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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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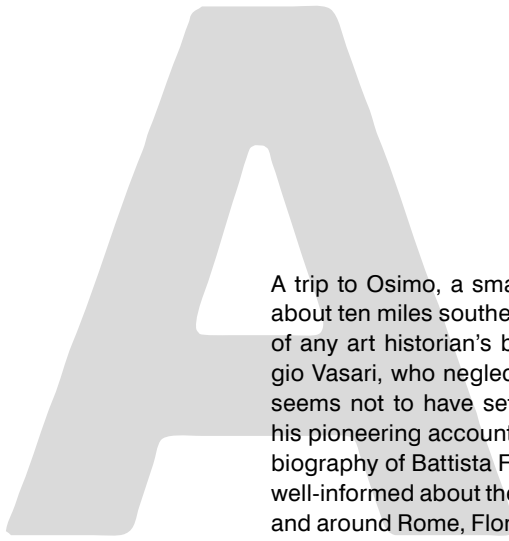
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Anne Varick Lauder
and Hugo Chapman

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 Marche 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.³ 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.⁴ His work was intended to replace an earlier polyptych (1418) by the Marchigian painter, Pietro di Domenico da Montepulciano, of similar iconography.⁵ 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.⁶ In addition, he was to decorate the ciborium with four depictions of local Osiman 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.⁷

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 Baptistry, 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].⁸ 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 Osiman saints: Leopardus, Vitalianus, Victor and Benvenutus, all with tombs in the cathedral's crypt.⁹

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



2. Battista Franco, «Calling of St Peter», oil on panel, about 51 × 38 cm, from the Osimo Polyptych. Photo: © Bruno Severini

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.¹⁰ 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-quotation, Franco's large *St Peter* strongly recalls the analogous



3. Battista Franco, «Studies for Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre», pen and brown ink over indications in black chalk, 115 × 187 mm, Windsor Castle, The Royal collection, no. 0223. Photo: Windsor, Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015

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 masculinizing,

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



4. Battista Franco, «Study for Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre», pen and brown ink and brown wash, 422 × 323 mm, Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 7856 S.
Photo: © Gabinetto Fotografico del Polo Museale Regionale della Toscana



5. Battista Franco, «Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre», oil on panel, about 51 × 38 cm, from the Osimo Polyptych.
Photo: © Bruno Severini

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 relegated to 'Drawings by Pupils and Imitators of Agostino Carracci' until their connection with the Osimo panels was noted [Figs 5, 9, 11].¹⁵ All are *primi 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.¹⁶ Best classed as a *bozzetto*, this drawing relates closely to the final panel of the same scale and comparable in size.¹⁷

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



6.



7.



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9. Battista Franco, «The Ascension of Christ», oil on panel, about 51 × 76 cm, from the Osimo Polyptych. Photo: © Bruno Severini

6. Battista Franco, «Studies for the Ascension of Christ», pen and brown ink over indications in black chalk, 130 × 244 mm, Windsor Castle, The Royal collection, no. 0222. Photo: Windsor, Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015

7. Battista Franco, «Studies for Figures at Centre of the Ascension of Christ», pen and brown ink and brown wash, squared for transfer, 293 × 280 mm, private collection, Vienna. Photo: Courtesy Sabrina Förster

8. Battista Franco, «Studies for Figures on the Right of the Ascension of Christ», pen and brown ink and brown wash over indications in black chalk, squared for transfer, 307 × 237 mm, present location unknown. Photo: Courtesy Rossella Gilli

painting. 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*.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ Of comparable scale and size, both are executed in the same medium, are similarly squared for transfer (the Vienna sheet is blackened for transfer



10.

on the reverse) and relate closely in all respects to the corresponding sections of the finished panel.²⁰ 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.²¹

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.²² The composition also recalls the Aretine's *Presepio* panel in the Borghese gallery painted for Cardinal Salviati in 1546.²³ 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.²⁴ 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



11.

