

***Bartolomeo & Benedetto Montagna
and the Role of
The Graphic Arts in Vicenza
c.1480–1520***

by

Genevieve Kristl Verdigel

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School of Advanced Study
University of London

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I, Genevieve Kristl Verdigel, hereby declare that this thesis is my own work.

Signed: **Date:**
Candidate

*To the
True Image*

Abstract:

The Italian Renaissance workshop was simultaneously a business, a collaborative practice and a space for experimentation. *Disegno*, a term that can be interpreted to refer to a physical object – generally a work on paper – or the act of depicting an invention in visual form, served as the thread that connected these interests. This thesis investigates the role of *disegno* in the workshop operated by Bartolomeo Montagna in Vicenza, Italy, between circa 1480 and 1520. During this period, the Montagna workshop was not only the preeminent workshop in Vicenza, but also ranked among the most prosperous on the Venetian *terraferma*. Focussing on the output of the Montagna workshop consequently in a manner that has hitherto gone unexplored therefore contributes new insights into the management of Venetic workshops.

The graphic arts – here taken to encompass drawings and prints – serves as the prism through which a number of key themes are refracted. The question of an artist's formation is addressed through analysis of Bartolomeo Montagna's drawings in their deployment of media and handling of form in relation to the graphic traditions of other Venetic cities. The specialisation of Bartolomeo Montagna's second son, Benedetto, as an engraver, invites an extended appraisal of both how artists were instructed in printmaking techniques, and factors that facilitated the workshop's diversification into print production. Mobility is revealed as a driving force: the migration of publishers from Northern Europe was instrumental to the establishment of the print trade in Vicenza, the import of Northern prints fostered an awareness of the medium and its potential, while the reputation of the Montagna workshop attracted '*peintre-graveurs*' from across the Veneto. Benedetto Montagna is newly afforded a pivotal role in the development of engraving in the Veneto by virtue of the exchanges of ideas and knowhow between engravers that must have taken place around him. When taken in conjunction with the workshop's concurrent fulfilment of commissions for altarpieces, devotional paintings and fresco schemes, the fundamental concept that emerges in the workshop is that of co-working. Drawings produced by Bartolomeo Montagna and prints acquired from other artists are posited as the basis of the workshop's visual archive; a repository of designs that was recycled in diverse projects and deployed by various individuals. Access to vital materials such as paper, copper and a printing press is similarly shown to have

brought artisans into contact. This pragmatic approach to resources is ultimately shown to have streamlined operations within the Montagna workshop.

What, therefore, does this thesis contribute to scholarship on the Italian Renaissance? The collaboration between Bartolomeo and Benedetto Montagna, as father and son, that was fundamental to their printmaking ventures offers a new dimension to our understanding of the interplay between artistic autonomy and the assertion of a workshop identity. The extended analysis of the family's production and use of prints and drawings demonstrates compellingly the importance of *disegno* to the operation of a Venetic workshop. Finally, and crucially, the potential of the Montagna workshop to attract itinerant artists to Vicenza brings into question the hegemony of Venice in the artistic developments of the Veneto.

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Acknowledgements

Researching the art of the Veneto is not exactly a chore. Here is not the place to enter into longstanding debates on regional biases, but I will stake my flag in stating that it is in the art of the Veneto that *colore* and *disegno* align in unrivalled harmony. The research conducted in preparation for this thesis has, by extension, been as much an aesthetically pleasurable activity as an intellectually rewarding pursuit. Such a perspective has primarily emerged from my extensive analysis of the ‘*disegni*’ – both drawings and prints – fundamental to my thesis, and which I have had the privilege of studying across the world. It is equally founded on study of the paintings of the region, often still *in situ*, for which the nature of my work has made repeat visits to the Veneto essential. *Mi é toccato*. Days in the archives and museums of Vicenza, Verona and Venice have been more often than not followed by a glass of Amarone, with ideas reflected on in a sun-drenched *campo* or *piazza*. Outcomes were all the more fruitful, making it no small wonder that departures from the Veneto were always swiftly followed by plans to return.

But it is neither the art nor the research travel that has made this journey so rewarding: it is the people. For this thesis can never be said to be my work alone. It is instead the product of interactions and collaborations with many diverse individuals to whom I shall try my best to pay sufficient credit. Apologies in advance for any accidental omissions.

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David Freedberg is like The Sudarium: absent yet omnipresent. His initial enthusiasm for the thesis carried through to its completion, and his early recognition

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It feels fitting to end this mountain of debt with a reflection on three concise texts that have played on my mind as I approached this thesis's completion: Umberto Eco's *How to Write a Thesis*; Francis M. Cornford's *Microcosmographica Academica Being a Guide for the Young Academic Politician* and William Roger Rearick's 'The Study of Venetian Drawings Today' (*Master Drawings*, 2004). Common to all are pragmatic, if subtly sarcastic, nuggets of wisdom for the 'young scholar'. Rearick advocated that prospective students of *il disegno veneziano* train first the 'eye' and the brain before attempting any analyses. Eco proffered research and writing advice – 'you are not Proust!' – to simply get the job done. For Cornford, it was imperative that Young (Wo)Men in a Hurry understand their place within the *gesamtkunstwerk* that is the academic system. But what unites them all is the sound advice that choosing an inspiring topic means that research will never be a chore.

*

Postscript, 21 January 2020.

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Notes to the Reader

Archival Abbreviations.

- ADVi: Archivio Diocesano di Vicenza
- ASPd: Archivio di Stato di Padova
- ASVe: Archivio di Stato di Venezia
- ASVr: Archivio di Stato di Verona
- ASVi: Archivio di Stato di Vicenza
- BBVi: Biblioteca Bertoliana, Vicenza
- BCVe: Biblioteca Correr, Venice
- BMVe: Biblioteca Marciana, Venice
- IPABVi: Istituto Pubblico di Assistenza e Beneficenza, Vicenza

Frequently Cited Collection Abbreviations

- BM: British Museum, London.
- BNF: Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Paris.
- GDSU: Gabinetto di disegni e stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
- MET: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- NGA: National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Bibliographical Abbreviations:

- TIB.25. Zucker, M., *The Illustrated Bartsch. Early Italian Masters: Commentary*. Vol. 25. W. Strauss (ed.), (New York, 1984).
- H.V: Hind, A. M., *Early Italian Engravings: A Critical Catalogue with Complete Reproduction of all the Prints Described*, v, (London, 1948).
- Br.: Briquet, C.M., *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4. Vols, (Geneva, 1907)

Notes

- As this study focuses on works on paper, all dimensions are given in millimetres.
- Unless otherwise noted, dimensions of drawings are of the sheet, paintings are of individual panels or sections, prints of the matrix. Even if the illustrated impression is trimmed within the platemark, full plate dimensions are still given.
- For the sake of clarity, ‘Bartolomeo Montagna’ is retained as the umbrella term for paintings completed by his workshop and under his direction.
- Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.
- When an exhibition is cited, the year of its opening and, in the case of multiple venues, the first exhibited location is given.

Introduction

Pivotal to artisanal production during the Renaissance were the ‘graphic arts’; a term here taken to encompass drawings and prints. These two media are in one respect united by their materiality: by consistencies in the predominant use of a paper support, general proportions and their modern-day preservation in solander boxes in museum ‘*gabinetti*’. But they are also united through the concept of *diseño*. The intrinsic importance of this term is implicit in the fact that ‘*diseño*’ can itself be variously interpreted to refer to a physical object – generally a work on paper – or the act of depicting an invention in visual form.¹ The role of *diseño* within artistic practices can therefore be described as an active one as much as a tangible one. In the case of drawings, this is perhaps best encapsulated by Hans Tietze and Eriza Tietze-Conrat’s remark that drawings were – and indeed, that drawing was – the backbone that united all members of an artisanal workshop into a single operational order.² The writings of ‘Renaissance men’ including Cennino Cennini, Paolo Pini and Benedetto Castiglione show that draftsmanship was recognised as both an essential exercise and a creative pursuit. Though the centrality of *diseño* to the study of prints is less widely acknowledged, it is no less significant. Most, if not all, prints were preceded by a preparatory drawing, and the formal qualities of the printed line bear much in common with those of the drawn one.³ More emphatic still is the fact that fifteenth and early-sixteenth century descriptions of prints simply refer to them as ‘*disegni stampati*’ [printed drawings]. An inherent multiplicity consequently links ‘*diseño*’ and the ‘graphic arts’, and by extension compellingly asserts their primary importance to notions of artistic *invenzione* and enterprise.

These themes are integral to the interactions that revolved in and around the Montagna workshop. Established in Vicenza during the 1470s, its *maestro* was Bartolomeo Cincani – best known by the pseudonym of Montagna – until his death in 1523. Under his direction, the workshop emerged among the most productive on the *terraferma*, fulfilling commissions between Venice and Verona with some patrons

¹ On this duality, see ROSAND 2002, ‘Preface’, pp.xxi–xxiii; WHISTLER 2016, Chapter One: ‘Theory. *Diseño* and Drawing’, esp. pp.17–24.

² TIETZES 1944, p.5.

³ On this interplay, see for instance, ROSAND 2002, Chapter 5: ‘Disegni a Stampa: The Printed Line’; WHISTLER 2018; STOLZ 2012.

even based in neighbouring Lombardy. Completed projects included fresco schemes, altarpieces and decorative furniture in addition to the ubiquitous devotional paintings of the Holy Family intended for domestic settings. Those works that survive are inarguably defined by a relative homogeneity in terms of an overall stylistic idiom, technical execution and specific figural motifs. The premise of this thesis is that it was through *disegno* that Bartolomeo Montagna assured this consistency. More specifically, I will make a case for the recognition of the importance of a visual archive that provided source material for the workshop for a prolonged period and across multiple projects, and that ultimately helped streamline operations. I argue that this repository comprised drawings produced by Bartolomeo in preparation for specific commissions or to be retained as reference models, drawings by assistants and prints produced by other artisans. The fundamentality of *disegno* to the workshop's output is clearly reflected through the printmaking activity of Benedetto Montagna, Bartolomeo's second-born son. Benedetto specialised as an engraver and a number of the prints attributed to him display parallels with the Montagna's painted output in aspects such as the overall style or composition. Not only do these engravings therefore invite questions on the means by which *disegno* was deployed to create consistency across projects, the corresponding range of products issued from the workshop suggests that this diversification had a business motive.

Bartolomeo's status as the most successful painter in Renaissance Vicenza – acquiring the title of '*pictor famosus*' in his own lifetime – means that he has received no shortage of scholarly attention. He has been the subject of various *catalogues raisonnées*, the most recent and extensive of which is that by Mauro Lucco.⁴ More focused studies have addressed topics including Bartolomeo's involvement on specific commissions, interest in real estate ownership and painting techniques.⁵ Combined with a certain patriotism on the behalf of Vicentine scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, these factors have contributed to Bartolomeo's celebrated status as the 'founder' of the Vicentine School.⁶ The same can be said of Benedetto Montagna, who is often considered to be the first engraver in Vicenza, and

⁴ LUCCO 2014 with documents summarized as BARAUSSE 2014, the volume in its entirety has been a cornerstone for this thesis. See also DE ZUANI 2014; NEILSEN 1995; PUPPI 1962; BORENIUS 1909.

⁵ See for instance CARROLL CONSAVARI 2004; CARROLL CONSAVARI 2006; CARROLL CONSAVARI 2011; CLERICI 2001; CARPIELLO FORTHCOMING; CHUNG & RÖSTEL 2017.

⁶ See for instance ZORZI 1916; MAGRINI 1862.

has been described as a ‘figure of some importance in Italian printmaking of the period’ and the ‘heir of Mantegna’.⁷ All his known engravings are incorporated in the two catalogues fundamental to North Italian Renaissance print production: Arthur Hind’s *Early Italian Engravings* and Volume 25 of *The Illustrated Bartsch* as revised by Mark Zucker, with additional comments included in catalogues such as that produced in occasion of the Early Italian Engravings exhibition at the National Gallery of Washington and Gisèle Lambert’s volume on the extensive collection of early Italian engravings in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.⁸

Despite this scholarship, the drawings and prints produced by the Montagna family have not been afforded the scholarly attention they warrant. Over 30 drawings have been variously attributed to Bartolomeo, and with 20 securely accepted as by his hand; a number significantly higher than that attributed to similarly successful peers contemporaneously active in the Veneto. For comparison, just five drawings are tenuously associated with Cima da Conegliano, while Giovanni Bellini’s graphic corpus remains a hotly contested topic.⁹ Unlike the drawings of Cima and Bellini, however, Bartolomeo’s drawings have only ever been discussed in the context of catalogue entries that summarise factors such as the approximate dating and subject matter. No in-depth study of the factors that unite his drawings such as their technique, medium and operational purpose has been carried out. Crucially, this means that his identity as a draftsman and the place of drawing in his workshop has not been sufficiently understood. This disparity between a significant volume of primary material and paucity of scholarly analysis similarly exists for the engravings produced by Benedetto. His corpus of over fifty engravings is substantially higher than the fifteen and twenty-nine respectively attributed to Giulio Campagnola and Jacopo de’ Barbari, who were also active in the Veneto around the turn of the fifteenth century, yet Benedetto’s engravings have not been discussed in a manner

⁷ Zucker in TIB, p.287; Oberhuber in WASHINGTON 1973, p.xxxi. See also biographic summaries by Arthur Hind in H.V. pp.173–75.

⁸ The first two henceforth respectively referred to as H.V., BM.Nos.1–55 corresponding to the engravings attributed to Benedetto, and TIB.2512. with .12.1–55 corresponding to the engravings attributed to Benedetto; WASHINGTON 1973; LAMBERT 1999, under the section ‘Venise, Vicence, Padoue: Benedetto Montagna, Giulio Campagnola’.

⁹ On Cima, see HUMFREY 1983, pp.174–77 and Nos.191–98 and further discussion in BLASS-SIMMEN 1994. On Bellini, see GOLDNER 2004; the recent opinions voiced in LONDON & BERLIN 2018–19, esp. in VOWLES & KORBACHER 2018 with accompanying overviews of the contrasting opinions of extant scholarship.

other than the catalogue format, while theirs – and also their biographies – have been the topic of numerous articles, essays and theses.¹⁰ The corresponding outcome is again that Benedetto's activity as a printmaker has fallen outside broader narratives on the development of engraving in the Veneto. This shortcoming is of particular significance given Benedetto's upbringing within Vicenza's most prosperous painting workshop. Not only does Benedetto's work bring into context the operational dynamics that drove his printmaking activity, but also the factors that shaped the emergence of engraving in Vicenza and the implications these had for the rest of the Veneto.

A tendency to overlook the graphic output of the Montagna workshop has arguably been dictated by its Vicentine basis. When James Grubb wrote that 'Vicenza was an unexceptional city, lacking in flashiness but not without significance for that fact' in order to explain his motive for studying the Renaissance history of the city, he did so with apt reason.¹¹ Vicenza did not have the might of contemporary Florence, Rome or Venice as once it voluntarily submitted to Venetian rule in 1404, it was subject to the jurisdiction of the Senate.¹² Vicentine governors were appointed by the Senate, Vicentine Bishops were frequently from Venetian families, raw materials extracted from Vicentine territories had to be sent to the Lagoon, and it has been proposed that Vicentine patricians often sought to emulate their Venetian counterparts in their artistic patronage.¹³ These factors have almost certainly contributed to the fact that the artistic production that took place in Vicenza during the Italian Renaissance does not attract a level of art historical interest comparable to that of its more powerful ruler. Yet the paradox of Vicenza is that its significance partly resides in its nature as an outpost of the Venetian Republic on the *terraferma*, and the political and cultural interchanges contingent with this subjectivity to Venetian jurisdiction. For

¹⁰ A similar observation can, and should, be made of Girolamo Mocetto. For Campagnola, see, for instance, ZDANKSI 1992; CARRADORE 2010; HOLBERTON 1996; FIOCCO 1915; MORETTO WIEL 1988. For de' Barbari, whose wider interest resides in his activity as a woodcutter, painter, acquaintance of Dürer and court artist to Emperor Maximilian I and Frederick the Wise of Saxony, see BÖCKEM 2016; FERRARI 2006.

¹¹ GRUBB 1988, p.xx.

¹² The historical context of Vicenza both as an independent city and part of the Venetian state is foundational to this thesis for the Montagna workshop's productivity is inextricable from Vicenza's civic identity and contemporary relations between Vicenza and the rest of the region. Among the numerous sources that have been consulted, the following are particularly informative: GRUBB 1988; BIANCHI 2014; LAW 1992; DEMO 2012; KNAPTON 2013.

¹³ For an overview on these trade and political relations, see GRUBB 1988, esp. pp. 128–35, 163–72. For this latter observation see NEHER 2007, p. 254.

these cross-regional connections simultaneously contributed to a complex nexus in which Venetian hegemony fused with Vicentine patriotism. The cultural effect of this interplay has been recently considered for another *terraferma* territory, that of Padua, in the edited volume by Brigit Blass-Simmen and Stefan Weppelmann with essays considering Paduan society, politics and art in relation to contemporary developments in Venice.¹⁴ What is key is that the emergent perspective that Paduan art was like its political structure in that it never fully submitted to Venetian supremacy, is consistent with observations made about Vicenza and its civic identity.¹⁵ Cities on the Venetian *terraferma* are by extension prime examples against which to consider notions of the centre and periphery and the tensions that arise from an underlying duality.¹⁶ It is worth noting that Vicenza been referred to as a ‘*città satellite*’ and ‘first born of Venice’, with the terms Vicentine, Venetic and Venetian variously and simultaneously deployed to describe the city’s social structure, fiscal interests and, most importantly to the present discussion, also its art.

Vicenza’s place within the artistic developments of the Veneto can be observed in the social and artistic interactions that took place in the city. Artisans who set up shop in Vicenza were often foreigners or ‘*forestieri*’, originating both from nearby sites such as Venice and Mantua and locations as remote as Cologne and Basel. Immigration played a key role in the city’s artisanal network: it is worth noting that Bartolomeo was not himself a native Vicentine citizen.¹⁷ Connections across the Veneto were correspondingly vital to commercial and artisanal concerns. Mobility was facilitated by transport routes that spanned the region such as the regular boat service from Vicenza to Venice, which departed from the Ponte Pusterla.¹⁸ For instance, the house along the Riva degli Schiavoni in Venice retained for Vicentine merchants reflects an underlying premise that it was consistently used for business

¹⁴ BLASS-SIMMEN & WEPPELMANN 2017.

¹⁵ As best summarized in BLASS-SIMMEN 2017. For Vicenza, see again GRUBB 1988; NEHER 2007, pp.254–65.

¹⁶ See CRACCO 1988. For the application of this approach to Vicenza, see GRUBB 1988, Part III: Center and Periphery’ and Part IV: ‘The Renaissance Venetian State’. For a consideration of the interplay between centre and periphery within the Venetian Republic, see KNAPTON 2013. On this concept more generally, see remarks in CAMPBELL & MILLER 2004; AVCIOĞLU & SHERMAN 2015.

¹⁷ He was instead born in Orzinuovi, Brescia, to a relatively wealthy family of wool merchants who relocated to Vicenza where they joined their goldsmithing relatives in mid-1400s. On the family’s origins in Brescia, see various remarks made in BARAUSSE 2014 Docs.1–15, and on their goldsmithing relatives, see in particular, Docs.20, 24.

¹⁸ JOHNSTON 2002, p.131, fn.30.

purposes; and as a matter of fact, trips made by Bartolomeo to Venice circa 1470 may have been motivated by the family's involvement in the wool trade.¹⁹ Bartolomeo's subsequent artistic contribution to the Venetian project of the *teleri* for the Scuola Grande di San Marco was facilitated by these cross-regional links. Artists based in Venice likewise made use of established transport networks to manage their engagements in Vicenza. Commissions awarded to Giovanni Bellini by various Vicentine patrons between 1476 and 1502 suggest that he travelled to the city on multiple occasions, and a Vicentine trip may also be proposed for Cima da Conegliano on account of the altarpiece he completed for the Chiesa di San Bartolomeo in 1489.²⁰

One consequence of these connections that extended across the Veneto is a frequent scholarly tendency to subsume the artistic production of the *terraferma* within discourses on Venetian art. Restrictive distinctions have been drawn between mainland artists who respectively trained in Venice, those who worked intermittently in Venice – termed ‘casual artists’ by Hans Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat – and those who appear to have operated entirely independently of Venice. As with any such constructs, it cannot be denied that relations were more complex than would be suggested by these theoretical and nomenclatural categories.²¹ One prime example is Bartolomeo Veneto who relocated from Cremona to Venice where likely he trained under Giovanni and Gentile Bellini, signed a Madonna and Child as ‘*mezo Venizian e mezo cremonexe*’ following his establishment as an independent artist, but subsequently chose to signify his connections to the wider geographic region through the ‘nickname’ ‘Veneto’.²² Another example is Giovanni Battista Cima, who is considered as a quintessentially Venetian artist despite his upbringing in a family of dyers or ‘Cimatori’ based in Conegliano, the possibility that he completed his training

¹⁹ For the property in Venice, see GRUBB 1988, p.75; for the Vicentine wool trade in relation to Venetian trade governance, see MOZZATO 2010; DEMO 2006. On Bartolomeo’s presence in Venice on 30 January 1469 and the family’s involvement in the wool trade, including their operations in Venice, see BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.20.

²⁰ These include the *Resurrection* ‘ordinato’ by Gaspare Trissino by 1476, as mentioned in his will; the *Madonna delle Rose*, and Graziani’s *Baptism of Christ*, see principally DAL POZZOLO 2003. Bellini appears to have travelled across the region in preparation for commissions awarded to him as in the case of the *Pala di Pesaro* for which GIBBONS 1977 convincingly proposed a journey along the Adriatic coast on the basis of topographical elements in Bellini’s oeuvre following this commission and as supported in MAZE 2017, p.48. On Cima’s *Pala di San Bartolomeo*, see HUMFREY 1977.

²¹ TIETZES 1945, p.3.

²² On this painting in relation to Bartolomeo Veneto’s training see PAGNOTTA 1997, pp.156–57, No.3, pp.21–28. This painting sold Christies New York, 30 January 2013, Lot.142.

on the *terraferma* and the fact that his earliest dated commissions were fulfilled for mainland clients.²³ The distortion that arises from this flattening of the geographic landscape is further observable across the output of the Montagna workshop: its paintings frequently invite remarks on their Venetian character; drawings by Bartolomeo are given the designation of ‘Venetian School’ and Benedetto has been described as an engraver from Venice. I will here demonstrate that these factors point to the lack of an appropriate framework in which to analyse the artistic production, and most importantly to this thesis, the graphic techniques deployed across the Veneto, both away from and in relation to Venice.

Regional biases are as fundamental to this study of the graphic arts in Vicenza as they are to understanding the city’s sociopolitical context. For while Vicentine art has been seen as subservient to Venetian exempla, so too has the art of Venice been conventionally compared with that produced in Florence. Echoes of the opinion that Venetian art was inferior to the work of Florentine artists, and more specifically that Venetian artists rejected drawing, or *disegno*, in favour of *colore* first propagated by Giorgio Vasari in *Le Vite* have reverberated for too long.²⁴ In more recent decades, however, the perspective that Venetian draftsmanship was an art historical non-entity has been rightly revised by scholars including Hans and Erica Tietze, David Rosand, William Rearick and Catherine Whistler.²⁵ Rigorous analysis of surviving drawings produced by ‘Venetian’ artists has shown that they placed equal importance on *disegno* in their workshop operations and that they displayed as sophisticated an understanding of diverse graphic media as did their central Italian peers. One less positive outcome of this Venice-centricism, however, is that it has detracted attention from the drawing techniques deployed contemporaneously in other cities in the Veneto; a case in point is the use of the so-called Venetian *carta azzurra* or blue paper that was also used on the *terraferma* in the fifteenth century. Current

²³ For an overview of Cima’s background and the hypotheses as to his training, see VILLA 2010, esp. pp. 3–4.

²⁴ Most recently and extensively addressed in WHISTLER 2016, Chapter 1, Part 1: ‘*Disegno Colore* and the Rhetoric on Venetian Drawing’, pp. 3–17. Vasari did, however, acknowledge that drawing was used in Venetian artistic practice when he claimed in the *Vita di Tiziano Vecellio* that Giovanni Bellini taught the fundamentals of *disegno* to Titian as his pupil. VASARI-BAROCCHI 1966–87, VI, p. 155, ‘lo pose con Gianbellino pittore, in quel tempo eccell[ente] e molto famoso, come s’è detto: sotto la cui disciplina attendendo al disegno...’. I am grateful for John Marciari for bringing this remark to my attention.

²⁵ Among the numerous discussions on the topic of Venetian draftsmanship during in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see in particular, TIETZE 1944; REARICK 2001; REARICK 2004; WHISTLER 2016.

understanding of print production on the mainland has arguably suffered from the same regional constructs, with scholarly attention predominately placed on the industry's development in Venice. One influencing factor were Venice's publishers – most notably Aldo Manuzio –, whose prosperous and often trend-setting activities had significant reverberations on contemporary culture, society and thought.²⁶ Venice was also the centre where the rights to *privilegio* or copyright were administered: the restrictions imposed by these laws applied across the Veneto.²⁷ But what must not be forgotten in this analysis is not only that the materials necessary to produce engravings and woodcuts – paper, wood and copper, for instance – were imported into Venice from the *terraferma*, but also that printmaking operations were set-up in the mainland cities of Padua and Vicenza shortly after the industry's establishment in Venice. The central tenet this suggests is not dominance but reciprocity.

It should be emphasised that my goal is not to shift our understanding of an artistic centre from Venice to Vicenza. Rather, my purpose is to show that the activity of artists in cities on the *terraferma* that formed part of the Republic both contributed to the visual culture of the Veneto and served to construct distinct civic identities. I propose to show this for Vicenza through the analysis of a single artisanal workshop, and more specifically by focusing on the importance of *diseño* to the workshop's operations. Such an approach follows in the footsteps of Alison Wright in her study of the Pollaiuolo brothers.²⁸ Wright united the output of their Florentine workshop – paintings, metalwork, vestment decoration, sculpture and a single engraving – around the fulcrum of *diseño* in order to offer a comprehensive picture of how Antonio Pollaiuolo managed his productivity and constructed an artistic identity. The diverse output of the Montagna workshop and the overt interest Bartolomeo Montagna took in his social status and personal wealth favours the implementation of this approach. A key advantage to a study that focuses on the interactions that revolved around a single workshop is that it makes it possible to both employ and to challenge theoretical constructs applied in other artistic centres. For instance, was Bartolomeo

²⁶ Manuzio's activity is most extensively addressed in VENICE 2016, and particularly in TONIOLI 2016, DE MICHELIS 2016, with further bibliography.

²⁷ For discussion, see principally WITCOMBE 2004, esp. pp. 28–44 and Chapter 4: 'Printed images and Copyright in Venice before 1517.'

²⁸ WRIGHT 2005. Like Bartolomeo Montagna, the Pollaiuoli did not work exclusively in their 'hometown', with activity extended as far as Rome. Their workshop was, however, consistently centered in Florence.

aware of the potential that *diseño* as means for fashioning an artistic identity in a manner comparable to that which has been proposed for Antonio Pollaiuolo?²⁹ Or does the reasoned opinion that Perugino's recycling of designs was in response to a demand among his Perugian clients for consistency with other commissions fulfilled in the region surrounding Perugia hold true in the case of Bartolomeo's sustained recycling of designs for Vicentine commissions?³⁰ And what comparison can be made between Benedetto's activity as an engraver working under his father vis-à-vis proposals on working relationships between Raphael and Marcantonio Raimondi or Andrea Mantegna and Gian Marco Cavalli?³¹

The role the graphic arts played in the Montagna workshop is a topic that both reverberates on multiple levels and extends beyond the confines of this specific case study. It brings into question the means by which an Italian Renaissance *maestro* deployed a nucleus of drawings to streamline the fulfilment of commissions. The technique and media of these drawings correspondingly invites an appraisal of the extent to which an intended purpose dictated their appearance, with output across multiple media inviting considerations on how drawings facilitated collaboration between artisans. The flourishing of print production in the workshop not only extends this consideration of the way *diseño* united artisans, but also demands a reconsideration of commonly accepted trajectories on the development of engraving in the Veneto.

This thesis relies on a wealth of Vicentine archival and visual material that has not hitherto undergone intense art historical analysis. For instance, over twenty contracts and detailed payment records survive for commissions awarded to Bartolomeo, in addition to documents on his family and involvement in real estate transactions.³² Despite the fact that the value of these sources is recognised, studies of how Bartolomeo balanced payments, managed his workforce and deployed operational materials across his commissions are not exhaustive. It is probable that

²⁹ WRIGHT 2005, esp. Chapter 6 'Design and Invention'.

³⁰ As addressed in O'MALLEY 2007 where it is shown that clients requested certain iconographic elements of their commissioned works be the same as other works completed by Perugino known to them.

³¹ On the collaboration between Marcantonio and Raphael, see BLOEMACHER 2016; for an overview on Mantegna and Cavalli, see BOORSCH 2010; FLETCHER 2001, pp.3–5.

³² These are most comprehensively catalogued in BARAUSSE 2014 as part of LUCCO 2014 where principally deployed to inform the dating of individual artworks.

such analyses would have been extensively carried out if Bartolomeo had been based in Venice or Florence; and the latter probably on multiple occasions. While these questions are not the focus of the present study, the extant archival documents provide supporting evidence for the analysis of role of *diseño* in the family workshop's operations. Detailed contracts drawn up between Bartolomeo and his clients are here of particular value here for their reference to prospectus drawings that served to negotiate a project's appearance between respective parties. Documents also inform the working dynamics within the workshop. A case in point is the fact that the error in the claim that Bartolomeo and Benedetto were brothers is confirmed by Benedetto's receipt of the *procura* on behalf on Bartolomeo in 1504 as '*Benedictum dicti constituentis filium*' for it provides a hierarchical system for the division of labour within the workshop that was founded on family relationships.³³

Benedetto Montagna was one of three siblings who entered the family business. Receipt of payments by his elder and younger brothers – respectively Paolo and Filippo – on their father's behalf for painted commissions leaves little doubt that they also practiced the trade.³⁴ In certain instances – like fresco projects – they appear to have remained 'on-site' while Bartolomeo worked elsewhere. That the earliest recorded instance of this practice was for the Capella Protì which was completed between 1495 and 1496 confirms that they assumed a responsibility within the family's operations during their adolescence.³⁵ Bartolomeo was certainly not alone in implementing a working context to which hereditary continuity was central: artisanal business during the fifteenth and early sixteenth century frequently spanned multiple generations. Examples include the Bellini, Vivarini, Lombardo and Ghirlandaio families, while all four of Andrea Mantegna's sons appear to have trained as painters.³⁶ Benefits were manifold. A *maestro* did not have to pay the same guild-levied fees for assistants who were family members, familial relationships lent themselves to productive working relationships, revenues were principally retained 'within the family' and the workshop's activity could be continued through

³³ BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.92, 12 April 1504.

³⁴ For example, payments to Filippo for the *Pala Squarzi* 1497–99; to Paolo for Capella di San Biagio in Verona 1505 when Bartolomeo was operating in Padua. See respectively BARAUSSE 2014, Nos. 82, 91.

³⁵ Payments to Filippo and Paolo for Capella Protì between 8 October 1495–96; BARAUSSE 2014, No.80.

³⁶ On the premature death of two formerly unknown sons of Mantegna see SIGNORINI 1986.

inheritance across generations.³⁷ What was unfortunate for Bartolomeo is that he outlived both Paolo and Filippo, and so at the time of his death in 1523, Benedetto was his sole heir. Though this ultimately meant that Benedetto inherited the entire workshop and continued its fulfillment of painted commissions, this was arguably not the masterplan. Rather, Bartolomeo appears to have intended for his sons to facilitate the workshop's productivity, in addition to allowing for a diversification of its output. This is suggested by Benedetto's specialisation as an engraver, for it is most likely that his elder brother Filippo was destined to take over as the workshop *maestro*. The retailing of impressions pulled from the matrices Benedetto incised consequently brings into question notions of authorship and authority within family workshops. Were these products recognised as the work of Benedetto, or simply as part of the Montagna workshop's output? And to what extent did familial interests affect the organizational structure that Bartolomeo oversaw?

Surviving notarial documents are similarly useful tools for understanding the interactions that took place '*in bottega*' and the status that the Montagna family held in Vicenza. A case in point is the information that can be gathered on the site from which their activity emanated. By 5 March 1484 Bartolomeo had sufficient financial means to acquire partial rights to property in the Sindicaria di San Marcello, opposite the Chiesa di San Lorenzo, and he retained these rights until his death.³⁸ The property is consistently described as '*domo habitationis*' [the residence] of Bartolomeo Montagna, but it can almost certain that it was also the site of his *bottega* given that such living-working arrangements were contemporaneously followed in Venice.³⁹ Its location – just five minutes stroll north of the Petronio and Palazzo Vescovile – meant the family was well-situated to interact with its patrons and peers, even if the majority of the city's artisanal workshops were based in the Sindicaria del Duomo. That contracts for commissions awarded to Bartolomeo were often drawn up in the Montagna residence attests to interpersonal negotiations between the artist and his prospective clients. Witnesses to these contracts were frequently artisans who interacted with the Montagna in various capacities. Some can be identified as long-

³⁷ See respectively MONCADA 1998, p.112 for this regulation in Padua; WHISTLER 2016, p.81 for Venice.

³⁸ BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.50.

³⁹ Examples at BARAUSSE 2014, Docs. 43, 46, 90 to mention but a few. WHISTLER 2016, pp.73–79 on the fact that Venetian workshops were often the sites of residence of the *maestro*.

term workshop assistants such as Giovanni d'Alemagna; a few as privileged ‘students’ as with Giulio Campagnola and Gaspare de’ Napoli, while others were individuals who operated workshops in Vicenza in various artisanal trades.⁴⁰ What consequently emerges from these documents is an image of the Montagna workshop as a dynamic site of interchange in the Vicentine milieu.

The Vicentine guild system provides further insights into the family’s place within the local artisanal culture. As consistent with other cities across the Italian Peninsula, painting and printmaking and the bureaucratic concerns that drove them were subject to regulation by Vicenza’s guilds or *fraglie*.⁴¹ Yet the guild records for fifteenth and early sixteenth century Vicenza are incomplete, with lacunae ascribed by some to the theft of guild documents during the wars of Cambrai.⁴² For example, vital pages of the matriculation records to the Fraglia degli Orefici are missing from the guild’s *Matricola Vetus*. These shortcomings can be partially remedied by conflating the fragmentary information that can again be gleaned from select archival documents with the more comprehensive data available for other cities, and in particular those in the Veneto. This is partly predicated on the premise that the statutes of Vicentine guilds were subject to regular review by a Council appointed by the Venetian Republic authority, Vicentine guild operation had some consistency with those concurrent in Venice.⁴³ Such reasoning has already been successfully applied in Padua to explain the consistency of the statutes of its *fraglia dei pittori* with those in Venice.⁴⁴

Consistency between the guild structures of Venice and its mainland territories makes it surprising that a Painter’s Guild does not appear to have existed in Vicenza. Not only do no documents of such a guild survive in the Vicentine archives, consultation of the regimented order in which the city’s numerous guilds processed around Vicenza in occasion of the Feast Day of Santa Corona reveals that one

⁴⁰ Examples are variously discussed in the following chapters.

⁴¹ On guilds in Vicenza, see summary in BRUNELLO 1976.

⁴² BRUNELLO 1976. It is worth quoting VAN DER STOCK 1998, p.19: ‘prescriptive sources such as guilds regulations tell only a small part of the story’.

⁴³ GRUBB 1988, p.75.

⁴⁴ MONCADA 1998, pp.117–118. For the Venetian *Arte dei depentori*, see FAVARO 1975, pp.55–77; FLETCHER 1998, pp.132–33 where notes that the reforms of the Paduan guild in 1441 gave artists greater freedom than in Venice.

specifically for painters did not number among them.⁴⁵ Yet the fact that the trade was recognised is attested by the fact that Bartolomeo and peers such as Gianfrancesco Sommaio, Giorgio da Treviso and Giovanni Speranza received the nomination of ‘*pictore*’ in notarial deeds and *estimi*.⁴⁶ Their activity – and by extension, the operation of the Montagna workshop – was therefore indisputably subject to regulation by a guild: the question is which one. A reasoned process of elimination – painters shared no commonalities in the practices with the professions of tavern-keepers or shoemakers – and the piecing together of fragmentary evidence from a variety of documentary sources supports the proposal that painters belonged to the *fraglia dei Marangoni* or Carpenter’s Guild. The two professions were inextricably related by virtue of the collaboration between painters and carpenters that was vital to the fulfilment of commissions for altarpieces and painted wooden furniture.⁴⁷

Interactions between artisans in more personal capacities suggest that these connections were strengthened by guild legislation. One key source is the document drawn up in the residence of the painter Francesco Franceschini da Valdagno on 26 August 1481 in the presence of the carpenter Tommaso Formention – to whom he was related by marriage – which describes Franceschini as the ‘sindaco’, or mayor, of the *fraglia dei carpentieri*.⁴⁸ That Francesco Franceschini and his brother Giovanni Pietro were sons of the woodworker Pietro da Valdagno lends further support to this affiliation because guild levied fees and an extant artisanal network made it generally preferable for a maestro’s sons to train in a profession that did not require matriculation to an entirely different guild.⁴⁹ Ongoing contact between painters and carpenters operating in Vicenza by virtue of their affiliation to a common *fraglia* represents just one aspect of the close knit-artisanal culture that appears to have

⁴⁵ BRUNELLO 1976, p.88.

⁴⁶ See respectively BARAUSSE 2014, Docs. 39, 6 & 118.

⁴⁷ On collaboration between painters and woodworkers in Venice see HUMFREY 1986, pp.70–75; RUTHERGLEN 2012.

⁴⁸ ZAUPA 1998, p.124; ZORZI 1916, pp.33–38. Formenton was son of Stefano Formenton who was a carpenter and who workshop in the Sindicaria of San Vito he took over on his death. He married Angela di Antonio Franceschini, who may have been a cousin of Francesco and Gianpietro di Pietro Franceschini.

⁴⁹ See ZAUPA 1998, p.124 for this family structure and pp.121–25 on the artisanal network in Vicenza more generally; BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.35. It is worth observing that HUMFREY 1986, p.72 notes that the brothers Andrea and Girolamo da Murano were respectively a painter and woodcutter, and set up a joint workshop. Another instance can be noted in Bologna, where Marco Francia, the father of the painter-goldsmit Francesco Francia was a carpenter, see NEGRO & ROIO 1998, p.111, but arguably represents a family diversification of the Francia business that awaits further consideration.

existed in Vicenza: innumerable documents record the presence of individuals specialised in diverse artistic trades as witness for business deeds and personal affairs drawn up in the residences of their colleagues. Such interactions will be shown to have had a significant impact on collaborative ventures pursued by the Montagna workshop.

Gaining insight into the Montagna's commissions, interpersonal relationships and guild matriculation from archival evidence constitutes just one approach implemented in this thesis. Equally important is close study of surviving prints, drawings and paintings produced by the workshop and closely related peers. This could be typified as a connoisseurial, and sometimes micro-connoisseurial approach in terms of the visual analysis of factors such as the line handling and media of drawings and burin techniques used in engravings. To echo the perspective of scholars including Henri Zerner, David Rosand, David Freedberg and Shelley Fletcher, not to mention Bernard Berenson, valuable information on where, when and by whom works of art were made can be gauged from these easily over-looked details.⁵⁰ Close study also encompasses scientific research techniques. These include infrared reflectography of paintings and drawings in order to study their underdrawings, analysis of the platemarks of impressions of Benedetto's engravings to reconstruct copperplate usage and collating information of the watermarks of the paper onto which Benedetto's engravings were printed to suggest the chronology of their production within the workshop's output. This methodology in the study of prints is very much informed by the work of David Landau and Suzanne Boorsch as applied in the 1992 Andrea Mantegna exhibition to clarify the chronology, productive context and authorship of many engravings associated with Mantegna's workshop.⁵¹ Findings and data are here similarly catalogued in Appendices as follows: I: Drawings from the Montagna Workshop; II: Chronology of Engravings by Benedetto Montagna; IIIa: Plate Usage of Benedetto's Engravings; IIIb: Watermarks found on Benedetto's Engravings; IV: Prints of Albrecht Dürer known to Venetic Engravers. Presenting the research separately allows for both a ready appraisal of such methodologies' usefulness, and the incorporation of findings in various contexts

⁵⁰ See for instance ZERNER 1986; ROSAND 2002, pp.1–23; FREEDBERG 2006; FLETCHER 2001.

⁵¹ Results discussed across LONDON 1992, but see in particular LANDAU 1992 and BOORSCH 1992. I am indebted to David Landau for emphasising to me the potential of this approach.

across the thesis. For instance, combining the watermarks found on Benedetto's engravings with the overview of the Dürer prints known to Venetic engravers is fundamental to the discussion of how swiftly impressions of Dürer engravings circulating in the Veneto served as reference material in the Montagna workshop. In sum, an eclectic methodology constituting material based analysis, archival research and comparative study is deployed here as a way to extract the Montagna family's prints and drawings from the 'catalogue context'; that is, to embed these objects within an extended discourse as opposed to concise analyses of their media, authorship and dating. Such an approach allows for an in-depth consideration of the circumstances of their production, their operative functions, and their reception within a relatively focused geographic and temporal range, and in this respect, this thesis joins a growing body of scholarship on the role of the graphic arts during the Renaissance period by Lisa Pon, Anne Bloemacher, Evelyn Karet, David Areford, Jamie Gabbarelli, Emily Gray, Jan van der Stock, Rosa Salzberg, Karolina Zgraja and Genevieve Warwick to mention but a few examples.⁵²

What must be emphasised, however, is that a comprehensive analysis of the Montagna workshop's use of prints and drawings is impeded by the issue of loss. While the number of drawings that can be associated with the Montagna workshop is relatively high in comparison to other Venetic artists, a cursory overview of the figures, motifs and compositions that recur across the Montagna workshop's output in addition to drawings frequently referred to in contractual agreements confirms that Bartolomeo must have produced far more drawings that have not survived. Similar claims can be made for the engravings Benedetto produced in the workshop. These frequently exist in a few or only a unique impression even though certain features of these impressions confirms that more were pulled from the plate. Issues of survival are by no means exclusive to the Montagna workshop; the general disparity between production and loss is perhaps best exemplified by the woodcuts printed in great

⁵² For studies that constitute an integrated analysis of prints and drawings see for instance PON 2004; BLOEMACHER 2015; GABBARELLI 2015. Studies that focus principally on prints and print culture include GRAY 2012; AREFORD 2010; PON 2015; SALZBERG 2014; VAN DER STOCK 1998. Drawing-specific studies are less prevalent, perhaps by virtue of the place of drawing within broader discussions on their place within painters' workshop practices, those which make valuable contributions to a expanding field include WARWICK 2000; KARET 2014; ZGRAJA FORTHCOMING and various essays published in NOVA & BOHDE 2018.

number on the occasion of religious and civic festivals.⁵³ Means to reconcile these lacunae are principally methods of close analysis such as study of platemarks and applying the ‘connoisseurial eye’.⁵⁴ Gaps in the documentary records pertaining to the Montagna family’s interactions and commissions can be similarly addressed through the considered identification of uniting traits across those documents that survive, combined with cross-reference to extant studies on artisanal workshops contemporaneously active across the Italian Peninsula. The proposals made in this thesis are informed by a reasoned analysis of the visual, documentary and comparative source material available.

The chapters in this thesis address the output of the Montagna workshop thematically. The first chapter offers a close analysis of technical and stylistic qualities of the surviving drawings attributed to Bartolomeo in order to contribute a new perspective on his artistic background. Comparison of Bartolomeo’s approach with graphic practices deployed contemporaneously in other cities in the Veneto, Padua and Venice in particular, is of fundamental importance, given that drawing was a primary skill taught to trainee artists during an apprenticeship in the workshop of a master operating in such cities, and therefore helps situate Bartolomeo’s draftsmanship within regional approaches to drawing. Chapter Two develops the emergent findings in order to consider the practical functions drawings served in the organisation of the Montagna workshop. The choice of media is appraised in line with drawings’ relationship to extant paintings issued from, and commissions fulfilled by the workshop. In this process, the vital role of drawing to Bartolomeo’s management of his workshop is affirmed. Such considerations underscore the fact that the Montagna workshop’s operation was embedded within the artisanal network of Vicenza; that is that material and industrial factors were fundamental to the workshop’s productivity. It is this working context that is central to Chapter Three’s discussion on Benedetto’s

⁵³ BOORSCH 2008, p.36 calculates that only 10–30% of the woodcuts produced in Venice circa 1500 have survived and notes that the Biblioteca Classense repository of early woodcuts includes 41 examples known in a unique impression. She also noted that of the 1,500 engravings catalogued by Hind over 600 were known in just one of two impressions. The portion of woodcuts that now survive are most extensively studied by Laura Aldovini, David Landau and Silva Urbini in their Census of Italian Renaissance Woodcuts, and the volume that have been lost is attested by the fact that many prints included in this census exist in one impression; also of note is the fact that of the thirteen woodcut images that received privileges between 1492 and 1515, but only four have survived, LANDAU 2016, p.120. See also COBIANCHI 2006 on the uses of woodcuts, and SALZBERG 2014 on ephemeral prints that proliferated in Venice but now no longer exist.

⁵⁴ As best discussed in GRIFFITHS 2003 and some remarks in REARICK 2004, p.300.

specialisation as an engraver. Developing questions on the origins of print production in Vicenza, the chapter posits that Bartolomeo's executive decision to have one son expand into the production of engravings probably emerged from co-working practicalities in terms of shared space and resources. Interplay between painting and printmaking in the family workshop is continued into Chapter Four which focuses on the interactions that took place between engravers contemporaneously active in the Veneto and with whom Benedetto was acquainted. A common capacity as '*peintre-graveurs*' combined with the workshop's reputation as a place for employment serves as a means to consider the presence of individuals such as Giulio Campagnola and Girolamo Mocetto in Vicenza, while analysis of technical and stylistic affinities in these engravers' and Benedetto's work in addition to the common quotations found in their images inform the dynamics of exchanges among engravers active across the Veneto. Chapter Five focuses on strategies of collaboration and promotion implemented to market the 'Montagna brand' within the Vicentine milieu.

Fundamental importance is again placed on *disegno* as a means by which Bartolomeo negotiated artistic productivity across various media and with other artisanal workshops. Themes of mobility and interchange explored in Chapter Four are continued in Chapter Six, 'Vicenza and the North'. A deliberate 'riff' off the title of the seminal 1999 exhibition organised by Bernard Aikema and Beverly Louise Brown *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Age of Bellini, Dürer and Titian*, this chapter similarly focuses on the influx of Northern culture and art to Vicenza through trade networks that extended across the Alps. Emphasis is placed on the role that readily mobile printed impressions played in fostering cross-cultural interchanges and the use of Northern prints in the Montagna workshop's visual archive as artistic tools. The chapter then considers how the import of Northern objects fostered an appreciation for the 'Northern style' in Vicenza, and how the Montagna responded to this market demand by modifying the appearance of their printed and painted output. For the sake of length, this thesis does not extensively address the collecting and commissioning of drawings, prints and paintings by erudite patricians – such as the Gualdo family – within the context of Vicentine, and indeed Venetic, humanist interests.⁵⁵ What should be noted, however, is that documents on

⁵⁵ A supplementary chapter entitled 'Vicentine Humanism and a Culture of Collecting' can be provided upon request. For some context, see studies on humanist networks and collecting in the Veneto by BORDIGNON FAVERO 1990; FAVARETTO 1990; LAUBER 2005; GUTHMULLER 1997; BROOKE 2011 and

the various artworks by the Montagna held in sixteenth century patrician collections across the Veneto allows for a reappraisal of perceived distinctions between *disegni quadretti* and *disegni stampati* and a consideration of the manner in which humanist collections offered both patrons and artists a means to shape their social status. Some further observations on the emergence of an appreciation for the graphic arts as collectable *objects d'art* are made in the conclusion.

In sum, this thesis investigates the means by which the Montagna workshop carried out its business activities within the Vicentine milieu through the prism of *disegno*. It aims to underline the importance of the graphic arts to the interactions that took place between artisans in the workshop. Notions of itinerancy will be applied in order to appraise the importance of ‘foreign’ influxes to the visual culture of Vicenza. More broadly, it hopes to foster a reconsideration of established perspectives of the hegemonical status of Venice within discourse on the graphic arts of the Veneto.

on the collecting of works on paper by WINDOWS 2012; WINDOWS 2014; KARET 2014; KARET 1998; BURY 1986; WARWICK 2003; WHISTLER 2016, pp.185–221.

Chapter One: Bartolomeo Montagna's Formation as a Craftsman

Six of the 40 drawings variously attributed to Bartolomeo Montagna in extant literature depict Saint Sebastian. They display great diversity in terms of medium and style. In one drawing, for instance, the saint is rendered on blue paper in a combination of black wash and extensive white heightening over a black chalk underdrawing, while in another, Sebastian is drawn with coloured wash on a parchment support (figs.1.1; 1.2).⁵⁶ This variety underscores the need for a careful analysis of Bartolomeo's identity as a craftsman. For while drawings might have been attributed to Bartolomeo on formal analogies with his surviving paintings, this approach does not sufficiently address where and how he developed his graphic idiom. This chapter will address this question by closely studying the techniques and media of Bartolomeo's surviving drawings, prior to placing them in relation to the graphic output of peers active across the Veneto with whom he might have been acquainted.

Between Bellini and Mantegna.

In the few words Giorgio Vasari dedicated to Vicentine painters in his *Le Vite de più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, he remarked that Bartolomeo Montagna flourished in the time of Mantegna and learned to draw from him.⁵⁷ Vasari might not be known for the veracity of his anecdotal details and the claim may have been justifiably dismissed by Tancred Borenius back in 1909, but the remark nonetheless remains significant.⁵⁸ Firstly, it is the only sixteenth-century comment on Bartolomeo's artistic origins. Second, and more importantly, Bartolomeo is generally

⁵⁶ For the attributions retained to Bartolomeo and his workshop, see App.I Nos.4, 18 & 27. Rejected attributions as follows: Fitzwilliam, inv.3059, (fig.1.3); GDSU, inv.1466E, more recently associated with Cima's circle by FLORENCE 2001, No.23, pp.154–55; Galleria Estense, inv.793.

⁵⁷ VASARI-BARROCCHI 1966–87, VI, p.195, ‘Ha dunue avuto in Vicenza in diversi tempi ancor essa scultori, pittori et architetti... massimamente di quei che fiorirono al tempore del Mantegna e che da lui imparono a disegnare: come furono Bartolomeo Montagna...’ he also described Francesco Veruzio (sic.Verla) and Giovanni Speranza in these terms. Other references to Bartolomeo include in the ‘Vita di Vittore Scarpaccia et altri pittori viniziani e lombardi’, III, pp.617–18 where ‘Bartolomeo Montagna da Vicenza’ is listed among other artists roughly contemporary with Carpaccio, p.625, ‘...Dopo costoro fu ragionevole pittore Bartolomeo Montagna vicentino che abitò semprre in Vinezia e vi fece molte pitture [...]. After these, there was the reasonable painter, Bartolomeo Montagna ‘vicentino’, who always lived in Venice....]

⁵⁸ Discussion in BORENIUS 1909, pp.28–29; see also remarks in LUCCO 2014, p.28.

believed to have spent some time in the workshop of Mantegna's brother-in-law, Giovanni Bellini. This latter opinion is founded on visual and documentary factors.⁵⁹ A notarial deed drawn up on 30 January 1469 on the division of Bartolomeo's father's estate recording that Bartolomeo was '*in civitate Venetiarium*' [resident in Venice] combined with his subsequent description as '*pictor*' in 1474 has been interpreted as evidence that Bartolomeo completed an apprenticeship under Bellini while in Venice.⁶⁰ Consistencies in the composition and style of Bartolomeo's and Bellini's paintings – in particular his early *Madonne* – and his use of so-called 'Venetian blue paper' as a drawing support have been taken to confirm this connection.⁶¹ To what extent are historical and contemporary opinions on Bartolomeo's artistic formation affected by the dynamics between the two major artists? The following section will propose that *both* artists had an impact on had on Bartolomeo's formation as a draftsman, and therefore that Vasari's claim was not wholly unfounded.

Some general remarks on Mantegna and Bellini's drawings are therefore important.⁶² In the 2018 exhibition 'Mantegna & Bellini', Sarah Vowles asserted that the young Mantegna and Bellini sought different aesthetic effects from a comparable graphic technique.⁶³ This observation simultaneously underscores the obstacles that have long impeded clear distinction between the two artists' drawing styles.⁶⁴ Attribution of numerous drawings have oscillated between them, of which prime examples are those depicting episodes from the Passion of Christ discussed below. One contributory factor is that surviving drawings associable with them often cannot be related with absolute certainty to a specific commission fulfilled by either artist; another is that their respective handling of pen and ink developed subtly and consistently across their careers. Nonetheless, Mantegna's status as the elder and independent artist has often contributed to the opinion that the two artists' prolonged

⁵⁹ See overview in LUCCO 2014, pp.27–28.

⁶⁰ BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.21 & 22, pp.106–8; GALASSI 2001, p.103; PUPPI 1962, p.31; GILBERT 1967, p.185.

⁶¹ See for instance, GALASSI 2001 for remarks on parallels between Bartolomeo's *Madonne* and the visual formulae deployed by Bellini. On Bellini's *Madonne* and workshop variants see for instance, GIBBONS 1965; TIETZE-CONRAT 1948; TEMPESTINI 2004, pp.259–61.

⁶² For more extensive discussion, see essays by Vowles & Korbacher in LONDON & BERLIN 2018–19; reviewed in CHRISTIANSEN 2018; GOLDNER 2019; see also GOLDNER 2004, esp. pp.226–29.

⁶³ See Sarah Vowles' remarks in 'Standing Saints: The Young Mantegna and Bellini as Draftsmen', in LONDON & BERLIN 2018–19 for a comparison of the two artists' approaches to pen and ink drawing through the prism of their saint studies, and p.133 for this reasoned conclusion.

⁶⁴ The literature on this topic is as vast as it is complex. For overviews see principally VOWLES & KORBACHER 2018, pp.69–78; VILLA 2008, pp.73–8; GOLDNER 2019; GOLDNER 2004, pp.226–31.

flow of ideas was one-directional, with Bellini first studying paintings and drawings by Mantegna he encountered when in Padua in the late 1450s.⁶⁵ Studies such as the Morgan *Three Standing Saints* show that Mantegna was quick to exploit the linearity of pen to strongly model figures through parallel shading and stiff drapery (c.1455–65; fig.1.4).⁶⁶ His technique in subsequent decades developed into a more disciplined system of carefully placed lines as demonstrated in the *Man Lying on a Stone Slab* (fig.1.5).⁶⁷ Even if access to Mantegna's graphic output and the work of Jacopo Bellini were formative to Giovanni Bellini, the younger artist arguably developed a distinct drawing style with an energetic confidence and fluidity in part achieved through methods of shading.⁶⁸ Attribution of drawings to Bellini may remain contentious, but two generally accepted works executed principally in pen and ink, the *Nativity* of c.1480 and Louvre *Lamentation* of c.1490 are common for their reliance on internal systems of loose parallel hatching to create form (fig.1.6).⁶⁹ Drawings associable with Bellini which deploy wash like the British Museum *Pietà-Studies of Five Putti* suggest that Bellini used the medium to effect a tonality apparently never sought by Mantegna (c.1465; fig.1.7).⁷⁰

How do these considerations relate to Bartolomeo's draftsmanship? A key point of reference is the *Saint Sebastian* in Turin since the inscription ‘*dmo. Btolomio Montagna*’ on the *verso* securely ties it to his milieu (figs.1.8; 1.11).⁷¹ The abbreviated expression of the Latin dative ‘*dominus*’ [master] led Creighton Gilbert to speculate that the sheet was sent to Bartolomeo from Giovanni Bellini and that the drawing was hence by Bellini.⁷² Though this would add an intriguing dimension to the artistic relations between the two artists, comparison with Bellini's only known autograph letter negates this proposal as the script is not the same.⁷³ Moreover, though the loan of drawings among artists was a practice extant in the Veneto by the 1470s, the actual dispatch of a drawing between colleagues operating in diverse cities is

⁶⁵ As considered in Korbacher in LONDON & BERLIN 2018–19, pp.109–13.

⁶⁶ The Morgan, inv.1985.100, EITEL-PORTER & MARCIARI 2019, Cat.9.

⁶⁷ BM, inv.1860,0616.73; LONDON 2010, Cat.21.

⁶⁸ GOLDNER 2004, pp.238–45.

⁶⁹ Courtauld, inv.D.1978.PG.79, Chapman in LONDON 2010, p.18; Louvre, RF436, PARIS 2008, Cat.47.

⁷⁰ BM, inv.1895,0915.791; Mazzotta in PARIS 2008, Cat.46.

⁷¹ App.I, No.18

⁷² GILBERT 1967, p.185.

⁷³ For instance, Bellini never formed his ‘B’ with a diagonal bisector. Sent 2 July 1504, transcribed and reproduced in FLETCHER 1971, p.710 & Fig.15.

unlikely.⁷⁴ Comparisons are also worth making with Bartolomeo's own hand. One example is his acknowledgment of payment in 1506 for the fresco scheme of the Veronese confraternity of San Biagio, and this reveals that the hand on the Turin sheet is not his (fig.1.9).⁷⁵ Instead, the regular cursive script, finds strongest comparison with the hand of Vicentine notaries used by Bartolomeo Montagna, such as that of Francesco Scolari (fig.1.10).⁷⁶ Combined with consistencies in the fine chain-lined paper used for the Turin drawing lines and surviving notarial folios, one feasible possibility is that the Turin sheet was a document from a notary addressed to Bartolomeo and the paper was subsequently repurposed.⁷⁷ Contact between Scolari and Bartolomeo in 28 February 1481 would, for instance, correspondingly provide an approximate *terminus ante quem* for the Turin *Sebastian* on account of the exchange of documents with the notary.⁷⁸ Inconclusive though these observations are, the style, technique and appearance of the drawing suggests it should be dated to the early 1480s.⁷⁹

By this point, Bartolomeo was an established artist of around thirty years of age, and as such the Turin drawing is not strictly reflective of his juvenile *maniera*. Nonetheless, the fact that it can be attributed to him with relative certainty, combined with its rapidly drawn appearance, means the sheet gives an insight into Bartolomeo's fundamental handling of media and form. He first marked the outlines of Sebastian in black chalk and then in pen, prior to modelling form through the addition of wash

⁷⁴ As in the loan of drawings in owned by Squarcione to Marinello da Spalato in 1474. Bellini and Mantegna exchanged drawings

⁷⁵ ASVr, *Corp. Religiose, Santi Nazaro e Celso*, b.14, reg.36: 'libro de entra e spexa de la compagnia', c.120v–21r. Another example is the inscription on the *verso* of the *Virgin and Child with saints Sebastian and Roch* in September 1487 LUCCO 2014, Cat.41 and illustrated in DE ZUANI 2014, fig.40.

⁷⁶ Francesco Scolari's status as the Montagna's 'family' notary developed across a span of around 25 years during which time he drew up acts concerning the sale of properties, procuratorial deeds and painting commissions. His notarial *atti* and *minute* are preserved in ASVi, *Notarile, Francesco Scolari*, b.177 & 178 although the latter is not consultable due to its deteriorated condition. The majority of documents relating to the Montagna and artistic activity in Vicenza are transcribed, some partially, in ZORZI 1916, and also in BARAUSSE 2014. His interactions with the family and the relevance of his paper sources further addressed in Chapter 3 & 4.

⁷⁷ Another possibility is that the drawing was acquired by a notary who subsequently wrote Bartolomeo's name on it in an instance of collecting drawings further addressed elsewhere. This would not explain the dative address.

⁷⁸ BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.39.

⁷⁹ A dating to the early 1480s would accord with the painting that relates favourably to the figure on the sheet's recto within Bartolomeo's oeuvre; the *Saint Sebastian* last seen in 1976 when exhibited by the Galleria dell'Angelo of Lugano at the Antiques Fair at Basel and convincingly dated to 1480 to 1485 in LUCCO 2014, Cat.30. E. Though there are notable differences in the positioning of Sebastian's bound arms, his upward gaze and the form of the tree to which he is bound is sufficiently similar to propose that the drawing was executed around the same time, even if not preparatory to the painting.

with the brush and selective white heightening, resulting in a striking combination of subtle shading with rigid outlines. What is notable about the figure is its distorted anatomy as in the strangely exaggerated abdominal and oblique muscles. These latter muscles lead down to a small loincloth that extends around heavily muscled legs while Sebastian's extremities are best described as spiky due to their abbreviated depiction with deft pen strokes. This self-assured handling of line and form continues onto the sheet's verso in which a male figure seen from behind is situated at the lower right corner (fig.1.11). Only pen was used to execute this study in which the outlines are again strongly defined. Shading was achieved through short parallel strokes predominantly orientated to the upper right. The overall effect is of a drawing done at speed and it is therefore noteworthy that the figure must have originally formed part of a larger composition that was cut down, presumably due to damage.⁸⁰

Comparison of the Turin *Sebastian* with select drawings by both Mantegna and Bellini reveals several significant parallels in their graphic idioms. A point of departure is Bellini's *Saint Sebastian* of circa 1462–4 in part due to its subject matter (fig.1.12).⁸¹ Similarities in the general form of Sebastian's legs and lower abdomen might suggest that Bartolomeo knew of Bellini's drawing or indeed the altarpiece produced for Santa Maria della Carità with which the drawing has been linked.⁸² While the application of wash and white heightening in short vertical strokes to model form is also comparable, Bartolomeo effected a stronger contrast of light and shade which is more reminiscent of Mantegna. This distinction brings into context George Goldner's remark that Bellini's drawing reflects the dual impact of Mantegna and Jacopo Bellini, which he respectively saw in the subtle tonality and the figure's overall character.⁸³ An obvious reference for the latter is Mantegna's *Saint Sebastian* (fig.1.13).⁸⁴ Executed circa 1460, this painting was certainly preceded by preparatory studies which Bellini may have known. Some idea of their appearance is arguably

⁸⁰ The left of the recto and right of the verso are both repaired at the lower portion indicating that the rest of the sheet was damaged. What the scene on the verso depicted is difficult to establish, but the dispersal of the figure's weight implies it was holding something or making a forward motion perhaps suggesting an entombment or deposition.

⁸¹ BM, inv.1895,0915.800; TIETZES 1944, No.308.

⁸² For this altarpiece and the further three related altarpiece commissions see MOSCHINI MARCONI & NEPI SCIRÈ 2000; On Giovanni's involvement on the Santa Carità altarpiece, see also ROBERTSON 1960, pp.50–51.

⁸³ GOLDNER 2004, p.236

⁸⁴ On the Vienna *Sebastian* see PARIS 2008, Cat.71 with further literature.

found in Mantegna's rapidly executed studies of *Christ at the Column* dateable to the early 1460s (fig.1.14).⁸⁵ Deft pen strokes and sparing parallel hatching were used to construct expressive '*primi pensieri*' for a composition subsequently developed into an engraving of the Flagellation. Bellini may have consciously assimilated these factors in the British Museum *Sebastian* given that it dates to a period when Bellini was in closest contact with his brother-in-law. It is therefore noteworthy that Mantegna's drawings and the Vienna *Saint Sebastian* also recall the *recto* and *verso* of Bartolomeo's Turin sheet. This is not only in the positioning of the legs of two Sebastians, which is too close to be coincidental, but also in the exaggerated muscularity of the figures. There is also a kinship in the approach to line in details including the forceful outlines, parallel hatching and anatomical shorthand. If Bellini's drawing of *Sebastian* can be termed Mantegnesque in any respect, then the undeniably closer relationship of the Turin drawing to Mantegna's output inserts Bartolomeo's draftsmanship into a dynamic between the two artists.

This interplay becomes more pronounced when one considers renditions of the Passion variously, if sometimes contentiously, attributed to Mantegna and Bellini.⁸⁶ These can all be described as compositional sketches and are united by their scale and use of pen and ink. Subtle differences in the drawings' techniques of formal modelling are most clearly expressed by the three studies of the Pietà: one in Venice given to Mantegna, and two ascribed to Bellini now in Rennes and London (figs1.15; 1.16; 1.7).⁸⁷ In the London *Pietà*, wash is so freely applied that it overshadows the loose pen lines used to construct the figures, achieving a softness that is distinct to Bartolomeo's restrained modelling in grey wash in the Turin *Sebastian*. Further differences between these various drawings are observable in the use of line. The fluid pen strokes that model form in the Rennes *Pietà* contrast with the wiry pen lines and taut system of parallel hatching deployed by Mantegna in his Venice *Pietà*. This overall technique and decisive line handling carries through into related studies of the the recto-verso *Lamentation-Pietà* in Milan and *Entombment* in Brescia that are quite

⁸⁵ Courtauld, D.1978.PG.345; Ekserdjian in LONDON & NEW YORK1992–93, Cat.35; Mazzotta in PARIS 2008, Cat.42.

⁸⁶ For overviews see VOWLES & KORBACHER 2018, pp.83–84; WEICK-JOCH 2018; further discussion in GOLDNER 2019 PP.240–41.

⁸⁷ See respectively Gallerie dell'Accademia, inv.115, PARIS 2008, Cat.44; Rennes, Musée des Beaux Arts, inv.794.1.2503, PARIS 2008, Cat.45; the BM *Pietà* cited above at fn.15.

securely by Mantegna (figs.1.17; 1.18).⁸⁸ Such fundamental traits arguably compare favourably with Bartolomeo's Turin *Male from Behind*. Of further note is the replication of Mantegna's abbreviated depictions of faces and the spiky rendering of hands in this drawing and the *Sebastian* on the sheet's *recto*.⁸⁹

The emergent perspective from this close analysis of the Turin sheet is that Bartolomeo handled line and form in a manner more comparable to that of Mantegna than Bellini. A wholly satisfactory analysis is admittedly prohibited by the lack of other similar pen sketches securely attributable to Bartolomeo, and by the fact that attribution of drawings to Bellini remains a contentious subject.⁹⁰ Nonetheless, elements of other drawings in Bartolomeo's corpus discussed later in this thesis support this point of view. One example is the *Martyrdom of San Biagio* (fig.2.77), in which details rendered in pen, such as the knight's hand and some of the attendant figures have a sharp, schematic quality consistent with the technique of the Turin sheet. Also relevant is the Louvre *Resurrected Christ* that served as a print *modello* as the rigid drapery of Christ's robe, regular parallel shading and return stroke all find their precedent in drawings by Mantegna (fig.5.3).⁹¹ In order to further understand how Bartolomeo would have been exposed to the work of these two artists, the following sections will consider Bartolomeo's artistic training within the context of contemporary developments in the Veneto.

Drawing on the Terraferma.

As the evidence surveyed above places Bartolomeo's draftsmanship in closer relation to Mantegna than Bellini, it is logical to commence with a consideration of drawing practices in Padua; the mainland city where Mantegna completed his artistic

⁸⁸ For these drawings see MARINI 2015. A third drawing of the *Dead Christ* and *Three Seated Women* has been placed in relation to these, but may instead be by Bellini, see GOLDNER 2019, pp.240–41.

⁸⁹ Mantegna's 'spiky' hands described in MARINI 2015, p.157; Ekserdjian in LONDON 1992, Cat.26.

⁹⁰ Proposed additions to Bartolomeo's graphic corpus such as the *Risen Christ flanked by two disciples* and the *Saint Jerome in a Landscape* have been long dismissed, for which see respectively British Museum, T.12.8, BORENIUS 1909, p.107; Met Museum, Lehman Collection, 1975.1.275; FORLANI TEMPEsti 1991, Cat.19, pp.58–60.

⁹¹ On the use of the zig-zag or 'return' stroke in engraving see Chapter 3, pp.117–18 and Chapter 5, p.152.

apprenticeship.⁹² More specifically, discussion will focus on the workshop of Francesco Squarcione. Squarcione was undeniably a substandard artist, and Mantegna quickly asserted his independence from his infamously controlling master. But Squarcione's importance resides on the emphasis he placed on drawing as a means of teaching those in his '*pictorum gymnasiarcha singularis*'.⁹³ Attendees were permitted to copy his renowned collection of drawings, casts, reliefs, paintings and prints, with Squarcione promising to correct their attempts.⁹⁴ According to Bernardino Scardeone, whose source was in turn Scquarcione's now lost autobiography, some '*cento & triginta septe discipulos*' [137 disciples] passed through the '*studium*', correspondingly situating Padua as a key locus from which an approach to drawing was disseminated.⁹⁵

If Mantegna was indebted to his master, then it follows that certain qualities of his early drawings, like the aforementioned *Saint James* of circa 1453 (fig.1.19) and Getty *Four Saints* made in preparation for the San Zeno altarpiece completed in 1459, reflect the graphic techniques taught by Squarcione.⁹⁶ This can be observed in the two drawings in the use of parallel strokes to model form and indicate shade. Further consistencies can be noted in the graphic shorthand that deftly rendered figures. The *Saint James* shows forms reduced to systematic limbs that lack correct proportion: some heads are simply circles with features noted through deft marks while hands could again be described as 'spiky'. The *Four Saints* displays a similar abbreviation in, for instance, the depiction of hair with short curved strokes. Greater attention was paid to the drapery of the four figures, Mantegna first marked the folds before shading with series of parallel strokes often of varying lengths and at bisecting angles, combined with denser areas of shading. These pen techniques, combined with the forceful marking of outlines give the drawings a hard, sculptural appearance in part

⁹² For a recent overview, and for a discussion of the impact of Donatello on Mantegna's artistic style, see ROWLEY 2018.

⁹³ See various essays in DE NICOLÒ SALMAZO 1999.

⁹⁴ LAZZARINI 1908, Doc.LXI, 2 January 1474 for the lawsuit filed by Francesco Squarcione's widow and son against 'pittore Marinello da Spalato' regarding the return of several drawings and an impression of Pollaiuolo's *Battle of the Nudes*.

⁹⁵ SCARDEONE 1560–1976, p.371; discussed in COLLARETA 1999.

⁹⁶ Mantegna's draftsmanship was also shaped by his engagement with Donatello, which here affected the scenes' monumentality among other factors, for comment see GOLDNER 2019, pp.237–38. For a full discussion of the *Saint James* see Ekserdjian in London 1992, Cat.11, pp.135–36 with further literature; for the *Four Saints* see GOLDNER ET AL 1988, Cat.22.

informed by the legacy of Donatello's presence in the city.⁹⁷ By extension, the two drawings might be said to reflect the essential traits of Paduan draftsmanship, which is noteworthy for understanding Bartolomeo's draftsmanship given the preceding comments on the parallels between Mantegna and Bartolomeo's graphic idioms.

Several further drawings that can be linked to Squarcione's 'studio' or by artists who emerged from it display affinities with Bartolomeo's pen and ink drawings. Most notable are those by Marco Zoppo who was apprenticed to Squarcione between 1453 and 1455 and whose drawings survive in a sufficient amount to satisfactorily gauge his graphic idiom and technical approach.⁹⁸ A key example is the British Museum parchment drawing which depicts *The Dead Christ* on the recto and *Saint James on his way to execution* on the verso, and which has been described as a 'summation of Zoppo's Paduan experience' (fig.1.20).⁹⁹ The verso uses pen with a handling that echoes that of Mantegna and recurs in Bartolomeo's *Man from Behind*: forms are constructed through regular parallel shading predominantly to the upper left with sharply defined contours. The recto of the *Dead Christ* is also of note for its extensive use of wash applied with the brush, which – as explored in Chapter Two – was apparently popular among the artists of Squarcione's circle. The tonal effect Zoppo achieved in the *Dead Christ*, especially in Christ's face, arguably bears some similarities with the manner in which Bartolomeo modelled the upturned face of the Turin *Sebastian*. The same can be said of the subtle use of pen and ink with wash in Zoppo's *Studies of the Virgin and Child* with the outcome of strengthening connections between Bartolomeo's pen and ink drawings and Paduan draftsmanship (fig.1.21).¹⁰⁰

The reputation of Squarcione's *studium*, and perhaps more precisely the objects it housed, was such that individuals from across and beyond the Italian peninsula attended it. Names that appear on related documents include Marco Ruggeri detto 'Zoppo' da Bologna, Matteo del Pozzo da Venezia, Dario da Treviso, Giorgione Schiavone 'dalla Dalmaziona', Giorgio da Treviso and Antonmaria da Ferrara, better

⁹⁷ On Donatello's artistic legacy in Padua, see principally MOTTURE 2006.

⁹⁸ For Zoppo see LONDON 1998; ARMSTRONG 1976.

⁹⁹ LONDON 1998, Cat.8, pp.51–54, p.53 for this remark.

¹⁰⁰ ARMSTRONG 1978, D9–12.

known as Cosme Tura.¹⁰¹ Vicentines not unsurprisingly travelled the short distance across the *terra ferma* to Padua as in the case of a certain ‘M.Guzon da Vicenza who joined the Paduan *Fraglia dei Pittori* as a master in 1456, while ‘Squarcionseschi’ like Giorgio da Treviso subsequently operated in Vicenza.¹⁰² Early evidence for this bi-directional mobility is found in the agreement dating to May 1431 in which Michele di Bartolomeo ‘*barberij de Vicentia*’ was officially granted permission to study the drawings collection.¹⁰³ It stands to reason that this Michele was not the first nor last Vicentine to visit Squarcione’s *studium*. As a matter of fact, Lazzarini included a ‘Giovan Francesco da Vicenza’ in his diligently researched list of Squarcione’s ‘*alievi*’, even though the source for this specific reference is regrettably untraceable.¹⁰⁴ This shortcoming aside, its importance resides in the fact that a ‘Zanfrancisco a Somaio’ – better known as Gianfrancesco Sommaio – active in Vicenza in the middle decades of the *quattrocento* could feasibly be the same artist. Sommaio significantly entered into a contract with Bartolomeo for a polyptych commissioned by the Vicentine canon on 29 October 1476.¹⁰⁵ Bartolomeo’s status as a witness at the dictation of Somaio’s will on 24 July 1477 suggests close contact between the two artists, perhaps by this point in a capacity as workshop collaborators.¹⁰⁶ Such records attest to an artistic interchange between Padua and Vicenza tied to the movement of artists across the Veneto and Bartolomeo’s early career should be understood within this same context.¹⁰⁷

It is tantalising to consider that Bartolomeo could be among those artists who practised drawing under Squarcione’s guidance. If the currently accepted birthdate of circa 1450 is correct, then Bartolomeo was eighteen when Squarcione died in 1468. Considering that *garzoni* in Padua entered painters’ workshops from as young as twelve this would have presented sufficient time for some interaction between the

¹⁰¹ See LAZZARINI 1908, pp.44–45.

¹⁰² Statutes transcribed in ODORICI 1874, p.123. For further discussion on Paduans in Vicenza, see LUCCO 2014, pp.21–23, fn.4 with further literature; PUPPI 1964; RIGONI 1999.

¹⁰³ LAZZARINI 1908, Doc.17, p.132; LONDON 1998, p.30.

¹⁰⁴ LAZZARINI 1908, p.44.

¹⁰⁵ Sommaio remains an artist on which documents are sparse. The few extant records do, however, suggest that he enjoyed relative success. On his involvement with Taddeo Ascoli in 1453, see O’MALLEY 2005, p.6; for the collaboration with Bartolomeo see BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.27.

¹⁰⁶ BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.25.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter 4 for consideration of this cross-regional mobility in relation to contemporary print production.

two.¹⁰⁸ Bartolomeo's contact with the Paduan artist would have possibly been in the capacity of a 'pupil' situated in the *studium* for a relatively short period. Evidence that such arrangements were still being made in Squarcione's final years is provided by documents relating to Maestro Agnolo di Maestro Silvestro and Francesco di Maestro Uggccione among others drawn up between 1465 and 1467.¹⁰⁹ These two reflect how Squarcione had formalised a curriculum that could be taught – at least in theory – in a matter of months. The documents collectively show that disposable income was required for the privilege: some two gold ducats per month by the 1460s.¹¹⁰ While painters found the funds to enrol their sons, the associated costs argue for the attendance of individuals from the upper classes of society.¹¹¹ As successful wool-dealers in Vicenza, Bartolomeo's family certainly had the financial resources to enrol their fourth-born son in this Paduan 'Academy', especially given that his older siblings were all operating in the family's wool business. The proximity of Padua to Vicenza makes it reasonable to consider the possibility that Bartolomeo attended the *studium* in the mid-1460s.

No documents to support this proposal have been found; a lacuna balanced by the fact that only a handful of contracts survive for Squarcione's alleged 137 pupils. Considering what graphic practices were learnt in the *studium* provides another means of addressing the question. Squarcione's description of the training Francesco di Uggccione would receive included drawing figures of correct anatomy, depicting facial features, mastery of perspective and the use of '*bhiaca*' [white lead pigment]. From this description, it appears that the appearance and media of the drawings a pupil produced during his time with Squarcione was varied. As discussed above, the pen handling technique that Mantegna and Zoppo employed recurs in various drawings by Bartolomeo. A similarly economical yet assertive approach to line characterises a pen and wash study of the *Virgin Annunciate* attributed to Lazzaro Bastiani, which is significant given the likelihood that Bastiani completed his artistic training in his hometown of Padua (fig.1.22).¹¹² It is presumable that other types of drawing of which few examples now survive were similarly consistent in appearance

¹⁰⁸ MONCADA 1988, p.110.

¹⁰⁹ LAZZARINI 1908, Doc.58, pp.166–67.

¹¹⁰ IBID.

¹¹¹ Similarly implied in CHAMBERS ET AL. 1992, p.9. On a comparable phenomenon concerning Venetian *garzoni* of '*depentori*' see SAPIENZA 2018, esp. pp.216–19 and comments below.

¹¹² The Getty, inv.91.GG.35; TURNER ET AL. 1997, Cat. 4.

among Squarcione's pupils. Take, for instance, the various sheets of figural studies on prepared paper generally described as 'School of Squarcione' now dispersed across various collections including the Munich Graphische Sammlung, National Gallery of Art, The Morgan and a private collection (figs.1.23; 1.24; 1.25; 1.26).¹¹³ These reveal a consistent outlining of forms in ink with linear drapery, an abbreviated notation of facial features and an extensive use of white heightening. Consistent characteristics in terms of media and line handling can by extension be taken as defining graphic traits of the Squarcione's *studium* and, as addressed further below, notably recur in drawings produced within the Montagna workshop.

Similarities between drawings from the Paduan School and Bartolomeo's graphic can also be observed in the deployment of certain visual devices. The rocky ledge of the 'School of Squarcione' sheet at Washington is a recurrent feature across Mantegna and Zoppo's work, and in turn that of Bartolomeo, as in the Turin sheet, *Martyrdom of San Biagio* and the fresco of the *Pietà* discussed in Chapter Six (fig 6.19).¹¹⁴ Some more specific details recur across work by artists active in the Veneto, and the output of the Montagna workshop: a case in point are the two nude warriors at the right of the 'Squarcione sheet' now in The Morgan that was cited above. Echoes of the figure to the left are found in a *Madonna and Child* by a contemporary Venetic artist, and – in the positioning of the arm and the crossed legs – Bartolomeo's *Nude Man Leaning on a Pedestal*, while the other recalls Benedetto's *Man with Arrow* in the forward motion and positioning of the spear.¹¹⁵ If The Morgan sheet is recognised as a pastiche of details derived from the antique reliefs present in Squarcione's collection by a student at the *studium* then it also may be that Bartolomeo made studies of the same objects.

Various other examples, though based on paintings, further suggest common visual sources. One is the pose, anatomy and character of Marco Zoppo's *Saint*

¹¹³ Respectively Graphische Sammlung München, inv.1973:10, PADUA 2006, Cat.56; NGA, inv.2011.42.4, VENICE 2014–15, Cat.4; The Morgan, inv.1958.21; PADUA 2006, Cat.57. These comprised part of a group of twelve drawings formerly in the possession of John Skippe and which were acquired in Padua or Venice in 1773, potentially from the Sagredo collection, see Lilian Armstrong in WASHINGTON 1995, Cat.7.

¹¹⁴ The *Pietà* painted in 1500 for the Santuario di Monte Berico, LUCCO 2014, Cat.60.

¹¹⁵ For these works, see respectively Dario da Treviso, *Saint Christopher*, inv.5.d; Veneto School, from early 1500s, *Madonna and Child*, inv.25.d, both Venice, Palazzo Ca' d'Oro; App.I. No.25; App.II, No.35.

Sebastian in a Rocky Landscape in relation to the Turin *Saint Sebastian* (c.1475–78; fig.1.27).¹¹⁶ Another is the echo of Mantegna’s pose of the sleeping Joseph with arm propped in a forked branch as in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in Bartolomeo’s depiction of Noah in his *Drunkenness of Noah* (figs.1.28; 1.29).¹¹⁷ Third is the recurrence of the crossed ankle position of Saint Jerome in renditions of Jerome in the Wilderness by Mantegna and subsequently Bartolomeo (figs 1.30; 5.41).¹¹⁸ Neither of Mantegna’s paintings were on public display; they were instead commissioned by refined individuals for their *studioli*. Both are dateable to the 1450s, and hence while Mantegna was still a member of Squarcione’s workshop. Bartolomeo’s variants on the figures consequently suggest a direct knowledge of either the completed paintings, drawings after them, or knowledge of the now-lost prototypes upon which Mantegna based his compositions. These varied visual crosscurrents between works produced within the Paduan milieu and by those Bartolomeo is unlikely to be coincidental. Collectively, they suggest a shared visual and stylistic language between Padua and Vicenza that the theory that Bartolomeo spent some time in the Squarcione workshop would go some way to answer.

While the idea that Bartolomeo spent time in Squarcione’s *studium* is attractive, an alternative scenario is that Bartolomeo was apprenticed to a *maestro* operating in Vicenza. As addressed in the Introduction, the unfortunate absence of any records pertaining to the Vicentine *fraglia dei pittori* makes it impossible to discern what the terms of Bartolomeo’s training would have been or to establish a secure list of candidates. One obvious possibility is Gianfrancesco Somaio on account of his subsequent collaboration with Bartolomeo and presumed status as a former pupil of Squarcione. Another feasible candidate is Francesco Franceschini da Valdagno who was a few years Bartolomeo’s senior and who was operating as a painter in Vicenza in 1477.¹¹⁹ Apprenticeship to one such artist would have primarily equipped Bartolomeo with the skills necessary to enter the painter’s profession; namely how to grind pigments, prepare surfaces and apply paint layers. But the most fundamental lessons would have been in graphic practices: how to design a

¹¹⁶ London, The Courtauld Gallery, inv.P.1978.PG.489; ARMSTRONG 1976, Cat.23.

¹¹⁷ Respectively The Met, 31.130.2, PARIS 2008, Cat.50; App.I, No.21.

¹¹⁸ For Mantegna’s *Jerome in the Wilderness*, see PARIS 2008, Cat.7 with further literature; for Bartolomeo’s Brera and Bergamo renderings of the theme see LUCCO 2014, Cats.56 & 78.

¹¹⁹ Proposed in PUPPI 1962, p.31. For the *estimi* of 1477 see BARAUSSE 2014, Docs.28–30, Doc.28 for Francesco.

composition, correctly render human form and construct space. The lack of any drawings or paintings by these artists makes it impossible to suggest what Bartolomeo might have learnt from a fellow Vicentine. In the case of Somaio, however, the possibility that he studied under Squarcione would suggest that his graphic practices were consistent with those of other alumni of the *studium*. By extension, therefore, these considerations underscore the importance of contact with Padua to the emergence of a Vicentine approach to drawing and to Bartolomeo's formation as a draftsman.

The Lessons of Venice?

Early training in the artistic milieu of the *terraferma* does not necessarily negate the possibility that Bartolomeo was also in contact with Giovanni Bellini during his formative years. Young artists could be affiliated with multiple workshops before they established a business of their own. For example, both Marco Zoppo and Dario da Treviso were apprenticed to master painters in other cities before entering into contracts with Squarcione.¹²⁰ Similar arrangements were made in Florence: Pollaiuolo likely studied with Lorenzo Ghiberti before affiliating with Milano Dei, and it has been suggested that Ghirlandaio moved his tutelage from Alessio Baldinovetti to Filippo Lippi.¹²¹ Legal requirements of the Venetian *Arte de Depentori*, however, stipulate that transfer between workshops in the city could not be made prior to the completion of an apprenticeship.¹²² Bartolomeo's description as 'pictore' in 1474 confirms he had completed this step, but the duration varied between three and six years dependent on where completed. Padua – and potentially other cities on the *terraferma* including Vicenza – permitted shorter training than in Venice.¹²³ Non-salaried arrangements for Venetian apprenticeships meant *garzoni* were frequently from relatively well-off social classes and apprentices enrolled with a

¹²⁰ LONDON 1998, pp.11, 27–31. On Dario da Treviso's contractual entry to Squarcione's workshop, he is already described as 'pictor', see BALDISSIN MOLLI 1986.

¹²¹ WRIGHT 2005, pp.32ff; AMES-LEWIS 1981, p.60.

¹²² SAPIENZA 2018, pp.213–14; MONCADA 1988, pp.109–10 observes this range.

¹²³ MONCADA 1988, p.110. Conversely, SAPIENZA 2018, pp.213–18 notes that it was not until 1511 that the minimum duration of Venetian apprenticeships was fixed at 6 years and that *statuti* were not absolute, see also Table 5: 'Distribuzione della durata del contratto di apprendistato per i pittori', Sapienza's research is part of a larger project known as *GAWS. Garzoni Apprenticeship, Work and Society*. See also HOCHMANN 2017.

master primarily for educational purposes in a manner consistent with those offered by the Squarcione workshop.¹²⁴

In sum, therefore, guild regulatory systems make it unlikely that Bartolomeo transferred an apprenticeship from a workshop on the *terraferma* to that of the Bellini. Any affiliation he had with the Venetian *maestro* would instead have been in a short-term capacity as an assistant or journey-man following matriculation as a ‘*pictore*’ on the mainland.¹²⁵ Such relocations – both temporary and permanent – were not uncommon, and some such artists subsequently established their own workshops in the city. Examples include Giovanni Battista Cima – who came from Conegliano – and Bartolomeo Veneto – who was actually Cremonese.¹²⁶ Employment as an assistant and not a *garzone* granted young artists the opportunity to refine their skills and learn new ones in the region’s most prosperous workshops, even if this earned them the designation of ‘*forestieri*’ [foreigners] and correspondingly lower wages.¹²⁷ Such arrangements, however, also come with the assumption that these migrant workers had already established artistic practices prior to their arrival in the city. This means they would not only have been equipped with the necessary skills to prepare materials and apply paint to a surface, but would have developed an approach to drawing. That is therefore to say that artists arriving from the *terraferma* would have held a preference for the graphic materials they had been taught to draw with and arguably deployed a fundamentally consistent graphic idiom during their time in Venice.

A key point of discussion is therefore Bartolomeo’s sustained use of *carta azzurra* [blue paper] across his career. Also known as *carta di straccio* and *carta turchina*, the support is commonly tied to Venice in the scholarship and Bartolomeo’s use of it has been consequently posited as the by-product of his experiences on the

¹²⁴ SAPIENZA 2018, p.218.

¹²⁵ On ‘foreign’ journeyman working in Venetian workshops see SAPIENZA 2018, pp.204–5; MONCADA 1988, p.110 similarly notes that foreigners’ entry fees to the Fraglia dei pittori were double that of native Venetian so as to discourage them from joining.

¹²⁶ See respectively VILLA 2010, pp.3–4 with an overview of the various perspectives on Cima’s artistic apprenticeship tempered by the admission that the facts are scarce; for Bartolomeo, this is best reflected in his *Virgin and Child* of 1502 (Sold Christies New York, 30 January 2013, PAGNOTTA 2006, No.3) which he inscribed ‘mezo venizian e mezo cremonese’ [half Venetian, half Cremonese] suggesting an origin from Cremona, combined with the surname ‘Veneto’ to reflect his adoptive area of residence.

¹²⁷ SAPIENZA 2018, p.218.

