ZAMIENIĆ PANTONY NA CMYK-A I NA WIEŁKA CMYK-A

artibus et historiae

an art anthology

no. 74 (XXXVII), 2016

no. 74 2016

IRSA
Special issue in honour of Paul Joannides

Guest editors:
Piers Baker-Bates, Helen Glanville, Anne Varick Lauder,
Giorgio Tagliaferro, Lucia Tantardini, Matthias Wivel
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>Brendan Cassidy</td>
<td>Some 'Giorgiones' in Eighteenth-Century England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>Jonathan Yarker</td>
<td>Raphael at the Royal Academy: Giovanni Volpato’s <em>modelli</em> for Engravings of the Vatican <em>Stanze</em> Rediscovered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>283</td>
<td>Stephen Bann</td>
<td>Robert-Fleury’s Delaroche and Delaroche’s Raphael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291</td>
<td>Zuzanna Sarnecka</td>
<td>Luca della Robbia and his Books. The Renaissance Artist as a Devotee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>Paul Joannides</td>
<td>List of Publications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>Summaries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>Information about the authors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Anne Varick Lauder
and Hugo Chapman

Battista Franco’s Osimo Polyptych
and its Preparatory Drawings

For Paul, with deep admiration
and affection

A trip to Osimo, a small picturesque hill town in the Marches about ten miles southeast of Ancona is unlikely to be at the top of any art historian’s bucket list. Even the well-travelled Giorgio Vasari, who neglects to mention it even once in the Lives, seems not to have set foot there as it is never referred to in his pioneering account of Italian art. And while in his generous biography of Battista Franco (c. 1510–1561) Vasari is generally well-informed about the artist’s oft peripatetic career working in and around Rome, Florence, Urbino and Venice, he overlooked Franco’s activity in Osimo entirely.¹ And yet Franco produced a significant fourteen-panelled polyptych there for which a considerable number of preparatory drawings can be securely identified, more than for any other free-standing pictorial scheme [Fig. 1]. Considered as a group, these panels and their rather atypical related studies – some once attributed to artists as diverse as Agostino Carracci, Moncalvo and Malosso – published together here for the first time, provide some compelling insights into Franco’s mid-career working methods, and at the same time, reinforce his underlying debt to the artists he admired most: Michelangelo, Raphael and Polidoro da Caravaggio.²

Franco worked intermittently around 1544 – c. 1551 in Urbino as court artist to Duke Guidobaldo II della Rovere, decorating the central vault of the main cathedral and designing services of maiolica. From there he travelled about one-hundred kilometres to Osimo in autumn of 1547 to confirm his commitment to...
1. Battista Franco, Polyptych, oil on panel, Osimo, Museo Diocesano. Photo: © Bruno Severini
execute a polyptych for the main altar of S. Leopardo, a Romanesque-Gothic cathedral located in the centre of the town. The contract of 15 September drawn up between ‘Battistino de Franchis’ and the Confraternity of the Sacraments of Osimo specified most of the subjects to be depicted and in some cases, the pigments to be used. His work was intended to replace an earlier polyptych (1418) by the Marchigian painter, Pietro di Domenico da Montepulciano, of similar iconography. In total, Franco was to execute fourteen paintings: three large single-figure representations of the Risen Christ and Saints Peter and Paul to be painted expressly with finer pigments (‘di colore più fini’), that is, ultramarine, for the pale blue, and red lake, for the red and pinks, where needed, and ten narrative scenes from the Life of Christ and the Miracle of Bolsena, a narrative in which the sacraments play a central role. In addition, he was to decorate the ciborium with four depictions of local Osman saints and one of a chalice with the Host. Franco successfully completed the commission and presumably received the agreed one hundred and twenty-five scudi, just over £10,000 in today’s value, a not inconsiderable sum.

