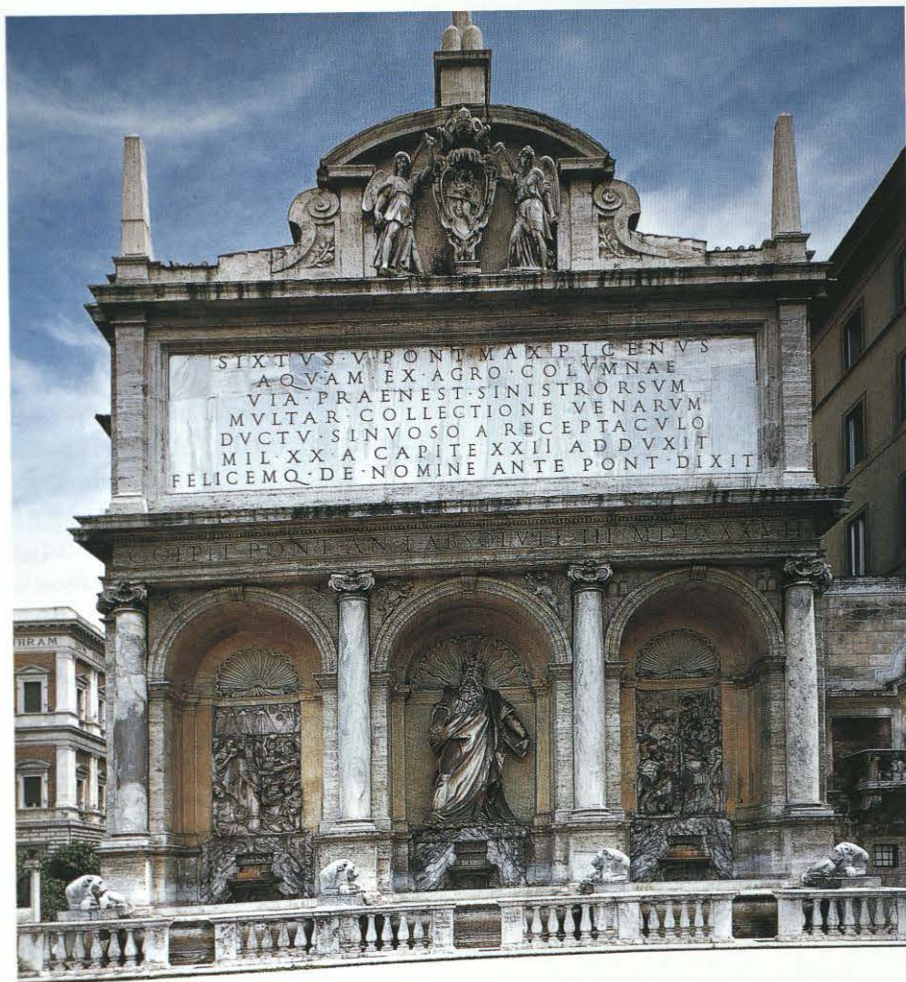
to the Campidoglio and the Aracoeli. These aqueducts made it possible for people to move into or live more comfortably in parts of the city that had previously been difficult to inhabit, though we should not overlook the fact that the course of the new system, named the "Acqua Felice" after the Pope himself, traveled right through his own garden, conveniently offering him a private, fresh water supply.

About two blocks to the north of the walls surrounding his villa, Sixtus had a group of artists led by Fontana build a *mostra*, or "show" fountain, of a sort only possible where the flow of water was strongest and made for the most dramatic effect (fig. 20.22). Architecturally, this fountain took the form of a triumphal arch, and the inscription in its attic zone advertised the Pope's accomplishment in bringing new waters into the city. The central figure was Moses, ostensibly striking the rock and miraculously causing waters to flow, but the fact that no rock is to be seen makes the suggestion of narrative loose at best; the statue emphasizes the comparison between the Pope and Moses more than it illustrates any Biblical text. The statue, executed by Prospero Bresciano, no doubt in the vain hope of rivaling the *Moses* by Michelangelo on the tomb of Julius II in San Pietro in Vincoli (*see* fig. 13.37), was lampooned by contemporaries, and has for centuries been considered one of the ugliest in Rome; but it established a genre of papal commission that generations of followers would imitate.

Obelisks and Columns

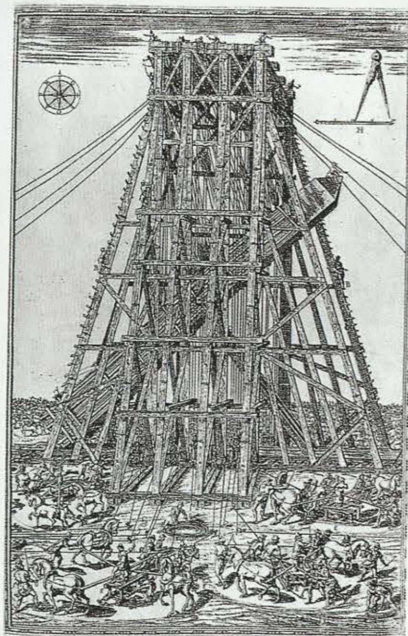
The top of the Moses fountain is ornamented by a group of obelisks, which would have reminded viewers of further Sistine transformations of the city. In antiquity, Rome had been famous for the obelisks it had imported from Egypt, but by Sixtus's time only one of these was still standing, marking the site of the former Circus of Nero just south of St. Peter's. As far back as Nicholas V, popes had dreamed of moving the monument to a more prominent location in front of the basilica, but none had the technical means to pull this off. In 1585, Sixtus announced a contest, challenging architects and engineers to come up with ways to transport the stone. Though his seems not to have been the plan the judges deemed the best,



20.22
"Mostra" of the Acqua Felice, constructed 1585–89 under the direction of Domenico Fontana, with central statue of Moses by Prospero Bresciano.

ABOVE LEFT
20.23
Vatican obelisk, as re-erected under the direction of Domenico Fontana in St. Peter's Square, 1586

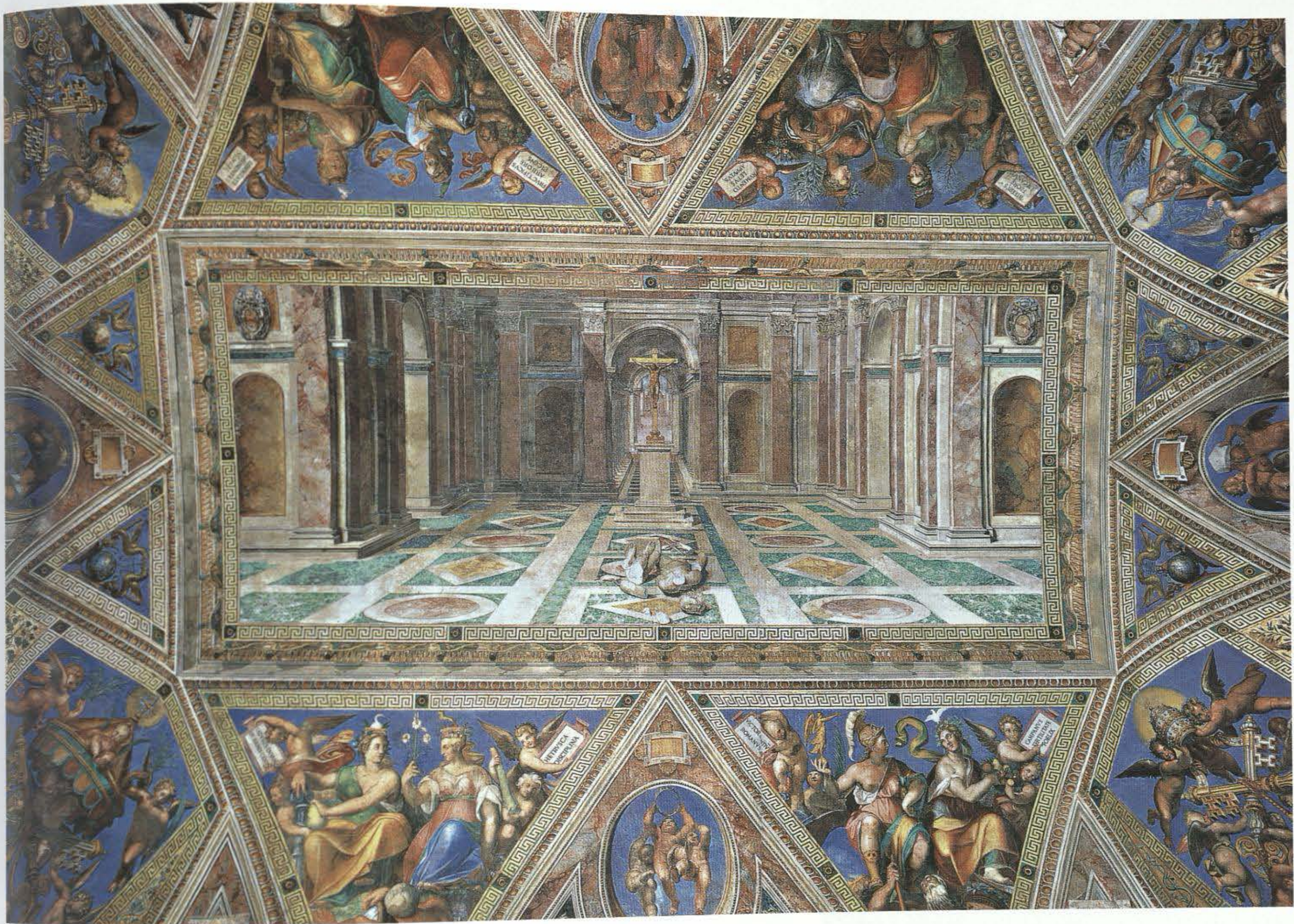
ABOVE RIGHT
20.24
Leonardo Sormani, Tommaso della Porta (model), and Bastiano Torrigiani (casting), *St. Peter*, placed atop the Column of Trajan, 1588–89. Bronze, height of statue 13'1½" (4 m)



RIGHT
20.25
Domenico Fontana, plate from *Del Modo Tenuto nel trasportare l'obelisco vaticano.* Rome, 1589

Fontana, the papal favorite, ended up with the commission, and in 1586 he successfully laid the obelisk on its side, moved it to the open space in front of the church, and re-erected it in what would become the center of a new piazza (**fig. 20.23**).

Fontana was justifiably proud of his accomplishment, and he published an enormous book, complete with lavish illustrations, boasting of what it had involved: the labors of 140 horses, 800 men, and many complicated machines (**fig. 20.25**). The Pope must have been pleased as well, for in the years that followed he ordered that other obelisks lying abandoned or buried in the city be recovered and erected. In 1587, a surviving obelisk from the tomb of Augustus was moved to the piazza facing the apse of Santa Maria Maggiore – a location very close to the main gate leading into Sixtus's villa. And in 1588, two obelisks were dug up in the Circus Maximus and erected at the Lateran and in the middle of the Piazza del Popolo. All of these were key locations for travelers, for they marked the terminal points of the straight streets



20.26
Tommaso Laureti, *The Triumph of the Cross over Idolatry*, 1585. Vault fresco. Sala di Costantino, Vatican

that led visitors entering the city's northern gate to and between the major churches. Walking from Santa Maria Maggiore toward the Lateran, or up the Via Felice toward the northern gate of the city, one would know exactly how far one had to go before reaching the next stop.

This is to cast the obelisks in the friendliest light; they also had a more belligerent aspect. In each case, the Pope's engineers added a gilded bronze cross to the top of the stone. This echoed his treatment of two other monuments that survived from Roman antiquity, the Column of Trajan, which had originally stood in the forum named after the emperor it celebrated, and the Column of Marcus Aurelius, believed in the 1580s to be the Column of Antoninus Pius. These two columns had, seemingly miraculously, survived largely intact through the centuries. Though they were missing the figures that originally topped them and though some of the reliefs showing ancient military campaigns were damaged, the engineering operations required to resurrect them were only slightly more modest than that undertaken at St. Peter's. Already in antiquity, the columns, covered as they were with victory imagery, were understood to be triumphal forms; to restore them in the spirit of the obelisks or the Moses fountain, Sixtus merely needed to return them to their original purpose. This he did by having a team of marble sculptors replace the sections that were missing from the serial reliefs, and commissioning another group of statue-makers, overseen by Fontana, to place a bronze statue of Peter on top of the Column of Trajan (fig. 20.24) and one of Paul atop that of Marcus Aurelius. Henceforth, those moving through the city would look up to find Rome's patron saints looking protectively over the scene.

Like the bronze statues on the columns, the gilded crosses that topped the Egyptian stones turned them into trophies of sorts. Their own role, nevertheless, was even more complicated. While the obelisk projects were underway, Sixtus had Tommaso Laureti – the Sicilian impresario whom we last encountered as the designer and engineer of the Neptune fountain in Bologna (*see*

OPPOSITE
20.27
Giovanni Bologna, *The Abduction of the Sabine.* Marble, height 13'6" (4.1 m). Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. The statue was installed in 1582; the bronze relief added to the front of the base *c.* 1584.

fig. 18.33) – add a fresco to the ceiling of the Sala di Costantino, depicting a bronze cross standing over a broken stone idol (fig. 20.26). The image changed the emphasis in Giulio Romano's frescoes below (see figs. 14.1–14.3), making the cross itself, rather than Constantine, the protagonist – we might now notice that in Giulio's *Battle of the Milvian Bridge* the emperor's enemies simply collapse before the sign of the cross born on Constantine's standards. The frieze Laureti added between these murals and his new ceiling featured portraits of the obelisks, with their crosses, that Sixtus was erecting around the city. The room casts the urbanistic projects in a more militaristic light. The inscription added to the front of the pedestal supporting the Vatican obelisk reads: "Behold the cross of the Lord! Flee, you who are his enemies! The Lion of the Tribe of Judah has conquered!" The phrase was used in the exorcism ritual Sixtus conducted after the re-erection of the obelisk, a ceremony intended to banish any evil spirits that still inhabited the idol. As one approaches the obelisk, however, the inscription seems directed not so much at the stone itself as at the visitor to St. Peter's. It is as though the positioning of the obelisk were intended to defend the basilica, much as Michelangelo's *David* (*see* fig. 12.3) and Baccio Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* (*see* fig. 15.14) had been positioned to defend the Palazzo dei Priori in Florence. We might notice the northward orientation of the other obelisks Sixtus placed around the city: one greets those passing through the main city gate to the north, and the one at Santa Maria Maggiore occupies not the piazza in front of the church facade, but the northern piazza behind the church. Collectively, the monuments suggest that the Sack of 1527, when armies from the north destroyed the city, had not altogether vanished from Roman memory.

The Place of Giambologna's *Abduction of the Sabine*

We began this chapter with a look at Giambologna's *Appenine* (*see* fig. 20.1), a sculpture whose form seemed to depend on its location. But the new attention sculptors were expected to devote to a statue's place, especially following the systematically urbanistic conception of the monuments now on display in Rome, could also allow the opposite approach. In a dialogue on art entitled *Il Riposo*, Raffaele Borghini reported of Giambologna's large marble group (fig. 20.27) that the artist had made it not on commission but "only to show the excellence of his art," and that it was only after the work was nearly completed that Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici, "admiring its beauty, decided that it should be placed where we now see it." Borghini went on to report that Giambologna had conceived the statue not only without a conventional function in mind, but also without a "story." The city's poets were challenged to come up with subjects and titles that suited the three-figure group, and only later was the work officially baptized as a portrayal of an episode in the early history of Rome when the city's warriors carried off the young women from a neighboring tribe known as the Sabines.

Surely Borghini was correct in suggesting that Giambologna intended, with the sculpture, to show his "art." It took up the challenge of extracting a complex, three-figure composition from a single block of stone; it included bodies of different ages and types and a range of expressive gestures; it allowed for multiple points of view; and its action required a careful consideration of balance and statics. More intriguing is the question of whether Giambologna could really have conceived the work without a notion that it might find its way into the Piazza della Signoria. In place, the *Sabine* seems to fit neatly with the works that preceded it: like Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* (*see* fig. 15.14), Donatello's *Judith and Holofernes* (*see* fig. 6.25), and Cellini's *Perseus and Medusa* (*see* fig. 16.20) it shows a triumph, with one figure striding over another. With its image of the hero rescuing a woman from danger, it lends itself to political allegory: the abduction of the Sabine maidens was a central episode in myths relating to the foundation of Rome, and it would have appealed to a leader trying to make Florence over in the Roman image. At the same time, the statue may also have been conceived in a spirit that would have been all but impossible in Rome itself, where public art involved increasingly transparent programmatic schemes.

Just a year before he started work on the *Sabine*, Giambologna had written of a small bronze he sent to Ottavio Farnese, the Duke of Parma, that its pair of figures "could be taken to show the abduction of Helen and perhaps of Proserpina – or as one of the Sabines." Statues like this invited interpretation, and with the addition of the marble group to Florence's most important public square, Grand Duke Francesco may well have been allowing that the kinds of conversations that happened in gardens (Borghini's dialogue took its name from a villa called Il Riposo, or "The Retreat"), discussions on art that did not necessarily end in consensus, could take place within the city walls as well. The risk, of course, was that viewers could doubt the metaphors of Medici power that works like the Sabine should have supported. The benefit was that a city like Florence could itself pretend to the image of Parnassus, a haven for the advanced visual and literary arts in an age when reformers in other cities would rein in their most liberal forms of expression.

21

1590–1600
The Persistence of Art

Church Humanism, Church Archeology 610

A New Geography 612

Regional Distinctions: Florence and Bologna 612

Nepotism and Networks in Rome 617

Galleries and Collectable Art 620

Three Paths, *c.* 1600 622

The Carracci at the Palazzo Farnese 622

Federico Zuccaro: Making *Disegno* Sacred 626

The Provocations of Caravaggio 629

Caravaggio and the Church 632

After 1600 635

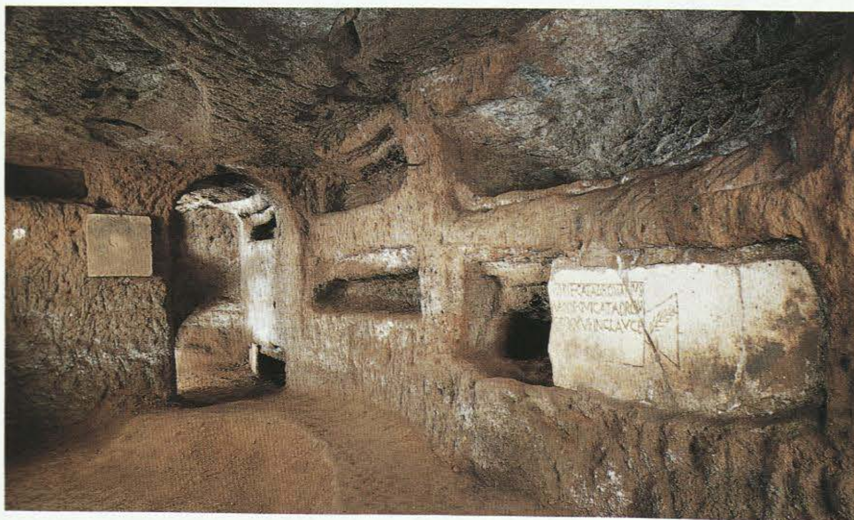
21 1590–1600 *The Persistence of Art*

Church Humanism, Church Archeology

Histories that present the "Renaissance" as a period style, a visually coherent era in which a recognizably common project bound the arts, typically conclude with the arrival of the "Baroque." On such accounts, an age characterized by a return to antiquity gives way at the end of the sixteenth century to one determined by a triumphant Church. Exuberance replaces a more contained sense of order, and spectacles addressed to the masses take precedence over mysteries comprehensible only to an elite few.

As we have already seen, the Council of Trent led to the institutionalization of reform movements that had been under way in local circles for decades. This process, however, did not represent a turn away from the physical beauty, conspicuous artifice, or philological awareness of earlier art so much as an assignment of such values to what reformers deemed to be a proper place. In many spheres, in fact, we see the late sixteenth-century Catholic Church attempting to absorb or adapt what look very much like "humanist" enterprises to its own purposes. The circle surrounding not only the Pope but also each of his cardinals made themselves the successors of the secular courts of the Quattrocento, occupying magnificent palaces and competing to control the services of the best artists and writers of the day. Priests began writing art treatises: in *Il Figino*, published in 1591, Don Gregorio Comanini not only engaged the philosophy of Plato and its implications for the visual arts but also adopted a vernacular dialogue form, as though his goal were to reach and entertain a popular audience with limited Latin. Comanini was following the example of earlier prelate-authors like Giovanni Andrea Gilio (***see*** p. 526), but he was also composing a sequel of sorts to the Venetian dialogues on art by Paolo Pino and Lodovico Dolce (*see* p. 496), as well as to *The Courtier* of Baldassare Castiglione (***see*** pp. 225 and 381).

