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1 Raphael, *Two studies for soldiers, one asleep, the other standing*.
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA1846.149

Raphael in Three Drawings around 1499 (and a New Source for *The Massacre of the Innocents*)

Angelamaria Aceto

This article looks afresh at three sheets attributed to Raphael, two of which are held at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Figs. 1 and 2),¹ while the third is at the Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro, and only recently entered the artist's oeuvre (Figs. 7 and 8).² The group has been regarded as preparatory for a small painting depicting the *Resurrection of Christ* housed at the Museu de Arte of São Paulo (Fig. 4), which – if by Raphael³ – must date from circa 1499.⁴

Discussions of the three drawings in literature have primarily focused on their role in relation to the creation of that particular painting. What follows is a reassessment of their function and use by addressing them, in the first instance, as a manifestation of cognitive and expressive activities within the context of fifteenth-century workshop tradition, as well as by highlighting some new sources.

Two Studies for Soldiers and an Angel

The two companion drawings in Oxford (Figs. 1 and 2) are executed in metalpoint on a finely prepared grey-brown ground. On each sheet Raphael placed two figures, contrasting in position and mood. Three of them can be identified as soldiers because of the shields they carry or sit on, while the fourth, kneeling figure has a lightly outlined wing on the back allowing us to identify it as an angel. The drawings are linear in character and subtle in execution. By now utterly confident in the handling of the medium, Raphael very lightly scored the paper to fix the initial form and then went over some of the outlines applying more pressure to define the contours and to emphasise form.⁵ As though trying his hand in experimenting with two different manners of conveying salience to the form,

¹ On the drawings see recently Angelamaria Aceto, in: *Raphael: The Drawings*, exh. cat., ed. by Catherine Whistler et al., Oxford 2017, p. 78, no. 4, with select bibliography. For a copy of WAI846.149 see Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA2017.55. This is the copy mentioned by Gerald Taylor as in a German private collection in a handwritten note in a copy of Karl T. Parker's *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, II: *Italian Schools*, Oxford 1956, at the Western Art Print Room of the Ashmolean Museum; it was recently presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Arnold-Livie Gallery, Munich.

² The Pesaro drawing was first published by Anna Forlani Tempesti, "Anteprima per Raffaello: un foglio molto giovanile", in: *Festschrift für Konrad Oberhuber*, ed. by Achim Gnann/Heinz Widauer, Milan 2000, pp. 34–41; see more recently Francesca del Torre Scheuch, in: *Raffaello e Urbino: la formazione giovanile e i rapporti con la città natale*, exh. cat., ed. by Francesca Mochi Onori, Milan 2009, p. 217, no. 6I, with bibliography.

³ For a summary of the critical debate on the attribution of the painting up to 1996, see Juliana Barone, in: Luiz Marques, *A arte italiana no Museu*

de Arte de São Paulo, São Paulo 1996, I, pp. 56–59, with bibliography. See also, more recently, Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Painting*, Landshut 2001–2015, I, p. 317, no. X-8 (as a workshop product reusing Raphael's own designs); Carol Plazzotta, in: *Raphael: From Urbino to Rome*, exh. cat., ed. by Hugo Chapman/Tom Henry/Carol Plazzotta, London 2004, pp. 108–111, no. 2I (as Raphael); Fausta Gualdi, "Per il primo Raffaello e per la cappella Tiranni di Giovanni Santi in San Domenico di Cagliari", in: *Raffaello e Urbino* (note 2), pp. 60–73 (as Raphael).

⁴ The dating of the painting has ranged from 1499 to 1503. However, if it is indeed by Raphael, only an early execution could account for its eclectic character and the unresolved composition with the single elements not fully integrated but rather juxtaposed. An early dating towards 1500 has lately also been suggested by Tom Henry, "La pré-histoire de Raphael", in: *Le Pérugin, maître de Raphaël*, exh. cat. Paris 2014/15, ed. by Vittoria Garibaldi, Bruxelles [2014], pp. 47–51, and more recently reiterated by the same author in conversation.

⁵ For the handling of the metalpoint see Cennino Cennini, *Il Libro*



2 Raphael, *An angel and a startled soldier*. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA1846.150

Raphael shaded the figure further back in each sheet with metalpoint alone, while adding – in a controlled manner – parallel touches of white heightening with the tip of the brush on the two soldiers in the foreground. Although the studies in each sheet are separate and juxtaposed – with the standing figure in the background of Figure I larger in scale – this expedient created a sense of receding space, so unifying and enlivening the scene, a solution which attests to Raphael's graphic intelligence.