Franco’s polyptych enjoyed prominence of place at the main altar of the cathedral before being dismantled in the eighteenth century and the panels transferred to the chapter room, then to the Baptistery, the current location of the Museo Diocesano, where they are on view today. Their original impact is no doubt lessened by the loss of their unifying gold frame [Fig. 1]. Now displayed more or less as specified in the contract, the panels include St Peter, the Risen Christ and St Paul; below: the Calling of St Peter, Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre and the Conversion of St Paul; below: the Last Supper and the Miracle of Bolsena with the decorated ciborium in between; and in the lower register, five panels of subjects not specified in the contract to be chosen by members of the Confraternity: the Dispute in the Temple, the Nativity, the Baptism of Christ, the Transfiguration of Christ, the Noli Me Tangere and the Ascension. As mentioned above, inserted in the arch-topped niches of the gilt wood ciborium are panels with full-length depictions of Osman saints: Leopardus, Vitalianus, Victor and Benvenuetus, all with tombs in the cathedral’s crypt.

Franco’s Risen Christ and the two flanking saints are the most commanding figures, notable for their scale and intensity of expression. Comparatively less imposing are the remaining panels, suggestive of scenes from a predella, unified by their pared-down simplicity and bright, incandescent colours. Franco adhered to the specifications of the contract closely, rarely adding non-essential narrative details. With a clarity of expression reminiscent of Franco’s designs for maiolica (which, not coincidentally, he was producing in this period), frieze-like compositions are essentially reduced with relatively few secondary, non-relevant characters. The emphatic gestures of Franco’s figures draw the viewer’s attention to the central action in each panel, often taking place in the immediate foreground. Absent are any notable architectural features or distinguishing features of the landscape. The pared down quality of the compositions with the focus on the principal protagonists in the narrative demonstrates Franco’s sensitivity to the setting of his altarpiece in the cathedral’s dim interior.

While overall Franco’s figural style remains essentially Michelangelesque, the Osimo polyptych and the preparatory drawings for them mark a perceptible increase in Raphaelesque and Polidoresque influences and other sources of inspiration, perhaps a conscious attempt by the artist to adapt to regional tastes. Though Franco’s debt to Michelangelo is evident in the robust anatomy of the Risen Christ, knowledge of Titian’s Resurrection in Urbino, painted by 1544 for the Compagnia del Corpus Domini, is also in evidence. Distant echoes of Raphael, especially the School of Athens, may be seen in the imposing St Paul while the volumetric folds of his drapery recall the analogous figure in the St Cecilia altarpiece in Bologna. In a case of self-quote, Franco’s large St Peter strongly recalls the analogous
saint in his panel, *Madonna Enthroned with Saints Peter, Paul and Donor* in the Museo Diocesano in Urbino, painted about three years earlier in 1543–1544.¹¹

Raphael’s influence is also detectable in the smaller panels. Franco’s reduced and frieze-like depiction of the *Calling of St Peter* [Fig. 2] set against a stark expanse of green sea shows the key Apostles emerging from the boat. The imploring looks of Saints Peter and Andrew stand in marked contrast to the serenity of Christ, whose downward gaze is echoed in the figure of John. These figures are distinctively Raphaelesque in type. Paul Joannides suggested that Franco drew inspiration, particularly for the figure of Christ, from Raphael’s small *Calling of St Peter* fresco appearing on the left side of the window jamb below the *Oath of Leo III* in the Stanza dell’Incendio, perhaps known to Franco through a preparatory drawing such as the one in the Albertina in Vienna.¹² In contrast to Franco’s often masculizing, Michelangelesque approach to women seen in his early works, the protagonist of *Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre* [Fig. 5] is distinctively Raphaelesque, a quality echoed further in the highly finished preparatory drawing for the panel in the Uffizi [Fig. 4], which we will examine later.¹³ The recumbent St Paul in the *Conversion of St Paul* [Fig. 16] is based on the similarly positioned Heliodorus in Raphael’s fresco in the Stanza di Eliodoro in the Vatican. The saint appearing in the doorway in the right background of the *Miracle of Bolsena* [Fig. 14], recalls the figure of St Bruno in Raphael’s *Madonna del Baldacchino* of around 1507 in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, perhaps known to Franco through preparatory studies such as the one in the Uffizi.¹⁴