21.1
Subterranean burial chamber from the early Christian catacombs at St. Sebastian on the Via Appia



Most of the Renaissance popes had been interested in at least some of the ancient Roman statues, buildings, and paintings that turned up under their city, but the late sixteenth century also saw the Church undertake newly serious investigations into its own archeological remains. Little excited such explorers more, for example, than the catacombs. The earliest Christian communities, following Jewish practices, had buried the bodies of their dead outside the city walls, in underground labyrinths that began in or near a church and snaked for miles and miles. After the fifth century CE, when invasions had made it seem increasingly perilous to venture into the countryside, burials began to take place directly in and around churches; the catacombs fell into disuse and were mostly forgotten. Though individuals occasionally ventured into them, few knew their locations or extent.

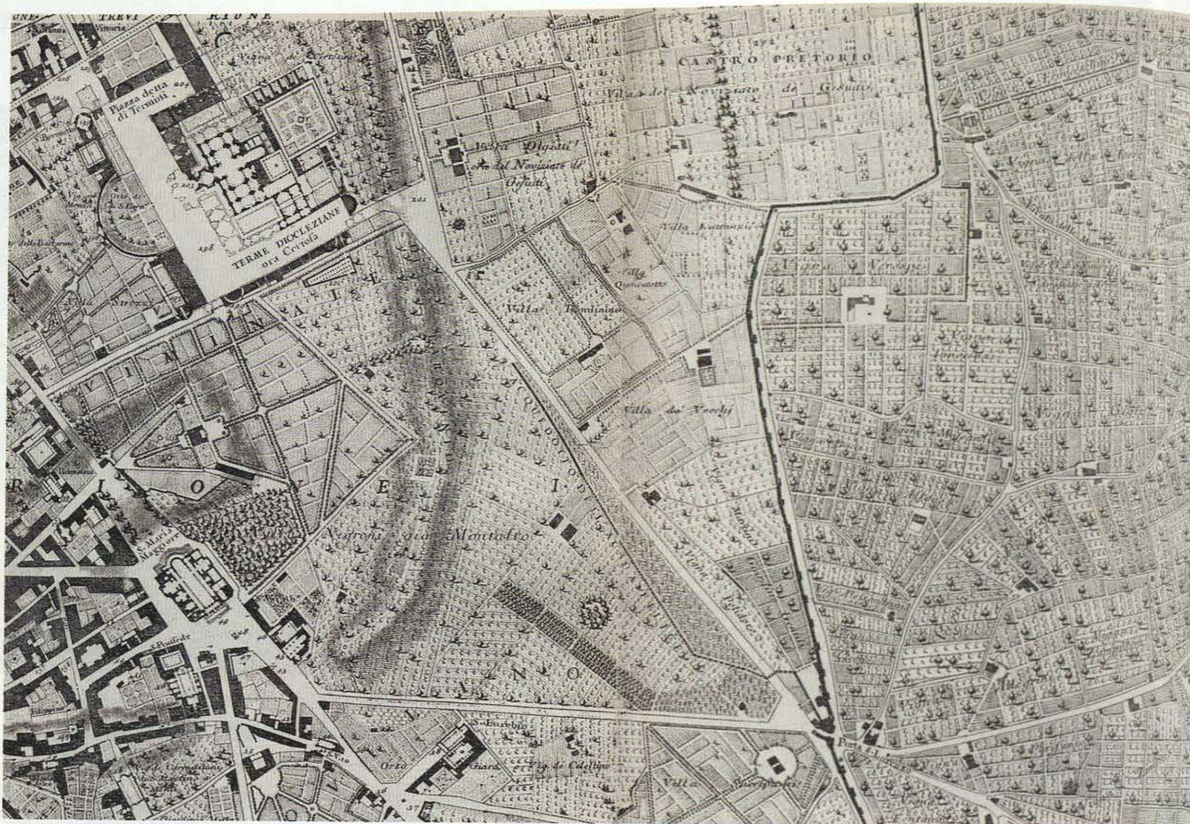
All of this changed in the final decades of the sixteenth century, when accidental discoveries and a new fascination with the Church's earliest practices led to systematic spelunking. Investigators found grave sites, called ***loculi***, consisting of rectangular holes excavated directly from the tunnel wall, then covered with a slab or with tiles (**fig. 21.1**); occasionally, they came across a wealthy or particularly revered person who had been honored with an *arcosolium*, or arched recess. There were no troves of ancient sarcophagi here, no new marble statues, but those who ventured into the catacombs did encounter a subterranean world that rivaled that of the ancient forum or the Golden House of Nero, and contained the small ritual objects early Christians had buried and the paintings they had used to decorate the spaces.

The importance of these discoveries is unmistakable in a church like Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome. Pope Gregory XIV (*r.* 1590–91) had assigned this building and its parish to the care of his nephew, Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato, who ordered excavations in order to throw light on the site's earlier foundations. These happened to unearth the body of none other than Saint Cecilia herself, preserved in a perfect "uncorrupted" state, though she had been beheaded more than 1200 years earlier. Sfondrato called in two witnesses to verify the find: Cesare Baronio, the leading historian of the Early Christian Church, and Antonio Bosio, who had explored, mapped, and documented the city's catacombs. The invitation to Bosio in particular acknowledged the widely shared belief that Cecilia's body had originally been interred in a catacomb at the church of San Callisto; researchers knew that Pope Pascal I had had it transferred to Trastevere in the early ninth century. The authenticity of the body confirmed, Sfondrato commissioned the sculptor Stefano Maderno (1575–1636) to replicate it in marble, at lifesize and allegedly in the very pose in which it had been discovered (fig. 21.2). The cardinal then placed this statue under the new altar of his church, in a tabernacle centering on a modern *loculus* that recreated the setting of Cecilia's first burial.

Those rebuilding houses of worship with an eye to the distant past were not interested only in Early Christian remains. Across town from Santa Cecilia, Caterina de' Nobili Sforza, the Countess of Santa Fiore, was in the same years overseeing the refurbishment of San Bernardo alle Terme. Following her husband's death, Caterina had withdrawn to a palace on the Esquiline Hill and attached herself to a reformer named Jean de la Barrière and his Order of reformed Cistercians known as the Foglianti (or Feuillants). For the monks she purchased a section of the Baths of Diocletian, and converted it into a centrally planned church (fig. 21.3). The transformation required only minor modifications: the addition of a choir, the covering of some old niches and the carving out of eight

21.2
Stefano Maderno, *Santa Cecilia*, 1600. Marble, life-size. Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome

21.3
Interior of San Bernardo alle Terme, Rome, consecrated in 1600. *Stucco* statues by Camillo Mariani and others



21.4
Giovan Battista Nolli, *A New Plan of Rome*, 1748, detail showing, upper left, the remnants of the Baths of Diocletian and the churches of San Bernardo alle Terme and Santa Maria degli Angeli, as well as – diagonally across the center – the path of the Acqua Felice.

new ones to achieve a more regular effect, and the topping of the existing dome with a lantern. More than most medieval or Renaissance churches, the space still feels very much like an ancient one.

An inscription over the door commemorated Caterina's late husband, turning the whole building into a kind of mausoleum – a tomb for Caterina herself would occupy the choir, just beyond the high altar. The most striking feature of the interior, however, is Camillo Mariani's series of colossal statues in *stucco*. The material's versatility, light weight, low cost, and resemblance to stone increasingly attracted patrons in these years. The characters Mariani included primarily represented the name saints of the patron and her family – two saints named Catherine appear.

Caterina and her artists could not have ignored the fact that Michelangelo had spent his last years working on the neighboring church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, it, too, a repurposed section of the ancient bath complex (fig. 21.4). If the project that had brought Michelangelo to Rome in 1505 began with the destruction of Europe's most venerable basilica, Old St. Peter's, the artist strove in this late work to respect a church structure that had survived the centuries relatively intact, and kept his own interventions to a minimum. Caterina's project was not so self-effacing, but it, too, responds to the existing city more than it asserts a new architectural personality. San Bernardo alle Terme resembles nothing so much as a new Pantheon. At the beginning of this book, we saw Lorenzo Ghiberti charge the Church with the destruction of antiquities (*see* p. 10), and contemporaries could still lodge similar accusations against Sixtus V in the late 1580s. San Bernardo alle Terme, however, looks more like an example of early "historic preservation."

OPPOSITE, LEFT
21.5
Camillo Procaccini, *Transfiguration*, c. 1590. Etching, 22¼ x 13½" (56.3 x 34.2 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

A New Geography

Regional Distinctions: Florence and Bologna

It is difficult, in short, to sustain the idea that a "Renaissance," an era defined by its attempt to restore, recover, or vie with the art and architecture of a distant past, faded into something else at the end of the century. This is not, however, to minimize the real changes of other kinds that happened in these years. Perhaps most noticeably, once-dominant centers lost their allure, and others rose to prominence.

Parmigianino's move to Bologna more than half a century before had encouraged experimentation with print technologies, and etching in particular (*see* p. 435). The Carracci only invigorated this: though Agostino was the family professional, his cousin Ludovico and younger brother Annibale both made etchings in the 1590s.

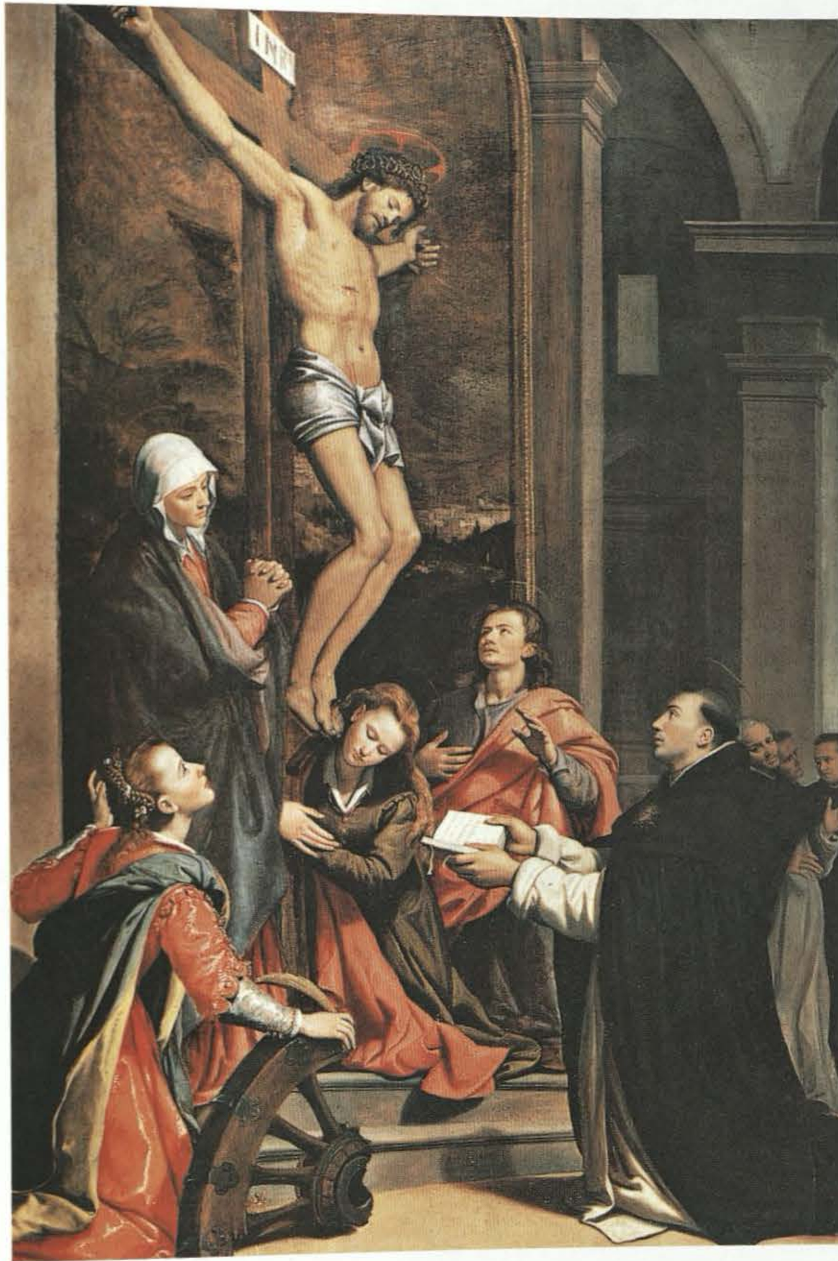
A print by the painter Camillo Procaccini (1551–1629) offers a good example of the new possibilities that contemporaries saw in the medium. His *Transfiguration* (fig. 21.5) reads as a variation on Parmigianino's *Resurrection*

(*see* fig. 14.31), except that it activates the paper on which the image is printed, using its whiteness to represent the radiance of Christ at the moment he manifests his divine nature. Christ's face had long been a subject of particular reverence, which makes it all the more remarkable that Procaccini barely registers his features, as if to suggest that Christ's countenance is so luminous it cannot be seen; Christ's body, similarly, consists merely of stipples, lending his whole presence a ghostly effect. It is difficult to imagine a printmaker coming upon such a novel idea in an Italian city other than Bologna. And as striking as the print itself is the fact that its composition doubles that of a 1590 Procaccini painting (fig. 21.6). Either the painter used the print to attract a prospective employer, or he counts among the very first examples of an artist creating a printed reproduction of his own work in another medium.

Florence, whose traditions Bologna had made to seem backward and stultified, had gradually responded with its own reform movements. Some artists, indoctrinated with the Academy's emphasis on *disegno*, directed new attention to the capacities of drawing. Jacopo Ligozzi (1547–1627), for example, made exquisite watercolors of plants and animals for a courtly audience interested in collecting naturalia (fig. 21.7). Ludovico Cigoli experimented with the kind of oil sketches that Federico Barocci and Tintoretto had made. His friend the astronomer and mathematician Galileo Galilei, who had studied drawing in Florence, would just a few years later make drawings of the moon and the sun that would transform the West's understanding of the universe. In their works on panel and canvas, too, a number of painters sought to find a path away from the manner of Salviati, Vasari, and even Michelangelo.

21.6
Camillo Procaccini, ***The Transfiguration of Christ***, 1590. Oil on panel, 9'9" x 5'10⅞" (2.97 x 1.8 m). Milan Cathedral

21.7
Jacopo Ligozzi, ***Sea Daffodil (Pancratium maritimum),*** **before 1591.** Watercolor and tempera over black pencil on white paper, 26¼ x 18" (68 x 45.5 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery, Florence



21.8
Santi di Tito, *Vision of St. Thomas Aquinas*, 1593. Oil on panel, 11'9" x 7'7" (3.62 x 2.33 m). Del Turco Chapel, San Marco, Florence

Santi di Tito's *Vision of St. Thomas Aquinas*, a picture made by an artist in his late fifties, seems intent on showing that he is not yet set in his ways (fig. 21.8). Santi (1536–1602/3), although a former pupil of Agnolo Bronzino and a contributor to the *studiolo* of Francesco de' Medici, rejects the old goal of piling up nudes in favor of a more sober composition; he employs enough color to enliven the surface and draw attention to the main actors, but not so much as to distract from the painting's meditative atmosphere. The clarity of the picture is all the more important since understanding Santi's subject requires real attention. St. Thomas Aquinas meditates on the *Crucifixion*, while St. Catherine looks on from the lower left. Catherine lived in the fourth century, Thomas in the thirteenth, and the architectural setting here is post-Brunelleschian – the painting, that is, collapses elements from at least four different historical moments. What Santi has essentially done is to return to the tradition of the *sacra conversazione*, rethinking the format as an "event" that composes itself before Thomas as he prays. The conception of the picture is deliberately old-fashioned, a throwback in its way to Fra Angelico's insertion of Dominican saints into the sacred episodes he painted at San Marco (*see* fig. 6.4).

Giambologna continued to operate not just the city's but the continent's premier sculpture workshop;

21.9
Giambologna, equestrian statue of Duke Cosimo de'Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, 1587–94. Bronze. Piazza della Signoria, Florence

21.10
Giambologna, *The Subjugation of Siena.* Bronze relief from the base of the equestrian statue of Duke Cosimo I

21.11
Piazza dei Cavalieri, Pisa, with, at right, the Palazzo del Consiglio, enlarged and redecorated 1596–1603 following earlier plans by Giorgio Vasari. In front of this stands Pietro Francavilla's statue of Ferdinando I de' Medici of 1594.

in this he depended on numerous collaborators who would soon disperse and embark on successful careers of their own. Among his major projects in these years was a colossal bronze equestrian monument that Duke Ferdinando I de' Medici dedicated to his father Duke Cosimo in 1594 (fig. 21.9). Previous Florentines, such as Donatello, Verrocchio, and Leonardo, had only been able to undertake works of this kind when patrons invited them to other cities; the old Republic, fearful of tyranny and its symbols, would not have permitted such a monument within its walls. Ferdinando was now secure enough in the Medici duchy, however, to put aside such concerns: indeed, the work's placement before the building that had housed the city council relegated thoughts of this kind decisively to the past. The great bronze horse celebrated the autocrats' unification of the Tuscan state. One of the reliefs on the side shows Duke Cosimo's triumphal entry into Siena upon the subjugation of that city (fig. 21.10), and Ferdinando had Giambologna make additional portrait monuments for the main piazzas of the other cities over which he ruled, including Arezzo, Pisa, and Livorno (fig. 21.11).

Nepotism and Networks in Rome

This newly urbanistic conception of the sculptural monument, the incorporation of public sculptures into a larger system of art and architecture that tied together one or more cities, takes up an idea introduced by popes Gregory XIII and Sixtus V in their fountains and obelisks. Ferdinando brought the new idea to Florence from Rome, where he had lived as a cardinal before the death from poison of his brother Duke Francesco – probably at his instigation – allowed him to claim the ducal throne. The new treatment of the piazza in Florence and in its satellite cities illustrates the "centrifugal" force Rome had acquired by the end of the century. At least as important is the draw it represented to artists. More than any other city, Rome displayed the multiple traditions of Italian and, increasingly, of European art to the rest of the world.

A large part of this cosmopolitan draw arose from the distinctive conditions of Roman patronage. By contrast to other centers, where dynastic regimes tended to impose a local frame of reference and support a workshop system that continued from generation to generation, each election of a new Pope shook up the city's networks. The pontiff, once enthroned, would install family members and other dependents in important positions and funnel money to them. (Since popes were supposed to be celibate, nephews like Paolo Emilio Sfondrato tended to become favorites, whence the word "nepotism.") The new Pope and his family would also call upon artists from his own region of origin. The process could dislodge both the patrons and the artists who had been in power just months before.

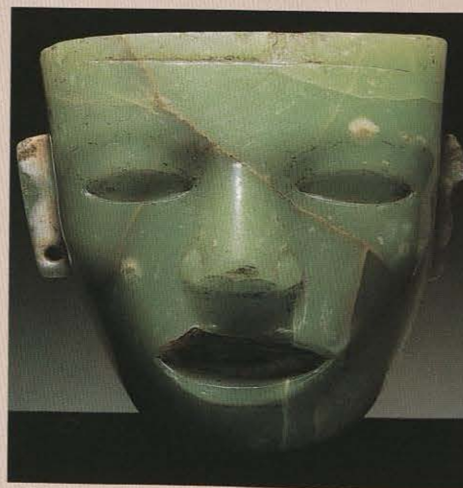
Caterina Sforza's support of the Foglianti at San Bernardo alle Terme (*see* fig. 21.3) illustrates a larger

THE MEDICI COLLECTIONS

In their accumulation of precious and rare objects the Medici in the 1400s followed the pattern of other European rulers, with many of whom they had diplomatic and financial ties. Potentates had long amassed gems and gold and silver artifacts, often as a form of fiscal reserve, but they also acquired costly and rare objects that were held to be of a value that was more than material: relics, ancient gems and coins, "unicorn horns" (narwhal tusks), exotic weapons from the Asian silk routes. While princes like the Este of Ferrara collected as well, the Medici vastly outstripped the Italian rulers in the resources available to them and their international networks. Through the Medici Bank, precious objects could be acquired as security for loans not repaid. By the later fifteenth century, one of the main attractions for foreign visitors to the Medici Palace was the collection of gems, medals, and other small-scale antiquities housed in studies and other small rooms. Ancient marble statues, some of them restored by Andrea del Verrocchio and other sculptors, decorated the courtyard and the garden. Particularly famous was the collection of vases in rock crystal and semi-precious stones acquired by Lorenzo il Magnifico. Rock crystal was greatly in demand for a degree of transparency not yet obtainable in glass production; there were only a handful of workshops in Venice and in Paris that had mastered the techniques of cutting and working it. As with the vases fashioned from sardonyx, amethyst, jade, porphyry, or other hard stones – mostly imported from Asian trading centers – these vessels were usually provided with elaborate mounts in gold and silver by local craftsmen.

