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portrait signature had been reinterpreted in the work of two Florentine sculptors by the middle of the fifteenth century, employing reference to the only two known ancient Greek precedents. Such allusions would be in line with everything else we know about the re-creative ambitions of Filarete and Ghiberti towards the precedents of antique art.

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¹⁶ T. and R. Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton 1970, pl. 81, pp. 9–10, where the early citation of this as a self-portrait by G. B. Gelli is noted; pp. 166–67 for dating. Ghiberti may have ‘signed’ himself on the earlier doors, in a bust in the same position, though here turbaned.

POLLAIUOLO'S LOST *HERCULES AND THE LION* RECORDED ON MAIOLICA?*

IN 1494 THE AGEING Antonio Pollaiuolo found himself barred by plague quarantine regulations from going onto a property he owned between Poggio a Caiano and Pistoia, and asked the Roman nobleman Gentil Virginio Orsini to intercede on his behalf with Piero de' Medici; Piero should agree, he added in his letter:

... perchè sa che io sono stato senpre di quella chasa e pensate che glie 34 anni che io feci quelle fatiche derchole che sono nella sala del palazzo suo che la facemo tra un mio fratello e io.¹

The paintings referred to as having been done for the Palazzo Medici in 1460 were three large canvases with *Hercules and the*

Hydra, Hercules and Antaeus and *Hercules and the Nemean Lion*.² They were enthusiastically praised by Vasari, who said the series was ‘... da’ buoni artefici ... grandemente imitato’,³ and copies by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio were sent to France. Both the originals and copies, however, have long disappeared.

The compositions of two of these paintings, the struggles with the Hydra and with Antaeus, are generally supposed to be more or less accurately reflected in two small panels in the Uffizi attributed to Antonio⁴ or in two engravings by Cristofano Robetta.⁵ A drawing in the British Museum of *Hercules and the Hydra* is considered by A. E. Popham and Philip Pouncey to be ‘obviously’ by Antonio and likely to have been a study for the Palazzo Medici painting;⁶ if so, a Florentine engraving attributed to Baccio Baldini (Pl. 40a), which is very close to the drawing and similar to the Uffizi panel, is probably derived from, and a fairly accurate record of, the figures in the lost painted scene.⁷

The appearance of the third subject, *Hercules and the Lion*, is more of a problem. Vasari's description of this picture is helpfully detailed:

L'altro, ammazzando il leone, gli appunta il ginocchio sinistro al petto, et afferrata la bocca del leone con ammedue le sue mani serrando i denti e stendendo le braccia, lo apre e sbarra per

² For the suggestion that the paintings may have been made later than 1460, see L. D. Ettlinger, ‘Hercules Florentinus’, *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, xvi, 1972, pp. 128–38; the Hercules symbolism and the decorative scheme of the Palazzo Medici as a whole are discussed by Carlo Del Bravo, ‘Etica o poesia, e mecenatismo: Cosimo il Vecchio, Lorenzo e alcuni dipinti’, in *Gli Uffizi, quattro secoli di una galleria. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi 1982*, eds P. Barocchi and G. Ragionieri, Florence 1983, pp. 201–16.

³ Vasari, *Le vite*, eds R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi, Florence 1967–87, *testo*, iii, p. 505.

⁴ Ettlinger (as in n. 1), pls 92, 93.

⁵ A. Bartsch, *Le peintre-graveur*, Leipzig 1854–70, xiii, pp. 404–05, nos 21, 22; reprod. Ettlinger (as in n. 2), pls 22, 23.

⁶ A. E. Popham and P. Pouncey, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, London 1950, pp. 138–39, no. 225.

⁷ A. M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, London 1938–48, i, p. 194, no. D.I.3; iii, pl. 266; the attribution to Baldini is maintained by J. A. Levenson, K. Oberhuber, and J. L. Sheehan, *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art*, Washington 1973, p. 15, n. 4.

* I am grateful to Nicholas Penny, Anthony Radcliffe, Nicholas Turner and Alison Wright for their comments on a draft of this note.

¹ ‘... because he knows I have always been a supporter of the family; and consider that thirty-four years ago I carried out the *Labours of Hercules* which are in the *sala* of his palace, which I did with my brother’. Quoted from L. D. Ettlinger, *Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo*, London 1978, p. 164. Other relevant documents are also cited by Ettlinger.

viva forza; ancora che la fiera, per la sua difesa, con gli unghioni malamente gli graffi le braccia.⁸

In his 1978 monograph on the Pollaiuoli,⁹ Ettlinger maintained that this painting had shown Hercules half-astride the lion with his knee on its back—a composition reflected in two drawings attributed to Raphael¹⁰ and a bronze of disputed date.¹¹ But, as has been demonstrated by Anthony Radcliffe, Vasari's description cannot be made to fit this treatment of the subject, and Pollaiuolo's painting is much more likely to have had Hercules and the lion frontally opposed to each other. The most plausible image yet adduced as a record of the figures is an intarsia (Pl. 40b) on the door to the Salone dell'Iole in the Ducal Palace in Urbino¹² which is considered by Busignani as giving 'qualche pallida idea della tela'.¹³