The gracefulness of the Ashmolean images co-exists with their assured and assertive character, as though Raphael knew what he would draw before he placed the metalpoint on the paper – knowledge, I shall argue, deriving from existing models rather than necessarily from the observation of a live model in a studio. There are very few corrections – notably to the pointing foot of the standing soldier – and there are a few tentative strokes, particularly around the back of the sleeping soldier. Otherwise the bodies are constructed with a sense of geometrical form rather than analytical observation of anatomy. The figures are imagined in tight contemporary clothing and additively composed through the juxtaposition of discrete units – from the triangular-like shape of the busts to the elliptical arms and legs. Even the more highly characterised details, such as the skilfully foreshortened heads and the beautifully rendered hands, which are lively in execution, retain an assured and stylised character, re-proposing an established manner of constructing the body. I shall return to this point below, but evidently the way of conceptualising and executing the figure in these two sheets owes a debt to Perugino and can be fully understood only by contemplating the idea that Raphael had closely studied the senior artist's drawings as a young adolescent.⁶

The Ashmolean drawings should be regarded as an exercise in the challenging medium of metalpoint to re-test an existing vocabulary, which could then be employed and re-employed in different compositions, rather than as strictly inventive sheets made with a particular composition in mind. This seems to be suggested equally by their form and their process of execution,

dell'Arte, ed. by Fabio Frezzato, Padua 2003, ch. VIII, pp. 66f.: “Poi chon essempro chominicia a rritrare chose agievoli quanto più si può, per usare la mano, e collo stile su per la tavoletta, leggiermente, che appena possi vedere quello che prima incominci a ffare, crescendo i tuoi tratti a pocho a pocho, più volte ritornando per fare l'ombre nelle stremità. Vuoi fare più? Tanto vi torna più volte; e chosi, per lo contrario, in su e' rilievi tornavi poche volte.”

⁶ See below, pp. 317f. and note 25.

⁷ See Michael Kwakkelstein, “The Development of the Figure Study in the Early Work of Raphael”, in: *The Translation of Raphael's Roman Style*, ed. by Henk Th. van Veen, Louvain 2007, pp. 21–33: 27.

⁸ On Raphael's use of early woodcuts as a source see also Fausta Gualdi,



3 Luca Signorelli, *Conversion of Saint Paul*, detail. Loreto, Basilica della Santa Casa, Sagrestia di San Giovanni

and by the fact that they repeat with little variation recognisable motifs that circulated in Italy from the 1480s. In this regard Michael Kwakkelstein observed the derivation of the standing soldier in motion in Figure I from a woodcut illustration in the *Supplementum Chronicarum J.P. Bergomensis* (Venice 1486).⁷ Regardless of whether it is a direct quotation from this specific woodcut or whether the type was already available as a graphic translation in Umbrian workshops, it clearly demonstrates the existence of a precise model to which Raphael had access.⁸

The derivation from existing designs can be extended at least to two further figures appearing in the Ashmolean sheets: the sleeping soldier and the startled one. Though with some variations, the latter recurs in Giovanni Santi's fresco of the *Resurrection* in the Cappella Tiranni in Cagli,⁹ as well as in reverse in Luca Signorelli's *Conversion of Saint Paul* in the Santa Casa, Loreto (Fig. 3), both from the 1480s.¹⁰ Equally, the sleeping soldier is a variant of a figure appearing on the right in the background of Perugino's *Resurrection*, commissioned in 1499 for San Francesco

di, “La cultura iconografica di Raffaello giovanissimo: inedite influenze nella Pala di San Nicola da Tolentino per Città di Castello”, in: *Accademia Raffaello: atti e studi*, 2009, 1, pp. 45–56.

⁹ As also noted by Fausta Gualdi, though this scholar does not consider it a determining source and maintains that the pose in question, as well as those of the two soldiers on the right of the Brazilian painting, are a direct re-elaboration of ancient prototypes, which Raphael must have seen during a putative sojourn in Rome in ca. 1500. See Fausta Gualdi, “Per il ‘primo’ Raffaello e per la cappella Tiranni di Giovanni Santi in San Domenico di Cagli”, in: *Raffaello e Urbino* (note 2), pp. 60–73, especially pp. 69, 63 and 64, figs. 6, 7.

