

## RAPHAEL'S ACTIVITY IN PERUGIA AS REFLECTED IN A DRAWING IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM - OXFORD

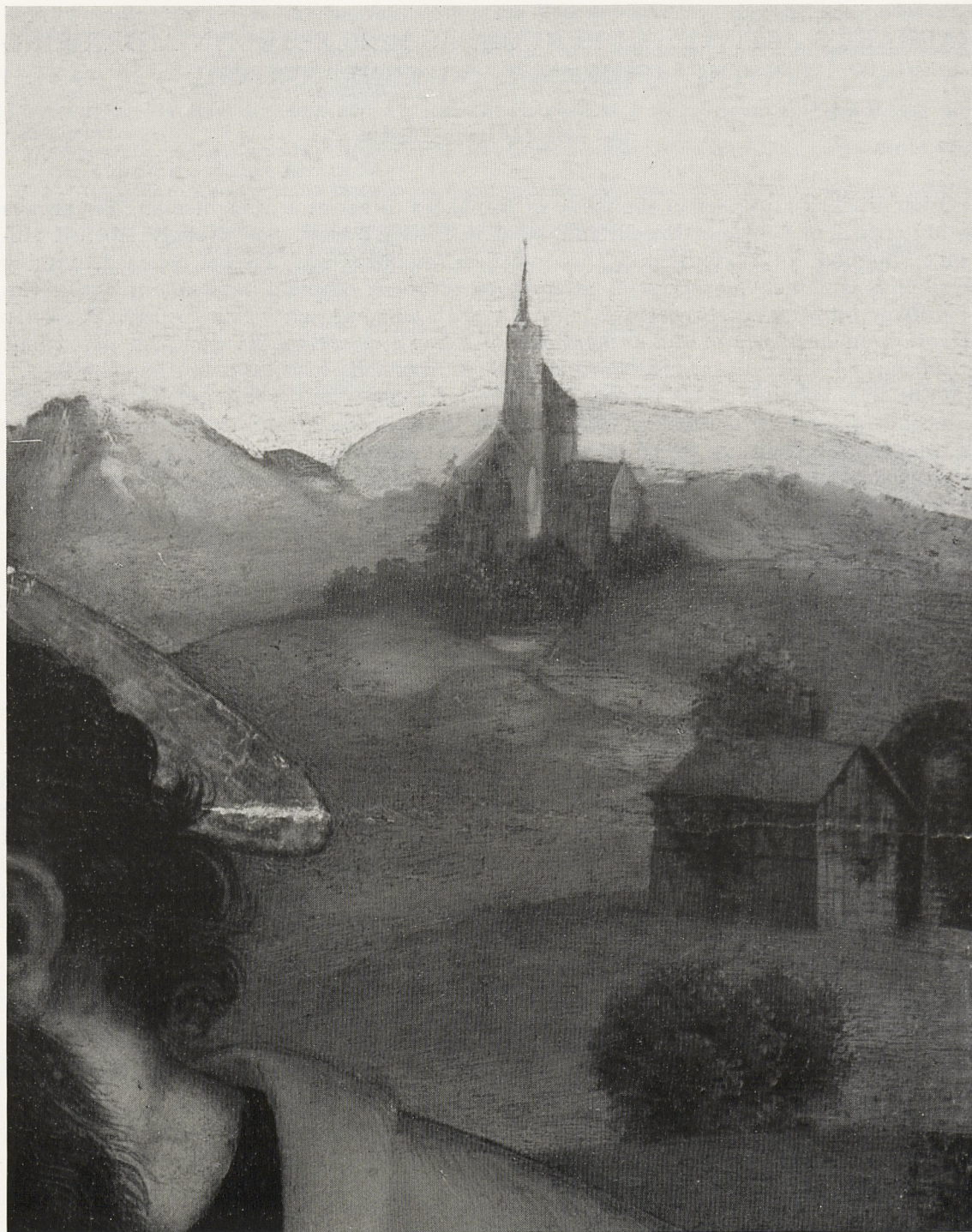
by *Sylvia Ferino-Pagden*

Oskar Fischel, a pioneer in the study of Raphael's career as a draughtsman, was always highly critical of Giovanni Morelli and, what in Fischel's view, was wrongly labelled Morelli's "method" of attribution.<sup>1</sup> This so-called "method" was, Fischel believed, nothing more than a largely unsuccessful attempt to create a coherent system out of a series of brilliant intuitions. He was also unhappy with an approach which focussed scholarly attention on questions of the authenticity of a work of art to the exclusion of content or substance.<sup>2</sup> Fischel's own early work, however, especially his "Versuch einer Kritik..." and the first volumes of his corpus of Raphael drawings, betray the unmistakable influence of Morelli's "revolutionary" contribution to art history.<sup>3</sup> Fischel himself later acknowledged this influence which he seems to have regarded as to some degree inescapable for any art historian writing at the turn of the century.<sup>4</sup> Fischel's own early studies in particular share the hypercritical approach favoured by Morelli and indeed by Fischel's own mentor Franz Wickhoff.<sup>5</sup>

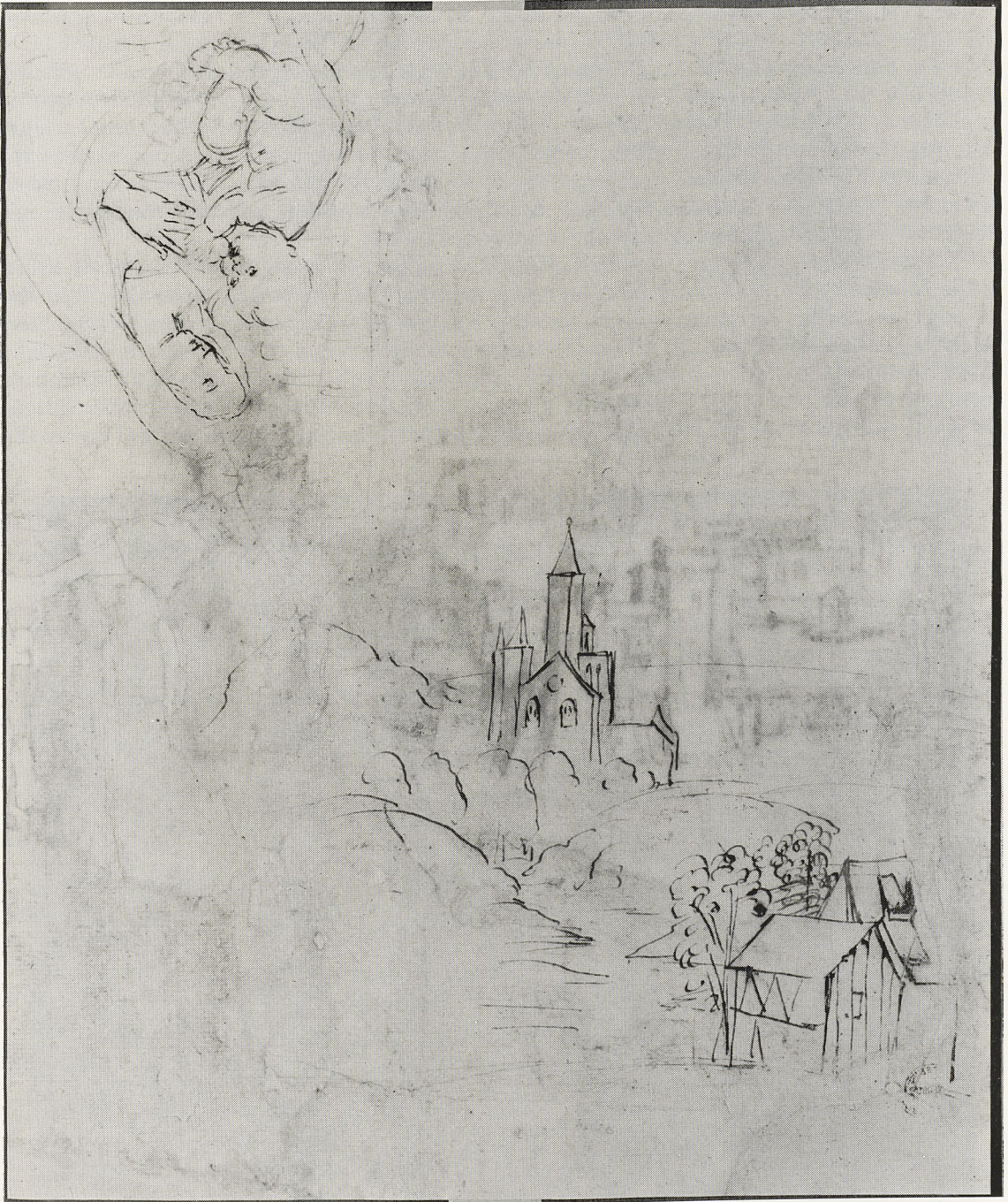
The effect of this new art criticism in the late nineteenth century was to reduce greatly the number of drawings attributed to Raphael.<sup>6</sup> And although in his later work Fischel broadened his judgement of Raphael's artistic abilities and the variety of his drawing style he never substantially revised his views on the production of Raphael's early years.<sup>7</sup> He excluded from the first volume of "Raphaels Zeichnungen" any drawing which in his view did not meet the artistic standards established by the later work, any drawing, that is, which showed signs of uncertainty or betrayed the hand of an inexperienced draughtsman was omitted. Many of them are listed, however, four years later in the catalogue of Umbrian drawings, the "Zeichnungen der Umbrer" as by Perugino and his shop.<sup>8</sup>

