

TWO NEW PAINTINGS BY LORENZO DI CREDI *

A contribution to the painter's late style

by Sheldon Grossman

In spite of a recent monograph devoted to Lorenzo di Credi, little new material has lately been added to that already known.¹ Among the many problems which still surround him, such as those of the date of his birth, of his early production and style² and of a precise chronology of his paintings, that of his later period presents many aspects of uncertainty. Born in 1456 or 1459 he lived well into the sixteenth century, dying in 1537. Two new paintings which can be added to his *oeuvre* may provide some insight into the range of his later years.³

Unfortunately, the two paintings are known today only through a photograph (Figs. 1, 4, 12, 13) because they have been destroyed. Obviously separate panels which were kept together by a common, modern frame, they represented St. Joseph and The Virgin. The presence of the halo on the female figure who bears no attributes and of St. Joseph with the budding staff⁴ as the companion figure seem to be sufficient reason for identifying Her as the Virgin. According to the inscription on an old photograph in the Gabinetto Fotografico in Florence the paintings were in the *chiesa delle Suore Domenicane di Marradi*.⁵ This is the church of the SS. Annunziata attached to the convent of the Dominican sisters in Marradi. The panels did not survive the last world war. In a conversation with the Mother Superior and another sister, who both remembered them well, I learned that they hung in a choir and were completely destroyed during the allied bombardment and subsequent occupation of the convent in the summer of 1944.

The presence of these paintings in the convent and their location in the choir before the war is confirmed by several letters and inventories found in the archives of the Soprintendenza of Florence. An inventory dated 1914 gives the following information: object no. 4 is a *Dipinto su tavola che rappresenta la Vergine e S. Giuseppe, con cornice dorata, creduto di dubbio valore. Nel coro*.⁶ The two paintings appear in an inventory without a date with this

* *The research and work on this paper was made possible by a Chester Dale Fellowship for 1967-1969 from the National Gallery in Washington. I should like to thank Professor Ulrich Middeldorf whose advice has been most helpful in the preparation of this material for publication.*

¹ *Gigetta Dall' Regoli*, Lorenzo di Credi, Pisa, 1966.

² A good summary of the problem of Credi's date of birth is given by *Dario A. Covi* in his article: Four New Documents Concerning Andrea del Verrocchio, in: *The Art Bulletin*, xlviii, 1966, p. 99. See my article in a forthcoming issue of the National Gallery's (Washington) Report and Studies in the History of Art for new material relating to Credi's early period and the Verrocchio workshop.

³ *Dalli Regoli's* recent suggestion for Credi's late style, a Madonna della Misericordia, in the Pinacoteca in Bologna, no. 216, seems without basis: Un presunto Innocenzo da Imola, in: *Critica d'Arte*, xiv, 1967, pp. 32-41.

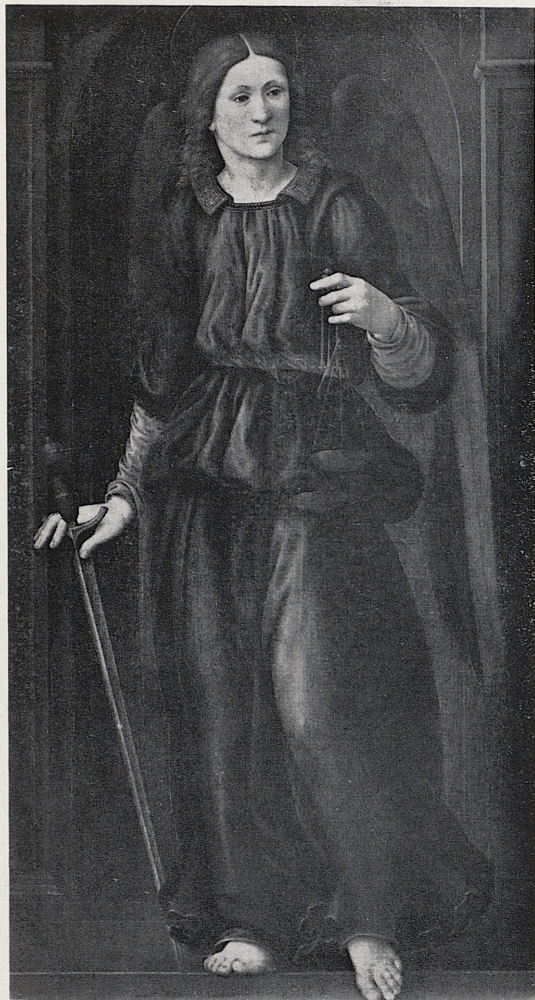
⁴ *Lucy Menzies*, *The Saints in Italy*, London, 1924, p. 258.

⁵ Photo, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence, Gabinetto Fotografico, no. 19 821.

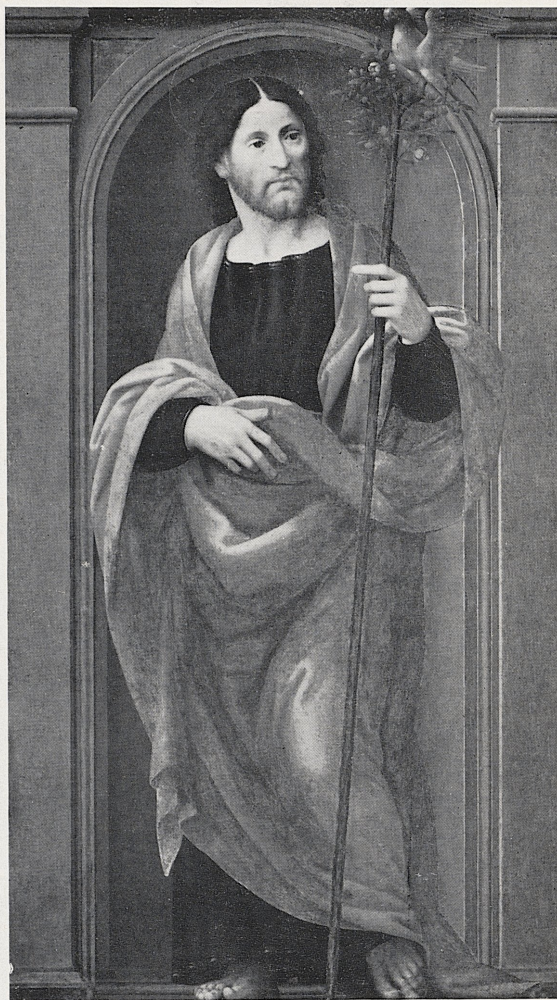
⁶ Archives of the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence: Marradi, Catalogo generale dei monumenti e degli oggetti d'arte del regno. Provincia di Firenze, Comune di Marradi, Chiesa delle Suore Domenicane. In this inventory it is also reported that *non trovasi archivio e neppure dati in proposito. Non esistono iscrizione e note dalle quali dedurre si possa Nell'autenticità.*



1 Lorenzo di Credi, *St. Joseph and The Virgin*. Formerly Marradi, SS. Annunziata, destroyed.



2 Lorenzo di Credi, St. Michael. Florence, Duomo.



3 Lorenzo di Credi, St. Joseph. Florence, Duomo.

remark: *ma non di nostra proprietà*.⁷ This last inventory may be the one referred to by the Mother Superior in the second of two letters of hers of 1913, one written to the Sindaco of Marradi and the other to the Soprintendenza of Florence⁸, the text of which is given in the Appendix below.

