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THE COURT OF FEDERICO DA MONTEFELTRO
DUKE OF URBINO

By
Marjorie Watson Plume
A.B., Oberlin College, 1937

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Oberlin College
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for the Degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Fine Arts

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PREFACE

The character of this thesis has been controlled to a great extent by the material which has been available to me. My original intention had been to recreate a picture of the life at the court during Federigo da Montefeltro's rule, to describe the fabric of the building, its decorations and furnishings and the people who frequented it. I found, however, after I had begun my research that much of the material which I needed was either non-existent or unavailable.

In the following chapters I have tried to bring out the important role which the court of Urbino played in the artistic life of Italy during Federigo's rule and in the succeeding period. To devote one chapter out of five to the architect of the palace may seem to be giving undue emphasis to a minor matter. However, in the course of my work I found that little had been written about Luciano Laurana and that his importance in the formation of the style of High Renaissance architecture has been scarcely recognized.

I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Clarence Ward and to Dr. Wolfgang Stechow who aided me in the preparation of this thesis, and also to Mr. William Plume and to Mr. James Olsen who typed the manuscript.



Chapter I

The palace at Urbino, while deserving interest and study because of its intrinsic artistic worth, holds in the lives and personalities of the men and the women who built and lived within its wall, one of its greatest attractions. Probably one would think first of the Duchess Elisabetta, Emilia Pia, Guigliano de' Medici, Cesare Gonzaga, Ottaviano Fregosa, Pietro Bembo, Bernardo Bibiena and Ludovico Canossa, that group which Baldassare Castiglione immortalized in his book, Cortegiano. In that he describes how this little group was wont to gather in the west wing apartments of the Duchess after the evening meal, when Duke Guidobaldo had retired because of his gout, and there to enjoy well-bred gaiety or intellectual discussions. The innumerable editions and translations of the Courtier and its popularity all over Europe in the sixteenth century and later as a rule book for court behavior, attest to the ideal quality, the high artistic, intellectual and moral standards of this court. While not minimizing the moral or intellectual vigor of Duke Guidobaldo who in spite of political and physical adversity was able to inspire and control such court life, yet it is well to realize that he was building on the firm foundations which his father had laid for him. Federigo of the house of the Montefeltri, Count and later (1474) Duke of Urbino is by far the most outstanding figure in connection with the palace.

One of the foremost condottiere of his time, a ruler beloved of his subjects, a scholar, an art patron and collector of discrimination, he was unfortunate in not having a Castiglione at the court of Urbino in his day. His biographies are dry accounts of his life as a condottiere, of his military engagements which he always won, and of his high sense of honour, a rare jewel in that period. Thus one achieves a clear picture of the soldier but an inadequate one of the man. Yet it was he, though a descendant of an illustrious line, who raised the name of Montefeltro to a high place of honour among Italian families. He built the Urbinate Palace wishing it to be worthy of "... our position and the glory of our ancestors."

The History of the Montefeltro Family

Although the family was, for most of its existence, associated with the town of Urbino, it always retained the name of Montefeltro which it had received in the thirteenth century. Antonio was the first member of the family of whom we have record. He was the holder of one of those innumerable petty fiefs which were so characteristic of Italy at that time, the little hill town of Montecoppiole. Because he rendered some service to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, either he or his son Montefeltrino was awarded with the countship of Montefeltro. Thereupon began a program of aggrandizement until at its greatest extent in the fifteenth century, the territory of Urbino was a square bordering on the Adriatic Sea some forty miles on a side, containing

seven episcopal cities and a number of smaller towns and some three or four hundred 'castles'.

The town of Urbino came into the possession of the family in the year 1216 by a double investiture of Emperor Frederick II and Pope Honorius III, and the Lords of Montefeltro were henceforth designated as Counts of Urbino. However the use of sword for twenty years was necessary to persuade the citizens of Urbino to give up their self-government and to submit to the Bonconte.

This use of the sword had early become the family trade, and as professional soldiers they were naturally more than normally involved in the Guelph-Ghibelline struggle. They were opportunists, loyally supporting the emperor until his party had little significance and then serving the Papacy with the same fidelity. Count Guido (d. 1298) came at the turn of this tide. He is perhaps best known from Dante's reference to him in the twenty-seventh canto of the Divine Comedy. There it is related how, after Count Guido had become a Franciscan friar towards the end of his life, and urged by Pope Boniface VIII, he devised a plan whereby the Papacy might rid itself of the inimical Colonna family. Although the Pope had granted him full absolution even before he spoke, Dante places Count Guido irrevocably in hell. From the time of this count forward the Montefeltri used their arms to serve their overlord, the Holy See in the person of the Pope.

Under the Counts Antonio (d. 1404) and Guidantonio (d. 1442) the holdings and power of the family greatly increased. Even

at the beginning of the fifteenth century the Montefeltri were known for their beneficent rule. Many towns put themselves voluntarily under their control. The force of arms persuaded others, while many were added to Montefeltro control by investitures of the Papacy. In the year 1413 Count Guidantonio was made the Gonfaloniere and Vice-General of the Papal forces in Romagna. In 1430 he held the position of Captain-General of the Florentine forces. In 1432 Emperor Sigismund made the customary journey to Rome for coronation. On his return trip he was lavishly entertained by Guidantonio at Urbino, as a last flash of feudal loyalty to the Emperor. Sigismund, impressed by this magnificent hospitality conferred upon both Guidantonio and his son Oddantonio, the honour of knighthood. This count died on February 20, 1442 leaving his only legitimate son as his political successor. In 1438 he had turned over his military affairs to his natural son, Federigo. And it was the latter who was to carry on and develop both the great prestige in the profession of arms and the traditions of paternalistic government which Guidantonio had instituted.

The assassination of Oddantonio in 1444 by the outraged citizens of Urbino attests to the fact that it was the gloved hand rather than the mailed fist which had and would control these people. Oddantonio had had a good liberal education and had mastered the accomplishments to make him worthy of

the spurs of knighthood. At the time of his father's death he gave every indication of carrying on the administration of his territory with the same moderation of his father. However, soon after his investiture as the Duke of Urbino (April 26, 1443) he seems to have forgotten his early training and to have given himself over to an entirely dissolute life. There does seem to be sufficient evidence to show that Sigismund Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, had sent Manfredo de' Pii and Tomaso da Rimini to the court of Urbino to corrupt the youth. It was Sigismund's plan to incite popular revolution that the coveted Montefeltro territories might be placed within his grasp. Disgraceful orgies and debaucheries took place which horrified the citizens. According to an old chronicle in the Oliveriana Library¹, on the 22nd of July in 1444 the people of Urbino rioted and slew Oddantonio in his own hall along with Manfredo and Tomaso². But the plans of Sigismund did not mature, for the people, feeling no hatred or disloyalty to the Montefeltro family, "in one voice called for Signor Federigo, who at once took possession of the State."

1. Dennistoun, James, "Memoirs of the Duke of Urbino", London, 1851, Vol. I, p. 51.
2. In Piero della Francesca's Flagellation (Urbino Gallery) which he painted for Federigo around 1469, the three persons in local costume in the group to the right are supposed to be the prince and his advisers. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Vol. III, p. 16.

The State of Italy at the time of Federigo's Accession

The period of Italian History at the time when Federigo became the Count of Urbino¹, was a period of paradoxes. Though it has been called one of unprecedented peace, it was also the time of innumerable petty wars. Though it was a period which Symonds has called the Age of Despots, when might was substituted for right, when morality was at its lowest ebb, when crimes of the most horrible and inhuman nature were perpetrated, yet at the same time it was a period of great culture when all literature and art was revered. Though it was a period when the ruler held absolute power over those under his control, yet it was a period of the great rise of the individual.

With the loss of power of both the Papacy and the Emperor over Italy, the natural inclination of the people towards municipal-government made itself evident. As a result the whole peninsula was both without central authority and comparatively uninfluenced by the feudal system. The tendency was towards the larger principalities swallowing the smaller until the beginning of the fifteenth century, when there remained five great powers: the Duchy of Milan, the Republic of Florence, the Republic of St. Mark, the Papacy and the Kingdom of Naples. No one of these powers being able to control the whole peninsula, each watched

1. The Dukedom lapsed at the death of Oddantonio. Federigo was not created Duke until 1474.

the other jealously. Alliances were in perpetual flux in order to maintain the balance of power. The Peace of Lodi (1453) however, served to avert any major conflicts between these powers. The Fall of Constantinople had impressed Pope Nicholas V with the immediate danger which threatened the whole of Italy, and it was he who induced the other states to sign a treaty for mutual protection against the rising power of the Mohammedans. Thus was initiated that period of peace which was to be broken only by the appearance of the French army in 1494.

Petty wars were nevertheless frequent as is illustrated in the life of Federigo. The specific causes of these wars were many, but all can be reduced to a single fundamental cause: the upsetting of the balance of power. Venice was often guilty of encroachments on neighboring territories and the Papacy of Nepotism.

Some call this the Age of Despots. It was an era when the ability for self-government was no longer to be found. Machiavelli complained that the people knew not how to govern themselves. If they rid themselves of one tyrant they immediately subjected themselves to another. He had in mind the attempt of the Milanese to form a republic after the death of Filippo Maria Visconti, when they were forced by external pressures and internal dissensions to accept the rule of Francesco Sforza. Even the

tinest principality had its petty tyrant. But regardless of the size of the territory under the control of the despot, his rule in most cases was illegitimate according to feudal law. There were but few rulers who, like Federigo da Montefeltro, had dynastic or hereditary rights accruing from long seignorial possession. The Visconti rule in Milan was built on the basis of imperial right in Lombardy. The Medici had been citizens of influence and wealth who had acquired more than their due weight in the conduct of affairs and gradually became tyrants. Francesco Sforza was typical of the fifteenth century in that he was a condottiere who used his forces to obtain control of territory. Occasionally the tyrant sought support of his claims through legal titles from the Empire, but these had little actual effectiveness in helping him to maintain his position.

The despot had absolute power which he used according to his nature. It brought temptations to luxury and unbridled selfishness. It accounts for the crimes which were so flagrant in this period. Yet it was characteristic of the fifteenth century that the actual basis of power was not force alone, but its skillful combination with popular consent. Often the outward forms of self-government were retained and the Tyrannis was imposed on the municipal government without any attempt to overthrow or supersede it. The territory under the control of



Fig. 1.

the despot was for him a source of income in return for which, as in the feudal system, he guaranteed protection. However, in most cases he controlled most of the phases of the government and could extort money by the imposition of new taxes. Such a government, dependent as it was upon the human element, was prone to great good or great evil.

In most cases the ruler was extremely cultivated, a lover and a patron of the arts. Life in the cities under his control was usually orderly and peaceful, conducive to the study of the arts. It is this peculiar combination of circumstances which has caused this period to be called not only that of the Despots but that of the Renaissance of culture.

Federigo as ruler

Federigo was at Pesaro when he heard of the assassination of his brother. Returning to Urbino he was met by the populace who were united in their loyalty to him, electing him as their Duke although he was not Guidantonio's legitimate son. It was Federigo's personal qualities which had ingratiated him with the citizens. He had shown himself a successful leader in battle and a possessor of the virtues and moderation of his father. Yet the citizens took the precaution of formally presenting the conditions under which they would welcome him as their duke. The first condition of general amnesty for the recent revolution is said to have been extracted of him before he was admitted

within the city gate. The other terms dealt with the reduction of taxes, the agreement not to impose new ones, the appointment of officials, medical officers and schoolmasters, reform of the salt measures and the payment of creditors. To these terms Federigo agreed on the first of August. Furthermore, he granted a constitution to his capital which insured it of two general councils, one of thirty-two and the other of twenty-four citizens.

Federigo's rule of his territory was paternalistic in that he sought always to administer the affairs of his people for their advantage and welfare. It was not necessary for him to burden the people with taxes as his profession often brought him more money than was needed for his personal use and the maintenance of the court. "In 1453 his war-pay from Alfonso of Naples exceeded 8,000 ducats a month, and for many years he had from his and his son an annual peace pension of 6,000 in the name of past services. At the close of his life, when general of the Italian League, he drew in war 165,000 ducats of annual stipend, 45,000 being his own share; in peace, 65,000 in all."¹ In times of famine he had grain distributed and would allow none to be fined or imprisoned if he were unable to pay. Every day he himself distributed bread and wine without

1. Dennistoun, (op. cit.), p.

fail. Riding through the streets of Urbino he would stop the citizens, asking them what their business was and how they were doing. He tried by various means to learn about their condition that he might aid those who needed help. Certain persons called revisors went about the state investigating conditions. "Among the matters specially committed to them were these: To inquire into the requirements of the religious houses; to ascertain where maidens of good reputation were unable from poverty to obtain husbands; to inform themselves secretly as to modest paupers; to learn what traders or shopkeepers were distressed by large families, debts or any particular misadventure." These men were admitted to the presence of the Duke at any time. Also, the Duke devoted many hours to hearing complaints from the people themselves. *Vespasiano* says¹, "He liked not that anyone should ever address him on behalf of any of them, seeing that everyone could speak to him at any hour of the day, when he would listen with the utmost kindness, remarking that it gave him no trouble at all. If there were anything he could do for them, he would see to it, so there might be no need for them to return, and there were few whose business could not be despatched on the same

1. *Bisticci, Vespasiano da, "Vespasiano Memoirs" (tr. by William and Emily Waters), London, 1926, p. 107.*

day, in order that no time might be lost. And should he mark any one amongst those who desired to address him might be shame-faced, he would call him up and encourage him to say what he would. So kind was he that the people loved him as children love their parents."

Of the ruling of his palace, Vespasiano says¹, "... it was the same as that of a religious society; for although he was called on to feed at his own expense five hundred mouths or more, there was nothing of the barracks about his establishment which was as well ordered as a monastery. Here there was no rosping or wrangling, but every one spoke with becoming modesty." The five hundred referred to by Vespasiano included such persons as: Counts of the Duchy and other states, Knights, gentlemen, judges, secretaries of state, clerks, teachers, architects, readers at meals, transcribers, chaplains, singing boys, fencing and dancing masters, pages, stewards, grooms, footmen, servants of the stables, and his military officers. Muzio says, "Federigo maintained a suite so numerous and distinguished as to rival any royal household." Not only did Noblemen and distinguished soldiers frequent the court, but it was also like a private school for youths of the highest rank for instruction in military service and general knowledge, probably similar to the instruction which Federigo himself

1. Dennistoun, (op. cit.), p. 144.

received from the school of Vittorino. Vespasiano says¹, he "placed them in charge of a gentleman from Lombardy of distinguished manners, long resident at the court who exercised over these youths a paternal sway, gaining their respectful deference and correcting their little errors until exemplary carriage became habitual with them." These youths often accompanied Federico in his excursions through the city, and it was customary for him to spend some time after vespers in watching them at their military exercises or games. "And the Duke, when he marked a want of dexterity in running or catching, would reprove them in order that they might do better."²

The History of the Condottiere

The history of the condottiere as well as that of the despot, can be said to have had its beginnings in the thirteenth century under Frederick II, for it was he who first employed mercenary soldiers in his warfare with the Holy See in order to have troops who would be unlikely to sympathize with the native population. Gradually other rulers, realizing the advantages of the mercenary system, kept such foreign guards in their employ.

1. *ibid.*

2. Vespasiano, (*op. cit.*), p. 109.

The thirteenth century saw two important changes. First, Italians who looked upon arms as a profession were substituted for the foreigners. Second, these Italian soldiers joined together under a captain, a condottiere. Now rather than being in the employ of one ruler, the captain bargained with such cities as desired the services of his troops. The profession became a very profitable one, attracting the needier nobility. We have the Malatesta family of Rimini, the Ducal house of Urbino, the Orsini and the Vitelli of the Roman states and the younger Gonzaghi supplying professional leaders who often acquired greater fame in their military life than they would have in a political one.

Federigo da Montefeltro as a Condottiere

The Montefeltro family, as we have stated above, had, for a number of generations, pursued the profession of arms. No doubt it was at first as feudal servitors to their overlord, the Pope, but gradually they changed to professional condottiere. However much we may wish to think of Federigo as primarily the ruler, the patron, or the scholar, the fact remains that he was first and foremost a soldier, a condottiere. A review of his life¹

1. As we have stated on p. 2, much of the life of Federigo deals with dry military accounts. Therefore we have outlined the important facts and dates in chronological order which will be found in the Appendix I, p.

will convince one of this fact for it is evident how great a proportion of his life was spent in his profession which he began at the age of sixteen years and continued until the time of his death.

While Federigo was at the court of Gian Francesco Gonzaga at Mantua (1432-1437) he not only received instruction in the humanities from the renowned teacher and scholar, Vittorino da Rambaldozi da Feltre, but also from others learned about the theory of war, the practice of horsemanship, fencing and other forms of manly exercise. This was suitable training for one of his intended profession. He saw his first actual service under one of the two outstanding leaders of that period, Nicolo Piccinino, a man of humble birth and dwarfish stature but indomitable spirit. The contest was that between Pope Eugene IV and the Council of Basle (1431-1440) which was to end with the famous Battle of Anghiari. With Piccinino and the Milanese on the side of the Council, Federigo took part in a number of engagements and for one so young seems to have acquitted himself creditably. Soon he was able to hold the independent captaincy of his own troops and according to the profession, his leadership and the power of his soldiery were for hire. He served at one time or another almost all of the chief powers of Italy, either singly or as a league: Milan under the Sforzas, Naples

under Alfonso II and his successor Ferdinand, the Papacy and the Republic of Florence. Due to the attempt on the part of these powers to maintain a balance, it was not uncommon for Federigo to find himself hired by a city against which he had only recently been waging war. Such was the case in 1450 when as head of the Neapolitan forces he found himself fighting the Florentines by whom in 1448 he had been hired against Naples.

Though there are many scholars who do not feel that Federigo ranks with the greatest of the Italian captains, unquestionably he holds a unique place among those of his profession in the period in which he lived. He had phenomenal success in all the battles which he undertook. As his biographer and librarian says in his introduction to Federigo's life¹, "... we may say of him as the highest praise that he never met defeat; a praise which few captains can claim." This ability Vespasiano ascribes to Federigo's knowledge of the Latin tongue² "... for it is difficult for a leader to excel in arms unless he be like the Duke, a man of letters seeing in the past the mirror of the present. The Duke wrought the greater part of his martial deeds by ancient and modern example." "The many places he captured, both in the

1. Vespasiano da Bisticci, "Vespasiano Memoire," (tr. by William and Emily Waters), London, 1926, p. 83.

2. *ibid*, p. 99.

kingdom and throughout Italy he captured by foresight and was never worsted."¹ His success was due not only to his ability to take every advantage of the terrain, the weather, the weaknesses of the enemy, but also to demand and receive absolute obedience from his soldiers. And yet he was rigorous in following the code of his profession whereby battles were almost entirely bloodless as Machiavelli scornfully notes in speaking of the Battle of Anghiari.

Also he had a high sense of honour probably superior to the general conception of his period. Vespasiano lists it among his "other eminent virtues." When he gave his word either written or verbal he stood by it even when in doing so imperilled his own interests, or denied him the chance of great gain. In 1462 when the Venetians were attempting an attack on Ferrara, they feared the power of Federigo if, as was likely, he should be ranged against them, and offered him eighty thousands ducats a year if he would stay at home. This offer Federigo refused for though he had completed his contract with the League, he still felt a moral obligation to it. One of the Duke's chief officers hearing his refusal of the Venetians offer, said, after the envoy had left, "Eighty thousand ducats is a good price for simply staying at home." Whereupon the Duke replied, "To keep faith is better

1. *ibid.*, p. 84

still, and is worth more than all the gold in the world." There are innumerable similar instances recorded when Federigo went out of his way to keep faith with his friends and employers. His contemporaries recognized this. In the year 1450 Federigo was hired by King Alfonso of Naples. Previously having received treacherous treatment from Sigismund Malatesta and being well acquainted with instances of light faith on the part of the Italian Condottieri, the King announced that he would employ none of them without sureties for their fidelity. But, as Vespasiano puts it¹, "he made an exception in favour of Federigo, declining his offer of the Venetian Signory as his sponsors, on the ground that he knew his word to be sufficient guarantee."

The third quality which was so characteristic of this man was his humaneness and gentleness. The condottiers code required great respect for one's enemy and the major portion of the horrors of warfare fell not on the soldier but rather on the peasant population through pillage and devastation. Federigo seems to have been unusually sensitive to this evil and often tried to prevent or alleviate some of the misery which was bound to be the lot of village or town subjected to pillage. This he did after the surrender of Volterra when he was in the employ of the Florentines.

1. *ibid*, p. 96

He forbid his soldiers what they considered to be their rightful privilege of pillage. However the Milanese Mercenaries began to plunder and Federigo's men-at-arms followed their example. "The Duke did all he could to save the place and suffered much vexation on this account, and even wept."¹ And also it is related how after the Battle of Rimini in 1470 there were, among the prisoners taken by Federigo, Gian Francesco of Pian di Moieto and his son, subjects of Montefeltro but in this war among his enemies. When they stood before Federigo awaiting sentence, the count spoke as follows:² "This will be evil tidings for your wife and it would be right to console her with tidings of your welfare and her son's. It is therefore my pleasure that you both be bearers of them to her."

His character is summed up by Giovanni Santi in the following words:³

"Needless of thirst or hunger, cold or heat;
Unworn by watching, vigorous his frame,
Gladsome his gentle rein; prompt to obey
Or play the master as the case might be,
Or to persuade: rare gifts in warrior bold!
Nary and watchful in his generalship,
The hearts of e'en his foes he knew to win
By kind forbearance in the battlefield."

1. Dennistoun, (op. cit.), p. 94.

2. *ibid*, p. 90.

3. *ibid*, p. 83-4.

The Relationship of Federigo da Montefeltro and Francesco Sforza

As a condottiere Federigo came into contact with two distinct personalities who affected his life on the political and social as well as on the military side. They were: Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and Sigismund Malatesta, Lord of Rimini.

When Federigo took up arms under Niccolo Piccinio, he found among the leaders of the opposing troops a man who had been recognized for a number of years as one of the most capable leaders of his day, Francesco Sforza (b. 1401- d. 1466). Despite the differences in their ages and backgrounds, there were many forces which tended to bring these two men together in a friendship which was to last for over twenty years until Francesco's death. This friendship dates from the year 1444 when the two men concluded a treaty of amity and Federigo accepted a command for the common defense of their respective states. At the beginning of the next year they completed the arrangements whereby Federigo purchased Fossombrone, and Francesco, Pesaro, for 13,000 ducats and 20,000 ducats respectively. It was stipulated in the contract that the territory of Pesaro should pass to the control of Alessandro, Francesco's brother, upon the former's marriage to Costansa Varana, the granddaughter of Galeazzo. This union was a very happy one, but unfortunately of short duration.

The acquisition of Pesaro was the turning point in the success of Francesco, since it gave him control of the greatest amount of territory which he was due to rule until his accession to the Dukedom of Milan. Some of the territory in Calabria had been part of the dowery of his first wife, Polissena, a Calabrian heiress whom he had married at the age of seventeen. To these possessions he added, in the year 1433, Fermo and the greater part of the March of Ancona, rich sections of the Papal territories. Still weakened by the Schism, the Papacy was unable to prevent this usurpation so was forced to recognize him and create him a Marquis. His second marriage in 1441 to Bianca, the illegitimate daughter of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, brought to him the additional territories of Cremona and Pntrenila. And as we have said, in the year 1445 he acquired Pesaro for his brother.

The other powers of Italy had, for a number of years, watched with apprehension the gradual growth of territories under the control of this man. It was Sigismond Malatesta, who, disappointed at not being able to acquire the rich territories of Pesaro and Fossombrone for himself, joined three of the chief powers of Italy against him: Milan, Naples and the Papacy. Venice and Florence were Francesco's lukewarm allies in this struggle. Federigo alone was able to give him efficient

aid. By 1447 Francesco had lost control of the Marches, but by one of those remarkable changes in alliances whereby Francesco aided Milan against the Venetians, he was enabled to pave his way towards his goal, his eventual accession to the Dukedom of Milan.