Fischel was also undecided about a number of drawings which he had included in his first volume, such as the group relating to Pintoricchio's fresco cycle in the Piccolomini Library.<sup>9</sup> For these are also reproduced in the "Zeichnungen der Umbrer" as possibly by Pintoricchio himself.<sup>10</sup> The rich and well-documented collection of Raphael drawings in Oxford presented to Fischel, as it still does today, problems of attribution<sup>11</sup>, in particular a group of early drawings.<sup>12</sup> Some of these he assigned to Perugino's shop although he was ambiguous about the possible extent of Raphael's contribution to them.<sup>13</sup> Subsequent scholars, such as Sir Karl Parker have re-attributed a few of the drawings in this group to Raphael but others are still catalogued under the name of Perugino and his circle.<sup>14</sup> It is the purpose of this study to restore to Raphael another drawing from this group, a drawing, furthermore, which adds considerably to our knowledge of Raphael's artistic activity in Perugia during the first four years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The drawing (Parker 34) from the Antaldi Collection contains on recto and verso, three compositional motifs all of which appear at first glance to be independent of one another.<sup>15</sup> On the recto we have a compositional study for — rather than of — a picture representing a kneeling St. Jerome in the Wilderness with a prominent cityscape in the distance (Fig. 9). On the verso there is a sketch of a church on a hill surrounded by trees with a group of half-timbered huts in the right foreground (Fig. 2). On turning the sheet one hundred and eighty degrees we find in the lower right corner a sketch of a Madonna nursing the Child seated on her lap (Fig. 5), a composition not otherwise re-



1 Raphael, Colonna Altarpiece, (detail). New York, Metropolitan Museum.



2 Raphael, Landscape sketch. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

corded. The picture frame has been indicated in the top and left of the drawing, while the edges of the paper now serve to frame the sketch on the bottom and right.<sup>16</sup>

J. D. Passavant and J. C. Robinson attributed the drawing to Raphael.<sup>17</sup> Fischel included it in his catalogue of Umbrian drawings but hinted at the possibility that it might be by Raphael.<sup>18</sup> Parker listed it as a product of Perugino's circle but he conceded that the Madonna and Child on the verso might be the work of Raphael, at least in invention, and pointed out that the landscape was similar to that in Raphael's *Terranuova Madonna*.<sup>19</sup> It is, as we shall now see, the latter sketch which provides conclusive evidence for Raphael's authorship of the whole sheet.

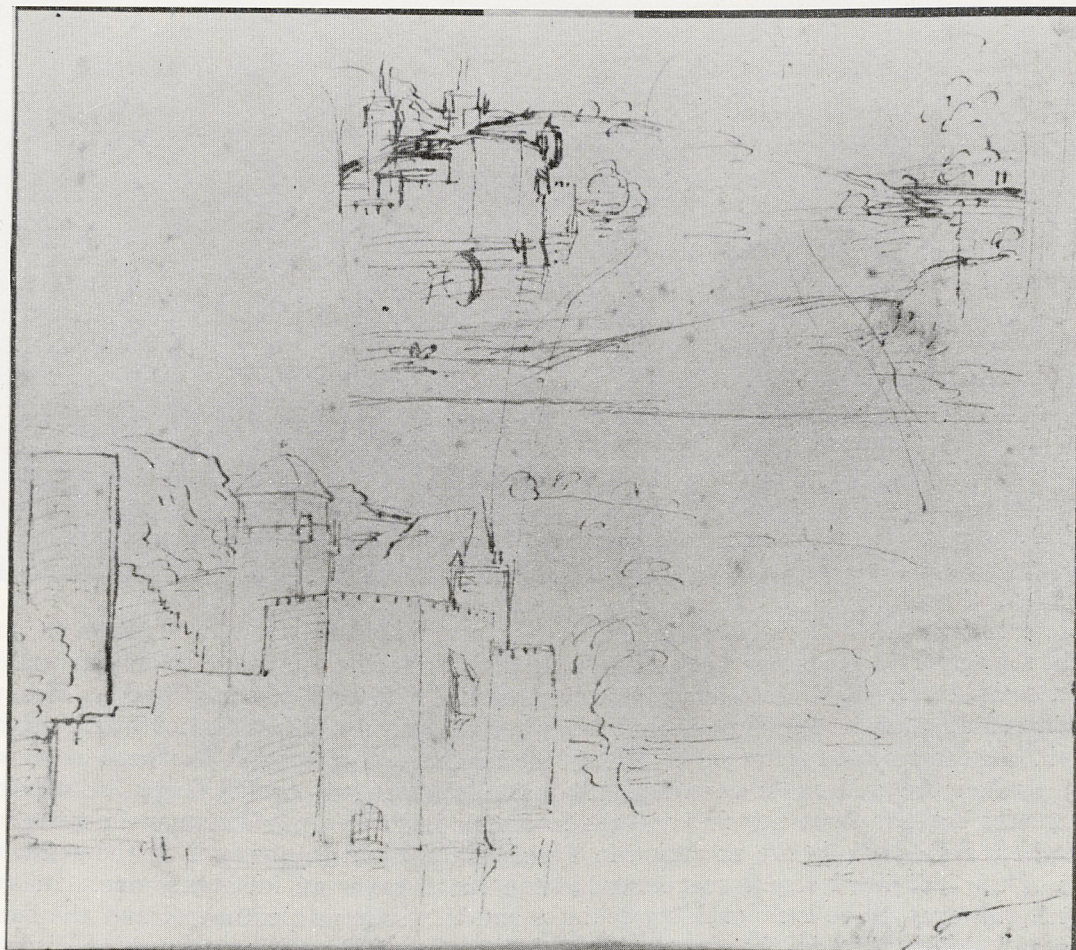
This landscape motif which, as Parker rightly suggested, must have been northern in origin, appears in one of Raphael's paintings which has traditionally been dated to the same period as the *Terranuova Madonna*: the *Colonna* altarpiece now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 6).<sup>20</sup> In the landscape background of this work to the right of the head of St. Paul, we find a church, a group of half-timbered houses, a clump of trees and a path, the same components as in the Oxford sheet and in the same relationship to each other (Fig. 1). There are, as one might expect, some variations in the



3 Raphael, Sketch for Virgin and Child and Landscape. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

painted version, but they are minor ones. The church in the painting, for instance, is turned in its axis slightly to the left thus creating a stronger spatial thrust than in the drawing. The relationship between the half-timbered houses has been altered, and that on the left has become more monumental. Although it is now barely visible in the painting, because of a horizontal crack in the surface of the wood, the second house at the edge of the group has been moved from behind to the side of the first. Here again the changes give more weight and plasticity to the group as a whole. The hills behind and to the left of the church, which are clearly marked in the painting, are barely indicated in the drawings. The central motif, however, is unmistakably the same. The nature of the changes between the drawing and the painting argues against the possibility that the drawing was copied from the painting, a hypothesis further contradicted by the free and sketchy manner in which the motif is treated.

The use in Italian painting of such details as half-timbered houses and sharply pointed church spires which belong to a distinctly northern style had become by the second half of the Quattrocento a highly prized ornamental device. Paintings by Flemish artists offered a variety of motifs from which Italian painters such as Botticelli, Lorenzo di Credi,



4 Raphael, Landscape Sketch. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.



5 Raphael, *Madonna lactans* (detail of fig. 2).

Fra Bartolomeo and the young Raphael chose certain details for their own compositions.<sup>21</sup> Sometimes these motifs were used in much the same way as quotations from ancient writers were incorporated into contemporary texts; at other times they were slightly modified to conform with the Italian style. The hill-top church to the left of the Virgin in the *Terranuova Madonna* belongs to the same type as the one in our sketch. In a simplified form and with numerous minor variations, this church with its sharp spire adorned the landscape vistas of a number of Raphael's early paintings.<sup>22</sup> Very few landscape sketches by the early Raphael have survived. The only examples comparable with our drawing are two sheets — once joined — in the Ashmolean Museum, containing preparatory studies for the *Madonna and Child* in the Norton Simon Museum of Art in Pasadena (Figs. 3, 4).<sup>23</sup>

Here as in Parker 34 we are dealing with a compositional study of a *Madonna and Child* set against a landscape background. In Parker 34 the landscape is only indicated by a series of zig-zag lines while in the first of the *Madonna* drawings (508 a, Fig. 3), which contains the basic compositional study for the picture, it has been drawn in some detail. In the second sheet (508 b, Fig. 4) the landscape background has been repeated and worked out still more carefully. It has also been reversed. There are marked differences between these sketches and the landscape in Parker 34. The many *pentimenti* and the tentativeness in the execution in Parker 508 (a) and (b), as well as the scratchiness of the individual stroke suggests, that the landscape is an imaginary one. In our sketch, however, there is no such scratchiness and there are no *pentimenti* and the sureness and decisiveness in the drawing may indicate that Raphael was working directly from a northern model.