From the photograph it appears that the paintings were fairly well preserved — with the exception of the numerous small areas on the St. Joseph where the paint seems to have flaked — a fact which is confirmed by the 1914 inventory where it is reported that *Lo stato di conservazione è ottima. Non hanno subito restauro alcuno*.⁹

⁷ Archives of the Soprintendenza, Florence: Marradi.

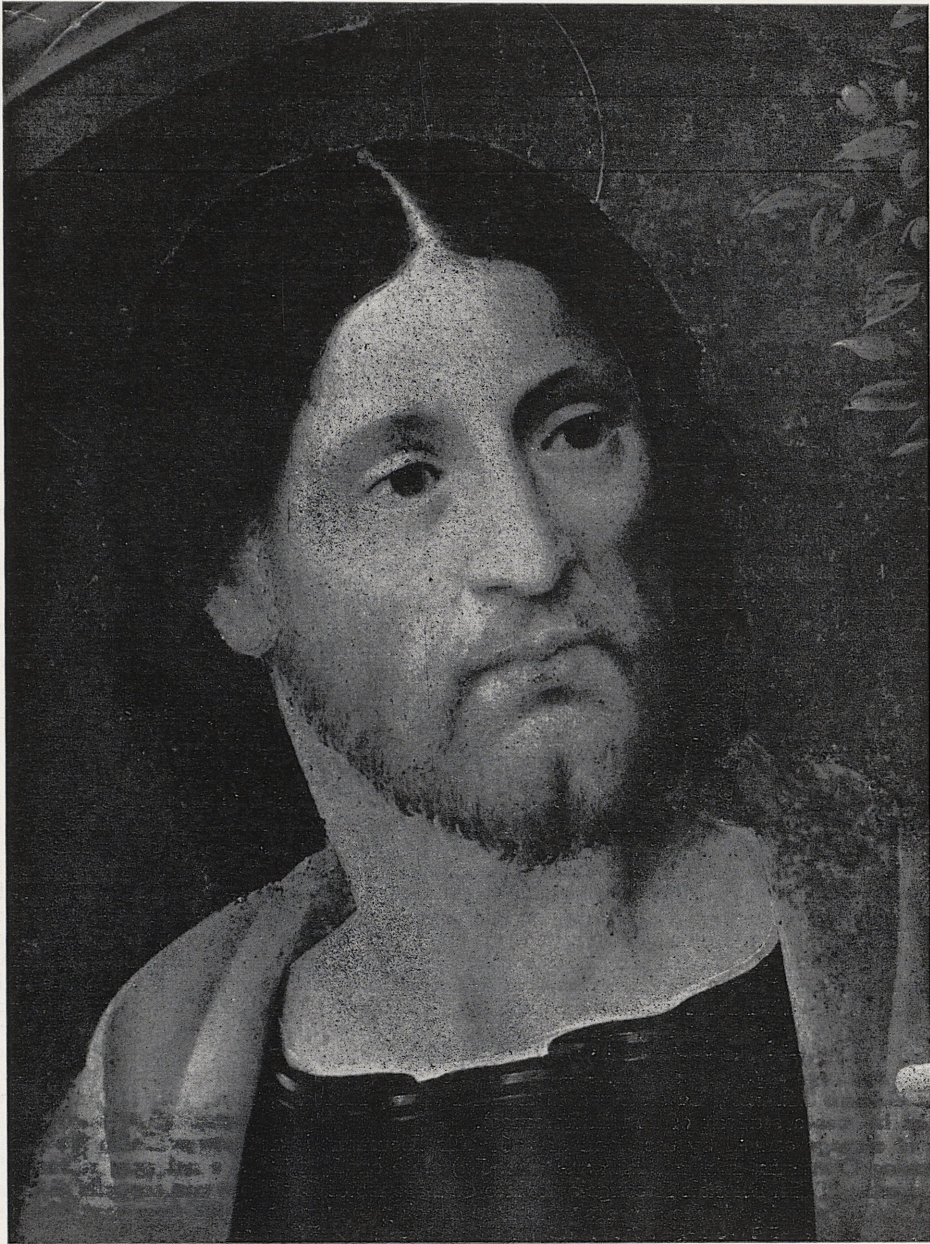
⁸ Archives of the Soprintendenza, Florence: Marradi.

⁹ See above, note 6.



4 Detail of Fig. 1.

The manner of representation, individual Saints in a niche, is well known in the work of Lorenzo di Credi. In fact, in two paintings which belong to the period under discussion individual Saints are represented in this way, one a St. Michael (Fig. 2) and the other a St. Joseph (Figs. 3, 5, 14); both in the Duomo in Florence. The Marradi paintings are unmistakably related in style to these two and to several others which together form a group most likely to represent



5 Detail of Fig. 3.

the artist's own, late style. This group of paintings is not, however, very large and often the problem of the part played by students, particularly that of Giovanni Antonio Sogliani, is involved. The Marradi paintings are extremely valuable in strengthening the homogeneous character of this group and in presenting evidence of the mind, if not the hand, of one artist.

The St. Michael is cited by Vasari in his *Life of Credi*: *in Santa Reparata dipinse l'Angelo*

Michele in un quadro.¹⁰ Reference to it is also made in a document of 1523 which, however, only adds confusion: Giovanni di Benedetto Cianfanini, a painter who had close relations with Credi but who, it seems, does not warrant the designation as his student, received a payment of 56 lire for *rifornitura di un quadro rappresentante l'Arcangelo Michele*.¹¹ This document has never been completely published, it is not available now and the meaning of the few words quoted remains unclear.¹² If the words *rifornitura di un quadro* do, in fact, refer to this painting, they would, for the time being, provide us only with a *terminus ante quem*. Perhaps it was already at this date in the Duomo. The comparison of the head made by Van Marle to the figures in a late Nativity in Naples argues well for Credi's hand: it is a type which one finds constantly in his works, even the earliest ones.¹³ It points clearly back to the Angels of the S. Domenico Baptism and those of the Uffizi Adoration of which it is, in a sense, only a repetition (Fig. 9), and to the so-called Venus in the Uffizi.¹⁴

The St. Joseph represents the very same type and cannot be too far removed in time from the St. Michael. Both recall the St. Bartholomew from Orsanmichele (Fig. 6), a painting which must date before 1510 because it is mentioned by Albertini in his Memoriale of that year.¹⁵ The St. Bartholomew receives particular interest for the development of Credi's late style if one considers for a moment Vasari's statement about it: *Dipinse Lorenzo, essendo ancor giovane, in un pilastro d'Orsanmichele un San Bartolomeo*.¹⁶ The difference in style between this Saint and those in the Duomo confirms the relative merit of Vasari's statement. Even if the St. Bartholomew is not exactly from Credi's youthful period it is important that for Vasari's conception of Credi's stylistic development it was a youthful work. The crisp quattrocento clarity with its emphasis on detail and precision in the Orsanmichele Saint¹⁷ differs funda-

¹⁰ *Vasari-Milanesi*, vol. IV, p. 568.