With the death of Filippo Maria Visconti in the same year (1447), Francesco, with the aid of Florence—especially money and credit from Cosimo de' Medici—used every means to attain his ends. In the year 1450 the Milanese gave up their struggle for a Republic and welcomed Francesco as their Duke. It was in honour of this occasion that Federigo proclaimed a tournament at Urbino. In running a course with a gentleman of Urbino, Guidangelo de' Ranieri, a lance, striking Federigo's armour, glanced upwards and was shivered against his vizor. Federigo received a stunning blow between the eyebrows where it shattered the bone of his nose and knocked out his right eye. From that time all portraits of him show a left profile which displays the broken ridge of his nose but conceals the loss of his right eye.

On February 10th, 1460, the marriage of Federigo da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza was celebrated. Battista, "A maiden with every grace and virtue rare endowed", was the daughter of Alessandro Sforza and his wife Costanza Varana

who died when Battista was only eighteen months old. Thereupon she had been taken to the court at Milan where she was well educated along with her cousins.

Death came suddenly to Francesco on the 8th of March, 1466. The Duchess sent immediately for Federigo as a tried friend and comrade of her lord and as husband of her niece. Federigo remained three months at Milan and by his efforts assured the recognition of Galeazzo as the next Duke.

Friendship between Francesco and Federigo was almost inevitable since they were similar in so many respects. Francesco's fame as a condottiere seems to have outshone that of Federigo due perhaps to his greater boldness of plan and the more momentous character of his undertakings. Federigo perhaps looked upon himself as the pupil of the older man. One day when he was at Milan after Francesco's death, Galeazzo said to him,¹ "Signor, I would fain always be at war with you to back me, then I should never be worsted." To which the Duke replied, "What I know of warfare, I learned from His Excellency, your father." Unlike Federigo who remained all his life a condottiere and died on the battlefield, Francesco gave up his profession upon his accession

1. Vespasiano da Bisticci, (op. cit.), p.

to the Dukedom of Milan.

As rulers they both seem to have had that personal magnetism which enabled them to win and retain the affections of their subjects with whom they came in personal contact. The same story is told of them both, that when riding through the streets of their respective cities, they would call the burghers by name and ask about their business or members of their families.

Though due to his training Federigo was the greater scholar, both had a great respect for the humanities and the arts and tried to instill the same love in their children. Their military life, no doubt, led each to conduct the life of his court according to a simple and well regulated plan.

The Relationship of Federigo and Sigismond Malatesta

Sigismond Pandolfo Malatesta owes much of his place in history to his twenty year struggle with Federigo da Montefeltro and to the memorials of art associated with his rule. Contrary to the practice of his family whereby the various seigneuries were separated among the legitimate and the illegitimate sons, Sigismond gained control of a greater part of the territory and thus was in a position to consolidate a powerful sovereignty and to become one of the leading powers in Italy. However,



Fig. 2

as Dennistoun says,¹ "Deeply tainted with 'that poison foule of bubbling pride' his lofty and daring spirit was sustained by no continuous impulse, his impetuous ventures were crowned by no success; the selfishness of his political aims was equalled by the vainglorious direction he gave his art; his energies were wasted in contests with Federigo, a rival against whom he had neither any just quarrel, nor any chance of success; his patronage was monopolized by poets who flattered, and medalists who portrayed himself and his favourite mistress, Isotta." "Unscrupulousness, impiety, military skill and high culture have been seldom combined in one individual as in Sigismund Malatesta²." He used that military skill combined with utter ruthlessness and unscrupulousness in his struggle with Federigo, but he ended his life not only defeated by this rival, but excommunicated by the Church and deprived of all his territories save Rimini.

A pretended title to at least some of the Montefeltrian lands through the marriages of his aunt and brother to princes of the Montefeltri³, served Sigismund as pretext in 1439, to make an

1. Dennistoun, (op. cit.), p. 70-1.
2. Burckhardt, Jacob, "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Vienna, New York, p. 18.
3. Sigismund's aunt, Rengarda (d. 1423), was the wife of Count Guidoantonio; Sigismund's brother, Domenico Malatesta, Lord of Cesena, was the husband of Federigo's half sister, Violante di Montefeltro. According to Dennistoun (p. 70) Violante di Montefeltro had from Eugene IV in 1431 some form of grant of her native mountain land in vicariat, in virtue whereof, and of her assumed rights as heiress of her nephew (?) Oddantonio in default of his male issue.

incursion into the valleys of Montefeltro. Federigo repaid this first foray by a successful descent into the possessions of the Malatesta. Sigismund next incited Alberigo di Brancalione to sieze Santa Croce and Montelocco, territory which belonged to Federigo through his marriage to Gentile. The Count recovered both in the autumn of 1442, and repaid Sigismund with a daring and successful attack upon San Leo.

In the war between Francesco Sforza and the combined forces of Milan, Naples and the Papacy to recover La Marca which Francesco controlled, Nicolo Piccinino met temporary defeat at Monteluro. The remnant of his army sought refuge in Pesaro which was under the control of Galeazzo Malatesta, a cousin of Sigismund. The latter, desirous of obtaining Pesaro, used the presence of Piccinino's troops as an excuse to besseige it. The capital, held by Federigo, withstood attack for eighteen months. At the end of that time Sigismund sent an insolent challenge to a duel to the Count, saying in part¹, "Your lordship knows the differences long existing between us, and, if you judge rightly, you will perceive that the fault to lie on your side, not on mine..... I am determined....to show, with my person against yours, that I am a better man than you, for in sooth you are a bad one, and

1. Dennistoun, (op. cit.), p. 78.

do amiss to affront me." Thereupon follow the arrangements for meeting. He concludes, "And in case of your refusal which I do not believe, I warn you that I shall proceed against you more or less according to the usual practice, as I may see fit.

(Signed) Sigismund Pandolfo di Malatesta, Captain-General of the illustrious Count Francesco Sforza¹. Rimini, the 21st of February, 1445." Federigo met the challenge, but on reaching the rendezvous did not find the 'better man' awaiting him.

Sigismund's ill-success at Pesaro was aggravated by the sale of that city and Fossobrone to his father-in-law, Francesco Sforza, and to his especial enemy, Federigo. As we have seen, he united the forces of Milan, Naples and the Papacy against Francesco and his ally, Federigo. An incident occurred during this war which illustrates the duplicity which was characteristic of Sigismund. Having been engaged by Alfonso of Naples in his campaign in Tuscany, and having received 30,000 ducats in advanced pay, he offered himself and his contingent of two thousand men to the Florentines against whom he had been hired to fight. This brought Federigo and Sigismund side by side, and it was only Federigo's conscientious adherence to a temporary banner which made his stay in the field. Sigismund then took the

1. In order to insure the aid of Sigismund in this struggle, Francesco had given Sigismund his daughter, Polissena, in marriage.

opportunity to try to alienate Federigo's support from the Sforzas, but Federigo soon had evidence of Sigismund's utter faithlessness.

Urbino was destined to long endure the full weight of Malatesta's troublesome qualities; to be agitated by his intrigues, compromised by his instability; to be deluded by his duplicity, harassed by his inroads and again cajoled by his hollow repentance. In 1456 Federigo determined no longer to suffer such aggressions and to punish the culprit by the force of his own arms. Peace was brought about in 1459 by the mediation of Pope Pius II. It had been a long period of hope and despair for Federigo and the settlement left the situation approximately as it had been three years before.

However in 1462, Federigo, who was then in the employ of Ferdinand of Naples, was sent against his old enemy who had allied himself with the Angevine cause. Federigo's success was complete this time and Malatesta was forced to sue for peace from the Pope at any price. The price was forfeiting all of his possessions to the Church save Rimini; the restoration of all his conquests from Federigo and the acknowledgement of his sins before the Bishop at the high altar.

With his death in 1468 the territory of Rimini was due to pass to the Papacy, but Isotta determined to hold it in the

name of her son. Sigismund's eldest illegitimate son, Roberto, however, seized control and proclaimed himself the Lord. Federigo was hired to head the confederate forces of Milan, Naples and Florence who decided to support Roberto, preferring the independence of Rimini to its union with the Papal territories. The confederates were successful and Roberto was assured of his position. Later, to signalize the new relations of the Malatesta and the Montefeltro families, Federigo gave his daughter Elizabetha to Roberto in marriage.

Federigo as a Collector and as Patron

Federigo, like the Medici of Florence and Sigismund Malatesta of Rimini, shared the general enthusiasm of this period of the Renaissance for literature and the arts. A love of literature had been instilled in him by his beloved teacher in Mantua, Vittorino da Feltre. He acknowledged his debt to this man later in life by placing Vittorino's portrait on the wall of his study among those of the famous doctors and philosophers. For Federigo study and learning did not cease after this period of training but were continued throughout his life. "He was well versed," we learn from Vespasiano¹, "not only in history and the Holy

1. Vespasiano, (op. cit.), p. 99.

Scriptures but also in philosophy which he studied for many years under the distinguished teacher, Maestro Lazzaro." His inquiring mind made him eager in the study of the new sciences of natural law and in the practical aspects of the various arts such as painting, sculpture and architecture. Piero della Francesca, we know, was a frequenter of the court of Urbino and painted a number of works on commission from the Duke. We can imagine the eagerness with which Federigo must have conversed with this man who was not only an artist but also an architect, mathematician and master of the laws of nature. It may well have been due to Piero's influence that Federigo, soon after his creation as Count of Urbino, decided to rebuild the family residence in the glorious new Renaissance manner.

Federigo's attitude toward all learning was humble. Because of his great love and reverence for the Church he would doff his hat and show respect to any person in clerical garb. Likewise, because of his reverence for letters, he would humble himself before scholars, and do all he could to advance learning. There are many instances of his generosity to literati. ".... letters and learned men were never better honoured and rewarded than by the Duke of Urbino, who spared no expense...He was always fain to have in his palace some learned man and none ever came to

Urbino who was not honoured and received at the palace."¹

It was only natural that Federigo's love of books should impel him to start a collection. He used as a basis the list which Thomas Sarzana, later Pope Nicholas V, had prepared for the Medici library at San Marco in Florence.

"No fitting outlay on the work he spared
The eye to please; but more intent, the mind,
He ardently began to build
A library so vast and so select
As to supply each intellect and taste
With noble aims such books he there amassed
That every genius might its flight direct
To kindred objects. Foremost in the band
The works of holy Churchmen, all adorned
And bound with wondrous beauty;
Next what survives of ancient wisdom's thoughts
In classic tongue contained: historians all;
The sacred choir of charming poesy;
In law and medicine many famous names.
Symmetrically ranged; these too, I note
A wealth of books in diverse languages
Arab and Greek with Hebrew reverend;
Deserve detailed description, for I've seen
Men of the finest taste lost
Before them." 2

It is estimated that Federigo spent more than 30,000 ducats in obtaining the manuscripts, transcribing and binding them. "He spared neither cost nor labor and when he knew of a fine book whether in Italy or not he would send for it. It is now more than fourteen years since he began the library, and he always

1. Vespasiano, (op. cit.), p. 101-2.
2. From: "Rhymed Chronicle" by Giovanni Santi. Dennistoun, (op. cit.), p. 156.

employed in Urbino, in Florence, and other places, thirty or forty scribes in his service."¹ For it was Federigo's intention that every manuscript should be copied on vellum with a pen, illuminated and finally bound in crimson and silver. Vespasiano, who was the librarian for Federigo, considered this collection to be unequalled since ancient times. "This library is remarkable amongst all others," he said, "in that, taking the works of all writers, sacred and profane, original and translated, there will be found not one imperfect folio."² Thereupon follows a list of the works which were included: Latin and Greek writers, the Doctors of the Church and other sacred authors, writers on astrology, geometry, arithmetic, military science, painting, sculpture, music and common law.

Under Duke Guidobaldo two revolutions occurred which resulted in the loss of some of the most valuable books. However, both he and his successors continued to increase the collection, adding not only hand copied manuscripts but also printed volumes. With the devolution of the Duchy in the seventeenth century, the collection was taken to Rome where it enriched the Vatican library.

Unfortunately we have no means of judging Federigo as a

1. Vespasiano, (op. cit.), p. 99.

2. *ibid.*, p. 104.

collector in other fields. Castiglione speaks¹ of a "vast quantity of ancient images of marble and metal, very excellent paintings and instruments of music of all sorts, and nothing would he have but what was most rare and excellent." We have no record of these things which are now scattered in the private collections and museums throughout the world.

However, in the following chapters I have endeavoured to speak of Federigo's importance as a patron of the arts. Gathering together as he did, artists from various places for the construction and the beautification of his palace, Federigo made of Urbino an artistic center, the influence of which was felt not only during the brief period of existence of Urbino's greatness but also in later periods and in other centers.

1. Castiglione, Baldassare, "The Courtier", London, p. 18.

Chapter II

"As to the architecture it may be said that no one of his Age, high or low, knew it so thoroughly. We may see in the buildings he constructed, the grand style and the due measurements and proportions, especially in his palace, which has no superiors amongst the time, none so well considered or so full of things. Though he had his architects about him, he always first realized the design and explained the proportions and all else; indeed to hear his discourse thereanent, it would seem that his chief talent lay in this art; so well he knew how to expound and to carry out its principles."¹ Thus Vespasiano attests to Federigo's intelligent interest and guiding influence in the many buildings which were built for him. For he was an inveterate builder. Not only did he build the Urbino palace but also a less pretentious ducal residence in Gubbio, besides hundreds of fortifications throughout the state. I think we may ascribe to Federigo's collaboration with his architects, the unusual conveniences inherent in the plan and the harmony of the decoration. The actual designs, however, were those of the architects.

1. Vespasiano da Bisticci, (op. cit.), p. 100.

Federigo's hospitality was noteworthy:

"Glorious was he in all things, but unmatched
In hospitality; for never a guest
Arrived, such noble treatment hoping for
Or went away without a lingering look
Of friendly admiration." ¹

This hospitality attracted numerous celebrities to the Urbino court among whom it was recorded was Giovanni della Rovere, Galileo and Francesco Orsini, Girolamo and Pier Antonio Colonna and others of equal eminence. The lavish entertainment of the notable princes, churchmen, literati and artists was continued by Duke Guidobaldo and it rendered this little court a model for all Europe. Federigo soon found that the family residence of the Montefeltri in Urbino was inadequate for his needs and those of his court. This building, which was erected as early as 1350, is no longer existent. According to Hofmann², a coat of arms over a doorway on the Via Soffi marks its location. Sometime in the forties or the fifties of the fifteenth century, probably between the years 1445 and 1450, Federigo ordered the construction of a new palace. This we know consisted of two unconnected parts which were parallel on neither axis, but whether these buildings were ever finished we do not know

1. Santi, Giovanni, "Urbino Chronicle", quoted by Dennistoun (op. cit.), p. 145.
2. Hofmann, Prof. Theobald, "Bauten des Herzogs Federigo di Montefeltro als Erstwerke der Hochrenaissance", Urbino, 1905, p. 46.

and we have only a faint glimmer what may have been the exterior and interior aspect. For in the year 1465¹ Federigo called to Urbino a Dalmatian architect who had only recently been doing work for the Gonzagas and the Sforzas in Mantua and Pesaro respectively and who had been recommended to him by the court of Naples. Together the two men worked out a plan for an even larger and more imposing residence which would include the two portions which had only recently been built. As Arnold² points out, in incorporating these parts with the new structure, their original interior and exterior appearance was almost entirely obliterated. On the east facade which faces the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele (fig. 6b) there are five windows (marked A to E on the plan, fig. 5) which are evidently Early Renaissance work. This group of windows differs from those to the north and to the south in the same facade, all of which are later in date. This fact, together with seams in the fabric of the wall on either side of the early group of windows, testifies to the earlier construction and incorporation of this part. The other older part is the north wing, that is the portion the axis of which runs north east-southwest (figs. 4 and 5). The

1. This is a probable date. See the discussion in Chapter III.

2. Arnold, Frederick, "Der Herzogliche Palast von Urbino", Leipzig, 1857,

clue to the earlier date of this is the coned vaulting of the rooms which differs from those built after 1465. This earlier form also appears in the Sala dell' Jole. In the attempt to include these older parts in the new palace, symmetry and the rectilinear quality of plan which is usually characteristic of the Florentine palace was sacrificed. The plan is extremely irregular but this not only gives to the palace a variety and a beauty of external appearance but also accounts for the conveniences and charm of the interior.

Luciano Laurana began the new construction in the year 1465 and carried on the work speedily. Within two years (1467) the builders were concerned with such matters as stairways and vaults. By 1472 the actual construction was completed, but much of the decoration was done after this time and especially after the year 1474. Luciano Laurana did not hold the position of Capo-mastro after the year 1472. By 1479, the Florentine, Baccio Pontelli was supervising the work. However, it is most likely that he merely carried out such building as remained to be done according to the plans of Luciano. In 1481, when Lorenzo de' Medici, who greatly admired the palace, sent to Urbino for its plans and measurements, Baccio sent him drawings made directly from the building itself. This would indicate that he did not

have access to the original designs. Baccio was employed by Federigo until the latter's death in the year 1482.

As far as the construction of the palace is concerned, the building as completed during the rule of Federigo was not as it appears today, but merely a two storey building crowned with crenelations (shown by dotted lines in fig. 6b) which, like the machicolations of the western tower, were reminiscent of the fortified chateau. The second storey, which for our study is without artistic importance, was added by Duke Guidobaldo II (b. 1514 - d. 1531). In 1625 Francesco Maria II¹, the last of the della Rovere dukes was forced to abdicate and the Duchy was annexed to the Papal dominions. The Cardinal-Legate, Antonio Barberini, who stayed at Urbino, about 1631 stripped the palace of its library and art treasures and transferred them to Rome. Today the palace is owned by the state. Some of the rooms are given over to the offices of the Sotto Prefetto of the district, some to the apartments of the Istituto delle Belle Arti and to the Accademia di Raffaello. Part of the basement is used as the local prison. However, the state rooms of Federigo's court remain as they were in the fifteenth century though without their original furnishings.

1. See the chart of the Montefeltro dynasty, Appendix I.

Plan and Interior

The site of the palace of Urbino is very uneven, sloping sharply away towards the north and east. To level the terrain much foundation construction was necessary (fig. 6a). Advantage was taken of this necessity to provide great vaulted rooms (figs. 8 and 9) in the substructure which were utilized for stables, kitchens, cisterns, and baths. The palace is famous for its many conveniences of living which are in part a result of this construction.

As one can see from figures 3-5, the plan is extremely irregular in outline. As we have stated above, this was a result of incorporating the two older portions. But even as the plan is today, Arnold¹ thinks that it is unfinished, that it was not executed according to the original conception of Luciano Laurana. There seems to have been an interruption in the work on the north side (towards the Duomo) for covered foundations have been found which would make one think that this side of the building was to have been extended. Bernardino Baldi said that it had been the intention to continue construction to cover the hill or else to build a round temple². He warns us, however, that this is but a supposition built on hearsay.

1. Arnold, Frederick, (op. cit.), p. 3.

2. Giovanni Santi tells us that Federigo asked Luciano to draw plans for a proposed "Tempio glorioso". Baldi says that he saw a model of a "Tempio ritondo" in the Duke's study. Fiske Kimball, (op. cit.), p. 143 and notes 47 and 48.

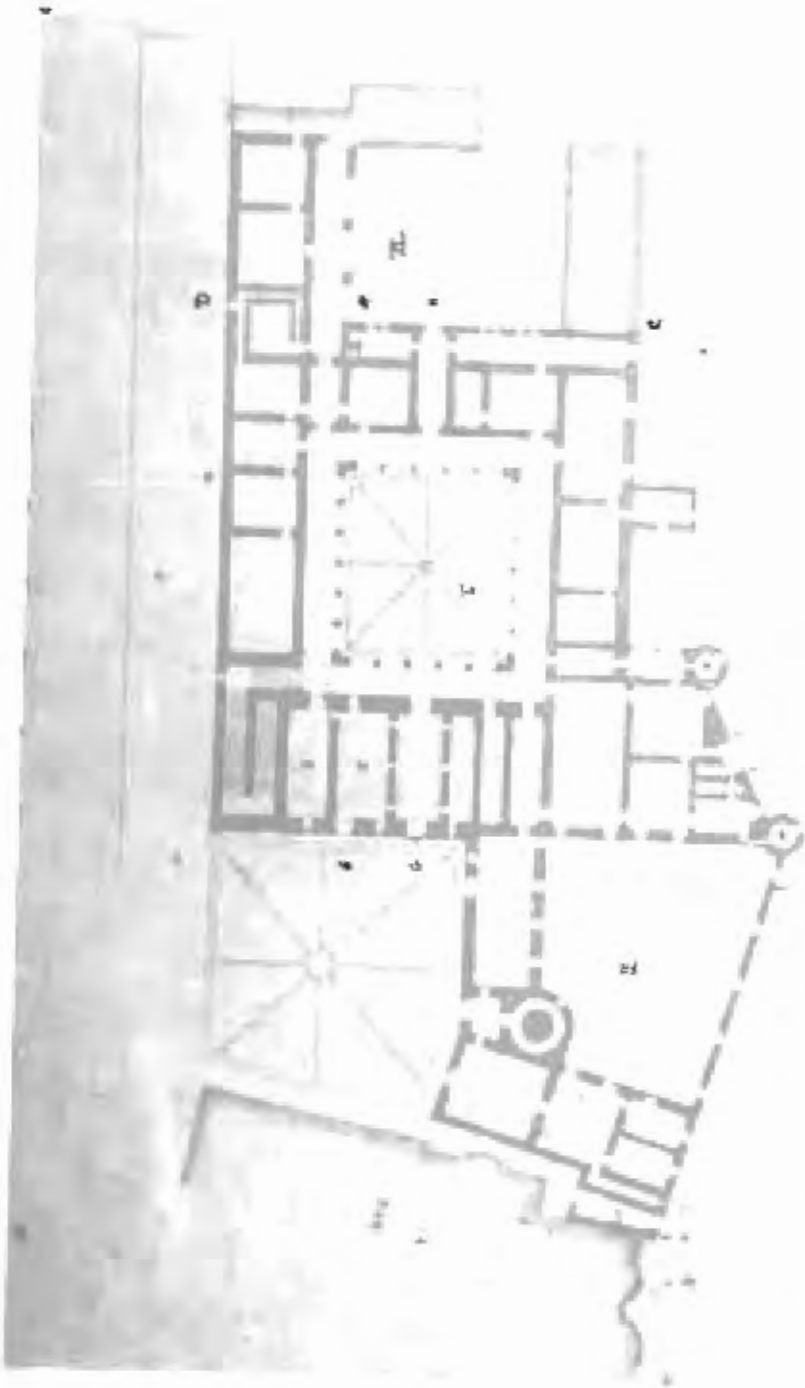


Fig. 3.

DUCAL PALACE URBINO FIRST FLOOR PLAN.

