

FEDERIGO DA MONTEFELTRO: THE GOOD CHRISTIAN PRINCE¹

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The crimes of violence of the lesser signorial dynasties of Renaissance Italy come vividly to mind in consequence of Jacob Burckhardt's famous 'essay'.² Associated, and equally colourful, is the instability of such dynasties. Closely related, also, to these aspects, as Burckhardt had been one of the first to appreciate, was the fact that the princely ruler either lacked entirely or held but tenuously legitimate authority, which derived from imperial and papal claims to overlordship.³ In all these regards the Montefeltro dynasty was not untypical. It was, though, exceptional in the remarkable sagacity of a scion, Federigo da Montefeltro, who came to eminence unexpectedly in consequence of revolt and assassination. Dubbed by Castiglione in his *Book of the Courtier* "the light of Italy",⁴ Federigo ruled his state of Urbino from 1444 until his death in 1482, retaining power despite both internal and external attempts to displace him. The purpose of this study is to illustrate one of the less familiar facets of his character and rule. If I may anticipate, my conclusion is that something like a consistent philosophy can be detected behind that rule. Not only did he understandably desire to be regarded as a good prince,

¹ The core of the section concerning the Church of San Bernardino and the Brera Altarpiece was given by me as a lecture at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, on 26 May 1977 and has been improved as a result of the comments that followed it. The paper as a whole is a much expanded version of the Matthew Vassar Art Lecture delivered on 30 September 1981 at Vassar College. I am particularly indebted for the invitation and grateful to the College's Faculty and Students for the discussion at the subsequent seminar. Further, I wish to express my sincere thanks to the British Academy, to the former Department of Medieval History of the University of Liverpool, and to the University itself, for grants in aid of the publication of the plates.

² J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. from the 15th German ed., ed. S.G.C. Middlemore (London, 1929), Chapter iv, I, entitled: "The Petty Tyrannies", pp. 45-50.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-8, 36-8, 124-6; cf. also J.E. Law, *The Lords of Renaissance Italy* (London, 1981), pp. 14-20.

⁴ B. Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano con una scelta delle opere minori*, ed. B. Maier (Turin, 3rd ed. rev., 1981), Bk. i, ii, p. 84.

the *princeps bonus* of medieval treatises on princely duties, he genuinely sought to be a Christian one. He can be seen as exemplifying Castiglione's maxim:⁵

Devotion to God is the duty of all and especially of princes ... It is impossible to rule rightly one's self or others without the aid of God.

Bernardino Zambotti of Ferrara, writing his chronicle under Tuesday, 10 September 1482, recorded what is claimed in part as an eye-witness account of the circumstances of Duke Federigo's death:⁶

The Duke of Urbino, Captain General of the entire forces of the League, being ill in the ducal garden room, which is near the Lady Chapel [presumably the present-day Capella di Renata di Francia], in the Castello [Estense] of Ferrara, after continuous fever died this afternoon at "ore 16" [about five o'clock G.M.T.]. And I saw him dead to this world, draped in crimson velvet, in his room. He was carried by some of his subjects to Urbino for burial there.

Some days before the duke's death grave news had reached him on the Ferrarese front, where he was stationed with the forces of the League. These forces essentially comprised troops of the King of Naples, of the Duke of Milan, of the Florentine Republic, and of the Duke of Ferrara. On 21 August, some three weeks previously, Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, the eldest son of the King of Naples, had been defeated at Campomorto in the Roman Campagna by Roberto Malatesta, who, as Venetian Captain General, was in command of the forces of the confederation opposing the League; this alliance consisted of the Republics of Venice and Genoa and the Pope.⁷ Sigismondo de' Conti wrote that on receipt of the news

⁵ *Ibid.*, Bk. iv, section xxxii, p. 494.

⁶ B. Zambotti, "Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504", ed. G. Pardi, in L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new ed., eds. G. Carducci, V. Fiorini and P. Fedele (Bologna, 24 vols., 1900—in progress), xxiv, part vii, "Appendice al Diario ferrarese di autori incerti" (1934-6), p. 114. The location and same hour is also in G. Santi, *Federigo da Montefeltro, Duca di Urbino. Cronaca*, ed. H. Holtzinger (Stuttgart, 1893), p. 206, Chapter cv, verses 11 and 13. The title published is that devised by the editor, as appreciated by Renée Dubos, *Giovanni Santi* (Bordeaux, 1971), p. 54. Holtzinger divided the work, hereafter cited under the title *Cronaca*, into chapters and numbered verses, and these are cited for ease of reference.

⁷ For the background to the battle and an account of it see L. and C. Tonini, *La Storia Civile e Sacra Riminese* (Rimini, 6 vols., 1848-88), v, entitled: "Rimini

of this defeat Duke Federigo wept, bemoaning the rashness of the Duke of Calabria.⁸ Certainly for the Duke of Urbino the implications of the defeat were serious, since it left the way open for his young and energetic rival, Roberto Malatesta, to invade the Duchy of Urbino with papal backing and settle old family scores. Fearful of the sacking of his state and its possible return to direct papal control, Federigo, though weak from a severe attack of malaria, determined to leave the Ferrarese front for Urbino. He ordered that he should be conveyed to Urbino on a litter, but en route for Bologna he became so seriously ill that his party turned back to Ferrara.⁹ Accordingly, at the time of his death Duke Federigo could fear that what he had striven to create—his Duchy of Urbino, with its outstanding buildings and splendid works of art—would shortly be in ruins, while the rule of his dynasty was likely to end. In fact, the Duchy and his dynasty were saved by what might be called Divine intervention. By 2 September Roberto Malatesta himself had caught malaria; he was carried to Rome on a litter and died in that city at “ore 1 o 2 di notte” of 10 September, which by our reckoning would be the early hours of 11 September.¹⁰

nella Signoria de' Malatesta”, part i (1882), pp. 385-90; for Roberto's letter of 21 Aug. addressed to the “Consiglio di Rimini” immediately after the victory see pp. 390-2.

⁸ S. de' Conti, *Le Storie de' suoi tempi dal 1474 al 1510*, eds. Cav. Ceriani, B. Caetani d'Aragona and S. Frenfanelli Cybo, with Ital. trans. paralleling the Latin text, by D. Zanelli and F. Calabro (Rome, 2 vols., 1883), i. 145. For De' Conti see G. Mengozzi, “Vita di Sigismondo de' Comitibus”, in *Bulletino della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*, xiii (1907), 151-96.

⁹ Anon. Veronese, “Cronaca, 1446-99”, ed. G. Soranzo in *Regia Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria: Cronache*, series iii, iv (Venice, 1915), p. 385; for the location see also Santi, *Cronaca*, cited in n. 6 above. Rumours erroneously reported Federigo's death as occurring in a villa of the Bentivoglio outside Bologna, see De' Conti, *Le Storie ...*, cited in n. 8, i. 145, and N. Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*, ed. P. Carli (Florence, 2 vols., 1927), ii. 202.

¹⁰ Letters dated 11 Sept. 1484 with news of Roberto's demise, written in Rome by the pope to the “Consiglio” of Rimini and to the Doge of Venice, are published by Tonini, *La Storia Civile ...*, cited in n. 7, v, “Appendice di Documenti” (1882), pp. 290-1, 293, documents cxxi, cxxiii; p. 292, document cxxii, provides an extract of an undated letter of the Doge on the same subject; see also a letter of the same date from Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga in Rome to his brother the Marquis of Mantua, published in L. Pastor, *The history of the popes*, trans. (London, 40 vols., 1891-1953), iv, ed. F.I. Antrobus (1894), 519. For Roberto ill by 2 Sept. see Tonini, p. 287, document cxv.

A letter written by Violante da Montefeltro on 10 September, just after the death of Federigo, her half-brother, is revealing. Some fifteen years previously, having given away many of her possessions to the Church, Violante had entered the Convent of Corpus Domini, Ferrara, and become its Abbess; she had left the Convent to be with Federigo during his last hours of life. Her letter, addressed to Duke Guidobaldo, Federigo's only legitimate son, told him of his father's death. It stressed that the duke had confessed and received the last sacrament before he died. It went on to urge Guidobaldo to conduct himself always so as to bring honour to himself and his dynasty. She implied that Federigo's end had come suddenly, for, as he died without making provision for his faithful servants, Guidobaldo was asked to undertake this obligation. Seemingly, therefore, Duke Federigo died intestate, a point to which I will return. Finally, Violante made an impassioned plea to the young duke to adopt the name Antonio; indeed she addressed him as "Guidantonio" on the outside of the letter. Her stated reason for wanting Guidobaldo to take this name was that thereby he would become "wholly our father". She was harking back to Guidantonio, Count of Urbino and Duke of Spoleto, the father common to herself and to Federigo, and to what, no doubt, she considered the authentic Montefeltro line.¹¹

The circumstances were certainly reminiscent of nearly forty years earlier when Guidantonio had suddenly died, leaving as heir his son Oddantonio, Violante's brother, aged just sixteen.¹² Federigo, his elder brother by almost five years, had been excluded from succeeding to the papal vicariate in the event of his father having a legitimate son by the bull of legitimization which Pope Martin V had granted to Guidantonio on 22 December 1424.¹³

¹¹ Published from the original letter in the Montefeltro archives by G. Franceschini, "Violante Montefeltro Malatesta, Signora di Cesena", in *Studi Romagnoli*, i (1950), 187-8, document 20; for Violante in general see pp. 133-90.

¹² For Guidantonio's death see the text at n. 136 below. For the date of Oddantonio's birth, 18 Jan. 1427, see Anon., "Cronachetta d'Urbino, 1404-1578", in *Le Marche illustrate ...*, i (Fano, 1901), 119; letters of congratulation on his birth, dated 10 Feb. 1426 [1427], from the Republic of Siena, and dated 19 Feb. 1427, from the Lord of Lucca, are published by G. Franceschini, "Notizie e documenti inediti su Oddantonio da Montefeltro ...", in his *Saggi di Storia Montefeltresco e Urbinate* (Selci Umbro, 1957), pp. 213-4; both are from minutes kept by their dispatching authorities.

¹³ For the date of Federigo's birth, 7 June 1422, see Anon., "Cronachetta ...", cited in n. 12, p. 119 under the entry for 27 Sept. 1424; see also Ser Guerriero

In February 1443 the threat to the state was in the person of Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini,¹⁴ while in 1482 it came from the latter's legitimized son, Roberto, since 1475 married to Federigo's daughter Elisabetta. In 1482 Guidobaldo, Federigo's son and heir, was aged ten;¹⁵ his half-brother Antonio, some twenty years his senior, had been legitimized in 1454 subject to the prior claims of a son born in wedlock, just as his father had been.¹⁶ Antonio was baptised by no less an individual than Cardinal Bessarion. Taught Latin and at least the rudiments of

da Gubbio, "Cronaca, 1350-1472", ed. G. Mazzatinti, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, cited in n. 6, xxi, part iv (Appendice 1) (1902), p. 42, under the entry for 27 Nov. 1424, and for this chronicler see also G. Franceschini, "Alcune notizie inedite su Ser Guerriero da Gubbio", *Bulletino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*, xlix (1952), 172-4. This date is followed by B. Baldi, *Della Vita e Fatti di Federigo da Montefeltro, Duca di Urbino*, ed. F. Zuccardi (Rome, 3 vols., 1824), i.9. For the papal bull see J. Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino* (London, 3 vols., 1851), i. 58, referring to the original despatched, which is in C1.I. Div. B. filza 8, ins. 3 n°. 1, Archivio di Urbino; Archivio di Stato, Florence; W. Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federigo da Montefeltro, 1422-82* (Urbino, 1978), p. 9 n. 4, also indicates the transcription in Arm. LX. 21, Archivio Segreto, Vatican City, a manuscript that was a register of the Montefeltro archives, see L. Michelini Tocci, "I due manoscritti urbinati dei privilegi dei Montefeltro", in *La Biblio filia, Ix* (Dedicata alla Memoria del Card. Giovanni Mercati) (1958), 227, 249; a copy made from this register is in a compilation of privileges for Federigo's library, now A.A.Arm.E, Archivio Segreto, Vatican City, see Michelini Tocci, pp. 206-14, 249.

¹⁴ For the threat posed by Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta see Franceschini, "Notizie e documenti inediti ... su Oddantonio ...", cited in n. 12, pp. 221-9, and Philip J. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 186-91; cf. also the text below at n. 146.

¹⁵ For the date of Guidobaldo's birth, 24 Jan. 1472, see Ser Guerriero, "Cronaca", cited in n. 13, p. 89, the source followed by B. Baldi, *Della Vita e de' Fatti di Guidobaldo I da Montefeltro, Duca d'Urbino*, ed. [C. De' Rosmini] (Milan, 1821), p. 6.

¹⁶ No precise details concerning Antonio's date of birth are known, but one can speculate that it was about 1450, cf. C.H. Clough, "Cardinal Bessarion and Greek at the Court of Urbino", *Manuscripta*, viii (1964), 163, reprinted with additional notes in his *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance* (London, 1981), item vii; about 1458, when he was a boy, he was eulogized in verse by Porcellio Pandoni, see G. Zannoni, "P. Pandoni ed i Montefeltro", in *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei: Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, series v, iv (1895), p. 490. For his legitimization see Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, cited in n. 13, i. 113, 277, but with no source, which presumably was the original in the Archivio di Urbino, Archivio di Stato, Florence; for two copies see Michelini Tocci, "I due manoscritti urbinati ...", cited in n. 13, p. 252.

Greek, Antoniono, from 1458, when Buonconte Federigo's first-born son, likewise illegitimate, had died, until 1472, on Guidobaldo's birth, had been acknowledged as his father's successor.¹⁷ Giovanni Santi, Raphael's father, wrote of Federigo's death in his chronicle certainly within twelve years of it, though probably within six.¹⁸ He was not at Ferrara, but one supposes his information was from courtiers who had been present, particularly as he himself was of the court circle. His work, destined as it was for Duke Guidobaldo, did not hide the fact that Antonio had left camp at Ladino (five miles from Forli), where he was serving with the Florentine contingent, and gone to visit his dying father at Ferrara, only to receive a severe reprimand from Federigo for dereliction of duty. Antonio was at once ordered back to his post, and, reading between the lines, one can believe that Federigo had no wish that, imitating his own rise to power, his illegitimate son should displace his legitimate one.¹⁹

¹⁷ For his early education see Clough, "Cardinal Bessarion ...", cited in n. 16, pp. 163-4; by 1469 he was in military service, see P.A. Paltroni, *Commentari della Vita e Gestii dell'illusterrissimo Federigo Duca d'Urbino*, ed. W. Tommasoli (Urbino, 1966), p. 255; for his being sent to Sixtus IV in 1471 as his father's representative, see Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico ...*, cited in n. 13, p. 225; in 1474 he was knighted by the King of Naples, see Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, cited in n. 13, i. 213; by 1477 and until early 1482 he had a "condotta" with the Republic of Siena, see Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico...*, pp. 272, 301, 345, and Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, i. 242; in 1487 he married Emilia Pio, see A. Luzio and R. Renier, *Mantova e Urbino* (Turin-Rome, 1893), pp. 25, 106; in 1495 in Venetian service at the Battle of Fornovo see Guicciardini as rather unjustly quoted by Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, i. 277, 341, 438; in mid-Aug. 1500 he died of dropsy, see Luzio and Renier, *Mantova e Urbino*, pp. 106-7; cf. V. da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, ed. A. Greco (Florence, 2 vols., 1970-76), i. 403, though inexact in some details: "[Federico] Aveva un altro figliuolo, avuto ch'egli era asai giovane, che l'aveva avuto inanzi avesse la donna, il quale si chiamava il signor Antonio. Questo volè si dessi alla disciplina militare, et è giovane di laudabili condizioni".

¹⁸ Santi, *Cronaca*, cited in n. 6; Santi died 1 Aug. 1494; he concluded his work with a reference to the building of a church in progress [presumably San Bernardino] by Ottaviano Ubaldini, seemingly when regent and hence before Jan. 1488 when Duke Guidobaldo came to authority; see also the text below at n. 46.

¹⁹ Santi, *Cronaca*, cited in n. 6, p. 206, Chapter cv, verses 1-3; for the camp at Ladino and Antonio there with the Florentine contingent, see A. Bernardi (called Novacula), "Cronache Forlivesi", ed. G. Mazzatinti, in *Monumenti istorici pertinenti alle provincie della Romagna*, ser. iii, i (Bologna, 2 vols., 1895-97), i. 67, 91, 107-8.

Santi went on to mention Federigo's will ("testamento" is the word he used),²⁰ which requires further consideration. In the 1480s and '90s Santi had connections at court and certainly knew Ottaviano Ubaldini,²¹ so that one would expect him to have been accurate in so important a matter as a will of the late ruler. Baldi, who, in the second half of the sixteenth century, had access to the Montefeltro archives, apparently found no trace of such a will, and subsequent searches have proved equally fruitless. The explanation, supported by my understanding of Violante's letter, is that no will was made. The duke did express his last wishes, which were recorded by his secretary Commandino Commandini, and I think it likely that these were treated as legally binding.²² Hence my supposition is that when Santi and, independently, Vespasiano da Bisticci referred to a will they were guilty of using the word imprecisely.²³ According to Santi the state was left to Guidantonio under the tutelage of Ottaviano Ubaldini, who was to be the sole regent. If Guidobaldo died without an heir, Ottaviano was to succeed, followed in line of succession by Antonio.²⁴ Baldi, who worked industriously in the Montefeltro archives, added that Duke Federigo commended Antonio to King Ferdinand of Naples and to the Duke of Calabria, the implication being that this was another death-bed desire.²⁵ In what certainly was one, Federigo made it clear to Commandini that his corpse

²⁰ Santi, *Cronaca*, cited in n. 6, p. 206, Chapter cv, verse 6.

²¹ Dubos, *Giovanni Santi*, cited in n. 6, pp. 40-4, and the review of this book by C.H. Clough in *The Art Bulletin*, lvii (1975), 135; see also Luzio and Renier, *Mantova e Urbino*, cited in n. 17, pp. 20-1.

²² For Commandini recording Federigo's last wishes see Baldi, *Della Vita ... di Federigo ...*, cited in n. 13, iii. 268, where the implication is that there was no will.

²³ For Santi see n. 20; for Da Bisticci see *Le Vite*, cited in n. 17, i. 413: "et portato il corpo suo a Sancto Donato, secondo che aveva lasciato nel suo testamento", and p. 415: "Lasciò in ultimo suo testamento che fusse rifatta la chiesa et il convento di Sancto Donato ... dove, in vita sua, aveva disegnato di spendere fiorini tremila o più". My supposition also is that sixteenth-century writers, notably Castiglione and Urbano Urbani, either use the word imprecisely or follow Da Bisticci and Santi when referring to Federigo's "testamento" and his burial in San Donato and San Bernardino.

²⁴ Santi, *Cronaca*, cited in n. 6, p. 206, Chapter cv, verses 6-11.

²⁵ Baldi, *Della Vita ... di Federigo ...*, cited in n. 13, iii. 268-9.

should be taken back to Urbino, where it was to rest finally in the Church of San Bernardino, then unbuilt.²⁶

The duke's partially embalmed corpse (for the process of embalming had to be begun immediately after death) reached Forlì on the evening of 11 September, and Andrea Bernardi, in his chronicle of that city, provides an eye-witness narrative.²⁷ He described the coffin as being covered in black satin and borne on the back of a mule as it arrived at Forlì, where the bells of the churches were solemnly tolling. Met by Girolamo Riario's deputy, Gianfrancesco da Tolentino, by a large following of citizens, and by virtually the entire body of the city's clergy, the coffin was followed to the Duomo, where it was placed in the sacristy for the night and surrounded by many lighted candles. At crack of dawn the following day, one of torrential rain, the coffin was loaded on to the mule again and taken towards Urbino. Forlì was enemy territory; its papal vicar, Girolamo Riario, indeed, since 1480 had been Captain General of the papal army. It says much for the esteem in which Federigo was held that his corpse was thus honoured; he had, of course, been Captain General of the Church and also its Gonfaloniere. Possibly the coffin arrived in Sassocorvaro on the evening of 12 September, remaining for the night in a church there. Certainly it reached Urbino on the following evening, and for what then took place we have the account, most likely eye-witness, of Santi.²⁸ He recorded that the coffin was met a mile outside the city gate (presumably that of

²⁶ Da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, cited in n. 17, i. 413, quoted above at n. 23; cf. Baldi, *Della Vita ... di Federigo ...*, cited in n. 13, iii. 268, specifically refers to the commission as given to Commandini, but refers to the Church of San Bernardino, stating that this was built. Santi, *Cronaca*, cited in n. 6, p. 207, Chapter cv, verses 30-4, refers to Federigo's corpse in the Church of San Donato until that of San Bernardino was built and he indicates that work on this latter church was in progress when he was writing, see n. 18 above. It is true that from what Santi wrote it could be argued that the Church of San Bernardino was built entirely at Ottaviano's behest, see the extract quoted in n. 34 below, and see also the text below at n. 41.

²⁷ Bernardi, "Cronache Forlivesi", cited in n. 19, i. 107-8; cf. L. Cobelli, "Cronache Forlivesi ... all'anno 1498", eds. G. Carducci, E. Frati and F. Guarini, in *Dei Monumenti istorici pertinenti alle provincie della Romagna*, series iii, "Cronache" (Bologna, 1874), p. 280: "Fogli [Federigo] facto honori dal Tolontino e cittadini forlivesi". For evidence that the corpse was embalmed, see Baldi, *Della Vita ... di Federigo ...*, cited in n. 13, iii. 271, and n. 29 below.