¹¹ *Dalli Regoli*, op. cit., p. 96; *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, p. 568. Cianfanini is mentioned several times in documents in connection with Credi: in 1513 (*Dominic E. Colnaghi*, A Dictionary of Florentine Painters, London, 1928, pp. 79-81), in 1514 (*Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, p. 575); he appears as a witness to Credi's annuity from S. Maria Nuova (see below, note 29; *Giovanni Gaye*, Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI, Vol. I, Florence, 1839, pp. 372-374). He also appears in several documents between 1531-34 (*Carlo Carne-secchi*, Lorenzo di Credi, Appunti d'Archivio, in: Miscellanea d'Arte, I, 1903, p. 15). *Colnaghi* calls Cianfanini a friend of Credi who may have served as his assistant at one time. Certain facts seem to confirm this interpretation of their relationship and argue against considering him, in the strict sense at least, one of Credi's pupils. Vasari does not list him as such. He was born in 1462 which would make him only a few years younger than Credi, six if Credi were born in 1456 and only three if he were born in 1459. In the catasto of 1480 he is a student of Botticelli and in that of 1498 he has his own bottega: *Tengo appigione una bottega posta in borgho Santo Appostolo, ad uso di dipintore* (*Carlo Pini and Gaetano Milanesi*, La scrittura di artisti Italiani, Florence, 1876, vol. II, pl. 133, who also argue that he was a student of Fra Bartolomeo).

¹² Because of damage caused by the flood of 1966 this document is not now available for consultation. In discussing Cianfanini *Pini and Milanesi* (loc. cit.) state explicitly "... e nel 1523 rifornì d'oro e di colori il quadro di San Michele Arcangelo dipinto da Lorenzo di Credi per una cappella di Santa Maria del Fiore." One wonders if the authors were paraphrasing the words of the document. In his edition of the Lives (*Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, p. 568) *Milanesi* says "fornimento".

It does not seem justified, on the basis of this document, or rather on the basis of the portion which has been published, to attribute the painting and others related to it to Cianfanini as does *Bernhard Degenhart*, in: Die Schüler des Lorenzo di Credi, in: Münchner Jahrbuch, n. s. ix, 1932, pp. 137-147.

¹³ *Raymond van Marle*, The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting, The Hague, 1931, vol. XIII, p. 310.

¹⁴ *Dalli Regoli*, op. cit., p. 75.

¹⁵ *Francesco Albertini*, Memoriale di molte statue e pitture della città di Firenze . . . 1510, edition Florence, 1863, p. 14.

¹⁶ *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, p. 567.

¹⁷ Note Credi's drapery study for a figure of St. Bartholomew in the Louvre, no. 1791, usually associated with the Saint in Orsanmichele (*Roseline Bacou*, Drawings in the Louvre, The Italian Drawings, London, 1968, no. 16; *Bernard Berenson*, I disegni dei pittori fiorentini, Milan, 1961, vol. II, p. 134, no. 715).



6 Lorenzo di Credi, St. Bartholomew. Florence, Orsanmichele.

mentally from the broader, almost billowy forms and sweeping draperies, indicating a style well along into the Cinquecento, of the Duomo panels.

The St. Joseph, too, is cited by Vasari: *e fece all'altare di San Giuseppe in Santa Maria del Fiore esso Santo*.¹⁸ Until recently this figure often has been considered a work of around 1510, done, according to Dalli Regoli, "in collaborazione con Giovannantonio Sogliani".¹⁹ Such a collaboration is assumed also for several other works, some of them under discussion here²⁰; it seemed to be supported by a document of 1510 from S. Maria Nuova, in which Sogliani received payments for Credi's altarpiece for the Ospedale del Ceppo in Pistoia, now in the Museo Civico (Fig. 7). This document has always been cited as follows: *Lorenzo di Credi dipintore die dare addi X dicembre 1510 fiorini dieci portò Giovannantonio suo garzone, contanti, insino a di XIII novembre per conto della tavola dell'altare ci fa per lo Spedale del Ceppo in Pistoia*.²¹ It has never been shown that the document refers to anything but a financial transaction and, moreover, the above transcription represents an incomplete version of the document. A reading of the entire document revealed references to others concerning the altarpiece which I was fortunate in finding and which are given in the Appendix.²² From these new documents the following information can be gathered.

Credi received several payments for the Ceppo altarpiece amounting to about 100 *fiorini*, the accounts of which are dated 1510, 1512, 1519 and 1522. Among these records Sogliani figures in only that of 1510, the one quoted above, and which is repeated in a *libro d'Uscita* with the same date. Because of this it seems safe to say that if that payment of 10 *fiorini* to Sogliani does not represent only a financial transaction, but rather compensation for his share in the painting, then this share must have been minimal. At one point the painting seems to have been valued at more than the original sum. This sum may be stated in the *quadernucio* which is mentioned in several of the documents but which I have been unable to locate. The most important information, however, is the establishment of the date by which the panel was finished. The record of the *libro d'Uscita* makes it clear that in 1510 the panel had still not been delivered to Pistoia: *Dipintura della tavola à ire allo spedale del Ceppo di Pistoia*. But two records from a *libro Maestro* indicate that, and in spite of the later records of 1519-1521, by 1512 it had already been sent to Pistoia and probably to its precise destination: *...la tavola e pittura di una tavola mandata all detto spedale per l'alltare delle donne*.

The Ceppo altarpiece, then, must have been completed between 1510 and 1512. This knowledge would, indeed, strengthen the tendency of dating other works which are close to it around 1510 and it is easy to see why the St. Joseph from the Duomo would receive such attention. However, such a dating can be seriously questioned.

¹⁸ *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, p. 567; also noted in Riccardiana ms. 2569, *Notizie artistiche di Firenze*, c. 178, which is possibly of the late 16th or early 17th century. *Dario Covi* kindly brought this to my attention. For the original location of this altar and its transfer see *Giuseppe Richa*, *Notizie storiche delle chiese fiorentine*, Florence, 1757, vol. VI, pp. 136-137; *Walter and Elisabeth Paatz*, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, Frankfurt am Main, 1952, vol. III, pp. 383-384, 418.

¹⁹ *Dalli Regoli*, op. cit., p. 179, no. 173.

²⁰ *Dalli Regoli*, op. cit., pp. 175-181, 71-75.

²¹ *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, p. 566; *Dalli Regoli*, op. cit., p. 95. The dates of the book in which this document is found (*Maestro Verde*, C, 1508-1513; see below, note 22) are confused with dates of payment in *B. Degenhart*, "Sogliani," in *Thieme-Becker*, vol. XXXI (1937), p. 213, but see *Georg Gronau*, "Lorenzo di Credi," in *Thieme-Becker*, vol. VIII (1913), p. 75.

²² The documents are: ASF, S. Maria Nuova, 5884, *Maestro Verde*, C, 1508 al 1513, cc. 357 left, CCCLVII right; S. Maria Nuova 4529, *Uscita*, C, 1508-1510, c. 228v; S. Maria Nuova, 5885, *Maestro Bianco*, D, 1511-1519, cc. 199 left, CCXXXV right; S. Maria Nuova, 5887, *Maestro Giallo*, F, 1516-1518 (documents in this book are dated as late as 1565), cc. 475 left, CCCLXXV right.



