would probably be indifferent to us (fig. 87). It is certainly one and the same scene which extends over the whole

FIG. 86.—MEDAL OF FEDERICO GONZAGA: BY BARTOLOMEO TALPA

breadth of the wall, for the landscape background is common to the whole composition, the chain of hills on the left side being continued in the centre picture.

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In the painting of the ceiling (Plate 16) the five female figures, perhaps allegoric, require explanation, unless we are content with the usual, though highly improbable, supposition that they are female-servants (among the Angels!) looking on out of curiosity. In the mischievous children who climb on the balustrade, push their impertinent little heads through the openings and play with one another, the artist has allowed free play to his fancy. The most interesting of all is the cherub resting his arms on the balustrade and looking up; Raphael, as has been often remarked before, made use of the same motive in one of the Angels in the 'Sistine Madonna.'

If Lodovico wished to leave to posterity a record of his exploits as a ruler, of his brilliant family and Court, and of his efforts to attain an artistic and scientific ideal, he could have found in the whole of Italy no more powerful herald of his fame than Mantegna. If he had obtained nothing else from his painter, this one work would have been a rich reward for all the kindness and indulgence which he had shown to Mantegna in his private capacity, and would have fully made up for everything he had spent upon him. No other prince of his time could transmit to future generations in such a brilliant setting the full, accurate and convincing picture of his personality and the chronicle of his eventful life, reproduced not by bombastic descriptions of separate acts, nor on account of some accidental interest attaching to one occurrence or another, but in a true, living and individual form.

To what extent the marquis himself decided on the subjects and their arrangement is unknown to us, but even if he formulated his wishes accurately and definitely, he could only do so in words, and these words had to live again in artistic forms. The idea of a decorative architectonic transformation and development of the space was purely artistic as well as the exclusive property of the master; so also was the idea of a magnificent and monumental historical piece composed of a series of highly realistic portraits brought together into a living group. A portrait is here exalted to the importance of an historical document. In the development of art, modern as well as ancient, the portrait appears late; it is the last anchor, so to speak, which enables a declining art to maintain and steady itself. With the introduction of the individual as the determining element of acts, and as the object of the attention and admiration of the masses—with the heightening of the bold, powerful self-consciousness which the men of the Renascence owed to their endeavour to attain to an independent, unprejudiced view of the universe,

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FIG. 87.—COURTIERS AND SERVANTS OF THE MARQUIS; CONTINUATION OF THE 'MEETING' · CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI

(*Phot. Anderson*)

and to their knowledge of the superior civilisation of antiquity, the portrait gradually detaches itself as an independent subject of artistic representation. From the portrait of the donor, modestly kneeling in the votive picture, in which the particular individuality is rather

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indicated than expressed; from the occasional introduction of actual persons as spectators or assistants into sacred or profane scenes, or as the climax of a decorative series representing in ideal form the famous men of past ages (*e.g.* portraits of Petrarch in the palace of the Carrara in Padua or in the della Scala at Verona), the art of the Renascence finally reaches portraiture as an end in itself, and produces likenesses which by reason of their fine and deep characterisation take their position as independent works of art. In its apparently most insignificant as in its most powerful creations, in coins and in colossal equestrian statues and the forms derived from them, the portrait art of the Renascence is inspired by the antique.[1]

It was to be expected that the artist who united in himself as none other had ever done the faculty of observation and research with the enthusiasm for antique life and art, and who opened new pathways in every direction, would also give a new and powerful impulse to iconic representation. It was, indeed, a new and important form of representation which was introduced by Mantegna into portraiture. So far as we know the family picture of the 'Camera degli Sposi' is the earliest independent portrait group of modern art. Except imitations of equestrian statues in painting, as, for example, the portrait of Guidoriccio de' Fogliani by Simone di Martino in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (1328), of John Hawkwood by Paolo Uccello (1436), and of Niccolo da Tolentino by Andrea del Castagno (1456) in the cathedral at Florence, and leaving out of account portraits in decorative series of famous men, *e.g.* Castagno's frescoes in the Villa Carducci, early Renascence painting can produce no full-length independent portraits, nor even any half-length, but appears to have left them all to sculpture.[2]

Raphael and Leonardo are the first to practise the half-length portrait, Titian and the Veronese portrait-painters are the first to introduce the full-length. This fact shows very plainly that it was a bold stroke of genius on Mantegna's part when he represented a series of persons not taking part as assistants or spectators in any definite incident, but each one independent in form and character, and each having his full and individual presentment in portrait, and when by means of an event, insignificant and unimportant in itself, he combines all these separate

[1] The profile position of most early painted portraits sufficiently proves their dependence on the medallion. (See Burckhardt, 'Das Porträt' in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien* (Basel, 1898), p. 185.)

[2] Representations in the portrait style of contemporary saints, such as San Bernardino, or Gentile Bellini's San Lorenzo Giustiniani, cannot be reckoned among portraits proper.

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figures into a living, moving portrait-group of life-size. It is essential to note that the family picture represents *no definite event*, such as is portrayed in the painting of Lodovico meeting his son or in Melozzo's picture of Sixtus IV. founding the library of the Vatican, which was painted a few years later, and is the only work that can be compared with Mantegna's, but that the figures, though in free motion, are really portraits.

A definite and significant event must necessarily subordinate the persons to the occurrence, must modify the characters to suit the mood of the moment, and must therefore weaken the effect of the figures as likenesses. It is just for this reason that Mantegna in his 'Meeting of Lodovico and the Cardinal,' like Melozzo in his library picture, gave a mere indication of the occurrence and generalised the action as much as possible. It was the unconscious aim of Quattrocento art to avoid detracting from individual personalities and their artistic form by any such undue precision of a special—one might almost say accidental—event, as that which later art looked upon as its most distinguished task. In the family group of the Gonzaga the conversation of the marquis with his secretary is a usual, not a special occurrence, and is only introduced to concentrate the persons more or less according to their significance, and to give the idea of a momentary act which does not too much absorb the attention. Notice how the Marchesa, although her dignified pose keeps up the character of the figure as an independent portrait, is brought into unity with the figure of the Marquis by a slight turn of the head and by the observant glance she directs towards her husband. These two are strongly accentuated, by their position and the lighting, as the principal persons. The group to the right has its own equally unobtrusive action ; but it is closely linked to the principal group by means of the intermediary figures, and by the direction of the movement to and fro. The portrait-group employed as decorative painting, like this work of Mantegna's, though representing an earlier stage of development than the independent full-length easel portrait, is yet assuredly a decided step towards complete freedom in the artistic presentment of man as an individual.[1]

Until we come to Franz Hals, Rembrandt, and Velasquez, we shall

[1] See Burckhardt's 'Studie über das Porträt in der italienischen Malerei' in his *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien* (Basel, 1898, p. 143 *seq.*). It is remarkable how many of the peculiarities of portrait-art belonging to the best Renascence period, to which Burckhardt calls attention, are to be found in Mantegna's pictures, either fully developed or in germ. The group of the marquis and his secretary is so self-contained, and shows such a fine balance of movement and repose, that it could easily be imagined as an independent portrait-group, and classed as a forerunner of Titian's famous painting (in Naples) of Pope Paul III. and his nephew.

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look in vain for portrait-groups as true to life, or as profound in characterisation and in comprehension of the ethical relation of the persons. They, too, like Mantegna, present the group in its natural surroundings, untrammelled by any definite action. It would, of course, be going too far to say that the Mantuan picture was their actual prototype; their development rested on the strength of the national spirit and on their own individuality; but great and simple ideas like these, once expressed, are sure to interpenetrate every tendency in a thousand hidden and subtle ways.

The artistic secret of the powerful effect which these groups of people, who are neither interesting in themselves nor engaged in any interesting action, exercise upon us lies in the fact that the persons, although seemingly so self-absorbed, are yet brought into immediate touch with the spectator, not only by means of the realistic connection between the representation and the space in which he stands, but also through the simplicity of the event and the perfect truth to nature of the figures. The first impression conveyed by the pictures of the 'Camera degli Sposi' is, indeed, one of overpowering reality; the life-size figures in their wonderful plasticity appear to stand solidly before us, the apartment seems to expand; and this impression is maintained even when, after the first moment of unconscious deception, the eye begins to dwell upon the details.

The marvellous effect produced is not, however, solely dependent upon the external animation of the forms and of the composition, but also upon the heightened vitality of the intellectual expression of the various personages—their keener sense of life and higher self-consciousness. In discussing the first Mantuan works we noted the change that took place in Mantegna's poetical conception. We need only compare the figures of the Mantuan frescoes with those of the Eremitani chapel, in order to see that in the former the personages comport themselves with far greater sureness. They are more animated, not only in mere outward movement, but in their intellectual sympathy, in the gesture which accompanies the expression of feeling or of thought. They possess far greater freshness and power of enjoyment than do the dreamy self-contained figures of Mantegna's earlier works. In the Eremitani frescoes also he had pourtrayed proud warriors and vigorous youths, but they seemed oppressed by a certain melancholy, a feeling of care and of anxiety. The fundamental character of quiet seriousness remains unchanged in the later works, but just as the artist had himself become

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another man in his new and more cheerful surroundings, so his creations have gained in freedom, pride, and self-reliance.

Mantegna was obliged to make his pictorial transformation of the given space fit in with the existing architectonic divisions. This shape of ceiling is very frequent in Mantuan buildings of the period, and the style of its decoration is accordingly often imitated, as, for instance, in the castle proper in the so-called 'Scalcheria,' beside the Grotto of Isabella,[1] and in several rooms of the Palace of San Sebastiano. In a masterly manner Mantegna has made use of the space with all its irregularities; by the arches that cut into the flat vaulting, the division of the walls, as well as of the ceiling, was given in the main; only the small plastic brackets, awkwardly connected with the pilasters, produce a jarring effect; they really demanded projecting pillars or half-pillars, but these, again, would have made the architecture of the wall much too heavy.[2] Very admirable is the discretion with which Mantegna has carried out his magnificent idea of the architectonic space decoration. Everywhere he aims solely at producing an impression of reality, without ever attempting actual illusion of the senses. The groups on the entrance-wall do not stand on the same apparent level of the floor as the spectator, but they are raised on the dado which runs along the wall, and which supports the painted pillars; on the second wall, too, the representation is unhesitatingly made to fit the demands of the space, and is carried over the fireplace. The fireplace is cleverly used to simulate a projection between the pillars of a garden terrace, upon which the family are grouped, and the steps which lead up to it from the garden supply a motive for the height of the level at which the principal group is placed, and also add animation to the whole composition. Similarly the artist makes no attempt to conceal the entrance door; he allows it to cut into the representation, and makes a virtue of necessity by using the lintel as a support for the charming group of Angels, who, standing on a jutting rock, or floating in the air, hold the dedicatory tablet (fig. 88). By this ideal apparition of the Angels, the illusion of reality, which is carried through consistently in

[1] The paintings in the so-called 'Ufficio della Scalcheria,' which have been assigned to Mantegna, are later works, and are all by Leonardo Leonbruno, a fact which can be verified by the accounts (*Archivio Gonzaga*, Autografi, April 22, 1523) discovered, and kindly communicated to me by Cav. Davari and Director Luzio. That Mantegna painted in these apartments is stated by Raffaello Toscano (see D'Arco, ii. p. 69).

[2] This is the only particular in which Schmarsow's severe criticism of Mantegna's frescoes (*Melozzo da Forlì*, p. 47) appears to me to be justified to a certain extent. But the capitals, like the fireplace, are undoubtedly of earlier origin, and had to be utilised by Mantegna as best he could.

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the composition as a whole, and within the separate pictures, is naïvely interrupted.

The effect of an actual space between the pillars and beyond the room is brought about principally by the hangings, which are often represented as if drawn aside, so as to cover the front of the pillars, and also by some figures which seem to walk into the room out of the picture, and therefore, like the Marquis, his Secretary, Rodolfo Gonzaga, and

FIG. 88.—ANGELS WITH THE DEDICATION-TABLET: FRESCO ABOVE THE ENTRANCE DOOR OF THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI
(Phot. Anderson)

others, are apparently standing either before the pillars or before the curtains extended between these. Even in the Eremitani frescoes we observed certain attempts to carry out this same idea of making a few of the figures apparently enter the actual room, in order to strengthen by this means the illusion of spatial extension beyond the wall surface; but here the master has completely emancipated himself from the surface and holds sway over unlimited space. In spite of crowded grouping in the narrow foreground, the development in space is convincing and free;

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the figures, though painted in a chamber relatively small, do not force themselves on the spectator, because each figure has sufficient depth of room, even for the portions of them which are not visible to the spectator, since they detach themselves bodily from one another. Rarely before Mantegna was this difficult problem—the plastic art of space, as it might be called—on which the natural effect of painting is largely dependent, so successfully solved.

These difficulties could be mastered only by an artist who had formed a clear and scientific conception of the laws of perspective, and had learned their practical application. In the foreshortened representation of the 'Dead Christ' in the Brera we were able to recognise a preparatory study for the ceiling painting of the Camera,[1] but in the attempts already made in the Eremitani Chapel at rendering objects as viewed from below, we observed how Mantegna effects the transition from a strictly mathematical to a pictorial application of perspective. In this case also he appears to have worked more from feeling than from eye-measurement, according to inflexible laws. Exact measurement would probably reveal many variations from rule; at least in details which actually have been measured the laws of distance and of vanishing points do not seem to have been observed, and yet the effect of the picture, as a whole, makes it quite evident that the representation is constructed on the basis of a perspective view, taken from a common point of sight in the middle of the room, at about the height of a man above the floor. The pillars and the groinings of the lunette-vaultings are all seen from this point, in the pictures of the entrance-wall, which are placed at a lower level (90 cm. above the floor); the ground on which the figures are standing is visible, but the family group over the fireplace (about 2·25 metres above the floor) is seen from below, so that only the front figures, who stand at the edge, are entirely visible.

In the painting on the ceiling, which has attained world-wide fame as the earliest ceiling-decoration which is strictly and consistently carried out as a view from below, the flat roof has become a flattened dome through the perspective alteration in the position of the medallions, and through the slight rounding of the borders which surround the spandrels; the circular balcony of the simulated opening in the dome, and the animated figures that play about it, are all represented in very steep foreshortening, as if they were seen by a person looking upwards from a point under the middle of the vaulting (Plate 16). The girls

[1] See above, p. 230 *sqq.*

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and angels who look down, and the orange-tree tubs which project over the edge of the balcony, are evidently intended to maintain the perspective illusion. In all the parts assumed to be real the principle by which the scenes and the decoration are represented in perspective within and without the chamber, viewed from a common point of sight, is consistently and effectively carried out. In contrast to the objects and figures thought of as actual and alive, the representations executed in stone-colour in the spandrels and ogives of the vaulting are intentionally treated as designs fitted into the architectonic frame, and, like the ornaments, are seen in plastic perspective only to the extent necessary to make them imitate reliefs.

There is no question but that other artists also zealously pursued studies of this kind; therefore we cannot know how far Mantegna is indebted for suggestion and instruction to the earlier attempts of others, to the studies of Piero della Francesca, or to architects and mathematicians; nor is it possible to define Mantegna's relation to Melozzo da Forlì, who began to grapple, a few years later, in Loreto and in Rome, with similar problems of views seen from below. It is quite possible that Melozzo, relying on the thorough instruction he had received from his teacher, Piero della Francesca, and on his own talent, had begun this kind of study independently of Mantegna, but it is also not improbable that Melozzo, as some have assumed,[1] had, through his countryman Ansuino (who, we must remember, worked with Mantegna in the Eremitani Chapel), attained an exact knowledge of Andrea's experiments in perspective, which must certainly, even at that time, have been famous in artistic circles.[2] In Melozzo's decoration of the dome of the Cappella del Tesoro in the Cathedral of Loreto (of 1478?) the perspective principle and the artistic idea are the same, but they are carried out in a manner entirely different from Mantegna's.[3] In the 'Camera degli Sposi' the flat roof is transformed into a dome by the pictorial art, the space opens out and extends upwards and to the sides, the figures appear to move freely and in correspondence with actuality within and without the apartment. The chapel in Loreto possesses an actual dome-like vault, about three metres high, and the harsh, stiff figures of the Angels, repre-

[1] Julius Meyer, *Correggio*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 75.

[2] Vasari says of Mantegna (in the first edition of 1550): 'Et fece molte opere nella sua giovanezza che li diedon nome e lo fecion conosciere e da chi vide lopere sue fu molto avuto in pregio' . . . 'fu tanto nominato per Italia, ch' altro non si udiva che 'l grido del Mantegna nella pittura.'

[3] In the Chapel of S. Biagio in SS. Nazaro e Celso at Verona, Falconetto in the year 1493 fairly exactly copied this composition of Melozzo.

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XVI.

Ceiling Decoration

Fresco in the Camera degli Sposi in the Castle at Mantua

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sented with a realism which makes them seem to jump and fall rather than float in the air, are moving *within* the space enclosed by the dome, in front of window-like openings above the heads of the prophets, who are seated on the cornice at the spring of the vault. The Angels, like the garland of cherubim, are symmetrically arranged decorative figures fitted into the architecture, rather than real forms. Nevertheless, the one finished wall-painting shows that Melozzo, too, intended that the scenes represented should appear to be really taking place outside the room and between the arcades into which the walls resolve themselves. In the 'Ascension of Christ,' now so unfortunately destroyed, of the Tribune of the SS. Apostoli in Rome (completed 1481?) he solved the problem on freer and grander lines. In the simulated connection between the space within the dome of the apse and the sky towards which Christ appears to soar, he has treated the perspective view from below in a new and artistically effective manner. Probably it was part of Melozzo's plan to resolve the walls and roof of the chamber into a freely invented architectonic framework which should connect the real with the ideal external space, in which the events are represented as actually taking place; but so far as we know he never succeeded in embodying this idea in a *whole* decoration freely executed to produce the illusion of reality. In the bold treatment of views seen from below, in the elasticity, vigour and grace of his beautiful youthful forms, he has frequently surpassed Mantegna, but the architectonic stiffness of the figures on the ceiling of the chapel in Loreto proves clearly enough that he cannot possibly have preceded, but must have followed him.

Not only tradition, but the personal, gradual and consequent development of the perspective idea from the frescoes in the Eremitani onwards, places it beyond doubt that Mantegna was the first to give it an independent, consistent, and brilliant form in the decoration of an enclosed space. His merit in this respect can in no way be diminished. Mantegna decorated many other rooms,[1] and in some of them he may have carried illusionism further; but our Mantuan 'Camera' which is the only one preserved—a work of art which was famous and highly appreciated, not only in Mantua by princes, but among artists in general—is of itself sufficient to demonstrate his great influence on later generations and especially on Correggio. There must have been varied attempts and brilliant achievements in plenty both in room and theatre

[1] See, for example, letter of Lodovico Gonzaga to Giovanni della Rovere of February 25, 1484. D'Arco, ii. p. 194, No. 221.

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decoration, but among extant works, there is none previous to Correggio that could be placed, as an entirely independent creation, side by side with the 'Camera degli Sposi.'[1] Even if the close relation of Correggio to Mantegna were not already established by facts and by numerous instances of borrowing, the troops of figures taking Heaven by storm in his dome-paintings in Parma necessarily lead us back to Mantegna as prototype.[2] It can be no mere accident that while the great painters in Rome, Raphael and Michelangelo, consciously refrain from illusionistic effect, Giulio Romano precisely in his Mantuan paintings executed in the Palazzo del Te aims likewise at a realistic decoration of space.

The great progress in the rendering of form accomplished in the Mantuan frescoes must strike anyone who compares them with those in the Church of the Eremitani. The drawing is considerably more sure and precise; the forms of the body are infinitely finer and richer in detail; the muscular movement more living and natural, the modelling rounder and softer, the surfaces less distinctly marked off from each other than even in the latest of the Paduan pictures. In spite of the stiff costume of the day, made of thick unyielding brocaded stuff, and distinctly unfavourable to picturesque treatment, the rendering of folds is remarkable for increased breadth and freedom; the rolls of stuff have disappeared, the thinner material is treated in a soft and flowing manner, while the thicker, where it falls freely down, forms long straight lines broken by numerous and well-marked transverse creases.

A certain stiffness and inflexibility cannot be denied in the separate figures, and frequently also in their relations to each other. The single movements do not give the impression of being in progress; rather do the figures appear frozen in the midst of movement, though their actions are extremely life-like and very characteristic of the persons represented. What Mantegna gives in his personages is almost more biography than characterisation; he sums up with clearness and precision the traits in

[1] In Ferrara the frescoes of the 'Camera degli Sposi' were imitated, by Ercole Grandi, in the Palazzo Calcagnini-Beltrame, about 1516-17 (see Venturi, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, i. [1888], p. 197), and by Garofalo in the Palazzo del Seminario [1519] (see Gruyer, *L'Art Ferrarais*, Paris, 1897, i. pp. 362, 389). Peruzzi, who was probably much occupied with similar problems, has only left one example of this kind of subject, a room in the Farnesina. It is possible that Sodoma, too, in his famous fresco of the wedding of Alexander with Roxana, may have intended a realistic effect of space. The space in the picture is conceived of in perspective as an uninterrupted continuation of the actual space, only the idea is not carried out in the rest of the room-decoration.

[2] See Meyer, *Correggio*, p. 62; Ricci, *Correggio*, London, 1896, p. 53 *seq*. Cf. on the other hand Schmarsow, *Melozzo da Forli*, p. 302 *seq.*, and especially pp. 310 and 320. On Mantegna as a perspective painter, cf. Serlio, *Regole Generali* (Venice, 1537), fol. 70 a; Giovanni Santi, *Cronaca*, ed. H. Holtzinger, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 187 *seq.*; Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*, Milan, 1590, p. 46.

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which their physical and spiritual conditions and habits of their life, nay, their whole life-history, have found expression. We need hardly descend to separate examples. Who can look at the calm, benevolent appearance of the Marquis, and not read in his face a long life of anxious and successful rule, full of inward and outward struggles, of victories and disappointments, which have taught him not only how to command but how to yield with wisdom to necessity? How clearly is the Secretary beside him characterised as a powerful determined intellect, accustomed to grasp with rapidity his master's commands and to execute them with precision and energy, while reserving his independence of judgment and freedom of speech; and the Cardinal, as an easy pleasure-loving spoiled child of fortune, loaded with honours and riches through no merit of his own and but little concerned with the serious cares of life!

The forms in all their wealth of characteristic detail are observed with the keen attention and reproduced with the truthfulness wherein Mantegna's greatness chiefly resides. Not a wrinkle, not a blemish is slurred over; neither in outer form nor indication of character are these people in the least flattered; every feature and every movement must be true and characteristic. It is easy to understand that in the eyes of the next generation, with its refinement and thirst for beauty, Mantegna's portraits were not 'beautiful' enough. Ideals of beauty had sprung up, forming a kind of canon, into harmony with which artists were almost forced to bring even their portraits. Mantegna preserved his truth and fidelity. As a portrait-painter he seems to have shared the fate of Rembrandt—he failed to please! His portraits were so true and characteristic that his models at the bottom of their hearts were almost afraid of their own likenesses. This supposition is supported not only by the circumstance that no portraits of Mantegna's later period are extant, and only very few are referred to, but also by an indirect and eminently significant opinion emanating from Isabella d' Este, the most influential personality of his circle. She was averse to sitting for her portrait at all, probably because her beauty was less a matter of form than of charm and animation; but she was pleased by the sweet expression that Leonardo da Vinci knew how to give to her face, and she was never tired of urging this capricious artist, who had only made one drawing of her, to finish the portrait. When we read how she thanked Francesco Francia, who had painted a portrait of her—without a sitting!—for having made her more beautiful by art than she was formed by nature,[1] we can understand at once why

[1] 'Nui conoscemo havervine grandissimo obligo per havermi satisfacte et havendomi vui cum

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Mantegna, for whom she otherwise had so much respect and sympathy, was not permitted to paint her likeness. And probably most people of her generation felt as she did.

The people of the family and Court of Gonzaga can certainly not be called beautiful, nor are the figures of the ceiling or the Angels exactly graceful inventions. It is true that some caution in judging is necessary because the paintings are so much altered by injuries and restorations; yet it seems certain that Mantegna was not trying to produce forms of ideal beauty, as in some of his Madonnas and youths, but simply wished to reproduce characters of his actual surroundings. Surely, however, it should never have been said of an artist who conventionalised his portraits so little that he found his prototypes in antique statues rather than in nature.

In the animals, studied from nature with amazing care and fidelity, and again in the gloriously rich landscape that forms the background of the picture entrance wall, Mantegna approves himself a loving observer of nature. The transition from the narrow foreground to the background is screened from view; in the 'Meeting' the ground seems to slope suddenly upwards, on the left side a thick hedge of orange and citron bushes conceals the immediate surroundings, and the splendid sun-lit landscape that spreads over all three compartments appears only as a distant view. Here, again, the fantastic arch in the rock might be taken for an invention of the artist, were it not that very similar formations are to be found in the neighbourhood of Verona (as, for instance, the well-known Ponte di Veia, near Bellori, north of Verona), but as a whole, of course, the landscape rests on free invention. The outlines are more softly curved and better connected, the rock formation is much less hard and angular as well as more natural than, for example, in the 'Crucifixion' of the Louvre or the 'Mount of Olives' of the National Gallery. Aerial perspective is not taken into account, only the farthest distance seems to be indicated by a paler and fainter colouring. Every detail is carried out with marvellous delicacy, and yet the general effect of the landscape is neither petty nor obtrusive; by a discreet use of a warm though faint colouring it is made to recede.

l'arte vostra acta assai piu bella che non mi ha facto natura: Ringratiamovine quanto piu potemo.' (Letter of November 25, 1511. Luzio, *Emporium*, xi. (1900), p. 429.) Isabella was so dissatisfied with the portrait of herself painted by Mantegna in 1493 that she would not send it to the friend for whom it was designed, the Countess d' Acerra, but caused Giovanni Santi to be sent for from Urbino to paint her portrait. Letters of Isabella, January 12, April 2, April 20, 1493, and January 13, 1494. See Luzio, *Emporium*, xi. (Bergamo, 1900), p. 347.

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In enlivening the hills and rocks with castles and towns, with figures from daily life, such as peasants going to town, or masons working in a quarry, as in the small Florentine 'Madonna,' the artist has again followed his own taste, as, likewise, when he embellished the picture with antique buildings of all sorts. Over the door we are struck by a splendid colonnaded three-storied circular building, resting on a huge quadrangular basis. This may be an invention of Mantegna, and if so, it would do all honour to his architectonic fantasy; but there is also a possibility that it is copied from some antique structure now destroyed, like most of the buildings forming the town on the hill in the right-hand compartment. Here ancient Roman ruins are combined with buildings of the period, chiefly of Venetian character, to produce a picturesque view of a city. The Colosseum and the pyramid of Cestius are unmistakable; the tall tower with the discs reminds us of the 'Torre di Nerone' in Rome, and the city wall resembles the Aurelian. Of course, Mantegna need not have been in Rome to know these buildings, and, indeed, he would certainly have drawn them more accurately if he had seen them himself; evidently he was not at all concerned with archaeological exactitude: on the contrary he aimed rather at that poetic effect which is produced by the splendour of ancient ruins amid modern buildings, and which, to this day, lends to the old Italian cities their incomparable charm.

In technical execution also the Mantuan frescoes differ completely from those of the Eremitani chapel. In the latter, we evidently have genuine fresco technique (painting on a ground of damp lime), but in the Camera the colour appears to lie on the wall in a thick lustrous coating, like a skin, and unfortunately peels off precisely like a skin. Probably the paintings are executed in the technique of *tempera* on the prepared dry wall, or else the fresco is thoroughly painted over in *tempera*. The pigment is pasty, and is put on in a finely graduated manner with careful regular strokes. The transitions from light to shade are soft and melting, the lights being laid on the darker layer by means of a fine brush. In the latest of the Eremitani frescoes, as we have seen, it is possible to recognise the intention to produce a similar effect; but, in this case, the impression given is just like that in Mantegna's easel pictures. Anyone who examines the frescoes closely will be astonished to find a refined miniature style of execution which is not perceived when looking at the picture as a whole; hence this fine careful brushwork in no way detracts from the largeness of the general

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effect. The judicious balancing of the colours, one against the other, and the subdued value of each, bring it about that no detail assumes disproportionate prominence.

In the ornamental pictures of the ceiling the execution is noticeably feebler and stiffer in forms and drapery; the Angels, and especially the heads of emperors, are more empty in expression. We shall, therefore, not be far wrong in assuming here a collaboration of pupils, perhaps of Mantegna's sons Lodovico and Francesco, who at that time must have been of an age to help their father in his work, while the other frescoes on the walls, or at least the figures of the frescoes, seem undoubtedly to be from the master's own hand. The ornaments, though probably painted by pupils, were unquestionably executed after drawings by Mantegna, who here unfolds a surprising wealth of elegant motives. Every pilaster, the sprig of every spandrel, has its own pattern; every corner, every fillet, is filled with acanthus foliage, with tendrils, garlands of fruit or fluttering ribbons, which develop freely and naturally from the angles, and which can everywhere be accounted for organically, as well as tectonically. In his system of ornament Mantegna is as inventive as intellectual and graceful, and withal as quiet and reserved as he probably was in personal conversation. The forms are throughout founded on the architectonic and vegetable decorative elements of the antique, but they are elaborated in an original way, with a considerable admixture of naturalistic plant forms. Mantegna's style of ornament gave rise to a school, and may be traced far and wide in works of art, more particularly in engravings on copper and wood; but, above all, in Venetian book illustrations of the period.

The intonation of colour is luminous and cheerful, incomparably deeper, warmer and more harmonious than in the Eremitani frescoes. From the dim, earthy, harsh colouring of his early works, the artist has passed, during the development which we have been tracing in the separate pictures, to a powerful red-brown scale of colour, and this, in the later paintings only, is transformed into a general hue of golden yellow. The flesh-tint is still somewhat greyish-brown, with yellowish-white lights and reddish glow. In the draperies light colours predominate, white, light blue, light yellow, violet, light red and green, with which are contrasted strong warm tones like those of the reddish brown golden brocades. The colours as a rule possess little light and intensity of their own, they are broken and lack clearness; light and shadow on the same stuff are mostly produced by the juxtaposition of two different and

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complementary colours. This peculiar system of 'shot' or alternating colours, prevalent in the later works, especially in tempera pictures on canvas, appears distinctly here for the first time.

As we have observed in his earlier works, so here also, Mantegna makes the illumination within the picture entirely dependent on the actual light which the apartment receives through the window. The picture of the 'Meeting' at the left of the entrance door receives the strongest light, and therefore shows the lightest intonation; the picture on the fireplace side between the two windows is more feebly illumined, because the light from both windows strikes on thick walls, and that which comes through the north window rather blinds than assists vision; hence the colouring of this picture is kept in a darker scale. Towards the corner, where the light becomes weaker, the figures are less closely grouped.

Nevertheless, Mantegna was compelled to adopt a completely novel and individual artistic principle of illumination when he represents the central space of the ceiling as an opening in the roof. In this case, naturally, the actual sources of light were not sufficient; the artist had to take into account the fictitious opening into the outer air, and therefore *was obliged to invent a source of light in the painting itself.* The balustrade, which surrounds the opening, and the figures are actually lighted, not only from the windows—*i.e.* from below—but also by the light which appears to stream in through the brightly lit-up clouds. The clouds and the tub cast their shadows on the balustrade, and the fine thin rays of light fall on the female figures and the nude *putti* from above. In the Predelle of the altarpiece of San Zeno Mantegna has attempted a supernatural illumination, which appears to proceed from the figures in the picture; in the ceiling he has employed the same idea in an entirely original form to heighten the natural impression of an airy architectonic design into which the solid walls seem to melt. It is evident that he did not contemplate an actual effect of light which by the intensity of its own bright colours should drown the real light and produce an unearthly effect; he merely, according to artistic logic, observed the natural results of his composition in a given space, and discreetly adapted them to the artistic effect of the whole.

Mantegna not only called into being, for the first time, before the eyes of his astonished contemporaries, an illusionist decoration of space carried out with material and artistic continuity, but by this simple and apparently self-conditioned motive of illumination he started a movement

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which has had the most far-reaching importance for painting. The young Correggio, to whom, significantly enough, the roof painting of the Camera has been ascribed by later authors,[1] may at the sight of Mantegna's painting have conceived the idea for his magnificent dome-paintings, in which he seems to scorn the fetters of space and to fill boundless distances with floods of unearthly light. What a dazzling insight into all the miracles by which the art of later times strove to express in its stupendous dome-paintings heavenly ecstasy, unearthly pleasure, and the infinity of the Divine, has been opened to us by the happy idea expressed here for the first time in so modest a form by the great artist!

[1] Cadioli, *Guida di Mantova*, 1763, p. 34

FIG. 89.—BUST OF TIBERIUS: FROM THE CEILING OF THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI
(*Phot. Anderson*)

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FIG. 90.—MEDAL OF MARQUIS FRANCESCO OF MANTUA: BY MELIOLI

CHAPTER VIII

THE 'TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR,' THE FRESCOES IN THE BELVEDERE OF THE VATICAN, AND OTHER WORKS OF THE TIME

THE Marquis Lodovico, to whom Mantegna had dedicated his artistic activity for twenty years, died on June 12, 1478. His death cannot have made any great change in Mantegna's circumstances. When Federico succeeded his father as ruler of Mantua, he was already thirty-eight, and matured by changing fortune and service in the field. Like his father before him, he had been educated in the spirit of humanism by Ognibene da Lonigo,[1] and he seems to have extended a similar appreciation to the talent of the artist, whose work he had so long watched, and with whose cultivated personality he had become familiar. His relations to Mantegna seem to have been no whit less cordial than were those of his father and of his brother the Cardinal. On October 25, 1478, he wrote in the kindest terms to the artist, who had been prevented by a violent fever from fulfilling the commands of the marquis, and had therefore been obliged to excuse himself. 'Try to get rid of the fever as quickly as you

[1] See letter from Matteo Bossi to the Marquis Federico in *Recuperationes Faesulanae*, Bononie, 1483, fol. 6.a., and Luzio e Renier, 'Il Filelfo e l'umanesimo alla corte dei Gonzaga,' in the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, xvi. (1890).

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can, but have no care or anxiety on that account.'[1] Similarly, the letter of introduction[2] to the physician Gerardo da Verona, which he gave to Mantegna, that he might consult the doctor about his sick child, testifies to the greatest esteem and good-will; and not less kindly is the manner in which he excuses Mantegna's refusal to copy some drawings for the Duchess of Milan.[3]

It is true that Mantegna's letters to the marquis are not free from the usual complaints about arrears of salary or the injury done to his vines by the marquis's cattle owing to the carelessness of the herdsmen, &c. In the year 1481 he obtained from Federico two decrees, which contained at least a formal confirmation of the assignment of land already made, and a promise to pay the purchase money out of the princely exchequer.[4] And Mantegna's artistic activity appears to be as many-sided and enterprising as it was under Lodovico. In 1481 he was sent to Marmirolo to give Giovanni da Padua, who was employed there, the necessary directions for his work;[5] in 1483 he supplies drawings for goblets and pitchers,[6] and in 1484 he was so fully occupied in decorating a room in one of the marquis's castles, that Lodovico Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua, was obliged peremptorily to refuse the request of Giovanni della Rovere, Prefect of Rome, when he asked for a picture from the hand of Mantegna.[7]

Federico's reign was of short duration. He died six years after his accession, at the early age of forty-four, in the year 1484. According to the chronicles, he died of grief because, having entered into a league against Venice, with Pope Sixtus IV., Lodovico Sforza of Milan, Florence, and King Ferdinand of Naples, the conclusion of an arbitrary peace with that city baulked him of Verona, Asola, and Lonato, which were his share of the booty.

Federico was succeeded by his eighteen-year-old son Gian Francesco (usually called merely Francesco, born August 10, 1466), whose bold and prudent government was to raise Mantua to the position of a brilliant Italian centre of politics and art. To Mantegna, however, the young prince seems still to have been an unknown quantity, and he now felt for the first time what, in spite of the many unfulfilled hopes founded on their favour, he had lost by the death of those two generous patrons of art, the Marchesa Barbara (d. 1481), who had always been his good friend, and

[1] App. Nos. 32, 33, 34. [2] Of March 11, 1480, *Giornale di Erudizione Artist.* i. (1872), p. 198.
[3] See above, p. 205, App. Nos. 35, 36.
[4] D'Arco, ii. p. 15, No. 16, p. 16, No. 17. [5] Baschet, *l. c.*
[6] App. Nos. 37, 38. [7] D'Arco, ii. p. 194, No. 221.

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Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga (d. 1483), his most enthusiastic supporter. In any case, he thought it necessary to strengthen his position otherwise, and in a letter of August 26, 1484,[1] he addressed himself to Lorenzo de' Medici, who had visited his studio the previous year, and whose good-will and liberality to artists must have been well known to him. True it was apparently a momentary embarrassment, which moved him actually to ask Lorenzo de' Medici for help. He mentions in this letter, as the cause of his necessity, the expenses incurred for his house, to which we have already referred. We know nothing further of the success of this application to Lorenzo, who evidently knew Mantegna well and thought highly of him; but in any case, Mantegna's anxiety lest the new marquis should fail to fulfil his predecessors' promises and prove indifferent to him and his artistic plans, soon proved to be completely unfounded.

The young Francesco early gave clear proof of his gifts, prudence, and energy as a ruler, not only in his warlike and political undertakings, but also in his untiring and well-directed efforts in furtherance of science and art. His talents and inclinations were, it is true, essentially military; already, as a young man, he was admired as one of the boldest and most skilled riders, and as one of the bravest combatants in tournament, while his ability as leader of an army was soon to meet with brilliant recognition. He was the born general, who not only knew how to lead and to command, but could surpass his soldiers in strength and personal valour. As a politician he found an able coadjutor in his clever wife, Isabella d' Este, who took a strenuous part in the government, and by the charm of her personality, her knowledge of human nature, her well-timed gifts, and her witty, amiable letters, knew how to support her husband's political aims, powerfully as well as effectively. Francesco himself was an intelligent amateur of art, and even cherished the ambition of shining as a poet,[2] but evidently art was to him only a means of increasing the splendour and renown of his Court.

Poets and authors had long been highly valued and rewarded as instruments for bestowing and perpetuating renown; but it was only at the end of the century that artists began to take rank with men of letters, not only because they rivalled them in culture, and because art, like poetry, was becoming freer and more expressive, but also because, even in foreign countries, interest in art was growing keener and more general, and works of art could accordingly be used as a means

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in North Italy*, i. p. 398, note 2.
[2] Luzio, *I Precettori d' Isabella d' Este*, Ancona, 1887, p. 55 *seq.*

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of spreading the princely fame and also as presents for foreign rulers and statesmen. The prince now begins to regard the artist—as he had the poet long before—in some sense as his equal; we are approaching the time when the Emperor Maximilian shows to Dürer and Charles V. to Titian an affability which sprang from a heartfelt reverence for their astonishing genius. So Mantegna saw his achievements acknowledged and appreciated almost more by the young marquis, who in all his tendencies belonged already to the zenith of the Renascence, than by his predecessors, who desired to possess his works more for their own personal satisfaction.

Francesco frequently, and not unjustly, lays special stress on the share which he as a ruler hopes to enjoy of the fame which is the due of his artist's achievements. 'Although those pictures,' he writes to him to Rome, in February 23, 1489, 'are the product of your hand and your intellect, we do not therefore the less think it to be for our fame to have them in our house, where they will be a monument of your fidelity and industry.'[1] From the letters which passed between the marquis and Mantegna, who was then in Rome, it is quite plain that the relation between the painter and the prince bordered on friendly intimacy. When the painter went to Rome to paint a chapel in the Vatican palace for Innocent VIII., the marquis dubbed him knight, and gave him a most laudatory letter of introduction, in which he calls him 'a most distinguished painter, the like of whom our age has never seen,' hoping by these means to prepare for him the position which the artist was to fill at the Papal Court to his own honour and to that of his patron.[2] Mantegna himself, though always profoundly respectful, adopts an almost confidential tone in his letters to the prince, so much so that at the close of one letter he actually thinks it necessary to apologise thus: 'I hope your Excellency will pardon me if I have allowed myself too great familiarity.' In a playful gossiping style he speaks of the Roman Court, the incidents of Court life, and of Djem, the Sultan's brother, who was then living a prisoner in the Papal palace, and whom he promises to sketch. He was evidently accustomed to entertain the marquis in this way when he met him in his castle or in the country; and he seems to take for granted that Francesco will take that friendly interest in his personal affairs, his wishes and his well-being, of which the former marquises, and indeed the whole Gonzaga family, had given him such repeated proofs.

[1] D'Arco, ii. p. 20, No. 23. [2] *Ibid.* ii. p. 19, 21.

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Under Francesco, also, Mantegna retained the leading position in all artistic undertakings. Although Francesco, and especially Isabella, with her artistic intelligence and cultivated taste, probably expressed their wishes much more consciously and definitely, and although later on the aged and somewhat morose painter may have been occasionally pushed into the background by younger men, by newer and brighter stars, like Bellini, Leonardo, Francia and others, yet it was not till after his death that an official Court painter was appointed in the person of Lorenzo Costa. All important works were either given into his own charge, or they were executed from his designs or by his advice. As a connoisseur especially of antique works, which Isabella was fond of collecting, his judgment remains a criterion.[1] He is even summoned to other places to give an opinion on painting, as, for example, to Ferrara in 1499.[2] The marquis was very anxious that Mantegna should return from Rome, in order to give his services for the marriage festivities. Illness, as the Pope informs the marquis, and as Mantegna himself, in words full of the most heartfelt emotion, announces, prevented him, to his deepest regret, from coming to Mantua, and probably Francesco got the help he required elsewhere. Mantegna must certainly have possessed peculiar aptitude for carrying out in the grand style, significantly as well as splendidly, decorative works of this kind; for he united, in a measure unrivalled in any other artist, inventive genius and refined decorative skill with a thorough knowledge of the mythological cycle of representation, which afforded the subjects most interesting to the public of that period, and with abundance of archæological knowledge. In the frescoes of the 'Camera degli Sposi' he showed that he could transform as if by magic a small and low apartment into the marvellous semblance of a lofty and airy space, splendidly coloured and covered in all its parts with varied and graceful ornament, and that he knew how to adapt the representation of subjects from the circle of ideas affected by the society in which he moved so as to fit them into the decorative framework.

The refined artistic sense of that period exacted for the adornment of living rooms, as of state apartments, the highest achievements of art, and permitted the free expression, independent of rules derived from antiquated art-forms, of the ideas which animated and inspired its spirit. The great inventive artist must undoubtedly have devoted himself with the fullest enthusiasm to these commissions,

[1] *Arch. Stor. d. Arte*, i. (1888), p. 108.

[2] See Cittadella, *Notizie relative a Ferrara*, Ferrara, 1868, iii. p. 69.

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which served essentially decorative ends, while allowing the greatest freedom to his intellect and hand. Although many of Mantegna's works of this kind, painted by himself in the castles and villas of the Gonzaga, or on the occasion of special festivities, or executed

FIG. 91.—TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR: FIRST PART
Palace of Hampton Court. (Phot. Braun)

by his pupils from his own drawings and under his supervision, have been lost, his most important one still exists at the present day, though in a deplorable condition. The 'Triumph of Cæsar' in nine large pictures, now the noblest ornament of the Palace of Hampton Court, was considered to be Mantegna's masterpiece, not only by his contemporaries and by posterity, but also by the master himself. In a letter from Rome of January 31, 1489, he commends the pictures to the care of the marquis, and asks 'that the windows may be mended so that they

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(the pictures) may take no harm, for truly I am not ashamed of having made them, and hope to make more if God and your Excellency please.'[1] The marquis answered on February 23, 'We would remind you that you still have works here to finish for us, and especially the Triumphs,

FIG. 92.—TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR: SECOND PART
Palace of Hampton Court. (Phot. Braun)

which, as you say, are a worthy work, and which we should willingly see completed.' He adds that arrangements have been made for their preservation, because he himself is proud of having them in his house.[2]

All distinguished guests of the princely family must be shown, beside the *Camera depicta* (degli Sposi), the Triumphs; thus in 1486

[1] D'Arco, ii. p. 20, No. 22.   [2] *Ibid.* ii. p. 20, No. 23.

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they were seen by Duke Ercole of Ferrara,[1] and in 1494 by Giovanni de' Medici.[2] In the decree in favour of Mantegna, promulgated in 1492, they are mentioned along with the chapel of the castle and the 'Camera depicta' as his principal achievement for the house of the Gonzaga.[3] Similarly the extreme care with which they were set up and the high

FIG. 93.—TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR: THIRD PART
Palace of Hampton Court. (Phot. Braun)

value placed on them (in 1627 each part is estimated at 150 scudi and the whole at 8,100 lire), speak for the admiration which they aroused. Vasari calls them 'the best thing he has ever done,' and chroniclers (Equicola in 1521) and poets (Raffaello Toscano) have praised them and sung them. No less do numerous early copies and imitations, besides

[1] App. No. 46. [2] App. No. 54. [3] App. No. 52.

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frequent written references, testify to the fame which the work enjoyed at all periods among artists and lovers of art.

The 'Triumph of Cæsar' was very probably begun by Mantegna shortly after the accession of the Marquis Francesco in the year 1484. It has often been assumed that the work for this series, at least the

FIG. 94.—TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR: FOURTH PART
Palace of Hampton Court. (*Phot. Braun*)

preliminary studies, had long occupied the artist, and in fact it is possible that his mind was full of the idea for some time before he began to put it into shape. But the proof of this is not to be found in the copper-plate engravings[1] which reproduce the fifth and sixth sections of the procession, the elephants and the bearers of trophies. It is true that the

[1] Bartsch, *Peintre-graveur*, xiii. p 234, Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14. See figs. 96, 98, 99, 104.

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engravings differ considerably in some particulars from the completed pictures, and undoubtedly reproduce drawings made before the form was decisively fixed, for the movements of the figures that have been altered are much more stirring, animated, and more suited to the

FIG. 95.—TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR: FIFTH PART
Palace of Hampton Court. (*Phot. Braun*)

scene in the pictures than they are in the engravings, and almost all the alterations may be called real improvements. But the point to lay stress on is that none of the engravings, not even the best—namely, the elephants—is by the master himself, as we shall show later, and that consequently the flabbier form, lessened energy in movement, and weaknesses in the execution of details, are due not to the drawing but to the engraver.

We know that Mantegna's drawings were engraved by his own order,

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and often even against his will, by the experts of his circle, and we can still realise what a vogue his compositions enjoyed from the number of existing copies. Again, the points in which the drawings forming the basis of the engravings differ from the pictures are not so conspicuous, especially if we remember their character as sketches, as to make it necessary to assume a long interval of time between the one and the

FIG. 96.—COPPER ENGRAVING, AFTER A DRAWING BY MANTEGNA FOR THE FIFTH PART OF THE TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR

(*Bartsch, No.* 12)

other. The pilaster, too, added in the replica of the engraving with the bearers of trophies,[1] which in itself indicates the decorative connection of the whole series of pictures, proves that these sketches are very nearly connected with the final stage of the work. The numerous drawings of the pictures still in existence are, without exception, copies after the engravings or after the pictures themselves. Only one study is preserved,

[1] Bartsch, 14. See fig. 99.

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and this only exists in a good old copy in the collection of the Duc d'Aumale in Chantilly[1] (see fig. 101). It gives, with trifling variations, the group of captives without the women, and a crowd of musicians and sneering buffoons, who, however, differ materially from those in the picture. It is evidently an earlier and less effective conception of the subject, and it was not till later that the artist inserted the charming group of the mother and children, the warriors, and the jesters. By comparison with the drawing, the picture shows an essential advance in the richness of its contrasts, and its greater diversity and animation. The great weaknesses in the rendering of form make it evident that this drawing is a copy by a pupil after the master's original sketch, intended, perhaps, for execution in copper-plate. Therefore it also affords us no data for the beginning of the work.

In the year 1484, as appears from Bishop Lodovico's letter of February 23 to Giovanni della Rovere, already referred to,[2] Mantegna was so exclusively occupied for the whole summer in painting an apartment for the marquis's use, that he was obliged to decline a commission even from a person so important as Della Rovere. In any case, Mantegna must have set to work on the 'Triumph' soon after the death of Federico, on July 14, 1484, for by August 26, 1486, the work, or at least parts of it, were ready to be shown to Duke Ercole of Ferrara.[3] At that time the pictures were in the 'Corte vecchia.' Mantegna's journey to Rome and his residence there from June 1488 to September 1490 interrupted the work, as is proved by the correspondence between the prince and the artist, but certainly it was taken up again immediately after his return. In 1491 we hear that Francesco (Mantegna or Bonsignori?) and Tondo were painting 'Triumphs' in the Castle of Marmirolo, and, moreover, were painting them 'on canvas, as Master Andrea did.'[4] In the year 1492 the work was not yet finished, or at least it was not regarded as finished, for in the well-known decree of February 2[5] we read that Mantegna receives the gift of land 'for the admirable works which he *formerly painted* [quondam pinxerit] in the chapel and the chamber of the castle, and which, in the "Triumph of Cæsar," he is *now painting* [modo . . . pingit] for us in pictures which almost live and breathe.' As once in antiquity Hiero gained lustre from Archimedes, Alexander from Apelles and Lysippus, Augustus from Vitruvius, so now has the house of Gonzaga attained undying renown by the works of Mantegna, and wishes

[1] *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1895, p. 327. [2] See above, pp. 213, 242.
[3] App. No. 46. [4] App. No. 50. [5] App. No. 52.

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on that account to reward the artist with princely generosity. And in truth a country estate of 200 biolche (about 63 hectares) is a liberal gift.

In the year 1494, on March 2, Isabella d' Este exhibited to Giovanni de' Medici, who had come to stand godfather to the new-born princess, the Camera and the 'Triumphs,' which latter were, therefore, still in the Castello di Corte. In the succeeding years Mantegna was busy with other great works; in 1495 he painted the 'Madonna della Vittoria;' in 1496 the altarpiece for Santa Maria in Organo at Verona, also the pictures for Isabella's cabinet, the 'Triumphs of Petrarch,' now lost, and other works, so that we may safely assume that the 'Triumph of Cæsar' was then complete, at least as far as it was carried out by Mantegna, for we shall see directly that he left the circle of representation incomplete. True, Cantelmo, in his report dated February 1501, on the decoration of a theatre hall, which we shall shortly have to discuss, mentions only six paintings by Mantegna; but since he mentions them as forming the decoration of the eight intercolumnar spaces on one long side of the hall, the number six may easily be a mistake, and, besides, only some of the pictures may have been used for this purpose. Mario Equicola maintains in his chronicle (printed 1521) that Francesco caused the palace at the Porta Pusterla, near S. Sebastiano, to be built solely for the purpose of providing a suitable place to keep Mantegna's 'Triumphs.' In reality, Francesco's purpose in building the palace in an outlying part of the town was entirely different and of an erotic nature, and it was not till the year 1506 that the pictures were definitely removed from the castle, where they had served as occasional decorations, to the palace near S. Sebastiano. On April 17, 1506, Girolamo Corradi reports to the marquis on the carved pillars or pilasters for the paintings (telari) of Mantegna,[1] and on September 24 (shortly after Mantegna's death) Isabella writes to her husband that the pictures have been set up in their new place and that the effect is excellent.[2] Even Raffaello Toscano (end of sixteenth century) sings of the 'Triumph' as an ornament of the palace of S. Sebastiano.

Not till shortly before the year 1627 were the pictures brought back again to the ducal palace—that is, to the old Corte—where Duke Vincenzo had had a room prepared expressly for them; in the Inventory

[1] D'Arco, ii. p. 69, No. 77. These must certainly be the pilasters which Andrea Andreani reproduced in his chiaroscuro woodcuts after the 'Triumph,' and which are therefore not to be assigned to Mantegna himself, while his own sketches are only preserved in the copper-plates (Bartsch, 14, and Zoan Andrea, Bartsch, Nos. 47-49).

[2] D'Arco, ii. p. 68, No. 84.

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of January 12, 1627, they are mentioned as being in the Galleria della Mostra, and their value is stated.[1] It has usually been taken for granted that these, like so many other works of art in the Mantuan collection, were stolen by the Germans when the city was plundered in 1630. But in reality the last Duke Vincenzo had already sold for a good sum of money

FIG. 97.—TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR: SIXTH PART
Palace of Hampton Court. (Phot. Braun)

most of the articles of value, and among them the 'Triumphs' of Mantegna.[2] In the year 1627 Daniel Nys had bought from the duke for 68,000

[1] D'Arco, ii. p. 158.

[2] W. Noel Sainsbury, *Original unpublished Papers illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, with an Appendix of Documents respecting . . . the great Mantuan Collection*, London, 1859. App. H, p. 327; Letter from Daniel Nys to Lord Dorchester, January 23 (February 2), 1628/29, written in Venice.

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Mantuan scudi works of art intended to enrich the collections of King Charles I. of England. He could not acquire Mantegna's pictures at that time, but when 'the best instructed persons declared that he had left the best behind, and that if he had not the "Triumph of Cæsar" he had nothing,' he began fresh negotiations. The duke at first demanded

FIG. 98.—COPPER ENGRAVING AFTER A DRAWING BY MANTEGNA FOR THE SIXTH PART OF THE TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR

(*Bartsch, No.* 13)

20,000 Spanish doubloons, 'a clear sign that he did not wish to part with them.' At last, however, he came to terms with Nys, and delivered over to him for a sum of 10,500*l.* sterling the nine pictures by Mantegna and a number of statues.

Nys had made the purchase at his own risk for King Charles I. of England, had paid the money, and drawn bills on the king's banker,

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Burlamachi. But the king was not quite pleased with the bargain and hesitated to give his banker instructions to pay the money. Nys was thrown into great embarrassment thereby, and it was not till he had proffered repeated and urgent requests and praised the worth of the pictures that he at last received, on May 15, 1629, the Lord Treasurer's promise to pay and a command to send the objects purchased from Venice to England by ship.[1] The pictures were brought at once to the

FIG. 99.—COPPER ENGRAVING AFTER A DRAWING BY MANTEGNA FOR THE SIXTH PART OF THE TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR

(*Bartsch, No. 14*)

Palace at Hampton Court, and therefore are not mentioned in the catalogue of the king's art collections; they were not, as has often been asserted, sold for 1,000*l.* by Cromwell's revolutionary government, but only valued at this sum in September 1651. They, like Raphael's cartoons, were kept back by Cromwell for the decoration of Hampton Court; in 1653 they were copied by Gilbert Pickering; under William III. they were painted over by Laguerre in the most shocking

[1] See Noel Sainsbury, *loc. cit.* p. 327 *seq.*, and Armand Baschet, *Pièces et Documents . . . pour servir à l'Histoire de la Vente et Dispersion de la célèbre Galerie de la Maison Gonzaga*; in *Raccolta Veneta*, 'Coll. di Documenti relativi alla Storia,' &c., edit. by Niccolo Barozzi, Venice, 1866.

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style, and in their ruined grandeur they are still to be seen in the palace.[1]

The history of the paintings, so far as we know it, does not enlighten us much as to the purpose for which the artist and his patron intended the Triumph. The fact that the paintings were temporarily used to decorate a theatre does not justify the conclusion that they were originally intended as movable scenery, especially as they were subsequently assigned to a fixed place in the palace of San Sebastiano. The only certainties are that they were planned as a decoration for a long wall, and that the separate pictures were to be fastened to the wall between pillars or pilasters, behind which the procession appeared to move, for some figures (the elephants, for instance) continue from one picture to another in such a manner that between any two consecutive pictures there is always an interval of about the width of a pilaster. In any case, therefore, they cannot have been intended for the decoration of the theatre itself—that is to say, of the stage—but were more probably meant for the side wings or backgrounds; for, even on the occasion of the performances in February 1501, described by Sigismondo Cantelmo in his letter to Duke Ercole di Ferrara,[1] they were fastened between the pillars of a wall opposite the stage. Unfortunately Cantelmo's description is so confused that it is almost impossible to gain a clear conception of the theatre in which the comedies of Plautus and Terence were acted. Yet for the history of Italian drama Cantelmo's letter is one of the most important documents, and it is also important for our subject, because of Mantegna's share in the decoration of the hall.

It was a long rectangle adorned with columns all round, the long sides measuring about eight and the short sides six intercolumniations of about 4 ells (of ½ metre each). Probably the hall was divided diagonally, one half being arranged for the spectators, the other occupied by the stage. On the one side were placed between the pillars six paintings of the 'Triumph of Cæsar,' by Mantegna. In the four corners stood pillars with wind gods, carrying the sky with the heavenly bodies, the position of which corresponded apparently to the constellation of the day, and the wheel of fortune. Between the pillars a grotto was constructed, which perhaps enclosed the stage. On the front of the stage were placed the 'Triumphs of Petrarch,' also by the hand of

[1] The letter has been frequently printed (in Campori, *Lettere artistiche inedite*, Modena, 1866, p. 5; D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, Torino, 1891, Appendix).

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Mantegna. We have no other information about this work of Mantegna, but the possibility is not excluded that these were inferior pictures carried out by pupils from the master's drawings and used to decorate the podium of the raised stage.[1] The stage, and most likely also the walls all round, were decorated with numerous coats of arms and

FIG. 100.—TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR: SEVENTH PART
Palace of Hampton Court. (Phot. Braun)

emblems, with silvered statues, some whole, some mutilated (probably, therefore, imitations of antique statues).

[1] See Baschet, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1866, xx. p. 485; Muntz, *Renaissance en Italie et en France*, p. 150; and Josef Wastler in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1880, xv. pp. 61-72. The pictures described here in the Castle of Coloredo near Udine are said to be sketches by the hand of Francesco Mantegna (from the ivory reliefs of the Cathedral of Graz, which were made in Mantua in 1460), for the pictures which were to be used as scene paintings, but the hypothesis is hardly probable. To judge by the reproductions in *Italia artistica ed industriale*, i. (1893-94),

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It is true that Cantelmo says nothing about it, and yet there is a possibility that the whole decoration, which was meant to 'represent to the spirit an immortal, ancient building,' was designed by Mantegna. Undoubtedly the 'Triumphs' as decorative pieces stood in inner relation to the theatrical performances, especially of ancient comedies, which at

FIG. 101.—COPY OF A DRAWING BY MANTEGNA FOR THE TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR
Chantilly, Collection of the Duc d'Aumale

that time enjoyed great favour in Mantua, as in Rome and Ferrara. We have already referred to the performance in Mantua of Poliziano's 'Orfeo' in the year 1472. Francesco Gonzaga's interest in such representations may have been specially stimulated by the intimate relations

p. 105), they are rather weak works by a pupil of Jacopo Bellini. See also Molinier in *Gazette archéologique*, viii. (1883), p. 226, and Plate 35.

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between himself and his father-in-law Ercole di Ferrara, who is well known to have been an enthusiastic theatre-lover. At any rate, we again hear pretty frequently in this period of theatrical performances at the Court of Mantua.[1]

Splendid allegorical and historical processions, dances, and recita-

FIG. 102.—TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR: EIGHTH PART
Palace of Hampton Court. (Phot. Braun)

tions of poems for special occasions by actors who appeared as ancient divinities or historical personages, formed, as *intermezzi*, the standing and favourite accompaniment of the representation proper, so that

[1] In 1486 and 1489, 'Festa di Lauro,' by Gian Pietro della Viola; in 1491 again, the 'Orfeo' of Poliziano; in 1495, 'Rappresentazione allegorica della Voluttà, della Virtù e della Fama,' by Serafino Aquilano, were acted (see Torraca, *Il Teatro italiano dei sec. xiii, xiv, e xv*, Firenze, 1895, p. 327); and in 1496, Plautine comedies, &c. Cf. also D' Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, ii. p. 341.

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the play was almost smothered by them.[1] On the other hand, the real processions at festivities, state entrances of princes, &c., easily assumed the character of dramatic representations because of the recitations, dialogues, and allegoric scenes declaimed or acted in the course of the performance by the persons of the procession in the characters which

FIG. 103.—TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR: NINTH PART
Palace of Hampton Court. (*Phot. Braun*)

they were personating. Thus the two varieties of performance become so assimilated that in fact a triumphal procession like Mantegna's, being in a certain sense part of a theatrical show, might form the most appropriate decoration for a hall devoted to dramatic entertainments.

This relation between semi-allegorical, semi-historical costume

[1] Cf. Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, part 4, chap. iv.

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processions and theatrical representations not only explains the intention of the Triumph pictures as decoration of a theatre in the castle at Mantua, but also shows us the source from which Mantegna drew the artistic inspiration for his work. He owes it not so much to the study of the remains of antique triumphal sculptures or of literary tradition as to living observation of actuality. We possess a whole series of descriptions of such triumphal processions imitated from the antique as actual state entrances of a victorious prince or general, or simply as carnival pageants of an artistic kind. As early as 1326 Castruccio Castracane's entry into Lucca after his victory over the Florentines became of set purpose an imitation of the Triumphs of the Cæsars as they are described by ancient authors.[1] In similar manner Alfonso, in the year 1443, made an entrance into Naples which has been perpetuated in the well-known triumphal arch of the Castello of Naples as well as in various descriptions,[2] and Borso d' Este made an entry into Reggio in 1453. Under Pope Paul II. the Triumph of Augustus over Cleopatra was acted in the carnival, and the Pope himself looked on from a concealed window.[3] In Florence, under Lorenzo the Magnificent, the Triumph of Paulus Æmilius was represented ;[4] in the year 1500 in Rome a Triumph of Julius Cæsar was given before Cæsar Borgia, and there are many other such instances. How the pageant of the antique, by means of allegorical flatteries of the prince, intermingles with the actual procession, so that the hero of the Triumph seems to be merely playing a part as a disguised figure in a pageant, is very clearly shown in the Triumph of Alfonso, where the figure of Cæsar explains to the king the allegories of the procession.

Pageants of this kind must have been much more frequent in that pleasure-loving and showy period than is recorded, and Mantegna himself may perhaps have not only seen them, but marshalled and costumed them himself. When we notice how popular and universal these antique imitations were at that time, we shall take care not to fall into the error of supposing that Mantegna's work is a product of his archæological tastes. To-day the representation may have for us only a formally

[1] Tegrinus, 'Vita Castrutii,' in Muratori, *Rerum ital. Script.* xi. 1339.

[2] C. v. Fabriczy, *Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen* (1899), p. 4 *seq.*

[3] 'Vita Pauli II.,' in Muratori, *Scriptores*, iii. ii. 1018. See also Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance*, i. p. 198 ; ii. p. 134 *seq.*

[4] Reumont, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, ii. p. 433. Vasari, *Vita di Francesco Granacci*, who had to arrange the procession, and also the Triumph of Camillus on the occasion of Leo X.'s entry into Florence in 1515.

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artistic interest, but in Mantegna's time it appealed to the national imagination just as the splendid processions themselves, and in the Italian of that sad period when foreign rule began it must have touched chords of enthusiasm for the mighty past and of deepest grief for the present; in those days the antique was not the domain of the learned, but lived in the imagination of all men, though in a strangely altered form.

In Mantegna's work, however, the antique springs into artistic life through the artist's power in the rendering of form, and by his intimate relation to antique subjects and their artistic expression. It is hardly possible to decide with certainty what prototypes Mantegna used for the arrangement of the procession, and for the representation of separate figures and objects. An attempt to trace them in the storehouse of extant ancient monuments would lead us too far afield, and would probably yield no definite results. Perhaps his sources were derived at second hand from the studies of his archæological friends,[1] and the festal processions composed under their guidance, referred to above. In general the representation tallies with Appian's description of the Triumph of Scipio,[2] which is the most circumstantial account surviving from antiquity. A reference to elephants carrying candelabra in Suetonius' description of the Triumph of Cæsar seems to indicate that Mantegna may have consulted this and other writings. In any case, the artist certainly does not follow any definite tradition, and it is evident that he gives free play to his fancy and to his desire to attain pictorial richness and variety. It is remarkable, for instance, that the representation of the triumphant general is quite independent of the relief on the Arch of Titus, which Mantegna must have known, and that the lictors and crowns are missing. Even in detail the artist seems not to have clung too closely to the prototypes which ancient monuments could afford him. We find halberds, swords, and other weapons of quite non-antique fantastic shape, the standards are reproduced with little exactitude, the short tags on the vexilla of the legionaries become long pennants, the towns on the tablets carried in front of the procession are in the form of mediæval fortresses; the same is the case in the background of the fifth picture; and, in general, archæological consistency would have forbidden the representation of any ruin at all. On the other hand, a whole series of objects, such as the trumpets, much of the armour, the weapons

[1] *E.g.*, Scardeone asserts that Marcanova wrote *de officiis, de triumpho, de re militari* of the Romans.