²⁸ Santi, *Cronaca*, cited in n. 6, p. 207, Chapter cv, verses 30-1.

Santa Lucia) by the duke's relatives, by Ottaviano Ubaldini, and by his courtiers, shrouded in black cloaks. This procession accompanied the coffin into the city. Thereafter one may believe that the corpse was subjected to the final embalming process and dressed in the scarlet robes and capped with a bonnet ("berretta"), and, on the evidence of Baldi, with a sword by its side, it looked much like Piero della Francesca's diptych portrait of about 1472.²⁹ There is an interesting parallel to this: the embalmed corpse of Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta was dressed in clothes of the same style and made in material of a similar pattern to those discernible in Piero's fresco portrait of him (in a poor state of conservation though it is) in the Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini. This portrait actually overlooked the tomb that held Sigismondo's body.³⁰ It is most likely that Federigo's embalmed and robed corpse was left in state, raised on a catafalque in a room in the Ducal Palace, and remained there for public viewing for some days.³¹ There exists still the text of Federigo's funeral oration delivered by Lodovico Odasio, tutor to Duke Guidobaldo, and this was doubtless given some weeks later in the Duomo, when the necessary elaborate preparations had been made,³² even though

²⁹ For the viewing of the embalmed corpse, found dressed thus in 1512, see the description of Urbano Urbani quoted below in the text at n. 231; for the sword see Baldi, *Della Vita ... di Federigo ...*, cited in n. 13, iii. 271. Piero's portrait is that of the diptych, Uffizi Gallery, Florence, n°. 1615, see E. Battisti, *Piero della Francesca* (Milan, 2 vols., 1971), i. 356-7 and also n. 107 below.

³⁰ *Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta e il suo tempo*, eds. F. Arduini, G.S. Menghi, F. Panvini Rosati, P.G. Pasini, P. Sampaolesi and A. Vasini (Exhibition Catalogue, Rimini, 1970) (Vicenza, 1970), pp. 244-5, item 133; for the fresco portrait see Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, i. 56-72, and see pp. 68-9 for the appreciation of the similarity of dress.

³¹ This is suggested by the analogy of what occurred on the death of Duke Federigo's successor, Guidobaldo, in Apr. 1508. For the latter's corpse in state in the Ducal Palace, Urbino, see Anon., "Diario delle cose di Urbino, 1502-08", ed. F. Madiai, in *Archivio Storico per le Marche e per l'Umbria*, iii (Foligno, 1886), 461-2; Baldi, *Della Vita ... di Guidobaldo ...*, cited in n. 15, does not mention this feature of the ceremony.

³² The Latin text of the oration, unfortunately undated, is in MS. Urb. lat. 1233, Vatican Library; this manuscript is of the late fifteenth century, see C. Stornajolo, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae: Codices manu scripti recensit: Codices Urbinates Latini* (Rome, 3 vols., 1902-26), iii. 229-30; for a later MS. copy see L. Moranti, "La Biblioteca Universitaria di Urbino", in G. Mazzatinti and A. Sorbelli, *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, lxxx (Florence, 1954), 203. For an Italian trans. in MS. Urb. lat. 1252 see Stornajolo, iii. 236; for Odasio see A. Pinetti and E.E. Odazio, "L'umanista L. Odasio alla corte dei

the Duomo was not finished by 1484. Be it noted that Federigo, eight years previous to his death, had ordered the Duomo to be rebuilt, probably in gratitude for the birth of a legitimate son and heir; significantly, Federigo's daughter Giovanna and her husband, Giovanni della Rovere, so tradition has it, built the Friary and Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Senigallia as token of their thanks for the birth of their son and heir, Francesco Maria, in 1490.³³ After the service in the Duomo, Federigo's body was taken to the Church of San Donato, a mile or so outside the city walls, which was to be but a relatively temporary resting place.³⁴

Giovanni Santi makes it clear that Federigo had considered building a round temple or pantheon to serve as his mausoleum;³⁵ Baldi, writing about 1587, referred to an extant model of it.³⁶ The latter located the proposed site to the Cortile del Pasquino of the Ducal Palace of Urbino,³⁷ and since this Cortile was the work of the architect Luciano Laurana, one supposes that he

duchi d'Urbino", in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, series iii, xxiii (1896), 355-80, and pp. 364-5 for the oration; cf. also Baldi, *Della Vita ... di Federigo ...*, cited in n. 13, iii. 271.

It is considered likely that the oration was delivered in the Duomo by analogy with the arrangements for Duke Guidobaldo's funeral in Apr. 1508, for which see Baldi, *Della Vita ... di Guidobaldo ...*, cited in n. 15, ii. 241-3, and cf. those for Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere in Nov. 1538, for which see A. Pinelli and O. Rossi, *Genga architetto* (Rome, 1971), pp. 222-5; for the Duomo unfinished in 1484 see n. 33.

³³ For rebuilding from 1474 see F. Mazzini, *Guida di Urbino* (Vicenza, 1962), pp. 77-8; for building in progress in 1484 see P. Rotondi, "Contributi urbinati a Francesco di Giorgio", in *Studi artistici urbinati*, i (Urbino, 1949), 85-135, at pp. 90-1, 99; cf. also Da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, cited in n. 17, i. 415. For the tradition regarding Santa Maria delle Grazie, Senigallia, see Marinella Bonvini Mazzanti, *Giovanni della Rovere* (Senigallia, 1983), p. 227.

³⁴ Santi, *Cronaca*, cited in n. 6, p. 207, Chapter cv, verses 31-3, in particular: "Fu sepelito li nel tempio sancto di San Donato ... inel cui tempio ... or giace ... El suo fratello [Ottaviano Ubaldini] ... aedificar fa un tempio richo e bello ... cum un sepulcro qual conviene a quello ..."; cf. also n. 26 above.

³⁵ Santi, *Cronaca*, cited in n. 6, p. 120, Chapter lix, verses 46-9, and in particular: "et anco havea ordinato nel suo pallazo al ultimo riposo un tempio".

³⁶ B. Baldi, "Descrizione del Palazzo Ducale di Urbino", in his *Versi e prose scelte*, ed. F. Ugolini and P.-L. Polidori (Florence, 1859), pp. 570-1; for the date 1587, when his study was completed, see p. 538.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 570: "Lo spazio [del Cortile del Pasquino] ... era destinato ad un tempio ritondo ...".

was responsible for the model.³⁸ Excavations in the Cortile have brought to light what indeed may be a small unfinished subterranean sepulchre, suitable for holding one body.³⁹ The fact that it was unfinished, strongly suggests that it was abandoned, probably early in the 1470s. The birth of a legitimate son in January 1472 may have been the decisive consideration,⁴⁰ since then Federigo may have come to prefer a memorial to his dynasty rather than one merely for himself. The small area of the Cortile (the only suitable location for a pantheon in the palace complex) and its architectural proportions determined the size of any such memorial and precluded more vaults than one.

Federigo abandoned the pantheon, which was inspired by Antiquity, in favour of the dynastic church, typically Christian, which, as will be shown shortly, was currently in favour with the

³⁸ For the departure of Laurana before the Cortile del Pasquino was completed see P. Rotondi, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Urbino* (Urbino, 2 vols., 1950-51), i. 292-3, 300; Laurana left probably in August 1472, see *ibid.*, i. 219, 432 n. 122; cf. also P. Rotondi, *The Ducal Palace of Urbino*, trans. (London, rev. ed., 1969), pp. 62-3, where it is concluded that the original master-design of the courtyard was by Laurana.

The Louvre, Paris, drawing, Vallardi 182 n°. d'ordre 2386, shows a mausoleum in the form of a round temple on the apex of a conical, artificial, hilly landscape. Below is a ground plan of the galleries that were to be repositories either of some nineteen funeral urns or of bodies; alongside is a cross-section of a gallery; these galleries were at the base of the mausoleum. The drawing is reproduced in L. da Vinci, *Literary works*, eds. J.P. and Irma A. Richter (London, 3rd ed., 2 vols., 1970), ii. pl. xcvi, and see pp. 44-5, where the drawing is attributed to Da Vinci. C. Gould, *Leonardo the Artist and the Non-Artist* (London, 1975), pp. 54-5, likewise attributes the drawing to Leonardo. A. Venturi, "L'uso della mano sinistra ...", in *L'Arte*, xlvi (1939), 167-73, considered it to be drawn by Francesco di Giorgio Martini. A.S. Weller, *Francesco di Giorgio, 1439-1501* (Chicago, 1943), pp. 276-7 n. 115, erroneously stated that Santi (see the quotation in n. 35 above) had indicated the architect of the projected mausoleum to be Francesco di Giorgio; he went on to wonder if the drawing in the Louvre was to be linked with the project for the Cortile del Pasquino. My conclusion is that there is no evidence which suggests that the two were connected in any way.

³⁹ For what appears to be the sepulchre, excavated by Rotondi, see his *Il Palazzo Ducale di Urbino*, cited in n. 38, i. 296-8. A secret compartment not unlike that found by Rotondi certainly was used for the embalmed corpse of Bartolommeo Colleoni. The latter's remains, with fragments of his dress as a captain and with his baton of command, have recently been discovered. The coffin bore a large lead plaque with an inscription referring to Colleoni as "the unbeaten General of the Venetian Empire", see P. Howard, "Detector search for a lost hero", in *The Times*, 16 Dec. 1969.

⁴⁰ See n. 15 above.

ruling families of Quattrocento Italy. This can be accepted on the evidence of Da Bisticci's contemporary remarks on the matter and from what took place, and, since it is complicated, I will explain in more detail. Da Bisticci wrote that it had been Duke Federigo's intention during his lifetime to refurbish the Observantine Friary of San Donato and for this purpose he had planned on spending at least 3,000 florins.⁴¹ This task, unaccomplished still in 1482, has to be linked with Federigo's last wishes that his body should be placed in the Church of San Bernardino.⁴² In 1482 no such church existed, so that Federigo's wishes necessitated the building of such a church, which would be attached to the Observantine Friary of San Donato; this latter, when rebuilt, was to become the Friary of San Bernardino (Plate 1). Such a location was apt, in that there masses for the dead could be celebrated in perpetuity by the brothers of the Order, whose purity was a guarantee that the prayers offered were likely to be efficacious; also, its vaults could be sufficiently capacious to hold the bodies of succeeding generations of the dynasty. The Church of San Donato would remain untouched and continue its function as a parish church.

It is essential to stress that the Church of San Bernardino was not built during Federigo's lifetime, since there has recently come into being the tradition that it was begun in 1473, or earlier.⁴³ The false assumption stems from misunderstanding a will of 1473 made by Bartolomeo di Pierino of Urbino. In fact, the will actually only mentions the Friary of San Donato and does not refer to a church connected with this friary at all.⁴⁴ This mistake

⁴¹ Quoted in n. 23 above.

⁴² See nn. 26, 34 above.

⁴³ C. Budinich, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Urbino* (Trieste, 1904), p. 153, published the relevant portion of the will and argued that two florins were left for the building of the Church of San Bernardino. R. Papini, *Francesco di Giorgio architetto* (Florence, 3 vols., 1946), i. 276, elaborated Budinich and claimed the will as testimony that San Bernardino was under construction. Budinich was followed by F. Canuti, "Chi fu l'architetto di San Bernardino ad Urbino?", in *Omaggio a Bramante* (Urbino, 1952), and this latter by Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, i. 333. The relevant extract of the will is in n. 44 below.

⁴⁴ The will includes the bequest "al Convento di San Donato fuori della porta di San Bartolo dell'Ordine dei Minori dell'Osservanza per la fabbrica due fiorini". There is no mention of San Bernardino and the bequest is typical of those made for the general maintenance of fabric, in this case that of the Friary of San Donato. This latter point is made by P. Rotondi, "Quando fu costruita la Chiesa di San Bernardino in Urbino?", in *Belle Arti*, i (Pisa, 1949), 199.

has important consequences for the dating of the altarpiece accepted as Piero della Francesca's, now in the Brera Gallery, Milan, but formerly in the Church of San Bernardino—a point to which I will return.⁴⁵ The contemporary testimony of both Santi and Da Bisticci is that the Church of San Bernardino was built after Federigo's demise by Ottaviano Ubaldini; presumably the latter as regent found the necessary funds in the ducal treasury.⁴⁶ Castiglione, in his eulogistic life of Duke Guidobaldo, almost certainly written in the summer of 1508, understandably shifted the emphasis from the regent to the duke, stating that it was Guidobaldo who was responsible for its building.⁴⁷ By so doing, Castiglione provides further supporting evidence that the church was built only after Duke Federigo's death.

There is also the problem of when the Church of San Bernardino was completed. If Santi's words are taken literally, he concluded his life of Federigo while Ottaviano was in authority and hence still regent, and when the corpse of Federigo was in the Church of San Donato;⁴⁸ at the very same time that Santi was writing, the building of the new church, which was to serve as Federigo's sepulchre, was in progress, and this, though not named by Santi, can only be San Bernardino. In January 1488, on coming of age at sixteen, Duke Guidobaldo assumed control, so seemingly Santi was writing before this.⁴⁹ Evidence provided by the will of

I accept Rotondi's interpretation and have examined the original will in Fondo della Congregazione, Busta 9, 436 (ex 493), Biblioteca Universitaria, Urbino, and seen also the copy by Antonio Corradini, "Protocollo delle pergamene che originalmente esistono nell'Archivio della Ven. Fraternita di Pian di Mercato d'Urbino", in its transcription of 1810 by Antonio Rosa, MS. Urbino 107 (ex Rep. III.125), 2 vols., Biblioteca Universitaria, Urbino, II, f. 93 v; for this latter MS. see Moranti, "La Biblioteca Universitaria di Urbino", cited in n. 32, p. 132.

⁴⁵ See the text below at n. 84.

⁴⁶ See nn. 23 34, and 26 above.

⁴⁷ B. Castiglione, *Ad Henricum Angliae Regem Epistola de Vita et Gestis Guidobaldi Urbini Ducis* (Fossombrone, Ottaviano de' Petrucci, 1513), reprinted in B. Castiglione, "Le Lettere", i. ed. G. La Rocca in Castiglione, *Tutte le Opere*, i (Verona, 1978), 161-98, and see pp. 192-3: "... in aedem Divi Bernardini quam ipse Dux extruxerat, delatum est, ibique humatum ...". For the original MS. and the date of the composition of the work, see C.H. Clough, "B. Castiglione's presentation manuscript to King Henry VII", in his *The Duchy of Urbino ...*, cited in n. 16, item xv, pp. 1-5, and idem, "B. Castiglione's *Ad Henricum Angliae Regem Epistola ...*", in ibid., item xiv, p. 231.

⁴⁸ See the extract quoted in n. 34 above.

⁴⁹ Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, cited in n. 13, i. 291. There

Federigo de' Prefetti of Urbino, dated 8 February 1491, strongly suggests that by then the Church of San Bernardino, specifically named thus, was actually functioning.⁵⁰ Furthermore, in 1489, as we know from the inscription on the panel itself, Giovanni Santi painted an altarpiece for Carlo Oliva, Lord of Pian di Meleto.⁵¹ Santi's work so forcefully echoes Piero della Francesca's altarpiece, now in the Brera Gallery, that it was undoubtedly inspired by it. Santi's altarpiece is the first indication of the impact made by Piero's famous one, and one can speculate that Santi had seen it as soon as it was made public, which was probably in the church for which it was painted—San Bernardino. The conclusion, therefore, is that the Church of San Bernardino was finished probably in 1489 and certainly by 1491.

In 1425 Guidantonio da Montefeltro called to Urbino a few friars of the Observantine Order who initially resided in the Rectory of the late thirteenth-century Church of San Donato outside Urbino, where the care of souls had hitherto been the responsibility of a Benedictine monk. Twelve years later,

appears to be no study concerned with the issues of regency in the Italian Renaissance, aspects which merit attention.

⁵⁰ Rotondi, "Quando fu costruita la Chiesa di San Bernardino ...?", cited in n. 44, i. 200. I confirm Rotondi's interpretation, having examined the original will in the Fondo, cited in n. 44, Busta 10, 465 (ex 512), and the copy by Corradini in Rosa's transcript, likewise cited in n. 44, ii, ff. 98-9: "... lascia alla Chiesa e al Convento di San Bernardino fuori della città cinque fiorini per la fabbrica e per l'ornato ...". The phrase "per la fabbrica e per l'ornato" is in common usage in wills of the period for bequests for the fabric fund for existing buildings, cf. n. 44 above. There is other evidence that the Friary and Church of San Bernardino existed in the last decade of the fifteenth century; for instance, in "Quadro di S. Croce" under 15 Aug. 1494, MS. in the Biblioteca Universitaria, Urbino, f. 32 v (as I have been most kindly told by Signor Fert Sangiorgi) one finds a reference to "San Bernardino extra muros"; from 1496 the exchequer official of Urbino referred to the "Guardiano di San Bernardino" rather than the "Guardiano di San Donato" (officials tended to repeat a set formula, and hence the change actually may have been some years previously), see Rotondi, p. 200. In the summer of 1488 at the registration of payment for "mattoni" by Fra Niccolò of the friary he is indicated as of "Sandonato", possible testimony that then the friary had not been renamed, though it may be an instance of a set formula, see F. Sangiorgi, "Ipotesi sulla collocazione originaria della *Pala di Brera*", in *Commentari*, xxiv (1973), 215 n. 1.

⁵¹ The inscription reads: CAROLUS OLIVUS PLANIANI COMES DIVAE VIRGINI AC RELIQUIS CÆLESTIBUS, JOANNE SANCTIO PICTORE DICAVIT. MCCCCLXXXVIII, and for this painting see n. 96 below.

Eugenius IV granted Guidantonio's request for the establishment of an Observantine friary, and building was begun adjacent to the Church of San Donato.⁵² It was seemingly in accordance with Guidantonio's will of 1429 that his mortal remains in the habit of St. Francis were interred in the Church of San Donato.⁵³ Federigo da Montefeltro maintained the close links with the Order that his father had forged. As early as 1470 the spiritual privileges of the Order, including the funeral service particular to it, were granted to him, his wife, and his children. Da Bisticci's reference to Federigo's intention to rebuild the Friary of San Donato has already been mentioned.⁵⁴ Today the cloister of the friary is characterised by square pillars of brick of the kind particularly associated with the architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini of Siena, and a preliminary plan for the entire complex is testimony of his involvement;⁵⁵ it will be shown below that he was in charge of the building of the Church of San Bernardino.⁵⁶ In 1473 the friary and its only associated church formed San Donato, but by early February 1491 the friary had taken the name of San Bernardino from the recently-completed second church which it complemented.⁵⁷ It is reasonable to suppose that the building of the friary, like the founding of the new church, was in fulfilment

⁵² Mazzini, *Guida di Urbino*, cited in n. 33, pp. 263-4; for Guidantonio's ascription to the Order on 16 May 1434 and the concession to him on 29 June following that he should be allowed four friars in his service see Michelini Tocci, "I due manoscritti urbinati ...", cited in n. 13, p. 250. San Bernardino had previously accepted Guidantonio's invitation to preach in his state, see F. Ugolini, *Storia dei conti e duchi d'Urbino* (Florence, 2 vols., 1859), i. 250; subsequently, in 1435, San Bernardino refused the Bishopric of Urbino, cf. Iris Origo, *The World of San Bernardino* (London, 1962), p. 223, presumably from Anon. [a contemporary Observantine friar], "Life of San Bernardino", ed. F. v[an] O[troy], in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxv (1906), 314.

⁵³ R. Reposati, *Della zecca di Gubbio e delle geste de' conti, e duchi di Urbino* (Bologna, 2 vols., 1772-3), i. 143-4; cf. G. Colucci, "Vita di Guidantonio" in his *Delle antichità picene* (Fermo, 31 vols., 1786-97), xxi (1794), 57-58, which derives from Reposati.

⁵⁴ Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, cited in n. 13, 271 n.*.

⁵⁵ Mazzini, *Guida di Urbino*, cited in n. 33, pp. 264-5; H. Burns, "Progetti di Francesco di Giorgio per i conventi di San Bernardino e Santa Chiara di Urbino", in *Studi Bramanteschi* (Atti del Congresso Internazionale) (Rome, 1974), pp. 305-6, and tav. cxxxiv n°. 4.

⁵⁶ See the text below at n. 77.

⁵⁷ Cf. the text above at n. 44, though this only mentions the friary, and the will quoted in n. 50 above, which specifies the church and the friary.

of Duke Federigo's last wishes. The change of name to San Bernardino was to mark consciously a break with the past and to associate the new friary and church with Federigo's dynasty.

It would have been remarkable in Renaissance Italy if a princely ruler had not been a patron of religious communities. Borso d'Este, for instance, introduced the Carthusian Order into Ferrara in the early 1450s and at considerable cost over a decade built its Charterhouse ("Certosa").⁵⁸ Moreover, there was nothing exceptional in a ruling dynasty building a church in association with a monastery or friary so that its church could serve as that family's sepulchre and as proof of its belief in Christian virtues and values, including the hope of Paradise for the deceased by means of prayer. The Dominican Friary complex of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Ferrara had been built from 1403 onwards by Niccolò d'Este for those very reasons.⁵⁹ In Naples the Church of Santa Maria Monteoliveto was conceived by Duke Alfonso of Calabria as an Aragonese pantheon, and rebuilding began in 1487;⁶⁰ Ludovico Sforza dedicated Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan to his dynasty after the death of his wife Beatrice d'Este in 1496.⁶¹ Cosimo de' Medici made provision in 1442 for his own burial in San Lorenzo in a modest manner, as behove a private citizen; this church's association with the Medici as their mausoleum came about only in the sixteenth century, when the dynasty ruled Florence with all vestige of democratic government cast aside.⁶² Investment in eternal salvation by means of patronage in the form of church-building on Federigo's part, therefore, was typical of princely rulers, but perhaps in his case more tardy than one might have expected. Giovanni della Rovere, Federigo's son-in-law, had been paying for work on the rebuilding of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Senigallia, for some ten years prior to his death in November 1501. The church of this friary complex was to serve

⁵⁸ C.M. Rosenberg, "'Per il bene di ... nostra cipta': Borso d'Este and the *Certosa* of Ferrara", in *Renaissance Quarterly*, xxix (1976), 329-30, 333-40.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 330-1; Ella Noyes, *The Story of Ferrara* (London, 1904), pp. 305-6.

