

FRA BARTOLOMMEO'S LANDSCAPE DRAWINGS*

by Chris Fischer

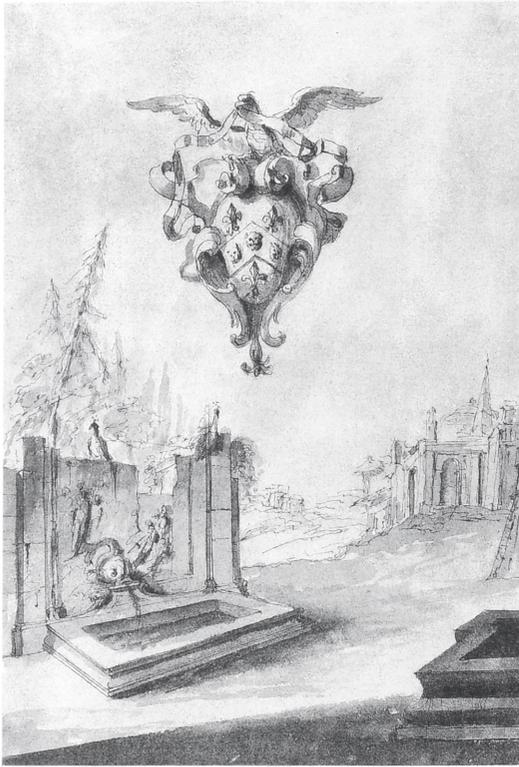
“With the exception of love, there is perhaps nothing else by which people of all kinds are more united than by their pleasure in a good view”.¹ Thus the rediscovery and sale in 1957 of a volume containing 41 drawings of landscapes and trees by Fra Bartolommeo in 1957 attracted attention far beyond the restricted circles of connoisseurs and specialists.² The lamentable dispersion of the drawings brought about by the sale appears at the same time to have made them popular to such a degree that most art lovers nowadays associate Fra Bartolommeo exclusively with landscape views though they form less than a twentieth part of his extant drawings.

Before 1957 the experts knew only about a dozen landscape drawings attributed to Fra Bartolommeo. They belonged to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, the Albertina in Vienna, the Louvre in Paris and the Uffizi in Florence.³ Thus it was the London volume sold in 1957 which contributed to a general re-evaluation and enabled a more thorough study of this aspect of Fra Bartolommeo's activity.

Landscape drawings are mentioned in the inventory of Fra Bartolommeo's possessions compiled at his death in October 1517 by Lorenzo di Credi:⁴ “106 fogli di paesi non coloriti cioè tochi di penna”, and “4 ruotoli di tela di paesi coloriti cioè tochi di penna” as well as “6 quadretti di paesi in tela coloriti”; they show Fra Bartolommeo's strong interest in landscape as a genre worthy of colour studies, an attitude comparable to that of his German contemporary Albrecht Dürer. Vasari relates that Fra Bartolommeo's heir was his pupil Fra Paolino.⁵ In 1547 Fra Paolino gave the drawings to the paintress Plautilla Nelli, a nun at the convent of S. Caterina da Siena in Piazza San Marco in Florence.⁶ The drawings appear to have remained there until some 500 sheets were bought by Nicolò Gabburri, art historian, director of the Florentine Accademia dei disegni, and eager collector.⁷ A letter from Antonio Zanetti indicates that Gabburri acquired his Fra Bartolommeo drawings in 1725.⁸ 505 of these drawings were pasted into two volumes now belonging to the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen in Rotterdam.⁹ According to the introductory note in one of these volumes, Gabburri acquired the drawings in 1727 and had the volume made two years later.¹⁰ The landscape volume also belonged to Gabburri, for the first frontispiece bore his coat of arms (Fig. 1).¹¹ The second frontispiece with ruins and the title of the volume was signed and dated Rinaldo Botti 1730 (Fig. 2).

As can be seen from the title, Gabburri thought that his landscape drawings were by Andrea del Sarto. This seems strange, but he might have come to this conclusion because of the 17th century inscription on one of the sheets which expresses doubt as to the attribution: “Di mano dell Frate Anzi d'Andrea”.¹² His conviction might also have stemmed from his intimate knowledge of Andrea del Sarto's frescoes in the atrium of the Ss. Annunziata, which are full of landscapes;¹³ Gabburri was responsible for safeguarding them from the elements.¹⁴

The discrepancy between the date of acquisition mentioned in Zanetti's letter (1725) and in the Rotterdam volumes (1727, 1730) might indicate that we are dealing with two different acquisitions, probably from two different sources; that Fra Bartolommeo's drawings were already dispersed before 1725 and that their provenance had been forgotten.



1 Nicolò Gabburri's coat of arms on the first frontispiece of the volume of landscape drawings by Fra Bartolommeo.



2 Second frontispiece from the volume of Landscape drawings by Fra Bartolommeo.

According to Mariette, collector and friend of Gabburri, “un anglois nommé Kent”, apparently identifiable with an art dealer living in Rome in the 1740's, bought Gabburri's entire collection and sold it in London “sans beaucoup de faveur, chose assez singuliere car tout ce qui vient d'Italie est reputè bon pour les anglois”.¹⁵ We do not know anything about the fate of the London volume subsequent to Mr. Kent's sale. The volume, however, did remain in England. Three of the landscapes were copied by Robert Surtees, an amateur from Durham, in drawings dated 1768 and inserted into an album, sold at Christie's in London in 1980. The three drawings were copies after *A path between overhanging rocks*, which is now in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princess Gate collection no. 86 recto (Figs. 3 and 4), *A view of a monastery*, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library and *A farm on the slope of a hill* now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (the originals are illustrated in Figs. 28 and 33).¹⁶ Previous to the sale in 1957 the Fra Bartolommeo volume belonged to an Irish collector, who had bought it in 1925.¹⁷

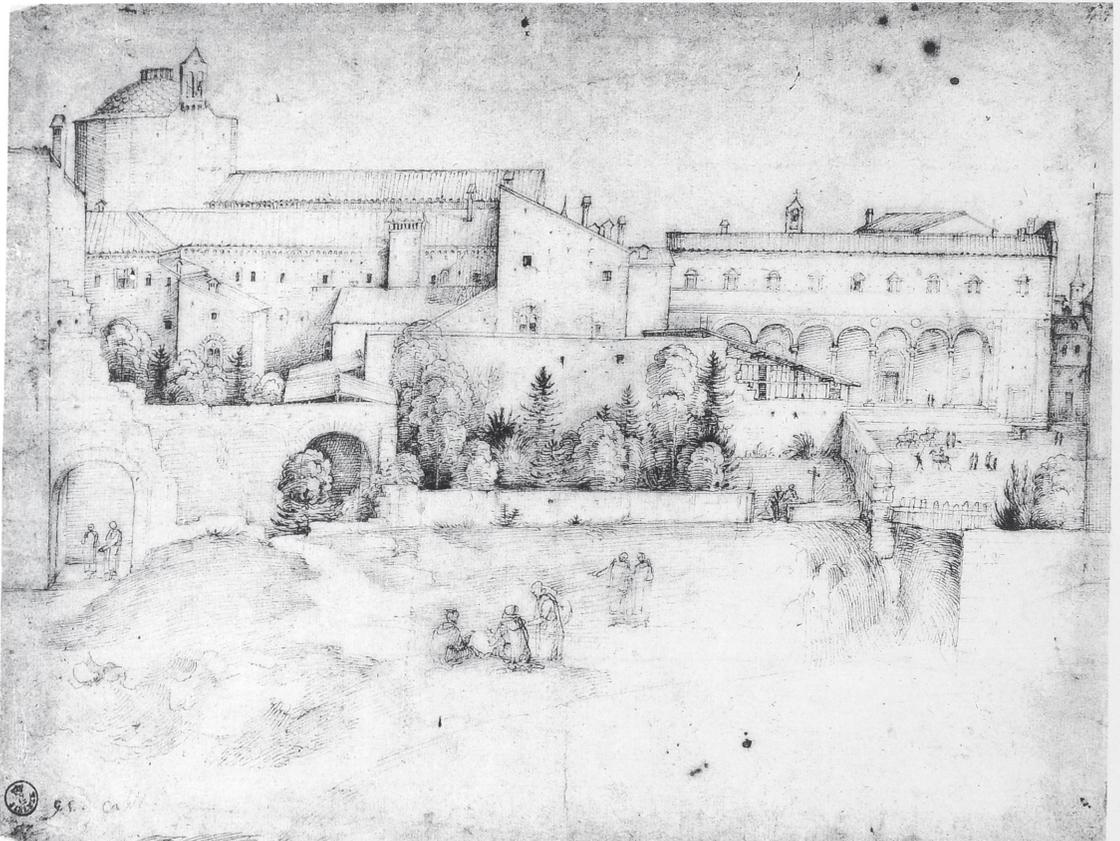
With the exception of the studies of trees, Fra Bartolommeo's landscape drawings can be divided into five categories, according to subject. 1: Townscapes, 2: Landscapes with convents, 3: Landscapes with farm houses, 4: Landscapes with cliffs, 5: Landscapes copied from German or Flemish masters. There is only one sheet belonging to the last category, and since it shows more about Fra Bartolommeo's attitude to Northern models than about his attitude towards landscape in general I shall only deal with it in passing.¹⁸



3 Fra Bartolommeo, Rocks. London, Courtauld Institute, Princess Gate Collection 86.



4 Robert Surtees, Copy after Fra Bartolommeo's Rocks, Fig. 3.



5 Fra Bartolommeo, View of the Piazza Ss. Annunziata, Florence, Uff. 45 P.

Among the townscapes the best known is the pen and ink study of the church and convent of Ss. Annunziata with a view of the *Ospedale degli Innocenti* seen from a building on the corner of what is now Via La Marmora and Via Battisti in Florence (Fig. 5).¹⁹ The existence of this building is not documented, but we know from a document, pointed out to me by Caroline Elam, that this plot of land was rented by the San Marco Convent at the end of the 15th century when the old convent, due to Savonarola's popularity, became very crowded. Fra Bartolommeo became a monk in 1500, but he did not settle in the old convent, at San Marco, until he had finished his theological education in Prato in 1504. He could have visited there, however, both as a monk and as an ardent Savonarola follower, so we can not date this highly finished drawing precisely. Though very well known, it perhaps bears repeating, that the drawing has nothing to do with the portrait of the *Monaca* at the Uffizi, attributed to Bugiardini. The arcaded façade in the background of this painting is the Loggia di San Paolo opposite Santa Maria Novella.²⁰

Two of the landscapes in the London volume were identified by Carmen Gronau.²¹ One of them is a pen and ink drawing which belonged to the late Curtis O. Baer and is now owned by his heirs (Fig. 6).²² It was called "A view of Fiesole from the Mugnone Valley", and although it is Fiesole we see here, the view was drawn from the other side of the hill, from what is now the Piazza Mino da Fiesole. The façade of San Francesco can be seen at the top



6 Fra Bartolommeo, A view of Fiesole. Heirs of Curtis O. Baer.

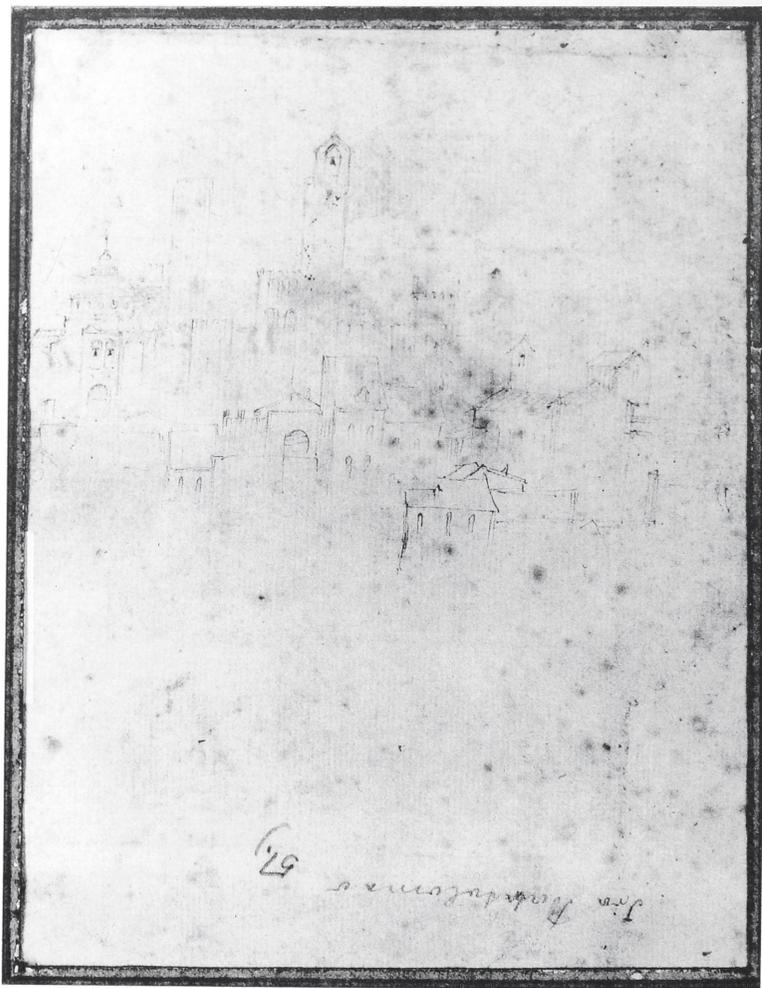


Emilio Burri del.

Valata della Piazza di Fiesole presso Firenze.

Emilio Burri del.