In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the British Museum are two maiolica plates, both probably made in the workshop of Maestro Giorgio Andreoli of Gubbio around 1520, and certainly by the same hand. The Oxford plate (Pl. 41a) is painted with

Hercules and the Hydra,¹⁴ the London one (Pl. 41b) with *Hercules and the Lion*,¹⁵ and both compositions are strongly reminiscent of Pollaiuolo.¹⁶ The immediate source of the Oxford plate is the Florentine engraving mentioned above (Pl. 40a). The Oxford and London plates (although not actually a pair) are so similar and both so stylistically unusual among maiolica of the period that it seems overwhelmingly likely that the London as well as the Oxford plate is based on an engraving, though no such engraving is known to exist. The *Hercules and the Hydra* print survives in a single recorded impression, at Topkapi: it is entirely possible that a companion engraving of *Hercules and the Lion* has disappeared completely.

If so, it is possible, even probable, that this hypothetical lost engraving was based on the painting of *Hercules and the Lion* in the Palazzo Medici. The representation of the subject on the maiolica plate corresponds well to Vasari's description of the painting, with both Hercules's arms stretched out, his knee on the lion's chest, and the lion's claws violently scratching his arm. The major difference, that it is Hercules's right knee, not his left, that is on the lion's chest, can be explained by the supposition that the design was reversed in the engraving process. The intarsia in Urbino, indeed, is similar in design to the maiolica plate, but the other way round, so that Hercules has his left knee against the lion's chest. The two treatments are obviously related; the main other differences are that the intarsia has Hercules leaning forward with his whole body at a dynamic diagonal, and that he has a large shield slung on his back. The plate sets the scene in a landscape, but this is probably the maiolica painter's invention, like the land-

⁸ Vasari (as in n. 3), loc. cit.

⁹ Ettlinger (as in n. 2), 1972, pp. 132–33.

¹⁰ A. E. Popham and J. Wilde, *The Italian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries ... at Windsor Castle*, London 1949, p. 310, no. 791v; J. A. Gere and N. Turner, *Drawings by Raphael* [exh. cat.], London 1983, no. 67. A comparable drawing in the so-called *Raphael Sketchbook* in Venice is stated by L. Dami ('Due nuove opere pollaioulesche', *Dedalo*, iv, 1923–24, p. 704) to be 'certo una derivazione dal dipinto di Antonio'; but see S. Ferino Pagden, *Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia: Disegni umbri*, Milan 1984, no. 42 (fol. 43) where the suggestion that the drawing reflects the Palazzo Medici painting is rejected. H. Utz ('The Labors of Hercules and Other Works by Vincenzo de' Rossi', *Art Bulletin*, liii, 1971, pp. 353–54) attributes the Oxford and Windsor drawings to Vincenzo de' Rossi, but this attribution is rejected by Gere and Turner.

¹¹ Ettlinger (as in n. 2), fig. 12. See A. Radcliffe, 'Two Bronzes from the Circle of Bernini', *Apollo*, cviii, 1978, p. 420 nn. 10, 11. I am grateful to Anthony Radcliffe for rescuing me from my own ignorance in this and other matters sculptural.

¹² P. Rotondi, *The Ducal Palace of Urbino*, London 1969, pl. 124; cf. Radcliffe (as in n. 11). The small vignette of the same subject on Signorelli's Orvieto Cathedral frescoes, reproduced in E. Carli, *Gli affreschi di Luca Signorelli nel duomo di Orvieto*, Bergamo 1947, pl. 62, is related, but Signorelli's Hercules does not have his knee against the lion's chest, so corresponds less well with Vasari's description.

¹³ A. Busignani, *Pollaiuolo*, Florence 1969, p. 102.

¹⁴ Fortnum collection, no. C429; T. H. Wilson, *Maiolica: Italian Renaissance Ceramics from the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 1989, pp. 24–25, no. 8.

¹⁵ British Museum, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, 1851.12–1.6; not previously published. Diam. 27.3 cm.

¹⁶ Alison Wright has kindly drawn my attention to the parallel between the fluttering headband on the *Hercules and the Lion* dish and that worn by a dancer in the Pollaiuolo frescoes at Arcetri (Ettlinger, as in n. 1, pl. 27).

scape on the companion *Hercules and the Hydra* plate.