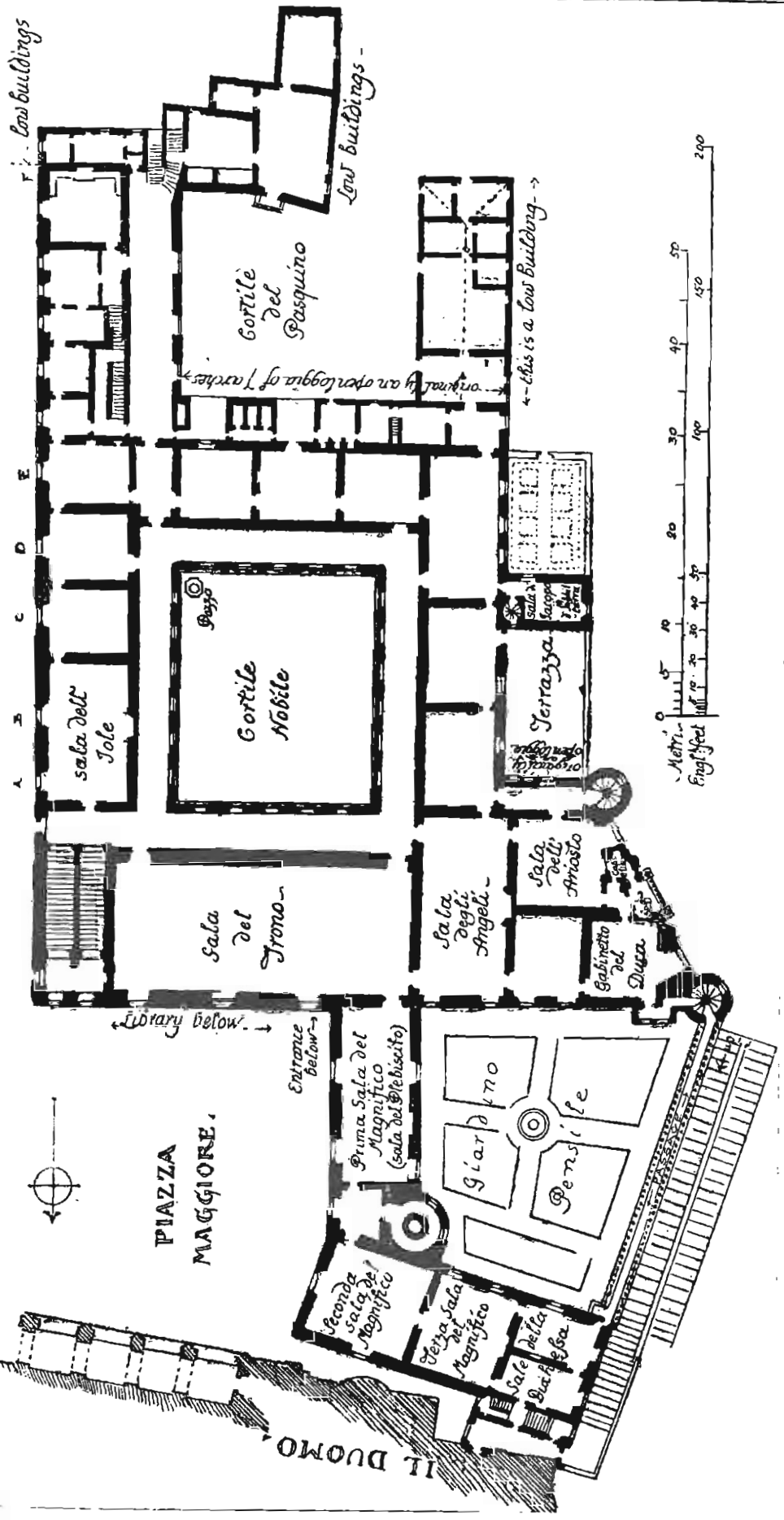


FIG. 4.

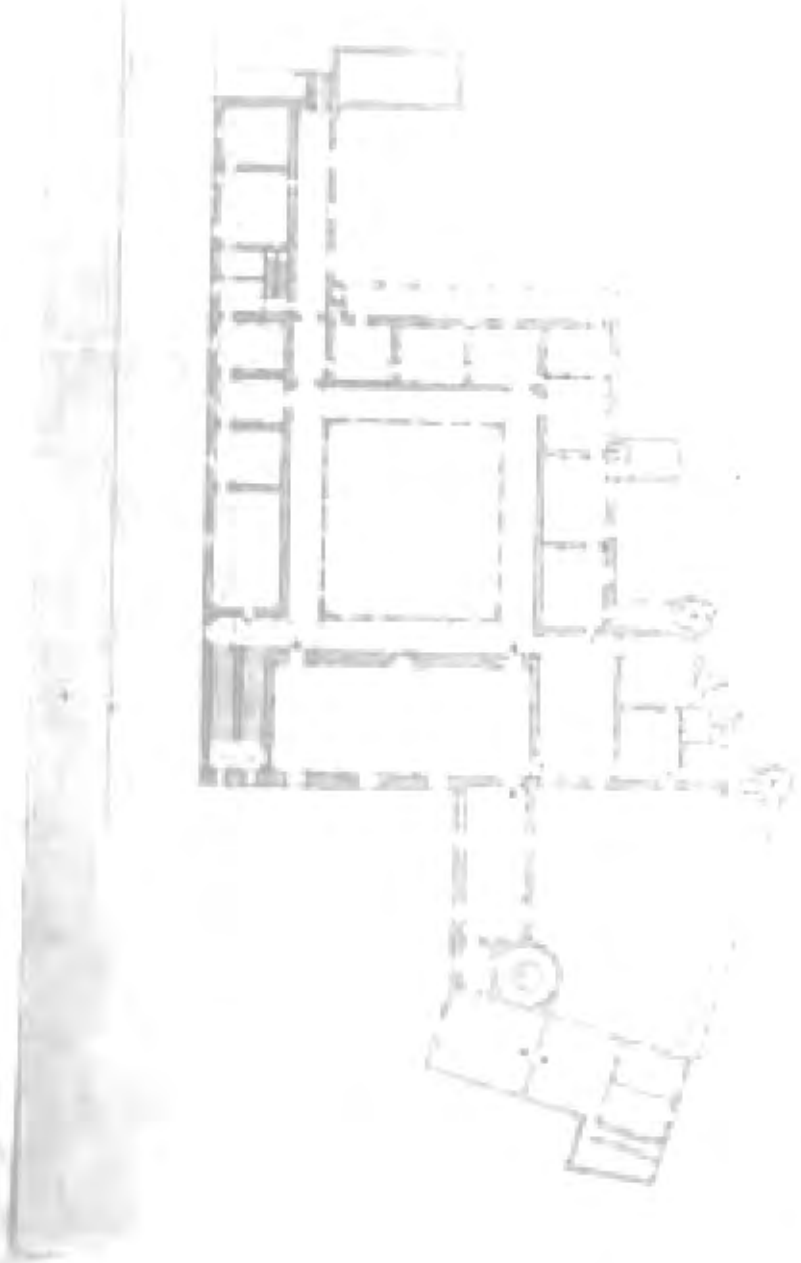


FIG. 5

in the width and the length of the court, there are six arches on the east and west but only five on the north and the south. These arches are bordered by simple moldings. In the spandrels are circular depressions which, according to Lipparini¹, once contained medallions. Instead of corner columns such as Michelozzo used in his design for the courtyard of the Medici-Riccardi Palace at Florence, Luciano uses a solid pier in which half columns are engaged at the end of each arcade. Two pilasters, one on each face of the pier, give apparent support to an entablature which separates the two storeys. The two pilasters meet only at the projection of the moldings of their capitals and bases, leaving a space between them for a greater part of their height. This has been criticized as a weakness of the design. However, the extreme bulk of the corner members more than counteracts any impression of weakness. With their pilasters and half columns, they seem structurally more than equal to the load they bear. The windows of the piano nobile have simple frames. Their sills are formed by the entablature below. Between them are pilasters which support the upper entablature. This use of pilasters, Kimball² thinks to be

1. Lipparini, G., "Urbino", Bergamo, 1930, p.

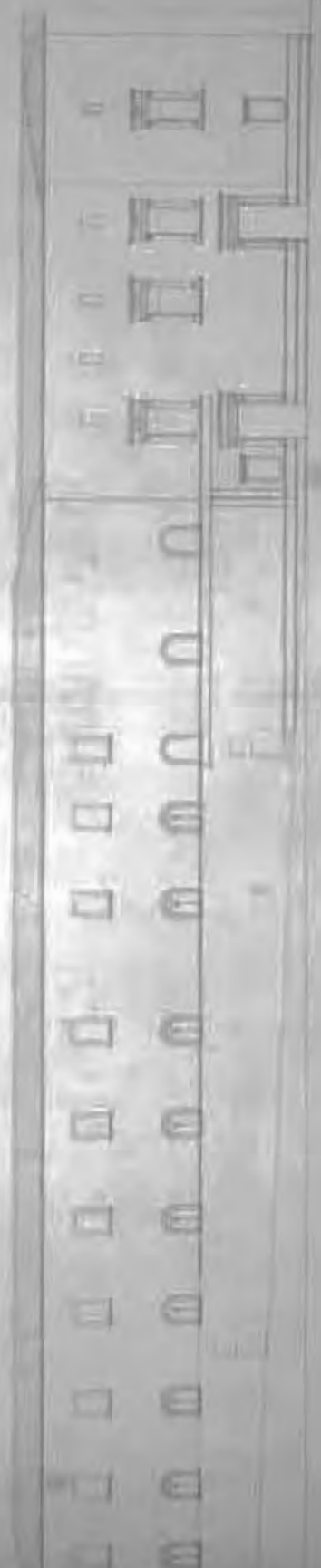
2. Kimball, Fiske, "Luciano Laurana and the 'High Renaissance'", Art Bulletin, 10, 1929, p. 135.



FIG. 6



SECTION THROUGH TEMPLE



derivative from Alberti's Rucellai Palace in Florence. On the two entablatures runs an inscription which Guidobaldo had carved there in honour of his father which may be translated as follows: "Federico, Duke of Urbino, Count of Montefeltro and Castel Durante, Gonfaloniere of the Holy Roman Church and Captain of the Italian Confederation, built this house from its foundations for his own glory and the good of posterity. He fought many battles, went out six times to war, defeated his enemy eight times, and having been victorious in all his campaigns, extended the borders of his dominions. His justice, clemency, liberality and religion in time of peace, equalled and adorned his conquests."¹

In this court there are no longer any traces of medievalism, nor is it the tentative work of an innovator such as Brunellschi. Rather is it the work of a man who has studied the antique monuments and the earlier examples of the Renaissance and here creates with assurance, a design of striking proportion and structural unity.

The other older building which is a part of the palace as we know it today, lay to the north of this main building with its axis at about a 30 degree angle to that of the east-west

1. Translated from the latin by Mrs. Ady, "The Perfect Courtier", New York, 1927, p. 52.

axis of the central portion. To join the two structures, a wing was extended from the north wall of the main building meeting the east end of the older building at an obtuse angle.

In the angle formed by this junction, the architect contrived a spiral ramp which made practicable either ascent or descent from or to the stables located in the substructures below. The Duke Federigo, who was an inveterate horseman, was enabled thereby to go directly from his room to his saddle.

The union of these two buildings created at the level of the ground floor, a second court (fig. 4, II) which is known as the Giardino Pensile because of the fact that there are two storeys of substructures below (fig. 9). This garden is closed in on the west by a wall into which are let five windows (fig. 6a). The wall runs at right angles to the north wing, joining the main building by an extension of the north wall. On top of the wall, which is widened out by the use of corbels on either side, was a walk (fig. 9) which led from the main building to the north wing at the level of the piano nobile.

The third court (fig. 4, III) is formed by the extension of wings from the southern facade of the main building.

On the ground floor the only rooms of interest to us are the two which were originally devoted to Federigo's famous library. They are marked N on the plan (fig. 4). The smaller