6 Raphael, Colonna Altarpiece. New York, Metropolitan Museum.

Since we can thus establish that the landscape motif on the verso of Parker 34 was used in the Colonna altarpiece it is legitimate to ask if there is any relation between the Madonna sketch (Fig. 5) and the Madonna and Child in the same painting (Fig. 6). The attitudes of the Madonna and Child in the painting and in the drawing are completely different, since the Virgin's role as a central figure in a *Sacra Conversazione* is a more official one than the image of the intimate, gentle and wholly human creature represented in the *lactans* motif.<sup>24</sup> But despite the differences in the function of these two figures there are certain formal affinities. The way the Virgin is set into space and bends her cloaked head to emphasize a closed triangular or pyramidal shape is similar in both and in the Berlin Madonna between Two Saints.<sup>25</sup>

We do not know if Raphael ever painted a *Madonna lactans* during his early years in Perugia. The Oxford sketch obviously represents the very first beginnings of such a picture. Another much larger early sketch by Raphael for a *Madonna lactans* has recently been discovered on the reverse of a well-known drawing traditionally attributed to Raphael (Fig. 7).<sup>26</sup> The composition is quite different from that in the Oxford sketch. Here the position of the child sitting on her right and the whole group has been turned further to one side. The Christ child in the Oxford drawing, especially in the compact pose of the lap, was dependent on a Florentine model, such as Lorenzo di Credi's child in the painting in the National Gallery in London;<sup>27</sup> the child in the Paris drawing by contrast relies on a more Peruginesque model such as the child held by the woman on the left of the throne in Perugino's *Marseille altarpiece*<sup>28</sup>, but is shown turned more into profile than in the Oxford sheet and appears to be sitting on a cushion. The Virgin, so far as one can tell, appears to have been bareheaded and she is holding the child rather than offering him her breast.

We do not know if either composition was ever carried out in paint but there are some panels by Raphael's Umbrian contemporaries, which reflect both these compositions.<sup>29</sup> The freedom of treatment and sketchiness once again suggest that Raphael was the author. The evident ease of composition belongs to an artist of a younger generation than Perugino, Pintoricchio and Signorelli, but to one who had studied all three of them very carefully.

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The recto of the same sheet contains a composition study showing St. Jerome in the Wilderness (Fig. 9). The sheet is badly damaged and has been overcleaned, particularly in the lower right-hand section where St. Jerome is kneeling. Nevertheless it seems that only the upper part of the saint, and in particular the head, was worked out in detail, leaving the rest of the body in outline. The sheet was probably cut on the left since there the ink lines continue to the very edge of the paper and it is torn at the bottom. The probability that we are dealing with a fragment is further suggested by the layout of the composition. St. Jerome's eyes, for instance, appear to be fixed on a point to the left of the scene where there should be a cross; and in a painting of this subject St. Jerome's lion should also be present. The closest prototype for such a composition would have been Pintoricchio's *predella* for the *Fossi altarpiece* in Perugia (Fig. 10)<sup>30</sup> where the saint is shown kneeling in a similar position in a wild and empty foreground which is marked off just as it is in the drawing from a gentle and inhabited world with houses and the outline of a city on the top of a hill. However, while in Pintoricchio's *predella* the identification of the city seems not to have been of much concern to the artist, it was clearly of major importance for the author of the Ashmolean drawing.

The attention given to the portrayal of this city has of course been recognized before. Woodburn and Passavant called it Perugia.<sup>31</sup> Subsequently it was identified with Urbino<sup>32</sup>, Crowe and Cavalcaselle proposed Fossombrone<sup>33</sup> while Robinson suggested that it might be a city in the duchy of Urbino on the Adriatic coast.<sup>34</sup> Parker believes in neither identification but fails to offer any suggestion of his own.<sup>35</sup> A comparison with the strikingly similar cityscape on folio 42 recto of the so-called 'Raphael' sketchbook in Venice (Fig. 12) does not help with the identification since the crucial architectural elements on the top left of the city wall are not depicted in the Venetian drawing. We may therefore rule out the possibility that Raphael might have copied the image in Parker 34 from the Venetian sketchbook. As we shall see, the fact that the city is located on a river is misleading. The clues to its identity lie in the outline of the buildings themselves. To the left of the city walls there is a building and to the left of this a large struc-



ture marking a city gate. Another key building is the massive church which runs parallel to the plane of the drawing and has a truncated campanile rising behind the nave.<sup>36</sup> These three buildings may still be seen today, and when viewed from approximately the same point where Raphael must have made this sketch — the point where from the 16th century on the *Accademia di disegno* was located, a favourite sketching place for students<sup>37</sup> — they stand in exactly the same relationship to each other as they do in Raphael's drawing. A comparison of our sketch with a photograph of the Sobborgo S. Angelo in Perugia taken from the same vantage point as that used by the artist (Fig. 8) can leave no doubt whatsoever that it was indeed Perugia which Raphael intended to portray. The highly distinctive rotunda is the church of S. Angelo; to the left of it stands the Porta S. Angelo and the great church in the foreground is S. Agostino.<sup>38</sup> From S. Agostino down we can follow the city wall to the Porta del Bulagaio. We may safely assume that the structure of the city from S. Agostino to the left and up to the top of the hill is a fairly accurate portrayal of the Sobborgo S. Angelo as it appeared in the early Cinquecento. The structure below towards the river banks, on the other hand, does not correspond to the layout of the modern city nor, so far as one can judge from the town plan produced by Hogenberg and the Eusepi map to the city, as it was in the Cinquecento (Fig. 11).<sup>39</sup> From both of these maps it is obvious that



7 Raphael, Madonna lactans. Paris, Louvre.



8 Perugia, View of Sobborgo S. Angelo.

even though there was then, as there is now, a deep trench at the Porta del Bulagaio and a sewer, one of the four *fossi* of the city – running underneath it<sup>40</sup>, the walls continued beyond this point and would in fact have enclosed the site where S. Jerome is kneeling.<sup>41</sup> We must then assume that the river itself, the mill and the prominent watergate with a bridge are all the creations of Raphael's imagination, though it has been suggested that these motifs may be derived from the observation of other cities, in particular from fortified settlements on the Tiber such as Colle Vallecipi.<sup>42</sup>

The iconography of this image is easy enough to read. For the man of the Quattrocento, cities were the only places where it was possible to lead a truly human life. The holy man who had gone into the wilderness had achieved by his rejection of the world — by placing himself beyond the limits of humanity — a oneness with God denied to ordinary man. The river which separates St. Jerome from the symbolic city was an ancient and powerful sign of demarkation. Rivers marked the boundaries between life and death (Lethe), between the ignorance of paganism and the life of true knowledge in Christ (the Jordan). If Raphael, therefore, wished to create on the one hand the by now traditional image of St. Jerome set in a wilderness and separated from the city of man by the river of life, and on the other, wished to make that city a portrait of Perugia, he had no alternative but to combine two pictorial motifs.



9 Raphael, St. Jerome in the Wilderness (recto of fig. 2).

Raphael's insistence on depicting, in this particular context, a city on a hill which is a long way from any river may be interpreted in two ways. It may have been just one way of achieving a more realistic depiction of an urban landscape and for this Raphael chose the place in which he happened to be living at that time. The choice, however, of the Sobborgo S. Angelo may have been of specific importance for this particular commission. If this were indeed the case, it would be legitimate to infer that the commission was in some way connected with the Augustinian order in Perugia since the Sobborgo S. Angelo, which Raphael has chosen to depict in the drawing, is dominated by the church of S. Agostino. St. Jerome was a popular saint among the Augustinians and the location of the Sobborgo immediately beyond the river which divides the city from the wilderness may have been Raphael's personal solution to the demands of the commissioners.