10. Battista Franco, «Study for the Nativity; Separate Study of a Female Head in Profile to the Left», pen and brown ink, 205 × 181 mm, Windsor Castle, The Royal collection, no. 2220. Photo: Windsor, Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015

11. Battista Franco, «The Nativity», oil on panel, about 51 × 38 cm, from the Osimo Polyptych. Photo: © Bruno Severini

12. Battista Franco, «Study for the Left Side of the Miracle at Bolsena», pen and light brown ink and wash over black chalk, pricked with the stylus, 391 × 364 mm, Prague, National Gallery, inv. K 40365. Photo: © National Gallery in Prague 2016

13. Battista Franco, «Study for the Right Side of the Miracle at Bolsena» (*recto*), pen and light brown ink with wash, over black chalk and graphite indented with the stylus for transfer, 394 × 280 mm, private collection. Photo: © Christie's Images Limited (2013)

14. Battista Franco, «The Miracle at Bolsena», oil on panel, about 51 × 76 cm, from the Osimo Polyptych. Photo: © Bruno Severini



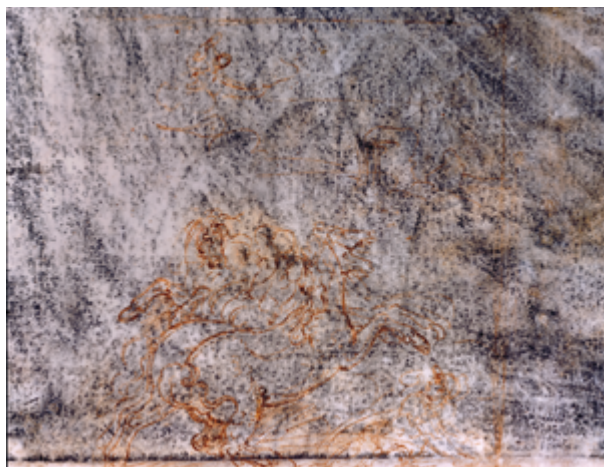
12.



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15. Battista Franco, «Studies for the Conversion of Paul» (verso of Fig. 12), pen and light brown ink with wash, over black chalk and graphite indented with the stylus for transfer, 394 × 280 mm, private collection.
Photo: © Christie's Images Limited (2013)



16. Battista Franco, «The Conversion of St Paul», oil on panel, about 51 × 38 cm, from the Osimo Polyptych.
Photo: © Bruno Severini

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.



18.

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 Osiman 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 Osiman 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 crozier 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



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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



21. Battista Franco, «Saint Vitalianus»,
oil on panel, about 30 × 13 cm,
from the Osimo Polyptych.
Photo: © Bruno Severini



22. Battista Franco, «Saint Benvenutus»,
oil on panel, about 30 × 13 cm,
from the Osimo Polyptych.
Photo: © Bruno Severini



23. Battista Franco, «Saint Victor»,
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.⁴⁰ There are distant echoes of Sansovino's *Mercury* from the Loggetta in Venice.⁴¹

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.⁴² 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').⁴³ 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