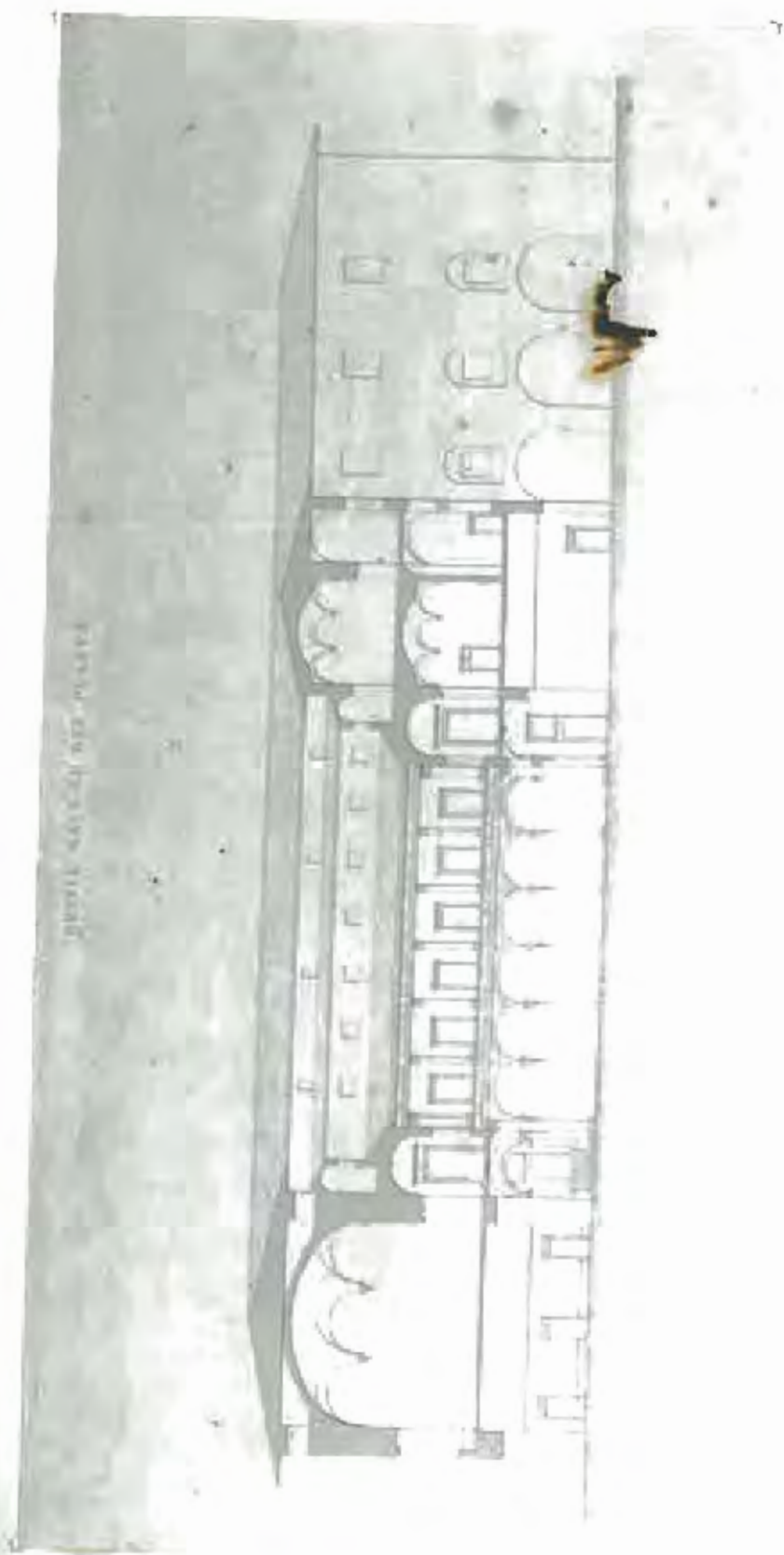


Fig. 7

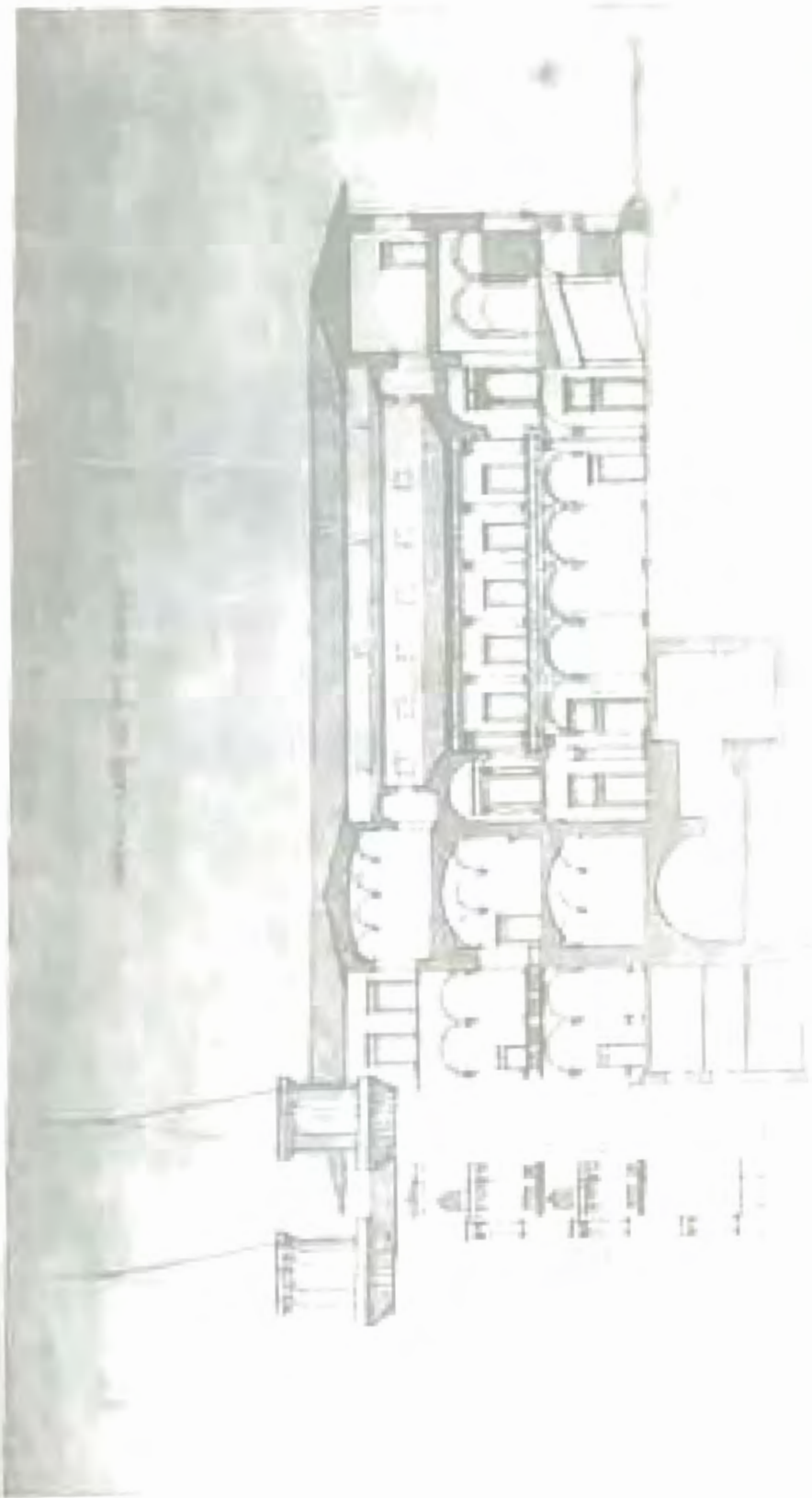


Fig. 8

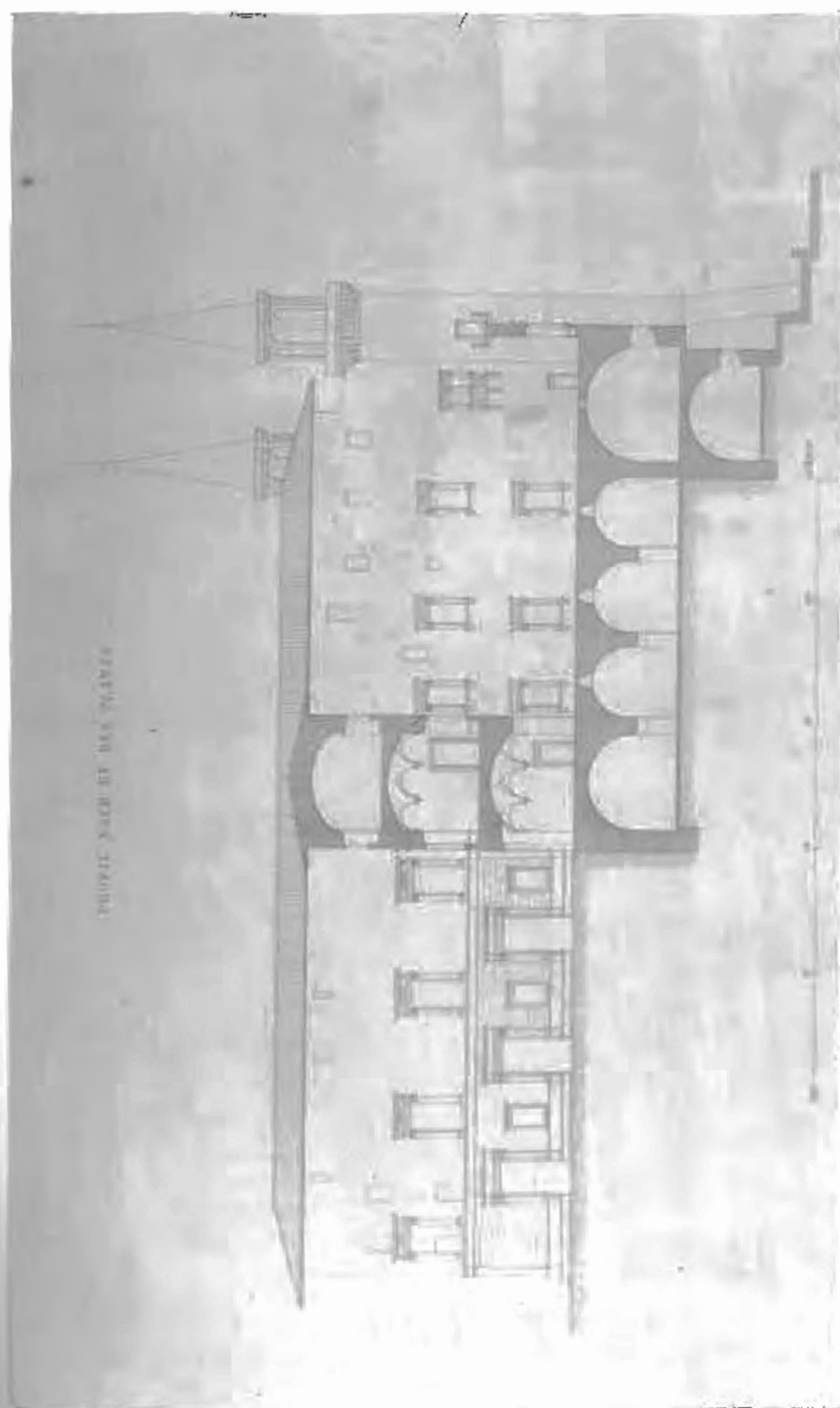


Fig. 9

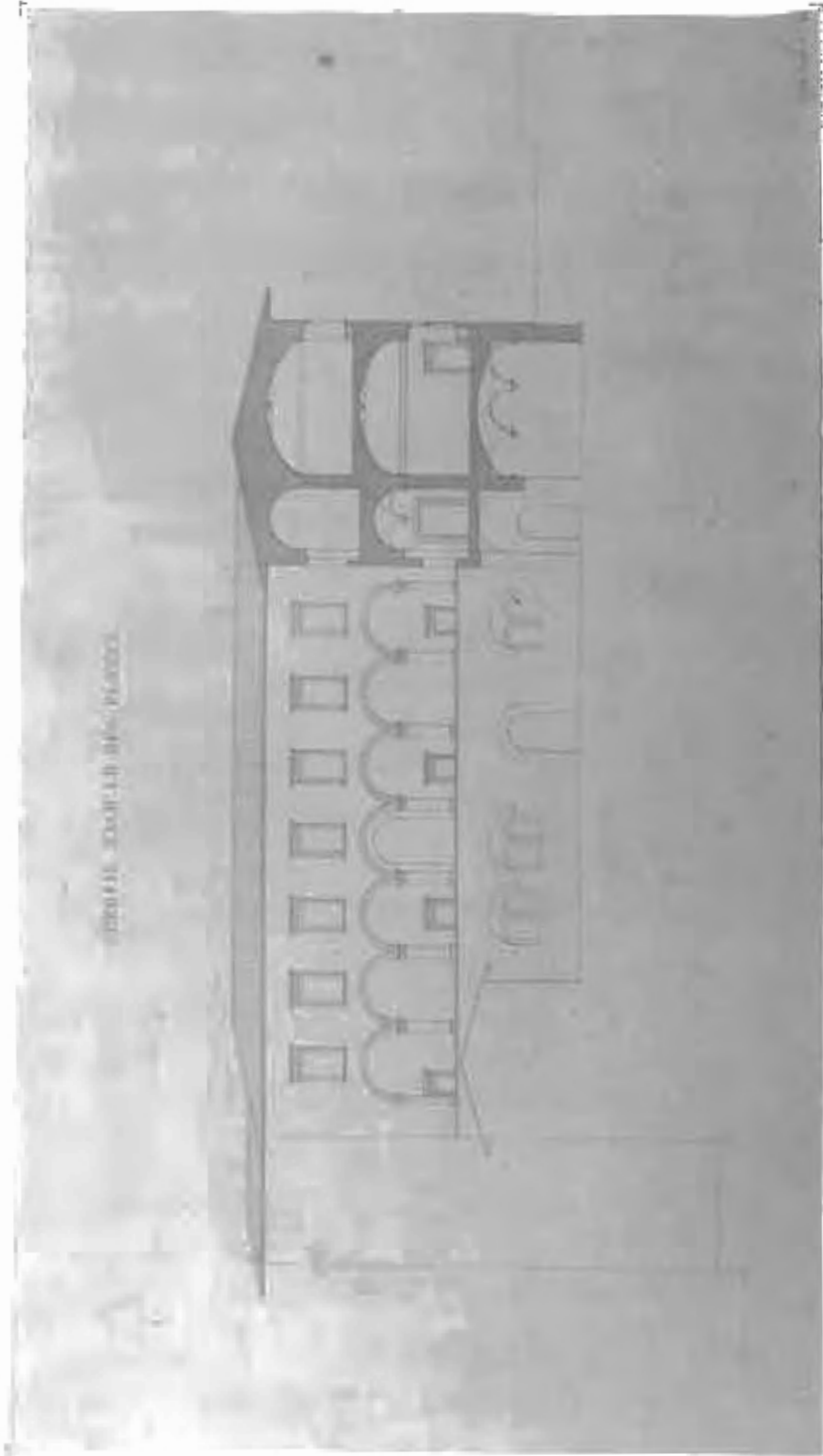
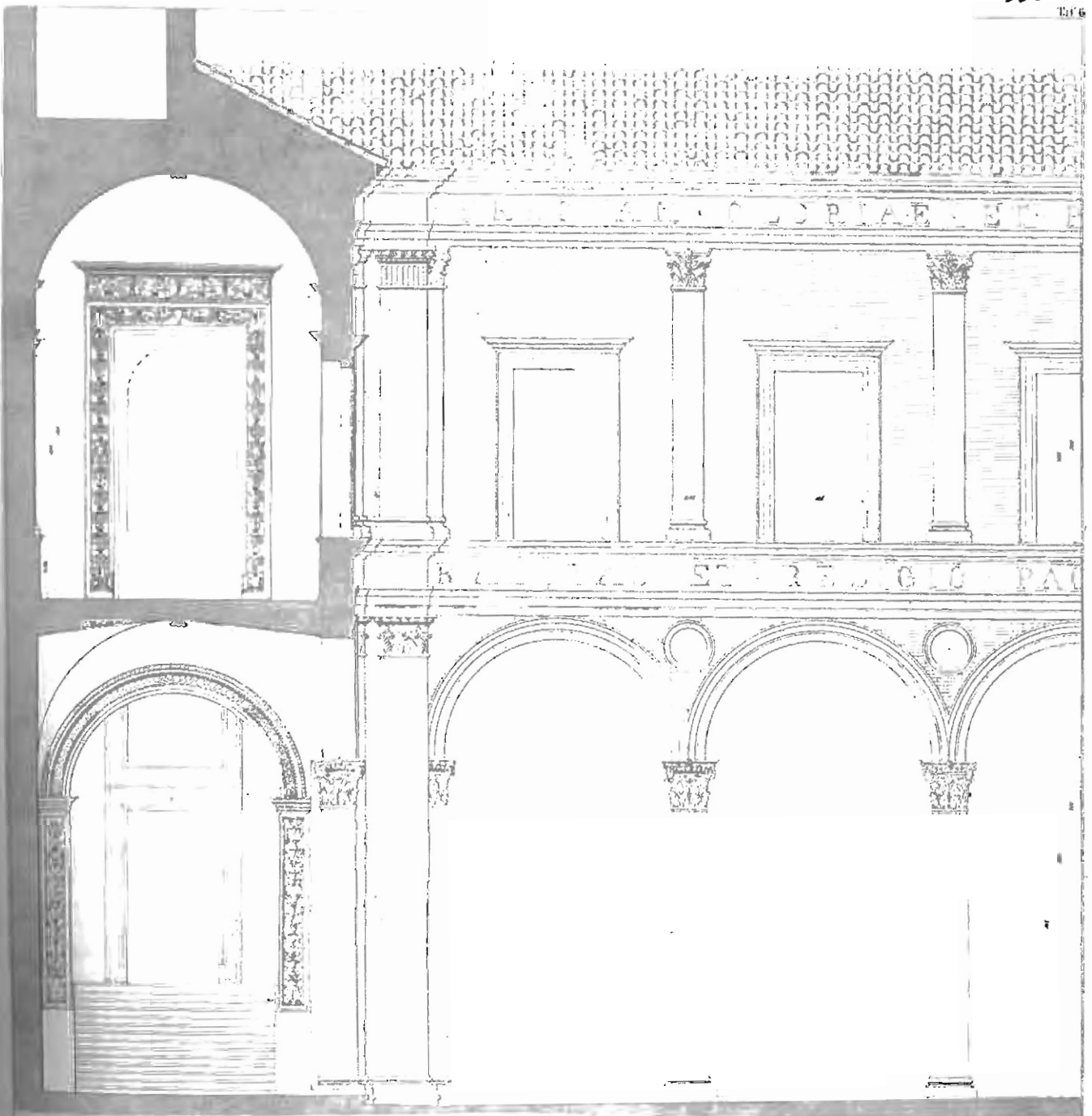


Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.



PARTIBUS

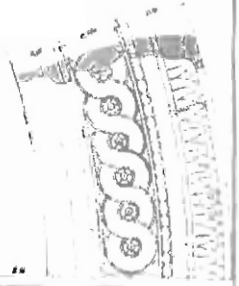
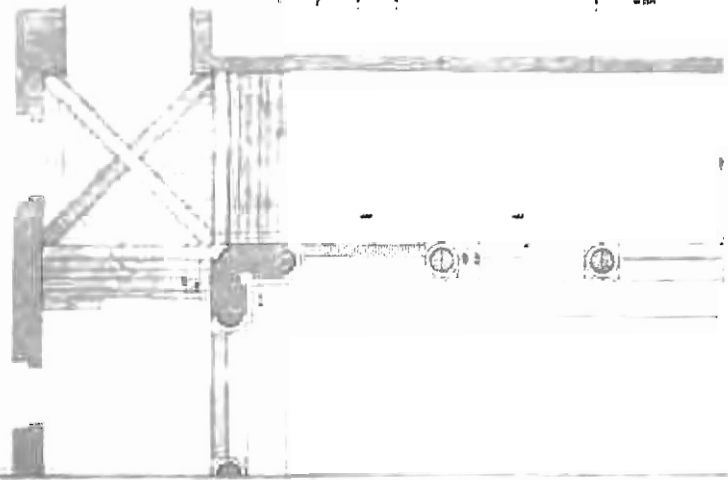


Fig. 12. - L. S. of the Temple of Peace

Fig. 12.

room of the two to the east measures eighteen by forty feet. The shelves for the books were ranged along the walls rather than at right angles to them as was customary at that period. This room as well as the larger was lighted by small windows on the north. According to contemporary writers, these windows diffused a soft light and the rooms were cool in summer and warm in winter. The inner room was known as La Cancellaria because it contained the ducal archives and papers. It was between the shelves of this room that there could originally be found the series of allegorical paintings by Justus of Ghent of the Arts and the Sciences¹. Around the frieze of this hall ran an inscription in rude Latin hexameters of which the following is a translation:²

"In this house you have wealth, golden bowls, abundance of money, crowds of servants, sparkling gems, precious chains and girdles. But here is a treasure that far outshines all these splendours. In these halls you have the pillars of snowy marble and gold, painted figures set in deep recesses; Within the walls are hung with the tale of Troy, without the garden is glorious. But all these things are dumb; Only the library is eloquent. Whether they speak or hold silence, books have power to profit or charm the reader. They teach the story of the past and unfold the meaning of the future. They explain the labours of earth and impart the knowledge of heaven."

This room opens into the vestibule³ which is the main

1. For discussion of these paintings, see Chapter IV.
2. Mrs. Ady, (op. cit.), p. 61.
3. Figure 5 shows a section through the vestibule. The three doors open into the Cancellaria.

entrance to the palace. Figure 6 shows the facade on the south side of the Piazza Maggiore. The large door (fig. 9, 14, 16) is the entrance into this vestibule. The window and door to the right of it light the Cancellaria. The third door is false.

As Lipperini¹ notes, one of the unusual features of the plan is that the staircases have been placed with the best of judgement throughout the palace, enabling one to ascend or descend conveniently without recourse to the grand staircase. Besides a number of straight stairs in the south portion of the building, there are two spiral staircases in the western tourelles, and another next to the Sala d'Jacop III d'Inghilterra.

Figures 7 and 11 show the entrance to the grand staircase from the cortile nobile. At the head of the first short flight of stairs there is a door leading to the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele. On the right hand side of figure 8 one can see the stair case itself and its opening on the first storey.

The main rooms of the palace are to be found on the piano nobile. A feature of the plan, which like the numerous staircases gives unusual convenience, is the corridor which runs

1. Lipparini, G., (op. cit.), p. 61.

around the courtyard at this level permitting access to the various rooms without the necessity of going from one to the other. At the head of the staircase is a door which leads to the Sala dell'Jole. As can be seen from Arnold's plan of the first floor (fig. 4) the vaulting of this room differs from all others except those of the rooms of the north wing. This is the only evidence we have on the interior of the earlier construction of these parts.

To the right of the staircase is the Sala del Trono, the main audience hall of the Duke. It is by far the largest of the many rooms in the palace measuring 33.35 meters in length, 13.95 meters in width and 13.19 meters in height. The room is of the severe simplicity which came to be characteristic of the interiors of the Italian Renaissance palaces in the sixteenth century. The chief decoration of the Sala del Trono is to be found in the sculptural carvings on the door and window frames, the chimney pieces¹ and the corbels which supported the lunettes of the vault. The room was lighted from the north by three large windows. Originally there were windows under the lunettes on the south wall opening into the corridor. However, when reconstructive work was done on the corridor after Federigo's time, these windows were blocked up

1. The sculpture is discussed at greater length in Chapter V

and the openings were filled with the symbols of the cities of the League. The Lion of St. Mark alone remains today.

A doorway leads from the Sala del Trono to the Prima Sala del Magnifico¹ (fig. 5). This room is in the wing which connects the main building to the north wing. It overlooks the Piazza Maggiore on the east (fig. 6b) and the Girardino Pensile on the west. (fig. 6a)

Between this room and the Seconda Sala del Magnifico there is a vestibule with the entrance to the spiral ramp.

The rooms of the north wing are called the Seconda and Terza Sala del Magnifico and the Sala della Duchessa. A door in the north west room of the Duchess' apartment leads to an outside staircase which connects this building with the Duomo. The Duchess Battista, like the Duke Federico, was conscientious in her religious obligations and spent many hours of the day in the gallery of the Cathedral to which this staircase led. It was also possible to go directly from these rooms to the main building by way of the balustraded walk on top of the garden wall. This passage led to what were originally the apartments of the Duke.

The smallest of these was originally his private study, a peaceful retreat where he loved to come to meditate over

1. This name was given to this and the following room after an extended visit of the Medici to the Urbino court.

his favorite books or to listen to music. Three doors open into it. The middle one leads to the loggia on the western facade. Above this is a window. The left wall is cut by two rectangular niches about 2 meters in height. Above these and the three doors runs a molding. Above it is a space about 2.36 meters in width. The lower part of the walls was covered with intarsia decoration¹ while above the molding there was a series of portraits of Doctors and Philosophers² by the Flemish painter Justus of Ghent.

Next to the studio is a tiny private chapel of the Duke. Its decoration dates from the seventeenth century.

The remaining rooms on this floor have suffered from continual use and redecoration. They are without interest for us in this study.

The exterior

According to Bernardino Baldi,³ "The site (of the palace) is unrivalled from whichever side it is approached. Whether the traveller enters Urbino by the Roman road that leads across the Apennines, or through the Furlo ravine, or comes from Tuscany by the upper valley of the Tiber, a steep ascent leads to

1. The intarsia decoration is discussed in Chapter V.
2. The paintings are discussed in Chapter IV.
3. Mrs. Ady (op. cit.) p.56

the city gates and long before the journey's end he sees the ducal palace on the heights above. The twin towers with their delicate pinnacles soaring into the sky and fronting the western sun, lend the whole an atmosphere of romance - a faery glamour that well might make the poets declare this was no work of mortal hands, but a house reared by the gods." The palace standing as it does on an eminence dominates the landscape and its great size dwarfs the other buildings of the town.

The irregularity of the plan is very apparent. On the exterior though, the various parts are joined together with such skill that a strikingly harmonious unity is created.

The building is most beautiful when viewed from the distance for at closer range the walls are seen to be of ordinary brick riddled with putlog holes. It may have been the original intention to face the whole building with travertine marble as was done to the facade of the main entrance (fig. 14 and 9). However, upon a closer study one cannot help but admire the beauty of design of the various portions of the palace. On the east facade, for example, as we have noted above, the architect in lengthening the facade designed windows which would harmonize with the Early Renaissance ones

which were already in place. This meant that he had to return to a form with which on the whole he was trying to break. His sacrifice accounts for the harmonious repetition of this whole facade.

The west facade, which is most often reproduced (fig. 15), is composed of superimposed loggias between two slender towers or "tourelles". This design was an adaptation of one which the architect had previously used for the Triumphal arch at the Castelnuovo at Naples. At Urbino the motif was refined and simplified. Not constrained to place the loggias between two cumbersome towers as at Naples, Luciano was able by adjusting the relationships of the proportions between the parts to give the whole a lightness and the clarity for which it is distinguished. Here again as in the crenelations which once ornamented the top of the building and the semi-gothic windows of the east facade we have recollections of the medieval fortress of which this building is a descendent. The towers have machicolations at the top and their walls have a batter at the base. But closer examination reveals the fact that imposed upon the medieval form, in a manner characteristic of the Early Renaissance are classic decorative motives. The machicolations are classic consoles. Roundheaded arches and entablatures decorate the pinnacles.

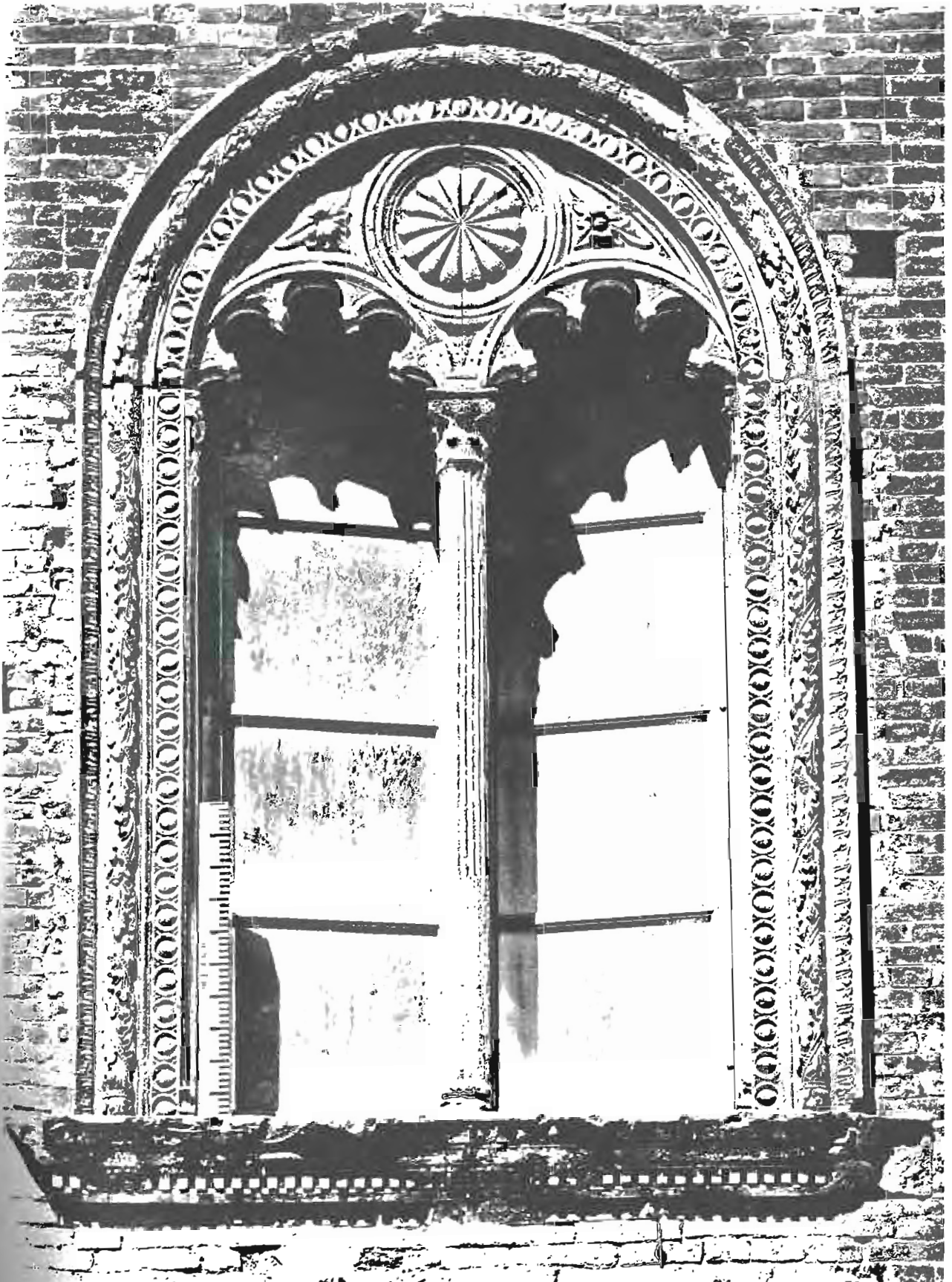


Fig. 13.

the city gates and long before the journey's end he sees the ducal palace on the heights above. The twin towers with their delicate pinnacles soaring into the sky and fronting the western sun, lend the whole an atmosphere of romance - a faery glamour that well might make the poets declare this was no work of mortal hands, but a house reared by the gods." The palace standing as it does on an eminence dominates the landscape and its great size dwarfs the other buildings of the town.

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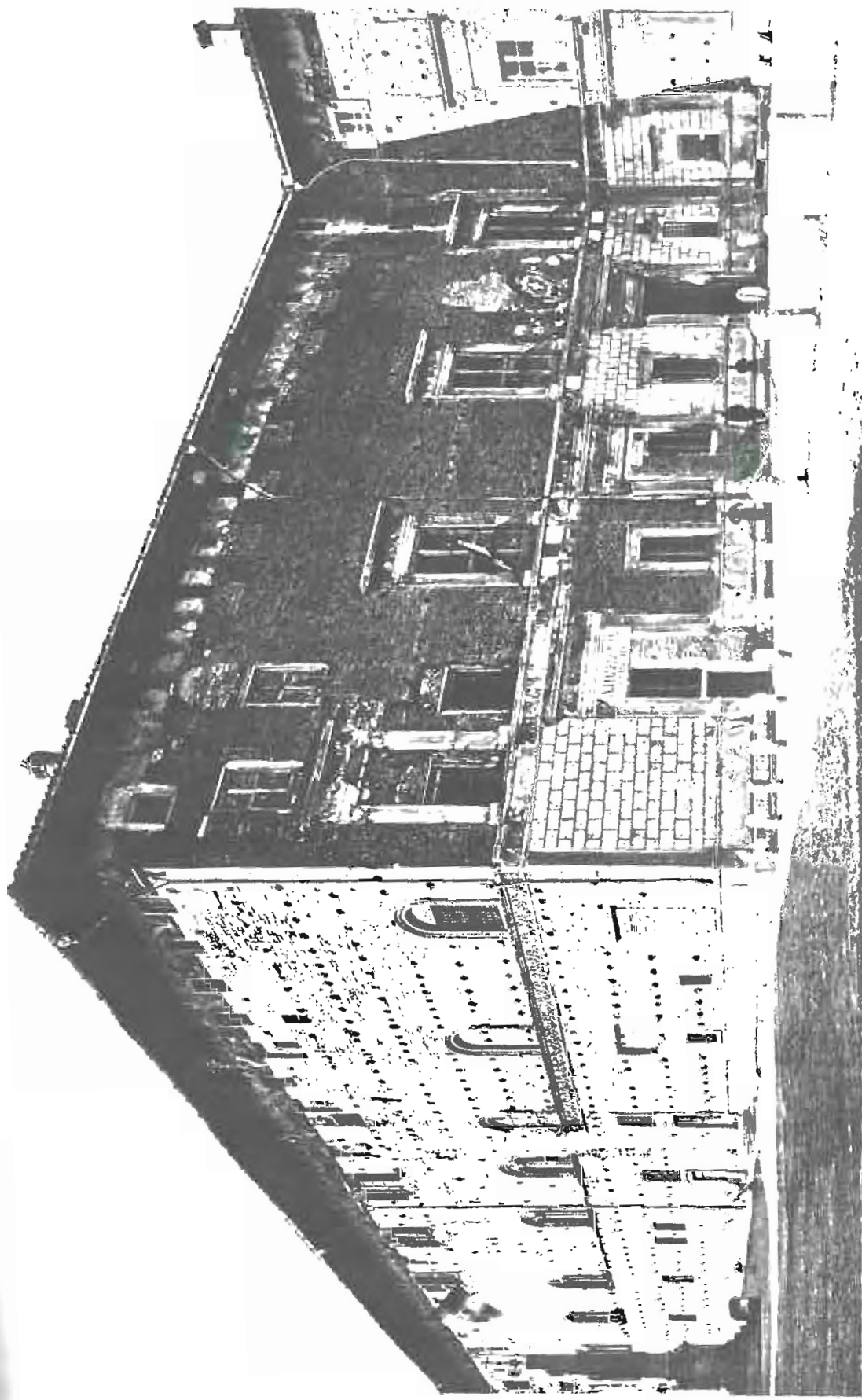


Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.

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Chapter III

Luciano Laurana

That which is known today concerning the life and work of the architect Luciano Laurana is due entirely to the efforts of modern research and scholarship. His work was widely known and he himself was greatly lauded during his lifetime. Giovanni Santi¹ in the fifty-sixth canto of his Rhymed Chronicle says:

"The architect set over all the rest,
Was Luvian Lauranna, whose bright name
Survives in excellence the knell of death.
His apt and lofty genius ruled the work,
With the Count's sanction, for no prince possessed
A sounder judgement or a will more prompt.
The best of architects is he."

But "the knell of death" was stronger than Santi realized. His words² and the notice which Bernardino Baldi gave of him were almost the only threads upon which the modern scholar had to work when he endeavored to find out about the architect of the Urbino palace. Vasari did not mention him. In treating the pupils of Brunelleschi, he does speak of a certain "Sclavonian who made many works in Venice,"³ but this is not thought to refer to Luciano. As Dagobert Frey

1. The English translation is taken from Dennistoun (op.cit.) p. 147.
2. Baldi, Bernardino, Memorie concernenti la Citta di Urbino. 1724.
3. Vasari, Giorgio, Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects, (Tr. by Gaston du C. de Vere) London, 1912-1914, Vol. 2, p. 236.

¹
says, "It is a typical instance of what personal glory is worth if Homer is silent, and of how much our historic knowledge and artistic appreciation was determined by Vasari."

Many documents have been discovered which now establish what may be termed as 'facts'. Unfortunately there are still long periods of his life about which there is nothing known. It is thus a fertile field for conjecture and hypothesis. The art historian and analyst have used the facts that are known as spring boards into fancy. Yet I do not feel that these conjectures are without value. In the following presentation, for the sake of clarity, I have tried to make a division between the two types of knowledge. In the first part I have presented the material for which there is either documentary or strong stylistic evidence. In the second part I have developed the material which is based upon hypothesis.

1.

Luciano Laurana (or Luciano dellauran(n)a) was a Dalmatian.

²
Jackson refers to documents in which Luciano speaks of himself as
"...egregius vir Lucianus ... q. Martini de Jadia provinciae Dalmat-

1. Frey, Dagobert, *Architecture of the Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, The Hague, 1925, p. 19.
2. Jackson, T G., "Dalmatia, the Quernerio and Istria." Oxford, 1887 Vol. I, p. 364.

iae Architectus." or "Magister Lucius Martini de Laurana Arcitector."

¹
According to both Jackson and Hofmann the town in Dalmatia called Jadia is the same as Zara of which Vrana is a suburb. As the above quotations indicate, the father of Luciano was Martinus of Jadia.

In the year 1451, Luciano was at Naples acting as overseer for the rebuilding and additions to the Castelnuovo of Alfonso of Aragon. Especially was he required to build..." the two towers flanking the gateway of the Castle, " and finally of preparing all which he needed between the said two towers except the marbles and the pavements."

²
Thus Bartolomeo Focia wrote in 1455, finishing with the statement, "Thus we constructed the triumphal arch of the whitest marble." The sculptures of the arch were left to Pietro da Milano.

In the year 1465, Luciano was in the employ of the Gonzaga family in Mantua. In the spring of that year he left Mantua to comply with an invitation of Alessandro Sforza to come to Pesaro because he "wished his (Luciano's) opinion concerning his building."³ On May 8, 1465, Barbara of Brandeburg, Marquise of Mantua wrote to both Luciano and Alessandro, begging the architect's return. On May 17 following, Luciano replied to the Marquise that he would hasten back as soon as possible.⁴

1. Hofmann, Prof. Theobold, "Erstwerke der Hochrenaissance." Urbino 1906, p. 21.
2. Venturi, A., "Italia Artistica," Vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 669
3. Hofmann, Prof. Theobold, (Op.Cit.)
4. Venturi, A., (op. cit.) p. 672

Two Urbinate documents of November 26, 1467 and December 10, 1467 which speak of Luciano as 'Architector domini', refer to a dispute which was taken to court between Luciano and a certain stonemason, Jacopo de Giorgio da Como, relative to the method of measuring the stairs. Luciano lost the case¹.

On June 10, 1468, Federigo da Montefeltro, Count of Urbino, gave the following patent to Luciano from Pavia:

FREDERICUS R.F. URBINI ET DURANTIS COMES SER. (mae) LICAE
CAP. GENERALIS.

"Whereas, we, deeming those men to be worthy of distinction and preference who are gifted with such genius and talent as have been in all ages esteemed, especially for architecture founded upon arithmetic and geometry, which as foremost among the Seven Liberal Arts, and as depending upon exact science, require profound knowledge and great ability, and are therefore highly appreciated by us; and whereas, we, having sought everywhere, but particularly in Tuscany, the fountain of architects, without finding anyone really versant and skillful in that profession, and having lately heard by report, and since ascertained by full experience, the learning and attainments of the distinguished Messer Luciano, bearer hereof; and further, we having resolved to erect in our city of Urbino a fair residence, in all respects befitting the rank and reputation of our predecessors and ourselves, - have for these causes selected the said Messer Luciano as engineer and chief of all those² employed upon that fabric, in building, hewing, woodwork, ironwork and all other persons of whatever rank or in whatever capacity they labor on this fabric; consequently we desire and order our employees and subjects who have to oversee or have anything to do with the aforementioned work, to

1. Hofmann, (op. cit.),
2. The English translation of the Patent up to this point has been taken from Dennistoun, (op. cit.), p. The rest is the author's translation from the French from Frederick Arnold, "Der Herzogliche Palast von Urbino," Leipzig, 1857, p. 3.

obey Luciano in all things and to do whatever is his order as though it were our own, and in particular we order Andre Catoni, our chancellor and keeper of the monies destined for the construction of the said palace as well as Master dell' Isola, steward and furnisher of all things necessary for the construction of the said palace, that in the payments which they will have to make and to regulate they will do no more or less than they are told to do so by Messer Luciano; likewise the said master Luciano has full power and entire liberty to dismiss any master or workers or anyone employed on this work who does not suit him nor satisfy him; or he has the power to punish or to stop and to hold back the salary and the provisions of those who have not done their duty, and to do all other things which belong to the Architect-in-chief, even all that we would do ourselves, were we present."

On August 8, 1470, Luciano Laurana bought a piece of land with vines, meadow and pigeon coop. On October 2nd of the next year, he finished payment on the house and a kitchen garden acquired in the Pasturula and the Mercatole quarters respectively. On October 16, 1472, he sold the farm for 60 Florins of 40 Bolognese each¹.

Sometime in the 70's, probably 1475, Luciano painted two architectural perspectives, one of which is in the Gallery at Urbino, the other in the Walters Collection in Baltimore, Maryland².

The Urbinate documents speak of Laurana until 1476, in which year we find him occupied with the construction of the fort

1. Colasanti, A., "Luciano Laurana," Rome, 1922, p. 8.
2. Kimball, Fiske, "Luciano Laurana and the High Renaissance", Art Bulletin, Vol. 10, 1929, pp. 125-50.

(Rocca) which Constanza Sforza had begun at Pesaro in 1474. He held this position as first engineer until his death in 1479. A manuscript¹ in the communal archives of Sinigaglia reads as follows: "In this year, 1479, was made the bridge of the fort and was designed by Maestro Luciano of Urbino and he died before it was finished." He made his last will and testament in Pesaro on September 7, 1479 and as the above document indicates, died shortly afterwards.

2.

The above material, as can be readily seen, is, in reality a dead mass which needs the leaven of deductive reasoning to infuse it with vitality; it is a mere skeleton upon which one should build if he would discover if Luciano in anyway affected the course of Italian architecture of the fifteenth century, and if so, to what degree that influence was felt. Many people have found it a strange fact that Federigo should have sought out the Dalmatian to be the architect of the Palace when such renowned older architects as Michelozzo and Benedetto da Maiano were still alive and when such younger architects as Giuliano da San Gallo and Bramante were already better known². But just because we do not have the sanction of Vasari, is there any reason to assume that Luciano did not successfully compete

1. Venturi, A., (op. cit.), p. 675.

2. Jackson, T.G., "The Roman Renaissance", Cambridge University Press, 1921, p. 68.

against them? Does not Santi call him the "best of architects"? Does not the Patent of 1468 indicate that Luciano's fame was so great that Federigo entrusted him with the position of "capo-maestro" and "since ascertained by full experience" on the fabric of the Urbino building itself "the learning and attainments of the distinguished Messer Luciano"? Is he not found in the same year of 1465 to have been employed successively by three different courts; those of Mantua, Pesaro and Urbino? Do not both Lorenzo de' Medici and Federigo Gonzaga, hearing of the beauty of the building, send to Urbino for the plans and the measurements? If such is true we may rightly assume that Luciano's importance among those of his profession in his day was much greater than is realized at the present time. And we may well assume that his spirit did not die with him at Pesaro, that his influence was not merely a short-lived one in the Urbino territory alone, but that he did in some degree mould the character of the succeeding architecture.

Of Luciano's birth and artistic training we know nothing. The date of his birth, however, can be fairly accurately placed between the years 1420 and 1425. and it has been generally assumed that his training like that of his Dalmatian contemporary, Giorgio Orsini, took place in Venice, for Dalmatia had, since the year 1420, been under Venetian control. For political

reasons it would have been the natural resort for artists seeking training in Italy. However, the question arises how such artists as Giorgio Orsini and Luciano Laurana received specific training in the Renaissance style which they practiced since that style was not adopted in Venice until later in the fifteenth century. In fact a late phase of the Gothic was still strong in Venice, and the Venetian domination of Dalmatia was marked by the importation into that country of the distinctive Venetian version of the Gothic. The most logical explanation then, for the Renaissance training of the Dalmatian architects may be two-fold: the influence of the Italian artists who flocked to Dalmatia after the beginning of the Venetian rule, and the late Roman ruins of which at the time of Luciano's youth there was an abundance in his native land.

The singular similarity between the early Renaissance style and that of late or decadent Roman architecture may well lead one to suppose that Roman models of the third and fourth centuries A.D. which showed a relaxation from the strict Vitruvian classic rules, and subsequent Romanesque and Gothic buildings together account for the aberrations of the classic orders which characterize the early Renaissance style.

Diocletian's Palace at Spalato (284-305) as well as the amphitheatre and arch of the Sergel at Pola in Luciano's native

Dalmatia show many of the characteristics which were incorporated in that style. In the Palace of Spalato in particular, there can be seen the varied and arbitrary treatment of the different members of the order. In some places the cornice has been accentuated while the frieze has been reduced to a roll moulding or omitted entirely, in others arches spring from the capitals without any intervening entablature. In these and other features Jackson sees¹ "the rebirth of that rational and unconventional mode of building in which the restless and eager spirit of the regenerated and repopled Roman world found free scope for its fancy and invention which places fitness before abstract beauty, which delights to find harmony in variety and recognizes grace in more than one code of proportions."

Adolfo Venturi, I think, rightly finds the influence of the succeeding architecture of Dalmatia also playing a determining part in the formation of the style of Luciano Laurana. Specifically, he sees in it a crystalline clarity derived from the court forms of Byzantine Greece. Until the twelfth century Byzantium had held Dalmatia within its political and cultural control. Gradually there appeared the pulvin and the colouristic treatment of the carving and the interlacing ornament characteristic of the East. In the twelfth century this style

1. Jackson, T.G., "Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria," Oxford, 1887, Vol. I, p. 206.

was supplanted by a native interpretation of the Lombard or the Rhenish Romanesque for which style the Dalmatians seem to have had a particular fondness continuing its use long after the Gothic had dominated Western Europe. Even when the Venetians imposed their version of Gothic, it was in turn very soon neglected for the new Renaissance mode. For the latter the Dalmatian had an innate liking. For though he had adopted the Byzantine and the Romanesque styles, he had interpreted them in a classic manner, and "it is singular that though the Dalmatians adopted the style of the Renaissance almost as soon as it appeared they did not advance it like the Italians, to pure Palladianism. Of that cold, formal architecture of that school, Dalmatia contains hardly an example; a picturesque freedom which continued to inspire the earlier phases of the Renaissance art and which gave it its life and charm never forsook the style in Dalmatia till the seventeenth century was well advanced."¹

It has not been the affinity of styles alone, nor the common place of origin which has led a number of writers² to suggest that perhaps Luciano Laurana, the architect, and Francesco

1. *Ibid*, p. 225.

2. Vitry, Paul, "Michael Colombe et la Sculpture Française de son Temps," Paris, 1901, p. 117; Hofmann, (*op. cit.*), p. 21; Venturi, (*op. cit.*), p. 670.

Laurana, the sculptor, were brothers, sons of Martinus of Jadia. Both Venturi and Vitry suggest that Luciano as well as Francesco worked in France for Rene of Anjou. We cannot but wonder what Luciano was doing before the year 1451 when as a man of about thirty and a mature artist we find him at Naples in charge of the construction of the Castelnuovo for Alfonso of Aragon. Where did he receive the practical experience which his profession demanded?

In the years between 1438 and 1442, King Rene of Anjou temporarily had the upper hand in the contest with Alfonso of Aragon concerning the possession of the territory of Naples. When circumstances, however, forced him to withdraw from Naples, he returned to France taking with him a number of Italian artists who were to make the court at Angers one of the centers in France for the diffusion of Italian Renaissance Culture. Settled again in France, Rene took up the task of completing the castle of Villeneuve-les-Avignon at Tarascon which had been begun by Louis III of Anjou in 1400. Rene had continued the work in the years 1428-1435 and after his return, 1447-1449. Certain modifications in the new Italianate manner seem to have been effected during this later period. Luciano, who in his work both at Naples and at Urbino showed himself to be versed in military architecture, might well have accompanied Rene to France or to

have joined him there later. Francesco Laurana is known to have gone there in the year 1461 and to have stayed, except for two years (1469-1471), until his death in 1483.

Luciano, in his work at Naples on the Castelnuovo in 1451, was concerned chiefly with the construction of the so-called triumphal arch which marks the entrance. The design which he there evolved is, as we have noted, the one one which he used in modified and more elegant form for the western facade of the Urbino palace. His task in each case was the reconciliation of an arched opening of classic form with the medieval towers which flanked it. At Urbino he was able to make a more harmonious design than at Naples, since there he had control of the whole plan. The original inspiration, it seems certain, goes back to the Roman arch of the Sergel at Pola in Dalmatia of which we have spoken previously. Comparison shows a great similarity especially between that and the Naples arch. Kinceaux decorate the jambs of the archway up to the springings. The arch itself is enclosed by coupled corinthian columns which support an entablature broken out in ressaults over the columns. Putti with garlands decorate the frieze. Luciano has changed the proportions of the Roman model and added a superimposed order which is essentially a duplication of the first. It is thought that Francesco Laurana as well as Pietro da Milano worked on

the decorative sculpture.

Colasanti draws our attention to the fact that it was not strange to have three artists from Dalmatia at work here at Naples in view of the numerous artistic ties between the Dalmatian and the Aragonese courts. Pietro da Milano was called from Ragusa in 1462. There was also a medalist from the same city who was working for Alfonso in 1450 in which year he made a medal for Federigo, Count of Urbino. This leads to the supposition that Federigo learned about Luciano from the Naples court.

Again silence surrounds the activities of the architect between the years 1455 and 1465. Did he return to France to continue work on the fortifications and castles of King Rene as Venturi suggests¹? Or was he working on commissions in Italy? Hofmann² is inclined to think that when further study has been made of the monuments which are now considered to be in the "Stile Bramantesco", many will eventually be found to be works of Luciano during this period.

In the year 1465, Luciano was in the employ of Ludovico, Marquis of Mantua. He was evidently employed on the construction of the castle for the Marquis. Venturi³ finds evidence of his

1. Venturi, A., (op. cit.), p. 672.
2. Hofmann, (op. cit.), p. 22.
3. Venturi, A., (op. cit.), p. 672.

work in the courtyard of San Giorgio in the castle. It was while he was thus employed that he received the invitation from Alessandro Sforza to come to Pesaro and to give advice on the construction of the Palazzo Prefettizio which had been begun by Sigismond Malatesta. Luciano's activities in Pesaro kept him there longer than was agreeable to the Gonzagas. It is a moot question whether he did return to Mantua or proceeded directly to Urbino.

Since the Urbino documents of 1467 refer to a dispute between Luciano and a stonemason concerning the measuring of the stairs, it is evident that the construction of the Urbino Palace was considerably advanced by that year. The laying of the foundations, as we have noted in the previous chapter, would have taken about two years. Thus the beginning of the work must date from 1465.

From the wording of the patent of 1468 we gather that this was not the original grant of power to the architect, but rather the confirmation of his position as "Capo-Maestro" in charge of the construction. The dispute of 1467 may have arisen from a challenge to Luciano's position, and such a situation may have necessitated the written patent which clearly defines his position and powers.

At the Urbino court Luciano's style was no doubt somewhat modified by contact with the various personalities that he met

there. Eugene Muntz¹ speaks of Federigo himself as the "collaborateur" with Luciano in the planning of the building. We also know that Piero della Francesca was probably at the court during Luciano's first year. It was in 1465 that the painter did the portraits of Federigo and Battista which are now in the Uffizi gallery. Longhi², speaking of the possible association of the two men, says, "Although ... (it) ... cannot be presented as history, yet a discreet allusion may be made to the fact that the measurements employed in the distribution of the courts, windows and in the spaces mapped out for the new buildings were derived from the very same aesthetics which had dictated previously to Piero, the measure for his own figures and figured edifices." Luciano's architectural perspectives, of which we will have occasion to speak a little later, show an academic knowledge of perspective which without doubt was derived from a manuscript which was in Federigo's library by 1473 at the latest. That date is the time of the formal presentation of the work De prospectiva pingendi to Federigo by Piero. Since Luciano's panels date around the year 1475, he may have had access to the work before that date.

1. Muntz, Eugene, "Histoire de L'Art pendant La Renaissance", Paris, 1889, Vol. I, p.
2. Longhi, Roberto, "Piero della Francesca", London and New York, 1930, p. 136.

Piero della Francesca, who in his paintings shows a knowledge of the architectural works of Alberti, may have transmitted to Luciano some elements of the style of the Florentine. We suspect, however, that it was merely a strengthening of an already firmly established contact. Luciano may have known Alberti personally in Mantua in the year 1463. Some writers even go so far as to speak of collaboration. It seems to have been established that there were some relations between the architect, Alberti, and Duke Federigo, for there is evidence that Alberti intended to dedicate his treatise De re aedificatoria to the Duke. According to Fiske Kimball¹, the architectural panels attest to the fact that Luciano knew this treatise for they show a concrete application of many of the rules laid down in it.

Based on their opinions on the Palace of Urbino alone, writers have disputed the relative indebtedness of Luciano to Alberti and Brunelleschi. Colasanti points out what are to him obvious Brunelleschian details in the classic ornament. We have said that the panels particularly attest to the influence of Alberti. In the Palace, too, Luciano seems to have achieved a superb harmony of proportions through the applications of Alberti's rules for the mathematical relationships between

1. Kimball, Fiske, (op. cit.), p. 136 ff.

the parts.

But Luciano stands in the position of pupil or follower of neither. He developed a style which is derivative of both but unquestionably original. Venturi says¹, "There is not in Luciano the elastic vigor of Brunelleschi nor the monumentality of Alberti, but there is an attention to the proportions, a clarity, and a love of spacious surfaces which omit ornamentation because of a love of pure form, quiet, unalterable and profound. ... Leon Battist Alberti, through the proportion of numbers gives his buildings a resonant harmony; the style of Laurana leads to rhythmical tranquility, the cadenced regularity of pause. ... He is in the true sense an architect, the master who takes care of the essentials, the structure and the vitality of construction with art and with science, and when he has attained the form he places at the essential points an ornamentation which grows naturally from that which is adorned, a leafy capital, a regal corona, but he insists on great empty surfaces ... " But more important than this is the fact that Luciano was able to free himself utterly in the design of the court and in his architectural panels from the last remnants of medievalism which had pervaded the architecture of the early

1. Venturi, A., (op. cit.), p. 678.

Renaissance. He is no longer¹ "embroiled in tentative and innumerable compromises. Without doubt Luciano alone succeeds in taking himself away from this influence and in executing in all details those organic solutions which the Roman Renaissance found later in the work of Bramante." Thus he heralds the coming of the new style and as Fiske Kimball says², "we must accord to Luciano an historical importance not inferior to that of Bramante himself."

Luciano held the position of "Capo-Maestro" at Urbino until the year 1472. In the preface to the Vatican Codex Urbinate 1195³ which was written a few months after the death of Battista Sforza (July 6, 1472) we read that the palace was complete not only in its structural parts but also in the decoration inherent in the construction. Colasanti also says⁴, in speaking of certain documents which reported that Luciano sold his farm on October 16, 1472, "I do not doubt that the formula used in these documents indicates clearly that the Urbinate artist was no longer in the employ of Federigo da Montefeltro and for these reasons was relieving himself of his property which he had acquired in Urbino." What the reason was

1. Colasanti, (op. cit.), p.
2. Kimball, Fiske, (op. cit.), p. 125-6.
3. Colasanti, (op. cit.), p. 10.
4. *ibid.*, p. 8.

for his dismissal, we do not know. If it was that the architect was no longer necessary and that Luciano had fulfilled the need, why was Baccio Pontelli hired for that position? Venturi thinks that¹ "Evidently something happened to destroy the count's unlimited faith in Luciano. . . . Either the neat geometrical architect did not satisfy Federigo's love of pomp or there were other reasons for dissatisfactions." However, Justus Schmidt in his notice of Luciano in the Thieme-Becker states that Luciano "seems" to have been advisor to Federigo after 1472 on the many buildings which the Count built.

Bernardino Baldi², writing a century after the death of Luciano, spoke of him as an excellent draughtsman and said that he was also a painter as might be seen in certain panels which were drawn in perspective and colored. According to Fiske Kimball, the panels to which Baldi referred are those which are to be found in the Urbino Gallery and in the Walters Collection in Baltimore. There is a third which resembles these in the Kaiser Friederich Museum in Berlin but which Mr. Kimball thinks not to be by Luciano but rather by Francesco di Giorgio. These panels show groups of buildings arranged in an ideal fashion with centralization and symmetry. They represent no buildings which

1. Venturi, A., (op. cit.), p. 675.

2. Baldi, Bernardino, "Memorie concernenti la citta di Urbino", 1724.

were then existent but rather creations of the painter's imagination. But they are not " ... fragments or fantasies like those of other painters of the Renaissance hitherto ... Both in their general composition and in their individual motives, as we shall see, they involve innovations of epoch-making importance in the history of architecture, which could proceed only from a great architect in the vanguard of the evolution of style. Nothing short of leadership in the whole architectural movement of the day can explain them."¹

Mr. Kimball points out that Luciano has created designs which Bramante and Raphael realized in their work. "His paintings force us to transfer to him no small share of the originality heretofore credited to Bramante and Raphael, his two great followers from Urbino. In palace design we find the schemes of the great Roman examples such as the Vatican and the Farnesina fully developed in his work."² In the Urbino panel, for example, there is a palace on the right hand side which can well be compared with Bramante's design for the Court of S. Damaso in the Vatican. Likewise the palace on the right hand side of the Baltimore panel with the triumphal arch motif of coupled pilasters and arches enclosing squareheaded windows anticipates the design of the Court of the Belvedere where Bramante has used the same motif. We see in the

1. Kimball, Fiske, (op. cit.), p. 130.

2. *ibid*, p. 150.

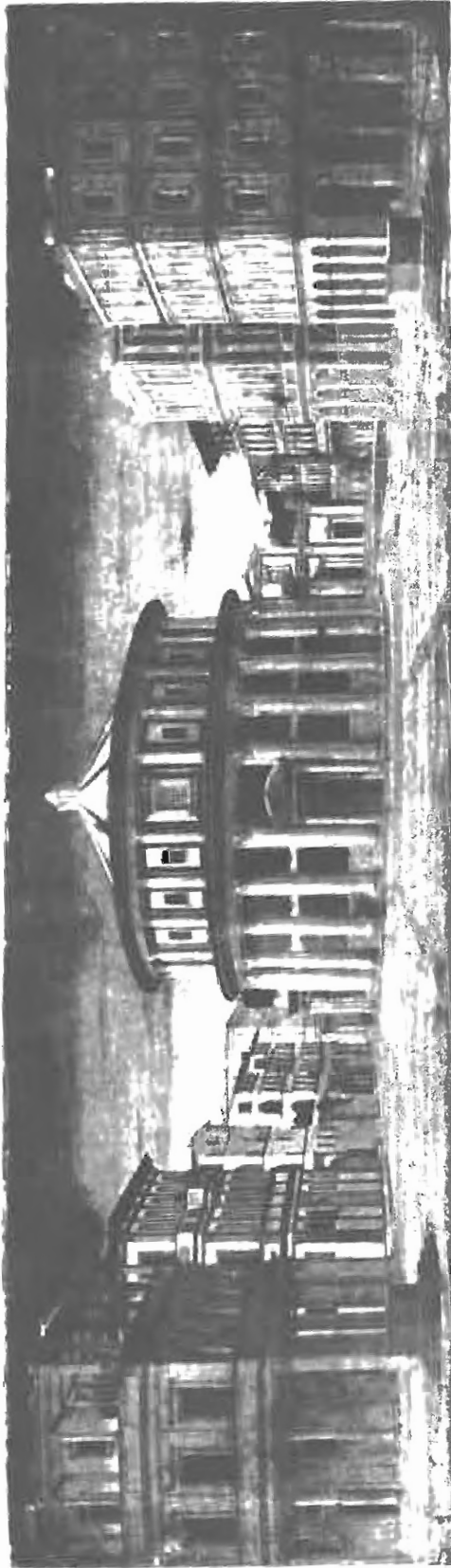


Fig. 17.

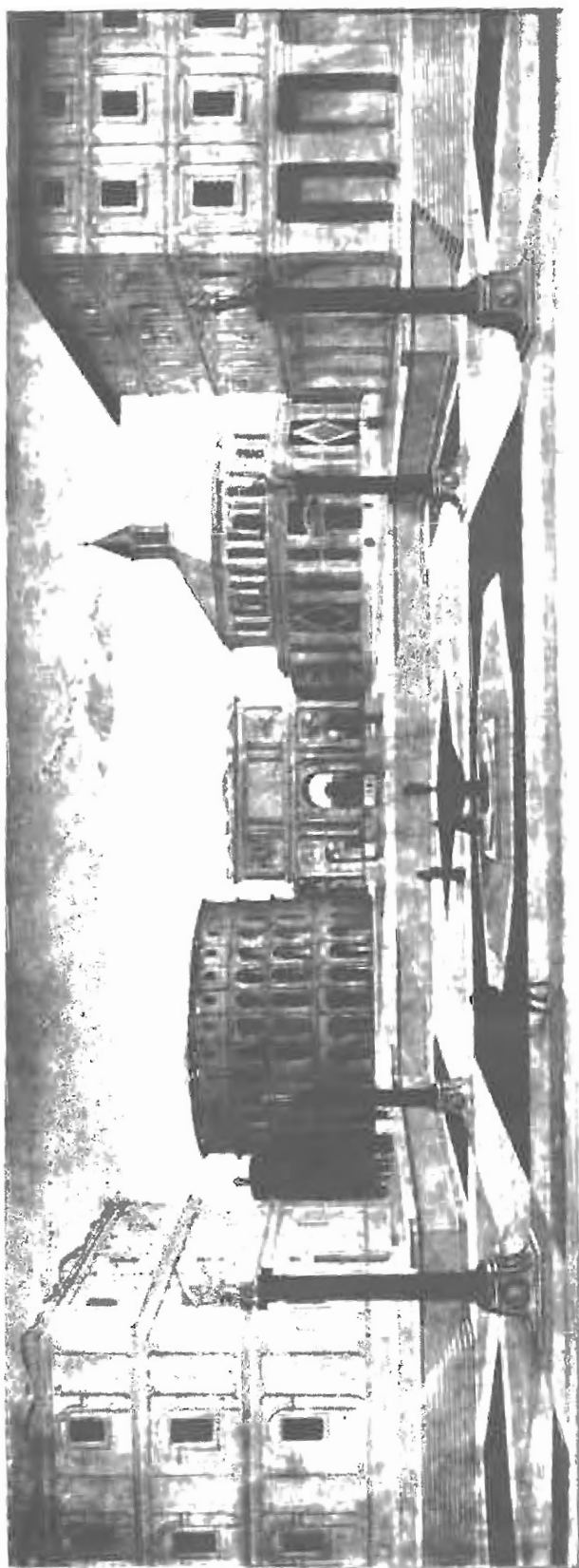


Fig. 18.

were then existent but rather creations of the painter's imagination. But they are not "... fragments or fantasies like those of other painters of the Renaissance hitherto ... Both in their general composition and in their individual motives, as we shall see, they involve innovations of epoch-making importance in the history of architecture, which could proceed only from a great architect in the vanguard of the evolution of style. Nothing short of leadership in the whole architectural movement of the day can explain them."¹

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1. Kimball, Fiske, (op. cit.), p. 130.

2. Ibid, p. 150.

second palace to the right of the Urbino panel with its arches of the first storey enclosed by pilasters and entablature, the direct prototype for the Farnesina¹ at Rome. The palace has generally been attributed to Peruzzi, but this evidence adds force to Geymuller's argument that it was designed by Raphael. Perhaps the best interpretation of the design of the palace to the extreme right of the Baltimore panel is Raphael's Stalle Chigene. The building cannot be seen today in its original form but there is a drawing of it in the Uffizi². This shows the same use of coupled columns, the heavy piers in the ground storey and the small windows in the attic. Both Bramante and Raphael felt the influence of the round temple which is seen in the center of the Baltimore panel. This design finds modified expression in Bramante's Tempietto of S. Pietro in Montorio. Raphael puts a similar building in his early painting of the Sposalizio in the Brera at Milan.

The above discussion will give credence to my belief that Luciano did aid in laying the foundations for the Roman or the High Renaissance architecture. Circumstances permitted an unusual synthesis to take place. In Luciano a thorough knowledge of the Roman monuments was combined with a native tendency to simplicity

1. Kimball, Fiske, (op. cit.), p. 135, n. 32, v. illus. fig. 25.

2. No. 366.

and clarity. Then was added the influences of the Florentine works, especially those of the great artists, Brunelleschi and Alberti. The palace at Urbino is a jewel among buildings of its period, but expression for this synthesis came after the date of the building of the palace, in the paintings to which we have referred. But fortunately he was able to transmit it to his Urbinate pupils who carried the message to Rome.

Chapter IV

As we have seen in the previous chapter, varying influences played upon Luciano Laurana both at Urbino and elsewhere. From these he was able to create a synthesis. In it was contained some of the germs of High Renaissance Architecture which, transmitted to Rome, received development at the hands of his Urbinate pupils, Bramante and Raphael. Much the same situation may be said to have been true of painting. The numerous artists who came to the court of Urbino under the patronage of Federigo, each with a different training, added a richness to the composite style which resulted. In that style there were likewise the seeds of the classic manner of Rome.

Umbria and the Marches were among the last outposts of the International Gothic style as we see it in the work of Gentile da Fabriano and Ottaviano Nelli. To this style with its gold grounds, its flowing lines and its jewel-like colours were added the influences of the Ferrarese School and especially that of Squarcione. This intermingling can be seen in the work of Lorenzo Salimbeni of Sanserverino. Pietro Alamanno also substituted the clear lines, rigid forms and angular drapery of his master, Carlo Crivelli, for the Gothic sweetness of his native Umbro-Marchigian manner.

This was the foundation, so to speak, upon which the influences of the artists at the court of Urbino were to build. According to Ms. Urb. Lat. 1204¹, the painters who formed this group under Federigo were: Piero della Francesca, Justus of Ghent, Giovanni Santi, Guiliano da Rimini, Guido Palmesani and Antonio Alberti da Ferrara. A glance at this list alone would intimate the variety of centers which these men represented.

Piero della Francesca was an Umbrian who had received his education in part from the realistic Florentines. He followed their enthusiasm for the study of nature and became master of the laws of motion and life. Particularly was his attention turned to the problems of perspective both linear and aerial. Thus his figures assume the correct proportions in regard to their surroundings while distance is rendered by variation of tone.

His knowledge of perspective is clearly demonstrated in his Flagellation which he painted for Federigo soon after the death of Oddantonio, to which event the scene may allude. The panel is divided in half by means of a row of pillars. Christ is bound to a pillar; two men wield the lash while Pontius Pilate² watches

1. See appendix no. III, p. ix.

2. Probably a portrait of Jean Paleologue who came to Italy for the Council of Florence in 1439. Piero reproduces his features at Arezzo. cf. medal by Pisanello. Jean Babeloux, "Jean Paleologue et Ponce Pilate", Gazette des Beaux Arts, Vol IV, 1930, p. 372.

the scene from his seat on the left. This whole group is relegated to the recesses of a renaissance room. On the right in the foreground stand the three large figures. The lines of the architecture converge at a common point. The figures are in correct proportional relationship with the architecture, while by the use of shadow and light, the bodies achieve a solidity and also existence in space.

About 1465 Piero also painted the famous diptych with the portraits and triumphs of Federigo and Battista which is now in the Uffizi Gallery. The heads are shown in anatomical profile, a position which was dictated not only by the injury and disfigurement of Federigo's right eye, but also by strong tradition. By the handling of the contour line of the faces, the heads achieve volume. They are placed not in front of a landscape but are a part of it. In these landscapes one sees the gradual diminution of objects and a change in the distinctness with which they are rendered and a gradual lightening of the tone as the horizon is approached. There is much that is Flemish about them. One recalls the Baptism scene from the Hours of Turin. It is entirely possible that Piero knew and studied the works of the Flemings at Urbino. We learn from the Rhymed Chronicle that the works of the Flemish masters, particularly Jan Van Eyck and Roger Van der Weyden, were regarded with

great enthusiasm there. Moreover, Federigo himself owned a number of Flemish paintings among which is one of women bathing by Jan van Eyck which is now lost. As a frequent guest at the Urbino court, Piero doubtless had access to these paintings.

On the back of the diptych are two allegorical scenes in which the Duke and the Duchess play the main roles. Federigo dressed in full armor is seated on a car drawn by two white horses. He is accompanied by the allegorical figures of Victory (who crowns him), Force, Prudence, Justice and an unrecognizable figure. The Duchess is likewise seated on a car but which is drawn by two unicorns, symbols of purity. The figures which are with her represent Truth, Faith and Religion. A panorama stretches out behind the two figures¹.

An even closer connection between the work of Piero della Francesca and Jan van Eyck has been pointed out by Millard Meiss in a recent article in the Art Bulletin². He compares van Eyck's Altarpiece of Canon van der Paele in Bruges with Francesca's Altarpiece for the Duke of Urbino in the Brera Gallery in Milan, painted between 1470 and 1475. Meiss points out that the latter work is the earliest example in Italian painting of the Madonna

1. Walters, W.G., "Piero della Francesca", London, 1901, p. 75.
2. Meiss, Millard, "A Documented Altarpiece by Piero della Francesca", Art Bulletin, Vol. XXIII, March 1941, p.53.

and Saints represented in a church. It was preceded, however, by Jan's paintings, especially the one to which we have referred (1439). In both, the Virgin holding the child is surrounded by Saints. The donor kneels at the left. One sees the influence of the Flemish technique in Francesca's treatment of the armored suit which the Duke is wearing and also in the rug beneath the Virgin's feet.

In turn, this same composition is reflected in the Altarpiece of the Madonna and Saints which Giovanni Santi painted for the Monastery of Montflorentino¹. The arched niche, the semi-circular arrangement of the saints grouped around the Virgin and the kneeling figure of the donor dressed in armor all appear in Santi's work. However, despite Piero's constant presence at Urbino, his work seems to have had little direct influence on the painters there. Rather is it felt indirectly through the work of his pupil, Melozzo da Forlì and the latter's pupil, Marco Palmezzano. And this is strange in view of the fact that there is no good evidence to prove that Melozzo ever visited Urbino though a great number of writers have claimed as his work the series of paintings which formerly decorated Federigo's library and Giovanni Santi speaks of him as "Melozzo, so dear

1. Illustrated in Van Marle, (op. cit.), Vol. XV, fig. 67.

to Santi", intimating a close relationship.

In the Library at Urbino were at one time to be found two treatises which were written and dedicated by Piero della Francesca to the reigning Duke. The first, De prospectiva pingendi¹, a mathematical treatise on the secrets of perspective, was dedicated upon its completion to Federigo. The second, Libellus de quinque corporibus regularibus, a practical application of Euclid's propositions to the need of art was composed toward the end of the artist's life and dedicated sometime after 1482 to Duke Guidobaldo. "And as my works," Piero says in the dedication, "owe whatever illustration they possess solely to the brilliant star of your excellent father, the most bright and dazzling orb of our age, it seemed not unbecoming to dedicate to your majesty this little work on the five regular bodies in mathematics ... "

The strong Flemish influence at Urbino is not to be accounted for solely by the paintings which were in the possession of the Duke. There had come to Urbino, probably at the invitation of Federigo, a Flemish artist, a pupil of Jan van Eyck, Justus of Ghent (Josse van Wassenhove).

Bringing to Italy the Flemish detailed realism with its loving

1. According to Fra Luca Pacioli, composed at Borgo San Sepolcro in Italian and translated in Latin by his friend, Maestro Matteo. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Vol. V, p. 22.

attention to rendering of materials, and its tender landscapes, he was to take away a knowledge of perspective, a feeling for the solidity and bulk of figures and an increased angularity in treatment of draperies. He played the same role for Urbino that his friend, Hugo van der Goes did for Florence.

At about the same time that the Fortinari Altarpiece was being painted, Justus began the large Communion of the Apostles for the Confraternity of Corpus Domini in Urbino. Federigo and members of his court appear in the painting, probably at the invitation of the Confraternity. The picture had been paid for by subscriptions. Federigo contributing 15 florins in gold was only one of many donors. The court group is seen at the right with the familiar profile of the Duke, the richly dressed figure of Caterino Zeno and in the rear the figure of a woman holding a child, probably Prince Guidobaldo in the arms of his nurse. In the center of the semicircular area of the apse is the table of the sacrament before which are the kneeling figures of the Apostles and Christ offering the sacred wafer. Although there is some impression of space, Justus shows no knowledge of the rules of perspective. It is rather a surface pattern in the manner of Roger Van der Weyden. The figures to the right and to the left are arranged in semicircles, like parentheses enclosing the figure of Christ in the center. The wings of the angel



Fig. 19.

above repeat the circular motif. It is an arrangement which Lavalleye notes as derived from Jan van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece where the Apostles and Doctors are grouped around the Mystic Lamb. Lavalleye also points out that the dress and posture of Caterina Zeno are also almost direct copies of the richly clothed figure in The Martyrdom of S. Erasmus by Dirk Bouts. By these elements we are aware of Justus' recent relations with his native school.

However, even in this his first work that we know in Italy he has shown already the influence of his surroundings. The format is large, but that as well as the choice of subject was doubtless regulated by the Confraternity. And yet the subject was unusual for the period. It is not the familiar one so dear to Italian art of Christ breaking the bread, but rather the act of the Apostles partaking of the symbolic body of Christ. It was a theme which had received development in the Byzantine tradition but which had been neglected by the Italians until Fra Angelico's painting for San Marco. We cannot but think that Justus did pass through Florence in his way to Urbino and saw it at that time. His own treatment shows an amplification of the idea. Through his work the

1. Size: 287 cm. high; 312 cm. long

1
 theme is transmitted to later Urbinate painting.

Mention should be made of the predella of this painting which is now in the Urbino Gallery. It was painted between the years 1467 and 1478 by the Florentine, Paolo Uccello. The subject, which was doubtless one imposed upon the artist by the Confraternity since it is the only religious one from his hand, is the Profanation of the Host by a Jew. The predella is divided into six scenes. These panels according to Lavalleye² "are eloquent but dry examples of his manner. Without doubt the scenes conform to the laws of geometric design, but they lack life and expression. In colour they are similar to the other works of the master in the use of beautiful colours and unmixed as in the Gothic tradition."

We do not know the reason why Uccello did not paint the whole altarpiece. In 1469, Piero della Francesca came to Urbino as guest of Giovanni Santi but at the behest of the Confraternity. It is thought that the purpose of this visit was to pass judgment on the work of Uccello or to discuss the commission for himself. However nothing came of it and in 1472 Justus of Ghent began his work.

1. 1505, Marco Palmesano, Cathedral of Forlì; 1512, Luca Signorelli Gera, Cortona; 1603 Federico Barrocio, Cathedral of Urbino
2. Lavalleye, (op. cit.) pl. 46

1

From *Vespasiano* we learn that, "He was much interested in painting and because he could not find in Italy painters in oil to suit his taste he sent to Flanders and brought thence a master who did at Urbino many very stately pictures, especially in Federigo's study, where were represented philosophers, poets, and doctors of the Church, rendered with wondrous art. He painted from life a portrait of the Duke which only wanted breath." Though he does not mention the name of the Flemish artist, the arguments for Justus' authorship of the series of Doctors and Philosophers which formerly decorated the studio of Federigo seems convincing. However, this omission has led a number of writers to suggest the names of other artists in view of the strong Italianate elements in these paintings.

Between the dates for the Communion of the Apostles and this series (1475) Justus' style shows a startling modification through contact either with Piero della Francesca personally or through his works that Justus came to some understanding of the rules of perspective. Behind each bust there is an indication

1. *Vespasiano*, (op. cit.) p. 101

2. The following present arguments in favour of Justus.
 Van Marle, "The Italian Schools of Painting," Vol. IV, The Hague, 1924 pp 106 ff; M. J. Friedlander, "Die Altniederländische Malerei," Vol. III, Berlin, 1925, p. 85; Jacques Lavalleye, "Juste de Gand," Louvain, 1936; Walter Bombe, "Reconstitution du Duc d'Urbin," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Nov. 1930, pp. 265-275; K. Voll, "Josse van Gent und die Idealportraits von Urbino," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXIV, 1901, pp. 54-59.



Fig. 20.

of a room which is separated from the figure by a curtain or cloth spread over a high balustrade. The figures are seen as though from below¹ through a window which is framed by classic colonettes. The figures themselves, although treated with the minute detailed realism of flesh and material, seem to have a greater breadth of conception and ideal quality than those in the Communion.

The twenty-eight portraits are now in the Barberini collection in Rome and in the Caspary collection in the Louvre, Paris². According to Walter Bombe's reconstruction³ the final painting is a beautiful portrait of Federico reading at a lectern with Prince Guidobaldo leaning against his knee. Federico is shown with all the symbols of the honours which

1. These paintings decorated the upper part of the wall in a double row.
2. In Rome are to be found Solomon, Saint Ambrose, Moses, St. Gregory the Great, Bartholomew, Euclid, Petrarch, Boethius, Homer, Duns Scotus, Albert the Great, Cicero, Pope Pius II, and Hippocrates. In Paris: Sixtus IV, Cardinal Bessarion, Peter of Albano, Vittorino da Feltre, Dante, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, Aristotle, Plato, Salon, Seneca, Virgil and Ptolemy.
3. While the paintings were still in their original positions in the Studio (before 1631) a certain Laurent Schrader saw them and copied the inscriptions which were beneath them. From these it was possible to arrange the twenty-eight portraits in their original order. In Appendix V, p. xv will be found a chart from Walter Bombe's article in the "Gazette de Beaux Arts (op. cit.) and in Appendix IV, p. x the arrangement of Lavalleye (op. cit.) with the inscriptions as given by Schrader.



Fig. 21.

had recently been conferred upon him prominently displayed. He is dressed in a full suit of armor which shines with reflected light. His helmet and lance are on the floor beside him as though at any moment he might cease his reading and take to the battlefield. On the lectern above is seen the Ducal cap. On his leg below the knee is the symbol of the English Order of the Garter while over his shoulders is the ermine symbol of the Order of knighthood instituted by King Ferdinand of Naples.

To Justus of Ghent we may also ascribe the beautiful series of the personifications of the Arts and Sciences which once decorated the upper part of the wall of the Urbino Library. Of the original seven, three are lost, two are in London in the National Gallery and two are in the Berlin Museum.¹ Above the thrones was painted a Latin inscription which referred² to the positions which Federigo was holding at that time as a condottiere.

The panel of Dialectic shows the personified figured on a renaissance throne holding a book to the kneeling figure on the steps before her. That figure is obviously the Duke -

1. Grammar (lost); Rhetoric (London); Dialectic (Berlin); Geometry (lost); Arithmetic (lost); Music (London); Astronomy (Berlin).
2. FEDERICU MONTEFELTRIS DVX URBINI MONTIS FERETRI AC. DURANTIS
COMES SER. REGIS SICILIAE CAPITANEUS GENERALIS
SANCIAEQUE ROMANAE IECLESIAE COMPALONIERUS. (Date)
Crowe and Cavalcaselle, (op. cit.) p. 45, n.1

Federigo. Not only do we recognize the familiar profile, but also above his head is the eagle holding the Montefeltro arms. Another panel (pl.22) shows Music holding a book in one hand and with the other pointing to a small organ on the step beside a kneeling figure which is supposedly Costanzo Sforza, Lord of Pesaro and brother-in-law of Federigo.

We have said that these panels are by Justus. As in the case of the series which decorated the Studio, this attribution has been doubted and with even more reason. If they are by Justus it means that in a few short years of his stay in Urbino, he thoroughly assimilated the teachings of the Italians. No longer is he a tentative experimenter in the art of perspective. Here again the figures are seen as though from below, a device which had been developed by Melozzo da Forlì.¹ The design of

1. Corrado Ricci, "Melozzo da Forlì" Rome, 1911, p. 6. thinks that this series was the product of collaboration of Melozzo (Urbino, 1471-1476) and Justus of Ghent. "The perspective foundation of Justus other than the gothic seems poor, limited to few lines and above all incredibly inaccurate. On no account would he have been able to design the rich and magnificent thrones upon which the arts sit nor the atmosphere in which they find themselves." This rather just stylistic criticism has been refuted however by Jacques Levalleye (op. cit.) p. 121. According to that author Melozzo was employed on other works during this period. Prof. Pacifici discovered some frescoes in a small church in Fivoli which according to the inscription, were done in 1475 by Melozzo for Pope Sixtus IV. Thus having completed the Annunciation which still decorates the Pantheon, Melozzo entered into the service of the Pope.



Fig. 22.

the thrones is fantastic, but the details are thoroughly classic¹. The personified figures are beautiful in their quiet dignity and in the idealization of their faces. Yet in spite of all these Italian elements there is overwhelming evidence of the basic Flemish training of the artist. We see the familiar textural delineation of materials, the carefully patterned brocades of carpeting and clothing, the shining jewels and the polished woods.

There is a final painting which may also be ascribed to Justus of Ghent. It is the one now in the Windsor Castle in England which shows Duke Federigo with his young son, Guidobaldo, at his side listening to an elderly man read. The Duke is again in profile. Behind are seated three men, probably members of the court. Through the open door in the background three other men are entering the room. On the frieze beneath the ceiling we can read the inscription, "FEDERICUS DVI URBINI, MONTIS F." The figures are about life size.

The panel must date from approximately the same time as the series of the Arts and the Sciences for it shows the same Italianate elements which may be observed in them.

We have already had occasion to speak of Giovanni Santi as the author of the Rhymed Chronicle concerning the Urbino

1. The design of the throne is a common one. In Umbria it is to be seen in the work of Giovanni Santi and that of his pupil Bartolomeo di Maestro Gentile. But it is also common in the work of the Florentines such as Pollaiuolo.

court. But he is generally remembered as the father of Raphael. He was a painter as well as a poet, and though his work lacked great originality or force he did paint a number of very creditable altarpieces for religious institutions in and around Urbino. As a native of Urbino and a poet and a painter, he had access to the court and was a familiar satellite. Federigo does not seem to have patronized the local talent, preferring to import artists from other centers. Duke Guidobaldo, however, did not have his father's preference for foreign artists and under him Giovanni Santi enjoyed increased patronage. The Duchess, Elizabetha Gonzaga, sat for her portrait and commissioned him to go to Mantua to do a portrait of Cardinal Gonzaga. In 1488 a masque of his composing was performed at Urbino.

But his interest for us lies not in his poetry nor in the individual paintings which he did but rather in the character of his art itself. Either consciously or unconsciously he assimilated elements of the art of those men who came to Urbino. "He showed too that he had a familiarity with the tendencies and methods of Paolo Uccello who was painting in Urbino in 1468; of Pier della Francesca who ... came there in the following year; of Andrea Mantegna, of Melozzo da Forli and Perugia. That is to say, of men who were in one way or another original artists."¹

1. Muntz, Eugene, "Raphael", New York, 1882, p. 15.

Besides the influence of these men mentioned by Muntz, Giovanni's work shows a strong Flemish tendency subsequent to the stay of Justus in Urbino.

Without the influence of these men, doubtless he would have painted in a thoroughly Umbrian-Gothic manner. Due however to such contacts he became imbued with classicism and he learned of the advances in the sciences of perspective and anatomy. They were lessons which he was able to pass on to his son. Thus "even before setting foot within the walls of the city which had witnessed the triumphs of Cimabue, Giotto, Masaccio, Angelico and Ghirlandajo Raphael had already imbibed the tincture of Florentine art which Santi had gained through the examples of Uccello, Piero and Melozzo."¹

¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, (op. cit.), p. 53.

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¹. Grome and Cavalcaselle, (op. cit.), p. 53.

Chapter V

Today the rooms of the palace are bare of furnishings. The walls are no longer hung with tapestries which repeated the old tale of Troy, or with cloth of gold. The stately furniture is gone and also the plates of silver. We no longer find the panel paintings which Federigo commissioned nor the portable sculptures such as the numerous portrait busts which were done of his wife and his children. All of these have been lost or scattered to various museums and private collections throughout the world. And we do not have any inventory which would allow us to reconstruct an adequate picture of the palace as it was during Federigo's day. We can only imagine the wonders of it when we realize that contemporaries declared it to be more splendid than the courts of many of the European royalty.

In our discussion of the decoration of the Palace of Urbino we are, unfortunately, limited to the ornamentations of the building itself, such as the arabesques which were lavished on the door and window frames, the cornices, pilasters, fireplaces and the marquetry on the door panels and walls.

It is probable that the architectural decoration of the palace was not carried out as the architect, Luciano Laurana, had planned. A greater part of the ornamentation was done

after the year 1474, that is after Luciano had left the employ of Federigo. If one studies the courtyard, which we know to have been constructed and decorated according to Luciano's designs, we cannot help but feel that had he continued as capo-maestro both the exterior and interior decoration would have been of more simple and functional character. The beauty of the design of the courtyard lies primarily in the proportion between the various parts. The sculptural decoration which is entirely subordinated to the architecture is confined to the capitals, corbels, medallions and simple moldings. Even the frieze was without its inscription in Luciano's time, although this may have been intended. Unless one feels the subtle beauty of the architectural design, the courtyard seems barren.

When we compare Luciano's work with that which was done after 1474, we may well believe that Venturi's hypothesis¹ is correct; that the Dalmatian architect was dismissed because he did not satisfy Federigo's love of pomp.

The principle which governed the major part of the decoration both of the exterior and the interior is one which was to be followed in the sixteenth century. The elaborate

1. See above, p. 87.

polychromy of the entire wall and ceilings which was an inheritance of the Gothic era was discarded. Now the decorations are concentrated on small areas, and large expanses of wall and ceiling are left plain to act as foils for the elaborate decorations of the one or two principal features. The pieces of furniture, too, though often richly carved or painted, were few in number. As Eberlein says¹, "If they exceeded a certain limit the character of the room would be destroyed, the force of contrast between furniture and background impaired and the striking effect gained by the concentration of the enrichment at a few points on the plain surface, lost." He also says², "To this very emptiness and austerity of reserved strength is due in no small measure the qualities of permanence and repose, sincerity and dignity inherent in the rooms of the sixteenth century."

Scriptural decorations.

There are three distinct periods into which the sculptural decorations fall. The first includes that work which was done on the early buildings and which was retained when those buildings were incorporated in the later construction. The second includes that work which was done under the direction of Luciano Laurana, that is, prior to the year 1474. The third

1. Eberlein, Harold, "Interior, Fireplaces and Furniture of the Italian Renaissance", New York, 1927, p. xi.
2. Eberlein, H., (op. cit.),

includes the work done after that date.

We have had occasion before to mention the windows on the east facade which are marked A to E on the plan (fig. 4). The character of their design is a clue to the early date of that portion of the building. As we can see from fig. 13, they are very much like those of the early Florentine palaces. They have an underlying Gothic form on which has been grafted the decorative elements of the classic style. A colonnette divides each window into two lights which are decorated with cuspings in their semi-circular heads. The casing is composed of three members. The inner member is in the form of a crude egg and dart molding. The middle one is a roll molding of leaves in a spiral pattern. On the outer edge is a leaf and tongue molding. The carvings on the interior (fig. 23) are likewise of this early character. The arch which frames the window has a band of ornament on each face. The inner one again shows a leaf pattern in a spiral arrangement which has been interrupted at regular intervals by circular medallions with shell patterns and human heads. The casing towards the room has a rinceau of acanthus leaves. A human head forms the key-stone of the arch. The character of all the carving is much heavier than the later work.

The other decorations may be placed in the second or third periods by noting the monograms or symbols which were included



Fig. 23.

in them. These decorations attest repeatedly to the glory of Federigo. Before the year 1474 we find the letters "F C" used as a decorative motif. These letters denote Federigo's position as count (Federicus comes). Immediately upon his creation as Duke of Urbino, the letters FE DVX replace the earlier monogram. The garter with the familiar words HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE also appears at the same time, as does the ermine, symbolic of the Order of Knighthood of Naples. The Montefeltro eagle and the coat of arms of the family were, of course, available motives in all periods, but they seem to have been used almost exclusively after 1474.

We have already mentioned the courtyard as the work of Luciano Laurana. His also are the loggias on the west facade and the oriel window which opens from the Duke's apartments.

As we noted in Chapters II and III, the design of the loggias on the west facade is related to an earlier work of Luciano's at the Castelnuovo in Naples and to the Roman arch of the Sergii at Pola. Here at Urbino we do not have any sculptural decorations comparable to those which almost obscure the architectural mass at Naples. Rather they have an architectonic quality like that of those in the courtyard. Simple moldings and the large capitals, F C, are the sole decorations for the lowest loggia. Ionic colonnettes, a balustrade pierced in a

diamond pattern and again the letters F C are found on the second loggia. The third is essentially a duplication of the second. On top can be seen scrolls and the eagle of the Montefeltro family.

Almost over rich for work of this second period is the lovely little oriel window which juts out from the wall on the south side of the Giardino Pensile (fig. 9). The two rectangular windows are bordered on either side by channeled pilasters whose capitals are of a pseudo-ionic type with scrolls at the corners and an enthyion pattern decorating the body of each. The frieze of the entablature above is ornamented with an arabesque. The part below the window sills is divided into two panels by raised bands with delicately carved ornament. On the center band is the coat of arms of the Montefeltro family. The supports beneath the oriel are in the form of Roman consoles inscribed with the letters F C. But we may not be able to trust these signatures as Hofmann¹ says that there is evidence of rebuilding.

A number of the sculptors who worked at Urbino after 1474 are known to us by name. None are outstanding artists of that period and in most cases they are chiefly known through the

1. Hofmann, (op. cit.), p. 92.

work which they did at Urbino. Such was the case of Ambrogio da Milano. Evidently he was in a position of authority in regard to the sculptures. Under him was working a man about whom more is known and to whose hand a number of the fire-places and doors have been ascribed. This is Domenico Rosselli who was, according to Middeldorf¹, "an artist whose mediocrity cannot be gainsaid, but to whose efforts to accomplish something really worthwhile within the limits of his talent one must sometime pay homage." He was a Florentine, a follower if not a pupil of Desiderio da Settignano. In 1476 he went to Urbino. Francesco di Giorgio also turned his hand to sculpture for the Duke. His work on the decoration of the palace is limited to a series of bas reliefs (4.30 - 4.50 m. wide) which once decorated the benches along the walls which face the Piazza Maggiore. These reliefs were moved to their present position below the dado in the upper corridor in the eighteenth century. They display the artist's familiarity with fortifications for they illustrate the different machines of war which were in use at the time. Maso di Bartolomeo, Maestro Giacomo of Florence and Condolo Tedesco also worked here but little is known either of the men or of the work which they did.

The illustrations, figs. 16, 24, and 25, will show better than verbal description the character of the carving of this third period. The crispness and the sharpness of the ornamentation is due in large degree to the material used. On the outside it is travertine which does not hold the chiseling as well as the fine white limestone which was used on the interior. In style this carving is related to the Lombardesque work.

Figure 24 shows the doorway from the Prima sala del Magnifico. It is one of the most beautiful of the many doorways in the palace because of its simplicity and the delicacy of the carving. The plant forms used are probably native flora arranged in a seemingly natural way although the duplication of the leaves on either side of the stem gives a conventionalized appearance. The outer band of the casing consists of molding. On the frieze above is a repetitive design of natural flora and the classic enthyrion. In the center is the eagle of the Montefeltro family.

The doorway from the Sala degli Angeli (fig. 25) shows a greater freedom and ease in design. In the band around the door is a true rinceau. The stems are no longer straight but curve from side to side, turning back on themselves at intervals. There are here also many common plant forms but combined with them is the classic acanthus leaf. In the frieze above are the eagle of the Montefeltri and the portraits of Federico and his wife, Battista Sforza.

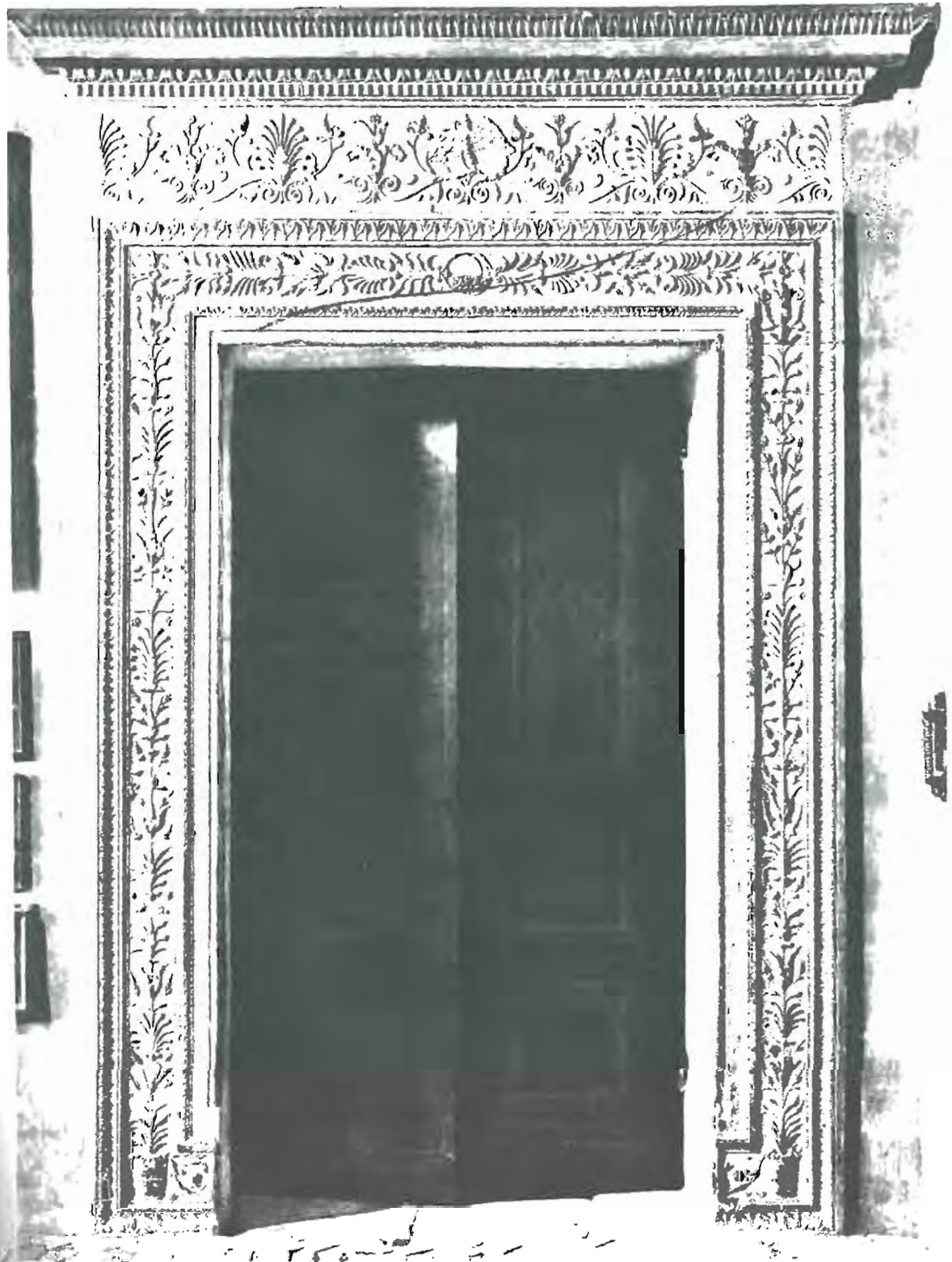


Fig. 24.



Fig. 25r

Probably best known are the door frames on which are found various articles related to the arts of war. No doubt these were intended as a reflection of Federigo's profession as a condottiere. The illustration (fig. 26) is of the doorway which leads from the upper corridor into the Sala del Jolo. There are two others which are very similar. One is to be found in the Sala del Magnifico and the other in the Sala degli Arazzi. None of them have claim to any great beauty. Their chief charm lies in the dexterity with which the many objects were joined together in a pattern. The doorway to the Sala del Jolo is by far the most ambitious. Helmets of different designs are there, swords, shields, drums and bugles. Like signatures are the arms of the family and the Garter of England.

In none of the door frames of which we have illustrations does the monogram of the Duke appear although it is a device most frequently used elsewhere. Often it is the central or sole decorative motif for door frames of chimney friezes.

The two decorative features most often illustrated in books which deal with Urbino are the two fireplaces which are located in the Sala degli Angeli and the Sala del Jolo and to which rooms they give their names. The one in the Sala degli Angeli (fig. 27) is rather heavy in its proportions. The winged nude putti or cherubs are the central decorative motif. On the chimney two

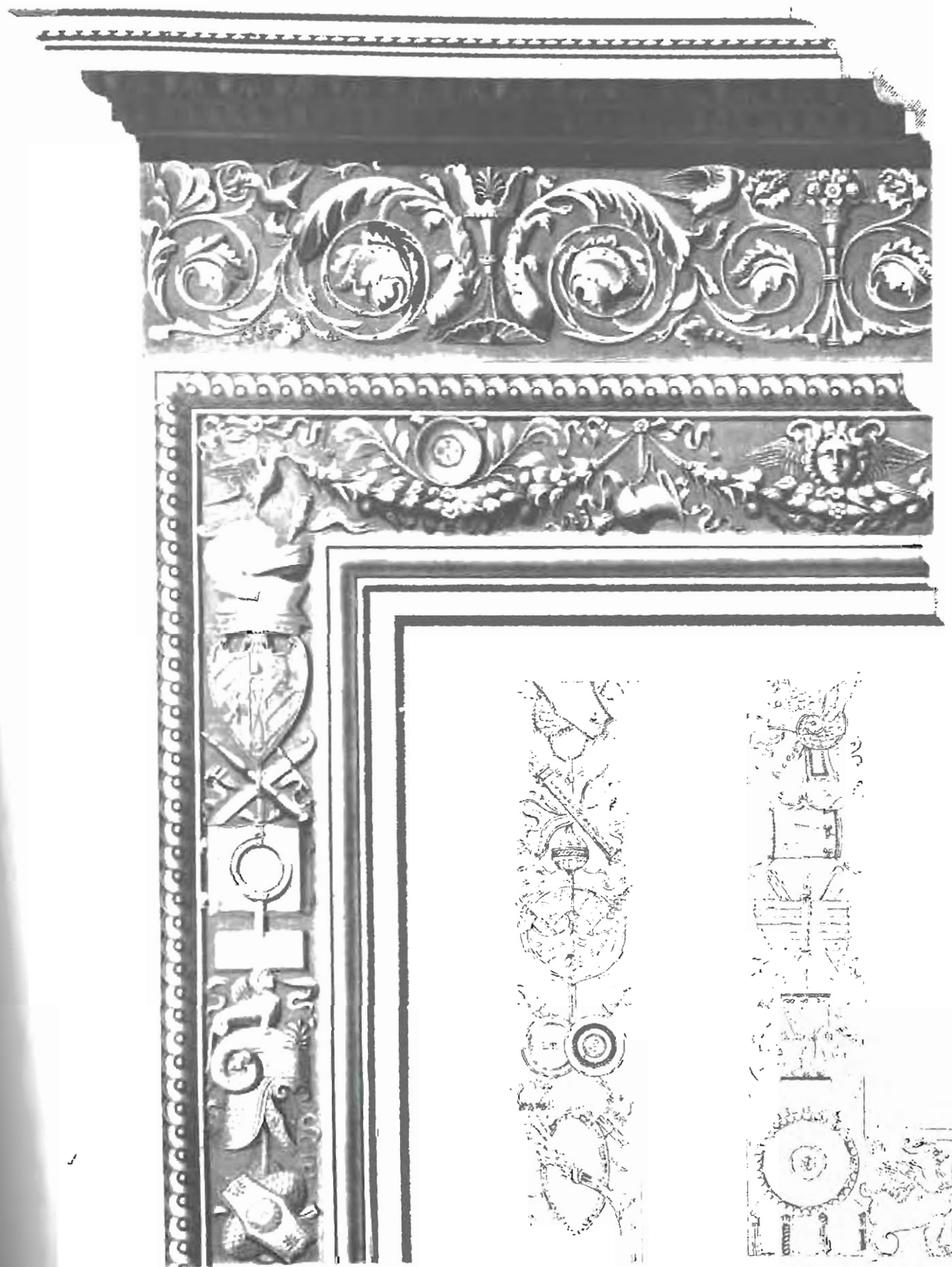


Fig. 26.



Fig. 27.

flying figures in relief hold a wreath in which is the eagle of the Montefeltro and the coat of arms. Two putti in the round, quite similar to those on the tomb of Carlo Marsuppini by Desiderio da Settignano, stand on the corner of the mantelpiece and support candle holders. On the frieze above the opening is a relief of winged putti. Some are dancing while others in a group on the left end are playing musical instruments. On the jambs beneath the consoles are two other winged cherubs, here clothed in short tunics, holding baskets of flowers, roses and carnations. In the main all the little figures seem too heavy in their proportions and clumsy in their movements.

On the mantelpiece of the fireplace in the Sala del Jole (fig. 28) there are two nude winged putti holding a shield which bears the Montefeltro eagle. The frieze above the opening is divided into two bands. On the upper one five winged putti placed at regular intervals hold up a garland of fruit and flowers¹. The second band shows a Bacchic triumph. On the jambs are two slender figures of Hercules and Jole.

Marquetry.

The marquetry or intarsia decorations in the Palace at Urbino

1. cf. with frieze around the tomb of Maria del Carretto in Lucca Cathedral by Jacopo della Quercia.

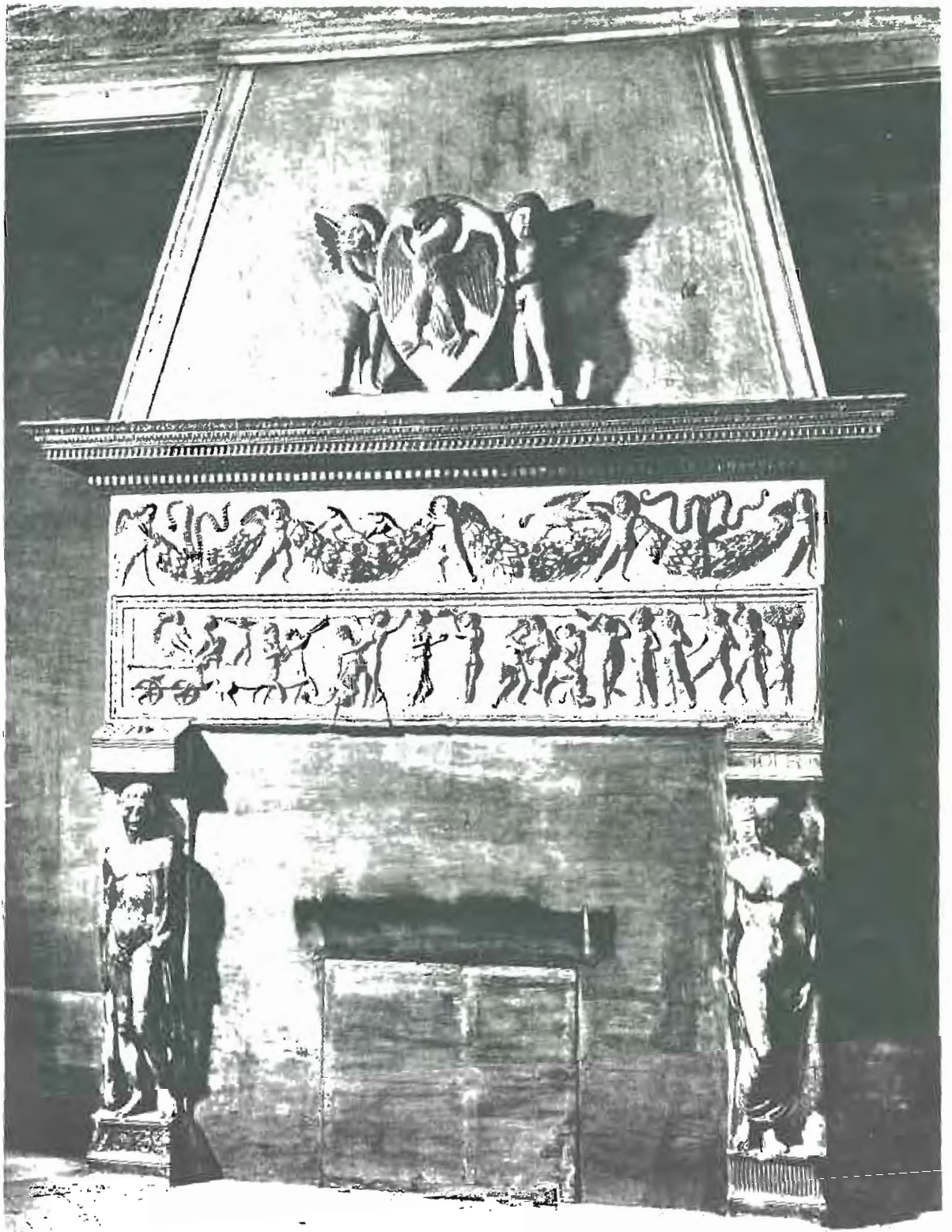


Fig. 28.



Fig. 29.

belong to the most developed phase of that art. Earlier it had been used primarily for conventionalized ornament but during the last half of the fifteenth century it had come to vie with the painter's art. As we see in the panels which cover the lower part of the walls of Federigo's studio and the door panels of the rooms on the first floor, the new science of perspective, the laws of which had only recently been discovered, had enchanted the artist and he has tried to create an illusion of space and things in space on a flat surface. Both architectural and landscape vistas are opened up. Benches on which objects are placed project into the room. Cupboard doors stand ajar to reveal the contents within. The creation of an illusion to the extent that has been done here would have been an achievement even in paint. We marvel even more when we realize that it has been built up of thousands of tiny pieces of wood of various colors cut and joined together. It is a well performed stunt rather than an artistic achievement. To be precise, intarsia is a veneer of woods of different coloured pieces which are joined together to form a design. Two pieces of wood about 1/16 of an inch thick are placed together. A pattern is cut through with a fret saw. The upper layer is then fitted into the space left in the lower. The line given by the thickness of the saw is filled with black after the veneer has been glued to the ground. The intricacy of the work involving many

thousands of pieces of woods is almost unbelievable. Mr. Preston Remington, who wrote an article in the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum on the panelling which they have recently acquired from the Palace of Gubbio, has examined the work carefully. He says that, "the Flute of a pilaster will be found to be composed of no less than a dozen tiny strips of wood of different colours chosen to produce the effect of shading. The undulating edges of the pages of a book are perfectly suggested by fifty or more pieces of which it is composed." As Vasari has said, it is an art that is practiced by man with more patience than power of design.

The names of both Baccio Pontelli and Francesco di Giorgio have been suggested in connection with the work which was done both here at Urbino and at Gubbio. A certain Florentine and particularly a Botticellian influence is to be seen in the figures, while the architectural perspectives recall the painting by Francesco in the Berlin Gallery.

PEDIGREE OF THE COUNTS AND DUKES OF URBINO

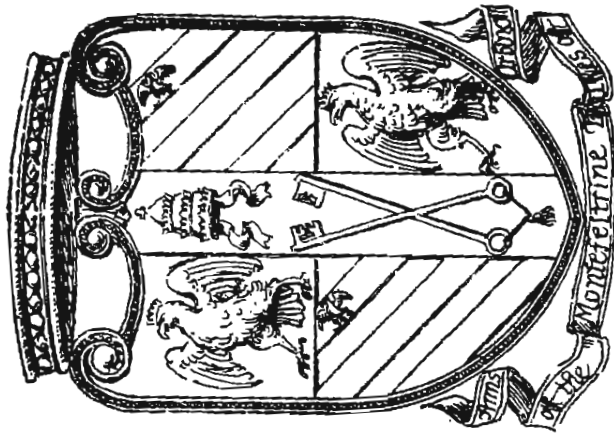
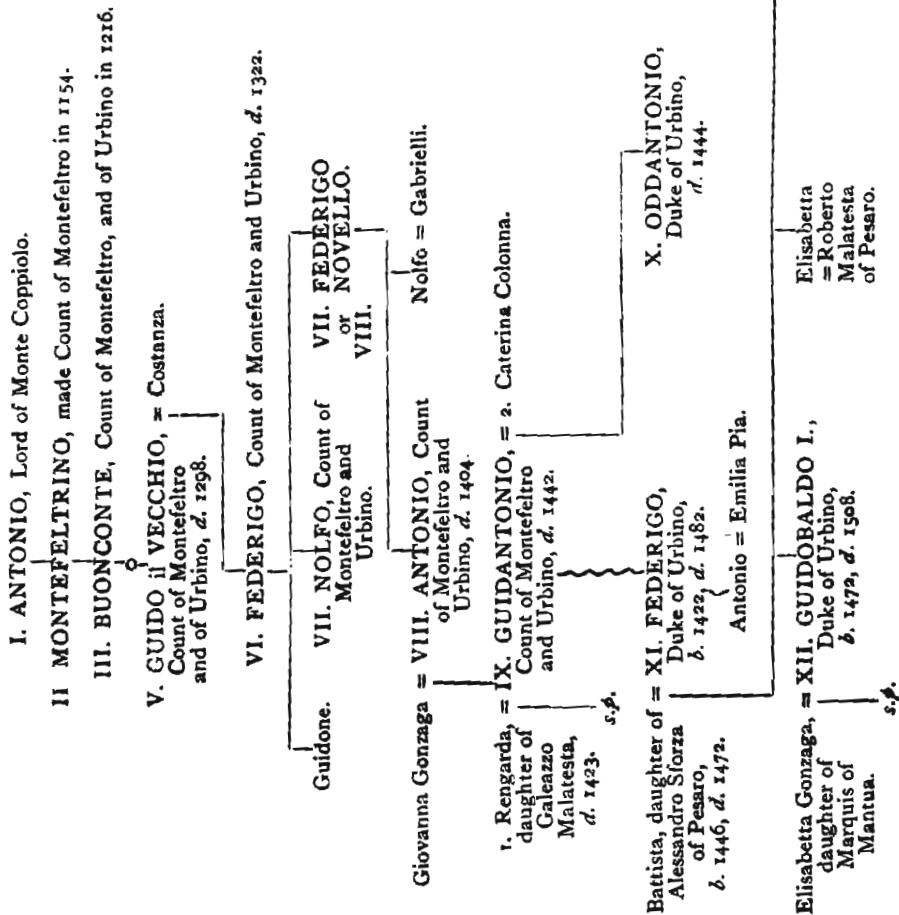
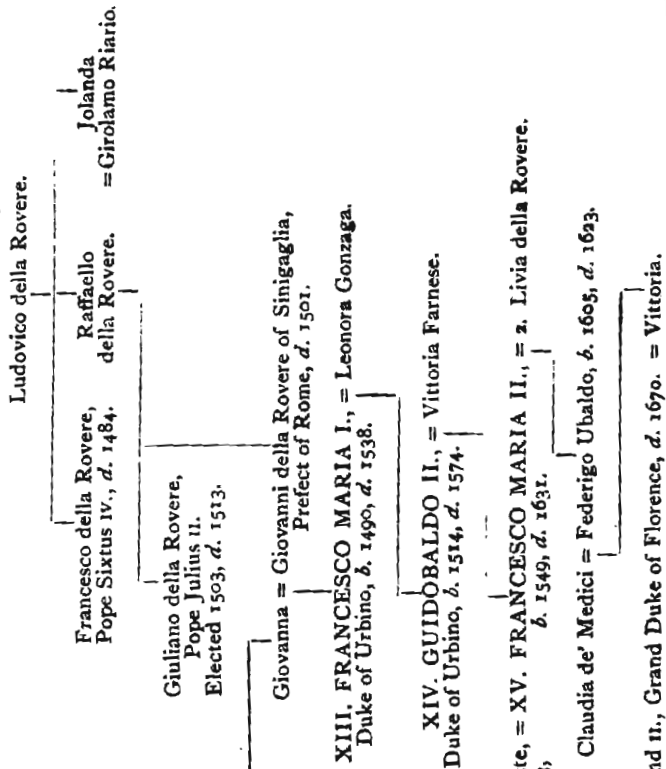


Fig. 5.



Life of Federigo da Montefeltro

1422, June 7 Federigo is born at Urbino, the natural son of Guidantonio by a maiden of Urbino.

1422, December 22 Federigo's birth is formally legitimized by Pope Martin V. (1)

1430, Federigo is betrothed to Gentile the daughter of Bartolomeo Brancalcione. Pope Martin V promises the investiture of the Brancalcione fief to Federigo upon his marriage to Gentile.

1431, Federigo is sent as hostage to Venice after mediation by Venice of the dispute between Guidantonio and Pope Eugene IV.

1432, The appearance of the plague in Venice necessitates the removal of Federigo to the court of Gian Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua. There he is under the tutelage of the renowned scholar and teacher Vittorino de Ramboldoni da Feltrè.

1432, Emperor Sigismund visits the Mantuan court after leaving Urbino and confers upon the Gonzaga children and Federigo the honour of Knighthood.

(1) Dennistoun (op.cit.) p. 58. There is evidently a typographical error in the date given here, "22nd of December, 1244.". I have substituted the date 1422, reversing the order of the numerals.

1437, December 2 Federigo is recalled from the Mantuan court.

He celebrates his marriage to Gentile and thereupon takes
up the government of his wife's fief.¹

1438, Federigo begins his career as a condottiere under Nicolo

Piccinino in the contest between Pope Eugene IV²
and the Council of Basle.

1439, Federigo leaves the forces of the Council to defend his

own territory. The one who was to be his constant
foe for the next thirty years, Sigismond Malatesta
begins harassing him. Federigo captures San Leo.

1443, Federigo meets Alfonso of Naples. He again takes up

arms under Piccinino in the contest between Pope Eugene
IV, Alfonso of Naples, and Filippo Maria Visconti and
Francesco Sforza. The allied forces are defeated.

1444, July Federigo accedes to the Countship of Urbino.

1445, Federigo and Francesco Sforza conclude a treaty of amity.

- (1) Eugene IV carried out the promise made by Martin V and gave the investiture of the Brancalione territory to Federigo in 1443.
- (2) Alfonso of Naples, the Florentines, the Genoese and eventually the Venetians were on the side of the Pope; Those for the Council were: Milan under Filippo Maria Visconti, the Angevine party of Naples and the city of Bologna. The war was concluded with the defeat of the forces of the Council at the famous battle of Anghiari in 1440.

Galeazzo Malatesta, cousin of Sigismund, offers to sell to Federigo the territory under his control of Fossombrone and Pesaro. Federigo offers Pesaro to Francesco. Francesco gives Pesaro to his brother Alessandro on the condition that he marry Costanza; grand-daughter of Galeazzo. Sigismund, disappointed at the loss of Malatesta territory incites Filippo Visconti, the Pope and Alfonso of Naples against Francesco. The only strong ally of Francesco is Federigo who succors the Sforza family, thus incurring the wrath of the Pope.

1447, Pope Eugene IV dies. He is succeeded by Pope Nicholas V.

1447, Filippo Maria Visconti dies. Francesco Sforza had married the daughter of Visconti, Bianca Maria and thus is enabled to succeed to the dukedom, after some trouble, in 1450.

1448, Federigo is hired by Florence for six months against Alfonso of Naples. Sigismund was originally in the employ of Alfonso, but after receiving his pay in advance, he sells his services to Florence. Thus for a time Federigo and Sigismund are cooperating. Sigismund attempts to create trouble between Federigo and Francesco Sforza, but is unsuccessful.

1450, Federigo on hearing of Francesco's exaltation to the Dukedom of Milan, proclaims a tournament at Urbino. In a joust with Guidangelo de Ranieri, a gentleman of Urbino, Federigo is hit by a lance which breaks the bridge of his nose and knocks out his right eye.

1450, Federigo is hired by Francesco Sforza to head the forces of Milan. However, when Francesco buys the services of Sigismund Malatesta, Federigo renounces his engagement.

1450 - 1455, Federigo is hired by Alfonso of Naples as Captain-General of the Neapolitan forces. A desultory war is carried on with Florence.

1454, March Pope Nicholas the V. dies. He is succeeded by Calixtus III.

1454, April Peace of Lodi. All the states of Italy are joined together in a League in view of the increasing Mohammedan menace in the east.

1456 - 1459 Federigo carries on war on his own behalf against Sigismund Malatesta. He is assisted by Giacomo Piccinino. The dispute is finally mediated by the new Pope Pius II in 1459.

1460, February 10 Federigo marries Battista Sforza, the niece of Francesco.

1459 - 1463 Federigo is hired by Ferdinand of Naples, successor of Alfonso (d. July 1, 1458). The Duke of Calabria is carrying on the Angevine claim to the throne of Naples. The Aragonese are successful.

1461, Pius the II condemns Sigismund for heresy and excommunicates him. All the Malatesta lands are to return to Papal control at his death.

1464, August 14 Pope Pius II dies. He is succeeded by Paul.

1465, September 28 Federigo is created Gonfaloniere of the papal forces.

1466, March 8 Death of Francesco Sforza. He is succeeded by his eldest son, Galeazzo Sforza. Federigo's position as the head of the forces of the League is renewed.

1467, Federigo heads the confederate forces of Medici Florence, Milan and others against the Florentine exiles and Bartolomeo Colleone of Venice. Drawn battle.

1469, March 1 Sigismund Malatesta dies. The fief of Rimini is due to return to the Papacy, but Isotta the mistress of Sigismund resists. The Pope hires Roberto, the eldest bastard son of Sigismund to let the Papal forces into Rimini. However, Roberto

proclaims himself seigneur of Rimini. Milan, Florence and Naples decide that they prefer the independence of Rimini to occupation by the Papacy. Federigo is hired to head the forces of the confederates against the pope. The confederates are successful, and Roberto is given title to the Malatesta lands.

1471, Pope Paul dies. He is succeeded by Pope Sixtus IV.

1471, The ambassador of Usun-cassan of Persia is entertained at Urbino. (1)

1472, January 17 or 24, Guidobaldo, first son of Federigo is born.

1472, Federigo heads the confederates forces against Volterra in the interest of Florence.

1472, July 6 Battista Sforza, wife of Federigo dies.

1474, August 20 Federigo is created Duke of Urbino at Rome.

1474, September King Ferdinand of Naples institutes the order of Knighthood. Federigo and the son of the king are the original members. The ermine badge is the distinction.

(1) The portraits of the ambassador and his suite are thought to be included in Justus of Ghent's painting of the Communion of the Apostles, which he did for the Fraternity of Corpus Christi of Urbino in 1472.

- 1474, autumn Federigo receives the Order of the Garter from England. He sends Pietro degli Ubaldini to England as his proxy for his installation.
- 1476, Galeazzo Sforza is assassinated.
- 1478, Pazzi Conspiracy. Federigo leads the Papal and the Neapolitan forces against Florence.
- 1480, Federigo receives from Pope Sixtus IV the Sword and the Hat, honours usually reserved for sovereigns.
- 1480, Federigo aids Naples against the Turks.
- 1482, Federigo accepts leadership of the troops of Milan Mantua, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara and Naples against the Pope and Venice.
- 1482, September 10 Federigo dies at Ferrara. ¹

(1) The above was condensed from James Dennistoun, "The Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino." Ed. Edward Hutton, London 1909. Vol. I

Ms. Urb. Lat. 1204

Resumé of two lists of personages forming the court of Federigo
at Urbino.

Architects:

Luciano Laurana
Francesco di Giorgio Martini
Pippo d'Antonio Fiorentino
Paolo Scirri de Castel Durante
Baccio Pontelli.

Sculptors:

Ambrogio Barocci
Domenico Rosselli

Painters:

Piero della Francesca
Juste de Gent
Giovanni Santi
Guiliano da Rimini
Guido Palmoxani
Antonio Alberti da Ferrara

Miniaturists:

Franco da Ferrara
Nicoletto Frangio

Tapestry workers:

Ruggero
Lorenzo

Location, dimensions and inscriptions of paintings formerly decorating the Studio in the Ducal palace at Urbino.

West wall (to the right of the window)

Lower register

PLATO Louvre, 1637, wood, 102 x 69.5 cm.

"Platoni atheniensi, humanae divinaeque philosophiae antistite celeberrimo, Federicus dicavit ex observantia."

ARISTOTILE Louvre, 1638, wood, 101 x 67.5 cm.

"Aristoteli Stagiritae, ob philosophiam rite exacteque, traditam Federicus posuit ex gratitudine."

Upper register

SAINT GREGORY Ducal palace, Barberini Coll., 74, wood, 119 x 70 cm.

"Gregorio in caelum palato, ob morum sanctitatem, librorum quoque elegantiam testatam, gratitudo christiana memor erexit."

SAINT JEROME Louvre, 1631, wood, 111 x 69 cm. (in frame)

"Hieronymo ob fidei christinae praecepta doctrina elegantiaque illustrata Federicus aeternitatis grata posuit."

North wall

Lower register

PTOLEMY Louvre, 1639, wood, 97 x 66 cm.

"Cl. Ptolemaeo alexandrino ob certam astrorum dimensionum, inductasque orbi terrarum lineas, vigilis laborique aeterno Federicus dedit."

BOETHIUS

Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 93,
wood, 95 x 64 cm.

"L. Boetio ob cujus commentationes latini M. Varronis
scholas non desiderant, Federicus princeps posuit."

CICERO

Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 101,
wood, 99 x 76 cm.

"M. Tullio Ciceroni, ob disciplinarum varietatem,
eloquentiasque, regnum Federicus Dux dicavit P.P.P.
(Patria Patriae Posuit or Proclamato) ex persuasione."

SENECA

Louvre, 1636, wood, 99 x 78 cm.

"Anneo Senecae cordubensi, cujus praeceptis animus
liberatur perturbationibus, excoliturque, tran-
quillitas, Federicus erexit."

Upper register

SAINT AMBROSE

Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 65, 116 x 67 cm.

"Ambrosio ob spreto fasces consulares, susceptum,
christianum nomen et ornatum latini sermonis
iucunditate Federicus posuit."

SAINT AUGUSTINE

Louvre, 1632, 116 x 62 cm. (in frame)

"Augustino ob sublimem doctrinam coelestiumque
V.V. (Verborum) indagations luculentissimam
post (eritas?) edecti (?) F.C. (fieri curavit or
Federicus curavit.)"

MOSES

Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 72,
wood, 113 x 77 cm.

"Solomoni ob insigne sapientiae cognomen Federicus
homini divino P.C. (poni, curavit ?)"

SOLOMON

Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 63,
wood, 112 x 77 cm.

"Moyses Judaeo, ob populam servatam divinisque ornatum
legibus posteritas christiana posuit."

East wall

Lower register

ROMER

Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 95,
wood, 92 x 75 cm.

"Homero myrnaco cujus poesin ob divinam disciplinam
varietatem omnia aetas admirata est, assecutus nero
post, gratitudo posuit."

VIRGIL

Louvre, 1634, wood, 90 x 74 cm.

"Pup. Vergilio Maroni, ob illustrata numeris
heroicis Regna incunabula imperique, poesos divi-
nitate Federicus dedit furori sublimi."

EUCLID

Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 86
wood, 92 x 56 cm.

"Euclidi megarensi, ob comprehensa terrae spacia
lineis centroque Federicus dedit invento exactissimo."

VITTORINO DA FELTRINO Louvre, 1628, wood, 95 x 63 cm.

"Vittorino feltrensi, ob humanitatem literis
exemploque traditam Federicus praecceptoris sanctissimo
posuit."

Upper register

SAINT THOMAS

Louvre, 1633, wood, 114 x 76 cm.

"Thomas aquinati cujus divinitas philosophiae
theologiaeque commentationibus ornata est, dicavit
ob virtutem egregiam."

SCOT Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 98,
wood, 117 x 74.5 cm.

"Scoto ob sublimes cogitationes, coelestiumque
V.V. (Verborum) assectationes accuratissimas
Federicus doctori acutissimo posuit."

PIUS II Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 104,
wood, 113 x 54 cm.

"Pio II pontifici maximo, ob imperium auctum armis,
ornatumque eloquentiae signis Federicus posuit mag-
nitudini animi laboribusque assiduis."

BESSARION Louvre, 1627, wood, 115 x 56 cm.

"Bessarioni, Graeci latinique conventus
pacificatori, ob summam gravitatem doctrinaeque
excellenciam Federicus amico sapientissimo
optimoque posuit."

South wall

Lower register

SOLOM Louvre, 1635, wood, 96 x 59 cm.

"Soloni ob leges atheniensium traditas romano
tabularum seminario sanctissimo Federicus posuit
ex studio bene instituendorum civium."

BARTOLO Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 85,
wood, 93 x 57 cm.

"Bartholo Sentinati, acutissimo legum interpreti
acutissimoque Federicus posuit ex merito justitia."

HIPPOCRATUS Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 105,
wood, 95 x 64 cm.

"Hippocrati Coe, ob salubritatem humano generi
datum, brevisque demonstratam comprehensionibus
bonae posteritatis valetudo dicat."

APANO Louvre, 1629, wood, 92.5 x 60 cm. (In frame)

"Petro apano, medicorum arbitro aequissimo, ob remotiorum disciplinarum studium insigne Federicus poni curavit."

Upper register

SAINT ALBERT Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 99, wood, 114 x 54 cm.

"Alberto magno, ob res naturales assulatione Aristotelica perquisitas, immensis voluminibus posteritate curae suae, benemerito posuit."

SIXTUS IV Louvre, 1626, wood, 114.5 x 56 cm.

"Xysto IIIII pontifici maximo, ob philosophiae theologiaeque scientiam ad pontificatum traducto dicavit benignitati immortalis."

DANTE Louvre Louvre, 1630, wood, 111 x 64 cm.

"Dante Antignio, ob propagatos numeros, poeticamque varia doctrina populo prescriptam posita benemerito."

PETRARCH Ducal Palace, Barberini Coll., 92, wood, 109 x 62 cm.

"Petrarchas ob acerrimam ingenium, suavissimaeque ingenuitatis doctrinam, posteritas laetitia luxusque dicavere bene merito."

Lavalleye, Jacques, "Just von Gent, peintre de Federic de Montefeltro", Louvain, 1936, p. 106 ff.

MUR DE L'OUEST (à droite de la fenêtre)

LARGEUR : 1^m60

GRÉGOIRE LE GRAND Hauteur 1 ^m 19 Largeur 0 ^m 70 (Barberini, N ^o 74)	SAINT JÉRÔME Hauteur 1 ^m 17 Largeur 0 ^m 58 (Louvre, N ^o 1631)
PLATON Hauteur 1 ^m 00 Largeur 0 ^m 76 (Louvre, N ^o 1637)	ARISTOTE Hauteur 1 ^m 00 Largeur 0 ^m 76 (Louvre, N ^o 1638)

MUR DU NORD

LARGEUR : 3^m35

SAINT AMBROISE Hauteur 1 ^m 19 Largeur 0 ^m 70 (Barberini, N ^o 65)	SAINT AUGUSTIN Hauteur 1 ^m 16 Largeur 0 ^m 62 (Louvre, N ^o 1632)	MOÏSE Hauteur 1 ^m 15 Largeur 0 ^m 80 (Barberini, N ^o 72)	SALOMON Hauteur 1 ^m 15 Largeur 0 ^m 78 (Barberini, N ^o 63)
PTOLÉMÉE Hauteur 0 ^m 97 Largeur 0 ^m 68 (Louvre, N ^o 1639)	BOÈCE Hauteur 0 ^m 98 Largeur 0 ^m 67 (Barberini, N ^o 93)	CICÉRON Hauteur 1 ^m 02 Largeur 0 ^m 79 (Barberini, N ^o 101)	SÉNÈQUE Hauteur 1 ^m 00 Largeur 0 ^m 76 (Louvre, N ^o 1636)

MUR DE L'EST

LARGEUR : 3^m60

ST THOMAS D'AQUIN Hauteur 1 ^m 14 Largeur 0 ^m 76 (Louvre, N ^o 1633)	DUNS SCOT Hauteur 1 ^m 20 Largeur 0 ^m 76 (Barberini, N ^o 98)	PIE II Hauteur 1 ^m 16 Largeur 0 ^m 56 (Barberini, N ^o 104)	BESSARION Hauteur 1 ^m 15 Largeur 0 ^m 56 (Louvre, N ^o 1627)
HOMÈRE Hauteur 0 ^m 95 Largeur 0 ^m 76 (Barberini, N ^o 95)	VIRGILE Hauteur 0 ^m 90 Largeur 0 ^m 74 (Louvre, N ^o 1634)	EUCLIDE Hauteur 0 ^m 95 Largeur 0 ^m 59 (Barberini, N ^o 86)	VITTORINO DA FELTRE Hauteur 0 ^m 95 Largeur 0 ^m 63 (Louvre, N ^o 1628)

MUR DU SUD (à gauche de la fenêtre)

LARGEUR : 2^m80

ALBERT LE GRAND Hauteur 1 ^m 16 Largeur 0 ^m 56 (Barberini, N ^o 99)	SIXTE IV Hauteur 1 ^m 16 Largeur 0 ^m 55 (Louvre, N ^o 1626)	DANTE Hauteur 1 ^m 11 Largeur 0 ^m 64 (Louvre, N ^o 1630)	PÉTRARQUE Hauteur 1 ^m 12 Largeur 0 ^m 64 (Barberini, N ^o 92)
SOLON Hauteur 0 ^m 95 Largeur 0 ^m 59 (Louvre, N ^o 1634)	BARTOLE Hauteur 0 ^m 95 Largeur 0 ^m 59 (Barberini, N ^o 85)	HIPPOCRATE Hauteur 0 ^m 98 Largeur 0 ^m 67 (Barberini, N ^o 105)	PIETRO D'ALBANO Hauteur 0 ^m 93 Largeur 0 ^m 60 (Louvre, N ^o 1629)

PLAN DU STUDIO DE FRÉDÉRIC D'URBIN

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