⁶⁰ G.L. Hersey, *Alfonso II and the artistic renewal of Naples, 1485-95* (New Haven, Conn., 1969), pp. 108-9.

⁶¹ Cecilia M. Ady, *A history of Milan under the Sforza* (London, 1907), pp. 162-4.

⁶² E.H. Gombrich, "The early Medici as patrons of art ...", in *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. E.F. Jacob (London, 1960), pp. 290-1, reprinted in his *Norm and Form ...* (London, 1966), p. 42.

as a Della Rovere sepulchre.⁶³ Building was unfinished when Giovanni died and the first clause of his will, dated 20 January 1495, gave the responsibility of completing it to his widow, regent of the state. This provision went on to link the work with good government stressing:⁶⁴ "Remember always the best interests of our subjects, particularly the poor, and rule with good justice for the poor no less than for the rich".

When Federigo came to power in 1444 the treasury of his state was empty as a result of his predecessor's over-spending.⁶⁵ The location of the "contea" straddling the Apennines meant that it was little more than self-sufficient. Certainly in comparison then with a state of similar status and size, such as that of Mantua or Ferrara, it was economically poor and culturally a backwater. Federigo assumed control in part as a consequence of reaction against high taxation, as will be considered, and with that lesson before him he appears to have been consistently moderate in the fiscal demands that he made on his subjects.⁶⁶ Even so, besides the external threats from the Malatesta, backed by the pope, Federigo was faced in September 1444, and again two years later, with internal plots to overthrow him.⁶⁷ Federigo could only accumulate money in his treasury slowly, if steadily, and hence, not surprisingly, in 1468, when he initiated his building programme, his state was some forty years behind the times as far as the "Magnificence" of its ruler was concerned. Significantly the patent which Federigo issued to his architect Laurana in 1468 explained the motive behind the programme as being "to honour his ancestors and himself".⁶⁸ It was Federigo's extraordinary

⁶³ Bonvini Mazzanti, *Giovanni della Rovere*, cited in n. 33, pp. 227-31.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 311.

⁶⁵ W. Tommasoli, "Note politico-economiche su Urbino nei primi anni della signoria di Federico da Montefeltro (1444-51)", in *Studi Urbinati*, xl ix, series B, part ii (Urbino, 1975), pp. 73-110, and, more succinctly, in his *La Vita di Federico* ..., cited in n. 13, pp. 31-7.

⁶⁶ Ibid. One example of low taxation, for instance, is indicated in C.H. Clough, "Towards an economic history of the state of Urbino at the time of Federigo da Montefeltro ...", in *Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis*, ed. L. de Rosa (Naples, 5 vols., 1978), iii. 493-4, reprinted with additional notes in Clough, *The Duchy of Urbino* ..., cited in n. 16, item iii.

⁶⁷ Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico* ..., cited in n. 13, p. 66 for 1444 and p. 68 for 1446; for this latter see also G. Franceschini, *Figure del rinascimento urbinate* (Urbino, 1959), pp. 202-4, 211.

⁶⁸ For the patent see Rotondi, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Urbino*, cited in n. 38, i. 109-10.

achievement that in ten years from 1468 he not only elevated the cultural level of his state, but, in consequence of prodigious patronage, made the "Magnificence" of his state paramount in the entire Italian peninsula.⁶⁹ This patronage was paid for from the generous stipend that Federigo obtained as the most successful condottiere in Italy, and hence was at little financial cost to his subjects. Indeed his "condotte" provided a livelihood for many men of his state, just as his building projects gave employment to very many local labourers. At Federigo's death in 1482, first with the reduction of the "condotta", as the terms of his contract as Captain General of the League provided, and then its cessation, the situation that had pertained while he was at the peak of his career was totally changed.⁷⁰ Duke Guidobaldo, aged only twelve, could not command a high salary as a condottiere captain.⁷¹ The building programme, including work on the Ducal Palace of Urbino, uncompleted at Federigo's death, had to be curtailed or abandoned.⁷²

That the Church of San Bernardino and its associated monastery was only created after Federigo's demise is not testimony of his lack of interest in spiritual matters. In 1474, as already mentioned, as a result of his patronage the rebuilding of the Duomo of Urbino from its foundations had begun, and was not completed as late as 1484.⁷³ In the 1470s, again in consequence of Federigo's patronage, building of the Convent of Santa Chiara was undertaken on such a large scale that it was never completed; it was probably in the church of this convent that Federigo's two

⁶⁹ For something of this "Magnificence" see C.H. Clough, "Federigo da Montefeltro's patronage of the arts, 1468-82", in *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxxvi (1973), 129-44, and C.H. Clough, "Federigo da Montefeltro's artistic patronage", in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, cxxvi (1978), 718-34, both reprinted with additional notes in Clough, *The Duchy of Urbino ...*, cited in n. 16, items viii and ix.

⁷⁰ The terms are detailed by Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico ...*, cited in n. 13, pp. 341-3.

⁷¹ Ibid. Guidobaldo was to receive 15,000 florins a year while the League lasted, as against almost 120,000 florins granted his father in time of war, 65,000 florins in time of peace.

⁷² For work in the Tempietto undertaken after Federigo's death see Clough, "Federigo da Montefeltro's artistic patronage", cited in n. 69, *The Duchy of Urbino ...*, item ix, p. 17n. 79; for a project that was curtailed see the text below at n. 74.

⁷³ See the text above at n. 33.

wives were interred.⁷⁴ Federigo's problem was that there was so much to be done, including the construction of forts ("rocche") to protect his state, as well as the building of palaces in Urbino and Gubbio, and residences and hunting lodges elsewhere.⁷⁵ It tends to be overlooked when considering Federigo's patronage that it had to be spread over the whole of his state, not limited merely to the city of Urbino. With all this work in hand it appears that he procrastinated over the building of the church that was to be his own sepulchre and that of his dynasty. Involved in the wars of Ferrara from 1478, he died on active service with this matter outstanding. Therefore the execution of his last wishes, as recorded by Commandini, was the only way remaining to deal with it. The fact that the Church of San Bernardino was built and the friary alongside it rebuilt when the financial situation was so adverse, indicates how important Federigo's heirs deemed the matter to be to him.

⁷⁴ For the death of Federigo's first wife see G. Franceschini, "La morte di Gentile Brancaleone ...", in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, series v, ii (1937), pp. 489-500, and while her burial in the Church of Santa Chiara is not certain, it seems likely, since she had retired to the associated convent shortly before her death, see E. Calzini, *Urbino e i suoi monumenti* (Rocca San Casciano, 1897) p. 115 n. 1, though with no source indicated; for the burial in the church of Santa Chiara of his second wife, Battista Sforza, see the contemporary sources indicated in Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, i. 510 n. 425.

L. Serra, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia: Urbino* (Rome, 1932), pp. 111-2, suggests that the rebuilding of the convent was funded by Federigo's daughter, Elisabetta, who was a widow from 1482 on the death of her husband Roberto Malatesta. This derives from a passage in Baldi, *Della Vita ... di Federigo ...*, cited in n. 13, iii. 277 (M), which the author had cancelled. Baldi refers to her using her dowry, and when she retired to the convent it is likely it was used for building, but her dowry is not likely to have been sufficient to have paid for more than a small part of what was achieved; in 1488, moreover, Elisabetta had not yet retired to the convent, see Luzio and Renier, *Mantova e Urbino*, cited in n. 17, pp. 19, 24-5. Cf. also Mazzini, *Guida di Urbino*, cited in n. 33, pp. 209-13. The evidence of Da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, cited in n. 17, i. 415, who visited Urbino sometime between mid-Jan. and 23 Apr. 1482, is that Federigo had begun the building, at least: "Fece edificare in Urbino uno munistero di Sancta Chiara, dell'ordine di Fuligno; stanno in perpetua clausura, alle quali soveniva d'ogni cosa necessaria, e spese in detto munistero molti denari", cf. p. 405, where reference is made to Federigo's visit to the convent, which he "aveva edificato". That Francesco di Giorgio was the architect seems confirmed by what appear to be preparatory plans in his hand, see Burns, "Progetti di Francesco di Giorgio ...", cited in n. 55, pp. 296-8, and tav. cxxxiii, n°. 1.

⁷⁵ M. Dezzi Bardeschi, "Le rocche di Francesco di Giorgio nel ducato di Urbino" in *Castellum*, viii (Rome, 1968), 97-140.

The transepts of the Church of San Bernardino remain as built, in the form of semicircular apses; originally the east end with the High Altar likewise was a circular apse, in harmony with the transepts and conforming to a plan found in Francesco di Giorgio's treatise on architecture (Plate 2a).⁷⁶ Indeed, there is every reason to attribute the church to this architect, who is recorded as working in the state of Urbino in the years immediately following Federigo's death. On 10 May 1487 a letter in Duke Guidobaldo's name addressed to the government of Siena referred to Francesco di Giorgio as "his architect" and mentioned building in progress on the basis of his plans.⁷⁷ As already mentioned, it seems that it was Francesco di Giorgio who was contemporaneously rebuilding the Friary of San Donato by the side of the new church.⁷⁸ The circular form of the east end of this latter church was discovered in the course of excavations by Luigi Serra in the late 1920s.⁷⁹ Probably in the second half of the sixteenth century, in conformity with Tridentine principles, the original wall had been demolished so that the present oblong choir could be built (Plate 2b).⁸⁰ A drawing in a collection of Francesco di Giorgio's appears to be that architect's sketch of the east end made preparatory to its building (Plate 3); another drawing, traditionally attributed to Baldassare Peruzzi and dated about 1525,

⁷⁶ Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati di Architettura, Ingegneria e Arte militare*, ed. C. Maltese (Milan, 2 vols., 1967), i, tav. 21, which reproduces f. 13 of the original treatise.

⁷⁷ The church is attributed to Francesco di Giorgio by A. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* (Milan, 11 vols., 1902-40), viii, "L'Architettura del Quattrocento", pt. i (1923), pp. 779-87; no mention is made of the friary. For Guidobaldo's letter see Weller, *Francesco di Giorgio*, cited in n. 38, pp. 358-9, document lv. Visits to the duchy were made at periodic intervals by Francesco di Giorgio in connection with building projects there under his supervision, at least until Aug. 1490, see *ibid.*, pp. 351-3, 360, 364, 374, documents xxxix, xl-xlii, xlvi, xlviii, lxix, lxxxvi, lxxxvii; for subsequent references which may relate see Burns, "Progetti di Francesco di Giorgio ...", cited in n. 55, p. 310 n. 65.

⁷⁸ See the text above at n. 55.

⁷⁹ L. Serra, "Note sulla Chiesa di San Bernardino in Urbino", in *Rassegna Marchigiana*, x (1932), 247-57; see also A. Terzaghi, "Indirizzi del classicismo nell'architettura del tardo quattrocento nelle Marche", in *Atti del XI Congresso di Storia di Architettura* (1959) (Rome, 1965), p. 329.

⁸⁰ For such principles see Marcia B. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce, 1565-77* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 1-8, and for similar modifications elsewhere see R.W. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo* (London, 2 vols., 1980), i, 91, 203-5. See also n. 82 below.

now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, shows the east end and High Altar of San Bernardino as built before the demolition (Plate 4).⁸¹ It reveals to the right of the High Altar a doorway which led into what was probably the mausoleum, altered in the course of building the choir; the original outlines were found by Serra while excavating. It was to this mausoleum that Duke Federigo's body was transferred from the adjacent Church of San Donato; in April 1508 the body of Duke Guidobaldo, the last of the Montefeltro line, was taken to what was intended to be its final resting place there.⁸² The dynasty of the Della Rovere, which succeeded through descent from Federigo's daughter, Giovanna,

⁸¹ Francesco di Giorgio's drawing is in a collection assembled by the Urbino architect Muzio Oddi now in MS. Ashburnham 1828, App., Laurenzian Library, Florence, f. 87, see Burns, "Progetti di Francesco di Giorgio ...", cited in n. 55, pp. 296, 298-9, and tav. cxxxv n°. 5. The significance of the drawing attributed to Peruzzi, n°. 245. dis. Arch., Uffizi Gallery, Florence, was first noted by A. Bruschi, *Bramante architetto* (Bari, 1969), p. 734 and fig. 430 (at p. 673); G. Marchini, "Spigolature Bramantesche", in *Studi Bramanteschi*, cited in n. 55, pp. 398-9, assigned it to Girolamo Genga.

⁸² For Guidobaldo's death on 11 Apr. 1508 see Castaglione, "Le Lettere", i cited in n. 47, pp. 151-3, letters 122, 123, and also the extract of a letter of 12 Apr. published in Luzzio and Renier, *Mantova e Urbino*, cited in n. 17, pp. 176-7. For Guidobaldo's will dated 28 Dec. 1507, made in the Palazzo of Giulio Malvezzi, Bologna, see the copy in "Scritture della Casa Feltria", owned by the present writer (formerly Phillipps MS. 5796), pp. 158-69, which at p. 159, states his desire to be buried in the Church of San Bernardino in his father's grave. For Guidobaldo's funeral see n. 32 above. The will also made a bequest of at least 1,000 gold ducats for the building of a tomb over the grave that contained both bodies and for a monument to his father. P. Bembo, "Vita di Guid'Ubaldo ..." in his *Volgarizzamento des Dialogs ...* ed. Maria Lutz (Geneva, 1980), pp. 112-13, gives the Italian verses on Guidobaldo's tomb; these are not found in the Latin text, first printed as *De Guido Ubaldo Feretrio deque Elisabetha Gonzagia Urbini ducibus liber* (Venice, Giovanni Antonio e fratelli de' Niccolini da Sabbio, 1530). The mausoleum which, I have suggested, was to the right of the High Altar in the Church of San Bernardino, therefore after Guidobaldo's death presumably contained the embalmed body of Duke Federigo and the corpse of his son Guidobaldo, seemingly not embalmed. Sometime before 1574, but probably early in the 1560s, Federigo's casket was taken from its sarcophagus and the corpse viewed by Duke Guidobaldo della Rovere. The coffin was not returned to the mausoleum, perhaps because the latter was being demolished for the building of the present choir, (see the text above at n. 80), see G. Muzio, *Historia de' fatti di Federico di Montefeltro Duca di Urbino* (Venice, 1605), pp. 407-8; Dennistoun, writing in the 1840s, said that the original sarcophagus was of marble, and perhaps he was given this information as a result of discoveries made in the course of restoration to the church carried out in 1824, see Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, cited in n. 13, i. 271.

whose son Francesco Maria was adopted by the childless Guidobaldo, chose to be interred in the Church of Santa Chiara,⁸³ so that Santa Maria delle Grazie, Senigallia, did not become the Della Rovere church it was intended to be. From all this it becomes apparent that one purpose behind the building of the Church of San Bernardino was to emphasize in the last decades of the Quattrocento that it was Duke Federigo's dynasty that ruled the Duchy of Urbino with Christian values.

The drawing attributed to Peruzzi sketches above the High Altar of the Church of San Bernardino the painting already briefly mentioned, Piero della Francesca's altarpiece in the Brera Gallery (Plate 5).⁸⁴ This altarpiece was still in the Church of San Bernardino early in the eighteenth century, where it remained until the suppression of the associated monastery by the French authorities in 1808. It was taken by the French to Milan, and two years later entered the Brera Gallery.⁸⁵ Piero's altarpiece testifies to that other motive behind building the church and rebuilding the friary: Federigo's desire for the salvation of his soul. Federigo on his knees, his baton of earthly command laid aside, is depicted in the act of prayer. He is interceding with the Virgin and Child that he might eventually pass from Purgatory to Paradise, the Heavenly Kingdom, despite his sins, and his patron saints are supporting him in this plea. The panoply of his earthly glory, including his military decorations and ducal bonnet, would have been inappropriate in this context and so are absent. Since this, the inspiration behind the panel, hitherto has not been appreciated I will consider it in some detail.

A striking feature of the altarpiece is its depiction of an egg suspended from the roof of the apse.⁸⁶ It has been calculated, by

⁸³ Serra, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte ... : Urbino*, cited in n. 74, p. 112.

⁸⁴ E. Modigliani, *Catalogo della Pinacoteca di Brera in Milano* (Milan, rev. ed., 1966), pp. 98-9 n°. 510, which gives the date of entry into the Brera as 1811; the date of 1810 is in P.-L. De Vecchi, *Piero della Francesca* (Milan, 1967), p. 106 n°. 29, as in F. Madiai, "Dei quadri tolti ad Urbino sotto il Regno Italico", *Nuova Rivista Misena*, viii (1895), 84.

⁸⁵ See n. 84 above.

⁸⁶ M. Meiss, "Ovum Struthionis: Symbol and allusion in Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece", in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. Dorothy Miner (Princeton, N.J., 1954), pp. 92-101, and his "Addendum Ovologium" in *The Art Bulletin*, xxxvi (1954), 221; the two are reprinted as one study in the author's *The Painter's Choice: Problems in the Interpretation of Renaissance Art* (New York, 1976), pp. 105-29.

the ratio of the diminution of other forms in the composition, that the egg is some 25cm. in size, or almost twice that of the largest ostrich egg.⁸⁷ Does this mean some other kind of egg is intended, and what is the significance of an egg hanging thus? First and foremost, even today in the normal course of viewing one does not calculate the egg's size. Secondly, in the Renaissance ostrich eggs were hung in churches, visual testimony being provided by, among other paintings, "The Vision of the prior of Sant'Antonio di Castello", attributed to Vittore Carpaccio and now in the Accademia Gallery, Venice. The painting is considered to represent the interior of the Church of Sant'Antonio di Castello, Venice, as it actually was in the early sixteenth century.⁸⁸ As far as I know, no other kind of egg was hung in a church, and hence the automatic reaction of a viewer of Piero's painting in the Renaissance would have been the assumption that the egg depicted was that of an ostrich, which its shape, being rotund as against ovoid, would have confirmed.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the Madonna and Child are out of proportion, so the larger-than-life ostrich egg is not unique in the panel.⁹⁰ One supposes that if the egg had been painted to scale it would have been lost. Thus, the logic is that the egg was painted out of proportion consciously, because it had an iconographical importance for the entire work. The painting's suspended ostrich egg can be linked to the remarks of Durandus on that subject in his *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, a work popular in the later half of the fifteenth century, as at least

⁸⁷ M. Meiss with T.G. Jones, "Once again Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece", in *The Art Bulletin*, xlviii (1966), 203-6, reprinted in Meiss, *The Painter's Choice* ..., cited at n. 86, pp. 130-41, at p. 131.

⁸⁸ P. Molmenti and G. Ludwig, *Carpaccio*, trans. (London, 1907), pp. 213-4; J. Lauts, *Carpaccio* (London, 1962), p. 263; P. Zampetti, *Vittore Carpaccio* (Exhibition Catalogue, Venice, 1963) (Venice, 1963), p. 272 n°. 61. Other examples of paintings with ostrich eggs are in Meiss, *The Painter's Choice* ..., cited in n. 86, pp. 113-4, 121-2.

⁸⁹ C. Gilbert, "'The Egg Reopened' Again", in *The Art Bulletin*, lvi (1974), 262-8, argued that the egg was Leda's. Its shape is wrong for this supposition, and other criticisms of it are in Meiss, *The Painter's Choice* ..., cited in n. 86, p. 122.

⁹⁰ Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, cited in n. 77, vii, part ii (1913), p. 101: "Le proporzioni della Madonna seduta, quantunque si addentri alquanto nella nicchia, sono evidentemente uguali a quelle de' santi che stanno nel mezzo delle due ali... Questa scala non giusta di proporzioni, ci presenta ... gigantesca la Madonna ...".

thirty-nine printings prior to 1500 testify.⁹¹ After mentioning that ostrich eggs were suspended in a church to bring the people in out of curiosity, he added, and I believe pertinently in the context of the San Bernardino altarpiece:⁹²

Again, some say that the ostrich, as being a forgetful bird, "leaveth her eggs in the dust": and at length, when she beholdeth a certain star, returneth unto them, and cheereth them by her presence. Therefore the eggs of ostriches are hung in churches to signify that man, being left of God on account of his sins, if at length he be illuminated by the Divine Light, remembereth his faults and returneth to Him, Who by looking on him with His Mercy cherisheth him. As it is written in Luke that after Peter had denied Christ, the "Lord turned and looked upon Peter". Therefore be the aforesaid eggs suspended in churches, this signifying, that man easily forgetteth God, unless being illuminated by a star, that is, by the Influence of the Holy Spirit, he is reminded to return to Him by good works.

The good works that Federigo had to his credit obviously included his building of churches and monasteries. Accordingly, the ostrich egg in the San Bernardino altarpiece, as a reminder of Divine Mercy, was most apt in a panel that depicted him in the act of petitioning for eternal life and which was set in a church that could be counted as one of his good works. The scallop shell from which the egg hangs iconographically may represent the noble army of martyrs of the faith, and so give emphasis to the symbol of the egg.⁹³ The source of light which appears mysteriously (and seemingly contrary to artistic convention) to the viewer's right on the scallop shell is the Divine Light, symbolic of God's presence.⁹⁴

⁹¹ F.R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries. A Third Census ...* (Millwood, N.Y., rev. ed., 1973), pp. 223-5.