With the expulsion of the Medici from Florence in 1494, the collection was partly sold and dispersed by the new government. Isabella d'Este was one of several Italian princely collectors who tried to acquire pieces: she asked Leonardo da Vinci to evaluate some crystal, silver, and agate vases for her in 1502 (the prices ranged from 200 to 350 ducats, considerably more than the 100 ducats she offered for the paintings in her *studiolo*). The vases retained by the family formed the core of extraordinary gifts by the two Medici popes to the basilica of San Lorenzo, where these objects of luxury were devoted to a new pious purpose as reliquaries: today the remnants of Lorenzo's collection can be seen at San Lorenzo and at the Silver Museum at the Palazzo Pitti (figs. 21.12–21.14), with some of the ancient pieces housed at Florence's Archeological Museum and a rare jade vessel at the Museum of Mineralogy. From being signs of a family's wealth and taste, they have over time been reclassified as church furnishing, as samples of craft, as antiquities, and as scientific specimens.

Duke Cosimo followed his fifteenth-century forerunners by keeping a collection of small objects – coins, medals, cameos, antique and modern bronze figures – installed in special cabinets in a *studiolo* outfitted by Vasari, but he also created a new and larger space for the organization and display of a collection: the Guardaroba in the former Palazzo dei Priori (*see* fig. 15.23) was a sizeable room adorned with the most accurate available maps of the world including parts only recently known to Europeans. The maps adorned cabinets in which samples of natural substances and manufactured objects from the lands in question were all stored. The room in addition housed mechanical clocks, globes of the earth and the heavens, and navigational apparatus. Cosimo's son Duke Francesco signaled the desire to assemble an encyclopedic or universal collection even in the intimate space of his *studiolo*, where cabinets were adorned with scenes of mining by slaves in India and Peru, and of pearl fishers in the southern seas (*see* p. 583). The collecting interests



21.12

Jade mask, Teotihuacan art, 250–600 CE. Jade, 6 x 6¾ x 2" (15.2 x 17.1 x 5.1 cm). Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence

LEFT ABOVE
21.13
Chinese/Florentine nautilus cup with silver gilt mounts, late sixteenth century. Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence

ABOVE
21.14
Lapis lazuli flask with gold and enamels. Florentine, designed by Bernardo Buontalenti, late sixteenth century. Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti, Florence

of both Medici dukes were shaped by their hands-on interests in acquiring "secrets" – that is, information on new technological processes for the making of armaments, or the working of such precious substances as rock crystal and porphyry, or the mystical science of alchemy. Francesco himself was a master of secrets who invented new recipes for porcelain, methods for cutting crystal, and pharmaceutical cures; he established workshops for glass-blowing, metalwork, and the cutting of semi-precious stones in the Uffizi.

With Spanish and Portuguese colonization of the New World, Asia, and Africa, a market in exotic imported objects developed in the courts and capitals of Europe. Cosimo and his successors sought out the most outstanding examples: cloaks of feathers from Peru; rock crystal skulls and jade masks from Mexico; an African elephant's tusk fashioned into a horn; Indo-Persian shields of rhinoceros hide with golden leaf ornament; vessels of tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl; Japanese swords and other artifacts that arrived with an embassy from Japan in 1585. Such collecting indicates the family's sense of its importance in the world and its political ambition – Cosimo was encouraged to believe that his name signified his "cosmic" stature – yet it also signaled a rising interest in ethnography, a belief that new forms of knowledge and civilization were to be encountered beyond Europe.

21.15
Facade of Sant' Andrea della Valle, Rome. The church was begun *c.* 1590 after designs by Giacomo Porta and Pier Palo Olivieri; the facade was designed in the mid seventeenth century by Carlo Rainaldi.

phenomenon of wealthy laywomen lending their backing to new religious orders. Across the street, Camilla Peretti – sister of Pope Sixtus V – had paid for the renovation of the convent of Santa Susanna, designed to house Foglianti nuns. In 1598, Isabella della Rovere sold her jewels so as to be able to buy two properties for the Jesuits on the Quirinal Hill. Among the major churches built on the model of the Gesù in the center of the city was Sant' Andrea della Valle, a project undertaken by the Theatines using funds left to them by Donna Costanza Piccolomini, on condition that they dedicate the building to the patron saint of Amalfi, of which she was duchess. Completed only in the next century, it became a major example of the massive churches built under the direction of newly founded religious orders in the heart of the urban fabric, and intended to serve the local populace rather than pilgrims (fig. 21.15).

Galleries and Collectable Art

The seventeenth-century biographer Carlo Ridolfi reports that in the years following the death of Titian in 1576, Venice came to depend on the judgment of Alessandro Vittoria "not only in things of sculpture and architecture but also in painting." Tintoretto and Veronese, Ridolfi adds, could not stand this, though whatever conflicts existed between the artists would have been brought to an end by the deaths of Veronese in 1588 and of Tintoretto 1594. Both painters, like Jacopo Bassano (*d.* 1592), had heirs who sought to continue the profitable family workshops, though these followers mainly repeated proven formulas. Vittoria himself lived until 1608, though after the death of his wife in 1591, his production, too, seems to have faded.

The most successful Venetian artist of the 1590s was perhaps Giacomo Palma, called "Palma Giovane" (*c.* 1548–1628). Palma was a protegé of Vittoria, whom he allegedly pleased by showing an obsequiousness Vittoria welcomed after facing years of disdain from Tintoretto and Veronese. The alliance did not mean that Palma took up Vittoria's own quarrels: Palma appears to have been self-taught, though Ridolfi writes that the painter continually studied the works of Tintoretto, "whom he recognized as a father of art, and of whose supernatural virtues he preached on every occasion." Palma's attraction to Tintoretto is evident in the loose brushwork and subdued, nearly monochrome palette of a portrait from the 1590s (fig. 21.16), showing a man surrounded by sculptural fragments and plaster casts. Who does it depict? Comparison with an earlier painting, such as Lorenzo Lotto's *Andrea Odoni* (*see* fig. 14.23), a work that Palma could have known, suggests that the canvas shows a collector in his study. Then again, artists themselves in this period were developing increasingly impressive collections, and the single complete object in the room, the statue behind the collector's right shoulder, is a plaster cast after Vittoria's *Sebastian/Marsyas*. Could the man be an artist, an admirer, like Palma himself, of Vittoria's work?

The detail points to the fact that it was not just new cities but also new kinds of artworks that came into prominence at the end of the century. We have already seen that large-scale sculptures could now be made of stucco (a variety of plaster), even as permanent ornaments of important spaces, such as church interiors. The artists

21.16
Palma Giovane, *A Collector (Bartolomeo della Nave?)*, 1591–92. Oil on panel, 5'6½" x 5'½" (1.18 x 1.03 m). City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham

21.17
Reproduction of Giambologna, *Hercules and the Centaur*, c. 1600. Bronze. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence

behind works of this sort tended to be professional modelers, who either worked on projects like Caterina Sforza's San Bernardo alle Terme (*see* fig. 21.3) or provided clay designs to be cast in bronze and replicated in stone. Vittoria himself illustrates a related professional turn, though one that focused on smaller objects: what Palma includes in his *Portrait of a Collector* is not the lifesize, marble version of the statue that Vittoria had made for a public church, but a copy after the model for it, or perhaps after the smaller bronze he had produced as a collectable.

The interest in modeling led to a boom in the production of small bronze statuettes – essentially permanent records of clay designs in a more durable material. The statuette, of course, was not a new format; we have seen early examples by Antonio Pollaiuolo (*see* fig. 10.5) and Bertoldo di Giovanni (*see* fig. 10.4), and earlier in the sixteenth century, Mantua and Padua had built a small industry around the production of desk-sized objects that scholars and other writers, as well as bankers and bureaucrats, could keep in their studies. At the end of the century, the center of production had shifted to workshops like Giambologna's in Florence, which were the first to develop specializations around small- to mid-size portable statues whose invention did not depend on a sense of where they would ultimately go (fig. 21.17).

Often, the collectors of such bronzes placed them in a room that was just beginning to exist as a well-defined space: the gallery. We have encountered galleries already – the Galerie d'Ulysse at Fontainebleau outside Paris and the Gallery of Maps in the Vatican – but the characteristic gallery of the seventeenth century was something different, a room meant to house autonomous sculpted and above all painted objects, predominantly oil paintings on canvas. It was a room that announced its contents to be collectables, removable from whatever architectural context or other combination of objects existed beyond their frame.

A good example of a gallery picture is Palma's *Venus and Mars* (fig. 21.18). Drawn crimson curtains reveal an erotic mythological episode: a kiss from the goddess of love lays out the patron of war on a bed, as Cupid helps him strip. The group is a witty variation on the kind of subject in which Titian had specialized; Palma has essentially taken a Titian Venus and turned her over, showing her from behind. Once again, however, it is the devices Palma learned from Tintoretto that come most to the fore. The figures adopt almost acrobatic poses, and the dramatically foreshortened Mars plunges into our space. Shadows obscure the interlocking faces of Venus and Mars, the center of the action. Despite the lively color at the edges, finally, an intense *chiaroscuro* defines all three figures. The painting could never have hung

21.18
Palma Giovane, *Venus and Mars*, 1590. Oil on panel, 4'3 1/2" x 5'5 1/4" (1.31 x 1.66 m). National Gallery, London

21.19
Federico Barocci, *Aeneas and His Family Escaping from Troy*, 1598. Oil on canvas, 5'10½" x 8'3½" (1.79 x 2.53 m). Galleria Borghese, Rome

anywhere but in a private palace. Seeing it in a secular room devoted to miscellaneous canvasses, as one now does in the National Gallery in London, is not entirely distant from the way that its original viewers must have encountered it.

The majority of Palma's paintings, like those of his contemporaries, were of religious subjects. By the 1590s, however, the demand for prestigious objects that could fill private galleries touched even artists who normally did not make such things. The version of Federico Barocci's *Aeneas and His Family Escaping from Troy* (**fig. 21.19**) that hangs today in the Galleria Borghese is one the artist produced in 1598 for Monsignor Giuliano della Rovere, a member of the ruling family of Urbino, where Barocci still lived and worked. The picture hewed very close to his first treatment of the subject, a now destroyed painting he had sent to Emperor Rudolph II in Prague in the late 1580s. The two versions were the only paintings (apart from portraits) that the devout Barocci executed during his entire career not to show a religious subject. Instead, its protagonist is the hero of Virgil's *Aeneid*, carrying his father Anchises away from the burning city of Troy. Both Giuliano and Rudolph would have understood the theme to relate to Aeneas's founding of Rome, a subject equally relevant (though in different ways) to a prelate expected to support the Roman papacy and to a ruler who understood his empire to have been "translated" from the ancient Caesars. Barocci would have needed not only to take up a subject of interest to two different people, but also a kind of painting that would function equally well in two different settings, at least one of which he had never seen.

OPPOSITE
21.20
Annibale and Agostino Carracci, vault frescoes in the Farnese Gallery, 1597–1602. Palazzo Farnese, Rome

Three Paths, *c.* 1600

The Carracci at the Palazzo Farnese

The greatest of all late sixteenth-century galleries was the one that Odoardo Farnese hired the Carracci to decorate in his family palace in Rome (**fig. 21.20**). When in 1594 Odoardo asked Ludovico Carracci and his cousins Agostino and Annibale to enter his employ, they were at the height of their success. The invitation must have caused the family to engage in real soul-searching, since it had been largely in opposition to the central Italian tradition that the painters had founded their academy in Bologna and developed their way of working; Ludovico, the head of the household, had never even been to Rome, and by design. Still, the opportunity to enter the household of one of the most powerful families in Italy, the chance to carry their idea of painting to Italy's most important center, must have been hard to resist. In the end, Annibale and Agostino decided to make the move, leaving Ludovico behind in Bologna to ensure the continuation of their academy.

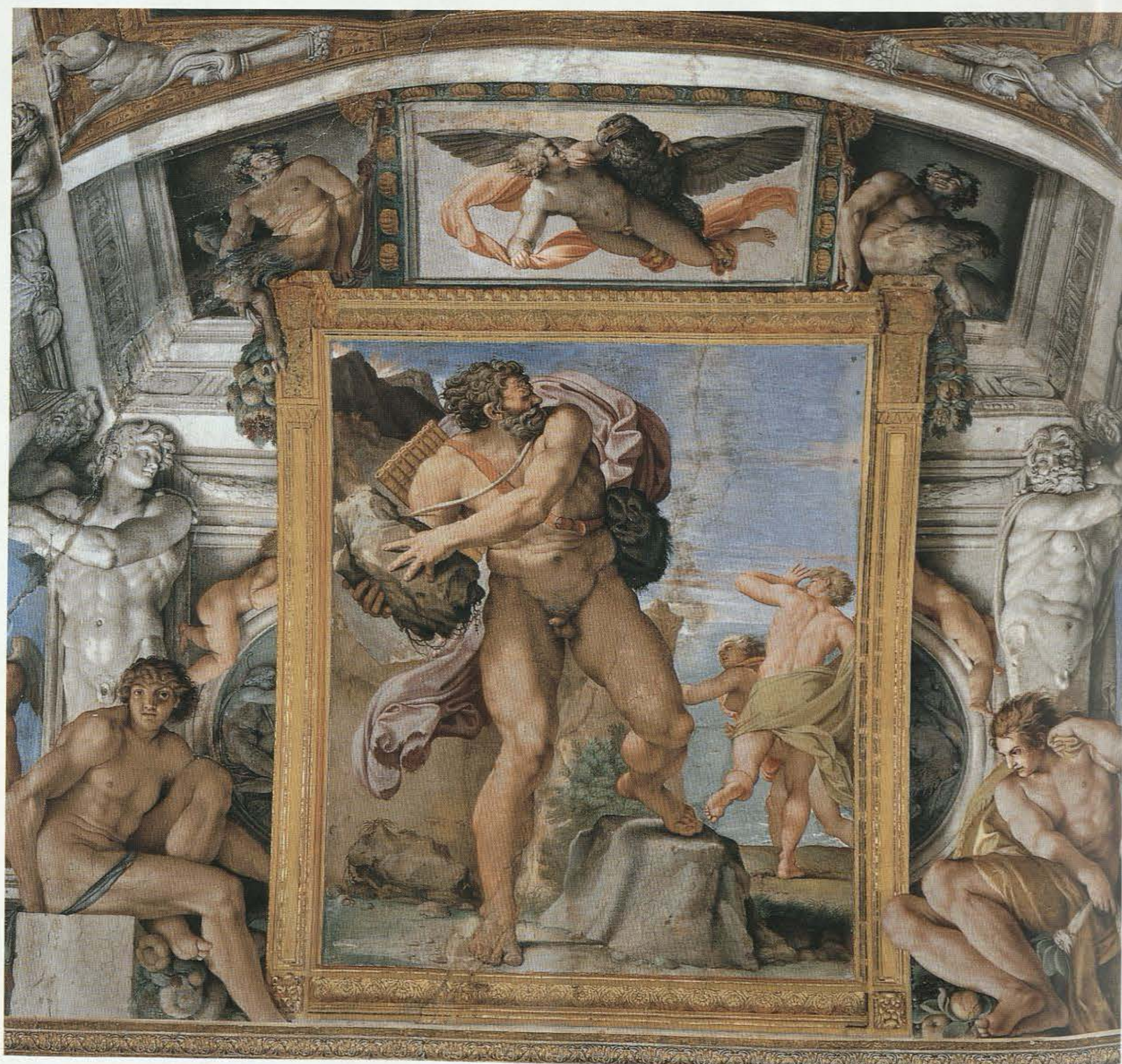
In the gallery of the Palazzo Farnese, Annibale and Agostino worked on a long vaulted ceiling. This all but required the use of fresco as their medium, though the artists began with the fiction that they were not providing architectural decorations at all, but rather hanging the framed canvasses of a painting collection in the space. This recalled the approach of Pellegrino Tibaldi in the Sala di Ulisse at the Palazzo Poggi in Bologna (*see* **fig. 17.24**), as well as the approach Michelangelo had taken on the Sistine Chapel ceiling (*see* **fig. 12.31**), where every other Genesis scene looks like a framed painting set into

the vault: indeed, the gallery's inclusion of *ignudi* and gigantic medallions makes the reference to the earlier commissions unmistakable.

Tibaldi had already made humorous reference to the Sistine Ceiling in the Palazzo Poggi, and the Carracci followed him in adapting Michelangelo to a cycle of fictional, mythological subjects. This was allowable within the private, secular space of the palace; the Carracci respected the norms of decorum to which a cardinal in particular would have had to adhere. At the same time, it permitted the painters to work with heroic nude bodies in every variety of pose and gesture. The theme the Carracci took up did not suggest a safe, reformed rehashing of Michelangelo so much as a knowing satire on their predecessor; the cycle demonstrated their ability to paint on the level of Rome's greatest artist while also insisting that Michelangelo's work not be taken so seriously.

A single leitmotif, the loves of the gods, connects all the fictive "canvasses" in the vault. The theme solicited comparison with yet a third model from earlier art, Raphael's Loggia of Psyche at the Villa Farnesina (*see* fig. 13.4); the Carracci had multiple incentives to think about this room, as the villa was just across the Tiber and had entered the possession of the Farnese family less than two decades before. In satirizing the susceptibility of even the immortals to erotic passion, the Carracci were taking up an idea Raphael had made famous and that artists since Rosso had subsequently used to make bawdy jokes about Michelangelo and his own achievement.

Some of the humor in the Farnese Gallery is purely visual. Where Michelangelo had shown a whale-sized Jonah (*see* **fig. 12.39**) leaning into the concave vault in virtuoso foreshortening, Annibale and Agostino adapted the angry Polyphemus from Raphael's Farnesina, and projected the character out into the gallery (fig. 21.21). Whereas the posture of Michelangelo's figure seemed calculated entirely to show off the illusionistic tricks of which the artist was capable, a legible action motivates the Carracci retort. (Later viewers, in fact, regarded



21.21
Annibale Carracci, *The Wrath of Polyphemus.*
Fresco. Farnese Gallery, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

21.22
Annibale Carracci, *Venus and Anchises.* Fresco. Farnese Gallery, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

21.23
Annibale Carracci, *Jupiter and Juno.* Fresco. Farnese Gallery, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

Polyphemus's pose as a virtual illustration of Leonardo's motion studies.) Whereas the Jonah seemed overscaled, Polyphemus is large because he is in fact a giant. The Carracci, in other words, rationalized their own choices – or rather, they imitated Michelangelo in such a way as to cast doubt on the rationality of his approach.

The chief irony here is that all the heroes of the gallery are shown reduced to *irrationality*, overcome by love. The Farnese traced their own family roots to the city's ancient origins, and the Carracci, like Barocci, nodded to this by taking up characters from the *Aeneid.* Rather than illustrating Aeneas's valiant rescue of his father Anchises and the beginnings of the journey that led to Rome, however, the painters went back further in time, to Aeneas's own origins in a fling between Anchises and Venus (fig. 21.22). A Latin inscription intones "whence the Latin people," as the father of all Romans undresses the love goddess and prepares her for bed. The image of Jupiter and Juno (fig. 21.23), king and queen of the gods, includes a visual commentary in the form of two accompanying birds. The peacock, Juno's standard attribute, alluringly displays her plumage while the head of Jupiter's eagle pops up between his legs. In Italian, the verb "uccellare," literally "to bird," means "to screw": the

21.24
Annibale Carracci, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1597–1602. Fresco. Farnese Gallery, Palazzo Farnese, Rome

humor here ranges from high to low, from witticisms that only those who understood Greek and Latin would pick up to gags worthy of the street.

At the center of everything, revelers lead the golden, tiger-drawn chariot of Bacchus on his return from India, his lover Ariadne at his side (fig. 21.24). Annibale's design makes a deliberate reference to Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* (*see* fig. 13.52), which had been snatched away from the Este of Ferrara when Pope Clement VIII annexed the city in 1598: the Este Bacchanals were now being displayed as gallery pictures in a residence of the Pope's family, the Aldobrandini, to whom the Farnese had allied themselves by marriage. If the *Venus and Anchises* presented a prequel of sorts to the episode from the *Aeneid* that artists tended to favor, the *Bacchus* constituted the sequel to the meeting of Titian's two lovers. The scheme is also strongly reminiscent of a triumphal procession, in the tradition of Salviati's *Furius Camillus* (*see* fig. 16.3), yet just what is the nature of the victory here? Leading the cortege, amidst a group of frenzied music makers, a donkey bears Silenus, so drunk that he must lean on an attendant for support. He looks down at a recumbent Venus in the lower right of the picture, who turns to meet his gaze. Giovanni Pietro Bellori, one of the most perceptive earlier commentators on the scene, took the exchange of glances as an allegory, a demonstration of the correspondence between drunkenness and lasciviousness.

The Carracci, young upstarts in a city where Michelangelo, though dead for three decades, remained a universal reference point, must have embraced the assignment for the opportunity it allowed them to paint in the great artist's own style. Few spaces invited such epic treatment, and the Farnese Gallery allowed them to try their hands at a grand manner that differed in mode from their down-to-earth Bolognese paintings. The humor of the scenes may distance the painters from the manner, framing the style itself more as a quotation than as an authentic individual technique. Pulling it off, however, gave evidence of their flexibility, their capacity to change the way they painted in accordance with the assignments they received.