Lagoon. Arguably his earliest drawing in this medium to survive is the *Standing Regal Man* that likely dates to the 1480s (fig.1.31).¹²⁸ The figure is rendered in pen and a blue-grey wash with extensive white heightening over black chalk: a graphic technique that is considered to be quintessentially Venetian.¹²⁹ For instance, Albrecht Dürer's experimentation with this technique following his arrival in Venice in 1506 have been taken to confirm his engagement with the city's visual culture.¹³⁰ The corresponding perspective that has been propagated is that Bartolomeo learnt to use this medium while in Giovanni Bellini's workshop in the 1470s.¹³¹ It is therefore paradoxical that Vittore Carpaccio is often presented as the first to realise the aesthetic potential of *carta azzurra* as a drawing support, as his earliest known examples such as the recto-verso *Studies of a Female Saint* date to around 1491 (fig.1.32).¹³²

These issues are tied up with the fortunes of *carta azzurra* as much in the context of trade as in an artistic one. Its blue colouring was the outcome of its production from cotton and linen rags dyed with indigo pigment which was extracted from plants such as woad and often used to imitate the appearance of more costly pigments such as ultramarine and azurite.¹³³ Indigo pigments were certainly known across the Italian peninsula by the thirteenth century and *carta azzurra* appears to have been first imported from Persia.¹³⁴ That the paper was subsequently produced by papermakers on the *terraferma* is reflected by local paper usage. The *libro* of a Vicentine notary used between 1483 and 1485 composed of *carta azzurra*, for instance, indicates that paper of this colour was in production in Vicenza by this earlier date given that the city's notaries consistently sourced their paper from local

¹²⁸ App.I, No.1; Ashmolean, inv.1934.264; LONDON 1983, Cat D.27. Suggestions as to the intended project of the figure vary. GALASSI 2001, pp.105–6 related to the *Pala di San Bartolomeo*; PARKER 1934 dated to the 1490s and identified as either Christ, Constantine or David for a potential fresco scheme. Recollections of the figure recur in the robe of San Biagio in the *Pala di SS.Nazaro e Celso* of c.1500, and also the frescoes of saints in the Capella di San Biagio LUCCO 2014, Cat.52a; 68.

¹²⁹ See comments in, for instance, WHISTLER 2016, pp.xviii–xxi; Marciari in NEW YORK 2018, p.28.

¹³⁰ On the uptake of blue paper in Venice for compositional studies and for a more problematic perspective that Dürer was the innovator, see LUBER 2005, pp.81–84.

¹³¹ For instance, see David Scrase in LONDON 1983, Cat.D27.

¹³² WHISTLER 2016, pp.109–10.

¹³³ For a more detailed discussion on the pigment, the trade and its usage in Italy, see MARSEILLE 1987, esp. pp.75–77 where notes that Cennino Cennini described how to use indigo to ‘contrafare l’azur d’Allemagne’ in his *Libro dell’Arte*. I am indebted to David Landau for bringing this catalogue to my attention.

¹³⁴ BRUNELLO 1985, p.27. See overview on blue paper’s use in PERKINSON 1997.

manufacturers.¹³⁵ But what led to the adoption of the support for artistic purposes? Cost was arguably one factor: its production from dyed rags that were a by-product of the fabric industry meant that supplies were cheaper to acquire than ‘white’ sheets made from more refined linen rags. Support for this proposal is found in a crude Venetian woodcut of *Saint Nicolas of Myra* dateable to 1470s (fig.1.33).¹³⁶ Though it now survives in a single impression, the high volume production of such printed images suggests that ‘cheap prints’ on blue paper were not uncommon in Venice by the final decades of the fifteenth century.

But cost was not the only motive: aesthetic and practical factors appear to have played a role. Blue paper provided a mid-ground that artists could manipulate. Drawing in a dark medium such as ink or black chalk followed by the marking of shadow with a blue-grey wash and highlights with white heightening produced strong tonal effects. Evidence that this technique was practiced in the Bellini workshop is provided by the *Head of an Old Bearded Man* and *Bust of a Bearded Man with Turban* attributed to Giovanni Bellini even if the fading of the blue paper to a brown-shade obscures their original impact (fig.1.34).¹³⁷ Competently executed, both drawings have been reasonably dated to between 1475 and 1485 on account of their technique and formal qualities vis-à-vis contemporary underdrawings.¹³⁸ No further drawings in this technique can be securely attributed to Giovanni. It is, however, reasonable to propose that the Windsor *Old Man* and Uffizi *Beaded Man* are isolated surviving examples rather than anomalies, and by extension that applying pen, wash and white heightening to blue paper was a working method deployed by the Bellini, their assistants and *garzoni* from the 1470s onwards.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ ASVi, *Not. Nicolò Ascoli*, b.5117, anni 1483–85.

¹³⁶ Now known a unique hand-coloured impression NGA, 1979.63.1, undescribed in SCHREIBER 1926–30.

¹³⁷ Royal Collection, RCIN 912800; POPHAM & WILDE 1949, No.2; GDSU inv.595 E, both discussed in ZGRAJA 2016.

¹³⁸ For these proposals see ZGRAJA 2016, esp.pp. 170–74, further considered below. Conversely for the Windsor drawing, Sarah Vowles, to whom I am grateful for sharing her thoughts in light of its exhibition in LONDON & BERLIN 2018–19, Fig.211 & p.95, retains support for a dating to the 1460 on the basis of the correspondence with the Anthony Abbot in the *Carità Triptych* and the stiffness of the contours relative to comparable works in Bellini’s oeuvre.

¹³⁹ Artists who subsequently appear to have included Bellinian motifs in their independent work include Andrea Previtali and Vittore Bellinaino, who took over the workshop and presumably its drawings.

Though these considerations would support the established perspective that Bartolomeo's use of blue paper was 'Venetian', there are a number of drawings that collectively present an alternative scenario. A key piece is the monumental double-sided drawing on *carta azzurra* now in the Uffizi (fig.1.35).¹⁴⁰ The *recto* features a *Flagellation of Christ* set into an imposing architectural framework, while the *verso* depicts three *all'antica* male nudes potentially derived from a sculptural relief. The sheet is generally considered to be Paduan – attributions variously include Nicolò Pizzolo and a Paduan follower of Donatello.¹⁴¹ Particularly important is the consistent dating to between 1445 and 1460, in other words, prior to any extant drawings in this media originating from Venice. Another relevant consideration is the *Study of a Kneeling Saint*: a drawing attributed to Marco Zoppo (fig.1.36).¹⁴² Its dating to the 1470s again follows the perspective that Zoppo's uptake of blue paper was instigated by his relocation to Venice circa 1465, but the figure's hard form and physiognomy is more consistent with his Paduan period. Similar remarks can be made of a small pen and ink with brown-grey wash sketch on blue paper of the *Virgin and Child* historically attributed to Bellini (fig.1.37).¹⁴³ The anatomical abbreviation of the figures, *sotto in su* perspective and overall appearance is encapsulated by the Tietzes' observation that the drawing is closest to the 'generation influenced by Mantegna's first style'; namely his time in Padua.¹⁴⁴ The rapidly conceived composition is defined by sharp outlines and distorted physiognomy that compare favourably with Bastiani's *Virgin Annunciate*, and thus an attribution to an artist originally connected to the Paduan School – even if not Bastiani himself – is again reasonable.¹⁴⁵ Another relevant example is the *Judas Leading the soldiers to the Garden of Olives* which is a partial copy after the *Agony in the Garden* Andrea Mantegna executed while still in Padua (fig.1.38).¹⁴⁶ What is significant about these *carta azzurra* drawings is their consistent dating to the middle decades of the *quattrocento*. With the exception of

¹⁴⁰ GDSU, inv.6347 F recto & verso; FLORENCE 2001, No.1, pp.73–80 as 'Follower of Donatello: Giovanni Bellini?' PADUA 2006, Cat.45, pp.236–38 entry by Lucia Monaci Moran as 'Paduan follower of Donatello'.

¹⁴¹ See attributions in PARIS 2008, Cat.4, by Giovanni Agosti; REARICK 1999; SYSON 2009, pp.530–31,

¹⁴² BM, 1875,0710.1039; LONDON 1998, Cat.22, pp.75–76, where rightly invokes the promise that Squarcione would teach his pupils to model figures in lead white.

¹⁴³ BM, SL,5227-101; MURARO 1977, p.55 with further literature.

¹⁴⁴ TIETZES 1944, No.313.

¹⁴⁵ Or alternatively Follower of Bastiani. My thanks to Sarah Vowles for discussing these possibilities with me.

¹⁴⁶ BM, 1895,0915.801; P&P 1950, No.167. For Mantegna's Agony in the Garden of 1455–60 see PARIS 2008, Cat.47.

the British Museum *Virgin and Child*, their considered application of pen, wash and white heightening attest to artists' comprehension of the inherent qualities of blue paper as a mid-ground for drawing that belies its uptake as a novel technique circa 1500.

Precedents and parallels for this aesthetic effect can in fact be observed in drawing techniques deployed on the *terraferma* through the course of the fifteenth century. At least two extant drawings associable with the Squarcione School are modelled with wash and white heightening on a blue-grey support: the Munich *Centaurs and Satyrs* and *Male Head in three quarter view* now in a private collection (fig.1.23).¹⁴⁷ These are not, of course, drawn on *carta azzurra*, but on paper prepared with a coloured ground. What they do show is that Squarcione implemented – and taught – a graphic practice that sought a comparable visual effect; it is worth recalling Squarcione's contractual promise to provide instruction on the use of '*bhiacca*'. A further example is the *Three Crosses outside Jerusalem*, which is drawn with pen and ink with wash on grey prepared paper and heightened with white to effect a striking tonality.¹⁴⁸ The composition's overall reliance on Mantegna's predella panel for the *Pala di San Zeno* supports a dating to circa 1460 and the hand of an artist operating on the mainland. Coloured ground was certainly deployed contemporaneously in other regions of the Italian peninsula: Florentine drawings by artists such as Fra Filippo Lippi and Benozzo Gozzoli prepared with a pale-pink or purple wash as a mid-ground are cases in point.¹⁴⁹ That these were generally executed with metalpoint correspondingly indicates that the technique of drawing with pen, wash and white heightening on a prepared mid-ground was more specific to the Veneto. This is further suggested by the *Saint Jerome* which is one of Cima da Conegliano's few securely autograph drawings, on account of its relationship to the altarpiece the artist completed for the Chiesa di San Bartolomeo in Vicenza in 1489 (fig.1.39).¹⁵⁰ Cima had likely completed his artistic training prior to his arrival in Venice circa 1485,

¹⁴⁷ Giorgio Marini in PADUA 2006, Cats. 56 & 57.

¹⁴⁸ BM, PP,1.2; Paris 2008, Cat.56. Attribution to Bellini supported in LONDON & BERLIN 2018–19, p.109; TIETZES 1944, No.312. However, given to 'Follower of Andrea Mantegna' in LOS ANGELES 2017, p.84, Fig.28.

¹⁴⁹ See for instance BM, inv.1895,0915.442; GDSU, inv.333E, respectively LONDON 2010 Cats.11 & 13.

¹⁵⁰ GSDU, inv.281E; LONDON 2010, Cat.77.

which – as noted above – means he would have learnt the technique of modelling light and shade on a strongly coloured ground on the *terraferma*.

These factors collectively suggest that the use of *carta azzurra* as a drawing support developed on the *terraferma* alongside the established practice of preparing paper with a coloured – often blue – wash. Aesthetic effect was arguably a prime motivating factor. For why would Veronese artists such as Girolamo dai Libri and Giovanni Maria Falconetto prepared buff paper with blue or blue-grey ground during the 1490s and early 1500s if not to imitate the visual intensity of *carta azzurra* which was perhaps not readily available in Verona (fig.1.40)?¹⁵¹ Another perspective is provided by Bartolomeo's use of *carta azzurra* across his career and which he presumably acquired from local suppliers. His increasingly competent manipulation of the blue mid-ground through the addition of indigo-wash and well-placed strokes of white heightening, as perhaps best demonstrated in the Munich *Orant Virgin with Angels* of circa 1500, attests to his continued exploration of the support's potential (fig.5.18).¹⁵² Those artists who completed an apprenticeship in the Montagna workshop were likely taught this media handling and subsequently implemented it in their own graphic practices.¹⁵³ Conversely, these collective considerations preclude the assertion that *carta azzurra* was an expressly Venetian graphic medium and by extension that it confirms an artist's training in Venice. Instead, the relocation of artists such as Bastiani from Padua to the Lagoon ostensibly played a role in the implementation of this graphic practice in Venice. This is significant because it challenges the hegemony of Venice as the centre from which innovations in drawings emanated.

Having established that *carta azzurra* does not dictate a Venetian origin therefore allows for a more nuanced appraisal of Bartolomeo's artistic background. Recourse to the *Standing Crowned Male* (fig.1.31) – Bartolomeo's earliest extant drawing in this media – reveals little formal or technical qualities to align it with the

¹⁵¹ For two examples see respectively VERONA 2006, Cat.124, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv.KdZ 12240 with proposed attribution to Marco Basaiti; VERONA 2006, Cat.93, Vienna, Albertina, inv.13248, dated to c.1500 and also Cat.94. *River God*, The Morgan, inv.IV 5, dated to c.1495.

¹⁵² For comparison, see comments on Bartolomeo's innovative use of blue wash and blue paper in MARSEILLE 1987, Cat.55, p.82.

¹⁵³ For instance, the *Virgin and Child* in the British Museum, addressed in Chapter 2 pp.62–63 is likely by an assistant in the Montagna workshop.

softness that characterises Bellini's graphic idiom of the 1470s. This is apparent in the brittle folds of the drapery and the reliance on quivering pen lines to demarcate the contours of the figure's anatomy. These elements are instead more comparable to drawings produced in Padua such as Mantegna's *Flagellation of Christ* and the British Museum *Virgin and Child* (figs.1.14; 1.37). In this respect it is worth mentioning David Scrase's placement of the Oxford drawing's *sotto in sù* perspective in relation to Vasari's claim that Mantegna taught Bartolomeo to draw.¹⁵⁴ That Mantegna's *Martyrdom of Saint James* assumes a comparable viewpoint supports a Paduan origin to this visual device, as do other drawings from the Paduan milieu such as the Uffizi *Flagellation of Christ* discussed above and Zoppo's *Dead Christ Supported by Angels*.

Again, this is not to fully dismiss any contact between Bartolomeo and Giovanni Bellini. Recollections of select motifs specific to the Bellini in Bartolomeo's oeuvre does suggest that he had inside knowledge of the workshop's designs. For instance, the Lamentation of Christ that topped the *Pala di Pesaro* is echoed in Bartolomeo's *Pala di SS Nazaro e Celso* (figs.1.41; 1.42).¹⁵⁵ Convincing parallels have also been drawn between the four soldiers in Bellini's *Resurrection* and overall composition of Bartolomeo's *Drunkenness of Noah* (figs.1.43; 2.79).¹⁵⁶ Given that both altarpieces were dispatched to churches outside Venice during the 1470s invites the question of how Bartolomeo would have known the works. The proposal that Bartolomeo assisted on the completion of the *Pala di Pesaro* during an affiliation with the Bellini would provide a partial answer.¹⁵⁷ For the *Resurrection*, however, the finalisation of the altarpiece's composition in 1479 post-dates Bartolomeo's return to, and establishment in, Vicenza.¹⁵⁸ Yet documentary support that Bartolomeo was in contact with the Bellini family in the early 1480s is found in Bartolomeo's involvement at the Venetian *Scuola di San Marco* when in 1483 he took on the

¹⁵⁴ LONDON 1983, Cat D.27.

¹⁵⁵ See LUCCO 2014, Cat.52 with further literature.

¹⁵⁶ GILBERT 1967, pp.185–86 was the first to remark on this similarity.

¹⁵⁷ Proposed in JOHNSTON 2002, p.122 with the suggestion that Bartolomeo painted the *Penitence of Saint Jerome* on the predella.

¹⁵⁸ On the negotiations surrounding the visual content of the *Resurrection*, and the founding of the Marino Zorzi chapel at San Michele di Murano on the Isola di San Michele in 1475, see ROME 2008, Cat.21.

commission originally awarded to Giovanni and to which Bartolomeo's Drunkenness of Noah can be reasonably linked.¹⁵⁹

Feasible explanations for these instances of 'insider knowledge' are that Bartolomeo was a short-term assistant to Giovanni Bellini or that he simply visited his workshop on various visits to Venice. Both scenarios would have presumably given him opportunity to study the Bellini's visual archive which constituted a vast array of figural and compositional studies utilised across painted projects. Among these were two '*libri di disegnij*' composed by Jacopo Bellini – now in the Louvre and British Museum – and subsequently contributed to and reworked by workshop members including his sons and assistants.¹⁶⁰ Certain forms found in the *libri* recur in Bartolomeo's oeuvre. One particularly close relationship is the Louvre *Antique Statue* – certainly by a workshop assistant – with Bartolomeo's *Nude Man Leaning on a Pedestal* (figs.1.44; 1.51).¹⁶¹ That the figure recurs in the School of Squarcione sheet at The Morgan as mentioned above problematises the line of reasoning that Bartolomeo studied the Bellini *libro* and instead may suggest the diffusion of this visual motif across the region. Despite this ambiguity, it is undeniable that Bartolomeo's oeuvre displays strong affinities with that of Giovanni Bellini in terms of entire compositions, more specific details and general style.¹⁶² These factors and circumstantial grounds mean that there must have been some contact between the two artists by the early 1480s at the very latest. Giovanni Bellini's presence in Vicenza on numerous occasions in the following decades to fulfil projects for Vicentine patrons would have provided opportunities to sustain this acquaintance.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ This scheme and the drawing discussed extensively in Chapter 2, pp.99–102.

¹⁶⁰ TIETZES 1944, p.107.

¹⁶¹ Louvre, RF 1544, 95, Album Jacopo Bellini, folio 76 recto, inv. RF 1544, 95; DEGENHART & SCHMITT 1968–2010, II, No.720, pp.416–17. Similarity first noted in EITEL-PORTER & MARCIARI 2019, Cat.12, pp.100–2.

¹⁶² The restrained simplicity and attention devoted to the evocation of landscape in Bartolomeo's *Madonne* has little in common with the antiquarian compositions with foliate ornament characteristic of the Paduan School.

¹⁶³ As previously outlined at Note 2 above.

Underdrawings and ‘Under-drawings’.

Analysis of underdrawings offers another dimension to this consideration of Bartolomeo’s identity as a draftsman. Obvious formal and functional differences between drawings and the underdrawings of paintings means this approach must be applied with caution. Yet the premise that ‘underdrawings reflect the graphic conventions of contemporary drawings’ is appealing given the relative paucity of surviving works on paper.¹⁶⁴ The complementary assertion that underdrawings can augment the understanding of workshop procedures and an artist’s technique further means the potential of this approach outweighs its limitations. Indeed, Giovanni Villa and Karolina Zgraja have compellingly followed this methodology to contribute a greater understanding of Giovanni Bellini’s line handling than what can be gleaned from his few securely attributable drawings.¹⁶⁵ The use of increasingly sophisticated infrared reflectography (IRR) technology in recent decades has likewise contributed greater insights on the graphic techniques deployed by Bartolomeo and Mantegna. Discussion of current perspectives on the origin of Bartolomeo’s underdrawing technique in paintings and of initial sketches found ‘under drawings’ – here termed ‘under-drawings’ to distinguish them from ‘underdrawings’ used to prepare a painting support – will therefore help reconcile distinctions drawn between preparatory techniques he deployed on paper and on panel.¹⁶⁶ It will also aim to clarify Bartolomeo’s approach to line and form vis-à-vis that of his peers.

In her analysis of the underdrawings in several paintings Bartolomeo executed prior to 1485, Maria Clelia Galassi remarked that the line-handling showed a ‘profound understanding’ of the technique employed by Bellini during the 1470s.¹⁶⁷ Traits such as the diagonal shading in the *Pala di San Bartolomeo* of 1485 were compared to the underdrawings in paintings by Bellini of the 1470s and 1480s which

¹⁶⁴ AINSWORTH 1989, p.8, points made in across her essay are of relevance to the discussion at hand. See also the developments in this scholarly approach as reflected in the work of Maria Clelia Galassi, such as GALASSI 1998A; GALASSI 2008; GALASSI 2013B, and also in HOCHMANN 2015, esp. Chapter 1, ‘Le dessin sous-jacent’.

¹⁶⁵ VILLA 2008; ZGRAJA 2016, p.169 for the remark that Bellini’s underdrawings are of evidence of immense artistic and graphological value.

¹⁶⁶ WHISTLER 2016, pp.105–7 deploys the term ‘under-drawing’ in the context of ‘underdrawing’ as defined here. Subtle though this use of punctuation may be, it is here proposed that this may present a means to discuss the findings of the increasing volume of IRR scans made of drawings.

¹⁶⁷ GALASSI 2001, pp.108-9. She also showed that Bartolomeo did not follow the technique of shading used by Antonello da Messina, who has on occasion been suggested as Bartolomeo’s master.

are defined by their precision, fluidity and use as a means of under modelling.¹⁶⁸ This is demonstrated by the Uffizi *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* which, whether left incomplete or intended as a finished work, shows how Bellini employed lines of varying length, density and orientation to produce a highly sculptural image.¹⁶⁹ Similar techniques in Bartolomeo's paintings were taken as supporting evidence that Bartolomeo learnt to under-model directly from Bellini whose painstaking method of drawing the composition onto the paint surface prior to adding colour was admonished by Paolo Pino in his *Dialogo di Pittura*.¹⁷⁰ For instance, the manner that Bellini rendered the curls of Christ's hair in the *Lamentation* preempts the consistently metallic-like ringlets of Bartolomeo's male figures, including Christ and John the Baptist, as they appear in completed paintings. Infra-red scans of Bartolomeo's *Pala di Pavia*, *Pala di SS.Nazaro e Celso*, *Procession to Calvary* and *Christ Carrying the Cross* reveal that Bartolomeo deployed precise and extensive underdrawing across his career in a manner consistent with Bellini's techniques (fig.1.45; 46).¹⁷¹

However, Jill Dunkerton and Babette Hartwig's recent observation that *both* Bellini and Mantegna made 'detailed underdrawings ...[with]...a liquid black medium and a fine brush' means this comparison should not be taken at face value.¹⁷² Analysis of paintings by Mantegna such as the predella for the *Pala di San Zeno* reveals that he also constructed a meticulous system of diagonal strokes for the shaded areas.¹⁷³ Traces of pouncing marks show this precision was often achieved with the aid of a transferred drawing via cartoons in a procedure similarly employed by Giovanni in his *Madonne* and Bartolomeo by the 1480s as for the *Pala di San Bartolomeo*.¹⁷⁴ Yet there is evidence that Mantegna also made freehand underdrawings. These are frequently defined by a schematisation of figures' anatomy

¹⁶⁸ See ZGRAJA 2016 for further consideration of Bellini's use of under-modelling in the 1470s and 1480s.

¹⁶⁹ Uffizi, inv.1890, No.943; ROME 2008, Cat.27.

¹⁷⁰ PINO 1548, 16v, 'disegnare le tavole con tanta istrema diligenza...perch'è fatica gettata, havendosi à coprire il tutto con li colori'.

¹⁷¹ LODI 2008, p.464; VERONA 2006, pp.398–99, Cats.135a–d; the latter examples, and others, accessible online from the Catalogo Scientifico della Pinacoteca del Palazzo Chiericati, <https://www.museicivicivicenza.it/it/mcp/operestudiosi.php> (Consulted during November & December 2018).

¹⁷² DUNKERTON & HARTWEIG 2018, p.52.

¹⁷³ CHRISTIANSEN 1992, p.71ff.

¹⁷⁴ Respectively CHRISTIANSEN 1992, p.73 & GALASSI 2008. See also GALASSI 1998A; GALASSI 2001, pp.107–9.

into geometric form and sweeping strokes, which led Keith Christiansen to draw parallels with Mantegna's pen and ink *schizzi*.¹⁷⁵ This could be taken as confirmation that Bartolomeo's underdrawing system – and graphic idiom – was learnt from Bellini were it not for the fundamental outcomes of Villa's study. Citing examples such as the study for the Crucified Christ on the *verso* of the *Stories of Drusiana* dateable to the 1450s, Villa concluded that Bellini's line handling had a rapid, insistent energy not hitherto associated with his drawings.¹⁷⁶ This long overlooked aspect of his draftsmanship is in turn supported in the rapid sketch of a male profile on the *verso* of Bellini's *Saint Sebastian* discussed above (fig.1.47). Meticulously shaded underdrawings are evidently not wholly indicative of an artist's graphic idiom so much as reflecting a specific working procedure that could vary across an artist's career.

Accepting this inconsistency leads to the issue of efficacy. What type of drawing, or underdrawing, provides a reliable insight into an artist's graphic idiom? At the start of this chapter, the value was placed on compositional *schizzi* or *primi pensieri* in pen and ink as their rapid execution arguably bypassed the conscious application of a practical working method. This notion increases the relevance of Christiansen's just cited remarks on Mantegna's freehand underdrawings and his use of a black medium to do so. It is notable that Mantegna used black chalk to mark out a composition prior to modelling forms in pen and ink. Particularly insightful are the IRR scans of *Man Lying on a Stone Slab* and *Virgin and Child with Angels* which revealed the existence of extensive black chalk under-drawings (fig.1.48).¹⁷⁷ Forms were established with schematic strokes which diminished the necessity for *pentimenti* in pen. Some contours of both may have been established with a straightedge, the *Man on Stone Slab* shows how under-drawings allowed for revisions to the figure's positioning, while the unwavering lines of the *Virgin and Child* may have been the result of the design's transfer from another support via mechanical

¹⁷⁵ CHRISTIANSEN 1992, p.72, the particular comparison being the underdrawing for the solder in the Louvre *Crucifixion* with the mourning Mary in his drawing of the *Entombment* in Brescia.

¹⁷⁶ VILLA 2008, p.79 & figs. 2 & 3 for this sketch on the predella now in the Schloss Museum, Berchtesgaden, (WAF. Inv. BE7) and the Louvre *Calvary* it was presumably preparatory to, esp.p.84 for this conclusion.

¹⁷⁷ BM, invs.1858,0424.3 & 1860,0616.63; LONDON 2010, Cats.21 & 23. IRR scans the result of technical examination included in VERRI & AMBERS 2010, pp.95–96. Another possible instance is the *Judith and Abra*, GDSU, inv.404F.

means. Also significant is the fact that the anatomical shorthand of these under-drawings are consistent with that observed in Mantegna's pen and ink drawings for it supports the usefulness of this approach as a means of determining one aspect of an artist's essential graphic idiom.

IRR scans of Bartolomeo's *Male Nude with a Pedestal* reveal that he also made black chalk under-drawings (figs.1.49; 1.50; 1.51).¹⁷⁸ The scan of the drapery that pools over the pedestal shows a considered placement of strong sweeping lines to create folds with an artificiality further discussed in the following chapter. The scan corresponding to the torso shows that form was constructed through a series of deft strokes – some layered – to define outlines and create shade as at the right side of the neck. *Pentimenti* are extensive, particularly around the face which appears to have originally been more in profile. Comparison, therefore, with the *Male Nude* drawing's completed appearance in wash with white heightening confirms that the under-drawing not only served to work out the composition, but set the areas of shade as the figure is lit from the lefthand side. Under-drawings in black chalk should therefore be acknowledged to have played a notably sophisticated role in Bartolomeo's creative process that went beyond simply establishing a composition. The IRR scans also provide a valuable means draw to connections between his surviving graphic corpus, as demonstrated by comparison of these under-drawings with his most rapidly executed pen drawings. One particularly felicitous parallel can be drawn between the musculature of the Nude's abdomen and that in the Turin *Saint Sebastian*. Another is with the revisions made with black chalk to the schematically rendered arms of the Uffizi *Saint Jerome*: a drawing further discussed in the following chapter.

Traces of black chalk are observable on a large proportion of Bartolomeo's surviving drawings. These include the *Bearded Man wearing a Turban*, *Orant Virgin with Angels* and The Morgan's *Drunkenness of Noah* to cite but a few examples (figs.2.9; 5.18; 2.79). Their generally high level of finish attests to the usefulness of black chalk to ensure the accuracy and visual quality of the drawing. It is arguable that this technique was fundamentally informed by the painting practices deployed *in bottega*. The extensive undermodelling that IRR scans have revealed in paintings

¹⁷⁸ IRR images were made by Lyndsey Tyne at The Morgan to whom I am grateful for sharing them with me.

issued by the Montagna workshop supports this assertion. Comparison of these in turn with underdrawings and under-drawings in the work of Bellini and Mantegna shows that this approach can help better determine their various graphic idioms and inform present understanding of how these artists modified their drawing practices in relation to the intended output.

Focusing on Bartolomeo's identity as a draftsman has here contributed a new perspective to his artistic formation. Analysis of drawings of different type in terms of media attributed to Bartolomeo has embedded his draftsmanship within graphic traditions associable with the Veneto. Conclusive assertions as to where, and with whom, Bartolomeo trained are inevitably frustrated by the paucity of surviving drawings by Bartolomeo and those artists with whom he may have trained or been in contact. Despite factors which strongly suggest his knowledge of the graphic practices learnt in the Squarcione *studium*, the defining traits of Bartolomeo's draftsmanship cannot be placed exclusively in relation to either the Venetian School or those on the *terraferma* such as that of Padua. Rather, the factors considered here reflect an individual aware of contemporary pictorial and graphic practices both in Venice and on the *terraferma* and encourages a reappraisal of the defining traits of Venetian drawing vis-à-vis those developed on the *terraferma*. What is more, the defining traits of Bartolomeo's draftsmanship attest to the fact that the Vicentine School did not develop in microcosm. Connection with other masters active across the region was advantageous in that it allowed for the accumulation of diverse working techniques and formation of a stylistic idiom informed by multiple sources. The points addressed here therefore provide a framework for further discussion of the role that cross-regional mobility played in shaping the practical application of drawings in the Montagna workshop.

Chapter Two: Drawing in the Montagna Workshop

What operational strategies were deployed in the Montagna workshop to manage the span of its activity across the Veneto? What role did ‘*diseño*’ play in the successful and timely fulfilment of commissions? The technical and formal characteristics of surviving drawings associable with Montagna workshop provide insights into the strategies used, especially when considered in relation to the paintings produced under Bartolomeo’s direction. This chapter proposes that different categories of drawings were encompassed within the Montagna workshop’s visual archive and used in line with specific phases in a painting’s execution. Lacunae in Bartolomeo’s graphic corpus will be navigated through comparison with the contemporary application of drawings by Bartolomeo’s peers both in the Veneto and in central Italy. This is in part because Vicenza’s well-connected location combined with Bartolomeo’s activity and likely training in neighboring cities allowed for the influx of ideas and operational methods from diverse sources as shown in the previous chapter. But it is also to draw attention to consistencies in the importance placed on ‘*diseño*’ in Italian Renaissance workshops as opposed to adhering to extant, and arguably limiting, regional distinctions.

Operational Contexts.

What must first be assessed is the current state of scholarship on the place of drawing in workshop management. This analysis is not limited to the *botteghe* of Venetian masters; the practical application of drawings by artists active across the Italian peninsula provides key points of reference: one aim of this chapter is to reappraise the regional distinctions that have been constructed on the use of drawings within workshops active in the latter half of the *quattrocento*. Such divisions are partly attributable to the emergence by the mid-1550s of theories on the superiority of Florentine *diseño* over Venetian *colore* with ensuing debate around the topic overshadowing the fundamental point that drawing and design were unreservedly fundamental to artistic production across the Italian Peninsula.¹⁷⁹ This has contributed

¹⁷⁹ On this topic see the overview in WHISTLER 2016, pp.3–15 with extensive further literature.

to the emergence of a somewhat arbitrary framework and vocabulary to discuss what are arguably comparable practices with relatively common ends. A case in point is Frances Ames-Lewis's acknowledgements that "Ghirlandaio's 'pattern'-drawings of drapery are a Florentine equivalent of the *simile* drawings used by late fifteenth-century [Venetian] painters" and that the "parallels between Florentine and Venetian practice might recommend the use of the term *simile* for Ghirlandaio's drapery studies".¹⁸⁰ His continuation that he preferred to "follow the practice of using the term 'pattern' for Florentine drawings" underscores the issue at stake here. Rejection of the term '*simile*' was not on account of its unfounded historical origins, but because of perceived regional distinctions between Venetian and Florentine artistic practices.¹⁸¹ This predicament is further implicit in the sustained relation to distinctly Florentine practice of Cennino Cennini's comments in his *Il Libro dell'Arte* on the valued methods by which drawings could be used in the training of young artists even though Cennini worked in Padua and wrote the text while in a Paduan prison.¹⁸² In light of Cennini's own mobility between the Veneto and central Italy, it is worth reconsidering what impeded geographic and theoretical boundaries present to the appraisal of the diverse roles drawing played in Renaissance workshops.

Despite these broad considerations, Bartolomeo's sustained engagement with the artistic milieu of Venice and the Veneto makes it logical to start with the remarks made by Hans Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat in their seminal *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters*. To them, Venetian draftsmanship held a purely practical function which was ultimately inseparable from the dynastic nature of local *botteghe*.¹⁸³ Drawings were working tools to be used in the preparation of paintings in various forms such as motifs to be integrated into a painting, detailed studies of specific figures or compositional studies. Their retention meant these drawings – of various

¹⁸⁰ AMES-LEWIS 1981, p.50.

¹⁸¹ '*Simile*' has become ubiquitous to scholarship on drawing in Venetian workshops, see for instance, Ekserdjian in LONDON 1992, Cat.18; WHISTLER 2016, p.83. Its earliest application was in TIETZES 1944 where it was applied to describe drawings retained in the workshop for use on multiple occasions but the term does not have contemporary origins. SCHELLER 1995, p.9 fn.23 suggests it was invented by Julius von Schlosser of whom the Tietzes were his students and on p.58 clarifies that they meant 'a drawing of less important parts of a composition for which conventional types could be used, or a model drawn beforehand by the master which assistants or pupils could then incorporate as accessories in large compositions.' The term *simile* will not be used here on account of its unfounded basis and the regionalism it invokes. The alternative used is 'copy-drawings'.

¹⁸² CENNINI ED.1933.

¹⁸³ TIETZES 1944, most extensively discussed in their Introduction.

media, sizes and subjects – entered a workshop’s ‘visual archive’ to be reused in subsequent commissions. As Catherine Whistler has highlighted, this accumulated repository did not become redundant on a master’s death, but was instead passed onto family members who continued the business.¹⁸⁴ This ‘value through descent’ that drawings therefore accrued can be extended to practices on the *terraferma* owing to the management of workshops in a comparably familial fashion. For instance, Jacopo Bassano dictated to a Bassanese notary that his drawings were to be divided among his sons, and Zoppo’s willingness to become Squarcione’s adoptive son was predicated on the expectation that he would inherit Squarcione’s workshop replete with its collection of drawings.¹⁸⁵ Drawings were almost certainly among the worldly goods that Bartolomeo left Benedetto – his only surviving son and heir – on his death in 1523, given the continuation of the family business.¹⁸⁶

But was this really a continuation of a workshop tradition that Bartolomeo had observed among the Bellini, and by extension an expressly ‘Venetian’ trait? Or was it just an expected act of familial preservation? There is reason to accept the latter especially given contemporary attitudes towards artisanal family property in central Italy. Workshops were frequently inherited by relatives as in the case of the Bicci, and the Ghirlandaio, where Domenico’s resources passed to Davide and subsequently to his nephew Rodolfo who continued the family business.¹⁸⁷ There is also evidence that drawings formed part of a family’s artistic livelihood. Maso Finiguerra requested in his will the some fourteen modelbooks and various loose sheets be divided between his brother and son, and Perugino’s drawings are known to have remained in the family after his death.¹⁸⁸

Returning to the discourse on Florentine and Venetian attitudes towards drawing, it is thus worth considering the parallels between painters’ workshops in

¹⁸⁴ As addressed in TIETZES 1944, p.5 and more recently, WHISTLER 2016, pp.81–7.

¹⁸⁵ CORSATO 2016, pp.209–14; LONDON 1998, pp.27–28.

¹⁸⁶ Unfortunately, the inventory of Bartolomeo’s *beni mobili* ASVi. Not. Francesco Zanecchini, b.5390, c.71v does not contain any reference to the workshop’s contents. It has not been possible to consult the will or inventory of Benedetto following his death in 1558. For the two versions of Bartolomeo’s will see BARAUSSE 2014, Docs.121 & 123, pp.150–54.

¹⁸⁷ See FROSINI 1987 on the family resources of the Bicci; AQUINO 2007 on the Ghirlandaio and Rodolfo’s inheritance.

¹⁸⁸ See CARL 1983, p.508 and Docs.19, 20 & 26 for contracts regarding the division of this inheritance; WARWICK 2000, p.19 notes that Padre Resta acquired drawings by Perugino from his house, which suggests they remained family property after his death.

these two locations than just emphasising their differences. Artistic production during the second half of the *quattrocento* in both cities revolved around a select few workshops: in Venice those of the Bellini, Vivarini and Carpaccio were the best known, while in Florence those of Verrocchio, Lippi, Botticelli, Ghirlandaio and Perugino were particularly successful. Analysis of their surviving graphic and painted oeuvres consistently leads to the assertion that the fundamentality of drawing to artistic production was not restricted by regions. For example, while Francis Ames-Lewis distinguished between the production of more ‘finished’ drawings in Northern Italy versus the use of drawing as an exploratory tool in Florence, he conceded that there were certain uniting traits.¹⁸⁹ Catherine Whistler has more recently noted the similar drawing practices employed in Venice and central Italy.¹⁹⁰ The importance of the sustained output of drawings to the operation of prosperous workshops was evidently a uniting factor rather than a distinguishing one.

An implicit point is that there was no standardised way of deploying the medium of drawing in *quattrocento* workshop practice even within geographically restricted areas such as Florence or Venice. Differences can be observed in the way *maestri* graduating from the same workshop handled media, line and form, used and reused designs and taught their own pupils to draw. This fundamentally impedes a regional approach towards the study of ‘drawing in the workshop’. Moreover, it is simultaneously possible to observe several traits that not only unite the application of drawings by Florentine and Venetian painters but which are consistent with workshops operating elsewhere in the Italian Peninsula. For instance, and as discussed in Chapter One, Squarcione’s Paduan workshop was a magnet for those wishing to refine their skills as a draftsman through the making of drawn copies. Perugino can likewise be assumed to have instructed apprentices of his central Italian workshops in the tactic of recycling a repository of drawings across commissions.¹⁹¹ It therefore appears that the Tietze’s remark that ‘drawings united the various members of the

¹⁸⁹ AMES-LEWIS 1981, p.4.

¹⁹⁰ WHISTLER 2016, p.83.

¹⁹¹ This practice is central to HILLIER VON GAERTINGEN 1999 where it is considered through the prism of Raphael’s artistic formation in Perugino’s workshop. See also the extensive analysis of Perugino’s tactics in FERINO-PAGDEN 1987 and O’MALLEY 2007.

[Bellini] shop into one productive order' is equally applicable not just to Venetian workshops but those dispersed across the Peninsula¹⁹²

That is not to say that regional distinctions should be entirely dissolved; alumni often set up shops in the same cities as their masters and adherence to select drawing techniques learnt '*in bottega*' contributed to the formation of graphic traits characteristic of a local School. The point instead being made here is that recognising consistencies across regions can help navigate the issue of loss. As previously emphasised, only a fragment of drawings that must have been used in the operation of Venetic *botteghe* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have survived: only five drawings can be securely attributed to Cima versus around 150 to Filippino Lippi who was his relative contemporary.¹⁹³ The opinion that regional differences towards collecting drawings explains this lacuna will be reappraised in Chapter Seven. A frequently accepted reason is that Venetian workshops were passed down through numerous family descendants and so the repository of drawings was damaged, lost or simply updated.¹⁹⁴ Yet workshops in Florence often passed through multiple generations: the Ghirlandaio family in which Domenico's father was a goldsmith and son Ridolfo trained as a painter, is but one case in point. The Tietzes' premise that families' workshop practices were implemented across decades is arguably equally applicable to Florentine workshops, and this operational consistency across regions must be taken into account. That the focus here is an artistic workshop based not in Venice, but on the *terra ferma* makes this point all the more pertinent. It correspondingly calls for an approach that balances close analysis of the Montagna workshop's procedures with broader theories on drawing in the Italian Renaissance workshop.

¹⁹² TIETZES 1944, p.5ff.

¹⁹³ This latter figure calculated by Hugo Chapman and Marzia Faitetti IN LONDON 2010, p.22.

¹⁹⁴ See for instance, TIETZES 1944, p.5. This practice is reflected in workshops such as those of the Bellini, Bassano and Tintoretto for which see NEW YORK 2018, Chapter 5 for comments on this practice following Domenico's inheritance of his father's drawings. See WHISTLER 2016 pp.81–98, esp.p.83 on the dynastic nature of Venetian workshops and the place of drawing within these constructs.

Reference Drawings and Derivative Works.

Among the first commissions Bartolomeo fulfilled on his establishment as a master painter in Vicenza was an altarpiece for the parish church of Sorio di Gambellara.¹⁹⁵ Produced circa 1475 to 1480, it features the Virgin and Child seated on a raised throne and flanked by saints Giorgio and Benedict (fig.2.1). This formula was a model that Bartolomeo adhered to throughout his career as evidenced by the *Pala di Pavia* of 1490 and *Pala di Santa Caterina* of circa 1520 among other examples (figs.2.33; 2.2).¹⁹⁶ Altarpieces of the enthroned Holy Family accompanied by saints were, of course, commonplace across the peninsula. The same can be said of smaller scale paintings of the Holy Family that were intended for use in private devotional settings. Over 40% of the 103 paintings attributed to Bartolomeo in Mauro Lucco's catalogue raisonné depict the Virgin and Child.¹⁹⁷ Artists including the Lippi-Pesellino imitator, Bellini, Andrea del Sarto and Cima similarly issued innumerable *Madonne* across their careers.¹⁹⁸ The sustained issue of these two types of religious imagery from these artistic workshops therefore invites the topic of organisational practices, and more specifically the role played by drawings. What tactics did Bartolomeo implement to meet the demands of his clients; and how do these compare with the practices deployed by his peers?

Given the contemporary ubiquity of *Madonne*, a consideration of *madonneri* practices offers some insight into how contemporary workshops were streamlined. Comparison of the strategies implemented by the artists just cited reveals a remarkable homogeneity. Maximum efficiency was achieved through delegation while consistency was assured at the design stage. Cartoons were integral in navigating this interplay. *Spolvero* marks indicate that Bellini and Andrea del Sarto, for instance, frequently reused cartoons to maintain a high volume production of *madonne*.¹⁹⁹ A further tactic not widely implemented until the sixteenth century was to arrange partial cartoons in varying combinations to give some semblance of

¹⁹⁵ LUCCO 2014, Cat.1.

¹⁹⁶ Respectively LUCCO 2014, Cats.46 & 101.

¹⁹⁷ This figure notwithstanding those catalogued under ‘follower’, ‘school of’ or lost.

¹⁹⁸ See respectively HOLMES 2004; GALASSI 1998A & GIBBONS 1965; LOS ANGELES 2015, esp.pp.8-9; HUMFREY 1983, pp.49–53.

¹⁹⁹ For Bellini, see GALASSI 1998A, esp.p.6. On Bellini’s use of cartoons see also VILLA 2008; various instances across DUNKERTON ET AL 2019. For del Sarto see SZAFRAN & CHUI 2015, p.14ff.

variety.²⁰⁰ Another approach was to have a stock of compositional models that assistants or journeymen were to creatively replicate; a tactic Bellini implemented by the 1470s and refined later in his career.²⁰¹ Designing the essential compositions remained the prerogative of the master, as indicated by Marco Zoppo's drawings of the theme which show the Virgin and Child in a number of poses and sometimes attended by *putti* (fig.1.21).²⁰² Zoppo's sheets are thought to have been originally bound in a modelbook for consistent reference in the workshop.²⁰³ Sustained reference to, and development of, such designs helps explain the compositional and stylistic consistency of the *Madonne* issued from a single workshop even if these were produced across an extended time span and by multiple artists.

Bartolomeo evidently knew that *Madonne* provided a steady source of trade. If inscriptions are to be accepted, then two *Madonne* were completed on 13 April 1503 (fig.2.3).²⁰⁴ The majority of *Madonne* that can be linked with the workshop are remarkably homogenous in their overall appearance. The model of the Virgin orientated to the left with fingers lightly touching in prayer appears in over fifteen paintings produced between 1475 and 1523.²⁰⁵ This prolonged consistency can be explained by the pragmatic reliance on a concentrated nucleus of compositional designs. A frontally orientated Virgin with her right arm gesturing across her towards Christ features in six paintings produced in the sixteenth century and can be related to a drawing of the same format now in the Uffizi (fig.2.4).²⁰⁶ The most exact parallel is with the now lost *Mendelsohn Madonna* dateable to circa 1515 but that does not mean

²⁰⁰ For further discussion of this practice in relationship to Bartolomeo's Holy Families at the Courtauld and Pinacoteca Malaspina, see CHUNG & RÖSTEL 2017, esp. p.21. On the use of auxiliary cartoons see Brooks in LOS ANGELES 2015, p.8 on cartoons in Andrea del Sarto's workshop. See also the comments in BAMBACH 1999, p.101; HOLMES 2004, pp.41-56.

²⁰¹ On the systematisation of that took place in 1492 and the eight artists who formed part of this working 'set' see GIBBONS 1965, esp.p.147.

²⁰² These sheets now located in Hamburg, Turin, Munich and London, see LONDON 1998, Nos.19 & 20; ARMSTRONG 1976, Nos.D.5-13.

²⁰³ ARMSTRONG 1976, pp.399–411.

²⁰⁴ LUCCO 2014, Cat.65 (Modena, Galleria Estense, pp.349–50; Cat.113 (unknown, formerly Paris, Collection Viscountess of Noailles), p.404 where catalogued as 'copia d Bartolomeo Montagna', with a dating of c.1505–10. The fact that few *Madonne* can be asserted to have been 'painted exclusively by' Bartolomeo renders this distinction slightly arbitrary as one can presume that the 'copy' would have been made within the Montagna workshop. Attribution of the Noailles Madonna to 'Bartolomeo' accepted by PUPPI 1962, pp.120-21.

²⁰⁵ LUCCO 2014, Cats.5, 6, 7, 17, 23 (orientated to right), 94, 95, 96, 97.

²⁰⁶ App.I, No.10. Certain infelicities in the handling of Christ's head and the Virgin's hands may suggest that this drawing was the work of an assistant. For paintings that feature this motif, see for instance, LUCCO 2014, Cats. 87, 88 ,99.

the drawing was exclusively intended for this painting (fig.2.5).²⁰⁷ Variants on the positioning of Christ in other *Madonne* produced by the *bottega* instead indicates that it served as a working model. It is feasible that assistants were tasked with developing the design into a painted format perhaps to produce some semblance of diversity, or dependent on the intended scale and cost of the work. This latter motive is implicit in the almost identical format of the ‘*Stroganoff*’ and ‘*Speroni*’ *Madonne* despite their 2:1 size difference (figs.2.6; 2.7).²⁰⁸ The Uffizi drawing, or a variant of it, apparently served as a reference point across projects with the compositions established through subsequent intermediary drawings. Moreover, recollections of this model in the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* dateable to circa 1507 points to a continual updating of a workshop’s design base, and by extension, the centrality of design reuse to Bartolomeo’s workshop organisation (fig.2.47).

As these isolated examples suggest, no complete modelbook originating from the Montagna workshop survives. That does not mean one did not exist; for only a handful of the modelbooks that must have formerly existed in the Veneto during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries remain intact.²⁰⁹ Key examples include the previously mentioned *libri* of Jacopo Bellini, while certain modelbooks such as those of Stefano da Verona and Zoppo can be reconstructed through what Albert Elen has termed the codicological approach.²¹⁰ The role these modelbooks played in the efficient fulfilment of commission can be gauged from the more extensive scholarship on Florentine examples.²¹¹ Innumerable instances in which motifs found in drawings that likely once comprised modelbooks recur in painted formats reflect their widespread usage as repertoires of visual motifs for application in various contexts. These practices were presumably concurrent in the Veneto. Documents such as the wills of Jacopo Bellini’s widow, Anna, and Maso Finiguerra confirm that *libri di*

²⁰⁷ LUCCO 2014, Cat.86, pp.373-74.

²⁰⁸ LUCCO 2014, Cats.87 & 88, both dated to 1515–20.

²⁰⁹ On drawing-books and the issue of reconstructing these from the fragments that survive, see RUSHTON 1976 and ELEN 1995.

²¹⁰ For the proposed sketchbook of Stefano da Verona, see KARET 2002, esp. pp.25-26; KAET 1998. See also SCHELLER 1995, Cats.34, 35 & 36.

²¹¹ See various essays in KWAKKELSTEIN & MELL 2012 especially FORLANI TEMPESTI 2012; MELL 2012; WHITAKER 2012.

modelli were valued by a master painter's descendants in addition to their workshop assistants.²¹²

A survey of Bartolomeo's paintings and extensive fresco schemes reveals a host of repeated gestures, figures, structures and occasionally animals that could have been derived from a modelbook retained in the Montagna workshop. The lack of any drawings which correspond to these smaller painted elements means this proposal remains conjectural. One might cite, however, a blue paper sheet consisting of studies of several animals dateable to circa 1500 and likely originating from northern Italy as a reference point for how the sheets might have appeared (fig.2.8).²¹³ Yet as Scheller and Ames-Lewis among others have emphasised, a workshop's image-bank encompassed more than modelbooks.²¹⁴ Drawings, and the prints that came to serve a complementary function as reference tools, were not and could not always be bound together.²¹⁵ Some were pasted to rolls of canvas or *rodoli* as documented in the workshops of the Bassano and Caliari, while others were simply kept as portfolios of loose sheets to provide ready access to working drawings such as pricked cartoons.²¹⁶ Visual repertoires, while consistently serving as the intellectual foundation of workshop, were diverse in form and appearance.

Despite these considerations, approximately fifteen figural drawings attributed to Bartolomeo with uniting characteristics have invited the suggestion that they formerly comprised sheets of a numbered modelbook.²¹⁷ All are executed on *carta azzurra* and feature figures of comparable dimensions lit from the upper left and are rendered in brush and white heightening over black chalk. Yet subtle differences in their handling indicates that the drawings were executed over a span of several years. What is significant about these drawings is their consistently high level of finish. In certain instances, such as the *Female Nude Holding a Caduceus* and the

²¹² Respectively EISLER 1989, p.532, Doc.xxv; CARL 1983, pp.518–22.

²¹³ This sheet thought to originate either from the Veneto or Lombardy. The rather stiff poses of the animals has given rise to the opinion that the sheet was a copy after another source rather than from life. Exhibited at TEFAF, New York, Fall 2018, by Les Enluminures. Catalogue entry informed by the research of Chris Fischer.

²¹⁴ SCHELLER 1995, pp.60–61; AMES-LEWIS 1981, pp.60–91 postulates a transition from the model-book to the portfolio format but revises this in AMES-LEWIS 1987.

²¹⁵ LONDON 2010, p.50.

²¹⁶ WHISTLER 2016, p.83. These two instances date to the latter years of the sixteenth century but may be indicative of a longstanding process.

²¹⁷ NEILSEN 1995, pp.200–1. See Appendix I, Nos.1–12, 23–26.

previously mentioned *Male Nude Leaning on a Pedestal* this might point to their subsequent status as collectors' items in a case of multi-purposing. Combined with the preceding comments on the gradual uptake of the portfolio format, this makes it unlikely that the sheets were ever bound together.

Other sheets from this series suggest that the highly finished nature of the drawings held a more practical purpose tied to established practices of copying details from the completed paintings of other artists. A case in point is the *Bearded Man wearing a Turban* which is attributed to Bartolomeo on the basis of stylistic comparison with the monumentality of his painted figures and technique of his other drawings on *carta azzurra* (fig.2.9).²¹⁸ The figure's identification as Moses is due to its recurrence in the *Subversion of Pharaoh in the Red Sea* of circa 1520, by Andrea Previtali who was affiliated with the Bellini workshop at the end of the *quattrocento* (fig..2.10).²¹⁹ That interactions within the Bellini circle had some impact on Bartolomeo's drawing is suggested by the figure's similarities with orientalising figures that occur in early works produced by Giovanni Bellini such as the *Stories of Drusiana* (fig.2.11), and it may be that Previtali eventually acquired Bartolomeo's drawing by virtue of acquaintances made through the Bellini.²²⁰ Comparison, however, might also be made with Saint Peter in Mantegna's *Pala di San Zeno* in the figure's heavily draped robes and overall positioning (fig.2.12).²²¹ Bartolomeo could have seen the altarpiece on visits to Verona or known of the figural model through workshop drawings seen in Padua. Whether Bartolomeo drew inspiration from Bellini or Mantegna on this occasion therefore remains open to interpretation. Bartolomeo did, however, copy a figure of Mantegna's design on another occasion: the *Orant Virgin* echoes the *Assumption* Mantegna frescoed in the Cappella Ovetari at Padua (figs. 5.18; 2.13).²²² These two drawings were surely not isolated cases. That they were instead a development of practices Bartolomeo implemented earlier in his career is suggested by the repetition of Antonello da Messina's Saint George from the *Pala*

²¹⁸ App.1, No.5. See attribution discussion in FLORENCE 2001, No.24.

²¹⁹ LONDON 2010, Cat.76, p.259 where Chapman points out that the drawing was not preparatory to Previtali's composition because the figure is lit from the opposite direction. TIETZES 1944, A1371, p.242 attribute the drawing to Previtali.

²²⁰ For which see LOS ANGELES 2017, Cat.3, comparison should be made with the turbaned figure to the left of the *Passion of Saint Maurice*. On Previtali see TEMPESTINI 2004, pp.269–71.

²²¹ For which see DE MARCHI 2008 with further literature.

²²² App.I, No.6.

di San Cassiano in the aforementioned *Pala di Gambellara* (fig.2.1).²²³ Bartolomeo may have made a drawing of the figure on one of his visits to Venice in the early 1470s. That Bartolomeo held a sustained interest in the compositional designs of other artists is evidenced by the depiction of Jerome in the *Pala di San Sebastiano* produced for the Veronese church in 1507 (fig.2.14).²²⁴ It has hitherto gone unnoticed that the figure is derived from Cima's *Pala di San Bartolomeo* and it is presumable that this figure was recorded in an isolated drawing as opposed to having been being copied directly from the altarpiece (fig.2.15).

Making a drawn copy of a figure was an established part of artistic training. Copies also played practical roles in workshop management.²²⁵ Highly relevant in this respect are various studies after details of Mantegna paintings executed in brush and wash with white heightening such as the *Eight Apostles Witnessing the Ascension* (fig.2.16).²²⁶ These drawings appear to have been made within a *bottega* with which Mantegna was affiliated – his own or that of Squarcione's –after either a cartoon or the completed paintings. One proposal as to their function is that they served as compositional *ricordi* kept as part of a workshop's archive perhaps to be repurposed in subsequent projects.²²⁷ It is therefore noteworthy that these surviving sheets are remarkably comparable in appearance and technique to Bartolomeo's drawings on *carta azzurra*. Squarcione's promise that he would teach Maestro Agnolo di Maestro Silvestro to make copies of various figures using lead white in 1465 likewise provides a point of reference for this practice.²²⁸ Copies touched with white heightening appear to have been produced in workshops across the region for subsequent use as reference drawings.

Yet what distinguishes Bartolomeo's drawings from the painted figures of other artists are the exaggerated folds of drapery which encircle the figures. In the *Orant Virgin*, for instance, the mantle is artificial in its arrangement and does not feature in Mantegna's *Assumption* that preceded it. Bartolomeo's continuation of this

²²³ This citation also noted in LUCCO 2014, p.30. This lateral figure in Messina's altarpiece is now only known through the copy made by David Teniers the Younger.

²²⁴ LUCCO 2014, Cat.81.

²²⁵ On *simili* see TIETZES 1944, pp.10-11; WHISTLER 2016, p.83.

²²⁶ For which see Ekserdjian in LONDON 1992, Cats. 18, 19 & 20; PARIS 2008, Cat.62.

²²⁷ Eksderjian in LONDON 1992, Cat.9 suggests the *Virgin Adoring the Child* (GDSU) was perhaps made by one of Squarcione's pupils for the workshop's visual archive.

²²⁸ LONDON 1998, p.29.

interest in drapery into his painted oeuvre consequently highlights the fact that he was not simply producing copy-drawings devoid of independent creativity. As an established master, he was instead developing autonomous studies that derived inspiration from the success of his peers to keep for reference in his workshop. Robert Scheller's notion of derived *exempla* – which he defined as 'studies after a model which was acknowledged to be a valuable artistic prototype' – seems particularly apt in this context.²²⁹

Considering Bartolomeo's *carta azzurra* studies in line with paintings issued from his workshop demonstrates the functional purpose held by these drawings. Take, for instance, the relationship between the Marucelliana *Female Martyr* and Stratonice as she appears in the *cassone* roundel depicting her marriage to Antiochus (figs.2.17; 2.18).²³⁰ The female figures are not identical, but their poses, dress and the angles of the head are sufficiently similar to establish that the figure-type expressed in the drawing was the source upon which certain modifications were developed. Recurrence of certain features of the Marucelliana *Female Martyr* in the positioning of Mary Magdalene's right foot and her draped mantle in the *Madonna and Child accompanied by saints Monica and Mary Magdalene* of circa 1485 and in the headress and placement of Saint Giuliana's martyr's palm in the *Pala di SS.Nazaro e Celso* among other instances reveal that the drawing was consulted on multiple occasions and over a prolonged timespan (figs.6.13, 2.19).²³¹ This approach is likewise observable with the drawing of *Three Women* (fig.2.20).²³² The righthand figure's pose and gesture are echoed in saint Catherine in the *Pala di Santa Maria in Vanzo* (fig.2.21) and the attendant female in the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (fig.2.47), while elements of all three women can be discerned in the *Miracle of the Jawbone* frescoed for the Scoletta del Santo in 1512 (C.1).²³³ Conversely, the repetition of certain figural types across projects shows that the Montagna workshop held a repository of drawings that exceeded the few in existence today. A prime

²²⁹ SCHELLER 1995, p.349.

²³⁰ App.I. No.2 This drawing has been heavily restored by a later hand but was certainly drawn by Bartolomeo; LUCCO 2014, Cat.3.

²³¹ Respectively LUCCO 2014, Cat.34, also noted in FERRI 1911, p.289; Cat.52c.

²³² App.I, No.11.

²³³ Respectively LUCCO 2014, Cats.83, 76, 84. Another example is the *Pala di Maria Maddalena*, LUCCO 2014 Cat.85, in which Mary Magdalene can be compared with the *Female Figure with Letter*, App.I, No.8.

example is the pose of Saint Jerome reading a book which is consistent across the roughly contemporary *Pala di Pavia* and *Noli me tangere* (figs.2.22; 2.33).²³⁴ Another is the young standing male – sometimes in the guise John the Baptist – who gestures with one hand to the enthroned Holy Family that occurs on no fewer than seven occasions but no related drawing survives.²³⁵ Variation in the scale, dress and orientation of this figure confirms that it was not a cartoon that was reused, but that a design by Bartolomeo was referred to for multiple projects.²³⁶ Close study of the figures that adorn the robes of church men in the *Polyptych di SS.Nazaro e Celso* and *Capella di San Biagio* likewise reveals a repetition of select ‘decorative’ figures (figs.2.23a & b).²³⁷ This sometimes parallels with drawn iterations: a case in point is the young male martyr on the robe of San Biagio in the polyptych for which elements of the pose recall the Oxford *Crowned Male* (figs.2.23b; 1.31).

What the obvious disparity in the scale, context and overall appearance of the figures underscores, however, is the mutability of a single ‘reference drawing’ within the workshop. Their sustained usage of these designs affects their datings. Some, such as the *Female Nude Holding a Cadaceus*, have been dated to circa 1510; others closer to 1500 predominately on stylistic grounds. The discussion in Chapter One on the uptake of *carta azzurra* as a support for pen and wash drawings with white heightening, and the ‘*termini ante quem*’ provided by certain commissions supports the opinion that Bartolomeo was producing such drawings relatively early in his career. For example, there is reason to support a dating of circa 1485 for the Marucelliana *Female Martyr* on account of the variants on the figure that appear in paintings produced at this time. The emergent impression is of a nucleus of figural designs that was updated and which steadily expanded across the lifespan of the workshop.²³⁸ These were not all necessarily by Bartolomeo. Drawings by assistants, and in particular by family members, could also be incorporated within a workshop’s visual archive. For instance, Jacopo Bellini’s *libri di modelli* underwent subsequent modifications by his sons and Raphael’s *garzoni* are thought to have made ‘copy-

²³⁴ LUCCO 2014, Cats.46 & 47.

²³⁵ LUCCO 2014, Cats.4, 35, 36, 46, 82, 83, 100.

²³⁶ Bartolomeo may have also been using partial cartoons for select figures by 1485, as proposed in GALASSI 2001, p.105 from the lack of *pentimenti* in the *Pala di San Bartolomeo*.

²³⁷ One example is Saint Dominic on both the frescoed and painted iterations of San Biagio produced for the Chiesa di SS.Nazaro e Celso, see LUCCO 2014, Cats.52; 68.

²³⁸ See App.I, for the proposed chronology of these blue paper drawings.

drawings' for Raphael's 'record-keeping' purposes.²³⁹ That a similar approach existed in the Montagna workshop is suggested by a few drawings that can be related to various paintings issued from the workshop but are not sufficiently competent to be by Bartolomeo; some of which are addressed more extensively in the following section. For the present, however, their existence collectively points to a dynamic in which authorship was secondary to the pragmatic use of drawings in operational contexts.

Retaining figural designs for reprisal across commissions, especially for lateral saints in altarpieces, was commonplace in contemporary workshops. Perugino is perhaps the most infamous proponent of the tactic, but it was also employed by Venetic artists including Carpaccio and Cima.²⁴⁰ Cima's methods are particularly pertinent here on account of the *Virgin and Child with Saints James and Jerome* he produced for the Vicentine church of San Bartolomeo in 1489 and the corresponding question of his interactions with Bartolomeo while in Vicenza.²⁴¹ Comparison of the surviving preparatory study for Saint Jerome with the completed altarpiece confirms that Cima made little modifications between the study and the painted figure, and thus that it was used during the painting's execution (fig.1.39).²⁴² Cima notably referred back to this drawing when designing the *Madonna dell'Orto Altarpiece* a few years later, as Jerome's appearance is consistent despite the slight revolution to the right.²⁴³ Like Bartolomeo, Cima appears to have creatively repurposed the figural design he produced for a specific altarpiece via intermediary drawings, and this is in turn suggestive of a consistency in the way that artists active across the Veneto retained drawings to streamline the fulfilment of commissions.

²³⁹ EISLER 1989, pp.79–86; SHEARMAN 1983, p.44ff. Raphael might be presumed to have followed practices implemented by his master Perugino.

²⁴⁰ For economising strategies more generally see Chapter 5, pp.160–68, On Perugino see O'MALLEY 2007, p.677ff.; Carpaccio is known to have made copies after his own paintings for future reference as in the *Three Bishops*, for which see examples in MURARO 1977, pp.71–73; for Cima, see the repetition of Thomas and Christ in the NG and Academia iterations of the Incredulity of Saint Thomas.

²⁴¹ See HUMFREY 1983, p.24–26 with further literature.

²⁴² LONDON 2010, Cat.77, p.260.

²⁴³ HUMFREY 1983, pp.55, 160 where dated 1493–95; Fioerlla Spadacecchia in CONEGLIANO 2010, Cat.11 favours a dating closer to 1500.

Constructing Consistency across Altarpieces.

That ‘reference-drawings’ were preserved in the Montagna workshop is further reflected by the handling of the enthroned Virgin and child. A survey of surviving altarpieces issued from the workshop confirms that approximately 67% feature this subject.²⁴⁴ Their appearance is consistent across the span of Bartolomeo’s career and can be divided into two overarching categories: those in which Christ stands on his mother’s lap and those in which he sits either frontally or slightly orientated inwards.²⁴⁵ The Virgin is consistent in her heavily draped robes from under which her feet often protrude, while Christ is predictably naked and chubby. This consistency is apparent in the almost identical grouping of the Virgin and Christ in the *Pala Squarzi* and *Pala di Lonigo* (figs.2.24; 2.25).²⁴⁶ These formal and stylistic traits were, of course, consistent with altarpieces produced across the Italian peninsula as evidenced by the work of Giovanni Bellini, Perugino and Fra Bartolomeo to mention but a few. But what has not been considered in Bartolomeo’s oeuvre is the role drawings played in the managerial strategies Bartolomeo deployed to ensure consistency across his workshop’s altarpiece production.

Three drawings of the Enthroned Virgin and Child associable with Bartolomeo’s workshop survive. These vary in scale, media and appearance. Two – one in Lille, the other at the British Museum – are on blue paper but differ in their handling of the brush, wash and white heightening (figs.2.26; 2.27).²⁴⁷ The third, in Budapest, is delicately drawn with pen and blue wash (fig.2.28).²⁴⁸ Only one corresponds directly to a completed altarpiece: the Lille drawing is the same as the enthroned Virgin and Child in the *Pala di San Sebastiano* of 1507 (fig.2.29).²⁴⁹ While this would presuppose that it was a preparatory drawing for this specific altarpiece, elements of the composition can be noted in various other altarpieces produced across Bartolomeo’s career: both following and prior to this specific commission. The positioning of the Virgin’s foot on a step and the layering of her dress’s neckline

²⁴⁴ This figure calculated from LUCCO 2014. From 31 altarpieces, 21 feature the enthroned Madonna and Child.

²⁴⁵ There are a few instances in which Christ lies across his mother’s lap as in the *Virgin and Child with Saints Francis and Bernard*, LUCCO 2014, Cat.39.

²⁴⁶ LUCCO 2014, Cats. 54 & 62, this reuse also noted by Lucco on p.339.

²⁴⁷ App.I, Nos.3, 7.

²⁴⁸ App.I, No.20.

²⁴⁹ LUCCO 2014, Cat.81, pp.367-68.

recurs in the *Pala di Santa Maria in Vanzo* (1507–10) and *Pala di Sarmego* (c.1520) among others; and the open book in the *Pala di Piovene* and *Pala di San Michele* – even though the composition is inverted – both of circa 1485 (figs.2.30; 5.24; 2.31).²⁵⁰

That the Lille drawing has a level of finish that aligns it with the *carta azzurra* ‘reference-drawings’ discussed above arguably points to a functionality that extended beyond the *Pala di San Sebastiano*. Investing the necessary time to create preparatory drawings to the standard of the Lille sheet for every step of a commission was not pragmatic. As has been noted, efficiency was key to the successful operation of the Montagna business and especially when dealing with multiple altarpiece commissions of an essentially repetitive type. The most obvious solution was to reprise compositional designs in a practice contemporaneously implemented across the peninsula.²⁵¹ For instance, Cima’s pen and wash drawing of the *Enthroned Virgin and Child* served as a point of departure for developing both half-length *Madonne* and the central grouping of various altarpieces (fig..2.32).²⁵² This mutability was perhaps facilitated by its more summative appearance in terms of the overall pose and the Virgin’s dress in comparison to Bartolomeo’s Lille *Virgin and Child*. But the consistency of the Madonna and child compositional arrangement across Montagna altarpieces produced from the early 1480s onwards was certainly also ensured through drawings. No other method would have been surpassed in its efficiency. The Lille drawing may have been an ‘update’ on a ‘reference drawing’ already present in the workshop, for which the *Pala di San Sebastiano* – as the first altarpiece Bartolomeo produced after two fresco schemes – presented occasion to produce a new one.

In this respect, it is noteworthy that neither Bartolomeo’s Budapest pen and wash drawing nor the British Museum blue paper study exactly correspond to an altarpiece in Bartolomeo’s corpus. Elements of the two can instead be noted in several altarpieces produced across a span of several decades, thereby reflecting a piecemeal

²⁵⁰ Respectively LUCCO 2014, Cats. 83, 100 &101 and also *Pala di Santa Caterina*, c.1520; Cat.33 & 36.

²⁵¹ BAMBACH 1999, pp.100–2 notes that this practice was implemented by central Italian artists as well as by Squarcione in Padua. See also FERINO-PAGDEN 1987 on the reuse of models within Perugino’s working practice.

²⁵² Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, I335r.. Examples include the *Madonna of the dell’Orto*; *Pala di San Michele*; and *Pala Montini*. See BLASS-SIMMEN 1994, pp.145–47ff. for Cima’s use of ‘*disegni memorativi*’ more generally.

approach to the construction of projects through drawings. One means to consider how this process was implemented is by focusing on a single altarpiece which recalls both drawings. In this case it is the *Pala di Pavia* for which Bartolomeo received payment on completion in 1490 and which has undergone IRR technological analysis (fig.2.33).²⁵³ The figural grouping and the folds of the Virgin's stiff drapery compare favourably with the British Museum study. Similarities with the Budapest drawing depend primarily on the throne's appearance prior to a modification at the painting phase: a shell-niche and decorative foliates originally adorned the throne's upper ledge.²⁵⁴ The obvious precedent to this detail, and a closer match in the overall grouping, is the *Pala di San Bartolomeo* of 1485 which might suggest that the Budapest drawing was made in preparation for a commission, in a process addressed below (fig.2.34).²⁵⁵ Nonetheless, the use of certain design features in the *Pala di Pavia* indicates that the drawing was deemed useful in the construction of the subsequent composition.

Where does this place the British Museum study? Attribution has oscillated between Bartolomeo and a workshop assistant on account of its static form and labored handling of the wash and white heightening.²⁵⁶ Disparities with the central grouping in relation to the *Pala di Pavia* confirms it was not a copy after the completed painting. Could the drawing have instead been used in the altarpiece's preparation? It is noteworthy that the *Pala di Pavia* has a hard, blocky quality that distinguishes it stylistically from other Montagna altarpieces despite its carefully finished underdrawing which is consistent with the technique discussed in Chapter One (fig.1.45).²⁵⁷ Such factors may suggest that the British Museum drawing was produced by a workshop assistant who held some responsibility for the *Pala di Pavia*'s execution.

²⁵³ LUCCO 2014, Cat.46, 1490 & Doc.70, p.128. The IRR scans published in LODI 2008, figs.25, 26 & 27.

²⁵⁴ LODI 2008, p.464.

²⁵⁵ LUCCO 2014, Cat.35. While the fact that the drawing is lit from the opposite direction to the *Pala di San Bartolomeo* reduces the likelihood that it was produced specifically for this commission, it is worth noting that Bartolomeo made other changes between the proposed drawing and the completed altarpiece. See below for further discussion.

²⁵⁶ POPHAM & POUNCEY 1950, No.180.

²⁵⁷ LODI 2008, pp.462–64.

The three drawings of the Enthroned Virgin and Child consequently offer a valuable insight into the sustained altarpiece production in the Montagna workshop. Collectively they suggest that the visual archive was continually expanding with compositional drawings that helped streamline production while disparity in their appearance points to a certain flexibility in their application. The Lille drawing should be considered as part of a series of compositional studies subsequently retained for reference and therefore that its high finishing was the outcome of a prolonged refinement of this approach. Conversely, the likelihood that the British Museum sheet was by an assistant indicates that a drawing's inherent value was not limited by its artistic quality nor authorship. Instead, drawings by assistants could complement drawings produced by Bartolomeo and constitute part of the workshop's operational tools. Finally, the Budapest wash drawing attests to a method of constructing altarpieces through the creative reworking of pre-extant compositional designs.

Facial Studies in Practice.

The following section will continue addressing how drawings were used in the Montagna workshop's operation by focusing on the depiction of faces. Four facial studies can be attributed to Bartolomeo with relative certainty. Yet the relationship between the drawings and the paintings by Bartolomeo for which they appear to have been preparatory to is not clear-cut. Analysis of these drawings consequently brings into context questions of transfer methods and the importance of cartoons in the creative process. Because the evidence is still fragmentary, the goal here is not to make assertive conclusions. Rather, comparison with other contemporary drawings of this type and consideration alongside what has already been established about Bartolomeo's working methods will allow for the presentation of an analysis of the material available.

The four drawings are all executed in black chalk with white heightening and are a scale slightly less than life-size. Two are remarkably similar depictions of a frontally orientated woman with her head tilted slightly to the left and hair covered by

a headdress (figs.2.35; 2.36).²⁵⁸ Details that distinguish the version in Christ Church from that at Windsor are its fuller features and greater *sfumato* in addition to the different treatment of their respective necklines.²⁵⁹ A third study, at the British Museum, is of a frontally orientated young man with a furrowed brow and curled hair that is suggested by deft curved strokes (fig.2.37).²⁶⁰ The fourth drawing, now in the Uffizi, also depicts a young male, this time shown in three quarter view to the left and, though the sheet is trimmed, it appears that he was formerly shown with a cap atop his shoulder-length curly hair (fig.2.38).²⁶¹ All are united by a strong handling of the black chalk and a subtle use of white heightening to pick out highlights on the ridge of the nose and cheekbones. What is further consistent about them is the schematic means by which Bartolomeo established the formal contours. This is particularly apparent in the British Museum *Head of a Man* in which the head was marked by a rapidly drawn oval that was then modelled through stumping. The subsequent suggestion of a neck and further defining outlines through quickly placed strokes of black chalk is also characteristic of the three other facial studies. The corresponding effect is not necessarily of drawings executed at speed; the sensitive handling of light and shade confirms that Bartolomeo took care with these studies. His choice of medium and technique instead points to an established way of producing this specific genre of drawing.

Black chalk was used consistently by artists across the Italian Peninsula between the mid fifteenth- to mid-sixteenth century for facial studies. Select examples include Signorelli's *Head of an Elderly Man*, Pisanello's seminal *Portrait of Filippo Maria Visconti*, the *Portrait of a Bearded Man* by Lorenzo Lotto (fig.2.39), and the *Portrait of a Young Man* attributed to Vivarini.²⁶² Scholarship often describes these drawings as portraits either by virtue of their association with a painted portrait or because the features are sufficiently individuated to suggest they depict real sitters.²⁶³ It has similarly been suggested that Bartolomeo's facial studies were made from

²⁵⁸ App.I, Nos.15 & 16.

²⁵⁹ On these differences see also BYAM SHAW 1976, Cat.709, p.191.

²⁶⁰ App.I, No.14.

²⁶¹ App.I, No.17.

²⁶² See respectively with further literature LONDON 2010, Cat.64; BERLIN 2011, Cat.94; on Lotto's National Gallery of Scotland drawing and other examples of this type see entries by Matthias Wivel in MADRID 2018, Cats.31, 30, 38 & 5; for Vivarini, see BERLIN 2011, Cat.165.

²⁶³ The most extensive study on this topic is BERLIN 2011 with various entries and HUMFREY 2011 on the portrait in the Veneto.

life.²⁶⁴ Draftsmen frequently employed a sophisticated variety of graphic techniques to effect a satisfactory verisimilitude. This is particularly the case with the five much-debated drawings variously attributed to Andrea Mantegna, Giovanni Bellini and Francesco Bonsignori, as well as the *Portrait of Gentile Bellini* that may be a self portrait (fig.2.40).²⁶⁵ The apparent preference for making facial studies with black chalk in artisanal workshops during the final quarter of the *quattrocento* may explain why Bartolomeo adopted this medium for the same purposes.²⁶⁶

The potential to swiftly produce accurate portrait studies was not the only motive for using the medium. Black chalk's tactile qualities lent themselves well to the working drawings required for the preparatory phases of a painting. This is apparent in the *Head of a Man Looking Up* varioulsy attributed to Melozzo da Forli, Giovanni Bellini and the Venetian School (fig.2.41).²⁶⁷ The broad working of the chalk combined with the strong handling of strokes enabled the efficient production of the required head study which was then pricked extensively for transfer onto an unidentified painting surface. The technique of *spolvero* was particularly effective for the accurate replication of facial studies across supports. Pricked drawings of male and female heads by artists such as Verocchio and Piero Pollaiuolo exist with their use in the execution of paintings securing their designation as *cartoni*.²⁶⁸ Once again it must be emphasised that the use of the *spolvero* technique was still prevalent in the Veneto even if the greater extent of technical research conducted on paintings originating from central Italy has skewed opinions to the contrary.²⁶⁹ *Madonne* issued from the workshops of Squarcione and Bellini and their followers with traces of *spolvero* dust along select contours such as the face of the Virgin indicate that the procedure was appreciated in the region by virtue of the serial production of these

²⁶⁴ BYAM SHAW 1976, Cat.790, p.191.

²⁶⁵ LONDON 1992, Cats.103–7, entries by Ekserdjian, BERLIN 2011, Cats 153–58 & Cat.159 for the *Portrait of Gentile Bellini*.

²⁶⁶ One might add that the *Study of a Man in Profile* on the verso of Bellini's *Saint Sebastian* of circa 1460-62 was sketched in black chalk.

²⁶⁷ The attribution to Bellini supported by POPHAM & POUNCEY 1950, No.16 and origin from the Venetian School considered on British Museum Collection Online, inv.1895,0915.591.

²⁶⁸ For example, London 2010, Cat.41, GDSU, inv.130E &Cat.33, GDSU, inv.14506F.

²⁶⁹ BAMBACH 1999, p.242.

works.²⁷⁰ Central and north Italian artists clearly employed this transfer method concurrently and to reach comparable ends.

Yet not one of Bartolomeo's four facial studies is pricked. Some instead have marks that result from incision with a stylus which points to the *calco* transfer process.²⁷¹ This method involved tracing the outlines of a design with a sharp tool to produce corresponding indentations, or *incisioni indirette*, on the support below which was less-time consuming than making innumerable prickmarks for *spolvero* and in order to make another sheet to use as the cartoon proper. In the Christ Church *Head of a Female* these incisions can be observed around the facial features and hairline, while similar marks are found in the drawings at Windsor and the British Museum. It is in the Uffizi *Head of a Man*, however, that indentations are the most extensive. The figure's eyes and eyelids are deeply incised, the forms of the lips and nose are marked out and the contours of the neckline outlined.²⁷² The disparity in the degree to which *calco* marks are visible on all four drawings might be attributed to contributing factors such as the pressure exerted by separate individuals, the type of paper support, the state of the drawing's preservation, and the mount which tends to make incisions less visible.²⁷³ The variation, however, may also reflect the conditions in which Bartolomeo produced the respective facial studies and how they were used in the creative process.

Visual comparisons have been drawn among the four drawings and faces that appear in Bartolomeo's altarpieces. The degree of closeness varies as does the number of paintings in which elements of a drawing can be identified. With the British Museum *Head of a Man*, the closest counterpart – albeit with differences in the dimensions and expressions – is the half-length *Saint John the Baptist between Saints Zeno and Catherine of Alexandria* of circa 1495 (fig.2.42).²⁷⁴ A looser recollection worth noting is the rather saturnine Benedictine saint who flanks Zeno in the *Pala di SS.Nazaro e Celso* as the figure has the same straight eyebrows and hollowed cheeks

²⁷⁰ As noted in BAMBACH 1999, pp.100–2 & fn.117. GALASSI 1998A & GALASSI 1998B offer some revision to this shortcoming.

²⁷¹ For an overview see BAMBACH 1999, pp.335–40.

²⁷² See also discussion in MILAN 2015, Cats.6a & 6b, entry by Cristina Casoli.

²⁷³ BAMBACH 1999, pp.335–38.

²⁷⁴ LUCCO 2014, Cat.3; my thanks to Thomas dalla Costa for enabling me to study this painting. This disparity noted by POPHAM & POUNCEY 1950, No.176.

(fig.2.43). At the other end of the spectrum, the most direct example is the Uffizi male study which parallels with the face of saint Celsus in the *Polyptych of SS.Nazaro e Celso* and saint Sigismond in the *Pala Squarzi* (figs.2.44; 2.45). The *Pala Squarzi* – commissioned in 1496 – can also be linked with the Windsor *Head of a Female* as the Virgin’s ovoid face and peaked headdress is replicated in the drawing (fig.2.46).²⁷⁵ Further connections to other altarpieces and smaller devotional paintings are complicated by the Windsor study’s obvious closeness to the Christ Church *Head of a Female*. For example, the features of the Virgin in works dating to the 1510s such as the *Pala di Santa Maria in Vanzo*, *Pala di Lonigo* and the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* amongst others have traits that could be variously related to either drawing (fig.2.47).²⁷⁶

What can be established from this survey is that Bartolomeo’s black chalk facial studies were retained for reuse in commissions fulfilled across an extended period. Peers active in the Veneto also economised on facial studies, but sometimes deployed different media. To cite one example: the delicate drawing in brush and brown wash with white heightening of a bearded old man that Cima made preparatory to Jerome in his *Madonna dell’Arancio* circa 1488 was apparently consulted in the preparation of the Washington *Madonna and Child with Saints Jerome and John the Baptist* around five years later (figs.2.48; 2.49).²⁷⁷ A comparably short time-lapse is observable in the application of Bartolomeo’s drawings. The previously described head of the Virgin, for instance, features in altarpieces dating between 1496 and 1506. More notably, the *Pala Squarzi* and *Polyptych of SS.Nazaro e Celso* – for which the Uffizi *Head of a Male* relates to saints Celsus and Sigismond respectively – were produced within a few years of each other. This suggests that the novelty of a specific facial study may have impacted upon its subsequent reuse in following commissions.

How then were Bartolomeo’s facial studies deployed in the preparation of these various altarpieces? The varied extent to which the outlines are incised precludes the theory that the facial studies were all incised directly onto a painting

²⁷⁵ First noted in POPHAM & WILDE 1949, No.19.

²⁷⁶ Respectively LUCCO 2014, Cats.83, 62 & 76 where posits the Windsor drawing as expressly preparatory to this painting.

²⁷⁷ BM, inv.1936.1010.8; LONDON 2010, Cat.77, p.260. For Cima’s two altarpieces see respectively, CONEGLIANO 2010, Cat.19, Venice, Gallerie dell’Accademia, inv.815 & PP.14–15 for the NGA *Sacra Conversazione* inv.1937.1.33.

surface, pointing to a more nuanced application of the drawings than a simple transfer process across media. The same can be said Cima's of *Head of Jerome*, as the dimensions accord with its counterpart in the latter altarpiece even though the sheet does not bear any sign of transfer. Further head studies that have qualities indicative of a purpose as working models yet display no transfer marks abound and include Vivarini's brush and wash *Head of an Old Man* and Bellini's brush and wash *Head of an Old Bearded Man*.²⁷⁸

In one attempt to explain this phenomenon, Cima's *Head of Jerome* has been described as an 'auxiliary cartoon' that would have been referred to during the painting's preparation.²⁷⁹ 'Auxiliary cartoons' as defined by Oskar Fischel and subsequently Carmen Bambach, however, are highly finished works drawn in black chalk or charcoal over *spolvero* outlines: a category into which neither Cima's – and by extension Bartolomeo's – drawings can strictly be placed.²⁸⁰ Yet the continued relevance of the term 'auxiliary' resides in the fact that such drawings were not used to transfer the study directly onto the painting surface as a cartoon but were instead preserved for future reference. This invokes the notion of the '*ben finito cartone*': these drawings were created through the transfer of the design to an intermediary sheet of paper.²⁸¹ While *spolvero* could be used, the *calco* or 'carbon paper' method – in which the verso of the drawing was rubbed with charcoal and the outlines lightly incised with the stylus to leave an impression on the sheet below – was preferable as it was quicker and less invasive.²⁸² The resultant 'substitute' subsequently became the working cartoon used to transfer the design to painting support either by pouncing or '*incisioni indirette*', minimising damage to the original drawing. Several factors indicate the Montagna workshop employed this multi-step procedure to transfer Bartolomeo's facial studies to the painting surfaces. The indentations on the drawings are sufficiently unobtrusive to establish that *calco* was done onto another sheet of

²⁷⁸ LONDON 2010, Cat.75.

²⁷⁹ POPHAM & POUNCEY 1950, No.50.

²⁸⁰ BAMBACH 1999, p.321.

²⁸¹ For discussion on this genre see BAMBACH 1999, pp.264–71 and John Marciari in the context of Bernardino Lanino's *Study of Two Apostles* in NEW HAVEN 2008, Cat.13, pp.69–70.

²⁸² BAMBACH 1999, p.338. An example of the latter is the *Portrait of Gentile Bellini* in which the outlines are pounced but not dusted with charcoal, BAMBACH 1999, p.106.

paper rather than into gesso or onto panel even though the fact that all four sheets are now mounted makes it impossible to check for carbon rubbings on the *versos*.

Despite their evident usefulness, mechanical transfer processes still had their limitations. Incising or pouncing contours and outlines could only fix the general form of a facial study on the painting surface. Focusing on certain features such as brow lines, eyelids, lips and the nose provided vital reference points to ensure correct facial proportions. Other aspects such as modelling the planes and hollows of the cheekbones and brow depended on continual consultation of preparatory drawings. Bartolomeo and his more senior assistants were certainly capable of transferring such details freehand across supports particularly with faces that they depicted frequently, such as that of the Virgin. This may partly explain the variety in which Bartolomeo's four facial studies are incised with the stylus and their correspondence with completed paintings. Producing multiple depictions of the Virgin in quick succession surely decreased the reliance on a drawing or *cartone*. The corresponding assertion is that the two female studies were not expressly preparatory to a single commission but were instead another category of 'reference drawings' utilised across multiple projects. But if economising on the ubiquitous depiction of the Virgin was logical, the two male heads present different scenarios. With the British Museum *Male Head*, its possession of the least stylus incisions of Bartolomeo's four facial studies concurs with the fact that its contours do not exactly align with any figure in Bartolomeo's surviving corpus. The chalk study appears to have been principally referenced and developed freehand on the painting surface. A different situation can be proposed for the Uffizi *Male Head* which has the deepest incisions. Digital overlay of the two painted faces in the Pala Squarzi and *Pala di SS.Nazaro e Celso* with this drawing reveals its closest correspondence with saint Sigismond in the *Pala Squarzi*, as evidenced in details such as the neckline of the figures' robes (fig.2.50). These factors combined with the overall higher painted quality of the altarpiece suggests the drawing was produced specifically in preparation for this commission. This makes a strong case for the *Pala Squarzi* as the earlier work and therefore counters Lucco's proposal for the dating of the *Pala di SS.Nazaro e Celso* to circa 1490 to 1495 in favour of the early 1500s.²⁸³ Inclusion of another young male saint in two almost

²⁸³ LUCCO 2014, Cat.52, p.336.

contemporary altarpieces suggests that the obvious solution was to incise the contours of the drawing intended for the *Pala Squarzi* to produce another ‘substitute cartoon’.²⁸⁴

It is not coincidental that the extensive mechanical reproduction and recycling of facial studies coincides with what was the most active period of Bartolomeo’s career. Between roughly 1495 and 1505, the workshop produced altarpieces for the Squarzi and Bishop Zeno, as well as fresco schemes in Verona and Padua. Delegation and the division of resources was key. Having a cache of facial studies for reference or to produce multiple substitute cartoons meant assistants could consult and employ Bartolomeo’s drawings without requiring his constant intervention.

Tight deadlines are particularly exemplified by the commission for the *Salone del Vescovo* for which Pietro Barozzi requested Bartolomeo depict 100 Paduan Bishops.²⁸⁵ Payment records indicate that the scheme was completed in just a few months in summer 1506.²⁸⁶ Such a feat must have been achieved by a combination of two factors: a large workforce and the tactful use of designs. Surveying the 100 portraits reveals the existence of several essential types not in physiognomic terms but in overall pose. These include a frontally orientated figure with one hand raised, a balding figure facing to the right and another of frontal orientation who looks upwards (figs.2.51; 2.52). Few of the Bishops look identical, despite these types. Yet restoration of the frescoes suggests the use of *calco* to transfer the preparatory drawings.²⁸⁷ The method seemingly employed was to use cartoons to transfer the basic outlines of the figures and for assistants to then paint them independently for variety in a continuation of the design economising used in altarpiece production.

Most of the commissions discussed here were prestigious and remunerated accordingly, as attested by the 250 ducats paid for Bishop Barozzi’s frescoes and 180 ducats for Bishop Zeno’s altarpiece (figs.5.12 & 5.13). Yet the agreed price does not appear to have affected Bartolomeo’s design economising, unlike Perugino, for

²⁸⁴ Technical study of these two paintings to produce IR scans would arguably lend further support to these proposals.

²⁸⁵ LUCCO 2014, Cat.71 with further literature.

²⁸⁶ LUCCO 2014, Doc.96 shows the rate was agreed on 21 July 1506 and Doc.97 records the final down payment on 18 September 1506.

²⁸⁷ MAGANI 2006, p.86.

instance, who appears to have also taken a commission's rate into account when recycling cartoons.²⁸⁸ Motives for Bartolomeo's comparable practice likely included mounting pressures on the *bottega*'s time and resources due to his propensity for fulfilling multiple ambitious projects simultaneously or in quick succession.

Drawings for Apprentices, Assistants and Alumni.

Another drawing of a female head, formerly in the Rasini Collection, has been historically attributed to Bartolomeo.²⁸⁹ This is due to its relationship to Bartolomeo's *Pala di San Giovanni Ilarione* of circa 1503 to 1505 as the study corresponds exactly with the Virgin's head in the completed altarpiece (figs.2.53; 2.54).²⁹⁰ Executed in pen and ink with watercolour – a medium used by Bartolomeo for other purposes addressed below – the drawing sits in uneasy contrast with Bartolomeo's evident preference for black chalk to render facial studies in surviving drawings. What is more, the figure's soft expression is closer to central Italian models such as that of Perugino rather than Bartolomeo's strikingly direct facial studies. Concomitant doubts as to Bartolomeo's authorship of the *Rasini Head* align with the recurrence of the female's likeness in several paintings by Francesco Verla, a presumed alumnus of the Montagna workshop who travelled to Rome circa 1503 (fig.2.55).²⁹¹ This is perplexing, and one proposed explanation is that Verla made a study after an altarpiece encountered in central Italy, and that, when he returned to Vicenza, he allowed Bartolomeo to refer to it while executing the *Pala di San Giovanni Ilarione*.²⁹² Another possibility is that Verla drew the *Rasini Head* after Bartolomeo's completed altarpiece to use in his own commissions and that similarities with Perugino's models are coincidental. Uncertainties remain. In either scenario, however, the *Rasini head* would be termed a 'simile' by the Tietzes and 'pattern-drawing' by Ames-Lewis and correspondingly raises questions about the drawing's functional purpose.