It is also clear, from a survey of 15th and 16th Umbrian paintings that the citizens of these small Umbrian towns, no less than citizens of Florence and Venice, were eager to see their city portrayed in the paintings they paid for, and the largest and most imposing of these was, of course, Perugia itself whose many spires and towers were held to be so vital to the overall beauty of the city that Sixtus IV threatened with excommunication any citizen who dared remove one of them.<sup>43</sup> Topographical portraits of Perugia, or of prominent buildings within it, are to be found in a number of contemporary paintings. They are, of course, most frequent in commissions of civic importance such as the fresco cycle illustrating the history of Perugia's patron saints in the Cappella dei Priori in the Palazzo Comunale which was executed by B. Bonfigli in the late 1450's and early 1460's.<sup>44</sup> The banners and gonfaloni of the various confraternities of Perugia belong to another category of paintings in which city portraits are to be found.<sup>45</sup>

These were often commissioned as *ex voti* in time of plague and were carried through the city in procession. In such works the artist portrayed either the outline of the whole city — as Perugino did in the *gonfalone della giustizia*<sup>46</sup> — or depicted the church and confraternity buildings themselves in more precise detail. The famous gonfalone of the Confraternity of St. Bernard of Siena in which Agostino di Duccio's beautiful oratory and the church of S. Francesco al Prato are both clearly visible, is a striking example of this later type.<sup>47</sup> Although there was a Confraternity of St. Augustine at Perugia whose oratory was and still is located immediately to the right of the church<sup>48</sup> it is, for a number of reasons, unlikely that the present composition was intended to decorate a gonfalone. The confraternity had commissioned a gonfalone from Pintoricchio in 1500.<sup>49</sup> This is now in the Galleria Nazionale in Perugia and is commonly referred to as "gonfalonetto".<sup>50</sup> It shows St. Augustine seated with confraternity members kneeling to either side. Raphael's drawing must date from the first years of the 16th century and it was unusual for a confraternity to commission two banners within such a short span of time. Furthermore the account books of the confraternity, in which payments for Pintoricchio's gonfalone are recorded, make no mention of a second commission within the next five years.<sup>51</sup>

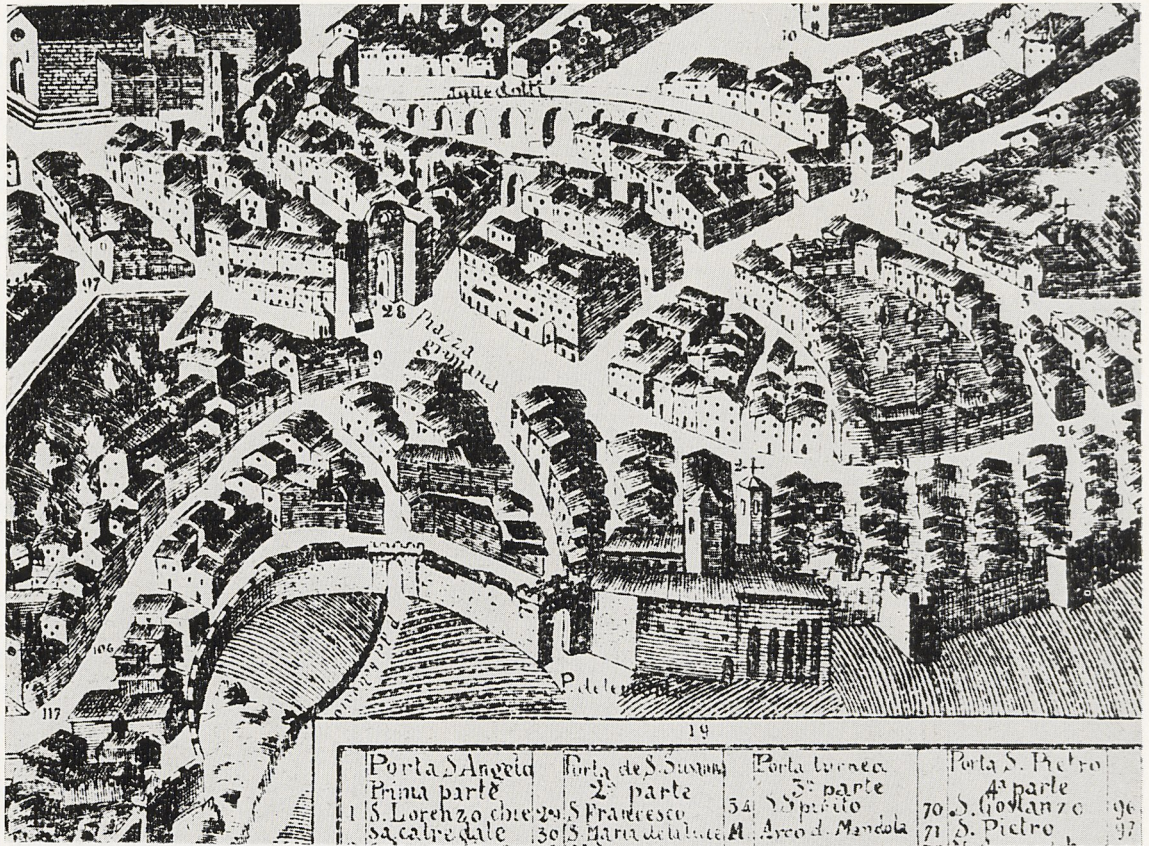
Had Raphael been asked to paint a gonfalone for the Confraternity he would surely have been required to portray the oratory; but this does not appear in the present drawing.<sup>52</sup> In view of the fact that the church of S. Agostino itself occupies a central position in the drawing the finished work may instead have been intended to decorate an altar or a chapel dedicated to St. Jerome.<sup>53</sup> If this was the case, it is unlikely that Raphael ever completed this work. Today there is no trace of such an altar. Considering the many changes the church has undergone in the last four hundred years this is not surprising.<sup>54</sup> But Giapessi in his *Liber diversorum* . . . . makes no mention of any painting or fresco which would fit the present composition.<sup>55</sup> And the only indication we have that he ever carried out this particular subject in paint is the following statement in the *Ano-*



10 Pintoricchio, St. Jerome in the Wilderness. Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria.

*nimo Morelliano*: "(in Padoa – in casa di M. Marco de Mantoa Dottore) El quadretto a oglio del S. Hieronimo, che fa penitenza nel deserto, fu di mano di Raffaello d'Urbino".<sup>56</sup> Although Raphael may never have completed a painting of this composition, there is evidence that he continued to work on the image. A drawing from Raphael's so-called "green sketchbook" at Lille shows a detail study of the head of the saint (Fig. 14).<sup>57</sup> This head is identical in type, pose and expression to the head in the Oxford drawing (Fig. 9). The modelling in metal-point with its tight layers of parallel strokes set in distinct patches to create a strong chiaroscuro effect reveals a knowledge of Leonardo's drawing techniques.<sup>58</sup> The existence of the Lille drawing demonstrates that Raphael was still concerned with the commission even after he had begun to work in Florence.

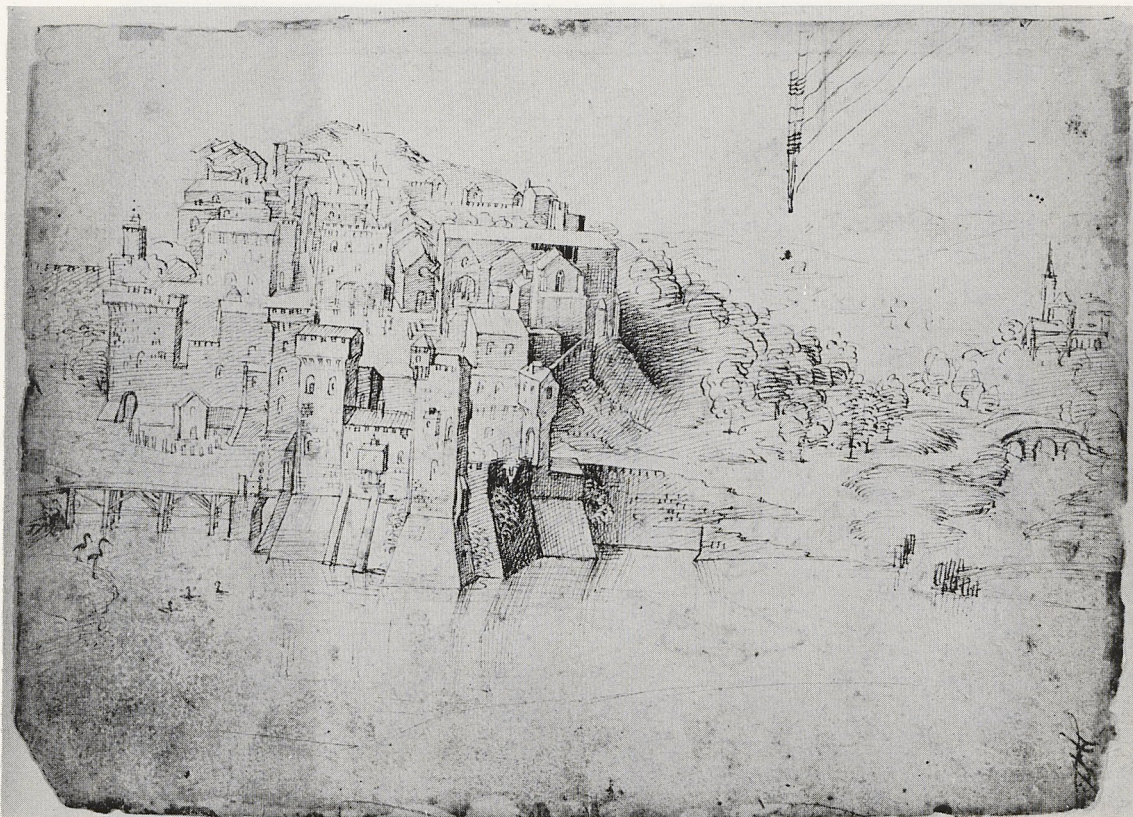
The present drawing is interesting in another respect, for it offers some evidence that Raphael made landscape studies from nature. The highly differentiated and finely observed landscape backgrounds to his paintings suggest that Raphael copied many of these details from nature.<sup>59</sup> It is thus quite likely that the cityscape which appears in the Oxford drawings (Figs. 3, 4) was itself drawn from life. It would, however, have been impractical for Raphael to have copied both parts of the drawings — the Sobborgo S. Ange-