Federico Zuccaro: Making *Disegno* Sacred

The Carracci found a kind of middle path between two other developments in late sixteenth-century painting. The fact that they drew the stories for the Farnese Gallery from literature and their imagination, borrowed heavily from earlier painting, and generally emphasized the artifice in the project moved them away from the naturalism of their earlier Bolognese practices. The groundedness they maintained even here, though, comes out if we compare the Carracci's Farnese paintings to those of the key local exponent of the Roman tradition, Federico Zuccaro.

Zuccaro was as well traveled as any artist in Europe. He had spent time in Venice in the early 1560s and had worked with his brother Taddeo (*d.* 1566) in Rome and Caprarola (*see* fig. 18.13). In the 1570s, he visited England, Spain, Antwerp, and France before coming to Florence, where he completed Vasari's paintings in the dome of the city's cathedral and began turning his own house into a work of art. After another stay in Rome, where he took over the decoration of Michelangelo's unfinished

Pauline Chapel, and a second period in Venice, where he developed a particular dislike for Tintoretto's painting (which he called bizarre, capricious, frenetic, and mad), he moved back to Madrid, where he remained three years, painting in the monastery-palace of the Escorial. He spent nearly the whole of the final decade of the century in Rome, however, and there he helped found a new painter's academy, the Accademia di San Luca.

In Florence, Zuccaro had aligned himself with the reformers, calling for the Academy there to place more emphasis on life drawing; when elected as the first president of the Academy in Rome, he set out to encourage the systematic study not just of antiquities, but also of landscapes and animal subjects. His vision of reform, nevertheless, also involved a serious interest in theoretical subjects that the Carracci never showed. A few of the lectures he gave survive in expanded, edited, printed form; the best known of these set out precisely to define the more intellectual aspects of painting, by developing an account of *disegno* of unparalleled complexity. Zuccaro distinguished what he called "internal" *disegno*, a concept formed in the mind, from "external" *disegno*, the circumscription of form without the substance of a body. We might take this starting point simply as a way of getting at the difference between an idea for a picture and a drawing for one (either of which the Italian word *disegno* might denote), but Zuccaro's explanation runs to well over one hundred pages, with lengthy digressions on such surprising topics as the nature of angels, the relation of design to morals and virtues, and the "metaphoric" designs of philosophy. All of this went far beyond Vasari's comparatively pithy way of describing the common denominator between painting, sculpture, and architecture; among other things, it acknowledged the religious dimension not just of most painterly commissions but also of the Roman Academy, which was attached to a church and had a patron saint.

Zuccaro also attempted to put his ideas into practice, or at least to translate the theory itself into visual form. Around 1593, he produced a series of twenty drawings illustrating his late brother's curriculum as a painter, from his infancy to his emergence as a major success as a young adult. A number of the drawings give the events of Taddeo's life an inflection that seems to correspond to Federico's later writings. The scene of his brother leaving home, for example, places the child in the care of two angels (fig. 21.25). This likens Taddeo's journey to that of Tobias (whom Zuccaro mentions in his discussion on "the internal design of the angel"), but also foreshadows a later scene of the boy's arrival in Rome, where he is greeted by creatures labeled "spirit," "design," and "grace" (fig. 21.26): the

FAR LEFT

21.25

Federico Zuccaro, *Taddeo Zuccaro Leaving Home, Escorted by Two Guardian Angels*, c. 1595. Pen and brown ink and brush with brown wash over black chalk and touches of red chalk on paper, 10⅞ x 10¼" (27.4 x 26 cm). Getty Museum, Los Angeles

LEFT

21.26

Federico Zuccaro, *Taddeo Zuccaro Returns to Rome, Escorted by Drawing and Spirit toward the Three Graces*, c. 1595. Pen and brown ink and brush with brown wash over black chalk and touches of red chalk on paper, 16½ x 7" (41.9 x 17.8 cm). Getty Museum, Los Angeles

21.27

Federico Zuccaro, Chapel of the Angels, Gesù, Rome, with altarpiece and other paintings also by Federico Zuccaro, 1592

21.28
Caravaggio, ***Boy with a Basket of Fruit***, c. 1593. Oil on canvas, 27⅝ x 26⅜" (70 x 67 cm). Galleria Borghese, Rome

painter's divine guides have become qualities of his art, as though it was a form of inspiration that was leading him all along. When Federico undertook a chapel for the Jesuits in the Gesù, angels were his primary subject matter: they comfort the Prodigal Son, carry Jacob's prayers to God, meditate on Christ's holy name (**fig. 21.27**). Federico must have found that the assignment lent itself perfectly to his arch-academic sensibility.

The Provocations of Caravaggio

The painter from the 1590s whom we might place at the furthest remove from Zuccaro's vision of art was Michelangelo Merisi, called "Caravaggio" (1571–1610) after the small town near Milan where his family lived: Caravaggio was said in the seventeenth century to have refused once to add angels to a painting, remarking that he had never seen an angel and so did not know how to portray them. As other early biographers remarked, Caravaggio in fact painted plenty of angels. The anecdote, however, is indicative of the way in which an artist with a virtuosic command of the Renaissance tradition came to be perceived as an iconoclast and provocateur, a reputation owing as much to his tumultuous private life as to the occasionally controversial reception of his art.

Caravaggio was born in Milan and is likely to have trained there under a former assistant of Titian named Simone Peterzano. When Caravaggio arrived in Rome, probably around 1592, he seems already to have been in his early twenties. One of his biographers claims he began his career as a portraitist, a suggestive idea given that his early Roman works are nearly all half-length compositions. Another suggests that when Caravaggio first came to Rome, he worked with a slightly older artist

21.29
Caravaggio, *Young Bacchus*, *c.* 1596. Oil on canvas, 37³/₈ x 33³/₄" (95 x 85 cm). Uffizi Gallery, Florence

who only allowed him to paint "flowers and fruits." These descriptions may or may not be reliable; they certainly seem true to Caravaggio's Milanese origins, however, and to the empirical interests that ran from Leonardo to Vincenzo Campi.

The same combination of elements appears repeatedly in Caravaggio's earliest secure paintings in Rome. A canvas from around 1593, for example, shows a *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (fig. 21.28). The subject relates to no known story or classical source, which may suggest that the work originated as a portrait or even as a self-portrait, then became a different kind of picture, one that did not call on the viewer to recognize the sitter or even the fact that the painting showed a specific individual. But what are we then to see? The boy's exposed shoulder may hint that there is more than fruit on offer here, that the primary intent of the painting is to solicit and seduce the viewer. Then again, this is precisely the kind of picture that early critics had in mind when describing Caravaggio's uncompromising naturalism. Perhaps the painter described what he saw in the mirror; perhaps he had a model pose for him. Either way, the impression is not, as it was with the Carracci, of an artist going out to find new subjects on the street, but of a man engaged by the contents of his own studio. Even the lighting adds to this effect: painters tended to favor studios with high windows and adjustable apertures, so as to be able to control the illumination of the subjects they studied: Caravaggio's scene seems to have been set in just such a space.

A painting from about three years later includes similar motifs: a young man with exposed shoulder, a basket of fruit, a blank, dark, interior setting (fig. 21.29). The glass of wine the subject holds and the grape leaves in his hair suggest that this time Caravaggio was taking up

a conventional subject – Bacchus – though the painter approached that character very much in the way he had his earlier one. The invitation this time is explicit: Bacchus holds the bow binding closed his robe with one hand while offering the viewer a drink. It is as though Caravaggio has taken the association between wine and love that Annibale Carracci placed at the center of the Farnese ceiling (*see* fig. 21.24) and turned their effects directly on the painting's beholder. Or is there, in this case, too, another explanation for this gesture? If Caravaggio painted the picture before a mirror, he would have seen his left hand (reversed) holding the palette close to his body while his right, with the brush, reached toward the canvas (the dirty fingernails also suggest a craftsman at work). Here, too, there is a strong sense of disguise, of a painting based on a controlled rendering of models set before the artist's eyes that a substitution of attributes has transformed into something else.

Paintings like these shocked contemporary viewers, not so much for their eroticism as for their directness. Critics attacked Caravaggio for treating the human body no differently than the still-life elements in the foreground of his pictures. Bellori, a great partisan of the Carracci, wrote: "with no regard whatever, but rather with disdain for the superb marbles of the ancients and the paintings of Raphael which are so celebrated, he took nature alone as the subject of his brush. Thus when he was shown the most famous statues of Phidias and Glycon so that he might base his studies on them, his only answer was to gesture toward a crowd of people, indicating that nature had provided him with masters enough." As we have seen, the Bolognese and to an increasing extent the Florentines, too, had pursued life studies, occasionally in controlled studio environments, like those that provided the basis for Caravaggio's paintings. For anyone coming out of the academies, however, the idea of using such life studies to the exclusion of the inherited canons of beauty was completely alien. Unlike his major contemporaries, Caravaggio does not seem to have been a committed draftsman; this placed him in radical opposition to the Florentine principle that painting should derive from *disegno*, but it also distanced him from the Carracci, who regarded drawing not only as a path to naturalism but also as a means of understanding the ways of their predecessors.

Bellori, in writing what he did, was thinking in particular about a subject Caravaggio painted in two versions, *The Fortune Teller* (fig. 21.30). He explained the picture this way: "[Caravaggio] called out to a gypsy woman who chanced to be passing in the street and,

21.30
Caravaggio, *The Fortune Teller*, c. 1596–97. Oil on canvas, 39 x 51½" (99 x 131 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

taking her to his lodgings, he portrayed her in the act of telling fortunes.... He made a young man there with one gloved hand on his sword, offering the other one bare to the woman, which she holds and examines." The specification that Caravaggio took a gypsy "to his lodgings" rehearses the claim that the painter worked only inside his own studio. Still, such a description as this mischaracterizes the painting to make its point. The woman in Caravaggio's picture hardly looks like a woman taken in from the street: it is difficult to distinguish her class from that of the dandy she is with. Then there is the question of just what she is doing. Bellori's inference, that she is reading his palm, has given the picture its traditional title, though her gaze and the suggestive hilt of the dandy's sword make this, like the *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* and the *Bacchus*, look like one more image of seduction. Some later followers of Caravaggio, moreover, working in other centers, seem to have remembered the picture as an image of a woman stealing a man's ring. Is the theme here, as it seemed to be in Caravaggio's earlier pictures of costumed boys, nothing other than deception? One contemporary, praising the picture in verse, took the deceit in the picture as a metaphor for the painter's illusionary skills: "I don't know which is the greater sorceress," he wrote, "The woman, who dissembles,/Or you, who painted her."

Caravaggio and the Church

By the turn of the century, Caravaggio had made himself famous enough through pictures of this sort that he began receiving commissions for altarpieces. In this task, the perception that his paintings involved common, unidealized reality sometimes served him well: his paintings

21.31
Caravaggio, *Basket of Fruit*, 1597. Oil on canvas, 12¼ x 18½" (31 x 47 cm). Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan

for churches appeared to address the most humble members of a congregation. Still, if the Counter-Reformation principle of decorum implied that artists should change the way they painted when moving between sacred and secular material, Caravaggio ignored that, to the extent that it is sometimes difficult to place his paintings decisively in one or another category. At least one of his altarpieces, rejected by its patron, entered a private collection, where its new owner – Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua – treated it as a gallery painting. Conversely, a *c.* 1597 painting that appears to extract a regular element from his earlier secular works served a prelate as a devotional image.

The *Basket of Fruit* (**fig. 21.31**) was acquired, perhaps even commissioned, by Cardinal Federico Borromeo. The nephew of Carlo Borromeo (*see* p. 558), Federico was the archbishop of Milan, and he had actively supported Federico Zuccaro in his effort to found an artists' academy in Rome. (Borromeo would go on to found an art academy of his own, known as the Ambrosiana, in Milan, where his rich collection was placed at the disposal of young artists.) A great bibliophile who assembled one of the most important libraries of his time, the archbishop also became a prolific writer, penning over one hundred books, a number of them on the arts. As a patron of painting, he turned his eye not only to Italian artists but also to northerners, notably Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625). Borromeo practiced outdoor prayer so as to have immediate contact with divine rather than human creations, and his written theology involved a sense of God's glory being manifest in all living creatures; he seems to have had a particular interest in the landscape and genre pictures in which Flemish painters had come to specialize. The same tastes and devotional orientations seem to have led him to Caravaggio, whose *Basket of Fruit* represents the first independent still-life painting made by an Italian artist in Italy. Its blank background invites meditation on the details of the composition: the wilting, drying leaves provide a reminder of the transience of life; the worm-eaten apple does this too, but it is also evidence of the smallest, most humble living creatures. We are as far as we can get here from Michelangelo: Caravaggio rejects both his exclusive focus on the human form and his belief that art must represent things only in their most perfect state.

Caravaggio received his first public commission in 1598, when he was charged with providing two canvasses to adorn the walls of a chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi, the French national church in Rome. That the commission went to Caravaggio at all is surprising, given that he had no experience in producing large-scale works or representations of religious narrative, the true test of a painter's worth in Renaissance Italy. The patron, long deceased, was the French cardinal Mathieu Cointrel (known as Contarelli), who had provided money and detailed instructions for a cycle of paintings concerning his name saint, Matthew, in a testament of 1585. As the Holy Year of 1600 approached, the cardinal's executors pressed to have the work completed; Caravaggio's protector, Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, lived nearby, and he may have intervened on the painter's behalf.

21.32
Caravaggio, *Calling of St. Matthew*, 1599. Oil on canvas, 10'6¾" x 11'3½" (3.22 x 3.4 m). Contarelli Chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome

The *Calling of St. Matthew* (**fig. 21.32**), made for the chapel's left wall, departs in startling ways from the conventions of Renaissance narrative painting even as it casts a retrospective eye on the tradition examined in this book. To the left, a group of men and boys are gathered around a table laden with coins (Matthew was a tax collector before being called by Christ). Caravaggio's characters, dressed in emphatically contemporary clothing, seem to refer to his own earlier images of gypsies, alluring youths, card players, and Roman lowlife; he arranges them casually in the raking light of a sparsely furnished room, as if staging the ensemble in his own studio. Emerging from the shadows beneath the beam of light appear a haloed Christ and St. Peter, barely visible yet entirely recognizable in their costume and gesture from the previous three centuries of sacred narrative since Giotto. Caravaggio has treated Christ's pointing hand with extraordinary deliberation. We have seen this hand before: in fact, it merges the creating hand of God with that of the newly formed

Adam in Michelangelo's Sistine *Creation of Adam* (*see* fig. 12.32), thus signaling the dual human and divine nature of Christ, the New Adam. The contemporary clothes might initially make us wonder which of the older men at the table is supposed to be the saint, but Caravaggio erases our puzzlement with an art-historical allusion: the face and gesture of the bearded figure who responds to Christ's gesture by pointing to himself are based on Ghiberti's statue of St. Matthew at Orsanmichele in Florence (*see* fig. 3.9).

In the chapel's facing image, which depicts Matthew's martyrdom during a baptismal ceremony, Caravaggio has constructed a typically Renaissance pyramidal composition, largely of nudes (fig. 21.33). The composition pivots on the athletic figure of Matthew's assassin, modeled directly on a classical sculpture known as the *Discobolos* (Discus Thrower). The darkness and the simplicity of the setting, with the plain cross on the altar, indicates that Caravaggio – fully in the spirit of many Roman patrons in these years – was envisioning an Early Christian context, as if the event were even taking place in the catacombs. Yet the figures in contemporary costume once again intrude. One of them – the bearded man who turns to look back at the scene of violence – is a self-portrait of the artist.

21.33
Caravaggio, *Martyrdom of St. Matthew*, 1599. Oil on canvas, 10'7" x 11'3" (3.23 x 3.43 m). Contarelli Chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome

Caravaggio, in other words, throws into relief what had by now emerged as the central problem of Renaissance art and its chief creative dynamic: how to create an art that was self-consciously modern and of its time, while at the same time knowingly dependent on and in dialogue with the art of the past. For Caravaggio and his generation, that past was no longer only – as it had been for artists a century earlier – the art of classical antiquity, nor was it only the art of the earliest Christian tradition. For these artists, Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, and the High Renaissance "canon" themselves belonged to an increasingly remote past. Whereas Zuccaro and the Carracci would present this relation in terms of harmony, Caravaggio preferred tension and disruption: Michelangelesque poses and gestures seem incongruous – and hence are more striking – when performed by unidealized models in a humble contemporary setting. Zuccaro was dismissive of the Contarelli paintings, declaring that they were no more than exercises in the manner of Giorgione. For Zuccaro, probably mindful of the painter's training with a follower of Titian, Caravaggio's refusal to abide by the academic principles of *disegno* meant that he was to be lumped in with the tradition of descriptive naturalism associated with Venetian *colore*. Yet Zuccaro may have insufficiently appreciated the depth of Caravaggio's relation to Tuscan *disegno*. Caravaggio's attention to Michelangelo in particular was charged by the fact that he shared the same first name with the distinguished Florentine. It is as if he – not unlike Annibale Carracci in the Farnese Gallery – wanted to be the Michelangelo of his time, but knew the impossibility of doing Michelangelo "over again."

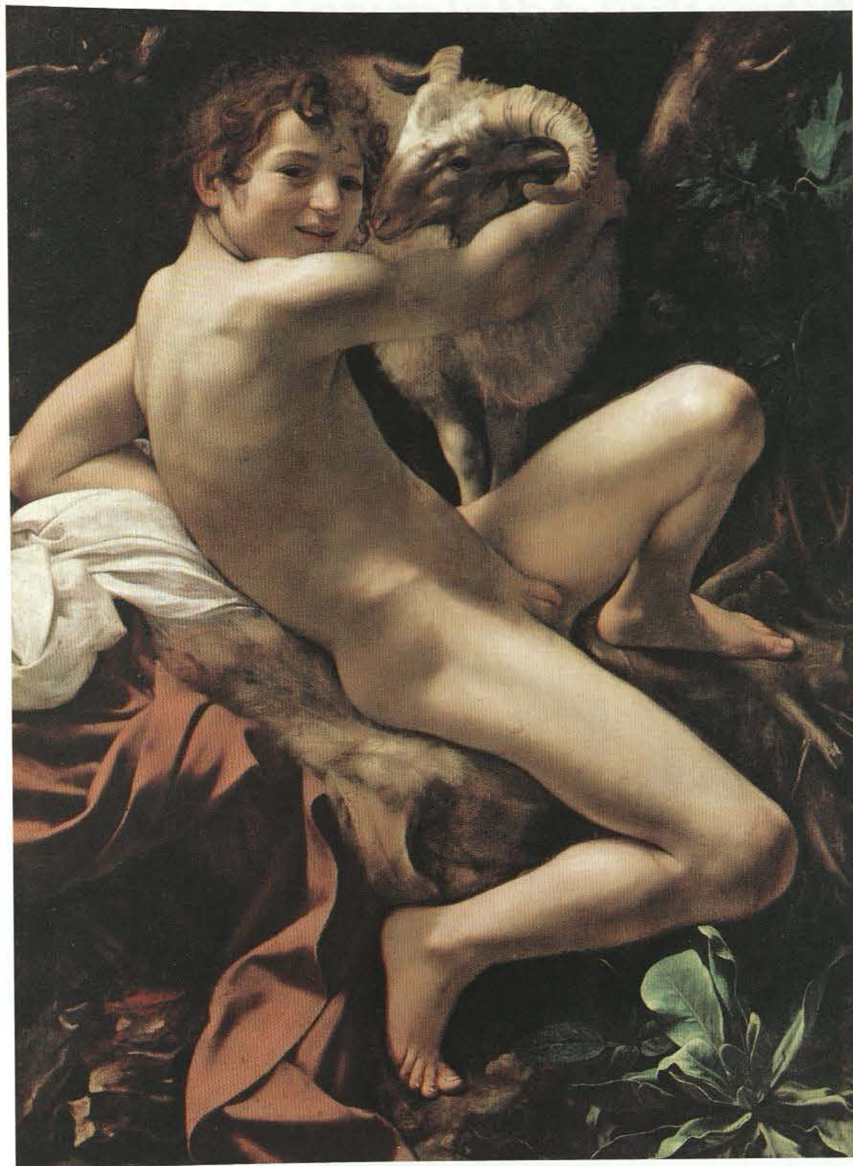
The same principle of agonistic identification is at work in a gallery picture executed around 1600 for the banker Ciriaco Mattei (fig. 21.34). Caravaggio depicted a sacred subject – St. John in the Wilderness – in decidedly profane terms: the saint, who mockingly confronts us with his nude body while caressing a ram, could well pass for a shepherd boy, and thus as a lyric subject in the tradition of Giorgione. Yet Caravaggio has his figure adopt the pose of one of Michelangelo's *ignudi* from the Sistine Ceiling. This, again like the Carracci paintings in the Farnese Gallery, may be a satire of the idealizing claims of Michelangelo's art, pointing to its less than ideal basis in fleshly reality. Working through Michelangelo's inventions, even as he distanced himself from the earlier artist's principles, allowed Caravaggio to clarify the things that defined his own art. Such self-definition was of interest to his clients as well, though this particular patron – with whom Caravaggio had a particular connection, since he was living at the time in a Mattei palace – may have enjoyed one additional layer of reference. In alluding to the Sistine *ignudi*, Caravaggio selected a pose that also resembled that of the nude youths on the fountain in the Piazza Mattei (*see* fig. 19.33).