²⁸⁸ For this analysis of Perugino's tactics of design reuse, see O'MALLEY 2007.

²⁸⁹ PUPPI 1962 pp.147–48, Fig.80; TRENTO 2017B, Cat.16, p.134 with further literature.

²⁹⁰ See LUCCO 2014, Cat.67.

²⁹¹ See TRENTO 2017B, Cats.17–20.

²⁹² LUCCO 2017, p.74.

One motive for making copy-drawings was to develop artistic skills. Cennini famously advocated that young artists should be ‘constantly copying the best things which you can find done by the hands of great masters’ in order to attain the competency demanded of workshop members.²⁹³ That this training method was implemented in the Veneto is attested by Squarcione’s contracts in which he promised to supervise pupils’ attempts at to draw copies after his collection of drawings, reliefs and sculptures, and intervene with corrections when necessary. Such procedures were again consistent across the peninsula. Various drawings associable with the workshops of Ghirlandaio, Perugino and Carpaccio by virtue of their relationship to drawn prototypes by these masters indicate that the exercise was intended to train their apprentices to emulate the ‘housestyle’.²⁹⁴ When a certain motif or figure is only known in painted form it can be proposed that a drawing previously existed or equally taken as evidence of their engagement with their master’s work²⁹⁵

In order to assess the application of drawing as a training aid in the Montagna *bottega*, it worth first surveying the individuals who revolved in its orbit. Bartolomeo’s status as the most successful painter in Vicenza with commissions distributed across the region demanded a large workforce. The most logical approach was to involve the family, as confirmed by payments made to Paolo and Filippo on behalf of their father for projects such as the *Cappella Proti* (1495–96), *Cappella di San Biagio* (1504–6) and *Pala Zeno* (1500–2).²⁹⁶ Their involvement presupposes a fluency in the housestyle, which would have been founded through exposure to the workshop’s activities during their childhoods. The output of other individuals who forged independent careers following an association with the Montagna workshop offers a complementary perspective. Affiliations can be inferred from their documented presence in Vicenza as well as through their painting styles. In addition to Verla, those who rank in this group include Marcello Fogolino, Giovanni Speranza, Giovanni Buonconsiglio and Girolamo d’Alemagna – who was particularly close to

²⁹³ CENNINI ED.1933, Chapter 27.

²⁹⁴ See for instance AMES-LEWIS 1981 for Ghirlandaio.

²⁹⁵ AMES-LEWIS 1981, p.51ff proposes that prototypes for copies after Ghirlandaio were predominately drawings from his workshop stock.

²⁹⁶ Respectively Lucco 2014, Docs.80, Filippo & Paolo; 91 & Mantese 1964 iii/2, pp.240-41. Paolo and Filippo had both passed away by 1515.

Bartolomeo.²⁹⁷ The capacities of their respective affiliations remains unclear: some may have completed their apprenticeships under Bartolomeo or were simply assistants cum collaborators for a period. Despite these uncertainties that are partly due to the lack of guild records on painters' matriculations in Vicenza, the Montagna workshop emerges as a locus of artistic interchange.

Elements of Bartolomeo's designs – known both from drawings or as incorporated in completed works – recur in paintings by these artists. For instance, in the *Assumption of the Virgin* Speranza installed in San Bartolomeo circa 1500 to 1505, the artfully knotted mantle is taken directly from Bartolomeo's 'reference-drawing' of the *Orant Virgin* while the angels flanking the Virgin also recall this drawing (fig.2.56; 5.18).²⁹⁸ More subtle recollections of the same drawing can be noted in the roughly contemporary *Madonna with Peter and Joseph* variously attributed to Fogolino, Buonconsiglio and Verla in the drapery of the Virgin's headdress around her shoulders and her overall stance (fig.2.57).²⁹⁹ Another example is Saint George in Speranza's *Pala di San Giorgio* which is almost identical to the figure's placement in Bartolomeo's *Pala di Gambellara* (fig.5.17). Another overt example concerns Verla's reliance on the grouping of the enthroned Virgin and Child from the *Pala di San Giovanni Ilarione*. The compositional format recurs in at least three commissions Verla fulfilled in Vicenza and the surrounding region including the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* of 1512.³⁰⁰

That several of these paintings are signed by the younger artists does not mean they were directly awarded the contracts or that they had established independent workshops. In certain cases, such as the *Assumption* Speranza produced for Fioramonte Priorato, it is possible that prospective clients first approached

²⁹⁷ Not to mention other less-known, or anonymous assistants. See respectively TRENTO 2017B; TRENTO 2017A; DAL POZZOLO 1998; CASELLATO 2001, d'Alemagna stood as Bartolomeo's witness for a number of legal documents including his marriage, which indicates he was well established within the Montagna workshop as a journeyman cum collaborator. Speranza is known to have lived with d'Alemagna.

²⁹⁸ AVAGNINA ET AL. 2003, Cat.48.

²⁹⁹ This altarpiece is signed 'BONI CONSILII IOA. FECIT.1497', but was attributed to Marcello Fogolino and dated to c.1504–5 in TRENTO 2017A, Cat.1. Further addressed below.

³⁰⁰ See respectively TRENTO 2017B, Cats.18, 19 & 28, esp.18 for further comments on this copying.

Bartolomeo to produce the altarpieces for their family chapels.³⁰¹ Concurrent engagement during the early years of the sixteenth century on projects distributed across the Veneto as well as outstanding altarpiece commissions for Vicentine patrons means Bartolomeo may not have been able to accept these commissions outright. Rather than decline, he may have instead passed the commissions over to more advanced assistants in a delegatory or subcontractual arrangement. Such procedures were means for a *maestro* to manage demand as they meant he could retain some control over the work and take a share of the profits.³⁰² Though guilds often had regulations against them and they could lead to the souring of relations between artists, subcontracting and delegation also appear to have been an accepted part of artistic practices. Mantegna's complaint in January 1448 that the work he had produced while Squarcione's apprentice was worth 400 ducats and the subsequent award of 200 ducats in his favour indicates that his substantial involvement on Squarcione's commissions, and perhaps independent completion of some, is widely recognised.³⁰³ The evidence available suggests that similar cases existed with Bartolomeo, his workshop *garzoni* and recent *alumni* even if this warrants further archival research beyond the scope of this study. Analysis here centres on the place of *disegno* in these interchanges.

Replication of details from Bartolomeo's compositions and the general adherence to his housestyle indicate that the Montagna visual archive remained central. Assistants were apparently able to consult the 'reference drawings' such as the Munich *Orant Virgin* for interpretation in their independent works. It might be recalled that Bartolomeo almost certainly made a 'reference drawing' after Messina's *Pala di San Cassiano* for use in the *Pala di Gambellara* which presumably remained in the workshop: Speranza could have consulted this study when completing his altarpiece. Working directly from these drawings was an easier approach than studying an altarpiece *in situ*, especially given, for instance, that the *Pala di*

³⁰¹ Priorato acquired rights to a chapel in San Bartolomeo which was already decorated with several altarpieces by Bartolomeo and therefore the choice to commission his altarpiece from Bartolomeo would have been a logical one.

³⁰² For instance, Sandro Botticelli left whole altarpieces to be executed by his assistants as in the Pentecost altarpiece where the contract was awarded directly to Botticelli, see WALDMAN 2009, pp.113–14 and O'MALLEY 2015 for further discussion on how Botticelli managed his workshop's output.

³⁰³ For the legal wrangling and outcome of this disagreement, see LONDON 1992, p.99.

Gambellara was installed in a remote parish church. Comparison can be made with Squarcione's workshop in which assistants and associates made copies after his drawings for subsequent use in their own commissions.³⁰⁴

These considerations bring into context several drawings which replicate figures from paintings by Bartolomeo. Select examples display marginal divergences from their sources: a pen and ink drawing of Saint Catherine is evidently after Bartolomeo's painting of the saint of c.1502–3 but extends the figure to a full-length study (fig.2.58).³⁰⁵ This may be indicative of a degree of artistic license on the behalf of the copyist or alternatively that they worked from a now lost full-length drawing. The most precise copies are executed in metalpoint. Two replicate the left and right hand groupings from the *Polyptych of SS.Nazaro e Celso* respectively, another Saint Simon the Apostle from the *Pala di Cartigliano* and a fourth, Saint Paul from the *Poldi-Pezzoli panel* (figs.2.59; 2.60; 2.61; 2.62).³⁰⁶ All these drawings are considered to be roughly contemporary with the altarpieces they copy. Direct comparison of the British Museum's *Saints John the Baptist and Benedict with Saint Simon* reveals some variety in the handling of the metalpoint with the latter modelled through the addition of white heightening. However, the four metalpoints are sufficiently similar to propose that they were all executed by members of the Montagna workshop.

The existence of this group naturally raises questions on the circumstances of their production. Metalpoint was recognised as a medium well suited to the initial marking out of a composition and the training of younger artists.³⁰⁷ Numerous metalpoint drawings are known to have been produced in central Italy as they copy figures from altarpieces in Perugia and Florence as in the case of the so-called Venice

³⁰⁴ See below for the circumstances surrounding the Lazzara altarpiece and the drawing by Niccolo Pizzolo; Squarcione's loan to Marinello da Spalato further sets a regional precedent for the circulation of drawings between masters and assistants for practical ends, see LAZZARINI & MOSCHETTI 1908, pp.48–49 & Doc. LXI

³⁰⁵ App.I, No.35, Musee Bonnat, inv.1262, after *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, this painting sold Farsetti Arte, Prato, 29 October 2014, Lot.113; LUCCO 2014, Cat.64 where notes that the saint's self-absorption and placement in the landscape indicates that the panel was not formerly part of a larger altarpiece.

³⁰⁶ App.I, Nos.31, 32, 34, 33. BM, Pp.1.21, POPHAM & POUNCEY 1950, No.179; GDSU, inv.282 E both after LUCCO 2014, Cat.52; BM, 1895.0915.784, POPHAM & POUNCEY 1950, No.178 after the *Pala di Cartigliano* of c.1507–10, LUCCO 2014, Cat. 82; Louvre, RF31170 after the Poldi-Pezzoli *Saint Paul* of c.1485, LUCCO 2014, Cat.31, this figure further discussed in Chapter 6.

³⁰⁷ CHAPMAN 2015, pp.104–7.

Sketchbook once attributed to Raphael and innumerable loose sheets.³⁰⁸ Yet the medium is not considered to have been very popular in the Veneto due to few surviving examples. These include a sheet of *Six Studies of Hands* by or after Alvise Vivarini, the *Virgin adoring the child* copied after Mantegna's Adoration, the Bellini sketchbook in the Louvre and several sheets from a model-book originating from Verona circa 1450–60 (fig.2.63).³⁰⁹ The four metalpoints after Bartolomeo's paintings suggest that the isolated examples are indicative of a more widespread practice continued at least into the early *cinquecento*.

Metalpoint's appeal lay in its surface durability. The accuracy with which the 'Montagna metalpoints' replicate lateral saints from Bartolomeo's altarpieces suggests that they were both exercises in emulating a master's housestyle and meant to be consulted on future occasions. Younger artists could have made the drawings before an altarpiece had left the workshop or perhaps taken trips to relevant churches in the locality including Cartigliano and Verona. The resultant studies would have been retained by *garzoni* to build up their own portfolios to be used on the establishment of their independent businesses. Evidence that such a practice was implemented in Bartolomeo's workshop is provided by a number of drawings attributable to Giovanni Buonconsiglio even if these are executed in pen and ink rather than metalpoint. These replicate details from compositions Buonconsiglio would have had access to in Vicenza: Christ from Bellini's *Baptism*, the halberdier from the Prevedari Print, Bartolomeo's renditions of Christ bound to the column, while the Modena *Saint Sebastian* develops the saint's depiction from the *Pala di San Sebastiano* (fig.2.64).³¹⁰ That all of these studies have been formerly attributed to Bartolomeo not only indicates that copy-drawings were made in the Montagna workshop, but also provides an insight into the graphic techniques taught there.

These drawings help explain why lateral saints from Bartolomeo's paintings consistently recur in the work of 'alumni' from his *bottega*. To survey a few examples: Saint Peter in Buonconsiglio's *Pala di Montagnana*, another iteration of the saint as he appears in multiple Montagna altarpieces; the kneeling figure of Joseph

³⁰⁸ CHAPMAN 2015 and accompanying catalogue entries, Cats.37–45.

³⁰⁹ CHAPMAN 2015, p.106; For the Veronese model-book see SCHELLER 1995, Cat.23. For the copy after Mantegna, see GDSU, inv.397E, LONDON 1992, Cat.9

³¹⁰ DAL POZZOLO 1998 Cats.D4, DA2, DA3; App.I, No.30.

from the *Pala d'Orgiano* recurs in Fogolino's *Adoration of the Child* of c.1535–37.³¹¹ Perhaps the clearest instance is the predella panel Fogolino likely produced for the San Francesco Nuovo in Vicenza, circa 1515, following his return from a prolonged stay in Venice (fig.2.65).³¹² Saints Paul, Bernard and Francis all find their prototype in works issued by the Montagna with their static qualities suggesting a 'copy and paste' approach.³¹³ In sum, these examples indicate that Bartolomeo's alumni retained copy-drawings after his designs to which they referred to across their working careers.³¹⁴

Colore and Disegno.

As noted above, a defining feature of the *Rasini Female Head* is the use of red and blue pigment to clarify the design. This application of coloured over the initial drawing in pen and ink recurs in the *Head of a Youth with Diadem* which, though attributed to the Parmese Cristoforo Caselli, is considered a product of Venetic influences from both Venice and the *terra ferma* (fig.2.66).³¹⁵ Parallels have rightly been drawn with the *Rasini Head* in the overall appearance. Attention has not, however, been drawn to the two drawings' comparable use of coloured wash. If the two, as has been suggested, originate from the same milieu, then it follows that watercolours were employed in Venetic workshops. This would thereby go some way to counter the frequently propagated opinion that coloured wash was less prevalent in the Veneto relative to elsewhere in the Italian peninsula.³¹⁶ Explanation has been related not simply to factors of survival, but to artistic practices and the way artists

³¹¹ Respectively DAL POZZOLO 1998 Cat.A13; TRENTO 2017A, Cat.22 & LUCCO 2014, Cat.93.

³¹² TRENTO 2017A, Cat.6.

³¹³ Paul and Bernard derive from various altarpieces including LUCCO 2014, Cats.31 & 39; Francis can be related to Benedetto's engraving of Saint Francis which is discussed in Chapter 4.

³¹⁴ It is also worth noting the existence of two variants on Bartolomeo's *Christ the Redeemer* (Turin, Galleria Sabauda; LUCCO 2014, Cat.63) by Fogolino (Treviso Collezione Giuseppe Alessandrea; TRENTO 2017A, Cat.7) and Speranza (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery) which are of roughly consistent dimensions – respectively 54.5 x 40.5 cm; 65 x 55cm; 59.6 x 45.1cm. These may suggest that the assistants copied Bartolomeo's painting while in the workshop, used the same cartoon or even made tracings of the finished painting.

³¹⁵ The Met, Lehman Collection, 1975.1.279; FORLANI TEMPESTI 1991, Cat.21, pp.64–67.

³¹⁶ See for instance, WHISTLER 2016, p.122, and in particular MCGRATH 1995 for an extensive survey of this phenomenon and its theoretical context and MCGRATH 1997 for a more concise overview and on p.25 for the remark that prior to 1568, 'coloured drawings ... remain almost non-existent' for the Veneto and p.111 for his calculation that there are 37 pre-1500 coloured drawings from the Veneto still in existence.

active in these regions in the late *quattrocento* to early *cinquecento* perceived colour.³¹⁷ McGrath asserted that Venetian artists sought to evoke atmospheric effects which could not be easily replicated in watercolour, while Florentine artists saw the application of colour as a means to clarify the information conveyed by their drawings.³¹⁸ *Disegni coloriti* could function as descriptive tools and could be used in varied contexts to streamline the operation of their workshops. Could it be that the artistic potential of coloured wash simply did not appeal to Venetic artists? An appraisal of surviving examples suggests otherwise.³¹⁹

Close analysis of a drawing preparatory to Bartolomeo's Poldi-Pezzoli Saint Jerome of circa 1485 shows that a light brown wash was applied to selective areas (figs; 2.67; 2.68).³²⁰ This is distinct to the technique of using a grey-brown wash to mark out areas of shadow in lieu of hatching with the pen favoured by Carpaccio. Instead, the addition of wash over a rapid figural study in black chalk shows colouring was a phase in the drawing's execution. The disparity between the schematic attention paid to the figure's features and the delicately rendered fabric typifies the drawing as a drapery study, and this is confirmed by the fact that Jerome's robe is identical in the completed painting. Multiple studies were evidently used in the painted figure's conception: one of the overall figure, one for the muscular arm and another for the face of which the recurrent physiognomy across Bartolomeo's oeuvre implies the reuse of a single model via intermediary cartoons in the process outlined above. Bartolomeo was clearly aware that drawings of differing form and media could aid in the construction of the painting and so the production of a *disegno colorito* for drapery is a significant choice.

Bartolomeo was not the only Venetic artist to use colour in this capacity. Light brown wash was subtly applied to the robes of Cima's *Saint Francis* (fig.2.69).³²¹ The figure itself is more finished than Bartolomeo's *Saint Jerome* in the modelling of the facial features. However, the replication of the robes in the figure of Anthony of Padua in the *Polittico di Miglionico* suggests Cima also employed the drawing as a

³¹⁷ MCGRATH 1997, pp.25, 28.

³¹⁸ MCGRATH 1997, p.23.

³¹⁹ Venetic *disegni coloriti* are further addressed in VERDIGEL 2020.

³²⁰ App.I, No.13.

³²¹ Louvre, inv.5603; HUMFREY 1983, No.195 where relates it to the San Zaccaria, (Louvre, inv.5604) discussed above.

drapery study and applied the coloured wash with this purpose in mind.³²² While these two examples might be seen simply a recognition of brown wash's closeness to the colouring of mendicant robes, the use of colour to render drapery was not limited to brown. Various examples show that Venetic artists experimented with brighter pigments. One example is the *John the Baptist* attributed to Bartolomeo to which a blue wash was applied extensively in a technique comparable to that deployed in the *Lille Virgin and Child* (fig.2.70).³²³ It is correspondingly possible that the drawing originally formed part of a larger compositional design produced for a prospective altarpiece commission such as the *Pala di Piovene* in a practice further considered below. A visual effect comparable to that sought in both the *John the Baptist* and *Saint Jerome* was achieved in the *Saint Catherine of Alexandria standing in a niche* dateable to the second half of the *quattrocento*, which is coloured with a green-blue wash (fig.2.71).³²⁴ Common to both drawings is the focus placed on drapery: the forms of the figures were constricted with precise pen lines, with the internal modelling of the fabric principally dependent on the wash which was built up to varying densities. The resultant consistency in the adept use of coloured wash in these examples is arguably indicative of a more widespread phenomenon.

A particularly relevant point of comparison is the *Study of Saint Paul* related to Mantegna's *Pala di San Zeno*, which is either a preparatory study or by a contemporary copyist (fig.2.72).³²⁵ Paul's tunic is a green-grey and his mantle coloured a pink shade which does not correspond with the saint's appearance in the completed panel (fig.2.12). The delicate application of the washes, however, and the fact that the folds are exactly replicated albeit in different hues is arguably demonstrative of the drawing's purpose as a drapery study. As in Bartolomeo's Uffizi *Jerome*, the figure's facial features and limbs were only suggested while most focus was devoted to modelling the fabric through carefully placed strokes of coloured wash. Their two drawings were intended to serve expressly for rendering fabric and not to aid in the depiction of the overall figure. The *Saint Catherine* and Cima's *Saint Francis* show a different approach in that colour was a means of refining figural

³²² MCGRATH 1997, p.22 conversely stated that no coloured drawings can be attributed to Cima. The figure can be associated with the *Pala Miglianico* and also occurs in the robes of Saint James in the *Tobias and the Angel*.

³²³ App.I, No.19.

³²⁴ The Morgan, inv.1981.83.

³²⁵ Ambrosiana, F273, No.35; VERONA 2006, Cat.7; Ekserdjian in LONDON 1992, Cat.14, p146.

studies. What is consistent, however, is the use of *disegni coloriti* as preparatory drawings that conveyed information on how drapery should appear when painted. The production of these examples by artists active across the Veneto indicate that this practice was particularly prevalent in the region.³²⁶

Where did this approach to *colore* develop and what does this say about Bartolomeo's deployment of the technique? If Mantegna produced a coloured drapery study for the *Pala di San Zeno*, its nature as one of his earliest commissions would suggest he was continuing a method learnt under Squarcione. *Disegni coloriti* by Mantegna's peer, Marco Zoppo, such as the *Resurrected Christ* in which red wash was applied to the decorative garland above Christ, and a selectively coloured sketch of *Saint Christopher in Lycia* associable with the Squarcione workshop, supports this view (fig.2.73).³²⁷ Precedents to this application of colour can be traced to early *quattrocento* Verona as Pisanello's watercolour animal studies.³²⁸ Yet this practice may have equally developed alongside manuscript illumination practices implemented across the Veneto. The various miniatures attributed to Mantegna and related to the activity of the contemporary illuminators associated with Bartolomeo Sanvito in Padua are coloured, while those miniatures attributed to members of the Bellini family are notable for their vibrant colouring.³²⁹ Application of egg tempera in delicate vertical strokes to render drapery, as observable in the *Portrait of Jacopo Marcello*, might therefore be compared with the use of watercolour to render drapery. It is possible that adding colour to drawings was a natural progression for both Mantegna and Bellini even though no coloured drapery studies by the latter survive.³³⁰ The proposal made in Chapter One that Bartolomeo had some contact with

³²⁶ For example, this approach sits in contrast to central Italian drawings preparatory to paintings in which colour was principally used to imitate flesh tones such as in various drawings by Perugino and his workshop where red-pink chalk or red diluted wash was regularly used for this purpose as in GDSU 85 Sv.86S & 1725Er. See MCGRATH 1995, p.70.

³²⁷ See LONDON 1998 respectively, Cat.8, *Resurrected Christ*, Cat.15 and folio 3 of the Roseberry Album to which blue wash was applied to the sky; and also Cat.5, attributed to the Squarcione workshop.

³²⁸ SCHELLER 1995, Cat.33, pp.341–56 with further literature.

³²⁹ For an overview see VOWLES & KORBACHER 2018, pp.104–7, and also MEISS 1957; LONDON 1992, Cat.7, pp.123–25. Giovanni's cousin, Leonardo Bellini, was an illuminator. Theories on Giovanni and Jacopo's engagement on manuscripts revolve around the *Passion of Saint Maurice* (Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS.940) for which see PARIS 2008, Cat.30 where attributed to Giovanni Bellini; LONDON 1992, Cat.10 where attributed to Mantegna; both with further literature.

³³⁰ There is one drapery study thought to correspond to a lost altarpiece by Giovanni Bellini, for which see British Museum, inv.1902,0822.4. It appears to be a copy after the completed painting by an unidentified artist perhaps within the Bellini workshop. The attention devoted to capturing the drapery

Paduan artists is therefore significant, especially given Zoppo's use of watercolour to depict red fabric and Mantegna's implementation of this medium in drawings across his career. It consequently appears that the use of watercolour on drapery emanated from Padua, and that Bartolomeo consequently adopted a Paduan tradition whether directly or indirectly.

An explanatory factor for this technique's adoption can be related to strategies of design economy within the workshop. Early Veronese and Lombard watercolour images generally comprised part of a modelbook such as that of Giovannino de' Grassi.³³¹ As previously noted, modelbooks were an integral part of an artist's visual archive. Coloured drawings bound in this format were evidently intended for multiple uses with the watercolour serving to increase the drawings' clarity. Retention of drapery studies was not as overtly pragmatic. This was considering that they were specific to a figural pose and could only be applied in similar contexts in a manner not dissimilar to the recurrence of a drapery study of *Two Standing Figures* in numerous works by Ghirlandaio.³³² Yet Bartolomeo realised that his study for Jerome's robe for the Poldi-Pezzoli panel could serve future applications: the upper part of Jerome's robe in the Ottawa *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* corresponds to the Uffizi study in the folds of the neckline and gathering around the waist (fig.2.74).³³³ The dating of this painting to circa 1500 means Bartolomeo retained the drawing, repurposing it when required to produce another image of Jerome's penitence. Furthermore, the consistent placement of Jerome's arms – one baring his chest, the other clasping the rock – indicates Bartolomeo saw the drawing as a model for this specific saint. One might conjecture that other such drawings formerly existed and were recycled in a comparable fashion. For instance, the drapery of Jerome's robe in the two small panels – now in Milan and Bergamo – of his retreat to the wilderness are remarkably consistent.³³⁴

in colour suggests this purpose on this specific instance but should not be considered a general rule. On coloured copy-drawings see below.

³³¹ MCGRATH 1995, 135–36.

³³² This being the verso of the so-termed Grassi sheet, see AMES-LEWIS 1981, pp.53–55.

³³³ LUCCO 2014, Cat.61.

³³⁴ LUCCO 2014, respectively Cat.56, 1495–1500 & 78, circa 1507; the same can be said of Bernard of Siena's depiction in Cats.39 & 40, both circa 1485.

This interplay between the use of colour as a descriptive tool for drapery and as a reference source is manifest in a series of fourteen studies – twelve apostles, a prophet and Christ – formerly bound in an album originating from a Venetic context (fig.2.75).³³⁵ These figures are all coloured with varying washes of blue, orange, yellow, green and red among another pigments and executed on vellum. They are notable for the heavily draped robes which, as with the Morgan *Saint Catherine*, were first outlined in pen prior to modelling exclusively with the coloured wash. The effect is figures with a certain monumentality which has invited their description as ‘Montagnesque’ and occasional attribution to Bartolomeo.³³⁶ Their heavy physiognomy and static qualities precludes this possibility, and the figures actually appear to be drawn by multiple hands. Certain elements do, however, recall paintings issued from the Montagna workshop. For instance, the draped tunic of the Resurrected Christ is exactly the same as in Bartolomeo’s *Saint Peter with donor*. Further indication of this association with the art of Northern Italy is suggested by the fact that the Saint Andrew closely replicates in reverse the saint’s appearance Mantegna’s engraving of the *Risen Christ with saints Andrew and Longinus*. The derivation of figures from paintings by established masters suggests a continuation of the ‘copy-drawing’ exercises meant to train young artists and retained for their future reference discussed above. ‘Pairs’ of figures can also be proposed through consistent colour schemes (figs.2.76a & b). The series may therefore represent another instance in which colour clarified designs to be used in the construction of paintings; a purpose arguably reflected by the durable vellum support.

These observations contribute a different perspective to the longstanding discourse on the Venetian preference for *colore* over the central Italian emphasis on *disegno*. First it should be acknowledged that ‘Venetian’ is not strictly applicable in this context, as the examples that survive are predominately from the *terra ferma* and so pre-conceived regionalisms should be treated with caution. McGrath concluded from his study of Italian Renaissance *disegni coloriti* that central Italian draftsman ‘did not conceive of colour as separable from, or ancillary to, the design as a whole, but rather as an integral part of it’.³³⁷ It is here argued that this sentence can also be

³³⁵ Now BM, inv.1895,0915.1376–89, and also POPHAM & POUNCEY 1950, Nos. 312–25.

³³⁶ BORENIUS 1909, p.105; MCGRATH 1995 attributes the entire series to Bartolomeo.

³³⁷ MCGRATH 1997, p.28.

applied to Venetic drawings. The surviving drapery and figural studies surveyed here show that coloured wash indeed played a practical function within the visual archives of Venetic workshops. While diverse contexts in which Bartolomeo and his contemporaries applied watercolours are addressed below, the evidence discussed in this section consequently emphasises the fact *colore* and *disegno* were not mutually exclusive – nor region-specific – categories.

Prospectus Drawings in the Commissioning Process.

Another way in which drawings were integral to the Montagna workshop's operation was through the commissioning process. Scholars including Hannelore Glasser, Allegra Pesenti and Michelle O'Malley have shown that drawings were frequently used to form legal agreements between an artist and their prospective clients.³³⁸ This section will address drawings attributed to Bartolomeo that can be arguably identified as having been produced for this purpose alongside surviving contracts that complement this graphic type. By simultaneously considering regions of the Veneto where this practice has received greater attention such as Venice and Padua, it also aims to contribute some insights to commissioning processes on the *terra ferma*.³³⁹

Most of the innumerable drawings referred to in fifteenth and sixteenth century Italian contracts are presumed lost. This shortcoming has not prevented the emergence of a discursive framework for the topic, the most fundamental of which concerns the terminology that should be applied. Allegra Pesenti argued against the frequently applied 'presentation drawing' in favour of 'demonstration drawing' to eliminate confusion with those drawings that were given, or presented, as gifts.³⁴⁰ Drawings would have been used by an artist to 'demonstrate' to their prospective clients how a completed commission might appear. Pesenti further reasoned that 'contract drawing' should only be applied following approval in the presence of a notary, but while this is valid, it imposes too fine a distinction between drawings of

³³⁸ GLASSER 1965; PESENTI 2006; O'MALLEY 2005, pp.201–22.

³³⁹ For an overview on which see HUMFREY 1995, p.137–41.

³⁴⁰ PESENTI 2006, p.55. Moreover, documents proving notarial approval for certain drawings may be lost.

the same type.³⁴¹ A welcome alternative followed here is Glasser's term 'prospectus drawing' to encompass all drawings produced within the commissioning process.³⁴² Another emergent point is the existence of three major components necessary for a wholly satisfactory analysis: a contract, a drawing and a completed artwork.³⁴³ These rarely survive for a single commission and it should be noted the lack of reference in a contract to a drawing does not mean one did not exist. What is more, the original purpose of many 'prospectus drawings' has been overlooked due to a tendency to see them either as studies in which the artist finalised the compositional design to work from or as collectable items.

Central to the present discussion on the use of drawings in Bartolomeo's client negotiations is the *Martyrdom of San Biagio* (fig.2.77).³⁴⁴ This small drawing is directly related to the fresco of the same subject that forms part of the scheme Bartolomeo frescoed for the Veronese Confraternità di San Biagio between early 1504 and February 1506 (fig.2.78).³⁴⁵ Despite minor differences such as in the placement of the decapitated heads, which reflect modifications in the scene's development, the drawing has often been dismissed as a copy after the fresco.³⁴⁶ This is due to its appearance. The extensive use of watercolour distinguishes it not only from Bartolomeo's graphic corpus, but is a rarity among contemporaneous Venetic drawings that survive. Green, blue and brown wash were delicately applied to create the detailed landscape. It is in the foreground, however, that the use of colour is most striking. Saint Blaise's robe and the dress of several attendant figures are picked out in vermillion red while a bolt of bold ultramarine was applied to the sleeves of the executioner with the corresponding impact of dominating the overall composition.

³⁴¹ PESENTI 2006, p.229. This means that a demonstration and contract drawing were often one and the same.

³⁴² GLASSER 1965, echoed in MCGRATH 1995, p.39.

³⁴³ PESENTI 2006, p.230.

³⁴⁴ App.I, No.22.

³⁴⁵ BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.91, pp.137-139.

³⁴⁶ Puppi 1962, pp.131-32; LUCCO 2014, Cat.68, p.354 advanced the proposal that it was a near contemporary copy after the fresco. Sold at Christies, July 2017, Lot.3 as an autograph work of Bartolomeo.

It can be no coincidence that these two pigments were the most expensive to acquire.³⁴⁷ Nor can it be arbitrary that the entire composition is executed with a precision that initiated with the initial structuring in black chalk and extended to the use of a straightedge to demarcate the outlines of the urban structures. By extension, these features mean that the drawing has the essential hallmarks of a *prospectus* drawing: accurate, clear and of a high visual standard.³⁴⁸ Bartolomeo arguably produced this drawing in order to show the confraternity how he would render the episodes from the narrative of their patron saint. Highlighting how more costly pigments would be used on the principal figures of the narrative would have been appropriate in this respect.³⁴⁹ The drawing was thus a means to seek approval for this projected appearance before his workshop could commence on the confraternity's frescoes and it is therefore unfortunate that the contract drawn up by Francesco Rosso da Parma does not survive.³⁵⁰ The fact that reference is rarely made to drawings in other contemporary contracts for fresco schemes has contributed to the opinion that drawings less common for this mode of output due to the use of *sinopie*.³⁵¹ While this could mean that the *San Biagio* drawing was only a compositional study for workshop use, the few *prospectus* drawings that can be related to contracts for altarpieces supports the assertion that it represents a rare surviving example of this type.

Unlike those wash drawings where colour played a functional role in workshop productivity, the *San Biagio* drawing places colour as a valued tool in Bartolomeo's client negotiations. As McGrath has demonstrated, showing a *disegno colorito* to a commissioning body provided a preview of how a projected scheme would appear once complete, even if not in the full colour spectrum.³⁵² While he also stated that a tradition of coloured *prospectus* drawings did not exist in the Veneto, a design for an antependium attributed to Lorenzo Veneziano and dateable to the late *trecento* to which yellow watercolour was applied selectively to the decorative arches

³⁴⁷ On pigment prices and their effect on commission negotiation see O'MALLEY 2005, pp.47–76, for an overview on the relative costs of pigments see SPEAR 2010 and for discussion in relation to Venetian trade, see MATTHEW & BERRIE 2010; MATTHEW 2002.

³⁴⁸ MEDER 1978, p.256.

³⁴⁹ A certain 'Nicholo de Fatio dito Mandarineto' travelled to Venice on numerous occasions to buy 'colori' for Bartolomeo to use which suggests that high quality colouring of the scheme was important to the commissioning body. See BARAUSSE 2014 Doc.91. On Venice's importance to the trade in pigments see again MATTHEW & BERRIE 2010.

³⁵⁰ LUCCO 2014, p.139 notes that this notary's records have been lost.

³⁵¹ PESENTI 2006, p.176.

³⁵² MCGRATH 2000, p.300.

that frame the saints suggests otherwise.³⁵³ Though the drawing could have served as a model for the textile worker to follow, its lack of *pentimenti* and clear lines strongly suggests a function as a prospectus drawing. The practice appears to have been implemented in Padua by the mid-*quattrocento*. In the study of *Saint Christopher in Lycia* relatable to the fresco commission for the Cappella Ovetari in the 1450s mentioned above, watercolour was added to colour the sky and to pick out the robes of some of the attendant figures (fig.2.73).³⁵⁴ Given that this drawing is attributable to a member of Squarcione's workshop, it can be reasoned that some of the artists who passed through his workshop gained some awareness of this application of colour. Other *disegni coloriti* by contemporary artists and those of successive generations such as Mantegna, Zoppo and Nicoletto da Modena feasibly produced in relation to commissions are arguably reflective of a practice well-established in the Veneto.³⁵⁵

Further insight into how Bartolomeo's usage of prospectus drawings was related to contemporary Venetian commissioning procedures can be gained from a consideration of his involvement at the Scuola Grande di San Marco in the early 1480s. Bartolomeo was contracted by the confraternity on 23 February 1483 to produce two *teleri* of Noah's Ark and the Creation to decorate the Sala Capitolare of their *albergo*.³⁵⁶ As mentioned, this was part of a series of commissions awarded to Venetian artists – most notably members of the Bellini family – between 1466 until the fire of 1485.³⁵⁷ Bartolomeo's engagement followed a deliberation on 15 August 1482 of what was still required for the meeting-house after Giovanni Bellini's twelve-year delay in delivering a two-part canvas of Noah's Ark and the Flood of Sin.³⁵⁸ Recurrence of traits from Bellini's *Resurrection* in Bartolomeo's *Morgan Drunkenness* might suggest he knew of an early compositional design by Bellini. The fact, however, that Bartolomeo was awarded an entirely new contract as opposed to being subcontractually engaged by Giovanni points to negotiations between the

³⁵³ Lehman Collection, 1975.1.256; FORLANI TEMPESTI 1991, pp.2–5.

³⁵⁴ LONDON 1998, Cat.5 and for its uncoloured pendant, Cat.6. It is worth also noting the prospectus drawing by Cosme Tura depicting the Virgin and Child with saints which is annotated with 'horo' and 'ho' to note where gold would be applied to the proposed artwork, LONDON 2010, Cat.24.

³⁵⁵ For Nicoletto's coloured drawings that relate to frescoes he produced in Padua and the surrounding regions see British Museum, inv.1895,0915.786.

³⁵⁶ ASVe, *Scuola Grande di San Marco, Atti*, b.16 bis (1428–1523), 6v; BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.47.

³⁵⁷ Re-decoration of the Sala post-1485 represents another phase that will not be addressed here. For an in-depth summary of the Scuola's fortunes see, FORTINI BROWN 1988, pp.45–48 & No.X, pp.269–70. See also the chronology of the Bellini family's involvement in BATSHMANN 2008, pp.216–17.

³⁵⁸ ASVe, *Scuola Grande di San Marco, Atti*, b.16 bis (1428–1523), 4v.; BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.44.

scuola and the Vicentine that did not involve Giovanni. Members of the *scuola* may have had social or political connections in Vicenza that facilitated their ability to convince Bartolomeo to work on a Venetian project.³⁵⁹ Yet even though this new contract specified that these *teleri* would be '*fati di sua man*' [by his hand], Bartolomeo appears to have passed the completion of at least the Noah's Ark to Benedetto Diana in a subcontractual arrangement perhaps due to his concurrent acceptance of major Vicentine commissions such as the *Pala di San Bartolomeo*.³⁶⁰

Despite this ambiguity, Bartolomeo's contribution to the scheme has been linked to two drawings depicting the Drunkenness of Noah: one in The Morgan, the other in the Albertina (figs.2.79, 2.80).³⁶¹ Strong grounds for relating this biblical episode to the Scuola is the contractual request for Bartolomeo to depict the Deluge '*con altre zirconstanze de pictura che sia al proposito*' [with other scenes on the subject] as Noah's Drunkenness follows the replenishment of the earth after the Flood.³⁶² That the other canvas was to depict the '*Creazion del mondo*' with additional scenes [*de farli far qualche altra chossa degna e congrua*] indicates that the two *teleri* were meant to conflate multiple episodes from the biblical narratives as in Giovanni's original contract.

What remains unclear is the relationship of the two drawings to Bartolomeo's commission. Scholars have generally linked both to the lost scheme without satisfactorily considering why multiple versions of the design exist and what can be inferred about their productive circumstances.³⁶³ What should be first stated is that the Albertina drawing is of an inferior quality in media and handling to the one in The Morgan. The support of The Morgan drawing is parchment which was not only more durable than paper, but also more costly. The central figures are drawn in pen and ink over traces of black chalk with the absence of *pentimenti* lending it a crisp finish. A light blue wash was delicately used to depict the rocky landscape in a technique

³⁵⁹ Guild membership discussed in SOHM 1982 but documents relating to individual members not extant.

³⁶⁰ On '*fati di sua man*' and its equivalents see Chapter 5, pp.150–53. SANSOVINO 1581, p.102: 'Vi fu anco cominciata l'arca di Noe da Bartolomeo Montagna, su la quale Benedetto Diana diede principio a una fantasia che non fu finita da lui per l'incendio'. BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.50 linked Bartolomeo's purchase of a house in Vicenza on 5 March 1484 to the receipt of funds for the San Marco commission suggesting that he received the agreed 200 ducats.

³⁶¹ App.I, Nos.21 & 29.

³⁶² LUCCO 2014, Doc.47

³⁶³ Eitel-Porter in EITEL-PORTER & MARCIARI 2019, Cat.12 is an exception.

repeated in the *Martyrdom of San Biagio*. The same wash was applied to the figures while a light purple was applied sparingly to the robes of Noah and his sons. The result is a highly finished work in which colour has a descriptive function which complements the linearity of the design. The alignment of these characteristics with those of prospectus drawings as identified above contributes to the proposal that The Morgan drawing was used during the commissioning phase of the Scuola project. Bartolomeo feasibly showed the drawing to the confraternity in order to secure the contract. While this would identify it as the unique prospectus drawing to survive from the initial decorative scheme, it should be asked why the drawing only depicts one episode from Noah's Ark. Explanation can be found in the piecemeal manner of the *teleri* and the fact that prospectus drawings were intended to visualise how the artist might execute a commission. That this was an established procedure is indicated by the contract for Gentile's contribution to the scheme which stipulates that his rendering of Moses in the Desert would appear '*chome in parte e mostra per el deseigno*' [as is partly shown in the drawing].³⁶⁴ Artists therefore appear to have been able to depict a select portion of their proposed scheme in much the same sense that the *Martyrdom of San Biagio* was potentially the only drawing Bartolomeo showed to the Veronese confraternity.

These suggestions should be considered in line with a survey of how drawings were used in negotiations between the confraternity and other artists they commissioned to decorate their Scuola. Documentary evidence confirms the use of drawings on several occasions. One example is the agreement that Antonio Rizzo would follow a drawing provided by Gentile Bellini when requested to make several reliefs in 1476.³⁶⁵ Surviving contracts for the *teleri* include two legal references to drawings. These date to 1466 and 1470, with Pesenti erroneously describing the latter as the earliest Venetian contract to mention a drawing.³⁶⁶ This is the contract for Bastiani's involvement which instructed him to submit a drawing before commencing

³⁶⁴ 'Far do teleri de pentura... met in laltro populo de moise fuzi nel deserto chome in parte e mostra per el deseigno...', MOLMENTI 1892, pp.128–29.

³⁶⁵ VENTURI 1906, p.326; REARICK 2001, pp.36–38. The Berlin *Saint Mark Healing the Cobbler* has been proposed as this drawing, but is now associated with Tullio Lombardo's reliefs for the façade and attributed to Giovanni.

³⁶⁶ PESENTI 2006, p.186. Bastiani's contract is dated 7 January 1469 in the Venetian calendar, thus being 1470.

work.³⁶⁷ Such a sequence runs counter to what would be generally expected: Bastiani was commissioned to work on the scheme before the confraternity had approved his design. Yet this was not the norm, as the earlier contract for Gentile's *teleri* mentioned above reveals that his drawing of a scene from Moses was shown to the Scuola before formal agreements were made.³⁶⁸ Further contractual references to drawings provided by Gentile for the restoration of the Scuola di San Marco in 1505, and by Pasqualino Veneto to the Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità in 1504 confirm that drawings were an accepted part of the commissioning process in Venice.³⁶⁹

It might still be countered that the Morgan drawing is too highly finished to have served as a counterpart to a written contract and that the use of colour points to another purpose. For instance, Bartolomeo Sanvito's copy after a drawing by Niccolo Pizzolo included in the contract he drew up for an altarpiece for the Basilica del Santo is a schematic *schizzo*.³⁷⁰ A proposed alternative is that it was intended as a presentation drawing for a wealthy individual known to Bartolomeo. This functional ambiguity similarly surrounds Zoppo's *Dead Christ* which is also drawn on parchment and selectively coloured with wash.³⁷¹ Indeed, watercolours were contemporaneously employed to produce highly finished drawings that were intended as finished works of art.³⁷² However, the altarpiece designs surveyed by Peter Humfrey in the context of the commissioning of Venetian altarpieces shows that prospectus drawings were consistently executed with care.³⁷³ Particularly important among these is Carpaccio's *Design for an altarpiece set with six figurative scenes* due to the almost imperceptible application of blue wash to the ornate frame (fig.5.56).³⁷⁴ The colour had no obvious purpose in describing the altarpiece's prospective appearance to a client other than increasing its refinement and hence appeal.

³⁶⁷ ‘el debi depenzer l’istoria de David secondo el desegno die far de tal istoria el equal visto se possi per nui azonzer et detrazer al Parer nostro prima chel nebi dado principio sopra dicto teller’, MOLMENTI 1892, p.130, fn.9.

³⁶⁸ This reference to a drawing in Gentile's contract has apparently escaped notice. MOLMENTI 1892, pp.128–29.

³⁶⁹ See FORTINI-BROWN 1988, pp.291–95 & 73 respectively.

³⁷⁰ For which see O’MALLEY 2005, pp.201–2 and SIGNORINI 2011 for the contract more generally.

³⁷¹ LONDON 1998, Cat.8, conjectures that the drawing was either shown to a prospective client to demonstrate Zoppo’s capabilities or that it served as a completed work in its own right.

³⁷² This is addressed in the supplementary Chapter Seven and VERDIGEL 2020.

³⁷³ HUMFREY 1993, pp.150–51.

³⁷⁴ Statens Museum fur Kunst, KKSGb6269; FISCHER 2018, Cat. 1. Further discussed in Chapter 5, p.207.

Moreover, it shows that a peer of Bartolomeo recognised the value in adding watercolour to prospectus drawings.

Several further contracts drawn up in Vicenza and the surrounding territories refer to prospectus drawings and have a general phraseology consistent with contemporary Venetian and central Italian documents. The earliest example is for the altarpiece commissioned on 29 October 1476 by Gaspare da Schio for his chapel in Vicenza Cathedral. The contract specifies that the composition would feature the Virgin and Child enthroned and attended by eight saints '*secundum designum factum*'.³⁷⁵ That this was to be a collaborative work by Bartolomeo and Gian Francesco Sommaio presents the question of authorship for there is no indication of who contributed the drawing. One might assume that Sommaio, as the older artist, was responsible, but there must have been some agreement between the two. Prospectus drawings certainly formed an established part of Bartolomeo's commissioning process from the early years of his career. Just two years later, in 1478, a commission for a smaller altarpiece in the parish church of Piovene was approved with reference to a drawing '*datum per dictum Bartholomeum*'.³⁷⁶ Further documents drawn up before the close of the *quattrocento* refer to drawings that Bartolomeo showed to the commissioning body before the contract was formalised. These include the altarpiece commissioned on 10 March 1484 for the high altar of San Bartolomeo which was to be '*secundum designum datum per dictum Bartholomeum*' and the commission for Bishop Zeno's altarpiece witnessed on 13 July 1499 which refers to a '*disegno facto per ipsum Bartholomeum mihi consegnato*'.³⁷⁷

In addition to indicating that prospectus drawings were commonplace in Vicenza by the second half of the fifteenth century, this overview allows for some observations. First is that the phraseology – such as '*datum*' or '*mihi consegnato*' – implies that Bartolomeo did not just show a drawing to the commissioning body or notary, but gave it to them. Patrons appear to have sometimes retained the drawings as records against which to measure a completed project. This represents a different

³⁷⁵ LUCCO 2014, Doc.25, pp.109-10.

³⁷⁶ ‘..ut supra unam anchoram iuxta designum datum per dictum Bartholomeum..’, drawn up on 23 April 1478, BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.33, p.113.

³⁷⁷ Respectively BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.51, pp.121-22, Doc.86, pp.134-35.

procedure to that followed in the Corpo Christi Chapel in which Sanvito copied the altarpiece design so it could be returned to its owner. These situations correspondingly effected the need for workshop copies so that an artist and his assistants had something to refer to while fulfilling the commission. These copies did not have to be executed to as high a standard as the prospectus drawings as they were simply working tools. There is consequently reason to suggest that the Albertina *Drunkenness* served this purpose on account of its static, ‘copy-like’ quality. Recurrence of the composition in an isolated detail of the frescoes at Santa Maria del Carmine erroneously attributed to Giulio Campagnola and quite possibly by an individual associated with the Montagna workshop suggests that the copy entered the Montagna’s visual archive following the Scuola commission (figs.2.81 a & b).³⁷⁸ Its reuse several decades later suggests an assistant copied the drawing to use in his subsequent projects.

The second point concerns the practical application of Bartolomeo’s prospectus drawings. Unlike contemporary contracts concerning Cima and Lattanzio da Rimini which acknowledge that an altarpiece’s projected appearance and subject is contained in the appended drawing, the text of contracts involving Bartolomeo describe the prospectus drawing’s content.³⁷⁹ What effected this detail is difficult to establish: perhaps the rigorous training of Vicentine notaries. But its major boon is that it allows for an analysis of how closely Bartolomeo adhered to the drawings notaries had approved. The contract for the *Pala di San Bartolomeo* shows that Bartolomeo deviated from his drawing by switching Sebastian and Augustine to the right instead of the left side (fig.2.34). The Budapest wash drawing – which has a high likelihood of being a trimmed remnant of this prospectus drawing – suggests he also inverted the orientation of the Virgin and Child. Ambiguities as to the appearance of the *Pala Zeno* may similarly originate from the likelihood that Bartolomeo did not paint as many figures as the eight stipulated in the contract.³⁸⁰ Extra-contractual

³⁷⁸ The error can be traced to FIOCCO 1915 and it has been frequently repeated since. An exception is BROWN 2010, p.57 who rightly observes that there is little to link the frescoes to Giulio Campagnola other than shared motifs and a common presence in Padua. On Giulio’s presence in Vicenza, see Chapter 4 below.

³⁷⁹ On these contracts, see HUMFREY 1993, pp.137–39 and HUMFREY 1986 for the commissioning of altarpieces in the Veneto more generally.

³⁸⁰ LUCCO 2014, Cat.59a, p.343 notes that RIDOLFI 1648 only mentions six saints. One factor may have been the delay in the altarpiece’s delivery.

revisions were not always well-received: payment records for the Proti fresco scheme note that Bartolomeo had depicted saint Joseph larger than he had in the ‘*primo merchato*’ [first study] but would not necessarily receive funds to cover the additional work.³⁸¹ Debate around the extent of artistic license a contract allowed was not uncommon: Michelle O’Malley observes that this reflected an ongoing exchange between parties driven by aesthetic and financial concerns among other factors.³⁸² Contracts were guidelines inasmuch that prospectus drawings were intended to give a summative idea of a commission’s project appearance.

The prospectus drawings, and contractual references to them, associated with Bartolomeo’s productive output counter the theory that drawings were not as integral to the commissioning process in the Veneto compared with central Italy.³⁸³ On the contrary; these Vicentine examples show that the drawings were used in Bartolomeo’s artist-client negotiations with a flexibility and sophistication that points to their established usage.

This chapter demonstrates that operational practices consistent with those employed by across – and beyond – the Veneto were implemented in the Montagna workshop. Drawings played a fundamental role. Discussing these drawings in a manner that prioritises techniques supports the proposal that the qualities of certain media facilitated the emergence of certain categories of working drawings such as coloured drapery studies, black chalk facial studies and *carta azzurra* reference drawings. Distinctions are by no means absolute. They are instead a reflection of a highly pragmatic approach towards drawings as a repository to be deployed in diverse ways across the Montagna workshop’s activity.

³⁸¹ BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.80, pp.131-32, ‘Item, perche se fa quallo sancto Isepo de piu quello era nel primo merchato, lassa a nostra discretion a darge piu de quello era nel primo merchato’.

³⁸² O’MALLEY 2005, pp.182–83.

³⁸³ PESENTI 2006, p.197.

Chapter Three: Early Vicentine Print Production

One of the most prevalent early Italian Renaissance engravings found in museum print collections is the *Virgin and Child* unanimously attributed to Bartolomeo's son, Benedetto (fig.3.1).³⁸⁴ Its importance is manifold and it encapsulates many of the issues central to this chapter. Compositional consistency with Bartolomeo's so-called devotional painting, the *Williamstown Madonna*, highlights the essential fact that Benedetto's productivity was part of an artistic enterprise of which his father was the uncontested *maestro* (fig.3.2).³⁸⁵ That the *Virgin and Child* is generally considered to be Benedetto's first engraving further supports the perspective that there was a motivated diversification of the family workshop's output into another medium. This brings with it questions of practicality: Bartolomeo did not possess the knowhow to teach his son how to produce prints, nor was a painting workshop furnished with all the necessary equipment for printing. The operation, therefore, depended on external input from those with a knowledge of printmaking procedures. Engagement with the organisational structure of Vicenza's flourishing print industry and the local trade in printmaking materials – such as paper and copper – was also essential. As this chapter addresses, the importance of such factors is reflected by the survival of the copperplate used for the *Virgin and Child* in addition to the engraving's existence in three states and over 35 impressions printed onto paper from various sources (fig.3.3).³⁸⁶ This chapter will therefore consider the factors fundamental to Benedetto's uptake of engraving by considering the origins of, and the mechanisms that drove, early Vicentine print production.

The Origins of the Printing Industry

In 1474, the first book – an edition of Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo* – was printed in Vicenza. Published by Leonardo Achates from Basel, it represents the start-

³⁸⁴ App.II, No.1.

³⁸⁵ For a summary of the literature see LUCCO 2014 Cat.96, pp.383–84. For reasons discussed below, the present writer does not agree with Lucco's dating of circa 1520.

³⁸⁶ As addressed in VERDIGEL FORTHCOMING, and noted in this thesis's conclusion, the copperplate continued to be printed until it was ultimately acquired by the Marchese Malaspina.

point of the city's printing industry.³⁸⁷ In the decades that followed, numerous publishers, typographers and printers migrated to Vicenza. Some relocated from Padua in order to sidestep the high production costs set by the rule that these publishers could only use the expensive paper produced by Cornaro di Battaglia.³⁸⁸ It can therefore be inferred that the set-up of the print trade in the Veneto was dictated by primarily economic considerations.³⁸⁹ That the relatively low operating costs made Vicenza an appealing place to work is suggested by the various print tradesmen who operated in the area; between 1474 and 1509, twelve publishers collectively produced 123 volumes in Vicenza and the surrounding regions of Santorso and Torrebelvicino.³⁹⁰ Four individuals had the monopoly: the aforementioned Leonardo Achates, Herman Liechtenstein da Colonia, Giovanni da Reno and Enrico da Ca' Zeno.³⁹¹ None of these tradesmen, however, remained in Vicenza for the entirety of their careers. They instead moved around subject to where they could obtain commissions; a pattern also observable with the printers who operated in the city.³⁹²

Cross-regional mobility and local collaboration were vital to the Vicentine publishing industry and – as will be discussed – to print production more broadly. Connections with Venice had both advantages and disadvantages. Contact with publishers and printers working on the Lagoon allowed for the loan of woodcut blocks and contributed to an exchange of ideas that was to a certain extent bi-directional.³⁹³ Conversely, the implementation of '*privilegio*' issued in Venice by the Senate to printers throughout the Veneto was detrimental to Vicentine trade, as Venice-based publishers had greater success with the requests they submitted.³⁹⁴ Book production in Vicenza, however, retained some autonomy from Venetian

³⁸⁷ For comprehensive overviews on the publishing industry in Vicenza see MANTESE 1974; COLLA 1984; COLLA 1987. For Achates see MONDOLFO 1960.

³⁸⁸ COLLA 1987, pp.112–13.

³⁸⁹ See VAN DER STOCK 1998, p.141 for a comparable remark on the industry in Antwerp.

³⁹⁰ For a complete list of the titles and with publishing details see RHODES 1987. These figures are significantly less than in Venice where 4,000 editions had been published by 1500. On the Venetian publishing industry see LOWRY 1979.

³⁹¹ MANTESE 1974, pp.38–52. For an overview see SANDAL 2001, pp.157–65.

³⁹² COLLA 1984, p.46; COLLA 1987, p.111. Stefano Koblinger da Vienna was active between 1479 and 1482. Simone Bevilacqua da Parma opened his *bottega* in 1487 prior to moving to Venice four years later.

³⁹³ Bevilacqua appears to have been an intermediary in the loan of Achates' woodblocks for an edition of the *Herbarium* that he printed in Venice in 1499.

³⁹⁴ COLLA 1984, p.52–53; For the *privilegio* and the Venetian bias see WITCOMBE 2004, pp.21–27. On the disadvantage of mainland states in Venetian administration more generally, GRUBB 1988 pp.93–98.

concerns.³⁹⁵ On a civic level, it was an enterprise that necessitated collaboration between multiple tradesmen. Most probably for reasons of practicality in an emerging market, there was often little, if any, distinction between the role of a publisher or that of a book seller.³⁹⁶ These traders also dealt in the sale of paper, the revenue generated from the trade directly financing their book publishing ventures.³⁹⁷

The introduction of publishing to a city instigated the emergence of a new commercial object.³⁹⁸ As clearly demonstrated by the demise of Vespasiano di Bisticci's Florentine manuscript business in 1480, the printing press – and the objects it produced – upset the *status quo* throughout Italy.³⁹⁹ One of the greatest impacts was the increased demand for paper; a material further discussed below. It has been rightly noted that Vicentine book production dovetailed with the city's paper trade due to the fact that publishers were keenly aware of the latest developments of the material, but the dynamic was probably bidirectional.⁴⁰⁰ To retain a steady income, local craftsmen had to adapt rapidly to the latest technologies by meeting their associated material demands. The new products had a direct impact on established commerce: printed books were quickly added to the stock-lists of local shops, and businessmen started to trade in the goods. In Vicenza, publishers and booksellers took over the shops that surrounded the Piazza dei Signori which was also known as the Peronio (fig.3.4).⁴⁰¹ Not only were these prime locations for retail purposes, their situation in the city centre also placed the tradesmen in close contact with Vicentine artisans thus fostering the emergence of a working network vital to the industry.

³⁹⁵ COLLA 1984, p.50.

³⁹⁶ See also NUOVO 2013 pp.380–81 & MANTESE 1968, pp.7–47 for discussion and partial transcription of the 1596 inventory of Perin's shop in the Piazza dei Signori which demonstrates that the enterprises of print producer and book seller remained intertwined until the end of the sixteenth century. The shop had a modest facility of two presses – 'un torcolo fornito con quattro telai et fraschette sei, un altro imperfetto' – for printing to be done on site.

³⁹⁷ COLLA 1984, p.112; MANTESE 1968, pp.16–19 & p.20, fn.38 for Perin's stock of blank paper and the papermakers from whom he acquired reams. See below for further discussion on the Vicentine paper trade.

³⁹⁸ Although the focus is primarily on printed images, VAN DER STOCK 1998 remains the most insightful study of the introduction of print to a city. For a comprehensive study of the origins of the printing press and the book industry in Florence see BÖNINGER 2003.

³⁹⁹ Print production also impacted the production of parchment production see MELOGRANI 2007, p.197. It should be noted that outcomes were not always negative; miniaturists in Venice are known to have diversified into printmaking, for an overview see SZÉPE 2005–7.

⁴⁰⁰ COLLA 1984, p.48.

⁴⁰¹ BRUNELLO 1976, p.110 notes that in 1480 Enrico da Ca' Zeno's bottega was in the Pescherie Vecchie. In 1490 Benedetto Marzari opened shop in the Piazza dei Signori. Other *librari* were found in the Borgo Pusterla.

Printed books and the mechanisms that drove the industry laid the groundwork for the production and trade in printed images. That is not to say that distinctions between the two media were binary, but rather that there were certain uniting characteristics that fostered a receptivity to the engravings Benedetto would come to produce. When, in 1796, Giovanni Faccioli wrote about the *incunaboli* printed in Vicenza and its territories, he claimed that the woodcut illustrations found in three books printed by Achates between 1490 and 1491 were cut by one of the numerous *incisori* working in the city, namely Benedetto Montagna.⁴⁰² *Incisori*, however, were not woodcutters, and Faccioli's assertion anticipates the common misconception that as 'prints', both woodcuts and engravings could be produced by the same artisan.⁴⁰³ What is more, engraving required different equipment and materials to that used to produce woodcuts. As addressed below, Benedetto was not active as a woodcutter. The woodblocks produced for select Vicentine *incunaboli* and *cinquentini* must therefore have been cut by now unknown artisans with whom publishers active in the city were acquainted (fig.3.5).⁴⁰⁴ Woodblocks were printed using the same mechanism – a platen press – as moveable type.⁴⁰⁵ Commissioning someone to cut a woodblock illustration consequently did not represent a significant undertaking on the publisher's behalf. This is why expansion into the trade of single-leaf woodcuts was a business move followed by many early European publishers. Prime examples include Anton Koberger and the brothers Niccolo and Domenico Sandri who issued printed images alongside their main trade in book publishing.⁴⁰⁶

No single-leaf woodcuts produced in Vicenza, however, are known to survive. This sits in marked contrast to neighboring Padua where numerous different prints have been identified.⁴⁰⁷ One proposed explanation for this disparity is that the Paduan trade in woodcuts was instigated by the cult of Saint Anthony at the Basilica del Santo

⁴⁰² FACCIOLI 1796, p.50, 'in Vicenza, dunque anche in quel secolo [quattrocento] non mancarono di tal sorte d'incisori, fra i quali sopra tutti distinse Benedetto Montagna, fratello di Bartolomeo'; echoed in COLLA 1984, p.69.

⁴⁰³ When engravers such as Albrecht Dürer and Giovanni Battista Palumba designed woodcuts, they often enlisted specialist woodworkers to cut their blocks.

⁴⁰⁴ Woodcut illustrations are found in Vicentine *incunaboli* including Euclid's *Elementa geometriae*; Pietro de' Crescenzi's *Opus Ruralium* see COLLA 1984, p.69. Woodcut colophons are found in various *cinquentini* such as the Paesi Novamente retrovati, published by Enrico Ca'Zeno (Vicenza, 1507).

⁴⁰⁵ On presses see STIJNMAN 2012, p.286ff and below.

⁴⁰⁶ On the Sandri see PON 1998; LACORDAIRE 2005. For other examples see ALDOVINI ET AL. 2016, pp.10–12.

⁴⁰⁷ These will soon be available online in the Atlas of Italian Renaissance Woodcuts at the Cini Foundation. For a preliminary study, see ALDOVINI ET AL. 2016.

that attracted to the city pilgrims who purchased such prints.⁴⁰⁸ This motive is suggested by their subject matter; often depicting the saint with members of his order or with instantly recognisable attributes and associated monuments (fig.3.6).⁴⁰⁹ These overtly Franciscan prints reflect the medium's widespread adoption by religious foundations as a visual tool. Print presented a means to promote their cause and guide the devotional practices of their followers.⁴¹⁰ *Santini* – small prints depicting a single saint – were perhaps the most prevalent due to their simplicity. More ambitious scenes comprising saints, narrative episodes, emblems and accompanying text were also common. The various woodcuts Henri Saffrey associated with the Dominican Order at Venice attest to this variety and the role religious events played in instigating their production (fig.3.7).⁴¹¹ Impressions of such woodcuts were ordered *en masse* – by the hundred – for sale or to distribute on annual feast days.⁴¹² Transaction records, guild disputes, celebrated prints such as the *Madonna del Fuoco* and the pasting of woodcuts into prayer books or volumes collectively reveal that such practices were commonplace across the Veneto by the mid-1400s.⁴¹³ There is no good reason why Vicenza would have represented any exception. The city's many churches, confraternities and beneficiary hospitals surely commissioned woodcuts to promote their foundations and raise funds from the retail of impressions, as they did in Padua and Venice.⁴¹⁴ Devotees surely collected *santini* for apotropaic purposes. Engravings by Benedetto such as the *Christ the Redeemer* and *Saint Catherine* should arguably be seen as logical extensions of this practice in much the same way that engraved *santini* by Martin Schongauer, Albrecht Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi are (figs.3.8;

⁴⁰⁸ As considered in discussion with David Landau. See examples as published in AREFORD 2010 pp.125–30.

⁴⁰⁹ See one example as discussed in AREFORD 2010, pp.125–30; SCHRIEBER 1891, No.1233.

⁴¹⁰ Key studies on this topic include SAFFREY 1982; AREFORD 2010; ZUCKER 1993. See also the valuable observations on the reception of early 'primitive' woodcuts in various essays and catalogue entries in WASHINGTON 2005.

⁴¹¹ SAFFREY 1982, p.281ff; SCHRIEBER 1891, No.1391 for this specific example.

⁴¹² See PON 1998 for the practice ordering of *santini* from the Sandri brothers. Another example is the agreement drawn up in 1440 in Padua for which a *tinctor pellum* agreed to sell some 3,500 prints on the behalf of a merchant. Their descriptive titles show that these were of religious subject matter. See SARTORI 1959, pp.116–17; SCHIZZEROTTO 1971 pp.105–7 where links these titles to prints formerly in the collection of Jacopo Rubieri da Parma.

⁴¹³ For further examples in addition to the Paduan agreement of 1440 cited above, see LANDAU & PARSHALL p.8; on guild matriculation of painters see below; on the *Madonna del Fuoco* see PON 2015 and also GIGANTE 2018 on the *Madonna del Sangue*; on the early uses of woodcuts see principally AREFORD 2010; WASHINGTON 2005.

⁴¹⁴ On the religious foundations extant in fifteenth century Vicenza see BIANCHI 2014 and MANTESE 1964 III/2.

3.9).⁴¹⁵ Despite the lack of direct evidence of print use, it is reasonable to assume that woodcuts were made and retailed in Vicenza during the course of the *quattrocento* for devotional purposes, as were paintings.

Religious foundations were equally swift to realise that retailing impressions as ‘souvenir items’ was a way to raise vital funds. Developing a more sophisticated retail system was a means to capitalise on this potential. One cult site is known to have offered visitors various options ranging from the cheapest woodcuts to more expensive hand-coloured woodcuts, with engravings being the ‘deluxe’ choice.⁴¹⁶ Another example concerns the Benedictine Monastery at Einsiedeln which commissioned three engravings of varying sizes and levels of detail from Master E.S.⁴¹⁷ Variety was apparently a way to appeal to pilgrims of diverse financial means. What these two cases highlight is the fact that Orders were willing to invest the effort and funds necessary to use print as a means to support their mission. That engravings were a more labour intensive, media specific and hence more costly medium was not an outright deterrent to their production, but simply represented factors to be taken into consideration. Franciscan, Dominican and Carmelite foundations based in cities including Florence, Milan, Venice and Padua can be reasonably said to have commissioned engravings by the early years of the sixteenth century.⁴¹⁸ That the Paduan engravings depict Saint Anthony and symbols of the cult in a manner consistent with the woodcuts associable with the foundation suggest that prints produced in both techniques were retailed in the same context (fig.3.10). Isolated woodcuts and engravings that can be related to specific votive sites might therefore be taken to reflect a wider practice in which the two media were commissioned by religious foundations. It must again be emphasised that their frequent survival in just a unique impression, even though thousands were likely printed, provides a tantalising trace of just how many such prints have been entirely lost.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁵ App.II, Nos.8 & 7.

⁴¹⁶ LANDAU 1992, p.44.

⁴¹⁷ HOFFMAN 1961.

⁴¹⁸ For an overview, see ZUCKER 1993.

⁴¹⁹ A case in point is the collection Jacopo Rubieri da Parma now at the Biblioteca Classense which contains unique examples of various fifteenth century woodcuts, many produced in the Veneto. Five volumes in seven tomes have survived of this collection, but more likely existed. See LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, p.91; AREFORD 2010, pp.105–63 with further literature.

One rather crude engraving – now known in just four impressions – suggests that these promotional tactics were similarly deployed by the mendicant Orders established in Vicenza (fig.3.11).⁴²⁰ Featuring Christ’s crowning with thorns, this engraving can be convincingly related to the Dominican monastery of Santa Corona on account of its iconographic content. In it, the religious episode is set into an architectural framework above a scene identifiable as King Louis IX’s presentation of a spine from the Crown of Thorns to Bishop Bartolomeo Breganze of Vicenza in 1259. Bishop Bartolomeo subsequently oversaw the founding of the Chiesa di Santa Corona to house the prized relic and the foundation quickly emerged as Vicenza’s preeminent cult site.⁴²¹ The relic and structure were the responsibility of the Dominicans; a detail communicated in the engraving by the depiction of the two attendant friars in the monochrome habits of the Order. These factors strongly indicate that the engraving was produced expressly in connection with the foundation at Santa Corona as an object to be distributed from the site.

The natural questions that arise concern the logistics of the Santa Corona engraving’s production. Was the copperplate engraved and printed in Vicenza? If so, then who masterminded the project and who provided the necessary equipment and expertise? And most importantly to the widely held assumption that Benedetto Montagna was the first engraver active in Vicenza: when? Proposed datings range between circa 1480 and 1510 on account of technical and circumstantial factors. Strong similarities with the work of the Carmelite friar Giovanni Maria da Brescia – specifically the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with the Prophets Elijah and Elisha with Four Saints* of 1500 in terms of the shading technique and overall composition – would support a proposal of circa 1500 (fig.3.12).⁴²² A dating to the early years of the sixteenth century also arises from the theory that the engraving’s commissioning coincided with the contract for a new high altarpiece for Santa Corona awarded in 1506.⁴²³ The related suggestions that the composition was based on a design by Bartolomeo Montagna and that ‘Montagna’ – presumably Benedetto – was responsible for the engraving are untenable.⁴²⁴ Nonetheless, the premise that the

⁴²⁰ TIB.24.2409.021.

⁴²¹ For a summary see ALLEN 2013, pp.681–85.

⁴²² TIB.24.2409.021, p.246.

⁴²³ BORTOLAN 1889, pp.239–40.

⁴²⁴ BORTOLAN 1889, p.240, repeated in TIB.24.2409.021, P.246.

engraving coincided with major developments to the church's fabric, and hence the cult's status, holds some weight. One alternate occasion is the completion in 1482 of the crypt specifically built to house the Holy Spine which represented a major phase in the church's expansion plans.⁴²⁵ A dating between 1480 and 1490 would also align with the engraving's visual qualities: the heavy outlines, stiff shading and clumsy figures. These compare favourably with engravings of religious subject matter produced in Lombardy like the *Saint Benedict with Saints Maurus, Placidus and Scholastica* (fig.3.13).⁴²⁶ In sum therefore, the engraving's technical and stylistic qualities would suggest it was the work of a foreign, potentially Lombard, engraver active in Vicenza during the final decades of the 1400s.

The ambiguities that surround the *Santa Corona* engraving also highlight the practical issues that had to be taken into consideration in the decades before more formal printmaking procedures were implemented. Instances in which a mendicant Order had their own publishing operation – replete with printing presses – as at the Florentine Monastery of San Ripoli were rare.⁴²⁷ These religious foundations did not generally produce sufficient prints to make investment in the technology, labour and materials worthwhile. Could the Carmelite seat where Fra Giovanni Maria resided in Brescia, for instance, have really justified acquiring a roller press on which to print his few copperplates? A solution was instead to order the required products directly from those for whom printmaking was their trade. Records of the Sandri publishers show that the local confraternities of Santa Maria Maggiore and Sant'Ursola ordered batches of *santini* and '*madone istampe*' from the Venice-based publishing business.⁴²⁸ This outsourcing appears to have developed into prolonged arrangements in which repeat orders saw printed images delivered by the hundred or thousand to the foundations as and when occasion arose. Account books for Santa Corona have not yet been sufficiently searched for any references to prints.⁴²⁹ But one might conjecture that payments were either made to one tradesman who oversaw the entire venture as

⁴²⁵ Proposed in TIB.24.2409.021, p.246. On the crypt and the church's expansion plans in the final decades of the fifteenth century, see ALLEN 2013, pp.687–91.

⁴²⁶ TIB.24.2409.011. For further discussion, see ZUCKER 1993, pp.368–69.

⁴²⁷ For which see CONWAY 1999.

⁴²⁸ PON 1998; PON 2004, pp.60–61.

⁴²⁹ ASVi, *Corporazioni religiose soprese*, Santa Corona, b.132. These most recently studied in ALLEN 2013 but without focusing on print-related terminology.

with the Sandri or that payments were made to various craftsman as part of a multi-phase process overseen by the Sandri.

These arrangements did not necessarily take place exclusively within Vicenza's walls; in fact, the engraving's style suggests that they did not. Nor did the engraving of the plate and its sustained printing have to be done in the same workshop. These two procedures had emerged as disparate professions by the mid-sixteenth century and precedents likely existed.⁴³⁰ A possibility is that the Dominicans of Santa Corona ceded the engraved copperplate to an individual operating a roller press business in a neighbouring city.⁴³¹ Impressions would then have been dispatched when requested in a continuation of the cross-regional interchanges discussed above in relation to the book publishing industry. Other instances in which this procedure is likely to have taken place include the Camadolese *Madonna with Saints* associable with the isolated monastery on the Isola di San Michele near Murano and the two Benedictine engravings that Benedetto Montagna likely produced for the Paduan Abbazia di Santa Giustina (figs.3.14; 3.15).⁴³² That a number of anonymous engravings and woodcuts can be seen as products issued for the Basilica del Santo suggests that a business of this format was operating in Padua by the late fifteenth century (fig.3.16).⁴³³ What is unfortunate is that the only surviving impressions of the Santa Corona engraving are late strikes from the copperplate as it is consequently impossible to analyse the paperstocks sourced by the printer. It is possible, however, that early impressions were of the same quality as those contemporaneously in circulation in Padua.

Regardless of the specifics, the *Santa Corona* engraving provides a valuable insight into the early print industry in Vicenza. It strongly indicates that Vicentine

⁴³⁰ See LONDON 2001, pp.73–5 and more generally for the trade's operation in the second half of the sixteenth century; various comments on the professions that contributed to the trade's functioning in sixteenth-century Rome in WITCOMBE 2008. See also STIJNMAN 2012, pp.96–101 on the plate printer's profession more generally.

⁴³¹ I am grateful to Antony Griffiths for discussing the logistics of this potential scenario with me.

⁴³² ZUCKER 1993, pp.382–83. For Benedetto's two engravings see App.II, Nos 16 & 17 and below for their technical characteristics. Factors that indicate that they were meant for the Paduan Abbey include the inclusion of Santa Giustina, the patron of the Abbey and the fact that Bartolomeo worked for the neighbouring Benedictine Abbey of Praglia in the 1490s on two frescoes, see LUCCO 2014, Cats.51 & 63. When the workshop was active in Padua in 1505–6, contact with the Benedictines could have been re-established, and, compare comments in ZUCKER 1993, pp.374–75.

⁴³³ HIND I, No.E.III.44, discussed in ZUCKER 1993, pp.379–81. Dated to c.1475–80.

religious foundations and their devotees were receptive to the medium. This proposal increases in significance when placed in relation to the city's flourishing book publishing trade for it arguably fostered a receptivity towards printed images and their material requirements. What the circumstances surrounding the engraving's production also make clear is that Vicenza was embedded within the concurrent development of printmaking across the Veneto.

Guilds.

These considerations highlight the fact that the Montagna's expansion into the business of engraving was not an impromptu venture. Regulations imposed through the guild system was one prime prohibiting factor. While this was equally true of all artisanal trades, print production in the fifteenth to early sixteenth century represents a particular case on account of the medium's relative novelty. Legal complaints filed in Padua and Venice in 1442 and 1441 respectively, show that those retailing prints in both cities were expected to matriculate to a guild in order to ply their trade or run the risk of sanctions.⁴³⁴ Yet in all certainty due to a lack of prospective members, there were no print-specific guilds.⁴³⁵ Engravers, woodcutters and printers and those retailing their products instead attempted to work outside of the system or congregated with their peers in foundations deemed appropriate for their trade.⁴³⁶ Considering guild structures and affiliation can therefore augment the current understanding of how the Vicentine print trade was managed in its early phases.

As noted earlier in this thesis, the incomplete nature of Vicentine guild records prohibits a wholly satisfactory analysis of how artisanal practices were regulated in the city. The premise that the contemporary records available for Venice and Padua

⁴³⁴ For the complaint made against the della Seta family for retailing prints without guild affiliation, and their retort that they were not the only ones to do so, see SCHIZZEROTTO 1971, pp.106, 109–12. For the complaint of 11 October 1441 made by the Venetian *Fraglia dei Pittori*, see HELD 1963, pp.82–83.

⁴³⁵ STIJNMAN 2012, pp.82–83 notes that it was not until the 1590s that the first 'print-specific' guilds were founded in the Netherlands. For an in-depth study on Antwerp guilds in relation to print production, see VAN DER STOCK 1998, pp.27–57.

⁴³⁶ For guilds more generally see STIJNMAN 2012, pp.82–83; for a comparative study on Antwerp guilds see VAN DER STOCK 1998, pp.27–57. On the gathering of printers and booksellers active in Venice at the Scuola di San Girolamo and its emergence as a network that aided the establishment of new ventures, see DONDI 2004.

provide a valuable framework for Vicenza again holds true, especially as in both cities printmakers and print dealers were expected to matriculate to the *fraglia dei pittori*.⁴³⁷ Revisions were made to the statutes of Paduan *fraglia* in 1461 and the Venetian *fraglia* by the 1450s to incorporate print production and retail under these guilds' jurisdiction.⁴³⁸ The principal motive for this affiliation was that prints were essentially 'small paintings' or *quadretti*, but it was also dictated by the working media.⁴³⁹ Oil-based printing ink was essentially a viscous medium comparable to paint, with the frequent application of colour to prints contributing to this assumption of the epithet '*quadretti*' on account the comparable appearance as 'coloured pictures'.⁴⁴⁰

It would be reasonable to assume that the same logic was followed in Vicenza. The central problem is, as previously discussed, that an independent Painter's Guild does not appear to have existed in Vicenza. Painters instead appear to matriculated to the *fraglia marangonum* or carpenters' guild. In a further affirmation of differences between Vicentine guild structures vis-à-vis those in Venice, *librai*, or booksellers-cum-publishers, including Enrico di Ca Zeno, matriculated to the *fraglia dei merzari* or mercantile guild in Vicenza.⁴⁴¹ Though retail guilds in other cities subsumed printmaking into their remit, the matriculation records for the Vicentine *fraglia* do not contain the names of any printmakers.⁴⁴² Could it be, then, that those practicing the delicate craft of engraving were subject to the same governance as those carving wood?

A logical alternative is to suggest that in Vicenza engraving was subsumed into the goldsmith's guild as was the case in Florence, Bologna, Milan among other locations. It cannot be denied that engraving by definition finds closer comparison in

⁴³⁷ LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, p.9. In Venice the guild was known as the *Arte dei Depentori*.

⁴³⁸ For early guild control over print production in Padua and Venice see LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.8–9.

⁴³⁹ See remarks on the appeal of '*quadretti*' to early collectors in Conclusion. On the *trecento* statutes that show the use of colour and ink were criteria for affiliation with some consideration paid to the chosen support, see SAPIENZA 2018, p.202.

⁴⁴⁰ It is worth noting the case brought against the printmaker Adrian van Lieswelt by the Antwerp Painter's Guild who argued that his printing ink was of a viscosity sufficiently similar to paint that he was infringing on the guild's regulations by operating in the city without matriculation, VAN DER STOCK 1998, pp.27–29

⁴⁴¹ BBVi, Settore Antico, Ms.G.28.1.5 (=536), *Fraglia dei merzari*, Ca Zeno recorded in 1503, BRUNELLO 1976, p.110.

⁴⁴² Other examples in LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, p.9.

the delicate working of metals such as gold and silver than the application of paint to a surface with a brush or the carving of wood. What is more, engravers' tools, such as burnishers, punches, the *ciappola* and the burin with a lozenge section Francesco Rosselli introduced to Italy, were also the same as those used in goldsmithing.⁴⁴³ In fact, the earliest engravers active in these cities were frequently goldsmiths by training: examples include Antonio Pollaiuolo, Francesco Francia and Bernardo Prevedari.⁴⁴⁴ Florentine goldsmiths and engravers are also known to have shared workshops while those practicing either or both professions formed a sub-group of the *Arte della Seta*.⁴⁴⁵ In Bologna, Francia joined the city's goldsmith guild in 1482 and Marcantonio Raimondi's description as '*aurifex*' in 1504 suggests he also matriculated as a master.⁴⁴⁶ Vicenza had a well-established goldsmithing tradition.⁴⁴⁷ Origins of the *fraglia degli orefici* can be traced to a date between 1322 and 1339.⁴⁴⁸ That records of its '*matricola vetus*' show that goldsmiths immigrated to Vicenza from locations including Venice, Verona, Lombardy and Germany is a testimony to the industry's wider reputation.⁴⁴⁹ The guild was also granted rights to a chapel in the Chiesa di Sant'Eleutorio in close proximity to the goldsmiths' *botteghe* all of which were situated on street known as the '*ruga aurificum*' (fig.3.4).⁴⁵⁰ The prestigious location of this '*ruga*' underneath the Palazzo del Comune both reflected the status the trade held in the city and placed goldsmiths in close relation to other artisans operating in Vicenza.

Though these factors could support the view that the Vicentine goldsmith industry was prominent enough to subsume engraving within its remit, study of the Vicentine '*matricola vetus*' unfortunately does not shed any further light on the matter due to its fragmentary state. *Folio 18* of the *matricola* – which consisted of a

⁴⁴³ ROBERTS 2013, pp.185–87; On Rosselli's burin see See LANDAU 1994, pp.179–80; LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994 p.73.

⁴⁴⁴ See respectively WRIGHT 2005, pp.29–35; BOLOGNA 2018, esp. Mario Scalini's essay 'Francia orafo, zecchiere e medaglista. Ipotesi e confronti', NEGRO & ROIO 1998, pp.95–110; ALDOVINI 2009, esp. pp.42–45 & ALDOVINI 2012, p.61 where notes that Prevedari was active as goldsmith between 1469 and 1493.

⁴⁴⁵ EVEN 1984, p.40; GRAY 2012, pp.33, 37–38. On Pollaiuolo's matriculation to the guild see WRIGHT 2005 p.12.

⁴⁴⁶ For Marcantonio see REBECHINI & WOUK 2016, p.12; BLOEMACHER 2016, pp.28–29.

⁴⁴⁷ For the Vicentine *fraglia aurificum* see BRUNELLO 1976, pp.98–100.

⁴⁴⁸ BBVi, Settore Antico, Ms.G.22.7.7 (=537), *Matrciola della fraglia degli orefici*.

⁴⁴⁹ Also noted in BRUNELLO 1976, p.98.

⁴⁵⁰ The '*ruga aurifcarie*' was also known as the '*via degli orefici*' and was situated 'beneath' the Palazzo Pretorio. The goldsmiths' workshops were owned by the Commune. See BRUNELLO 1976, p.100.

list of those who matriculated between the mid-fifteenth to early-sixteenth century – is lost.⁴⁵¹ It is therefore impossible to tell whether engravers who worked in the city were required to join this guild. What is certain, however, is that it contained the names of several of the Montagna's relatives. Bartolomeo's cousins were established goldsmiths with a *bottega* on the coveted '*ruga aurificarie*', and it is here that the testament of Antonio Cincani – Bartolomeo's father – was read out on 30 January 1469.⁴⁵² Of these three goldsmithing brothers, Baldassare and Pietro 'da Brescia' had died by 1483, but the surviving brother and his nephews continued the trade and must have also matriculated to the goldsmith's guild.⁴⁵³ The significance of this familial profession to Benedetto's development as an engraver is further addressed below. For the present, however, it will suffice to say that the connections between Vicentine painters and goldsmiths were closer than is generally acknowledged.

Despite these considerations and though conclusive evidence is lacking, it is most likely that Vicentine print production – including engraving – was regulated by the *fraglia marangonum* along with painting. Further support to this proposal is found in the fact that when the goldsmith guild was reformed in 1536, with Valerio Belli elected *gastaldo*, no reference was made to *intaglio* prints.⁴⁵⁴ Not only would this align with the trends documented for other cities in the region, it crucially would have allowed for the diversification of the Montagna workshop's output. Bartolomeo's status as the city's preeminent painter meant he would have held a certain standing within the guild. Concomitant with this status was a certain element of expectation that Bartolomeo would respect its statutes and jurisdiction. This affiliation encompassed the output of his workshop, including family members. If a Vicentine guild other than the *fraglia dei Marangoni* legislated the city's printmaking industry, then the Montagna would have needed to matriculate to two guilds before they could retail the engravings Benedetto produced. Though this was not unheard of, it was not

⁴⁵¹ For the reconstruction of the *matricola* and for identification of f.18, see CUNICO 1996. For the opinion that the *matrciola vetus* and the documents of other guilds were damaged by 'savages' during the Wars of the League of Cambrai see BRUNELLO 1976, p.88.

⁴⁵² For this document see ASVi *Not. Daniele Ferretto*, b.4618, anno 1469, cc.23v–24, 31r–32r, BARAUSSE 2014, No.20, pp.106–8.

⁴⁵³ Pietro died on 26 January 1478 and drew up will on 20 January; Baldassare drew up his will on 11 April 1483. See respectively ASVi, *Testamenti in bombacina*, b.288, on these dates.

⁴⁵⁴ On the goldsmith guild post-1536 see CUNICO 1996, p.170. For Valerio Belli see JESTAZ 2000; GASPAROTTO 2000; BARAUSSE 2000; BURNS 2000; BRUNELLO 1976, p.110. Unsurprisingly, Benedetto's name does not appear within these guild records.

commonplace. Instead, grouping these forms of image-making within the same guild meant it was possible to produce both paintings and engravings without infringing on guild membership.⁴⁵⁵ A comparable situation can be observed for Venice as Jacopo de' Barbari and Girolamo Mocetto both worked as painters in the city before branching into engraving and so could operate continuously as part of the *fraglia dei pittori*.⁴⁵⁶ Convenience factors arguably played a role. As noted above, the subsuming of print manufacture and retail into these guilds occurred several decades before engravings were produced in the Veneto. This existing framework meant artisans trained as painters could experiment with the potential of the new medium either by learning the trade themselves or expanding their workshop output. The Montagna family would have been ideally situated to take advantage of this regulatory construct.

Plates, Presses and Paper.

Further insight into the factors that contributed to, and sustained, the production of engravings in Vicenza can be gauged from the local trade in the requisite materials. As with all forms of print, the three most fundamental elements were a matrix, a press of some form and a support to impress the matrix onto.⁴⁵⁷ Additional tools and equipment were of course required to prepare the matrix and these are considered in the following sections. What the range of these materials underscore is the fact that a print was not produced through the agency of one person alone. A case in point concerns the San Jacopo di Ripoli monastery at Florence for which the accounts books reveal just how many craftsmen contributed to the daily running of a typographic print business.⁴⁵⁸ Procurement of the requisite raw materials

⁴⁵⁵ This point similarly made in WRIGHT 2005, p.31 to explain Ghiberti's multiple professions during his affiliation to the Arte della Seta as he could simultaneously work as a bronze sculptor and goldsmith.

⁴⁵⁶ For the question of whether Mocetto was apprenticed to Giovanni Bellini or Alvise Vivarini following his origins from a family of Muranese glassworkers, see TAGLIAFERRO 2011, pp.162–64; For the archival sources on Mocetto see ROMANO 1985, pp.25–27. On Jacopo's origins from a family of German publishers and the paintings he likely produced in Venice in the 1490s see BÖCKEM 2016, pp.27–86; FERRARI 2006, pp.17–21. VAN DER SMAN 2018 pp.189–91 further supports the attribution of the *Portrait of Fra Luca Pacioli* (dated 1495) to Jacopo while simultaneously proposing a dating of c.1503–05 for a number of Jacopo's engravings. Conversely, however, Sergio Momesso in Venice 2016, Cat. 76 proposed an attribution of the portrait to Jacomoetto Veneziano, and a dating to c.1495.

⁴⁵⁷ For an overview of the equipment needed to produce a print see LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.12–30.

⁴⁵⁸ For which see CONWAY 1999.

and equipment depended on a complex network that spanned guilds and geographic borders. This observation is of course equally applicable to other artisanal crafts: the trade in painters' pigments is well known, as is that of gold.⁴⁵⁹ But it must be emphasised that the relative novelty and media specificity of engraving demanded that resources were procured through less established channels.⁴⁶⁰ For Vicenza, these channels can be reconstructed through a consideration of the local industries that dealt in these raw materials. Analysis of the material qualities of surviving impressions of Benedetto's engravings also informs this approach even if the engravings themselves are not the focus here. Collectively, they augment the current understanding of how the engraver's profession operated within the material culture of a city.

The Province of Vicenza was renowned for its paper-mills and copper mines. Rich copper deposits were located in the surrounding mountains and the canal system that extended across the *terraferma* provided the fresh running water required to power the mills.⁴⁶¹ The first papermill was founded in Vicenza near the Ponte degli Angeli during the 1450s, and another was situated in the Borgo di Pietro along the Bacchiglione.⁴⁶² Like many material resources of the *terraferma*, the paper and copper trades were controlled by the Venetian Republic, principally because such products could not be produced on the Lagoon itself.⁴⁶³ All copper mined on the *terraferma* had to be sent to Venice prior to sale, ensuring that the highest quality copper on the market was found in the city.⁴⁶⁴ As noted in Chapter One, paper was also exported en masse to Venice. The Republic's legislative control extended to the market: taxation levels and retail prices were set by the Senate.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁵⁹ Trade of artistic materials addressed in KIRBY ET AL. 2010.

⁴⁶⁰ Also emphasised in STIJNMAN 2012, p.104.

⁴⁶¹ For copper see BRAUNSTEIN 1965 esp. pp.530–37; TUCCI 1977. Paper was produced from linen rags through a multi-step process including the dipping of wire grids into macerated pulp, couching and pressing. Many of these steps were facilitated by water-powered mechanisms. For the papermaking procedure see STUTTGART 2006, pp. 16–21.

⁴⁶² MANTESE 1974, pp.45–47, 61–63; MANTESE 1964, p.858–59.