[2] Appian, *Punic War*, cap. 66.

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and the vessels, appear to be reproduced much more correctly. In the background may be seen depicted certain well-known monuments—the Column of Trajan, for instance, or of Marcus Aurelius, with this emperor's equestrian statue,[1] the Arch of the Sergii in Pola, the pyramid of Cestius and the horse-tamers of the Quirinal. We cannot believe that it would have been difficult for Mantegna to reproduce the antique everywhere with the utmost exactitude had his chief object really been archæological correctness instead of truthfulness of the general impression. The whole treatment, which is crowded, animated, and thoroughly pictorial, is absolutely foreign to the antique.

The illustrations make description superfluous; nor is there any necessity to explain the representations, for all is clear and easily intelligible.[2] The procession is led by trumpeters and standard-bearers; then follow warriors with pictures of the conquered towns, carts with battering rams and the captured images of gods; these are followed by piles of weapons and costly vessels filled with gold; then follow the procession of animals for the solemn sacrifice on the Capitol and the elephants bearing lighted candelabra; then, again, more soldiers laden with vessels and trophies, rows of captives, followed by clowns and musicians, and finally standard-bearers, who march in front of the Triumphator's chariot (figs. 91–94, 97, 100, 102, 103).

We miss, and rightly, the close of the procession, and, in fact, the addition of further pictures must have been intended. In a letter dated as early as April 7, 1494, Teofilo Collenuccio informs the marquis that in the hall, the decoration of which he had to superintend, the parts left empty by the two 'Triumphs' had been filled up with crimson satin.[3] Equicola, too, says in his chronicle, which was printed in 1521, that Lorenzo Costa had been commissioned to complete the procession, which still lacked the retinue of the Triumphator and the spectators. Mantegna himself appears at least to have planned a concluding scene, for in two copper-plates of his school[4] we have his sketch for an additional picture, which presents to our view a series of men in citizen's costume, and behind them the van of the procession of soldiers with laurel branches (fig. 104). This cannot be, as Goethe supposed, a representation of the

[1] A very similar column with equestrian statue may be seen in the city of the 'Mount of Olives,' in the National Gallery. (See Plate 9.)

[2] Waagen, *Treasures*, ii. p. 410. Cf. Goethe's appreciative description and artistic criticism of the pictures.

[3] App. No. 55.

[4] Bartsch, 'Mantegna,' No. 11, and 'Giovanni Antonio da Brescia,' No. 7.

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teaching profession; nor can it indicate, as is commonly assumed, a procession of senators—for they, as bestowing the triumph and introducing the hero, would walk in the van—but it must represent the officials of the army, the scribes, who were followed by the real

FIG. 104.—COPPER ENGRAVING AFTER A DRAWING BY MANTEGNA FOR AN ADDITIONAL PICTURE TO THE TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR

(*Bartsch, No. 11*)

army equipped for war. The inscribed tablets characterise these self-conscious, respectable gentlemen as members of the general's administrative staff.

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According to Baruffaldi,[1] Lorenzo Costa actually added two 'Triumphs'; he did not intend them as a continuation of the 'Triumph of Cæsar,' but, like a clever courtier, dedicated both the pictures to the glorification of the Marquis Francesco.[2] The difference between the worldly Court painter, whose exclusive concern it was to praise his master, and the great artist who works only from enthusiasm for his art, and is quite absorbed by the subject he is trying to represent, cannot be better realised than in a comparison of Costa's and Mantegna's procedure. Mantegna might very well have paid his tribute to courtly custom by giving to the triumphing Cæsar the features of the marquis; even Raphael, when he had to represent a Pope in the paintings of the Stanze, always reproduced the features of the Pope who gave the commission. Mantegna, in his pride and severity, is not open to such temptations; he keeps to his subject, and does not use it as the vehicle of flattery to his master.

The procession as such is imagined as an actual phenomenon taking place beyond the wall, within the ideal space disclosed between the pilasters, behind which it is supposed to be moving. The perspective view is chosen accordingly, the point of sight lying somewhat under the ground-line of the pictures, so that the figures are seen from below, and only those quite in front are shown entire; the principle is the same that we have already observed in the Mantuan frescoes.[3] In all other respects Mantegna's style underwent an essential change between the frescoes of the 'Camera degli Sposi' and the 'Triumph.' As the 'Triumph of Cæsar' is the only dated work by Andrea between the frescoes of the Camera of 1474 and the 'Madonna della Vittoria' of 1495, its partial destruction is all the more to be regretted. The ruin in Hampton Court preserves for us merely the composition and the general forms; the original colour surface is retained only here and there, so that it is quite impossible to form any conception of the decorative effect of the whole. How rich and splendid it once was can be dimly realised from the impression which it made on persons who saw it in good preservation, and also from the wealth of line-movement and of ornamental motives, the careful execution of which can still be observed in various places.

Even in the movement of the procession there is as much alter-

[1] *Vite dei Pittori Ferraresi*, Ferrara, 1844, i. p. 117.

[2] A large picture by Costa, representing the Triumph of Francesco, is still extant in the possession of Count Chiari-Aldringen, near Teplitz in Bohemia.

[3] See Sebastiano Serlio, *Regole Generali*, Venezia, 1537, Marcolini, fol. 69 b and 70 a.

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nation as is consistent with unity of direction; the ranks are seen sometimes in profile, sometimes turning to full face, and sometimes curving inwardly; some of the figures hasten onwards, others while advancing look round to those following; others, again, halt in their march or turn right round to look at the rear of the procession. The outline moves in an equally animated and harmonious manner; now it plays round the standards, which are borne aloft and stand out free against the sky, the towering siege machines and the heaps of trophies; now it sinks to meet the quieter horizontal line over the bearers of vessels; again it rises, in the silhouette of the hill in the background, to the level of the leaping flames of the candelabra borne by the elephants, and thence rises more slowly to the line formed by the aqueduct above the warriors carrying vessels and trophies, till it reaches the buildings, past which the captives are marching through a gloomy, narrow lane; after a rapid fall it swings up again in a bold curve over the moving, wind-tossed forest of standards to the massive triumphal arch, and to the figure of the Triumphator enthroned aloft on his chariot and crowned by victory. The impression of a continuous forward march is everywhere emphasised by the direction of the trumpets, by the inclination of the banners to the front, by the backward stream of flames and smoke, and even by the restraining actions of those, for example, who are leading the sacrificial animals; every decoration stirs, consisting, as it does, of light drapery and fluttering flags. On this account alone it is possible that the artist chose lighter forms for his field banners and flags, contrary to his better archæological knowledge. It is quite evident that he aimed first of all at easy mobility, fulness of ornament and wealth of motives, in order to set the figures in alternating relation to each other, and to produce the greatest possible variety. Indeed, the wealth of episodes and of effective contrasts, as, for instance, between the dragging gait of the sad, grave group of captives and the joyous step of the men with the emblems of victory, or between the group of women and the merry, dancing clowns and musicians, is so astonishingly great that it can only be thoroughly enjoyed after a slow and attentive observation of all the details.

The whole *tempo* of the procession has a swing and life, every act is full of a freedom and natural animation such as are displayed by none of the artist's earlier works. The figures appear to be larger and stronger because their forms have become broader, fuller, and more fleshy, while the faces here take on the round, full type, with luxuriant waving hair

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that is characteristic of later works. To this type the drapery also corresponds. It is treated in long, broad, ample folds, which cling softly to the limbs, and fall in lively profusion. His preference for light, thin stuffs, which easily puff out and form broad cross-folds, leads the artist, even at this stage, to exuberance of stuff-masses and to overcrowding of motive in the folds. He departs as much as possible from the antique and even plastic art, and thus imparts to the figures, as to the whole work, a thoroughly pictorial and non-antique character, although in many cases the separate motives of the folds are directly imitated from ancient prototypes, such as Roman statues.

Although so little of the original colour is preserved or not painted over, yet the few intact places justify us in assuming that the effect of colour attained by the whole was suitable to a picture intended for decoration, bright, gay, and various. Mantegna's late easel-pictures, in *tempera* with a coat of varnish, are characterised by a light, warm, yellowish colouring, the pictures on canvas by bright, strong colours, especially sky-blue and tile-red, and above all by strong 'shot' colours (*changeant*). Here, too, we notice everywhere lights put in in tints strongly differing from the ground-tone of the drapery; for instance, yellow or violet lights on a red ground, greenish on violet, white on blue-green, reddish shadows on orange, grey on violet, and so on.

The 'Triumph of Cæsar' is, leaving ornamental representations out of account, the first great work known to us by Mantegna, which represents an antique subject. This is remarkable enough (if it really be the first) for an artist who was filled as no other with enthusiasm for the antique! Although his art-forms, as we have often pointed out, contain much less of ancient art than has usually been assumed, the influence of the antique on his poetical conceptions was so much the greater. Perhaps one may say that his ideal was found not so much in antique art as rather in the antique, as an historical phenomenon which impressed its character more and more strongly upon his art. This influence makes him transcend the expression of direct observation of Nature in form, and the deep sense of the purely human content of his subjects, which were his sole aims in his early works, and carries him on to the embodiment of an idea, through which he infuses the subject with his own conception, and beyond that to the expression of the superhuman and stupendous, not by deepening the sentiment, but by heightening the expression of life in the figures. The heroic element, which can already

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be observed in earlier works, especially in the 'Camera degli Sposi,' has here reached its culminating effect upon Mantegna's art. In this sense we may regard the 'Triumph of Cæsar' as marking the zenith of his activity, as the artist himself appears to have done. Even though the commission may have come to him from another quarter—and this we do not know—it was certainly in perfect harmony with the inclinations and aims of the artist, who was striving after the same intellectual ideals as his patron. His whole art urged him to a heroic grandiose work on a colossal scale for the glorification of the antique, embodied by none so nobly as by that first of the Roman Cæsars, who, in the eyes of the Renascence, was the most significant figure among those rulers of the world. He here passes beyond the monumental representation of the actual present, as in the frescoes of the 'Camera degli Sposi,' to the symbolic ideal picture of an event in the world's history.

However strongly Mantegna may here, as in all his works, emphasise the reality of the phenomenon by means of his perspective and by the naturalness of his representation of space and of the bodies that move within it, yet for the first time, perhaps, in his development, that artistic method of expression which consists in symbolic indication—in other words, idealisation—makes itself felt alongside of his realistic representation of form.

None of the background is realistic; while the most advanced groups are still moving within the landscape, the crowds which follow them are already passing buildings in the city, but the musicians and standard-bearers before Cæsar are again in the open country, while finally Cæsar himself is driving past a triumphal arch, which can therefore have no real significance in the movement of the procession. The whole background serves merely as decoration, and especially as a means of marking the *crescendo* up to the figure of the Triumphator. Again the entire movement of the procession is unrealistic, the composition of the masses are indicated by separate representatives of each. But above all it is the pathos of the movement through which the ideal significance of the event is symbolised. Violent emotion—amounting almost to vehemence and excitement—is manifest in all the actions, and in the emphatic curves of the bodies, which appear to progress less of their own will than as if driven by a higher power, and which, for all their winged steps, seem scarcely able to keep up with the irresistible forward impetus. The masses of solid figures push together and press past each other, while even those who are impatiently waiting or standing still (as, for instance,

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the warrior raising the trophy), heighten the impression of haste. Each movement is magnified beyond the measure of the materially necessary. This intensity is specially striking, for example, in the fifth picture, where the youth leading the animal to sacrifice steps out much too vigorously for the backward bend of the trunk, and really seems to float rather than to walk.

The new element, which here for the first time becomes strongly marked in Mantegna's art, is the expression of *enthusiasm*—that is, of human emotion enhanced by an intellectual idea. It is this enthusiasm for the irresistible greatness of the Cæsar victorious over the nations, in whose fame each thinks he has his share, that inspirits the figures in the triumphal procession, and drives them onwards to the goal of the exultant multitude, the Forum and the Capitol. This emotion seems personified in the young warrior who walks beside the horses of the triumphal car, holding the tablet with the 'Veni, vidi, vici,' and looking admiringly up to Cæsar; he represents the enthusiastic sympathy which youth feels in presence of the greatness of a mighty genius, through which the victorious general becomes an unlimited ruler.

This element of enthusiasm is completely foreign to the art of the early Renascence; its figures are entirely absorbed in the scene represented and swayed by the outward event, and they are animated solely by the physical actuality of the representation. In Melozzo's Angels of the Tribune of SS. Apostoli in Rome, in Botticelli's paintings, and here in Mantegna's 'Triumph' we first meet with that exuberance in the expression of emotion which is called forth by an idea external to the physical event and introduced into it. The realistic art of the Quattrocento makes its representations directly intelligible by confining them to simple reality and pure humanity, but in the art of the mature Renascence the event and the individual figure are made symbolic of an idea which lies outside them in the imagination of the artist. In Raphael's Stanze this idealistic method of representation is brought to its fullest perfection by a harmonious union of the thought with the significant lines of the composition, with the speaking truth of the figures, with the grace of their forms and with the wealth of individual motives; but the Stanze must be unintelligible as scenes to anyone who is not acquainted with the ideas and conceptions of that period concerning Christian doctrine and the intellectual world of the ancients, both of which its aim was to render tangible.

Mantegna's 'Triumph of Cæsar' stands just on the border-line

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between the older realistic and the newer idealistic methods of representation; it belongs to the class of works that usher in the transition to the mature Renascence. The artist here approaches that tendency of humanism which tried to awaken the antique to a real new life, but which up to that time had been expressed in literature only, even as Mantegna himself had realised it as an intellectual but not yet as an artistic power.

Therefore, if a study of this work reminds us of Latin poems of the Renascence, because in both cases the interest in the antique subject (or the vitalisation of the modern by means of the antique), in the harmony of form, in the rich provision of alternating motives and effective contrasts, and in the rhetoric of expression, outweighs direct feeling, there is no writer with whom we can compare Mantegna so aptly as with Poliziano, who may very well be called the only poet among the humanists of the Renascence. His are the only works—except Boccaccio's poetic imitations of the antique—where the store of learned knowledge becomes living representation, where figures borrowed from the antique move freely in their supernatural realm of dreams as creatures of a peculiar kind, but instinct with human truth and feeling. So, too, in Mantegna's work, as in hardly any other, the antique comes to life before our eyes, not as an intellectual reconstruction, but as a poetic dream-picture of the artist's inspiration expressed in a masterly and natural form.

The work on the 'Triumph of Cæsar,' which, as it appears, occupied Mantegna's thoughts and claimed his activity during a whole ten years—for it is clearly all done by his own hand—was interrupted, as already stated, by his summons to Rome by Pope Innocent VIII., who wished to have his private chapel painted by him.[1] As early as April 1488, we hear of the project in a letter from Mantegna to the Marquis Francesco.[2] The artist was evidently very anxious to obtain leave of absence from the marquis, in order to be able to give proof of his artistic power in Rome. The letter of introduction to Pope Innocent VIII., which the marquis gave to his painter, is dated June 10, 1488,[3] hence Andrea probably set out for the Holy City soon after. It is remarkable enough that the artist's letters home to Francesco[4] make no mention of the monuments of Rome. They contain personal news, allusions to the church benefices which he

[1] Rio (*De l'Art Chrétien*, Paris, 1874) thinks that Innocent made Mantegna's acquaintance when he was studying at Padua.

[2] *Giornale di Erudiz. Artist.* i. (1872) p. 201.

[3] D'Arco, ii. p. 19, No. 21.

[4] D'Arco, ii. p. 20, No. 22; p. 21, No. 24; p. 22, No. 25; p. 23, No. 27.

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asks for on behalf of his son Lodovico, anxious questions about his work at home, complaints of the insufficient pay he receives from the Pope, and anecdotes of life at the Court of Rome, more particularly about the Pope's extraordinary prisoner, Djem, the Sultan's brother.[1] Of course, it is possible that other letters have been lost, in which antiquities were discussed, but we must remember that those times of vigorous feeling and enjoyment were very far removed from our own more talkative and self-conscious age. Although these men did not feel themselves impelled to express their ideas on Nature and Art in enthusiastic words, such as the convention of to-day demands, we must by no means therefore conclude that they did not realise as strongly as or more strongly than we do the impressions which they received. Even a Vasari or a Cellini had a very limited stock of art criticisms at his disposal. Mantegna's studies in the antique world of Roman monuments have survived in his artistic perception and in his works.

At the close of 1489 Mantegna's work was not finished. The marquis then wished him to come back for a time to be present at the festivities on the occasion of his own marriage with Isabella. As we have seen, the artist was prevented by illness from obeying his master's command, and after his recovery he was able to devote himself entirely to the work, which he finished about the beginning of September 1490. The Pope's grateful and appreciative letter of dismissal is dated September 6. Mantegna was therefore employed in Rome from June 1488 till September 1490.

Of the paintings themselves unhappily no trace is left.[2] They were placed in a very small chapel, not more than eleven palms (about 2½ metres) square, and in a still smaller adjoining sacristy forming the private chapel of Innocent VIII. in the Casino or garden-house which he had lately built on the height of the Cortile del Belvedere, immediately beside what is now the court containing the statues of the Belvedere.[3] The apartments extended from Bramante's staircase over the whole extent of the present statue-gallery (Galleria delle Statue). On the erection of the Museo Pio-Clementino under Pius VI. in 1780, the suite of apartments was thrown together into a large gallery and new portions were added. Mantegna's chapel was barbarously sacrificed to this new building, and

[1] See L. Thuasne, *Djem-Sultan*, Paris, 1892.

[2] The portrait of Innocent VIII. in the collection of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, formerly in the castle of Ambras, is supposed to be a copy after the portrait in these frescoes of Mantegna. See *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xvii. 1 (Vienna, 1896), p. 139.

[3] See Muntz, *Les Arts à la cour des Papes*; Letarouilly, *Le Vatican*.

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it was not thought necessary, as far as we know, to preserve the parts removed or even to take tracings of the paintings. On the ceiling of the eastern part of the Galleria delle Statue the arms of Innocent VIII. in terra-cotta are still to be seen, and in the lunettes ornaments and figures of *putti*, of that period, by the hand of Umbrian artists. The place which the chapel occupied can still be accurately made out from the descriptions. It was in the last intercolumniation abutting on the west wall of the Cortile; the metal line with an inscription, now to be seen on the floor of the statue-gallery, marks the end of the buildings erected by Innocent VIII. and the site of the outer wall of the chapel, the windows of which at that time opened to the Campagna.

Besides the short notices in Vasari we have two more accurate descriptions of Mantegna's paintings, by Agostino Taja and Giovanni Pietro Chattard, both of the eighteenth century.[1] The half-length figure of John the Baptist (to whom the whole chapel was dedicated), on the outer arch of the entrance door, was painted by Mantegna. In the little sacristy on the ceiling and walls were rich ornaments—'Chinese,' Chattard calls them—on a gold or blue ground. On the walls shelves supporting sacred vessels—chalices, censers, patens, mitres and the like—were simulated in painting. On the ceiling of the actual chapel a kind of arbour with fifteen *putti* holding garlands of fruit was painted within a small cupola which was itself evidently represented in perspective as seen from below; in the four corner spandrels were the four Evangelists, represented as whole seated figures, and engaged in writing or reading. The four lunettes contained two Virtues each painted at the sides of the circular spaces, which in three of the walls enclosed windows, and in the fourth (the wall opposite the altar) contained a representation in chiaroscuro of 'Abraham's Sacrifice.' Over the altar, to the right of the entrance door and opposite the grated window opening into the other rooms, from which the Pope used to hear Mass, there was a painting of the 'Baptism of Christ,' also mentioned by Vasari, whose words Taja repeats, and above it were festoons with a golden tablet. On the wall opposite the door was to be seen the 'Beheading of John the Baptist' in life-size figures, and above it within a frieze the 'Dance of Herodias' Daughter.' Over the door were represented the 'Madonna and Child'

[1] Agostino Taja, *Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, Roma, 1750 (written in 1712), pp. 401 407; Gio. Pietro Chattard, *Nuova Descrizione del Vaticano*, Roma, 1762-67, vol. ii. p. 139 *seq.* Cf. Muntz, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, ii. (1889), p. 481; see also the reference in a letter of Velasquez (Justi, *Velasquez*, Bonn, 1888, i. p. 290).

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between Saint Peter and Saint Paul, with Saint John, Saint Andrew, Saint Katherine, other holy virgins, and a figure of Innocent VIII. in profile, kneeling, and presented to the Madonna by Saint Peter. Below this were little pictures in *chiaroscuro* at each side, representing the birth of Christ and the adoration of the Magi, and lower down still, in a strip three spans wide, four busts of saints—namely, Stephen, Laurence, Antony Abbot, and Paul the Hermit. In the ogive of the window opposite the altar, towards the apartments, was written within an oval encircled by laurel-branches and held by Angels, the dedicatory inscription of the chapel, dated 1490: 'Andreas Mantinia Comes Palatinus eques auratæ militiæ pinxit;' according to Chattard, an 'Annunciation' was painted at the sides of the window.

Taja and Chattard, like Vasari in his short notice, both admire enthusiastically the truth to Nature shown in the figures, the wealth of ornamentation, and the miniature-like refinement in execution. In the 'Baptism of Christ' Vasari specially praises, as peculiarly well observed from Nature, the figure of a man vigorously trying to tear off his trousers, which stick to his legs through sweat.[1] The Evangelists in the spandrels, who are represented in 'airy space,' strongly recall, as does also the cupola, Mantegna's chapel in S. Andrea in Mantua, which we shall discuss presently, and which must evidently have been the prototype for Correggio's ceiling in the Camera in S. Paolo at Parma. It is noteworthy that the artist, disregarding convention, has represented eight allegorical figures instead of the usual seven, and from this circumstance probably originated the familiar anecdote related by Vasari. Mantegna, as also appears from his letters, was very far from satisfied with the pay he received, and he is said to have given vent to his discontent by adding one to the figures of the Seven Virtues, on purpose to elicit a question from the Pope. In effect the Pope did ask the meaning of the figure, but on its being explained to him as being 'La Discrezione' ('fairness' or 'equity') he cleverly parried the artist's attack on his exchequer by advising him to give her 'Patience' as a neighbour, that so she might find herself in good company. The anecdote is invented quite in the spirit of those Florentine *bons mots* with which authors loved to spice their works; but it seems to me that Mantegna's character as an artist was too serious, and as a man too impetuous and direct, to allow of the

[1] A person unknown, who wrote some notes in a copy of Vasari, states that in 1684 he acquired a drawing for this figure in three positions. See *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, ii. (1875), p. 428.

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supposition that he would put his demands in the form of a malicious allusion rather than express them frankly in words. More important for determining his method of work in general is the declaration in his letter to the marquis, dated June 15, 1489, that he painted everything alone. All the evidence points to the conclusion that in his later period this was his usual practice, and that it is therefore inaccurate to speak of his pupils as collaborating in his own works.

The dry descriptions of these paintings add no new elements to our knowledge of Mantegna's artistic development, though the fact of his being summoned to Rome, and the high tribute paid to his work, enable us to form an idea of the great renown he enjoyed all over Italy at that time. He himself was fully sensible of his artistic responsibility to himself and to his prince, and insisted that in Rome, where the collaboration of the ablest artists from all parts of the country called forth keen rivalry and raised the standard of the demands made on their skill, his place should be solely among the first. 'The work is heavy,' he writes, 'for a man alone, intent on obtaining honours, especially in Rome, where opinion is expressed by so many able men, and, as in the races run by Barbary horses, the first gets the prize, so I too must gain it in the end, if it please God.' [1]

[1] Letter of June 15, 1489; D'Arco, ii. p. 21, No. 24.

FIG. 105.—MEDAL OF POPE INNOCENT VIII: ATTRIBUTED TO FRANCESCO FRANCIA

Berlin Museum

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FIG. 106.—HOLY FAMILY; IN MANTEGNA'S CHAPEL IN S. ANDREA AT MANTUA
(*Phot. Anderson*)

CHAPTER IX

THE LARGE ALTARPIECES AND OTHER RELIGIOUS PICTURES OF MANTEGNA'S LAST PERIOD

THAT new and grand conception which found its most forcible expression in the passionately emotional portrayal of the 'Triumph of Cæsar,' may certainly, in this case, be principally traced back to Mantegna's enlightened observation of the antique. But it was in nowise his relation to the antique only which led him from the intense but circumscribed observation of the isolated facts of Nature to the intellectual height of a criticism of life in general, from which standpoint he illuminated his subject with the clear radiating light of his great and individual idea of the Divine. A mighty revolution in every phase of life had been preparing since the middle of the century, and events of contemporary history in Italy were assuming a character of greater importance. Single powerful States, such as Venice, Milan, Florence, the Papal States and Naples, had begun to extend their power and to enlarge their dominions by annexation of smaller adjoining States. In place of insignificant feuds between individual cities, more particularly between neighbours, the regular recurrence of which was scarcely arrested by the advent, more provocative of scorn than really significant, of a powerless German emperor or the vain endeavours of a Pope to unite the people of Christendom in a campaign

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against the Turks, we have the commencement of the great wars of the State Leagues against single, over-powerful commonwealths such as Venice or Milan. Capable and mighty princes, the Medici, Alfonso of Naples and Francesco Sforza, for instance, rose up and at least made the attempt, subsequently repeated by the Popes with no greater success, to force their rule upon all the Italian States. The descent of Charles VIII. of France into Italy, reminded, for the first time, the Italian States, filled with hatred and envy of one another, of their national interdependence, uniting them for the moment, at any rate, in armed opposition to the foreigner. The political and economic contrasts presented by the various provinces became more clearly and definitely apparent, and the foreign States, by whom the Italians were oppressed or with whom they entered into more active, intellectual, and commercial intercourse, assumed, in their eyes, a sharper reality. Important scientific discoveries; a new method of warfare due to new weapons; daring voyages to distant countries, which began to shape the whole of life anew and to create new political and economic problems; everything, in fact, that was spread abroad by means of mechanical reproduction and greater facility of communication, could not fail immensely to enlarge the intellectual horizon of thoughtful men, and to draw their attention from the individual facts of their immediate surroundings and their own day to a wider circle and to more extensive prospects for the future.

Entirely new conceptions were bound to present themselves to the observant and the sensitive, and to combine with the knowledge of antique civilisation that had been reconquered with such persevering zeal, in forming a singularly inspiriting mental picture. The prescience of a great intrinsic logical connection between individual events of history, as in the observed phenomena of Nature—a connection in no way analogous to that external arbitrary relation built up by the scholasticism of the middle ages—must have dawned upon enlightened minds. It was strong enough to lead a Toscanelli or a Columbus to a speculative consideration of the earth, and to great undertakings; a Macchiavelli to a philosophical and pragmatical review of history; a Pico della Mirandola to a thoroughly independent ethical conception of the world. The wider, freer outlook into the past and the future and into distance must have created in the imagination of the intelligent artist—though himself not directly affected by the march of events—an increase of intellectual wealth by reason of a deeper comprehension of the purely human import of ancient philosophy; and it must have

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awakened in him a spiritual emotion, a feeling of intellectual independence, the justification of modernity and the individual ideal, as opposed to the traditional significance of things, inciting him to an endeavour toward the expression, by means of figures and action of superhuman power, of those great problems of human life which deeply move the soul.

As Columbus yearned for new worlds beyond the distant seas, so did Michelangelo's imagination seek to wrest from the Christian heavens titanic shapes for the expression of his conception of the world. The power of the imagination thus kindled had won absolute mastery over that sense of reality which had directed earlier art, and it had broken through the limitations prescribed for religious subject-matter by the spirit of the Church. Early fifteenth-century art had approached Nature with fiery zeal and deep emotion, but had directed its energy mainly towards the perfection of individual figures and, in general, had little altered the traditional, typical form of the compositions themselves, especially those of religious subjects. The new generation also sought, in devotional paintings, to lay greater stress on realistic treatment and to imbue the ecclesiastical subject-matter with its own individual artistic imagination, fed rather by great impressions from without than by religious conceptions.

Even long before the culminating point of this development is reached in the glorious creations of the great masters of the Renascence, we find the change in course of progress among their gifted predecessors, in masters such as Botticelli, Signorelli, and in our own Mantegna. In this progressive growth of the religious picture, too, Mantegna may be classed among those pioneer artists who stood on the threshold of the most glorious period of the Renascence.[1]

We have seen that in his earlier altarpieces Mantegna strove for the expression of purely human emotions, but that in the matter of composition—especially in the S. Luke altarpiece and the S. Zeno picture—however well he understood how to endue his subject with life and spiritual significance, he held fast to the tradition governing devotional paintings. His calm, self-absorbed figures stood, deeply contemplative, in melancholy aloofness one from the other. Now, however, a strong emotion seems to have roused the saints from their dreamy existence:

[1] See Burckhardt's essay on the 'Altarpiece in Italian Art,' in his *Beiträge zur Italienischen Kunstgeschichte* which rightly ascribes to Mantegna's work the highest importance in the development of the altarpiece.

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they press closely together, and enter into more intimate relation to one another and to the spectator, drawing near the enthroned Madonna with eager spontaneity of movement. In the S. Zeno altarpiece, still the Triptych with predelle, Mantegna had, in the three principal panels, already strongly emphasised the unity of place by means of an architectonic background common to all three; now, however, this unity is preserved throughout in a consistent and artistic manner: in its outward form by limiting the presentation to a clearly defined space in a single panel, and in its spiritual import by concentration of interest and by unity of action and emotion.

Mantegna's 'Madonna della Vittoria' is, if not the very first, at least the first perfectly natural and intellectually convincing solution of this problem.[1] We have here no longer merely a material assemblage of saints where each remains an isolated individual as in the earlier pictures, but a spiritual union due to a community of sentiment between the saints who are imbued with enthusiasm by one common spiritual idea. In the fervour of the suppliant, in the worship of the saints which here finds expression, and above all in the calm dignity of the Divine personages, this religious picture is fraught with the solemn impressiveness of a supernatural vision. If the artist sought, in his earlier works, to bring the conventional form of the old sacred pictures into intimate connection with human emotion, he here passed beyond the merely human to a pourtrayal of form and emotion of a supernatural sublimity; and this, not by an outward symbolism but by giving prominence to the life of the soul.

Above all it is to the embodiment of the idea of God, the Christ-Child, that a completely new and sublime character is given. We no longer have here the artless, fresh, natural human child of the early works, but the God conscious of Himself whose every movement and pose is full of majesty and self-reliance, full of earnestness and inspiration, portrayed in the form of an ideally beautiful boy who personifies to the artist the riddle of human life, wherein struggle and endeavour after high ideals and grievous sorrow both appear inevitable. The Mother becomes the humble and loving Mother who bore Him, the

[1] See Burckhardt, p. 37. Compare Duke Federico of Urbino's well-known votive picture by Piero della Francesca (attributed to Fra Carnevale), in the Brera at Milan, one of the earliest examples of a single composition portraying an assembly of saints. Neither the Madonna nor the sleeping Child, nor any of the saints, are connected in any intimate manner with the duke, kneeling in prayer, and staring with intent gaze straight before him. Northern art, the art of the Netherlands, was in this respect far in advance of Italian art.

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dispenser of His blessing. In contrast to the earlier conception, the relation between Mother and Child is absolutely reversed. It is Christ who is now, in lieu of the Madonna, the actual and the spiritual centre of the composition. Herein lies a distinct deepening of the religious idea which, later, in Michelangelo led to the individualisation of God the Father, the artistic representation of whom had up to that time been shadowy and indefinite. The conception of the Christian Deity in heroic form is without doubt an essential outcome of the antique.

This spirit breathes already in that picture of the Madonna which must be placed at the head of the brilliant line of religious compositions which glorify Mantegna's last period of activity. The Madonna of the Brera Gallery in Milan discovered, one might say, only a short time ago beneath Venetian repainting, which concealed a good part of the picture, to be a work of Mantegna's, belongs to absolutely the same emotional phase as the 'Triumph' (Plate 17); keen observation of real life is joined to the expression of feeling raised by momentary emotion into the heroic. This work stands entirely on a level with the great representative altarpieces of the last period, but in technical execution appears far to surpass them. It is highly probable that this Madonna of the Brera is identical with the picture painted by Mantegna in 1485 for the Duchess Eleanora of Ferrara who was the mother of the bride of the young Marquis Francesco of Mantua.[1] Isabella's art-loving mother had apparently ordered the picture of Mantegna some time previously, as she requests her future son-in-law to urge its speedy completion upon the dilatory artist. No fewer than six letters, written in the course of November and December 1485, have been preserved to us on the subject of this 'quadro de la Madonna cum alcune altre figure' (by which the Angels' heads in the background are doubtless meant): two exchanged by Francesco and Eleanora, and four written by the marquis to Mantegna.[2] Eleanora would seem to have set great store by this picture, and Francesco appears to have been most anxious to show his desire to oblige by bringing the picture to Ferrara himself as a

[1] See Frizzoni, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1886, and *L'Art*, January 1886; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, May 1886; *Illustrazione Italiana*, January 1886; Gruyer, *L'Art Ferrarais*, i. p. 410. The picture is mentioned in *Inventario della Guardaroba Estense* of 1493: 'Un quadro de legno depincto cum nostra donna et figliolo cum serafini de mano del sopradicto Mantegna.' See Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi*, Modena, 1870, p. 1; and a copy of the same: 'Un altro quadro retracto dal sopradicto de mano de uno Modenese.' See Venturi, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, iii. (1890), p. 380, note 5.

[2] Baschet, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xx. p. 412. See App. Nos. 41–45, and *Giornale di Erudiz. Artist.* i. p. 199.

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XVII.

Madonna and Child surrounded by Cherubs

Milan, Brera

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present on the occasion of the festivities. He is indefatigable in recommending the utmost care to the painter and in keeping his ambition alive, and even promises him a fine present in return. Mantegna, on his part, could not have been insensible in the matter, and must have done his utmost to satisfy by a particularly exquisite and brilliant work, the art-loving family which had just entered into such close bonds of relationship with the princes he served. He may also have been anxious to show the excellent Ferrarese painters, who, though they had been trained in his school in Padua, had subsequently developed independently, that he still held his position at their head, as leader. Perhaps not the least factor in the effort made by Mantegna as regards the colouring of this work was indeed rivalry with the Ferrarese: Francesco Cossa, Cosimo Tura, Ercole Roberti, Domenico Panetti, &c., whose pictures were especially characterised by their glowing, enamel-like tones. The execution of this picture, designed for private devotions, would therefore exactly coincide with the beginning of work on the 'Triumph,' with which it is, as a matter of fact, most closely allied in point of style. The broader treatment of the hair, the abundant draperies, full of movement though still soft and flowing; the strong fleshy forms, whose breadth of frame has not yet grown unmuscular, are in perfect accord with the manner of the 'Triumph.'

In its rounded form, framed in by the wreath of Angels' heads, the composition recalls Donatellesque reliefs, but in its outlines the picture has not in the least the character of a relief; the figures stand out in a plastic manner and are treated in a broad and pictorial style. This work is indeed, as far as splendid colouring goes, Mantegna's finest creation; he seems never again to have succeeded in finding such warm and enamel-like brilliancy of tone as in this picture. It is not, therefore, without interest that we learn through a letter of the marquis to Mantegna of a certain varnish which he was having sent from Venice.[1] Mantegna could never decide upon giving up tempera technique for that of oil painting, but it would appear that in this case particularly, he endeavoured to rival the effects of oil medium by means of a clear warm tempera ground-wash and the use of fine varnishes for surface glazes. The glowing red of the Madonna's robe harmonises exquisitely with her blue mantle (doubtless darkened by age) lined with green, to which the warm light golden flesh-tones of the Child form a striking contrast. The red robe appears at the knee and in the sleeves from under the Madonna's mantle. The Angels

[1] See App. No. 45.

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with their bright-coloured wings, in the midst of luminous clouds, form a splendid frame around the group of the Madonna and Child painted in a deeper and quieter key.

Attention is drawn to the Child Jesus as the principal figure in the group by the clear and warm colour of the glowing flesh-tones. In contrast to the Angels, who, with charming naturalness, are represented as sturdy urchins, shouting boisterously after the fashion of choir-boys rather than singing—a succession of the most varied types of children observed with marvellous delicacy, so that the tone sung by each may almost be distinguished at a glance—the Christ-Child appears to us an awe-inspiring God. Like a conqueror He stands on His Mother's knee, who hardly ventures to touch Him; the movement of the arm which clasps Him is purely mechanical. His glance, full of exaltation, is directed on high, and He listens to the song of the Angels as if to Him it were fraught with deeper meaning than that of the tones themselves. The energy of the movement, the extreme curve of the left hip and the backward poise of the leg, already clearly display a motive in the treatment of motion characteristic of Mantegna's later works.

The face of the Madonna likewise already shows the breadth and fulness of the later type of woman, the full development of which appears in his last works. In this nobly formed countenance, with features of the greatest regularity, full, though still well defined in form, we find the same depth and spirituality of expression as in Mantegna's earlier Madonnas; but we also perceive an inner emotion induced by the music of the Angels' voices and free from the melancholy sadness her sisters display in the earlier works of the artist. Filled with spiritual joy, she appears to us, while listening to and enjoying the sweet tones, to be following the thread of her own thoughts. The effect made by music upon a gentle, sensitive nature is here reproduced in a marvellous manner. Even Raphael himself has created no nobler or more thoughtful Madonna than this, the most beautiful of Andrea's Madonnas.

If, in the Brera Madonna, elements of his earlier manner are still discernible in the style which Mantegna was just then bringing to a full and clear development in the 'Triumph' of Cæsar, we find in the master's grandest and most effective altarpiece, the 'Madonna della Vittoria,' in the Louvre, painted ten years later, and shortly after the completion of the 'Triumph,' that heroic and impressive conception, which I endeavoured at the beginning, in so far as was possible with mere words,

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to characterise and analyse, dominating all features and forms of the work (Plate 18).

The marquis, kneeling on the step of the throne, looks in entreaty for help and victory to the Christ-Child, who stands, lightly poised, on the lap of the enthroned Madonna; and the blessing of the Saviour, which the Mother seems to transmit, appears to assure to him the fulfilment of his fervid wish. The moment when the Madonna, seated upon a gorgeous throne beneath a splendid bower and surrounded by the warrior saints, Saint Michael and Saint George, and the two patron saints of Mantua, Andrew and Longinus, appears to the suppliant, and bends graciously towards him, is one of such solemnity, and so fervent is the prayer of the fully armed leader to whom the warrior saints turn with benignant glances, that it must well have been a tremendous enterprise, a difficult war and a holy war, for which the help of heaven was granted to the knight. And, truly, to all who looked beyond the facts of everyday life, the moment seemed a great and eventful one which saw the young Marquis Francesco of Mantua, whom Venice, as leader of a confederacy of almost all the Italian States, had elected Captain-General, take his place at the head of the united army, the first that could be called an Italian army, gathered together, not against an Italian brother State, but the foreign invader, against Charles VIII. of France: an army more numerous and splendid than Italy had ever seen.

After the assassination of his brother, Duke Galeazzo Maria of Milan, Lodovico Sforza (Il Moro) at first carried on the government as guardian of the duke's son, Gian Galeazzo, and then, putting aside his nephew, made himself sole ruler. Gian Galeazzo's young wife, having summoned her father, King Ferdinand of Naples, to the defence of her husband and son against the usurper, and Ferdinand beginning to assume a threatening attitude toward Lodovico, the latter sought to avert the danger threatening him by inciting King Charles VIII. of France to vindicate his right to the kingdom of Naples. The king, never averse to adventure, joyfully availed himself of the opportunity, and in September 1494 forced a way into Italy. He first occupied Milan, and then proceeded through the whole of Italy in triumph towards Naples, which he soon subjugated. For the first time the Italian States, which till then had looked on the misfortunes of their neighbours with malicious pleasure, and, in several cases, had even welcomed Charles as their saviour, were roused by a realisation of the common danger to unite at last in a league against the French king. With the utmost solemnity the league between

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Venice, Urbino, Mantua, Milan, Ferdinand of Spain, and the Emperor Maximilian was formed on April 12, 1495, in Venice, and the staff of command given to the Marquis Francesco as general of the allied forces.

At the news of the alliance of the Italian States, however, Charles had hastily fallen back towards the north in order to obtain reinforcements from France to strengthen his opposition to the army of the league. Francesco, upon this, formed the plan of cutting off the French army's retreat, and thus bringing about its annihilation. He confronted the French army marching northwards near Fornovo on the Taro, July 6, 1495, in order to prevent their passage through the Apennine passes.[1] Surrounded by Italy's bravest knights, Francesco pressed forward with dauntless impetuosity and successfully drove back the French beyond their own camp. The battle to all appearance was won, and the whole French army doomed to destruction, when the Stratiotes, drawn away from the battle-field by their lust for plunder, began to loot the enemy's camp. This gave Charles time to once more collect and re-form his army, and to cut his way to the north through the scattered bands of the confederated troops. Francesco himself fought most valiantly in the front rank, and, being in peril of his life, vowed to dedicate a church to the Madonna.

It is true that the French army was at first repulsed; that 2,500 dead covered the field; that among the 800 soldiers taken prisoners were many distinguished officers; and that the whole camp, together with Charles's treasures and jewels, was captured; but the Italians had themselves sustained heavy losses, and, above all, they had failed to accomplish their object of cutting off the retreat of the French. As a matter of fact, Francesco was subsequently bitterly reproached on this account by the Venetian Republic, and was obliged to go to Venice in person to defend himself against the charges brought against him. The suspicion of the Venetians had doubtless been excited by his having, in courteous, knightly fashion, exchanged salutations with Charles as the latter halted near Vercelli. He was successful in proving, however, that he had done his utmost, and he continued to hold his position as commander of the Venetian troops in the enjoyment of great honour and at a high salary.

[1] The battle is graphically described in the Reports of the Venetian Proveditore and his secretaries. See Malpieri, 'Annali Veneti,' in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, I. vii. p. 335 *seq.*, and Marin Sanudo, 'La Spedizione di Carlo VIII,' ed. Fulin, in *Arch. Veneto*, App. 1873, Venezia; Luzio e Renier, 'Francesco Gonzaga alla battaglia di Fornovo' in *Arch. Stor. Ital.* 1890. The account in H. François Delaborde, *L'Expédition de Charles VIII en Italie*, Paris, 1888, gives a very detailed, but absolutely prejudiced, view, from the French standpoint.

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XVIII.

Madonna della Vittoria

Louvre

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In connection with this occasion he adopted the device (impresa) of a golden rod in a crucible over the fire, with the motto, 'Domine, probasti me et cognovisti.'

All over Italy and pre-eminently in Mantua the battle was celebrated as a great victory, and Francesco immediately set about the fulfilment of his vow. In order to facilitate the carrying out of this purpose, a circumstance which really had nothing to do with the matter was made use of by the marquis's spiritual adviser, a certain hermit, Girolamo Redini, who had at one time lived at the Court and then withdrawn into monastic life in order thus to exercise a greater influence over the prince. In 1493 Daniele Norsa, a Jew, had bought a house in Mantua and, by express permission from the bishop, had removed from it a picture of the Madonna painted thereon. On the occasion of a procession the wrath of the mob had been turned by malicious persons against Norsa, figures and inscriptions insulting to the Christian religion having been affixed to his house. Only by the energetic interference of the bargello, Jacopo da Capua, could the man be rescued. Although Norsa's conduct had been unimpeachable, the removal of the Madonna was used as a charge against him and a fine in money imposed. The fanatical hermit, after the battle, used this opportunity to represent to the marquis that, not only was the Madonna offended by the removal of the picture, but also that a church had once stood on that spot and that it must again be erected there. Norsa was thereupon obliged to give up the house and moreover to pay 110 ducats, which Master Mantegna was to receive for the painting of the altarpiece of the new church, the Madonna della Vittoria. The church was built by Bernardo Ghisolfo, as Vasari tells us, after Mantegna's own plans and drawings. That the master had not yet begun the picture on August 30, 1495, may be gathered from the letter of Bishop Sigismondo Gonzaga to the marquis; yet, nevertheless, on July 6 of the following year, on the anniversary of the battle, it was ready to be conveyed to the new church in solemn procession from Mantegna's studio in his house near S. Sebastian. The imposing ceremony is described in detail in letters from Isabella, Sigismondo Gonzaga and Antimachus to the marquis, absent at the time.[1]

The artist had thus completed this great work, which excited universally the highest admiration, in less than ten months.[2] The

[1] See App. Nos. 60, 61, 62.

[2] For the history of the picture see Attilio Portioli, 'La vera storia d'un dipinto celebre' in *Giornale di Erudizione artistica*, ii. 1873), p. 145; and *ibid.* 'La Chiesa e la Madonna della Vittoria

original frame, no longer in existence, which was doubtless also designed by Mantegna, is particularly mentioned by Bettinelli, who also speaks of a votive picture in fresco by Mantegna over the eighth arch of the Portici of the Square opposite the clock tower in Mantua, certain portions of which were in good preservation in his day, and where the marquis was represented kneeling before an Angel riding upon a horse.[1]

In 1797, three hundred years after their reputed defeat, the French took the painting as a trophy of war to Paris, where it still remains. The glory of it is still to be seen to-day in the Louvre in the Salle des Sept Mètres. The church is still standing at the corner of the Via S. Simone and the Vicolo della Vittoria—its name being the last remaining memento in Mantua of this monument to vainglory—and, robbed of all its original decoration, it is now used as a sculptor's workshop. Neither does anything remain of the paintings that once adorned the walls.

The composition of the picture seems, in its leading features, to have been dictated to the artist. In his letter of August 8, 1495, the hermit Girolamo says that at the earnest request of Bishop Sigismondo, Mantegna is to paint the Madonna della Vittoria altarpiece; and that, on the one side, under the mantle of the Madonna, the kneeling figures of the marquis and his brothers, on the other side his wife, also kneeling, are to be represented. In a second letter, dated August 29, he further proposes that two saints shall hold the Madonna's mantle, under which the marquis, in full armour, is to kneel—namely, Saint George and Saint Michael: the one victorious by physical strength, the other by the strength of the soul, the two saints who, with the Madonna, had given him the victory. As a matter of fact these two saints do hold in the picture the mantle of the enthroned Madonna, but the marquis kneels on the left quite alone. On the right kneels Saint Elizabeth,[2] accompanying the infant John, who, standing on the pedestal of the throne, seems to look up at Christ in adoration. In the background we notice Andrew and Longinus, the special patron saints of Mantua. Whether the directions given to Mantegna had been altered, or whether the master, following his own

di A. Mantegna' in *Atti dell' Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova*, 1882-83 (Estratto: Mantova, Mondovi, 1883). Cf. also *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, i. (1888), p. 433 and especially the paper of Alessandro Luzio ('La Madonna della Vittoria del Mantegna') in *Emporium*, Bergamo, November, 1899 (x.), p. 358 *seq.*, which is very rich in documents.

[1] Bettinelli, *Delle Lettere e delle Arti in Mantova* (Mantova, 1774), p. 37.

[2] She is often erroneously taken for Isabella, but apart from the fact that Isabella was at that time only just twenty-one years of age, the old woman is characterised as Elizabeth by the saint's halo and by her position close to the infant John, which would be quite unsuitable for a donor.

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artistic instincts, had of his own initiative introduced the changes is not known to us. In any case the composition must have gained immensely in solemnity and feeling as well as in unity by this restriction to the figure of the hero, the marquis.

It was typical of Mantegna's deep nature that he chose as the poetical motive of the work, not gratitude for the victory won and for the help in danger, but the prayer for succour and victory before the battle. Just as the whole bearing of the marquis and his upturned, beseeching glance betray none of the joyful pride of the victor, but, on the contrary, all the anxious fervour of him who implores the assistance of Heaven before a difficult and momentous enterprise, even so it is a promise of the fulfilment of his prayer that lies in the protecting gesture of the Madonna and the blessing of the Child. Only by raising his subject into the highly ideal sphere of his earnest philosophy of life—an all-embracing humanity—could the artist obtain the inspiration for his work, which he, who was accustomed to look into the real nature of things, certainly could not find in the sad political events which his work was to commemorate, and the circumstances which accompanied its inception. Indeed the patriotic enthusiasm in Italy vanished as rapidly as it arose, the victor of Fornovo himself considering it advisable to exchange civilities and presents with his rival at Vercelli.

Most magnificent is the bower of artistically carved wood, decorated with flowers and garlands of fruit, pearls, and coral, which overarches the throne of the Madonna, itself a masterpiece of the finest plaited work and wood carving inlaid with mother-of-pearl, resting upon a rich pedestal of coloured marble. The artist here still follows the early Christian tradition, probably of Byzantine origin, of symbolising the majesty of the Divine by the greatest external magnificence; modern art, on the contrary, recognising in the simple greatness of Nature the only suitable setting for the Deity. The old view is unquestionably the more ingenuous, while the modern one already presupposes a subtle abstraction.

The Madonna of the rose-hedge, in the garden (the 'hortus conclusus' of the Canticum Canticorum iv. 12), under the shade of beautiful foliage, was a traditional theme of Middle Age worship. Mantegna, however, in the grouping of the figures, in the union, full of life and fervour between the Madonna and the saints and the persons represented, created an absolutely new poetical motive in Madonna compositions, and one which was of the greatest importance to the further development of art. The spiritual relation entered into by man with the Godhead, in prayer and

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self-consecration, is here expressed in the most artistically poignant manner. The suppliant becomes the object upon which the compassion of the saints is concentrated, the whole picture being given by this definite action, which the composition represents, the character of a momentary occurrence. Though this representation is somewhat suggestive of a court and courtiers, it has much deeply felt humanity in it also.

Notwithstanding the perfectly symmetrical arrangement and the calm attitudes of the figures, everything is full of life and inner emotion. The lines of the composition are accentuated in the most effective manner by the light and colour. The Christ-Child occupies the very centre of the picture, the light falling from the right from above, being also concentrated upon Him. His figure stands out prominently from the Madonna's glowing, brownish-red robe interwoven with gold. Like the Child, the Mother turns compassionately and with a lifelike, exquisitely graceful movement of the body, towards the marquis kneeling on the left of the throne in shadow, his face and armour brightly illuminated by slanting rays of light. Although the vow was to the Madonna, and it was to her that the votive picture was to be dedicated, the eyes of the suppliant are turned, not towards the Madonna but to the Child, whose significance as the central point of the devotional picture is thus again insisted upon by the painter in contradistinction to the ecclesiastical tradition.

The great preponderance given to the left side of the picture by the Prince's figure and the movement of the Madonna and the Child, the artist has sought with the utmost skill to counterbalance by means of the brightly lighted figures of the little nude Saint John and that of Saint Elizabeth with her deep orange head-dress. The lighting, too, accentuates the pyramidal form of the group in the foreground. The strong lights and colours of the centre pass through the richest variety of tones, and the dark-red and warm colour harmony of the central group is repeated only here and there in single, deeper spots of colour. Thus the red coral and the shining string of pearls enliven the darker colouring of the upper part of the bower, while to right and left the draperies of the two saints and their bright weapons and ribbons again form a bright contrast to the dark moss-green mantle of the Madonna which they hold. The vivid and harmonious colour effect of the pedestal of coloured marble with its grisaille reliefs on a dark ground intensifies the centre of colour, and accentuates the central line of the composition. Particularly characteristic of Mantegna's colour scheme is this echo of the bright colours of the

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central group found again in the diminishing scale of the remainder of the picture. His scheme of colour, which has been already often referred to, here reached its fullest development. Mantegna never departed from it, his colour growing in his last works only lighter, harder, and more varied, owing to his excessive use of shot colours. Here he reached the highest achievement possible to him while adhering to his tempera technique and continuing to employ strong local colours here and there. The general tone is, undoubtedly, harmonious, soft, and warm, especially in the light, golden flesh-tones touched with red; but, judging at least from this well-preserved picture as we see it to-day, it lacks the brilliant glow and the depth of colour which only became possible by the medium of oil.

The freedom and facility afforded by the use of thin, liquid washes of colour allowing the texture of the canvas to show through admit of a great breadth and softness of outline as well as the minutest finish and perfection of details. A head like that of the Saint Michael, with its massive and splendid lines, its expression of sensuous emotion, framed as it is by a wealth of flowing locks, is thoroughly characteristic of Mantegna's later style.

One must compare the Madonna della Vittoria with the S. Zeno altarpiece in Verona, to obtain a clear idea of the great change in style which had taken place, and to survey the distance traversed by art with and through Mantegna during that period. It has been necessary to lay especial stress upon the fact of this alteration in style, seeing that it has so often been denied that there was any progress whatever in Mantegna's development.

In the Madonna della Vittoria Mantegna goes far beyond the art-methods of the early Renascence, surpassing even Giovanni Bellini, whose altarpieces cannot be compared with this picture either in composition or in spiritual import. It represents the freest and most mature form of religious composition which the art of the Renascence was capable of attaining prior to Raphael, Correggio, and Titian, and was the prototype, or point of departure, of the creations of the great Masters of that Golden Age. It is a well-known fact that Correggio in his Madonna with Saint Francis (Dresden) closely followed the composition of the Madonna della Vittoria, which was, moreover, imitated in a score of other works of that period. Mantegna succeeded by reason of his unfettered expression of form, his delicate feeling and a plenitude of light and colour undreamt of up to that time, in lending new and great charm to the altar-

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piece. Further development of the composition on these same lines, however, would have been possible to him, as to the other great Masters, only through a disintegration of the sense of spiritual union and of the solemn and sacred aloofness of the Assembly of Saints, reducing it to nothing more or less than a genre picture.[1] Nothing proves more conclusively that Mantegna, within the limits of the contemporary mode of representation and his own individuality, created in this picture a supreme, and, in its own way, a perfect work of art.

Little more than a year after the painting of the Madonna della Vittoria, on August 15, 1497, as the inscription states, Mantegna completed another large picture of the 'Madonna with Saints and Angels.' There is no doubt that this painting, now in the possession of Prince Trivulzio in Milan, is correctly identified with the altarpiece which the artist painted for Santa Maria in Organo in Verona. As a matter of fact the date at which the monks—as is proved by their account book[2]—were endeavouring by all manner of friendly offerings of venison and preserved fruits to spur on Master Andrea to finish their altarpiece, and when (from October to December 1496) they were supplying him with gold and blue paint, corresponds very nearly to the time when this painting was finished. It is hardly credible that Mantegna, besides his other work, should have been able to paint at the same epoch, in addition to Prince Trivulzio's picture, still a third large altarpiece. Moreover, the organ, the coat-of-arms of the monastery, introduced at the bottom of the picture, also points to the name of the church.[3] (Plate 19.)

The composition of the picture is again a thoroughly new and original one. Within a *mandorla* almost completely covered with groups of angels' heads set in clouds, the Madonna is enthroned on clouds and bears upon her knees the Child, whose hand is raised in the act of blessing. Right and left, standing upon the earth, which is suggested only by trees arching from either side and forming a canopy over the Madonna's head, are four saints; John the Baptist and a canonised Pope

[1] Cf. Burckhardt's study of the altarpiece in his *Beiträge*, p. 60 *seq.*, where attention is drawn to the angels which, in Correggio particularly, bear the attributes of the saints, and even engage in play with them.

[2] See App. 63.

[3] Inscribed 'A. Mantinia pi. an. gracie 1497, 15 augustj.' See Vasari, iii. p. 393, who, erroneously, ascribes the picture for S. Maria in Organo to the period preceding Mantegna's removal to Mantua; Moschini, *Vicende*, p. 39; Dal Pozzo, *Vite dei Pittori Veronesi*, Verona, 1718, p. 247; Biancolini, *Notizie storiche delle Chiese di Verona*, Verona, 1749, i. p. 287; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. p. 410; Frizzoni, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1898 (x.), p. 67.

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XIX.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH FOUR SAINTS

Milan (Prince Trivulzio)

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to the left; on the right Saint Jerome (?) with the model of a church; and an Abbot (Saint Zeno, Saint Romoaldo?); while on a lower plane,

FIG. 107.—THREE ANGELS WITH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS; FROM THE MADONNA WITH SAINTS IN THE COLLECTION OF PRINCE TRIVULZIO AT MILAN (*Phot. Anderson*)

visible between them, the half-length figures of three Angels with musical instruments are represented (fig. 107).

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The main idea of the composition has undeniably a certain similarity with Raphael's Sixtine Madonna; one would be almost inclined to hesitate, however, before reminding the spectator of that most mature work of the Umbrian master, for in this instance Mantegna was left much too far behind his great successor. His strength did not lie in the representation of the visionary, the unreal; his Madonna rests in much too firm and material a manner on the heavy masses of clouds, which moreover, in contrast to the light clouds of the background, are extraordinarily emphasised. The Madonna's attitude is unwontedly stiff, and with her broad, somewhat expressionless face, the oval of which is turned immediately to the spectator, she produces almost the impression of an archaic Greek icon. The countenance of the Christ-Child is old and earnest; as a stern judge full of conscious majesty, he imparts His blessing; the circle of singing Angels also appear more sedate and serious than their joyous comrades in Mantegna's earlier pictures; and the three glorious elder Angels below are likewise fulfilling their office with the greatest zeal and earnestness.

The saints are men of a noble severity; the stately Saint Jerome to the right in particular, whose countenance breathes the most zealous enthusiasm, displays a somewhat inflexible austerity of expression. The Pope on the left is the only one whose fervent gaze is directed toward the Madonna and Child; the others look straight out of the picture at the spectator, while Saint John, a figure instinct with great spiritual vitality, points with his finger to the Madonna. This is the first time that we meet with this motive in Mantegna, his figures in all other instances being occupied exclusively with one another, or else gazing meditatively before them into the distance. Here they are conceived as mediators between humanity and the majestic, unapproachable God enthroned among the clouds, Who, as if in response to their intercession, has appeared to the faithful worshippers. The saints are seen from below, as if they were standing on a rocky projection, behind and above which the Angel-musicians and the Madonna float in spacious air. The deepest earnestness and an austere majesty are the fundamental notes of this composition. In the four saints such sharply defined and strikingly opposed characteristics are pourtrayed, that one is almost inclined to believe Mantegna sought to personify in them representative types of the four temperaments. The Choleric temperament is unmistakably Saint Jerome; the dejected Abbot next to him is an admirable likeness of the Phlegmatic; on the other

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side, the energetic John the Baptist would personify the Sanguine temperament; and the Pope sunk in meditation, with uplifted gaze, the Melancholy. But, even should the artist not have intended such a personification—which, however, was quite in the spirit of the times and in accordance with Mantegna's own character—he, nevertheless, attained here to a psychological depth and perspicuity by means of which the individual was generalised into a character-type. This important, but, of course, only relative difference between his earlier figures—which were based rather upon definite models—and these later typical, one might almost say idealised, characterisations, is altogether an outcome of the development from early to Mid-Renascence, which may be illustrated by two characteristic examples, Donatello and Raphael.

This picture shows, in several instances, beside great finish and exquisite perfection of line, a certain weakness and emptiness in the modelling of the figures, as, for example, the Madonna's head and neck, her hands, &c., and, particularly, great harshness in the treatment of drapery—by no means so disagreeably apparent in the Madonna della Vittoria as here. Mantegna's treatment of folds, which at first produced the realistically stiff and voluminous lines to be seen in thick and heavy materials, afterwards acquired, through imitation of antique and plastic sculpture (of the Roman epoch) and a striving after elegance and grace, an academic but nevertheless genuine breadth and freedom. Here, however, owing to an exaggeration of the themes borrowed from the antique, it degenerates into rigidity and mannerism. It was obviously his endeavour to attain to a grand and significant solemnity of attitude that led him to this treatment of folds. The materials lose their own character and are treated almost as if they were metal; the long, straight, cylindrical folds turned sharply back have often the appearance of being made of lead. Only in rare instances do they cling to the body, but, losing all softness and curve, they fall in hard oblique lines with a great mass of diagonal folds and breaks. The artist has here finally departed as much from the antique as from nature. This stiff and mannered treatment of folds became eminently characteristic of his last works, as well as of his scholars and followers.

In the matter of colour, too, the Trivulzio Madonna is considerably harder and less harmonious than the Madonna della Vittoria. The tone appears in general brighter and cooler, the contrasts of light and shade stronger, the very frequent use of changeable materials particularly—as in the light red watered silk robe of the Madonna, her watered silk

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mantle, grey with strong golden lights—the Pope's draperies of red watered silk with yellowish, red, and golden lights—produces great hardness and disharmony in the colour scheme. However great the artistic qualities of this picture may be, a certain weakness in the drawing, and especially in the execution, cannot be denied; and it is impossible not to assume the collaboration of scholars or assistants in certain parts, in the head and in the draperies of the Madonna more particularly.

About this same period, *i.e.* in the last years of the fifteenth century, must have been painted the 'Madonna with John the Baptist and the Magdalen' in the National Gallery, London, the exact date and original destination of which are unknown [1] (Plate 20). It has more than once been erroneously ascribed to the Master's early period and even grouped together with the Saint Luke altarpiece. One may easily convince oneself, however, of the analogy in style between this work, the Madonna della Vittoria and the Trivulzio Madonna. The intimate connection uniting the Madonna and the saints presupposes a progress not only beyond the old traditional scheme of isolated figures, but beyond all the intermediate steps which separate those older representations from this most unconventional and simple grouping of saints standing on the earth in front of a natural hedge of lemon and orange trees. It is true that a sense of ordered solemnity and supernatural holiness pervades the presentment of the Madonna, enthroned under a baldacchino, and the two accompanying saints; by no outward show of gorgeous throne or glory of angels, but through expression of feeling and dignity of demeanour alone is that climax attained where the purely human passes into the mysteriously significant.

The Madonna, whose head is humbly bowed as if in listening, hardly ventures to touch the Christ-Child, standing firmly poised in an attitude full of life and animation upon her knees. In character and figure the Madonna and Child correspond exactly to the Madonna della Vittoria and the other works of that same date. The two saints also who, filled with deep spiritual emotion, look straight out of the picture show the broad and massive lines of his late period. They seem enthralled by some momentary impression, certain heavenly sounds. The Magdalen is one of the most splendid characterisations ever pourtrayed

[1] Inscribed 'A. Mantinia C.P.F.' (*Civis Patavinus Fecit*). It passed out of the possession of Cardinal Cesare Monti, Archbishop of Milan, and after many changes of ownership was bought, in 1855, by the National Gallery. Well preserved and little injured. It may be noted once more, that Mantegna writes his name in this form only after about 1470.

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XX.

The Madonna and Child, with the Magdalen and S. John the Baptist

London, National Gallery

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by Mantegna: she is a passionate woman, full of physical and intellectual strength, in the highest degree responsive to the Sensuous as well as to the Ideal. With her tall figure, full and majestic form and flowing hair, she is the most sensuous type to be found in all Mantegna's work—more sensuous, indeed, than the Venus in the 'Parnassus.' In the position in which John the Baptist stands, we find the repetition of a motive very similar to that frequently recurring in the later pictures—as, for instance, in the Christ-Child and the Saint John of the Trivulzio Madonna. His gaunt figure expresses, as opposed to the voluptuous Magdalen with her inspired upward gaze, the sad and meek resignation of him who cannot lead his own cause to victory, and who retires humbly before a greater than himself.

The supple and suave forms and the outline instinct with life are thoroughly in the style of Mantegna's later works, as are also the long, stiff and hard folds of the drapery. A striking contrast to the rocky ravines of the earlier pictures is presented by the soft earthy ground. Notwithstanding, the dull tempera tones, the colour, owing mainly to the shot materials of the draperies, is somewhat inharmonious, light and confused. Saint John's mantle is a bluish purple with red shadows; the Magdalen's draperies are green with red lights, her mantle a light purple with white lights and greyish blue shadows. The Madonna is seated under the red baldachin on green cushions, attired in a rose-coloured robe with red shadows and golden lights, and a greyish-blue mantle. Beneath this mantle her red sandals are visible, and the green robe shows in the sleeves. This painting greatly resembles in its dull, dry colour the Triumph pictures; the other works of the same period produce, on the contrary, with their warm golden and deeply glowing tone accentuated by the glaze of varnish, an entirely different impression. The affected elegance of certain movements, the smoothness of the forms, the hardness of the colour, and especially the stiff treatment of drapery are unmistakable signs of the weakness of old age.