7 Lorenzo di Credi, *The Virgin with Saints*, Altarpiece for the Ospedale del Ceppo in Pistoia. Pistoia, Museo Civico.

There is evidence which in all probability provides a date later than 1520 for the St. Joseph. The chapel of St. Joseph in the Duomo was only founded in that year, according to the information given by Tommaso Della Gherardesca, Archbishop of Florence, in his work of 1720: *Il Fondatore di questa cappella fu Ser Antonio di Ser Niccolò de' Guidi Cherico Fiorentino, e Spedalingo di S. Paolo, e gli dette, ed assegnò per Dote due terze parti del Forno de' Ricci, come costa dalla Fondazione fatta il dì 12. Giugno 1520, e accettata da Monsig. Gambaro Vicario Generale di Monsig. Giulio di Medici Arcivescovo di Firenze, che fu poi Somma Pontefice sotto nome di Clemente VII.*²³ The founding of the chapel and the date is confirmed in a document of 1537 from a book of *Ricordanze* from the hospital of S. Paolo, the *spedale de' pinzocheri del terzo ordine di S.^{to} franc^o*, which I came across recently among the archives of S. Maria Nuova:

Ricordo come oggi questo dì 31 di maggio 1537 El Ven.^{le} sacerdote Ser Nicholo di Domenico di Ser Sancti Rectore della cappella di S.^{to} Joseph in la chiesa maggiore di S.^{ta} M.^a del Fiore mi diè questo ricordo che ne facessi memoria come di sotto si dirà, cioè.

*Ricordo come Messer Ant^o di Ser Nicholo Guidi già spedalingho di questo spedale fino addì 12 di Giugno 1520 fondò una cappella cioè la cappella di S.^{to} Joseph della quale lui è al presente rectore in detta chiesa di S.^{ta} M.^a del Fiore et dotolla di dua terzi di una chasa et forno posta in sul chanto de' ricci, chonfinata a primo via de' ricci, a 2^o redi [di] Zanobi di bartholo, a 3^o un chiasetto, a 4^o la chasa dello Archidiacono fiorentino, via in mezzo, o altri migliori confini, li quali dua terzi si expectavano a detto Messer Ant^o per lasso di una sua zia, et lo altro terzo a più altre persone da monte Morello: et di tucto ne fu rogato Ser Giovanbaptista paganucci notaio allo arcivescovado: di consentimento di Messer Pietro Gamboro vichario dello arcivescovo: et feceno padrone di detta cappella lo hospitalingho dello spedale de' pinzocheri del terzo ordine di S.^{to} franc^o, alias detto lo hospitale di S.^{to} Pavolo, come del tucto appare per detto contracto rogato detto dì.*²⁴

If this date for the St. Joseph seems to fit Credi's chronology, it is equally important for the exclusion of Sogliani's collaboration. By 1520 Sogliani had fully developed his own character and there is almost nothing of Credi to be seen in his style. This is most strikingly illustrated in his St. Acatius altarpiece of 1521, signed and dated, in San Lorenzo.²⁵ Needless to say, before this date the problem of the part played by Sogliani cannot be dismissed, as we know from the document regarding the Ospedale del Ceppo altarpiece that Sogliani was associated with Credi at that time; but a final answer will have to await further examination.

The chapel of St. Joseph in the Duomo belonged to the hospital of S. Paolo. It is interesting that throughout most of his life Credi had a particularly close relationship with another hospital, S. Maria Nuova: in 1485, while still in Verrocchio's studio, he rented a dwelling from it for three years. The document concerning this has been known since Milanese's edition of Va-

²³ *Alessandro Marzimedici and Tommaso Bonaventura de' Conti Della Gherardesca*, Documenti e sommario di tutte le cappelle tassate, Florence, 1720, pp. 5, 99.

²⁴ ASF, S. Maria Nuova, 43, Ricordanze, D, 1502-1544, cc. 167r-v. The complete document is given in the Appendix IV. As I have stated in the text this book is not from S. Maria Nuova, but rather from the hospital of S. Paolo. On the first page of this book it is stated that *Queste richordanze . . . sono dello spedale de' pinzocheri del terzo ordine di san franc.^o* For a similar situation regarding the archives of this hospital and a discussion of the *pinzocheri* see: *Richa*, op. cit., 1755, vol. III, pp. 121-131; *Paatz*, op. cit., 1952, vol. IV, pp. 602-608; *Herbert Horne*, A Newly Discovered 'Libro di Ricordi' of Alesso Baldovinetti, in: *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. ii, 1903, pp. 22-32, see especially pp. 22-27.

²⁵ *B. Degenhart*, in *Thieme-Becker*, op. cit., p. 213; *Alfred Scharf*, Bacchiaca: A New Contribution, in: *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. lxx, 1937, pp. 60, 65; *Sydney J. Freedberg*, Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence, Cambridge (Mass.), 1961, vol. I, pp. 495-496.

sari's Lives.²⁶ There exist several more documents, which have been overlooked, that indicate he continued in such a relationship until at least 1506²⁷; the commission for the Ospedale del Ceppo altarpiece probably originated from S. Maria Nuova²⁸; in his testament he expressed the desire to be buried in either the church or cemetery of S. Egidio; the money from his heritage to be paid to Agnoletta Verrocchio, niece of Andrea, and to the Company of St. Martin was to be administered through the hospital²⁹; in 1531 he bought an annuity for the rest of his life which was to be continued after his death to his servant and he was supposed to have taken up residence in the hospital.³⁰ One wonders if Credi, in such close relationship with

²⁶ *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, p. 564; ASF, S. Maria Nuova 5797, Possessioni e Commessi, A, 1485-1488. This document has been incompletely published. In referring to it *Dalli Regoli* (op. cit., p. 92) quotes these words (*Milanesi's* transcription), *Lorenzo d'Andrea d'Oderigho Barducci dipintore in bottega d'Andrea del Verrocchio tolse da noi a pigione per anni tre chominciando a dì 15 daghosto 1486*, and states that "Lorenzo prende in affitto un imprecisato alloggio presso lo Spedale di S. Maria Nuova." This is not true. The document (c. 526 left) continues with a description of the location of the house: *1^a chasa chosuoij abituri posta nella via della perghola e debbene dare l'anno fiorini dieci di sugello e sta suo mallevadore Girolamo di benedetto ghalilej*; and on c. 502 right a slightly more detailed description: *3^o Chasa chosuoij abituri posta nella via della perghola popolo di Sancta Maria in campo a p^o via, 2^o 1/3, 1/4 beni del nostro spedale debbene dare fiorini dieci di sugello l'anno come detto paghando di 6 mesi in 6 mesi e ognanno per ognisantj 3^o paio di chapponi, sta suo mallevadore Girolamo di benedetto ghalilej*. This information is confirmed in several other records in the same book; see cc. 50v; 345 left; 502 left; 526 right. (Interesting and somewhat problematic is the fact that there are two indices to this book of documents. One is bound with the book and is obviously the proper index, where Credi is called *Lorenzo d'Andrea dipintore*. The second index, unattached to the book also refers to him, but as *Lorenzo d'Andrea d'Oderigho Barducci*, the same puzzling name that appears in the actual document of this book. I have been unable to locate the book of documents to which this second, unattached index belongs). See below, notes 27 and 30 for further additions and corrections to the documents concerning Credi's private life. Mention might also be made in passing of the existence of his mother's tax declaration of 1498 and his own in 1534, both heretofore unknown: ASF, Decima della Repubblica, vol. 6, 1498, S. Spirito, Ferza, c. 335r; ASF, Decima Granducale, 3570, S. Spirito, Ferza, 1534, cc. 509 left and right.