¹⁰ For the problematic dating of Signorelli's fresco see Tom Henry, *La*

4 Raphael (?),
Resurrection of Christ.
São Paulo,
Museu de Arte



5 Perugino,
Resurrection of Christ.
Rouen, Musée
des Beaux-Arts,
inv. D. 803-33



6 Raphael (?),
*Resurrection of
Christ*, infrared
reflectogram mosaic
of Fig. 4, detail



al Prato in Perugia (Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana),¹¹ for which the Ashmolean sheets were regarded as preparatory until the São Paulo picture (Fig. 4) was rediscovered. In the latter, the two figures of the Ashmolean drawings (the startled soldier and the standing one) recur more precisely, a correspondence that has encouraged the attribution of the painting to Raphael.

However, an earlier work by Perugino should be mentioned in this context, but also in relation to the Pesaro drawing, as we shall see below. This is a compartment of the predella of the now dismembered altarpiece for the monastery of San Pietro in Perugia, also depicting a *Resurrection of Christ* (Fig. 5), where the sleeping soldier immediately to the left of the tomb corresponds strikingly to the one in Figure 1.¹² The two figures share the more naturalistic three-quarter pose of the head resting on the right arm. The monumental altarpiece was begun in 1496 and

completed by the end of 1499.¹³ It represented one of Perugino's most important works at the time, significantly mentioned by Giorgio Vasari as the best work in oil executed by Perugino in the city of Perugia, with a diligently painted predella.¹⁴ No doubt it attracted the curiosity of the young and ambitious Raphael.

Such a repetition of motifs is striking and should lead us to question the nature of such drawings as preparatory works for a particular painting. If we reflect on the material character of the sheets rather than seeing them exclusively as steps towards a painting, it becomes apparent that what we are looking at are sheets built up in the fifteenth-century Umbrian tradition essentially dominated by the repetition of patterns.¹⁵ On two pages Raphael juxtaposed figures in a variety of poses, only two of which were to be reused in the Brazilian painting. It is worth mentioning in this context that an IRR of the latter (Fig. 6)

vita e l'arte di Luca Signorelli, Città di Castello 2014 (original English ed. New Haven/London 2012), pp. 60f.

¹¹ For the painting see Arnold Nesselrath, "La pala della 'Resurrezione': l'opera e l'artista", in: *Il Perugino del Papa: la Pala della Resurrezione. Storia di un restauro*, exh. cat. Rome 2004, ed. by Francesco Buranelli, Milan et al. 2004, pp. 20–36: 20–24.

¹² As also noted by Parker (note 1), pp. 255f., nos. 505f. Later scholars rather insisted on the Vatican *Resurrection* for San Francesco al Prato in Perugia mentioned above as the main prototype for the Ashmolean and Pesaro drawings and thus for the Brazilian painting; see for example Plazzotta (note 3), p. III.

¹³ On the predella see now Vittoria Garibaldi, in: *Le Pérugin* (note 4), pp. 140–144, nos. 34–36, and p. 202 for select bibliography.

¹⁴ "Nella predella della quale tavola sono tre storie, con molta diligenza lavorate, cioè i Magi, il battesimo e la ressur[ez]ione di Cristo; la quale tutta opera si vede piena di belle fatiche, intanto ch'ell'è la migliore di quelle che sono in Perugia di man di Pietro lavorate a olio" (Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. by Paola Barocchi/Rosanna Bettarini, Pisa 1966–1997, III [text], p. 610).

¹⁵ For this aspect of Raphael in his pre-Florentine period see also Kwakkelstein (note 7), especially p. 28.



7 Raphael, *A draped figure standing*.
Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, inv. 185r

shows no correspondence between the sleeping soldier on the Ashmolean drawing and the seated soldier in the left foreground of the picture: the figure was originally drawn – in a technique comparable to Perugino’s own – slightly more to the right and in armour, but it was conceived already in an awake state as in the finished painting: his head looks up towards Christ and the right hand is lifted in a startled gesture, while the left rests on the left knee. The latter is indeed a motif observable in the Ashmolean sheet, but it is yet again borrowed from Perugino rather than stemming from Raphael’s own imagination.¹⁶ Moreover, while the three soldiers may be found, though not exclusively, in the context of a *Resurrection of Christ*, the angel in Figure 2, depicted in a semi-kneeling pose in the act of offering an undefined object, clearly suggests a different iconography.¹⁷ The choice of medium – the resilient metalpoint being particularly apt for stock drawings –, the assertive style, as well as the creative process displayed by the sheets, together with the comparisons here suggested, show, first and foremost, the young Raphael perfecting his hand in drawing and appropriating an established vocabulary.