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- ¹ G. Vasari, *Le vite de'più eccellenti pittori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. by R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi, 6 vols, Florence, 1966–1987, vol. V, pp. 459–473.
- ² This article is drawn largely from parts of the following unpublished doctoral dissertation, supervised by Paul Joannides and examined by Hugo Chapman and David Ekserdjian: A. V. Lauder, *Battista Franco, c. 1510–1561: His Life and Work with Catalogue Raisonné*, 4 vols, PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2004, vol. I, pp. 83–89, vol. IV, figs 320–349; for the drawings, see especially vol. II, cat. nos: 101 DA, 180 DA, 236 DA, 279 DA, 421 DA, 488–490 DA; and for the polyptych, vol. III, cat. nos 16–30 PA.
- ³ For discussions of the polypych to date, see L. Grumiero Salomoni, 'Battista Franco nelle Marche', *Arte Veneta*, 26, 1972, pp. 237–245; E. Saccomani, 'Battista Franco alla Corte di Urbino: dai perduti affreschi del duomo ai modelli per le maioliche istoriate', in *Pittura veneta nelle Marche*, ed. by V. Curzi, Milan, 2000, pp. 215–219, and F. Biferali and M. Firpo, *Battista Franco «pittore viniziano» nella cultura artistica e nella vita religiosa del Cinquecento*, Pisa, 2007, pp. 125–134.
- ⁴ Transcribed in full in A. M. Baleani, 'Le 14 Tavolette di Battista Franco, Battistero di Osimo', *Tesina di Laurea*, Università degli Studi, Urbino, 1966–1967, pp. 3–5, and in Grumiero Salomoni, 'Battista Franco nelle Marche', pp. 244–245.
- ⁵ Preserved in the Museo Diocesano, Osimo. See F. Bugiamolini, 'Il politico datato 1418 nel Battistero di San Giovanni a Osimo e Pietro di Domenico da Montepulciano', in *Studi per Pietro Zampetti, Quaderni di Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, ed. by R. Varese, Ancona, 1993, pp. 119–122, fig. 59.
- ⁶ Grumiero Salomoni, 'Battista Franco nelle Marche', pp. 244–245.
- 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 $3 \times 27 \times 125 = £10,125$).
- 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 Dominicans 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 square 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.
- ¹⁰ F. Pedrocchio, *Titian: The Complete Paintings*, London and New York, 2001, p. 178, cat. no. 120, repr. Franco certainly would have known this work in Urbino. He drew on this source again for his more exuberant rendering of the same scene on the lateral wall of the Gabrielli chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome (A. V. Lauder, *Dessins italiens du Musée du Louvre: Battista Franco. Inventaire général des dessins italiens*, vol. VIII, Paris and Milan, 2009, p. 34, fig. 10).
- 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.
- ¹² Joannides attributes this drawing to Perino del Vaga (personal communication to Anne Varick Lauder, 2004). For it, see *Roma e lo stile classico di Raffaello 1515–1527*, ed. by K. Oberhuber and A. Gnann, exh. cat. Palazzo Te, Mantua, and Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, Milan, 1999, p. 65, cat. no. 6, repr., and V. Birke and J. Kertész, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina: Generalverzeichnis*, 4 vols, Vienna, 1992–1997, vol. I, pp. 102–103.
- ¹³ Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 7856 S, pen and brown ink and brown wash, 422 × 323 mm. First published in R. Parma Baudille, 'Disegni di Battista Franco per opere marchigiane', in *Il disegno antico nelle marche e dalle Marche*, ed. by M. di Giampaolo and G. Angelucci, Centro Alessandro Maggiori, Monte San Giusto (MC) 22–23 May, 1992, Florence, 1995, pp. 31–41, esp. p. 36, fig. 7.
- ¹⁴ P. Joannides, *The Drawings of Raphael: with a Complete Catalogue*, Oxford, 1983, p. 176, cat. no. 177, repr.
- 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, *novelara*, 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 × 280 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 and C. F. Roos & Cie, 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'.
- ¹⁹ Hugo Chapman (personal communication to Anne Varick Lauder). Present location unknown. Pen and brown ink and brown wash over traces of black chalk underdrawing, 307 × 237 mm. Squared for transfer. *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Mr. C. R. Rudolf*, ed. by P. Pouncey, et al., The Arts Council Gallery, London; The City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham; The Leeds City Art Gallery, 1962, p. 12, cat. no. 39 ('Group of Apostles' as Moncalvo), not repr. With Rossella