Franco prepared the Osimo panels with considerable care as evidenced in the number of surviving drawings – ten – securely connected to them. Several have remained concealed under other artists’ names for decades. For example, an *en suite* group

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of three fresh and lively pen drawings in the Royal Collection [Figs 3, 6, 10], hitherto unpublished, remained buried among the large cache of studies that Rudolf Wittkower relegate to ‘Drawings by Pupils and Imitators of Agostino Carracci’ until their connection with the Osimo panels was noted [Figs 5, 9, 11]. All are *primo pensieri* studies, executed in a similar technique and with the same distinctive light brown ink on pale cream paper. They provide excellent examples of Franco’s highly developed, abbreviated pen and ink style of the late 1540s and 1550s, in which he sketches with great speed and alacrity, rarely lifting pen from paper. In each case, the artist explores various compositional possibilities for the scene at hand, evident in the numerous *pentimenti* visible throughout.

The first [Fig. 3], an early exploratory study for the *Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre* panel [Fig. 5] shows a crowd gathered around the tomb and suggests Franco was at the same time experimenting with a horizontal arrangement. He rejected this idea but borrowed some of the figures for his *Ascension* panel [Fig. 9]. But as we see in the finished pen and wash study for the panel in the Uffizi, Florence [Fig. 4], Franco omitted all the subsidiary figures present in the Windsor sheet, opting instead to portray a solitary depiction of the Magdalene, kneeling and peering tentatively into the empty tomb in the sole company of an angel. Best classed as a *bozzetto*, this drawing relates closely to the final panel of the same scale and comparable in size.

Again displaying his characteristic calligraphic agility, in the second Windsor sheet [Fig. 6] Franco experimented with figural pose and positioning for his *Ascension* panel [Fig. 9]. Once more, several of the figures indicated, some only in shorthand – with simple circles to indicate heads – do not appear in the final
An advanced state of the conception is represented in two highly worked, squared bozzetti. The first, now in a private collection, Vienna [Fig. 7], was with the Galerie Förster, Düsseldorf, in 2006 as Franco, and found later that year to correspond to the five animatedly posed apostles at the centre of the Ascension.

That sheet was likely to have been attached at one time to another drawing by Franco for the four figures on the right of the same panel [Fig. 8]. The latter was part of the Dr Carl Robert Rudolf collection in 1962 when it was classed as Guglielmo Caccia, called ‘Moncalvo’, an attribution which remained unchallenged until 1996, when one of the present authors noted the connection with the Osimo panel. Of comparable scale and size, both are executed in the same medium, are similarly squared for transfer (the Vienna sheet is blackened for transfer...
on the reverse) and relate closely in all respects to the corresponding sections of the finished panel. The discovery of these two drawings, together forming a sizeable sheet – essentially a cartoon – a rare survival in Franco’s graphic œuvre, adds significantly to our understanding of the artist’s working methods. Together with Franco’s drawing in the Uffizi for the Adoration of the Magi scene frescoed on the vaulted ceiling of the Gabrielli chapel, S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, of about three years later (1550) these are the only known squared drawings related to surviving paintings.

The third drawing at Windsor relates with some differences to the Nativity panel, the only nocturne in the group [Figs 10, 11]. A compelling comparison can be made between the panel and Vasari’s painting of similar format painted in 1538 for the Monastero di Camaldoli in the Church of S.S. Donato e Ilariano. The composition also recalls the Aretine’s Presepio panel in the Borghese gallery painted for Cardinal Salviati in 1546. Equally, Franco also may have been influenced by Raphael’s Madonna of the Diadem of c. 1512–1520 in the Louvre, as suggested previously, or perhaps a copy after it. Franco’s interest in nocturnal lighting effects anticipates his Adoration of the Shepherds and Resurrection frescoes in S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome of around 1550 as well as dramatic night visions of Tintoretto. With the immediacy of a life drawing, the large and beautiful profile...
Battista Franco’s Osimo Polyptych and its Preparatory Drawings
head at the upper right of the Windsor sheet may be an early study for the Virgin in the Nativity or perhaps for the Magdalene in the Sepulchre panel.