⁹² W. Durandus, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments. A translation of the First Book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, eds. J.M. Neale and B. Webb (London, 3rd ed., 1906), pp. 62-3; for the original text cf. G. Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum* ([Rome], George Lauer, 1477), Bk. i, ff. 11 v-12.

⁹³ Cf. F.E. Hulme, *The History, Principles and Practice of Symbolism in Christian Art* (London, 1891), pp.206-7, and also George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York, 1959), p. 10. The scallop shell may allude to Federigo as a pilgrim; in that guise he had visited Loreto in October 1475, and Loreto was closely linked to the cult of the Madonna, see L. da Monterado, *Storia del Culto e del Pellegrinaggio a Loreto (sec. xiv-xv)* (Loreto, 2nd ed., 1979), pp. 115-18, 275.

⁹⁴ Cf. Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, i. 327, 340 fig. 172, 341

All in all, the symbolic implication of the panel as a whole is an expression of the pious hope that Federigo will actually go to Heaven, without falling into the sin of presumption, for only God could be sure on this point. The portrayal of an individual supplicating for eternal life in association with his or her tomb was not uncommon in fifteenth-century Italy, and there are instances of such a depiction being behind an altar table; for the latter one thinks primarily of work in sculpture, for instance the Brancaccio tomb in Naples of the late 1420s, the result of collaboration between Donatello and Michelozzo, and the latter's Aragazzi tomb in Montepulciano completed during the following decade. These were sculptured tombs to hold one corpse, or at the most possibly two corpses, and both were begun during the lifetime of the patron to be portrayed.⁹⁵ What is unusual about Federigo's altarpiece for San Bernardino is the material employed and the arrangement. Rather than a sculptured tomb behind an altar, Federigo's comprised a painting to serve as an altarpiece, with the family vault alongside. A painting cost considerably less than a sculpture, and my suggestion is that it may have been financial stringency that prompted Ottaviano Ubaldini to adopt such an exceptional solution.

Piero's altarpiece, therefore, was commissioned in association with the building of the Church of San Bernardino and as an integral part of it, so it is to be dated after Federigo's death, some ten years after the time generally assigned to it. Certainly it was finished by 1489, probably in position over the altar. That it was on display by 1489 is demonstrated by Santi's altarpiece for the Oliva family, which was modelled on Piero's for San Bernardino, as already briefly mentioned.⁹⁶ The panel of Santi, a most impressive work, was destined for the Oliva Chapel attached to the Friary of Montefiorentino near Pian di Meleto. The chapel held the mortal remains of the Oliva family, which paralleled what we have seen to be a primary motive for the building of the

fig. 173; Lord Clark, *Piero della Francesca* (London, 2nd ed., 1969), p. 67 considered it to be "a shaft of sun".

⁹⁵ Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo*, cited in n. 80, i. 83-127, 159-229, and for the iconography of these tombs see respectively pp. 103-5, 215-20.

⁹⁶ See n. 51 above for the dated inscription of 1489, which indicates that Santi's panel was then finished; for it being modelled on Piero's panel cf. Dubos, *Giovanni Santi*, cited in n. 6, p. 95.

Church of San Bernardino.⁹⁷ The altarpiece was apparently commissioned by Carlo Oliva, and probably depicts Carlo's father, Gianfrancesco, who had died on 13 August 1478, in full armour and in precisely the same kneeling stance before the Virgin and Child as Duke Federigo in Piero's altarpiece (Plate 6).⁹⁸ Gianfrancesco's patron saints are supporting his intercession for eternal life. Santi's panel as the derivative of Piero's re-affirms that Piero's was of this same category. Interestingly enough, in the Oliva Chapel there exists a fine sculptured tomb with the effigy of Gianfrancesco, attributed to Francesco di Simone Ferrucci, which appears to be contemporary with the altarpiece.⁹⁹ The San Bernardino altarpiece, therefore, became a modest taste-maker.

The late Lord Clark thought that in Piero's altarpiece San Bernardino himself, who is painted on the Madonna's right and 'good' side but somewhat squashed behind St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome, was an afterthought.¹⁰⁰ The implication of this for Lord Clark was that San Bernardino had been added because the panel had subsequently been allocated to the Church of San

⁹⁷ Cf. P. Pasini, "La Cappella dei Conti Oliva", in *Il Convento di Montefiorentino* (San Leo, 1982), pp. 97-125.

⁹⁸ The date of Gianfrancesco's death is sculpted in the archivolt over his tomb, quoted in U. Ubaldi, *Tra le carte dei nonni...: Storia di un castello di Montefeltro ... [Pian di Meleto]* (Gorizia-Urbino, 250 copies privately printed, 1937-59 [sic]), p. 187, where for 1488 read 1478. There is no archival document which relates to the panel, and hence the painting is the main source for any deductions concerning its commissioning and purpose. The inscription (quoted in n. 51 above) indicates that the donor was Carlo Oliva. J.D. Passavant, *Raphael d'Urbino*, ed. and trans. P. Lacroix (Paris, 2 vols., 1860), ii. 608-9, p. 608, considers the kneeling figure to be the donor; this is followed by Pasini, "La Cappella dei Conti Oliva", cited in n. 97, p. 114, the source for F. Martelli, in *Urbino e le Marche prima e dopo Raffaello*, eds. Maria Grazia, C.D. dal Pogetto and P. dal Pogetto (Catalogue of an exhibition, Urbino, 1983-4) (Florence, 1983), pp. 146-8 n°. 33 at p. 146; Ubaldi, *Tra le carte dei nonni...*, p. 188, likewise considers the figure to be Carlo. Dubos, *Giovanni Santi*, cited in n. 6, pp. 95-6, identifies the figure as the donor's father. Seemingly the panel was commissioned for the Chapel in which Gianfrancesco was buried; a dedicatory frieze in this chapel indicates it as having been begun by Carlo in 1484, see Pasini, p. 98. My view is that the inspiration behind the commissioning of this painting and the Montefeltro altarpiece is the same—in both it is the deceased who is in prayer to the Virgin and Child to assist the deceased's transition to Paradise. Cf. also *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano: Le Marche* (Milan, 3rd ed., 1962), p. 142.

⁹⁹ Ubaldi, *Tra le carte dei nonni ...*, cited in n. 98, pp. 185-7; cf. Pasini, "La Cappella dei Conti Oliva", cited in n. 97, pp. 7-12.

¹⁰⁰ Clark, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 94, p. 68.

Bernardino, and that it had not originally been painted for that church.¹⁰¹ In fact, San Bernardino appears to have been in the original design, since paint-overlay indicates that he was painted before the two saints in front of him.¹⁰² He was simply placed in the second row on the grounds of chronology, for, unlike the two on the first row, he had lived during Federigo's lifetime. On the Madonna's left are an elderly apostle and St. Francis on the front row, and behind St. Peter Martyr, who had lived more recently. The elderly apostle presents some problems of identification; he has been claimed among others as St. John the Evangelist(?) and St. Andrew.¹⁰³ My suggestion is another possibility. He was meant to depict St. Peter, who,¹⁰⁴ as keeper of the Gates of Paradise, would have been particularly appropriate in a devotional panel of the kind this is.

Once it is appreciated that the San Bernardino altarpiece was painted only after Duke Federigo's death, other problems associated with it become clarified.¹⁰⁵ In the last decade of his life Piero della Francesca appears to have resided mainly in his native Borgo

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Meiss with Jones, "Once again Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece", in Meiss, *The Painter's Choice ...*, cited in n. 86, p. 135 and p. 140 n. 31, where technical evidence, including X-ray photographs, is considered.

¹⁰³ St. John the Evangelist(?) is suggested by Sir Philip Hendy, *Piero della Francesca and the early Renaissance* (London, 1968), p. 153; St. Andrew by R. Longhi, *Piero della Francesca* (London, 1930), p. 116; St. Ubaldo by A. Schmarsow in *Abhandlungen des phil.-hist. Klasse der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, xxix (1912), 119; St. Paul by Marilyn A. Lavin, "Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece: A Pledge of Fidelity", in *The Art Bulletin*, li (1969), 369 n. 15; Cardinal Bessarion by C. Marinesco, "Échos byzantins dans l'œuvre de Piero della Francesca", in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1958 (1961), p. 200.

¹⁰⁴ For St. Peter, an elderly apostle holding a book, cf. G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Painting* (Florence, 1965), cols. 875-8 n°. 292 type g, k, o; the latter is in an altar polyptych by G. Boccati (1468), Church of Sant' Eustachio, Belforte sul Chiente, where, though, St. Peter is identifiable by the papal tiara he wears, see B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Central and North Italian Schools* (London, rev. ed., 3 vols., 1968), i. 54, ii. pl. 775.

¹⁰⁵ The hypothesis that the panel was painted only after Federigo's death was advanced by Hendy, *Piero della Francesca ...*, cited in n. 103, pp. 147-55, but has not hitherto been considered in detail. Some of the problems resulting from dating it to the 1470s are considered at length by E. Battisti, "Bramante, Piero e Pacioli ad Urbino", in *Studi Bramanteschi*, cited in n. 55, pp. 269-82, and cf. Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, i. 510-11 n. 431.

Sansepolcro; only a visit he made to Rimini, perhaps for a year from May 1482, is recorded, though a visit to Florence and another to Urbino can be inferred.¹⁰⁶ Certainly it would be rash to preclude visits to Urbino on the basis of negative evidence, but, accepting that Duke Federigo was dead before Piero received the commission for the San Bernardino altarpiece, the former's likeness could only have been from a portrait. Probably sometime in 1472-3 Piero had already painted Federigo's likeness: that portrait, which makes up a wing of the famous Montefeltro diptych, is now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.¹⁰⁷ It seems likely that Piero had retained the cartoon of that portrait, since there is firm evidence that it was used for the portrait of the duke in the San Bernardino altarpiece.¹⁰⁸ Further, in the latter, Federigo's features are painted virtually *alla prima* on the surface, while the other portraits are built up, from below or within, by under-painting.¹⁰⁹ The implication of this is that Federigo's features were on the basis of a sketch, presumably one made about 1472 for the diptych portrait, while one at least of the other portraits was painted from a living model.¹¹⁰

The armour that Federigo wears in the San Bernardino altarpiece appears Milanese and has been dated to the decade of the 1450s.¹¹¹ It certainly is of a style earlier than that represented in

¹⁰⁶ For his stay in Rimini see Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, i. 419-20; for the visit to Florence about 1484-85, see *ibid.*, i. 439; for that to Urbino after 1485; for the presentation of his "Libellus ..." to Guidobaldo, see Clough, "Federigo da Montefeltro's patronage of the arts ...", cited in n. 69, p. 141 n. 75; cf. Battisti, i. 451 errs with his reference to "De Prospectiva Pingendi". It is not improbable that this presentation occasioned the commission of the altarpiece for San Bernardino.

¹⁰⁷ For this panel see n. 29 above, and for the diptych see also Clough, "Federigo da Montefeltro's artistic patronage", cited in n. 69, item ix, pp. 2-8; for the date 1472-73 attributed to Federigo's portrait see C.H. Clough, "Piero della Francesca: Some problems of his Art and Chronology", in *Apollo*, xc1 (1970), 282-3.

¹⁰⁸ Battisti, "Bramante, Piero e Pacioli ad Urbino", cited in n. 105, p. 270; cf. Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, i. 356 n. lv, and p. 511 n. 431.

¹⁰⁹ Hendy, *Piero della Francesca* ..., cited in n. 103, p. 154.

¹¹⁰ For St. Peter Martyr identifiable as Luca Pacioli see *ibid.*, pp. 154-5; Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, i. 336, 370-1; Battisti, "Bramante, Piero e Pacioli ad Urbino", cited in n. 105, pp. 279-80, cf. also S. Guarino, "La formazione veneziana di Jacopo de' Barbari", in *Giorgione e la cultura veneta tra '400 e '500 ...* (Rome, 1981), pp. 191-3.

¹¹¹ Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, i. 512 n. 435; for a detailed

the marquetry of the *studio* in the Ducal Palace of Urbino,¹¹² and also earlier than that painted about 1475 by Justus of Ghent in his portrait panel of Federigo and his son, Guidobaldo, which I believe was to go above the marquetry in that same private study (Plate 10a).¹¹³ The headpiece depicted in the altarpiece is an armet;¹¹⁴ its visor is not shattered as was that worn by Federigo when he lost his eye at the tilt in the Winter of 1450, so that it is erroneous to equate it with the helmet of that event.¹¹⁵ Moreover, neither the helm nor the body armour of the San Bernardino panel, from their style, was likely to have been worn by Federigo during his last campaign of 1482. A possible explanation is that Piero painted the entire armour from a model.¹¹⁶ This would support the case made that the altarpiece was commissioned and painted after Federigo's death, for then Piero was residing in Borgo Sansepolcro and not in Urbino where more recent ducal armour was certain to have been available.

description of the armour see Lavin, "Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece ...", cited in n. 103, p. 367 n. 4 and n. 5.

¹¹² Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, i. 512 n. 435.

¹¹³ For the painting see J. Lavallee, "Le Palais Ducal d'Urbino", in *Les Primitifs Flamands*, i. *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, vii (Brussels, 1964), 109-27 and pl. clxxxviii-cciv; at p. 109 it is dated: "1474-76"; Lavallee does not consider the nature of the armour, nor in detail does Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, i. 512 n. 435, though on the authority of L.G. Bocca he indicates it as "più moderna" than that worn by Federigo in the Brera panel; Lavin, "Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece ...", cited in n. 103, does not mention this armour. For the painting being located originally above the marquetry see the text below at n. 180.

¹¹⁴ I am much indebted to Mr. I.D.D. Eaves, Keeper of Armour, H.M. Tower of London, for information concerning the armour and the headpiece.

¹¹⁵ It has been suggested by Professor F. Hartt in his recent paper at the "Convegno di studi su Raffaello", Urbino-Florence, Apr. 1984, that the helmet depicted in the Brera panel is that worn by Federigo in 1450 when he lost his eye, presented to the Virgin and Child as a votive offering, since his life was saved. At the tilt in question military lances were used, so that field armour may have been worn. The headpiece, though, does not have a shattered visor which is specifically mentioned by Santi in his reference to the accident, see the text below at n. 207; this excludes the headpiece being votive, as Prof. Hartt suggests is the case.

¹¹⁶ From the exceptional detail painted (see Lavin, "Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece ...", cited in n. 103, p. 367 n. 4 and n. 5) it seems likely that Piero used an actual suit of armour that was available, presumably in Borgo Sansepolcro; it is possible that Piero's source was a high-quality model-book, cf. R.W. Scheller, *A survey of medieval model books* (Haarlem, 1963), p. 205 fig. 159.

Almost ninety years ago it was first discerned that Federigo's clasped hands, and in particular the left one, the only one clearly visible, were painted on the altarpiece by someone other than the artist who accomplished the rest of the work.¹¹⁷ Why was it that Piero did not paint the hands and presumably finish the work? Before considering this, it is worth remarking that the model for Federigo's left hand in the altarpiece may be the hand painted by Justus of Ghent in his portrait of about 1475 mentioned above.¹¹⁸ One can speculate that, since Piero was working in Borgo Sansepolcro and did not have a sketch of Federigo's hands (he had not painted them in his portrait of about 1472-3), he had left them to be completed until he delivered the work to Urbino. He was likely to have known that the Justus of Ghent portrait of about 1475 could provide the model needed. His intention was frustrated, one may suppose, by ill health, for certainly on 5 July 1487 he made his will in Borgo Sansepolcro. A draft apparently made shortly before in Piero's own hand, however, was written in a firm script, and the will itself states that he was of sound body and mind.¹¹⁹ Clearly at this time his vision was not seriously impaired, though Vasari recorded that before his death he lost his sight as a result of cataracts.¹²⁰ Independently, Berto degli

¹¹⁷ J.A. Crowe and G.B. Cavalcaselle, *Storia della pittura in Italia dal secolo II al secolo XVI* (Florence, 11 vols., 1886-1908), viii (1897), 271, suggested that the hands had been retouched by another artist, adding that Professor Venturi had advanced the name of Justus of Ghent. It is interesting to see how Berenson reflected the thinking of art historians and in turn influenced them on this issue. B. Berenson, *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (London, 1897), p. 168, the entire panel is attributed to Piero; *ibid.* (London, 2nd ed., 1909), p. 226 adds: "the hand of Federigo is by Justus of Ghent"; B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1932), p. 455 makes the change: "(hand of Federigo by Berruguete)", which is as found in *Pitture italiane del Rinascimento* (Milan, 1936), p. 391, and in *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Central Italian and North Italian Schools*, (1968), cited in n. 104, i. 341.

¹¹⁸ For this portrait see n. 113 above. One can compare the hands of these panels in J. Lavalleye, *Juste de Gand ...* (Brussels-Rome, 1936), pl. xxvi and xxviii (c); the apparent similarity explains the suggestion made by Venturi, as indicated in n. 117 above.

¹¹⁹ Piero could have seen the portrait, for instance, when, after 1485, he visited Urbino to present his manuscript "Libellus ..." to Duke Guidobaldo, see n. 106 above. For Piero's method of working on this portrait cf. Lavin, "Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece ...", cited in n. 103, p. 367 n. 4. For his will see Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, ii. 238 document cxcv; for the undated autograph draft see *ibid.*, document cxci.

Alberti of Borgo Sansepolcro, writing in 1556, stated that Piero had to be led by the hand because he went blind.¹²¹ The vicar of Santa Maria dei Servi of Borgo Sansepolcro on 10 July 1487 commissioned an altarpiece from Matteo di Giovanni,¹²² which perhaps is testimony that by then Piero was judged to be past work, though he lived until a few days before 12 October 1492.¹²³ The most likely period for Piero to have worked on the altarpiece, therefore, is from late 1482 at the earliest (when the commission could have been given) until the late Summer of 1487 at the latest. The artist who painted the hands cannot be identified with certainty, though two candidates who have been suggested can be eliminated: Pedro Berruguete was never at the court of Urbino and Justus of Ghent appears to have died some years before Piero's panel reached Urbino.¹²⁴

Why was the church and monastery called San Bernardino, presumably in accordance with Federigo's last wishes? It is virtually certain that, aged twenty, Federigo had met San Bernardino during the latter's visit to the Duke of Milan in the Autumn and Winter of 1442.¹²⁵ In 1435-36 Federigo had been taught by Vittorino da Feltre at the Palace School of Mantua, and it would have been surprising, given his intelligence, if he had failed to appreciate the close affinity in thought between Vittorino and San Bernardino.¹²⁶ Both sought to inspire an individual, no matter

¹²⁰ G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori ...* (Florence, 2nd ed., 1568), p. 357, reprinted in Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, ii. 253; cf. also G. Vasari, *Le Opere*, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence, 9 vols., 1878-85), ii. 500.

¹²¹ Battisti, *Piero della Francesca*, cited in n. 29, ii. 246 document ccxl.

¹²² Cited in ibid., ii. 238 under document cxcv.

¹²³ For his burial on that day see ibid., ii. 242 document ccix.

¹²⁴ See C.H. Clough, "Pedro Berruguete and the Court of Urbino: A case of wishful thinking", in Clough, *The Duchy of Urbino* cited in n. 15, item x. The last archival document known that mentions Justus of Ghent is of March 1475, see Lavalleye, *Juste de Gand* cited in n. 118, pp. 173-4; he disappears without trace after his work on the panels for the studiolo of the Gubbio palace in 1476-77, see C.H. Clough, "Lo studiolo di Gubbio", forthcoming in the *Atti del Convegno su Federico da Montefeltro* (held in Urbino, Sept. 1982); this latter publishes a document that indicates Francesco di Giorgio was the designer of that studiolo and that by 23 May 1477 the panels for it were likely to have been in position and hence painted.

¹²⁵ Origo, *The World of San Bernardino*, cited in n. 52, p. 232.

¹²⁶ Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico* cited in n. 13, pp. 12-4; see also F. Prendilacqua, *De Vita Victorini Feltrensis Dialogus*, eds. N. Lastesio and J. Morelli (Padua, 1774), published from a MS. originally in the ducal library of

what his position in society, to strive for the benefit of his fellow men. To this end both stressed the importance of Christian instruction and of daily devotions.¹²⁷ It was perhaps not mere eulogy when Vespasiano da Bisticci, who had visited Federigo's court, wrote that Federigo was "before all things most devout and observant in his religious duties".¹²⁸ The church that was to provide him and his line with a sepulchre was dedicated to San Bernardino, presumably because it was this saint to whom Federigo was particularly attracted. From its origin the interior walls of the church were decorated, as now restored, with an inscription in the form of an encompassing frieze in Roman capitals that echoed sepulchral monuments of Antiquity (Plate 7).¹²⁹ The words are from a triumphal antiphonal to be chanted after the vesper procession and were composed by St. John of Capistrano, an Observantine who died in 1456. This frieze may be translated as:¹³⁰

Oh splendour of chastity, ardent apostle of poverty, lover of innocence, champion of virginity, distiller of wisdom, valiant for truth, before the shining throne of the Eternal Majesty prepare our path towards the love of God. Implore grace for us, blessed Bernardino.