²⁷ ASF, S. Maria Nuova, 5751, Fitti e Pigioni, D, 1502-1506, cc. 145 r-v; S. Maria Nuova, 5821, Debitori e Creditori, T, 1498-1512, c. 395 v.

²⁸ The wording of the S. Maria Nuova document, *per conto della tavola dell'Altare ci fa* (the spacing is mine) seems to be explicit proof that the hospital in Florence had commissioned the painting for Pistoia. The Ospedale del Ceppo came under the direction of S. Maria Nuova in 1501; see the document of August 21, 1501, in *Luigi Bargiacchi*, *Storia degli Istituti di beneficenza, d'istruzione ed educazione in Pistoia, etc.*, Florence, 1883, vol. I, pp. 210-213. The view that this did not occur until 1537 is incorrect: *Renato Piattoli*, *Guida storica e bibliografica degli archivi e delle biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. II, pt. I, R. Istituto storico Italiano, Rome, 1934, p. 36.

²⁹ *Gaye*, op. cit., pp. 375; in 1560, in accordance with Credi's testament, there is a payment to the Company of the *Buoni Uomini di St^o Martino*, in S. Maria Nuova, 5821, op. cit., c. 396 r.

³⁰ With respect to this annuity and the date of Credi's death several points concerning the documents should be clarified. It is obvious that these documents have not been checked since *Milanesi's* time. *Dalli Regoli* (*Lorenzo di Credi*, pp. 96-97) follows *Milanesi* (*Vasari-Milanesi*, p. 569), in citing the book of documents in which there appears the annuity, bought in 1531, and the notice of death in 1536 (new style, 1537) as S. Maria Nuova, Debiti e Crediti, D, dal 1525 al 1541. Indeed, the book is listed as such in the inventory (No. 149) of the Archivio di Stato in Florence. The reference is, however, incorrect and should be cited as S. Maria Nuova, 5825, Commesse, Rosso, D, dal 1525 al 1541. The annuity is on c. CCVIII right and the notice of death on c. CCCXXXVI right, not 386 as reported by *Milanesi*. (Documents concerning Credi are also to be found on cc. 209 left, 336 left, 311 left, CCCXI right, 312 left, CCCXII, right, 393 left and CCCLXXXII right. For the latter, see below in this note). It is strange that the proper citation of these documents should go unnoticed since it is correctly stated in the long known version of the document concerning the annuity and certain effects which Credi left to his servant, partly published by *Gaye*, op. cit., pp. 372-377 (Riccardiana, ms. 2713, Miscellanea, pt. II, cc. 229-230): *Richardo chome oggi questo di aprile 1531 io ò chomesso el mio podere da sto chasciano nello Spedale di Sta. Maria Nuova, chome apare al libro de chomessi, libro rosso sotto 209 per me Ghino rondinegli, scrivano in detto luogo*. Reference to this same book also appears in S. Maria Nuova, 5892, Maestro Giallo, L, 1531-1541, cc. CCLXII right, 262 left, in which payment is made to Credi's servant after his death as outlined in the original contract. Similar records of payment are to be found in S. Maria Nuova, 5825, op. cit., cc. 393 left, CCCLXXXIII right, and in S. Maria Nuova, 5792, Commesse, F, 1541-1585, cc. 181 left-right, 238 left. In the latter two documents Credi's date of death is confirmed: *L^o d'Andrea dichredi che morì addì 12 di Gennaio 1536* and according to an entry in 5792 his servant, Mona Caterina di Antonio di Mugello, died on 10 January 1564.

S. Maria Nuova, a large and powerful institution, would have been in a special position through their good offices to be favourably suggested for the commission for a painting from a sister institution, the hospital of S. Paolo, for its chapel of St. Joseph in the Duomo.³¹

It cannot be doubted that the St. Joseph from Marradi is by the same hand; it seems to have been painted almost at the same moment. The similarities between it and the St. Joseph from the Duomo are unmistakable in most aspects and the general reference to the earlier Credi is no less clear. The dimensions of the Marradi panel are not indicated in either the inventories or letters referred to earlier. It may have been smaller than the Duomo panel which might account for the greater simplicity and lack of detail.

The Virgin from Marradi finds her counterpart, no less clearly, in another painting which is also of special interest in a discussion of Credi's later style. Vasari makes reference to it almost in the same breath with which he cites the Duomo St. Joseph: *Mandò a Montepulciano una tavola che è nella chiesa di Santo Agostino, dentrovi un Crucifisso, la Nostra Donna, e San Giovanni, fatti con molta diligenza.*³² This panel is still in the church of S. Agostino in Montepulciano (Fig. 8). The identification of it gives some indication of the confused and vague attitude towards Credi's late style: though Brogi, in his inventory of 1897 listed it with the attribution to Credi³³, it was more often than not excluded from his *oeuvre*, and the picture to which Vasari referred was thought to be lost.³⁴

The Crucifixion must be about contemporary with the panels from the Duomo and Marradi. The close relationship that exists between them is proven by a comparison of the Virgins from Marradi and Montepulciano. The connection to Credi is further strengthened, to cite only one example, by a comparison — especially of the Marradi figure — to the Madonna of the Uffizi Adoration (Fig. 9).³⁵ The composition of the Crucifixion also points directly to Credi's earlier period; the Saints to either side of the cross are almost exact repetitions of the Saints from his Virgin and St. John in the Uffizi (Fig. 10). Even the figure of Christ is recognizable in the Christ from the Göttingen Crucifixion.

There are several other paintings which will have to be taken into account if and when wider attention is given to Credi's late style, the *Sacra conversazione* from S. Agata and several attributed to the young Sogliani. One, other, stands out for its almost certain membership in the group which consists of the panels from the Duomo, Marradi and Montepulciano. This is a Crucifixion with Saints, the location of which is unknown to me. It was, presumably, before the last war in the Acton Collection in Florence³⁶, and was published in 1933 by Degenhart who, unfortunately, used it to support his denial of the Göttingen Crucifixion to Credi.³⁷ One wonders if this painting is not the Crucifixion with Saints which Richa saw in the Albizi chapel in S. Pier Maggiore and which he ascribed to Credi.³⁸

³¹ In other books of documents from S. Maria Nuova there is reference to the founding of a chapel of St. Joseph in 1519 in S. Michele Visdomini: S. Maria Nuova, 5888, Maestro Rosso G, 1518-1524, fol. 150; S. Maria Nuova, 5890, Maestro Bianco, I, 1524 al 1535, fol. 110: *chapella di sangiuseppe per franc. di Giovanni Pucj nella chiesa di san michele bisdomini di firenze*. One wonders if any significance can be attached to the establishment of two chapels dedicated to the same saint about the same date.

³² *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, p. 567.

³³ *Francesco Brogi*, *Inventario generale degli oggetti d'arte della provincia di Siena*, Siena, 1897, pp. 286-287.