Drawings for some of the other Osimo panels have also remained unidentified or misattributed until recently. The Miracle of Bolsena [Fig. 14], depicting the story of a young, Bohemian priest, Peter of Prague, who, doubting the presence of Christ in the consecrated Host, witnessed blood seeping from it as he broke the bread during High Mass, would have had special significance to members of Osimo’s Confraternity of the Sacraments, especially at a time when theological questions around the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist was a fault line between Protestant and Catholic beliefs.25 A study for Peter of Prague and acolyte kneeling behind him [Fig. 13] was sold at Phillip’s, London, in 1994 as ‘Florentine School, 17th century’ but was recognized three years later as a drawing by Franco connected to the figures in the panel.26 Later in the Diana Dollar Knowles Collection, San Francisco, and now in a private collection, this double-sided sheet is of particular importance in providing insights into Franco’s working methods. A highly finished bozzetto, its close proximity in size and execution to Franco’s study in the National Museum, Prague [Fig. 12], for the spectators at left of the same composition indicates the two sheets were once one.27 Nearly identical in height, both are executed with the same light brown ink and wash and considered together are nearly the same dimensions as the panel. Each sheet bears indentations with the stylus, which seems to have been used both as a preliminary sketching device and to facilitate the transfer of the design onto a larger sheet or cartoon. Both are similarly blackened on the reverse with rubbed black chalk evidence of Franco’s consistent use of the calco method of transferring the design onto another sheet, the usual technique practised by Giulio Romano, Polidoro da Caravaggio and other artists in Raphael’s workshop.28 Interestingly, some of the outlines of the drapery of the kneeling spectator in the left foreground of the Prague sheet are partially pricked, suggesting that Franco considered a further mode of transfer but for reasons unknown, decided against it. The Polidoresque style of both sheets is clearly evident.29

Interestingly, on the blackened verso of the ex-Phillip’s sheet is a primo pensiero study showing Christ, rearing horses, a fallen warrior and the outline of buildings in the background [Fig. 15]. The composition corresponds to the Conversion of St Paul [Fig. 16], one of the other Osimo panels.30 Evidently this sketch, subsequently sacrificed in the transfer process, pre-dates the more complete recto study.

The composition of the Dispute in the Temple panel [Fig. 18] was also planned with a drawing of similar technique and handling as those preparing the Miracle at Bolsena discussed above. Offered on the London art market in 2013, the study for the Doctors in lively discourse with Christ [Fig. 17], whose presence in the sheet is indicated only by the finger sketched at right,
17. Battista Franco, «Study for the Dispute in the Temple», pen and brown ink and brown wash, black chalk, indented for transfer and blackened on the verso, 335 × 198 mm, present location unknown. Photo: © Christie’s Images Limited (2013)

18. Battista Franco, «The Dispute in the Temple», oil on panel, about 51 × 76 cm, from the Osimo Polyptych. Photo: © Bruno Severini

was similarly executed with brown ink and washes and blackened on the verso for transfer.\(^{31}\)

A hitherto unpublished study of a Bishop saint [Fig. 19], once attributed to the circle of the Cremonese painter Giovanni Battista Trotti, called ‘Malosso’, corresponds with Saint Leopardus, one of the four Osman saints painted on the small panels of the ciborium [Fig. 20].\(^{32}\) Now in a private collection, the drawing, essentially a pose study, is about the same size as the painting. Stylus indications are present throughout – not just reserved for the main outlines – suggesting that Franco used the instrument here as a preliminary sketching tool, before applying the ink, rather than just using it to facilitate transfer of the design. Interestingly, the sheet likely once belonged to Federico Zuccaro, Franco’s posthumous collaborator in the Grimani chapel in Venice, whose partial inscription is visible on the recto.\(^{33}\)