This inscription, on the same theme as the altarpiece, appears to be one of the motives that inspired the building of the church:

Urbino. This work, dedicated to Federigo, makes it clear that Prendilacqua was a fellow-pupil of Vittorino, and from his knowledge the master and Federigo held each other in high esteem, see P. Zampetti, "Vittorino da Feltre e Federico da Montefeltro", in *Vittorino e la sua scuola ...*, ed. Nella Giannetto (Florence, 1981), pp. 255-61. The example of Paola Gonzaga illustrates how Vittorino's teaching could be related in practical terms to that of San Bernardino, see W.H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators ...* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 76.

¹²⁷ For San Bernardino see Origo, *The World of San Bernardino*, cited in n. 52, p. 124; for Vittorino see Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre ...*, cited in n. 126, pp. 37, 67, 79, 81, 90.

¹²⁸ Da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, cited in n. 17, i. 399.

¹²⁹ For the frieze see Serra, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte ...: Urbino*, cited in n. 74 p. 104; it is not visible in the photograph of the interior of the church in Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, cited in n. 77, viii, part i, p. 787 fig. 592. Cf. L.H. Heydenreich and W. Lotz, *Architecture in Italy, 1400-1600* (Harmondsworth, 1974), pp. 77-78.

¹³⁰ For the source of the inscription see Serra, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte ...: Urbino*, cited in n. 74, p. 104. I am indebted to my colleague Mr. Stephen Ryle for his translation of the frieze.

Duke Federigo's desire to go to Heaven. It would have been self-evident that Duke Federigo, who, as a Christian ruler had sought to promote the virtues of San Bernardino as extolled in the inscription, even if personally he had not always succeeded in exemplifying them all (lechery was his weakness), might hope eventually to be received into the Heavenly Kingdom. That Federigo was a Christian ruler and consciously so is a point to which I shall return in greater detail. Here I merely wish to reassert that the building of the San Bernardino complex was tangible testimony to his subjects of his Christian rule, and emphasized not only its founder's fitness to have had authority but also that of his dynasty to rule.

Federigo da Montefeltro was illegitimate and in consequence an easy target for a smear campaign. One rumour, for instance, that circulated while Federigo was ruling his state was propagated for political motives by Pope Pius II. It is found in the manuscript draft version of his *Commentaries*, but it was one of the many passages deleted for the printed version.¹³¹ It was reported by the pope:¹³²

They say he [Federigo] was the son of Bernardino [Ubaldini] della Carda, once a famous captain, but that when he was a tiny baby the mistress of Guido [that is Guidantonio], Prince of Urbino, substituted him for her own child whom she had lost.

The bull of legitimization of 1424, already mentioned, specified Federigo's father as Guidantonio da Montefeltro, but referred to his mother merely as an unmarried woman of Urbino.¹³³

¹³¹ G. Bernetti, "Ricerche e problemi nei "Commentari" di E.S. Piccolomini", in *La Rinascita*, ii (1939), 452-63. Pius II, "The Commentaries", ed. Leona C. Gabel, trans. Florence A. Gragg, in *Smith College Studies in History*, xxii, 1-2 (1937), xxv, 1-4 (1939-40), xxx (1947); this edition indicates in italic those passages found in the MS. but not previously printed, see xxii, 1-2, "Introduction", p. 6.

¹³² Pius II, "The Commentaries", cited in n. 131, xxx, p. 302, cf. Pius II, *Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium*, ed. G. Piccolomini (Frankfurt, 1614), Lib. iv, p. 97; this apparently is the source for Battista Campofregoso, *De dictis factisque memorabilibus collectanea*, Latin trans. by C. Ghellini (Milan, Jacopo Ferrari, 1509). Bk. x, headed: "De iis qui obscuru orti loco per dolum claris se familiis insere conati sunt: Recentoria [as against Classical]", f. [329]. For Campofregoso, or Fregoso, c. 1440-1504, see L. M. Levati, *Dogi perpetui di Genova (1339-1528)* (Genova, n.d. [? 1930]), pp. 443-65; no Italian version of Campofregoso's work is known, see ibid., p. 458.

¹³³ See n. 13 above.

Attached to the original bull, probably early in the seventeenth century when in the ducal archives, is a note concerning the Castello di Petroio (now called Petroia), near Gubbio, claimed to derive from information which, at the time the note was written, existed in the family archives of the Counts Bandi of Rimini. This note identifies the woman of the bull as Elisabetta Accomanducci, who subsequently married a Bandi, by whom she had a legitimate child likewise named Federigo.¹³⁴ The bull of 1424 excluded Federigo da Montefeltro as heir in the event of his father having a legitimate son. This happened with the birth of Oddantonio, who naturally was named as heir in his father's will made as early as 18 March 1429. In this will Federigo was granted a small portion of the state, but in the event of Oddantonio's death without male issue Federigo was left the whole of the patrimony.¹³⁵ When Guidantonio died in the early hours of 21 February 1443 Oddantonio succeeded to the papal vicariate which his father had held.¹³⁶ The previous 18 January Oddantonio had reached the age of sixteen, and so had just attained his majority when he became vicar.¹³⁷ Hence Federigo's coming to authority in the state of Urbino might have appeared just as providential, as I have suggested, was the preservation of his duchy for his line at his death in September 1482. In April 1443 Oddantonio met the pope in Siena and with due ceremony was created Duke of Urbino, the first Montefeltro to attain this distinction.¹³⁸ In the following

¹³⁴ See Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico ...*, cited in n. 13, p. 9 n. 4; see also O. Marrani, *Petroia e Federico da Montefeltro* (Gubbio, 1983), p. 15; a detail of the document is reproduced on the back cover.

¹³⁵ For this will see n. 53 above.

¹³⁶ For Guidantonio's death see Anon., "Cronachetta ...", cited in n. 12, p. 61, as in the early hours of 20 Feb., which is early morning of 21 Feb., G.M.T.; the bull granting Oddantonio the Vicariate of Urbino is dated 20 Apr. 1443 at Siena, that granting Castel Durante (now Urbania) and Montenovo is dated five days later, see Michelini Tocci, "I due manoscritti urbinati ...", cited in n. 13, p. 252. Franceschini, "Notizie e documenti ... su Oddantonio ...", cited in n. 12, p. 218, refers to a bull of 17 Feb. 1443 granting Oddantonio the right to succeed, but gives no source.

¹³⁷ For Oddantonio's birth and the minority ceasing on the minor becoming sixteen see nn. 12 and 49.

¹³⁸ For the bull dated 25 Apr. 1443 at Siena see Michelini Tocci, "I due manoscritti urbinati ...", cited in n. 13, p. 252; Franceschini, "Notizie e documenti ... su Oddantonio ...", cited in n. 12, p. 224, errs with the date of 15 Apr.; for the ceremony as described seemingly by a contemporary in a MS., Archivio Capitolare, Urbino, which I have not seen, see *ibid.*, pp. 224-5.

Summer the young duke was betrothed to Isotta, daughter of Niccolò d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara.¹³⁹ It is true that an astrologer had foretold to Guidantonio his son's early death through the agency of metal,¹⁴⁰ but in the Summer of 1443, that aside, all seemed propitious for the young duke's future. In the small hours of 23 July a year later, when the duke had recently returned from festivities in Ferrara, some of his subjects entered his palace, battered down his bedroom door with a log, and found him hiding behind his bed, where one of them struck him down with a pruning hook. Two of his closest counsellors, Manfredo Pio of Carpi, an Apostolic Protonotary, and Tommaso di Guido dell'Agnello of Rimini, were also assassinated. Thereafter the citizens of Urbino took up arms and sacked the duke's palace.¹⁴¹ The reasons for this revolt require further examination since they explain how it was that Federigo came to power in the state and, I believe, they influenced the nature of Federigo's government.

Oddantonio appears to have been a spendthrift; in less than a year he had emptied the treasury and incurred debts, and to meet them was constrained to sell some of the family estates.¹⁴² The difficulties for the young man were exacerbated in that his half-brother Federigo had the command of their father's troops, and hence it was he who obtained the "condotta", or contract for military service, the source of Guidantonio's wealth.¹⁴³ Oddantonio's longer-term solution to his financial difficulties was to impose new taxes on his duchy.¹⁴⁴ Santi's chronicle

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 226.

¹⁴⁰ The source appears to be Fra Giollamo Maria da Venezia, "Cronica ... sino al di 17 dicembre 1539", ed. G. Mazzatinti, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, cited in n. 13 (Appendice 2), p. 101; cf. Ugolini, *Storia dei conti e duchi d'Urbino*, cited in n. 52, i. 274 n. 1; Reposati, *Della zecca di Gubbio ...*, cited in n. 53, i. 155, gives Gian Gallo Gallo (of the mid-sixteenth century) as his source which probably derives from Fra Giollamo Maria.

¹⁴¹ Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, cited in n. 13, i. 50-2; Ugolini, *Storia dei conti e duchi d'Urbino*, cited in n. 52, i. 290-2; Franceschini, "Notizie e documenti ... su Oddantonio ...", cited in n. 12, pp. 229-31. Apart from the primary sources indicated in these authorities see also Santi, *Cronica*, in Papini, *Francesco di Giorgio ...*, as cited in n. 145 below, and Fra Giollamo Maria da Venezia, "Cronica ...", cited in n. 140, p. 101.

¹⁴² Ugolini, *Storia dei conti e duchi d'Urbino*, cited in n. 52, i. 280-1; Franceschini, "Notizie e documenti ... su Oddantonio ...", cited in n. 12, p. 228; Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico ...*, cited in n. 13, pp. 40 n. 13, 44-51.

¹⁴³ Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico ...*, cited in n. 13, pp. 38-40.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 35-7, 43-4.

contains a long passage relating to the circumstances of the revolt. Much of it was considered offensive since the ducal librarian hid this portion by pasting over it paper with other verses; presumably this was done shortly after presentation, most likely early in the 1490s and at the orders of Duke Guidobaldo, who was not anxious that the wicked deeds of a predecessor should be thus disseminated.¹⁴⁵ Yet even the spurious text portrayed Oddantonio's downfall as the consequence of a plot by Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini, who, "like a falcon hovering in anticipation of its prey" waited to take over the duchy of Urbino.¹⁴⁶ At least one of the murdered counsellors was a Malatesta agent, and possibly both were.¹⁴⁷ For Santi the main cause of the revolt was the sexual depravity of the three, for they had raped the wives and daughters of citizens of Urbino.¹⁴⁸ At the time Santi was a child of five, so he wrote forty years after the event. All one can say is that it is likely he reported faithfully the view of the citizens of Urbino, a view doubtless partisan, since they would wish to justify their actions. Moreover, contemporary chronicles from as far afield as Forlì and Rimini record Oddantonio's lechery and stress it as an important factor in his downfall.¹⁴⁹ Oddantonio had broken a

¹⁴⁵ Papini, *Francesco di Giorgio* ..., cited in n. 43, ii. 278-80, for the hidden extract in Chapter viii, verses 21 to 50, and hence not in Santi, *Cronaca*, ed. Holtzinger, cited in n. 6; for illustrations of similar alterations see Papini, ii, pl. 303-7.

¹⁴⁶ Santi, *Cronaca*, cited in n. 6, Chapter viii, verse 26; cf. the extract in Papini, *Francesco di Giorgio* ..., cited in n. 43, ii. 279; this latter does put the blame for the ruination of Oddantonio on Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, see n. 147.

¹⁴⁷ Santi, *Cronaca*, the extract in Papini, *Francesco di Giorgio* ..., cited in n. 43, ii. 280, states that both counsellors were sent by Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta; he appears to refer to Tommaso dell'Agnelli by the sobriquet of "Magio"; certainly this individual was of Rimini. Domenico Malatesta, Oddantonio's brother-in-law, was seen by Franceschini as influencing the young ruler's political actions, see Franceschini, "Notizie e documenti ... su Oddantonio ...", cited in n. 12, p. 226.

¹⁴⁸ Santi, *Cronaca*, the extract in Papini, *Francesco di Giorgio* ..., cited in n. 43, ii. 279-80.

¹⁴⁹ Ugolini, *Storia dei conti e duchi d'Urbino*, cited in n. 52, i. 284-5, and Giovanni di Maestro Pedrino Depintore, *Cronica del suo tempo*, eds. G. Borghezio, M. Vattasso and A. Pasini (*Studi e Testi*, 50, 62) (Vatican City, 2 vols., 1929-34), ii. 214-15: "Oddantonio uxava le done altrue non riguardo amigo né parente ..." (for Forlì). Franceschini, "Notizie e documenti ... su Oddantonio ...", cited in n. 12, p. 230 (for Rimini). Cf. also Don Francesco [a canon], "Cronaca di

golden rule of successful government as distilled by Machiavelli in *The Prince*, where, in Chapter XVII, he stressed that a new prince should make himself feared but without incurring hatred:¹⁵⁰

for fear and absence of hatred may well go together, and will be always attained by one who abstains from interfering with the property of his citizens and subjects or with their women.

Elsewhere in his treatise Machiavelli mentions the positive aspect of being loved by one's subjects, asserting that this was the best defence for a prince. This maxim was pertinently expressed by Isabella d'Este:¹⁵¹

Every ruler should set greater value on the hearts of his subjects than on fortresses, money, or men-at-arms, for the discontent of the citizens is a more serious cause of war than the enemy at the gate.

Clearly the revolt directed at Oddantonio's government was evidence that he had failed miserably on this score. An associated element which one might be inclined to add was the duke's cruelty. An example of this in the slow burning alive of a page for a minor misdemeanour is horrific in detail, and, given its source, contemporary though it is, one has some reason to hope that it was not founded on fact.¹⁵²

At the time of the revolt Federigo was in Pesaro with the troops in his pay, acting as governor of that city on behalf of Galeazzo

Gubbio [1419-1579]", in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, cited in n. 13 (Appendice 3), p. 103 (for Gubbio).

¹⁵⁰ N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. L. Ricci and rev. E.R.P. Vincent (New York, 1952), Chap. 17, p. 90.

¹⁵¹ Letter of 28 Feb. 1495, quoted in A. Luzio and R. Renier, "Delle relazioni di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga con Ludovico e Beatrice Sforza", in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, ser. iii, xvii (1890), 622.

¹⁵² The source, indicated by Dennistoun, *Mémoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, cited in n. 13, i. 50, and by Ugolini, *Storia dei conti e duchi d'Urbino*, cited in n. 52, i. 284 n. 1, is Pius II, *Commentaries*, though I have not yet found it there; the latter was likely to have been the source for Campofregoso, *De dictis factisque memorabilibus collectanea*, cited in n. 132, Bk. ix, headed: "De Crudelitate: Recentoria", f. [281v], and cf. n. 132 above. Oddantonio's cruelty is mentioned in general terms by F. Filelfo, "Commentarii de Vita et Rebus Gestis Frederici Comitis Urbinatis ..." (covering 1422-61), ed., G. Zannoni, in *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province delle Marche*, v. (1901), 263-400, at p. 285.

Malatesta, in fulfilment of obligations as a condottiere captain, and holding it against Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta.¹⁵³ Federigo arrived outside Urbino on the afternoon following the revolt; Santi indicates it was to the acclamation of the populace.¹⁵⁴ Even so, conditions were imposed on him before he was allowed to enter Urbino. The terms, dated 23 July, still exist, with Federigo's confirmation given to each point raised. Most important of the clauses was that providing an amnesty for the rioters and the assassins. Secondly, the matter of increased taxation, forced donations and exemptions from taxes was detailed and here, as in all other applicable clauses of the terms, Federigo undertook to return to the custom pertaining at the time of his father Guidantonio.¹⁵⁵ The document, thus, is testimony that from the very beginning Federigo sought to link his rule with his father's good government and to obliterate that of Oddantonio as an aberration.¹⁵⁶ On 1 August a proclamation confirmed tax reductions and the city's constitution. Thereafter deputations arrived from the subject towns of the state offering to Federigo congratulations and obedience.¹⁵⁷ It was in consequence of an almost bloodless coup that Federigo came to power. He was still faced with external threats inspired initially by Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, who, although Federigo had accepted his challenge to a duel to the death, failed to arrive to fight him.¹⁵⁸ Federigo's immediate problem, though, in the Summer of 1444

¹⁵³ Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico* ..., cited in n. 13, pp. 27-8.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 28-9; Santi, *Cronaca*, cited in n. 6, p. 30, Chapter viii, verses 50-1; Filefo, "Commentarii", cited in n. 152, pp. 286-7.

¹⁵⁵ Printed from the original in Latin by Ugolini, *Storia dei conti e duchi d'Urbino*, cited in n. 52, ii. 514-8; in English trans. in Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, cited in n. 13, i. 417-20, App. iv. For a detailed commentary on the terms see Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico* ..., cited in n. 13, pp. 31-49.

¹⁵⁶ To Clause 2, relating to the Priors of Urbino, Federigo's response was the statement that their authority and privileges should be those possessed during "the time of our father of happy memory". Clauses 5 and 8 refer to what happened under Guidantonio, and Federigo approved the return to those customs. Clause 17 referred back to the situation under Count Antonio and Federigo's response was like that in Clause 2. For the document see n. 155 above.

¹⁵⁷ Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, cited in n. 13, i. 82.

¹⁵⁸ For this duel see G. Franceschini, "La prima giovinezza di Federico di Montefeltro ...", in *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche*, series ix, xi (1956), 70 n. 53; Ugolini, *Storia dei conti e duchi d'Urbino*, cited in n. 52, i. 337 n. 1, 350-1.

was that he was not the papal vicar; Pope Eugenius IV refused to grant the vicariates, and eventually, on 14 April 1446, Federigo was excommunicated¹⁵⁹ (as had been Guidantonio for some years early in his rule).¹⁶⁰ Not until after Nicholas V's election was Federigo absolved, on 20 July 1447; then, and five days later, he was granted by the pope the two vicariates.¹⁶¹

Federigo's rule of Urbino and his state showed that the citizens and populace of Urbino had chosen wisely. Battista Campofregoso compared him shortly after his death to Numa Pompilius;¹⁶² the classical allusion implied that his golden rule followed the misrule of Oddantonio just as the reforms of Numa followed the tyrannical rule of the legendary Romulus. In the words of Vespasiano da Bisticci, Federigo "gave himself entirely to his state that the people might be content".¹⁶³ Again, Vespasiano wrote of him: "In the ruling of his state, ... his age saw not his peer".¹⁶⁴ The teaching of Vittorino da Feltre would have directed Federigo to be concerned for his fellow men; the circumstances of his unexpected coming to power and authority may have inspired him to believe that he was chosen by God to rule, and that it was his duty to seek consciously to be a good Christian ruler. Vespasiano provided charming illustrations of Federigo's incessant concern for his subjects and implied that the fundamental reason was, indeed, that he sought to be a Christian prince.¹⁶⁵ Girolamo Muzio, writing in the duchy some seventy years after Federigo's death, added further like examples, apparently still circulating in oral tradition.¹⁶⁶ For nigh on forty years, from 1444 until his death in 1482, Federigo ruled his state well and could consistently depend on the loyalty and affection of his subjects—itself re-

¹⁵⁹ Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico* ..., cited in n. 13, p. 67.

¹⁶⁰ Dennistoun, *The Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, cited in n. 13, i. 38-9; Ugolini, *Storia dei conti e duchi d'Urbino*, cited in n. 52, i. 205-6.

¹⁶¹ For the absolution on 20 July 1447 see Michelini Tocci, "I due manoscritti urbinati ...", cited in n. 13, p. 252; ibid., for the two bulls of investiture of the vicariates, 20 and 25 July 1447; for another copy see Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico* ..., cited in n. 13, pp. 58 n. 39, 63.

¹⁶² Campofregoso, *De dictis factisque memorabilibus collectanea*, cited in n. 132, Bk. x, f. [329].

¹⁶³ Da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, cited in n. 17, i. 408.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., i. 399; Ser Guerriero da Gubbio, "Cronaca, 1350-1472", cited in n. 13, p. 59.

¹⁶⁵ Da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, cited in n. 17, i. 399.

¹⁶⁶ Muzio, *Historia de' fatti di Federigo* ..., cited in n. 82, pp. 392-405.

markable. There were only two minor internal plots against him within two years of his coming to power, and these were easily overcome;¹⁶⁷ the numerous external threats against him found no support among his subjects.

A basic concern for Federigo, just as it had been for his father, was that during much of his rule he had no legitimate male heir. The latter, Guidobaldo, was born when Federigo was aged fifty, after nearly thirty years of power, and he must have feared that he would die while his son was a minor, an eventuality that was always a testing time for a dynasty. The 1470s was the golden age of Federigo's rule, when his son and heir was born and when he was created a Papal Duke, a Knight of the Garter, and a Knight of the Order of the Ermine.¹⁶⁸ (I assume that, most exceptionally, he could hold both the latter at once merely because Ferdinand, King of Naples, head of the Order of the Ermine and Federigo's protector, had also been a Knight of the Garter since the 1460s).¹⁶⁹ The 1470s was when Federigo's prodigious patronage of the arts promoted his state to cultural dominance on the Italian peninsula, if but briefly. His ambition was for his son to inherit a state peopled with contented, hence loyal, subjects, and a court outstanding in 'Magnificence', itself a factor in stimulating pride in one's ruler and loyalty to his dynasty.¹⁷⁰ In order to meet the danger of invasion from without, a constant preoccupation, and one all the more likely in the event of the ruler being in his minority, Francesco di Giorgio was commissioned to build a network of forts at key points. Their cost was enormous, probably amounting to about 200,000 ducats, a figure probably not far short of that dispensed in artistic patronage of all kinds.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ See the text above at n. 67.

¹⁶⁸ For these honours see C.H. Clough, "The relations between the English and Urbino Courts ...", in *Studies in the Renaissance*, xiv (1967), 204-5, reprinted with additional notes in his *The Duchy of Urbino ...*, cited in n. 16, item xi.