7 Emilio Burri, View of the Piazza Mino da Fiesole in Fiesole.

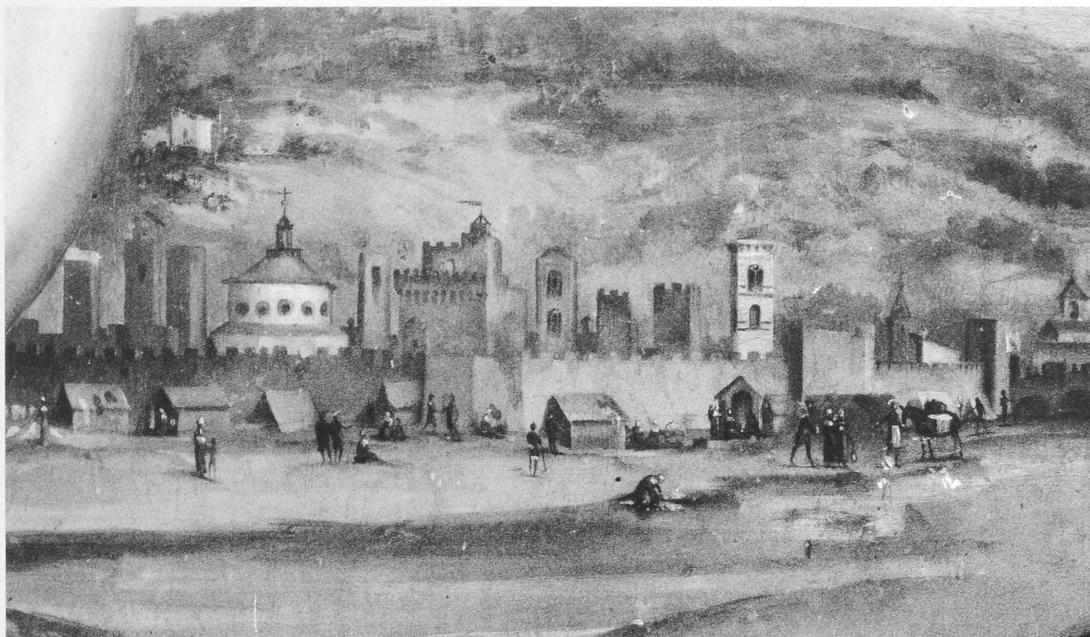


8 Fra Bartolommeo, Prato seen from the west. Washington, The National Gallery of Art, inv. B26-220.

right and the choir of Sant'Alessandro is to the left. The lower part of the drawing shows the piazza before the construction of the *Seminario* to the left (1697) and the reconstruction of the *Palazzo Vescovile* to the right (the façade is from 1675). The Romanesque cathedral at the far right has been omitted by the Frate. To facilitate recognition, the drawing can be compared with a print from a 19th century guidebook (Fig. 7).²³

A light sketch on a double-sided sheet which shows a landscape with a watermill on the reverse, is easily recognizable. The building is the cathedral of Siena seen from San Domenico (Fig. 10). It was once in the Springell collection and was one of the few landscape drawings known before the appearance of the London volume.²⁴

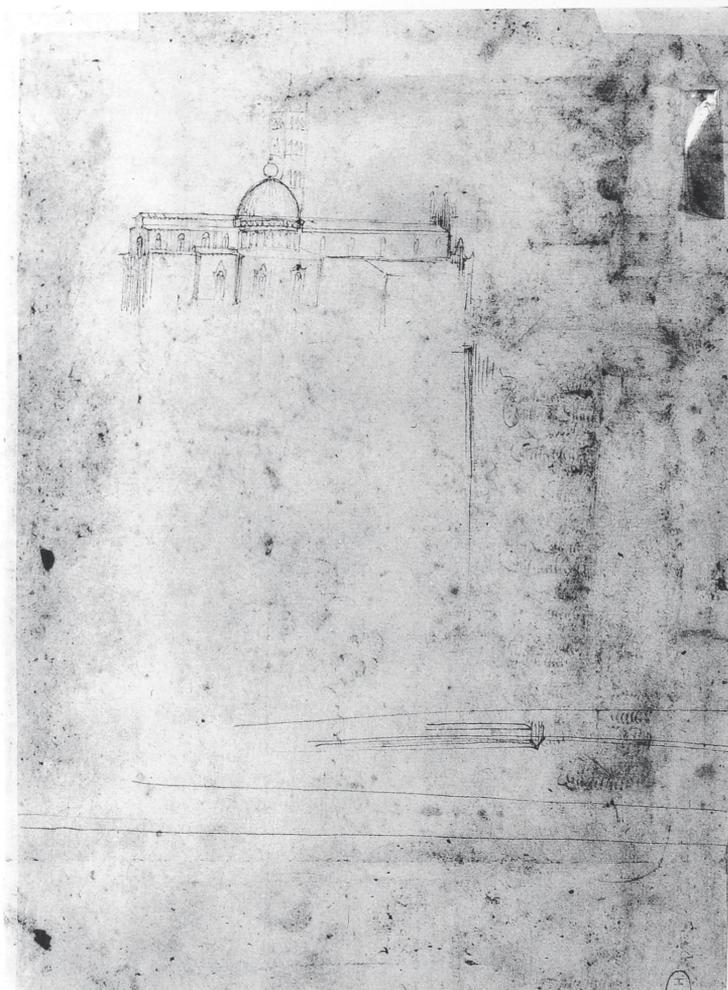
Another light sketch of a town is on the back of an early study for an Annunciation (Fig. 8). It belongs to the National Gallery in Washington.²⁵ The rather low dome to the left, the high tower of the castle in the centre and the church in the foreground to the right are the



9 Circle of Antonio Sogliani, *St. Sebastian and St. Roch entreating Christ to spare Prato from the Plague*, detail with a view of Prato from the east. Prato, Compagnia di San Sebastiano.

most conspicuous elements in this townscape. It can be identified as a view of Prato seen from the west, not far from the convent of San Domenico where Fra Bartolommeo lived between 1500 and 1504. The dome to the left is Santa Maria delle Carceri built by Giuliano da Maiano and Giuliano da San Gallo between 1484 and ca. 1508. The lantern, visible in the drawing, was finished in 1492.²⁶ The high tower was part of the imperial castle, demolished, together with the other imperial tower, in 1767-68.²⁷ The church in the foreground is San Francesco with the original belltower, replaced in 1798 with the one we see today.²⁸ In Fra Bartolommeo's drawing the town is still dominated by the mediaeval family towers. Many of them had already been demolished during the Quattrocento, but in the following century those still in existence inspired awe and civic pride; they became objects of romantic infatuation as is discernible from the Washington drawing.²⁹ In this context it is interesting to consider an altarpiece in the chapel of the Compagnia di San Sebastiano in Piazza San Domenico in Prato. It shows St. Sebastian and St. Roch entreating Christ to spare Prato from his arrows of the plague, painted during the plague of 1530 by an artist who belonged to the circle of Antonio Sogliani and who was inspired by Fra Bartolommeo (Fig. 9).³⁰ The town is seen from the east in the painting, whereas it is seen from the west in the drawing. The river Bisenzio is in the foreground and next to the walls we find the huts built to house the infected. The profile of the town is dominated by the towers among which those of the imperial castle are most conspicuous, but the painting is much less precise than Fra Bartolommeo's drawing.

A drawing of a small town on the crest of a slope with a walled castle on a steep hill to the right was sold as lot 7 in the London sale and is now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 11).³¹ The town is dominated by a well-fortified tower equipped with small

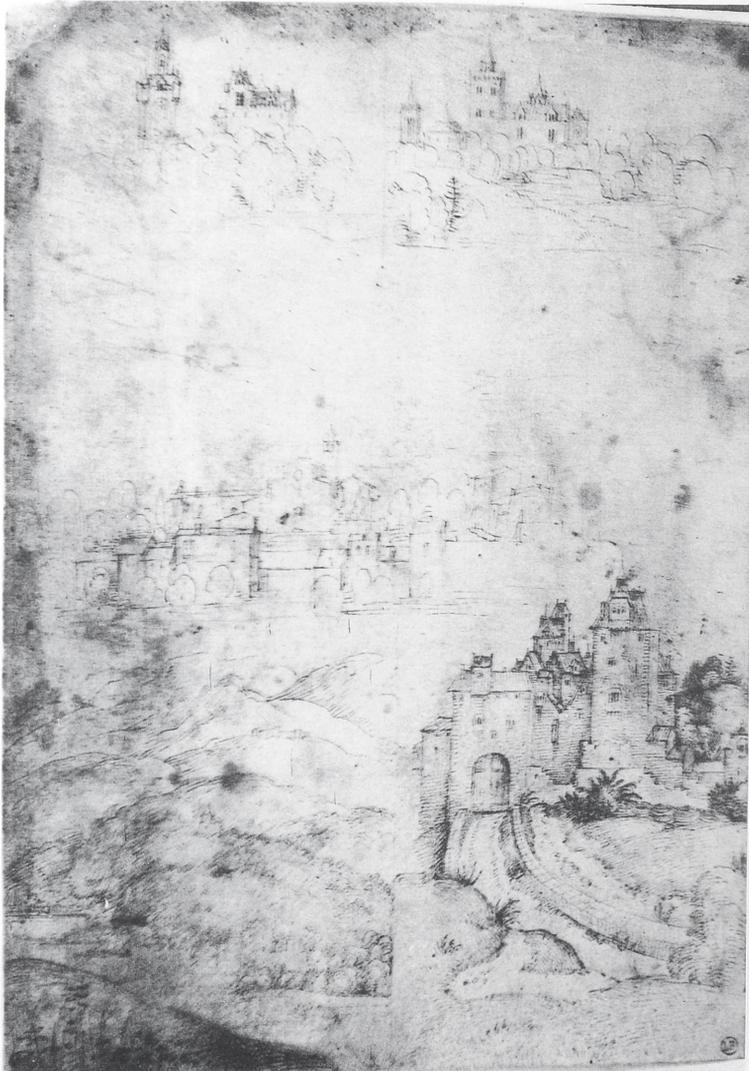


10 Fra Bartolommeo, The Duomo of Siena seen from Piazza San Domenico. Formerly England, Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell collection.

turrets and a gate-like building which are comparable to elements of a castle in the left background of Dürer's etching *Hercules at the Crossroads* of about 1498-99 (Fig. 13). Fra Bartolommeo knew this etching very well, for he had meticulously copied its background landscapes on a sheet with a fine drawing of a small Tuscan town dominated by a large church in the Louvre (Fig. 12).³² The foreground trees which flank the town like a stage setting give the Metropolitan sheet a somewhat elaborate character indicative more of a drawing based on memory rather than a record of an actual view. This assumption is substantiated by a drawing of a very similar, clearly Tuscan town at the foot of a hill with a fortified castle also in the Louvre (Fig. 14).³³ A detailed comparison between the two drawings makes it clear that the Metropolitan drawing is a worked-up version of the same subject. Fra Bartolommeo has eliminated the palm tree of the Louvre drawing. With the help of the Dürer print he has remodelled the farmhouse with the chapel on the right and has transformed the gable of the farmhouse on the left into



11 Fra Bartolommeo, A hill town. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 57.165.



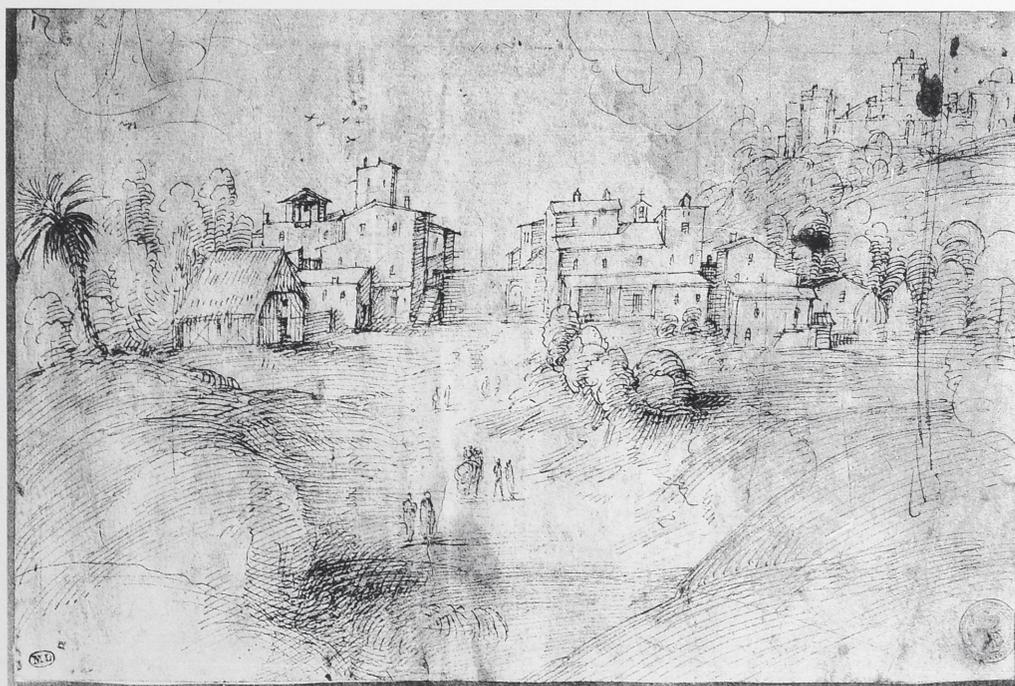
12 Fra Bartolommeo, Copies after the landscape in Dürer's print *Hercules at the Crossroads*. Paris, Louvre, RF. 5565 recto.

a gate-like building. He thus succeeded in giving this Tuscan town a thoroughly northern character in accordance with the prevailing taste for the northern fantasy landscapes of his contemporaries. If one compares the style of the two works it becomes clear that the Louvre drawing is the more spontaneous. It is quickly sketched with many *pentimenti* and very little concern for composition and balance, as if it were a direct response to nature; the Metropolitan drawing, on the other hand, is executed in a slower, more calculated manner.