- 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.
- 20 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 R. Parma Baudille, 'L'ultimo lavoro romano di Battista Franco: la cappella Gabrielli in Santa Maria sopra Minerva', *Arte Documento*, 6, 1992, p. 188, fig. 9; Lauder, *Battista Franco*, vol. II, p. 351, cat. no. 92 DA, vol. III, fig. 661.
- 22 L. Corti, *Vasari. Catalogo completo dei dipinti*, Florence, 1989, p. 22, cat. no. 9, repr.; E. Valazzi, in *Lorenzo Lotto nelle Marche: Il suo tempo, il suo influsso*, ed. by P. Dal Poggetto and P. Zampetti, exh. cat., Chiesa del Gesù, Chiesa di San Francesco alle Scale, Ancona, 1981, p. 411.
- 23 Corti, *Vasari. Catalogo completo dei dipinti*, p. 67, cat. no. 47, repr.
- 24 Parma Baudille, 'Disegni di Battista Franco per opere marchigiane', p. 36. For the painting, see *Late Raphael*, ed. by T. Henry and P. Joannides, exh. cat. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid and Musée du Louvre, Paris, 2012–2013, pp. 216–219, cat. no. 54 as Raphael (?) or Gianfrancesco Penni (?).
- 25 Franco certainly would have known Raphael's celebrated depiction of the scene in the Stanza di Eliodoro in the Vatican apartments of c. 1512–1513.
- 26 Samuel Wythe, former drawings cataloguer at Phillips' auction house (personal communication to Anne Varick Lauder, 1997). Pen and brown ink with wash, over black chalk and graphite, incised with the stylus for transfer (*recto*) on cream paper, 394 × 280 mm; *verso*: pen and brown ink, stylus indications and blackened with chalk. Now in a private collection, the drawing was sold at Phillip's, London, 7 December 1994, lot 192 (as Florentine School, 17th c.) and subsequently with Kate Ganz, New York, Ilaria Quadrani, New York, in 2000, and Diana Dollar Knowles, San Francisco, before being sold in the Knowles sale, Christie's, New York, 22 October 2013, lot 212 (as attributed to Franco). See I. Quadrani, *Master Drawings*, New York, 2000, cat. no. 1, repr. (as Franco); Saccomani, 'Battista Franco alla Corte di Urbino', pp. 214, fig. 6; pp. 217–218 (as Franco).
- 27 As first noted by Anne Varick Lauder 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 × 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. Rearick 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 dějin umění a kultury k 70. narozeninám Prof. PhDr. Pavla Preisse, DrSc.*, ed. by V. Vlnas, 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.
- 28 See C. C. Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300–1600*, New York, 1999, pp. 12, 34, 296. Franco adopted this practice for the Osimo polyptych and previously, in the 1530s, for his study after Roman Telamones in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (J. Bean with the assistance of L. Turčić, *Italian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1982, p. 101, cat. no. 91, repr.).
- 29 As noted by Saccomani, 'Battista Franco alla Corte di Urbino', p. 218.
- 30 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.
- 31 Present location unknown, pen and brown ink, brown wash, black chalk, indented for transfer and blackened on the verso, 335 × 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 Lauder, personal communication to Cristiana Romalli). It was subsequently published in Biferali and Firpo, *Battista Franco «pittore viniziano»*, p. 393, fig. 62.
- 32 As first pointed out by Anne Varick Lauder (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 × 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.
- 33 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 Lauder) as by Federico Zuccaro. Gere identified writing by the same hand on a sheet by Girolamo Mazzano, *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 de m | girolamo mozzano*) 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 de Tadeo*). On the present sheet, the part of the inscription identifying the name of the artist, presumably Franco, has been erased.
- 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.
- 36 Lauder, *Dessins italiens du Musée du Louvre*, pp. 214–216, cat. no. 46, fig. 52; for the painting, see especially F. Brancati, 'Battista Franco e la pala di San Venanzio', in *La Cattedrale di Fabriano*, ed. by B. Cleri and G. Donnini, Fabriano, 2003, pp. 86–101.
- 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 Lauder, 2000. For the drawing, see Joannides, *The Drawings of Raphael*, p. 199, cat. no. 266, and *Raffaello a Firenze: Dipinte 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.

³⁹ Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints*, 1123–1126, no. 403.

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

⁴¹ B. Boucher, *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, 2 vols, New Haven and London, 1991, vol. II, pp. 334–335, I, pl. IX.

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).