¹⁶⁹ For the election of King Ferdinand of Naples see G.F. Beltz, *Memorials of the ... Order of the Garter* (London, 1841), p. clxiii n°. 193.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. the text above at n. 69.

¹⁷¹ The rocca of Gubbio alone is estimated to have cost 35,000 ducats, see Clough, "Towards an economic history ...", cited in n. 66, pp. 486-7; given the number of forts built (see Dezzi Bardeschi, "Le rocche di Francesco di Giorgio ...", cited in n. 75) one can hazard their total cost as about 200,000 ducats. For the sum dispensed by Federigo in artistic patronage see Clough, "Federigo da Montefeltro's patronage of the arts ...", cited in n. 69, p. 139.

In 1476 Duke Federigo could understandably feel proud of his achievements, among which his Ducal Palace of Urbino, nearing completion, was paramount. By the end of that year, above the marquetry that covered, to a height of 2.21 meters, the lower walls of his private study, there were portraits of famous men, in two tiers, painted by Justus of Ghent. Twenty-eight of these in essentially identical format ranged chronologically from ancient times to contemporary, from Moses and Ptolemy to those known personally to Federigo: Vittorino da Feltre, Popes Pius II and Sixtus IV, and Cardinal Bessarion (Plate 8).¹⁷²

By 1476 all save Sixtus IV were dead. The selection of the individuals portrayed one assumes, from the eulogistic description originally painted below each, to have been made by Federigo.¹⁷³ Many of the inscriptions referred to the duke's personal interest; for instance, under Bessarion: "Federigo put this up to Bessarion the wisest and best of friends"; "Federigo has dedicated this to Plato out of respect"; "Federigo has set this up to Aristotle in gratitude"; "Federigo has set this up to Vittorino da Feltre, the most virtuous of teachers". Under the portraits of the famous law-givers are the inscriptions: "Federigo put this up to Solon for his exemplification of the good ordering of states"; "Federigo put this up to the justice and equity of Bartolomeo [of Sassoferato]"; the wisdom of Solomon is emphasized, while Moses is honoured for providing the laws on which the moral code of Christianity is based. The portraits of Vittorino and of the law-givers, with their inscriptions, are further testimony that Duke Federigo esteemed justice and the Christian virtues in a ruler, the implication being that he sought to model himself on these same precepts.

The individuals portrayed were all distinguished for their intellectual contribution to civilization. No warrior has a place in the series, a fact which tends to be blurred by the familiar reference to them as "portraits of famous men". Da Bisticci, who was introduced to the collection while Federigo was alive, was under

¹⁷² For this series see Lavalleye, "Le Palais Ducal d'Urbin", cited in n. 113, pp. 44-108, and pl. lxxxviii—clxxvi.

¹⁷³ The inscriptions were recorded by L. Schrader, *Monumentorum Italiae quae hoc nostro saeculo et a Christianis posita sunt, libri quatuor* (Hemelstadt, 1592), ff. 283 v-4v, the source for N. Chytraeus, *Monumenta selectiora inscriptionum recentium variorum in Europa itinerum deliciae* (Herborn, 1594), pp. 134-7, reprinted ([no place indicated] 1606). They can most conveniently be found in Lavalleye, "Le Palais Ducal d'Urbin", cited in n. 113, pp. 101-4.

no such misapprehension; he wrote that the portraits represented "the philosophers, poets and Church Fathers, who had written in Greek and Latin".¹⁷⁴ These intellectuals were arranged by their contribution to the Seven Liberal Arts, expanded to Nine by Law and Medicine, the contemporary classification of knowledge.¹⁷⁵ However, I would put the emphasis on the selection representing Federigo's choice rather than on the classification. It is likely that the source of inspiration was the series of famous men devised by Petrarch for the Great Hall of the palace of the Carrara, lords of Padua, a century earlier.¹⁷⁶ There a brief inscription underneath each portrait epitomised the individual. However, men whose fame rested entirely on military exploits were interspersed with the intellectual giants. A comparison of the two schemes underlines the Urbino one as likely to have been Federigo's, whose exclusion of warriors admirably suited the location—a private study dedicated to those pursuits associated with the "vita contemplativa". The marquetry beneath the portraits conforms to this theme; for instance, there is Duke Federigo in robes symbolic of his rank, holding a reversed lance in his right hand. The lance symbolically represented wisdom or virtue, and its reversal probably alluded to Federigo's ideal that war should only be fought in self-defence.¹⁷⁷

There is a close association between the symbolism of the marquetry and the paintings above it. An interesting feature here is the allusion to the Cardinal Virtues, precisely those with which rulers wanted to be associated. As Mr. Luciano Cheles has recently remarked in an important study, they were chosen by Giovanni Santi to introduce Federigo to the readers of his chronicle; they are frequently referred to as being exemplified by Federigo in Vespasiano's life of the duke; they occupy a focal point in Piero della Francesca's "Triumph of Federigo", a reverse wing of the famous Montefeltro dual-portrait diptych.¹⁷⁸ Mr.

¹⁷⁴ Da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, cited in n. 17, i. 384.

¹⁷⁵ L. Cheles, "The 'Uomini Famosi' in the 'Studiolo' of Urbino: An iconographic study", in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, cii (1983), 1-7.

¹⁷⁶ T.E. Mommsen, "Petrarch and the decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrum in Padua", in *The Art Bulletin*, xxxiv (1952), 95-116, reprinted in his *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. E.F. Rice, Jr. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1959), pp. 130-74.

¹⁷⁷ L. Cheles, "The inlaid decorations of Federico da Montefeltro's Urbino studiolo: An iconographic study", in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, xxvi (1982), 1-46, at p. 21.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Cheles has rightly tied the inscription "Through the Virtues one goes to Heaven", seen prominently in an open cupboard of the marquetry, to some famous lines of the *Aeneid*, Book IX. The passage in question refers to political virtue, and by implication its parallel is that Federigo's dynasty, Guidobaldo obviously included, had God's blessing.¹⁷⁹ Federigo wanted to believe that he was ruling as a good Christian prince. This can be stated with some force since the room primarily was a private study, and its walls were likely to have served as a personal memorandum rather than as propaganda.

I think it highly probable that among the portraits of the intellectuals in the Urbino study was the panel by Justus of Ghent which portrayed Federigo engaged in the intellectual exercise of reading at a lectern, his ducal bonnet displayed, while at his side his young son, Duke Guidobaldo, held in his hand a sceptre on which was conspicuous the word PONTIFEX, testimony that authority was legally held, having been granted by the pope (Plate 10a).¹⁸⁰ I am aware that in the most recent reconstruction of the Urbino Study, published in 1973, there appears no space on the walls above the marquetry for this full-length portrait, which is more or less the same width as the individual portraits of the intellectuals but half as long again.¹⁸¹ The earliest reference to this splendid panel is by Vespasiano da Bisticci, who appears to associate it with the study, though typically his lack of precision means that this point is not incontrovertible.¹⁸² In origin the

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ For this painting see n. 113 above.

¹⁸¹ For the reconstruction see P. R[otondi], "Ancora sullo studiolo di Federico da Montefeltro nel Palazzo Ducale di Urbino", in *Restauri nelle Marche: Testimonianze, Acquisti e Recuperi* (Catalogue of an exhibition, Urbino, 1973) (Urbino, 1973), pp. 561-602, particularly at pp. 562-3, with two drawings to show the disposition of the paintings by Prof. Nicola Costantini. See also P. Rotondi, "Ancora sullo studiolo di Federico da Montefeltro nel Palazzo Ducale di Urbino", in *Studi Bramanteschi*, cited in n. 55, pp. 255-65.

¹⁸² Da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, cited in n. 17, i. 384. The problems of interpreting this reference are considered at length by Lavallee, "Le Palais Ducal d'Urbin", cited in n. 113, pp. 116-8. Interestingly, Rotondi, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Urbino*, cited in n. 38, i. 455 n. 206, maintained that the "vi" of "ritrassevi" in Da Bisticci's text indicated precisely that it was in the studiolo where the portraits of intellectuals were specifically mentioned as being; he neglected to consider this point in his articles cited in n. 181. Cf. also M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Brussels-Leyden, 14 vols., 1957-76), iii (Dieric Bouts and Joos van

panel was intended to fit against a wall. Further, its vicissitudes after the devolution of the duchy in 1631 suggest that it went to Rome with the series of portraits of intellectuals, where, like this series, it certainly formed a part of the Barberini collection.¹⁸³ My conclusion is that it is the 1973 reconstruction which requires modification, not least because it is not based on precise measurement. Moreover, the reconstruction is closely linked to a drawing attributed to Bramante, who, it is claimed, devised the study.¹⁸⁴ However, an archival document makes it certain that it was Francesco di Giorgio who planned the study of the Gubbio Ducal Palace and who, in May 1477, was overseeing its execution.¹⁸⁵ Given the very close similarity between the Urbino and Gubbio studies, one can be reasonably sure that Francesco di Giorgio was responsible for planning the Urbino one likewise. In the portrait of Duke Federigo and his son by Justus of Ghent there is further evidence of Duke Federigo's concern that his son should rule after him, for that is the implication of Guidobaldo holding the sceptre. Since the room was essentially a private one, the painting could serve as a permanent memorial for Federigo and his dynasty and of Federigo's honours and rise to fortune.

I consider that a strong case can be made for Piero della Francesca's "Flagellation" having been painted in origin to fit the space between the portrait-painting of Federigo and his son and the marquetry of his private study in Urbino, space, be it noted, that would accommodate it admirably (Plate 10b).¹⁸⁶ I will return to the point in greater detail, but would add here that I believe the panel was devised according to Federigo's personal wishes and, like all the rest of the artistic work in the study, had a particular significance for him. In this, of course, it conforms to what has been said above concerning the nature of the portraits and the symbolism of the marquetry. It likewise conforms to the contem-

Gent) (1968), 50, and cf. the "Editor's Note", pp. 84-5, where the portrait of Federigo and his son is not mentioned.

¹⁸³ Lavalleye, "Le Palais Ducal d'Urbino", cited in n. 113, p. 119.

¹⁸⁴ R[otondi], "Ancora sullo studiolo ...", in *Restauri nelle Marche ...*, cited in n. 181, p. 564, gives the drawing as fig. 4.

¹⁸⁵ See Clough, "Lo studiolo di Gubbio", cited in n. 124.

¹⁸⁶ Much of what follows relating to Piero's "Flagellation" was advanced with full documentation in Clough, "Federigo da Montefeltro's artistic patronage", cited in n. 69, item ix, pp. 11-4; here only evidence relating to new points made is cited.

porary concept of a private study. The very idea of such a room for an Italian ruler was well-established by 1476, when the Urbino room was being decorated. I have already indicated Ferrara as being culturally advanced and there, some twenty years before the construction of Federigo's study, the private apartments of the Marquis Leonello d'Este included just such a room. These apartments (probably, though not certainly, the study) displayed a triptych by Rogier van der Weyden, the central panel of which depicted "The Deposition", the two wings "The Fall" and "The Donor" (presumably Leonello). This combination of a devotional painting with a portrait of the prince himself is closely akin to what I am suggesting for the Urbino study. As already remarked, Vespasiano stressed that Federigo was religious, and hence a devotional panel in his private study would have accorded both with requirements of taste and with Federigo's own spiritual inclinations. Does the painting of "The Flagellation" provide any supporting evidence as to its original location? The statue on the top of the column to which Christ is bound certainly would have harmonized with the statues of figures in classical poses on the painted decoration which separated the four panels comprising a group of the twenty-eight portraits of famous intellectuals (Plates 9a and 9b). The architecture and perspective of the painting would have complemented that found in the marquetry with its scene of a piazza and an arch on pillars, and what may be a representation of the Montefeltro state in the background.

"The Flagellation" is now displayed at eye-level in the National Gallery of the Marches, where certainly one can see the incredible precision of the perspective. I remain unconvinced that the artist really intended the viewer to focus on his virtuoso performance, for in so doing the significance of the scene as a whole is diminished. The panel was not a study in perspective but a Christian tableau. Recently it has been argued that the painting has such a high viewpoint that its original location must have been almost at ground level; I know of no panels placed in this way. My case is the antithesis of this latter, as it places the panel over the marquetry and hence at a height of between 2.7 and 3 meters. The portraits by Justus of Ghent all make some concessions to a low viewpoint, and one might reasonably expect the same to have applied to "The Flagellation" if it were to be located so high. To some this latter consideration will seem so serious a flaw as to exclude my hypothesis. I can merely state that, placed at such a

height, the focus of the panel shifts from the details to the flagellation scene itself, and the three figures in the foreground, while distinctive, appear less dominating and obtrusive. If my hypothesis is sound, the panel can be dated to about 1475, a decade or so after that to which it is usually assigned, and post-dating the famous diptych portraits of Federigo and his wife, and their Triumphs, of 1472-3.¹⁸⁷

About 1836 the German art historian Johann David Passavant saw "The Flagellation" in the Sacristy of the Duomo, Urbino, where it had been for at least a century. The panel apparently was not in the study at the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁸⁸ It may have been given to the Duomo by Francesco Maria II della Rovere, as undoubtedly its suggested original context in the private study could have been deemed inappropriate to those imbued with post-Tridentine religious ideas. Passavant noted an inscription which, I would suggest, was on the frame; as already indicated, each portrait of the twenty-eight intellectuals bears an inscription painted below it on what can be considered its frame. The words relating to "The Flagellation" which he transcribed were: CONVENERUNT IN UNUM, which are found in the Vulgate version of the Acts of the Apostles, 4.26, and the related Psalm II, likewise concerned with Christ's passion. The translation reads: "The rulers were gathered together [against the Lord God, and against his Christ]". The phrase is quoted also, indeed, in the Breviary for Good Friday, and would have been most familiar to Federigo as a devout Christian. In the Vulgate Psalm II goes on to exalt dynastic rule. The second book of Dante's *De Monarchia* (Federigo had the text in his library and Dante's portrait in his study) opens with the quotation from Psalm II that comprised the inscription recorded by Passavant. The theme of this second book of Dante's work is that God's will is manifest in history. It seems to me likely that above all to the duke, if one accepts that the painting was from his study, the inscription was a reminder that he had come to rule by Divine will. This reminder would have been strongly reinforced by the portrait of Federigo with his son holding a sceptre immediately above, with its obvious dynastic

¹⁸⁷ See n. 107 above.

¹⁸⁸ This is implied by no inscription CONVENERUNT IN UNUM, presumably found on the frame of the panel (see the text of this study below), being included in Schrader's publication of 1592, see n. 173 above.

implications. The inscription in the marquetry already mentioned, with its allusion to the *Aeneid*, echoed the same theme. For the uninitiated Piero's "The Flagellation" was merely a devotional painting, but for Federigo there was also the subtle reference to his dynasty's being in authority.

A great deal has been written about the three figures in the foreground of Piero's "Flagellation".¹⁸⁹ In the context of a Christian panel they could be taken as Herod, with a representative Gentile and Jew, being those indicated in Acts 4.27, as the conspirators against Christ.¹⁹⁰ Even so, the emphasis on the three figures in the foreground of a devotional panel which normally focused exclusively on Christ requires explanation. Why the iconographically exceptional shift to include those who rose up against the Lord? My view is that the oral tradition concerning the three figures still current in the early eighteenth century has much to commend it. It identified the central figure of the three as the youthful Duke Oddantonio and, to his left and right, the two evil counsellors who were assassinated with him in July 1444. There is some similarity between Oddantonio thus identified in Piero's panel and his portrait now in Vienna, which was painted in 1578. It is possible that both Piero and the artist of the portrait in Vienna drew upon one of the fifteenth century which an inventory of the ducal paintings in Urbino lists, but which is now lost. Yet it is hard to credit that all three were genuine portraits, as it is highly improbable that there were likenesses of the two counsellors in Urbino in the 1470s.

What was the purpose of painting Oddantonio and his wicked advisers, or rather conventional representations of them, in the foreground? Such a tableau would have been for Federigo a perpetual reminder of what had befallen his half-brother through the latter's failure to govern wisely. Hence, for Federigo, at least, "The Flagellation" had a meaning at two levels. It was a devotional painting, depicting Christ's passion, and it also stressed that good government was the prime responsibility of a

¹⁸⁹ Cf. L. Borgo, "New Questions for Piero's 'Flagellation'", in *The Burlington Magazine*, cxxi (1979), 547-53; C.H. Clough, "Piero's 'Flagellation'", in *ibid.*, cxxii (1980), 574, 577; C. Ginzberg, *Indagini su Piero* (Turin, 1981), pp. 50-110.

¹⁹⁰ I am indebted to Professor Martin Kemp for this point in particular, as well as for his comments on the case I made for the location of the panel as it was first presented in 1978.

Christian ruler. CONVENERUNT IN UNUM was as applicable to subjects conspiring against a tyrant as it was to Christ's flagellation. Federigo genuinely tried to be an intellectual and he certainly was a devout Christian, both aspects which had been encouraged by his teacher Vittorino. His exceptional library, despite its imperfections,¹⁹¹ was testimony that his scholarly cast of mind continued to mature in his later years, when, too, he continued to read and ponder the Bible, as well as having it read aloud at the Lenten daily open-house meal that he provided.¹⁹² The portraits of famous men, which included Church Fathers, reiterate the same point. Hence it seems to me that there is circumstantial evidence of Federigo's capacity to have devised the dual meaning of "The Flagellation", and that the work itself would have conformed to his ideas of the purpose and value of artistic representation. Good and bad government as a theme for art was at least a century old by the mid-Quattrocento, and had been nurtured in Tuscany, a region familiar to Federigo, especially after his 1472 campaign against Volterra.¹⁹³ The gift of what was ostensibly merely an illuminated manuscript was dispatched on 1 June 1453 by Jacopo Antonio Marcello, a Venetian patrician and a military provedor, to Giovanni Cossa, the adjutant of René, claimant to the Kingdom of Naples.¹⁹⁴ Symbols painted in one of the miniatures comprised a message in code for Cossa's eyes only, since they offered him a bribe if he would ensure that René would not become involved in fighting against the Venetian Republic.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ Detailed studies on the library by L. Michelini Tocci and A. Campana, among others, are due to appear in the forthcoming *Atti del Convegno su Federico da Montefeltro*, see n. 124 above; meanwhile see C.H. Clough, "The Library of the Dukes of Urbino", in *Librarium: Revue de la Société des Bibliophiles Suisses*, ix (1966), 101-105, 188-9, reprinted with additional notes in his *The Duchy of Urbino ...*, cited in n. 16, item vi. Unfortunately those texts in the library that were copied in Urbino for Federigo, though in fine script, often contained many errors of transcription.

¹⁹² Da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, cited in n. 17, i. 404-5.

¹⁹³ B. Cole, *Sienese Painting: From its origins to the fifteenth century* (New York, 1980), pp. 152-56, for the well-known painting for the Republic of Siena on the subject. For the Volterra campaign see Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico ...*, cited in n. 13, pp. 232-4.

¹⁹⁴ M. Meiss, *Andrea Mantegna as Illuminator: An Episode in Renaissance Art, Humanism and Diplomacy* (New York, 1957).

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., and for the historical context see M.E. Mallett and Sir John R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice, c. 1400 to 1617* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 172-3.

Certainly here is an incontrovertible instance of a work of art of Quattrocento Italy with two meanings, one of which was personal.¹⁹⁶

It has already been indicated that Federigo's success in ruling as a Christian prince earned him the affection of his subjects, so that his moral worth made it virtually impossible for the pope to deprive him of his authority. In 1447 he was granted the vicariates of his state by the pope and he retained them throughout his life, even during the relatively brief periods when he was engaged as a condottiere captain by powers opposed to the pope.¹⁹⁷ As he added to his state, so the pope conceded to him privileges to rule the newly-acquired territories.¹⁹⁸ It is often overlooked that he nearly trebled the size of his state, largely at the expense of the Malatesta, in the course of his rule. This he did by fretting away portions of neighbouring states when he was attacked. He added them to the nucleus he already held, and his good government encouraged in his new subjects the desire to remain under his rule. Federigo, therefore, was a "new prince" of the kind envisaged by Machiavelli in his *Prince*. The latter work was to show a new prince how to rule successfully a new state, and its conclusion was that such a prince should rule it always in the best interests of all subjects, not as a tyrant.¹⁹⁹ Federigo, we have seen, mirrored the same maxim. Machiavelli's treatise merely brought together broad concepts of what constituted a good ruler of the kind developed in handbooks of the later middle ages, but applied them to a particular situation—the Romagna under Leo X. Federigo da Montefeltro undoubtedly had been introduced to similar broad precepts at the Palace School of Mantua by Vittorino da Feltre,

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Meiss, "Ovum Struthionis ...", as printed in his *The Painter's Choice* ..., cited in n. 86, p. 120.

¹⁹⁷ See n. 161; cf. in papal briefs of 21 Sept. and 3 Oct. 1482, addressed to Ottaviano Ubaldini grief was expressed at Federigo's death; the pope also took the opportunity of asking for passage for his troops and at the same time urging that Guidobaldo should be brought up to be on good terms with the Apostolic See, see E.G. Gardner, *Dukes and Poets in Ferrara* (London, 1904), pp. 184-5. Though in a League opposed to the pope Duke Guidobaldo was not deprived of his duchy, but had to wait until there was peace between the two confederations before he received confirmation of his vicariates.