The discovery of Franco’s study for Leopardus prompts further consideration of him and the other principal Osman saints – Vitalianus, Benvenutus, and Victor – inserted in the niches of the ciborium, hitherto unpublished in their entirety [Figs 21–23]. The commanding figure of Leopardus, the titular saint of the cathedral and the first bishop of Osimo, is here represented as bearded light-grey, middle-aged, and holding a book in his right hand and a crosier in his left. He may be compared to Pietro da Montepulciano’s earlier representation of him though he probably ultimately derives from Raphael.\(^{34}\) Vitalianus [Fig. 21], considered with Leopardus to be a co-patron saint of Osimo, is represented in left profile with a short grey beard holding a book and in similar bishop’s dress, as dictated in the contract.\(^{35}\) In a further case of self-quotation, a common practice in Franco’s studio, a nearly identical figure in the same pose appears as St Martin on the right of Franco’s preparatory study in the Louvre, Paris, for his Fabriano altarpiece of 1546–1547.\(^{36}\)

St Benvenutus is portrayed in a bishop’s robe, without his mitre, holding a book [Fig. 22].\(^{37}\) As Paul Joannides has pointed out, he is based on Raphael’s St Blaise known through his pen drawing in the Horne Museum, Florence, which has been cut-down significantly at the lower edge.\(^{38}\) Victor is represented as a young Christian warrior holding a sword [Fig. 23].\(^{39}\) His pose recalls that of St John the Baptist in the Fabriano panel and especially, in the previously mentioned preparatory drawing for
19. Battista Franco, «Study for Saint Leopardus», pen and brown ink and brown wash, traces of red chalk with stylus indications, 255 × 111 mm, private collection

20. Battista Franco, «Saint Leopardus», oil on panel, about 30 × 13 cm, from the Osimo Polyptych. Photo: © Bruno Severini
the same work in the Louvre, in which the legs are very similar.  
There are distant echoes of Sansovino’s *Mercury* from the Loggetta in Venice.  

Lauded by his contemporaries as ‘Messer Battista Franco grandissimo disegnatore à nostri tempi’, Franco clearly preferred the medium of drawing to painting and his studies for Osimo display a spirited liveliness and ease of execution that did not translate entirely to the corresponding panels. As we briefly touched upon, the drawings as a whole are rather atypical of the artist and in many ways mark a departure from the precise and tidy pen style usually associated with him (Philip Pouncey famously remarked, ‘you can always recognize drawings by Franco because his line is as thin as a bat’s squeak’). Their addition to the known corpus of autograph drawings opens up exciting new avenues for exploration and it is highly likely that further studies for Osimo, and other projects of the period, lie dormant in Print Room and fototeca boxes bearing other artists’ names, yet to be discovered by future Franco aficionados.
Acknowledgements

The authors wish to express their warm thanks to Don Flavio Ricci of the Museo Diocesano di Osimo, Bruno Severini, the Tavolozza Foundation and the following for their invaluable assistance in preparing this essay: Katrin Bellinger, Martin Clayton, Sabrina Förster, Monique Kornell, Bernard Malhamé, Benjamin Peronnet, Ilaria Quadrani, Cristiana Romalli, Rick Scorza, Jennifer Wright and Martin Zlatohlávek.


7 C. M. Cipolla, Money in Sixteenth-Century Florence, Berkeley and London, 1989, p. 62. Table 8, where it is indicated that 1 scudo contained 3 grams of gold. On 17 February 2016, a gram of gold was worth £27, therefore, 125 scudi is worth £10,125 (calculated as 3 × 27 × 125 = £10,125).

8 They were unframed and removed under Cardinal Giacomo Lanfredini (1734–1740) who replaced them with a marble altarpiece. C. Grillantini, citing Talleoni, records that the frame was sold to the Domenicans for the main altar of S. Vincenzo Ferreri but since disappeared (C. Grillantini, Storia di Osimo, Vetus Auximon, 2 vols, Pinerolo, 1957, vol. I, p. 328; M. A. Talleoni, Istoria dell’antichissima città di Osimo..., Osimo, 1807, 2 vols, vol. II, p. 111).

9 Oil on panel, measurements vary: three largest panels, about 139 × 55 cm; four rectangular panels, about 51 × 76 cm; seven squarish panels, about 51 × 38 cm; four panels of the ciborium, about 30 × 13 cm. Lost is the central panel of the ciborium, which, according to the contract, was intended to depict a chalice with the Host. It now bears a trophy motif with grapes, leaves and wheat shafts incised on the gilded wood. For reasons unknown, Franco replaced Saint Corona – as specified in the contract – with the Osiman saint, Benvenutus.