⁴⁶³ GRUBB 1988, pp.113–16. By the early sixteenth century other items required to pass through Venice included wool, gold, silver, copper, wax, and silk cloth.

⁴⁶⁴ BRAUNSTEIN 1965, pp.530–33. Mining permits were issued by the Senate and enterprising German expatriates secured the first trade monopoly until Vicentines complained. COVI 1983, esp. pp.256–57 convincingly correlates Verrocchio's presence in Venice in 1469 with the procurement of high-grade copper for the *palla* of the Florentine Duomo.

⁴⁶⁵ On taxation see GRUBB 1988, pp.118–19; COLLA 1984, p.49.

Despite these interventions, Vicenza's material trade retained a strong local basis and this arguably had an impact upon the city's print industry. Copper for plates could have been acquired from copper merchants or coppersmiths – known as *calderai* – already operating in Vicenza.⁴⁶⁶ The specifics of how copper went from ingots to plates in the hands of early engravers remains unclear.⁴⁶⁷ What is certain is that it was a laborious process and artisanal networks were once again vital. It was beneficial for the respective artisans to form strong working relationships and they often worked in close proximity. *Calderai* working in mid-sixteenth century Rome, for instance, set up shop in the same *rione* as printmakers and publishers to meet the high demand for ready-prepared copperplates.⁴⁶⁸ Precedents existed, albeit on a less industrialised scale as in Venice where publishers and printmakers congregated in the *sestiere* known for its copper furnaces.⁴⁶⁹ Early engravers might also have contracted *calderai* to produce the copperplates for them, specifying the size and quantity required for a specific project or at the very least, requested a set number of copper ingots to subsequently work into a plate. The presence of two unengraved copperplates 'for printing' in Ludovico Mantegna's post-mortem inventory suggests the former scenario and their procurement speculatively anticipated future engraving projects.⁴⁷⁰ When Benedetto required new copperplates to engrave, he could have followed the same procedure and again benefited from established Vicentine networks. Archival documents show that Bartolomeo entered into various business dealings with the city's *calderai* or stood as their witness during the 1480s.⁴⁷¹ These contacts would surely have been reprised with the family's expansion into engraving and transformed into material-based relations.

A similar dynamic can be reconstructed for the acquisition of necessary paper supplies. Papermakers might have used agents to export their wares to Venice and beyond, but their primary dealings took place from an '*apotheca*' situated in the

⁴⁶⁶ BRUNELLO 1976, pp.103–4, *calderai* were part of the *fraglia dei fabbri*.

⁴⁶⁷ On the preparation of copper plates see STIJNMAN 2012, pp. 107, 132–33, 141–50.

⁴⁶⁸ LONDON 2001, p.29.

⁴⁶⁹ DONDI 2004, pp.234–39.

⁴⁷⁰ SIGNORINI 1996, pp.105, 112. 'Due foglie de ramo de tagliar stampo'.

⁴⁷¹ Three notarial documents record that Bartolomeo entered into business transactions with coppersmiths or stood as a witness on their behalf. See Not. Giovanni Pietro Revese, b.4799, 26 August 1481; Not. Francesco Scolari, b.177, 14 October 1486, all cited in ZAUPA 1998, p.124.

vaults of the Palazzo Comunale or in the Piazza dei Signori.⁴⁷² As mentioned above, the growth of Vicenza's paper industry was a response to the needs of the city's book publishers and the two businesses were mutually dependent.⁴⁷³ Publishing contracts were often witnessed by the same papermakers, or *cartolai*, who provided the paper for the books; an interaction also documented in Mantua.⁴⁷⁴ Papermakers also supplied the city's officials and notaries who used bound folios to record legal transactions.

Comparison of watermarks on *fondi* belonging to notaries used by the Montagna and other municipal documents in which the family is mentioned with those found on Benedetto's engravings shows that Vicentine *cartolai* also supplied the paper for the purpose of printmaking.⁴⁷⁵ Of particular note are variants on a 'Bird in Profile with Crown and Key' and 'Cardinal's Hat'. The first occurs in the Zurich impression of *Holy Family with John Baptist* and the *fondi* used by Francesco Scolari for the years 1498–99 and 1508 (fig.3.17), while the second was formerly dated to 'Udine 1503' can now also be dated 'Vicenza, c.1500–5'.⁴⁷⁶ It is worth noting that copies of Da Reno's *Miracoli della Madonna* published in Vicenza in 1481 are printed on a coarse paper similar to that used in both known impressions of Benedetto's *Saint Catherine*.⁴⁷⁷ These parallels compare with Canova's observation that the basilisk watermark found on drawings and prints from Mantegna's circle also appears in coeval Mantuan books, including Johann Schall's *Historia Ecclesiastica* of 1479.⁴⁷⁸ Trade among local craftsmen and dealers were evidently fundamental to early printmaking operations in Vicenza.

⁴⁷² SIMEONE 2001, p.9. COLLA 1976, pp.112. The same paper was used for books produced in Trento. For export of paper from Venice to the east see BABINGER 1931; For the contents of cartolario's shop see SIMEONE 2001, pp.12–15; MARTINI 1956; MANTESE 1968. Vicentine papermakers were part of the *fraglia dei merzari*, see BBVi, ms.563, 2r for matriculation on 28 June 1503 of 'Pietro de Niccolo, cartolario'

⁴⁷³ MANTESE 1964, p.858; COLLA 1984, p.48.

⁴⁷⁴ MANTESE 1974, p.38, fn.19. For this phenomenon in Mantua, see CANOVA 2002, pp.209–11

⁴⁷⁵ Notaries include Francesco Scolaio, Bortolo Aviano and Antonio Saracin. Handling of these archival documents reveals no difference in the density, quality or size of the paper, indicating that watermarks corresponded to different batches or producers. LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, p.18 suggest that watermarks were used as an indication of a paper's use and quality not source.

⁴⁷⁶ Watermark findings are tabulated in Appendix III.

⁴⁷⁷ App.II, No.7; one of Benedetto's earliest engravings, impressions in: British Museum, Pavia, Albertina. This may suggest a lower production value in line with respective function as affordable objects for private devotion.

⁴⁷⁸ CANOVA 2002, pp.208–10.

This network arguably played a role in the introduction of the first roller press to Vicenza. Benedetto's success as an engraver depended on access to this machine. To reinforce the point made at the start of this chapter, typographic presses were not used to print *intaglio* plates; specific equipment was required.⁴⁷⁹ This took the form of a roller press (fig.3.18).⁴⁸⁰ Handheld weighted drums, or '*tanburi da stampare*', would not have produced the necessary pressure to print the evenly inked impressions of Benedetto's engravings such as the Albertina impression of the *Benedict with Saints* (fig.3.15).⁴⁸¹ In contrast, a slightly blurred impression of the *santino* of *Christ the Redeemer* suggests the use of a hand-held burnisher (fig.3.8).⁴⁸² This could suggest that plate size affected the choice of the printing method or simply that a roller press was not available when Benedetto first started producing engravings.

Versions of the roller press were certainly used to print North Italian engravings by the 1480s.⁴⁸³ Vertical striations show that the *Prevedari Print*, for which the contract was drawn up in Milan in 1481, was printed with a fixed wooden roller turned on a lathe.⁴⁸⁴ Uneven and crisp impressions of Mantegna's engravings suggest the fixed-roller method was subsequently introduced after some trial and error.⁴⁸⁵ The earliest roller presses used in Italy were possibly imported from Germany. Expatriate book publishers with knowledge of the intaglio process may have facilitated these arrangements and were perhaps involved in the subsequent printing of the plates; the German book printer Johann Schall has for instance been

⁴⁷⁹ STIJNMAN 2012, p.38.

⁴⁸⁰ An early sixteenth century depiction of rudimentary roller press designed for the flattening of soft metals gives the best idea of how such contraptions looked and the space they occupied as illustrated in STIJNMAN 2012, pp.288–89. Pre-1600 printing processes discussed in STIJNMAN 2010, App.I; App.II. No.17, pp.25–29.

⁴⁸¹ LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.29–30; STIJNMAN 1996, pp.4–5; MEIER 1941, pp.9–55 proposed that the three '*tanburi da stampare*' described in Rosselli's inventory were handheld rollers that were used to print his stock of copperplates. GRAY 2012, p.56 notes that handheld rollers do not produce the required pressure to evenly transfer ink from the plate to the paper.

⁴⁸² GRAY 2012, p.56 suggests that before the roller press was available, impressions were produced by rubbing a burnishing tool over a parchment sheet laid over the matrix and paper. The substantial manual effort required to 'burnish' a plate combined with the fast drying time of ink means that the method would only work for small plates.

⁴⁸³ On the roller press see Landau & PARSHALL 1994, pp.28–30; STIJNMAN 2012, pp.38–40, 287; MEIER 1941. The earliest usage of a roller press can be placed to Germany, c.1460–65. Konrad Sweinheim's recorded that he taught Roman printers to print his copperplates shows the machinery was in use Italy by the late 1470s.

⁴⁸⁴ This machine may not have been specifically designed for printing but instead repurposed from a mechanism with the same essential procedure such as a cloth dryer. LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.106–7; STIJNMAN 2012, p.29.

⁴⁸⁵ LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.69–71.

proposed as the impetus behind the import of a roller press to Mantua in the 1470s.⁴⁸⁶ By the close of the fifteenth century, however, and once engraving started to become a more prevalent trade south of the Alps, it would have been more logical to produce the machinery locally. A case in point is the Ripoli typographic press for which a Florentine carpenter and metalsmith provided the parts necessary for its construction, presumably by another local craftsman.⁴⁸⁷ Similar arrangements reasonably took place elsewhere, including Vicenza. The city's *fraglie* of *marangoni* and *fabbri* – members of both of which the Montagna was well acquainted – meant any number of craftsmen could have been involved in the constructing of a roller press for the family, while their goldsmithing relatives ostensibly intervened on the working of the metal parts.⁴⁸⁸ The machine constructed was of considerable size: the dimensions of Benedetto's largest plate means the bed was no shorter than 40cm, the roller longer than 32cm with a surface area greater than 1280cm².⁴⁸⁹ Space allowing, it was presumably installed in the Montagna workshop or at the very least nearby in order to facilitate Benedetto's productivity.

The Diversification of the Montagna Business.

Guild structures, material trade and the emergence of a Vicentine print industry therefore provide the foundation upon which to consider Benedetto's activity as an engraver. Yet what they do not explain are the specifics of the workshop's diversification. What instigated Bartolomeo's decision to have one of his son's train in a trade other than painting? And more importantly, how did Benedetto learn to engrave? Artisanal families allowed for the direct instruction of technical knowhow to the next generation. But as noted above, Bartolomeo was a painter and hence ill-equipped to teach Benedetto to make prints. As such, this business move must have depended on extraneous factors.

⁴⁸⁶ CANOVA 2001, pp.155–56; SIMONS 2017, fn.10 suggests Schall printed the plates and that initial trial period of printing suggests Schall implemented the import of a roller press from Northern Europe or that he encouraged the appropriation of a technology with a similar effect, such as a cloth roller. These possibilities remain conjecture.

⁴⁸⁷ Noted in GRAY 2012, p.58.

⁴⁸⁸ On the *fraglia dei fabbri*, see BRUNELLO 1976 pp.101–4.

⁴⁸⁹ These calculations based on STIJNMAN 2012, p.39, where states that the excess needed to sufficiently embed the Prevedari plate into the paper required a roller at least 60cm in length.

The workshop's expansion into engraving by necessity demanded an awareness of the medium on the behalf of Bartolomeo. His dual status as *caposcuola* and *paterfamilias* meant he held executive control over the commissions the family accepted and his sons' artistic productivity.⁴⁹⁰ The decision to diversify the workshop was therefore indisputably founded on a consideration of the trade's potential and risks. Bartolomeo certainly knew individuals involved in the printmaking industry: in 1482 the printer-publishers Paganino and Giacomo Paganini were present in Bartolomeo's residence for a land sale, and in 1488 he worked alongside Benedetto Bordon at Padua.⁴⁹¹ Printed images were also known to him. Quotations in select paintings show that both Italian engravings and Northern prints formed part of the workshop's visual archive from the 1470s onwards.⁴⁹² The variety of these printed sources indicate that the repository of prints was extensive and, like Bartolomeo's 'reference drawings', was consulted regularly for inspiration. In this respect, the Montagna workshop is a further testimony to the receptivity of artists operating across the Italian peninsula to prints and the artistic inventions they disseminated.⁴⁹³ One Venetic workshop in which prints quickly assumed an active role is that of Francesco Squarcione as several factors indicate that prints were part of his *studium*'s resources. One is the request made by Squarcione's widow and son in 1474, some six years after Squarcione's death, that the painter Marinello da Spalato return 'unum cartonum cum quibusdam nudis Poleioli' [a cartoon with nudes by Pollaiuolo].⁴⁹⁴ Whether or not Squarcione owned an impression of Pollaiuolo's *Battle of the Nudes* or a drawn copy after it, confirmation that Pollaiuolo's composition was known to the Squarcione workshop shortly after its production is found in the inclusion of figures directly

⁴⁹⁰ On the laws of *paterfamilias* see KIRSHNER 2004, pp.86–90 esp. p.87 where observes that emancipation only served a father's strategic interests and had little to do with their childrens' liberation. Bartolomeo also does not appear to have emancipated his sons: Benedetto, Paolo and Filippo are consistently referred to as 'eius filium' or 'fiolo'. Compare the emancipation of Girolamo Campagnola's seven children in 1507 which Zdanski claims proves that Giulio could not take on commissions until this date without his father's consent CESTARO 1908, pp3, 6–7; ZDANSKI 1987, p.118.

⁴⁹¹ ASVi, Not. Nicolo Ascoli, b.5097, anno 1482, cc.88–89; BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.45. The Paganini were originally from Brescia; ASPd, *Corporazioni religiose, San Giovanni da Verdara*, filza.152, perg.249, BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.59.

⁴⁹² For an overview on the early use of prints important from Northern Europe by Italian artists see GREGORY 2012, pp.161–228; HOLMES 1983. See Chapter 6 for the use of Northern prints as working models in the Montagna workshop and Benedetto's artistic debt to the work of Albrecht Dürer.

⁴⁹³ Prints were often treated as patterns and the copying of compositions and isolated motifs was a bona fide training method. KWAKKELSTEIN 2000, pp.46–56.

⁴⁹⁴ See LAZZARINI 1908 Doc. LXI; CANOVA 2002, p.201; WRIGHT 2010, p.10 but where Schiavone is erroneously named as the borrower cum thief.

spliced from the *Battle* in the *Hercules and the Giants* engraved by a Paduan artist and The Morgan *Sheet of Studies* in addition to the pen and ink copy of the composition now in Turin.⁴⁹⁵ When considered alongside Mantegna's reference to an engraving by Master ES in a painting dateable to the 1440s, these instances indicate that Squarcione's pupils were encouraged to see prints as working tools.⁴⁹⁶ If Bartolomeo did attend the Squarcione *studium* then he would have encountered the medium of print in this context. Alternatively, records on the use of prints by Squarcione's alumni – Mantegna included – are sufficient to show that this practice was consistent across other workshops in the region.

The use of prints as working tools – though integral in fostering an appreciation of engraving – represented only one aspect of Bartolomeo's responsiveness to the medium. It did not provide the requisite information on *how* engravings were produced. One painter who was aware of the procedure is Andrea Mantegna. The contract he drew up with the goldsmith Gian Marco Cavalli in 1475 to engrave copperplates to his designs – as well as his preceding altercation with Simone Ardizzone – shows that Mantegna knew he needed to involve a specialist metalworker.⁴⁹⁷ A comparable example is the *Prevedari Print or Interior of a Ruined Church or Temple* (fig.3.19).⁴⁹⁸ As the surviving contract reveals, this was a collaborative project for which Donato Bramante supplied the drawing that Bernardo Prevedari engraved onto a copperplate. In both cases therefore, practical operations were preceded by a consideration of the range of skills required and a corresponding division of labour between artisans.

Bartolomeo feasibly knew of, and owned impressions of, the prints that resulted from the two enterprises. References to the *Prevedari Print* have been seen in a number of Bartolomeo's paintings. The increasingly 'Bramantesque' character of the paintings Bartolomeo produced in the final two decades of the *quattrocento* is

⁴⁹⁵ For further discussion of the first and third cases, and for an additional example of a miniature dateable to 1469, see ARMSTRONG 1968. In the *Sheet of Studies* (The Morgan, inv.1958.21) both the figure who holds aloft an axe at the lower right is based on the nude at the far right of Pollaiuolo's *Battle* and the same could be said of the small, striding, figure at the drawings top-centre in relation to the nude with bow and arrow at the engraving's left.

⁴⁹⁶ This citation futher addressed in Chapter 6.

⁴⁹⁷ For a summary see BOORSCH 2010. Contract drawn up on 5 April 1475, see CANOVA 2001; CANOVA 2002.

⁴⁹⁸ On the engraving see ALDOVINI 2009; LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.23–24, 147.

often attributed to a knowledge of the print, and Giovanni Villa even named the foliate decorations on the throne in the *Madonna and Child between Francis and Bernard ‘figlie dell’incisione Prevedari’*.⁴⁹⁹ These claims should be treated with caution as it is unlikely that Bartolomeo could have acquired an impression prior to 1490 when he travelled to the Certosa di Pavia, where the *Prevedari Print* was possibly circulated among the sculptors working there due to the intervention of Stefano de’ Fedeli, step-brother to Matteo de’ Fedeli who commissioned the engraving.⁵⁰⁰ It is, however and conversely, quite possible that Bartolomeo acquired an impression of the Prevedari Print during his trips to Lombardy. Quotations of the engravings produced to Mantegna’s designs span an equally extensive period. Parallels have been proposed between the tender manner in which the Virgin cradles her child to her face in Mantegna’s *Virgin and Child* and two of Bartolomeo’s *Madonne* dating to circa 1485, and though the engraving may in fact post-date these two paintings, the citation of Mantegna’s composition in Benedetto’s *Holy Family in a Landscape with John the Baptist* confirms that the family knew of the engraving (figs.3.20; 3.21; 3.22).⁵⁰¹ Bartolomeo also referred to Mantegna’s *Resurrected Christ* on multiple occasions. Isolating the frontally orientated male with left hand pointed to heaven, this motif recurs in the *John the Baptist between San Zeno and Catherine of Alexandria* and *Saint Paul with Donor* among other examples further discussed in Chapter Five.⁵⁰² That many of these paintings are dateable to the 1480s would suggest that Bartolomeo managed to acquire impressions of these prints relatively soon after their initial production. How? In her scholarship on the (*s*)*fortuna* of Prevedari print, Laura Aldovini observed that the considerable effort required to print a plate of this size makes it unlikely many impressions were ever produced but she also noted that quotations in diverse artworks shows that the print was used as a working model.⁵⁰³ Likewise, recent scholarship has challenged the perception that Mantegna’s prints were objects circulated primarily among the elite by drawing attention to their

⁴⁹⁹ LUCCO 2014, p.59; Giovanni Villa in LUCCO 2014, No.39, pp.320–21; LUCCO 2014, p.47.

⁵⁰⁰ For the Pavia-Milan connection see ALDOVINI 2009, p.44; For references to Prevedari’s engraving in the reliefs at Pavia see ALBERTINI 1992, pp.51–125, esp. p.80.

⁵⁰¹ For Mantegna’s engraving see TIB.2502.003; Landau in LONDON 1992, Cat.48, p.219. For comparison see LUCCO 2014, Cats.24 & 25, pp.304–5 and for Benedetto’s engraving, see App.II, No.30, its dating to c.1507 does not preclude the possibility that the print served as a compositional model for paintings prior to this date.

⁵⁰² LUCCO 2014, Cats.37, 48, 77, 89.

⁵⁰³ The size of the plate meant that two sheets of paper had to be conjoined. See ALDOVINI 2012, pp.62–64, for workshop use, and traces of *calco* and *spolvero* on two surviving impressions.

significant and wide-ranging artistic impact.⁵⁰⁴ Bartolomeo could have acquired impressions of these prints through artistic contacts or on the open market with the intent of adding them to his workshop's visual archive. That he was referencing Northern prints by the 1480s – a topic discussed in detail in Chapter Six – supports this method of acquisition.

Was Bartolomeo also aware of the means by which the Milanese and Mantuan engravings were produced? His presence at the Certosa di Pavia in 1490 could suggest that he discussed the procedure with someone who knew of the working arrangements while there.⁵⁰⁵ Connections to Mantegna also existed through the milieu within which the two artists operated. Mantegna was admittedly secretive about Cavalli's role in engraving the copperplates, but it is nonetheless feasible that Giovanni Bellini, had some inside knowledge given that he was sent impressions of his brother-in-law's engravings; even copying his *Descent of Christ into Limbo* in the late 1470s.⁵⁰⁶ Bartolomeo possibly saw impressions of Mantegna's prints in the Bellini workshop at the time of his involvement on the Scuola di San Marco *teleri* and discussed how Mantegna had achieved the feat. These two scenarios are conjectural and in the absence of documentary evidence, must remain so. An alternative is that Bartolomeo's understanding of the engraving process did not occur until an established engraver migrated to Vicenza and this is further addressed in Chapter Four. For comparative purposes, it is worth noting Megan Holmes' proposal that the first engraver in Florence was an expatriate Northerner.⁵⁰⁷

The pressing issue of how Benedetto learnt his craft therefore remains. To reinforce the central issue, he is generally considered to have been the first engraver in Vicenza. Likewise, his status as son of a '*pictor eccellens*' leaves little doubt that his fundamental artistic background was in the painter's trade as he would have been expected to assist in the workshop's daily operations from a young age. To

⁵⁰⁴ See SIMONS 2017, esp.p.102.

⁵⁰⁵ For the Pavia-Milan connection and references to Prevedari's engraving in the reliefs at Pavia see ALDOVINI 2009, p.44.

⁵⁰⁶ This oil on vellum on panel, (518 x 373 mm) copy now in Bristol Museum and Art Gallery.

⁵⁰⁷ HOLMES 1983, pp.60–61.

complicate matters further, the specifics of engravers' trainings on the most all-encompassing level were recently deemed 'obscure' at best.⁵⁰⁸

Considering the artistic backgrounds of engravers Marcantonio Raimondi, Albrecht Dürer and Giulio Campagnola who were all born in the final decades of the *quattrocento* can therefore help establish a general trajectory. As noted above, Marcantonio's training was first and foremost as a goldsmith. His subsequent specialisation as an engraver was due to his entry to Francia's workshop where *nielli* – engraved metal to which black ink was inserted into the grooves – and engravings were already in production.⁵⁰⁹ The primary training that Dürer received was likewise as a goldsmith in his father's workshop with his uptake of printmaking due to his apprenticeship to Michael Wolgemut.⁵¹⁰ Giulio Campagnola's engagement with engraving represents a different case on account of his status as the son of a notary, scholar and part of the 'lower ranks of nobility'.⁵¹¹ The letter of recommendation sent by his relative, Michele de Placiola, to Federico Gonzaga's advisor on 10 September 1497 which included '*taio do bolino*' [engraving with the burin] among Giulio's many accomplishments is often taken as evidence that Giulio could produce engravings by his early teens.⁵¹² Goldworking is notable in its absence from the remarkable list; singing, playing the lute, painting and linguistic skills feature instead. The significance of Placiola's letter and the outcome it sought in relation to Giulio's connections to the Montagna is considered in detail in the following chapter. For the present, it should simply be noted that the veracity of its claims of competency are debatable and probably more indicative of basic knowledge of the various disciplines. Several other cases indicate that proficiency in metalworking was a requisite for prospective engravers, and particularly in the early years of the trade. Gian Marco Cavalli had matriculated as a goldsmith prior to engraving Mantegna's copperplates and continued to work predominately in the trade for his entire career.⁵¹³ Antonio Pollaiuolo's training as a goldsmith has been noted above. The nomination 'ex

⁵⁰⁸ STIJNMAN 2012, p.86.

⁵⁰⁹ OBERHUBER 1988, pp.51–58; FAIETTI 1988, pp.213–16.

⁵¹⁰ On Dürer's beginning as an artisan see BUCK 2013.

⁵¹¹ For extensive discussion on Giulio Campagnola, see Chapter 4 below and in particular ZDANKSI 1992 (p.58 for this quote). For the status of his father, Girolamo Campagnola, and his connections see below and SAFARIK 1973.

⁵¹² The letter in LUZIO 1888; see also CARRADORE 2010, pp.60–61.

⁵¹³ CANOVA 2001, pp.155–57, 164–66 with further bibliography.

Argentario pictor' that Fra Giovanni Maria allegedly added to the fresco cycle he painted at the Carmelite monastery in Brescia suggests he also trained as a metalworker before turning his hand to painting and engraving.⁵¹⁴

In this context, the Montagna's interactions with several goldsmiths present in Vicenza should be reconsidered. Legal deeds drawn up between 1476 and 1521 show that Bartolomeo entered into business dealings with, or served as a witness for, goldsmiths including Tomaso da Cremona and Francesco da Mantova.⁵¹⁵ As noted above, and more importantly, these connections were also familial: Bartolomeo's cousins operated a successful goldsmith's business. Taking into account the preceding discussion on artisanal training, it is feasible that Benedetto received initial instruction in metalworking from his relatives. That Benedetto spent some time in another workshop is supported by the fact that Filippo and Paolo collected payments on their father's behalf between 1496 and 1503 while he did not.⁵¹⁶ What might have instigated the decision to train Benedetto in particular is difficult to ascertain: a possible reason is that he displayed a particular propensity for working on small-scale. Another is simply that it was assumed that Paolo Montagna, as the eldest, would inherit the workshop on Bartolomeo's death and so Benedetto, as the second-born, represented a means to diversify the family enterprise. Ambiguities aside, these connections therefore suggest a new structure in Benedetto's artistic training; one which aligns him with the emergence of engraving alongside a goldsmithing tradition of early printmakers, as observed in other regions of Italy.⁵¹⁷

It could be reasonably suggested that Benedetto's training as an engraver took the form of an apprenticeship. The relative novelty of engraving and thus the few artisans working in the medium, however, means trade-specific apprenticeships were

⁵¹⁴ ZUCKER 1993, p.374 citing G.A. Averaldo, *Le scelte pitture di Brescia* (Brescia 1700), p.144 and P. Brognoli, *Nuova guida di Brescia* (Brescia 1826), p.187.

⁵¹⁵ On 31 March 1481 Bartolomeo was in the workshop of Tommaso da Cremona 'in ruga aurificarie' where he was a witness alongside another goldsmith named Francesco da Mantova; On 25 February 1521, Marcantonio Bonsignori, 'orefice', was in Bartolomeo's house as a witness for a land transaction. See respectively BARAUSSE 2014, Nos.40, 120.

⁵¹⁶ Payments to Filippo and Paolo for Capella Proti between 8 October 1495–96; to Filippo for the Pala Squarzi 1497–99; to Paolo for Capella di San Biagio, 1505. See respectively BARAUSSE 2014, Nos. 80, 82, 91.

⁵¹⁷ I am grateful to Laura Aldovini and Philippe Rouillard for encouraging me to consider this alternative.

not implemented in Italy until at least the mid-sixteenth century.⁵¹⁸ Nevertheless, regulations set down in relevant guild statutes offer some insight into the training required to reach a satisfactory level of competency to work a metal surface and produce a print. Florentine goldsmiths were expected to spend six years training under a master, while apprenticeships in Vicenza lasted for five years.⁵¹⁹ The earliest known records for engraver-specific apprenticeships originate from seventeenth and eighteenth century Northern Europe and specify a period of three to four years spent under a master.⁵²⁰ It should be emphasised that the length of these apprenticeships was dictated by the expectation that the tenure would be of reciprocal benefit to master and student; respectively guaranteeing workshop assistance and a vital step towards matriculation as an independent *maestro*.⁵²¹ Unsurprisingly, these time regulations were not always respected.⁵²² Nor were formal apprenticeships always necessary for the transfer of a skill set. Young artisans are known to have spent periods in multiple workshops, picking up varied accomplishments as they went.⁵²³

The instruction goldsmiths could provide, however, was for the most part limited to the fundamental techniques of working a metal surface and the sharpening of tools. Additional skills were still required in order to produce engravings. These included effective techniques of producing tone and how to ink a plate and apply enough pressure to produce an impression.⁵²⁴ This certainly depended on fortuitous contact with individuals who understood the craft in instances of interchange. These are considered in Chapter Four. For the present, this chapter will continue to address the fundamental elements that define Benedetto's expansion into the medium of engraving.

⁵¹⁸ STIJNMAN 2012, pp.86–90.

⁵¹⁹ WRIGHT 2005, p.32; CUNICO 1996,

⁵²⁰ STIJNAMN 2012, p.87.

⁵²¹ BRUNELLO 1976, pp.92–93 notes that admission to Vicentine *fraglie* as an independent *maestro* was preceded by a strict examination.

⁵²² AMES-LEWIS 2000, p.35.

⁵²³ On the artistic training Antonio Pollaiuolo gained in the workshops of Lorenzo Ghiberti and Maso Finiguerra see WRIGHT 2005, pp.29–35.

⁵²⁴ For the manual process required to produce an impression see STIJNMAN 2012, pp.33–39, for training stages, p.87

Benedetto's Early Technique.

Benedetto did not date any of his plates and without any such concrete reference points, stylistic progression is the criterion on which the internal chronology and dating of his oeuvre has been frequently based. The problem with such an approach is that it downplays the fundamental importance of technical development. A case in point is the *Sacrifice of Abraham* which Mark Zucker described as ‘surely his [Benedetto’s] earliest work’ on account of its ‘austere’ character and the ‘stiffness of the figures’ (fig.3.23).⁵²⁵ He continued to date it to ‘circa 1500’, prescribing to the generally upheld view that the ‘angularity of the drapery’ was directly derived from Bartolomeo’s *maniera* of the 1490s. A cursory overview of Benedetto’s engravings reveals that over a quarter resemble the ‘house-style’ that defines the paintings Bartolomeo produced circa 1500.⁵²⁶ In terms of dating, worn impressions such as those in the British Museum and Fitzwilliam could support this perspective on account of the ‘thin’ quality of the printed lines. The impression in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, however, does not, its richness revealing an engraving executed with a subtlety that far surpasses the capabilities of a complete novice (fig.3.24).⁵²⁷ In order to create areas of black, Benedetto used a combination of dense crosshatching and short, deep, parallel lines; while grey tones were produced through shallow strokes, perhaps with a drypoint (fig.3.31).⁵²⁸

In addition to highlighting the pitfalls of dating on the basis of superficial appearances alone, this particular example underscores the analytical distortion that arises from study of late strikes from the plate. These shortcomings can be alleviated through close study of the marks produced by the burin.⁵²⁹ Shelley Fletcher’s analyses of the seven engravings traditionally attributed to Mantegna best exemplifies the

⁵²⁵ App.II, No.18; TIB. Vol.25, p.385.

⁵²⁶ These are identified with ‘BaM’ in App.II. Zucker in TIB p.385 states Benedetto’s ‘style is entirely dependent on that of his father’; Sheehan in WASHINGTON 1973, p.307 states that Benedetto’s ‘stylistic development runs parallel to Bartolomeo’s’.

⁵²⁷ Ea.36 Res.CI.73C59949; LAMBERT 1999, Cat.648, p.348–49, describes the BNF impression as an undescribed state before the first state without monogram. The impression is in fact trimmed above the monogram.

⁵²⁸ Use of a drypoint would explain why only the BNF impression reveals the original effect of the engraving: the burr produced with the drypoint would have worn away after only a few impressions. The tonal softness of the burr was a side-effect and not deliberate.

⁵²⁹ I am grateful to David Landau for reiterating the importance of this approach.

potential of this methodology.⁵³⁰ Residing on Panofsky's assertion that 'an artist gains proficiency by learning step by step, and each new feat once acquired is not easily forgotten', she proposed a novel chronology based solely on the increasingly virtuoso techniques employed by the engraver of Mantegna's plates.⁵³¹ While this consideration of Benedetto's early engravings in no respect approaches the same degree of exactitude, Fletcher's *modus operandi* makes a strong case for the micro-connoisseurial approach.⁵³² An internal chronology cannot be constructed exclusively through study of technical development – other factors such as plate usage and paper are considered below – but it is an inarguably superior methodology to one predominantly based on stylistic progression.

The first state of Benedetto's *Virgin and Child* provides a clear point of departure (fig.3.1). Its adherence to a composition originally intended for output in another medium, combined with its tentative technique strongly suggests that it was among Benedetto's earliest engravings. Numerous slipped strokes similarly give the impression that the engraving was produced by someone not yet fully adept at handling the burin. Moreover, the 'school-boy' error of engraving the 'B' into the plate in the correct orientation so it is inverted in resultant impressions suggests the work of someone who had failed to comprehend the reversing nature of the printing process.⁵³³ But as the work of a novice, the *Virgin and Child* is useful in that it can give an idea of how Benedetto was taught to engrave. Hard outlines define the forms while simultaneously producing a rather static composition. The folds in the drapery were outlined prior to the addition of internal shading. Even though there are areas of clumsy workmanship, the shading is notable in its regularity; dash-work is carefully aligned and cross-hatching is almost mathematical in its precision.

⁵³⁰ Fletcher used close-up photographic technology to closely study the burin marks. In the first of two articles, FLETCHER 1997, she showed that several surviving impressions of the *Virgin and Child* have been touched up with pen and ink. See FLETCHER 2001 for her analysis of the technical development of the seven engravings generally attributed to Mantegna.

⁵³¹ FLETCHER 2001, p.5 quoting PANOFSKY 1955, p.58. It remains open to debate whether or not Mantegna ever engraved, but Fletcher's comments remain applicable to Cavalli's technical development. For an alternate view on the importance of technique versus cultural factors in dating engravings see VAN DER SMAN 2018, p.191.

⁵³² FLETCHER 2001, pp.5–7. For the enduring value of connoisseurship see ZERNER 1987; FREEDBERG 2006, esp. pp.31–33.

⁵³³ Of the two surviving impressions of the first state, the impression in the BNF is trimmed at the lower margin to the inner border. The monogram only remains on the Wolfegg impression. My thanks to Alexander Röstel for sharing his notes and images of this impression with me.

This ‘neatness’ is a defining characteristic of the engravings often believed to constitute Benedetto’s initial phase.⁵³⁴ Other descriptive adjectives include ‘static’, ‘austere’, ‘inflexible’ and ‘rigid’.⁵³⁵ Identifiable by the small, neat monogram ‘B.M’ often situated at the lower plate margin, the engravings grouped in this ‘early phase’ tend to be religious in subject matter. Their relatively large plate size vis-a-vis the level of detail means that the compositions are quite sparse with a single figure or figural grouping set before a deep landscape scattered with buildings. One example is the *Orant Virgin with Angels* in which the basic conception of the figures is tempered by tightly controlled linework in areas such as the cityscape (fig.3.25).⁵³⁶ Benedetto’s even burin handling is further demonstrated in the *Stigmatisation of Francis* and *Anthony Abbot* (figs.3.26; 5.14).⁵³⁷ In the former, a system of long aligned strokes is employed to construct the rocky verges, while the drapery of Anthony’s robe is articulated predominantly through short marks that run parallel to the curvature of the fabric. Two further examples are Benedetto’s related *Benedict Preaching* and *Benedict with Saints*, for which particularly fresh impressions of the latter show how meticulous cross-hatching was used to create subtle tonal graduations.⁵³⁸ An attempt to produce chiaroscural effects through the contrast between dense areas of crosshatching and the vast expanses of plate left unengraved unites this group. It should be emphasised that unlike Mantegna-Cavalli and Pollaiuolo, Benedetto did not create tonal subtleties through extensive use of the ‘v-’ or ‘zig-zag’ stroke.⁵³⁹ His primary technique was instead to vary the depth, density and length of the burin incisions.

Closer inspection of these engravings reveals a reliance on what could be termed ‘simple modelling’; that is to say rigidly structured strokes. Francis’s cranium, for instance, is not constructed through curves that follow the shape of the skull but through diagonal cross hatching (fig.3.27). Despite the illusion of complex folds, the drapery found in all of the prints proposed as ‘early’ is rendered predominantly by

⁵³⁴ For discussion see Zucker in TIB.25, pp.385–86. The engravings placed in this ‘early phase’ include TIB.2512.001;.018;.013, here App.II, Nos.18, 16, 1.

⁵³⁵ H.V, p.120; Zucker in TIB.25, p.385; Sheehan in WASHINGTON 1973, p.308; FULIN 1882, p.94.

⁵³⁶ App.II, No.12.

⁵³⁷ App.II, Nos.14 & 13.

⁵³⁸ App.II Nos.17 & 16, fine impressions in Vienna, DG.1954:81, Budapest inv. 5030.

⁵³⁹ On this technique see LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994 pp.74–76; For the revision of the term ‘zig-zag’ to ‘v’ see FLETCHER 2001, pp.19–21.

well-placed straight or slightly curved lines. This predilection for meticulous yet static lines is partly reflective of Benedetto's personal style, and may have been initially informed by study of the aforementioned Prevedari print in which a diagonal shading method is employed. The restricted range also suggests Benedetto had not fully mastered the requisite control required to turn the plate in order to produce tight curves.

'Simple modeling' is also observable in four engravings often considered to represent Benedetto's increasing dexterity with the burin: *Orpheus Charming the Animals*, *George and the Dragon*, *Jerome with Lion* and *Nymph with Satyrs* (figs.3.28; 3.29; 5.39; 3.30).⁵⁴⁰ In areas such as the raised satyr's leg and the animals charmed by Orpheus, however, the shading in these works is significantly flatter than so-called 'earlier' engravings.⁵⁴¹ Zig-zag strokes and looser shading are common to all four, although the odd curvature of the zig-zags in an attempt to follow the shape of George and Jerome's limbs suggests a period of experimentation.⁵⁴² The *George and the Dragon* is generally dated post-1505 on the idea that the horse's rear at the right of the composition was derived from Dürer's *Large Horse*; the more direct source of Bartolomeo's *Study for San Biagio* gives a slightly earlier *terminus post quem* of around March 1504 (fig.2.75).⁵⁴³ An odd compositional pastiche, this engraving further challenges the stylistic development proposed by Zucker. Were it not for the larger monograms on the *Nymph with Satyrs* and *George and the Dragon*, these four engravings could easily be placed as Benedetto's earliest.⁵⁴⁴

Recalling Henri Zerner's argument that attentiveness to the 'slightest inflections of the maker's hand...can tell us an extraordinary amount about how things are made', an appraisal of Benedetto's various modes of depicting hair, and more specifically curls offers another perspective.⁵⁴⁵ In Benedetto's *Sacrifice* deep, dark outlines with further tone added through shallow lines perhaps incised with a

⁵⁴⁰ App.II, Nos.3, 4, 2 & 11, See TIB.2512 where classified as 'end of initial phase, c.1505–6'. These were engraved on either side of two plates, see App.IIIa, Nos.2 & 3.

⁵⁴¹ The Rothschild impression of George 1/2 is touched up with ink.

⁵⁴² Sheehan in WASHINGTON 1973, Cat.124, p.314. For crosscurrents with Mocetto's technique see below.

⁵⁴³ WASHINGTON 1973, p.314.

⁵⁴⁴ Conversely, the monogram's placement in *Jerome* and *Orpheus* – squeezed in at the lower margins – suggests they were afterthoughts.

⁵⁴⁵ ZERNER 1987, p.290.

drypoint create ‘metallic’ ringlets with a sense of weight (fig.3.31). Precedents can be found in the small-scale *Christ the Redeemer* which is probably one of Benedetto’s earliest (fig.3.32). The slight waves of George’s accompanying princess were done with long s-shaped strokes of varying depths (fig.3.33).⁵⁴⁶ Most notable of all is Orpheus’s bouffant style, in which Benedetto attempted to include three ringlets through a series of short semi-circular strokes with little supplementary shading (fig.3.34). The techniques used in the *Virgin and Child* – rudimentary strokes imitating strands of hair with limited shading – are closest to *George and the Dragon*. While these observations by no means make a case for a chronological analysis through the study of hair alone, the technical variety explored here further suggests Benedetto’s earliest engravings were produced circa 1503 to 1505.

Co-working Practicalities.

The early years of the sixteenth century represented the most active period of the Montagna business’s operation. Commissions concurrently under fulfilment included the *Pala Squarzi*, *Pala di Zeno* and *Pala di Lonigo* in addition to innumerable *Madonne* likely meant for the open market. The workspace was consequently occupied by these ongoing projects and materials necessary to complete them. But one member of the family was concurrently engaged in the business of engraving; the success of which depended on the availability of a suitable workspace and resources. It is therefore worth briefly considering what working measures were implemented to sustain two trades within a single business construct.

Depictions of artisans in the act of engraving within a goldsmith’s workshop and sixteenth-century printshops offer an insight into how engravers set-up their workspace. One of the earliest is the Florentine engraving of *Activities under the Influence of the Planet Mercury* in which a goldsmith’s *bottega* is depicted at the lower left (fig.3.35).⁵⁴⁷ An individual is shown engraving a figure onto a metal plate with a burin, with a further two burins and possibly an oilstone at his side. Although its nature as an astrological allegory limits the engraving’s usefulness, it gives a visual

⁵⁴⁶ This latter technique also used in *Catherine with Wheel*.

⁵⁴⁷ For discussion see SITJNMAN 2012 pp.30–31; WRIGHT 2005, pp. 25–26.

indication of an engraver's work-bench. A depiction of a late sixteenth century – and hence more industrialised – workshop, Johannes Stradanus's drawing of *Engravers at Work* offers further insights: with the exception of one, the engravers rest their plates on a wooden desk, stabilising the plate with one hand, engraving with the other (fig.3.36). Further requisite tools included burnishers, punches, a leather cushion on which to rest the plate to turn it, braziers for warming plates, ink grinders and reams of paper.⁵⁴⁸

Very little of this equipment would have been found in the Montagna workshop prior to Benedetto's specialisation as an engraver. Sundry items instead included palettes, easels and most importantly, paintbrushes.⁵⁴⁹ Adaptations to the workspace would therefore have been necessary before any engravings could be produced. Otherwise, it was necessary to find and collaborate with an artisan whose workspace was already adequately equipped. Such considerations certainly had to be taken into account when Andrea Mantegna decided to have engravings made to his designs. The inclusion of the proviso that the drawings and copperplates were to be returned to Mantegna once Cavalli had engraved the compositions in their working contract shows that the two parties were not working on the same premises.⁵⁵⁰ These arrangements were in one respect due to the novelty of the partnership. But they can also be explained by the disparate material and working requirements of goldsmiths' and painters' workshops.

There are, however, multiple cases in which a single workshop was equipped for the production of works in varied media. These significantly show that substances could serve multiple functions. For instance, the binder and the pigment used to produce printing ink – linseed oil and either Lampblack or Vineblack – were both used by painters.⁵⁵¹ With Francesco Francia, his activity as a painter, goldsmith and medallist would have necessitated the presence of a broad spectrum of tools suitable for this diverse output.⁵⁵² A similar situation existed in the Pollaiuoli workshop where

⁵⁴⁸ See principally STIJNMAN 2010, esp. pp.12–24; LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.12–15. The paper and ink would have been subject to whether or not printing took place on site.

⁵⁴⁹ For an overview see NASH 2008, pp.162–67.

⁵⁵⁰ CANOVA 2001, p.5.

⁵⁵¹ Similarly noted in GRAY 2012, pp.53–54.

⁵⁵² See NEGRO & ROIO 1998, pp.95–110.

commissions for gold reliquaries and painted altarpieces were concurrently fulfilled.⁵⁵³

Artisans often shared working spaces with the goal of economising: rent could be shared and resources pooled.⁵⁵⁴ But when the workshop was under the direction of a single *maestro*, the principal factor was control. A gradual diversification of a workshop's output was equally dependent on each medium's relative success and the capabilities of assistants. Closely overseeing the progress of artistic projects was thus a means to ensure a consistently high aesthetic standard. Ready communication between a master and his assistants further facilitated the solving of operational issues that could arise and the clarification of specific details. Authority over access to one's intellectual property was an added boon. The strong probability that Mantegna adapted his workshop to enable engravers under his employ to work on-site would certainly have been motivated by such interests.

The various instances in which painting equipment was added to – or found in – the workshop of a goldsmith or vice versa leaves little doubt that the Montagna workshop was no exception to this practice. Its nature as a family business further supports this assertion. Benedetto could not only work alongside his brothers; his father could also oversee his ongoing contribution to the family business. Sufficient room was certainly available in their residence opposite the Chiesa di San Lorenzo for an engraver's work-bench to be set up in an appropriate corner. Space could also have been found to stretch a cord to hang up freshly printed impressions to dry. The family had the financial resources disposable to purchase the necessary supplies such as a ready stock of paper, copperplates and cloth for plate-wiping. They also had the necessary connections with local artisans to have the requisite roller press specially manufactured. Not all equipment, however, had to be newly purchased. Metalworking tools such as a burin and burnisher could feasibly be borrowed or loaned from their goldsmith relatives. To print impressions, pots, dishes and pestles for grinding ink could simply have been repurposed from the painters' tools present in the family *bottega*. The outcome was, of course, a workshop equipped for simultaneous output in

⁵⁵³ WRIGHT 2005, for the Baptistry Cross, pp.41–46.

⁵⁵⁴ For this practice in *quattrocento* Florence see GRAY 2012, pp.37–38 and more generally THOMAS 1995; EVEN 1984.

two media. Alongside paintbrush-wielding *garzoni*, a young man could have been found hunched over a copperplate, perhaps with sleeves rolled up and inky fingers.

The resultant confluence of the two crafts in common environs was as innovative as it was pragmatic. Bartolomeo's initiative meant that the city's preeminent painting workshop was among the first, if not the first, to produce engravings. But at the same time, the pooling of resources provided a financial security. For it must be emphasised that engraving's novelty meant that there were risks of unexpected outlays or simply the entire operation's failure. Modifications to the workspace and the business model, no matter how minor, would not have gone unnoticed. It surely attracted the attention of those connected to the family either as patrons or artisanal peers; resulting in interactions that will be addressed in the following chapter.⁵⁵⁵

Tracing the print industry's origins in Vicenza has sought to show that the production of printed books and printed images were not distinct entities. They were instead part and parcel of an intricate network of materials, trade and craftsmen which simultaneously operated on a local and regional level. Connections within this network were vital to the Montagna workshop's expansion into engraving. That the first engraving Benedetto produced was based on a composition Bartolomeo had initially designed for issue in painted form is therefore not coincidental. It instead attests to the fact that Benedetto's activity as an engraver was encapsulated within the family's established artistic business within the city. As with publishing, printmaking in Vicenza not a distinct enterprise to painting, but rather a complementary aspect of the city's material culture.

⁵⁵⁵ STIJNMAN 2010, p.14 aptly remarks on the visitor looking over an engraver's shoulder in Stradanus' *Printshop* 'people at work often attract attention'.

Chapter Four: ‘Peintre-Graveurs’ in the Montagna Workshop

The roll-call of engravers who can be associated with the Montagna workshop reads rather like the contents page to Volume 25 of *The Illustrated Bartsch*. In addition to Benedetto, Girolamo Mocetto, Giulio Campagnola, Nicoletto da Modena, Marcello Fogolino and Giovanni Antonio da Brescia are variously known or thought to have passed through Vicenza in the years surrounding the turn of the sixteenth century. Supporting evidence is found in the forms of archival documents, similarities in engraving technique and style, material factors such as access to paper, copper and a printing press, as well as circumstantial grounds. Collectively, these interactions position the Montagna workshop as a key point of contact for engravers – both established and prospective – present in the Veneto during this period. In turn, Benedetto’s constant presence in the family’s painting workshop positions him at the fulcrum. The outcomes of these interactions are hence fundamental to both Benedetto’s development as an engraver and the importance of Vicenza to engraving in the Veneto circa 1500.

Opportunity Driven Itinerancy and Interchange.

The cross-regional mobility of artists across the Veneto underscores these interactions.⁵⁵⁶ Travel was facilitated by a network of trade-routes that simultaneously demanded artists take minor detours via the cities these routes connected. Vicenza’s transport links to the rest of the Veneto positions it as a key centre of interchange whether as a stop off point or destination in itself. In turn, the aspirations of the city’s elite to assert their wealth and status through artistic patronage meant that ample chance for employment was to be had.⁵⁵⁷ This could take the form of independent commissions as a master painter or in the capacity of an assistant in prosperous workshops such as that of the Montagna. These opportunities were, of course, in a painterly capacity. But some of these artists were, as mentioned above, also active as

⁵⁵⁶ David Young Kim and Stephen Greenblatt’s considerations on mobility of artists and the outcomes of this itinerary have informed the following discussion, for an overview of their defining concepts see YOUNG KIM 2014, pp.1–7; GREENBLATT 2010.

⁵⁵⁷ See NEHER 2007 pp.253–58 for some insightful comments in this interplay.

engravers; thereby lending another dimension to their itinerancy and the driving motives.

One such individual is Girolamo Mocetto. Little is known of the specifics of his life apart from his upbringing in Murano within an established family of glassworkers. Extant documents place his birthdate to circa 1470 and show that he had matriculated as a ‘*pictor*’ by 1493.⁵⁵⁸ While his surviving paintings are unremarkable, they reveal that Mocetto was thoroughly embedded in the artistic practices of Venice and the *terraferma*.⁵⁵⁹ He has been variously proposed to have spent time in the workshops of Giovanni Bellini and Alvise Vivarini, but Mocetto is not thought to have spent his entire career on the Lagoon. Frescoes depicting the *Lion of Saint Mark and the Doge*, the *Judgement of Trajan* and *Clemency of Scipio* that formerly decorated the exterior of a residence in Verona have been attributed to him on stylistic grounds and correspondingly indicate that he travelled to that city circa 1515 (fig.4.1)⁵⁶⁰ Another widely known hypothesis is that Mocetto spent some time in the Mantuan workshop of Andrea Mantegna in the 1490s.⁵⁶¹ Neither of these two trips are supported by documentary evidence. Travels to mainland cities are instead posited from various factors. Landscapes evocative of the *terraferma* with walled citadels and flat planes backed by mountains that feature across his oeuvre recall areas such as Soave and hence suggest personal experience of the region (fig.4.2)⁵⁶² Citations of artworks and objects located in mainland cities may indicate he saw them in situ. One example is the reference to an antique relief from Padua in his *Pagan Sacrifice*.⁵⁶³ Conflation of a design by Mantegna with an accurate view of the Venetian Campo di SS. Giovanni e Paolo in his *Calumny of Apelles* has similarly

⁵⁵⁸ For a biographic overview, see TAGLIAFERRO 2011.

⁵⁵⁹ On Mocetto as a painter see primarily ROMANO 1985.

⁵⁶⁰ MARINI 2010, Cat.150.

⁵⁶¹ For a summary of the question of whether Mocetto went to Mantua see LANDAU 2016, pp.111–12; TAGLIAFERRO 2011, p.164. For the opinion that the Mantegnesque character of the paintings and engravings from Mocetto’s early phase is due to the widespread diffusion of Mantegna’s idiom see ROMANO 1985, pp.38–39. His frequent splicing and re-appropriation of motifs from Mantegna’s prints as in the *Massacre of the Innocents* which cites the *Entombment* and *Bacchanal*, supports this opinion. An alternative suggestion is that Mocetto’s awareness of Mantegna was mediated indirectly through contact with Domenico Morone and Giovanni Maria Falconetto in Verona, see ROMANO 1985, pp.39, 47.

⁵⁶² First suggested in WASHINGTON 1973, p.xxi. A prime example is the cityscape in the background of the *Resurrected Christ* which recalls Soave.

⁵⁶³ VAN DER SMAN 2013, p.166, journey dated to c.1515.

been taken to reflect time spent by Mocetto in Mantua and Venice.⁵⁶⁴ Such references have given rise to the thesis that engravers' journeys can be plotted with 'relative accuracy' through the visual qualities of their work.⁵⁶⁵

It has been suggested on such grounds that Mocetto also passed through Vicenza.⁵⁶⁶ His free translation after the *Baptism of Christ* that Giovanni Bellini executed for the Graziani Chapel in Santa Corona would suggest he was in the city post-1502, when the altarpiece was installed (figs.4.3; 4.4).⁵⁶⁷ Arthur Hind was convinced that Mocetto drew inspiration for his *Enthroned Virgin and Child* from Bartolomeo's *Madonna and Child between Anthony and John the Evangelist* (figs.4.5, 4.6).⁵⁶⁸ Certainly, that the altarpiece was commissioned for the Magré chapel in San Lorenzo circa 1500 accords with the proposed dating of Mocetto's *Baptism*.⁵⁶⁹ Further support for Mocetto's presence in Vicenza at the start of sixteenth century is found in a contract for the decoration of the Palazzo del Monte di Pietà which had been established as the seat of the beneficiary foundation the preceding year.⁵⁷⁰ On 19 August 1500, 'magistro Francisco bernardini et villa verla' and 'Hieronimo mozeto pictoribus' agreed to fresco two figures in '*chiaro et scuro*' and gilded friezes onto the Palazzo's façade.⁵⁷¹ The first artist was Francesco Verla, while the second has been convincingly identified as Girolamo Mocetto with the diverse spelling of his name due to the regional dialect.⁵⁷² These factors collectively suggest that Mocetto had a Vicentine sojourn of at least two years between 1500 to circa 1502.

⁵⁶⁴ ROMANO 1985, pp.49–55. Knowledge of Mantegna's design could conversely be attributable to the circulation of Mantegna's drawings in Venice, see Landau 2016, pp.111–12.

⁵⁶⁵ WASHINGTON 1973, p.xx.

⁵⁶⁶ WASHINGTON 1973, p.xxi.

⁵⁶⁷ TIB.2505.002. If Mocetto's engraving was solely based on drawings seen in Bellini's workshop in a collaborative arrangement, then the *Baptism*'s conflation with Cima's San Giovanni in Bragora altarpiece would have been problematic.

⁵⁶⁸ TIB.2505.006. H.V. GM, No.15, p.168. He continued to note that 'the reversing of the design in the engraving makes the connection more probable' and that 'the background with trellis and shrubs follows the same motive beyond the high wall in the painting.'

⁵⁶⁹ The altarpiece was subsequently moved to San Giovanni Ilarione in the Province of Verona. See LUCCO 2014, Cat.62, pp.351–53.

⁵⁷⁰ For an overview on the Monte di Pieta in Vicenza see MANTESE 1964 III/2, pp.655–56.

⁵⁷¹ This document located in ASVi, *Not. Aleardo Ravizza*, b.246. Most recently published in SIRACUSANO 2017, Doc.2.

⁵⁷² As proposed in SIRACUSANO 2017, Doc.2. It is worth noting that the curatorial files in the Musei Civici di Vicenza for Mocetto's *Virgin and Child* record that the inventories of 1834, post-1834 and 1854 name the artist's surname as 'Mozzetto', see AVAGNINA ET AL. 2003, p.209.

The Monte di Pietà contract allows for two further remarks. First, that Mocetto was operating in Vicenza in his capacity as a painter, and second, that Mocetto must have circulated in the social and artistic milieu of the Montagna. Francesco Verla was almost certainly apprenticed to Bartolomeo and presumably retained good relations with his master after he struck out independently.⁵⁷³ That Verla and Mocetto collaborated on a project situated in the Piazza dei Signori, the centre of Vicenza, leaves little doubt that Mocetto made acquaintance of the Montagna during his time in the city, especially given that Bartolomeo had a personal interest in the charitable foundation.⁵⁷⁴ The family resided just 500 metres from the Palazzo del Monte di Pietà and so Mocetto could have easily paid visits to the city's most prosperous workshop. Support for this theory – and more broadly for an artistic engagement with the Montagna – is found in Mocetto's oeuvre. His *Madonna with Saints* has often been seen as a product of his study of altarpieces by Bellini and Montagna due to the composition's monumentality and architectural setting (fig.4.7).⁵⁷⁵ Affinities in the throne and stance of the lefthand male saint with the *Pala Squarzi* are therefore worthy of note. The pointing gesture made by John the Baptist is not derived from this altarpiece, however; as was noted in Chapter Three, it is recurrent across Bartolomeo's oeuvre. It may be that Mocetto had some access to the Montagna's visual archive, perhaps through an affiliation in the capacity of a short-term assistant or collaborator. This might also help explain why some of Mocetto's paintings compare with those issued from the Montagna workshop. One example is his *Virgin and Child* which recalls contemporaneous 'Montagna Madonne' like the *Madonna del Belluno* (figs.4.8; 4.9).⁵⁷⁶

Potential employment on the Montagna's painted projects can be extended to elucidate the dynamics of proposed connections between Nicoletto da Modena and Benedetto. Like Mocetto, elements of Nicoletto's engravings could be compared to paintings by Bartolomeo like his *Nativity* with the *Pala d'Orgiano* with the

⁵⁷³ The description of Verla as 'magistro franisco pictore filio magistri bernardini...' on 17 December 1499 suggests that he had completed his apprenticeship by this point in time, see SIRACUSANO 2017, Doc.1; ASVi, *Not. Bartolomeo Aviano*, b.4740, 17 December 1499.

⁵⁷⁴ The Monte Pietà is, for instance, among the few religious foundations referred to in Bartolomeo's will of 1521 and 1523, see BARAUSSE 2014, Docs.121 & 123.

⁵⁷⁵ H.V., GM, No.16, pp.168–69.

⁵⁷⁶ AVAGNINA ET AL. 2003, Cat.64, p.209. ROMANO 1985, p.81 even saw 'suggerimenti belliniani e cimesco montagnesche'. Compare for instance the *Duveen Madonna* of c.1495–1500, and *Madonna del Belluno*, of c.1490–95 LUCCO 2014, Cats.55 & 49.

corresponding suggestion that Nicoletto personally studied these works.⁵⁷⁷ This is not unfeasible. Nicoletto is known to have been in Padua from the late 1490s until 1507, when he departed on his trip to Rome.⁵⁷⁸ Though Nicoletto produced engravings during this period, he appears to have again been predominately active as a painter. A contract dated 4 June 1506 shows that Nicoletto was commissioned to fresco the recently constructed – though now lost – private chapel of Bishop Pietro Barozzi at the Villa Torre.⁵⁷⁹ Nicoletto arguably worked on another of the fresco schemes of Barozzi commissioned during his Paduan tenure. Comparison with the engraved ornamental panels that became Nicoletto's particular speciality supports the proposal that he was responsible for the grotteschi that decorate the Salone del Vescovo in Padua (figs.4.10, 4.11).⁵⁸⁰

This has obvious implications to the discussion at hand. As noted in Chapter Two, Bartolomeo was responsible for the principal decorative scheme of the *Hundred Bishop Portraits*. The first payment was made on 21 July 1506 and his workshop had apparently completed the project by 18 September 1506.⁵⁸¹ How much contact would Nicoletto and Bartolomeo therefore have had? The Villa Torre contract confirms that Nicoletto was in a position to work away from Padua for the months of June and July as it specified that the chapel was to be '*fornita in termini de mexi doi*' [completed in two months].⁵⁸² Progress on the Salone del Vescovo adds further insights. Payments made to the carpenter responsible for the wooden ceiling indicate that the walls could not have been frescoed prior to March 1506.⁵⁸³ This means that Bartolomeo and Nicoletto were ostensibly both present at the Salone during the spring of 1506. The lack of the contract awarded to Bartolomeo makes it difficult to establish the terms of their interaction. One possibility is that it took the form of a subcontract.⁵⁸⁴ That Bartolomeo was, however, expressly paid for his '*episcorum centum pictorum*' might

⁵⁷⁷ TIB.2508.020 where also placed in relation to Giovanni Antonio da Brescia's *Nativity* which could also be informed by Bartolomeo's compositional models.

⁵⁷⁸ On Nicoletto and engraving in Padua see BARTLETT-RAWLINGS FORTHCOMING. A notarial document attests to his presence in Padua in 1497 although he may well have arrived prior to this date. For his 'graffiti' signature in Rome see DACOS 1969, App.1, p.148

⁵⁷⁹ ASPd, *Archivio Notarile*, vol. 3395, f.440; SAMBIN 1973, p.112, Doc.9, pp.124–26.

⁵⁸⁰ DE NICCOLO SALMAZO 2012, pp.283–88.

⁵⁸¹ LUCCO 2014, Docs.96 & 97.

⁵⁸² SAMBIN 1973, p.125. The clause continues with 'exceptunado caso de infirmità'.

⁵⁸³ SAMBIN 1973, pp.105–6.

⁵⁸⁴ See THOMAS 1997 pp.210–12 on this dynamic and also EVEN 1985, esp. Chapter VI, see p.132 for the observation that masters increasingly favoured brief exchanges with other artisans dependent on the requirements of each contract.

suggest that the two artists' services were separately enlisted, while the positioning of the grotteschi *above* the Bishop portraits likely means that they were painted first. Nonetheless, there must have been some communication as to how the two registers would work together and a potential period of crossover in which the two artists were both painting in the *salone*.

There may be a precedent for this collaboration. Grotteschi featuring satyrs and mercreatures also appear in the vault and partitions of the Capella di San Biagio in Verona (fig.4.12).⁵⁸⁵ Could it be that Nicoletto worked on the Veronese frescoes? The ornamental panels are certainly close enough to Nicoletto's engravings to suggest that he worked in the two cities. An alternate scenario for the recurrence of grotesques set against a gold background in the work of artists affiliated with the Montagna workshop is that they were 'transported' from central Italy by Francesco Verla following his return from Rome in 1504.⁵⁸⁶ Further research on what various artists contributed to the chapel's frescoes remains to be done.⁵⁸⁷ What is known from the contracts and payment records for the two projects is that they were completed in quick succession.⁵⁸⁸ One might therefore propose that there was a core-group who implemented the overall scheme for both in addition to satellite teams of assistants who did the more labour-intensive work. Nicoletto's documented presence in Treviso in 1505 to purchase pigments would suggest that he again worked on the Veronese chapel's vault before work on the larger scenes commenced and therefore closer to March 1504.⁵⁸⁹ His contribution to the Salone del Vescovo can be readily explained by his residence in Padua. Involvement at Verona, however, demands a prior acquaintance with Bartolomeo perhaps on an earlier visit to Padua.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁵ DE NICCOLO SALMAZO 2012, p.286.

⁵⁸⁶ LUCCO 2014 pp.74–75 echoed the likelihood of Nicoletto's involvement but also stated that the grotesques should be considered in relation to Il Sodoma's frescoes of 1503–4 in the Pienzese monastery of Sant'Anna in Camprena. Villa in TRENTO 2017, Cat.1 p.88 proposed that the grotesques set against a gold background in Fogolino's *Pregnant Madonna between saints Peter and Joseph* of 1504–5 were inspired by central Italian models. On Verla in Rome see SIRACUSANO 2017, Doc.3: ASVi, *Not. Francesco Scolari*, b.177, 1503–5, on 4 February 1503, when Francesco Verla was referred to 'in absentia' 'Prefati francisci verli absens' and subsequently as 'prefati francisci ex roma in illis'.

⁵⁸⁷ Similarly noted in DE NICCOLO SALMAZO 2012, p.286. As of my last conversation with Bryony Bartlett-Rawlings, she was not aware or not intending to include any additional thoughts or findings on these frescoes.

⁵⁸⁸ BARAUSE 2014, No.91, pp.137–39, final payment on 6 February 1506; For the Salone first payment on 21 July 1506.

⁵⁸⁹ This will be addressed in BARTLETT-RAWLINGS FORTHCOMING.

⁵⁹⁰ Bartolomeo was intermittently engaged on a number of commissions in Padua and its Provinces circa 1490 but Nicoletto is not known to have been in Padua by this time. For the frescoes produced for

Ambiguities notwithstanding, the likelihood that Nicoletto worked on the Capella di San Biagio is concomitant with the assertion that he passed through Vicenza on at least two occasions in the early years of the sixteenth century. To reinforce the point made above, it also indicates that Nicoletto was brought into Montagna's orbit through his abilities as a painter. His itinerary across the Veneto was driven by the prospect of work on ambitious projects that required the involvement of a competent frescoist to complete them in a timely fashion. In this respect, Nicoletto was like Mocetto. Neither artist established a painting workshop with the cross-regional status of peers such as Bellini, Mantegna and Bartolomeo and so they did not have the same financial turnover. Their income instead relied on relatively low-value commissions, payment for helping to manage the workload of others and outright subcontracts. A willingness to travel was essential to all involved parties. For the Montagna workshop, its output in the years surrounding 1500 necessitated the continual coming and going of artists in addition to the permanent workforce. What make this significant in the context of Benedetto's activity as an engraver is that some of these visiting painters were also trained as engravers, or – to appropriate the term coined by Adam von Bartsch to describe printmakers who designed their own compositions and repurpose it in its literal sense – were '*peintre-graveurs*'.

What outcome did these interactions have on the engravings produced by Benedetto and these itinerant '*peintre-graveurs*'? Konrad Oberhuber once asserted that Benedetto's 'art represented a compromise... and it is through him that more conservative artists such as Mocetto could take up the new technical principles' and went so far as to claim that Mocetto was 'profoundly influenced' by Benedetto'.⁵⁹¹ It has similarly been remarked that the compositional and technical handling of some of Benedetto's engravings were assimilated by Nicoletto.⁵⁹² Both artists were, however, producing engravings several years prior to their associations with the Montagna. The date inscribed into Mocetto's *End of the Battle between Israel and the Amekelites* shows that he was sufficiently competent with the burin to attempt ambitious projects

the Abbazia di Praglia circa 1490 see LUCCO 2014 Cat.51, p.334; Between 1488 and 1492 Bartolomeo, Pierantonio degli Abati and Benedetto Bordon worked at the Paduan monastery of San Giovanni in Verdara.

⁵⁹¹ WASHINGTON 1973, p.xxi.

⁵⁹² Zucker in TIB, p.387.

by 1496 (fig.4.13).⁵⁹³ A similar conclusion can be drawn from Nicoletto's *Judgement of Paris* – a poor copy after Dürer's *Four Witches* – as it is dated '1500' on the plate (fig.4.14).⁵⁹⁴

It could be correspondingly argued that the two *peintre-graveurs* were formative to Benedetto's development as an engraver; that Mocetto or Nicoletto taught Benedetto how to handle a burin, print impressions and translate a preparatory design to the copperplate. These scenarios are feasible, yet neither of their two dated plates – and indeed the rest of their engraved oeuvres – have the exact same technical and stylistic qualities of Benedetto's early engravings. That is not, however, to deny any interchange between these artists: certain features clearly attest to Benedetto's awareness of the older engravers' work. Engravings by Mocetto that can be placed to pre-1505 were definitely exemplary. He constructed his *Battle* with hard, static outlines to create forms subsequently shaded with fine, sinuous strokes that do not attempt to create a rational system of modelling. While Benedetto's technique was generally more regimented, certain engravings such as the *Kneeling Warrior* and *George and the Dragon*, feature feathery strokes that emanate from the sternums of the male figures akin to those deployed by Mocetto (fig.4.15).⁵⁹⁵ In fact, the armour and torsioned pose of Benedetto's *Kneeling Warrior* strongly suggests that he studied Mocetto's *Battle*.⁵⁹⁶

A tension between artistic autonomy and emulation characterizes the dynamic between Benedetto's technique vis-à-vis that of Nicoletto. As an engraver whose career spanned three decades, Nicoletto's technique defies easy definition.⁵⁹⁷ Nonetheless, the 120 engravings attributed to him consistently demonstrate that while he crammed his compositions with superfluous details, he was not exceedingly neat with his burin. For instance, some figural modelling in the *Judgement of Paris* was attempted through short straight strokes orientated diagonally up to the left – right on

⁵⁹³ TIB.2505.014. The marks are too deliberately formed and adjacent to the monogram to be 'rocks'. See LANDAU 2016, p.112 for the same opinion. The *End of the Battle* forms part of a three-plate composition constituting a frieze extending over 1.2 metres, which would have been the largest engraved composition in existence.

⁵⁹⁴ TIB.2508.110.

⁵⁹⁵ App.II, Nos.9 & 4.

⁵⁹⁶ Conversely, Oberhuber in WASHINGTON 1973, p.384 proposed that Mocetto's finer and more delicate crosshatching in the *Battle* was inspired by Benedetto but on p.314 noted similarities in the 'looseness' of the two artists' work as in the *Nymph with Satyrs* and *George and Dragon*.

⁵⁹⁷ ZUCKER 1991, pp.28–30.

resultant impressions – while long, vertical strokes were used to delineate limbs. He used curved lines and crosshatching sparingly throughout his career and regularity was not a priority. The overall effect of engravings is that of erraticism that sits in uneasy contrast to the meticulous technique Benedetto quickly implemented. Some reminiscences of Nicoletto can however be observed in Benedetto's earliest engravings, namely *Jerome* and *Orpheus*. In these, areas in which forms are outlined prior to the addition of diagonal strokes to suggest modelling further compares with certain engravings by Nicoletto such as *Vulcan and Apollo* (figs.4.16; 3.28).⁵⁹⁸ Further parallels include almond-shaped eyes, series of short parallel strokes to give form and the motif of a rocky foreground that descends into the platemark. Overall, however, the appearance of Benedetto's engravings is essentially distinct to the work of Nicoletto.

Contact with neither Mocetto nor Nicoletto cannot therefore be said to have significantly shaped Benedetto's identity as an engraver. Nor did the relationship work expressly the other way. Instead, the outcomes of exchanges were reciprocal. Access to engravings by more established artisans, and the contact he probably had with them, gave Benedetto the opportunity to experiment. He trialled different methods of line handling that were dependent on these external stimuli in order ultimately to develop his own engraving techniques. Of the various examples that could be cited, it will here suffice to mention Benedetto's *Resurrected Christ* (fig.5.4). It is essentially based – as further discussed in Chapter Five – on a drawing provided by Bartolomeo, but in areas such as Christ's chest, where the pen shading is less legible, Benedetto turned to the Mocetto's example and utilised a feathery shading technique. Whether or not the burin strokes required to accomplish these effects were taught directly to Benedetto must remain conjectural. However, the technical similarities discussed here strongly indicate that direct rather than indirect contact between these engravers fostered Benedetto's technical development because these effects were not achievable by superficial observation alone.

Connections to the Vicentine workshop had a different impact on the two itinerant artists. On account of their status as established engravers, they did not need to emulate Benedetto's early trials in the medium. What they gained from their

⁵⁹⁸ TIB.2508.002.

engagement with the Montagna workshop can instead be discerned in their compositions. A case in point is Nicoletto's *Stigmatisation of Francis* (c.1508; fig.4.17).⁵⁹⁹ The kneeling saint is a reverse copy after the figure in Benedetto's *Stigmatisation of Francis* (fig.3.26), yet Nicoletto chose not to emulate the neatly engraved lines and instead retained his characteristically 'messy' technique. That Nicoletto's interest was in the engraving's composition and not its execution was arguably due to the status of its designer: Bartolomeo Montagna. Involvement on the fresco schemes substantially increases the likelihood that Nicoletto was aware that Benedetto's early engravings were based on drawings provided by his father. It also suggests that he had some access to the Montagna workshop's repository of designs; perhaps through his collaboration on the two fresco schemes. Mocetto's engravings similarly reflect his engagement with Bartolomeo's designs. As noted above, his *Enthroned Virgin and Child* and *Madonna with Saints* derived reference from altarpieces the Montagna workshop produced for Vicentine patrons. In sum, it appears that these *peintre-graveurs* were primarily attracted to the Montagna workshop in their capacity as painters and simultaneously conscious of the aesthetic success of Bartolomeo's compositional designs.

That Bartolomeo's reputation was the primary draw for *peintre-graveurs* present in the region is consolidated by the activity of Marcello Fogolino. Fogolino likely entered the Montagna workshop close to 1496 following the death of his father, who was also a painter.⁶⁰⁰ His subsequent involvement on decorative frescoes for the Scoletta di Santa Barbara – dateable to circa 1508 – indicates that he had reached a sufficient competency to strike out on his own.⁶⁰¹ Training in the Montagna workshop in the early years of the sixteenth century is further supported by Fogolino's decision to relocate to Venice for a period of eight years, having returned by 1519 at the latest when he warranted the title of an independent 'pictor'.⁶⁰² It is during this sojourn that

⁵⁹⁹ TIB.2508.053. Reverse here means engraved into the plate in the inverse direction to the impression he likely copied. This engraving forms part of a series of fourteen works of comparable scale, style and technique collectively termed Nicoletto's Third Period, most of which rely on the work of his juniors. ZUCKER 1991 and in TIB dates this phase to 1510–15. More recently, LANDAU 2016, p.127 brought the dating forward to c.1508 following Nicoletto's return from Rome.

⁶⁰⁰ ZORZI 1916, p.73 noted that Marco Fogolino worked on the decoration of the library at the convent of Santa Corona in 1496 and must have died shortly thereafter. For a biographic overview see FURLAN 1997; LUCCO 2017.

⁶⁰¹ LUCCO 2017, pp.73–75.

⁶⁰² His arrival in Venice is variously placed between 1508 and early 1511. See LUCCO 2017, pp.77–79.

Fogolino is generally thought to have first taken up the burin. Indeed, the six engravings attributed to him, with their characteristic *sfumato*, stipple and aesthetic sensibilities, align with the art currently in vogue in Venice. Their overall compositions recall paintings by Giorgione and Titian, while the techniques implemented by Domenico and Giulio Campagnola in the 1510s appear to have impacted on Fogolino's work.⁶⁰³ What factors instigated Fogolino to expand into engraving while in Venice remains unclear; one possibility is that he was in contact with the Campagnola. Yet, as Chiara Callegari has rightly observed, Fogolino arrived in Venice from a city where print production had 'flourished' thanks to the activity of Benedetto.⁶⁰⁴ It is quite possible that Fogolino was granted the chance to attempt engraving copperplates during his time in the Montagna workshop. Though no resultant engravings have been identified, it should be noted that these could either have been lost or may be in a completely different style to Fogolino's later work. For instance, the anonymous *Bacchus and Pan* and *Penance of John Chrysostom* contain technical and compositional elements that favour an attribution to an artist aware of the prints produced in the Montagna's orbit (figs.4.18; 4.19).⁶⁰⁵ It would be remiss to attribute these to Fogolino in the absence of further evidence and the existence of any earlier engravings by Fogolino must remain conjecture. In any case, however, observation of the ongoing production of engravings while fulfilling duties as an assistant to Bartolomeo certainly dictated Fogolino's subsequent emergence as a '*peintre-graveur*'.

These considerations invite an appraisal of the interplay between the instruction of technique, the quotation of motifs and the transmission of style. Itinerancy across the Veneto and interchanges in the Montagna's milieu did not directly 'influence' – a loaded term in itself – these *peintre-graveurs'* work.⁶⁰⁶ The impact on their engravings was more nuanced and operated on multiple levels. There was not a concentrated effort by any of the artists discussed to make one's engravings look

⁶⁰³ Crosscurrents with Amico Aspertini are also discernible, see CALLEGARI 2017, pp.124–28. OTTLEY 1816, p.519 suggested that Fogolino's *Nativity* was 'not unlike that of Benedetto, only ruder'.

⁶⁰⁴ CALLEGARI 2017, p.124. I am grateful to Chiara Callegari for discussing this with me. See also comments in JENKINS 2019.

⁶⁰⁵ For the *Bacchus*, see LAMBERT 1999, No.791, unique example in the BNF, the fact that the watermark is Br.3407 – the Cardinal's Hat frequently used by Benedetto – would support this association, see watermark discussion below. The *John Chrysostom* tenuously attributed to Giulio Campagnola by Hind and now anonymous, see TIB.2517.002 where given to Master FN.

⁶⁰⁶ On influence in the context of the mobility of Renaissance artists see YOUNG KIM 2014, pp.11–36.

exactly like that of another. Instead, those associated with the Montagna workshop instead constructed and maintained artistic autonomy. A case in point is Mocetto, whose burin technique was unprecedented, went generally unimitated and remained ultimately idiosyncratic. Parallels can be drawn with the contemporary interactions that surrounded Francia's Bolognese *bottega*. Engravings by individuals including Amico Aspertini, Jacopo Francia, Jacopo Ripanda, Marcantonio and Francia himself have their own distinctive appearance even if they were produced and printed within the same environs.⁶⁰⁷ Personal contact among artists and exposure to each other's' work apparently engendered autonomy as opposed to fostering homogeneity.

Giulio Campagnola in Vicenza.

These dynamics are encapsulated and brought to the fore by the of topic of Giulio Campagnola's presence in Vicenza. An annotation the notary Francesco Scolari added to a land transaction relating to payment for the *Pala Squarzi* shows that Giulio was present in the Montagna residence cum workshop on 15 February 1503.⁶⁰⁸ Why is this significant? Giulio was, after all, a contemporary of Benedetto and Fogolino, and his engravings could reasonably be discussed within the same artistic culture. The survival, however, of numerous contemporary testimonies of his upbringing show that he was not simply an artisan, but ranked among the nobility of the Veneto. Giulio has consequently received no shortage of scholarly attention.⁶⁰⁹ Yet this Vicentine archival document is the only record of Giulio's exact whereabouts between 1498 and 1507.⁶¹⁰ Moreover, it is the only evidence of his contact with an established artist; other testimonies have contributed to the myth that Giulio was a child prodigy.⁶¹¹ What therefore does Giulio's presence contribute to the importance of the Montagna workshop to the history of engraving in the Veneto?

⁶⁰⁷ For an overview see FAIETTI 1988, esp.p.213.

⁶⁰⁸ ASVi, *Not. Francesco Scolari*, b.177, anni '1499–1501, c.5v; BARAUSE 2014, Doc.90 and Doc.87 for the contract.

⁶⁰⁹ The literature on Giulio is exceedingly vast. See in particular ZDANSKI 1992 whose in-depth research on Giulio's background led her to call for the demystification of Giulio's cult of artistic genius. Unfortunately, too few scholars have followed her lead. See also AMES-LEWIS 2000, pp.17–22; CARRADORE 2010, esp.pp.55–65; MORETTO WIEL 1998; BROWN 2010; HOPE 2014; BROOKE 2018A, esp.pp.138–39; BROOKE 2018B; BROOKE FORTHCOMING.

⁶¹⁰ ZDANSKI 1992, p.75 laments the lack of documents for these years.

⁶¹¹ In particular is the claim of Placiola that Giulio was 'dotato de belissime virtù dal cielo et da la natura senza preceptore', quoted in LUZIO 1888, p.184; also noted in ZDANSKI 1992, p.70. A sonnet in

Giulio's involvement in a legal transaction indicates that he was not taken on as a humble apprentice in the family *bottega*.⁶¹² The notary's description of Giulio as '*nobili iuveni*' [noble young man] points to a distinction in his status, as does the continuation '*filio domini Hieronymo, familiaris reverendissimi domini episcopi Vicentie*' [son of Girolamo, esteemed familiar of the Bishop of Vicenza].⁶¹³ Despite the clause's ambiguity, it was Giulio and not his father who was the familiar of Pietro Dandolo, the Bishop of Vicenza.⁶¹⁴ This would not be the first time that Giulio's family had sought an esteemed patron for him. On receipt of the '*prima tonsura*' – the first step towards a clerical life – in 1495 Giulio was described as the '*familiaris*' of Cardinal Raffaele Riario, and in 1497 Michele de Placiola pleaded for Francesco Gonzaga to accept Giulio as '*suo familiare*'.⁶¹⁵ Common to both these documents is the emphasis placed on Giulio's remarkable abilities; excellence across arts and letters evidently increased one's chances of obtaining the position.⁶¹⁶ A solicitation to Bishop Dandolo would presumably have assumed a similar tact. But it is Girolamo Campagnola who most likely engineered a positive response on this occasion due to his pre-extant Vicentine connections: in February 1485, Girolamo was Councillor of the Podestà di Vicenza and maintained contacts with the Vicentine commune until at least 1500.⁶¹⁷

Panfilo Sasso's *Epigrammata* (Brescia, 1499) lauds Giulio's precocious talent for his age. Pomponio Gaurico's *De Sculptura* (Florence, 1504) refers to Giulio's artistic, humanistic and literary accomplishments.

⁶¹² ZDANSKI 1992, p.248, voiced the same opinion even though she was unaware of Giulio's presence in Vicenza.

⁶¹³ LUCCO 2014, p.73 possibly implies Girolamo was the familiar of the Bishop. ZAUPA 1998 pp.172–73, fn.186 mentions this document in passing and implies that the title refers to Giulio.

⁶¹⁴ For a summary of Dandolo's tenure see MANTESE 1964 III/2, pp.165–71 and further discussion in Chapter Three.

⁶¹⁵ Respectively SAMBIN 1973–74, p.385–87, documented on 28 May 1495 and conferred upon him by Bishop Pietro Barozzi; LUZIO 1888, pp.184–85.

⁶¹⁶ At thirteen Giulio was '*sonandi, cantandi, pignendi, sculpendi*', by fifteen he was fluent in three languages and had reached '*perfectione in pictura*'. SAMBIN p.386; LUZIO 1888, p.184. ZDANSKI 1992, pp.243–44 notes that excellence in arts and letters opened career prospects for aspirant young nobles.

⁶¹⁷ It is not clear how long he held this title. ASVi, *Not. Antonio Sarasin*, b.4971, where 'Girolamo di Francesco Campagnola' is named 'cancelliere del Podesta di Vicenza', then Antonio di Giacomo Giovanni dei Marchese di Firenze. See ZAUPA 1998, pp.172–73, fn.186. Another reference to Campagnola at ASVi, *Not. Bartolomeo Aviano*, b.4740, c.22r. These Vicentine connections were longstanding. In 1475 Girolamo's edited volume of *Carmina contra judeos* was published by Giovanni da Remo and Bartolomeo Pagello who in 1508 wrote a '*ritratto*' of Dandolo as the ideal Bishop. MARX 1978, p.90; MANTESE 1964 III/2, pp.480–82; 572–73. For Girolamo Campagnola and his connections see also SAFARIK 1973

If Giulio's artistic training until the late 1490s was 'insufficient', the Vicentine sojourn offered the chance to rectify this shortcoming.⁶¹⁸ For while the menial labour expected of a *garzone* was inappropriate for the aspirant polymath, there is little doubt that Giulio's acquaintance with Bartolomeo was in an artistic capacity. Some insight into these dynamics can therefore be gauged from the ultimately unsuccessful letter Placiola sent to the Manutan councillor in 1497.⁶¹⁹ Requesting that Giulio be given private accommodations appropriate to his status, distinction was made between Giulio's expected duties as a courtier and his education.⁶²⁰ Artistic endeavours, namely the production of '*qualche bel opera o de pictura o de miniatura*' under Mantegna's guidance, were to be pursued in his '*tempo otioso*' [free time]. Pursuing a career as an artist was clearly not part of the life-plan projected for Giulio; rather, lessons with the celebrated master were a means to refine this skill set. A similar scenario was feasibly proposed to Bishop Dandolo, albeit with the essential duties more appropriate to the religious vocation Giulio had commenced in 1495 as opposed to those of a courtier.⁶²¹ For while Bartolomeo's reputation was not equal to that of Mantegna, his *celebratissima fama*⁶²² extended across the Veneto, and certainly as far as the Campagnola's native Padua. 'Art lessons' in the Montagna workshop must have consequently represented an appealing second option following the failure to acquire access to Mantegna's orbit.⁶²² It also aligned with the option of re-entering a career in the Church following the unsuccessful attempts to be accepted into a courtly milieu.

The 1503 document indicates that Giulio did occupy his '*tempo otioso*' from clerical duties with artistic activities supervised by the city's leading artist. As Bishop

⁶¹⁸ ZDANSKI 1992, p.73.

⁶¹⁹ The proposal made by Landau and Boorsch in LONDON 1992, Cat.nos.118 & 123, discussed in BOORSCHE 1992, pp.61–63 that Giulio made two copies of *The Corselet Bearers* and *The Elephants* on a trip to Mantua in 1497 has frequently been taken to confirm the competency implied by Placiola, in CARRADORE 2010, p.60 and others.

⁶²⁰ 'una casa separata, o in corte o fori...' LUZIO 1888, p.185. The fact that Ferrara's artistic tradition had little discernible impact on Giulio suggests he was primarily occupied with study at the prestigious literacy academy patronised by the Este during his time there. ZDANSKI 1992 p.72.

⁶²¹ This would in turn explain Giulio's surprising request (and 'return' to the Church profession) for the ecclesiastical benefice of San Giacomo in Morino. By 3 November 1508, this prosperous Paduan parish was under Dandolo's jurisdiction in his new capacity as Bishop of Padua. For the request see ASPd, *Fondo Notarile* b.3404, fol.616rv; trans. in ZDANSKI 1987 pp.64–66. Dandolo was appointed Bishop of Padua on 20 October 1507 following the death of Pietro Barozzi on 10 January 1507. He held the Seat until his death in 1509.

⁶²² The present writer follows the opinion that Giulio did not go to Mantua expressed in, for instance, in ZDANSKI 1992 p.71; LUZIO 1888, p.185.

of Vicenza, Dandolo was certainly in a position to engineer such an arrangement. For though he did not commission any major artworks from the Montagna, Dandolo was in contact with the family. In 1502 he paid Bartolomeo for the completion of Zèno's altarpiece and the following year requested the family produce a *portella* for the Capella del Corpo Christo in the Duomo.⁶²³ Giulio's affiliation does not appear to have been the only occasion that Dandolo exploited these connections. Another notarial document – this time for granting Benedetto power to act as his father's procurator – drawn up on 12 April 1504 records the presence of a certain Gaspare de Neapoli '*familiari reverendissimi episcopi Vicentini*' in the Montagna workshop.⁶²⁴ Gaspare remains an elusive figure, but the few known documents on him and his family identify him as a member of the patrician class.⁶²⁵ Like Giulio, therefore, Gaspare's association with the reknowned artist's workshop might be recognised in the context of leisurely 'downtime' from his duties in the Bishop's household. Particularly important in this context is a bronze plaquette based on Benedetto's engraving of *Jerome with the Lion* and signed 'Opus Gaspare Napoletano' (fig.5.42).⁶²⁶ When placed in relation to Giulio's association with the Montagna workshop, it can be proposed that the social connections between Vicenza's elite and Bartolomeo contributed to opportunities for artistic creativity for these two young nobles. It remains to be seen whether this privileged set-up existed in other cities or whether it was exclusive to Bishop Dandolo's orbit.

The duration of Giulio's stay in Vicenza remains unclear. Dandolo's appointment as Bishop in 1501 and Giulio's presence in Venice by 1507 provide *termini*.⁶²⁷ He might be presumed to have spent at least a few years in the city for the

⁶²³ For Zèno's altarpiece see discussion in Chapter 1 and also LUCCO 2014 Cats.59a,b, pp.342–43; For the *portella* see Chapter 5 and MANTESE 1964A, p.241..

⁶²⁴ ASVi, *Not. Francesco Scolari*, b.177, reg.1503–1504; BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.92. The other two witnesses were a Francesco filio Iacobi and Francesco da Parma who was a resident and citizen of Padua.

⁶²⁵ In a document dating to 1503 he is recorded in Dandolo's intimate circle. ASVi, *Not. Bartolomeo Aviano*, b.4741, reg.1502–1504, unpaginated. His relative, the 'egregium Pietro de Neapoli' stood as witness for Gian Galeazzo Thiene in 1508, see ASVi, *Not. Giovanni Biagio Macchievello*, b.5712, 21 July 1508, published in SIRACUSANO 2017, Doc.4, p.201.

⁶²⁶ Berlin, Bode Museum, inv.261. See Chapter 5, pp.176–79 for further discussion on the popularity of St Jerome in Vicenza and the art produced by the Montagna visualising his cult.

⁶²⁷ Dandolo was appointed Bishop of Vicenza on 14 June 1501. For Giulio's presence in Venice on 17 June 1507, see DE KUNERT 1907, No.11, p.6. For comparison, Giulio is generally considered to have remained in Ferrara for one to two years, see CARRADORE 2010, p.65; ZDANSKI 1992, p.249. There is no evidence to support Giulio's involvement on Giorgione's frescoes of *Judith* and *David* at the

reciprocity expected of his tenure as a member of the Bishop's household to be satisfied. An association with the Montagna was likely maintained for the duration of this period even if the absence of any further documents makes it impossible to establish exactly what arrangement was reached for Giulio's – and also Gaspare's – visits. What can be presumed is that his status as the Bishop's familiar means that Giulio would not have travelled to Verona with the Montagna workshop circa 1504 to work on the Capella di San Biagio commission. He would have been expected to remain in the Vicentine Palazzo del Vescovo under Dandolo's control. Bartolomeo's engagements in Verona, however, must not have curtailed Giulio's contact with the Montagna so much as change the dynamics. The expectation might have been that Giulio would improve his painting skills, but conditions of circumstance shifted his focus to engraving.

The inclusion of '*taio do bolino*' [engraved with the burin] in Placiola's list of Giulio's accomplishments indicates that he had some knowledge of engraving before his arrival in Vicenza.⁶²⁸ That does not mean that Giulio was a fully-fledged engraver. His extensive travels between 1493 and 1497 to Ferrara, Ravenna and Reggio Emilia in addition to his concurrent training in languages and musical instruments point to the contrary.⁶²⁹ He is instead more likely to have received some tutelage from an engraver operating in Padua; perhaps Nicoletto da Modena, if he arrived in Padua prior to 1497. This would not have taken the form of a traditional apprenticeship. Tutelage perhaps initiated with techniques of burin incision and the basic procedure for printmaking. Contact with the artistic milieu surrounding the Montagna circa 1503 must have provided an opportunity to develop the fundamental techniques he had previously learnt.