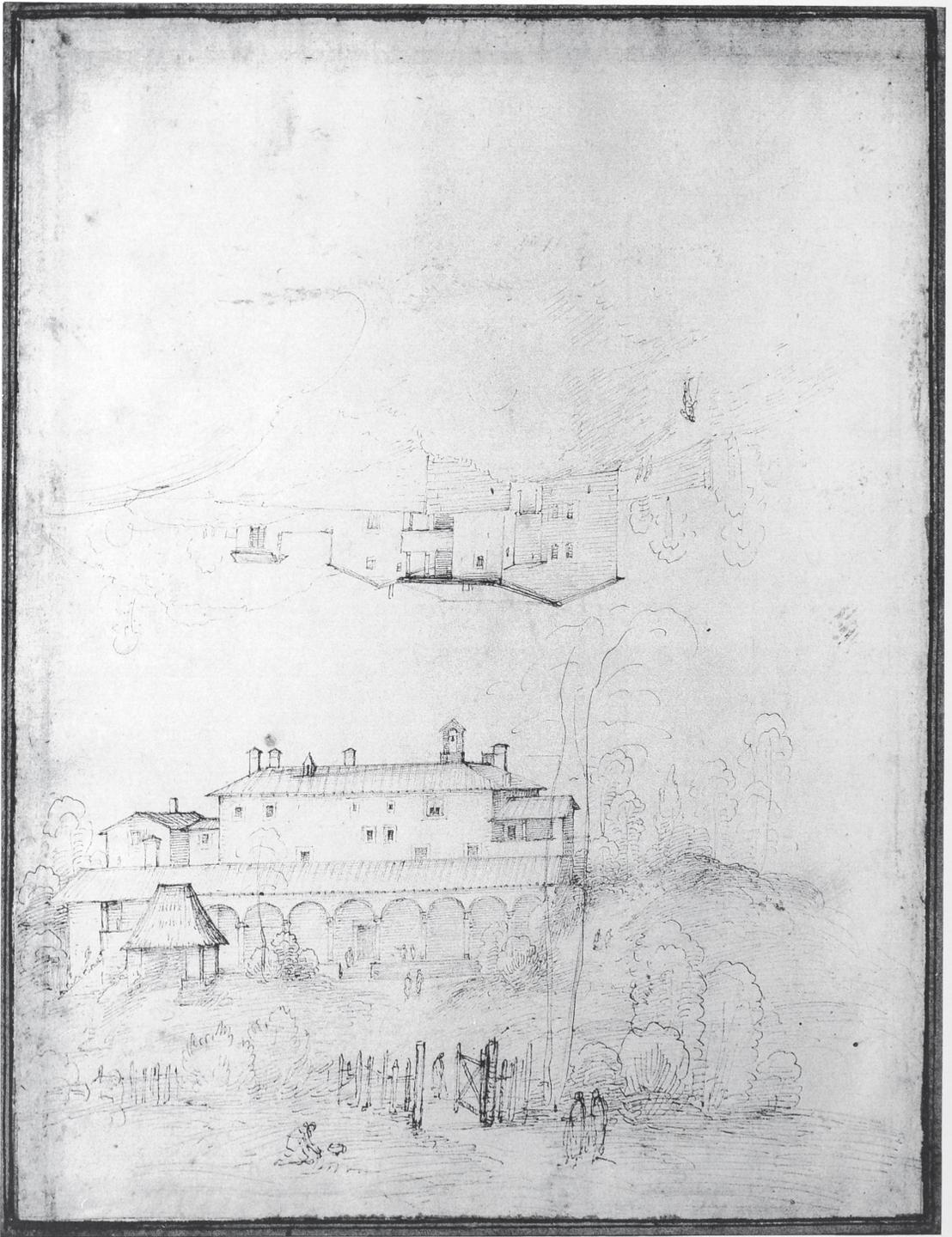
The landscape in Fig. 15 now belongs to the Smith College of Art in Northampton (Mass.). The building with the arcades was identified by Carmen Gronau as the convent of Santa Maria Maddalena in the Mugnone Valley seen from the south.³⁴ The *ospizio* belonged to the convent



13 Albrecht Dürer, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, detail with a castle. Berlin-Dahlem, Kk.



14 Fra Bartolommeo, *A Tuscan hill town*. Paris, Louvre, inv. 18645.

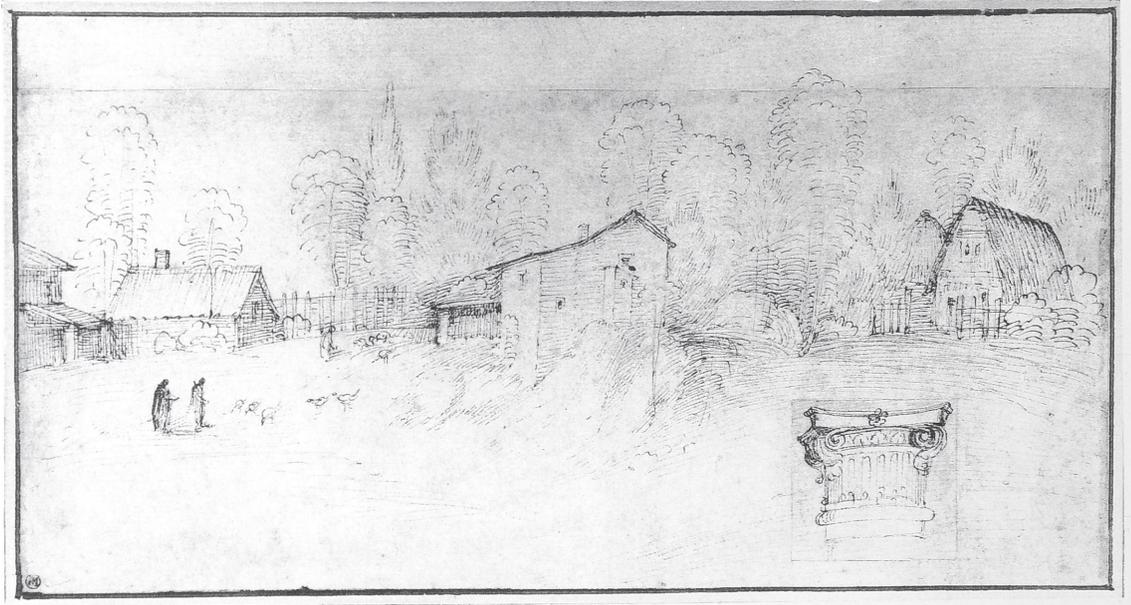


15 Fra Bartolommeo, A view of the Ospizio di Sta. Maria Maddalena at Le Caldine and a View of a farm-house, Northampton (Mass.), Smith College Museum of Art, inv. 1957:59.



16 Ospizio di Sta. Maria Maddalena at Le Caldine seen from the south.

of San Marco like Santa Maria del Sasso at Bibbiena and Madonna del Leceto near Lastra a Signa. It was used as a country resort in summer and as a place of retreat for old and ill friars. The *ospizi* were built near roads like the Via Faentina, the Via Pisana and the Via Aretina to offer hospitality to travelling friars. Fra Bartolommeo, who travelled often, was undoubtedly a frequent guest here.³⁵ In his last years, especially after his return from Rome, where he seems to have contracted malaria in 1513 or 1514, Fra Bartolommeo often stayed at the Maddalena where he painted many frescoes. One of the most beautiful is the *Noli Me Tangere* painted in a small chapel in the garden which was built on the spot where we see the kneeling monk sometime after this drawing was made. The fresco is dated 1516.³⁶ The *ospizio* was built on the right side of the Via Faentina near the village of Le Caldine between 1464 and 1482 probably by Michelozzo or an architect of his circle.³⁷ A modern photograph of the south façade shows the criminal restoration of the 1950's which brought about the demolition of half of the loggia (Fig. 16). Fra Bartolommeo's interest in this building went far beyond its pictorial qualities. This is testified to by the very precise rendering of an Ionic capital from the courtyard of the convent, apparently cut out of a sheet with small studies, and inserted into another sheet with a drawing of some farmhouses to which we shall return later. The sheet is now in the Albertina in Vienna (Figs. 17, 18a + b).³⁸ It once belonged to Pierre-Jean Mariette who certainly added the strip of paper at the top and probably also inserted the piece of paper with the small capital since it was done in the gentle manner which characterizes the interventions of this great connoisseur.³⁹



17 Fra Bartolommeo, Farmhouse and a capital, Vienna, Albertina, inv. 17.577.



18 a + b Capitals of the columns and of a console in the courtyard of the Ospizio di Sta. Maria Maddalena at Le Caldine.

The drawing of a convent placed among a group of rocks also in the Albertina is unique among Fra Bartolommeo's landscape drawings (Fig. 19).⁴⁰ As Benesch has observed, the building is seen from a distance whereas the rocks around it were studied close up. The practice of transforming rocks into mountains is an old tradition and was introduced into Tuscany by the Byzantines. It was subsequently refined by Giotto, Traini and Filippo Lippi.⁴¹ Unusual and somewhat old-fashioned by the Cinquecento it was still used at the beginning of the century by one of its most fascinating upholders, the bizarre Piero di Cosimo, Fra Bartolommeo's teacher.⁴² The Vienna drawing may well be compared to Piero di Cosimo's drawing of *St. Jerome in the wilderness* (Fig. 23)⁴³ or the landscape background in his painting of the *Incarnation*, both in the Uffizi. A close study of Fra Bartolommeo's sheet makes it clear that the building, the small hill behind it to the left and some of the trees at the right were placed on the sheet before the study of the rocks and the large trees in the left foreground. To accentuate the contrast between the images Fra Bartolommeo placed the landscape behind the building in shadow and introduced a series of short, irrelevant pen strokes. The drawing is probably an elaboration of two already existing sketches combined in a preliminary drawing executed with stylus, inked in and then erased. Traces of erasing on the ink-lines of the wall, the arcade and the pillar carrying the roof over the well, indicate the use of an India rubber. This hypothesis is confirmed by a drawing in the Uffizi (Fig. 20) in which we see the same building in more natural and convincing surroundings, similar to those on the first ink-sketch of the Albertina sheet.⁴⁴ The Uffizi drawing is not endowed with the rich graphic variety which characterizes Fra Bartolommeo's drawing style. It is a copy from the lost model utilized for the Viennese sheet. The Albertina drawing makes it clear that the convent consisted of 3 or 4 wings whereas the relations between the different parts of the building are not comprehensible in the Uffizi copy. The relation between the low side wing and the tower is different in the two drawings and the form of the stairs or ramps leading up to the building are changed accordingly. Since this variation does not cause difficulties in rendering space the copyist must have followed the lost original in this detail. The motif was well known in the circle around Fra Bartolommeo. There are two further copies in the Uffizi⁴⁵, and it is also found in a tondo depicting the Holy Family in the National Gallery in Dublin, attributed to Bugiardini or to an artist from his circle (Fig. 21).⁴⁶ In spite of its fantastic aspect the building is identifiable. It is an elaboration of the Ospizio di Santa Maria Maddalena in the Mugnone Valley seen from the north-west (Fig. 22). One recognizes the ground-plan of the monastery, the steps or ramps, the small terrace, the three arcades in front of the church with the three small windows above, the two church windows on the north facade and the small belfry. Through the use of a small trick, the heightening of the southern end of the west façade and the addition of a balcony, a tabernacle and a small tower, Fra Bartolommeo has transformed the convent into a romantic and dramatic building belonging to a fairytale world, very similar to the buildings painted by his teacher Piero di Cosimo.

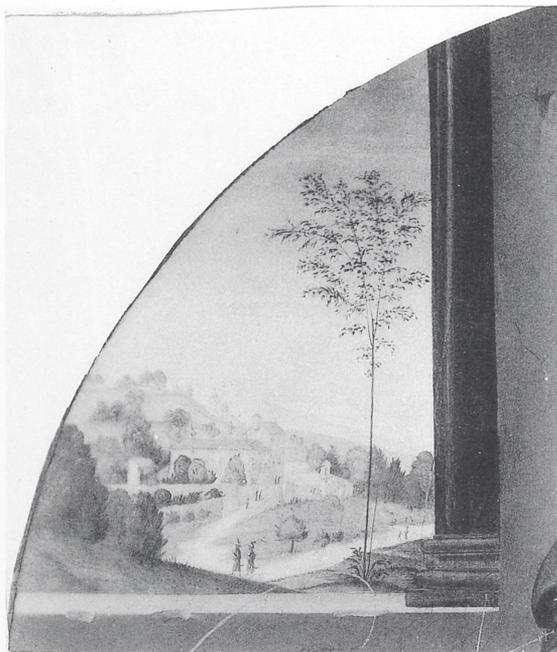
The subject of the next two drawings was identified by Ludovico Borgo (Figs. 24 and 26).⁴⁷ They are both views of the *ospizio* of Santa Maria del Sasso at Bibbiena, built upon a rock where — according to a legend — the Virgin appeared disguised as a dove in 1346. The building, which had belonged to the Dominicans of San Marco since 1468, was destroyed by fire in 1486 and was rebuilt with funds collected by Savonarola and Lorenzo de' Medici. The architect was Giuliano da Maiano, who had just been substituted by Giuliano da Sangallo as *capomaestro* of Santa Maria delle Carceri in Prato. In 1495 the *ospizio* was elevated to the rank of a convent and the church was consecrated on August 25th, 1507.⁴⁸ The first drawing is in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Fig. 24)⁴⁹, and it shows the convent from the west (Fig. 25). When the drawing was made the monastery had two wings and the courtyard in front of the church was enclosed by a wall. The belltower is evidently of a later date, which I have not



19 Fra Bartolommeo, A convent placed in a group of rocks. Vienna, Albertina, inv. 270.



20 Circle of Fra Bartolommeo, A convent. Florence, Uffizi, 48 P.



21 Giuliano Bugiardini, *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John the Baptist*, detail with landscape. Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland.



22 Ospizio di Sta. Maria Maddalena at Le Caldine seen from the north-west.

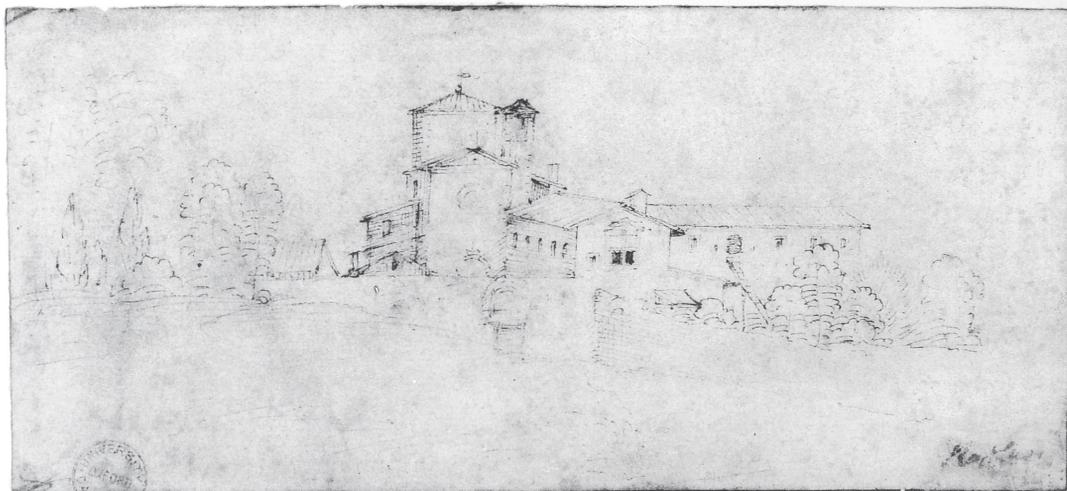


23 Piero di Cosimo, Rocky landscape with St. Jerome. Florence, Uffizi, 7 P. recto.

been able to establish. The convent is situated on the crest of a hill. This position is clarified in the second drawing, preserved in the Albertina in Vienna (Fig. 26) in which we see the building from the north-east (Fig. 27).⁵⁰ The Viennese drawing once belonged to Mariette, who ascribed it to Raphael in a cartouche at the bottom and added a strip of paper at the top. Fra Bartolommeo executed the drawing before the erection of the building added to the end of the church when the choir was enlarged after 1513. The architect was Stefano Lunetti, father of the painter whom we shall mention later. After Fra Bartolommeo's death the church was decorated with two altarpieces painted by his pupil Fra Paolino: *The Madonna and Child with Saints Dominic, Antonino, Lucy, Catherine of Siena, Vincent Ferrer and Thomas Aquinas*, dated 1525, and the *Assumption*, which was installed on the high-altar in 1533.⁵¹

A double-sided sheet from the London volume, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, bears two drawings of the same building seen from different angles.⁵² The recto of the sheet (Fig. 28) shows a convent situated on a hill at the turn of a road with a well in the foreground. The building can be identified as the Ospizio della Madonna del Lecceto, near Lastra a Signa, about 5 Km. from the Via Pisana. The *ospizio* is seen from the west and the tree to the right must be one of the many oaks which gave the place its name. Nowadays the façade is concealed by large cypresses and is difficult to photograph (Figs. 29 and 30). The well still exists, likewise hidden by a group of cypresses seen in the centre of Fig. 29. The chapel was founded in 1475 by a Dominican hermit who started to build it with money donated by Piero Pugliese, a Florentine merchant, and patron of Fra Bartolommeo.⁵³ In about 1477 a richer and more influential patron took over. This was Filippo di Matteo Strozzi, who placed the family arms on the façade of the church. When the hermit died in 1485 he left the unfinished chapel to the convent of San Marco. The building activities seem to have continued until about 1504. The church was adorned with a belltower copied after the one at San Marco in Florence, but it was destroyed by lightning in 1563. In 1896 the convent was acquired by the Florentine *Seminario*. It was completely rebuilt and the east wing was heightened by one floor.⁵⁴ According to a description of 1596 the dormitory and cells were originally placed on the first floor of this wing.⁵⁵ On the other side of the sheet we have a view of the *ospizio* from the north-west (Fig. 31). In the foreground to the right there is a farmhouse which still exists, now enlarged towards the north by a small barn (Fig. 32). The door and the three windows on the east façade, visible in the drawing, are still the same. In the drawing the south wing of the convent seems, according to indications of payments, to have just been completed. The building activities seem to have increased between 1498 and 1504: Thus it is likely that the drawing was executed in these years.

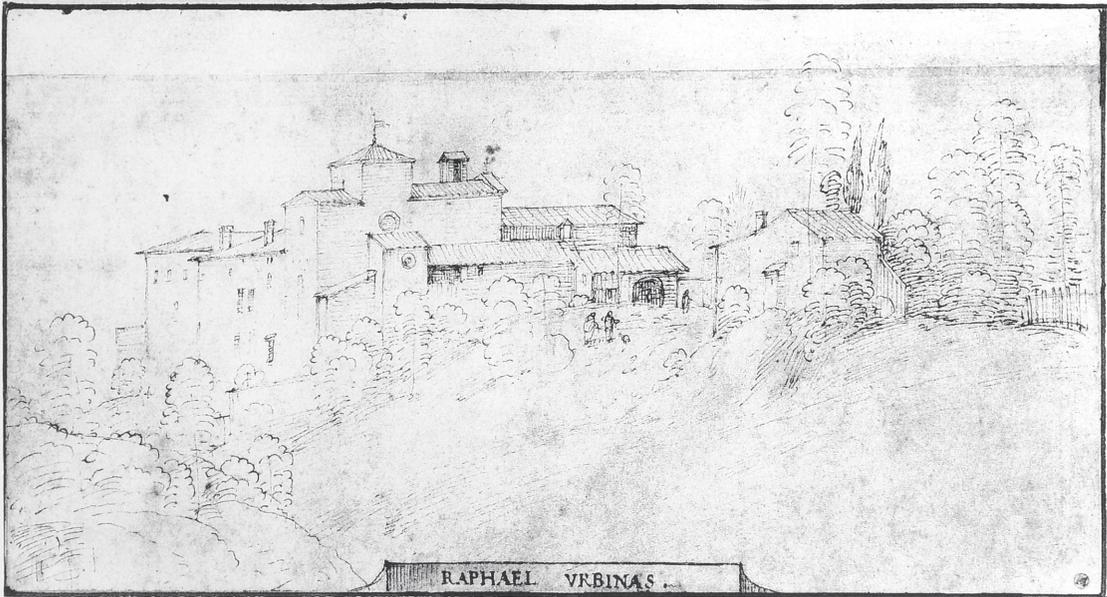
Let us now pass to landscapes with farmhouses. One of the most interesting in this group is the drawing belonging to the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 33).⁵⁶ It is the only landscape drawing which has left its traces in one of Fra Bartolommeo's own paintings. As already observed by Luise S. Richards it is very close to the farmhouse in *God the Father, St. Catherine of Siena and St. Mary Magdalen* in the Museum of the Villa Guinigi in Lucca, dated 1509 (Fig. 34). The motif must have been a "bestseller" for it returns in another painting, the *Holy Family with the Infant St. John the Baptist* in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Fig. 35), which, though not by the Frate, is certainly from his workshop, and we find it once more in the privately owned and badly preserved *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John the Baptist*, signed and dated 1509, by Fra Bartolommeo's associate Mariotto Albertinelli (Fig. 36).⁵⁷ There are, however, small differences between the drawing and the paintings. The main building has been changed, the wing in front of the wall of the other building has been enlarged, the pergola on the terrace has been eliminated and the haystack has been moved. Hence it is possible that the landscape in the paintings was based on another drawing in which the subject had been re-elaborated and combined with another sketch, a working method that we have already seen



24 Fra Bartolommeo, A view of the convent of Sta. Maria del Sasso from the west. Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum, Parker 108.



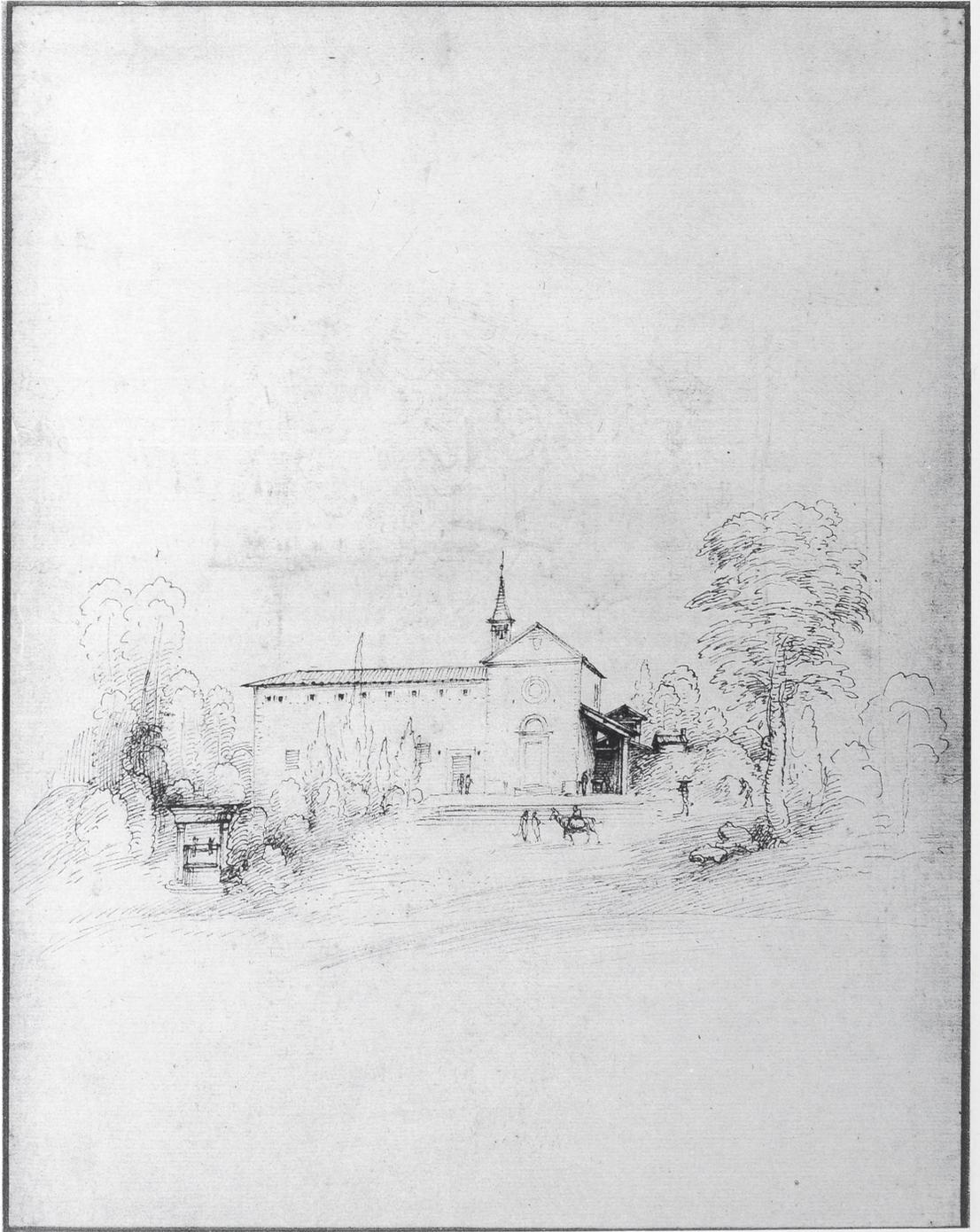
25 The convent of Sta. Maria del Sasso seen from the west.



26 Fra Bartolommeo, A view of the convent of Sta. Maria del Sasso from the north-east. Vienna, Albertina, inv. 17.578.



27 The convent of Sta. Maria del Sasso seen from the north-east.



28 Fra Bartolommeo, A view of the Ospizio della Madonna del Lecceto from the west. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, inv. 1957.18 recto.



29 Ospizio della Madonna del Lecceto seen from the west.



30 Ospizio della Madonna del Lecceto, Church façade seen from south-west.



31 Fra Bartolommeo, A view of the Ospizio della Madonna del Leceto from the north-west. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, inv. 1957.18 verso.



32 Ospizio della Madonna del Lecceto seen from the north-west.

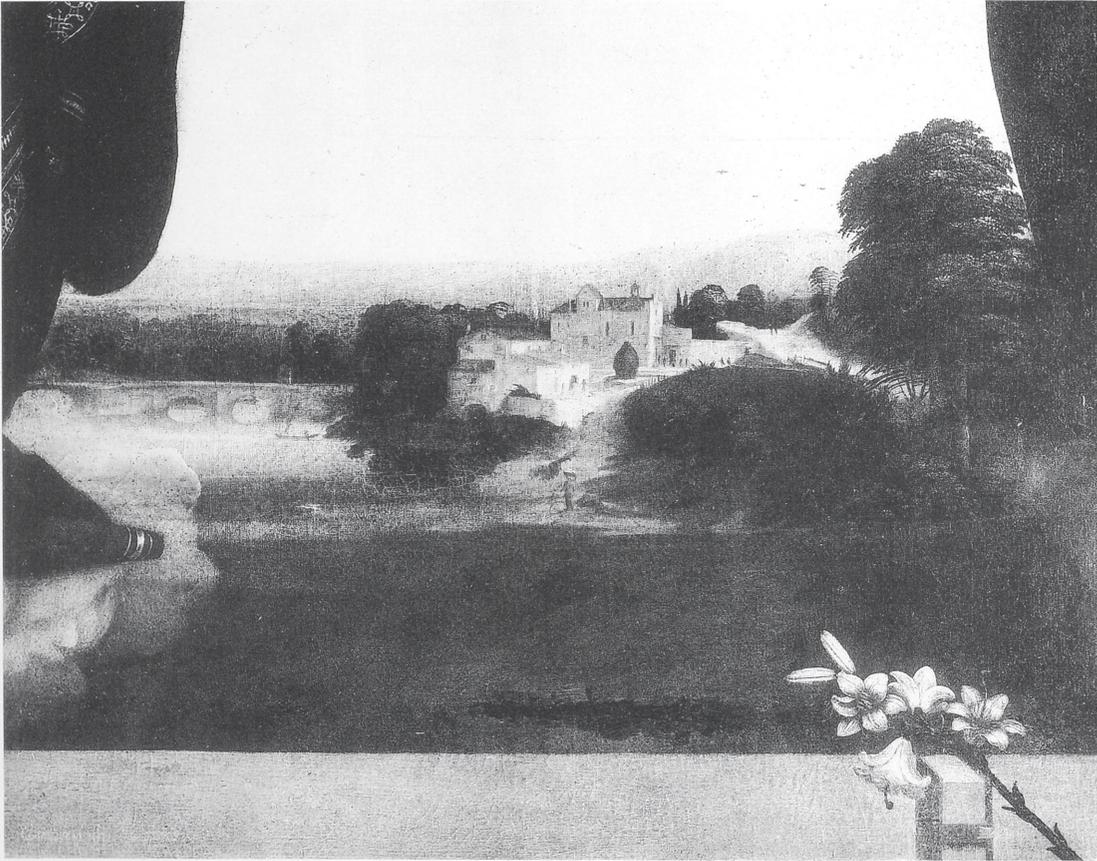
the Frate use in the Louvre Townscape and in the drawing of the convent in the Albertina. Evidence for this is found in Raphael's *Disputa* (Fig. 37). In the landscape on the left we encounter the low building and the haystack already known from the paintings by Fra Bartolommeo and his workshop. The main building has been substituted by another with arcades and pilasters under construction, identified by Frommel as the initiation of the Vatican Logge.⁵⁸ The *Disputa* was executed between January and October 1509, and it is well known that Raphael drew much inspiration from Fra Bartolommeo's *Last Judgment* fresco when he painted the upper part of his first Roman fresco. The discovery of a landscape motif borrowed from Fra Bartolommeo in the Vatican fresco is a further demonstration of how consciously Raphael drew inspiration from the Dominican artist who was his senior by 11 years and, according to Vasari, to a certain degree his model.⁵⁹ Raphael apparently left Florence in the summer or autumn of 1508 which gives the *terminus ante quem* for the Cleveland drawing.⁶⁰

The farmhouses of the drawing, now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (Mass.) (Fig. 38)⁶¹ and on the sheet in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Fig. 39)⁶², were identified by Carmen Gronau as drawings of the same building seen from different angles. A more thorough examination, however, demonstrates that the differences are due to the fact that both drawings are depictions of the same motif with variations. The less elaborate sketch is the one in Cambridge (Mass.) which has *pentimenti* on the roof of the low building on the front corner. From



33 Fra Bartolommeo, *A farm on the slope of a hill*. Cleveland (Ohio), The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. 57.498.

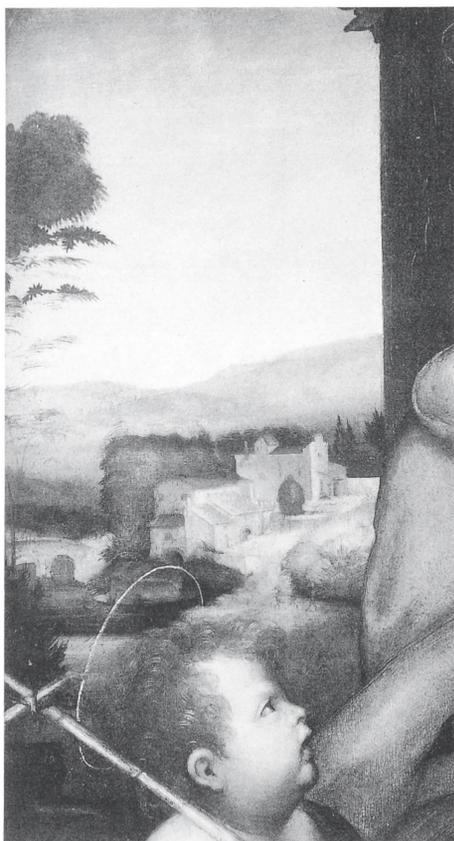
this drawing one understands that the buildings are placed together in such a way as to form a more or less quadrangular groundplan around a courtyard. This courtyard is closed in by high buildings on the rear and half way down the left side, and by low buildings on the remaining sides. The similar composition in Oxford resists every attempt to understand the spatial relationships between the different parts of the block. The low building to the left, parallel to the façade of the high building, and the space occupied by the low wing to the right do not make sense. The Oxford drawing has a more finished character than the other, thus it was probably executed using the more spontaneous Cambridge drawing as a model. The varied and bold use of the pen in both drawings show both to be by Fra Bartolommeo himself. The motif was employed by Tomaso di Stefano Lunetti in his *Adoration of the Shepherds* executed for the chapel of Marco di Neri's villa at Arcetri, now Villa Capponi, where it is still found today (Fig. 40).⁶³ In the painting the farmhouse is partially covered by a tree in the landscape seen through an arch behind the figures in the middle. Tomaso di Stefano Lunetti apparently used the "correct" drawing in the Fogg Museum. The fact that he had access to this drawing renders it likely that he was not only educated by Lorenzo di Credi, as Vasari writes⁶⁴, but also frequented the San Marco workshop. Further evidence of this is furnished by two of the scenes



34 Fra Bartolommeo, *God the Father, St. Catherine of Siena and St. Mary Magdalen*, detail with landscape. Lucca, Pinacoteca della Villa Guinigi.

in the predella for the same altarpiece. The *Visitation* is clearly based on the drawings which Fra Bartolommeo made for Albertinelli's great painting of this subject in the Uffizi⁶⁵, and the fairly unusual scene of St. Dominic and St. Francis embracing was a favourite motif of the Frate.⁶⁶

At this point I should like to re-introduce the Viennese sheet with the inserted capital (Fig. 17), this time to consider the main drawing with the farmhouses. The house in the middle, distinguished by its position behind a small rock, is undoubtedly the building to the north-east of the convent of Santa Maria del Sasso at Bibbiena (Fig. 27). What is left of this building today has nothing but its position near the small rock in common with the farmhouse in the drawing; but we find the same building, with its small extension slightly changed, in the view of the convent from the north-east likewise in Vienna which we already discussed (Fig. 26). It is, however, difficult to align the smaller buildings to the left with the constructions which we see near to the west façade of the convent in the other drawing. Furthermore the half-timbered house with pitched roof to the right seems to be of northern origin, so it is very probable that Fra Bartolommeo once again combined elements from different views. Mariotto



35 Workshop of Fra Bartolommeo, *The Holy Family with the Infant St. John the Baptist*. Amsterdam. Rijksmuseum. Detail.



36 Mariotto Albertinelli, *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John the Baptist*. Private collection. Detail.

Albertinelli, who was Fra Bartolommeo's close friend and collaborator for a large part of his life⁶⁷, seems to have been aware of this three-part assembly, for he picked out the dominating building in the middle of the sheet and placed it in the landscape view behind the *Madonna and child with the infant St. John the Baptist*. The painting is signed and dated 1509 and is in the Basevi-Gambara collection in Genoa.⁶⁸ Both the Viennese farmhouse drawing and the Santa Maria del Sasso drawing came from the collection of Pierre-Jean Mariette. I have already commented upon the strips of paper which Mariette added to the top of each of these drawings, and I think that the explanation for these additions is that the two drawings were executed on the same sheet, but upside-down in relation to each other, like the landscapes on the sheet with the Ospizio della Maddalena in Northampton (Fig. 15) and many others from the London album. Such a distribution on the sheet would have offended Mariette's aesthetic sense so he consequently separated them and added the strips at the top to make the images "breathe" more freely in the semblance of finished compositions.

Another sheet used by an artist from the Fra Bartolommeo circle is the one with a group of farmhouses on the crest of a hill above which we see a small chapel. In the left foreground is a pruned willow which recalls Piero di Cosimo's predilection for this strange pollar. The drawing was included in the London sale and was bought by Dr. Shilling (Fig. 41).⁶⁹ We find



37 Raphael, *Disputa*, detail with landscape. Rome, Vatican Palaces.

the motif translated into paint in the right background of the *Madonna and Child* in the Museum of Arezzo (Fig. 42), a painting attributed to the young Rosso Fiorentino by Barocchi and Longhi, but now ascribed, by Federico Zeri, more reasonably, to the Master of the Kress Landscapes.⁷⁰

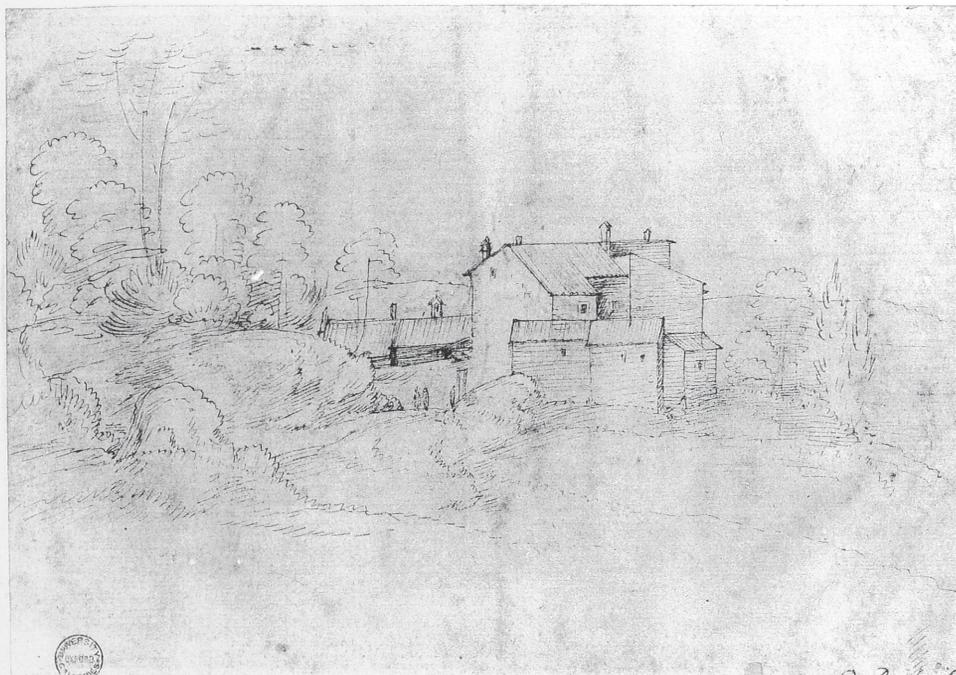
A third sheet with the approach to a village on the top of a hill, is now in the Princess Gate Collection at the Courtauld Institute (Fig. 43).⁷¹ It is a re-elaborated version of the somewhat sketchier and far more animated drawing which formed lot 1 in the London sale and is now in the Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 45).⁷² As Isolde Härth observed, the Courtauld drawing was used for the left background of Bugiardini's *Rape of Dina* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Fig. 44). This painting was largely based on a composition which Fra Bartolommeo left unfinished at his death and which is now lost.⁷³ The charming rendering of an artist and his apprentice who paint a fresco with a tree on the lower façade of a palace behind the rotonda was a motif which Fra Bartolommeo had already used in the background of his *Holy Family* in the National Gallery in London (Fig. 46).

The dating of the landscape drawings is a complicated problem. They are all executed in pen and ink which was Fra Bartolommeo's preferred medium prior to 1508/09. They constitute a uniform group with many affinities to drawings of other subjects executed by the Frate before 1509. Other useful elements for a more precise dating are furnished by the watermarks⁷⁴, the history of the buildings represented, the possible date of utilization and Fra Bartolommeo's travels and his places of sojourn. The consideration of all these matters suggests that the landscapes were created within the last five years of the fifteenth- and the first eight years of the sixteenth centuries.

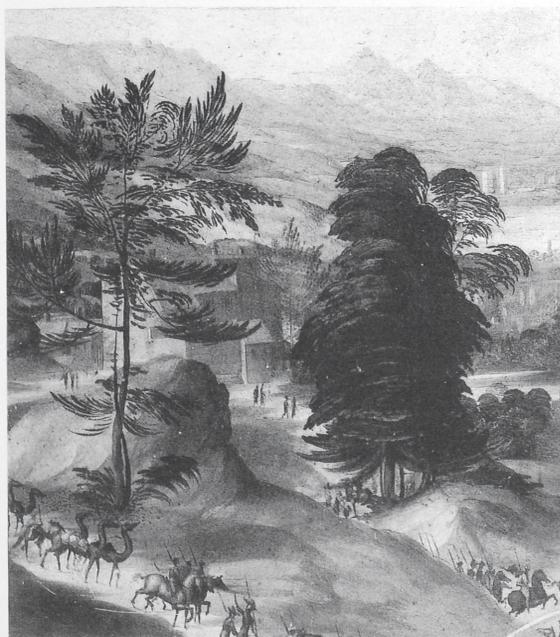
Another question is whether they were drawn in open air or in the studio. Their accuracy and liveliness indicate the former, but as I have pointed out in connection with the farmhouse drawings in the Fogg Art Museum and in the Ashmolean Museum, some of them are apparently copies based on drawings executed on the site. There is no watertight method by which to prove which drawings belong to one group and which to the other, but the dashed-off character of most of them shows a spontaneity reflecting the reaction to a living image.



38 Fra Bartolommeo, Landscape with farm buildings. Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg Art Museum, inv. 1979.54.



39 Fra Bartolommeo, Landscape with farm buildings. Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum, Parker 106 recto.



40 Tomaso di Stefano Lunetti, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, detail with landscape. Arcetri, Villa Capponi.



41 Fra Bartolommeo, A group of farmhouses on the crest of a hill. Whereabouts unknown.



42 Master of the Kress Landscapes, *Madonna and Child*. Arezzo, Galleria Nazionale, on loan from the Uffizi.

The subject of these drawings is the humanized landscape, the description of an ambience created by collaboration of man and nature. They are neither renderings of the forces of nature, analogous to Leonardo's cosmological landscapes where man is an irrelevant element, nor depictions of cultivated nature like the so-called Bacchiacca landscapes in the Uffizi, *Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe*, where the woods look like parks and the meadows like gardens. Fra Bartolommeo's landscapes convey the impression of having been created in nature itself and transmit a feeling of participation quite different from the Arno landscape that Leonardo drew from an elevated position in 1473.⁷⁵ The intimacy of Fra Bartolommeo's landscapes also stems from their subjects. Towns, convents, farmhouses, are all places of the common people; build-ings of labour where nothing is useless or superfluous and everything is born of necessity. This is in total contrast to the aristocratic life of the castle, the villa or the merchant's summer house, celebrated in Benozzo Gozzoli's and Bacchiacca's pictures.⁷⁶ The choice can be explained. Fra Bartolommeo was the son of a mule-driver. He grew up in the environs of Florence, became a Dominican monk strictly bound to urban culture. As a follower of Savonarola, Fra Bartolommeo belonged to the Republican party, populist, anti-aristocratic, anti-Medicean. Fra Bartolommeo was connected to the petit bourgeoisie of the town, to the farmers in their farm-houses and to the friars in their convents. It is not surprising that the first artist who cherished the sentimentalized topographical landscape was a Dominican of San Marco. The decline of the monastic spirit of *contemptus Mundi* in the late middle ages brought about a growing delight in nature's beauty as evidence of God's creative love, first expressed by St. Francis and then systematized by St. Thomas Aquinas.⁷⁷ In a way Fra Bartolommeo became the heir of Beato Angelico, who had also directed a painter's workshop in the San Marco convent. Fra Angelico, a pupil of Lorenzo Monaco, is to a certain degree an artist who continued the tradition of the great Siense landscapists of the Trecento, Simone Martini and Ambrogio Lorenzetti, founders of the topographically correct landscape;⁷⁸ and Fra Angelico was perhaps the first Florentine to paint a recognizable portrait of a known place, namely in the background of the *Visitation* of the Annunciation predella in the Museo Diocesano at Cortona where he depicted the countryside around Castiglion Fiorentino.⁷⁹

In spite of their novelty Fra Bartolommeo's landscapes display a typically Florentine attitude. The structure of the objects is always well-defined; the light is important, but the outlines of the objects represented are never blurred by the atmosphere. It is telling that the sky is practically not represented at all. Studies of clouds, like Raphael's or Leonardo's⁸⁰ are non-existent in the Frate's oeuvre, so in this sense Fra Bartolommeo is heir to Brunelleschi who depicted the Piazza del Duomo with a mirror as sky.⁸¹ Fra Bartolommeo's landscapes are always composed within their frame like the landscapes in the paintings of Giotto and his followers, and quite different from the fluent structure of the Siense landscapists of the Trecento or the asymmetry of the Venetians.

Fra Bartolommeo used only one of these drawings for a painting. His landscape drawings, therefore, play a special part in his oeuvre. As a High-Renaissance painter Fra Bartolommeo used the human figure as the principal and universal means of expression. We have every reason to believe that he would have agreed with Michelangelo who estimated the importance of a painting from the moral and historical significance of its subject and thought that Flemish landscape paintings might be appreciated "rather by women, especially those who are old and those who are very young, and also by friars, nuns and some noblemen with no sense of music and true harmony".⁸² While Fra Bartolommeo's composition drawings, his studies for figures and draperies and other details, were all preparatory to paintings, his drawings of landscapes were apparently made for pure pleasure and they furnish us a glimpse of the non-official aspect of Fra Bartolommeo's artistic creativity, when he worked, not out of a sense of duty, but out of love.

NOTES

*Abbreviated versions of this article were given as a paper at the University of Padua in March 1985, at the Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti in February 1986 and at the Courtauld Institute in London in December 1988. I am grateful to Alessandro Ballarin, Fiorella Superbi, and Patricia Rubin for the invitations to lecture. The photographs for this article were executed with great patience by Luigi Artini. I am indebted to Martina Ingendaay and Monika Butzek for their activity as chauffeurs and I have benefitted from illuminating conversations with Günter Passavant, Helen Braham and Carmen Gronau. Francis Russel has been helpful with information concerning the copies by Robert Surtees.

¹ K. Clark, *Landscape into Art*, London 1949, p. 74.

² C. Gronau, *Catalogue of Drawings of Landscapes and Trees by Fra Bartolommeo*. Sotheby and Co., 20th November 1957. The volume contained sixty drawings on forty-three sheets some of which were double-sided. The last two were not by Fra Bartolommeo. The drawings were assembled in a volume bound in sheepskin. They were all mounted to be seen on both sides and a double frame in black ink and grey wash had been drawn on the mount around each drawing. The sale was previewed by an anonymous journalist: To be sold at Auction in London. A Notable Collection of Recently Identified Italian Landscape Drawings by Fra Bartolommeo, in: *The Illustrated London News*, November 2nd, 1957, pp. 746-747; and by W. R. *Jeuwine*, *Fine Works on the Market. A Volume of Landscape Drawings by Fra Bartolommeo*, in: *Apollo* 66, 1957, pp. 132-135.

³ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Parker 106, Farm buildings in a rocky landscape (recto), Farmhouses on a steep wooded knoll (verso); Parker 107, Farm buildings surrounded by trees (recto), Farm buildings amid trees on the crest of a gentle rise (verso); Parker 108, Landscape with a convent; (Parker 109, View of a fortified city, is apparently not by Fra Bartolommeo); Vienna, Albertina, inv. 17577, Five farmhouses and an inserted piece of paper with a drawing of an Ionic capital; inv. 17578, A convent on the crest of a hill; and inv. 270, A monastery surrounded by rocks; Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, inv. 18.645, A village at the foot of a hill crowned by a fortified town; RF. 5565 (Album Bonnat 17), A Tuscan town in a valley and copies of landscapes from Albrecht Dürer (recto), A rocky landscape (verso); RF. 5566, Rocks; RF. 5567, Rocky landscape (recto), Rocks (verso); Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, 45 P., A view of the Ss. Annunziata and the Loggia degli Innocenti in Florence; (44 P., Landscape with a northern village; 46 P., Wooded valley; 47 P., Rocky landscape with northern farmhouses; and 48 P., Landscape with a convent, are presumably all copies after Fra Bartolommeo executed by a pupil, as proposed by I. Härth, *Zu Landschaftszeichnungen Fra Bartolommeos und seines Kreises*, in: *Flor.Mitt.*, vol. IX, 1959-60, pp. 125-130); Paris, Private collection (formerly in the Skene, Heseltine and Oppenheimer collections), Black chalk study of a palm tree; formerly, London, Heseltine collection, Landscape with a watermill (recto), View of the Duomo of Siena (verso); London, Michael Kroyer (in 1952), Landscape with farm houses. A few, hitherto unknown, landscape drawings by Fra Bartolommeo turned up after the London sale: Orleans, Musée des Beaux Arts, inv. 1531, A rocky landscape with St. John the Baptist (recto), Rocks with trees in winter (verso), published by R. Bacou, *Oeuvres inédites au peu connues des collections publiques. Un dessin de Fra Bartolommeo au Musée d'Orleans*, in: *Revue des Arts*, 1960, I, pp. 37-38; Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kk, KdZ 21614, Black chalk study of three pruned willows, published by M. Winner, *Zwei unbekannte Zeichnungen von Fra Bartolommeo und Albertinelli*, in: *Studien aus dem Berliner Kupferstichkabinett I*, 1966, pp. 21-24; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, inv. 1973.23 verso, Faint close-up sketch of a willow surrounded by rocks, unpublished; Landscape with distant travellers, sold at Drouot, Paris, 11th March 1988, lot 19; Paris, Private collection, A doublesided sheet with two landscapes, unpublished.

⁴ E. Ridolfi, *Notizie sopra varie opere di Fra Bartolommeo da San Marco*, in: *Giornale Ligustico di Archeologia, Storia e Belle Arti*, Anno Quinto, Genoa 1878, pp. 125-126. Cf. also V. Marchese, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori, scultori e architetti domenicani*, Bologna 1879, II, pp. 184-185, and F. Knapp, *Fra Bartolommeo della Porta und die Schule von San Marco*, Halle 1903, pp. 275-276.

⁵ *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, pp. 200-201. Before his death Fra Paolino had Lorenzo di Credi compile an inventory of his belongings in which we find "40 charte di paesi 10 coloriti et 30 non coloriti et disegnati con penna" first published by Ridolfi (n. 4), pp. 125-126; Marchese (n. 4), pp. 185-186; Knapp (n. 4), p. 275.

⁶ It is only in the second edition of his *Vite* that Vasari adds the information about the convent of St. Caterina, cf. G. Vasari, *Le Vite de più eccellenti architetti, pittori e scultori italiani...*, Florence 1568, III, pp. 40-41. Vasari's text was misinterpreted by Filippo Baldinucci, cf. *Baldinucci-Ranalli*, I, pp. 589-590, and by Nicolò Gabburri in his unpublished manuscript entitled: *Vite di Pittori*, tom. 1, p. 872, BNCF, Mss. Palat. A.B. 95 striscia 1378, Cf. Gronau (n. 2), pp. II-III.

⁷ *Baldinucci-Ranalli*, I, pp. 589-590.

- ⁸ G. Bottari and S. Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, Rome 1822-25*, II, p. 166: Letter from Antonio Zanetti to Nicolò Gabburri dated Dec. 29th, 1725, "Mi congratulato e allegro del bell'acquisto de' disegni di Fra Bartolommeo".
- ⁹ A. von Zahn, *Die Handzeichnungen des Fra Bartolommeo im Besitz der Frau Grossherzogin Sophie von Sachsen-Weimar*, in: *Jb. f. Wiss.*, III, 1870, pp. 174-201; H. von der Gabelentz, *Fra Bartolommeo und die Florentiner Renaissance*, Leipzig 1922, II, pp. 178-201; E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Vijf eeuwen tekenkunst. Tekeningen van Europese Meester in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam 1957, pp. 40-43.
- ¹⁰ Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, vol. M. The inscriptions on fol. 1 and 2 are cited in *Gabelentz* (n. 9), p. 180.
- ¹¹ Identified by Ulrich Middeldorf, cf. *Gronau* (n. 2), p. II.
- ¹² *Gronau* (n. 2), lot 25 recto; whereabouts unknown. A Fra Bartolommeo drawing of a landscape, formerly (1952) owned by Michael Kroyer of London, bears a partly trimmed old inscription in pen and brown ink in the bottom right corner saying: "And dell Sar(to)", cf. *Berenson, Disegni*, II, no. 426 B; and Fra Bartolommeo's drawing of a convent placed in a group of rocks in Vienna, Albertina, inv. 270, was attributed to Andrea del Sarto by Waagen, Wickhoff and Fischel, cf. note 40.
- ¹³ Andrea del Sarto's landscape backgrounds in the Ss. Annunziata fresco cycle have a character very close to Fra Bartolommeo's drawings as noticed by J. Shearman, *Andrea del Sarto*, Oxford 1965, I, p. 26. Although none survives we must assume that Del Sarto made similar drawings probably in red chalk. Shearman mentions Filippino Lippi and northern prints as Del Sarto's possible source, but I find it more convincing to ascribe Del Sarto's interest in this area to the influence of Piero di Cosimo, who was Del Sarto's second master according to Vasari and under whose guidance Fra Bartolommeo was probably also trained. Furthermore, both artists' landscapes are subject to influence from Perugino, who set up a branch of his workshop in Florence in the 1490's, cf. C. Fischer, *Andrea del Sarto Revived*, in: *Kunstchronik*, 11, 1987, pp. 557-558.
- ¹⁴ *Gronau* (n. 2), p. IV.
- ¹⁵ P.-J. Mariette, *Abecedario de Pierre-Jean Mariette et Autres Notes inédites*, Paris 1851-1860, II, p. 275. *Gronau* (n. 2), pp. IV-V, naturally assumed that this English collector was William Kent, the architect, but J. Fleming, Mr. Kent, Art Dealer and the Fra Bartolommeo Drawings, in: *The Connoisseur*, 141, 1958, p. 227, made evident that the Englishman was identical with a little known art dealer living in Rome in the 1740's.
- ¹⁶ Important English Drawings and Watercolours sold at Christie's, London, 18 March 1980, lot. 6. The volume contained drawings and prints, including drawings after Fra Bartolommeo, Van Dyck, Rembrandt and others. For the three relevant drawings cf. *Gronau* (n. 2), lot 28, lot 17, and lot 3. The copy after the drawing now in the Cleveland Museum of Art is illustrated in the Christie's sales catalogue p. 10.
- ¹⁷ *Gronau* (n. 2), p. V.
- ¹⁸ Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, RF. 5565 recto (Album Bonnat 17), cf. n. 3.
- ¹⁹ Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, 45 P.; pen and brown ink on white paper. 298 x 283 mm.
- ²⁰ For a more detailed treatment of this drawing cf. C. Fischer, *Disegni di Fra Bartolommeo e della sua scuola*. Cat.: Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence 1986, pp. 53-54, with bibliography, and P. Rubin, Florence, Uffizi, *Fra Bartolommeo Drawings* (review), in: *Burl.Mag.*, CXXIX, 1987, pp. 268-270.
- ²¹ *Gronau* (n. 2), lots 8 and 14.
- ²² Pen and brown ink on white paper. 214 x 284 mm. Cf. E. M. Zafran, Cat.: *Master Drawings from Tizian to Picasso*. The Curtis O. Baer Collection. High Museum of Art, Atlanta 1985, pp. 18-19, no. 2 (repr. in colour), with bibliography.
- ²³ E. Burci, A. Terreni and G. Pena Bonaiuti, *Una Giornata a Fiesole*, Florence 1826, pl. XII. Cf. also a photograph taken at the beginning of the 20th century by Brogi (neg. no. 18095).
- ²⁴ Pen and brown ink on white paper. 154 x 225 mm. Watermark: Six pointed star in a circle, similar to *Briquet* 6077. Provenance Count Ottoloni of Lucca, J. P. Heseltine, H. Oppenheimer, F. Springell, H. M. Calmann. Bibl.: *Ridolfi* (n. 4), p. 91, no. 12; G. Gruyer, *Fra Bartolommeo della Porta et Mariotto Albertinelli*, Paris 1886, p. 101; B. Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters I-III*, London 1903, II, no. 432; *Knapp* (n. 4), p. 314; J. P. Heseltine, *Italian Drawings*, London 1913, no. 10; *Gabelentz* (n. 9), II, p. 133, no. 309; H. S. Ede, *Florentine Drawings of the Quattrocento*, London 1926, p. 29, pl. 67 (only recto); K. T. Parker, Oppenheimer sale, Christie's, London, July 10th, 1936, lot 28; *Berenson, Drawings*, II, no. 438; P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., Loan Exhibition of Drawings by Old Masters from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell, London, Oct. 15th - Nov. 11th, 1959, no. 18; *Berenson, Disegni*, II, no. 438; Sotheby's, London, Important Old Master Drawings. The Property of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell, June 28th 1962, lot 11.
- ²⁵ Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art, inv. B26-220; pen and brown ink on white paper. 118 x 152 mm. Provenance: The Prince of Liechtenstein. Bibl.: Sotheby's, London, Dec. 1st 1966, lot 12 (repr. recto); P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., Exhibition of Old Master Drawings, London, June 27th - July 29th 1972,

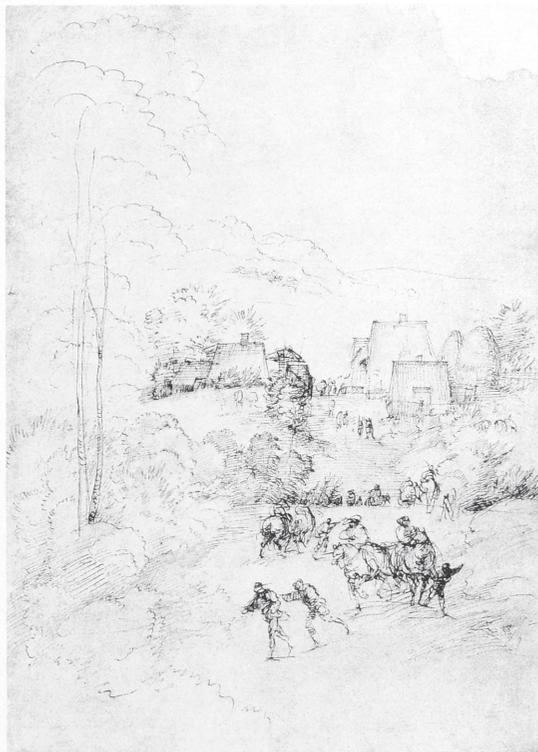
- no. 10 (repr. recto); *S. Grosman*, in: National Gallery of Art. Recent Acquisitions and Promised Gifts, Sculpture, Drawings, Prints. Washington 1974, pp. 46-47, no. 12 (both sides repr.); *Fischer* (n. 20), p. 53.
- ²⁶ *P. Morselli* and *G. Corti*, La chiesa di Santa Maria delle Carceri in Prato. Contributo di Lorenzo de' Medici e Giuliano da Sangallo alla progettazione, Florence 1982, pp. 55-64, documents concerning the construction of the lantern: p. 125.
- ²⁷ On the history of the imperial castle: cf. *I. B. Supino*, Il Castello di Prato, Florence 1904; *F. Gurrieri* (ed.), Il Castello dell'Imperatore a Prato, Florence 1975, pp. 9-25. For documents concerning the demolition of the towers: cf. ASF, sottosezione di Prato, "ceppi" f. 1953, and Biblioteca Roncioniana di Prato, Mss. 133, referred to by *L. Zangheri*, in: *Gurrieri* (ed.), p. 35.
- ²⁸ A thickening of the wall which supported the old belfry is still visible in the gable over the apse. The modern belltower was constructed by the engineer Antonio Benini, cf. *F. Gurrieri*, La fabbrica del San Francesco in Prato, Florence 1968, pls. LXIV-LXVI.
- ²⁹ *G. Miniati*, Narrazione e disegno della terra di Prato di Toscana, Florence 1596, pp. 113-114, laments their loss.
- ³⁰ *M. Ciatti*, La pala d'altare dell'oratorio di San Sebastiano ed altri fatti della scuola di San Marco in Prato, in: Prato, storia e arte, 21, 1980, pp. 30-43.
- ³¹ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund 57.165; pen and brown ink on white paper. 279 x 218 mm. Watermark: Fruit, similar to *Briquet* 7386. Bibl.: *Gronau* (n. 2), lot 7; *J. Bean* and *F. Stampfle*, Cat.: Drawings from New York Collections, I. The Italian Renaissance, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1965, no. 31.
- ³² Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, RF. 5565 recto (on the verso, Rocks with bare trees) (Album Bonnat 17); pen and brown ink on white paper. 219 x 158 mm. Watermark: Star in a circle. Provenance: Count Ottoloni of Lucca, Leon Bonnat.
- ³³ Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, inv. 18.645; pen and brown ink on white paper. 133 x 205 mm. Mounted. Framed by rose-coloured paper strips. Provenance: Gift from M. E. Gatteaux 1873. Unpublished.
- ³⁴ Northampton (Mass.), Smith College Museum of Art, inv. 1957:59; pen and brown ink on white paper. 281 x 216 mm. Bibl.: *Gronau* (n. 2), p. VIII and lot 8; *R. O. Parks*, Check list. European Drawings. Smith College Museum of Art, Spring 1958, no. 2 (typescript); *R. Wedgwood Kennedy*, A Landscape Drawing by Fra Bartolommeo, in: Smith College Museum of Art Bull., 39, 1959, pp. 1-13.
- ³⁵ Fra Bartolommeo's documented travels are: Florence-Venice, March or April 1508; Venice-Florence, June or July 1508; Florence-Rome, beginning of 1514; Rome-Florence, summer 1514; Florence-Ferrara-Florence, May 1516; presumably Fra Bartolommeo visited Lucca in 1509-10, when he painted the Madonna del Santuario for the Duomo there; cf. *Fischer* (n. 20), pp. 21-26.
- ³⁶ *Gabelentz* (n. 9), I, p. 184.
- ³⁷ *P. Redi*, Un opera inedita di Michelozzo. L'ospizio di S. Maria Maddalena in Pian di Mugnone, in: L'architettura, III, 1957-58, pp. 192-197. *H. Teubner*, Zur Entwicklung der Saalkirche in der Florentiner Frührenaissance, Heidelberg 1975, pp. 278-280.
- ³⁸ Vienna, Albertina, inv. 17577; pen and brown ink on white paper. 118 x 221 mm. (The inserted piece of paper with the drawing of the capital measures 30 x 32 mm.). Provenance: Mariette, Crozat, Julien de Parme and Prince de Ligne. Bibl.: *J. D. Passavant*, Raphael d'Urbain et son père Giovanni Santi, Paris 1860, II, p. 445, no. 237; *G. F. Waagen*, Die vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler in Wien, II, Vienna 1867, p. 151, no. 249; *F. Wickhoff*, Die italienischen Handzeichnungen der Albertina, in: Jb. Kaiserhaus, XII, 1891, p. CCIV, no. 323; *Knapp* (n. 4), p. 313; *Gabelentz* (n. 9), II, p. 301, no. 861; *A. Stix* and *L. Frölich-Bum*, Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina III, Die Zeichnungen der toskanischen, umbrischen und römischen Schulen, Vienna 1932, p. 22, no. 148; *Berenson*, Drawings, II, no. 511 A; *Berenson*, Disegni, II, no. 511 A.
- ³⁹ Cf. Cat.: Le Cabinet d'un Grand Amateur, P.-J. Mariette 1694-1774. Dessins du XVe Siecle au XVIIIe Siecle, Musée du Louvre, Gallerie Mollin, Paris 1967.
- ⁴⁰ Vienna, Albertina, inv. 270.; pen and brown ink on white paper. 260 x 209 mm. Provenance: Albert von Sachsen-Teschen. Bibl.: *Passavant* (n. 38), II, p. 445, no. 237; *Waagen* (n. 38), p. 150, no. 247; *Wickhoff* (n. 38), p. CCIV, no. 322; *O. Fischel*, Raphaels Zeichnungen, Versuch einer Kritik der bisher veröffentlichten Blätter, Strassburg 1898, p. 637; *J. Schoenbrunner* and *J. Meder*, Handzeichnungen alter Meister in der Albertina und anderen Sammlungen, Vienna 1895-1908, no. 1055; *Knapp* (n. 4), pp. 92 and 312; *Gabelentz* (n. 9), II, p. 301, no. 860; *A. E. Popham*, Italian Drawings exhibited at the Royal Academy, Burlington House, London 1930, no. 194; *Frölich-Bum* (n. 38), p. 22, no. 150; *Berenson*, Drawings, II, no. 511 A; *Härth* (n. 3), p. 129; *Berenson*, Disegni, II, no. 511 A; *O. Benesch*, Meisterzeichnungen der Albertina, Salzburg 1964, no. 19; *W. Koschatzky*, *K. Oberhuber* and *E. Knab*, I grandi disegni italiani dell'Albertina di Vienna, Milan 1972, no. 28; *K. Oberhuber*, Cat.: Italienische Zeichnungen der Renaissance zum 500. Geburtsjahr Michelangelos, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna 1975, no. 21.



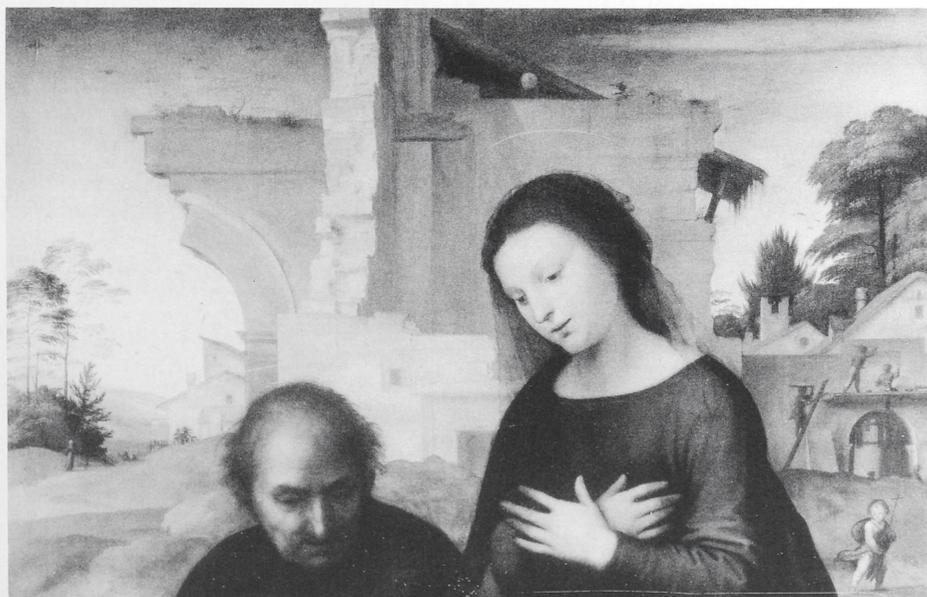
43 Fra Bartolommeo, The approach to a village on the crest of a hill. London, Courtauld Institute, Princess Gate Collection 83.



44 Giuliano Bugiardini, *The Rape of Dina*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Detail.



45 Fra Bartolommeo, The approach to a village on the crest of a hill. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lehman Collection.



46 Fra Bartolommeo, *The Holy Family*. London, National Gallery. Detail.

- ⁴¹ W. Kallab, Die toskanische Landschaftsmalerei im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, in: Jb. Kaiserhaus, XXI, Vienna 1900, pp. 1-91.
- ⁴² According to *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, p. 175, Fra Bartolommeo was educated in the workshop of Cosimo Roselli who at that time (ca. 1483-91) worked together with Piero di Cosimo. There can be no doubt that the latter was the artist who first shaped Fra Bartolommeo's art, cf. L. Borgo, Fra Bartolommeo's beginnings - Once more with Berenson, in: *Burl.Mag.*, 119, 1977, pp. 89-93.
- ⁴³ Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, 7 P.; M. Fossi, Mostra di disegni di Filippino Lippi e Piero di Cosimo, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence 1955, pp. 30-31, no. 80, Fig. 19.
- ⁴⁴ Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, 48 P.; pen and brown ink on white paper. 247 x 198 mm. Watermark: Anchor. *Bibl.*: *Härth* (n. 3), pp. 128-129.
- ⁴⁵ Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, 964 P.; pen and brown ink on white paper over a preliminary drawing in stylus. 259 x 215 mm. Watermark: Circle with a tree on a hill, similar to *Briquet* 773 (registered in Rome and Livorno in 1512 and 1516). 966 P.; pen and black ink over a preliminary drawing in stylus on white paper. 273 x 272 mm. Both drawings are mounted. They have never been published before.
- ⁴⁶ L. Pagnotta, Giuliano Bugiardini, Turin 1978, p. 229, no. 90; and F. Zeri, Major and Minor Italian Artists at Dublin, in: *Apollo*, 99, 1974, p. 99, both doubt the attribution to Bugiardini, still maintained in the Museum, cf. National Gallery of Ireland, Catalogue of Pictures of the Italian Schools, Dublin 1956, p. 23. Pagnotta has also noticed the connection between Uffizi 48 P. and the landscape in the left background of the Dublin tondo. It should be added that the architecture in the background to the right comes very close to a drawing in Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. 284 (pen and brown ink on white paper. 145 x 160 mm), cf. O. Strén, Italienska handteckningar från 1400-och 1500-talen i Nationalmuseum. Catalogue raisonné, Stockholm 1917, p. 26, no. 74; *Id.*, Italienska tavlor och teckningar i Nationalmuseum och andra svenska och finska samlingar, Stockholm 1933, p. 108, pl. 67.
- ⁴⁷ L. Borgo, Giuliano da Maiano's Santa Maria del Sasso, in: *Burl.Mag.*, CXIV, 1972, p. 448 n. 2.
- ⁴⁸ On the history of the building and the legend cf. *Jacopo Reginaldo Quadri, Campione o sia descrizione generale di tutte le scritture, notizie esistenti nell'archivio del convento di Santa Maria del Sasso* (1768), Mss. ASF, Conv. soppr. 30, I, p. 1241: Varie opere di Girolamo Radiolense Valomb., *De quibusdam Virginis Mariae Templis ad Laurentium Medicem*, Mss. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana: V. Fineschi, Compendio storico critico sopra le due immagini di Maria Santissima che si venerano nella chiesa dei P.P. Domenicani di Santa Maria del Sasso, Florence 1792; B. Giordano, Santa Maria del Sasso, un fiore del Rinascimento in Casentino, Cortona 1984.
- ⁴⁹ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Parker 108; pen and brown ink on white paper. 69 x 151 mm. Provenance: Crozat, Fries, Lawrence, Woodburn. *Bibl.*: *Passavant* (n. 38), II, p. 511, no. 558; J. Fischer, Facsimiles of Original Studies by Raffaele in the University Galleries, Oxford, London 1865, p. 16; J. C. Robinson, A critical account of the Drawings by Michel Angelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries, Oxford, Oxford 1870, p. 309, no. 174; *Gabelentz* (n. 9), II, p. 145, no. 348; K. T. Parker, Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum II, Italian Schools, Oxford 1956, p. 60, no. 108; *Berenson*, Disegni, II, no. 463 A-5; *Borgo* (n. 47), p. 448.
- ⁵⁰ Vienna, Albertina, inv. 17578; pen and brown ink on white paper. 109 x 210 mm (including a strip added to the top by J. P. Mariette). Inscription in pen and redish-brown ink at the bottom, by Mariette, "RAPHAEL URBINAS". Provenance: Crozat, Mariette, Prince de Ligne. *Bibl.*: Reproduced with variations by *Caylus*, in: *Le Cabinet de Crozat*, 1729, pl. 47; *Passavant* (n. 38), II, p. 445, no. 239; *Waagen* (n. 38), II, p. 151, no. 249; *Wickhoff* (n. 38), no. 324; *Fischel* (n. 40), p. 636; *Knapp* (n. 4), p. 313; *Gabelentz* (n. 9), II, p. 301, no. 862; *Stix/Frölich-Bum* (n. 38), p. 22, no. 149; *Berenson*, Disegni, II, no. 511 A-3; *Borgo* (n. 47), p. 448.
- ⁵¹ Document published by G. Goretti, in: *Memorie Domenicane*, 1925, pp. 68-69; cf. also B. Giordano (n. 46), p. 223; *Fischer* (n. 20), pp. 154-156, no. 96.
- ⁵² New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, inv. 1957.18; pen and brown ink on white paper. 279 x 215 mm. Watermark: Pear, *Briquet* 7386. *Bibl.*: *Gronau* (n. 2), p. X, lot 17; Morgan Library, Ninth Fellows Report, 1958-59, pp. 88-91; *Bean/Stampfle* (n. 31), no. 33; C. D. Denison, H. B. Mules and J. V. Shaaf, European Drawings 1375-1825, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York/Oxford/Toronto 1981, pp. 38-40.
- ⁵³ *Fischer* (n. 20), pp. 91-93, with further bibliography.
- ⁵⁴ G. Carocci, L'illustratore fiorentino: Calendario Storico, Florence 1904, pp. 63-66; P. L. Ferretti, L'ospizio di Lecceto, in: *Memorie Domenicane*, 1907, pp. 59-63; E. Sanesi, Il seminario fiorentino, Florence 1913; A. Zucchi, Ospizi Domenicani in Toscana, in: *Memorie Domenicane*, 1947, pp. 54-56; E. Borsook, Documenti relativi alle cappelle di Lecceto e delle selve di Filippo Strozzi, in: *Antichità Viva*, IX, 1970, no. 3, pp. 3-20; *Teubner* (n. 37), pp. 284-292.
- ⁵⁵ S. Razzi, *Breve descrizione del luogo di Lecceto fatto questo presente anno 1596*. Mss. Florence, Seminario fiorentino (copy in Florence, Biblioteca del convento di San Marco).
- ⁵⁶ Cleveland, Museum of Art, inv. 57.498; pen and brown ink on white paper. 222 x 294 mm. *Bibl.*: *Gro-*