11 As noted in Saccomani, ‘Battista Franco alla Corte di Urbino’, p. 217, who reproduced the painting (pp. 228–229, fig. 28). See also Lauder, Battista Franco, vol. III, pp. 817–820, cat. no. 45 PA; vol. IV, fig. 319.


15 Hugo Chapman, personal communication to Anne Varick Lauder in 1996. R. Wittkower, The Drawings of the Carracci in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle, London, 1952, p. 127, cat. nos 215–217, not repr. (as Manner of Agostino Carracci). The pencil inscription, novellara, found on the lower edge of the recto of two of the sheets (the third bears the inscription, del nuvelara) suggests they were attributed previously to Lelio Orsi, known as ‘Lelio da Novellara’.

16 For the drawing, see note 13 above.

17 The panel measures around 51 × 38 cm.

18 Anne Varick Lauder (personal communication to Sabrina Förster, 15 November 2006). Pen and brown ink, brown wash, squared on the left side in brown ink for transfer; 293 × 260 mm; blackened with chalk on the verso. Galerie Sabrina Förster, Deutsche und Italienische Zeichnungen: 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert, Düsseldorf, 2006–2007, pp. 34–35, cat. no. 16, repr. as Franco, ‘Fünf Propheten’. According to Förster (personal communication to Lauder), the drawing was recognised as Franco by Julien Stock. The sheet bears the collector’s mark (L. 954) of the Berlin-based physician, Dr Wilhelm Alexander Freund (1833–1917). Interestingly, the drawing was sold as Titian in his 1906 sale: R. W. P. de Vries, Dutch and Italian Drawings in the Collection of Mrs. D. Rudolf with a Catalogue Raisonné, Amsterdam, 19–21 February 1906, lot 333, as Titian, ‘Cinq apôtres, les bras tendus, lèvent les yeux extasiés vers le ciel. Esquisse pour une grande composition représentant l’effusion du Saint Esprit’.

Battista Franco’s Osimo Polyptych and its Preparatory Drawings

Gilli, Milan, in 1986 (R. Gilli, Disegni Lombardi dal XV al XVIII secolo, Milan, 1986, cat. no. 37, repr., as Moncalvo, ‘Figure adoranti’). The latter catalogue notes that the sheet had been attributed previously to Vasari. It is possible that the Ex-Rudolf/Gilli drawing was also darkened with black chalk on the verso but no mention of it is made in the catalogues cited in note 19 above.


21 As first noted by Anne Varick Lauder in Quadrani, ink, stylus indications and blackened with chalk. Now in a private collection, the drawing was sold at Phillips, London, 7 December 1994, lot 5 (bought in) having remained unsold in previous sales, Sotheby’s, London, 4 July 2007, lot 28, and at the same house and location, 5 July 2006, lot 14, when one of the present authors first connected it with the Osimo panel (Anne Varick Launder, personal communication to Cristina Romalli). It was subsequently published in Biferali and Firpo, Battista Franco «pittore viniziano», p. 393, fig. 62.


23 Corti, Vasari. Catalogo completo dei dipinti, p. 67, cat. no. 47, repr.


25 As first pointed out by Anne Varick Launder (personal communication with owner, 2003). Noting the characteristic handling of the muscles around the knee, Rick Scorza had proposed the attribution to Franco. Pen and brown ink and wash and traces of red chalk with stylus indications, 255 x 111 mm. It is not possible to ascertain if the drawing is blackened on the reverse as it is laid down onto a further support.