Mantegna at the close of the century, in fact, was approaching his seventieth year, and a new generation had arisen about him which, though, in many ways, educated in his own art methods, yet followed entirely new ideals and aims, more particularly striving to reproduce material things, and, by means of oil-technique to attain a charming coloured chiaroscuro. The old giant had no longer the vigour of youth to enable him to compete with this juvenile band

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on their own ground. He obstinately withdrew himself into his own domain away from them, and only emphasised the more strongly the peculiarities of his manner. The mature works of his brother-in-law Bellini; those of Verrocchio's pupils; of Leonardo, who had been himself to Mantua and was personally connected with Isabella; of Francia or of Perugino were not unknown to him, neither could he have lacked the opportunity or ability to adopt their technique. But the field of his observations was closed; he was too firmly rooted in his own style—a style founded essentially upon composition and contour inflexibly defined in line though felt with exquisite delicacy, rather than upon an external, brilliantly coloured impression of form—for his independent, and to all outward appearance unyielding character to have allowed of his following these new and original aims. Even in his youth he had always thrown off again whatever he had adopted momentarily from others, except the little which he could assimilate as his very own. In his old age he consistently set himself against all impressions of technique and form from without and bent all his energy to the psychological intensification of character and the symbolisation of the deepest spiritual import of the event depicted.

In addition to these three large altarpieces, several small pictures of the Madonna belonging to this period have been preserved to us, which were evidently designed for private devotions, or as decoration for the bed-chamber or the 'studio.' Mention is often made of the marquises having presented such pictures of the Madonna by their painter to friends,[1] or of their having requested the artist to execute similar decorations for their friends' cabinets.[2] Undoubtedly the industrious master who was capable of completing a large altarpiece such as the Madonna della Vittoria in less than ten months, in the most careful manner, the execution of every detail being thought out, must have delighted many a one with the possession of little pictures of this kind. The inventory of the Mantuan Castle in itself bears honourable witness to his industry and his capacity for work.

Among the few remaining pictures of this description, the 'Madonna and Child with the little Saint John, Elizabeth and Joseph,' in the Dresden Gallery, must first be mentioned (Plate 21). In quality and state of

[1] Letter from Calandras, December 8, 1491 (see *Giorn. di Erud. Artist.* i. p. 207). Crowe and Cavalcaselle have incorrectly assumed from the words, 'rimanendomi però le stampe da farne degli altri,' that the reference was to engravings. 'Stampe' can in this case only mean the 'form,' *i.e.* 'the intellectual vigour and skill to paint others of the same kind.'

[2] See Isabella's letter to Francesco di Castello, March 6, 1498, *Giorn. di Erud. Art.* i. p. 202.

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XXI.

THE HOLY FAMILY

Dresden Gallery

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preservation it is by far the most admirable picture of this group. Its great similarity in attitude and expression to the Madonna della Vittoria and the National Gallery Madonna, in itself proves the close relationship between these pictures. It is true that this work is less earnest and impressive in intention than the great ceremonial altarpieces. Evidently, in this group intended for family devotion, the relation between the Saviour and the Madonna, and between Him and the other personages represented, is one of greater intimacy. But this Madonna, looking up with deepest love and reverent wonder at the Child, whose glance is full of thought, whose movements are free and animated, is quite another being from the young, anxious, unconscious Mother, clasping to her breast the Child, asleep or weeping, such as we saw in Mantegna's earlier pictures of the Madonna. In this particular also the Brera Madonna may be recognised as a work of the transition period between the earlier and later group of these pictures. An atmosphere of freedom and beatitude, a lively serenity, pervades this sympathetic composition like a ray of sunlight. The Saints form a harmonious frame surrounding the Christ-Child, who stands out radiantly from their midst. The Infant John, looking with clear, intelligent eyes at the spectator and pointing towards Christ, forms a very welcome break in the somewhat stiff and crowded group of four heads on one plane, which fills the space to excess. The two saints, particularly the aged Joseph, continue to be merely accessory figures and do not fully enter into the emotional atmosphere of the Madonna and the two Children. The consummate freedom and harmony in the lines and conception of Raphael's Madonnas, where the beautiful natural form is marvellously combined with the interpretation of the Divine, has not yet been reached in this instance; but these Madonnas of Mantegna's last period form an important connecting-link midway between the realistic compositions of the early Renascence—which set itself in conscious opposition to the solemn formalism of the older presentment—and that finished form of the art of the golden period of the Renascence.

The lines of the figures and the draperies betray, in a very marked degree, the peculiarities of his late period, to which attention has frequently been drawn. These are especially evident in the mobile and strongly curved outline of the bodies, in characteristic contrast to the smooth and straight lines of his early works. Compare, for instance, the outline of the legs of the Child with those of the Christ-Child in the S. Zeno altarpiece, and the shape of the hands, the metacarpus of the hands of this Madonna being exaggeratedly long and narrow.

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In the Dresden picture the colour is unusually warm and brilliant. The Madonna wears, over her deep red robe, the sleeves of which are of gold-coloured watered silk, a grey-blue mantle, with pale yellow lights, also of moirée, and a dark grey head-dress with golden lights in it. The effect of the red material of the robe shining through her veil is excellently rendered. Saint Joseph wears a yellow-brown mantle, very deep in colour, over a dark-red tunic, and Elizabeth is in red with white neckerchief and a greyish purple mantle, in which there is the shimmer of pale green and deep lavender. The light-coloured olive-twig held by the Infant John is extremely effective. Pale orange and mauve and their prismatic shades are colours characteristic of Mantegna's last works, and were much employed by his pupils and followers, as also by Costa. In the colour-scheme of Correggio's early works they play likewise a particularly important part.

FIG. 108.—MADONNA WITH CHILD AND TWO SAINTS
Museo, Verona. (Phot. Lotze)

Two other pictures of the Madonna belonging to this same group, and closely related to one another in point of composition, are so inferior, particularly as regards preservation, to the Dresden picture, that one cannot without great hesitation designate them as works by Mantegna.

The 'Madonna and Child with two Saints,' in the Museo Civico, Verona (fig. 108) is so totally spoiled and repainted that to give an opinion as to the authenticity of the work, which in its present condition at all events offers no attractions, seems quite impossible.

The motive of the Christ-Child is again repeated in the Turin picture [1] representing the 'Madonna with five Saints and the Infant John' (fig. 109).

[1] A border was later on set all around it. The best preserved parts are bits of the Madonna's dress, mantle and veil, and Christ's right foot. A tolerably accurate copy of the Saint John, the Madonna and Child is to be found in the picture in the Louvre, erroneously ascribed to Girolamo dai Libri, representing the Madonna with Saint John and four angels' heads. The large Madonna with Saint John, saints, and angels in the Akademie-Sammlung, Vienna, is a still closer copy.

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Were it not for this similarity of the movement with a motive characteristic of the last period, one would be inclined, owing to the types represented and the smooth, hard treatment, to place the picture much earlier. This work, which is almost irretrievably injured, shows, however, in the parts which are well preserved, such extreme weakness in the treatment of form—Saint Joseph's hands and draperies, for instance—that, notwithstanding the great finish in the execution of details, we must in any case assume it to have been partly the work of pupils. It is probably nothing

FIG. 109.—MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS
Turin Gallery. (Phot. Anderson)

more than a workshop production executed by the pupils under his superintendence and from designs of the master. This view is further strengthened by the fact of the picture being on wood, which at that time Mantegna was no longer in the habit of using.[1]

[1] A fourth picture of the Madonna, at one time in the Reiset Collection in Paris, is said to have been now transferred to the André Collection, also in Paris. The owner would not allow me to see the picture. According to Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. p. 400, note 1), 'Virgin, Child, and three figures, a female and two males, inscribed: "Andreas Manten."' Canvas. Very carefully executed, 'but injured.' The other two pictures in the same collection described as works by Mantegna have, as may be recognised by means of photographs, absolutely no connection with that master.

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With these pictures of the Madonna should be classed a few other religious compositions dating from the same period. They are the Christ-Child with Saint John, Joseph, and Mary, in the possession of Mr. Ludwig Mond, London; the 'Man of Sorrows' in the Copenhagen Gallery; and the 'Saint Sebastian,' owned by Baron Giorgio Franchetti in Venice.

Throughout this entire series of the later Madonna pictures we have noted how the Christ-Child—now represented as older and more mature—is given prominence as the spiritual centre of the composition above the Madonna, who humbly cedes her place to Him, and how He appears clad in Divine majesty, conscious of and sufficient unto Himself. This intention of the artist, namely to personify in the Boy Christ the Saviour, the Conqueror of the World and Dispenser of Blessings—to a certain degree the idea of God itself—finds particularly clear expression in the very original picture in Mr. Ludwig Mond's collection in London—a picture the precursor of which, from an iconographical point of view, it would be hard to trace [1] (fig. 110).

FIG. 110.—CHRIST-CHILD WITH JOSEPH, MARY, AND SAINT JOHN

London: Mr. Ludwig Mond

The broad and vigorous figure of the Boy Christ, clothed only in a tunic, stands firmly on the narrow ledge of the marble basin of a fountain, holding in his left hand the Globe, and in his right an olive branch, while his eyes, full of thought and ecstasy, are directed upward. The Infant John, who stands on Christ's right, and who, looking straight out of the

[1] It would seem that this type of the Boy Christ, represented as Conqueror of the World, is nowhere to be found in Italian art as an independent pictorial presentment, before Mantegna; whereas in German art it seems to have enjoyed a certain popularity (cf., for instance, Schongauer's engraving). The Christ-Child, however, at once assumes, in Mantegna, a thoroughly new and heroic character.

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picture, points towards Him, closely resembles in the lovable, serene expression of his countenance, the Infant John of the Dresden picture. To the right, near Christ, the head of Saint Joseph is visible, and in front of him the half-length figure of a woman who, with head humbly bowed and holding in her hands a book and a twig, seems to stand within the marble basin itself. There being barely sufficient space represented even for Saint Joseph, it is impossible to see how the conditions of space demanded by the figure of this woman have been complied with. Represented as they are, in point of perspective, it would be materially impossible for the two figures to find room; and this is also true of the Madonna (for it can be no other than she who is here represented), the fountain basin in which she appears to stand being much too small.[1] This presentment of the Blessed Virgin has been described as a pictorial embodiment of the symbolic 'hortus conclusus.'[2] Should such a presentment—borrowed by Mediæval Art from the 'Canticum Canticorum' (Chap. iv.) as an emblem of Mary's Virginity—be intended, it is more probably the 'fons signatus' mentioned in the same verse which is alluded to, and this would also afford the simplest explanation of the fountain aperture.

A dense and dark hedge of orange-trees composes a wall-like background for the group of figures, whose bright, warm tones form an effective contrast to it. In this, as in all other symbolic-religious compositions of his last period, the artist has quite abandoned the landscape background executed formerly by him with such loving and infinite care. Unquestionably this was done in order that the figures might by their isolation gain increased material and spiritual significance.

That this picture belongs to the group of Mantegna's last works, is proved not only by the character of the composition and the types, but also by the treatment of the broad, full lines of the figures, the hair and draperies, and the more animated though somewhat affected movements.

The 'Man of Sorrows' in the Copenhagen Museum,[3] with arms

[1] The picture, which otherwise is tolerably well preserved, is certainly very much restored in this place.

[2] *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1893, i. pp. 226, 227.

[3] Inscribed 'ANDREAS MANTINIA' (on the right of the sarcophagus base). From the collection of Cardinal Valenti, State Secretary to Benedict XIV. As I only saw the picture once, very long ago, I am only able to judge from the photograph, and cannot take the colour into consideration. It shows, according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. p. 403), who consider the picture as contemporaneous with the Florentine 'Madonna of the Grotto,' a 'Leonardesque chiaroscuro,' while in a note they add: 'The colour here was no doubt once very clear and transparent. . . . The flesh is warmly tinged, and relieved with cool shadows.'

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dramatically outstretched, sorrowful open mouth and eyes rolled back, is very effective and powerful, but not free from a certain affectation (fig. 111). His attitude, the splendid and symmetrical draping of his shroud, and the group of two angels—one of whom looks down pityingly upon Christ, while the other gazes upward in passionate lamentation—are all somewhat artificial, and, in the vehement passion of their grief, correspond exactly to the pourtrayal of emotion in Mantegna's last creations. The treatment of the figures and draperies betrays all those characteristics, so often alluded to, of his latter style. The great resemblance between the landscape here and the background of the Florentine Madonna is remarkable.[1] The quarry, with the stonecutters on the right, and the shepherds, labourers, and wayfarers on the other side, exhibits motives similar to those of that picture. The division of space, however, is a different one; the foreground is wider and the horizon on the left does not terminate, as in that picture, in a hard line, but in a hazy distant view of a far-away chain of hills. The ground is represented as soft and earthy, exactly as in the mythological pictures of the latter period which we shall soon have to deal with. The 'Man of Sorrows' must not, therefore, be classed with the 'Madonna of the Grotto,'

FIG. 111.—THE MAN OF SORROWS
Copenhagen Museum

[1] See Plate 14.

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FIG. 112.—SAINT SEBASTIAN
Baron Franchetti, Venice

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notwithstanding the affinity between the backgrounds. The contrast between the soft, rounded, flowing folds of the Madonna's drapery and the straight and angular lines of Christ's shroud, is sufficient proof that a larger interval of time must be assumed between the two works.[1]

The date proposed for this Pietà is further confirmed by the picture of Saint Sebastian, in the collection of Baron Franchetti in Venice, which must assuredly have been painted quite at the close of our artist's life (fig. 112). At Mantegna's death the picture was still in his workshop, having been painted by him for Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua, as appears from the letter of Lodovico Mantegna to the Marquis Francesco, dated October 2, 1506.[2] The picture, apparently, like the rest left by Mantegna, passed into the Cardinal's hands, but later we find it in possession of Cardinal Bembo—who, as we know, was an intimate friend of the Gonzaga, and especially of Isabella—since it is mentioned by Marcantonio Michiel as being in his collection.[3] Subsequently the picture passed to the family of Gradenigo, from whom it was bought, in 1810, by Antonio Scarpa in La Motta. From this collection again it was lately acquired by Baron Franchetti of Venice.

It has already been noted that Mantegna, in the three representations of Saint Sebastian, executed at different epochs of his life, conceived the poetical meaning of the figure, and expressed its physical and spiritual suffering, in ways entirely different and strikingly characteristic of his course of development both as man and artist. This 'Saint Sebastian,' created at the close of his career, is indeed the most violent and excited in movement of the three, but not the most deeply felt. Movement and expression cannot but be called exaggerated and mannered; the deliberate intention to accentuate the physical side is unmistakable. The forms are modelled with the greatest breadth and softness, but, with all their excellence of plastic execution, they remain somewhat smooth and empty; the broad countenance is distinctly uncouth. The work is most interesting for the study of the artist's development, but appeals only slightly to our enjoyment. Since the picture was still in Mantegna's workshop at the time of his death, it is not improbable

[1] Apparently the two engravings, one of which is erroneously ascribed to Mantegna himself (Bartsch, 7), and the other, of the same period, to Zoan Andrea (Bartsch, 4), or to Gio. Ant. da Brescia (Passavant), were executed after a study of Mantegna's for this picture. A repetition or copy of the Copenhagen picture seems to be 'the dead body of the Saviour seated on a ruined marble throne, on either side of him Isaiah and Saint Jerome seated,' exhibited in the New Gallery's Winter Exhibition of 1881 (No. 188).

[2] App. No. 82.

[3] *Anonimo Morelliano*, p. 22: '[in casa del Cardinale Bembo] il San Sebastiano saettato alla collonna grande piu del naturale, sopra una tela, fu de mano dil Mantegna. The mention of the column is apparently due to an oversight of Michiel.

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that the master had not yet given it the final touches, and that it may have been gone over in many places by his sons or by other pupils.

It is pure physical pain that finds expression in the martyr's almost distorted features, not the triumph of faith over physical suffering. The violent, almost rocking movement of the body, seems almost at variance with the situation. The artist has striven to give a striking impression of his saint by means all too material—by the gigantic size of the body, the effect of which is heightened by making the head press against the upper edge of the narrow niche; by the wild hair, the fluttering garment with its confusion of broken folds; by the savagely fettered arms, and by the dense flight of arrows that pierce the body in cruel wounds. The emblem of the expiring candle with the inscription, *Nil nisi divinum stabile est, cætera fumus* ('Only the divine endures, all else is smoke')—added, no doubt, at the request of the ecclesiastic who had given the commission—accords ill enough with the strong desire for physical life that contends in this Titan with the pain of mortal wounds. There is nothing here of the patient, quiet suffering, nothing of the dreamy feeling, of the saints in the artist's earlier works. He concentrates the full force of his still youthful spirit to the presentation of the fearful—of 'terribilità' in Michelangelo's sense—but the hand which had clothed in perfected form the most delicate observations of nature—the tenderest feelings—was now weak with age, and could no longer keep pace with those powerful conceptions of an excited phantasy. He has come to the limits of his power.

In the letter of October 2, 1506, already mentioned, to the marquis, Lodovico Mantegna speaks, among the pictures remaining in his father's workshop, of 'the two that are for the chapel' ('gli dui quadri che vanno a la sua capella').[1] These are, without doubt, the two paintings which adorn the wall on the right, as one enters, in Mantegna's chapel in S. Andrea—the 'Holy Family,' in half figures, and the 'Baptism of Christ.' By a contract dated August 11, 1504, the chapter of S. Andrea, with the permission of the Primiciero Protonotary Sigismondo Gonzaga, agreed to reserve the first chapel in the left aisle—the one which was dedicated to John the Baptist, and is now used as a baptistery—inclusive, moreover, of a space at the back of the chapel with a little garden, as a burial-place for Mantegna and his family, Mantegna for his part undertaking to endow the chapel with at least one hundred ducats. As a fact he had already, in his will of March 1, 1504,

[1] See App. No. 82.

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set aside various legacies for this chapel, and had appointed that his heirs should expend in the course of a year fifty ducats upon Mass garments and the like, and fifty ducats on the decoration of the chapel. As appears from the letter of Lodovico Mantegna—in which, for the rest, the sums are given as twice as much—his father was himself actively engaged, during his latter years, with the provision for his chapel.

It is certain, however, that neither of the paintings was completed at Mantegna's death, for both betray only too plainly the co-operation of pupils. It is true that the pictures, which, moreover, are in a very bad light, are now in a condition that makes it almost impossible to determine what is to be set to the count of the pupils, and what to the subsequent restorers.

By far the better, and better preserved, of the two paintings—the 'Holy Family with Elizabeth, the infant Saint John and Zacharias' (or one of the three kings, the Moor?)—is in the main clearly, in execution as well as in drawing, a work of Mantegna's own hand (figs. 106 and 113). The grouping of the figures in the long narrow space is very skilful and extremely natural; but the posture of the crouching women is not quite clear, the knees being apparently too small and set too high. The movement of the Child Christ, which is fairly closely copied in the 'Nativity'—now universally attributed to Correggio—of the Crespi collection in Milan, is more vivacious and child-like than usual in the later pictures, without losing any of the seriousness of expression that is always dominant in this period, precisely as the infant Saint John professes his adoration in a conscious manner. The hedge of orange and lemon bushes forming the background is quite familiar; on the other hand, the head-dress of Mary, as also that of Saint Joseph, is of peculiar Oriental form. The turban-like head-covering of Saint Elizabeth is similar to the one worn by this saint in the 'Madonna della Vittoria.' In the few well-preserved places there may be observed a delicacy and care in the execution of detail proper only to Mantegna, especially in the gold border of the Madonna's head-dress. The hands, on the contrary, are peculiarly weak. The colours must have been very rich and brilliantly warm. The Madonna wears a dress of red gold-moiré, and a yellowish neckerchief and head-covering over a cloth with white and red stripes. Elizabeth wears a violet mantle over a red dress, and a yellowish handkerchief on the head. Joseph's mantle is red in colour with gold lights; the handkerchief on his head is striped yellow and red.

In the 'Baptism of Christ,' which has gone to utter ruin, only the

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composition can be said to exhibit, at any rate, Mantegna's style (fig. 114). The drawing must have been very considerably altered in the details, by the artist who carried it out. The movements are in measure awkward and heavy, the forms of the nude—especially the hard rendering of the muscles of the hands and of the folds of the garment—often coarse and unintelligent. Not the work of subsequent restorers alone, but that also of the original painters, must bear the reproach of this offence against Mantegna's art. Probably the picture was entrusted by Mantegna's sons, to finish as best he could, to Antonio da Pavia, to whom can also be

FIG. 113.—FROM THE HOLY FAMILY IN MANTEGNA'S CHAPEL IN S. ANDREA AT MANTUA
(*Phot. Anderson*)

ascribed, as his independent work, the thoroughly weak 'Entombment' on the opposite wall.

Even if Mantegna had not, at the time of his death, worked also upon the fresco decoration of the chapel—as seems to follow from his son's letter—yet he undoubtedly must have left fully detailed drawings for the individual pictures and for their arrangement in the given space. The decoration is so simple, and in such good taste, and the perspective treatment of the dome and of the pictures in the spandrils so entirely in his manner, that no other but he can be thought of for the design and the drawing. The painting of the ceiling, with the trellis-work of arched staves, with the openings framed with garlands, and the coat of arms in the centre, as also the spandrils with the four evangelists and the allegorical

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figures of the Virtues, recall the ceiling paintings executed for Innocent VIII. in the chapel of the Belvedere. From below, the four evangelists are seen as though in openings in the wall—the thickness of which is indicated by means of the perspective—seated in front of a hedge of orange bushes, and behind a curved balustrade, which appears to project into actual space (figs. 57, 117, 159, 162). The small brackets and the lower angles of the spandrils, upon which the feet of the evangelists rest, likewise seem to project into the chapel, and Saint Mark even stretches out his foot over the edge into space. The principles of perspective decoration are thus entirely the same as those which regulated his earlier paintings of the same category. The enlargement of the space by means of the openings in which the Evangelists sit is most effective, and the figures are very skilfully composed within the spaces thus gained. Moreover, they exhibit the greatest freedom, naturalness, and variety of movement. The condition of precisely these figures is such as to admit of no opinion respecting the pictorial execution. Only a few pieces of the original surface remain, and these the restorer has patched together as well as he could into connected forms. The impression made is as though the original painter was of the school of Lorenzo Costa. In the colouring

FIG. 114.—BAPTISM OF CHRIST: BY A PUPIL OF MANTEGNA
Mantegna's Chapel in S. Andrea at Mantua. (Phot. Anderson)

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dull red, orange-yellow and violet predominate. The tradition of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seems to have ascribed them to Correggio.[1]

The simple brick frame that connects the dome and its four supporting arches—consisting only of an egg-moulding and a pearl beading—is exactly similar to the ornaments of the court of Mantegna's house (cf. above, p. 206). On the entrance-wall and on the right and left walls broad stripes follow the brick frieze of the arch; these are composed each of a horizontal oval at the apex of the arch, with a square at each side and an upright oval below. On the walls to the right and left of the entrance four angels, bearing scutcheons, are further represented under the upright ovals; by the door the well-known bronze bust of Mantegna (Plate facing p. 1) takes on one side the place of the angel, while the space opposite remains empty. The window wall is, at any rate now, entirely without ornament, and, like all the socles on the framework of the panels, was adorned with painted variegated marble. Within the horizontal ovals are represented—over the door, the 'Judgment of Solomon;' on the right wall, the 'Angel speaking to Joachim in the Temple' (fig. 160); on the left wall, the 'Beheading of John the Baptist' (fig. 58), all in stone colour, in imitation of reliefs. The square panels to the side of the horizontal ovals contain, in brownish colour, in imitation of bronze reliefs—over the door, the 'Angel with Tobias,' and an angel sacrificing, with two kneeling figures ('Sacrifice of Manoah'); on the right wall, 'David with the Head of Goliath' and 'Nathan Anointing David;' on the left wall, 'Judith giving the Head of Holofernes to the Maid' (fig. 115) and 'Judith showing the Head to the People' (fig. 116). In the upright ovals underneath we see six allegorical figures of the Virtues, represented as statues in stone upon pedestals in niches. We recognise Temperance, Justice, Prudence, Faith (fig. 6), and Fortitude. Love and Hope are missing, and were presumably represented on the window wall, for the sixth remaining figure—the one holding a compass on the entrance-wall, opposite the bust of Mantegna—cannot be interpreted as either of the two missing Virtues, but appears to be the embodiment of Science or of Art, added by Mantegna from his own imagining to fill up the empty space; just as we are told he did, though with a different purpose, in the papal chapel of the Belvedere. Two of the four angels hold scutcheons with Mantegna's arms (fig. 1), and on the shield of the third is represented a pouncing lion rampant within a red field. The shield

[1] See Cadioli, *Descrizione di Mantova*, 1768, p. 53.

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of the fourth angel is destroyed. Mantegna's arms are depicted not only upon the shields of the angels and on the ceiling (fig. 74), but also upon a painted tablet on the left wall, beneath the 'Entombment.' Here we see in the centre the eagle which Mantegna was permitted to bear,

FIG. 115.—JUDITH WITH THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES: FRESCO IN MANTEGNA'S CHAPEL IN S. ANDREA AT MANTUA (*Phot. Anderson*)

FIG. 116.—JUDITH SHOWING THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES TO THE PEOPLE: FRESCO IN MANTEGNA'S CHAPEL IN S. ANDREA (*Phot. Anderson*)

doubtless as Palsgrave (*comes palatinus*); and on either side a scutcheon, displaying on the left Mantegna's coat of arms, on the right a group of six hills with three stars, doubtless the emblem of Olympus, which the Marquis Lodovico had bestowed upon him.

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These ornamental paintings seem to approach, in their forms, closer to his art than do the evangelists. In the elongated proportions, in the winding movements, and the overladen angular drapery, they agree with the latest of Mantegna's works. In the exaggeration of the proportions and of the movements, and in the weakness of execution, the hand of the pupil is clearly enough to be recognised. The date MDXVI to be read beneath the picture of Judith displaying the head to the people gives us a secure point for dating the paintings, which were thus not executed, in part at least, until ten years after the master's death. The sons seem, therefore, to have not unduly hurried. Lodovico had already died, a few years after his father. If the paintings were done by Francesco, they would do him much honour, and would show that he had entered thoroughly into his father's style. Unfortunately, we have no authentic work, either by him or by any other assistant of the master, to whom we might ascribe the pictures. So that, especially as they are all more or less badly damaged, there can be no attempt at attribution to a definite personality.

FIG. 117.—SAINT LUKE: FRESCO IN MANTEGNA'S CHAPEL IN S. ANDREA AT MANTUA
(*Phot. Anderson*)

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FIG. 119.—MEDAL OF ISABELLA D' ESTE: BY GIAN CRISTOFORO ROMANO
Vienna Museum

CHAPTER X

THE MYTHOLOGICAL AND ALLEGORICAL PICTURES OF THE LAST PERIOD

If, when we come to the final period of the master's activity, it is found best to separate the religious works from the mythological representations, and to consider these as a separate group, the division will be found justified, not so much by the external diversity of the subject-matter as by the different attitude of mind in which the artist approached the two classes of subjects.

If humanism be understood, not one-sidedly merely, as the study of the antique—which was, indeed, but the shield to protect the man, the light to illuminate his path—but as the striving after an unprejudiced apprehension of the universe, there can be no moment's doubt that, whatever cloak it assumed, it was bound in its essence to come into profoundest opposition with the spirit of the Catholic

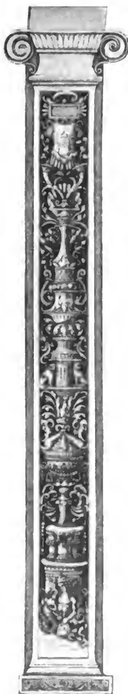

FIG. 118.—ENGRAVING BY ZOAN ANDREA: AFTER A DRAWING BY MANTEGNA (FOR THE TRIUMPH)

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Church. This is seen most clearly in the case of Savonarola, who represented the strictly orthodox standpoint, as well against the secularised papacy as against humanism; and, above all, in the powerful reaction which the spirit of humanism stirred up in Italy, and everywhere where it could not—as in the German Reformation—bring about a new, unconstrained, and penetrating review of the bases of Christianity. The Reformation might join hands with humanism; the counter-Reformation, for its part, is in its nature by no means solely directed against reform of the Church, but—in spite of certain concessions made to science from motives of prudence—always in the end against the spirit of unprejudiced free inquiry, which was from its nature bound to clash with the dogmas of the Church. This opposition already existed, in reality, at the time when humanism, in the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, counted its most zealous and enthusiastic adherents among the higher clergy. But only a few men who were peculiarly logical in thought and true to conviction, such as Savonarola, clearly realised it. Men at large could not, or would not, make this inner opposition clear, even apart from the diversion of the clerical spirit through questions of political power. People as a rule avoid picturing to themselves the final consequences of their aspirations for the future, and follow the passions and the demands roused by immediate need. But whatever trouble was taken at that time to harmonise humanistic endeavours in science and art with Church observances, the opposition remained, and came out the more strongly the further science progressed on the path of inquiry, and the Church in her struggle for temporal and spiritual domination.

In the art of the Renascence the free, enthusiastic flight of purely human feeling, and of antique heroic conceptions having their source in this new humanist spirit, penetrated with increasing force, though outwardly unmarked; even religious representations, the earlier, more abstract conceptions of the antique—that had rested mainly upon literature and tradition—becoming gradually converted, through closer study of ancient monuments and through the informing imagination, into definite sense-images. We have been able to observe, step for step, how in Mantegna's religious representations conceptions derived from the antique gain more and more the upper hand and exert an influence upon the form; how in his later works he intensified simple human feeling by an heroic and rhetorical mode of expression based on the antique. This complete dominion of antique elements over pure Christian sentiment is

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characteristically brought out in Mantegna's engraving of the risen Christ between Longinus and Andrew (fig. 148)! The bulk of the saints' powerful frames, and of the Christ that towers above them, the defiant strength of the Roman Longinus, and the self-reliant tranquillity of Saint Andrew—both, in spite of their subordination, conscious of their share in the powers so splendidly incorporated in the Christ—and, above all, the Lord himself, who stands there full of earnestness and severity, and whose raised right hand seems not to bestow blessing, but to demand subjection and to threaten punishment—all combine to produce a powerful impression of grandiose, quiet, and irresistible might. This feeling of ascendency, this untrammelled, free activity of all their natural forces that these figures breathe, in body and spirit, is proper only to the gods of Olympus, not to the meek saints of the Christian heaven.

To the genial painter there could be no lack of ever new and profound forms of expression, even in religious pictures. But in his innermost feeling he must have grown more and more estranged from the religious spirit of Christianity the more unreservedly his enthusiasm waxed for antiquity, and the more not only his mind, but also his sense-perception, was taken up with the shapes of the ancient world, as it appeared to him. If in his early works he came near—may one say ?—to the Æschylean spirit, in the later works there breaks through, even more strongly, the Euripidean apprehension of the tragic, the sympathy with the human will as against all-determining fate.

This must not, however, be taken to imply that he had become non-Christian in his personal feeling. Externally, at any rate, he always remained faithful to the religious beliefs of his time, displayed great devotion in all observances, and, like most of his contemporaries, regarded the Church ordinances as an established custom that must be followed. But, nevertheless, it was only antiquity and its untrammelled feeling for nature that formed the ideal content of his life and of his art. Mantegna remained untouched by the spirit of Savonarola. For a religious reaction, such as so many other artists of the time experienced, must needs, in so strong and energetic a character, have clearly manifested itself in his art. Precisely at that time he was busied upon mythological pictures full of the joy of life and of the senses; his 'Triumph of Cæsar' remained for him the master-work of his life. He belonged among the great independent characters, who pursue their course conscious of their aim, never turned aside by passing moods or by currents of popular opinion. That he remained true, up to the last days of his life, to his passion for the

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antique is proved most strikingly by the words in which Calandra, in his letter of August 1, 1506, informs his mistress, Isabella d' Este, that Mantegna had handed over to him the bust of Faustina, his best antique, which pressing need during the plague had obliged him to sell to the marchioness. 'He has handed it over to me,' Calandra writes, 'with great formality [*cum grande ceremonia*], and commended it to me with great insistence, not without permitting great jealousy to appear, in such a manner that I am almost sure he will die, unless he may have it given back to him before six days elapse.' One sees how his heart clung to his beloved antiques, how he lived only in the ancient world, and how he never felt himself so much in his element, or exerted himself with such full enjoyment, as when engaged in its representation. In the religious subjects he has to do violence to the ecclesiastical sentiment in order to express his conception; his attitude towards the ancient subject-matter is quite free and unconstrained, because he can mould it entirely according to his imagination, which increasingly dominates his art.

Another essential difference, however, between religious and mythological subjects in the art of the Renascence is that the former were conceived purely as religious cultus or devotional pictures, while in the mythological subjects an allegorical sub-meaning comes almost always into play. The figures of antiquity appear not only in their character as such, but also as embodiments of abstract notions, moral or æsthetic, in company with a whole series of freely invented personifications of similar ideas. The essentially decorative purpose of this class of representations, as against the immediate object of devotional pictures, is, further, of great import. On this account certain actually religious subjects, such as Samson and Dalila, the Judgment of Solomon, and the pictures of Judith, must be included in this group of mythological pictures, because they are essentially allegorical in significance and purely decorative in intention. This may show very clearly how far from superficial is this separation between the Church and the mythological paintings of Mantegna.

It is Isabella d' Este, the wife of the Marquis Francesco, to whose commission and encouragement we owe the mythological allegories painted by Mantegna in his last period. This woman alone is, justly, looked upon as the most complete embodiment of the Renascence ideal of womanhood. Amiability and charm of appearance and of nature are united in her with an unconstrained frankness and vivacity of expression that secure an indulgent judgment even of her faults; the goodness of her warm and

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sensitive heart is united with an unusual prudence and acuteness of judgment; fine feeling and taste with solid culture, acquired through zealous study. In the spirit of her time she is 'human,' in the best sense of the word; with enchanting naturalness she exercises all the harmoniously developed forces of her spirit, she follows the suggestions of her magnanimous feelings as well as of her feminine caprice.[1]

A thoroughly artistic nature, she is able to lend artistic form to all the manifestations of her understanding and of her feelings, to impart a poetic atmosphere to her whole environment. The artists are her colleagues, whom she well knows how to select, and of whose work she is an acute judge. The criticisms attributed to her on artists and works of art are of the highest importance to our understanding of the artistic aims and tastes of the time. The feeling of assurance, which she had acquired through the intimate study of literature, and which was encouraged by her social position and by the enthusiastic eulogies bestowed on her by the most cultured minds of the day, gave her the courage to express her opinion without fear of compromising herself, for she consults only her taste, and gladly leaves to experts the technical question of the authenticity and artistic merit of antiques. What delights her in the work of the artist is really the art, the pleasing, perfected artistic form, for she can herself prescribe to the artist that fecund symbolism, imitated from antiquity, in which, after the spirit of her time, she looks for the poetic aspect of the subject—as something to a certain degree independent of the essence of the work of art.

For this reason she has a fine eye for what is characteristic in the style of the individual artists. She begs Leonardo da Vinci to paint her a Child Christ of some twelve years of age, 'with the air of suavity and gentleness which is your supreme excellence in art' ('facto cum quella dolcezza et suavita de aiere che haveti per arte peculiare in exellentia'[2]). She begs her friend Cecilia Bergamina Visconti to send her for a short time a portrait by the hand of Leonardo, that she may draw a comparison between Bellini and Leonardo.[3] She tries to procure an antique sleeping Cupid for purposes of comparison with the Cupid of Michelangelo, of which she had become the fortunate possessor. Her somewhat severe, though kindly expressed, judgment on the painting that

[1] Luzio e Renier, *Mantova e Urbino: Isabella d' Este ed Elisabetta Gonzaga*, Torino, 1893: D'Arco in *Archivio Storico italiano* (Appendice No. 11, vol. ii.), Firenze, 1845, p. 205; C. Yriarte in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1895, i. pp. 13, 189, 382, ii. p. 123, 1896, i. pp. 215, 330; Alessandro Luzio, *I Precettori di Isabella d' Este*, Ancona, 1887 (Nozze Renier-Campostrini).

[2] Luzio, *Precettori di Isabella*, p. 34; letter of May 14, 1504.

[3] *Loc. cit* p. 82.

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Perugino had at length delivered to her may be subscribed to even at the present day without hesitation.[1] It is most noteworthy that she commissions not one, but several, famous artists to execute the paintings for her study, with the definite view of bringing together there, as in a museum, works by the most illustrious painters of her time. To the artistic adornment of this apartment she devoted her utmost care, her best financial and administrative capacities; and for its sake sacrificed her pride, and suffered patiently the caprices of the neglectful artists who were to provide the brilliant framework for the picture of her imagination, the worthy setting for the gems of ancient art which she had collected here. Among these artists Mantegna was the first whom Isabella attracted, and whose paintings were to be the patterns for the works of the others.

Unhappily, we are less well informed as to the relations of Isabella to our master than to the other artists, to whom she could not communicate her wishes by word of mouth, as she did to Mantegna, but had to convey them in a series of letters, which are still partly preserved to us. When, in February 1490, the Marquis Francesco brought his young wife to Mantua, Mantegna was detained in Rome by illness. We may place a certain faith in his assurance of profound sorrow at being unable to contribute, in compliance with the prince's wishes, to the festal splendour; for he lost thereby the best opportunity of at once ingratiating himself with the new mistress, who must have been well known to him as being highly cultured and artistic. And thus after his return he was obliged to seek an introduction to the young princess through his friend Baptista Guarino, the preceptor of Isabella, whose acquaintance he had doubtless made in Padua or Verona.[2] The drift of the choice and flattering terms of this letter of introduction is—as usual in such cases—that Mantegna has no need of a recommendation, and that Isabella does not require the words of the writer to call her attention to the merits of the artist.

As a fact Isabella displayed always, to the man as to the artist, the greatest esteem and goodwill. This is seen even in the way her intimates speak of Mantegna. She writes on August 11, 1492, to her husband[3] of the daughters of Antonio del Balzo, who welcome her in Caneto, that they 'are so beautiful that Master Andrea Mantegna could not paint them more so.' She recommends the old master—who had implored her

[1] App. No. 74. [2] See *Giorn. di Erud. Artist.* i. p. 202.
[3] *Arch. Storico Lombardo*, xvii. (1890), p. 349.

intercession on behalf of his son, fallen into disgrace with the marquis—in feeling and cordial words to the prince, reminding him of the great merits of the artist and of his industry.[1] She shows a like goodwill and considerateness in her answer to Pietro Bembo's violent complaint against Mantegna, and pleads that he has been so ill one can talk with him for the moment of nothing else than of his state of health.[2]

Mantegna was already nearly sixty years of age when he ventured to approach the young Marchesa. He might well be reckoned, without hesitation, among the humanists; but Isabella belonged to a new generation, whose aspirations differed essentially from those of the preceding. In contrast to the profundity and rigidness of inquiry that prevailed among the earlier students of antiquity, humanism—which had meanwhile penetrated into wider and higher spheres—had taken on a lighter, more elegant, and courtly form. In place of Scipio and Brutus, Cæsar was celebrated as the supreme ideal. The figures that the early humanists had timidly venerated from afar were now approached with a confidence akin to a feeling of fellowship, and men began to feel themselves at home in the new artistic reconstruction, that was now attempted, of ancient life and ideas.

Isabella retained nothing of Christianity beyond the external observance. Her faith rested wholly upon astrological predictions, upon amulets and talismans; her pilgrimages are mere transparent pretexts for gratifying her love of travel. This pleasure in journeys and observation, again, is quite modern. She is thoroughly worldly and bent on enjoyment. It is precisely the correctness of her attitude towards the external institutions of the Church that shows her to be, like most of her cultured and independent-minded contemporaries, essentially indifferent to the spirit of the Christian teaching. Neither does antiquity affect her, like Mantegna, as deeply felt humanity, as the artistic presentment of the overwhelming tragedy of life, but as a world of serene figures devoid of inner moral meaning, the symbols of her ideals of a cultured enjoyment of life. Yet, in spite of this difference in their moral perceptions, Mantegna stands closer to her than any other artist. He is, indeed, the only one who meets her views with understanding, and is able, whatever the difficulty, to cast them into artistic form.

With the remaining artists to whom she entrusted the execution of her allegoric mythological projects Isabella had most unfortunate

[1] Letter of April 1, 1505, App. No. 73.
[2] Letter of January 31, 1506, *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts*, 1896, i. p. 226.

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experiences. From Leonardo nothing further was to be obtained after he had once, during a stay in Mantua, caught her charming features—more, perhaps, as she wished to appear than as she was—in a masterly drawing.[1] Giovanni Bellini directly refused to paint the subject she had exactly described to him because he could make nothing of it.[2] Thereupon she leaves the choice of a subject to him, so that it be a tale or an ancient fable, or the like, and begs Bembo to agree with Bellini upon a subject. She was compelled, nevertheless, to content herself at last with a 'Nativity,' which she banishes, with a certain disparagement, to her bedroom, as unsuitable for the study, not yet renouncing all hope of an 'historia' from Bellini. Neither does she obtain from Francesco Francia the tale desired and closely described—it is not known on what ground, perhaps on account of the jealousy between him and Costa. Still worse was it with Perugino, who, being as usual in money difficulties, accepts the commission without hesitation, and then can make nothing either of the subject—however closely this may have been described to him—or of the technique, in which he wished to imitate Mantegna, and who finally, at the energetic insistence of Isabella, knocks together a quite unsatisfactory piece of work. The ingenious Costa finally found the way to get round the difficulties by laying the stress upon a compliment to the patroness.

Mantegna alone embraced his part of his task with zeal and interest in the matter. True, his share in the adornment of the cabinet was not limited, as with the others, to the execution of one or two paintings. The subjects of the pictures were decided in detail by Paride da Ceresara;[3] but the leading ideas of the whole cycle—in which, as we shall see, a quite definite plan was followed, as in the Stanze of Raphael—were without question agreed upon in the circle of Isabella and her friends, and assuredly the court artist, with his archæological culture, was among the privileged, and was asked for his opinion on this as on all artistic occasions. A series of decorative pictures by him, mentioned in the inventory of the art treasures in Isabella's cabinet, leads one to suppose

[1] The drawing is supposed to be that in the Louvre, a copy of which is in the Uffizi. Cf. Ch. Yriarte, 'Isabella d'Este et Léonard de Vinci' in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1888, i. p. 182; 1895, i. p. 13, *seq.* Luzio, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, i. (1888), p. 181. This author argues convincingly, in *Emporium* (Bergamo, 1900), p. 352, that the drawing in the Louvre is not a portrait of Isabella.

[2] *Archivio Storico Veneto*, xiii. (1877), p. 371. 'Dije [dice] che in questa istoria non pole fare chosa che stia bene non che abia del buon e falla tanto male volontieri quanto dir si posi,' writes Vianello on June 25, 1501, to Isabella about Bellini.

[3] Cf. letters in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1896, i. p. 331; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vii. p. 708. Luzio e Renier in *Giornale Stor. della Letteratura Ital.*, xxxiv. (1899) p. 86 *seq.*

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that he yet further co-operated in its decoration, and probably gave artistic directions and drawings for the general arrangement and for the ornamental details.

Although a whole series of apartments once inhabited by Isabella still remain in the castle of Mantua, yet we can, unfortunately, gain no longer a clear idea of the arrangement of this cabinet. The matter is peculiarly complicated by the fact that Isabella dwelt at different times in three different parts of the castle, and that the rooms can, in fact, no longer be distinguished with certainty, and have been greatly altered. Besides her first cabinet in rooms adjoining the 'Camera degli Sposi,' towards the south,[1] Isabella, while still living in the Castello, had, however, fitted up a second cabinet in the Corte Vecchia, the ancient palace of the Bonacolsi, in the rooms of the ground floor situated towards the 'Piazza del giuoco del pallone' (now della Lega Lombarda), which was spoken of in letters as far back as 1505 as the 'Grotta,' which contained her library, and which, according to the inscription, she enlarged in 1522 by a pillared portico now partially restored, which was clearly intended to receive sculptures.[2] Also, when in the year 1523, at the wish of her son, she moved over from the Castello to the splendid apartments, still preserved, on the first story of the Corte Vecchia—the so-called 'Paradiso'—she still retained her study in the 'Grotta.'

It can no longer be determined with certainty whether the paintings of Mantegna and the other artists were originally done for the cabinet in the Castello, and only later transferred to the 'Grotta,' or whether from the very first she had designed the entire decoration for the new 'Studio.' All that is certain is that the first of the two pictures by Mantegna, which were not yet delivered on April 3, 1497,[3] was set up on July 3, 1497, in the 'Studio'[4]; that in the correspondence with Gio. Bellini, Perugino, Francia, and Costa (1497 to 1506), Mantegna's paintings are always taken into account; and, above all, that, at the death of Isabella, the paintings were all still in the cabinet of the 'Grotta,' and had not, therefore, been transferred to the apartments of the 'Paradiso.' For in the Inventory that was taken in 1542 the pictures are all

[1] Her first 'studio,' therefore, was in the Castello itself and not in the (now destroyed) Annexe, the Palazzina, which was not erected before 1531, as has been proved, against the supposition of Yriarte (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1895, i. p. 189 *seq.*), by Stefano Davari (*Arch. Stor Lombardo*, xxii. (1895) p. 434 *seq.*

[2] *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, xxvi. (1899).

[3] Letter of Isabella to Lorenzo da Pavia, *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1895, ii. p. 130.

[4] Letter of Alberto da Bologna to Isabella (App. No. 64)

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noted down as still in the 'Grotta,'[1] and it appears from the negotiations over the sale of the 'Triumph,' in the letters of Daniel Nys of the year 1627, that the pictures were then also still in the 'Grotta,' at any rate in part.[2]

Here, then, Isabella had made her collections into a veritable museum, which—together with her husband's 'armeria,' the earliest and richest collection of weapons in Italy—could be shown to eminent strangers, as it was, for example, to Count Pietro Soranzo on November 6, 1515, as the principal sight of the town.[3] Raffaello Toscano also sings in his poems of the splendours of the 'Grotta.'[4] Besides the court of this 'Grotta,' there are now preserved only remains, in one of the adjoining rooms, of the original decoration, the roof-painting of the so-called 'Scalcheria,' to which there has already been occasion to allude (above, p. 255).

At the sight of the proud remains of this splendour, we can nowadays only reflect mournfully what a gem of art must be lost to us in Isabella's study. Everything in it was disposed with the most select taste and refined artistic feeling, and executed with the deepest care and love, out of the costliest materials, from the carved wooden ceilings, some of which may still be admired as masterpieces, in the 'Paradiso,' to the majolica floor-tiles, with emblems of the Gonzaga families, remains of which are still preserved.[5] The doors were chiselled in coloured marble, with reliefs by an artist-hand, doubtless in the manner of those still remaining in the 'Paradiso,' executed probably by Gian Cristoforo Romano; the walls were covered with inlaid woodwork and with costly tapestry; the lute by Lorenzo da Pavia; her inkstand in bronze—a masterpiece of plastic art—such as that which Caradossa offered her for no less than 1,000 ducats;[6] every trifle that was about her was a work of art of the highest perfection. Even the less conspicuous objects for her use, for her toilet, must needs be ennobled by artistic form.

More clearly than even in the enthusiastic praises of the poets who celebrated Isabella, or in the ardent greetings sent to her by absent friends, is the ruling spirit of the atmosphere about her mirrored in the

[1] Cf. D'Arco, ii. p. 134. The exact date of the Inventory is noted in the original in the 'Archivio Notarile' at Mantua.

[2] Cf. Baschet, in the *Raccolta Veneta di N. Barozzi*, Venezia, 1866, p. 93 *seq.*

[3] Cf. Sanudo's Diarii, 1515-16, *Sommario di Lettere di Ser Contarini.*

[4] Raffaello Toscano, *L' Edificazione di Mantova*, Mantova, 1587, p. 24 *seq.*

[5] London, South Kensington Museum; Berlin, Kunstgewerbe-Museum, and in other places.

[6] Cf. *Arch. Storico dell' Arte*, i. (1888), p. 113. Letter of Gian Cristoforo Romano to Isabella of July 20, 1505.

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paintings that once adorned her study, and which a good fortune has preserved to us.

The descriptions of the paintings in the letters and in the ancient inventories prove beyond the possibility of doubt that the five paintings which Isabella had ordered from Mantegna, Perugino, and Costa survive in the two pictures of Mantegna (the 'Parnassus' and the 'Allegory of Virtue'), the 'Triumph of Chastity' by Perugino, and the two allegorical paintings by Costa, which are now all together in the Louvre.

In the Inventory of 1627 the pictures are no longer mentioned, but they were nevertheless still in the possession of the Duke of Mantua, since Daniel Nys tried in vain to buy them for Charles I. of England. A little later Cardinal Richelieu must have succeeded in obtaining them, either from the duke himself or directly after the sack of the town, for he had them exhibited in his palace as early as the year 1630.[1] Among Richelieu's remains, the pictures passed in 1801 out of the possession of his heirs to the Musée Napoléon.

A detailed explanation of the subjects would take us into a province foreign to that of painting, and purely literary: it could not here be undertaken even if the literary sources whence they are derived were disclosed to us. The common underlying idea is without question the symbolising of the several realms of the intellectual and sensuous life, to the service of which the 'Studio' was dedicated, through the ancient divinities and the allegorical figures that predominate in these pictures. This distribution of the ideals of the human spirit according to definite philosophical points of view still formally corresponds to mediaeval scholastic classification; but in place of the rigid personification of concepts by single figures, practised in the older art, symbolism is here carried into the action itself. In poetry, Petrarch had given in his 'Triumphs'—where allegorical representations, partly mythological and partly historical, of the various ideal aspirations of man, from the most sensuous, love, to the highest and most spiritual, religion, are seen passing before the eye of the poet in animated train—a prototype for the artistic embodiment of such abstract ideas, that took dominant hold on the imagination and was endlessly imitated. In the case of the pictures the idea of the 'Triumphs' is evidently transferred—in part at least—into other provinces of the spiritual life, and confined to the aspirations of this world, to art and science. Only, instead of the triumphal procession of the victorious force, which we have in Petrarch,

[1] Cf. Edm. Bonnaffé, *Recherches sur les Collections de Richelieu*, Paris, 1883, pp. 34, 108, 137; and Piot, *Cabinet de l'Amateur*, iv. (1845-46), p. 380.

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the strife of 'virtù' (excellence) is everywhere represented or at least indicated.

In Mantegna's so-called 'Parnassus' the triumph of Venus over Mars is celebrated in dance and song by Apollo and the Muses. The 'Triumph of Virtue over the Vices' represents the triumph of Minerva—*i.e.* of mental excellence, of moral force (*virtù*)—over the vices of indolence and sensuality. Perugino's picture symbolises the 'Triumph of Chastity,' the combat of Diana and Pallas against Venus and Amor, as it is called in Isabella's letter to Perugino (of September 15, 1502 [1]), which contains precise directions for the treatment of the subject. To Lorenzo Costa was allotted the 'Triumph of Poetry' as his theme, which he cleverly transformed, with perhaps but slight deviation from the instructions, into a triumph of Isabella and her court of muses. Isabella, surrounded by poets and authors, is crowned by a genius, who stands upon the lap of a seated woman, a muse of poetry (Calliope?).[2] The sailing vessel and tournament to the left refer no doubt to the contents of the poems, though perhaps at the same time suggesting the *fame* which the art of poetry confers upon the hero as upon the poet. The fifth picture, to which we shall have to return, is also described as a work of Costa's. It was probably dedicated to the celebration of gay erotic music, personified in Comus, the god of the wanton Bacchic train. Here again the inimical powers of Envy and three other figures are driven back by Janus and Mercury. We have thus the Triumph of Love (Venus), the Triumph of Chastity (Diana), the Triumph of Energy (Virtus: Minerva), the Triumph of Heroic Poetry, of Fame (Calliope?), and the Triumph of Musical Gladness (Comus). Perhaps the cycle was not complete with these five pictures; we do not know the tasks proposed to Bellini and to Francia.

If we may refer a statement of Alberto da Bologna in a letter of July 3, 1497, to Isabella,[3] to one of the two pictures in the Louvre, Mantegna must at this time have already furnished one of them. When Vianello wrote to Isabella on June 25, 1501,[4] the question is similarly only of 'that work' of Master Andrea; but so early as November 22, 1502,[5] as in later letters of January 12, 1504,[6] June 30, 1505 [7] and also October 19, 1505,[8] Isabella

[1] *Giornale di Erudizione artistica*, ii. (1873), p. 159.

[2] A contrary opinion is expressed by Luzio in *Emporium*, xi. (Bergamo, 1900) p. 354 *seq.*

[3] App. No. 64. 'In the Studio of your Excellency nothing more is wanting, and you will find the painting of Master Andrea hung . . .'

[4] App. No. 66. [5] App. No. 68.
[6] App. No. 69. [7] App. No. 74. [8] App. No. 75.

speaks of 'the pictures' of Mantegna. According to this, then, one of the two paintings for the Studio must have been finished by July 1497, and the other before November 1502.

There can be no doubt which of the two was the earlier. The 'Parnassus' is not only by far the most attractive, both in subject and in composition, but it also so far surpasses the 'Triumph of Virtue over the Vices,' through the freshness and naturalness of the forms and through the warm brilliancy of the colouring, that—in view of the evolution of

FIG. 120.—ENGRAVING BY ZOAN ANDREA: AFTER A DRAWING BY MANTEGNA FOR THE PARNASSUS

the master's later style—it must certainly be looked upon as the earlier work, produced in 1497 (Plate 22 and fig. 120).

No other of his paintings is so full of gay sensuousness and joy in existence as this, no other shines with such richness and brilliance of light and colour. Whereas in the contemporary religious picture, the 'Madonna' of Prince Trivulzio, there is unmistakably a certain exhaustion of artistic power, here he rises once again to an effort of the highest creative force and poetry. One feels with what enthusiasm the aged artist roused himself from the melancholy with which he must at that time have regarded the life about him, and strove to reach the kingdom of imagination, the

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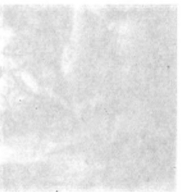

XXII.

PARNASSUS

Louvre

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divine heights where his gods, the gods of his art, dwelt free from care in eternal beauty.

Encompassed by light, the radiant, beauteous goddess of Love stands beside the heroic figure of the War god, who is turning to leave, while a roguish Love god, now that it is too late, seems to summon and warn the injured husband, Vulcan, who is seen at work in his smithy. Beneath, at the foot of the rocky gateway, upon which the couch of the two lovers is prepared in front of an orange and lemon tree hedge, the nine Muses move in happy dance while Apollo[1] accompanies their song of blissful love, and himself sings to his lyre. Nor may the swift-footed messenger of the gods, the god of seductive eloquence, who stands resting against Pegasus (opposite Apollo), be absent from the Triumph of Love, which conquers all obstacles through the magic of sweet speech and engaging tones and alluring dance. In the distance, behind the rocks that enclose this island of the blessed, the earth of men stretches far away with its towns and mountains. To them for comfort in their calamity Mercury will bring the news of the divine blessedness in the songs which he is stealing from Apollo.

Lines of wonderfully harmonious movement lead the eye from the centre to the sides; slight movements of the corner figures bring the glance back again to the main group. The fine oval lines which the bodies of Venus and Mars form together are echoed below in the movements of the Muses. In the centre the circle breaks and leaves a space, serving to emphasise the central lines and the group of lovers. As counterpoise to the form of Vulcan in the cavern above Apollo on the left side, Mercury on the right with his goat-like Pegasus is brought more into the foreground. One has but to compare this masterpiece of easy filling of space with the meagre pictures of Costa and Perugino—which, as once in Isabella's study, serve now in the Louvre as its foils—in order to recognise Mantegna's superiority. That this was fully acknowledged also at the time comes out with special clearness from the observations of the worthy Lorenzo da Pavia, in his letters of July 6 and 16, 1504,[2] to Isabella. He compares the pictures of Bellini with that of Mantegna: 'In invention [invenzion, *i.e.* composition] no one can rival Master Andrea, who is in truth the most excellent and first, but in colouring Giovanni Bellini is admirable.'

For strength and poetic charm of colour Mantegna could not, as even

[1] In the description in the Inventory of the study Apollo is called 'Orfeo,' and the nine Muses simple 'ninfe.'

[2] App. Nos. 70, 71.

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the candid Lorenzo, in spite of his great veneration for the Mantuan, had to admit, contend as a rule with Bellini. And yet in the 'Parnassus' he might be ranked even with him. Light and colour combine with the lines of the composition to a harmony of great charm, as in scarce any other of his works save the 'Madonna della Vittoria.' The light is concentrated upon the nude Venus, whose glowing golden-yellow flesh tints effectually detach themselves from the dark background and the gay covering of the couch, by the side of the strongly emphasised figure of Mars. The transition to the darker tones is formed here, as always in Mantegna, by streaks of strong clear colours, especially in parts of the garments which reflect the clear tones in the darker parts. Thus the streak of light passes under the dark rocky gateway on which Venus is enthroned, once again to the group, resplendent in colour, of the dancing Muses. Their gay garments, shot with deep colours passing from yellow to violet, red to yellow, grey to blue, grey to yellow or violet, form with the clear flesh-tones a powerful colour-harmony, which diminishes in intensity from the centre to the sides, and finally dies away in the parts in shade that close the composition to right and left.

Apollo and Vulcan are in the shadow of the rock, which on the left rises to the full height of the picture, while in the figure of Mercury the colour is again somewhat stronger, so as to form a counterpoise to the bright source of light above on the left between the Love god and the rocks. Thence the warm sunlight pours itself on the right in the foreground and over the centre of the background, subduing the thin veil of cloud that had lain over the valley, and that still hangs, lit up to a reddish grey, behind on the horizon and above to the right in the sky. The hilly landscape with the deep wide valley, that is disclosed through the rocky arch, displays a character completely different from the landscapes of all his earlier pictures, in which high rocks or round hills sharply finish off the flat foreground or middle distance. Only in the Pietà at Copenhagen could a similar landscape be adduced as characteristic of the master's late period. It is doubtless the fruits of his journey to Rome through the river-valleys of Tuscany, which he represents to us in this charming landscape—somewhat overladen perhaps with detail—that fits in so perfectly with the bright and gay mood of the subject.

That affectation and artificial elegance in violent movements, which are noticeable in all Mantegna's later works, appear less unnatural here, since the motion of the dancing Muses admits of a certain violence, an

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excess of muscular tension. Some of the figures have wonderful swinging rhythm, in particular the Muse seen *en face* on the left; and yet it cannot be said that the impression of easy freedom of movement is ever attained, and it must be admitted that the direct observation of nature no longer came, as formerly, to the aid of the artist, who could only have derived from his imagination the forms that should express this excess of feeling. The types are less individual, and betray a certain sameness of form; the details, the incidental traits, the strong emphasis of the muscles and veins, all disappear and let the main forms stand out soft and full.

The proportions of the limbs apparently correspond to a definite canon which Mantegna had made for himself. As against the slenderness of his earlier figures, which are more than nine times the length of the head, the length of the body is here limited in every case to eight head lengths, which are partitioned regularly throughout the body as follows: from chin to breast, from breast to navel, from navel to groin, two for the thigh, and two for the leg. Clearly a detailed scheme of proportions—a system determining the proportional relations of the several limbs—governs these forms. Similar endeavours to ascertain, by precise measurements from nature and from ancient sculpture, the normal proportions of the perfect human body had, as is well known, long engaged the artists of Italy. The result of these studies, like other theorems of art, was jealously guarded within the circle of the pupils to whom the master had entrusted it. It was probably the desire to become acquainted with this system of Mantegna—of which he had already had tidings years before through Jacopo de' Barbari, as also through the master's own engravings—from the artist himself, that tempted Albert Dürer, during his stay in Venice in the year 1506, to plan a journey to Mantua, the execution of which was, however, prevented by the death of Mantegna and by the plague.

It is easier to understand from the figures of the 'Parnassus' than from any other of Mantegna's works executed at this time, how he strove, by the help of mean proportions taken from a great series of individual forms and from the works of antiquity, to create an ideal type of perfected symmetrical beauty. Down to every detail the proportions are balanced with the utmost nicety and show the greatest uniformity and regularity. The full faces of the women—with the fine pointed oval, the delicate nose, the small mouth, and the sparkling, radiant eyes, the supple limbs in their faultless shapes and rhythmical cadence—are of the greatest

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charm. From the Saint Euphemia in Naples or on the altarpiece of Luke in the Brera onwards to these Muses, his type of woman has undergone an entirely consistent development, which kept even pace with the artistic aspirations of his time, from the anatomical study of separate phenomena in the formation of the body and in psychic expression, to the free re-creation of the natural forms after the images of the artist's imagination. That these great differences in form, in movement, and in temperament are not conditioned merely by the objective differences between the austere saint of the Christian heaven and these bright dwellers in the serene Olympus, but by a change of conception, is proved by such figures as the Saint Sebastian, belonging to Baron Franchetti, or the Magdalen in the picture of the Madonna in the National Gallery.

Undeniably, also, the influence of the antique has its share in the change. It was precisely this system of forms, perfected according to rule, that was admired in ancient sculpture and that was imitated so soon as a thorough knowledge of the structure of the body and a complete sureness in the observation of individual forms had been attained. It is, however, distinct evidence of the greatness of the Quattrocentist artists—as has often been pointed out before—that, in spite of their veneration for the antique and appreciation of its forms, they yet avoided direct imitation, and followed Nature surely step by step, striving, as the ancients themselves had done, to succeed, through the study of Nature alone, in pruning away the accidents of the individual from the true forms of Nature, and thus to attain to an ideal perfection—that is to regularity—in the structure of the body. Like the treasure-seekers in the vineyard, it was more in the actual *search*, in the intense and enthusiastic study of the forms in their artistic inter-relation, that they found the highest expression for their ideals of form, rather than in the presumptive knowledge of those laws of perfect proportion for which they were seeking. It is only in its endeavour after unattainable ends—and not in the ends which it merely seems to have attained—that the spiritual energy of man leaves its impress upon posterity.

In Mantegna's later works, and especially here in the 'Parnassus,' we find ourselves full upon this soil of Cinquecento art, where the aim is no longer for individual characterisation, but for the embodiment of the idea of perfected beauty based on selection of the more perfect forms of Nature and of antiquity. The eclecticism of the late sixteenth century seeks eventually to deduce these laws of beauty no longer from Nature, but from the most excellent works of the preceding generation. In the

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same way Mantegna, by this regular structure of the body and by his search after perfect beauty, approximates to the forms of the antique, without, however, ever directly imitating them. In the group of Muses he has avoided any resemblance to ancient representations, and has even omitted to give their attributes to the individual Muses. Only as a group do they contribute to the poetic effect of the composition. As against the reproach, customarily brought against Mantegna, that he lays far too much stress on archæological learning and theory of art, this reserve, this limitation to the purely artistic impression of the ancient figures, is most worthy of note.