- nau (n. 2), lot 3; *Berenson*, Disegni, II, no. 433 F; *L. S. Richards*, Three early Italian Drawings, in: Bull. of the Cleveland Museum of Art, 49, 1962, pp. 172-173; *C. von Holst*, Florentiner Gemälde und Zeichnungen 1480-1580, in: Flor.Mitt., vol. XV, 1971, p. 18; *C. Fischer*, Nogle malerier og tegninger af Fra Bartolommeo, in: Cras, XII, p. 36; Cleveland Museum of Art Handbook, Cleveland 1978, p. 99; *M. M. Johnson*, Idea to Image. Preparatory studies from the Renaissance to Impressionism, Bloomington 1980, pp. 39-40; *E. J. Olszewski*, Italian Drawings in Cleveland, a Study of Late Italian Renaissance Drawings in Cleveland Collections, in: The Connoisseur, 206, 1981, pp. 284-285.
- ⁵⁷ *von Holst* (n. 56), pp. 16-17.
- ⁵⁸ *C. L. Frommel*, in: *C. L. Frommel, S. Ray and M. Tafuri*, Raffaello architetto, Milan 1984, p. 363.
- ⁵⁹ *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, pp. 376-377.
- ⁶⁰ *J. Shearman*, Raphael's Unexecuted Projects for the Stanze, in: Fs. W. Friedländer, Berlin 1965, pp.160-161, nos. 12 and 13.
- ⁶¹ Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg Art Museum, inv. 1979.54 recto; pen and brown ink on white paper. 295 x 220 mm. Bibl.: *Gronau* (n. 2), lot 4; *P. and D. Colnaghi and Co.*, Exhibition of Old Master Drawings, June 17th - July 17th 1958, no. 13. On the verso: Two landscapes.
- ⁶² Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Parker, 106 recto; pen and brown ink on white paper. 145 x 208 mm. Provenance: Crozat, Fries ?, Lawrence, Woodburn. Bibl.: *Gabelentz* (n. 9), II, p. 144, no. 347; *Parker* (n. 49), II, p. 59, no. 106; *Gronau* (n. 2), lot 4; *Colnaghi* (n. 61), no. 13; *Berenson*, Disegni, II, no. 463 A-3.
- ⁶³ *Berenson*, Pictures, Flor., I, p. 208.
- ⁶⁴ *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, p. 570.
- ⁶⁵ *L. Borgo*, The Works of Mariotto Albertinelli, New York and London 1976, pp. 276-282.
- ⁶⁶ *E. Fabry*, A Holy Family by Fra Bartolommeo, in: Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bull., XX, 1974, no. 2, p. 15; *C. Fischer*, Remarques sur Le Mariage mystique de sainte Catherine de Sienne par Fra Bartolommeo, in: La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France, XXXI, 1982, pp. 168 and 172.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. *Fischer* (n. 20), pp. 21-26.
- ⁶⁸ *Borgo* (n. 65), pp. 326-328, argues that the ugly figure of St. John the Baptist is original, but Morassi seems to have been right in assuming that it was a later addition, for a copy after the painting, without this figure, belonging to the Robert Noortman Gallery in London was exhibited at "Pictura" in Maastricht in 1979, cf. Apollo, CIX, no. 206, 1979, p. 126.
- ⁶⁹ *Gronau* (n. 2), lot 19.
- ⁷⁰ *F. Zeri*, Eccentrici fiorentini, in: Boll. d'arte, XLVII, 1962, p. 222. In: *Fischer* (n. 20), p. 156 no. 97, I noticed this connection between the Fra Bartolommeo drawing and the Arezzo painting and attributed the latter to the young Rosso Fiorentino. Although I am still convinced that Rosso was educated in Fra Bartolommeo's workshop prior to 1513, when he apparently started to frequent the Ss. Annunziata workshop headed by Andrea del Sarto, I no longer consider the Arezzo painting, the stylistically related Madonna and Child in the Villa Borghese in Rome, and the two red chalk drawings in the Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe 446 S. and 347 E. to be by Rosso, since they are all influenced by works executed by Fra Bartolommeo ten or twelve years before Rosso would have been an apprentice at San Marco. I discussed this thesis in more detail at the congress 'Studies in Renaissance Art: Rosso Fiorentino', London, 2-3 Dec. 88.
- ⁷¹ London, Courtauld Institute, Princess Gate Collection, inv. 83; pen and brown ink on white paper. 298 x 206 mm. Bibl.: *Gronau* (n. 2), lot 2; *A. Seilern*, Italian Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princess Gate, London, II, London 1959, p. 30, no. 83; *Härth* (n. 3), p. 126; *Berenson*, Disegni, II, no. 433 F; *Bean/Stampfle* (n. 31), no. 30; *W. Bradford and H. Braham*, Mantegna to Cezanne. Master Drawings from the Courtauld, British Museum, London 1983, p. 16 no. 19.
- ⁷² New York, Metropolitan Museum, Robert Lehman Collection; pen and brown ink on white paper. 298 x 206 mm. Bibl.: *Gronau* (n. 2), lot 1; *Bean/Stampfle* (n. 31), no. 30; *G. Szabo*, Cat.: XVth Century Italian Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1978, no. 34; *Id.*, Cat.: Masterpieces of Italian Drawings in the Robert Lehman Collection. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1983, no. 21.
- ⁷³ *Fischer* (n. 20), pp. 137-139.
- ⁷⁴ A watermark representing a tulip (*Briquet* 6664) has occurred in a Florentine document of 1508 and is found in three sheets of the London sale: *Gronau* (n. 2), lots 13, 15, 24 and 32. Another one representing a fruit (*Briquet* 7386) has occurred in a document dated Florence 1507 and is represented in five sheets of the London sale: *ibid.*, lots 7, 8, 12, 17 and 20. This circumstance lead *J. Byam Shaw*, The Italian Drawings of the Frits Lugt Collection, Paris 1983, I, p. 23 n. 16, to suggest a *terminus post quem* of 1507-08. It should, however, be remembered that *Briquet's* datings of papers with watermarks are based on the date of the documents written on them, which is not necessarily synchronous with the year in which the paper was produced.
- ⁷⁵ Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, 8 P., *A. E. Popham*, The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci, London 1946, p. 171, no. and pl. 253.

- ⁷⁶ There were so many buildings in the countryside around Florence that the Venetian ambassador, Marco Foscarini, reported in 1527, that the Florentines "avendo fatti tanti palazzi e tanto sontuosi e magnifica fuori la città, che fariano un'altra Fiorenza", *M. S. Raveggi and S. Raveggi*, *Gli uomini e le case nelle campagne fiorentine del Quattrocento*, Florence 1983, p. 128. On Bacchiacca's landscape drawings cf. *L. Marcucci*, *Contributo a Bacchiacca*, in: *Boll. d'arte XLIII*, 1958, pp. 26-39.
- ⁷⁷ *N. Pevsner*, *The Leaves of Southwell*, Harmondsworth 1945, pp. 53-65; *F. J. Kovach*, *The Role of Nature in the Aesthetics of St. Thomas Aquinas*, in: *Filosofia Natura Medioevo*, Milan 1966, pp. 502-508.
- ⁷⁸ *U. Feldges*, *Landschaft als topographisches Portrait. Der Wiederbeginn der europäischen Landschaftsmalerei in Siena*, Bern 1980.
- ⁷⁹ *J. Pope-Hennessy*, *Fra Angelico*, London 1974, pp. 192-193, pl. 22 b.
- ⁸⁰ Cf. *E. Knab, E. Mitsch, K. Oberhuber and S. Ferino-Pagden*, *Raphael. Die Zeichnungen*, Stuttgart 1983, p. 619, Appendix 2.3. *A. E. Popham* (n. 75), nos. 260 A and 261.
- ⁸¹ *A. Manetti*, *Vita di Filippo di Ser Brunellesco*, ed. *E. Toesca*, Florence 1928, p. 11.
- ⁸² *F. d'Olanda*, *I dialoghi michelangioleschi di Francesco d'Olanda*, ed. *A. M. Bessone Aureli*, Rome 1939, p. 63.

RIASSUNTO

Di Fra Bartolommeo si conservano circa sessanta fogli con paesaggi, di cui quaranta venuti alla luce in una vendita di Sotheby's a Londra, nel 1957. Più di 100 disegni di paesaggio sono menzionati in un *Inventario di disegni ed altre masseritie rimaste di Fra Bartolommeo*, redatto dopo la sua morte avvenuta nel 1517. I disegni di paesaggio di Fra Bartolommeo possono essere divisi in cinque gruppi: 1) paesaggi di città, 2) paesaggi con conventi, 3) paesaggi con case coloniche, 4) paesaggi con rocce, 5) paesaggi copiati da maestri tedeschi o fiamminghi. L'articolo tratta prevalentemente dei primi tre gruppi. I soggetti sono spesso topograficamente identificabili: si tratta sempre di vedute di conventi e ospizi appartenenti al convento domenicano di San Marco, di cui Fra Bartolommeo era frate. Con l'aiuto di documenti relativi agli edifici raffigurati e considerando sia l'eventuale utilizzazione dei fogli per quadri, sia i viaggi e gli indirizzi del pittore, si possono datare questi paesaggi con elevata probabilità entro gli ultimissimi anni del Quattrocento e i primi otto del Cinquecento. Gran parte di essi presenta le caratteristiche di una reazione spontanea a un motivo vivente, ma nell'articolo viene dimostrato che alcuni disegni sono fatti sulla base di studi dal vero. Il soggetto è sempre il paesaggio umanizzato, la descrizione dell'atmosfera generata dal collegamento fra insediamento umano e natura. Si tratta di ambienti popolari. La loro scelta è spiegabile: Fra Bartolommeo era cresciuto vicino alla città, era un Domenicano legato alla piccola borghesia cittadina, ai contadini delle case coloniche, ai monaci dei conventi domenicani. Nonostante le novità dei suoi paesaggi, il suo atteggiamento resta tipicamente fiorentino. La struttura degli oggetti è sempre ben definita. In nessun caso essi sono velati dall'atmosfera, mentre il cielo non è praticamente mai rappresentato. Soltanto uno dei disegni è stato utilizzato da Fra Bartolommeo stesso per un quadro, gran parte invece da altri maestri. Mentre gli studi compositivi, di figure, di panneggi e di altri particolari, hanno tutti uno scopo funzionale, i disegni di paesaggio sono presumibilmente fatti per puro divertimento e ci consentono di formarci un'opinione sul lato non ufficiale di Fra Bartolommeo, quando egli lavorava non per dovere, ma per proprio piacere.

Photo Credits: *Freeman & Co., London: Figs. 1, 2. - Courtauld Institute, London: Figs. 3, 44. - A. C. Cooper, London: Fig. 4. - Gabinetto Fotografico, Florence: Figs. 5, 20, 40. - Jerome Drown, Atlanta: Fig. 6. - KIF: Figs. 7, 16, 18a, 22, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 32, 36, 41-43, 45. - Sotheby, London: Figs. 8, 10. - Nach R. Fantappiè, *Il bel Prato*, I, Prato 1984: Fig. 9. - Metropolitan Museum, New York: Fig. 11. - *Gab. des Dessins, Louvre: Fig. 12. - Staatl. Museen, Berlin: Fig. 13. - Musées Nationaux, Paris: Fig. 14. - Smith College Museum, Northampton: Fig. 15. - Albertina, Vienna: Fig. 17. - Alinari: Figs. 18b, 34. - Bildarchiv der Öst. Nationalbibliothek, Vienna: Figs. 19, 26. - National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh: Fig. 21. - Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Figs. 24, 39. - Pierpont Morgan Library, New York: Figs. 28, 31. - Cleveland Museum of Art: Fig. 33. - Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: Fig. 35. - Anderson: Fig. 37. - Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge: Fig. 38. - National Gallery, London: Fig. 46.**