¹⁹⁸ See Michelini Tocci, "I due manoscritti urbinati ...", cited in n. 13, pp. 252-5.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. C.H. Clough, "Niccolò Machiavelli's political assumptions and objectives", in this *Bulletin*, liii (1970), 30-74.

and he consciously sought to practice them as a new prince in the Marches. Burckhardt's study immediately alerted his reader to the consequences of tyranny and bad government, and in memorable passages focused on the proliferation of bastards he observed how usurpations abounded in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy.²⁰⁰ For contemporary evidence on this point one cannot do better than cite the *Commentaries* of Pope Pius II. As already indicated, this work implied that Federigo was a substitute child, and, when writing of him succeeding Oddantonio, Pius II stated:²⁰¹

For according to Italian custom bastards commonly rule and to Federigo his true and legitimate father was not so useful as his pretended and illegitimate one.

Quite apart from the circumstances, which Federigo was unlikely ever to have forgotten and which had led to his accession to power, assassination plots directed against the ruler, some of which succeeded, featured in neighbouring states throughout the period of his rule. Here once again the moral to be drawn was the necessity of being a good prince and spurning wicked counsellors if one was to remain in power as a ruler. Piero's "Flagellation" was an allegorical portrayal of this.

It has been speculated that Federigo's assumption of power on 23 July 1444 was so smooth that he must have been implicated in the revolt and the assassination. Pius II's *Commentaries* include the assertion that Federigo had connived at these events, and as long afterwards as October 1479 Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, who was jealous of Duke Federigo's successes, could refer to the latter as Cain, offensively implying that he had killed his half-brother.²⁰² What evidence is there beyond sneers? Since Federigo did not punish the assassins, readily agreed to the terms of the rioters, and honoured these terms, it is possible that he considered it the right of subjects to rebel against a tyrant, as argued by John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus*, for instance.²⁰³ This latter sup-

²⁰⁰ Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, cited in n. 2, pp. 28-9, 38-40.

²⁰¹ See n. 132; this passage was printed in 1614.

²⁰² For the sneer see Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico* ..., cited in n. 13, p. 296, and for Duke Alfonso's jealousy and rivalry see *ibid.*, pp. 301, 304, 308-9.

²⁰³ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. C. C. J. Webb (Oxford, 2 vols., 1909), ii. BK. viii, Chap. 20, pp. 372-9. Cf. selection and trans. J. Dickinson

sition may imply actual complicity. On occasion Federigo was acutely depressed as a result of adversities that continually buffeted him, and some of these he saw as Divine punishment. In 1461, worn out with almost twenty years of ceaseless struggle against the Malatesta and at a low ebb in consequence of a severe attack of gout, Federigo contemplated suicide.²⁰⁴ Three years previously he had been deeply affected by the death of his illegitimate son, Buonconte, a youth of great promise. Then, in reply to the condolences of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, he wrote:²⁰⁵

My Lord, I know that for my sins Our Lord God has taken an eye and now this son, who was the light of my life ... I cannot remember anything that has so much grieved me...

What I suspect was on Federigo's conscience when he wrote thus of God's punishment was not any implication of his complicity in his half-brother's assassination but a recognition of his tendency for amorous intrigues. Indeed, according to Santi, in a passage pasted over by Veterani, the ducal librarian,²⁰⁶ it was just such an affair that had played its part in the disfiguring of Federigo at the tilt in 1450.²⁰⁷ Federigo presumably had seduced a young woman under a blasted oak and as a token of his love attached a piece of withered oak branch to himself and to the harness of his horse before he rode into the lists. It was this symbol that was thought to have brought him ill-fortune. My speculation is that it was this woman who became the mother of Federigo's son Antonio. All in all, I do not think that there is conclusive evidence of Federigo's complicity in the revolt against Oddantonio, and, whatever the truth of the matter, I do not

(New York, 1927), pp. 367-74; cf. also St. Thomas Aquinas, *On Kingship*, trans. G.B. Phelan (Toronto, 1949), pp. 25-7, with the conclusion that wicked rule was sent by God as a punishment on people for their sins. Aquinas also considers good rule as God-given and as providing a taste on earth of the happiness of Heaven, *ibid.*, pp. 35, 64-6.

²⁰⁴ Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico* ..., cited in n. 13, p. 119.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 118-9. For Buonconte see Clough, "Cardinal Bessarion and Greek at the Court of Urbino", cited in n. 16, pp. 161-3 (where the year of birth should read 1440 not 1450).

²⁰⁶ For these hidden extracts see n. 145 above.

²⁰⁷ Santi, *Cronaca*, the extracts in Papini, *Francesco di Giorgio* ..., cited in n. 43, ii. 281-2, Chapter xv, verses 61 to 67; Santi, *Cronaca*, cited in n. 6, Chapter xv, verse 80: "La punta de la lancia ... salta in la visiera".

consider that it affects the case concerning the moral of a ruler's need to govern as a good Christian prince, as depicted in Piero's "Flagellation".

From the assumption of authority on the afternoon of 23 July 1444, when Federigo agreed to the terms of the people of Urbino, he made it plain that he considered Oddantonio's rule to be an illegitimate interregnum. The bulls of 1447 likewise echo this, since, in granting Federigo the vicariates, reference back is made to Guidantonio but there is no mention of Oddantonio.²⁰⁸ Apart from Federigo's understandable desire to obliterate the memory of bad government by harking back to the rule of Guidantonio, he was thereby emphasizing the good government of the Montefeltro. One can believe that at the time he came to power Guidantonio was interred in the Church of San Donato, and almost certainly already commemorated by a tomb effigy and inscription.²⁰⁹ This latter, though by a rather illiterate writer, is worth quoting in full:²¹⁰

Let the Earth in the West lament! Weep, Latins! May the dying Count Guido rest in this earth. No more merciful prince was sent from Heaven; and supreme in his power he ruled mighty cities. Never was there on earth a hero who could possess the habit of St. Francis with greater sanctity. Kind death has restored his soul to Heaven, whom justice, worthy of veneration, gave to his age. Therefore you heavenly powers, rejoice in your heavenly colleague; and may the sacred court preserve the divine duke. After the lapse of 1443 years, on 21st of February.

Guidantonio as a Christian prince seemed destined for Heaven. Is such a platitude to be credited in any way? It must be said that all the evidence from chronicles and archives suggests that Guidantonio was a wise and just ruler who was much loved by his subjects.²¹¹ The themes of wisdom and justice are echoed by Jacopo Pesaro in his epicedium for Guidantonio that is strikingly

²⁰⁸ See n. 161.

²⁰⁹ Serra, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte ...: Urbino*, cited in n. 74, p. 125; the tomb effigy and inscription are undated, but the Gothic lettering suggests that the work was done immediately after Guidantonio's death, one may suppose at the orders of Oddantonio, who would have been carrying out the wishes of his father. For such inscriptions cf. I. Kajanto, *Classical and Christian Studies in Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Helsinki, 1980).

²¹⁰ I am indebted to my colleague Stephen Ryle for this translation.

²¹¹ Cf. Ugolini, *Storia dei conti e duchi d'Urbino*, cited in n. 52, i. 203-76.

similar in tone to the tomb inscription.²¹² One concludes that contemporaries believed Guidantonio's rule to be a worthy model of good government. The duke's effigy on his tomb shows him wearing the habit of St. Francis, and, as in the inscription, his sword is laid to rest by his side.²¹³ Viewed in context, the tomb and its inscription evoked the same religious aspirations as half a century later were to be found in the Church of San Bernardino with the altarpiece depicting Federigo alongside his mausoleum.

Oddantonio was not buried in the same church as his father, but in that of San Francesco within the city walls.²¹⁴ As far as is known, there was no effigy, merely an inscription, possibly placed there at Federigo's orders, and which, preserved in an eighteenth-century manuscript, reads as follows:²¹⁵

Oddantonio, soldier, Duke of Urbino, a handsome youth, in his eighteenth year ended his life through cruel murder, together with his two associates who had incited him to evil actions. He ruled after the death of his father for seventeen months. He died at dawn on 22 July 1444.

His rule had been wicked so that, seemingly, it was thought inappropriate to express any pious hope concerning his redemption. The wicked went to Hell. It has been considered in detail above that Duke Federigo wanted the Church of San Bernardino to be built as a memorial for his dynasty. The body of his father, Guidantonio, good ruler though he was, remained in San Donato.²¹⁶ The close proximity of the two churches was sufficient to associate Federigo with Guidantonio's good

²¹² Jacopo Pesaro's poem is printed in Franceschini, "Notizie e documenti ... su Oddantonio ...", cited in n. 12, p. 221.

²¹³ For illustrations see Serra, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte ... : Urbino*, cited in n. 74, p. 125, and in Meiss with Jones, "Once again Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece", cited in n. 87, reprinted in Meiss, *The Painter's Choice* ..., fig. 109.

²¹⁴ Franceschini, "Notizie e documenti ... su Oddantonio ...", cited in n. 12, p. 231 n. 25 bis, indicates that Oddantonio was not buried in the Montefeltro vault in that church; subsequently his remains were transferred to the Cappella detta del Capitolo of that church. Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, cited in n. 13, i. 52, and Ugolini, *Storia dei conti e duchi d'Urbino*, cited in n. 52, i. 293, refer to remnants of what may have been the original tomb. Mazzini, *Guida di Urbino*, cited in n. 33, p. 12.

²¹⁵ It is printed in Franceschini, "Notizie e documenti ... su Oddantonio ...", cited in n. 12, p. 230 n. 25.

²¹⁶ See the text above at n. 209.

government and with the Montefeltro line, but he wanted to make it plain that it was *his* dynasty that had come to power. This attitude of mind is precisely that found in the iconography of Federigo's private study in his Ducal Palace of Urbino. It may well have been his stress on his own dynasty that the Abbess Violante, his half-sister, sought to weaken when, at his death in September 1482, she urged her nephew Guidobaldo to take the name Guidantonio, thereby forging a link between Federigo's new line and that of her Montefeltro predecessors.²¹⁷

I have picked out the circumstances of Federigo's 'Fortune' ("Fortuna") in coming to power, as well as illustrating his 'Ability' ("Virtù") as a ruler, and at the same time sought to establish a related iconographical significance in the works of art that he commissioned. But how can one be sure that there really existed just such a relationship, and that it is not a product of my own over-fertile imagination? First, I would answer that the kind of iconographical interpretation presented was typical of the period; there did exist meaning other than the obvious in works of art, and the initiated could read that hidden inner meaning.²¹⁸ Secondly, there is overwhelming evidence of all kinds that Federigo was of a scholarly cast of mind and was genuinely interested in the artistic works that he commissioned.

Among these artistic works was an illustrated Bible in two volumes which was commissioned from Vespasiano da Bisticci in Florence about 1476 and finished for delivery in 1478.²¹⁹ It was decorated with exquisite miniatures of some of the dramatic events narrated. As for these illustrations it appears likely that there were various models for Bibles which provided alternative series; it has recently been remarked that the series chosen for Federigo underlines the concept of the sacred and religious responsibility of a ruler as revealed by that work.²²⁰ Not surprisingly, these very ideas were those associated with the medieval 'good ruler', and hence the miniatures admirably depict the concept of a 'good ruler' of Federigo's day. There are, for

²¹⁷ See the text above at n. 11.

²¹⁸ For the hidden language of pagan art in the Renaissance see G. De Tervarent, *Attributs et Symboles dans l'Art Profane, 1450-1600* (Geneva, 2 vols., 1958-63); cf. also n. 196 above.

²¹⁹ See Annarosa Garzelli, *La Bibbia di Federico da Montefeltro* (Rome, 1977), pp. 21-2, 37.

²²⁰ Ibid., pp. 23, 25-8, 31-3.

example, beautiful miniatures of the Justice of Solomon, Solomon enthroned, Joshua celebrating Passover.²²¹ The colophon in both volumes mentions that it was Duke Federigo who ordered the work, and that he sought to exemplify the Christian virtues.²²² By the time the second volume was completed, Duke Federigo was a member of the League opposed to the Republic of Florence.²²³ Hence, on 21 June 1478 he wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici personally requesting for this volume safe passage out of Florentine territory.²²⁴ The letter makes it obvious that the duke was particularly anxious to have the volume. We know, too, that, uniquely of all the volumes in his library, Federigo had the two comprising the Bible bound in gold brocade.²²⁵ I am not suggesting that he personally selected the model with the series of illustrations adopted for his Bible, but I do think that it was chosen because it was thought both appropriate and likely to appeal to the duke. In short, as the colophons state, Federigo was considered the embodiment of the good Christian ruler.

When Duke Federigo's heir, Duke Guidobaldo, died childless in April 1508 authority passed to his adopted son, Francesco Maria della Rovere.²²⁶ He was to be driven from his duchy for some five years,²²⁷ and have at least two murders on his conscience, one of them being that of a Cardinal, for which he had to stand trial in Rome.²²⁸ He certainly fell short of the good Christian ruler as exemplified by Federigo. It was with the death of the latter that I began, and with the transportation of his corpse back to Urbino. Perhaps in imitation of Augustus, who opened the sarcophagus of Alexander the Great so that he could look on the features of his mummified corpse,²²⁹ Duke Francesco Maria

²²¹ Ibid., colour pl. x, xiv, xv.

²²² Ibid., pp. 21-2.

²²³ Cf. Tommasoli, *La Vita di Federico ...*, cited in n. 13, pp. 286-95.

²²⁴ Garzelli, *La Bibbia di Federico ...*, cited in n. 219, p. 22.

²²⁵ Da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, cited in n. 17, i. 398; "Indice Vecchio" of Federigo's Library" in C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinate Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae Descripti Recensuit* (Rome, 1895), p. lix n^o. 1 and 2.

²²⁶ Clough, "The Relations between the English and Urbino Courts ...", cited in n. 168, p. 211; for Guidobaldo's death see n. 82.

²²⁷ Clough, *The Duchy of Urbino ...*, cited in n. 16, "Additions and Corrections", p. 6, item vi, p. 103.

²²⁸ Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, cited in n. 13, ii, 304-5; Pastor, *The history of the popes*, cited in n. 10, v (1898), 350-51, 368-9.

²²⁹ Caius Suetonius Tranquillus, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Latin text and English trans. by J.C. Rolfe (Loeb Classical Library) (London, 2 vols., 1913-14), i.

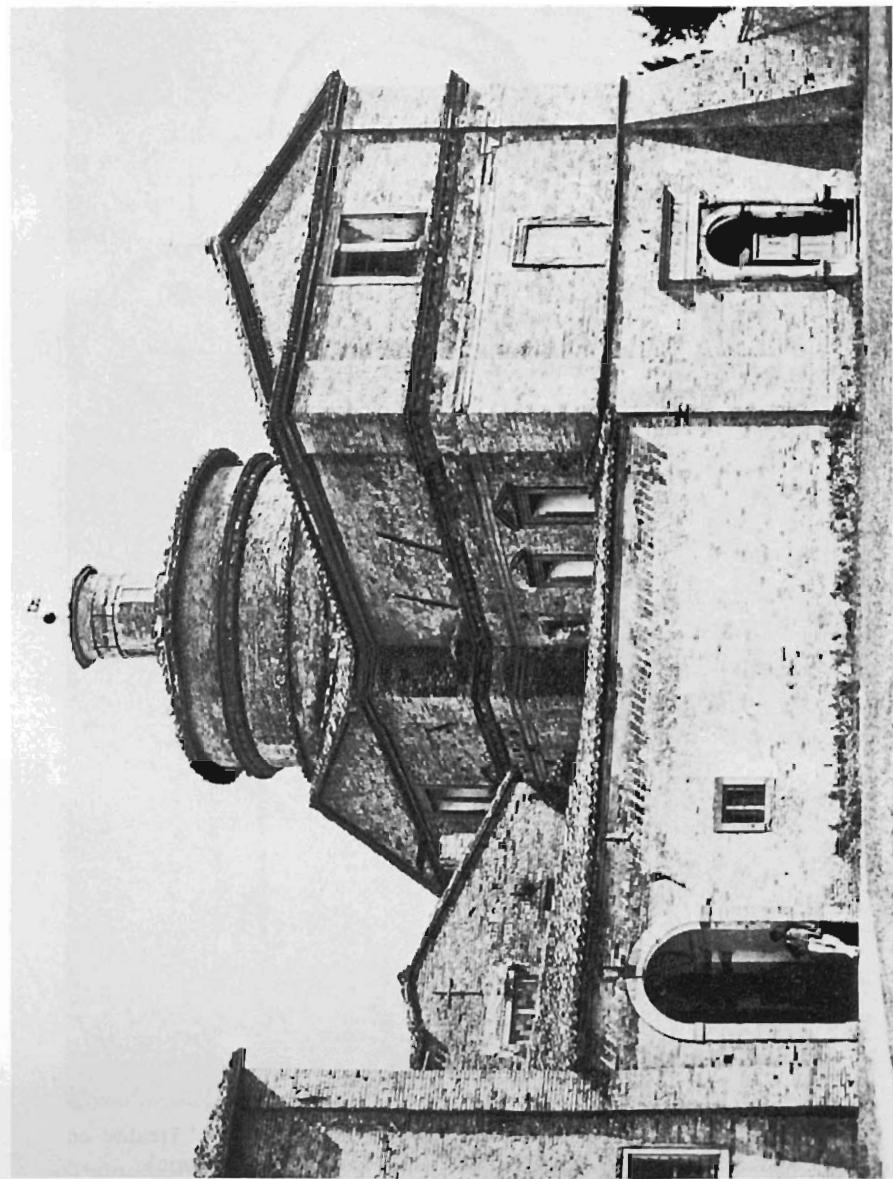
in 1512 opened Federigo's coffin in its sarcophagus attached to the Church of San Bernardino.²³⁰ We have an eye-witness account of the episode written by Urbano Urbani, secretary of Duke Francesco Maria:²³¹ "And I saw your body, just as good as ever it was, wearing your bonnet, dressed in your hose and mantle of crimson". Urbani tells us that Duke Francesco Maria pulled aside the mantle and the under-vest and tried to pluck some of the hairs from the corpse's chest for a keepsake, but finding them so firm he ceased tugging at them. "Why was I not born a generation earlier so that I could profit from the example of such a man?", Urbani reported the duke as remarking. Even Duke Francesco Maria knew a good prince when he saw one.

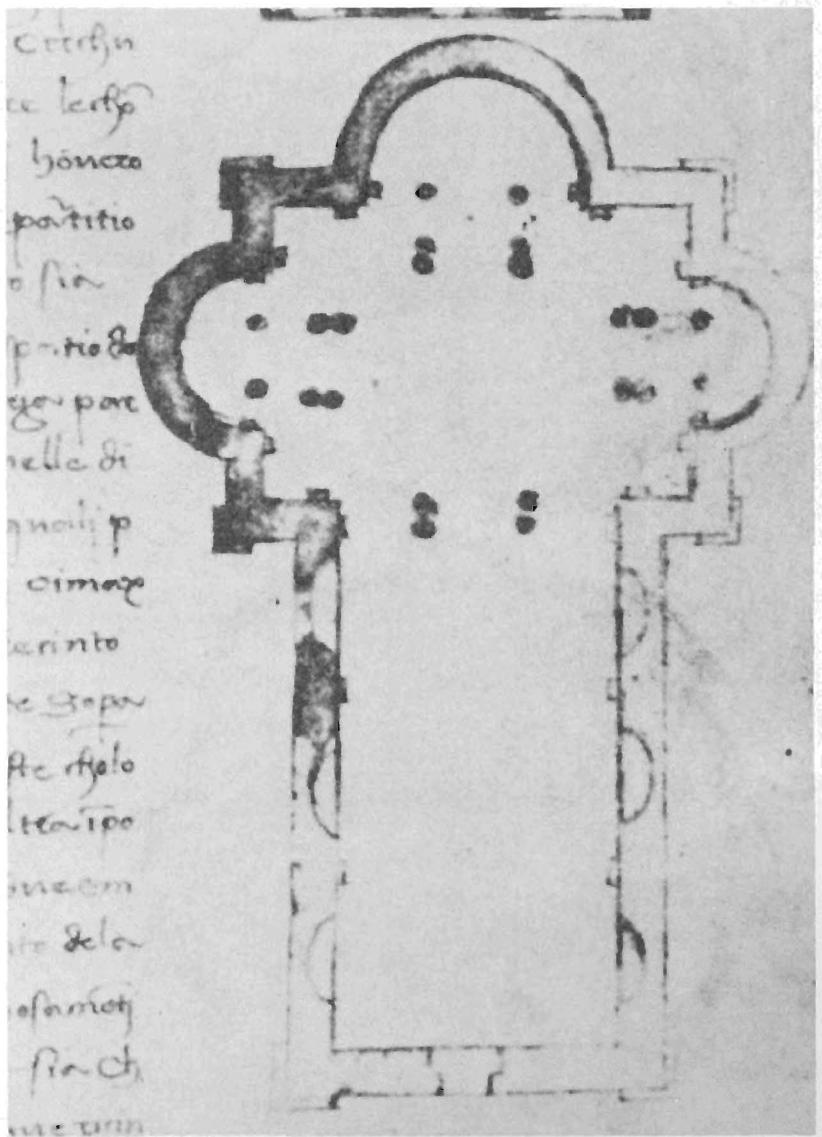
Augustus, Chapter 18, pp. 148-9; cf. Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Roman History*, Greek text and English trans. by E. Cary (Loeb Classical Library) (London, 9 vols., 1914-27), vi, Bk. li, 16, pp. 44-7, where reference is made to a portion of the nose of the corpse breaking away.

²³⁰ Anon. [to be attributed to Urbano Urbani on the grounds of handwriting], no title, but a biographical Study of Francesco Maria [della Rovere], MS. Urb. lat. 490, Vatican Library, ff. 138v-9; for this manuscript see Stornajolo, ... *Codices Urbinates Latini*, cited in n. 32, i. 497.