The painting is executed with the greatest care and delicacy down to the smallest detail, without a question by the master himself. It seems to me inconceivable that Crowe and Cavalcaselle should explain the clear, delicate colouring as due to the help of Francesco Bonsignori, who was yet so inferior to Mantegna in every respect, and especially in his dull colouring. The master, who, with his independent and active nature, must at any time have scorned the assistance of pupils in works that he himself took in hand, and who, as we know, executed the frescoes in Rome alone without any help, would certainly have suffered no stroke of a strange hand on a picture which was to be the first to adorn the apartment of his Princess, herself a connoisseur and anything but easy to satisfy. It was assuredly not only the ideals of his mistress and of her friends, but also his own upon which his soul hung with enthusiasm that were to find in the 'Parnassus' their most joyous and exhaustive expression. It was his life's dream of the majesty of the ancient heroes, of ancient art, and of the perfected joyous beauty of the ancient world, pursued from his youth upward in study of the mysterious old inscriptions, of the works of the writers, and of the admirable remains of the past that took form here in his imagination and became living as a work of art. The magic of personal impression lies in this glorified sparkle of divine joy, which the harmony of the forms, the unearthly swing of the movements, and the sunny, golden-yellow tone of the colour spread over the presentation. Thus, in the fulness of his creative power had he celebrated the imperial heroes of Rome; thus, now, as a melancholy old man he sang his swan's song of the glory of the ancient Olympus, of that beauty of which it was given him to see only a reflection in the remains of ancient art. His industrious hands fashioned many another work before the final days of his arduous life, but in this

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'Parnassus' he struck for the last time the large, deeply-felt tones, which came to him from out his own ardent heart.

The 'Triumph of Virtue over the Vices,' the second picture that Mantegna provided some years later for Isabella's Studio, does not contrast favourably with the deeply felt poetry of the 'Parnassus' (Plate 23). One is not able to resist the feeling that the creative power of the master has striven vainly with the abstract material, with its accumulation of personifications of abstract concepts, the allegorical chaos of the Middle Ages. The lack of clearness in the composition, its somewhat unhappy form, are evidently the result of the constraint imposed by the over-learned and over-precise instructions of Isabella's literary friends.

From the left Minerva rushes out of a wood and drives the vices before her. Nearest to her there flees a female satyr, with several satyr-children, and a charming flock of Amoretti fluttering about her, no doubt the personification of lust. The meaning of the two draped women with bow and torch, who hasten to the right, is quite obscure. They have been taken for attendant goddesses, although, from their gestures and their place among the fugitives, they can only belong to the latter. In the centre stands Venus (?), on the back of a centaur (sensuality), who has already stepped into the marsh to which Minerva is driving the vices. Beside her a satyr bears away a child, and in front of him ignorance ('Ignorancia') is carried away by ingratitude ('Ingratitudo') and avarice ('Avaricia'). In the background two women are striding, accompanied by a love-god with two torches. To the right of the centaur an ape wades through the mire, with the inscription *immortale odium fraus et malitia*; and inertia ('Inertia'), a ragged old woman, draws after her slothfulness ('Otium'), a fat old man without arms. In the corner to the extreme left stands the 'Virtus deserta,' a laurel-bush with a woman's head, about whose stem is wound a scroll with inscriptions in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues: *Agite pellite sedibus nostris fœda hæc viciorum monstra virtutum cœlitus ad nos redeuntium.* On the right flutters a scroll with the words *Et mihi virtutum matri succurrite divi* . . . ; on the left one reads the inscription *Otia si tollas periere cupidinis arcus.*[1] Above in the clouds the three figures of Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance look down on the work of Minerva, goddess of wisdom and virtue (*virtus*). In the background a dark hedge trimmed to imitate a series of arches stretches in front of and between the higher rocks which close off the composition on either side; through its openings the eye wanders over a wide hilly landscape,

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XXIII.

THE TRIUMPH OF VIRTUE OVER THE VICES

Louvre

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in which, to the right, may be seen a naked man striding up the stony path of virtue, past a nude female figure that personifies seducing lust.

The moral significance is, therefore, that by means of energy man may conquer his sensuous desires and the vices which they bring in their train. Even though a more naive age associated with these allegorical forms (in which antique mingle with mediæval Christian conceptions) incomparably livelier ideas than we moderns, and although its more Roman mode of apprehension distinguished them less sharply from mythological divinities than does our present, more Hellenic manner of viewing the antique, yet this contrast between the ancient, anthropomorphic ideal of the gods and the external personifications makes itself strongly felt in the artistic impression. Yet, though the artist himself thought it necessary to indicate a number of the figures by names, and to expound the general meaning by inscriptions, he has not succeeded in making the subject wholly intelligible. Many of the unnamed figures are so obscure that doubt may be retained as to their relations to the rest.

The uniform direction of the movement, from left to right, and the filling up of the foreground, leaves the composition without central point, and accordingly without equilibrium. The principal figure is thrust back in the left corner; the two diagonal lines—from the Minerva over the fluttering Amoretti to the group of the Virtues, and from the Amoretti to the foremost right corner—form the main lines of the composition. The artist is, moreover, thereby constrained to an unusual distribution of light. Even though the figure of Venus on the centaur's back be somewhat emphasised, yet the brightest points do not fall on the central line, but in the corners, more particularly the topmost. The light falls from above on the right, streams from the group of the Virtues upon Minerva, lighting up the rocks on the left with a red evening glow; the whole foreground remains in shadow, the arched hedge is quite dark, and the forms of the fleeing Vices are only lit up here and there by streaks from the right and by reddish reflex light from the rocks on the left. A sad evening twilight effect lies over the whole; the figures are coloured a somewhat dark reddish-brown; only the landscape at the back is bathed in a brighter, warmer light.

In the details this work also does honour to the master's creative power and care. The landscape is charming and harmonious; the flying Amoretti, with their ease of movement, make a peculiarly pleasant effect; the types and forms of the chief allegorical figures are significant and

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characteristic, and reflect the qualities in question in a manner most true to nature. The less pregnant phenomena—the ideal forms of Venus and of the other goddesses—display a schematic vacuity of expression; many movements are stiff and affected, as, for example, the posture of Venus and the attitude of the hands of the women behind her. Here also there is nothing to indicate the co-operation of pupils. The execution is careful and delicate, the colour key pitched to a soft yellow, as we find it only in the works of the master's own hand. The weaknesses of the work, in so far as they are not inherent in the subject, are attributable, not to failure of technical execution, but to the tendencies, already frequently alluded to, of his style at this time.

Isabella commissioned our artist to execute yet a third painting for her study, after she found herself constrained, by the unwillingness and negligence of individual artists, to abandon her plan of having the paintings executed by different painters of renown. Her unfortunate experiences with Francia, and yet more with Leonardo and Bellini, seem to have compelled her to confine herself to her court painter, Mantegna, and later Lorenzo Costa. Mantegna was in any case engaged during the last year of his life upon a painting for Isabella's study, which he denotes in letters as the 'istoria de Como' or as the 'tabula de lo dio Como.' As early as January 13, 1506,[1] he writes to the marchioness that he has almost finished the drawing, and on July 15—two months, that is, before the death of the painter—Calandra describes the painting, which Mantegna had shown him, in a letter to Isabella,[2] as follows: 'Already drawn are: the god Comus, two Venuses, the one draped, the other nude; two *amores*, Janus with Envy on his arm, pushing him out, Mercury and three other figures, whom Mercury is putting to flight: there are other figures still wanting, but the drawing of those is very beautiful. . . .' Not a single word is given to the picture in the list drawn up at Mantegna's death, although, in their letters to the marquis, the sons declare they have specified everything that was left in their father's atelier.

Clearly Isabella took immediate possession of the unfinished picture, in order to have it completed by someone else. As a fact, the description of Calandra accords so exactly with the second picture—now likewise in the Louvre—which Costa painted for the study, and which is not mentioned in the letters addressed by Isabella to him at Bologna, and was therefore presumably executed only after his removal to Mantua, that

[1] App. No. 76. [2] App. No. 77.

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there can be no shadow of doubt but that Costa completed, by Isabella's orders, the picture left unfinished by Mantegna. The word 'Comes,' which is repeatedly inscribed on the triumphal arch in the picture, must dispel all uncertainty (fig. 121). Costa has obviously painted over the whole picture, and yet in precisely those figures mentioned by Calandra, in the group of the Janus and of the Mercury, there is an unmistakable, closer

FIG. 121.—THE REALM OF EROTIC ART: PICTURE BEGUN BY MANTEGNA AND FINISHED BY LORENZO COSTA
Louvre. (Phot. Braun)

than customary, approximation on the part of Costa to the forms and movements of Mantegna.

Comus is the god of the wanton Bacchic train, and often takes almost the place of the god himself. In him, therefore, is undoubtedly represented the realm of glad erotic art, in particular of music, in contrast to the heroic poetry and severer art of Apollo. The substitution of the god Comus for Bacchus was desired no doubt by Isabella and her learned advisers, because here was to be represented, not the material side of the Bacchic cult, but the musical inspiration that flows from it. That the subject is intrinsically a celebration of music appears from the figures of Orpheus and Arion and other representatives of the art.[1] As a work of

[1] In the Inventory of the Studio of 1542 (D'Arco, ii. p. 134) the picture is described as follows: 'E piu un quadro a man sinistra de la fenestra, de mano de M. Lorenzo Costa, in lo qual è dipinto un archo triumphale e molte figure che fano una musica, con una fabula di Leda.'

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Mantegna, the painting no longer offers any special interest, either in technique or composition.

The decorative character—which, as already said, acquires great importance in all the pictures of this group, and which in the paintings for the Studio just described was unquestionably a determining factor—is yet more prominent in a series of other works from this last period of Mantegna's activity, and is at once apparent on external evidence from the choice of colours. Squarcione is said, so Scardeone relates,[1] to have found fault with the statuesque stiffness of the figures in Mantegna's frescoes in the Eremitani Chapel at Padua, and to have mockingly advised his former pupil to paint them at once in stone-colour, since they did not look like living beings but like statues. Unjust and improbable as this reproach would appear in the mouth of the very man supposed to have so impressively directed this pupil to the imitation of ancient sculpture, there is yet a germ of truth in it. Mantegna, in spite of his successful study of nature, always preserved the tendency to dwell more upon line than upon colour, upon the intellectual side of the composition, and the characteristic in form rather than upon the general realistic effect. He did not, of course, take the mocking advice of his master at that time, but on the contrary, turned his whole force, at the instigation of Bellini, to the study of colour and the technique of painting, and made it his constant endeavour to give prominence to the poetical significance of the subject by the well-considered effect of an enchanting colour scheme.

Perhaps, in the judgment of Squarcione upon Mantegna's frescoes, tradition has merely retained a formula for the opposition between the Venetian joy in colour and the Florentine tendency—which Mantegna, as other Paduan painters, followed at that time with enthusiasm—as seen especially in Paolo Uccello, who seems indeed to have had a special predilection for chiaroscuro monochrome painting. It is only necessary to recall his paintings in the Chiostro Verde of S. Maria Novella, and the statue of John Hawkwood on the wall of the Duomo in Florence, and the frescoes which he had executed in this technique in Padua itself. Mantegna, who does not seem at that time to have imitated the monochromatic technique of Uccello, when he adopted a similar manner of painting during the last period of his life in a number of pictures, must have been led to it by considerations quite different from those of Uccello and his set, who may obviously have been determined to the choice of painting in one colour by the substantial motives of economy (colours were then, in fact, very

[1] See pp. 21 and 86.

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dear) and convenience. Again, though Mantegna's monochrome paintings had an essentially decorative purpose, and were intended to imitate real reliefs in marble or bronze, it is yet unquestionably not only the external grounds of usefulness that led him to the choice of this technique, but just that linear-plastic tendency of his art, which always presented so many difficulties in the way of his development as a colourist, and which had taken him into the province of engraving.

The preference of Mantegna for drawing and for the monochrome manner of painting only becomes significant through contrast with the preponderatingly chromatic tendencies of his Venetian countrymen, a contrast which at the time of Uccello had not yet come into prominence.

We may perhaps observe here the first pernicious traces of the excessive influence which classical theorems were beginning to exert over the independent, naturalistic course of Quattrocento art—an influence which was later to become of such great moment in the development of art right down to our own day. As the polychrome sculpture of the Quattrocento almost entirely disappeared under the influence of the axiom—only in our own time, and recently, proved to be false—of the absence of colour in ancient sculpture, so the one-sided study of the antique—which was presented to the artists of the Renascence almost exclusively in unpainted plastic works—exercised upon the development of painting a narrowing, and indeed a numbing, effect. Had Mantegna possessed the fundamental gift of colour of Bellini, antiquity would certainly have exercised a much more limited influence upon him; but with his strong plastic sense, and with his lively participation in the spiritual aspect of his subjects and generally in the ideas of his time, he was brought closer to it than any other of his contemporaries. This greater dependence upon antiquity, and the preponderance which—as usually happens in advanced years—a thought-out view always obtains over the immediate perception of nature, led him inevitably to consider abstract plastic expression, as opposed to natural expression through colour, as the essential matter and—in accordance with the spirit of antiquity as he knew it—as a purer form of art. From this point of view, these monochrome pictures of Mantegna must be conceived as a phenomenon characteristic of his development, as generally of the art of his time.

The most important painting of this group is the 'Triumph of Scipio,' in the National Gallery, which shall on that account be treated first, although it was one of the latest works of our master and is cited among those left by him at his death (fig. 122). We hear of the picture for

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the first time in a letter of Pietro Bembo to Isabella d' Este, dated January 1, 1506 (1505 Venetian style), which is not exactly flattering to Mantegna's punctuality in fulfilling his engagements.[1] Bembo complains to the marchioness of the artist, who had pledged himself long before to execute several paintings for his friend Francesco Cornaro, at the price of 150 ducats, twenty-five of which he had received in advance, but who now refused to provide the pictures for the specified sum. He adds that he confidently hoped Isabella would easily induce Mantegna—to whom indeed the virtues of 'cortesia' and 'gentilezza' are never foreign—to fulfil his engagements. Messer Cornaro did not mind about a couple of hundred ducats; he would gladly also leave the value of the pictures to the estimate of Isabella, but he did not allow himself to be jested with, and stood upon his rights.

Isabella, who was only too familiar with such experiences with artists, promises in her answer to Bembo of January 31[2] that she will speak for Cornaro to Mantegna, but that for the moment the aged artist is scarcely recovered from a severe illness, so that one cannot yet talk business with him. Mantegna speaks himself of this illness in a letter to the marchioness dated January 13. In any case, he appears to have worked industriously at the painting, for at his death it was finished, or, at any rate, almost so. Lodovico Mantegna mentions it in that letter, already so often cited, to the marchioness,[3] among the works left by his father, as 'that work of Scipio Cornelio, which was undertaken for Messer Francesco Cornaro,' and which the Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga desired (together with the 'Cristo in Scurto') to retain for himself. The other son, Francesco, will not rest satisfied with this, but begs urgently, in a letter to the marquis of November 26, 1506, that the picture may be given back, so that after repaying the advance of twenty-five ducats to the Cornaro, and after agreeing with his brother, he may keep the picture for himself as a memorial of his father and for purposes of study.[4] Cardinal Sigismondo would not, however, resign the picture, but paid the brothers for it by a promissory note of 100 ducats upon a tax due to him (duty on chains), over the delayed payment of which Lodovico Mantegna complains later in a letter of November 12, 1507, to the marchioness.[5] From the possession of the cardinal the picture passed, however, into that of the descendants of the original patron, to the Casa

[1] See D'Arco, ii. p. 57, No. 68.

[2] *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts*, 1896, i. p. 226.

[3] App. No. 82.

[4] D'Arco, ii. p. 72, No. 89

[5] D'Arco, ii. p. 73, No. 92.

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Cornaro Mocenigo of S. Polo, whence it was acquired by Lord George Vivian, whose son bequeathed it in 1873 to the National Gallery.

The painting was to celebrate an occurrence in the life of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the hero of the second Punic war, from whom the Cornaro —or 'Cornelii,' as they Latinised their name—claimed descent. In the stress of the second Punic war, when Hannibal had subjugated nearly all Italy, the Sibylline books and the Delphic oracle counselled the Romans to bring to Rome the cultus-image of the Phrygian 'Mother of the Gods,' Cybele, from Pessinus, the land whence the Romans came with Æneas, but at the same time to give heed before all things that the goddess should be received by the worthiest man in the State. Publius Scipio was then unanimously declared worthy of the honour, and entrusted by the Senate with the solemn commission. When the ship reached Ostia, with the image of the goddess, that had been successfully obtained, on board, the divinity gave the first token of her power and her favour by making publicly known the innocence of the falsely accused Roman matron,

FIG. 122.—THE TRIUMPH OF SCIPIO
National Gallery

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Claudia Quinta. The ship, that no force had been able to move up the Tiber, was easily drawn by Claudia with a rope against current to Rome.[1]

The artist has very skilfully and effectively combined into one repre-

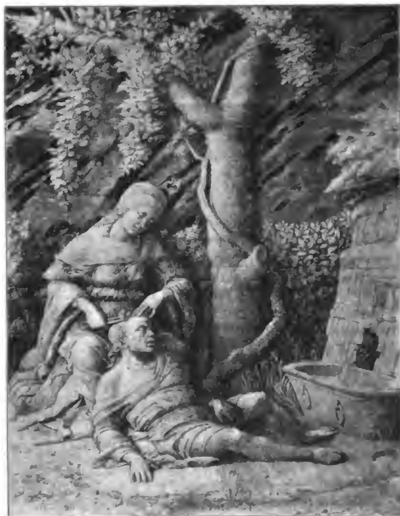

FIG. 123.—SAMSON AND DELILA
National Gallery

sentation the two moments of the legend—the welcome of Cybele to Rome by P. Cornelius Scipio and the miracle of Claudia Quinta. From the left, priests in Oriental garb bear in the image of the goddess; in front a priest moves forward impetuously. From the other side, Scipio,

[1] Cf. T. Livius, xxix. 10, 11, 14; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 30 *seq*; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 2. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 3; cf. Catalogue of the National Gallery.

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at the head of a train of senators, warriors, priests, and musicians, advances to meet them out of a temple, of which only the steps are visible

FIG. 124.—THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON
Louvre: Gallery of Drawings

on the right of the picture. In this moment of festive reception Claudia seems to have rushed forward again, full of fervour, to testify aloud on

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bended knee to the might and graciousness of the new goddess. The divinity approves herself by her miraculous power, and directs the attention of those coming to receive her upon her work. The priest,

FIG. 125.—THE VESTAL VIRGIN TUCIA. FIG. 126.—SOPHONISBA (?)

National Gallery

hastening forward, points to Claudia, and Scipio also indicates to the senators the woman favoured by the goddess. In the background on the left are seen two pyramids, denoted as the graves of Scipio's father and uncle: 'S. P. Q. R. Cn. Scypioni Cornelius F. P.' (Filius posuit), and

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'P. Scypionis ex Hyspanensi Bello Reliquiæ.' They are to show that the hero is the worthy descendant of great ancestors. As title to the whole are to be read, on the lower edge between the letters S. C. (senatus consultum), the words 'Hospes numinis Idæi' (host of the

FIG. 127.—JUDITH
London: Mr. John Edward Taylor

FIG. 128.—DIDO
London: Mr. John Edward Taylor

Phrygian goddess), the title of honour which Scipio received after this event.[1]

However little Mantegna, in this or in other works, succeeded in giving a representation in any degree externally correct of an ancient Roman cultus ceremony—having neither the means nor indeed the intention to do so—he understood admirably how to bring out the grandeur of

[1] Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 137 *seq.*

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the ancient sentiments called forth by the occasion. The quiet confidence of bearing, even in presence of the goddess, the consciousness of superiority, the practical clearness of judgment, the firmness of will, revealed in the epigrammatic brevity of expression and movement—these dominant characteristics of the ancient Roman, for which the Renascence had so profound a feeling, are rendered by the artist with entire mastery. In the fervent Claudia, who rushes towards the goddess, the true Roman energy of feeling, the irresistible force of her petition to the divinity—from whom they were wont rather to demand than to beg what they considered due in return for the worship they gave—stands out in effective contrast to the calm of the hero and his companions. In the composition, the chief personages—the image of the goddess and the welcoming Scipio—are strongly emphasised, and connected through Claudia and the priests. The kneeling figure of the woman breaks the row of upright figures, creates a free space in front of the principal hero, and gives a central point to the picture. The composition is thought out in its every detail, and is calculated to produce an harmonious effect of line on all sides. Observe, for instance, the alternating position of the men on the right, seen now from the front, now from the side or back, and the harmonious entwining of the outlines of the groups.

FIG. 129.—JUDITH
Dublin Museum

In the execution of the painting, conceived as a marble relief of white figures upon a coloured ground, we may notice—apart from the peculiarities, here very pronounced, of the master's latest style—a surprising slackness in a number of the individual forms. We can scarcely attribute this defect solely to the feebleness of hand of the old and infirm

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artist, but primarily to the share which pupils and assistants may have had in the performance. Perhaps also, the sons were obliged, on the father's death, to work at it hastily, so as to get the still unfinished picture into a condition for sale.

Among the remaining decorative pictures painted in this manner, which, though they cannot be quite exactly dated, must, from their style, be attributed to the last ten years of his activity, the small painting of

FIG. 130.—SIBYL AND PROPHET
London: Duke of Buccleuch, Montague House

'Samson and Delila,' also in the National Gallery, is by far the finest in execution (fig. 123). The allegorical significance of the Biblical subject is especially emphasised by the inscription upon the tree: 'Fœmina diabolo tribus assibus est mala peior' (a bad woman is still worse than the devil by three farthings). Just as Donatello's statue of Judith in Florence could become the token of the people's freedom, so has the betrayal of Samson by Delila been taken as symbol of the power of female cunning over the physical and intellectual force of the man.

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Samson is represented with extreme realism as a drunken or wearied man fast asleep in an uncomfortable posture—a somewhat rude type, in contrast to whom the voluptuous form of Delila makes a more distinguished impression. Nevertheless, all the characteristic peculiarities of technique, of the forms, and especially of the folds of the garments, leave not the smallest doubt that the picture belongs to Mantegna's last period. Apparently it is wholly the work of the master's own hand, and the excellence of the execution shows the more clearly that pupils and

FIG. 131.—MARS, VENUS, AND DIANA
Bistre drawing in the British Museum

assistants must have had a large share in the other, weaker works of this class.

This remark applies, for instance, to the little picture of the 'Judgment of Solomon' in the Louvre (fig. 124), which, as other similar works of Mantegna, is preserved among the drawings, on account of its small size and its technique. It is painted, like the London pictures, in grey-brown stone-colour upon a ground of reddish-green marble—as though a marble-relief cut out in outline were mounted on a coloured stone

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ground, like a cameo in large. Drawing and execution are essentially weaker than in the London pictures. Yet more defective, by far, appears a similar little picture, preserved among the drawings at Munich,

FIG. 132.—JUDITH
Pen-and-brush drawing: Florence, Uffizi. (Phot. Alinari)

representing the heroic deed of Mutius Scævola.[1] Only the design seems Mantegna's, and the execution to have been entirely left to pupils. In any case the little picture is very badly preserved.

[1] From the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence. Brownish dark grey, with bright lights upon clear brownish ground.

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A series of similar small paintings for decorative purpose, painted in brownish tones, heightened with gold and imitating metal reliefs upon a ground of coloured marble, also deserve no great attention, and need only be briefly mentioned. They are all very carefully executed, in the style of Mantegna's latest works, but without exhibiting the delicacy of the master or his knowledge in drawing and in the details. They are no doubt school works, which have been painted from his drawings under his eye.

FIG. 133.—ALLEGORY OF VIRTUE
Bistre drawing in the British Museum

The National Gallery possesses two small pictures with two female figures, which have been taken to be personifications of Summer and Autumn, but which are not so characterised.[1] In the figure of the picture on the left may be easily recognised the *vestal virgin Tucia*, who carries water in a sieve in proof of her innocence. The other represents certainly an ancient heroine, drinking the cup of poison—perhaps Sophonisba (figs. 125, 126).

Two similar heroic female forms appear in the pictures which are

[1] They come from Hamilton Palace. Waagen (*Treasures*, iii. p. 304). Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. p. 395, place the pictures in the year 1474.

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now in the possession of Mr. John Edward Taylor in London: Judith, as she puts the head of Holofernes into the sack held by her maid-servant, and Dido as she stands beside the funeral pile, about to fall upon the sword[1] (figs. 127, 128). Rather better, but still only school work, is the

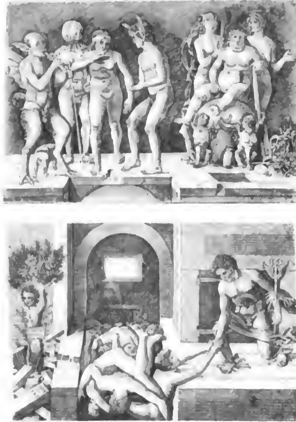

FIG. 134.—ENGRAVING BY ZOAN ANDREA AFTER A DRAWING BY MANTEGNA

Judith, that has passed from the Malcolm collection to the Dublin Museum (fig. 129). Finally, the Duke of Buccleuch possesses a painting of the same kind in Montague House, representing a 'Sibyl and a Prophet,' and connected by the style of execution with the pictures named above[2] (fig. 130).

Mantegna probably painted, or caused to be painted in his workshop from his drawings, quite a number of such ornamental pieces. In Isabella's study of the 'Grotta' there were also two pictures of this kind,

[1] Brownish, with golden-yellow lights; Judith on a grey marble ground.
[2] In brownish colour with golden-yellow lights, on a dark ground.

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which are described in the inventory of her art-collections; 'above the door, a painting imitating bronze, with four figures, by Mantegna;' and above another door a picture likewise in bronze colour of 'a sailing vessel containing some figures, and one that falls into the water,' doubtless a representation of Arion or of Jona.[1] Designs and sketches for the assistants, who were to execute them, are perhaps preserved to us in some drawings of this latest period, washed in in bistre, with white or coloured lights laid on, and which are now in the British Museum. The splendid bistre drawing, with white lights and red and blue shadows, which represents the quite nude figures of Venus and Diana, by the side of Mars, seated in a challenging attitude, shows, in spite of many weaknesses belonging to the style of his old age, the full delicacy of his personal execution (fig. 131). Perhaps it is part of a sketch for the seven planets, in groups for the head-pieces of doors or similar wall decorations. Another water-colour drawing of similar style, in the same collection, is part of a composition, which has been engraved as complete upon two plates by an engraver of the school (Zoan Andrea, Bartsch, 17, 18) (figs. 133, 134). It is an 'Allegory of Virtue,' which, as 'virtus combusta,' burns in the form of a laurel bush by the side of the enthroned Plutos. The follies and vices appear to lead blind men to the edge of a dungeon (the lower

FIG. 135.—JUDITH: ENGRAVING OF GIROLAMO MOCETTO AFTER A DRAWING BY MANTEGNA

[1] D' Arco, ii. p. 134.

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parts are indicated only in the engraving) from out of which Mercury seems to be drawing one of those who have fallen in. Near to the cellar-like hollow stands the 'virtus deserta,' a laurel bush with female head among ruins. We are not able to decipher in detail the meaning of the allegory.

One of the most admirable of Mantegna's drawings—which has passed from the possession of Vasari, who mentions it with praise, to the Uffizi, and which is signed by the artist with the name in full and the date 1491—has served as prototype for one of the chiaroscuro pictures in his chapels in S. Andrea at Mantua. We do not know for what purpose this Judith was sketched by our master, whether for a painting or for an engraving (fig. 132). The subject in any case occupied him greatly, and moved him to a whole series of different sketches, which are preserved in contemporary copies or engravings.[1]

[1] Two other drawings of the same subject, ascribed to Mantegna, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, go back at any rate to the original by the master, as is also the case in some engravings by Mocetto (for instance, Bartsch, 1, fig. 135), Zoan Andrea (Bartsch, 1) and others, and a small picture in Wilton House, attributed to Mantegna.

FIG. 136.—FRESCO FROM THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI

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FIG. 137.—THE BACCHANALIA WITH SILENUS: COPPER ENGRAVING BY MANTEGNA

CHAPTER XI

MANTEGNA AS ENGRAVER

A GREAT deal of emphasis has already been laid on the fact that Mantegna was gifted pre-eminently as a draughtsman, and that his entire development led him to give a pronounced preference to those compositions and plastic forms which he could adequately express by means of simple linear drawing. In this predilection for drawing in its abstract form, as in so many other respects, he is closely related to Raphael, who, in the latter part of his life, hardly concerned himself at all—and this not by reason of lack of time alone—with the pictorial execution of his works, but who gave his chief attention to the drawing of designs of every description. The few original drawings by Mantegna still extant—the limited number of these perhaps in itself a proof of the eager use made of them—offer sufficient evidence of the consummate firmness with which he handled the pen, and his absolute success in rendering by means of light and shade alone the entire plastic and pictorial effect—everything, in fact, which he aimed at expressing. The manner in which Mantegna in his pen-and-

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ink drawings, by means of shadows treated as masses and by merging them into the outlines, brings out not line but form itself, has already been pointed out (Chap. II.). With so free and perfect a technique, it is evident that he could almost dispense with colour.

This quality of his drawings—which, inasmuch as they were in themselves finished works of art, might be characterised as monumental—explains, quite apart from their importance artistically and as subjects, the immense favour which they enjoyed as studies and as models for artists, as well as why they were reproduced as engravings. Even to-day the tremendous effect produced by these drawings may be traced in the immense number of works of art of every kind modelled upon them; above all, it is evidenced unmistakably in the influence exercised by those engravings wherein Mantegna and his imitators—qualified and unqualified—reproduced a series of his most splendid designs. Far more than to his pictorial creations, Mantegna's reputation, and the great influence he had upon the artists of his own and succeeding generations in particular, was due to his drawings and pre-eminently to his engravings, many copies of which passed from studio to studio and from one country to another as his work and were studied and applied with the greatest ardour by countless artists in every branch of art.

The reason that Mantegna's work as engraver was not considered chronologically in the historical survey of his activity as a painter, but has been set apart here for study in the aggregate, is, in the first place, because in character and intention it forms an independent group; and, furthermore, because, as we shall see, in matter of time also his engravings all belong to one and the same, very late period of his activity. A separate consideration, however, is above all necessary owing to the fact that the artistic and technical significance of these engravings can only be thoroughly understood when taken in connection with the general development of Italian engravings; and, also because the criticism prevalent up to this time as to Mantegna's position with regard to the technique of the art and his personal share in the work has been not only uncertain, but, in my opinion, very unjust.

In the development of the art of engraving in Italy, two tendencies of totally different origin and aim may be distinguished; the one, the earlier, an outcome of the technique of ornamental engraving on metal, adapted the subject to be portrayed to the exigencies and the resources of this process; the other and later method was derived from the pen-and-ink sketch, and the technique was transformed by it at will to accord with

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the style of the drawing to be reproduced. Undoubtedly as early as the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the Italian goldsmiths, influenced in all probability by the older woodcuts and the still more ancient printing on textile fabrics, began to reproduce, by prints made on paper with printer's ink, the drawings which had formerly been engraved as decoration directly into the metal surfaces of all kinds of articles. They were led to do this by their desire to satisfy, in a measure, the general demand for pictures derived from the popular cycle of imagery, designed for devotional purposes, for instruction and amusement as well as for the cheap ornamentation of the most varied objects. We can clearly distinguish in all the engravings of this older group extant their origin in, and consistent development out of, the metal engraving of the goldsmith's scheme of ornamentation, and it is also evident that their sole purpose was the rendering of the subject or the decorative effect they produced.

This particular method of engraving had already progressed far in its development—its special group of technical engravers having actually arisen—and had reached, as the effeminate, flat, and conventional treatment of form in many a plate denotes, a period of decadence, when a powerful impulse from without diverted it from its course and gave it a thoroughly new direction.[1] Several prominent artists employed the old technique of printing from engraved metal plates for the reproduction of their pen-and-ink sketches, adapting it to the style of pen-and-ink, or Indian ink, drawings. How thoroughly intentional was this new application of goldsmith's engraving is proved in the first place by the fact that it was introduced by artists whose drawings, copied in all the workshops,[2] were particularly prized for their special value as material for study and as models, and, above all, by the modification in technique which it brought about. A clear perception of this seems to have existed even among later generations of artists, for Benvenuto Cellini says in his 'Trattato dell' Oreficeria': 'And this manner of drawing [with the pen] was the origin of engraving'[3]—we might add, of the original engravings of the painter-engravers (*peintre-graveur*).

[1] See *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, vi. (1893), p. 391, and *Jahrbuch d. K. preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xv. (1894), p. 94.

[2] Cf. for instance, Cellini's statement in his *Trattato dell' Oreficeria* concerning Pollaiuolo: 'Questo fu orefice e fu si gran disegnatore che non tanto che tutti gli orefici si servivano de' sua bellissimi disegni i quali erano di tanta eccellenzia che ancora molti scultori e pittori (io dico dei migliori di quelle arti) si servirno di sua disegni, e con quegli ei si feciono grandissimo onore.' . . . Ed. Milanesi, 1857, Firenze, p. 7.

[3] Ed. Milanesi, Firenze, 1857, p. 215: 'E questo disegnar cosi fatto [di penna] e stato causa al fare gli intagli col bulino in sul rame.' . . . and: 'et mediante tal maniera di disegni se ritrovato l' intagliar le stampe col Bulino in Rame' . . .

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Vasari, on the other hand, who cannot have been ignorant of these circumstances, sacrifices, as in so many other instances, his better artistic intelligence to the anecdotic and popular tradition, and the exigencies of a pragmatical historical account. He repeats the well-known story of Maso Finiguerra's invention, which is refuted by the existence of a whole series of earlier German and Italian engravings, and by the entire evolution of this art. It is, in fact, to betray a total misapprehension of the nature of the graphic arts, as, indeed, of all intellectual and technical achievements to ascribe their 'discovery' to any one individual, for such achievements are always only the result of a long train of development—often, it is true, difficult to trace—achievements which are not infrequently arrived at almost simultaneously by several people in different places; and, what is more, invariably at the very moment in which the necessity for such an expedient makes itself acutely felt.

In the same way as the earlier popular engraving, which served the practical purposes both of narration and ornament, and which limited itself to the reproduction of familiar and popular forms and subjects, the artistic original engraving, the reproduction of the sketch by the master himself, owes its origin to a certain definite need felt by artists themselves, who wished to learn from them and use them as patterns. In a thoroughly business-like manner, Raphael subsequently made advantageous use of his drawings by having them engraved on copper by Marcantonio Raimondi,[1] as models for 'poor painters who do not draw well, in order that they may use them in their work.'

Original engraving can only thrive at a time when there is an exuberance of artistic imagination; only that artist whose wealth of ideas is so prodigious that the grander forms of art no longer suffice to contain them is willing and able to turn his attention to this medium, as did Dürer and Rembrandt and many others. The inflexible precision of line in engraving, which firmly cuts into the metal almost without any possibility of correction, demands from the original engraver—who, to preserve in the engraving all the freshness of the drawing, must himself commit the composition to the plate—absolute certainty of hand and of artistic conception. Consequently, with the decline of artistic energy and of imagination, the technique of the graphic arts fell immediately into the hands of craftsmen able only to reproduce the works of others, whose unique aim was to transfer the original design to the plate with the utmost accuracy possible. Each new process, such as etching,

[1] See Vasari, v. p. 417.

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aquatinta, and lithograph, attracted by its novelty a few talented and imaginative artists to employ it for the expression of their artistic ideas; but, as soon as an art tendency reached its highest point of development, they left its technique entirely to the craftsmen.

In Italy it was, as far as we know, Antonio Pollaiuolo and Andrea Mantegna who first utilised engraving, which had long been practised as a mechanical craft, for original artistic work and for the reproduction of their drawings, by doing which they also induced craftsmen to copy works of art. Mantegna's technique, like that of Pollaiuolo, consists in imitation of the even shading of the pen-and-ink drawings, following a single direction right to left and from top to bottom, the lines being drawn in irregular strokes one alongside the other. It differs very distinctly from the regular, thick, curved, incised lines of the goldsmiths' earlier engravings. If the two artists did not arrive at this method of engraving independently of each other, it was probably the experienced craftsman Pollaiuolo whose example the painter Mantegna followed. All that Vasari says is that Mantegna, like Pollaiuolo, took pleasure in engraving on copper;[1] but in another place[2] he asserts that what induced Mantegna to reproduce his drawings by means of engraving was the engravings of Finiguerra, Botticelli, and Baldini, which he became acquainted with in Rome. The engravings in Botticelli's style, generally ascribed to Baccio Baldini, however, point obviously to an entirely different method, that of the imitation of washed drawings, thus differing essentially from Pollaiuolo's and Mantegna's manner. In addition to this, Vasari only briefly enumerates a list of Andrea's engravings.[3] Of Mantegna as engraver we learn nothing further than this from contemporary sources. One important document alone is preserved to us, which incidentally throws a strong light upon his activity in this branch of art.

On September 15, 1475, a certain Simone di Ardizone, of Reggio,

[1] Vasari, iii. p. 462: 'Si dilettò il medesimo [Mantegna], siccome fece il Pollaiolo, di far stampe di rame.' . . .

[2] Vasari, v. p. 396: 'Questa cosa venuta a notizia d' Andrea Mantegna in Roma fu cagione che egli diede principio a intagliare molte sue opere, come si disse nella sua vita.'

[3] Vasari, iii. p. 402: '. . . e fra l' altre cose fece i suoi Trionfi: e ne fu allora tenuto conto, perchè non si era veduto meglio.' And on p. 409: 'e si dilettò ancora, come si è detto, intagliare in rame le stampe delle figure; che è comodità veramente singularissima, mediante la quale ha potuto vedere il mondo non solamente la Baccaneria, la battaglia de' mostri marini, il Deposto di Croce, il Seppellimento di Cristo, la Resurrezione con Longino e con Sant' Andrea, opere di esso Mantegna, ma le maniere ancora di tutti gli artefici che sono stati.' In the first edition of Vasari's *Vite* (1550), he says, p. 512: 'Lascio costui . . . et il modo dello intagliare in Rame le Stampe delle figure; comodità singularissima veramente, per la quale ha potuto vedere il Mondo, etc.' See also Cellini, *Oreficeria*, ed. Milanesi, p. 13.

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calling himself painter and engraver (pictore e taliatore de bolino), addressed a letter to the Marquis Lodovico of Mantua complaining to the prince of Mantegna's behaviour towards him.[1] He says that Mantegna, upon his arrival in Mantua,[2] made him splendid offers, and

FIG. 138.—THE FLAGELLATION: COPPER ENGRAVING ATTRIBUTED TO MANTEGNA

[1] First published, without indication of the date, by C. Brun, in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, xi. (1876), p. 54.

[2] Ardizone says, it is true, 'vene,' so that the phrase would apply to Mantegna, which would transfer the incident to the period of Mantegna's removal to Mantua, which, in view of the other facts of the case, is barely credible. As a few lines farther along 'disse' is used for 'dissi,' it is probable that in this instance also instead of 'vene' should be read 'veni' (venni), and therefore Ardizone was speaking of his own arrival in Mantua.

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treated him with great friendliness. Actuated by feelings of compassion, however, towards his old friend Zoan Andrea, a painter in Mantua, from whom prints (stampe), drawings, and medals had been stolen, and wishing to help in the restoration of the plates, he had worked with his friend for four months. As soon as this came to Mantegna's knowledge he proceeded to threats, and one evening Ardizone and Zoan Andrea had been assaulted by ten or more armed men and left for dead in the square. Moreover, Mantegna had, through certain people, caused him to be accused of sodomy, so that, being a stranger, he had decided to flee to Verona and there to finish the plates. He beseeches the marquis to protect him from the arrogance and violence of Mantegna. On September 20, Ardizone was granted a safe-conduct for fourteen days, which was subsequently extended to another fortnight.[1] As we see from a letter of Lodovico to his secretary, and from the latter's answer thereto, the marquis summoned both of Mantegna's accusers to appear before him at Borgoforte, doubtless in order to bring the quarrel to an issue himself.[2] As the matter had no evil results for our Andrea, who at that very time was engaged in fighting out before the marquis an ugly quarrel with his neighbour, Aliprandi, the injustice of Ardizone's accusations would seem to have been acknowledged. In any case, a kernel of truth may be elicited from this letter which is of the highest importance in the history of engraving.

It furnishes, above all, proof that in Mantua, in the year 1475, two professional engravers, one of whom clearly designates himself as such, were at work, and that it is consequently impossible that the technique of engraving for purposes of reproduction should have been invented only in 1460 by Maso Finiguerra in Florence, as Vasari relates. On the contrary, a long period of development must have intervened to have rendered possible the training of such expert craftsmen. Thus, masters of monumental art were somewhat tardy in availing themselves of the process of engraving for their own purposes. This letter furthermore shows us Mantegna in a definite relation to these craftsmen-engravers. Ardizone cannot have invented the story of Mantegna's desire to enter into relations with him, and that the latter looked with disfavour upon his co-operation with Zoan Andrea. It is clear that Mantegna had a very special interest in the engravings and drawings which had been stolen from Zoan Andrea, and which Ardizone 'out of compassion'

[1] See App. No. 21.
[2] See Ephrussi et Duc de Rivoli, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1891, i. p. 401; ii. p. 225.

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FIG. 139.—THE ENTOMBMENT: COPPER ENGRAVING ATTRIBUTED TO MANTEGNA

helped to restore, since he sought by force to impede the engraver's work. His anger can only be explained by the supposition that Zoan Andrea's engravings were facsimiles of his own drawings which the

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former had succeeded in obtaining possession of, and had used as designs for his engravings; and that, being unable to win Ardizone's assistance in his work, Mantegna thought himself obliged to protest by violent means against this infringement of his artistic rights. At that epoch he would hardly have been able to protect himself except by violence. It is well known that even thirty years later, when custom had established definite rules, Dürer was unable to protect himself in Venice against Marcantonio's absolutely fraudulent pirating of his engravings.

If it is true that Mantegna wished to secure Ardizone's services for himself, and had made overtures to him, it can only be inferred from this, in so far as we can credit Ardizone's statement, that, up to 1475, Mantegna had not himself engraved on copper, but that he was anxious to entrust the reproduction of his drawings—which apparently had been turned to account by Zoan Andrea contrary to his wish—to a professional engraver. Mantegna is, therefore, far from having been the 'inventor' of engraving, as has been frequently assumed, on the contrary it was only at a very late date that he interested himself in the art. This supposition will be thoroughly borne out by a closer study of the engravings themselves.

A critical survey of the engravings attributed to Mantegna must be preceded by a few remarks on their technical execution. The estimate which has been formed of his technique has been materially injured by the fact that the majority of his critics have hardly ever seen any early and good impressions, these being extremely rare, or that they have failed to attach sufficient weight to the great difference existing between the early and the late prints—a point of fundamental importance to the artistic impression produced by the engraving. Mantegna must have used unbeaten, and therefore very soft, copper plates, and have worked upon them, not with a real triple-edged and sharp-pointed burin, but with an iron tool rounded at the point. The deeply incised contours and main lines of the internal drawing show rough edges in the early impressions, the shading is rendered by means of straight, almost parallel fine lines drawn all in one direction and etched into the copper so close together and in so flat a manner that they almost blend to form one tone of colour; and, after a small number of copies have been printed off, disappear almost entirely. While the first copies thus possess a wonderful softness and warmth of tone, the later impressions display only the deeply incised contours and outlines which have become smooth and hard through the rough inner part of the lines having lost their grain,

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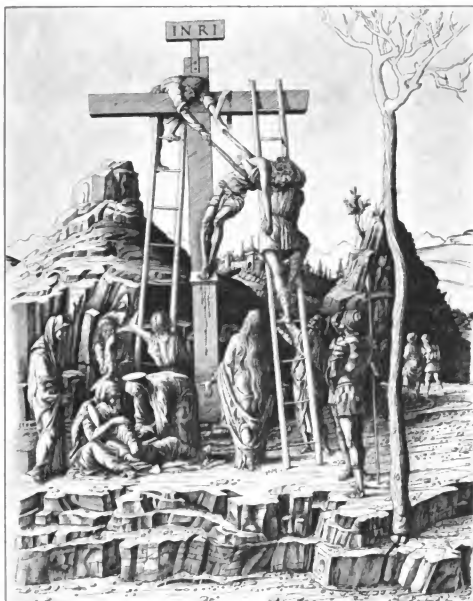

FIG. 140.—THE DEPOSITION: COPPER ENGRAVING ATTRIBUTED TO MANTEGNA

and thus the effect produced is that of hardness and 'sharpness,' which is generally considered characteristic of Mantegna's technique. The method of printing should also be studied. The early impressions were apparently pulled by means of a hand press or roller very carefully by

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the artist himself, but they are not without certain technical defects. Thin, coloured inks being used, the paper often imperfectly absorbs the colour from the deeply graved lines, and these assume a granular appearance. The late impressions are sharply struck off in the rolling-press.

It is obvious, therefore, that criticism should concern itself only with these early delicate impressions, in justice to the master and to distinguish between the work executed by his own hand and that by his pupils and imitators.[1]

The few engravings of which the early impressions show these qualities may easily be formed into a group so distinct as to exclude every pretender. Out of the twenty-five engravings ascribed, with more or less certainty, by Bartsch, Passavant and others to Mantegna, and which are in fact almost all executed after designs by the master, only the seven which we enumerate below can be looked upon as his own handiwork:—The 'Madonna Seated,'[2] 'The Entombment' (horizontal),[3] 'Christ between Andrew and Longinus,'[4] the two plates with the 'Battle of Sea-Gods,'[5] the 'Bacchanalia with the Great Cask,'[6] and the 'Bacchanalia with Silenus.'[7]

No doubt can possibly be entertained as to the vast technical and artistic superiority of these plates over the other engravings attributed to Mantegna. In explanation of our master's authorship of these weaker productions, or of a part of them, the critics, wherever they have recognised or in any way acknowledged this inferiority, have sought to represent them as first attempts, or as the early works of a period in which the artist had not yet attained absolute mastery over the technique. It is worthy of note that in the case of several of these engravings, early copies of which have been preserved, the opinion of connoisseurs is divided as to which among the various plates were by the master and which by copyists. If any one of the dubious engravings had been really the work of Mantegna himself, the characteristics of the artist's individual

[1] Reproduction, especially in the reduced size necessary here, can only approximately follow the originals, but the great difference in technique may be discerned even in these copies. Bibliography: Zani, *Materiali per servire alla Storia dell' Incisione*, Parma (1802) p. 57 *seq.*: Bartsch, *Peintre-Graveur*, xiii. p. 222; Passavant, *Peintre-Graveur*, v. p. 73; Ottley, W. Young, *An Inquiry into the Origin and Early History of Engraving*, London, 1816, ii. p. 483; Sidney Colvin, in *Portfolio*, viii. (April 1877), p. 61; Georges Duplessis, Text of the Reproductions, by Amand Durand, *Œuvre de Andrea Mantegna*, Paris, 1878; Delaborde, *Histoire de la Gravure avant Marcantoine*, Paris, 1883; Portheim, *Jahrbuch d. K. preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vii. (1886), p. 214.

[2] Bartsch, 8. [3] Bartsch, 3. [4] Bartsch, 6.

[5] Bartsch, 17 and 18. [6] Bartsch, 19. [7] Bartsch, 20.

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style would have been so apparent, from his vast superiority over all his fellow-craftsmen, as to render doubt of any kind impossible. It is almost always safe in such cases to conclude, *à priori*, that neither the one nor the other of the supposed originals is really by the master himself.

FIG. 141.—CHRIST IN LIMBO; COPPER ENGRAVING ATTRIBUTED TO MANTEGNA

The eighteen or nineteen engravings incorrectly ascribed to Mantegna may easily be divided into two groups. In the one we see a delicate smooth technique with uniform parallel lines or oblique cross-hatchings, wherein the master's individual manner of engraving is imitated, made shallow, and conventionalised. The craftsmen who here

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mechanically attempt to imitate his coloured and plastic treatment of form by masses of close shading are evidently expert hands. These plates, therefore, belong to Mantegna's school, and will be discussed later; but they cannot in any case be regarded as initial technical attempts of our artist; all of them are not even copies of his designs. On the other hand, a small number of engravings do, as a matter of fact, display a great harshness and a certain roughness and carelessness in the use of the burin which might well be attributed to awkwardness in the handling of the graving tool. The engravings in question are 'The Flagellation'[1] (fig. 138), 'The Entombment' (vertical)[2] (fig. 139), 'The Deposition'[3] (fig. 140), 'Christ in Limbo'[4] (fig. 141), and 'The Madonna of the Grotto'[5] (fig. 142), after the central panel of the Florentine Triptych. To this same category belongs the engraving of 'Hercules and Antæus' in the Imperial Library of Vienna, which has not been described[6] (fig. 143).

It is entirely inconceivable, in the first place, that all five of these engravings should have been executed by one and the same hand, and just as impossible to look upon them as the work of a tiro. The large size of the plates in itself makes it unlikely that they should have been the first attempts of an artist, were he ever so daring. The lines are engraved with great power and decision, and the shading is of a regularity which testifies as much to the engraver's technical skill as to his lack of taste and understanding of form. These defects are, in this case, by no means the result of want of technical dexterity, but rather that of carelessness and want of vigour in the treatment of form.

There is no doubt that the composition of these engravings is that of Mantegna himself, unmistakable evidence of his style being found in the grandeur of the conception and the naturalness and energy of the action. In all details of the treatment of form, however, we utterly fail to find that understanding of the human figure and its construction, that loving care in the observation and execution of each detail, always an intrinsic quality of Mantegna's. Even if comparison with the seven engravings unmistakably his own handiwork be disregarded, it is quite impossible to ascribe to want of technical skill the uncertain movements and poses (as in 'The Flagellation' and 'The Descent into Limbo'); the shocking confusion (as in 'The Flagellation,' where, in the background to

[1] Bartsch, 1 (original) (375 × 292 mill.).
[2] Bartsch, 2 (original) (465 × 360 mill.).
[3] Bartsch, 4 (original) (450 × 355 mill.).
[4] Bartsch, 5 (original) (426 × 343 mill.).
[5] Bartsch, 9 (original) (390 × 282 mill.).
[6] Original (167 × 105 mill.).

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FIG. 142.—THE MADONNA OF THE GROTTO, FROM THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI: COPPER ENGRAVING ATTRIBUTED TO MANTEGNA

the left, the youth behind the executioner threatens to topple over, while only the legs are drawn of the second youth behind Christ), and the

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crudeness in the delineation of the hands, as well as all kinds of bad draughtsmanship, which unmistakably proceed from the bad habits of the engraver. It is inconceivable that the proportions, types, and individual forms should have undergone such marked alteration from the forms as we must suppose them in Mantegna's original design only by reason of the artist's technical awkwardness.

The technique cannot, moreover, have presented such great difficulties to him. For, as he transferred his manner of drawing straight over to engraving, the only thing which prevented perfect ease in guiding the burin on the copper plate (in contradistinction to drawing on paper) was the greater resistance of the material, a difficulty which he cannot have found very hard to overcome. In any case, he would have made his experiments *in corpore vili*, and have kept them to himself. Moreover, there is no doubt that in the first lines he ever engraved on copper he would at least have made the attempt to reproduce the natural aspect of forms, whereas these engravers invariably contented themselves with purely conventional suggestions thereof. Let the exquisite rendering of the graining of the wood in the cross which Saint Andrew bears in his arms,[1] for instance, be compared with the cross either in 'The Deposition' or in 'The Descent into Limbo' for convincing proof that such differences are founded not in greater or lesser degrees of skilfulness, but, above all, in the attitude of the artist himself towards Nature. To the careful observer it must appear utterly incredible that such a crude piece of work

FIG. 143.—HERCULES AND ANTÆUS: COPPER ENGRAVING ATTRIBUTED TO MANTEGNA

[1] In the engraving Bartsch, 6 (= fig. 148).

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as the engraving of the 'Madonna of the Grotto,'[1] in which all the forms are shamefully debased, should be ascribed to the painter of the wonderfully beautiful and exquisite original, the Uffizi Triptych!

Mantegna's drawings, which, it cannot be denied, have been spoiled in these engravings, all evidently belong to the master's early period. The close connection between the composition of 'The Flagellation' and the first of the Eremitani frescoes has already been pointed out.[2] 'The Entombment' and 'The Deposition' forcibly recall the composition of the Predelle of the San Zeno altarpiece. The level scheme of the background, the rocky earth, the manner in which the thick, voluminous, trailing drapery is treated, the clumsiness of the movements, and many other realistic features, clearly indicate that the drawings belong to the artist's youth. The 'Adoration of the Magi' of the Florentine Triptych, also repeated in the 'Madonna of the Grotto,' belongs, of course, to his early period, shortly after his removal to Mantua.

If, therefore, we are to infer from Ardizone's letter that the only reason which caused Mantegna's anger over the joint work of the Reggian artist and Zoan Andrea was that they exploited his drawings for purposes of engraving, having obtained them, it may be, by unlawful means, there is nothing more likely than that the engravings which we have just been considering are the very ones which Zoan Andrea and Ardizone, to the great and quite justifiable indignation of the artist, executed after his drawings. Mantegna's anger may have been aroused as much by the bad reproduction of his sketches, which, as youthful works, he may not have wanted to see reproduced at all, as by the theft of his intellectual property. Whether these engravers formed of their own initiative the plan of copying in engraving as accurately as possible (in facsimile, one might say) these highly appreciated and much sought after drawings of Mantegna's, or whether the example of the Florentines had led them to it, or, indeed, as one would be inclined to believe, the suggestion came from Mantegna himself, is a point that cannot be established at present. Mantegna may subsequently have fallen out with the engraver whom he employed (Zoan Andrea himself, perhaps), and have tried to win over Ardizone to himself for the very purpose of spoiling the former's trade by means of his own overpowering competition. The Reggian, however, may have mistrusted the powerful artist, whose inducements were, perhaps, not sufficiently attractive, and he may, therefore, have preferred to co-operate with his fellow-craftsman.

[1] Bartsch, 9 (= fig. 142).

[2] Portheim, *loc. cit.* p. 219.

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At all events, the above clearly proves that Mantegna did not himself begin to engrave on copper before 1475, and that his designs were engraved by other hands. It was, perhaps, these and other mishaps which he suffered in his connection with outside engravers that induced this energetic and quarrelsome man himself to master the technique and become his own engraver. It is possible, and even probable, as has already been said, that an impulse thereto was also given by Antonio Pollaiuolo, whose splendid engraving, 'The Battle of the Nudes,' cannot have been unknown to Mantegna. The copies of Pollaiuolo's engraving still existing fail almost entirely to give a proper idea of it; only one print of the original freshness is known to me,[1] which exhibits the same delicacy of modelling as Mantegna's own engravings; the shadings, however, are more pointed, sharper and stiffer, and lack the colour and softness of tone which distinguish Andrea's work.

We perceive, therefore, that Mantegna formed his style of engraving independently, in a thoroughly individual and artistic manner. Nor does this style appear to us to be of a fixed or finished character, but, on the contrary, essential changes take place from one work to the other. The first stage of its development is exemplified in the seated 'Madonna and Child'[2] (Plate 24), in which the strokes are laid on in a rougher, thicker, and less regular manner, and frequently touched up by later shadings, giving a somewhat blurred appearance; we may consequently infer it to be the first of the artist's experiments. In draughtsmanship it is in no way inferior to the other engravings, but shows much roughness in the technical execution, which is not found in the later works. This Madonna, nevertheless, cannot be looked upon as a creation of his youthful period. Regarded simply as a Madonna picture it does, indeed, suggest, in the realistic treatment of the Child Christ, in the intimate, purely human conception, the close sympathy uniting Mother and Child—characteristics of the earlier Madonna pictures, as opposed to the later, to which frequent reference has been made—a certain connection with the early pictures of that description, such as the Madonnas owned by Mr. James Simon in Berlin,[3] and in the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli in Milan.[4] But the apparent contradiction in this respect is explained away when we observe that the halos are only to be found in the late, feeble impressions, and that the subject was therefore only altered later to represent the Madonna and Child, while the artist himself had evidently intended simply to represent

[1] In Prince Liechtenstein's collection at Feldsberg.
[2] Bartsch, 8 (original) (230 × 235 mill.). [3] See p. 125. [4] See p. 131 *seq.*

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XXIV.

THE MADONNA AND CHILD

Engraving. Original 230 × 235 mm. (9" 1"' × 9" 4"'). London, British Museum

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the study of a mother and her infant. This observation is of great importance, as throwing light upon the character of Mantegna's engravings as reproductions of studies, which, however, were executed in a thoroughly pictorial manner.

In point of time the drawing must belong to the period elapsing between the Mantuan frescoes and the 'Triumph of Cæsar,' *i.e.* circa 1480 to 1490. The passion with which the mother, seated as if crouching on the ground, clasps the child to her breast, the impetuosity both of the inner emotion and its material expression—which, however, is rendered

FIG. 144.—THE BACCHANALIA WITH THE GREAT CASK: COPPER ENGRAVING BY MANTEGNA

with great restraint—then the full and massive figure, the soft and voluptuous treatment of drapery drawn in numberless diagonal folds, and the circular knots into which these are bunched, are quite in the style of the frescoes of the 'Camera degli Sposi' and of the 'Triumph;' finally, the types of Mother and Child, the treatment of the hair, all point clearly to this period.

The four engravings representing mythological subjects, the two Bacchanalia (figs. 137 and 144), and 'The Battle of Sea-Gods' (figs. 145 and 146), are very close indeed in point of conception and treatment of form to the 'Triumph of Cæsar.' One is sensible of the same genial

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vivacity of action, the same pulsating vital energy and zest of living, the same love of combat and joy in victory, which animate the figures in the 'Triumph.' At the same time, though the subject brings into play an extravagance of elemental passion, the movements are not so exaggeratedly vigorous and violent as in Mantegna's last works. That these engravings are contemporaneous with the 'Triumph'—the epoch of his highest and most splendid activity—is also proved by the broad, free, and animated handling of the outlines, and the soft, rounded forms of the bodies and the draperies. The copies made after two of these

FIG. 145.—THE BATTLE OF THE TRITONS; COPPER ENGRAVING BY MANTEGNA

engravings by Albrecht Dürer in the year 1494 give us the date prior to which they must have left Mantegna's workshop

A supposed antique relief in Ravenna has been erroneously assumed to be the original of one of these plates.[1] A direct imitation of the

[1] Delaborde, *Gazette Archéologique*, iii. (1877), p. 1; *Histoire de la Gravure en Italie avant Marcantoine*, p. 269. The terra-cotta relief in Ravenna which he assumed to be an antique and the original of Mantegna's engraving, 'The Battle of Sea-Gods,' with Neptune and Invidia, is, on the contrary, an early sixteenth-century copy *after* the engraving. There have since been discovered several other replicas of the relief in Bologna, which undoubtedly composed a frieze of ever-recurrent patterns such as have been often found in Bologna (*i.e.* on S. Giacomo). Mantegna's engraving was therefore the original of the terra-cotta relief, and not the latter the original of the engraving. See Fr. Rubbiani in *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, ii. (1895), p. 229.

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antique is, however, quite out of the question in this case. So far as the artistic form is concerned, the representations are not in the slightest in the spirit of the antique, which they approach only in subject, and pre-eminently in feeling. Individual figures, such as the Satyrs, the Sea-Gods, and the statue of Neptune, are also copied from ancient monuments, but in the composition as a whole, as well as in the treatment of form, the artist remains thoroughly modern and independent. They are free reconstructions of antique subject-matter, not imitations of classic art.

FIG. 146.—THE BATTLE OF THE SEA-CENTAURS; COPPER ENGRAVING BY MANTEGNA

The idea of pourtraying the unbridled physical joy of living, in contrast to the glorification of the ideal delights of existence in the pictures executed for Isabella's Studio may have occurred to Mantegna. These are not the mighty gods of Olympus, but the inferior deities of Nature, of the earth and the sea, who acknowledge none of the higher obligations, and who display unchecked their wanton elemental nature, giving a loose rein to all the exuberance of their joy in life. They dance, shout, blow horns, halloo, and drink, until intoxicated they fall into a deep sleep. Silenus and a fat old Bacchante are carried along in this merry crew as conquerors. These creatures of the sea frolic about in the water,

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turbulent and wanton as the waves, each carrying on his back a voluptuous female figure. The combat with those harmless-looking weapons is probably not meant to be in earnest; a vent for their surplus energy is all they seek. The statue of the god is seen from behind, as if the fighting were done without his knowledge. An old and haggard woman holds a tablet on which the word INVID[IA] is inscribed. Here the ignoble passions, the animal instincts, alone prevail. This presentment of the rude forces of Nature bears the same relationship to the 'Triumph of Cæsar'—the victory of the spirit and the power rendered tributary to it by intelligence and order—as does a satiric drama to a tragedy. Such an allegorical comparison is quite in keeping with the thought of the time.

The actual engravings will probably tell us nothing further, but the literary records of the epoch might perhaps enable us to determine more closely the cycle of conceptions to which these Bacchanalia and the 'Battle of the Sea-Gods' belong.

An extraordinary power and exuberance of imagination have been revealed by Mantegna in these pictures. The supernaturally powerful creations of his fancy are, however, clothed by his skill in pourtrayal with forms which, with the extreme of loving care, are in every detail and every movement rendered according to Nature. What a thorough knowledge of the human body is betrayed, for instance, in the figure of the drunken Bacchante reclining at the side of the big cask in the arms of a Faun! The relaxation of the body in a drunken sleep, the leaden weight of the limbs, which, though instinct with life, are no longer capable of independent movement, are rendered in a manner as splendid and as true to Nature as is the comical effort of the Putto clambering up on to the cask, the action of the stamping Faun, his eagerness in drinking, or the wild rage of the sea-gods. The care in the execution extends to every detail; the water as well as the wood of the cask are reproduced with absolute realism. In the sea-horses the fish's tail is joined in a marvellous manner to the upper part of the body, while the character of the fish is indicated by the wide slit of the mouth.

The new element, on which the tremendous effect primarily depends, is the complete freedom and swing of movement to which the artist was able to attain here, because, free from any restraint imposed by subject, he felt at liberty to follow his own impulses. In this the great and genuine art of the Quattrocento released itself from the last shackles of tradition, and with winged steps followed imagination alone. All material difficulties were overcome; the artist's hand controlled the supple

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forms with entire freedom, the intellectual idea fitting perfectly into the material setting.

The four engravings may be united to form two connected compositions. Not only in 'The Battle of Sea-Gods' (figs. 145, 146) is the drawing actually continued from one sheet to the other, but in the two Bacchanals (figs. 137, 144) as well the action of the Faun playing upon the syrinx to the right in the Silenus, and that of the Putto to the left in the other, point to a connection between them. Especial stress has been laid upon the relief-like character of the four engravings in order to emphasise their relation to the antique.[1] That the artist cannot, however, have thought of treatment in relief is proved, quite apart from its pictorial quality and the fact that the composition is conceived in a plastic form unlike that of a relief, by the prominence given to certain parts of the figures seen from the front, as that of Silenus and the drunken Bacchante. We do not know whether these drawings were from the very first designed for reproduction by engraving or not, or whether the artist originally had another aim in view. It is not unlikely that the idea of these compositions arose in some plan of decoration for a reception-room, probably in one of the Gonzaga's country seats. The uniform oblong pictures would seem very well adapted to the wall-decoration of a villa dedicated to the joys of a free country life, to the vintage, to hunting and fishing. A great deal is said in the letters of the marquises, and in those of their painters and castle-stewards, of the historical, allegorical and mythological decorative paintings for the castles of Goito, of Gonzaga, &c., with which the Duke Lodovico of Milan was so exceedingly delighted; as, for example, the representation of the Four Elements at Gonzaga, the Triumph pictures at Marmirolo, paintings commemorative of the victories obtained by the Marquises Lodovico and Francesco, maps of the world, &c. The master himself was doubtless only supposed to make the designs, and perhaps to oversee their execution, which was entrusted to his sons and to other painters.

The idea that Mantegna executed these compositions in pictorial form as well cannot be entertained. A great artist never repeats himself; he will never elect to pourtray the selfsame subject in two different mediums. Neither Dürer nor Rembrandt ever repeated any one of their paintings in an engraving. Simultaneously with the first mental image of a composition the artistic form in which it shall appear also arises, and the two remain indissolubly connected. The wealth of their imagination

[1] See Portheim, *loc. cit.*

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was infinitely greater than the power to express all their conceptions in material form. The large number of designs which these two great masters have left us is sufficient proof in itself of this. Raphael's studies for paintings were, as is well known, reproduced, not by himself, but by Marcantonio and other craftsmen; nor were the facsimiles of Mantegna's drawings for paintings (such as the Muses, the Triumph pictures, &c.) executed by him personally, but were the work of his pupils and followers.

The four engravings differ very materially in execution. In the Silenus (fig. 137) there is a peculiar coarseness and hardness in the shadings,

FIG. 147.—THE ENTOMBMENT: COPPER ENGRAVING BY MANTEGNA
Berlin Print Room

which are incised very sharply and stand out with harsh prominence. The drawing is, however, so excellent in all its details (especially as compared to Zoan Andrea's copy) that it is impossible for one moment to doubt Mantegna's authorship. This is, moreover, technically the weakest of the four plates. Both the Battles of Sea-Gods (figs. 145, 146), where a far greater delicacy and softness of tone and of transition from light to shade is reached, are superior to it. By far the best of these, as regards the execution of the engraving, is 'The Bacchanal with the Cask' (fig. 144). Here the outlines disappear almost completely, and

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XXV.

GROUP FROM THE ENTOMBMENT

Engraving. Berlin, Print-Room

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the modelling of the forms is suggested by means of masses of shadow rich in tone and of a wonderful velvety softness and sheen.

The two large engravings of religious subjects, 'The (horizontal) Entombment' and 'The Risen Christ between Saint Andrew and Saint Longinus,' belong to a somewhat later period than the four mythological compositions. The technique displays a still greater delicacy and softness, increased plastic quality of modelling, and an even richer variety of light and shade. The individual lines are finer and closer together, producing a uniform tone.[1] In the action and expression, however, may be discerned something of that exaggeration and violence which are unmistakable distinguishing traits of Mantegna's last period of activity. Highly characteristic, for instance, is the man in the centre of 'The Entombment,' with his legs set wide apart, a pose that also recurs in the Saint Longinus. The rigid severity of the stiff longitudinal folds, and the treatment of the soft earthy soil in 'The Entombment,' also prove the accuracy of this date. One cannot help wondering how the aged artist was able, besides his numberless pictures, great and small, to execute the delicate and careful work displayed in these engravings. His capacity for work and his industry must have been very great indeed; though his technique of shallow lines, scratched rather than cut into the softer metal, must have enabled him to work much faster than was possible to the later artists, whose line engravings were technically more thorough and substantial.

Violent and passionate sorrow for the death of the Saviour forms the theme of 'The Entombment' (fig. 147 and Plate 25). The eye of the spectator is led, by means of the magnificently posed man in the centre, who, stopping, looks backward, from the loud-lamenting woman with widespread arms behind Christ—a very Donatellesque figure—and the youth weeping silently by the grave, to the group of women sitting on the ground busied over the Madonna, who has swooned away from grief, and to the splendid figure of John, whose sorrow is expressed with almost elemental force. The effect produced by the composition is far too great and too direct to need any words of explanation. No one will notice that the movement of the two bearers does not at all correspond to their purpose of laying the body in the grave, which is prepared in the low cave in the second plane; the material aspect of the scene sinks into

[1] It is true that these qualities of technique are to be seen only in the few good copies: for instance, in 'The Entombment,' in the Berlin Print Room, and the unique impression of the 'Risen Christ,' belonging to Mr. Paul Davidsohn, in Berlin.

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insignificance beside the intense emotion with which the composition is instinct. And that is exactly wherein consists the true artistic and ideal quality of creative work—that it should resolve itself entirely into a deep and strong emotional harmony.

The profoundest and noblest feelings of the soul—community of

FIG. 148.—THE RISEN CHRIST BETWEEN SAINTS ANDREW AND LONGINUS: COPPER-ENGRAVING BY MANTEGNA
Collection of Mr. Paul Davidsohn, Berlin

suffering with the Divine—are here expressed with the same elemental strength as were the physical passions in the mythological engravings; not at all, however, according to Christian sentiment, but with the whole pathos of antique tragedy, which permits the feelings of man in his prodigious and powerless struggle against fate to find unrestrained utterance in the full passion of sorrow. The engraving which pourtrays

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FIG. 149.—CENTRAL FIGURE FROM THE 'RISEN CHRIST': COPPER ENGRAVING BY MANTEGNA
(Size of the original)

the risen Christ between Andrew and Longinus has already been cited as a characteristic example of the preponderance in Mantegna's later works of the classic spirit over that specifically Christian (figs. 148 and 149). The austere majesty, the 'awfulness' of the compositions, beside which

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such Michelangelesque conceptions as the 'Moses' alone are worthy to be placed, the grandeur of the gigantic, Jove-like figure of Christ, is still further enhanced by the statuesque impressiveness of the group. One would be almost tempted to see in this composition the design for a group of statuary, perhaps for the high altar of S. Andrea in Mantua, which was raised above the most sacred relic possessed by the city, the 'preziosissimo sangue di Cristo.' Longinus, who is supposed to have brought this relic to Mantua, and Andrea were the especial patron saints of the town, and particularly of the Church of S. Andrea. They are also represented as the marquis's patron saints in the 'Madonna della Vittoria' at the side of the Madonna's throne, behind the two archangels, whose protection had been vouchsafed to the marquis in the battle.

FIG. 150.—SKETCH FOR A MONUMENT OF VIRGIL: DRAWING ATTRIBUTED TO MANTEGNA
Paris, Louvre

Although no positive record of his activity as a sculptor has been preserved to us, we are assured of his co-operation, at any rate, in compositions and designs for plastic works, not only by the conjectures of the writers of past and modern times,[1] and the influence which his style exercised upon the sculptors in Padua, and later in Mantua, but also through his design for the Virgil Memorial planned by Isabella. The idea of erecting a monument to Virgil had been suggested to the Marquis Lodovico by Platina long before Isabella's time, and had been favourably received by him, though it had never been put into

[1] Frizzoni, in the *Giornale di Erudizione Artistica*, Perugia, ii. (1873), p. 181 *seq.*

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execution.[1] We learn through Joannes Pontanus'[2] account of Isabella's proposed monument that Mantegna had either been, or was to be, entrusted with the design. Whether the drawing in the Louvre[3] (fig. 150) is actually by Mantegna's own hand or not it is hardly possible to ascertain, owing to the fact that it has been entirely worked over. As a composition it certainly does not come up to what one would like to expect, and what one is justified in expecting, of our master (even without considering that the inscription and the book held by Virgil are not in accord with the description given by Pontanus). Mantegna's force and spirit are entirely lacking. But even if the drawing in the Louvre is not by him, and perhaps not even a reproduction of his design, but that of some competitor, no doubt can exist but that he did prepare designs for the Virgil Memorial, and that his advice and co-operation were requisitioned in the matter of other sculptured monuments, among which, therefore, it is quite possible that there may have been a large group for the S. Andrea high altar. The plan, at all events, was never carried out, and the master may consequently have intended to impart to his drawing a certain monumental character by engraving it.

This is only a conjecture, but it is inspired not only by external probability, but by the thoroughly statuesque character of the composition. This view is strengthened by the calm, compact grouping, the measured movements, the smooth folds of the draperies (replacing the usual fluttering garments), the simple treatment of the background, and especially by the abrupt view of the figures seen from below standing on the very edge of a pedestal, nothing whatever being visible of the ground. Also the fact that the extended foot of Saint Andrew, projecting beyond the pedestal, throws a shadow upon the front surface of the pediment, and that Christ is represented as looking down in the act of blessing—all this points clearly to the fact that the composition was intended for a group of statuary. The sarcophagus and the helmet on the ground were probably only added to the engraving in order to relieve the monotony of the background. The group, moreover, makes even materially an impression of such great size that in the engraving it has quite the appearance of being a reduction from a work of vast dimensions. From such an example one can easily come to realise how little the

[1] See Luzio-Renier, 'Il Platina e i Gonzaga' in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, xiii. (1889), p. 432; Attilio Portioli, 'Monumenti a Virgilio in Mantova' in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, iv. (1877), p. 532 *seq.*

[2] In a letter from Jacopo d' Atri to Isabella of March 17, 1499. See *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1866 (xx.), p. 486, with illustration.

[3] Coll. His de la Salle.

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impression of magnitude is dependent upon the material form in which a work of art is executed.

In the case of but one of Mantegna's engravings have we a preparatory sketch by the master himself. The pen-drawing of the 'Battle of Sea-Gods,' with the Invidia, which is one of the treasures of the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth, is one of the few undoubtedly genuine studies by Andrea (fig. 151). It corresponds in almost every point with the engraving, and must thus be regarded as the immediate sketch for it, although the drawing is not, as is usual in such cases, the reverse of the engraving. The mastery and freshness with which the pen is used, betraying the hand of the artist sensitive to, and in search of, the right line, testify, in frequent variations and minor differences from the engraving, to the fact that this is really an original drawing, and not a copy after the engraving. Let us note, for the sake of the illustration it affords, in what an ugly manner the outline of the left leg in the statue of Neptune in the drawing cuts across the jaws of the sea-horse, while in the engraving—plainly to obviate this error—the statue is moved a trifle to the left.

When one considers what an enormous number of sketches Mantegna must have made preliminary to his great cycles of frescoes, for the Triumph and the easel-pictures, and for the work of so many of the other artists employed by the Gonzaga, one is inclined to wonder that so very few drawings by his own hand have come down to us. It is true that only after these plates were collected by the draughtsmen themselves (as in the case of Dürer), or by contemporaneous art-lovers, could greater care be devoted to their preservation than was given them in the artists' workshops, where they were soon destroyed by being copied and traced over, or where less clever artists, who made use of them for their own works, doubtless had an interest in destroying them. Mantegna, whose works were exploited as those of few other artists have been, was certainly somewhat unlucky in this respect. We possess, it is true, a countless number of copies after his drawings and engravings, works of art of every description, which undoubtedly were executed with the help of his sketches; but a small number of drawings only which, in the individuality of their lines and in their excellence, might be looked upon as his own original work have up to the present become known to us. Beyond those to which reference has already been made, only two more are to be mentioned displaying those qualities of his draughtsmanship to which attention was called above[1]—a sketch for a Madonna with an

[1] See above, p. 103.

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FIG. 151.—THE BATTLE OF THE TRITONS: DRAWING BY MANTEGNA FOR THE ENGRAVING
Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth

angel seated on the ground before the throne (fig. 152), and the study of a sick man raising himself up with a movement of painful exhaustion

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(fig. 153)—both of which are in the British Museum in London. The first cited probably belongs to the period of the Mantuan frescoes, while the second, most exquisitely finished and of powerful effect, must be contemporaneous with the engravings.

Our only means of appreciating the immense impression produced

FIG. 152.—MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH ANGEL
Pen-drawing in the British Museum

by Mantegna's drawings and engravings at that time, when a great elaboration of detail rather than originality, as later on, was striven for, is through the large number of copies of drawings and the great use made of the engravings. Dürer not only copied 'The Bacchanalia with the Cask'

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and 'The Battle of Sea-Gods' (1494), but he also borrowed motives and figures, making use, for instance, of the Saint John of 'The Deposition' for his 'Apocalypse.' Raphael copied the principal theme of 'The Deposition' in his picture in the Borghese Gallery,[1] and Rembrandt himself did not disdain to imitate the Madonna of Mantegna's engraving in his 'Holy Family.'[2]

These are only a few of the most obvious examples of such appropriations from our master's engravings. Generations of artists, who have

FIG. 153.—A SICK MAN
Pen-drawing in the British Museum

beheld with wonder and admiration the grandeur and elemental power of his imagination, the perfection of his characterisation and treatment of

[1] See Springer, *Raffael und Michelangelo*, i. p. 129. We only refer here, in passing, to the two drawings in the Venetian Sketch Book, which are copied from parts of this engraving, as these drawings are not universally recognised to be by the hand of Raphael. [2] Bartsch, 63.

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form, have sought inspiration from them and learned through them, thus fulfilling the purpose of the master. For the object of the engravings was to render material valuable for study more easily accessible to learners, by means of reproductions more accurate than those third- and fourth-hand copies from drawings which were usually employed. Engravings were so much more easily, and so much better, adapted than paintings to be used as studies for scholars on account not only of the reproductive power and portability of the medium, but, above all, because of the sharpness and precision in the rendering of form and the freedom in the pourtrayal of the nude —as, in fact, of all other subjects— that they afforded.

FIG. 154.—THE MAN OF SORROWS: ENGRAVING ATTRIBUTED TO MANTEGNA
By a Pupil, after a drawing by the Master (Bartsch, No. 7)

It is not easy to imagine what other practical purposes Mantegna's engravings could have served. The engraving of the religious subjects is much too light and delicate to admit of their being hung up on the wall as devotional pictures, nor could a sufficient number of copies have been printed from the plates; while for the illustration of prayer-books they were, of course, much too large. The mythological prints, too, being too large and too costly for the cheap decoration of objects for daily use, would seem to have absolutely no other place than the portfolio of the artist and the amateur.[1] As a matter of fact, a few such sketch-books still exist in which the owners have collected engravings as material for study as well as drawings of various works of art.[2] The number of paintings, pieces of

[1] Scardeone mentions, as early as 1560, when his book *De Antiquitate Patavii* was printed, that he possessed several very rare engravings of Mantegna's; Hartman Schedel also had pasted into his note-books (now in the R. Library at Munich) engravings, as well as notices and extracts, the subjects of which interested him.

[2] *I.e.* the Sketch-book, attributed to Peregrino da Cesena, in the possession of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, in Paris.

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sculpture, plaques, majolica, miniatures, and works of art of every kind for which Mantegna's engravings have either been copied or employed in some way is so great that a list of them would fill many pages. Whoever is familiar with the subjects of the engravings will encounter them again and again in the churches of Northern Italy (especially in Verona and Mantua) and in museums everywhere.

FIG. 155.—SAINT SEBASTIAN: ENGRAVING ATTRIBUTED TO MANTEGNA

By Gio. Ant. da Brescia (?), after a Drawing by the Master (Bartsch, No. 10)

All the skill and all the feeling of one of the greatest and richest art periods, the golden Quattrocento, is summed up in the ripest and freest form in Mantegna's engravings. Therefore it was that even in the time of the greatest Raphael worship they maintained their place beside the 'divine artist,' and that they remain even to-day, when this worship has been transferred from Raphael to Rembrandt and Velasquez, as fresh and as soul-stirring as are the works of Bach compared to those of Beethoven and the modern composers.

After a minute examination of the engravings which may unhesitatingly be ascribed to Mantegna himself, the eye, thus practised to discern their individuality, will easily appreciate the distance which separates them artistically and technically, not only from the group of works described above by independent engravers, who made use of his early drawings as models for their work, but also from that other class of engravings wherein his pupils and assistants strove to copy not only his drawings, but his individual technique as well.

We must by no means allow our judgment to be led astray by the fact that several of these workshop productions have been positively numbered by Vasari among the master's own engravings, or that they are claimed as his handiwork by connoisseurs like Bartsch and others. Vasari's opinion, moreover, cannot in this case be accepted as authoritative, because, in the first place, he is not, as is well known, to be

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depended upon where non-Tuscan artists are concerned, and because he looked upon Mantegna, and especially upon his engravings, with the prejudiced eye of the classicist Cinquecento observer. Accustomed to the technique which Marcantonio and his school had developed upon Dürer's model, Vasari was incapable of discerning the fine shades of difference in the works of the 'Primitives.'

Of this latter group of engravings, inaccurately ascribed to Mantegna, one plate alone might have a serious claim to recognition as a genuine work by him—that one which reproduces a portion of the 'Triumph of Cæsar,' *i.e.* the Procession of Sacrificial Beasts and Elephants[1] (fig. 96), evidently a copy of a sketch for the painting, not after the painting itself, as is proved by a number of deviations. But, notwithstanding the far broader and freer treatment of form, and also of ornamentation, the more powerful and intelligent draughtsmanship, the rich variety of light and shade, notwithstanding all its superiority over the other engravings of this group, this plate cannot bear even a distant comparison with the undoubtedly genuine original engravings. The feeble treatment of form will certainly not be explained away in so late a drawing as this, as was attempted in the case of the engravings after early sketches, by the master's want of technical dexterity. The technique, however, is anything but awkward or clumsy; on the contrary, it shows far too much the effects of routine and convention. The shading in many places, as for instance in the legs, the figures in the background, the drapery, &c., exhibit a dead level of uniformity which

FIG. 156.—HERCULES AND ANTÆUS: ENGRAVING ATTRIBUTED TO MANTEGNA

By a Pupil, after a Drawing by the Master (Bartsch, No. 16)

[1] Bartsch, 12.

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we never meet with in the master's works; we miss in the faces, hair, hands, and other details, the exquisite feeling for Nature which calls forth our admiration in Mantegna's genuine engravings. The plate has apparently been executed by an extremely skilful pupil after careful drawings by the master, and perhaps even under his personal superintendence.

The remainder of these engravings erroneously ascribed to Mantegna are so closely allied in drawing and technique to the great mass of works by pupils and imitators that they may without further examination be classed with them, even though we are unable, by means of any characteristic sign or monogram upon the engravings, to ascribe them to an individual member of the master's school. Besides such of Mantegna's pupils in engraving as are known to us by name—as, for instance, Zoan Andrea, Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, Girolamo Mocetto, Nicoletto da Modena, Giulio Campagnola—there were unquestionably many other artists at work with and about him of whom we are ignorant. They all, except Giulio Campagnola, who created a technique of his own, followed Andrea's method of engraving with oblique, close-grained parallel shadings, and, especially in their earlier works, almost invariably used the master's drawings as their models, although some of them also adopted Venetian and Central-Italian sketches for the purpose. The ascription of the Mantegnesque engravings to the various known and unknown engravers of his school—by no means an easy matter—is foreign to the task which here occupies us. It must here suffice to indicate the fact that they are not original works of Mantegna's own hand.

FIG. 157.—HERCULES WITH THE LION: ENGRAVING BY GIO. ANT. DA BRESCIA AFTER A DRAWING BY MANTEGNA

Among the engravings ascribed to Mantegna by Bartsch and Passavant are some which are not even executed after the master's

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designs, the three busts of old men, for instance,[1] and the two beggars[2] which display Leonardesque characteristics. The thoroughly individual technique of two plates, that of the Man of Sorrows[3] (fig. 154) and Hercules with the Snake,[4] point to a later engraver of an entirely different school; other plates, such as the Saint Sebastian[5] (fig. 155) and the Prisoner,[6] can be classed among the works of this or that

FIG. 158.—HOLY FAMILY: ENGRAVING BY GIO. ANT. DA BRESCIA AFTER A DRAWING BY MANTEGNA
(*Bartsch, No. 5*)

particular pupil, but those which are more closely allied to the style of the master himself—such as the engravings after drawings for the Triumph of Cæsar, the so-called Procession of Senators,[7] the Procession of Sacrificial Beasts, mentioned above,[8] the Soldiers with Trophies,[9] and Hercules and Antæus[10] (fig. 156), are so feeble and inaccurate in parts

[1] Bartsch, 21, 22, 23. [2] Passavant, 24. [3] Bartsch, 7, after a sketch for the Copenhagen picture.
[4] Bartsch, 15. [5] Bartsch, 10. [6] Passavant, 25. [7] Bartsch, 11; see above, p. 291, fig. 104.
[8] Bartsch, 12, fig. 96. [9] Bartsch, 13; and the copy after it, Bartsch, 14, figs. 98, 99. [10] Bartsch, 16.

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of the drawing, so stiff and thin in technique, that it will hardly be necessary to point out anything in detail, as for instance the drawing of the hair and the hands, the flat and non-plastic treatment of drapery, the conventional structure of the tree beside Hercules &c., in order to mark them as feeble, mechanical, workshop productions. Two reproductions of engravings by Gio. Ant. da Brescia, of which one is signed with his monogram, after drawings of Mantegna, may serve for a comparative study (figs. 157 and 158).

It is only by this rigid division of the works of imitators from those artistic creations carried out by Mantegna's own hand that it becomes possible to place the finish and individuality of technique of his engravings in a clear light, and it is only then that his importance as founder of that school of engraving which in treatment of form and in technique so closely followed in his footsteps, will be properly appreciated. The seven engravings which are the only ones that can be claimed as his, suffice indeed to assure him his position among the leaders in the graphic arts.

FIG. 159.—SAINT MARK: FRESCO IN MANTEGNA'S CHAPEL IN S. ANDREA
(Phot. Anderson)

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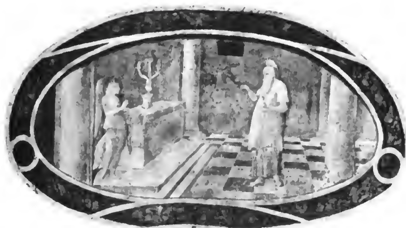

FIG. 160.—THE ANGEL SPEAKING TO JOACHIM: FROM THE FRESCOES IN MANTEGNA'S CHAPEL IN S. ANDREA AT MANTUA

(*Phot. Anderson*)

CHAPTER XII

MANTEGNA'S DEATH; HIS FAMILY AND HIS PERSONALITY; ESTIMATE OF HIS ART AND ITS INFLUENCE

On Sunday, September 13, 1506, at seven o'clock in the evening, Andrea Mantegna died. His son Francesco informed the marquis of this on September 15.[1] Isabella mentioned the death of the master only incidentally, in connection with the restoration of the 'Camera degli Sposi,' in a letter of the 21st to her husband, assuming that the news had already reached him.[2] The aged painter had seemed to her, even in April of the previous year, when he begged her to intercede with the marquis for his son, weak and failing and not far from his end;[3] and, before the close of the year, he had a serious illness from which, as is shown by his letter to Isabella, of January 13, and another from the Princess to Pietro Bembo, January 31, 1506, he recovered with difficulty.[4] He nevertheless worked diligently on the pictures for the Cornaro, the Bishop of Mantua, and Isabella; and Calandra, who came from Isabella on July 15 to negotiate with him the sale of the bust of Faustina, also found him at work.[5] The plague which was then raging in Mantua, and from which everybody was fleeing, seems at last to have

[1] See App. No. 81. [2] D'Arco, ii. p. 67, No. 83. [3] See App. No. 73.
[4] See App. No. 76. [5] See App. No. 77.

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called the grey-haired old man, now bent by sorrow and poverty, away from his work.

There was apparently no lack of sincere sympathy at the death of the master. Lorenzo da Pavia—the excellent instrument-maker and Isabella's agent in Venice—wrote to the Princess in his true-hearted manner: 'The death of our master Andrea causes me great sorrow, for, in truth, in him an excellent man and a second Apelles have passed away; I do believe that the Lord God wishes to employ him for the creation of some beautiful work; as for me, I can never hope to meet a finer draughtsman or a more original artist.'[1] The same day Isabella wrote in reply: 'We are sure that Master Andrea Mantegna's death has grieved you, for in him a great light, like unto your own, has been extinguished.'[2] A particularly great affection for Mantegna and his family is evidenced by a letter from the Duchess Elizabeth of Urbino to her brother, the Marquis Francesco (August 1, 1511), in which she earnestly recommends to him Francesco Mantegna, who had been inadequately provided for in the division of the property.[3] Also Marin Sanudo mentions the death of Mantegna as a noteworthy event in his diary.[4]

Mantegna's external circumstances in his latter years appear to have been very gloomy. Money difficulties and family troubles in particular seem to have weighed him down. One would have thought that even though the payment of his stipend was irregular, the revenues from his landed property and from his works, each one of which was liberally paid for by the Gonzaga in addition to his salary, must have amply sufficed for his support. One cannot but surmise that his entire family were a burden to him and that they made too great demands upon the old man.

At the marriage of his daughter Laura, in 1486, to a Mantuan, Pietro Luca de Marinis de Raffis, he had given her a dowry of 400 ducats.[5] This son-in-law, as is proved by a petition made by Mantegna in his interest August 6, 1494,[6] was an official in the service of the marquis. A second daughter, Taddea, was married in 1499 to the Mantuan Antonio Viani.[7] He further provided for a niece, Catarina, who is mentioned in a document of May 23, 1480.[8] Of his sons, one had died (between 1480 and 1490) in youth, as we learn from an extravagantly

[1] October 16, 1506. See App. No. 83. [2] See App. No. 84. [3] D'Arco, ii. p. 77, No. 98.
[4] Marin Sanudo, *Diarii*, Venezia, 1881, tom. vi. p. 552, note to February 23, 1507.
[5] See App. Nos. 47, 48. [6] See App. No. 59. [7] D'Arco, ii. p. 44, No. 56.
[8] *Bulletin de la Société Nat. d. Antiq. de France*, 1896, p. 189; 1897, p. 353.

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expressed letter of condolence of Matteo Bossi's.[1] It was probably this same son whom, in 1480, he took to the physician Gerardo da Verona, in Venice, with a warm recommendation from the marquis. His two other legitimate sons were painters by profession. In 1489 he endeavoured, in a letter from Rome, January 31,[2] to obtain for his son Lodovico a benefice of 200 ducats; and he would appear to have secured for him at least an official appointment in the marquis' household, seeing that in 1502 Lodovico was 'vicar' at Cavriana,[3] and purchased in Rome antiques for the marquis. We hear of the other son, Francesco, for the first time in the year 1494[4] in two letters of October 12 and 15,[5] which speak of him as a painter in the Castle of Marmirolo, where he worked for a miserable wage. He must subsequently have fallen into disfavour and been banished from Mantua, for, in 1505,[6] Isabella begs that he may be pardoned, and on June 3, 1506,[7] he himself urgently entreats the marquis to allow him to re-enter Mantua in order that he may see his father. Pardon seems to have been granted him soon after by the marquis, as, in September, the restoration of the frescoes of the 'Camera degli Sposi' was entrusted to him.[8] He seems to have inherited the irritable and obstinate character of his father—without any trace, it is true, of his genius and greatness—for he himself writes that, because a present of a piece of damask was withheld from him by a certain official, he had refused, out of spite, to take a brush in hand for six years.

After the death of his father he appears to have had a very hard time, for which, in a measure, he doubtless had himself to blame. He endeavoured to dispossess his nephew and is even accused of having tried to kill Libera, the widow of his brother; and, in spite of the warm recommendation of Elizabeth of Urbino,[9] and a petition which he addressed to the son of Marquis Federico, then thirteen years old,[10] he could neither recover the patronage of the Prince nor retain his own property. In 1514[11] he had to give up that estate in Boscoldo which the

[1] Matteo Bossi, *Recuperationes Fæsulanæ*, Bologna, 1493, fol. L, 2 3.

[2] D'Arco, ii. p. 20, No. 22.

[3] Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, iii. p. 563.

[4] The Francesco who, according to Ghisolfo's report in a letter of July 16, 1491, painted in Marmirolo in company with Tondo, was more probably Mantegna's son than Bonsignori, who is usually called Francesco da Verona (see App. No. 50).

[5] D'Arco, ii. p. 32, Nos. 41, 42.

[6] April 1. See App. No. 73.

[7] D'Arco, ii. p. 65, No. 79.

[8] D'Arco, ii. p. 69, No. 85, and letter from Isabella, October 20 (unpublished).

[9] August 1, 1511, D'Arco, ii. p. 77, No. 98.

[10] April 29, 1513; D'Arco, ii. p. 80, No. 104.

[11] January 16, see D'Arco, ii. p. 81, No. 105.

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Hospital had ceded to Mantegna,[1] and which, for some reason or other, the marquis had sequestrated, as he was unable to discharge the taxes upon it. In 1517[2] he sold a house, after which we hear nothing further of him. After the death of his father, the Gonzaga, possibly owing to his bad conduct, seem to have no longer employed him as painter.

The father appears, indeed, to have reposed greater confidence in his other son, Lodovico, to whom, in his will of March 1, 1504, he confided the care of his natural son Giovanni Andrea; it is true, however, that in a codicil of January 24, 1506, the responsibility for the maintenance of this child was again laid upon both sons. Lodovico's death occurred in 1509 or 1510, a short time after that of his father. On November 19, 1509, Count Baldassare Castiglione complained to his mother of Lodovico's delay in answering his letters; and on October 19, 1510,[3] Lodovico's widow, Libera, addressed a petition to the marquis to protect her in her country seat at Borgoforte against her brother-in-law Francesco and the claims made by the officials of the marquisate. The right to the possession of the property was assured to her son Andrea, in spite of Francesco's machinations, by a decree of April 24, 1511,[4] and all suits against her and her son were set aside by a second decree of February 20, 1513.[5] After this, Mantegna's grandson, Andrea, seems to have been in good circumstances, as it was he who placed a bronze bust of his grandfather in his chapel and erected a suitable memorial to him, to his father, and to his uncle[6] (see fig. facing p. 1).

We learn nothing of the state of Mantegna's circumstances from his will; it gives no closer details regarding the property than that it is to be divided equally among the two sons. Apart from the legacy for the chapel, the old man is here wholly absorbed in insuring the dowry of Lodovico's wife from Francesco's claims and in providing for his natural son.

Notwithstanding the fact that Mantegna had property in houses and estates to leave to his heirs, his financial circumstances, especially at the last, were anything but brilliant. He was even forced, after having pledged various articles of value, to decide upon selling his best antique, the bust of Faustina, to Isabella. Debts contracted for a house, and for the chapel, as well as other expenses, pressed heavily upon him. The

[1] See p. 197 *seq.*

[2] December 19; see D'Arco, ii. p. 90.

[3] D'Arco, ii. p. 75, No. 95.

[4] D'Arco, ii. p. 76, No. 97.

[5] D'Arco, ii. p. 80, No. 103.

[6] The inscription reads: 'Ossa Andreæ Mantineæ famosissimi pictoris cum duobus filiis in hoc sepulcro per Andream Mantineam nepotem ex filio constructo reposita MDLX.'

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need of ready money must indeed have been very general in Mantua at the time of the plague, for the marchioness herself had none wherewith to pay for the bust and could do no more than assume the responsibility for the payment of part of Mantegna's obligations, being constrained to remain in his debt even for the twenty-seven ducats which she would gladly have paid him as earnest money for the painting for her studio upon which he was engaged.[1] It cannot, therefore, have been hard for the weary old man, in his need of money, and in his anxiety about his children, to bid good-bye at so gloomy a time as that of the plague—even though he was in the very midst of his work—to a life which had offered him in truth but a sorry return for his splendid achievements.

If one has to be content with a few stray bits of information, unconnected fragments which might only too easily lead one to a false and prejudiced judgment of the individual, one could almost wish to know nothing of the outward life of a great genius. Perhaps, if we could gain a deeper insight into his life, the man and the artist within him might blend into the harmonious whole of a great personality; the apparent contradictions which are brought into undue prominence by isolated expressions of his irritable temperament might perhaps disappear. Even less than in the case of ordinary mortals should great men be judged according to individual acts which, unedifying as they may appear to us, frequently spring from sterling moral qualities and from unusual will-power, and often are nothing but energetic reaction against hostile influences from without. A great personality can only be rightly understood as a whole. If it is impossible for us to gain a complete idea of the man as he really is, a better and a juster course is to build up our conception of him from his artistic work alone, wherein his individuality, with all its peculiar qualities and aims, is clearly and faithfully reflected. If this is true of any artist, it is particularly so of Mantegna, whose personal sympathies make themselves so clearly felt not only everywhere in his works, but also in what he scorned to represent as contrary to his nature, and in what he found impossible to pourtray. Mantegna's figures are their own justification for existence, being but the expression of the artist's own soul—his embodied emotions, so to speak. An individual and deeply personal philosophy of life is expressed so definitely and with such freshness and energy in all his works that it is impossible to conceive of any variance—such as that often found in the case of

[1] See letters of January 13, 1506 (App. No. 76); July 14 (D'Arco, ii. p. 66, No. 80); July 15 (App. No. 77); August 4 (App. No. 79); August 7 (App. No. 80).

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other artists—between his personal feelings and those manifested in his creations.

Those portraits of him still preserved in the 'Camera degli Sposi' (fig. 85), and the excellent bronze bust in his own chapel at S. Andrea (fig. facing p. 1), are instinct with the greatest power and energy of mind and body; fiery passion and deep earnestness lie in the glance of the keenly observant eye. Truly this mind, bent upon the universal and far-reaching, and the deep feeling which speaks from his features, do not correspond with that dark side of his character, the paltry, malicious quarrelsomeness which those familiar episodes almost force us to take for granted; but they are in perfect agreement with the image of his character that arises from contemplation of his works.

The quality of his work which affects us most powerfully is, above all, the deep reverence for truth that breathes in every line and every feature of his creations. His conscientiousness in the perfecting of each individual form cannot have arisen from the desire for effect (to which as a fact it in no wise contributes), but was due exclusively to his own personal need of gaining a clear conception of the real nature of the subject, to his delight in the observation and in the reproduction of the form as he beheld it, and of all those emotions of body and soul into which he himself could enter. He devoted as much care to small things as to great, even in points wherein no further effect could be produced. In each work he set himself new problems, fighting shy of no difficulty, but rather seeking them out only in order to overcome them and in order to give shape, by means of his acute and subtle observation of Nature alone, to the conceptions which his phantasy evolved from the subject. The grandeur of his figures was primarily the outcome of this intense sympathy with the subject to be portrayed, and of the heightened expression of feeling in the picture in his soul, which was wholly impregnated with the subject and animated by it. It was through mental concentration upon the spiritual import of his compositions that he succeeded in reaching the marvellously independent conception of his subjects—religious as well as antique—which raised him above every convention, even where he was obliged to follow externally a prescribed formula. Thus, though originally in his religious compositions the purely human in form and feeling was his sole aim, he afterwards introduced into all his compositions an absolutely personal and epic inspiration, fostered by his study of the antique; and by this means he progressed

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from naturalism to idealism of form and feeling, to style and to a construction of types according to laws of his own.

It is remarkable that precisely that academic method of art-criticism based upon theory, which obtained from Vasari to Cavalcaselle, attempted to represent Mantegna as an over-'erudite' artist: him, in whom should be recognised pre-eminently one of the greatest students of Nature art ever produced! Nothing is more false than to designate as a 'doctrinaire' a man in every part of whose works feeling is expressed with elemental force and determines form; and who subordinates ecclesiastical dogma and archæological accuracy alike to the expression of passion and to the purely artistic necessities imposed by the decoration of space. Nothing is more incorrect than to believe that the merely technical, the materially constructive were the ends he had in view, for, in every case he used them only to heighten natural effect, and the appeal directed to the feelings. This is abundantly proved by the fact that he never materially pursued his technical problems to their ultimate issues, abandoning them, on the contrary, whenever they ceased to serve his purposes, and that he always subordinated the individual detail to the effect of the whole, consciously destroying the illusion. In his wealth of ideas, he often contented himself with suggestions which were thoroughly worked up only by later generations. We noted when considering his works individually that, in his compositions, it was not the architectonic construction or subtleties of perspective which he pedantically kept in view, as seems to have been supposed, but the overpowering effect to be produced upon the feelings of the spectator by the skilful observance of the laws of Nature and the introduction of strong spiritual contrasts.

Mantegna shares this scientific aspiration with all pioneer artists. It is in the nature of things that such men as Polycletus, Leon Battista Alberti, Piero della Francesca, Leonardo da Vinci, should seek to penetrate beyond all outward semblance into the knowledge of the laws of construction and of the movements of bodies, and those of the projection of bodies and space upon the plane. But it is an error to suppose that in the case of so great an artist the means could ever become the end. What preserves him from this error is the wealth of his imagination, the variety of conceptions present to his mental vision. Mantegna, perhaps, appears as a 'doctrinaire' only because he so artlessly and frankly indicated the methods he employed—methods of which he had no need to be ashamed, conscious as he was of the path

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he must follow and of the aim he pursued. Beethoven himself, when composing his great fugues, is said to have marked the time with his foot. This is the reason, moreover, why the limits of Mantegna's skill are so strongly marked. For we certainly find much that is hard and angular in his work: the pliable and rounded forms, the ease of unconscious movement, the perfect union of all parts into a harmonious whole—all these are qualities still lacking; in his early works particularly —the struggle with the inflexibility of form and the effort exerted to overcome difficulties are too apparent.

His strong individual style had the effect of limiting his wealth in mediums of expression. Thus, his contemplative Venetian nature was unable to assimilate the Florentine dramatic quality in the treatment of a subject. His attention was directed rather towards the inherent, the permanent characteristics of the individual personages than to their momentary mood conditional upon the circumstances pourtrayed. In their placidity, their dreamy meditativeness, their spiritual rapture at sight of the noble and the beautiful, as well as in the violence of their passions and actions, Mantegna's figures resemble their creator, in whom, likewise, we see these apparent contrasts subsist side by side. A lack of dramatic unity in the composition entails the isolation of the figures, and brings about, especially in his early works, the over-rigidity of their statuesque repose. This also explains Mantegna's failure to properly connect his glorious landscapes with the subject portrayed, in consequence of which they remain independent factors and add little to the feeling of the picture.

It is true that his persistent endeavour was directed, above all, towards emphasising those forms and motives most significant of the essence of the subject—in a word, towards the *characteristic*; but a feeling for beauty could be denied him only from a thoroughly biassed, one-sided æsthetic standpoint. Attention has been drawn sufficiently often to the prominent place occupied in Mantegna's artistic ideals by the effort to achieve decorative effect, to the fact that the lines of his composition and the action of each individual figure are determined by the laws of a musical rhythm, that his treatment of form and his construction of the body alike tend to an ideal type transcending the reality of the individual. Attention was also drawn to the careful consideration he gave, in combining his colours, to the effect of light and harmony secured by pleasing transitions from one tone to another. The incommensurable conception of beauty, in so far as it depends upon differences in taste, may

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justifiably be left out of the question; the important point is that his ultimate purpose, like that of every artist, was directed towards some ideal of supernatural beauty. Mantegna's ideal of beauty is another than that of Bellini or Titian, Raphael, Dürer or Rembrandt. In judging him it is, after all, a matter of no importance how high an estimate one places on this or that quality; the only question is, did he attain *his own* ideal? It is exactly this that differentiates the great artist: namely, that he has not only his individual world of form which lies outside that of other great artists, but his own ideal as well. Mantegna's ideals were those of his environment, and that he succeeded in placing them before the eyes of his world in so lifelike a form that they recognised them as their own is proved in a sufficiently eloquent manner, not only by his fame and the eulogies of his contemporaries, but also by the influence his works exerted on the development of art, on the imagination of great artists, as well as the tremendous effect which they produce upon us to this day.

Mantegna, however, did not reproduce the ideals of his environment without first transforming them in accordance with his own individual feelings. The artistic rendering of form is, after all, nothing more than the calling to remembrance of familiar and often beheld forms of Nature, of the feelings which, consciously or unconsciously, animate every individual soul. The work of a great and keenly observant artist, who has the power of faithfully reproducing what he sees, forces the spectator to realise clearly for the first time, through concentration in the picture and upon it, of observations and sensations which, though often passing through his own mind, have failed to assume tangible form in his imagination. By this means he is stimulated himself to study Nature, and his fancy is aroused to individual and independent activity. Revelations of Nature are what such an artist offers to the earnest observer. That is the true enjoyment of art by which he who enjoys progresses with him who creates in the contemplation of reality.

As, however, the artist can impart to the spectator only those memories of Nature which have made a deep impression on himself, and moreover can give them from his personal physical and mental standpoint alone, his picture acquires an individual character, and the spectator actually sees in the picture, which seems to reproduce his own image of Nature, only a reflection of her shown in the more or less irregularly cut mirror of the artist's presentment. In every naïve view of art, therefore, only that which the critic believes he can recognise to be a true copy of Nature will be admired, and it will be left to comparative and more

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exquisite criticism to observe in a work of art the individual characteristics of the artist. Thus it is that each school of art believes that it alone represents real Nature with absolute faithfulness; and it is left to succeeding generations to perceive in the earlier art the 'mannerism' and wilful alteration of actual forms by the one-sided prominence which is given to a certain set of observations and feelings. All independent art is, therefore, necessarily 'mannerism.' The artist gives voice to the current unconscious observations and sentiments of his environment, but he renders them individually in an absolutely personal form.

As an individual the great artist aims, beyond what his knowledge of Nature and his technique allow of his accomplishing, at the expression of aspirations and thoughts for which he has no adequate form (nor, perhaps, can this ever be found) at his command, and which he can only suggest by means of form symbolism, and by a direct appeal to the feelings of the spectator. Just as every philosopher tries to reach beyond the sum of his own fixed conclusions—which alone retain a lasting value for the future development of thought—to a 'system,' to an elucidaion of the whole phenomenon of life, based upon purely personal and arbitrary presumptions, so the independent artist strives to generalise his characters into types, and to form out of his creations and ideas a separate world—to all appearance well ordered and complete in itself—which he attempts to set up as the 'real world.' Each artist in his individual development proceeds in a direction contrary to the general evolution of art, which, in opposition to science, always progresses from the general to the particular, to a graduation of forms ever more delicate and individual; while the artist always seeks ultimately to gather his personal observations together within certain authorised forms and to generalise them. For the tendency towards a shaping of ideas (abstraction) lies deep in the nature of the thinking man, and at times places him as an individual in opposition to the trend of contemporary evolution. Imagination, which, in the general development, is always being pushed to the wall owing to the struggle of one individuality against another, is almost unchecked in the case of the artist, and leads him to frame an individual view of the world.

In times of artistic inactivity, pupils, as a matter of fact, do see 'the world' in the system thus formed by the great master, and become imitators (like Raphael's and Michelangelo's pupils); in times of renascence independent followers simply ignore their predecessors' 'philosophy of life,' their type-theory, and apply to their own use only the wealth of

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observations and themes which the latter have added to the ancient store. Thus the art of Giotto would appear incapable of direct development; he had only imitators; whoever wished to progress beyond him was obliged to enlarge the foundations of his art, as Màsaccio did, by observation of Nature and new methods of representation. It is only through his own fresh observations that the artist becomes a productive factor in progressive development. Taken as a whole, he and his work itself remain but an artistic image, and as such he is rather an obstacle in the way of direct progress, inasmuch as he threatens the independence of the coming artist, and anticipates, as if by intuition, conceptions for which a secure foundation must first be sought for through new study of Nature.

Mantegna's work belongs to a period of the most splendid vitality. With giant steps the art of the Italian Renascence was approaching the loftiest heights to which it could attain—the loftiest, indeed, it would almost seem, possible of attainment. The plastic arts had become in Italy the most puissant medium for the expression of ideas then stirring all minds, and the voices of other interpreters were almost unheard by the side of their sonorous organ-tones. The arts had become, as in other periods were poetry, the drama, music, philosophy, or the natural sciences, the actual 'language of ideas' by which the Italy of that time was led. At such an epoch development strides ahead with impetuous speed beyond the individual, however important and stimulating be his personality and his work. The pupil leaves the master so far behind that his connection with him is only to be detected in his earliest youthful efforts, traces of the immediate influence of even the greatest artist being obliterated in his independent followers.

Thus the elements of Mantegna's art which were transmitted to the great masters of his own and of succeeding generations all too easily escape our observation. Feeble pupils remained soulless imitators, great ones completely reconstructed what they owed to the model. Could we not trace Mantegna's influence upon Giovanni Bellini in the latter's youthful works, still unknown to us a short time ago, and in the peculiarities of the style of his followers, his mature works would never have betrayed how potent it was.

In Mantegna, however, the individual quality, that element in the formal medium of expression of which we have spoken above, which is not altogether the outcome of actual observation, but is intended to express emotionally by a personal symbolism his whole individual philosophy

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of life, is so preponderant that it is very difficult to recognise a follower of any importance because, as we have clearly convinced ourselves, he would in this very particular remain uninfluenced by the personal character of Mantegna's art. Mantegna would seem, indeed, to have found no one to carry on his style in the same way that Melozzo da Forlì did that of Piero della Francesca, or Giorgione and Titian that of Bellini.

We may perhaps, however, point to one painter in whom Mantegna's art was perfected in the spirit of the mid-Renascence, though, at the present stage of art-criticism, it may at first seem strange that Correggio should be the artist named in this connection. For, notwithstanding that tradition designates him as the actual pupil of our master (who can have influenced him only through his works, but never personally), and although Correggio's connection with Master Andrea has been dwelt upon by all art-critics (with the exception of Morelli, who having rightly recognised Correggio's connection with the Ferrarese school, would, in too one-sided a fashion, acknowledge no other), the relation has always been looked upon as an outward one only, Mantegna's works being considered as but the source from which Correggio derived his inspiration in the matter of form.

But it was not a study of his works alone which drew Antonio Allegri to the Mantuan—it was a community of artistic feelings and aims as well. If one thinks only of the harsh qualities of Mantegna's manner and of the effort, which, especially in his early works, are much too prominent, this may not, indeed, be so very obvious: the gentle, fanciful Correggio, completely under the sway of emotion and enthusiasm, seems at first glance such a contrast to Mantegna, the sturdy, energetic, clear-sighted student. On the other hand, however, what independence toward everything traditional, what strength and energy, does not Correggio also betray; and what tenderness, what sensuous and richly imaginative emotion, does not Mantegna impart to his figures? Both artists penetrate to the very core of the subject—to the purely human emotion latent within it: equally sensitive and elevated in spirit, both strive enthusiastically after a superhuman existence full of an enhanced joy in life, after a glorified ecstasy in the full effulgence of the divine or of the antique world of imagery. Both seek to break through the confines of the earthly to secure, in immeasurable space, free scope for the power and the magnitude of their figures. The voluptuous swinging lines, the ideally beautiful forms of Mantegna's figures in his later works, their sweet and thoughtful expression of tranquil bliss and spiritual emotion, is

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in Correggio's creations only heightened by the passionate sensuousness of his own outlook on the world, by the utmost vivacity of movement, and by his ardent surrender of self to the sensuous as well as to the godlike.

Sensuousness, in Mantegna, appears almost as a matter of course —it is neither ignored nor emphasised; like his landscapes, which, however lovingly they are executed, are never represented for their own sake alone. In Correggio sensuousness as well as landscape is intended to heighten the impression of infinite ease and joy which emanates from his creations. Correggio seems no longer to require perspective—that scaffolding which his predecessor had furnished him for scaling the heights; he seems to soar freely aloft and to revel in a golden light, in a magic of sparkling colours, which Mantegna only divined, as he certainly did, thus clearly indicating the possibility of their attainment. Both pursued the same ideal of absolute beauty of form perceptible to the artistic vision and of human emotion intensified by passion. Correggio has been admirably described as 'The Painter of the Graces,' and in this too Mantegna was his forerunner, for he can, in the highest and broadest sense, be designated 'The Painter of *Rhythm*.'

Compared to this, the numerous appropriations of various Mantegnesque motives, and analogies in the construction of form, in the treatment of folds, and so forth, are matters only of minor importance, although, in the case of an artist like Correggio, they undoubtedly presuppose a minute study of the original model.[1] Among great artists, Correggio is without question the one most strongly affected by Mantegna's direct influence: his path led him through a realm that was dominated by Mantegna's intellectual ideals.

Were it desired to follow everywhere the traces left by our artist, it would be necessary to give a greater part of the history of painting in Northern Italy—and not of painting alone. The study of Mantegna's influence upon the painting of his own time would have to form the subject of separate consideration, the material for which, however, has not yet been collected. We will content ourselves here with a short reference to it.

Of the influence exerted by Mantegna on the painters who worked contemporaneously with him in Padua we have already spoken in detail. We have seen that a number of artists—whose works were looked upon

[1] See Julius Meyer, *Correggio*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 62. Ricci, *Correggio*, London, 1896, has exhaustively discussed this connection between Correggio and Mantegna.

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as having served as models for the young Mantegna, but which, on the contrary, were even then executed under his personal influence—masters who founded schools at Verona, Ferrara, Modena, Bologna, and Milan, received their artistic impetus not so much from his supposed teacher as from himself, and that the Bellinis, Crivelli, and other Venetian painters, such as Andrea da Murano, were also influenced by him.

Among his Paduan followers the only one of any importance was Jacopo da Montagnana,[1] who, though only received as master into the Fraglia in 1469, may very possibly have been even in Padua a direct pupil of Andrea's. At all events, he follows so closely Mantegna's method of painting that a number of his works—as were those of many other of Mantegna's imitators—have been erroneously attributed to the master himself.

We know very little of Mantegna's genuine pupils in Mantua itself; but this seems no great loss, as he apparently had no pupils of importance there. Of the numerous painters active at that time in Mantua, there remain to us but names or the mention of works no longer in existence or untraceable;[2] the greater number of the pictures still existing cannot be connected with the names of any artists, and must be massed together as works of the school of Mantegna. The only signed pictures are by Antonio da Pavia (in the Mantuan Museum, at Novellara, and in the Brera at Milan), which, it is true, do no more than clearly establish that the individual productions of these pupils and followers must have fallen far below the level of work done under the master's personal superintendence and assistance. That Mantegna's style prevailed in Mantua, compelling all painters engaged under him or working independently to imitate him, and that it continued to prevail, as countless paintings on houses and churches testify, long after his death—until Giulio Romano's more ostentatious art obscured his fame—is a fact as obvious as it is in reality insignificant.

Far more important was the influence exercised by Mantegna on the neighbouring schools of painting, which produced artists of great ability. Apart from his actual Paduan and Mantuan pupils, the Veronese painters followed him more closely; and, when visiting Veronese churches or studying the easel pictures of that school, one is reminded at every step of Mantegna. Mention has already been made above of the fact that

[1] See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. p. 361 *seq.*

[2] They have been carefully collected by D'Arco, *Arti e Artisti in Mantua.* See also Pasquale Coddé, *Memorie biografiche dei Pittori Mantovani*, Mantova, 1837.

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Francesco Benaglio[1] copied in his altarpiece for San Bernardino in Verona Mantegna's Saint Zeno picture; he further made a copy of the Saint Andrew in the engraving of the 'Risen Christ between Longinus and Andrew,' for a pillar in the Cappella Pellegrini of S. Anastasia in Verona. *Liberale da Verona* also made an exhaustive study of and put to use Mantegna's works,[2] as did also *Filippo da Verona*, if a couple of frescoes in the Scuola del Santo, in one of which the figure next to Ezzelino is copied after the Longinus of the engraving, may be justly ascribed to him. In addition to these, *Michele da Verona* might be cited; *Niccolo Giolfino*, an intimate friend of our master and indebted to him for the decoration of his house, still standing in Verona. The frescoes of *Gio. Maria Falconetto* in the Cathedral at Verona (1503) show a close connection with the art of Mantegna; *Francesco Morone*, son of the Domenico mentioned above, made use in a picture, now in the Verona Gallery, of Mantegna's engraving of the Madonna;[3] *Girolamo dai Libri* modelled himself upon Andrea in his Berlin Madonna and in the Predelle of the S. Anastasia altar-piece in Verona. *Gio. Francesco Caroto* is designated by Vasari as a direct pupil of Andrea's,[4] but a connection with the Mantuan is not more striking in his works than in those of the other Veronese. *Francesco Bonsignori*, who worked for many years beside Mantegna in Mantua, approaches him most closely: he received his training in the Veronese school, but even when at work in his native town he studied Mantegna's creations, as appears from his altarpiece of 1488 in S. Bernardino at Verona. No works of his Mantuan period which can with certainty be claimed as his are extant; those which may be attributed to him with the greatest appearance of truth, such as the 'Saint Bernardino in Glory' of the Brera, in which the two Angels forcibly recall the figures in the 'Triumph of Cæsar,'[5] show him to be entirely under the influence of Mantegna. It is true that Bonsignori's name has recently been used as a general label for a large number of pictures and drawings of the school of Mantegna which may equally well proceed from any other—and to us unknown—imitator of the master.

[1] See pp. 55 and 163.

[2] Cf., for instance, the 'Death of Dido,' attributed to him, in the National Gallery.

[3] Cf. also the picture from the church of S. Bernardino in the Museum of Verona, and the drawing for it in the Uffizi, and another picture in S. Anastasia, Verona, and the frescoes in S. Maria in Organo.

[4] Vasari, v. p. 280. Mantegna is even reported to have sold pictures by Caroto as his own work.

[5] The date 1460 must therefore undoubtedly be inaccurate, or at all events it does not refer to the period in which the picture was painted, but more probably is connected with some date in the life of the saint.

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A strong inclination towards the Venetian school – and above all to Giovanni Bellini—can be discerned, especially among the younger Veronese painters and those of the other schools of North-western Italy who owed their origin to a system of forms due principally, either directly or indirectly, to Mantegna. The future belonged to the colour-scheme of the Venetians, and Mantegna's star was soon to pale before its radiance. Its original connection with Mantegna, nevertheless, always forcibly reasserts itself. Nor is this by any means restricted to the occasional adoption of a motive, but extends to the method of composition and decoration, to the construction of form and to the movement. The individual adaptations which have been particularly dwelt upon here are of importance not so much in themselves as because they offer a secure point of view, and because they unquestionably presuppose in every case a thorough study of the artist whose works are being imitated.

Mantegna's example was also of vast importance in the development of many artists belonging to other schools of Northern Italy. The close connection between *Bartolomeo Montagna* and Mantegna would be most clearly proved by the frescoes in the Cappella Proto of San Lorenzo at Vicenza, could those productions—which in this case most obviously belong to Montagna's youth—be ascribed to him with certainty. But his later works also, wherein he more nearly approaches Venetian art, do not fail to bear witness to a thorough study of Andrea's works in their decorative scheme, in the bearing and in the feeling of the slender, plastic, and clear-cut figures, instinct with deep and earnest emotion. *Francesco Verla's* Madonna in the Brera is almost exactly copied from the Madonna in the altarpiece for S. Maria della Vittoria.

A much more independent position is assumed by the Ferrarese painters towards Mantegna. The originally strong influence exerted by Paduan and Venetian art, especially in the case of *Marco Zoppo* and *Cosimo Tura*, of whom we have already spoken, was thrust into the background by the advent in Ferrara of *Piero della Francesca*. The stern and noble *Francesco del Cossa* seems to have remained almost completely independent of Mantegna. In *Ercole de' Roberti*, on the other hand, Mantegnesque characteristics are more apparent, and indirectly through him—though also owing to direct connection with the master—Lorenzo Costa and other painters of the Bolognese, Modanese, and various provincial schools are allied to Master Andrea. Of the Modanese *Bianchi Ferrari*, who, according to tradition, was Correggio's master, one drawing has been preserved which unmistakably

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recalls the Madonna della Vittoria.[1] *Lorenzo Costa* himself, who was called to Mantua in 1509 to succeed Mantegna as court painter, and could thus reap the full benefit of the moral standing which Mantegna had secured for himself, passed from the style of Ercole de' Roberti to that of Francesco Francia and the Umbrians, but in his later Mantuan works conformed more to the style of his predecessor in office. This appears, moreover, from the fact that in his school Mantegnesque peculiarities are found united with his own individual style. A number of pictures bear witness to such a combination, particularly the Evangelists—in Mantegna's Chapel of S. Andrea (see above, p. 334 *seq.*), and, among others, a Madonna in the possession of Signor Lombardi in Ferrara,[2] a Madonna ascribed to Bonsignori, in the Layard Collection in Venice, copied from the engraving of Andrea, and a Madonna attributed to Mantegna himself, in the possession of the Earl of Wemyss at Gosford House.

The Milanese and Piedmontese artists also always reverted to Mantegna as their model. A proof that familiarity with his works had penetrated even to the provincial Umbrian painters is furnished by *Fiorenzo di Lorenzo's* Madonna and angels within a wreath, in the gallery at Perugia, which undoubtedly presupposes the study of Andrea's Brera Madonna or some other example of his work.

It would be an easy matter to increase substantially the number of material and artistic indications of Mantegna's influence upon contemporaneous painters.

Evidences of his style are found in the miniature painting of Northern Italy, particularly in the ornamentation of the architectonic frames and backgrounds imitated from the antique. Adaptations of motives from his pictures, and even more from his engravings, are frequently encountered in this branch of art.[3]

The style of a master whose pre-eminence was so universally acknowledged and whose artistic interests were so varied would naturally leave its impress upon the development of other branches of art. The part he took in the formation of the style of the plastic arts of Northern

[1] See Venturi, *L'Arte*, i. (1898), p. 302. [2] See Venturi, *loc. cit.* p. 303.

[3] See G. Mongeri-D'Adda, 'L'Arte del Minio nel Ducato di Milano' in *Arch. Stor. Lomb.* xii. (1885), p. 763-65-71; Caffi, *ibid.* xiii. (1886), p. 407 *seq.* We have no proof of Mantegna's personal share in the decorating of books with miniatures. His statement, repeated by the Marquis Federico in his letter to the Duchess of Milan (see App. No. 36), would even lead us to suppose that he did not consider such work worthy either of his profession or of himself. The miniatures ascribed to him have, at all events, no right to bear his name, not even that of the Antiphone, owned by Mr. Thomas Brooke, of Armitage Bridge House (see Catalogue, London, 1891), to which

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Italy has been frequently insisted upon.[1] More than one piece of sculpture in these regions suggests a Mantegna in stone or bronze.

Mantegna's influence upon later generations, and upon those branches of art farther removed from his own, is demonstrated in a less tangible form. It is not the less important because we cannot measure it and must be content to estimate it by indirect indications alone. Natures of strongly progressive tendencies could naturally not be turned from their course by the representative of a by-gone period of art, which had been technically surpassed, but they paused a moment in amazement before his powerful creations, and pursued their way deeply moved by the impression which the truth to nature and the wonderful pathos of these works had made upon them. Attention has already been called to *Albrecht Dürer's* drawings after Mantegna's engravings—the reflection of a Mantegnesque energy of expression and movement characterises one entire epoch in the early development of this greatest of German artists, and its far-reaching traces may be found in his work.[2] In *Hans Holbein's* works also both different composition and single figures may be traced back to Mantegna's art.[3] Similar occasional appropriations as these by Dürer and Holbein may be cited in the case of Sodoma (in his frescoes at Monte Oliveto [4]), of Raphael (in the 'Entombment' in the Palazzo Borghese in Rome, already mentioned [5]), of Rubens (in the reconstruction of part two of the 'Triumph of Cæsar' in the National Gallery in London [6]), and of Rembrandt (in the 'Holy Family,' already mentioned,[7] Bartsch, 63), as indirect proofs of the relation in which these artists stood to Andrea's art. These are but a few examples, which it would be easy to multiply, but they serve to show that the impression made by the works of the great artist, even upon eminent masters so

his signature is said to be appended (though in a form calculated to excite doubt), beside that of a certain Jacobus de Mantua. The style of the picture points to a Ferrarese artist.

[1] See Waagen, *Kleine Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1875, p. 109; Bode, *Handbücher der Kgl. Museen, Italienische Plastik*, Berlin, 1891, p. 118; Muntz, *Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance*, i. p. 586 *seq.*, ii. p. 604; Paoletti, *Architettura e Scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, ii. 1, p. 198.

[2] See Thausing, *Dürer*, 2nd ed., 1884, especially i. pp. 113 116 and 173, ii. p. 62: Anton Springer, *Durer*, Berlin 1892, pp. 19 and 20; Gabriel von Terey, *Albrecht Dürer's Venezianischer Aufenthalt*, 1494-95, Strassburg, 1892.

[3] See Woltmann, *Holbein und seine Zeit*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1874, pp. 139, 144, 388, 435, &c.

[4] Cf. Muntz, *Raffael*, Paris, 1886, p. 359 *seq.*

[5] Springer, *Raffael und Michelangelo*, Leipzig, 1883, i. p. 129.

[6] Rooses, *L'Œuvre de P. P. Rubens*, Anvers, 1890, iii. p. 208 *seq.*, and for other instances where Rubens borrowed from Mantegna, see *ibid.* i. p. 90 and p. 312.

[7] Michel, *Rembrandt*, p. 405 *seq.*, and p. 420; Vosmar, *ibid.*, 1877, p. 438. According to his Inventory Rembrandt possessed a 'Kostelijcke boeck von Andre de Montaigne.' Hofstede de Groot, 'Rembrandt Imitator' in *Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1893, No. 52.

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remote from him, was so deep and lasting that they endeavoured to preserve it in a definite form, thus testifying to their appreciation of his individual style.

We realise even more plainly from the great number of copies, both of his genuine works and of those falsely attributed to him, that survive in paintings, in reliefs, plaques, majolicas, and objects of art of other kinds, especially in engravings and woodcuts, that his artistic personality endured throughout the following centuries.

In literature also he lives on as one of the characteristic representatives of the early Italian Renascence. However much the standard of criticism by which that great period of art is judged might alter in the course of centuries, and enthusiastic admiration of Raphael's finished beauty of form, of Michelangelo's strength, and of the technical dexterity of their successors, leave critics with little to bestow upon the Quattrocento beyond a condescending acknowledgment of its praiseworthy efforts and the results which crowned them, Mantegna yet remained for the seventeenth and eighteenth century the quintessence, one may say, of 'primitive' Italian art. However much, since Vasari's time, there may have been found to criticise unfavourably in him, and however much the severity of his forms, the too truthful character of his expression, the absence of that effeminate, cloying 'prettiness,' and of that theatrical vivacity which were so popular, may have been deplored, a strong appreciation of his powerful and individual manner and his historical importance has never ceased to exist.

Owing to their intrinsically rhetorical intention, the numerous eulogies pronounced by Mantegna's contemporaries add nothing to our knowledge of him or of his artistic position: they are of interest to us only inasmuch as they are indicative of his fame and of the high esteem in which his art was held. Not only the poets who have written of him: Ulixes, Basinio Basini, Janus Pannonius, Baptista Mantuanus, Teofilo Folengo (Merlin Cocaio), and Ariosto; and such chroniclers and authors as Antonio da Crema, Felice Feliciano, Matteo Bossi, Pomponio Gaurico, Camillo Leonardi, Mario Equicola, Baldassare Castiglione, in whose works he is occasionally mentioned; but a famous fellow-artist of another locality and another school—namely, Giovanni Santi, Raphael's father—also, either commend him as the greatest artist of their time or unhesitatingly place his name among those of the most consummate masters of art, beside that of Bellini, of Giorgione, Titian, Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo.

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It was not until after his death that the great artist began to be criticised. Marcantonio Michiel, it is true, claimed for him the foremost place,[1] in opposition to Guido Celere (who, though preferring Mantegna to all other painters, had nevertheless placed Michelangelo above him). Sebastiano Serlios's criticism [2] treats of the undeniable services rendered by Mantegna in the application of perspective to decorative painting. It is only with Vasari that we enter upon a period of criticism. And probably most of Vasari's colleagues and contemporaries, who did not possess his historical sense, would have shown far less recognition of Mantegna, and have clothed their condemnation in a form less mild than that of the Italian historian, who contented himself with complaining that his 'manner was somewhat angular (tagliente), and at times gave rather the impression of stone than living flesh;' and that 'his treatment of drapery was hard and thin, and his manner rather dry.' The arrogant criticism of Mantegna as an engraver passed by Baldinucci [3] gives a fair idea of the opinions which prevailed at the end of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century.

There is no doubt that it was principally by reason of the instructive character of his art, his technical studies, and his innovations, that he maintained his influence. In the abstruse system of Lomazzo's 'Idea del Tempio della Pittura' (1590), Mantegna, however, formed one of the seven pillars of the Temple of Painting: the sixth pillar, made of silver and representing wisdom (Prudenza) stands for him. Perspective is made his strong point, his attribute the snake, and Archimedes his counterpart in philosophy. But Lomazzo likewise found fault with the hard folds of his drapery. By the opulent individual strength of his style he attracts great and sincere artists, whose admiration for him is unbounded: the theoretic and academic prize in him above all his merit in having by careful study of the antique and of perspective levelled the way for the great masters of the mid-Renascence. Scannelli's opinion [4] is that 'for his time Mantegna is not to be despised,' and that 'although he and Melozzo were of the old order, they were very learned and incomparable in the matter of perspective.'

Ridolfi [5] says: 'Although his works retain many crudities, there

[1] Letter from M. A. Michiel to Celere, 1514. See *Anonimo Morelliano*, ed. Frizzoni p. 253.

[2] In his *Regole Generali dell' Architettura*, Venezia, 1537.

[3] Filippo Baldinucci, *Cominciamento e progresso dell' Arte dell' intagliare in Rame*, Firenze, 1686.

[4] Expressed in his *Microcosmo della Pittura*, 1657.

[5] *Meraviglie*, 1648.

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being in those times no great degree of enlightenment, they had nevertheless a spice of charm.' 'Skilled in perspective and in imitation of the antique, but stiff as regards the action of his figures'—this continues the prevailing opinion up to our century; the opinion, for instance, held by Félibien,[1] by De Piles,[2] and by Mengs,[3] who failed to find in Mantegna's works the grace, beauty, or good taste of the antique, and will acknowledge nothing more than his wish to imitate them.

At the most it is but cold esteem which breathes from these appreciations. Although his works were sought after and valued because of the celebrity attaching to his name and their scarcity, it has been impossible since the death of the venerable master to win over to him any personal artistic sympathy. Nor can one demand of admirers of the Caracci, Guido Reni, Carlo Dolce, or the Dutch genre painters, the French sentimentalists or German painters of the romantic and academic schools, a real understanding of his art. It is significant that the latter-day pre-Raphaelites also, who must have been familiar with his works, seem to have kept aloof from him.

One must acknowledge that Goethe, who in other respects often takes a remarkably prejudiced view of the fine arts, has prophetically anticipated the feelings of our own time in his enthusiasm for Mantegna's works and in his deep perception of their direct relation to nature. It is true that we still are under the spell of the minds of Kant and Goethe. Few writers in their estimate of Mantegna have followed Goethe even at a distance, but Freyburg,[4] Füssli, and Lanzi dwell, at all events, upon his study of nature.

Although up to the present time only the harsh external aspect of Mantegna's art has been observed and too severely condemned, and although his technical advance upon his predecessors has alone been gratefully acknowledged, the time has, I believe, now come when, after being slowly nurtured on a profoundly sympathetic understanding of the healthy, vigorous art of the Quattrocento, Mantegna's art has become accessible to us no longer merely through acquired historical interest and knowledge of the time and the country he lived in, but because—in its unprejudiced and powerful conception of a natural existence, both as regards the intellect and the senses—it lies in the direct line of those

[1] *Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des Peintres*, 1725.
[2] *Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres*, Paris, 1715.
[3] *Opere*, Parma, 1780, and Rome, 1787, i. p. 176.
[4] *Kunstblatt*, 1825, pp. 320 and 325.

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FIG. 161.—PILASTER: ENGRAVING BY ZOAN ANDREA
After a drawing by Mantegna for the Triumph of Cæsar

intellectual and artistic aims which awaken sympathy to-day. His strongly accentuated preference for the representation of the moral and sensuous side of elemental passion, for the great contrasts and the problems of life, without any inclination toward that solution and reconciliation of contradictory elements with which the philosophy and the art of the past endeavoured to delude us, this passionate striving after 'truth' without regard to the consequences of the revelation, this struggle after the significant expression of the purely human, which in the intellectual life as in the art of our time—pre-eminently in drama and music—is clearly apparent (frequently in far too reckless and inartistic a form), was also the innermost motive power of the creations of the great masters of the early Renascence.

We feel ourselves to-day to be the immediate successors of those free and enlightened spirits to whose ideas we owe our impulse towards unprejudiced research, our sense of history, of nationality, and, above all, our feeling for nature; and thus the predilection in our own day for that art is the outcome not only of our admiration of its simple, appropriate, and elegant tectonic and decorative forms, but pre-eminently of our intimate relation to its intellectual essence.

The German Nazarenes, in their enthusiasm, saw in the expression of humility and devoutness of Perugino's figures what the English Pre-Raphaelites found in the sentiment of Botticelli—the prototype of their own world of feeling, and all too faithfully copied not only the sentiment but the forms also of the models they worshipped. In our own day a much deeper and more far-reaching movement has begun, which, turning away from these ideals as from the rhetoric of Raphaelesque form-harmonies that sought to reconcile all contradictions, again recognises in

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the keen, honest study of nature and deeply passionate feeling and energy of a Jacopo della Quercia, a Donatello, Signorelli, or Andrea Mantegna the dominant features of their own natures, expressed consciously in the aim of the creative minds and unconsciously in the direction taken by cultured taste.

Just as the greatness and simplicity of Bach's compositions impress an audience of to-day with a power never before dreamed of, there dawns upon all lovers of art, now that the barriers erected by artificial, alien ideals, academic prejudices and changing tastes, which obscured Mantegna's art, have been destroyed by the modern spirit, a full and perfect understanding of the sincere and splendid representations of intellectual and physical life, of the intensity of purely human emotion and the melodious rhythm of form and movement, which, with a strict and stern restraint, but with a purity and strength equalled by no other artist of the Quattrocento, is expressed in the works and in the whole personality of Andrea Mantegna.

FIG. 162.—SAINT MATTHEW; FRESCO FROM MANTEGNA'S CHAPEL IN S. ANDREA IN MANTUA
(*Phot. Anderson*)

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LIST OF MANTEGNA'S WORKS.

I.—PICTURES.

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY ARE TREATED IN THE TEXT.

Between **1448** and **1455**.

1. LEGEND OF S. JAMES, AND MARTYRDOM OF S. CHRISTOPHER: Frescoes, Padua, Church of the Eremitani (see pp. 61 *seq.*, plates 2, 3, figs. 23–45). Photographs by Naya, Alinari, and Anderson.

Copies: 1. *Martyrdom of S. Christopher*, and the *Removal of his Body*. 80 cm. × 40 cm. Parma, Gallery No. 437.

2. *S. James led to Martyrdom, and his Execution*; *Removal of the Body of S. Christopher* (by Francesco Benaglio?). Paris, collection of Madame André. See 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' 1886, i. p. 177, with illustration.

3. *S. James led to Martyrdom, and his Execution*. Copy of small size, on canvas; seen by Crowe and Cavalcaselle ('Hist. of Painting in North Italy,' i. p. 329, note) in the house of the Marchese Galeazzo Dondi-Orologio, at Padua.

Marcantonio Michiel ('Anonimo Morelliano,' Vienna ed. pp. 30 and 112) mentions a copy of a small size (of the whole chapel?), in possession of the cloth merchant M. da Stra, in Padua, and a copy of the Legend of Saint Christopher by Mantegna's own hand in the house of M. Michiel Contarini alla Misericordia, in Venice. Rosetti ('Descrizione di Padova,' 1780, p. 352) mentions 'modelli' by Mantegna, for the frescoes, in possession of the Signori Scotti, in Padua.

Trial of S. James: engraving by Daniel Hopfer. Bartsch, 9.

Engravings by Francesco Novelli of the Assumption, Martyrdom of S. James, and Removal of the body of S. Christopher, probably executed for the biography of Mantegna projected by Gio. Maria Sasso and Gio. de Lazzara.

2. MADONNA AND CHILD, in a framing of angels carrying the instruments of the Passion; on the parapet angels with a coat of arms: Berlin, Museum, No. 27. Wood, 79 cm. × 67 cm. (p. 126, fig. 48). Photographed by Hanfstängl and by the Berlin Photographic Company. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (i. p. 386) erroneously identify the picture with the one painted for Matteo Bossi, Abbot of Fiesole (Vasari, v. p. 16).

Copy: Without the frame, and with a landscape background; below, head in a medallion between two coats of arms. London, collection of Mr. Butler (from the Fusaro collection in Padua?).

3. MADONNA AND CHILD: London, Mr. Butler (from the collections Casa Barbieri and Fusaro in Padua, and Stirling-Dyce). Circular above. Authenticity uncertain (p. 128, fig. 50). Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *loc. cit.* p. 340, note 1. Exhibited 1891 in the winter exhibition of the Royal Academy (No. 152; coll. J. Stirling-Dyce).

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4. MADONNA AND CHILD (quarter length): Berlin, collection of Mr. James Simon. Canvas, 42 × 32 cm. (p. 128, fig. 51). Exhibited in Berlin, 'Renaissance-Ausstellung der kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft,' 1899, p. 43 and plate X. Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, 1898–99, X. pp. 16 and 18.

5. MADONNA AND CHILD (half length): Bergamo, Galleria Carrara, No. 153. Canvas, 43 cm. × 31 cm. (p. 129, fig. 52). Photographed by Taramelli.

6. MADONNA AND CHILD (half length): Milan, Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, No. 122. Canvas, 45 cm. × 35 cm. (p. 129, fig. 53). Photographed by Montabone.

1452.

7. SS. ANTONY AND BERNARDINO HOLDING A WREATH WITH THE MONOGRAM OF CHRIST: fresco above the central door of S. Antonio ('Il Santo') in Padua. Signed and dated July 21, 1452: 'ANDREAS MANTEGNA OPTVMO FAVENTE NVMINE PERFECIT MCCCCLII XI KAL. SEXTIL.' Vasari, v. p. 392. See p. 132 *seq.*, fig. 47; photographed by Anderson; on the restorations see Gonzati, 'Basilica di S. Antonio,' i. p. 124 *seq.*

1453–1454.

8. POLYPTYCH OF S. LUKE: Milan, Brera, No. 264. Wood, 1·78 m. × 2·27 m. (see p. 133, plate 4, fig. 54). Photographed by Alinari, Anderson, and Montabone. Vasari, v. p. 392; Scardeone, p. 372.

1454.

9. S. EUPHEMIA: Naples, Museum (from the Museo Borgia in Velletri). Canvas 1·60 m. × 0·80 m. Signed 'OPVS ANDREAE MANTEGNAE MCCCCLIIII' (p. 137, fig. 55). D'Agincourt, 'Storia dell' Arte,' *Pittura*, pl. 139 (reversed). Photographed by Alinari and by Brogi.

10. S. SEBASTIAN: Aigueperse (Puy-de-Dôme, France), Church of Notre-Dame. Canvas, about 2·57 m. × 1·42 m. (p. 138, fig. 56). 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' 1886 (xxxiv) p. 375, with reprod. Photographed by Taddei in Aigueperse. Exhibited in 1863 at Clermont-Ferrand.

11. THE PRESENTATION OF CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE: Berlin, Museum, No. 29. Canvas, 67 × 86 cm. From the collections of Cardinal Bembo (?), of the family of Gradenigo in Padua, and Solly. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *loc. cit.* p. 386. Morelli (*Gallerie zu Berlin*, p. 98) considers it a copy of the picture in the Querini-Stampaglia Coll. (p. 144, plate 5). Photographed by Hanfstängl and by the Berlin Photographic Company.

Copy: Venetian school, beginning of the sixteenth century. Wood. Venice, collection Querini-Stampaglia (ii. 2). See p. 144, note 1.

12. THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS: London, Kent House (Louisa, Lady Ashburton). Canvas, 48½ cm. × 65½ cm. (p. 145, plate 6). Exhibited

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at the New Gallery, 1895, and reproduced 'Catalogue of Venetian Art, Thirty-six Reproductions' (London, 1895), plate 6.

Copies: 1. Francesco da Santa Croce. Berlin, Museum, No. 22.

2. Ascribed to Giovanni Bellini (or Previtali). London, Mr. Butler.

3. Ascribed to Vicenzo Catena. Verona, Museo, ii. No. 147.

4. Ascribed to Bissolo. Venice, Gall. Querini-Stampaglia; larger than original, with two additional figures.

5. Francesco da Santa Croce. St. Petersburg, Hermitage.

6. Ascribed to Vicenzo Catena. Collection Binetti; sold by auction in 1892 at Sangiorgi's in Rome; Cat. No. 149, with illustration.

7. The Virgin and Child alone, copied into a picture of the *Virgin and Child with SS. Joseph and Catherine*, in Treviso. (Private collection.)

1457–1459.

13. THE ALTARPIECE OF S. ZENO, IN VERONA. The three main compartments are in S. Zeno. Of the predelle, one is in the Louvre (No. 1373), the other two in Tours, Museum (Nos. 193, 194). Wood, the predelle each 66 cm. × 88–90 cm. (p. 147 *seq.*, plates 7, 8, figs. 59–62). Photographed by Alinari and by Naya.

Copies: The main compartments freely copied by Francesco Benaglio in his picture in S. Bernardino in Verona (see p. 163).

Of the predelle, there is a copy of the *Crucifixion* in the Gallery of Schwerin (No. 627), by a weak painter of the sixteenth century. Similar in composition to the *Crucifixion* is a drawing in the British Museum (Pp. 1, No. 22) ascribed to Mantegna or Bellini.

1459.

14. CHRIST ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES: London, National Gallery, No. 1417 (from the collections Fesch, Coningham, and Northbrook). Wood, 62½ cm. × 80 cm. Signed, 'OPVS ANDREAE MANTEGNA' (p. 163, plate 9). Photographed by Hanfstangl. See Waagen, 'Treasures,' ii. p. 178.

Copies: 1. In an initial letter of the Northbrook Missal. (See J. P. Richter, 'Cat. of the Northbrook Coll.')

2. Of the group of Judas with the soldiers; drawing, British Museum, Malcolm coll. 354.

15. SAINT SEBASTIAN: Vienna, Art Museum, No. 81 (from the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm). Wood, 68 cm. × 31 cm. Signed, 'TO EPTON TOY ANΔPEOY.' In good preservation (p. 168, plate 10). Photographed by Miethke and by Lowy.

16. PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL LODOVICO MEZZAROTA (SCARAMPO): Berlin, Museum, No. 9 (from the collection Solly). Wood, 44 cm. × 33 cm. (p. 170, plate 11). Photographed by Braun, Hanfstangl; illustration in the Catalogue to the Gallery.

17. PORTRAIT OF THE YOUNG CARDINAL FRANCESCO GONZAGA: Naples, Museum, No. 54 (called 'School of Giovanni Bellini'). Wood 25 cm. × 17½ cm. (p. 173, fig. 65). Photographed by Alinari and by Brogi.

18. TRIPTYCH: ADORATION OF THE KINGS—CIRCUMCISION—ASCENSION: Florence, Uffizi, No. 1111. Wood; central panel 76 cm. ×

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76½ cm.; each wing 86 cm. × 42½ cm. (p. 213 *seq.*, plates 12, 13, figs. 70, 71). Photographed by Alinari, Brogi, Anderson.

19. DEATH OF THE VIRGIN: Madrid, Prado, No. 295 (from the collection of Charles III. of Spain in the Palace of S. Ildefonso); bought by Daniel Nys for Charles I. of England, Virtue: Catalogue. Wood, 54 cm. × 42 cm. (p. 220, fig. 72). Photographed by Laurent and by Braun.

Copies: Of the apostle swinging the censer, seen from behind: drawing, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Of the apostle with a palm on the left: drawing, Florence, Uffizi (1289).

20. SAINT GEORGE: Venice, Academy, No. 588 (from the collection Manfrin). Wood, 66 cm. × 32 cm. (p. 225, plate 1, Frontispiece). Photographed by Naya, Alinari, Anderson.

Copies: Two old but weak copies in the market. (Venice, 1899.)

21. MADONNA AND CHILD, SEATED IN FRONT OF A GROTTO IN A LANDSCAPE: Florence, Uffizi, No. 1025. Wood, 29 cm. × 21½ cm. (p. 227, plate 14). Photographed by Alinari and by Anderson.

22. THE DEAD CHRIST MOURNED BY SAINTS: Milan, Brera, No. 273. Canvas, 66 cm. × 81 cm.; much damaged (p. 230, fig. 73). Photographed by Alinari, Anderson, Montabone.

1474 (year of completion).

23. FRESCOES IN THE CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI, IN THE CASTELLO DI CORTE AT MANTUA. *Measurements of the room*: 8·05 metres square; height up to vaulting, 3·60 m.; height of the painted dado, 0·00 m.; height of the chimney, 2·17 m. (p. 235 *seq.*, plates 15, 16, figs. 2, 7, 46, 69, 76–89, 136). Photographed by Naya, Alinari, Anderson, Premi (Mantua). The ceiling and one lunette engraved by Fr. Novelli.

24. THE TRIUMPH OF CAESAR, IN NINE COMPARTMENTS: The Palace, Hampton Court. Paper stretched on canvas; each compartment 2·74 m. × 2·74 m. (p. 267 *seq.*, figs. 91–95, 97, 100, 102, 103). Ernest Law, 'The R. Gallery of Hampton Court,' London, 1898, p. 274; Claude Phillips, 'The Picture Gallery of Charles I.' (Portfolio Monographs, London, 1896, p. 69). Photographed by Braun.

Copies: 1. PICTURES. Vienna, Picture Gallery, Nos. 283–290. Paper on canvas, 38 cm. × 38 cm.; grisaille; prepared for Andrea Andreani's woodcuts (?). Phot. Loewy, Braun.

Schleissheim, R. Gallery, Nos. 953–957 (Cat. of 1885). On copper, 19–21 cm. × 19 cm. The remaining four pictures of this set are in:

Siena, R. Istituto di Belle Arti, Nos. 57–60 (Cat. of 1895).

Northwick Coll.: Waagen, 'Treasures,' iii. 201; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. p. 416, note.

Brescia, Museo Tosio, No. 10. Group of the prisoners, on copper (19 cm. × 17·5 cm.).

Free reproductions by Rubens of three of the compartments. Of these, one is in the National Gallery, No. 278. See Rooses, 'L'Œuvre de P. P. Rubens,' Antwerp, 1890, iii. p. 208, Nos. 715–717.

We also find mentioned: In the inventory (1627) of the collections in the castle at Mantua

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(Nella Galleria della Mostra): '1 quadro in cui è copiato il trionfo di Cesare, lire 120.' (Nella stanza detta la libreria nel 3° armario a sinistra): '16 sopra rame con copiati li trionfi di Cesare (dipinti del Mantegna), lire 192.' (Nel corridore longo che passa da S. Barbara in Castello): 'Le stampe del trionfo del Mantegna, lire 12.' In the eighteenth century catalogue of the collection of the Gonzaga of Novellara (Campori, 'Raccolta di Cataloghi,' p. 645): 'Un trionfo in acquerello, alto on. 14 e largo 8, del Mantegna, dob. 5.' Gauricus ('De Sculptura,' ed. Brockhaus, pp. 83 and 138) mentions a copy of the triumph by Giulio Campagnola: 'Laudatur Julius noster quod Palladiam illam Mantenii nostri turbam [?] Cæsareosque triumphos tam bellissime sit imitatus.'

In a picture by Barend van Orley of *Lazarus at the Rich Man's Gate*, in the Museum of Brussels, separate groups taken from engravings of the triumphs appear as reliefs on the socle.

2. DRAWINGS: Besides the copy, mentioned in the text p. 278, after a sketch for the group of prisoners (Chantilly):

Paris, coll. Edm. de Rothschild. Good copy of the first of the pictures; pen-and-ink drawing, 26 cm. × 26 cm.

Milan, Ambrosiana. Copy after the engraving, ascribed to Mantegna, of the elephants (Bartsch, 12).

Brit. Mus. (Malcolm, 326). Copy of the last compartment, partially coloured (26·5 cm. × 27·5 cm.), by a pupil of Mantegna.

Vienna, Albertina, No. 2584 and No. 2585, Cæsar's train. Copy after the engraving (Bartsch, 11).

—— (?) Group of prisoners moving to right; drawing reproduced by Denon in 'Monuments des Arts du Dessin,' Paris, 1829, ii. pl. 120.

3. ENGRAVINGS. On the contemporary engravings ascribed to Mantegna himself, see above, pp. 275, 290, 410 *seq.* Free reproduction in woodcuts: twelve sheets by Jacob von Strassburg. See Passavant, i. p. 133. Woodcuts in chiaroscuro by Andrea Andreani, of 1599, showing the columns which divided the pictures; with a title-page adorned with the bust of Mantegna, and dedication. Bartsch, 'Peintre-graveur,' xii. p. 101, No. 11.

Copper engravings by Robert van Audenaerde, 1692. Published at Dom. de Rubeis, Jo. Jacob de Rubeis in Rome; apparently taken from copies, as they show considerable variations from the originals. By C. Huyberts, in the large English edition of the 'Works of Cæsar,' by Clarke, of 1712.

25. MADONNA AND CHILD, SURROUNDED BY ANGELS: Milan, Brera, No. 282 (from S. Maria Maggiore in Venice). Wood, 89 cm. × 71 cm. (p. 306, plate 17). Photographed by Alinari and by Anderson. 'L'Art,' 1886, xl. p. 15; 'Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,' 1886, p. 101; 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' 1886, xxxiii. p. 432.

Copy: mentioned in the inventory of the 'guardaroba' of Eleonora of Aragon, Duchess of Ferrara, 1493. 'Un altro quadro retracto dal sopradicto [*i.e.* of a Madonna with angels, identical with the picture in the Brera] de mano de uno Modenese.'

See Campori, 'Cataloghi,' p. 1; A. Venturi in 'Archivio Storico dell' Arte,' iii. (1890), p. 380.

1495–1496.

26. MADONNA DELLA VITTORIA: Paris, Louvre, No. 1374 (formerly No. 251). Canvas, 2, 80 m. × 1·60 m. (p. 308, plate 18). Engraved by Francesco Novelli, 1804. Photographed by Braun and by Giraudon.

1497.

27. MADONNA AND CHILD, ENTHRONED, BETWEEN FOUR SAINTS; IN FOREGROUND ANGEL MUSICIANS: Milan, Prince Trivulzio. Signed: 'A Mantinia pi. an. gracie 1497. 15 augusti.' Canvas,

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2.87 m. × 2·14 m. (p. 316, plate 19, and fig. 107). Photographed by Dubray Anderson.

28. MADONNA AND CHILD, BETWEEN JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE MAGDALEN: London, Nat. Gall. (from the collection of Cardinal Cesare Monti, Archbishop of Milan, acquired by the N. G. in 1855 after changing hands several times). Canvas, 1·38 m. × 1·15 m. Well preserved, only slightly damaged (p. 320, plate 20). Photographed by Hanfstängl.

29. HOLY FAMILY: (half-lengths) Dresden, Gallery, No. 51 (from the Coll. Eastlake). Canvas, 75½ cm. × 61½ cm. In good preservation, but much varnished, and in certain parts, especially on the folds, over-painted (p. 322, plate 21). Waagen, 'Treasures,' Suppl. p. 113. The picture is perhaps identical with the one seen by Ridolfi ('Meraviglie,' 1648, p. 71) in Florence.

30. MADONNA AND CHILD AND TWO SAINTS (half-lengths): Verona Museo, No. 87. Authenticity very uncertain. Canvas, life-size figures (p. 324, fig. 108. Photographed by Lotze.

31. HOLY FAMILY (half-lengths): Turin, R. Galleria, No. 355. Wood, 61½ cm. × 87¼ cm. (p. 324, fig. 109.) Photographs by Alinari and by Anderson. Studio work; the master's original, which was the prototype both for this and for the Verona picture, appears not to be preserved. The motive was evidently very popular, as it is often imitated and adopted. E.g.:

In a picture of the Louvre attributed to Girolamo dai Libri (and recently by Venturi and Thode to Correggio).

In a picture of the German school of the sixteenth century in the coll. of the Academy in Vienna, No. 166.

In a picture by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo in Perugia, Pinacoteca (phot. Anderson), it has been freely adapted.

In a fresco in the Cathedral of Parma (entrance wall, in the pillar, left).

Similar is the motive of the infant Christ in a German picture of the sixteenth cent. in the Museo Correr in Venice (ii. 66).

32. MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH TWO MALE AND ONE FEMALE SAINT: Paris, Coll. Reiset (or Vicomte de Tauzia?) (Madame André?). Cf. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *loc. cit.* i. p. 400, n. 1 (about 1485) (p. 325, note 1).

33. THE INFANT SAVIOUR HOLDING THE SPHERE, WITH THE LITTLE SAINT JOHN, JOSEPH AND MARY: London, Coll. L. Mond. Canvas, 70 cm. × 49½ cm. (p. 326, fig. 110).

34. THE DEAD CHRIST, MOURNED BY TWO ANGELS: Copenhagen, Museum, No. 45 (from the coll. of Cardinal Valenti, State Secretary to Pope Benedict XIV.). Wood, 83 cm. × 51 cm. Signed on the foot of the sarcophagus (right) ANDREAS MANTINIA (p. 327, fig. 111).

For a presumable copy or repetition, see p. 330, note 1.

35. SAINT SEBASTIAN: Venice, coll. of Baron Franchetti (from the collections of Card. Bembo, of the Gradenigo and of the Scarpa in La Motta). Canvas, 2·10 m. × ·91 m. Somewhat damaged (p. 330, fig. 112). 'Anonimo

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Morelliano,' p. 22; G. B. Bianchi, 'Descrizione della Pinacoteca Scarpa,' Oderzo, 1872; Molmenti, 'Archivio Veneto,' viii. (1874), p. 190; Campori, 'Lettere Artistiche inedite,' Modena, 1866 (letter of Lazzara to G. M. Sasso, of March 9, 1805).

36. HOLY FAMILY (half-length): Mantua, S. Andrea, Mantegna's chapel. Canvas, 0·70 m. × 1·69 m. Much varnished, darkened, and over-painted (p. 332, figs. 106, 113). Photographed by Alinari and by Anderson.

1497.

37. BAPTISM OF CHRIST: Mantua, S. Andrea, in Mantegna's chapel. Executed by a pupil of Mantegna after the master's drawing. Canvas (p. 332, fig. 114). Phot. Anderson. Morelli, ii. p. 174.

38. WALL-PAINTINGS OF MANTEGNA'S CHAPEL IN S. ANDREA IN MANTUA. Executed by scholars about 1516 after the drawings of the master (p. 333, figs. 1, 6, 57, 58, 74, 115, 116, 117, 159, 160, 162). Phot. by Premi and Anderson.

39. THE PARNASSUS (TRIUMPH OF VENUS): Paris, Louvre, No. 1375. Canvas, 1·60 m. × 1·92 m. A new piece of canvas seems to have been laid round the picture (p. 350, plate 22). Photographed by Braun and by Giraudon.

Copies of the dancing Muse in the centre: Munich, Print-room No. 3066; of the dancing Muse to the right there is a very fine old, but much injured drawing in the Coll. of Adolph von Beckerath at Berlin, which, however, cannot be considered as an original work by Mantegna.

40. THE TRIUMPH OF VIRTUE (MINERVA) OVER THE VICES: Paris, Louvre, No. 1376. Canvas, 1·60 m. × 1·92 m. (p. 356, plate 23). Photographed by Braun and Giraudon.

41. ALLEGORY—'THE REALM OF EROTIC ART': Paris, Louvre. Begun by Mantegna, finished by Lorenzo Costa (p. 358, fig. 121). Photographed by Braun.

1505–6.

42. TRIUMPH OF SCIPIO: London, Nat. Gall. No. 902 (from the collections Cornaro Mocenigo, and of Lord Vivian). Canvas, 0·72½ m. × 2·68 m. (p. 361, fig. 122). Photographed by Braun and by Hanfstangl.

43. SAMSON AND DELILA: London, Nat. Gall. No. 1145 (acquired as a drawing in 1883 from the Sunderland coll.). Canvas, 46½ cm. × 36 cm. (p. 369, fig. 123). Photographed by Braun.

44. THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON: Paris, Louvre (drawings 241). Canvas, 46½ cm. × 37 cm. (p. 370, fig. 124). Photographed by Giraudon and by Braun (408).

45. MUTIUS SCÆVOLA: Munich, Print-room (drawings No. 3069, from the Thomas Laurence coll.). Authenticity uncertain. Canvas, 41 cm. × 34 cm. (cut down) (p. 371).

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46. TUCIA AND SOPHONISBA? (called *Summer and Autumn*): London, Nat. Gall. No. 1125 (from the Hamilton coll.). Canvas, each 72 cm. × 23 cm. (p. 372, figs. 125, 126). Phot. Braun. Waagen, 'Treasures,' iii. p. 304; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. p. 395; Morelli, 'Galleries of Munich and Dresden,' p. 175 ('by an imitator of Mantegna').

47. JUDITH: London, Mr. John Edward Taylor. Canvas, 68½ cm. × 30 cm. (p. 373, fig. 127).

48. DIDO: London, *ibid.* Canvas, 64 cm. × 30 cm. (p. 373, fig. 128).

49. JUDITH: Dublin, Nat. Gallery, No. 442. Canvas, 46 cm. × 35½ cm. (p. 373, fig. 129).

50. SYBIL AND PROPHET: London, Montague House (Duke of Buccleuch). Canvas, about 58 cm. × 48 cm. (p. 373, fig. 130).

II.—DRAWINGS.

1. SKETCH FOR THE FRESCO OF SAINT JAMES GOING TO EXECUTION, IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EREMITANI: London, Hon. A. E. Gathorne Hardy. 16½ cm. × 25½ cm. Pen-and-ink drawing on reddish-grey paper (p. 100, fig. 33).

   Old Copy. Paris, Louvre No. 2242 (60).

2. JUDITH: Florence, Uffizi, signed ANDREAS MANTINIA, MCCCCLXXXXI. Pen and wash (p. 375, fig. 132). Phot. Alinari, Braun, 791. See Vasari, iii. p. 402.

Copies: Paris, Louvre (Braun, 410); Munich, Print-room (3067), lithographed by Strixner; Brit. Mus. (Malcolm, 325). Washed in bistre, 30 cm. × 19 cm., unfinished, weak copy.

3. MADONNA AND CHILD ENTHRONED; BELOW ANGEL: Brit. Mus. Phot. Braun (57) (p. 404, fig. 152).

4. MARS SITTING, WITH VENUS AND DIANA STANDING BY: Brit. Mus. 36 cm. × 31¾ cm. Pen and wash. Mars modelled with reddish, Venus with blue shadows; lights heightened with white (p. 374, fig. 131). Phot. Braun (58). Morelli, 'Galleries of Munich and Dresden,' p. 177.

5. BATTLE OF THE TRITONS. Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire. Pen drawing for the engraving (p. 404, fig. 151). Phot. Braun, and New Gall. Phot.

6. ALLEGORY OF VIRTUE AND VICE ('VIRTUS COMBUSTA'): Brit. Mus. Pen and wash. 25½ cm. × 45 cm. (p. 374, fig. 133). Phot. Braun (59). Waagen, 'Treasures,' i. p. 227.

7. SKETCH FOR A STATUE OF VIRGIL. Paris, Louvre, 2240 (58). Pricked and touched up with the pen. Authenticity uncertain (p. 403,

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fig. 150). Phot. Giraudon. 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' 1866 (according to Morelli, 'Galleries of Munich and Dresden,' p. 177, by Fr. Bonsignori).

8. DYING MAN: Brit Mus. Phot. Braun (56) (p. 405, fig. 153).

III.—ENGRAVINGS.

1. THE ENTOMBMENT: Horizontal (Bartsch, 3). *Best impressions:* Berlin, Budapest, Munich. *Reproduced:* Delaborde, 'Gravure avant Marcantoine,' p. 89; Amand Durand, iv. 3, 27. Phot. Alinari. Heliogravure by the 'Reichsdruckerei' (p. 399, plate 25 and fig. 147).

Copies: Zoan Andrea (Bartsch, 3), *reversed.*
Anonymous (Zani, 'Enciclopedia,' ii. 9, p. 13), *reversed.*
Jean Duvet (Bartsch, 6), *reversed.*
Drawings: Oxford, Christ Church Coll.
Paris, Louvre.
Venice, Accademia, on two sheets of the sketch-book attributed to Raphael.
Pictures: The group of the women in a 'Crucifixion' in the Museo Correr, Venice (ii. 96)
Wood-Relief (with variations): Rome, Count Stroganoff.
Majolica tile (a portion): Padua, Museo Civico.
Plaquettes: Molinier, No. 385, in No. 220 the Group of the Marys copied from Mantegna's engraving.

2. THE RISEN CHRIST BETWEEN SAINTS ANDREW AND LONGINUS: (Bartsch, 6). *Best impressions:* Berlin (coll. Davidsohn); Dresden, Paris, Munich, Rome (Vatican). *Reproduced:* Amand-Durand, ii. 3, 26. Heliogravure of the 'Reichsdruckerei' (p. 401, figs. 148, 149).

Copies: *Engraving:* Giovanni Antonio da Brescia (Bartsch, 3).
Drawings: Munich, Print-room, No. 340 (lithogr. by Strixner).
Christ and Saint Andrew, Frankfort, Städel Institute, No. 4206.
Denon, 'Monuments des Arts du Dessin,' Paris, 1829, ii. Plate 118.
Illumination: Saint Andrew alone in the initial S. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.
Fresco: Saint Andrew alone, ascribed to Francesco Benaglio, on a pillar to the left of the Cappella Pellegrini in S. Anastasia, Verona.
Plaquette: Entombment, Molinier, 220; the warrior to the left is copied from the Saint Longinus.

3. MADONNA AND CHILD, SEATED: (Bartsch, 8): *1st state:* Without the halo. *2nd state:* With the halo. *Best impressions:* Brit. Mus., Vienna (Academy), Berlin. *Reproduced:* Amand-Durand, Delaborde, p. 84 (p. 392, plate 24).

Copies: *Pictures:* Fr. Morone? Verona, Museo, No. 143.
Ascribed to Fr. Bonsignori, Venice, Coll. Layard.
School of Verona, Frankfort, Städel Inst. No. 6.
Genoa, Marquis Marcello Durazzo-Adorno (Madonna and child, with four Saints, one of whom resembles the Saint Andrew in Mantegna's engraving, Bartsch, 6).
Illumination: Verona, Museo, No. 315.
Etching: Rembrandt, Bartsch, 63.

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4. BATTLE OF THE TRITONS: (Bartsch, 17; 328 mm. × 410 mm); belongs together with Bartsch, 18. *Best impressions*: Vienna (Albertina), Rome (Bibl. Vaticana), Bassano. *Reproduced:* Amand-Durand, vi. 3, 25 (p. 393, fig. 145).

Copies: Engraving by Daniel Hopfer (Bartsch, 48).
Triton on the left; drawing attributed to Lorenzo Costa. Brit. Mus. (Malcolm coll.).
The engraving is utilised by Sodoma in the frieze of the frescoes in the cloister of Monte Oliveto.
Drawing by Albrecht Durer, Vienna (Albertina), phot. Braun, 534.

5. BATTLE OF THE SEA CENTAURS: (Bartsch, 18; 328 mm. × 440 mm.) belongs together with Bartsch, 17. *Best impressions:* Vienna (Albertina); Rome (Bibl. Vaticana); Rome (Gab. Nazionale, in green); Florence (Uffizi, in brown); Paris (Bibl. Nat.); Brit Mus., &c. *Reproduced:* Amand-Durand, vi. 4, 39; Delaborde, 'Gravure avant Marcantoine,' p. 271 (p. 393, fig. 146).

Copies: Engraving by Daniel Hopfer (Bartsch, 47).
Terra-cotta reliefs: In Ravenna and in Bologna. Delaborde, 'Gazette Archéologique,' and 'Gravure avant Marcantoine,' see p. 394; Rubbiani, 'Archivio Storico dell' Arte,' viii. (1895) p. 229.
Plaquette: Molinier, No. 411, Berlin.
Drawing: (left half of the composition). Chatsworth (coll. of Duke of Devonshire).
Fresco: (Sea-gods on hippocamps.) On a house in Via San Agostino, in Treviso.

6. THE BACCHANALIA WITH THE GREAT CASK: (Bartsch, 19; 295 mm. × 430 mm.) belongs together with Bartsch, 20. *Best impressions:* Berlin; Florence (Uffizi); Paris (Bibl. Nat.) (p. 393, fig. 144).

Copies: Engravings: By Zoan Andrea (Passavant, 41), *reversed.*
Unknown (Brit. Mus., 23), *reversed.*
By Giovanni Ant. da Brescia, Vienna (Albertina), see Ottley, ii. p. 505.
By Daniel Hopfer (Bartsch, 49).
Drawings: London, Mr. Heseltine, *reversed.*
(After the sitting Bacchante asleep on the vat.) Frankfort, Städel Inst. No. 4203.
(After the man with the faun on his shoulder.) Ascribed to Fr. Bonsignori, Oxford, Christ Church Coll.
The man with the horn of plenty on the left is copied in :—
1. *Fresco:* In Treviso, Via Fiumicelli, Casa Pezzi.
2. *Engraving:* By Nicoletto da Modena (Bartsch, 49).
3. *Drawing:* By A. Dürer, Lehrs, 'Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung,' ii. (1881), p. 283.
4. *Drawing:* By P. P. Rubens, Berlin, No. 1557 (signed: Mantegna).

7. THE BACCHANALIA WITH SILENUS: (Bartsch, 20; 288 mm. × 443 mm.) belongs together with Bartsch, 19. *Best impressions:* Vienna (Academy); Florence (Uffizi); Brit. Mus. (p. 393, fig. 137).

Copies: Engraving: By Zoan Andrea? (Passavant, 42) *reversed.*
Niello-like engraving, Passavant, 645; Dutuit, 330.
Drawing: By A. Durer, Vienna (Albertina, phot. Braun, 533).
N.B.—The sheet (from the coll. Durazzo) showing the faun carrying a female Bacchante on his back, exhibited as a drawing in the Palazzo Bianco, at Genoa, is a fragment of the engraving, and *not* a drawing.

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LOST OR MISSING WORKS.

I.—PICTURES.

ALTARPIECE FOR S. SOFIA IN PADUA, 1448: Vasari, iii. p. 387; Scardeone, p. 372; Magagnò, 'Rime,' ed. Venezia, 1659, iv. p. 98; Ridolfi, 'Maraviglie,' i. 111.

ALTARPIECE OF SS. CHRISTOPHER AND ANTONY IN VERONA. Vasari, iii. p. 392.

ALTARPIECE FOR THE CHAPEL OF THE CASTELLO IN MANTUA: Vasari, iii. pp. 394, 396; Letter of Mantegna of April 26, 1464 (Baschet, 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' 1886, xx. See App. No 13).

FRESCOES IN INNOCENT VIII.'S CHAPEL IN THE BELVEDERE OF THE VATICAN: Vasari, iii. p. 400; Taja, 'Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano,' Rome, 1767, iii. p. 141; Chattard, 'Nuova Descrizione d. Vaticano,' Roma, 1767, iii. p. 141 *seq.* (See p. 297 *seq.*)

JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON: Reggio, Bishop Paolo Coccapani (about 1650); Campori, 'Raccolta di Cataloghi,' p. 148.

DAVID (chiaroscuro): Mantua, Castello di Corte, 'Stanza detta la Libreria,' 'Inventory' of 1627; D'Arco, ii. p. 162.

TOBIAS, ESTHER, ABRAHAM, MOSES ('a guazzo'): Mantua, Castello ('Libreria'). Inventory of 1627. D'Arco, ii. p. 164.

JUDITH ('tavoletta . . . opera d'Andrea Squarcione'): 'Inventario di Lorenzo de' Medici,' 1492; Müntz, 'Les Collections des Médicis au XVe Siècle,' Paris, 1888, p. 78.

SUSANNAH AND THE ELDERS: Parma, 'Palazzo del Giardino.' Inventory, 'Pal. d. Giard. in Parma,' about 1680; Campori, 'Raccolta di Cataloghi,' p. 303.

NATIVITY: Ferrara, chapel of the Duchess Margherita Gonzaga. Restored, 1591. Campori, 'Pittori d. Estensi,' 'Atti ecc. d. Deputazione di Storia Patria,' III. iii. 2, p. 275.

NATIVITY: Bologna, Gall. Bonfiglioli, 1757. Campori, 'Raccolta d. Cat.' p. 618.

FLIGHT INTO EGYPT: Mantua, Castello. Inventory of Charles II. Duke of Mantua, 1665. D'Arco, ii. p. 182.

MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS: Mantua, Castello, piccola Galleria (of the Mirandola). MS. notes of Giovanni Battista Vianini on p. 29 of a copy of Cadioli's 'Descrizione di Mantova.'

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CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS: Ferrara, Chapel of the Duchess Margherita Gonzaga. Restored 1591. Campori, 'Pittori d. Estensi,' 'Atti,' III. iii. 2, p. 575.

CHRIST AND THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA: *Ibid.* In a letter dated Verona, November 10, 1549, Timoteo di Giusti begs Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga for a copy of this picture. (Letter in the 'Archivio' of the Gonzaga in Mantua; communicated to me by Alessandro Luzio).

CHRIST AND THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY (half-lengths): Mantua, Castello (afterwards bought by Daniel Nys for the collection of Charles I. of England). Inventory of 1627; D'Arco, ii. p. 153.

SENDING FORTH OF THE APOSTLES: Padua, S. Spirito. Ridolfi, 'Meraviglie,' 1648, p. 70.

THE FLAGELLATION: Verona, Museo Moscardo ('Notizie d. Mus. Mosc.,' 1656, p. 468?). See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. p. 417.

THE FLAGELLATION: Berlin, Royal Castle. Painted for Barbara of Brandenburg, and presented by the Abbate Conte d'Ayala to the Queen of Prussia. 'Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres,' Berlin, 1805; 'Belles-Lettres,' p. 17; D'Arco, ii. p. 271, note; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, p. 417.

CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS (half-length): Mantua, Castello, corridor of S. Barbara. Inventory of 1627. D'Arco, ii. p. 153.

CHRIST IN LIMBO: Venice, Padre Anselmo Oliva. Ridolfi, 'Meraviglie,' i. p. 116; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. p. 417, note.

CHRIST IN LIMBO (small): Mantua, Castello. Inventory of about 1700. D'Arco, ii. p. 186.

THE ENTOMBMENT: Naples, S. Domenico; letter of M. A Michiel of March 20, 1524. See Cicogna, 'Intorno la Vita di M. A. Michiel' ('Memorie d. Istituto Veneto,' 1860 (ix.) p. 411.

THE ENTOMBMENT: Verona, Gall. S. Bonifazio. Nagler, 'Künstler-lexikon,' viii. p. 260.

THE RESURRECTION: Mantua, Castello, 'Camera dell' Imperatrice.' Inv. of 1627. D'Arco, ii. p. 165.

THE ASCENSION: Mantua, S. Andrea. Ridolfi, 'Meraviglie,' 1648, p. 71.

THE MARYS AT THE GRAVE: Ferrara, Palazzo Ducale. Campori, 'Raccolta di Cat.' p. 1; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *loc. cit.*

DEAD CHRIST: Ferrara, Conte Roberto Canonici; Inv. of 1632. Campori, 'Racc. di Cat.' p. 117. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. p. 416, note.

DEAD CHRIST: Bologna, 'Casa de Lodi, over Zacconi.' Lamo, 'Graticola di Bologna' (of 1560), Bologna, 1844, p. 30; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. p. 417, note.

THE REDEEMER: from Perugia, S. Pietro de' Benedettini (removed during the French Revolution to the coll. of the Capitol); 'Giornale di Erudizione Artistica,' vi. (1877), p. 23.

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VIRGIN AND CHILD, WITH SINGING ANGELS: painted for Matteo Bossi, Abbot of Fiesole; Vasari, v. p. 394, identical with the picture of the Berlin Gallery, No. 27 (above, fig. 48)?

MADONNA: fresco in the 'Cappella dell' Incoronata' in S. Pietro (the Duomo) in Mantua; Susanni, 'Nuovo Prospetto di Mantova,' Mantova, 1834, p. 17.

MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH SS. PETER AND JEROME; Verona, Galleria S. Bonifazio; Nagler, 'Künstlerlexikon,' viii. p. 260.

MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH SAINT JOHN AND TWO SAINTS (half-lengths): Florence, Signor Bernardo Giunti; Ridolfi, 'Meraviglie,' 1648, i. p. 71. Identified by Waagen ('Treasures,' suppl. i. p. 72) with the Eastlake Madonna, now in Dresden.

MADONNA AND CHILD: (small, grisaille), Venice, Signor Jacopo Pighetti; Ridolfi, 'Meraviglie' (1548), i. p. 71. C. and C. *loc. cit.*

MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH SERAPHIM: Ferrara, Palazzo Ducale; Inv. of 1493. Campori, 'Raccolta,' p. 1. C. and C *loc. cit.*; probably identical with the picture in the Brera at Milan; see above, pp. 306, 441.

Copy: ibid., see Venturi, 'L' Arte,' i. (1898), p. 380.

MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH JOSEPH AND THE MAGDALEN: Venice, Spedale degli Incurabili, 'Sagrestia.' Boschini, 'Ricche Miniere della pittura Veneziana,' Venice, 1674. Sest. Duro, 21, C. and C. *loc. cit.*

MADONNA AND CHILD: Verona, Coll. Bernasconi. C. and C. *loc. cit.*; probably by one of the Benagli.

MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH SIX SAINTS: coll. of Charles I. of England; Virtue, 'Catalogue.' C. and C. *loc. cit.*

S. BENEDICT: Padua, S. Benedetto; 'Anonimo Morelliano' (ed. Frizzoni), p. 67 (ed. Vienna, p. 28, added later).

S. BERNARDINO: frescoes of his history. Mantua, S. Francesco; Cadioli, 'Descrizione,' p. 60 (pupil of Mantegna), D'Arco, i. p. 54. ii. p. 228.

HEAD OF S. JEROME: Mantua, Palace Inventory of 1627. D'Arco, ii. p. 160.

S. IUSTINIANUS, Verona, Coll. Bernasconi. C. and C. *loc. cit.*: by Antonio da Pavia?

S. LOUIS OF FRANCE: Mantua, S. Francesco (above the chancel); Ridolfi, 'Meraviglie' (1648), p. 71.

THE MAGDALEN: Vicenza, Museo Gualdo (about 1650), 'Nuovo Archivio Veneto,' viii. (1894), p. 203.

S. MARK: Padua, S. Giustina; Fr. Zanotti, 'Pinacoteca d. I. R. Accad. Veneta di B. A.' Venice, 1834, ii. p. 70.

S. OSANNA, WITH OTHER SAINTS OF THE ORDER: Mantua, S. Vicenzo; Cadioli, 'Descrizione,' p. 107. (School of Mantegna.)

S. SEBASTIAN: Rome, Signor Giov. Maldura. Engraving by Filippo Tosetti (beginning of nineteenth century).

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MARTYRDOM OF S. SEBASTIAN: Mrs. Jameson, 'Sacred and Legendary Art' (1874), ii. plate to pp. 412–413.

LEGEND OF S. SEBASTIAN IN SEVEN COMPARTMENTS: Rome, Queen Christina of Sweden (1689); Campori, 'Raccolta di Cat.' p. 358. C. and C. *loc. cit.*

THREE ANGELS WITH THE EMBLEMS OF THE PASSION, AND TWO CHILDREN: Mantua, Gaetano Susanni (heirs), from S. Francesco. D'Arco, i. p. 50.

PORTRAITS OF EMPEROR FREDERICK III. AND KING CHRISTIAN OF DENMARK: Mantua, Castello di Corte. See Mario Equicola, 'Cronica di Mantova.' Mantua, 1521, fol. 86 *a*. See p. 245, note 1.

? PORTRAITS OF BORSO D' ESTE AND FOLCO DI VILLAFUORA (1449): Ferrara, Palazzo Ducale; C. and C. *loc. cit.* (date wrongly given as 1459); Venturi, 'Rivista Storica Italiana,' i. (1884), p. 607, note 1.

PORTRAIT OF MATTEO BOSSI: Maffei, 'Verona Illustrata,' iii. p. 181.

PORTRAIT OF GIROLAMO VALLA: Padua, Church of the Eremitani; Scardeone, 'De Antiq. Patav.' p. 239.

PORTRAIT OF THE MARQUIS LODOVICO OF MANTUA, AND OF HIS WIFE BARBARA: letters of Mantegna of August 2, 1471 (Baschet 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' xx., 1866), and of July 6, 1477 ('Giornale di Erud. Artistica,' 1872, i. p. 196; Campori, 'Raccolta di Cat' p. 447).

Copies: Perhaps the pictures from the Coll. Hamilton, which were lately sold by auction in Paris with the Coll. Cernuschi. (See p. 458.)

PORTRAIT OF AN AUGUSTINE MONK: Padua, Dr. Fusaro. C. and C. *loc. cit.* Selvatico, on Vasari (iii. pp. 415–16), mentions it as in the house of Sig. Giuseppe Barbieri.

PORTRAIT OF ISABELLA D' ESTE: see Isabella's letter to Jacopo d'Atri of January 1493, and of April 20, 1493, to the Countess d' Acerra. See 'Emporium,' xi. (1900), p. 347.

PORTRAIT OF MADDALENA GONZAGA, wife of Giovanni Sforza, of Pesaro; Vernarecci, 'La Libreria di Giov. Sforza,' in 'Archivio Storico per le Marche e l' Umbria,' iii. p. 522. Luzio e Renier, 'Mantova e Urbino,' p. 54, note 5.

PORTRAIT OF JANUS PANNONIUS AND OF GALEOTTO MARZIO DA NARNI: above, p. 175. 'Anonimo Morelliano,' p. 255; C. and C. *loc. cit.*; Vasari, v. pp. 213 and 237.

EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF KING MATHIAS CORVINUS OF HUNGARY: Rome, Campo de' Fiori. Giovio, 'Elogia Virorum bellic. virtute illustr.' lib. iii. 159. C. and C. *loc. cit.*

A copy was in the Museo Giovio at Como.

PORTRAIT OF A LAWYER: Verona, Studio Curtoni, afterwards purchased

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by Alexander II. Pico della Mirandola. Campori, 'Raccolta di Cat.' p. 146; C. and C. *loc. cit.*

A PORTRAIT: Mantua, Castello, Inv. of ab. 1700. D'Arco, ii. p. 186.

MUCIUS SCÆVOLA: (small picture), Venice, 'Casa Francesca Zio' (1512); 'Anonimo Morelliano,' ed. Frizzoni, p. 179, Vienna ed. p. 94; C. and C. *loc. cit.*; *cf.* Bathoe, 'Catalogue of Pictures at Whitehall,' London, 1757.

THE HISTORY OF GATTAMELATA: Padua, house near S. Lucia. Scardeone, 'De Antiquit. Patav.' p. 372; Ridolfi, 'Meraviglie' (1648), p. 69.

THE TRIUMPHS (AFTER PETRARCH): Mantua, Castello, Letter of Sigismondo Cantelemo; Campori, 'Lettere Artistiche, 1866, p. 5; Baschet, 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' 1866 (xx.), p. 485; D'Ancona, 'Origini del Teatro Italiano,' Appendix (above, pp. 283 *seq.*).

'MELANCONIA' (easel picture with sixteen singing and dancing children). Campori, 'Raccolta di Cat.' p. 328; C. and C. *loc. cit.*

ALLEGORICAL FIGURE: (A Season). Paris, coll. Reiset; Selvatico, 'Commentary to Vasari,' v. p. 193; C. and C. *loc. cit.*

A SHIP WITH FIGURES: (Jonas? Arion? or identical with the 'Nave di Enea'?), Mantua, Studio of Isabella d'Este; Inv. of 1542; D'Arco, ii. p. 134.

A CHILD clothed: Coll. of Gonzaga of Novellara (eighteenth cent.); Campori, 'Racc. d. Cat.' p. 642.

FOUR WHITE-ROBED WOMEN IN LANDSCAPE: Verona, Gall. Calduna; Persico, 'Descrizione di Verona,' 1820, i. p. 131, App. ii. p. 320; Nagler, 'Künstlerlexikon, viii. p. 260.

A DEAD WOMAN: Ferrara, chapel of the Duchess Margherita Gonzaga (1591). Campori, 'Pittori d. Estensi' in 'Atti d. Dep. di Stor. patria,' III. iii. 2, p. 575.

A MAN GOING UP STEPS WITH A CANDLE: Parma, 'Palazzo del Giardino,' Inv. of 1680; Campori, 'Raccolta di Cat.' p. 285; C. and C. *loc. cit.*

TWO HEADS: Reggio, Bishop Paolo Coccapani (ab. 1640); Campori, 'Racc.' pp. 149, 151; C. and C. *loc. cit.*

A PICTURE OF FOUR FIGURES IN BRONZE COLOUR: Mantua, Cabinet of Isabella d' Este; Inventory of 1542; D'Arco, ii. 134.

A PICTURE OF UNCERTAIN SUBJECT: Ferrara, chapel of the Duchess Margherita Gonzaga (1591). Campori, 'Pittori degli Estensi,' 'Atti d. Dep. di Stor. patr.' III. iii. 2, p. 575.

SEVERAL PICTURES in Venice, Cabinet of Ottavio de Tassio. Sansovino, 'Venezia descritta,' 377; C. and C. *loc. cit.*

FRESCOES ON A HOUSE IN THE PIAZZA DEL LAGO IN VERONA: Ridolfi, 'Meraviglie' (1648), i. p. 70.

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II.—DRAWINGS.

JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON: and three other unimportant drawings. Reggio, Bishop Coccapani (*circa* 1640). Campori, 'Racc.' pp. 154, 159.

CHRIST IN LIMBO: Venice, P. Anselmo Oliva. Ridolfi, 'Meraviglie' (1648), i. 71.

A TRIUMPH: (water-colour.) Collection of the Gonzaga of Novellara (xviii. cent.). Campori, 'Racc.' p. 645.

HERCULES WITH THE LION: Ferrara, Roberto Canonici (1632). Campori, 'Racc.' p. 126.

A MONARCH ENTHRONED SURROUNDED BY HIS COURTIERS: Collection of the Gonzaga of Novellara. Campori, 'Racc.' p. 673.

PERSPECTIVE DRAWINGS: seen by Lomazzo. See Lomazzo, 'Idea del Tempio della Pittura,' 1590, p. 17.

ILLUMINATED ANTIPHONARIUM: Padua, Misericordia (Benedictine Nuns). Brandolese, 'Pittura di Padova,' p. 108.

FAME: Pen-drawing. Ferrara, Prince Alfonso d' Este (*circa* 1610). Campori, 'Raccolta,' p. 56. Perhaps identical with a drawing mentioned as among the possessions of Roberto Canonici, 1632 (Campori, *loc. cit.* 126).

DESIGNS FOR CARPETS: Letter from the Marquis Lodovico to Mantegna. See Braghirolli, 'Sulla manifattura di Arazzi in Mantova' in 'Memorie dell' Accad. Virgil.' 1879–80, p. 19; Diary of M. A. Michiel in Rome, December 27, 1519. See Cicogna, 'Vita di M. A. Michiel' in 'Memorie dell' Istituto Veneto,' ix. (1860), p. 405.

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WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO MANTEGNA.

I.—PICTURES.

JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON: fresco in the second house of the Piazza S. Andrea on the Piazza d' Erbe in Mantua. Life-size figures. Much damaged.

Coarse work of a pupil of Mantegna.

JUDITH BEFORE THE TENT OF HOLOPHERNES: Wilton House (Earl of Pembroke); wood, 28½ × 18½ cm. Waagen, 'Treasures,' iii. p. 151.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Hist. of Painting in North Italy,' i. p. 404, note 2 ('by a Flemish painter after an engraving'). Feeble work of a late imitator.

DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN: Milan, Ambrosiana; by a pupil of Mantegna.

NATIVITY (Adoration of the Shepherds): Downton Castle, Hereford (Mr. Boughton-Knight); reproduced 'Magazine of Art,' 1882, Dec., p. 77; Schmarsow, 'Festschrift für d. kunsthistor. Institut in Florenz,' p. 135 (Niccolo Pizzolo).

Two drawings for this picture exist, in Florence, Uffizi (Virgin and Child), and in Windsor (two shepherds on the bridge), but they are not by Mantegna. The present writer has not seen the picture, but, judging from the reproduction, it seems not to be by Mantegna; it may be by a pupil of his early period.

NATIVITY: fresco in S. Maria delle Grazie, near Mantua.

Feeble work by a contemporary of Mantegna.

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT: R. Academy Winter Exhibition, 1875, No. 183; lent by W. Graham, Esq.; circular panel, 38 cm.

THE TRANSFIGURATION: Venice, Museo Correr; Morelli, 'Galleries of Munich and Dresden,' p. 134, note 2, and p. 175, first ascribed it to Giovanni Bellini.

Now universally acknowledged as an early work of G. Bellini.

CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS (half lengths): Oxford, Christchurch Coll. (71), from the collection of Charles I.; canvas, 63 × 77 cm. D'Arco, 'Arti e Artisti in Mantova,' ii. 156; C. and C., i. p. 416, note ('Francesco Mantegna').

By a Veronese pupil of Mantegna?

CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS (half lengths): Verona, Museo, No. 153 (Coll. Bernasconi); C. and C., i. p. 418, note 4 ('Style of Francesco Mantegna').

By a pupil of Mantegna.

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CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS (half lengths): Florence, Museo Nazionale (Coll. Carand, No. 3).

By a Veronese pupil of Mantegna?

CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS (half lengths): Rome, Gall. Doria-Pamfili (No. 5); C. and C., i. p. 417; Morelli, 'The Galleries Borghese and Doria-Pamfili,' p. 272 ('Flemish master').

Further replicas in the Coll. Stroganoff in S. Petersburg (ascr. Boltraffio), in the Coll. Campori in Modena (ascr. Bonsignori), and in the Coll. Lombardi in Ferrara.

CHRIST ON THE CROSS BETWEEN MARY AND JOHN: Paris, Madame André (from Bardini in Florence).

According to the photograph the picture has great affinities with Liberale da Verona.

CRUCIFIXION: New York, Hist. Society; according to B. Berenson, 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' 1896 (xv.), p. 198, *not* by Mantegna, but by Bonsignori or Montagnana.

CHRIST ON THE CROSS BETWEEN MARY AND JOHN: Venice, Museo Correr, No. 28; C. and C., i. p. 417 ('Ercole Roberti').

CRUCIFIXION: Bologna, Galleria Ercolani, No. 155; C. and C., p. 415, note 5 ('Marco Zoppo').

CHRIST ON THE CROSS, with quarter length of a donor: Verona, Museo, No. 361.

Bellinesque work from the beginning of the 16th century.

CHRIST IN LIMBO: Bologna, Pinacoteca (from the Coll. Zambeccari): D'Arco, 'Arti e Artisti in Mantova,' ii. 189? C. and C., i. p. 415, note 5.

Copied from the engraving attr. to Mantegna (Bartsch 5).

CHRIST IN LIMBO: Genoa, Marchese Durazzo; Campori, 'Lettere artistiche inedite,' p. 325 (Letter from Novelli to Mauro Boni, 1797).

DESCENT FROM THE CROSS: Madrid, Escorial; Nagler, 'Künstlerlexikon,' viii. p. 264.

MOURNING THE DEAD CHRIST: Rome, Vatican Pinacot.; according to Morelli, 'Galleries Borghese and Doria-Pamfili,' p. 272, it is probably a copy by Buonconsiglio after Bartolomeo Montagna; C. and C., p. 417 (Giovanni Bellini).

THE DEPOSITION (signed and dated 1465): Bucharest, from Coll. of Charles I., No. 4; wood, 65 × 50 cm.; see Catalogue of the collection (with illustration).

THE DEPOSITION: Cittadella, Chiesa del Torresino. See 'Archivio Storico dell' Arte,' ii. (1889), p. 388.

THE DEPOSITION WITH SAINTS: wood, 28 × 33 cm.; R. Acad. Winter Exhibition, 1884, No. 275; lent by W. Graham, Esq.

THE RESURRECTION: Bergamo, Galleria Lochis, No. 169 (phot. Taramelli); school of Mantegna; Morelli, 'Galleries of Munich and Dresden,' p. 176 ('imitator of Mantegna').

Copy in Padua, Museo Civico, 19 (Coll. Capodilista). C. and C., i. p. 340, note 1.

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THE RESURRECTION: wood, 42½ × 30½ cm.; Nat. Gallery, No. 1106 ('Francesco Mantegna'); from the Colls. Capponi, Sandford, Coningham, His de la Salle; pendent to Nos. 639 and 1381.

By a good pupil of Mantegna's first period; *cf.* the engravings after Mantegna, Bartsch, No. 2, 4, 5. See p. 103, note 2. Perhaps after a drawing of Mantegna, by an artist that stands between Jacopo Bellini and Crivelli.

THE THREE MARYS AT THE GRAVE: Nat. Gallery, No. 1381 ('Francesco Mantegna'), from Colls. Capponi and of Lord Taunton.

Pendent to Nos. 639 and 1106 (perhaps identical with the picture mentioned by Waagen, 'Treasures,' ii. p. 419, in the Coll. Labouchere in Stoke). By the same hand as Nat. Gall. 1106.

NOLI ME TANGERE: wood, 42½ × 30½ cm., Nat. Gallery, 639 ('Francesco Mantegna'); from the Colls. Duroveray, M. Edm. Beaucousin.

By the same hand as Nat. Gall. 1106 and 1381.

THE INFANT CHRIST WITH THE GLOBE: Richmond, Coll. of Sir Francis Cook.

By a Veronese artist, influenced by Mantegna.

INFANT CHRIST STANDING: fresco; Verona, S. Zeno, Cloister; Speth, 'Kunst in Italien,' i. p. 37.

'PIETÀ': half-length figure of Christ in the Sarcophagus; Padua, Museo Civico (from Coll. Capodilista), phot. Alinari; Thode, 'Mantegna,' 1897, fig. 1; Rosetti, 'Descrizione di Padova,' 1780, pp. 156 and 333; C. and C., i. p. 321, note 2 ('Giambono or Nerito').

The inscription 'Opus Andreae Mantegna pat' (*sic*) is a forgery. Work of a painter of the school of Pisanello.

DEAD CHRIST BETWEEN TWO ANGELS: Venice, Museo Correr, xvi. 3; phot. Anderson.

Now ascribed to Giovanni Bellini, to whose earliest style the picture certainly bears close resemblance.

DEAD CHRIST BETWEEN ISAIAH AND JEROME: R. Acad. Winter Exhibition, 1881, No. 188; lent by Sir William N. Abdy, Bart.

DEAD CHRIST: Venice, San Giobbe; C. and C., i. p. 417 ('by one of the Vivarini').

CHRIST BLESSING, BETWEEN MARY AND JOHN: Fragment; Belluno, Museo Civico; C. and C., i. p. 415, note 5, and 362 *seq* ('Jacopo Montagnana'); engraved by M. Toller.

VIRGIN NURSING THE CHILD (half length): London, Mr. A. H. Smith-Barry.

By a Veronese artist of the sixteenth century.

MARY AND JOHN (from a Crucifixion?): Oxford, Christchurch; greatly damaged; style of Justus of Ghent.

VIRGIN AND CHILD ENTHRONED: Gosford House, Longniddry (Earl Wemyss).

By a pupil of Mantegna (*cf.* the *Virgin and Child*, after Mantegna's engraving, ascribed to Bonsignori, in the Layard Coll., Venice).

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VIRGIN AND CHILD, ENTHRONED WITH ANGELS: fragment of a fresco; Mantua, S. Francesco (military arsenal), in the choir-apse. Good work by a pupil of Mantegna.

VIRGIN AND CHILD, WITH S. SEBASTIAN AND OTHER SAINTS: Mantua, Museo (from the façade of S. Sebastiano) much damaged; Cadioli, 'Descrizione di Mantova,' p. 91; D'Arco, ii. p. 243, No. 280; Susanni, 'Nuovo Prospetto di Mantova,' 1818, p. 75. School of Mantegna.

MADONNA WITH ANGELS PLAYING ON MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: Milan, Palazzo Scotti (from Coll. Melzi); signature forged.

Waagen, in 'Raumer's histor. Taschenbuch,' 1850, p. 471 *seq*; Selvatico, Vasari, v. pp. 187 and 416; C. and C., i. p. 324, note 2, and 466 ('Liberale da Verona'); Morelli, 'Galleries of Munich and Dresden,' p. 176 ('by some Paduan imitator of Mantegna').

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS: fresco; Bassano, Museo Civico, No. 58 (32), from the Palazzo Pretorio.

C. and C., i. p. 415, note 5 ('Jacopo Montagnana [or Bonsignori?] after a cartoon by Mantegna'), 'Arte e Storia,' iv. (1885), p. 5. By a Paduan pupil of Mantegna, who, however, had also studied the frescoes of the Castello di Corte in Mantua.

VIRGIN AND CHILD, S. JEROME AND A BISHOP (half length). Paris, Madame André (from Bardini, Florence); Mantegnesque, by Bonsignori?

VIRGIN AND CHILD: wood, 67½ × 40½ cm.; R. Acad. Winter Exhib., 1892, No. 176; lent by Henry Willet, Esq.

MARY IN A GLORY OF ANGELS (Assumption): Mantua, S. Maria degli Angeli, in the choir. Feeble contemporary work. C. and C., i. p. 416.

VIRGIN AND CHILD, SS. ANTONY ABBOT AND ANTONY OF PADUA: Pavia, Gall. Malaspina; Vasari, v. p. 201 (Selvatico: forged signature); C. and C., i. p. 416.

TWO ANGELS WITH INSTRUMENTS OF THE PASSION: Mantua, Casa Susanni; C. and C., i. p. 418, note 5 ('of a Mantegnesque character').

SS. ANDREW AND LONGINUS: Mantua, S. Andrea, vestibule; Donesmondi, 'Istoria Ecclesiast. di Mantova,' 1612 (Correggio); Cadioli, 'Descrizione di Mantova,' p. 49: school of Mantegna.

TEMPTATION OF S. ANTONY BY DEMONS: Rome, Gall. Doria-Pamfili; C. and C., i. pp. 417 and 359 ('Parentino').

S. APOLLINA AND S. MICHAEL: Louvre, leg. Nath. Rothschild (from Coll. Northwick), see 'Chronique des Arts,' October 21, 1899.

S. BENEDICT: Venice, Academy, No. 8 ('Scuola Veneta').

Work of a pupil of Mantegna; the picture is closely connected in style with the S. Luke altarpiece.

SS. JEROME AND ALEXIS: Bergamo, Gall. Lochis, Nos. 159 and 161; by Gregorio Schiavone (Morelli, 'Gall. of Munich and Dresden,' p. 176).

S. JAMES AND TWO OTHER SAINTS (half lengths): Verona, Museo, No. 564 (Coll. Angeli).

Feeble School picture, considered Ferrarese.

S. LAWRENCE: Naples, Museo Borbonico; Nagler, 'Künstlerlexikon,' viii. p. 263.

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S. LORENZO GIUSTINIANI: Verona, Museo, No. 134 ('maniera del Mantegna'); School of Vivarini?

S. LOUIS OF FRANCE: Rome, Gall. Doria-Pamfili. C. and C., i. pp. 417, 359, note 1 ('style of Parentino'). *Cf.* Morelli, 'Galleries Borghese and Doria-Pamfili,' p. 272.

S. MARK (half length): Frankfort, Staedel Institute, No. 18. Inscribed: ANDREAE MAN[tegnæ discipuli?] LABOR (?).

Morelli, 'Galleries of Munich and Dresden,' p. 175 ('probably by Francesco Cossa'). Lately ascribed to Bonsignori by Frizzoni and by Weizsacker (Catalogue of the Staedel pictures). *Cf.* also Zanotto, 'Pinacoteca d. Accad. Veneta,' ii. p. 70.

S. OSANNA: Mantua, Museo, No. 18: coarse work in the style of the Vivarini.

SS. PETER AND PAUL: Gosford House, Longniddry (Earl Wemyss); C. and C., i. pp. 416 and 367, note 1 ('style of Montagnana and Montagna').

MARTYRDOM OF S. SEBASTIAN: Padua, Museo, Nos. 11 and 54; fragments of a fresco from S. Sebastiano.

1. *Soldier Crouching, Busied with his Shoe.* 2. *SS. Mark and Peter Martyr*, with three kneeling figures, from a representation of S. Mark (?); Rosetti, 'Descrizione di Padova,' 1780, p. 148; A. de Toni, 'Due affreschi di Scuola del Mantegna,' Padova, 1898.

Other fragments, formerly in the Coll. Gradenigo in Padua and of Signor Tescari at Castelfranco.

By a Paduan pupil of Mantegna (Montagnana?)

Copy of the whole: Drawing in the possession of Mr. Heseltine, London, from the Casa Dondi-Orologio in Padua. C. and C., i. p. 367, note 1.

SAINT STANDING IN NICHE: Mantua, S. Maria della Carità. C. and C., i. p. 419; note 4 ('Mantegnesque').

RESURRECTION OF A WOMAN BY A SAINT (TABITHA BY JOHN?): Predella in three compartments. Berlin. Coll. von Kaufmann.

Very interesting work by a Veronese pupil of Mantegna in his Paduan period.

MUTIUS SCÆVOLA: fresco, badly damaged; Mantua, on the house Piazza Purgo 12.

By a Mantuan pupil of Mantegna; quite in his style, but coarse in execution.

PORTRAITS OF ROMAN EMPERORS: Berlin, Coll. von Dircksen; wood. Ceiling decoration, imitated from the ceiling in the Camera degli Sposi, and well executed in Mantegna's style by a pupil.

'OCCASIO': fresco; Mantua, Museo, No. 17 (Phot. Anderson). From a chimney in the house of Marchese Biondi; much restored.

By a pupil of Mantegna (Antonio da Pavia?)

FRIEZE OF PUTTI AND TRITONS: fresco; Mantua, on the façade of the house Via Cavour 37. By a pupil of Mantegna.

In Verona also certain decorative frescoes on houses are ascribed to Mantegna. Only a few of the pictures mentioned by old writers have been preserved:

On the house of Giolfino, near Porta Borsari; Cavalry fight. C. and C., i. p. 383, note 1, ascribe them to Giolfino himself; they are in any case after Mantegna.

On a house near S. Fermo in Pescheria (warriors). C. and C., i. p. 383, note 1.

On a house in the Piazza d' Erbe.

BACCHANAL: Cremona, Galleria Ala-Ponzone. Selvatico Vasari, v. p. 188. Copy after the engraving.

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PORTRAITS OF MARQUIS LODOVICO AND HIS WIFE BARBARA: Paris, M. Cernuschi (from Hamilton Palace?); Waagen, 'Treasures,' iii. p. 293.

(See engraving ascribed to Mantegna, p. 464.)

PORTRAIT OF ELISABETTA GONZAGA, DUCHESS OF URBINO: falsely called Isabella (Isabetta = Elisabetta). Florence, Uffizi, No. 1121. Phot. Alinari, Brogi; reproduced by Luzio and Renier, 'Mantova e Urbino,' Turin, 1893; C. and C., i. p. 416 ('Francesco Bonsignori'); Morelli, 'Galleries Borghese and Doria-Pamfili,' p. 273 ('Francesco Carotto').

HALF-LENGTH OF GIANFRANCESCO GONZAGA (called 'Vespasiano Gonzaga'). Wood, 62 x 48 cm. Bergamo, Gall. Lochis, No. 192. Phot. Taramelli.

C. and C., i. p. 408 (No. 76; Mantegna, immediately after 1492); Morelli, 'Galleries of Munich and Dresden,' p. 176; and Frizzoni, 'Archivio Storico dell' Arte,' iv. 1891, p. 167, 'Bonsignori.' Copy in the portrait gallery of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol; see Kenner, 'Jahrbuch d. Kunstsammlungen des öst. Kaiserhauses,' xvii. p. 208, with reproduction.

HALF-LENGTH OF A WARRIOR: Formerly Rome, Gall. Sciarra-Colonna. (Phot. Braun). The signature seems forged.

Morelli, *loc. cit.* ('Bonsignori').

BUST PORTRAIT OF A MAN: Vienna, Gall. Liechtenstein; C. and C., i. p. 417 ('not Mantegna').

PROFILE OF A YOUNG ROMAN IMPERATOR: circular on black ground, with ornaments in gold in the corners. Bamberg Gallery, No. 98; much damaged and re-painted (genuine?).

FRESCOES ABOVE THE ALTAR OF S. VICENZIO FERRER: Verona, S. Anastasia; C. and C., i. p. 462, note 3 ('Fr. Benaglio, Liberale or Falconetto').

CEILING PAINTINGS: Eight scenes from the life of the Virgin in ornamental framings. Mantua, S. Pietro (sacristy).

Interesting but tolerably feeble work of some Paduan pupil of Mantegna, such as Niccolo Pizzolo or another.

II.—DRAWINGS.

(The copies of pictures, drawings and engravings by Mantegna are mentioned under the originals.)

SKETCHBOOK: London, Earl of Rosebery (coll. H. Rothschild).

Engraved by Francesco Novelli; *cf.* Novelli's letters to Mauro Boni (1795) in Campori, 'Lettere,' p. 307 *seq.* D'Arco, ii. pp. 229 and 231; Nagler, 'Kunstlerlexikon,' x. p. 281; Selvatico, Vasari, v. p. 207; Waagen, 'Treasures,' suppl. p. 57 (Barker Coll. from Woodburn): 'masterpiece of Mantegna.'

Not by Mantegna, but by a Ferrarese artist of the second half of the fifteenth century.

JUDITH AND MAID: inscr. ANDREAS MANTINIA MCCCCLXXXVI? Chatsworth (Duke of Devonshire). Pen drawing, with red shading (36·5 x 24·5 cm.). Waagen, 'Treasures,' iii. p. 356. (Copy?)

JUDITH AND MAID BY THE TENT: inscr. MCCCCLXXII. IV ANDREAS MANTINIA. Chatsworth (39·5 x 27·5 cm.). Waagen, 'Treasures,' iii. p. 356.

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MADONNA WORSHIPPING THE CHILD: Florence, Uffizi. (See p. 453.)

TWO SHEPHERDS FOR A NATIVITY: Windsor Castle. Both are studies for the 'Nativity' at Downton Castle. (See p. 453.)

CIRCUMCISION: Turin, R. Library. C. and C., i. p. 417, note, 'Francesco Mantegna or Carotto.'

MOCKING OF CHRIST; Vienna, Albertina (Sc. R. I. A. S. R. 23). Drawing for the Florentine engraving. Bartsch, xiii. p. 257, No. 12.

CRUCIFIXION: Florence, Uffizi. Phot. Alinari.
By a feeble imitator of the young Mantegna.

FIVE MEDALLIONS FOR A CRUCIFIX: Frankfort, Staedel Institute, 408–412. Pen drawings, each 85–87 × 85–87 mm.
Fine careful goldsmith's drawing in the style of Mantegna.

SIMILAR SCENES: Vienna, Albertina, 13129–33. Pen drawings.

CHRIST ON THE CROSS: British Museum; Waagen, 'Treasures,' i. p. 227; Nagler, 'Künstlerlexikon,' viii. p. 266.

MADONNA FAINTING, WITH JOHN AND THE HOLY WOMEN (portion of a Crucifixion): Budapest, Gall. Hongroise (Coll. G. Rath). Phot. Braun, 22513.

TWO SOLDIERS CASTING LOTS (portion of a Crucifixion): Berlin (Coll. von Beckerath).
Cf. the drawing of the Crucifixion in the Uffizi at Florence, ascribed to Mantegna. Phot. Alinari.

CRUCIFIED THIEF AND SOLDIERS CASTING LOTS: Berlin, Print Room, 1525.

CHRIST IN LIMBO: Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, vol. Ea 31, rés. Pen drawing (272 × 197 mm.).
Similar to the engraving Bartsch 5.

CHRIST IN LIMBO: Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts; Müntz, 'Renaissance,' i. pp. 150–151.

MOURNING THE DEAD CHRIST: Budapest, Museum. Pen drawing, heightened with white; feeble, late.

DEPOSITION: British Museum; Nagler, 'Künstlerlexikon,' viii. p. 264.
Similar to Raphael's Deposition in Gall. Borghese.

CHRIST STANDING AND BLESSING, WITH TWO SMALL ANGELS: Berlin, Coll. von Beckerath (from the Coll. Holford).
By a pupil of Mantegna (Niccolo Pizzolo?); *cf.* the figures of Christ and of the Saints in the apse of the Eremitani Chapel.

CHRIST STANDING AND BLESSING: Paris, Louvre; Braun, 409
By Girolamo Mocetto?

HALF-LENGTH OF CHRIST AS 'MAN OF SORROWS': Venice, Academy, No. 170. Pen drawing.
Late, feeble drawing.

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VIRGIN AND CHILD: Florence, Uffizi, No. 1450. Pen drawing.
Drawing for the picture in the Coll. Ferrari, by a pupil of Mantegna; see Venturi, 'l'Arte,' i. (1899), p. 303.

S. GEORGE: Vienna, Albertina.
By Benedetto Montagna (?); drawing for—or after—the engraving of Montagna (Bartsch, 12).

MARTYR (S. JAMES) TAKING LEAVE OF HIS DISCIPLES: Rev. Dead Christ with Angels and sketch for a ceiling picture. Two sepia drawings; Radersleben, Coll. von Quast. See Fontane, 'Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg,' 1892, p. 35.

HEAD OF S. JOHN: Vienna, Albertina.
Not by Mantegna; weak Umbrian drawing.

JOHN THE BAPTIST: Milan, Ambrosiana.
After the engravings by Giulio Campagnola and Mocetto, which probably depend upon a drawing of Mantegna, and of which a whole series of imitations in the form of drawings has been preserved.

S. JEROME (or Mark?): Berlin (Coll. von Beckerath).
In composition and movement this is an excellent and quite Mantegnesque drawing, but—as the result possibly of being worked over—it does not show in the details his delicacy and the peculiarity of his style.

S. PETER (?): Munich, Print-room, No. 68 (3958). Pen drawing (130 × 57 mm.).
Mantegnesque; according to Morelli, 'Galleries of Munich and Dresden,' p. 116, 'by Liberale da Verona.'

S. SEBASTIAN: Vienna, Albertina, 2580. Pen drawing (170 × 100 cm.). Phot. Braun.

MARTYRDOM OF S. SEBASTIAN: London, Mr. Heseltine. Tempera on canvas, 51 × 36 cm.
Perhaps the copy after the fresco in S. Sebastian at Padua (see p. 457), which is ascribed by C. and C., i. p. 367, note 1, to Montagnana.

STANDING FIGURE OF APOSTLE HOLDING BOOK: Venice, Academy. Phot. Alinari.
Ascribed by Morelli to Giovanni Bellini, 'Gall. Borghese and Doria-Pamfili,' p. 271. It belongs to the group of drawings ascribed to Bellini.

SAINT (?) BLESSING: Florence, Uffizi, 335. Phot. Alinari.

CHALICE: Brit. Museum (from Colls. Arundel and Holford); engraved 1640 by Wenzel Hollar (Parthey, No. 2543, and copy after the same); Waagen, 'Treasures,' ii. 204. Pen drawing of great delicacy in the style of Mantegna.

CUPID WITH BANDAGED EYES: Vienna, Albertina. Phot. Braun.

BACCHUS IN CHARIOT WITH SIX PUTTI: Chatsworth (Duke of Devonshire). Brushed drawing on parchment, 247 × 184 cm.
Feeble drawing in the style of Mantegna, similar to the manner of Zoan Andrea.

HERCULES AND THE LION: Oxford, Christchurch Coll. Brushed drawing on grey-yellow paper, 26 × 13 cm. Phot. New Gallery.
Agrees exactly (reversed) with the engraving by Giov. Antonio da Brescia. Bartsch, 11. (See fig. 157.)

HERCULES AND ANTÆUS: Florence, Uffizi, 395. Phot. Alinari.
Drawing for—or after—the engraving by Giov. Antonio da Brescia. Bartsch, 13.

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THE DEATH OF ORPHEUS: London, Earl of Rosebery (coll. H. Rothschild). Phot. Dawson; Grosvenor Gallery Exhibition, 1877–78.

By a Ferrarese artist.

Copied by Dürer (Ephrussi, 'Dessins de Dürer,' pp. 66 and 227; Thausing, 'Dürer,' pp. 213–16).

TRITONS AND SEA-HORSES: Paris, Coll. Galichon. See 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' 1872, ii. p. 154. With reproduction.

Cf. the similar representations on a frieze in a chapel of the choir in S. Anastasia in Verona, and also the *nielli* by Peregrino (Dutuit, 214).

Good drawing in the manner of Mantegna.

TWO SATYRS AND A NYMPH: Vienna, Albertina. By Francesco Francia.

ANTIQUE SACRIFICE: formerly in Arundel Coll.

Engraved in 1638 by Wenzel Hollar (Parthey, 465). Drawing by the same Bolognese artist who drew similar subjects in the Museo of Verona and in the Hermitage in Petersburg, also attributed to Mantegna.

TWO CENTAURS FIGHTING: Brit. Museum, Malcolm, 332. Pen drawing.

Feeble, Mantegnesque.

THE CALUMNY ('Calumnia di Apelle'): Brit. Museum. Pen drawing.

Copied by Rembrandt (Brit. Mus.)

By a pupil of Mantegna (cf. the drawing of *Christ in Limbo* in Paris, *Cab. des Est.*).

WOMAN WITH HORN OF PLENTY: MERCURY WITH CADUCEUS: Paris, Louvre, 2241 (59). Washed pen drawing. School of Mantegna.

URBS ROMA: Brit. Museum, Malcolm, App. II. 4.

Miniature in the style of Mantegna.

FOUR PUTTI WITH A MASK: Paris, Louvre, 5072; pen drawing washed with red and grey. School of Mantegna.

Cf. the plaquette, Molinier, No. 79, and the description in Sannazaro's 'Arcadia,' p. 250 *seq.* (Turin, 1888).

TWO PUTTI EMBRACING: Milan, Ambrosiana; pen drawing. Phot. Braun. School of Mantegna.

ANTIQUE FEMALE FIGURE SURROUNDED BY ANTIQUE OBJECTS: London, Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy. Wash; Mantegnesque.

'ABONDANZA' (Woman with two children): Vienna, Albertina, 1457. School of Mantegna.

Wickhoff, 'Jahrbuch der Kunstsamml. des öst. Kaiserhauses' (with reprod.), ascribes it to Giov. Antonio da Brescia.

ALLEGORICAL FIGURE, woman holding a branch, near by a candelabrum, a burning fire, and two putti, inscribed V.D.O.: Vienna, Albertina. Pen drawing.

Hard, rough drawing, not by Mantegna.

HALF-LENGTHS OF TWO FIGHTING YOUTHS: Brit. Mus. (1854-6-28-59). Pen drawing. Pollaiuolesque.

HEAD OF WOMAN AND CHILD'S HAND: Chatsworth, Album 100, No. 27.

Feeble, Mantegnesque drawing.

ROMAN WARRIOR: Rome, Coll. of Count Gregorio Stroganoff (coll. Artaria). Pen drawing. 'Graphische Künste, viii. (1885), p. 59, with illustration.

Feeble; style of the drawings ascribed to Giovanni Bellini.

ANTIQUE FEMALE FIGURE: Brescia, Coll. Martinengo. Pen drawing.

Feeble, Mantegnesque drawing.

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WOMAN IN FRONT OF HERMA: Turin, R. Library, 16008. Washed pen drawing.

Feeble, Mantegnesque drawing.

HALF-LENGTH OF WOMAN WITH STAFF, AND OTHER STUDIES: Frankfort, Staedel Institute, 6970. School of Mantegna.

MAN STRIDING, HOLDING A BIRD: Paris, Cab. des Est., vol. Ea 31, rés. Pen drawing. School of Mantegna; Veronese?

MAN STANDING, HOLDING SHOVEL: Oxford, Christchurch Coll. Pen drawing.

Good, Mantegnesque drawing.

NAKED YOUTH SITTING UPON A STONE: Oxford, Christchurch Coll. Pen drawing.

Good Mantegnesque drawing.

HEAD OF OLD MAN: Lille, Musée Vicar; Müntz, 'Renaissance,' i. pp. 152–53. Florentine?

FOUNTAIN FIGURE: London (Earl Warwick). Pen drawing. Phot. Dawson. Grosvenor Gall. Cat. 1877–78, with reproduction.

School of Mantegna; a similar figure engraved by Zoan Andrea (after Mantegna?). Bartsch, 5. Copy in Chatsworth.

STUDIES OF SAINTS: Chatsworth (Album 100, No. 32). Pen drawing. Mantegnesque.

Cf. drawing for the *S. James led to Martyrdom.*

III.—MINIATURES.

1. To Pliny's 'Nat. History,' Turin, R. Library, I. i. 22 (not by Mantegna).
   Cf. 'Resto del Carlino' of Bologna, Nov. 21 and 27, 1896, and 'Corriere della Sera' of Milan, Nov. 16, 17, 1896 (Francesco Carta).
2. Leaf of a printed Livy: Decas, III. lib. I. Vienna, Albertina, 2587.
3. 'Antiphonarium ad usum eccl. S. Cosmæ et Damiani': Armitage Bridge House (Thomas Brooke, F.S.A.). The miniatures, in spite of the inscription (added later?), are not by Mantegna, but by a Ferrarese artist.

IV.—ENGRAVINGS.

FLAGELLATION: Bartsch, 1; Zani, 'Enciclopedia,' ii. 7, p. 211: Copy; Portheim, 'Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen,' 1886; 375 × 392 mm.; *Reprod.* Amand-Durand, vii. 2, 19; Delaborde, 'Gravure avant Marcantoine'; 'Jahrb. d. K. Pr. Kunsts.' *loc. cit.* See p. 388, fig. 138.

Copies: *Engraving* after Bartsch a copy (according to Zani the original, with landscape background).
Engraving in the style of Giov. Antonio da Brescia (Bassano, 172, fragment).
Drawing after the copy (Bartsch) in the Univ. Library at Erlangen (vi. A. 30).

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THE DEPOSITION (Vertical): Bartsch, 2. *Reprod.* Reichsdruckerei. See pp. 103, 388, fig. 139.

Copies: Engravings: Giov. Antonio da Brescia (Bartsch, 2; according to Zani and Passavant, Mantegna's original); with inscription above the cross, and four birds instead of three.
Reversed, tablet with inscription; Vienna, Albertina, Passavant, copy B.
Same sides, 1516, Passavant, copy C.
Same sides, Passavant, copy D. (a reversed impression in Berlin).
Woodcut in 'Meditazioni di S. Bonaventura,' Venezia, 1500, 4to. See 'Archivio Storico dell' Arte' (1892), fasc. 2 with reproduction.
Drawing (of the lower portion): Paris, Louvre, No. 5069.
Drawing (of the Madonna group): Chatsworth; Waagen, 'Treasures,' iii. p. 356.

DESCENT FROM THE CROSS: Bartsch, 4.
1st state, incomplete, without the clouds, the tree has been left white: Brit. Mus.
2nd state, finished plate. *Reprod.* Reichsdruckerei; see p. 103, 388, fig. 140.

Copies: Engraving by Marius Kartarus (Bartsch, 5).
Painting ascribed to A. Altdorfer, in Basel (Dr. Daniel Burckhardt).
Drawing (with addition of the two thieves and other figures) ascribed to Jobst Amman: Milan, 'Ambrosiana' (Vari disegni, vol. ii., F. 232).
Plaquette: Molinier, No. 384.

CHRIST IN LIMBO: Bartsch, 5; 426 × 343. *Reprod.* Amand-Durand, vi. 1, 7; Delaborde, 'Grav. av. Marcantoine,' p. 95. See pp. 102, 388, fig. 141.

Copies: Engravings: Anonymous (Passavant, copy A; Zani, 'Enciclopedia,' ii. 9, p. 65).
Ascr. to Zoan Andrea (Hamburg).
By Marius Kartarus: Bartsch, 6. Passavant, copy B.
Drawings: Paris, 'Ecole des Beaux-Arts'; Phot. Braun Giraudon, 171; 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' 1890, ii. p. 294. Müntz, 'Renaissance,' i. (1889), pp. 150-151.
Cab. des Est. (Ea 31, rés.)
Pictures: Bologna, Pinacoteca.
Genoa, Marchese Durazzo (Campori, 'Lettere,' p. 325, letter of Novelli to Mauro Boni 1797).
Wood relief by Peter Döll (1548) in the Berlin Museum. Allegory of Christian Salvation, with Mantegna's engraving copied in the lower left-hand corner.

THE MAN OF SORROWS: Bartsch, 7; 207 × 111 mm. See p. 412, fig. 154.
Copied by a pupil of Mantegna from a drawing for the picture in Copenhagen.
Copies: Zoan Andrea (Bartsch, 4) reversed (according to Passavant, v. p. 76, No. 7, by Giov. Antonio da Brescia), 170 × 126 mm.
Anonymous (without the angels), reprod. by Amand-Durand.

ADORATION OF THE KINGS (Madonna in the Grotto): Bartsch, 9; 390 × 282. *Reprod.* Alinari; Amand-Durand, vii. 1, 9. Reichsdruckerei. See p. 388, fig. 142.

Copied by some pupil of Mantegna after the group of the central panel of the triptych in the Uffizi, Florence.

S. SEBASTIAN: Bartsch, 10; 230 × 92 mm. (Passavant: Giov. Ant. da Brescia. No. 34) See p. 412, fig. 155.

Engraved by Zoan Andrea after a drawing by Mantegna.

TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR (the 'Senators'): Bartsch, 11; 288 × 271 mm. *Reprod.* Delaborde, *op. cit.* p. 97. See pp. 275, 290, 412, fig. 104.

Engraved by a pupil after a drawing of Mantegna.

Copies: Engraving, reversed by Giov. Antonio da Brescia. Bartsch, 7.
Drawing: Vienna, Albertina. No. 2585.

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TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR (the Elephants): Bartsch, 12; 237 × 259 mm. Delaborde, *op. cit.* p. 101. See pp. 275, 410, fig. 96

Engraved after a drawing by Mantegna by the same pupil who engraved Bartsch, 13.

Copies: Engraving by Giov. Antonio da Brescia (Bartsch, 8).
Drawing: Milan, Ambrosiana (Phot. Braun).

TRIUMPH OF CÆSAR (Soldiers with Trophies), imperfect. Bartsch, 13; 287 × 258 mm. See pp. 275, 412, fig. 98.

Copies: Reversed engraving, with the column. Bartsch, 14; 275 × 320 mm.; 'Delaborde,' *op. cit.* p. 105; Amand-Durand, v. 3, 27. See pp. 275, 412, fig. 99.
Reversed engraving by Giov. Ant. da Brescia, Bartsch, 9. Copied from Bartsch, 14 (*cf.* the ornaments).
Drawing in Dublin, Nat. Gall. Cat. 2187.

HERCULES SLAYING A SNAKE: Bartsch, 15; 143 × 110 mm. By the same man as the 'Man of Sorrows' (Bartsch, 7), after a drawing of Mantegna.

HERCULES AND ANTÆUS: Bartsch, 16; 349 × 259 mm. P. 412, fig. 156. Engraved by a pupil after a drawing of Mantegna.

Copies: Engraving by Giov. Ant. da Brescia. Bartsch, 14.
Engraving (Passavant, v. p. 77, n. 16. *Copy.*)
Engraving by Hieronymus Hopfer. Bartsch, 25.
Fresco in Castelfranco Veneto, House 570.

CHRIST IN LIMBO: Bartsch, App. 1 and 2. Two later engravings after a drawing by Mantegna. P. 102, fig. 34.

Copy of the Christ, after Mantegna's original drawing? Berlin, Print Room, No. 62 (6116-1878). (See p. 103.)

HERCULES AND ANTÆUS: Vienna, R. Library. After a drawing by Mantegna See p. 388, fig. 143.

TWO BEGGARS (two peasants): Passavant, 24; 150 × 110 mm. Nagler. 'Monogr.' i. n. 882, 4 ('Altobello'). Perhaps after a drawing by Mantegna; engraved by G. A. da Brescia?

THE YOUNG PRISONER (allegory of servitude): Passavant, 25; 201 × 130 mm. Passavant, v. p. 148, No. 3, as Altobello da Melone, so also Nagler, i. p. 882, No. 3, and Ottley, 'Inquiry,' p. 494, with reproduction. After a drawing of Mantegna.

Copy by 'Adamo Scultor' (Ghisi). Bartsch, 103.
Drawing (for the engraving?) in Rennes, Musée. *Cf.* Müntz, 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts,' 1886 (34), p. 218.
Replica in Brit. Mus., Malcolm coll. 329.

PORTRAIT OF AN ECCLESIASTIC (profile to the right). Bartsch, 21.

Not by Mantegna, but engraved by G. A. da Brescia, after a drawing by Lionardo da Vinci (?)

PORTRAIT OF AN ECCLESIASTIC (en face): Bartsch, 22; 134 × 100 mm.

Not by Mantegna, but engraved by a pupil (Gio. Ant. da Brescia) of his after a drawing by Lionardo.

BUST PORTRAIT OF WOMAN, with cap: Bartsch, 23.

Not by Mantegna, but engraved by a pupil of his (Giov. Ant. da Brescia?) after a drawing by Lionardo.

BUST PORTRAIT OF THE MARQUIS LODOVICO AND HIS WIFE, BARBARA: Brit. Mus.

Later, modern (?) engraving after a picture by Mantegna; Müntz, 'Renaissance,' i. p. 183.

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APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS

The orthography of the originals is exactly reproduced, but abbreviations have been expanded and, occasionally, punctuation marks and explanations of difficult words have been introduced in brackets [ ]. The documents are arranged in chronological order, and where no reference is indicated, are published for the first time.

LIST OF ALL PUBLICATIONS IN WHICH DOCUMENTS ON MANTEGNA HAVE APPEARED.

Arnauldet, P.: Bulletin de la Société nat. des antiquaires de France, 1896, p. 189, 1897, p. 353.

Baschet: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1866, xx. pp. 318 and 478, and Ricerche di documenti d' arte e di storia nell' Archivio di Mantova. Mantova, 1866.

Bottari-Ticozzi: Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura. Milano, 1822-25.

Braghirolli: Lettere inedite di Artisti del sec. xv. cavate dell' Arch. Gonzaga. Mantova, Segna, 1878.

Braghirolli: Giornale di erudizione artistica. Perugia, i. 1872, p. 194.

Braghirolli: 'Sulla manifattura di arazzi in Mantova,' Memorie d. Accad. Virgiliana. Mantova, 1879-80, p. 19.

Brandolese: Testimonianze intorno alla Patavinità di Andrea Mantegna. Padova, 1808.

Brun: Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, xi. 1876, p. 24.

Campori: Lettere artistiche inedite. Modena, 1866, p. 5.

Campori: 'Gli intagliatori di stampe e gli Estensi,' Atti e Memorie d. R. Deputazione d. storia patria n. Emilia, VII. ii. p. 70.

Campori: 'Pittori degli Estensi,' Atti e Memorie d. Dep. d. stor. patr. n. Emilia, 1886, 3, iii. 2, p. 337.

Cittadella: Notizie relative a Ferrara. Ferrara, 1868, iii. p. 69 *seq.*

Crowe and Cavalcaselle: History of Painting in North Italy, i. p. 398.

D'Ancona, Aless.: Giornale storico d. lett. ital. v. p. 29, and Origini del teatro italiano.

D'Arco, Carlo: Delle arti e degli artefici di Mantova Notizie. Mantova, 1857.

Davari: Archivio storico dell' Arte, i. 1888, p. 81.

Frizzoni: Giornale di erudizione artistica, ii. Perugia, 1873, p. 184.

Gaye: Carteggio inedito d' artisti. Firenze, 1839-40, i. pp. 325, 377, and 565.

Luzio e Renier: Mantova e Urbino. Torino, 1893.

Luzio, Alessandro: I precettori di Isabella d' Este. Ancona, 1887, p. 31, n. 2.

Luzio, Alessandro: Emporium. x. 1899, p. 358, xi. 1900, pp. 344 *seq.* and 427 *seq.*

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Luzio, Alessandro: Archivio storico dell' Arte, i. 1888, p. 184.
Moschini: Della origine e delle vicende della pittura in Padova. Padova, 1826.
Motta: Archivio storico lombardo, xxii. 1895, p. 421.
Odorici: Arch. storico Veneto, viii. 1878, p. 117.
Paoletti, Pietro: L' Architettura e la Scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia. Venezia, 1893, i. p. 80, n. 6.
Paoletti: Raccolta di documenti inediti. fascic. i. Padova, 1894.
Pietrucci, Nap.: Biografia di artisti Padovani. Padova, 1858, p. 166.
Pini: Scrittura di artisti italiani. Firenze, 1869, tav. 80.
Portioli: I Gonzaga ai bagni di Petriolo. Mantova, 1869, p. 6.
Portioli: La Chiesa e la Madonna d. Vittoria in Mantova, 1883.
Portioli: Giornale di erudizione artistica, ii. Perugia, 1873, p. 152.
Pungileoni: Giornale Arcadico. Roma, 1831, 48, p. 343.
Rivoli et Ephrussi: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1891, i. p. 401, ii. p. 225.
Rossi, U.: Rivista italiana di numismatica, i. 1888, fasc. iv.
Selvatico: Guida di Padova. Padova, 1869, p. 153.
Stefani, F.: Archivio Storico Veneto, xxix. 1885, p. 191.
Supino, I.: Il Camposanto in Pisa. Firenze, 1896, p. 28.
Tiraboschi: Storia della letteratura italiana, vi. i. p. 262.
Vasari, Vite, ed. Milanesi, iii. p. 393, note.
Venturi, A.: Rivista storica italiana, i. 1884, p. 607, n. 1.
Venturi, A.: Archivio storico dell' Arte, i. 1888, pp. 108, 151.
Yriarte: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1896, i. p. 223 *seq.*

1. *Testament of Antonio Ovetari da Cittadella of January* 5, 1443.

. . . . Item voluit dictus testator quod statim post ejus mortem cum ducatis septingentis aureis ornari et depingi capella ipsius testatoris cum historiis sanctorum Jacobi et Christophori in Ecclesia Haeremitanorum Paduae, pulchre et condecenter, et fieri antea ferrata ita quod sit honorifice ornata et depicta quam citius fieri potest.

Selvatico, *Guida di Padova*, Padova, 1869, p. 153.

In the original in the Archivio Notarile of Padova, two leaves, probably containing this part, are missing ; they were sent at one time to Venice, where they have not yet been found in the Archivio di Stato. In an Italian account (*riassunto*) of the Testament in the Archivio of Padua this part is not given.

2. *Codicil of Antonio Ovetari, April* 22, 1446.

. . . . Pro informatione et memoria. Suprascriptus Dominus Antonius (Ovetari) in ultimo eius codiçillo iussit et mandavit possessionem suam de Vadoçuchi quam in eius testamento reliquerat eius uxori vendi et alienari debere per comissarios suos et ipsius precium poni et converti in ornatu et pictura capelle dicti testatoris modo et forma in testamento contentis prout de codicillo predicto constat manu mei Comitis notarii in millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo sexto die veneris vigesimo secundo mensis aprilis. Modus et forma quibus debet ornari talis est juxta testamentum videlicet quod statim post eius mortem debeat ornari et depingi capella ipsius testatoris cum instoriis sanctorum Jacobi et Christophori in ecclesia

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Heremitarum Padue pulcre et condecenter et fieri antea feriata ita quod sit honorifice ornata et depicta quam citius fieri poterit de quo specialiter agravat heredes et comissarios suos infrascriptos prout in dicto testamento.

Ego Comes de Vallibus notarius suprascriptus predictis interfui et rogatus est supra premissa omnia bona fide scripsi.

Padua, Archivio (Corona-Eremitani, Busta 28, No. 1093).
Communicated to me by Prof. Moschetti, Director of the Museum at Padua.

3. *Marquis Lodovico to the Protonotario Gregorio Correr, November* 27, 1457.

R^do^ D^no^ Protonotario Corario,

R^de^ ecc. Perchè già bon Tempo non havemo sentito cosa alcuna de Andrea Mantegna, ni sapiamo se ancor habia fornita l' opera de la R. V. desiderosi di sentirne preghiamo essa V. R. che avendone cosa alcuna e cossi se l' ha fornita l' opera sua ce ne voglia fare adviso che haremo piacere assay per il desiderio havemo ne vegna a servire. . . .

Mant. die xxvii. nov. 1457.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere del March. Lodovico, libro 29.
Communicated to me by Signor Al. Luzio, Director of the Arch. di Stato at Mantua.

4. *Marquis Lodovico to Mantegna, April* 15, 1458.

Andree Mantegnie pictori,

Egregie Noster, Le ritornato qui ad nui M. Luca Tajapietra el qual da parte vostra ce ha rifferito quanto seria il desiderio vostro, et como perseverati in el primo proposito vostro de venir a li servicii nostri, il che molto ci e piaciuto intender, et recevemone contentamento assai et acio che anche intendiate la bona voluntade nostra verso vui ve advisamo che la intenzione nostra e di attenderve de bona voglia tuto quelo che altra volta per nostre lettere ve promettessemo et anchor più cioè darve li quindece ducati al mese de provisione, provederve de stantia dove habilmente possiate habitare cum la famiglia vostra darve tanto frumento ogni anno che sia sufficente a farve le spese acunciamente per sei boche et la ligna ve bisognera per uso vostro, et di questo non bisogna ne faciati uno minimo dubio et acio non habiati a fare caso de la spesa farestive in condur qui essa vostra famiglia nui siamo contenti e cusi ve prometiamo che al tempo voreti venir ad nui mandaremo fin li una navetta a nostre spese per levarvi cum la brigata vostra et condurvi qua che non spenderete coelle del vostro, et perche ne dice esso Maestro Luca che haverestive a caro poter stare anchor mesi sei a compire quel lavorero del R. Messer lo protonotario di Verona et spaciar altre vostre facende ne remanemo molto contenti, et se questi sei mesi non vi bastano tolitevene sette o otto mesi a cio possiati dare fine a ogni cosa haveti principiata et che veniati cum lo animo riposato che dui o tre mesi piu non sono quelli che facciano il facto nostro purche habiamo la certezza da vui che al tempo senza alcun dubio venerite a servirce e venendo vui a questo zenaro proxiino sareti ad hora assai. Ve pregiamo bene che a dicto tempo senza alcun fallo vogliati trovarvi qua como havemo speranza in vui. Ne haveti

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a dubitare se la proferta nostra vi paresse pocha che quando non ve contentati di questo, et ce ne dagate aviso cerchareino per ogni via satisfare al desiderio vostro, peroche como altra volta ve scrivessemo, venendo vui como speramo e portandove ne la forma se ne rendiamo certi fareti la provisione vi parera il menor premiò habiati a ricever da nui. Et se bene altre persone ve havesseno referito altramente nui per la gratia de Dio non siamo fin qui mancato de le promesse nostre, et anche vui seti zovene che molto bene porite provare il tratamento vi faremo conoscere chi ne havera dito el vero, o lor o nui et se li facti serano corrispondenti a le parole. Havemo perho questa speranza che ogni di remanereti più contento et satisfacto de esservi conducto a li servicii nostri: havemo vogliuto scrivervi questa nostra per farvi certo che nui siamo verso vui de quella medesma disposizione che sempre siamo stati aspectando da vui intendere il tempo nel qual precisamento possiati transferirve ad nui cum la famiglia vostra ne bisogna che per adesso pigliati fatica de venire qua secondo ce haveva dicto esso maestro Luca volevevi venire che ad nui bastara assai essere avisato da vui de la intenzione vostra per una vostra lettera senza che abbiati la via de venire qua per questo nostro cavallaro che ha ad andare fin a Venisia ve pregiamo faciati che al ritorno suo li lhabia la risposta vostra et ce la porti, bene valete.

Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 33.
Baschet, *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts*, 1866, xx. p. 323 (with the last periods omitted).

5. *Marquis Lodovico to the Protonotario Gregorio Correr, Feb.* 2, 1459.

Domino d. Corrario,

Reverend. etc. havendome referito Zacharia da pisa come la vostra S. haveria a caro che andrea mantegna remanesse ancor per dui mesi per compire quella sua tavola ne siamo molti contenti e così gli scrivemo per laligata chel debia pur remanire la qual ge potera far mandare essa vostra signoria a la qual avendone dicto esso Zacharia de le persuasione e conforti ha usati a dicto andrea per chel vegna referemo gratie assai e pregiamola che similemente voglia persuadergli e tenerlo confortato al venire che la ne ce fara singular a piacere perche nel vero habiamo gran voglia de averlo a li servicij nostri ad queque parati Vostra grata parati

Mantua ii febraio 1459.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 35.

6. *Marquis Lodovico to Jacomo Antonio Marcello, March* 14, 1459.

Dno. Jacobo Ant. Marcello,

Magnifice etc. Hozi havemo ricevuta una littera de la m. vostra laqual e tanto humana e gratiossa che la ne fa carico perche molto manco parole bisognavano in voler impetrar da nui il restare de andrea mantegna ancor per octo o deci zorni per satisfare ad essa vostra m. a la qual saperessemo ne poteressemo negare cosa cognoscessemo essergli grata per la benevolentia et affectione grande che sempre gli habiamo portata. Le vero che havemo caricato e stretto esso andrea in venire subito et aspectiamolo cum grandissimo desiderio, non dimanco le tanto lo amore portiamo

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ad essa vostra m. che non tanto siamo contenti che, per questi pochi giorni el resti aservirla anci quando lavessemo qui ge ne voressemo sempre compiacere e piutosto patirne nui qualche sinistro. per la ligata glie scrivemo adunche in opportuna forma che per questi octo o deci di ad ogni modo el debia restare e servire la prefata vostra m. et chel se renda certo essere al servicio nostro la pregiamo bene passato questo poco tempo gli piasa e voglia confontarlo et afrettare al venire subito ad nui che certo lo aspectiamo cum desiderio assai et di questo la ne fara singular a piacere offerendoce a li sui de continuo apparechiati. nè voglia quella de cio farne altra mentione acio che altri non ce facesseno simile richesta (14 marcij 1459).

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere.

7. *Marquis Lodovico to Mantegna, May* 4, 1459.

Andree Mantegne pictori,

Dilecte noster Benche gia piu di sia passato il termino che dovevevi venire qua non di manco prima avemo vogliuto lasciare passare la festa de lascensa e anche aspettare un puocho perche avestive tempo de potire compire quella operetta del magn. messer Giacomo antonio marcello doppo quella del rev. protonotario de verona secundo ve scrivessemo essere contenti hora parendone pur il tempo che debiati havir compito ogni cossa. Et perche la Capella del Castello e come finita, la qual siamo piu che certi ve piacera per esse facta al modo vostro nè voressimo farla compire se non in la forma e modo ordenarite, ce parso mandar fin li Numa di rozi nostro famiglio portator presente dal qual intenderiti quanto sia il desiderio nostro e per lui ve mandiamo vinti ducati acio possiati trovarve una nave e far carichare la famiglia e cose vostre per venirvene via. Se questi non bastano non haveti se non avisarcene due parole e subito provederemo al tuto e per Dio non ve lasati haver sinistro de cosa alcuna avisandove che la casa vostra è in ordine e posseti venir a vostro piacere, e così ve pregamo e confortamo vogliati metterve a camino e venir via che quanto piu presto vegniariti tanto piu ne fariti magior apiacere. Mantue iiij Maij 1459.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere.
Baschet, *loc. cit.* (part).

8. *Zaccaria Saggio to the Marquis Lodovico, Aug.* 7, 1460.

Illustre e Ex° Signior mio. Per Triompho [Antonio Salimbene] mandaij a V. Ex^tia quelarma fata per Andrea Mantegna. Hora mando questa forma, la quale per la lunghezza di versi di Plauto è necessario farla ne la grandezza che vedderà V. Se a quella paresse che la se facesse o magiore o minore comandi che tuto si farà secondo comanderà. Si scrivono anchor de Plauti che paiono scripti in prosa, pur se a quella pare si siequa [segua] l' ordine del verso si farà. La forma mi pare assai buona, e la mano del scriptore me satisfa molto bene. A V. Ex^tia mi Racomando.

Mantue vii Aug^ti 1460.

Ill. e ex^te D. V. SERVUS ZACHARIAS.

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Illustri principi et ex[ll] dño meo singularissimo dño L. Marchioni Mant. ecc. ac ducali Locumtenenti generali.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, de Mantua.
Communicated to me by Cavaliere Stefano Davari in Mantua.

9. *Albertino Pavesi to Marquis Lodovico, Oct.* 11, 1460.

Illustris domine mi singularissime . . . nel officio de le Intrade de la, e circa d. 120 par. de le quale ne potiti disponere al parer vostro, da mercori in qua che ve partesti de qui e spexo meglio che 230 d. computadi le 75 de andrea mantegna, le quale ha haute ozi. . . .

Mantue die 11 octobris 1460. Cel. V. servitor cum recom.

ALBERTINUS DE PAVEXIIS.

Illustri principi et ex[e] domino dno. Lodovico Marchioni Mantue etc. ducali locumtenenti generali etc. dno meo singularissimo.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, de Mantova.
Communicated to me by Cavaliere Stefano Davari.

10. *Marquis Lodovico to Mantegna, December* 29, 1463.

Andree Mantegne,

Dilecte noster, havemo recevuto la littera tua e visto quanto per essa ne scrivi, certo non è proceduto se non per domenticanza ed anche per molte occupazioni ne sono accadute se non se siamo altramente ricordati deli facti suoi ed hai una gran rasone, hora te mandiamo per il portatore presente ducati trenta, cum questi porai passar alcuni zorni finche le cose siano meglio adaptate, che doppo glie provederemo in buona forma.

Capriane 29 decembris 1464 [instead of 1463].

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 43.
Baschet, *loc. cit.* (fragment).

11. *Mantegna to Marquis Lodovico, March* 7, 1464.

Illustrissimo S. mio premessa ogni debita Ricomandacione, nei di passati samuelo fu qui eportome certe misure dala Chavriana de lalteza e largeza dele quatro facie dela chamara. non so quelo che deliberi la I. S. Vostra. mi nonno anchora fato altro aspetando che la ex[cia] vostra mel chomandj ben e vero che molto meglio jo adateria la chosa esendo sul fato. Ala I. S. vostra sta el comandare la quale jo prego sivoglia dignare di socorermj di qualche denaro, che alpresente no [ne ho] gran bisogno Ricomandome humelmente, da Ex[cia] Vostra.

in goito adj 7 Marcio 1464. per il fidele Servidore

de la I. S. V.

ANDREA MANTEGNA.

Illustrissimo principi et dño
excellenti[o] d. Ludovico Marchionj
Mantue ac ducali Locumtenentj
generali etc.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere del Mantegna.
Alluded to by Baschet.

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12. *Giovanni Cattaneo to Marquis Lodovico, March* 12, 1464.

Illustris prin. ac ex. dñe dñe mi singularissime etc.

Maestro Samuele ha compito lo solaro de la camera como de [deve] sapere la I. S. V. perloche prego quella ge faza mandare lo designo de Andrea Mantegna, accio possa lavorare, non pero luy staga indarno che adesso inzessa [ingessa] li ussi finestre di dicta camera. . . .

Capriane 12 Marcij 1464.

V. I. d. Servitor cũm R.
Io. Catanius.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere de Cavriana.
Baschet, *loc. cit.* (fragment).

13. *Mantegna to Marquis Lodovico, April* 26, 1464.

Illustrissimo Signor mio, premessa ognj debita Ricomandacione dio sa quanto mea dogluto il male dila I. S. Vostra loquale pur intendo che e alquanto sminuito onde ne Ricevo molto contentamento—jo non voria per mia ignorancia chadere in schandolo per questa Trigessima. La vostra Ex^cla^ sa molto bene quelo chio ho da quela provisione. Haveria di singular gracia che quela sedignase di far vedere quelo che mi tocha et oltra quelo sero contentissimo di darli du o tri duchati di piu per lamor chio porto ala R^ma^. S. de monsignor mio, lo quale voria che fra lialtri comparesse chome jo desidero e chome ho speranza indio che la sua R^ma^. S. avera Honore e di questo jo prego la I. S. Vostra che voglia farlj dare questi denarj per mi acio chio enscha [esca] di debito—Aviso la I. S. vostra chome fina a pochi zornj io non aro che fare. E non mi pare anchora di vernichare le tavole per che non sono dorate le sue cornise, et ancho non o quelo che mi Bisogneria qui, ma ogni volta chel piacia ala Excia Vostra in pochi zornj seglie dara fine ma sicondo mi le vogliono esser le ultime mese in opera inla chapeleta. Niente di mancho, jo saro presto aubedire.

In gotto a di 26 aprile 1464 per il servidore dila I. S. V.

Andrea Mantegna.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere del Mantegna.
Baschet, *loc. cit.* (part).

14. *Mantegna to Marquis Lodovico, April* 26, 1464.

El me Rinchrese chel mi Bisognj dare avixo ala Ex^cla^ vostra del Bisogno che alesandro mi fa avere de la ligna ma non poso piu jo ho avuto molte volte paciencia chredendo chela mi zuovj ma mi pare chela mi nuocia. Essendo certissimo chel non sia de intencione dila I. S. Vostra che quando la fuse: io averia paciencia e volontiera Avisando La Ex^cla^ vostra chio non fo pero un gran brusare che altempo dadeso un chareto de ligna mi fa 15 o 16 zornj. E ben che luj Habia sinestro de la sua chasa la quale io ho dala I. S. Vostra enon daluj, non voria pero chel si vendichase per questa via. comj jo priego La I. S.

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Vostra che sidegna di far me provedere ala quale Humelmente me Ricomando.
In goito Adj 26 aprille 1464 per il servidore dila I. S. V.

ANDREA MANTENGA.

Illustrissimo principi et dño
Excellentissmo Ludovico Marchio
Mantue etc. Mantue.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere del Mantegna.

15. *Felice Feliciano's Account of an Excursion to the Lake of Garda, September* 23, 1464.

(fol. 201 v.) Memoratu digna.

A. d. ix. Kal. Oct. mcccclxiiii. Una cum Andrea Mantegna patavo amico incomparabili, et Samuele de tradate et me feliciano Veronense existente solandi animi gratia ex agro tuschulano per Benacum ad viridarios paradiseos ut ortos in amoeniss. Musar. diversorium venimus. eos non modo roseis et purpureis flor[ibus] amoenos et redolentes comperimus verum etiam citreisque et limoneis frondosis undique ramis umbrosos qn et eiusdem insulas per prata et fontibus exuberantissime defluentes et palmiferis Laureis altis annosis et carpoferis arboribus exornatas inspeximus. Ubi plura antiquitatis vestigia vidimus et primo ad insulam fratrum in pillo marmoreo litteris ornatissimis: (the epigraphs follow).

(fol. 205 r.) Jubilatio

A. d. viii. Kal. Oct. mcccclxiiii. Sub imperio faceti viri Samuellis de tridate. Consulibus viris primariis Andrea Mantegna patavino et Joanne Antenoreo. Procurante me Felice feliciano una cum florentissima caterva sequente per opacas Lauros solatia capiente. Myrto provinca Hedera ac diversarum frondium coronato Samuellem ipsum commitante et aedem antiquam beati Dominici ingressi comperimus dignissimam Marci Antonini pii Germanici sarmatici imperatoris memoriam. Deinde applicantes domum divi prothomartyris non longe ab aede iam dicta in porticu excellentem memoriam Divi Antonini pii nep. divi Hadriani tunc illius regionis incole comperimus. Deinde accedentes ad domum primi pontificis ibi prope ingentem memoriam Marci Aurelii Claudi imperatoris ibi reperimus que omnia presentibus codicibus colocantur. Non pretermittam memorie dignum ut nos invenisse diversorium dianę pharetrigere et ceterar. nymphar. quod multis rationibus novimus aliter esse non posse. his omnibus visis benacum liquidum neptuni campum circumquaque pervolavimus in cymba quadam tapetibus et omnigenere ornamentorum falcita quam conscenderamus Lauris et aliis frondibus nobilibus ornatam semper ipso imperatore Samuelle citarizante et iubilante.

Tandem lacum gloriosissime transfretati portum tutum petimus navemque destendimus. Demum templum beatę virginis in garda positum ingressi sumus Laudes ingentes summo tonanti eiusque gloriose matri devotissime agentes presertim quod corda nostra ad nos congregandos illuminaverit

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locaque tam magna petere et perquirere mentes nostras aperierit tam digna et varia rerum oblectamenta antiquitatesque nonnullas tanta alacritate videri fecerit tam felicem tam floridumque diem concesserit navigationem secundam portumque tutum finemque optatum nostrum dederit. Videndi presertim tam magna antiquitatum mirabilia, que quisque magnanimus sponte ad ea visenda iter capere deberet. (The epigraphs follow.)

Codex. Vita Ciriaci Anconitani (a Scalamonte) da Felice Feliciano copiato. *Bibl. Capitolare di Treviso*, p. 201 r. (communicated to me by the Vicebibliotecario Abb. Dott. Angelo Marchesan), mentioned by Tiraboschi (Storia d. lett. Ital.)

16. *Galbidrio to the Marquis Lodovico, December* 5, 1465.

Ve aricordo de mandare Mafii tapeciro chomo Johan de Strigii a Venesia per comperare la sida per quelo aparamento che Andreia Mantegna a fato el designo.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga.
Braghirolli, 'Sulla manifattura di arazzi in Mantova,' in *Memorie d. Acc. Virgil.* Mantova, 1879 80, p. 19.

17. *Mantegna to Marquis Lodovico, June* 30, 1474.

In Christi nomine,

Ill^me^. S. mio dapoi ladebita Ricomandacione, za molti zorni fa io disi ala vostra Ex^a^ chome dapoi la morte de guido torelo, aora di note zovandona dipretj ecrescinben di aliprandi avevano fato spianare unfoso [fosso] de uno rezola et aveva fato arare dita rezola et uxorpata per modo chele di grandissimo dano dila possessione si per la incomodita chome eciam per le aque scavezando dita rezola mi fano venir adoso, cosi voriano ancora uxorpare unfoso, tutoldi insidiano el lavorente acusandolo depossession turbata avendo ellavorente non altramente lavorato in dito foso chomelsabia fato za quarantasie anni, anno tanta invidia che la vostra Ex^cia^ mi abia fato questo bene che non lo posono patire confati econ parole dicendo suso per le piace [piazze ?], costuj evenuto dacadel [dalla casa del] diavolo apasersi qui e molte altre e piu vilane parole, male parole e el manco, el fato e ne fati, non solamente di queste insidie cercando et avendo cercato per lo pasato con grandissime arte elazuoli pensatamente di farmi perdere la gracia de la vostra S. equela dela S. di madona edi messer fedrico, e final mente lonor mio el quale io o molto caro Equando parra ala Ex^cia^ vostra didarmi audiencia sopra cio lo aro digracia singulare, che ame non pare eser certo deser cosi vostro caro famiglio come za fuj fin che non apro lanimo mio ala vostra I. S. eche quela non intenda aque modo e procesa lacosa edapoi intesa inquesto et ogni altra cosa lavostra Ex^cia^ mia acomandare, et prego quela sivoglia dignare dicometer alconsiglio lacausa dela rezola dele diferencie daboscoldo acio chio escha de impazo una volta de costoro dubito anci mifano pare litigoso ma constreto non poso far dimanco salvo sio non livolese lasar el mio elquale reputo aver dala I. S. vostra egodere fin che adio piacera Ricomandandome

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humilemente ala vostra Ex^cia laquale idio per sua gracia conservj lungamente insanita.

M. die ultimo junij 1474. El F. Servidore

ANDREA MANTINIA.

Illustri principi et potenti dno. d. Lodovico Marchioni Mantue et generali locumtenentj dno Suo Clementissimo, B.F.V.V.S.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere del Mantegna.
Alluded to by Baschet.

18. *Marquis Lodovico to Mantegna, July* 2, 1474.

Andree Mantenie,

Havemo visto quanto per la tua ne scrivi de quella differentia de la rezola tra ti e zohanne dona de preti, ad che respondemo che subito havemo dato commissione sopra cio a quelli del nostro consilio che intendano la cosa et quelli dagano presto expeditione. De la audientia voresti da mi haremo a caro differischi sino che siamo a mantua per che adesso non seria possibile potessemo havere capo a queste differentie.

(Burgoforte 2 julij 1474.)

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 76.
Alluded to by Baschet.

19. *Marquis Lodovico to Mantegna, September* 19, 1475.

Andree mantinie,

Carissime noster, Havemo intieso per la lettera vostra quanto ne scriveti dela differentia sortita tra vuj et francesco di aliprandi per quella viazola, dela quale ni rincresce, et scrivemo a quelli del nostro consilio che Intendano la cosa cussi in proprietate rei como del Insulto facto et parole vostre per esso francesco et del tuto farano buona et oportuna provisione et non manchino di rasone ad alcuno.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libr. 79.

20. *Marquis Lodovico to the Aldermen, September* 19, 1475.

Dominis de consilio,

Carissimi nostri vi mandiamo questa inclusa di Andrea mantegna per la quale intendereti la doglianza che fa di francesco di aliprandi, che voria occuparli certa viazola che lui assirisse esser comune tra lor et haver facto certo insulto et usato parole molto impertinente perho vogliamo che vui Intendiate la cosa et auditis juribus partium debiate ministrare rasone et farli quella debita provisione vi parer necessaria. . . .

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 79.

21. '*Salvacondotto' granted by Marquis Lodovico to Simone Ardizoni, September* 20, 1475.

Lodovicus etc. Simoni de Ardizonis de Regio pictori a civitate et territorio nostro ob nonnulla suspitiones et causas absentato et in terras nostras redire dubitanti, ubicumque fuerit recedendi et in dominio nostro

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redeundi seque coram nobis presentandi tam in ipsa civitate Mantue quam alio quocumque loco ibidemque standi morandi pernoctandi et inde pro libito voluntatis sue discendendi et quocumque voluerit se conferendi tute libere et impune, omni noxa t . . . impedimento tam reali quam personali prorsus cessantibus [?] non obstantibus aliquibus causis propter quas venire dubitaret qualescumque fuerint etiam si de ipsis habenda esset mentio specialis. Tenore presentium purum liberum et validum salvum conductum cum omnimoda fidantia et securitate dies quindecim firmiter valiturum a die quo ipsum territorium nostrum introibit, damus, concedimus et impartimur, mandantem Spect. d. vicepotestatem mantue judicibus, massario generali, ceterisque officialibus et subditis nostris quatenus presentem salvum conductum dies quindecim ut supra duratur eidem Simone observent et faciant inviolabiliter observari. In quorum etc.

Gonzage, 20 septembris 1475.

SCR. JO. ARRIVABENUS.

In margine: Presens salvus conductus prorogatus est supras^to^ Simoni diebus quindecim proxime futuris per Marsilium, die vi octobris 1475.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libr. 79. Communicated by Cav. St. Davari.

22. *Mantegna to Marquis Lodovico, September* 22, 1475.

Illmo et Exmo S. mio dapoi ladebita Ricomandacione aviso la I. S. vostra chome una di queste note me fu rubato delbruolo mio abuscoldo forsi 500 pomi e per chodogni dilaqual chosa opiu pezo [peggio] di la inguria che del danno et non stimo che sia stato altri che unfradelo de francesco aliprando chee bastardo et un suo famiglio che sichiama el soldato liqualj sonno dipesima condicione chome sipuo sapere, et sono stati chon francesco conle arme didi edinote aspetandomj. io nolio [non li ho] voluto andar per non far costione et eciam aspetando elfavore dila rasone, el quale con gran fatiche opotuto obtenere digracia di condurre le mie uve a casa che sa mess. beltramino che ancor luj schafaticho non pocho, deli altri insulti eparole disoneste non poria provare senon per li lavorenti propri liqualj secondo la rasone non si de credere, maio aviso bene la Ex^cia^ vostra chio nonmi maraviglio che dichano male dime tuti duo frateli cioe mess. bonamente e franceschо, quando dila I. S. vostra tanto ve anno dito quanto falsamente sene puo dire, E questo non dico za per eser achusatore perche io chredo che la Ex^cia^ vostra altre volte ne abia inteso ma la summa bonta chome quelo non puo eser dalor ofeso non chura simel cianze, nonno achuj Ricorero senon ala I. S. vostra pregando quela che mi voglia far spazare. Alaquale humilmente mi Racomando Mantue d. 22 Septembris 1475.

ANDREA MANTENGA.

Ill^ri^ principi et potenti dno. dno. Lodovico Marchioni M. et generali locumtenenti d. S. C.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere del Mantegna.
Alluded to by Baschet.

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23. *Marquis Lodovico to Mantegna, September 26, 1475.*

Andree mantinie,

Dilecte noster: Havendo visto quanto ne scrivi per la tua di quelli pomi et peri codogni ti sono sta furati et del suspecto hai sopra quello fratello bastardo de francesco aliprando et suo familio. Ad che respondiamo che se gli havesti pure qualche indicio de potere intrare suxo la pista nui gli daressimo tal punitione non se la domentegariano, ma non essendoli Indicio non saperessemo Intrarli perho vedeti se per qualche via posseti farne havere qualche Indicio et prova, et lassate poi fare a nuj.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 79.

24. *Marquis Lodovico to the Aldermen, September 26, 1475.*

Dominis de Consilio,

Carissimi nostri, Perche Andrea mantegna se duole che adesso gli sono furate del suo brolo ben 500 pomi et peri codogni et ha suspecto sopra un fratello bastardo de francesco aliprando et un suo familio che se chiama el soldato, voressemo che vedesti per ogni via di che examinare questi differentie ha esso Andrea et francischo, pur questo ve fusse possibile che non ci poresti far maior apiacer, perche ogni zorno ne haremo fastidio et affano finche siano examinati.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 79.

25. *Mantegna to Marquis Lodovico, September 29, 1475.*

Illmo S. mio dapoi ladebita Ricomandacione, La Ex^cia^ vostra scrive sopra il fato mio delj pomi chodognj furati, se io sapesi trovare qualche indicio sopra cio La I. S. vostra liprovederia, amepare et anche ad altri, che portandomi chome sivede manifesta mente francesco aliprando lodio grandissimo, et avendo soto specie di guardare laviazola non avendogli niun contrasto, fato stare elbastardo el soldato di note con le arme, et oltre aquesto eldi inanti elfurto, mostrando eldito bastardo di voler parlare col mio lavorente vene nel casamento, con una zaneta in mano, alincontro del qual casamento e elbrolo dove si vedeva li pomi codognj che era una zentileza, tanta copia gleriera che le rame tocava tera, ami pare che esendo stati quele note inpiè e loro liano furati osanno chilestato et egli ancora unaltra rasone che licanj del lavorente liqualj son asperti et e gran fato che simuova alcuna chosa non sentano, selfuso stato zente straniera ariano bagliato che acostoro non diriano niente per eserlj familiarji, questo estate mi fu ancor furato laluiadiga (?), io dubito sela I. S. vostra non lifa qualche provisione mi furerano ancora li pomi che sono nel bruolo, li lavorente mie sono sola mente du omenj et anno gran paura di francesco, e disuo acuse, non olsano ne dir ne fare, me Ricomando continuamente ala vostra I. S. Laquale idio conservj lunga mente.

Mantue d. 29 Septembris. ANDREA M.

Ill^ri^ principi et potenti dno. dno. Lodovico Marchionj M. et generali Locumtenenti dno. Suo Clementissimo.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere del Mantegna.
Alluded to by Baschet.

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26. *Marquis Lodovico to the Aldermen, September* 29, 1475.

Dominis de consilio,

Carissimi nostri havemo visto quanto per la vostra ne scriveti facendone intendere a mo e passata la facenda di questo coradino del mantegna et moise hebreo, ad che respondemo che adi nuj pare habiate facto il dover ne dovevi far in altra forma, essendose lamentato adnuj il Judeo et non Intendendo altramente la cossa non sapevemo che risponderli, hora che ne siamo Informati sel retornara piu adnuj sapremo che risposta farli, ma come havemo dicto ne pare che habiate facto quello che dovevati far, nel Iudeo ha Justa rasone de dolersi.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 79.

27. *Marquis Lodovico to Francesco Aliprandi, September* 29, 1475.

Francisco de Aliprandis,

Dilecte noster: havemo visto quanto per latua ne scrivi facendo le excuse di quelli pomi codogni sono stati furati ad Andrea mantegna alche respondemo, che nuj non vogliamo creder sia stato quello tuo fratello o non ne che tu habi colpa alcuna, ne crediamo cussi legermente cio che ne fi scritto, havemo comesso la cosa a quelli del nostro consilio perche intendano il vero advisandoci che apresso nui no è acceptione de persona ne cerchiamo altro sinon che si jntenda il vero, ne rincresce ben che tra ti et andrea sii alcuna differentia, et havessimo piacer se gli mettessi bon fine, questo medessimo habiamo mandato adire ad esso Andrea si che quanto piu presto examinarano esse differentie tanto maiore piacer havemo.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 79.

28. *Marquis Lodovico to Andrea Mantegna, September* 29, 1475.

Andree mantinie,

Carissime noster: havemo visto quanto per la vostra ne scriveti de quelli vostri pomi codogni, Adche respondemo che havendo remesse questa facenda a quelli del consilio como habiamo vui posseti havere ricorso alor quali ve rendiamo certi non mancarano de quello che di rasone se possi fare.

de marcarie 29 settembre 1475.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 79.

29. *Mantegna to Marquis Lodovico, July* 6, 1477.

Ill[me] et Ex. S. mio, dapoi la debita Ricomandacione aviso la Ex[cia] vostra chome volendo far queli ritrati, non intendo volendolj la S. vostra si presto in che modo habia a fare. o solamente disegn[a]ti o coloriti in tavola o in tela e de che statura. Se la S. vostra li volesse mandare lontano se [posso] no (?) farli suso tela sotile per poterli avoltare suso un bastonzelo. Ancora chome sa la Ex[cia] vostra non si può far bene dal naturale che nona comodita di vedere. Le Ex[cie] vostre sono fuora de la tera, mi governero chome parera a

quele, aspetaro de intendere et di avere o tavolete oli telareti chio posa dare principio aditi ritratj mi Racomando ala I. S. vostra Mantova.

de la Ex^tia Vostra el disipolo Andrea Mant. die 6 Julij 1477.

Illustri principi et potenti d. dno. Lodovico M. Marchioni et generalj locumtenenti dno. suo clementissimo.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere del Mantegna.
Giornale di erudiz. artistica, i. 1872, p. 196.

30. *Mantegna to Marquis Lodovico, May* 13, 1478.

Ill^o S. mio dapoi la debita Ricomandatione. . . . Ex^a V. come quella mando Luca tagliapietra stando mi a padoa del 1458 con litere de credenza el quale luca per parte di V. Ex^a mi riferi abocca molte cose maxime quanto quella appetiva di havere certe opere di mia mano e quanto essa V. ex^a haveva bona disposicione verso di me offerendome quella che quando non me contentasse dila provisione quella mi haveva offerto che io domandase e molte altre large proferte, unde non obstante lemolte persuasione daltrj in contrario diliberaj totaliter venire aservire La prefata Vostra Exª con animo di fare che quella si potese vantare di havere quello non ha Signor de Italia chome ho fato, Ma perche chome si può vedere per litere de V. Exª ame scripte quella largamente prometendomj che portandome nela forma chela Exª V. era certa, faria che la provisione mi pareria el minor premio chio havesi aricever da quella, son stato con grande speranza sempre maxime in questo tempo ho servito a Vostra Exª che e presso che 19 anni vedendo la molta rimuneracione di possessione case et altri beneficij stati a servidori di quella e meritamente Ancora io cosi aspetando gia e transcorso el quinto anno da poi V. Ex^a me promise de pagare quella possessione, il che per me non lo reputo bon signo, sperava in questo tempo che la Ex^a V. mi havesi pagato di dita possessione cioe li otocento ducati et anco havermi aiutato a pagare li seicento ducati ame chome Ex^a V. mi promise et haveva speranza ancora che quella me aiutase a far la casa come mi fu promeso, Trovomi I. S. mio molto [piu ?] cargo che non era quando veni astare con V. Ex^a di figluoli maschi e femine de le quale ne ho una . . . da marito vedomi venir vech[io] ogni di . . . et questo e la caso[ne] di molti mei . . . V. Ex^a mi voglia . . . gli altri . . . corrispondenti ala proferta d. V. Ex^a et opinione di molti in Italia a liquale pare che nodi nel late soto lombra di vostra Celsitudine a la quale humilmente me Ricomando.

Mantue d. 13 maij 1478. per el D.V. servus deditissimus,

ANDREAS MANTINIA.

Illu. principi et potenti Dno. dno.
Lodovico M. Mantue et generali locumtenenti suo Clementissimo.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere del Mantegna.
Baschet, *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts*, 1866.

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31. *Marquis Lodovico to Mantegna, May* 15, 1478.

Andree Mantinie,

Andrea havemo ricevuta una vostra littera laqual nel vero non ce pare che fosse necessaria da esserci scripta per vui, perche nui havemo molto ben a mente quanto altra volta ve promettessemo quando venistive ali servicij nostri ne anche ce pare esservi manchato de le promesse nostri et anche haver facto quello che havemo possuto. Da nui non si poteria tuore quello che non gli e, et vui medesmo haveti visto che quando habiamo havuto il modo non siamo manchati di fare et a vui et ad altri nostri servidori quello che ce stato possibile, et habiamolo facto voluntiera et de bona voglia. Le vero che per non esserci corsi li pagamenti nostri de parechi mesi in qua come doveano et secundo le promesse et le obligatione facte a nuí, e stato necessario ancor a nui differire alcuni pagamenti havevemo a far come e quello della possessione ve donassemo et alcuni altri, non de mancho non attendemo ad altro che cerchar per ogni via de trovar denari per potergli satisfare fino ad impegnar de le nostre possessione, perchè gia tute le zoglie [gioie] nostre sono ad usura et non avete a dubitare che la possessione vostra se pagara et volemolo far voluntiera et de bona voglia, ne haveti a far uno dubio al mondo, como anche avessimo facto gia bon pezzo; sel modo ge fosse stato, ma li tracolli or sono accaduti ne sono stata casone, come vui medesimo haveti potuto intender e conoscere, da li huomini non si può cavar quello che non hanno; cussi non se poteria da nui quando non gli e il modo: de questo aveti ad esser certo che la possession vostra assai presto ve sera pagata, ne se ve manchara de quello se potera fare.

(Godii, 15 Maggio 1478.)

Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere di Lodovico, libro 86.
Baschet, *G. d. B.-A.*, 1866.

32. *Marquis Federico to Mantegna, October* 16, 1478.

Andree Mantinie,

Dilecte noster. Quando non fostive troppo ocupato haressimo acaro che venistivi fin qua ad nuj per otto zorni.

16 Ottobre 1478. VOSTRO.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 90.
Alluded to by Baschet.

33. *Mantegna to Marquis Federico, October* 25, 1478.

Illmo Si. Mio. Za piu de quindici di essendo sta amalato, venne qui per mutare aiere e de rehaverme, ma il pensero mio me ha fallito, che non piu presto fu gionto qui, el me ritorno la febre in modo che anchora non ho possuto uxire de lecto, et ultimamente, me venuto termino de quartana. e dubito de haverne asai parighi di, essendo jo cossi, da casa mia ho inteso che vostra Illu. Si. haveva mandato per me Il che meha cresuto lafanno vedendo non potere servir quella come seria la mia fede e devocione, ma dope che adio e piaciuto che me rit[r]ovi qui in lecto supplico a vostra ex^tia voglia haverme excusato, ben haveria acaro poterme condurme da quella per

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fare lofficio del vostro servitore, ma non potendo cavalcare haveva deliberato condurme in la per aqua, et de redurme verso borgoforte o saviola e li far quanto vostra ex. me havesse comandato, sperando pur ad lo adiutorio de dio poterme meglio rehaverme, che non ho facto fin qui, non dimeno vostra ex. dispona di me quanto ge piace, che ali comandamenti suoi serio sempre obedientissimo, ala gratia delaquale de continuo me ricomando.

Vitela xxv. Octobris 1478.

Ill. d. vre Servitor ANDREAS MANTINEA
od ℞.

Illustrissimo pñ. et ex^{mo} dño
dño meo singularissimo doño
federico Marchioni Mantue etc.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere del Mantegna.

34. *Marquis Federico to Mantegna, October* 25, 1478.

Andree Mantinie,

Dilecte noster. Respondendo a la lettera vostra ce rincresce assai del mal vostro, e parene che vui cerchadi de guarire per poter poi venir ad nui perche nui ve richiedevemo per far far alcuni designi et havendo vuj male non poterestive attenderli: perho cercadi di liberarve più presto posseti; ne per questo pigliadi alcun discunzo o affanno.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 90.
Baschet, *loc. cit.*

35. *The Duke of Milan to Marquis Federico di Mantova, June* 9, 1480.

Marchioni Mantue. Pigliando securita de V. S. mandiamo li certi designi de penture quali pregamo che vi piacia farli retrare per el vostro D. Andrea Mantegna pentore celebre. Dat. Mediolani viiij. Junij 1480.

per Belin[zonam] B. C[alcas].

Milan, Archivio di Stato, Missive n. 148 fol. 132.
Motta, *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, xxii. 1895, p. 421.

36. *Marquis Federico to the Duchess of Milan, June* 20, 1480.

Dne Ducisse Mediolani,

Illma ecc. ho recevuto el ritracto de la pictura che la E. V. me ha mandato, et facto ogni instantia ad Andrea mantegna mio pictore lo riduca ad elegante forma, el qual me dice che la seria opera più presto da miniatore che sua perche lui non e assueto pingere figure picole, anzi assai meglio faria una nostra dona aut qualche altra cosa de longeza de uno brazo aut uno brazo e mezo quando piacesse ala cel^{me} V. Illma madona se io sapesse fare quanto richiede la S. V. ad ogni presteza de tempo me inzignaria satisfar al voler suo ma communemente questi magistri excelenti hanno del fantasticho e da loro convien tuore quello che se po havere, perho se la ex. v. non sera cussi presto servita, come serio lo intento suo gli supplico me voglia havere per excusato, ala bona gratia etc.

Mantue xx Iunij, 1480.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 99.
Baschet, *loc. cit.* (part).

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37. *Lancilotto de Andreasis to Marquis Federico, Febr.* 12, 1483.

Illustrissime Princeps et ex. domine mi singl. etc.,

Io ho praticato mercato cum Io. Marco orefice [Gian Marco Cavalli] de quelle ole vechie e de li bocali secondo il disigno de Andrea Mantegna. Esso Io. Marcho adimanda de le ole lire 3 soldi 10 de la marcha et deli vali predecti ducati uno e mezo de la marcha.

Mantue 12 febr. 1483. N. famulus

LANCILOTUS DE ANDREASIS.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantova.
U. Rossi in *Rivista italiana di Numismatica*, i. 1888, fasc. IV.

38. *Lancilotto de Andreasis to Marquis Federico, Febr.* 17, 1483.

Illustris Prin. et ex. dñe d. mi sing^{me} etc. per le receptute lettere de vostra excellentia ho intexo la mente de quella et quanto habia ad exeguire ma perche ne la partita di vostra S. quella lasso indeterminato qual forma de vasi dovesse far lavorare o vero la forma de le olle o vero la forma deli vasi del designo de andrea mantegna prego quella volendo che Io proceda me voglia chiarire et volendo la prefata vostra S. che se facianno li dicti secundo il disegno de esso andrea havero acaro quella me voglia comandare se le debo fare de piu o manco pexo de le olle quale pexano (libre) 14 onz 2. luna del mercato ho concluso cum questo Io. fran^{co} del qual scripse a vostra prefata excel^{tia} in quella forma e modo che scrisse a quella. Luj se obliga che se non piacerano a vostra s. che vole perdere la manufatura etomaso me ha promesso per luj del condurre bene lopera. Insuper mando a vostra excel^{tia} il designo del fiasco fato per Andrea Mantegna acio quella possa judicare de la forma inanti se incominciano.

Mantue 17 febr. 1483 E. V. Ill. d. famulus

LANCILOTUS DE ANDREASIJS.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantua.

39. *Francesco Gonzaga to Marquis Federico his father, Febr.* 23, 1483.

Ceterum significo a la Celsitudine vestra come il Magnifico Lorenzo di Medici andó heri vedando la terra. Et hogj laccompagnai a messa a Sancto Francisco a pede. De li la sua Magnificentia se drició a casa de Andrea Mantegna, dove la vite cum grande piacere alcune picture desso Andrea et certe testē di relevo cum molte altre cose antique, che pare molto se ne deletti. Se ne venimo poi a la corte. . . .

Mantue xxiii Febrij 1483. Ill^{me} D. V. Filius et servitor,

FRANCISCUS DE GONZAGA
cum Racc.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere orig. dei Gonzaga.
Baschet, *loc. cit.*

40. *Procura. Mantua. Nov.* 4. 1484.

Presentibus egregio viro Andrea Mantinia pictore omnium famosissimo. . . .

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Nomine Andree Mantinee . . . viri ingenio et gratia prestantissimi. . . .

Prefatus Andreas Mantinia pictorum omnium re et fama facili princeps. . . .

From the papers of the notaio Oliviero Capello di Casale in Monferrato, who was working also at Mantua.

Archivio Civico di Casale in Monferrato.

Communicated to me by Conte Alessandro Baudi di Vesme, director of the R. Galleria at Turin.

41. *Marquis Francesco to the Duchess of Ferrara (Eleonora d' Aragonia), November* 6, 1485.

Ill^me^ d. Duc^se^ Ferrarie,

Illma. etc. Intieso lo desyderio de la Ex. v. che è de havere uno certo quadro de la Madonna cum alcune altre figure non in tutto finito de mano de Andrea mantinia holli comisso chel debba fornirlo cum ogni cura: lo qual expediro havendo io in brevi come spero ad visitare la Illma. S. V. o portarollo cum me: o mandargelo: che a me è in precipua gratia poterli far cosa grata a quella me raccommando, que bene valeat.

Godii (ut supra: 6 Nov. 1485).

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 126.

42. *Marquis Francesco to Mantegna, November* 6, 1485.

Andree Mantinee,

Carissime noster La Illustrissima Madonna duchessa de Ferrara nostra per sue littere: quale te mandiamo qui incluse, ad cio che melio intendi lo volere suo, haveria caro: come vederai de havere uno certo quadro de la mano tua. Comittemoti per satisffare a quella madonna: che usi ogni diligentia per finirlo interponendoli lo ingegno tuo: come ne confidamo debbi fare: et piu presto sia possibile: adcio che la prefata Ill. Madonna sia compiaciuta del che nui siamo studiossimi [*sic*] Concurreralli e li effecti e la virtu tua et precipuo contento nostro.

Godij vj Nobris. 1485.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 126.
Baschet, *loc. cit.*

43. *Marquis Francesco to Mantegna, November* 14, 1485.

Andree Matinee,

Carissime noster. Per una altra nostra te havemo scritto: che finischi uno quadro de la Madonna cum alcune altre figure, el qual La Illma Madonna Duchessa de Ferrara ne ha richiesto: non sapemo se ni li hai anchora messe le mani: Per questa altra nostra te replichiamo che lo debbi finire piu presto sia possibile: la qual cosa molto desijderamo per poter subito satisffare a la richiesta de la prefata Illma madonna Duchessa. Godij. xiiij Nobris 1485.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 126.
Alluded to by Baschet.

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44. *Marquis Francesco to Mantegna, December* 12, 1485.

Andree Mantinie,

Carissime noster Recordiamovi ad volere dare expeditione et fornire quello quadro principiato: quale habiamo deliberato donare a la Illma madonna Duchessa de Ferrara: et vedeti usarli tal diligentia: che ce lo potiati presentare questa festa per manza: nui faremo in modo anche verso vui: che la manza nostra vi piacera: et hareti ad restarne contento: ne le fatiche vostre saranno gietate.

Godii (ut supra xii dec. 1485).

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 126.
Alluded to by Baschet.

45. *Marquis Francesco to Mantegna, December* 15, 1485.

Carissime noster,

Siamo certi che in fornire quello quadro usareti tal diligentia che ce ne fareti honore: et a vuj resultara non piccola gloria: Havendo andare de presenti a venetia Lodovico da bologna se prima non li haveti parlato de quella vernice: vedeti ordinare cum lui: che ve ne porti o mandi in modo che per questo non stiati in tempo. Godij (ut supra).

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 126.
Baschet (part).

46. *Silvestro Calandra to Marquis Francesco, August* 26, 1486.

Ill. S. mio . . . Hozi lo Ill. Duca [Ercole di Ferrara] ha voluto vedere la spalera et doppo disnare montò inbarcha per andar un poco a solazo per il laco, dove stette poco spacio, perche laqua li facea male per non gli essere consueto: et smonto al porto de Corte per andare avedere li Trionphi de Cesare che dipinge il Mantegna: li quali molto li piaqueno; poi se ne venne per la via coperta in castello.

Mantue xxvi. Augusti 1486. Ill^me D. V. Fidelis servus
SILVESTRO CALANDRA.

Ill. princ. et Ex. dno meo sing. Francisco Marchioni Mantue etc.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantova.
Giornale di Erudiz. artist. i. 1872, p. 200.

47. *Marriage-treaty of Mantegna's daughter Laura with Pietro Luca de Marinis de Raffis, Aug.* 31, 1486.

Actum Mantue in contrata equi vermilii videlicet in studio seu camera inferiori domus habitationis infrascripti domini Andree. . . . Ibique egregius vir dominus Baptista de Marinis de Raffis civis Mantue . . . confessus fuit habuisse et recepisse . . . a spectabili viro domino Andrea Mantinia pictorum etatis nostre principe cive Mantue ibidem presente . . . pro parte solucionis dotis egregie domine Laure filie legiptime et naturalis prefati domini Andree et sponse et future uxoris nobilis viri Petri Luce dicti Baptisti filii legiptimi et naturalis ibidem presentis ducatos centum in auro et

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moneta. Quos quidem ducatos centum . . . restituere promisit . . . in omnem casum et eventum dotis predicte restituende. . . .

From the papers of Oliviero Capello, notary of Casale in Monferrato.
Archivio Civico di Casale in Monferrato.
Communicated to me by Conte Al. Baudi di Vesme.

48. *Acquittance of Baptista de Raffis for the dower of Mantegna's daughter Laura, Dec.* 31, 1486.

Actum Mantue. . . .

Nobilis vir Baptista de Marinis de Raffa . . . confitetur habuisse et recepisse ab integerrimo prestantique viro domino Andrea Mantinea . . . pro dote et ex causa dotis domine Laure filie prefati domini Andree future sponse nobilis Petri Luce . . . filii domini Baptiste . . . in bonis mobilibus et jocalibus extimatis . . . computatisque ducatis centum per ipsum dominum Baptistam receptis, ducatos quatuorcentum. . . .

(*The detail of the bride's dowry follows.*)

From the papers of Oliviero Capello, notary of Casale in Monferrato.
Archivio Civico in Casale in Monferrato.
Communicated to me by Conte Al. Baudi di Vesme.

49. *Gio. Galeazzo duca di Milano to Marquis Francesco, Jan.* 3, 1487.

Ill^{e} et potenti dño tanquam fratri nostro carissimo dño Francisco Marchioni Mantue etc.

Ill. et potens dñe tanquam frater noster caris^{me} Significavit nobis spectabilis dñus Iohannes Franciscus Malatesta dilectissimus consiliarius noster, se ac uxorem suam habere debitorem Andream Mantiniam pro fictu domus in qua ipse Andreas moram trahit, et in eo solvendo pertinacem et retrogradum se prestare, petendo litteras a nobis per quas hortemur dominationem vestram opportunam adhibere provisionem ne ipse d. Iohannes franciscus et uxor eius debita solutione fraudentur. Nos itaque petitioni sue que utique honestissima videtur annuere equum putavimus. Ideo hortamur dominationem vestram, ut nostra de causa velit edicere jus celeriter ipsi dño Iohanni francisco fieri contra prefatum Andream, quo debitum suum consequatur et intelligat litteras nostras apud eum plurimum prosit speramus habuisse momenti. Datum Mediolani die iij Ianuarij 1487.

IOHANNES GALEAZ MARIA SFORTIA vicecomes dux Mediolani etc. Papie, Anglerieque comes ac Janue et Cremone dominus.

Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere da Milano.

50. *Bernardo Ghisolfo to Marquis Francesco, July* 16, 1491.

Illmo et Exmo S. mio . . . a Marmirolo se comenciato a fare quello solaro et la logia. Francesco [Mantegna?] et tondo in sieme anchora lor comenzarono a dipinger quelli trionfi i quali a lor ge par farli suso le tele secondo a facto M. Andrea Mantigna, et dicono che cusi facendo farano piu

presto e saranno piu belle et piu durabile et anchora questo dice ognuno experto In tal exercitio. Se nel scriver mio dicesse cosa che dispiacesse a la S. V. benche malvolontiera el facio e dio el sa et la giente del mondo el po giudicare che ha Intelecto, pregola me perdoni. Io non posso piu de quello chio posso et quello chi facio e no se dubiti la S. V. se anche potesse far piu, faria, a la qual de continuo per infinite volte me ariccomando. Mantuae die 16 julij 1491.

Ill. et Ex. D. V. fidelissimus servus,
BERNADINUS GHISULPHUS.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantua.
Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. p. 309. D'Arco, ii. p. 29, no. 37.

51. *Mantegna to Marquis Francesco, November* 28, 1491.

Illmo et Ex^o^ S. mio dopo la debita Ricomandacione, La Ex^a^ vostra par che alias a Cristoforo dal bosco o ad altri a cui si adpartinese dese Comissione che io fuse satisfato di tante terre nel boscho dalla Caccia quanto montava lo avanzo dilla provisione mia E quanto piu pareva a quella. Tandem el precepto di vostra Ex^a^ non ebbe locho perche virtuti semper adversatur Ignorantia, che E verissimo che sempre la invidia Regna negli omini da pocho E sonno inimici della virtu E deglhominj da bene. Ma poi che ce la ferma Collonna in piedi di la Ex^a^ Vostra la qualle puo al tuto satisfare non è di dubitare. E puosi star sicuro soto lombra di quella, E inanti che la Ex^a^ vostra andase assanta Maria di loreto, mi fu Eciam per parte di quella per bernardino gisolfo dito chio stesi certo esicuro che alla tornata mi voleva benissimo satisfare di quelle terre Anchora dominica passata quando io presentaj el quadretino alla Ex^a^ vostra, quella per sua gratia mi replico con lieto volto e di buona voglia volerlo fare. Si che pertanto I. S. mio vogliati ozimai meter man alla usata et Naturale vostra liberallita E contentare el vecchio servitore dela Illma Casa di Gonzaga, qualle ha Honorevolmente servito et E per servire come si può vedere, Esser contento di darlj nel boscho della Caccia apreso ad Alesandro da lorgano Ducento biolche di terra. Domanda veramente honestissima, Avendo servito in cose apparente e di honore dela chasa, e più che mai eser parato esuficiente a servire. E questo E noto a tuto el mondo ozimai, E facendolo la Ex^a^ vostra ne Conseguira laude per tuto e non picola, E parera che sia quella Cognoscente E premiatore dele virtu et amarle, Onde prego la Ex^a^ vostra si degne al presente dare tal commissione a messer Antimacho o a chi pare a quella che la cosa abia buono Effeto chome spero in quella alla quale Humile mente mi racomando.

Mantue die 28 Novembris 1491. E. Ex. D. V. Servitor
ANDREAS MANTINIA.

Ill^e^ principi et Exmo D. d. meo
sing^mo^ dno. F^co^ Marchionj Mantue,
Godii D.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere del Mantegna.

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52. *Decree of Marquis Francesco in favour of Mantegna, February* 4, 1492.

Pro d. Andrea Mantinea.

De consensu nostro,

Franciscus marchio mantue etc. land. [?] assidue investigandum censuimus quod ad mortalium benevolentiam nos summam ad laudem et apud posteros esset traducturum: quo nihil melius nihil praeclarius nihil principe dignius effici posse semper existimavimus. Quid tum [?] prudentem virum et aliis iure optimo imperantem magis deceat quam omni . . . . [?] id eniti, ut suarum fortuna, opibus potentia caeteris prestat, ita virtutibus que fiunt hom[inibus (?)] immortale peculium alios antecellat studeatque suos ad bonas artes convertere, studiosis omnibus usui esse, bonos dignis honoribus honestare et virtute preditos extollere ac muneribus et gratiis amplificare? Hec . . . . [?] profecto via est ad veram laudem que pluris facienda est quam omnis operum caducarum accessio: sic ad summam gloriam pervenitur: que videtur esse quoddam immortalitatis genus, qua nomen nostrum ab oblivionis et obscuritatis morte defenditur. Hieronis namque Syracusarum regis phamam illustravit non mediocriter Archimedis summi architecti familiaritas. Inter praeclara Alexandri edicta illud maxime celebratur quo ab alio quam ab Appelle pingi ab alio quam a Lysippo fingi se vetuit. Magno etiam decori fuit et glorie Augusto quod Vitruvium Veronensem architectem suum tanta liberalitate persequutus sit, ut ex . . . . [?] et ignobili fecerit clarissimum. Quae cum ita sint quid officij conferre possemus in Andream mantiniam consumatissime virtutis virum: ex omnibus sine controversia qui picturam profitentur: quadam ingenij diversitate excellentem conferre possemus. Diu multumque cogitavimus: Nam cum nec inscij essemus de nobis et de maioribus patre atque avo benemeritum esse: et cum intueremus eius opera praeclara et admiratione digna que in sacello et camera nostre arcis quondam pinxerit, et que modo Iulij Cesaris triumphum prope vivis et spirantibus adhuc imaginibus nobis pingit adeo ut nec repraesentari: sed fieri res videatur: Cum et ad aures nostras pervenerit phama illius nobilissimi delubri: quod consensu ac mandato nostro nuper Innocentio VIII. Pont. Max. depinxit in vaticano: Non videbitur tantam artis excelentiam adequari posse nostra munificentia statuimus tum in hoc maxime laudatorum Principum: quamquam nos fortune bonis antecedant gratitudinem emulari, et non ad voluntatis sed ad facultatis nostre mensuram tantis meritis pro (?) virili nostra munus aliquod impertiri quod sit in eum amoris, ac eius in nos et antecessores nostros sincere fidej celebre monumentum. Harum igitur serie ob eius benemerita motu proprio, et ex certa nostri scientia sinceroque, et bene deliberato animo vigore nostri arbitrij et plenitudinis potestatis nostre: quibus publice [?] et plenarie fungimur in hac civitate nostra mantue eius marchionatu et Teritorio omnibusque alijs melioribus modo via iure forma ratione et causa quibus melius eficatius scimus et validius possumus per nos heredes et successores nostros iure proprio: et in perpetuum ac in liberum absolutum et expeditum allodium et sane aliqua conditione affictus census vel alterius honorantie sive cuiusvis oneris servitutis vel obligationis damus tradimus et donamus pure vere libere simpliciter et inrevocabiliter inter vivos praefato Andree Mantinee filio quondam Blasij ob eius

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benemerita pro se heredibus suis quibuscumque successoribus unam petiam terre boschive bubulcharum ducentarum sitam in territorio scorzaroli in nemore venationis que vulgariter dicitur: El bosco de la captia Vicariatus Burgifortis . . . . etc.

Mantue 4 februarij 1492.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Libro dei Decreti 24, fol. 56 v. *seq.*

53. *Antonio Salimbeni to Marquis Francesco, September* 2, 1493.

Mando suso la barcha el Maestro che fa lazurro ultramarino, et altri colori perfecti: qual vene per vivere e morire ne li servitij de V. S. a laquale sera utilissimo et per lui mando li colori richiesti [da?] Andrea Mantegna come in la qui inclusa lista se contiene: et per esser homo che merita, e de grande utile, et honore di V. S. a quella la racomando strictamente: et fara uno presente de uno xp̃o [christo] passo a V. S. quale mi rendo certo pacera a quella.

Venetijs ij Sept. 1493. Ill. d. v. Servulus

ANTONIUS SALIMBENUS humili R[n].

Ill[mo] principi et ex. dno. dno. meo singularissimo dno Marchioni Mantue etc.

P.S. Posta mandaro a v. Ex. per lo maestro che fa lazuro ultramarino la lista de li colori, che se contiene ne la presente lettera: siche quella non ne piglij admiratione alcuna: ut in litteris.

d. Servulus ANTONIUS.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Venezia.

54. *Isabella d'Este to Marquis Francesco, March* 2, 1494.

Illmo domino nostro,

Ill[me] S. mio . . . . El Mag[co] Iohanne di Medici è venuto questa mattina quà a disnare lho facto allogiare in corte e datto li per compagnia m. Iohanpetro da gonzaga e m. lodovico de uberti. Dopo disnare è venuto a visitarme, io lho acarezato e factoli vedere la camera et Triomphi . . . . gli ho anche facto veder la puttina nostra.

R[me] a V. S. Mantue ij Martij.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere di Isabella.
Luzio e Renier, *Mantova e Urbino*, p. 69, note.

55. *Theofilo Collenuzio to Marquis Francesco, April* 7, 1494.

Excellentissimo patrone e signor mio. Breviter diro alla S. V. quello se è facto: prima la sala della palazzina vostra è parata con le sue Tapezzarie Como si sol fare: La Camera dalli Cavalli ha el suo lecto con un paramento de Broccato doro azurro con un Bellissimo pavaglione de Renso Lavorato doro e de seta: La Camera della Citta ha el suo letto parato de damasco [?] Biancho à fioron doro con un pavaglione Bellissimo de Tela ortichina Lavorato doro: El quadro de Constantinopoli è bello ma non è compito pur polidoro li ha facto molti di quelli turchi à Cavallo El resto delli quadri stanno si Como Erano: El Camarino della Ex[tia] V. Ha el parimento e el solo Tucto parato de Tapeti. Li maestri sono drieto a metter su la lettiera la quale è

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richissima e Bellissima piu mille volte de quella da marmirolo: Como La letticra sara in ordinę la mettero li soi mattarazzi Cremesini e li soi lenzoli de Renso con una Coverta sopra Cremesina con i cani a lani de perle in modo acconcia che tucta la lettiera se vedera: el quadro di Mr. andrea Mantegna non è anche suso per che el ghisolpho non è anche venuto da mantoa con le sue Cantinelle che li vano Intorno pur per esser lhora Tarda lo faro metter su al meglio si potra: con el raso Cremesino nel loco dove manchano li doj Triomphi: in mezzo del Camarino ve è quel Candeliero lavorato alla spagnola col suo Torchietto de Cera Biancha: attenderò ad Expedire el resto me st. c. [?] alla Ex^{tia} vostra: El Cairo non è comenzato anchora per amor delle feste.

THEOPHILO vostro servo In pressia.

(Later inscription: Alla E^{tia} del S. Marchese de Mantova 1494 lettera d. Teophilj Collinutij d. die vii. April. [?])

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantova.

56. *Teofilo Collenuzio to Marquis Francesco, April* 7, 1494.

Exmo Signore e Patron mio: La lettiera col nome de dio e in piede polita e galante, non se potuto far piu presto per esser lej venuta Troppo Tardj: El quadro de M^{r}. Andrea Mantegna è suso anche lui con le sue Cantinelle Intorno dorate, semo drieto ad attacchare el raso Cremesino Anchora lui con le sue cantinelle doro Intorno: siche la V. S. se ne po venir passo passo perche Trovarete ogni cosa allordine suo adcochio so certo che voj ne Satisfarete quanto alla volonta della Ex^{tia} V. alla quale Me Ricomando.

THEOPHILUS Servus
manu propria.

Alla Ex^{tia} e Magnanimita dello Invictissimo marchese de mantoa (Later inscription: 1494, lettera d. Theophilj collenucij Ex die vij Aprilis.)

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantova.
Cfr. *Giornale di Erudiz. artist.* i. Perugia, 1872, p. 205.
The date of 7 April of this and the antecedent letter cannot be exact.

57. *Francesco Mantegna to Marquis Francesco, May* 10, 1494.

Illmo et invict^{mo} princ. D. D. mi observandissime etc. Exortato dal Vicino aviso V. S. come se atende sul grezo de la calcina a componere el mapamondi, la facia dove era el cavala non l'ho disegnata in muro perchè ho atteso al' Orfeo, el Cremonese ha azonto certe figure femine turche che vano al bagno et altre figure che assendeno alla moschea: El primo di compartiremo in designio piccolo la parte ce toccha, cioè la Italia la quale deo volente faremo polita. El Gisolfo ha visto et ha ordinato chel se facij de la calcina per nostro uso et per dar principio. Bene è vero che haveria de singular gratia che la Ex. V. se dignasse venir a dar judicio chi pare a quella vadi per bona via et a quelli piacendo alla S. V. comandarli che se regino secondo el mio et lor parere, perchè non li recorderò cosa che prima non l' habbia

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conferita con mio patre, el qual racomando ala Ill. S. V. de la quale intendo morire servitore. Ala Ex. V. humilmente me ricomando.

Ex Marmirolo die X. Maij 1494.

FRANCESCO MANTINIUS servulus.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Marmirolo.
Communicated to me by Dott. Alessandro Luzio.

58. *Teofilo Colenuzio to Marquis Francesco, May 23, 1494.*

Illmo et Exmo Signore et patron mio: Giunti a marmirolo mo Terzo di dove ho visto molte Cose che summamente mi piaceno: Maxime la Camera del Mappamondo la quale Benesella sia solamente designata di Carbone e senza colore alcuno mi pare Habbia a riuscire bellissima: Item ho visto quelli dui usci della Camera Graeca che stanno molto Bene: Son drieto a Francesco mantegna el qual scrive quelli dicti che vanno ai quadri della Camera Graeca: Quando ne sara scripti Tre o quattro mene Tornaro dalla Ex^tia^ vostra desideroso di star cen epsa piu che con altra persona del mondo: Altro qui non è di novo se non che i maestri lavorano quanto piu possano: Son venuto hogi qui a mantua per un ptolemeo dove me ho chiarito de alcuni dubij circa quelle citta che sonno in la Camera Graeca per non errare ne nomi latini: Maestro Francesco da Verona [Bonsignori] lavora la testa dello Ambassator del Turcho Credo sara finita presto e sara bella et io l'ho vista: El quadro de Tondo se lavora e sara bello et è mutato assaj da quel de primo in modo che la S. V. ne rimanera satisfacta. El quadro di Brexa non si lavora, la cagione e questa che li maestri che se adorno a purgare non sonno anche Tornati da Casa loro: non me ne meraviglio niente per che el pictore el musico e il poeta hanno Bisogno per natura de lunga purgatione maxime della Testa per haver loro el piu delle volte del pazzo. Me Ricomando alla Celsitudine vostra.

Ex Mantua die xx3. Maij 1494

THEOPHILUS Mancipium.

Queste sonno le lettere che vanno in la Camera graeca: Sopra la soranizza di Turchi: ET BACHANALIA VIVVNT | Sopra Constantinopoli: OLIM BIZANTIVM . NVNC | CONSTANTINOPOLIS. | Sopra Adrianopoli: HADRIANOPOLIS . IMPERIALIS . | GRAECORVM . CIVITAS. Sopra el strecto di Gallipoli: BOSPHORVS . THRACIVS . | Sopra la vallona: APOLLONIA . SEV . AVLON . HODIE. | VALLONA. | Sopra lassedio de Rhodi: RHODIANAE . VRBIS . OBSIDIO. | Quando saro apresso la Ex^tia^ V. li dichiararo a quella e so che ne piaceranno per che son Boni:

THEOPHILUS.

Principi Excell^mo^ D^no^ Francesco de Gonzaga Marchioni Mantue patrono suo in singulari. Gonzagae.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantova.

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59. *Mantegna to Marquis Francesco, Aug.* 6, 1494.

Illmo signor etc. essendo remosso Petroluca mio zener de sacheta, et remesso per vicario a vilimpenta, Domenica passata fece Intendere ala ex^{tia} v. commo lui malvolonticra ge Andasina per rispetto di quelli piasentini, homeni diabolici, quali amazorno Guidon di grossi che era suo prossimo [?] cusino, et dopo sonno stati provocati a mortal hodio e inimicitia per el preto de grossi, Dilche signor mio, prego la prelibata ex^{tia} v. se mai quella crete fare cosa grata gli piaza permutare per mio amore, quello vicariato de vilimpenta in Roncheferato, et se pure gli paresse che quello de Roncheferato non rimanesse cassà, mandarlo a vilimpenta, dove veramente lui cum suo fratello porianno stare senza suspetto, et etiam meglio provedere ad alchuni errori, che porianno accadere tra detti piasentini e la contraria parte, non essendo del sangue ne parentato del detto q. Guidone. et de cio signor mio Illu^{mo} non poteria haver al presente mazor dono e gratia, dala prefata S. V. alaqual continue me ricomando.

Mantue vi Augusti 1494.

D. V. Servitor fidelissimus
ANDREAS MANTINIA.

Illmo principi et ex^{o} Dno. d. Francisco de Gonzaga Marchioni Mantue d. suo observandissimo. Gonzage.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere del Mantegna.

60. *Sigismondo Gonzaga to Marquis Francesco, July* 6, 1496.

Illmo S. mio Unico. Havendo io a continua memoria il dì crudele et acerrimo del facto d'arme che hozi è un anno se fece in Parmesana, nel quale il summo Dio e sua gloriosa matre salvò da tanti periculi V. Ex. doppo molte valorose e strenue operatione facte per lei a morte e destructione de li nemici, ho pensato insieme cum la mia Illma Madonna in questo dì fare qualche laudabile memoria a laude de Dio e de sua gloriosa matre. Et cossi havemo ordinato una bella processione, la quale questa matina solemnemente cum tutte le regole de frati e preti s' è facta in questo modo: Tutti li religiosi si adunoreno a San Sebastiano cum la mazor parte del populo, dove era exaltata la Imagine di la gloriosa Verzene che ha fornita m. Andrea Mantinea suso uno tribunale grande adornato molto solemnemente, et sopra ad essa imagine gli era uno zovene vestito da Dio Patre et dui propheti da ogni canto, da li ladi tri anzoletti che cantavano certe laude et per contra gli erano li xii apostoli. Quando fue el tempo, se levò questo tribunale che era portato da xx fachini et cossi processionaliter se portò questa imagine fin a San Simone cum tanto numero de persone maschij e femine che mai non ne fu viste tante in Mantua. Quivi era aparechiato uno solemne altare suso il cantono de la nova Capella, dove celebrò una solemne messa m. Christhophoro Arrivabeno. Ma prima frate Petro da Caneto fece una bella oratione vulgare al populo in laude de la Verzene gloriosa, in exhortarli ad haverla in devotione, ricordandoli che l' era stata quella che havea liberata V. Ex. in simile dì da tanti pericoli et che volessino etiam tuti pregarla che la

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conservasse felice per lo advenire. Et cossì veramente tutti ad una voce lo pregoreno: cosa di che la V. S. ne deve havere gran consolatione di tanto amore et reverentia como gli dimostra tutto questo populo, quale non è punto ingrato de li beneficij che la ge fa ogni hora. Il doppo disnare essa imagine fu collocata al loco deputato, dove non stete tre hore che ge furono presentate alcune imagine de cera e doperi et altri voti, per il che credo che in breve tempo gli acrescerà grandissima devotione et de tutto questo bene V. Ex. ne serà stata causa . . .

Mantue 6 Julij 1496. Servitor
SIGISMUNDUS DE GONZAGA.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantova.
Luzio, *Emporium*, x. 1899, p. 367 *seq.*

61. *Antimaco to Marquis Francesco, July* 7, 1496.

Ill. Signore mio. Non mi occurrendo altro che scrivere ala Ex. V. de presenti: mi pare significarli come heri matina, in memoria del conflicto facto per la prefata S. V. cum il Re de Franza, in tal giorno che compitte lo anno: si fece una devotissima processione cominciando da S^to^ Sebastiano et venendo per burgofreddo dreto al Borgo: poi seguendo fin ala nova chiesiola constructa presso S^to^ Simone [S. Maria della Vittoria] e portandosi sollenissimamente la Imagine della gloriosa Maria, de recenti picta per m. Andrea Mantegna: opera excellentissima: accompagnata da tutti li Religiosi di questa città. . . . El concorso che sia a quello loco de hora non lo dicol che è cosa incredible a vedere le brigate non si poteva satiare de vedere cossi digna opera: in specie (ultra la imagine Virginale) quella de V. Ill. S. la quale commove ogniuno a tenereza. . . .

Mantuae vii Julij 1496. Ill. D. V. Servus ANTIMACHUS.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantova.
Giornale di Erudiz. artist. i. 1872, p. 206.

62. *Isabella d'Este to Marquis Francesco, July* 10, 1496.

Illmo S. mio . . . . La figura di nostra Donna che ha facto Andrea Mantinea fu levato Mercori passato, a li sei del presente, de casa sua et portata cum la processione, a la nova capella intitollata Sancta Maria dela Victoria: in commemorazione del facto d' arme de la chiarola facto insimile, di lanno passato, dove concorse piu gente che vedesse mai ad alcuna processione in questa terra. A mezo della messa grande fece una bella oratione frate Pietro mio confessore, molto ad proposito de questa solennita: suplicando quella gloriosa vergine Maria che conservi incolume V. Ex. et ritorni presto victorioso a casa. Io per essere nel termine che sono, non possetti andare cum la processione a pede, ma andai sul Borgo a vederla passare, et ritornai in castello passando denanti ad essa nova capella: quale era bene ornata: et la via coperta et molto copiosa de gente.

Ex Mantua x Julij 1496. Ill^me^ D. V. Consors ISABELLA
cum Racommandatione.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantova.
Portioli, *La Chiesa e la Madonna della Vittoria in Mantova*, p. 21.

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63. *Libro di spese del Monastero di S. M. degli Organi in Verona*, 1493–1509. *October 8 to December 22*, 1496.

A di dito [8 ottobre 1496]. In un paro di fasani, uno paro di quaternise e tordi lire doe sol. 10 per presentare a mis. Andrea.

A dì dito [26 Ottobre]. Spesi ducati undexe in once doe de azuro ultra marino e ducati doi in oro masenā [macinato] e marchetti 8 in una capa per metere oro per M. Andrea Mantegna per la nostra tavola.

A di dito [10 Novembre]. Spesi in una lepre e tordi per presentare al Mantegna sol. 25, e fra Zuane grossi tre andò a Mantoa. E a dito [22 Decembre] dati a fra Zuane de Verona soldi 19 per comperar dei vasi per portar olive e composte al Mantegna.

Uffizio dell' Ispett. del Demanio in Verona.
Vasari, ed Milanesi, iii. p. 393, note.

64. *Alberto da Bologna to Isabella d'Este, July* 3, 1497.

Illma Sa mia. . . .

Al studio de la S. Vra non se mancha et atrovarite suso el quadro de M. Andrea fatto I pedestalli et forse fenidi de doralli tutti. . . .

Mantue iii Julij 1497.

Alberto de Bologna.
e fedelissimo servo de quella

Ala Illma mia Ma
Marchesana de Mantua

In ferrara.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantova.
Luzio, *Precettori di Isabella*, p. 31 (2).

65. *Isabella d'Este to the Prior of S. Maria de Vado, April* 7, 1500.

Priori Ste Marie de Vado . . . . Et perche lei [Suora Theophila gia Eleonora] disse al Palazo che la voleria uno sancto Hieronymo per maiestà, quod mo vuj scriveti de una madona vogliati farvi declarare da lei de che cosa se contentara piu, et daretine aviso che subito faremo la provisione. Ma de mane del Mantinia non sera possibile, perche nui non potemo cavarli de mane alcune cose che gia bon tempo ha principiato a nostro nome. Faremo ben che per altra via serra ben servita . . . .

Mantue vii Aprilis 1500.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libr. 11.
Communicated to me by Dott. Al. Luzio.

66. *Michele Vianello to Isabella d'Este, June* 25, 1501.

. . . . el quale [Giovanni Bellini] me dise essere molto dexideroso de servir vostra Sig. ma de quel istoria li a dato V. S. non si poria dire, quanto la fa male volontieri, per che sa il giudizio di V. S. *poi va al paragone di quel opera de M. Andrea* e per tanto lui in questa opera vole fare quanto saperà e dige che in questa istoria non pole fare chosa che stia bene non che abia del buon e falla tanto male volontieri quanto dir si posi per modo che mi dubito che non servi V. E. chome quella dexidera, siche sel parese a quela de darli

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libertate fazese quello li piazese son zertissimo V^{ra} S. molto melio serà servita . . . .

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Venezia.
Braghirolli, *Archivio Veneto*, xiii. 1877, p. 370 *seq*.

67. *Isabella to Francesco Malatesta, September* 15, 1502.

Francesco: Desiderando nui havere nel camarino nostro picture ad historia de li excellenti pictori che sono al presente in Italia fra quali il Perusino è famoso: volemo che tu sii cum lui; usando sel te parrera il megio de qualche suo amico et vedi sel vole acceptare la impresa de farne uno quadro cum la historia o inventione che nui gli daremo et le figure andaranno picole si come sciai che sono le altre che sono in dicto Camarino et acceptando lo assunto de scriverne; intenderai quello che vorra de mercede; et se presto se metteria a lavoro che nui gli manderessimo le misure del quadro cum la fantasia nostra et cum diligentia ne renderai resposta.

Mantuae xv September 1502.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere.
Giornale di Erudiz. artist. ii. 1873, p. 159.

68. *Isabella to Vicenzo Bolzani, November* 22, 1502.

. . . . perche siamo certe chel [Perugino] non vorra che la sua opera sii di minore excellentia che sii la fama maxime al paragone de li quadri del Mantegna . . . .

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere.
Giornale di Erudiz. artist. ii. 1873, p. 162.

69. *Isabella to Pietro Perugino, January* 12, 1504.

Egregie noster. La inclusa carta insieme cum el filo avoltatoli sono ambi dui una medesima mensura de la longhezza dela magior figura che sii su li quadri di M. Andrea Mantegna apresso li quali ha andare lo vostro, l'altre figure da questa mesura in gioso sono a beneplacito; sapeti mo come haveti ad regervi; vi pregamo sopra il tutto ad accelerare lopera; che quanto piu presto tanto piu grato lhaveremo.

Mantue xii. Januarii 1504.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere.
Giornale di Erudiz. artist. ii. 1873, p. 214.

70. *Lorenzo da Pavia to Isabella d'Este, July* 6, 1504.

Illustrissima et exclentissima madonna pu volte sono stato con el magnifico M. alovise marcelo cercha alquadro de giovane belino. . . . E invero le bela cosa, afato melio de quello che me credeva, so che el piacera ala exelencia vostra e in questo quadro se molto sforcato per lonore masime per respeto de m. andrea mantegna, ben e vero che de invencione non se po andare apreso m. andrea ecelentisimo siche prego quela se degna de tore el quadro per onore de quela e anche per lefeto delopra, non voria talvolta perdere lidenari ancora che otrovato uno che el vole conprare e dareme lidanari che

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o avere, tuta volta non ovoluto fare mente fina tànto che abia da aviso aquela e poi forsa ancora non verun adefeto Ancora che deto giovane belino sesia porta malisimo che non eposibile pego [peggio] luj sescusa con asai rasone la s^ria^ vostra tolia la virtu clasarelo eso da bestia e questo dicho aco quela abia dele opere deliprimj de italia. . . .

6 luio 1504. Vostro LORENZO DA PAVIA in Venecia.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Venezia.
Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts, 1896, i. p. 223 (translation).

71. *Lorenzo da Pavia to Isabella d'Este, July* 16, 1504.

Inlustrisima Madona . . . M. pitro benbo asai serecomanda ala ecelencia vostra. Mi pare una ora mile asapere como sara piacuto questo quadro ala s^ria^ vostra e invero le bela cosa ma se io lavese ordinato averia volsuto le figure pu grande come scrise per lettera, de invencione nesuno non po arivare a M. andrea mantegna che invero le ecelentisimo e el primo ma giovane belino in colorire ecelente e tuti che a visto questo quadreto ognuno lacomendato per una mirabile opera et e ben finita quele cose e da vedere per sotile. . . .

adi 16 luio 1504.

LORENZO DA PAVIA in Venecia.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Venezia
Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts, 1896, i. p. 223 (translation).

72. *Ant. Gal. Bentivoglio to Isabella d'Este, December* 1, 1504.

Illma et Exma D^na^ mi sing. Ho ozi recevuto una de V. Ex. per il suo messo cum lo desegno del quadro la vole et cum la instructione secondo se ha a governare il pictore [L. Costa], subito mandai per quello et li monstrai il tutto, gli piacque grandemente la fantasia de V. Ex. et me disse volere lavorare al suo modo non preterendo perhò in omni cosa la fantasia di quella ma megliorare, et me rendo certissimo satisfarà benissimo a V. Ex. per lavorarli di cuore. Parlando poi del facto del lume li dissi, che a mi pareva il disegno esser facto al contrario de lo lume mi mostrò V. E. ove havea a stare il quadro, et che lo quadro di Messer Andrea mi parea havere il lustro, overo essere invernigato, dil che si maravigliò essendo in tela. Gli è necessario che V. Ex. me dia aviso, se l'opera di Messer Andrea è lustro et che lustro, overamente se l'è invernigata o non, et mi mandi la grandezza de le figure precise aciochè lo pictore sapendo el tutto possa fare l'opera sua conforme al quadro ove ha a star vicino che se convengano in tuto. . . .

Bononie, primo decembris MDIIII. . . .

ANT. GAL. BENTIVOLUS manu propria.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Bologna.
Luzio, *Emporium*, xi. 1900, p. 358 *seq.*

73. *Isabella d'Este to Marquis Francesco, April* 1, 1505.

Illmo S. mio. M. Andrea Mantinea venuto a me a ricommandarmi el figliolo, vedendolo tutto lacrimoso et affanato e talmente cascato in facia che mi pareva piu morto che vivo, mi ha indutta a tanta compasione che non ho

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saputo negarli il favore mio cum V. Exc. la quale prego che usando de la solita sua misericordia voglij donarli el figliolo perche anchora che gravemente havesse errato contra lei, la longa servitu: la incomparabile virtu et optimi meriti de m. Andrea ricercano che sij privilegiato de la gratia de V. Ex. in la persona de uno figliolo contumace. Se lo desideramo vivo et chel finisca le opere nostre bisogna che V. Ex. lo contenti, altramente non haveressimo maj piu copia de la persona sua, laqual piu presto per questo affanno che per la aeta veniria a mancare. però quanto me sij possibile lo racomando a V. S. et io insieme alla bona gratia sua.

Mantue primo Aprilis 1505.

ex. V. consors
ISABELLA cum Rm.

Illmo principi et Exmo Dno Consorti et dn. meo
observandissimo dno Marchioni Mantue—Gonzage.

Mantua, Bibl. Comunale.
D'Arco, ii. p. 58, no. 70.

Answer of the Marquis to Isabella d'Este, April 3, 1505.

That he would not grant pardon to Mantegna's son Lodovico [? Francesco], who had calumniated and insulted the best of the courtiers, 'sotto coperta di religione essendo il più irreligioso homo del mondo'; that she may tell 'a M. Andrea che volemo ben sempre honorare la virtù sua, ma non volemo che 'l figliol habbia più nè l'officio nè la gratia nostra come indegno di quella.'

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere, libro 186.
Communicated to me by Dott. Al. Luzio.

74. *Isabella d'Este to Perugino, June* 30, 1505.

Egregie amice noster chariss^me el quadro è stato conducto illeso il quale me piace per esser ben designato et ben colorito: ma quando fusse finito cum magior diligentia havendo a stare appresso quelli del Mantinea, che sono summamente netti seria stato magior honore vostro et piu nostra satisfactione et rincrescene che quello Lorenzo Mantovano vi dissuadesse da colorirlo ad olio: pero che noi lo desideravamo sapendo et di maggior vaghezza. Nondimeno come havemo dicto restamo satisfacte da vui offerendoni alli vostri piaceri sempre paratissime.

Mantua, ultimo Iunii 1505.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere di Isabella.
Giornale di Erudiz. artist. ii. 1873, p. 280.

75. *Isabella d'Este to Giovanni Bellini, Oct.* 19, 1505.

Dno Io. Bellino pictori,

Mess. Zoanne. Quanto sij el desijderio nostro de havere uno quadro depincto ad historia de mano vostra da mettere nel nostro studio presso quelli del Mantinea vostro cognato facilmente lo poteti havere inteso gli tempi passati che ve ne habiamo facto instantia; ma vui per le molte occupatione non haveti potuto: et contentandosi del voler vostro acceptassimo il presepio

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in cambio di la historia che prima mi havevati promessa di fare il quale molto mi piaque et tenendolo cossi charo como pictura che habiamo. . . .

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere di Isabella.
D'Arco, ii. p. 60, no. 73.

76. *Mantegna to Isabella d' Este, January* 13, 1506.

Illm̃a Sigr̃a mia. Dapoi la humile et Cordiale recomandatione. Retrovandome de presente per la gratia de Dio andare alquanto meliorando et benchè io no habbia ancora tutte le parti del corpo in lo primo essere tamen non ho sminuito quello poco de ingenio che Dio me ha dato quale è a lo comando de la Ex̃tia vostra et *ho quaxi fornito de designare la instoria de Como de Vostra Ex.* quale andarò seguitando quando la fantasia me adiuterà. Illm̃a madona mià me recomando a quella, perche da niuna parte gia molti mesi non posso havere un quatrino trovome in necessità et maxime a presente, perche io sperando che le cose avesseno andar non per questa via, me trovo invilupato et questo perche avendo io comperata una casa per non andare quà et là vagabondo per precio de ducati trecento quaranta a pagar in tri termini, lè passato el termine in modo che io sono agrezato da chi ha da haver, et come sà la Ex. vostra non se pò vendere ne impegnare, et ho ancora de li altri debiti pur assai et me è venuto a mente de ajutarme melio che posso cum le cose mie carissime perlochè essendo molte volte stato richiesto et in varij tempi et da diverse personi de la mia cara Faustina de marmo anticha per necessitate qual fà fare molte cose ho voluto scrivere a Vostra Exc. perche dovendome privare harrò più caro che quella habbia che signore ne madona sia a lo mondo. El precio suo si è ducati cento qual più volte ho potuto havere da gran maestri. Et piaciave darme adviso circha la intentione de V. Exc. a la quale infinite volte me recomando.

Mantue die 13 Jan. 1506.

ANDREAS MANTINIA servitor.

A la mia Illm̃a et Excma Madona Marchexana de Mantua Sigr̃a mia observadma.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga (Original not to be found).
Bottari, viii. p. 28; D'Arco, ii. p. 61, no. 75.

77. *Gia. Giacomo Calandra to Isabella d' Este, July* 15, 1506.

Illma et Exma sira mia praecipua. Stamane io visitai in nome de V. S. il Mantegna: el quale iò ritrovai molto querulo sopra li disagij et necessita sue per le quale egli dice havere impegnato piu de lx ducati oltra molti debiti, chel mi ha narrato: nondimeno dice dil precio primo de la sua Faustina non volere abbassar punto: perche spera di poterlo havere. Opponendoli io, ch'e non è adesso tempo, che alcuno possi ne voglij far simil spesa: el si resolve a questo, che più presto la vole retenere appresso di se, che darla per mancho de cento ducati o pur quando magior bisogno lo astringera a callare il precio: che ne fara sempre moto a V. S. e di questo me ha datta la fede. ma se gli accaderà

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spazo per li cento ducati; poi che Sig[ia] vostra non ge li puo dare; che senza scriverline altro la darà. Non vedo che egli habia altra speranza de poterla spazar a suo modo, se no vendendola a Mons. Vescovo de Gonzaga: quale dice esser vago de tale cose e spendente. io credo chel me habij opposto questo: aciò che la cosa sij piu vendibile appresso vostra Exc. per gelosia de altro comprator, e di questo me parso darni aviso a quella. Appresso el mi ha pregato che voglia in suo nome supplicare a la S. V. che la lo subvenghi de qualche dinari in tanti suoi bisogni: acio el possi lavorare meglio circa la tabula del dio Como. io non ho manchato de fare le execusationi ample: promettendogli perho de fare l'officio; il che faccio. Jo ho voluto vedere la tabula: in la quale sono dissegnate queste figure. il dio Como, due Veneri une vestita, laltra nuda, doi amori, Iano cum la invidia in braccio suspingendola fuori, Mercurio: e tre altre figure volte in fuga da esso Mercurio. gli ne manchano anchora alcune altre, ma il dissegno de queste è belissimo. Mi par de significare a V. S. che pare el se ressenti alquanto: perche la non ha risposta a la littera sua: et soggignando me ha ditto che ella è forsi restata per vergogna vedendo de non poterlo al presente subcorrere in le sue necessita. e veramente me pare, che egli admette assai ben le scuse, che ho facte. Circha la risposta de la sua littera io gli ho ditto che la Ex. vostra non estima mancho el mandarlo ad visitare personalmente per un suo servitore che rescriverli; et che la non si vergogna punto poichè pur troppo la condicione di tempi la excusa. quando la non gli usa quella cortesia et liberalitade che meritano le virtù sue. Ho voluto scrivere a V. S. questo acio parendoli la lo consoli cum una littera sua senza farli perho moto di questo suo resentimento, se circa questa impresa la S. V. non resta ben satisfacta da me: dignasi di havermi excusato: che ho facto quanto ho saputo, basoli la mano et in sua buona gratia humilmente me racomando.

Mantue xv. Julij MDVI.

Di vostra Ill[ma] Sig[ia]

Il fidel servo JO. JACOBUS CALANDRA.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantova.
D'Arco, ii. p. 65, no. 80.

78. *Gio. Giacomo Calandra to Isabella d'Este, August* 1, 1506.

Ill[ma] et Ex[ma] Si[ra] mia patrona. La S. V. debe havere inteso da B. Codelupo come ho hauta la Faustina da m. Andrea Mantegna el quale anchora che senza pegno e molto volontieri per gratificare la S[ria] V[ra] el me lhabij fidata ne le mane, pur me lha datta cum grande cerimonia e racommandata cum grandissima instantia, non senza grande significatione de gelosia: talmente, che se spirassero sei di chel non riavesse: son quasi certo chel moreria. Anchora che non gli habij io mottegiato del precio egli istesso dice non ne volere mancho de cento ducati. e di questa sua pertinacia ne dimanda perdonanza a la si[ria] v. affermando se la necessita non lo stringesse, non la daria nanche per molto piu. Mi rincresse non haverla potuto mandare hoggi in la barcha: e perche forsi passariano li sei giorni inanti che havessi occasione de barcha: la si[ria] v. me avisi, se gli piace, che la mandi per

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burchiello a posta. baso la man a v. S., et in sua bona gratia, humile mi racomando.

Mantue primo Augusti, MDVJ.

Di vostra Ill. si. l'humil servo

IO. JACOBO CALANDRA.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantova.
D'Arco, ii. p. 66, no. 81.

79. *Isabella d'Este to Mantegna, August* 4, 1506.

Dno Andree Mantinee,

M. Andrea: Havemo la vostra testa de Faustina qual ne piace et desyderamo havere per il pretio che vui medemo vorreti per che quando ben la non valesse li cento ducati faressimo conto donarveli per farvi piacere et commodo ma non ne ritrovando li danari cossi de pronti contanti per el disturbo di questa peste: mandiamo a vui il Cusatro nostro familiare per pigliare accordo che satisfacci al bisogno nostro et vostro per che luj è informatissimo di quello potemo fare ne vi mancaremo puncto di quello che lui promettera cossi vi pregamo ad contentarvi di accomodarve secundo intendereti et del Cusatro che ne fareti cosa grata: reteneremo la testa sin che ritorni il cusatro et non restando in accordo vi la remetteremo subito.

Sachette, iiij. Augusti 1506.

(B. CAPILUPIS)

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere di Isabella, libro 19.

80. *Isabella d'Este to Mantegna, August* 7, 1506.

Dno. Andree Mantinee,

M. Andrea. Havemo mandato per Hieronimo boso vostro Creditore et secundo lo apunctamento facto col cusatro siamo rimaste dacordo seco per li cento ducati quali luj è contento stare a tuore da noy ne piu vi ne dare molestia alcuna et ogni volta che vorreti vi farra fine, et quietatione di questi cento ducati che à luj per veneno et che noi volemo pagare per la Faustina De li xxvij non puo Hieronimo disponere per che dice spectano ad Alexandro suo fratello ne noi habiamo il modo al presente di exbursarli che di buona voglia lo faressimo per darvi ara [caparra] dil quadro ni havete a fare et per farvi commodo et beneficio: ma ni excusareti per lextremo bisogno in che ne ritrovamo de dinari ad presente come poteti consyderare.

Sachette, vij Augusti 156 [*sic*].

(B. CAP°)

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere di Isabella, libro 19.

81. *Francesco Mantegna to Marquis Francesco, September* 15, 1506.

Ill^me^ Ex^me^ D. D. mj. Benefactor observandissime. La S. V. mj perdonj se piu presto non ho scripto et facto intendere a quella la morte de mio patre che fu dominica passata a hore diecenove, e, prima chel giongesse alo extremo dimandò con una promtecia mirabile de la Exª vostra, et dolsesi assaj de la Absentia di quella, et non credendosj morire comise anuj duj fratellj chel volessimo racomandar a V. S. et racordarlj una nostra importante cosa, la qual

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el R^{mo} monsignor cardinale per gratia de sua R^{ma} S. racordera et racomandarà a prefata V. Ex. per esser cosa pertinente alospetale, Noi se rendemo certi che la S. V. come sempre remuneratrice de veri servitori, che quella non si dimentigherà la servitu de cinquanta annj de uno tanto homo, et a noj dolenti et privj dogni honore et bene, ce presterà favore et subsidio in le cose juste et de bona equità. Io ho quasi dipinto meggia lopera de la Tela de V. Exc., et cum primum siano finiti gli officij mi disponerò aperficere lopera, benche el mi sia mancato el maestro. E Quella pregando ce voglia haver nuj duj fratelli per racomandati

Mantue xv. Septembris MDVI. D. V. Exª Servitor

FRANC^{s} MANTINIUS.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantova.
D'Arco, ii. p. 67, no. 82.

82. *Lodovico Mantegna to Marquis Francesco, October* 2, 1506.

Illmo et Exmo Signor mio dopoi le debite racomandazioni etc. Essendo ali giorni passati Ill. et Ex. Signor mio rimasti noi dui fratelli privi di un tanto patre, la cui privatione et morte intolerabilmente et con affanni al meglio che si può toleramo Deinde appresso a questo ha lassato circa ducento ducati di debito, et cento ducati a la capella sua et altri cento in ornarla in termine di uno anno, la qual cosa parendone iusta et honesta voressimo mandare ad executione et similmente pagare gli debiti suoi, et satisfare a coloro debono havere, ma perche Il R^{mo} Cardinale ne ha facto intendere per parte di V. Ill. S. non diamo cosa alcuna ad homo alcuno di quelle fò di nostro patre, La advisamo noi non potere sbrigarsi nè satisfare alcuno, nè finire la capella sua se non per megio de le cose sue predicte, le qual cose sono queste: Un Cristo in scurto et quella opra di Scipion Cornelio principiata gia a nome di mess. Francesco Cornaro, le quali cose monsignor Cardinale havea dicto volerle, credo sua signoria sia soprastata per questo, onde suplicamo ad prefata V. Ill. et Ex. Signoria si degni esser contenta che usciamo di debito con questo megio, et fare scrivere al prefato monsignore che pigli queste cose a quello precio parerà et gli piacerà, altramente noi non saperessimo come regersi, nè mai poteressimo in cossi picolo termine satisfare al ultimo mandato et delegato di nostro patre. Deinde gliè un San Sebastiano il quale nostro patre voleva fossi de monsignor vescovo di Mantua per alcune cose che intenderà poi V. Ill. S. le quali seriano troppo prolixe da scrivere, altro non so che vi sia salvo gli duj quadri che vanno ala sua capella, si che gli domandiamo di gratia di quanto gli scrivo ne sia contenta, perche havendo queste cose monsignor cardinale, o in tutto o in parte, la prelibata V. Ill. S. le haverà a la quale di continuo si racomandamo que felix valeat.

Mantue, ij Octobris MDVI.

E. V. Ex^{tie} Servitor perpetuus

LUDOVICUS MANTINIA.

Illmo et ex^{mo} principi Domino D. Francisco de Gonzaga Mantuae Marchioni Domino et benefactori meo unico.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Mantua.
D'Arco, ii. p. 70, no. 86.

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83. *Lorenzo da Pavia to Isabella d' Este, October* 16, 1506.

Illma Madona. . . . Apreso molto medoio del mancare del nostro M. Andrea Mantegna che invero e mancato uno eccelentisimo omo e uno altro Apele, credo che il signore dio ladoperara in fare qualque bela opera, io per me non spero maie pur vedere el pu belo desegnatore e inventore. Vale a di xvj Otobre 1506.

Vostro servitore

LORENZO DA PAVIA

in Venecia.

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Lettere, Venezia.
Baschet, *l.c.* p. 47.

84. *Isabella d' Este to Lorenzo da Pavia, October* 16, 1506.

Laurentio de Papia,

Lorenzo . . . . Siamo certe che de la morte de m. Andrea mantegna habiati preso dispiacere per esser mancato alli pari vostri un buon lume. .

Mantue xvi Oct. MDVJ.

(B. CASS^a)

Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, Copialettere di Isabella, libro 19.

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