11 J. Eusepi, Map of Perugia of 1602. (Raphael's location when making the sketch fig. 9 was approximately at number 97 in the left upper corner, described in the index as "S. Angelo academia del disegno").

lo and the riverscape — directly from nature. It is also highly unlikely that Raphael copied the cityscape as it appears in the drawing from a single source, such as a painting by Perugino or Pintoricchio in which the two motifs had already been combined.<sup>60</sup> A careful examination of the drawing reveals a seam — a kind of neutral zone — between the two motifs where the buildings have been only roughly indicated. This suggests that the landscape in our drawing is in all probability a second stage containing a combination of two separate sketches, one, and possibly both, of which were originally drawn from life. Raphael himself was therefore responsible for the final combination of the two elements within his composition.

A comparison of the Oxford drawing with the scene in the Venetian sketchbook (Fig. 12) confirms this impression.<sup>61</sup> Though its authorship is uncertain, this drawing represents a further stage in the progress of the motif from nature study to idealized cityscape. Here there is no neutral zone. Integration is perfect and every architectural detail is given a uniform treatment. The drawing now conveys the impression, not so much of a specific location as of an ideal city type. The square in front of the church invisible in Raphael's drawing is now made explicit, filled with human figures, and emphasised by the insertion of a loggia in front of the major palace and by a further palace to the left.<sup>62</sup> The identification of the upper portion of the Venice drawing, however, with



12 Anonymus XVI century, City scape. Venice, Accademia.

the Sobborgo S. Angelo is no longer obvious since neither S. Angelo nor the Porta S. Angelo are shown. The buildings themselves are fewer in number and more clearly individuated; and the feeling of distance and atmosphere which characterises the Oxford drawing is absent. This may indicate that the drawing in the Venetian sketchbook was developed from the Oxford drawing or from a copy of it.

The author of the Oxford drawing, by contrast, retained, to a large degree, the impression of a study made from nature.<sup>63</sup> Raphael has succeeded even with so unsympathetic a medium as pen and ink in evoking a feeling of plain air, space and distance. With light but sure strokes he has depicted rooftops and trees as they appear from a distance, when caught in the rays of the sun. Such atmospheric treatment is completely lacking from the Venetian sketchbook. The Oxford drawing offers thus some indication of how Raphael drew landscapes from nature. We may also conjecture what impact such drawings must have had on contemporary observers if the artist was able to retain, as he has here, much of the original impression even after the initial drawing had been copied onto another sheet.

Raphael was not, of course, the only nor the first artist to draw landscapes from nature. His model in this as in so much else, may have been Pintoricchio.<sup>64</sup> In the 1480s Pintoricchio painted a series of city portraits to fill the openings of a fictional loggia which was intended to mirror the real loggia in the Belvedere of Innocent VIII.<sup>65</sup> Some of these portraits have been uncovered and they provide us with an idea of the freshness



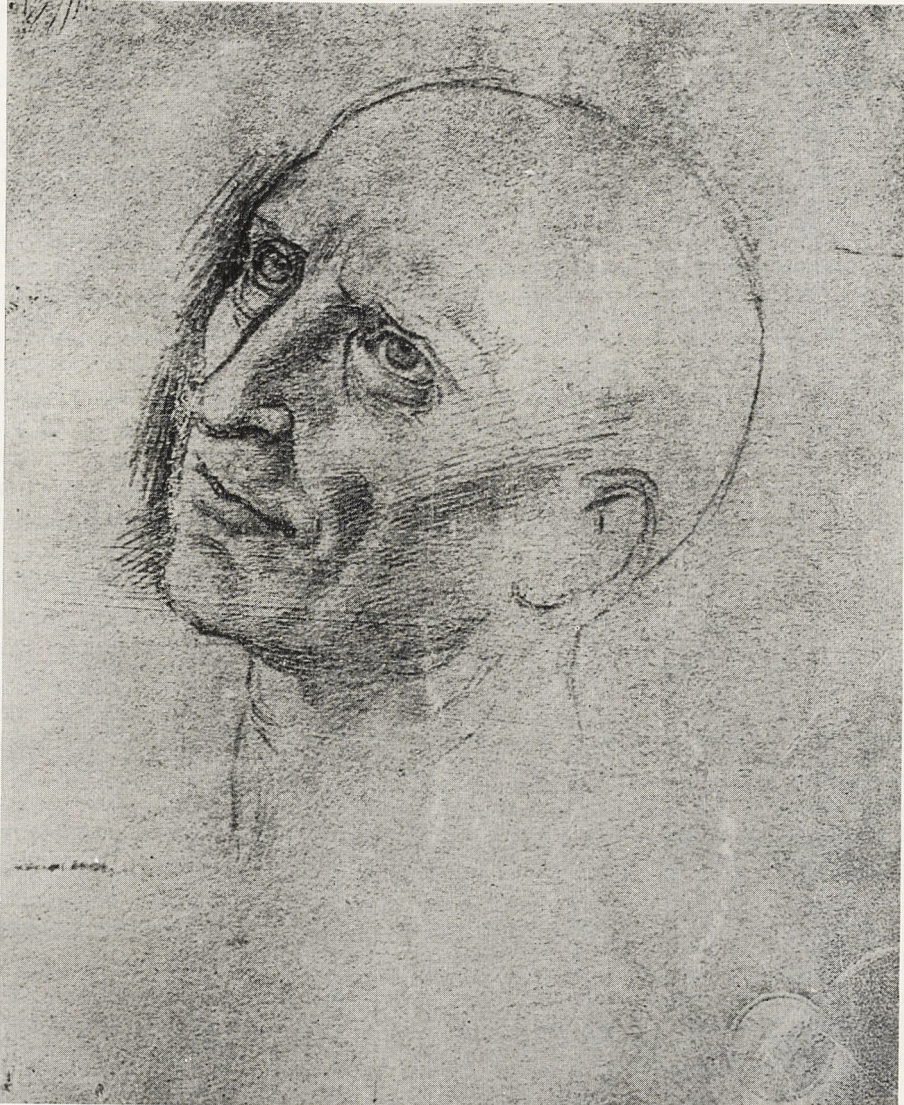
13 Pintoricchio, Cityscape. Rome, Vatican, Belvedere of Innocent VIII.

and realism of such Quattrocento landscape scenes. It was no doubt the naturalistic quality of Pintoricchio's work which led Vasari to describe these cities as being in the Flemish manner (Fig. 13).<sup>66</sup>

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The Oxford drawing contains such a diversity of motifs that it tells us a remarkable number of things about the interests of the young Raphael. During his early career in Umbria he had become acquainted with the merits of northern painting, and had acquired a knowledge of the techniques and colours employed by northern artists, which finds expression in such works as the gonfalone of the Trinity in Città di Castello.<sup>67</sup> In Parker 34 there is evidence that Raphael was also interested in northern motifs just as he was, for instance, in his Washington St. George where he adopted a particular group of trees from a painting by Memling.<sup>68</sup>





14 Raphael, Head of Old Man. Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

The sketch for a painting of the Madonna lactans (Fig. 5) is interesting in at least two respects: first of all it provides further evidence of Raphael's interest in this theme. The fact that no actual painting of the subject has survived led to the supposition, especially in the 16th century, that Raphael's sense of decorum forbade him to show the Madonna and Child occupied in such a purely human, physical and therefore unbecoming activity.<sup>69</sup> There is, however, good reason to suppose that a few years later Raphael did, in fact, paint the subject. There is a little cartoon with this theme in the Louvre dating from 1508 which strongly suggests that Raphael executed at least one Madonna lactans<sup>70</sup>. Various copies by masters of the Cinquecento were probably made after a lost painting rather than the drawing.<sup>71</sup>

Raphael's early preoccupation with the Madonna lactans also throws some further light on the significant differences between his artistic aims and those of Perugino. While the lactans motif was very popular in the provinces (it was painted by Pintoricchio, Signorelli and Timoteo Viti in Urbino<sup>72</sup>), we have no evidence that Perugino ever drew or painted the Virgin in the act of nursing her child. This may, of course, be due to chance; but one cannot help feeling that Perugino's tendency to eliminate any interaction between his figures would have made such an evidently transitory and intensely physical activity an unsuitable theme for a painting. Perugino attempted to eliminate all natural realistic and above all transitory expressions from his work in order to create an idealized world. Raphael, by contrast, in his depiction of an ideal world sought to invest the human, the natural and the transitory with a permanent idealized substance.