27 As first noted by Anne Varick Launder in Quadrani, Master Drawings, cat. no. 1. National Gallery in Prague, inv. K 40365, pen and light-brown ink and wash over black chalk, 391 x 364 mm. Pricked with a stylus. Bearing an old inscription to Parmigianino, the drawing was acquired by the Gallery in 1966 as ‘Northern Italian School’. W. R. Readick attributed this drawing to Franco in 1968 (annotation on the mount) and Anna Maria Petrioli Tofani endorsed his view in 1990. For the drawing and its connection with the panel, see Parma Baudille, ‘Disegni di Battista Franco per opere marchigiane’, pp. 36–37, fig. 9; M. Zlatohlávek, ‘Battista Franco’s Drawings in Czech Collections’, in Ars baculum vitae. Sborník studií z dĕjin umĕní a kultury k 70. narozeninám Prof. PhDr. Pavel Preiss, DrSc., ed. by V. Vínas, T. Sekyrka and P. Preiss, Prague, 1996, pp. 65–67, under note 19, fig. 41; Italian Renaissance Art from Czech Collections: Drawings and Prints, ed. by M. Zlatohlávek, exh. cat. National Gallery in Prague, Kinsky Palace, 1996–1997, Prague, 1996, pp. 200–201, cat. no. XIX.


29 There is also a sketch, indecipherable, in pen and ink on the blackened reverse of the Prague study, probably also relating to one of the panels.

30 Present location unknown, pen and brown ink, brown wash, black chalk, indented for transfer and blackened on the verso, 335 x 198 mm. It was offered at Christie’s, London, 2 July 2013, lot 5 (bought in) having remained unsold in previous sales, Sotheby’s, London, 4 July 2007, lot 28, and at the same house and location, 5 July 2006, lot 14, when one of the present authors first connected it with the Osimo panel (Anne Varick Launder, personal communication to Cristiana Romalli). It was subsequently published in Biferali and Firpo, Battista Franco «pittore viniziano», p. 393, fig. 62.

31 The inscription at lower right in brown pen and ink, disegno di mano [di [...] (the remaining words erased), was recognised by Rick Scorza (personal communication to Anne Varick Launder) as by Federico Zuccaro. Gere identified writing by the same hand on a sheet by Girolamo Muziano, Landscape with Tree and Cottage, in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (AE 1386; G. Bergsträsser, ‘Duke Emmerich Joseph von Dalberg as a Collector of Drawings’, Master Drawings, 22, no. 1, Spring, 1984, p. 34, pl. 30, inscribed lower right in brown ink, schizzo de mano di [girolamo mozziano]) and another by Taddeo Zuccaro, A Man in a Plumed Hat Sitting at a Table, in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (458/1863, J. Gere, Taddeo Zuccaro. His Development Studied in his Drawings, London, 1969, p. 205, pl. 118, inscribed lower left in pen and ink, schizzo de mano di Tadeo). On the present sheet, the part of the inscription identifying the name of the artist, presumably Franco, has been erased.

32 For the Montepulciano painting, see above note 5. For the type, see G. Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting, Florence, 1965, 691–692, no. 225.

33 See Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints, 1149–1150, no. 410.

34 For the Montepulciano painting, see above note 5. For the type, see G. Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting, Florence, 1965, 691–692, no. 225.

35 See Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints, 1149–1150, no. 410.


37 He differs in some respects – he is not youthful, beardless and blessing – to the type described by Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints, 189–190, no. 51.

38 Personal communication to Anne Varick Launder, 2000. For the drawing, see Joannides, The Drawings of Raphael, p. 199, cat. no. 266, and Raphaello a Firenze: Dipinti e disegni delle collezioni fiorentine, ed. by C. Marmugi, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, 1984, pp. 332–334, cat. no. 28. The composition is seen complete in a copy sold Sotheby’s, London, 2 July 1958, lot 4 (Raffaello a Firenze, p. 333, fig. 92). It is tempting to
suppose that the unpublished sketch of a bishop in profile mentioned as being on the verso of the London copy may have been the basis for Franco’s Vitalianus or one of the other saints.


40 Lauder, *Dessins italiens du Musée du Louvre*, pp. 214–216, cat. no. 46, fig. 52.


42 Andrea Palladio in *I Quattro Libri dell’Architettura*, 4 vols, Venice, 1570, Book II, Chapter 14, p. 50.

43 As recorded by Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt (personal communication to Anne Varick Lauder, 2003).