Very possibly Raphael was working from existing images on paper rather than from a model posed in the studio, as traditionally maintained. The point might be further exemplified by a drawing in the Ashmolean Museum, a pen study over blind stylus of a foreshortened head in three-quarter view looking upwards as though transfixed by a heavenly vision. In 1956, when this sheet was catalogued by Karl T. Parker, he not only acknowledged the resemblance with one of the apostles in the *Coronation of the Virgin*, executed around 1503 for Alessandra di Simone degli Oddi for San Francesco al Prato in Perugia (now Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana), usually identified as Saint James, and with the so-called auxiliary cartoon in black chalk for that work (London, British Museum), but at the same time rightly highlighted the stock nature of this sheet and thus questioned its preparatory function for the specific

¹⁶ The painting was examined in infrared by Rachel Billinge, Research Associate in the Conservation Department of the National Gallery, London, using a Hamamatsu C2400 camera with an N2606 series infrared vidicon tube. The camera was fitted with a 36mm lens to which a Kodak 87A Wratten filter had been attached to exclude visible light. The infrared reflectogram mosaic was assembled using Vips-ip software; for further information about the software see www.vips.ecs.soton.ac.uk. For further comment on the IRR see Plazzotta 2004 (note 3), p. III. For images and a discussion of Perugino’s underdrawing see Roberto Bellucci/Cecilia Frosinini, “The Myth of Cartoon-Reuse in Perugino’s Underdrawing: Technical Investigations”, in: *The Painting Technique of Pietro Vannucci, Called il Perugino*, conference proceedings Perugia 2003, ed. by Giovanni Brunetto Brunetti/Claudio Secaroni/Antonio Sgamellotti, Florence 2003, pp. 71–80.

¹⁷ As also noted by nineteenth-century Raphael scholars and by Parker (note 1), p. 256, no. 506 (also for a summary of suggestions of possible subjects).

painting.¹⁸ Alongside the direct observation of three-dimensional models, whether live or in another medium, the repetition on paper of established motifs already circulating through drawing played an equal role both as a cognitive exercise to train the mind and hand and as a practical tool in the creative process, the reuse of designs aiding the speed of the process of execution.

The Pesaro Pose and the Drapery Studies

The recto and the verso of the Pesaro sheet (Figs. 7 and 8) reveal two contrasting working processes, while showing Raphael conceiving on paper two solutions which attest to his layered and rich visual culture. On the recto he drew a widely employed pose of late-Gothic fashion, showing a sinuous *contrapposto* with one foot firmly placed on the ground and the other raised and pointing. First-hand knowledge of drawings by Luca Signorelli is evident in the rendering of the robust bodily form, while the type and pose are quintessentially Peruginesque.¹⁹ Using an unrefined stick of chalk, Raphael worked with the lightest touch, with the result that the soft outlines convey a sense of roundness in a manner akin to other sheets from the same period, notably the studies for the *Coronation of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino* from 1500/01.²⁰ Having fixed the nude pose, he lightly sketched drapery falling over the body. The left arm holds what could be a standard or a cross, while the right is bent as though blessing, to suggest the position of Christ rising from the tomb. The process of execution recalls Alberti's recommendation on the importance of establishing the anatomy before draping the figure so as to be able to render the most persuasive image.²¹

Unlike the Ashmolean sheets, which retain the appearance of exercises in metalpoint, this is a layered and creative drawing showing the artist working from memory within established conventions. An insight into this type of working process and on the role of memory, specifically in composing a pose, may be provided by a little-quoted passage in Vasari's introduction to the *Vite*. In chapter XV, which is dedicated to painting, Giorgio, drawing on his knowledge as a practising artist, advises on the importance of drawing from nature and of looking at paintings by great masters as well as from ancient sculpture, but then goes on to recommend:

Ma sopra tutto, il meglio è gl'ignudi degli uomini vivi e femine, e da quelli avere preso in memoria per lo continuo-

vo uso i muscoli del torso, delle schiene, delle gambe, delle braccia, delle ginocchia e l'ossa di sotto, e poi avere sicurtà per lo molto studio che senza avere i naturali inanzi si possa formare di fantasia da sé attitudini per ogni verso [...].²²

Though Vasari was reflecting upon a visual culture centred on the scientific understanding of anatomy, which Raphael would have encountered in Florence from late 1504, this passage challenges the widespread way of thinking of drawn poses as necessarily made from life. In fact, it explicitly stresses the importance of memorising anatomical parts through practice and observation ("uso" and "studio") so as to empower the artist to compose and re-compose the most various poses from imagination ("fantasia") without the aid of live models ("naturali").

Since its rediscovery in 2000, the Pesaro sheet has been regarded as preparatory for the Christ of the *Resurrection* at São Paulo (Fig. 4). And yet, while the drapery study on the verso analysed below indeed can be related to that figure, it is important to recognise the formal connections of the recto with the aforementioned San Pietro *Resurrection* (Fig. 5). The resemblance encompasses not only the pose, but remarkably the faintly indicated drapery (see in particular the manner it folds on the shoulder to reveal the forearm), the feathery curly hair, and the faintly drawn and highly characterising forked beard. The impression is that Raphael yet again had in mind this particular panel, or possibly the stock of drawings preparatory for it, when making his drawing. Whether this is a memory swiftly noted or a preparatory study due to Raphael having been directly involved in the execution of this and the companion panel depicting the *Baptism of Christ*, as suggested in the past,²³ remains impossible to prove without further documentary evidence.

What I would like to emphasise with this newly established connection is, on the one hand, the relevance of Perugino's San Pietro altarpiece in Raphael's early education and, on the other, the crucial role the senior master must have played in Raphael's draughtsmanship before circa 1502. According to a recent strand of scholarship, Raphael would have had more sustained contact with Perugino's workshop only around circa 1502/03, as an already established *magister*.²⁴ Yet, the visual evidence of the drawings, including this and the two Ashmolean sheets under scrutiny here, shows the young Raphael eagerly and promptly

¹⁸ See Parker (note 1), p. 262, no. 512, and more recently Catherine Whistler, in: *Raphael* (note 1), p. 83, nos. 8f, with select bibliography.

¹⁹ Tom Henry, "Raffaello e Signorelli", in: *Raffaello e Urbino* (note 2), pp. 78–83, has particularly insisted on the relationship between Raphael and Signorelli.

²⁰ Particularly the sheet in Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts, inv. 474, for which see Paul Joannides, *The Drawings of Raphael: With a Complete Catalogue*, Oxford 1983, p. 137, no. 14.

²¹ Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and On Sculpture: The Latin Text of the De Pictura and the De Statua*, ed. and trans. by Cecil Grayson, London 1972, pp. 74f.

²² Vasari 1568 (note 14), I, pp. 114f.

²³ For a summary see Garibaldi (note 13), p. 144.

²⁴ Raphael was an independent master (*magister*) by the end of 1500, as can be deduced from a contract of 10 December 1500 for the altarpiece of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino, for which see John Shearman, *Raphael in*



8 Raphael, *Drapery study*. Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, inv. 185v



9 Nicola Pisano, *Arbor Ecclesiae*, detail. Siena, cathedral, pulpit

entering into dialogue with the Umbrian tradition dominated by Peruginesque formulae well before that date when, significantly, Perugino was at the height of his powers.²⁵ That Raphael might have had direct contact with Perugino's workshop (rather than indirectly through his father) as a young and ambitious artist as early as the late 1490s seems to be strongly suggested

by his graphic production.²⁶ The point may be further argued by recalling the aforementioned study of secure attribution for the altarpiece of Saint-Nicolas de Tolentino in Lille. This sheet, which must have been executed between the end of 1500 and the early months of 1501, attests Raphael's full appropriation of Perugino's manner of drawing.²⁷

Early Modern Sources (1483–1602), New Haven/London 2003, I, pp. 71–73. For a recent summary of the critical debate concerning the formal education of the young Raphael, see Francesco Federico Mancini, "La formation de Raphael dans l'atelier de Pietro Vannucci", in: *Le Pérugin* (note 4), pp. 53–56, especially pp. 52f., and Henry (note 4), for a reiteration of an argument in favour of his training with Giovanni Santi.