Raphael's study for the composition of St. Jerome in Penitence also reveals his adherence to a pictorial tradition. Raphael accepted an established compositional formula for St. Jerome. As so often in his work he seems to have begun from an established pictorial image on which his own creative genius then went to work. In the present work he has taken a compositional formula created by Pintoricchio and concentrated on giving it a more naturalistic setting in order to provide a real background to the idealized figure of St. Jerome.

Finally, this sheet of drawings like most of Raphael's early Umbrian creations presents problems of dating. Since there appears on the verso, as we have seen, a preparatory study for the Colonna altar-piece, it is likely to have been executed roughly at the same period as the altar-piece itself. The majority of scholars have agreed on a completion date for the altar-piece of 1504-5.<sup>73</sup> Recently, however, Professor Konrad Oberhuber has argued for an earlier dating to the period 1501-2.<sup>74</sup> This although providing an attractive dating for the drawing, presents considerable chronological difficulties which lie beyond the scope of this article. Just to mention one problem: the composition study on the recto of the Oxford sheet is closely associated with the drawing in Lille (Fig. 14) whose technique presupposes a knowledge of Leonardo's drawing methods and head types. That would suggest that the drawing in Lille was executed at the time of Raphael's first visit to Florence and hence that the Oxford drawing may be only slightly earlier. This visit to Florence has generally been assumed to be the one implied by Giovanna Feltria della Rovere in the letter to the Gonfaloniere Pier Soderini of October 1st 1504.<sup>75</sup> The possibility that Raffael made an earlier visit to Florence will be the subject of a separate study.

#### NOTES

*I am grateful to Dr. Keith Christensen at the Metropolitan Museum of New York for enabling me to study the Colonna altarpiece at close quarters and for providing me with photographs of the painting, and to Drs. Paul Joannides, Arnold Nesselrath and Michael Bury for helpful discussions.*

<sup>1</sup> O. Fischel, *Raphael's Zeichnungen*, vols. I-VIII, Berlin 1913-41. Vol. I, text p. 11: "Dieser grosse Kenner, in dessen beweglichem Geist Witterung und Formgedächtnis sich oft zu ganz persönlicher Intuition vereinigten, hat es gewiss nicht verdient, dass als 'Methode' verallgemeinert wurde, was in ihm als feiner Instinkt wirkte und was ihn häufig genug ins Unbetretene den sicheren Weg finden liess". For an analysis of G. Morelli's 'method' see R. Wollheim, Giovanni Morelli and the Origins of Scientific Connoisseurship, in: *On Art and the Mind (Essays and Lectures)*, London 1973, pp. 177-201. For a new perspective on Morelli see C. Ginzburg, *Spie, radici di un paradigma indiziario*, in: *Crisi della Ragione*, a cura di Aldo Gargari, Torino 1979, pp. 57-106.

<sup>2</sup> Fischel, *op. cit.* (see n. 1), vol. I, text p. 13.

- <sup>3</sup> O. Fischel, *Raphael's Zeichnungen – Versuch einer Kritik der bisher veröffentlichten Blätter*, Strassburg 1898, and op. cit. (see n. 1), vols. I and II.
- <sup>4</sup> Fischel, op. cit. (see n. 1), vol. I, text p. 13 and n. 1.
- <sup>5</sup> Loc. cit. (see n. 4). Morelli's influence on Fischel's mentor Franz Wickhoff is also obvious, see *J. von Schlosser*, *Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte – Rückblick auf ein Säkulum deutscher Gelehrtenarbeit in Österreich*, in: *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband XIII*, 2, 1934, pp. 164-171.
- <sup>6</sup> Morelli had attributed a number of drawings by the early Raphael to Pintoricchio and Timoteo Viti (see *Ivan Lermolieff*, *Kunstkritische Studien über die italienische Malerei – die Galerie zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1893, pp. 230, 232 ff, 235), and *F. Wickhoff* (*Die italienischen Handzeichnungen der Albertina*, Part II, *Die römische Schule*, in: *Jb. Kaiserhaus*, XIII, 1892, pp. CXCVI-CCIV) drastically reduced the body of authentic Raphael drawings in the Albertina, classifying most of those formerly attributed to Raphael as either contemporary copies, shop productions or modern forgeries. See also *A. Six* and *L. Fröhlich Bum*, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der graphischen Sammlung Albertina vol. III, Die Zeichnungen der toskanischen, umbrischen und römischen Schulen*, Vienna 1932, nos. 53, 54, 58, 61, 63, 64, 69, etc.
- <sup>7</sup> In his later career he even attributed drawings to Raphael which are now considered to be products of Perugino's workshop. An example is the "Raphael" drawing in the National Gallery in Canada, Ottawa, see *S. Ferino*, *A Re-examination of the Raphael Drawing in the Ottawa National Gallery*, in: *Bulletin of the National Gallery of Canada*, Ottawa (in press).
- <sup>8</sup> O. Fischel, *Die Zeichnungen der Umber*, in: *Jb. der preuss. Kunstsngn.*, XXXVIII, Beiheft 1917, p. 62 ff. The task of cataloguing Raphael's early works was, of course, made difficult for another reason. In Fischel's view Raphael's drawing style developed solely out of that of Perugino so that each drawing had to be judged against the better known work of each artist.
- <sup>9</sup> Fischel, op. cit. (see n. 1), vol I, nos. 60-65.
- <sup>10</sup> Fischel, op. cit. (see n. 8), nos. 117-121. These drawings have been accepted as Raphael's in the recent literature, see *A. Forlani Tempesti*, *1 Disegni*, in: *Raffaello, l'opera, le fonti, la fortuna*, Novara 1968, vol. II, pp. 317-19. *J. Pope-Hennessy*, *Raphael (The Wrightsman Lectures)*, New York (1970), pp. 86-87, and *K. Oberhuber*, *The Colonna Altarpiece in the Metropolitan Museum and Problems of the Early Style of Raphael*, in: *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 12, 1977, pp. 86-87.
- <sup>11</sup> Fischel, op. cit. (see n. 1) vol. I, text p. 11, was nonetheless aware of the importance of the Oxford Collection of Raphael drawings and went so far as to say: "... in Oxford, wo fast jedes Blatt seine Tradition hat, liegen die Massstäbe zur Beurteilung für alle übrigen Zeichnungen Raphaels".
- <sup>12</sup> Fischel, op. cit. (see n. 8), nos 72-78 and p. 46: "So fehlt uns noch heute bei der kostbaren Gruppe umbrischer Zeichnungen in Oxford jede Sicherheit; Raphael bleibt in seinen ersten unklaren Zeiten als Maler weit hinter dem Zeichner zurück – seine Studien sind schon ganz frei, als die Bilder noch voller Schulmanier waren; man könnte an eine Stufe denken, wo er noch garnicht malte und nur eben im manierten Stil des Lehrers zu zeichnen anfang – so würde manches von den Oxford Blättern seine Erklärung finden".
- <sup>13</sup> Fischel, op. cit. (see n. 8), nos. 77 and 77 (a) were also included in vol. I of the *Corpus* (see n. 1), nos. 2, 3.
- <sup>14</sup> *K. T. Parker*, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, vol. II, *Italian Schools*, Oxford 1956, and *H. Macandrew*, *Ashmolean Museum Oxford, Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings*, vol. III, *Italian Schools – Supplement*, Oxford 1980, have listed the following drawings from Fischel's group (see n. 13) under Raphael: Fischel 73 = Parker 503, Fischel 74, 75 = Parker 505, 506, Fischel 77, 77 (a) = Parker 501. Under the name of Perugino: Fischel 72 = Parker 33, 76 = 34. Under the name of Pintoricchio: Fischel 78 = Parker 40.
- <sup>15</sup> *Parker*, op. cit. (see n. 14), no. 34. Pen and brown ink, 244 × 203. For *H. Ost's* proposal (in: *Das Leonardo-Selbstporträt in der Kgl. Bibliothek Turin und andere Fälschungen des Giuseppe Bossi*, Berlin 1980, pp. 102-103) that the drawing is a forgery see my review in *Kunstchronik* Jan. 1982.
- <sup>16</sup> The use of the real edges of the paper to indicate part of the intended frame for the final painting seems to have been quite common practice in the Quattrocento. It is found, for instance, in drawings of Perugino's shop, such as no. 412 E in the *Gabinetto disegni e stampe* at the Uffizi, Florence.
- <sup>17</sup> *J. D. Passavant*, *Raphael d'Urbino et son père Giovanni Santi*, 2 vols., Paris 1860, vol. II, no. 496. *J. C. Robinson*, *A Critical Account of the Drawings by Michelangelo and Raphael in the University Galleries at Oxford*, Oxford 1870, pp. 132-134.
- <sup>18</sup> Fischel, op. cit. (see n. 3) p. 223, note, and op. cit. (see n. 8), no. 76: "Das Motiv der Madonna scheint frei wie aus etwas späteren Jahren Raphaels – trotzdem bleiben Zweifel an seiner Autorschaft bestehen". See also *Fischel*, op. cit. (see n. 1) vol II, no. 74.
- <sup>19</sup> *Parker*, op. cit. (see n. 14) no. 34.
- <sup>20</sup> The Terranuova Madonna is clearly an early Florentine creation (see *L. Dussler*, *Raphael – A critical account of his pictures, wall-paintings and tapestries*, London 1971, p. 16, Pl. 48).
- <sup>21</sup> For Italian artists copying from northern paintings see *G. Panhans*, *Florentiner Maler verarbeiten ein eyckisches Bild*, in: *Wiener Jb. für Kgesch.* XXVII, 1974, pp. 188-198; *E. Fahy*, *The Earliest Works of Fra Bartolomeo*, in: *Art Bulletin* LI, 1969, p. 142 f.; *V. L. of Fareham*, *A New Version of Raphael's Holy Family with the Lamb*, in: *Burl. Mag.* LXIV, 1934, p. 8.