The intarsia and the plate must go back to the same original design, and the supposition that this was Pollaiuolo's Palazzo Medici painting looks likely to be correct. The maiolica plate and the hypothetical engraving which was its source were probably reversed from the original,¹⁷ but for the detail of the figures, the Florentine engraving is likely to have been at least as accurate a record of the Florentine painting as the Urbino intarsia. The maiolica plate appears to confirm the composition of one of the most famous of lost Renaissance paintings, and is probably the most vivid echo of it to have survived.

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¹⁷ While it is perfectly normal for a design to be reversed in engraving, there is no particular reason why a maiolica-painter should reverse the direction of an engraving or drawing which he uses as a model, unless he is using some form of mechanical transfer technique, which is improbable in the present case. I can think of no convincing reason why the *Hercules and the Lion* engraving should have been reversed from Pollaiuolo's original while the *Hercules and the Hydra* was not.

THE PROCESSION PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH I A NOTE ON A TRADITION

THE DATE, occasion, subject, commission and artist of the *Procession Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I*, now hanging at Sherborne Castle in Dorset (Pl. 44), are all matters of dispute.¹ It remains 'one of the greatest

¹ The main secondary sources on the portrait are: George Scharf, 'Queen Elizabeth's Procession in a Litter to Celebrate the Marriage of Anne Russell at Blackfriars, June 16 1600', *Archaeological Journal*, xxiii, 1866, pp. 131–44; Viscount Dillon, 'A Procession of Queen Elizabeth to Blackfriars', *Archaeological Journal*, lxxii, 1915, pp. 69–74; Earl of Ilchester, 'Queen Elizabeth's Visit to Blackfriars, June 16, 1600', *Walpole Society*, ix, 1921, pp. 1–19; Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, London 1977, pp. 17–55; and idem, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, London 1987, pp. 153–55.

visual mysteries of the Elizabethan age',² not least because previous commentators have largely ignored its place in traditions of representation by treating it solely as a document rather than an artefact. Only Roy Strong has suggested a conventional context for the picture—that of the Roman triumph as resuscitated in the court festivals of the Renaissance; he thus appropriates for it the title of William Rogers's unrelated print of 1593, *Eliza Triumphans*.³ I should like to suggest rather that the portrait participates in an isolable tradition of representing royal power which indeed draws upon triumphal motifs but is not in itself triumphal.

This tradition began with Hans Burgkmair's woodcut *Der Kunig Von Gutzin* ('The King of Cochín'), a panel in five sheets produced in 1508 (Pl. 46a).⁴ In March 1505 a Portuguese expedition sailed to Cochín with the aim of establishing a presence in the areas recently opened up by Vasco da Gama. An account of the expedition by Balthasar Springer of Vils describes the King being carried forth in a litter, as does a Latin narrative which also exists from the voyage.⁵ Walter Oakeshott has suggested the possibility that the author of this narrative had, 'when he wrote, a series of pictures available done ... by some considerable artist who

Strong's long-standing attribution to Robert Peake is questioned by Malcolm Rogers (review of *Gloriana*, *Times Literary Supplement*, 14 August 1987, p. 867). I am grateful to Simon Wingfield Digby, Esq., for permission to reproduce the portrait.

² Strong 1977 (as in n. 1), p. 17.

³ *ibid.*, esp. pp. 54–55, and Strong 1987 (as in n. 1), p. 155.

⁴ On *Der Kunig Von Gutzin*, and its versions, see Henry Harrisse, *Americus Vespuccius*, London 1895, pp. 41–45; Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts Preserved in the Prints and Drawings Department of the British Museum*, London 1911, ii, pp. 71–72; F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1400–1700*, Amsterdam 1954ff, v, pp. 132–33; Walter Oakeshott (introd.), *Some Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair printed as an Appendix to the Fourth Part of Le Relationi Vniversali di Giovanni Botero*, 1618, rpt Oxford 1960; and Hans Burgkmair: *Das Graphische Werk*, eds T. Falk, R. Biedermann and I. Hausberger, Stuttgart 1973, item 26.

⁵ This is the 'Relatio Balthasaris Spinger [*sic*] de maxima sua marina peregrinatione ex partibus Hollandiae in Ulixbonam Portugalliae' in *Voyage Littéraire de Deux Religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur*, eds E. Martène and G. Durand, Paris 1724, ii, pp. 361–78. This account notes how 'in regno Gutschin subditi & familiares portant regem sedentem in feretro', *ibid.*, p. 365.



Photo: Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici delle Marche

b—*Hercules and the Lion*, intarsia. Urbino, Palazzo Ducale, Salone dell'Iole, doors (p. 300)



a—*Hercules and the Hydra*, engraving, attrib. Baccio Baldini, c. 1460. Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Library (pp. 299f)



a—*Hercules and the Hydra*, maiolica plate, probably Gubbio, c. 1520.
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (p. 300)



b—*Hercules and the Hydra*, maiolica plate, probably Gubbio, c. 1520.
London, British Museum (p. 300)