²⁵ For some comparisons with the Ashmolean drawings see, for example, *Studies of standing men*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum,

inv. 1975.I.393 (workshop of Perugino); *Study for a figure in an Adoration*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA1846.5 recto and verso, and a *Lute player*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA1846.5, the latter two significantly also attributed to Raphael by Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (see note 26 below).

²⁶ On this see also Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, "Gli inizi di Raffaello disegnatore", in: *Raffaello e Urbino* (note 2), pp. 93–99, especially pp. 95f., with related illustrations and bibliography.

²⁷ For some scholars the Peruginesque character of the painting's



10 Raphael, *The judgement of Solomon*.
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA1846.196

The shift in the conception and execution of the figure on the other side of the sheet (Fig. 8) is considerable. The drapery is not a simple variation of the image on the recto – as maintained in the literature – but a completely new idea. The figure, whose tilted head is only lightly sketched, now firmly stands on the ground. The right arm is bent and pointing upwards to recall again the image of a Christ blessing. Raphael pressed the finely sharpened chalk onto some of the outlines for a more defined effect, while shading the internal areas to convey the gradual transition of light which is imagined as coming from the left. The result is assertive and, unlike the recto, highly sculptural. The combination of prismatic and fluted folds as well as the handling of the medium recall Raphael's treatment of drapery at this time, such as in his study for God the Father for the processional banner of Città di Castello (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum).²⁸ Likewise, the type retains a classical aura, encouraging comparisons with ancient sculpture.²⁹

A possible source of inspiration may be recognised in a Duecento re-interpretation of a classicising drapery such as the one of the Christ of the *Arbor Ecclesiae* in the pulpit of the cathedral of Siena of 1265–1268 by Nicola Pisano (Fig. 9). The manner with which the fabric rests on the left shoulder and the folds that the movement of both arms generates throughout are all remarkably close. Moreover, Raphael translated on paper the

fragments attributed to Raphael are inexplicable without a sojourn of the young master in Perugia between 1495 and 1500. See for example Rudolf Hiller von Gaertringen, “Nuove ipotesi sulla formazione di Raffaello nella bottega del Perugino”, in: *Accademia Raffaello: atti e studi*, 2006, 2, pp. 9–44, especially pp. 13–23, and more recently Francesco Federico Mancini, “Urbino o Perugia? I primi passi di Raffaello pittore”,



11 Giovanni Pisano, *The massacre of the Innocents*.
Pistoia, Sant'Andrea, pulpit

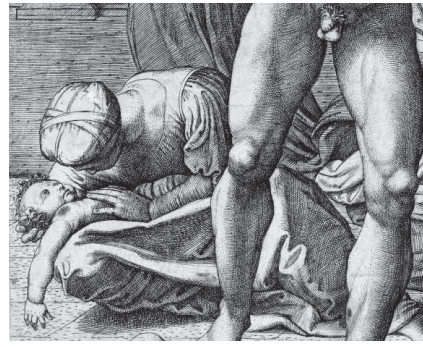
motif of the hand with a pointing finger, an expedient which in the sculpture results from holding a scroll but seems not to perform any particular function in the drawing (and a detail which would again have been varied in the painting, where the hand holds a standard).

One might be tempted to suppose that such consonances are either fortuitous or mediated by later models, were it not for the fact that other elements strongly hint at the possibility that the proto-Renaissance achievements of the Pisano additionally played a crucial role later in Raphael's career as he worked seamlessly on the engraving of *The massacre of the Innocents* and on *The judgement of Solomon* for the Segnatura ceiling around 1509/10 (Fig. 10). In reflecting upon emotionally charged themes, some of the rhetorically powerful solutions the Pisano had experimented with came to Raphael's mind. A comparison specifically with Giovanni Pisano's *Massacre of the Innocents* for the pulpit of Sant'Andrea in Pistoia (Fig. 11) offers striking results. Recurring motives in Raphael's compositions are the desperate mother leaning over the dead baby and covering the wound, while the baby's arm hangs lifelessly (Figs. 12 and 13); the sudden motion of the mother holding the child turning her head towards the soldier to show her pointed profile combined with the idea of 'pulling' (either the leg or hair; Figs. 14 and 15);

in: *Accademia Raffaello: atti e studi*, 2011, I, pp. 9–30, especially p. 12, with bibliography.