These factors make Giulio's early engravings worthy of reconsideration. Their internal chronology has been much debated, but a core few are generally accepted.⁶³⁰

Duomo del Montagnana in 1502 other than stylistic resonances. For the suggestion see CARRADORE 2010, p.83 with further literature.

⁶²⁸ The letter in LUZIO 1888; see also CARRADORE 2010, pp.60–61.

⁶²⁹ Between 1493 and 1497 he visited Verona (1493–94), Ravenna (end of 1495), Reggio Emilia (1497) and possibly Venice, often travelling with his language tutor, Matteo Bosso. See ZDANSKI 1992, pp.60–69, her analyses based on the *Epistolae* of Matteo Bosso amongst other sources. See also CARRADORE 2010 pp.60–65.

⁶³⁰ These include *Tobias and the Angel*, *Ganymede, Fragment of a Dürerian landscape* and *John Chrysostom*. For a summary of preceding suggestions and another, see MORETTO WIEL 1988. A

Of these, *Tobias and the Angel* is consistently placed as the first and most ‘Mantegnesque’ even though its piecemeal nature belies a formative debt to Dürer (fig.4.20).⁶³¹ In an idiosyncratic technique, Giulio used heavy outlines to render the forms and modelled them with short, diagonal – sometimes ‘zig-zag’ – strokes. Certain aspects compare with Benedetto’s early technique such as the short curved strokes that create Tobias’ metallic curls and the stiffness of the drapery.⁶³² Yet it cannot be denied that Giulio’s early engravings generally display a greater technical ability than Benedetto’s do. They are smaller and more refined, underscored by a mastery of various burin techniques such as dash-work, fine curves, crosshatching and stipple. The subtlety achieved in his *Ganymede* and copy of Dürer’s *John Chrysostom* is remarkable and remains inexplicable for a relative ‘amateur’ (figs.4.21; 4.22).⁶³³ A reappraisal of these early engravings’ production dates, for which proposals range between 1497 and 1507, might clarify matters.⁶³⁴ Circumstantial factors such as the availability of Dürer engravings and Giulio’s polymathic education make it unlikely that any of these were produced prior to 1503.⁶³⁵ This may be disappointingly late for proponents of Giulio’s prodigal skills but their competent burin handling undeniably surpasses the capabilities of an untutored teen.⁶³⁶

This evidence suggests that Giulio produced his first engravings in Vicenza alongside Benedetto. Visits to the Montagna workshop would have given him access to the necessary tools and granted him the chance to learn diverse burin techniques. Most importantly, it was an opportunity to experiment in order to forge his own distinctive style. For instance, his *Jerome Reading* – albeit unfinished – shows an initial reliance on fine crosshatching prior to Giulio’s exploration of stipple

grouping system based on technical and stylistic development slightly mitigates the problem and has been applied by ZDANSKI 1992, p.128 amongst others.

⁶³¹ TIB.2512.001. Analysis of the Munich impression reveals that the left-hand side of the composition – the trees – was reworked by another hand early in the life of the plate. As pointed out to me by David Landau, the technique compares with that of Domenico Campagnola, who may have reworked and reissued the plate.

⁶³² Compare for instance, fig.3.28, Benedetto’s *Orpheus*, in the open shading system.

⁶³³ TIB.2518.007; TIB.2518.003.

⁶³⁴ ZEITLER 2017, p.124 dates *Ganymede* to ‘c.1502’; ZDANSKI 1992, p.128 proposed ‘1499–1507’ for Giulio’s early phase. Proposed production dates of c.1497–99 mainly based on Placiola’s letter. The veracity of this claim has been addressed above.

⁶³⁵ HOLBERTON 1996, p.399 also supports a later dating of Giulio’s engravings.

⁶³⁶ It might be noted that Landau’s de-attribution of the two Triumph copies was on the grounds that Giulio was not ‘old enough or expert enough to carry them off’ LANDAU 2016, p.123

(fig.4.23).⁶³⁷ That the engraving was formerly attributed to Benedetto attests to the similar techniques of the two engravers. As with Fogolino, some now anonymous engravings may in fact be early works by Giulio.⁶³⁸ The disparity between engravings such as the *Ganymede* and later works such as the *Young Stag* certainly confirm that he was capable of significant stylistic and technical metamorphoses across his artistic career (fig.4.24).⁶³⁹ Aspirations held by Giulio's family and in turn, himself, for acceptance among the elite society may have ultimately been fulfilled on his relocation to Venice circa 1507. It was arguably his experiences in Vicenza, however, that were fundamental to Giulio's subsequent emergence as one of the most prominent engravers of his generation.

The Montagna Press.

What Giulio's association with the Montagna also brings into context is the question of working arrangements within the *bottega*. The likelihood that Giulio produced engravings in Vicenza assumes by necessity that he had access to the requisite materials. Particularly important were copperplates, paper and a printing press, for, as discussed in Chapter Three, supply of these depended on interactions with local artisans, while a suitable workspace was also needed in order to use them to print impressions. That Giulio pursued printmaking as a 'pastime' during his Vicentine sojourn leaves little doubt that he did not invest in setting up his own workspace, and by extension that he depended on the resources of the Montagna workshop. Such a premise is similarly implicit to the scenarios that have been proposed to explain the addition of Giovanni Antonio da Brescia's monogram, 'IO.AN.BX', to the third – formerly fourth – state impressions of Benedetto's *Virgin and Child* (fig.4.25).⁶⁴⁰ One of the more imaginative is that da Brescia surreptitiously

⁶³⁷ TIB.2518.004; ZANETTI 1837, No.168, pp.165–66 attributed this engraving to Benedetto.

⁶³⁸ For comparison, see BROWN 2010 esp. p.87 where notes that attributions to Giulio have been made on the basis of shared types and motifs at the expense of a reasoned consideration of style and technique.

⁶³⁹ TIB.2518.014.

⁶⁴⁰ TIB.2512.015.S4. The claim that the difference between the second and third state was the addition of a border is incorrect. Instead the second state featured a border which subsequently wore away from sustained printing of the plate. These factors and the history of the plate were further addressed in VERDIGEL 2017 in occasion of 'Blocks, Plates, Stones: Print Matrices/ Printing Surfaces in Research Collections' and as an article under VERDIGEL FORTHCOMING.

added his monogram while printing the copperplate in the Vicentine workshop to issue impressions under his own name.⁶⁴¹ Though the fact that the monogram is an eighteenth-century forgery makes this proposal implausible, material evidence does suggest that da Brescia also ranks among the contemporary engravers who had some contact with the Montagna.⁶⁴² In their itinerancy, therefore, these Venetic engravers suggest that supply of plates and paper and access to a press had a direct impact on where in they practiced their craft.

Copperplates were a commodity. As noted in Chapter Three, the raw metal's retail value and the time required to prepare the plates meant engravers sought maximum return on their investments.⁶⁴³ Most obvious was to use both sides of the plate: a technique that provided two engraving surfaces for the price of one, and facilitated multi-plate compositions. To alleviate the risk of scratching a delicate plate surface both sides were generally used within a short space of time. That this was an established practice is indicated by the inventory of Ludovico Mantegna as drawn up in 1510, which describes the scenes '*tagliato da l'altro lato*' [engraved on the other side] of eight copperplates.⁶⁴⁴ Another solution was to reuse a single surface on multiple occasions by burnishing away compositions as needed: Giovanni Antonio da Brescia's continual recycling of his plates is the most prolific example of this practice.⁶⁴⁵ Careful analysis of the material evidence therefore helps to determine chronology and confirm authorship.⁶⁴⁶

Both of these economising techniques were deployed by Benedetto. A reconstruction of his plate use reveals that for 51 engravings he had a repertoire of around twenty copperplates.⁶⁴⁷ In terms of dual-side plate use, pairings such as the *Cuckolded Turk in a Landscape* with *King David Playing a Harp* can be easily

⁶⁴¹ Morello in VICENZA 2004, p.56.

⁶⁴² TIB.2512.015.S4; VERDIGEL 2017; VERDIGEL FORTHCOMING.

⁶⁴³ As LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, p.13 note the fact that copperplates were weighed and recorded in the inventory of Rosselli's shop shows that a financial value was attached to them.

⁶⁴⁴ SIGNORINI 1996, esp. pp.105, 111–12; LANDAU 1997.

⁶⁴⁵ See primarily BOORSCH 1992, esp. p.60. Traces of preceding compositions reveal that he engraved a single surface over three times, imaginatively using portions of a plate and rotating it dependent on his needs. This explains the lack of platemark on a number of his engravings.

⁶⁴⁶ Best demonstrated by the concordance between Landau and Boorsch's reconstruction of Mantegna's plate usage and the 1510 inventory. Proposed in LONDON 1992, various entries by Landau & Boorsch and Appendix I

⁶⁴⁷ As documented in App.IIIa and also noted in App.II with SP.

established due to their technique, composition and size (figs.4.26; 4.27).⁶⁴⁸ Platemark irregularities give further insights. Matches such as the *Benedict Preaching to his Order with Sacrifice of Abraham* and *Man with Arrow with Holy Family with John the Baptist* for instance support the technique-based chronology proposed in Chapter Three.⁶⁴⁹ Benedetto was unfortunately more diligent with the burnisher than da Brescia. Traces of preceding compositions are only visible under close inspection of the best impressions and it is difficult to discern specific forms. On certain occasions, however, when marks are visible ‘underneath’ they do not correspond to an identifiable engraving within Benedetto’s oeuvre. Two examples are the pointed finger visible to the left of the Virgin’s head in numerous impressions of *Mary surrounded by Angels* and the shadowy form in the background of *Anthony Abbot* (fig.4.28). For both, their dimensions and early chronology within Benedetto’s engraved corpus limit the possible compositions that preceded them.⁶⁵⁰

These mysterious marks suggest that printmakers did not always employ fresh plates for their own work. Though scholars originally believed that a copperplate remained the property of the artist until their death, ownership was apparently more fluid. For instance, the 1510 inventory shows that Mantegna retained possession of eight engraved copperplates he likely did not engrave himself.⁶⁵¹ Notwithstanding Mantegna’s infamous executive control over his projects, the fact that a plate remained in the hands of someone other than the original artisan draws attention to the status of the objects. Did engravers consider a copperplate their intellectual property? Or were they simply working tools that changed hands dependent on the owners’ needs? A secondhand copperplate trade would have offered engravers a welcome solution to the high price of copper and lengthy wait-times that resulted from interactions with *calderai* or starting with a lump of copper.

⁶⁴⁸ App.II, Nos.39 & 40. Note also that the process of wetting the paper to print and its subsequent drying, resulted in shrinkage and consequential variety in dimensions of up to 5mm.

⁶⁴⁹ TIB.2512.020 & .001, Only the Rothschild impression of *Benedict Preaching* shows the plate had an additional 15mm either side of the framing device, others are trimmed. TIB2512.044 & .044, a slightly curved indentation is on the upper right of both compositions. This is explained by plate’s revolution for the respective engravings.

⁶⁵⁰ H.V., BM, No.8, p.177 also remarked on ‘traces of erasure with pumice stone’ on the Basel impression of *Jerome with Lion* 1/2. I have not managed to study this impression.

⁶⁵¹ Including two not historically attributed to ‘Mantegna’. LONDON 1992, Cats. 93, 138; SIGNORINI 1996, p.112, nos.38, 39.

A few examples that support this theory are therefore worth highlighting. The shadowy form visible in the Bibliotheque Nationale de France impression of Benedetto's *Anthony Abbot* does not accord with any engravings in his corpus, which, when combined with the engraving's dating, supports the likelihood that Benedetto recycled a plate first engraved by another artist.⁶⁵² The application of this practice is confirmed by the work of Domenico Campagnola, who is widely accepted to have completed Giulio's so-called *Musical Shepherds*.⁶⁵³ As Giulio's adoptive son, Domenico's use of this material might simply be considered within the context of family inheritance of artistic property. The interest here however, is in the fact that Domenico appears to have perceived the inherited copperplates as working material for future use: revisions to the lower left corner of the *Tobias and the Angel* concur with Domenico's graphic style of circa 1516 while the plate's dimensions suggest he used the other surface for his *Twelve Dancing Children* of 1517 (fig.4.29).⁶⁵⁴ The Malaspina copperplate of the *Virgin and Child* discussed in Chapter Three provides the most direct insight into the handling of a matrix and its surfaces. Engraved on the other side to Benedetto's *Virgin and Child* is a copy after Marcantonio's *Venus Leaving her Bath* generally described as the work of an anonymous artisan (fig.4.30).⁶⁵⁵ The production date of Marcantonio's engraving gives a *terminus post quem* of circa 1515 for the copy, and therefore an interval of over ten years from the plate's initial use. What is further notable about the *Venus* is its curious landscape which is a pastiche of elements drawn from Dürer's prints comparable to Agostino

⁶⁵² Parallels might be drawn with the throne in Mocetto's *Enthroned Virgin and Child*, but the dimensional differences of 30mm in height and 5mm in width between the two platemarks unfortunately refutes this possibility. Dimensions: *Anthony Abbot* 262 x 196 mm; *Enthroned Virgin and Child* plate from BM: 292 x 189.5mm.

⁶⁵³ TIB.2519.012; PARIS 1993, Cat.133 with further literature. See also the discussion on the partnership between Giulio and Domenico in BROOKE 2018B, pp.238–39 and to be more extensively addressed in BROOKE FORTHCOMING. I am grateful to Irene Brooke for discussing her research with me.

⁶⁵⁴ These revisions visible on the Munich impression of the *Tobias and the Angel* and can be defined by a feathery handling of tree branches. A particularly favourable comparison can be made with the foreground of Domenico's *Rocky Landscape with distant forest* now in the Fondation Custodia, inv.1503, for which see MILAN 2018A, Cat.3/13. The platemark of the *Twelve Dancing Children* (TIB.2519.014) measures 92 x 112 mm in relation to 91 x 111 mm (Munich impression) for the *Tobias and the Angel*.

⁶⁵⁵ VERDIGEL 2017; VERDIGEL FORTHCOMING. The suggestion that the two engravings were executed by different hands first made by the Marchese in 1824. See MALASPINA 1824, pp.339–40 where attributes the *Venus* to 'un anonimo'; SÒRIGA 1912, p.114 dubbed the plate the 'più pregevole' item in the collection on the basis of this dual authorship.

Veneziano's copy after Giulio Campagnola's *Old Shepherd* (fig.4.31).⁶⁵⁶ The most feasible explanation is that an engraver operating in the Veneto during the 1510s came into possession of the plate and subsequently made use of the unengraved surface. Whether the plate was acquired directly from the Montagna workshop or via an open market is unclear but the other cases presented here suggest that inter-engraver contact was driven by a trade in resources.

Further insight into this 'plate mobility' can be derived from Bartolomeo Sanvito's diary entry of 28 December 1507 in which he recorded the dispatch of three copperplates to Giulio Campagnola '*per stampare*'.⁶⁵⁷ The interpretation that the plates were sent 'to be printed' on Giulio's roller press – while an accurate and logical translation of Sanvito's record – leaves more questions than answers. Would it not have been more logical for the plates to be printed in Padua? Who had Sanvito acquired these copperplates from? Moreover, no engravings of the sections of Trajan's Column or 'medals' described by Sanvito have been identified.⁶⁵⁸ This might simply reflect the sheer volume of engravings that have been lost, but it could be another example of plate recycling. Giulio could easily have used the unengraved sides of the plates or erased pre-existing compositions to reuse the surfaces after impressions had been printed. In the absence of further evidence, these suggestions remain hypothetical. Dispatch of the plates to an engraver, however, leaves little doubt that the printing of copperplates depended on those with the technical knowhow and equipment. That Giulio was the intended recipient of these plates is therefore significant given the preceding observations that Giulio's printmaking activity in Vicenza depended on knowledge gained and equipment used during visits to the Montagna workshop.

Practical reasons therefore suggest that the Montagna workshop's press was not set-up for Benedetto's exclusive use. Giulio certainly did not purchase a roller

⁶⁵⁶ First noted in H.V.Anon.No.44, pp.303–4. For Agostino's *Old Shepherd*, TIB.2518.010.C3. Indiscernible marks on the plate at Pavia and Yale impressions suggests the plate was used for another composition prior to *Venus*. The comparable dimensions and technique of Agostino's *Leda and the Swan* (167x 199 mm) make a tempting possibility, but none of the marks correspond. It is possible Agostino also reworked the *Virgin and Child* ii/3; the hair of Christ is copied from Adam in Dürer's *Adam and Eve* (1504). To be further addressed in due course.

⁶⁵⁷ DE KUNERT 1907, p.6, No.11: 'et a di 28 decembre 1507 gli prestai li 3 pezzi di rame intagliati per stampare con parte videlicet due con parte de la Colona Trajana l'altro con li roversi delle medaglie a M. Hieronymo suo padre'; CARRADORE 2010, p.87.

⁶⁵⁸ LANDAU 2016, p.124.

press in order to print the few copperplates he engraved during his time in Vicenza; instead, he was surely allowed to use the Montagna press. This does not appear to have been a one-off case: it should be noted that Sanvito's record only reveals that Giulio had access to a roller press in Venice, not that it was Giulio's own equipment.⁶⁵⁹ Rarely cited letters sent by Girolamo Campagnola in 1514 also show Giulio sought contact with Paganino Paganini, who was 'a most excellent printer'.⁶⁶⁰ Relying on a press owned by another was in fact a logical arrangement: acquisition of the machine required considerable spatial and financial investment not all could afford. Artistic itinerancy and intermittent engraving production posed further logistical problems, especially given that large plates – such as those by Mocetto and da Brescia – required presses over half a metre in length.⁶⁶¹ Engravers might have made contact with individuals who had an established practice in *intaglio* printing prior to or on their arrival in a new city; Nicoletto's period in Rome may have been one such occasion.⁶⁶² The potential that a 'plate-printer' had to mitigate, and capitalise on these operational issues had certainly been recognised by the early sixteenth century. A well-known case is 'il Baviera' who between 1515 and 1527 acted as a publisher for Marcantonio, Agostino Veneziano and Marco Dente da Ravenna.⁶⁶³ Another example is Alessandro Rosselli, whose workshop inventory of 1527 shows he owned and presumably printed plates engraved by his father and other artisans.⁶⁶⁴ Lisa Pon's proposal that the dal Jesus brothers' device was added to Marcantonio's *Life of the Virgin* series after he consigned them the plates circa 1508 likewise depends on the premise that the Venetian publishers assumed responsibility for the printing, and they possibly did the same with copperplates and woodblocks worked by other artisans.⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁵⁹ His father's act of emancipation on 11 December 1507 is often considered to have given him the financial freedom to purchase a roller press and establish himself in Venice. Logistical matters include the procurement of the equipment and finding a suitable place to work within 18 days of the Act. See also ZDANSKI 1992, p.80 for question of whether Giulio was 'merely a middleman'.

⁶⁶⁰ Mentioned in PONIZ 1979–80, letters in BCVe, *Ms Correr* 1349, ff.30r–31r cc.44–48, 98. This record is significant when considered alongside his association with Aldo Manuzio in 1515. Conversely, it could simply indicate that Giulio was considering a more decisive expansion into the book publishing trade. See also passing comments in BROOKE 2018A, p.141.

⁶⁶¹ Mocetto's largest plate: 520x380mm; Da Brescia's c.470x365mm.

⁶⁶² Nicoletto could have owned a press and had it transported to Rome with him in 1507. To be discussed in BARTLETT-RAWLINGS FORTHCOMING.

⁶⁶³ For an overview see REBECCCHINI & WOUK 2016, pp.13–14. See also Karpati in BUDAPEST 2013, pp.46–48.

⁶⁶⁴ See DEL BADIA 1894 and discussion in LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.12–13.

⁶⁶⁵ PON 2004, pp.53–61.

Even though Duchesne, in his *Essai sur les nielles*, dismissed the possibility that the ‘ton noir’ [black tone] of Benedetto and Giulio’s engraving was due to the colour of their ink, printing ink can provide further insight into the access to presses.⁶⁶⁶ Recent years has seen a reassessment of the impact ink-type had on the appearance of prints. Shelley Langdale and Ad Stijnman respectively attributed variety in the appearance of impressions of Pollaiuolo’s *Battle of the Nudes* and Rosselli’s Apostle and Sibyl series to the type of black pigment used and the resultant viscosity of the binder.⁶⁶⁷ Both concluded that the use of soot as the black pigment – known as Lampblack – produced a darker effect than those inks made of organic substances such as vine and bone.⁶⁶⁸ The low viscosity of Lampblack had its side effects including heavy ink tone, ink smudges and a build-up of excess ink at plate margins best visible on untrimmed impressions.⁶⁶⁹ These traits can be consistently observed in prints by Benedetto, Giulio and colleagues including Nicoletto, Mocetto and da Brescia: particularly good examples are The Metropolitan’s impression of Giulio’s *Ganymede* and impressions of Benedetto’s Ovid series in Berlin (figs.4.21; 6.64; 6.67). While other explanations could include insufficient wiping of the plate prior to printing and the application of unnecessarily greasy ink and the hand of an inexperienced printer, flaws on competently made engravings, including Benedetto’s Ovid series, indicates ink-type was the prime influencing factor.⁶⁷⁰ In light of the preceding discussions on inter-engraver contact, plate trade and press availability, similarities between the printed qualities of impressions should not be overlooked. In one respect, they show that Lampblack was the ink of choice for engravers working in the Veneto circa 1500. But they also support the proposal that engravers shared ink stocks, and by extension roller presses, when they came into contact.

⁶⁶⁶ DUCHESNE 1826, pp.46–47, he instead attributed this ‘darkness’ to a knowledge of German engravings.

⁶⁶⁷ LANGDALE 2002, pp.30–32; STIJNMAN 2012, p.36.

⁶⁶⁸ As a fine grained pigment, soot is more receptive to an oil binder and creates a more opaque ink. Vineblack was an early and inexpensive pigment made from burnt vine tendrils. See STIJNMAN 2013, esp.p.63; STIJNMAN 2012, pp.36-38. A recipe for ink transcribed by a Vicentine notary on 24 November 1530 records that to produce ‘inchiostro perfino’, vine tendrils and gum-arabic should be combined with a mixture of water and oak gall that had been left to stand for three days. Vineblack was not the only pigment used for printing ink in Vicenza. Between 1472 and 1520, the Commune approved the import and use of ‘lapides nigri’ [black stones] for the same purpose. See MANTESE 1964 III/2, p.860.

⁶⁶⁹ Not to be confused with the deliberate creation of tone through selective wiping of the plate.

⁶⁷⁰ Suggested in ROBERTS 2012, p.193. See STIJNMAN 2010, p.22 for the general plate preparation process.

Those who passed through Vicenza, and more specifically the Montagna workshop, quite possibly made arrangements to print their plates on the available roller press. Some might have paid a fee or set percentage of their earnings.⁶⁷¹ This would have provided a better return on the significant time and resources invested in acquiring a press and pulling impressions, especially as ink had to be made fresh every day.⁶⁷² Precedents for a practice of sharing a press existed. Several artists are known to have produced engravings under Mantegna's direction across a thirty-year period: Gian Marco Cavalli, the so-called 'Premier Engraver', possibly Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, and other anonymous artists.⁶⁷³ The impressions from the various plates were all surely pulled from the roller press set up in Mantegna's workshop. A similar context might also be proposed for Venice. Jacopo de' Barbari can reasonably be identified as the first artist to have produced engravings in sufficient quantity to have made acquiring a roller press worthwhile.⁶⁷⁴ This may have been located in his painting *bottega* or alternatively in the shop of the German publisher Anton Kolb who was his partner in the *Map of Venice* enterprise. Other engravers who plied their trade in Venice in the following years – including Giulio, Fogolino and Mocetto – ostensibly used the same press, which presumably remained in Venice after de' Barbari departed for Germany.⁶⁷⁵

Reappraisal of watermark data compiled on engravings produced in the Veneto and Mantua lends further support to these proposals. Various watermarks found on Benedetto's prints also occur on those of his contemporaries'. Most ubiquitous is the equal stemmed 'Cardinal's Hat' mentioned in Chapter Three in connection with Vicentine archival documents. This specific variant is also the most prevalent in Appendix II.A of the 1992 Mantegna catalogue, which charts the Italian

⁶⁷¹ For this practice in relation to painters' workshops, see EVEN 1985, p.136.

⁶⁷² STIJNMAN 2012, p.285

⁶⁷³ The topic of the engravers associated with the Mantegna workshop still awaits further clarification, especially following the finding of Ludovico Mantegna's post-mortem inventory. Conflating the watermark research presented in the LONDON 1992 catalogue with the records of the copperplates in Ludovico's possession would be a key step forward.

⁶⁷⁴ The opinion that Jacopo produced a number of his engravings in Venice prior to 1500 followed in FERRARI 2006, Nos.1–9; LANDAU 2016, p.114. BÖCKEM 2016; VAN DER SMAN 2018, p.191 conversely reason that de' Barbari's main burst of engraving was c.1502–4 once he had established himself at the Court of Frederick the Wise in Wittenburg.

⁶⁷⁵ It is also reasonable to propose that the engravers associated with the Francia workshop in Bologna were similarly pragmatic in their shared access to a press. These proposals remain conjecture until further research on the watermarks and quality of surviving impressions printed by engravers operating in these locations is carried out. Findings will be presented in due course.

watermarks that occur primarily on engravings produced in Mantua.⁶⁷⁶ Notable examples include five late impressions of *Battle of the Sea Gods (right half)*, three first state impressions of the unfinished *Virgin in the Grotto* and several engravings by Giovanni Antonio da Brescia including his *Holy Family with Elizabeth and John the Baptist*, State II/2.⁶⁷⁷ Identical and closely related variants occur on prints by Giulio – such as the BNF impression of *Saint John Chrysostom* – Mocetto and Nicoletto. Mantegna’s *Battle* excluded, these engravings can all be dated to circa 1500.⁶⁷⁸ Usage of paper watermark with variants on the ‘High Crown’ and ‘Orb and Cross’ reflects a similar pattern of use. Watermarks on prints by da Brescia as recorded in Appendix II.C of the Mantegna catalogue are predominantly distributed between these two types, and a run of prints by Jacopo da’ Barbari were printed with a batch of ‘High Crown’ paper.⁶⁷⁹ An almost identical variant of the High Crown occurs on an early impression of Benedetto’s *George and the Dragon* for which Briquet cited a usage of ‘Vicenza, 1507’.⁶⁸⁰ Prior to the introduction of specialist ‘printing paper’ and while the paper trade retained a local basis, consistency with archival sources provides a framework for the locations where the printing of these engravings took place .

While watermark data could be dismissed as arbitrary and attributed to the availability of paper-stock, situating the limited findings within a broad discourse of interactions among engravers, however, increases their relevance. Concordance between watermarks on Benedetto’s prints and early works by Giulio supports the likelihood that some of Giulio’s plates were printed in Vicenza. Paper usage can also aid in the analysis of ‘stylistic resonances’ and artistic quotations. In this respect, the presence of a ‘Cardinal’s Hat’ on the BNF impression of Giovanni Antonio da Brescia’s *Saint Barbara* is of particular interest given that it is a direct copy after Benedetto’s *Saint Catherine* (fig.4.32).⁶⁸¹ Partially erased marks of an indeterminate

⁶⁷⁶ LONDON 1992, App.II.A. Wm.3.

⁶⁷⁷ LONDON 1992, App.II.A, Wm.3. Respectively: Cat. 79; Cat.21, attributed to the ‘premier engraver’, for further discussion on the dynamic between this engraving and the altarpiece from which it is derived see Chapter 3; Cat.52. Also recorded on da Brescia’s *Fountain surmounted by a statue of Neptune*, Cat.153, impression at Washington; *Judith and Holofernes*, Cat.144, impression at Boston.

⁶⁷⁸ Landau in LONDON 1992, Cat.79, p.287 notes that the ‘best impressions’ of the *Battle* have the Basilisk watermark.

⁶⁷⁹ Respectively LONDON 1992, App II.C Wm.22, ‘Cf.Br.3057–68’, Wm.23, ‘Cf.Br.4895 (Leipzig, 1498), Br.4809 (Bergamo 1501–03)’.

⁶⁸⁰ Br.4900, see App.IIIb, No.5.

⁶⁸¹ For which see TIB.2511.012.

form at the lower left indicate that da Brescia previously used the plate for a larger composition – perhaps his copies after Mantegna’s engravings, and by extension that it was engraved in the early years of the sixteenth century. Combined with the occurrence of a ‘High Crown’ on an impression of his *Saint Peter* – the ‘pendant’ of *Barbara* and informed by the monumentality of the saints that occur in Bartolomeo’s painted output – suggests that da Brescia did visit Vicenza and potentially printed some plates on the Montagna press (fig.4.33).⁶⁸² A crucial outcome of this analysis is that material factors support the perspective that da Brescia continually adapted his output in response to localities in which he worked.

Watermark analysis also provides insight into the handling and ‘afterlife’ of copperplates. Paper used in Tuscany occurs on late impressions of both *Benedict Preaching* and *Sacrifice of Abraham* that, when combined with their comparable dimensions, indicates that they were on the same plate.⁶⁸³ Likewise, watermarks on impressions of *Man with Arrow* and *Holy Family in the Landscape with John* match those on prints produced for the Roman market and thus indicates this plate ended up in Rome.⁶⁸⁴ A return to the Malaspina copperplate and its fortunes further illustrates the point. Watermarks of surviving impressions make it possible to chart the plate’s long journey from Vicenza to the collection of the Marchese Malaspina via presses in Rome and Bologna. Considering that da Brescia took his plates with him when he relocated to Rome, it is possible that the engaver who acquired the *Virgin and Child* copperplate did the same.⁶⁸⁵ Such factors establish that itinerant engravers saw their plates as a guarantee of their livelihood and that they were, therefore, key agents in copperplate mobility.⁶⁸⁶

While paper was widely available and printing ink could be produced from substances supplied by local *speziali*, copperplates and *intaglio* presses were specific to the craft and in short supply. This means that, common requirements brought

⁶⁸² TIB.2511.013. See the remarks made in H.V.GAB, No.9 p.39; WASHINGTON 1973, Cat.91, p.244. that ‘the treatment of the figures and drapery bears some resemblance to the style of Bartolomeo’.

⁶⁸³ App.IIb, Nos.15.

⁶⁸⁴ App.II, Nos.30 & 35; App.IIb, No. 18, 19 & 20.

⁶⁸⁵ It is worth also noting that Jacopo’s plates remained in the possession of the German Archduchess Margaret’s possession circa 1520 (VAN DER SMAN 2018, p.192), which, if Jacopo engraved any copperplates while in Venice, would also show that he took his plates with him as a livelihood when he crossed back over the Alps.

⁶⁸⁶ What happened to the plates of early Italian engravers once they were acquired by increasingly influential publishers represents another topic that will be addressed elsewhere.

engravers into contact and to a certain extent dictated their sites of work. In Vicenza, a ready supply of the resources required for printing was assured by the productivity of its industries and strong artisanal networks. Not only did these interactions facilitate Benedetto's uptake of the engraver's profession, they also helped establish the Montagna workshop as an important nucleus of early Italian print production.

Accordingly, the statement that Benedetto 'seems to have been the heir of Mantegna as the most influential engraver in northern Italy outside Venice' needs revising.⁶⁸⁷ Dovetailing with the artist-attraction contingent with Bartolomeo's *fama*, Benedetto's importance to contemporary engraving depended on interactions within the family workshop. Its primary output in painting was fundamental because it attracted itinerant artists in search of work who also happened to have knowledge of engraving. A reciprocal exchange in techniques and formal models was founded on a common status of these men, as *peintre-graveurs*, while simultaneously encouraging them to develop their own distinct styles. Yet it was not just the prospect of work that brought these artisans into contact; they were united by the material requirements of their trade. The combination of these motives directly contributed to the emergence of key nuclei of early print production across and beyond the Veneto, and the Montagna workshop can be identified as one such locus.

⁶⁸⁷ Oberhuber in WASHINGTON 1973, p.xxi.

Chapter Five: The Place of ‘Disegno’ in Collaboration and Artistic Reputation

This chapter considers the role ‘*disegno*’ played in collaborative enterprises that took place within the Montagna workshop and with other artisans operating in Vicenza. Particular emphasis is placed on design re-use in Benedetto’s print production, specifically those engravings that can be associated with Bartolomeo’s designs. This is because the implicit hierarchy of father over son might be taken to reiterate longstanding views on a printmaker’s subordinance to the painter-designer in collaborative print production.⁶⁸⁸ Framing Bartolomeo and Benedetto’s working dynamic within the context of the Montagna family business is, however, crucial for rethinking the negative connotations invoked by the so-termed ‘reproductive print’ and design repetition more broadly.⁶⁸⁹ An artist’s *bottega* was a space of many collaborations with output frequently encompassing various media. The Montagna workshop was involved not only in the production of paintings, frescoes and prints, but also in other smallscale or decorative objects including tabernacles, *cassoni* and *gonfaloni*. As will be discussed, such varied productivity served as a means to build and assert the workshop’s artistic reputation within Vicenza. In order to do so successfully, however, Bartolomeo, as the *maestro*, had to ensure consistent standards through establishing a distinctive design idiom and collaborating with artists capable of adhering to it.⁶⁹⁰ It is to the resultant interplay between Bartolomeo’s *disegno* and the successful promotion of the Montagna ‘brand’ within the visual culture of Vicenza that this chapter now turns.

⁶⁸⁸ For overviews on collaborative printmaking in Renaissance Italy see LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.103–63; GABBARELLI 2015, pp.6–63 for the sixteenth century in particular. The key study on collaboration in the Italian Renaissance remains SHEARD & PAOLETTI 1978, for which Sheard’s Preface encapsulates many points relevant to the following discussion, on collaboration in artistic workshops see also THOMAS 2005. Collaborations between family members working in different trades was also common practice: two examples is that mentioned in the Introduction between Andrea and Girolamo da Murano, and that between the half-brothers Cosimo Rosselli and Francesco Rosselli, BOORSCH 2004, pp.210, 220–23.

⁶⁸⁹ On the ‘reproductive print’ see GRAMACCINI & MEIER 2009 and the corresponding comments in BURY 2010; For the longstanding impact of Giorgio Vasari’s prejudices on printmaking as a ‘reproductive’ art form see STOLZ 2012; LANDAU 1983; GREGORY 2012, esp.p.8.

⁶⁹⁰ For comparable observations concerning Mantegna’s collaborators and his graphic idiom see SYSON 2009, pp.534–35 and ZERNER 2001, pp.138–39.

Authorship, Delegation and Family Concerns.

Collaboration by definition raises the issue of authorship. Was labour always equally divided among the artisans involved or was there sometimes an element of delegation? Did a workshop assistant qualify as a collaborator? These questions have been posed before, both in relation to printmaking and to other forms of artistic production such as painting.⁶⁹¹ The most convenient solution has been to navigate the issue by distinguishing between the designer and those tasked with bringing the project to fruition. Jonathan Nelson, for example, proposed that a painting can be classified as a ‘Botticelli’ if it were designed by him even if it were painted by another.⁶⁹² Such an approach, in which authorial credit is given to a work’s inventor, remains problematic. This is exemplified by the disjunction between some contemporary interpretations of the phrase ‘*fatto di sua mano*’ in the context of ‘singular artistic genius’ and its usage during the Renaissance.⁶⁹³ Charles Seymour Jr’s analysis of notarial documents demonstrated that ‘*di sua mano*’ signified a moral responsibility for a drawn design, while Michelle O’Malley has shown that the clause was also employed to prohibit artistic subcontracting.⁶⁹⁴ Despite the overarching importance of ‘*di sua mano*’, attempts to identify a single ‘hand’ are fundamentally prohibited by the very essence of collaboration. It is consequently more beneficial to consider the inter-personal dynamics that dictated contemporary understandings of authorship.

In the Montagna workshop, payment records and procuratorial deeds confirm that all Bartolomeo’s sons worked under their father. Familial endeavours were, of course, not unique to the Montagna: the sons of Jacopo Bellini, Andrea Mantegna and Domenico Ghirlandaio were all involved in their family firms. Shared concern for a family’s fortunes indicates that business interests drove collaboration between relatives. In this respect, it is worth mentioning the proposal that Francesco Rosselli and his half-brother, the painter Cosimo Rosselli were both involved on a series of

⁶⁹¹ In the context of print, and more specifically Raphael and Marcantonio’s collaboration see PON 2004, esp. pp.82–85 ‘From whose hand?’ & pp.118–36.

⁶⁹² NELSON 2009, esp. p.147; See also O’MALLEY FORTHCOMING, in particular ‘Assistants to Botticelli’ in relation to Filippino Lippi’s presence in the Botticelli workshop.

⁶⁹³ See, for instance, PON 2004, pp.84–85, who, quoting the proposals made by Richard Spear in an article on Guido Reni, proposed three readings of the term: technical supervision of artistic production, a recognisable style and the hand of a ‘godlike’ artist.

⁶⁹⁴ SEYMOUR JR 1968, esp. p.98; O’MALLEY 2005, pp.90–96. See also PENNY 1998 pp.41–43;

engravings marketed to the Dominican community in Florence, even though they retained individual businesses.⁶⁹⁵ It appears that a family's respective skills could be combined as occasion or opportunity dictated, with familial ties superseding separate workshop enterprises.

These family concerns provide a framework within which to reconsider Benedetto's print production. It has already been noted that Bartolomeo must have approved of his son's specialisation as an engraver and supervised his activity in the workshop. The likelihood that Bartolomeo initially provided Benedetto with drawings to follow also presents a collaborative arrangement between Bartolomeo, as painter-designer, and Benedetto, as printmaker. But how does this printmaking procedure differ from the family's delegatory practices used in painting? A collaborative print can be defined as one in which an artisan was commissioned to translate another artist's invention into print, with the choice of the term 'commissioned' rather than 'contracted' due to the implied existence of a legally binding arrangement in the latter. Contracts were not always necessary. Not only was involvement of a notary time-consuming and relatively costly; it served to impose working standards in a situation where such standards had not yet been established. Family-run artisanal businesses were founded on top-down management. What therefore defined the Montagna's collaboration was the fusion of *maestro*'s authority with the implicit laws of *patria potestas*.⁶⁹⁶ This dual-hierarchy granted Bartolomeo the entitlement to dictate his son's activity within the family firm and assume responsibility over the prints he produced as part of the workshop's output.

Even though a contract between Bartolomeo and Benedetto was redundant, the few known printmaking contracts can offer insights into their working relationship. A prime example is that drawn up between Mantegna and Gian Marco Cavalli in 1475; the earliest known collaboration between a celebrated painter and a goldsmith. Though their acquaintance endured for over three decades, Cavalli was initially brought in as a 'hired hand' tasked with a project that neither Mantegna nor his

⁶⁹⁵ THOMAS 2000, esp. fn.46 draws a connective thread between the Fifteen Mysteries, the Rosselli and the Stamperia di S. Jacopo. THOMAS 2005, p.420. Documentary evidence shows the half-brothers cared for each others' well-being as Cosimo looked after Francesco's wife and children during his absence in the 1480s, see BOORSCH 2004, pp.208–10; Oberhuber in WASHINGTON 1972, p.47.

⁶⁹⁶ KIRSCHNER 2004, pp.86–88; On *pater familias* in Venice see MAZE 2013, pp.789–93, 796.

workshop assistants were in a position to do. In this case, finding an artisan capable of incising metal dictated the need for notarial involvement. A similar scenario is suggested by the *Prevedari Print* and its accompanying contract: Bernardo Prevedari's involvement was predicated on his ability to translate the design provided by Bramante.⁶⁹⁷ Common to both these examples is not only the fact that collaboration was achieved by outsourcing but also the exchange of a drawing between artisans. Returning to the Mantegna-Cavalli collaboration, the first contractual clause specified that Mantegna '*voglia fare designi (de sua mane) in stampa per stampare*' [wants to make drawings (of his hand) in print for printing].⁶⁹⁸ Despite its subsequent cancellation, the clause's usage suggests that in this context '*de sua mane*' was meant as an acknowledgement of Mantegna's authorship of the drawings and hence control over their use. Combined with the provisos that Cavalli precisely follow the provided drawings and not show them to anyone else, Cavalli emerges as an artisan whose creativity was put in the service of Mantegna.⁶⁹⁹ This hierarchical structure essentially accords with that implemented within a single workshop, and in particular family-run ones.

Should engravings 'by' Benedetto that can be related to Bartolomeo's designs and painted output consequently be defined as products of workshop delegation? Benedetto's role in the workshop was fundamentally akin to that of other assistants: emulate the master's trademark *maniera*.⁷⁰⁰ Delegation through design was a means to manage production from the top down, and extending this model to print was a natural step. It is no coincidence that the devotional panels of the Virgin and Child serially delegated to Bartolomeo's workshop assistants served as the template for one of Benedetto's first engravings. Benedetto's engravings might have represented a diversification of the workshop's output, but their production was constrained within established expectations of fidelity to the master's *invenzione*.

A reappraisal of the monograms incised onto Benedetto's early engravings further supports this interpretation. All are marked 'B.M', which is generally taken as

⁶⁹⁷ LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.104–6.

⁶⁹⁸ This amendment to the document noted in CANOVA 2001, p.150, fn.4.

⁶⁹⁹ CANOVA 2001, pp.150–51.

⁷⁰⁰ On stylistic consistency within a workshop see for example THOMAS 1997, pp.213–55; FLETCHER 1998, esp. pp.144–46.

Benedetto's first signature on account of its simplicity. This single signature could be taken to negate Bartolomeo's involvement in producing designs for Benedetto's engravings. However, in the Montagna *bottega*, as in other artisanal workshops, a single signature was regularly used to characterise the whole work: paintings that Bartolomeo largely delegated to his assistants, both *Madonne* and large-scale altarpieces, are only inscribed with his name. As Bartolomeo's drawings are unsigned, the addition of 'B.M' to the lower margins of the copperplate is likely to have been a decision made during the translation of the design to the copperplate. The placement and lettering is consistent with other early engravings for which Benedetto likely used designs provided by Bartolomeo such as *Saint Benedict Preaching* and the *Virgin and Child* (fig.5.1). Yet the small, neat script also compares favourably with the lettering on paintings issued from the Montagna shop, some of which are signed with 'BM' as an abbreviated form of the *maestro*'s name (fig.5.2).⁷⁰¹ 'BM' can by extension arguably be interpreted not as a mark of Benedetto's engraving of the plates, nor Bartolomeo's authorship of the designs, the father and son's conveniently matching initials represented a mutually beneficial means to acknowledge the designer *and* engraver. Yet while it was thus a mark of dual authorship, when the printed monogram is considered alongside the Montagna workshop's painted output it ultimately emerges as a sign of the family workshop.

The authorial hierarchy inherent in this family collaboration has a resonance that extends beyond the confines of the Montagna workshop. For while Lisa Pon rightly noted that the complexities of collaboration could not be encapsulated by a single signature, consideration of the matter must be considered alongside contemporary understandings of authorship.⁷⁰² Giving most credit to the designer was commonplace.⁷⁰³ A comparable dynamic can again be discerned in Raphael and Marcantonio's partnership, especially given the likelihood that the engravings were produced in Raphael's workshop.⁷⁰⁴ In the *Massacre of the Innocents*, Marcantonio's

⁷⁰¹ The Williamstown Madonna is even signed 'B.M' but the authenticity of this signature has not been confirmed.

⁷⁰² PON 2004, p.69.

⁷⁰³ An exception to this pattern is Giulio Campagnola who almost certainly acquired preparatory designs for his *John the Baptist* from a more celebrated artist but chose not to acknowledge it. For a summary see BROWN 2010, pp.83–88.

⁷⁰⁴ For the signed engravings see LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.142–46. It is no coincidence that the five signed engravings are some of their most ambitious projects.

monogram is overshadowed by the prominent inscription ‘*Raphael invenit*’.⁷⁰⁵ It is a different case in those instances when a collaborative print was not signed at all. Prime examples are the engravings Cavalli produced to Mantegna’s designs, in which the lack of a signature long obscured Cavalli’s involvement in the enterprise. Mantegna’s corresponding recognition as a ‘printmaker’ not only demonstrates that his creative authority was successfully enforced, but reiterates the engraver’s subordinance to the master who provided the designs. And therein lies the key point: acts of collaboration and delegation were not mutually exclusive. They were instead vital mechanisms of Renaissance artistic practice in which hierarchy was necessary and accepted.⁷⁰⁶

From Drawing to Copperplate.

Drawings were the intermediary fundamental to collaborative print production. All prints were preceded by drawings, even if the process used to transfer these designs to the matrix means few have survived. These drawings were not always produced by the artisan who did the engraving, as the collaboration between Mantegna and Cavalli and the agreement concerning Prevedari’s use of a drawing by Donato Bramante have shown. The sustained implementation of this division of labour is reflected by the fact that prints produced in the middle of the sixteenth century frequently involved multiple professions including the ‘*disegnatore*’ and ‘*intagliatore*’.⁷⁰⁷ The value held by preparatory studies is further reflected by the proviso common to the Mantegna-Cavalli and Bramante-Prevedari contracts: in both instances the goldsmith-engraver was instructed to return the original drawing once he had finished working from it.⁷⁰⁸ Drawings also provided a means to for distinct parties to negotiate how the desired appearance of a print could be achieved. The meticulous multiple studies used to develop the *Massacre of the Innocents*, for

⁷⁰⁵ For a recent discussion see BLOEMACHER 2016, pp.153–63, esp. pp.155–57.

⁷⁰⁶ See BURY 2010, p.322 for the acknowledgement that even Marcantonio ‘was dependent on the response of the artists for whom he worked’.

⁷⁰⁷ On the inter-artisanal collaboration that drove print production in mid-sixteenth century Rome, see for instance, GABBARELLI 2015.

⁷⁰⁸ As cited in Chapter Two. See CANOVA 2002, p.150; LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.104–6.

instance, not only attests to the importance Raphael invested in the project, but that drawings were integral to their combined output.⁷⁰⁹

One drawing fundamental to the understanding the collaborative print production in the Montagna workshop is the pen and ink *Resurrected Christ* now in the Louvre which can be placed in direct relation to Benedetto's engraving of the same subject (figs.5.3; 5.4).⁷¹⁰ The technical qualities of the drawing support its identification as the work of Bartolomeo.⁷¹¹ Parker, Borenius and Hind, however, favoured an attribution to the son on the grounds that the 'hand was typically that of an engraver'.⁷¹² What constitutes this so-termed 'engraver-like technique'? Close analysis reveals that the draftsman's pen strokes follow a system of open parallel hatching. Lines were predominantly placed on a diagonal to the upper right and carefully aligned short strokes were used for the drapery of Christ's robe. Such traits certainly concur with the salient qualities of Benedetto's early engravings. Yet they are equally characteristic of Bartolomeo's pen and ink drawings; take, for instance, the strongly modelled figure on the *verso* of the Turin *Sebastian*, which also features open parallel hatching (fig.1.7). The application of wash to areas such as the torso obscures the pen-handling, but simultaneously attests to an artist competent in the rendering of light and shade through painterly effects.

These parallels reflect more subtle crosscurrents in the technical handling of the two media. The similar quality of lines drawn with the pen and incised with the burin makes it unsurprising that artists recognised the suitability of pen and ink for drawings to be used in collaborative print production.⁷¹³ For instance, when Raphael was developing the *Massacre of the Innocents*, he tellingly used red chalk for initial

⁷⁰⁹ Literature on the preparatory drawings for Raphael and Marcantonio's *Massacre of the Innocents* is unsurprisingly vast, see PON 2004, pp.118–36, and most recently Thomas in OXFORD 2017, Cats.69–71, pp.171–75; Vowles in MANCHESTER 2016, Cats.32, 33, pp.169–71.

⁷¹⁰ App.I. No.28. INV 5079. Catalogued as 'André Mantegna' in the *Inventaire Jabach III*, no.224. The drawing entered the Cabinet du Roi in 1671 and retained this attribution in the *Inventaire du Musée Napoléon. Dessins*, Vol.3, p.407, École vénitienne, Numéro 3110.

⁷¹¹ This attribution also supported in PUPPI 1962 Fig.56.KRISTELLER 1901, p.374, proposed an attribution to Mocetto.

⁷¹² BORENIUS 1909 p.137; H.V.BM.2, p.175; PARKER 1928, p.23. POPHAM 1935, p.66 found a compromise by proposing that it was a copy by Benedetto after a drawing by Bartolomeo.

⁷¹³ For similar remarks on these parallels, see for instance KRISTELLER 1901, pp.215, 380; FAIETTI 2010, esp. pp.18–22; WRIGHT 2005, p.155 notes that Pollaiuolo's *Battle of the Nudes* imitates pen work. PON 2004, p.108 went further, comparing the act of 'carving' with the blind stylus to the engraving of a copperplate. For opposing views regarding Mantegna's line-handling see LINCOLN 1993, p.44; FOWLER 2017 p.13.

figural studies and pen and ink for more finished versions of the composition, such as those in Budapest and London.⁷¹⁴ That penwork facilitated the printmaker's role by clearly communicating what was expected of him can be similarly observed in the working partnership between Mantegna and his engravers. The increasingly careful delineation of contours and construction of shade through carefully placed lines in Mantegna's surviving print-drawings arguably developed in tandem with the technical demands of designing compositions for translation by a goldsmith-engraver.⁷¹⁵ In the drawing used for Mantegna's *Risen Christ*, now in Munich, this precision extended to Mantegna's correcting the placement of Christ's head through the use of an additional piece of paper (figs.5.5; 5.6).⁷¹⁶ The prescriptive drawing technique of the Louvre *Resurrected Christ* can therefore be explained in the same way: as a means of systematising Bartolomeo's design for translation to print.

Another perspective on this interplay is provided by a consideration of the method used to transfer the design to the copperplate. Close analysis of the Louvre drawing reveals that it does not have any marks that would be generally expected to arise from its transfer; namely stylus indentations or prick marks. That is not, however, to negate the likelihood that the drawing was used in the preparation of Benedetto's *Resurrected Christ*. Comparison could be made with Mantegna's drawing for the *Risen Christ*, which similarly does not display transfer marks.⁷¹⁷ Successful experiments have revealed that Mantegna's design was traced onto sheet of *carta lucida* – tracing paper produced from parchment – that was reversed before the outlines were scored with stylus onto a copperplate prepared with a white ground.⁷¹⁸ It is likely that Benedetto employed this technique or a variant of it, especially given that digital overlay of the Louvre drawing and the engraving reveals that the contours of Christ and his drapery are in exact alignment (fig.5.7). Yet the fact that this comparison was made with an inverted image of Benedetto's print while

⁷¹⁴ See PON 2004, pp.118–36; Vowles in MANCHESTER 2016, Cats.32, 33, pp.169–71. Karpati in BUDAPEST 2013, pp.52–59 convincingly proposes that the Budapest drawing was preparatory to the engraving and that its present condition is a result of long term light exposure.

⁷¹⁵ FOWLER 2017, p.13–16 argues Mantegna's engagement with engraving impacted upon his drawing technique, but the interchange was arguably reciprocal. It is worth noting the observation in WRIGHT 1998, p.76 that Pollaiuolo's surviving pen drawings do not extensively use the 'near-parallel hatching' technique and by extension that this line handling was consciously applied in his *Battle*.

⁷¹⁶ The most extensive discussion remains Ekserdjian in LONDON 1992, Cat.44, pp.211–12.

⁷¹⁷ See overview in London 1992, Cat.44, p.211.

⁷¹⁸ LANDAU AND PARSHALL 1994, p.112 following an experiment by Furio de Denaro.

the aforementioned ‘Mantegna experiment’ did not, makes it clear that Benedetto overlooked the crucial stage of reversing the traced sheet. Christ consequently blesses with the wrong hand in impressions pulled from the plate.⁷¹⁹

This unfortunate error aside, the procedure as a whole helps explain the differences between the Louvre drawing and the completed engraving. While these include details such as the buildings in the landscape and the addition of clouds, most notable is the increase in the height of the rocky sepulchre so that it almost touches Christ’s elbow (fig.5.8). What can be established from the aforementioned digital overlay, however, is that the outlines of the grassy outcrop still align despite its different placement in the respective compositions. The opening to the sepulchre, and hence the entire structure, was evidently enlarged by shifting the sheet of *carta lucida* up slightly for another session of tracing. This multi-phase transfer has been similarly reconstructed in order to explain compositional adjustments between Mantegna’s drawing of the *Descent into Limbo* and the completed print.⁷²⁰ These prints make it clear that revision of a design prior to the incision of the final *modello* onto the copperplate could be facilitated by a transfer process involving multiple stages and, more specifically, intermediary supports.

It is therefore significant that this non-destructive method was another version of transfer processes routinely employed in painters’ workshops: the use and preparation of *carta lucida* is even described in Cennino Cennini’s *Il Libro dell’Arte*.⁷²¹ Such procedures not only helped meet demand in a busy workshop, but also mitigated the issue of drawing loss through use. Transfer onto intermediary supports meant the prototype could be preserved for reference and frequent repurposing. Collaboration between printmakers and painters, not to mention those individuals who practiced both trades, makes it unsurprising that these established

⁷¹⁹ Benedetto evidently realised his error and attempted to make amends by placing a scroll in Christ’s ‘left’ hand but ultimately made matters worse by misspelling ‘Resurexit’. On reversal see GRIFFITHS 2016, pp.35–38, where he cites an instance in which Rembrandt showed Christ raising Lazarus from the dead with his left hand.

⁷²⁰ LONDON 1992, Cats. 66, 67ab, pp.261–65. As Landau observes, the varying positions of the figures and architecture were achieved by tracing in multiple stages. See CHRISTIANSEN 1993 for an application of this technique to the *Resurrected Christ* for which he did not find any such comparable adjustments.

⁷²¹ On *carta lucida*, see GALASSI 2013A. See CENNINI ED.1933, p.13 where it falls in the category of learning through copying the work of others as opposed to implementing practical working methods.

methods were applied to printmaking.⁷²² Printmakers' practices were also comparable to painters' in that they deployed multiple transfer methods across their careers. For instance, a pen and ink drawing used in the development of Giulio Campagnola's *Ganymede* is extensively incised with the stylus, while preparatory studies for his *John the Baptist* and his *Shepherds in a Landscape* – both produced within a decade of the *Ganymede* – have outlines pricked with a sharp tool (figs.5.9; 5.10; 5.11).⁷²³ Pricking was also used extensively in the preparatory stages of Raphael and Marcantonio's *Massacre of the Innocents*, further suggesting that interactions between painters and printmakers were mirrored in the working techniques they deployed.⁷²⁴ Yet Lisa Pon's unsuccessful attempts to corroborate the outlines of Raphael's drawings with Marcantonio's engraving sufficed to show that many drawings used in the multi-phase process of preparing a print *modello* have been lost.⁷²⁵ What is more, the final stage of transferring the *modello* to a copperplate prepared with a ground of wax and *biacca* [white chalk] means that the drawings which do survive were generally not those 'pounced' or 'incised' onto the copperplate.⁷²⁶ One has only to mention the hypotheses on the appearance of a now lost final *modello* Marcantonio must have used for the *Massacre*, and that no sheets of *carta lucida* with tracings of Mantegna's drawings exist.⁷²⁷ This means that the few drawings which do survive offer valuable insights into how a print *modello* was constructed through transfer via multiple supports.⁷²⁸

⁷²² On printmakers' preservation of preparatory drawings more generally see also LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.112–13; GRIFFITHS 2016, pp.34–35.

⁷²³ Respectively: NGA, 1996.11.1. See Robison in VENICE 2014–15, Cat.6, p.42–44 with preceding literature and for detailed explanation of which areas of the drawing are incised for transfer; Louvre RF 1979, Oberhuber in PARIS 1993, Cat.93, p. pp.506–7; Louvre, INV 4648, Oberhuber in PARIS 1993, Cat.89, pp.504–5, traces of charcoal dust on the *verso* further confirms the use of *spolvero*.

⁷²⁴ For *spolvero* see principally BAMBACH 1999, esp. pp.17–30, on pricked prints pp.118–22. One example is Giovanni Antonio da Brescia's selective pricking of an impression of the *Hercules and Antaeus* designed by Mantegna, see Boorsch in LONDON 1992, Cats.93 & 94, pp.313–16.

⁷²⁵ PON 2004, pp.126–36. On lost 'print *modelli*' see also GRIFFITHS 2016 pp.34–35.

⁷²⁶ Exceptions existed: the alignment of the prick marks on the preparatory drawing of Giulio's *John the Baptist* with the engraving's largest 'stipple-dots' suggests he transferred the landscape directly to the matrix. This may support the proposal that dots produced by pricking inspired Giulio's subsequent exploration of the stipple technique made in KORBACHER 2015 p.8. BROWN 2010, p.86 alternatively proposes that the hills in the background of the NGA *Ganymede* prefigure Giulio's stipple technique. The decision to prick onto the plate may have been motivated by necessity as the addition of white wax ground to transfer the composition via stylus incision may have potentially damaged the portion of the plate already engraved with the *John the Baptist*.

⁷²⁷ On the *Massacre*, see LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994 p.124; Karpati in BUDAPEST 2013, p.56; Vowles in MANCHESTER 2016, p.171.

⁷²⁸ One example is the NGA *Ganymede* which must have been transferred onto another sheet that combined the landscape detail spliced from Dürer's *Virgin and Child with Monkey*.

Despite their efficiency, however, mechanical transfer methods were predominately used to transfer the outlines of a given design. As noted in Chapter Two in relation to black chalk facial studies, internal features and shading on the paint surface generally depended on freehand imitation of a provided drawing. This was also the case with collaborative engraving. Exact mimicry of another draftsman's technique was limited not only by a margin of human interpretation, but also the restrictions of burin handling.⁷²⁹ This led to the development of printmaking techniques that imitated drawing styles: close analysis of the engravings produced under Mantegna's supervision has shown that the 'zigzag' or 'v-' stroke was specifically meant to replicate the painter's characteristic return stroke.⁷³⁰ Yet even in those instances where mechanical transfer was used excessively, engravers still had a degree of artistic license. Comparison, for example, of Giulio's *Ganymede* and the extensively incised preparatory drawing in the NGA shows that Giulio implemented a linear structure distinct to that done with the pen in order to shade the eagle's upper mandible.⁷³¹ Subtle technical differences between the Louvre *Resurrected Christ* and Benedetto's engraving also illustrate this point. In the drawing, the modelling of Christ's torso is achieved by a delicate application of wash, while the engraving relies on a series of curvilinear strokes that emanate from the central axis of the abdomen. Likewise, Benedetto's engraving system that employed shallow, mainly horizontal, lines resulted in correspondingly 'harder' facial expression than rendered in the drawing. Technical re-interpretations were not always successful, however: the series of v-strokes used by Benedetto to suggest the shadow cast by Christ's standard is a literal translation of the drawing but does not achieve the same subtlety.

Full analysis of the practices employed to produce Benedetto's engravings may be problematised by the lack of any other extant *modelli*. It is reasonable, however, to propose that other such drawings by Bartolomeo must have formerly existed, and these would have been presumably passed to Benedetto to work from in

⁷²⁹ Comparison of the Munich drawing and the BNF impression of the *Risen Christ* shows minor adaptations in the density and angle of the shading.

⁷³⁰ FLETCHER 2001 pp.14, 20–1, where shows that 'zigzag' is a misnomer as the burin can only be pushed.

⁷³¹ Robison in VENICE 2014–15, Cat.6, p.42 sees the extensive stylus incisions as indicative of the engraving's complete reliance on the NGA drawing. The beak in the drawing is shaded with diagonal lines orientated to the upper-right, Giulio engraved short, shallow strokes that run parallel to the upper mandible.

the printmaking corner of the *bottega*. Centralising the drawing of compositional designs and the engraving of the copperplates ‘under one roof’ enabled Bartolomeo to supervise how accurately his son was translating his drawings to copperplates. It also facilitated the creative reuse of drawings from the workshop’s visual archive and implementation of mechanical transfer processes. Comparison might be made with Raphael and Marcantonio’s partnership as recent research suggests that Marcantonio worked on the engravings ‘after Raphael’ in Raphael’s *bottega*.⁷³² Yet these considerations are not to say that metalworkers were not competent draftsmen: an understanding of how to use line to model form was essential.⁷³³ Rather, in collaborative partnerships, a printmaker’s role was not to invent but to translate. It is this contribution of respective skills, combined with an accurate procedure for transferring a provided design, that defined a successful collaboration between a designer and the printmaker they worked with.⁷³⁴

Reproduction as a business strategy.

A further step in such collaborative enterprises was for printmakers to employ designs originally produced by the designer for a different purpose: a practice that inevitably evokes the notion of the ‘reproductive print’.⁷³⁵ As David Landau has shown, the *responsable* behind negative perceptions of this genre was Giorgio Vasari, whose prejudices caused him to denigrate printmaking as a craft devoid of creativity.⁷³⁶ ‘Reproductive prints’ are defined as those in which printmakers replicated compositions independent of any involvement with the designer-painter; a

⁷³² See BLOEMACHER 2016, pp.43–77, esp. pp.56–58 where she concludes that this set-up is the only way to explain how Marcantonio and his assistants could have had access to as many of Raphael’s drawings as they did; noted in TURNER 2018, pp.340–42. Conversely, Marcantonio’s collaboration with other artists working in Rome such as Jacopo Francia combined with his independent activity, has been often taken to confirm that he was not a member of Raphael’s workshop. For these independent engravings see MANCHESTER 2016, esp. Cats.50, 51, 55, 56; OBERHUBER 1984 p.334 where notes that Marcantonio only produced 50 prints ‘after’ Raphael.

⁷³³ Later guild records show that lessons in drawing were a fundamental part of an engraver’s training, STIJNMAN 2012, p.87.

⁷³⁴ On the criteria for collaborative print see LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, p.116.

⁷³⁵ Discourse on the parameters of this category of print is extensive. See primarily LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.103–20, 162–68; BOREA 1979 pp.374, 80 who defined reproduction as when a print replicates a drawing or print and translation when a print records a painting; BURY 1993.

⁷³⁶ LANDAU 1983, esp. pp.3–4.

practice that did not generally take place prior to the 1530s.⁷³⁷ Yet negative connotations that arise from the slavish copying of a completed artwork have often been retrospectively applied to prints produced in the preceding decades. An appealing alternative to this predicament advanced by Norberto Gramaccini and Hans Jakob Meier is that, rather than draw arbitrary divisions between the reproductive, collaborative, translative and interpretive print, *all* prints based on the inventions of others should be considered under the umbrella of ‘reproduction’.⁷³⁸ Presenting the prints discussed in this section as reproductive would run counter to the arguments made by many print scholars in recent decades. To do so, however, is to call for a reappraisal not of the category but of the restrictions imposed by the loaded term. The act of reproducing, or making a copy, is still applied with greater flexibility to artistic practices other than print production to discuss topics such as the manner in which Andrea del Sarto made rapid studies preparatory to his paintings.⁷³⁹ If ‘engravings and woodcut designs were conceived more often than not as a complementary sideline to the painter’s trade’, then it is necessary to reconsider print-specific categories by situating the motives for reusing designs for print within the wider context of managerial tactics deployed to artisanal businesses.⁷⁴⁰

One means for a workshop to manage time and resources was to reuse designs. The successful deployment of this technique in the Montagna workshop is evidenced by the sustained production of *Madonne* as leaving assistants to replicate stock models required minimal supervision. The retail of these paintings not only ensured a steady source of income; it also freed up Bartolomeo for the more time-consuming task of fulfilling his clients’ specifications. Yet it is worth re-emphasising that, even in commissioned works, there was an element of tactful economising through the repurposing of designs. Figural types and facial studies were used in the Montagna workshop across multiple projects: for instance, Mantegna’s figure of the Christ as spliced from his engraving of the *Risen Christ* – of which an impression

⁷³⁷ See LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.162–65; for a literary overview see PON 2004 pp.27–33, ‘Reproductive Engraving’: A Modern Category’.

⁷³⁸ GRAMACCINI & MEIER 2009, esp. Gramaccini’s essay ‘Buch und bild im zeitalter ihrer vervielfältigung durch den druck’. See also responses in LINCOLN 2010; BURY 2010.

⁷³⁹ BROOKS 2015, p.4.

⁷⁴⁰ LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, p.220. VAN DER STOCK 1998, p.106 challenged this artistic reading of the phenomenon by showing that printmaking also existed as an independent trade. The present study, however, is concerned with print production that took place in close contact with painters’ workshops. See BURY 1993, p.1 for a similar approach.

must have been owned by the Montagna – recurs over five times.⁷⁴¹ A stock of reusable designs minimised the preparatory stages required to produce an artwork, thus increasing the ratio of time to profit in commissioned works.⁷⁴² Assistants capable of replicating the ‘house style’ also facilitated efficient operational strategies, ensuring greater profit margins for commissioned works.⁷⁴³

Another dimension to this business strategy was presented by the addition of print to the Montagna’s output. Retention of studies of isolated figures facilitated their application in new subject contexts, and it was a prudent to extend this practice across media. Numerous engravings by Benedetto can be linked to designs used in the Montagna workshop’s large-scale projects therefore bear witness to the Montagna’s extension of painters’ practices to printmaking. One clear example is Benedetto’s *Benedict Preaching* in which the saint’s gesture is appropriated from a design used for *Biagio taming the animals* in the Capella di San Biagio (figs.3.15; 2.75). Another case in point is the *Shepherd Playing a Platerspiel* of circa 1507 which is clearly related to the right-hand figure in Bartolomeo’s *Three Musical Angels* (figs.5.12; 5.13a).⁷⁴⁴ This panel and that of the *Virgin Enthroned* now in Lyon formerly comprised part of the polyptych Bishop Zèno commissioned for the Duomo di Vicenza (fig.5.13b).⁷⁴⁵ The installation of the altarpiece on the high altar in 1504 means that the kneeling figure in Benedetto’s engraving was based on a design created at least five years earlier.⁷⁴⁶

Time-lapse between a design’s initial use and subsequent repurposing for print is similarly observable in Benedetto’s *Anthony Abbot* of circa 1504 (fig.5.14). While no exact source for the figure survives, it is likely that Bartolomeo provided a

⁷⁴¹ For which see LUCCO 2014 Cats. 37, 48, 77, 89 plus Benedetto’s engraving of the *Risen Christ*.

⁷⁴² Compare also the working strategies of Perugino and Andrea del Sarto which attest to working methods based on recycling of designs, on Perugino, see O’MALLEY 2007, pp.677–80. For Sarto, see BROOKS 2015, pp.6–8; SZAFRAN & CHUI 2015.

⁷⁴³ Homogeneity was preferred over individuality. For discussion see WHISTLER 2016 pp.81–87; THOMAS 1997 pp.213–55, on p.213 she notes ‘within workshop organisations, maintenance of the house style was frequently archived through reproduction of the previous workshop merchandise’.

⁷⁴⁴ TIB.2512.043; H.V.BM No.29, p.189.

⁷⁴⁵ Both paintings now in Lyon, Musée des Beaux Arts, on their provenance see LUCCO 2014 Cats.59a,59b pp.342–44. The altarpiece was commissioned on 13 July 1499 but was not installed on the high altar until 1504. For payments to Paolo Montagna in 1503 and on 27 June 1504 for the altarpiece’s installation see ADVi, *Libri Cassa*, reg.1495–1506, cc.45v, 55r, see 60r for further payment to Bartolomeo on 23 December 1504.

⁷⁴⁶ The approximate date of c.1507 might also explain why the orientation of the engraving follows the painting, as Benedetto appears to have subsequently understood the reversing process following the error made in the *Resurrected Christ*.

preparatory drawing in the working arrangement discussed above.⁷⁴⁷ Parallels with various figures including the Poldi-Pezzoli *Saint Paul* of circa 1485 and Saint Andrew as depicted at the left of the *Pala Squarzi* attests to the engraving's consistency with Bartolomeo's figural models (fig.5.15). An isolated detail of Bartolomeo's frescoes for the now lost Proti Chapel recorded in Gaspare da Schio's *Memorabili* further links the design to the workshop's visual archive (fig.5.16).⁷⁴⁸ The pen and ink sketch of Giampietro Proti – frescoed on the chapel's north wall alongside saints James and Anthony Abbot – reveals remarkable parallels between the donor's upper torso and the figure in Benedetto's engraving, suggesting the use of a workshop model.⁷⁴⁹ Yet it is odd that a figural model used for the donor 'portrait' was recycled for the engraving as opposed to that of Anthony Abbot as portrayed in the same fresco scheme. Could the figural design reused for Benedetto's engraving have instead been that of Anthony?⁷⁵⁰ Certain parallels between the appearance of Anthony Abbot in Giovanni Speranza's *Pala Velo d'Astico* and Benedetto's engraving supports a consistency in the saint's depiction that was ultimately due to a common basis on a design by Bartolomeo (fig.5.17).

Bartolomeo's *carta azzurra* drawing of the *Orant Virgin flanked by two angels* is therefore particularly relevant to the present discussion (fig.5.18).⁷⁵¹ The Virgin's pose, with her upwards gaze and outstretched arms, invites comparison with the figure in Benedetto's engraving of the *Virgin with Angels* of c.1503 to 1505 (fig.3.25).⁷⁵² As previously noted, parallels can also be drawn with Speranza's painting of the *Assumption with John the Evangelist and Saint Jerome* (fig.2.56). The citation of disparate elements derived from Bartolomeo's drawing in two almost contemporary works is not coincidental. The drawing does not appear to have been expressly preparatory to either; technical consistency with the 'reference drawings' discussed in Chapter Two indicates that it was a compositional model that was

⁷⁴⁷ Similarly proposed in Zucker in TIB.2512.017; H.V.BM, No.4, p.176.

⁷⁴⁸ BBVi, ms.3395, Gaspare da Schio (post 1866), *Memorabili*, c.462v.

⁷⁴⁹ It might be noted that the contract drawn up in 1497 refers to compositional drawings approved by the Governors of the Ospedale dei Protì. On the charitable donations of Giampietro Protì and the art that glorified his legacy, SEE DAL CORTIVO 2002 and on the eponymous hospital see BIANCHI 2014, pp.121–73.

⁷⁵⁰ The *San Teobaldo* Alessandro Maganza produced for the adjacent chapel echoes this figure (fig.5.40). According to DE BOER-BOSCHINI 2008, pp.141–42, Nos.40.2, 41 Maganza's source was the portrait of Giampietro Protì, but the disparate orientation suggests another source.

⁷⁵¹ App.I, No.6; Munich, Graphische Sammlung, Inv.2186.

⁷⁵² TIB.2512.011.

appropriated as necessary by workshop members. Disparities between the drawing and engraving's scale and composition suggest the existence of an intermediary *modello*, or *modelli*, that revised Bartolomeo's archetypal design. The fact that proposals as engraving's subject matter – suggestions include 'some saint' or the Immaculate Conception – are at odds with Speranza's *Assumption* – further support this likelihood.⁷⁵³ The mutability of a figural model was apparently not constrained by the medium of the output to which the design was to be applied. It was instead part and parcel of the economising strategies central to the Montagna workshop's business strategy.

Design repurposing across media was certainly not unique to the Montagna workshop. Recent scholarship on the prints produced in Raphael's immediate circle and reconstruction of the stages that came before and between them increasingly support the perspective that Marcantonio and his followers had access to the repository of preparatory drawings Raphael retained for his painted commissions.⁷⁵⁴ For instance, the pose of the female figure in both Marcantonio's *Suicide of Dido* and *Suicide of Lucretia* are based on preparatory drawings Raphael produced for a fresco scheme of dancing muses.⁷⁵⁵ These instances of recycling drawings in the workshop's repository for print indicate that efficiency was a prime motivating factor. Such a strategy of design preservation explains the timelapses between the initial production and subsequent employment of a model.⁷⁵⁶

Even if time saved at the design stage equated, at least in theory, to greater productivity, time efficiency was not the only reason for design reuse.⁷⁵⁷ Adherence to compositional formats and figure types was fundamental to the formation of a distinctive idiom that directly increased a master's reputation and likelihood of gaining commissions. Another motive was the prestige that arose from high-status commissions that might be considered a 'parent' work due to the new designs that

⁷⁵³ POUNCEY 1949 p.236 critiqued Hind's proposal that the engraving was of 'some saint' and instead suggested that its subject was the immaculate conception.

⁷⁵⁴ See JOANNIDES 2015, p.151ff; WILLIAMS 2017, pp.246–47. BLOEMACHER 2016, pp.43–109; On the use of the Fossombrone sketchbook for print compositions see TURNER 2013.

⁷⁵⁵ JOANNIDES 2016.

⁷⁵⁶ A time-lapse of up to ten years between a drawing's initial production and its use for an engraving also occurred in Raphael's workshop, see WILLIAMS 2017, p.248; JOANNIDES 2015 p.150.

⁷⁵⁷ See discussion in relation to the design recycling strategies implemented by the 'unimaginative' yet resourceful Perugino in O'MALLEY 2007, pp.677–81.

were produced specifically for them.⁷⁵⁸ Prints were not excluded from this strategic repurposing: in fact, it was a logical step. This is exemplified in Benedetto's *Nativity* of circa 1505, the compositional construct of which compares with the scene's rendering in the Proti chapel scheme (figs.5.19, 5.20).⁷⁵⁹ While the appearance of the chapel's decoration on its north wall only survives in a grainy photograph and descriptive payment records, it is nonetheless evident that the *Nativity* was the focal point of the overall scheme. Not only did Bartolomeo increase Joseph's size and hence the overall dominance of the Holy Family, but the scene was located above the altar and hence clearly visible from the cathedral's nave.⁷⁶⁰ That this compositional format was well-received in the Vicentine region is indicated by the altarpiece Bartolomeo produced just three years later, in 1500, for the parish church at Orgiano which replicates in counterpart the grouping of the Holy Family and the deep landscape with architectural ruins (fig.5.21).⁷⁶¹ This consistency could be reasonably dismissed as just another time-saving strategy given that some of the Proti cartoons may have been recycled for the Orgiano altarpiece. Though no contract has been found, the overt and swift reprisal of the composition also presents the possibility that the commissioning body stipulated that their altarpiece echo the Proti fresco.⁷⁶² Benedetto's engraving is closer to this altarpiece in aspects such as the pose and scale of Joseph, and the placement of buildings in the background. The fact, therefore, that elements of both the 'parent' altarpiece and its derivative were repeated in Benedetto's engraving suggests other motives were at play in the sustained reference to Bartolomeo's compositional design.

Artistic reputation was almost certainly a driving factor.⁷⁶³ Alison Wright has discussed at length how both Mantegna and Pollaiuolo's engraved designs were a means to promote a distinctive 'artistic personality' or reputation to a potentially diverse audience: the prominent signature Pollaiuolo incised onto his *Battle of the*

⁷⁵⁸ On the term 'parent' and the related question of value, see O'MALLEY 2007, p.677.

⁷⁵⁹ App.II, No.25; LUCCO 2014, Cat.53.

⁷⁶⁰ See BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.80.

⁷⁶¹ LUCCO 2014, Cat.93, pp.380–81. This altarpiece is almost unanimously dated to 1500 on account of the inscription 'Opus Bartolomei Montagna MCCCCC' inscribed on a *cartellino*. Lucco, however, suggests a date of c.1520 which is dismissed with good reason by DE ZUANI 2014, p.576.

⁷⁶² For these parallels see BORENIUS 1909, p.47; LUCCO 2014, pp.380–81, amongst others.

⁷⁶³ See GREGORY 2012, pp.285–95 for the questionable opinion that artists including Raphael and Giulio Romano were among the first to realise that prints were a form of 'self-promotion'.

Nudes attests to the artistic value he placed on the finished product.⁷⁶⁴ In the case of the engravings issued from the Montagna workshop, the dynamic between reputation and promotion was tied to the workshop's prominence within the Vicentine milieu. Translating into print a design used for painted commission in Vicenza's preeminent locations was arguably a reflection of the scheme's prestige both in terms of the patronal body and its civic setting. Consistency of compositions and figural motifs across projects were surely noted by their audience. For it is beyond reasonable doubt that the immediate market for Benedetto's prints was the local population, with impressions retailed either from the workshop or by local agents from shops in the city centre.⁷⁶⁵ For example, Alessandro Rosselli's Florentine shop inventory included a stocklist dominated by the work of Florentine engravers and appurtenances for displaying his products to potential customers who passed by his storefront.⁷⁶⁶ A comparable retail set-up existed in Venice: Bernardo Benalio's *Sacrifice of Abraham* was presumably inscribed with '*sul ca[m]po Campo Santo Stefano*' to provide information as to where in the city impressions of the woodcut could be purchased.⁷⁶⁷ In Vicenza, those who acquired impressions of the engravings made by Benedetto would have also known of the paintings by the workshop that decorated their churches, and – for the wealthy – their homes. The opportunity to purchase a 'personal' iteration of these compositions in a portable format arguably increased the saleability of Benedetto's engraving in the Vicentine milieu.

Expansion into print production probably represented a profitable business venture for the Montagna workshop. The Vicentine family were certainly not alone in recognising this potential. A telling example is a letter Albrecht Dürer sent to Jacob Heller on 29 August 1509 in which his grumbles on the 'assiduous, hair splitting labour' [*fleissig kleiblen*] of producing Heller's altarpiece were followed by a promise to focus on engraving as it was more lucrative than painting altarpieces few would see.⁷⁶⁸ Though Dürer represents an exceptional case in terms of his transformation of

⁷⁶⁴ WRIGHT 1998, esp. pp.73–77.

⁷⁶⁵ WELCH 2005, esp. pp.142–4 where notes that goods in Renaissance Italy were generally sold by the producers or local agents from shops that opened onto streets in the centre of a town. PARSHALL 1998 pp.22–23 notes that while Dürer employed salesmen to export his prints, the majority of prints produced circa 1500 likely did not travel far from their point of origin.

⁷⁶⁶ GRAY 2012, p.71.

⁷⁶⁷ WITCOMBE 2004, pp.77–79.

⁷⁶⁸ KOERNER 1993 pp.205–7.

print production into a bonafide business, this recognition of the mercantile potential of print was in part due to the trade's overall efficiency. Mechanical reproduction through print meant an artist's design could easily be repeated, with income generated from the sale of impressions rather than the expenditure of manual labour on a single work.

That there was an underlying business drive behind instances of economical reproduction in print in the Montagna workshop is suggested by Benedetto's *Virgin and Child* (fig.3.1). As noted in Chapter Three, it is based on a compositional design that first served for devotional paintings such as the *Williamstown Madonna*.

Translation of a model meant for serial production in paint into print can be termed 'reproductive' in the respect that the engraving is based on a design first utilised for output in another medium. While it correspondingly represents another instance of design economy, it also brings into context the place of prints in the Montagna business model. Data available for the retail value of *colmi da camera* produced across the Italian peninsula between circa 1480 and 1520 – the general parameters of the present study – is scarce, and here is not the place to attempt an economic survey. Instead, it must suffice to reference the research conducted on the *ricordanze* of the Florentine painter Neri di Bicci to make the very approximate remark that a private devotional panel of the Holy Family retailed for something in the region of 20 *lire* or 4,800 *denari*.⁷⁶⁹ Insight into prices for prints predominately depend on the shop of the Florentine mercer Alessandro Roselli as inventoried in 1525, with prices varying subject to the size, quality and designer of a print.⁷⁷⁰ While the cost of an engraving of the Holy Family measuring 211 x 168 mm – Benedetto's engraving – is of course not given, a price of around 40 *denari* can be reasonably proposed on the basis of the data provided.⁷⁷¹ These calculations suggest that the retail price of Benedetto's engraving

⁷⁶⁹ HOLMES 2003, p.220 fn.6 calculates this average price, or more specifically *l.19.s.14*, from Neri di Bicci's *ricordanze* as drawn up between 1453 and 1475. On p.213 she observes that the *ricordanze* makes Neri's painting practice better documented than any other quattrocento artist. 1 *lira* = 20 *soldi* = 240 *soldi*. 240d x 20 = 4,800d.

⁷⁷⁰ DEL BADIA 1894. Discussion in LANDAU & PARSHALL 1994, pp.295–97; GRAY 2012, pp.73–75 & App.2.1. Prices ranging from 1 *soldi* and 8 *denari* [20 *denari*] for an engraving printed on a half-sheet of royal paper to 1 *lira* [240 *denari*] for a pristine example of Marco Dente da Ravenna and Baccio Bandinelli's *Massacre of the Innocents*.

⁷⁷¹ An 'ordinary' engraving printed by Lorenzo Rosselli was valued at 20d, a small engraving by Marcantonio at 5s 6 [66d.]. By 1525 Marcantonio's engravings were recognised as the work of the revered Raphael, with prices increasing accordingly. In the absence of more information, a price between these two figures is not unreasonable.

represented a far cheaper alternative to a work such as the *Williamstown Madonna* and other *colmi da camera* produced by Bartolomeo's workshop. This consequently increased the proportion of the Vicentine population who could afford to purchase a devotional image from the Montagna workshop, thereby increasing its client base.⁷⁷² But what these relative values correspondingly underscore is that the potential of print had to be reconciled on the artisan's side with an acceptance of the operation's possible shortcomings. A significant volume of impressions had to be sold in order to equate to the same funds as those received for a single painting and to hence to make investing funds in setting up the operation worthwhile. Despite these considerations, print production was still appealing for a number of reasons. Once the principal work of engraving the copperplate was complete, production of print for retail was a relatively efficient procedure vis-à-vis the execution of a devotional painting as the printing process with the inked plate meant that multiple products could be issued in a single day. What is more, and to echo Dürer's remarks as made in 1509, print increased the visibility of Bartolomeo's *diseño* through its circulation in a more accessible – in terms of cost and visibility – format.

Gramaccini and Meier suggested that printmakers' engagement with their sources can be divided into three chronological phases – '*dialogische kupferstiche*' [dialogues between designer and printmaker] (1500–1510), interpretation (1510–20) and translation (from 1520). This problematically assumes that all printmakers in each successive period were subject to a consistent working relationship with the designer.⁷⁷³ The cases illustrated here, however, show that the trajectory towards the emergence of the 'Reproductive Print' in 1530s was not a chronological one. The engravings Benedetto published in the family workshop display a range of reproductive tactics ranging from the repurposing of isolated figural designs to the translation of commissioned compositions into a format suitable for print. Relationships are not always clearcut: Benedetto's *Catherine of Alexandria in a Landscape* was probably produced circa 1508 using a compositional study in the workshop's visual archive, yet compares with a fresco dateable to 1520 (figs.5.22;

⁷⁷² For comparison, the average wage in Venice circa 1500 for an unskilled worker was around 868 *denari* per month. Calculated by Patricia Labalme and Laura White in SANUDO ED .2003, pp.541–42. The lowest wage is a domestic (with board) at 7 ducats [10416d] per annum. It follows that the middle class in Vicenza had funds available to expend on an impression.

⁷⁷³ As already observed in BURY 2010 p.322.

6.57).⁷⁷⁴ Prints that replicated Bartolomeo's designs could bridge a gap between private commissions and public reception in Vicenza, with profits to be made from the process. These gains were not only financial, although Dürer's comments reveal that good money could be made from the printmaking business. Prints retailed in the Vicentine locality also functioned as promotional tools. Promotion through print was therefore a rewarding – in terms of reputation and finance – business strategy the Montagna and their peers keenly recognised.

Local Topography for a Local Market.

The incorporation of figures from paintings completed by the Montagna workshop in engravings produced by Benedetto was one strategy that helped the embed the Montagna workshop's reputation within the social life of Vicenza. Another means of appealing to the local market was the inclusion of topographical elements in the family's paintings and prints. This is exemplified by the fact that the key factor that distinguishes the Montagna's *Resurrected Christ* from Mantegna's *Risen Christ* – on which it is ultimately based – is the conception of setting. In Mantegna's design, Christ's open tomb is partially hidden in the shadows, and thus Christ and his attendant saints surge forward, their feet extending over the edge of the fictive parapet.⁷⁷⁵ Bartolomeo instead set Christ on a plateau with his open sepulchre hewn into a rocky outcrop and a mountain-backed landscape extending behind him (fig.5.3). Comparison of the cityscape depicted in the midground with contemporary architectural documents and extant civic structures allow for its identification as Vicenza seen from the slopes of Monte Berico.⁷⁷⁶ If Bartolomeo was familiar with this approach to the city through his engagement on projects at the Santuario di Monte Berico, it is unlikely that the chosen view for the *Resurrected Christ* was arbitrary. Instead, its inclusion suggests that this topographical landscape had a specific purpose tied to the print's target market.

⁷⁷⁴ App.II, No.34; for this fresco, see LUCCO 2014, Cat.102 where dated c.1520–22. It is worth noting that work on the chapel and apparently plans for the accompanying frescoes had been implemented in 1500 as a woodworker was paid for 4 'piagni' to make a scaffolding in the chapel to be used by 'el Montagna', see MANTESE 1964 III/2, pp.909–11

⁷⁷⁵ Andrew's right foot even casts a shadow on the fictive parapet.

⁷⁷⁶ Identified by BARBIERI 1965 pp.19–20.

Precedents to this topographic portraiture are found in the Montagna workshop's painted output and in the work of Bartolomeo's peers. Though Andrea Palladio's sixteenth century urban re-planning and the devastation caused by air raids during World War II means present-day Vicenza looks very different to the way it did circa 1500, the structures can often be identified as Vicentine. The background of his *Saint Paul*, for instance, closely resembles the Loggia del Capitaniato prior to the restoration of 1520–21 (fig.5.23).⁷⁷⁷ Further citations of Vicenza's urban fabric and the lay of its surrounding territories are found, for example, in the *Pala di Piovene*, Ottawa *Saint Jerome* and several *Madonne* (fig.5.24; 4.9).⁷⁷⁸

Bartolomeo ranks among a number of Venetic artists who observed the architecture of their hometowns and the cities they visited with interest. This topographical interest played out in their visual practices to the extent that depictions of landscapes, cityscapes and monuments have been convincingly used to plot artists' movements across and beyond the Veneto.⁷⁷⁹ Structures reminiscent of sites in Ravenna, Rimini and Gradara in Bellini's *Coronation of the Virgin* and Contini-Bonacossi *Saint Jerome* correlate with the painter's likely trip along the Adriatic coast in the late 1460s.⁷⁸⁰ Bellini's study of Vicentine monuments on his visits to the city is evidenced by the civic landmarks included in a number of his works including the Naples *Transfiguration* and *Christ crucified in a Jewish cemetery*, while it is the view of Vicenza in the *Pietà Martinengo* that 'most nearly approaches a complete and topographically accurate view of a single site' in his entire oeuvre (figs. 5.25; 5.26).⁷⁸¹ The datings of these works between circa 1478 and 1500 means that Bellini's references to the city span a period of over twenty years.⁷⁸² Comparison of these

⁷⁷⁷ LUCCO 2014, Cat.31, pp.309–10; landscape detail identified in BARBIERI 1981 p.27.

⁷⁷⁸ For which see LUCCO 2014, Cat.33, p.312; Cat.61, p.345–46. Among the various *Madonne*, take for example, those in the Met Museum and at Belluno, LUCCO 2014, Cats 20, 49.

⁷⁷⁹ On Bellini's landscapes see most recently GASPAROTTO 2017 and more generally LOS ANGELES 2017.

⁷⁸⁰ GIBBONS 1977, pp.179–81.

⁷⁸¹ GIBBONS 1977, pp.182–83. Bellini incorporated civic structures from other cities in the Veneto, and the painting thus appears as a curious mix of topographic precision and artistic inspiration. For Bellini's *Pietà* more generally see TEMPPESTINI 1992, Cat.87. According to ARSLAN 1956 Bellini's depiction of the Duomo façade was used in the rebuilding of the church after World War II. On the Christ Crucified see also LOS ANGELES 2017, Cat.8 where dated to 1495–1500.

⁷⁸² On Bellini's depictions of Vicenza see RIGON 2003; DAL POZZOLO 2003 p.19. Other instances include the *Madonna Contarini* in which the Torre di Piazza is at the left, *Madonna* (Bellini workshop) in Stuttgart which depicts the façade of the Duomo and Torre Bissara for which see HIENEMANN 1962, i, No.35a, dated late 1480s.

reveals a consistency in Bellini's depictions of the Torre Bissara and Duomo façade despite his varying arrangement of the cityscape.⁷⁸³ It must correspondingly be emphasised that Bellini and other artists took creative liberties with their 'topographical portraits'.