- <sup>22</sup> See for instance the painting of the Madonna and Child between two Saints in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin (*Dussler*, op. cit. [see n. 20], p. 4 and Pl. 9).
- <sup>23</sup> *Fischel*, op. cit. (see n. 1) nos. 46-51, and *Parker*, op. cit. (see n. 14) no. 508, did not yet know of the existence of a painting after these sketches, the Madonna and Child in the Norton Simon Museum of Art. See *Macandrew*, op. cit. (see n. 14), p. 275, no. 508.
- <sup>24</sup> A particular example is the Madonna and Child motif in the "Madonna del Baldachino" in Florence (*Dussler*, op. cit. [see n. 20], p. 23, Pl. 63) which appears particularly intimate for a Sacra Conversazione. There is reason to believe that this motif developed from a lactans composition the little cartoon for which still survives in the Louvre. (See *Fischel*, op. cit. [see n. 1], vol. III, nos. 143, 144).
- <sup>25</sup> See *Dussler*, op. cit. (see n. 20), p. 4, Pl. 9.
- <sup>26</sup> Paris, Louvre, Gabinet des dessins, inv. no. RF 1395. *Fischel*, op. cit. (see n. 1) vol. I, no. 45, a study for a Sacra Conversazione with Sts. Sebastian and Roch. *Foylani-Tempesti* (op. cit. [see n. 10], p. 419, note 39) mentioned the existence of the verso. Prof. Konrad Oberhuber had also discovered this drawing some years ago.
- <sup>27</sup> *G. dalli Regoli*, Lorenzo di Credi, Pisa 1966, pl. 78.
- <sup>28</sup> *W. Bombe*, Perugino. (Klassiker der Kunst) Stuttgart 1914, Pl. 123.
- <sup>29</sup> See for instance, a painting by lo Spagna in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, inv. no. 825.
- <sup>30</sup> Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, no. 274. *C. Ricci*, Pintoricchio. Bernardo di Betto de Pérouse - sa vie son oeuvre et son temps, Paris 1903, pp. 141 ff. *W. Bombe*, Geschichte der Peruginer Malerei bis zu Perugino und Pintoricchio, Berlin 1912, pp. 228-29 and *E. Carli*, Il Pintoricchio, Milan 1960, pp. 53 ff. Pls. 89-95. It should be mentioned here that Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi III, p. 569) had particular praise for a painting by Perugino of St. Jerome in the Wilderness. In his description, however, he concentrates primarily on the anatomical rendering of the emaciated body of the saint rather than on the setting. *Fischel* (op. cit. [see n. 8], no. 76) is of the opinion that "der Zeichner nach einer Vorlage arbeitete" which is true in regard to the compositional layout but not in regard to the particulars such as the city scape.
- <sup>31</sup> *S. Woodburn*, Catalogue of Original Designs by Michael Angelo and Raffaello, proposed to be purchased by subscription, and exhibited in the New University Galleries 1842, p. 4, n. 23; *Passavant* op. cit. (see n. 17), vol. II, no. 496.
- <sup>32</sup> *P. Selvatico*, Catalogo delle opere d'arte contenute nella Sala delle Sedute dell'I. R. Accademia di Venezia: Disegni originali di artisti italiani e stranieri dal XV secolo al XVIII. Venezia 1854, cornice XXVII, no. 16. It is possible that Selvatico did not in fact identify this particular view with Urbino, a view of which appears in the sketchbook on fol. 39 v, but may have confused the folio numbers of the two drawings.
- <sup>33</sup> *J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle*, Raphael, Life and Works, 2 vols., London 1882-1885, vol. I, pp. 119-120 and note.
- <sup>34</sup> *Robinson*, op. cit. (see n. 17) p. 134.
- <sup>35</sup> *Parker*, op. cit. (see n. 14) no. 34. *Macandrew*, op. cit. (see n. 14), p. 249, no. 34: "In the opinion of F. Russell the city in the background of the recto is certainly Perugia though the view of it is a generalized one".
- <sup>36</sup> The truncated obviously unfinished campanile was not reproduced in this ruinous state in Hogenberg's and Eusepi's maps (*G. Braun and F. Hogenberg*, Civitates orbis terrarum, 4 parts, Cologne 1577-88, IV, p. 535. For J. Eusepi, see *A. Belucci*, La pianta eusebiana di Perugia nel 1602, in: Augusta Perusia I, 1906, pp. 125-128) nor is it clearly recognizable in the painted views of Perugia in the gonfaloni (see *F. Santi*, Gonfaloni umbri del rinascimento, Perugia 1976, pls. XX, XXIII, XXXI). The campanile appears however in identical form in *Cipriano Piccolpasso's* "Veduta di Perugia" which was drawn in the 1560's (Le piante et i ritratti delle città e terre dell'Umbria sottoposte al Governo di Perugia, ed. by *G. Cecchini*, Rome 1963, Pl. II).
- <sup>37</sup> As indicated in Eusepi's map (Fig. 12, no. 97) the oratory of S. Angelo served as a seat for the Accademia del disegno in Perugia.
- <sup>38</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Hans Teubner for his help in identifying the church of S. Agostino.
- <sup>39</sup> See n. 36.
- <sup>40</sup> *U. Nicolini*, Le mura medievali di Perugia, in: Storia e arte umbra nell'età comunale. Atti del VI convegno di studi umbri, Gubbio 26-30 Maggio 1968, Perugia 1971, p. 700: "Si pensi che il Bulagaio e il fosso di S. Margherita, pur avendo funzionato sempre come luoghi di scarico della città con conseguente sollevamento del loro fondo, non hanno perduto del tutto neppur oggi il loro aspetto di profonde voragini".
- <sup>41</sup> This area was part of the rione di Porta Sole.
- <sup>42</sup> Locations of this type were suggested by Professors P. Scarpellini and U. Nicolini of Perugia University.
- <sup>43</sup> *A. Bellucci*, Perugia e le sue vecchie torri, in: Arte e storia, XXV, 1906, pp. 145-148. "Breve di Sisto IV, 18. Maggio 1476: ... Nos igitur ornamentum civitatis ipsius quam peculiari caritate complectimur, augenri potius quam minui cupientes ... auctoritate apostolica decernimus et mandamus, ne qui civis ... cuiuscumque gradus ... audeat vel praesumat ullam turrim ubicumque sita sit in ipsa civitate, diruere seu demoliri facere sub poena excommunicationis late septentiae etc ..."
- <sup>44</sup> *Bombe*, op. cit. (see n. 30), pp. 105 ff.