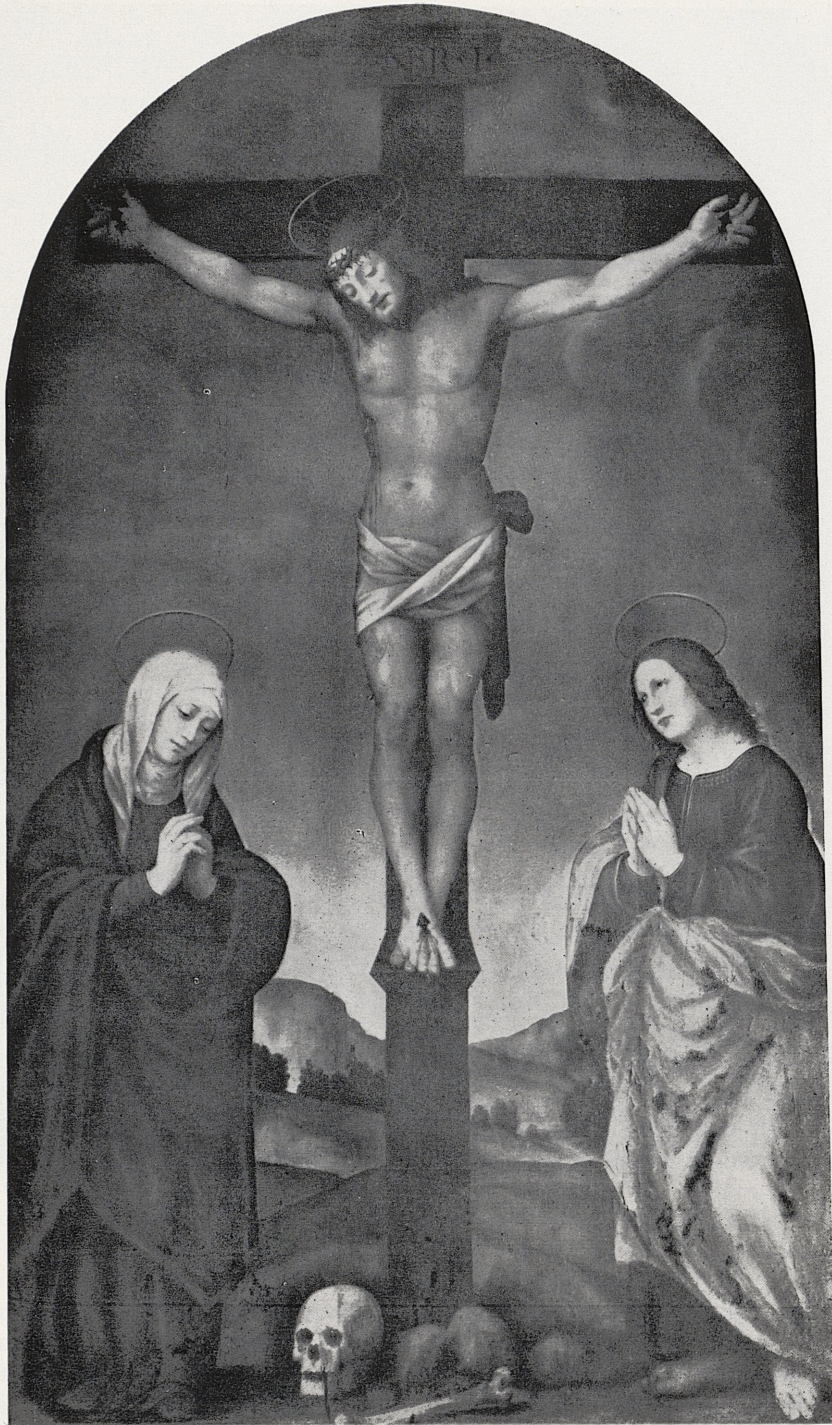
³⁴ See *Dalli Regoli*, op. cit., p. 179, cat. no. 174, for a sample of this literature.

³⁵ *Albertini*, op. cit., p. 16.

³⁶ *Dalli Regoli*, op. cit., p. 180, cat. no. 176.

³⁷ *Bernhard Degenhart*, *An Unknown Crucifixion by Lorenzo di Credi*, in: *The Burlington Magazine*, lxxiii, 1933, pp. 10-16.

³⁸ *Richa*, op. cit., 1754, vol. I, 142; *Paatz*, op. cit., 1952, vol. IV, p. 641, gives no explanation for placing the painting in the "erstes [sic] Viertel 16. Jahrh."



8 Lorenzo di Credi, *Crucifixion with Two Saints*. Montepulciano, St. Agostino.



9 Lorenzo di Credi, *Adoration*, detail. Florence, Uffizi.

In addition to enlarging the small but homogeneous group of paintings which have been discussed here the Marradi panels serve another purpose. They emphasize the fact of Credi's conservatism; motifs and types, unimaginative repetitions, are used throughout his lifetime with, as S. J. Freedberg has pointed out, only a superficial accommodation to changes in style.³⁹

³⁹ *Freedberg*, op. cit., pp. 72.



10 Lorenzo di Credi, *The Virgin and St. John*. Florence, Uffizi.

The Marradi figures and those in the Duomo in Florence are good examples of Credi's essentially Quattrocento character. They are quattrocentesque forms which have been, figuratively speaking, blown up with an air pump. In this context one cannot but help think about one of the more important monuments of Quattrocento painting with which Credi is historically and stylistically associated, the altarpiece commissioned from Verrocchio from the Duomo in Pistoia.

The problem of the Pistoia altarpiece is well known and has been much discussed. Though its authorship still cannot be stated with certainty, it was the basis of Credi's style and it is often attributed to him, either totally or in part. For the question of this painting Credi's continual repetition of types may be more relevant now than before the discovery of the Marradi panels. Little effort is necessary to see the relationship between figures from the Pistoia altarpiece and many of those from Credi's *oeuvre*. When the Pistoia St. John (Fig. 11) is compared to the Marradi St. Joseph one is tempted to give even greater consideration to the possibility that Credi himself may have had a direct share in the Pistoia painting. Such a prospect, of course, until more is known about this painting, must remain in the realm of conjecture. Nonetheless, a provocative idea is suggested. One may well have to rethink the role of this artist, though so conservative and often dull, whose active career it now seems can be seriously considered as having lasted beyond 1520 and which began sometime in the 1470s in one of the most interesting and original workshops of the Quattrocento. As the inheritor and probable depository of the artistic fund left behind by Andrea del Verrocchio and the young Leonardo, Lorenzo di Credi may have signalled the first step for a younger generation of artists who were on the road towards the creation and practice of a new style.