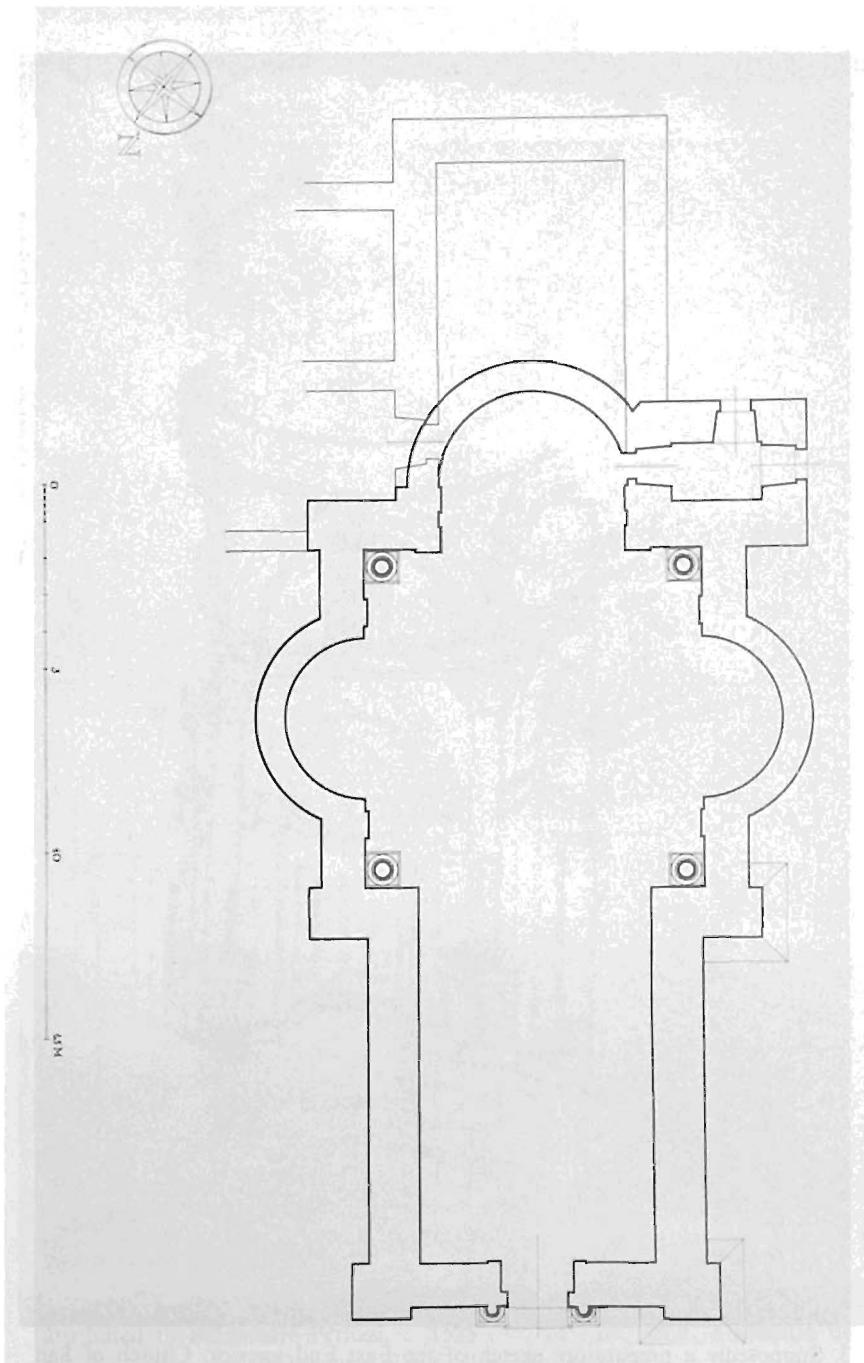
²³¹ MS. Urb. lat. 490, cited in n. 230, f. 139.

I. The Friary and Church of San Bernardino, Urbino.

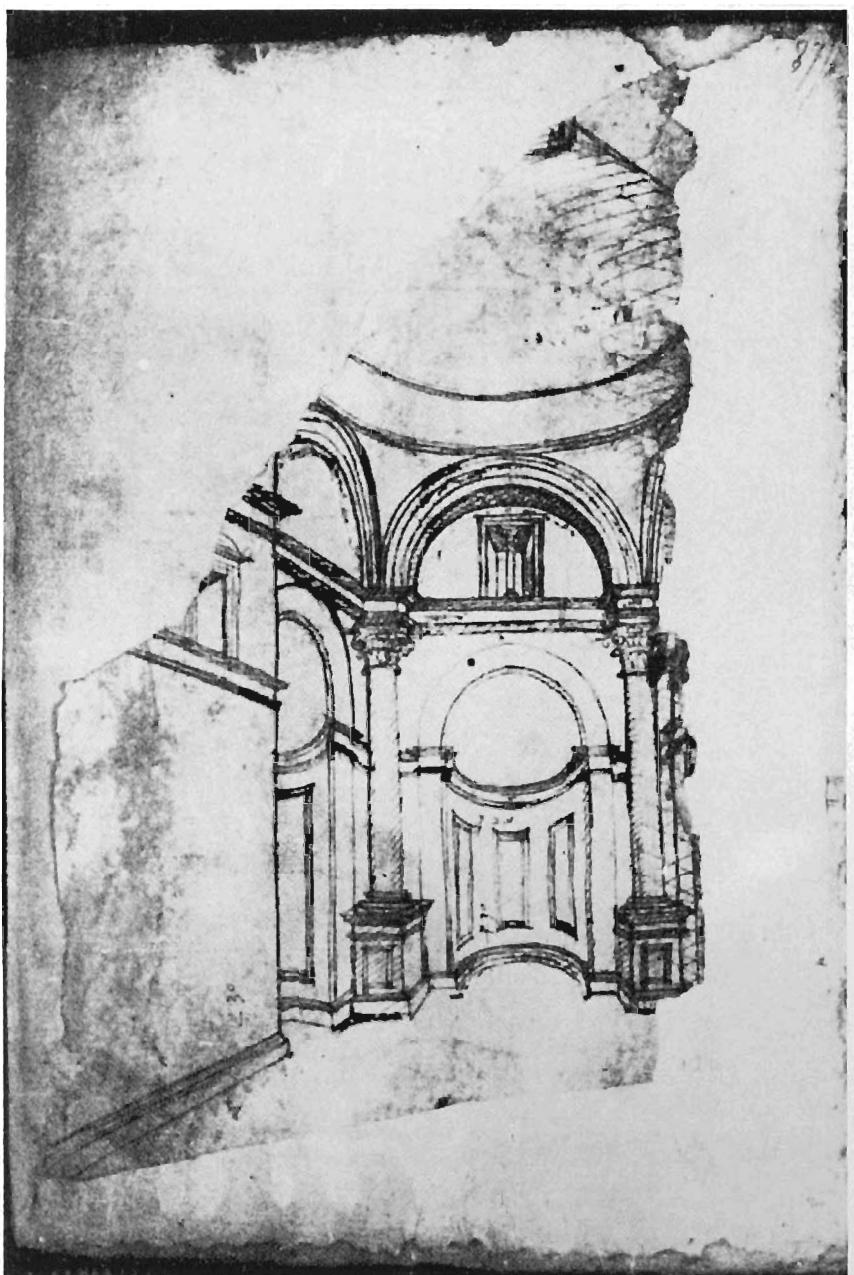




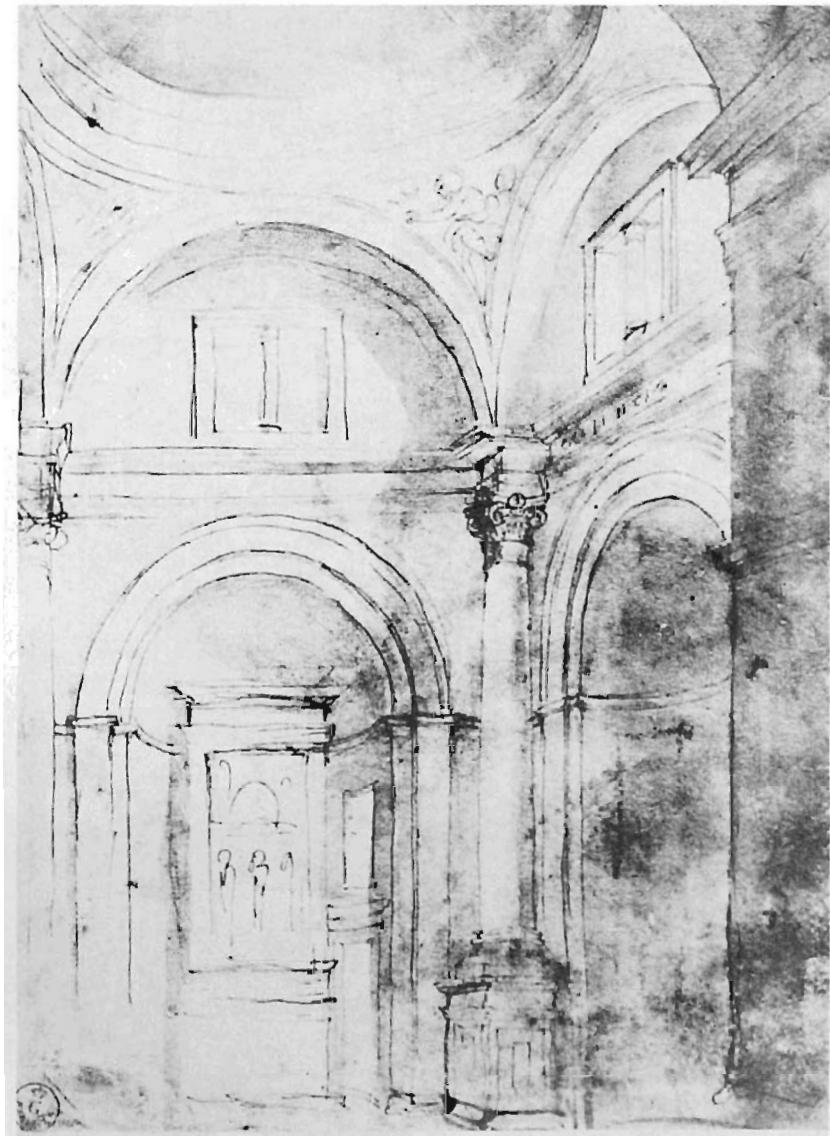
2a. Ground-plan of a church, Francesco di Giorgio, autograph "Treatise on Architecture" (MS. Saluzziano 148, f. 13, Royal Library, Turin).



2b. Reconstruction of the original ground-plan of the Church of San Bernardino, Urbino, superimposed on that existing. (From R. Papini, *Francesco di Giorgio ...*, volume III).



3. Supposedly a preparatory sketch of the East End interior, Church of San Bernardino, Urbino, drawn by Francesco di Giorgio (MS. Ashburnham 1828, App., f. 87, Laurentian Library, Florence).



4. Drawing of the East End interior of the Church of San Bernardino, Urbino, attributed to Baldassare Peruzzi, c. 1525 (Nº. 245 dis. Arch., Gabinetto dei Disegni, Uffizi Gallery, Florence).



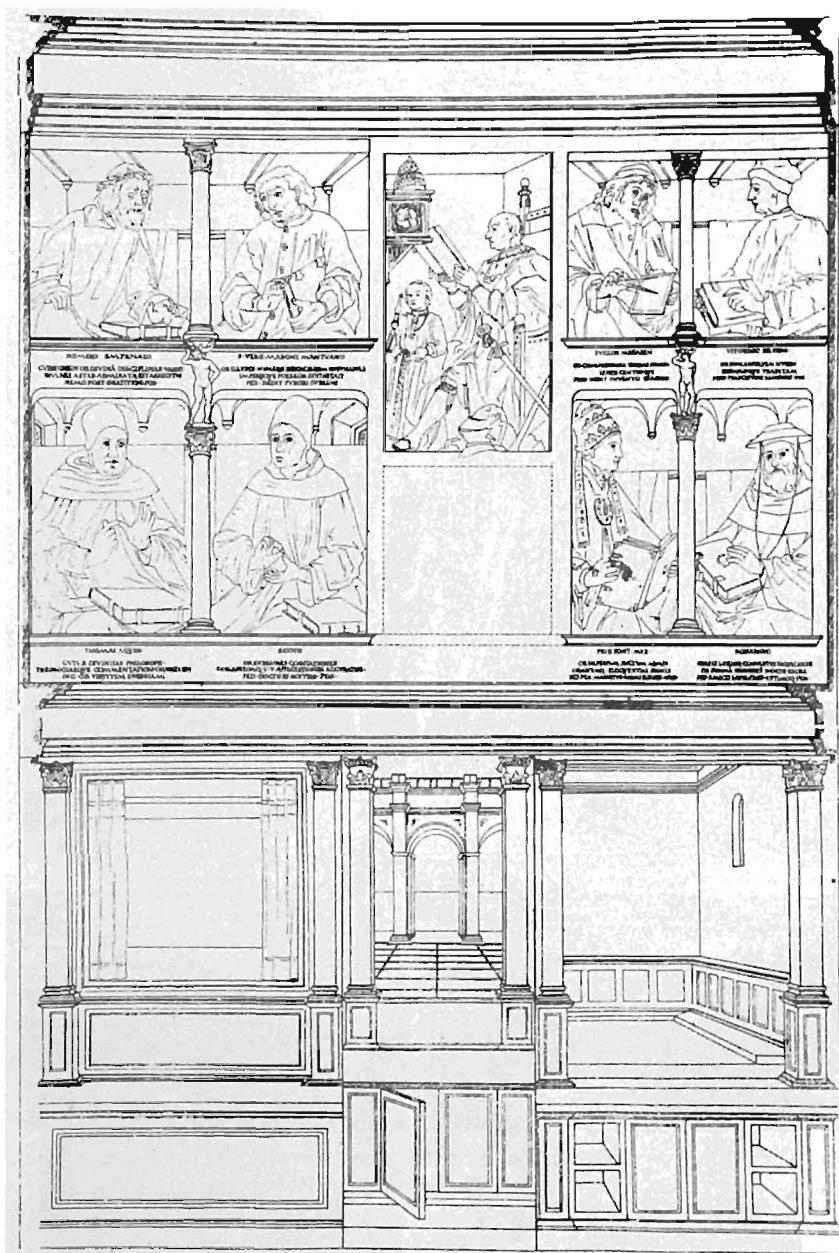
5. Piero della Francesca, Altarpiece, originally at the East End, Church of San Bernardino, Urbino, painted c. 1486-88. (Nº 510, Brera Gallery, Milan).



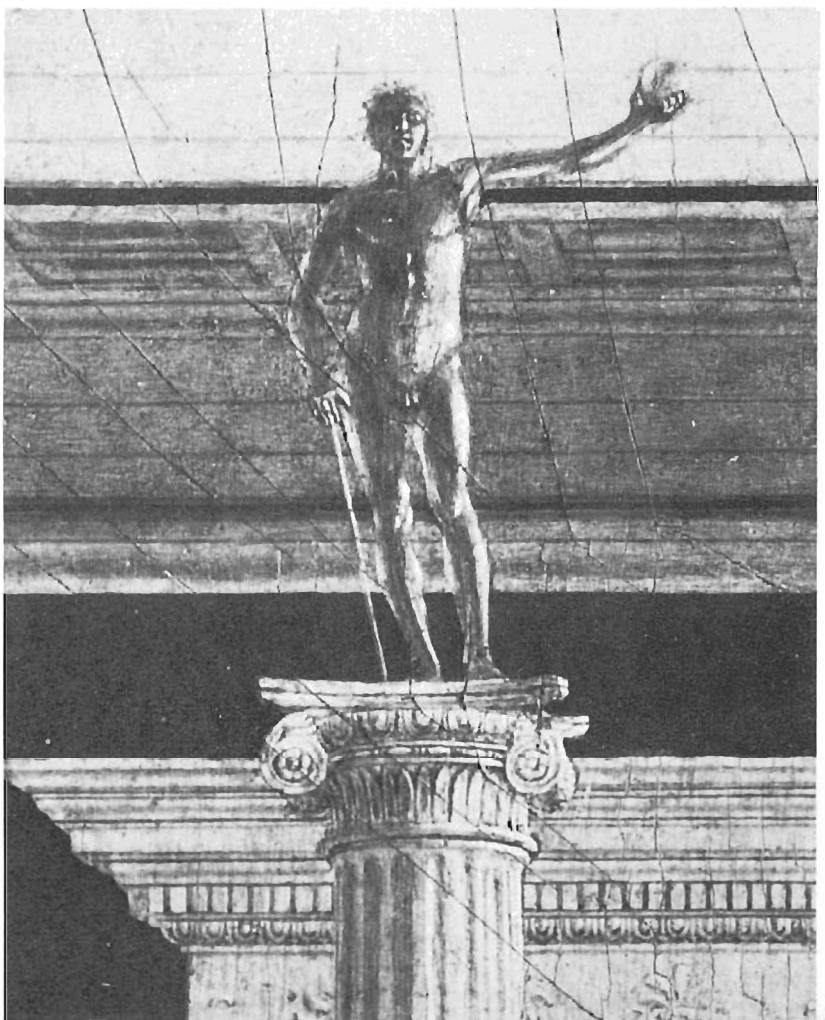
6. Giovanni Santi, Altarpiece, Oliva Chapel, Friary of Montefiorentino, painted 1488-89.



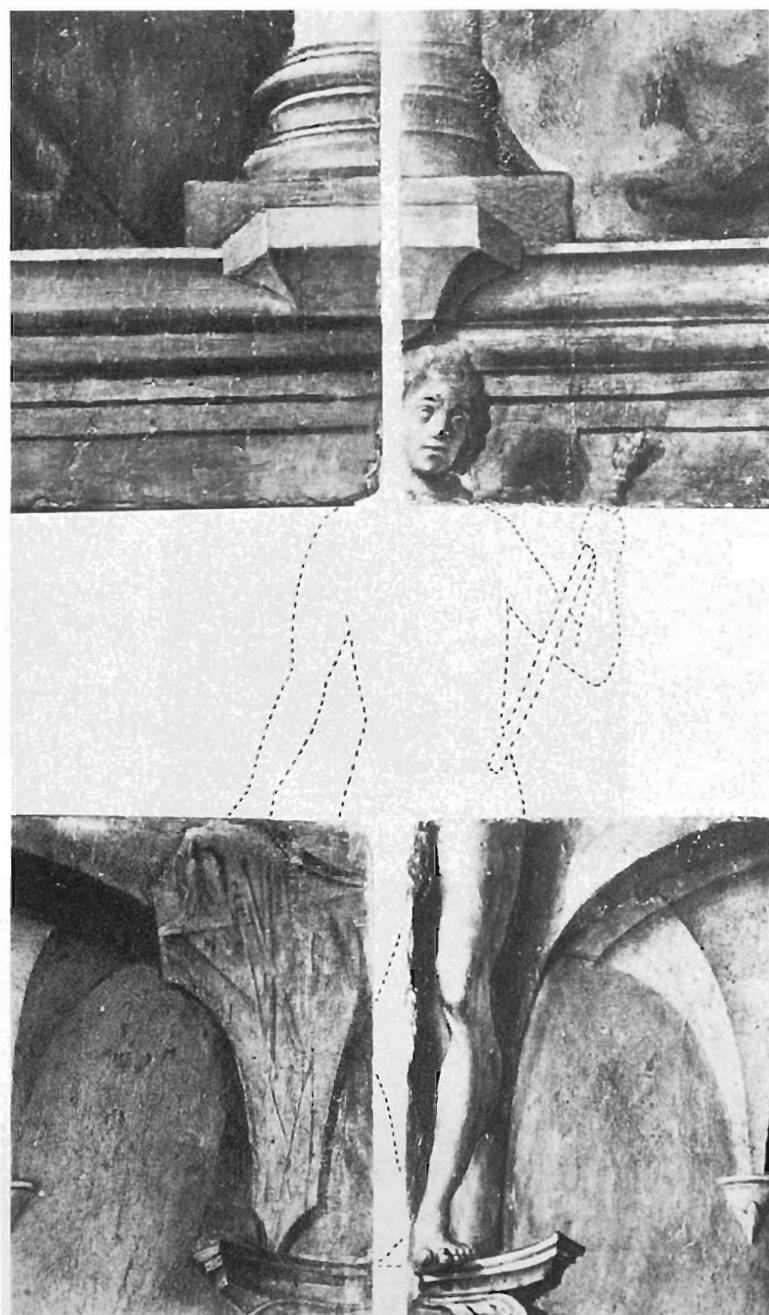
7. East End of the Church of San Bernardino, Urbino, showing a portion of the original frieze, as restored in the 1920s.



8. Reconstruction of a portion of the wall-decoration of the private study, Ducal Palace, Urbino, showing some of the portraits of famous intellectuals in position over the marquetry. (From P. Rotondi, *Il Palazzo Ducale d'Urbino*, volume I).



9a. The statue on the column, a detail from Piero della Francesca, "The Flagellation".



9b. Reconstruction of Jupiter(?), one of the figures painted between the groups of four portraits of famous intellectuals, the wall decoration of the private study, Ducal Palace, Urbino. (From J. Lavallee, *Le Palais Ducal d'Urbino*).



10a. Justus of Ghent, Portraits of Duke Federigo and his son, Guidobaldo, probably originally in the private study, Ducal Palace, Urbino, painted c. 1476. (Nº. 702, National Gallery of the Marches, Urbino).

10b. Piero della Francesca, "The Flagellation", probably originally beneath the Portraits of Duke Federigo and his son, in the private study, Ducal Palace, Urbino, painted c. 1476. (National Gallery of the Marches, Urbino).