- <sup>45</sup> *W. Bombe*, *Gonfalon umbri*, in: *Augusta Perusia*, I-II, 1907, pp. 1-7. *U. Gnoli*, *I gonfalon*, in: *L'Arte umbra alla mostra di Perugia*, Bergamo 1908, pp. 45-47. *Santi*, op. cit. (see n. 36).
- <sup>46</sup> *Santi*, op. cit. (see n. 36), p. 34, Pl. XXIII.
- <sup>47</sup> *Santi*, op. cit. (see n. 36), p. 16, Pl. II. *Santi* draws attention to the importance of these topographical portrayals for urban history and for the reconstruction of individual buildings.
- <sup>48</sup> *P. Fra Giacomo Giapessi: Liber Diversorum . . .*, ms. Perugia, S. Agostino, Archivio del Convento, pp. 34-35; and chapter 7.
- <sup>49</sup> *Bombe*, op. cit. (see n. 30), p. 392. *U. Gnoli*, *Nuovi documenti: Pintoricchio*, in: *Rassegna d'arte umbra*, I, 1921, pp. 17-18.
- <sup>50</sup> *Bombe*, op. cit. (see n. 30), p. 392: "... fatta in uno gonfalonetto per portare con la crocie ...".
- <sup>51</sup> Archivio presso il Pio Sodalizio "Braccio Fortebracci" - Oratorio di S. Agostino. Libro Mastro no. 407, years 1466-1507. I would like to thank Dr. F. F. Mancini of Perugia University for making it possible for me to use this archive.
- <sup>52</sup> The oratory to the right of the church is obscured in the drawing by large buildings, most probably the hospital of St. Augustine.
- <sup>53</sup> *Giapessi* (op. cit. [see n. 48], chapter 19, p. 39 f.) and *C. Crispolti* (*Perugia Augusta*, Perugia 1648, p. 134 ff.) draw attention to the fact that "il convento di questa chiesa è così abbondante di stanze . . . che in varii tempi vi siano stati celebrati nuove Capitoli generali, cio è il primo nel 1279, . . . l'ottavo nel 1505, . . ." (*Crispolti*).
- <sup>54</sup> *G. Martelli*, *Lavori di restauro nella chiesa di S. Agostino in Perugia*, in: *Fede e arte XII*, 1964, pp. 120-125.
- <sup>55</sup> *Giapessi* op. cit. (see n. 48) Chapters 12-15. *Giapessi* was writing several hundred years later but it is unlikely that he would have failed to mention the existence of a substantial work by an artist such as Raphael even if that work no longer existed. We must not forget that S. Agostino was the head of a number of other Augustinian congregations in the Sobborgo Porta S. Angelo, such as S. Maria Novella but also S. Antonio da Padova for the nuns of which Raphael carried out the Colonna altarpiece.
- <sup>56</sup> *V. Golzio*, *Raffaello - nei documenti, nelle testimonianze dei contemporanei e nella letteratura del su secolo*, Città del Vaticano 1936, p. 171.
- <sup>57</sup> *Fischel*, op. cit. (see n. 1), vol. II, no. 74.
- <sup>58</sup> *Fischel's* opinion (loc. cit. see n. 57), that the drawing was overworked to the point of being "uninteressant und selbst verdächtig" is not shared by the present author. *Fischel*, especially in his early studies thought many drawings to be reworked by later hands if these reworkings, many of which are now believed to be Raphael's own draughtsmanship, did not wholly conform to his image of Raphael.
- <sup>59</sup> *Pope Hennessy*, op. cit. (see n. 10), p. 83: "Throughout his life Raphael must have made landscape drawings. Very few of them survive, but his finished paintings testify that he did so in a much more unambiguous fashion than do the pictures of Fra Bartolomeo, a large number of whose landscape drawings are preserved".
- <sup>60</sup> Of the many paintings showing St. Jerome in Penitence by Perugino and his workshop (See *E. Camesasca*, *L'opera completa del Perugino*, Milan 1969, nos. 26, 82, 117, 250, 279) none contains a setting similar to the present one. Only the painting in Vienna (*Camesasca* no. 279) shows in the distance some buildings on the far bank of a river.
- <sup>61</sup> *Fischel*, op. cit. (see n. 8), Beiheft, no. 96.
- <sup>62</sup> In the Venice sketchbook the vista is extended to the right including a bridge over the river and a cluster of houses around the church. In the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin-Dahlem, there is a faithful copy of this sheet of the sketchbook (inv. KZ 3136 v.).
- <sup>63</sup> *Robinson* (op. cit. [see n. 17], p. 133) and *Fischel* (op. cit. [see n. 8], no. 76) were both convinced that the drawing was made directly from nature, since they did not know that Raphael had combined two different motifs.
- <sup>64</sup> *W. Kallab*, *Die toskanische Landschaftsmalerei im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert, ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung*, in: *Jb. Kaiserhaus*, XXI, 1900, pp. 75 ff.
- <sup>65</sup> *J. Schulz*, *Pintoricchio and the Revival of Antiquity*, in: *Warburg Journal XXV*, 1962, pp. 36 ff. and *D. Redig de Campos*, *I palazzi vaticani*, Bologna, 1967, p. 77 and fig. 36. See also *A. Schmarsow*, *Pintoricchio in Rom*, Stuttgart 1882, p. 25.
- <sup>66</sup> *Vasari-Milanesi*, III, p. 498: "... dove fra l'altre cose siccome volle esso papa, dipinse una loggia tutta di paesi; e vi ritrasse Roma, Milano, Genova, Fiorenza, Vinezia e Napoli, alla maniera de Fiamminghi; che, come cosa insino allora non più usata, piacquero assai:"
- <sup>67</sup> On the frontal side of the gonfalone we observe how the terrain leading into the distance is differentiated by subtle tonal gradations from yellow-green to hazy blue. The swelling slopes of the stone strewn meadows in the foreground and the gloomy crags on either side with a distant river valley in the centre are also indebted to northern models. Raphael had, no doubt, been introduced to Flemish painting by his father in Urbino. Giovanni Santi in his "Disputa della pittura" demonstrates a clear grasp of the merits of Flemish painting. I cannot, therefore, agree with *L. Bek's* interpretation of Giovanni Santi's *Disputa* (Giovanni Santi's 'Disputa de la pictura' - a polemical treatise, in: *Analecta Romana instituti danici*, V, 1969, pp. 75-102), where she argues that verses

112-115 imply a critique of Flemish painting on the same lines as Michelangelo's later criticism. Santi, unlike Michelangelo, was much indebted to the Flemish tradition.

<sup>68</sup> *Lee of Fareham*, op. cit. (see n. 21), p. 8 and Pl. IV.

<sup>69</sup> *K. Karoly*, *Raphael's Madonnas and other Great Pictures*, London-New York 1893, p. 48: "... Raphael has never represented the mother of Jesus nursing her Child ... There is indeed in the act something which a religious and delicate feeling would suggest as touching too closely upon humanity to be represented in this connection".

<sup>70</sup> *Fischel*, op. cit. (see n. 1), vol. III, nos. 143, 144.

<sup>71</sup> *P. A. Riedl*. Francesco Vannis "Glorie des heiligen Torpetes", in: *Pantheon XVIII*, 1960, p. 304, and *K. Oberhuber* and *S. Ferino*, *Maestri umbri del quattro e cinquecento* (Biblioteca di disegni vol. XV), Florence 1977, no. 30.

<sup>72</sup> For Pintoricchio see *Ricci*, op. cit. (see n. 30), pp. 149, 151, 152. For Signorelli see *P. Scarpellini*, Luca Signorelli, Milan 1964, Pl. I. For Timoteo Viti see *Venturi*, vol. VII, 2, fig. 581.

<sup>73</sup> *Dussler*, op. cit. (see n. 20), p. 16, Pl. 48.

<sup>74</sup> *Oberhuber*, op. cit. (see n. 10), pp. 55-90; *F. Zeri* (A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Italian Paintings, Sieneese and Central Italian Schools, New York 1980, pp. 72-75) does not accept this early date.

<sup>75</sup> *V. Golzio*, *Raffaello nei documenti, nelle testimonianze dei contemporanei e nella letteratura del suo secolo*, Città del Vaticano 1936, pp. 9-10.

#### RIASSUNTO

Un disegno a Oxford attribuito a Raffaello nel periodo pre-morelliano, ma attualmente riferito alla cerchia del Perugino, viene qui restituito a Raffaello giovane. Il foglio contiene tre schizzi di soggetti indipendenti fra loro, ognuno dei quali contribuisce alla nostra conoscenza dell'attività giovanile di Raffaello in Umbria, soprattutto come disegnatore. Una veduta di paese con un nucleo di edifici in legno e una chiesa nordica, sul verso, si trova — cosa finora non rilevata — in modo quasi identico nella Pala Colonna, oggi al Metropolitan Museum, dipinta da Raffaello per le monache di Sant'Antonio a Perugia. L'aspetto nordico di queste capanne mostra in Raffaello uno spiccato interesse per la pittura fiamminga, simile a quello che si riscontra nei suoi contemporanei fiorentini. Lo schizzo di una Vergine che allatta il Bambino, sempre sul verso mostra che Raffaello, a differenza del Perugino, si occupava già da giovane di questo tema intimo e domestico anche se non si conserva alcun dipinto suo di tal genere. Un altro disegno autografo dello stesso soggetto, finora inedito, sul verso di un foglio al Louvre, conferma questa tesi. Nello studio di composizione per un San Gerolamo nel deserto, sul recto, Raffaello ha inserito in maniera fedele il panorama di un sobborgo della città di Perugia. La parte superiore riproduce la chiesa di Sant'Agostino, la rotonda e la porta di Sant'Angelo come le vediamo tuttora dall'oratorio di Sant'Angelo della Pace a Porta Sole, mentre la parte inferiore verso il fiume — probabilmente richiesto dal tema come demarcazione fra deserto e civiltà — può essere ispirata ad un altro luogo. Anche se questa veduta composita forse non è stata disegnata direttamente dal vero, esprime però con efficacia l'effetto arioso e luminoso, quasi da "plein air", di uno studio dal vero che deve esser stato alla base di quest'ultimo.

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