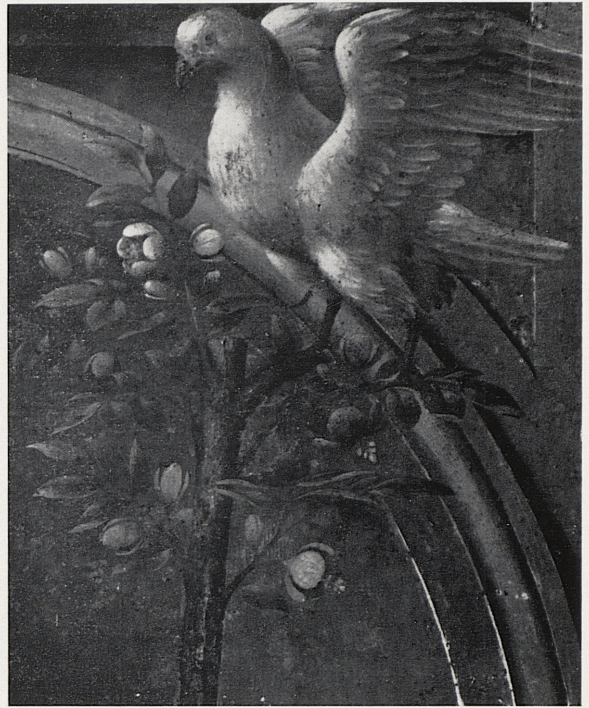
11 Circle of Verrocchio, St. John the Baptist, detail from the Pistoia altarpiece. Pistoia, Duomo.



12 Lorenzo di Credi, Head of The Virgin (detail of Fig. 1). Formerly Marradi.



13 Lorenzo di Credi, detail of the St. Joseph (Fig. 1). Formerly Marradi.



14 Lorenzo di Credi, detail of the St. Joseph (Fig. 3). Florence, Duomo.

One of the objects of this essay, besides the addition of two new paintings to the artist's *oeuvre* has been to suggest a plausible extension of Credi's activity beyond 1510, the date heretofore often accepted as that which represented his last major period of production. The reason for this tendency was the document of 1510 concerning the Ceppo altarpiece. Works considered to be close to it, if even given to Credi, were usually grouped around that date. New documents presented here confirm the date of 1510 and establish that of 1512 when the Ceppo painting was certainly completed and indicate that Credi himself was responsible for almost all of it. Works which are, therefore, so stylistically akin to it as to suggest one hand will have to be considered as the products of the Master. More important perhaps is the additional evidence, the founding of the chapel of St. Joseph in the Duomo and Credi's painting for that chapel, which gives good reason for believing that he was active well beyond 1510, most probably up to and after 1520. Several works, some perhaps datable before and some after 1520 could easily be grouped in this category, for example the Marradi panels, the St. Michael from the Duomo and the Montepulciano Crucifixion, and seem to argue for the hand of one painter unaided by students to any significant degree that would alter the concept of his style. Hopefully this material will not further complicate the matter of Lorenzo di Credi for, in effect, one must now fix a precise chronology within a longer period of activity.

APPENDIX

Archive of the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence. Two letters concerning Marradi:

I

Ill.mo Signor Sindaco

Oggetto: Risposta alla Circolare riguardante la Conservazione degli oggetti d'arte e di antichità.

In risposta alla Circolare concernente la conservazione di Oggetti d'Arte e di Antichità, le rendo noto che l'inventario dei mobili e arredi Sacri della Chiesa fu fatto il 25 marzo 1880 e trovasi in cotesto Comune.

In esso, come nell'inventario di tutti gli oggetti del Monastero, fatti all'epoca della soppressione, anno 1866⁴⁰, nulla è notato di artistico o storico; senonché esiste un quadro con cornice dorata avente da una parte l'Image della B. V. [Beata Vergine] e dall'altra S. Giuseppe, giudicato di dubbio valore, ma al quale non fu attribuito nel inventario valore alcuno perche non è di nostra proprietà.

Con osservanza
Marradi 19 gennaio 1913
Devot.ma

La Superiora del Monastero
dell SS. Annunziata

Ill.mo Signor Sindaco
del Comune di Marradi

II

Marradi 17 marzo 1913

Ill.mo Signore,

Ancora nello scorso gennaio a mezzo dell'Ill.mo Sig. Sindaco io risposi alla circolare concernente l'elenco degli oggetti d'arte e di antichità, ed ora ripeterò ciò che allora dissi; cioè che dall'inventario dei mobili ed arredi sacri esistenti nella Chiesa annessa al nostro monastero, non risulta alcun oggetto che abbia valore artistico; e l'originale di detto inventario trovasi nell'Archivio di questo Comune, tuttavia vi sono alcuni pochi oggetti che sono stati giudicati di dubbio valore, dei quali unisco l'elenco.

Con perfetta osservanza
Della S. V. ill.ma

Devot.ma
La Superiora delle Domenicane
del Monastero SS. Annunziata

Ill.mo Signor
Soprintendente alle Gallerie
e Musei e Oggetti d'arte
Firenze

⁴⁰ *The only inventory listed in the archives of the Conventi Soppressi (ASF, archivio 157, no. 16) has been damaged by the flood of November, 1966.*

III

Documents concerning Lorenzo di Credi's altarpiece for the Ospedale del Ceppo in Pistoia

ASF, *S. Maria Nuova*, 5884, *Maestro Verde*, C, 1508 al 1513.

c. 357 left

Mdx

Lorenzo di Credi dipintore de' dare adì x di dicembre 1510 f. dieci larghi d'oro in oro portò Giovannantonio suo garzone contanti insino adì xiii di novembre chome apare all qu^{no} segnato C, c. 114, per chonto della tavola dell'alltare ci fa per llo spedale del Ceppo di Pistoia; a uscita segnato C, c. 228.

f. 10 L. —

c. CCCLVII right

Mdx

Lorenzo di Chredi di chontro de' dare posto spedale dare a libro Gialo f 475

f. 10

ASF, *S. Maria Nuova*, 4529, *Uscita*, C, 1508-1510.

c. 228 v.

Mdx

martedì addì 10 di dicembre

A Lorenzo di chredi dipintore f. dieci d^o [d'oro] in oro portò G(i)ovanant.^o suo gharzone chontanti sino addì 13 di novembre sopra alla dipintura della tavola à ire allo spedale del Ceppo di Pistoia, al qc(i)^o, c. 114, a libro verde C ac. 357

f. 10 s. —

ASF, *S. Maria Nuova*, 5885, *Maestro Bianco*, D, 1511-1519.

c. 199 left

Mdxij

Spedale di Santa Maria del Ceppo di Pistoia. . .

E de' dare adì detto f. sesanta due s. x d'oro in oro sono per tanti paghati per llui a Lorenzo di Credi dipintore, e per noj di Messer Lionardo nostro maggiore; avere in qu^o c. 235; sono per le pitture e tavole mandate loro a Pistoia per l'alltare delle donne

f. 62. 10 — L. —

c. CCXXXV right

Mdxii

E de' avere adì detto f. sesanta due s. x per noj allo spedale del ceppo di Pistoia, dare in qu^o c. 199, e per lui a Lorenzo di Credi dipintore, sono per la tavola e pittura di una tavola mandata all detto spedale per l'alltare delle donne

f. 62. 10 — L. —

ASF, *S. Maria Nuova*, 5887, *Maestro Gialli*, F, 1516-1518.

c. 475 left

MDxviii

Lorenzo di Chredi dipintore de' de' dare, posto che deba avere a libro verde segnato C, c. 475 [sic]

f. 10

E de' dare f. trenta d'oro e L. nove piccioli, per noi da messer L^{do} buonafè nostro maggiore come apare al suo quadern^{uc(i)}o p(i)ch(o)lo, ac. posto messer L^{do} avere in questo ac. 533

f. 31 s. 5 9

c. CCCCLXXV right

MDxviii

Lorenzo di chredi dipintore de' avere f. quarantuno s. 5 d. 9 d'oro e quali se gli fano buoni per valuta d'una tavola auta da luj più [fa] pel ceppo di Pistoia, la quale monta più che deta soma; posta [sic] deto ispedale dare a libro bianco segnato d, ac.

f. 41 s. 5 9

c. 533 left

MDxxj

Messer Lionardo di Giovanni buonafè nostro magiore. . .
 . . . adì xii di febraio 1522.