This variety also reflects the working practices artists deployed to construct these landscapes. Drawings were fundamental. Studies of isolated structures were perhaps combined with sketches of a city's panorama to make the detailed underdrawing of a painting.⁷⁸⁴ Examples of this practice include a sheet associated with Giovanni Bellini in which are structures that occur in multiple paintings issued from the Bellini workshop including the Berlin *Resurrection*, while the *verso* of Carpaccio's *Saint George and the Dragon* (Uffizi) has three studies of structural elements that were presumably to be worked into the composition on the *recto* and perhaps re-used in other paintings (fig.5.27).⁷⁸⁵ Architectural studies served as stock designs for reuse in future compositions.⁷⁸⁶ One instance is the partially broken tower that appears in at least four artworks produced by the Montagna workshop across a ten-year period, including the *Decapitation of San Biagio* frescoed at SS. Nazaro e Celso and Benedetto's *George and the Dragon* (figs.5.28). Significantly, Bartolomeo devoted particular attention to this tower and the adjacent urban structures in the prospectus drawing for the fresco scheme. While the resultant cityscape may be fictional – the entry-gate appears to be a conflation of Vicenza's Porta Castello and its Torrione, its visual importance is reflected by the precise pen outlines and carefully coloured washes. This visual effect sits in contrast to the systematic linearity of the city panorama in the Louvre *Resurrected Christ*. The drawing's lack of *pentimenti* is primarily due to its function as a print *modello*, but it also lends suggests the existence of preparatory studies of Vicenza's structures and skyline. These were presumably not made specifically for the *Resurrected Christ*. They would instead have been drawn from the workshop's visual archive. In fact, artists who trained under Bartolomeo appear to have recycled drawings of Vicentine landmarks in a manner consistent with

⁷⁸³ In the *Pietà* the two monuments are almost adjacent, but are separated by the crucifix in the *Christ Crucified*.

⁷⁸⁴ For comparison see the X-radiographs in DUNKERTON 2010 p.73 of several Cima paintings which show that Cima drew detailed landscape studies onto the painting supports.

⁷⁸⁵ For the Bellini sheet in the Ambrosiana, inv.F.261 inf.13/1 AMES-LEWIS 1989A, p.669 and fn.461 for Carpaccio, see GDSU, INV.1287 E v, pen and ink over black chalk.

⁷⁸⁶ For the suggestion that Cima had a repository of landscape drawings see DUNKERTON 2010, p.72

the Montagna workshop's reuse of figural models. A case in point is the recurrence of the view of Vicenza seen from the slope of Monte Berico Marcello Fogolino included in his *Francis receiving the Stigmata* with minor modifications in the *Madonna delle Stelle* he produced a few years later (figs.5.29, 5.30).⁷⁸⁷ This economical practice arguably helps explain why Benedetto's engraving depicts the loggia of the Palazzo della Ragione as it appeared prior to the collapse of its south-west corner in 1496.⁷⁸⁸

In addition to demonstrating artisanal practices of design reuse, the Montagna workshop's output can provide insights into the impact these topographic elements had for their clients. Those altarpieces which feature meticulously depicted Vicenza's landmarks were commissioned by wealthy Vicentines for their family chapels. Although few remain *in situ*, this ultimately meant the city's churches were adorned with depictions of the city itself. What impact did this have on the manner in which Vicentines engaged with these works? Setting an image primarily meant for votive purposes in surroundings evocative of the locality would have increased its devotional resonance by creating a tangible connection between the religious scene and the viewer's 'reality'. Bellini's depictions of Vicenza's urban fabric often accord with their intended viewing in a Vicentine context: for instance, the Naples *Transfiguration* formerly adorned the Capella Fioccardo in Duomo of Vicenza.⁷⁸⁹ The emergent interplay between client and visual context is equally applicable to paintings meant for private devotion. The patron of Bellini's *Crucifixion in A Jewish Cemetery* was certainly an individual with strong religious ties to Vicenza – potentially even Bishop Zèno – while the altarpiece from which Bartolomeo's Poldi-Pezzoli *Saint Paul* derives was probably situated on a Vicentine family altar.⁷⁹⁰ Likewise, the fact that a view of Conegliano stands proxy for Jerusalem in Cima's *Saint Elena* supports the likelihood that it was commissioned by a patron with connections to Conegliano

⁷⁸⁷ Fogolino arguably learnt this topographical practice under Bartolomeo and perhaps studied architectural drawings in the workshop. For the *Francis* TRENTO 2017, Cat.6, pp.106–7. The *Madonna* was produced post-1519 when the altar in Santa Corona was founded by the Compagnia della Misericordia.

⁷⁸⁸ The collapse of the loggia in 1496, two years after its completion, has been used as a *terminus ante quem* for the Louvre drawing, see BARBIERI 1981 p.84. Tommaso Formenton's (d.1494) loggia was subsequently replaced by a design by Andrea Palladio and the structure is today known as the Basilica Palladiana.

⁷⁸⁹ The altarpiece was commissioned by the brother of the Archdeacon Alberto Fioccardo after his death, see TEMPESTINI 1992, Cat.50, pp.147–48; DAL POZZOLO 2003, pp.15–19. PUPPI 1994, pp.17–19, suggests the *Pietà Martinengo* was commissioned by the Bishop of Vicenza, Battista Zèno.

⁷⁹⁰ For the *Crucifixion* see GASPAROTTO 2017, Cat.8.

(fig.5.31).⁷⁹¹ Tying a religious episode to a recognisable locality was apparently an effective pictorial device that appealed to the visual demands and devotional needs of patrons.⁷⁹² Setting a religious scene in environs recognisable to the patron tied the episode to the locality and perhaps augmented its devotional resonance.

Applying this pictorial device to print modified its impact. As it was, however, a natural extension of practices deployed in the artisanal workshops where printmakers often first trained as painters, it is unsurprising that topographic elements were not unique to Benedetto's output. In certain cases, distinctive landscapes can again be used to plot the artists' places of operation: the knowledge of the *terraferma* that is suggested by Mocetto's engravings has already been noted in Chapter Three in relation to his presence in Vicenza, while the consistent inclusion of a lagoon with *gondole* in engravings dateable to Nicoletto's Second and Third Period has been variously correlated with Nicoletto's time in the Veneto prior to or following his trip to Rome (fig.5.32).⁷⁹³ But the greater interest of these topographical references arguably resides in their visual impact. The inherent multiplicity of print meant that, unlike commissioned paintings, their architectural citations were not specific to a single patron or owner and so their effectiveness resided on the assumption that they would be recognised by those who acquired impressions.⁷⁹⁴ This can correspondingly provide information on a print's target market. Prints associable with mendicant foundations such as the *Saint Anthony of Padua* – which included a depiction of the Basilica del Santo and a bird's eye view of Padua – attests to an awareness of the potential topographic elements held for forging visual links between a religious cult and its cult site (fig.5.33).⁷⁹⁵ When printmakers independently implemented this tactic in their work they may have similarly responded to the devotional interests of

⁷⁹¹ PUPPI 1994, pp.7–8.

⁷⁹² Also noted in GASPAROTTO 2017, p.18 with further literature on the devotional symbolism in Bellini's landscapes.

⁷⁹³ For this proposal in relation to the settings in the fourteen engravings, mainly depicting saints, that constitute Nicoletto's Third Period, see LANDAU 2016, p.127. Zucker in TIB.2508.019, however, notes a number of instances in which *gondole* are included and which could have been produced prior to 1506, as in TIB.2508.019, .024, .025. It should also be noted that topographic references were not specific to religious imagery. For example, Mocetto included a depiction of the Campo di SS. Giovanni e Paolo in the background of his *Calumny of Apelles*, TIB.2505.015.

⁷⁹⁴ See for instance, KOERNER 1993 p.206 for the observation that print made it possible for thousands to 'own' an artist's pictorial invention.

⁷⁹⁵ LAMBERT 1999, no.382. ZUCKER 1993, pp.379–80. The engraving's technical handling and the appearance of the plan is comparable with the work of Girolamo Mocetto, who produced plans of Nola in 1515.

the locality. One example is Giulio Campagnola's depiction of the Venetian convent of San Secondo in his *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* which dates to his time in Venice (fig.5.34).⁷⁹⁶ The potential of this approach as a means to appeal to prospective clients is exemplified by concurrent practices implemented by the Montagna workshop. Retail of Benedetto's engravings either from the Montagna workshop or from other outposts in Vicenza, such as a stall in the Peronio, meant the primary audience was Vicenza's residents. Allusions to civic landmarks as included in, for instance, the *Resurrected Christ and George and the Dragon* may have correspondingly increased the prints' local saleability.

Architectural citations in these paintings and prints collectively highlight a phenomenon in which topographical settings resonated on various levels. Increasing the emotive potential of a devotional image was arguably the prime driving factor for this visual device. Accurate depictions of civic landmarks, combined with an element of *fantasia*, were equally an opportunity for artists to demonstrate their skills at observation and illusion. Topographical practices also served as a form of promotion. For those individuals who acquired a painting by a city's preeminent artist for display in a public or semi-public space, the inclusion of civic monuments tied their self-fashioning to the city's identity. Topographic elements in religious prints again tied the devotional images to a locality that would have appealed to the local market. The status of the artisanal workshop was in turn inextricable from these dynamics. In the case of the Montagna, depictions of Vicenza were a visual affirmation of their workshop's basis in the city of Vicenza.

Promoting Cult, Church and Confraternity.

The preceding discussions on collaboration, promotion and the place of prints show that it was not just through monumental altarpieces and frescoes that the Montagna workshop contributed to the visual culture of Vicenza. That a

⁷⁹⁶ For Giulio's *Christ* see TIB.2518.002, the reference to the Benedictine convent on the Isola di San Secondo noted in CARRADORE 2010, p.104. A portion of the convent is depicted at the lower left corner of Jacometto's *Portrait of a Woman; possibly nun of San Secondo* which formed a pendant with the *Portrait of Alvise Contarini*, both now in the Lehman collection and for which see the entry by Andrea Bayer in BERLIN 2011, Cats.152a&b, pp.346–49. Giulio knew Jacometto's diptych, copying the deer on the verso of the *Portrait of Alvise Contarini*. The prominence of the convent in Giulio's engraving suggests that it was more than simply space-filling.

complementary role was played by smaller, more portable, objects is further demonstrated by projects completed for Vicentine religious foundations including mendicant Orders, the Bishopric and confraternities, the latter of which constitute particularly key examples. This is because these brotherhoods comprised lay people united by a common spiritual cause and with income disposable to contribute to the commissioning of cult apparatus.⁷⁹⁷ The deployment of art produced by the Montagna workshop in devotional activities that took place within Vicenza's urban fabric therefore invites a reappraisal of strategies of artistic promotion. Did Bartolomeo's *disegno* play a dual role by advertising the mission of religious foundations in Vicenza's public sphere while simultaneously consolidating the reputation of his workshop within this milieu?

In 1494, Bartolomeo da Sant'Angelo, the '*fattore*' of the Ospedale dei Santi Pietro e Paolo, recorded the acquisition of a new *gonfalone* painted by Bartolomeo Montagna.⁷⁹⁸ This was not for the beneficiary hospital, but for the associated confraternity of *battuti* dedicated to Saint Peter.⁷⁹⁹ Bartolomeo's production of a confraternity standard is by no means an exceptional case – other celebrated artists who produced such items include Titian, Piero della Francesca, and Perugino to mention a few – and, like many *gonfalone*, it has not survived.⁸⁰⁰ Sant'Angelo's entry unfortunately does not provide any further information on the support of Bartolomeo's *gonfalone*, nor the imagery it depicted. What it does record, however, is that the commission for the banner followed the purchase of golden candlesticks for the confraternity [*chandelieri doradi per la nostra fraia*.]⁸⁰¹ Relating this terminology to contemporary visual sources like Gentile Bellini's *Procession in the Piazza San Marco* suggests that these were large candlesticks carried by confraternity members in procession (fig.5.35). It therefore appears that the *gonfalone* was commissioned as

⁷⁹⁷ On confraternities and the art that they commissioned see in particular BLACK 1989; various essays in WISCH & COLE AHL 1999. See also PUGLISI & BARCHAM 2008 ON the 'Imago Pietatis' in relation to the preaching of Bernardino da Feltre in the Veneto given the support for his movement in Vicenza.

⁷⁹⁸ BBVi, *Ospedale dei SS.Pietro e Paulo*, reg.1, c.46v. 'Nota soto la mia fattora de mi Btho da Santo Agnello fattore de l'ano 1494 ficsi fare el gonfalon nuovo e la chandalieri doradi per la nostra fraia fo Depento per Bthmo Montagna he i dorado soc 1494'. First noted in BIANCHI 2014, p.125 and transcribed in DE ZUANI 2014, p.492.

⁷⁹⁹ On the Ospedale see DAL CORTIVO 2004. On the confraternity see PACINI 1977; DE SANDRE GASPARINI 1987, p.364; BIANCHI 2014, p.53, fn.135.

⁸⁰⁰ For an overview see BURY 2000. The low survival rate of these objects is primarily attributable to their function in religious processions. It should be noted some *gonfalone* were made for display on feast days or on church altars, see BURY 2000, p.21.

⁸⁰¹ BBVi, ibid; Payment records are conserved in IPABVi, *Ss. Pietro e Paolo*.

part of a renewal of the confraternity's ritual apparatus and that it thereby served as the confraternity *segno* [sign].⁸⁰² This makes it reasonable to assume that the Vicentine brotherhood requested Bartolomeo provide an image that clearly communicated their collective veneration of Saint Peter, with the delivery of the commission assuming by necessity that they approved of his design.⁸⁰³ Some insight into the appearance of this now-lost *gonfalone* might be found in Bartolomeo's small painting of *Saint Peter with a Donor* generally dated to between 1490 and 1495 (fig.5.36).⁸⁰⁴ Supplicating at the right is a man whose white robes trimmed with red recall the vestments donned by confraternity members when carrying out communal activities.⁸⁰⁵ Vicentine monuments such as the Duomo façade and the buildings along a riverbank that recalls the Bacchiglione in the background ties the image's viewing context to the Vicentine milieu.⁸⁰⁶ Not only would this design's compositional simplicity have left little ambiguity as to the saint's importance to the confraternity, its format would have lent itself well to an object meant to be viewed 'in motion'.

When the *fraglia dei battuti di San Pietro* processed through Vicenza on feast days after 1494, they gathered under *gonfalone* that made an overt statement of the confraternity's social status by virtue of the fact that it was designed by Vicenza's most respected artist.⁸⁰⁷ As the banner suspended between two buildings in Girolamo da Vicenza's *Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin* indicates, confraternities festivities saw the prominent decoration of Vicenza's civic spaces (fig.5.37).⁸⁰⁸ The

⁸⁰² The impetus may have been the foundation of three new confraternities in 1494 and a sense of religious renewal following the preachings of Bernardino da Feltre. Another impetus may have been the receipt of new funds following the death of Gaspare di Alberto Monza – the confraternity's *sindaco* and a noble Vicentine – in 1493, see BIANCHI 2014, p.53, fn.135.

⁸⁰³ Confraternity standards generally featured their saintly figurehead to ensure identifiability in public ceremony and visually unite the brotherhood, BURY 2000, pp.21–22. For example, the *gonfalone* Pollaiuolo produced for the Arentine confraternity of Archangel Michel depicted the saint slaying the dragon, see WRIGHT 2005, pp.87–88. A later, but clear example that *gonfalone* contracts were managed like other artisanal commissions is a *gonfalone* design produced by Filippino Bellini (now Met, inv.1973.87) with inscription on verso of the design's acceptance and signatures of members of the commissioning confraternity.

⁸⁰⁴ LUCCO 2014, Cat.48, p.431.

⁸⁰⁵ Further research on the colour of robes worn by the *fraglia di San Pietro* to be carried out in June. Giovanni Villa in LUCCO 2014, Cat.48, p.331 is the only scholar to suggest the donor was a later addition.

⁸⁰⁶ BARBIERI 1981, p.62. See also ZAUPA 1998, pp.129–30 for further discussion on the topographical accuracy of this civic view.

⁸⁰⁷ On the place of art in confraternity propaganda see BLACK 1989 pp.242–55.

⁸⁰⁸ This painting is inscribed 'Hieronimis Vicentinus pincxit Venetiis 1488'. Given his longstanding association with Bartolomeo, however, the scene it depicts is arguably more relevant to Vicentine rather than Venetian confraternity decoration. See CAMPBELL & LILLIE 2014.

ritualistic purpose played by confraternity apparatus, while not statements of prominent patronage of the same ilk as fresco and altarpiece projects, actively advertised the confraternity's commissioning activity. In turn, the *gonfalone* of the fraglia di San Pietro increased the visibility of Bartolomeo's *disegno* and his workshop's productivity in the Vicentine public sphere.

Another Vicentine brotherhood which apparently harnessed the prosperity of the Montagna workshop to visualise their confraternity's mission is the Compagnia Segreta di San Girolamo. This brotherhood was founded in 1494 under the direction of Bernardino da Feltre as a charity for the poor and crippled and in 1500 both fused with the Fraglia dell'Ospedale di Santa Maria della Misericordia and was granted permanent lodgings at the Chiesa di San Girolamo in the Borgo Pusterla.⁸⁰⁹ In 1676, describing the church that was founded by the Gesuati in 1481, Marco Boschini recorded that a fresco of Jerome studying in a landscape by Bartolomeo Montagna was painted on its façade.⁸¹⁰ The church was probably decorated with another painting by Bartolomeo: the topographically accurate view of fifteenth-century Vicenza as seen from north of San Girolamo in the Ottawa *Saint Jerome* supports the likelihood that it was also produced for the foundation (fig.5.38).⁸¹¹ The likely presence of two depictions of saint Jerome by Bartolomeo at the Chiesa di San Girolamo therefore suggests a burst of artistic patronage centred at the foundation, and which required monetary input to facilitate the paintings' execution. Acquisition of such funds may be explained by the connections between the Gesuati order at San Girolamo, Compagnia Segreta di San Girolamo and the Fraglia di Santa Maria della Misericordia. The activity of contemporary confraternities depended on monetary donations from their members.⁸¹² Conclusive lists of the members of the two Vicentine confraternities have not been found, but they certainly had the support from

⁸⁰⁹ MANTESE 1964 III/2, pp.396, 591–92, 683; DE GREGORIO 2004; BIANCHI 2014, pp.45–46; DE SANDRE GASPARINI 1985 pp.369–75 on confraternities in Vicenza more broadly. The confraternity was initially based at the Ospedale di San Marcello, see BIANCHI 2014, pp.38–49.

⁸¹⁰ Boschini 1676, p.83, 'sopra la porta della chiesa, nel difuori, si vede s.Giroalmo student in un bel paese: opera a fresco di Bartolomeo Montagna'. The church was demolished in the eighteenth century and replaced with the Church of San Marco.

⁸¹¹ LUCCO 2014, Cat.61. As proposed in JOHNSTON 2002, pp.127–34. The church façade included in the painting accords with its depiction as No.54 in Giovanni dell'Acqua's *Descrizione iconografica della città di Vicenza* of 1711. This identified by Franco Barbieri and recorded in manuscript notes in the archive of the Musei Civici di Vicenza, dated 12/10/2000, quoted in LUCCO 2014, p.345; JOHNSTON 2002, p.141, fn.42.

⁸¹² See BLACK 1989, pp.242–50 on this practice.

wealthy Vicentines. Early descriptions of the Compagnia Segreta di San Girolamo state that nobles and artisans were among its members, while the noble Valmarana, Bartolomeo Pagello and various artisans were part of the Fraglia dell’Ospedale della Misericordia.⁸¹³ Members of both confraternities would have been acquainted with Bartolomeo and his sons either in a patronal capacity or through the artisanal network driven by Vicentine guild affiliation.

It is therefore worth noting that, in addition to the paintings – possibly two – from San Girolamo, various depictions of Saint Jerome in diverse media can be associated with the Montagna workshop. Foremost among these is the *Jerome in the Wilderness* as it is arguably the most virtuoso engraving that Benedetto produced (fig.5.39).⁸¹⁴ Technical factors such as the competence of the burin handling and plate usage allow for the assertion that it was preceded by the *Jerome with the Lion* which could be simply described as a cruder version (fig.5.40).⁸¹⁵ Another iteration of this composition is the bronze plaquette by Gaspare de Napoli that was almost certainly produced on his visits to the Montagna workshop. Consistency of these three compositions with small-scale painted panels of Jerome in the Wilderness such as those now in the Brera and at Bassano means that they should be seen as essentially based on Bartolomeo’s compositional designs (figs.5.41).⁸¹⁶ Importantly, for considering the ownership of these works, the inclusion of certain details points to an expected comprehension of Hieronymite writings among the works’ viewers. For instance, the satyr depicted on a pedestal in the engraving of *Jerome with Lion* may allude to the passage in Jerome’s *De Viris Illustribus* in which he recounted how Anthony Abbot – perhaps the hermit walking towards the church – overcame the temptations of a centaur and satyr. Benedetto’s *Jerome in the Wilderness* is similarly peppered with symbolic imagery such as the two deer which stood as an allusion to human thoughts on mortality.⁸¹⁷ It may be that the Montagna workshop’s extensive output of Jerome-images in both painted form and reproducible media was centred on Hieronymite clients.

⁸¹³ MANTESE 1964 III/2, p.683–86.

⁸¹⁴ App.II, No.19.

⁸¹⁵ App.II, No.2.

⁸¹⁶ LUCCO 2014 Cat.56. Compare also LUCCO 2014, Cat.78.

⁸¹⁷ On animal symbolism and importance to Jerome imagery, see FRIEDMANN 1980 and also BELTING 2014 on the symbolism in Bellini’s paintings of Jerome.

Various documentary, historical and artistic factors contribute to the proposal that the issue of paintings, prints and plaquettes of Saint Jerome from the Montagna workshop were motivated by the devotional interests of the Compagnia Segreta di San Girolamo. Their production was also tied to the constructing of a reputation. Paintings such as those situated at the Chiesa di San Girolamo and small-scale panels intended for private devotion were statements of a patronal body's ability to contract the city's leading artist to produce objects for cult worship. The commissioning process allowed for individual variations subject to the demands of the patron or commissioning body. In contrast, Benedetto's engravings, in their multiplicity, could be readily circulated among the confraternity members, with the potential ownership of an identical image serving to unite them in their Hieronimite devotions. This would not be an isolated instance in which the medium of print was deployed for such ends: for example, the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-Lof guild in Antwerp commissioned woodcuts in 1511 for its members and coloured woodcuts by Hans Holbein and Hans Burgkmair can be convincingly related to specific confraternities.⁸¹⁸ Gaspare de Napoli's bronze plaque, first mentioned in Chapter Four, presents a further dimension to this confraternity promotion on account of his status as the *familiaris* of Bishop Pietro Dandolo (fig.5.42). The inclusion of Gaspare's signature was primarily an overt statement on the young noble's artistic achievement. But the decision to translate an engraving of Saint Jerome into bronze, when taken in line with the nobles and artisans affiliated with the Compagnia di San Girolamo, suggests that this subject choice was also tied to the elevated civic status held by the confraternity. While the confraternity's primary missions were devotional and charitable, members were seemingly also concerned with their reputation in the Vicentine public arena. Artistic patronage across multiple media presented a sophisticated tactic for achieving these ends. These depictions of saint Jerome are likely to point collectively to a strategy in which the design consistency fundamental to the Montagna's business model and the status of the workshop itself served together as tools of promotion.

Bishop Pietro Dandolo implemented a comparably subtle plan to assert his dedication to the Bishopric of Vicenza: shortly after his election in 1502 he donated a fragment of the Holy Cross that had allegedly been in his family's possession for over

⁸¹⁸ VAN DER STOCK 1998, p.207, n.10.; DACKERMAN 2002, pp.31, 120–22.

two centuries to the Vicentine *Duomo*.⁸¹⁹ The gift of this symbolic item occasioned the commissioning of a tabernacle to house it and to build into devotional rituals, and Dandolo wasted no time. The *libri del cassa del Duomo* reveals that various artisans had been paid for the completion of the tabernacle's respective parts of the project prior to 1504: within two years of Dandolo's appointment.⁸²⁰ Though the object is not known to survive, these payment records make it possible to establish that the tabernacle was a marble casement which closed with a lockable door consisting of a painted panel or *portela* set into a hinged frame. The focal point of the tabernacle was indisputably the *portela*, given that it was the work of Bartolomeo Montagna, with whom Dandolo was already acquainted in patronal and more social capacities. Liaisons were ongoing between the Montagna and the episcopal curia for the delivery of the monumental altarpiece for the Duomo's high altar that had been commissioned from the workshop by Dandolo's predecessor, Giovanni Battista Zèno. Considering that Paolo Montagna had received payments from the Bishop's office for the altarpiece's delivery the same year, in 1504, it appears that the Zèno commission had some impact on the family's subsequent involvement on Dandolo's tabernacle.⁸²¹

This functional item can be aligned with a tradition of painted liturgical objects and decorative furniture that was particularly prevalent in Venice.⁸²² One notable example is Gentile Bellini's *Cardinal Bessarion with the Bessarion Reliquary* which functioned as the *portela* to the tabernacle that housed the True Cross *staurotheke* Bessarion donated to the Scuola Grande della Carità (fig.5.43).⁸²³ Blurring boundaries between the functional, ornamental and iconic, Bellini's painting

⁸¹⁹ MANTESE 1964 III/2, p.171, for the donation, pp.914–15, where cites pastoral visit of 1604 that describes the reliquary as: 'reliquiam Sanctissimae Crucis D. N. Jesu Christi, qua es in vasculo argenteo in forma crucis cum pede argenteo, cum stegmate familiae nobilium de Dandulis Venet. cum mitra et literis P. D. EP. VIC. altitudinis unius quarti branchii et apparebat lignum Sanctae Crucis in forma Crucis coopertum cristallo' [A reliquary of the Holy Cross of Jesus Christ, which is a silver vessel in the form of a cross with silver feet, and with the arms of the noble family of Dandolo, with mitre and letters P.D.EP.VIC, height of one quarter braccia (approx. 22cm) at the Holy Cross is encased in a crystal cross]. In 1676 the cross was transferred to a new reliquary that remains in the *Duomo*.

⁸²⁰ ADVi, *libri cassa*, reg.1495–1506 cc.23v–24r; first mentioned in MANTESE 1964 III/2, pp.914–15.

⁸²¹ See THOMAS 2006 p.424 for a similar comment on prestigious sites and further employment in the same space.

⁸²² On Venetian ornamental paintings see RUTHERGLEN 2010, and esp. pp.92–94 for liturgical objects and also RUTHERGLEN 2016 for a concise overview of the central points. See below for Vicentine ornamental furniture with a secular context.

⁸²³ For which see BOSTON 2005, pp.36–44 with further literature; RUTHERGLEN 2010 pp.93–94.

was described by Michiel as ‘*una porta dun armaro*’ [the door to a wardrobe].⁸²⁴ Although Dandolo might have had the Venetian confraternity’s tabernacle in mind when he commissioned the holder for *his* relic of the True Cross, the use of the more diminutive term ‘*armarioli*’ [cupboard] in a notarial record of 1507 indicates it was a slightly smaller project.⁸²⁵ As Susannah Rutherford’s reappraisal of the intended purpose of various small-scale Venetian devotional paintings suggests, the *portela* the Montagna produced for Dandolo’s tabernacle did not necessarily depict the relic it covered.⁸²⁶ For example, Cima’s Pavia *Christ the Redeemer* and two paintings of the Dead Christ have physical traits that suggest they were originally tabernacle doors such as wear to lefthand side where they would have been hinged (figs.5.44; 5.45).⁸²⁷ But given the relic’s nature as a part of the Crown of Thorns, and that the reliquary was to be located in the Capella del Corpo Christo, it is likely that the imagery of Dandolo’s *portela* was related to Christ’s passion. Even if the *portela* were not painted by Bartolomeo himself, it was presumably designed by him. It can therefore be assumed that the *portela* would have been consistent with Bartolomeo’s visual idiom. The object is not known to have survived, but candidates from Bartolomeo’s oeuvre that gave insights into its appearance include the *Christ at the Column* and *Christ Crowned with Thorns* on account of their wooden support, dating and height of around 25 cm (figs.5.46; 5.47).⁸²⁸

A relatively low fee was paid to Paolo Montagna ‘*per aver depento la portela*’ [‘for having painted the *portela*’]: just 1 ducat compared to the 150 ducats agreed a few years earlier for Bishop Zèno’s altarpiece.⁸²⁹ But that is not to diminish the tabernacle’s importance to Vicentine civic identity: on 7 December 1507 – thirteen days before transferring to the Paduan Seat – Dandolo publicly donated the True

⁸²⁴ MICHEL ED.1896, p.59.

⁸²⁵ This record conserved in ASVi, Not. Bartolomeo d’Aviano b.4742; transcribed in MANTESE 1964 III/2, pp.171–72.

⁸²⁶ RUTHERGLEN 2012, pp.92–94.

⁸²⁷ *Christ the Redeemer* now, Pinacoteca Malaspina, Pavia; one *Dead Christ* in Birmingham City Art Museum, the other lost. See respectively HUMFREY 1983 pp.140; 86–87; 172–73. The dimensions of these three works are all approximately 20cm in height.

⁸²⁸ Respectively LUCCO 2014, Cats.50 & 74, respectively dated to 1490–95 (but feasibly later) and 1505–7.

⁸²⁹ ADVi, *libri cassa*, reg.1495–1506, Paolo Montagna received 42 lire, 18 soldi and 3 denari on delivery of the altarpiece in 1504. The price of 150 ducats for the Zèno altarpiece was agreed on 13 July 1499, see BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.86.

Cross relic and its *armarioli* to Vicenza.⁸³⁰ Leaving keys to the *portela* in the possession of the Bishop, the Duomo's Canon and the City, this gesture symbolically and physically built Bartolomeo's *disegno* into Vicentine sacred ritual. This depended on the object's inherent function as a tabernacle door ceremoniously opened to reveal a Passion relic in a liturgical act that took place in the religious heart of the city.⁸³¹ Indeed, contracting the pre-eminent artist in the city to produce another work for the *Duomo* ensured a consistency across two episcopal commissions: the altarpiece glorifying the Virgin and Child and the patron saints of Vicenza, and the tabernacle housing a relic of Venetian provenance. Dandolo's commission and its ritualistic use should be recognised as part of a wider strategy to promote ties between Venice and Vicenza through cult prestige and piety with the relic serving as a bargaining chip.⁸³²

In this respect, Dandolo's *portela* further illustrates how less time-consuming commissions were effective forms of promotion for not only the commissioning body, but also the artist. For while Bartolomeo's creative input may have been restricted to the composition's design, the *portela*'s ritual purpose and prominent location augmented its visibility and with it, the status of his workshop. The same can be said of more ephemeral objects such as prints and *gonfaloni* produced to visualise a confraternity's collective dedications. Acquiring cult objects from the Montagna workshop ultimately reflected the commissioning body's standing in the Vicentine milieu.

Collaboration with Carpenters.

The Montagna workshop's 'promotion' of both their 'brand' and their patrons' social and religious missions did not happen in microcosm. Objects they produced had a real and ritualised presence in the urban fabric of Vicenza. In most cases, the successful completion of these projects necessitated collaboration with artisans specialised in other media. A case in point is Dandolo's tabernacle. The *libri del*

⁸³⁰ MANTESE 1964 iii/2, pp.171–72. The notarial record does not mean that the tabernacle had not been used before this time, merely that the donation was made legally binding. MAGRINI 1860 pp.25–28 alleges the ceremony took place under a baldachin adorned with gold thread.

⁸³¹ For comparison see BUTTERFIELD & ELAM 1999, pp.337–39 where note that Desiderio da Settignano's San Lorenzo tabernacle was similarly located in the Capella del Corpo Cristo at the church in Florence and received special attention in Holy Week.

⁸³² For discussion of Venetian intervention in Vicentine religious affairs see GRUBB 1988 pp.128–35.

cassa del Duomo shows that multiple artisans received payments for its constituent parts: the stonemason who carved the ‘*pria*’ or casement, the woodworker responsible for making ‘*fregio*’ or frame, in addition to the Montagna’s contribution of the ‘*portela*'.⁸³³ Collaboration was between painters and carpenters was perhaps the most commonplace.⁸³⁴ Altarpieces are the most obvious examples, but other items that relied on such partnerships include domestic furnishings and intarsia.⁸³⁵ The contributions of multiple workshops, however, correspondingly meant that not one master had full control of the final product. In order to streamline production and reduce margins for error, effective communication between artisans was essential.

As discussed in the Introduction, contact between painters and woodworkers in Vicenza was ensured through their collective matriculation to the *fraglia dei Marangoni*. Guild meetings and visits made by the *gastaldo* to the workshops of the guild’s members to check that they were adhering to working standards ensured ample occasion to strengthen this artisanal network. Interactions also took place in more personal capacities. Legal deeds relating to Bartolomeo Montagna’s land transactions show that he was sufficiently acquainted with carpenters to involve them. For instance, a certain Gaspare ‘*marangono*’ quondam Ioannis de Malado witnessed a payment agreement for Bartolomeo’s purchase of his residence in San Lorenzo on 1 April 1484.⁸³⁶ The dynamic between personal and professional interactions was inarguably reciprocal: the successful operation of a business in the Vicentine artisanal milieu was facilitated by amicable working relationships with one’s peers.

Altarpiece and domestic commissions awarded to Bartolomeo in turn fostered collaboration with the city’s carpenters by necessity. On the most fundamental level, the wooden panels which Bartolomeo generally used as his painting support had to be

⁸³³ ADVi, *libri cassa*, reg.1495–1506 cc.23v–24r; first mentioned in MANTESE 1964 III/2, pp.914–15. ‘Ave m.o Muraro da Bressa per aver lavorata a meter in opera la pria dove se ha meter la crosse che Monsignor Dona ala giesia in la capella del sagramento. Ave el depentor Nevodo de messer zuandona che depense la reata del sagramento et depense i legni che sono atorno...Ave el depentor che adorà et lavorà el friso attorno la portela fatto marcha per Bartolomeo Montagna. ave paulo fiuol de m bartolomeo montagna per aver depento la portela dove e messo lo legno de la santissima crose inla capella del corpo cristo’. ‘Fregio’ could also be interpreted as frieze, but see usage of ‘fregio’ in the context of the frame surrounding the standard Titian produced in 1546 in BURY 2000, p.27.

⁸³⁴ Similarly noted in the context of small-scale paintings for ornamental use in Venice in RUTHERGLEN 2016. pp.438–39.

⁸³⁵ On domestic furnishings see RUTHERGLEN 2012; RUTHERGLEN 2016. On intarsia see WILMERING 1999.

⁸³⁶ BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.52.

prepared by specialists. An ornate gilded ‘*cassa*’ still set with roundels of *Duilio and Bilia* and the *Vestal Turk* painted by Bartolomeo bears witness to the collaborative nature of such projects (fig.5.48; 5.49; 5.50).⁸³⁷ Bartolomeo must have discussed the dimensions of the roundels with the carpenter prior to painting them and subsequently delivering them to the workshop for inlay into the *cassa*.⁸³⁸ Contracts such as that drawn up for the *Pala di San Bartolomeo* specify that Bartolomeo’s altarpiece be delivered complete with frame.⁸³⁹ Collaboration between painter and carpenter was evidently negotiated prior to a contract’s formalisation. That an Evangelista quondam Furciani ‘*marangone*’ witnessed the contract for the *Pala di Piovene*, which specified the appearance of the frame and required that Bartolomeo adhere to the provided drawing, indicates not only that the framemaker was privy to the interactions that preceded the formal agreement but that he was well aware of Bartolomeo’s proposed design (fig.5.24).⁸⁴⁰

The importance of ‘*disegno*’ to such collaborations is manifest in the wooden stalls commissioned to decorate the choir of the Santuario di Monte Berico. The project was to be decorated with 24 intarsiated panels, the contract for which was awarded to Pierantonio degli Abati.⁸⁴¹ A clause in the contract drawn up on 4 October 1484 stipulated that modifications to the ‘*desegnum ibi ostensum*’ [design shown here] were to be made by Bartolomeo Montagna before Pierantonio could start work.⁸⁴² Pierantonio’s receipt of final payment for the scheme in 1487 indicates that Bartolomeo respected this instruction. Bartolomeo’s involvement can be primarily explained by the scenes depicting the Parables of the Evangelists he was to fresco in

⁸³⁷ For these two roundels, see LUCCO 2014, Cat.2; RUTHERGLEN 2012, Cat.28. The *cassone* now in the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli in Milian. The roundel with a family crest consisting of a black bear has given rise to various proposals as to the married couple for whom it was commissioned on the basis of wealthy families with ‘Orso-related’ names and similar crests resident across the Veneto, see NATALE 1982, Cat.115. Two further roundels in the Ashmolean may have formerly been inserted into the *cassone*, see Lucco 2014, Cat.3.

⁸³⁸ RUTHERGLEN 2012, p.6 notes that ‘*cassone*’ was not used in Venice until the late-1500s, with ‘*cassa*’ being the term most frequently used. See RUTHERGLEN 2012, pp.98–105 on this furnishing object, and also CAMPBELL 2011.

⁸³⁹ BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.51. On the provision of frames for altarpieces, see O’MALLEY 2005a, p.201ff; HUMFREY 1986, pp.70–75.

⁸⁴⁰ BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.33.

⁸⁴¹ ASVi, Not. Nicolo Ascoli, b.5117; LUCCO 2014, Doc.54, p.123. The entire scheme addressed in TREVISAN 2012.

⁸⁴² ‘... secundum desegnum ibi ostensum cum certa remotione ex eo facienda a lateribus et additione superience facienda per egregium artis pictorie Bartholomeum quondam Antoni ab Urcis Novis civem Vicentie a lateribus ipsum disegni’.

the vault of same choir (fig.5.53).⁸⁴³ The account books for the monastery indicate that the intarsia and frescoes as well as the construction of the stalls were completed in a six-year burst of activity following the completion of the choir's architecture in 1481.⁸⁴⁴ Yet the proviso that Bartolomeo intervene at the design-phase of the intarsia scheme remains ambiguous. This is in part due to the fact that only six of Pierantonio's panels or *spallieri* and one of Bartolomeo's frescoes survived destruction of the entire choir in 1824.⁸⁴⁵ But it is also because this contractual request brings into question the dynamic between collaboration and intervention in inter-artist contact.

One interpretation of this clause is that Bartolomeo was responsible for designing the entire intarsia scheme, including what was depicted on the *spallieri*.⁸⁴⁶ This is unlikely, however, even though artists such as Lorenzo Lotto and Pollaiuolo provided drawings for woodworkers to follow, because comparison of the six surviving *spalieri* with other intarsiated schemes Pierantonio completed at Santa Corona and San Bartolomeo reveals his reuse of cartoons and designs across multiple projects.⁸⁴⁷ Recurrent motifs include, for example, the double shelf, the caged bird and precariously balanced bowls of fruit and it is likely that the scheme also

⁸⁴³ BARBIERI 1965 pp.18–19 notes reports on the lost frescoes made in the 1800s describing scenes such as Christ and the Adulteress and the specification that these scenes were situated in the vault of the choir. For this view on Bartolomeo's involvement see also DANI 2008; BAGATIN 1987, p.186; DE ZUANI 2014, pp.47–48.

⁸⁴⁴ Between 1481 and 1484, the carpenter Giacomo da Mantova was responsible for constructing the stalls and in 1483 received a payment of 28 ducats. In 1488, payment was made in four parts to Pietro da Modena, Pierantonio's son, for constructing 'le propse' of the choir. See BARBIERI 1965 p.19; Barausse 2014, pp.125–26.

⁸⁴⁵ Six now located in the sacristy of Monte Berico, where they function as cabinet doors. Another panel in the Horne Museum, Florence, is frequently associated with this scheme, as in DANI 2008. However, BAGATIN 1987, p.104 proposes that the dimensions of the Horne panel do not correspond with the other six panels and hence not from Monte Berico.

⁸⁴⁶ ZORZI 1916, p.92, 105, 165–66; ZAUPA 1998 p.122.

⁸⁴⁷ For an overview see BAGATIN 1987, Chapter 10, pp.185ff. The Vicentine schemes were all executed during the 1480s. For an overview of their progression see TREVISAN 2012, sequence as follows: Monte Berico, commission drawn up with Prior on 4 October 1484, DANI 1965, p.19; Santa Corona, plans set in motion in 1482 when Palmerio Sesso agreed to provide 'chorum et sedes ipsius necessarias' but probably not commenced until circa 1485 to 1486, ALLEN 2013, p.690ff; San Bartolomeo, circa 1487 to 1488 when Pierantonio lived on a farm owned by the monastery, RATTIN 1993, pp.47–49. On Lotto's collaboration with the woodworker Giovan Francesco Capoferri for the intarsia scheme at Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, see ZANCHI 2003 with further literature and CHIODI 1962 for supporting documents. For Pollaiuolo, see WRIGHT 2005, p.88. On drawings for tarsie more broadly, see THORNTON 1973.

comprised urban views (figs.5.51; 5.52).⁸⁴⁸ Another possibility is that Bartolomeo's modifications corresponded to the alignment of the intarsia scheme with the frescoes that were to be situated above the wooden stalls. The fact, however, that construction on the stalls which Pierantonio's intarsia panels were to form part of had commenced in 1481 means that the choir's spatial construct was already decided. The modifications requested of Bartolomeo therefore do not appear to have been imperative to the execution of the intarsia panels which makes his intervention even more enigmatic.

Recognised in Vicenza as a '*magister perspectivae*' [master of perspective], Pierantonio was certainly competent in the art of intarsia.⁸⁴⁹ Conversely, though Bartolomeo was '*egregium in artis pictorie*', his expertise did not encompass the producing of intarsia. It is therefore worth questioning what information the '*deseignum ibi ostensum*' might have conveyed. Prospectus drawings played a comparable role in the commissioning of intarsia schemes as they did for painted projects. One example is the contract for Antonio Barili's intarsiated stall for Siena cathedral for which Barili was contractually obliged to complete the scheme '*secundum modellum et deseignum factum*' [according to a provided drawing and model].⁸⁵⁰ If the wooden model gave an idea of the proposed proportions to better help the client visualise the project's overall appearance in a manner also proposed for painted altarpieces, the drawing ostensibly provided more specific details of the stalls decoration such as the chosen intarsia scenes and the decorative woodwork.⁸⁵¹ Further indication that drawings served to project the appearance of an entire scheme is found in the anonymous, late fifteenth century *Design for an Intarsia Stall* which has annotations relating to the overall dimensions on its *verso* (fig.5.54).⁸⁵² That this study served as a contract drawing is suggested by the precise pen outlines and use of coloured wash, while the portion depicted is also likely to have comprised part of a more extensive scheme. These factors, make it possible that the Monte Berico

⁸⁴⁸ Excluding the fact that the Horne panel, with its urban view, may not be from this scheme, consistency across the other intarsia schemes suggests that the Monte Berico scheme was a similar mix of still lifes and urban views.

⁸⁴⁹ Pierantonio described in this way in contract for San Bartolomeo see TREVISAN 2012, p.89 & fn.19.

⁸⁵⁰ For the scheme and the possibility Barili trained alongside Pierantonio which may suggest Pierantonio employed comparable working methods, see WILMERING 1999, pp.95–96.

⁸⁵¹ On woodwork models predominately in the context of altarpiece frames see O'MALLEY 2005, pp.223–31.

⁸⁵² The Morgan, inv. I, 86.

deseignum referred to in Pierantonio's contract also referred to a portion of the choir stall.⁸⁵³ Such a drawing would not have been dissimilar to Bartolomeo's prospectus drawing for the Compagnia di San Biagio frescoes that depicts only one scene from the scheme, which is in turn consistent with the practice of depicting a portion of a commissioned scheme as discussed in Chapter Two in relation to the *teleri* for the Scuola Grande di San Marco.

This proposal increases in significance when considered with the fact that Bartolomeo's frescoes of the Parables of the Evangelists were painted above the intarsia stalls. One reasonable explanation for Bartolomeo's involvement in Pierantonio's contract is that a single drawing illustrated both projected schemes. In other words, the *deseignum* depicted a portion of the choir showing how the two artists' independent contributions of intarsia stalls and frescoes would 'fit' together once complete. The modifications requested of Bartolomeo thereby did not necessarily correspond to Pierantonio's woodwork; but instead referred to Bartolomeo's part of the choir's decoration with which the commissioning body was not fully satisfied. Returning to the contractual clause with this possibility in mind offers a potential solution to the proviso that Bartolomeo make certain removals at the sides and additions to the top of the design [*cum certa remotione ex eo facienda a lateribus et additione superience facienda*]. It may have been decided that the proposed fresco scheme extended too far either side of the choir, but did not extend sufficiently high enough to fill the space between the intarsiated choir and the vault. Alternatively, the modifications may have been more specific and referred to the exact dimensions of the respective frescoes. Recourse to the one fresco to survive from the scheme, that of the *Pietà*, shows that an extensive area on the left was given to the landscape making it possible that Bartolomeo revised the scale of the figures vis-à-vis their settings. Interpreting the clause in this manner frames it within the pragmatics of commissioning a scheme that depended on collaboration among multiple artisans.

Drawings that communicated what carpenters and painters would contribute to a project were not uncommon. Extant altarpiece designs, such as one in the British

⁸⁵³ Furthermore, construction on the stalls was started in 1481 by Giacomo da Mantova 'marangoni', and so the seating layout was decided, DANI 2008, p.110.

Museum attributed to Benedetto Diana, often feature wooden frames drawn with a striking attention to detail (fig.5.55).⁸⁵⁴ Such precision was intended to reach agreements with a patron and clarify the framemaker's role. Both these incentives, however, depended on an understanding of what the carpenter could realistically achieve and how the altarpiece's production would be managed across workshops. Extant scholarship on the process in the Renaissance Veneto has noted that guild restrictions dictated what portion of the altarpiece an artisan could design, but that there was no set procedure for the commissioning of the respective parts.⁸⁵⁵ Yet drawings remained a fundamental medium for collaboration between the painter and framemaker. This could simply involve the passing of an approved design by painter to the framemaker to follow, constitute discussion between artisans prior to a drawing's production, or possibly that the two artisans worked on a single drawing to visualise their respective plans for the project.⁸⁵⁶ One drawing that encapsulates questions on this division of labour is the Copenhagen *Design for an Altarpiece* generally thought to be by Vittore Carpaccio (fig.5.56).⁸⁵⁷ Six panels depicting saintly figures are drawn with pen and blue wash over black chalk in a painterly fashion that accords with this attribution. The same cannot be said of the precise pen work that delineates the architectural framework in its attention to repetitive detail, evident competence in imitating decorative effects and the practical decision to leave certain symmetrical parts unfinished. This disparity could suggest that the frame was drawn by the carpenter in a collaborative intervention on a single drawing. Conversely, it is more likely that the master painter held authorial control over the altarpiece's overall appearance and that an ability to modify graphic techniques in line with the projected commission and the information it needed to convey was an established part of a painter's working practices.

Proposing drawings as a collaborative tool helps explain the circumstances surrounding the '*deseignum*' referred to in Pierantonio's contract, especially given that

⁸⁵⁴ The attribution to Diana remains contentious, see VENICE 1999, Cat.76, p.354. For further discussion, see GILBERT 1977; O'MALLEY 2005, pp.206–16.

⁸⁵⁵ HUMFREY 1986, p.70.

⁸⁵⁶ HUMFREY 1986, pp.73–74 brings into question the proposal of GILBERT 1977 that multiple hands worked on a single contract drawing.

⁸⁵⁷ Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv.KKSgb6269; FISCHER 2018, Cat.1.

Bartolomeo was present in the capacity of a witness.⁸⁵⁸ Relations between the two artisans and the commissioning body were evidently direct: this was not a situation in which the respective contracts were awarded with little communication between artisans, as was likely the case with Bellini's *Baptism of Christ*.⁸⁵⁹ Negotiations between the respective parties for the Monte Berico scheme were ostensibly facilitated by an integrated plan for the Monte Berico choir decoration. Revisions and modifications could have been discussed and annotated on the provided prospectus drawing to ensure that all parties understood the commissioning body's requests. The lack of a corresponding contract for Bartolomeo's frescoes unfortunately means that the specifics remain conjecture. The considerations presented here show that collaboration was predicated on Bartolomeo's intervention on an extant design and as such, positions Bartolomeo as the intermediary within these negotiations. When placed in relation to surviving altarpiece designs in which his Venetic peers appear to have assumed responsibility for designing both the painted and wooden components, these considerations are reflective of the preeminent status of the painter-designer within hierarchies of Venetic artisanal networks.

What this chapter has shown is that *diseño* was central to the strategies through which the Montagna workshop asserted its reputation within the Vicentine public conscious. Collaboration was fundamental. Within the workshop, family relations facilitated acts of delegation in addition to diversification into various media. Reuse of Bartolomeo's compositional designs both streamlined productivity and supported the construction of a readily identifiable 'house-style'. Benedetto and Bartolomeo's collaborative print production was therefore not just a 'complementary sideline' to the workshop's painting activity, but a shrewd business ploy that advertised the family firm through the sale of readily multiplied commodities. When collaboration took place with other artisans in Vicenza, such as woodworkers, drawings again played a unifying role by clarifying what respective artisans would contribute to a project. When situated within the Vicentine milieu, the products of Bartolomeo's *diseño*

⁸⁵⁸ ASVi, Not. Nicolo Ascoli, b.5117; LUCCO 2014, Doc.54, p.123, 'presentibus magistro Bartolomeo pictore'.

⁸⁵⁹ The framemakers appear to have been Lombard sculptors working in Vicenza. Their communication with Bellini likely only extended to overarching details on factors such as the dimensions and format, see HUMFREY 1986, p.75, fn.66.

assumed another function. The display of Montagna commissions in prominent locations, translation of such designs into portable, predominately printed, format and active deployment of objects in devotional rituals formed an inextricable relationship between the Montagna workshop and Vicenza's civic identity.

Chapter Six: Vicenza and the North

In 1522 the Compagnia di San Giuseppe of Cologna Veneta commissioned Bartolomeo Montagna to produce an altarpiece to adorn the chapel it had recently acquired in the parish church.⁸⁶⁰ As the final work completed by the Montagna workshop before Bartolomeo's death the following year, the altarpiece is frequently dismissed as an unimaginative workshop piece that relied on compositional models present in the Montagna's visual archive (fig.6.1). Yet the Cologna Veneta altarpiece did not only rely on these extant designs. Multiple elements of the composition are based on Northern prints: the musical angels are taken from Albrecht Dürer's *Adoration of the magi* while the attendant shepherds might be taken from the same woodcut or from the *Nativity* which comprised part of the same series (figs.6.2; 6.3). The predella panel depicting the *Flight into Egypt* both quotes Dürer's woodcut rendition – itself derived from Martin Schongauer's earlier engraving – and depends on an essentially North European presentation of the religious episode (figs.6.4; 6.5).⁸⁶¹ In addition, Italian scholars have remarked on the '*nordicismo*' displayed in the painted quality of details such as the shepherds guarding their flock in the remote landscape.⁸⁶² The Cologna Veneta altarpiece consequently emerges as a work far from mundane, and thoroughly infused with artistic influxes from Northern Europe.

In order to understand this instance of 'provincial *nordicismo*', the altarpiece's creation must be contextualised within the broader topic of cultural exchanges between Northern Europe and the Italian Peninsula. Much has, of course, been written on this subject.⁸⁶³ In recent decades, scholars have studied how influxes from Northern Europe affected the art and culture of other Italian cities and regions while simultaneously bringing economic and social factors into context. This has aligned with the emergence of broader theories related to North-South mobility, and critique of the applied terminology.⁸⁶⁴ Highly significant to the present discussion is

⁸⁶⁰ The decision to award the contract to Bartolomeo Montagna was arguably facilitated by both the commune's relative proximity to Vicenza – just 20 miles as the crow flies – and the fact that Bartolomeo's nephew, Antonio Cincani, was resident in Cologna Veneta. LUCCO 2014, Cat.103, pp.390–91; ZAUPA 1998, pp.132–37.

⁸⁶¹ On the Northern origins of the Flight into Egypt iconography see HUMFREY 1983, pp.33–36.

⁸⁶² LUCCO 2014, p.390.

⁸⁶³ Particular examples include NUTTALL 2004; WARBURG 1905; AIKEMA 2018, pp.32–34, 37–41 with further literature; AIKEMA 2007, for a literary and historographic overview, esp. pp.105–8.

⁸⁶⁴ See for instance KAUFMANN 2004; CAMPBELL & MILNER 2004, esp. 'Introduction'.

the standpoint that usage of the term ‘the North’ to encompass disparate cultures and countries within Northern Europe including the Netherlands, Flanders and Germany is a rhetorical device that impedes understanding of the great land mass over the Alps in relation to Italian culture.⁸⁶⁵ However, as addressing the methodological limitations of this approach is beyond the scope of this chapter, and so the term ‘Northern’ will instead be applied as in the seminal 1999 exhibition *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer and Titian* to encompass *Oberdeutschland* and the Low Countries.⁸⁶⁶ Vicenza’s cultural and artistic connections to Venice are contingent with the question of whether responses to the North were consistent across the Veneto. What responses to Northern art can be observed in the Montagna workshop’s output? This chapter considers the family’s painted and printed output in order to address topics such as the access to and use of Northern models, the perception of a Northern artistic style, and a recognition of a market demand for ‘Northern’ art among their Vicentine clients.

Between Venice and the Alps.

Venice has emerged as the Italian city around which North-South discourses revolve, on account of the city’s geography and economic prosperity.⁸⁶⁷ These two factors were inextricable during the Renaissance: La Serenissima’s strategic position on the lagoon helped forge trans-national networks and its accessibility via land and water directly contributed to the city’s emergence as a major trading centre. Mercantile links with the North played a pivotal role. Venice’s relative proximity to the Alps combined with the constant inflow of goods from the East meant that Northern, particularly German, merchants flocked to the city in substantial numbers. Not only did this lead to the growth of an expatriate community around the Rialto, but also meant that the Fondaco dei Tedeschi emerged as a hub of the city’s mercantile

⁸⁶⁵ The distancing effect of the term discussed in conversation with Olenka Horbatsch, whose astute observation is informed by Peter Burke’s extensive scholarship on cultural transfer, which for an overview see CALARESU ET AL. 2010.

⁸⁶⁶ For these geographic boundaries see AIKEMA & BROWN 1999A, p.19.

⁸⁶⁷ VENICE & NEW YORK 1999; for this reasoning and its alternatives see AIKEMA & BROWN 1999A, pp.20–21.

activity.⁸⁶⁸ In fact, one Venetian merchant remarked that Venetians and Germans were one and the same because of their '*rapporto commerciale*'.⁸⁶⁹

Trade was not the only outcome of this 'special relationship'. Rather, the import-export business allowed for the migration of ideas in the form of goods and people. These interchanges were bidirectional. However, the impact of Northern influxes on Venetian art and culture is particularly apparent because the Lagoon was a relatively concentrated point of convergence, and so analysis of how these influxes played out is more readily ascertainable. The acquisition of Netherlandish and Flemish paintings by Venetians both rich and poor contributed to local artists' adoption of the oil medium and the increasing attention paid to fine detail in their paintings.⁸⁷⁰ Likewise, and as addressed in Chapter Three, the arrival of print in the form of books, woodcuts and engravings had a profound impact on the city's intellectual and visual culture and the industries that drove them. In addition to those merchants who included printed products in the consignments of goods they imported from the North, enterprising publishers relocated from cities in the upper Rhine like Mainz and Nuremberg to found printing businesses in Venice.⁸⁷¹ Artisans also journeyed to Venice either to relocate or for brief trips, even if some such trips proposed in the literature remain hypothetical.⁸⁷²

Scholarly emphasis on the cultural melting pot that was Venice has, however, overshadowed the impact that crosscurrents with the North had on other major cities in the Veneto such as Vicenza, Verona and, to a lesser extent, Padua. On account of their dominion to the Republic, one approach has been to subsume examples of '*terra ferma nordicismo*' under the umbrella of 'Venice'; thereby assuming that the responses observable in a centre were the same in its satellites. This was not

⁸⁶⁸ Of the extensive scholarship on this topic see BRAUNSTEIN 2016; ROECK 1999; ROECK 2013; CALABRI 2013.

⁸⁶⁹ BRAUNSTEIN 1986, p.49

⁸⁷⁰ See CAMPBELL 1981 for an overview of Netherlandish art in Venetian collections; for a summary of the technical advancements that the circulation of Northern paintings effected see DUNKERTON 1999, esp. pp.94–100.

⁸⁷¹ Nicholas Jensen was French by birth but had worked in Mainz prior to establishing himself in Venice.

⁸⁷² For Northern artists who relocated and travelled to Italy see EVANS 1985, esp. p.18, a Giovanni d'Alemagna was a workshop assistant of Alvise Vivarini. EVANS 1986, pp.11–12, for Michael Pacher of Brixen's visit to Padua, p.116 for Reuwich of Utrecht's pilgrimage to the Holy Land via Venice, p.113 for the proposal that Jorg Breu also visited the region. The most renowned of the various Italian journeys proposed for Northern artists are Albrecht Dürer's, for which see section below.

necessarily the case: local factors played an important role. For instance, as Francis Ames-Lewis has proposed, it was exposure to Netherlandish paintings in Paduan collections that had a direct impact on artistic developments within Squarcione's circle.⁸⁷³ Mainland cities, with their local artists, clients and networks, present alternate North-South narratives to those established for Venice, and the value of these are key to understanding the cultural interchanges that took place across the Veneto.

Such shortcomings become more apparent when one considers the trade routes that were used to travel between the North and Venice. Travellers had multiple options to cross the Alps which, to echo Philippe Braunstein, were less of an obstacle than a matter of course.⁸⁷⁴ The journey could take just two weeks by horseback and barge, while the express courier service between Venice and Nüremberg had a guaranteed delivery of four days.⁸⁷⁵ Of the more than twenty passes available to travellers, the most commonly traversed were the Reschen and the Brenner, the latter of which was part of the 'Itineraire de Bruges' and 'Strada d'Alemagna' (fig.6.6).⁸⁷⁶ For those following either route, there were a number of options to reach the Lagoon from the southern face of the Alps. Selection was predominately dictated by the many customs houses and attempts to avoid them.⁸⁷⁷ One option was to travel via Cortina and Conegliano to Treviso while another was to descend from Bolzano to Trento before following the Brenta to Padua. By far the best known route was to come down through the Alto-Adige and then along the east coast of Lake Garda before veering off east across the *terra ferma* even if this made paying customs unavoidable. One of the key stop-off points was Verona, whose strategic location and socio-economic prosperity meant it was valued by the Republic as the key gatekeeper on their Northern front.⁸⁷⁸ From Verona to Venice there were two main routes: by barge along

⁸⁷³ AMES-LEWIS 1993, pp.190–91.

⁸⁷⁴ BRAUNSTEIN 2016, p.31; PFOFTENHAUER 2016, p.244; BÖCKEM 2012, p.56 notes that as the Brenner was lower, it could be passed all year.

⁸⁷⁵ PFOFTENHAUER 2016, p.244 notes Endres Imhoff who travelled from Nuremberg to Venice in 1504 and back in 1509 in just 14 days each way. On the transalpine postal service see ZAHN 1971; ASHCROFT 2017, p.150 fn1. The cheaper option took six days; which still rivals current standards.

⁸⁷⁶ BRAUNSTEIN 2016 pp.55–56.

⁸⁷⁷ BRAUNSTEIN 2016, p.39; STOLZ 1955, p.62; PFOFTENHAUER 2016, p.245.

⁸⁷⁸ As extensively addressed in ROSSI 1997.

the fiume Adige or overland by horse on the historic *strada* that went through Vicenza and Padua.

Records from sources such as customs houses indicate that many Northerners took the overland route to Venice.⁸⁷⁹ For some, however, Venice's mainland territories were their final destinations. Wealthy Germans such as Wilibald Pirckheimer attended the University of Padua, and the Venetian Senate permitted some Germans to acquire residential property on the *terra ferma*⁸⁸⁰ More often than not, however, migration to mainland provinces was driven by the prospect of work. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Germans were granted permits to mine copper, iron and other natural resources from the mountains surrounding Vicenza which meant that they established themselves in the city. Northern artisans and merchants also relocated to Vicenza independent of intervention from the Senate. The *matricole* of the goldsmith and merchant's guilds and the *estimo* of 1505 reveals that several artisans from the North practiced their trade in Vicenza, and it is worth emphasising that Bartolomeo's long-term associate, Girolamo 'd'Alemagna' was of German descent.⁸⁸¹ Combined with the fact that several Germans joined the *fraglia dei pittori* of the neighbouring Padua between 1441 and 1461, it is apparent that Northern artisans recognised that employment opportunities could be found on the Venetian mainland.⁸⁸²

The establishment of the city's publishing industry clearly illustrates how immigrants from the North affected Vicentine industry and culture. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the first book publisher to work in Vicenza was Leonardo Achates from Basel; an origin he proudly acknowledged in the colophon to his edition of *Il Dittamondo*.⁸⁸³ This edition – his first in Vicenza – was published only five years later than the earliest book in Venice. This time-lapse is undoubtedly reflective of the gradual spread of the trade and its tradesmen to the provinces and attests to the steady

⁸⁷⁹ BRAUNSTEIN 2016, p.56.

⁸⁸⁰ ROECK 1999, p.45

⁸⁸¹ See BBVi, Settore Antico, Ms.G.7.11.20 (=178), *Statuti della fraglia degli orefici*, c.27r for 'Henricus Sellerius de Alemania'; ASVi, *Estimo* 1505, Libro B, Sindicaria di San Lorenzo, c.26v, for 'Petrus q. Joannes 'barbarij' and Sindicaria del Duomo, c.6v, for 'Pietro Spinoli orafo da la Colonia'

⁸⁸² EVANS 1985, pp.17–18.

⁸⁸³ UBERTI 1474, relevant section of the colophon as follows: 'Mi fama rinova per la sua cortesia, maestro Leonardo con Mirabel stamp ail qual gia naque ne lalta Basilia. Vicencia adunque in piu virtute auampa cha nula altra cita magior equale loro laquali si triumpha e non pur stampa..'

spread of this medium across the Italian peninsula. Yet as in Venice, where the first publisher was Johann da Speier (in the Rhineland), Achates' involvement was key to the import of printing technology from the North. The start-up fundamentally depended on the assumption that consumer demand would make the operation worthwhile. That this speculation was not unfounded is reflected by the migration of other Northern publishers to the city. Five of the twelve publishers to issue *incunaboli* in Vicenza and its territories were of Northern descent, among whom Herman Lichtenstein and Johannes da Reno were particularly successful.⁸⁸⁴ Publishing and typographic printing were mutually dependent professions so it is not surprising that Vicenza's most productive printer, Stefano Koblinger, was from Vienna. That some of these Northern tradesmen subsequently relocated to Venice does attest to the omnipresence of La Serenissima in these interchanges.⁸⁸⁵ Nonetheless, their combined activity in Vicenza shows that Northern intervention and exchange was equally important to smaller, more local industries on the mainland.

Northern prints in the Montagna Workshop.

Insight into the impact interchanges with the North had on Vicentine visual culture can be gained from an analysis of the reception of Northern prints in the Montagna workshop. The *Pala di Cologna Veneta* confirms that the several different Northern prints served as source material in the Montagna's working practices, and in this respect can be considered as part of a more widespread phenomenon. Scholars including Megan Holmes, Patricia Rubin, Sharon Gregory, Giovanni Maria Fara, Cecil Clough and Minna Heimbürger have variously considered the extent to which Northern prints served as compositional models, had an impact on the treatment of a theme or dictated the development of graphic techniques of artists across the Italian Peninsula, and in Florence and Venice in particular.⁸⁸⁶ Focussing on the responses towards Northern prints discernible in the output of the Montagna workshop is a

⁸⁸⁴ For these publishers and their output see RHODES 1986.

⁸⁸⁵ One example is Herman Lichtenstein.

⁸⁸⁶ HOLMES 1983; GREGORY 2012, Chapter 4, see p.161 for an acknowledgement of the search for sources in preceding scholarship and her alternative focus on graphic impact. FARA 2007 is undisputedly the most extensive record of Dürer references in Italian art. CLOUGH 1970 and HEIMBURGER 1999 both focus on Italian artists' reactions to Dürer's prints.

worthwhile contribution to these analyses. This is because the points made in the preceding section allows for a consideration of these responses in line with the trading network that connected Vicenza and the North, and because Bartolomeo's cross-regional associations brings into question the extent to which his practices are consistent with peers operating across the Veneto.

The earliest Italian painting to display a reliance on a Northern print has been convincingly identified as Andrea Mantegna's *Adoration of the Shepherds* that is dateable to circa 1451, when he was still resident in Padua (fig.6.7).⁸⁸⁷ An engraving of the theme by Master ES appears to have informed the way that Mantegna constructed the composition and his treatment of forms (fig.6.8). The fact that Master ES was active in the upper Rhine from circa 1440 means an impression of the engraving must have reached Padua relatively soon after its initial production, possibly via the agency of a travelling merchant. Mantegna's reference to the small print while designing the *Adoration* confirms the presence of a Northern print in an artisanal workshop – potentially that of his master Squarcione – by the second half of the fifteenth century. This was not an isolated case. Innumerable quotations of Northern prints identified in the work of artists contemporaneously operating in Florence, Milan, Perugia, Verona and Venice demonstrate that Northern prints rapidly assumed an active role in workshops across the Italian peninsula.⁸⁸⁸

The situation was no different in Vicenza. As addressed in Chapter Three, Bartolomeo referred to several prints by Italian engravers when designing a number of paintings dateable to the 1470s. This receptivity towards, and practical application of, the printed medium makes it reasonable to propose that Bartolomeo started to acquire prints from the North at around the same time. Those available would have been similarly dictated by the selection imported by the itinerant merchants who traded in the city. Recent scholarship on the Northern prints acquired by contemporary Venetian artists provides points of comparison.⁸⁸⁹ For example, evidence that prints by prolific engravers like Martin Schongauer and Master ES were certainly

⁸⁸⁷ AMES-LEWIS 1992, esp. p.269.

⁸⁸⁸ For Northern prints used by artists working in Florence such as Verrocchio, Ghirlandaio, Perugino, Raphael and Michelangelo see HOLMES 1983, esp. Chapter 7 & GREGORY 2012, pp.162–73. For Milan, see EVANS 2003. See HEIMBURGER 1999 for an identification of various paintings by artists operating in Venice deemed to be derived from prints by Dürer and his predecessors.

⁸⁸⁹ For an overview see NASH 2008 pp.129–41 and HOLMES 1983.

retailed in the Veneto is provided by citations of their designs in Benedetto Bordone and Jacob von Strasbourg's monumental *Virgin and Child with saints Sebastian and Roch*.⁸⁹⁰ Prints by less renowned monogrammists like Master FVB and Master IAM of Zwolle are also known to have trickled onto the Italian market.⁸⁹¹ The arrival of these prints in Vicenza was effected by the city's relative proximity to the Alps. Acquiring impressions for the Montagna workshop did not represent a great undertaking nor anything outside of the general pattern.

Analysis of Bartolomeo's references to Northern prints shows that he initially treated them as models for compositions and figures. Such an approach is demonstrated in his *Saint Paul* that, with its pendant *Saint Jerome*, was designed circa 1485 (fig.6.9).⁸⁹² Paul's pose is directly based on the engraving of the saint that comprised part of a set of apostles by Martin Schongauer dateable to the 1470s (fig.6.10).⁸⁹³ Bartolomeo evidently referred to Schongauer's rendition of Peter when tasked with including the saint in the altarpiece commission. Schongauer's series was frequently plundered for inspiration by the artisans who kept impressions in their workshops.⁸⁹⁴ In fact, a survey of the rather limited array of figures that Bartolomeo consistently recycled indicates that he owned more of Schongauer's apostle-prints and regularly repurposed them. For instance, saint Homobonus in the *Pala di Lonigo* of circa 1502 recalls Schongauer's *Saint Martin* in the manner that the beggar appears to his right.⁸⁹⁵ Reminiscences of the *Saint Peter* can also be discerned in saints that feature in several altarpieces by the Montagna such as Jerome in the *Pala di Pavia* and John the Baptist in the *Pala dei santi Nazaro e Celso* (figs.6.11, 6.12).⁸⁹⁶ It was not just engravings by Schongauer that Bartolomeo used as compositional tools. While the female figure with long flowing hair who holds an ointment jar or martyr's feather recurrent across his oeuvre could be related to Schongauer's *Wise and Foolish Virgins*, a closer source for the way that the mantle drapes around the saint is Master

⁸⁹⁰ This woodcut occasionally and erroneously attributed to Benedetto Montagna, for Bordone's involvement on its design see MASSING 1977, p.43; LANDAU 2016, pp.118–19.

⁸⁹¹ See for instance the anonymous copy after Master IAM's *Virgin and Child* which is dated to c.1480–90 and which is most likely from the Veneto, TIB.2409.018.

⁸⁹² See Chapter 5 above on Bartolomeo's *Saint Paul* landscape; the figure recurs with variants in LUCCO 2014, Cat.83.

⁸⁹³ LEHRS 2005, No.42, see Nos.41–50 for the apostle series more generally.

⁸⁹⁴ NASH 2008, pp.135–36.

⁸⁹⁵ LEHRS 2005, No.62, LUCCO 2014, Cat.62.

⁸⁹⁶ LEHRS 2005, No.41; LUCCO 2014, Cats. 46, 47, 52d, 82.

FVB's *Saint Barbara* (figs.6.13, 6.14, 6.15).⁸⁹⁷ It is therefore significant that Giovanni Antonio da Brescia added a tower very similar in form and placement to that of Master FVB to his copy after Benedetto's *Saint Catherine* given that da Brescia may have produced this engraving while in Vicenza and perhaps while associated with the Montagna workshop.

The *Saint Barbara* case therefore highlights a key point on the way that Northern prints were used within the Montagna workshop. It suggests that Bartolomeo initially acquired these foreign imports to build a visual repertoire necessary for the fulfilment of his painted commissions, but the workshop's subsequent expansion into printmaking made it logical also to apply them in another context: the repository of Northern prints could assist in the production of paintings and prints. A key example of this practice concerns an engraving of the *Martyrdom of Saint Barbara* by Master ES (fig.6.16).⁸⁹⁸ Comparison with the previously discussed *Sacrifice of Abraham* reveals striking similarities in the compositional construct with the sacrificial act observed by attendant figures situated to the left (fig.3.23). Further parallels are observable in the rocky foreground and most importantly in the shape of the sabre held aloft by the two fathers.⁸⁹⁹ Although the two engravings are not identical, the compositional analogies are indisputably closer than those drawn by Ames-Lewis between Master ES's and Mantegna's *Adoration*. Master ES's *Martyrdom* should be consequently recognised as a source for the *Sacrifice of Abraham* with the corresponding assertion that an impression of the print was held in the Montagna workshop. When he commenced designing the composition for Benedetto to engrave, Bartolomeo must have turned to the repository initially used for his paintings. Indeed, as elements of the *Martyrdom of San Biagio* that forms part of the predella of the *Pala di San Bartolomeo* anticipate the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, it appears that Master ES's engraving had been acquired as a painter's reference tool by 1485 (fig.6.17).

⁸⁹⁷ LUCCO 2014, Cats.16 (Saint Lucy), 34 (Mary Magdalene), 37 (Catherine of Alexandria). For Schonaguer's *Wise and Foolish Virgins*, see LEHRS 2005, Nos.76–84. For Master FVB's engraving see LEHRS 1908–34, VII, No.45.

⁸⁹⁸ LEHRS 2005, No.155.

⁸⁹⁹ Barbara was ultimately martyred by her father. Suggesting that Bartolomeo noted the connection between this narrative and Isaac's sacrifice would be a step too far but not entirely untenable.

The diverse application of Northern prints was not unique to the Montagna. Another workshop in which the impact of Northern prints extended across multiple media was that of Antonio Pollaiuolo. Like Bartolomeo, Pollaiuolo treated Northern prints as compositional models for output in paintings and prints. Recollections of engravings by Master ES and the Master of Calvary have been noted in various paintings, while the central figures of the *Battle of the Nudes* might be derived from Schongauer's *Flagellation*.⁹⁰⁰ The compositional usefulness of a Northern print was certainly not affected by the medium of the intended project. Drawing was a vital intermediary in this flexibility – a point further addressed below – as was the question of access. Quite how the artists who acquired Northern prints from the mid to late fifteenth century stored their collections remains uncertain: Ludovico Dolce's claim that Raphael affixed Dürer prints to the walls of his workshop might offer some insight.⁹⁰¹ What is certain is that Northern prints were readily consultable within artisanal workshops by the 1470s. Bartolomeo's ongoing responsiveness to Northern prints shows that those he acquired were subsumed into the repository of visual stimuli upon which his workshop productivity depended. This becomes more apparent when aligned with proposals made below on the use of Dürer's prints as reference sources across several decades and by multiple artists.

Sustained reference to collections of Northern prints unsurprisingly engendered more subtle responses than wholesale or piecemeal copying. One effect proposed by several scholars is on the graphic vocabulary employed in pen and ink drawings. Sharon Gregory has considered at length how artists like Perugino, Ghirlandaio, Fra Bartolomeo and Michelangelo mimicked the modelling created by the printed lines they observed in Northern prints.⁹⁰² Dense systems of cross- and parallel hatching in addition to a linear modelling of form were so emphatically linked to Northern burin strokes that the development of central Italian draftsmanship has

⁹⁰⁰ HOLMES 1983, Chapter 2, this specific proposal at pp.272–73; noted in WRIGHT 2005, p.461 and additional comments on Northern elements in Pollaiuolo's art at p.485n.

⁹⁰¹ This aspect of status is implicit in 'Aretino's' remark that Raphael praised these prints without any 'vestige of shame' and that Dürer's engravings were sufficient to render him immortal, ROSKILL 1968, pp.120–21. See also WHISTLER 2016, pp.181–85 for a consideration of how Venetian artists kept prints for reference in their workshops.

⁹⁰² GREGORY 2012, pp.161–220. Her analysis builds on earlier proposals on the topic by Patricia Rubin (on Ghirlandaio and Perugino); AMES-LEWIS 1989B, on Ghirlandaio. My thanks to Alison Wright for offering further comments on Florentine responses towards a Northern graphic and her suggestions as to how this should be considered in the work of artists from the Veneto.

been made to appear profoundly indebted to Northern engravers. The central Italian bias of Gregory's analysis is partly attributable to her research's focus on the artists 'deemed important' to Vasari.⁹⁰³ Yet it underscores the issue of geography: what about those artists working in the Veneto who were contemporaneously exposed to a similar, if not a greater, selection of Northern prints?

Bartolomeo's reference to Master ES's *Martyrdom* during the preparatory phases of the *Sacrifice of Abraham* offers a way to start addressing this question. This is because the proposal that Benedetto followed the linear systems of drawings provided by Bartolomeo means the *Sacrifice* probably reflects Bartolomeo's pen handling. Master ES's drapery of Barbara's robe is echoed in the robes of Abraham, and in both engravings volumetric form is achieved through a combination of short strokes and parallel hatching (figs.6.18a&b). The sparsely shaded landscape and defined contours could invite further comparisons.⁹⁰⁴ A more sophisticated and precise graphic vocabulary, however, was employed in the *Sacrifice* thus demonstrating that Bartolomeo did not slavishly emulate Master ES's burin strokes when producing the preparatory engraving design. In fact, the few pen and ink drawings that can be securely linked to the Montagna workshop display little overt reliance on Northern engraving techniques and instead adhere to precise systems of parallel and zig-zag shading deployed by the Paduan School.⁹⁰⁵ Similar conclusions arise from consideration of drawings produced by Bartolomeo's Venetic peers. Traits like slightly curved lines and crosshatching that Rubin and Gregory argued were derived from Northern engravings might occur in the drawings of Mantegna, Zoppo and Giovanni Bellini, but application of these techniques did not necessarily depend on study of printed lines.⁹⁰⁶ Neither do the drawings of Cima nor Carpaccio exhibit signs of any conscious emulation of the graphic handling of the Northern prints they appear to have known.⁹⁰⁷ There is therefore no convincing evidence that draughtsmen

⁹⁰³ GREGORY 2012, pp.161–62.

⁹⁰⁴ GREGORY 2012, pp.169–70 similarly proposes that Schongauer's simply engraved landscapes informed those drawn by Pinturicchio, Perugino and Raphael.

⁹⁰⁵ In contrast, GREGORY 2012, p.163ff consistently argues that parallel shading developed in central Italian drawings through study of Northern prints.

⁹⁰⁶ FOWLER 2017, p.13 proposes that Mantegna's line handling became more structured as a result of his involvement in printmaking.

⁹⁰⁷ On these artists' engagement with Northern prints, principally by Dürer but also engravings by Master ES, see proposals in HEIMBURGER 1999, Chapters 2 and 3 respectively. See also Venice 1999 Cat.19, p.220 for Carpaccio's awareness of Dürer's woodcut of the *Birth of the Virgin*. Carpaccio may

in the Veneto analysed the graphic handling of Northern prints in the same manner that has been proposed for their Florentine peers.

What else then interested Bartolomeo about Northern prints other than their compositional constructs? Another impact of Northern prints appears to have been in his emotional handling of a theme. A prime example is the *Pietà* that Bartolomeo painted for the Santuario di Monte Berico in 1500 (fig.6.19).⁹⁰⁸ The composition has invited somewhat unconvincing comparison with Dürer's *Lamentation*, which formed part of his Large Passion woodcut series (fig.6.20).⁹⁰⁹ Bartolomeo's earlier rendition of the *Pietà*, however, as frescoed onto the walls of the Santuario circa 1484 excludes this possibility as the scene's composition and inherent pathos are evident antecedents to these qualities in the *Pietà* of 1500 (fig.5.53).⁹¹⁰ Yet the search for an underlying Northern origin endures, as reflected by descriptions of Bartolomeo's renderings of the episode as Germanic '*Vesperbilder*'.⁹¹¹ In an attempt to chart Bartolomeo's responsiveness towards this type, the earlier fresco has been placed in relation to German sculptures of the theme that were exported to the Veneto in large quantities (fig.6.21).⁹¹² Though Bartolomeo may have known of one such sculpture present in Vicenza, the Northern prints housed in his workshop would have offered a more convenient source of inspiration: they were two-dimensional and readily consultable. One engraving that Bartolomeo ostensibly knew is the *Lamentation* by Master ES (fig.6.22).⁹¹³ In it, the limp, lifeless body of Christ slumps over the Virgin's voluminous robes in a manner that is echoed in both Bartolomeo's *Pietà* of c.1484 and 1500. Further recollections of Master ES's composition are apparent in the exaggerated hand gestures – both clasped and drawn-back – of the attendant figures that feature in the latter painting. But what Bartolomeo absorbed most from the engraving was its pathos. The two Monte Berico iterations of the *Pietà* have an

have absorbed details from Dürer's wash drawings on blue paper, but this represents a different form of engagement.

⁹⁰⁸ LUCCO 2014, Cat.19.

⁹⁰⁹ BARBIERI 1965, pp.13–16.

⁹¹⁰ LUCCO 2014, Cat.16.

⁹¹¹ BARBIERI 1965, p.14; LUCCO 2014, p.299.

⁹¹² On this phenomenon see KÖRTE 1937; MILAN 2018B. The Met *vesperbild* (inv.64.80) was not among those exported to Italy, but is here included for illustrative purposes. This visual proposal made by ARSLAN 1956, pp.180–82, nos.1279 & 1271 in relation to a German *versperbild* he erroneously thought was at Monte Berico; repeated in PUPPI 1962, p.58. BARBIERI 1965, p.15, however, corrected the erroneous claim.

⁹¹³ LEHRS 2005, No.33.

intensity imparted by grief stricken expressions and subtle body articulations ultimately informed by Master ES.

Attunement towards the emotive sensibilities encapsulated in the Passion imagery that arrived from the North in the form of prints carried through into several other of Bartolomeo's works. Schongauer's Passion series of twelve plates and other devotional engravings were particularly influential in this respect. Impressions appear to have reached Florence by the mid 1470s, and were available in Vicenza at around the same time.⁹¹⁴ In addition to providing a visual framework for narrating the episodes, what was striking about Schongauer's designs was the emotional tension they communicated. Like Master ES, mournful facial expressions were a key tool. Schongauer, however, used gestures in a more sophisticated way to construct taut relationships between figures. Formal echoes of Schongauer's restrained sensibilities characterise the *Crucifixion with the Madonna and saints John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene* Bartolomeo frescoed in the refectory of the Abbazia di Praglia (fig.6.23).⁹¹⁵ The crucifix upon which Christ's sinewy form slumps under its own weight is starkly juxtaposed against the expansive skyline, observed solemnly by the Virgin, Mary Magdalene and John the Evangelist. Analogies could be made with the *Crucifixion* from Schongauer's Passion series in the way that Mary Magdalene clasps the base of the cross and with the *Crucifixion with Four Angels* in the overall composition (figs.6.24; 6.25).⁹¹⁶ And therein lies the key point: deriving formal inspiration from Schongauer prints enabled Bartolomeo to create a sombre tone. This interplay between translating and echoing Schongauer is also observable in the *Way to Calvary* (fig.6.26).⁹¹⁷ Evidence that Bartolomeo knew Schongauer's rendition of the episode is found in the soldier at the left who replicates the forward motion of Christ's turbaned captor, yet it is ultimately the scene's gravitas that most strongly recalls the Northern print.⁹¹⁸ Bartolomeo achieved this emotional intensity to a certain extent by replicating the facial expressions of Schongauer's figures; Christ's

⁹¹⁴ For discussion and visual evidence for Northern prints in Florence, see HOLMES 1983, esp. Chapters 2 and Seven.

⁹¹⁵ LUCCO 2014, Cat.51.

⁹¹⁶ LEHRS 2005, Nos.27, 16.

⁹¹⁷ LUCCO 2014, Cat.46.

⁹¹⁸ Bartolomeo's *Noli me tangere* (c.1490–95, formerly San Lorenzo now Berlin, Gemäldegalerie) is another painting in which the relationship between Christ and Mary Magdalene might be informed by Schongauer's engraving of the episode, see respectively LUCCO 2014, Cat.47; LEHRS 2005, No.15.

downturned eyes and the furrowed brows of those who accompany him. Once again, however, the legacy of Schongauer is most apparent in the dynamics between figures, thus underscoring the role Northern prints played in Bartolomeo's concentrated efforts to construct narrative coherency.

That methods for communicating emotion was something Bartolomeo learnt from Northern prints is, of course, subjective. It is worth briefly considering whether a similar impact can be observed in the work of other artists operating in the Veneto. A valid point of departure is with Mantegna, due to his early receptivity towards German prints and Northern art more generally. His various iterations of religious scenes including the Pietà and Entombment have a pathos of a somewhat Northern tone (fig.6.27). As too do Bellini's meditations on Passion episodes; one prime example is his Correr Crucifixion (fig.6.28).⁹¹⁹ Yet while it could be argued that both artists were informed by the prints of Masters ES or IAM of Zwolle amongst others, it is worth recalling that Jacopo Bellini's Sketchbooks contain religious scenes that communicate emotional distress through gesture and expression, thus setting an Italian precedent for this mode of artistic expression.⁹²⁰ Northern prints may have enriched Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini's deployment of emotive techniques but it would be remiss to present specific prints as their sources. Parallels can be drawn with Cima, even if his relatively few extant paintings of religious narratives makes it more difficult to establish how he navigated this interplay. For example, the *Madonna dell'Arancio* can only be related to Northern prints like Master ES's Large and Small *Hortus Conclusus* by virtue of the spatial construct of the 'open air' *sacre conversazioni* (figs.6.29; 2.49).⁹²¹ One of his few paintings in which the emotive qualities could be derived from Northern prints is the Pushkin *Deposition* as the treatment of the lamenting figures suggests a knowledge of Schongauer's Passion series.⁹²² However, Cima's handling of this episode was certainly informed by Bellini's *Pietà* and this ultimately underscores the fact that the essence of Northern

⁹¹⁹ LUCCO 2004, pp.91–92. The impact of Mantegna is also apparent.

⁹²⁰ See the various Crucifixions as in London Sketchbook on folio 2r and Paris sketchbook see folio 18. MEYER ZUR CAPELLEN 1993 proposes that Jacopo was informed by Northern miniatures present in Venice. On the rendering of passion imagery in fifteenth century Italy see MILAN 2018B and for the Veneto more specifically, see PUGLISI & BARCHAM 2019, esp. Chapter 2.

⁹²¹ For this altarpiece see CONEGLIANO 2010, Cat.19 with further literature. These references further discussed in HEIMBURGER 1999, pp.20–26. On Cima's responses to Northern art more generally see HUMFREY 1983 pp.29–34 and LUCCO 2010.

⁹²² CONEGLIANO 2010, Cat.53.

models was subject to subsequent translations. Cecil Clough's observation made in the context of Dürer's impact on Italian painting is here insightful:

once the initial impact of something new and revolutionary has worn off, its effect is liable to be diluted by other kinds of stimulus coming from near home, or to reach the nascent work of art not through the original source but through an intermediary.⁹²³

Contextualising the proposal that Bartolomeo responded to the emotive sensibilities of Northern prints within the wider artistic culture of the Veneto consequently highlights several key points. The first is that the imitation of a Northern emotional tone should not be over exaggerated. Not every expression of grief included in the work of Bartolomeo and his peers depended on a Northern print source: in certain instances, a Northern sense of emotion was transmitted via intermediary models, while others developed from an entirely local tradition. Second is that the overriding function of Northern prints was indisputably as compositional aides. Artists acquired them with the primary intention of increasing their 'image-banks' and this was certainly the case across the Veneto. Last but not least, is that the activity of these artists was dispersed across a relatively wide geographic area, despite Heimberger's attempt to centralise their engagement with Northern models in a Venetian context.⁹²⁴ This relative isolation arguably allowed for individuated responses that were, to a certain extent, specific to a master and his workshop. In the case of the Montagna workshop, the primary impact of Northern prints was in their handling of compositions, followed by their means of expressing emotion.

Learning by Dürer's Example.

The sustained application of Northern prints in the Montagna workshop's stock is demonstrated by the small panel of the *Travels of Saint Anthony* that was originally a predella to an altarpiece produced between circa 1515 and 1535

⁹²³ CLOUGH 1970, p.106.

⁹²⁴ This is implicit in HEIMBURGER 1999 even in the respect that the title adopts the umbrella term 'pittura veneziana' to encompass artists like Cima who did not spend their whole careers on the Lagoon.

(fig.6.30).⁹²⁵ In it, the fortress in the background to the left of Anthony is taken from Albrecht Dürer's *Monstrous Sow of Landsner* (fig.6.31).⁹²⁶ But this quotation also brings into context the profound impact that Dürer had on the development of print production in the Veneto. This is by virtue of the copies and citations of Dürer prints that came to define the engravings of Benedetto and peers who can be associated with the Montagna workshop. What impact did the interactions that took place between these engravers as engendered by this common working context have on their access to and responses towards Dürer's prints?

Dürer and his work have come to assume a seminal role in North-South discourses because of the trans-Alpine distributional strategies he employed to great success and his travels across the Veneto towards Venice.⁹²⁷ Scholarship on the reception of Dürer's prints in the Veneto has, however, for the most part focused on his artistic exchanges with Jacopo de' Barbari.⁹²⁸ This is not without good reason: Dürer was personally acquainted with Jacopo and may have studied with him during time he spent in Venice.⁹²⁹ In fact – with the exception of a proposed side-trip to Padua – Dürer's Venetian interests dominates the literature.⁹³⁰ Whether Dürer travelled to the city on one or two occasions has been much debated. Recently the theory that he only got as far as the Trentino in 1495 has found increasing favour.⁹³¹

⁹²⁵ LUCCO 2014, Cat.112, pp.402–3 discusses the various proposed altarpieces that this painting and its pendant, *Saint Anthony and the Centaur* (now Agnew's Gallery, London) formerly accompanied. I am grateful to Anna Cunningham for allowing me to consult this latter painting.

⁹²⁶ LUCCO 2014, Cat.112, pp.402–3.

⁹²⁷ There have been multiple exhibitions not to mention innumerable books, articles and chapters in edited volumes on the theme such as ROME 2007; LONDON 2003; MILAN 2018A. ASHCROFT 2017 provides a comprehensive overview and inventory of the documentary sources. Even though these are only provided in English translations, references to Dürer's documentary sources will henceforth be exclusively to ASHCROFT Numbers where concordance with RUPPRICH 1956 and other resources can be found.

⁹²⁸ See for instance FERRARI 2006 where the title promised to address 'Dürer and the Veneto' yet 80% of discussion was devoted exclusively to Jacopo.

⁹²⁹ BÖCKEM 2016, pp.111–34.

⁹³⁰ FARÀ 1997, pp.94–95 suggested that Dürer travelled to Padua in 1506 where he had his portrait taken for subsequent inclusion in the fresco of the *Marriage of the Virgin* in the Scoletta del Carmine. This fresco and several others in the Scoletta were long attributed to Giulio Campagnola, see FIOCCO 1915, pp.139–48, an attribution indisputably incorrect given Giulio's propensity for works on smallscale, and that he did not establish a workshop capable of fulfilling a fresco commission, this view also held by BROWN 2010, p.87; ZDANSKI 1992, A11–15, pp.403–8. Inclusion of Dürer's likeness should instead be related to the *Festa del Rosario* which the artist responsible for the Scoletta frescoes clearly studied. CARRINGTON 1941, pp.211–12 proposed that Dürer met Benedetto in Padua on this hypothetical trip of 1506 on no grounded evidence.