²⁸ Inv. WA1846.145; Parker (note 1), pp. 252f., no. 501.

²⁹ Anna Forlani Tempesti, in: *Da Raffaello a Rossini: la Collezione Antaldi. I disegni ritrovati*, exh. cat. Pesaro 2001, ed. by eadem/Grazia Calegari/Mauro Mei, Ancona 2001, p. 42, acutely perceived the stillness of the figure as



12, 14 Giovanni Pisano,
The massacre of the Innocents, details.
Pistoia, Sant'Andrea, pulpit

13, 15 Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael,
The massacre of the Innocents, details. London,
British Museum, inv. 1895,0915.102

the *all'antica* motif of the soldier grabbing the hair of the same woman, which Giovanni Pisano had re-conceptualised in the context of a *Massacre of the Innocents*; the energetic movement of the furious Herod with his right arm outstretched to command the murder, as well as the soldier holding the baby by the feet, both of which can be seen in a brainstorming metalpoint sheet at the Ashmolean with a first idea for *The judgement of Solomon* (Fig. 10).³⁰ While no doubt some of these tropes can be found in other compositions which predate the two works by Raph-

ael,³¹ the consonances with Giovanni's relief are too many and too meaningful to have been simply mediated by a secondary source, strongly suggesting that the young master must have closely admired such masterpieces during visits to Siena and Pistoia.

Raphael was certainly in the Sienese territory by 1502/03, when he was providing Pinturicchio with drawings for the *Libreria Piccolomini* in the cathedral and perhaps succeeding Luca Signorelli in the fresco decoration of the *Abbazia di Mon-*

though, the scholar observes, the study had been made from a manikin rather than a live model.

³⁰ For the Pisani see Max Seidel, *Father and Son: Nicola and Giovanni Pisano*, Venice 2012, especially pp. 132–141.

³¹ For example, the pulling of female hair, which Raphael may have also studied on an antique gem, as shown by a metalpoint drawing at the British Museum (for which see Ben Thomas, in: *Raphael* [note 1], p. 176, no. 73, with select bibliography), returns in Ghirlandaio's *Massacre of the Innocents* (Florence,

Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni). The motif of the man holding the baby by the feet in *The judgement of Solomon* is also found in the predella with a *Massacre of the Innocents* for the polyptych of San Medardo, Arcevia, by Luca Signorelli, for whose problematic dating and relation with the Vatican fresco and the *Massacre* see Henry (note 10), pp. 244f. and p. 392, notes 91 and 94, and *idem* (note 19), p. 82, with bibliography. For the engraving's sources see also Edit Pogány-Balás, *The Influence of Rome's Antique Monumental Sculptures on the Great Masters of the Renaissance*, Budapest 1980, pp. 66–70.

teoliveto.³² However, if one accepts a dating for the Pesaro sheet around 1499 this may provide a trace for an earlier sojourn of Raphael in Siena. Certainly, the encounter with Nicola's Siense pulpit was to spark the young artist's curiosity in Giovanni, so that it is not difficult to imagine Raphael later reaching Pistoia from nearby Florence to study his pulpit. In other words, Raphael responded to Michelangelo – whose *Battle of Cascina* the engraving of the *Massacre* notably emulates – bringing back the memory, only to re-imagine it, of an important 'textbook': this was one of those illustrious models on which Michelangelo was himself schooled³³ and, arguably, the most dramatic and modern interpretation of the theme of infanticide in Italian art to have come down to us.

Beyond the reuse of three motifs on the Oxford and Pesaro sheets in the Brazilian *Resurrection*, what emerges from these drawings is Raphael's rich and syncretic visual culture, together with his varied approach to the graphic medium. More than being purely utilitarian in function, for the young Raphael drawing could be a tool of discovery, recalling from memory, testing or appropriating traditions from the Pisani to Santi and Signorelli and, indeed, Perugino, whose manner of drawing and of conceptualising the figure Raphael had clearly mastered as an adolescent.

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³² For the latter fascinating hypothesis see Tom Henry, "Raphael and Siena", in: *Apollo*, CLX (2004), 512, pp. 50–56; see also *idem* (note 10), pp. 153–173, for a recent discussion of the fresco decoration in Monteliveto.

³³ See now Wilhelm Vöge, *Michelangelo und die Pisani*, Munich [2016].