E de' avere f. 31 s. 5 9 d'oro, per noj a L^o di chredi; dare in questo, c. 475

f. 31 5. 9

IV

*The Founding of the Chapel of St. Joseph in the Duomo*⁴¹

ASF, S. Maria Nuova, 43, Ricordanze⁴², D, 1502-1554.

cc. 167 r-v

1537

Ricordo come oggi questo dì 31 di maggio 1537 El Ven.^{le} sacerdote Ser Nicholo di Domenico di Ser Sancti Rectore della chappella di S.^{to} Joseph in la chiesa maggiore di S.^{ta} M.^a del Fiore mi diè questo ricordo che ne facessi memoria come di sotto si dirà, cioè.

Ricordo⁴³ come Messer Ant^o di Ser Nicholo Guidi già spedalingho di questo spedale fino addì 12 di Giugno 1520 fondò una cappella cioè la cappella di S.^{to} Joseph della quale lui è al presente rectore in detta chiesa di S.^{ta} M.^a del Fiore et dotolla di dua terzi di una chasa et forno posta in sul canto de' ricci, confinata a primo via de' ricci, a 2^o redi [di] Zanobi di bartholo, a 3^o un chiassetto, a 4^o la chasa dello Archidiacono fiorentino, via in mezzo, o altri migliori confini, li quali dua terzi si expectavano a detto Messer Ant^o per lasso di una sua zia, et lo altro terzo a più altre persone da monte Morello: et di tucto ne fu rogato Ser Giovanbaptista paganucci notaio allo arcivescovado: di consentimento di Messer Pietro Gamboro vichario dello arcivescovo: et feceno padrone di detta cappella lo hospitalingho dello spedale de' pinzocheri del terzo ordine di S.^{to} franc^o, alias detto lo hospitale di S.^{to} pavolo, come del tucto appare per detto contracto rogato detto dì: Et dixè che per detta cappella per sua porzione netti se ne chavano ogni anno lire settantacinque fiorini piccioli. Et più dixè che detto Messer Ant^o paghò a Giovanni cappelli chamarlingho della opera di S.^{ta} M.^a del Fiore contanti in dua volte duchati ottanta quatro a chagione che el chappellano fusse amesso alle distributioni con li altri cappellani e quali denari portorono Messer Jacopo corista et Ser Bart^o da Peretola sotto dì di marzo 1522.

Item dixè come detto Messer Ant^o doppo tale fondatione passati forse quatro mesi presentò a detta cappella Ser Barth^o di. . . da Peretola, et fu instituto come del tucto appare charta per mano di Ser Raphaello di Miniato Baldesi. Dipoi detto Ser Barth^o tenne detta cappella circha di anni dua et dipoi per certi sua excessi ne fu privato da Messer horatio Vichario dello arcivescovo, et del processo ne fu rogato Ser Giovanni tinghi notaio dello arcivescovado sopra el criminale

segue di là

⁴¹ I should like to thank Gino Corti for his help in transcribing this document and those concerning the Ceppo altarpiece.

⁴² See note 24.

⁴³ In the margin: Patronato della Capp^a di S.^{to} Joseph.

Dipoi Messer Ant^o Guidi hebbe ricorso per provvedere a detta cappella, al R.^{mo} de' Medici S.^{re} Lulio et fece suo procuratore Giovanni di Nicholò tempi a presentare El quale Giovanni presentò il detto Messer Ant^o Guidi et in suo nome perché era absente, presentò Messer Giovanni Vespucci Can.^{co} fiorentino et fu acceptato et adnesso et instituito come del tucto appare charta per mano di Ser Raphaello Baldesi.

Dipoi addi 3 di luglio 1525 o vero 26, el detto Messer Ant^o renumpitiò detto cappella et a quella presentò Ser Nicholò di Domenico di Ser Santi clericho in minoribus et fu instituito come di tucto fu rogato Ser Raphaello Baldesi detto. El quale la ha tenuta et posseduta fino a questo di presente et anchora ne è rectore.

Et più dixè come addi 27 di febraio 1526 el detto Messer Ant^o donò alla sopra detta cappella un pezo di terra si staiora uno et mezo a grano, posta nel popolo di S^{to} donato al borgho alla collina confinato a primo et 2^o via a 3^o beni di quelli da tosi, a 4^o beni di Agostino Ubertini.

Et più dixè come detto di 27 di febraio 1526 Zanobi di. . . in quel tempo factore dello nostro spedale donò alla detta cappella una vigna di staiora 4 1/2 in circha, posto nel popolo di S.^{to} piero a Quarachi, luogho detto salceto, confinato a primo via a 2^o beni del Monastero di Ripoli a 3^o beni della chiesa di S.^{to} piero a Quarachi, a 4^o beni di M^a Maria donna fu di Galiano fornaio, come di dette dua ultime donationi appare charta per mano di Ser Christophano di m^o Giovanni di Zanni da Marradi notaio in detto tempo del podestà da monte lupo.

RIASSUNTO

Uno dei soggetti di questo saggio, oltre l'aggiunta di due nuovi dipinti all'œuvre dell'artista — precedentemente nella chiesa della SS. Annunziata a Marradi, ma ora perduti — consiste nell'estendere plausibilmente l'attività del Credi oltre il 1510, data fino ad ora accettata come l'ultima per il suo maggior periodo di produzione. Questa supposizione era convalidata dal documento del 1510 riguardante la pala d'altare del Ceppo. Le opere vicine a questa, se attribuite al Credi erano di consueto raggruppate intorno a questa data. I nuovi documenti riportati in questo saggio confermano la data del 1510, stabiliscono che nel 1512 il dipinto del Ceppo fu certamente compiuto e indicano il Credi stesso come autore di quasi tutta l'opera. Le opere che sono, tuttavia, così stilisticamente vicine da indicare un'unica mano, devono essere considerate del Maestro.

È forse più importante come prova supplementare la data di fondazione della cappella di S. Giuseppe nel Duomo ed il dipinto del Credi che ci dà ragione di credere che egli fosse attivo molto dopo il 1510, probabilmente fino al 1520 ed oltre. Varie opere, alcune delle quali databili forse prima del 1520 ed altre dopo tale data, potrebbero facilmente essere qui raggruppate per esempio, le tavole di Marradi, il S. Michele del Duomo e la Crocefissione di Montepulciano. Esse sembrano indicare la mano di un solo artista e non rivelano l'aiuto di scolari in modo tale da alterare la concezione del suo stile. È sperabile che questo materiale non complichino ulteriormente la questione di Lorenzo di Credi, poiché, infatti, si deve ora stabilire una precisa cronologia entro un più lungo periodo di attività.

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Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence: Figs. 1, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14. - Alinari: Figs. 2, 8, 9, 10. - Brogi: Fig. 6. - Zenit, Pistoia: Figs. 7, 11.