⁹³¹ AIKEMA 2018, p.21 with accompanying literature proposes that Dürer did not travel any further than Arco in 1495 and that the trip into the Alps was made with the primary intent of producing watercolour landscape drawings of sites on the strada d'Alemagna such as Innsbruck, Arco, Trento and the Castello

Yet comments in letters sent from Venice to Wilibald Pirckheimer in early 1506 strongly suggest that Dürer had some prior knowledge of the art and society of the Veneto in addition to a grasp of its dialect.⁹³² Two trips to the region would explain many elements of Dürer's life and work, while simultaneously opening questions on Dürer's exposure to art situated in the mainland cities he may have travelled through on an earlier trip.⁹³³ What is certain, however, is that Dürer's art had attracted the attention and patronage of Venetian residents by the time of his stay in Venice between late 1505 to 1507. Dürer also complained to Pirckheimer in a letter sent from Venice about the extent to which local artists were imitating his 'ding' [thing] – a colloquial term variously interpreted as artworks he had produced or his artistic style as a whole.⁹³⁴

Despite the ambiguity of Dürer's complaint, there is little doubt that the distribution of his prints facilitated this copying. Dürer was thereby complicit in his own frustrations: in July 1497 he employed two merchants – Contz Swyzter and Jorg Coler – to handle the sale of his prints 'von einem land zu anndern' [from one land to others], and entered into contractual agreement with another, Jacob Arnold, in 1500.⁹³⁵ As discussed in Chapter Five, financial profit was a driving factor of this distributional strategy. Colporteurs were instructed to extort the maximum prices possible, clauses were implemented to protect Dürer from potential damages to print-

di Segonzano. LUBER 2005, p.62ff similarly takes the view that Dürer did not reach Venice in 1495 although her reasoning is more tenuous.

⁹³² In the letter sent on 7 February 1506, Dürer wrote 'and that thing, which I liked so much eleven years ago, I do not like it any more'. Whether 'das ding' [that thing] refers to a personal taste for art experienced in Italy – including the engravings designed by Mantegna that he copied – or exposure to Italian exports found in Nuremberg circa 1495 remains debated, see ASHCROFT 2017, No.29.2, pp.139–42 and interpretation summary in LUBER 2005, pp.62–66.

⁹³³ These issues are too extensive to address here. My thanks to David Landau for discussing his ongoing research on Dürer's travels and exposure to Italian art with me. On these travels, HUTCHINSON 1992, pp.45–47 deduced that Dürer would have travelled back along the 'more leisurely' Southern route via Padua, Verona and Vicenza in 1496 (he travelled the 'Carinzia route' via Salzburg and Ljubljana, presumably with a merchant's convoy, in 1506). He surely would have visited churches to study artworks in these cities on this first trip. The view that Dürer reached Venice twice is followed by FARA 1997; GROSSMAN 2007; BÖCKEM 2012, pp.56–57; SMITH 2012, pp.54–73 among others.

⁹³⁴ 'Auch sind mir ihr viel Feind und machen mein Ding in Kirchen ab und wo sie es mögen bekummen', [They are my enemies and copy my things in churches and wherever they can find it], see ASHCROFT 2017, No.29., pp.139–42. Reference to artworks situated in churches has conversely led to the thesis that Dürer was complaining about copies after paintings he completed in Venice such as *Christ in the Temple* and the *Madonna del Rosario*.

⁹³⁵ On 7 July 1497 a contract was drawn up with Swyzter and another with Coler on 26 July 1497, for which see respectively ASHCROFT 2017, Nos.7–8, pp.65–67. On the contract between Arnold and Dürer drawn up on 21 August 1500, see ASHCROFT 2017, No.13 p.90–91. See comments in SCHOCH 2007 p.xiii; HUTCHINSON 1990, p.57; KOERNER 1993, pp.207–8.

stocks and in 1506 Dürer infamously complained about how the death of an agent operating in Rome had caused him to incur substantial debts.⁹³⁶ Most significant are the contractual instructions that Swyzter, Coler and Arnold should all move from city to city [von einer stadt zu der andern] and linger only in locations ‘deemed to be useful and favourable’ as this strategy underscores the expectation that Dürer’s agents would retail his prints across a wide geography.⁹³⁷ Even though records as to their exact sales areas does not survive, the proximity of Nuremberg to the Alps supports the proposal that a colporteur travelled to Italy via the strada d’Alemagna, selling Dürer’s work in financially ‘favourable’ locations as they went.⁹³⁸ Enterprising merchants and even pilgrims following this traderoute, and passing through cities in the Trentino and across the *terra ferma*, may have also sold prints by Dürer independent of the artist’s direction perhaps in smaller quantities and on a more *ad hoc* basis.

Evidence that Vicenza was one such site is provided by the Dürer copies and quotations that feature in Benedetto Montagna’s engraved oeuvre, as documented in Appendix IVa. The timeframe for the prints’ arrival is tied to the distributional strategy implemented by Dürer and his agents and the speed at which they operated. For instance, a definite *terminus post quem* for Benedetto’s inverted copy of the *Large Horse* is provided by the date ‘1505’ inscribed on Dürer’s original (figs.6.32, 6.33).⁹³⁹ The earlier arrival of other Dürer prints can be surmised from the dating of Benedetto’s earliest engravings. For instance, the butterfly spliced from Dürer’s *Holy Family with the Butterfly* and the piglet taken from the *Prodigal Son* appear in engravings Benedetto produced circa 1504 to 1505, as in the *Saint Anthony Abbot* (figs.6.34, 6.35, 5.14). Other early cases are Benedetto’s rather crude reverse copy after Dürer’s *Man of Sorrows* and the more competent copy of Dürer’s *Saint Sebastian* which also date stylistically to around 1504 (figs.6.36; 6.37; 6.38).⁹⁴⁰ The

⁹³⁶ On the activity and loss of an agent in Rome see Dürer’s Gedenbuch as quoted in ASHCROFT 2017, No.38, pp.190–91. See also comments on his retail activity in GREBE 2017 pp.10–11; SCHOCH 2007, p.xiv.

⁹³⁷ Clauses respectively in ASHCROFT 2017 Nos.7, 8 & 13.

⁹³⁸ As does the involvement of Dürer’s wife and mother in the sale of his prints from his workshop cum residence and at fairs in Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Augsburg and Ingolstadt because this indicates that Dürer used his close family members for the more local market, hiring the services of agents for markets further afield, SCHOCH 2007, p.xiv; KOERNER 1993, p.208.

⁹³⁹ App.II, No.21; SCHOCH ET AL. 2001–4, No.43.

⁹⁴⁰ App.II, Nos.5 &6; App.IV, No.20.

dating of these plagiarisms are of course dependent on Benedetto's uptake of engraving, but it can be reasonably asserted that impressions of Dürer's prints were available in Vicenza earlier. Indeed, Nicoletto da Modena's dated copy after Dürer's *Four Witches* – if erroneously interpreted as the *Judgement of Paris* – confirms that Dürer's work had reached the Veneto, and more specifically Padua, by 1500 (fig.4.14).⁹⁴¹ Another example is Liberale da Verona's painting of the *Suicide of Dido* dating to the early 1500s which features figures spliced from Dürer's *Five Lansquenets and an Oriental* of circa 1495 (figs.6.39a&b; 6.40).⁹⁴² The established trade network undoubtedly dictated the rapid arrival of Dürer prints in the Veneto.

Records of exactly which prints Dürer gave his colporteurs to sell on their travels has not been found, nor are there records on the prints that independent merchants may have added to their loads. Nonetheless, it is evident that their stocks encompassed Dürer's diverse output: the contracts with Swyzter and Arnold refer to pricelists and hence selection of prints, perhaps in order to advertise Dürer's artistic versatility.⁹⁴³ This strategy of diversity is further attested by a survey of Benedetto's engravings that reveals he had access to over twenty different Dürer prints.⁹⁴⁴ These vary in subject matter, size and medium. References are made, for instance, to woodcuts of the *Life of the Virgin* series, several small-scale engravings of religious episodes and more ambitious secular scenes. Recalling that woodcuts were cheaper than engravings and that prices were dictated by scale and level of workmanship, it can be proposed that the Montagna family made purchases at a range of price points. The concern was evidently not for cost but to acquire variety for their workshop's visual archive. Yet the Montagna's collection of Dürer's prints was not necessarily acquired in a single batch: availability played some role. Agents travelling across the Alps could only carry a certain number of impressions of each print in their load and Dürer's instruction that his colporteurs travel widely suggests they eked out the sale

⁹⁴¹ TIB.2508.110. See BARTLETT-RAWLINGS FORTHCOMING.

⁹⁴² PERETTI 1996, pp.34–36 posited the Veronese Girolamo dai Libri's Cleveland *Nativity*, in which the landscape is taken from Dürer's *Holy Family with Butterfly* as the earliest Italian citation of a Dürer's print. His argument resided on a dating of c.1498, however, the Cleveland online collection dates the miniature to c.1515. Dating notwithstanding, dai Libri's frequent references to Dürer's prints further confirms their circulation in Verona.

⁹⁴³ ASCHCROFT 2017, No.7, p.65, No.13, p.90, SCHMID 1996 pp.35–36 notes that Dürer took a sample of his entire graphic oeuvre to the Netherlands with him in 1520 and he presumably applied the same technique in preceding trips. The variety of Dürer prints available in Italy is best reflected by the catalogues of FARA 2007 and MÉSZÁROS 1983.

⁹⁴⁴ App.IV.

of their stocks. Multiple sales trips made by the colporteurs and encounters with itinerant merchants with a few impressions to sell would have provided Italian clients the opportunity to gradually expand their collections. There is also a possibility that when Dürer travelled back across the *terraferma* in 1507, he directly sold impressions of his prints in Vicenza to the Montagna, which perhaps gave Benedetto chance to ask how Dürer had achieved some of the visual effects.

The gradual acquisition of Dürer's prints by the Montagna workshop would help explain why Benedetto engaged with the prints in various ways. In certain cases, a Dürer motif was simply added to an already extant composition of Bartolomeo's design as in the piglet in the *Saint Anthony Abbot* and the Godhead in the *Orant Virgin with Angels*. The early chronology of these engravings within Benedetto's oeuvre indicates that direct quotation of a Northern print was the most immediate form of response, and was perhaps a development on the use of Northern prints as reference material in the Montagna's painted output. Copying an entire composition was a rather more direct mode of engagement, and Benedetto did so on five or six occasions.⁹⁴⁵ Even though these copies are in reverse, several are strikingly precise: the discerning print collector Ferdinand Columbus was content to add Dürer's monogram to Benedetto's *Large Horse* when his impression of the Dürer original was lost in a fire.⁹⁴⁶ Digital overlay confirms that Benedetto achieved this accuracy by reproducing Dürer's designs with the *calco* technique discussed in Chapter Five (fig.6.41). As with Benedetto's transfer of his father's preparatory drawing for the *Resurrected Christ*, freehand imitation of the internal shading explains some disparities in the formal modelling of certain copies. A case in point is the urn held by a putto in *The Witch* as Benedetto relied on rigid cross-hatching rather than following Dürer's curved strokes (figs.6.42; 6.43). Exact copying of Dürer's burin strokes evidently required practice and prolonged study of the Dürer impressions available in the workshop. Benedetto's development in reproducing Dürer is reflected by his transition from isolated quotations to competent copies via less adept imitations such as the *Sebastian* and *Man of Sorrows*.

⁹⁴⁵ App.IV Nos.4, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20.

⁹⁴⁶ McDONALD 2004, II, Cat.253, pp.55–56 with further commentary. On Columbus's print collection more broadly see McDONALD 2003; BURY & LANDAU 2004.

Gradually, however, imitating Dürer's prints, or details of them, had an impact on Benedetto's own graphic idiom. This is clearly demonstrated in the *Virgin and Child in a landscape* which was engraved on the other side of the copperplate used for Benedetto's copy of Dürer's *Nativity* (figs.6.44; 6.45).⁹⁴⁷ Though the composition does not cite a specific Dürer print, the engraving is undeniably Düreresque.⁹⁴⁸ The deep landscape with thatched buildings is inspired those that occur across Dürer's oeuvre, while the positioning of the Virgin and Child is informed by Dürer's *Holy Family with Monkey* and *Holy Family with Butterfly* (figs.6.46; 6.35). The impact of Dürer is also apparent in Benedetto's technique. Strokes are short yet deep with some flickwork used to create shrubbery. Dense cross-hatching and closely aligned curved lines are used in the area of trees to the right of the Virgin and Child in a manner similar to Dürer's *Satyr Family* and *Adam and Eve*, among other examples (fig.6.47). Comparison of this burin handling with the techniques Benedetto employed in the slightly earlier *Resurrected Christ* emphasises the point. Tone was created not by varying the depth of the burin strokes but by their density. The zig-zag stroke is no longer used. Other examples such as the *Satyr Family* and *Woman, Satyr and Two Putti* reflect how Benedetto absorbed technical and stylistic elements to produce engravings that drew thematic inspiration from Dürer's prints (fig.6.48).⁹⁴⁹

It is no coincidence that these developments coincide with changes in Benedetto's visual sources. Discussion in preceding chapters has shown that Benedetto's earliest engravings followed compositions provided by his father and his burin strokes imitated the line handling in these drawings. The striking truth is Dürer's compositions enabled Benedetto to forge his own artistic identity; one that moved away his father's '*disegno*'. For instance, his *Nativity with Saints Catherine, Francis and John the Evangelist* is a pastiche of elements taken from several Dürer woodcuts and, while this is a relatively unsuccessful composition, it leaves little doubt that it was Benedetto's own invention (figs.6.49; 6.50).⁹⁵⁰ This engraving is incidentally the first Benedetto signed with his full name, representing the start of a

⁹⁴⁷ App.II, Nos.23, 20. For the plate usage, see App.IIIa, No.10.

⁹⁴⁸ Zucker in TIB.2512.012 also remarked that the engraving is 'fully infused with the spirit of Dürer'.

⁹⁴⁹ App.II, Nos.37, 28; App.IV, Nos.22 & 3; For Dürer's *Satyr Family* see SCHOCH ET AL. 2001–4, I, No.44; and for its impact in Benedetto's engraving see Chiara Callegari in VENICE 2016, Cat.25, p.212.

⁹⁵⁰ App.II, No.29. Catherine is taken from Dürer's *Martyrdom of Catherine* (c.1496); the architecture and angels from the *Adoration of the Magi* (in *Life of the Virgin*, c.1503); the manger from the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (in *Life of the Virgin* c.1503).

practice fundamental to his identity as an engraver. Imitating Dürer's prints was evidently a catalyst for Benedetto's diversion from the father-son collaboration within which he first practised the engraver's trade. This was not a total rejection of the Montagna workshop's visual archive: the *Nativity* discussed in Chapter Five fuses the composition Bartolomeo first used for the Proti chapel with decidedly Düreresque architectural elements and burin work.⁹⁵¹ Nonetheless, Dürer's prints and the way that he asserted his authorship through his signature undoubtedly had a significant impact on Benedetto's artistic self-consciousness.

Benedetto was by no means the only Italian printmaker who developed artistically through Dürer's example. In Bologna, Marcantonio Raimondi's early engravings, such as his *Apollo*, *Hyacinth and Cupid*, chart a comparable trajectory in which engagement with Dürer's prints enabled Marcantonio to move away from the house style of the Francia workshop where he first trained (fig.6.51).⁹⁵² Dürer's prints also had a significant impact on Giulio Campagnola's development as an engraver. That all the engravings that can be placed in his juvenile phase depend on Dürer's example is significant on account of Giulio's documented presence in the Montagna workshop during this period. Giulio's responses primarily took the form of copies and the impact of Dürer is particularly evident in Giulio's construction of setting.⁹⁵³ His *Ganymede* repurposes the background of the *Holy Family with Monkey*, Dürer's *Offer of Love* was the source for the landscape of his *Saturn* (fig.6.52), and on one occasion Giulio simply made a copy of the cityscape that features in the *Sea Monster* (fig.6.53).⁹⁵⁴ Most important is the fact that the landscape of his first known engraving, *Tobias and the Angel*, is taken from Dürer's *Little Courier* (figs.4.20; 6.54). The outlines of the completed panorama have a static quality, and this is at odds with the zig-zag shading technique used for the figures. It is consequently likely that the Dürer landscape was a subsequent addition to the copperplate although it is

⁹⁵¹ H.V., BM.20, p.181 suggested that the engraving was signed 'BM' at the lower left corner. Its existence in a single impression, with torn corner, means that this proposal cannot be validated.

⁹⁵² LANDAU 2016, p.129 proposes that Marcantonio did not plagiarise Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* until 1508, by which time he had already studied numerous other Dürer prints while in Bologna, for which see ALDOVINI 2010, esp. pp.135–46. See also MANCHESTER 2016, Cats.15–16, pp.148–49; Pon 2004, pp.40–42.

⁹⁵³ For a considered discussion of this aspect of Giulio's artistic output, see BROOKE 2018B, pp.220–26, and her entire essay for his attitudes towards copying more broadly. My thanks to Irene Brooke for sharing this essay with me prior to its publication and for discussing her research with me.

⁹⁵⁴ Respectively TIB.2518.007, ZEITLER 2017; TIB.2518.006, datings range between 1503 and 1508; TIB.2518.012, unique impression in Museo Capodimonte, Naples.

difficult to ascertain whether all or some of this copying was done freehand. What can be deduced, however, is that the bi-phase engraving of the composition necessitated the rearrangement of elements of Dürer's landscape to fit around the central figures (fig.6.55).⁹⁵⁵ Subtle reshuffling can also be observed in the aforementioned *Saturn*, in which Giulio slightly extended the grassy verve and moved the ship upwards to account for the Dürer landscape's new context.

Creative copying can consequently be presented as a trait common to Giulio and Benedetto.⁹⁵⁶ A survey of their engravings shows a consistent treatment of these imports as sources to be reinterpreted as required. One clear example is Giulio's inclusion of the landscape in his *Ganymede*, as he simply added a rather awkward cluster of trees to fill the void left by excluding Dürer's Virgin and child. This 'copy, paste and edit' approach could be dismissed as a purely pragmatic use of Dürer's prints as a repository of compositional ideas for artists who did not have the skill nor imagination of their celebrated Northern peer. Yet the extent to which disparate elements of Dürer's prints were integrated into their compositions suggests that this was not always the case. For example, the waterside fortress with moat that features in Dürer's *Joachim and the Angel* was incorporated by Benedetto into his *Catherine in a Landscape* with a subtlety that belies its superfluity (figs.6.56; 6.57).⁹⁵⁷ Quotations were also distorted, as demonstrated by Benedetto's conflation of various structures from Dürer's *Sea Monster* to construct the hill-town at the left of his *Agony in the Garden* (figs.6.58; 6.59).⁹⁵⁸ The way that these small details were integrated into structurally developed landscapes indicates that Benedetto's motivation was not simply to fill space. Other factors must have been at play such as the appeal of the novel and foreign, as well as a recognition of the Northern printmaker's technical dexterity. One of the major outcomes of copying Dürer was a shift in burin handling techniques. Benedetto and Giulio imitated the way that Dürer used cross-hatching to produce deep areas of shade and the use of flickwork which anticipated the stipple

⁹⁵⁵ Note, for instance, how the buildings adjacent to the trees at the right of Dürer's *Small Courier* are spaced out in Giulio's *Tobias and the Angel* and an additional section of hills added between Tobias and the Angel to fill the gap between them.

⁹⁵⁶ As concurred in BROOKE 2018B, p.225, not to mention other printmaking peers of Benedetto and Giulio working across the Italian Peninsula like Giovanni Battista Palumba and Cristofano Robetta who also cited Dürer prints extensively in their work.

⁹⁵⁷ This quotation hitherto unnoticed, App.II, No.30; SCHOCH ET AL. 2001–4, I.No.168.

⁹⁵⁸ App.II, No.33. MÉSZÁROS 1983, No.124 favoured Dürer's *Saint Eustace* as the source. While this engraving was also known to Benedetto, the structures certainly come from the *Sea Monster*.

method Giulio would ultimately make his own. This learning by example underscores how closely the two young engravers were looking at Dürer prints and suggests that they were doing so with a very similar eye.

These common modes of engagement with Dürer's prints become more significant when considered in line with the proposals in Chapter Four concerning the collective printmaking activity that took place in the Montagna workshop. The likelihood that several engravers – including Benedetto, Giulio and Mocetto – used the workspace and its resources makes it reasonable to propose that these individuals consulted the very same Dürer impressions and discussed their attitudes towards copying them. It is unlikely that the Montagna acquired multiple impressions of the same print, and especially when one considers that these were Northern imports of limited availability. Access to a stock of Dürer prints held in the Montagna workshop would have consequently enabled itinerant or juvenile engravers to draw from a wider variety of Dürer's designs than if they had had to build up a collection of their own.⁹⁵⁹ This would mean that Giulio's emulation of Dürer's graphic style did not develop within the humanist circle of collecting in Padua.⁹⁶⁰ Instead, the evidence suggests that its formation was thanks to his artistic training in the Montagna *bottega* and an accessible repository of Dürer prints.

Reference to Dürer prints in Benedetto and Giulio's work makes a powerful case for a wider recognition of the workshop's importance to engraving in the Veneto and to posit the corresponding emphasis placed on co-working practicalities. In this context, it is worth noting that Giovanni Antonio da Brescia's copies of the *Virgin and Child on a Grassy Bank* and the *Satyr Family* are dated '1505' and '1507' on the plate respectively; in other words, around the time he may have been in Vicenza (fig.6.60). Likewise, Nicoletto could feasibly have consulted additional Dürer prints to those he had already studied circa 1500 during his contact with the Montagna workshop between 1504 to 1506. Sub-contracting, concurrent production of engravings and access to the workshop's print-stock arguably went hand in hand.

⁹⁵⁹ It would also have meant that itinerant engravers did not need to carry impressions of Dürer prints around with them on their travels.

⁹⁶⁰ For which see BARTLETT-RAWLINGS FORTHCOMING & BROOKE 2018B. On the collecting of works on paper in Vicenza comments in conclusion.

Benedetto's development through Dürer's example should therefore be aligned with the co-working strategies discussed in Chapter Four.⁹⁶¹

A reassessment of visual and material evidence lends another dimension to this proposal. The number of Benedetto's engravings that reference or quote Dürer exceeds that of any of his direct peers: over 20 examples can be identified, compared to around five for Giulio and six by Nicoletto.⁹⁶² Benedetto likewise knew of more than 20 different Dürer woodcuts and engravings; a variety surpassed only by Marcantonio, who had studied at least 25 of Dürer's prints by late 1508.⁹⁶³ This is not coincidental. Not only do these statistics confirm that Benedetto was privileged with ready access to a collection of Dürer prints, Benedetto's citations make it possible to establish which prints featured in this repository.⁹⁶⁴ Significantly, engravers associated with the Montagna workshop drew inspiration from several of the same Dürer prints as Benedetto. To cite just a few examples in addition to those mentioned above: Benedetto, Nicoletto and da Brescia copied from the *Prodigal Son*, Giulio and Benedetto quoted elements of the *Ill Assorted Couple*, da Brescia and Benedetto produced variants of the *Large Horse* and copies after the *John Chrysostom* were made by Giulio, da Brescia and apparently also Benedetto (fig.6.61).⁹⁶⁵

These common references could be dismissed as purely indicative of the selection of Dürer prints exported to Italy were it not for some valuable if fragmentary findings. These concern printing materials in a continuation of the research approach implemented in Chapter Four. An early impression of Giulio's copy of *Saint John Chrysostom* and Giovanni Antonio da Brescia's copy of *Saint Jerome*, amongst other examples, are printed on paper with watermarks that occur in Benedetto's engravings and in notarial records relating to the Montagna.⁹⁶⁶ The thick black ink with which early impressions of Benedetto's copies after Dürer are printed likewise compares with that used for comparable engravings by Giulio and da Brescia. Such details

⁹⁶¹ As should Marcantonio's early use of Dürer prints.

⁹⁶² As tabulated in App.IV; See also MESZAROS 1983, Nos.39–45, (No.42 doubtful), pp.187–88 for Giulio, pp.229–30, Nos.143–45, 151–53 for Nicoletto.

⁹⁶³ This figure established from conflating the research of ALDOVINI 2010 and FARA 2007.

⁹⁶⁴ See App.IV.

⁹⁶⁵ App.IV, Nos.3, 20, 4. Although described in GUTEKUNST 1895, Angiolini sale No.2075, no impression of Benedetto's *John Chrysostom* has been found. Gutekunst clearly describes it as 'rare' and it is worth adding that Gutekunst were respected for their accurate sales catalogues.

⁹⁶⁶ See App.IIIb.No.3.

support the proposal that Giulio's copies after Dürer were engraved in the Montagna workshop, and that other printmakers printed their plates on the available roller press.

Vicentine Appreciation of Northern Art.

The impact the circulation of Northern prints had in Vicenza was not restricted to the output of the Montagna workshop. Vicentine consumers were also affected by the presence of these commodities and other Northern art forms. This could play out in two coexistent ways: directly through purchase of imported products or indirectly via the 'Northernisation' of work of the local artists whom they patronised.

Bartolomeo's acquisition of Northern prints for use in the *bottega* and Benedetto's responses to the work of Dürer allow for the proposal that the family noted and responded to an emerging taste for Northern art among their clients. A consideration of the market for these objects can therefore add another aspect to the present discussion on the reception of Northern art – printed, painted or otherwise – in Vicenza.

Vicentine attitudes towards Northern imports are clearly exemplified by Benedetto's engagement with Dürer's work. Most indicative are those meticulous counterpart copies to which Benedetto added his own monogram and thus retailed the inventions as his own. Benedetto's overt plagiarism inevitably raises the issue of copyright during the period; a topic that has not gone unstudied, most notably by Lisa Pon and Christopher Witcombe.⁹⁶⁷ Both scholars have established that to copy or '*contrafare*' another's inventions was accepted with a greater leniency in the early sixteenth century versus modern understandings of the practice. Also implicit to their scholarship is the premise that the production of a copy attests to the commercial success of the original.⁹⁶⁸ Dürer's hostility towards those who plagiarised his work consequently appears as an attempt to protect a business model to which prints were

⁹⁶⁷ PON 2004, pp.39–41; WITCOMBE 2004, esp. Chapter 4: 'Printed Images and Copyright in Venice before 1517', and more specifically, pp.81–87, 'Effectiveness. The Case of Marcantonio Raimondi and Albrecht Dürer'.

⁹⁶⁸ WITCOMBE 2004, p.16.

central.⁹⁶⁹ Yet the corresponding anecdotes – especially Vasari’s – have also invited discourses on Dürer’s awareness of his own artistic originality and raised the question of authorial ownership.⁹⁷⁰ The essential issue of artists’ motivations for copying Dürer relates to the fact that artistic production was predicated on the premise that a workshop’s output would attract and be appreciated by clients.

Such an analysis demands an appraisal of the dialectic between supply and demand. As discussed earlier in this chapter, only a limited number of Dürer’s prints could have been retailed on the Vicentine market. Acquisition must have therefore been dictated not only by price but also by availability. Thus despite Dürer’s colporteurs’ successes in whetting the appetite for the stock they had to sell, not all those in Vicenza who wanted a Dürer print could have got their hands on one. Benedetto, and by extension the Montagna family business, evidently recognised that they could fill this deficit faster than Dürer and his agents could. Making exact copies of Dürer’s prints was an obvious tact as was emulating Dürer’s stylistic idiom, even if this was a gradual process. The retail of these ‘Northernising’ products can best be understood as a means to undercut the commercial competition that the Northern imports presented by giving the Vicentine market what they wanted but could not readily get. Not only could they ensure a more consistent supply of prints with a Northern-flavour, the Montagna could presumably offer these objects at a cheaper price. Unlike Dürer, they did not have to pay import duties, or salaries to colporteurs, nor allow for potential stock damage due to long distance transport. Profit could therefore be made from a business model that anticipated the local appreciation for Dürer’s exotic prints.

No records as to how avidly Vicentines collected Dürer prints – or Benedetto’s interpretations of them – have been found. Consideration of the information available for the neighbouring cities of Padua and Venice allows for the construction of some hypotheses. A relevant resource is Marcantonio Michel’s *Notizia* even if his only reference to Dürer is an ambiguous note on the collection of

⁹⁶⁹ In the colophon to his 1511 *Life of The Virgin*, Dürer threatened those ‘thieves and imitators’ who dared to imitate his work. Vasari’s anecdote on the lawsuit Dürer called against Marcantonio in Venice is now known to have been fabricated, PON 2004, pp.41–42.

⁹⁷⁰ PON 2004, p.58.

Cardinal Grimani.⁹⁷¹ Michiel recorded the print collections of Marco Mantova Benavides and Gabriele Vendramin, and concordance with their inventories shows that Vendramin owned at least 50 Dürer prints, while the five that occur in the Benavides inventory had probably been acquired prior to Marco's death in 1582.⁹⁷² Yet one of the major shortcomings of Michiel's *Notizia* and these associated inventories is that they were compiled several decades after the initial introduction of Dürer's prints to the Veneto.⁹⁷³ Collectors' acquisition and appreciation of recent artistic developments consequently impedes analysis of the contemporary acquisition of these Northern imports. For instance, Benavides' print volumes when inventoried in 1650 included the work of Enea Vico and Jacopo Caraglio. A partial solution is offered by considering the slightly more extensive data on those Northerners who collected Dürer's prints during his lifetime. Members of the Nüremberg intellectual set including Wilibald Pirckheimer and Georg Beheim are known to have owned Dürer prints as did various nobles and cardinals from across the Holy Roman Empire.⁹⁷⁴ From these records it stands to reason that elite individuals in principal cities in the Veneto also started to collect Dürer prints soon after their arrival in the region.

Length restrictions mean that collecting patterns for works on paper among Vicentine patricians are not addressed in this thesis. It must suffice to state here that there is no good reason why tastes for Northern art among the wealthy Vicentines who formed art collections – such as Girolamo Gualdo and Giangiorgio Trissino – were not consistent with those of their peers elsewhere in the Veneto.⁹⁷⁵ That

⁹⁷¹ MICHEL ED.1896; FLETCHER 1981B, esp. p.607 where she notes Michiel's surprising lack of reference to Dürer and cautions on the pitfalls of using the *Notizie* at face value. See also FLETCHER 1981A & LAUBER 2005 on Michiel.

⁹⁷² BURY 1985 pp.19–21. RAVÀ 1920, pp.174–75 and BURY 1985, p.20, the inventory includes Dürer's engraved Passion (16 engravings), the *Twelve Apostles*, *Four Evangelists*, *Life of the Virgin* series (17 woodcuts), and the Apocalypse. It is worth adding that Cardinal Grimani and Mario Bevilacqua also owned prints by Dürer.

⁹⁷³ Michiel compiled his notes between 1521 and 1543 even if parts of these collections were amassed during the preceding century.

⁹⁷⁴ See SMITH 2017 esp. pp.144–48 for a brief yet informative survey of those who collected Dürer prints during the artist's lifetime.

⁹⁷⁵ MORSOLIN 1891 was the earliest to study the Chà Gualdo and the records on its collection in depth. More recent studies that discuss the residence include FAVARETTO 1990, pp.118–21; PITACCO 2005, pp.137–38. Another source often overlooked is BASILIO 1854, which is in fact a letter sent by Nicolo Basilio to Francesco Gualdo in Rimini in 1644 and which describes the residence from firsthand visits and discussion with Girolamo Gualdo Junior. See the inventories BMVe,: Cod. it. IV.133 (=5103), Girolamo Gualdo jr. *Raccolta delle inscrizioni cossi antiche...*, and BMVe, It. IV.127 (=5102), 1650, *Giardino di Chà Gualdo*, published as GUALDO 1972. The principal source on Trissino and his art

Vicenza's elite appreciated the qualities of Dürer's work can also be discerned from engravings by Benedetto of humanist subject matter in which Benedetto emulated the German's smallscale and refined technique such as his Ovid series. Comprising ten engravings, eight of which are based on illustrations from the *Ovidio Metamorphoseos Volgare*, these appear to have been intended as artworks to be circulated, appreciated and collected within an erudite network of Vicentine patricians and their acquaintances across the Veneto (figs.6.62; 6.63; 6.64; 6.65; 6.66; 6.67; 6.68; 6.69; 6.70; 6.71).⁹⁷⁶ This purpose is suggested by the presence an impression of Benedetto's *Apollo* – otherwise known as the *Man with Arrow* – in the collection of Marco Mantova Benavides at Padua (fig.6.72).⁹⁷⁷ Directly or indirectly via the agency of Benedetto and his peers, therefore, prints of a Northern style entered the art collections of the Vicentine – and Venetic – elite.

Acquisition of paintings imported from the North provides further insights into this phenomenon, even if this aspect of Vicentine collecting has not yet received extensive study.⁹⁷⁸ To judge from inventories drawn up in Venice, Padua and Verona, individuals from all levels of society kept Netherlandish paintings in their residences.⁹⁷⁹ Though no contemporary inventories for Vicenza have been analysed, it is noteworthy the renowned art collection formed by Girolamo Gualdo included one painting allegedly by Dürer.⁹⁸⁰ The presence of numerous paintings '*alla fiammenga*'

collection remains MORSOLIN 1878, see also D'ACHILLE 2011 with extensive further literature. These individuals were part of a learned network that extended across the region: for Vendramin and his social connections see PENNY 2008; for Bembo's residence see LAUBER 2013 and relevant comments in PADUA 2013.

⁹⁷⁶ App.II, Nos.41–50, copied after woodcut illustrations, attributed to Benedetto Bordon, in BONSIGNORI 1497. For an overview see CARRINGTON 1941.

⁹⁷⁷ App.II, No.35. As transcribed in FAVARETTO 1972, p.134, No.302, 'Item: sotto il d:to Ritratino carta stampa d'Erasmo: Vi è un Apollo stampa d'altro Quadre:o senza soaza de Benedetto Montagna gran Dissegnatore e Pittore al tempo d'And:a Mantegna 1517. L quale da fatto la Pala dell'Altar Magg.r a Montarton'. Andrea Mantova Benavides may have erroneously conflated the identities of Bartolomeo and Benedetto, but this *Item* can only refer to Benedetto's *Man with Arrow/ Apollo*.

⁹⁷⁸ AIKEMA 1999, p.83 fn.s.5 & 6 notes this limitation, which is significantly rectified in PITACCO 2005: an essay to which I am grateful to Bernard Aikema for bringing to my attention.

⁹⁷⁹ AIKEMA 1999 pp.83–90; ROSSI 1997. Zoe Farrell is currently preparing a doctoral thesis on the ownership of Northern commodities in Renaissance Verona. See also CAMPBELL 1981, for an overview of the Northern paintings in Venetic collections. On pp.467–68, fn2, Campbell refers to a series of Flemish tapestries of the Passion bequeathed to the Basilica di San Marco by Cardinal Giovanni Battista Zeno; a series also referred to in MARIACHER 1971, pp.278–80. It is worth emphasising that Zeno was also the Bishop of Vicenza, for a biographic overview, see FAVARETTO 2012.

⁹⁸⁰ BMVe,: Cod. it. IV 133 (= 5103), Girolamo Gualdo jr. *Raccolta delle inscrizioni cossi antiche...*, f.20v: 'La Madonne col bambino in braccio...e fuori di una sinta fe-nestra si vedi una gentilissimo paestino, e vicino al puttino è un portico {puto} il quali si vedi La marca d'Albero Duro pittori singulari [?], Il quadro è in legno....'.

in inventories drawn up in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries attests to the sustained import of these goods.⁹⁸¹ But just as with Benedetto's emulation of Dürer's prints several decades later, aspects of the Montagna workshop's painted output signpost a responsiveness to these market trends. That there was a commercial motive behind the emulation of Northern art is suggested by the paintings of the Madonna and Child produced across the lifetime of the Montagna workshop. Features such as the low-lying, blue-tinged landscape and lustrous effects of colour – as in the *Williamstown Madonna*, for instance – are similarly observable in the work of Giovanni Bellini and Cima da Conegliano, where they have been convincingly interpreted as a response towards the positive reception of Netherlandish Holy Families imported to the Venice.⁹⁸² Bartolomeo's awareness of the contemporary production of artists both in Venice and across the *terraferma* suggests that his emulation of these Northern elements was similarly in response to a market demand for Northern art. Sustained repetition of these features across a period of several decades indicates that Northern stylistic elements were well received by his Vicentine clients.

This chapter has sought to situate the importance of Northern influxes on Vicentine cultural and artistic developments in relation to scholarship on this phenomenon across the Veneto. To do so, it has considered Vicenza's place on the major trade route that connected Venice with the North; the impact of which can be traced by the migration of tradesmen to the city and the import of commodities. The extensive copying of Dürer's prints that took place in the Montagna workshop is the most direct substantiation of how this shaped Vicentine visual culture. Yet situating this form of response in relation to the Northern elements in the workshop's painted output shows that it was a natural extension of well-established working practices.

⁹⁸¹ Descriptions such as '*quattro quadro da usso de Fiandra vecchi*' [four old Flemish paintings] may suggest that such works had been in Vicenza for a prolonged period or that paintings produced in the preceding century had come onto the market. The inventory of Vincenzo fu Girolamo Cogollo drawn up on 13 May 1583 included 'tri tondi et due di Fiandra piu fini' and 'cinque quadri de paesi de Fiandra'; Alvise Donato's inventory of 9 May 1613 included five paintings '*alla fiamenga*', both as transcribed in PITACCO 2005, p.139 & fns.61 & 68.

⁹⁸² See, for example, on Bellini, see LUCCO 2004, NOVA 2007; for Cima, see LUCCO 2010, esp.p.67. For comments on this phenomenon focussing more generally in Florence, see NUTTALL 2004, pp.233–35.

That this familial receptivity towards the ‘North’ was in itself dependent on the positive attitudes of Vicentine society underscores the fact that the Montagna’s output was inextricable from the tastes of their clients.

Conclusion

Bartolomeo Montagna's death on 11 October 1523 represented the close of a seminal chapter in Vicenza's artistic history.⁹⁸³ Critical perspectives on Vicentine painting in the following decades of the sixteenth century often concur that the artists who succeeded Bartolomeo simply replicated tried and tested visual conventions deployed by the artist across his career, though these formulae, though having once gained Bartolomeo wealth, fame and status, had become outmoded vis-à-vis aesthetic innovations concurrent across the Veneto, and particularly in Venice, by the 1510s. A case in point is the Paduan Scoletta del Santo – with several figures recycled from the workshop repository – in comparison to the dynamic compositions contributed by the ambitious young Titian (figs.C.1; C.2). This demise in Vicenza's artistic contribution to the cultural developments of the Veneto in the sixteenth century certainly had a negative impact on the reputation of the Montagna workshop that has endured for too long. Perspectives are thankfully changing: for example, two of Bartolomeo's surviving drawings featured in The Morgan Library's 2019 exhibition 'Invention and Design' and his *Woman with Pear* was recently dubbed the 'highlight' of the July 2019 Old Master Drawings sale at Christies.

The death of the workshop *maestro* does not therefore represent the end for this discussion on the Montagna family's output in the graphic arts. Rather, it is simply a key moment in a much longer trajectory. Benedetto inherited all of Bartolomeo's worldly goods, including the family business, and this in turn saw him concentrate his efforts as a painter.⁹⁸⁴ The numerous fragments of altarpieces Benedetto produced for chapels across Vicenza are consistent with compositions Bartolomeo first realised several decades earlier such as that of the *Pala di Ilarione* (figs.4.6; C.3).⁹⁸⁵ This indicates that Benedetto consulted extant reference-drawings

⁹⁸³ ASVi, Not. Francesco Zanechini, b.5390, 1523, c.71. The notary, Zanechini added the postscript noting the death of Bartolomeo Montagna on 11 October 1523 to the will drawn up on 6 May 1523. The minutes are found in b.5375, cc.69–70. For Bartolomeo's will as published in extenso see BARAUSSE 2014, Doc.123.

⁹⁸⁴ On Benedetto as a painter, see the overview of PUPPI 1958B and comments in LUCCO 2014, Cats.110, 111, 112.

⁹⁸⁵ See LUCCO 2014 Cat.110 for one such example now in the Palazzo Thiene and originating from the Chiesa di San Michele, and for further discussion on Benedetto's reusing and reversing of cartoons for multiple projects fulfilled in the late 1520s and early 1530s. As LUCCO notes, the composition of the Palazzo Thiene is an almost exact version in reverse of Girolamo Mocetto's *Enthroned Virgin and Child*. That this engraving was discussed in Chapter Four as the outcome of

and recycled cartoons.⁹⁸⁶ Reference is unfortunately not made to drawings, in neither Bartolomeo's will nor inventory which means that the formats of items in this 'visual archive' – *rodoli, libri* or loose sheets – remains conjecture. Nonetheless, it is clear that Benedetto continually relied on drawings created by his father during his lifetime in a practice consistent with those observed and documented for the heirs of Jacopo Bellini, Jacopo Tintoretto and Jacopo Bassano.⁹⁸⁷

The legacy of the Montagna output in the graphic arts can also be observed in the afterlife of engravings Benedetto produced. Even if responsibility for the family workshop meant Benedetto had to hang up his burin, impressions of his prints continued to circulate and stimulate artistic responses beyond the Montagna workshop. Compositions, or elements of them, were translated into altarpieces, majolica dishes and bronze plaquettes by artists with whom Benedetto was most likely unacquainted (figs.C.4; C.5; C.6).⁹⁸⁸ Indication that Benedetto's engravings were available north of the Alps during the 1520s is provided by Daniel Hopfer's etching of the *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*, which is a partial copy after Benedetto's *Benedict Preaching* (fig.C.7). The fortunes of the copperplates Benedetto engraved provide a complementary perspective. As noted in Chapter Three, a number of compositions exist in multiple states with the watermarks of the paper of these impressions indicating that the plates left the Vicentine workshop and came into the possession of print-dealers distributed across the Italian Peninsula. That monograms on select plates were cancelled in a manner consistent with others by contemporary Venetic engravers like Nicoletto suggests that one publisher managed to acquire a number of copperplates available on the local market and perhaps from a single source, while the inscription 'Guidotti' shows that the

Mocetto's association with the Montagna workshop is significant as it would support the view that Mocetto based his composition on a design present in the Montagna workshop as opposed to Benedetto inverting an impression of the engraving for use as a compositional model for this altarpiece.

⁹⁸⁶ Benedetto also referenced prints in the archive, as evidenced by the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* which quotes Dürer's *Landser Sow* as discussed in Chapter Six above.

⁹⁸⁷ For the inheritance of drawings in these workshops see respectively EISLER 1989; MASON 2009; CORSATO 2016. On workshop continuity see also WHISTLER 2016, Chapter 8.

⁹⁸⁸ Respectively Liberale da Verona's *Pala Miniscalchi* which deploys the *Sacrifice of Abraham* for the central panel of the altarpiece with minor modifications to the size of Isaac, see Verona, Museo del Castelvecchio, inv.36440-1B3265, MARINI ET AL. 2010, Cat.177; Derutan majolica dish dateable to c.1505–10 which is based on the *Benedict with Saints*, for which see BM, inv.1855,0313.1, THORNTON & WILSON 2009, Cat.253; bronze plaque depicting the allegory of Virtue and Vice after *Nymph with Satyrs* attributed to Pseudo Antonio da Brescia, one example in Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inv.4907.

copperplate of Benedetto's *Man with Palm* eventually came into the hands of the eighteenth century publisher Luigi Guidottii (fig.C.8).⁹⁸⁹ More emphatic still of this 'afterlife' is the Malaspina copperplate which was used for Benedetto's first engraving: the *Virgin and Child* as designed by Bartolomeo (fig.C.9). The use of the other side of the plate for a copy after Marcantonio's *Venus* presupposes the fact that revisions were made to the plate post-1515 by an artisan other than Benedetto after it had left the Montagna workshop. Extensive wear to the third and final state combined with impressions printed on paper with watermarks dateable to the eighteenth century indicates that impressions continued to be pulled from the plate until it entered the collection of the Marchese Malaspina sometime between circa 1770 and 1824.⁹⁹⁰ Such 'late strikes' combined with impressions of prints which entered the collections of print connoisseurs where they were bound into albums shows that demand among consumers for *disegni* by the Montagna endured well beyond the lives of the individuals who were responsible for their creation.

Within the Montagna workshop, the graphic arts played a multifaceted role. This has been here demonstrated through extensive consideration of the surviving drawings and prints associable with Bartolomeo Montagna, Benedetto Montagna and closely related peers. Rigorous analysis of the media and graphic techniques deployed in works on paper has provided insights into the means by which the Montagna workshop produced, deployed and recycled *disegni* across their artistic enterprises. Comparison with operational strategies implemented by other artisanal workshops operating across and beyond the Veneto has revealed a consistency in these operational practices. Archival documents relating not only to the Montagna family but also to artisanal practices concurrent across and beyond the Veneto have provided a valuable counterpart to an object-based methodology. Combining visual and archival sources has helped compensate for the fact that the works on paper associable with the Montagna that survive represent only a fragment of those that either constituted the workshop's visual archive or were distributed from the workshop. While this study can by no means explain every aspect of the family's

⁹⁸⁹ Cancelled monograms on Benedetto's *Nativity with Saints; Agony in the Garden*;

⁹⁹⁰ MALASPINA 1824, Vol. IV, pp.339–40; SÒRIGA 1912, p.115. On Malaspina's print collection see also ALDOVINI 2014; App.IIIb, No.25 & 24.

approach towards the graphic arts, the conclusions presented here are based on a close analysis of as much evidence as is currently known.

Bartolomeo's artistic monopoly in Vicenza and his reputation across the Veneto was assured through his capabilities as a draftsman. Securing well-remunerated and high profile commissions for projects depended on the clear communication of ideas to his patrons, with the essential intermediary being prospectus drawings that gave Bartolomeo the opportunity to display his capabilities as an artist and thus suitability for the job. The formation of these graphic skills depended on Bartolomeo's artistic training, and analysis of the graphic techniques he deployed has provided valuable insights into Bartolomeo's place within the artisanal network that extended across the Veneto. Comparison of surviving drawings with the Montagna workshop's painted output has also contributed information on the managerial tactics Bartolomeo implemented in his workshop. It has been shown that Bartolomeo variously deployed graphic media dependent on the context for which a drawing was to be used, with the retention of these works subsequently leading to the formation of a visual archive referenced as and when required. A notion of 'economising at the design phase' helps explain how the Montagna workshop fulfilled a high number of commissions simultaneously when at the apex of its activity circa 1500.

The introduction of print to Vicenza complemented to a certain extent the emphasis that Bartolomeo placed on drawings within his workshop operation. This thesis has shown that access to printed impressions replicating the inventions of artists including Andrea Mantegna, Martin Schongauer and, in later decades, Albrecht Dürer expanded the Montagna repository of compositional designs and exposed the workshop to diverse graphic idioms. Most important is the fact that awareness of the medium of engraving contributed to Bartolomeo's decision to have his second son specialise in the trade. The establishment of the publishing industry had a less tangible but no less pivotal impact on the Montagna's printmaking enterprise. The local material trade that supported book printing activity provided a foundation for Benedetto's specialisation as an engraver, as it facilitated the acquisition of requisite materials. That an extant artisanal network played an integral role is reflected by the modifications that turned the Montagna workshop into a

space where multiple trades were plied in tandem as this diversification must have adhered to the city's extant guild structures. Most significant, however, is the fact that established hierarchies meant that Bartolomeo Montagna held rights over the workshop's entire output as it underscores the business interests that drove the workshop's diversification.

Disegno, in its plurality of meanings, is the keystone to this thesis. It links Bartolomeo's identity as a draftsman, Benedetto's printmaking activity, the family's production of paintings, their collaborative output with other artisans active in Vicenza and their contribution to Vicentine visual culture. This graphic continuity is underlined by the fact that Benedetto's earliest engravings were executed to drawings provided by Bartolomeo, a number of which were first used for painted commissions fulfilled by the workshop. Translation of Bartolomeo's *disegno* into the medium of print was essentially a continuation of the collaborative ventures central to the workshop's operation; it was also a shrewd business move. Replicating painted compositions – or elements of them – situated in prominent locations across Vicenza was a means to market the Montagna brand within the Vicentine milieu. Retail of prints engraved by Benedetto in these environs presented local consumers more affordable alternatives to the devotional paintings issued from the workshop and made it possible for clients to acquire an invention by Vicenza's preeminent artist. Benedetto's subsequent departure from his father's designs in favour of emulating the work of Albrecht Dürer is not a rupture in this graphic continuity so much as a reflection of the impact of prints imported from the North had in Vicenza. Key to this argument is the fact that Benedetto's printmaking activity depended on the premise that the objects he produced would have a market appeal, and that they were therefore supplying a demand among Vicentine consumers.

This reasoning likewise supports the perspective that engravings by Benedetto and peers who were in contact with the Montagna workshop including Giulio and Nicoletto of humanist subject matter were produced to satisfy the tastes of elite collectors in Vicenza and elsewhere in the Veneto. The complex, and often elusive, meanings of such prints indicate that engravers were advised by learned individuals cum patrons. In turn, the prominent inclusion of the engraver's signature, as in Benedetto's Ovid series where his name is incised in the empty space above the

main composition, indicates that the signature was a means to assert one's artistic creativity within the rich humanist culture that existed in Vicenza. A comparable case can be made for the practice of producing highly finished 'presentation drawings'. For instance, Bartolomeo's *Male Nude Leaning on a Pedestal, Female Nude with Cadaceus* and *Woman with Pear* can not only be associated with a humanistic fresco scheme that he produced for the Chà Gualdo, but, in their high level of finish, appear to have been intended as artworks in their own right, perhaps for the Gualdo collection (figs.1.51; C.10; C.11).⁹⁹¹ The existence of a social network that involved the Montagna, artists who visited their *bottega*, learned Vicentine clients and their 'friends' across the Veneto can in turn contribute information on the appreciation of the graphic arts in the region circa 1500. To cite just one example, Girolamo Gualdo's long-term acquaintance, Marco Manotva Benavides owned a painting of the Virgin by Bartolomeo, an impression of Benedetto's *Apollo* and a watercolor drawing of *Saint John the Baptist* by Giulio Campagnola.⁹⁹² That these were all displayed on the walls of the Benavides residence places the Montagna workshop's activity within an emergent purview among Venetic collectors that *disegni quadretti* [drawings] and *disegni stampati* [prints] were artworks as worthy of appreciation as *quadri* or *quadretti* [paintings] were.⁹⁹³

The importance of the Montagna workshop to broader discourses on the visual culture of the Veneto is further reflected by the family's engagement with art and artists from across and beyond the region. Mobility of ideas, images and individuals was key. Initial contact with artisanal workshops in locations such as Venice and Padua was first established through Bartolomeo's cross-regional itinerary for employment purposes. When Bartolomeo set up shop in Vicenza, the city's political ties to the Venetian Republic and the social aspirations of Vicentine patricians meant these connections endured, thanks in part to the import of

⁹⁹¹ App.II, Nos.24; 25; 26. See respectively EITEL-PORTER & MARCIARI 2019, Cat.12; Dominique Cordellier in PARIS 1992, Cat.1, p.40; Julien Stock in VENICE 1980, No.7, sold Christies 2 July 2019, Lot 10. The fresco scheme featured allegorical depictions of a male 'Buon Evento' with symbols of prosperity, a Venus of Victory, and Flora, Goddess of Orchard Fruits. See BMVe, Cod. it IV 133 (=5103) cc.7–8; GUALDO 1972, p.29.

⁹⁹² On this friendship, see GUTHMÜLLER 1997, p.15 and comments in QUAGLIO 1976. Respectively MICHELI ED 1896, p.28; FAVARETTO 1972, Nos. 302; 275.

⁹⁹³ Also noted in BURY 1985, p.20.

altarpieces from Venice, most notably those by Giovanni Bellini. The commercial success Bartolomeo attained necessitated the involvement of numerous assistants whose presence in the workshop meant that they learnt its artistic techniques and studied compositional models which they subsequently deployed when they worked on independent commissions. *Peintre-graveurs* such as Giulio Campagnola and Girolamo Mocetto were similarly attracted to the workshop by the potential of engagement on painted projects, but their presence had a collateral impact on the visual effects these artists and Benedetto sought in their engravings. Likewise, the influx into Vicenza of art produced ‘elsewhere’ – such as altarpieces imported from Venice and prints originating from Germany – had an influence on Bartolomeo’s graphic style and thus on the character of the products issued from the Montagna workshop. Outcomes were therefore dualistic in the sense that itinerancy simultaneously ensured the Montagna family’s awareness of, and their contribution to, artistic developments concurrent across the Veneto.

Ultimately, this thesis has shown that the Montagna workshop operated during a period of artistic experimentation that frequently found expression through the graphic arts. As father and son, painter and printmaker, Bartolomeo and Benedetto Montagna encapsulate how this experimentation was expressed in a concentrated artistic nucleus; one that centred in Vicenza. Drawing was a means for Bartolomeo to develop compositional ideas and to explore his visual curiosity for the inventions of others. Print production was not only a diverse outlet for Bartolomeo’s designs, but also a means for Benedetto to forge his artistic identity and independence through engagement with novel cultural and artistic ideas. Both media, through their common nature as *disegni*, invited an investigation of the aesthetic qualities that defined these categories. It will never be possible through study of the surviving drawings and prints to capture the thought processes that drove Bartolomeo’s hand, nor to envisage the eureka moment when the first impressions of Benedetto’s prints rolled off the press. But what can be gauged from the inherent qualities of the surviving artworks is that, for the Montagna family, their peers and their patrons, prints and drawings fostered interaction, discourse and excitement.

Appendices

Appendix I: Drawings by Bartolomeo Montagna and his Circle.

Key:

TY: Proposed type or purpose of drawing

- RD: Reference Drawing
- CD: Collectable Drawing
- DS: Drapery Study
- FS: Facial Study
- CS: Compositional Study
- PD: Prospectus Drawing
- PM: Print Modello
- CA: Copy After Bartolomeo

App No.	Title	Location & inv.	Date (c.)	TY	Media	Dim. (mm)	Selected Related Projects	Fig. No.
1	<i>Standing Regal Man</i>	Oxford, Ashmolean 1934.264	1475–90	RD	brush and indigo wash with white highlighting on blue paper	264 x 111	Standing saints in <i>Capella di San Biagio</i>	1.31
2	<i>Female Martyr</i>	Florence, Bib. Marucell. A7	1475–80	RD	Pen and ink with grey-blue wash and white heightening on blue paper	252 x 119	<i>Marriage of Stratonic and Antiochus</i> ; Mary in <i>Madonna and Child with saints Monica and Magdalene</i> ; Lucy in <i>Pala dei Servi</i> ; Ursula in <i>Pala Squazri</i> ; Giuliana in <i>Pala di SS Nazaro e Celso</i> .	2.17
3	<i>Madonna and child (Workshop)</i>	London, BM, 1895,0915. 762	1490–95	RD	Brush drawing in blue green and grey-brown wash, heightened with white, on blue paper	229 x 193, trimmed and remounted	<i>Pala di Pavia</i> .	2.27
4	<i>Sebastian and martyr</i>	Florence, Bib. Marucell. A4.	1490–1500	RD	pen and ink with wash and white heightening over black chalk on blue paper	281 x 175	<i>Martyrdom of Biagio</i> ; Sebastian (in reverse) in <i>Pala di San Bartolomeo</i> ; Saint Sebastian sold Lugano 1976.	1.1

5	<i>Bearded Man Wearing a Turban</i>	Florence, Uffizi, 337E.	1490–1500	RD	pen and ink with brush and grey wash, with white heightening over black chalk on blue paper	275 x 136, now remounted	Oriental figures in <i>Vestal Claudia</i>	2.9
6	<i>Orant Virgin with angels</i>	Munich, Graphische Sammlung, inv.2186.	1495–1505	RD	Pen and ink with wash and white highlighting on blue paper	380 x 271	Benedetto's <i>Orant Virgin</i> ; Speranza <i>Assumption of the Virgin</i>	5.18
7	<i>Madonna and Child</i>	Lille, Musee des Beaux Arts; .58.	1495–1507	RD	Black chalk, wash and highlighting on blue paper	331 x 216	<i>Pala di San Sebastiano</i> ; <i>Pala di Santa Maria in Vanzo</i> ; <i>Pala di Piovene</i> etc.	2.26
8	<i>Female figure with letter</i>	Rotterdam, Boymans , , I336.	1505–15	RD	Wash and white lead highlighting on blue paper	265 x 140	<i>Pala di Santa Maria Maddalena</i>	
9	<i>Female figure holding a snake</i>	Paris, Louvre, RF.527.	1505–15	RD	Brown wash and gouache on blue paper	405 x 228	<i>Vestal Turk</i> from Cassone.	
10	<i>Seated Madonna and Child (workshop).</i>	Florence, Uffizi, 597E.	1505–10	RD	Black chalk and brown ink with white heightening on blue paper	213 x 180	<i>Mendelsohn Madonna</i> ; <i>Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine</i> .	2.4
11	<i>Three Woman</i>	Paris, Louvre, .8224.	1506–12	RD	Pen and ink, grey wash and white heightening on blue paper	312 x 219 (the figure s cut and laid onto another sheet)	<i>Pala di Santa Maria in Vanzo</i> ; <i>Scoletta del Santo</i> ; <i>Pala di Santa Maria Maddalena</i>	2.20
12	<i>Resurrected Christ</i>	Unknown, Sold Sothebys 2002	1510–15	RD / CD	Pen and wash with white highlighting over black chalk on blue paper on blue paper	362 x 230	<i>Christ Between Saints Peter and Paul</i>	7.8

13	<i>Saint Jerome</i>	Florence, Uffizi, 17793F.	1485	RD / DS	Black chalk, brush with black and brown wash	260 x 150	<i>Saint Jerome, Poldi-Pezzoli; Penitent Saint Jerome, Ottawa.</i>	2.67
14	<i>Head of a Man</i>	London, British Museum, 1902,061 7.1	1495	FS	Black chalk with white heightening with stylus incisions	248 x 155	<i>John in Saint John the Baptist with Zeno and Catherine; Benedictine Saint in Pala di SS Nazaro e Celso</i>	2.37
15	<i>Head of a Woman</i>	Oxford, Christ Church, .283.	1495- 1500	FS	Black chalk with white heightening with stylus incisions	290 x 208	<i>Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine; Pala di Santa Maria in Vanzo etc.</i>	2.35
16	<i>Head of a Woman</i>	Windsor, Royal collectio n, 12824.	1495- 1500	FS	Black chalk with white heightening with stylus incisions	349 x 251	<i>Pala Squarzi; Pala Zeno; Pala di Lonigo; Pala di Santa Maria in Vanzo etc.</i>	2.36
17	<i>Head of a Man</i>	Florence, Uffizi, i.13362F.	1496– 99	FS	Black chalk with white heightening with stylus incisions	261 x 232	<i>Saint Sigismon d in Pala Squarzi; Saint Celso in Pala di SS.Nazaro e Celso.</i>	2.38
18	<i>Sebastian (recto); Male from Behind (verso).</i>	Turin, Bibliotec a Reale, 15902.	1480– 85	CS.	Recto: Pen and brown ink with grey-brown wash over black chalk; Verso: pen and brown ink.	200 x 150, forme rly larger folio.	<i>Saint Sebastian of c.1485; Pala di San Bartolomeo; Martyrdom of Saint Biagio</i>	1.8; 1.11
19	<i>John the Baptist</i>	Milan, Ambrosia na, F 269, inf. n.29	1480– 90	CS / PD	Pen and ink, and blue- grey wash, possibly over traces of black chalk	207 x 110		2.70
20	<i>Enthrone d Virgin and child</i>	Budapest ,Museum of Fine Arts, 1780	1485	PD	Pen and ink with blue wash	182 x 117.5	<i>Pala di San Bartolomeo; Pala di Pavia</i>	2.28

21	<i>Drunkenness of Noah</i>	New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, inv.I.56.	1482–83	PD	Pen and ink, blue and purple wash over black chalk on parchment	228 x 357	<i>Scuola Grande di San Marco; roundel in Scoletta di Santa Maria del Carmine.</i>	2.79
22	<i>Martyrdom of San Biagio</i>	Unknown, Sold Christies 2017	1504	PD	Pen outline with coloured wash	293 x 184	<i>Capella di San Biagio; Benedetto's George & Dragon</i>	2.77
23	<i>Salvator Mundi</i>	Windsor, Royal collection, inv.12799.	1508–15	PD / CD	Pen and black ink, blue wash and white highlighting on blue paper	316 x 222		
24	<i>Female Nude Holding a Caduceus (Victory).</i>	Paris, Louvre, inv.8258.	1508–15	PD / CD	brush, violet wash, white highlighting, traces of red and brown on blue paper	310 x 207	Chà Gualdo; Benedetto's <i>Venus</i>	C.10
25	<i>Male Nude Leaning on a Pedestal (The Good Event?)</i>	New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, inv.I.56,	1508–15	PD / CD	Point of the brush, and black ink, brown wash with opaque white watercolour, over black chalk on blue paper	400 x 258	Chà Gualdo; Benedetto's <i>Apollo</i>	1.51
26	<i>Woman Holding a Pear (Pomona).</i>	Unknown, Sold Christies July 2019.	1508–15	PD / CD .	Point of the brush and grey wash, pen and brown ink with white heightening on blue paper	344 x 225	Chà Gualdo	C.11
27	<i>Saint Sebastian (circle of)</i>	Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv.5059.	1485–1500	PD / CD	Pen and ink with blue and brown wash on parchment	265 x 164		1.2
28	<i>Resurrected Christ</i>	Paris, Louvre, inv.5079.	1504–06	PM	Pen and brown ink with some wash	273 x 225	Benedetto's <i>Resurrected Christ.</i>	5.3
29	<i>Drunkenness of Noah (After)</i>	Vienna, Albertina inv.24437	1483–85	CA / RD	Pen and ink	253 x 374	<i>Scuola Grande di San Marco; Scoletta di Santa Maria del Carmine</i>	2.80

30	<i>Saint Sebastian (after; Giovanni Buonconsiglio)</i>	Modena, Galleria Estense, inv.793.	1507–10	CA	Pen and brown ink	203 x 132	<i>Pala di San Sebastiano</i>	2.64
31	<i>Saints Biagio and John the Baptist (after)</i>	London, British Museum, PP,1.21.	1500–15	CA	Metalpoint with grey-brown wash with white heightening on light blue-grey prepared paper	289 x 149	<i>Pala di SS Nazaro e Celso.</i>	2.59
32	<i>Saints Nazaro and Celso (after)</i>	Florence, Uffizi, 282 E	1500–15	CA	Metalpoint		<i>Pala di SS Nazaro e Celso.</i>	2.60
33	<i>Saint Paul (after)</i>	Paris, Louvre, inv.RF31 170.	1500–15	CA	Metalpoint with white heightening.	189 x 79	<i>Saint Paul, Poldi-Pezzoli.</i>	2.62
34	<i>Saint Simon (after)</i>	London, British Museum, 1895,091 5.784.	1507–15	CA	Metalpoint	270 x 117	<i>Pala di Cartigliano.</i>	2.61
35	<i>Saint Catherine of Alexandria (after)</i>	Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, inv.1262-03	1500–05	CA	Pen and brown ink	267 x 143	<i>Saint Catherine of Alexandria</i>	

Appendix II: Internal Chronology of Benedetto Montagna's Engravings.

Key:

- BaM: after design by Bartolomeo Montagna
- CA: copy after
- QF: quotation from
- CF: compare with
- SP: same plate
- RP: reused plate
- Tr.: Trimmed Impression and full platemark not known.

No.	Title	State	TIB.	Date (c.)	Dim.	Imps.	Notes	Fig. No
1	<i>Virgin & Child</i>	i/3	.013	1503–4	209 x 165	BnF, Wolfegg	BaM, <i>Williamstown Madonna</i> ; QF Dürer	3.1
2	<i>Jerome with Lion</i>	i/2	.024	1503–5	259 x 196	Ba	BaM; SP as <i>Orpheus</i> .	5.40
3	<i>Orpheus Charming the Animals</i>	i/2	.027	1504	260 x 196	Al, Pa	BaM; SP as <i>Jerome</i>	3.28
4	<i>George and the Dragon</i>	i/3	.023	1504	229 x 174	BnF, Al, Wa, Bu	SP as <i>Nymph</i> .	3.29
5	<i>Man of Sorrows</i>	i/1?		1504	100 x 74 (tr.)	BnF	CA Dürer; SP as <i>Christ Redeemer</i> .	6.36
6	<i>Sebastian</i>	i/2	.026	1504	115 x 70	BnF, Dr	CA Dürer; SP as <i>Catherine</i>	6.38
7	<i>Catherine</i>	i/1	.021	1504	115 x 73	BM, BnF, Al	CA Dürer; SP as <i>Sebastian</i>	3.9
8	<i>Christ Redeemer</i>	i/1	.009	1504	113 x 74	BM, Ro	CA Dürer; SP as <i>Man of Sorrows</i> . BM poorly printed	3.8
9	<i>Kneeling Warrior</i>	i/1	.042	1504–6	113 x 73	Bo, BM, BnF, Pav, Al	SP as <i>Man with Palm</i> ; RF Mocetto	4.15
10	<i>Man with Palm</i>	i/2	.044	1504–6	114 x 78	Ba, Bo, Dr, Ha, BnF, Pa, Pav, Ro, Al	SP <i>Kneeling Warrior</i> ; QF Dürer	
11	<i>Nymph & satyrs</i>	i/2	.029	1504–5	175 x 228	BnF	SP as <i>George</i> ; RP, traces of erasure,	3.30
12	<i>Orant Virgin with Angels</i>	i/1	.011	1504–6	262 x 196	BnF, Cha,	BaM; RP: partially erased hand; SP as <i>Anthony</i> ; QF Dürer	3.25

13	<i>Anthony Abbot</i>	i/i	.017	1504-6	265 x 200	BnF, Pa, BM, Ba	BaM; RP; SP as <i>Orant Virgin with Angels</i> , BM imp dirty plate; QF Dürer	5.14
14	<i>Stigmatisation of Saint Francis</i>	i/1	.002	1504-6	283 x 224	Bas, BM	BaM; SP as <i>Christ Redeemer</i> .	3.26
15	<i>Resurrected Christ</i>	i/1	.008	1503-5	282 x 222	Ba, BM, BnF, Al	BaM; RP?; Modello in Louvre	5.4
16	<i>Benedict with saints</i>	i/1	.018	1504-6	285 x 232	Al, BM, BnF, Bu	BaM	3.15
17	<i>Benedict Preaching</i>	i/1	.019	1504-6	383 x 262	Ba, Bas, Ch, BM, BnF, Pa, Al, Dr	BaM; SP as <i>Sacrifice</i>	3.14
18	<i>Sacrifice of Abraham</i>	i/2	.001	1504-6	298 x 388	BnF, BM, Al, Fl.	BaM; SP as <i>Benedict Preaching</i>	3.23
19	<i>Jerome in the Wilderness</i>	i/1	.025	1505-7	277 x 229	BM, Fl, Pa, NY, Be, Bo, Br, Ch, Fr, BnF, Al, Zu	Poss RP of <i>Stigmatisation of Francis</i>	5.39
20	<i>Nativity after AD</i>	i/1	.006	1506	186 x 116	Br, BM, BnF, Ro	CA Dürer; SP as <i>Virgin and Child in landscape</i>	6.44
21	<i>Large horse</i>	i/1	.053	1506-7	166 x 117	Be, Bo, BnF, Al, Zu	CA Dürer; Imp. from Columbus coll. w/fake AD monogram	6.32
22	<i>The Witch</i>	i/1	.052	1505-7	113 x 72	Be, Br, Ox, Fr, Mu, Zu	CA Dürer	6.42
23	<i>Virgin and Child in landscape</i>	i/1	.012	1505-8	189 x 119	Pa, BM, Al, Be, Zu	SP as <i>Nativity after AD</i> ; QF Dürer	6.45
24	<i>Nativity</i>	i/1	.004	1505-8	181 x 129	BnF	BaM; cf. Orgiano; GAB; NdM	5.19
25	<i>Shepherd with a Platerspiel</i>	i/2	.043	1507	101 x 78	BM, BnF, Ha, Al, Wa, Fl	SP as <i>Oriental Reading in a Landscape</i> , Later cancelled plate.	5.12
26	<i>Oriental in a Landscape</i>		.045	1507	101 x 78	BM, Ha, Mi, Pa, Pav.	SP as <i>Shepherd Playing a Platerspiel</i>	

27	<i>Woman & Wildman</i>	i/2?	.049	1505–10	142 x 97	Ba, Be, Ha, BM, Pa, Al etc.	SP as <i>Apollo & Cyparissus</i> (?) ; QF Dürer	
28	<i>Woman, Satyr & two Putti</i>		.030	1506–8	164 x 118 (tr.)	Fl, BM, Mu, BnF, Pa, Al, Wa, Ci,	QF Dürer	
29	<i>Nativity with Saints</i>	i/2?	.005	1505–7	161 x 145 (tr.)	[lost], only known in second states	SP as <i>Catherine in landscape</i> ; QF Dürer	6.49
30	<i>Holy Family in a Landscape w/John</i>	i/1	.014	1507	141 x 209	Dr, Fl, BM, Min, BnF, Pa, Al, Am, Zu..	SP as <i>Man with Arrow</i> ; QF Mantegna	3.22
31	<i>Holy Family</i>	i/1	.015	1506	182 x 196	Al	Copy in Dresden; QF Dürer	
32	<i>Nativity with Shepherd</i>	i/1	.003	1506–8	165 x 111	BM, Pa, Al, Wa	SP as <i>Large Horse</i> ; QF Dürer	
33	<i>Agony in Garden</i>	i/2	.007	1506–8	214 x 150	BM, Be, Mu, BnF, Wa	QF Dürer; signed ‘Benedetto Monctagna’	6.59
34	<i>Saint Catherine in a Landscape</i>	i/1	.020	1506–8	167 x 153	BnF	BaM, fresco in Duomo; SP as <i>Nativity with Saints</i> .	6.57
35	<i>Nude w/arrow (Apollo)</i>	i/2	.048	1508–15	212 x 145	Pa, BM, Al	SP as <i>Holy Family in Landscape w/John</i>	6.72
36	<i>Venus</i>		.028	1508–15	279 x 141	BM, Ba, Ro, Be,	Potentially by Giovanni Antonio da Brescia	
37	<i>Satyr Family</i>		.031	1506–10	157 x 106	BM, Wa, Al, Fl, Min, etc.	Drypoint; QF Dürer	6.48
38	<i>Family by the River</i>	i/1	.050	1508–15	185 x 107 (tr.)	BM, BnF, Al, Am	SP as <i>Apollo & Vulcan</i>	
39	<i>Cuckolded Turk in a Landscape</i>	i/1	.051	1508–12	161 x 111	BM, Pa	SP as <i>David Playing a Harp</i>	4.26
40	<i>King David Playing a Harp</i>	i/1	.002	1508–12	159 x 110	BM, Pa, Al, Pav	SP as <i>Turk</i> ; Pavia imp. w/o monogram	4.27
41	<i>Apollo & Cyparissus</i>	i/2	.040	1507–15	145 x 94	Be, Fr, BM, Pa, Al	Ovid series; 2 counterproofs P: Ro & BM; SP as <i>Woman & Wildman</i> (?)	6.62

42	<i>Nymph Abducted by Centaur (Nessus & Deianira)</i>	i/1	.038	1508–15	165 x 113	Pa, BnF, Al, Be	Ovid series	6.63
43	<i>Apollo, Midas & Pan</i>		.035	1508–15	164 x 112	BM (ii/2?), BM, Al, Pa, NY, Bol	Ovid series; SP as <i>Birth of Adonis</i>	6.64
44	<i>Birth of Adonis</i>	i/1	.034	1508–15	164 x 112	BM, Al, Wa, Pa, Co, BnF, Fr,	Ovid series; SP as <i>Apollo, Midas & Pan</i>	6.65
45	<i>Mercury & Aglaurus</i>	i/1	.032	1508–15	161 x 114	BM, Al, Pa, Be,	Ovid series; SP as <i>Apollo & Marsyas</i>	6.66
46	<i>Apollo & Marsyas</i>		.039	1508–15	160 x 115	BM, Al, Wa, Be, Ch, BnF	Ovid series; SP as <i>Mercury and Aglaurus</i>	6.67
47	<i>Rape of Europa</i>	i/1	.036	1508–15	177 x 125	BM, Wa, Pa, Al, Am, NY,	Ovid series	6.68
48	<i>Apollo & Vulcan</i>	i/2	.037	1508–15	185 x 127	BM, Al, Pa, BnF	Ovid series; SP as <i>Family by the River</i> ; BM imp w/rust to plate	6.69
49	<i>River God</i>	i/1	.041	1508–15	161 x 110	BM, BnF	Ovid series (?)	6.70
50	<i>Centaur & Dragon</i>	i/1	.033	1508–15	168 x 110	Pa, Al, Gotha, BM	Ovid series; QF Mantegna's <i>Battle of the Sea Gods</i>	6.71

Subsequent States

53	<i>Jerome w/lion</i>	ii/2	.024	1508	259 x 196	Bas, BM, BnF, Ha	Return stroke; SP as Orpheus	
54	<i>Orpheus</i>	ii/2	.027	1510–15	260 x 196	BM,	SP as Jerome	
55	<i>George with the Dragon</i>	ii/3	.023	1510–15	229 x 173	Bo, Br?, Chi, BnF	SP as Nymph	
56	<i>Nymph & satyrs</i>	ii/2	.029	1508	173 x 239	BnF, BM	SP George	
57	<i>Virgin & Child</i>	ii/4	.013	1508	200x1 55	Be, Dr, BM, BnF, Al, Wa,	pre 1511	
58	<i>Agony in Garden</i>	ii/2	.007		214x1 50	Bas, Bo, BM, BnF, Ro, Al		
59	<i>Nativity w/saints</i>	ii/2	.005	1515	tr.	BnF	Worn plate, monogram hatched out	

60	<i>Nude w/arrow</i>	ii/2	.048		212x1 45.5	Be, br, chi, BM, bnf, al		
61	<i>Apollo & Vulcan</i>	ii/2	.037		185x1 27	BnF	Monogram obscured	
62	<i>Apollo & Cyp.</i>	ii/2	.040		145x9 4	BM, Pa		
63	<i>Virgin & Child</i>	iii/3	.013	c.151 2	209x1 65			
64	<i>Man with Palm</i>	ii/2	.044		114x7 8	Be, Bo, Bu, Fl, Fr, Ha, BM, Mu, Al, Wa	L. Giudotti for., Bolognese publisher?	

Appendix IIIa: Copperplate Usage for Benedetto Montagna's Engravings.

App. No.	Side 1	Side 2	Dim. (mm)	Afterlife
1	<i>Virgin and Child</i>	<i>Venus Leaving her Bath</i>	c.209 x 165	Side 1 modified by anonymous artist; Side 2 used by anonymous artist; Acquired by Luigi Malaspina
2	<i>Jerome with Lion</i>	<i>Orpheus Charming the Animals</i>	c.260 x 196	Side 1 reworked in Benedetto's lifetime; Side 2 extensively reworked
3	<i>George and the Dragon</i>	<i>Nymph and Satyrs</i>	c.229 x 174	Both side modified by anonymous artist
4	<i>Saint Sebastian</i>	<i>Saint Catherine</i>	c.115 x 70	
5	<i>Christ Redeemer</i>	<i>Christ as Man of Sorrows</i>	c.113 x 74	
6	<i>Man with Palm</i>	<i>Kneeling Warrior</i>	114 x 78	Acquired by Luigi Guidotti
7	<i>Orant Virgin with Angels</i>	<i>Anthony Abbot</i>	c.262 x 200	
8	<i>Resurrected Christ</i>	<i>Stigmatisation of Saint Francis</i>	c.282 x 234	Possibly Reused for Jerome in the Wilderness
9	<i>Sacrifice of Abraham</i>	<i>Benedict Preaching</i>	c.293 x 388	Subsequently in Tuscany?
10	<i>Nativity after AD</i>	<i>Virgin and Child in a Landscape</i>	c.186 x 116	
11	<i>Large Horse</i>	<i>Nativity with Shepherd</i>	c.165 x 111	
12	<i>Nativity with Saints</i>	<i>Saint Catherine in a Landscape</i>	c.167 x 153	Acquired by publisher who cancelled the monograms
13	<i>Agony in the Garden</i>			Acquired by publisher who cancelled the monogram
14	<i>Shepherd Playing a Platerspiel</i>	<i>Oriental Reading in a Landscape</i>	c.101 x 78	Acquired by publisher who subsequently cancelled Side 1
15	<i>Nude with Arrow (Apollo)</i>	<i>Holy Family in a Landscape</i>	c.141 x 209	Small modifications to Side 1; Subsequently in Rome?
16	<i>Cuckolded Turk in a Landscape</i>	<i>King David Playing a Harp</i>	c.161 x 110	
17	<i>Family by the River</i>	<i>Apollo & Vulcan</i>	c.185 x 127	
18	<i>Apollo & Cyparissus</i>	<i>Woman & Wildman (?)</i>	c.142x97	Side 1 modified by anonymous artist
19	<i>Apollo, Midas & Pan</i>	<i>Birth of Adonis</i>	164 x 112	
20	<i>Apollo & Marsyas</i>	<i>Mercury & Aglaurus</i>	161 x 114	

Appendix IIIb: Watermark Usage in Venetic Engravings

Ap p.N o	Cat.	Description	Published Usage	Archival and Bibliographic Usage	BM Impressions	Other engravers (c= closely comparable variants also included)
1	Br.15 396	Ox head & 'M' in circle	1501, Büznbourg; 1510 Treviso		<i>Virgin & Child</i> i/3, BNF	
2	Br.34 01.	Cardinal Hat with one straight stem.	1498, Bergamo; 1498, Udine;	ASVi, Not. Francesco Scolari, reg.1504	<i>Apollo,</i> <i>Vulcan</i> , i/2 BNF 680 a <i>Apollo, Midas</i> & <i>Pan</i> , BNF 681 <i>Rape of</i> <i>Europa</i> , BNF 683 <i>Centaur with</i> <i>dragon</i> , BNF 685 <i>River God</i> , BNF 687	
3	Br.34 04.	Cardinal Hat	1503, Udine	ASVi, Not. Bartolomeo d'Aviano, b.4740, 1499– 1500; ASVi, Not. Antonio Sarsin, b.4967, 1509; ASVi, estimo 1505.	<i>Birth of</i> <i>Adonis</i> , Rosenwald <i>Virgin & Child</i> in <i>Landscape</i> BnF <i>Nativity after</i> <i>Durer</i> BNF <i>Orant Virgin</i> with <i>Angels</i> , Al <i>Benedict with</i> <i>Saints</i> , Al	WM No.3 in LONDON 1992. GC, John <i>Chrysostom</i> , BNF GAB: <i>Saint Barbara</i> , BnF Nicoletto, <i>Allegory of</i> <i>Peace</i> , BNF Mocetto, <i>Judith &</i> <i>Holofernes</i> , BNF
4	Br.34 09.	Cardinal Hat with petal Flower	1519, Vicenza		<i>Benedict with</i> <i>Saints</i> , BM <i>Mercury &</i> <i>Aglaurus</i> , BM, <i>Resurrected</i> <i>Christ</i> , BnF (Var) <i>Jerome in</i> <i>Wilderness</i> BnF (worn plate) <i>Birth of</i> <i>Adonis</i> , BnF <i>Birth of Adonis</i> NGA	
5	Br.49 00	High Crown	1507, Vicenza		<i>George and</i> <i>the Dragon</i> i/3, BNF	c= GAB; WM.No.23 in London 1992; c= GAB <i>Saint Peter</i> , Harvard <i>Hercules &</i> <i>Deianira</i> BM; Fountain with <i>Neptune</i> BM

6	Br.34 77	Cardinal Hat & 'P'	1547, Padua		<i>Satyr Family,</i> BNF	
7	H.14 4	Bird in profile		ASVi, Not. Francesco Scolari reg.1498–99; 1508; BBVi, Osped. Pietro & Paolo, b.1, 1494.	<i>George and the Dragon,</i> i/3, NGA	
8	Br.12 164 var; H.90 var.	Bird in profile with crown & key	1508 Verona; 1503 Verona;15 03 Vicenza var. (12162)	ASVi, Not. Francesco Scolari, reg.1509–12	<i>Centaur Abducting a Nymph BNF</i> <i>Holy Family in Landscape</i> <i>with John Zu.</i>	
9	Br.24 45– 67?; H.10 9	Balance	1441 Vicenza		<i>Benedict Preaching,</i> BM	GAB <i>Laocoön after antique</i> , BM
10	Br.26 02 ; H.19	Balance in circle with star	1507 Udine	ASVi, Not.Francesco Scolario reg. 1512–13	<i>Jerome with Lion ii/2, BNF</i> <i>Orpheus Charming the Animals ii/3,</i> BM	Mocetto, <i>Battle of Israel & Amalekites</i> , plate 1, BNF Mocetto, <i>Judith & Holofernes</i> , ii/2 BNF
11	Br.57 8–80	Anchor in circle with ring on top	1509, Treviso, Venice or 1516, Bologna		<i>Nymph and satyrs i/2,</i> BNF <i>Virgin & Child in Landscape,</i> BNF <i>Woman, Satyr & two putti,</i> BNF	
12	Br.54 8; H.97	Anchor in circle with star	1563, Arnold- stein		<i>Apollo & Vulcan, ii/2,</i> BNF	Mocetto, <i>Baptism</i> , Budapest GAB, Belvedere Torso ii/2, BNF
13	Br. 502;	Anchor in circle with star and B below	1520 Vicenza (var.)		<i>Catherine in Landscape,</i> BnF	
14	Br.86 52, 8588	Letter P	1494, France, & Germany		<i>Satyr Family,</i> Seasongod	GAB, h.17 Mocetto, <i>Judith & Holofernes</i> , BM

15	Br.83 90- 92; H.72	M atop star in a shield	1529 Florence 1578 Lucques		<i>Benedict Preaching, BNF Sacrifice of Abraham, Dr (var.) Sacrifice of Abraham GDSU</i>	
16	Pic.1 5520 2	3 mounts in circle	1447 Vicenza		<i>Benedict with saints, BNF</i>	Zoppo, <i>Studies of Virgin and child</i> , BM
17	Br.11 913- 94	3 mounts in circle with column & cross	1515 Padua; 1541 Padua; 155 2 Padua		<i>Nativity with saints ii/2 BNF</i>	
18	Pic.5 1689	5 pointed Crown in a Circle	1577, Rome		<i>Man with Arrow, ii/2, BNF</i>	
19	H.12 1; Pic.5 1611	5 pointed crown with 6 pointed star	1626, Rome		<i>Man with arrow ii/2, BNF</i>	
20	Woo dwar d 241, 242.	Ladder with 5 rungs in cross with star	1540, Rome. Used by Salamanca		<i>Holy Family in Landscape with John Dr.</i>	
21	H.11 3	Balance with cross with circle on ends			<i>Stigmatisation of Francis, BM,</i>	
22	H.22	Circle with 'wonky' crucifix			<i>Vulcan & Apollo, Al Centaur & Dragon Al (worn)</i>	
23		Crescent moon above 6 pointed star			<i>Saint Sebastian, Dr.</i>	
24		GMR with 3 petalled flower above		Likely mid sixteenth- seventeenth century paper from Bologna (?)	<i>Virgin & Child ii/3 Dr. Virgin & Child ii/3 Zu Virgin & Child ii/3 BNF</i>	Bologna, Antonio Casttani, <i>Spellato</i> , Rome but with star above.
25	H.13 5	GBC/C		Likely eighteenth century paper	<i>Virgin & Child iii/3, BM Virgin & Child iii/3, NGA Virgin & Child iii/3, Zu.</i>	

Appendix IV: Dürer Quotations in Venetic Engravings.

Concordance is here given with FARA 2007: Fara, G. M., *Albrecht Dürer: Originali, Copie e Derivazioni. Inventario generale delle stampe, Gabinetto dei disegni e stampe degli Uffizi*, (Florence, 2007).

Please note that this inventory is not exhaustive.

App.N o	Dürer print	Date	Benedetto Montagna and related paintings by the workshop	Other artists	Fara Ref.
1	<i>Virgin & child with butterfly</i> (Sch.i,2)	c.1495	<i>Anthony Abbot</i> in butterfly; <i>Man with Palm</i> in butterfly; <i>Virgin and Child in Landscape</i> in ship and setting; <i>Madonna and Child</i> i/3 in pontoon.		No.27.
2	<i>The Ravisher</i> (Sch.i,1)	c.1495	<i>Woman, Child and Wildman</i> in overall theme and bench.		No.71.
3	<i>Ill Assorted Couple</i> (Sch.i,3)	c.1496	<i>Woman and Satyr with Cupids</i> in landscape; <i>Agony in the Garden</i> in the castle; <i>Catherine in Landscape</i> in laying of space	Giulio, <i>Saturn</i> in landscape.	No.72
4	<i>Penance of John Chrysostom</i> (Sch.i,7)	c.1496	Copy in reverse? ref in GUTEKUNST 1895, N.2075; <i>Saint Francis</i> in cliffs.	GA da Brescia as ZA, Copy in Reverse; Giulio, Copy in Reverse;	No.45.
5	<i>Prodigal Son</i> (Sch.i,9)	c.1496	<i>Anthony Abbot</i> in piglet.	GA da Brescia, reverse copy; Nicoletto, <i>Anthony Abbot</i> .	No.11.
6	<i>Sea Monster</i> (Sch.i,21)	c.1496	<i>Agony in the Garden</i> in the castle, hill, tree and sky.	GA da Brescia (as ZA) copy; Giulio, <i>Landscape</i> .	No.51,
7	<i>Landsner Sow</i> (Sch.i,8)	c.1496	<i>Travels of Saint Anthony</i> predella panel in city in background		No.74.
8	<i>Penitent Saint Jerome</i> (Sch.i,6)	c.1496	<i>Jerome in the Wilderness</i> in placing of cross; <i>Birth of Adonis</i> in cliff.	GA da Brescia as ZA copy in reverse	No.44.
9	<i>The Small Courier</i>	c.1496		Nicoletto, reverse copy; Giulio, <i>Tobias & Angel</i> in landscape; <i>Saturn</i> in tree stump.	No.60.
10	<i>Four Witches</i>	1497		Nicoletto copy as <i>Judgement of Paris</i> (1500)	No.55.
11	<i>Virgin & Child with Monkey</i> (Sch.i..20)	c.1498	<i>Virgin and Child in Landscape</i> in Virgin's gesture and dress.	GA da Brescia as ZA copy in reverse; Giulio, <i>Ganymede</i> in landscape	No.25.
12	<i>Man of Sorrows</i> (i,26).	c.1500	Copy in reverse with added landscape.		No.5.
13	<i>Saint Sebastian</i> (i,30)	c.1501	Copy in reverse.		No.38.