After 1600

If the Carracci forged their own surprising pictorial idiom by turning a specifically north Italian conception of naturalism against the beautiful but overly abstruse art that had come to predominate in central Italy, Caravaggio may finally seem to have turned the same strategy against them. The Carracci were concerned with the everyday, but once in Rome they also embraced the lessons of Michelangelo and Raphael. As Caravaggio replaced Vasari as their true foil, followers began to see the Carracci as something else: a modern form of classicism, the Roman manner as such. Caravaggio's own greatest impact, for its part, would be felt elsewhere, his most important successors being the Neapolitans, Frenchmen, and Dutch who only visited Rome before establishing bases back home.

Today, it is Caravaggio rather than the Carracci who is claimed as a forebear both by artists and by historians writing the history of modernity in art. Be that as it may, Caravaggio is not the only pathway between the Renaissance and the art of modern times. Such a role could also be claimed by Zuccaro, whose metaphysically refashioned theory of *disegno* anticipates a deep vein of preoccupation with the spiritual and the infinite in the art of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, from Vassily Kandinsky to Mark Rothko and beyond. And Caravaggio shared with the Carracci the goal of speaking a language that was the proper domain of art, but that also resonated within the conditions of ordinary life: the Dadaists, Pop artists, and numerous practitioners since have still been exploring the same territory.

Sometimes, this embrace of the interests that marked the end of the period covered in our book comes across as part of a general repudiation of earlier values and goals. Modernism, on this account, defines itself against the Renaissance. Writing in the 1840s, for example, the English art critic and Italophile John Ruskin sought to demolish Vasari's view of the history of art, in which sixteenth-century Venetians and Florentines had played the central role. In Ruskin's highly influential account, Italian art from Raphael onward represented a descent into over-sophisticated decadence; modern artists, he thought, should therefore look to the directness and unaffected primitive purity of such earlier artists as Giotto and Giovanni Bellini. These were qualities that Caravaggio and to a certain extent the Carracci were already after, and views like Ruskin's have proved surprisingly resilient: an exhibition devoted to early Raphael can break records for attendance, whereas one on Bronzino or Tintoretto has rather less chance of doing so. Christianity, social privilege, painstaking craftsmanship, perspectival illusion, paintings that simulate sculpture and sculpture that adopts painterly conventions, beauty even – Renaissance art has come to define a series of values that successive waves of modern artists have dedicated themselves to overthrowing.



21.34
Caravaggio, ***St. John in the Wilderness*, c. 1600.** Oil on canvas, 50¾" x 37" (129 x 94 cm). Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome

Some recent critics have worried about the lack of constraint or limit in the sphere of contemporary art practice, and this was also a problem for artists who grew up under the shadow of Michelangelo. Yet at the end of the sixteenth century, generational and regional conflict gave sustenance to art theory and practice. The idea that art could address not only a series of critical problems but also public and private concerns is a defining feature of the Renaissance and an essential part of its legacy.

Chronology of Rule 1400–1450 Key Centers

Rulers and Forms of Government	1400 – 1445
Ferrara *D'Este; Marquesses until 1471, then Dukes*	Niccolo III d'Este 1393–1441 Leonello d'Este 1441–50
Florence *Republic, dominated from 1434 by Medici; Dukes 1532–69, then Grand Dukes*	Elected Republic, headed by a council called the "Signoria," with new elections every two months Cosimo de' Medici, though holding no official title, controls the government 1434–64
Mantua *Gonzaga; Marquesses until 1530, then Dukes*	Gianfrancesco Gonzaga 1407–44
Milan *Visconti Dukes until 1447; Sforza Dukes until 1524*	Giovanni Maria Visconti 1402–12 Filippo Maria Visconti 1412–47 Ambrosian Republic 1447–50
Naples *Angevin Kings until 1442; then Aragonese Kings*	Ladislas of Durazzo 1400–14 Giovanna II 1414–35 René of Anjou 1435–42 Alfonso I of Aragon 1442–58
Rome *Popes*	John XXIII 1410–15 and two other claimants Martin V 1417–31 Eugenius IV 1431–47 Nicholas V 1447–55
Urbino *Montefeltro; Counts until 1474, then Dukes*	Guido Antonio di Montelfeltro 1404–43 Oddantonio di Montefeltro 1443–44 Federico II di Montefeltro 1444–82
Venice *Doges*	Michele Steno 1400–13 Tommaso Mocenigo 1414–23 Francesco Foscari 1423–57
Holy Roman Emperors	Rupert III 1400–10 Sigismund 1410–1437 Albert II 1438–39 Frederick III 1440–93
Key Events	1406: Venice annexes Padua 1409: King Ladislas of Naples takes Rome and Papal States 1417: Council of Constance elects Martin V 1433: Cosimo de' Medici banished from Florence 1435: Alberti writes *On Painting* 1438–39: Council of Ferrara-Florence 1440: Forgery of *Donation of Constantine* exposed 1443: Alfonso of Aragon takes Naples

Chronology of Rule 1450–1500 *Key Centers*

1450	1455	1460	1465	1470	1475	1480	1485	1490	1495	Rulers and Forms of Government

Rulers	Rulers and Forms of Government
Borso d'Este 1450–71; Ercole I d'Este 1471–1505	**Ferrara** *D'Este; Marquesses until 1471, then Dukes*
Lorenzo "the Magnificent" 1469–92; Piero de' Medici 1464–69; Piero the Younger 1492–94; Florentine Republic 1494–1512; Followers of Savonarola 1494–98	**Florence** *Republic, dominated from 1434 by Medici; Dukes 1532–69, then Grand Dukes*
Federico I Gonzaga 1478–84; Ludovico Gonzaga 1444–78; Francesco Gonzaga 1484–1519	**Mantua** *Gonzaga; Marquesses until 1530, then Dukes*
Francesco Sforza 1450–66; Giangaleazzo Sforza 1476–94; Galeazzo Maria Sforza 1466–76; Ludovico "il Moro" 1494–99; King Louis XII of France 1499–1500	**Milan** *Visconti Dukes until 1447; Sforza Dukes until 1524*
Ferrante I 1458–94; Alfonso II 1494–95; Ferrante II/ Charles VIII of France 1495; Ferrante II 1495–96; Federico 1496–1501	**Naples** *Angevin Kings until 1442; then Aragonese Kings*
Calixtus III 1455–58; Paul II 1464–71; Innocent VIII 1484–92; Pius II 1458–64; Sixtus IV 1471–84; Alexander VI 1492–1503	**Rome** *Popes*
Guidobaldo I di Montefeltro 1482–1508	**Urbino** *Montefeltro; Counts until 1474, then Dukes*
Niccolo Tron 1471–73; Marco Barbarigo 1485–86; Agostino Barbarigo 1486–1501; Niccolo Marcello 1473–74; Pasquale Malipiero 1457–62; Pietro Mocenigo 1474–76; Cristoforo Moro 1462–71; Andrea Vendramin 1476–78; Giovanni Mocenigo 1478–85	**Venice** *Doges*
Maximilian I 1493–1519	**Holy Roman Emperors**
1453: Ottomans take Constantinople; 1454: Peace of Lodi; 1465: First printing press in Italy; 1475: Vatican Library established by Sixtus IV; 1478: Pazzi conspiracy against the Medici; 1491: Girolamo Savonarola becomes Prior at San Marco in Florence; 1494: Charles VIII invades Italy	**Key Events**

Chronology of Rule 1500–1550 Key Centers

Rulers and Forms of Government	1500 · 1505 · 1510 · 1515 · 1520 · 1525 · 1530 · 1535 · 1540 · 1545
Ferrara *D'Este; Marquesses until 1471, then Dukes*	Alfonso I 1505–34 Ercole II 1534–59
Florence *Republic, dominated from 1434 by Medici; Dukes 1532–69, then Grand Dukes*	Piero Soderini, elected "Gonfaloniere" for life 1502 Medici-controlled government under Giovanni de' Medici 1512–13 Giuliano de' Medici 1513 Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino 1513–19 Cardinal Giulio 1519–23 Ippolito and Alessandro 1523–27 "Last Republic" 1527–30 Alessandro, first Duke of Florence 1530–37 Cosimo I 1537–74 (Duke until 1569, Grand Duke thereafter)
Mantua *Gonzaga; Marquesses until 1530, then Dukes*	Federico II 1519–40 Francesco III 1530–50
Milan *Visconti Dukes until 1447; Sforza Dukes until 1524*	Ludovico "il Moro" 1500 King Louis XII 1500–12 Massimiliano Sforza 1512–15 King Francis I of France 1515–21 Francesco II Sforza 1521–24 King Francis I 1525 Imperial Viceroys after 1525, including Ferrante Gonzaga 1546–55
Naples *Angevin Kings until 1442; then Aragonese Kings*	Spanish Rule Louis I 1501–03 Imperial Viceroys after 1503, including Pedro Álvarez de Toledo 1532–53
Rome *Popes*	Pius III 1503 Julius II 1503–13 Leo X 1513–21 Adrian VI 1522–23 Clement VII 1523–34 Paul III 1534–49
Urbino *Montefeltro; Counts until 1474, then Dukes*	Cesare Borgia 1502–03 Francesco Maria della Rovere 1508–16 Lorenzo de' Medici 1516–19 Papal Rule 1519–20 Francesco Maria I della Rovere 1521–38 Guidobaldo II della Rovere 1538–74
Venice *Doges*	Leonardo Loredan 1501–21 Antonio Grimani 1521–23 Andrea Gritti 1523–38 Pietro Lando 1539–45 Francesco Donato 1545–53
Holy Roman Emperors	Charles V 1519–58
Key Events	1509: League of Cambrai formed 1517: Martin Luther posts his 95 theses 1520: Papal condemnation of Luther 1524: French defeat at Battle of Pavia 1527: Sack of Rome by imperial forces 1528: Andrea Doria effective leader of Genoa 1529: Siege of Florence 1530: Charles V crowned by in Bologna 1540: Foundation of the Jesuits (Society of Jesus) 1545: First Session of the Council of Trent

Chronology of Rule 1550–1600 Key Centers

1550 | 1555 | 1560 | 1565 | 1570 | 1575 | 1580 | 1585 | 1590 | 1595

Rulers and Forms of Government		Rulers 1550–1600
Ferrara	*D'Este; Marquesses until 1471, then Dukes*	Alfonso II 1559–97; Papal Rule 1597–
Florence	*Republic, dominated from 1434 by Medici; Dukes 1532–69, then Grand Dukes*	Francesco de' Medici regent 1564–74; Francesco 1574–87; Ferdinando I 1587–1609
Mantua	*Gonzaga; Marquesses until 1530, then Dukes*	Guglielmo 1550–87; Vincenzo I 1587–1612
Milan	*Visconti Dukes until 1447; Sforza Dukes until 1524*	Imperial Viceroys after 1555
Naples	*Angevin Kings until 1442; then Aragonese Kings*	Imperial Viceroys after 1553
Rome	*Popes*	Julius III 1550–55; Marcellus II 1555; Paul IV 1555–59; Pius IV 1559–65; Pius V 1566–72; Gregory XIII 1572–85; Sixtus V 1585–90; Urban VII 1590; Gregory XIV 1590–91; Innocent IX 1591; Clement VIII 1592–1605
Urbino	*Montefeltro; Counts until 1474, then Dukes*	Francesco Maria II della Rovere 1574–1621
Venice	*Doges*	Antonio Trevisan 1553–54; Francesco Venier 1554–56; Lorenzo Priuli 1556–59; Girolamo Priuli 1559–67; Pietro Loredano 1567–70; Alvise Mocenigo 1570–77; Sebastiano Venier 1577–78; Niccolo da Ponte 1578–85; Pasquale Cicogna 1585–95; Marin Grimani 1595–1605
Holy Roman Emperors		Ferdinand I 1558–64; Maximilian II 1564–76; Rudolf II 1576–1612

Key Events

1550: Vasari publishes first edition of *Lives of the Artists*
1556: Philip II succeeds Charles I (Emperor Charles V) as King of Spain (rules until 1598)
1562: Foundation of the Accademia del Disegno in Florence
1563: Final decrees of the Council of Trent
1565: Carlo Borromeo moves to Milan
1571: Battle of Lepanto
1577: Founding of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome

Glossary

acanthus classical architectural ornament in the form of stylized spiny foliage, used in friezes and Corinthian capitals.

aedicule from the Latin *aedicula* meaning "little temple" or shrine; a classicizing framing device consisting of paired columns or pilasters supporting a pediment.

all'antica Italian; "in the ancient manner."

apse in church architecture, the semidomed recess opening behind the high altar, or sometimes housing the high altar, usually at the east end of the structure.

architrave see **entablature**.

arriccio Italian; coarse layer of plaster, the first to be applied to the wall in the *fresco* painting process.

avant-garde "frontline" or "vanguard"; term normally used with reference to Modern Art to designate groundbreaking or pioneering achievement.

azurite crystals of decayed copper ore ground to produce a blue pigment: the cheaper alternative to *ultramarine*.

baldachin, *baldacchino* a canopy carried in processions or placed over the altar to honor the thing or person beneath; also, a permanent architectural structure made in the form of such a canopy.

baptistery a chapel or free-standing structure – often vaulted and centralized – in which the ritual of baptism is celebrated.

barrel vault an arched masonry ceiling.

basilica the most characteristic form of church design in the Middle Ages, adapted from the large Roman public building type of the same name used to house civic and legal business. A basilica is normally rectangular in plan, with a central nave divided by rows of columns or arches from paired side aisles, a second nave-like space running perpendicular to this and known as a transept, and an apse to designate the sacred precinct of the altar.

Benedictine Order the first of all monastic orders, founded in adherence to the rules of prayer and discipline composed by St. Benedict for the community he established at Monte Cassino south of Rome in 529 CE. During the Middle Ages and Renaissance, a number of other Orders followed versions of the Benedictine Rule: Camaldolese, Cassinese, Cistercians, Foglianti, Olivetans, and Sylvestrines.

Black Death the pandemic that devastated the populations of Europe and Asia in the 1340s, apparently borne from the Crimea to Genoa and other Italian port cities in merchant ships. The horrifying symptoms have been associated since the nineteenth century with the disease known as "bubonic plague," but some scholars consider the evidence for identifying this with the 1340s and later outbreaks to be inconclusive. (Modern bubonic plague kills animals as well as humans, and no fourteenth-century source records animal deaths.) Recurrences of "plague" are thought to have reduced the population of Europe by as much as two-thirds by 1420.

bole red clay substance applied to a panel painting as an adhesive for gold leaf.

burin in printmaking, the metal tool used to engrave a design into a metal plate.

buttress in architecture, a segment of arch or a heavy pier erected, usually on the exterior of the building, to counter the lateral thrust of a tall vault or dome.

Byzantine pertaining to the sphere of cultural influence of the Byzantine empire, centered in Byzantium (the ancient city of Constantinople, modern Istanbul) until the Ottoman conquest of 1453.

campanile Italian; the bell tower of a church. From ***campanile*** comes the term *campanilismo*, competitive pride in one's own city.

campo the Italian word for "field," used in some cities (notably Venice) to designate a public square.

Carmine the Carmelite friary in an Italian city. Carmine is the Italian for Mt. Carmel, the site in Sinai that the Carmelite Order claimed as its ancient place of origin.

cartoon from the Italian *cartone*, meaning "large sheet of paper." A full-scale drawing for a painting or tapestry, either for details (heads, hands) or for the entire composition. Cartoons for paintings allowed the transfer of the design from paper to picture surface by the process of **pouncing.**

cassone (pl. *cassoni*) Italian; a large wooden chest used as household furnishing, often richly ornamented with painted or carved decoration. Families would present well-to-do brides with *cassoni*, which would contain textiles and other luxury items identified as the bride's personal property.

cella Latin; the main enclosed space of an ancient Roman temple.

cenotaph a memorial to the dead, often in the form of a tomb, though not at an actual site of burial.

chasing the process of finishing a cast metal artifact using small chisels.

chiaroscuro Italian term meaning "bright-dark," referring to the handling of light and shadow contrasts in painting to achieve modeling or atmosphere.

choir the sacred precinct of a church, often separated by steps, a rail, or screen from the main public congregation space and containing the principal altar. In the churches attached to houses of religious orders, the clergy normally assembled for Mass and other offices in this area. These offices were generally sung, hence the modern sense of the word "choir."

Cinquecento Italian; the 1500s.

classical pertaining to ancient Greek and Roman culture.

clerestory in church architecture, a zone with windows in the upper part of a wall.

clypeus Latin; in Roman monumental and funerary sculpture, a round, shield-like frame usually carried by a pair of spirits or angels and enclosing a portrait or half-length likeness.

coffer in architecture, a module in a wooden ceiling or concrete vault defined by a recessed square panel. Originally in ancient Roman architecture coffering served to lighten the weight of the vault; Renaissance coffering was often primarily decorative.

colonnette slender column employed especially in Gothic architecture.

comune (pl. *comuni*) Italian term usually translated as "commonwealth," referring to a city as a governmental or administrative entity.

commensuration "measuring together"; the principle of carrying consistent proportions through a large architectural design or across a representation in perspective.

Composite order see **Orders, classical.**

condottiere (pl. *condottieri*) Italian; the leader of a mercenary company.

confraternity a religious organization for lay people, usually devoted to a saint, to the Virgin, or to the Eucharist, which assembled for prayer and for the organization of charitable works at a designated altar in a church or in its own headquarters. The charitable works might be on behalf of the confraternity's own members or the local poor; some confraternities escorted the Eucharist to the bedside of persons nearing death; others prepared condemned criminals for execution. Some (*disciplinati*) devoted themselves to such penitential exercises as self-flagellation. Most Italian Christian men in this period were members of at least one confraternity; membership of some confraternities (such as the larger Venetian *scuole*) carried social distinction and influence.

contrapposto Italian term referring to the principle of antithesis, or the juxtaposition of opposites. In Renaissance art, forms of *contrapposto* (placing near next to far, large next to small, light next to dark, etc.) constituted a basic compositional technique. Modern writers on classical statuary have also used the term to designate weight shift in a figure, where the body resting on one leg produces an asymmetrical arrangement in the other parts.

Conventual see **Mendicant Orders.**

Corinthian see **Orders, classical.**

cornice see **entablature.**

crenellation a low wall on the top of a defensive structure, comprising alternating screens to provide cover for bowmen and artillery and open spaces (crenels) through which they could shoot.

cruciform in the form of a cross; often used with reference to the ground plan of a church.

cupola a dome.

dome a convex ceiling, usually covered by a concave roof. Domes may rest on a cylindrical or polygonal structure known as a drum, as in the case of Florence Cathedral. More commonly, as in the case of Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy, the dome rests on four curved triangular vaults known as **pendentives,** which serve as transitions to the planar surface of the supporting walls below.

Dominican see **Mendicant Orders.**

Doric see **Orders, classical.**

drum see **dome.**

duomo from the Latin *domus*, "house," the term used in many Italian cities for the cathedral.

embossed adorned with a raised abstract pattern.

entablature in classical architecture, the sequence of horizontal elements supported by the columns. Each order has a characteristic set of entablature forms: the most basic, that of the Doric, comprises the **architrave,** a simple lintel or beam that sits directly on the columns; the frieze, a band decorated with square panels of ornament (the fluted **triglyph** alternating with the plain **metope**); and above this, the pronounced molding known as the **cornice.**

Etruscan pertaining to the ancient civilization that dominated large parts of Italy, notably Tuscany, before the rise of Rome.

Eucharist in the Mass, the real presence of the body of Christ manifest in the forms of consecrated bread and wine.

ex-voto an offering made in fulfillment of a vow.

fluting decorative vertical grooves incised in a column or pilaster.

foreshortening abbreviating the lines or forms that represent such an element as a body or limb to create the illusion that it projects outward toward the viewer; considered one of the chief "difficulties" of painting.

Franciscan see **Mendicant Orders.**

fresco Italian; technique of mural painting where paint is applied to wet or "fresh" plaster, as distinct from painting onto plaster that is dry (*secco*). See the fuller description in chapter 5.

gesso a coating of plaster and animal glue forming a smooth white surface for painting.

giornata (pl. *giornate*) Italian; a day's work on a fresco painting. See the fuller description in chapter 5.

Gothic term applied beginning in the eighteenth century to a style principally of architecture that arose in the area of Paris in the mid 1100s, characterized by pointed arches, rib vaults, and flying buttresses, as well as a repertoire of foliate ornament manifest above all in tracery patterns. The term is also applied to painting, sculpture, and decorative arts from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries that show comparable qualities of linear enrichment, fine detail, and elongated proportions.

grisaille a painting in monochrome.

groin vault the intersection of two perpendicular barrel-vaults.

guild an organization representing and regulating a particular trade or profession. A guild licensed the training and certification of professionals, determined who had the right to practice in its area or jurisdiction, and supervised the conduct of its members.

hatching in drawing and painting, the technique of providing shading through minute parallel strokes of the pen or brush.

herm in classical and classicizing architecture, a figure that becomes a pillar from the waist down.

Holy Roman Empire a federation initially of Germanic peoples that separated from the Carolingian Empire (the lands conquered by Charlemagne, 742–814, and his descendants) in the early tenth century and elected a common ruler. By the reign of Emperor Charles V (1519–1558), it comprised not only these territories but also Spain, Burgundy (the modern Netherlands and Belgium

as well as eastern France), and Bohemia (the modern Czech Republic).

humanist a scholar of classical languages and culture; by the late fifteenth century, humanism designated the study of the *studia humanitatis* ("humane studies") comprising poetry, rhetoric, history, philosophy, and all fields covered by classical authorities.

icon an image of a saint, the Virgin, or Christ, sometimes believed to be of miraculous origin, venerated through prayer and meditation.

iconoclast a defacer of images.

iconography the art-historical practice of identifying the "subject matter" of a work; also, the collection of familiar characteristics through which a particular subject can be identified.

indigo purple dye extracted from a shellfish known as *murex*.

indulgences reductions in the time the dead must spend suffering in Purgatory before ascending to Paradise. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Christians could acquire indulgences by undertaking prescribed pious actions, such as making a pilgrimage to particular holy sites, by venerating specific relics or images, by reciting certain prayers, or by donating money and property to the Church.

intarsia Italian; decorative wood inlay; marquetry.

intonaco see *fresco*.

Ionic see **Orders, classical.**

Istrian stone white marble from the region of Istria near Trieste in the eastern Veneto.

jamb the lateral, vertical part of a doorway.

keystone the central wedge-shaped stone in an arch; the keystone acts as a lock holding the other stones of the arch together.

lantern architectural element surmounting a dome; the weight of the lantern allowed it to serve the structural function of a **keystone**, though the word refers to the fact that it was through the lantern that light entered the building interior below.

lapis lazuli blue semi-precious stone mined in Afghanistan, used in inlay work and in finely ground form as the basis for the pigment ultramarine.

leadpoint see **metalpoint.**

linear perspective see **perspective.**

loculus (pl. *loculi*) Latin; "little place." In the Roman catacombs, a horizontal recess, excavated from the wall of a passageway, into which the dead body was placed.

loggia An open arcade, usually in the lower storey of a building but sometimes in the ***piano nobile.***

mandorla Italian; "almond": in painting, an almond-shaped aura designating the divine or other-worldly status of the person it encloses; in architecture, an almond-shaped frame that evokes such an aura.

maniera Italian; "manner" or "style," as in an artist's style or a period style; the word can also mean "stylishness."

Mendicant Orders priestly orders mainly founded in the thirteenth century, committed to communal living in an urban setting and an active ministry of preaching. The word "mendicant" literally means "beggar," and initially these orders were defined by a prohibition on the ownership of property – their means of living, their housing, and their churches were all donations from the laity. By the late fifteenth century, such Mendicants as the Franciscans and Dominicans had split internally: Observants pursued a more austere "observance" of the rules governing poverty, while Conventuals followed a more moderate practice, especially with regard to vows of poverty.

metalpoint a pointed stick of silver or lead used in drawing on vellum or paper. Silverpoint, which produces a dark oxide mark, was preferred for its finer line.

metope see **Orders, classical.**

Middle Ages the "medieval" period, or *media tempestas*, a description in circulation in the fifteenth century (and still current) to define the centuries between the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 CE and the era of *renovatio* or "Renaissance."

narthex in some medieval churches, a space between the main entrance and the nave, serving as a vestibule.

nave the main space of a church, on axis with the high altar.

Observant see **Mendicant Orders.**

oculus (pl. *oculi*) Latin; "eye"; a round window.

Olivetans monastic order founded in 1313 near Siena, adopting the Benedictine Rule in 1344.

oratory a small room for private prayer; in some cities, a place where confraternities held meetings or engaged in communal prayer.

Orders, classical a system of architectural forms consisting of a vertical element (column) and a horizontal element (entablature), each with distinctive, conventionalized proportions and sets of parts. The three basic Orders, known from buildings like the Colosseum in Rome and from the writing of Vitruvius, were most easily recognizable from the form of their capitals: the Doric capital has plain moldings; Ionic has scroll forms; Corinthian has stylized acanthus foliage. Later Renaissance architects and theorists sometimes introduced a fourth order, the Composite, which combined scrolls with acanthus, and a fifth, the Tuscan (or Etruscan), a simpler, stouter form of the Doric.

orthogonal in perspective, a line notionally perpendicular to the picture plane. Orthogonals appear to converge on a common vanishing point.

pala Italian; an altarpiece consisting of one major panel, usually square in form; after about 1440, the alternative to the **polyptych**, which consisted of multiple panels.

Papal States the central Italian territories directly subject to the Pope, although often ruled in practice by so-called papal vicars who founded dynasties of their own.

paragone Italian; "comparison." A term applied beginning in the nineteenth century to a literary set-piece that evaluated the relative merits and limitations of competing art forms – poetry vs. painting, painting vs. sculpture, painting vs. music, etc.

pastiglia Italian; raised relief ornament constructed in *gesso* on the surface of a panel painting, often gilded to suggest goldsmith's work in metal.

paten liturgical instrument used during Mass to hold the **Eucharistic** wafer.

pediment in architecture, a triangular element placed over windows, doors, or the main facade of a temple or church. A segmental pediment replaces the two sloping sides of the triangle with an arc.

pendentive see **dome.**

peristyle a colonnade that surrounds the *cella* of a temple or an open courtyard or square; the term can also be used to refer to the space so surrounded.

perspective from the Latin *perspicere*, "to look through"; the term now normally refers to the techniques for creating illusionistic space using geometric devices (linear perspective) or coloristic ones (atmospheric perspective).

philology the study of language and literature, especially applied to the humanistic study of ancient Latin, Greek, and Hebrew texts.

piano nobile Italian; "noble floor"; the second storey of an Italian palazzo, often given a special architectural distinction as the level frequented by the palace's principal inhabitant and used to receive important guests.

piazza (pl. piazze) Italian; the word used in most Italian cities to denote a large urban public space, typically adjacent to a church, an important civic building, or the residence of a powerful family.

pier a non-columnar vertical support. The term can refer to a pillar that is square rather than round, to an irregularly shaped concrete or masonry structure that supports a **dome** or other heavy load, or even to a section of bearing wall.

pietra serena Italian; "serene stone"; gray limestone mined near Florence, used for architectural ornament and occasionally for sculpture.

pigment colored animal, botanical, or mineral substance combined with a medium (egg yolk, lime water, or oil), to make paint.

pilaster a "flattened" column applied as relief to a wall.

polychromy in sculpture, applied color.

polyphony form of musical composition arising in the later 1200s in which different instruments or voices perform different lines of music simultaneously, the whole governed by mathematical principles of harmony and rhythm.

polyptych a painting, usually an altarpiece, consisting of multiple panels or sections. A diptych is a polyptych with two panels, a triptych with three.

porphyry a stone, red, purplish-red, or black in color and famed for its hardness, mined in antiquity and used for columns, stone inlay, and more rarely, sarcophagi. Only in the late sixteenth century did sculptors rediscover the means to carve figures in porphyry, using new varieties of tempered steel.

portico a columned porch.

pouncing the technique of transferring a design from a cartoon to a surface to be painted by pricking holes along the lines of a cartoon, then rubbing or tapping charcoal dust through them. See also *spolvero*.

predella a row of painted or carved scenes on which the main panel or panels of an altarpiece rest.

pronaos in an ancient Greek or Roman temple, the vestibule-like space that precedes the *cella*.

pumice abrasive volcanic stone used in polishing marble.

Purgatory In Christian belief, a place of temporary punishment in the afterlife. Living Christians could reduce their prospective sentences by obtaining **indulgences**; souls already in Purgatory could be delivered through the prayers of the living on their behalf. The Renaissance conception of Purgatory was largely shaped by Dante's description in the second part of his epic poem *The Divine Comedy*.

putto (pl. putti) Italian; "little boy." Term used to describe child angels, cupids, or *spiritelli* ("little spirits") in art.

quatrefoil French; "four leaf": In Gothic art, a decorative form – often used to frame an image – in which four rounded lobes alternate with four points.

Quattrocento Italian; the 1400s.

quoin stone blocks forming the corner of a building.

revetment in Roman and in Italian Renaissance architecture, fine stone that covers a wall constructed of brick or other material.

rib a raised molding defining and dividing the segments of a vault or dome.

rustication in architecture, a textural effect produced when the faces of stone blocks are left unfinished, or where the joins between the blocks are emphasized to stress their distinctness and their massiveness.

sacristy a room in a church used for the storing of vestments and liturgical objects, and where the robing of a priest takes place.

scriptorium a room in a convent or monastery devoted to writing and to the preparation of manuscripts.

scuola (pl. *scuole*) Italian; see **confraternity**.

secco see ***fresco***.

serliana in architecture, a tripartite window or door consisting of an arched central opening flanked by vertical rectangular openings. Though ancient in origin, the form is named after the architect Sebastiano Serlio, whose illustrated *Books of Architecture* (1537–47) popularized the motif. Also referred to as a "Palladian motif."

serpentine a lustrous colored stone (gray, green, yellow, or brown) characterized by veins and blotches.

Servite see **Mendicant Orders**.

sfumato, sfumatura from the Italian *fumo*, "smoke": the blurring of edges or borders in a painting to create the effect of atmosphere or of transparent, "smoky" shadows, and to merge figures with their surroundings.

Sibyl one of the pagan prophetesses or female oracles of the ancient world.

signoria (pl. *signorie*) Italian; "lordship," referring either to a state governed by a single, unelected lord or to the elected body of lords in a republic.

silverpoint see **metalpoint**.

sinopia reddish brown pigment used to make the underdrawing for a fresco.

spalliera (pl. *spalliere*) from the Italian *spalla*, "shoulder." A painted or marquetry (wood inlaid) panel or series of panels set into a wooden wainscotting at shoulder height.

spandrel see **dome**.

spoglia (pl. *spoglie*) from the Italian *spogliare*, "to strip." An architectural element, epigraphic inscription, or sculpture removed from its original context and re-embedded in a new architectural setting, typically the exterior wall of a palace or church. The transposition sometimes signifies the triumph of Christianity over paganism, or the territorial domination of one city or state by another.

spolvero (pl. *spolveri*) Italian; charcoal dust applied to the perforations in a **cartoon** in order to transfer the outline to a wall or panel.

string course in architecture, a narrow, continuous horizontal molding running the length of a facade or entablature.

stucco (pl. *stucchi*) Italian; plaster made from lime, sand, and water, used to fashion sculptural elements for architectural decoration.

tabernacle a window treatment taking the form of a miniature building; in churches, also a container in the form of a miniature building, usually placed on an altar, designed to hold the **Eucharist**.

taccuino (pl. *taccuini*) Italian; "sketchbook."

tempera paint that uses water and egg yolk (rather than oil) as a binder.

terra verde Italian; "green earth"; greenish pigment used for the underpainting of flesh in panel painting and for **grisaille** painting on walls.

tessera (pl. *tesserae*) cube of colored stone or glass used to make mosaics.

tondo (pl. *tondi*) Italian; "round." A circular painting or relief.

tracery decorative interlaced stone moldings or framing elements for stained glass, characteristic of **Gothic** architecture.

transept see **basilica**.

Trecento Italian; the 1300s.

triglyph see **entablature**.

trilobe ornamental motif consisting of three linked round forms.

triptych see **polyptych**.

tympanum, timpana arch-shaped space over a door; the surface inside a pediment.

ultramarine see **lapis lazuli**.

vault a curved ceiling.

Bibliographical Notes and Suggestions for Further Reading

The following notes identify sources on which we drew for particular discussions and give further recommendations for reading in English.

Introduction

The most recent edition of the *Commentarii* is the one edited by Lorenzo Bartoli (Florence: Giunti, 1998); this has not completely supplanted Julius von Schlosser's 1912 German edition. There is no complete English translation of the text.

Chapter 1: 1300s

For some useful accounts of fourteenth-century art and society, with sections on Giotto, Duccio, and the Assisi murals, see Diana Norman, et al., *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280–1400*, 2 vols. (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1995); and Hayden B. J. Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto: A Historical Reevaluation* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1997).

John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1985) provides a general overview of fourteenth-century sculpture, including the Della Scala monuments and the Pisano pulpits; Anita Fiderer Moskowitz covers the same territory in *Italian Gothic Sculpture: c. 1250–c. 1400* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Two good discussions of the murals in the Palazzo Pubblico are Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), and C. Jean Campbell, *The Commonwealth of Nature: Art and Poetic Community in the Age of Dante* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2008). Campbell also treats Petrarch and Simone Martini.

Nicolai Rubinstein's excellent *The Palazzo Vecchio 1298–1532: Government, Architecture, and Imagery in the Civic Palace of the Florentine Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) surveys the building's decorations up to the establishment of the Medici Duchy. This should be read in conjunction with Marvin Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Our chronology of Giotto's travels reflects the findings in Donal Cooper and Janet Robson, "'A Great Sumptuousness of Paintings': Frescoes and Franciscan Poverty at Assisi in 1288 and 1312," *Burlington Magazine* 151 (2009), 656–62. Andrew Ladis's *Giotto and the World of Early Italian Art: An Anthology of Literature* (New York: Garland, 1998) provides a useful point of entry into the older literature on that artist and on some of his followers. On the Arena Chapel, see especially Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, *The Usurer's Heart: Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni, and the Arena Chapel in Padua* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2008), and Laura Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel: Art, Architecture and Experience* (London: Miller, 2008).

There is far less good English-language literature on Duccio, but see Keith Christiansen's recent *Duccio and the Origins of Western Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). For Trecento Siena more broadly, a good place to start is Diana Norman, *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Late Medieval City State* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2000).

The best general study on the civic and religious role of the image in the preceding centuries and through the 1500s remains Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image in the Era before Art* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1994); for the specific case of Florence, see Richard C. Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image," *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972), 7–41.

On Orsanmichele, see Diane Finiello Zervas's bilingual *Orsanmichele a Firenze* (Modena: F. C. Panini, 1996).

The standard study on the artist and writer Ghiberti is Richard Krautheimer and T. Krautheimer-Hess, *Lorenzo Ghiberti* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1956).

Chapter 2: 1400–1410

There is no good history in English of the building of Milan Cathedral. Our discussion relied heavily on Carlo Ferrari da Passano, *Il duomo di Milano: Storia della veneranda fabbrica* (Milan: NED, Veneranda fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, 1998), and Giulia Benati and Anna Maria Roda, eds., *Il duomo di Milano: dizionario storico artistico e religioso* (Milan: NED, 2001). The literature on Florence Cathedral is substantial, but a volume occasioned by the 1997 centenary gives a fairly recent sense of the state of the field and includes many further references: Margaret Haines, ed., *Santa Maria del Fiore: The Cathedral and Its Sculpture* (Fiesole: Edizioni Cadmo, 2001). Charles Seymour's *Michelangelo's David: A Search for Identity* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 1967) informed our reading of the prophet cycle.

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On the Fonte Gaia, see Anne Coffin Hansen, *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965). The only English-language monograph on the sculptor is James Beck, *Jacopo della Quercia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); a more recent resource in Italian is the well-illustrated exhibition catalogue *Da Jacopo della Quercia a Donatello: Le Arti a Siena nel primo Rinascimento*, ed. Max Seidel (Milan: Motta, 2010).

Chapter 3: 1410–1420

On contractual procedures and on the language used to describe works of art in the 1400s, see Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). We also drew on Ulrich Pfisterer, "Civic Promoters of Celestial Protectors: The Arca di San Donato at Arezzo and the Crisis of the Saint's Tomb around 1400," in *Decorations for the Holy Dead: Visual Embellishments on Tombs and Shrines of Saints*, eds. Stephen Lamia and Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 219–32. Christa Gardner von Teuffel notes that a "persistent convention in altarpiece commissions, and particularly those of elaborate polyptychs, was that they should 'copy' an older prototype"; see *From Duccio's Maestà to Raphael's Transfiguration: Italian Altarpieces and their Settings* (London: Pindar Press, 2005), 11.

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For the circumstances surrounding the two Lorenzo Monaco *Coronation* altarpieces, see especially Dillian Gordon and Anabel Thomas, "A New Document for the High Altar-Piece for S. Benedetto fuori della Porta Pinti, Florence," *Burlington Magazine* 137 (1995), 720–22, and Dillian Gordon, "The Altar-Piece by Lorenzo Monaco in the National Gallery, London," *Burlington Magazine* (1995), 723–27. The standard monograph on Gentile da Fabriano remains that of Keith Christiansen, *Gentile da Fabriano* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), though see also the catalogue from the major 2006 exhibition *Gentile da Fabriano and the Other Renaissance*, ed. Laura Laureti et al. (Milan: Electa, 2006).

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Chapter 4: 1420–1430

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Chapter 5: 1430–1440

For Fra Angelico's Linaiuoli tabernacle, see Diane Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico* (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2008). Eve Boorsook offers a clear description of fresco technique in *The Mural Painters of Tuscany: From Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

On Cennino Cennini, see Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook (Il Libro dell'arte)*, trans. D. Thompson Jr. (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1933). On Cennini's relation to contemporary intellectual life, see Andrea Bolland, "Art and Humanism in Early Renaissance Padua: Cennini, Vergerio, and Petrarch on Imitation," *Renaissance Quarterly* 49 (1996), 469–88.

A valuable introduction to Pisanello that draws on a large corpus of research on the artist since the 1990s is Luke Syson and Dillian Gordon, *Pisanello: Painter to the Renaissance Court*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery, 2001); see also Joanna Woods-Marsden, "French Chivalric Myth and Mantuan Political Reality in the Sala del Pisanello," *Art History* 8 (December 1985), 397–412.

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Chapter 6: 1440–1450

The illustration on p. 133 uses as its basis Francesco Magnelli and Cosimo Zocchi's 1783 map of Florence, which shows the city before the dramatic nineteenth- and twentieth-century transformations of the urban grid.

Dale Kent's *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2000) is a comprehensive account of the major Medici commissions before 1460. On Florentine families and corporations, see also Patricia L. Rubin, *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2007). On Antonino, Fra Angelico, and the Dominicans, see William Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1993); on Fra Angelico and the invention of the *pala*, Carl Strehlke, *Angelico* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1998).

Our treatment of Fra Filippo Lippi draws on Megan Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi: The Carmelite Painter* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1999). On the St. Lucy altarpiece, see Helmut Wohl, *The Paintings of Domenico Veneziano* (New York: New York University Press, 1980), and Keith Christiansen's catalogue entry in *From Filippo Lippi to Piero della Francesca: Fra Carnevale and the Making of a Renaissance Master*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 190–91. For Castagno's *Last Supper*, see Andree Hayum, "A Renaissance Audience Considered: The Nuns at S. Apollonia and Castagno's Last Supper," *Art Bulletin* 88 (2006), 243–66. Our attention to the marbles follows Georges Didi-Huberman's brilliant *Fra Angelico: Dissemblance and Figuration*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Two good surveys of Quattrocento sculpture, both of which discuss Bernardo Rossellino and Desiderio da Settignano's Santa Croce tombs, are John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (New York: Phaidon, 1985), and Joachim Poeschke, *Donatello and his World: Sculpture of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Abrams, 1993). A useful collection of essays is Sarah Blake McHam, *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

The literature on Donatello's bronzes *David* and *Judith* is vast: we relied especially on Pfisterer, *Donatello* (see chapter 5 above) and on Francesco Caglioti's monumental *Donatello e i Medici: storia del David e della Giuditta* (Florence: Olschki, 2000). In English, see the Pope-Hennessy and Poeschke surveys, as well as Janson, *Donatello* (as in chapter 4 above), and the stimulating discussion in Joost Keizer, "History, Origins, Recovery: Michelangelo and the Politics of Art" (unpublished dissertation, University of Leiden, 2008), 43–55.

On Lo Scheggia and domestic arts, see the exhibition catalogue *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008); Luke Syson and Dora Thornton, *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Museum, 2001); Roberta J. M. Olson, *The Florentine Tondo* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Cristelle Baskins, *Cassone Painting, Humanism, and Gender in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

On the Pazzi Chapel, see the monographs on Brunelleschi by Battisti, *Filippo Brunelleschi*, and by Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi* (as in chapter 4 above); Brunelleschi's authorship is challenged by Marvin Trachtenberg, "Why the Pazzi Chapel is not by Brunelleschi," *Casabella* (June 1996), 58–77, and "Why the Pazzi Chapel is by Michelozzo," *Casabella* (February 1997), 56–75.

On Donatello's Padua altar, see Geraldine Johnson, "Approaching the Altar: Donatello's Sculpture in the Santo," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 52 (1999), 627–66. The Mascoli Chapel mosaics are examined by Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity* (see chapter 5 above).

For Sassetta and Domenico di Bartolo, see the exhibition catalogue *Painting in Renaissance Siena* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), and Timothy Hyman, *Sienese Painting: The Art of a City-Republic (1278–1477)* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003). On Filarete and the doors of St. Peter's, we have profited especially from John Onians, "Alberti and 'PHILARETE': A Study in their Sources," in Onians, ed., *Art, Culture, and Nature: From Art History to World Art Studies* (London: Pindar Press, 2006), 141–66; and from Ulrich Pfisterer, "Filaretes historia und commentarius: über die Anfänge humanistischer Geschichtstheorie im Bild," in Valeska von Rosen and Klaus Krüger, eds., *Der stumme Diskurs der Bilder: Reflexionsformen des Ästhetischen in der Kunst der Frühen*

Neuzeit (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2003), 139–76; and Helen Roeder, "The Borders of Filarete's Bronze Doors to St. Peter's," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 10 (1947), 150–53.

Chapter 7: 1450–1460

For an account of the early Renaissance papacy and its problems, see Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985); Charles Burroughs deals with questions of urbanism and design in *From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990); Carroll William Westfall's older *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1974) remains useful as well. The richest recent resource on the topic, however, is in Italian: Stefano Borsi, *Nicolo V e Roma: Alberti, Angelico, Manetti e un grande piano urbano* (Florence: Polistampa, 2009).

Burroughs also discusses Fra Angelico's Vatican frescoes, as does Cole Ahl, *Fra Angelico* (see chapter 5 above); in addition, see Carl B. Strehlke, "Fra Angelico: A Florentine Painter in 'Roma Felix'," in Laurence Kanter and Pia Palladino, *Fra Angelico* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; and New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 203–14.

Syson and Gordon, *Pisanello* (see chapter 5 above), provide an accessible account of Alfonso's court at Naples with a focus on Pisanello; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch* (see chapter 4 above), is the standard reference on that monument.

Our discussion of Rimini was informed by the recent catalogue *Il Potere, Le Arti, La Guerra. Lo Splendore dei Malatesta* (Milan: Electa, 2001). For the architecture, see Charles Hope, "The Early History of the Tempio Malatestiano," in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992), 51–154; despite Hope's critique of the attribution, we continue to recognize Alberti as the architect of the building. On the humanist programs of the San Francesco chapels, see Stanko Kokole, "Cognitio formarum and Agostino di Duccio's Reliefs for the Chapel of the Planets in the Tempio Malatestiano," in *Quattrocento Adriatico: Fifteenth-Century Art of the Adriatic Rim* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1996), 177–207.

The most useful discussions of Mantegna's Padua frescoes remain Ronald Lightbown, *Mantegna: With a Complete Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1986), and Keith Christiansen, *Andrea Mantegna: Padua and Mantua* (New York: George Braziller, 1994). On Donatello's *Gattamelata,* see the monographs by Pope-Hennessy and Janson, as well as the more general survey by Poeschke (as in chapters 4, 5, and 6 above).

Readers can find Pius II's own account of Pienza in his *Commentaries*, ed. and trans. Margaret Meserve and Marcello Simonetta (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, forthcoming), vol. 2. Charles Mack, *Pienza: The Creation of a Renaissance City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), includes an appendix of texts in translation as well. See also Nicholas Adams, "The Construction of Pienza (1459–1464) and the Consequences of Renovatio," in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, eds. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E. Weissman (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1989), 50–80. The standard English edition of Alberti's treatise on architecture is *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988).

For an account of Alberti's career and a guide to the vast body of scholarship, see Anthony Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000).

Chapter 8: 1460–1470

On court art, see Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist*, trans. David McLintock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), and – in response to Warnke – the collection *The Artist at Court: Image Making and Identity*, ed. Stephen J. Campbell (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

On the impact of Alberti's *De Pictura* in Ferrara, see Michael Baxandall, "A Dialogue on Art from the Court of Leonello D'Este," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963), 304–26. For Guarino, the Belfiore *studiolo*, and Cosmè Tura, see Stephen J. Campbell, *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara: Style, Politics, and the Renaissance City, 1450–1495* (London and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997). There is little good material in English on Palazzo Schifanoia, but see Aby Warburg's pioneering essay, "Italian Art and International Astrology in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara," in *German Essays on Art History*, ed. Gert Schiff (New York: Continuum, 1988),

252–53, as well as Kristen Lippincott, "The Iconography of the Salone dei Mesi and the Study of Latin Grammar in Renaissance Ferrara," in *La corte di Ferrara e il suo mecenatismo 1441–1598: The Court of Ferrara and its Patronage*, eds. Kari Lawe and Marianne Pade (Modena: Panini, 1990).

The standard reference on art and astrology in the Renaissance, unfortunately, remains untranslated: Dieter Blume, *Regenten des Himmels: astrologische Bilder in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000).

The literature on Filarete in Milan is large, but see Evelyn Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan* (London and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995). On Mantegna, see Ronald Lightbown, *Mantegna* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986); also Jane Martineau, Suzanne Boorsch et al., eds., *Andrea Mantegna*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 1992); and for a review of more recent scholarship Luke Syson, "Thoughts on the Mantegna Exhibition in Paris," *Burlington Magazine* 151 (August 2009), 526–36. For the Camera Picta, see Randolph Starn, "Seeing Culture in a Room for a Renaissance Prince," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 205–32, and Anne Dunlop, *Painted Palaces: The Rise of Secular Art in Early Renaissance Italy* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2008).

For Alberti and the Gonzaga, see Eugene Johnson, *S. Andrea in Mantua: The Building History* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1975), and Robert Tavernor, *On Alberti and the Art of Building* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1998). For the palace of Urbino, Pasquale Rotondi, *The Ducal Palace of Urbino: Its Architecture and Decoration* (New York: Transatlantic, 1969), and on the library see the catalogue, *Federico da Montefeltro and his Library*, ed. Marcello Simonetta (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 2007).

For the Medici Palace chapel, see Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici* (as in chapter 6 above), and Diane Cole Ahl, *Benozzo Gozzoli* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1996). Two recommended English-language monographs on Piero are Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *Piero della Francesca* (London: Phaidon Press, 2002), and Ronald Lightbown, *Piero della Francesca* (New York: Abbeville, 1992). Carlo Ginzburg, *The Enigma of Piero* 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2000), deals with the contemporary context of the fall of Byzantium and the mooted crusade, although we would question the author's framing of Piero's art as an "enigma."

Chapter 9: 1470–1480

On Flemish painting in Italy, see Bert W. Meijer, "Piero and the North," in *Piero della Francesca and his Legacy*, ed. Marilyn Lavin (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1995), 143–60. We drew as well on the essays and entries in two good catalogues: *Dipinti fiamminghi in Italia 1420–1570*, ed. Licia Collobi Ragghianti (Bologna: Calderini, 1990), and *Fiamminghi a Roma: 1508–1608; artistes des Pays-Bas et de la principauté de Liège à Rome à la Renaissance*, ed. Anne-Claire de Liedekerke (Milan: Skira, 1995). Essential on the Corpus Domini altarpiece is still Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, "The Altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino: Paolo Uccello, Joos van Ghent, Piero della Francesca," *Art Bulletin* 49 (1967), 1–24. See also Dana E. Katz, "The Contours of Tolerance: Jews and the Corpus Domini Altarpiece in Urbino," *Art Bulletin* 85 (2003), 646–61.

On the introduction of oil (and for painting techniques in general), see the excellent, accessible *Giotto to Dürer: Early Renaissance Painting in the National Gallery*, ed. Jill Dunkerton (London and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991). Our understanding of Antonello da Messina benefitted from Mary Pardo, "The Subject of Savoldo's Magdalene," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989), 67–91.

Two good, recent, and very different overviews of Bellini's painting are Anchise Tempestini, *Giovanni Bellini*, trans. Alexandra Bonfante-Warren and Jay Hyams (New York: Abbeville, 1999), and Oskar Bätschmann, *Giovanni Bellini* (London: Reaktion, 2008). See also Rona Goffen, *Giovanni Bellini* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1989), and the exhibition catalogue *Giovanni Bellini*, eds. Mauro Lucco and Giovanni Carlo Federico Villa (Milan: Silvana, 2008). Within the much larger literature on the Frick panel, three stand-out studies are Millard Meiss, *Giovanni Bellini's "St. Francis" in the Frick Collection* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964); John Fleming, *From Bellini to Bonaventure: An Essay in Franciscan Exegesis* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); and Emanuele Lugli, "Between Form and Representation: The Frick St. Francis," *Art History* 32 (2009), 21–51.

For the Verrocchio workshop, see Patricia Rubin and Alison Wright, *Renaissance Florence: The Art of the 1470s* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), as well as Andrew Butterfield, *The Sculptures of Andrea del Verrocchio* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1997). On the drapery studies, see the essays and entries in *Leonardo da Vinci, Master Draftsman*, exh. cat., ed. Carmen Bambach (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; and New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

Three useful broader overviews of Leonardo da Vinci are Martin Kemp, *Leonardo da Vinci: The Marvellous Works of Nature and Man* (London: J. M. Dent, 1981); Pietro C. Marani, *Leonardo: The Complete Paintings* (New York: Abrams, 2000); and Frank Zollner and Johannes Nathan, *Leonardo da Vinci, 1452–1519: The Complete Paintings and Drawings* (Cologne: Taschen, 2003). On Leonardo's Ginevra de' Benci portrait, see *Virtue and Beauty: Leonardo's Ginevra de' Benci and Renaissance Portraits of Women*, exh. cat., ed. David Alan Brown (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2001). On Leonardo's rejection of the absolute color system, see John Shearman, "Leonardo's Colour and Chiaroscuro," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 25 (1962), 13–47, and James S. Ackerman, "On Early Renaissance Color Theory and Practice," in *Studies in Italian Art and Architecture*, 15th through 18th centuries, ed. Henry A. Millon (Rome: Edizioni dell' Elefante, 1980), 11–44.

Our discussion of Pollaiuolo's portraits is indebted to Alison Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers: The Arts of Florence and Rome* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2005). On Florence under Lorenzo, see F. W. Kent, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), and Rubin and Wright, *Renaissance Florence* (as under Verrocchio above). For Botticelli's mythologies, see Charles Dempsey, *The Portrayal of Love: Botticelli's "Primavera" and Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

Chapter 10: 1480–1490

On Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*, see Stephen J. Campbell, "Mantegna's *Triumphs*: The Cultural Politics of Imitation 'all'antica' at the Court of Mantua, 1490–1530," in Stephen Campbell, ed., *Artists at Court* (as in chapter 8 above), 91–105. The standard account remains Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna: In the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London: Harvey Miller, 1979). On the introduction of canvas, Dunkerton, *Giotto to Dürer* (see chapter 9 above).

On the small bronze as a format, nothing in English can yet replace Hans Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten: 15.–18. Jahrhundert* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1967). For Pollaiuolo's *Hercules*, see Alison Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers* (as in chapter 9 above.) Our discussion of Bertoldo drew on Ulrich Pfisterer, "Künstlerische potestas audendi und licentia im Quattrocento: Benozzo Gozzoli, Andrea Mantegna, Bertoldo di Giovanni," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 31 (1996), 107–48; on James Draper, *Bertoldo di Giovanni, Sculptor of the Medici Household* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1992); and on Luke Syson, "Bertoldo di Giovanni, Republican Court Artist," in *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

On the origins of Italian printmaking, see David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1550* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1994). Landau and Suzanne Boorsch give competing accounts of Mantegna's engagement with engraving in *Andrea Mantegna*, exh. cat., ed. Jane Martineau (Milan: Electa, 1992); on Mantegna and the goldsmith Cavalli, see Andrea Canova, "Gian Marco Cavalli incisore per Andrea Mantegna e altre notizie sull'oreficieria e la tipografia a Mantova nel XV secolo," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 42 (2001), 149–79.

On Crivelli, see Ronald Lightbown, *Carlo Crivelli* (London and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), which also gives a detailed account of the culture of the Marches in the fifteenth century. For Gentile Bellini's work in Constantinople, *Bellini and the East*, eds. Alan Chong and Caroline Campbell (Boston, MA: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2005); also Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000).

On the Colleoni monument, see Butterfield, *The Sculptures of Andrea del Verrocchio* (as in chapter 9 above), as well as Diane Cole Ahl, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci's Sforza Monument Horse: The Art and the Engineering* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1995). Pollaiuolo's *Sixtus IV Monument* is treated in detail by Alison Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers* (see chapter 9 above).

For the architecture of the Sistine Chapel, see Roberto Salvini, "The Sistine Chapel: Ideology and Architecture," *Art History*, 3 (1980), 144–57. On the frescoes, see Leopold D. Ettlinger, *The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo: Religious Imagery and Papal Primacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965); for an interpretation governed by Sixtus's formation as a Franciscan and theologian, see Rona Goffen, "Friar Sixtus IV and the Sistine Chapel," *Renaissance Quarterly* 39 (1986), 218–62; for a political interpretation, Andrew C. Blume, "The Sistine Chapel, Dynastic Ambition, and the Cultural Patronage of Sixtus IV," in *Patronage and Dynasty: the Rise of the della Rovere*

in Renaissance Italy, ed. Ian F. Verstegen (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2007), 3–19.

On Leonardo's *Adoration of the Magi* and *Virgin of the Rocks*, see (in addition to the monographs by Kemp and Marani cited under chapter 9 above) the comprehensive accounts in Zöllner and Nathan, *Leonardo da Vinci* (as in chapter 9 above).

Chapter 11: 1490–1500

For the landscape drawings of Fra Bartolomeo, see Chris Fischer, *Fra Bartolomeo: Master Draughtsman of the High Renaissance* (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen 1990); for Riccio, Denise Allen, ed., *Andrea Riccio: Renaissance Master of Bronze*, exh. cat. (London: Wilson, 2008). Alison Luchs's exhibition catalogue *Tullio Lombardo and Venetian High Renaissance Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) includes extensive bibliography on Venetian sculpture; on the Vendramin tomb in particular, see Wendy Stedman Sheard, "Tullio Lombardo in Rome? The Arch of Constantine, the Vendramin Tomb, and the Reinvention of Monumental Classicizing Relief," *Artibus et Historiae* 18 (1997), 161–79, and Sheard, "'Asa Adorna': The Prehistory of the Vendramin Tomb," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 20 (1978), 117–56, also with further references.

On the mythological paintings for Isabella's *studiolo*, see Stephen J. Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2006). For Ghirlandaio, see Jean K. Cadogan, *Domenico Ghirlandaio: Artist and Artisan* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2000), and the conference volume *Domenico Ghirlandaio: 1449–1494*, eds. Wolfram Prinz and Max Seidel (Florence: Centro Di, 1996). On the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista canvasses, see Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1988). For the Bentivoglio Chapel, see Clifford M. Brown, "The Church of Santa Cecilia and the Bentivoglio Chapel in San Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna. With an Appendix Containing a Catalogue of Isabella d'Este's Correspondence Concerning Lorenzo Costa and Francesco Francia," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 10 (1967–68), 301–24.

On the problem of Savonarola's influence on artists, see the different approaches by Marcia Hall, "Savonarola's Preaching and the Patronage of Art," in T. Verdon and J. Henderson, eds., *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 493–522, and Jill Burke, *Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2004). On the new council hall, the best introductory overview remains Johannes Wilde, "The Hall of the Great Council of Florence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 7 (1944), 65–81.

The standard reference on Filippino Lippi, though co-authored by an American, is unavailable in English: Jonathan Katz Nelson and Patrizia Zambrano, *Filippino Lippi* (Milan: Electa, 2004). The San Brizio Chapel has provoked competing readings: ours draws on Jonathan B. Reiss, *The Renaissance Antichrist: Luca Signorelli's Orvieto Frescoes* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Creighton Gilbert, *How Fra Angelico and Signorelli Saw the End of the World* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2003); and Sara Nair James, *Signorelli and Fra Angelico at Orvieto: Liturgy, Poetry, and a Vision of the End of Time* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003).

On the Pala Sforzesca and the problem of defining a "painting by Leonardo," see Luke Syson, "Leonardo and Leonardism in Sforza Milan," in *Artists at Court*, 106–23. Our discussion of Leonardo's allegories depends on Bambach, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci, Master Draftsman* (see chapter 9 above). For Leonardo's Milanese portraits, see the discussions in the monographs by Kemp, Marani, and Zollner, as well as Brown's *Virtue and Beauty* catalogue. On the *Last Supper*, see *Leonardo: The Last Supper*, with essays by Pinin Brambilla Barcilon and Pietro C. Marani, trans. Harlow Tighe (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001). For a controversial but stimulating account of the same work, see Leo Steinberg, *Leonardo's Incessant Last Supper* (New York: Zone Books, 2001).

For Michelangelo's early sculptures, see the essays in the first volume of William Wallace's useful collection, *Michelangelo: Selected Scholarship in English* (New York: Garland, 1995). We drew especially on Wallace's own "How Did Michelangelo Become a Sculptor?" in *The Genius of the Sculptor in Michelangelo's Work*, exh. cat. (Montreal, 1992), 151–69; and "Michelangelo's Rome Pietà: Altarpiece or Grave Memorial?" in *Verrocchio and Late Quattrocento Italian Sculpture*, eds. Steven Bule and Alan Phipps Darr (Florence: Casa Editrice le Lettere, 1992), 243–55. On Baccio da Montelupo, the only substantial study in English is John Douglas Turner's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The Sculpture of Baccio da Montelupo," Brown University, 1997. We drew as well on the catalogue *L'officina della maniera: varietà e fierezza nell'arte fiorentina del Cinque-*

cento fra le due repubbliche 1494–1530, ed. Alessandro Cecchi et al. (Venice: Marsilio, 1996).

Chapter 12: 1500–1510

Our reading of Piero di Cosimo is indebted to Alison Brown, "Lucretius and the Epicureans in the Social and Political Context of Renaissance Florence," *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 9 (2001), 11–62; see also Dennis Geronimus, *Piero di Cosimo: Visions Beautiful and Strange* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2006); on Michelangelo's *David*, see Charles Seymour, *Michelangelo's David* (as in chapter 2 above), and Saul Lewine, "The Location of Michelangelo's *David*: The Meeting of January 25th, 1504," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), 31–49. The relation between the *Virgin and Child with St. John and St. Anne* and the Muses of Tivoli is proposed by Marani, *Leonardo da Vinci* (see chapter 9 above). For a reading of the Doni *Tondo* that emphasizes the role of the Baptist, see Andree Hayum, "Michelangelo's *Doni Tondo*: Holy Family and Family Myth," *Studies in Iconography* 7–8 (1981–82), 209–51. Our understanding of Michelangelo's Bruges *Madonna* was shaped by Leo Steinberg, "The Metaphors of Love and Birth in Michelangelo's Pietàs," in *Studies in Erotic Art*, ed. Theodore Bowie and Cornelia V. Christenson (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 231–85.

Wilde's classic article on the murals in Palazzo dei Priori, "The Hall of the Great Council in Florence" (see note to chapter 11 above), remains standard reading. See, more recently, Claire Farago, "Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*: A Study in the Exchange between Theory and Practice," *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994), 301–31, and, on Leonardo and Machiavelli, Roger D. Masters, *Machiavelli, Leonardo, and the Science of Power* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1996). On the Leda as a "figura serpentinata," see David Summers, "Maniera and Movement: The Figura Serpentinata," *Art Quarterly* 35 (1972), 265–301.

The best general book on Raphael is Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1983). For Raphael's early career, see the exhibition catalogue *Raphael before Rome* (London: National Gallery, 2004); also Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, *Raphael in Florence*, trans. Stefan B. Polteron (London: Azimuth Editions, 1996). On the Baglione *Deposition* we have drawn on Alexander Nagel in *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), which revives the interpretation of Jakob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (New York and London: Penguin Books, 1990), 35–38.

On the origins of the Julius tomb, see the essays in Wallace, *Michelangelo: Selected Scholarship*, vol. 4 (as in chapter 11 above). Our survey of the early designs for St. Peter's follows the revisionist history in Horst Bredekamp, *Sankt Peter in Rom und das Prinzip der produktiven Zerstörung: Die Baugeschichte von Bramante bis Bernini* (Berlin: Klaus Wagenbach, 2000), with extensive further bibliography. The approach to the Sistine Ceiling presented here is indebted especially to Edgar Wind, "Michelangelo's Prophets and Sibyls," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 51 (1960), 47–84, and John O'Malley, "The Theology behind Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling," in C. Pietrangeli, ed., *The Sistine Chapel: The Art, The History, and the Restoration* (New York: Harmony Books, 1986), 92–148. On anti-Judaism and the Sistine, see Barbara Wisch, "Vested Interest: Redressing Jews on Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling," *Artibus et historiae* 48 (2003), 143–72.

On the Belvedere, see James S. Ackerman, "The Belvedere as a Classical Villa," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951), 70–91; on its collection of sculptures, Hans Brummer, *The Statue Court of the Vatican Belvedere* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970). For Raphael in the papal apartments, Matthias Winner, "Projects and Execution in the Stanza della Segnatura," in *Raphael in the Apartments of Julius II and Leo X* (Milan: Electa, 1993) and the same author's "Lorbeerbäume auf Raffaels Parnaß", in *L'Europa e l'arte italiana*, ed. Max Seidel (Venice: Marsilio, 2000), 197–209; David Rosand, "Raphael's School of Athens and the Artist of the Modern Manner," in *The World of Savonarola: Italian Elites and Perceptions of Crisis*, eds. Stella Fletcher and Christine Shaw (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 212–32; and Ingrid Rowland, "The Intellectual Background of the School of Athens: Tracking Divine Wisdom in the Rome of Julius II," in *Raphael's "School of Athens,"* ed. Marcia Hall (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 131–70. An older but still good reference is John Shearman, "The Vatican Stanze: Functions and Decoration," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 57 (1971), 3–58.

On Venetian painting circa 1500, see David Alan Brown and Sylvia Ferino Pagden, eds., *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2006). On Jacopo de' Barbari, see Simone Ferrari, *Jacopo de' Barbari: Un protagonista del Rinascimento tra Venezia e Dürer* (Milan: Mondadori, 2006); on his view of Venice, Juergen Schultz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), 425–78, and Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005). The

San Giobbe altarpiece is discussed in Bätschmann, *Giovanni Bellini* (see chapter 9 above). For Dürer's Venetian sojourn, Katherine C. Luber, *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), and *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer*, eds. Beverly Brown and Bernard Aikema (New York: Rizzoli, 2000). On Giorgione, see Jaynie Anderson, *Giorgione: The Painter of "Poetic Brevity"* (New York and Paris: Flammarion, 1997). For a critical account of readings of the *Tempesta*, see Stephen J. Campbell, "Giorgione's *Tempest, Studiolo* Culture, and the Renaissance Lucretius," *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2003), 299–333; Salvatore Settis reviews the literature through 1990 in *Giorgione's Tempest: Interpreting the Hidden Subject*, trans. Ellen Bianchini (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

There are surprisingly few good general introductions to Titian; a recent one is Peter Humfrey, *Titian: The Complete Paintings* (New York: Abrams, 2007). For an account of his early career, with much debated attributions, Paul Joannides, *Titian to 1518: The Assumption of Genius* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2001). On the Titian *Concert*, Patricia Egan, "Poesia and the Concert champêtre," *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959), 29–38.

Chapter 13: 1510–1520

Michael Rohlmann provides well-illustrated and comprehensive accounts of Raphael's *Farnesina* and later Vatican frescoes in Julian Kliemann and Michael Rohlmann, *Italian Frescoes: High Renaissance and Mannerism, 1510–1600* (New York: Abbeville, 2004). On Raphael's experiments in the rendering of light and shadow in particular, see Janis Bell, "Re-Visioning Raphael as a 'Scientific Painter,'" in *Reframing the Renaissance Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven, CT, and London, 1995), 91–111.

The most substantial overview of Marcantonio as a printmaker is the catalogue to the exhibition curated by Innis H. Shoemaker, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi* (Lawrence, Kansas: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1981); on issues of collaboration and authorship, see especially Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

For the Sistine tapestries, see Sharon Fermor, *The Raphael Tapestry Cartoons: Narrative, Decoration, Design* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996), and John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel* (London: Phaidon Press, 1972). The best introduction to Raphael as an architect is the catalogue to the exhibition curated by Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Stefano Ray, and Manfredo Tafuri, *Raffaello architetto* (Milan: Electa, 1984). In English, see Ingrid D. Rowland, "Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders," *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994), 81–104, as well as the discussion in Jones and Penny, *Raphael* (as in chapter 12 above).

Our discussion of Sebastiano drew on the catalogue *Sebastiano del Piombo 1485–1547* (Milan: Motta, 2008). The major monograph in English is Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981). For the *Fornarina*, see Jennifer Craven, "Ut pictura poesis: A New Reading of Raphael's Portrait of La Fornarina as a Petrarchan Allegory of Painting, Fame, and Desire," *Word and Image* 10 (1994), 371–94, though we doubt Raphael's authorship of the painting.

Major English-language scholarship on the Julius tomb includes Charles de Tolnay, *The Tomb of Julius II* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954), and volume four of Wallace, *Michelangelo* (see chapter 11 above). On the theme of the "arts bereft," see Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1964); on Michelangelo and the *non-finito*, Juergen Schulz, "Michelangelo's Unfinished Works," *Art Bulletin* 57 (1975), 366–73.

A 1996 exhibition at the Uffizi revisited the idea of the "schools" of San Marco and the Annunziata: see the catalogue *L'officina della maniera* (as in chapter 11 above). There is no modern monograph in any language on Fra Bartolomeo, though two starting points for future work will be the catalogue to the exhibition *L'età di Savonarola. Fra Bartolomeo e la scuola di San Marco* (Venice: Marsiglio, 1996) and the catalogue of the drawings by Fischer, *Fra Bartolomeo* (see chapter 11 above). On Andrea del Sarto, see John Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1965); on early Rosso, David Franklin's sometimes polemical *Rosso in Italy: The Italian Career of Rosso Fiorentino* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1994); for the *Madonna of the Harpies*, John Shearman, *Only Connect: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992). Shearman also includes a useful section on the Camerino of Alfonso d'Este. Beyond this, see Anthony Colantuono, "*Dies Alcyoniae*: The Invention of Bellini's *Feast of the Gods*," *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991), 237–56; *idem*, "Tears of Amber: Titian's Andrians, the River Po and the Iconology of Difference," in *Phaethon's Children: The Este Court and Its Culture in Early Modern Ferrara*,

eds. Dennis Looney and Deanna Shemek (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), and Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros* (see chapter 11 above). A still essential discussion of Titian's *Assumption of the Virgin* is Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice: Bellini, Titian, and the Franciscans* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1986).

Chapter 14: 1520–1530

On Rome in the 1520s, see the essays in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, eds. Sheryl Reiss and Kenneth Gouwens (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005). A good overview is also provided by André Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, trans. Beth Archer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983). On mannerism, the starting point for all recent discussions is John Shearman, *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967).

On Giulio Romano and the Hall of Constantine, see the relevant pages in Chastel, *The Sack of Rome*, and in Kliemann and Rohlmann, *Italian Frescoes* (see chapter 13 above), as well as Philipp Fehl, "Raphael as Historian: Poetry and Historical Accuracy in the *Sala del Costantino*," *Artibus et Historiae* 14 (1993), 9–76; also Jan L. de Jong, "Universals and Particulars: History Painting in the 'Sala di Costantino' in the Vatican Palace," in *Recreating Ancient History: Episodes from the Greek and Roman Past in the Arts and Literature of the Early Modern Period*, eds. Karl A. E. Enenkel, Jan L. de Jong, and Jeanine De Landtsheer (Boston, MA, and Leiden: Brill, 2001).

On Parmigianino, two essential recent works are Mary Vaccaro, *Parmigianino: The Paintings* (Turin: Allemandi, 2002), and the exhibition catalogue by David Franklin, *The Art of Parmigianino* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

For Rosso as a printmaker, beginning with the Roman period, the basic reference is Eugene A. Carroll, ed., *Rosso Fiorentino: Drawings, Prints, and Decorative Arts* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1987). Our account of Rosso's response to Michelangelo in these years summarizes the fuller discussion in Stephen Campbell, "'Fare una cosa morta parer viva': Michelangelo, Rosso, and the (Un)divinity of Art," *Art Bulletin* 84 (2002), 596–620. On print culture and erotic imagery, see Bette Talvacchia, *Taking Positions: On the Erotic in Renaissance Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

For Michelangelo's *Risen Christ* we have drawn on Irene Baldriga, "The First Version of Michelangelo's Risen Christ," *Burlington Magazine* 142 (2000), 740–45, and William Wallace, "Michelangelo's Risen Christ," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 28 (1997), 1,251–80. Our brief comment here on Michelangelo's *Victory* and *Slaves* as figures of mastery alludes to Michael Cole, "The *Figura Sforzata*: Modeling, Power, and the Mannerist Body," *Art History* 24 (2001), 520–51. A useful reference on Michelangelo's sculpture and that of his followers is Joachim Poeschke, *Michelangelo and his World: Sculpture of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Abrams, 1996).

Pontormo's Poggio a Caiano lunette is treated by Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), as well as by Kliemann and Rohlmann, *Italian Frescoes* (see chapter 13 above); for his other works and for Florentine art in the 1520s, see David Franklin, *Painting in Renaissance Florence 1500–1550* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2001), and the exhibition catalogue *L'officina della maniera* (as in chapter 13 above). Leo Steinberg provides a persuasive description of the Capponi Chapel frescoes as responses to Michelangelo's *Pietà* in "Pontormo's Capponi Chapel," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), 385–99.

Our approach to Correggio is strongly indebted to Carolyn Smith, *Correggio's Frescoes in Parma Cathedral* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), and to Giancarla Periti, "Nota sulla 'maniera moderna' di Correggio a Parma," in *Parmigianino e il manierismo europeo*, ed. Lucia Fornari Schianchi (Milan: Silvana, 2002), 298–304. For an introduction to the artist, see David Ekserdjian, *Correggio* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1997).

The best recent guide to the scholarship on Lotto is Peter Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1997). For Andrea Odoni and collecting practices in sixteenth-century Venice, see Monika Schmitter, "'Virtuous Riches': The Bricolage of *Cittadini* Identities in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 57 (2004), 908–69.

On Titian's Pesaro altarpiece, see Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (as in chapter 13 above), and for the Averoldi see the same author's *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2002).

For contrasting views of Pordenone's Cremona frescoes, see Carolyn Smith, "Pordenone's 'Passion' Frescoes in Cremona Cathedral: An Incitement to Piety," in *Drawing Relationships in Northern Renaissance Art: Patronage and*

Theories of Invention, ed. Giancarla Periti (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 101–29, and Charles Cohen, *The Art of Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone: Between Dialect and Language* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1996). There are good illustrations in Kliemann and Rohlmann, *Italian Frescoes* (see chapter 13 above).

On the Siege of Florence and Pontormo's Guardi portrait, see Elizabeth Cropper, *Pontormo: Portrait of a Halbardier* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Museum, 1997). For Parmigianino's importance within the history of etching, see Michael Cole, ed., *The Early Modern Painter Etcher* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2006).

Chapter 15: 1530–1540

Our discussion of Titian's work for Francesco della Rovere and Eleanora Gonzaga drew especially on Diane H. Bodart's essential *Tiziano e Federico II Gonzaga: storia di un rapporto di committenza* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1998).

For the *Venus of Urbino*, see the essays in Rona Goffen, ed., *Titian's Venus of Urbino* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). On Titian's nudes more generally, see Mary Pardo, "Artifice as Seduction in Titian," in *Sexuality & Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images*, ed. James Grantham Turner (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 55–89, and Maria H. Loh, *Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern Italian Art* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2007).

On Giulio at the Palazzo del Tè, see the chapter in Kliemann and Rohlmann, *Italian Frescoes* (as in chapter 13 above). Our reading of the Medici Chapel draws on Charles Dempsey, "Lorenzo's Ombra," in G. C. Garfagnini, *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo Mondo* (Florence: Olschki, 1994), 341–55, and Creighton Gilbert, "Texts and Contexts of the Medici Chapel," *Art Quarterly* 34 (1971), 391–409. An intriguing but to us ultimately unpersuasive attempt to challenge the standard identification of the two *capitani* is Richard C. Trexler and Mary E. Lewis, "Two Captains and Three Kings: New Light on the Medici Chapel," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 4 (1981), 91–177. On the importance of drawing for the artist's transition from sculpture to architecture, see Cammy Brothers, *Michelangelo, Drawing and the Invention of Architecture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008). Poeschke, *Michelangelo and his World* (see chapter 14 above) discusses Bandinelli among other mid sixteenth-century sculptors. For Pontormo's and Bronzino's portraits, see especially the essays by Carl Strehlke and Elizabeth Cropper in *Pontormo, Bronzino, and the Medici: The Transformation of the Renaissance Portrait in Florence*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2004). For the Pontormo portrait of Alessandro de' Medici in particular, see also Leo Steinberg, "Pontormo's Alessandro de' Medici, or, I Only Have Eyes for You," *Art in America* 63 (1975), 62–65. For Bronzino's *Cosimo as Orpheus*, see the recent account with bibliography by Janet Cox-Rearick in *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence*, exh. cat. (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 153–54. The best general monograph in English is Maurice Brock, *Bronzino* (Paris: Flammarion, 2002).

On the patronage of Paul III, see Guido Rebecchini, "After the Medici: The New Rome of Paul III Farnese," *I Tatti Studies* 11 (2007), 147–200. For Heemskerck in Rome, see Christof Thoenes, "St. Peter als Ruine: zu einigen Veduten Heemskercks," in *Opus incertum: italienische Studien aus drei Jahrzehnten* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002), 245–75; English translation (with fewer illustrations) in *Sixteenth-century Italian Art*, ed. Michael Cole (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 25–39. On the compositional origins of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, see Bernardine Barnes, "The Invention of Michelangelo's 'Last Judgment,'" unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, 1986. The most balanced account of the fresco may still be Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: The Final Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), though provocative readings of particular passages include Leo Steinberg, "Michelangelo's 'Last Judgment' as Merciful Heresy," *Art in America* 63 (1975), 49–63; Marcia B. Hall, "Michelangelo's Last Judgment: Resurrection of the Body and Predestination," in *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976), 85–92; and Bernardine Barnes, "Metaphorical Painting: Michelangelo, Dante, and the 'Last Judgment,'" *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995), 65–81.

Chapter 16: 1540–1550

There is no good study in English of Pontormo's lost San Lorenzo frescoes; the starting point for any future research is the Italian historian Massimo Firpo's *Gli affreschi di Pontormo a San Lorenzo: eresia, politica e cultura nella Firenze di Cosimo I* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997).

For a range of essays on Medici court culture, see *Vasari's Florence: Artists and Literati at the Medicean Court*, ed. Philip Jacks (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

On Salviati and the *Furius Camillus* cycle, see Melinda Schlitt, "The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in 16th-Century

Painting: Reading 'Outside' the Imagery," in *Perspectives on Early Modern and Modern Intellectual History (Essays in Honor of Nancy S. Struever)*, eds. Melinda Schlitt and Joseph Marino (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 259–82, as well as the chapter on Salviati in David Franklin, *Painting in Renaissance Florence, 1500–1550* (as in chapter 14 above).

On Bronzino and literary culture, see Deborah Parker, *Bronzino: Renaissance Painter as Poet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); for the chapel in the Palazzo Vecchio, see Janet Cox-Rearick, *Bronzino's Chapel of Eleonora in the Palazzo Vecchio* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1993).

For the Sala Paolina, see the chapter in Kliemann and Rohlmann, *Italian Frescoes* (as in chapter 13 above). Our preferred English translation of Michelangelo's poetry is that of Christopher Ryan (London: Dent, 1996). Our discussion of Michelangelo's gift drawings benefitted from Alexander Nagel's important "Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna," *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997), 647–68. Leonard Barkan, *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), includes a suggestive discussion of the drawings for Tommaso Cavalieri. Our emphasis on the ambiguity of Michelangelo's subject matter follows Wolfgang Stechow's still-important "Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus?" in Wolfgang Lotz and Lisa Lotte Möller, eds., *Studien zur toskanischen Kunst: Festschrift für Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich zum 23. März 1963* (Munich: Prestel, 1964), 289–302. Two classic essays on the Florence *Pietà* are Leo Steinberg, "Michelangelo's Florentine 'Pietà': The Missing Leg," *Art Bulletin* 50 (1968), 343–53, and Irving Lavin, "The Sculptor's 'Last Will and Testament,'" *Bulletin of Allen Memorial Art Museum* 35 (1978), 4–39. Steinberg responded to critics of his interpretation in "Michelangelo's Florentine Pietà: The Missing Leg Twenty Years After; Animadversions," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989), 480–505.

Our sense of the politics in the Varchi circle owes much to Michel Plaisance's classic study, "Culture et politique à Florence de 1542 à 1551: Lasca et les Humidieux prises avec l'Académie Florentine," in André Rochon, ed., *Les écrivains et le pouvoir en Italie à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Paris: CIRRI 1974), 149–242. Our presentation of Bronzino's London *Allegory* offers a slight variation on Robert W. Gaston, "Love's Sweet Poison: A New Reading of Bronzino's London *Allegory*," *I Tatti Studies* 4 (1991), 247–88.

Two good and recent though very different introductions to Fontainebleau are Henri Zerner, *Renaissance in France: The Invention of Classicism* (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), and Rebecca Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005). For Cellini, see Michael Cole, *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Bruce Boucher's monograph on *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1991) complements Deborah Howard's book on the buildings, *Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1987). On urbanism in Genoa, see George L. Gorse, "A Classical Stage for the Old Nobility: The Strada Nuova and Sixteenth-century Genoa," *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997), 301–27, with good further bibliography. Our discussion draws on the fundamental study by Ennio Poleggi, *Strada nuova: una lottizzazione del Cinquecento a Genova* (Genoa: Sagep Ed., 1972).

Our comments on the poetics of Michelangelo's architecture follow Charles Burroughs, "Michelangelo at the Campidoglio: Artistic Identity, Patronage and Manufacture," *Artibus et Historiae* 28 (1993), 85–111. The standard reference work on Titian is Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian* (London: Phaidon Press, 1975), which treats the paintings from the 1540s; see also, more recently, Filippo Pedrocco, *Titian*, trans. Corrado Federici (New York: Rizzoli, 2001).

Two good starting points for the Pauline Chapel are William E. Wallace, "Narrative and Religious Expression in Michelangelo's Pauline Chapel," *Artibus et Historiae* 10 (1989), 107–21, and Leo Steinberg, *Michelangelo's Last Paintings: The Conversion of St. Paul and the Crucifixion of St. Peter in the Cappella Paolina, Vatican Palace* (London: Phaidon Press, 1975).

Chapter 17: 1550–1560

A useful survey of the concept of *disegno* can be found in Catherine E. King, "Disegno/Design," in *Representing Renaissance Art c. 1500–c. 1600* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007). Also good is the discussion in Robert Williams, *Art, Theory, and Culture in Sixteenth-century Italy: From* Techne *to* Metatechne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

On the concept of *colore* and *colorito* in Venetian art, see the opening chapter of David Rosand, *Painting in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1983 and 1997), and Daniela Bohde, "Corporeality and Materiality: Light, Colour, and the Body in Titian's San Salvador

Annunciation and Naples Danae," in *Titian: Materiality, Likeness, Istoria*, ed. by Joanna Woods-Marsden (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 19–29. See also Sydney J. Freedberg, "*Disegno* versus *colore* in Florentine and Venetian Painting of the Cinquecento," in S. Bertelli, C. H. Smyth, N. Rubinstein, eds., *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations* (Florence: Olschki, 1977).

For Dolce and his dialogue, see Dolce's *"Aretino" and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*, ed. and trans. Mark W. Roskill (New York: New York University Press, 1968). On the relationship between artistic and literary polemics, see Fredrika H. Jacobs, "Aretino and Michelangelo, Dolce and Titian: Femmina, Masculo, Grazia," *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000), 51–67, and Una Roman d'Elia, *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

On the *poesie* for Philip II, the most even-handed account is Thomas Puttfarken, *Titian and Tragic Painting* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2005). On the question of gender and movement in Titian's *Venus and Adonis*, Sharon Fermor, "Poetry in Motion: Beauty in Movement and the Renaissance Concept of *leggiadrìa*," in *Concepts of Beauty in Renaissance Art*, eds. F. Ames Lewis and M. Rogers (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998), 124–34.

On Tintoretto, see Rosand, *Painting in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (see above), as well as Tom Nichols, *Tintoretto: Tradition and Identity* (London: Reaktion, 1999), and the catalogue *Tintoretto*, ed. Miguel Falomir (Madrid: Prado, 2007); for the competition between Titian and Tintoretto, see Frederick Ilchman, *Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese: Rivals in Renaissance Venice* (Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts, 2009).

On the manufacture of tapestries in Florence, see Graham Smith, "Cosimo I and the Joseph Tapestries for Palazzo Vecchio," *Renaissance and Reformation* 6 (1982), 183–96, and the relevant entries in the catalogue by Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2002). For a recent account with good photographs of the Farnese casket, see Christina Riebesell, "La cassetta Farnese," in *I Farnese. Arte e collezionismo. Studi*, ed. Lucia Fornari Schianchi (Milan: Electa, 1995), 58–69.

On the Villa Giulia and Casino of Pius IV, see David Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), and Graham Smith, *The Casino of Pius IV* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977).

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p. 595: Carlo Cesare Malvasia on Ludovico Carracci from *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci*, trans. Anne Summerscale (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2000), 127.

Chapter 21

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