14	<i>The Witch</i> (Sch.i,28)	c.1500	Copy in reverse. <i>Woman, satyr and cupids</i> in the playing cupids.		No.47.
15	<i>Holy family with Anne</i> (Sch.i,27)	c.1500	<i>Orant Virgin with Angels</i> in the God Head.		No.12.
16	<i>Three Genies</i>	c.1500	<i>River God</i> in putto seen from behind		No.46.
17	<i>Saint Eustace</i> (Sch.i,32)	c.1501	<i>Agony in the Garden</i> , hill with stream and castle (combined with Sea Monster).	Agostino Veneziano (?) in <i>Shepherd in a Landscape</i> in lake with bridge	No.40.
18	<i>Adam and Eve</i>	1504	<i>Jerome in the Wilderness</i> in the leaves.		No.1
19	<i>Nativity</i> (Sch.i,40)	1504	Copy in reverse; <i>Mercury and Aglaurus</i> in the arch.		No.2.
20	<i>Large Horse</i> (Sch.i,43)	1505	Copy in reverse.	GA da Brescia, partial copy	No.76.
21	<i>Small Horse</i> (Sch.i,42)	1505	<i>Centaur and Dragon</i> in horse pose		No.75
22	<i>Satyr family</i> (Sch.i,44)	1505	<i>Satyr Family</i> in composition and theme.	GA da Brescia copy in reverse (1507); Monogrammist P, <i>Child with bird in trees</i> (1511)	No.49
23	<i>Adoration of Magi</i> from <i>Life of the Virgin</i>	1502–3	<i>Nativity with saints</i> in the star and angels)		No.96n
24	Rest on the flight to egypt from <i>Life of the Virgin</i>	1502–3	<i>Nativity with Saints</i> in the architecture <i>Pala di Cologna Veneta</i> in the predella		No.96p
25	Joachim & the angel from <i>Life of the Virgin</i>	1502–3	<i>Catherine in a landscape</i> in distant landscape and city.		No.96c
26	<i>Adoration of the Shepherds</i> from <i>Life of the Virgin</i>	1502–3	<i>Nativity with Saints</i> in tower and overall architecture		No.96l.
26	<i>Circumcision of Christ</i>	1504	<i>Benedict Preaching</i> in the oculus (?)		
27	<i>Martyrdom of Catherine</i>	1502–3	<i>Nativity with Saints</i> in Catherine.		No.116

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- Fig.5.37: Girolamo da Vicenza, *Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin*, 1488, tempera on wood, 337 x 229 mm (London, National Gallery, INV.NG3077).
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Chapter Six:

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- Fig.6.2: Albrecht Dürer, *Adoration of the Magi from Life of the Virgin*, 1503, woodcut, 297 x 211 mm (London, British Museum, INV.H.3.171)
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- Fig.6.13: Bartolomeo Montagna, *Madonna Adoring the Child with saints Monica and Mary Magdalene*, c.1485, oil and tempera on canvas, 1840 x 1690 mm (Vicenza, Pinacoteca Civico di Palazzo Chiericati, INV.A3).
- Fig.6.14: Martin Schongauer, *The Second Wise Virgin from the Wise and Foolish Virgins*, 1470–79, engraving, 120 x 81mm (London, British Museum).
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- Fig.6.16: Master ES, *Martyrdom of Saint Barbara*, c.1450–67, engraving, 115 x 158 mm (London, British Museum, INV.1837,0616.352).
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- Fig.6.33: Albrecht Dürer, *Large Horse*, 1505, engraving, 167 x 119 mm (London, British Museum, INV.1868,0822.197)
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- Fig.6.38: Benedetto Montagna after Albrecht Dürer, *Saint Sebastian*, c.1504, engraving, 115 x 70 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, INV.Ea rés. Cl.86 B.108775).
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- Fig.6.51: Marcantonio Raimondi, *Apollo, Hyacinth and Cupid*, 1506, engraving, 296 x 224mm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, INV.RP-P-OB-12.153).
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- Fig.6.53: Giulio Campagnola after Albrecht Dürer, *Landscape copied from the Sea Monster*, 75 (?), x 166 mm (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte).
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- Fig.6.64: Benedetto Montagna, *Apollo, Midas and Pan*, 1508–15, engraving, 164 x 112mm (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, INV.KdZ 40-1889).
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- Fig.6.70: Benedetto Montagna, *River God with putto holding an astrolabe (Saturn)*, c.1508–15, engraving, 161 x 110mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, INV.Ea rés. Cl.86 C.128471).
- Fig.6.71: Benedetto Montagna, *Centaur, Nymph and Dragon*, 1508–15, engraving, 168 x 110mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, INV.Ea rés. Cl.86 C.128469).
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Conclusion:

- Fig.C.1: Bartolomeo Montagna, *Miracle of the Jawbone*, 1512, fresco, 2870 x 4410 mm (Padua, Scoletta del Santo).
- Fig.C.2: Titian, *Miracle of the Jealous Husband*, 1511, fresco, (Padua, Scoletta del Santo).
- Fig.C.3: Benedetto Montagna, *Enthroned Madonna and Child*, c.1525, oil on panel, 785 x 570 mm (Vicenza, Palazzo Thiene).
- Fig.C.4: Liberale da Verona, *Pala Miniscalchi* c.1520, tempera and oil on panel, 1490 x 1395 mm (Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, INV.36440-1B3265).
- Fig.C.5: Derutan Artist, *Benedict with Saints*, c.1505–15, tin-glazed earthenware, dia.462 mm (London, British Museum, INV.1855,0313.1)
- Fig.C.6: Pseudo Fra Antonio da Brescia, *Allegory of Virtue and Vice*, c.1505–15, bronze double sided coin, dia.60mm (Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, INV.4907).
- Fig.C.7: Daniel Hopfer, *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*, 1510–30, etching, 220 x 148 mm (London, British Museum, INV.1845,0809.1325).
- Fig.C.8: Benedetto Montagna, *Man with Palm*, ii/2, second state: mid1700s, (London, British Museum, INV.1895,0915.77).
- Fig.C.9: Malaspina Copperplate, first engraved c.1503, 209 x 165mm (Pavia, Collezione Malaspina, INV.St.Mal.5438).

- Fig.C.10: Bartolomeo Montagna, *Female Nude Holding a Caduceus (Victory)*, c.1508–15, pen and ink with brush and indigo wash with white heightening on blue paper, 310 x 207mm (Paris, Musée du Louvre, INV.8258).
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Fig.1.1:



Illustrations

Fig.1.2:



Fig.1.3:



Fig.1.4:



Fig.1.5:



Fig.1.6



Fig.1.7:



Fig.1.8:



Fig.1.9:

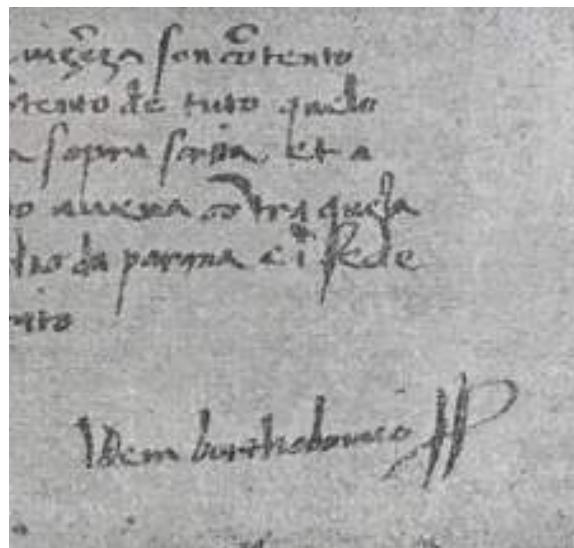


Fig.1.10:

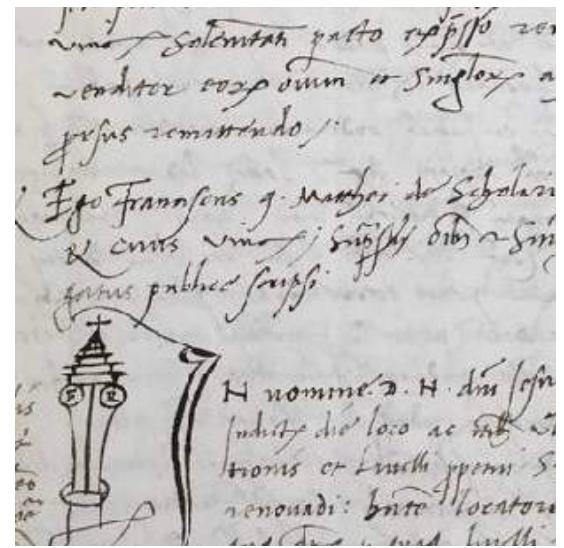


Fig.1.11:



Fig.1.12:



Fig.1.13:



Fig.1.14:



Fig.1.15:



Fig.1.16:



Fig.1.17:



Fig.1.18:



Fig.1.19:



Fig.1.20:



Fig.1.21:



Fig.1.22:



Fig.1.23:



Fig.1.24:



Fig.1.25:

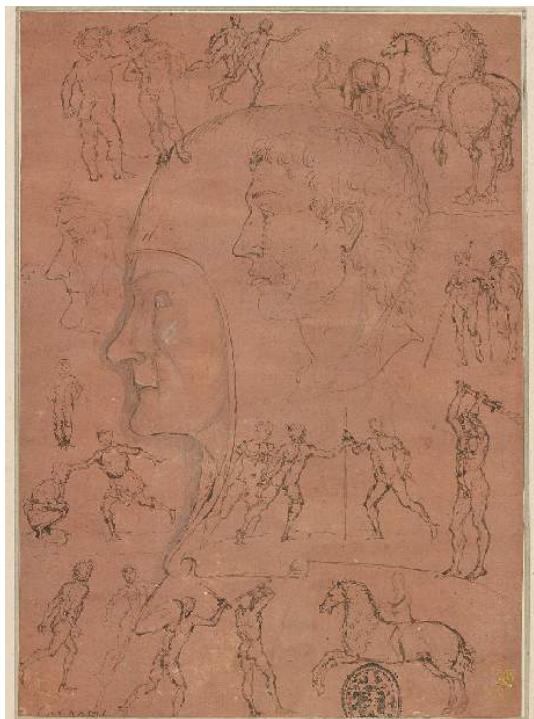


Fig.1.26:

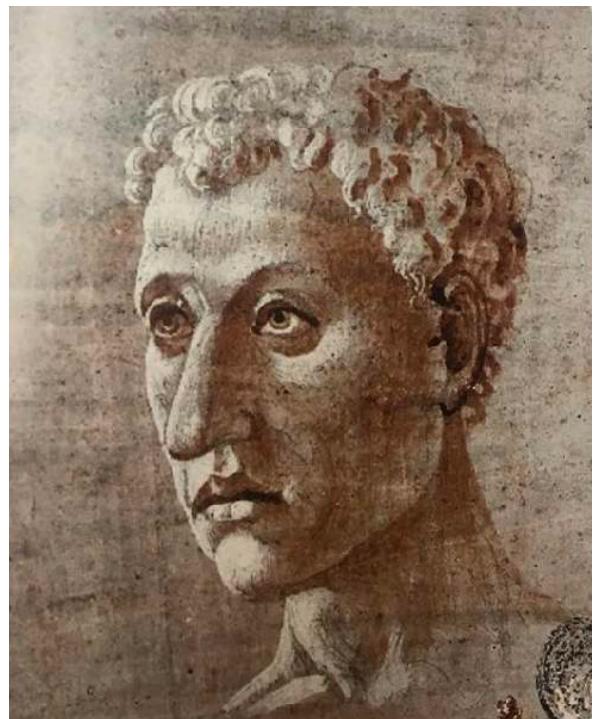


Fig.1.27:



Fig.1.28:



Fig.129:



Fig.1.30

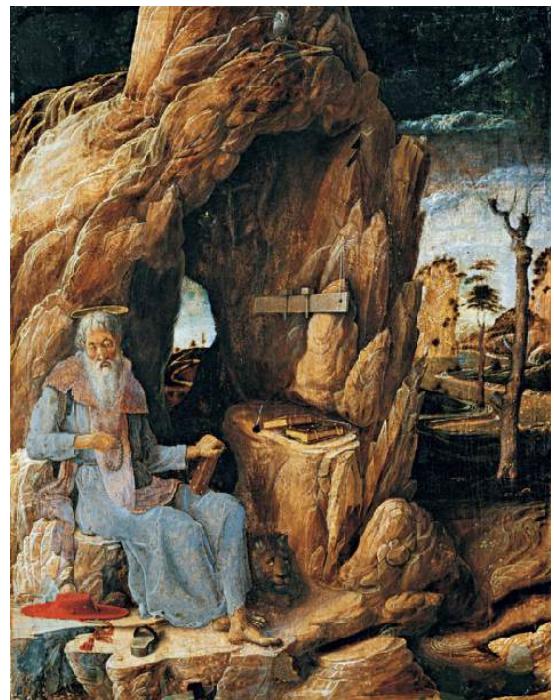


Fig.1.31:



Fig.1.32:



Fig.1.33:

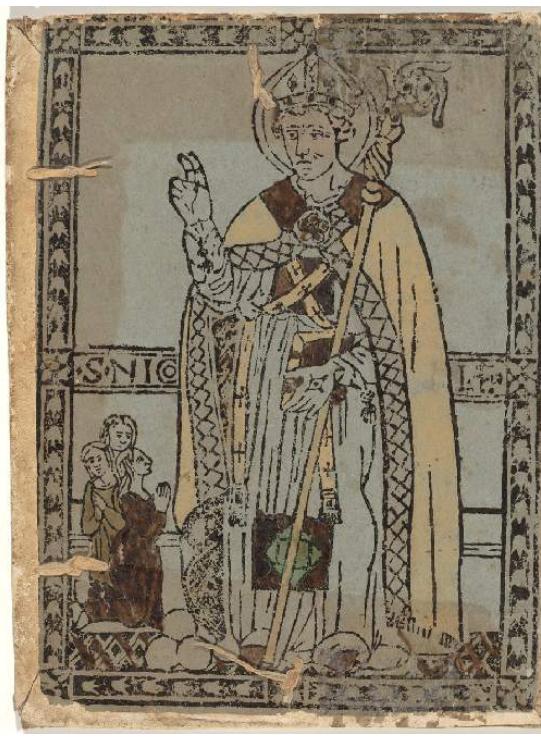


Fig.1.34

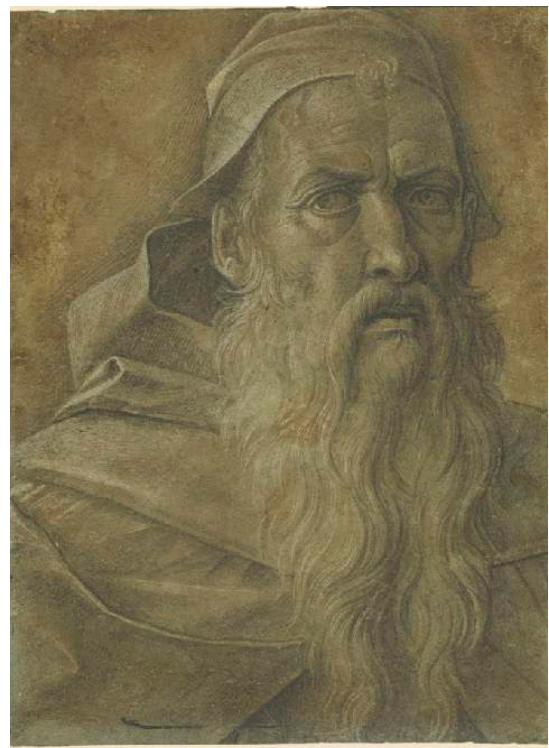


Fig.1.35:



Fig.1.36:



Fig.1.37:



Fig.1.38:



Fig.1.39:



Fig.1.40:



Fig.1.41:



Fig.1.42:



Fig.1.43:

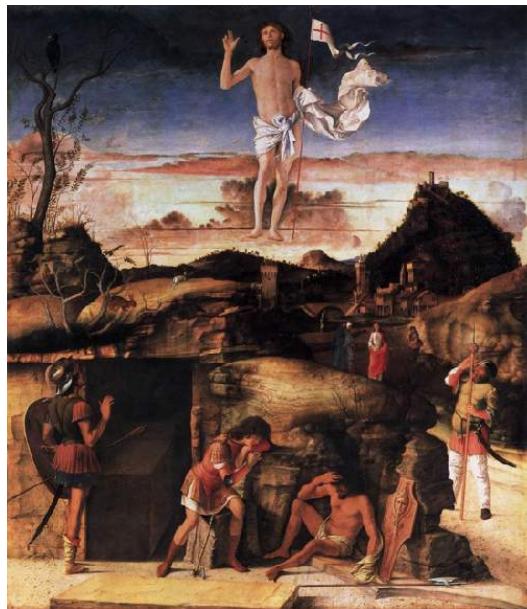


Fig.1.44:



Fig.1.45:



Fig.1.46:

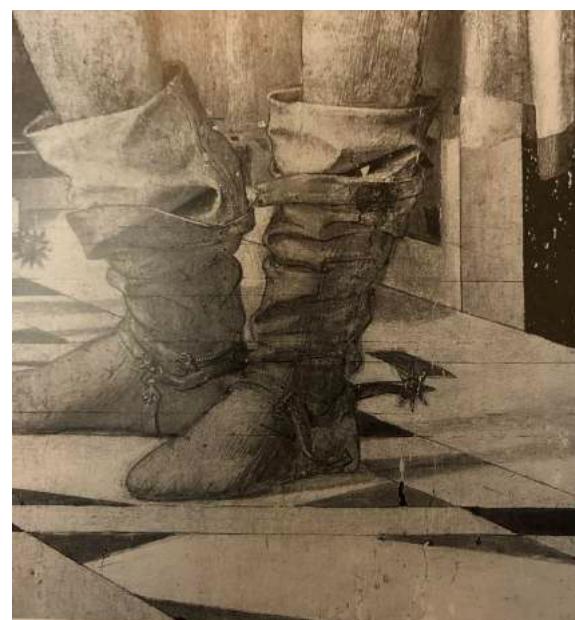


Fig.1.47:



Fig.1.48:

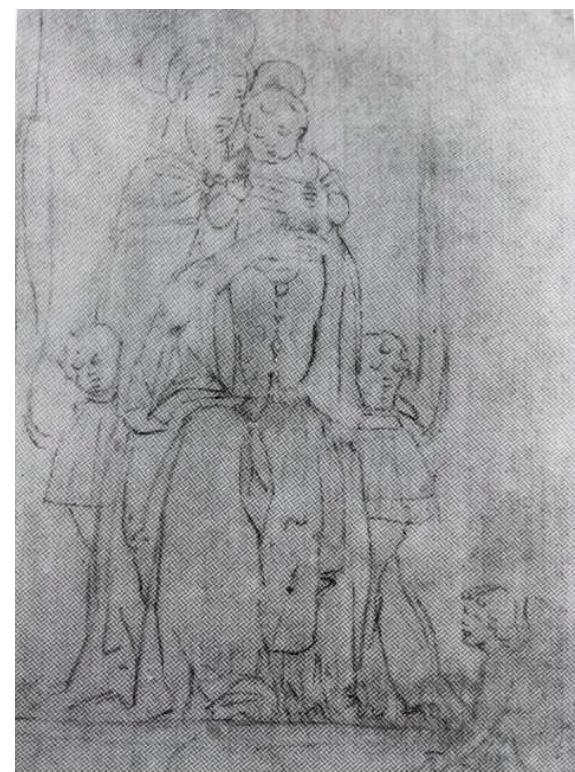


Fig.1.49:



Fig.1.50:

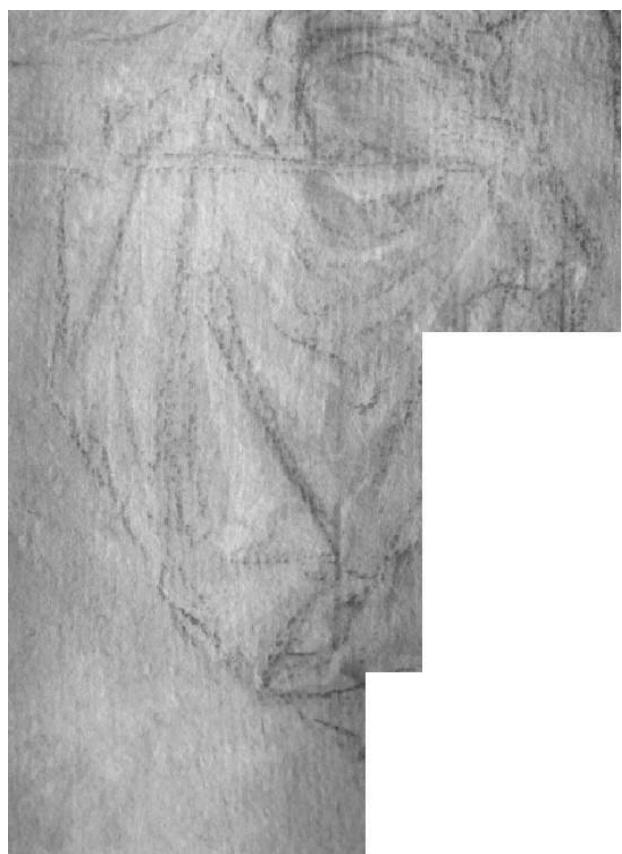


Fig.1.51:



Fig.2.1:



Fig.2.2:



Fig.2.3:



Fig.2.4:



Fig.2.5:



Fig.2.6:



Fig.2.7:



Fig.2.8:



Fig.2.9:



Fig.2.10:



Fig.2.11:



Fig.2.12:



Fig.2.13:



Fig.2.14:



Fig.2.15:



Fig.2.16:



Fig.2.17:



Fig.2.18:



Fig.2.19:



Fig.2.20:



Fig.2.21:



Fig.2.22:



Fig.2.23a:

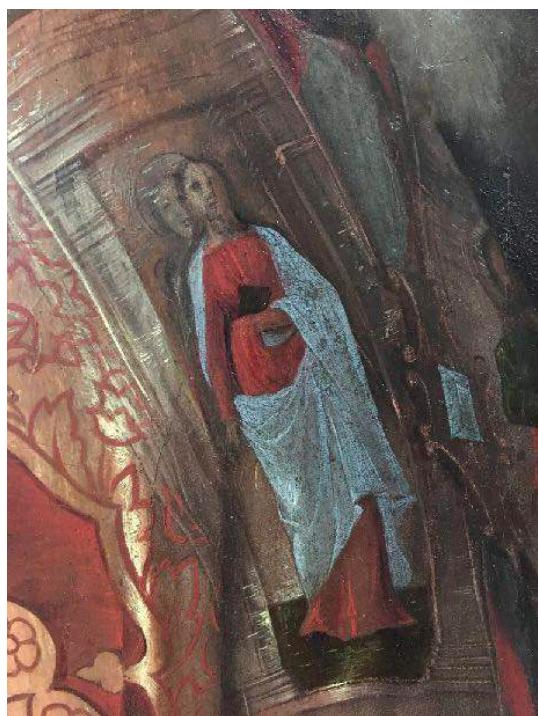


Fig.2.23b:

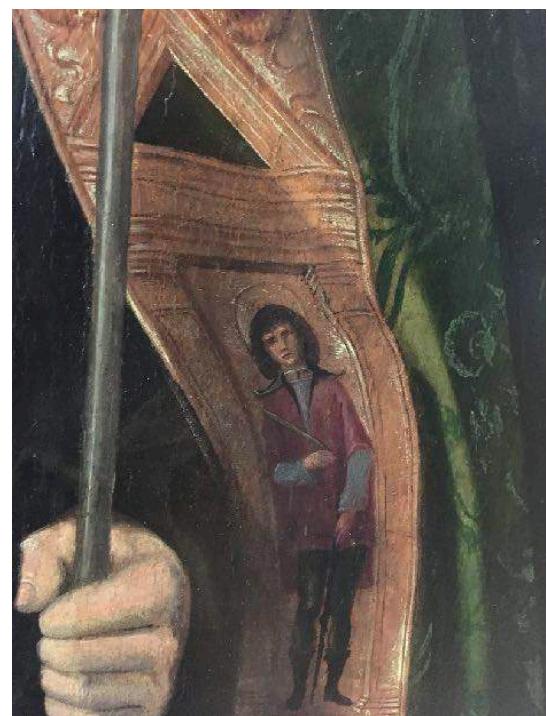


Fig.2.24:



Fig.2.25:



Fig.2.26:



Fig.2.27:



Fig.2.28:



Fig.2.29:



Fig.2.30:



Fig.2.31:



Fig.2.32:



Fig.2.33:



Fig.2.34:



Fig.2.35:



Fig.2.36:



Fig.2.37:



Fig.2.38:



Fig.2.39:

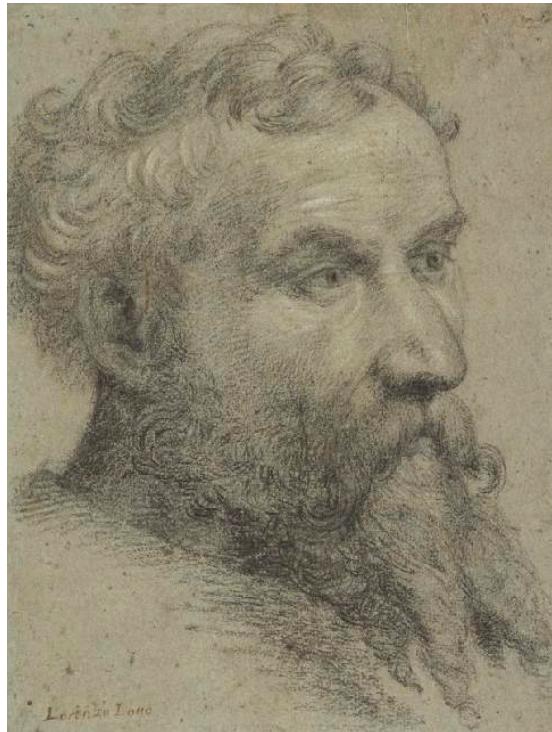


Fig.2.40:



Fig.2.41:



Fig.2.42

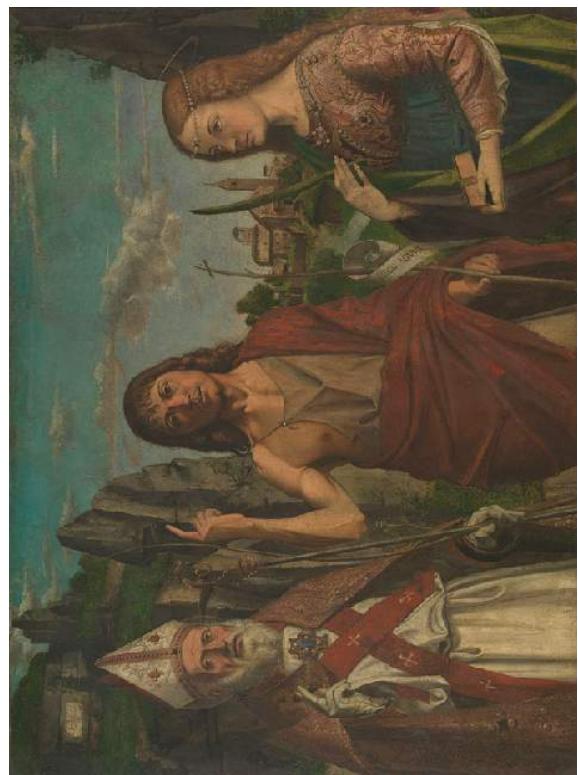


Fig.2.43:



Fig.2.44:



Fig.2.45:



Fig.2.46:



Fig.2.47:



Fig.2.48

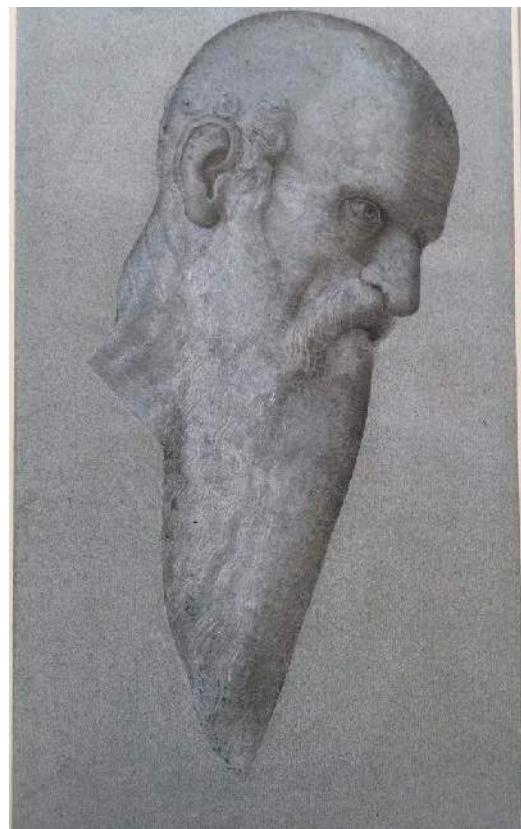


Fig.2.49:



Fig.2.50:



Fig.2.51:



Fig.2.52:



Fig.2.53:



Fig.2.54:



Fig.2.55:



Fig.2.56:



Fig.2.57:

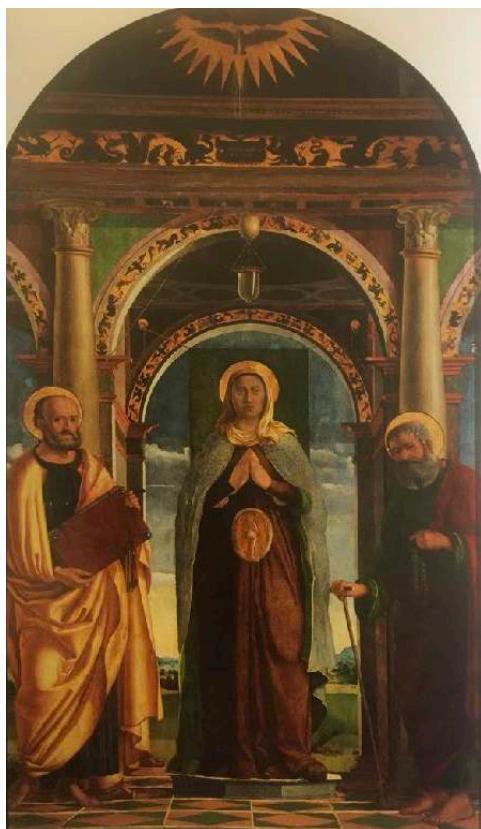


Fig.2.58:



Fig.2.59:



Fig.2.60:



Fig.2.61:



Fig.2.62:



Fig.2.63:



Fig.2.64:



Fig.2.65:



Fig.2.66:

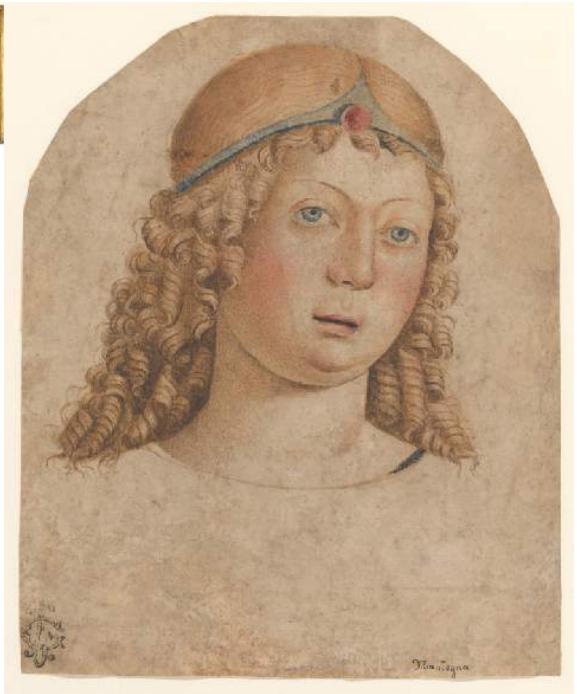


Fig.2.67:



Fig.2.68:

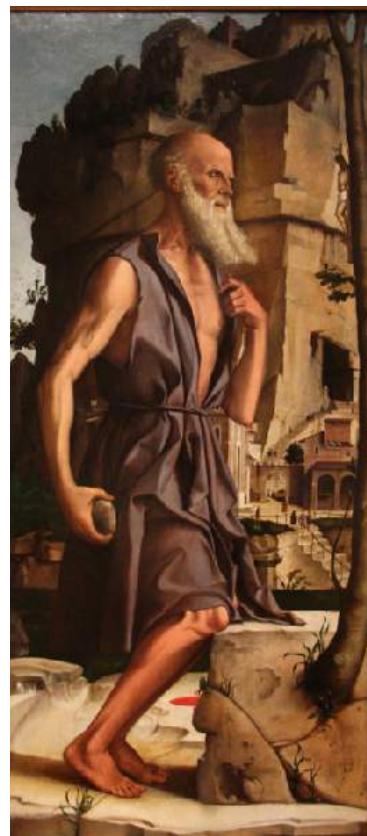


Fig.2.69:



Fig.2.70:



Fig.2.71:



Fig.2.72:



Fig.2.73:



Fig.2.74:

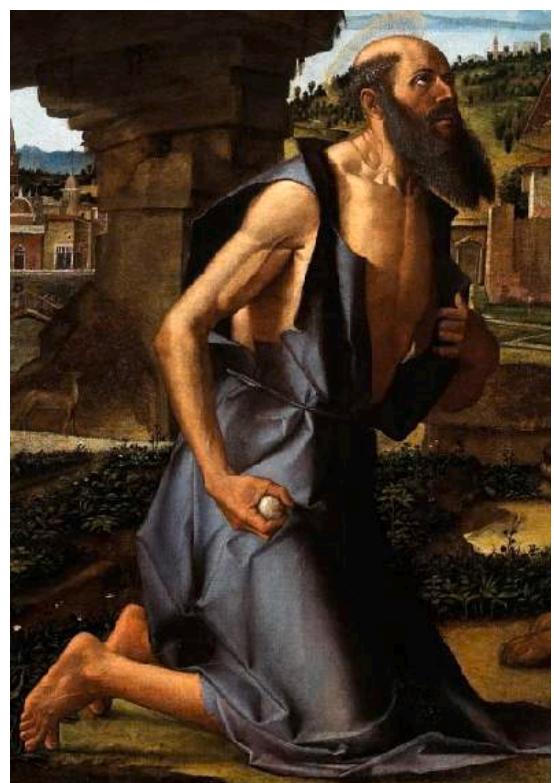


Fig.2.75:



Fig.2.76:a & b



Fig.2.77:

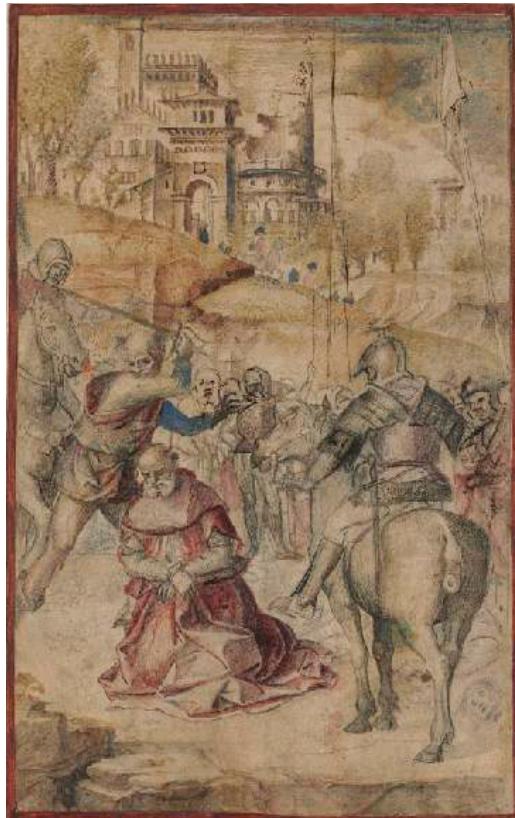


Fig.2.78:



Fig.2.79:



Fig.2.80:



Fig.2.81.a:



Fig.2.81.b:



Fig.3.1:



Fig.3.2:



Fig.3.3:



Fig.3.4:

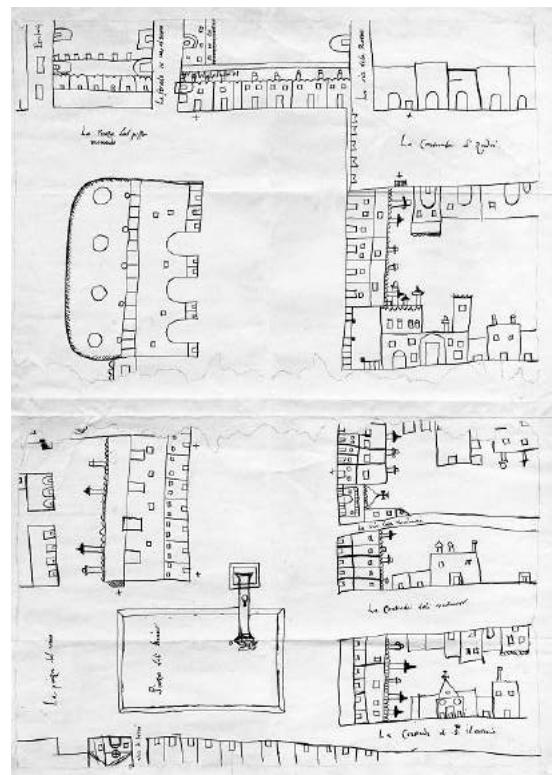


Fig.3.5:



Fig.3.6:



Fig.3.7:



Fig.3.8:



Fig.3.9:



Fig.3.10:



Fig.3.11:



Fig.3.12:



Fig.3.13:



Fig.3.14:



Fig.3.15:



Fig.3.16:



Fig.3.17:



Fig.3.18:

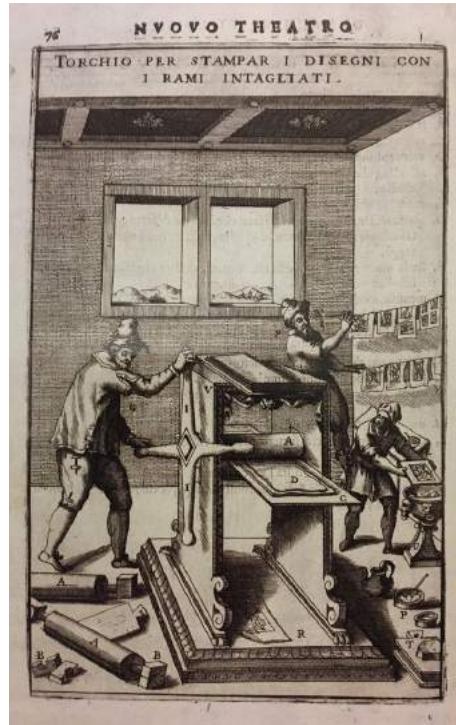


Fig.3.19:

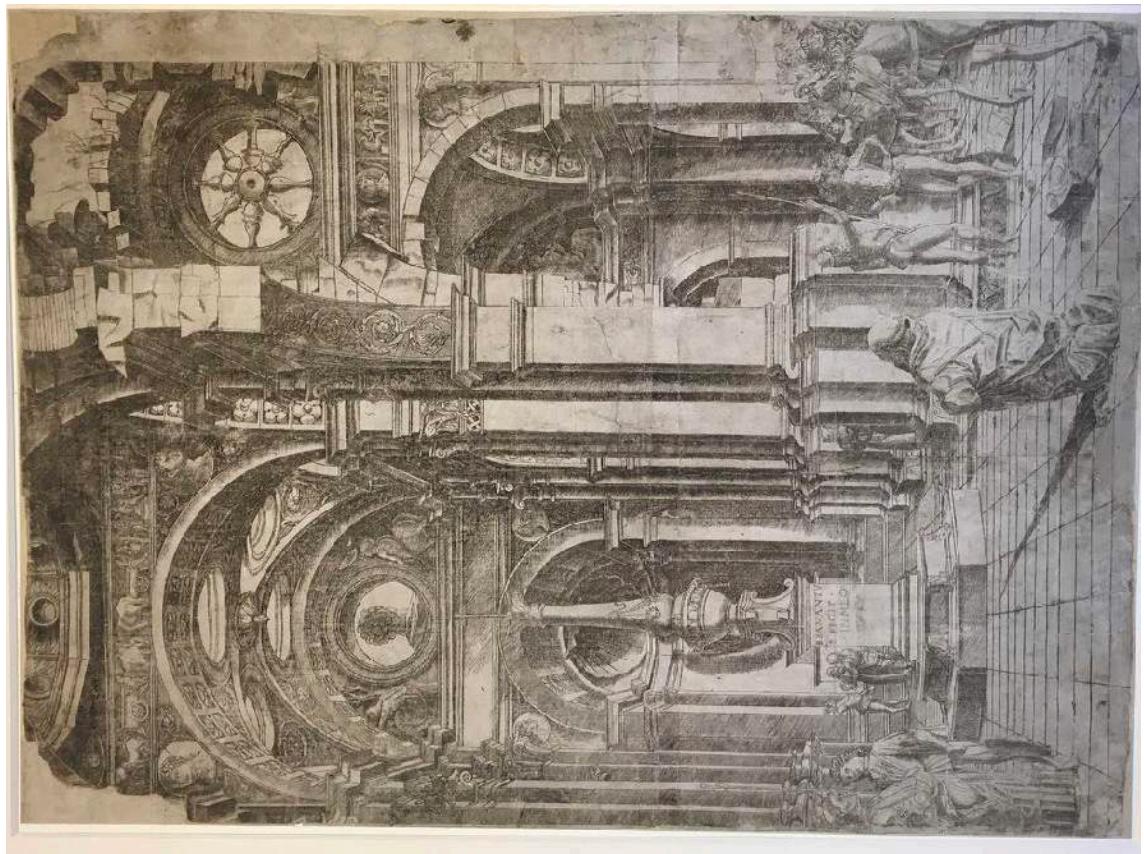


Fig.3.20:



Fig.3.21:



Fig.3.22:



Fig.3.23:



Fig.3.24:



Fig.3.25:



Fig.3.26:



Fig.3.27:



Fig.3.28:



Fig.3.29:



Fig.3.30:



Fig.3.31:



Fig.3.32:



Fig.3.33:



Fig.3.34:



Fig.3.35:



Fig.3.36:

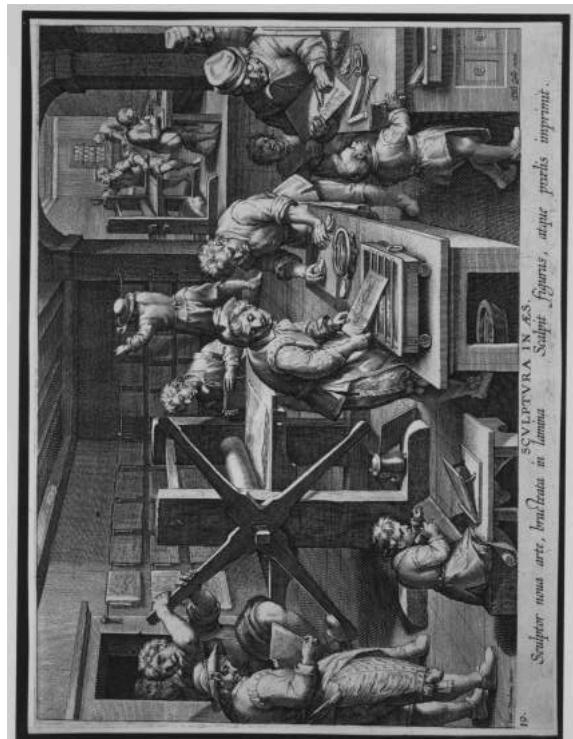


Fig.4.1:



Fig.4.2:



Fig.4.3:



Fig.4.4:



Fig.4.5:



Fig.4.6:



Fig.4.7:



Fig.4.8:



Fig.4.9:



Fig.4.10:



Fig.4.11:



Fig.4.12:

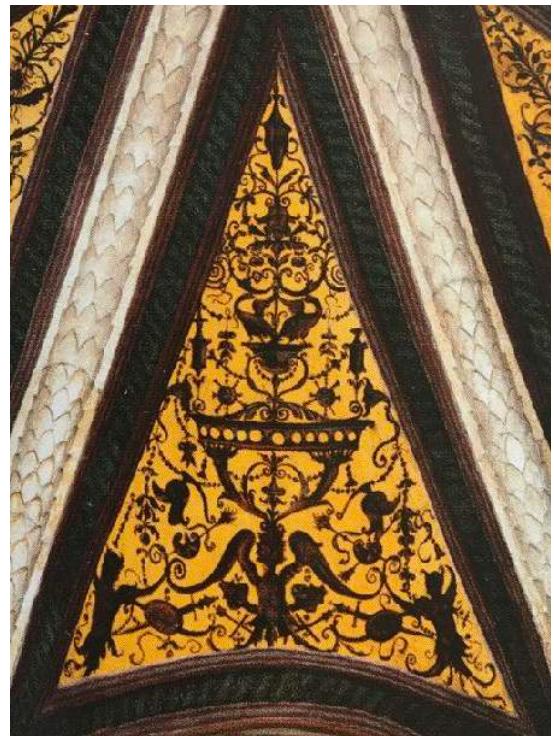


Fig.4.13:



Fig.4.14:



Fig.4.15:



Fig.4.16:

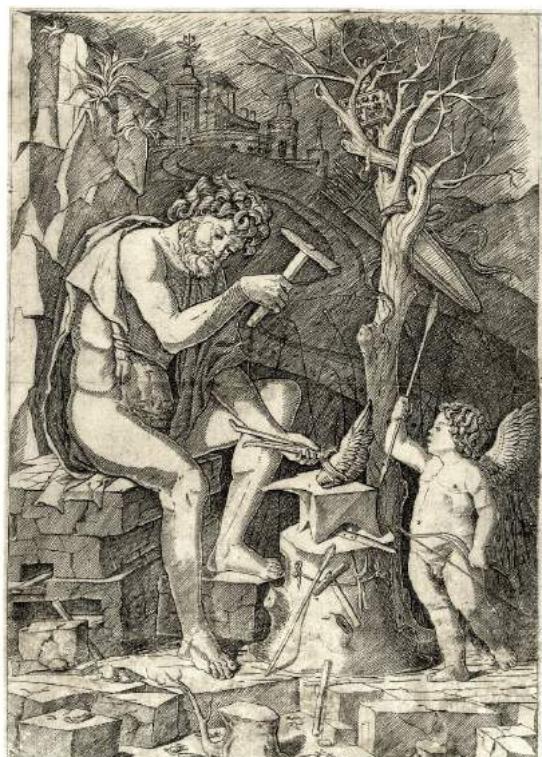


Fig.4.17:



Fig.4.18



Fig.4.19:



Fig.4.20:



Fig.4.21:



Fig.4.22:



Fig.4.23:



Fig.4.24:

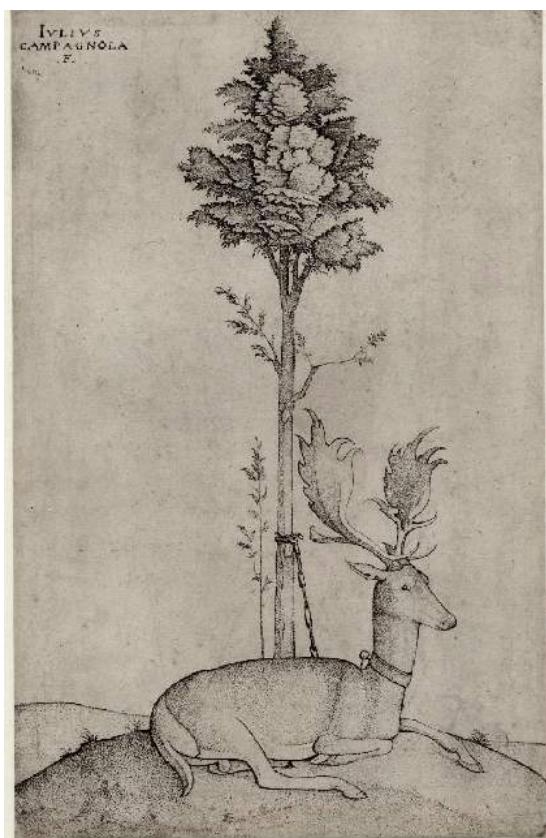


Fig.4.25:



Fig.4.26:

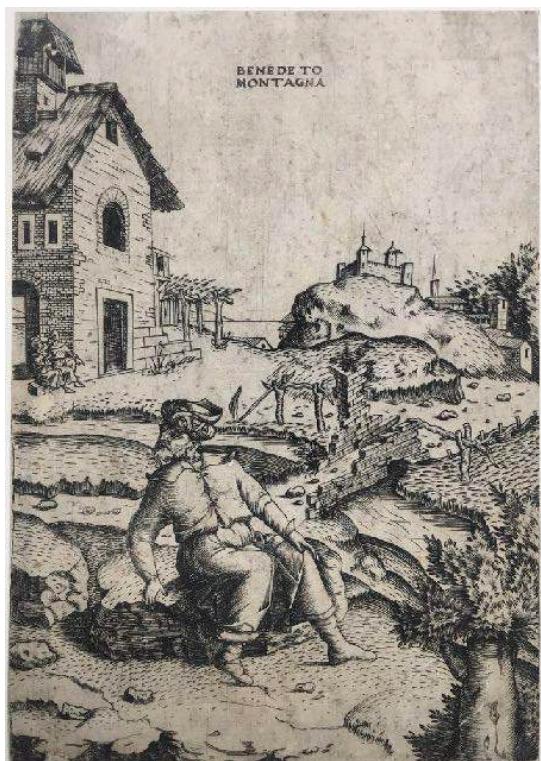


Fig.4.27:

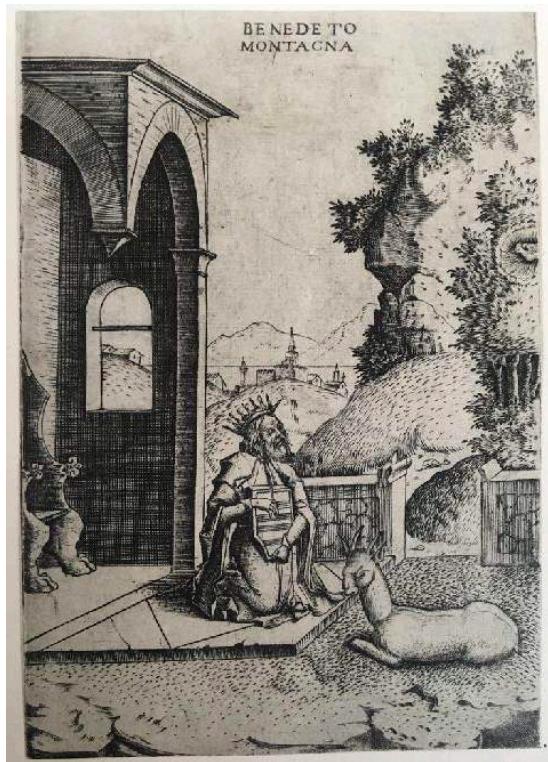


Fig.4.28:



Fig..4.29:

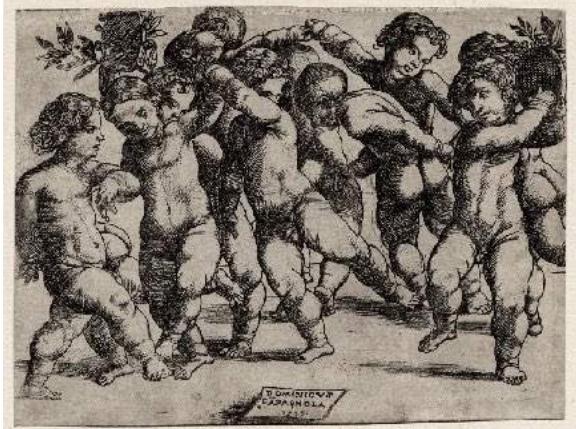


Fig.4.30:



Fig..4.31:



Fig.4.32:



Fig.4.33:



Fig.5.1:



Fig..5.2:

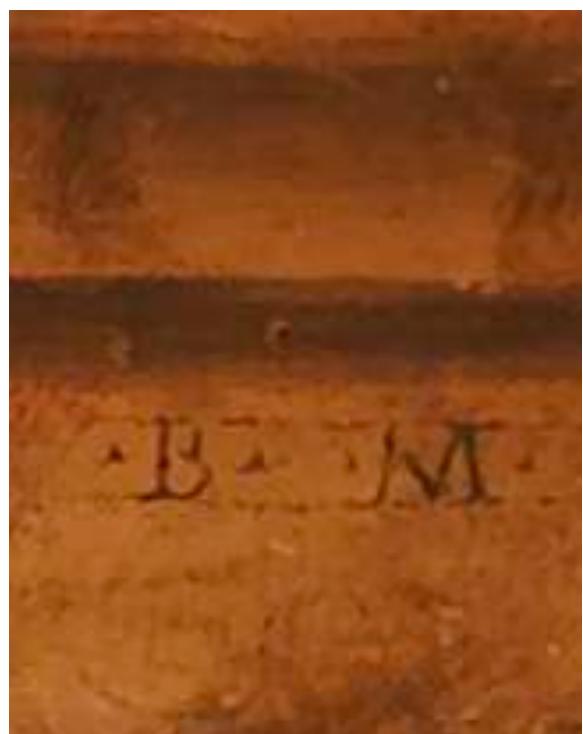


Fig.5.3:

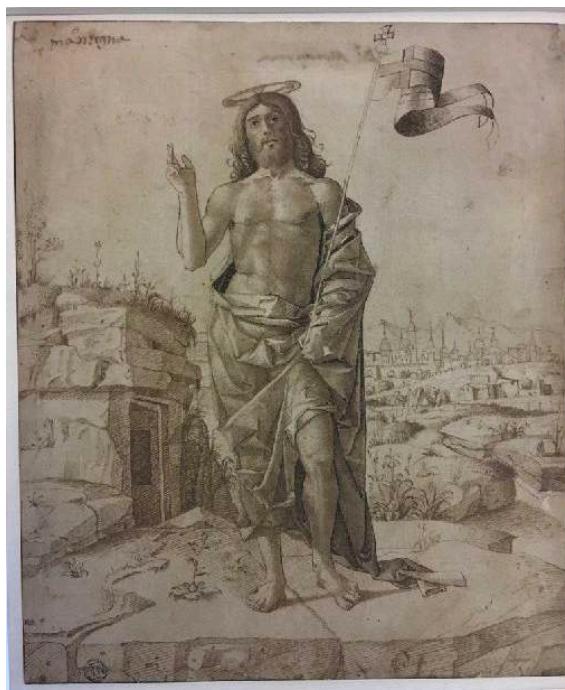


Fig.5.4:



Fig.5.5:



Fig.5.6:



Fig.5.7:

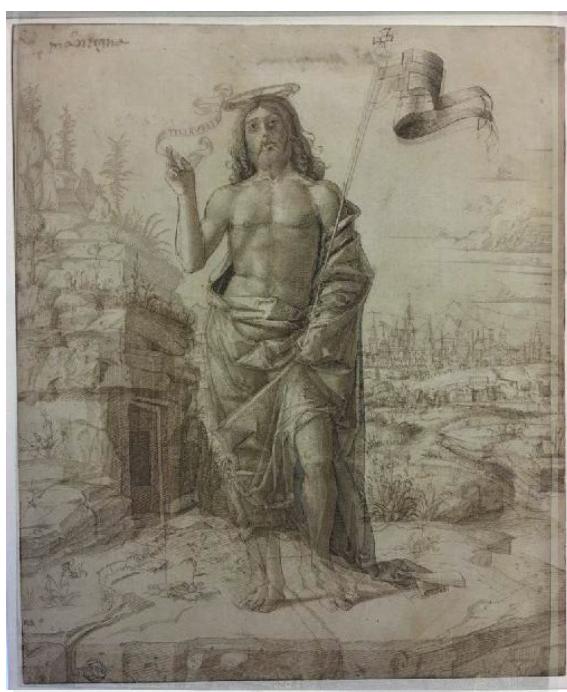


Fig.5.8:



Fig.5.9:



Fig.5.10:



Fig.5.11:



Fig.5.12:



Fig.5.13:



Fig.5.14:



Fig.5.15:



Fig.5.16:



Fig.5.17:



Fig.5.18:



Fig.5.19:



Fig.5.20:

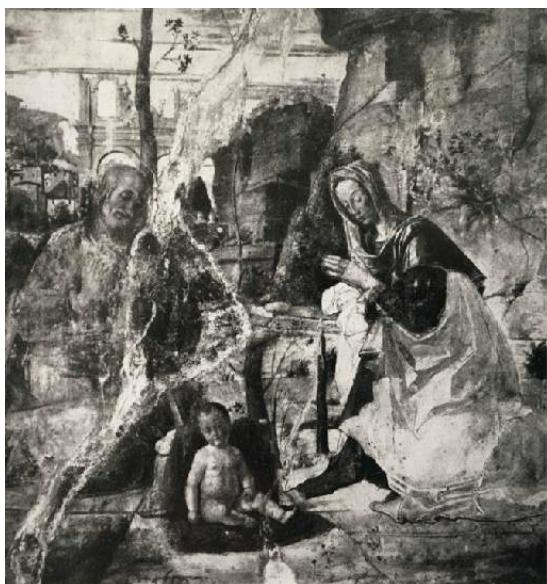


Fig.5.21:



Fig.5.22:



Fig.5.23:



Fig.5.24:

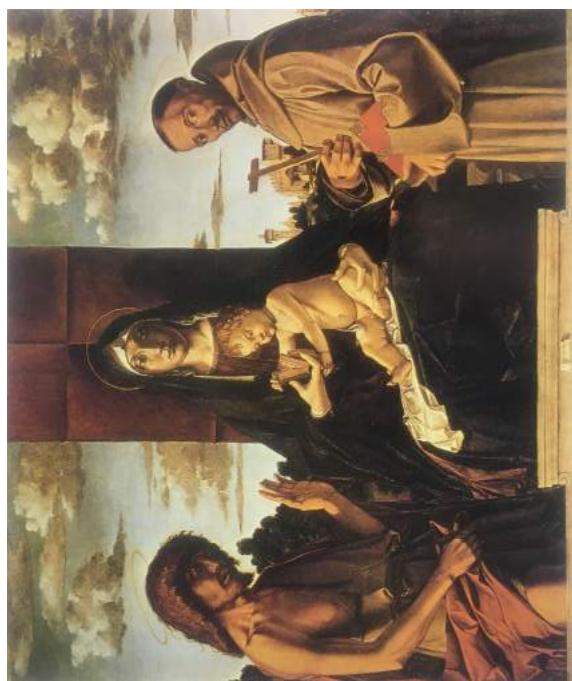


Fig.5.25:



Fig.5.26:



Fig.5.27:



Fig.5.28:

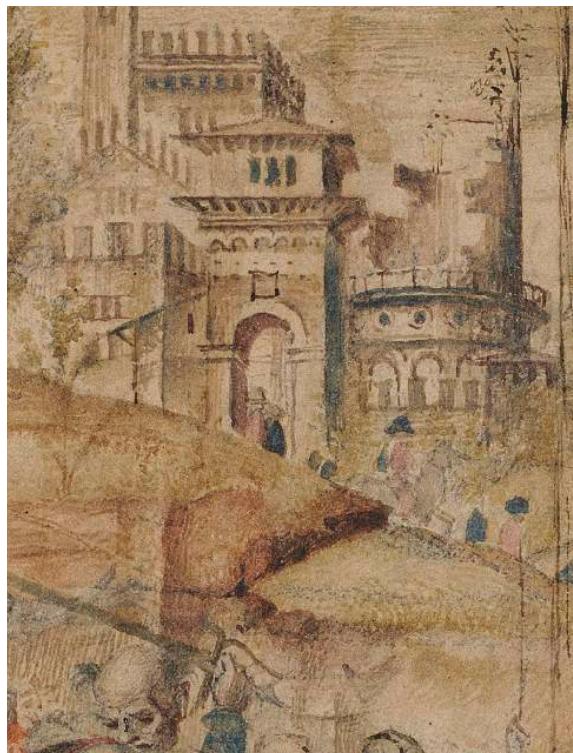


Fig.5.29:

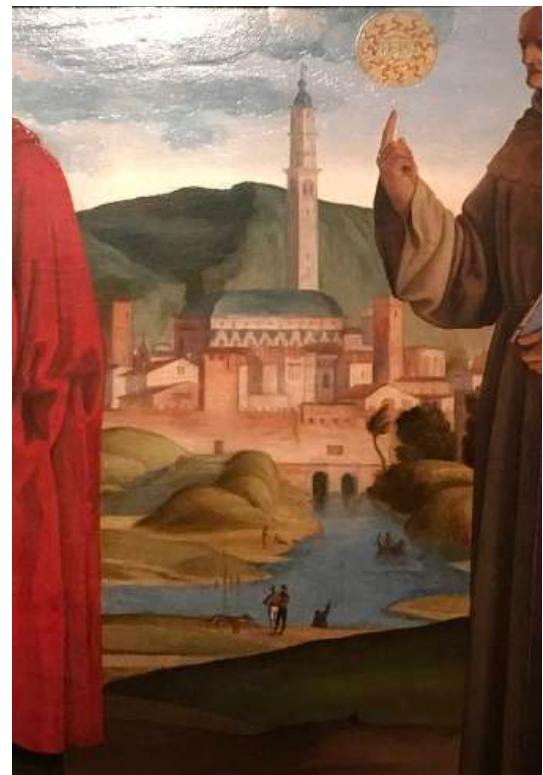


Fig.5.30:



Fig.5.31:



Fig.5.32:



Fig.5.33:



Fig.5.34:



Fig.5.35:



Fig.5.36:



Fig.5.37:

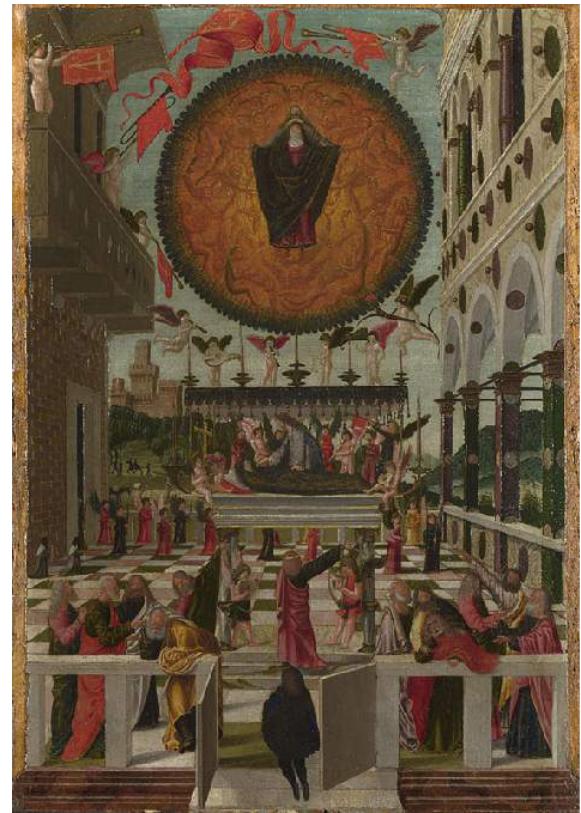


Fig.5.38:



Fig.5.39:



Fig.5.40:



Fig.5.41:



Fig.5.42:

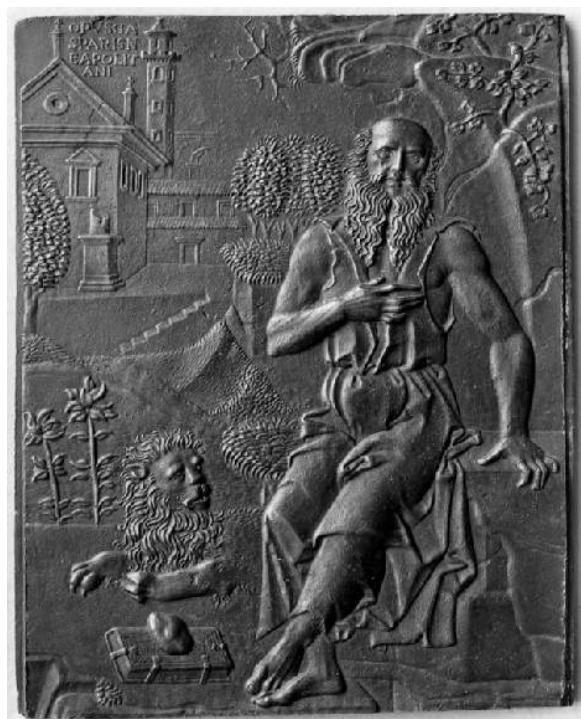


Fig.5.43:



Fig.5.44:



Fig.5.45:

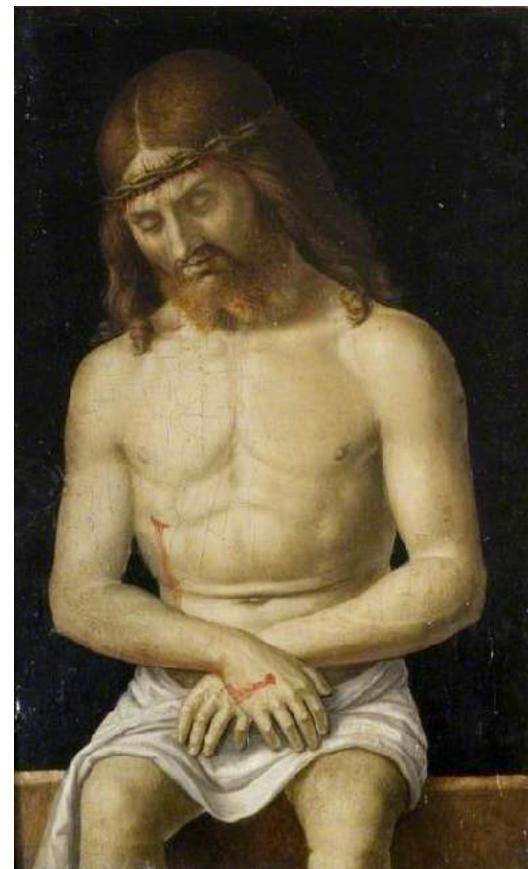


Fig.5.46:



Fig.5.47:



Fig.5.48: 5.49; 5.50.



Fig.5.51:



Fig.5.52:



Fig.5.53:

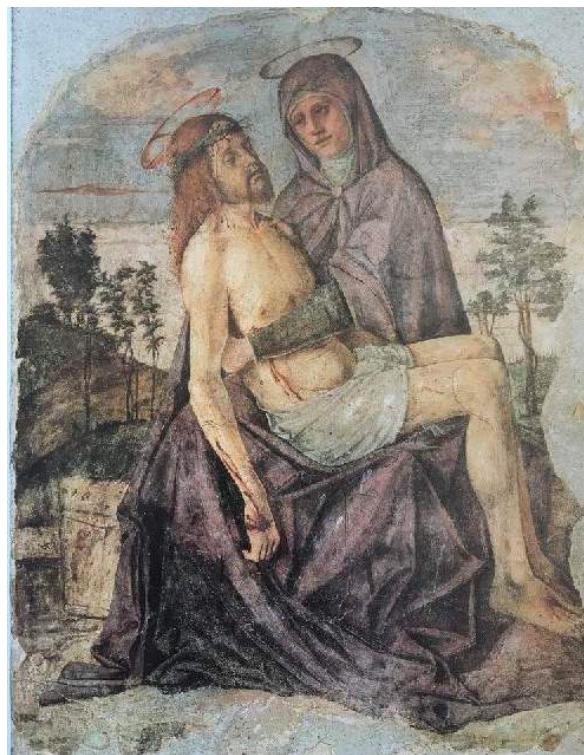


Fig.5.54:



Fig.5.55:

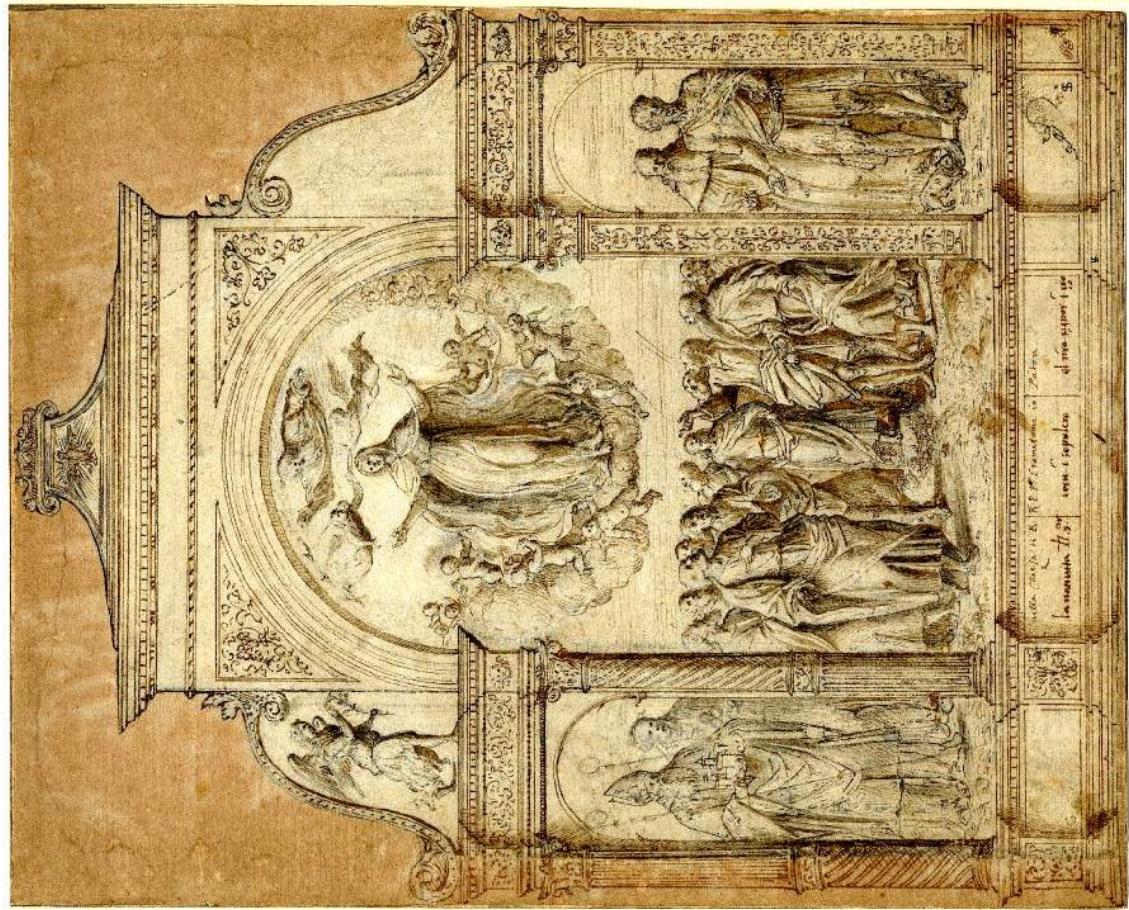


Fig.5.56:

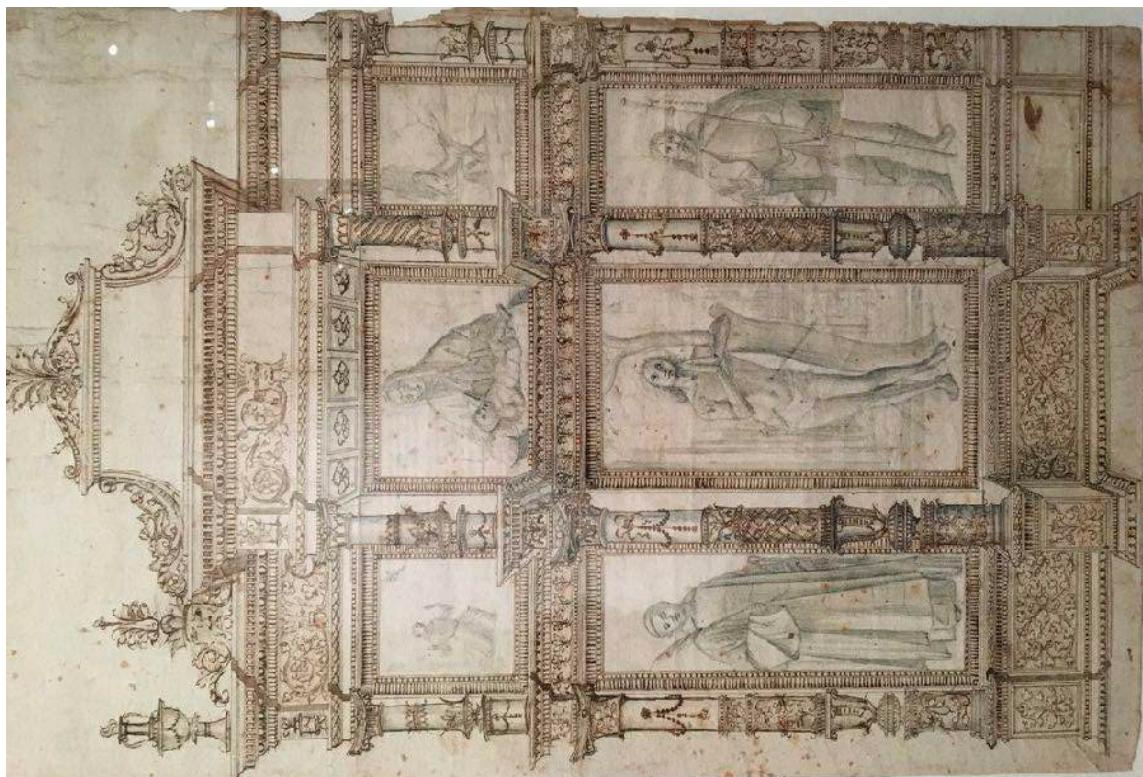


Fig.6.1:



Fig.6.2:



Fig.6.3:



Fig.6.4:



Fig.6.5:



Fig.6.6:



Fig.6.7:

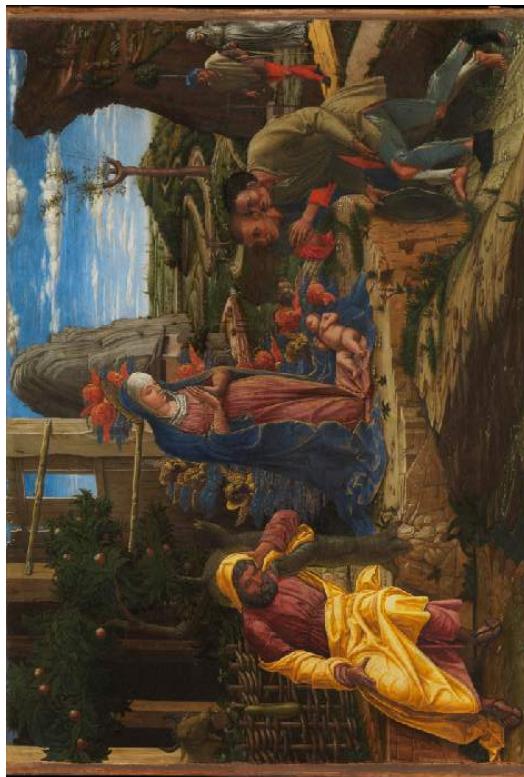


Fig.6.8:



Fig.6.9:



Fig.6.10:



Fig.6.11:



Fig.6.12:



Fig.6.13:



Fig.6.14:



Fig.6.15:



Fig.6.18a&b:



Fig.6.17:



Fig.6.16:



Fig.6.19:



Fig.6.20:



Fig.6.21:



Fig.6.22:



Fig.6.23:

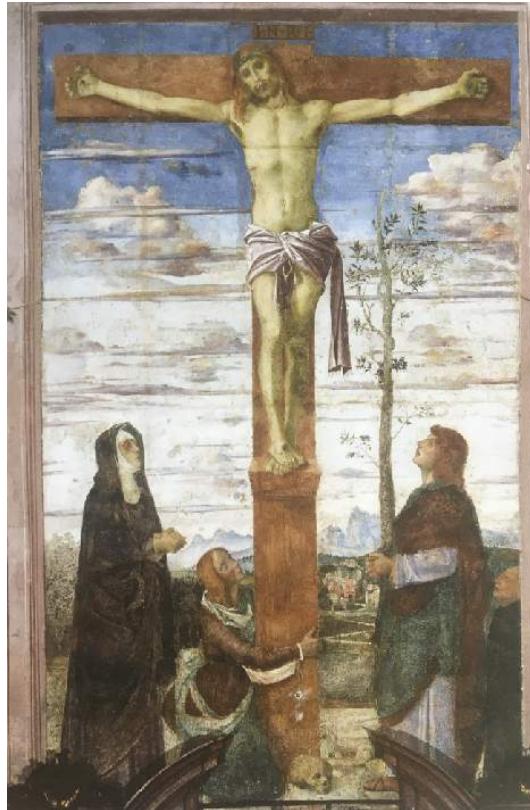


Fig.6.24:



Fig.6.25:

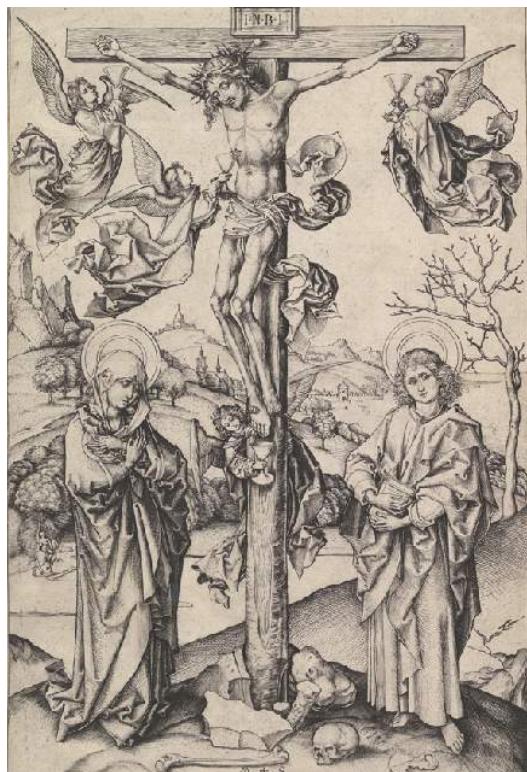


Fig.6.26:

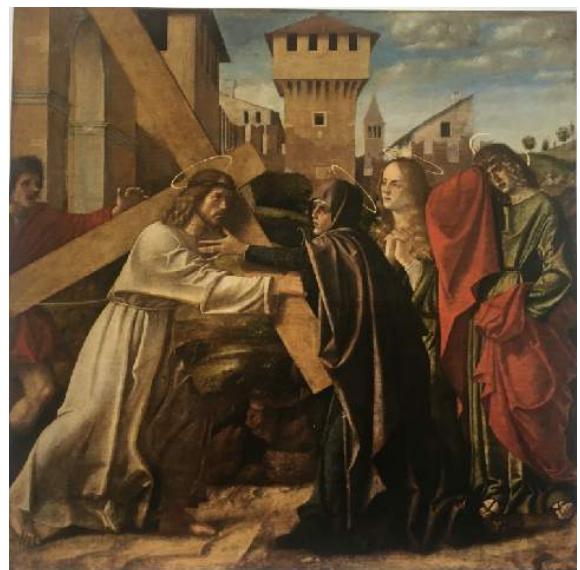


Fig.6.27:



Fig.6.28:

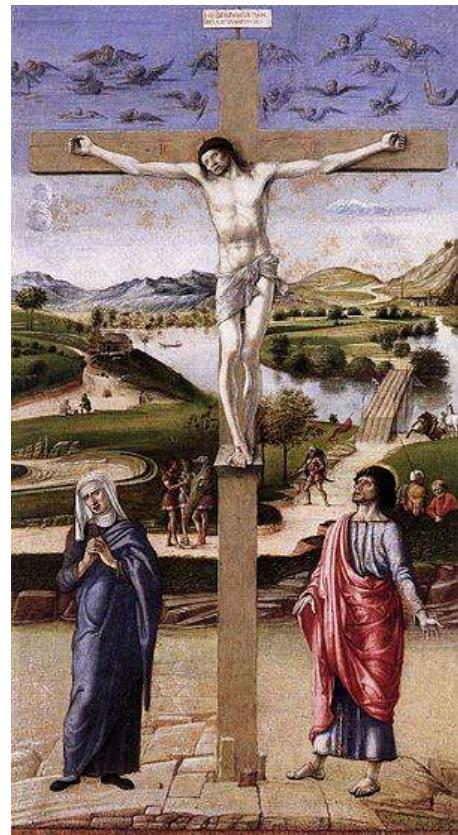


Fig.6.29:



Fig.6.30:

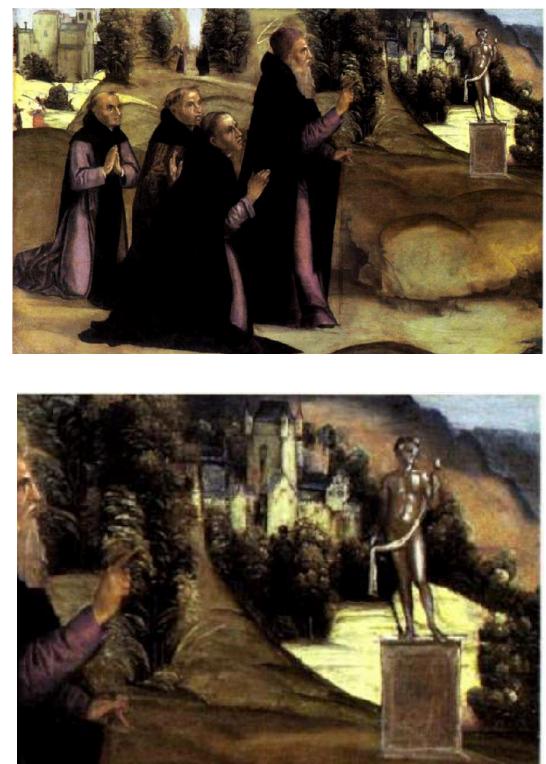


Fig.6.31:



Fig.6.32:



Fig.6.33:



Fig.6.34:



Fig.6.35:

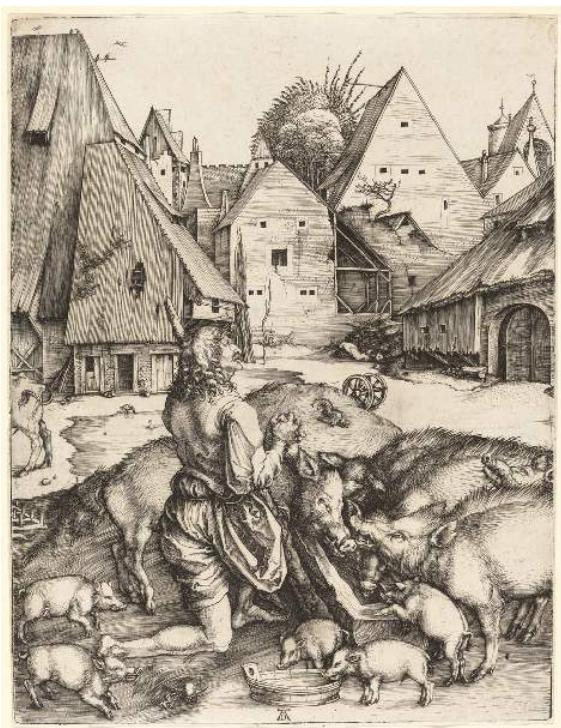


Fig.6.36:



Fig.6.37:



Fig.6.38:



Fig.6.39a&b:



Fig.6.40:



Fig.6.41:



Fig.6.42:



Fig.6.43:



Fig.6.44:



Fig.6.45:



Fig.6.46:



Fig.6.47:



Fig.6.48:



Fig.6.49:



Fig.6.50:



Fig.6.51:

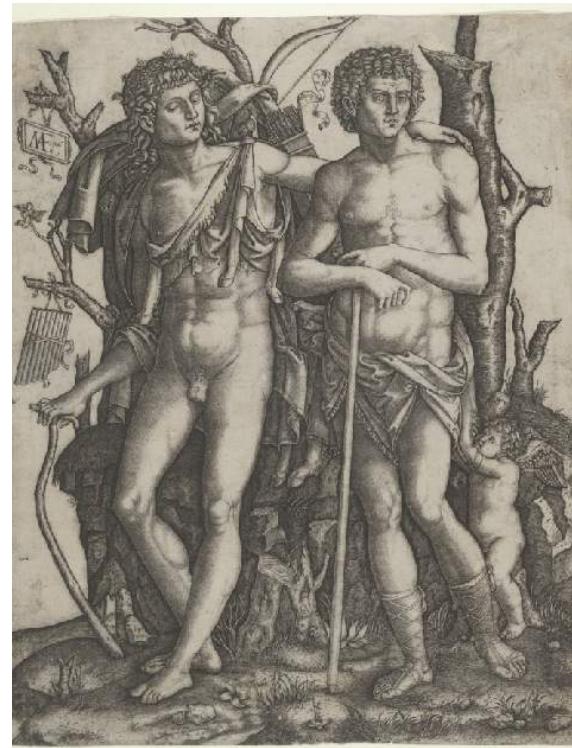


Fig.6.52:



Fig.6.53:

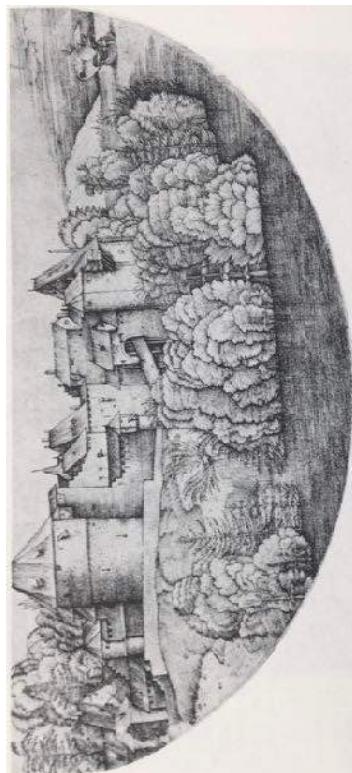


Fig.6.54:



Fig.6.55:



Fig.6.56:

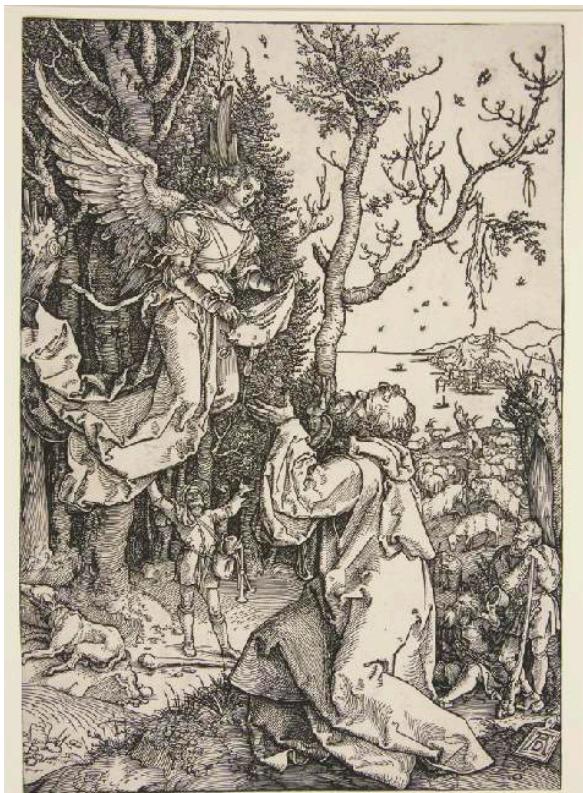


Fig.6.57:



Fig.6.58:



Fig.6.59:



Fig.6.60:



Fig.6.61:



Fig.6.62:



Fig.6.63:



Fig.6.64:



Fig.6.65:



Fig.6.66:



Fig.6.67:



Fig.6.68:



Fig.6.69:



Fig.6.70:



Fig.6.71

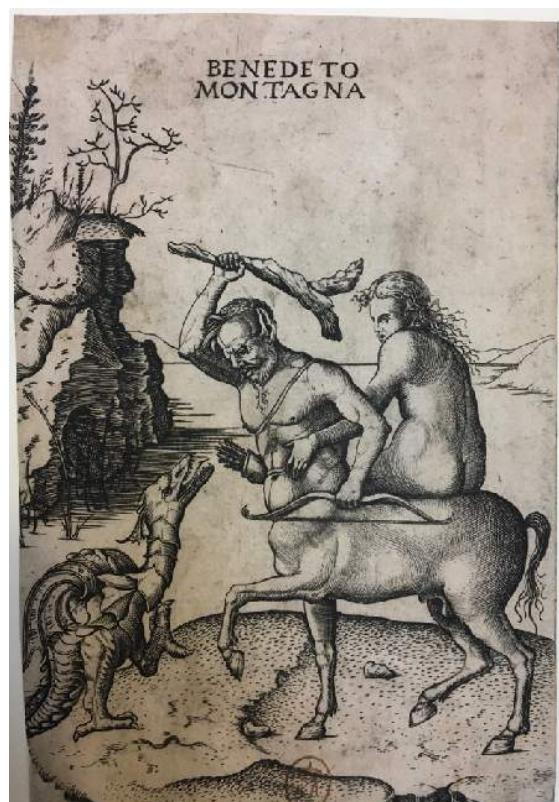


Fig.6.72:

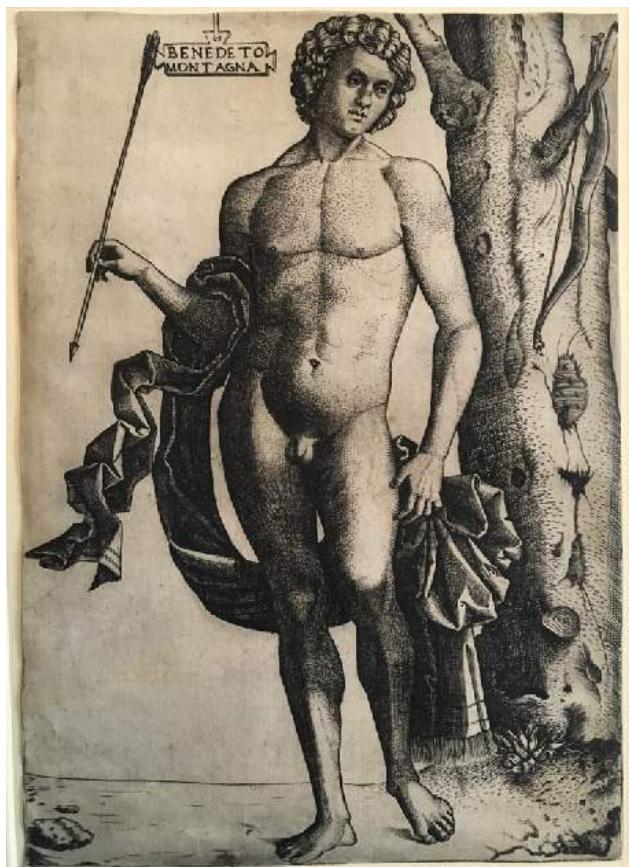


Fig.C.1:



Fig.C.2:



Fig.C.3:



Fig.C.4:



Fig.C.5:



Fig.C.6:



Fig.C.7:



Fig.C.8:



Fig.C.9:



Fig.C.10:



Fig.C.11:

